

# THE TEMPLE IN ANCIENT EGYPT



New discoveries and recent research

*Edited by Stephen Quirke*

## The statue program for the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III

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One of the alluring aspects of Amenhotep III's ruined mortuary temple at Kom el Heitan (pl.IIa-b) concerns the vast amount of statuary and statue fragments that lie *in situ*, have been found there, or can plausibly be attributed to the temple. It would be impossible to give an estimated number, but certainly there were once set up hundreds, and quite possibly as many as a thousand, life sized or larger stone images. The king himself boasted of the statuary on a number of monuments: on a stela (CG 34025) later carved on the back into Merenptah's "Israel Stela", Amenhotep described his temple for Amun-Re as "magnified (*s's3w*) with statues for my lord out of Aswan granite (*m3t 3bw*), quartzite (*'3t bi3t*) and every valuable stone." (Urk. IV 1648). On the large stela behind the colossus of Memnon, the king stated that he "filled it [the temple] with monuments from what I brought from Gebel Ahmar (*dw n bi3t*)... It is because of their numerousness that one rejoices greatly, I having done the like with *ib hr sd* [an unknown stone ?]. This is calcite, granite, and black granodiorite." (Urk. IV 1673). The four named stones: quartzite, calcite, granite, and granodiorite are exactly those found throughout the temple (pl.IIc, and see the catalogue at the end of this article), although *inr km*, "black stone", meaning granodiorite, is far and away the most common material employed, represented by approximately eight hundred statues.

It is not only the numbers of these statues that are unusual, but their forms as well. Much of the sculpture from the temple is in the form of deities, both theriomorphic and anthropomorphic. Their original emplacements are often lost, and it remains difficult to reconstruct their original functions. The following discussion will focus on the question of how the statuary may have been conceived to participate in temple rituals, specifically those related to the first *Sed* festival. Most statues of the king are not included in the discussion, largely because of their primary association with architecture, either pylons or columned courts. (endnote 1) In addition none of the sculpture, much of it limestone, found in the temple of Merenptah is considered, because it is felt that it largely derives from a later phase of Amenhotep III's constructions at Kom el Heitan (Jaritz and Bickel 1994).

No complete published list of the deity statuary from the temple exists as yet, but a catalogue of god statuary, not including the Sakhmets, follows at the end of the article (for Sakhmet, Germond 1981; Haeny 1981; for other statues Vandier 1958, 378-89; Kozloff and Bryan 1992). Many of the statues in the catalogue do not have a certain provenance in the mortuary temple, and a number were found at other sites. A couple have added inscriptions that identify the site where they were found, and thereby inform us of their probable ancient transport. Those without inscriptions are identified on the basis of the stones used (see above), the technical finishes of the statues, the size and proportions of the statues, the iconography, and, of course, the style. (For these criteria, see Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992; on the basis of size, the granodiorite statuary from Soleb has been removed from consideration. It is generally smaller in scale.)

A number of scholars have noted that there is a great emphasis on the *Sed* festival in the preserved inscriptions (Vandier 1958; Habachi 1971). Most of the inscribed non-Sakhmet granodiorite statues that can be connected to the temple have an epithet related to the jubilee, and at least one calcite statue does. This in itself is unusual, because not since the Step Pyramid do we have indications of three-dimensional production of gods for the jubilee. The gods represented in inscriptions are sometimes traditional to the jubilee and sometimes not. Examples of statue inscriptions mentioning gods of the festival include the following:

*Osiris the great saw, lord of the Sed within the per nes*  
*Khnum lord of Kebeh, great god within the Sed*  
*Ptah Lord of truth, great god lord of the Sed within the booth of annals*  
*Soul of Nekhen, lord of the Sed*  
*Redju lord of the Sed*  
*Satis mistress of the Sed, goddess within the per wer*  
*Hemen, lord of the Sed*  
*Nepthys, foremost of the Sed within the booth of annals (later changed into Herakleopolis)*  
*Horus maat kheru, lord of the Sed who is within the per nes*  
*Maat, lady of the Sed, foremost of the booth of annals*  
*Seshet foremost of Hut-Nebmaatre, mistress of Sed within the booth of annals*

Some of these statues are unique to this temple, at least as is so far known, and most are rare, particularly on this scale and in stone. For example, there is no other statue of the snake headed Asbet (Cat. 29), with or without a king, as here. Nor is there another example of a statue of Osiris, the Great Saw (Cat. 7). And the crocodile-lion sphinx (Cat. 54) is, to my knowledge, entirely unknown three dimensionally. Up to this time, indeed, statues of falcon headed gods, jackal headed ones, and cow headed deities were rare, if not unknown, in life sized stone. Nor do they appear to belong to the traditional jubilee rituals as they appear at Soleb and Bubastis. Some of the statuary of Amenemhet III, such as the crocodile sculpture from his Hawara complex, suggests earlier parallels, although the ritual context for these is no more certain than is that at Kom el Heitan. And, of course, there were examples of some unusual god statues on a far smaller scale and in wood, found in royal tombs of the mid 18th Dynasty. Tutankhamun's tomb provides us a rather complete example of what the earlier ones might have once had. Again, however, the ritual uses for those statuettes are unclear, though it seems likely that they were funerary in aspect.

It appears that much of the statuary, as proposed in an earlier publication (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992), was placed for commemoration of the *Sed* rites, in booths or in interaction with other images, to recreate three dimensionally the scenes of the jubilee. However, many of the statues associated with Kom el Heitan cannot be directly linked to known rituals. Barry Kemp has pointed out that Amenhotep III's jubilee certainly was not traditional, despite apparent assertions, as by Kheruef, to the contrary (Kemp 1989), and it is probable that much of the statuary was made intentionally for multiple cult uses and was moved about for that purpose.

Let me then move to the proposed explanations I believe are possible. This paper proposes to identify all the mortuary temple statuary within ritual contexts well known in the time of Amenhotep III, earlier, and later. It requires suggesting that **the statuary was produced to perform two or more cultic and liturgical functions, associated, but not necessarily continuous, in time. These rituals were linked particularly to the king's first jubilee but need not have been exclusive to it. The function of these rituals was to invoke the protection of the gods throughout Amenhotep's jubilee year and to link the king's rejuvenation through the *Sed* with his rebirth as the sun god for millions of years to come. The statues may have functioned as different gods for different rituals: for examples, one snake headed deity may have served as both Renenutet and Asbet.**

A major premise of the argument below can be neither proven nor disproven. It is that the temple, as it existed in the last few years of Amenhotep III's reign (post years 30/31), was not standing at the time of the celebration of the first *Sed*. In part this is based on the fact that relief fragments illustrating the festival are both dated and inscribed with the names of actual officiants at the ritual. As with Soleb, the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu, and the tomb of Kheruef, such reliefs could not have been designed until the actual celebrations had taken place. Whether this was a matter of months or years is immaterial to the discussion below, but the article does presume that, during the months prior to the *Sed* and throughout the jubilee celebrations, Kom el Heitan was generally uncluttered by stone buildings or sphinx alleys, although its brick enclosures and pylons may well have been standing. A recent article has already eliminated the sphinx alley of sandstone rams between pylons two and three, and this was the largest stumbling block to the design offered here (Cabrol 1995). In addition, archaeological soundings in this century and the last have offered strong indications that the

temple went through changes during Amenhotep III's reign, and that statuary was buried beneath the pavement of the present peristyle court and in front of it as well. (endnote 2) I will return to this point below, but wish the reader from here to see the grand site of Kom el Heitan in year 28 of Amenhotep III as an enclosure some 700 by 700 meters, surrounded by brick walls, with gates on all four sides. Inside there may have been already three mudbrick pylons with large courts between, and ceremonial ways laid out on the east-west and north-south axes (fig.1).

### Rituals to appease the Eye

I will begin with the Sakhmet statuary (pl.IIIa) which represents the largest, by many hundreds, group of deity sculpture. The ritual role of this statuary has been studied by others, and this allows me to use the work of Yoyotte and Germond, in particular, to support the notion of statues designed for festival rituals. Many Sakhmet statues may be seen in the sculpture galleries of the British Museum, and although those were collected in the temple of Mut at Karnak on the east bank at Luxor, they once graced the courts of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple where the fragmentary remains of many like them may still be seen and continue to be excavated. Although the number of Sakhmets cannot be

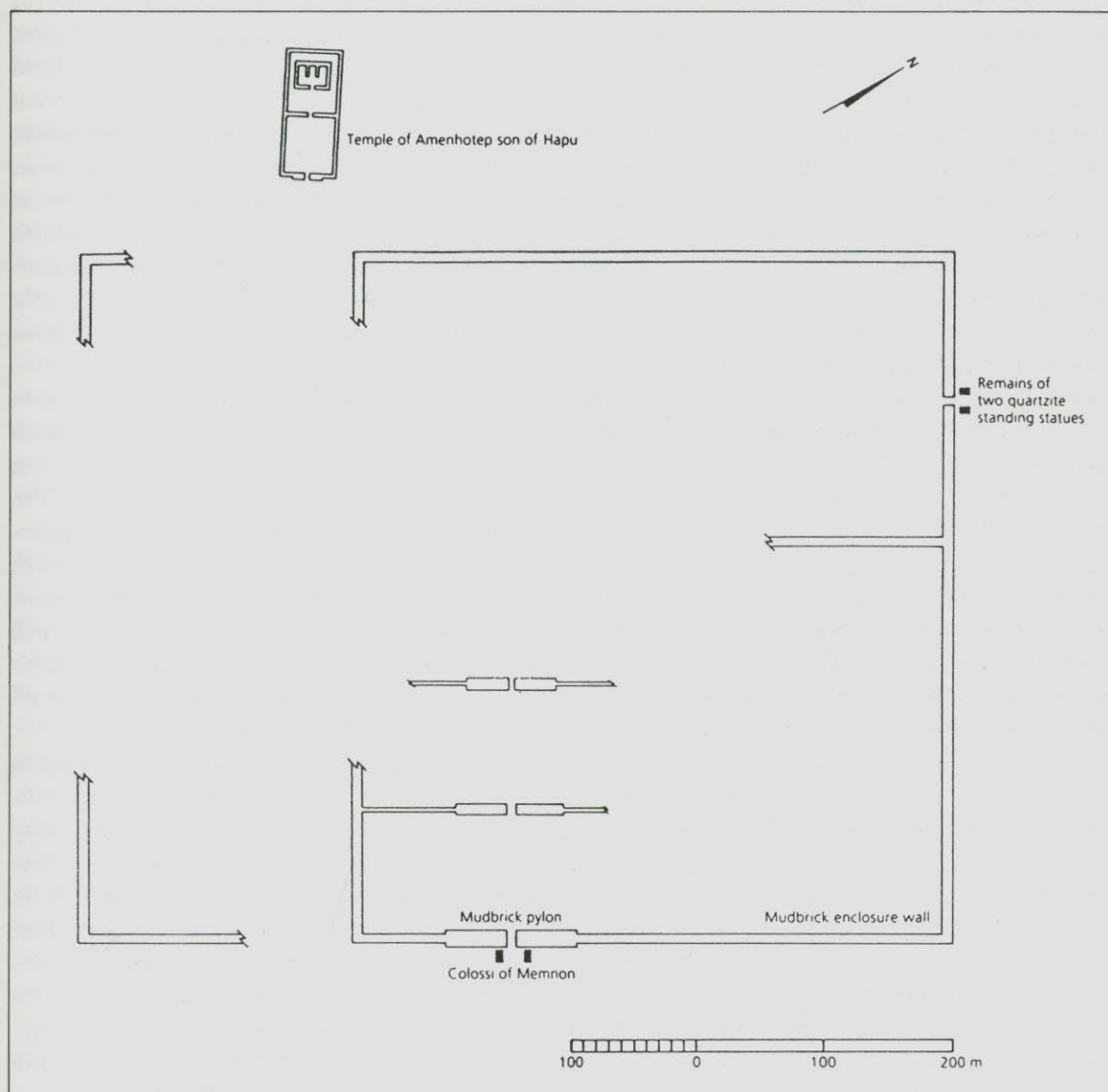


Fig.1 Plan of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, showing its probable incomplete state before the first *Sed* festival (after Haeny 1981, pl.1).

given precisely, Yoyotte in 1980 estimated that the number should have been twice 365, or 730. (Yoyotte 1980, 64) He noted that Benson and Gourlay believed the Mut precinct alone may have housed four or five hundred of the statues. Mariette had counted 498 and guessed 572 as a total. A few more have surfaced since then (Yoyotte 1980, 72 nn 15-16).

Yoyotte linked the Sakhmet statues directly to the Litany to Sakhmet. He noticed that at least sixty of the epithets found on Amenhotep III's Sakhmet statue inscriptions are the same as those on various recensions of late Sakhmet litanies from Edfu, Dendera, Kom Ombo and Tod. As Yoyotte pointed out, the purpose of Sakhmet litanies at these temples was to invoke the goddess not to act against the king with the negative power of which she was capable. Rather the litany appeased Sakhmet by and on behalf of the king and thereby assured a favorable cast for the year: that is, it prevented the dread of "Sakhmet being in a year of her pestilence," a possibility that Egypt ran each year. Each strophe of the litany appealed to the goddess to protect the king and deliver him from all illnesses and evils for the present year. Such a role for Sakhmet is already old in the 18th Dynasty. The association of Sakhmet-Bastet and Hathor with control of the year's fortune is present in the Coffin Texts and can be traced back as far as the 11th Dynasty (Yoyotte 1980, 64; Weigall 1911, 170 = Mentuhotep II "Nebhepetre beloved of Hathor, mistress of the year"; CT VI 171m; CT VII, Spell 955 = "Sakhmet-Bastet who guards the seasons... mistress of all years").

The Sakhmet litanies coupled with 730 Sakhmet statues invoke the protection of the king for the year and also assure a propitious outcome for each day of the year. The litanies have been most commonly associated with the Festival of the New Year, a celebration recently discussed by Germond (Yoyotte 1980; Germond 1981). However, in his 1981 discussion of Sakhmet, Germond noted that the litanies were also commonly linked to any period in the year when great change was imminent, such as both beginning and end of year, coronation time, because a new king was about to take over, or jubilee time, because the king was to be renewed. Although Yoyotte linked the litany only to the New Year for Amenhotep, the placement in this particular temple suggests a connection to his jubilee - and also to his cult of eternity. Given that Amenhotep III's mortuary temple relief program contained numerous *Sed* festival scenes, and given that much of the statuary from the temple explicitly refers to the *Sed*, it seems not presumptuous to suggest that a litany to Sakhmet might have been associated with that festival as it approached in Year 30.

A second aspect of Sakhmet's litanies as they are preserved in Third Intermediate Period to Roman sources demonstrates that the decans of the southern heavens were linked to Sakhmet. Due to their role as time keepers, like Sakhmet they had the potential of bringing evils during the year, but might conversely be forced to assist the king in his appeasement of Sakhmet's negative power. The decans appear not only following the king in his litanies to the goddess on temple walls, but in opposite role on the sides of Sakhmet's thrones on late period bronze votive statuettes. In those instances it was Sakhmet who was called upon to protect the offerer from the pitfalls of the coming year. Yoyotte cites late magical protective objects that used the litany to protect or heal people: "We will protect her at midnight (decree the gods), we will guard over her at night, we will take care of her night and day, at every moment. We will preserve her from the decans, we will preserve her from all errant mischief" (Edwards 1960, 7-8, pl. 2).

Although Yoyotte noted Sakhmet's connection to the decans, his interest in them was only to demonstrate the completeness of Sakhmet's power over the days of the year. He wished most particularly to show that the goddess could represent the possibility for either good or evil on any single day and as such was connected to the calendars for lucky and unlucky days known from the late New Kingdom through the Greco-Roman period. In those examples a set of 365 Sakhmets was doubled by a set of 365 deities for the days, but as Yoyotte pointed out, at Kom Ombo a hymn invoking Isis-Sothis and Sakhmet speaks of "She whom his Majesty follows, in the number of 730, lady of years, sovereignness of months and of days" (Yoyotte 1980, 63, 73 n. 43). He thus argued that given Amenhotep's large number of statues, there must have been a total of 730, half seated, half standing. We can neither confirm nor deny this last conclusion of Yoyotte's, but his connection of Sakhmet to the litany appears to be well established.

What remains to be explained is first, when Amenhotep III might have conducted the Sakhmet litanies in his temple and, second, how the Sakhmet statuary may have been connected with other temple statues and their cultic associations.

For a date of celebration we turn to Amenhotep III's favorite inspiration, Hatshepsut, from whom he appears also to have borrowed the Divine Birth cycle, the Opet festival generally, and the arrangement of east bank processional routes in Karnak and Luxor. On the quartzite Red Chapel of Hatshepsut from Karnak, among the festivals noted in regard to the Feast of the Valley, is the *shṭp shmt*, celebrated on the 29th of Mechir, which is the 29th day of the II<sup>nd</sup> month of *peret*. Given the variable observed length of the lunar month, we may point out that the next day could be II *peret* 30 or III *peret* 1, so that II 29 may or may not have been the last day of the month. As it turns out it is specifically the last day that finds a suitable need for the litany of Sakhmet, in specific preparation for III *peret* 1. Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead (Naville, Totenbuch, Tafel 133, line 22 = stela BM 155, HTES VIII, 48, pl. 39) refers to "that day of the completion of the Wedjat eye in Heliopolis on II *peret* 30" (*hrw pwy n mh[t] wd3t m iwnw m 2 prt 'rky*). That is, it is the day when the solar eye, which may, of course, be Sakhmet (Germond 1981, 8-11), is appeased and reconstituted in Heliopolis. Likewise the Late Period Book of the Dead Chapter 140: "Roll to be used when the Wedjat Eye becomes full on the last day of month 2 of *peret*". The same day is likewise referred to negatively (all days having good or bad contingencies) as when Seth is identified as "he who has damaged the Eye in Heliopolis on the Festival of the Faces, on the last day of the second month of *peret*." This negative assessment of the day occurs in a mythological text (Urk VI, 138, ll. 19-22; Leitz, 1989, 87f.). Clearly the role of the king in performing the litanies to Sakhmet effected the "completion of the eye". It is possible that the litanies were begun on II *peret* 29 not only for Hatshepsut but also for Amenhotep III, because of that day's position as propitious for completing the Eye.

The next day being, quite possibly, III *peret* 1 was also of great concern, for it was the traditional, not actual, day of mid-winter, half way through the year, when the sun was at its weakest point (Leitz 1989, 21; Spalinger 1991, 212-213). On the Dendera Roman mammisi the day gods are lined up above and framing the arbor where Hathor holds her new-born son (pl.5a). The gods heading the two lines represent I *akhet* 1 who faces III *peret* 1. As Leitz notes, Sauneron, in discussing the great festival of Esna on III *peret* 1, stated that on that day in Esna all the same rites were performed as were done in Edfu on New Year's Day, I *Akhet* 1, that is, the celebration of the *hnm itn* and the birth of the king (Leitz 1989, 19-21; Sauneron 1962, 3-8). So these two days were times for first preparing for and then celebrating the rebirth of the sun. Such preparations would have been viewed as particularly precarious on the day seen as the sun's least powerful. The litany to Sakhmet must therefore have been efficacious as prologue to III *peret* 1, a festival for the sun's rebirth. The date of III *peret* 1 provides us with a further link to the second usage of statuary in Amenhotep III's temple - the formation of a calendrical sky map whose year began on exactly that date.

### Rituals to guarantee a propitious year

The form this sky map may have taken is that on Amenhotep III's clepsydra (pl.5b-e: Neugebauer and Parker 1969 Text, 12-14; Plates, pl. 2). On that clock Amenhotep III himself appears offering to the gods of the sky, and is so designated as "beloved of the gods of the sky". In addition to the constellations, decans, and lunar gods, the solar deities of the day and night are summarized in the forms of Re-Horakhty and Iah before whom Amenhotep III offers. This combination of solar and stellar cycles is entirely within the scope of 18th Dynasty funerary temples. Hatshepsut appeared in Deir el Bahri in the offering room south of the upper colonnade performing a similar ritual. In a tympanum set in the west wall of the room the queen adores the goddess of the day sky and the goddess of the night sky (PM II<sup>2</sup> 360-61; Naville 1906, pl.104,106,115M; Barwik 1995). Between is the solar bark with the queen backed by Nephtys riding with the sun god. On the ceiling are the deities of the day and night hours. Hymns to the hours of the day are known from here and are the earliest examples of such liturgy. Likewise Thutmose III appeared in his funerary temple in the same ritual performance, again with the liturgies and the solar boat (pl.6a). The preservation is much poorer, but in both cases the rulers are shown adoring the gods governing the day and night hours (PM II<sup>2</sup> 427; H. Ricke, 1939, 11, pls. 1, 9 and 10).

The action of Amenhotep III in creating a sky map in his mortuary temple, therefore, was not as revolutionary as it might first seem. The map he used was similar to that employed by Hatshepsut's steward Senenmut on his tomb ceiling, but the activity of the sky chart, i.e., the king appeasing the

deities who govern the movements of the heavens, was exactly that practiced already by his great-grandfather and great-great aunt. Amenhotep III, however, adapted the forms of heavenly time keeping for his own purposes. It is well known that he personally appeared in the night bark towed like the sun god through the body of Nut during one of the rituals of his first *Sed* (pl.6b: Epigraphic Survey 1980, TT 192 of Kheruef). Taking for himself the role that Hatshepsut pictured for herself and the sun god together, the king produced a three dimensional image of the Stundenhymnik, marking the movement of the sun god through the hours of the night and day. Barta has pointed out the direct descent of the Day Book from the Hour Hymns found in Hatshepsut's and Thutmose III's funerary temples (Barta 1985, 133-34). When the Day Book is first found in 20th Dynasty royal tombs, a large scale representation of the solar boat moving through the sky appears with the hours marked, but the king still appears in the corners of the ceiling kneeling and adoring the hour goddesses, just as in the mid-18th Dynasty.

As we proceed to the statues that may have been used to create a form of sky map in Amenhotep III's mortuary temple, it might be asked why, if the texts tell us specifically only of the king's solar boat journey in connection with his jubilee, must we postulate a map including the northern sky, month deities, and decans? The response must be that Amenhotep III was, despite his innovation, a product of the 18th Dynasty, and the sky maps of that time were derived from Middle Kingdom sources. As Hornung points out, this was not altered during the 18th Dynasty but was only begun to be so in the reign of Seti I, who however, still showed the northern sky in his tomb, while placing the Book of Nut on his cenotaph (Hornung 1982, 126-27). His son Ramesses II, who often used Amenhotep III as a model, found it appropriate to place the entire sky on the ceiling of his own Ramesseum mortuary temple (pl.7a). Indeed, Parker and Neugebauer noted that his ceiling is a nearly exact copy, including mistakes, of Amenhotep's clepsydra! (Neugebauer and Parker 1969, Text, 13-14.) If the king had a form of the heavens in his temple, therefore, it must have been the entire sky as seen on Senenmut's ceiling or Amenhotep's own clepsydra.

### A sky map enacted with statues

1. The single most suggestive piece is the crocodile-lion sphinx (Cat. 54) which is found, as far as I know, only in the northern sky on the sky maps of the New Kingdom. Habachi had suggested it was a local god of the Delta associated with magic and medicine (Haeny 1981, 60-61). However, that god Horus *imy snwt* was never shown with a crocodile tail but rather was a crocodile or falcon headed sphinx. The crocodile-lion sphinx as we have it here is first seen on the map of Senenmut from his lower tomb 353 at Deir el Bahri (pl.7b: Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 216, figs. VII 2-3). It also occurs on the water clock of Amenhotep III himself, the ceilings of Ramesses II at the Ramesseum and other maps derived from Senenmut's as described by Parker and Neugebauer. This particular constellation appears as a normal lion on maps from other sources. If one notes the placement of the "divine lion who is among them", the crocodile-lion sphinx's name, it will be seen that it lies west of the meridian or transit line that bisects the northern sky constellations. Were we to consider the possibility that the sphinx is now in approximately its original position, it will be found that it sits, facing east (for the temple, not actually) and south of the central axis of the temple, within the second court. Making the crocodile-lion part of a central section for the map, would then presuppose, following the clepsydra, three bands, of statues, each running east-west, with the southern sky band showing the king and decan stars in boats, to the south; the northern sky and followers gods (lunar days ?) in the center; and the month gods on the north. To complete a northern sky map, a statue of Hippo in a far larger scale should have stood opposite it to the east, and the harpooner, Meskhetyu, Selket and the crocodile Sak must all be accommodated. Two calcite colossi (Cat. 6), one definitely of the seated king, do sit to the east, and there are calcite masses unidentified in and under the precinct that could have represented some of these heavenly deities. Certainly out of granodiorite, there are statues of a god referred to as a falcon headed harpooner (Cat. 37 Hemen), and there are unidentified female deity statues who might be Selket. A single bull statue is known from the statuary (*mshtyw* ?) (Cat. 52, 37, 26).

2. If one reads the quoted liturgies and, even more relevant here, the cross bands on the ceiling, Senenmut's astronomical ceiling emerges again as an aid to the understanding of Amenhotep III's

statuary. One liturgy, Number 7, Section 21 is addressed to Osiris in your name of "Great knife". The cross bands contain four spells addressed to Osiris, and spell two, representing Pyramid Text sections 774 and 626-27, invokes the enemies of that god to "lift up the one who is greater than you", and speaks to Osiris in his name of "Osiris the Great Saw" (*itf3 wr*) (Dorman 1991, 107, 139). This altogether unlikely deity was one of the granodiorite images in life size form left in Amenhotep III's temple (Cat. 7). For what reason other than to locate the action of the statue in the heavens could this particular image have been produced?

3. Another group of deities whom Parker believed to represent days of the lunar month stand behind both sides of the northern sky constellations. These appear in forms often attested by statues from the temple, i.e., falcon headed, human headed and jackal headed gods.

4. If we move to the portion of sky map representing the names of the months (northern side), there are even more correspondences. For example, on contemporary and Ramesseum examples (those considered the most reliable comparisons) the king appears before the god of each month. There are statues that could account for at least 10 out of 12, with specific names for several: Ptah, Sakhmet, Khentykhety, Rekeh (wer or nedjes), Hathor, Renenutet, Thoth, Re-Horakhty, Khonsu, Tekhy (Cats. 21, a standing Sakhmet, 30 or 38, 56, 27, 29, 32 or 57, 40, 41 or 39, 28). The most unusual figure that may represent one of the months is a 2 meter long hippopotamus standing on four legs (Cat. 56). Made of calcite and now headless, this unusual piece was found during the digging of a series of test trenches in and around the north east sides of the peristyle court in 1970. The sondage discovered a packed earth layer and beneath it a calcite mass that eventually was recognized to be the hippopotamus. It has not been possible to free it from the ground due to the inability to introduce a crane at that point, and the ground water has since risen dramatically. Haeny pointed out that stories of complete and partial statues being found at greatly deeper levels than the temple floors are sufficiently believable to suggest that a crane would free "a zoo" from the mud (Haeny 1981, 104). (2)

Haeny believed that the hippopotamus possibly belonged to a three-dimensional version of the "white Hippopotamus ritual" known from 5th Dynasty and from Karnak under Thutmose III. This is possible, for although the meaning of the ritual is uncertain, it is associated with the jubilee in Niuserre's sun temple. Like some of the statuary may have done, however, this hippopotamus may have served in more than one capacity during the festival of the 30th/31st year, and there were likely to have been two hippopotami: on the clepsydra of Amenhotep III the months of Rekeh wer and Rekeh nedjes were illustrated by hippos on standards - just like this. The correspondence would not be very convincing were it not nearly unique: the only other time the Rekeh months were shown as hippos is on a Ptolemaic representation in Edfu temple. Otherwise they are shown as jackals. This last was attested among Amenhotep III's temples statuary, but the presence of hippos on Amenhotep's clepsydra sky map certainly would make conceivable their use to illustrate the months on a statuary map. The Rekeh hippopotami would have formed the ends of the northern east-west band of statuary, and the one found beneath the northeast portion of the peristyle court should represent the western, or Rekeh wer month god.

With regard to the southern sky, which in a mortuary temple map would have been located to the south and proceeding from east to west, the temple statuary as known at present could represent several of the decanal constellations shown as heavenly deities in boats: falcon-headed gods (2 in barks) (Cats. 42-44), Isis-Sepdet/Sothis as female in a bark (Cat. 24), and Sahu/Orion as male god in a bark (Cat. 15). No ram, turtle, or *bnw* bird statue has turned up, but as said earlier there is some reason to believe that there is a considerable amount of buried statuary in the temple. During the ritual enactment, the southern sky deities would have occupied actual boats that may have travelled along the Birket Habu, or a canal therefrom. (See further below.) On Amenhotep III's clepsydra, there are only two boats with falcon-headed gods, while there are three on the Ramesseum ceiling. However, Amenhotep III appears along with the planet gods and Orion as a heavenly body himself (he wears a star on his head). The missing falcon god was Re-Horakhty, and it seems quite possible that Amenhotep III should be understood to have assumed the role of the sun god, travelling in the heavenly barks (pl. 6b).

As said above, the king, wearing the khepresh, rides in the boat with the two planet constellations (and with Sahu-Orion, as one can reconstruct from his inscription above the boat). The god-

dess Isis-Sepdet rides alone, but is followed by the king's Ka name. We could expect slightly smaller images to have been made for placement in the boats, and it is interesting to note that deity statues, as well as royal ones, vary from over life size to just under: this can mean as much as 30 centimetres overall, enough to account for the height of a boat: the figure of Nephthys (Cat. 24) is a good example of this, being of a scale 20-30 centimetres shorter than the goddess figure from Marseille (Cat. 28), though of the same type. Compare also the head of the king in the Louvre (A 25) with the head in Cleveland (52.513), both in the khepresh and representing smaller and larger statues proportioned exactly as with Nephthys and the Marseille goddess (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, Nos. 10-11, 18). Nephthys may have stood in a boat representing both the realm of Isis-Sepdet and the sun bark, as is seen in the Deir el Bahri tympanum representation of Hatshepsut.

The month statues on the north side of the temple were perhaps set in booths with accompanying royal statues to represent the king offering before each set of two-month deities, as on the water clock. These we might expect to have been of larger scale than the decanal figure statues, as they were illustrated as cult statues approached by the ruler and are shown comparatively large on maps. The statues mentioned above as corresponding to the month gods are, like the Cleveland royal statue, of the larger scale similar to the standing Sakhmet figures.

As to the remainder of the decan stars, the Sakhmet statues may well have represented these, placed to enclose the sky map. On Senmut's ceiling, four circles representing the *shntyw*, or four pillars of heaven, appear forming corners for the bands of stars (pl.IId). (Two such circles occur on the west corners of the Ramesseum ceiling.) Sakhmet statues might have been placed in rows around the temple perimeter to create such bands (pl.IIIa-b). Although the earliest attestation of decans in leonine or Sakhmet forms is otherwise 22nd Dynasty, the existence of the Sakhmet statues recreating the litany to the goddess is itself a forceful argument to make equation with the days of the year.

A summation of the solar liturgical books in statue form exists in two pair statues of red granite, now in the rear court of Ramesses III's Medinet Habu temple (Cats. 1, 31). On the clepsydra this is found in a panel that represents the middle of the year. On one statue the king, wearing a sun disc on his head, with the nemes headdress, sits next to an ibis-headed god, while on the other he sits, wearing the same headgear, next to a goddess, face lost. The solar color of the stone used underlines the association of these statues with the king-as-sun-god's journey through the sky and further makes of it the transition piece between the starry sky and the solar orbit. As on the clepsydra, where Re-Horakhty and Iah represent the day and night gods, probably Maat and either Thoth or Iah here form the same reference. The placement of these two significant dyads was likely to have been at opposite east and west ends of the temple, but south of the present processional way. The statues, like the panel on the clepsydra, form an addition and a transition from the traditional star map to the Day and Night books of the later New Kingdom, concentrating as they do on the king's worship of the gods of day and night. This combination of the heavenly map with the solar cycle is the link, also, between the king as Re-Horakhty in the Orion and planet boats, and the king as sun god in the solar barks.

### The solar rituals

In the tomb of Kheruef, Amenhotep III is towed in the day and night barks during a ritual that took place on an unspecified date in III *shemu*, the latest known event in the jubilee (pl.6b). An inscription of particular importance there states that "Amenhotep Ruler of Thebes... will occupy the dais of the one who begat him (my emphasis) in the jubilee which he celebrated on the west of the City. Beginning of the journey by a great Hapy in order to transport the gods of the jubilee by water... Making the water procession of 'those of Pe [and those of Nekhen in] the evening bark and the morning bark'" (Epigraphic Survey 1980, 53) (Cats. 36, 46). The chosen representation in the tomb was of the king heading to shore in the night bark, because he was to be reborn at the end of night. Queen Tiye, probably substituting for Nephthys who appeared on Hatshepsut's solar boat illustration, stands behind the king in Kheruef's tomb. In statue form Nephthys and the king, as well as Maat, are spoken for, and the numerous figures of jackal and falcon headed gods, as seen in the solar boats in royal tombs, are also abundant. Of course the statuary may only have been used in a stone tableau ritual enactment that followed a ceremony. From the waters of the Birket Habu, and eventually transported to Kom el Heitan, such a procession must have been striking even in the flashy times of Amenhotep

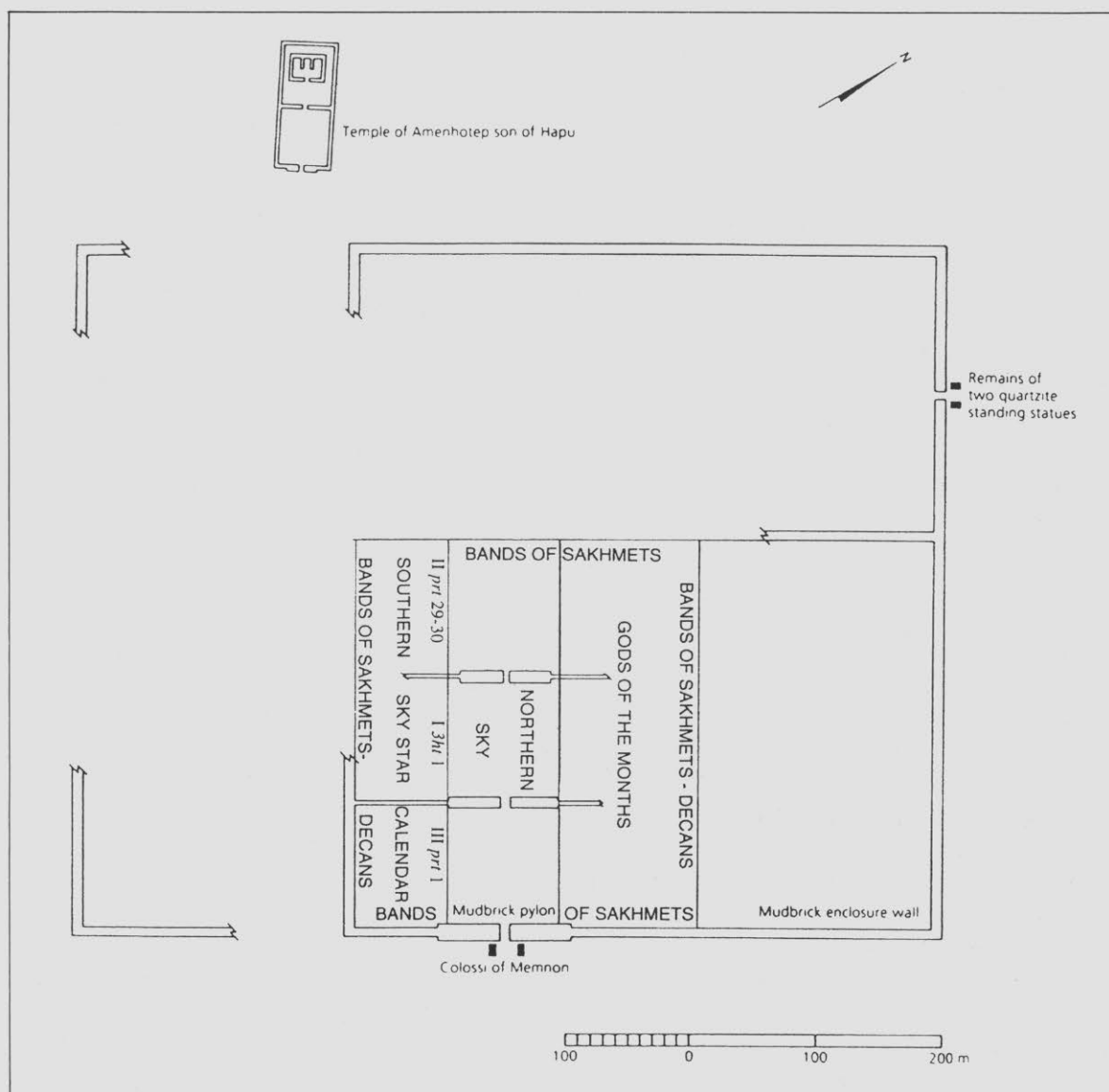


Fig.2 Plan of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III indicating where statuary may have been placed to create a three-dimensional map of the heavens for use during the rituals for the first *Sed* festival.

III. Whether these same statues, or persons dressed as the gods, were used in a live enactment and once stood at Kom el Samak is of course unknown. But given the unusual things we often discover in Egypt, it should not be ruled out.

Accompanying such a procession must have been, as with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the recitation of hymns to the hours of the day and night. The stars, who were female but ruled by a deity either male or female, were charged to keep the king as sun god on course and on time through the heavens, particularly at the precarious time of the approaching jubilee. And the gods of the hours of the day and night were met by the ruler for their accompaniment, before he solicited the protection of the sun god on his journey. For example, as Hatshepsut greets the god of the twelfth hour of the day, the hymn goes as follows: "The twelfth hour of the day, "she who is united with life" is her name. She (the hour) raises herself for the god "He who gives protection by the inundation" (the name of the twelfth hour god). Following this recognition format is a recitation to the sun god: "To be recited: Praise to you O Re-Atum, May you go to rest in the holy fields in western Lightland..." And at the end an invocation to the sun to unite with the ruler (Assmann 1969, 139-140).

Each hour of the day and night had a deity ruling it, and of the day hours several have statues that might represent them (Maat, Hu, Sia, Thoth, Horus, Isis, etc.), but none is more prominent than Asbet (Cat. 29). This snake-headed goddess is known from the Pyramid Texts and the New Kingdom

funerary texts only. Her name is etymologically associated with burning the enemies of the sun. As an hour goddess she ruled the fourth hour of the day (Assmann 1969, 123). It is noteworthy that on the fragmentary inscription on the back of Amenhotep III's statue with the hour goddess, the sun god Khepri is also mentioned, underlining the connection to the sun liturgies and to the ultimate purpose of these rituals: the rebirth of the sun in the form of Amenhotep III. A statue for that god is of course known in the form of the great red granite scarab now set in Karnak (Cat. 54). The text on it, however, mentioned the mortuary temple, and it must have formed part of the sun god's rebirth at the docking of the night bark.

This completes the pieces of a three dimensional celestial puzzle that I can place at present. We must now consider the question of why such rituals would have been considered so important to the royal jubilee. Barta has noted that the sun god repeatedly gives commands to the hours as their lord, sets them in motion and orders their risings (Barta 1985, 185-86). Like all created things, the lifetimes (*ḥw*) of the heavenly bodies were fixed in years and measured by the calendar alongside the lifetime of Re, which was eternity. The king's lifetime, it was hoped, could by means of the *Sed* become that of Re - that is, then, eternity. The existence of a representation of cosmic movements with attendant hymns to invoke efficacy, assured that the fixed movement of the sun with attendant stars took place, thereby guaranteeing the king's and Re's lifetimes.

### **The sky map as ritual calendar**

The sky map's role within Amenhotep III's festival becomes even better understood in the light of an important time keeping instrument intimately associated with the jubilee: the clepsydra. It appears, for example, in scenes at Soleb Temple for Amenhotep III and at Bubastis for Osorkon II. It is also associated with the New Year's ritual which, it has been pointed out, has many points of contact with Amenhotep's *Sed* (Germond 1981, 270-72). The clepsydra, the *wensheb*, was presented in rituals at the moment of the appeasement of the solar Eye, and never before from what Germond has been able to determine. Germond pointed to the scene on the lowest band of the water clock where Amenhotep III offers to the month gods. He stands before Hathor offering wine of appeasement and behind him stands "Sakhmet the great lady of heaven" who promises him 100s of 1000s of years like Re (pl.5e). Obviously she is already appeased and in his following, just as she is on a statue (Cat. 4) from the temple. This is because the rituals of the *shṭp shmt* had started and concluded already before those represented on the clepsydra were to begin in Year 30. For the calendar used by Senenmut, Amenhotep III, and Ramesses II and III begins with none other than III *peret* 1, a date already discussed as one when the solar eye was reborn after a precarious period and in direct link with the beginning of the litany to propitiate Sakhmet. The date may be found on the Ramesseum ceiling above the southern sky band on the east end.

A possible chronology for the rituals, arranged to guarantee the most propitious circumstances for each hour of each day of each month of Amenhotep III's 30th/31st years, would thus have run as follows:

II *peret* 29 or 30: beginning of the *shṭp shmt* to appease the goddess on behalf of the king for the entirety of the year. This would have gone on at length one might assume from the enormity of effort put into the production of statuary for the purpose. This constitutes the solar half of the appeasement of the Eyes.

III *peret* 1: the beginning of counting time following the liturgical appeasement of Sakhmet, according to an idealized calendar that identified III *peret* 1 as a mid-year rebirth of the sun. This must have continued to be seen as the guarantee of Re's lifetime for the king, as a statue of Sakhmet and the time gods of the map, were addressed day by day up to and perhaps through the jubilee itself.

IV *peret* 27: the beginning of the festival of Illumination at Soleb to propitiate the lunar eye in preparation for the jubilee. This festival, which I discussed at the Turin Congress, lasted until the day before the official beginning of the *Sed* festival, II *shemu* 1 (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan, 108-109, 115 nn. 93-95). This constitutes the lunar half of the appeasement of the Eyes (see fig.3 overleaf).

II *shemu* 1 - III *shemu*: the festivals and associated activities of the jubilee in Thebes. Renewal of the king at Malqata, and presentation to gods, taking place in an unknown location (Van Siclen 1973, 290-300 for dates).

III *shemu* 1 or 2: towing of the morning and night barks with king and gods in a water procession.

They were, according to the inscription, "set in their stations" (Epigraphic Survey 1980, 53).

III *shemu* X: creation of tableaux of the jubilee rituals to commemorate the *Sed* (see fig.2 ).

Unknown date: redistribution of some of the temple statuary to major temples of Egypt: Coptos (Cats. 27, 54), Herakleopolis (Cat. 24); Athribis (Cat. 30), Elephantine (Cats. 8,22), Dendera (Cat. 38), Armant (Cat. 43), Middle Egypt [Hermopolis ?] (Cats. 9,10,32,39), Memphis (Cats. 2,3,57), Karnak (Cats. 19,21,35,36,44,46,54), Luxor (Cat. 47).

At the close of this carefully orchestrated time period, Amenhotep III had achieved more than his Thutmoside predecessors had hoped for: they asked to be included in the solar bark and to be united with the sun god at the end of the journeys, but Amenhotep "occupied the dais of the one who begat him in the jubilee", (Epigraphic Survey 1980, 53) thereby becoming the newly born and living deity of the heavens.



Fig.3 Falcon-head emblem of the lunar deity at Soleb, shown in a kiosk at the time of the festival of illuminating the eye (IV *peret* 27 to II *shemu* 1). After an unpublished line-drawing by the author .

## Notes

1. For example, the colossus of Memnon and its twin. Likewise the standing colossi from the peristyle court. These last royal images of Amenhotep III are also taken to represent a later form of the temple (see further below). The limestone colossi reused at the Merneptah temple are also not included because of their apparent connection to a northern possibly Ptah-Sokar-Osiris wing of the temple. The granite and quartzite colossi at the north gate of the temple are excluded too, again for reasons of processional placement. Naturally architectural employment would not exclude the association of a statue with ritual function too, but the reader may find a cosmological explanation of all these colossal statues, commonly found before or behind gateways, to be rather too convenient.

2. Haeny's description of his own sondage is convincing as to the position of the hippopotamus statue beneath the paving of the court. It is important to note, however, that given the site's damp mud consistency, some pieces could have settled deep into the mud.

## CATALOGUE OF STATUARY

### *Anthropomorphic statues*

#### *1. King with sun disc with a female goddess*

Provenance: main portion at present in Medinet Habu, Third Inner Hall (pl.IIIb). Apparently brought there by Ramesses III who placed an inscribed sandstone socle atop column bases for the statues' emplacement. Head in Cairo (pl.8a).

Material: Red granite.

Size: Ht. 2.7 m.

Inscription: Recarved inscription on back slab; inscriptions naming Ramesses III beside legs on seat.

Condition: Headless king; head in Cairo, JE 54477; goddess faceless. Otherwise lower legs damaged.

Bibliography: Habachi in Haeny 1981, plate 31, pp. 117-19; Bryan 1994, with photo of king's head; PM II<sup>2</sup> 512 [157]; Epigraphic Survey, 1964: pls. 483-484.

#### *2. King with Ptah Tatenen*

Provenance: Memphis; Cairo, CG 554 = JE 30167 (pl.8b).

Material: Red granite.

Size: Ht. 1.7 m. (Incomplete.)

Inscription: Inscribed for Ramesses II.

Bibliography: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 835; Borchardt 1925, 101-02, pl. 93; Vandier 1958, pl. 128, 4, pp. 396, 408, 410, 418; identified by Habachi as belonging to this group, Haeny 1981, 118; Bryan 1994.

Comment: Size and proportions nearly identical to two Medinet Habu red granite dyads. Recarved.

#### *3. Bust from Khepri and king dyad*

Provenance: Memphis, near Ptah temple enclosure; Cairo, CG 38104 = JE 27856.

Material: Red granite.

Size: Ht. .85 m.

Bibliography: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 835; Daressy 1906, 35.

Comment: Statue wears the *khat*, a uraeus, and a scarab atop the head.

#### *4. Sakhmet, Amenhotep III, Amen, Amenet*

Provenance: *in situ*, Kom el Heitan (pl.IVa).

Material: probably quartzite. Heavily eroded.

Size: From Wilkinson: Ht. 8'3", including base (heads lacking); 3'6" wd. shoulder; 3'8" ht. knee; 1'10.5" length of foot.

Condition: Amen and Amenet have been mutilated such that only the eroded image of their lower halves remains. The lion-headed Sakhmet has lost her head, as has the king.

Inscription (left to right):

1. The good god lord of the cult act, Nebmaatre, beloved of Sakhmet, given life forever.

The son of Re Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, beloved of Sakhmet, the Great, mistress of the sky, forever (no 'nh before dt).

2. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of appearances, Nebmaatre, beloved of Amen, king of the gods, forever.

The son of Re of his body Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, beloved of Amen Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, forever.

3. The good god lord of the cult act, Nebmaatre, beloved of Amen Re lord of the sky, given life.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of appearances Nebmaatre, beloved of Amen Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, given life.

4. The son of Re, his beloved, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, beloved of Amen Re lord of the sky, forever.

The good god lord of the two lands, lord of the cult act, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre, beloved of Amenet, given life.

Bibliography: Haeny 1981, 56-57, pl. 12

Comment: Whether the inscriptions are contemporary to the original production of the statue is impossible to say with certainty. They are in better condition than the figures themselves and show no hacking. The omission of "living" before "forever" in the inscriptions occurs three times and implies that all the texts were carved at the same time, but not necessarily before the statue was already mutilated.

#### 5. Ptah

Provenance: Medinet Habu; found in the second court of the temple. Now in the fourth shrine north of the hypostyle hall (pl.9).

Material: Calcite.

Size: Ht. 2.3 m. with base.

Inscriptions: The Good God Nebmaatre, the Son of Re [Amenhotep ruler of Thebes], given life, stability, dominion like Re, beloved of Ptah lord of truth, foremost of the *Sed*.

Bibliography: Habachi in Haeny 1981, plate 32 b, pp. 119-120; PM II<sup>2</sup> 506 [122]; Hölscher 1941, pl. 21[A].

Comment: Headless, holding combined *ankh* and *was* scepter. Otherwise good condition.

#### 6. Two colossal seated royal figures

Provenance: Kom el Heitan *in situ* (pl.10a). Possibly the bases now in the second court of Medinet Habu, one with nome god procession remaining (pl.10b), belonged to these colossi. Those bases appear to be very hard limestone and accommodated seated statues of some 10-11 meters according to Hölscher, whose estimate was based on the size of the socle. Based on the measurements, it is estimated the Kom el Heitan statues would have been approximately 7-8 m. in height.

Material: Calcite.

Size: Northern one: Ht. 3.5 m; 2.7 m. from shoulder to above waist. Ht. of back pillar preserved 1.65 m. Width of shoulders 2.77 m.

Inscriptions: Southern one: ... as king ... the son of Re Amenhotep ... Nebmaatre, lord of the *khepesh*, the great image of the lord of the gods. It is as heir upon his throne that he places him, the lord of virility Nebmaatre, [living] forever.

Condition: Northern: poor; eroded with little surface remaining. Southern: poor condition.

Bibliography: Habachi in Haeny 1981: pl. 10, pp. 57-58; Wilkinson 1835, p. 39; Belzoni Researches, p. 15; Hölscher 1941, 9, pl. 17b.

#### 7. Osiris the Great Saw

Provenance: Medinet Habu storeroom (pl.10c).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Statue base only preserved. Length approximately .55 m; width approximately .33 m. Length of feet approximately .26 m.

Inscriptions: The good god, lord of the two lands Nebmaatre, the son of Re, his beloved, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, given life forever, beloved of Osiris the Great Saw, lord of the *Sed* who is in the midst of the *Per-Nes*.

Bibliography: Habachi in Haeny 1981, p. 120, pl. 33c.

#### 8. Redju

Provenance: Elephantine.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Not recorded.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, son of Re Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, given life forever, beloved of Redju, lord of the *Sed*.

Bibliography: Weigall, 1907, 10; Helck 1955, 1757.

9. *Seated mummiform god: anthropomorphic, headdress and lappets*

Provenance: Sheikh Abada (Middle Egypt). At present in Egyptian Museum garden. Temp. No. 7/3/45/2 (pl.IVb).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.65 m.

Inscriptions: Inscribed for Ramesses II, beloved of Osiris (no epithet).

Bibliography: None.

Comment: Retrieved from soundings at Sheikh Abada, 1943, and transferred to Cairo 1945. Condition excellent. No evidence of recarving other than inscription.

10. *Seated mummiform god: anthropomorphic, headdress and lappets*

Provenance: Sheikh Abada. Cairo JE 89616 (pl.12).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.79 m.; wd. .44 at shoulder.

Inscriptions: Inscribed for Ramesses II, beloved of Isis (no epithet).

Condition: Excellent. No evidence of recarving other than inscription.

Bibliography: None.

11. *Statue base of Djeser*

Provenance: Unknown. National Museum Dublin, 1896.19.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .30 m.; wd. .16; d. .16.

Inscriptions: The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre, given life, beloved of Djeser and all the gods of the *Sed* festival. Variant interpretation: ... beloved of Djeser-Netjeru, lord of the *Sed* festival.

Bibliography: None.

Comment: Wildung 1969, 15, 73, on deification of Djeser intended when, as here, name not written in cartouche. Also, p. 77ff. for Djeser's ancient associations with the *Sed*. If this is a reference to Djeser as a god, it would slightly predate Wildung's earliest attestation in the 19th Dynasty. See Helck, 1955 1869-70 for mentions of the *ntrw hbw-sd*.

Condition: Statue base was cut down into block, original surfaces in good condition.

12. *Unidentified god: anthropomorphic, archaic beard.*

Provenance: Purchased Cairo, 1920. University of Chicago Oriental Institute 10607 (pl.IVc).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .627 m.; wd. .407 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 178-81; Vandier 1958, 384, pl. 123, 6.

Comment: Complete upper torso to waist.

13. *Unidentified god: anthropomorphic, archaic beard.*

Provenance: Unknown. DeYoung Museum, San Francisco CA 5466. Gift of M. H. De Young Endowment Fund, 1935 (pl.IVd).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .95 m.; wd. .37 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Torso preserved from neck to knee; left arm absent.

Bibliography: Kozloff-Bryan 1992, 182.

14. *Head of unidentified god: anthropomorphic, archaic beard.*

Provenance: Purchased Luxor 1919. Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.2.15.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .315 m.; wd. .227.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Head only; excellent condition. Identified by R. Johnson as the head to no.18 below.

Bibliography: Hayes, 1959, 239, fig. 145 on p. 240.; Kozloff-Bryan 1992, fig. 17a, p. 179.

*15. Head of unidentified god: anthropomorphic, archaic beard*

Provenance: Unknown. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1979.42, formerly Peabody Museum 44.28.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .224 m.; wd. .214.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Head only; in two parts.

Bibliography: None.

*16. Face of an unknown god*

Provenance: Thebes, Temple of Merenptah. British Museum 69053, originally Victoria and Albert Museum 917.1896 (pl.13a).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .23 m.; wd. .18.5 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Barbara Adams 1977, 3-4, figs. 4 and 5.

*17. Unknown male deity*

Provenance: Kom el Heitan (pl.13b). Excavated by G. Haeny in the area of the west hall of the peristyle court.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Not reported.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Lower torso, from below breast to knee. Right arm absent.

Bibliography: Haeny, 1981, 99-100, plate 21c.

*18. Unknown male deity*

Provenance: Royal Athena Gallery. Drouot sale, December 1995. Ex-Georges Halphen Collection.

Acquired in 1996 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .64 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Intact knee to chin line. Arms absent.

Bibliography: J. Eisenberg 1996, 27. Sale Catalog, Hotel Drouot, December 1995.

Comment: Excellent modelling, holds w3s scepter. See no.17 for kilt type. Head now identified by R. Johnson as no.14 above.

*19. Seated statue of Ptah in two parts*

Provenance: Karnak Ptah Temple; head from cachette (apparently). Cairo Egyptian Museum, no number.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Headless statue in Ptah Temple, slightly less than life size. Head ht. .135 m.; wd. .35.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Schwaller de Lubicz 1982, pl. 311. Head unpublished.

Comment: Joined here for the first time. Half of the head remains with features resembling those of Luxor J.137. Original statue did not have a king kneeling before the god. Lower legs and feet have been reshaped, along with whatever offering table or other object originally before the god. God holds combined *ankh-djed-was* scepter. Original design on sides of throne.

*20. Two Ptah torsos*

1. Provenance: Louvre Museum.

Size: Ht. 1 m.

Inscriptions: Inscribed for Ramesses II.

Condition: Preserved above waist to lower legs.

2. Provenance: Memphis, palace area. University Museum, Philadelphia E 13653.

Size: Ht. .75 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Headless. Preserved from necklace (broad collar) to hips. Unfortunately the number was not available on my files at the time of preparation for this publication.

Bibliography: PM III<sup>2</sup> 858.

#### 21. *Ptah*

Provenance: Thebes. Turin 86, Drovetti Collection, almost certainly found by Rifaud in Karnak.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 2.06 m.

Inscription: Live, the good god Nebmaatre, son of Re Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, beloved of Ptah, lord of Truth, great god, lord of the *Sed*, who is in the midst of the Booth of Annals.

Condition: Good.

Bibliography: Curto 1984, 121, 344; Helck 1955, 1755; Redford 1986, 80-82.

Comment: Holding combined *ankh* and *was* scepter.

#### 22. *Satis*

Provenance: Elephantine.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.5 m.

Inscriptions: The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre, given life, beloved of Satis, mistress of the *Sed*. Outside the rectangle is added, "Goddess who is in the midst of the *Per-Wer*".

Condition: Preserved to height of breast.

Bibliography: Weigall, 1907, 9-10; Helck 1955, 1757.

#### 23. *Seshet*

Provenance: Formerly seen at Medinet Habu by Golenischeff. Now lost.

Material: Unknown, presumably granodiorite.

Size: Unknown.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, beloved of Seshat, foremost of Hut-Nesyu (var. Hut-Nebmaatre), mistress of the *Sed*, who is in the midst of the Booth of Annals.

Bibliography: Haeny, 1981, p. 120-121, Abb. 18; Redford 1986, 80-82.

#### 24. *Nepthys*

Provenance: Herakleopolis; Louvre E25389 (pl.14).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.65 m; wd. .235 m. Length of base .66 m.

Inscriptions: The good god lord of performing the cult act, Nebmaatre, the son of Re, his beloved, [Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes], given life forever, beloved of Nepthys, foremost of the *Sed*, who is in the midst of the Booth of Annals. "Annals" was later changed into "Herakleopolis".

Bibliography: Vandier 1958, 384-7, pl. 123, 5; Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 183-4; Redford 1986, 80-2.

#### 25. *Maat*

Provenance: Thebes. (Salt Collection) British Museum 91 (pl.15a). Almost certainly from Kom el Heitan.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Base only: Length .75 m; wd. .36 m.

Inscriptions: The good god, lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre, son of Re, his beloved, Amenhotep,

ruler of Thebes, given life forever, beloved of Maat, lady of the *Sed* amid the Booth of Annals.  
Bibliography: James 1970, 6-7, pl. III; Redford 1986, 80-82.

26. *Statue base of Weret-Hekaw*

Provenance: Unknown. Cairo Egyptian Museum N127 (not in registers: pl.15b).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Base depth .58 m.; wd. .37 m.; ht. .17 m.; length of foot .26 m.

Inscriptions: The good god, lord of the cult act [Neb]maat, the son of re of his body [Amenhotep ruler of Thebes], given life forever, beloved of Weret-Hekaw, mistress of the *Sed*.

Bibliography: None.

27. *Goddess, perhaps Isis.*

Provenance: Coptos. Turin Egyptian Museum 694 (pl.16a). Acquired in Coptos by Vitaliano Donati for King Carlo Emmanuele, 1753.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.53 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Excellent, but lacking lower legs and base.

Bibliography: Curto 1980, 15-20 pl. 3; Curto 1984, 123, 344; Vandier 1958, 384-85, pl. 123, 3.

28. *Unidentified goddess*

Provenance: Marseilles, Musée d'Archéologie 206 (pl.16b).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.15 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Vandier 1958, 385, pl. 123, 1; Kozloff and Bryan, fig. 19a; no headdress (similar to Nephthys but larger scale).

*Theriomorphic deities*

*Snake-headed deities*

29. *King with snake-headed Asbet*

Provenance: Probably now in a magazine near Medinet Habu (see bibliography: pl.17a-b). Formerly seen by Napoleonic expedition (*Description* II, 1821<sup>2</sup>, Texte p. 182), Wilkinson (1835, p. 32, note 2), and Burton (unpub., British Library, Collectanea Aegyptiaca, Add.MS. 25639, p. 4) north of the western ruins of Kom el Heitan. One of two groups, according to all sources. Perhaps the triad of a snake goddess, the king, and an unknown deity, now in a shrine north of the hypostyle hall at Medinet Habu, is meant. The Napoleonic expedition also noted numerous granitic chips in region.

Material: Red granite.

Size: Back slab preserved ht. approx. .95 m.; wd. approx. .90 m.

Inscription: Horus, victorious bull, appearing in truth, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [breaks off], He of the Two Ladies, the one who establishes laws, who quiets the two lands, the son of Re [breaks off].

Utterance by Asbet, the great, of [breaks off]. Khepri, his effective image (*tir*) *di n.f* [breaks off].

Condition: Upper half of dyad, preserved to king's waist and goddess' thorax. Faces of both battered.

Bibliography: Bruyère 1930, 219, fig. 112. Haeny, pp. 113-117, Tafel 30; Helck 1955, 1753.

Comment: Perhaps broken up for reuse.

30. *Snake of Hor-Khenty-khety*

Provenance: Athribis. Cairo Temp. No. 30/10/26/9, S.R. 11441 (pl.18).

Material: Dark granodiorite. May have darkened resin or pigment on surface.

Size: Ht. 1.5 m.; wd. .37 at base, .21 at top.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, the son of Re of his body, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, beloved of the good (lucky?) guardian snake of the house of Hor-Khenty-khety.

Condition: Snake head lacking; slot indicates repaired anciently; otherwise excellent.

Bibliography: Vernus 1978, 30-31; PM IV, 65; Varille 1968, fig. 31, p. 134.

Comment: The snake of Athribis is represented in the *Sed* festival scenes of Osorkon II at Bubastis. Osorkon's scenes and texts are based on the Soleb temple of Amenhotep III.

### *Ibis headed gods*

#### *31. King with sundisc with a moon god*

Provenance: At present in Medinet Habu, Third Inner Hall (pl.Va). Apparently brought there by Ramesses III who placed an inscribed sandstone socle atop column bases for the statues' emplacement.

Material: Red granite.

Size: Ht. 2.7 m.

Inscription: Recarved inscription on back slabs; newly incised inscriptions naming Ramesses III beside legs on seat.

Condition: Moon god faceless; king now headless but had head when published in 1964. Otherwise lower bodies damaged somewhat.

Bibliography: Daressy 1896, p. 148; Habachi in Haeny 1981, plate 31, pp.117-19; Kozloff and Bryan 1992, fig. V.24; Bryan 1994; PM II<sup>2</sup> 512 [158]; Epigraphic Survey, 1964, pls. 483-484.

#### *32. Thoth*

Provenance: Sheikh Abada, Cairo, temp. 7/3/45/1 (pl.19).

Material: Calcite.

Size: Ht. 1.94 m., of base .305; wd. .61 (shoulders).

Inscriptions: Inscribed for Ramesses II with dedication to Thoth, lord of Hermopolis and lord of hieroglyphs.

Bibliography: None.

Comment: Carefully sculpted, but no details carved. Touches of pigment visible.

### *Ram headed deities*

#### *33. Statue base of Khnum*

Provenance: Medinet Habu (pl.20a).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Statue base only. Length approximately .55 m; width approximately .33 m.

Inscriptions: The good god, lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre, the son of re, his beloved, Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, given life forever, beloved of Khnum, lord of Kebbeh, great god in the midst of the *Sed*.

Bibliography: Habachi in Haeny, 1981, p. 120, pl. 33b.

#### *34. Statue base of Khnum*

Provenance: Berlin 15133.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Not recorded.

Inscriptions: The good god lord of the cult act, Nebmaatre, son of Re of his body Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, given life forever, beloved of Khnum lord of Herwer, great god lord of the *Sed* festival.

Bibliography: Helck 1955, 1757.

#### *35. Standing statue of ram headed god*

Provenance: Karnak. Cairo CG 38500 (pl.20b).

Material: Granite.

Size: Ht. 1.27 m.; wd. shoulder .43;

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Daressy 1906 134-35; pl. 29.

Comment: Preserved to knee; sundisc on head is better worked than remainder of present state. If this is original to Amenhotep III, it was reworked extensively later, with addition of kilt hem decoration, new belt, armlets, and facial features. Kilt pleating, wig lappets, and sundisc may be original. Proportions are consistent with standing statuary of Amenhotep III. (Shoulders 5.51 grid squares; breast 3.4; waist 2.7. See Kozloff and Bryan 1992, Appendix p. 464).

### *Falcon headed or falcon shaped statues*

36. *Soul of Nekhen* (Uncertain whether there is anything of a falcon head original to the figure. May have been a jackal head)

Provenance: Karnak. Cairo JE 41211, formerly Temp. 8/6/24/1 (pl.21a-b). In Beni Suef Museum as of 9/95.

Material: Granodiorite (red inclusions).

Size: Ht. 1.1 m.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, given life, beloved [sic] of the Souls of Nekhen, lord of the *Sed*. [*mry* is written before *di 'nh*]

Condition: Falcon head heavily restored and incorrectly, apparently using CG 64735, the Ramesses II and Hauron colossus as model. Falcons do not have the large bulging eyes and short hooked beak seen here in the reign of Amenhotep III. Also restored are parts of right arm, legs, and small portion of base.

Bibliography: *Urk.* IV 1755.

### *37. Statue base of Hemen*

Provenance: Unknown. Purchased 1836. Musée Calvet, Avignon A38.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Length .688 m.; wd. .32; ht. .17. Overall ht. .252.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, given life, beloved of Hemen, lord of the *Sed* festival.

Bibliography: *RT* 35 (1913) 196-197; Sydney Aufrère 1985; R. Stadelmann 1977.

Comment: Hemen was the god of Mo'alla, ancient Hefat, some 30 km south of Thebes. He was honored with the gods of Elephantine at the time of inundation; he had the role of hippopotamus harpooner (PT 236, Utterance 231), and in the Book of the Dead (Spell 99 Introduction) appears to control the rigging of the ferryboat in the sky.

### *38. Statue base of Horus Maa-kheru*

Provenance: Dendera (pl.22a).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Length .65 m.; wd. .33; ht. .17.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, given life, beloved of Horus Maat-kheru, lord of the *Sed* festival who is in the midst of the *Per Nes*.

Bibliography: None.

Comment: Horus Maa-kheru is known in the Middle Kingdom and appears much later at Dendera in a temple inscription (cited by *Wb.* II, 17, note 13: the *Wb. Belegst.* gives *LD Text* II, 185 with determinative of a falcon wearing the red crown.). In the "Hymn to the Egyptian Crown" one finds: "Horus, whose voice is just in the presence of the ennead of gods, in his name of Maat-kheru" (Hymn. Diad. 11,1).

I am grateful to Robert Morkot for providing me with slides of this statue base. It now lies in the court before the temple, along with a number of earlier blocks from the temple.

39. *Falcon god*

Provenance: Sheikh Abada. Cairo Museum JE 89615, in garden (pl.Vb and 22b)

Material: Granodiorite; red inclusions.

Size: Ht. 1.42 m. (from ankle to shoulder).

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Feet and base lacking. Otherwise excellent.

Bibliography: None.

40. *Seated solar falcon god*

Provenance: Tanis, July 1904. Cairo JE 37485 (pl.23).

Material: Granodiorite; red inclusions, high polish.

Size: Ht. 1.03 m; wd. .445 at shoulder.

Inscriptions: Inscribed for Ramesses II.

Condition: Excellent. Lacking lower legs and throne with base; also had sun disc on head originally. Highly polished. Inscription and frame design on throne sides appears to have been added on the original surface.

Bibliography: None.

Comment: compare the different proportions and details on JE 89723, ht. 1.41., an original Ramesses II statue. Ex-Eid collection.

41. *Mummiform falcon*

Provenance: Unknown. Egyptian Museum Cairo, no register number (pl.24a).

Material: Granodiorite; red inclusions.

Size: Ht. .51 m; wd. .29 m.; dp. .28 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: lacking feet and base. Excellent otherwise.

Bibliography: None.

Comment: May have been on a base shaped like a god's standard. Highly polished finish, except eyes and broad collar area. May have been retouched in those regions. Probably was set forward at an angle. Back has outline of a large *menat* (?) broken away, extending 34 cm. in length.

42. *Falcon headed god*

Provenance: Found in Rome. Munich Staatlichen Sammlung WAF 22 (pl.24b).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: 1.63 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Schoske and Wildung 1985, 84, fig. 58, 152.

Comment: Roman period restorations for feet and base, as well as possibly reshaping of right hand. For the kilt, see no.17 above.

43. *Faces of falcon god*

Provenance: Found at Armant by Mond Expedition, 1937. Cairo, JE 67376.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: The larger is Ht. .147m.; wd. .147; dp. .6.; smaller ht. .095; wd. .10.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: face sheared off from statue; nose (beak) broken.

Bibliography: Mond 1940, pl. 20.

44. *Soul of Pe Adoring*

Provenance: Karnak. Cairo CG 38593.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .62 m.

Inscriptions: Utterance by [name lost]. ...Utterance.... in his name of ... Backpillar: Utterance by the souls of Pe. Adoration of Re-Horakhty rejoicing in the horizon in his name of Shu [which is in the

Aten]. May he rest in the western horizon of the sky upon the noble pure high building of Re [//].

Bibliography: Mond 1940, pl. 20.

Comment: Same facial characteristics as no.43, with heavy relief circles around eyes.

*45. Sokar*

Provenance: Unknown. Musée Calvet, Avignon, A39. Formerly Sallier Collection (?). Purchased 1833.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .75 m.; wd. .28; dp. .26.

Inscriptions: Words spoken by Sokar: I have given all joy to the lord of the two lands, [////]re.

Bibliography: *RT* 35 (1913) 202-03, pl. xli; Meeks in Aufrère and Meeks 1985, 141, 269, fig. 66bis.

Comment: Eyes possibly recarved. Original polish on wig and head. Shown as anthropomorphized falcon god, standing and mummified. Name of the king on the inscription is unknown.

*Jackal headed or jackal shaped statues*

*46. Soul of Nekhen*

Provenance: Karnak. Cairo JE 41210, formerly 8/6/24/2 (pl.25a-b). In Beni Suef Museum since September 1995.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.0 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: *Urk.* IV 1755.

Comment: Parts of jackal head and base restored. No inscription remains: the jackal head indicates that this is a soul of Nekhen, rather than of Pe.

*47. Seated statue of Anubis*

Provenance: Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AEIN 33, A 89 (pl.26a). Ex-Sabattier Collection.

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.6 m.

Inscriptions: The good god Nebmaatre, beloved of Anubis in Ipet-Resy (Luxor Temple), given life. The son of Re [Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes], beloved of Anubis in Ipet-resy, given life.

Bibliography: Koefoed-Petersen 1950, 24, pl. 39; Koefoed-Petersen 1962, pl. 27; Helck 1955, 1758, no.604.

Comment: By size and pose, this could be the pendant to no. 40 above, the seated solar falcon god found at Tanis. The inscription, if the statue was transported from Kom el Heitan, was added later. The reference to an Anubis of Luxor Temple is exceptional, as far as I know.

*48. Striding jackal*

Provenance: Tanis. Cairo CG 38517 (pl.26b).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. 1.0 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Preserved from knee to top.

Bibliography: Daressy 1906, 138, pl. 30.

Comment: Original size approximately that of the smaller standing god figures (1.5 m. without base).

*49. Recumbent jackal on shrine*

Provenance: Deir el Medina. Cairo Temp. No. 3/4/53/1. Head in British Museum EA 64400 (pl.27).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Overall approximately ht. 1.0 m.; depth 1.5 m.; ht. head .11.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: PM II<sup>2</sup> 478; Bruyère 1926, 26, fig. 17. Head unpublished.

*50. Jackal head*

Provenance: Smith College 1970.19 (pl.28).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .298 m.; wd. .242.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: To be published by Ms. Kara Sullivan of Smith College. I am grateful to her for the photographs.

Comment: This head derives from a free standing statue like CG 38517, No. 49 above. Its eyes are carved exactly like that statue's, as "buttonholes". The soul of Pe, JE 41210, No. 46 above, has this same eye treatment. All three also have similar ear detailing, with horizontal striations to indicate ear fur. Nos. 47 and 50 have almond-shaped eyes with cosmetic lines; they also lack indications of ear fur.

*Cow/bull headed or cow/bull shaped statues*

*51. Cow goddess*

Provenance: Purchased in Luxor. Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.2.5 (pl.29a).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .51 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: PM II<sup>2</sup> 534; Hayes 1959, fig. 144; Vandier 1958 385, pl. 124.2.

*52. Bull headed god*

Provenance: Unknown. Vatican Museum 22808 (pl.29b).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Ht. .76 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Bibliography: Botti and Romanelli 1951, 104-5, pl. 71 #156; Grenier 1993, 53, pl. 16.

Comment: Holds was scepter. Dated much later in publications, but the kilt type, necklace, size and features are entirely consistent with this group.

*Cat headed or cat shaped statues (other than Sakhmet)*

*53. Bastet*

Provenance: Coptos. Cairo Egyptian Museum N109 (not in the registers: pl.29c).

Material: Granodiorite.

Size: Base depth .55 m.; wd. .29 m.; ht. .16 m. Length of foot .225 m.

Inscriptions: King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre, given life, beloved of Bastet, mistress of the *Sed*. (Apparently added): Beloved of Sakhmet, mistress of Coptos-Sty.

Bibliography: None.

*Other animal forms*

*54. Khepri as a scarab*

Provenance: Now in Karnak at northwest corner of sacred lake (pl.Vc).

Material: Red granite.

Size: Ht. 1.5 m.

Inscription (mentions mortuary temple): The king of upper and lower Egypt Nebmaatre, the son of Re Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, beloved of Khepri, who has come into being in the land. Giving [wine]. Utterance by Atum lord of the two lands and of Heliopolis: Take for yourself life for your nose, O lord of the two lands Nebmaatre. I have given to you millions of years as king and chief of the living. Horus enduring eternally, may you live, may you be young forever.

Utterance by Khepri who has come into being in the land: O my son, Nebmaatre. I have given to you life, stability [and dominion] to your nose, that you might perform millions of *Sed* festivals. You are lord of what the *aten* illumines, the Nine Bows being destroyed beneath your sandals, in exchange for these things which you have done for me. *I am pleased because you made for me my temple on the west (imy-wrt) of Thebes. Your Majesty fashioned my ennead, each one in his bodily form, after I had made him.* (Italics my emphasis.)

Condition: Excellent.

Bibliography: PM II<sup>2</sup> 221; Schwaller de Lubicz 1982, pls. 338-340; Helck 1955, 1753-54,

#### 55. *Crocodile-lion sphinx*

Provenance: Kom el Heitan *in situ* (pl.Vd).

Material: Calcite.

Size: Base length 5.3 m.; length of statue 4.87 m; wd. 1.03 m.; ht. of base .29 m; ht. above base at shoulder .83 m.; wd. of shoulders .87 m.; wd. across lappets .60 m.

Inscriptions: None.

Condition: Headless but otherwise well preserved. Since 1996 placed on pedestal at original find spot.

Bibliography: Habachi in Haeny 1981, plate 11a, pp. 59-61; Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan, figure VII.3, pp. 216-217.

#### 56. *Hippopotamus*

Provenance: Kom el Heitan *in situ*. Still embedded in the ground.

Material: Calcite.

Size: Approximately 2 m. in length.

Inscriptions: None seen.

Condition: Apparently headless, standing on four legs. Base has not been freed from the mud.

Bibliography: Haeny 1981, pp. 102-104; Behrmann 1989, Dokumente 163.

#### 57. *Baboon*

Provenance: Memphis. Cairo JE 13858.

Material: Brown quartzite.

Size: Ht. .70 m.; wd. .58; dp. .50. (Feet lacking.)

Inscriptions: Name of Ramesses II.

Bibliography: None.

Comment: Pectoral carved in raised relief shows lunar disc on the solar bark. Behind squatting child on the prow is an incised set of cartouches of Ramesses II. Unusual place for the name.

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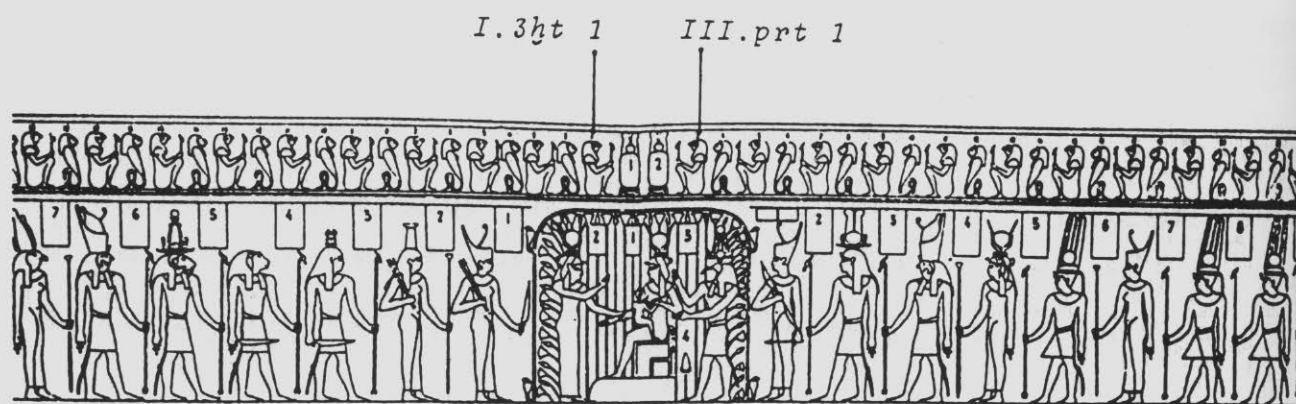
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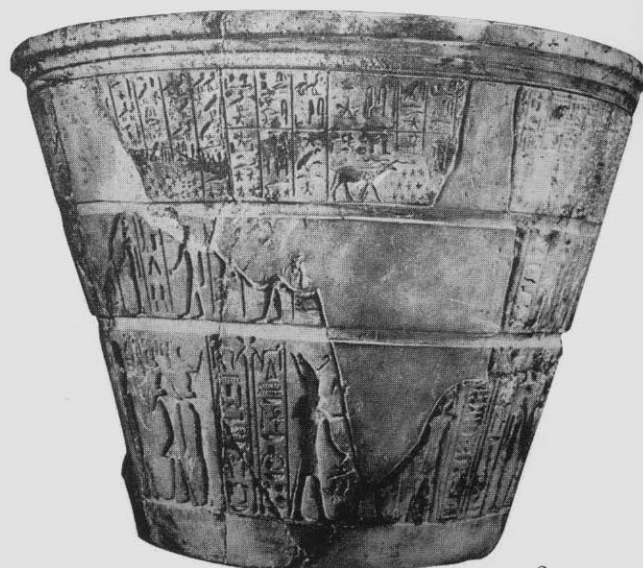


a. Hathor in the arbor with the deities who govern the days of the year advancing, led by *akhet* I,1 and *peret* III,1. Line drawing after Leitz 1989, 21.

b-e. Clepsydra of Amenhotep III, Cairo Temp. no. 2/12/26/17.



b.



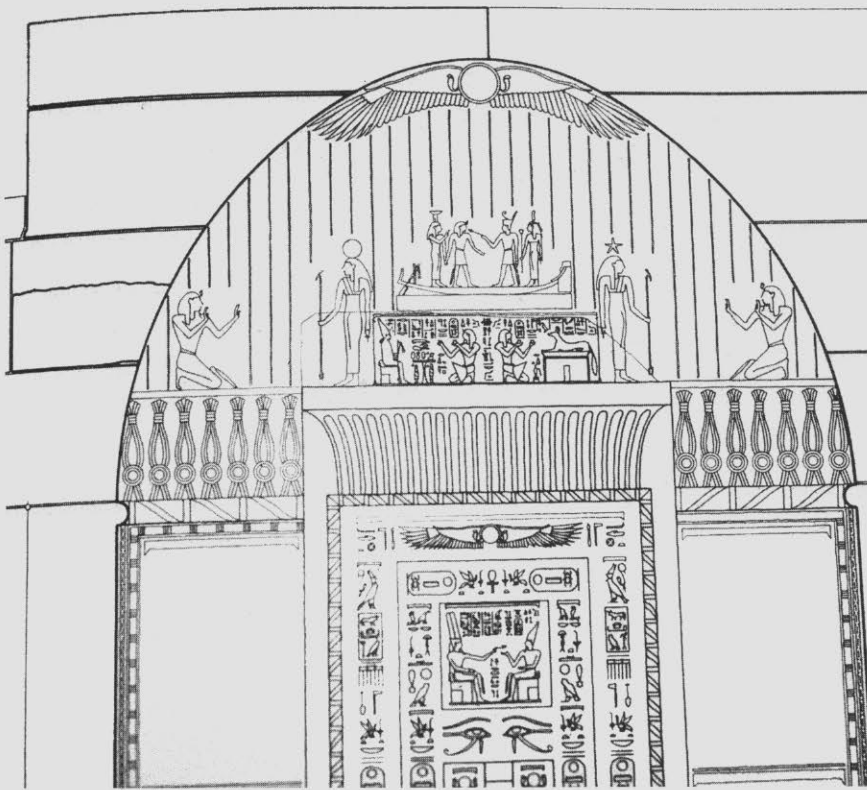
c.



d.

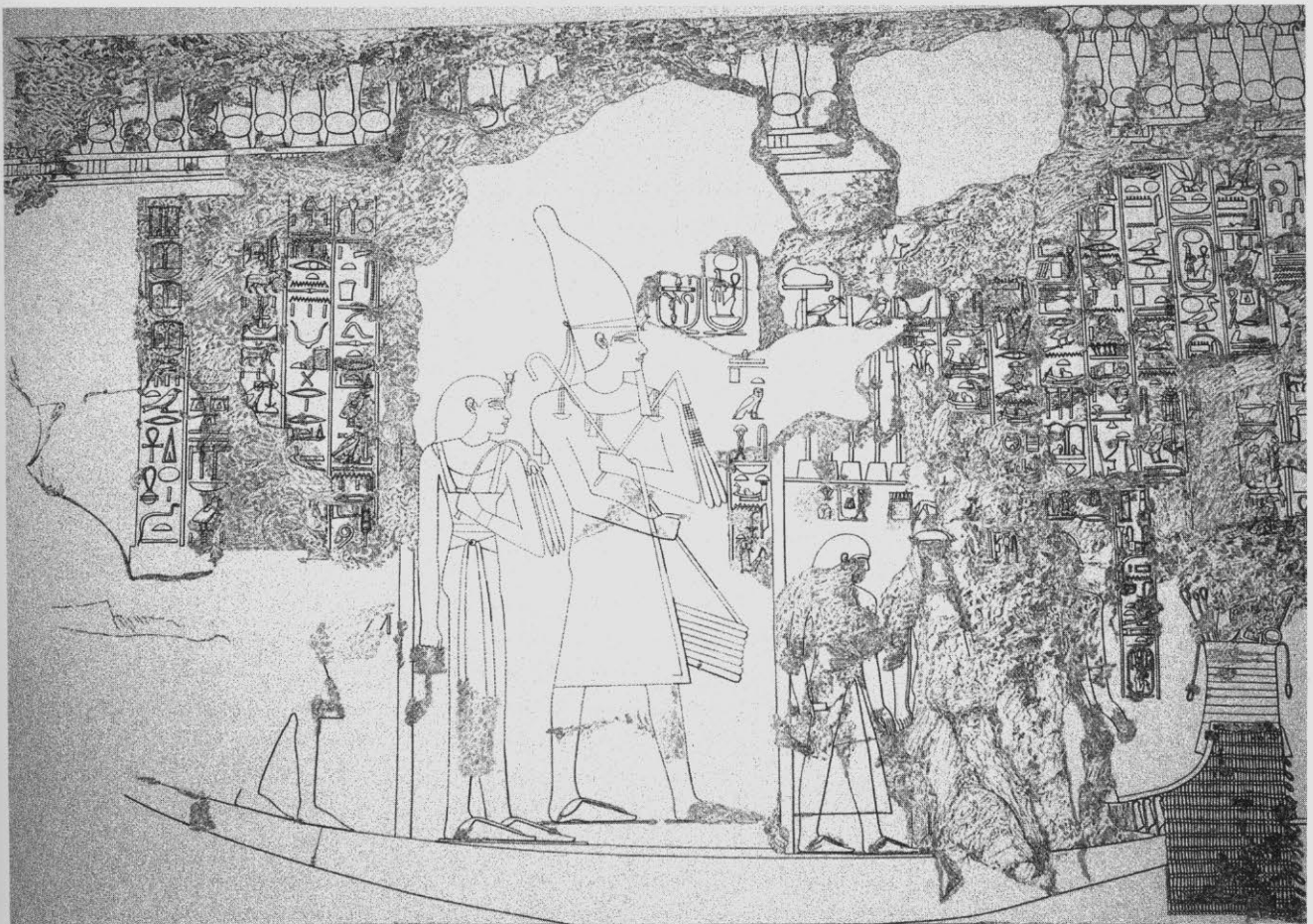


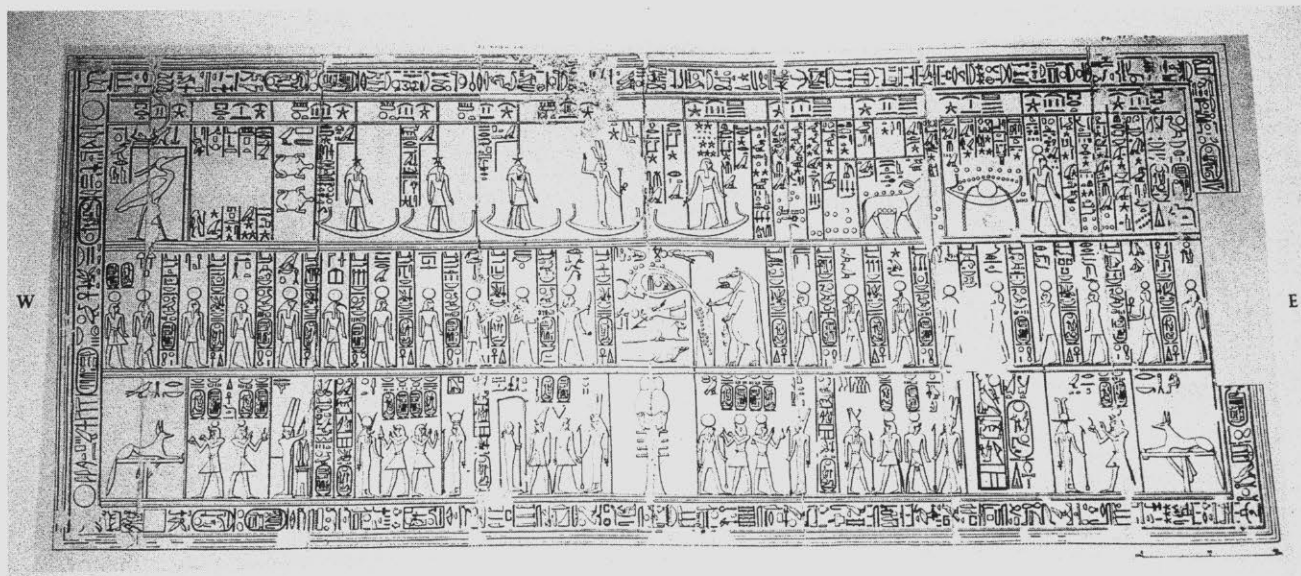
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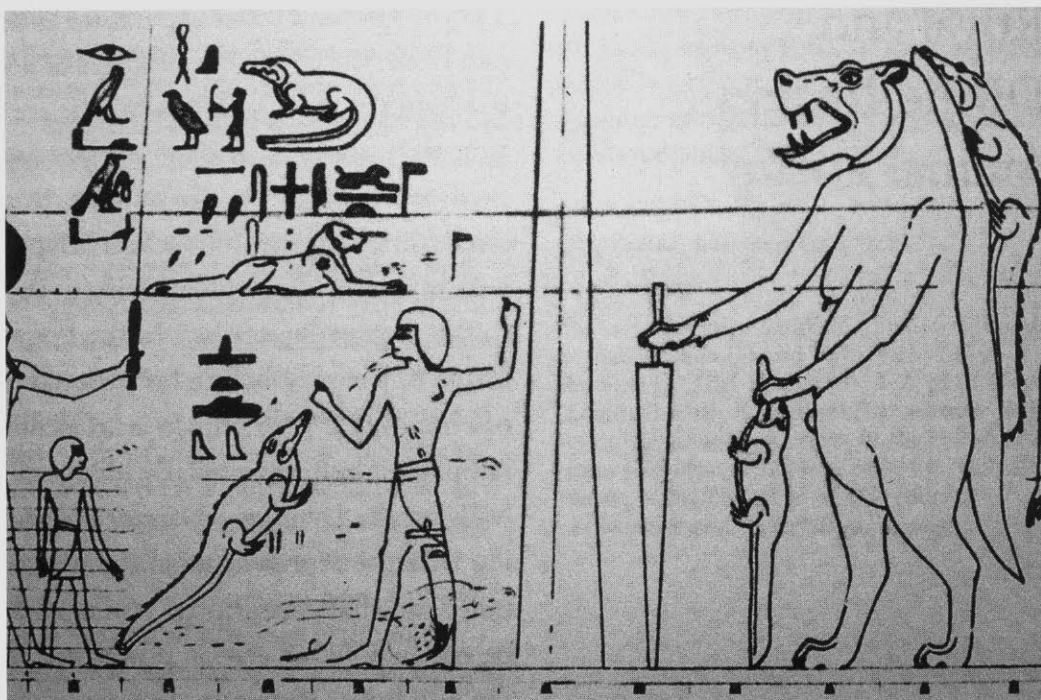
a. Thutmose III adoring the gods governing the day and night hours, with the solar bark in the centre of the lunette. Line drawing after Ricke 1939.

b. Amenhotep III in the solar bark towed like the sun-god during the first *sed*, as depicted in the tomb-chapel of Kheruef, TT 192. Line drawing after the Epigraphic Survey 1980.



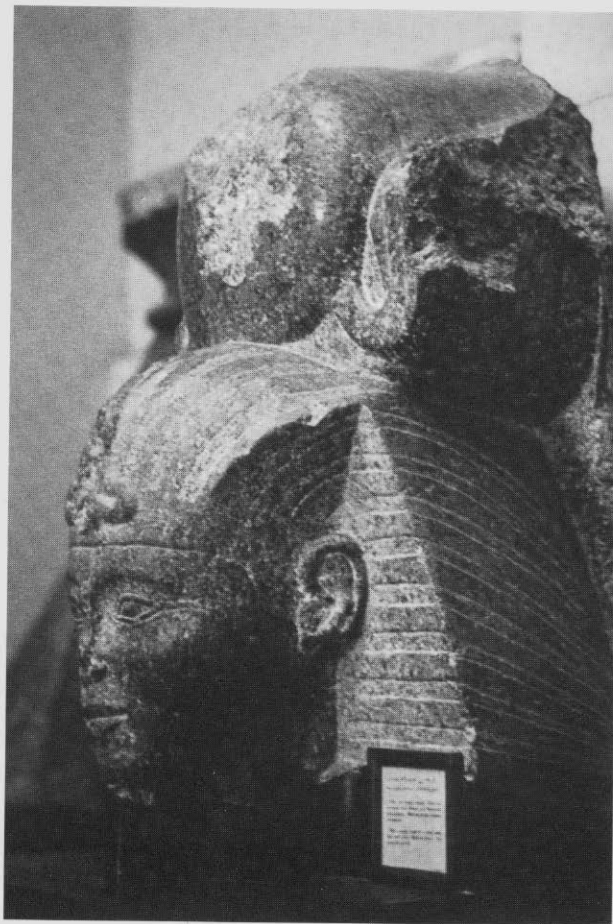


a. Astronomical ceiling of Ramses II, from the Ramesseum. After Neugebauer and Parker 1969, pl. 5.



b. Detail of the astronomical ceiling of Senenmut from TT 353, showing the crocodile-lion sphinx deity.

a. Head from Cat. 1 of the king wearing sun disc, Cairo JE 54477.



b. Cat. 2: Recarved dyad of the king with Ptah Tatenen, from Memphis, Cairo CG 554.



Cat. 5: Statue of Ptah, Medinet Habu.



a. *above left* Cat 6: Two colossal seated royal figures, Kom el Heitan.

b. *above right* Base with nome procession, Medinet Habu, possibly for one of the colossi, Cat. 6.



c. Cat. 7: Base of statue of Osiris the Great Saw, lord of the *sed*, Medinet Habu.



Cat. 9: Mummiform  
god, from Sheikh  
Abada, Cairo Temp.  
no. 7/3/45/2.



Cat. 10: Mummyform god, from Sheikh Abada,  
Cairo JE 89616.



a. Cat. 16: Face of an unidentified god, from the temple of Merenptah, BM EA 69053.



b. Cat. 17: Unidentified god, Kom el Heitan.



Cat. 24: Nephthys statue  
from Herakleopolis,  
Louvre E 25389.



a. Cat. 25: Base of statue of Maat, from Thebes, BM EA 91.



b. Cat. 26: Base of statue of Weret-Hekaw, Cairo N127.



a. *above* Cat. 27: Goddess, perhaps Isis, from Coptos, Turin 694.

b. *below* Cat. 28: Unidentified goddess, Marseilles 206.





a.

a-b. Cat. 29: Statue of king with  
Asbet, (a) front and (b) inscribed  
back.



b.



Cat. 30: Serpent of Hor-Khent-Khety, from Athribis, Cairo  
Temp. no. 30/10/26/9.



Cat. 32: Statue of Thoth,  
from Sheikh Abada, Cairo  
Temp. no. 7/3/45/1.



a. *above* Cat. 33: Base of statue of Khnum, Medinet Habu.

b. *below* Cat. 35: Statue of a ram-headed god, from Karnak, Cairo CG 38500.





a.

a-b. Cat. 36: Soul of Nekhen, from Karnak,  
Cairo JE 41211, now in Beni Suef Museum.



b.



a. *above* Cat. 38: Base of statue of Horus Maa-kheru, Dendera (photograph Robert Morkot).

b. Cat. 39: Falcon-headed god, from Sheikh Abada, Cairo JE 89615. Profile view showing rounded shoulders and slightly bulging paunch characteristic of statuary of Amenhotep III.





Cat. 40: Falcon-headed god,  
originally with sun disc atop  
head, from Tanis, Cairo JE  
37485.



a. *above* Cat. 41: Falcon deity, Cairo, no registration number.

b. Cat. 42: Falcon-headed god, from Rome, Munich WÄF 22.



a.



b.

a-b. Cat. 46: Soul of Nekhen, from Karnak, Cairo JE 41210, now in Beni Suef Museum.



a. Cat. 47: Anubis enthroned,  
Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek  
AEIN 33.

b. Cat. 48: Jackal-headed god, from  
Tanis, Cairo CG 38517.





a.

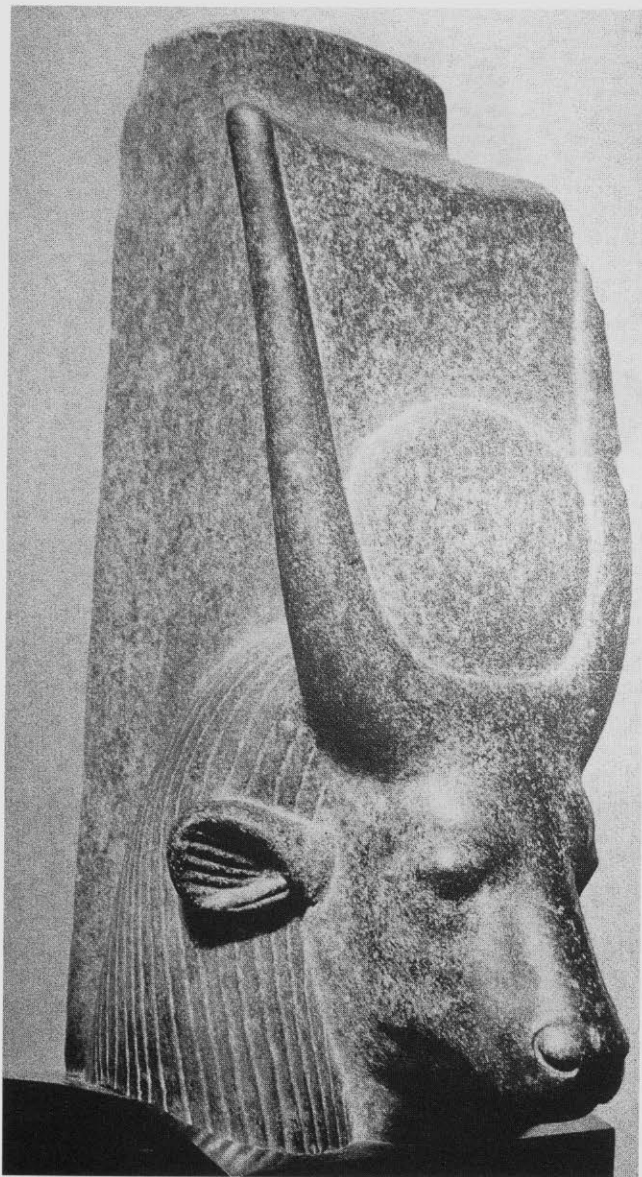
a-b. Head from Cat. 49: recumbent jackal deity, BM EA 64400.



b.

a-b. Cat. 50: Jackal head, Smith College 1970.19.





a. Cat. 51: Cow-headed goddess, from Thebes, MMA 19.2.5.



b. *above* Cat. 52: Bull-headed god, Vatican Museum 22808.



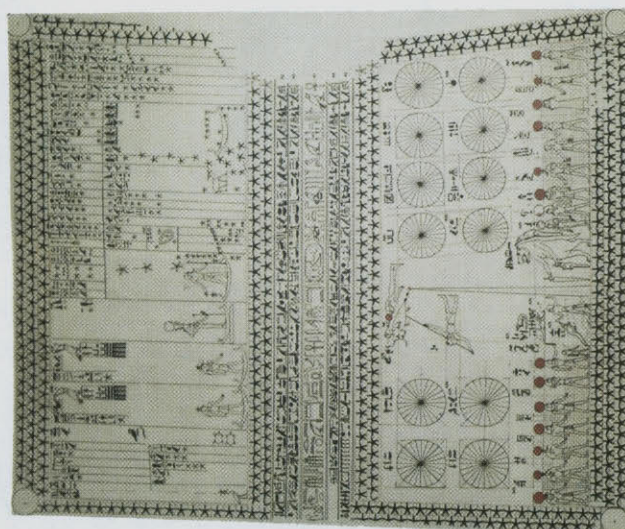
c. *left* Cat. 53: Base of statue of Bastet, Cairo, no registration number.



a. View of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el Heitan, from the south-west, showing cat. 55 in the mud.



c. Fragments of mortuary temple statuary in red and black granitic stones, calcite and quartzite, on the surface at Kom el Heitan.



d. Astronomical ceiling of Senenmut from TT 353, showing four circles representing the pillars of heaven and enclosures of star bands. After Dorman 1991, pl. 85.



b. View of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, taken from Qurnet Murai to the west.



a. Statue of Sakhmet, MMA 15.8.2.



b. Cat. 1: King with sun disc, with a goddess, at Medinet Habu.



a. Cat 4: Sakhmet, Amenhotep III, Amen and Amenet, at Kom el Heitan.



b. *below* Cat. 9: Seated mummiform god from Sheikh Abada; detail of head.

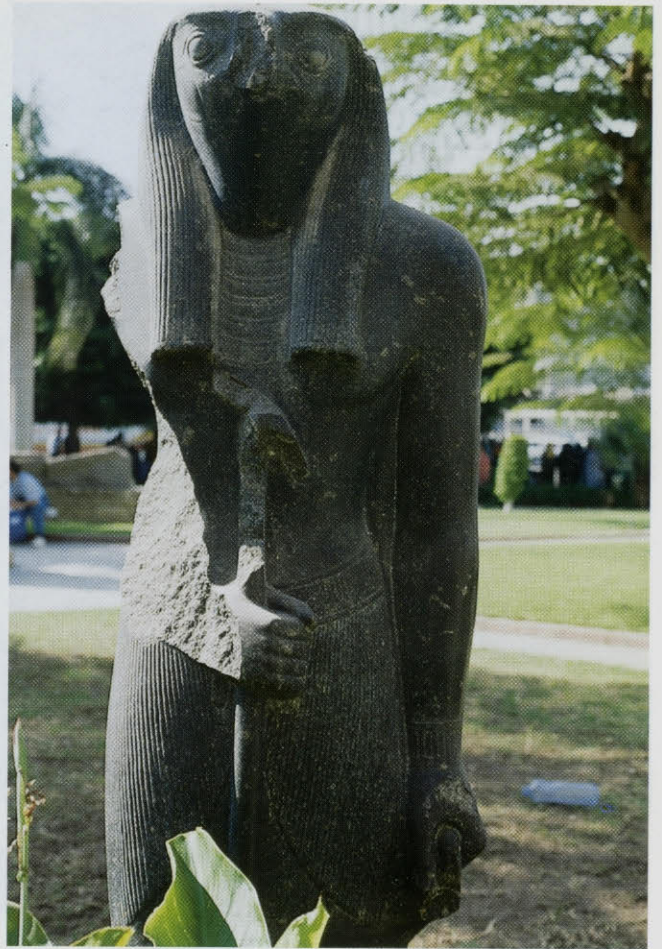
c. *right* Cat. 12: Unidentified god, University of Chicago Oriental Institute 10607.



d. Cat. 13:  
Unidentified god, De  
Young Museum  
5466.



a. Cat. 31: King with sun disc, with a moon god, at Medinet Habu.



b. Cat. 39: Falcon god from Sheikh Abada, Cairo JE 89615

c. Cat. 54: Khepri as a scarab, Karnak.



d. Cat. 55: Crocodile-lion sphinx, Kom el Heitan.

