


## AMUN '3 ŠFYT IN A RAMESSID TOMB AT THEBES

In 1910 the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen acquired a fragment of a painting from a dealer in Cairo <sup>1)</sup>. The provenance appears to have been given as 'Thebes', and this is undoubtedly correct. From the cartouches of Ramesses III it can be dated to the reign of this king. The fragment measures 45 cm x 52 cm, and consists of a layer of mud mixed with straw, onto which the paint seems to have been applied directly, or over a thin wash of white.

The representation preserves part of a scene showing a portable shrine placed on a square pedestal. The shrine itself stands under a baldachin and is wrapped in a white shroud. It is decorated with a cornice and a frieze of figures: , all of it yellow with details marked in red. The pedestal, which is also yellow, has a cornice, and, on the side, the following inscription in a square frame:



Beside the pedestal there are three tall vases on a stand, and, on the right, part of two arm-shaped censers (the lower right corner of the scene is missing). Behind the shrine, and above the vases, there is a tall composite bouquet (papyrus and lotus), and in front of it another large bouquet (three papyrus flowers and a garland of lotus petals) inclined towards the divinity within the shrine. In the top right-hand corner of the fragment, there is an inscription painted in black on a yellow ground - to indicate old papyrus <sup>2)</sup>:



The overall background of the scene is white, and it is bounded at the sides by a coloured border, and at the top by a double border with a frieze of uraei.

The name of the divinity to which the text refers can be restored with certainty as Amun (-Rē?) partly because of the remaining  $\bar{\rho}$  and the epithet 'ruler of the Ennead', and partly because of the text on the base. 'Beloved of Amon-Rē 'š šfyt' is by no means a common epithet of Ramesses III <sup>3)</sup>, and was undoubtedly chosen because of the nature of the scene in question. The fragment of the sign below the  $\bar{\rho}$  is clearly the tip of  $\bar{\rho}$ , and the traces below suit  $\bar{\rho}$ . I can think of no epithet that would fill the remaining part of the column other than 'š šfyt.

The divinity represented is thus none other than Amun(-Re) 'š šfyt, great god ... (lord of) the sky, ruler of the Ennead'.

That 'š šfyt was not merely a general epithet of Amun is evident from the fact that Amun 'š šfyt possessed a chapel with its own administration, as appears from P. Amiens written in the reigns of Ramesses III-IV <sup>4)</sup>. The usurper of Theban tomb 112, who incorporated the name of the god in his personal name, 'Ashefytemwēse, was *ḥm nṯr* in the service of the god <sup>5)</sup>. The chapel of the god was a subdivision of the temple of Amon-Rē at Karnak, and distinct from another chapel called '(The house of) Amun, 'š šfyt in the granary of Amun' <sup>6)</sup>.

In private tombs at Thebes representations of Amun occur less frequently than one would perhaps expect. The vast majority are Ramessid, but they are scattered all over the necropolis. Most often Amun is shown as part of the Theban triad <sup>7)</sup>, and he is rarely depicted on his own <sup>8)</sup>. The bark of Amun is represented in a few tombs <sup>9)</sup>, and so are his statue <sup>10)</sup>, and his ram standard <sup>11)</sup>, while the 'bouquet of Amun' is common. But actual representations of the god are rare, in that when he is in his bark he is hidden within the shrine.

The majority of the scenes of Ramessid date are very general, and bear no particular relation to the occupation of the tomb owner. Only a few (e.g. TT 16, 19, 65, and 178) can be interpreted illustrating an actual event, whether general or specific, in the

tomb owner's life, and comparable to the biographical scenes in XVIIIth dynasty tombs. It is a question whether the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek fragment belongs to this category or the other. The fact that the representation of the shrine of Amun (-Rē) 'š šfyt is unique does not *per se* imply that a specific event was depicted. On the other hand, the fact that it is a particular aspect of the god that has been chosen may indicate a definite intention on the part of the tomb owner to establish a relationship.

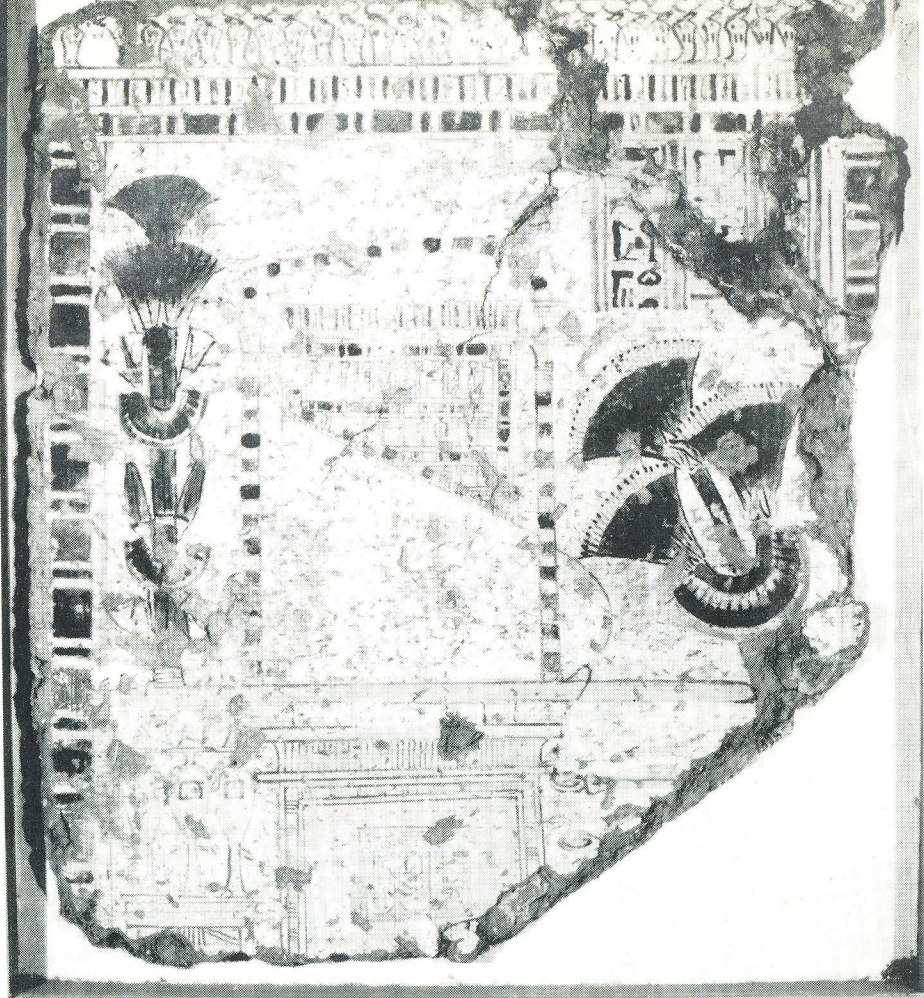
Trying to trace the tomb of which the fragment was once a part is difficult, as the only clue to the identity of the owner is the inference that he had something to do with the cult of Amun (-Rē) 'š šfyt or the administration of his property. The fragment was removed before 1910, i.e. before the days of Porter and Moss, and the scene is presumably not in any of the older manuscripts whence it would also have filtered into *Top. Bibl.* When trying to fit it into any of the numbered tombs one must look for [god] or the like, in a suitable context, preferably 'NN adoring [god]', or a festival scene, and everything then needs checking *in situ* <sup>12)</sup>. There seem to be few likely candidates among the known tombs <sup>13)</sup>, except perhaps TT 332 at Dra' Abû el-Naga', where numerous Ramessid tombs were dug, particularly by those who functioned for Amun. One other group of tombs in the area that must also be considered are those recorded in the southern part of Dra' abû el-Naga', and now lost (TT A 11-A 25), among which several are Ramessid. One (A 17) is definitely connected with Ramesses III <sup>14)</sup>. Another (TT A 23) actually belongs to a man called Pen'ashefi who was *ḥm nṯr* of Amon-Rē (possibly) 'š šfyt <sup>15)</sup>, but according to Champollion few figures in this tomb were coloured and the text columns left unfinished.

In this connection it should also be borne in mind that the fragment was acquired at the same time as three fragments from TT 161 <sup>16)</sup>, a tomb in the neighbourhood of TT A 11-A 25. For the time being exact identification is impossible, but there is a strong probability that the fragment was pilfered from a tomb in this area, which is now an unpromising depression.

- 1) EIN 1073: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens* (1956), no. 69, p. 53, pl. LXV. NB the measurements are incorrect.
- 2) J. Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt* (1952), p. 7.
- 3) H. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois III* (1914), pp. 156 ff., does not include this epithet for Ramesses III. It occurs for Tuthmosis III at Karnak: P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (1962), p. 116.
- 4) A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents* (1948), 1,3 cf. *id.* in *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 45-6; and H. W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches Teil I* (1961), p. 69 (no. 17). The meaning of šfyṯ (*WB* IV.456-61 - and cf. J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (1968), pp. 182,190) is 'impressiveness', 'awesomeness', *i.e.* the capacity to inspire awe or reverential fear. This is the power of the ram's head. The epithet 'šfyṯ as applied to Amun will refer to a (metal) ram's head on a door or doors at Karnak (cf. *Urk.* IV.183.10; 357.5; 848.8; 849.11; 1654.5; 1752.8 and Brugsch, *Thes.* 1315: information kindly supplied by J. R. Harris). The epithet is not restricted to Amun but is also applied to Osiris and Min (*e.g.* K. Sethe, *Ag. Lesestücke*, pp. 63, 64, 65. Cf. also K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Irgötter von Hermopolis* (1929), pp. 22-3 and J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (1969), p. 59.
- 5) Helck, *loc. cit.*; cf. B. Porter & R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography I*<sup>2</sup>, 1 (1960), p. 229.
- 6) Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
- 7) TT 2 (12), (15); 7 (9); 194 (8) (twice); 284 (6) (bars); 377 (4) - all references to be found in *Top. Bibl.* I<sup>2</sup>,1.
- 8) TT 2 (3); 48 (1); 73 (3); 214 (1); 215 (3); 292 (4); 409 (7); B 1.
- 9) TT 10 (5); 19 (3); 65 (*passim*); 134 (1); 284 (6).
- 10) TT 2 (9), (11); 73 (3); C 7.
- 11) TT 44 (4), (12). A ram's head in a shrine occurs in TT 14 (6).
- 12) Cutting out a fragment painted on a thick layer of mud plaster would frequently cause the entire wall to collapse, as the plaster shrank from the rock when drying and only remained in place if resting on the ground (cf. E. Mackay in *JEA* 7 (1921), p. 160). The surrounding part of the wall may thus have been completely destroyed, or it was taken elsewhere. Relatively few fragments of Ramessid tombs have reached public collections, the majority being from the XVIIIth dynasty. A suggestive lot, painted on 'clay mixed with chopped straw' was once in the Rustafjaell collection. One at least is Ramessid (*Catalogue of the remaining part of the valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities formed by Robert de Rustafjaell, Esq. Sotheby Sale Catalogue, 20th - 24th January 1913, no. 595*).
- 13) TT 379, also a possible candidate, was checked in March 1978 and proved to be irrelevant here.

- 14) *Top. Bibl.* I<sup>2</sup>, 2, xxiv (addenda to I<sup>2</sup>,1).
- 15) Champollion, *Notices Descriptives*<sup>2</sup>I (1844), p. 541; translated differently in *Top. Bibl.* I<sup>2</sup>,1, p. 454.
- 16) *CdE* 40, no. 79 (1965), pp. 34-45.

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EIN 1073

(photograph Mogens Jørgensen)

## THE PROVENANCE OF A WALL-PAINTING IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK, COPENHAGEN

In 1978 I published in this journal<sup>1)</sup> a fragment of a Ramessid wall-painting now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen (AEIN 1073). At the time I was unable to give an exact provenance for the fragment, but I suggested one of the tombs of Dra' Abū el-Nagaf, one of the strongest candidates being Theban tomb A 17, a tomb whose exact location is now unknown.

I have recently had the opportunity of examining in detail the MSS of Robert Hay, now in the British Museum, and, contrary to my previous statement, part of the scene in Copenhagen is indeed mentioned there. The reference to the Hay MSS was taken up by Porter & Moss, Topographical Bibliography I<sup>2</sup>, 2 under Addenda to Theban tomb A 17 (p. xxiv), but without first hand knowledge of the relevant page in the Hay MSS the connection with the fragment in Copenhagen is not immediately obvious.

The tomb from which the fragment came is beyond doubt tomb A 17, belonging to Userhet, head of the measurers of the granary of the estate of Amun. The inscription on the stand supporting the portable naos was copied by Hay in MSS 29816, 198 verso [bottom left] with the legend 'a kind of altar', cf. Porter & Moss, loc. cit. The provenance of the Copenhagen fragment is thus assured.

On p. 198 recto in Hay's sketch book there is a copy of a painted stela mentioned by Naville as seen in situ in the tomb.<sup>2)</sup> Hay explicitly says that it was in the same tomb as that with the altar. The page of the sketch book as mounted in the bound MSS appears to be included under the heading 'Antiquities seen at Thebes in the possession of Yannee & Piccinini', but the stela was obviously in situ when Naville saw it half a century later, and so presumably was the wall-painting with the naos. Another discrepancy is the fact that in MSS 29851, 140 Hay says that the scenes in question were found in a tomb 'opened by me near Piccinini's house but covered before the colours were noted'. In MSS 29816, 198 verso he says that the tomb was opened by Piccinini.<sup>3)</sup>

The inscription along the borders of the painted stela (reproduced here in a tracing from Hay's sketch) gives the names and titles of Ramesses III. The lunette has a representation of the King offering a statuette of the goddess Maet to Amun, ruler of Thebes, Mut and Khonsu. The main text of the stela runs as follows:

'May the good god live, (and) the great Hapy, (and) Renenutet, the great one of the Black Land,<sup>4)</sup> who makes monuments with a loving heart for his father Amūn, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Usermātre-meryamūn, son of Rē, lord of crowns, Ramesses, ruler of Heliopolis. Making for him a very large granary, its heaps<sup>5)</sup> reaching<sup>6)</sup> to the sky, inasmuch as he loves him more than any other gods, that he may give all<sup>7)</sup> life and dominion and all health like Rē for ever'.

It is not specified which particular temple of Amūn benefited from the King's donation. If Amūn  $\epsilon_3 \check{s}fyt$  is understood, it would lend further support to the idea that this chapel was an independent establishment.<sup>8)</sup> During the reign of Ramesses III granaries all over Egypt were inspected and counted, and rebuilt when they had collapsed,<sup>9)</sup> but this text suggests that a new granary was established, the King providing the possibility for further economic development.

The fact that the tomb contained more scenes than those mentioned by Porter & Moss is suggested by Hay MSS 29816, 198 verso. Above the copy of the inscription on the stand for the naos there is a drawing of a papyrus, like that held by the lector-priest during the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth, with the words 'Performing the Opening of the Mouth' written on it. Hay describes it as 'a papyrus read before the mummy figs. as in another tomb', and he says that it was in the same tomb as the one with the inscription on the stand. Scenes of 'Opening of the Mouth before mummies' (to use the phrase of Porter & Moss) may thus safely be added to the list of representations in the tomb.

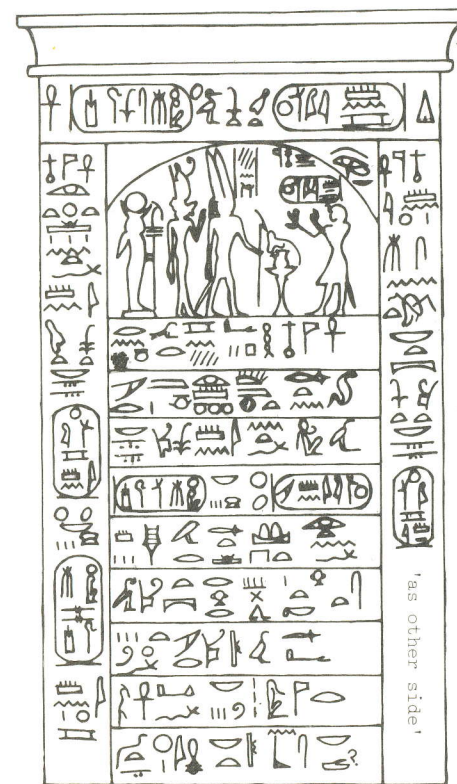
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- 1) 'Amun  $\epsilon_3 \check{s}fyt$  in a Ramessid tomb at Thebes', *GM* 29, 1978, pp. 79-84.
- 2) E. Naville, *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III*, Paris 1883, p. 6 n. 3.
- 3) Piccinini was an Italian excavator whose house was near Theban tomb 161. 'Yanee' was Giovanni d'Athanasia, a Greek excavator and collector who had a house above Theban tomb 52. - Hay stayed long enough in the tomb to make excellent tracings of other scenes which I hope to be able to study at a future date.
- 4) 'Great one of the Black Land' is an epithet of Renenutet not otherwise known, cf. the list in J. Broekhuis, *De Godin Renenutet*, Assen 1971, pp. 142-8. For mention of a special relationship between Ramesses III and this goddess cf. *ibid.*, p. 3.

- 5) Hay has  $\check{s}fyt$ , Naville  $\check{s}fyt$ .
- 6) Hay apparently has  $\check{s}fyt$  for  $\check{s}fyt$ .
- 7) The question mark is Hay's. Naville has  $\check{s}fyt$ .
- 8) Cf. H. W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Mainz 1961, p. 69 (no. 17).
- 9) Cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions*, V, fasc. 5, Oxford 1977, p. 232, lines 9-12.



Painted stela in Theban tomb A 17, redrawn from Hay MSS 29816, 198 recto.