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A SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF RAMESSIDE PERIOD VOTIVE STELAE

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by

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Volume 1 of 2

PhD Thesis

2006

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17 APR 2007

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ABSTRACT

A Social and Historical Interpretation of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae

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PhD Thesis, 2006

The following thesis analyses a dataset of 436 Egyptian votive stelae dating to the Ramesside period (1295-1069 BCE), from six sites: Deir el Medina at Thebes (264 stelae), non-Deir el Medina stelae (55) from the Theban area, Abu Simbel (21 stelae) and Wadi es-Sebua (15 stelae) in Lower Nubia, Qantir/Pi-Ramesses in the eastern Delta (74 stelae) and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (7 stelae) in the Libyan desert. The stelae were drawn from published catalogues of museum collections, excavation reports, individual publications, and photographs supplied by institutions and researchers where no published image existed.

The thesis presents the votive stelae as the end result of defined social practices, exploring the role of votive stelae as social artifacts which, through image, text and materiality, are active agents in transmitting information on individual and group social status and identity, normative social structure, and alternate social organisation. The stelae are analysed according to the iconographic content, status- or function-related information (title and/or clothing of the dedicator), and original location, or context, of the stela. These elements are understood to provide information on the social context for the utilisation of stelae in Ramesside Egypt. Central to the thesis is a reading of the representations as coded references to actual events, or practices. The examination requires an analysis of the social and representational conventions within which the stelae and their representations were created. The methodology is initially tested against the core dataset of Deir el Medina stelae, followed by a comparative analysis of the non-Deir el Medina stelae from Thebes, and the remaining four geographically distant sites.

The thesis reveals the form, use and production of votive stelae are related to royal activity and sanctions, and promulgate the shifting central ideology and structure. The votive stelae can also, when the iconography is decoded, be linked to specific events, illuminating the local social milieu of the communities studied, and their internal social organisation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Penny Wilson, my supervisor, for her expert guidance, support, encouragement and access to unpublished material, throughout the period of my research, which has helped enormously in bringing this project together. I would also like to thank Graham Phillip, my second supervisor, for his comments and suggestions. Others in the Department of Archaeology at Durham have been generous with their time and expertise. In particular I would like to thank Rachael Dann for her advice and suggestions on archaeological theory and identity, Tom White for his meticulous proof-reading, and Jeff Veitch (Photography) for his assistance with digital photography and all things technical. Ed Welch (Department of French, University of Durham) offered useful advice and references on Pierre Bourdieu.

Outside of Durham, I must also thank Kenneth Kitchen (University of Liverpool) for his generous provision of forthcoming publication material and useful references, and Chris Naunton (Egypt Exploration Society) for his swift response to book requests and bibliographic queries, his offers of assistance in the final stages of the writing, and his unfailing sanity and good humour.

This research has been assisted by a number of individuals and institutions who have provided photographs of unpublished material: Bettina Schmitz (Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim), Catherine Bridonneau (Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes, Louvre), Klaus Finneiser (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Antje Spiekermann (Ägyptisches Museum, Leipzig), Ove Kaneberg (Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm), Helen Whitehouse (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), Itma Wetgartner (Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg), Maarten J. Raven (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden), Helen Nicoll (National Museums of Scotland), Sally-Ann Ashton (The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), Claudia Faras (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Igor Uranic (Zagreb Museum), Sylvie Taj (Musée Denon, Ville de Chalon-sur-Saone), Alessandra Uncini (Monumenti Musei E Gallerie Pontificie, Vatican City), Simon Eccles (The Burrell Collection, Glasgow), Marie Wallet (Musées de Cannes), Istvan Nagy (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest), Brigitte Raab (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), Richard Fazzini (Brooklyn Museum of Art), Sara Demichelis (Museo Egizio, Turin), and the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Pisa.

On a lighter note, all my fellow postgraduate students in rooms 016 and 001 have provided friendship, support and distraction over the last two years, especially and in no particular order, Ed Cork, Beccy Scott, Matt Whincop, Rosa Spencer, Lyn Gatland, Simon Alderson, Charlotte Henderson, Sarah Wells and Paola Ponce. In addition, this research has been eased along by the regular Wednesday gatherings: you know who you are...

Many thanks to my parents, who have never once wondered out loud why I would give up a good job to pursue research, and to Auntie Kath, without whom none of this would have been possible.

And to Meena, beautiful creature.

*"Giving praise to Amun,
That I may make hymns for him in his name.
I give him praise as high as the sky,
as wide as the earth,
I tell of his power to who(soever) sails north or south,
-beware of him!
Repeat it to son and daughter,
to great and small.
Tell of it to generation (upon) generation,
Who are still unborn.
Tell it to the fishes in the deep,
And to the birds in the sky*

...
I shall make this stela in your name, and I shall fix for you in writing, this hymn upon it"

Stela Berlin 20377 of the Draftsman in the Place of Truth, Nebre
(Kitchen 2000: 444-446)

Introduction

Ramesseide period votive stelae are the material manifestation and record of a select repertoire of social practices, and of social identity. Traditionally studied for their religious content, and genealogical and prosopographical information, their complex multi-functional nature remains largely unexplored. As inscribed private monuments, transmitting information via text, image, and iconography, and by means of their materiality and original location, the stelae encode a multi-layered message about the dedicator, his/her place in society, and the structure of that society. The stelae are an aspect of Egyptian 'self-presentation', defined by Baines as a genre that encompasses both visual and textual media, and reflects social practice: such monuments 'existed in a social context that must have included ceremonies and performances in which a person's self was presented' (2004: 35).

The nature of votive stelae

Votive stelae were set up during an individual's lifetime. They depict one or more individuals interacting directly, or by means of a higher ranking intermediary, with a divine hypostasis: a statue, relief or symbol. Reading votive stelae only as an iconographic representation of the relationship of an individual with a deity ('personal piety', see *Section 1.3*) is reductive; it interprets the form the information takes (Morris 1992: 165), and not the intent, or encoded content. Whilst such a reading may inform about changes in iconographic convention, which in themselves do reflect social structure (Morris 1992: 3; 155), it ignores less obvious – to us – , but no less central, messages regarding the individual and his/her society.

The stelae are not, however, a direct record of any one event or person. The information they transmit is encoded within a strict set of conventions. In order to discover the original event or process behind its final manifestation in the stela, an attempt must be made to unravel the conventions, and understand the rules on which the conventions are based. Given our almost complete lack of social and historical context for private votive monuments, such an unraveling must start with the monument itself. A stela, as the material marker of a set of social processes, must be deconstructed to reveal the processes that it symbolizes.



Theoretical context

The forthcoming analysis of the votive stelae can be situated within discussions of identity and agency, and archaeology and text, of the last 20 years. The analysis also draws on the approaches of the New Historians, and Classical scholars, which are discussed in *Section 1.8, Approaches to private epigraphic monuments and the writing of social histories*. Archaeological and social theory is discussed explicitly at the start and end of the thesis; aspects of the theory are implicit throughout.

(i) Votive stelae and their relationship to the discussions of archaeology and text

Recent archaeological debate has considered the role of archaeologists and historians in historical periods, and the need for collaborative working, rather than the institutionalised separation of past evidence into artefact/archaeology and text/history (see, for example, Moreland 2001; Woolf 2002; Sauer 2004). The division of evidence results in certain categories of artefacts to remain relatively unexamined, in particular, inscribed, 'ritual' monuments, such as funerary monuments or votive stelae (Morris 1992: 165; Meskell 2002: 8). Votive stelae have perhaps not received detailed attention beyond their perceived role in the phenomenon known as 'personal piety' due to their nature as artifact, text and image: they cross contemporary boundaries of categorization.

Text, and to a lesser extent representation, are often perceived as supplying the meaning of the artefact (Moreland 2001: 98). Inscriptions and representations are often studied separately, and the artefactual context may even be ignored. Such decontextualisation at the level of genre or form can lead to overemphasis on individual elements of the whole, in particular in relation to inscriptions, which have, traditionally, been given an elevated position in academia (Woolf 2002: 53; Sauer 2004: 24). The inscriptions do not serve simply to convey information, in the way that language and texts are often used today. In the case of Egyptian monuments, the inscriptions are frequently either so generic as to convey minimal specific information (Pinch 1993: 98), or they are inscribed on artefacts in locations which would have been hard to read, or, indeed, invisible (Baines 2004: 35). Related to this is the fact that few of the individuals who viewed the inscription at any point in its production or installation would have been able to read it - though this is perhaps less the case in relation to the Deir el Medina stelae whose owners were more likely to have been literate. Some stelae texts do record

specific information, for example, regarding an individual's confessions of 'sin' and requests for forgiveness (Borghouts 1982b: 5-10). Borghouts' study (1982b) of manifestations of divine *b3w* exemplifies the dense religious landscape the Egyptians inhabited (Baines 2001), and the variety of means available to interact with the divine, or overcome negative divine influence on an individual's life. Borghouts cites a number of stelae that he believes relate to interaction with divine *b3w*, alongside various other artifacts, spells and so on, that were used in the same context. The stelae, therefore, are not the only medium through which one could interact with the divine, but will have been chosen as a record of divine interaction for other reasons, such as the material form of the stela, its enduring nature, and the cultural or symbolic value of its form and content, the text and images, which were equally as significant as the pietistic content.

In addition, the inscriptions may relate to an oral, public presentation at their installation (Baines 2004: 35), that is, to formal social and ritual practice (see Kessler 1999). Gilchrist divides (2004: 150) ritual activity into two categories: performance and inscription. The votive stelae are the 'inscription' that relates to ritual practice. Baines has noted that such a concept is easy to envisage in texts relating to tombs, given our understanding of funerary rituals, 'but is unknown in detail for statues and stelae set up in temples' (2004: 5), where no contemporary comparative context exists.

These practical uses of text, as record and message, should not, however, be privileged over symbolic uses of writing (Beard 1991: 37). The use of text was as an indicator of status: writing in ancient Egypt was restricted to elite contexts (Baines 1983: 580). Discussing the function of the written word in Roman religious contexts, Mary Beard (1991) stresses the importance of the naming of the individual and the deity in the inscriptions found in chapels, both as graffiti and on portable artefacts. She defines the function of these inscriptions as assertions of membership of paganism, which would be expressed in practice (participation in ritual), but made permanent through inscription. The naming of the individual and the deity make a statement regarding an individual's own enduring position in relation to the deity, a relationship extending beyond the needs of a particular occasion – hence the frequent lack of specificity. In the majority of cases, the primary purpose of the inscription was neither to record a specific act, nor to be read,

but to fix one's relationship to the divine (Beard 1991: 47-48) in an elite, exclusive, permanent, magical medium.

In the forthcoming analysis the focus is on the representations, not the texts, as the record of events and identity. As with the use of inscriptions, access to, and use of, images relating to the central ideology, the king and the gods, was limited to elite contexts. Such images were not freely available, and, when they appear on private monuments, they carry a great cultural weight. They are also indicative of a change in decorum in relation to the use of restricted images, a phenomenon that has been noted for the Ramesside period.

The thesis proposes that the representations on votive stelae can be regarded as records of events and social practices (see *Section 1.6* and *Chapter 4*). The argument is based on an interpretation of stela representations as frequently closer in content to private tomb representations than to temple decoration, though still controlled by accepted representational decorum in form. The combination of strict convention and freer content forces a careful reading of the iconography to elucidate the event or process recorded. The stela representations are complex iconographic messages rather than photographic representations of actual events (see Pinch 1993: 336-339).

One of the messages conveyed by the representations on votive stelae is an individual's level of 'divine access', or, access to the central ideology, represented as direct interaction with a deity (Podeman Sørensen 1989; see *Section 1.4*). The representation of divine access is an expression of social status presented via text, image and monument.

(ii) Votive stelae and their relationship to identity, agency and social structure

Agency: definition

There are numerous definitions of agency (see Dobres and Robb 2000: 9; Chapman 2003: 65-66). In this discussion, agency is defined as the motivations and actions of agents (Dobres and Robb 2000: 8), who may be individuals or social groups, which can be discerned in the archaeological record, that is, in the material culture.

Identity: definition

Contemporary analysis of identity focuses on the concept of 'self-identity', of identity at an individual, and psychological, level. In the archaeological record, in both pre-historic and historic archaeology, it is almost impossible to discern individual identity at such a level of precision (for an attempt, see Meskell 1999). In this thesis, identity refers to two concepts: individual identity at the superficial level of name, title and family relations; and formal group identity within a community (Meskell and Preucel 2004: 125; see also, Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1). Identity is discussed at the level of social identity and the marking of social status.

Social structure: definition

Social structure is the normative, ideal constitution of society, created and recreated by beliefs, practices and their material manifestation in iconography, architecture, institutions and language. Social organization is the everyday reality of social relationships, which may not have an official context for expression, and is, as a result, harder to discern in the archaeological record.

Agency and structure have been central to the theoretical archaeological debate since the 1980's reaction to processual archaeology and its adherence to systems theory (Meskell and Preucel 2004: 7; Babić 2005: 73). At the centre of the debate is the work of the social theorists, Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. Giddens' structuration theory (1984) proposed that the action, and its manifestation in material culture, of individuals and social groups, is constrained by, and contributes to, social structure (Dobres and Robb 2000: 5; Cowgill 2000: 51; Chapman 2003: 65; Hodder 2004: 51). Giddens suggested (1984: 17) that social systems do not have 'structures' but that their structure exists in practices, and as memory traces which orient the conduct of knowledgeable human agents. He also makes an important distinction between what an agent does, and what s/he intended, which can have very different consequences (1984: 10). Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus' (1980: 88-91) foregrounds everyday social practice as central to shaping society (Dobres and Robb 2000: 5; Gilchrist 2004: 146; Babić 2005: 75). The structure/agency debate has to date mainly focused on prehistoric archaeologies but is especially relevant to historical archaeologies where the actions of the individual can be 'seen' by means of inscribed monuments (Woolf 2002: 54).

Both Giddens and Bourdieu emphasise the role of agents in shaping and maintaining the society in which they live, by means of social, symbolic and material structures, institutions, habitation and belief (Dobres and Robb 2000: 8; see also Turner 1969: 117). In ancient Egypt, representation was controlled by a set of conventions, termed decorum, which 'bar certain types of representation from associating freely and occurring freely in different contexts' (Baines 1985: 277). The system of representational decorum was defined in the context of temples, which represented, architecturally and iconographically, the Egyptian state ideology of the centrality of the kingship: the king is represented within the sacred spaces repeatedly offering to the gods, in his role as intermediary between the people and the gods. The system of representational decorum also occurs in tombs and on portable monuments of private individuals, upholding and disseminating the centrality of the kingship, the state ideology. Decorum does not act as a structure imposed from outside, but rather represents a constant (re-)enactment and (re)assertion of ideology (Baines 1990: 21; 1994b: 88). Use of such conventions by private individuals on their monuments can be set in the context of Giddens' duality of structure: the conventions support and maintain social structure. The stelae 'connect with the collective past, are active in the present and actively create the future' (Gilchrist 2002: 150). The level of convention displayed on a stela is a public statement of the dedicator's relationship *vis-à-vis* the central ideology. It indicates that the dedicator has knowledge of such conventions, as well as an ability to use them.

The use of material culture has been termed 'consumption' (Miller 1995). Miller notes that '[t]he structure of consumption is the key to the reproduction of class relations' and that this, conversely 'provides a novel mechanism by which analysts could study social relations in some objectified form' (1995: 267). The aspect of an individual's social identity that is clearly marked on stelae, on every level, from the explicit (the inclusion of the title) to the implicit (the form and content), is his, less frequently her, social status. Differentiating social groups and relationships between them, and influential individuals within them, creates the network of social relationships that constitutes social structure (Service 1971; Chapman 2003: 34). On occasion the social networks cut across the expected hierarchical structure and express social organization. A recent definition of social status defines it as 'an individual's position in society, in the narrow sense referring to one's legal or professional standing within a group (as married, as a lieutenant), and in a broader sense as referring to an individual's value and importance

in the eyes of the world' (de Botton 2004: 3). This succinctly describes the two aspects of social status marked by the votive stelae.

Votive stelae are a material manifestation of agency working within emphatic social constraints. Identity at an individual, superficial, level can be discerned in personal content of the stelae – inclusion of name and title, family, colleagues, the hypostasis. In many past societies, ancient Egypt included, to be individual in the contemporary sense of different, 'other', was not a desired state. There was little or no public context for the expression of desires or activities contrary to the social norm (but see Baines 1986). Rather, people desired to be a successful participant in normative society. Individual identity was exhibited in terms of sameness, rather than difference (Meskell and Preucel 2004: 151). Votive stelae as public monuments belong to the sphere of state ideology; it is unlikely that they will deliberately reference alternative ideologies. Within this ideology individuals used votive stelae, and other private monuments, in particular mortuary monuments (Morris 1992: 165; Meskell and Preucel 2004: 125) as a means of negotiating their social position, or status, both for their contemporary audience, and for the hereafter (Baines 1994: 75; Foxhall 1994, 1995; Woolf 1996).

Themes

The thesis presents groups of votive stelae as the end result of defined social practices. Central to the thesis is a reading of the representations as coded references to actual events. The examination requires an analysis of the social and representational conventions within which the stelae and their representations were created. It explores the role of votive stelae as social artefacts which, through image, text and materiality, are active agents in transmitting information on individual and group social status and identity, normative social structure, and alternate social organisation.

Structure

Following a discussion of approaches to stelae studies, the thesis is structured around an analysis and discussion of a core body of material from Deir el Medina. A comparative analysis follows, focusing on smaller groups of material from Abu Simbel, Wadi es-Sebua, Qantir/Pi-Ramesses and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, with a closing discussion.

Definition of terms

Personal piety: individual rather than corporate piety centred on one or more of the state gods (Pinch 1993: 325), and incorporating domestic versions of such cults.

Popular religion: beliefs and practices of the Egyptian people themselves, outside of the endowed, state-run, secluded official temple cults (Sadek 1987: 2).

Private: non-royal.

Public: referring to civic or communal contexts.

Votive stela: a stela dedicated to a deity or deities, living or deceased kings, or elite individuals, by private individuals in this life, in the hope of benefits in this life and the next (after Pinch 1993: 83), and to act as a record of the act of access to the deity in various contexts. In this sense they are also commemorative.

A note on the dating of the stelae

Ramesside period votive stelae are principally dated on stylistic grounds, and the inclusion of identified kings, high-ranking officials and individuals. Many individuals from Deir el Medina are well-known by means of texts and monuments, and their period of service securely dated (see Davies 1999). The inclusion of representations of royal statues is not an effective tool for dating, given that many of the stelae depict cult statues of dead kings. More precise dating using a more extensive set of criteria (for example, changes in paleography, orthography, the writing of formulae) along the lines of the dating that is now possible for Middle Kingdom stelae (see Obsomer 1993), is not at this stage possible as New Kingdom stelae have not received the same level of attention.

The initial dating of the stelae in this thesis has been based on the above mentioned criteria, together with a consideration of the date given by the museum or publication. Some stelae have, by the end of the analysis, been re-dated or more precisely dated, by means of identification of the owner, comparison with similar examples, or their clear association with known or surmised historical events. This is the date that is included in the database.

One group of stelae remains problematic: the stelae dated to Ramesses II from Pi-Ramesses/Qantir. The stelae from this site that represent a statue of Ramesses II have been dated to the king's reign, based on the assumption that the cult of these statues was primarily active during the reign. The assumed date of all the Pi-Ramesses stelae depicting statues of Ramesses II may prove to be incorrect, as the cults of various statues of Ramesses II are known to have continued long after his reign (see, for example, Černý 1969). For the present the assumed date must stand for the thesis.

Chapter 1: Stelae studies

1.1 Introduction

Stelae studies is the area of scholarship devoted to the analysis of private funerary, votive and commemorative stelae. This discussion outlines the different approaches to stelae: typological, religious, social, individual (in the sense of detectable agency) and political, with an extended discussion of the Middle Kingdom Abydos stelae, which provide one of the richest pre-New Kingdom corpuses of material.

Early writers frequently did not differentiate between votive and funerary stelae and between these and false doors, resulting in confusion in the terminology. In this discussion, 'false door' refers to the large architectural proto- and actual false doors found in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom tombs; 'funerary stela' refers to stelae from a funerary context decorated with representations of the deceased, the offering formula, and, by the later Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, depictions of afterlife deities; 'votive stela' refers to Middle and New Kingdom stelae from civic and domestic (for example, temple precincts, houses) contexts, depicting an individual adoring or offering to a (predominantly) non-afterlife god, the majority of which do not include the offering formula. Many of the votive stelae may, in fact, be commemorative, particularly those from Abydos (Simpson 1974; O'Connor 1985; Kessler 1999: 176, n. 8; see *Section 1.7*), a point which will be argued throughout this thesis.

The discussion concentrates on studies of the evolution of stelae and false doors up to and including the Ramesside period, which forms the focus of this study. The stelae of the Late Period and Graeco-Roman period are not included; work on such monuments from these periods has been predominantly directed toward the funerary stelae and changing funerary customs.¹

1.2 Typologies, iconography, dating of pre-New Kingdom stelae – a brief overview

During the early to mid 20th century, studies of stelae focused on typological analyses of early stelae and false doors (Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom), and dating, by means of iconography and texts, of later stelae (First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom). New Kingdom stelae were regarded as a continuation of Middle Kingdom stelae in function, with some small innovations in form (Vandier 1954: 498). Sadék

describes them as 'innumerable merely conventional stelae' (1987: 43). New Kingdom stelae only received particular attention through the study of the phenomenon now known as 'personal piety' (see *Section 1.3*).

Rusch (1923) and Müller (1933) proposed structural typologies of stelae and false doors to establish sequence dating of the monuments for the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. The inflexibility and lack of geographic and social influence of, in particular, Rusch's system, have been critiqued, by the author himself (Rusch 1923: 115; 124) and later writers (Wiebach 1981: 21; Strudwick 1985: 8). Vandier's rigid categorisation of stelae from the Old to the New Kingdoms (1954 II.1: 389-523), based on form and content, is typical of the typological approach to such artefacts. The typological discussion fed into the debate surrounding the location, structure and function of Early Dynastic funerary stelae from Abydos and Memphis, and the relationship of funerary stelae to false doors (Vandier 1952: 724-774; Shoukry 1958; Wiebach 1981: 64-65; Malaise 1984: 393-396).

The abundance of Middle Kingdom stelae, principally from Abydos, has produced numerous studies of the iconography, formulae, texts and representations, with the emphasis on dating the stelae (for a summary see Obsomer 1993; recent work has been carried out by Vernus 1991; Brovarski 1994 and Spanel 1996). Marée (1993) has synthesised the established dating criteria for late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period stelae, and demonstrates the precision now possible in the dating of stelae from this period. Such close analysis allows Marée to draw conclusions on the workshops where the stelae were produced, and even to identify the style and characteristics of an individual sculptor (1993: 16). Working in the same vein, Freed has employed 'art historical methodology' (1981: 68) to assign Middle Kingdom Abydene stelae to workshop groups (1996: 297-336). As with pure typologies, art historical analysis can fix an artefact in time or place, determining precise provenances and periods of production, even down to the artist's hand, but it is less informative with regard to broader contextual information, be it archaeological or social.

1.3 'Personal Piety'

New Kingdom votive stelae take centre stage in stela studies with the discussion of the phenomenon known as 'personal piety' (Quirke 1992: 135-138), the direct relationship or

interaction of an individual with a god (for a recent discussion and definition of this term, see Morgan 2004: 57-65). A small number of studies of New Kingdom votive stelae have looked at social issues (Kessler 1999; Frood 2003; Duquesne 2005). The majority of votive stelae commonly regarded as expressing the phenomenon of 'personal piety' are provenanced to Deir el Medina. These votive stelae have been read as symbolic representations of a personal relationship with a deity, and are said to indicate a new personal piety (Assmann 2001: 231ff.) or give expression to an existing concept that had previously lacked appropriate articulation (Gunn 1916: 93-94; Quirke 1992: 135; Kessler 1999: 174, 181; Baines 2001: 2; 4). Posener (1975) discusses pre-Amarna expressions of personal piety on ostraca (see also Sadek 1987: 293).

Gunn's 1916 article, 'The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt', is one of the earliest treatments of the concept of personal piety, and of the votive stelae from Deir el Medina. The article discusses the texts of a number of the stelae and sets them within a biblical construct of sin and humility, interpreting them as purely religious documents. The texts on the stelae are not treated as products of their society, but are set within an abstract and implied Christian religious framework, that is, set within an overtly western Christian tradition. Gunn states that '[i]n these memorial and votive stones we find the manifestation of a religious emotion for which we shall look in vain at any earlier or later period in Egypt, until Christian times' (1916: 93).

A traditionally religious interpretation of New Kingdom votive stelae can be seen in the work of Sadek (1987) who surveyed New Kingdom votive stelae to establish the existence of 'popular' as opposed to state cults throughout Egypt. Sadek focuses on identifying the cults, and the forms of expression of worship. He does not discuss the stelae dedicators, or owners, apart from a brief note on rank (1987: 45-46), nor any context for the scenes represented on the stelae.

1.4 Private stelae and social status

Social and historical influences, such as the prevailing political situation, an individual's status, and agency in the form of expressions of identity and personal choice, have been identified by some scholars as influential in the development and use of stelae and false doors. In addition, analysis of the monuments has been set within the context of social convention, genre and representational decorum (Baines 2002: 4). Such an approach

forms the partial context for the analysis of Ramesside period votive stelae in the following chapters.

Social status as an influencing factor in the form of an individual's artefactual record has been discussed in relation to tomb size, particularly of the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom.² Wiebach's assessment of the function and development of the form of the false door (1981; 2001) takes into account aspects of social status such as gender. She notes, for example, that '[t]he cornice element – as a status symbol at the beginning – was used mainly for men; the first attested occurrence in a female tomb is that of Queen Nebet, wife of Unas' (2001: 498). Wiebach's analysis makes the important point that, though social status may well affect the form, design and size of tombs (2001: 500), the most revealing aspect of a tomb in terms of social status is its proximity to the royal burial (1981: 221; see also, Roth 1991: 111). This proximity of private monuments to state/royal monuments is central to social status in ancient Egypt.

Hermann's study of 18th Dynasty funerary stelae (1940) attempted to prove that it was the content of the stelae, that is, the inclusion of a representation of a deity, which correlated with the status of the individual (Hermann 1940: 45-48). Gods had first appeared on funerary and Abydene votive/commemorative stelae in the Middle Kingdom (Klebs 1915; Evers 1929: 74-84; Müller 1933: 196-199; Hermann 1940: 50-53; Pflüger 1947; Peterson 1965-1966; Malaise 1984). Their appearance has traditionally been interpreted as a representing a democratisation of religion, or the afterlife (Malaise 1984: 416; Quirke 1992: 155 ff.; Assmann 2001: 231 ff.), and indicating a change of function of funerary stelae from a memorial for the deceased to worship of the divine (Malaise 1984: 416). Using funerary and votive stelae from the Old Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period, Podemann Sørensen traces (1989: 109-125) an increase in defined types of divine access, or ritual participation, which demonstrate religious status - for example, the depiction of a deity on a stela suggests that the dedicator had a certain level of divine access. During the Old Kingdom, royal and religious status were one and the same; by the Middle Kingdom, religious status had become a separate phenomenon that could be acquired by private individuals through rank or profession (Podemann Sørensen 1989: 117), and displayed on votive monuments.

It has long been recognised that, in ancient Egypt, as in comparable ancient societies, religious activity cannot be separated from secular social activity (see for example, Baines 1987; Carless Hulin 1989; Morris 1992: 16; Stevens 2003: 168). Finnestadt has argued that religion is integrated into culture at all social levels 'and differentiated according to these' (1989: 73). Votive stelae, though outwardly religious in function and intent, also record social status within the constraints of the genre (Simpson 1982: 266-271; Baines 2002: 4).

1.5 Identity and personal choice

Wiebach argues (1981: 160; 163), after Hermann (1940: 54), that the inclusion of wedjat-eyes on false doors (see also Fischer 1964: 40; 1968: 226; 1976: 46) indicates that the deceased was regarded as immanent within the monument, and that the false door 'condenses and concentrates the personality of the deceased forever' (2001: 499). Vandier noted that 'les stèles égyptiennes sont, avant tout, des marques de propriété, qui précisent la personnalité du mort, et dans lesquelles l'esprit de généralisation n'a aucun rôle à jouer' (1952: 724). Both the multiple functionality (Frankfort 1948: 4; Wiebach 1981: 68) of such monuments, and the concept of the false door or funerary stela as representative of the identity of an individual extend to the later votive, or commemorative, stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms.

That funerary stelae and false doors may have been partially designed according to the personal taste of the owner has been suggested in relation to the varied style of Old Kingdom false doors from Giza (Hassan 1944: 81) and the non-standard content of their offering lists (Hassan 1933-1934: 124). These false doors express the interaction of royal favour, which granted the use of a false door, and elements of personal choice in their design. Reisner suggests (1936: 306) that such a combination may be the reason for the inclusion, or not, of the palace façade decoration in 3rd and 4th Dynasty tombs. Strudwick argues (1985: 19) that the expression of individuality, and of social status, on the false doors is the stimulus for variants in the panel scene, where family or sculptural traditions introduce unusual poses, or include the tomb owner's wife as a mark of special affection (Malaise 1977: 193). Malaise attempted to discover (1977) whether the pose of the women on Middle Kingdom funerary stelae reflected their status. He identified (1977: 185) three positions that the women could take on the stelae: seated or standing, the man touching the woman; not touching; or facing (sometimes in separate

compartments), which indicated degrees of emancipation. He concludes (1977: 188), however, that aesthetic values, rather than status related considerations, were the more likely influence on the final form, and (1977: 193) that personal affection could influence the pose in which a woman was shown. Malaise also suggests (1977: 189) that individuals could take centre stage on their monuments in a way that they did not in reality, thus presenting an alternate desired, or ideal, existence (compare Morris 1992: 165).

1.6 Private monuments and the political situation

In the discussions of funerary architecture, false doors and funerary stelae, structural differences are related to social status and decoration is associated with personal choice or local tradition. In his study of First Intermediate Period funerary stelae from Naga ed-Deir, however, Dunham states that 'there seems to be no relation between the rank of the owner, as indicated by his titles, and the quality of the workmanship of his stela' (1937: 119). Returning to the same corpus of material for his PhD thesis (1989), Brovarski demonstrated that, by accurately dating the stelae by means of both epigraphic and iconographic criteria (1989: 161 ff.), the apparent inconsistency of rank and quality can be related to the prevailing political situation and not to personal choice or a disregard for quality. It seems that private monuments were at any one period created to the highest quality attainable dependent on available resources, not least access to court trained craftsmen. Periods of political stability produce higher quality monuments (Brovarski 1989: 971-976). Freed states that 'private stelae from the reigns of Amenemhat I, Sesostri I, and Amenemhat II provide a rich illustration of the art historical creativity of the time and mirror its political changes' (1996: 334; see *Section 1.2*). The work of Brovarski and Freed demonstrates that, whilst personal choice cannot be ruled out in relation to the quality and style of a private stela, other factors are clearly influential on perceived variations.

Historical context or event may impact on New Kingdom votive/commemorative stelae in a more direct way. Schulman has argued (1988: 4-5) that at least two of the scenes found on New Kingdom votive stelae are representations of actual events: the pharaoh smiting scene and the giving of reward gold by the king. Schulman interprets the pharaoh smiting scene as follows: 'While [the smiting scenes] obviously presented the timeless truth of the triumph of the king at all times over all of his foes, they must also

have illustrated a specific act in a specific ceremony at a specific point in time' (1988: 47). He goes on to assert (1988: 194–196; see also 1980: 101–102) that many more popular scenes from the New Kingdom votive stelae repertoire could also be recordings of historical events – additional scenes which include a king, as his examples do, and scenes without a king. Schulman's work has been criticised by Baines (1991; see also Müller-Wollermann 1988), who prefers to see the stelae as having a religious context or as works of art, or to combine these approaches, rather than as solely commemorative of historical events, an interpretation which he regards as reductive. Stelae are 'more complex works of art than Schulman would allow...they merge categories of time and space, and... in many cases one should not seek literal connections between text and picture' (1991: 92). The following chapters demonstrate that, whilst votive stelae are indeed complex works of art, merging 'categories of time and space', the motive for their creation, a single event, can often be discerned by a careful reading of their intrinsic design and associated social context.

1.7 Abydos in the Middle Kingdom: the stelae

By the Middle Kingdom an independent stela had emerged that contained and represented the individual. The stelae are represented in their hundreds at Abydos (see, for example, Mariette 1880; Lange and Schäfer 1925). The Abydene Middle Kingdom stelae function as the prototype for the Ramesside votive/commemorative stelae discussed here, and the starting point for this study.

Ancient interest in Abydos stemmed from its function as the cult centre of first Khentymenytw and then Osiris, and the association of the living king with the dead Osiris, believed from the Middle Kingdom to be buried in a tomb of Djer on the Umm el Qa'ab (Otto 1968).

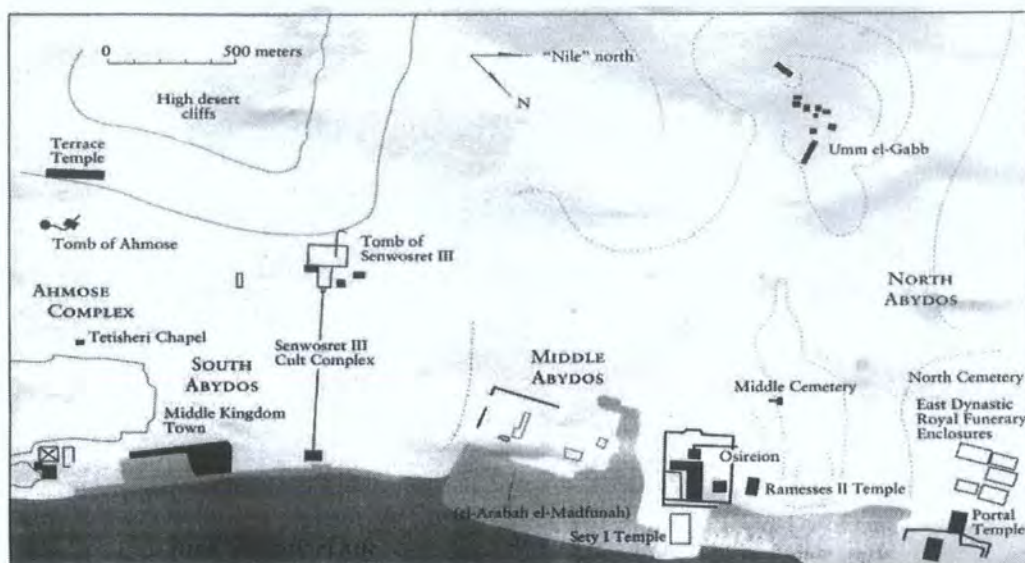


Figure 1: Abydos (Source: Redford (ed.) 2001 I: 8)

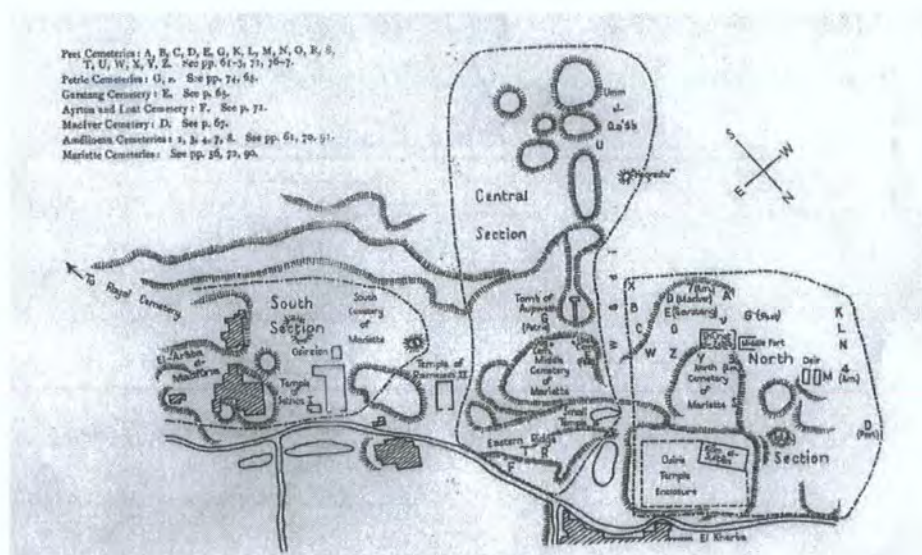


Figure 2: The Abydos cemeteries (Source: Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112)

In the 19th century Abydos became one of the principal targets of treasure hunters such as Anastasi, d'Athanasi, Drovetti and Passalacqua (Leahy 1977: 9 and references; also, Simpson 1974: 5-6 and references), resulting in the loss of context for the stelae. In

addition, during early scientific excavations, neither Mariette, nor his deputy Gabet, were normally present during work at Abydos (Leahy 1977: 12), allowing less than precise records of artefact provenance to be kept.³ Frankfort noted that the stelae he discovered 'were all found loose in the drift sand or re-used as paving stones in Late tombs but never in connection with the tomb for which they were intended' (1928: 235). This can be said to be the case for the majority of the Abydos stelae. Of note is the fact that Mariette recorded removing stelae that had been found leaning against the temple enclosure wall. Maspero, continuing the work, confirmed their location (Maspero 1916: 336-337; Simpson 1974: 10, n. 43). O'Connor believes these stelae had in fact been reused, and were not free-standing votive stelae, as the enclosure wall post-dates the Middle Kingdom (O'Connor 1985: 166, n. 9; 167-168, n. 18). Ramesside period votive stelae, however, have been discovered leaning against temple enclosure walls at Wadi es Sebuia in Lower Nubia (Barsanti 1911; see *Section 5.3.2.1*) and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham in the Western Desert (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*; see *Section 5.3.4.1*).

The work of Simpson (1974) and O'Connor (1985) as part of the Pennsylvania-Yale Archaeological Expedition to Abydos (1967-present), has demonstrated that the hundreds of stelae from the site are commemorative, in that they represent an individual's visit or stand in lieu of that person's actual presence, rather than funerary, as they were initially assumed to be. This has led to the question of who was erecting monuments at Abydos, that is, who had this very real 'divine access'. By extension, it may be possible to examine what controls, if any, there might have been on commemoration at Abydos, and how such controls may be detected.

Simpson (1974), taking up Müller's observation (1933: 193), that inscriptions and formulae relating to single individuals were spread across more than one Abydene stela, explored the concept of stelae groups associated with chapels ('cenotaphs') rather than tombs. He put together groups of stelae that may have come from single chapels, constructed in the area, 'outside of and abutting on the northern end of the western enclosure wall of the Osiris-Wepwawet precinct', referred to in the inscriptions as the *rwdw n ntr ʿ3* in the *wʿrt ʿ3t n hmhmt* ('Terrace of the Great God' in the 'District Great of Renown'; Simpson 1974: 1-2). This area stands at one end of the processional way which extends along the wadi from the temple to the Umm el Qa'ab (Leahy 1977: 267-285; 1989: 52-54; Wegner 2001: 9-10) and would have allowed actual or metaphorical

viewing of the Osiris mysteries that took place along this route (Schäfer 1904; Satzinger 1969: 129; Leahy 1989).

In the 1969 season, the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition discovered a 12th Dynasty chapel/cenotaph with its stela still in place and no associated burial structure, though Simpson suggested (1974: 9) that a shaft may be located outside of the chapel. O'Connor argued (1985: 164 ff.) for the existence of such cenotaphs in the mud brick structures discovered below the Portal of Ramesses II in the same area as the Middle Kingdom stratigraphic level (1985: figs. 2, 5, 6; pl. 1). He stated that 'the "cenotaphs" ... are not associated with burials' (1985: 170) – two test pits did not discover a burial shaft, and O'Connor believed the structures to be too crowded together to allow for burials.

The issue of access to commemoration close to the processional way at Abydos was raised by Satzinger (1969) in his publication of the early 12th Dynasty stela of Ipuy, no. 26/66 in the Berlin Museum collection. This stela contains the classic Abydos formula of *sn t3 n hnty-imntyw m prt 3t, m33 nfrw (nw) wp-w3wt m prt tpt (in NN)* ('Kissing the ground for Khenty-Imentyw in the Great Procession, seeing the beauties (of) Wepwawet in the First Procession (by NN)'), which Satzinger interprets (1969: 126; 129-130) as witnessing the rituals associated with the Abydene gods. Satzinger defines (1969: 127) the function of stelae containing this formula as representing their dedicators and allowing them to partake, *in absentia* and for eternity, in the rites.

On the Berlin stela it is not Ipuy, the dedicator, who is the actor in the formula, but a man called Nesu-montu who has the titles *iry-p3t h3ty-3 sd3wty-bity smr-w3ty imy-r m33* ('Prince, Nomarch, Seal-bearer, Sole Friend, General'); Ipuy is a mere *whmw* ('Messenger'). Ipuy is using an intermediary to allow him (and his family, who are listed on the stela) to partake in the rituals. Satzinger lists 15 other Middle Kingdom stelae with the formula *m33 nfrw (nw) wp-w3wt*. Stela Cairo JdE 20516 also has a high official as an intermediary for a man of lower rank; the other 14 belong either to priests or high-ranking officials. This same formula occurs on the stela BM101 (Porter and Moss 1937 V: 96) of Nebipusenwosret ('Keeper of the Diadem and Henchman of the House'; Blackman 1935: 4), a resident of Memphis who had the stela (perhaps granted by royal favour?) sent from Thebes at the time of a royal festival (Blackman 1935: 5). The stela has a pair of wedjat-eyes inscribed centrally on it enabling Nebipusenwosret 'to witness the Osirian

mysteries' (Blackman 1935: 7). The stela of Sankhptah (BM833), a Seal-bearer (*sd3wtj-bity*) in the reign of Rahotep (17th Dynasty) depicts the king as the intermediary, the earliest known example of the king in this role, in the ceremony of *m33 nfrw (nw) wp-w3wt* for the stela owner and his family (Clère 1982). These Abydene stelae demonstrate the use of intermediaries of varying status to allow access to restricted rituals. They also demonstrate status by association with the intermediaries for the stelae dedicators.

Mediation, or patronage, on stelae can also take a different form. Leprohon discusses (1978) the people mentioned in Simpson's ANOC (Abydos North Offering Chapel) group 1, and disentangles a group of people linked, either through family or profession, to the Overseer of the Treasury (*imy-r pr-hd*), Ikhnofret. He interprets Ikhnofret as generously allowing a man of lesser rank, Minhotep, to set up a stela for himself in his patron's chapel, and in return Minhotep dedicates the offering formula (*htp-di-nsw*) to Ikhnofret. The pattern is repeated with a large group of other officials, as well as craftsmen (Leprohon 1978: 34). A similar situation occurs at Wadi es-Sebua in the 19th Dynasty (r. Ramesses II), where a group of soldiers dedicate stelae that have the King's Son of Kush, Setau, as the recipient of the offering formula (Pamminger 1996: 296-297; Raedler 2003; see Sections 5.3.2, 6.4).

There are well-documented examples of sculptors adding their names to stelae which they had produced for others (Miller 1937: 1-6; Leprohon 1978: 36; Snape 1986: 103-104). Craftsmen may have reduced the 'cost' of a stela if they could be included (Leprohon 1978: 36, with examples; Snape 1986: 103). There is then the question of the status of craftsmen working, in this case, in the funerary industry at Abydos. Faulkner published (1952) the large and good quality stela of the master sculptor (*imy-r gnwtj*) Shen, and his family (Los Angeles County Museum A.5141.50-876; Porter and Moss 1937 V: 67), dating to the 12th Dynasty. According to the inscription, Shen was buried at Abydos despite having probably originally come from the 18th Upper Egyptian nome. His Abydene burial suggests that the profession of sculptor was regarded as of high status, and this granted him the privilege of burial at Abydos.

The second formula discussed by Satzinger, *sn t3 n...*, has two examples of stela owners without titles using it, suggesting a disparity in status requirements for the use of the two Abydos formulae (Satzinger 1969: 127-129). Satzinger notes (1969: 129) that there are

many stelae of high ranking officials from Abydos that do not have this formula, and suggests that criteria other than titular rank, such as birth, profession or priestly office, may have allowed access to certain of the Osiris mysteries.

In terms of control of physical access to the sacred areas at Abydos, stela Cairo JdE35256 (Randall-McIver and Mace 1899-1901: 64, 84, 93, pl. XXIX) contains a royal edict protecting an area sacred to Wepwawet (Leahy 1989: 41). The edict is in the name of Neferhotep I, but Leahy has argued for the monument belonging to the reign of Khutawyre Ugaf, an earlier king of the 13th Dynasty (Leahy 1989: 41; 46-49). The edict states that anyone found within the protected area, which may be the wadi/processional way leading to the royal tombs (Leahy 1989: 52-54) or the North Cemetery area (Simpson cited in Snape 1986: 91), will be burnt (Leahy 1989: 43). Snape suggests that this stela is one example of a practice of policing the cemeteries at Abydos. A stela belonging to a Guardian of the Terrace of Abydos (*s3w rwdw n wsir*) was discovered by Garstang in tomb 316 A'07 (Snape 1986: 91). If this area is reserved for cenotaphs rather than burials, this title may relate to the issue of access to the Osiris rituals in the form of commemoration at Abydos.

Less official commemoration is evidenced by the small, poor-quality stelae from the subsidiary cenotaphs, which 'indicate very wide socio-economic diversity amongst the individuals privileged to be commemorated in this sacred area' (O'Connor 1985: 175-177). These small stelae resemble ostraca, but are inscribed with the offering formula and were found *in situ* set up against the rear wall of a miniature cenotaph (O'Connor 1985: 175-177).

The use of intermediaries and the inclusion of family and colleagues on stelae are phenomena related to divine access, and social status. Restricted official access to the Abydene cemeteries may have meant that the only way to be officially commemorated at Abydos, on a stela or in a chapel, was to include someone with 'Abydene status', such as a high ranking official or a priest, on the stela (Leprohon 1978: 36).

Some individuals, whether by rank or other means, had more divine access than others and could mediate for less fortunate individuals; the inclusion of family and colleagues allowed them to share in this mediated access and related social status. Leprohon's

suggestion (1978: 36) that 'simple piety, the real desire of a truly devout people to see close friends share in one of the most important religious acts of their time' hints at the social complexity of ritual participation in ancient Egypt.

1.8 Approaches to private epigraphic monuments and the writing of social histories

It is useful at this point to look at approaches to epigraphic monuments in related disciplines, in order to analyse and draw upon potentially relevant and applicable methodologies. Classical Studies presents an interesting comparison in the similarity, to a certain extent, of the inscribed data, and the difference in the resulting interpretation.

Egyptology and Classical Studies share a traditional divide between language scholars and archaeologists. This has led to a split between scholars focusing on linguistic analysis and those working with material culture, and a consequent lack of focus on the contextual information that may be discernible on inscribed monuments (Meskell 2002: 8). Morris has observed (1992: 165) that the ritual context of burial monuments, such as stelae, or other inscribed markers, falls into the gap. Egyptian votive/commemorative stelae also fit this category.

Over the last 30 years, however, Classical scholars have begun to use inscribed private monuments as sources for information for social and economic histories.⁴ Both the writing of such histories for Egypt and the use of private epigraphic sources have been regarded as problematic by Egyptologists. Meskell notes (2002: 14) that there are numerous books creating an overarching social history of ancient Egypt. They usually portray daily life in taxonomic frameworks, where scholars dwell on the élite and very few concentrate on the mortuary record as a possible source for life experience and inequality. Social approaches have been largely nomothetic, focussing on classes or groups, such as women (Meskell 2002: 14). Such histories of Egypt draw on sources covering wide time periods and geographical areas to produce a homogeneous picture of Egypt that reflects little of the length and complexity of the civilization.

The reluctance to write histories of ancient Egypt other than the traditional 'ordering of kings and listing of their deeds' has been discussed by Häggman (2002: 3). Häggman's approach to the administration of Deir el Medina attempts to use new historical methodologies, such as 'The New History'. The New History has been described as a

'total history', a deliberate reaction against traditional history which is concerned with politics – the state, war and the church (Burke 1991: 2). The New History is concerned with everyday life and human activity. It takes as central to our understanding of ancient society that perceived unchanging social activities are in fact cultural constructions subject to variation over time and space (Burke 1991: 3). The New History encompasses 'History From Below', a history written from the ordinary person's perspective of social change - Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* (1975), a description of a medieval village in southern France in the 1300s, based on inquisition records, is the best known example of this kind of work - , and 'Microhistory', a historiographical practice focusing on small scale analysis of documentary material (Häggman 2002: 3-9).

Häggman cites (2002: 3) *Ancient Egypt: a social history* (Trigger *et al* 1983) as one of the first examples of a 'new and less traditional' history of Egypt. There is still a reticence with regard to using all available sources. Introducing the chapter on the New Kingdom, O'Connor notes (Trigger *et al* 1983: 185) the mass of available data – settlements, temples, tombs - that reflect a wide range of socio-economic status and professions. Despite the richness of the data, there are gaps, and he observes that 'the total complexity of Egyptian society and history cannot be appreciated without fully representative samples of all the types of archaeological data' (1983: 185). He goes on to make a distinction between two types of textual data - archival material (papyrus and ostraca) and monumental texts (temple and tomb walls, and inscribed artefacts). He says:

The complementary character of the two main sets of textual data is vital for the reconstruction of Egyptian history. Despite frequent and useful inclusion of historical and biographical information, the fundamental purposes of most monumental texts are limited and religious. They are not concerned with the details of civil and religious government or of the ordering of social relationships (all of which are richly represented in papyri and ostraca). Addressed primarily to the gods, the monumental texts present a highly idealized version of Egyptian history and life. (1983: 186)

Whilst the idealized nature of monumental texts cannot be denied, in their very construction and expression they carry information on the society and individuals that

created them. In ancient Egypt religion is politics: temples act as architectural expressions of the king's role as intermediary between the populace and the gods, and the maintainer of Maat; private monuments create, recreate and reflect social structure and status, and living social networks of patronage and association (= social organisation). Arguably inscribed monuments are intimately linked to civil and religious government and the ordering of social relationships, albeit created within a strictly controlled set of conventions that may, to our eyes, initially conceal more than they reveal.

The controlled form and conventions of stelae and other monuments are in themselves an expression of the existing social structure (Morris 1987: 32-43), and these can form the object of a revealing study (Bodel 2001: 46). Egyptian private votive stelae inhabit a less official realm than that of the state temples, where fixed rules governed representation of the king and the gods to ensure the daily maintenance of Maat (Baines 1985: 277 ff.), yet they show remarkably little variation. In his study of New Kingdom votive stelae, Sadek found only seven examples of people shown not raising their arms in the standard 'adoring' posture (1987: 200-201). This suggests that rules of decorum governing two-dimensional representation were in operation, upheld by belief but also by social pressure (Meskell 1999: 178).

In his studies of Archaic Greek burials, Morris treats private monuments as status related social artefacts (1987; 1992; 1994; 2000), perhaps as a result of the lack of overt religious content. Such an approach has prompted an interpretation of the archaeology of the Greek and Roman world that emphasises the secular, that is, the economic, political and social. There is an absolute awareness of the methodological problems inherent in dealing with epigraphy and its often brief and formulaic manifestation: inscriptions (particularly epitaphs) are unrepresentative of society as a whole (Saller 2001: 100); such monuments will naturally present an ideal, due to their permanent nature, expense and the fact that they are public, if not always state, monuments (Bodel 2001: 46); and there is little or no information on the ritual or archaeological context (Morris 1992: 156). Saller states (2001: 100), however, that such caveats are true of almost all genres of evidence for the ancient world and should not deter historians from attempting to use this type of evidence to describe and analyse the broad characteristics of ancient society, such as the social status, structure and organisation (see also Morris

1987). Bodel comments (2001: 5) that, as long ago as 1815, Barthold Georg Niebuhr stated that inscriptions were essential primary sources. More importantly the onus is on archaeologists to interrogate the different types of texts, bearing in mind the significance of the monument as well as the message of the text.

An example of a social interpretation of private inscribed monuments can be found in the work of Ruth Leader. Leader reads (1997) Greek burial stelae from the 5th and 4th centuries BC as one of a range of visual constructions of gender. She rejects traditional approaches to stelae, wherein either the imagery is taken as expressing beliefs about death (the Christian influence) or where death and associated rituals are taken as a rite of passage (the influence of anthropology). Both of these approaches have led scholars to use funerary art to define the meaning of death (1997: 683). Leader states that, '[w]hile funerary art reveals a society's beliefs about the nature of death, many other social issues are raised by Athenian funerary monuments of the Classical period' (1997: 683). Similarly, in studies of ancient Egyptian private votive monuments, the religious content has heavily influenced interpretations of these monuments.

Saller (2001) applies a broad social interpretation to brief and formulaic Roman epitaphs, and demonstrates that, if interrogated, they can provide a wealth of information on the structure of families and society in the ancient world. He states that '[t]he fact that ancient Greeks and Romans habitually chose to represent themselves and their social relationships to posterity through the medium of inscribed texts offers the social historian special opportunities...[I]nscriptions provide a range of evidence over space, time and social class that classical literature cannot match. As a result, epigraphy is especially valuable in helping the social historian to understand the margins of society (actually the majority) as defined by literate aristocratic men...' (2001: 117).

Woolf discusses (1996) the motives behind setting up a private inscribed monument in the Roman world, and the function of that monument within its own cultural and historical setting. For him, identity emerges as the primary function: 'No simple formula exists for explaining why inscriptions were set up, but the desire to fix an individual's place within history, society, and the cosmos provides a plausible psychological background to "the epigraphic impulse"' (1996: 29). The inscriptions were intended to defy change and entrench a particular view of the self, for that individual's lifetime and for posterity (see

also Beard 1991). Monuments preserve identities in terms of qualities or virtues: conjugal affection, loyalty or patriotism; or personal achievements: embassies performed, military successes, magistracies or priesthoods held (1996: 32). The most obvious reason to set up a private monument is fear of oblivion, loss of the self (1996: 32), a common theme in ancient Egyptian thought. For example, in the Middle Kingdom story, 'A Dispute between a Man and his Ba' (Lichtheim 1975: 163-169), the Ba threatens to leave when the man longs for death, which would result in the man's annihilation. The Ba points out that if he stays with the man, 'Though you are dead, your name lives' (Lichtheim 1975: 165). In addition, Woolf observes (1996: 32) that the Roman world was one in which one's worth was publicly measured, that is, not by conscience or god. In ancient Egypt, tomb autobiographies record an individual's career achievements, reflecting what was regarded as a successful life. An individual could place himself within the cultural (and religious, social and sometimes political) tradition by means of the form of monument and form of the formula; the location and format act as a claim to authority by association, and an assertion of conformity with accepted norms: 'Epigraphy, with its highly formulaic presentation of social personae standardized yet at the same time individualized, offered a partial remedy to the problem of how to surpass and conform at the same time' (Woolf 1996: 32; see also Baines 2004).

Greek and Roman inscribed funerary monuments are directly related to identity and social position, and changes in them. This is also the case for Egyptian private votive stelae of the Ramesside period, and perhaps also for the Middle Kingdom commemorative stelae, set within the context of political changes and royally sanctioned changes in decorum. Government reforms are known from the ancient Greek world where their affect on funerary and votive monuments has been well documented, but scholars have not felt the need to link such changes to alterations in levels of religious feeling (Morris 1987: 50-51; 1994; Cannon 1989: 445). Approaching the private votive stelae of the Ramesside period as social artefacts in the manner of Classical scholars allows an interpretation of the stelae that contextualizes religious activity as a cultural and social phenomenon. Analysis of the conventions (decorum) and content can inform us of aspects of personal choice, social status and by extension social structure and organization. Such a methodology, which takes the perspective of the individual in society, is a form of 'History from Below'. This does not mean that the information gleaned is too specific or parochial to be of use in a wider analysis of ancient society.

Sharpe states that 'the history of the 'common people'...cannot be divorced from wider considerations of social structure and social power' (1991: 27).

1.9 Summary and conclusions

Egyptian stelae studies have focused on form and function, typological studies, structural evolution and dating of Early Dynastic to First Intermediate Period/Middle Kingdom funerary stelae and false doors. The proliferation of Middle Kingdom stelae, particularly from Abydos, has provided a wealth of data for epigraphic and iconographic studies, and has allowed precise dating of the corpus. New Kingdom funerary stelae, believed to continue Middle Kingdom traditions, have received less attention; the votive/commemorative stelae have formed the basis of a discussion of the phenomenon known as 'personal piety'.

More recent approaches have introduced social context into the discussion, with analysis of the effect of the artefact owner's social status, his/her identity and elements of their personal choice, and the prevailing political situation. Brovarski's re-dating of Dunham's First Intermediate Period Naga ed-Deir stelae demonstrated that personal choice was less of a factor in the quality and design of these stelae than the stability of the local government and access to resources. These factors all affect the design and content of false doors and stelae, and all must be taken into account when assessing the artefacts for information about the identity of their owners, and the society in which they lived.

The Abydos Middle Kingdom votive/commemorative stelae are precursors of the votive stelae of the Ramesside period, both in their non-funerary function, and in aspects of their use. The stelae commemorate participation in the Abydos rituals and represent an individual in perpetuity at Abydos, publicly demonstrating a certain level of divine access in a restricted domain, both actual (the installation of a chapel or stela in a sacred area) and metaphorical (perpetual virtual participation in the rites). At Abydos, this divine access seems to have been granted either in full or via a higher ranking intermediary, who could either participate in ceremonies on behalf of a lower ranking individual, and his family, and so he is represented on the stela in the upper register, or allow such a person to set up their own stela in his chapel. Such chapels may be related to the use of similar structures or temple precincts by high ranking individuals of the Ramesside

period, such as the construction of a Khenu-chapel at the front of the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) (see *Section 4.1.1.1*), the activity of the Commander, Nebre, at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, and of the King's Son of Kush, Setau, in Lower Nubia (see *Section 6.4*).

Ramesside period votive stelae are complex artefacts that function on multiple levels. Earlier interpretations have sought to define them as primarily religious artefacts indicative of increased religious feeling among a demographic group previously silent in the historical record. Such an interpretation is reductive and ignores the social background to the creation of the artefacts, the social practices and conventions that are encoded within the stelae. This study will demonstrate that the stelae use religious expression to articulate social concerns, such as status, identity and personal choice. Social status is encoded in these monuments in the form, content and location of the stela; the stelae owners' identity – or those aspects which they chose to exhibit – is preserved for all eternity on the stela. Personal choice may be discerned in this, and in the motives behind commissioning or making a stela. No stelae are identical: the variations in design fall within a limited repertoire, and it is here in the limited but deliberate variation that the tension between the individual and society is expressed. This is an example of Bourdieu's 'habitus' (1980: 88-91) - individual freedom acting within limits set by culture (Burke 1991: 18). The limited diversity makes it possible to begin the task of decoding the stelae; the variations in design are the window through which the actions of the individual in the past can be viewed. The stelae create, renew and change the social structure within which they exist, by means of their content and iconography. Individual agency and choice are part of this ongoing process.

The use of such data – formulaic and apparently generic private inscribed monuments – as evidence for the writing of social history follows the example of Classical scholars of the last 30 years. Though deemed 'private', these monuments exist in the public domain and reflect social and political changes. Analysis of the stelae and the light they throw on the royal policy of, for example, Ramesses II, demonstrates the validity of recent alternative historical methodologies such as 'History from Below' and 'Microhistory' (Burke 1991).

¹ For the Late Period, see Munro 1973; Leahy 1977; for the Graeco-Roman period, see Abdalla 1992; Hooper 1961 and el-Hafeez, Grenier and Wagner 1985.

² Tomb size has often been assumed to have an absolute correlation with social status: the larger the tomb, the more important the individual. The 2nd Dynasty tombs at Helwan, and their associated stelae which provided the names and titles of individuals who should have been their owners, provide an example of the assumed correlation between tomb size and social status. Saad found 25 slab stelae set into the ceilings of the 2nd Dynasty tombs, rather than in a niche in the superstructure (Saad 1957). Haeny suggested (1971: 150-151; see also Kees 1958; James 1962) that these stelae could not be *in situ*, both because of their unexpected location, but also because there was no correspondence between the social status of the individuals, indicated by the titles on the stelae, and the size and complexity of the tomb. This assumed correspondence of tomb size and social status has formed the basis for Kanawati's discussion of Old Kingdom tombs (1977). In his analysis of Kanawati's data, Strudwick points out (1985: 6) that there appear to be large numbers of men of the same status at Giza/Saqqara who have different tomb sizes. Though doubting that there is 'really any consistent pattern' Strudwick concedes that 'in general there must have been some correlation between wealth and lavishness of tomb' (1985: 4-5).

³ A summary of excavation work to date, and a discussion of the topography of Abydos, can be found in Leahy 1977: 9-18; 255-285.

⁴ For example, Austin and Vidal-Naquet's *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction*, first published in France in 1972.

Chapter 2: The primary dataset; methodology; research questions

Chapter 2 introduces the primary dataset, the Ramesside period votive stelae from Deir el Medina, on which the social and historical analysis is performed. This corpus was chosen because hundreds of stelae are extant from the site, allowing the creation of a viable dataset and a detailed evaluation of the material. This large and fairly consistent group of stelae is contrasted with the smaller and more diverse material from the wider Theban area. *Section 2.1* discusses the site of Deir el Medina and the archaeological context of the stelae. *Section 2.2* outlines the methodology used to analyse the stelae, and *Section 2.3* summarises the aims and objectives of the analysis.

2.1 The primary dataset

2.1.1 Deir el Medina: the site

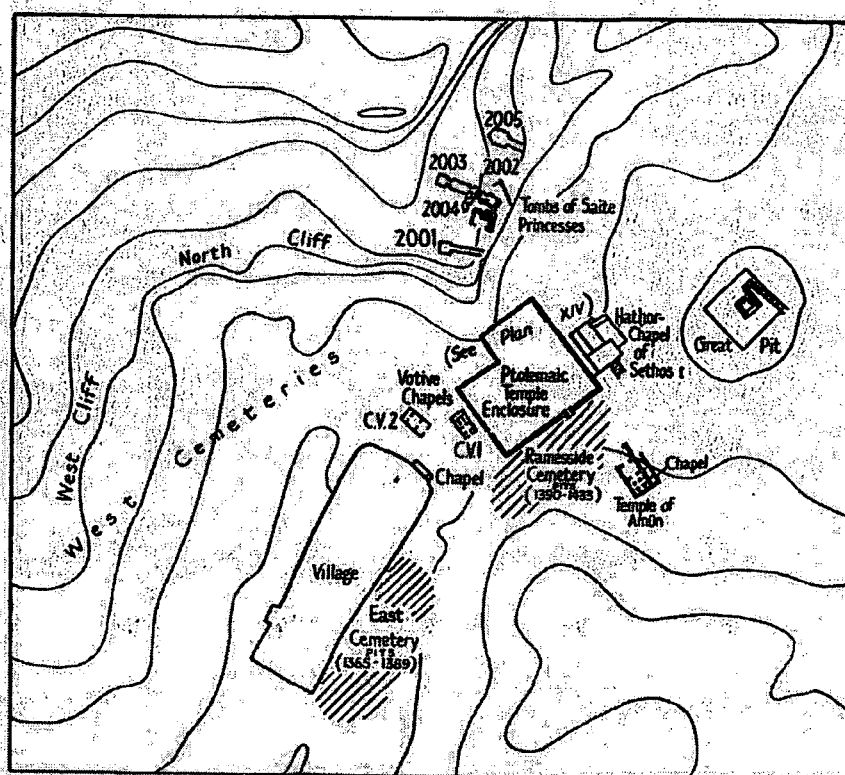


Figure 3: Plan of Deir el Medina (Source: Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: plan XIII)

'Nestling in a small and secluded valley in the shadow of the Theban hills lie the remains of the New Kingdom settlement of Deir el-Medina. The 'Village', as it was known to its ancient occupants...' (Davies 1999: xviii).



Figure 4: View of Deir el Medina from the Western cemetery, with the Ptolemaic temple to Hathor in the background (Photograph: K.M.Exell)

Deir el Medina is located on the West Bank at Thebes, between the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, close to the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu, and well away from the cultivation. It consists of a walled village in the form of a trapezoid roughly 5,600m², containing 68 houses separated by a road running the length of the village, with a gate at the north end (McDowell 1999: 9-10). Houses were constructed of mud brick on stone foundations, and plastered. They consisted of a first room ('Room 1') with an 'enclosed bed' ('lit clos'; Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 54-64; Meskell 1998: 222; McDowell 1999: 11), a central room ('Room 2') with a 'divan' (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 65-69; Meskell 1998: 229-233), and, in the back of the house, a group of smaller rooms and the kitchen space, with cellars beneath. The roof offered additional living space (McDowell 1999: 12 and fig. 3).



Figure 5: View of a house at Deir el Medina (Photograph: K.M.Exell)

Room 1 assemblages include stelae, shrine busts, offering tables and statues, leading Meskell to conclude (1998: 226 and fig. 9) that the household cult took place in this room. Room 2 had a niche that probably held a stela (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 193; Meskell 1998: 231). Archaeological evidence has shown that the *3x iqr n Ra* ('Excellent Spirit of Re') stelae, which demonstrate ancestor worship (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 151-174; Demarée 1983; Schulman 1986; Sadek 1987: 77-79; McDowell 1992b: 106-107; 1999: 104-105; Friedman 1994: 111-117) were set up in Room 2, probably in these niches. Ancestor busts, libation basins and offering tables have also been found in these rooms (Meskell 1998: 232-3). Houses of a different design lay outside the walled enclosure (McDowell 1999: 12).

The village is surrounded by its necropoleis. To the east lies the 18th Dynasty cemetery (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1937) II; Meskell 1999: 145-146; Andreu 2002: 22). The cemetery has a predominance of simple shaft tombs and a hierarchical layout, with children in the lower section, adolescents in the middle and adults in the top section. No superstructures remain (Meskell 1999: 145-146; Andreu 2002: 22). The Western cemetery (Bruyère 1922-1923 (1924); 1923-1924 (1925); 1924-1925 (1926); 1926 (1927); 1927 (1928); 1928 (1929); 1930 (1933); 1931-1932 (1934)) contains a small number of 18th Dynasty tombs but is predominantly 19th and 20th Dynasty in date. The

majority of tombs have large single vaulted sub structures, and, above the tomb chapel, superstructures consisting of a courtyard entered through a pylon and a pyramid, crowned with a pyramidion, and holding a lucarne-stela (McDowell 1999: 13-14, fig. 4; Andreu 2002: 30, fig. 12). Some tombs had rock cut chambers. The tomb chapels contained funerary stelae, both on the façade and within.

To the north east of the village lies the Ptolemaic temple to Hathor (Du Bourguet 2002; see *Section 2.1.2*). Beyond this lies the Great Pit (*Figure 6*; Bruyère 1945-1947 (1952); 1948-1951 (1953); McDowell 1999: fig 5; Andreu 2002: fig 3).

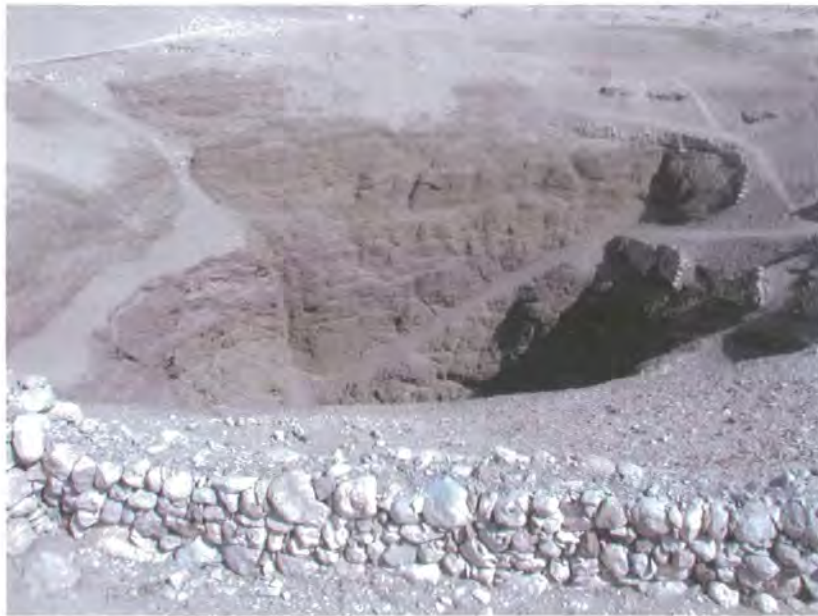


Figure 6: The Great Pit at Deir el Medina (Photograph: K.M.Exell)

The pit may be the result of an attempt by the community to dig down to the water table, but it was subsequently used as a rubbish dump (McDowell 1999: 18). Between 1949 and 1951, over 5,000 ostraca were excavated from the pit (Andreu 2002: 41). These provided the primary source of information on the purpose of the community, and the lives of the residents of Deir el Medina, in the Ramesside period (Andreu 2002: 41). The translation of the ostraca allowed Jaroslav Černý to identify the fact that the village was the residence of the men who built and decorated the royal tombs, and their families (Černý 1929a; Bierbrier 1982a: 144; Ventura 1986: 40; Meskell 1998: 212).

Early excavations (see Andreu 2002: 36-39) were directed by Bernadino Drovetti from 1811 to 1815. Material found at this time forms the basis of the collection of the Museo

Egizio, Turin (Bierbrier 1982a: 127; 132). Turin's collections were further enhanced by the work of Ernesto Schiaparelli from 1905 (Bierbrier 1982a: 140). One of his major finds was the intact tomb of Kha and Meryt. Emile Baraize excavated the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor from 1909 to 1912 (Baraize 1913), and in 1917 the concession was given to the French Institute (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO)), and work directed by Bernard Bruyère from 1922-1940 and 1945 to 1951 (Bierbrier 1982a: 141; Andreu 2002: 39-41; Häggman 2002: 1). Bruyère described the site as a 'véritable champ de bataille' (quoted in Andreu 2002: 36) due to its disturbed nature. Bruyère published his work in a series of *Rapports* (1924-1953) that form the basis of any study of the site. More recent work has included a reassessment of the archaeology of the village itself by Valbelle and Bonnet (1975) for the French Institute. The authors summarise excavation work at Deir el Medina and criticise Bruyère's conclusions on the chronology and layout of the village as oversimplified, proceeding to re-examine the evidence for the 18th Dynasty village.

Deir el Medina was known to its inhabitants as the Village (*p3 dmi*) located in the Place of Truth (*m st m3't*) (Černý 1973: 29-67; Ventura 1986: 38-63; Häggman 2002: 56). The settlement was established under Tuthmosis I, expanded during the 19th and 20th Dynasties, and deserted in the reign of Ramesses XI due to civil unrest (Meskell 1998: 212-213; Häggman 2002: 57-59; 319-325).

2.1.2 Deir el Medina: the temple and chapels



Figure 7: Plan of Deir el Medina and the surrounding wadis, showing the location of the workmen's col station ('Rest-houses') and the Queens' Valley chapels ('Sanctuary to Ptah') (Source: Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: plan III)

Between the walled village and the Great Pit stands the Ptolemaic temple to Hathor. This is on the site of a temple constructed by Ramesses II replacing an earlier 18th Dynasty shrine (Bruyère 1935-40 (1948); Sadek 1987: 60; McDowell 1999: 14). Very little remains of either, with reliefs and inscriptions extant only from the associated chapel attached to the front of the temple (Kitchen 1996: 465), which has an inscription describing it as the 'Khenu of Ramesses II' (Xnw n (Ra-ms-sw mry-Imn); Bruyère 1935-1940 (1948): 216; Sadek 1987: 60).

Mud brick chapels dating to the Ramesside period are located in and around the Hathor temple.



Figure 8: Ramesside mudbrick chapels to the south of the Hathor temple, within the enclosure wall (Photograph: K.M.Exell).

Of the 32 chapels identified by Bruyère (1929 (1930a)), Bomann dismisses three as tombs or domestic structures (Bomann 1991: 40). She divides the remaining 29 into five groups: 14 located west and south west of the main temple, one north east of the village enclosure wall, five within the enclosure wall of the main temple (see *Figure 8*), two east of the temple's enclosure wall and seven north of the temple's enclosure wall (Bomann 1991: 40-51, fig. 25; see also Bruyère 1929 (1930a), pls. I, IV, V; Sadek 1987: 83-84). The plan of the chapels generally follows the standard Egyptian temple/chapel model: an open court, one or two covered halls and an inner sanctuary, laid along a straight axis. The majority of the sanctuaries have a triple shrine along the rear wall of the sanctuary (McDowell 1999: 15).

When working in the Valley of the Kings, the workmen spent the working week sleeping in a series of small huts located above the Valley, rather than undertake the long walk there and back daily (Andreu 2002: 35). A chapel attributed to Amun 'of the Happy Encounter' (*n tḥn(l) nfr*) is built up against the rock face here (McDowell 1999: 17).

In addition, along the path to the Valley of the Queens lies a sanctuary traditionally described as dedicated to Ptah and Mertseger (Bruyère 1930b; Yoyotte 2003). The sanctuary consists of seven natural and man-made grottos, and contains stelae of the workmen and their superiors (Bruyère 1930b; McDowell 1999: 17). Vernus (2000) has tentatively identified a further sanctuary at the west end of the Valley of the Queens, identified on the stela of the Workman, Qenhirkhopshef (iv)¹ (BM 278; DB231; see Section 2.2.3 for the stelae numbering system) by the toponym *mnt*, dedicated to Hathor.

2.1.3 Deir el Medina: the literature

Bruyère's excavation reports (1924-1953) and Černý's *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (1973), the latter aptly described by Davies as 'seminal' (1999: xx), have been the starting point for numerous studies of the community and its surroundings, covering administration, economy, religion, social life, prosopography, Theban topography, law, women, kinship, language, palaeography and literacy. A systematic bibliography of Deir el Medina can be found at www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/bibliography. Also relevant is Deir el Medina online which can be accessed from the University of Munich's webpages at <http://obelix.arf.fak12.uni-muenchen.de>.

The site of Deir el Medina has been the focus of Egyptological attention since the mid 20th century for a number of reasons: it is one of the few extant settlement sites from ancient Egypt; it has produced a wealth of written documents in the form of ostraca and papyri; and it is the source for hundreds of private monuments, particularly stelae, which have formed the primary corpus for the study of the phenomenon known as 'personal piety' (see Section 1.3). This is one of the few sites that provide an insight into the daily lives of the non-élite, and into the workings of local administration, law and religious beliefs (Davies 1999: xxii). By extension, the data from the village can reveal social structure and organisation within the community, and in the outside world.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the Deir el Medina community was that of the specialised royal craftsmen, and has led to the criticism that, as a community, it is atypical and cannot be said to reflect life in ancient Egypt, though this is often how it is used. Meskell maintains (1994: 193; 212), however, that, due to its 'prolonged occupation and differentiated population', Deir el Medina can be used as a valid case study for social life in Egypt, and as such it is used in this discussion.

One of the most anomalous aspects of the village is the high rate of literacy. Baines and Eyre suggest (1983: 65-72) that less than 1% of the Egyptian population, during the Old Kingdom, was literate. In contrast, Deir el Medina inhabitants appear highly literate, but the level of literacy has provoked debate. One school of thought argues that only those required to read and write, in order to carry out their duties, were literate, that is, no more than 25-30% of the villagers and associated workers (*smdt*) (Baines and Eyre 1983: 90). The other suggests that literacy was much higher, and included the majority of the workmen and some of the women (Janssen 1992; Lesko 1994: 135). Janssen argues that a high level of literacy is apparent in the high percentage of literary ostraca which would have required both writers and readers, and the notes written by workmen to their wives (Janssen 1992: 86; 89). Lesko suggests (1994: 134-135) that such evidence may not be proof that Deir el Medina is anomalous as an example of settlement and society in ancient Egypt, rather that the same quantity of written documents has not survived at other settlement sites, though this is hard to substantiate.

In terms of identity, the data from Deir el Medina can connect us, at least partially, with the lives of individuals, whose biographies are populated by inscribed monuments, letters, administrative references and graffiti extant in the record. Janssen (1982) describes the characters of two inhabitants of Deir el Medina, a workman called Hesysunebef who lived under Seti I and Siptah in the early 19th Dynasty, and Merysekhmet (iii), who lived in the mid-20th Dynasty, which he has deduced from a number of documents. In addition, the Foreman, Paneb (i), is well known to us as a result of Papyrus Salt 124 (Černý 1929b) where the alleged misappropriation of his post is detailed (Bierbrier 2000). These glimpses into the activities and careers of individuals constitute no more than 'brief vignettes' but 'can often be exploited as a unique source for the study of human beliefs and attitudes in an ancient settlement' (Davies 1999: xxii-xxiii). Zivie (1979: 125) sounds a note of caution against assuming that such data constitutes an individual's life: '[q]uoi qu'on en dise, la personnalité précise et la vie des ouvriers de Deir el-Médineh ne sont pas des mieux connues, ou

du moins ne peuvent pas être bien connues que lue la masse de la documentation le laisserait d'abord croire'.

Meskell has attempted (1994; 1998; 2000; 2002) to discover evidence for the individual and agency/personal choice in the Deir el Medina mortuary and domestic data. Meskell's approach can be defined as 'History from Below', where the perception and study of social strata within one settlement site is a result of the focus of archaeology 'upon the lives of ordinary people...rather than those of an elite minority' (Meskell 1994: 195). Meskell herself chooses to situate her work within the theoretical models of anthropological, gender and social studies of the 19th and 20th centuries (Meskell 2002), as she attempts to reveal the lives 'of the silent majority, namely the middle and lower classes, women, children, slaves and foreigners' with a 'holistic' approach to text and data (Meskell 1994: 195). Her theories of individuality and gender mapping are laid out in *Archaeologies of Social Life* (1999), expanding on her statement that, '...it is possible to identify how specific individuals and groups functioned with[in] a domestic context, taking into account the complex vectors of social inequality – age, sex class, status, and life experience' (Meskell 1998: 209). The evidence has not, however, substantiated the theory (Morris, E., 2002: 264-265; see also, Babić 2005: 76), and Meskell's studies have identified groups or classes of a more traditional nature, such as the definition of women's and men's domestic space (1998), rather than individuals at the level of definition she suggests may be possible (1998: 139-241).

Moving beyond the individual to social groups, some studies of the villagers of Deir el Medina have treated the community as a single social unit (Meskell 1999: 141). McDowell notes (1999: 7) that the Deir el Medina workmen were initially regarded as lower class, but recent studies have shown that 'the workmen were well-off by Egyptian standards', and that, 'the officials of the gang [were] in the top 2 per cent of the population...on the basis of economic status...the social strata at Deir el Medina ranged from the upper middle to the lower middle class'. Janssen identifies (1975: 536) three 'classes': the upper class of chiefs and scribes, the middle class of ordinary workmen, and the *smdt* (the water carriers, washermen and so forth who serviced the community and lived outside the walled village). Ward defines (1994: 168, n. 23) a separate stratification, that of function, with the administrators (the foremen and senior scribe) as the most important, and the workmen as the least, that is, the most easily replaced. In between come the specialists: artists, physicians, priests.²

Status differentiation within an ancient community can be articulated and identified in a number of ways, including wages, private monuments and personal influence. 'Wages' here has the sense of rations or dues. Economic studies have identified the different amounts paid to the workmen, the highest wages going to the two foremen (Janssen 1975: 455 ff.; Lesko (B.) 1994: 20; McDowell 1999: 231-233). The senior scribe is included as one of the chiefs of the gang (*ḥwtꜣw n pꜣ ḥr*) but his income is surprisingly low. The explanation for this has been that either the figures indicate the payment from only half of the gang, so must be doubled (Ventura 1986: 72), or that the senior scribe made up his income from extensive private commissions (Lesko (B.) 1994: 21). The deputy of the gang is differentiated from the workmen by his title but not by his income. He may have been elected by the gang, perhaps serving as their representative (Černý 1973: 147; Bierbrier 1982: 37; Lesko (B.) 1994: 20).

House and tomb size, and personal material wealth have been correlated with the prestige of the individual and family, and thought to act as symbols of status and wealth (see *Section 1.4*; Crocker 1985: 52; Kemp 1991: 298; 301; McDowell 1999: 7; Babić 2005: 69-70). Sennedjem (i) and his son Khabekhenet (i), both owners of richly decorated tombs, owned large houses in the south west corner of the village (Meskell 1994: 203, fig. 6). The Foremen of the Gang, Paneb (i), Anhurkhawy (ii), and Qaha (i), have impressively large tombs (TT5; TT359, TT360) (Bruyère 1923-1924 (1925): 60; 1930 (1933): 33ff.; 71ff.). It may be true that in some, or perhaps most, cases, there was a direct correlation between social status and material wealth, but the material record can be biased by a number of ancient and modern factors. Ancient factors include active manipulation of the funerary record to award an individual a higher status in death than they had in life (Malaise 1977: 189; Meskell 1999: 129; 177; Bierbrier 1982: 60; Morris 1992: 165; Baines 2002: 4-5; see *Section 1.5*), and fashion and personal choice influencing the richness of a burial (Cannon 1989; see *Section 1.5*). Modern factors include current theoretical thinking which can bias our interpretation of the data (Morris 1987: 9-10; 212-216), and the accident of preservation (Morris 1987: 97 ff.). Lesko (B.S.) notes that '[t]he monuments – tombs, statues and stelae – left by the village families vary considerably in size and refinement and some individuals known from the ostraca seem not to have left so much as a stela behind them' (1994: 23).

Social status may have been expressed through the holding of religious titles, an example of Ward's functional status (1994; see above), or through veneration of gods with restricted cults. Both of these are forms of divine access and, therefore, indicate

an individual's social status. Certain leading families, those holding the posts of foremen and scribes (Černý 1973: 126; 146; 223; Janssen 1992: 84), held the monopoly on admission to the lay priesthood of Amenhotep I (Lesko (B.S.) 1994: 23; see Sections 3.2.2.2.4, 4.1.2). The majority of women who used a religious rank with their names were married to either scribes or foremen (Lesko (B.S.) 1994: 25). Bruyère proposes (1923-1924 (1925): 21) that a number of foremen had a special devotion to the cataract divinities. All the foremen known to him represent Khnum, Anukis and Satis in their tomb chapels. He suggests (1923-1924 (1925): 21) that this was either because these men had overseen workshops at Aswan creating monuments for Ramesses II, or that Khnum was venerated as a southern version of the creator god, and patron of craftsmen, Ptah.

The hundreds of votive stelae that have come from Deir el Medina (see, for example, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, vols. V-XII; Tosi and Roccati 1972) have prompted numerous studies of popular religion (see *Introduction*) and personal piety (see *Section 1.3*) at Deir el Medina. Sadek's analysis of popular religion (1987) dedicates two chapters (V and VI) to Deir el Medina, the site which provides the majority of evidence for local cults at this period. His emphasis is on the identification of the deities worshipped in the chapels located in and around the village of Deir el Medina, rather than the individuals involved in the ritual activity and depicted on the stelae. Typical articles by Clère (1975), and Bierbrier and de Meulenaere (1984), use the votive stelae in question to discuss the genealogy of the owner, the other known monuments of the individual, and, briefly, the aspect of religion demonstrated. The underlying concern is with the identification of the individual within the Deir el Medina community, and the expression of piety. Davies quotes Frandsen as saying, 'it was becoming increasingly clear that it is high time that more extensive studies were undertaken of the so called religious texts as well, in that without material bearing upon the religious dimension, our understanding of Deir el-Medina will inevitably remain rather imperfect' (Davies 1999: xxi, n. 19, from Frandsen 1992: 48-49). Although generally accepted as a phenomenon, the motives and the rules governing expression of 'personal piety', and its social context, by the individual in the Ramesside period remain unexplored (Vernus 2000: 331).

The standardisation of image and text perceived in these monuments has dissuaded scholars from attempting to glean any additional information from them. In certain cases a non-standard element of the text or iconography allows a motive to be discerned for erecting a stela. For example, a group of stelae contain the phrase

'seeing darkness' (*m33 kkw*), which has been interpreted as referring to actual blindness or blurred vision, inflicted as divine punishment (Rowe 1940-1941: 47-48; Pinch 1993: 257, with references), indicating a loss of contact with the deity, that is a spiritual blindness, whilst the dedicator is alive (Pinch 1993: 257, with references), or, metaphorically, as meaning the dedicator, when dead, cannot see the deity (Galan 1999: 20-21). Stelae texts using this phrase belong to a category of texts where a dedicator seeks forgiveness from the deity. The stela of the Workman, Neferabu (i) (Turin 50058; DB150), is the best-known example, where he says 'I made a transgression against the Peak' (*tw.i hr irt p3 sp n h3i*) (see Section 4.2.2.5). Demarée proposes (1982) a secondary practical reason for erecting a stela. The document O. Petrie 21 (= Hier. Ostr. 16, 4) is the text of a dispute where a man has installed a stela in a building in a wrongful claim of ownership. In this case, the content of the stela is only relevant in that it represents an individual, a mundane version of the representative function of Middle Kingdom Abydene stelae of individuals at the rituals of Osiris (see Section 1.7). The owner of the stela was deemed present in the building by means of his stela – it acts as a kind of legal claim to ownership.

Individual events other than the seeking of forgiveness, or the use of a stela to establish ownership, as motives for setting up a stela have received little attention, despite the fact that a number of stelae depict statues of deceased kings that have been linked to the processions associated with the Beautiful Festival of the Valley (Redford 1986: 52; McDowell 1992b: 100; 103; see Section 4.2.2.1). Festival attendance at one of the great state festivals may have been an event worthy of commemoration on a stela (Cabrol 2001: 761; see also Kessler 1999: 176-178; 184-185; Morgan 2004: 53-54), especially given that such attendance was marked in tombs (Cabrol 2001: 608-616). Schulman's arguments (1988: 194-197; see Section 1.6) for the historical nature of stelae are relevant here, where it may be the case that stelae were erected to mark significant events in an individual's life.

In addition to individual events, the prevailing political situation may have influenced stelae production (see Section 1.6). Votive stelae are generally regarded as a Ramesside period phenomenon, but it may be the case that they were produced in greater numbers at certain periods throughout the Ramesside period, rather than being typical of the period as a whole, and their production is related to royal activity/events.

2.1.4 Summary

Deir el Medina, located on the West Bank at Thebes, is one of the few examples of a settlement site from ancient Egypt. It incorporates a walled village, necropoleis, a temple and a number of chapels. The discovery of large amounts of written material in the form of ostraca and some papyri, and hundreds of inscribed monuments, has prompted numerous studies of social life and popular religion in ancient Egypt, despite the fact that the highly literate and specialised nature of the community suggests that the evidence may not be representative of Egypt in the New Kingdom as a whole. The dense nature of the epigraphic and archaeological material has allowed scholars to access individuals to an unprecedented level, though attempts have sometimes been more ambitious than the data allows. The community's social structure and the rank of certain individuals have been plotted by means of the traditional methods of analysis of wages and monumental wealth (economics). A more perceptive approach has been taken by Ward (1994) who suggests that status may be more closely related to function.

The hundreds of stelae from the site have led, with the aid of the administrative records, to the reconstruction of genealogies, and form the basis for the study of 'personal piety'. Personal piety has been taken as the principal reason for the erection of a votive stela, and the stelae regarded as too generic to allow closer analysis of motive. More recently, stelae have been related to festivals, suggesting that stelae may have been set up to mark significant events in an individual's life.

Ward's functional status (1994: 168, n. 23) is an expression of social organisation. A close analysis of the Deir el Medina stelae may reveal that social organisation is reflected in the private votive stelae of the workmen, who at times record priestly rather than work-related titles on their stelae. Access to certain divinities, the erection of stelae in certain places, the recording of an individual's presence at a festival, and the use of priestly titles, are all aspects of divine access, and may allow the stelae to serve as indicators of an individual's social status. The stelae may reflect the social organisation of the community; they may also delineate an individual's public biography, and inform us of events that took place outside the community, such as state festivals.

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 The primary dataset

The Deir el Medina stelae are held in museums throughout the world, with only a handful remaining *in situ* (for example, Bruyère 1930b: 14-18, fig. 10). Early non-scientific ‘excavation’ at the site allowed hundreds of the stelae to be removed without record of their provenance (Andreu 2002: 36). Stelae were also removed from their original context in antiquity: a large number of stelae and other monuments were cleared from the area of the New Kingdom temple to allow for the construction of the Ptolemaic temple (Bruyère 1948-1951 (1953): 20-21). Identification of Deir el Medina stelae is facilitated by the similarity in their representational content, and by the identification of names and titles of many of the individuals who lived and worked at Deir el Medina (see, for example, Černý 1973; Bierbrier 1975; Bogoslovsky 1980; Davies 1999), thus making stelae provenance and attribution more secure. In addition, the use of the epithet *m st m3ʿt* (‘In the Place of Truth’) after titles, referring to the necropolis area in which the men worked (Černý 1973: 29-67; Ventura 1986: 48ff.; Häggman 2002: 56-57), aids the attribution of the stelae to Deir el Medina individuals.

2.2.2 Criteria for inclusion in the dataset (primary dataset)

There are 436 stelae in the dataset as a whole; 319 of these come from the Theban area, and of these 264 have been provenanced to Deir el Medina. The criteria for the inclusion of a stela are that it is private (non-royal), retains the title of the owner, and at least an indication of who the deity is, and that it is possible to perceive the relative location of the individual to the deity on the stela.

Official (royal) stela and the *3h ikr n Rʿ* stelae are not included. The majority of the latter stelae have been collected by Demarée (1983) and can be assessed as a separate group. The *3h ikr n Rʿ* stelae do not, as a rule, contain an individual’s titles, and do not express devotion to a deity, but rather ancestor worship (Demarée 1983: 288; see Section 2.1).

From the primary dataset in particular, hundreds of stelae and stela fragments that do not retain the necessary information for the forthcoming analysis, have been excluded. There are in addition stelae in museum collections that remain too briefly published, unpublished, or as yet unidentified as Deir el Medina stelae. Ongoing publications (for example, Martin 2005) are rectifying this situation, but it has not been possible to include all such stelae. As with any data gathering exercise, constraints of time have

not allowed all leads to be followed, and limitations on access to some collections has led to the necessary exclusion of some stelae.³ The decision to use only clearly published or accessible stelae retaining the relevant criteria reduces the sample size considerably. For this reason it is acknowledged that the sample may not be fully representative. The dataset does however remain large enough to produce valid results, and the use of fully or almost fully preserved examples increases the chances of accuracy in the analysis.

2.2.3 *The database*

The database is a flat field Microsoft Access database that is suitable for text based searches and quantitative analysis of the data. The emphasis in the cataloguing of the stelae was to record as much intrinsic and extrinsic information as possible to allow a varied and evolving approach to the data. The stelae data from Deir el Medina and the comparative sites are held in one database to allow analysis across all the sites. For a list of the database fields, see *Appendix 1*. For an edited version of the database, see *Appendix 13* (CD-ROM and hardcopy). The stelae are numbered consecutively 1-436, and are prefixed in the text by DB (=database). Henceforth all stelae from the dataset will be referred to by their database number; other numbers and publication references are listed in the database (*Appendix 13*).

2.2.4 *Discussion of fields*

One of the principal aims of the data analysis was to establish whether the social status of an individual dedicating a stela is revealed by certain aspects of the design and content of his, or her, stela (see *Section 2.3*). The criteria chosen as possible expressions of social status were:

1. The 'compositional form' of the scene;
2. The cult image (hypostasis) depicted;
3. The original location of the stela.

2.2.4.1 *'Compositional form'*

This term is used to indicate whether the dedicator stands directly in front of the god (type **A**), uses an intermediary (type **B**), or is depicted in the lower register (type **C**).

Table 1: Compositional form

Compositional form	Divine access level	Description	Example
A	Direct access	The dedicator stands or kneels on the same register as the deity, that is, s/he has direct access to the deity in the representation.	
B	Mediated access	An intermediary of a higher rank than the dedicator offers to, or adores, the deity on behalf of the dedicator, who is also represented.	
C	Indirect access	The deity alone is represented in the upper register. The dedicator is represented (pictorially or by name only) in the lower register, either alone or with colleagues or family.	

See *Appendix 3* for examples and variations of each type of compositional form.

Sadek has argued (1987: 201) that the lower part of the stela is reserved for the less important people. This location is, in Egyptian representational terms, further from the deity. Compositional form, or the two-dimensional depiction of the relationship of the dedicator and the deity, is influenced by a number of factors, not least decorum (see *Introduction*). Representational decorum influences compositional form as a result of an individual's level of divine access, and rules of decorum are different for individuals of different status. For example, the king has full divine access; in the Ramesside period, private individuals gain similar privileges on their own monuments (Podemann Sørensen 1989; Finnestadt 1989; Baines 1983: 591; Quirke 1992: 135-138; Pinch 1993: 349; Frood 2003: 74-75; see *Section 1.4*).

2.2.4.1.1 Intermediaries

The term 'intermediary' in the context of Egyptian religion denotes 'the individual mediating between god and man' (te Velde 1982: col. 161). In terms of official religion and society, the king is the intermediary between the gods and the rest of society (Radwan 1969: 41; te Velde 1982: col. 162; Myśliwiec 1985: 11). Other forms of intermediaries are the manifestations of deities in intermediary forms, often zoomorphic, for example, the Mnevis Bull of Re, or, less officially, Amun-Re as the Good Goose (*smn nfr*). Such intermediaries are more approachable versions of the

deity, and are objects of veneration themselves (Sadek 1987: 85; Baines 1991: 197; Pinch 1993: 183). Statues of private individuals can also act as intermediaries. In this discussion the term 'intermediary' refers to a god, king or higher ranking individual depicted on a stela participating in cult activity on behalf of a lower ranking individual (Pinch 1993: 95). Podemann Sørensen argues (1989: 120) that typically 18th Dynasty stelae with royal intermediaries maintain the concept of the king as the *nb irt iḥt*, 'Lord of Rites', 'who alone could officiate in temple ritual and confront the gods'. In the Ramesside period an individual could be shown face to face with the god (type A), as a result of both changes in decorum and the related process he terms 'secularisation', where private individuals use initially royal prerogatives which have, over time, become detached from royal status (Podemann Sørensen 1989: 123).

However, if direct divine access was permissible and desirable in the Ramesside period, what was the purpose of using an intermediary? There are three possible interpretations of the use of intermediaries on private votive stelae at this period:

- (i) an intermediary allows an individual representational access to a restricted divinity or sacred space wherein, in reality, decorum does not allow it (Baines 1985: 277-286; Podemann Sørensen 1989: 120; Pinch 1993: 349), as at Abydos (Satzinger 1969; Simpson 1974; Clère 1982; see *Section 1.7*);
- (ii) the depiction of an intermediary can indicate that an actual cult ceremony in a temple is being recorded (Schulman 1988: 42; Pinch 1993: 95);
- (iii) in both cases, the intermediaries chosen by the dedicator may indicate a relationship with a higher ranking individual, and, as a result, reflect or elevate the dedicator's social status. In addition, the intermediary chosen may share in the spiritual and economic benefit from the stela.

An institution such as the Amun-Re temple at Karnak will have exerted a powerful influence on the form private monuments took in relation to their proximity to the temple proper. No stelae depicting the private individuals interacting directly with the god will have been erected in close proximity to the Amun-Re temple. Stelae where the king acted as intermediary will have been acceptable, as these demonstrated the ideological role of the king as intermediary between the people and the gods. An elite individual may have dedicated such a stela in close proximity to a state temple, and this would reflect both the accepted ideology and decorum, and his own relationship to the king. In addition, such a stela can be read as a representation of an actual ceremony, indicating that this individual had access to a royal cult ceremony, once and forever, and, by extension, the stela advertises his high social status.

Direct access to a divinity for individuals of the social status of the Deir el Medina workmen was not a part of the traditionally accepted ideology, and may be an iconographic innovation reflecting the Ramesside period loosening of decorum. The innovative quality of such stelae may not have been so readily acceptable to elite individuals, who may have preferred to represent themselves as part of the traditional ideology and its vertical social hierarchy. It is simplistic to assume that there is a direct link between represented direct divine access (type **A**) on private monuments, and high social status, or that increased divine access had a linear chronological evolution. 'Compositional form' may also have been influenced by aesthetic considerations, the location in which the stela was set up, and the type of cult activity depicted.

2.2.4.2 *Hypostasis*

One of the central tenets of this thesis is that the stelae depict actual events as incidents in an individual's life, which then permanently reflect the status of that individual. If this is the case, the cult images depicted on stelae must represent an actual hypostasis, ranging from temple reliefs and statues to votive statuettes and sacred animals (Pinch 1993: 94-95, 98). Cabrol notes (2001: 723) that at Memphis a number of stelae, depicting the pharaoh smiting his enemies, were found at the entrance to the Ptah temple, which she interprets as a direct copy of the temple pylon scene (*contra* Schulman 1988; 1994; see *Sections* 5.3.1.3.1 (iii), 5.3.4.3.1 (i), 5.4.2). The phenomenon of temple decoration influencing popular cult activity is evident throughout the dataset.

Much of Schulman's work has centred on the premise that stelae depict historical events (1980; 1981; 1984a; 1985; 1988; 1994; see *Section* 1.6). The stelae must therefore depict an actual hypostasis before which rituals took place. Schulman has attempted to construct a methodology for identifying which cult statue might be depicted, focusing on the cults of Ptah (1981) and Reshep (1981; 1985). He concludes (1981: 164) that a particular cult statue can be more easily identified by epithets (see also Pinch 1993: 98), as Habachi had done for the four cult statues of Ramesses II at Qantir (Habachi 1954; see *Sections* 5.1.3, 5.3.3), than iconography, which may be vulnerable to the personal idiosyncrasies of the sculptor carving the representation. Schulman states, '[t]hus it is clear that the variety of general statue type does not automatically imply that each type or variation within it represents a distinct cult statue of the god' (1981: 164; see also 1985: 92). When the iconography is very specific it

may, however, aid the identification (Schulman 1985: 95-96). As for the use of epithets, Schulman dismisses (1981: 165-166) as too generic those that are too frequent and accompany more than one form of the cult statue.

(i) *Temple reliefs*

The *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (C. Leitz (ed.); 8 Vols., 2002-2003) was consulted to identify temple images with the same epithets as representations of deities on stelae. If a match could be supported, that is, if the temple image was of a contemporaneous date and may have been accessible, it was included as a possible source for a stela image. The second, and perhaps more practical and valid approach, was to identify temple hypostases that show evidence of secondary use as cult images beyond the primary state function of the temple. This latter approach draws primarily on the work of Borchardt (1933), Fischer (1959), Traunecker (1979; 1987; 1991), Guglielmi (1994), Cabrol (2001) and Brand (2003) who have identified and discussed augmented temple reliefs (see *Section 3.2.2*). An exhaustive survey of such images at Thebes is a task that remains to be completed.

Evidence for the use of temple reliefs as cult images can be found in sanctioned additional decoration of, and alterations to, exterior, and some outer court, reliefs of deities (Fischer 1959: 196-198; Traunecker 1979; 1987; 1991: 88-90; Guglielmi 1994: 58; Cabrol 2001: 722-725). Borchardt discussed (1933: 1) the regular drill holes that can be found on obelisks, lintels and surrounding two-dimensional images on exterior temple walls. He argues that these are the nail holes used to attach sheets of metal to the stone to augment the carving (see Traunecker 1991: 88-89 for further interpretations of these drill holes; Cabrol 2001: 724). Whilst the former appear to have been part of the initial design process when the temple was being built, the latter, the holes surrounding reliefs, may have been added later. The discussion of the Ramesses III temple at Karnak notes that the 'figures of the gods are frequently surrounded by the plugholes common to Empire reliefs' (*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* 1936 I: vii). Larger holes sunk into temple walls above and around reliefs may be sockets for holding awning supports (Borchardt 1933: 4; Brand 2003).

The tradition of adapting images on the exterior walls of temples for popular cult usage begins in the Ramesside period and extends down to the Roman period (Traunecker 1999: 91; Cabrol 2001: 720-725; Brand 2003). Clear examples of sockets and drill

holes around images on temple walls can be found in Ptolemaic and Roman period temples, such as at the Hathor temple at Dendera, where the large Hathor head on the rear exterior wall has deep sockets and drill holes around it to support an awning and some kind of covering across the relief (Borchardt 1933: 8-9, fig. 19 on pl. 5). Awnings and veils over reliefs may be a less formal version of 'Gegenkapellen', which also appear in the New Kingdom. Such small chapels were built against temple exterior walls to allow access to the deity for those excluded from the temple interior. An example of one of these chapels is Ramesses II's Chapel of the Hearing Ear at Karnak (Sadek 1987: 46; Guglielmi 1994: 55-56; 60).⁴

The date of the augmentation of temple reliefs, and the addition of secondary epithets such as the one added to an Amun-Re relief figure on the Karnak temple exterior wall (Helck 1968: pl. 49; see *Section 3.2.2.1.3*), is hard to ascertain (Fischer 1959: 197-198). Secondary use of the images brings into question issues of temple access. These images are on the exterior walls of temples, but within the enclosure walls, or on the inner walls of the first courts before the temple proper. Access seems to have been allowed for non-priestly and non-high ranking individuals at certain times, perhaps for a special plea or on the occasion of a festival. An example of such festival access can be found in TT2 of Khabekhenet (i), where he and his family are clearly shown worshipping in the precinct of Mut (Cabrol 1995b: 53; 2001: 262-266; see *Section 4.2.2.1.1*).

(ii) Statues, statuettes, votive objects and sacred animals

A few of the stelae depict what are clearly large temple statues, for example, the stela of Nebre (i) (DB2), or criosphinx and ram statues (see *Section 3.2.2.1.4*). A number of the original criosphinx and ram statues show signs of secondary use (Cabrol 1995a: 3-4, pl. 1; 1995b: 35; 2001: 246; 633-634; 721). Stelae can also depict portable statues and sacred barks. These images may depict the gods carried in festival procession (Schulman 1980), who also acted as oracular deities (Kruchten 2001: 609).

Objects from temple and chapel ceremonies, such as sistra, may be included on stelae as representative of the deity and part of a ceremony. On the whole, ritual and processional paraphernalia have not survived in the archaeological record, though there are some exceptions, such as Hathor masks (Pinch 1993: pls. 27-30) and sistra (Pinch 1993: 139-159). A staff with a ram's head, which may have been a form of

Amun visible in processions, occurs on stelae. An example of one of these was found by Bruyère at Deir el Medina (Guglielmi and Dittmar 1992: 123).

Stelae that depict groups of animals may represent actual living animals (Bierbrier and de Meulenaere 1984; Pinch 1993: 94; 173; Guglielmi 1994: 57). Those that depict single animals on plinths or barks depict statues of the animal forms of the deity (Pinch 1993: 196). Bruyère discovered a large number of statuettes of snakes, geese and other animals at Deir el Medina, which may be the source for such depictions on stelae.⁵

Stelae that depict more than one form of a deity may be conflated depictions of a temple visit where the deity was evident in a number of forms.

The hypostasis represented on the stela demonstrates occasions and levels of temple access: the king has full temple access, as do certain priests when officiating in the role of the king; high officials and lay priests have access at some or all of the time to inner parts of the temple; non-priestly individuals may have access on certain occasions such as festivals (Bell 1985: 271 (notes); 275; Pinch 1993: 350-351; Brand 2003).

2.2.4.3 Location

The place in which the stela was originally set up again indicates levels of divine access. It also indicates the possible existence of patronage, with whomsoever oversaw the setting up of private stelae in relation to state temples allowing certain individuals such dispensation. Such 'sumptuary control' may have existed at Abydos in the Middle Kingdom (see *Section 1.7*). It is ostensibly the king who would have exercised this control, but, in practice, it may have been the first god's servant; at the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina, the highest ranking individual in the community may have been involved. The Amun-Re temple in the Karnak temple complex would have maintained a restricted level of access to all but the highest ranking priests, dignitaries such as the vizier, and the king. The dedication of private monuments in or near the Amun-Re temple would in turn be limited to these people. A social hierarchy can be determined by plotting the find spots of private monuments in relation to state temples. This should reflect the vertical hierarchy of social structure in Egypt. In relation to non-state sanctuaries, such as the mudbrick chapels at Deir el Medina, or smaller state-funded institutions such as the Deir el Medina Hathor temple and the attached Khenu-

chapel, the find spots of the private monuments dedicated in or near them will again reflect the social hierarchy operating within the local community. What may be revealed is something closer to the 'empirical distribution of relationships in everyday experience' (Morris 1987: 39), i.e., social organisation, with the stelae reflecting social groups whose status is linked to their involvement in the local cults. This is an example of Ward's functional status (1994: 61-85; see *Section 2.1.3*).

The criterion of location is perhaps the most problematic, in that it is rare indeed for a stela to be found *in situ*, or, if it had been, to have had the precise findspot recorded. Due to the frequent lack of precision, a stela with a known findspot has been recorded on the database as coming from a general area, for example, the Hathor temple precinct, as well as its more specific context. Within the temple precinct there are a number of different contexts: tombs, houses, votive chapels, the temple proper, the Khenu-chapel. It is the general area that has been the basis of queries; the precise context is discussed where relevant.

Table 2: Deir el Medina findspots

Database code/Toponym/Porter and Moss reference

0. Unknown

1. Hathor temple and precinct (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 695-700)

2. Votive chapels (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 689-695)

3. Queens' Valley chapels (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 706-709)

4. Workman's col station

5. Village (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 702-706)

6. Western cemetery (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 686-688)

7. Mortuary temples (Deir el Bahri, Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 628-650; 1972 II: 340-400; Medinet Habu, Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 771-778; 1972 II: 460-537; Ramesseum, Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 678-684; 1972 II: 431-443)

8. Valley of the Kings (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 490-491)

9. Karnak temple complex (Porter and Moss 1972 II: 1-339)

2.2.6 Summary

The three chosen criteria of compositional form, hypostasis and location are closely interlinked. The location of the dedication is related to the compositional form if the theory is correct that state institutions exert influence, which manifests as decorum, and influences the depiction of the relationship between the dedicator and deity. As Baines states, 'high-cultural artefacts cluster around temples, exhibiting a maximum of order and aesthetic ideals' (1997: 219). The location of the dedication may also be linked to the deity depicted, if stelae are erected in or near the cult image shown (Kessler 1999: 185).

Whilst neither the intent, nor the controlling decorum of the genre behind these processes involved in the commissioning and dedication of stelae are fully understood (Morris 1987: 155; 2000: 12; Baines 2001: 4; 1994: 5), an analysis of stelae using the chosen criteria can begin the process of deconstructing the stelae and revealing the social processes at work in their creation. In discussing the purpose of royal and private monuments, Simpson notes the importance of bearing in mind 'the function, the *raison d'être*, of the object, and to determine, if possible, the nature of the message, statement or communication it makes' (1982: 271). Discussing the use of grave markers in ancient Greece, Morris observes that '[t]he use of symbols in ritual depends on sumptuary rules, in the sense of sanctions laying down what is right and proper in the given circumstances for people occupying particular places in the ideal social structure' (1987: 154). The three criteria utilised in this analysis are, in a sense, arbitrary, but have been chosen because they reflect wider manifestations of decorum and divine access known from temple decoration, use and access (Bell 1985: 271 and notes; Baines 1985, 1995, 1997) and tomb decoration and location (Podemann Sørensen 1989; Roth 1991: 111).

2.3 Summary of research aims and objectives

The analysis of the primary and comparative datasets has the following research aims:

1. To examine an individual's social status based on the form, content and location of the stela;
2. To analyse groups of stelae in order to reveal the motives for their commissioning and erection;
3. To determine whether stelae can be linked to actual historical events.

The analysis attempts to meet the following research objectives:

- To discover and decode the rules of representational decorum that control content on private votive stelae;
- To determine whether stelae production in the Ramesside period can be linked to local politics and/or the wider political situation;
- To assess the extent to which stelae reflect social structure and/or social organisation within a community and/or on a pan-Egyptian scale;
- To determine whether Deir el Medina stelae are representative of a Ramesside period phenomenon, or whether they represent activity limited to the workmen's community.

In order to achieve the latter objective, the methodology is initially tested against the non-Deir el Medina stelae from Thebes, and then more thoroughly against the Ramesside period votive stelae from Abu Simbel, Wadi es-Sebua, Qantir and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. The comparative approach allows broader trends in stelae production across the Ramesside period to be traced, and presents a more comprehensive picture of patterns, motives and influences in private votive stelae production.

¹ Throughout, Davies' (1999) numbering system for individuals from Deir el Medina has been used, e.g. Ramose (i), Nebre (ii).

² The royal workmen were overseen by two foremen (*ʿ3 n iswt/hry iswt*), one for the right side and one for the left side (Meskell 1994: 202), and a senior scribe (*sš n p3 hr*). As a group these men were known as the chiefs of the gang (*hwtwyw n p3 hr*) (Černý 1973: 231). The senior scribe reported directly to the vizier (Černý 1973: 114-116; Bierbrier 1982: 29; Ventura 1986: 98-103; Davies 1999: xix; McDowell 1999: 6-7; Häggman 2002: 116-130; 176-178; 231-248).

The gang itself incorporated chief craftsmen (*hry hmww*), (chief) draftsmen (*(hry) sš kdw*), sculptors (*kstyw*), guardians (*s3wty/s3w*) and doorkeepers (*iry-ʿ3*) (Černý 1973: 149-174). There were scribes in addition to the senior scribe. On monuments the title *sš*, scribe, is often a shortened form of *sš kd*, draftsman. Scribes were also attached to the *smdt*-staff who provided the village with its daily supplies of water, food and services. The workmen acted as lay priests and could take the titles wab-priest (*wʿb*), servitor (*b3k*) and god's servant (*hm-ntr*) on monuments. The workmen were represented by their deputy (*idnw*), who may have been elected from amongst them (Černý 1973: 133-147).

There have been many detailed studies of the organisation of the workforce at Deir el Medina. For a general overview of life in the village and aspects of its organisation, see Della Monica 1975, Bierbrier 1982, Valbelle 1985, Gutgesell 1989, Lesko 1994 and McDowell 1999. For more detailed studies of organisation, titles, roles and individuals, see Černý 1973, Ventura 1986, Davies 1999 and Häggman 2002. For information on individual titles, see Bogolovsky 1980, Janssen 1997.

³ Cairo Museum stelae not included in the dataset:

Cairo Museum number	Porter and Moss reference	Publication details
TN 31.10.17.5	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 726	Unpublished?
TN 30.1.15.13	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 728	Unpublished?
TN 3.3.25.1	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 681	Names in Legrain 1908: no. 49 etc.
JdE 36718	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 166	Names in Legrain 1908: no. 43
JdE 36717	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 166	Names in Legrain 1908: no. 46
JdE 36716	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 166	Unpublished?
JdE 36913	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 166	Unpublished?
JdE 36671	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 166	Unpublished?
JdE 36347	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 171	Legrain 1904: 15-16 A-E - NO IMAGE
JdE 36349	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 171	Legrain 1904: 15-16 A-E - NO IMAGE
JdE 2020	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 294	Unpublished?
TN 19.6.24.2	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 338	Maspero 1915: 162-3 [557] - NO IMAGE
JdE 27785	Porter and Moss 1964 I:2: 445	Grébaut and Maspero 1890-1900 I: 8, pl. V [lower right]

⁴ Tuthmosis III had also built such a chapel here.

⁵ A number of the serpent statuettes may be related to the domestic cult of Mertseger (see *Section 3.2.2.3*), for example, the head of a serpent (Bruyère 1929 (1930a): 68), a five cm high statue of an undulating serpent (Bruyère 1945-1946 (1952): 39), models of undulating cobras (Bruyère 1948-1951 (1953): 37) and a painted wooden statue of a snake (Bruyère 1948-1951 (1953): 76).

Chapter 3: Data analysis (Deir el Medina)

3.1 General analysis: broad trends

This chapter analyses the Theban stelae to establish, within this large dataset, social and historical motivations for the dedication of stelae. A distinction is made between the Deir el Medina and the non-Deir el Medina (Theban) stelae, given the contrasting nature of the communities. The analysis focuses on the iconography as a form of coding relating to cultural constraints, or representational decorum, which can be regarded as a form of Giddens' Signification, or 'theory of coding' (1984: 30), where iconography acts as a symbolic mode of discourse, transmitting accepted social practice. The iconography also encodes information on specific events, and this aspect will be explored in more depth in *Chapter 4*.

3.1.1 Number of stelae

The first part of the analysis focuses on the Deir el Medina stelae. The Theban non-Deir el Medina stelae are dealt with separately in *Section 3.2.3*. The Deir el Medina dataset consists of 264 votive stelae. These are the stelae that meet the criteria outlined in *Section 2.2.2*: a stela must be private (non-royal), retain the title of the owner, an indication of who the deity is, and an indication of the relative location of the individual to the deity on the stela.

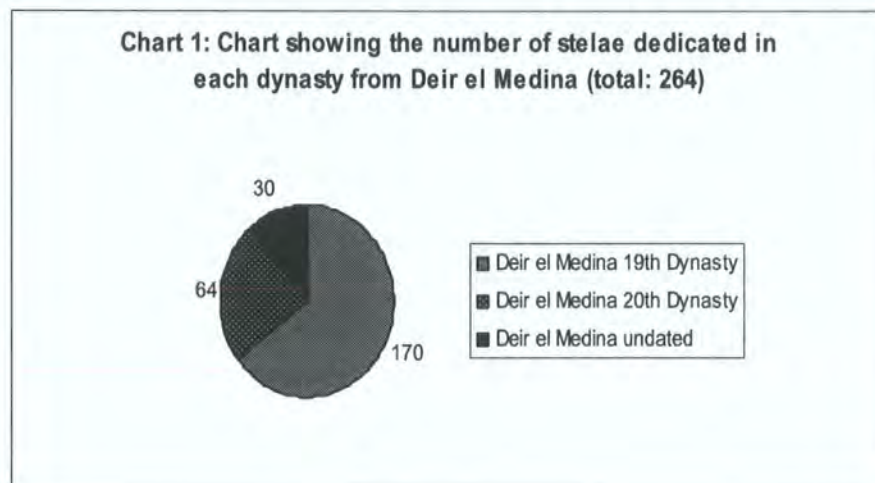
Stelae belonging to viziers dedicated at Deir el Medina are catalogued as Deir el Medina stelae. Although the viziers were not strictly part of the workmen's community, they were directly responsible for the administration of this community (Bierbrier 1982: 29; Ventura 1986: 98-103; McDowell 1999: 6-7; Häggman 2002: 116-130; 176-178; 231-248) and are the only non-Deir el Medina individuals other than kings to dedicate stelae at locations specific to Deir el Medina cult activity. The workmen themselves viewed the vizier as an extension of their community and their link to the king (Eyre 1980: ch. IV; Valbelle 1985: 138). In the early 19th Dynasty, the number of monuments co-dedicated by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), and the Vizier, Paser, indicates a close relationship that it would be perhaps unwise to separate.¹ By the 20th Dynasty there is some evidence that some viziers may have been drawn from the community (Bruyère 1930: 16; Edgerton 1951: 137-145; Eyre 1980: 116; *contra*, Häggman 2002: 168).

3.1.2 Dating of the stelae

The Deir el Medina stelae represent individuals belonging to a closely-knit community linked by a common purpose, the construction and decoration of the royal tomb. This

community is clearly differentiated from the other communities in the Theban area, socially, by their élite status, and geographically, by the location of their village away from the cultivation on the West Bank. The wealth of data and resulting research into the Deir el Medina community (see *Sections 2.1.1-2.1.3*), and in particular the recent genealogical and prosopographical work of Davies (1999), has meant that it is relatively easy to identify an individual named on a stela and place his period of service, or in the rarer case of stelae dedicated by women, date her according to her husband or father's period of service. Extrapolating from Davies' work, stelae, which have previously only been given general Ramesside period dates, but which have titles and filiations that can be connected to individuals identified by Davies, have been attributed to dated workmen and their families. The level of detailed knowledge of an individual's activity has made it possible to date monuments to parts of the long reign of Ramesses II. This ease of dating allows the identification of trends in the dedication of stelae.

3.1.2.1 Diachronic changes in quantity of stelae



Expressed as a percentage, 65% of the stelae are dedicated during the 19th Dynasty, 24% during the 20th Dynasty, and 11% have not been assigned a dynasty ('undated'). The production and dedication of stelae at Deir el Medina follows a downward trend over the course of the Ramesside period.

3.1.2.2 Stelae dating to reigns

By plotting the stelae that are dated to a reign or reigns, a more precise picture of the peaks of stela production over the Ramesside period is obtained. *Chart 2*, below, was produced using the 198 stelae that could be assigned to a reign. The figures plotted

exceed the 198 stelae as many of the stelae are dated across a number of reigns and each reign has been counted as a hit, giving a total of 288 hits. This is because the dates given to the stelae reflect a workman’s period of service, as we generally cannot say, at this stage, at what point in his life the stela was dedicated. Some stelae can be dated more accurately once the event to which they are related has been identified, as will be demonstrated in *Chapters 4 and 5*.

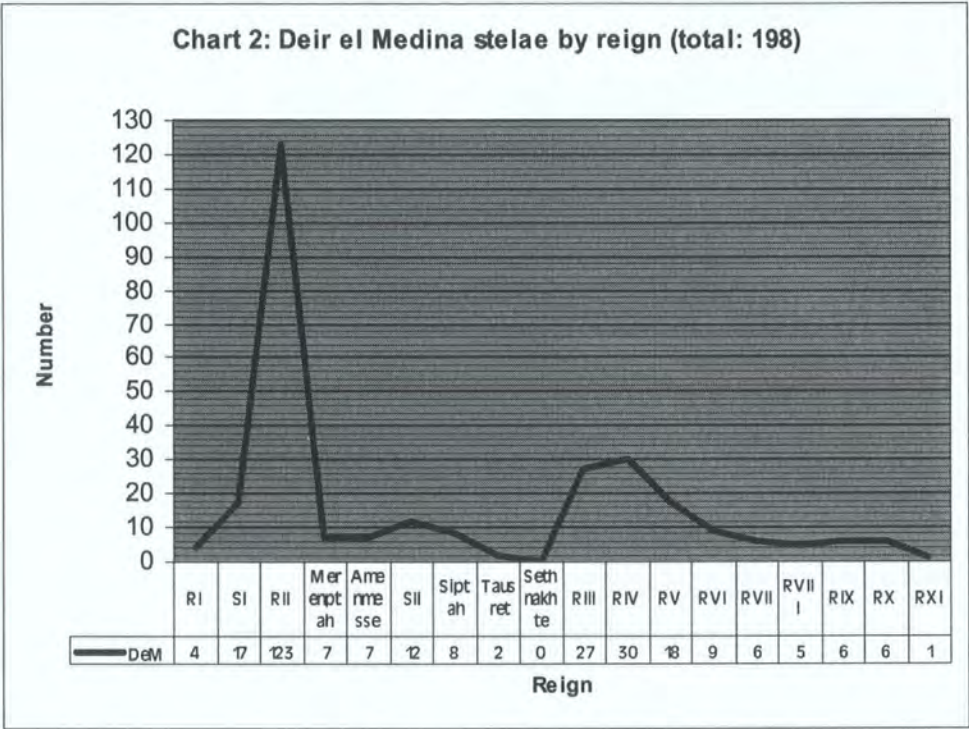
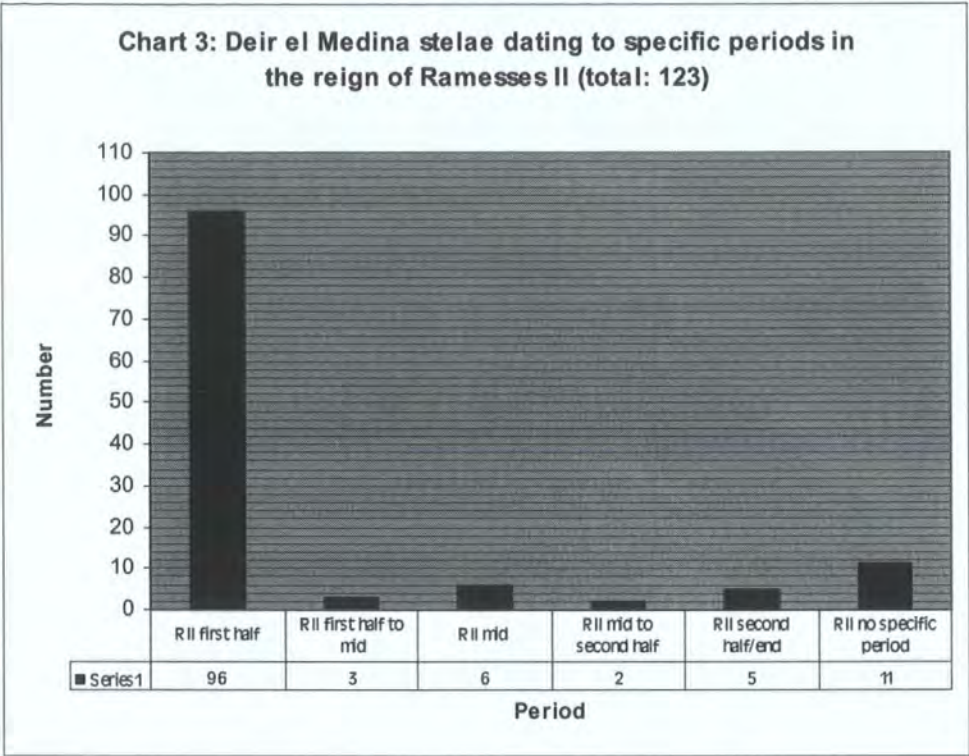


Chart 2 shows a clear peak in the reign of Ramesses II, with 123 hits, and a second smaller peak across the reigns of Ramesses III (27 hits) and Ramesses IV (30 hits).

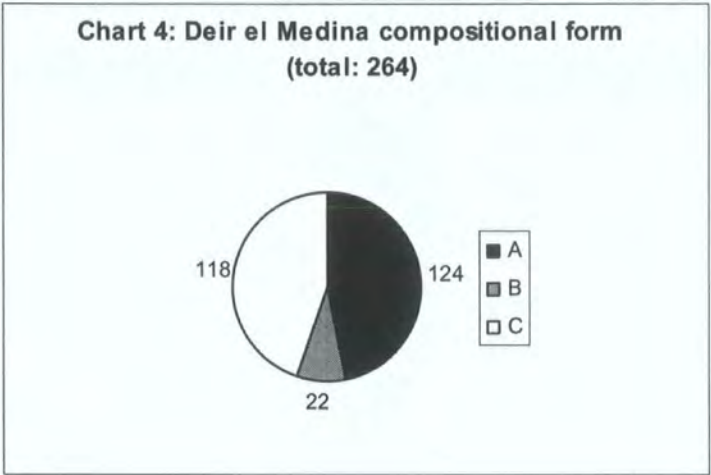


It has been possible to date many stelae to periods within Ramesses II's long reign (c. 66 years). The figures represent the number of stelae precisely, that is, there are in total 123 stelae from Deir el Medina dating to the reign of Ramesses II. The large number of stelae dating to this reign can be partially explained by the length of the reign. This interpretation does not account the marked peak of stelae production during the first half of the reign. Such a peak will be shown to be partly the result of policy decisions made by Ramesses II at the start of his reign (see *Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2*).

The second peak in stelae production is across the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV. The shorter reigns and less genealogical and prosopographical information for this period have not allowed stelae to be so easily placed within parts of the reigns. The majority of the Ramesses III stelae (18/27) date to this reign and the subsequent reigns, suggesting that they may have been dedicated by individuals active towards the end of this reign and into the reign of Ramesses IV.

3.1.3 *Compositional form*

The analysis of compositional form looks at the broad groups A (direct divine access), B (mediated divine access) and C (indirect divine access).



Expressed as percentages, the proportion of the forms of stelae dedicated at Deir el Medina is A: 47%; B: 8%; C: 45%. The Deir el Medina residents employ an almost equal proportion of compositional forms A and C.

3.1.3.1 Diachronic analysis of the use of representational forms at Deir el Medina

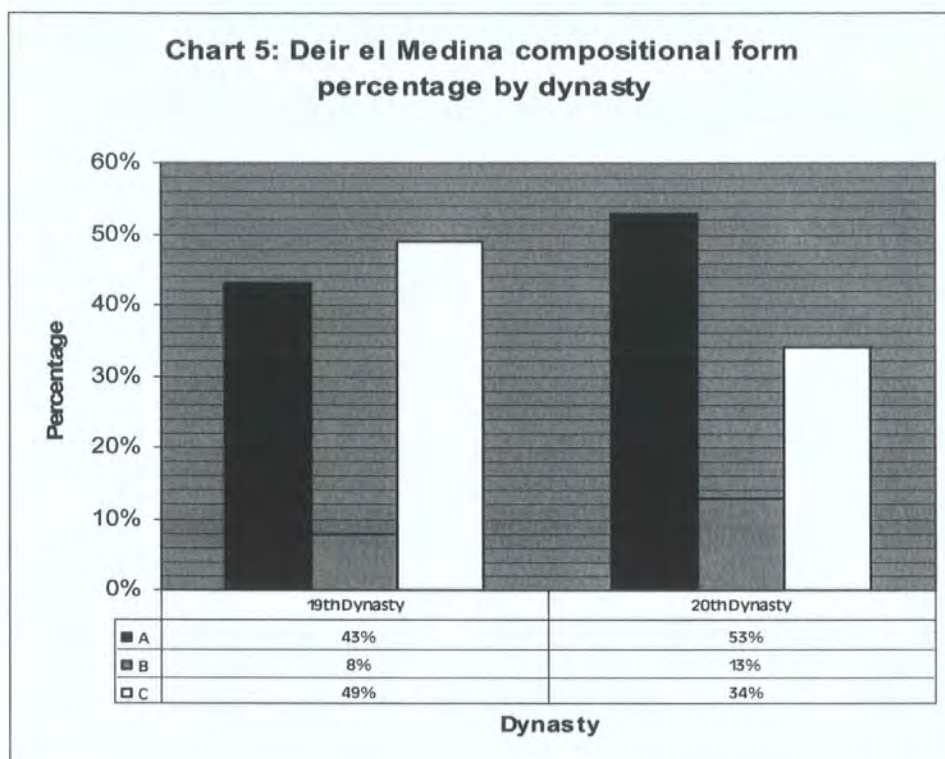


Table 3: Number of compositional form A, B and C stelae dedicated at Deir el Medina in the 19th and 20th Dynasties

	19 th Dynasty	20 th Dynasty	Undated
A	73	34	17
B	13	8	1
C	84	22	12
Total	170	64	30

Chart 5 compares proportionally the use of A, B and C stelae in the 19th and 20th Dynasties at Deir el Medina. *Table 3* gives the actual number of stelae. The stelae in the 'undated' column are those that have not been assigned to a dynasty. The percentages in *Chart 5* reveal that there is a proportional increase in the use of type A stelae and corresponding decrease in type C stelae into the 20th Dynasty. Type B stelae also increase slightly.

3.1.4 The Reign of Ramesses II

Section 3.1.1.2 revealed a clustering of stelae to the first half (or first half to middle) of the reign of Ramesses II (99 stelae). Of these, 44 are type A (44%), 6 are type B (6%) and 49 are type C (50%) (see *Table 4* below). These figures reveal that the compositional forms used at this period are generally in line with the overall proportion

of stela forms used (A: 47%; B: 8%; C: 45%), with a slightly larger proportion of type C stela.

Table 4: Number and proportion of compositional form A, B and C for the reign of Ramesses II, the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, and stela not dating to the reign of Ramesses II

	Ramesses II	Ramesses II first half	Not Ramesses II
A	49 (40%)	44 (44%)	75 (53%)
B	11 (9%)	6 (6%)	11 (8%)
C	63 (51%)	49 (50%)	55 (39%)
Total	123	99	141

If there is a discrepancy in the proportions within the dataset when the stela dating to Ramesses II's whole reign, and to the first half of the reign, are removed, then we can conclude that the stela produced within this king's reign or part reign influence the results for the whole Deir el Medina dataset. The stela from the reign of Ramesses II are therefore anomalous in the sense that they are not representative of the Ramesside period as a whole. The figures in *Table 4* above reveal that there are proportionally less type A stela and more type C stela during the reign of Ramesses II than before or after it; the type B stela are equally divided between the reign of Ramesses II and outside of his reign. The proportions for the whole of Ramesses II's reign and the first half of his reign are fairly close.

A closer look at the type B stela reveals that of the 22 type B stela in this dataset, 11 (50%) date to the reign of Ramesses II and 6 (27%) can be securely dated to the first half of his reign. This is an extremely high frequency for this type of stela at any one period. Of the 13 19th Dynasty type B stela, the percentage dating to Ramesses II's reign rises to 85% (11/13). There is a clear clustering of type B stela in this king's reign, and, in particular, to the first half of his reign.

3.1.5 The period Ramesses III-Ramesses IV

Table 5: Number and proportion of compositional form A, B and C for the period Ramesses III-Ramesses IV

	Ramesses III-Ramesses IV
A	25 (51%)
B	7 (14%)
C	17 (35%)
Total	49

Compared to the full Deir el Medina dataset, the period Ramesses III-Ramesses IV produces a comparatively large proportion of type B stelae (14% compared to the overall proportion of 8%) with more type A (51% compared to 47%) and less type C (35% compared to 45%) stelae.

3.1.6 Summary and conclusions

The Deir el Medina dataset comprises 264 votive stelae, the majority of which can be dated with a fair degree of accuracy to a reign or reigns, due to the wealth of genealogical and prosopographical research that has been carried out on the data from Deir el Medina. Around two thirds of the stelae date to the 19th Dynasty. The majority of these (123) date to the reign of Ramesses II, with 99 stelae dating to the first half (to middle) of the reign. A second peak of stela production occurs across the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses IV.

In terms of compositional form, the dataset as a whole presents almost equal proportions of type A (direct divine access) and type C (indirect divine access) stelae, with far fewer type B (mediated divine access) stelae. There is an increase in type A and, to a lesser extent, type B, stelae, into the 20th Dynasty, and a slight fall off in type C stelae. The type B stelae cluster in the reign of Ramesses II, particularly in the first half of his reign. A second clustering of these stelae can be found during the period Ramesses III - Ramesses IV.

Type A stelae have been regarded as typical Ramesside period stelae: they are traditionally thought to demonstrate a change in representational decorum that occurs from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty, where a private individual can now be shown adoring or offering to a deity directly and on the same register, without the use of an intermediary (Podemann Sørensen 1989: 121-122; see *Sections 1.4; 2.2.4.1*). The Deir el Medina community appear to maintain this trend, producing proportionately

more type A stelae in the 20th Dynasty, with a fall off in type C stelae. The type B stelae, however, do not follow the trend suggested by Podemann Sørensen (1989: 120-123), where mediated access to a divinity would become unnecessary as direct divine access became permissible. Instead, the type B stelae cluster at particular periods, notably the reign of Ramesses II and the period of the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses IV. Schulman has linked (1988: 194-196) the use of living intermediaries to actual events, and it may be that these stelae were created as a result of certain events or official activity, given that they feature public high-ranking figures such as the king, the vizier or the foreman of the gang, as intermediaries. If this is the case, and the event can be identified, then the stelae can be more precisely dated (see *Chapter 4*).

A closer look at the stelae from the first half (to middle) of the reign of Ramesses II reveals that 21 of the 99 stelae (21%) are the monuments of one man: the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) (see *Sections 4.1.1, 6.4*). 18 of these stelae are type C, therefore Ramose (i)'s type C stelae account for 21% (18/84) of the type C stelae from the 19th Dynasty, 29% of the type C stelae from the reign of Ramesses II (18/63) and 37% of the C stelae from the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (18/49). It is clear that Ramose (i)'s prolific monuments influence the proportion of type C stelae for this period. Given his high status and aristocratic background (Malek 1974: 165; Davies 1999: 79, n. 31; see *Section 4.1.1.5*), his choice of stelae design, at odds with the proposed typical Ramesside type A design (Podemann Sørensen 1989: 121-122), may have influenced the choice of stelae of his contemporaries at Deir el Medina, thus aggravating this anomaly. Individual influence on aspects of private monuments may be more of a factor than has previously been understood. Without Ramose (i), type A stelae would dominate the dataset and may more accurately reflect stelae design choice within the community at this period, closely following Podemann Sørensen's proposed New Kingdom trends. The choice of stelae design may be linked to status: Ramose (i) may have deliberately chosen a more traditional design that reflected the accepted ideology, that of only the king having direct access to the deity.

3.2 Specific Analysis: cult trends

3.2.1 The deities

The most prominent deities in the dataset in terms of the number of their appearances on stelae are Amun-Re, Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari, Mertseger, Ptah and Hathor. There are occasional overlaps of stelae between the groups when more than one god is represented on one stela. The gods are either fully anthropomorphic, mixed (anthropomorphic with animal heads, or in the case of Mertseger, a snake/serpent body with a woman's head), or appear in the form of one of their zoomorphic intermediaries, for example, Amun-Re as the good ram Rehni. The stelae texts express devotion to the deity in the form of a generic hymn, request benefits from the deity (for example, a long life or a good burial), offer thanks for a perceived divine intervention, articulate guilt for a misdemeanour, or record an event, though this is rare.² In some cases the inscription simply consists of identifying labels for the deities and the individuals represented. The texts will not be studied in detail, but will be mentioned if relevant to the discussion.

Table 6 below gives the number of appearances of deities on stelae that appear 10 times or more in column 2. Column 3 gives the number of times that deity appears alone on a stela, and this is given as a percentage in column 4.

Table 6: Recipients of the votive stelae

Deity	Frequency of occurrences on stelae	Number of stelae dedicated to this deity alone	Percentage of stelae dedicated to this deity alone
Amun-Re	51	20	39%
Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari	43	Couple: 14; AI: 13; QAN: 5	33% (couple)
Mertseger	44	25	57%
Ptah	40	20	50%
Hathor	34	13	38%
Mut	20	3	15%
Forms of Horus (total):	17	8	53%
Horus	1	0	0%
Re-Harakhti	8	4	50%
Harsiesi	4	2	50%
Haroeris	2	2	100%
Harmachis	2	0	0%
Near Eastern Gods	14	13	93%
Osiris	14	7	50%
Taweret	10	4	40%

The largest number of stelae features Amun-Re, though in over 61% of cases he is depicted either with members of the Theban triad, or local West Bank deities such as Mertseger, or Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari. The other members of the Theban triad, Mut, Khonsu or Khonsu-em-Waset Neferhotep (there are just seven stelae in the dataset dedicated to Khonsu in both these forms) do not have strong individual cults. Of the five most frequently occurring deities, Mertseger and Ptah have stelae dedicated to themselves alone most frequently (Mertseger: 57%; Ptah: 50%), indicating that these deities have strong individual cults in the community. The Near Eastern gods appear as the triad Qadesh, Reshep and Min (or Min-Amun-Re), occasionally with Astarte and Anat, but only on one occasion (DB365, when Isis is depicted) with indigenous Egyptian gods other than Min. This cult appears to be extremely exclusive (Hulin 1989: 92).

There are stelae dedicated in smaller numbers to other gods, kings (living or dead) and private individuals.

Table 7: Recipients of less than ten stelae in the dataset

Deities	Kings and members of the royal family	Private individuals
Anubis	Tuthmosis IV	An unnamed King's Son of Kush
Atum	Horemheb	The Vizier, Rahotep
Bau-Neteru	Nefertiti and Irethnofret	
Isis	Ramesses I	
Khonsu, Khonsuem-Waset Neferhotep	Seti I	
Khnum, Satis and Anukis (the cataract deities)	Ramesses II	
Maat	Ramesses III	
Meret	Ramesses IV	
Montu	Wadjmosi	
Nebmaat (a form of Ptah) and Net (stela included in the Ptah section)		
Ratawy		
Thoth, Iah-Thoth		

These deities and venerated individuals are discussed in conjunction with the five major deities when they appear with them.

3.2.2. *Cult image sources: introduction*

The representations of deities on stelae are depictions of cult images, or hypostases, which were extant at Thebes during the Ramesside period, and were accessible to the Deir el Medina community.

A number of Deir el Medina tombs retain paintings depicting attendance at state festivals on the East Bank (see *Section 4.2.2.1.1*). Cabrol (1995a; 1995b; 2001) uses tomb representations to reconstruct the architecture and layout of, and changes to, the outlying parts of the Theban temples at any one period. Cabrol extends this methodology to a number of stelae: she describes (2001: 236-238) the stela of Bek (DB54 - non Deir el Medina), which depicts a ram statue and a criosphinx (Hodjash and Berlev 1982: 141 [81]),³ as a kind of geographical map of a part of Karnak temple. Stela DB217 of the Workman, Hesysunebef (i) (r. Ramesses III), depicts a similar scene to that found in TT2 of Khabekhenet (i) of festival activity in the Mut complex at Karnak South (Cabrol 1995b: 53; see *Sections 2.2.4.2 (i); 4.2.2.1.1*); Stela DB231 of the Workman, Qenhirkhopshef (iv) (r. Ramesses III – Ramesses V), contains a long and much discussed text recording the owner's presence in a number of temple areas (Bierbrier 1982a: 105 [73]; McDowell 1999: 100; Andreu 2002: 239-243 [92]; Bierbrier 1982b: 37-38, pl. 8); Stela DB2 of the Draftsman, Nebre (i) (active during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II), depicts a large temple statue of Amun before a temple pylon (Erman 1907: pl. 5).

Cabrol (1995b: 53-54; 2001: 238; 386-413) and Schulman (1981; 1985; 1988) propose that stelae representations can record locations and events identifiable through architectural features and cult statues. The more detailed a stela representation, the easier it is to link it to a particular place or event. The following sections look at the five pre-eminent deities in terms of form and iconography in order to determine and identify the original hypostasis, if possible, or to suggest a hypostasis should a suitable one not be extant. An attempt is made to define temple hypostases which may be represented on stelae, through matching iconography and epithets and/or evidence of popular cult activity on the original hypostasis. The constantly evolving nature of the temples in ancient times and the vast span of time since any such activity took place have erased much of the evidence, so the suggestions for popular cult hypostases are tentative at best.

Each identified or hypothetical hypostasis is discussed with reference to the compositional form of the stelae and the location of their discovery, if known. The titular rank of the dedicators of these stelae is then discussed, followed by a general analysis of the stelae dedicated to each deity.

3.2.2.1 Amun-Re (51 stelae)

3.2.2.1.1 Forms of Amun-Re

Amun-Re can be depicted as a man, often enthroned, with deep blue skin and wearing double plumes, as a ram, a goose, a criosphinx and a bark (Hart 1986: 4; Sadek 1987: 86). Amun-Re is depicted anthropomorphically and as a ram both within his temples and elsewhere. His goose form is not part of the official temple iconography.

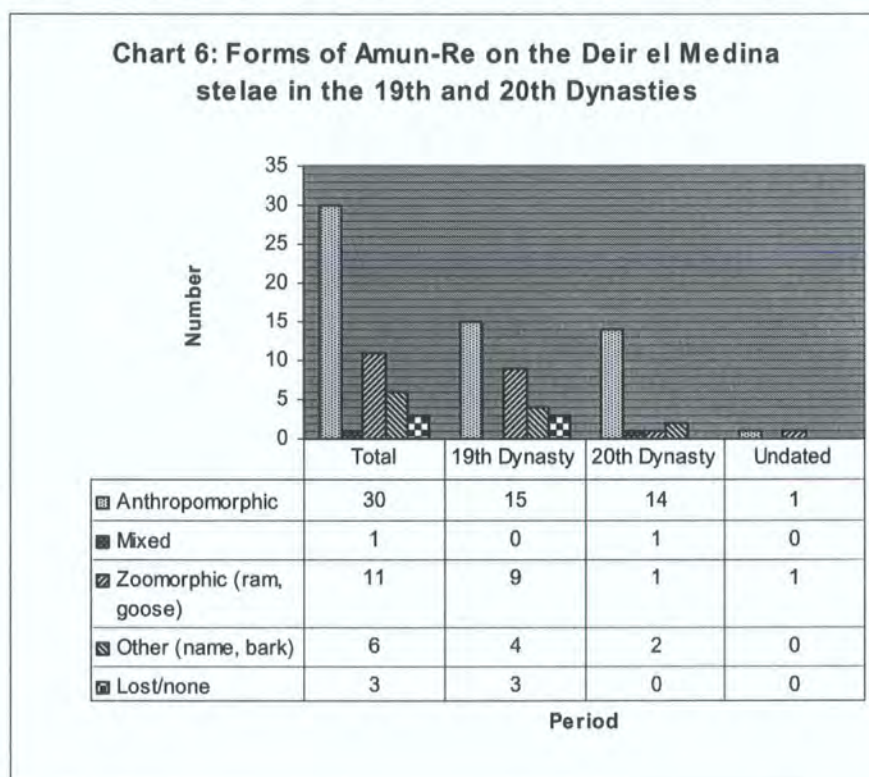


Chart 6 gives the number of occurrences of different forms of Amun-Re in total, and also compares the figures for the 19th and 20th Dynasties. These figures demonstrate a proportional increase in the use of the anthropomorphic representations of Amun-Re and a dramatic fall off of other forms (zoomorphic, bark) from the 19th to the 20th Dynasties. Of particular note is the fall off of zoomorphic forms from nine instances in the 19th Dynasty to only one in the 20th Dynasty. As a percentage, where Amun-Re is

represented, he is anthropomorphic on 59% of the stelae and takes another form on 35%; on 3% of the stelae there is no representation or it is lost.

3.2.2.1.2 Epithets of Amun-Re

Amun-Re's anthropomorphic iconography is standard and specific versions of him must be identified by means of his epithets. Amun-Re has a number of standard epithets that relate to his status as a national god: 'King of the Gods', 'Lord of the Sky', 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands', 'Lord of Appearances', 'Great God' (*nsw ntrw, nb pt, nb nsw t3wy, nb h'w, ntr 3*), to his cult centre at Thebes: 'Ruler of Thebes', 'Lord of Thebes' (*hk3 W3st, nb W3st*) and specifically to Karnak temple: 'Foremost in Karnak' (*hry-ib ipt swt*). The functional epithets, 'Lord of the Gods' (*nb ntrw*) and 'August God' (*ntr špsy*), occur, as well as epithets referring to specific forms of Amun located at Karnak, for example, the 'Eastern One' (*ibb*), and West Bank forms such as 'of Deir el Bahri' (*n dsrt*) and 'of the Happy Encounter' (*n thn(i) nfr*). The stelae also refer to animal forms of Amun: the 'Good Rehni' (*rhni nfr*), the 'Good Goose' (*smn nfr*). Extended epithets articulate his role as one who listens to prayers and aids individuals. Sadek has listed Amun-Re's epithets (1987: 90-93) and noted that 'throughout Western Thebes...Amun is most often given his commonest epithets by ordinary people, just as much as in the great temples of the kings – King of the Gods, Chief in Karnak, Lord of Heaven, Great God, Ruler of Thebes...' (1987: 88). In other words, access via private monuments to Amun-Re of the official pantheon is apparently unrestricted. For a full list of Amun-Re's epithets, see Sadek 1987: 90-92.

3.2.2.1.3 Cult images of Amun-Re on the Deir el Medina stelae

Table 8: Cult images of Amun-Re

Epithet	No of stelae	Form/iconography	Compositional form	Date	Find spot	Image source	Evidence of secondary use on the original hypostasis	Related stelae
The Good Rehni	4	Ram statue	A (1), C (3)	Ramesse s II (first half) (2); 19th Dynasty (2)	Hathor temple precinct (1); unknown (3)	Ram statues in front of the Khonsu temple at Karnak	Yes	DB3, DB19, DB21, DB24, DB30 (ram stelae, different epithets)
The Good (Goose)	3*	Goose statue	A (2), C (1)	Ramesse s II (first half) (1); 19th Dynasty (1)	Hathor temple, precinct (chapel of Seti I) (1), temple of Wadjmose on the West Bank (1); unknown (1)	Geese statues, now lost	Unknown	
<i>3b</i>	1	Mixed form (man with a ram's head)	C	20th Dynasty, Ramesse s III +	Unknown	A cult image possibly located in the south-east corner of the Karnak temple precinct, in the vicinity of the Khonsu temple	Unknown	
Lord of the Gods/August God	6	Anthropomorphic (2), bark (1), name (1), lost (2)	A (2), C (4)	Ramesse s II (first half) (3); Ramesse s II (2)	Ramesseum area: brick building A (1), Hathor temple precinct (1); unknown (4)	Portable statue and bark (now lost)	Unknown	DB10 and DB62, which depict barks
Of the Happy Encounter	5	Anthropomorphic	A (2), B (1), C (2)	19th Dynasty (second half) (1); 20th Dynasty (4)	Medinet Habu (1), Queens' Valley chapels (1); unknown (3)	Local cult statue? (now lost)	Unknown	

*One of these features the Ram of Amun and is also included in the Good Rehni section.

There are 25 stelae outstanding from this table, due to the frequent use of standard epithets and iconography in relation to representations of Amun-Re. Representations of an anthropomorphic Amun-Re abound at Thebes. Ramesside period relief depictions of Amun-Re appear on exterior walls of temples, a number of which have signs of

secondary use. For example, drill holes surround an Amun-Re representation on the external wall of the Amun temple at Karnak (Helck 1968: pls. 26, 35, 49, 75, 80 and 86; see also Guglielmi 1994: 59; Borchardt 1933: 4; figs. 11 and 12), on figures from the Temple of Ramesses III in the first court of the Amun temple at Karnak (two separate examples: Borchardt 1933: 6, figs. 13 and 14 on pl. 3; *Reliefs at Karnak 1936 I*: pls. 7B, 9E), and on a figure on the exterior south wall of the Luxor temple (Borchardt 1933: 5, fig. 10). Doorways are traditional locations for secondary cult images, whose function is indicated by epithets and original inlays. On the staircase of the eighth pylon at Karnak, a graffito records an 'Amun-Re of the wall-thickness (*wmt*) who is in the Wabet (*w^cbt*)' (Guglielmi 1994: 59; Cabrol 2001: 724), which may refer to one of the images decorating the wall of the processional way (Traunecker 1979: 27-28; Cabrol 2001: 724). At Medinet Habu, a figure of Amun-Re with indications of secondary cult usage is located in the doorway through the second pylon (Medinet Habu 1936 V: pl. 254; Fischer 1959: 196; Wildung 1977: col. 673; Guglielmi 1994: 59).⁴

Given the proliferation of anthropomorphic images and their standardisation, the section on Amun-Re must be regarded as rather limited in its successful identification of such cult images.

3.2.2.1.4 Discussion of cult images of Amun-Re on the stelae

The 'Good Rehni' (*rhny nfr*) (4+5)

The 'Good Rehni', from *rhny*, to rest upon, or to travel on water, or to support, raise up (Guglielmi and Dittmar 1992: 119-120; Guglielmi 1994: 61; Cabrol 2001: 392-394), is the epithet applied on five stelae to Amun-Re as a ram. There are no depictions of criosphinxes. There are five additional stelae with representations of the ram of Amun, with different epithets, or none at all: DB3: none; DB19: 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands'; DB21: 'Ruler of Beauty for Eternity' (*hk3 nfrw n dt*); DB24: 'Lord of the Sky'; and DB30, with extensive epithets.⁵

The Good Rehni ram stelae are of compositional form A (1) and C (3); the additional ram stelae are of compositional form A (4) and C (1). There are no type B stelae, indicating that this cult did not receive official attention. Of the nine, two are undated, one dates to the 20th Dynasty, and the remaining six to the early 19th Dynasty, no later than the

middle of the reign of Ramesses II. The five type A stelae are 19th Dynasty (4) or undated (1).

During the Ramesside period the only visible criosphinxes at Karnak were those before the tenth pylon. Ram statues were located along the dromos to the temple of Mut, installed by Amenhotep III (Cabrol 2001: 237-238), and were moved to the front of the Khonsu temple, where they stand to this day, during the reign of Ramesses II (Cabrol 2001: 268). These ram statues occur in the representations of parts of the Karnak temple complex in the tombs of Khabekhenet (i) (TT2) and Neferabu (i) (TT5) (Cabrol 1995b; 2001: 262-269; see *Sections* 2.2.4.2; 3.2.2; 4.2.2.1.1). Khabekhenet (i) was active in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, Neferabu (i) in the middle of the same reign. The stela of Bek (DB54 – non-Deir el Medina) depicts one each of these statue types. These ram statues and criosphinxes are restricted to the Karnak temple complex and do not appear on the West Bank (Cabrol 2001: 342). Their appearance on Deir el Medina stelae indicates that Deir el Medina residents visited the East Bank and its temples, at least occasionally. If, as Cabrol argues (see above), the ram statues were moved during the reign of Ramesses II, the men who depicted the statues in their tombs and on stelae may have been involved in the operation, or present at the concluding ceremony.

The heads of the ram statues (and criosphinxes) have been worn smooth as if frequently touched, and there is evidence of 'cupules' on the bodies (Cabrol 2001: 246; 722) – oval or circular indentations caused by rubbing the stone to create dust (Traunecker 1987; see *Figure 10*).



Figure 10: Criosphinxes before the first pylon at Karnak, showing the 'cupules'
(Photographs: K.M. Exell)

The base of one of the criosphinxes in front of the tenth pylon has a niche which may have served as a small chapel (Cabrol 2001: 234; 721). Cabrol concludes (2001: 722) that this archaeological evidence together with the frequent depictions of ram statues and criosphinxes on stelae indicate that such statues were indeed the focus of cult attention (see also Guglielmi 1994).

The 'Good Goose' (*smn nfr*) (3)

Guglielmi and Dittmar suggest (1992: 121) that the goose was chosen as a representation of the god Amun through wordplay on that god's name: *imn/smn*.

Of the three sacred geese stelae, two are type A and one type C. Only one stela is dated, DB267, type A, to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Guglielmi and Dittmar's survey (1992) of such stelae places them all in the 19th Dynasty. Again the lack of type B stelae suggests this was a popular rather than official cult, and the use of type A stelae indicates accessibility. The findspots suggest that the stelae were dedicated to secondary cults in the West Bank temples.

Bruyère discovered (1946-1947 (1952): 56) an ebony *smn*-goose statuette base in TT1443, dedicated by a workman called Amennakht. The majority of Leitz's references (2000 VI: 342) for the *smn*-goose come from Deir el Medina,⁶ but Guglielmi and Dittmar record (1992: 128 and pl. 14) a ram and goose stela which has been provenanced to Hermopolis (Ashumunein).

ꜥb (1)

There is only one Deir el Medina stela using this epithet, DB28, a type C stela dating to the 20th Dynasty. There are two non-Deir el Medina stelae with this deity (DB54 dating to the 19th Dynasty and DB319, Ramesside period, dynasty unknown), both type A. The three stelae in the database that have this epithet apply it to different forms of Amun: the mixed form, a criosphinx and a ram (this latter on stela DB319, non-Deir el Medina).

The epithet has been discussed by Hodjash and Berlev (1982: 140-141), Guglielmi (1994: 65) and Cabrol (2001: 395), and taken to indicate either a geographical location (*iꜥb*, 'eastern') or as the word 'desire', based on a stela from El Bersheh which depicts the ram of Amun with the epithet *ꜥb Kmt*, 'who desires Egypt'. Discussing the stela of Bek (DB54), Cabrol suggests (2001: 203) that the epithet might indicate that the criosphinx

depicted with this epithet could be one located on the east of the dromos approaching the tenth pylon, east of the temple of Khonsu, as the stela also depicts Khonsu. The epithet also occurs in the Medinet Habu geographical list (E103; Nims 1952: 42) where an anthropomorphic Amun-Re is described as *ꜥb st nb pt* ('Who desires the throne/place(?), Lord of the Sky'). A version of this list was inscribed on the façade of the plinths of the criosphinxes that now stand before the tenth pylon (Cabrol 2001: 203). They were moved further north by Ramesses II to allow for his own construction work at Luxor, and inscribed with his titulary (Cabrol 2001: 207). The criosphinx with this epithet, depicted on the stela of Bek, may refer to the particular criosphinx that has Amun-Re *ꜥb*...from the geographical list on the front of the plinth.

The small number, lack of findspots⁷ and variable factors make it hard to draw any conclusions about this hypostasis.

'Lord of the Gods'/'August God' (*nb ntrw/ntr špsy*) (6 + 2)

Kruchten has argued (2001: 609) that the epithet 'Lord of the Gods' (*nb ntrw*) refers specifically to the form of Amun-Re that gave oracles, and that the term 'august god' (*ntr špsy*) refers to a deity who gives oracles. These epithets therefore have been taken as identifying an oracular form of the god Amun-Re on the stelae. This oracular form can take the form of the portable statue of the god carried in the sacred barks, so depictions of such images have also been taken as oracular forms (see *Section 4.1.2*).

The six principal stelae in this group date to the reign of Ramesses II, with three dated more specifically to the first half of this king's reign. They are type A (2) or C (4). The two additional stelae which, due to their depiction of divine barks, may belong to this group, date one each to the 19th and 20th Dynasties and are both type C. The seven stelae dating to the reign of Ramesses II suggest that oracles or festival processions involving the giving of oracles were a particular feature of this reign. The one stela, DB10, dating to the 20th Dynasty belongs to the Senior Scribe, Amennakht (v), and depicts a procession but with no oracular epithets.

The lack of type B stelae in the Deir el Medina group suggests that these stelae represent personal petitions that took place during festival processions, and not official oracles involving the king or his representative. The proportionally high use of type C

stelae suggests that these stelae are semi-official, perhaps set up in the vicinity of a local temple, and, indeed, two of them were found in or near West Bank temples.

Of the two type A stelae, DB194 depicts a festival procession which is not necessarily oracular, and DB2, belonging to the Draftsman, Nebre (i), is unusual in both its representation and text. This unique stela (Schulman 1988: 44) depicts a statue of Amun-Re before temple pylons, and invokes the god as 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Great God, Foremost in Karnak, the august god who hears prayer...; Amun of the City, Great God, the Lord of the Forecourt, great of grace; Lord of the Gods' (*nb nsw t3wy, ntr ʕ3, hry-ib ipt-swt, p3 ntr špsy sdm nhwt...*; *ʕmn n niwt, ntr ʕ3, nb n p3y wb3, ʕ3 ʕny; nb ntrw*). The stela has been extensively published in the context of its perceived encapsulation of 'personal piety' (see Section 1.3; Gunn 1916: 83-85; Erman 1907: pl. 5; Bierbrier 1982: 97; Kitchen 1982b: 200-202; Schulman 1988: 44-45; Davies 1999: 153-154). The epithets used are oracular, suggesting that this statue was approached as part of a festival or oracular ceremony, and the unique nature of the representation suggests that this kind of access was unusual. The text records thanks to Amun-Re for curing Nebre's son Nakhtamun (iii). In the text Nebre (i) states 'I will make this stela in your name and I will inscribe this hymn on its face for you' (*tw.i r irt ʕhʕw pn hr rn.k mtw.i smn n.k p3y sb3 m sš hr hr.f*), clearly linking the making or commissioning of the stela to the event of Nebre (i)'s temple visit. The stela is recorded as coming from the Ramesseum Area, Brick Building A (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 683; see McDowell 1994: 56 for a discussion of the provenance of this stela), and may represent a colossal statue of Amun-Re from the Ramesseum, or from an East Bank temple.

'Of the Happy Encounter' (*n t3n(i) nfr*) (5)

This epithet only occurs on stelae dedicated by members of the Deir el Medina community. Of the five stelae in this group, two are type A, one is type B and two are type C. The two type C stelae have findspots, at Medinet Habu and the Queens' Valley Chapels. Given that this is a local form of Amun-Re, it is perhaps surprising to find a type B stela in the group. A closer inspection reveals that the intermediary is a statue of the deified king Amenhotep I brought before Amun-Re 'of the Happy Encounter', together with Mut and Khonsu, perhaps as part of a festival.

Four of the stelae date to the 20th Dynasty. DB141 of an unidentified Workman, Nebnefer, has been dated to the second half of the 19th Dynasty (Bierbrier 1982b: 39;

Quirke 1992: 40), but given the dates of the other stelae in this group, it may be the case that this stela should be re-dated to the 20th Dynasty.

This form of Amun-Re may well be a late Ramesside form only, and depict a statue of the god resident at Deir el Medina at this period.

3.2.2.1.5 *The dedicators of the Amun-Re stelae*

The stelae dedicators have been divided into five groups: Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers (the two foremen and the senior scribe), Priests (those using lay priesthood titles), Workmen (members of the gang), women and male individuals not using titles.

Table 9: Identified forms of Amun-Re and the titular rank of the dedicators

Epithet	Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers	Priests	Workmen	Women	No Title	Total
The Good Rehni	2	0	6	0	1*	9
The Good Goose	1	0	1	0	1*	3
The Eastern One	0	0	1	0	0	1
Lord of the Gods/August God (oracle)	3	1	4	0	0	8
Of the Happy Encounter	1	1	3	0	0	5

*The same stela

The Vizier, Panehsy, dedicates a stela, DB270, found in the temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el Bahri, to Amun-Re, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Residing in Karnak'. No women dedicate stelae to these forms of Amun-Re, or, indeed, across the whole subset of 51 stelae. The ram and 'of the Happy Encounter' forms receive proportionally the most attention from workmen. Access to Karnak to visit the ram statues was therefore available to the workmen, and not restricted to their chiefs. The lack of priestly titles in this group may be indicative of the fact that this was not a cult local to the Deir el Medina community. The oracular form is equally balanced between the workmen, the chiefs of the gang and the priests, which may indicate relatively restricted access.

3.2.2.1.6 The Amun-Re stelae in general

Appendix 4 presents a set of tables that look at the full subset of Amun-Re stelae, both the stelae that represent hypostases of Amun-Re that have been identified, together with the remaining stelae, to analyse trends within this cult as a whole across the Ramesside period at Deir el Medina.

The tables are in three sections:

1. The subset across the period;
2. The compositional form, and the findspot of the stelae – to reveal any relationship between form and place of dedication;
3. Rank of the dedicators, the compositional form, and the findspot – to reveal any relationship between form, place of dedication and rank.

All of these sections are assessed diachronically.

Table 10: Summary of the analysis of the Amun-Re stelae in general

Compositional Form	Provenance/findspot	Rank	Date
A	Type A stelae cluster at the official cult centres and the West Bank mortuary temples	No type A stelae are left by those using religious titles. The majority are left by the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group and the Workmen group	The overall number of type A stelae drops off by the expected proportion, but are maintained in the same number by the Chiefs of the Gang and Vizier group into the 20 th Dynasty
B	The three provenanced type B stelae are from official locations: the Hathor temple or the Queens' chapels. The Karnak provenance is dubious (see Table 11 in Section 3.2.2.2.3)	Type B stelae are dedicated by Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group, and those using religious titles	All type B stelae are dated. The number of type B stelae doubles in the 20 th Dynasty, from two to four.
C	The Hathor temple precinct attracts C stelae in the 19 th Dynasty	Type C stelae are dedicated by a large proportion of the Chiefs of the Gang and Vizier's group in the 19 th Dynasty	The drop off in number of type C stelae from the 19 th to the 20 th Dynasty is slightly less than expected.

3.2.2.1.7 Summary and conclusions

There are 51 stelae dedicated to Amun-Re, 61% of which include other deities, indicating that Amun-Re did not have a significant individual cult on the West Bank. The Amun-Re stelae demonstrate a relative increase into the 20th Dynasty. Amun-Re is depicted most frequently in his anthropomorphic form, and this form increases in frequency over the Ramesside period. The general increase and that of the anthropomorphic form may in part be the result of the introduction of new cult forms of the god such as Amun 'of the Happy Encounter' in the late 19th or early 20th Dynasty.

The zoomorphic forms of Amun-Re almost all occur in the 19th Dynasty; there is one ram form currently dated to the 20th Dynasty.

The type B stelae increase in use into the 20th Dynasty, going against the suggested trend for increased direct divine access as the Ramesside period progressed (Podemann Sørensen 1989: 120-123; see *Section 1.4*). These stelae are dedicated at official cult locations by high ranking individuals, supporting the theory that type B stelae with representations of living intermediaries are connected with actual events at official cult locations.

The fact that no women dedicate stelae to Amun-Re (see *Table 9*) reflects the restricted access to 'monumentality' (Foxhall1994: 135-136; see *Section 6.1*) - public, long-term representation - that women had, and is a feature of the dataset. Women do not dedicate stelae themselves to any forms of Amun-Re, appearing only as relatives on a small number of stelae and on one of the ram stelae. Cult access for women was therefore extremely restricted in relation to Amun-Re.

The standard iconography and epithets of the anthropomorphic Amun-Re make differentiating between original hypostases difficult. Images of Amun-Re are, unsurprisingly, extremely common at Thebes, and many of them display evidence of secondary cult use (see Traunecker 1979; 1987). Five clear forms of Amun-Re have been identified, with the ram form having an extant original hypostasis in the rams now in front of the Khonsu temple at Karnak, originally located in front of the Mut temple. This identification allows a discussion of cult access and activity around the Karnak temple complex. The goose and 'of the Happy Encounter' forms may be exclusive to Deir el Medina.

There were numerous festivals celebrated in the name of Amun-Re and depictions of the god on stelae may relate to festival occasions. The most important Theban state festivals were the Opet festival and the Valley festival, in which the king participated.⁸ The Opet festival was celebrated in the second month of the inundation season (Myśliwiec 1985: 19) and lasted for up to twenty-seven days (Bell 1997: 158). This festival celebrated the renewal of the royal Ka and the gods Amun-Re of Karnak and Amun of Luxor (Bell 1997: 157), and involved transporting the statues of the Theban triad from Karnak to Luxor temple (Bell 1997: 160-162). The Valley festival was

celebrated in the second month of the harvest season (Myśliwiec 1985: 19). The statue of Amun-Re was brought across from Karnak to the West Bank to visit the Hathor shrines at Deir el Bahri and the active mortuary temples (Schott 1952: 32; Otto 1975: col. 242; Myśliwiec 1985: 21). The level of public participation in the Opet festival is open to debate.⁹ Participation in the Valley festival is suggested by the depictions of the event in tombs (Schott 1952; Myśliwiec 1985: 21; Cabrol 2001: 608-616).

The Amun-Re stelae have demonstrated both the difficulties inherent in attempting to link stela images with original hypostases, and the information that can be gleaned when this can be achieved. With the Amun-Re stelae there is a 50% success rate of the methodology, and this has allowed the tracing of trends in Amun-Re cults over the Ramesside period: the rams and geese are predominantly early 19th Dynasty, and the link of the rams on stelae to known statues at Karnak informs us that there was particular interest in the ram statues in the reign of Ramesses II, when they were moved from the Mut temple to the Khonsu temple. Tomb paintings suggest that there may have been a particular link between the Deir el Medina workmen and the Mut temple complex (Cabrol 1995b: 54), and that the workmen may have been significantly affected, or involved, with Ramesses II's alterations at Karnak. The oracular stelae are another significant feature of the reign of Ramesses II. In the 20th Dynasty, a new local Deir el Medina form of Amun-Re appears, Amun 'of the Happy Encounter'. The anthropomorphic form of the god and the nature of the epithet suggest that this may have been a processional statue.

The existence of defined trends in the production of Amun-Re stelae demonstrate that their production is linked to historical events and changes. The existence of context for the stelae in the form of tomb paintings and the extant ram statue hypostases, supports such a historical reading. The festival context suggested for access to Amun-Re hypostases indicates the form of social practices that the stelae relate to.

3.2.2.2 Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari (43 stelae)

3.2.2.2.1 Forms of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari

Amenhotep I has two principal iconographic forms. In the first, he wears a cap crown (*ib*s), with a head band and uraeus serpent. This headdress can be plain, or surmounted by the atef crown. He carries one or more of the heka-sceptre, flail and ankh sign. The second form of Amenhotep I wears the blue crown (*hprš*), and can also carry the aforementioned attributes (Černý 1927: 165-166; Redford 1986: 53; Tosi 1988: 174). Based on two paintings in TT2 of Khabekhenet (i), dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, which show Amenhotep I in one each of these two headdresses, one identified as Amenhotep 'the Favourite (of Amun)' (*p3 ib ib/p3 h3ty (n 'Imn)*) wearing the blue crown, and one as Amenhotep 'of the Village' (*n p3 dmi*) wearing the cap crown, Černý has argued (1927: 168 and figs. 13 & 14) that there existed two distinct cult statues of the king. The Deir el Medina blue crown representation is the rarer of the two (Myśliwiec 1976: 38) and seems to appear on stelae and in tombs dating to the reign of Ramesses II only (Černý 1927: 168; Tosi 1988: 174; Quinn 1991). Often described as a military crown, Davies has argued (1982: 75; see also, Hardwick 2003) that this crown has associations with the coronation. The epithet 'of the Village' does not appear on stelae.

Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari are always represented anthropomorphically, with only slight iconographic differences, for example, wearing different crowns, and the use or not of a palanquin. In this section the 'forms' of Amenhotep I are categorised according to the crowns and to the use of a palanquin. There will be an unavoidable overlap between crowns and palanquin groups. The representation of Queen Ahmes Nefertari without her son is treated here as a 'form', i.e. as a separate group.

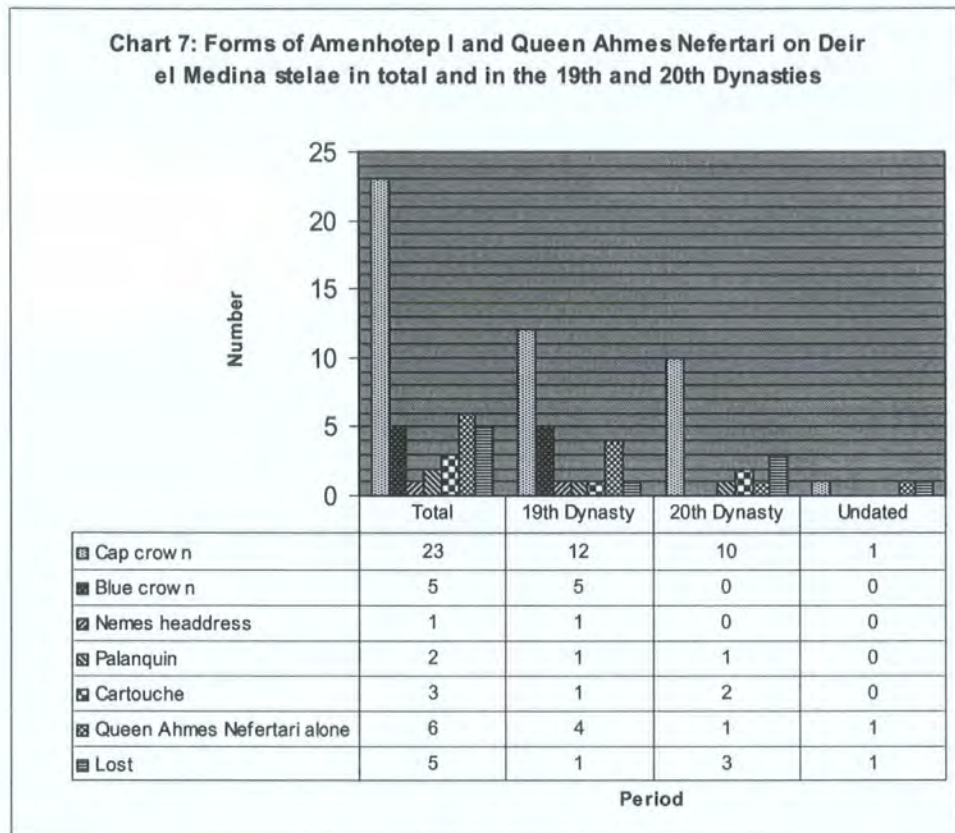


Chart 7 (above) gives the number of occurrences of the different 'forms' of Amenhotep I. The cap crown is by the far the most popular form of Amenhotep I, and increases in use relatively into the 20th Dynasty. The blue crown and nemes headdress only occur in the 19th Dynasty. The palanquin is rare, with one occurrence in each dynasty. Queen Ahmes Nefertari alone enjoys a more popular cult in the 19th Dynasty than in the 20th Dynasty.

3.2.2.2.2 Epithets of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari

Textual evidence refers to numerous forms of the Amenhotep I in addition to those found in TT2 of Khabekhenet (see above): 'the Favourite (of Amun)' and 'of the Village'. The sources list Amenhotep 'of the Garden', Amenhotep 'of the Forecourt' (Papyrus Abbott; Černý 1927: 162) and Amenhotep 'who navigates on water' (Lepsius 1900 III: 282, cited in Černý 1927: 162; see also Cabrol 2001: 614-615). Papyrus Abbott goes on to identify cult temples belonging to the forms of Amenhotep I mentioned (Černý 1927: 163). Only one cult temple has been identified, that of the mortuary temple of Queen Ahmes Nefertari and Amenhotep I, Men-Aset, located at Dra Abu el-Naga'a and excavated by Spiegelberg in 1896 (Spiegelberg 1898; Černý 1927: 163; Porter and Moss 1972 II: 422-

423; Sadek 1987: 132; Cabrol 2001: 40; 546 and n. 227). In addition, there existed an Amenhotep 'Pakhenty' (lintel BM369 [153]; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 737) and Amenhotep 'favoured of Hathor' (Papyrus Bologna 1094, 10, 1.9-11, 1.4; Černý 1927: 164; Sadek 1987: 133).

On all the stelae but one, stela DB117 where Amenhotep I wears the blue crown and is identified as 'the Favourite', Amenhotep I receives only generic epithets which do not differentiate between the different forms of the god known from other sources. Amenhotep I's epithets relate either to his identity as a deceased and divine king: 'Lord of the Two Lands' (*nb t3wy*), 'Lord of Appearances' (*nb ḥꜥw*), 'Perfect God' (*ntr nfr*), 'Son of Re' (*s3 Rꜥ*), 'Great God' (*ntr ʿ3*), 'Lord of Rites' (*nb irt ḥt*), 'Given Life (like Re for Eternity)' (*ḏt ʿnh (mi Rꜥ n ḏt)*); or to a local West Bank form: 'the Favourite (of Amun)'.

Queen Ahmes Nefertari's epithets relate to her role as a royal wife and king's mother (*ḥmt nsw (n nb t3wy)*, *mwt ntr wrt n nb t3wy*), her royal status (*ḥnwt t3wy*), her divine status (*ʿnh mi Rꜥ n ḏt*), and her role as a God's Wife of Amun/of the Lord of the Two Lands (*ḥmt ntr (n imn/n nb t3wy)*).

3.2.2.2.3 *Cult images of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari on the Deir el Medina stelae*

On the majority of the stelae Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari have strings of standard epithets that are attached to a variety of forms. As a result, the following table identifies forms of Amenhotep I by iconography rather than epithets, and suggests versions of the deity known from other sources, such as tomb paintings and papyrus records, that these forms may represent.

Table 11: Cult images of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari

Form/iconography	No of stelae	Epithets	Compositional form	Date	Findspot	Image source	Secondary use
Amenhotep I in the blue crown	5	Lord of the Two Lands (2); Lord of Appearances (1); Given Life like Re for Eternity (2); Son of Re (1); Perfect God (1); The Favourite (1)	A (2); B (1); C (2)	Ramesses II (first half) (2); Ramesses II (2); 19 th Dynasty (1)	Unknown	A statue given by Ramesses II, discovered in the Khenu-chapel	Unknown
Amenhotep I in the cap crown	23	Lord of the Two Lands (and/or) Lord of Appearances (12); Perfect God (3); Great God (1); Son of Re (3); Given life (like Re) (4); Lord of Rites (2); Lord of Strength (1)	A (13); B (3); C (7)	19 th Dynasty (1); Seti I-Ramesses II (+) (7); Merenptah-Siptah (4); 20 th Dynasty (2; 1 is second half); Ramesses III (+) (4); Ramesses IV (+) (3); Ramesses IX (1); Undated (1)	Queens' Valley Chapels: Chapel A (1); Village (2); Chapel of Hatshepsut (?) (1)*; Western Cemetery, Chapel 1190 (1); unknown (18)	A local village statue; known elsewhere as 'The Favourite'	Unknown
Amenhotep I in the nemes headdress	1	Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re, Given Life like Re	C	Ramesses II (first half)	Gurnah	A temple statue?	Unknown
Amenhotep I in the palanquin	2	Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Appearances (2); Given Life like Re for Eternity (1)	A	Ramesses II (first half); Ramesses III - VI	Unknown	One of the local village statues	Unknown
Queen Ahmes Nefertari	6	God's Wife (of Amun) (3); Great Divine Mother of the Lord of the Two Lands (1)	A (4); B (1); C (1)	19 th Dynasty (mid) (1); Ramesses II (2); Siptah (1); Ramesses IV+ (1); Undated (1)	Chapel of Hatshepsut (?)* (1); unknown (5)	Local statue/statuettes?	Unknown

*Stelae DB262 and DB263, dedicated by the Foremen, Anhurkhawy (i), and Neferhotep (ii), both in post in the latter stages of the reign of Ramesses II and after, have traditionally been provenanced to a 'Chapel of Hatshepsut' at Karnak (Porter and Moss 1972 II: 455, 456). James has convincingly argued (1976: 7-10; see also Bierbrier 1982b: 27) that this 'chapel' never existed, but that the finds recorded as coming from here were in fact gathered and buried by the antiquities dealer Mohamed Mouhassib from whom Wallis Budge purchased them. These are the only two stelae in the Deir el Medina dataset to have a Karnak provenance, which supports James' argument.

Table 11 accounts for 35 of the 43 Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari stelae. Two of the stelae, DB75 and DB98 occur in the local statue sections and again in the palanquin section. The remaining eight stelae retain insufficient information to attach them to a

group. Two of these, DB99 and DB153, were dedicated by foremen and one, DB192, by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), and their omission from consideration is unfortunate.

The cult of Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari was not restricted to the West Bank. A chapel to the pair has been identified at Karnak (Andreu 2002: 252) and two stelae, DB37 and DB44, are dedicated to Amenhotep I by high ranking military, non-Deir el Medina men, who depict Ramesses II as the intermediary (see *Section 3.2.3.6.2*). Černý has suggested (1927: 163) that certain cult images of Amenhotep I may have originated in Karnak and transferred and flourished on the West Bank, though this cannot be proven (see also, Sadek 1987: 133).

3.2.2.2.4 Discussion of cult images of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari on the stelae

Amenhotep I in the blue crown (5)

Other than 'the Favourite (of Amun)', Amenhotep I's epithets are standard royal epithets that relate to the deceased king's royal and divine status. Type A and C stelae are evenly balanced; the type B stela, DB296, is slightly misleading as, although Ramesses II is used as an intermediary, this is in relation to Amun-Re and Mut, while the dedicator, the unidentified Wab-priest and God's Father of Amun, Anhotep, adores Re-Harakhti, Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari. Four of the stelae date to the reign of Ramesses II, with two placed in the first half of this king's reign. In the light of the other stela dates, stela DB92, dating to the 19th Dynasty, may be dated more specifically to the reign of Ramesses II. None of these stelae have findspots.

Another form of Amenhotep I in the blue crown is known from outside Deir el Medina at this period: Amenhotep I 'of the Forecourt' (*n p3 wb3*).¹⁰ This version appears in TT19 (Foucart 1932 IV, pls. 28-32; Černý 1962: fig. 9; Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 139 [31.6.5]; Cabrol 2001: 552-553; 608-609; pl. 33) whose owner is a priest in the god's priesthood.

Table 12: Representations of Amenhotep I in the blue crown from Deir el Medina

Object	Provenance	Dedicator	Deity	Epithets/type	Date	Publication details
Stela DB75	Deir el Medina	Wab-priest of Amenhotep I, Atumnaht	Amenhotep I, Tuthmosis IV	Amenhotep I: Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Appearances, Given Life like Re for Eternity; Tuthmosis IV: Great God. Palanquin	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 717; Tosi-Roccati 1972: 83-84, 281
Stela DB92	Deir el Medina	Huy (no title)	Amenhotep I	Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Given Life like Re for Eternity	19 th Dynasty, [Ramesse s II]	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 720; Tosi Roccati 1972: 61-62, 272
Stela DB117	Deir el Medina	Sculptor, Qen (ii)	Amenhotep I	The Favourite	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II (first half)	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 723; Bierbrier 1982b: 37, pls. 84-85; Kitchen 2000: 462-463
Stela DB138	Deir el Medina	Foreman, Nebnefer (i)	Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari	Amenhotep I: Good God, Son of Re; Queen Ahmes Nefertari: Great Royal Wife, May She Live	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II (first half)	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 727; Buhl 1974: 24 [10]
Stela DB295	Deir el Medina	Ramose (no title)	Amenhotep I offers to Osiris and Anubis with Renut below	Amenhotep I: none	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II (based on blue crown)	Bruyère 1930b: 183, fig. 97
Stela DB296	Deir el Medina	Wab-priest and God's Father of Amun, Anhotep	Amenhotep I	None	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II	Corteggiani 1975: 152-154, pl. XXV
Tomb painting in TT2 of Khabekhenet (i) (east wall)	Deir el Medina	Workman, Khabekhenet (i)	Amenhotep I	Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Appearances...in his Good Name of 'The Favourite'. Palanquin	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II (first half)	Černý 1927: fig. 13; Porter and Moss 1960 I.1: 7 (11)
Statue Louvre E. 16277	Deir el Medina, Room 9 of the Khenu-chapel attached to the Hathor temple	Ramesse s II?	Amenhotep I	n/a	19 th Dynasty, Ramesse s II	Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 42 and pl. XXXII [112]; Porter and Moss 1960 I.1: 698; Andreu 2002: 255 [202]

The epithet 'the Favourite (of Amun)' is almost wholly restricted to the reign of Ramesse s II and to Deir el Medina stelae and tomb representations. The one exception is DB277 of the Wab-priest of the Prow of Amun, Huy, which has a representation of

Amenhotep I 'the Favourite'. This stela is catalogued as non-Deir el Medina (see *Section 3.2.2.6.4.2*), but this is not certain. Amenhotep I 'of the Forecourt' may pre-date Ramesses II if TT19 dates to Ramesses I-Seti I (Quinn 1991: 174; see Černý 1962: 42 for a date in the 20th Dynasty). Amenhotep I in the blue crown is known from the 18th Dynasty, for example, royal representations at Karnak from the reign of Amenhotep I (Quinn 1991: 172-175). The majority of these representations seem to be actual portraits of the living king, as may be the Girton College stela discussed by Quinn (1991: 173) which is dated on stylistic grounds to the early 18th Dynasty and possibly contemporary with Amenhotep I. There is a representation of Amenhotep I in the blue crown from the tomb of Nebamun (TT181) which dates to the reigns of Amenhotep III-Amenhotep IV (Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 130).

Bruyère excavated a large wooden statue of a standing king wearing the blue crown (Louvre E. 16277; Porter and Moss I.1: 698) in the Khenu-chapel of Ramesses II attached to the Hathor temple. He identified this statue as Ramesses II and associated it with the royal cult that he took to be the focus of this chapel (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 42 and pl. XXXII [112]). In the exhibition catalogue for the 2002 exhibition of material from Deir el Medina, *Les artistes de Pharaon: Deir el-Medinéh et la Vallée des Rois*, this same statue is tentatively identified as Amenhotep I (Andreu 2002: 255 [202]). The latter identification fits well with the numerous depictions of Amenhotep I in the blue crown from Deir el Medina, which date to the reign of Ramesses II.

The column base Cairo JdE 25111/51512 (Černý 1927: 194-195; Porter and Moss 1964 1.2: 739) gives a list of the members of the priesthood of Amenhotep I in the middle of the reign of Ramesses II (see *Table 13*). Černý suggested (1927: 196) that this column base related to the erection of a column in a sanctuary of Amenhotep I to mark 'une occasion solennelle'. It is tempting to link this column base to the (re-?) establishment of the Amenhotep I lay priesthood in connection with a new statue of Amenhotep I introduced to the Village by Ramesses II, in his likeness, wearing the blue crown, and called Amenhotep 'the Favourite (of Amun)'. One problematic element is that the majority of the individuals listed are known to have been active during the middle part of the reign of Ramesses II, rather than the first half, when it is more likely that such an event would have taken place, particularly in the light of the dating of the stelae and tombs with representations Amenhotep I in the blue crown. The individuals' period of

active service may have to be slightly re-evaluated, or it may be that a number of them, for example, the sons of Qen (ii), were very young when they entered the lay-priesthood.

Table 13: Individuals listed on the column base Cairo JdE25111/51512

Name	Priestly title (on the column base)	Other title	Known active period of service	Filial relationship	Davies (1999) reference
Qen (ii)	Servitor of Djeserkare	Sculptor	Ramesses II: first half		p. 176
Huy (xiii)	Wab-priest of Amenhotep I	Sculptor	Ramesses II: first half - mid	Son of Qen (ii)	p. 176
Nebre (i)	Lector priest of Amenhotep I	Draftsman of Amun	Ramesses II: first half		pp. 153-155
Amenemwia (i)	ʿ3 n ʿ		Ramesses II: mid		p. 207
Pendua (i)	Wab-priest		Ramesses II: mid	Son of Qen (ii)	p. 207
Tjauenhuy (i)	Wab-priest		Ramesses II: mid	Son of Qen (ii)	p. 176
Pendua (iii)	Wab-priest		Ramesses II	Brother of Nebre (i)	p. 65
Penshenabu (ii)		Workman	Ramesses II: first half		p. 181
Apehty	Fanbearer	Workman	Ramesses II: mid		p. 205
Neferronpet (ii)	Wab-priest	Sculptor	Ramesses II: mid		pp. 88-89; 183

Two families are represented, those of the Sculptor, Qen (ii), and the Draftsman, Nebre (i), together with other individuals. The men listed are members of the leading families in the Village in the early to middle part of the reign of Ramesses II.

Amenhotep I in the cap crown (23)

The epithet group 'Lord of the Two Lands' (and/or) 'Lord of Appearances' (*nb t3wy nb hꜥw*) occurs on 12 of these stelae. All of the epithets refer to Amenhotep I's royal and divine status. This form of Amenhotep I is evenly balanced across the period, with 12 dating to the 19th Dynasty and 10 to the 20th Dynasty; one is undated. This indicates a proportional increase in these stelae into the 20th Dynasty. In terms of representational types, 12 are type A, evenly spread between the 19th and 20th Dynasties, three are type B, one 19th Dynasty, two 20th Dynasty, and seven are type C, five in the 19th Dynasty

and two in the 20th Dynasty. The two type B stelae dating to the 20th Dynasty are dedicated by individuals using priestly titles, and one, DB229, comes from the Queens' Valley chapels where Amenhotep I shares the stela with Ptah. In both these cases the intermediary is a vizier. The 19th Dynasty type B stela, DB301, comes from one of the votive chapels (Chapel 1190) in the Village where an unidentified queen shakes sistra before the couple. It is not clear whether the sistra-player is a real person or a statue is unclear. Stela Cairo JdE43649 (Porter and Moss 1937 V: 93) from Abydos depicts a bark with an oracular statue of Ahmose hidden from view in a kiosk. In front of the kiosk is a small figure of a queen, a statuette, shaking sistra (Legrain 1916: 161-167, pl. XVI). The proportion of these stelae including family members, and colleagues, is high, and this may be linked to Amenhotep I and his mother's accessibility to all as a popular funerary and ancestor cult deities.

Though findspots are few, the occurrence of these stelae in the Village and at Votive Chapels fits with the initially popular nature of this cult. In the dataset, the cult seems to have been practised from the reign of Ramesses II, initially alongside the blue crown statue cult and then continuing without it. The cult of this statue continues across the period in question, though it appears to evolve into something more official. In the 20th Dynasty, foremen continue to patronise the cult, and the number of priests dedicating stelae increase. Two out of the three 20th Dynasty priests clearly identify themselves as belonging to the cult of the 'Lord of the Two Lands' (*n nb t3wy*) = Amenhotep I (see, *Section 3.2.2.2.5*). This evidence indicates the existence of a more established and organised priesthood evolving later in the Ramesside period, in line with the inclusion of Amenhotep I in the decorative scheme of the Queens' Valley chapels (Chapel B, second room: Bruyère 1930b: 21-22; Chapel F, rear naos: Bruyère 1930b: 42-45). Perhaps the statues of the royal couple paid a visit here as part of the coronation celebrations that are recorded in chapels A-E (Bruyère 1930b: 13-42).

TT2 of Khabekhenet (i) (see *Section 3.2.2.2.1*) depicts Amenhotep I in the cap crown identified as 'of the Village' (Černý 1927: 168 and fig. 14). This epithet does not appear on stelae, perhaps as a result of constraints of decorum that did not allow such a popular form of the god to be defined on public monuments such as stelae. Alternatively, it may have been that Khabekhenet (i) was differentiating the blue crown statue, 'The Favourite', from the original Village statue, in his tomb. A number of statuettes of

Amenhotep I in the cap crown survive from Deir el Medina (see, for example, Andreu 2002: 255 [203]), some of which may have served as the source for the stelae images.

Amenhotep I in the nemes headdress (1)

Only one stela, DB175, depicts this form of Amenhotep I, dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Amenhotep I has the standard royal epithets, 'Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re, Given Life like Re'. The stela is type C. It depicts Ahmose in the blue crown with Ahmes Nefertari as a matching pair to Amenhotep I and his mother. Redford suggests (1986: 51-54) that the deceased kings depicted on monuments are images of cult statues carried in festival processions on the West Bank (see also McDowell 1992b: 101-102). A cult image of Tuthmosis II in the nemes headdress certainly existed on the West Bank: reliefs record the transport of the statue in this king's mortuary temple (Bruyère 1926 (1952): 43, fig. 23, pls. 5, 6, 7; Redford 1986: 54). One of the dedicators, Smentawy¹¹ chooses to use the title wab-priest, which may indicate a priestly function at a festival ceremony recorded on the stela. No family or colleagues are included.

Amenhotep I in the palanquin (2)

There are two stelae, DB75 and DB98, depicting Amenhotep I in the palanquin, both of which use the epithets 'Lord of the Two Lands' and 'Lord of Appearances', the latter epithet being a standard royal and divine epithet for kings and Amun-Re (Leitz 2002 III: 712), but may also relate to the role of this cult statue as the portable festival hypostasis. The stelae are type A. Their dedicators were active in the 19th Dynasty, during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (DB75), and the 20th Dynasty, during the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses VI (DB98). The 19th Dynasty stela was dedicated by the unidentified Wab-priest of Amenhotep I, Atumnakht; the 20th Dynasty stela by the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (ii).

The statue on the 19th Dynasty stela wears the blue crown; that on the 20th Dynasty stela the cap crown; both statues are protected by Maat. There are two further database stelae, DB37 and DB44, non-Deir el Medina (see *Sections* 3.2.2.2.3, 3.2.3.6.2) that depict Amenhotep I in the palanquin protected by Maat, dedicated by high-ranking military men. On these stelae Ramesses II offers to his deified ancestor, and in both cases Amenhotep I wears the blue crown.

These stelae may depict festivals of Amenhotep I, of which nine are known from Deir el Medina (Sadek 1987: 135-138; see also Černý 1927: 182-183). Amenhotep I in the palanquin has also been linked to his role as an oracle giver at Deir el Medina, when the statue of the god appeared and was consulted (Černý 1962: 43-46; McDowell 1999: 172; see Section 4.1.2). Analysis of the dates on which the Village court (*knbt*) gathered, which were followed by consultations of Amenhotep I, and the known festival days of Amenhotep I have revealed that oracular consultations could and did occur on days other than the festival days of Amenhotep I (Vleeming 1982; McDowell 1990: 114). In TT19 of Amenmose, Amenhotep I 'of the Forecourt' is depicted (Foucart 1932 IV: pls. 28-32; Černý 1962: fig. 9) with the text recording an oracular decision. Whether the stelae, which do not have such texts, depict Amenhotep I the oracle giver or Amenhotep I simply in festival procession cannot be ascertained.

Queen Ahmes Nefertari (6)

Queen Ahmes Nefertari is primarily defined by her role as 'God's Wife of Amun' (*hmt-ntr n Imn*), and as the mother of Amenhotep I. The majority of these stelae are type A and include family members, indicating the popular and accessible nature of this cult, for example, stela DB87 is dedicated by a woman. The type B stela, DB262, dedicated by the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (i), has a statue of Tuthmosis IV as the intermediary. The source for the images of Queen Ahmes Nefertari may have been statues or statuettes of the deified queen, a number of which are known from the Village (Andreu 2002: 260-263 [211-213]).

3.2.2.2.5 The dedicators of the Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari stelae

Table 14: Identified forms of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari and the titular rank of the dedicators

	Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers	Priests	Workmen	Women	No Title	Total
Blue crown	1	2	1	0	1	5
Cap crown	4	4	13	0	2	23
Nemes headdress	0	1	0	0	0	1
Palanquin	1*	1+	0	0	0	2
Queen Ahmes Nefertari	1	0	4	1	0	6

* A cap crown stela

+A blue crown stela

No viziers dedicate stelae to Amenhotep I. One stela, DB134 to Queen Ahmes Nefertari, is dedicated by a woman, the Lady of the House, Hori, together with the Lady of the House, Iyi (undated). In general, a high proportion of chiefs and individuals using priestly titles dedicate stelae – Queen Ahmes Nefertari is the only cult form not to receive stelae from priests, which may indicate that her cult had no lay priesthood at Deir el Medina. Gitton has argued (1975a: 91-92) that she had an official cult in the 18th Dynasty based at her funerary temple Men-Aset, with cult personnel, but by the Ramesside period she had developed a popular cult at Deir el Medina, where she was associated with Amenhotep I.

The frequency of priestly titles, three of which use the epithet 'of the Lord of the Two Lands' and one 'of Amenhotep', indicates the existence of a lay priesthood of this god, which is known from other sources (see Černý 1927: 192-197; Lesko, B.S. 1994: 23; see *Section 3.2.2.2.4*). The blue crown stelae are dedicated by a high proportion of priests and chiefs of the gang, and there is a marked tendency to dedicate the stela alone or with one other colleague, not with family. The small number of stelae, and the high or religious rank of the majority of the dedicators, indicates limited access to this particular cult statue. The same may be the case for Amenhotep I in the palanquin, suggesting that either festivals or oracular occasions of this god had restricted access, or that the god is shown being carried in procession as part of a larger state festival in which only chiefs of the gang or members of the god's priesthood could participate, or represent participation. On the cap crown stelae, the one priestly title dates to Seti II, the rest are 20th Dynasty. In addition, foremen continue to patronise the cult into the 20th Dynasty. This evidence supports the idea of a more established and organised priesthood evolving later in the Ramesside period (see *Section 3.2.2.2.4*)

3.2.2.2.6 The Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari stelae in general

Appendix 5 contains the tables that look at the whole group of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari stelae, to analyse trends within this cult as a whole across the Ramesside period at Deir el Medina.

Table 15: Summary of the analysis of the Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari stelae in general

Compositional form	Provenance/findspot	Rank	Date
A	Only one type A stela has a findspot, in the Village.	Type A stelae are favoured by the Workmen group; one is dedicated by a woman.	The number of type A stelae dedicated in the 19 th and 20 th Dynasties is almost equal.
B	Type B stelae are dedicated at the Votive Chapels (one) and the Queens' Valley chapels (one). The Karnak stela can be disregarded (see <i>Table 11, Section 3.2.2.2.3</i>). The content of the other two (DB89 and DB296) provides a clue to their provenance (see below, <i>Chapter 4</i>).	Type B stelae are principally dedicated by individuals using priestly titles.	The number of type B stelae drops off slightly into the 20 th Dynasty.
C	Type C stelae are dedicated at the Hathor temple precinct (one), the Votive chapels (one) and the Village (one). The Karnak temple stela can be disregarded (see above, (see <i>Table 11, Section 3.2.2.2.3</i>).	Type C stelae are dedicated by the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group, and the Workmen group.	Type C stelae are only dedicated by the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group in the 20 th Dynasty. The number dedicated overall drops off markedly in the 20 th Dynasty.

3.2.2.2.7 Summary and Conclusion

There are 43 stelae dedicated to Amenhotep I and/or Queen Ahmes Nefertari. 13 are dedicated to Amenhotep I alone, 14 to the couple, and five to Queen Ahmes Nefertari alone. The cult of Queen Ahmes Nefertari is minor, and she does not appear to have a priesthood, but is significant at Deir el Medina rather for her association with her son Amenhotep I.

The fact that the known findspots, of which there are few, are scattered through the Village and at the Votive Chapels, and do not cluster at official locations such as the Hathor temple and the Queens' Valley chapels, may indicate the popular nature of this cult. No viziers dedicate stelae to this cult. The theory that type B stelae are restricted to official locations and are utilised by high-ranking individuals, and, in this case, priests belonging to the god's lay priesthood, is supported. The question of access to official and popular forms of the god arises in relation to the festival/oracular consultation scenes, and to the new statue in the blue crown introduced by Ramesses II. Both the oracular role of Amenhotep I and the new statue give rise to stelae marking access to these more restricted forms of the god, delineating higher status social groups at Deir el Medina. Association with the cult of Amenhotep I ensured the social status of an individual.

There are two distinct forms of Amenhotep I: one wearing the blue crown and one wearing the cap crown. There are fewer stelae with the blue crown form, and they are restricted to the reign of Ramesses II, and to high ranking individuals, who do not include family, indicating exclusivity. The appearance of Ramesses II on non-Deir el Medina stelae, offering to Amenhotep I in the blue crown in the palanquin, may record the introduction of a new statue in the image of Ramesses II. A Ramesside statue of a king wearing the blue crown is extant, from the Khenu-chapel attached to the Deir el Medina temple, which can be tentatively identified as Amenhotep I, and may be the source of the blue crown images. This statue, or one like it, may have become a new cult statue in the Village, which had the power to make oracular decisions. Evidence for the giving of oracles as a juridical process involving the statue of Amenhotep I does not predate Ramesses II (see *Section 4.1.2*).

Amenhotep I in the cap crown is the version of the cult that exists throughout the Ramesside period. This is Amenhotep I as the founder of the Village, called by Khabekhenet (i), in his tomb, 'of the Village' perhaps to define the cult statue rather than this being the name of the statue. This cult is accessible to a wide demographic set, with the stelae often depicting family and colleagues. It took place in the Votive Chapels and in houses throughout the Ramesside period, and at the Queen's Valley chapels in the 20th Dynasty (one example). The priesthood of this cult seems to develop over the later Ramesside period, perhaps indicating that by then cult had become more established and official.

The cult of Amenhotep I was originally a popular one, originating from the establishment of the workmen's village during his reign to house the workers who constructed his tomb (Černý 1927: 160; Tosi 1988: 174) and the belief in the Ramesside period that it was Amenhotep I who established the 18th Dynasty (Sadek 1987: 131). His cult is centred on the West Bank, but is not exclusive to Deir el Medina (Wente 1963; Hornung 1975: col. 202); as such it contrasts with the Amun-Re cult at Deir el Medina which demonstrates secondary use of state hypostases located across the river. The tracing of original Amenhotep I hypostases is problematic as the majority seem to have been portable statues or small chapel statues that have not survived. Both Sadek and Černý locate chapels to Amenhotep I in the village of Deir el Medina (Černý 1927: 133; Sadek 1987: 83; 133).¹² Papyrus Abbott lists cult temples belonging to the different forms of Amenhotep I (Černý 1927: 163; Cabrol 2001: 545-547), but only one cult temple has

been identified, the mortuary temple of Queen Ahmes Nefertari and Amenhotep I, Men-Aset, located at Dra Abu el-Naga'a, excavated by Spiegelberg in 1896.

Stela DB262 of the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (i), depicts a statue of Tuthmosis IV as the intermediary to Amun-Re and Queen Ahmes Nefertari. Tuthmosis IV also occurs in the text of stela DB75 (Amenhotep I in the palanquin). The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), includes the cartouche of Tuthmosis IV on the relief DM88 (Cairo JdE 72017; Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 39; 66-68 and pl. XXXVI; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697) along with that of Ramesses II and Horemheb. All of these instances date to the reign of Ramesses II. Tuthmosis IV may have had a cult statue in the Village and it is this that appears on stela DB262,¹³ just as there may have been a statue of Tuthmosis II at Deir el Medina (see *Section 3.2.2.2.3*). Alternatively these depictions are of festival processions where statues of deceased kings were paraded (Redford 1986: 51-54). This would explain the representation of Amenhotep I in the nemes headdress on stela DB175, dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, which may be a non-Deir el Medina festival statue. Stela DB262 has the names of Anhurkhawy (i) and his wife added in ink (Edwards 1939: 54, pl. XLV), suggesting that this stela was a generic example perhaps available at a festival event, which Anhurkhawy (i) personalised.

The Amenhotep I stelae may demonstrate the proposed link between votive stelae and festival attendance (see *Section 2.1.3*), which is explored in *Sections 4.1.2* and *4.2.2.1*, in particular in light of the inclusion of statues of other deceased kings on the stelae, a feature of the Theban Valley festival (see *Section 4.2.2.1*).

3.2.2.3 Mertseger (44 stelae)

3.2.2.3.1 Forms of Mertseger

Mertseger can appear anthropomorphically as a woman wearing the horned sun disc, or, occasionally, the double plumes and sun disc. She has mixed forms such as a woman with a serpent head or a serpent with a woman's head, zoomorphic forms such as a single rearing ureaus-serpent, a group of serpents, or a sphinx with a serpent's/woman's head. Mertseger can also take the form of eggs. She can appear in up to three forms on a single stela; as a result, the total number of occurrences of different forms in the chart below is 49 rather than 44.

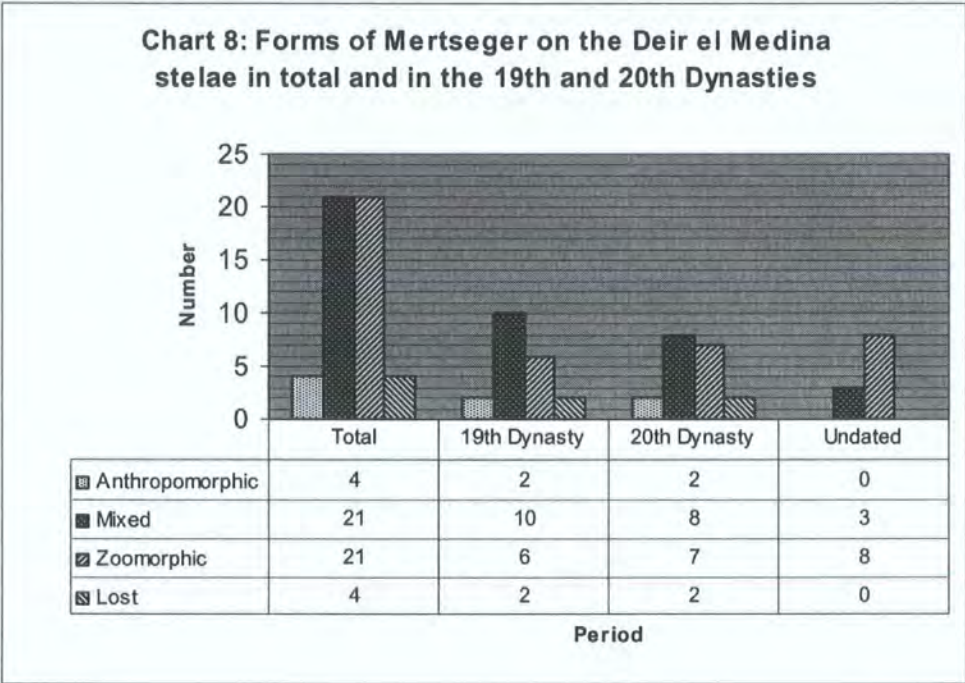


Chart 8 gives the number of occurrences of the different forms of Mertseger. Mertseger appears as eggs on one of the stelae, but she also takes another form on the same stela, so the egg form has not been included as a separate category. As a percentage, Mertseger appears equally zoomorphically (42%) and in mixed forms (42%). She is only fully anthropomorphic on 8% of the stelae (an additional 8% of the subset have lost the representations). This is an extremely low percentage when compared to the percentage of anthropomorphic Amun-Re stelae (59%). This may relate to the popular nature of the cult

throughout the 19th Dynasty. The use of different forms of Mertseger is consistent in number across the period.

3.2.2.3.2 *Epithets of Mertseger*

Mertseger receives a limited repertoire of epithets and often none at all. She appears without epithets most frequently when she is depicted in the company of a number of other gods who receive numerous epithets. Her nature as the personification the 'peak' or 'cliff' may have rendered the use of identifying epithets unnecessary: she was always the same deity.

On 25 occasions Mertseger is described as the 'Mistress of the West' (*hnwt imnt*), which can be extended to 'Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods' (*nbt pt hnwt ntrw*). She is identified as the 'Peak' (*dhnt*) on two occasions, twice again as the 'Mistress of the Two Lands' (*hnwt t3wy*) and once as the 'Mistress of Offerings' (*hnwt df3w*). On eight stelae she has no epithets, and four have lost the relevant text. Two of the stelae have unusual epithets. Stela DB20 identifies her as being 'Excellent of Writing, One who Knows the Divine Words' (*ikr sš nb nty rh md(w)t ntr*). On stela DB291, where she is identified as Mertseger-Renenut and is depicted in three different forms, she has a long string of epithets: 'The Beautiful, the Clement' (*nfr, htpy*); 'Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the 'Clement', She who returns to Kindness, the Beautiful Mistress who is Content' (*nbt pt, hnwt ntrw nb(w)t, htpy, 'nn htp, hnwt nfr htpy*).

3.2.2.3.3. *Cult images of Mertseger on the Deir el Medina stelae*

Like Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari, Mertseger's epithets are often generic and applied to various different forms (for example, 'Mistress of the West, Lady of the Sky'). The following categories are defined by forms rather than epithets.

Table 16: Cult images of Mertseger

Form/iconography	No.	Epithet	Compositional Form	Date	Find spot	Image source	Secondary use
Anthropomorphic (twice with the west glyph on her head)	4	Mistress of the West (3); Lady of the Peak which is before her Lord (1); The Beautiful, the 'Clement', Mistress of all the Gods, the 'Clement', She who returns to Kindness, the Beautiful Mistress who is Content (1)	A (2), C (2)	Ramesses II (first half) (1); Seti II (1); Ramesses III + (2)	Hathor temple precinct (2); unknown (2)	Hathor temple?	Unknown
Mixed: woman with serpent head	17	Mistress of the West (10); Lady of the Sky (3); Mistress of all the Gods (2); Mistress of the Two Lands (1); Excellent of Writing, One who Knows the Divine Words (1); None (5); Lost (1)	A (8), B (1), C (8)	Ramesses II (first half) (4); Seti II-Siptah (1); 19 th Dynasty (3); Ramesses III (+) (3); Ramesses IV (1); Ramesses IX (1); 20 th Dynasty (2); undated (2)	Hathor temple precinct (2); Hathor temple, Khenu-chapel (1); Hathor temple, Chapel F (1); Valley of the Kings (2); Medinet Habu (1); Queens' Valley chapels, Chapel A (1); unknown (9)	Hathor temple?/Queens' Valley chapels?	Unknown
Mixed: serpent with a woman's head	3	Lady of the Sky (2); The Beautiful, the 'Clement', Mistress of all the Gods, the 'Clement', She who returns to Kindness, the Beautiful Mistress who is Content (1); Peak of the West (1); Mistress of the West (1); Mistress of the Two Lands (1)	A (1), C (2)	Ramesses II (first half) (2)	Unknown	Statues extant from the Village	Unknown
Sphinx statue (serpent head (1); human head (2))	3	Mistress of the West (1)	A (2), C (1)	Ramesses III - Ramesses V (1); 20 th Dynasty (1)	Unknown	Portable statue	Unknown
Single serpents	12	Mistress of the West (5); Lady of the Sky (3); Mistress of the Gods (1); Mistress of Offerings (1); Mistress of the Two Lands (1)	A (3), C (9)	Ramesses I (1); Ramesses II (first half) (1); Ramesses II (mid) (1); Seti-Siptah (1); 19 th Dynasty (2); Ramesses III (2); 20 th Dynasty (1); undated (3)	Village (1); Hathor temple precinct (1); Valley of the Kings (1); unknown (9)	Serpent figurines, examples found in the Village	Unknown

Groups of serpents	7	Mistress of the West (6); Lady of the Sky (6); Mistress of all the Gods (3); The Beautiful, the 'Clement'; Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the 'Clement', She who returns to Kindness, the Beautiful Mistress who is Content (1)	A (3); C (4)	Ramesses III (1); Ramesses VII-XI (1); 20 th Dynasty (1)	Hathor temple precinct, Chapel F (1); Village (1); unknown (5)	Serpent figurines, examples found in the Village	Unknown

There are five outstanding stelae for which there is either insufficient information to attach them to a cult image, or, as in the case of stela DB230, the image is so unusual it stands outside the categories. This stela has four serpent heads carved in the round facing forward, along the top of a rectangular stela depicting a cliff face, and shows Isis the Great as an anthropomorphic deity. Yoyotte has interpreted (2003: 291) this stela as a representation of the Queens' Valley chapels which have been traditionally regarded as a sanctuary to Ptah and Mertseger ('L'Oratoire de Ptah et M rseger'; Bruy re 1930b). Yoyotte argues (2003: 290-293) that Mertseger's identification as the *dhnt*, traditionally translated as 'peak' and equated with the mountain overlooking the Valley of the Kings is incorrect; rather, that it should be translated cliff ('butte'), and is linked to representations of Mertseger emerging from such cliff faces. Further, he argues that such places as the cliff housing the Queens' Valley chapels, which demarcate regions, were the location of ancient cults. The rocky cliff face on the way to the Valley of the Queens may have received veneration for a long time before the serpent cult took the form of the Ramesside Mertseger (Yoyotte 2003: 293). Andreu has taken up this argument suggesting that the form of the rocks here represents of a serpent 'pr t   bondir' (Andreu 2002: 275).

3.2.2.3.4 Discussion of the cult images of Mertseger on the stelae

Anthropomorphic (4)

There are four representations of Mertseger or Renenut-Mertseger as fully anthropomorphic. There are two type A and two type C stelae, indicating the popular/semi-official nature of this cult. On three of these she has the epithet 'Mistress of the West', and two representations depict her with the 'west' hieroglyph on her head. One of these comes from the Hathor temple precinct. The stelae with the anthropomorphic representations range in date from Ramesses II (first half) to Ramesses III; the examples with the 'west' hieroglyph are Seti II and Ramesses III; the Ramesses II example is Renenut-Mertseger, with the extended

epithet. This suggests that the anthropomorphic Mertseger as 'Lady of the West' is a later Ramesside form of the deity, when she has evolved from the popular snake goddess into a form of the cosmic Hathor (Yoyotte 2003: 288).

The epithet 'who is before her lord' (*hft-hr nb.s*) is also employed on one of the 'Mistress of the West'/'west'-hieroglyph headdress stelae. The epithet is more commonly applied to Hathor or to a generic Goddess of the West (Leitz 2002 V: 725), though Leitz lists one example of the epithet applied to Mertseger, in the Valley of the Queens (QV43; Leitz 2002 V: 725). On the stela it is applied to Mertseger taking either or both of these roles. The two stelae that have the 'Mistress of the West' epithet and the 'west'-hieroglyph were dedicated by men using priestly titles: DB121 by a Wab-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands and DB316 by a Wab-priest of Amun and Lector-priest of all the gods. Mertseger appears on both these stelae in the company of Amenhotep I, and other gods, to whose lay priesthood the dedicators belong. She is utilised as a generic goddess of the West. The anthropomorphic form of Mertseger is rare and in three of the four cases in the subset she is depicted as such when taking on the role of another deity, for example, here, as the personification of the West (i.e. Hathor) and in the case of stela DB291, as Renenut. On stela DB71 she is depicted as an 'excellent spirit of Re' (*3h ikr n R^c*; Demarée 1983).

There are no known anthropomorphic statues of Mertseger (Bruyère 1930b: 225). Mertseger may have been represented in the reliefs at the Hathor temple, or statues or reliefs of Hathor may have been adopted by the workmen as personifications of Mertseger. Hathor and Mertseger share a number of aspects, in particular the association with the West and their (later) nurturing function. A fragment of a 'Hathor' statue survives whose base is incised with both a rearing and undulating serpent, and it was discovered in the north east angle of the Ptolemaic temple court (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 115, fig. 194 on pl. XX [269]). The statue may represent the amalgamation of Hathor and Mertseger. Mertseger is present at the Queens' Valley chapels in her anthropomorphic form on the 20th Dynasty royal stelae of Setnakht and Ramesses III. In chapel B, on the stela of Ramesses III, she offers papyrus to Osiris (Bruyère 1930b: pl. III). In chapel C, she suckles the young king (Bruyère 1930b: pl. IV). In both cases, she is fully anthropomorphic and wears the double plumes and sun disc on a vulture headdress. In chapel E, she may again suckle the king in the almost destroyed second register of the royal stela, where a goddess wears the horned sun disc (Bruyère 1930b: pl. VI). She does not appear in the extant decoration in the popular cult chapels F and G.

Mixed: woman with a serpent head (17)

This is the most popular form of Mertseger, occurring 17 times and across the period from Ramesses II to Ramesses IX. The compositional form is equally balanced between A (8) and C (8), with one type B. This type B stela, DB228, was dedicated by the Foreman, Khons (v), in Chapel A at the Queens Valley chapels (it remains *in situ*), and depicts the Vizier, To, adoring the cartouches of Ramesses III, and Mertseger holding the *mnpt*-signs. In Chapel B a stela of Ramesses III depicts Mertseger, fully anthropomorphic, offering papyrus to Osiris while Ramesses III makes offerings above, and a Vizier makes offerings below. The stela of Khons (v) may relate to images on this stela, or a related ceremony (see *Section 4.1.3*). The two stelae from the Valley of the Kings are DB169 of the Foreman, Paneb (i) (r. Seti II-Siptah), and DB235 of the Chief Draftsmen, Hori (ix) (r. Ramesses III).

These stelae use Mertseger's generic epithet 'Mistress of the West' ten times. On five of the stelae she has no epithets at all. This cult appears to move from the Hathor temple in the 19th Dynasty to the Queens' Valley chapels in the 20th Dynasty. The 19th Dynasty stelae are predominantly type A (six), and the 20th Dynasty type C (eight). This might indicate that the cult became more official and less accessible in the 20th Dynasty, perhaps when it became linked with the 20th Dynasty royal patronage of the Queens' Valley chapels. The evolution from popular to official cult follows the pattern discussed in the section on the anthropomorphic Mertseger above.

There are no extant source hypostases for Mertseger as a woman with a serpent's head. The stela images may, in the 19th Dynasty, be based on accessible versions of Hathor from the Hathor temple, and, in the 20th Dynasty, on images in the Queens' Valley chapels, where Mertseger emerges as an integrated state deity in a nurturing Hathor-esque role.

Mixed: serpent with a woman's head (3)

There are just three stelae with this image, one type A and two type C, all dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Two of the individuals dedicating stelae are identified: the Workman, Neferabu (i), stela DB150, and the Sculptor, Qen (ii), stela DB291. Both of these individuals inscribe their stelae with long texts. The dedicator of the other stela, DB286, has no title and only part of his name survives ('...pahapi'); his stela is unfinished. The text on Neferabu (i)'s stela asks forgiveness and warns of the power of the Peak of the West (see Sadek 1987: 233, 236), in the same vein as another of his stelae dedicated to Ptah (DB149; Sadek 1987: 236). Qen (ii)'s stela depicts three forms of the goddess: anthropomorphic as



Renenut, as a serpent with a woman's head, and as a group of serpents. It also employs a set of unusual epithets relating to the (hoped for?) clemency of the goddess, as well identifying a feast day on which beer (to placate?) must be offered to Renenut (Clère 1975; Davies 1999: 176; see *Section 4.2.2.5*). This form of the cult is restricted to relatively high status male individuals in the early 19th Dynasty, and is distinguished by the implementation of epithets and hymns requesting clemency and forgiveness. The lack of type B stelae indicates the cult is accessible without official intermediaries.

The relative rarity of this type of stela in the dataset is interesting given that zoomorphic forms of deities are generally regarded as the accessible form of the deity (see *Section 2.2.4.1.1*). There are extant statues and statuettes from Deir el Medina that match the depictions on the stelae, including large limestone statuettes up to 68cm in height depicting an undulating serpent on a base, with a woman's head,¹⁴ and wooden versions with coiled tails.¹⁵

The largest serpent statue, Turin 118, is inscribed for the Ka of the Workman, Pashedu. This Pashedu may be one of a number of individuals with this name, including Pashedu (x), one of the Foremen during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, who perhaps dedicated the statue prior to his promotion. Other candidates are the Workmen, Pashedu (i) and (xiv), and the Chief Draftsman, Pashedu (vii). House SEIX in the Village contained an offering table dedicated by a Workman, Pashedu, together with a number of other items which can be termed 'magical' or 'ritual' (amongst a number of fragmentary offering tables, lintels and naoi): two Bes masks, a flint carved to represent a crocodile, and a flint carved in the form of an obese woman (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 276-277).

It may be that such statues of Mertseger were invoked on special occasions when divine forgiveness was required. Either an individual of some importance owned/had guardianship of the active cult statue that was petitioned, and only certain individuals could access this statue, or the statues themselves were offerings given in exchange for clemency.

Bruyère has argued that such serpent statues came from household shrines and, indeed, he did discover lintels invoking Mertseger in houses in the Village.¹⁶ The majority of these household shrine fragments are however inscribed for Renenut (see, for example, Bruyère

1934-1935 III: 267 (house SEII); 293 (house NOXII); 320 (house SOIII)). Such household shrines inscribed to Mertseger may have held the large limestone or wooden female-headed statuettes of the goddess. Alternatively, they may have housed fully serpentine statuettes, to which many more stelae are dedicated, one of which had a findspot in the Village (see below).

Sphinx statue (3)

The three stelae depict a sphinx statue of Mertseger where she has either a human or a serpent head. An ostrakon design for a stela with such a depiction is known (Leipzig 1660; Brunner-Traut 1956: 90-91, pl. 32 [90]). There are graffiti images of similar versions of Mertseger on the western mountain (Cabrol 2001: 378, n. 628). One of these stelae, DB210, depicts the sphinx on a naos carried by three men in nemes headdresses, and a similar representation can be found the southern chapel of the Ptolemaic Hathor temple at Deir el Medina where three men in blue crowns carry the bark of Sokar (Du Bourguet 2002: 58, 304 [60]). Cabrol suggests (2001: 379) that this unique stela image may express Mertseger's role as the dominating Peak of the West. Two of the three stelae date to the 20th Dynasty, the third is undated. The stelae are either of the A or C type. The dedicators are a Wab-priest, a Workman and a Sculptor.

The lack of epithets (only one stela has any, and then only 'Mistress of the West') and findspots, hinders the establishment of any firm conclusions regarding this cult image, other than it seems to date to the 20th Dynasty and may relate to a cult image carried in festival processions.

Single serpents (12)

Of the 12 stelae depicting serpent figurines, three are type A and nine are type C. There are no type B stelae. Six of the stelae are 19th Dynasty, three are 20th Dynasty and three are undated. This cult is predominantly 19th Dynasty and popular. Mertseger has either no epithets or the standard 'Mistress of the West', sometimes replaced by or extended to 'Mistress of the all the Gods', and 'Lady of the Sky'. On one occasion she is designated 'Mistress of Offerings'. One of the 19th Dynasty stelae was found in the Village, a 20th Dynasty example, where Mertseger also appears as a woman with a serpent head, in the Valley of the Kings, and an undated example in the Hathor temple precinct.

These depictions of serpent figurines seem to represent a purely popular and perhaps domestic cult image, restricted to male dedicators of workman rank with one foreman in the 19th Dynasty, and extending to include women in the 20th Dynasty. Three of the stelae are dedicated by women, two dating to the 20th Dynasty and one undated. The one man who dedicates a stela to this cult image in the 20th Dynasty is the Chief Draftsman, Hori (ix), whose stela includes an image of Mertseger as a woman with a serpent head. This stela was found in the shaft, or in the huts, above KV53 (Reeves 1984: 232 and pl. 30a).

Small limestone and wooden snake figurines have been found at Deir el Medina (Bruyère 1930b: 7; 1945-1947: 39 [87]; 1949-1951: 37 and 76 [J]). That stelae can depict such figurines as cult images is supported by a comparable discovery in a house at Amarna of a stela depicting two ureai-serpents facing each other, with an offering bowl between them. Adjacent to the room in which the stela was found is the findspot of the British Museum clay cobra EA 55594 (Szpakowska 2004 *forthcoming*). The clay cobras discussed by Szpakowska are far cruder than the Deir el Medina serpent figurines, and yet may have functioned as, among other things, domestic cult images. The high quality of the Deir el Medina figurines may be a result of their production by trained artisans, rather than indicating a functional difference.

Serpent figurines have been found at Karnak. Three cobra heads were discovered at the level of the Amenhotep III ramp at Karnak North, and additional examples were located at Karnak West and at the entrance to the Mut temple (Cabrol 2001: 101-102; 672-691; pls. 30; 31). The Amenhotep III examples, however, may have been used in an apotropaic ritual (Cabrol 2001: 682-684), rather than serving as cult foci; the other examples post-date the Ramesside period.

Groups of serpents (7)

Within this category there are two distinct groups: three stelae dedicated by men, two of which date to the 19th Dynasty, one to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, and one undated, which include two or more forms of Mertseger; and four stelae dedicated by women, two dating to the 20th Dynasty and two undated, which depict the group of serpents alone. The latter stelae all have the epithet string 'Mistress of the West, Lady of the Sky, (Mistress of all the Gods)'. In both groups there are type A and C stelae.

The representations may be of actual serpents or of figurines. Small limestone and wooden snake figurines have been found in the Village (see above, last section). The dedication of stelae by women to the serpent figurine may bear witness to both a change in access to stelae as personal monuments, and to the evolution of a domestic cult of a local protective serpent deity separate from the more formal cults patronised by the male members of the community.

3.2.2.3.5 The dedicators of the Mertseger stelae

Table 17: Identified forms of Mertseger and the titular rank of the dedicators

	Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers	Priests	Workmen	Women	No Title	Total
Anthropomorphic	0	2	2	0	0	4
Mixed: woman with a serpent head	2	0	15*	0	0	17
Mixed: serpent with a woman's head	0	0	2	0	1	3
Sphinx	0	1	2	0	0	3
Single serpents	1	0	8	3	0	12
Groups of serpents	0	0	3*	4	0	7

*One of these stelae unusually uses the title 'Child of the Tomb' (*ms-hr*; Černý 1975: 117-120)

A Vizier appears as an intermediary on DB228 of Khons (v) but otherwise viziers do not feature in this subset. There are relatively few chiefs of the gang and individuals using priestly titles; those that do use these titles are attached to the lay priesthood of Amenhotep I. Women dedicate stelae to the serpent forms only of Mertseger.

3.2.2.3.6 The Mertseger stelae in general

Appendix 6 contains the tables that look at the whole group of Mertseger stelae, to analyse trends within this cult as a whole across the Ramesside period at Deir el Medina.

Table 18: Summary of the analysis of the Mertseger stelae in general

Composition al form	Provenance/findspot	Rank	Date
A	The small number of type A stelae with provenances or findspots (4) reveal no real clustering - though two are dedicated at the Hathor temple precinct in the 19 th Dynasty.	Type A stelae are popular amongst the Workmen group and the Women group. Use of type A stelae amongst high ranking individuals drops off in the 20 th Dynasty.	Type A stelae are more popular with all ranks in the 19 th Dynasty. They become exclusive to the lower ranks in the 20 th Dynasty.
B	The two type B stelae come from the Hathor temple precinct and the Queens' Valley chapels, i.e. the official cult locations.	The Type B stelae are dedicated by the Chiefs of the Gang and the Viziers group.	The type B stelae are both 20 th Dynasty.
C	Type C stelae are dedicated at a number of locations, there is no evident clustering.	The Workmen group dedicates the majority of the type C stelae.	There are equal numbers of type C stelae in the 19 th and 20 th Dynasties.

3.2.2.3.7 Summary and conclusions

There are 44 stelae in the dataset dedicated to Mertseger, with 25 (57%) of these dedicated to her alone, the largest proportion out of the five principal deities. She is depicted almost exclusively in mixed or zoomorphic forms, with only four stelae including a representation of her in her anthropomorphic form. Mertseger has a limited range of epithets, and frequently has no epithets at all. Her most common epithet is 'Mistress of the West', her most specific the 'Peak'. She is most often depicted as a woman with a serpent head, while her most restricted forms temporally, and in number, are her depictions as a serpent with a woman's head (Ramesses II, first half) and as a sphinx (20th Dynasty). The serpent with a woman's head can be related to statues discovered in the Village, and her representations as fully serpentine can be related to serpent figurines. Depictions of groups of serpents with no other form of the deity represented are restricted to female stelae dedicators in the 20th Dynasty. No viziers and few chiefs of the gang dedicate stelae to this deity, and any priestly titles used relate to the lay priesthood of Amenhotep I.

There are 16 findspots for the Mertseger stelae, with seven examples from the Hathor temple precinct. Only two stelae come from the Queens' Valley chapels, where it was thought the cult of Mertseger was practiced (Bruyère 1930b; Valbelle 1982: col. 80; Sadek 1987: 83-84). The other findspots are scattered across the Village, the Votive Chapels, the Valley of the Kings and the West Bank mortuary temples. The lack of clustering other than at the Hathor temple makes it difficult to draw any but the obvious conclusion that this cult had a focus at the Hathor temple, as the dominant local cult centre, but may have also been

practiced in different forms at different locations. The type B stelae follow the expected pattern of high ranking individuals dedicating stelae at official cult locations; in the case of Mertseger these stelae appear to reflect the increasingly official nature of her cult into the 20th Dynasty.

Alongside the consistent cult of Mertseger as a woman with a serpent head it is possible to trace different forms of the cult. There appears to have been at least one magical statue of Mertseger as a serpent with a woman's head to which certain individuals had access when clemency from the goddess was required. This statue was in use in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. During the 20th Dynasty the cult of Mertseger evolved into something more official, when representations of her in anthropomorphic form in the role of the nurturing Hathor-esque deity appear. In addition, during the 20th Dynasty, a portable sphinx statue seems to have been carried in processions. During the same period, women began dedicating stelae to the groups of serpents, a form which had previously only appeared on stelae dedicated by men alongside other forms of the deity. The cult of Mertseger appears to have evolved from a local popular cult accessible to the men of the village, to an official cult perhaps centering on the Queens' Valley chapels,¹⁷ with a simultaneous emergence, or at least representational record, of a domestic cult to the fully serpentine Mertseger. The different forms of the cult of Mertseger on the stelae record different groups and their cult activity within the community. The appearance on stelae of the serpentine cult frequented by women is a rare example of female access to the predominantly male monumental record. This example highlights the infrequency of records of female ritual social practices, whilst acting as a reminder of the bias towards elite adult males of the stelae as social records.

Yoyotte identifies two distinct Mertsegers: Mertseger as a cosmic Hathor and Mertseger, the Peak of the West, the local cult: 'Méreseger, divinité féminine fort locale, puisqu'elle est pratiquement confinée sur la rive ouest de Thèbes, en vient à faire la synthèse en sa personne de toute grande déesse égyptienne' (Yoyotte 2003: 288). A graffito in Tuthmosis III's Deir el Bahri temple,¹⁸ where the majority of the inscriptions are addressed to Hathor, invokes Mertseger. This is explained by Marciniak (1974 I: 96 [39]) as a result of her fusion with Hathor. Mertseger begins to appear in royal tombs in the late 19th Dynasty. Her earliest appearance on an official monument seems to be her depiction in the tomb of Tausert (KV8) in the Valley of the Kings, where she appears, as a winged undulating serpent with female head, as 'Mistress of the West' (Champollion 1835-1845 [1970] III: pl. CCXXXV, 1; Bruyère 1930b: frontispiece). The sarcophagus lid of Ramesses III, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum,

Cambridge, carries a carving of a serpent goddess (E.1.1823; Porter and Moss I.2: 526 (66); Hart 1986: 119), who may be Mertseger.

The principal work on Mertseger is Bernard Bruyère's publication (1930b) of the excavations carried out by the French Institute (IFAO) in 1926 of the 7 natural and man-made grottos on the path to the Valley of the Queens (1930b: plan II). Bruyère argues (1930b: 6, 43) that these chapels, which he labeled A-G, were the location of a popular cult to Ptah and Mertseger, and that the stelae found in museum collections representing the goddess can be proven to come from here, taken from the stela niches cut into the walls of chapels F and G (see *Section 4.1.3.1* for a discussion of the name, function and use of the Queens' Valley chapels). There may have been an ancient snake cult centred on the Queens' Valley chapels (Yoyotte 2003: 290-293) whose deity manifested herself in the Ramesside period as Mertseger, a protective deity worshipped at Deir el Medina. Mertseger's cult has traditionally been interpreted as a domestic cult and therefore centered on the women in the community. The snake cult of the 19th Dynasty, however, in the form of snake statues with women's heads, is restricted in the dataset to male figures socially central to the community, and to particular pleas and requests. Women do not noticeably utilise votive Mertseger stelae until the 20th Dynasty, which may be a result of changes in decorum or in cult accessibility.

3.2.2.4 Ptah (40 stela)

3.2.2.4.1 Forms of Ptah

Ptah is always depicted anthropomorphically and mummiform (Sandman Holmberg 1946: 12-17; te Velde 1982: col 1178). He is wrapped in a close fitting garment similar to mummy wrappings and wears a close fitting blue cap, or is shaven headed (Sadek 1987: 100), and a straight beard – the only one of the gods to do so. He can be shown wearing a menat necklace and holding either a was-sceptre or a composite sceptre (ankh, was and djed) (te Velde 1982: col. 1178-1179; Hart 1986: 173). The straight beard worn by Ptah is often called the royal beard, and it has been argued that Ptah may therefore be characterised as a king. Alternatively, the king may have adopted the beard of Ptah (te Velde 1982: col. 1179). There are occasional slight variations in iconography: he can hold the composite sceptre or the was-sceptre, and be shown in a shrine, standing or enthroned (Sandman Holmberg 1946: 13-17). These variations cannot with any certainty be linked to different cult images of Ptah, as such slight variations occur with regularity in depictions of the same original hypostasis of other gods (Schulman 1981: 164).

3.2.2.4.2 Epithets of Ptah

Ptah's epithets can be divided into the following groups: generic, state-god epithets: 'King of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky, Great God, Lord of Eternity' (*nsw t3wy, nb pt, ntr 3, nb nhh*); epithets relating to his role as the patron of craftsmanship: 'Overseer of Craftsmanship, Chief (of) Craftsmen [in Upper and Lower Egypt],¹⁹ Creator of Craftsmanship' (*imy-r hmwt, hry hmwt [...], ms hmwt*); epithets relating to his role as a creator god and the creator of kingship and thus harmony: 'Who Creates the Gods, Unique God in the Ennead, Beautiful of Face on the/his Great Place (=throne), Who loves Truth, Who carries out Maat and Establishes the Two Lands, Lord of Fate, Fosterer of Fortune, Who Sustains the Two Lands by his Skills, Favourite as the King of Both Lands' (*ms ntrw, ntr w m-hnw psdt, nfr hr hry st(.f) wrt, mr m3't, ir m3't smn.ti t3wy, nb 33y, shpr rnnt, s'nh t3wy m hmwt, mry m nsw t3wy*); geographically specific epithets: 'of the Place of Beauty' (*n t3 st nfrw*; the Valley of the Queens; Bruyère 1930b: 48-52; Černý 1973: 88-89; Ventura 1986: 6; 19; 56, n. 129; 186), 'Who is at the South of his Wall' (*rsy inb.f*; the Memphite Ptah; Sandman Holmberg 1946: 204-220; Hart 1986: 175-176), and the difficult to interpret 'Chief in his Opening' (*hry m hpd.f*), which may relate to the

Opening of the Mouth ceremony (Hannig 1995: 525). See Sadek 1987: 104-107 for Ptah's epithets.

Not represented in this list is the Ptah called 'of the Great Door' (*n p3 sb3 3*). This epithet occurs on two stelae in the full dataset dedicated by non-Deir el Medina residents, stelae DB268 and DB269 of 20th Dynasty Wab-priests and God's Servants. The stelae were discovered under the tell of the Temple of Tuthmosis II, not far from Medinet Habu.

3.2.2.4.3 Cult images of Ptah on the Deir el Medina stelae

The epithets rather than the form of Ptah have been used to attempt to define original hypostases. Certain epithets or strings of epithets occur with such regularity that they cannot be used to firmly define cult images. Variants of the epithet string 'Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face in the/his Great Place' occur on 30 of the stelae, and are attached to the majority of the accessible and inaccessible images of Ptah in the East and West Bank temples and shrines. The epithet string 'Beautiful of Face on his/the Great throne' occurs on 22 of the stelae and has been included as a hypothetical group, as there appear to be patterns in terms of dated stelae and find locations.

Table 19: Cult images of Ptah

Epithet	No of stelae	Form/iconography	Compositional form	Date	Find spot	Image source	Secondary use?
Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face in the Great Place	22	Anthropomorphic, mummiform; shrine (6)	A (12); B (4); C (6)	Seti I (2); Ramesses II (first half) (12); Ramesses II (mid) (1); Ramesses II (1); Merenptah (1); 19th dynasty (1); undated (3); Ramesses III (1)	Hathor temple precinct (6); Ramesseum area (1); Queens' Valley chapels, chapel E (1); unknown (14)	Hathor temple statue or relief?	Unknown
Of the Place of Beauty	5	Anthropomorphic, mummiform; scales or feathers (1)	A (4); C (1)	20 th Dynasty (3); undated (2)	Hathor temple precinct (2); Medinet Habu (1); unknown (2)	Queens' Valley chapels?	Unknown
Creator/Overseer/Chief of Craftsmen/Craftsmanship	4*	Anthropomorphic, mummiform	A (1); B (3)	Ramesses II (1); Merenptah (1); Ramesses III (1); Ramesses IV-IX (1)	Hathor temple precinct (2); Queens' Valley chapels, chapel E (1); unknown (2)	Hathor temple official cult statue	Unknown
Who is at the South of his Wall (+ Unique God in the Ennead, Beloved One)	1+	Anthropomorphic, mummiform, in shrine	C	Ramesses II (mid)	Unknown	Medinet Habu Eastern High Gate?; Queens' Valley chapels, chapel D?	Yes (Medinet Habu)
Who Creates the Gods; Lord of Fate, Fosterer of Fortune, Who Sustains the Two Lands by his Skills; Great God; Who Established the Two Lands	3#	Anthropomorphic, mummiform	C	Ramesses II (first half) (2); 19 th Dynasty	Ramesseum area (1); unknown (2)	Karnak temple girdle wall?	

*Three of the B stelae are also in the Craftsmanship section.

+This stela is also has the epithet 'Beautiful of Face in his/the Great Place' and is also included in this section.

#Two of these stelae also have the epithet 'Beautiful of Face in his/the Great Place' and are also included in this section.

There are seven outstanding stelae with insufficient information to attach them to a group. One of these, DB288, contains the epithet 'Chief of his Opening'. The stela owner's name is lost and the stela is undated and has no provenance, so little can be gleaned from it.

There are a number of extant images of Ptah on the East and West Bank that show evidence of secondary use, but have not, as yet, been linked to Deir el Medina stela images. A block from the enclosure wall of the Ptah temple at Karnak depicts a now headless figure of Ptah, epithets lost, standing, while a king offers before him (de Lubicz 1999: pl. 301 and p. 672). De Lubicz notes that the undecorated portion of the block is outlined with 'dots' (drill holes?) and the king is partially cut off, and suggests that the image was intentionally reused. He dates the king shown to the Ramesside period (Lubicz 1999: 672). This may have been an important Ramesside cult image reused later, perhaps visible on an exterior wall when first used. At Medinet Habu, an originally inlaid image of Ptah 'of the Great Door', located in the doorway through the Eastern High Gate is surrounded by drill holes (Bruyère 1930b: 38; Medinet Habu IV: pl. 245). The image has the epithet, 'who hears prayers' (*sdm nḥwt*). This cult image is referred to in the temple by further images of Ptah, 'of the Great Doorway', for example, on the left jamb of the doorway through the first pylon (Medinet Habu IV: pl. 245; Guglielmi 1994: 58), and on column 33 in the second court (Medinet Habu V: pl. 262; Yoyotte 1960: 45 and n. 86). Fischer also identified an image of Ptah, 'who is in the temple' (*ḥry-ib ʿḥwt*), enclosed by six square holes, on the west wall of the second court in the middle register (Medinet Habu V: pl. 290; Fischer 1959: 197); this Ptah also occurs on the exterior south wall, west of the second pylon in the frieze above the second calendar (Medinet Habu VII: pl. 574 D; 576 D).

3.2.2.4.4 Discussion of the cult images of Ptah on the stelae

'Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face in the/his Great Place' (22)

This is largest group, consisting of 22 stelae. Some of the stelae have additional epithets such as 'Lord of the Sky' (*nb pt*) or 'Great God' (*ntr ʿ3*). Where there are further extended epithets the stelae have been included again in the relevant sections. The majority (12) of the stelae are type A. There are four type B stelae, three of which occur again in the Craftsmanship section (below); the other stela, DB113 dedicated by the Workman, Karo/Kel (i), depicts Ramesses II offering Maat to Ptah followed by his Vizier, Paser. This may be a depiction of an official (royal) ceremony (see Section 4.1.1).

The majority of the stelae (16) date to the early 19th Dynasty, (Seti I) – Ramesses II, with 12 dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Six out of the eight with findspots come from the Hathor temple precinct. Stela DB237 comes from the Ramesseum area

and was dedicated by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i); it includes a number of extended epithets and is discussed below.

The findspots suggest that the original hypostasis may have been a relief or statue, now lost, from the Hathor temple. An image of 19th Dynasty date with this epithet can be found in Queens' Valley chapel G. The epithet occurs again in the 20th Dynasty chapels B, D and E (Bruyère 1930b: 21-22; 38-44).

'Of the Place of Beauty' (5)

Other than stela DB7, which has the additional epithet 'Great One', all of these stelae use only this epithet. The three dated examples date to the 20th Dynasty, with varied findspots: Medinet Habu, the Hathor temple and the Queens' Valley chapels. Four of the five are type A and this, together with the lack of type B stelae, indicates a popular accessible hypostasis.

The topographical term 'Place of Beauty' has been identified as the Valley of the Queens (Bruyère 1930b: 48-52; Černý 2001 (1973): 88-89; Ventura 1986: 6; 19; 56, n. 129; 186). One of the stelae was discovered in the area of the Queens' Valley chapels. It is tempting to conclude that these stelae depict a relief or statue of Ptah housed in the Queens' Valley chapels, despite the fact that the majority of the stelae were discovered elsewhere and that there is no extant image in the Queens' Valley chapels with the epithet 'Of the Place of Beauty'; the original hypostasis may have been a statue, now lost. The Queens' Valley chapels do provide a number of images of Ptah. The 19th Dynasty chapels (F and G) both include Ptah in the tableaux of deities decorating the walls. In Chapel F the seated Ptah has lost his epithets; in Chapel G, he is standing and identified as Ptah 'Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face in the Great Place' (*nb m3^ct nsw t3wy nfr hr hry st wr(t)*). Ptah '[in the] Great [Place]' (*[hry st] wr(t)*) appears on the stela of Ramesses III in Chapel B, and Ptah 'Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face in the Great Place' (*nb m3^ct nsw t3wy nfr hr hry st wrt*) on the stela of Setnakht in Chapel E. Perhaps the most likely source hypostasis is that found in chapel D, on the right wall, where the 75 cm high image was originally inlaid with 'turquoise enamel' (faience?) (Bruyère 1930b: 38). He is called Ptah 'South of his Wall, Lord of Memphis, Beautiful of Face who is in the Great Place' (*rsy inb.f nb nḥ t3wy nfr hr*

hry st wr(t)). These epithets indicate that this may be the source hypostasis of another of the stelae images, perhaps in addition to this one.

'Creator/Overseer/Chief of Craftsmen/Craftsmanship' (4)

These stelae span the Ramesside period. The two 19th Dynasty examples were discovered in the Hathor temple precinct; the Ramesses III example in Chapel E at the Valley of the Queens. These three stelae are type B and were dedicated by a Foreman, a Senior Scribe and the Vizier, Panehsy, the highest ranking individuals in the community. The type A stela, findspot unknown, was also dedicated by a foreman.

The epithet may relate to a cult image housed in the Hathor temple or the adjacent Seti I chapel. The fragmentary stela of the Vizier, Panehsy (DB244), depicts Merenptah offering Maat to Ptah, enthroned, with the goddess Maat standing behind him protecting him with her wings (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 143, fig. 233). This was discovered in the Eastern Sector of the Hathor temple precinct, and probably formed one of a pair of façade stelae from the Seti I Hathor chapel (Sadek 1987: 62). Ptah is called Ptah 'Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face, Creator of Craftsmen'. Ptah 'Overseer of Craftsmanship' occurs in TT3 of the Foreman, Pashedu (x), dating to the early 19th Dynasty (Zivie 1979: 42-43 and pl. 18). This form of Ptah also has the epithet 'Who creates the Gods' (see below). Other possible accessible images with this epithet include an image on the exterior north wall of the Qurna temple of Seti I (Osing 1977: pl. 13), and on the external wall of Karnak temple decorated by Ramesses II. The wall carries a number of images of Ptah: on the south wall there is a representation of Ptah '[...] Creator of the Gods' (*ms ntrw*); also 'South of his Wall', *rsy inb.f*, and 'Great of Strength', *3 phty*) standing in a shrine holding the composite sceptre (Helck 1968: pl. 53).

'Who is South of his Wall' (+ 'Unique God in the Ennead, Beloved One') (1)

There is just one stela with this epithet, DB149 of the Workman, Neferabu (i), identifying the Memphite form of Ptah. This stela is also the only Ptah stela to employ the epithets 'Unique God in the Ennead, Beloved One'. It is a type C stela and dates to the middle of the reign of Ramesses II.

This stela is of note in that it includes a number of epithets that occur nowhere else, and the text informs us that the dedicator, the workman Neferabu (i), swore falsely by Ptah which resulted in him 'seeing darkness' (Galan 1999; see Section 2.1.3). The stela's text

is elaborate and non-generic (for translations of the text see Gunn 1916: 88-89; Lichtheim 1976: 109-110; Kitchen 2000: 517-518; see also Morgan 2004: 98-100) and indicates that Neferabu (i) is making a personal approach to the god, unrelated to official cult or festival activity. Neferabu (i) also dedicates a stela, DB150, to Mertseger, which is notable for its non-generic text, a plea for clemency and a warning of the power of the 'peak' (Tosi Roccati 1972: 94-96, 286; Sadek 1987: 233-236; Kitchen 2000: 518-519; see *Section 4.2.2.5*).

The epithet 'South of his Wall' occurs in Chapel D at the Queens' Valley chapels (Bruyère 1930b: 38) and at Medinet Habu in the Eastern High Gate (Medinet Habu IV: pl. 245; see *Section 3.2.2.4.3*), both images were originally inlaid, and the latter is surrounded by drill holes. Ptah called 'of the Great Doorway' occurs on stelae of non-Deir el Medina residents only in the dataset (DB268 and DB269, both 20th Dynasty). Given that much of the decoration of the temple of Medinet Habu is copied from the Ramesseum, there may have been a 19th Dynasty Ptah figure in the Ramesseum gateway that is now lost. Ptah, 'South of His Wall', occurs again on an exterior wall at Medinet Habu on the north wall, west of the second pylon, in the frieze above the sea peoples battle (Medinet Habu VII: pl. 582C). This version of Ptah occurs in the tomb of the Workman, Khabekhenet (i) (TT2) (Bruyère 1952: 44-45 and pl. V), dating to the reign of Ramesses II, indicating that this form of Ptah was known and accessible to the workman in the 19th Dynasty. Ptah, 'South of his Wall', also occurs on the girdle wall at Karnak (Helck 1968).

'Who Creates the Gods'; 'Lord of Fate, Fosterer of Fortune, Who Sustains the Two Lands by his Skills'; 'Great God; Who Establishes the Two Lands' (3)

Two of these stelae, DB184 and DB237, occur in the 'Beautiful of Face' section; the third, DB209 of the Workman, Wadjmose (i), has the additional epithet 'Who establishes the Two Lands', relating to forms of Ptah, Nebmaat and Net [?], rather than Ptah himself. Two of the stelae, DB209 and DB237, date to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II; they are all type C.

'Who Creates the Gods' occurs uniquely on stela DB237; this epithet is extant on an image of Ptah from the girdle wall of Karnak temple decorated by Ramesses II (Helck 1968: pl. 53). This epithet also occurs in TT3 of the Foreman, Pashedu (x) (Zivie 1979:

42-43 and pl. 18; see above), of the same period. The stela, which came from the Ramesseum area, and was dedicated by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), includes a string of epithets unknown from extant monuments or other stelae. 'Great God' occurs on all three stelae in the first group, and again on an image from the Karnak girdle wall (Helck 1968: pl. 81).

3.2.2.4.5 The dedicators of the Ptah stelae

Table 20: Identified forms of Ptah and the titular rank of the dedicators

	Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers	Priests	Workmen	Women	No Title	Total
Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Beautiful of Face on the/his Great Throne	7	0	15	0	0	22
Of the Place of Beauty	0	0	5	0	0	5
Creator/Overseer/Chief of Craftsmen/Craftsmanship	4	0	0	0	0	4
Who is at the South of his Wall (+ Unique God in the Ennead, Beloved One)	0	0	1	0	0	1
Who Creates the Gods; Lord of Fate, Fosterer of Fortune, Who Sustains the Two Lands by his Skills; Great God; Who Established the Two Lands	1	0	2	0	0	3

No women dedicate stelae to Ptah. Women only appear in addition to the primary dedicators on three of the 40 stelae (DB188, DB277, DB257), two of which belong to the same man, the Workman, Pashedu (i), who was active in the reign of Seti I. One of these, DB257, is from his tomb TT292, that is, it has a strong funerary rather than commemorative/votive function. The Ptah cult may have been linked to the function of the gang as royal tomb builders, that is, it was a cult associated with their profession, and as such was not relevant to the women in the community.

The second clear rank-related phenomenon is the group of stelae dedicated to Ptah as the 'Creator/Overseer of Craftsmanship', or 'Craftsmen', all of which are dedicated by the Chiefs of the Gang group, which here includes one Vizier, and are all type B. This suggests that the original hypostasis was a cult image utilised in official ceremonies. In addition, only the Workmen group dedicate stelae to Ptah 'Of the Place of Beauty', suggesting that this is a purely popular cult.

3.2.2.4.6 The Ptah stelae in general

Appendix 7 contains the tables that look at the whole group of Ptah stelae, to analyse trends within this cult as a whole across the Ramesside period as Deir el Medina.

Table 21: Summary of the analysis of the Ptah stelae in general

Compositional form	Provenance/findspot	Rank	Date
A	Two of the five dated provenanced type A stelae are from the Hathor temple precinct, but the number is too small to indicate any real clustering.	The type A stelae are almost exclusively (22/25) dedicated by the Workmen group.	The number of type A stelae falls off, as expected, into the 20 th Dynasty
B	One of the five type B stelae has no findspot. The other four are dedicated at the official cult locations: the 19 th dynasty type B stelae are dedicated at the Hathor temple precinct; the 20 th Dynasty type B stelae at the Queens' Valley chapels.	Type B stelae are predominantly dedicated by the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group, but there is in addition one each dedicated by a Priest (the stela has no specific identifying epithets) and a Workman.	The type B stelae do not fall off noticeably into the 20 th Dynasty - proportionately they increase, as expected
C	Type C stelae are dedicated at either the Hathor temple precinct or the West Bank mortuary temples.	A high proportion is dedicated by the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group, followed by a small number by the Workmen group.	The Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group only dedicate type C stelae in the 19 th Dynasty; in the 20 th dynasty they are dedicated by a workman and a priest (the stela has no specific identifying epithets).

3.2.2.4.7 Summary and conclusions

There are 40 stelae in the dataset dedicated to Ptah, 20 (50%) of which are dedicated to this deity alone, evenly spread across the Ramesside period. Given the uniformity of Ptah's appearance, and, to a slightly lesser extent, his epithets, there are difficulties in clearly linking stelae images and original hypostases. Ptah always appears mummiform with variation in scepters held, and whether he is standing or sitting or in a shrine. He has a variety of epithets that have been used to attempt to define forms of the cult. The

most popular is 'Beautiful of Face who is on his/the Great Throne', which may have been a popular 19th Dynasty cult centered on the Hathor temple, later moving to the Queens' Valley chapels. A second popular cult is that defined as Ptah 'of the Place of Beauty'. The official and exclusive Ptah cult was the form of Ptah as 'Creator/Overseer of Craftsmen/Craftsmanship', to which only high ranking individuals had access. No women dedicate stelae to Ptah, suggesting that his cult was related to the professional activity of the workmen.

The Ptah stelae demonstrate the pattern of type B stelae dedicated by high-ranking individuals, and there is a clear ranking divide between those who use type A and those who use type B stelae. The relative increase in use of type B stelae into the 20th Dynasty may indicate the increasingly official nature of the cult, as is the case with the cult of Mertseger.

There are few identified original hypostases that can be linked to stela images: the originally inlaid image in the doorway of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu has evidence of additional, secondary decoration in the form of drill holes, and the epithet 'who hears prayers' indicates the function of the image. Theban non-Deir el Medina stelae to Ptah 'Of the Great Door' may relate to this cult image, as may stela DB149 of the Workman, Neferabu (i), which, uniquely, includes the epithet 'Who is South of his Wall', an epithet that can also be found on the image of Ptah in the Eastern High Gate. The stela is non-generic in content and includes ears, eyes and a ka-sign²⁰ carved above the image of Ptah. Such an image of Ptah may well have originally been incorporated into the Ramesseum where Neferabu (i) made a special pilgrimage to seek clemency. DB237 of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), includes epithets ('Who Creates the Gods', 'Great God') which also occur on an image of Ptah on the girdle wall of Karnak temple, and perhaps indicate a form of Ptah found only on state temples, to which a high-ranking individual such as Ramose (i) may have had occasional access. Perhaps an image of Ptah (or more than one) with these epithets could be found at the Ramesseum, where this stela was found.

Ptah was one of the state gods during the Ramesside period. At Thebes, Ptah was worshipped on the East Bank in a temple reconstructed as part of the Theban temple

complex by Tuthmosis III (Porter and Moss 1972 II: 195-202; Hart 1986: 174; Strudwick and Strudwick 1999: 48). Here he was co-templar with Hathor, as he was at Deir el Medina. On the West Bank, his cult was active at the Hathor temple and the Queens' Valley chapels at Deir el Medina, as well as at mortuary temples such as that of Tuthmosis II and Ramesses III (Medinet Habu). In all of these cult locations there is an overt connection with the royal cult, whether at a royal mortuary temple or at a cult temple patronised by the king.

3.2.2.5 Hathor (34 stelae)

3.2.2.5.1 Forms of Hathor

Hathor can appear anthropomorphically as a woman, usually wearing the horned sun disc, zoomorphically as a cow, cat and swallow, and as a Hathor-headed column (here recorded as 'other'). Within the cow form lie a number of rôles: the nurturer of the king, a motherly goddess nurturing individuals, and a funerary deity emerging from the Western Mountain (Hart 1986: 76-79; Pinch 1993: 175-183; Blumenthal 2000: 35-49).

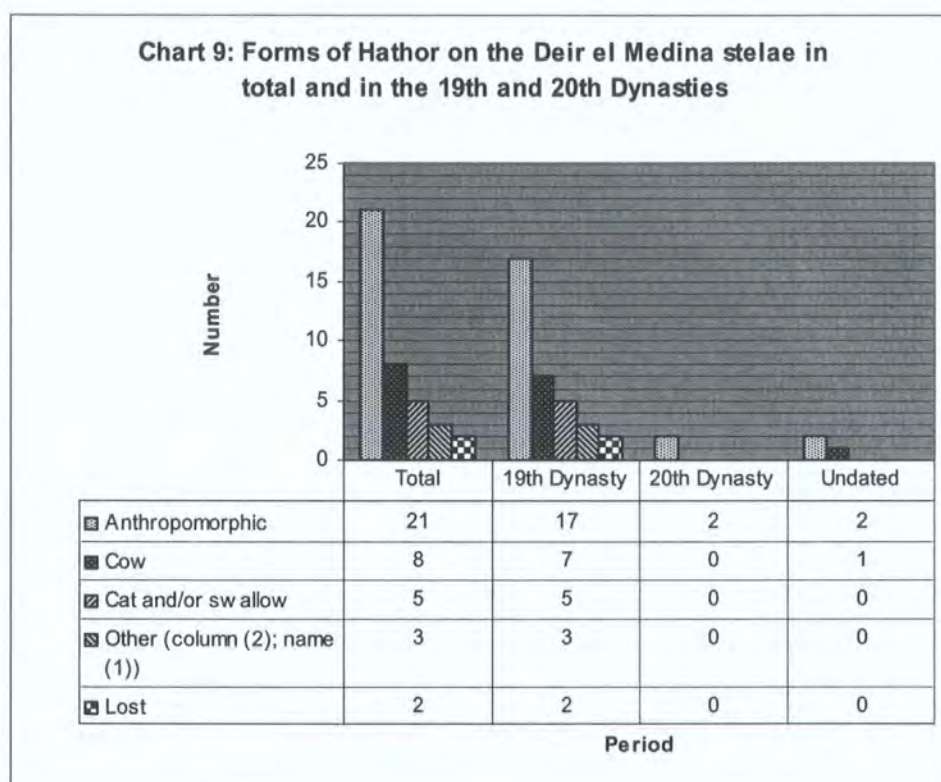


Chart 9 gives the number of occurrences of the different forms of Hathor. There are no mixed examples in this subset. The anthropomorphic form of Hathor is the only one that continues into the 20th Dynasty. As a percentage, Hathor appears anthropomorphically on 55% of the stelae and zoomorphically on 32% of them, comparable to the Amun-Re figures of 59% and 35%.

3.2.2.5.2 Epithets of Hathor

Hathor's epithets can be divided into generic, national or state god epithets: 'Mistress of (all) the Gods, Lady of the Sky, Mistress/Lady of the Two Lands, Great Divine Mother'

(*hnwt ntrw (nb(w)t, nbt pt, hnwt/nbt t3wy, mwt wrt ntry*); funerary epithets: 'Lady of the West, She who presides over the Western Desert' (*nbt imnt, hry(t)-tp h3st imntt*); form specific: 'The Good Cat, Established for Eternity' (applied to the cat and the swallow form; *miw nfr, smn(.ti) n dt*); geographically specific: 'Residing in Thebes', 'Who is in Djesret (Deir el Bahri)', 'Lady of Dendera', 'of Gebelein', 'Lady of Mededu', 'Sycamore of the South/Lady of the Southern Sycamore' (*hry(t)-ib W3st, hry-ib dsrt, nbt Iunt, nbt Inrty, nbt mddny, nht rsy/nbt nht rsy*) and the processional or oracular form, 'who hears prayers' (*sdm nhwt*). For a fuller list of Hathor's epithets see Sadek 1987: 116-118.

3.2.2.5.3 Cult images of Hathor on the Deir el Medina stelae

Table 22: Cult images of Hathor

Epithet	No.	Form/iconography	Compositional form	Date	Find spot	Image source	Secondary use?	Related stelae
Residing in Thebes	8	Anthropomorphic	A (6); B (2)	Seti I (1); Seti I-Ramesses II (first half) (1); Ramesses II (first half) (5); Early 20 th Dynasty (1)	Hathor temple precinct (2); unknown (6)	Hathor temple	Unknown	
Residing in Thebes	3	Cow	A (1); C (2)	Ramesses II (first half) (3)	Unknown	Hathor temple	Unknown	Additional cow stelae: DB200, Ramesses II (first half), epithets lost, C, Queens' Valley chapels; DB310, undated, epithets lost, A.
Residing in Thebes	2	Form lost	A (1); C (1)	Ramesses II (first half) (2)	Western Cemetery, near TT290 (1); unknown (1)	Hathor temple	Unknown	
Lady of the West/Mistress of the West (Lady of the Sky, Mistress of (all) the Gods/of the Two Lands)	10	Cow (3); Anthropomorphic (7)	A (4); B (1); C (4)	Seti I (1); Ramesses II (first half) (4); Ramesses II (mid) (1); Ramesses II (1); 19 th Dynasty (1)	Hathor temple precinct (3 - anthropomorphic); unknown (7)	Hathor temple	Unknown	
Lady of Djesret/Lady of Dendera	3*	Anthropomorphic	C (3)	Ramesses II (2); Ramesses III-V (1)	Hathor temple precinct (1); Queens' Valley chapels (?) (1); unknown (1)	Deir el Bahri?/Hathor temple?	Unknown	
Of Gebelein; Lady of Mededu; Lady of the Southern Sycamore	3+	Anthropomorphic	A (1); C (2)	Seti I - Ramesses II (1); Ramesses II (first half) (2)	Hathor Temple precinct (1); unknown (2)	Ramesseum Geographical list (extant at Medinet Habu)?	Unknown	
The Good Cat/Swallow/votive offerings	4**	Cat and/or swallow	A (2); C (2)	Ramesses II (first half) (2); early 19 th Dynasty (1)	Unknown	Statuettes	Unknown	

* and + One each of these is included in the 'West' section

** One of these is in the 'West' section and one is the 'of Gebelein' stela

There are three outstanding stelae: DB50, which has an anthropomorphic Hathor and has lost its epithets; DB249 which has an anthropomorphic Hathor as Hathor-Isis, the Great Divine Mother, and stela DB255, which is an ear stela with only the name of Hathor as the 'Lady of the Sky, who hears prayers' (*nbt pt sdm nhwt*). Stela DB171, undated, has Hathor 'in her good name of Mertseger' (*m rn.s nfr n mrt-sgr*) alongside a representation of Mertseger, and demonstrates the conflation of these two deities.

The Hathor temple and associated royal chapels at Deir el Medina must have provided a rich source of images of Hathor, though little remains other than fragmentary reliefs from the Khenu-chapel, and cow statues in various states of preservation. These are discussed in the relevant sections below. In addition, the Queens' Valley chapels contained images of the deity. Of particular note is the 61 cm high anthropomorphic image in Chapel D, balancing the 75cm inlaid image of Ptah, where she is called Hathor, 'Lady of Chemmis, Mistress of all the Gods' (Bruyère 1930b: 37-39; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 707). She also appears, less prominently, in chapel B on a stela of Ramesses III, as Hathor, 'Lady of Djesert', and in Chapel E on a stela of Sethnakht as Hathor, 'Lady of the West' (Bruyère 1930b: 21-22; 39-42).

3.2.2.5.4 Discussion of the cult images of Hathor on the stelae

'Residing in Thebes' (13)

This epithet occurs on 13 stelae in total, eight of which carry anthropomorphic representations of Hathor, three show her as a cow statue either on a sledge in a shrine, emerging from the Western Mountain or in a papyrus swamp. The latter representation is on stela DB177 of the Guardian, Penbuy (i), where the cow statue protects a statue of Ramesses II. Two stelae have lost the representations. There are eight type A stelae, two type B stelae (both with an anthropomorphic Hathor) and three type C stelae. Eleven of the stelae, and one of the possibly related stelae, date to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Where findspots are known, the stelae come from the Hathor temple precinct (DB156 and DB245 with anthropomorphic representations), the Western Cemetery and the Queens' Valley chapels.

The two type B stelae, DB91 and DB245, come from the anthropomorphic 'Residing in Thebes' group, and in both cases the intermediary is Ramesses II, in one case, stela

DB245, with his Vizier, Paser. These stelae, whose representations are very similar, may depict a ceremony at which the dedicators were present, perhaps when Ramesses II (or his statue) visited the Deir el Medina temple (see *Section 4.1.1*). The dedicators, the Workman, Huy (iv) and the Guardian, Khawy (ii), are prominent in the dataset in terms of monuments despite being of unremarkable titular rank – though the Guardians do seem to enjoy a certain status in the community (Janssen 1997: 31-33; McDowell 1990: 46-49).

The inclusion on six of the type A stelae of numerous family members perhaps indicates a record of a festival of some kind, and festival access to the cult image for either the principal dedicator alone or for him and his family. The type B stelae include only male family members – the name of Nebre is incised on DB245; this may be the Draftsman (of Amun), Nebre (i), another individual with numerous monuments.

Brovarski has suggested (1976: 69-70; see also Pinch 1993: 7-9) that the portable cult image of Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', in her cow form, normally resident in the Ptah temple at Karnak,²¹ visited Deir el Bahri during festivals. A relief on the northern wall of the entrance hall of the Djoser-djeseru shrine, the 18th Dynasty temple of Hatshepsut, depicts the barks of Amun and Hathor on the river in the New Year (*tp-rnpt*) festival; in the outer sanctuary of the shrine the Hathor cow statue rests on a bark (Brovarski 1976: 70, n. 35; Porter and Moss 1972 II: 352 (48)). Pinch illustrates a cloth with an image of the Hathor cow on a bark with the king being protected and nurtured by her, on water, which may indicate this same Nile crossing (Pinch 1993: fig. 11B and p. 106; location unknown), and another textile (Huntington, Long Island HM 59.294; Pinch 1993: 5; 111; pl. 25b) discovered in Akh-isut, the 11th Dynasty temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (Pinch 1993: 4-6), depicts a Hathor cow statue with a statue of a king before her standing in a shrine with the epithet, 'Residing in Thebes'.

The epithet 'Residing in Thebes' falls out of use at Deir el Bahri at the end of the 18th Dynasty (Pinch 1993: 8), only to resurface at Deir el Medina in the extant reliefs in the Khenu-chapel of the Hathor temple. On relief DM87 from room 4 of the Khenu-chapel (Louvre E.16276 a/b; Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 39; 66-68 and pl. XXXVI; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 696) Hathor is depicted in her cow form as a portable statue on a sledge with a lotiform prow in a papyrus thicket, with a statue of the king protected by the menat

necklace, identified as Ramesses II by a cartouche. The cow is identified as '[Hathor], Residing in Thebes'. The Ptolemaic temple to Hathor that now stands on the site includes a relief on the southern end of the west wall of the pronaos of Hathor 'Residing in Thebes' as a cow in a shrine on a bark, wearing the menat necklace, before whom Ptolemy VI Philometer offers incense (Porter and Moss 1972 II: 403 (13); Du Bourguet 2002: 102-103 [109]). Anthropomorphic forms of Hathor are identified as Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', throughout the temple (Du Bourguet 2002: 203). Given that there are stelae dedicated to Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', in both her anthropomorphic and cow forms, and that Ramesside and Ptolemaic reliefs depict both these forms, it may have been that statues of both of these forms of the deity were housed in the Hathor temple. Perhaps the anthropomorphic Hathor statue was housed in the temple proper and the (portable) cow statue in the Khenu-chapel, where the reliefs depicting such a statue were situated.

There are at least seven fragmentary cow statues extant from Deir el Medina, any of which may have served as source hypostases. When Bruyère was excavating the Hathor temple precinct in the seasons 1935-1940 he unearthed and catalogued the statues and other artefacts deposited in three cachettes by Baraize in 1912. These included a fragment of a cow statue, and a large statue fragment that may have been part of another cow statue. Bruyère mentions various fragments of two other similar statues which had been held in the excavation stores for a long time, and which had no provenance. These fragments can be reconstructed to form the cow statues with the king standing in front (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 15-16, fig. 87; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 700; Vandier 1969: 167 (c - α)). During the same 1935-1940 excavations, Bruyère excavated a cow statue in the northern section of the temple precinct. This 65 cm high statue has lost the head and has a Hathor mask attached to the front (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 106 [248], pl. XIX, fig. 181, 182; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 713; Vandier 1969: 168, fig. 6, 1). In his discussion of the various aspects of Hathor, Vandier includes two cow statues from Deir el Medina now in the Louvre, E.16276 and E.16380 (Vandier 1969: 167, figs. 9 and 4).

Other possible, though less likely, sources for the cow statue images are the permanent cow forms of Hathor housed in the Hathor chapels at Deir el Bahri, often identified by epithets invoking the temple name (see Pinch 1993: 4-12). Akh-isut housed a cult to a

cow form of Hathor from the 11th Dynasty to the reign of Ramesses II in the 19th Dynasty. Images of the statue have survived on two late 18th Dynasty objects, a stela (London BM 689; Porter and Moss 1972 2: 396; Pinch 1993: 5; 86; pl. 9.1) and a votive cloth (Huntington, Long Island HM 59.294; Pinch 1993: 5; 111; pl. 25b). A life size calcite cow's head was discovered in the debris on the north side of the temple platform (BM 42179; Porter and Moss 1972 II: 394; Pinch 1993: 5; pl. 9, centre). Hathor was known as 'Hathor who is in Akh-isut' (*hwt-hr hry(t)-ib 3kh-iswt*), and 'Lady of Djeser who is in Akh-isut' (*nbt dsr hry(t)-ib 3kh-iswt*). Pinch suggests (1993: 5) that Nebhepetre Mentuhotep may have originally constructed a separate chapel dedicated to Hathor, but, later in the New Kingdom, Hathor was worshipped in the main part of the temple. Stelae demonstrate that this temple was in use until the reigns of Ramesses II. Ramesses II and Siptah carried out restoration work here (Pinch 1993: 11). The temple of Djeser-Djeseru had a partly rock-cut Hathor shrine located at the south end of the colonnade. Reliefs depict a statue of Hathor as a cow suckling and protecting Hatshepsut, versions of which Pinch suggests may have stood in the empty niches within the sanctuary (Pinch 1993: 8).²² Hathor is known as 'Lady of Dendera' or, most frequently, 'Residing in Thebes' (Pinch 1993: 8). The shrine continued to be used into the Late Period and was remodelled by the Ptolemies (Pinch 1993: 9). Djeser-Akhet, the temple constructed by Tuthmosis III between the two temples mentioned above, included a rock cut speos at the back of a Hathor shrine in which the excavators discovered a life size sandstone Hathor cow statue nurturing and protecting the king, with the cartouches of Amenhotep II (Cairo JdÉ 38574; Naville 1907: 63-67, pls. XXIX-XXXI; Porter and Moss 1972 II: 380; Pinch 1993: 11; pl. 41B). Hathor is known in the reliefs, where she is shown in both cow and human form, as 'Lady of Dendera' and 'Residing in Thebes', but it is not clear whether each epithet was applied to a specific form of Hathor (Pinch 1993: 10). The statue is identified as Hathor, 'Lady of Djeser, Foremost in Akh-isut' (Brovarski 1976: 71). Stelae dating from the mid 18th Dynasty to the late 19th Dynasty, and 20th Dynasty graffiti, testify to the continued use of this shrine, which was restored by Horemheb and Ramesses II (Pinch 1993: 10). A rock fall sealed off the speos in the late 20th Dynasty (Pinch 1993: 12).

'Lady/Mistress of the West' (10)

The ten stelae define Hathor in her form as divine ruler of the Theban necropolis. She appears anthropomorphically seven times and as a cow three times. Three of the

anthropomorphic stelae come from the Hathor temple precinct. There are four type A, one type B and four type C stelae. The type B stela, DB158, belongs to the Workman, Nekh(em)mut (i), who later became a foreman of the gang, and has Ramesses II as the intermediary.

The findspots suggest that the anthropomorphic stelae at least may depict a Hathor temple statue, defined by different epithets, or a secondary statue or relief from the temple. The stelae depicting cows may also relate to the cow statue perhaps housed in the Khenu-chapel. Blumenthal differentiates (2000: 40-44) between a cow form of Hathor as the divine ruler of the Theban necropolis where she is represented emerging from the Western Mountain (see also Pinch 1993: 179-182), and the Deir el Medina Hathor cow, shown on a bark (actually, a sledge), both with a statue of a king before them. Of the three cow stelae, only one, DB257, depicts Hathor emerging from the Western Mountain. This stela has a provenance of TT292 in the Western Cemetery, an overtly funerary context. Stela DB117 of the Hathor cow 'Residing in Thebes' (included in last section) also depicts the cow emerging from the Western Mountain. The other two stelae in this section depict the cow statue in a swamp (DB39) and in a shrine (DB198), and were dedicated respectively by the Vizier, Paser, and the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) (on behalf of his servant Ptahsankh (ii)). The high rank of these men suggests that the statue depicted was not accessible to all. There is no clear differentiation in iconography and epithets to define a cow statue in the Western Mountain as 'Lady/Mistress of the West' or a cow statue on a bark/in a shrine as 'Residing in Thebes' and located in the Hathor temple/Khenu chapel.

In addition to the 'Lady/Mistress of the West' and 'Residing in Thebes' cows, a third cow is known from the Hathor temple Khenu-chapel reliefs as Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore' (DM88; Cairo JdE 72017; Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 39; 66-68 and pl. XXXVI; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697). The sources for the images may be the Hathor temple statues and reliefs, and the cow statues listed in the last section.

'Lady of Djesert'/'Lady of Dendera' (3)

The three stelae are all type C, indirect access; two come from official cult locations, one of the 19th Dynasty examples from the Hathor temple, and the 20th Dynasty example from the Queens' Valley chapels. Two stelae, DB11 and DB231, describe the

anthropomorphic Hathor as 'Foremost in Djesret' – on DB11 Amun is also called 'of Djesret', referring to the form of the deity worshipped at Deir el Bahri in the chapels built by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (Pinch 1993: 4; 8; 10; see *Section 3.2.2.5.4*). Stela DB52 describes Hathor as 'Lady of Dendera', a form of Hathor found in the chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (Pinch 1993: 8; 10; see *Section 3.2.2.5.4*).

The original source hypostases may have been the images and statues located in the Deir el Bahri chapels, which had become the centre for popular worship by the Ramesside period, but no stelae of the workmen in the dataset are provenanced to here. Stela DB270 of the Mayor and Vizier, Panehsy (r. Merenptah), comes from room A of the Tuthmosis III temple, and depicts Amun-Re and Maat, with an inscription of the Wab-priest, Penamun, on the verso. A man of the rank of Panehsy would have had access to a wider variety of cult centres than the workmen. Stela DB118 of the Sculptor, Qen (ii), has been provenanced to Deir el Bahri by Porter and Moss (1964 I.2: 723), but an alternative provenance has been suggested by Scott (1962) as TT4, Qen (ii)'s tomb, discovered here during the 1862 excavations of the German consul B.W. König. This stela depicts Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari, and a funerary context is possible. Given that the cult of Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', seems to have transferred from Deir el Bahri to Deir el Medina during the reign of Ramesses II, it may be that the Hathor temple restored by Ramesses II was decorated with forms of the deity that referred to her Deir el Bahri forms, and that these were the source hypostases.

'Of Gebelein'; 'Lady of Mededu'; 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore' (3)

The three stelae date to the early 19th Dynasty, and probably all to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. The epithets refer to specific geographical forms of Hathor which would have been extant on temple reliefs at this time.

Stela DB78 of the Lady of the House, Bukhenefptah (i), depicts the anthropomorphic Hathor (here called Nebethetepet, the Heliopolitan Hathor; Vandier 1965: 161-166²³), 'of Gebelein', plus a Hathor-headed column and two cats. The epithet 'of Gebelein' is a form of the goddess found at E145 in the Medinet Habu Ramesses VI geographical list (Nims 1952: 40; Leitz 2000 I: 399). Another stela, DB115, dedicated by the Workman, Kasa (i), husband of Bukhenefptah (i), depicts a similar anthropomorphic Hathor as

'Lady of the West', as well as the column and cats (this stela is included in both the relevant sections). Both stelae depict numerous relatives with tambourines and bouquets of flowers, and record a festival of Hathor and access to a specific image of the deity in the Ramesseum geographical list, accessible to certain visitors whilst the official rituals took place within the temple. That two stelae of one family record this event suggests that such festival access was of some importance. These stelae have no findspot.

Stela DB206 of the Workman, Tusa (i), depicting Hathor, 'Lady of Mededu', and Wepwawet may relate to scene E119 of the geographical list of Ramesses VI (= B24 of Ramesses III) where the same two deities are depicted (Nims 1952: 43-44; Leitz 2000 III: 477). This stela includes Tusa (i)'s family with offerings. Tusa (i) went on to become a guardian and is included in the representations in TT250 constructed by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), perhaps indicating a close relationship with Ramose, and relatively high social status in the community. The stela has no findspot.

Stela DB226 of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), found in pit 1414 of room 9 in the Khenu-chapel attached to the Hathor temple, depicts an anthropomorphic Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', the Memphite form of the goddess (Malek 1974: 163). This Hathor is depicted in the Ramesseum (Leitz 2000 IV: 79), but not in the Medinet Habu geographical list. This Hathor in her cow form occurs in the Khenu-chapel: relief DM88 (Cairo JdE 72017; Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 39; 66-68 and pl. XXXVI; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697) depicts Ramose (i) kneeling on the right hand side before a Hathor cow figure on a sledge. Ramose (i)'s personal connection to this cult is discussed in *Section 4.1.1.5*.

These stelae have been dealt with individually as they are individual examples of different hypostases. They are informative with regard to state temple access, and the importance of such access to the dedicators to define their social status.

The Good Cat/Swallow/Hathor-headed column (4)

These stelae either depict symbols of Hathor in the form of cats, swallows and Hathor-headed columns, alone or alongside anthropomorphic representations of Hathor, as is the case on stela DB78 of Bukheneftah (i), and stela DB115 of her husband Kasa (i), or the symbols alone, as on DB86 of the Weshbet Mourner, Hemtnefer, and DB145 of the

Draftsman, Nebre (i). Stelae DB78 and DB115, discussed above, include numerous relatives and may represent a festival visit. The cats, swallows and Hathor-headed columns may represent votive offerings. The stelae depicting anthropomorphic hypostases and votive offerings may be a conflation of the various parts of a temple visit.

The two stelae depicting only the votive offerings do not depict the primary dedicators. Stela DB86 was dedicated by a female Weshbet-mourner and her daughter, with their names only on the stela; stela DB145 was dedicated by the Draftsman, Nebre (i), on behalf of his sons who are shown in the lower register, with only Nebre (i)'s name appearing in the upper register. Stelae representing such images may be restricted to women and children, and may perhaps be linked to the fertility aspect of Hathor. Conventions may have precluded stelae dedicated by, or on behalf of, women and children, from depicting Hathor as anthropomorphic, or in her cow form.

3.2.2.5.5 *The dedicators of the Hathor stelae*

Table 23: Identified forms of Hathor and the titular rank of the dedicators

	Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers	Priests	Workmen	Women	No Title	Total
Residing in Thebes (anthropomorphic)	2	0	6	0	0	8
Residing in Thebes (cow) + 2 additional	1	0	4	0	0	5
Residing in Thebes (form lost)	0	0	2	0	0	2
Lady of the West/Mistress of the West	3*	0	7	0	0	10
Lady of Djesret/Lady of Dendera	0	1	2	0	0	3
Of Inrty (Gebelein); Lady of Mededu; Lady of the Southern Sycamore	1	0	1	1	0	3
The Good Cat	0	0	2	2	0	4

* One of these stelae is dedicated by the Mayor of Thebes and Vizier, Paser

At Deir el Bahri, Pinch noted (1993: 96) that of the six stelae where the donor is depicted, two were women, and that women left the majority of the textiles. At Deir el Medina women dedicate only two stelae out of the 34 in the subset. This suggests two things. Firstly, that stelae may not have been the form of votive offering utilized by women, who may have preferred, or traditionally had access to, other types of votive offerings, such as the Deir el Bahri textiles, or uninscribed statuettes and amulets. Secondly, if stelae record events, women may not have been present at ceremonies that warranted this type of record; their approach to the deity may have been of a more informal nature, relating to less official aspects of the cult, such as Hathor as a fertility goddess. The Hathor venerated on these stelae is a state form of the deity, not a popular fertility cult. The votive offerings discovered at Deir el Bahri, for example, the stone, wood, faïence and pottery phalli (Pinch 1993: 235-238) suggest that this was the location for the popular fertility form of the cult in the Ramesside period.

Three Foremen dedicate stelae during the reign of Seti I and the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), dedicates three stelae, DB98 on behalf of his servant Sankhptah (i), DB200 to the cow form and DB226 to the anthropomorphic Hathor as 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', indicating his close connection to the cult, which is also supported by the reliefs depicting Ramose (i) before the goddess in the Khenu-chapel of the Hathor temple (see above and *Section 4.1.1.5*).

There is just one priest, the Wab-priest and Servitor, Amennakht, who dedicates DB11 to Amun and Hathor of Djaseret; whether he is a priest of these deities' cults is not clear. Otherwise the cult is practised predominantly by workmen.

3.2.2.5.6 *The Hathor stelae in general*

Appendix 8 contains the tables that look at the group of Hathor stelae to analyse trends within this cult as a whole across the Ramesside period at Deir el Medina.

Table 24: Summary of the analysis of the Hathor stelae in general

Compositional form	Provenance/findspot	Rank	Date
A	Type A stelae are dedicated at the Hathor temple precinct, in the Village and in the Western cemetery.	The majority of type A stelae are left by the Workmen group, and then the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers group.	There is only one type A stela dedicated in the 20 th Dynasty, the rest are 19 th Dynasty.
B	Only one of the three type B stelae is provenanced - to the Hathor temple precinct. However, the content and date of the other two suggest that they too come from here (see <i>Section 4.1.1</i>).	The type B stelae are all, unusually, dedicated by the Workmen group.	The type B stelae are all 19 th Dynasty.
C	Type C stelae are dedicated at the official cult locations.	The majority of type C stelae are left by the Workmen group, and then the Chiefs of the Gang and Viziers Group.	There is only one type C stela dedicated in the 20 th Dynasty.

3.2.2.5.7 *Summary and conclusions*

There are 34 stelae dedicated to Hathor, 13 (38%) to the deity alone. The Hathor cult at Deir el Medina dates primarily to the early 19th Dynasty, with 25 of the 34 stelae dating to the reign of Ramesses II and 21 to the first half of this king's reign. This is consistent with the restoration work of Ramesses II at the Hathor chapels at Deir el Bahri and the reconstruction of the Hathor temple, which must have taken place during the first half of his reign: the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), who, in the chapel reliefs DM87 and DM88 associates himself with the construction of the Khenu chapel attached to the front of the Hathor temple, and dedicates three stelae to the Hathor cult, was in post years in 5-38 of Ramesses II. The Vizier, Paser, in post from the reign of Seti I through to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (Donohue 1988: 106-107; Pamminger 1996a: 288-290; 1996b: 185), is also depicted in the chapel. Ramesses II also appears on three stelae, DB91, DB158 and DB245, as an intermediary, where, unusually the dedicators are not of high rank. A general summary of findspots reveals that, as expected, the Hathor temple precinct, and within this the Khenu-chapel, is the most popular known location for stelae. The Hathor stelae relate to historical events, the restoration and inauguration of the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina, and define a social group, a form of alternate social organisation, focussing on Ramose (i). Access to the Hathor cult, and the use, not only

of the image of the king, but that of Ramose (i), as the royal representative and overseer of the Hathor cult, is a status indicator for those individuals using these representations on their stelae. This is a situation manipulated both by Ramose (i) and by a number of individuals in the community (see *Sections 4.1.1, 6.4*).

Hathor can be shown anthropomorphically or in cow form, both of which represent official versions of her cult, and in the form of a cat, a swallow or a column, which represent statuettes and votive offerings to Hathor, and, on two of the stelae where they appear alongside anthropomorphic versions of the deity, they may represent the paraphernalia associated with a temple visit. There is a clear status distinction in the dedicating of stelae with just these objects depicted (women and children), rather than representations of statues or reliefs from the official cult (men). The anthropomorphic form of Hathor is the only one to continue into the 20th Dynasty; depictions of her votive statuettes and objects disappear.

The form of Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', transfers from Deir el Bahri to Deir el Medina in the early 19th Dynasty, under the direction of Ramesses II. Hathor as 'Residing in Thebes' has two forms, anthropomorphic and as a cow. The Khenu-chapel reliefs suggest that a cow statue was housed here; an anthropomorphic statue may have been housed in the main temple. There are two stelae that depict the cow form of Hathor with the 'Residing in Thebes' epithet: stela DB177 of the Guardian, Penbuy (i), which depicts the Hathor cow with a statue of Ramesses II in front, and stela DB104 of the Workman, Irynefer (i), without the royal statue. They both belong to individuals who are prominent at this period in terms of their fairly numerous monuments and links to the Hathor cult, but whose titular rank does not reveal any distinctive social status. The Guardian, Penbuy (i), also depicts the royal Hathor cult alongside Hathor of the Western Mountain in his tomb, TT10, perhaps demonstrating a particularly close personal link to this cult (Blumenthal 2000: 46).

The cow statue appears on stelae with other epithets, and these private monuments often do not make clear distinctions in the epithets between the cow statue on a bark/sledge, which Blumenthal takes (2000: 48) as the Deir el Medina cult and invention of Ramesses II, and the funerary version of Hathor emerging from the Western Mountain (Pinch 1993: 179-182): both these forms can be called 'Residing in Thebes' or 'Lady of

the West'. Hathor as 'Lady/Mistress of the West' is also depicted anthropomorphically, and this epithet defines the second most popular form of the deity in the dataset. As, other than reliefs from the Khenu-chapels and fragmentary cow statues, original hypostases are not extant, we cannot know whether the stelae dedicators were exact in their depiction of particular hypostases of Hathor, or whether they applied various epithets to one or two statues.

The other forms of Hathor defined by epithets, the Deir el Bahri forms, the examples that may come from the Ramesseum geographical list, and the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)'s stelae to Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', may indicate separate and/or personal cults.

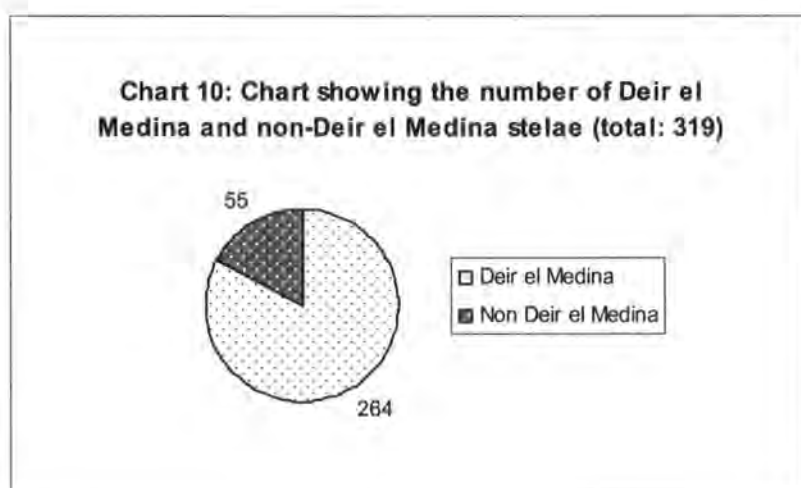
The cult of the goddess Hathor at Thebes dates to the First Intermediate Period, receiving royal attention in the 11th Dynasty – reliefs survive of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II being suckled by a cow goddess (Pinch 1993: 4). The temple constructed by this king at Deir el Bahri (Akh-isut) served as a cult centre for the goddess in the New Kingdom. The 18th Dynasty kings Amenhotep I, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III also built at Deir el Bahri, the latter two definitely incorporating Hathor shrines into their constructions, the former possibly (Pinch 1993: 4-12; 25). The form of the goddess worshipped at Deir el Bahri was the cow, depicted suckling the king (Pinch 1993: 8; 25; 175-6; Blumenthal 2000: 35-38). Hathor participated in the Valley festival, where the king brought the statue of Amun-Re of Karnak to the Hathor cult sanctuaries at Deir el Bahri (Schott 1952: 5-7; 108-9; Pinch 1993: 6; 95).

3.2.3 Theban non-Deir el Medina stelae

3.2.3.1 Number

In this section the stelae and dedicators from the Theban area excluding Deir el Medina will be referred to as non-Deir el Medina stelae/individuals. There are 55 stelae in this subset.

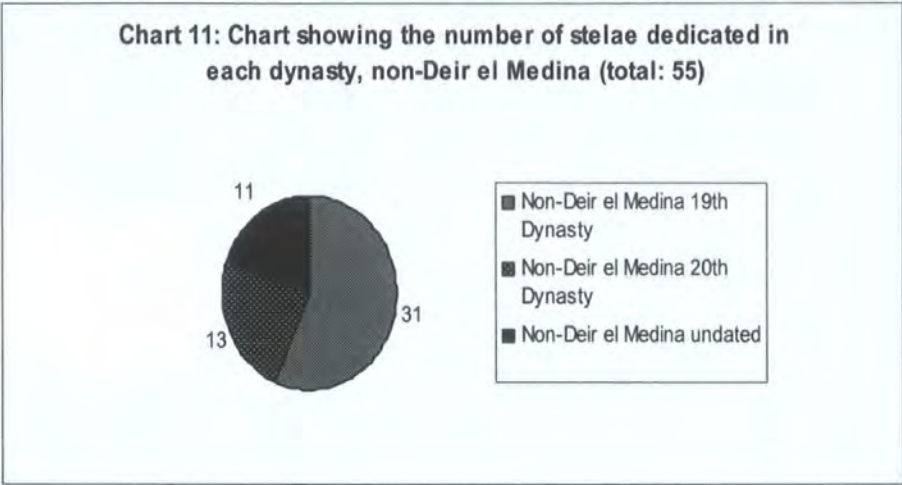
Chart 10 compares the number of stelae dedicated by Deir el Medina residents and non-Deir el Medina individuals. 83% of the stelae are dedicated by Deir el Medina residents and 17% by non-Deir el Medina individuals.



3.2.3.2 Date

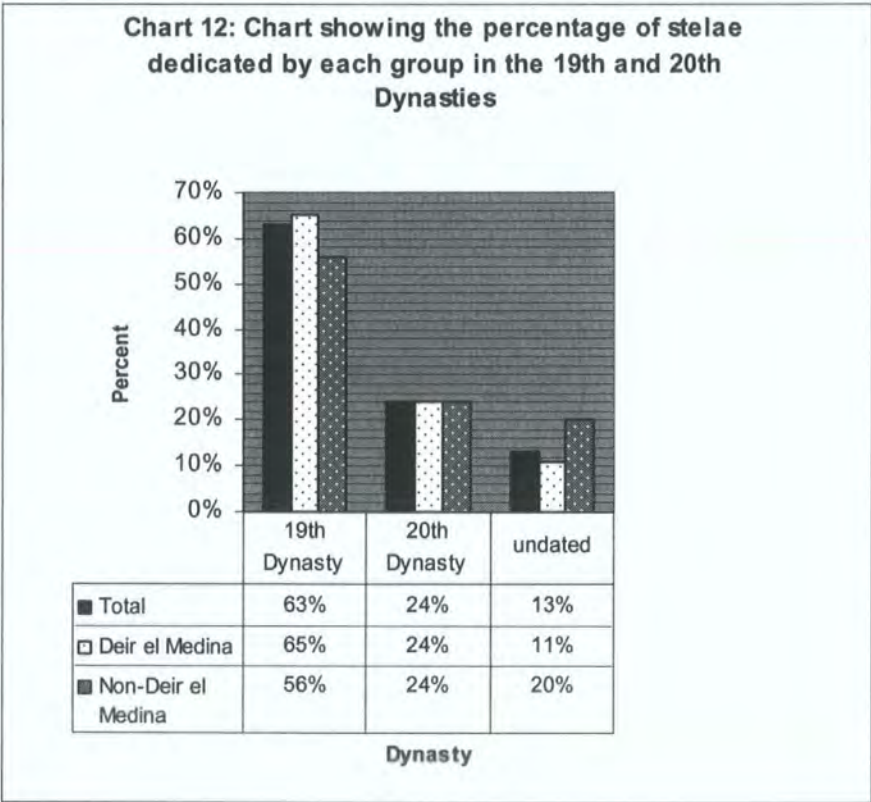
The non-Deir el Medina stelae belong to a very wide demographic group, the sample is much smaller, and the genealogies of these individuals are largely unknown, which means that their stelae are much harder to date precisely. In some cases, stylistic analysis can provide a general date within the Ramesside period. Only monuments belonging to high-ranking individuals such as known first god's servants of Amun, or stelae with inscriptions containing dates, can be securely dated. The result is that trends outside of Deir el Medina, in the Theban, area are harder to identify.

3.2.3.3 Diachronic analysis



The stelae in the dataset that are provenanced to Deir el Medina far outnumber those from the wider Theban area. There is however a relative similarity in proportion of stelae for each dynasty from each group.

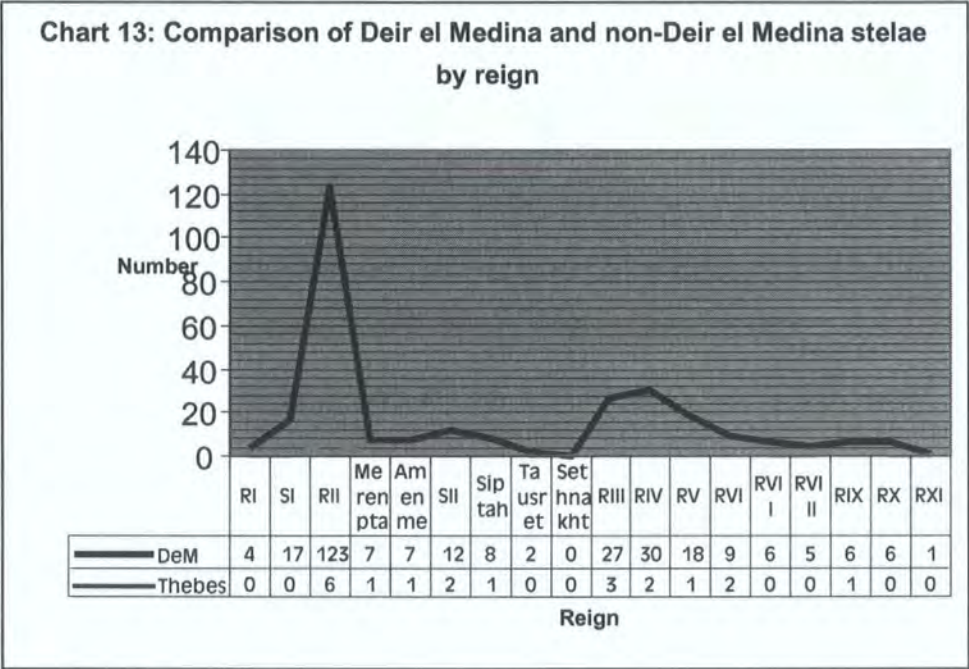
Expressed as a percentage, the number of stelae from each group, dated to each dynasty, is as follows:



The proportion of stelae produced in the 19th and 20th Dynasties from each locale is almost identical. This indicates that, while stelae production is a particular feature of the workmen's Village, general production in the whole Theban area followed a downward trend over the course of the late New Kingdom.

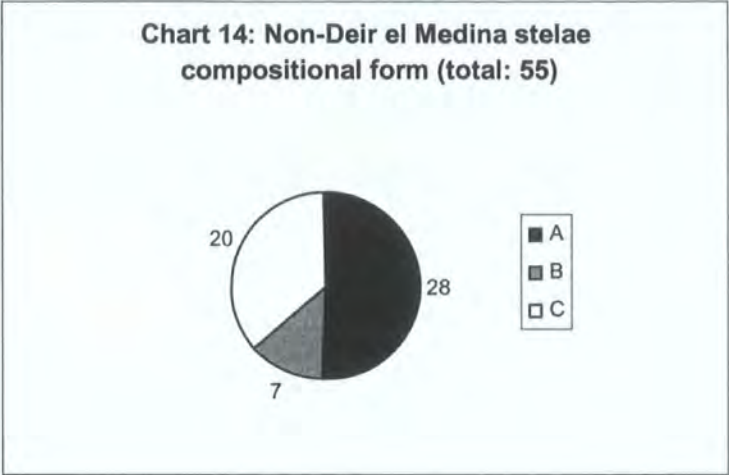
3.2.3.4 Reigns

Chart 13, below, compares the stelae dated by reign from each locale.



Far fewer non-Deir el Medina stelae can be assigned to a reign due to the difficulties of precise dating outlined above. There are however comparable peaks in stelae production during the reign of Ramesses II and across the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.

3.2.3.5 Compositional form

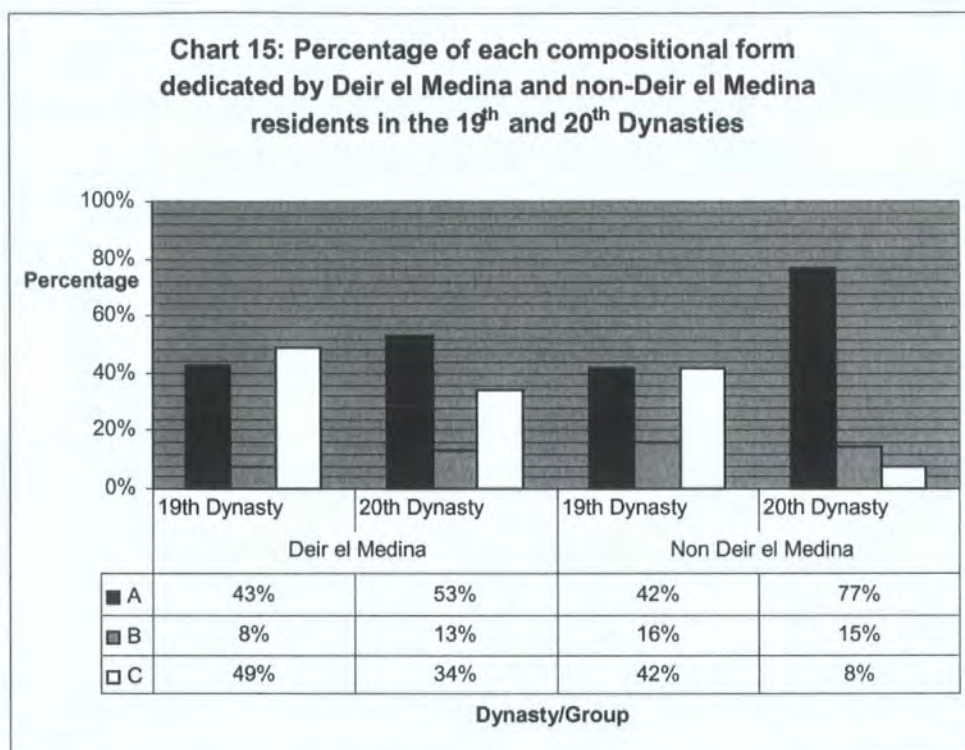


In terms of compositional form, 51% (20) are type A, 13% (seven) are type B and 36% (28) are type C.

Table 25: Percentage of each compositional form for the Deir el Medina and non-Deir el Medina stelae

Comp. form.	Deir el Medina	Non-Deir el Medina
A	47%	51%
B	8%	13%
C	45%	36%

There is a clear difference in the number of type A and C stelae utilised by Deir el Medina and non-Deir el Medina residents. The Deir el Medina residents use an almost equal proportion of type A (47%) and type C (45%) stelae. The non-Deir el Medina residents use a far larger proportion of type A stelae (51%) compared to type C stelae (36%).



The undated stela^e are omitted from *Chart 15* above. There is a marked increase in the use of type A stela^e at Thebes in the 20th Dynasty. The number of stela^e is, however, small: 10 out of the 13 are dated to the 20th Dynasty, and the apparent sharp increase may be the result of accidents of preservation or collecting rather than a reflection of the actual situation.

3.2.3.6 Deities

The deities to whom the highest number of stela^e is dedicated are:

- Amun-Re: 14
- Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari: 13
- Osiris: 13

These are the only gods receiving a significant number of stela^e.

3.2.3.6.1 Amun-Re (14 stelae)

Table 26: Cult images of Amun-Re (Thebes)

Epithet	No.	Form/iconography	Compositional form	Date	Find spot
Foremost of Karnak	3	Anthropomorphic (2); Ram (1)	B (1); C (2)	Seti II (1); Siptah (1); undated (1)	Sacred Lake (Fowlyard) (1); Deir el Bahri, temple of Mentuhotep II (1); unknown (1)
Ruler of Thebes	2	Anthropomorphic	A (1); B (1)	20 th Dynasty	Unknown
Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands/Lord of the Sky/King of the Gods	3	Anthropomorphic	A (1); B (1); C (1)	19 th Dynasty (1); 20 th Dynasty (1); undated (1)	Unknown
In his Good Festival of the Opet	1	Bark	A	Ramesses VI (year 7)	Karnak temple precinct, temple of Maat
The Eastern One	2	Anthropomorphic and ram (1); Criosphinx and ram (1)	A	19 th Dynasty (1); undated (1)	Karnak temple precinct? (1); unknown (1)
Beautiful of Face, Beloved of Ptah	1	Ram	C	19 th Dynasty	Unknown
The Gracious Ear	1	Ram	C	19 th Dynasty	Unknown
Lost	1	Anthropomorphic	C	Undated	Mortuary temple of Queen Ahmes Nefertari (Men Aset)

There are 14 stelae dedicated to Amun-Re alone or in the company of other deities, most frequently the other members of the Theban triad. The stelae are evenly spread across the Ramesside period (six are 19th Dynasty and four are 20th Dynasty; four are undated), and the choice of compositional form A and C across the subset and across the period is also balanced. There are three type B stelae in this group, a relatively high proportion. Amun occurs nine times anthropomorphically, five times as a ram (on one stela he is both anthropomorphic and a ram) and once as a bark.

Forms and epithets

The anthropomorphic form of Amun occurs in the 19th and 20th Dynasties, the ram forms that are dated occur only in the 19th Dynasty. The ram form boasts the most interesting epithets. On DB40 he is called 'The Gracious Ear' (*msdr htpy*) (or 'Who Hears the Gracious', *sdm htpy*; Guglielmi 1994: 65-66). On DB276 he is 'Beautiful of Face, Beloved of Ptah' (*nfr hr mry Pth*), perhaps indicating a ram statue located near the Ptah temple (?), and on two stelae, DB54 and DB319, he is the 'Eastern One' (*(i)3b*); this epithet and the ram statues at Thebes as sources for these

images have been discussed above (see *Section 3.2.2.1.4*). His anthropomorphic form receives standard epithet strings referring to his state god status: 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands/Lord of the Sky/King of the Gods' (*nb nswt t3wy/nb pt/nsw ntrw*), his pre-eminence in Thebes as 'Ruler of Thebes' (*hk3 W3st*), and residence in Karnak (*hry-lb/hnty ipt swt*). These images may relate to a number of the external reliefs of Amun-Re that received secondary attention at Karnak or elsewhere in Thebes (see *Section 3.2.2.1.3*). On one dated stela, DB261, the bark of Amun is depicted with the other barks of the Theban triad, and the epithet, 'in his Good Festival of the Opet' (*m hb.f nfr ipt*) confirms the depiction of the Opet festival (see Kitchen 1983: 282 for the text; Kitchen calls this the 'Oracle Stela'). This stela is dated to year 7 of Ramesses VI and is clearly commemorative; it was dedicated by the Wab-priest, Divine Scribe and Overseer of the Temple of Maat (in the Karnak temple complex), Merymaat.

Rank

The majority of individuals dedicating the stelae with anthropomorphic images of Amun-Re are connected in some way to the temple or estate of Amun: the First God's Servant, Mahuhy (Lefebvre 1929: 154-156; 259-260; Bierbrier 1975: 17); the Guardian of the Temple of Amun, Anenna, the God's Father of Amun, Fanbearer and Mayor of Thebes, Paser, with the Overseer of the Treasury of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amen[...]; the Overseer of the Draftsmen of Amun, Dedja, and the Sandalmaker of Amun, Amenemhat. In addition, there is a Sculptor, a Ka-servant of Tuthmosis I, a Scribe of the Divine Offerings and a Chief of the Medjay, whose status in relation to the Amun temple is not clear – the Medjay were stationed on the West Bank and more closely associated with the Deir el Medina community (Bierbrier 1982a: 39). Stela DB319 of the Chief of the Medjay, Pagar, is, in fact, principally dedicated to a ram of Amun. The ram stelae are dedicated by a looser group of lower ranking individuals: the Medjay chief, a woman with the titles Follower of Re, Great Singer of Hathor, and a Workman (*sdm š*) of Amun; two have no titles. These stelae may in fact belong to unidentified members of the Deir el Medina community, and, if so, it may be that they all date to the early part of the reign of Ramesses II. The ram statue worship seems to have been a feature of this short period, and the Deir el Medina community (see *Section 3.2.2.1.3*).

Discussion

Of note is the fact that three of the stelae are made of sandstone and one of granite. This latter stela, DB311 of Dedia, the Overseer of the Draftsmen of Amun, was dedicated at the Mentuhotep temple at Deir el Bahri, and is fairly elaborate in design, with the Theban triad on one side, and two sub-registers of deities on the other. The sandstone stelae have no findspots and are more conventional in design. This use of more expensive material may indicate a difference in function or intent of the stelae, with the material an additional expression of status. Of the Deir el Medina Amun-Re stelae, only two of the 51 were not made of limestone. One is made of wood and one of sandstone, and both are 20th Dynasty in date.

There are few findspots. The only stelae dedicated within the Karnak temple complex belong to high ranking temple officials: the Overseer of the Temple of Maat, Merymaat, and the God's Father of Amun, Fanbearer and Mayor of Thebes, Paser. This latter stela, DB53, is catalogued as a type B stela with Paser as both beneficiary and intermediary for his lower ranking colleague, the Overseer of the Treasury, Amen[...] and his wife. It fits the pattern of type B stelae dedicated in the vicinity of official cult locations by high ranking individuals. Of the other two type B stelae, the First God's Servant of Amun, Mahuhy has Seti II as his intermediary, and the Ka-servant of Tuthmosis I (name lost) has the statue of the deceased king, Tuthmosis I. The other two certain findspots are on the West Bank, at Deir el Bahri and Men Aset, the funerary temple of Queen Ahmes Nefertari.

The ram/criosphinx stelae fit the Deir el Medina pattern with regard to the date and rank of the dedicators. The 'Oracle stela' of Merymaat, DB261, has a text that relates to the image; the commemorative function and overt link to the Opet festival can be related to the proposed function of other stelae depicting barks as records of festivals (see *Section 4.2.2.1*).

3.2.3.6.2 Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari (13 stelae)

Table 27: Cult images of Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari (Thebes)

Form/iconography	No.	Compositional form	Date	Find spot
Blue crown	4	A (1); B (2); C (1)	Ramesses II (2); 19 th Dynasty (2)	Karnak temple (1); Mortuary temple of the First God's Servant, Nebwenenef (1); unknown (2)
Cap crown	5	A (3); C (2)	Early 19 th Dynasty (3); undated (2)	Unknown
Nemes Headdress	1	A	20 th Dynasty	Unknown
Queen Ahmes Nefertari	1	C	19 th Dynasty	Unknown
Lost	2	C (2)	19 th Dynasty	Deir el Bahri (1); Men Aset (1)

There are 13 stelae dedicated to Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari, nine of which date to the 19th Dynasty, one to the 20th Dynasty and three which are undated. They are evenly balanced in compositional form with five type A and six type C. The subset includes two type B stelae, both depicting Ramesses II before the palanquin carrying Amenhotep I, dedicated by high ranking officials (DB37 and DB44). This event, where Ramesses II offers to the deified royal ancestor (and in fact may be involved in an oracular ceremony; see *Section 4.2.2.1*), may in fact be the catalyst for the rise in importance of the cult of Amenhotep I at Thebes in the 19th Dynasty. The appearance of a new statue of Amenhotep I in the reign of Ramesses II at Deir el Medina is certainly discernible in the record (see above, *Section 3.2.2.2.4*).

Form and epithets

Amenhotep I is most frequently given epithets that refer to his status as a king: 'Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances' (*ntr nfr, nb t3wy, s3 R^c, nb h^cw*). On stela DB37 of the Captain of the Bowmen and Architect, Penre, where Amenhotep I appears in the palanquin with Ramesses II offering, the epithets are lost from the upper register, but in the lower register the deity receives the following epithet string: 'Son of Amun, His Excellent Image, whom He Loved more than any King, Divine Sperm, Holy Egg, Begotten of Amun himself' (*s3 'Imn tit lkr mr.n.f r nsw nb mw ntry swht dsrt tr.n 'Imn ds.f*). On stela DB277 of the Wab-priest of the Prow of Amun, Huy, Amenhotep I is called 'The Favourite' (*p3 ib ib/p3 h3ty*).

This is the epithet that is more commonly found at Deir el Medina, in the reign of Ramesses II, applied to statues of Amenhotep I in the blue crown (see *Sections 3.2.2.2.2, 3.2.2.2.3*), as is the case here. The stela was found under the mortuary temple of the First God's Servant, Nebwenenef, on the West Bank. Huy may, in fact, be an unidentified member of the royal workforce, or it may be the case that this form of Amenhotep I transferred from the East Bank at Thebes to the Village during the reign of Ramesses II.

Queen Ahmes Nefertari is identified as the 'God's Wife (of Amun)' (*hmt ntr (n'Imn)*).

The palanquin stelae both date to the 19th Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II. There are two additional stelae where Amenhotep I wears the blue crown, and these can also be dated to this reign. The cap crown is worn on five occasions, the three dated examples dating to the 19th Dynasty. A nemes-headress occurs on one 20th Dynasty stela. On one stela, DB38, Queen Ahmes Nefertari appears with Ahmose but without her son, and on two, DB265 and DB266, he is only represented by a cartouche (on one of these the representation is now lost).

Two of the stelae may have come from the Karnak temple complex: DB294 and DB306. DB294 has no recorded provenance but depicts Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari seated with a dom-palm behind them. On the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak there is a representation of Amenhotep I 'of the Dom Palm' (Guglielmi 1994: 55). Whether the stela would actually have been set up near this image is another question; the unknown Measurer who dedicated the stela may simply have paid his respects at the temple and set up the stela elsewhere. Stela DB306 is given a Karnak provenance in Porter and Moss (1972 II: 294). Other than these, eight have no provenance and the remaining three come from West Bank locations.

Rank

The dedicators are all male. Six of the stelae are dedicated by individuals connected to the temple or cult of Amun in some respect: the First God's Servant of Amun, Roma, with the Guardian of the Treasury (DB42), two Guardians of the Amun temple (DB265 and DB266), a Measurer (DB294), and two men calling themselves Wab-priests of the Prow of Amun (DB36 and DB277). DB37 and DB44 have already been mentioned, the dedicators are high ranking military men, holding the title Overseer of Foreign Lands, amongst other titles. The remaining

five stelae are dedicated by Sculptors, a Scribe, Workmen (*sdm*), and one man with no title.

The two individuals whose stelae have been given a Karnak temple provenance are a Scribe and the Measurer, whose rank is uncertain. The Amun temple Guardians and one of the Wab-priests of the Prow of Amun dedicate stelae at West Bank mortuary temples.

The use of type B stelae by high ranking individuals fits the expected pattern.

Discussion

The Theban Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari cult is predominantly early 19th Dynasty; a number of stelae can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II. Amenhotep I (and Queen Ahmes Nefertari) frequently share the stelae with funerary deities or deceased kings. In TT19 of Amenmose, Amenhotep I is depicted being carried to his bark in a palanquin, and he and Queen Ahmes Nefertari are also shown in their portable barks as part of the Valley festival, alongside seated statues of deceased kings. The festival activity takes place at the temple of Tuthmosis III on the West Bank (Cabrol 2001: 608-609; 612-616; pl. 33; see *Section 4.2.2.1*). It is tempting to link the stelae with representations of deceased kings and funerary deities with this festival; where the dedicators use the title Wab-priest of the Prow of Amun, indicating their role as principal bark-carriers in festival processions, this link is further supported. Amenhotep I in the palanquin may also have been a part of such a festival (as shown in the TT19 of Amenmose), and involved in a ritual less accessible to individuals of lower rank. On stela DB265, dedicated by the Guardian of the temple of Amun, Amenmose, and found in the temple of Mentuhotep, Akh-isut, at Deir el Bahri, Amenhotep I (his figure is lost) is seated opposite the Hathor cow emerging from the mountain. This temple was the focus of the Valley festival during the New Kingdom (see *Section 3.2.2.5.4*), and the stela suggests that the statue of Amenhotep I was carried to the Hathor sanctuary. Interestingly, although Amenmose is the named dedicator, his wife, Amenhotep, and son, precede him on the stela; his rank may have allowed his family this instance of divine access (Robins 1994).

3.2.3.6.3 Osiris (13 stelae)

Osiris is new to our discussion of deities on votive stelae; he did not figure significantly enough in the Deir el Medina stelae to warrant a section of his own.

His stelae are numerically almost evenly spread between the two groups, but not proportionately: 14 Deir el Medina and 13 non-Deir el Medina. Osiris' iconography varies so little it is not possible to differentiate cult forms of the god using these as criteria. His epithets are also standard, referring either to his role as a funerary deity: 'Foremost of the Westerners, Wennenefer, Lord of the Living; Lord/Ruler of Eternity'; 'Lord of the Necropolis' (*hnty imntyw, wnnfr, nb nḥw; nb/hk3 nḥh/dt; nb r-št3w*); or as a state god: 'Great God'; 'Lord of the Sky' (*ntr 3; nb pt*).

Table 28 below divides the stelae according to those on which Osiris appears alone, those on which he appears with members of the Theban triad, and those on which he appears with deceased kings. This latter group overlaps with the stelae from the Amenhotep I group, above.

Table 28: Cult images of Osiris (Thebes)

Co-deities	No.	Compositional form	Date	Find spot
Alone	8	A (7); C (1)	19 th Dynasty (5); 20 th Dynasty (1); undated (2)	Ramesseum (1); TT149 (1); unknown (6)
With deceased kings	4	A (3); C (1)	Ramesses II-Seti II (1); 19 th Dynasty (2); 20 th Dynasty (1)	Unknown
With the Theban triad	1	A	20 th Dynasty	Unknown

The Osiris cult represented on these stelae is predominantly 19th Dynasty. There are no type B stelae; the majority are type A, indicating the popular nature of the cult. Distinguishing votive from funerary stelae when funerary deities are included is not always straightforward. In this study, stelae are regarded as funerary when they depict aspects of the funerary ritual, and thus are not included, and as votive when they depict a funerary deity, such as Osiris, alone or with other deities, receiving adoration or offerings from dedicators in the same format as other deities on votive stelae. Two stelae, DB60 and DB67 include the offering formula; the former is dedicated to Osiris in the company of deceased kings, the latter to Osiris alone. DB226 to Osiris alone includes the request for funerary offerings of 'all good and pure things' (*ht nbt nfrt wḥbt*). As Duquesne has noted in relation to the Ramesside period votive stelae dedicated principally to Wepwawet and Anubis from the tomb of Djefaihapy III at Assiut, by the New Kingdom, the offering formula

had 'ceased to have exclusively funerary associations' (2004: 6; see also Pinch 1993: 99). Stela DB285 is provenanced to TT149, the tomb of the dedicator, the Royal Scribe of the Altar/Table of the Lord of the Two Lands, Overseer of the Huntsmen of Amun, Amenmose; this stela is a reuse of another stela and is much damaged, but its findspot suggests a funerary function.

An image of Osiris is extant on the girdle wall (east section) at Karnak, decorated by Ramesses II, where he stands mummiform wearing the white crown, and is called Osiris 'Wennenefer, the True One, King of the Gods, of Coptos, Foremost of the Treasury near the Temple of Osiris in the Great Place' (*wnnfr m3^c nsw ntrw Gbtyw hnty hwt-nwb m-h3 pr-Wsir m st 3t*). This image has drill holes above and behind it indicating secondary use (Helck 1968: 67 [89]).

Rank

No women dedicate stelae to Osiris, though they appear with other family members on a number of the stelae. The highest ranking individuals dedicate stelae to Osiris with deceased kings: the Scribe of Troops of the Estate of Amun, Wab-priest of the Prow of Amun, Overseer of Works of all the Monuments of Amun, Amen-emopenakht (DB36) and the Prince, Nomarch, Overseer of the God's Servants of all the Gods and the God's Servants of Amun, First God's Servant of Amun, Roma (DB42). A Overseer of the temple of Medinet Habu (DB55) and a Royal Scribe and Huntsman of Amun (DB285) dedicate stelae to Osiris alone. Otherwise the stelae are dedicated by Scribes, Craftsmen, a Soldier of the Ship and an Overseer of the Chamber, whose relative rank is hard to discern.

Discussion

The Osiris stelae may be linked to the Valley festival both when the deceased kings are depicted alongside Osiris, and when they are not. The funerary associations of the Valley festival meant that Osiris was an integral part of this celebration. The high rank of a number of the dedicators, and the West Bank focus of the dedications (the findspots and work places of a number of the dedicators) supports this theory: the festival procession took place on the West Bank, and attendance, or at least records of attendance, was restricted to the elite and local dignitaries. Stela DB309 from Deir el Medina depicts Ramesses II and his Vizier, Paser, offering flowers to Osiris while the Foreman, Qaha (i), and his wife kneel below. The stela was found in the court of Qaha (i)'s tomb, TT360. The content of the stela, the king offering flowers (see *Section 4.2.2*) to a funerary deity on behalf

of a high ranking member of the Deir el Medina community, suggests that this stela is connected with the Valley festival (see *Section 4.2.2.1*).

3.2.3.7 *The Theban stelae general: findspot, rank and compositional form*

Within this group of stelae, 22 have findspots. Six of these are from the East Bank temple complex of Karnak, though three are not of definite provenance. Of the three that are definite, two are dedicated by an Overseer of the Temple of Maat, Merymaat (the same man?), and one by the First God's Servant of Amun, Mahuhy, active in the reign of Seti II (Lefebvre 1929: 154-156; 259-260; Bierbrier 1975: 17). Of the other 17, three were dedicated at Deir el Medina sites and, though their titles do not link them with the workmen's community, their findspots suggest that they were associated with the community in some way, and perhaps should properly have been included in that dataset. Stela DB215, discovered at the Workmen's Col Station, was dedicated by the Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Treasury, Montuemtawy (r. Ramesses IV); stela DB239, from the Great Pit, was dedicated by the Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, To; and stela DB285, found in TT149, was dedicated by the Royal Scribe of the Altar/Table of the Lord of the Two Lands and Overseer of the Huntsmen of Amun, Amenmose. The 14 remaining stelae were dedicated at various West Bank mortuary temples.

It is possible to discern some patterns in the titles and dates of the provenanced stelae. At the temple of Tuthmosis II, all the dedicators use priestly titles, indicating, perhaps, that their role at the temple allowed them the privilege of erecting stelae here. At the Ramesseum, the two 19th Dynasty stelae dedicated by individuals with titles belong to military men, reflecting the military emphasis of the cult of this king.²⁴ The Deir el Bahri stelae are all 19th Dynasty. Pinch noted (1993: 8) the fall off in use of these temples at the start of the period. This coincided with the transfer of the active (and royally patronised) Hathor cult to Deir el Medina, where the cult flourished (see *Section 4.1.1*). The individuals leaving the Deir el Bahri stelae are of a range of ranks.

Some additional patterns are discernible in the choice of compositional form. The three stelae definitely dedicated at Karnak are a type B, stela DB77 of the First God's Servant of Amun, Mahuhy, and two type A, stelae DB261 and DB272, of the Overseer of the Temple of Maat, Merymaat. DB77, discovered in the area known as the 'Fowl yard' (Porter and Moss 1960 I.1: 222), is a classic type B stela where

the king, Seti II mediates to the god of the temple, Amun-Re, while Mahuhy kneels below. No other form of stelae could be erected at such proximity to the deity, and the stela exactly reflects the ideal political and theological hierarchy. Of the two Karnak stelae from the Temple of Maat, DB261 is Kitchen's 'Oracle Stela' and commemorates the Opet festival in year 7 of Ramesses VI (Kitchen 1983: 282), depicting the barks of the Theban triad and that of Maat; DB272 depicts priests adoring Maat and Thoth for the benefit of the Ka of the Overseer of the Temple of Maat, Merymaat. At the Deir el Medina sites the high ranking individuals who had contact with the community through their administrative duties use type A stelae (both are 20th Dynasty), reflecting the looser decorum on this side of the river, contrasting with the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)'s earlier 19th Dynasty reluctance to use anything but type C stelae. This may be due to the later date of these two stelae, and the choice of deities: on stela DB215, Montuemtawy adores a serpent headed goddess (Mertseger?) with the cartouches of Ramesses IV above; on stela DB239, To adores Thoth of Hermopolis on a crude stela that has the appearance of being very unofficial indeed. At the Ramesseum, the stelae dedicated by military men are type A and seem to belong to personal popular cults rather than state related ones. Stela DB216 of Nebwa, the Scribe of the Army of the Two Lands, includes a list of temple personnel (see Haring 1997: 457; 458) and is dedicated to Wenut and Sobek-Re of 'Hut [...]' (*hwt* [...]) - perhaps images from a Ramesseum geographical list? The stela depicts individuals involved in a festival. At Deir el Bahri, the majority of the stelae are type C, as expected in an official cult location.

3.2.3.8 *Summary and conclusions*

There are 55 stelae in this subset, amounting to 17% of the Theban dataset. Though far fewer in number than the Deir el Medina stelae, the same relative proportion of stelae was produced in each dynasty. The non-Deir el Medina stelae have been dealt with in a less detailed and more discursive manner than the Deir el Medina stelae, justifiable on the grounds that they are comparatively few in number and, as a result, do not form a dataset that can be satisfyingly analysed in the same detail. This is at its clearest when attempting to identify patterns in terms of the compositional form of the stelae, the deity and the original location of the stelae, the factors that were chosen as status related. The non-Deir el Medina stelae are simply too few, and the cult images too problematic to locate, to identify clear patterns. Status identification is hampered by the fact that we know so little about the relative status of the majority of the titles.

The cults of Amenhotep I and Osiris are predominantly 19th Dynasty; the Amun-Re stelae span both dynasties. The ram/criosphinx of Amun-Re and the Amenhotep I in the palanquin stelae are the only iconographic groups that emerge with any clarity. These stelae are dedicated by individuals that fit the pattern of the Deir el Medina dedicators: the ram statue/criosphinxes are an accessible popular cult; Amenhotep I in the palanquin is a restricted elite cult. Both are 19th Dynasty, and may both date to the reign of Ramesses II, though there are no reign dates for the ram statue/criosphinx stelae. Ramesses II's involvement with the cult of Amenhotep I on these stelae (Ramesses II does not appear on any of the other Theban stelae), and at Deir el Medina, together with tomb paintings of festival occasions dating to this reign, suggests that, early in his reign, Ramesses II took part in a large festival, perhaps the Valley festival or Opet festival, that made a lasting impression on the Theban community at this time. This event, coupled with a change in decorum allowing non-elite public records of royal events, may be the source for the numerous stelae and tomb paintings recording festival activity that can be dated to Ramesses II's reign, in particular to the first half of the reign (see *Section 4.2.2*). In addition, some or all of the Osiris stelae may be related to such a festival. The numerous dedications of stelae at West Bank sites, in particular mortuary temples, support this suggestion.

The high proportion of stelae dedicated on the West Bank reflects the nature of this area of Thebes as the centre for acts of private devotion manifest in votive stelae. Devotional acts on the East Bank have not left such a permanent record, which may be due to sumptuary controls that limited an individual's freedom to record his devotion at close proximity to a state temple, and/or to frequent clearances of temple areas. It is interesting that a number of anepigraphic Amun stelae have been found at Karnak (Porter and Moss 1972 II: 171); this may be because these were considered to be a different class of votive object (Pinch 1993: 94), linked to the anonymous nature of such artefacts – they cannot act as personal status indicators if the dedicator is not recorded.

That cult activity manifested itself in such a contrasting proportion of stelae at Deir el Medina and amongst the other residents of Thebes cannot simply be explained away with the belief that 'personal piety' was the prerogative of the workmen. The numerous stelae may bear witness to royally sanctioned, innovative artistic behaviour by the workmen, who were well-placed to make such artefacts. Stelae would not have been so easy to come by if one were not a craftsman by trade. Cult

activity amongst non-Deir el Medina individuals may have manifested itself in more transient activity, or anepigraphic or less permanent artefacts. The relative importance of stelae to each community could well have been very different. The increased frequency of stelae made of expensive materials other than limestone, supports the theory that stelae were more significant to non-Deir el Medina dedicators. Expensive material is also an expression of status that can be understood by the non-literate.

3.3 Summary

3.3.1 Deir el Medina

The data analysis chapter initially analysed the stelae as a group to identify general trends, and subsequently analysed the stelae dedicated to the five most prominent deities in the dataset: Amun-Re, Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari, Mertseger, Ptah and Hathor. The analysis criteria were the original hypostase, compositional form and location of dedication. In terms of general trends the following points are of note:

- There is a marked peak in stelae production in the first half (to middle) of the reign of Ramesses II, amounting to 99 of the 264 stelae in the dataset;
- A second smaller peak occurs in the period Ramesses III-Ramesses IV;
- Type B, mediated divine access, stelae, also cluster at these periods, in particular during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II;
- The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), in post years 5-38 of Ramesses II, dedicates 21 stelae, amounting to 21% of the stelae from this period. His stelae are almost all type C, representing a choice of tradition over innovation.

The analysis of the stelae dedicated to individual prominent deities produced the following points of note:

1. Instances where the stelae image can be successfully linked to an original hypostase:
 - The stelae depicting ram statues are depictions of the ram statues standing in front of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, moved here from the temple of Mut by Ramesses II. These ram statues show evidence of secondary use (see *Section 3.2.2.1.4*);
 - Stelae depicting Amenhotep I in the blue crown may depict the statue discovered in a pit in the Khenu-chapel attached to the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina (see *Section 3.2.2.2.4*);
 - Stelae depicting Mertseger as a serpent with a female head may depict statues of this type that have been found at Deir el Medina; in addition, depictions of Mertseger as fully serpentine may relate to similar statuettes discovered here (see *Section 3.2.2.3.4*);

- Stelae of Ptah 'of the Great Door' (non-Deir el Medina) relate to the inlaid image of this god in a doorway at the Ramesseum; an extant example can be found in the doorway of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu (see *Section 3.2.2.4.7*);
- Stelae depicting a Hathor cow may be depictions of one of the Hathor cow statues housed in the Khenu-chapel; fragments of various cow statues have been found in the area of the Hathor temple (see *Section 3.2.2.5.4*);
- Stelae depicting unusual geographical versions of Hathor may relate to the geographical lists of deities extant at Medinet Habu, copied from the Ramesseum (see *Section 3.2.2.5.4*).

There are a number of other instances where the original hypostase is lost but the consistency of epithets and iconography together with narrow periods of use suggest that such a hypostase did indeed exist: for example, Amun 'of the Happy Encounter', an anthropomorphic statue, the geese statues of Amun-Re (*Section 3.2.2.1.4*), the cat, swallow and Hathor-headed columns of Hathor (*Section 3.2.2.5.4*), the sphinx statue of Mertseger (*Section 3.2.2.3.4*), the anthropomorphic statues/representations of Ptah 'of the Place of Beauty', and Ptah in his role of overseer of craft and craftsmen (*Section 3.2.2.4.4*).

Stelae are not always dedicated in the vicinity of the original hypostase. For example, the ram statue stelae were discovered at Deir el Medina when such statues only existed on the East Bank. This suggests that records of visits to state temples were set up within the community of the dedicator to record such a visit for posterity and advertise the fact of the visit, with the concomitant effect this will have had on his status within his community. As a result, an individual's social status may be encoded in the form, content and location of the stela (see *Section 2.3*).

2. Instances where stelae record events:

- The type B stelae that depict Ramesses II as an intermediary to Hathor and Ptah on behalf of a group of contemporary workmen can be interpreted as a record of a royal ceremony, possibly taking place in the Hathor temple (see *Section 4.1.1*). The stelae are unusual, in that type B stelae are, elsewhere in the database, dedicated by higher ranking individuals, such as foremen or viziers. Such stelae may indicate a royal

sanction where presence at a royal ceremony was granted to the workmen, together with permission to record it in a public place;

- The stelae dedicated one each by Bukhenefptah (i) and her husband Kasa (i) (*Section 3.2.2.5.4*), with comparable representations of ritual paraphernalia, an anthropomorphic Hathor and family members with offerings and musical instruments, record a festival occasion. The text on the stela of Nebre (i) depicting uniquely a colossal statue of Ramesses II before temple pylons (*Section 3.2.2.1.4*) overtly links a temple visit or pilgrimage with the making of a stela. It may be the case that other stelae record temple visits or festival events, such as the oracle or festival stelae of Amun-Re (*Section 3.2.2.1.4*; see also *Section 4.2.2.1*) and the depictions of Amenhotep I in his palanquin (*Section 3.2.2.2.4*; see also *Section 4.2.2.1*). Depictions of visits to East Bank hypostases such as the ram statues at the Khonsu temple may record a festival occasion where temple access was granted. Depictions of deceased kings, such as the example of Amenhotep I in the nemes headdress, may record parts of state festival processions where such statues were paraded. It may be possible to link additional stelae to festival occasions (see *Section 4.2.2.1*).

Identifying the motive for the creation of some of the stelae allows them to be linked to historical events which may be known from other sources (see *Section 4.1.3*). The stelae can provide a complementary source of information on such events. Close dating of the stelae allows trends in their production to be traced, providing evidence for royal activity at Thebes and broader royal sanctions.

The stelae record, in iconography, format, and sometimes in the text, access to temples at particular times, allowing an assessment of the social status of the dedicator. As with tomb paintings, the stelae record such events as a single occasion that will benefit the owner for their lifetime and beyond – presence at state festivals altered the status of an individual. This is comparable to modern day participation in the Hajj, where on completion an individual can take the title Hajji. Paintings of the pilgrimage can be found on Egyptian village houses to mark that the owner is a Hajji.

3. Instances where the compositional form can be linked to the rank of the dedicator.

- The type B stelae are most frequently dedicated by individuals of high rank such as viziers, foremen and senior scribes, in particular when the intermediary is a living individual such as the king or his vizier. The depiction of a living king as intermediary, traditionally interpreted as a two-dimensional representation of the concept the king as *nb irt ht*, 'Lord of Rites' (Podemann Sørensen 1989: 120), or of the offering formula (*htp-di-nsw*) (Radwan 1969: 41; Myśliwiec 1985: 11), may also have a more pragmatic interpretation. When the king is depicted, it is because he (or his statue) was there, and the dedicator attended a royal or state ceremony. The same is the case for viziers as mediators: the vizier is shown carrying out a ceremony in the place of the king. When deities or deceased kings are depicted as intermediaries, these are representations of statues. A stela recording attendance at a royal ceremony, or one involving a vizier, indicates that the stela dedicator had a relatively high status within the community;
- Type A and type C stelae are almost equally balanced across the dataset. Type C stelae represent a more traditional mode of representation where the dedicator does not have direct representational access to the deity. The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), chose type C for his stela design, which reflected his status in the traditional social order. He was not interested in innovation which may conflict with the royal theogamy; rather he used traditional stelae to make a statement about his fixed high social status. In addition, the workmen's stelae may have frequently been set up in less official locations where conventional decorum was not as prevalent. Ramose (i) displayed his higher social status by choosing traditional modes of representation, closer to authorised decorum.

The compositional form of the stelae can be related to an individual's social status, but this is just one factor in the network of influences which affect the format of the stela. These include the location of the dedication, the original hypostase, and the motivating event.

4. Instances of innovation from the reign of Ramesses II. Several phenomena occur during the reign of Ramesses II, which cannot be adequately explained away by the long duration of the reign:

- Zoomorphic and symbolic forms of Amun-Re and Hathor occur frequently during this reign, and not at all in the 20th Dynasty;

- The Hathor cult at Deir el Medina dates predominantly to the reign of this king (25/34 stelae), and, in particular, the cow cult, the 'Residing in Thebes' cult, and the geographical list versions of Hathor;
- Representations of the statue of Mertseger as a serpent with a female head date to the reign of Ramesses II;
- Representations of Amun-Re with oracle related iconography or epithets date exclusively to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II;
- Representations of Amenhotep I in the blue crown are exclusive to the reign of Ramesses II; the depiction of Amenhotep I in the nemes headdress also dates to this reign;
- The majority of the Ptah stelae with the 'Beautiful of Face' epithet date to the early 19th Dynasty.

Such phenomena, together with the large number of stelae created at this period, and the relatively high frequency of type B stelae, may be linked to Ramesses II's royal policy in relation to popular cult activity, Theban building projects and the reestablishment of the value of the kingship across as broad a demographic as possible (Kitchen 1982b: 178; see *Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2*).

3.3.2 Thebes

The Theban subset of 55 stelae provides the following additions and comparisons:

- Stelae production also peaks in the reign of Ramesses II, and Ramesses III-Ramesses IV, though less markedly due to the fewer precisely dated stelae (*Section 3.2.3.4*);
- Hypostases: stelae depicting ram statues/criosphinxes can be linked to the Karnak temple statues. These stelae may in fact have been dedicated by unidentified Deir el Medina individuals. They are all 19th Dynasty in date (*Section 3.2.3.6.1*);
- Events: Stela DB261 of Merymaat records part of the Opet festival of year 7 of Ramesses VI (*Section 3.2.3.6.1*); stelae DB37 and DB44 depict Ramesses II offering to Amenhotep I in the presence of high ranking military men (*Section 3.2.3.6.2*); stela DB216 of the Army Scribe, Nebwa, from the Ramesseum, depicts Nebwa with colleagues and family holding musical instruments and offerings before Wenut and Sobek-Re 'of Hut', who may be a version of Sobek-Re from the Ramesseum geographical list – this stela records attendance at a festival (*Section 3.2.3.6.1*);

- Compositional form and rank: the type B stelae are, in six out of seven cases, dedicated by individuals of high rank, or priests; the seventh is dedicated by a 20th Dynasty Stonemason of Amun and has the deceased king Amenhotep I as the intermediary (*Section 3.2.3.7*);
- Innovation from the reign of Ramesses II: Ramesses II only appears on the two stelae dedicated to Amenhotep I in the palanquin; the ram/criosphinx stelae date to the 19th Dynasty and, if linked to the Deir el Medina cult of this hypostase, may date to Ramesses II's reign; the majority of the Amenhotep I and Osiris stelae are 19th Dynasty and may in fact date to this king's reign, but this cannot be proven at this stage (*Section 3.2.3.8*).

The analysis of the core dataset has identified a number of events, and hypostases, to which the stelae refer, providing the context (the social practices) for the commissioning of some of the stelae. In addition, there appears to be a level of correlation between compositional form and individual social status, and compositional form and the nature of the event recorded. This correlation allows the stelae to serve as a mechanism for studying social relations (Miller 1995: 267; see *Introduction*), hierarchy, structure and organisation, in an individual's immediate and wider society.

The following chapter looks at a number of groups of stelae that have emerged in the analysis by means of their form and content, this time structured according event rather than deity.

¹ See Davies 1999: 79-80 and n. 38 for a list of monuments dedicated by Paser and Ramose (i).

² See Assman 1975, and Sadek 1987: 199-244, for discussion and analysis of the texts on votive stelae.

³ Guglielmi takes (1994: 65) both statues to be criosphinxes (Cabrol 2001: 409, n. 789).

⁴ See Fischer 1959 for a further 14 images of Amun-Re in this temple which may have received secondary cult attention.

⁵ 'Bull who is amongst them (?); Bull, Lord of Thebes and Heliopolis (?) Chief of the Sky, the Elder of the Entire Land, Foremost of the Ennead, King of Heliopolis, Ruler of Thebes, Source of Holiness (?) in the Sanctuary of the Ben-Ben, Numerous of Forms in the Sky and in the Land, Foremost of the Two Chapels (of Upper and Lower Egypt), Lord of everything which he causes to exist (?).'

⁶ No provenances are given in Leitz (2002 VI: 342) for stela Avignon A60 and the stela of Ptahmay in New York.

⁷ Stela DB319 may be from Karnak temple, but nothing more precise is known.

⁸ For royal participation in the Opet festival, see Myśliwiec 1985: 20; in the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, see Schott 1952: 8.

⁹ For a limited level of public access to Luxor temple, see Sadek 1987: 47; Bell 1997: 163-8; for none, see Baines 2001: 31, n. 86.

¹⁰ See Quinn 1991: 174-175 for a list of representations of Amenhotep I wearing the blue crown.

¹¹ This may be the Guardian, Smentawy (i), who is active at this period (Davies 1999: 190).

¹² Sadek (1987) identifies three chapels, which are also dedicated to Queen Ahmes Nefertari: chapels C+D, north of the Hathor temple precinct; chapel II, inside the southern half of the Hathor temple precinct, and chapel 1190, in the northwest angle of the cliffs west of the Hathor temple precinct.

¹³ See McDowell 1992b: 98 for a discussion of why Tuthmosis IV in particular may have been prominent in the Village.

¹⁴ For example, Bruyère 1930: 225-226, fig. 114 = Museo Egizio, Turin 118 [old number?]; 1930: 226 = Museo Egizio, Turin 3; Bruyère 1935-1940 II (1952): 34, 60, fig. 107 [36]; 47, pl. XX [186]; Andreu 2000: 281 [228] = Museo Egizio, Turin 957.

¹⁵ For example, Bruyère 1935-1940 II (1952): 102, pl. XXXI [230], from Chapel 1 near the Hathor temple.

¹⁶ For example, Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 248, house NEIII, part of a lintel to Renenut completing one to Mertseger discovered in 1930; pp. 287, 293, house NOXII, a right jamb inscribed to Mertseger.

¹⁷ Anthropomorphically, Mertseger appears in the Queens' Valley chapels B and C, on stelae of Ramesses III (Bruyère 1930: 21-22; 33-37). On the chapel C stela she suckles the boy king, a role previously taken by Hathor.

¹⁸ The location is given as the north face of the third column.

¹⁹ The translation is taken from the publication (Botti and Romanelli 1951: 91-92, pl. LXV [136]) where the original hieroglyphs are not clear.

²⁰ See Guglielmi 1991 for a discussion of the meaning of the ka-sign on votive stelae.

²¹ The epithet 'Residing in Thebes' applied to Hathor, is known in the southern chapel of the Ptah temple in the Karnak temple complex, where the deity is depicted anthropomorphically (Brovarski 1976: 69). This form of Hathor can be dated here as far back as the 12th Dynasty where Hathor accompanies Senwosret I on a basalt dyad (Cairo JdE 42008; PM 1972 II: 108; Brovarski 1976: 69).

²² See Arnold 1962: 10 ff. for a discussion of how the temple reliefs reflect that statuary held within the chapel.

²³ See Vandier 1964: 91-97 for a discussion of Hathor Nebethetepet at the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu.

²⁴ Witness the Qantir/Pi-Ramesses stelae, many of which were dedicated by soldiers to colossal statues of Ramesses II (Roeder 1926; Habachi 1954; see below, *Chapter 5*).

Chapter 4: Motives for dedicating private votive stelae at Deir el Medina

Chapter 4 attempts to establish a number of social practices or events that provide the context for the commissioning of the Deir el-Medina votive stelae. The data analysis chapter results suggested that patterns in the form and content of the Deir el Medina/non-Deir el Medina (Theban) votive stelae could be related to certain events of either a public (e.g. a royal visit) or a private (e.g. illness in the family) nature. Public events can be defined as events which took place in the larger community, such as royal ceremonies, which the dedicator attended or witnessed, and which affected or involved a group of people beyond his (never her) immediate family. Private events are events that directly involved or affected him (less frequently her) or his (or her) family. We may include in private events activities such as promotion at work or entry into a wab-priesthood – these events certainly took place; whether they were marked on stelae and can be identified remains to be seen.

The chapter is divided into three sections. *Part 1, Public Events*, draws together stelae from the dataset that relate to fixed events and sets them within the context of other textual and representational data relating to the same event. The three historical events that can be identified from the Deir el Medina private votive stelae are: a visit of Ramesses II in person or in statue form to the Hathor temple in the Village; the use of oracles in the reign of Ramesses II, in particular the oracle of the deified Amenhotep I; and a visit of the Vizier, To, to the Queens' Valley chapels in the reign of Ramesses III. *Part 2, Private Events*, groups stelae according to defined criteria and attempts to understand the event that unites them. Some of the events which are termed 'private' may be linked to events that can be defined as 'rites of passage'. *Part 3, Writing Biographies*, places a number of Deir el Medina stelae within the framework of public and private events, by plotting stelae against the life events defined in *Part 2*. The record on stelae of such events may allow the construction of some kind of individual biography.

4.1 Public events on votive stelae

Woolf sees Roman monuments as permanent and enduring symbols, 'important not in themselves but for what they were reminders of... The eternity of monuments guaranteed not lasting things but rather momentary events of lasting significance -

treatises, virtuous acts, acts of public generosity, acts of religious devotion' (1996: 27), much as Schulman has argued (1980: 101-102; 1988: 194) for certain Egyptian private monuments. This section demonstrates the historical nature of private votive stelae as they capture three sets of public events of lasting significance for their owners.

The choice of events, the proposed visit of Ramesses II (person/statue) to the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina, the use of oracles in the reign of Ramesses II, and the visit of the Vizier, To, in the reign of Ramesses III, is based on the fact that in these three cases there exist in the dataset coherent groups of stelae linked by content and contemporary dedicators. In addition, in the latter two cases, documentary records in the form of ostraca and graffiti provide supplementary evidence for the occurrence of the event.

4.1.1 A visit of Ramesses II to the Hathor temple in the Village, in person or in statue form

4.1.1.1 The Hathor Temple at Deir el Medina: a brief history

Bruyère established (1935-1940 (1948) I: 84-85; see pl. II) that an 18th Dynasty stone-built chapel stood where the Ptolemaic temple to Hathor, and Maat, now stands, north of the Village. He hypothesized (1935-1940 (1948) I: 8) that the Ptolemies would only have built a temple to an existing cult, and thus it was Hathor to whom the fragmentary 18th Dynasty remains were dedicated. Ventura defines (1986: 47-48) this Hathor as an aspect of the goddess Maat. It is as Hathor that this goddess is given royal attention in the 19th Dynasty at Deir el Medina, while, in the 20th Dynasty, Mertseger takes on this role on royal monuments.

Stelae dating to the reigns of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 16 [3A], 17 [3A], 149 [414] and [422]) demonstrate the continuation of royal patronage at the site in the early Ramesside period, to Hathor, and other gods, in particular Ptah and Amun-Re. In addition, Bruyère discovered (1935-1940 (1948) I: 20) reliefs of Horemheb below the Ramesses II Hathor chapel. Ramesses II rebuilt the Hathor chapel and constructed a chapel to Amun-Re to the south-east (Bruyère's Eastern Sector; Bruyère 1935-1940 (1948) I: 121-125). Merenptah and Seti I built Ka-

chapels to the north-east (Bruyère's Sector 3 (Merenptah) and Northern Sector (Seti I)) of the Hathor chapel (Bruyère 1935-1940 I (1948) I: 91; 97; 101-104).



Figure 11: The Amun-Re temple at Deir el Medina (Photography: K.M. Exell)



Figure 12: The Seti I chapel at Deir el Medina (Photography: K.M. Exell)

Stelae dedicated to Hathor as a cow, and to Hathor in her anthropomorphic form, have been discovered at Deir el Medina, indicating that there were hypostases in both these forms at Deir el Medina (see *Section 3.2.2.5*). Fragmentary cow statues also existed there (see *Section 3.2.2.5.4*). There are no extant reliefs from the Hathor temple proper. Sadek has identified (1987: 64; 83) a mudbrick chapel (Chapel III; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 691) in the temple precinct as dedicated to Hathor, amongst other gods, on the evidence of relief dedicated to Hathor and Harsomtut and the royal Ka, as well as other fragments mentioning the goddess. If this is the case, this chapel may have been dedicated to a popular anthropomorphic cult image of Hathor separate from the official temple cult, to whom some of the stelae may have been dedicated.

The monumental evidence in the form of reliefs from the Khenu-chapel attached to the front of the Hathor temple reveals that the Vizier, Paser, and the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), constructed this chapel for the cult of the living king in association with the goddess Hathor (Davies 1999: 80). Ramose (i) held the post of Senior Scribe from year 5 of Ramesses II's reign to some time beyond year 38 (Černý 1973: 321; Davies 1999: 79 and nn. 33, 34). He was appointed from outside the Village, having previously held scribal posts at the memorial temple of Tuthmosis IV and perhaps at the memorial temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu, both on the Theban West Bank (Davies 1999: 79). His father held a courtier's post, indicating an aristocratic family

background and links to the king (Malek 1974: 165; Davies 1999: 79, n. 31). Ramose (i) claimed responsibility for building the Khenu-chapel and may have been involved with Ramesses II's restoration of the main temple. He recorded the building of the Khenu-chapel in inscriptions extant from that building. Reliefs DM87 and DM88 (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 39; 66-68 and pl. XXXVI) from room 4 of the Khenu-chapel depict a Hathor cow statue. In DM87 (Louvre E.16276 a/b; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 696) the Hathor cow stands on a sledge with a lotiform prow in a papyrus thicket, with a statue of the king protected by the menat necklace. He is identified as Ramesses II by a cartouche. The inscription tells us that this is Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', and states below, '[Made by] this servant (according to) the instruction of his lord, the Royal Scribe in the Place of Truth to the West of Thebes, Ramose, justified' ([*ir.n*] *b3k im sb3 n nb.f sš nsw m st m3^ct hr imntt W3st R^c-ms m3^c hrw*). Relief DM88 (Cairo JdE 72017; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697) depicts the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), kneeling before a Hathor cow figure, identified as Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', on a sledge, with a statue of a king protected by her menat-necklace, and the cartouches of Ramesses II, Thutmose IV and Horemheb above. The four columns above Ramose (i) read, 'Receiving the good place by Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, by the hand of the Royal Scribe, Ramose, justified' (*šsp bw nfr hwt-hr nbt nht rsyt m-dt sš nsw R^c-ms m3^c hrw*). According to these reliefs, the Khenu-chapel houses two Hathor cults: one is identified as Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', the Hathor that transferred from Deir el Bahri (see Section 3.2.2.5.4; Pinch 1993: 8) and one as Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', the Memphite Hathor (Malek 1974: 163).

Blumenthal suggests (2000: 48) that the Hathor cow cult at Deir el Medina may have been an invention of Ramesses II. The monumental evidence suggests that the cult of Hathor, Residing in Thebes, originally located at Deir el Bahri, was relocated to Deir el Medina, possibly by Ramesses II, with the emphasis on his living association with Hathor, the Hathor who as a cow suckles and protects the legitimate king.

4.1.1.2 Images of Ramesses II from Deir el Medina

A group of stelae, listed in Table 29, depicting the figure of Ramesses II making offerings before Hathor, Ptah and ?Amun-Re, may record a royal visit on the occasion of the inauguration of the cult temple of Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', at Deir el

Medina, following the restoration work. Reliefs from the Khenu-chapel, listed in *Table 30*, support the reading of the stela.

Table 29: Images of Ramesses II on private stelae

Database/ Repository Number	Dedicator	Find spot	Description	Porter and Moss reference
DB113	Workman, Karo/Kel (I)	Room 2 of the Khenu-chapel	Ramesses II offers maat to Ptah, with the Vizier, Paser carrying the Ka-staff	Porter and Moss I.2: 723
DB245	Guardian, Khawy (ii)	Unknown	Ramesses II offers to Hathor, with the Vizier, Paser, carrying the Ka-staff	Porter and Moss I.2: 697
DB212	Unnamed Foreman	Outside the north wall of the Ptolemaic temple enclosure	[Ramesses II offers to ?Ptah]	Porter and Moss I.2: 736
Turin Museum Suppl. 6189 + 6193 (=Tosi and Roccati 50095)	Dedicator lost	Queens' Valley chapels?	Ramesses II offers maat to ?Amun, with the Vizier, Paser, carrying the Ka-staff	Porter and Moss I.2: 731
DB91	Workman, Huy (iv)	Unknown	Ramesses II censes to an anthropomorphic, seated Hathor	Porter and Moss I.2: 720
DB158	Workman, Nekh(em)mut (I)	Unknown	Ramesses II offers to an anthropomorphic, seated Hathor and Mut	Porter and Moss I.2: 729
DB243	Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)	Hathor Temple: Hathor Chapel of Seti I: Shrine of Bukentef	The Vizier, Paser, followed by Ramose (i), adore a statue of Ramesses II in the cap crown	Porter and Moss I.2: 695

The first four stelae in the list form a coherent group. Three of them have an almost identical representation of Ramesses II offering to the gods of the official pantheon (Ptah, Hathor or Amun-Re; see *Figure 13* below) followed by his Vizier, Paser, carrying the royal Ka-staff. In the second register male members of the community kneel in adoration. Stela DB212 has lost most of the upper register but the text contains a hymn to Ptah and the royal Ka by an unnamed foreman. The penultimate two stelae in the list carry similar depictions of the king offering or censing to an anthropomorphic Hathor seated holding the was-sceptre and ankh-sign, but lack the vizier (neither has a find spot). The final stela depicts the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), following the Vizier, Paser, in adoring a statue of Ramesses II (the lower register only remains). On this

stela, Ramesses II is in the role of beneficiary rather than active participant/intermediary, and this stela may relate to a different event. The king is depicted in the cap crown, the most common depiction of Amenhotep I at Deir el Medina.

The content of these stelae suggests that they represent a royal ceremony that took place within the Hathor temple, and that they may have originally been set up in or near the temple or Khenu-chapel. As noted in *Section 1.7 Abydos in the Middle Kingdom: the stelae*, where stelae may have lined the temple precinct wall, private stelae depicting royal ceremonies have been found lined up around the temple at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and set up against the wall in a row in the sphinx forecourt at Wadi es-Sebua (see *Sections 5.3.2.1, 5.3.4.1*). The fragmentary stela, DB212, of the unnamed Foreman, discovered outside the north wall of the Ptolemaic temple enclosure, could have been moved here during a general temple clearance at any period after Ramesses II. The Ptolemies certainly cleared out much of the temple area to make room for their building programme (Bruyère 1945-1947 (1952): 9). Stela Turin Museum Suppl. 6189 + 6193 (= Tosi and Roccati 50095) is provenanced to the Queens' Valley chapels (Porter and Moss 1964 II: 706-709) by Bruyère (1930b: 284) but has only Deir el Medina as the provenance in the Tosi and Roccati catalogue (1972: 129).



Figure 13: Stela DB113 of the Workman, Karo/Kel (i), depicting Ramesses II offering maat to Ptah followed by his Vizier, Paser.

Table 30: Relief images of Ramesses II from the Khenu-chapel

Repository Number	Find spot	Description	Porter and Moss reference
Doorjamb DM94	Pit 1415 in the Khenu-chapel	Paser carrying the royal Ka-staff.	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 698
Relief DM70	Doorway between rooms 2 and 3 in the Khenu-chapel	Ramesses II, followed by Paser, offering a cow to the goddess Hathor (figure lost) with a male figure below.	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697

The representation of Paser carrying the royal Ka-staff found on the stelae is also found on the limestone doorjamb discovered by Bruyère in Pit 1415 in the Khenu-chapel (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 40 [94], fig. 116). Ramesses II's association with the Khenu-chapel and Hathor as a cow worshipped within it is supported by relief DM70 (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 38; 63-65 [70], pl. XXX; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697) from the doorway between rooms 2 and 3. The relief shows Ramesses II, followed by his Vizier, Paser, offering a cow to the goddess Hathor (the figure of the deity is now lost). A man who may be the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), kneels below with a broken text, part of which reads, 'I will make a Khenu within the [house] of this statue of my lord which rests within it' (*iw ỉry.ỉ hnw m-hnw[. ..] twt pn n nb.ỉ htp m-hnw.f*).

The representations on the stelae show Hathor as anthropomorphic, and can most clearly be interpreted as depicting a ceremony in the main Hathor temple. The only stela with an exact find spot, in room 2 of the Khenu-chapel, is DB113 of the Workman, Karo/Kel (i). The chapel may have been the location where it was permissible for private individuals to erect stelae that recorded the ceremony that took place within the temple. *Section 3.2.2.1.4, Discussion of cult images of Amun-Re on the stelae*, demonstrated that stelae recording cult activity at Karnak, such as the stelae depicting ram statues, have been discovered at Deir el Medina, in or near the Hathor temple precinct. This could be the result of one or both of the following circumstances. Firstly, regulations may have been in place regarding the setting up of private records of cult activity. In such a case, permanent divine access, through private inscribed monuments, to the Karnak temple precinct, was not permissible for the majority of the Deir el Medina residents, even if occasional actual physical access

was. Secondly, it may have been of greater significance to the stela owners to set up their stelae within their own community, where their divine access could be advertised to their contemporaries and descendants.

The stelae listed here depict the king, and the Khenu-chapel seems to be connected with the cult of Hathor and the king (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 63-66; Sadek 1987: 60-61; Davies 1999: 80), so that their erection in or near the Khenu-chapel would increase the royal emphasis of the chapel. In addition, on a practical level, in a mudbrick building the stelae act as miniature temple reliefs showing standard royal offering scenes. Whether the stelae depict the living king or a statue of the king is unclear.

4.1.1.3 Other evidence for a visit of Ramesses II to the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina

There is no documentary evidence in the administrative records from Deir el Medina to support the idea of a personal visit to the temple by Ramesses II. In his survey of visits by dignitaries to the necropolis, Janssen records (1997: 152) only one visit of a king to the West Bank, and that is Seti II, at the time of the Opet festival (O. Cairo 25560). The administrative records from the early Ramesside period are, however, extremely fragmentary, and other royal visits may have occurred.¹

Ramesses II makes an appearance in some of the Deir el Medina tombs. TT10 of Penbuy (i) and Kasa (i), active during the first half of the reign, has a scene depicting Ramesses II, Paser and Ramose (i) before Ptah and Hathor, with Penbuy and his brother Penshenabu below offering to Amenhotep I, Queen Ahmes Nefertari, Seti I, Ramesses I and Horemheb (Davies 1999: 81), the latter three being the same deceased kings that appear on stela DB221 of Ramose (i). Ramesses II also accompanies Paser and Ramose (i) in TT4 of Qen (ii) (Davies 1999: 81), and the king and his Vizier appear offering to the Theban triad in TT7 of Ramose (i).²

If the stelae do record a royal visit, then this body of evidence fills a substantial gap in the textual data.³

An alternative explanation is that the stelae depict a statue of Ramesses II, and that the ceremony depicted is that of the donation of this statue to the Khenu-chapel. Relief DM70 (see above) from the Khenu chapel refers to a statue of 'my lord' (*nb.i*). The statue Louvre E. 16277 of a king in a blue crown found in the Khenu-chapel has been identified either as Amenhotep I or Ramesses II (see above, *Section 3.2.2.2.4*). A stelophorous statue (Cairo JdE 72000; see below, *Section 4.1.1.5*) of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), refers to the endowment of a statue on his and the Vizier, Paser's, behalf, from the Ramesseum, in year 9 of Ramesses II.

4.1.1.4 The individuals (other than the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)), dedicating the stelae

The individuals dedicating the stelae were present at the event recorded iconographically on their stelae, that is, a royal visit, or the dedication of a royal statue. Of the named principal dedicators, three are workmen, Karo/Kel (i), Huy (iv) and Nekh(em)mut (i). Nekh(em)mut has been identified as Nekh(em)mut (i) on the basis of the relatives whom he represents and/or lists on the stela: his wife, the Lady of the House, Webkhet (vi)/(viii), his son Khons (v), and his daughters Tameket (ii) and Tasaket (I) (not represented)) (Davies 1999: chart 7). Nekh(em)mut (i) must have still been a very young man, despite already having established a family, when his stela depicting Ramesses II was dedicated.⁴ His membership of a prominent family, that of Sennedjem (i) (see *Chapter 4, Note 4*), and his subsequent promotion to foreman, indicate his importance, which may already have been recognised, and so secured his presence at the ceremony.

The workman, Huy (iv), has two stelae in the dataset, with an additional three funerary stelae known.⁵ There are in addition several stelae in the dataset dedicated by individuals called Huy who cannot be identified, some of which may belong to this man. He was buried in TT339. His son Wadjmose (i) married Iyemwaw (ii), daughter of the Foreman, Nebnefer (i), and sister of the Foreman, Neferhotep (ii). Thus, despite only carrying the title workman, he was closely connected to one of the most important families in the Village (Davies 1999: 10-11 and chart 6).

The workman Karo/Kel (i), buried in TT330, also bears the title Stonemason of Amun in the Southern City, indicating that he, and his father Simut (i), who bore a similar title, may have been employed in building projects on the East Bank (Davies 1999: 274). On a standard-bearer statuette (MMA.65.114; Davies 1999: 274, n. 887) he uses the title Chief Craftsman, which Davies suggests (1999: 274) may have been honorific. He may also have dedicated a stela to Amenhotep I, Queen Ahmes Nefertari and Mertseger, where he identifies himself as a Wab-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands (Davies 1999: 275 and n. 893). He married Takhat (ii), who was the sister of the Foreman, Qaha (i). His daughters were also married to prominent men: Pashedet (i) to the Draftsman, Nebre (i) (Davies 1999: 149-155), and Henutdjuu (i) to the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (i) (Davies 1999: 275).

In the group of stelae there is also a Guardian, Khawy (ii). Khawy (ii) was active between the years 11 and 38 of Ramesses II and held the position of Guardian between the years 21 and 36 (Davies 1999: 192-193). His importance within the community is evidenced by his appearance in the tombs of other individuals, for example, TT4 of the Sculptor, Qen (ii), TT10 of the Workman, Kasa (i), and the Guardian, Penbuy (i), and in TT250, constructed by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i). In graffiti he associates himself with other important members of the community: in graffiti no. 95 with the Senior Scribe, Amenemope (i) or (ii) (Davies 1999: 77), and in graffiti no. 849f with the Draftsman, Nebre (i) (Davies 1999: 154). He dedicates a stela to the ram of Amun with Amenemope (MMA 14.6.183; Davies 1999: 77 and n. 16). Khawy (ii)'s inclusion in TT250 marks him out as prominent in relation to Ramose (i).

An unnamed Foreman was also present at the ceremony. It may be that the monument of the other contemporary foreman is lost.

The stelae depicting Ramesses II, in person or as a statue, involved in cult activity, indicate that the stela owners witnessed the event (Podemann Sørensen's type (a) divine access; 1989: 110). They include individuals who, at first, do not appear to be of a particularly high rank and some of whom do not, in this group of stelae, carry titles

other than that of workman. The stelae bear witness to an alternate social structure that cuts across the professional and lineage hierarchy (Service 1971: 12). This alternate social structure centers on the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), who appears to have been intimately connected with the Hathor cult, and manifests in public records (stelae) of divine access.

4.1.1.5 *The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)*

Ramose (i) features on reliefs DM87 and DM88 claiming responsibility for the construction of the Khenu chapel (see above, *Section 4.1.1.1*) and on stelae DB243 offering to a statue of Ramesses II with the Vizier, Paser. A group of stelae and statues dedicated by Ramose (i) were discovered by Bruyère in the Khenu-chapel (see, for example, Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 41-42 and pls. XXXIII-XXXV, XXXIX). There is, in addition, a fragment of a stela to Hathor and Ramesses II dedicated by a scribe (name lost), who may be Ramose (i), from a Ramesside chapel located against the north wall of the Ptolemaic temple precinct (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 52-53 and fig. 142 [214]).

The stelophorous statue of Ramose (i) from the Khenu-chapel (Cairo JdE 72000) records an endowment set up by the scribe in year 9 under the command of Ramesses II for 'this statue in the temple of Hathor, Residing in Thebes' (*n twt pn m [pr?] ḥwt-ḥr ḥry(t)-tp W3st*) for Ramose (i)'s benefit (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 42, pls. XII, XXXV; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697 (c); Schmidt 1973: 231-232; Haring 1997: 147). The inscription states that offerings will come to this statue in the Hathor temple from the Ramesseum, and that the endowment has been set up by Ramose (i) and Paser (Haring 1997: 147-149). Bruyère assumes (1935-1940 (1952) II: 64) that the statue referred to is a Hathor cow. Haring believes (1997: 147) that this text, and the part of the inscription on DM70 where Ramose states that 'this statue of my lord is content in his khenu' refers to a statue of the king, perhaps that depicted on stela DB243, which may be the one found in the Khenu-chapel (Louvre E. 16277; see *Section 3.2.2.2.4, Amenhotep I in the blue crown*). Valbelle assumes (1985: 319) that the statue is a statue of Ramose (i), perhaps the stelophorous statue itself. Whichever statue is referred to, what is certain is that Ramesses II endowed a statue on behalf of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), in the Hathor temple or Khenu-chapel.

Ramose (i)'s link to the Khenu-chapel may in fact be far more personal and personally prestigious than has previously been thought. It is before Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', that Ramose (i) is depicted kneeling in adoration on the relief DM88 from the Khenu-chapel. Ramose (i) also depicts Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', on his stela DB266. In addition, there is a stela fragment, DB200, provenanced to the Queens' Valley chapels, that depicts two cow statues side by side, all epithets lost, with 'Scribe of Truth, Ramose' (*sš m3^ct R^c-ms*) inscribed underneath, which may be related to this Khenu-chapel double Hathor cow cult. Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', does not seem to feature on other extant private monuments from Deir el Medina. Ramose (i)'s link to the cult of Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', is further supported by a stela in the collection of the Oriental Museum, University of Durham (N1965; Birch 1880: 305-307; Malek 1974: 161-165, pl. XXXIV), which depicts an anthropomorphic Isis-Hathor in the upper register and a cow Hathor in the lower, both identified as Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore'. The stela belongs to the Retainer, Amenemheb, who has been identified as the father of Ramose (i) (Malek 1974: 165).

The new Hathor cow cult at Deir el Medina was a state initiative wherein Ramesses II donated the cow statue in order to introduce his personal cult into the Village (Pinch 1993: 350; Blumenthal 2000: 57-58). From the evidence it appears that when Ramose (i) was appointed to the post of Senior Scribe in year 5, he brought with him his own northern version of the Hathor cult and installed it alongside the royal southern Hathor cult in the Khenu-chapel. Thus the Khenu-chapel served as the cult centre for the royal cult and for Ramose (i)'s personal cult. As Eyre has observed, [t]here can be little doubt that [the Khenu-chapel] was built by Ramose under the supervision of the Vizier, Paser, and decorated much to their advantage as well as the king' (1980: 118). Alongside the intermittent presence of the Vizier, Paser, Ramose (i) was a state representative within the Village and was responsible for promoting the cult of the king parallel to the established local pantheon. An ostrakon refers to four chiefs of the gang at Deir el Medina in year 7 of Ramesses II (O. Turin 57429; Černý 1973: 122; McDowell 1990: 88), when at this period only three would be expected (two foremen and a senior scribe; Janssen 1975: 461; McDowell 1990: 88; Davies 1999: 2; 123; see

Chapter 2, note 2). The ostrakon may refer to Ramose (i)'s initially 'other' status as an aristocratic state representative working in the Village alongside an existing group of chiefs, as the fourth 'chief'.

4.1.1.6 Conclusion

The private votive stelae depicting Ramesses II draw together a group of contemporary individuals that represent those present at a royal visit, in person or statue form, to the Hathor temple. By defining the individuals who leave inscribed monuments in the Hathor temple area and Khenu-chapel, it is possible to build up a picture of a social élite centered on Ramose (i) who otherwise leave no clear record of their actual social status. Their existence as a group cuts across the vertical hierarchy of the documented social structure and represents social organisation centering on the rituals and ceremonies, with their associated economic benefits, taking place at the Hathor temple and associated Khenu-chapel – the cult of the king and the cult of Ramose (i). The monumental record in the form of reliefs and stelae situates Ramose (i) at the centre of this social phenomenon in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, creating a local focus for ritual practice other than the king. Ramose (i) benefits by having access to the royal cult and the state Hathor cult, and by acting as the intermediary for others to these cults.

4.1.2 *Festival and oracular statues at Deir el Medina in the reign of Ramesses II*

4.1.2.1 Introduction

Not only do the stelae and related archaeological evidence indicate that Ramesses II patronised the cult of Hathor at the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina, but he also appears to have interested himself in the cult of his predecessor, Amenhotep I, venerated as the founder of the Village (Bierbrier 1982a: 14). The stelae, together with tomb paintings, record the introduction of a new statue of Amenhotep I, known as 'The Favourite (of Amun)' (*p3 ib ib/p3 ḥ3ty (n Imn)*), wearing the blue crown, during the reign of Ramesses II (see *Section 3.2.2.2*). The statue was involved in local oracular decisions, and is connected to the broader phenomenon of the use of oracles that appears to be a characteristic of the reign of Ramesses II. There is a clear evolution in

the New Kingdom in the use of oracles. In the 18th Dynasty they were used by kings to legitimise their own appointments, for example, by Tuthmosis III (Černý 1962: 35), but by the 19th Dynasty their use had spread to a far wider demographic (Černý 1962: 35; Valbelle and Husson 1998: 1056-1071). The oracle statues were carried and addressed during festival processions, and, during the reign of Rameses II, unprecedented numbers of stelae and tomb paintings record such festival processions.

4.1.2.2 Oracles in ancient Egypt: background and sources

There is a large body of literature dealing with oracles in ancient Egypt. Comprehensive surveys covering historical development, deities, and technical aspects are those of Černý (1962), Kakosy (1982), Valbelle and Husson (1998) and Kruchten (2001).

The data sources for oracles are of three types: representations of the oracular ceremony on stelae (discussed below) and tomb paintings,⁶ textual references from documents,⁷ and temple wall inscriptions,⁸ including temple architectural nomenclature that relates to oracular events taking place in those locations (Cabrol 2001: 727-729), and direct records of the oracular consultation in the form of oracle questions on ostraca.⁹ Oracles take the form of questions addressed to a statue of the god carried by wab-priests (Kees 1960: 45) in a palanquin in procession (Černý 1962: 43-46; McDowell 1999: 172). The god in question was the local god of the temple, and evidence exists for oracles from various regional temples.¹⁰ Ryholt has suggested that 'virtually every temple could be consulted for an oracular decision' (1997: 279).

There is some disagreement concerning the period that oracles began to be used in ancient Egypt (Baines and Parkinson 1997: 9-10). It has been suggested (Kruchten 2001) that the Predynastic rocking falcon in the Brooklyn Museum may have acted as an oracular deity, based presumably on later evidence for oracles. There is some evidence for royal use of oracles as early as the 5th Dynasty (Baines and Parkinson 1997). Baines (1987) and Kruchten (2001) discuss possible Middle and early New Kingdom non-royal uses of oracles.¹¹ Based on the later evidence that Amun is designated *nb ntrw* ('Lord of the Gods') when referring to the portable oracular god statue, Kruchten identifies (2001: 609) a 12th Dynasty stela (stela Louvre C200) and Deir el Bahri graffiti where this epithet is employed, and uses this as evidence that

oracular statues were carried around at this period. Kruchten's argument does not, however, allow for an evolution in the meaning of the *nb ntrw* epithet, which may have begun as an epithet applied to a god in procession, and later expanded to mean a god that gave oracles when in procession. The inscriptions in the 12th Dynasty tomb of Hepdjefai at Assiut refer to statue processions but there is no record of oracular activity (Reisner 1918). As Baines makes clear (1987: 90), there is no direct evidence for oracles prior to the New Kingdom, and his cited early claims for divine guidance can be interpreted in a number of ways (see *Chapter 4, note 11*). The actual *practice* of petitioning a deity statue in procession may not have occurred prior to the 18th Dynasty. This may be an example of an abstract concept of divine guidance that existed earlier, made concrete by the kings to demonstrate their relationship with the divine and support their own authority.

4.1.2.3 Evidence for oracles at Deir el Medina

This section draws together the representational evidence for oracles at Deir el Medina, and contemporary oracles from other locations in Egypt, establishing the iconographical features of oracle representations. Dating to the Ramesside period we have three clear representations of oracles, identified as such by the accompanying text.

Table 31: Depictions of oracles from the Ramesside period

Object	Provenance	Brief description	Inscription	Dedicator	Deity	Oracle identifier	Date	Publication details
Tomb painting in TT19 of Amenmose, Wall D', second register	Dra Abu el Naga'a, Thebes	Amenhotep I ('of the Forecourt') carried in his palanquin by wab-priests in a festival procession (the rest of the tomb records episodes from the Valley festival; see Cabrol 2001: 552-553)	Text records the decision of an oracle petition to Amenhotep I (subject not noted)	First God's Servant of Amenhotep I, Amenmose	Amenhotep I ('Of the Forecourt')	Palanquin	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses I-Seti I*	Foucart 1932 IV: pls. 28-32; Porter and Moss 1960 I.1: 33; Černý 1962: fig. 9; Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 139 [31.6.5]; Cabrol 2001: pl. 33
Stela Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1894/106	Coptos	Round topped stela with Ramesses II offering incense to the bark of Isis carried by wab-priests. Inscription in 18 columns in the lower register	Hymn to Isis and text recording the god stopping before him [to promote him to a position?]	Overseer of Works in the Ramesseum and Chief of the Medjay, Overseer of the Foreign Lands upon the Northern Lands, Charioteer of his Majesty, Royal Messenger to Every Land, Nebnakhtef	Isis	Bark	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II	Petrie 1896: 15-16, pl. XIX; Porter and Moss 1937 V: 129
Stela Cairo JdE 43649	Abydos	Round topped stela with Paser adoring the bark of Ahmose carried by wab-priests. Inscription in the lower register with the figure of Mose adoring	Text records the decision of a land dispute by the oracle of Ahmose	The Wab-priest of Osiris, Paser, and his father, the Wab-priest, Mose	Ahmose and Queen Ahmes Nefertari	Bark	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (year 14)	Legrain 1916: 161-170; Porter and Moss 1937 V: 93; Harvey 1992: 4; 2004: 4

*TT19 of Amenmose has been dated to the 20th Dynasty by Černý (1962: 42), and to the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I by Porter and Moss (1960 I.1: 33).

The defining iconographic element of these oracular representations is the carrying of the deity by wab-priests in a bark or palanquin. None of the deities in these representations have the epithets identified by Kruchten as oracular (*nb ntrw*, *špsy*; 2001: 609).

The representations listed in *Table 31*, above, are, to my knowledge, the only extant examples where the inscription describes the oracular event depicted. Other stelae that depict the divine bark carried in procession, or depict deities defined by the oracular epithets, have generic texts in the form of standard hymns and requests. For example, stela DB194, dating to the middle to second half of the reign of Ramesses II, depicts the Workman, Merwaset (i), kneeling before the bark of Amun-Re carried by wab-priests; Amun-Re is identified as *nb ntrw*. This is the only example in the dataset where the two types of oracular deity evidence, the palanquin and the epithet, come together. The text is a generic hymn. Decorum may have restricted the inclusion of texts specifically recording oracular judgements on stelae at Thebes. Alternatively, such stelae may have been used at more than one oracular or processional occasion and thus had more value if non-specific in textual content (Morgan 2004: 53-54). Tomb representations are often more personal and less standardized, recording events specific to an individual's life and career.

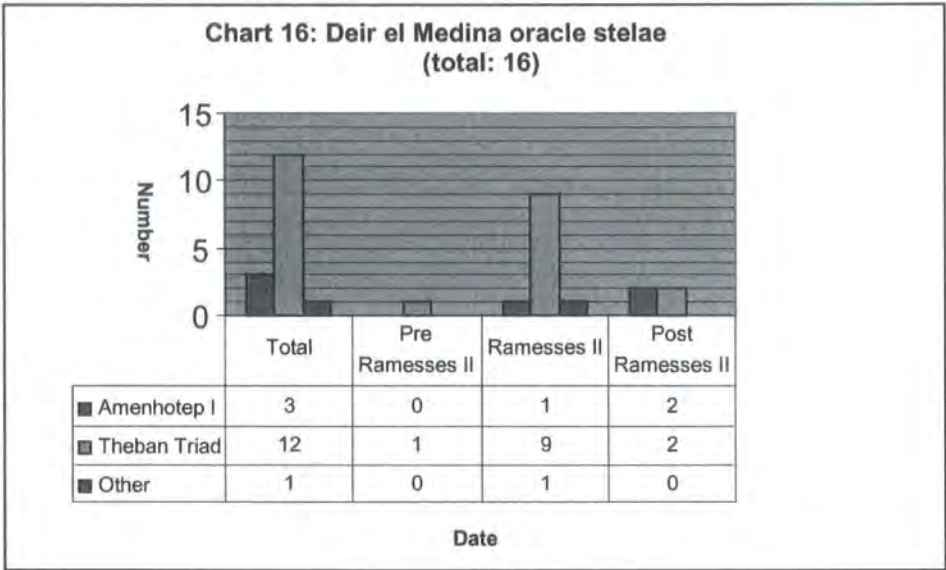
The criteria used to define an oracular stela are;

- (i) the carrying of the deity statue in a bark or palanquin, and/or,
- (ii) the inclusion of oracular epithets.

16 stela fit the criteria. There are, in addition, three non-Deir el Medina examples: stelae DB37, DB44 and DB261. It should be noted that the stelae recorded as oracular stelae could be interpreted more broadly as representations of festival processions during which oracles took place. The term 'oracle stela/representation' could perhaps be replaced with a broader category such as 'festival stela/representation'.

4.1.2.4 Oracles in the reign of Ramesses II

Chart 16 below gives the deities, numbers and dates of the 'oracle stelae' from Deir el Medina in the dataset.



From this table it is clear that:

1. The Theban triad, in the majority of cases including Amun-Re, are the most popular oracular deities;
2. The majority of the depictions of possibly oracular events occur in the reign of Ramesses II.

Stela DB191, dedicated to the bark-prow of Khonsuemwaset Neferhotep, pre-dates Ramesses II. It may depict a festival occasion rather than an oracular event – the stela shows offerings being given to the bark-prow of the deity. There are four 20th Dynasty oracle stelae, two Amun-Re and one Amenhotep I oracle stelae from the reign of Ramesses III, and one Amenhotep I oracle stela from Ramesses IV.

Table 32 lists stelae from Deir el Medina and elsewhere which depict or relate to the giving of oracles in the reign of Ramesses II.

Table 32: Oracular representations on stelae dating to the reign of Ramesses II

Stela	Provenance	Dedicator	Deity	Oracle identifier	Date	Publication details
DB2	Deir el Medina	Draftsman of Amun, Nebre (i) and his son, the Scribe, Khay (i)	Amun-Re	Epithets: The August God who hears prayers...Lord of the Gods	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (first half)	Erman 1907: pl. 5; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 589

DB11	Deir el Medina	Wab-priest and Servitor, Amennakht	Amun-Re and Hathor	Epithet: Lord of the Gods	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II?	Bruyère 1945-1947 (1952): 41-42, fig. 28, 92 [21]; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 716
DB22	Deir el Medina	Workman, Foreman Nebnefer (I)	Amun-Re, Mut and Hathor	Epithet: Lord of the Gods	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (first half)	Spiegelberg 1906 I: 20-21, pl. XIX; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 727
DB25	Deir el Medina	Workman, Neferonpet	Amun-Re and the Ka of Ramesses II	Epithet: Lord of the Gods	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (?)	Wiedemann 1884 I: 471, n. 14; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 729
DB33	Deir el Medina	Senior Scribe, Ramose (I)	Amun-Re	Epithet: The August God	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (first half)	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 734; Kitchen 2000: 567-568
DB62	Deir el Medina	Workman, Amenemheb (v)	Theban triad	Barks	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (first half)	Budge 1893: 76-77; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 715
DB75	Deir el Medina	Wab-priest of Amenhotep I, Atumnakht	Amenhotep I, Tuthmosis IV	Palanquin	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 717; Tosi and Roccati 1972: 83-84, 281
DB79	Deir el Medina	Workman, Thuthirmakhtef (i)	Amun-Re and Taweret	Epithet of Taweret: August	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (first half)	Clère 1929: 178-81 [2], pl. 1 [5]; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 718
DB 174	Deir el Medina	Draftsman of Amun, Pay (i)	Khonsu-em-waset Neferhotep	Epithet: Lord of the Gods	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses I- Ramesses II	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 731; Sadek 1987: 263-264, pl. XXVII, 2
DB194	Deir el Medina	Workman, Merwaset (i)	Amun-Re	Bark; Epithet: Lord of the Gods	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (mid-second half)	Bierbrier 1993: pl. 69
DB196	Deir el Medina	Senior Scribe, Ramose (I)	Taweret	Epithet: August	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (first half)	Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 733; Bogoslovsky 1972/2: 65-74, pls. 3-4

DB37	Thebes	Captain of the Bowmen, First Charioteer of his Majesty, Overseer of Foreign Countries, Overseer of Works in the Mansion of Usermaatse Setepenre, Chief of the Medjay, Penre	Amenhotep I	Palanquin	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II	Nims 1956: 146-149, pl. IX; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 807
DB44	Thebes	First Charioteer of His Majesty, Royal Envoy to All Foreign Lands, Overseer of Foreign Lands in many Foreign Lands, Nui	Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari	Palanquin	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II	Wente 1963: 30-36
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1894/106	Coptos	Overseer of Works in the Ramesseum and Chief of the Medjay, Overseer of the Foreign Lands upon the Northern Lands, Charioteer of his Majesty, Royal Messenger to Every Land, Nebnakhtef	Isis	Bark	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II	Petrie 1896: 15-16, pl. XIX; Porter and Moss 1937 V: 129
Cairo JdE 43649	Abydos	The Wab-priest of Osiris, Paser and his father the Wab-priest, Mose	Ahmose and Queen Ahmes Nefertari	Bark	19 th Dynasty, Ramesses II (year 14)	Legrain 1916: 161-170

The deities represented are local gods (the Theban triad at Deir el Medina/Thebes, Isis at Coptos) or Amenhotep I and/or his father/mother.

At the Opet festival in Ramesses II's year 1 the new king used the oracle of Amun-Re to designate his son, Nebwenenef, First God's Servant of Amun (Porter and Moss I.1 1960: 267; Černý 1962: 36; Valbelle and Husson 1998: 1056), much in the same way that Nebnakhtef was promoted by Isis at Coptos in the king's presence. It may be that the two non-Deir el Medina stelae, DB37 and DB44, depicting Ramesses II before Amenhotep I in the palanquin, record new appointments for the high ranking men

dedicating the stelae. These men have similar titles to that of Nebnakhtef on the Coptos stela. Ramesses II may have applied the function of oracular appointments to a broader group than just kings, as had been the case in the 18th Dynasty, portraying himself as the interpreter of the god's wishes. Ramesses II was certainly associated with oracles after his death. In the 20th Dynasty a statue of Ramesses II 'Ruler of Heliopolis, the Judge' existed at This (P. Harris 61a, 3), which Černý suggests (1962: 43) may have issued oracular judgments. At Abu Simbel, during the 20th Dynasty, a statue of Ramesses II still appointed officials (Černý 1959: 74; 1962: 43).

It is during the reign of Ramesses II that we find evidence for oracles being petitioned by what we might term 'ordinary' (non-royal, non-elite) people. Oracle questions from Deir el Medina recorded on ostraca do not pre-date the reign of Ramesses II. A brief survey of published and dated Deir el Medina ostraca that may relate to oracles published by Černý (1935b: 41-58; 1942: 13-24; 1972: 49-69 and the *Catalogue des Ostraca Hiératiques Non-Littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh*) brings to light only two relevant ostraca that have been dated prior to Ramesses II. These are no. 824 (O.DM 1736) and no. 825 (O.DM1737), dated to Seti I on the basis of the inclusion of the shortened prenomen *m3ʕt-Rʕ*, which is taken as a shortened writing of Seti I's prenomen *mn-m3ʕt-Rʕ*. It is just as likely that they refer to Ramesses II (*wsr-m3ʕt-Rʕ*).

Amenhotep I in the blue crown is the new oracular deity who is installed at Deir el Medina in the reign of Ramesses II (see above, *Section 3.2.2.2.4*). Ramesses II encouraged the association of himself with the 18th Dynasty (and earlier) royal lineage (Redford 1986: 190-201). Redford has noted (1986: 191) that the Ramesside kings, in general, promoted the cults of the royal ancestors to stress their family connection with earlier kings and thus their legitimacy (see also McDowell 1992b: 97). During the reign of Ramesses II cult statues of Amenhotep I at Thebes and Ahmose at Abydos appear on stelae as oracular deities that are petitioned by 'ordinary' people. By linking himself to these deified kings, Ramesses II asserted his legitimacy, increased his visibility amongst the people and involved himself with the lives of a wide demographic group.

In sum, during the reign of Ramesses II's the following innovations occur in relation to the use of oracles:

- Numerous representations in tombs and on stelae of festival occasions, the context for oracles;
- The use of oracles, particularly of deified kings, by a wider demographic group;
- A new statue of Amenhotep I, 'The Favourite (of Amun)', at Deir el Medina.

4.1.2.5 *The new statue of Amenhotep I in the reign of Ramesses II*

During the reign of Ramesses II a number of representations of a statue of Amenhotep I wearing the blue crown, identified by the epithet *p3 ib ib/p3 ḥ3ty (n Imn)*, 'The Favourite (of Amun)',¹² appear (see Sections 3.2.2.2, and 3.2.2.2.4, Table 12, above). The securely dated representations have been used to date further representations of Amenhotep I in the blue crown to this king's reign. A Ramesside statue of a king wearing the blue crown is extant (statue Louvre E. 16277), discovered in the Khenu-chapel attached to the Deir el Medina temple at Deir el Medina. This statue may represent Amenhotep I (see Sections 3.2.2.2.4, 4.1.1.3). Further evidence supporting the existence of a new Amenhotep I cult statue introduced alongside an existing popular cult statue is the apparently restricted access to this new cult: the dedicators of stelae to this statue are either high-ranking or have a related priestly rank (see above, Section 3.2.2.2.5).

The motive for such a donation by Ramesses II is two-fold. Firstly, a statue given by Ramesses II in his own image placed him in the heart of the cult, and therefore social, activity in the community. Secondly, the disputes Amenhotep I initially solved almost always related to property (McDowell 1990: 114-127), which, in the Village, as elsewhere in Egypt, belonged to the state, in the form of royal or temple lands. The oracle-statue may have been implemented to ensure that property did not become hereditary. The wab-priests and scribes responsible for controlling and recording the oracular responses would have been in a powerful position indeed (Černý 1927: 193; see also Lesko (B.S.) 1994: 23). McDowell argues (1990: 23) that the oracle statue of Amenhotep I resulted in property ownership becoming independent of the state, but the Senior Scribes who would have been involved in the oracular decision worked closely with the Vizier, so this is not necessarily the case.

The depiction of Ramesses II on stelae offering to Amenhotep I in the palanquin (DB37, DB44; non-Deir el Medina) may record the inauguration of this oracular process that then became part of the juridical process in the Village.

4.1.2.6 Conclusion

This survey of the oracular/festival stelae reveals an increase in the depiction of festival processions of the god and the use of oracles in the reign of Ramesses II, both of the Theban triad and a new statue of Amenhotep I. Such a conclusion is supported by tomb representations of festivals dating to the reign of Ramesses II (see *Section 4.2.2.1*), and by the hundreds of ostraca recording oracular questions and decisions which appear in the reign of Ramesses II. In order to judge clearly a general increase in the use of oracles during Ramesses II's reign a full survey of all tomb representations and stelae over the New Kingdom from all sites in Egypt would be necessary, a task that is beyond the scope of this thesis. The database of Theban stelae does contain 'oracular' stelae of Amenhotep I from later periods (for example, DB98 of the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (ii); Černý 1927: 190-191, fig. 15), demonstrating a continuing trend.

The lay priesthood of Amenhotep I represents a local elite within the Deir el Medina community (Černý 1973: 126, 146, 223; Janssen 1992: 84; Lesko (B.S.): 1994: 23) who would have wielded significant influence given their involvement in property dispute decisions and related issues decided by the Amenhotep I oracle. The members of the lay priesthood listed on column base JdÉ 25111/51512 (see *Section 3.2.2.2.4* and *Table 13*) can all be linked to the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i):

- Qen (ii)'s tomb (no number given in Davies 1999) contains a scene of the Ramesses II followed by the Vizier, Paser, the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) and Qen (ii). Three of his sons are listed on the column base as wab-priests;
- Nebre (i) appears in the tombs of Qen (ii) (Davies 1999: 153, n. 68) and Ramose (i) (TT250; Davies 1999: 153), in the latter in his role as lector priest performing the opening of the mouth ceremony. His brother Pendua (iii) is listed as a wab-priest on the column base;
- Amenemwia (i) has the as yet unexplained title *ḥm n* (see Davies 1999: 206), which is hereditary. He appears in TT250 of Ramose (i) (Davies 1999: 207);
- Penshenabu (ii) is the brother of the Guardian, Penbuy (i), who is closely associated with Ramose (i) – Penbuy (i) appears in TT250 and on stela Cairo JdÉ 21604 with Ramose (i);
- Neferronpet can be tentatively identified as Neferronpet (ii), whose tomb (TT336) includes Ramose (i) offering to Huy (x), Neferronpet (ii)'s brother-in-law and Ramose

(i)'s father-in-law (Davies 1999: 88-89). This Neferronpet appears in TT4 of the sculptor Qen (ii), and on a libation basin of the aA n a Harnefer (i), a contemporary of Ramose (i) (Davies 1999: 183).

- There is an Apehty who was active in year 40 of Ramesses II (O.BM5634, rto. 12; Davies 1999: 37), who may be the same individual as the man listed on the column base, but about whom nothing else is known.

See *Figure 27* in *Section 6.4* for the social network of Ramose (i).

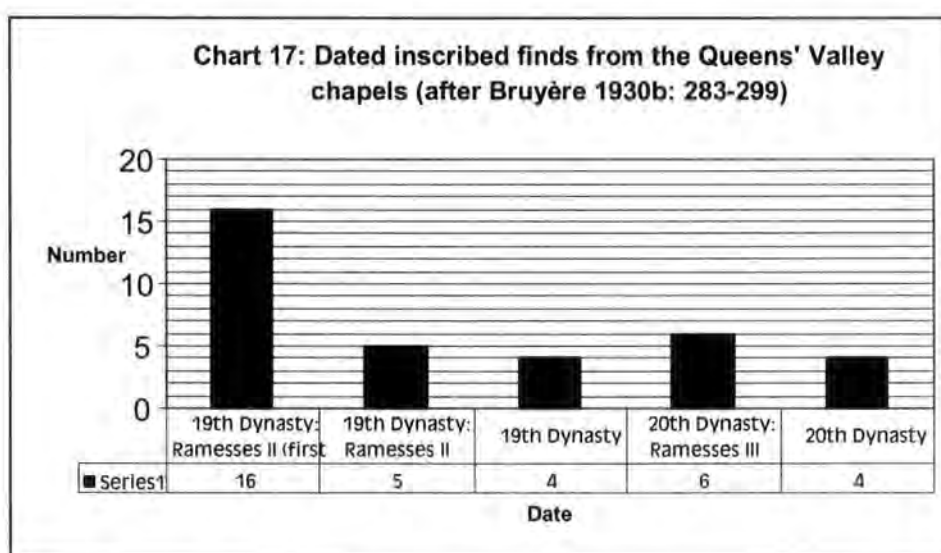
As with the cult activity at the Hathor temple discussed in *Section 4.1.1*, the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) plays a central social role in the cult of Amenhotep I. The Amenhotep I lay priesthood are a social group of considerable influence within the community, focusing on a local cult statue. Ramesses II astutely situates himself at the heart of this cult, diverting the focus back to the kingship, and reasserting control on Village activity by means of the oracle decisions, an example of state intervention in local pietistic practice, and a means by which social structure could be perpetuated (Pinch 1993: 357). The use of oracles during the reign of Ramesses II reflects royal practice. As with a number of social practices which take their model from the central ideology, the use of oracles demonstrates support for the central ideology of the king as the intermediary, the interpreter of the god, and simultaneously sets up alternate structures where the king is omitted: emulation of royal practice also undermines it. This is a feature of the monumental record of private social practices evident throughout the dataset.

4.1 3 *The visit of the Vizier, To, to the Queens' Valley chapels*

4.1.3.1 *The Queens' Valley chapels: description and date of use*

The seven chapels (see *Section 3.2.2.3.7*) are decorated with royal stelae (chapels B, C and E) and royal representations (chapel D) containing coronation iconography and texts, referring to Ramesses III and his father Setnakht (Bruyère 1930b: 13-48; Kitchen *forthcoming*: 4, notes that in Chapel E Setnakht's name usurps that of Seti II). There are a number of private stelae *in situ* that contain similar iconography (for example, stelae DB228 and DB229 in Chapel A; discussed below). Chapels F and G contain

reliefs depicting a number of deities. In Chapel G there is an *in situ* stela with representations of Ramesses III and his son Amenkherkhopeshef (Bruyère 1930b: 47 and fig. 28; Kitchen *forthcoming*: 18). There are a number of datable fragments (stelae, offering tables etc.; Bruyère 1930b: 283-299) from the chapels that illustrate that they were in use as a cult centre from the early 19th Dynasty, with datable fragments clustering in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (see *Chart 17* below).



In addition, there are five fragmentary stelae which include cartouches from this area that date to Ramesses I – Ramesses II.¹³

Holes for stelae cut into the walls obscuring earlier painted decoration demonstrate continued use of the chapels F and G over a period of time (Bruyère 1930b: 42-48), but the majority of the datable evidence seems to bear witness to a lapse in the use of these chapels following the reign of Ramesses II until Ramesses III had the neighbouring caves (A-E) decorated in his and his father's honour.

A study of the monuments from the seven chapels suggests that the name given by Bruyère, the Chapels to Ptah and Mertsger ('L'Oratoire de Ptah et Mersger'), may be a misnomer. The stela base of the Workman, Penniut (Bruyère 1930b: 48; pl. XII, no. 4), discovered during the excavations of French Institute in 1926, states that a stela was placed on the behalf of, or placed by (*iry*) Penniut 'in the Chapels of all the Gods next to the Place of Beauty' (the Valley of the Queens) (*m ḥwwt ntrw r-gs 13 st-*

nfrw). The chapels may have been known anciently as 'The Chapels of all the Gods'. Bruyère's gives a total of 29 objects inscribed for various forms of Ptah (1930b: 283-299), suggesting that a form of Ptah was indeed one of the principal deities worshipped here. In addition there are three database stelae depicting Ptah: stelae DB6 and DB229, *in situ* in Chapel A, and stela DB254, listed by Bruyère in the finds from this area.

Only six private votive stelae to Mertseger, however, can be provenanced to this site: DB228 of the Foreman, Khons (v) (*in situ* in Chapel A), DB230 of the Workman, Amennakht (xi), which may have come from here (see Bruyère 1930b: 11-13 and fig. 8; Tosi and Roccati 1972: 96), and (not on the database), a faint remnant of a stela *in situ* in Chapel G, of which only the name of the goddess in the upper register remains and the second part of someone's name, ending in *-htp* (Bruyère 1930b: 47, fig. 28; Kitchen *forthcoming*: 18). The other three are fragments listed in Bruyère's Appendix A (1930b: 286 [6014]; 292 [10]; 297 [12]). There are large images of Hathor and Ptah in Chapel D (Bruyère 1930: 37-39) but nothing as significant of Mertseger. Bruyère states (1930b: 6; 43), however, that stelae featuring Ptah and Mertseger had been removed from the chapels by Schiaparelli. Mertseger may have been associated with this cliff face and the chapels as an ancient snake goddess (Yoyotte 2003: 293; see above, *Section 3.2.2.3.3*), but by the Ramesside period the chapels seem to have had a more general cult function, and cult activity associated with Mertseger was not confined to this location (see *Section 3.2.2.3*), and may not have predominated.

By the 20th Dynasty, Mertseger had replaced Hathor as the female deity of the West Bank *par excellence*, and it is Mertseger who appears on the royal stelae of Setnakht/Ramesses III. This may be linked to 20th Dynasty royal patronage of the Queens' Valley chapels, and of the ancient snake cult. There is clear evidence for the adoption of Mertseger into the official pantheon at this period (see *Section 3.2.2.3.7*). The question as to why Mertseger was adopted into the royal pantheon remains open, but it may be set within a context of a widening gap between the royal household and the East Bank Amun-Re clergy (Häggman 2002: 191-192). The king may have felt the need to make more direct contact with the West Bank communities.

The datable inscribed material indicates that the chapels were in use from the early 19th Dynasty, but perhaps had a less official status. The decoration in Chapel G depicting a king, his vizier and a foreman, all unnamed, may have represented Ramesses II and his Vizier, Paser (Bruyère 1930b 45-48). The Theban stelae that date to the reigns of Ramesses III-Ramesses IV, that is, dedicated by workmen whose active period spans both these reigns, provide the second peak in the dataset (see above, *Chart 2* in *Section 3.1.2.2*). The peak of stela production may relate to royal activity at Thebes, such as the marking of the coronation of Ramesses III. During the reign of Ramesses III, these chapels may have formed the most importance official cult centre for the community at Deir el Medina, and the location for events such as the appointment of individuals to posts within the gang (see below).

4.1.3.2 Stelae recording a visit of the Vizier, To, to Deir el Medina

There are three private stelae from the Queens' Valley chapels dating to the reign of Ramesses III that depict the Vizier, To. These are listed in *Table 33* below:

Table 33: Private stelae from the Queens' Valley chapels dating to Ramesses III and depicting the Vizier, To

Stela number	Object	Provenance	Description	Publication
DB228	Private stela (<i>in situ</i>)	Chapel A	Round-topped stela, two registers. 1st register: the Vizier, To, before the cartouches of Ramesses III and Mertsger who holds <i>rnp</i> -signs; 2nd register: the Foreman, Khons (v), and members of his family, standing, adoring.	Bruyère (1930b): 14-18, fig. 10; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 707
DB229	Private stela (<i>in situ</i>)	Chapel A	Round-topped stela, two registers: 1st register: the Vizier, To, before Ptah and Amenhotep I, and the cartouche of Ramesses III; 2nd register: the Wab-priest, Iyemutef, and three sons, stand, adoring.	Bruyère (1930b): 14-18, fig. 11; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 707
DB6	Private stela	Chapel E	Round-topped stela, two registers. 1st register: the Vizier, To, offers a bouquet to Amun-Re and Ptah; 2nd register: the Scribes, Bay (ii) and Amennakht (v), kneel, adoring.	Bruyère (1930b): 8-10, fig. 5; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 708

All the stelae depict the Vizier, To, who succeeded the Vizier, Hori (Helck 1958: 22-24), in the second half of the reign of Ramesses III. Stela DB228 also includes the cartouches of Ramesses III.

There are two possible interpretations of the dates and individuals on stela DB228:

1. The individuals depicted following the Foreman (of the right side), Khons (v), who has the epithet *m3^c hrw*, are his son, the Foreman, Nekh(em)mut (vi), Khons (v)'s brother, the Deputy, who therefore must be Amenkhau (i), and Amenkhau (i)'s son, Nekh(em)mut (ii), here given the title workman (known elsewhere with the title draftsman). Khons (v) was in post for the latter half of Ramesses III's reign (years 15-31; see *Table 34*, below), as was Amenkhau (i) as Deputy (year 17 of Ramesses III until year 7 of Ramesses IV), and Nekh(em)mut (vi) and (ii) were both active from the start of the reign of Ramesses IV (Davies 1999: 279; 281). This would place the stela right at the end of Ramesses III's reign, and indeed involve bringing Nekh(em)mut (ii)'s tenure as foreman forward one or two years in order to place it in the reign of Ramesses III;

2. The second interpretation of the stela is that the Nekh(em)mut behind Khons (v) is his father, the Foreman, Nekh(em)mut (i), in post years 11-15 of Ramesses III, from whom Khons (v) inherited the post, with the other two individuals remaining the same. That Nekh(em)mut (ii) has the title workman and not draftsman suggests that this stela was indeed set up early in his career. This latter identification of the individuals would date the stela to around year 15 of Ramesses III, when Nekh(em)mut (i) ceded his post to his son. The fact that Khons (v) precedes his father, and his names and titles are larger, suggests that he may be marking his new role as foreman.

Stela DB229 depicts the Wab-priest, Iyernutef (Kitchen *forthcoming*: 18), and his three sons. This may be Iyernutef (iii) who elsewhere also has the titles workman, craftsman and sculptor, and is active (if they are all one and the same man) from year 14 of Ramesses III into the reign of Ramesses IV (Davies 1999: 185).

Stela DB6 depicts the Scribes, Bay (ii) and Amennakht (v). They are both described simply as 'scribe' though both are known to have been senior scribes, Bay (ii) until year 16 (and so overlapping with Wennenefer (v)) of Ramesses III and Amennakht (v) from year 16 (Davies 1999: 99; 105) or year 24 (Davies 1999: 283) of Ramesses III until year 6/7 of Ramesses IV (Davies 1999: 283).

Table 34: Years of active known service of the individuals included on the stelae in Table 33

Stela and individual	Period of known active service*		
	Ramesses III	Ramesses IV	Later
DB228			
Foreman, Nekh(em)mut (i)	11 to 15		
Foreman, Khons (v)	15 to 31		
Deputy, Amenkhau (i)	17	7	
Workman (later Draftsman), Nekh(em)mut (ii)		1	Ramesses IX, year 8?
DB229			
Wab-priest, Iyernutef (iii)	14	5	
DB6			
Senior Scribe, Bay (ii)	(Siptah) to 16		
Senior Scribe, Amennakht (v)	16	6 or 7	
* In the case of the foremen, deputy and senior scribes, this is the period of service in this post			

The years that all these individuals have in common are years 15 or 16 of Ramesses III.

The stelae depict the Vizier, To, in traditional vizierial costume before the deities represented in the Queens' Valley chapels, who may also have been represented by permanent or temporary statues. Stela DB228 depicts Mertseger holding the *rnpt*-signs before the cartouches of Ramesses III. Images of deities holding these signs abound in the chapels dedicated for the coronation of Ramesses III: the stela in chapel C has Re-Harakhti holding the *rnpt*-signs and stela Turin 50091 from chapel D has a deity, now lost, in the same pose.

DB228 and DB229 are set into the wall of Chapel A, next to each other, with the Vizier facing inwards, thus creating a tableau of Amenhotep I, Ptah, Mertseger and the cartouches of Ramesses III. Ramesses III is represented emblematically, indicating that he was not at the ceremony either in person or in statue form; the cartouches represent the king, or the office of the king (Baines 1985: 278).

4.1.3.3 Supporting evidence for a visit of the Vizier, To, in year 15 or 16

Direct supporting evidence for the event recorded on stela DB6 can be found in two graffiti, Western Theban Graffito no. 1111 and Černý Graffito no. 1143 (Černý 1956: 4, 7; Kitchen *forthcoming*: 18) which record the appointment of the Scribe Amennakht (v) as senior scribe by the Vizier, To, in year 16 of Ramesses III.

Year 16 is To's first definite year in post as vizier in Thebes,¹⁴ and it is from this date that work in the Valley of the Queens is securely attested (Wolterman 1996: 164 and n. 100). In his survey of visits to the necropolis by dignitaries, Janssen notes (1997: 156) that there is a gap in the record until year 15 of Ramesses III.

Janssen discusses the ostraca of years 22 onwards that refer to a vizier visiting a place called 'the Settlement (of) the Tomb' (*t3 whyt (n) p3 hr*), which may be a reference to an area near the Valley of the Queens¹⁵ as this is where the workman were working at this period (Janssen 1997: 157). On the occasions when the reason for the vizier's visit is given it is stated that he is there to 'receive the work' (*šsp b3k*). It may be that the work of the gang in the Queens' Valley area at this time was connected with the decoration of the Queens' Valley chapels in honour of Ramesses III and his father Setnakht. The iconographic evidence in the Queens' Valley chapels and the stelae therein make it clear that certain ceremonies took place here during this reign, and as a result this location was a professional and social focus.

The ostrakon known as O. Nash 11 [1] (BM EA 65933)¹⁶ may be of relevance here. This is the record of a letter from the Foreman, Hay (= Hay (iv), in post years 1-22 of Ramesses III's reign; Davies 1999: 279) to an unnamed vizier, informing him that the work is going as planned and a request that he come for 'the appearance of the god Amun' (*hcy Imn*) (Kitchen 1983b: 583-584).

O. Florence 2619 (reverse) may be relevant here, though the text is obscure. Earlier interpretations of the texts, by Erman (1880) and Černý-Gardiner (1957), argued that the document was 'a business document of the utmost obscurity' (Wolterman 1996: 147). Wolterman (1996: 158-161) argues that O. Florence 2619 (reverse) records the appointment of a vizier called Herwernef in year 15 of Ramesses III by the oracle of Amun, and the reporting of this appointment to the chiefs at Deir el Medina by a man

called Khons, whom he identifies with an *3tw*-officer of this name known from years 13 and 14 of Ramesses III (Wolterman 1996: 158-161). In addition to Khons, who could perhaps be the Foreman Khons (v), the text mentions a number of other the individuals, some of whom are present on the stelae: the Foreman (of the left side), Hay (=iv)), the Foreman (of the right side), Nekh(em)mut (i), and the Scribe, Wennenefer, who must be Wennenefer (v), senior scribe years 11 – 24 of Ramesses III (Davies 1999: 283).

4.1.3.4 Conclusion

The ostraca and graffiti either specifically refer to the Vizier, To's visit to promote members of the gang, or more generally support the function of the Queens' Valley chapels as a focus for work-related cultic activity during the latter part of the reign of Ramesses III. It is an established fact that the vizier was in charge of the organisation of the workforce at Deir el Medina (see *Chapter 2, note 2*) and it may be that in his first full year in post To decided to install a new set of chiefs, or at least fill some of the posts. The promotions took place in the Queens' Valley chapels, the cult focus of the Deir el Medina community at this period. On this occasion To appointed a new senior scribe, Amennakht (v) and a new foreman of the right side, Khons (v). The stela of Iyernutef, DB6, may record his appointment as a wab-priest. The relationships between individuals depicted, such as Khons (v) and Nekh(em)mut (i), are reflected in their location, or order, on the stela: Khons (v) iconographically precedes Nekh(em)mut (i) as he is now senior to him in the professional hierarchy at Deir el Medina.

These three stelae serve as a model for the reading of votive stelae as historical documents. The supporting documentary evidence enables an interpretation of the content, and further sheds light on some of the conventions controlling the form of the content. The stelae represent deliberate choice working within representational conventions, set within the broader context of cultural constraints that limit and control the nature and form of the representation. As a record of a ritual related to the dedicatory's professional activity, the stelae are much more specific than a record of simply piety, indicating that many stelae, for which we have no supplementary evidence, may have similar motives behind their creation.

4.2 Private events on votive stelae

Private events are here defined as events related to the domestic, social or professional sphere of non-royal individuals. The events are of two kinds: they either relate to the growth and development of an individual and his/her attendance at various significant cultural events, and can be termed 'rites of passage', or the events may be unexpected and relate to circumstances such as illness or ethical lapses.

4.2.1 Rites of passage in ancient Egypt; sources

Van Gennep's classic work on rites of passage (1909 [1960]) outlined a series of events of which some or all occurred in most societies in some form or other. He defined a rite of passage as a device which incorporated an individual into a new status in a group (1909 [1960]: xiii), and the life of an individual as 'a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another' (1909 [1960]: 2-3). Male rites of passage are more visible and include birth, social puberty, marriage, fatherhood, advancement to a higher class, occupational specialization, and death, and can include betrothal and initiation into religious societies (1909 [1960]: 3). Female rites of passage are less well documented. Laurence notes (2000: 444-445) that, for the Roman world, evidence for the female life course is almost entirely lacking. This may be because, in antiquity, female sexual and social roles began much earlier and there was a less marked transition from puberty to adulthood (Foxhall 1994: 135-136; Meskell 2000: 425; 2002: 89-90), and were enacted in the domestic sphere (Pinch 1995: 378). In addition, the nature of the surviving evidence, inscribed monuments, relates to what Foxhall, in the context of the ancient Greek world, has described as the 'adult, free, male citizen' (1994: 136). Such monuments were not used to record the domestic environment and activities in which women were predominantly active.

Traditional divisions, such as those of Van Gennep, have been called into question by Meskell who suggests that the concept 'lifecycle' might be a more accurate template for life experience, rather than the 'eurocentric...rites of passage' (2000: 425; see also Meskell 2002: 14; 88; 93). However, she herself suggests a series of states or events which may have demarcated stages in an individual's life - birth, menarche, circumcision, love and marriage - and it seems safe to work on the premise that certain life-stages or -events are universally significant. In addition, the lifecycle and rites of passage concepts are not mutually exclusive: the lifecycle consists of a series of states

(childhood, adolescence, etc.) and rites of passage mark transitions between states, or certain events within states. Pinch has noted (1993: 351) that is 'notoriously difficult to find traces of 'rites of passage' in Egypt' other than death related ones (see also Pinch 1995: 378), but she goes on to suggest that '[i]t may have been felt that prayers relating to important stages in a person's life...were best made to the prestigious hypostases of deities in the state temples instead of, or as well as, to the deities manifest in community and household shrines' (1993: 351).

Three general sources from New Kingdom Egypt can provide information on a number of different life stages: the ostraca and papyri from Deir el Medina, elite autobiographies, tomb paintings and, more opaquely, funerary rituals.

(i) Ostraca and papyri: Journal of the Necropolis

Many of the ostraca and papyri from Deir el Medina belong to the genre now known as the 'Journal of the Necropolis', the records of the day to day activity of the gang, recording work done, absences and deliveries. The most complete set are the papyrus records published by Botti and Peet as *Il giornale della necropolis di Tebe* (1928), covering the later years of Ramesses III and the early years of Ramesses IV. Many further ostraca and papyri belonging to the same genre have since come to light, a number of which have been listed by Janssen (1990; see also Janssen 1997: 111-129) and many more are available on the Deir el Medina database (<http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>).

Using these records a number of life events can be identified that absented a workman from duty. The Deir el Medina database of non-literary ostraca produces 99 'hits' when the word 'absence' is used as a search term. The majority of absences are due to illness, but other reasons include a workman absent on account of 'his daughter' (O.Cairo CG 25503), a burial (O. Cairo CG 25506), a mention of a birth (O. Cairo CG 25531), a personal feast (O. Cairo CG 25532), and making an offering and pouring water (O. Cairo CG 25779). Janssen has analysed (1980: 127-152) the reasons for absence, the most detailed record of which is O.BM 5634 dating to year 40 of Ramesses II (see also Janssen 1997: 87-98). He notes the frequency, and apparent unimportance for the work, of absence (1980: 128). According to Janssen, the most frequent reasons for absence are illness, death of a relative, mourning, private feasts,

making offerings to gods and deceased relatives and carrying out work elsewhere than the tomb, with the occasional mention of a birth.

(ii) Elite autobiographies

Elite autobiographies can provide a framework of professional events, such as entry into the profession, and promotion from low to high rank, which may have occurred across a number of educated professions. Such biographical events outline a life structure that may be applicable to a range of male individuals of the middle and upper classes. Elite autobiographies occur in tombs and on statues of high elite male individuals. An example contemporary with our dataset is the block statue of the First God's Father of Amun at Karnak, Bekenkhons (GL WAF 38, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich; Porter and Moss 1972 II: 215; Janssen and Janssen 1990: 73, fig. 29), in post during the reign of Ramesses II. The inscription records the owner's four years in 'primary school', eleven years of apprenticeship in the royal stables, four years as a (wab?-) priest and a rise through the priestly hierarchy until reaching the post of first god's father (Janssen and Janssen 1990: 72).

(iii) Tomb decorations

Elite New Kingdom tombs record important events such as state festival attendance, and royal rewards, in the lives of their owners.¹⁷

In addition, Assman has interpreted (1989: 144-145) parts of the funerary ritual, in particular the examinations to enter the afterlife, as versions of initiation rituals which took place in life. He regards the rituals as similar to the initiations into the 'secrets' of a profession, as a 'typical craftsman's examination', for example, the professions of net-makers, bird-catchers, embalmers, priests, and so on.

The sources highlight births, burials, personal feasts, the making of offerings and attendance at festivals, initiation into a profession and promotion at work, and rewards received on account of professional achievement, as significant events in a (male) individual's life. The events discussed in this section have been chosen because stelae appear to record them, while the historical reality of the event is supported by related texts and representations, and/or associated artefacts. These events are:

- attendance at state festivals and the consultation of oracles;

- conception and birth;
- entry into/promotion within a profession and rewards for the completion of work;
- entry into a religious organization/participation in a local religious festival;
- illness/ethical lapse.

These events are related to the more traditional 'rites of passage' of Van Gennep, rather than the 'lifecycle' concept of Meskell, as stelae are more likely, as significant commemorative documents, to mark an event rather than a state of being. They do, however, indicate a state, in the sense that they mark the transition of the individual from one state to a, generally, more socially prestigious one.

Two events regarded today as socially significant are omitted: marriage and death. Although the event of death and the funeral is a significant and clear rite of passage in ancient Egypt, the data from this study, votive stelae, which record events during an individual's life, is not relevant to the event of an individual's death. As for marriage, the general consensus is that in ancient Egypt it was a juridical, legal and economic event, not marked by a religious ceremony (Pestman 1961: 6-7; Toivari 1998: 1157; 1162-1163). The lack of involvement of any state/religious authority sets it in the private or domestic, rather than the public, realm (Toivari 1998: 1157). Despite the high literacy rate at Deir el Medina, there is no documentation about the reasons behind partner choice, dates of 'weddings' or related celebrations (Meskell 2002: 95-96; but see Allam 1974; Janssen 1974). Toivari sees marriage at Deir el Medina as 'an ongoing process rather than a limited act' (1998: 1160), where the giving of a 'dowry' indicated the intention to marry. Marriage as an economic and legal process rather than a single marked event perhaps suffices to inform us that, though the married state was a desired one, in ancient Egypt a marriage ceremony was not. Ancient marriage was conceptually different from marriage in the West today (Toivari 1998: 1157).¹⁸ Our surprise at this state of affairs reflects the bias of our own cultural expectations, and acts as a warning when attempting to reconstruct ancient lives.

4.2.2 *The offerings*

In addition to the iconographic criteria that define the event recorded on the stela, the represented offerings may symbolize a specific ritual or action. The offerings have been divided into the following categories: offering table with water pot and lotus, loaded offering table (vegetables, meat, flowers, beer), and/or dedicators offering

water, incense or bouquets (or bouquets placed in front of the deity statue), and 'other carried offerings', such as musical instruments and ducks. Sometimes there are no offerings, which in itself may be significant. Sadek has commented (1987: 215) on the lack of variety in the offerings depicted on votive stelae.

Table 35: Offerings depicted on the Deir el Medina votive stelae

	Total	19th Dynasty	20th Dynasty	Notes
Offering table with water pot and lotus	83	52	17	
Loaded offering table	50	41	6	
Incense offered	57	40	13	
Water offered	31	24	4	<i>In 29 cases this is offered by women</i>
Other carried offerings	17	16	0	
Holding lotus flowers	17	11	5	
Bouquet	23	17	3	
Nothing	74	39	28	

NB Other than the offering tables and the bouquets, the offerings are only those offered or held by the dedicators, not by the intermediaries.

By looking at the spread of offerings some general conclusions can be drawn. The offering table with water pot and lotus enjoys a relative increase in popularity in the 20th Dynasty, in comparison with the loaded offering table, depictions of which decrease, as do 'other carried offerings'. The two different types of offering table occur together on only two stelae: stelae DB249 and DB295. In these two instances the loaded offering table occurs before the 'popular' deity, and the water pot and lotus before the 'state' deity. This does not, however, hold true for the rest of the stelae, and the different offering tables may indicate different ceremonies, rather than differentiating approaches to a local or state deity. *Charts A46-A51, Appendix 9*, listing the offerings depicted on stelae categorized according to the five life events discussed below, reveal that the water pot and lotus appear more frequently on stelae relating to personal or local approaches to the deity (*Sections 4.2.2.4, 4.2.2.5*).

Where incense, including burnt offerings, and water are offered, the foremost dedicator is almost always a man who offers the incense, and the women offer or carry water. The offering of incense may be the indicator of the primary dedicator. Where there are examples of women on the second register offering incense, this may be an example of the influence of representational decorum where women cannot be shown above or in front of men, so their status as principal dedicator is indicated through the depiction of the incense - for example, stela DB103 of Irynefer (i) and his wife Mehykhati (ii).¹⁹

Frequently no offerings are depicted. This may indicate that the ceremony was an oral one (Baines 2004: 35), or that the participants were passive witnesses rather than active participants. This lack of offerings occurs frequently on type B (intermediary) stelae, where the intermediary makes an offering while the dedicator(s) in the lower register adore. The only exception in the Deir el Medina dataset is stela DB295 where an intermediary offers in the upper register and the dedicators offer in the lower register, but this is to a secondary deity depicted here, and therefore relates to a ceremony distinct from that shown in the upper register.

The giving of water offerings almost exclusively by women throws up an anomaly: stela DB89, depicting the Vizier, Hori, libating before a statue of Amenhotep I and his mother. The stela is dedicated by Hay (vii), using the title Servitor of the Lord of the Two Lands. He is shown in the company of his 'tutor', the Foreman, Hay (iv) and his real father, the Chief Craftsman, Amennakht (x), who precede him. A similar water vessel, a hawk headed jar, can be seen on stela DB238 of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), of which only a section of the lower register remains. The administrative records from Deir el Medina record instances of 'pouring water' (*w3ḥ mw*) for Amenhotep I. Stela DB89 can be related to such a ceremony, where the high rank of all these individuals indicates the relative exclusivity of the ceremony. Men may be depicted in stelae making water offerings only in relation to ceremonies connected to Amenhotep I, a context that precluded the presence of women. The meaning of the female use of water offerings remains obscure, though water offerings have a domestic connection in the sense that the workmen and their families 'poured water' for their deceased relatives (Janssen 1980: 149).

Bouquets occur on 23 stelae, held by the deity statue, placed in front of the deity statue on an offering table or on the ground, or presented by the intermediary or dedicator. The majority of the dated examples are from the 19th Dynasty. *ꜥnh*-bouquets were traditionally offered at the Valley festival, where the flowers were first dedicated to Amun-Re at Deir el Bahri and subsequently purchased by private individuals to be dedicated at family tombs (Bell 1997: 183). Two of the bouquet stelae depict a king giving a large columnar bouquet to the funerary deity Osiris: DB300 of the Outline Draftsman, Pashed (vii), and DB307 of the Foreman, Qaha (i), both early 19th Dynasty. Both of these stelae come from the tombs of their owners, TT323 of Pashedu (vii) and TT360 of Qaha (i). Amun-Re, and the funerary deities Osiris and Hathor, have seven bouquet stelae each, the royal ancestors receive three (Amun-Re is, in addition, depicted with Queen Ahmes Nefertari on one stela), the rest are dedicated one each to the Bau-Neteru, Seth and a lost deity, Khonsuemwaset Neferhotep and Thoth, Taweret, and Re-Harakhti, Atum and Ptah. The bouquets take three different forms: a tall, columnar bouquet represented as being as tall as the deity statue, which is depicted either in front of the deity statue or being offered by a high ranking intermediary; a smaller version of the same bouquet held by individuals represented on the stelae; and a squat version, perhaps just the head of the bouquet, depicted in front of the zoomorphic forms of the deity (rams and geese of Amun-Re, Hathor cow, Seth hippopotamus) (see *Figures 14-17, below*). One interpretation may be that the large columnar bouquet was the bouquet presented during the official ceremony; parts of which were then taken by individuals, and may have been placed before accessible deity statues.

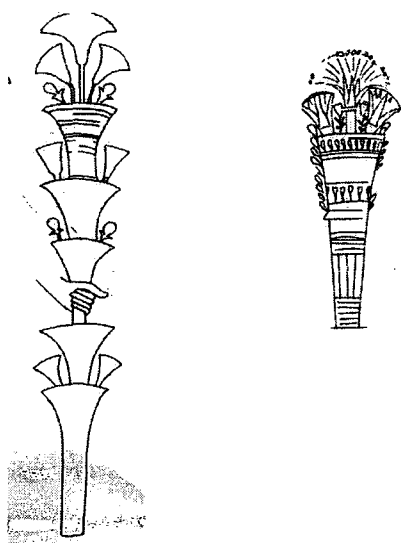


Figure 14: The large columnar bouquet and the mid-size bouquet that may be the top section of the large bouquet. These examples date to the reign of Ramesses II (Source: Dittmar 1986: Abb. 100, Abb. 105).



Figure 15: Examples of stelae with large columnar bouquets, and mid-size bouquets (Stela DB43, to Osiris, and stela DB164, to Isis (?)).



Figure 16: Examples of stelae with mid-size bouquets (Stela DB237, to Ptah and Maat - see Appendix 9, Table A49, Entry into/promotion within a profession, and stela DB292 to Taweret – see Appendix 9, Table A48, Conception (and birth)).



Figure 17: Examples of stelae with the small bouquet (Stela DB12, to Amun as the Good Rehni – see Appendix 9, Table A46, Attendance at state festivals, and stela DB267, to Amun-Re as a goose, Mut as a cat, and Prince Wadjmosi).

The different offerings may encode a reference to specific rituals to which the stelae relate, and to the role of different individuals on a stela, just as the principal dedicator can be identified by the incense being offered, despite the conventions that enforced male dominance in the representation. The use of bouquets, and certain types of offering tables, may relate to specific ceremonies or festivals. Identifying these ceremonies and festivals would allow the stelae to be categorized according to event. Once the events are known, it is possible to establish their role in an individual's life, and their significance as a rite of passage. The following sections on events also analyse the offerings depicted to establish discernible patterns.

4.2.3 Expected events

4.2.3.1 Attendance at state festivals

4.2.3.1.1 Supporting data

A number of Deir el Medina ostraca refer to the great Theban festivals of the Valley (e.g. O. Cairo CG25598, O.DeM 0127) and the Opet (e.g. O. DeM 0046, O. DeM 0354). Some make cryptic references to the 'crossing' (e.g. O. Turin 57034, O. Turin N. 57044) which may refer to the crossing of the river of the Theban triad on the occasion of the Valley festival. O.Cairo CG 25538 refers to a procession of Amun at Thebes and O. DeM 0354 refers to the festival of Mut and Amenhotep [I]. The ostraca concern themselves primarily with supplies and preparations for these festivals (e.g. McDowell 1999: 97, no. 68). The journal of the necropolis records the workmen as having days off for the state festivals (Sadek 1987: 176). Comparing festival lists such as that at Medinet Habu with the necropolis journal, Helck noted (1964: 160-161) that the main festival day of a large festival takes place on the day 10, the day off for those who work, thus allowing them to attend, and that this is the day the god appears in procession and gives oracles. Graffiti at Deir el Bahri indicate that people visited the Hathor shrines at festival time (Meskell 2002: 171).

Elite tomb paintings depict participation in state festivals and representations of parts of Karnak temple.²⁰ Cabrol has suggested (2001: 613, n. 169) that the festival scenes in TT31 of Khonsu may be complementary to the scenes in TT19 of Amenmose, which depict parts of the Valley festival (Cabrol 2001: 553).²¹ Representations of whole

temple complexes, such as that in TT2 of Khabekhenet (i) of the temple of Mut, suggest that the tombowner had first hand knowledge of at least the buildings and statuary within the precinct walls. Stelae depicting hypostases found only at certain temples indicate access to these images.

A festival occasion may have been used in order to petition certain hypostases (Pinch 1993: 351), and a record of this event created in the form of a stela to sustain the relationship between devotee and divine image. Stelae such as those depicting the Theban triad in barks, or Amun with temple- or festival-related epithets ('opet'; 'kamutef', the oracular epithets 'Lord of the Gods' or 'August') can be related to the appearance/petitioning of these gods on specific festival occasions.

Two of the dataset stelae make explicit reference, in text and/or iconography, to state festivals: stela DB217 of Hesysunebef (i) (r. Ramesses III) depicts a statue of the Foreman, Neferhotep (ii) (in post during the reigns of Ramesses II to Seti II), standing on the bark of Mut, with Hesysunebef (i)'s family in the registers below; stela DB261 of the Overseer of the Temple of Maat, Merymaat records parts of the Opet festival of Ramesses VI's year seven. Stela DB217 is comparable to stela DB172 of the Workman, Patjauemdiamun (ii), in post during the reign of Ramesses IV (Davies 1999: 225; see Raven 2000: 300 for a date at the end of the 19th Dynasty), which depicts the statues of Amenhotep I and Nebnefer. This Nebnefer may be the Foreman, Nebnefer (i), in post during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. The cult of Nebnefer is known from a number of other monuments (Raven 2000: 301), on two of which he is referred to as *s3 nsw*, 'prince', and on occasion his name is written in a cartouche. A prince Nebnefer is not known from other sources, and it may be that Nebnefer acquired post-mortem royal status through his association with the royal ancestors - on stela Cairo JdE41469 he is shown in the company of Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari (Raven 2000: 301). It may be that stelae DB217, DB172 and Cairo JdE41469 depict state festival processions which included eminent ancestors from the workmen's community. Both the venerated foremen were in post during the reign of Ramesses II.

4.2.3.1.2 Attendance at state festivals/oracular events (49 stelae)

See Table A46, Appendix 9.

Table A46 lists stelae with identified state hypostases (see Chapter 3) with one or more of the following state festival/oracular-related criteria:

- the depiction of the portable statue of the god;
- the use of an oracular epithet;
- the depiction of a high ranking intermediary;
- other carried offerings – such as musical instruments, additional food offerings, which may indicate the festive nature of the event;
- the inclusion of family and /or colleagues – indicating that the event was significant to a large number of people, and not exclusive to distinct groups within the Deir el Medina community.

Table A46 also lists the other types of offerings depicted.

Morgan has concluded (2004: 53), after Kessler (1999) that the ear (and eye) stelae may be connected to festival processions of Amenhotep I, and indicate the dedicators' participation in such festivals. Only one of the stelae in the festival stelae subset, DB174 dedicated to Khonsuemwaset Neferhotep, has ears and eyes. Pinch has argued (1993: 257-259), that the ears on such stelae, as with the eyes, are those of the deity.

Table A46 produces the following general results:

- the majority of the stelae date to the 19th Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II;
- in terms of offerings, the water offerings are always given by women; bouquets are depicted on only three stelae, two depicting the ram of Amun and one depicting Khonsuemwaset Neferhotep, i.e. members of the Theban triad; there is a balance of offering tables between those having the water pot and lotus, and those loaded with offerings;
- the Hathor and the ram of Amun stelae frequently include family and colleagues.

More specifically, two of the ram of Amun stelae include festival offerings, and bouquets. This, together with the high frequency of family/colleague inclusion, suggests that these statues were approached as part of a festival occasion. The Hathor, 'Residing in Thebes', stelae, include high frequencies of family (eight) and

colleagues (one), incense (six) and lotus flowers (four). Incense occurs only once on the ram of Amun stelae, and once on the Amenhotep I stelae (where he is in a palanquin). It may be that incense, as well as denoting the principal dedicator, is an identifier of specific festival activity. The Amenhotep I stelae are characterized by few offerings other than standard offering tables. This lack of offerings is also the case with the Ptah stelae, which may indicate that the ceremony was oral, and/or that the dedicators of the stelae were witnesses rather than participants. Three of the oracular deity stelae have no offerings; 12 include family and/or colleagues, a high frequency.

The two stelae which meet the most criteria are DB78 and DB206, which depict a Hathor hypostasis from a temple geographical list, possibly originally in the Ramesseum (see *Section 3.2.2.5.3*), and clearly depict festival celebrations with the inclusion of musical instruments and numerous family members.

In the dataset two gods have emerged as the primary oracle givers: Amenhotep I and Amun-Re (see *Sections 3.2.2.1.4 (Amun-Re), 3.2.2.2.4 (Amenhotep I), 4.1.2 (Oracles)*). There are 16 Deir el Medina stelae that may, by the inclusion of oracular criteria such as the depiction of gods in procession and the use of oracular epithets, be related to the occasion of oracles. Due to the generic nature of the texts which make no reference to oracular proceedings, this can not be proven; the stelae may simply depict festival occasions. Only one of these stelae has a lone petitioner, DB2 of Nebre (i), which has a long non-generic text and appears in *Section 4.2.2.5* below as an example of approaching the god at times of personal crises. The majority of the stelae depict Amun-Re, and/or other members of the Theban triad, or local gods such as Amenhotep I or Taweret, often in procession, and are dedicated by groups of individuals, perhaps indicating the public nature of the festival procession. Kessler has suggested (1999: 187) that professional groups or societies would make an approach to a deity, allowing access via the group leader that an individual would not have had.

4.2.3.1.3 Festivals in the reign of Ramesses II

Representations of statues of deceased kings may be connected to festivals. Such representations are a feature of the Ramesside period (Redford 1986: 45). Redford notes (1986: 191) that, according to the ancient sources, offering to the royal ancestors takes place in three contexts: 1. the daily liturgy of Amenhotep I; 2. the Min festival; 3.

the Valley festival. TT19 of Amenmose, the only explicitly labeled festival depiction in a private tomb at Thebes, showing parts of the Valley festival, depicts deceased kings (Cabrol 2001: 608-609; 612-616; pl. 33). In Redford's list of 26 Theban private depictions of statues of deceased kings (1986: 46-51), 11 can be securely dated to the reign of Ramesses II.²² There are a further seven only dated to the Ramesside period, some of which may date to Ramesses II. All of the other main sources for depictions of the royal ancestors, the reliefs of the Min festival at the Ramesseum, the Turin example of the liturgy of Amenhotep I, the offering tables of the Scribe, Qenhirkhepeshef (i), and the Foreman, Paneb (i) (Redford 1986: 34-44), date to the reign of Ramesses II. The Medinet Habu reliefs of the Min festival (Redford 1986: 36) may copy those at the Ramesseum.

In relation to the Theban (non-Deir el Medina) stelae, it was suggested that stelae that depict deceased kings, and in particular those that also depict funerary deities, may be connected with the Valley festival.²³ Redford further notes that '[t]he royal ancestors are, of course, divine and on a par with the gods; both are "Lords of Eternity," and receive equal veneration at the festival which probably provides the *raison d'être* for most of the tomb scenes, viz. the Feast of the Valley' (1986: 52). The depictions of royal ancestors on stelae are representations of cult statues (Redford 1986: 53; McDowell 1992b: 97). The scenes of the Valley festival set within the temple of Tuthmosis III in TT19 of Amenmose provide a context for the stelae representations. In TT19 sequences of scenes depict elements of the Valley festival, including rows of royal ancestor statues and the carrying of statues of Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari in palanquins. The stelae depict parts of these occasions in an iconographic short hand (see Schulman 1984a) whose lack of specific detail, in particular the identification of the festival, may be due to the pressures of decorum affecting this different medium, and/or the possibility that these stelae were used more than once (Morgan 2004: 54; see above), thus necessitating a lack of specificity in their content (see *Figure 25, Section 6.1*).

The use of the wab-priest title, which indicates involvement in the carrying of the portable statue, by dedicators, may also be connected with such festival activity.

Table A47, Appendix 9, lists the 17 Deir el Medina stelae dating to the reign of Ramesses II which include references to, or depictions of, the royal ancestors and/or the funerary deities Hathor and Osiris. Hathor accompanies the royal ancestors on stelae dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Of note is the high frequency of chiefs of the gang (six), and of wab-priests (three), in this subset. In addition, incense is offered seven times.

The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), frequently the touchstone for events and changes at Deir el Medina during this period, erects a stela, DB221, to the reigning king and his ancestors Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I. The scene is repeated in TT10 of Penbuy (i), with Ramesses II, the Vizier, Paser, and Ramose (i), as well as Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari (see *Section 4.1.1.3*). On stela DB243 Ramose (i) follows the Vizier, Paser, in the lower register, before a statue of Ramesses II. The upper register depicted a row of seated deities who may have been deceased ancestors (most of the register is lost). One of Ramose (i)'s reliefs from the Khenu-chapel, DM88 (Cairo JdE 72017; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 697), includes the cartouches of Ramesses II, Tuthmosis IV and Horemheb. Ramose (i), the only member of the Deir el Medina community who comes from a truly aristocratic background, is the only one who has representations of royal ancestors other than Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari on votive, as opposed to tomb, monuments. In addition, at the entrance to one of his tombs, TT7, Ramose (i) is shown adoring Amenhotep I, together with Queen Ahmes Nefertari, Horemheb and Tuthmosis IV (only the cartouches remain; Černý 1927: 175; Porter and Moss 1964 I.1: 15).

The cult of the royal ancestors, on Deir el Medina stelae and in tomb representations, is focused in the reign of Ramesses II, and more precisely to the first half of the reign. Cabrol has noted (2001: 707) the concentration of representations of a statue of Tuthmosis III during the reign of Ramesses II. Cabrol states that 'elle semble bien être une création ramesside' (2001: 745, n. 80). The possibly complementary Valley festival scenes from TT19 and TT1 support the theory of a major version of the Valley festival in the early Ramesside period. If this is the case, the date of TT19 must be pushed forward to Ramesses II rather than Ramesses I – Seti I (?), as it is currently dated in Porter and Moss (I.1 1960: 32). In terms of representations of Ramesses II himself, on private stelae with the royal ancestors, the only depictions in the Theban (non-Deir el

Medina) dataset are on the two stelae dedicated to Amenhotep I in the palanquin, by high ranking military men. Ramesses II appears far more frequently on the Deir el Medina stelae (nine times), but in relation to deceased kings only on three stelae: DB296 of the Wab-priest and God's Father of Amun, Anhotep (unidentified), where Ramesses II offers to Amun-Re and Mut, while Anhotep adores Re-Harakhti, Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes Nefertari below, and DB221 and possibly DB243 of the Senior Scribe Ramose (i), in the company of Ramesses I, Horemheb and Seti I (DB221); the figures are lost on DB243. On stela DB307 Ramesses II offers flowers to Osiris, with his Vizier, Paser following. The Foreman, Qaha (i), in post during the first half of Ramesses II's reign, kneels with his wife below. The funerary associations of this stela, together with the high rank of the dedicator, and the offering of flowers, may relate this stela to the Valley festival.

In *Section 4.1.1* it was argued that Ramesses II, or a statue of the king, visited the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina to inaugurate the temple and chapel following its renovation. The relief DM88 of the Hathor cow from the Khenu-chapel which includes the cartouches of dead kings suggests a link with the Valley festival. Hathor's centrality to the Valley festival is well known (Schott 1952). It has also been argued that the form of Hathor called 'Foremost in Thebes' (*hry(t)-tp W3st*) that was venerated at Deir el Medina came originally from Deir el Bahri, the ancient focus of the Valley festival (Schott 1952: 5-7; 108-109; Pinch 1993: 9). It is tempting to suggest that Ramesses II, or his statue, visited Deir el Medina to inaugurate the Hathor temple on one occasion of the Valley festival. This royal visit, and participation in the festival, was of such importance, or advertised as such by the (relatively) new king, that records of attendance at the event were made, in the form of stelae and tomb representations, depicting Ramesses II, the state temple deities and/or the deceased ancestors and funerary deities.

The Min festival reliefs at the Ramesseum that relate Ramesses II's coronation include the royal ancestor statues (Redford 1986: 35), supplying a second interpretation of some or all of the royal ancestor reliefs and stelae, and festival stelae: the coronation of Ramesses II. Helck has observed (1964: 164-165) that the coronation of the king was celebrated by a statue of the (living) king being carried in procession on the West Bank. The coronation could be linked to the Opet festival, which Ramesses II

celebrated at Thebes in his year 1 (see *Section 4.1.2.4*). Ramesses II's donation of the statue of himself /Amenhotep I (see *Section 4.1.2.5*), discovered in the Khenu-chapel, may be linked to this event.²⁴

Redford places (1986: 191) the resurgence of interest in the royal ancestors in the Ramesside period in the context of the historical background to these dynasties, where the hereditary principle had been superseded by right of appointment, and therefore the Ramesside kings felt the need to stress their family connection to their royal ancestors. Redford describes the Min festival and Valley festival in the 19th Dynasty as 'fashionable' (1986: 196), ensuring that royal legitimacy and pedigree remained in the collective consciousness, and demonstrating it.

4.2.3.2 Conception (and birth)

4.2.3.2.1 Supporting data

Workmen have been recorded as being absent on account of a birth (e.g. O. Cairo CG 25503; Janssen 1980: 142). Literary (e.g. Papyrus Westcar; Lichtheim 1975: 220-222) and medical texts (David 1986: 123-131) inform us of aspects of fertility and birth. The medical texts are much preoccupied with gynaecology: barrenness was considered a tragedy, whilst pregnancy and childbirth were threatened by physical dangers (David 1986: 125). The event of a birth was surrounded by rituals and related artefacts to ease the birth for the mother and protect the newborn child (Janssen and Janssen 1990: 9 describes spells, amulets and apotropaic wands used at births). Birth- and fertility related artefacts²⁵ have survived in the archaeological record. Ostraca from Deir el Medina depict birth arbors (Meskell 1999: 100). The *lit clos*, or enclosed beds (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1939) III: 54-64), located in the first room of the houses at Deir el Medina may have been associated with the birth process (for an alternative explanation, see Meskell 1999: 99-100). A number of fertility and birth-related artefacts were discovered together in a house at Amarna, in a cupboard under the stairs. They consisted of naked female terracotta figure, two painted pottery beds and a stela of a woman and a girl adoring Taweret (Janssen and Janssen 1990: 10; Meskell 2002: 71-72).

The childless Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), dedicated a large inscribed limestone phallus (Cairo TN 29/4/26/3) to Hathor with two lines of rather obscure inscription: 'Cause that I receive the rewards of your house'; 'Cause an endurance in your house from me/my hand' (*imi šsp.i b3kw n pr.t; imi mn m pr.t m-^c.i*).²⁶ Pinch observes that, 'the inscription may contain only a standard type of request for the Ka of the donor to dwell in a temple, sharing in the offerings of the goddess' (1993: 242). Given that Ramose (i) was closely associated with the cult of Hathor in the temple at Deir el Medina, this is possible. The phallic form of the monument as a symbol of the male donor, or of hoped for regeneration in the temple, remains theoretical, and it is not clear whether we can relate this to fertility in this life (Pinch 1993: 242); the inscription may indeed be a *double entendre* with a sexual connotation.

Two monuments of Ramose (i) that may be more relevant to his childlessness are stela DB31 dedicated to the triad of Qadesh, Min and Reshep, where Min represents ithyphallic male fertility, and stela DB196, to Taweret, where Taweret represents female fertility. On both of these Ramose (i) is shown with his wife, Mutemwia, where she is absent from his other 19 stelae in the dataset. The inclusion of wives on stelae dedicated to known fertility deities may indicate the function of these stelae.

Although Hathor is the goddess most closely associated with fertility, there are only two stelae in the dataset dedicated primarily by women to her, DB78 to a state temple hypostasis,²⁷ and DB86, dedicated by a Weshbet-mourner and her daughter, to Hathor as the Good Cat. Pinch's survey (1993) of votive offerings to Hathor indicates that stelae were only one of a large repertoire of votive offerings dedicated to the goddess, and it may be that women in search of fertility will have rather dedicated another type of votive object, such as a figurine, or an organic artefact that has not survived in the record – some votive textiles have survived (Pinch 1993: 103-134; see *Sections 3.2.2.5.4, 3.2.2.5.5*). In addition, the Hathor cult at Deir el Medina was a royal and state cult, open only to high status individuals, therefore perhaps not to general petitions for fertility, whereas the cult at Deir el Bahri, which Pinch has studied, had, by the late New Kingdom, evolved into a centre for the popular worship of this deity (Pinch 1993: 25).

4.2.3.2.2 Conception (and birth) stelae (12)

Table A48, Appendix 9

From the supporting evidence, the criteria that may indicate that a stela is related to (hoped for) conception and a safe birth are: inclusion of women (either women alone dedicating the stela, or depicted with their husbands), and the inclusion of the fertility or birth related deities Taweret or Min, or Min in his triad of Qadesh-Min-Astarte. There are 12 stelae that meet these criteria. On ten of the 12 stelae the dedicators are a couple, with only two stelae dedicated by women alone: DB51 and DB247. Neither of women depicted has a title. Stela DB103 is dedicated by the Workman, Irynefer (i), and his wife, Mehykhati (ii). On this stela Mehykhati (ii) holds the incense, perhaps indicating that she is the primary dedicator (see *Section 4.2.2*). These stelae have a high frequency (six) of water offerings, all of which are, as expected, offered or held by the women. The stelae form a fairly clearly defined subset within the dataset.

4.2.3.3 Entry into/promotion within a profession

4.2.3.3.1 Supporting data

Janssen and Janssen have identified (1990: 107-108) the phrase 'I knotted the girdle' referring to the wearing of the 'gala-kilt' (Janssen and Janssen 1990: fig. 39) as the indicator of taking up a man's first office (Old and Middle Kingdoms) where it refers to wearing the ceremonial dress of the civil servants (see Pinch 1995: 379). Elite autobiographies are careful to record the offices attained in their owner's lifetimes. Professional achievement was highly regarded and recorded in tombs and on stelae with greater clarity and emphasis than domestic achievements such as marriage and children, which must often be deduced from the decorations, and were not regarded as belonging to a man's public life. Assman has suggested (1989: 144-145) that certain funerary rites reflect initiation rites into professions.

At Deir el Medina, ostraca with anxious petitions regarding whether young men would gain places in the gang bear witness to the fierce competition for such posts (see, for example, McDowell 1999: 229 no. 180). Posts frequently ran in the family, with important positions such as foreman staying in the same family for generations (Černý 1973: 125-126; Davies 1999: 12-13; see *Section 4.1.3*). The stelae from *Section 4.1.3*,

The visit of the Vizier, To, to the Queens' Valley chapels, provide us with some criteria for stelae that relate to entry into or promotion within a profession:

- stelae dedicated to gods related to the workmen's profession, such as Ptah;
- the inclusion of a vizier;
- and/or the dedicator alone or with his male relatives and/or colleagues.

One stela that clearly belongs in the realm of an individual's professional career, though not to promotion at work and so not in this section, is DB97 of the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (ii), which depicts the Vizier, Hori, bringing a message²⁸ from the King, Ramesses IV, rewarding the Foreman for completing the tomb. A similar representation occurs on the fragmentary stela DM151 (Bruyère 1935-1940 (1952) II: 44, 86 and pl. XVII), of which the lower register is lacking (Janssen 1963: 64-70). This event may also be the one recorded on O. DeM 41 vs. 10, where the Vizier, Hori, brings rewards (*mkw*) to the crew at the start of the reign of Ramesses IV (Janssen 1997: 161). The concept of recording the giving of rewards on private stelae has a parallel in the private stelae recording the giving of reward gold by the king, which were traditionally dedicated by high elite individuals (Schulman 1988: 116-147).

4.2.3.3.2 *Entry into/promotion within a profession stelae (21)*

Table A49, Appendix 9

In this group there is a high frequency of stelae with no offerings (eight out of 21), implying the oral nature of the ceremony depicted. This is the case for stelae DB228 and DB229 discussed in *Section 4.1.3* above. There are no instances of water offerings as the professional nature of the ceremony recorded precluded the presence of women. On 11 stelae the men are alone before the deity statue, on the remaining 10 they are shown with male relatives or colleagues, perhaps indicating different kinds of ceremonies. The vizier appears three times, on DB6 and DB228, and on DB113 where the Vizier, Paser, follows Ramesses II. The inclusion of the king indicates that this stela records a state ceremony (see *Section 4.1.1* above).

Stela DB282 depicts the Quarryman, Huy, in formal dress, adoring Ptah in a shrine, with a water pot and lotus before him. Behind him stands his young son Mose dressed as a priest. This may be a record Mose's entry into the gang, or, alternatively, his initiation into a lay-priesthood.²⁹

4.2.3.4 Entry into a religious organization/participation in a local religious ceremony

4.2.3.4.1 Supporting data

Administrative records and private monuments record individuals using priestly titles, most frequently *wab*-priest, with instances of god's servant (*ḥm-ntr*), lector priest (*ḥry ḥbt*) and the problematic *ʿ3-n-ʿ* (Davies 1999: 206).

The religious organizations discussed here are not the priesthoods that existed within the state temples and which can be regarded as professions. Rather, these are the voluntary organizations staffed by workmen (and their wives) (McDowell 1999: 95). Van Gennep identified initiation into religious brotherhoods as a typical rites of passage event (1909 [1960]: 96-104). Service defined (1971: 12) such organizations as cross-cutting the existing social structure and articulating it. Certainly, membership of a lay priesthood at Deir el Medina, at least that of the deified king Amenhotep I, was much sought after, and remained within a limited group of high status families (Lesko (B.S.), 1994: 23). The column base JdE 25111/51512 (Černý 1927: 194-195), discussed in Section 3.2.2.2.4, above, lists members of the lay priesthood of Amenhotep I for the middle of the reign of Ramesses II. A number of the members are related, and belong to two leading families from this period. The juridical role of the oracle of Amenhotep I would have made membership of the lay-priesthood attractive and powerful.

An ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings is the only extant piece of evidence for the method of selecting priests. It is an oracle question reading, 'Shall one appoint Seti as a god's servant?' (McDowell 1999: 95, no. 65). Lay priesthoods seem to have passed from father to son (McDowell 1999: 95), perhaps a reflection of the organization of the state priesthoods at East Thebes at this time (see Bierbrier 1975). This may have involved a period of initiation into the role, with or without an initiation ceremony. Stelae that depict individuals dressed as priests (shaven headed, and/or wearing a sash), and identified by a priestly title rather than by their professional title, may be related to the ceremony of initiation into the priesthood, or to participation in a local religious ceremony. Stelae depicting large groups of men and one deity may relate to ceremonies of that god, and represent an existing lay-priesthood. The ebony stela discovered by Bruyère in the kitchen of the house NEIV (Bruyère 1934-1935 (1952) III:

247-249 [1] and fig. 127) depicts Anukis seated in a shrine on a sledge (?) with two double rows of men below. The principal dedicator named in the horizontal text at the base is the Draftsman of Amun, Merysekhmet (i). The stela is in fragments so many of the names of individuals cannot be discerned.

The stelae connected to local religious ceremonies may relate to personal feast days. A personal feast day was a day dedicated to a god to whom an individual, family or group had a special relationship (Van Walsem 1982b: 223; Sadek 1987: 193-197). This may have been a god in whose lay-priesthood they, or another member of their family, served (McDowell 1999: 92). Janssen defines (1980: 145-146) a personal feast day as one referred to as *hb.f/p3y.f hb* ('his festival'; see Van Walsem 1982b: 223 for a differentiation of meaning of these terms), or with the addition of the god's name, for example, *hb.f n hwt-hr* ('his festival of Hathor'; see Pinch 1993: 344). The papyri and ostraca from Deir el Medina record absences of workmen for several days at a time to prepare for and celebrate certain 'private' feasts (Janssen 1980: 146-148). Often men were absent to brew beer for a god. Janssen notes (1980: 134) that in the fairly complete sequence of 'journal' ostraca from Ramesses III-Ramesses IV, only 70 out of the 280 days were working days, with many of the days off relating to 'feasts'.

Stelae relating to personal feasts and local festivals may be impossible to distinguish.³⁰ It may be the case that some or all personal feasts and local festivals are in fact one and the same event, or occur simultaneously. The frequency and regularity of personal feast days may be evidence against the erection of a stela on the occasion of such a feast day.

The following criteria have been used to identify stelae relating to ceremonies involving the lay-priesthoods, which may include initiation into the priesthood and/or presence at local religious ceremonies: the use of religious titles and/or the wearing of priestly dress. Full priestly dress consists of a shaven head (or skull cap), a sash and a kilt. In *Table A50, Appendix 9*, 'partial dress' designates an individual depicted as shaven headed (or wearing a skull cap), without the sash. It may be that the sash was painted on and is no longer visible, or it may not be visible in the reproduction of the stela.

4.2.3.4.2 Entry into a religious organization/participation in a local religious ceremony stelae (18 stelae)

Table A50, Appendix 9

The stelae are dedicated primarily to Amenhotep I (and other royal ancestors) (eight stelae), Amun-Re alone or with other gods (six stelae), and one each to Isis, Mertseger, Mut, Hathor and Min, Reshep, Anat and Isis. The priestly titles refer to the lay priesthoods of Amenhotep I (11), Amun-Re (six), Mut (one), with three titles not specifying the priesthood. The lack of Hathor lay-priesthood titles relates to the fact that the Hathor cult at Deir el Medina was a state-run organisation (Pinch 1993: 350). On nine of the stelae individuals wear full or partial priestly dress. In terms of offerings, ten of the stelae have no offerings, a high frequency, suggesting that an oral ceremony may be depicted. No water is offered by dedicators, which reflects the almost total absence of women on the stelae – the 20th Dynasty stela, DB151, dedicated to Mertseger includes the wife of the dedicator in the text. Water is however offered on two occasions by the intermediary, on DB89 of the Servitor of the Lord of the Two Lands, Hay (vii), and on DB296 of the unidentified Wab-priest and God's Father of Amun, Anhotep. Both of these stelae may relate to the royal ancestor cult, and a context precluding the presence of women, perhaps necessitating that men carry out the libations.

4.2.3.5 Illness/personal Crisis

4.2.3.5.1 Supporting data

Absences from work due to illness are frequent in the record of the day to day activities of the gang. As noted above, illness accounts for the majority of cases of absence recorded on the Deir el Medina database (Janssen 1980: 135-136). Life in the Village, as elsewhere in Egypt, was hazardous, with dangers ranging from scorpion and snake bites, to child birth and disease. Both magic and medicine, which cannot be separated in ancient Egypt (Pinch 1994: 133-146; Nunn 1996: 96), were used to treat maladies and protect against future misfortune. The village doctor, scorpion charmer (see McDowell 1999: 117) or local wisewoman (Borghouts 1982a: 25-26; Meskell 1999: 179-182) may have been called upon in the first instance, but it seems that in times of emergency, or when an individual had pulled through against extreme odds, the villagers paid a visit to hypostases of state gods to ask for help or express their thanks

(Pinch 1993: 351). The most famous example of this is stela DB2 the Draftsman, Nebre (i), who, in a long and non-generic inscription, thanks Amun-Re for saving the life of his son (Kitchen 2000: 653-655; see Sadek 1987: 226). The non-generic nature of this stela extends to the representation, where Amun-Re is shown as a colossal statue situated, unusually, before temple pylons (Schulman 1988: 44-45; this kind of representation is more common in tomb paintings, for example, in TT19 and TT31; Cabrol 2001: pl. 33; 608-614).

A kind of illness, though probably closer to a moral or ethical lapse rather than a physical one, is that referred to by the Egyptians as 'seeing darkness' (*m33 kkw*; see Section 2.1.3). Stela DB149 of the Workman, Neferabu (i), asks forgiveness of the god Ptah for swearing falsely by his name. A second stela of this man, DB150, asks forgiveness for being lazy (Sadek 1987: 233-236) and warns against the power of the goddess Mertseger (McDowell 1999: 101). Both of these stelae texts are notable for their length and non-generic nature, and suggest that Neferabu (i) must have suffered some fairly extreme misfortune as a result of his behavior. Whether the stelae refer to one occasion of misfortune, or several, is unclear.

The criteria used to define these stelae are the inclusion of a non-generic text and/or image.

4.2.3.5.2 *Illness/personal crisis (4 stelae)*

Table A51, Appendix 9

The four stelae in the Illness/personal crisis section are dedicated by two workmen and an outline draftsman. They include no offerings other than offering tables, perhaps indicating the oral nature of the act, the petitioning of the deity statue. The stelae depict male dedicators, alone, apart from stela DB2 which includes Nebre (i)'s son Khay (i), and, in the text, Nakhtamun (iii), the son rescued from illness by Amun-Re. DB149 of the Workman, Neferabu (i), includes ears and eyes and the 'seeing darkness' formula.

The stelae discussed in Section 4.2 illustrate the fact that votive stelae can be categorised according to criteria which may be linked to certain events. Specific events

can and are represented on stelae. The rigid conventions within which the stelae are created control the form and content to the extent that, to the eyes of the 21st century viewer, or indeed any viewer living outside the cultural milieu of Ramesside Egypt, or perhaps even of Deir el Medina at this period, they appear generic and almost indistinguishable from one another. To a contemporary, local, Egyptian, the stelae contain the necessary information, in the offerings, dress, deity, location and position of the individuals, and other iconographic content, to convey clearly whether a stela acts as a record of presence at a festival, or of promotion and work, or of another such event.

4.3 Writing Biographies

Table 36 below lists individuals with more than three stelae, and attempts to categorize the stelae according to the events identified in *Section 4.2, Private events on votive stelae*.

Table 36: Deir el Medina individuals with three or more stelae, showing the stelae categorized according to life events

Name	Title	Date of service	Attendance at state festivals/oracular events	Festivals in the reign of Ramesses II	Conception (and birth)	Entry into/promotion within a profession	Entry into a religious organisation/participation in a local religious ceremony	Illness/personal crisis	Total stelae of this individual
Pay (i)	Draftsman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses I - Ramesses II (first half)	174, 191						3
Neferronpet (i)	Workman	19 th Dynasty: Seti I - Ramesses II (first half)	24, 156		24				3
Ramose (i)	Senior Scribe	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)	31, 33, 196, 226	192	31, 197	237	198*		21
Penbuy (i)	Guardian	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)	177	179	178, 249, 292	317			6
Nebre (i)	Draftsman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)	2					2	5
Qaha (i)	Foreman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)	19, 191	19					4
Qen (ii)	Sculptor	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)	117	117, 118					4
Irynefer (i)	Workman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)	104		103	105			3
Maaninakhtuf (i)	Draftsman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (first half)		301		128			3
Neferabu (i)	Workman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (mid)	23			149		149, 150	3
Neferhotep (ii)	Foreman	19 th Dynasty: Ramesses II (second half) - Seti II		263					3
Hay (vii)	Deputy and Servitor of Amenhotep I	20 th Dynasty: Ramesses III - Ramesses V					89		3
Anhurkhawwy (ii)	Foreman	20 th Dynasty: Ramesses III - Ramesses VI	98						5
Nekh(em)mut (vi)	Foreman	20 th Dynasty: Ramesses IV - Ramesses IX	161						3

Six of the stelae, DB2, DB19, DB24, DB31, DB117 and DB149 (marked in bold) appear in more than one category. DB19 and DB117 both belong to festival categories. Of the remaining four, DB2, DB24 and DB31 can be related both to state festivals and personal petitions to a deity that may have taken place at these festivals. Only DB149 remains enigmatic in its intent.

In general, the early part of the reign of Ramesses II is the most populated in terms of votive stelae, particularly stelae relating to state festival attendance. Stelae become sparser into the 20th Dynasty, where few conclusions can be drawn from the three stelae categorized here other than that festival attendance was still marked.

The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) has eight of his 21 stelae categorized. By reading only these stelae, it would seem that Ramose (i)'s life was characterized by attendance at state festivals, and petitions to fertility deities, which is supported by supplementary evidence. Ramose (i)'s aristocratic background and high rank in the Deir el Medina community would have given him access to state festivals at some level. In addition, it is well known that Ramose (i) and his wife Mutemwia (i) were childless (Černý 1973: 325; Pinch 1993: 242; Davies 1999: 81-82). The relative paucity of Ramose (i)'s stelae that can be categorized is due to a loss of cultural context and supplementary information for ritual activity. The sheer number of the stelae, indicating broad divine access, formally mark his high social status.

Penbuy (i), Guardian in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (Davies 1999: 194-195) has all of six database stelae categorized. From these stelae we can trace a life that included attendance at festivals, professional advancement, and pleas for fertility. He was certainly married twice, to Amentetwosret (i) and Irethnofret (i) (Davies 1999: 194), and according to Davies (1999: chart 29) he had five children by his first wife Amentetwosret (i), but perhaps just one by his second wife. The three stelae of Penbuy (i)'s colleague Irynefer (i) (Davies 1999: 263 and Chart 26) have also all been categorized, indicating a set of life stages similar, if less marked, to that of Penbuy (i). The Workman, Neferabu (i) (Davies 1999: 149-151; 155; 157-161; 177; 180; 184; 219; 264), had a more unusual life, plagued by misfortune for which he attempted to atone on two separate occasions.

From an initial attempt at decoding private votive stelae which lack overt biographical information, it is possible to place a number of stelae within certain life event categories, and begin to construct possible biographies. Placed alongside other sources of information, such as administrative records and graffiti, they can contribute to the evidence for the past lives of certain individuals.

4.4 Summary

Three events or phenomena have been detailed that may be the motive for the commissioning and erection of a number of votive stelae from Deir el Medina during the Ramesside period: a visit of Ramesses II (or his statue) to the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina, the use of oracles at particular times during the reign of Ramesses II, and a visit of the Vizier, To, in the reign of Ramesses III.

The oracle/festival stelae (*Section 4.1.2*), in particular those relating to the Ramesses II cult statue of Amenhotep I, and the Hathor temple Ramesses II (in person/statue) visit stelae (*Section 4.1.1*), delineate social groups of a local elite status within the community. The religious organization stelae (*Section 4.2.2.3*) also highlight social groups. The visit of Ramesses II (or his statue) (*Section 4.1.1*), the visit of the Vizier, To (*Section 4.1.3*), and the record of rewards given to the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (ii) (*Section 4.2.2.3*), are fixed historical events. The festival stelae from the reign of Ramesses II (*Section 4.2.2.5.3*) may record a single large Valley or Opet festival, which, in turn, may be linked to his coronation. The public and private events discussed in *Sections 4.1* and *4.2*, or similar events, are the motivation for the erection of a number of the stelae.

The categories discussed leave 61% (162/264 stelae) of the dataset unaccounted for. Further analysis of different aspects of the stelae iconography may make it possible to link the stelae to particular events, in particular, to festivals, and perhaps specifically to a large festival early in the reign of Ramesses II. There may be events whose occurrence it is impossible, however, to decode through the iconographic content of the votive stelae, due to the loss of cultural context, and the concomitant loss of knowledge of the nature and significance of such events.

The stelae relating to the visit of the Vizier, To, demonstrate, with greatest clarity, the historical relevance of votive stelae. Ostraca, graffiti and stelae all record an event that, when read together, is clearer than any evident from just one type of source. This illustrates how stelae lacking in overt historical content can be linked to single fixed historical events (Schulman 1980: 97-102; 1988: 197) whilst acting as permanent records of these events (Woolf 1996: 27). A related example is that of stela DB97,

discussed in *Section 4.2.3.3.1*, recording the rewarding of the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (ii), for which related stelae and documentary evidence exist.

Votive stelae may also mark life events, perhaps including attendance at state festivals, conception (and birth), entry into/promotion within a profession, entry into a religious organisation/participation in a local religious ceremony, and illness/personal crisis, for which alternative sources exist. Conclusions regarding both political policy, for example, Ramesses II's strategic use of festivals and the royal ancestors, and biographical life stages of individuals, can be drawn. The votive stelae are complex multi-functional monuments standing at a nexus of public and private activity, existing in the public domain and reflecting, within the constraints of their genre, both wider phenomena that affected the workmen, and their own bounded life experience. In terms of social identity, they present an individual as meeting society's normative expectations whilst simultaneously promoting his status and his individuality (Woolf 1996). The individuals from Deir el Medina are aspirational (Hulin 1989), keen to present themselves in a relationship to the king that was, prior to the reign of Ramesses II, a prerogative of the elite ruling class. The Middle Kingdom votive/commemorative stelae from Abydos form a comparable example, where individuals marked their presence at the Abydos rituals to both benefit from participation in the rituals, and advertise their level of divine access.

A careful study of certain elements of the content and design of stelae can contribute to an understanding of social practices, which takes the form of the 'religious' rituals recorded on the stelae. The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), features more than any other individual in the dataset. A number of his contemporaries seem to have received what might be termed his patronage, and as result held a higher status in the community than can otherwise be understood through the record of their titular rank alone. The identification of certain events in an individual's life that we might term 'rites of passage', due to their traditional role as elements of 'folk religion' (Pinch 1993: 351), may also be revelatory in terms of identifying social organization, in the sense of the organization and activity of a community at local level.

A historical reading of the votive stelae leads from a glimpse of royal activity in the Village, to a record of social organization centering on the cult of Amenhotep I, and the implicit role of Ramose (i) with the Hathor cult, that contrasts with, and complements, the documented social structure of the Village recorded in the administrative record.

In form and content, the stelae both cleave to the conventions of decorum in their style and restricted content, and apparently offer an alternate ideology to that of the king as intermediary to the gods, by representing direct access to the deity hypostasis, through the use of type A and C stelae. Representational 'direct access' is, by the Ramesside period, conventionally acceptable, demonstrating access to an intermediary hypostasis and not to the deity itself. It is unlikely that a community as aspirational as the Deir el Medina community would have knowingly established an alternate ideology. Numerous depictions of apparent 'direct access' to a deity, with no recourse to the king, in a semi-literate environment where the images transmitted information, may, however, have had an outcome other than the intent of the stelae. The deities, and certain prominent individuals such as Ramose (i), have a central presence within the community by means of the monuments. Ramesses II's presence on a number of the stelae, unusual at this social level, demonstrates an astute awareness by the king of the power of images, and of the status associated with the use of his image. Such stelae can be read as a manipulation of the material, by the king, to stress the centrality of the kingship. The stelae with the royal image are the highest status artefacts.

Chapter 5 continues the social and historical analysis of groups of Ramesside period votive/commemorative stelae at four sites: Abu Simbel and Wadi es-Sebua in Lower Nubia, Qantir/Pi-Ramesses in the Eastern Delta and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham in the Western/Libyan desert. The analysis will determine whether the use of votive stelae at Deir el Medina is representative of a Ramesside period phenomenon, or whether it represents activity limited to the workmen's community at Thebes. The analysis will assess the extent to which stelae can reflect social structure and/or social organisation on a pan-Egyptian scale.

¹ Schmidt assumes (1973: 104) that the stelophorous stela of Ramose (i) (Cairo JdE 72000; see Section 4.1.1.5), recording an endowment set up by the king on behalf of Ramose (i) in year 9, indicates an actual royal visit to activate the endowment.

² Ramesses II appears in other tombs in different contexts. In TT217 of the Sculptor, Ipuy (i), the tomb owner is rewarded by Ramesses II at a window of appearances. Ramesses II is also depicted on Elephantine Island in the tomb of the Foreman, Neferhotep (ii), TT216

³ See Section 4.1.3, *The Visit of the Vizier To*, for an example of the two bodies of material, votive stelae and textual evidence, complementing each other.

⁴ Davies discusses (1999: 47) the problem of the apparently extremely long period of service of this man. He appears as an adult with a wife and children on this stela in the reign of Ramesses II, but was Foreman of the Gang in the reign of Ramesses III (see Section 4.1.3 below, where Nekh(em)mut (i) features once again in the stelae group), a hypothesis first put forward by Bierbrier (1984: 201). Nekh(em)mut (i) is the grandson Sennedjem (i) and married a granddaughter of the same man, Webkhet (vi/viii) (Davies 1999: chart 7).

⁵ Neuchatel Musée d'Ethnographie No. 12, Eg. 238 (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 719); Turin Sup. 6148 = Tosi and Roccati 50077 (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 720); British Museum EA 446 (Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 720).

⁶ For example, TT19 of Amenmose, depicting Amenhotep 'of the Forecourt' (*n p3 wb3*) (Foucart 1932 IV: pls. 28-32; Černý 1962: fig. 9; Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 139 [31.6.5]; Cabrol 2001: 552-553; 608-609; pl. 33).

⁷ There are examples in the late Ramesside letters, such as LRL 14, 31, discussed in Pinch 1993: 351.

⁸ 21st Dynasty examples are discussed by Gardiner 1962.

⁹ See, for example, Blackman 1926; Černý 1935: 41-58; 1941: 135-141; 1942: 13-24; 1962: 46; Tosi 1988: 174; Sadek 1987: 134; Valbelle and Husson 1998: 1056-1061; McDowell 1999: 172-175.

¹⁰ For example, Amun, Mut, Khonsu and Montu at Karnak, Ptah at Memphis, Seth at Dakkhleh (Černý 1962: 40), Montu at Medamud (Borghouts 1982a: col. 202), Isis at Coptos (Petrie 1896: 15-16 and pl. 19; Černý 1962: 40), Ahmose at Abydos (Legrain 1916: 161-170; Harvey 1992: 3-5; 2004: 4; Valbelle and Husson 1998: 1056), and Amenhotep I at Thebes West (Blackman 1926; Černý 1927: 176-181; 1962: 41-42; McDowell 1990: 107-141; Valbelle and Husson 1998: 1056) and at Karnak (Nims 1956; Wente 1963).

¹¹ Baines notes (1987: 89-90) the general consensus that non-royal oracles do not pre-date the New Kingdom, but goes on to propose a number of possible earlier examples: Ankhtify of Moalla's claim that Horus led him to conquer Edfu is interpreted as a claim made against a 'background of divinatory practice' i.e. oracles existed and were known at this time (9th/10th Dynasty); Haremkauef of Hierakonpolis (late 13th Dynasty) makes a similar claim on his stela, that Horus sent him to Ijtawy to fetch his new cult image; and in the Story of Sinuhe, Sinuhe claims that 'the god' caused his flight to Palestine. Horus, or the god, could, however, in all these cases, be a reference to the king. Further Middle Kingdom evidence has been put forward by Kruchten (2001: 609) where the King's address in viziers' tombs (Middle or early New Kingdom) forbids the use of *bi3yt* (omens or oracles) to decide land disputes (see Kruchten 1988: 826).

¹² Stela DB117 of Qen (ii), and TT2 of Khabekhenet (i), east wall representation. See Sections 3.2.2.2.2 - 3.2.2.2.4.

¹³ Bruyère 1930b: 39, 283, Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 708, Tosi and Roccati 1972: 125-126, 301 [50089]; Bruyère 1930b: 284, Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 731, Tosi and Roccati 1972: 129, 304 [50095]; Bruyère 1930b: 284, Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 725, Tosi and Roccati 1972: 130, 305 [50098]; Bruyère 1930b: 285, Tosi and Roccati 1972: 140, 313 [50124], and Bruyère 1930b: 288 [6005].

¹⁴ The date of his appointment is still under debate: it may be as early as year 12 (see Wolterman 1996: 164 and nn. 95-99).

¹⁵ Černý 1973: 92. For an alternative explanation see Ventura 1986: 184, n. 44.

¹⁶ Deir el Medina database, www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html

¹⁷ For studies of 18th Dynasty tomb scenes of such events, see Radwan 1969 and Myśliwiec 1985; for the receiving of gold of honour, see Schulman 1988: 116-117; for records of attendance at festivals, see Cabrol 1995a; 1995b; 2001.

¹⁸ See Blackman 2000: 92 for notes on early 20th century marriage amongst the fellahin in Upper Egypt, which seems to be conceptually similar to that of the ancient Egyptians.

¹⁹ See Robins 1994 for a discussion of compositional dominance and gender on stelae.

²⁰ The principal Deir el Medina examples and two relevant non-Deir el Medina examples are listed here:

- TT2 of Khabekhenet (i) (Deir el Medina), Ramesses II (first half): scene depicting the bark of Mut on the lake of Asheru, with a dromos of rams to the north, a representation of the Mut temple complex and two colossal statues of Amun-Re (?) (Cabrol 1995b: 53; 2001: 262-268); two scenes of two different statues of Amenhotep I carried in a palanquin (Černý 1927: figs 13. and 14); Khabekhenet (i) offers to two rows of royal ancestors (Porter and Moss 1960 I.1: 7 at (10)); Khabekhenet (i) before Amenhotep I, Queen Ahmes Nefertari and Princess Meryatum (Porter and Moss 1960 I.1: 7 at (12));
 - TT5 of Neferabu (i) (Deir el Medina), Ramesses II (mid): fragmentary representation of festival activity at Karnak South, including a dromos of rams (Cabrol 1995b: 51-57; 2001: 268-269);
 - TT217 of the Sculptor, Ipuy (i) (Deir el Medina), Ramesses II (first half): the barks of the Theban triad (Davies 1927: pl. XXVIII; Cabrol 2001: 625).
- ***
- TT19 of Amenmose, God's Servant of Amenhotep I 'of the Forecourt' in the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I: Valley festival scene, with the barks of Mut and Amun-Re towed on a canal, a statue of Amenhotep I 'of the Forecourt' carried by wab-priests, a bark with a statue of Queen Ahmes Nefertari dragged from the temple; further scenes of the barks of Amenhotep I, Queen Ahmes Nefertari and Tuthmosis III before the temple of Tuthmosis III, Amenmose before two rows of royal ancestors, two statues of Amenhotep I in palanquins before the temple (Foucart 1932 IV: pls. 28-32; Černý 1962: fig. 9; Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 139 [31.6.5]; Cabrol 2001: 552-553; 608-609; pl. 33);
 - TT31 of Khonsu, First God's Servant of Tuthmosis III in the reign of Ramesses II: festival of Montu, barks of Montu and Tuthmosis III in festival procession, the latter before the temple of Tuthmosis III (Cabrol 2001: 608-614).

²¹ Identifying elements from these named festival scenes in tombs and mapping them on to stelae representations can, as with the decoding of the offerings depicted, aid the interpretation of the event depicted, but care must be taken. For example, TT31 has a representation of the bark of Khonsu with an enclosed deck-house, decorated with djed- and tit-glyphs. If this tomb does represent parts of the Valley festival, then stelae depicting such barks may also relate to this festival, for example, stela DB62, which depicts the river barks of the Theban triad with such a deckhouse. The process can work in reverse. For example, the text on stela DB261 explicitly refers to the Opet festival. The bark of Mut on this stela has a two-tier deckhouse. This same form of deckhouse appears on stela DB217, whose scene is iconographically similar to that found in TT2 of Khabekhenet (see Section 2.1.3; Cabrol 1995b: 53; 2001: 262-266), and this may inform us that the unnamed festival depicted in this tomb is the Opet festival. Such a deckhouse is also found on temple representations of boats taking part in the Opet festival. In TT19 of Amenmose, however, where the *Valley festival* is identified (*Imn-R^c nsw ntrw m ḥb.f nfr n int*), the bark of Amun has a two-tier deckhouse, indicating perhaps that both forms of bark were used at this festival.

²² According to additional precise dating after Davies 1999, for a number of the examples.

²³ See Sections 3.2.2.2.7 *Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari* (Deir el Medina), 3.2.3.4.2, *Amenhotep I/Queen Ahmes Nefertari* (Thebes), 3.2.3.4.3 *Osiris* (Thebes), and Section 3.2.3.8 *Conclusion*.

²⁴ The Louvre E. 16277 statue, and the stelophorous statue of Ramose (i) (Cairo JdE72000), referring to the endowment of a statue in Ramesses II's year 9, are, in this thesis, given a number of different interpretations: the statue may be Amenhotep I or Ramesses II, or, Ramesses II as Amenhotep I (see Sections 3.2.2.2.4, 4.1.2.5); the stela may refer to the endowment of this statue

on behalf of Ramose (i) (*Section 4.1.1.5*). The stelophorous statue date for the endowment implies that the statue cannot be related to a coronation event in Ramesses II's year 1, in which case the two statues may not be connected. The thesis offers a number of interpretations for these artefacts, but cannot present anything conclusive at this stage.

²⁵ Examples of birth-related artefacts are birthing bricks

(<http://www.upenmuseum.com/pressreleases/forum.pl?/msg=94>), apotropaic wands and amulets, principally of Taweret, in the form of a pregnant hippo holding the *s3*-amulet, and the dwarf god, Bes (hundreds of examples are extant in museum collections). Examples of fertility-related artefacts are wooden, stone and faience phalli from Deir el Bahri (Pinch 1993: 235-345).

²⁶ For the hieroglyphs, alternative translations and a discussion of the difficulties of the text, see Pinch 1993: 242.

²⁷ Discussed in *Section 4.2.3.1.2*.

²⁸ The iconographic gesture for conveying a message is discussed in *Section 5.3.1.3.1 (i)* in relation to the Abu Simbel stelae.

²⁹ This stela is also included in *Section 4.2.3.4, Entry into a religious organization/participation in a local religious ceremony*.

³⁰ See Meskell 2002: 173-175 for a discussion of the difficulty of distinguishing whether ostraca describing gifts of food and gatherings of people relate to personal feast days or larger festivals. Janssen (1997) interprets the ostraca as relating to personal feasts.

Chapter 5: Comparative Data

The central argument of the thesis is that private votive stelae of the Ramesside period are the end result of defined social practices, encoding references to specific activity or events. The stelae can provide information on the dedicator's social status through analysis of the format of the stelae ('compositional form'), the stela's original location, and the hypostasis it represents. These three criteria are aspects of 'divine access', the factor that expresses an individual's social status in ancient Egypt. The stelae support the existing social structure, and can also present an alternate social organisation, intentionally or not.

The theory has been tested against the large dataset from Thebes, primarily Deir el Medina. The analysis revealed that, across this fairly homogenous body of data, it is possible to determine that the stelae do reflect both social status by means of 'divine access', and aspects of an individual's public identity. In addition, there is evidence for the action of both individual choice and royal sanction in the use and production of votive stelae, and for the existence of social groups cross-cutting the vertical social hierarchy.

This chapter tests the theory against stelae from four additional sites. These four sites have been chosen due to the relatively large numbers of Ramesside period votive stelae extant from them: the Lower Nubian sites of Abu Simbel and Wadi es-Sebua, the Delta site of Qantir/Pi-Ramesses, and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham in the Western (Libyan) Desert.

Section 5.1 describes the sites: location, function, excavation and cult structures. *Section 5.2* analyses the comparative dataset as one body, according to number, date, compositional form and the deities on the stelae. *Section 5.3* discusses the stelae and cult images in detail site by site. *Section 5.4* presents a discussion of the findings.

5.1: The Sites

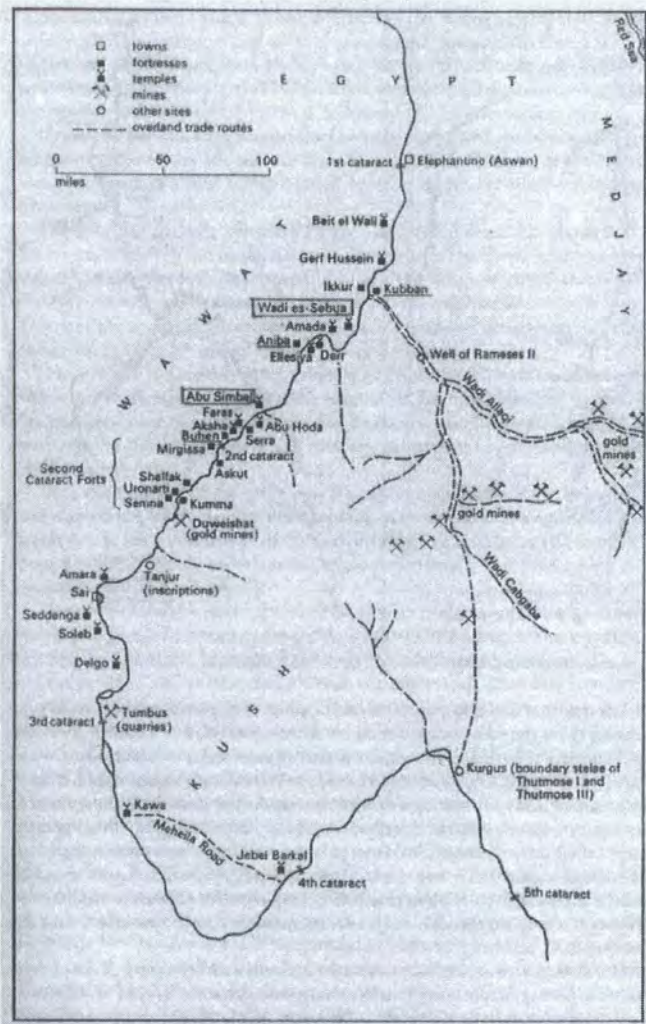


Figure 18: Map of Nubia showing the temple sites of Wadi es-Sebua and Abu Simbel, and the location of the Horus cult centres mentioned below (Source: Säve-Söderbergh 1987: fig. 6)

5.1.1 Abu Simbel (Lower Nubia)

Abu Simbel is located 280km south of Aswan, on the west bank of the Nile. The site consists of two rock cut temples, constructed in the reign of Ramesses II, referred to here as the Great Temple and the Small Temple. The Great Temple is the largest of the seven Nubian temples constructed by Ramesses II (for the dimensions and description of the Great Temple, see Habachi 1969a: 2; for the Small Temple see Desroches-Noblecourt 1968: 4-5). The original site was regarded as sacred long before Ramesses II constructed his temples here, indicated by the existence of Old and Middle Kingdom graffiti on the cliffs (Lepsius 1913 V: 167-168; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 117-118). Christophe suggests (1961: 303-304) that a cult to Horus of Meha (*mḥ*) predates the

Ramesses II temples at this location; this deity occurs in both Abu Simbel temples (see Section 5.3.1.2). In the Small Temple a number of inscriptions mention that the temple was cut into the 'Holy Mountain' (*ḏw wꜥb*; Habachi 1969a: 7; Kitchen 1996: 507, 508). In the South Chapel a text refers to Amun-Re residing in the 'Pure Mountain of Napata' (*ḏw wꜥb npt*; Kitchen 1996: 495), perhaps indicating that Abu Simbel was regarded as a 'mirror' site to the Amun-Re temple further south at Gebel Barkal.

5.1.1.1 The temples at Abu Simbel

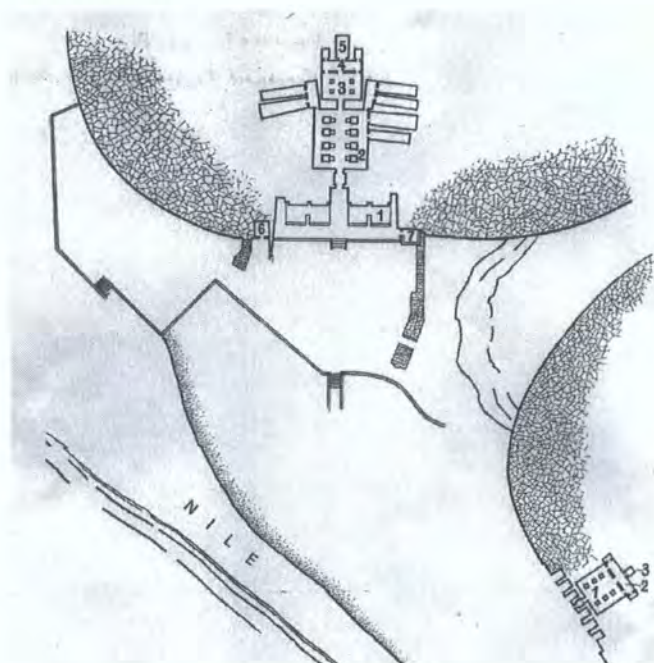


Figure 19: Plan of the temples at Abu Simbel
(Source: Fouchet 1965: 207)

The temples were rediscovered in 1813 by the Swiss traveller Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (Desroches-Noblecourt 1968: 1; Otto 1975: col. 25) and first entered in August 1817 by Giovanni Belzoni (Desroches-Noblecourt 1986: 1), after which numerous travellers made the difficult journey to the distant temples (Fouchet 1965: 206). Champollion recorded parts of the temples in his volumes *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (4 vols., 1835-1845 [1970]). In the early part of the 20th century Maspero published reports on the Nubian temples, including Abu Simbel (1911; 1912 [1920]). These reports describe the condition of the temples and the restoration work carried out

by the Antiquities Service at that time. The temples were later threatened by the construction of the High Dam at Aswan and, from 1963 to 1968, they were raised 64 metres as part of the UNESCO rescue project in Nubia (Otto 1975: col. 27; Säv-Söderbergh 1987: 64-126).

The ancient name of the Great Temple was 'The House/Estate of Ramesses Beloved of Amun (the Town)' (*Pr-R^c-ms-sw Mry Imn (p3 dmi)*; Habachi 1969a: 2; Otto 1975: col. 25). The principal gods of the temple are Re-Harakhti, Amun-Re and Ramesses II himself, who, with Ptah, are present as seated statues in the sanctuary (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 110 (115); Habachi 1969a: pl. Vb). Habachi suggests (1969a: 2) that Ramesses II is assimilated to the temple gods; Amun-Re and Ptah have the form 'of Ramesses' (*n R^c-ms-sw*; Kitchen 1982b: 177; Uphill 1984: 235-236). Ramesses II is therefore the principal deity in the temple. From an inscription on one of the rock cut stela, stela DB417, which describes the Great Temple as a 'Temple of Millions of Years' (*hwt-ntr hḥ rnpwt*) for Ramesses II, Kitchen concludes (1982b: 65; 67; 177) that the Great Temple is a memorial temple for the king under the patronage of Amun-Re and the sun god Re in his various aspects. Ramesses II is most clearly depicted as a form of Re-Harakhti in the Second Court and Sanctuary, where his bark has a hawk-headed prow (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 109 (98); 110 (114); Habachi 1969a: 4-7, figs. 4 and 5). On a pillar in the Second Hall the king as a hawk-headed god is embraced by Anukis (pillar IX; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 109; Kitchen 1996: 501). This concept is reflected on one of the stelae, DB430, found in front of the Great Temple and now in the Cairo Museum, where the Wab-priest, Huy, adores a hawk-headed god identified as Ramesses II, while his wife adores Anukis below (Maspero 1911: fig. 14).

The Small Temple is located 150m to the north of the Great Temple (Otto 1975: col. 26). It is most frequently described as being dedicated to Hathor of Ibshek (Faras) and to Queen Nefertari, the principal wife of Ramesses II (Otto 1975: col. 26; Kitchen 1982b: 66; 99). Desroches-Noblecourt, in her detailed study of the decorative scheme of the temple, proposes (1968: 109-120) that the temple celebrates the flood – Hapy – as the united male (Ramesses II) and female (Hathor-Queen Nefertari) principles, and, by association, the rejuvenation of the king. Prior to the UNESCO project, the temple was situated directly on the bank of the river, and in winter would only have been accessible by climbing across the cliff face (Desroches-Noblecourt 1968: 2) or by boat.

The exact date of the completion of the temples has caused much debate. Schmidt has noted that 'not one temple in Nubia contains a regnal date to indicate the exact time of its construction' (1973: 172). The general consensus, based on inscriptional and iconographic evidence, is that the Great Temple was completed during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹ The temple completion date is discussed in detail in *Section 5.4.3.1 (i)*, below.

Desroches-Noblecourt places (1968: 119) the start of the construction of the Small Temple at the beginning of Ramesses II's reign, a theory she supports with the extreme youth of the representations in the temple of the king and queen (1968: 119), and, more securely, with the stela of the King's Son of Kush, Yuni, carved into the rock face north of the temple façade (DB417; Desroches-Noblecourt 1968: pls. X, XX; Habachi 1969a: 11; *Appendix 11*). Yuni was in post for only one or two years at the start of the reign of Ramesses II (see *Table 37*, below). In addition, the only reference to the deified Ramesses II occurs in the Sanctuary, the last part to be completed (Habachi 1969a: 11). It is not clear whether the two temples were constructed simultaneously or consecutively.

Table 37: King's Sons of Kush during the reign of Ramesses II

(after Reisner 1920: 39-47; Raedler 2003: 132-133)

*Yuni: Seti I – Year 1-2

*Hekanakht: Year 3-24

*Paser II: Year 25-34

Huy: Year 34-38

*Setau: Year 38-63

Anhotep: Year ?

*Mernudjem: Year ?

** indicates that they feature at Abu Simbel*

5.1.2 Wadi es-Sebua (Lower Nubia)

Wadi es-Sebua is located about 150km south of Aswan at the start of a great bend in the Nile. From here, roads branched out into the desert, making it an area of strategic importance (Firth 1927: 236; Habachi 1967: 16; Helck 1975: 100). The site consists of two semi-rock cut temples, the small mudbrick construction of Amenhotep III (Firth 1927: 235-237 and pl. 3), later restored by Ramesses II (Habachi 1967: 52; Gundlach 1984: col. 768), and the larger stone construction of Ramesses II, located 200m to the north (Gauthier 1912; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 53-64; Gundlach 1984: col. 768).

5.1.2.1 The temples at Wadi es-Sebua

The large temple of Ramesses II (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 53-63) was excavated from 1909 by Alexandre Barsanti for the Department of Antiquities (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911; Gauthier 1912; Firth 1927: 236). Robert Mond uncovered the small temple of Amenhotep III (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 63-64) in the early 1900's, and cleared and recorded the paintings, before recovering the temple to preserve it. In the meantime, local villagers had heard of the temple and destroyed some of the mudbrick for *sebakh*. During the 1910-1911 season of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, the temple was once again uncovered, planned and photographed, and the finds recorded (Firth 1927: 235-237).

During the reign of Amenhotep III the small temple was dedicated to a form of Horus. In his plate list Firth suggests this was Horus of Edfu (*bḥdt*) and later, in the description of the temple, Horus of Baki (*bḥky* = Quban; 1927: 236; see also, Helck 1975: 99-100). A hawk head can be discerned under the later head of the god Amun in the wall painting at the rear of the sanctuary (Firth 1927: pl. 34). The change to Amun worship here occurred prior to the reign of Akhenaten as the figures and names of this god have been destroyed and later restored (Firth 1927: 236). The form of Amun worshipped here was Amun, 'Lord of the Ways' (*Imn nb n p3 mṯnw*; Gundlach 1984: col. 768).

The large temple of Ramesses II, called the 'Temple of Ramesses Beloved of Amun in the House of Amun' (*ḥwt-nṯr R^c-ms-sw mry Imn m pr Imn*; Habachi 1969a: 12; Helck 1975: 99; Gundlach 1984: col. 768) is dedicated to Amun-Re, Re-Harakhti and the deified Ramesses II, along with numerous other deities, particularly forms of Horus: the four hawk headed sphinxes in the Second Court represent Horus of Meha (Abu Simbel), of

Miam (*mi^cm* = Aniba), of Baki (Quban) and of Edfu (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 57 [vii-x]; Kitchen 1996: 480-481). Horus of Buhen (*bhn* = Wadi Halfa) also appears in the reliefs (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 60 (85-86)). Statues of the three principal deities were situated in the sanctuary (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 62 (122)), though they are now destroyed. The sanctuary reliefs depict Ramesses II offering to the barks of Amen-Re and Re-Harakhti, but in the accompanying text the latter is described as the bark of Ramesses II, as at Abu Simbel (Habachi 1969a pl. 17; Kitchen 1982b: 177). On the autobiographical stela of the King's Son of Kush, Setau, DB398, from the Ramesses II temple at Wadi es-Sebua, Setau describes his overseeing of its construction (see *Section 5.4.3.1 (ii)*). The temple of Ramesses II is described as being 'in the estate of Amun of Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, Lord of Ways... and Horus of Baki' (*m-s3h 'Imn n R^c-ms-sw mry 'Imn nb n p3 mtnw... hr b3ky*; Helck 1975: 91; Kitchen 2000: 65). This has been interpreted as meaning that the Ramesses II temple was built by Setau as a chapel to the cult of the living king in the estate of the existing Amenhotep III temple to Amun, Lord of the Ways, and Horus of Baki (Helck 1975: 100).

The Nubian temples of Ramesses II, where he places himself amongst the gods as the recipient of the cult, have been used as evidence for the self-deification of Ramesses II (Habachi 1969a: 1-17; see Mofteh 1985: 252-265); Kitchen has argued (1982b: 177-178), however, that these temples function as additional memorial temples to Ramesses II and as cult centres to the kingship rather than the king/Ramesses II.

The construction of the larger Ramesses II temple and the restoration of the Amenhotep III temple were most likely the work of Setau who held the post of King's Son of Kush during the latter half of the reign of Ramesses II (Reisner 1920: 44; Helck 1975: 102-112; Kitchen 1982b: 136-138; Raedler 2003: 132; see *Table 37*). Setau's autobiographical stela, DB398, is dated to year 44, first month of Peret, day 2, and states that 'I made the Temple of Ramesses II, in the House of Amun, being excavated in the Western (?) Mountain...I (re)built all the temples of this land of Kush entirely, that had formerly gone to ruin' (*lr.n.t hwt-ntr (R^c-ms-sw mry 'Imn) m pr 'Imn m šd m p3 dw imnt...kd.t r-prw nbw n t3 pn n K3š wnw w3s hr-h3t*; Kitchen 2000: 65; see also Helck 1975: 85-102). Setau also oversaw the building of the temple at Gerf Hussein where he carved his name and titles deep within the temple (Habachi 1967: 58-59; Gundlach 1984: col. 168). The numerous monuments dedicated by him, and by others including him,

discovered at Wadi es-Sebua in and around the two temples, suggest that the reference to temple building on his autobiographical stela refers to the construction and restoration work at Wadi es-Sebua (for the list of Setau's monuments from here see Habachi 1967: 59-60; a complete list of Setau's monuments can be found in Raedler 2003: 140-145). Setau's claim is supported by the stela DB400 of the *sk*-officer (for a discussion of this title, see *A Note on the Military Titles*, 2, below), Ramose, with the same date, stating that Ramesses II charged Setau with taking Libyan captives 'to build in the Temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun' (*r kd m hwt-ntr (R^c-ms-sw mry Imn) m pr Imn*; Kitchen 2000: 66; see also Helck 1975: 100; Kitchen 1982b: 138).

At Wadi es-Sebua there is little in the way of agricultural land to support a community, and the lack of known New Kingdom burials suggests that in fact there was no fixed Egyptian community living here at this period (Firth 1927: 236). There may have been a settlement in the river valley that is now lost. Habachi suggests (1967: 12) that Setau may have been stationed here with his wife Mutnofret and a company of soldiers. There are monuments from Wadi es-Sebua that include Mutnofret, including the life size dyad base discovered by Habachi in 1959 in the small temple (Habachi 1969b: 51-56) and a stela, DB405, that may have been dedicated by her (Raedler 2003: 164-167).

5.1.3 Qantir/Pi-Ramesses (Delta)

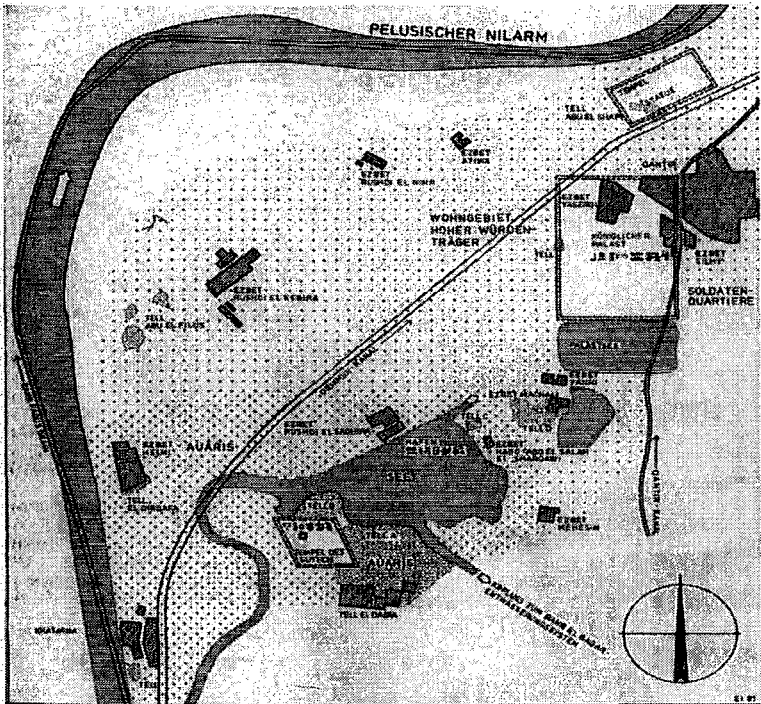


Figure 20: Plan of Pi-Ramesses (Source: Bietak 1984: 138)

Based on archaeological, textual and geographical evidence, it is now generally accepted that Qantir, located in the north-east Delta, is the site of the Ramesside capital city of Pi-Ramesses. The city covered both this area and the older Middle Kingdom and Hyksos capital, Avaris, located 2.5 km to the south at Tell ed-Dab'a (Hamza 1930: 68; Habachi 1954: 444; 557-559; 1969a: 27-28; Bietak 1981: 273-283; Bietak 1984: cols. 128-129; Uphill 1984: 1-3; Pusch 2001: 48). The archaeological evidence indicates that the complete re-planning and re-building of the whole site took place at the start of the Ramesside period (Bietak 1981: 268; Uphill 1984: 193; Pusch 2001: 48). The area had been inhabited throughout the Middle and New Kingdoms, but it was the Ramesside kings, and in particular Ramesses II, continuing the work of Ramesses I and Seti I, who enlarged and elaborated both the military capacity and cult buildings of the city. Easy access to the east and routes to the Red Sea, and possibly a canal link to the equally strategically located Tanis, at the mouth of the Tanitic Nile branch (Römer 1986: col. 195), made the location strategically important (Dörner 1999: 77). Surrounded by branches of the Nile the city had a formidable defence capability. The agricultural

hinterland provided wine, vegetables, fish and grain to the troops stationed in the city, and also supplied the Theban temples, which owned land here (Dorner 1999: 77)

In the Ramesside period, the site consisted of two major zones. The northern zone, modern Qantir, housed the palace with stables and troop accommodation, bronze, glass and other craft workshops, a central major city temple, and a number of additional temples located in and around the main temple (Kitchen 1982b: 123, fig. 40; Uphill 1984: 190-191; pls. 5 and 6; Dorner 1996; 1999: 78-79; plan 2; Aufrère and Golvin 1997: 304, 307; Pusch 2001: 48-49). Two structures called the 'Houses of the Sed-Festival', mentioned on a bronze brazier found in the tomb of Psusennes (Uphill 1984: 56; 218) and a granite block (Uphill 1984: 36; 218), from Tanis, may also have stood in the northern zone. The block inscription states that the 'great limestone temple' was located 'to the north of the Sed-Festival Houses' (Uphill 1984: 36; Kitchen 1982b: 123, fig. 40). The southern zone, modern Tell ed-Dab'a, housed the Seth temple complex (Uphill 1984: 190-193; Dorner 1999).

The city of Pi-Ramesses no longer exists. Traces of temples, palace buildings, workshops and residential areas have been found in and around Qantir and Tell ed-Dab'a, indicating a Ramesside city of up to four square miles in size (Uphill 1984: 1). The city was deconstructed by the rulers of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties to provide building material for residences and temples principally at Tanis and Bubastis (Uphill 1984: 223-224). Reconstructions of the city have been attempted by Kitchen (1982b), Uphill (1984), Dorner (1996; 1999) and Aufrère and Golvin (1997: 300-301). Dorner bases his reconstruction (1999: plans 1 and 2) on a sequence of drill cores and the archaeological fieldwork carried out by the Austrian Mission directed by Manfred Bietak, who has been working at the site of Tell ed-Dab'a since 1966 (see Uphill 1984: 1 and Pusch 2001: 48 for brief excavation histories). The site is currently under excavation by the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim and the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich, under the direction of Edgar Pusch. Pusch's recent work in the northern zone, using a caesium magnetometer (SMARTMAG SM4G Special), has revealed vast living quarters, lake beds, a harbour (?), and possibly parts of temples, palaces or administrative buildings (Pusch 1999: 13-15; 2001: 50). Kitchen and Uphill have drawn together textual evidence, such as the Hittite Treaty of Ramesses II's year 21 (Kitchen 1982b: 75) and Pap. Anastasi III (BM ESA 10246), a letter of Pabasa to his master

Amenemope, describing the city (Gardiner 1937: 21-23; Habachi 1969a: 28; Uphill 1984: 130). Other evidence has come from inscribed blocks and statuary now at Tanis and Bubastis. Reconstructions of individual temples have been attempted by Habachi (1969a: 32, fig. 20), Uphill (1984: 206-211; pls. 9-11) and Dörner (1996).

5.1.3.1 The temples at Qantir/Pi-Ramesses

Another of the Anastasi papyri, Pap. Anastasi II, 1, 4-5 and IV, 6, 4-5, describes the city of Pi-Ramesses as having a temple to Amun in the west, a temple to Seth in the south, a temple to Astarte in the east and one to Wadjet in the north (Bietak 1984: col. 135). Stela Cairo JdE 34504, discovered in 1907 at Manshiyet es-Sadr, just south of Heliopolis, dates to Ramesses II's year 8, and records the making of statues for the temples of Amun of Ramesses Mery-Amun and of Ptah of Ramesses Mery-Amun, in Pi-Ramesses (Hamada 1938: 217-230; Habachi 1954: 551-552; Uphill 1984: 191). The Hittite Treaty (Uphill 1984: 191) suggests that there were at least four main temples or complexes: Amun-Re-Harakhti-Atum, Lord of the Two Lands of Iunu; Amun of Ramesses; Ptah of Ramesses; and Seth Aphehty, son of Nut. Uphill argues (1984: 194) that these gods would all have had temples in the Ramesside period. The textual references all agree that there was a temple of Amun, the stela and Hittite treaty that there was a temple to Ptah, and the stela and Pap. Anastasi II that there was a temple to Seth.

5.1.3.1.1 The temple of Seth

Archaeological and textual evidence has proven the existence of a Seth temple or complex to the south at Tell ed-Dab'a (Bietak 1981; Dörner 1999: 81-82). A lintel from this temple (Bietak 1984: col. 139) with the name of Horemheb gives the earliest date for a New Kingdom Seth temple construction. The 400-Year Stela found at Tanis, and originally from Qantir, depicts Ramesses II in the upper register and records the 400-year anniversary of the cult of Seth of Ramesses (Bietak 1981: 270-271; 1984: cols. 129-130; Uphill 1984: 84-85; 152; 233-234; Gnirs 1996: 117; Kitchen 1996: 116-117). Bietak suggests (1981: 271) that the cult of Seth was practiced at Tell ed-Dab'a in the 13th Dynasty/Hyksos Caananite temples discovered here.

Archaeological evidence for other temples and structures from Pi-Ramesses at the site of Qantir and Tell ed-Dab'a is fragmentary.

5.1.3.1.2 *The temple of Amun-Re-Harakhti-Atum*

Combining statuary and architectural pieces with survey results and archaeological evidence, Uphill (1984: 206-211) and Dorner (1996: 70; 1999: 80; plan 2) agree that the principal temple at Pi-Ramesses was dedicated to a composite god Amun-Re-Harakhti-Atum and that it was located in the centre of the city. This is the temple that Kitchen calls the Temple of Re (1982b: 123, fig. 42).

5.1.3.1.3 *The temple of Amun of Ramesses*

Dorner suggests (1996: 79-80; Plan 2) that a structure to the north-west at Tell Abu esh-Shafei may have been the temple of Amun (of Ramesses), as mentioned in Pap. Anastasi II, 1.1-2.5 (see also Kitchen 1982b: 123, fig. 40). It was here that, in 1955, Shehata Adam discovered the base of a colossal seated statue of Ramesses II, inscribed with his cartouches and Horus name, which he estimated to have originally stood around 10m in height. Around the statue were the remains of a mudbrick floor and pylon, but the stone of the temple had been removed in antiquity (Shehata Adam 1958: 306; 318-319; Bietak 1984: col. 140). Bietak later discovered a second matching base around 40m south east of the first one (Bietak 1975: 45, pl. XLIV; Uphill 1984: 105; 156; 211).

5.1.3.1.4 *The temple of Ptah of Ramesses*

The existence of a Ptah temple in the area of Pi-Ramesses dating back to the Middle Kingdom is evident from the inscribed architectural fragments originally from the site (Uphill 1984: 211). The existence of a Ramesside cult to Ptah of Ramesses is also supported by the monumental inscriptions (Uphill 1984: 194; 212) and the textual references on the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela and the Hittite Treaty.

5.1.3.1.5 *Additional temples*

Temples to Wadjyt and Astarte, mentioned in Pap. Anastasi II, are extant only in a number of inscribed blocks, architectural fragments and some statuary (Uphill 1984: 212-213; Pusch 2001: 50). At Gezira Sama'na three km east of Tell ed Dab'a, Habachi discovered a well of Ramesses II, which he suggested may have been a temple well, together with stone fragments (Habachi 1954: 479-489). This could be the site of the Astarte temple, if this site was integrated with the city of Pi-Ramesses, and may have been the centre of an Asiatic military colony (Bietak 1984: col. 141). Kitchen places

(1982b: 123, fig. 42) a small Astarte temple next to the main city temple, and a small temple to Wadjyt (Uto) next to the Ptah temple to the north-east. Uphill has also collated (1984: 212-213) a number of inscriptions that mention or depict Monthu, Lord of Thebes, Sekhmet and Thoth, Lord of Eshmunein, and suggests (1984: 195) there may also have been temples or chapels to Houroun and Re.

5.1.4 Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (Western/Libyan Desert)



Figure 21: Location of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham
(Source: Snape 2004: 152, fig. 1)

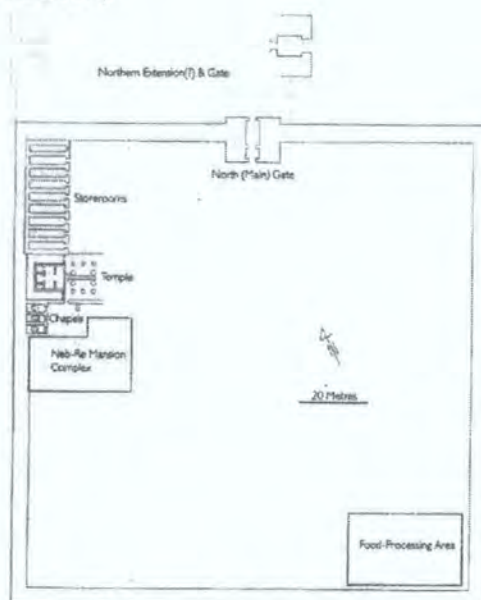


Figure 22: Plan of the temple-fort at
Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham
(Source: Snape 2003b: 66, fig. 2)

The most detailed and current publication of this site can be found at <http://www.zurdig.com> and Fiona Simpson's 2002 PhD (Liverpool). The website was created by Geoff Edwards as part of his Masters dissertation at UCL (1998-1999), with the permission of Dr. Steven Snape (the Director of the University of Liverpool's Mission to Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, 1994-present), and includes unpublished images of the site and finds, as well as a comprehensive bibliography. Fiona Simpson's unpublished PhD includes up to date descriptions of the archaeology and finds from the site.

Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham is located c. 320 km west of Alexandria, and about 25 km west of Mersa Metrouh (Habachi 1980: 13; Helck 1986: col. 845; <http://www.zurdig.com/HomeFrame.htm>; Simpson 2002: 12). The temple-fort is located on the western outskirts of the modern village, in the middle of a 2 km wide fertile coastal strip between the desert to the east and the coast to the north (<http://www.zurdig.com/IntroFrame>; Simpson 2002: 15). The site consists of a vast mudbrick rampart wall around 4-5m thick surrounding a precinct with an area of c. 20,000 m² (<http://www.zurdig.com/IntroFrame>). It contained a number of structures, including two temples.

5.1.4.1 *The temple-fort*

In 1946, Alan Rowe, the Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, visited the site of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham after being informed of the discovery of some inscribed blocks. His sketch map has been reproduced by Habachi (1980: 13; see also <http://www.zurdig.com/IntroFrame>), who excavated at the site for a number of weeks between 1952 and 1955 (Habachi 1980: 15; Snape 2004: 149). Habachi's article publishes (1980: fig. 2) the blocks found by Rowe and describes the work of clearing the temple. From 1994 the University of Liverpool has been carrying out a programme of fieldwork to 'explore the nature of Egyptian (particularly Ramesside) activity in 'Libya', and especially at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (Snape 1998: 1082; 2003a).

The Liverpool University team has uncovered a number of additional structures in the precinct (Snape 2003a: 101; 2003b: 65-69; 2003c: 2-5 and fig. 2 (plan); 2004: 149-159; <http://www.zurdig.com/IntroFrame>), and the site is now understood to include a main gateway in the wall to the north-east (Habachi's Gate B; Habachi 1980: 13); a limestone temple ('main temple') with a peristyle court, two offering rooms and a triple sanctuary; three small chapels fronted by a courtyard and covered portico, located to the west of the temple - it is from here, in the 1950s, that a number of inscribed limestone doorjambs and stelae were removed, located originally at the rear of the chapels; a smaller second temple to the east of the chapels with inscribed doorways naming the deities Ptah and Sekhmet, and the commander Nebre (*hry pdt imy-r h3swt nb-R^c*; Kitchen 1996: 294; see also Habachi 1980: 14-15; <http://www.zurdig.com/IntroFrame>) worshipping the cartouches of Ramesses II, associated elite residential and storage quarters ('Nebre temple'; Simpson 2002: 20, 72; figs. 1.3, 1.4, 3.1); nine mudbrick storage magazines north of the main temple, with inscribed limestone doorways bearing the name of Ramesses II and in one case that of the commander Nebre; a post-Egyptian occupation Libyan squatter settlement (Simpson 2002); a residential area to the south-east; and the enigmatic 'Southern Building'. This originally two storey structure was inscribed with the names of Ramesses II and the commander Nebre, and included a residential structure with a bath and toilet, and three long hallways within which stood at least four single standing stones with rounded tops and pottery around the base. It has been suggested (Snape 2003c: 5) that this may have been the commander Nebre's palace as two inscribed lintels for Nebre and his wife Meryptah were discovered here, as well as a

place of worship for non-Egyptians (Snape 2003c: 5; 2004: 151; <http://www.zurdig.com/IntroFrame>).

The site was occupied during the reign of Ramesses II. Snape suggests (Snape 2003b: 69) that the occupation dates to early in this king's reign, citing as evidence the version of the king's name which is that used at the start of his reign and the late 18th Dynasty style of the statue of Nebre from this site. There is no evidence for occupation post-Ramesses II (Kitchen 1990: 19; Snape 2003a: 104; 2003b: 69).

The temple-fort at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham forms the most distant outpost of what might have been a series of stations stretching down the western edge of the Delta and along the coast westward from modern Alexandria (Habachi 1980: 28-30; Kitchen 1982b: 71-72, 262; 1990: 18; Snape 1998: 1081; Simpson 2002: 15). The evidence for the forts has been summarised and discussed by Edwards (http://www.zurdig.com/Other_Forts_Frame.htm; see also Simpson 2002: 15), who concludes that the only certain fortified sites in this area are Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and Kom el Abqa'in. Traditional interpretations of these forts have taken them to be an early warning system that served to protect Egypt from the encroaching threat of the Sea Peoples (Habachi 1980: 28-30), or the existing Libyan threat (Snape 1998: 1083; O'Connor 1990; Kitchen 1990: 18; Spalinger 2005: 202; 235; http://www.zurdig.com/Role_Frame). Kitchen lists (1990: 17-18; see also Simpson 2002: 8) the sparse written evidence for Ramesses II in Libya, of which only one piece is dated, a stela at Aswan dated to year 2, and notes that 'our explicit written sources do not adequately reflect the nature and extent of this Egyptian presence' (1990: 18). In turn, the lack of Egyptian textual references to the Libyans has led scholars to assume that they were not a real threat (Kitchen 1990: 17-18; Spalinger 2005: 202). O'Connor's analysis (1990: 85), however, concludes that Libyan society in the later New Kingdom was organised for war (see also Spalinger 2005: 202). Libyan presence at the Egyptian border may have become more aggressive at this period as a result of climate changes and overcrowding in their homeland (Spalinger 2005: 197). It has been suggested that the incursion of new aggressive Libyan groups, such as the Libu (Rebu) and the Meshwesh, into the area traditionally inhabited by the Tjemehu/Tjehenu Libyans, was the source of the new Libyan threat to the Egyptians (Edwards http://www.zurdig.com/Role_Frame).²

Snape argues that the massive defence capability at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham was in place to safeguard wells, which are described in a fragmentary inscription on the northern face of the eastern wing of Habachi's gate B as being within a fortress in Tjemeh (Snape 1998: 1083; 2003c: 5). The wells could have supplied an Egyptian garrison in case of sieges, whilst allowing the Egyptians to control access to such a resource. The forts could easily be bypassed and so could only provide an early warning system, not withstand an attack on Egypt (Snape 1998: 1083). More recent interpretations of the forts focus on their economic function (Snape 1998: 1082; Snape 2003b: 69; 2003c: 5; 2004: 149; Edwards http://www.zurdig.com/Role_Frame). During the 1995 and 1996 seasons of the University of Liverpool's work at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham the magazines to the north of the temple were explored. The ceramic vessels found in the magazines were of non-Egyptian form, and suggest that the temple-fort had another function as a trading station or port of call for trans-Mediterranean traders (Snape 1998: 1082; 2003b; 2004: 149). Kitchen suggests (1990: 16-17) that Ramesses II constructed the Western Delta forts following the campaign of his father Seti I against the Tjehenu Libyans, recorded as part of a sequence of military victories on the north exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Porter and Moss 1972 II: 56 (169); Kitchen 1990: 17; Spalinger 2005: 187-197). This campaign, in which Ramesses II may have taken part as a prince (Kitchen 1990: 18), paved the way for Egyptian occupation and control of the Western Desert along Egypt's north-west border. It may be that the primary aim of the campaign of Seti I was to establish control of this area to access trade routes. This can be compared to the aggressive policy of the early Middle Kingdom rulers against Nubia, which led to the construction of a sequence of massive mud brick forts whose primary function was control of trade routes. An extension of this function may have been to supply the Egyptian armies, as the forts along the Ways of Horus to the East and in Nubia did (http://www.zurdig.com/Role_Frame). In terms of socio-economic activity, Edwards suggests (http://www.zurdig.com/Role_Frame) that the fort(s) may have regulated trade contacts between local Libyans and foreign merchants coming in to the North African coast.

Helck suggests (1986: col. 845) that the temple-fort may have been constructed by the army commander Nebre, whose statue was found in one of the chapels south of the temple, and whose name appears on many of the lintels and doorjambs, his own stelae

(see *The Stelae of Nebre* in Section 5.3.4.1), as well as on stela DB409 (Habachi photographs B4, B7) of a standard-bearer whose name is lost. It is not stated explicitly anywhere that this is the case. Snape and Wilson have suggested (forthcoming) that the inscription on stela DB400 of the *sk*-officer, Ramose, from Wadi es-Sebua, which records the plundering of the Land of Tjemehu (Libya) to build the 'Temple of Ramesses Beloved of Amun in the House of Amun' may in fact refer to the building of one of the Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham temples, and that this would give a date for the construction of the Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham temple as 'before year 42'; the Wadi es-Sebua stela of Ramose is dated to year 44. Their suggestion is supported by the fact that a man called Ramose also dedicated a stela at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (stela DB412; Habachi photographs B9, C31), where he has the title standard-bearer (for the association of the title Standard-bearer and *sk*-officer, see *A Note on the Military Titles*, below). An alternative interpretation (see *A Note on the Military Titles*, 2.) is that the Wadi es-Sebua stela inscription of Ramose refers to the construction of the Ramesses II temple at Wadi es-Sebua, which is explicitly designated as 'The Temple of Ramesses Beloved of Amun in the House of Amun' in a number of inscriptions (for example, in the Wadi es-Sebua temple sanctuary; Kitchen 1996: 486). The Libyans working in Nubia may have come from the southern Libyan lands in the vicinity of Wadi es-Sebua (Kitchen 1977: 221).

The extant stelae titles at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham are all military. The community at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham was therefore a military unit, stationed here for a period of time, under the command of Nebre. The depiction of two army standard-bearers on one of the stelae has lead Snape to suggest (2003a: 103) that 500 men were stationed here, as each army standard-bearer would have been in charge of 250 men (Schulman 1964: 27; Raedler 2003: 157; Spalinger 2005: 252-256).

5.2 Comparative data: data analysis

5.2.1 Number

There are 117 stelae from the four sites, broken down as follows:

Abu Simbel:	21
Qantir:	74
Wadi es-Sebua:	15
Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham:	7
Total:	117

5.2.2 Date

Appendix 10 contains the charts presenting the stelae according to dynasty and reign. *Charts A6* and *A7* divide the stelae by dynasty according to number and percentage. It should be noted here that the Qantir stelae that depict individuals offering to statues of Ramesses II have all been dated to the reign of Ramesses II on the assumption that the cults did not continue beyond the end of his reign. What is immediately apparent is that the majority of the stelae (113 = 96%) date to the 19th Dynasty, with only three (=3%) dating to the 20th Dynasty; one (= 1 %) is not assigned a dynasty. The Abu Simbel and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham stelae all date to the 19th Dynasty, with just two of the 74 Qantir stelae and one of the 15 Wadi es-Sebua stelae dating to the 20th Dynasty.

A closer look at the date of these stelae (*Charts A8* and *A9*) places 110 (94%) of the stelae in the reign of Ramesses II. Five of the stelae have specific dates:

Table 38: Dated stelae from the comparative dataset

Database number	Site	Dedicator	Date	Repository Number	Porter and Moss reference
DB394	Wadi es-Sebua	[Standard-bearer], Paherypedjet	Ramesses II, year 44, 1st Month of Peret, Day 1	JdE 41406	
DB398	Wadi es-Sebua	King's Son of Kush, Setau	Ramesses II, year 44, 1st Month of Peret, Day 2	JdE 41395	
DB400	Wadi es-Sebua	<i>sk</i> -officer, Ramose	Ramesses II, year 44, 1st Month of Peret, Day 2	JdE 41403	
DB425	Abu Simbel	King's Son of Kush, Setau	Ramesses II, year 38	Abu Simbel 24 (<i>in situ</i>)	Porter and Moss VII: 118
DB426	Abu Simbel	Ambassador to Every Land, Rekhpehtuf	Siptah, year 1	Abu Simbel South Recess (<i>in situ</i>)	Porter and Moss VII: 98 (9)

The Wadi es-Sebua dates of year 44 have provided the date of the second half of the reign of Ramesses II for the remaining undated stelae from this site. These stelae are confined to days 1 and 2 of the first month of Peret in year 44. Three of the dated stelae have texts of a commemorative nature:

- DB394 (Wadi es-Sebua), dated to the first month of Peret, day 1, refers to a royal command to the King's Son of Kush, Setau, to carry out an action, now lost (Kitchen 2000: 62);
- DB400 (Wadi es-Sebua), dated to the first month of Peret, day 2, refers to a royal command to the same man to capture Libyans for temple-building and instructs the *sk*-officer, Ramose, to raise a 'force' from the company (*sts m p3 s3*; Kitchen 2000: 66);
- DB426 (Abu Simbel) mentions a visit by Siptah to install Seti as King's Son of Kush (Kitchen 2003: 262).

Stela DB398 is Setau's autobiography (Helck 1975; Kitchen 2000: 63-65). Stela DB425 is a king smiting captives stela (see *Section 5.4.2*), with a generic hymn of praise to the king (Kitchen 2000: 63-65).

5.2.3 Compositional Form

See *Charts A10-A15* (number) and *Tables A52-A54* (percentage) in *Appendix 10*.

Of the 117 stelae, 82 are type A, 21 are type B, and 14 are type C.

Table 39: Compositional form percentages comparing the comparative dataset with the Deir el Medina dataset

Compositional form	Comparative dataset	Deir el Medina dataset
A	69%	47%
B	19%	8%
C	12%	45%

In the comparative dataset type A stelae are dominant. Type A and B stelae occur more frequently than in the Deir el Medina material.

Because the majority of the stelae date to the 19th Dynasty (*Charts A6 and A7* in *Appendix 10*), the numbers and percentages of the compositional types of the 19th Dynasty are almost identical to those of the full comparative dataset (*Charts A10 and A11* in *Appendix 10*). Given that only Qantir and Wadi es-Sebua have any stelae dating to the 20th Dynasty (Qantir: 2; Wadi es-Sebua: 1) the breakdown of compositional form by site was not divided by dynasty (see *Charts A12 to A15* in *Appendix 10*). There are striking differences in the types of stelae left at the different sites, and between these sites and the Deir el Medina material.

The type A stelae occur most frequently at Abu Simbel and Qantir. At Qantir they are dominant (64 of the 74 stelae). They do not occur at all at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, and at Wadi es-Sebua the three type A stelae form a distinct and separate group to the 12 type B stelae. This latter group, all from the Ramesses II temple, are large (68cm to 190cm tall), granite stelae, with 10 dedicated by military men and the King's Son of Kush, Setau, or Setau alone. The type A stelae, all from the Amenhotep III temple, are smaller (between 40 and 42 cm tall), and are dedicated to Amun-Re and a variety of deities. The stelae from this site illustrate the distinction that became apparent in the Deir el Medina dataset between type A (and some type C) stelae, which relate to popular

cults, and type B stelae, which relate to an official cult or event. This same phenomenon occurs at Qantir, where the majority of the stelae (65 of the 74) depict individuals before a statue of Ramesses II, which had become the focus of a popular cult.

The frequency of type B stelae has been noted above. Abu Simbel and Wadi es-Sebua provide the bulk of the type B stelae. In all but one case the intermediary is Ramesses II; on stela DB427 the intermediary is Siptah. In the Deir el Medina dataset, the unusually high occurrence of type B stelae in the reign of Ramesses II was noted: $11/22 = 50\%$. Of the 19th Dynasty examples, the figure is $11/13 = 85\%$ (see *Section 3.1.4*). The material from the comparative sites reveals that type B stelae were a feature of Ramesses II's reign. If we understand that type B stelae, in particular those with the living king as the intermediary, mark an event, a ritual action carried out by the king, then we can suggest that these type B stelae are related to a royal visit. This is supported by the existence at both sites of dated stelae that depict the king (see *Table 38*, above), and which are clearly commemorative of an event.

Type C stelae (12%) are far less frequent than at Deir el Medina, where they made up almost half the dataset (47%). The Deir el Medina dataset figures (see *Section 3.1.3*) revealed that there were relatively more type C stelae produced during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, and this was the result of the 18 stelae of this type dedicated by the Senior Scribe Ramose (i) (see *Section 3.1.6*). The percentage of type C stelae in the comparative datasets is somewhat misleading: the 10% at Abu Simbel amounts to just three stelae, and the 86% at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham amounts to six. At Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, four of the seven stelae have the smiting scene with Ramesses II while the dedicator, in military uniform holding the standard of his company, kneels below (see *Sections 5.3.4.3.1 (i)*, *5.4.2*). There is just one example of this scene on the Deir el Medina stelae, stela DB222, dedicated by Ramose (i). Again it is a type C stela, so we can say that this scene influences the format of the stelae.

5.2.4 Deities

Table 40: Recipients of the votive stelae

		Total	Abu Simbel	Qantir	Wadi es-Sebua	Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham
Kings						
Forms of Ramesses II	Statue Montu in the Two Lands	52		52		
	Living King	30	15		10	5
	Statue Re of the Rulers	2		2		
	Statue The God	2		2		
	Statue Ruler of Rulers	1		1		
	Unidentified statue	8		8		
Other Kings	Amenmesse	1	1			
	Siptah	1	1			
	Ramesses III	1		1		
Deities						
	Amun-Re	28	8	3	13	4
	Ptah	13		7	6	
Forms of Horus	Re-Harakhti	12	6		6*	
	Horus	6	4		2	
	Harmachis	1			1	
	Harsiese	1			1	
	Sobek(-Re)	5		5		
	Seth	5	1		3	1
	Thoth	4	4			
	Maat	2		1	1	
	Atum	2			2	
	Mut	2	1		1	
	Nekhbet**	2			2	
	Reshep	2		1	1	
	Renenut	2			2	
	Sekhmet	2				2
	Shepsy	2	2			
Private Individuals						
	Setau	5			5	

PLUS: One each of Anukis (Abu Simbel), Bes (Wadi es-Sebua), Hathor (Qantir), Khnum (Wadi es-Sebua), Nehmetawy (Abu Simbel), Osiris (Qantir), and Wadjyt (Wadi es-Sebua).

*Or forms of, e.g. Amun-Re-Harakhti (2), Re-Harakhti-Atum (1).

**Tentatively identified by Gauthier (1911: 66) as Osiris but more likely to be Nekhbet, who appears in the temple reliefs at Wadi es-Sebua wearing the atef-crown, for example, in the Pronaos (or Pillared Antechamber) and Antechamber (Gauthier 1912: pls. XLIX (A), LVI (A)).

As a percentage, Ramesses II, either in statue form or as a living king, receives 52% (93/192) of the dedications. Amun-Re receives 13% (25/192) compared to 19% (51/264) of the Deir el Medina stelae (20% of the Theban dataset: 65/319), and is still the largest recipient after Ramesses II. The next most frequently occurring are Ptah (13 = 7%) and Re-Harakhti (11 = 6%).

The cult of Ramesses II at these sites is evident. There is a clear separation of the statue and living cults of Ramesses II between Qantir and the other sites: the statue cults are limited to Qantir and the living cult to the other sites. The one representation of a living king at Qantir is of Ramesses III (DB390). This difference in royal statue cult and living king cult stelae is also marked by the rank of the dedicators. At the border sites the majority of the dedicators are high ranking military men; at Qantir they are lower ranking military men and individuals with priestly and administrative titles. Women also make dedications at Qantir (for a discussion of the rank of the dedicators see the individual site sections *below*). Ramesses II is the only king to feature at Wadi es-Sebua and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, and stelae to other kings are small in number at Abu Simbel and Qantir.

In comparison to the Deir el Medina material, representations of Ramesses II either as a statue or as the living king are frequent. At Deir el Medina, Ramesses II was not one of the featured deities; there are just four Deir el Medina stelae, DB52, DB221, DB222 and DB243, with representations of a statue or icon (smiting scene, cartouches) of Ramesses II, rather than the king as intermediary. The lack of representations of Ramesses II as a cult object suggests that, at Thebes, Ramesses II did not establish primary cults to himself within the domain of Amun-Re. He, instead, placed himself within communities such as Deir el Medina by means of existing popular cults, that of Amenhotep I (*Section 3.2.2.2*) and Hathor (*Section 3.2.2.5*).

As for the other deities, Amun-Re is the only god to have a significant number of representations (25 = 13%), and he is also the only god to receive cult attention across all four sites, with the most dedications at Wadi es-Sebua. Wadi es-Sebua has the most diverse number of deities; Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham the most limited. At Wadi es-Sebua it is the King's Son of Kush, Setau, who both features on many of the stelae (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911: 64; Habachi 1967: 59; Raedler 2003: 151) and who dedicates the most stelae himself, to a wide variety of deities. This phenomenon of broad dedications is comparable to the votive activity of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), at Deir el Medina, who dedicates over 21 stelae (in the dataset) to a wide variety of gods. At Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, the soldiers dedicate stelae to Ramesses II as the living king, Amun-Re, Sekhmet and Seth only (NB there are fragmentary stelae from this site not included in the dataset that have representations of the Apis Bull and Horus; Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*).

5.3 The stelae from the individual sites

5.3.1 Abu Simbel (21 stelae)

See *Appendix 13* for a list of the Abu Simbel stelae, and *Appendix 11 (CD)* for images.

5.3.1.1 The stelae

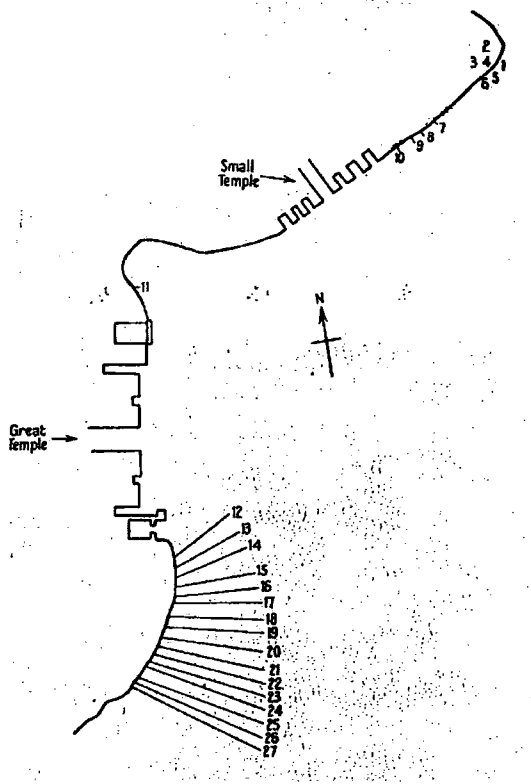


Figure 23: Location of the rock cut stelae at Abu Simbel (Source: Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 111)

There are numerous stelae and rock inscriptions carved into the cliffs north, south and between the two temples (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 117-119; Otto 1975: col. 26). These date to the Middle and New Kingdoms, with the majority dating to the reign of Ramesses II. The rock cut stelae are given the numbers 1-27 in Porter and Moss (no. 27 is two stelae; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 119), of which 15 are included in the dataset. In addition, Kitchen adds a stela which he numbers 23a (Kitchen 1996: 510), also included. Those omitted are either outside of the date range, are inscriptions or statue texts, such as that of the King's Son of Kush, Paser II (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 117 (1)), or do not retain non-royal dedicators (Abu Simbel 7, 12, 13 (see Schulman 1994: 275 (8), fig. 9), 16, 19 and 23). The dataset includes two stelae, DB426 and DB427, carved into the

walls on the north and south of the façade of the Great Temple, and three free-standing round-topped stelae: stela DB430 of the Wab-priest, Huy, discovered in front of the Great Temple, and two stelae, DB434 and DB435, belonging to the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, found in the sand between the two temples (Gauthier 1936: 50). It may be that free-standing stelae have been lost from this site given that those extant were found in the drifting sand. The stelae that remain, therefore, may not be representative of the full range of cult activity, and individuals, active at Abu Simbel.

The Abu Simbel dataset comprises 21 stelae in total. *Appendix 11* has images of 14 of the rock cut stelae *in situ*, as well as views of the stelae in the rock face.

5.3.1.2 Cult Images: possible hypostases

Ramesses II

Ramesses II's presence is writ large at Abu Simbel, his colossal statues dominating the temples. These statues, four seated in front of the Great Temple and four standing in front of the Small Temple, differentiate themselves by their names, and are found again in the form of Osiride statues within the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 100-101; 104-106; 111-113; Desroches-Noblecourt 1968 II: pls. VI, VII, IX; Habachi 1969a: 3, 8-11). Within the temples Ramesses II interacts with the gods as dedicator and deity (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 95-117). The majority of the stelae (18/21) include Ramesses II in some form.

Horus

The local god at Abu Simbel was a form of Horus, known as Horus, 'Lord of Meha', who is mentioned on stela DB416 of the First Royal Cupbearer, Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed, when he describes the construction of the temples. On this stela, Ramesses II is said to have performed 'benefactions for his father, Horus, Lord of Meha, in making for him his Temple of Millions of Years, it being excavated in the Mountain of Meha' (*m irt 3ḥw n it.f hr nb mh3 m irt n.f ḥwt.f m ḥḥ m rnpwt m šd m dw n mh3*; Kitchen 2000: 142). Kitchen states (1982: 67) that Meha was the name of the south bluff into which the Great temple was cut, and Ibshek the name of the north bluff, into which the Small temple was cut. Horus, 'Lord of Meha', is depicted as a hawk-headed man in the Pillared Hall of the Small temple, on the right of the entrance, with Ramesses II smiting enemies before him

(Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 114 (21); Desroches-Noblecourt 1968 II: pls. XXXV, XXXVI). He is represented in a number of places in the Great temple (for example, on a stela of Ramesses II in the South Recess of the Terrace (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 98 (10)), on an Osiride pillar in the Great Hall (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 105 (VII)) and in the doorway to the Vestibule (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 110 (104))). Hathor of Ibshek appears in both temples (for example, at Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 105 I (a) in the Great temple and throughout the Small temple; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 111-117; Desroches-Noblecourt 1968). Other local Nubian forms of Horus occur throughout the temples: of Buhen, Miam and Baki.

5.3.1.3 *Cult images on stelae*

5.3.1.3.1 *Ramesses II (15)*

Stelae DB416-DB419, DB421-DB423, DB425, DB428-DB433, DB436

Of the 21 stelae in the dataset from Abu Simbel, 18 date to the reign of Ramesses II, and 15 of these are dedicated to Ramesses II; the three remaining stelae include him in some form: DB420 has Ramesses II mediating between the King's Son of Kush, Mernudjem, and Thoth, Re-Harakhti and Shepsy; DB434 and DB435 are identical stelae recording a land endowment for a form of Amun, and depict the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, adoring Amun-Re who gives blessings to Ramesses II, not depicted (Gauthier 1936: 49-69 and pl. III).

Of the 15 stelae dedicated to Ramesses, only 10 have published images. The stelae themselves are difficult to view at the site due to their location well above eye level in the cliff face. *Appendix 11* includes images of two of the unpublished stelae, DB419 and DB423. The stelae dedicated to the king can be divided into the following groups:

(i) Individuals greeting the king (4)

DB416-DB419

The four stelae represent high ranking individuals bending forward and holding one hand out towards the seated king. This is the iconographic representation of the direct reception of a royal command. It informs the 'reader' of the stela that the individual represented has conversed with the king. The gesture encodes access to the king, and

indicates the high social status of the dedicator. It is not necessary to read the actual message in the hieroglyphic text to receive this information.

Form and epithets

The king is shown seated on a throne wearing either the blue crown (DB418, DB419), or the Swty-crown (ram horns and double plumes flanked by uraei, DB417; including the atef crown, DB416; Goebis 2001: 323). It may be that the plumed crowns on the stelae are meant to represent the same crown, the Swty-crown worn by the northern-most Small temple façade statue (*Figure 24, below*, Desroches-Noblecourt 1968 II: pls. X, XI).



Figure 24: The northern colossi of the Small temple at Abu Simbel and stela DB417 of the King's Son of Kush, Yuni (Photograph: K.M.Exell)

The king usually holds emblems of kingship, that is the crook, flail, ankh-sign, and, on DB419, a sceptre. On DB416 and DB418 his throne base depicts bound enemies. The king's epithets describe him as 'The Perfect God, Son of Re' (nTr nfr sA R'; DB416 and DB417) and 'Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Appearances' (nb tAwy nb xaw; DB418 and DB419).

Rank and compositional form

Three of the stelae are dedicated by the highest ranking men in Nubia, the King's Son of Kush (DB417-DB419); DB416 is dedicated by the First Royal Cupbearer of his Majesty, Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed. They are all type A stelae.

Stelae DB416 and DB417 are located north of the entrance to the Small temple, next to each other (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112). DB416 of the First Royal Cupbearer, Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed, describes the construction of a temple in the Mountain of Meha. The stela also states that Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed was 'charged to reorganize the land of Kush anew' (*ht rdt m-hr-n r spd t3 n K3š m m3w[t]*; Kitchen 2000: 141-142). It is carved next to stela DB417 of the King's Son of Kush, Yuni, which abuts the façade of the temple (see *Figure 24, above*). Both stelae may relate to the northernmost colossal statue of Ramesses II which wears the *šwty*-crown, though the statue is standing rather than seated, or they may depict the living king. They may have been carved at the same time, at the start of Ramesses II's reign, when construction of the Small temple (or both temples) began.

Stelae DB418 and DB419 belong to the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, and are located south of the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112). Ramesses II wears the blue crown on both stelae. The stelae record speeches of the king: DB418, 'You are a truly reliable [man], useful to his lord!' (*ntk wy rmt mti m3c 3h n nb.f*; Kitchen 2000: 53); DB419, 'Montu praises you and the Spirit of the Pharaoh, LPH, praises you! One is con[tent concerning?] the temple that you have (re?) made' (*Mntw hs tw k3 n pr-c3 'nh wd3 snb [hs] tw tw h[rw] [...] hwt irr.k*; Kitchen 2000: 53). This suggests that the representation is of the living king and not of a statue. On stela DB97 from Deir el Medina depicting the Royal Scribe and Royal Butler, Hori, greeting Ramesses IV with the same gesture, the text records Hori's royal message of the reward for the Foreman, Anhurkhawy (ii), for completing the royal tomb (Janssen 1963: 64-70; see *Section 4.2.3.3.1*).

(iii) *The King Smiting (1)*

DB425

DB425 of the King's Son of Kush, Setau, depicts the king smiting enemies before deities.

Form and epithets

Stela DB425 is the largest stela at Abu Simbel, measuring seven metres high and five metres wide. It is a double stela depicting, on the left, Ramesses II smiting a foe before Horus, and on the right, the same action before Amun-Re. Amun-Re is 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' (*nb nswt t3wy*); Horus is 'Lord of Buhen'. The King is 'Lord of the Two Lands' (*nb t3wy*) and 'Lord of Appearances' (*nb h'w*). On the left, the king wears a nemes headdress with double plumes, and on the right the blue crown. The text identifies the captives before Amun-Re as the 'chiefs of miserable Kush' (*wrw nw K35 hsy*; Kitchen 2000: 71), though they look like Asiatics. The similar looking captives on the left are not identified.

The smiting scene is also present in both temples, on the right and left interior walls flanking the doorway of the First Hall. On the left in both temples, Amun-Re presents the sword while the king smites a Nubian captive (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 102 (38); 113 (15)). On the right in the Small temple, the king smites an Asiatic captive before Horus, 'Lord of Meha' (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 114 (21)). On the right in the Great temple, he smites a Libyan before Re-Harakhti (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 101 (37)). The scene is repeated on the gateway in the enclosure wall (before Amun-Re (?)) (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 97 (1)).

Rank and compositional form

Setau was the King's Son of Kush during the latter half of the reign of Ramesses II, years 38-63 (see *Table 37*, above), and maintained a significant presence in Nubia and Upper Egypt evidenced through his many monuments (Habachi 1967; Helck 1975: 111-112; Raedler 2003). DB425 is a type C stela, as are all known smiting stelae (see Schulman 1994; Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*). These smiting stelae were set up by defined groups of individuals, who have in common their high/military rank. The smiting

scene as a stela representation is not available to all and encodes social status (see *Section 5.4.2*).

The stela of Setau is not identical to the temple representations of this scene, but comes closest to that in the Small temple, and is oriented as if the observer were looking at the scenes from within the temple, looking out. This scene, and the scene of the king crushing Hittite captives under his chariot on stela DB429 (*Section 5.3.1.3.1 (ii)*), copy Abu Simbel temple reliefs and place them in publicly accessible areas. Such stelae indicate that the dedicator had access to the interior of the temple, and royal sanction to reproduce royal texts and images. In addition, Raedler notes (2003: 151) that the double stela is a royal prerogative, indicative of Setau's status.

Stela DB424, dated to the reign of Amenmesse (Schulman initially dated this stela to Seti II; 1994: 271), depicts the smiting scene. The stela is dedicated by the Deputy of Wawat, Mery, and depicts the king smiting a Nubian (?) captive before Amun-Re. The stela is located just north of that of Setau (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112), and may be a copy of the right side of this stela, or of the scene found in both temples. There are in addition two more smiting scene stelae at Abu Simbel, AS12 and AS13, not included in the dataset due to their poor condition (see *Appendix 11*).

(iv) Ramesses II in temple scenes (5)

DB421, DB422, DB428, DB430, DB436

On these five stelae the king is represented as an object of worship, as his deified self, and is shown in the company of deities who appear in the temples. He is seated or standing with groups of the following deities: Thoth, Amun-Re, Re-Harakhti, Shepsy, Nehemtawy and Horus.

Form and epithets

The king wears the blue crown (DB428), the nemes headdress with sun disc (DB421) (a deified form that occurs frequently at Wadi es-Sebua (see, for example, Gauthier 1912: pl. LV (A); pl. LXII (A); *Section 5.3.2.2*), and is hawk-headed (DB430). There are no published images or photographs of DB422 and DB436. The hawk-headed form of Ramesses II is the form of the deified king peculiar to Abu Simbel, and occurs on a pillar in the Second Hall where the king as a hawk-headed god is embraced by Anukis (pillar

IX; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 109; Kitchen 1996: 501) and on the bark of the king in the Second Hall and Sanctuary of the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 109 (98); 110 (114); Habachi 1969a: 4-5, figs. 3 and 4). The deified king has no epithets.

Rank and compositional form

The stelae are dedicated by the King's Son of Kush, Hekanakht, and by four individuals of lower rank: a Scribe, a Wab-priest and two Stablemasters. The Scribe, Wab-priest and one Stablemaster dedicate type A stelae, the other two, type B. The location of the stelae and their compositional form are informative with regard to the function of the stelae.

The two type B stelae, DB421 and DB422, are located next to each other south of the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112). The stela of Hekanakht, DB421, is discussed below in *Section 5.4.3.1(i)*, in relation to its possible depiction of the inauguration of one of the temples. It may be that the Stablemaster, Iwefenamun, was present at and involved in this same royal visit, and was granted the special privilege of a rock cut stela at Abu Simbel. It may also indicate the high status of the rank of stablemaster in a society where horses were the privilege of the few, and limited to royal and military use. These stelae are commemorative.

The type A stela, DB436, is located to the south of the temples. It commemorates a group of deities - Thoth, Re-Harakhti and Shepsy - also found on stela DB420 of the King's Son of Kush, Mernudjem (see *Sections 5.3.1.3.1 (vi)*, *5.3.1.3.3*). Kitchen describes (1996: 510) the position of the king as seated in the upper register, indicating that the king is not acting as a mediator. Stela DB428 is located in the northernmost group of rock-cut stelae (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112). DB430 of the Wab-priest, Huy, is a free standing round topped stela which was found at the north end of the façade of the Great temple. It is tempting to link stela DB430 with the Sun Chapel (North Chapel; Maspero 1911; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 99-100) which is dedicated to the various aspects of the sun god, including Thoth and Re-Harakhti (=Ramesses II). It may be that Huy served as a wab-priest for the sun cult in this chapel. His wife Tabes is a Chantress and is depicted with her sistrum before a form of Anukis described as 'of Amun of Hery' (*n imnhri*), possibly a local form of the deity (Valbelle 1981: 109). The Scribe, Hatiay (DB428), worships the deities of the temple proper, and their inclusion on his rock cut

stela, despite its distant location, suggests a certain status. There is a deputy known as Hatiay who left an inscription at Wadi el-'Allaqi (Kitchen 2000: 80), who may be the same man in later life.

(v) *The king as a cartouche* (3)

DB431-DB433

Form and epithets

On stela DB431 the cartouche is placed before the figure of the Horus falcon as an isolated icon and focus of the worship (see *Section 5.3.1.3.2*, below). On stelae DB432 and DB433 the cartouche forms part of the dedicatory text. The king's name has no epithets.

Rank and compositional form

DB431 is dedicated by a Troop Commander (see Schulman 1964: 53-64 for a discussion of this title), DB432 by a Temple Scribe and DB433 by a First God's Servant. They are all type A, and were carved into the cliff face at the most distant northern (DB431) and southern (DB432 and DB433) locations flanking the temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112).

DB432 and DB433 are inscriptions giving praise to Ramesses II with a representation of the dedicator in the centre. This representation can be interpreted as the determinative for the text, where the dedicator's name is the last word in the text. More dramatically, the temple façade with its colossal statues of the king can be regarded as the equivalent of a stela scene as the stelae are oriented towards the façade. Stela DB431 can be interpreted in two ways: as a representation of one of the falcon statues that stand in front of the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 98; Fouchet 1965: pls. 116, 123, 127), and, on a more complex level, as a symbolic representation of the carving of a temple of Ramesses II, represented by the cartouche, in the sacred Mountain of Meha, represented by the Horus falcon.

(vi) *Stelae dating to Ramesses II but not dedicated to him (3)*

DB420, DB434, DB435

Stela DB420 depicts Ramesses II offering to Thoth, Re-Harakhti and Shepsy on behalf of the King's Son of Kush, Mernudjem, whose time in post remains unknown (Raedler 2003: 133). Stelae DB434 and DB435 are identical round-topped, free-standing stelae depicting the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, adoring Amun-Re who praises Ramesses II (not depicted). These stelae record the endowment of some land for the cult of a form of Amun-Re (Gauthier 1936: 49-69). The stelae may have been boundary stelae, set up to mark the extent of the land; their lower portions are bare and unfinished, indicating that they were set into the ground. They are almost identical, leading Gauthier to suggest (1936: 53) that the speech of Amun may continue from one to the other. The form of Amun is that of the god of Faras (Gauthier 1936: 54), located south of Abu Simbel. It is not clear why they are at Abu Simbel, unless they act as a record of the endowment at the official state centre in Nubia. This was the place where, later, the Vizier Seti (r. Siptah) recorded his appointment, and the King's Sons of Kush may have set up stelae here to mark their appointment (see *Section 5.4.3.2*).

5.3.1.3.2 Horus (4 stelae)

DB428, DB431, DB432, DB436

Form and epithets

Four forms of Horus appear on the stelae, the local Nubian forms, 'Lord of Buhen', 'Lord of Miam' and 'Lord of Meha' (two occurrences), and Horus, 'Lord of the Two Lands, Great God, Lord of Wenet' (*nb t3wy ntr ʕ3 nb wnt*).

Horus, 'Lord of Meha', appears as a falcon (DB431) and a falcon-headed man (DB428), both wearing the double crown. Horus, 'Lord of Miam', is also a falcon-headed man wearing the white crown on DB428. Horus, 'Lord of Buhen', is the focus of the text dedication on DB432. Horus, 'Lord of the Two Lands, Great God, Lord of Wenet' (DB436), appears on the lower register below Thoth, Re-Harakhti, Shepsy, Nehmet(awy) and seated king. The Horus deities have no additional epithets.

Rank and compositional form

The stelae are dedicated by a Troop Commander, who also uses the title or epithet Follower of his Lord, a Stablemaster and two Scribes, one of whom is a temple scribe. They can all be classified as type A. Stela DB432 is an elaborate inscription with no

representation of the deity (see *Section 5.3.1.3.1 (v)*). The stelae have in common their relatively distant location from the temples. For example, DB428 and DB431 are in the northernmost area of inscriptions north of the Small temple and DB432 and DB436 are located in the southernmost group south of the Great temple (see Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 112; Kitchen 2000: 510).

The relatively distant stelae locations, together with the use of type A compositions, suggests that the cult of Horus, in his different forms, was a popular one at Abu Simbel. This is supported by the existence of an original cult of Horus in this location, prior to the construction of the state temples, which then incorporated the deity (see *Sections 5.1.1, 5.3.1.2*). This cult is not patronised by the King's Sons of Kush.

5.3.1.3.3 Amun-Re (8), Re-Harakhti (5)

DB420, DB421, DB424, DB425, DB426, DB427, DB428, DB434-DB436

These two deities appear four times together on the same stela (underlined stelae, above), with the reigning king. Re-Harakhti has no stelae to himself alone whereas Amun-Re has three: DB434 and DB435 are the land endowment stelae of the King's Son of Kush, Paser II (see *Section 5.3.1.3.1 (vi)*); stela DB426 commemorates the installation of the Vizier, Seti, in year 1 of Siptah. We can conclude that there is no cult to either of these gods as individual deities. These are the state deities also celebrated in the Ramesses II temple at Wadi es-Sebua.

5.3.1.3.4 Stelae not dating to the reign of Ramesses II (3)

DB424, DB426, DB427

Stela DB424 (r. Amenmesse) has been discussed above in *Section 5.3.1.3.1 (iii)*. Stelae DB426 and DB427, located in the recesses north and south of the entrance to the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 96; 98-99, (9), (11)) record the installation of the Vizier, Seti, in year one of Siptah and a visit of Siptah to the temple during Seti's period of service; these two events may have taken place at the same time (Kitchen 2003: 262-263). These stelae are commemorative and are dedicated to Amun-Re, Mut, Re-Harakhti, Seth and Siptah.

5.3.1.4 *The offerings*

The stelae in the Abu Simbel subset are characterised by a lack of offerings. On stela DB421, of Hekanakht, both registers have offering tables which appear, from Champollion's drawing (1835-1845 [1970] I: pl. IV (3)) and the stela itself (*see Appendix 11*), to be stylized and elaborate versions of the offering table with the water pot and lotus (upper register) and a loaded offering table in the lower register. The water pot and lotus appear on the two land endowment stelae of Paser II, DB434 and DB435. On DB427 Siptah offers incense.

The general lack of offerings indicates that the majority of the stelae set up at Abu Simbel represent individuals present at official, rather than popular, ceremonies, in which they may have participated only aurally and/or orally (*see Section 4.2.2*).

5.3.2 Wadi es-Sebua (15 stelae)

See *Appendix 13* for a list of the Wadi es-Sebua stelae.

5.3.2.1 The stelae

In clearing the First Court of the Large temple with its avenue of sphinxes the excavators Barsanti and Gauthier found 11 stelae (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 55), now in the Cairo Museum, seven of which were discovered *in situ* leaning against the mudbrick wall of the first court (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911: 64 and pl. V). A twelfth stela, DB403, has been provenanced to this site (Gauthier 1912: 37 [5]). Amongst the finds from the Small Temple were eight sandstone stelae, and one of steatite (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 63-64), which were published by Firth (1927: 237, and fig. 10; pl. 27 (f)) together with material from Quban, but without stating which stelae came from which site. Habachi published (1960: 45-52) five of the stelae as being definitely from Wadi es-Sebua, now in the Aswan Museum, and of these the three of Ramesside date have been included in the dataset (DB404-DB406).

The Wadi es-Sebua subset comprises 15 stelae in total.

5.3.2.2 Cult Images: possible hypostases

The original gods of Wadi es-Sebua were Amun, 'Lord of the Ways', and Horus, 'Lord of Baki', to whom the Amenhotep III temple was dedicated (Gundlach 1984: col. 768), and to which temple Ramesses II's temple was affiliated (see *Section 5.1.2.1*). When Ramesses II built here, he dedicated his temple in part to a deified form of himself, and as such he appears on ten of the stelae.

Ramesses II

The reliefs in the Pronaos (Pillared Vestibule) of the Ramesses II temple depict Ramesses II wearing the nemes-headdress with double plumes and horns (for example, Gauthier 1912: pl. XLIX), and in the Antechamber and the rooms flanking the Sanctuary most frequently the nemes-headdress with modius and sun-disc (for example, Gauthier 1912: pl. LV (A); pl. LXII (A)). He is also shown in the antechamber wearing the nemes-headdress with the double crown (Gauthier 1912: pl. LVI (A)) or simply the nemes-headdress (Gauthier 1912: pl. LVII (A)). On the stelae the deified Ramesses II wears

either the blue crown when in a palanquin (for example, stela DB392), or the modius and sun disc when not (for example, stela DB399).

The temple of Ramesses II retains extensive statuary in the form of four standing statues of Ramesses II and fourteen sphinx statues: two large and two small of Ramesses II outside the temple entrance; six of Ramesses II for Amun-Re in the First Court, and four of forms of Horus in the Second Court (Gauthier 1912: pls. I-XII; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 55-57; Kitchen 1996: 479-481). The Ramesses II statues are called 'Ramesses Meryamun in the House of Amun' (*R^c-ms-sw mry 'Imn m pr 'Imn*; Kitchen 1996: 479, 481). Unlike the statues at Qantir, the statuary is not represented on the stelae, and there is no evidence that they were the focus of cult attention.

Amun, 'Lord of the Ways' (*nb n p3 mtnw*)

The temple of Amenhotep III retains only the sanctuary images of Amun-Re where he has the epithet Lord of the Sky (*nb pt*) (Firth 1927: pl. 34). Other epithets are not clear.

Other hypostases must be reconstructed from the images on stelae as there is no clear evidence for cult attention at any particular reliefs or statues.

5.3.2.3 Cult images on stelae

The deities represented on the stelae from the Ramesses II temple have been collated from Barsanti and Gauthier's publication (1911) and Kitchen's translation (2000) of the texts.

It should be noted, that there is a clear distinction between the stelae from the Ramesses II temple, which are all type B and have Ramesses II as the intermediary, and those from the Amenhotep III temple, which are all type A. The dedicators of the stelae from the Ramesses II temple contribute to the coherency of this group: ten are dedicated by the King's Son of Kush, Setau, alone or with colleagues. Four are dedicated by army Standard-bearers, three of whom include Setau in the dedicatory texts. The twelfth stela is dedicated to Thoth by the Sculptor, Pentaweret. Habachi suggests (1967: 59) that this may be the man responsible for carving the other eleven stelae. This coherency renders a discussion of rank and compositional form of the stelae from the Ramesses II temple almost redundant, so these sections have been kept brief

with a note of anything exceptional. The dedicators of the three stelae from the Amenhotep III temple are more diverse, and are discussed in the relevant sections.

A note on the military titles

1. Army standard-bearers

The rank and role of the army standard-bearer has been discussed by Helck (1939), Faulkner (1941), Schulman (1964), Yoyotte and Lopez (1969), Gnirs (1996), Raedler (2003) and Spalinger (2005), amongst others.

The Egyptian title is *ḥy(ty) sryt* (Faulkner 1941: 13; Schulman 1964: 69; Yoyotte and Lopez 1969: 8; Raedler 2003: 157). The standard-bearer on stelae is depicted holding the standard, a tall pole with a square at the top, which may include the name or emblem of the company to which he belonged (Faulkner 1941: 12-13).

Schulman argues (1964: 71) that there is no direct evidence to support the idea that the man with the title 'standard-bearer' actually carried the standard. The role of the standard-bearer was commander of a company (Schulman 1964: 71; Raedler 2003: 157). Each army company consisted of 250 men (Schulman 1964: 27; Raedler 2003: 157; Spalinger 2005: 252-256). Raedler suggests that, as four standard-bearers are recorded on the stelae from the Large temple at Wadi es-Sebua, there were 1000 men (4 x 250) stationed here. The standard-bearer had the additional responsibilities of conscripting soldiers and carrying out magisterial functions (Schulman 1964: 71).

There is some disagreement about the rank of the standard-bearer. Schulman (1964: 70), with Yoyotte and Lopez (1969: 8), argue that he is the same rank as a troop commander, and in fact was a troop commander who may have had the additional duties associated with the standard, or that this may have been an honorific title. Faulkner (1941: 17), after Helck (1939: 37) places him subordinate to a troop commander. Gnirs describes (1996: 163) standard-bearers as being the lowest members of the officer corps.

2. sk-officer

The transliteration *sk* for the title of Ramose on stela DB400 is taken from Kitchen (2000: 66), where he does not offer a translation. Raedler transliterates (2003: 157) the title as

s3kw, again without a translation, but groups Ramose with the standard-bearers, although he is not depicted holding a standard. The hieroglyphs, which are not entirely clear, may be  or . Such a word does not appear in Hannig (2001). Schulman lists (1964: 57-58) a *skt* but does not give the hieroglyphs. He translates the word as 'assault officer', relating the title to *skt*, 'battle-line', and *ski*, 'to destroy', and suggests that this is a functional title of a man who may also have held the title standard-bearer. It indicates the standard-bearer's role of leading the foremost battle-lines (Schulman 1964: 58). This is supported by the Wadi es-Sebua stelae where the *sk*-officer Ramose dedicates stelae alongside the standard-bearers. Snape and Wilson (forthcoming) argue that this Ramose may be the same as the Standard-bearer, Ramose, on stela DB421 from Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (see Section 5.1.4.1). Schulman has only 18th and 20th Dynasty sources for the title (1964: 161). In their critique of his work, Yoyotte and Lopez disagree (1969: 6) with Schulman, and state that the *skt*-officer is more likely to be a military policeman, but give no references.

The stelae can be divided into two groups, those dedicated at the Ramesses II temple (12) and those dedicated at the Amenhotep III temple (3).

5.3.2.3.1 *The stelae from the Ramesses II temple*

The stelae dedicated at the Ramesses II temple form a coherent group: they are all large rectangular granite stelae of compositional form B, with Ramesses II as intermediary to himself as Ramesses II 'in the House of Amun' (*R^c-ms-sw mry 'Imn m pr 'Imn*) in nine cases, to Ramesses II, 'Lord of Appearances' (*R^c-ms-sw mry 'Imn nb h^cw*) once, to Ptah-Tatonen and Harsiese once, and to Thoth once (with two other deities, lost). On ten of these stelae the King's Son of Kush, Setau, features, either as the sole dedicator (four times) or with high-ranking colleagues as co-dedicator and/or recipient of the benefits (six times).

The main deity at the Ramesses II temple is Ramesses II 'in the House of Amun'. Amun-Re, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' (*nb nswt t3wy*), and Re-Harakhti only appear on stelae featuring this god, indicating that they do not have their own cults.

5.3.2.3.1.1 *Ramesses II 'in the House of Amun' (9) + Ramesses II, 'Lord of Appearances' (1)*

DB392-DB397, DB399, DB400, DB403; DB398

All the stelae that depict Ramesses II as a recipient of worship are from the Ramesses II temple.

Form and epithets

The form of Ramesses II receiving cult attention at Wadi es-Sebua has the epithet 'in the House of Amun' on nine occasions. On the Ramesses II 'in the House of Amun' stelae the deified king is shown three times in a palanquin in the company of three other deities and four times standing with two other deities. On two occasions he is simply mentioned in the text. On the Ramesses II, 'Lord of Appearances', stela, DB398, the deified king is enthroned, alongside Amun-Re, Mut and Maat.

In the palanquin, the deified king appears to be wearing the blue crown. On stela DB399 of the Overseer of God's Servants, Mernudjem, with Setau, the king wears the nemes headdress with a sun disc. This is identical to representations of the deified king in the reliefs in the Antechamber of the Ramesses II temple (see *Section 5.3.2.2*). The representation of the three gods in the upper register of this stela is similar to a relief in the Ramesses II temple Antechamber, west wall, where Ramesses II offers wine to Amun-Re, the deified Ramesses II and Mut, all enthroned (Gauthier 1912: pl. LV (A); Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 60 (87), with Khons listed instead of Ramesses II). Ramesses II is shown here wearing the nemes headdress with a disc on a modius. In the relief, Mut wears the double crown; on the stela Horus, 'Lord of Buhen', takes her place in this crown. Horus, 'Lord of Buhen', appears elsewhere in the Antechamber in the double crown (Gauthier 1912: pl. LIV (A); Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 60 (86)), as does Ptah (Gauthier 1912: pl. LIV (B); Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 60 (84)), who also appears on stela DB399.

Stela DB397 has lost part of the upper register, but could be reconstructed as Amun-Re, the deified Ramesses II, and Mut (named as Renenut), in which case the representation would match exactly representations of these deities in the temple (for example, on the south wall of the South-West Room; Gauthier 1912: pl. LXIII (A); Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 62 (126)).

Rank and compositional form

As all the stelae come from the Ramesses II temple, they are all type B and have Ramesses II as the intermediary. The stelae also feature the associated state deities of Amun-Re and Re-Harakhti. The King's Son of Kush, Setau, features on nine of the Ramesses II stelae: he dedicates three, and appears on six either just in the dedicatory text or is represented. Stela DB396 of the Standard-bearer, Iuy, does not include Setau.

5.3.2.3.1.2 Amun-Re, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' (6 definite, including 1 from the Amenhotep III temple; 3 possible)

DB392, DB394-DB396, DB398, DB405; DB393, DB397, DB399

Form and epithets

Amun-Re is represented six times on the Ramesses II temple stelae as 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' (*nb nswt t3wy*). There are two unidentified forms, DB393 and DB397, and on stela DB399 Amun-Re has the epithet 'Lord of the Sky' (*nb pt*).

Rank and compositional form

The stelae from the Ramesses II temple are the same stelae as those discussed in *Section 5.3.2.3.1.1*, above.

The Amun-Re stelae support the conclusion that Amun-Re, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands', was the god of the Ramesses II temple, and Amun, 'Lord of the Ways', was the original god of the Amenhotep III temple. By the Ramesside period the Amenhotep III temple had become a centre for popular worship.

Stela DB405 of Mutnofret

Stela DB405 is the only stela from the Amenhotep III temple depicting Amun, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands'. It is compositional type Aiv, that is, there are deities on both of the registers. It is the only stela dedicated by a woman in the Wadi es-Sebua group. Mutnofret has been identified as the wife of the King's Son of Kush, Setau (Habachi 1967: 56; Raedler 2003: 164-167). Mutnofret's stela also depicts an unnamed hawk-headed deity, presumably Re-Harakhti, in the upper register. It is worth noting that stela DB406 depicts a similar scene of Amun seated opposite a god identified as Seth, and it may be that the hawk-headed deity is in fact the beaked Seth. Mutnofret adores Ptah, Wadjyt and Khnum in the lower register. This is illustrative of the gender-related

constraints on cult access. Mutnofret depicts the deities of the Ramesses II temple, by this period the major active temple at Wadi es-Sebua, but dedicates the stela at the Amenhotep III temple, by then a centre for popular worship, and only shows herself having direct access to the 'lesser' hypostases of Ptah, Wadjyt and Khnum.

5.3.2.3.1.3 Horus (2 stelae = 4 occurrences)

DB399, DB403

Horus appears relatively infrequently given that, in the form 'Lord of Baki' (Quban) he was one of the original gods of the area. He may have featured in the small temple (see *Section 5.3.2.2*), and he appears in various local regional forms within both temples. Both of the stelae are from the Ramesses II temple.

Form and epithets

On stela DB399 Horus is represented as a hawk-headed man wearing the double crown and has the epithet 'Lord of Buhen'. He is represented alongside Amun-Re and Ramesses II, with Ptah in a shrine in the lower register (see *Section 5.3.2.3.1.1*). On stela DB403, three forms of Horus are mentioned in the text: Horus 'of Baki', 'of Miam' and 'of Buhen', all of whom are gods with hypostases in the Ramesses II temple – they are either represented by a hawk-headed sphinx in the Second Court of the temple (Gauthier 1912: pl. IV (B); Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 57 [vii-x]), or by reliefs at other locations within the temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 60-61).

Rank and compositional form

The two stelae with representations or texts including Horus are type B stelae and are dedicated by the Overseer of God's Servants, Mernudjem, with the King's Son of Kush, Setau (DB399), and by Setau alone (DB403). Setau's stela is dedicated primarily to Renenut and Ramesses II, and lists three forms of Horus, 'of Baki', 'of Miam' and 'of Buhen', in the text. Mernudjem's stela is dedicated to Amun-Re, Ramesses II 'in the House of Amun' and Horus, 'Lord of Buhen', and, in the second register, to Ptah.

5.3.2.3.1.4 Ptah (5 + stela DB405 of Mutnofret from the Amenhotep III temple)

DB392, DB393, DB396, DB399, DB401; DB405

Form and epithets

Ptah has his usual iconography, appears standing, and can be shown in a shrine. Where his epithets are retained he is called 'Lord of Truth' (*nb m3^ct*), plus 'King of the Two Lands' (*nsw ỉwy*) once, and 'Lord of the Sky' (*nb pt*) once. He is depicted in the lower register on the five stelae that retain his image, alone or with Re-Harakhti and/or Amun-Re. Ptah's cult may have been a secondary cult, to which individuals had direct access, as at Qantir (see *Section 5.3.3.3.2.1*) and Thebes (see *Sections 3.2.2.4.3, 3.2.2.4.4*), while the king mediated to other deities depicted in the upper register.

Rank and compositional form

Five of the stelae are from the Ramesses II temple and are therefore type B with Ramesses II as the intermediary. Four include Setau; DB396 of the Standard-bearer, Iuy, does not. The stela from the Amenhotep III temple is that of Mutnofret, DB405 (see *Section 5.3.2.3.1.2*).

5.3.2.3.2 The stelae from the Amenhotep III temple

There are three stelae from the Amenhotep III temple. This section also refers to stelae from the Ramesses II temple that include deities whose cult was located at the Amenhotep III temple.

5.3.2.3.2.1 Amun, 'Lord of the Ways' (2 + text mention on stela DB400 from the Ramesses II temple)

DB404, DB406; DB400

Form and epithets

Amun has his usual iconography and is depicted seated in the upper register. He has the single epithet 'Lord of the Ways'.

Rank and compositional form

Stela DB400 from the Ramesses II temple belongs to the *sk*-officer Ramose and records the work of Setau constructing the Ramesses II temple (see *Sections 5.1.2.1, 5.1.4.1, 5.2.2, A Note on the Military Titles, 2, 5.3.2.3.1.1, 5.4.3.1 (i)*). His stela depicts Ramesses II offering incense and water before a palanquin in which four unnamed gods

stand. They may be identified by means of their iconography as Amun-Re, Ramesses II, Atum (?) and Hathor (?). Amun, 'Lord of the Ways', and Ramesses II 'in the House of Amun', are mentioned in the framing texts.

The other two stelae are type A stelae from the Amenhotep III temple. DB404, dating to the 20th Dynasty, depicts the First God's Servant and Mayor, Pia, adoring Amun alone. DB406 depicts Amun and Seth in the upper register and Reshep (see Schulman 1984b: 861) in the lower register. The dedicator of the stela is a foreigner without a title called Matybaal/Kemabaal, who has brought his own god, Reshep, with him.

5.3.2.3.3 Other deities

Seth: DB393, DB397, DB406

Reshep: DB406

Renenut: DB397, DB403

Seth and Reshep

Stela DB406 of Matybaal/Kemabaal from the Amenhotep III temple, is dedicated to Seth, 'Great of Strength' (*ꜥꜣ pꜣty*), Amun, 'Lord of the Ways' (both upper register) and Reshep (lower register) (see *Section 5.3.2.3.2.1*). Between Matybaal and Reshep stands a loaded offering table. The stela may represent a rite related to a personal, popular cult. The other two Seth stelae, DB393 (see *Sections 5.3.2.3.1.2, 5.3.2.3.1.4*) and DB397 (see *Sections 5.3.2.3.1.1, 5.3.2.3.1.2*), from the Ramesses II temple, mention Seth, 'Great of Strength', in the text, and are dedicated respectively by the Standard-bearer, Yam (including Setau), and Setau. Seth may feature on these stelae in his role as a border or desert deity, and/or in relation to the Ramesside state cults (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*).

Renenut

The Renenut stelae DB397 (see *Section 5.3.2.3.3*, with further references) and stela DB403 (see *Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2.1, 5.3.2.3.1.1, 5.3.2.3.1.3*) include the deified Ramesses II (and other deities) and were both dedicated by Setau. Renenut has the epithet 'Lady of Sustenance' (*nb(t) kꜣw ꜥꜥꜣw*). There is no extant relief of Renenut in the temple (see Gauthier 1912; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 53-64). The stelae were the only two found in the sand near the south wall of the outer court of the Ramesses II temple

(Gauthier 1911: 75-77; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 55), that is, opposite the location of the majority of the stelae. Little remains of the mudbrick wall surrounding this outer court (Gauthier 1912: pl. I (B)), so there is no evidence for any reliefs that may have decorated it. The plan (Gauthier 1912: plan A) indicates a doorway through the southern wall, and there is a water tank nearby, both of which, if the water tank is *in situ*, could possibly have been associated with a secondary cult chapel. There is a water tank and possibly an altar near the north wall of this First Court, near the find spot of the majority of the stelae (Gauthier 1912: plan A).

5.3.2.4 *The offerings*

Table 41: Offerings depicted on the Wadi es-Sebua votive stelae

	Total	Notes
Offering table with water pot and lotus	4	
Loaded offering table	4	Two of these may be groups of three small offering tables with water pots
Incense offered	0	
Water offered	0	
Other offerings carried	0	
Holding lotus flowers	1	Papyrus flowers
Bouquet	0	
Nothing	6	

On the 12 stelae from the Large temple, the offering tables are depicted in the upper register between Ramesses II and the principal deities of the stelae. The text publications (Gauthier 1911: 70-73; 81-86; Kitchen 2000: 60-67) of six of the stelae, where images are not available (DB394-396; DB401-403) do not mention offerings other than those given by the king as intermediary, usually wine, and the offering tables. On stela DB401 the representations are lost. The offerings of the mediating king are not tabulated here; it is the offerings of the dedicator that inform us of the role of that dedicator in the event recorded (see *Section 4.2.2*).

According to the available data on the 12 stelae, 11 of the dedicators offer nothing. On DB399, the Overseer of God's Servants, Mernudjem, holds papyrus flowers as he follows Setau, with Ramesses II above, who both offer nothing. The Deir el Medina data

suggested that, on type B stelae, where the intermediary makes an offering, the dedicator does not (see *Section 4.2.2*). The general lack of offerings suggests that the event recorded here was an official one at which the dedicators were witnesses, rather than active participants.

On the three stelae from the small temple the dedicators again offer nothing, but include offering tables, on two occasions loaded with vegetables and bread, between themselves and the gods they adore. This suggests an active participation in a (popular?) cult, and perhaps the expectation, by means of the reversion of offerings, of receiving something in return

There are no water offerings, reflecting the almost total absence of women dedicating stelae at Wadi es-Sebua, and no bouquets, again supporting the argument that stelae with bouquets can be related to the Theban Valley festival (see *Section 4.2.2*).

5.3.3 Qantir/Pi-Ramesses (74)

See *Appendix 2* for a list of the Qantir/Pi-Ramesses stelae.

5.3.3.1 The stelae

Following illicit digging early in the 19th century a collection of 64 stelae said to be from Horbeit in the Delta were sold to W. Pelizaus who placed them in the eponymous museum in Hildesheim (Habachi 1954: 516; Kayser 1973; Schmitz 1998). These stelae have been convincingly argued by Habachi (1954: 518-519) to originate in Qantir, on the grounds that they are remarkably similar to two stelae, DB385 and DB386, which he himself discovered at Qantir in 1942, and two further stelae, DB387 and DB388, which a dealer claimed came from Qantir. The stelae are iconographically related, the majority depicting a statue of Ramesses II. A number of additional stelae were added to the group in Hildesheim through this iconographic similarity: stelae in Brussels, Cairo, Lund, Leipzig, Munich, Paris and Stockholm (Habachi 1954: 528-529).

Habachi lists 76 stelae in his 1954 publication of the stelae; the dataset from Qantir has 74, as stelae without dedicators are omitted.

5.3.3.2 Cult images: possible hypostases

The statues of Ramesses II on the stelae

The stelae in the Qantir dataset are characterised by their depiction of colossal statues of Ramesses II. Five separate statues can be identified by the epithets:

1. Usermaatse Setepenre, 'Montu in the Two Lands' (*wsr-m³t-Re stp-n-Rc Mntw-m-t3wy*);
2. Ramesses Meryamun, 'The God' (*Rc-ms-sw mry-Imn p3 ntr*);
3. Usermaatse Setepenre, 'Beloved of Atum' (*wsr-m³t-Re stp-n-Rc mry-tm*)
4. Ramesses Meramun, 'Re of the Rulers' (*Rc-ms-sw mry-Imn Rc hk3w*)
(Habachi 1954: 549-550; see also Clère 1950: 27-28; Habachi 1969a: 28-29; Uphill 1984: 130).
5. Ramesses Meramun, 'Ruler of Rulers' (*Rc-ms-sw mry-Imn, hk3 hk3w*)
(Scharff 1934: 47-51; Habachi 1954: 555; 1969a: 33-35, fig. 21 and pl. XIIIb)
Pap. Anastasi II.1 describes four such statues being in Pi-Ramesses (Habachi 1969a: 28; Uphill 1984: 130). The letter from Pabasa to his master Amenemope, in Pap.

Ansastasi III, describes Pi-Ramesses at festival time and refers to the residents petitioning the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands' (twice) and Ramesses Meryamun, 'The God' (Gardiner 1937: 23; Habachi 1969a: 28). The Manshiyet es-Sadr stela describes the commissioning of a statue of Ramesses II as Ramesses Meryamun, 'The God', as well as the two further statues for the temples of Amun 'of Ramesses' and Ptah 'of Ramesses', referring to cults in Pi-Ramesses (Hamada 1938: 217-230; Habachi 1954: 551-552; Uphill 1984: 191).

Uphill has tentatively suggested (1984: 206) that three colossal statues from Tanis (his T.25, T.26 and T.175), averaging 21m in height, may be three of these four statues. The pink granite statue T.25 (Uphill 1984: 13; 129-131), now in fragments, retains the name Usermaatse Setepenre, 'Re of the Rulers' (Uphill translates 'Sun of the Princes'). The epithet is the same but the cartouche name is different, a discrepancy which could be resolved if the other cartouche name had been inscribed elsewhere on the statue (Uphill 1984: 131). This statue name is not peculiar to Pi-Ramesses, as statues with this name are known from Luxor, the Ramesseum and possibly Abu Simbel (Clère 1950: 28-29; Uphill 1984: 131). The grey granite statue T.26 (Uphill 1984: 13-14; 132) is also fragmentary, and statue T.175 (Uphill 1984: 55; 146-147) is a sandstone foot fragment. It is their size that has led Uphill to identify them as the cult colossi (Uphill 1984: 132).

Habachi has reconstructed (1969a: 32, fig. 20) a temple at Pi-Ramesses that has the four statues of Ramesses II in front of the pylon. Habachi places the two seated statues, 'Beloved of Atum' and 'Re of the Rulers' on the left and right of the two standing statues, 'Montu in the Two Lands' and 'The God'. This is based on stelae that depict more than one statue:

- Stela DB375, depicting 'Montu in the Two Lands' (centre) and 'The God' (left) as two standing statues. Stela DB414 also depicts these two statues;
- Stela H. 410 (not on database, no dedicator) depicting 'Beloved of Atum' (left), seated, and 'The God' (right), standing;

This reconstruction is also based on the Great Temple at Abu Simbel with its four colossi located before the temple entrance (Uphill 1984: 209; see Habachi 1969a: 3, fig. 2). Uphill notes (1984: 209) that the Great temple was dedicated to the same group of deities as the gods he suggests are the focus of the temples at Qantir, Amun, Re-Harakhti, Ptah and Ramesses II, proposing that Abu Simbel may in fact copy elements

of the main temple at Qantir. Uphill reads (1984: 207) the stela of Mose, DB360 (Habachi 1969a: 30, fig. 17), as a sequence of events taking place in the main temple at Qantir (see also Dorner 1996: 70), matching a number of architectural elements to known pieces. He suggests that the three fragmentary colossal statues, T.25, T.26 and T. 175, are from the façade of this temple. The stela depicts a narrative: in the upper register, Ramesses II in the blue crown offers Maat to Ptah 'Who Hears Prayers' (*sdm nhwt*). The king then stands at a Window of Appearances and hands rewards to Mose, the Infantryman of the Great Regiment of Ramesses Meryamun, 'Beloved of Atum'. The lower register shows the king standing next to (above, on the stela) a seated statue of himself as 'Re of the Rulers' (Uphill 1984: 207 incorrectly has 'Beloved of Atum'), dispensing rewards to Mose and the army. Dorner places the main temple next to the palace and suggests (1999: 70) that the open court depicted on the Mose stelae was that of the palace.

The statue 'Ruler of Rulers' is not included in these reconstructions.

We cannot say for certain, however, in relation to which temples the colossal statues stood. They may well have stood in front of more than one temple (Bietak 1984: col. 142).

5.3.3.3 *Cult images on stelae*

5.3.3.3.1 *The statues of Ramesses II*

The statue 'Montu in the Two Lands' is clearly the focus of popular attention, with 52 of the dataset stelae dedicated to it. The statue known as 'The God' only appears on stelae with the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands', that is, it does not receive its own cult. The stela featuring the statue 'Ruler of Rulers' (DB391) is dedicated by the Vizier, Rahotep, and has Ramesses II as the intermediary. The statue 'Re of the Rulers' appears on two stelae, one of which is stela DB360 of Mose where the king is depicted rewarding the army. The other stela to this statue, DB415 of Tiy, Scribe of the Altar/Table of the Lord of the Two Lands, is therefore the only anomalous stela, in that it is dedicated to a statue other than 'Montu in the Two Lands' but does not have Ramesses II as intermediary or a vizier as the dedicator. If we ignore this anomaly for the present, 'Montu in the Two Lands' is the focus of popular worship and 'Ruler of Rulers' and 'Re of the Rulers' are

statues related to royal or elite activity, and perhaps to particular ceremonies. This corresponds with the letter of Pabasa which describes individuals petitioning the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands' (Pap. Anastasi III; Gardiner 1937: 23; Habachi 1969a: 27-28; Uphill 1984: 130).

5.3.3.3.1.1 'Montu in the Two Lands' (52)

DB320-DB359, DB361, DB362, DB367, DB369, DB370, DB375, DB378, DB382, DB385, DB386, DB388, DB414

Forms and epithets

The statue stands on a pedestal wearing the white crown with the ureaus, false beard and sometimes a necklace. He wears the shendyt-kilt and holds an object ('handkerchief'; Habachi 1954: 549) in each hand. In 35 cases he has no epithets. Otherwise, he can be known as 'Great God', 'Who Hears Prayers', 'Lord of the Sky', 'Dual King', 'Perfect God', 'Lord of the Two Lands' and 'Given Life (like Re)' (*ntr ʕ3, sdm nhwt, nb pt, nsw bity, ntr nfr, nb t3wy, di ʕnh (mi Rʕ)*).

Rank and compositional form

47 of the stelae are type A, indicating the popular nature of this cult. There are three type B stelae, two, DB362 and DB382, with Ramesses II as the intermediary and one, DB378, with one of his sons, Meryatum, in this role. The two stelae with Ramesses II as the intermediary are dedicated by military men. Two of the stelae, DB361 and DB370, are type C. Stela DB361 includes family members. Only five of the Qantir dataset stelae (DB361, DB367, DB371, DB374 and DB384) include family, in all cases wives and in four cases children. Two of these are dedicated to the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands', two to an unidentified statue of Ramesses II and one to Ptah and Hathor. In addition, stela DB321, dedicated to 'Montu in the Two Lands', has a man and a woman carved on the sides of the stela but there are no filiations.

The stelae are dedicated by military men, individuals connected with the royal household, if this is what titles followed by 'of the Lord of the Two Lands' (*n nb t3wy*) means, priests and five women. A significant number (12) have no titles, and, on two stelae, the titles are lost. Those of notable rank are the Royal Butler Ramessu-men (DB375), a Royal Fanbearer (DB336), a vizierial title, whose name is unfortunately lost, a Royal Scribe of the Altar/Table of the Lord of the Two Lands, name also lost (DB414),

and two army Standard-bearers, Any/Inwya and Ramose (DB382 and DB388). An army Standard-bearer of this name is known at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (stela DB412; see *Section 5.1.4.1*) and there is a *sk*-officer Ramose on a stela at Wadi es-Sebua (DB400) (see *A Note on the Military Titles*, above, for a discussion of the relationship of this title to that of standard-bearer).

A note on the cults and regiments connected to the statues

The stelae identify two regiments, named in the titles of individuals dedicating stelae, which may have been attached to the statues. Stela DB360 of the Infantryman, Mose, of the Great Regiment (*ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ*) of Ramesses Meryamun, 'Beloved of Atum', may relate to the statue known as Usermaatse Setepenre, 'Beloved of Atum'. The epithet is the same but the cartouche name different, as is the case with Uphill's colossal statue T.25 with the epithet 'Re of the Rulers' in relation to the statue with this epithet known from the stelae (Uphill 1984: 13; 129-131; see *Section 5.3.3.2*). Stela DB382 is dedicated by the Standard-bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands of the Regiment, 'Re of the Rulers', Any/Inwya.

A number of individuals on the stelae and other monuments have titles which may connect them to the cult of 'Montu in the Two Lands'. Stela DB322 is dedicated by Isis, a singer of 'Montu in the Two Lands'. A woman called Tentopet, the wife of the Fanbearer of the Lord of the Two Lands, Kaemwaset, has the title Royal Sistrum Player of 'Montu in the Two Lands', on dyad of the pair (Kitchen 1996: 279 at C).

The epithet 'Great God' (*ntr ꜥ*) occurs on three stelae, DB324, DB329 and DB391, applied to the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands' on the first two, and to the statue 'Ruler of Rulers' on the third. Stela DB363 is dedicated by Penweret, Overseer of the Goldworkers and 'one greatly praised of the Great God' (*hꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ n ntr ꜥ* - this phrase may be connected to the Sobek cult at Pi-Ramesses; see *Section 5.3.3.3.2.2*). The epithet 'Perfect God' (*ntr nfr*) occurs on six stelae in the dataset, five occurrences of which are in relation to the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands': stelae DB329, DB334, DB 351, DB354 and DB382. This suggests that the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands' may have been known by this epithet in particular, and that titles using the epithet may relate to the statue's cult. On stela DB399 the Prince, Setekh-Herkhopshef, has the title the Sem-priest of the Perfect God. On stela DB329 both epithets, 'Great God' and 'Perfect God',

are applied to the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands'. The evidence suggests that this statue, to which the various epithets refer, had the active cult.

5.3.3.3.2 *The deities*

Ptah and Sobek-Re are the only deities with stelae dedicated to them either alone or in the company of other deities. This suggests that active cults to these deities may have existed.

5.3.3.3.2.1 *Ptah (7)*

DB360, DB361, DB374, DB379, DB380, DB383, DB389

Six of the stelae date to the reign of Ramesses II; stela DB389 dates to Ramesses III.

Forms and epithets

Ptah is depicted once seated, in a shrine, and six times standing, three times in a shrine, in his usual form: mummiform, shaven headed, or wearing a skull cap, and holding the composite sceptre. On stela DB383 Ptah is depicted in the company of an unidentified statue of Ramesses II; on DB361 the god is depicted in the company of the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands'. On stela DB380 he is shown in front of a pylon with a column behind him; his epithet is 'upon the Column' (*hry p3 wh3*). He is also shown twice with Amun-Re, on stelae DB361 and DB389. His epithets are either standard: 'Lord of Truth', 'King of the Two Lands', 'Beautiful of Face', 'Father of the Gods' (*nb m3't, nsw t3wy, nfr hr, it ntrw*) or local/popular: 'upon the Column' (Leitz 2000 II: 527), 'Who Hears Prayers' (*sdm nhwt*), and 'of Warep' (*w3rp*). Together with the depiction of Ptah before a temple pylon and pillar and, in association with statues of Ramesses II, this suggests that the form of Ptah venerated on the Qantir stelae is an accessible popular form of Ptah at a temple entrance, similar to the Ptah in the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu (Medinet Habu IV: pl. 245; see *Section 3.2.2.4.3*).

Stela DB389 includes Amun-Re 'of True Lapis Lazuli' (*hsbd m3'*; Leitz 2000 V: 952). On stela DB360 Ptah appears with Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore' (*nbt nht rsy*), as a cow in the marshes. The latter two deities may be subsidiary deities in a temple. At Deir el Medina, Hathor, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', is depicted in this form in the Khenu-chapel attached to the Hathor temple (for example, relief DM87; Louvre E.16276 a/b; Porter and Moss 1964 I.2: 696; see *Sections 4.1.1.1, 4.1.1.5*). Inlaid reliefs of gods

forming the focus of cults are known from temple gateways, such as the Ptah reliefs in the Medinet Habu Eastern High Gate and in Chapel D at the Queens' Valley chapels (Bruyère 1930b: 38; see *Section 3.2.2.4.4*).

Rank and Compositional Form

Six of the stelae are type A. Together with the lack of type B stelae, this suggests that the cult of Ptah was a popular, accessible, cult. There is one type C stela (DB361), which has been discussed in *Section 5.3.3.3.1.1*, '*Montu in the Two Lands*'.

The stelae were dedicated by the same groups of people as the '*Montu in the Two Lands*' stelae: military men, palace administration, a temple worker, and also include a Craftsman (DB383) and a son of Ramesses II, Setekh-kherkhopshef (DB389). As in the Deir el Medina and Theban datasets, no women dedicate stelae to Ptah.

5.3.3.3.2 Sobek(-Re) (6 times on 5 stelae)

DB363-DB366, DB 373,

Forms and Epithets

Sobek(-Re) appears six times on five stelae, four times as a crocodile-headed man (DB363, DB365, DB366, DB373) and twice as a crocodile (DB363, DB364). As a crocodile-headed man, he is shown standing or seated wearing the *šwty*-crown, and holding the was-sceptre and ankh-sign. As a crocodile he is depicted upon a pedestal wearing a more ornate version of the same crown where it is flanked by uraei. Behind the recumbent statue is a large curved shape that may be a sun-shade or a sand bank.

On stela DB364 where Sobek(-Re) appears as a crocodile, he has no epithets, though the top of the stela is damaged so they may be lost. The depictions of Sobek(-Re) as a crocodile-headed man have the following epithets: DB363: 'Lord of 'Saty', (*nb si3ty*, perhaps 'The Mutilator' or 'The Swindler'); DB365: 'Lord of the Sky' (*nb pt*); DB366: 'The Guilty One' (*p3 'd3*); DB373: 'Perfect God' (*ntr nfr*).

Rank and Compositional Form

There are four type A, no type B and one type C stelae, indicating the popular nature of the cult.

The stelae are dedicated by two Craftsmen, a Sailor and two Scribes associated with the palace. No women dedicate stelae to Sobek(-Re). Three of the individuals describe themselves as being '(greatly) praised of the (Great/Perfect) God' (*ḥsy (ʿ3) n p3 ntr (ʿ3/nfr)*), an epithet that is restricted to stelae dedicated to Sobek(-Re), suggesting that some special privilege of cult access or reward has been bestowed on the dedicators.

5.3.3.4 *The offerings*

Table 42: Offerings depicted on the Qantir votive stelae

	Total	19th Dynasty	20th Dynasty	Notes
Offering table with water pot and lotus	39	39	0	
Loaded offering table	13	13	0	
Incense offered	12	12	0	
Water offered	1	1	0	By the wife of a dedicator
Other offerings carried	1	1	0	
Holding lotus flowers	12	11	1	
Bouquet	0	0	0	
Nothing	14	13	1	All type A

In comparison to the Deir el Medina dataset there are many more stelae with offering tables holding the water pot and lotus. Water is offered only once, by a woman, whilst her husband offers incense, reflecting the male dominated nature of the dataset. There are no bouquets featured on the stelae, supporting the argument that stelae with such depictions relate to the Theban Valley festival. The existence of 14 stelae with no offerings may be evidence for an oral ceremony, or one at which the stelae dedicators were witnesses rather than participants. The four type B stelae follow the expected pattern where the dedicator gives no offerings because, or whilst, the intermediary does (see *Section 4.2.2*).

5.3.4 Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham

See *Appendix 13* for a list of the Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham stelae, and *Appendix 11* (CD) for images.

5.3.4.1 The stelae

During Habachi's original excavations at this site a number of stelae and door jambs were discovered in the chapels to the west of the main temple. Habachi published only three of the stelae found at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (1980: 16-18 and pls. V-VI; two are included in the dataset, stelae DB407 and DB408). The *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* lists the number of stelae as 16 (Helck 1986: col. 845); they have more recently been catalogued by Snape and Wilson as amounting to possibly 21 stelae (or parts thereof) (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*). Snape and Wilson have collated the information on the stelae found at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham from a number of sources: the Habachi article in *BIFAO* 1980; Habachi's photographs now housed in Chicago House, Luxor; the actual stelae in the SCA office at Mersa Matrouh; and the register book for Habachi's work. Snape and Wilson publish (*forthcoming*) the Habachi photographs of the stelae, as well as photographs of the stelae *in situ*. These latter photographs (A25, C14, C17, D20, D21) show the stelae leaning up against one another and against the main temple wall and temple enclosure wall. As Snape and Wilson note (*forthcoming*), this is similar to the location of the eight stelae found propped against the enclosure wall of the sphinx avenue at Wadi es-Sebua (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911). In 2000, the Liverpool team excavating at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, discovered a cache of monuments belonging to the commander Nebre in the southernmost of the rear three rooms of the smaller temple ('Nebre temple'; Snape 2001a: 19; Simpson 2002: 20). The cache consisted of two stelae depicting Nebre offering to deities (Sekhment on one; Snape 2001a: 20, fig. 4), a naos with integral statues of Ptah and Sekhmet (Snape 2004: 159, fig. 13), and a beautiful two-thirds lifesize limestone statue of Nebre as a standard-bearer of Sekhmet, currently on display in the Luxor Museum (Snape 2001a: 20, figs. 1-3). On all of these monuments attempts had been made to erase Nebre's name, as well as his figure on the stelae (Snape 2001a: 19). In addition, one of Nebre's lintels from the Southern Building had been reused face down as a threshold (Snape 2001a: 19). Snape has suggested (2001a: 19) that Nebre may have come to regard Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and its surrounding area as 'his own personal fiefdom' and was ultimately disgraced and replaced.

The Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham dataset stelae amount to just seven stelae, due to the poor preservation of many of the stelae, and, in one case, the lack of a dedicator (Snape and Wilson [1]; Habachi photograph A13; Habachi 1980: 16 and pl. VB).

The stelae of Nebre

The two Nebre stelae found with the standard-bearer statue are not included in the dataset as they have not as yet been fully published. A small image of one of the stelae has been published (Snape 2001a: 20, fig. 4) where Nebre (figure erased) adores Sekhmet, with a second figure kneeling below. The image is however too small to allow the text to be read or the second figure to be identified (Nebre? Another individual?). As this stela seems to have been the pair of the second stela found with the Nebre statue, it seems sensible to omit both from the discussion.

5.3.4.2 Cult images: possible hypostases

In the main temple there are no extant reliefs – the walls stand to only one metre, and the only remaining decoration is the names of Ramesses II on the side of a pillar (Habachi 1980: 16). Other decorated architectural elements at the site are the scenes on the passage walls at Gates A and B (on Habachi's plan; 1980: 13), which depict Ramesses II getting out of his chariot to smite Libyans (Habachi 1980: 16; Helck 1986: col. 845), the stelae, lintels and doorjambs from the chapels, magazines and Southern Building, inscribed for Ramesses II and Nebre, and the statue of Nebre and the naos of Sekhmet and Ptah discovered by the Liverpool team (Snape 1980: 1082; 2001a: 19-20, figs. 1-3; 2004: 159, fig. 13; Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*). Habachi disagrees (1980: 18) with Rowe's attribution of the main temple, on the basis of the inscriptions on the first blocks found here, to Ptah. These inscriptions include Ptah's epithets ['of Ankh]tawy (Memphis), Beautiful of Face in his Great Place' ([*n/nb ʿnh*]-*t3wy nfr-hr hry st wrt*; Cairo JdE 10384). Habachi maintains that the inclusion of the god's name in an inscription is not sufficient proof that this god was the focus of the cult. He tentatively suggests (1980: 18) that the temple was dedicated to the Memphite triad, following Rowe's statement that the name of the district was *hwt-hʿpi* and the inclusion of Sekhmet on a number of the objects. This attribution is supported by the more recent discoveries of the Liverpool team of the naos and standard bearer statue of Nebre, and the smaller temple, dedicated to the Memphite gods of Ptah and Sekhmet. Snape suggests (2001a: 19) that

the troops stationed here may have come from Memphis. The chief deity on the stelae is Ramesses II himself (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*), and it has been suggested that the chapels west of the temple were constructed to worship the deified Ramesses II (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*; <http://www.zurDIG.com/IntroFrame>). Ramesses II is depicted slaughtering captives or making offerings before gods, in particular Amun-Re and Sekhmet. Seth and Horus also appear on the stelae (though Horus does not appear on any of the dataset stelae).

5.3.4.3 Cult images on stelae

5.3.4.3.1 Ramesses II (6)

DB407-DB412

The form of Ramesses II receiving cult attention at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham is the living king.

(i) Ramesses II smiting the enemy

DB407, DB409, DB410, DB412

Form and epithets

On four stelae, Ramesses II is depicted involved in a ritual action known here as the smiting scene, where he slaughters captives before a god, whilst that god hands him the sword. The king has the epithets 'Lord of Appearances, Given Life/Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' (*nb ḥꜥw, di ḥnḥ/nb nswt t3wy*). He carries out the ritual before Amun-Re on three occasions (epithets lost), Sekhmet, 'Lady of the West' (*nbt imnt*), and a deity who may be Seth, identified by the epithet 'Great of Strength' (*3 pḥty*; Leitz 2000 II: 22 – Leitz lists two New Kingdom instances of this epithet applied to Amun-Re and 34 where it is applied to Seth).

Rank and compositional form

The smiting scene stelae are all type C. Schulman's list of stelae with this scene (17 examples; 1994: 271-295) does not include the Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham stelae. These additional stelae add an interesting group to the known stelae with this scene in terms of dedicators, whose extant titleholders are all Standard-bearers (the dedicator title is lost on stela DB410). Another Standard-bearer occurs on stela [16], not in the dataset, reading *ir n t3...*, 'made by the [Standard]-bear[er]...'

(ii) Ramesses II on the remaining dataset stelae

On stela DB408 Ramesses II offers flowers to Sekhmet while the Royal Scribe and Great Chief of the Army, Panehsy, kneels below. Schulman argues (1964: 49-50) that the title great chief (*wr ʿ3*) has the same rank as standard-bearer. The upper register of stela DB411 is too damaged to read the scene. Separating the upper from the lower register are three rows of hieroglyphs which contain the cartouches of Ramesses II, and possibly a reference to the part of the army in which the two officials served (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*). In the lower register two Standard-bearers stand facing each other with the cartouches of Ramesses II in the centre. The right standard may read 'Regiment of Aten' (*s3 ʿItn*) (Snape and Wilson *forthcoming*). The Standard-bearer on the left is concealed on the photograph.

5.3.4.3.2 *Amun-Re (4)*

DB407, DB409, DB410, DB413

Three of these stelae, DB407, DB409, DB410, occur in *Section 5.3.4.3.1 (i)*.

Form and epithets

Amun-Re stands and offers the sword. He has his standard iconography of double plumes and short kilt; any epithets he may have had are lost. On stela DB412 a damaged figure of a god, identified as Seth on account of the epithet 'Great of Strength, offers the sword (see *Section 5.3.4.3.1 (i)*). As this ritual is depicted before Amun-Re on all the other stelae, the god on DB412 may in fact be Amun-Re.

Rank and compositional form

Three of the Amun-Re stelae have the smiting scene; stela DB413 is too damaged to make out the scene. They are all type C and dedicated by Standard-bearers, where the dedicators' titles survive.

5.3.4.3.3 *Sekhmet (2)*

DB408, DB409

Form and epithets

Sekhmet is depicted as a standing, lioness-headed, woman, with a sun disc and ureaus on her head. She has the epithet 'Lady of the West' (*nbt imnt*). On stela DB408 she is offered flowers by Ramesses II; on stela DB409 she stands behind the king as he smites

the enemy. On stela [13], not in the dataset (too fragmentary) a female goddess who may be Sekhmet stands on the right with a figure of the king on the left.

Rank and compositional form

Stela DB408 is type B and belongs to the Royal Scribe and Great Chief of the Army, Panehsy. Stela DB409, the smiting scene, is a type C, dedicated by a Standard-bearer whose name is lost.

5.3.4.3.4 Other deities

(i) Seth

Seth appears on stela ZUR [11], not in the dataset, and has been listed as the deity on stela DB412 based on the epithet 'Great of Strength' (*ꜥꜣ pꜥty*). The figure of the god is not clear. It occupies the position usually taken by Amun-Re on the Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham stelae, and offers the sword to the king who is slaughtering captives, an activity that, at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, more usually takes place before Amun-Re. The epithet is however typically applied to Seth (see *Sections 5.3.4.3.1 (i), 5.3.4.3.2*).

(ii) Horus

As noted above (*Section 5.3.4.2*), Horus features on a stela, ZUR [15], not included in the dataset. Snape and Wilson suggest (*forthcoming*) that the Horus falcon may be depicted in relation to the king's name rather than as an aspect of the god Horus.

5.3.4.4 The offerings

The only offerings depicted are those on stela DB408 of Panehsy, where the king offers flowers to Sekhmet, before whom is an offering stand with a water pot cooled by a lotus flower. This suggests that the stelae depict an official ritual event at which the stelae dedicators were witnesses rather than active participants.

5.4 Discussion of the comparative data stelae

5.4.1 General comments

The four sites in the comparative dataset are all of Ramesside period date. The military outpost at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham is restricted temporally to the reign of Ramesses II. In all four cases, the cult activity measured is concentrated in the reign of this king. The Nubian sites of Wadi es-Sebua and Abu Simbel have temples dedicated to the Ramesside period state deities of Amun-Re, Re-Harakhti, Ptah and Ramesses II himself, deities who are celebrated at Qantir, the new dynastic capital. The extant material at Zawiyet Umm-el-Rakham indicates that Ptah and Sekhmet, the gods of Memphis and of the Western Delta and desert (Penelope Wilson, *pers comm.*), were pre-eminent here, alongside Ramesses II in association with Amun-Re.

The stelae from Wadi es-Sebua and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham are dedicated almost exclusively by military men. The martial emphasis is characteristic of all the comparative dataset stelae. The inclusion of the Qadesh battle scenes and other war scenes, as well as repetition of the smiting scene, in the Great temple at Abu Simbel, indicate the bellicose nature of the temple, in contrast to the Small temple. A number of the Abu Simbel stelae reflect the military emphasis of Ramesses II's early years, in both text and representation: on stela DB416 Ramesses II has the epithet 'who slays the Nine Bows' (*sm3 pḏtyw*; Kitchen 2000: 203-204); on stela DB418 Paser II describes the king as a 'warrior who protects his army, (being) their rampart on the day of combat' (*ḏw mk mšꜥf p3.sn inb hrw ḏw*; Kitchen 2000: 53); and on stela DB419 of the same man, Ramesses II is described as 'doughty with his sword, hero, valiant like Montu, slaying Syria (Khurru) and trampling down Nubia' (*tnr ḥr ḥpš.f pri-ꜥ kni mi mnṯw sm3 ḥ3rw ptpt K3š*; Kitchen 2000: 53).

The Abu Simbel stelae present a contrast to the other three sites in the comparative dataset, and to the Deir el Medina/Theban material. The individuals dedicating stelae here are not groups of contemporaries. The dataset dedicators include five King's Sons of Kush, the highest rank in the region. In addition, though there is some evidence of popular cult activity focussing on a local Horus, the majority of the stelae mark a relationship with the king, in the form of an iconographic representation of greeting the king, or indicate temple access by reproducing temple reliefs. This reflects the fact that

Abu Simbel was an important cult/political centre, despite its location far from the capital of Egypt. Access to the temple and its environs would have been more restricted than at the smaller and more distant locations of Wadi es-Sebua and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.

The majority (14/21) of the stelae from Abu Simbel are type A, which should indicate that they are representative of a popular cult, but at this site this is not always the case. The high rank of the dedicators, and the forms of the king represented (smiting, the gesture of 'greeting the king', stela DB423 where the First Charioteer of the King holds the reins of the king's chariot) indicate a relationship with the living king, rather than worship of an image of the king as an icon. At Abu Simbel the status of the dedicator appears to be encoded in the location of the stela, one of the three factors indicative of 'divine access'. Stelae distant from the temples, in the flanking cliff faces to the north and south, generally (though not in the case of the double stela of the King's Son of Kush, Setau, DB425) belong to individuals of a lower rank than those closer to the facades. Stelae DB418 and DB419 of the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, flank the façade of the Great temple, whilst stela DB417 of the King's Son of Kush, Yuni, abuts the façade of the Small temple. In addition, certain stelae can generate fields of influence of their own, so that we find the Stablemaster, Iwefenamun, carving his stela (DB422) next to that of the King's Son of Kush, Hekanakht (DB421), and the Deputy of Wawat, Mery, carving his smiting scene stela (DB424) next to the earlier smiting scene stela of the King's Son of Kush, Setau (DB425). Status is also encoded in the stela scene: the 'greeting the king' gesture is used only by the King's Sons of Kush, whereas individuals of this rank and lower reproduce temple scenes (see *Section 5.4.2*). The Abu Simbel Great temple seems to have been used as a centre for administrative appointments (see *Section 5.4.3.2*), and thus had a consistently official role. As a result of this the Abu Simbel stelae represent a group of 21 stelae that primarily represent a sequence of high-ranking individuals rather than a community, such as at Deir el Medina, rendering broad analyses problematic.

At Qantir, dedicators range from royal princes to craftsmen and washermen, bringing them more in line with the rank of the Deir el Medina dedicators. At Abu Simbel, Wadi es-Sebua (except for the Amenhotep III temple) and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, the dedicators are almost exclusively high ranking military men. The compositional form at Qantir (64/74 stelae are type A) supports the link with Deir el Medina and popular cults.

At Wadi es-Sebua (other than at the Amenhotep III temple) and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham the lack of type A stelae indicates the official nature of the cults here.

Given the military nature of the sites it is unsurprising that very few women dedicate stelae in the comparative dataset. At Qantir, a city site, a small number of women both dedicate stelae (five examples) and are included on stelae of their husbands (five examples). At Wadi es-Sebua, Mutnofret, the wife of the King's Son of Kush, Setau, dedicates one stela (DB405).

In terms of offerings, the relatively frequent depiction of the offering table with water pot and lotus at Qantir suggests that this might be a particular ceremony, perhaps on one occasion, or that this form of offering table is a feature of the reign of Ramesses II. The remaining three sites are characterised by a lack of offerings. It may be that the majority of stelae depict an official, oral ceremony, related to the cult of Ramesses II, to which the stela dedicators were witness, rather than active participants.

The Deir el Medina dataset stelae are much closer in nature to those from Qantir than to those from the other comparative dataset sites. Put simply, there were organised popular cults at Deir el Medina and Qantir, settlement sites, and official cults and events at the remaining sites.

5.4.2 Temple scenes on stelae

It seems certain that some of the stelae, in particular those from Abu Simbel and Wadi es-Sebua, reproduce temple reliefs (see *Sections 5.3.1.3.1 (iv) (Abu Simbel), 5.3.2.3.1.1 (Wadi es-Sebua)*). The smiting scene may be one such example. The scenes of the king offering to his deified self, seated or standing amongst deities, are, in many cases, similar or identical to reliefs from within the temples. Whether the stelae depict an actual event of the king offering, or are copies of a temple scene, both types of stela representation encode status. Temple scenes were restricted. Their use on stelae implies actual and symbolic 'divine access', and encodes and advertises status by means of this 'divine access'.

The smiting scene is present in reliefs and stelae at Abu Simbel (see *Section 5.3.1.3.1 (iii)*) and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (see *Sections 5.3.4.2, 5.3.4.3.1 (i)*), and on one stela from Qantir (r. Ramesses III).

Schulman has discussed (1994: 267-269) the meaning of the scene of offering the sword and smiting enemies. He argues that the scene on stelae is related to that found on temple walls (the 'triumphal scene') where the king slaughters captives before one or more gods, and is brought more captives by the god, as well as being offered the sword. On a temple wall this scene indicates the end of a battle where the king has been successful. According to Schulman (1994: 268-269) the stelae scene represents the event of the king slaughtering captives at the start of a battle, with a priest playing the role of the god. An alternative explanation is that the stelae may copy temple reliefs. Whether the action depicted is a real event or a copy of a relief, the permanent stela scene has a symbolic function of protecting the (extended) borders of Egypt. It can be interpreted as both a warning and an apotropaic device, functioning perhaps as an official version of the magical execration texts written on smashed prisoner figurines found at the Middle Kingdom fort at Mirgissa in Lower Nubia.

In addition, the scene encodes status, indicated by the fact that it is only utilised by high ranking individuals. Schulman states (1994: 270) that the known dedicators are members of the high ranking colonial administration of Nubia, with one exception, a mercenary shieldbearer from Qantir (DB390). A version of the scene occurs on stela DB222 of Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), from Deir el Medina (Schulman 1994: 54-55). The dedicators of the stelae with this scene at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham are all army Standard-bearers. At Abu Simbel they are the King's Sons of Kush and the Deputy of Wawat.

When stelae depict royal offering scenes differentiating between copies of restricted temple reliefs and depictions of actual events is problematic. One suggestion is that offering scenes where the king offers to gods in a palanquin represent an actual event (see *Section 5.3.2.3.1.1*). In addition, royal offering scenes including specific details or individuals, such as the stela of the Kings Son of Kush, Hekanakht (DB421), at Abu Simbel, on which the princess Bint-Anath and Queen Nefertari are also depicted, may with more certainty be related to a single event (see *Section 5.4.3.1*).

5.4.3 Actual historical events recorded on stelae

5.4.3.1 Temple inauguration

(i) Abu Simbel

DB419, DB420, DB421, DB422

The clearest textual reference to building the temples at Abu Simbel is found on stela DB419 of the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, where he states that the king 'is content with regard to [the temple]' that Paser II 'has made' (*irr.k*). Kitchen prefers to translate Paser II's statement as '(re-)made (?) the temple' (Kitchen 2000: 53; see Habachi 1969b: 171). He interprets the Paser II stela as relating to the restoration of the damage that occurred following an earthquake of around year 30/31. One of the four colossal statues on the front of the Great temple was partially destroyed by the earthquake (Fouchet 1965: pl. 115).³

Paser II was in post between years 24-34 of Ramesses II (see *Table 37*), and was related to a powerful family close to the king (Reisner 1920: 45-46; Kitchen 1982b: 135). This may explain the abundance of his monuments at Abu Simbel: two rock cut stelae (DB418 and DB419), which depict him greeting the king, two free standing stelae (DB434 and DB435), a statue in a niche (Abu Simbel 1; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 117), and two statues found in the Great temple, a headless sandstone seated statue found in the entrance to the Second Hall (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 108), and a sandstone kneeling statue (BM1376; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 110) holding a pedestal with a ram's head, part found in the Great Hall and part found in the Second Hall. In addition, he used the title Overseer of the Works of the House of Pi-Ramesses Meryamun (The Town) (*imy-r k3wt m Pr-(R^c-ms-sw mry 'Imn) (p3 dmi)*) on the statue BM1376, and on his rock cut stela DB419.

The clearest iconographic representation of a royal visit which may be linked to the temple inauguration is the representation of Ramesses II on the stela of the King's Son of Kush, Hekanakht (DB421), a view put forward by Kitchen (1982b: 99-100; 135; Raedler 2003: 132). This would fix the completion date at year 24 at the latest, the last known year in post of Hekanakht (see *Table 37*, above). The stela of Hekanakht depicts Ramesses II and his daughter Meryatum adoring Amun-Re, Ramesses II and Re-

Harakhti in the upper register while Hekanakht kneels adoring Queen Nefertari below. The text is a generic request for a long life for the King's Son of Kush (Kitchen 2000: 49). Kitchen suggests (1982b: 100) that Meryatum took Nefertari's role in this inauguration ceremony, at which Hekanakht was present, because by this date the Queen was too ill to participate in the long rituals. Kitchen's literal reading of the representations on this stela as a historical record is of note. Habachi interprets (1969a: 10) this stela as indicating that Hekanakht was more concerned with the Small temple (the temple of the Queen) than with the Great temple.

The Hekanakht stela is flanked by two further stelae, DB420 of the King's Son of Kush, Mernudjem, and DB422 of the Stablemaster, Iwefenamun, representing the king as intermediary, that is, participating in official temple ceremonies. Whilst it is unlikely that there were two King's Sons of Kush in post at the same time (Reisner 1920: 40), Iwefenamun could have been present with Hekanakht on the occasion of a royal visit. It is of note that these are the only type B stelae at Abu Simbel dating to Ramesses II, therefore they are the only stelae to commemorate a royal visit.

(ii) *Wadi es-Sebua*

DB392-DB394, DB398, DB400

Stelae DB394, DB398 and DB400 from Wadi es-Sebua are dated to days 1 and 2 of the first month of Peret, year 44 of Ramesses II (see *Table 38*, above). They are dedicated by or include the King's Son of Kush, Setau. These stelae are commemorative, recording the building and restoration of the temples at Wadi es-Sebua, and they form the link between all the stelae from the Ramesses II temple.

On the stelae from the Ramesses II temple, Ramesses II offers to various gods who form two distinct groups: gods in a palanquin, and gods whose images can be found within the Ramesses II temple. The palanquin gods are shown very small, and the statue of the deified king can be differentiated from his other representations by the presence of the blue crown. These are the festival statues, and the three stelae with these images, DB392, DB393 and DB400, may represent a part of the event of Ramesses II visiting/inaugurating the Wadi es-Sebua temple (see Yoyotte 1951: 12, n.22). According to the stelae, the king made offerings to the processional or 'festival' deities and to other hypostases within the temple, and these offerings, by means of reversion, came to

benefit Setau, for whose benefit the offering formula is dedicated, and by extension the colleagues commemorated on the stelae. This is a small group of men: where the titles have survived there are two army Standard-bearers of the company 'Ramesses II is Triumphant', Huy and Yam[...], two additional army Standard-bearers, Iuy and Paherypedjet, the Overseer of God's Servants of all the Gods, Mernudjem, and the Sculptor, Pentaweret.

5.4.3.2 *The appointment of the King's Sons of Kush at Abu Simbel*

DB417-DB421, DB425-DB427

The Great temple at Abu Simbel appears to have been central to the appointment of the officials who oversaw Nubia for the king, during and after the reign of Ramesses II.

The King's Son of Kush, Setau's stela of year 38, DB425, is the earliest dated inscription extant for him (Schmidt 1973: 49; Helck 1975; Raedler 2003). Five King's Sons of Kush from the reign of Ramesses II carve stelae at Abu Simbel (Huy, in post years 34-38, is absent): Yuni, Hekanakht, Paser II, Setau and the undated Mernudjem (see *Table 37*, above). Later in the dynasty, at the start of the reign of Siptah, a stela, DB426, was set up to mark the appointment of the King's Son of Kush, Seti, as Vizier (the text on this stela explicitly records this; Kitchen 2003: 262). A second stela, DB427, of the same King's Son of Kush, depicting the king offering to the gods, may relate to the same incident, though the text is generic. A graffito on the east wall in Room III of the Great temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 96) records the appointment of a Scribe of two King's Sons of Kush by Ramesses II (Černý 1969: 71-75). Černý argues (1969: 74) that the epithet applied to Ramesses II, 'Great God' (*ntr ʿ3*), indicates that he is dead and that the appointment was by means of an oracle in the form of a statue of the king. This same epithet is applied to the colossal statues of Ramesses II at Qantir (see *A note on the cults and regiments connected to the statues*, above).

The location of the stelae may indicate associated stelae/dedicators: the Stablemaster, Iwefenamun, dedicates stela DB422 next to stela DB421 of the King's Son of Kush, Hekanakht, which appears to record a royal visit (see *Section 5.4.3.1 (i)*). Both stelae depict the king making offerings and are therefore commemorative. There may be a similar association of the King's Son of Kush, Mernudjem (DB420), and the Stablemaster, Khons[...] (DB436) (see *Section 5.4.1*).

5.4.3.3 *The King rewards individuals*

(i) Ramesses II rewards Mose at Qantir/Pi-Ramesses

DB360

Stela DB360 has been discussed at length by Habachi (1969a: 29-31) and Uphill (1984: 207) (see *Section 5.3.3.2*). The stela depicts a sequence of events where Ramesses II offers to Ptah before rewarding Mose from a Window of Appearances and, then, Mose and other members of the army before the statue of Ramesses Meryamun, 'Re of the Rulers'. Mose has the title Infantryman (*wꜥw*) of the Great Regiment of Ramesses Meryamun, 'Beloved of Atum', which may refer to one of the other Qantir statues (see *A note on the cults and regiments connected to the statues*, above).

Ramesses II appears as an intermediary on three further stela from this site: on stela DB391 of the Vizier, Rahotep, to a statue called 'Ruler of Rulers'; and on stelae DB362 of the Scribe of the Army of the Two Lands, Thutmose, and DB382 of the Standard bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Regiment 'Re of the Rulers', Any, both to the statue 'Montu in the Two Lands'.

These four type B stelae are all dedicated by the Vizier or military men to three separate statues of the king; whether they depict a related event is hard to determine. There are 14 stelae in the Qantir/Pi-Ramesses dataset of men who have clearly military titles and who depict a statue of Ramesses II. 12 of them depict 'Montu in the Two Lands', the stela of Mose depicts 'Re of the Rulers', and one depicts an unidentified statue.

Unlike the sites of Abu Simbel and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, the soldiers may have been stationed at Qantir/Pi-Ramesses on a semi-permanent basis, and may have approached the statue of 'Montu in the Two Lands' on any number of occasions. As noted above, the high number of type A stelae indicate the popular nature of this statue cult. Ramesses II celebrated his numerous Sed festivals at Pi-Ramesses, but there is no certain way of linking any of the stelae to one of these Sed festivals. The only documentary evidence for the petitioning of the statues is the letter of Pabasa to Amenemope, in Papyrus Anastasi III (Gardiner 1937: 21-23). This papyrus copy was completed in year 3 of Merenptah (Gardiner 1937: XIV), the precise date of the original

text predating it by a few years, i.e., it dates to sometime in the reign of Ramesses II (Richard Parkinson, *pers. comm.*).

(ii) Ramesses III rewards Usermaatre-Nakht at Qantir/Pi-Ramesses

DB390

On stela DB390 Ramesses III smites an Asiatic captive before Reshep who offers him the sword. The text below records an award of land to the Shield-bearer of the Mountainous Lands, Usermaatre-Nakht. Habachi suggests (1954: 511) that this man had played an important role in a battle to be so rewarded.

(iii) Ramesses II endows land for Amun-Re at Abu Simbel

DB434, DB435

Stelae DB434 and DB435 are identical stelae recording a land endowment for a form of Amun for the benefit of the Scribe of the Documents, Hay, son of Seba, in perpetuity. They depict the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, adoring Amun-Re who gives blessings to Ramesses II, not depicted (Gauthier 1936: 49-69 and pl. III; see *Section 5.3.1.3.1 (vi)*).

The comparative dataset stelae record a number of historical events, both explicitly, through dates and textual record, and implicitly, through representations and iconography. They demonstrate individual status and identity, and even ethnicity, through choice of form and content, and titular rank. The stelae stand at different distances from the central ideology, dependent on the rank and social identity of the dedicator. Ramesses II, the god, is a direct beneficiary of a large proportion of the dedications, contrasting to his more traditional role at Thebes as the intermediary between the people and the gods. As symbolic messages transmitting information regarding the central ideology, the stelae present and disseminate the shift in the ideology to incorporate the explicit concept of Ramesses II as a god. The stelae dedicators shape and maintain the ideology, negotiating for themselves concomitant status by association with the king. Whilst situating themselves centrally within the hierarchical social structure, Setau in Nubia and Nebre at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham become the focus of networks of patronage, a form of social organisation cross-cutting the vertical structure. Their situation is comparable to that of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i) at Deir el Medina (see *Section 6.4*).

¹ There is a general consensus that the temples at Abu Simbel were constructed during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Habachi fixes (1969: 78) the construction of the Great Temple to before Ramesses II's year 34, based on the Blessing of Ptah stela and the Marriage stela. The Marriage stela, situated at the south end of the terrace of the Great Temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 98 (8)) records the marriage in year 34 of Ramesses II to the daughter of the Hittite king Hattusil III (Habachi 1969a: 7; Schmidt 1973: 44-45; Kitchen 1996: 86-96; Gohary 1998: 72). The Blessing of Ptah stela, a long poetical inscription, is dated to Ramesses II's year 35 and located between pillars III and IV in the Great Hall of the Great Temple (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 106; Schmidt 1973: 46; Kitchen 1996: 99-110; Kitchen 1982b: 136 dates this text to year 33). The location of both these stelae indicates they were installed after the completion of the temple – the Blessing of Ptah stela conceals finished decoration on the pillars (Habachi 1969a: 7). In addition, the double stela of the King's Son of Kush, Setau (DB425), dated to year 38, does not make reference to any temple construction, suggesting that the temple was already complete by this date (Habachi 1969a: 7).

Stela DB416 of the First Royal Cupbearer, Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed, refers to the king 'making for him [Horus, Lord of Meha] his Temple of Millions of Years, it being excavated in the Mountain of Meha' (*m trt n.f hwt.f m hh m rnpwt m šd m dw n mh3*; Kitchen 2000: 142) – one of the bluffs at Abu Simbel was sacred to Horus, Lord of Meha (Kitchen 1982b: 67). Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed's years in post are not known, but he states on his stela that he was charged with 'reorganizing the land of Kush' (*r spd t3 n K3š m m3w[t]*; Kitchen 1996: 142), something that may have happened at the start of Ramesses II's reign. Further evidence for such a date in post is the location of his stela, next to that of the King's Son of Kush, Yuni, who was in post at the start of the reign of Ramesses II (see Table 37). Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed may have been in post at the same time or shortly afterwards.

There is one dated inscription of Ramesses II's reign in the Great Temple. An inscription dating to his year 1 is carved in the door thickness of the entrance to the Second Hall (Reisner 1920: 40; Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 108 (92, 93); Schmidt 1973: 23-24), deep within the temple, leading Reisner to state (1920: 40) that the Great temple at Abu Simbel was begun under Seti I. There is no additional evidence for this, and Schmidt argues (1973: 23-34) that this may be a retrospective date, or belong to one of Ramesses II's successors.

More circumstantial evidence for the construction date can be found in the Great Temple's reliefs, where, in the later parts of the temple, that is, the inner rooms and the Sanctuary, the king is overtly deified, a theological evolution that took place over the course of his reign (Habachi 1969a: 8-10; Kitchen 1982b: 177-178; Moftah 1985: 252-265). The inclusion of Nefertari, who died around year 25 (Van Dijk 2000: 299), as the principal wife in the temple also indicates that construction must have taken place in the first part of Ramesses II's reign. Princess Bint-Anath appears just once in the temple in this role, on the rear of pillar III in the Great Hall (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 105; Kitchen 1982b: 99). This dating of the Great Temple to the first half of Ramesses II's reign concurs with Desroches-Noblecourt's suggestion (1968: 119) that it was constructed to celebrate the king's first Sed festival in his year 29/30.

The stelae of officials Yuni, Hekanakht, Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed, Mernudjem, Paser II and Setau can be read as follows: Yuni was present when the site was chosen, and his successors Hekanakht and Paser II oversaw the construction. Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed was in post during the period of building the temples, as may have been the undated King's Son of Kush, Mernudjem. Paser II certainly took the credit for building the temple(s), and his numerous monuments bear witness to a significant and important presence here. After Setau had spent some time at Abu Simbel in year 38 (possibly his first year in post), when he may have been involved in the alterations to the depictions of the king in the temple in relation to his deification (Habachi 1969a: 9, fig. 7), he moved south and constructed other temples that presented a finished theology of the divine king(ship) of Ramesses II.

² For a discussion of the various terms for Libyans, see Kitchen 1990: 16-17. For a recent discussion of Egyptian-Libyan relations during the reign of Ramesses II, see Simpson 2002.

³ Kitchen writes (1982b: 135) that soon after the first Sed festival of Ramesses II an earthquake struck Abu Simbel. The earthquake caused the pillars to crack, the collapse of one of the Osiride figures inside the Great Temple and the north jamb of the main entrance doorway, and severe damage to two of the exterior colossi. Presumably, Kitchen places this earthquake in year 30/31 as the Blessing of Ptah stela, dated to year 35 (see *n. 1*, above), is carved over a restored pillar. Kitchen states (1982b: 136) that Paser II placed two statues, one of himself, perhaps statue BM1376 (Porter and Moss 1951 VII: 110) which has the title 'Overseer of the Works of the House of Pi-Ramesses Meramun (The Town)', within the temple to mark his restoration work. Kitchen translates (2000: 53) Paser II's reference to building temples for the king on his stela DB419 as a reference to restoration work at the temple. A further text in the South Chapel may relate to restoration work at Abu Simbel: 'he has made the great temple anew in his name for his father Amen-Re residing in Nubia, being cut into the Pure Mountain, of fine white sandstone' (*ir.n.f hwt-ntr ʿ3 mʿw hr rn.f n it.f Imn-Rʿ hry-ib t3-sti m šd m p3 dw wʿb m inry ḥd nfr*; bandeau text from the South Chapel; Kitchen 1996: 495). Raedler follows (2003: 132) Kitchen in dating an earthquake to year 31/32. She also states (2003: 132) that Setau carried out restoration work at Abu Simbel, which is possible but unproven.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The central aim of this thesis was to move the focus of the analysis of votive stelae beyond a purely 'religious', or pietistic, reading, towards a more socially-based analysis. To this end, stelae have been discussed as the end result of defined social practices. Central to the thesis was the reading of the representations as coded references to actual events. The examination required an analysis of the social and representational conventions within which the stelae and their content were created. It explored the role of votive stelae as social artefacts which, through image, text and materiality, were active agents in transmitting information on individual and group social status and identity, normative social structure, and alternative social organisation.

6.1 Stelae as the end result of defined social practices.

Stelae have been discussed as the final manifestation of an event or social practice. Such a discussion was an attempt to establish the motivation for their commissioning and installation, to move away from generalized discussions of piety, and set the stelae within their social context. The underlying concept is that stelae present what we might regard as secular social practices, such as promotion at work, within a 'religious' ritual context. The stelae reflect the dense religious landscape (Borghouts 1982b; Baines 2001: 25-27) inhabited by the Egyptians, where everyday activity was embedded within the supernatural: religion or religious expression was a cultural phenomenon (Finnestad 1989). As apparent representations of approaches to the divine, the stelae do not simply indicate high levels of piety, but rather indicate that the presence of the divine was the normative context for a variety of social activities.

Once the social and cultural nature of religious practices and expression has been established, it is possible to look for the social motivation for erecting a stela. There is little extant social context for these monuments (Baines 2004: 5; see also Demarée 1982 for the lack of ancient references to making stelae at Deir el Medina). At Deir el Medina the unique existence of other sources of information, in particular the administrative record, on the lives of the stelae dedicators, can supply instances of individual and group activity that may have been the impetus for erecting a stela. The numerous sources of information, and the hundreds of stelae extant from Deir el Medina, established this site as the testing ground for the concept of votive stelae as markers of social practices and

identity. Elite autobiographies can provide a life-frame with marked events. Some events, that might be termed 'rites of passage', may be concealed in parts of the funerary ritual. Tomb paintings, particularly at Thebes, are informative with regard to significant and perhaps unique events in an individual's life, such as attendance at state festivals. Tomb decoration seems less subject to representational conventions controlling content, allowing the introduction of innovative themes and imagery.

All of these sources, and the stelae, concern themselves almost solely with the lives of elite adult male individuals. A certain public social status, whether continual or momentary, was necessary in order to access and utilize the public monumental record, thus almost always excluding low ranking men, women and children. Women and children's lives were played out in a domestic context to which few of the stelae relate. Foxhall (1994: 135-136; see also Foxhall 1995) uses the term 'monumentality' to describe the use of such monuments by adult males in ancient Greece, and the need to be aware of the bias in their utilization. The female and domestic sphere is rarely marked in this type of record, and we cannot expect to find it here. Stelae do include women, but as sole dedicators they are few in number, and when men and women are represented on the same monument, convention dictates that, even if the woman is the primary benefactor, this must be concealed in the form of the representation, i.e., the man must precede the woman (see *Section 6.3*). In other words, female access to 'monumentality' and 'monumental time' (Foxhall 1994: 135-137) was limited, and female rites of passage were not as publicly marked (Laurence 2000: 444-445). As Foxhall points out (1994: 135), this should not force the conclusion that women's roles were secondary or unimportant – at Deir el Medina for long stretches of time the men were absent at work, and women may have run the community.

A number of different forms of social practice, or activity, are represented by the stelae. The types of activity are linked by the form they take – approaches to a divine hypostasis – but the similar representations encode a variety of different activities. Representations of straightforward petitioning of a deity occur on stelae that are related to personal crises, illness, and fertility. The stelae representing personal crises and illness are characterized by the inclusion of non-standard texts and representations. The fertility stelae are characterized by the high frequency of women and the inclusion of fertility related deities such as the Near Eastern triad of Qadesh, Min(-Amun-Re) and Astarte, or

Taweret. The clarity with which these groups of stelae define themselves proves that stelae can include implicit and/or explicit references to the event or social practice which motivated their production. The fertility, and personal crises and illness stelae, most directly fit the standard interpretation of votive stelae as records and representations of direct petitions to the divine. Their existence in terms of markers of social status, and their role in reaffirming social structure or marking alternative social organization, is less obvious. Such stelae are situated at the 'personal' end of the use of such monuments, though as public monuments they cannot help but operate on a number of different levels.

Perhaps the most 'secular' stelae are those that record promotion at work, or rewards for the completion of work. The one reward stela from Deir el Medina uses the 'greeting the king' gesture, which also occurs several times at Abu Simbel, and iconographically encodes the message that the individual performing this gesture has direct contact with the king. The three stelae discussed in *Section 4.1.3*, which record a visit of the Vizier, To, encode the promotion of a foreman to replace his father, as well as, possibly, a number of other promotions. The promotions may have taken place as part of a festival, and were certainly performed in a ritual context before a statue of a deity. The stelae texts give no information at all with regard to the event, but in this case references to such an event in the administrative record provide an interpretation of the representations. It is possible to then propose that stelae with similar content may refer to similar events. A group of stelae has been suggested, based on the inclusion Ptah and male only dedicators, which may relate to professional activity within the gang. Contemporary inhabitants of Deir el Medina would not have needed textual references to decode the primary message of the stelae.

More complex are the stelae that refer to festival attendance and oracles. Such stelae may account for far more of the dataset than has been included in the groups (see *Chapter 4*), and, in fact, it may be argued that all stelae relate to festival activity, as various activities would have taken place at the time of a festival. An attempt has been made to relate a number of stelae to state festivals such as the Valley and Opet festivals, and others to local festivals. State festival attendance was clearly a significant event in an individual's life, as indicated by the inclusion of representations of Theban festivals in tombs. On one level such stelae record approaches to the divine, but much

more overtly they advertise public divine access to state deities, and thus an instance of high social status for the dedicator and anyone included on the stela. Kessler has argued (1999: 186-187) that stelae represent an approach to the deity of a group by means of a higher-ranking leader, that is, in reverse, the dispersal of divine authority via intermediaries into the community, much in the same way that the Middle Kingdom Abydos stelae allow access to the divine to individuals setting up stelae in chapels of higher-ranking individuals (Simpson 1974).

The encoding of activity within standard iconography can be related to the offerings depicted. Certain offerings or items held, such as musical instruments, seem to clearly relate to the celebratory aspect of festivals. The stelae depicting the offering of flowers, or deity statues depicted with flowers, are, in this dataset, almost wholly restricted to Thebes, suggesting that flowers are linked to one of the great Theban festivals, such as the Valley festival. There are relatively few offerings depicted at the comparative sites. At the Nubian sites and at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, the lack of offerings suggests that the events depicted were an official ceremony at which the dedicators were present. Official ceremonies or rituals will have allowed little active, personal participation. The lack of offerings on stelae may be related to the official nature of the ceremonies, particularly at the sites located on the borders of Egypt. At these locations, the demographic consisted primarily of battalions of soldiers and their military commanders, involved in temple construction and foreign trade control. The frequent use of the Ramesses II smiting enemies scene at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham may relate to a ceremony carried out by the local army commander, Nebre, to protect the site, where the soldiers associated themselves with the protection of their fort and with the power of the king by depicting the classic smiting-scene on their stelae. The stelae themselves would then act as apotropaic devices. We can never know whether Ramesses II ever visited the fort (there is no additional documentation), and cannot draw such conclusions from the stelae. This is not to say that stelae depicting the living king do not relate to the event of witnessed ritual activity of that king, but in the case of the smiting-scene stelae, the scene has symbolic value of its own, and there is an implication that its use held its own meaning and significance (Müller-Wollerman 1988; Baines 1991) – it is an ‘iconographic action’ (Wilkinson 2002: 345). Each stela, or group of stelae, must be read according to its social and historical context.

Interpreting stelae as the end result of social practices opens up an avenue for pursuing a study of social history in Egypt, an area which has received little attention other than attempts to highlight the possibility of such an approach in the 1970s (Redford 1979) and 1980s (Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd 1983), and general books on 'life in Egypt' (Meskell 2002: 14). The complexity of everyday life in Egypt, and its continual diachronic shifting, remains largely unexplored due to a perceived lack of relevant sources. The votive stelae, if carefully read, offer one such source for the writing of a social history.

6.2 Votive stelae as records of historical events

If votive stelae are the end result of defined social practices, it stands to reason that in some instances the social practice to which they relate may be a defined historical event, that is, an event that can be fixed in time.

Central to the concept is the understanding of the hypostases depicted as representations of statues, reliefs or ritual paraphernalia extant and active during the lifetime of the stela dedicator. The clearest examples of this are the colossal statues of Ramesses II on the Qantir/Pi-Ramesses stelae. The actual colossal statues have not yet been firmly identified (but see Uphill 1984: 206), but such statues, with the same or similar epithets, are known from elsewhere in the country, and monumental records and related sources refer to their installation and cult use (see *Sections 5.1.3, 5.3.3*). Extrapolating from the Qantir/Pi-Ramesses stelae, it is possible to view the representations on votive stelae of deity hypostases as all relating to real hypostases, and not just abstract images of a deity. An attempt has been made to link the representations on the stelae to the original hypostases, with limited success due to the often generic nature of the iconography and epithets on the stelae. At Deir el Medina, and more generally at Thebes, the clearest example of correspondence of the archaeology and the images are the stelae representations of the ram-statues of Amun-Re (see *Section 3.2.2.1.4, The Good Rehny (rhny nfr)*). Cabrol has discussed (1995b, 2001) the cultic function of the ram-statues and criosphinxes in detail. According to Cabrol (2001: 237-238), a group of the ram-statues was moved during the reign of Ramesses II, and it is during this reign that the majority of the ram-statue stelae occur, suggesting that the move or reinstallation of the ram-statues was celebrated in some way, perhaps at a festival, at which a number of the Deir el Medina inhabitants were present.

A second indicator that a stela depicts a fixed historical event may be the inclusion of the living king, or a high-ranking individual, in an active role. These stelae are the type B stelae, demonstrating use of an intermediary, and are almost exclusively used by high-ranking individuals, and installed at official cult locations. It has been noted above, that the living king in the smiting scene may not depict a ritual in which the king took part, but rather a copy of an iconic scene, and this may also be the case for a number of the ritual scenes on the stelae from the Nubian sites, where stelae appear to include copies of royal offering scenes from the temples. I have argued that, in some cases, the stelae depict the king or his statue – in both cases equivalent to a royal appearance – taking part in ritual activity, that is, an actual royal appearance.

The depiction of the living king is a feature of the reign of Ramesses II. The discussion in *Chapter 4* suggested two things with regard to the proliferation of the appearance of the living king on Theban stelae: firstly, that the image of the king can only have been used by royal sanction; and secondly, that the appearance of the king, or his statue, may link a series of events. The events include the royal inauguration of the Deir el Medina Hathor temple following its renovation (*Section 4.1.1*), an offering of flowers at tombs belonging to two high-ranking members of the Deir el Medina community (*Section 4.2.2*), and the appearance of Amenhotep I in the palanquin (*Section 4.1.2.5*), all of which include the living king. The main reason for this proliferation of event markers may be that the king was not continually present at Thebes, but visited early in his reign to bury his father and take part in the Opet festival (see *Sections 4.1.2.4, 4.2.2.1.3*). Theban tomb paintings depict festival activity at this period, two of which Cabrol has suggested (2001: 553; see *Section 4.2.2.1.1*) represent the same Valley festival. The stelae, and the tomb paintings, suggest that a festival of some significance, be it the Valley festival, the Opet festival, and/or a festival connected to Ramesses II's coronation, certainly took place at Thebes early in the king's reign and made a significant impact on the local populace. Redford has discussed (1986: 190-201) Ramesses II's strategic use of the royal ancestors. A number of the stelae depict Ramesses II interacting with, or alongside, the royal ancestors, a theme that is repeated in reliefs from the Khenu-chapel at the Deir el Medina Hathor temple and in Deir el Medina tombs. Although impossible to prove, it is tempting to suggest that the sudden proliferation of stelae during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, many of them thematically linked by representations of the

living king and festival iconography such as statues of the deceased ancestors, deities in palanquins and barks in procession, bouquets, and afterlife deities, may belong to a single activity, a great royal festival, to establish the new king at Thebes.



Figure 25: Scene from TT19 of Amenmose (Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 139 [32.6.5]) showing scenes from the Valley festival, and, below, stelae with corresponding images of statues of deceased kings, and Amenhotep I in the palanquin (from left to right, DB221, DB75 and DB98).

A number of stelae make direct reference in their text to historical events, for example, the stelae with dated texts from Wadi es-Sebua and Abu Simbel (see *Table 38, Section 5.2.2*). The majority of the stelae are not as direct, but instead may encode a reference to historical events by means of iconography. Using private votive stelae as sources for historical events provides an additional source for events occurring at local and national level, and their significance in the lives of non-royal individuals. The possibility that Ramesses II took part in a large festival that imprinted itself on the lives of those living at

Thebes at the time, the sanctioning of the use of the royal image by non-royal and non-elite individuals, and the royal association with and utilization of popular cults on the West Bank (see *Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2*), evidence for which can be discerned in the stelae, is informative of the ideology of the Ramesside kingship and its need to reestablish the value of the kingship across as broad a demographic as possible (Kitchen 1982b: 178). At the comparative sites, the ideology takes a different form, where Ramesses II is promoted as the recipient of the cult, rather than the intermediary between the people and the gods. In both cases, the stelae present and promote an ideology, and negotiate the status of the dedicator in relation to that ideology.

6.3 The analysis of the social and representational conventions within which the stelae and their representations were created

One of the reasons that stelae have been relatively underused as social and historical sources is their apparently generic nature, in both text and representation. The representations are controlled by decorum, a set of conventions defined within the context of temples, and which reiterate the state ideology of the centrality of kingship (Baines 1985; *Introduction*). In this thesis, it has been argued that both the conventions themselves, and the content, encode important information on the meaning of the stela and the status and social identity of the dedicator (see *Section 1.8*). The location in which the stela was originally set up also carries status related information, and is linked to the compositional form, with stelae dedicated close to official cult centres closely following conventional decorum in their design and content (Baines 1997: 219).

The type B stelae include a higher-ranking intermediary, in some cases the king. The type A and C stelae may be aesthetic variations on the theme of 'direct access', they may relate to forms chosen to represent certain events, and they may encode a meaning in addition to iconographic access to the divine.

That A and C types of stelae relate to particular events or rituals is possible given that a large number of the type A stelae depict a lone individual before his god, or superior. The form may encode a professional ritual or event. The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), does not use type A stelae, perhaps indicating that as an aristocratic individual, he did not partake in local, professional rituals at Deir el Medina. Further analysis of the use of

type A and C stelae in this direction may yield more specific results. At Abu Simbel, where a large proportion of the stelae are dedicated by high-ranking officials, in particular, a number of King's Sons of Kush, the type A stelae encode proximity to the king, a variation on direct access to the divine, and indicating their relationship to their professional superior.

It is easier to define the function and meaning of type B stelae: they depict access to the divinity via a higher ranking intermediary, and can be closely related to actual ceremonies. The depiction of the living king as the intermediary indicates, and implies, a certain status in the dedicator.

A number of stelae demonstrate how convention can conceal the message. Stela DB228 of Khons (v) depicts him standing with a man called Nekh(em)mut behind him. The stela depicts the promotion of Khons (v) to the post of foreman at Deir el Medina, a post previously held by his father, Nekh(em)mut (i). Khons (v) also has a son called Nekh(em)mut, Nekh(em)mut (vi). Conventionally, a father will precede his son on a stela, his seniority awarding him the higher social, and representational, status. Associated information regarding the date of the stela makes it clear that the stela conveys the message that Khons (v) has succeeded his father, and thus in terms of professional rank, now replaces him, and the representation reflects this. On stela DB103 of Irynefer (i), his wife, Mehykhati (ii), depicted in the second register, offers incense. Incense is almost invariably offered by the primary dedicator, usually a man. Whilst, because of convention, Mehykhati cannot be shown preceding her husband, her role as primary dedicator is made clear by the offering she is shown making, allowing her indirect access to monumentality. Further analysis of gestures, postures and iconographic content may be revealing regarding the primary message of votive stelae (see Wilkinson 2002: 345-346). The level of indirectness in the stela representations is apparent on stela BM EA 555 (Zivie 2003: fig. 5). This stela was initially regarded as more overtly funerary than votive, though this may not be the case, and it was not included on the database. The stela depicts the Workman, Khabekhenet (i), adoring the Hathor cow emerging from the mountain with a statue named *P3-rh-nw*, in the place of the expected royal statue, before it. Zivie suggests (2003: 75) that the statue represents the Overseer of the Treasury, Netjry-Mes *P3-rh-nw*, buried at Saqqara in tomb Bubasteion I.16. The tomb includes references to the workmen of the Place of Truth.

Zivie argues that the Theban workmen were involved with the decoration of this tomb, and that Khabekhenet (i) encodes, with the stela depiction, a reference to his involvement in the carving of the Hathor cow and royal statue in the tomb.

The form a stela takes is influenced by its original location. State cult centres exert fields of influence with regard to the form of private monuments, which display stricter adherence to the accepted decorum the closer they are to the sacred space. This relates to the status of the individual, with access to such sacred spaces only available to individuals of a certain rank. The dissemination of the central ideology by means of representations can be seen as focused and controlled at major centres such as Thebes, and loosening with the greater distance from such centres. Individuals may use monuments displaying strict adherence to convention at a distance from the influential centres in order to advertise their own proximity to the state ideology, and thus their own social status. Ramose (i) does this at Deir el Medina, with his traditional type C stelae, as does the King's Son of Kush, Setau in Nubia. Monuments of influential individuals themselves act as local centres of fields of influence. This is clear at Abu Simbel where 'copy' stelae are carved next to stelae of higher ranking individuals (see *Section 5.4.1*). At Deir el Medina, Ramose (i)'s numerous monuments discovered in the Khenu-chapel (Davies 1999: 80, n. 38) indicate that this may have been a focus for cult attention for the community, via Ramose (i). The same situation is apparent at Wadi es-Sebua (*Section 5.3.2*), where Setau set up stelae in the courtyard of the Ramesses II temple, and is included as the beneficiary on a number of others. The two stelae of the Commander, Nebre, at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham indicate a similar situation (*Section 5.3.4*): the stelae were discovered in the chapel next to the small temple, with the naos and standard-bearer statue.

The use of text and image in a semi-literate society to make a statement regarding divine access is comparable to the situation in Europe in the Middle Ages. At this period, text provided direct access to God for literate individuals; indirect access was possible via images which served as mediators between this world and the supernatural (Moreland 2001: 46-47). By the end of the 15th century CE, images had acquired efficacy in their own right, allowing individuals direct access to the divine (Moreland 2001: 50-51). The votive stelae represent adoration of deity statues, reliefs or icons, the mediated form of the deity to which private individuals had access. The representation of the images on

stelae not only recorded the instance of divine access, but perpetuated it, and became the focus of ongoing ritual attention, providing another level of mediated access. The situation in ancient Egypt is therefore comparable to the situation in late 15th century Europe in terms of private access to the divine.

The choice of stela form (A, B or C), the iconography, and the original location of the stela, express an individual's social status. Manipulation of the conventions allows individuals to negotiate a position within their community, as a local focus, or in relation to a local focus, which both conforms to accepted social norms, and asserts individual status.

6.4 Votive stelae and individual, and group, social status and identity

Votive stelae, through image, text and materiality, are active agents in transmitting information on individual, and group, social status and identity. *Section 6.3* has outlined how representational conventions, or traditional forms, can be used to demonstrate affiliation to the central ideology, and a claim to authority (Baines 1994b), from which an individual may further benefit. This is an example of Woolf's 'partial remedy to the problem of how to surpass and conform at the same time' (1996: 32; see *Section 1.8*), in a society where the level of conformity rather than difference indicated status, and was the manner in which identity, individual or group, was stressed.

By means of conventional form and iconography, and the social practices which they record, votive stelae continually create and recreate accepted social structure. They are part of the practice and the memory of their society. As they are not reflective of externally imposed structure, but actively constitute it, they are open to manipulation at an individual level, providing examples of agency and identity. The votive stelae display two forms of ideological, or structural, manipulation, one intentional, and one perhaps not.

The latter, possibly unintentional, ideological manipulation, or unintended consequence (Giddens 1984: 10), is the proliferation of representations of individuals directly accessing a deity hypostasis. Whilst this may have been conventionally acceptable by the Ramesside period, and indeed decorum dictated that the image of the living king was not available to private individuals on public monuments, such as stelae, without

official sanction, numerous accessible images that did not represent the role of the king as intermediary may have created an 'alternative' ideology that bypassed the necessity of the king. The aristocratic Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)'s choice of the more 'traditional' type C, indirect access, form, for 18 of his 21 stelae, may have been intended to display his social status by their apparent support of the central ideology, i.e. that he did not himself have *direct* divine access, but they also displayed him accessing the divinity many times over without the king's presence. As an aristocratic individual, such stelae, and the sheer number of them, will have been influential on the local community.

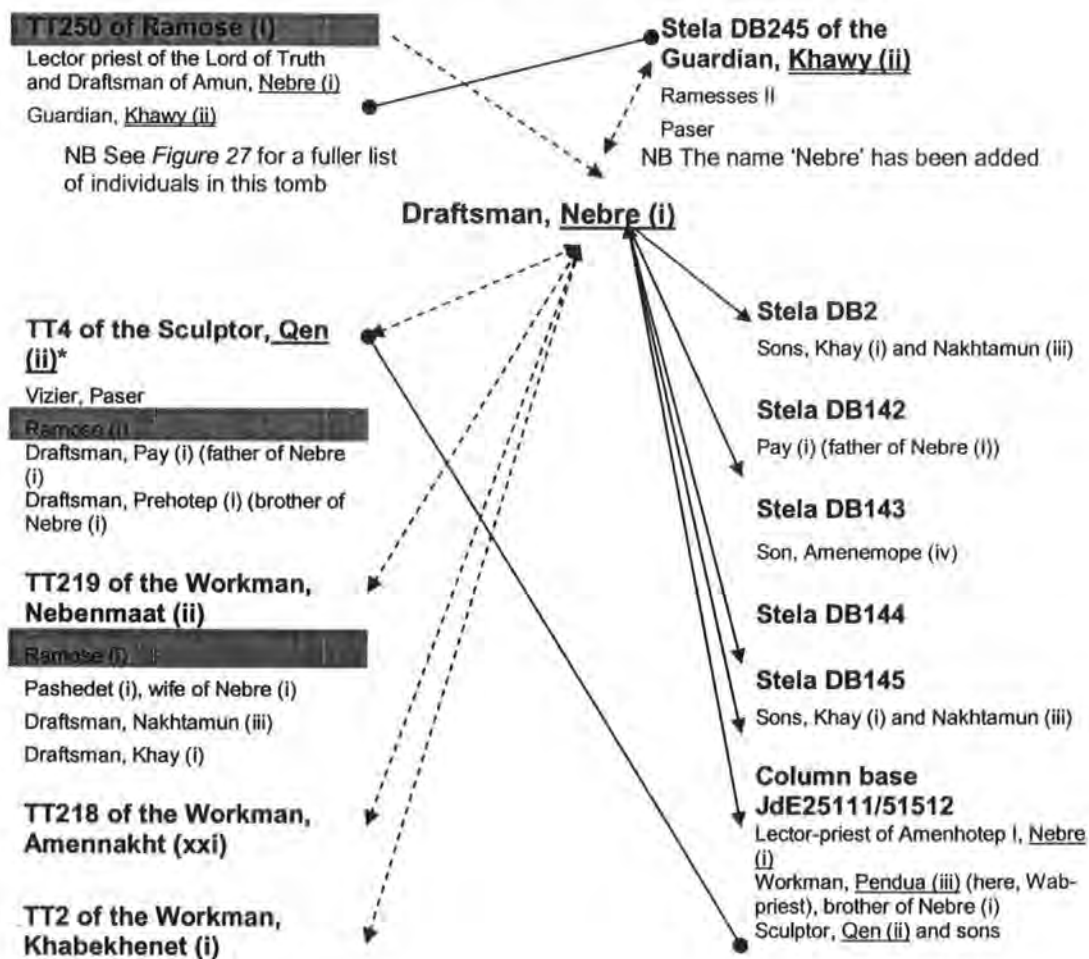
Royal control of expressions of personal piety had been felt to be necessary in the 18th Dynasty, when official chapels were constructed for private approaches to the divinity (Pinch 1993: 357-358; 360). The almost unprecedented appearance of Ramesses II on votive stelae of non-elite individuals at Deir el Medina, and at Pi-Ramesses (stela DB360 of the Infantryman, Mose), may constitute an alternative remedy for the situation. Ramesses II certainly seems to have understood the power of images, and the necessity, following the collapse of the 18th Dynasty, of maintaining a high visibility kingship. The stelae relating to a visit of Ramesses II to the Hathor temple (*Section 4.1.1*) and the oracular/festival stelae dating to Ramesses II (*Section 4.1.2*) are linked by the relatively frequent depictions of the reigning king. Royal representations of kings on private stelae are known from the 18th Dynasty (see e.g. Schulman 1988), and there is a 17th Dynasty example from Abydos (Clère 1982), but these are restricted to high élite individuals. The use of the image of the reigning king by the Deir el Medina workmen, and the soldier at Pi-Ramesses, reflects a royally sanctioned change in decorum. It is not an example of appropriation or democratization. Ramesses II may have officially sanctioned the use of his image, by certain groups of people, to support and disseminate the kingship, and his own cult, by means of increased numbers of accessible images of himself.

Intentional manipulation of the conventions for personal benefit is evident in the prominence of Ramose (i) at Deir el Medina, Setau at Wadi es-Sebua and Nebre at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. The monuments of these individuals, and those of their contemporaries, demonstrate the everyday reality of social relationships, and are an example of social organization. Such everyday reality did not have an official context for expression, but, in these cases, uses official methods and convention, to express

something other than the centralized ideology. The role of Ramose (i) as the centre of a network of social organization centring on the Hathor temple and Khenu-chapel, and the cult of Hathor and Ramesses II, has been discussed in *Section 4.1.1.5*. In the New Kingdom, the office of the king was promoted as central to society in the form of statue cults and intermediaries (Pinch 1993: 357; Moftah 1985: 256-264). An offshoot of this situation was that those individuals chosen to promote the royal office became socially prestigious in an unprecedented way. The Senior Scribe, Ramose (i)'s aristocratic background, his promotion of Ramesses II's cult, and the installation of his own personal Hathor cult, gave him unprecedented social prestige within the community. The individuals that dedicate stelae to the Hathor cult during Ramose (i)'s time in post, and demonstrate their relationship to Ramose (i) by including him, and Ramose (i)'s superior colleague the Vizier, Paser, in their tombs and on their monuments, form what can be termed a 'patronage group', a group of individuals who would benefit both materially, socially and spiritually by association with Ramose (i). Social organisation is based on networks of contacts, and social status is marked by attendance at status-defining events, and those with whom an individual could advertise a relationship. In turn, Ramose (i) benefited socially, spiritually and economically by inclusion on their monuments, confirming his place in the monumental record, and his central status in the community. Such patronage groups are visible at Wadi es-Sebua, centred on the King's Son of Kush, Setau, and at Zawiyet Umm el Rakham, centred on the Commander, Nebre.

At Wadi es-Sebua, Setau is included as an intermediary and/or beneficiary of the offering formula on 10 out of the 12 stelae from the Ramesses II temple (*Section 5.3.2*). The inclusion of the offering formula makes a direct statement with regard to the role of Setau, placing him in the same category of beneficiary as the king. At this distance from the state centres of Pi-Ramesses and Thebes, Setau took the opportunity to confirm and perpetuate monumentally the role he may have played in actuality, as the leader of, and material provider for, the troops in his command. Raedler (2003) employs what she calls network theory ('Theoreme der Netzwerktheorie') in her interpretation of Setau's monuments. The theory interprets the social networks of an individual in terms of social relationships and interaction, and can also throw light on the structure of power and rulership ('Gesellschaft') within the Egyptian elite (Raedler 2003: 129). She constructs

Instead of a strict vertical hierarchy with the king at the top, and individuals ranked at certain levels below him, certain parts of society were organised in groups clustering around local leaders who set up local, miniature imitations of the centralized social structure. Setau's central role in a group of individual's lives is similar to that played by the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), at Deir el Medina, whose similar intermediary role has been noted by Pamminger (1996: 298). The social network of Ramose (i) can be seen in *Figure 27*, below. This is preceded by the social and patronage network of another individual at Deir el Medina, the Draftsman, Nebre (i), a contemporary of Ramose (i), who has a prominent 'monumental' and ritual presence in the community (*Figure 26*). This network chart serves to illustrate the status accorded an individual by association with someone such as Ramose (i).



Legend

Grey background: Ramose (i)

Single underline: Named individuals on the column base JdE25111/51512 listing the lay priesthood of Amenhotep I (see *Table 13* for the full list of individuals)

Double underline: Named individuals on the stelae relating to the inauguration of the Hathor temple at Deir el Medina (*Table 29*), other than Ramose (i)

*Tombs containing representations of Ramesses II

————→ Nebre's patronage

-----→ Individuals patronising Nebre

Figure 26: The social and patronage network of the Draftsman, Nebre (i)

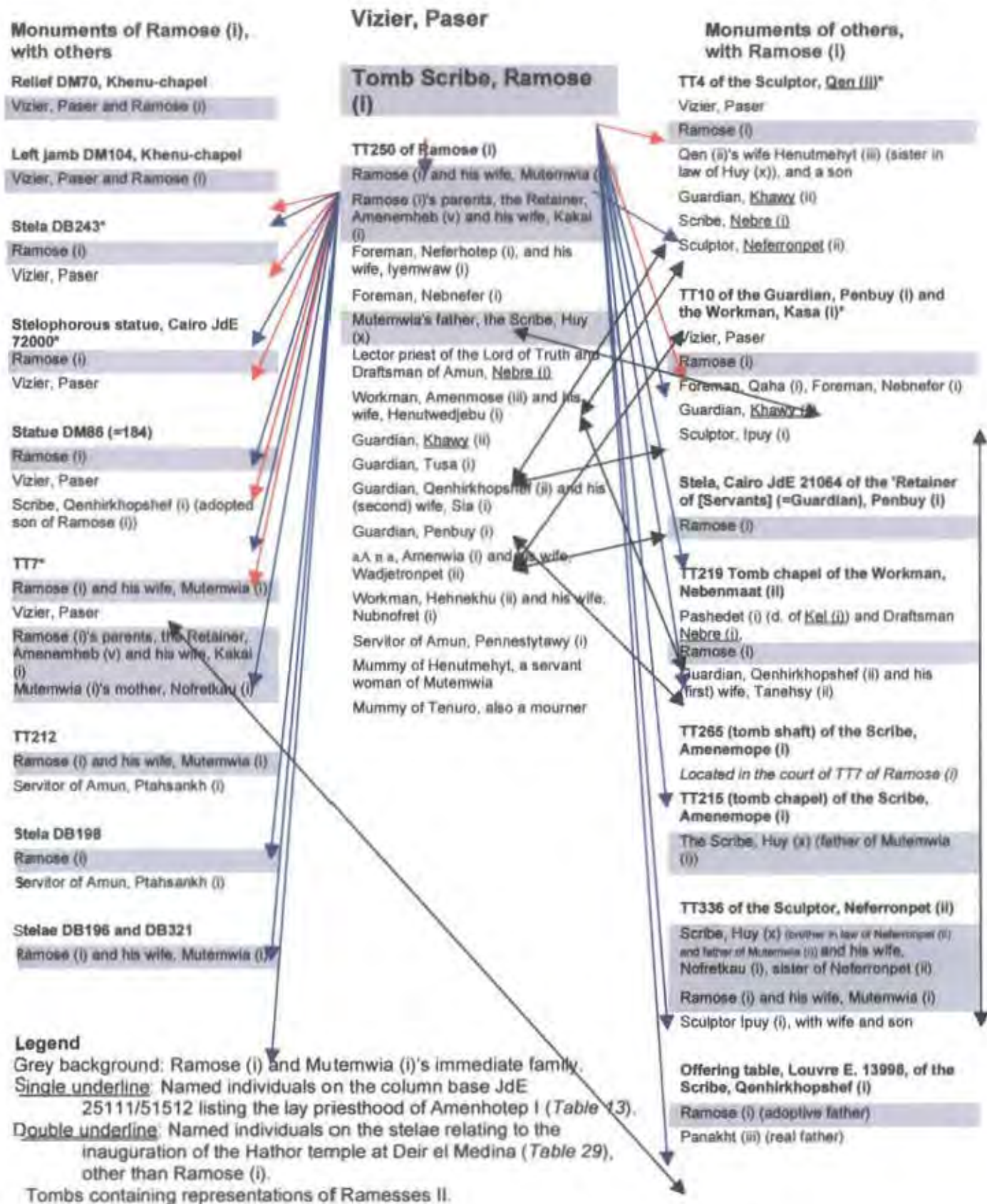


Figure 27: The social and patronage network of Ramose (i) at Deir el Medina

The high status of Setau is reflected in his numerous monuments and inscriptions: Raedler lists 100, where other king's sons of Kush in the early Ramesside period (eight), have 62 between them (2003: 130-131) – again this compares to the large number of similar items belonging to Ramose (i) at Deir el Medina (Černý 1973: 317-327; Davies 1999: 77-83), and the Commander Nebre at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (*Section 5.3.3*). Setau's monuments include private chapels at Elkab, Qasr Ibrim and Faras, the large double stela at Abu Simbel and his tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga, Thebes (TT288/289), a burial location restricted to the royal family during the reign of Ramesses II (Raedler 2003: 150-151).

At Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, one of the two stelae found with the standard-bearer statue depicts Nebre (figure erased) offering to Sekhmet whilst a second man kneels below. This stela is similar in format to stela DB408 of the Royal Scribe and Great Chief of the Army, Panehsy, where Ramesses II offers to Sekhmet while Panehsy kneels below. The Sekhmet stela appears to support Snape's argument (2001: 19) that Nebre adopted royal prerogatives, appearing on stelae in the intermediary role usually taken by the king, setting up an 'alternate' ideology, and that it was this bold move that caused his name to be erased from the monuments. Officials acting as intermediaries are, however, a phenomenon of the Ramesside period, particularly in the reign of Ramesses II (Pamminger 1996: 299). The phenomenon is well illustrated by the monuments of the Vizier, Paser (Pamminger 1996: 288-290) and the King's Son of Kush, Setau (Pamminger 1996: 296-297; Raedler 2003: 157-163). At Wadi es-Sebua he mediates for military standard-bearers, as Nebre does at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. It is open to question whether Nebre's adoption of such a role contributed to his fall from grace, evidenced by the erasure of his name from the monuments.

It has been noted that it is at Wadi es-Sebua, of all the comparative sites, that we find the largest repertoire of deities (*Section 5.2.4*). This is not because there was a flourishing group of popular cults at this distant Nubian locale. The three stelae from the Amenhotep III temple are the only evidence for popular worship here. Rather, the stelae record and advertise the King's Son of Kush, Setau's full access to the temple deities and the integral part he played in building the temple. The stelae of the Senior Scribe, Ramose (i), at Deir el Medina, also include a broad repertoire of deities. The high level of 'divine access' of Setau and Ramose (i) indicates their high socio-political status.

In contrast to Ramose (i) at Deir el Medina, Setau at Wadi es-Sebua and Nebre at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, a locally stationed official developing a central role in local cult activity is not evident in the record at Abu Simbel or at Qantir/Pi-Ramesses. At Abu Simbel only the King's Son of Kush, Paser II, leaves more than one monument, and no individuals dedicate stelae for the benefit of any living individual other than the king. In her study of the social relationships developed by Setau at the places he lived and worked, Raedler omits Abu Simbel as there is no evidence that Setau had such influence here (Raedler 2003: 163). Abu Simbel is an official cult and administrative centre, and, in this, comparable to Pi-Ramesses, the capital city. Such centres would not allow a private individual to develop a central role in cult activity. At these two sites it is the king who is the primary beneficiary of the monuments.

6.5 The representative nature of the Deir el Medina stelae

Deir el Medina provides the core dataset for the analysis of stelae as social and historical documents. The utilisation of material from Deir el Medina as representative of Egypt as a whole, in the New Kingdom, has been called into question due to the nature of the community, elite royal craftsmen and their families, and the proposed high rate of literacy (see *Section 2.1.3*). Such a demographic cannot have been typical for many communities, but it is nonetheless a New Kingdom community, and representative of literate, skilled individuals and their families, their lives and expectations. With such caveats in place, the material from Deir el Medina can be clearly assessed.

There are aspects of the Deir el Medina stelae that are clearly unrepresentative of stelae utilisation in the Ramesside period: the sheer number, the number that a single individual dedicates and the generally high quality. In addition, in terms of content, the stelae represent a wide variety of deities, and indicate access to state festivals, and royal ceremonies. These factors can all be tied to the nature of the community, in their role of royal tomb-builders, and their skills as sculptors and painters. The difference between Deir el Medina and Thebes more generally, and the comparative sites, is in the nature of the community, not the function or nature of the stelae. The stelae may have been less valued at Deir el Medina, being more easily available, but they still function as the record of social practices and events.

Deir el Medina is comparable to Pi-Ramesses in terms of the types of cults represented, as well as, to a certain extent, the demographic. Both sites are settlements sites of a fairly long duration, with stelae dedicated by non-elite individuals, as well as individuals with elite connections, and lower ranking people and women. The stelae refer to popular cults, rather than simply attendance at official events connected to the state cults, which is the case for the other sites. The stelae from Wadi es-Sebua and Zawiyet Umm-el Rakham represent a military community resident for a short period of time. The stelae from Abu Simbel form a separate group, representative of high-ranking officials and a number of priests, and dedicated over a fairly long period of time, and do not represent a homogenous community or group. Given the official nature of the Abu Simbel site, it is not unexpected that the stelae are informative on social structure, and not social organisation.

The analysis of the Deir el Medina stelae brought to light a number of characteristics that are typical of the whole dataset:

- the proliferation of stelae dating to the reign of Ramesses II, and in particular the first half of the reign;
- the use of type B or intermediary stelae to indicate presence at an official ceremony. These stelae mark social status by representing the king or high-ranking official, and indicate that the dedicator had a relationship, however brief and distant, with that person;
- the use of type A stelae for local professional events, except at Abu Simbel where the type A stelae indicate state professional events;
- the existence of patronage groups centred on a local leader, at Deir el Medina, Wadi es-Sebua and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.

The wealth of stelae at Deir el Medina conceals the motivation behind the commissioning of many of them. The analysis of the core dataset of 264 stelae has suggested a motivation for 102 (39%) of them (see *Chapter 4* and *Appendix 9*). Broadly, all of the stelae record some kind of social practice that may have taken place in a festival context. The specific practice or event is harder to discern. The Theban stelae (55), provided a less cohesive group. 40 of these (= 73%) were discussed in more detail, with the suggestion that the majority of them relate to an aspect of state festivals. In the light of the Deir el Medina analysis, the stelae from the comparative sites have been

linked to popular approaches to official hypostases (Qantir/Pi-Ramesses) or attendance at official ceremonies (Abu Simbel, Wadi es-Sebua and Zawiyet Umm el Rakham). The Qantir/Pi-Ramesses stelae are as generic in appearance and content as many of the Deir el Medina stelae, giving little clue to the motivating occasion, and the lack of data from other sources makes establishing fixed historical events behind their commissioning extremely difficult. Further analysis of offerings and dress may be fruitful with regard to these stelae and the outstanding Deir el Medina stelae. What can be said for certain is that the stelae do not represent simply the relationship, in the abstract sense, of an individual with a deity, but are a record of social practices taking the form of 'divine access', recorded for perpetuity.

The Deir el Medina dataset is representative in terms of the function of votive stelae, and periods of their use, if unrepresentative in the sheer quantity and quality.

The thesis set out to establish the reasons why an individual would utilise a votive stela. Reading the stelae as the end result of defined social practices implied that they are, on one level, historical documents – they must relate to an event, and, on another level, that they encapsulate an individual's ideal social identity in terms of social status – the level of divine access displayed. The stelae have been discussed as an example of material culture actively creating social structure, and alternative social organisations, intentionally, via knowledgeable manipulation of conventions, and unintentionally. The manipulation occurs on a number of levels: Ramesses II promotes the centrality of the kingship, in the traditional role as intermediary to the deity, and as the deity itself; elite individuals utilise stelae for self promotion; and lower ranking individuals present themselves in relation to a deity, a local elite individual and, on occasion, the king, to accrue spiritual, social and economic benefits by such an association. All of these uses manipulate accepted conventions for the stela dedicator's benefit, presenting a constantly shifting interpretation by means of iconography of tradition and ideology, or social structure and organisation.

The analysis reveals the wealth of social and historical knowledge encoded within the stelae, offering a relatively untapped source, and a viewpoint other than the official/royal

monumental record, for the writing of a social history of Egypt. Such a reading of the votive stelae can be applied to similar monuments of earlier and later periods, in particular the large body of Middle Kingdom material from Abydos, the monuments from the Hekaib shrine at Elephantine (Habachi 1985), and the New Kingdom corpus from Assiut (Reisner 1918; Duquesne 2004, 2005). These groups of votive stelae are large enough to allow a similar methodological analysis, tracing their relationship to social practices, and patterns of their use by individuals. Broadening the New Kingdom corpus to include the Assiut material will provide a contemporary comparison to explore further the question of the representative nature of the Deir el Medina material, and social and ritual practices at a location within Egypt but distant from the capitals. An analysis of the Middle Kingdom material will trace the evolution of social practices and their iconographic record on votive stelae, and the role of intermediaries, and set the context for the Ramesside material discussed here. The social networks evident in Ramesside Egypt reveal the existence of the cults of private individuals, a form of social organisation at local level that may have had a long history, and certainly evolved into later cults of individuals (see, for example, Jelínková-Reymond 1956). This thesis is a starting point for a wide-ranging survey of social practice, social networks, and the function of votive stelae as social and historical documents.

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