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# The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Role of the King<sup>1</sup>

KATHLYN M. COONEY

## Introduction

Within the enclosures of the great temple at Karnak in Thebes and adjacent to its sacred waters lies a curious sandstone monument known simply as the Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake.<sup>2</sup> Built during the reign of the 25th Dynasty Kushite king Taharqa, the vague title of 'edifice' is a result of past and present scholars' puzzlement over the specific religious and ritual nature of the building. A fragment of an architrave records only that it was a *wsh̄t-h̄byt*, or festival hall,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Betsy Bryan encouraged me to work on this topic during a graduate seminar at Johns Hopkins University in the fall of 1996. A condensed version of this paper was read at ARCE 1999 in Chicago, Ill. I would like to thank Betsy Bryan, Richard Jasnow and Richard Fazzini for their help and suggestions. Also, thanks to Neil Crawford for his help with graphics and plans.

<sup>2</sup> In B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *The Topographical Bibliography* (hereafter PM), II *Theban Temples*, 219–21, the structure is referred to as the Temple of Re-Harakhty *wsh̄t h̄byt*.

<sup>3</sup> J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXVe Dynastie dite Éthiopienne*, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale Bibliothèque d'Étude 36 (Cairo, 1965), 75. The first reference to a *wsh̄t* is Fifth Dynasty, belonging to the pyramid temple of Neferirkare at Abusir. See L. Borchart, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Neferirkare* (Leipzig, 1907), pl. 10. By the Eighteenth Dynasty, the term *wsh̄t* could be used to describe either a roofed hypostyle hall as well as an open court within a temple where offerings were made; see P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple* (Boston, 1984), 75. The *wsh̄t h̄byt* is the most frequent compound, first attested in the Seventeenth Dynasty, and Spencer translates the term as the "forecourt proper of an Egyptian Temple"; see P. Spencer, *ibid.*, 81. The Wörterbuch translates the term as the "Festhof des Temples," *WBI*, 366, 10, while Faulkner translates "Festival Hall" in his *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 167. In *Egyptian Temple*, *op. cit.*, Spencer notes on p. 84 that a block associated with the Edifice of Taharqa was inscribed with the term *wsh̄t h̄byt*, but on p. 97, n. 215 she maintains that this cannot be taken as the name of the temple itself, only part of the temple, as "elsewhere, a *wsh̄t h̄byt*

the pertinent festival remaining unnamed.<sup>4</sup> The time period in which it was built adds to the confusion, being the work of a dynasty from Nubia, renowned for a combination of archaism<sup>5</sup> and innovation, resulting in monuments with few if any parallels. So while many of the disparate elements in the Edifice of Taharqa can be analyzed singly in the light of past ancient Egyptian artistic

is always a court within a temple. . . ." Perhaps then, according to this logic, the *wsh̄t h̄byt* refers to the open court superstructure hypothesized by Leclant.

<sup>4</sup> R. Parker, J.-C. Goyon, and J. Leclant, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies VIII (London, 1979), 81 (hereafter Parker et al. 1979).

<sup>5</sup> For archaism during this period, see J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 394–97; B. Bothmer et al. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period: 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), xxxvii, 7, 18; also see H. Brunner, "Archaismus," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. I, 386–95; J. Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte* (München-Wien, 1996), 302–10, 350–403; S. Neureiter, "Eine neue Interpretation des Archaismus," *SAK* 21 (1994), 219–54; E. Russmann, "Kushite headdresses and the 'Kushite' style," *JEA* 81 (1995), 227–32; A. Lohwasser, "Die Darstellung der kushitischen Krönung," in *Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, 3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung Hamburg 1.–5. Juni 1994 (Wiesbaden, 1997); L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush* (Leiden, 1997), 189–215. For Twenty-fifth dynasty archaism to the Fifth Dynasty, see Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Bruxelles-Brooklyn, 1974), 23; D. Stockfisch, "Bemerkungen zur sog. 'libyschen Familie'," in *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 315–25. Taharqa actually seems to have sent Memphite craftsmen to Kawa where reliefs were copied from Old Kingdom Fifth Dynasty royal monuments. See M. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I* (London, 1949), 21, n. 51; II (1955), pl. ix.

For archaizing in the 26th Dynasty, especially in the tomb of the Mayor of Thebes, Montuemhat (TT34), see P. Der Manuelian, "Prolegomena zur Untersuchung Saitischer 'Kopien'," *SAK* 10 (1983), 221–45 and P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London-New York, 1994).

tradition, it is the means of their combination that causes confusion when considering the purpose of the monument. Moreover, the sad state of preservation hampers further investigation, as most of the Edifice's exterior reliefs are missing, and much of the subterranean interior has disappeared or is badly damaged. The monument remained partially covered and therefore ignored until the 19th century when Prisse d'Avennes recorded some of the reliefs and inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> Further cursory excavations and consideration took place in 1907–8 under G. Maspero and G. Legrain,<sup>7</sup> and from 1923–25 under M. Pillet.<sup>8</sup> Not until 1939 were the inscriptions copied in earnest by Richard Parker. Parker then joined with Jean Leclant and Jean-Claude Goyon to produce in 1979 *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, the complete work documenting the archaeological progress, architecture and reliefs.

Despite a turbulent reign spent combating the aggression of the Neo-Assyrian empire, Taharqa remains the 25th Dynasty king most renowned for monumental building activity.<sup>9</sup> After becoming pharaoh in 690 B.C., he consecrated new ritual spaces at Kawa,<sup>10</sup> a temple of Amen in Nubia. He also embellished his home temple and the major Nubian cult center of Amen at Gebel Barkal,<sup>11</sup> the locality of the Kushite manifesta-

tion of the chief Theban god. Further north,<sup>12</sup> Taharqa was clearly quite busy in Thebes, once again erecting more ritual spaces within temple complexes dedicated to Amen, the most favored

<sup>6</sup> P. d'Avennes, *Monuments Egyptiens* (Paris, 1847), pls. XXXI–XXXIV.

<sup>7</sup> Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report 1907–8* (London, 1908).

<sup>8</sup> "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1922–1923)," *ASAE* 23 (1923), 123; "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923–1924)," *ASAE* 24 (1924), 74–75.

<sup>9</sup> J. Leclant, "Taharqa," *LÄ* VI, 156–84.

<sup>10</sup> PM VII, 181–91; M. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa, I and II* (London, 1949–55).

<sup>11</sup> PM VII, 207–22; S. Wenig, "Gebel Barkal," *LÄ* II, 434–39; G. Reisner reports in *JEA* 4 (1917), 213–27; *JEA* 5 (1918), 99–112; *JEA* 6 (1920), 247–64; *SNR* 4 (1921), 59–75; *ZÄS* 66 (1931), 76–100; *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 24–39, 73–78; *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 35–46; T. Kendall, *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey: 1986 Preliminary Report . . . to the Visiting Committee of the Department of Egyptian Art Museum of Fine Arts, Boston May 23, 1986*, Boston; T. Kendall, "The Gebel Barkal Temples 1989–90: A Progress Report on the Work of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sudan Mission," Pre-print of paper submitted at the *Seventh International Conference for Nubian Studies*, Geneva; T. Kendall, "Excavations at Gebel Barkal, 1996: Report of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sudan Mission," *Kush* 17 (1997), 320–54.

Other building activity by Taharqa in Kush includes Nu. 1, the burial of Taharqa (D. Dunham, *Nuri: Royal Cemeteries of Kush II* [Boston, 1955], 6–10), The Temple of Amen,

Bull of Nubia in Sanam (F. L. Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII–XVII, Napata, Sanam Temple, Treasury and Town," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 9 [1922], 79–104; *PM* VII, 198–200), work on the hemispeos of Hathor Tefnut B 200, the Hemispeos of Mut B 300, the Amen Temple B 500, and the Rock naos on the southwest cliff face of Gebel Barkal at Napata (PM VII, 208–21; D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* [Boston, 1970], 17, 32; E. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, app. 1, no. 16; T. Kendall, *Gebel Barkal Epigraphic Survey: 1986 Preliminary Report . . . Boston May 23, 1986*, 2–7, figs. 2–5), Temples A and T work at Kawa (M. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa II* [London, 1955], 14–113), The Temple of Amen of Pnubs (?) at Tabo (C. Maystre, "Les fouilles de Tabo [1965–1969]," *BSFE* 55 [1969], 5–12), The Temple of Amen of Pnubs (?) at Kerma (C. Bonnet and D. Valbelle, "Un Pretre d'Amon de Pnoub enterré à Kerma," *BIFAO* 80 [1980], 3–12), Relief blocks from an unidentified temple at Sedeinga (J. Leclant, "Taharqa à Sedeinga," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens II Religion* [Göttingen, 1984], 1113–20), and work on the temple of Horus at Buhen (D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen* [Philadelphia, 1911], 17, 50). For a more complete list of Taharqa's building activity in Nubia, see L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush* (Leiden, 1997), 139–41 and A. Ali Hakem, *Meroitic Architecture* (Khartoum, 1988), 62–78, 97–147, 231–84.

<sup>12</sup> Other building activity by Taharqa in Egypt includes work at Philae temple (F. L. Griffith, "Four Granite Stands at Philae," *BIFAO* 30 [1931], 127–30; E. Winter, "Die Tempel von Philae und das Problem ihrer Rettung," *Antike Welt* 7 [1976], 3–15; S. Farag, G. Wahba, and A. Farid, "Inscribed Blocks of the Ramesside Period and of King Taharqa, Found at Philae," *OrAnt* 18 [1979], 281–89; E. Winter, "Philae," *LÄ* IV [1982], 1022–27), extensive work at Karnak Temple including the Nile level inscription at the Quay (J. v. Beckerath, "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period," *JARCE* 5 [1966], 43–55), the Hakoris chapel (C. Traunecker, F. Le Saout, and O. Masson, *La chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak II* [Paris, 1981]; J. Leclant, "Taharqa," *LÄ* VI, 156–84), a monumental kiosk in the Bubastite forecourt, and colonnades in front of the Monthu Temple, the East Temple of Ramses II, before the Khonsu Temple and possibly the Mut temple, all of which will be discussed below, the Montuemhat chapel in the Mut Temple (PM I, 258), various Osiris chapels throughout NE Karnak which will also be discussed below, at Luxor the Hathor Chapel in the Fourcourt of the Amen Temple (PM I, 336; A. Q. Muhammed, "Preliminary Report . . . Temple of Luxor," *ASAE* 60 [1968], 245–71), and building work in the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 145–50). A more complete list of Taharqa's building activity in Egypt can be found in L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 141–42; for Theban activity in particular, see Leclant, *Recherches*, 348–52.

god of the Kushites.<sup>13</sup> He constructed the great kiosk of two papyriform column rows between the first and second pylons in the Amen precinct at Karnak,<sup>14</sup> similar to the conjectured kiosk in front of the Luxor Temple built by his predecessor Shabaka.<sup>15</sup> He also erected four<sup>16</sup> colonnades at the four cardinal points<sup>17</sup> within the greater Karnak area: four rows of five columns in the East in front of the temple of Ramses II in the Amen Precinct, another to the south before the temple of Khonsu also in the Amen Precinct, a similar colonnade in Karnak North within the Monthu precinct reconstructed from reused blocks,<sup>18</sup> as well as a probable colonnade before

the Mut Temple in the Mut precinct.<sup>19</sup> And of course there is the Edifice of Taharqa<sup>20</sup> located at the northwest corner of the sacred lake, a structure which seems to have replaced a previous construction of his predecessor Shabaka.<sup>21</sup> Crumbling and with hardly any remains of a superstructure, it continues to be enigmatic in its combination of reliefs, scenes, and inscriptions.

### The Plan of the Edifice of Taharqa

The sandstone building is rectilinear, 29 by 25 meters, with the south wall abutting the sacred lake. The North wall is the best preserved element of the superstructure; almost all surviving exterior reliefs come from this wall, as it rises some 2.5 meters above the original ground level.<sup>22</sup> Today, all that is left of the superstructure is a kind of platform, and only a few clues speak to the location of the entrance or the original superstructure. The subterranean level is better preserved (see fig. 1), and so it naturally plays a larger role in the interpretation of the building than does the superstructure. Leclant suggests that the superstructure consisted of an open court surrounded by covered rooms on either side.<sup>23</sup> Evidence in the form of one block

<sup>13</sup> For the southern aspects of Amen, see Leclant, *Recherches*, 230; P. Pamminger, "Amun und Luxor: Der Widder und das Kultbild," *BzS* 5 (1992), 93–140; the first temple built for the local Nubian form of Amen-Re was at Gebel Barkal in Napata by Ramses II. See S. Wenig, "Napata," *LÄ* IV, 342–44; L. Török, *The Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom* (Lille, 1995), 25.

<sup>14</sup> Leclant, *Recherches*, 200–221.

<sup>15</sup> In his article "A Kiosk (?) of Shabako at Luxor Temple," *VA* 6 (1990), 177–83, C. Van Siclen III revises his opinion that Shabaka built a four rowed colonnade in front of the first pylon at Luxor and the associated Gateway of Shabaka and proposes instead that Shabako constructed a kiosk similar to the one built by Taharqa before the Second Pylon at Karnak. Van Siclen also notes that a similar kiosk survives in the first court of the Nubian temple of Amen (B 500) at Gebel Barkal and maintains on p. 183 that Shabaka and Taharqa were attempting to "... relate those temples to their southern counterpart at Napata ..."

<sup>16</sup> However, there is some evidence in favor of a fifth colonnade of admittedly smaller proportions. Sandstone architraves were found with the names of Taharqa, possibly coming from a modest colonnade before the Opet Temple. See Leclant, *Recherches*, 82–84; M. Azim, "À propos du pylone du temple d' Opet à Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* VIII (1982–85), 51–80.

<sup>17</sup> *PM* II<sup>2</sup>, 5, 24–25, 209–10, 227. Barguet discusses the possibility that the so-called colonnades or kiosks of Taharqa were described by the Egyptian word *ḏḏḏ*, as it seems that a *ḏḏḏ* exists before every principal temple at Karnak, functioning as a stopping point in major processions. P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon Re à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 302; P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 130–33; F. Hoffmann, "Das Gebäude *t(w)t(we)*," *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 187–89. Kiosks and colonnades are also called *hḏyt*. The four rowed colonnade said to have been built by Montuemhat during the reign of Taharqa and presumed to have been located in front of the Mut Temple is called a *hḏyt*. See J. Leclant, *Montuemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon* (Cairo, 1961), 218 and 223; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 202–3.

<sup>18</sup> *PM* I, 24–25, 209–11, 227; Leclant, *Recherches*, 8–15, 56–58, 84–88; C. Traunecker et al. *La Chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak* (Paris, 1981), 102, nn. 62–63.

<sup>19</sup> R. Fazzini and W. Peck, "The Precinct of Mut during Dynasty XXV and Early Dynasty XXVI: A Growing Picture," *SSEAJ* XI (1981), 118. In his inscription in the Mut Temple chapel, Montuemhat claims to have built such a colonnade of twenty-four columns in sandstone. See J. Leclant, *Montuemhat*, 66, 218, 223.

<sup>20</sup> The cartouches of Taharqa were altered by the Saite 26th Dynasty and now read *Nfr-ib-Re*. See Parker et al. 1979, pl. 7B. Traces of Taharqa's name *ḥw-nfr-tm* are visible on blocks from the tops of the exterior walls which once bore an inscriptional frieze. See Parker et al. 1979, 21–22, figs. 10–12.

<sup>21</sup> Parker et al. 1979, pp. 5–8. Twenty-one reused blocks of Shabaka were found in the Edifice of Taharqa, many in the area of the ramp. To build the Edifice, Taharqa seems to have rifled a monument of his predecessor Shabaka, very likely a building in a similar location by the Sacred Lake and, judging from the subject matter represented on the reused blocks, of a similar function.

<sup>22</sup> The south and west walls are only preserved up to about one meter. The north and south exterior walls were covered with scenes, few now remaining, in which the king moves from east to west toward the gods. Only scanty bits of decoration remain from the east and west exterior walls.

<sup>23</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 1–10.

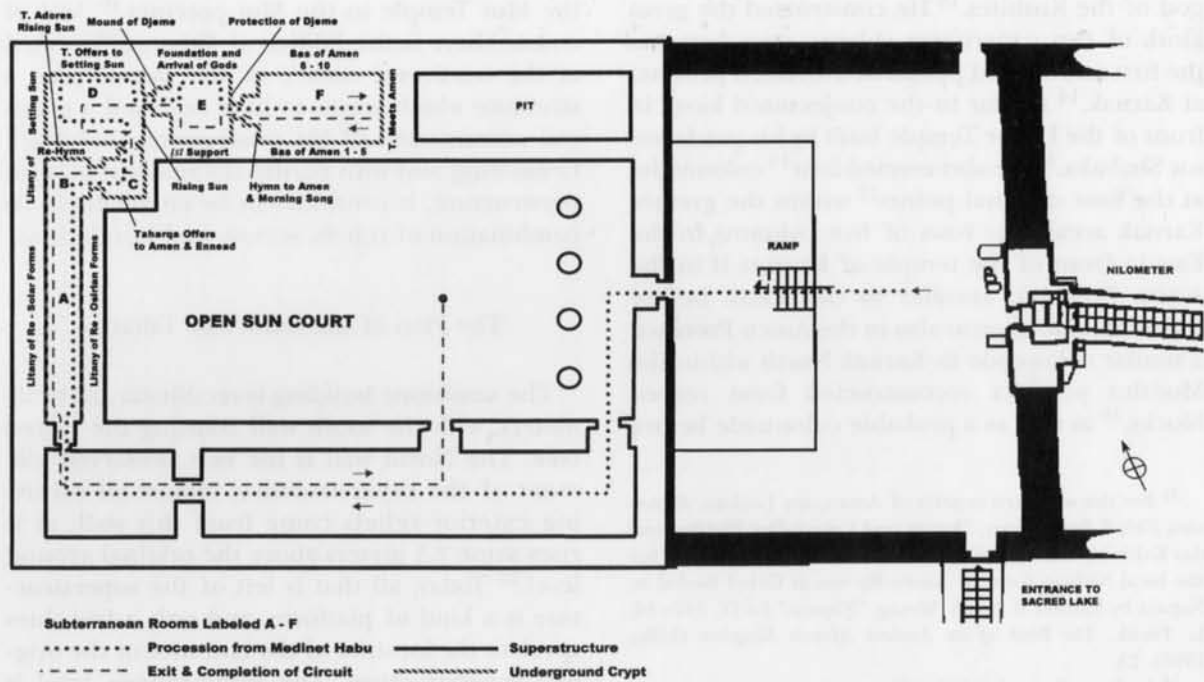


Fig. 1. Plan of the Edifice of Taharqa showing the ritual movement through the crypt.

of appropriate thickness, carved on both sides, points to the decoration of this interior court.<sup>24</sup>

At the northwest corner lies the entrance to a subterranean series of rooms in the form of a staircase (termed room A by Parker et al.). The staircase descends to the north through an antechamber (B) and a vestibule (C). From here, one turns toward the east in order to continue through another series of rooms (D, E, and F). The entrance to the edifice itself was in the east just in front of the 'Nilometer' entrance. Ascending a kind of ramp, one would have entered a covered portico and then the open court. The entire area is believed to be part of a larger complex delineated by mud brick walls which united the 'nilometer', the Edifice of Taharqa, and the Sacred Lake.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 5; L. Drioten, "Rapport... du petit temple dit 'de Taharqa,'" *ASAE* 29 (1929), pl. I.

<sup>25</sup> For the building's relation to the Sacred Lake at Karnak, see B. Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel: Ein Beitrag zur Deutung sakraler Baukunst im alten Ägypten* (Hildesheim, 1983), 167-74. She notes the cosmic meaning of the west-east oriented stairs leading down to the sacred lake.

#### The Decoration and Relief of the Edifice of Taharqa, Exterior Walls

Exterior walls<sup>26</sup> were covered with ritual scenes of only one register separated from each other by vertical columns of text. Unfortunately, the upper portion of most of the superstructure has disappeared so that one must interpret most scenes without the figures' upper body. The north wall<sup>27</sup> is the best preserved of the three decorated, and here the king departs the palace,<sup>28</sup> enters into the company of gods, and gives offerings.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 11-21.

<sup>27</sup> See also E. Russmann, "Kushite headdresses and 'Kushite' style," *JEA* 81 (1995), 227-32.

<sup>28</sup> For this scene, see Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet* (Chicago, 1994), I; P. Bargaet, "Note sur la sortie du roi hors du palais," *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), I: 51-54.

<sup>29</sup> Moving from east to west, the scenes are as follows: the king's departure from the  $\text{ḥ}$  palace decorated with kheker frieze, the king's introduction to the Theban triad by Thoth and Horus, the king offering meat to Montu(?), the king being purified by Thoth and Horus in order to enter the  $\text{pr-dwṣt}$  (a chain of  $\text{ḥ}$  and  $\text{wṣ}$  symbols is poured over Taharqa), the king sacrificing four oxen to the gods, the king censuring before

The exterior scenes of the edifice<sup>30</sup> deal with the purification of Taharqa and his preparation to meet the gods within the temple, and they find parallels on Taharqa's colonnade screen walls.<sup>31</sup> Such ritually transitional scenes would naturally be found before temple entrances and upon colonnades because they enable the king or priest to transform himself into a fit and purified state, ready to enter the holy shrine.<sup>32</sup>

#### The Decoration of the Subterranean Interior Scenes, their Function and Parallels

The subterranean chambers of Taharqa's edifice can be likened to a crypt,<sup>33</sup> and in that sense

Atum, the king receiving gifts of life, stability, and power from Shu (?), the king reciting the offering formula before Amen-Re, the king presenting a food offering to Mut, and the king offering white bread to Khonsu (?).

<sup>30</sup> The west wall only preserves the feet of the gods and king, and only the western half of the south wall contains any scenes. The feet of the king are directed toward the west, as is the case on the north wall. The remaining identifiable scenes of this southern wall appear to be as follows: Offering (destroyed) before a god, the king sacrificing the four oxen before a god, the king offering before a god without a scepter, the king presenting flowers to a god with a *w3s* scepter, and the king running toward a god.

<sup>31</sup> Clear parallels to such scenes can be viewed at Taharqa's colonnades located at the four cardinal points at Karnak (Leclant, *Recherches*, 200–21). Especially see the colonnade at Karnak North in the Monthu precinct, preserved as re-used blocks (J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 85–86, fig. 32; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 5; P. Barguet and J. Leclant, *Karnak Nord, IV 1949–1951*, BIFAO 25 [Cairo, 1954], 35–39, 68–73, figs. 68–70, pls. XXXVII, XCI). Many of the scenes found on the intercolumnary walls mirror those on the north wall of Taharqa's edifice: exit from the palace, purification of the king, introduction to Monthu, the god of the precinct, introduction to Wadjet, Nekhbet, and the spirits of Pe of Nekhen. Other scenes from Karnak North are the laying on of the crown, provisioning, accolades, and investiture of the king, and they are not to be observed upon the Edifice of Taharqa. Yet common scenes of the king offering to the gods, similar to those found on the Edifice, are found upon the papyriform columns located between the screen walls of the colonnade.

<sup>32</sup> For more on the king's purification before entering a holy area, see C. Traunecker et al. *La Chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak II*, 30–34, 101–3, 120–21, 147.

<sup>33</sup> For crypts in general, see C. Traunecker, "Krypta," *LÄ III*, 823–25; C. Traunecker, *Les cryptes du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, forthcoming; W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortemples von Dendera* (Mainz, 1997), 3–4; L. Pantalacci and C. Traunecker, "Le temple d'el-Qal'a à Coptos," *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 383; D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Zürich, 1994), under 'Krypta'.

even a tomb; the vertical axis indicates that the ritual movement descends into the *dw3t* in the same way as a burial chamber.<sup>34</sup> The Edifice seems to have been heavily influenced by mortuary architecture. The open court mirrors not only Old Kingdom mortuary complexes and sun temples at Abu Ghurob, but also those Old Kingdom private tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties that have an open sun court.<sup>35</sup> The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs of the Asasif archaize and continue the trend of the open sun court.<sup>36</sup> The open court of the Edifice of Taharqa is paralleled in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34),<sup>37</sup> where the axis also moves first

<sup>34</sup> For the cosmos as represented in tomb architecture, see J. Assmann, "Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg: zum Typenwandel des Privat-Felsgrabes im Neuen Reich," *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 177–290 in which he finds that the development of the so-called 'sloping passage' tomb stretches back into the Amarna period. See also K. J. Seyfried, "Entwicklung in der Grabarchitektur des Neuen Reiches als eine weitere Quelle für Theologischen Konzeptionen der Ramessidenzeit," in *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, J. Assmann, G. Burkhard, and V. Davies, eds. (London and New York, 1987), 221–53, who sees the "Untere Ebene" or "sloping passages" as the location of the Osirian cult and mentions the Edifice of Taharqa as such a space on p. 249. See also the continuation in K. J. Seyfried, "Zweiter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit," *MDAIK* 40, pp. 265–76 and K. J. Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose (TT 373)*, Theben 4 (Mainz, 1990), 305–9.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the tomb of Idu, G7102 in the Giza Necropolis, PM III<sup>1</sup>, 185–86, pl. XXX, of the Sixth Dynasty has three obelisks in a sunken open air court. For archaizing to the Old Kingdom during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, see P. Der Manuelian, "Prolegomena zur Untersuchung Saitischer 'Kopien'," *SAK* 10 (1983), 221–45 and P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> For this 'Lichthof' in private tombs of the Late Period, see D. Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der Thebanischen Nekropole* (Wien, 1984), 116–20.

<sup>37</sup> D. Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 44–46, 62–64, 75–79, 87–88, 95–98, 106–18, and especially 116–20. The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs of Pabasa, Ibi, 'Anch-hor, Sheshonq, and Montuemhat all have open air sun courts; see P. Barguet et al. "Les tables d'offrandes de la grande cour de la tombe de Montuemhat," *ASAE* 51 (1951), 491–93; J. Leclant, *Montuemhat*, op. cit.; PM I, part I, 56–61; P. Barguet, M. Goneim, and J. Leclant, *Le Palais funéraire de Montuemhat à l'Asasif*; J. Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte," in *Orientalia* XIX (1950), 370–72; XX (1951), 473–74; XXII (1953), 88; XXIII (1954), 66; I. Nagy, "Remarques sur quelques formules stellaires des textes religieux d'époque Saïte," *Studia Aegyptica* 3 (1977), 99–117;

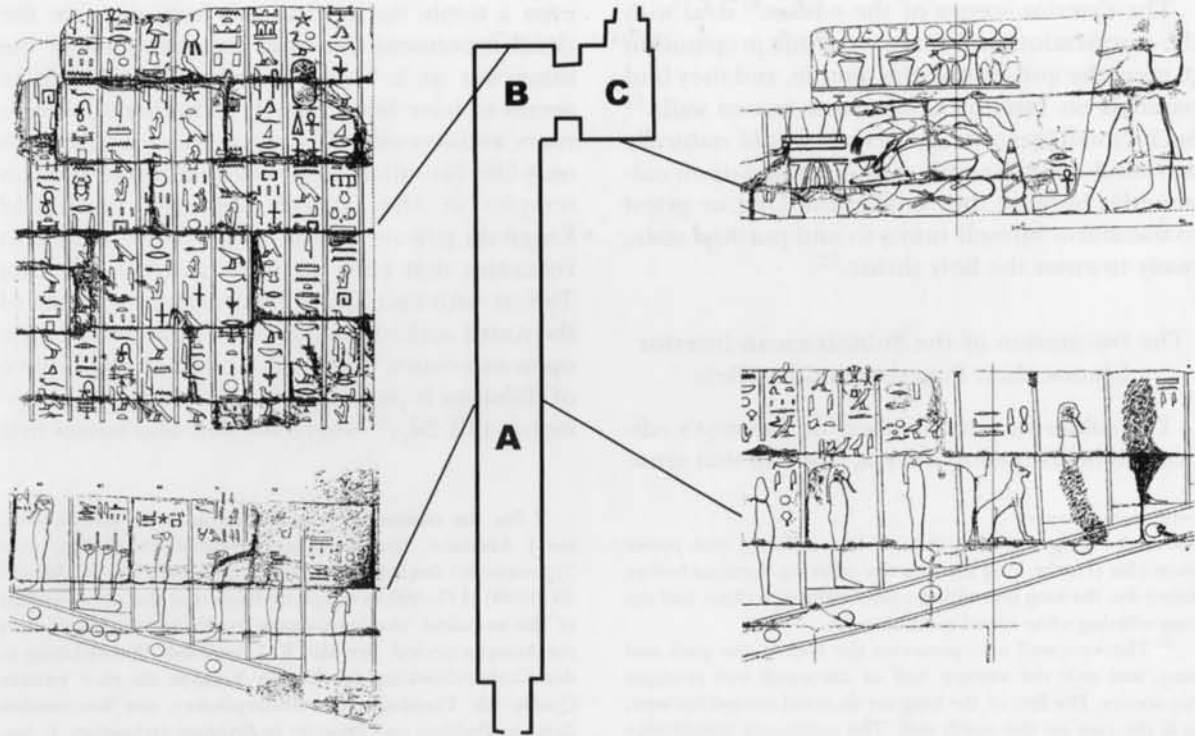


Fig. 2. Rooms A, B, and C and selected scenes; line drawings from Parker et al. 1979, pls. 12B, 13, 15B, 17.

along a North-South axis and then turns 90 degrees to head in a western direction.

Rooms A–D contain scenes that have been termed “funerary,” while rooms E–F seem to involve specific temple rites and processions. Chamber A<sup>38</sup> is actually a staircase descending toward the north into the underground portion of the edifice (fig. 2). Upon the walls of the staircase is a shortened version of the Litany of Re,<sup>39</sup> a reli-

gious and funerary composition of the New Kingdom representing the 75 manifestations of Re, often found in royal Theban tombs.<sup>40</sup> It implements the protection of Re in his nightly journey through the *dw3t*, and within tombs it is usually found upon walls descending through a sloping passage, thus indicating the transition down into the underworld. Within Taharqa’s monument, the representations of Re are separated into the Osirian forms on the east wall and the Solar forms on the west.<sup>41</sup> Upon the walls of room

M. Bietak and R. Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor I* (Wien, 1978), 146 and Abb. 61; L. Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1933), 26, anm. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 30–35. For description and numerous photographs of the following interior scenes, also see W. J. de Jong, “De Tempels van Karnak 6: Het heiligdom van koning Taharka,” *De Ibis* 10,3 (1985), 62–96 and “Het heiligdom van konig Taharka (vervolg),” *De Ibis* 10,4 (1985), 98–126.

<sup>39</sup> The Litany is a kind of cult or ritual poetry in the form of a repetitive list, usually of names, of deities, places, etc. According to Assmann, the Litany of Re is the most important of the Egyptian religious litanies, as the sun god is constantly engaged in cyclical transformations, and so is known as the lord of manifestations (*nb hprw*), J. Assmann,

“Litanei,” *LÄ* III, 1062–66; *ibid.*, “Das Dekorationsprogramm der königlichen Sonnenheiligtümer des Neuen Reiches nach einer Fassung der Spätzeit,” *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 91–98.

<sup>40</sup> The royal tombs which include the litany: Thutmose III, Seti I, Ramses II, Merneptah, Amenmesse, Seti II, Siptah, Ramses III, Ramses IV, and Ramses IX.

<sup>41</sup> This directional phenomenon may seem strange at first, as one might naturally expect figures associated with death to be located in the west. But Goyon (Parker et al. 1979, 82–83) points out that when the ritual procession descended into the subterranean chambers of the Edifice, participants directed their attention to the Osirian forms to their right, indicating that Amen was at that moment moving



B,<sup>42</sup> just beyond the staircase, is the Great Hymn of the Litany of Re (fig. 2). Room C<sup>43</sup> contains a damaged scene on the south wall in which Taharqa offers food to the gods, including a bound calf, a bound antelope, fowl, meat, and bread (fig. 2). The unknown god faces the king, and behind him are the Heliopolitan Ennead arranged in three registers of three figures each. Such offering scenes to the Ennead occur at Abydos,<sup>44</sup> upon unpublished blocks of Thutmose III at Karnak,<sup>45</sup> Deir el Bahari,<sup>46</sup> and within the festival hall of Thutmose III also at Karnak.<sup>47</sup>

Of Room D, Jan Assmann writes:

Die Dekorationsprogramm von Kammer D ist kein Sammelsurium, das aus verschiedenen Quellen zusammengetragen wurde, sondern realisiert einen zusammengehörigen Zyklus von liturgischen, kosmographischen, und kulttheologischen Elementen.<sup>48</sup>

Assmann indicates that the collection of texts surrounding the sun cult found in Taharqa's room D and parallel locations, such as the earliest examples from the sun chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari, probably find their origins in the Middle Kingdom and are so standardized through space and time because of their use in

into the underworld. And when the procession completed the circuit of the subterranean rooms and ascended the staircase to enter the sun court, concentration was moved toward the solar forms of Re, again to their right, accentuating the occurrence of Amen-Re's rebirth. In the tomb of Montuemhat, an official of the 25th Dynasty, the manifestations of Re are likewise separated into solar forms within an upper register and Osirian forms in the lower, as one might expect. The whole scene within his tomb is surmounted by the symbol of the sky, symbolic of a vertical axis clearly paralleled in the architectural plan of the Edifice of Taharqa, as the Litany is found in a subterranean staircase below the land and sky (J. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 179, pl. LX).

<sup>42</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 31–33.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 35–36.

<sup>44</sup> A. Gardiner, and A. Calverly, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II* (London, 1933), pls. 30 and 36.

<sup>45</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 36.

<sup>46</sup> E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari IV* (London, 1894–1904), pl. CI (lintel with fifteen deities).

<sup>47</sup> P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 180.

<sup>48</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 95; *ibid.*, *Re und Amun: Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.–20. Dynastie* (Freiburg, 1983), 24–53.

temple cult ritual. Naturally, this is where the axis of the subterranean rooms turns toward the east. Room D, or the Chapel of Re in the *dwšt*,<sup>49</sup> contains scenes of the king adoring both the rising sun and the setting sun. These scenes also follow the Osirian depictions of the sun in rooms A and C, a reflection of the merging of the chthonic and solar, or of Osiris and Amen-Re, during this time period.<sup>50</sup> In room D, the west and north walls concern the sun's demise, while the southern and eastern portions of the room depict the sun's rebirth. The west wall of room D,<sup>51</sup> while badly damaged, contains two scenes (fig. 3). The lower scene depicts the gods of the west or *ntrw imntiw*, kneeling in adoration of the setting sun's bark. They are accompanied by a description of the Night Bark<sup>52</sup> in a section of the Book of Night<sup>53</sup> which Assmann prefers

<sup>49</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 37–48. For more on the texts of room D, see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), 8–10. Note that Assmann calls this collection of solar texts a "kulttheologischer Traktat" in his book *Re und Amun*, 120–25.

<sup>50</sup> In *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 10, n. 1, Assmann states, "Wenn die Widmungsinschriften und die . . . Sonnenkammer-Funktion von Kammer D auf Re-Harachte hindeuten, so sind die osirianischen Elemente in anderen Szenen vor allem der Kammer C doch so hervorsteckend, daß Leclant die Deutung auf ein 'véritable Osireion' vorschlägt . . . Die solare Bedeutung des Bauwerks hebt dagegen P. Barguet . . . hervor. Die beiden Funktionen lassen sich, zumal in der Spätzeit sehr wohl vereinen, wo Re und Osiris als komplementäre Aspekte einer einzigen Gottheit begriffen werden." For some earlier aspects of the merging of the solar and the chthonic, see A. Niwinski, "The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the 'State of Amun' in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1987–88): 89–107. See also the related I. Nagy, "Remarques sur quelques formules stellaires des textes religieux d'époque Saïte," *Studia Aegyptica* 3 (1977), 99–117.

<sup>51</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 40–45.

<sup>52</sup> A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, BE 13 (Cairo, 1942), 35.

<sup>53</sup> The Book of Heavens, which includes the Book of Night, is found chiefly in Ramesside royal burial chambers. It is included in the tomb decoration of Ramses IV, Ramses V/VI, and Ramses IX. Attested first during the reign of Seti I at his cenotaph at Abydos (also called the Osireion), the Book of Night is one of three books that make up the Book of Heavens, texts and images recounting the sun's cycle. Also included are the Book of Day and the Book of the Divine Cow. See A. Piankoff, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*; G. Roulin, "The Book of Night," in C. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta (Leuven, 1998), 1005–13.

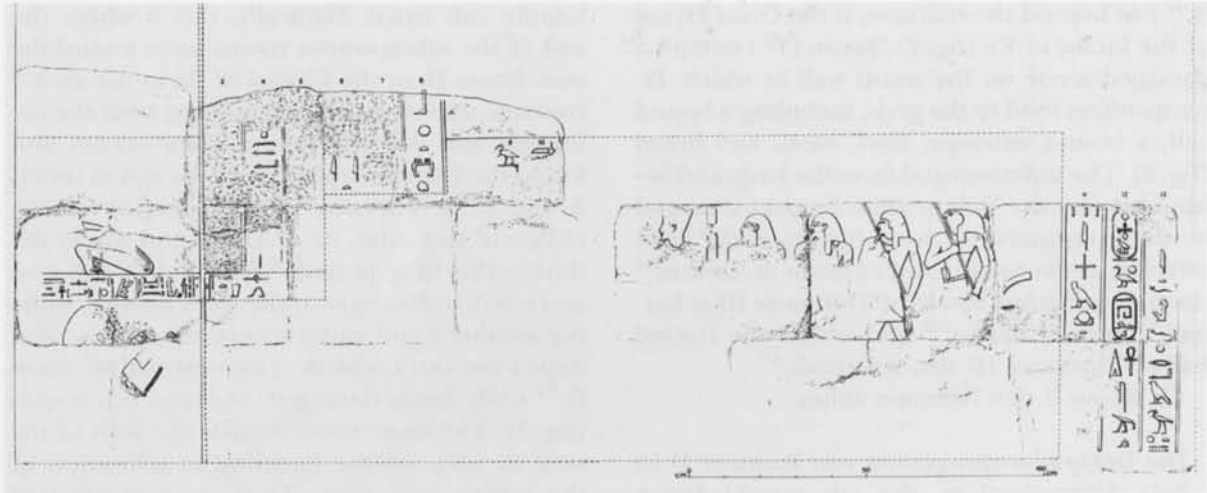


Fig. 3. Room D, west wall. The western gods adoring Re at his setting and the text of the first hour of the Book of Night (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 19).

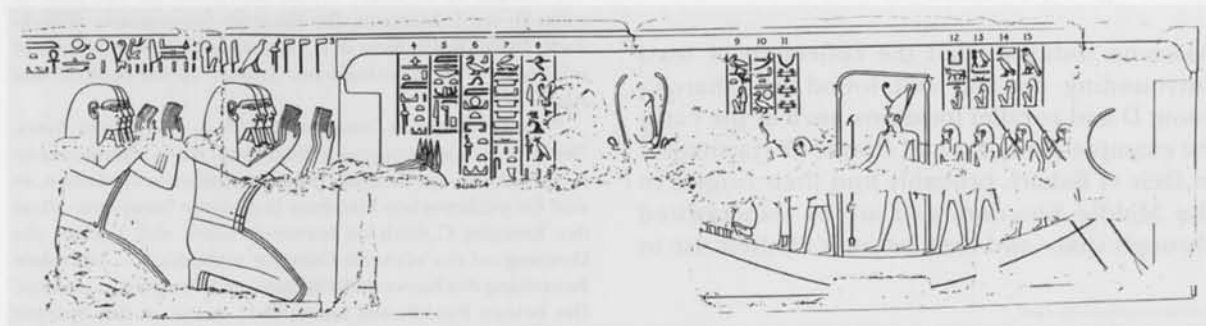


Fig. 4. The western gods adoring Re at his setting (Chicago Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VI, pl. 422 C).

to call a "kosmographischer Text zum Sonnenuntergang."<sup>54</sup> A parallel scene of the kneeling gods of the west is to be found in room 18 of Medinet Habu (fig. 4), also known as the Chapel of Re<sup>55</sup> as well as in room XVII of Amenhotep III in Luxor Temple.<sup>56</sup> Parallel texts are found at Medinet Habu, on the Kushite sarcophagus

<sup>54</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," ZÄS 110 (1983), 91.

<sup>55</sup> Epigraphic Survey Chicago, *Medinet Habu VI* (Chicago, 1929–30) (hereafter *Medinet Habu VI*), pls. 418–25; W. Murnane, *United with Eternity* (Chicago, 1980); Piankoff, *Livre du Jour*, 35–36; J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," ZÄS 110 (1983), 91–98, especially abb. 1 on p. 96.

<sup>56</sup> H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AV 18 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pl. 41 left side. Although the wall was presumably finished under Amenhotep III, the solar scene was destroyed during the Amarna period and later

restored. Assmann was the first to make the connection between this scene and room D in the Edifice of Taharqa. J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," ZÄS 110 (1983), 93.

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<sup>57</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 38–40. For the sarcophagus of Aspelta, Boston Museum of Fine Arts no. 23.729, see D. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush II* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 87–95, figs. 58–68. For Anlamani, see unpublished copies of coffin by R. A. Parker. Also see S. K. Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations on the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta," *Meroitica* 6 (1982), 276–81.

<sup>58</sup> J. Karkowski, "Studies on the Decoration of the Eastern Wall of the Vestibule of Re-Horakhty in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el Bahari," *Etudes et travaux* IX (1976), 69–70; J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," ZÄS 110 (1983), 94.

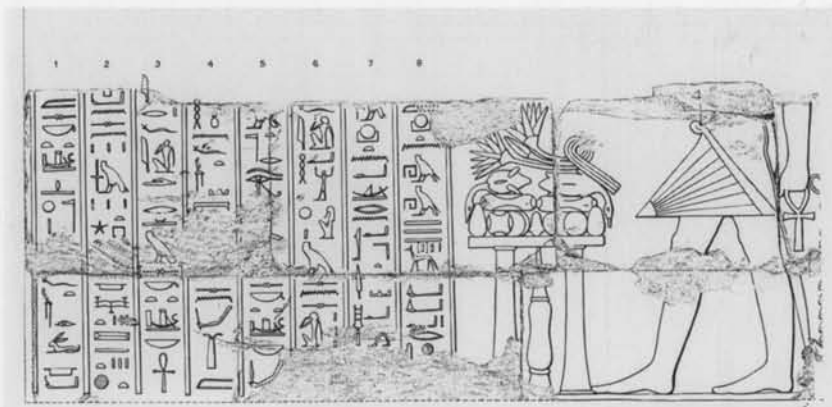


Fig 5. Room D, north wall. Taharqa walking left offering to Re at his setting (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 20A).

representation of the Night Bark accompanied by a text which Goyon identifies as a supplemental section of the Book of Night.<sup>59</sup> Assmann, on the other hand, finds parallels for this text only at Medinet Habu, not in the New Kingdom Book of Night, nor at Deir el Bahari, thus showing, "daß Taharqa eine speziell Medinet Habu nahestehende Vorlage benutzt hat."<sup>60</sup> To the left and right of the Night Bark is the text itself as it appears in Medinet Habu room 18.<sup>61</sup> The inscription deals with the sun bark of Re-Horakhty as it enters into the western horizon and the *dw3t*, led by the king. The north wall of room D, which also depicts the sun's setting, is much destroyed. In the left-hand scene, the king walks toward the left where there is an offering stand and perfume vase in order to perform the evening offering for the sun sinking behind the horizon (fig. 5). Goyon thought the text of the evening offering to have no parallels, but believed it may have accompanied the vesper offering and introduced chapter 15D of the Book of the Dead,<sup>62</sup> which is found on the right-hand side of the same wall. Assmann, on the other hand, finds parallels to this "beschreibender Text" in Luxor's room XVII of Amenhotep III as well as at Deir el Bahari, although both inscriptions are severely damaged.<sup>63</sup> Behind the striding king on the right-hand side is the Night

Bark containing a company of gods ready to enter into the west. The accompanying hymn to the setting sun, termed chapter 15D of the Book of the Dead<sup>64</sup> by Goyon, is recited by a kneeling Taharqa doing *hnw* (fig. 6). Assmann contends that these so-called "funerary" texts were borrowed in the reverse direction: from the solar liturgy to be used in later versions of the Book of the Dead, such as that of Queen Nodjmet.<sup>65</sup> An earlier parallel version of this originally "solar" text and the original liturgical setting is once again found in room 18 of Medinet Habu.<sup>66</sup>

The south and east walls of room D are dedicated to the sun's rising. The south wall is decorated with texts and scenes representing what Goyon calls the Morning Greeting<sup>67</sup> and the Morning Offering.<sup>68</sup> In the scene of the Morning

well as the Edifice of Taharqa text. The Deir el Bahari parallel consists of unpublished fragments discussed by J. Karkowski in *Etudes et travaux IX* (1976), 80, while the Luxor Temple text is discussed by H. Brunner in *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, pl. 41 and J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 5, n. 3, 8–9.

<sup>59</sup> R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1972), ch. 15.

<sup>60</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 94; J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 8, n. 5; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin, 1969), 182, n. 69. In this book *Re und Amun*, op. cit., 32, he states, "Wenn man bislang diese Unterweltbücher für nichts anderes als königliche Totentexte, sozusagen die Pyramidentexte des Neuen Reiches hielt, dann ist durch die Auffindung des Traktats der Sonnenkult bzw. die 'Mysterien' des Sonnenlaufs als ihr eigentlicher und ursprünglicher 'Sitz im Leben' erwiesen."

<sup>61</sup> *Medinet Habu VI*, op. cit., pl. 422A, cols. 36–56, room 19, west wall.

<sup>62</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 37–48.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–48.

<sup>59</sup> See n. 53.

<sup>60</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), p. 94.

<sup>61</sup> *Medinet Habu VI*, pl. 422B, 16–33.

<sup>62</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 42, n. 2.

<sup>63</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 94. In n. 26, he attempts to fill in the holes of the Luxor text using the Deir el Bahari unpublished version as

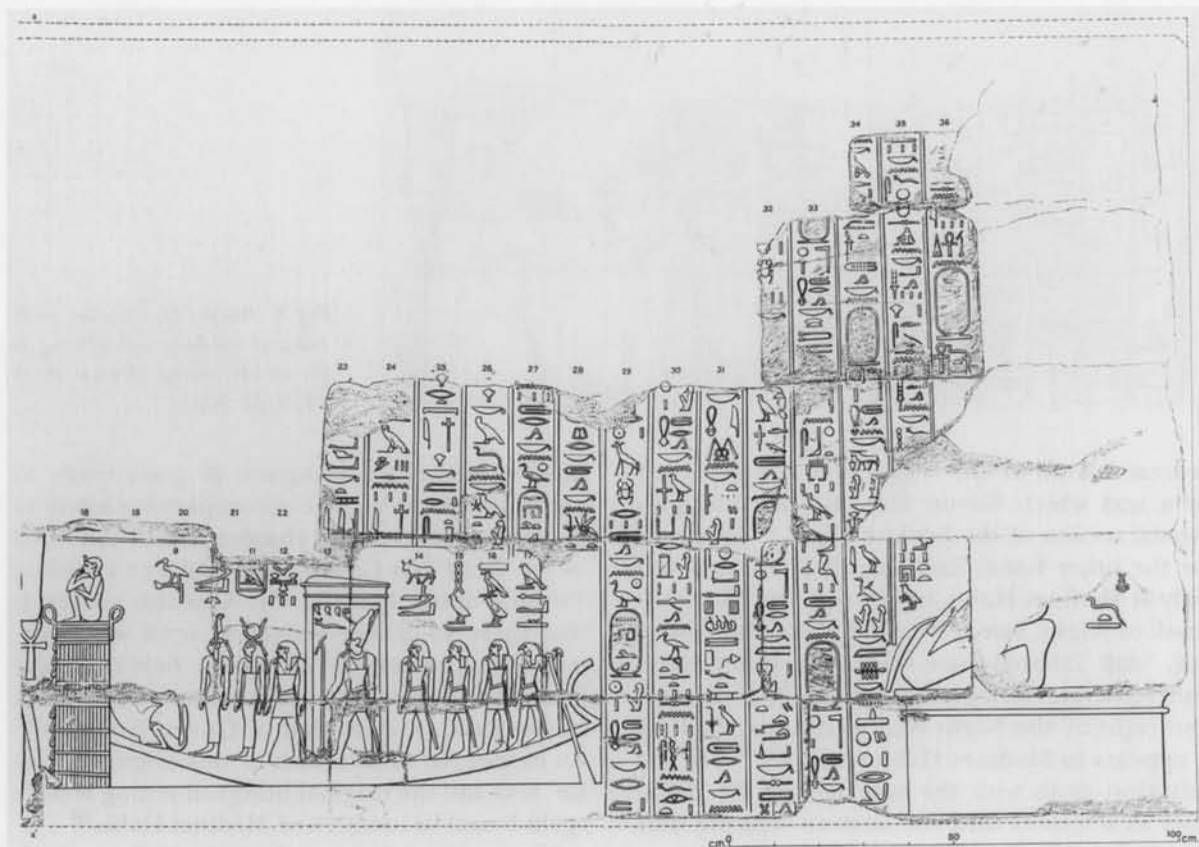


Fig. 6. Room D, north wall. Taharqa kneeling, adoring Re at his setting (Parker et al., pl. 20B).

Greeting on the left side of the south wall, Taharqa and accompanying sun-baboons behind him hold up their hands in a gesture of adoration toward the open door leading into room C (fig. 7). The concomitant hymn to the rising sun appears on the upper lintel of the door to room C and finds parallels, according to Goyon, in the Book of the Dead, chapter 15B. To the right of this scene is the Morning Offering where a second figure of the king stands before a table of food and a long "hymn" of ten columns from Chapter 15B of the Book of the Dead. Again, Assmann, who published the text in his *Der König als Sonnenpriester*,<sup>69</sup> takes issue with the word "hymn" because there is no speaker indicated and suggests instead that it is part of a "kulttheologischen Traktat" and a "beschreibender Text, der vom Wissen des in die 'Mysterien' des Sonnenlaufs eingeweihten Königs als Priesters

<sup>69</sup> Op. cit.

des Sonnengotts handelt."<sup>70</sup> He further contests Goyon's identification of the text as Chapter 15B of the Book of the Dead, instead finding the original source to be New Kingdom solar liturgical texts which were later absorbed by funerary texts. He definitively states, "Mit dem Totenbuch hat er nichts zu tun."<sup>71</sup> He points out new parallels as well. Parallels for the scene and hymn occur not only upon the south wall upper register of room 18 at Medinet Habu,<sup>72</sup> but also in the Sun chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari,<sup>73</sup> and in Room

<sup>70</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," ZÄS 110 (1983), 93; J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 5–14.

<sup>71</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," ZÄS 110 (1983), 93.

<sup>72</sup> *Medinet Habu VI*, op. cit., room 18, p. 424C; J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 7–8.

<sup>73</sup> J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 10–14; J. Karkowski, *Etudes et Travaux IX* (1976), 73–77; J. Karkowski, "Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975," *Etudes et Travaux XI* (1978), 217–19.

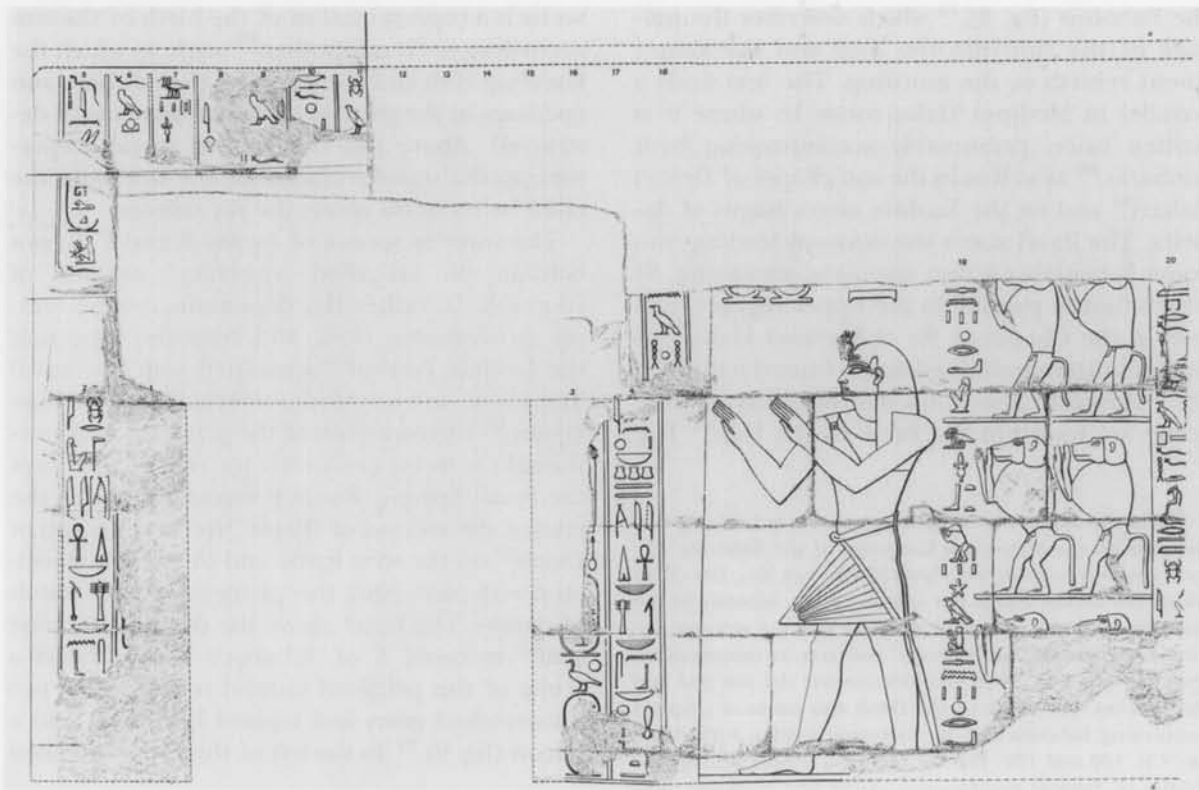


Fig. 7. Room D, south wall. Taharqa and baboons adoring Re at his rising (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 18A).

XVII of Amenhotep III in south Luxor Temple.<sup>74</sup> All told, parallels for the text are found in eleven different places, according to Assmann: in the New Kingdom sun chapels just mentioned, three in private Saite period graves,<sup>75</sup> on the lids of Aspelta's and Anlamani's sarcophagi, within Theban tomb 148 of Tjanefer,<sup>76</sup> and upon various papyri of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>77</sup> Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead includes two litanies. In the

first, the king greets the many deities who assist and protect the sun during his cycle. The second litany is key to understanding the placement of such rites in a mortuary complex, such as Medinet Habu, or within Taharqa's edifice, as it includes the king as a necessary responsible component in the successful cycle of the sun.<sup>78</sup> The east wall of room D contains texts on either side of the door to room E known as the Hymn of

<sup>74</sup> J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 3–6; H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 65, pp. 42, 80–82.

<sup>75</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 93. The Saite tombs are TT 33 (J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 15–16), TT 27 (A. Roccati, "Il Libro dei Morti di Sheshonq," *Oriens Antiquus* 15 [1976], 234 n. 4) and a Saqqara tomb published by E. Bresciani, "L'attività archeologica in Egitto," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 1 (1978), pl. XVIII. Assmann notes that New Kingdom text reproductions are common in these tombs.

<sup>76</sup> K. C. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer* (Chicago, 1962), pl. 10; J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> Pap. B.M. 9953 B in A. Shorter, *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum: Copies of the book prt(m)-*

*hrw from the XVIIIth to the XXIIth dynasty*, 58–59; P. Bargaet, *Livre des Morts*, 45.

<sup>78</sup> Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead is entitled "Worship of Re when he Rises in the Horizon until the Occurrence of his setting in Life." In this chapter, the king is responsible for and part of the sun's cycle; he is vital to the maintenance of world order and, in turn, the rejuvenation of the deceased. See R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1972), 40; helpful references for this section of chapter 15 are Pap. B.M. 10541, cols. 51–58 in A. Shorter, *Catalogue*, 64–65, 75–76; P. Bargaet, *Livre des Morts*, 49; M. Heerma van Voss, "Totenbuch," *LÄ* VI, 641–43; J. Assmann, *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (München, 1990), 203–11, 222–31.

the Baboons (fig. 8),<sup>79</sup> which describes the passage of the sun into the *dw3t* and the subsequent rebirth in the morning. The text finds a parallel in Medinet Habu room 18 where it is written twice, presumably accompanying both sunbarks,<sup>80</sup> as well as in the sun chapel of Deir el Bahari<sup>81</sup> and on the Kushite sarcophagus of Aspetla. The lintel above the doorway leading into room E contains a very damaged scene (fig. 8) which finds a parallel in the upper register, east wall in the Chapel of Re at Medinet Habu<sup>82</sup> as well as in an unpublished scene from the tomb of Ibi.<sup>83</sup> Assmann also notes that both parts of the scene are found in the Book of the Day.<sup>84</sup> The

scene is a representation of the birth of the sun according to Hermopolitan<sup>85</sup> myth, in which the kneeling Heh and Hehet lift up the newborn sun (perhaps in the guise of an infant, here much destroyed). Above this is a winged scarab, representing the transformation of the sun from the child below as he enters the sky reborn.

The interior scenes of rooms E and F do not contain the so-called "funerary" subjects of rooms A–D, rather the depictions involve temple processions, rites, and festivals, especially the Decade Festival<sup>86</sup> associated with the Small Temple of Amen at Medinet Habu<sup>87</sup> and the Kom Djeme,<sup>88</sup> the cenotaph of the primeval ancestors thought to be located under the rear chambers of the Small Temple. Room E seems devoted to the rites of the mound of Djeme, the *hn* cenotaph of Osiris<sup>89</sup> on the west bank, and the rituals associated with protecting this primeval manifestation of Amen. The lintel above the door of the west wall<sup>90</sup> in room E of Taharqa's Edifice bears a scene of this primeval mound resting upon two outstretched arms and topped by a lotus and a falcon (fig. 9).<sup>91</sup> To the left of this is the so-called

<sup>79</sup> On this Hymn of the Baboons, see H. te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," *Funerary Symbols and Religion, Essays Heerma van Voss*, 129–37 in which the author likens the speech of the baboons to the secret knowledge required to converse with the sun god; the king understands this language and acts as intermediary. Pyramid texts 608, 1347, and 505 connect the sun god and the baboon. The Book of the Dead also contains chapters concerning baboons and the deceased joining with them, i.e., Ch. 100 and 126. For the text in a temple setting, the Edifice of Taharqa provides one of the best examples. Also see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 21; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 208–14; J. Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 30. Once again, Assmann takes issue with Goyon's denomination "hymn" because there is no clear speaker, preferring to call the text a "kosmographischer Text über die Paviane." See J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 91.

<sup>80</sup> *Medinet Habu* VI, room 18, pl. 420B, 1–12 and 13–24; J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 28–29.

<sup>81</sup> J. Karkowski in *Études et travaux* IX (1976), 70–72; J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 5.

<sup>82</sup> *Medinet Habu* VI, room 18, pl. 420 B. In this scene, Isis and Nephthys hold the sun aloft between them. Behind each goddess stands the hippo goddess Taweret atop a water symbol (ostensibly the Nun) facing the symbol of the sun. This actually represents the last hour of the Book of Night when the sun is reborn as Khepri. In his article, "The Book of the Night," in C. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings*, 1012, n. 25, G. Roulin remarks, "The active participation of Isis and Nephthys in the sunrise appears for the first time at Medinet Habu . . . the earlier versions of the Book of the Night are unfinished (Seti I) or not preserved (Merneptah)."

<sup>83</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 95. The scene is located in the burial chamber, back wall. See also K. P. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, "Vorbericht über die Aufnahmearbeiten im Grab des 'Ibi,'" *MDAIK* 28 (1973), 209.

<sup>84</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 95; A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pl. VIII; A. Mariette, *Monuments divers* (Wiesbaden, 1981), pl. 46.

<sup>85</sup> J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 95. Assmann takes issue with Goyon's tag "Hermopolitan," preferring Heliopolitan despite the existence of Huh and Hauhet because the Book of the Day, or the Amduat, are considered of Heliopolitan and solar origin. He states, "Hier haben wir es sicher nicht mit einem lokal gebundenen Mythos, sondern mit allgemein-ägyptischer Kosmologie zu tun."

<sup>86</sup> R. Stadelmann, "Medinet Habu," *LÄ* III, 1255–56; C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak II* (Paris, 1981), 130–34; Parker et al. 1979, 82; R. Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII–XXV* (Leiden, 1988), 11–13, 22–24. It is probable that the Late Period Decade Festival either completely absorbed the Valley festival or was profoundly influenced by it. For the former view, see C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris II*, 134–35 and for the latter, M. Bietak and E. Reisner-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor* (Vienna, 1978), 28–29.

<sup>87</sup> R. Stadelmann, "Medinet Habu," *LÄ* III, 1255–57; *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 460–75.

<sup>88</sup> For *d3mt* or *i3t-d3mt*, see E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus* (Leipzig, 1952), 70–75; K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Leipzig, 1929), §103, 111; P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne II* (Paris, 1957–61), 64.

<sup>89</sup> J. Goyon, "Les cultes d'Abydos," *Kemi* 18 (1968), 42 and n. 8; L. Habachi and P. Ghalioungui, "The 'House of Life' of Bubastis," *CdÉ* 46 (1971), 70; Parker et al. 1979, 57.

<sup>90</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 48–54.

<sup>91</sup> For this motif, see O. Kaper, "The Astronomical Ceiling of Deir el-Haggar in the Dakhleh Oasis," *JEA* 81 (1995), 181.

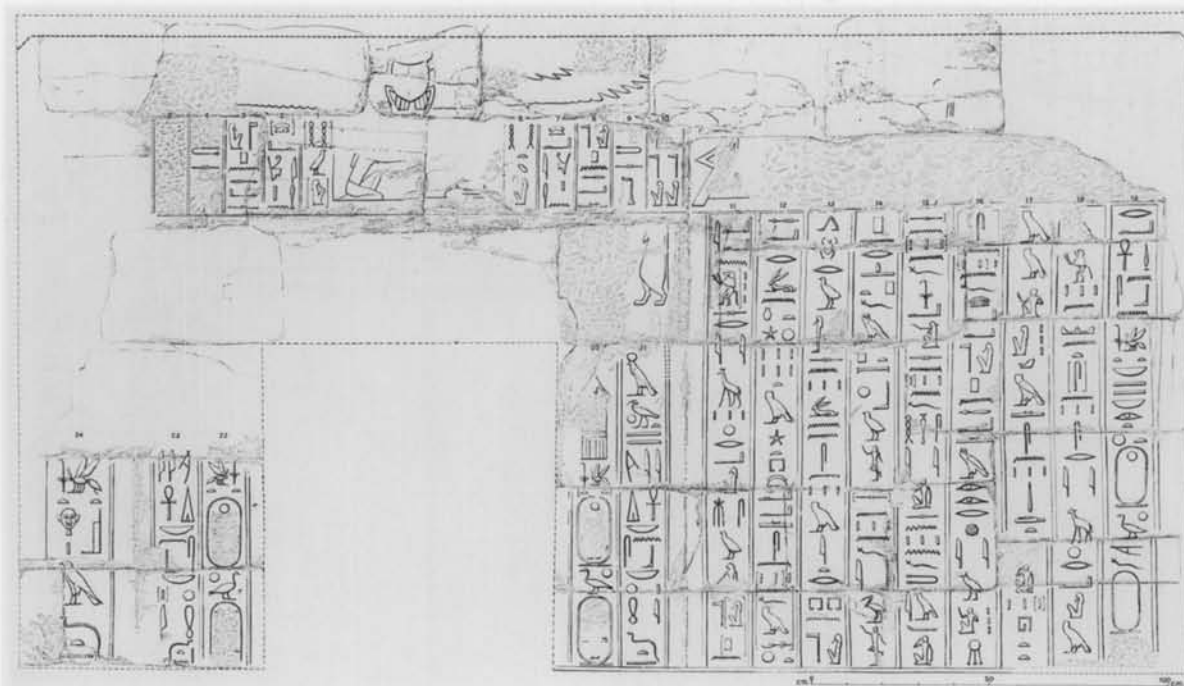


Fig. 8. Room D, east wall. Hymn of the Baboons to Re at his rising (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 21).

'Anubis fetish'.<sup>92</sup> The whole is labeled as "the great cavern of the Nun,"<sup>93</sup> in other words the well-spring from which creation and new life appears. If the texts are to be believed at face value, it was to this holy place at Medinet Habu that Amen-Re was brought every ten days in the Decade Festival to be reborn as the sun god. Therefore, the purpose of the rites of the mound of Djeme is twofold here: Amen is reborn through the procession and ritual, while *mꜣt* and protection are restored in the person of the king. The king's role in such rites is paramount, as he is the living embodiment of *mꜣt*, Horus on earth, and the protective force which allows the rejuvenation to occur. The mound of Djeme at Medinet Habu, a holy place believed to be one of the burials of Osiris, is the mechanism of the rejuvenation of Amen-Re as a sun god. There-

fore, the Edifice of Taharqa is attributing an Osirian ceremony to Amen-Re, the god of Thebes. The accompanying texts on this west wall of room E complement the Decade festival proceedings. The same scene of a falcon atop the primeval mound, as well as similar inscriptions of the rites of the Decade Festival, occur in the chapel of Osiris *ḥkꜣ-dt* (fig. 10),<sup>94</sup> a small building in the northeastern Karnak area<sup>95</sup> dedicated to Osiris and the rituals of the mound of Djeme. Furthermore, this representation of Osiris' burial mound would have been seen in three dimensions at Abydos in the form of the Osireion behind the

<sup>94</sup> J. Leclant, *Monuments*, 47–54, fig. 16, pl. XXI; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 204–6, pl. XVII [4].

<sup>95</sup> It should be pointed out, of course, that these Osiris chapels, including *ḥkꜣ-dt*, are now located in the northeastern part of the Karnak precinct but did not get taken into that precinct until the outer wall of Nectanebo was built in the Thirtieth Dynasty. See D. Redford, "An Interim Report on the Second Season of Work at the Temple of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Karnak," *JEA* 59 (1973), 20; L. Coulon, F. Leclère, S. Marchand, "'Catacombes' Osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* X (1995), 220–23.

<sup>92</sup> U. Rössler-Köhler, "Imiut," *LÄ* III, 149–50; L. Köhler, *Das Imiut*, Göttinger Orientalforschungen, Reihe 4 (Wiesbaden, 1975); Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, §103–19.

<sup>93</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 49.

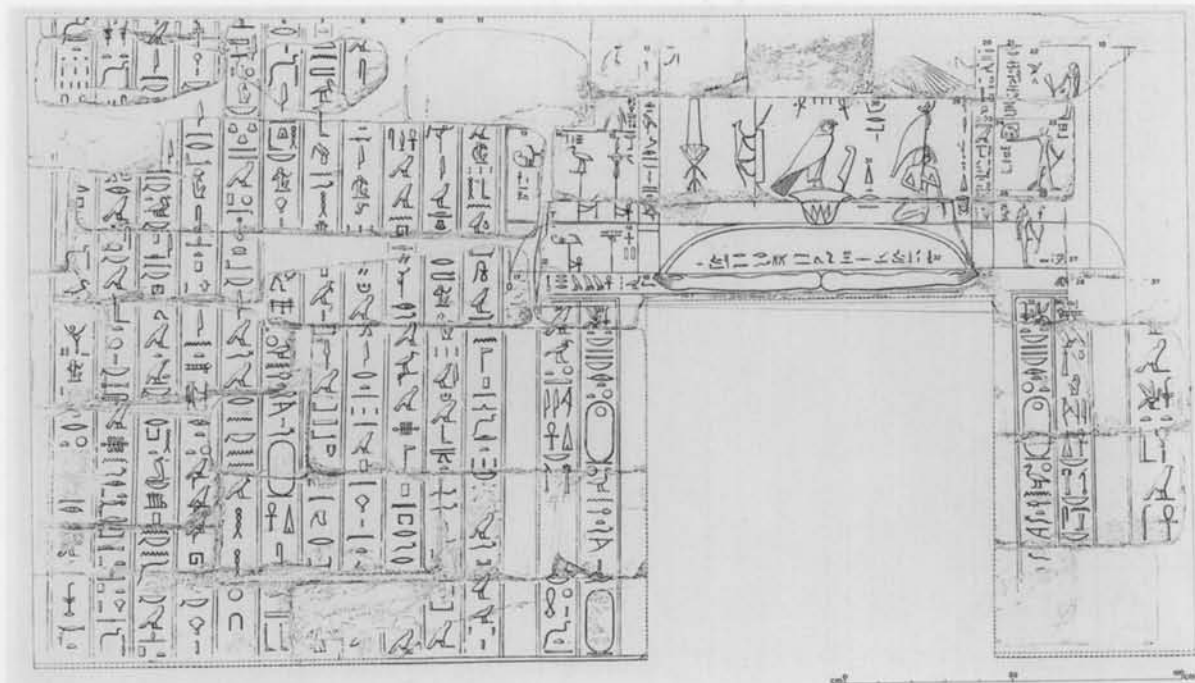


Fig. 9. Room E, west wall. The rites of the Mound of Djeme (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 22).

Temple of Seti I, as the superstructure of the primeval cenotaph (*Wsr m hn*) was originally a great mound surmounted with trees.<sup>96</sup>

The north wall of room E<sup>97</sup> is concerned with the rites of Divine Reentrance, the *hst*-rites,<sup>98</sup> the arrival of Amen-Re *dsr<sup>c</sup>*,<sup>99</sup> and the arrival of Amen-Re Kamutef.<sup>100</sup> In the scene of the *hst*

<sup>96</sup> P. Barguet, "Note sur le Complexe Architectural de Seti I à Abydos," *Kemi* XVI (1962), 21–23; J. Goyon, "Les Cultes d'Abydos," in *Kemi* XVIII (1968), 43–44; PM III, 387–91; PM IV, 623–33. Also, for the Osiris cult at Karnak, see P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 du musée du Louvre*, BdÉ 37 (Cairo, 1962).

<sup>97</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 55–60.

<sup>98</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1957), Sign-list Aa 30; WB III, p. 202, 5; also see P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 146.

<sup>99</sup> Parker et al. 1979, pp. 53, n. 70, 55, 59, n. 53, 60, 82–85; Goyon states, "... *dsr<sup>c</sup>* designates the primeval (*p<sup>2</sup>wty-t<sup>3</sup>wy*) ithyphallic Amun; he is the god who begets (*t<sup>3</sup>y*) the gods, the primeval Amun shown on blocks 61 and 66 of the red chapel of Hatshepsut," p. 59, n. 53; WB V, p. 610, 11; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 140; P. Barguet, "Un groupe d'enseignes," *RdÉ* (1952), 14–21; C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 303.

<sup>100</sup> H. Jacobsohn, "Die Dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter," *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 8 (1939); *Medinet Habu* IV; H. Ricke, *Kamutef-Heiligtum* (Cairo, 1954).

rite, the king holds the *mks* stick and the *hd* (fig. 11), two objects traditionally held by the king during foundation ceremonies called "Giving the house to its lord" (*rdit pr n nb.f*), a rite which Goyon believes to confirm the dedication of the temple to its rightful owner. The accompanying text is also connected with foundation rituals, such as is seen in Thutmose III's Small Temple of Amen at Medinet Habu, at Luxor and at Abydos.<sup>101</sup> Among the texts are carved two scenes which show the arrival of Amen-Re, Lord of the Two Lands, and Amen-Re Kamutef within their prospective processions of priests, shrines, and offerings. The east wall of room E depicts the rites of protection of Kom-Djeme and the primordial mound of Osiris (fig. 12).<sup>102</sup> This very well-known scene surmounts the lintel above the doorway leading into room F. The mound of Djeme, or *hn* cenotaph of Osiris, is located in the middle of the scene; it consists of a burial

<sup>101</sup> P. Barguet, "Le Rituel Archaïque de fondation des Temples de Medinet-Habou et de Louxor," in *RdÉ* 9 (1952), 1–3; K. Sethe, "Das alte Ritual zur Stiftung von Königstatuen bei der Einweihung eines Temples," *ZÄS* 70, 51–52.

<sup>102</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 61–65.



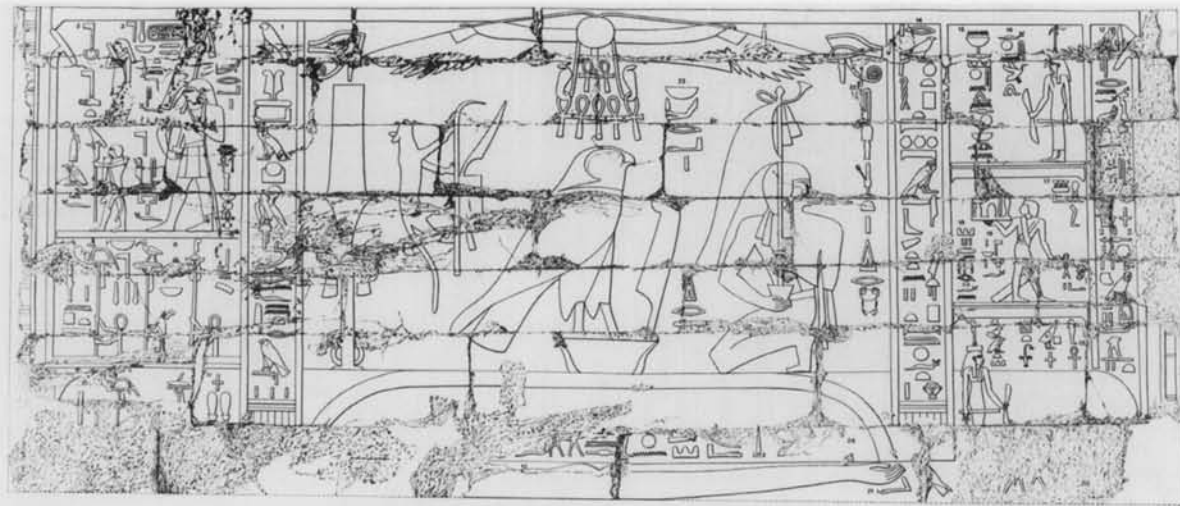


Fig. 10. The rites of the mound of Djeme, Chapel of Osiris Hk3-qt (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 23).

shrine in the shape of a mound out of which an acacia tree grows. On the left of the mound is the God's Wife of Amen shooting four arrows into four targets. To the right of the burial place is Taharqa throwing four balls in succession, symbolically toward the four cardinal directions. The entire scene is accompanied by columns of inscription on either side of the doorway describing rites of the Decade festival. The figure of the king and the God's Wife both serve to protect the shrine on all sides from any chaos so that the divine moment of rebirth may take place, in the same way that Taharqa protected the four cardinal points of Karnak itself by building colonnades at the entrances of four different temples in the north, south, east, and west.<sup>103</sup> This is his primary role within the Edifice of Taharqa; by acting as protector of the god, he thereby restores natural order and his own kingship in the process.

<sup>103</sup> Goyon likens this protection rite to those defensive rituals performed at dawn against Apophis or the Children of the Rebellion (Parker et al. 1979, 63–64). J. Osing mentions the ball throwing ritual in the context of the Osiris rooms on the roof (H1–3), specifically H2, of the Temple of Hibis at Kharga Oasis. The rite involves eight goddesses directed to the four cardinal points and serves as a means of protection for the mummy of Osiris (Sakhmet and Neith to the south, Bastet and Nephthys to the north, Isis and Wadjet to the west and Selket and Smithis to the east). See "Zu den Osiris-Räumen im Tempel von Hibis," in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), 511–16. He also makes

The south wall of Room E<sup>104</sup> is carved with a scene called the assembly of the *ʿst* support and the elevation of the four gods (fig. 13). Here four scenes, each of one god raised on the *ʿst* sign, are separated by five columns of text. The gods—Dedun, Soped, Sobek, and Horus—all face the west and in each case are raised by the God's Wife of Amen and a male officiant. The four gods represent the geographic forms of the god Amen, and serve a similar purpose to the king throwing the four balls and the God's wife shooting four arrows. Sobek speaks for Libya, Dedun for Nubia, Soped for Asia, Horus for Upper and Lower Egypt. An almost identical scene can be found on the south wall of a hall entrance leading into the south rooms of Hatshepsut at Karnak,<sup>105</sup> and presumably it had the same purpose in protecting a sacred space.

The next and final chamber, room F,<sup>106</sup> is where the creation and rebirth of Amen takes place, enabling the ritual procession to then exit

the connection with the Edifice of Taharqa on p. 516, n. 26. See also S. Aufrère, J. Golvin, and J. Goyon, *L'Égypte Restituée. 2 Sites et temples des déserts* (Paris, 1994), 91–92. Also see J. C. Goyon, "Les Rélévations du Mystère des Quatre Boules," *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 349–99 and R. Caminos, "Another Hieratic Manuscript from the Library of Pwerem Son of KiKi (Pap. B.M. 10288)," *JEA* 58 (1972), 208.

<sup>104</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 65–69.

<sup>105</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 67; P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Re*, 145, pl. XVId.

<sup>106</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 69–79.

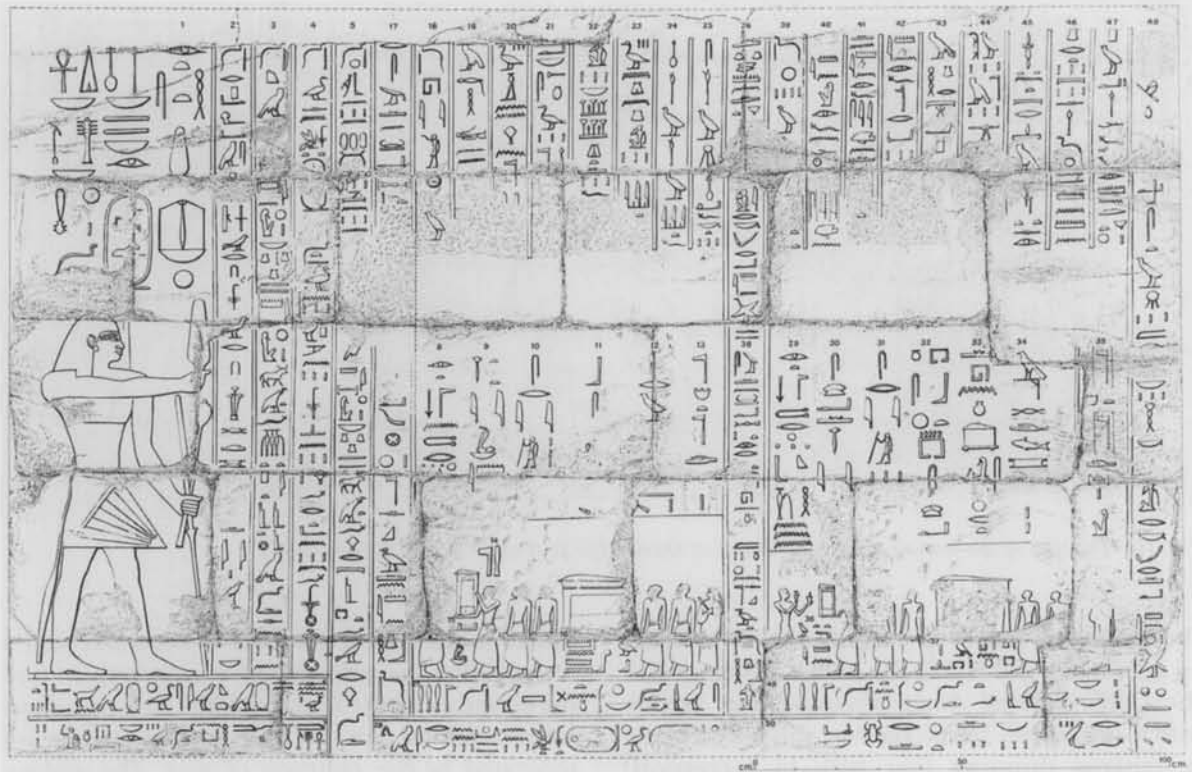


Fig. 11. Room E, north wall. Taharqa officiating at the rites of the divine reentrance (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 24).

back through the subterranean chambers past scenes of the rising sun, and, thus completing the cycle, enter into the sun court above the stairs. Unfortunately Room F is also the most badly damaged of the six subterranean chambers. The texts carved upon the west wall—the Hymn to Amen and the Morning Song (fig. 14)<sup>107</sup>—represent the only surviving inscriptions in the room and the oldest known version of this well-known hymn. This hymn to Amen,

<sup>107</sup> The text in the Edifice of Taharqa represents the oldest complete version of this solar hymn to the god Amen although J. Assmann has found passages of the Amen Hymn in Ramesside texts, specifically in section G of P. Harris, thus giving the Amen Hymn a Ramesside origin. See J. Assmann, *Re und Amen*, 208–18, 229–34. For a late Ptolemaic–early Roman Demotic version of the Hymn to Amen and the Morning song, see M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977). The best preserved version of the Hymn is at Hibis in the so-called temple of Darius I, Hypostyle M, west wall (north of the passage to the Hypostyle hall B, second register), but portions of the text dating to the time of Ptolemy VI also appear on the great pylon of the main temple at Philae (see M. Smith, “A New Version,” *Enchoria* 7

[1977], 116–17). The first translation of the hymn at Hibis is by Heinrich Brugsch-Bey in *Reise nach der Grossen Oase El Khargeh* (Leipzig, 1878), pls. XV–XVI and pp. 48–52. Norman de Garis Davies republished the text in *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis, part III* (New York, 1953), pl. 31, middle register. See also A. Scharff, *Ägyptische Sonnenlieder* (Berlin, 1922), 88–92; J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich and Munich, 1975), 288–93; A. Barucq and F. Dumas, *Hymnes et Prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1980), 308–18. Most recently, see E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project, vol. I, Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, 1988), 119–23. Also see D. Lorton, “The Invocation Hymn at the Temple of Hibis,” *SAK* (1994), 159–217; J. Osing, “Dekoration des Tempels von Hibis,” in *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, S. Israelit-Groll, ed. (Jerusalem, 1990), 759; S. Aufrere, J. Golvin, J. Goyon, *L'Égypte restituée*, 2, 92–93.

The Philae Hymn to Amen is found in H. Junker and E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien, 1965), 426–27. Another Ptolemaic version of the hymn exists in the crypts of the Opet Temple at Karnak on the south wall of the northernmost of the two main-floor level crypts, see C. Traunecker, *Les Cryptes du Temple d'Opet à Karnak*, forthcoming.

For a parallel hymn to Osiris, see J.-C. Goyon, “Le Cérémonial de Glorification d'Osiris du Papyrus du Louvre I. 3079,” *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 89–156.

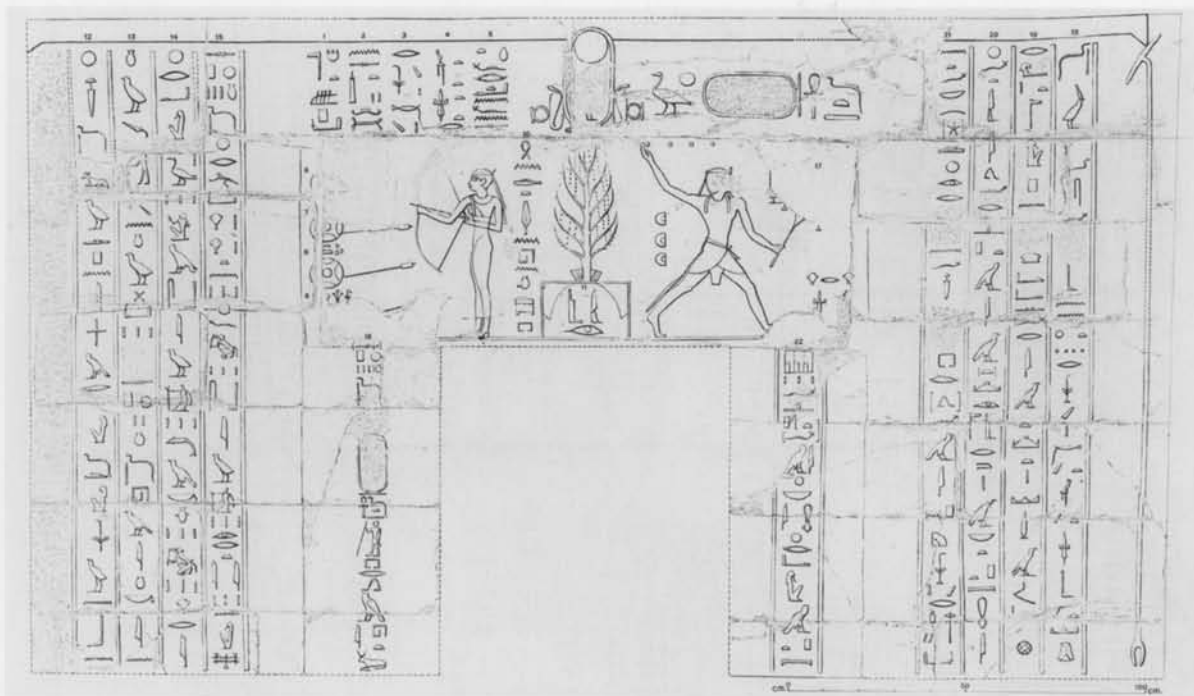


Fig. 12. Room E, east wall. Rites of protection at the Cenotaph of Kom-Djeme (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 25).

which is paralleled in the Temple of Hibis in the Khargeh Oasis,<sup>108</sup> contains the names of Amen bound up with his activity as a solar creator god, especially as Shu. The Morning Song, also with a parallel at the temple of Hibis and part of

<sup>108</sup> The texts at Hibis include the so-called "Morning Song," "The Names of Amen," and the text concerning the first three bas of Amen, all found within room F of the Edifice of Taharqa. See E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, I, 119–23, pl. 31; *ibid.* "Hibis Temple Project: a Preliminary Report 1985–1986 and Summer Field Seasons," *VA* 3 (1987); N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, part III (New York, 1953), pl. 31.

According to Winlock, in *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis I* (New York, 1938), the temple was built and decorated by the Persian king Darius I, begun in 510 B.C. It is located in the Libyan desert in the Outer Oasis at the junction of vital caravan roads. The structure was completed by the Romans, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. This site had been previously used, in Dynastic Egypt, as a temple for Amen, and the foreign kings built the new temple on the same spot. However, see E. Cruz-Urbe, "The Hibis Temple Project," *JARCE* XXIII (1986), 157–66 for evidence of recarving under Darius indicating that construction and most of the interior decoration of the main temple was completed during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Darius completed the decoration of the screen walls, jambs, and reveals of room N (pls. 36–43) as well as the exterior walls, while adding his cartouche in paint to interior rooms A–M (*ibid.*, 164–65).

the Hymn to Amen,<sup>109</sup> documents the rebirth of Amen. Again, the sun god Amen is equated with the creator god Shu.<sup>110</sup> The north and south walls of room F are covered with the damaged images of Amen and his ten bas (fig. 15).<sup>111</sup> Identical and more complete scenes occur in the crypt of the temple of Opet at Karnak<sup>112</sup> and again, in part, at the temple of Amen at Hibis.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>109</sup> N. Davies, *Hibis III*, 31.

<sup>110</sup> For the solar aspects of Shu, see J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), 17–20.

<sup>111</sup> The ten bas of Amen are represented not only in room F of the Edifice of Taharqa, but also in the crypt of the Opet Temple (see below), and Hibis Temple. See Parker et al. 1979, 73–79, 82; C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 139–40. On the bas of Amen, see also J. Assmann, *Re und Amen*, 203–63.

<sup>112</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 73 referring to Traunecker's 1970 discovery of ten bas painted on the walls of the north crypt in the temple of Opet; C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 139–40; C. Traunecker, *Les cryptes du Temple d'Opet à Karnak*, forthcoming. For a drawing of these 10 bas of Amen in the Opet Temple crypt, see J.-C. Goyon, "Amon, le dieu de Karnak," in *Histoire et Archéologie, Les dossiers* 61 (March, 1982), 48. They stand in three registers before a larger figure of Osiris.

<sup>113</sup> Only the first three bas of Amen are described at Hibis. See N. Davies, *Hibis III*, pl. 31, cols. 14–41; E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project I*, 121–23, pl. 31.

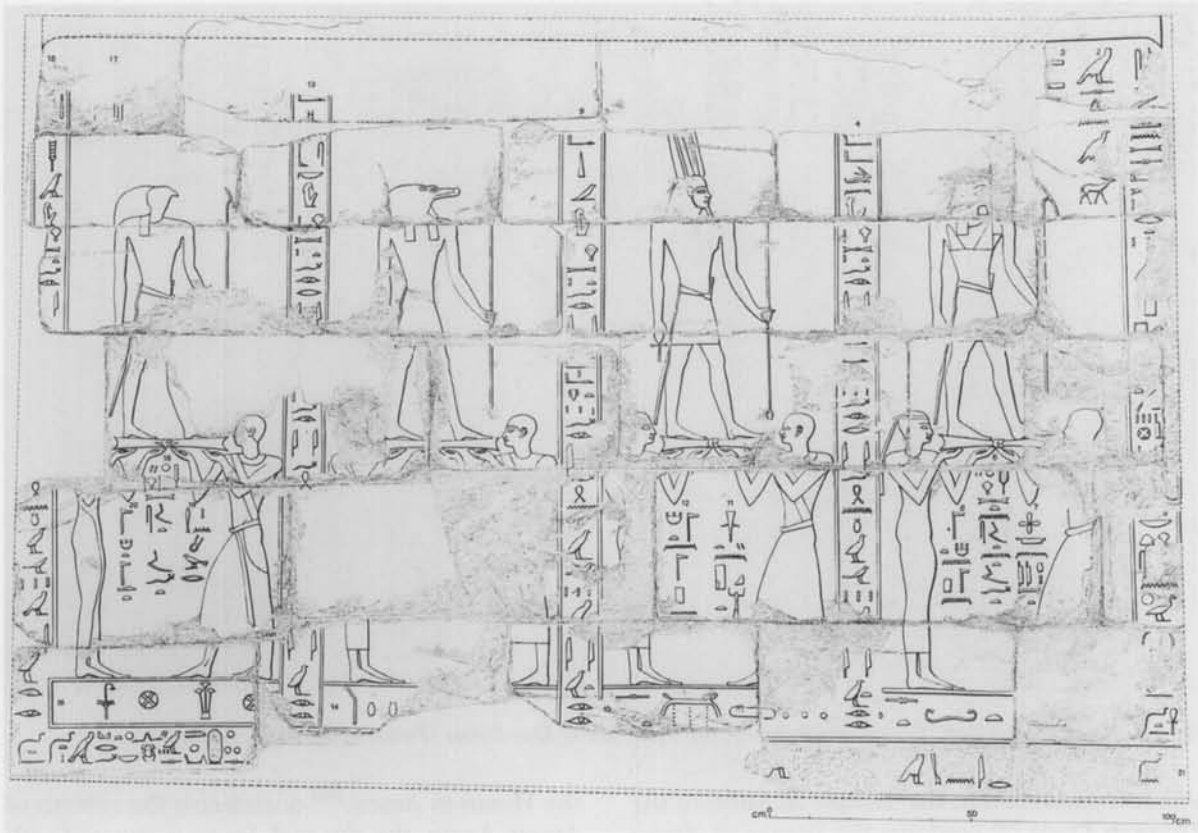


Fig. 13. Room E, south wall. Elevation of the 1st-support of Dedun, Soped, Sobek, and Horus (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 26).

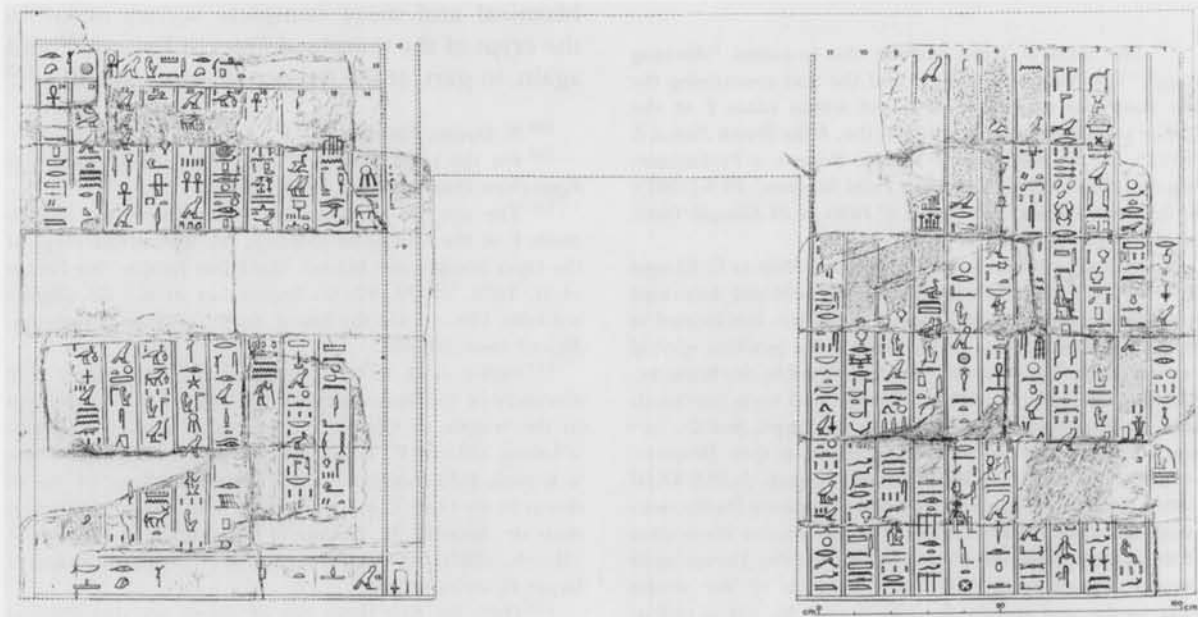


Fig. 14. Room F, west wall. Hymn to Amen (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 27).

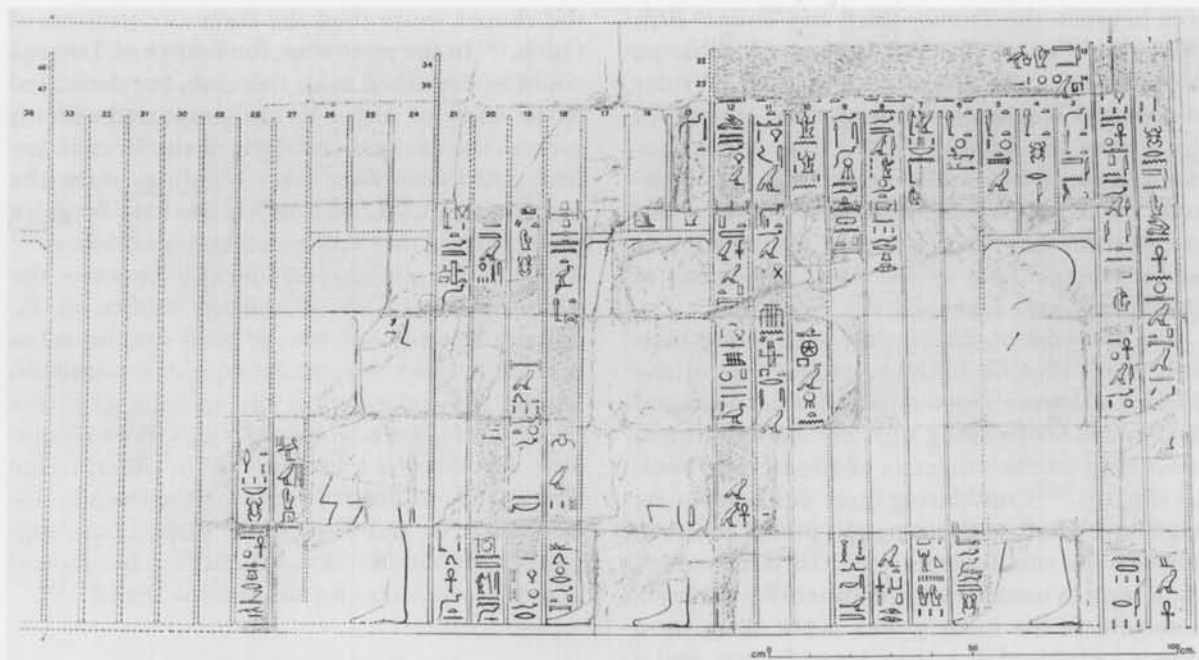


Fig. 15. Room F, south wall, west half. Bas one, two, and three of Amen (Parker et al. 1979, pl. 28A).

Each ba is surmounted by the sign of the sky, is barefoot, and walks toward the east, toward the rear wall of this last subterranean room, which is also the closest room to the Nilometer, representative of the Nun.<sup>114</sup> The bas are equated with Amen's manifestations as the sun god, as he who traverses the circuit of the sun in his bark and who "creates light in the moment he comes to them . . ."<sup>115</sup> By entering this room, the ritual procession enables Amen to enter into the egg, the Nun, and become reborn as a solar deity of light and life. The text states that Amen is reborn to aid the king, his image upon Earth, and to uphold order. Thus it would naturally be to the benefit of Taharqa to have such a monument built in his name, in order to protect his own kingship and to enable the rebirth of Amen and his ongoing cycle of the sun's rising and setting. Amen is resurrected, ". . . [for the salvation of his son who] occupies his place in the

palace . . ."<sup>116</sup> The rear eastern wall, though almost completely destroyed, fittingly contains a scene of Taharqa himself moving to his left in order to meet an unknown god, most probably Amen.<sup>117</sup>

With the recitation of the Morning Song by the ritual procession to "Wake up! Be in peace! When thou wakest up in peace, Amen wakes up in [life] and [peace],"<sup>118</sup> the cycle is complete; the god is reborn as the active creator and morning sun.

#### Comparison with the Chapel of Osiris *hꜥ3 dt*<sup>119</sup>

This structure is one of many such small Osirian chapels built in the northeastern Karnak

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>117</sup> Of this last room Goyon states, "One may wonder if the essential purpose of room F, the most subterranean and the most obscure, was not, like the crypt of Opet, to shelter a ceremony celebrating the union of Amun with the constituent elements of his personality, the guarantees of his creative power and manifestation of life of which he is the supreme holder" (ibid., 79).

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>119</sup> PM II, 204-6; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 47-54, 264-65, 267-68, 312; R. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV*, 20-21;

<sup>114</sup> For more on the Nun, see M. Smith, "A New Egyptian Cosmology," in C. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings*, 1075-79. In the demotic Egyptian cosmological text from Tebtunis in the Fayyum, the Nun is not a passive primordial being but one of the most active forces of creation, aside from the sun god.

<sup>115</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 75.

area between the Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Dynasties.<sup>120</sup> And like the Edifice of Taharqa, the purpose of the chapel of Osiris *ḥkꜣ dt* (ruler of eternity) is also somewhat unclear, as many of the scenes are unique to the monument. Located in the northeast corner of Karnak's Thirtieth Dynasty precinct walls, the chapel seems to commemorate Shepenwepwet's installation as God's Wife of Amen as well as the co-regency of Osorkon III and Takelot III.<sup>121</sup>

The monument shares some scenes and texts with the Edifice of Taharqa, namely that of the mound of Djeme<sup>122</sup> surmounted by a falcon and the Anubis fetish along with the associated text remarking on the mysteries of the Decade Festival (fig. 10).<sup>123</sup> Considering these similarities, one might ask whether the renewed power achieved through the ritual comes from Osiris, for whom the temple is named, or from Amen-Re. After all, Amen-Re in his many guises is the deity most closely associated with the rites of Djeme, and it is this ritual which clearly indicates a strong Egyptian belief in a kind of "Osirian" Amen.<sup>124</sup> The mere placement of the chapel in the northeastern Osirian area of Karnak points toward the Chthonic realm;<sup>125</sup> however, Redford himself points out that Amen-Re is depicted five times in

the chapel, more than the three occurrences of Osiris.<sup>126</sup> In the same vein, the Edifice of Taharqa could be described as an Osireion, but dedicated in the name of Amen-Re and associated with his cycle as the sun god and deity of the Decade festival. Obviously then both buildings show the merging of Osiris and Amen in the Late Period, a phenomenon that has been clearly established.<sup>127</sup> There are numerous similarities between the Chapel of Osiris *ḥkꜣ dt* and the Edifice of Taharqa: the ritual function of both structures has repeatedly been brought into question, and both involve the consecration and renewal of divine office through the rebirth of a god. Both sanctuaries also take part, in some way or other, in the rites of the mound of Djeme and the Decade Festival. Indeed, Traunecker and Fazzini have suggested that both buildings could have functioned as ersatz cult places for the rites of Djeme.<sup>128</sup>

#### The Edifice of Taharqa and the Decade Festival

Clearly, the ritual scenes within the Edifice of Taharqa involve the mound of Djeme and the associated Decade Festival,<sup>129</sup> a ritual developed

W. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago, 1977), 91–94; D. Redford, "An Interim Report on the Second Season of Work at the Temple of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Karnak," *JEA* 59 (1973), 16–30. Redford is concerned mainly with the Twenty-third Dynasty building, while Leclant is the main source for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty structure. See also G. Kadish, D. Redford et al., *The XXIIIrd Dynasty Chapel of Osiris Heka-Djet at Karnak*, SSEA Publ. (Toronto), forthcoming. Also forthcoming is a report and images showing the cleaned decoration of the Osiris chapel, to appear in *Cahiers de Karnak* XI.

<sup>120</sup> See n. 95.

<sup>121</sup> R. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 21.

<sup>122</sup> In the same vein, Redford has demonstrated that Temple J, often called the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished, was actually called "The House of Isis of the Great Mound-of-the-God of Wese," the *išt* designating the burial mound of Osiris. D. Redford, "New Light on Temple J at Karnak," *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 1–15.

<sup>123</sup> M. Gabolde, "L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 248.

<sup>124</sup> C. Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achoris*, 139.

<sup>125</sup> Redford notes, "That the theme of bestowing kingship and renewing it in the context of the *sed*-festival, should occur in a shrine devoted to Osiris is no surprise during the Late Period." in "An Interim Report," *JEA* 59 (1973), 25.

<sup>126</sup> D. Redford, "An Interim Report," *JEA* 59 (1973), 20.

<sup>127</sup> See, for example, J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 10; A. Niwinski, "The Solar-Osirian Unity," *JÉOL* 30 (1987–88), 89–107.

<sup>128</sup> C. Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achoris*, 133–35; R. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23–24. For an argument in favor of such a substitute cult place, see C. Traunecker, "Un exemple de rite de substitution: une stèle de Nectanebo I<sup>er</sup>," *Cahiers de Karnak* VII (Paris, 1982), 339–54. On p. 251, he states, "Les fetes décadaires étaient bien célébrées trois fois par mois, mais la sortie réelle du dieu devait être bien plus rare."

<sup>129</sup> For images of the procession of the Decade Festival and of the god Amen 'hidden' or 'veiled' inside his carrying chair and for translation and interpretation of the associated texts and epithets, see M. Doresse, "Le Dieu voilé dans sa chaise et la Fête du début de la Décade," *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 113–36; *ibid.*, *RdÉ* 25 (1973), 36–65; *ibid.*, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 36–65. The hidden god is called, among other epithets, "Horus with uplifted arms," "beautiful of visage," "the possessor of the double plumed crown," "the great living god," and "the great power of the primordial gods." Three times a month, Amenemope of Djeme "travels at the beginning of each Decade towards the mound of Djeme" where he will "rejoin the Western gods" and awaken "the ba and the bas with the living breath of the venerable ba," M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 25 (1973), 121–22. The ithyphallic Amenemope

no later than the Twenty-first Dynasty<sup>130</sup> in which, if we believe textual sources, an image of the living Amen traveled to the Small Temple of Amen at Medinet Habu every ten days in order to meet with the divine ancestors and the primordial powers of Kom Djeme, including Amen Kamutef

of Djeme is also called "Horus son of Isis," "the living image (*snn*) of Horus," "the excellent heir of the Ogdoad," "the living image (*snn*) of Re," and he is described as being "in Ipet-swt (Karnak)." There does seem to be some difference in the epithets applied to the hidden Amenemope in his carrying chair and to the ithyphallic god who is not hidden, *ibid.*, 126–27. Also see C. Traunecker et al., *Chapelle d'Achoris II*, 132; C. Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des Liturgies Thebaine," in *Hundred Gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium, on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman period*, S. P. Vleeming, ed. (Leiden-New York, 1995), 192–96; A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: a study of the ancient Egyptian rites of consecrating the Meret-chests and driving the calves* (Leiden, 1995), 109. For the Decade Festival and connection to the Nun, see M. Gabolde, "L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 254. For a funerary connection of the rites associated with Deir el Medina, see K. Donker van Heel, "Use and Meaning of the Egyptian term *wšh mu*," in *Village Voices*, R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts, eds. (Leiden, 1992), 21. For a connection to Medamud and the cult of Monthu, see C. Sambin, "Médamoud et les dieux de djemé sous les premiers Ptolémées," in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, 163–68. For Ptah and the Decade, see C. Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des Liturgies Thebaine," in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, 196, and C. Traunecker, "La Chapelle de Khonsu du mur d'encinte et les travaux d'Alexandre," *Cahiers de Karnak VIII*, 347–54. For Horus son of Isis associated with the Decade, see C. Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des Liturgies Thebaine," in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, 194–99.

<sup>130</sup> The earliest text mentioning a Festival at the beginning of the Decade is from the funerary temple of Thutmose II; however, the text is vague and refers only to a fat offering given every ten days. See M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 36–37. Another reference to the Decade Festival is carved on a statue of Senenmut (reign of Hatshepsut) found in the Mut Precinct of Karnak. See M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 37; K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. dynastie*, IV (Berlin, 1905), 411, 9–10. For another reference in the tomb of Reckmire (TT 100), vizier under Thutmose III, see M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 37; P. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara, vizier of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhotep II* (Westminster, 1900), 26; *Urk.* IV, 1115, 8. Still, none of the Eighteenth Dynasty texts refer to Amenemope, the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, or other associated divinities. Nineteenth Dynasty texts (Ramses II) are rather vague as well, but they are associated with Amen of the Ipet and Luxor temple. See M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 38–39. Twentieth Dynasty texts also refer to the ithyphallic Amen-Re in Ipt-rsyt "in which he rests the first day of each decade." See M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 39–40. Not until the Twenty-first Dynasty, do we have more detailed references.

and the Ogdoad.<sup>131</sup> Such a union would combine the creator god with the creative forces of the primeval mound, thus renewing the god's demiurgic powers as Amen *ḏsr-c* (holy of arm) and the king's official power. Many of the texts within the Edifice are "funerary" or Osirian, involving death and the underworld, but in such a context, they

A dedication of Pinnedjem I at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu indicates a wish to "make content his august father Amen *ḏsr-st* and his ennead" each decade. See C. Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des Liturgies Thebaine," in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, 193; C. Traunecker et al., *Chapelle d'Achoris II*, p. 128, n. 200, p. 131. The Small Temple was not called *išt djšmt* (the mound of Djeme) until the reign of Pinedjem I. See M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 41; *Urk.* IV, 882. A private letter of the Twenty-first Dynasty is the first to refer to the trip made every ten days by the god of Luxor Imn-n-ipt to the West Bank where he will perform a libation to the gods called "the great living bas," P. B. N. 198, I. See Spiegelberg, *Correspondance du temps des rois pretres*, 64–65; J. Cerny, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Bruxelles, 1939), 66, 1, 5–8; E. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 79; S. Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement* (Cairo, 1952), 10, n. c; E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces* (Leipzig, 1952), 74; M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 41. The Ogdoad is not mentioned in the festival's context until Dynasty Twenty-nine. See K. Sethe, *Amun*, §106; U. Hölscher, *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 2 = *OIP* 41 (Chicago, 1934–54), 43 and n. 2; M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 43. For a possible Ramesside reference to the Decade Festival, as well as the concept that Amen is the source of the Nile's inundation, see M. Gabolde, "L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 235–55, figs. 1–3.

<sup>131</sup> K. Sethe, *Amun*, §103–19; F. Herbin, "Une liturgie des rites décennaires de Djeme: Papyrus Vienne 3865," *RdÉ* 35 (1984), 105; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 21–27; J. Goyon, "Les cultes d'Abydos," *Kemi XVIII* (1968), 43; C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 130–34; M. Gabolde, "L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 249–53; J. Parlebas, "Die Herkunft der Achtheit von Hermopolis," *ZDMG* suppl. III/1 (1977) 36–38; S. Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, *OBO* 134 (1994), 28; K. Vandorpe, "City of Many a Gate, Harbour for many a Rebel," in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, 225. For blocks of a Roman door from the area of the Small Temple at Medinet Habu, see P. Derchain, "Une porte d'Antonin le Pieux et l'Osiris d'Erment à Médinet Habu," *CdÉ* 34 (1958), 21–33. The decoration of the fragments includes offering scenes, *ḥwt bḥsw*, libation scenes, depictions of members of the Ogdoad, and an offering scene to Osiris Onnophris of Hermonthis. Derchain notes that Osiris is depicted at the Small Temple only one other time, now located on the exterior of the periptery ambulatory, but attributed originally to a building of Taharqa located just to the west of the Eighteenth Dynasty constructions. See P. Derchain, "Une Porte d'Antonin le Pieux et l'Osiris d'Erment à Médinet Habou," *CdÉ* 34 (1958), 26; U. Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu*, II (Chicago, 1934–54), 21, 45.

involve either Amen-Re and his rebirth as the sun god or the primeval form of Amen, Amen *dsr-c*, the god of origins. In this same vein, it is quite fitting that scenes of the Djeme festival in room E are associated with scenes of the *solar* cycle of death and rebirth, as we have in rooms A through D, likening the festival movement from east to west and back again with the sun's cycle and equating the primeval god with the ever returning solar god.

The mound of Djeme was thought to be located within the back rooms of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu. Only very fragmentary Third Intermediate Period or Twenty-fifth Dynasty reliefs concerning the Decade festival have survived from the Small Temple of Medinet Habu,<sup>132</sup> but the Temple of Osiris *hk3 dt* and the Edifice of Taharqa clearly indicate that the festival was celebrated during this time period.<sup>133</sup> Curiously, the Twenty-fifth Dynasty pylon<sup>134</sup> erected in front of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu has smiting scenes on the "wrong" side: such scenes traditionally faced outward at temple entrances as a means of protecting the sacred rites occurring within.<sup>135</sup> Yet instead of facing the worshipper when entering the temple from the east, this smiting scene faces west, toward the small temple itself. Conjectural as it may be, it is possible then that the pylon was built in such a way by the Kushite Dynasty to complement the beginning of a procession *leaving*

rather than entering the Eighteenth Dynasty temple.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the smiting scene would have been a protective agent for the beginning of the Decade Festival on its way to Luxor and Karnak on the east bank. The Small Temple itself could have been penetrated by a side entrance within the southern wall to the west of the Kushite pylon, after one had been admitted to the main Medinet Habu precinct.

According to Marc Gabolde, the Small Temple of Medinet Habu was seen as the source of the Nun in the area for environmental reasons.<sup>137</sup> Just before the inundation of the Nile, it seems water would actually seep out in certain locations along the desert foothills, creeping up from a spring of abundant groundwater. Soon thereafter, the Nile would swell beyond its banks and flood the agricultural plain. Gabolde states that Medinet Habu, and more specifically the mound of Djeme, was sporadically seen as one of the entrances to the cavern of Nun because Nile inundation water first made an appearance in this area, seeping out of the earth.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, the place was associated with the primeval forms of Amen and the Ogdoad, who traditionally dwell in the Nun. Naturally, Amen would have to return on a regular basis to this place of first occurrence to regain his creative powers,<sup>139</sup> and, although there is admittedly absolutely no textual evidence in its favor, one can imagine that the first sighting of the inundation waters probably necessitated a larger scale Decade Festival at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu. Furthermore, as the Small Temple of Medinet Habu was thus associated with Nile floodwaters during the Decadal procession, so also Taharqa's Edifice would have supplied that same connection by its proximity to the Sacred Lake and the Nilometer, representative of the Nun at Karnak.

According to Goyon,<sup>140</sup> upon completion of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Decade rituals at Kom

<sup>132</sup> Two fragmentary sandstone reliefs of Taharqa were uncovered by G. Nagel in 1928 in pit no. 2003 of Deir el Medina, and they seem to relate to the Decade Festival. It is very likely, then, that the fragments originally stem from a building of Taharqa at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu. They have been published by M. Dewachter, "Deux bas-reliefs du puits 2003 de Deir el-Médineh," *RdÉ* 37 (1986), 159–63.

<sup>133</sup> C. Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achoris*, 115–20, 130–42.

<sup>134</sup> PM II, 464; U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, 26–27, reconstruction on p. 5; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 145–52; G. Daressy, *Notice explicatif des ruines de Médinet Habou* (Cairo, 1897), 8–9.

<sup>135</sup> See J. Baines, "Temples as symbols, guarantors, and participants in Egyptian civilization," in *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, ed. S. Quirke (London, 1997), 218–19, for the concept that protection and exclusion are "the most characteristic aspects" of an Egyptian temple.

<sup>136</sup> B. M. Bryan, personal communication 1996.

<sup>137</sup> M. Gabolde, "L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 235–55, figs. 1–3.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 248–49.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>140</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 82.



Djeme, Amen would return to Luxor. From there he would journey to Karnak, past the shrine of Amen Kamutef, the *pr-hnw*,<sup>141</sup> through the tenth pylon and into the area of the Sacred Lake and the Edifice of Taharqa. After the rituals within the subterranean portion of the Edifice which function as the circuit of the sun's death and rebirth, Goyon presumes that Amen then entered into the sun court transformed.<sup>142</sup> *M3̄t* was not a constant and reliable force in the universe, rather it had to be revived periodically within the context of a primordial rebirth, a rebirth that, of course, could only occur after a death. When the Decade Procession found itself upon the west bank, the primordial source of creation was the mound of Djeme. At Karnak,<sup>143</sup> such rites revolved around the Nun, the origin of all potential life and the home of the Ogdoad, represented within the precinct by the Sacred Lake and the so-called Nilometer, both in close proximity to the Edifice and part of its ritual complex. Indeed it is possible that the Edifice of Taharqa may be a kind of substitute cult place for the rites of Djeme<sup>144</sup> and the Decade Festival itself, perhaps even eliminating the need to continuously cross the river in order to maintain *m3̄t* and revive the kingship. The rites of Djeme were therefore condensed into the essen-

<sup>141</sup> The *pr-hw(w)*, possibly translated as the 'House of Acclamation', was a well-known site in Thebes near the Mut precinct. It consisted of a small peripteral temple or chapel dedicated to Amen-Re-Kamutef and was one of the first stopping points during the decade procession of Amen as it moved from Luxor temple to Karnak. Parker et al. 1979, 60–63.

<sup>142</sup> Parker et al. 1979, 83–84.

<sup>143</sup> For a later relief connected to the Decade Festival located in the first court of Karnak Temple, see P. Bargaet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 53; M. Doresse, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 126–29, pl. 8. The inscription names only a *pr-3̄*, and it is not securely dated.

<sup>144</sup> For a possible Roman period substitute location for the Mound of Djeme, see G. Lecuyot and M. Gabolde, "A 'Mysterious *dw3̄t*' Dating from Roman Times at the Deir er-Rumi," in C. Eyre, ed. *Proceedings*, 661–66. The small temple is located at the entrance to the Valley of the Queens along the axis of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu and consists of a sanctuary dug into the mountain, an offering hall and a circular shaped courtyard which the authors claim resembles an *i3̄t* mound. Remains of decorated fragments depict the Osirian Cycle, as well as the Ogdoad, Amenemope, and Montu. The only preserved text from the sanctuary parallels

tial forms, appearing upon the subterranean walls of the complex. Traunecker suggests that the chapel of Osiris *hk3̄ dt* may have had a similar function.<sup>145</sup>

But this leaves the puzzling question of Luxor Temple during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. We know that the manifestation of Amen—Amenemope or Amen in the *ipt*—was resident at Luxor. Yet Taharqa was not very active at Luxor Temple, even though this manifestation of Amen and the associated Decade Festival seemed quite dominant during this period. The only building with the name of Taharqa from Luxor temple is a small Hathor chapel.<sup>146</sup> There is no evidence to my knowledge, textual or pictorial, that the Decade Festival was connected with Luxor Temple during the reign of Taharqa. Perhaps the Edifice of Taharqa was founded as a new residence for this primeval god, fittingly located next to the Sacred Lake believed to be source of the Nun.

#### The Edifice of Taharqa and Solar Imagery

As already demonstrated, many scenes and texts within the Edifice of Taharqa, especially those from the solar room D, find parallels in Theban solar chapels or *šwt-R3̄w*,<sup>147</sup> such as rooms 18 and 19 of Ramses III's mortuary complex at Medinet Habu and the sun chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari. In addition, the Edifice of Taharqa is located adjacent to the sacred lake which in the Ptolemaic period was called "The Lake of the God of Gold," i.e., the

an unpublished text from Tod, and states that the male members of the Ogdoad "... are once again created and their ka is regenerated as four Montu. They hide their image in the Mysterious *dw3̄t*," *ibid.*, 664–65. Furthermore, texts from both Medamud and Tod refer to a 'mound of Djeme', perhaps attesting to such variant mounds at these temple locations as well. Indeed, the authors also suggest that the Edifice of Taharqa may have functioned as the location of substitute rites connected to the Mound of Djeme, *ibid.*, 666

<sup>145</sup> C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris* II, 133–35, 140–42.

<sup>146</sup> J. Leclant, *Monuments*, 143, §41; Abdel-Qader Muhammed, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations Carried out in the Temple of Luxor," *ASAE* 60 (1968), 244–47, pls. 14–19; *PM* II<sup>2</sup>, 336; 539–40.

<sup>147</sup> For solar chapels of the New Kingdom, see R. Stadelmann, "*šwt-R3̄w* als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 159–78.

sun god.<sup>148</sup> Within room F of the Edifice, the very last subterranean room, Amen is equated with every element one would associate with the sun god, and it is within this room that the transformation takes place, as the Morning Song aptly describes. Room B records the Litany of the Sun, while staircase A includes the Solar and chthonic forms of Re. The subterranean rooms document either the birth of the sun, or they describe the death of the solar god at its setting and the rites necessary to engender his resurrection. Amen-Re, the national god of kingship and the chief deity of Thebes, takes on the role of the sun god, while the rites of Djeme and the Decade Festival serve to renew his cycle.

Rooms 18 and 19, also known as the Re-Horakhty Complex, in Ramses III's mortuary complex at Medinet Habu, are partially open to the sky, and in the center of the room were found the remains of a sun altar.<sup>149</sup> These same architectural features are seen at the Deir el Bahri sun chapel of Hatshepsut as well as that of Thutmose III to the north of his festival hall. In fact, according to Stadelmann, such *šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w* are always located on the northern side of the architectural complex<sup>150</sup> and include an open court with a freestanding high altar oriented toward the east. In the Medinet Habu complex, there is a single column supporting an architrave and roofing blocks at the western end of the room.<sup>151</sup> In this suite of rooms are found many of the same key scenes and texts that were carved in room D of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Edifice of the Sacred Lake, indicating that Taharqa was most likely quite influenced by this predecessor and especially the New Kingdom solar cult.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>148</sup> P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176*, 16, 1 and 18; Wb II, 239.8; B. Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel* (Hildesheim, 1983), 173.

<sup>149</sup> W. Murnane, *United with Eternity: a concise guide to the monuments of Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1980), 50.

<sup>150</sup> This orients the chapel toward Heliopolis. In fact, the *šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w* of Medinet Habu is also called *imw šm<sup>c</sup>i* or the "Southern Heliopolis" (R. Stadelmann, "šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w als Kultstätte," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 175). H. Kees has also identified a Re chapel in the Karnak Amen precinct ("Ein Onkel Amenophis' IV. Hoherpriester von Heliopolis?" *ZÄS* 53, 81–83). See also P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 203–5.

<sup>151</sup> W. Murnane, *United with Eternity*, 50.

<sup>152</sup> Also see J. Assmann, "Das Dekorationsprogramm," *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 91–98.

Furthermore, on the southern wall of Re-Horakhty's chapel, Ramses III elevates food offerings before the fourteen bas of Re,<sup>153</sup> a scene which could be likened to the depiction of the ten bas of Amen found on the south and north walls in room F of Taharqa's edifice.

Earlier in the New Kingdom, Hatshepsut placed the earliest remaining sun court or *šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w*, within her mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari,<sup>154</sup> once again combining mortuary aspects and rebirth within an open air court dedicated to solar rays. The northern section of the mortuary complex's uppermost terrace is occupied by a sanctuary dedicated to Re-Horakhty. It consists of a covered colonnaded vestibule leading into an open court with an altar and niches.<sup>155</sup> Thutmose III also built a sun temple, but within the precinct of Karnak<sup>156</sup> on the northern side of the axis. It is oriented toward the east, and consists of an open court surrounded by covered rooms, complemented by scenes involving the purification and coronation of the king, as well as his reception into the company of the gods.<sup>157</sup> Other New Kingdom rulers built sun temples that are, unfortunately, less well preserved. Seti I included a Re complex at Gurna Temple to the North of his hypostyle hall,<sup>158</sup> as did Merenptah<sup>159</sup> and, it seems, even Siptah and Tawosret.<sup>160</sup> There is only one preserved *šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w* outside of the Theban area, that of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, the inner room of which was carved

<sup>153</sup> *Medinet Habu* VI, pls. 423, 424.

<sup>154</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 36; E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* (London, 1841–1926), I, pp. 1–12, pls. I–VI; M. Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsut* (Bruxelles, 1949), 109–12.

<sup>155</sup> The court is surrounded by a covered and enclosed Anubis chapel to the north and another covered sanctuary dedicated to Amen-Min to the west.

<sup>156</sup> PM II, 122–23.

<sup>157</sup> P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 203–4, 291–92; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak*, II (Paris, 1982), pl. 189. The altar and walls bear the cartouches of Ramses III, but they were most likely those of Thutmose III.

<sup>158</sup> PM II, 140–46; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* II (Paris, 1952–78), 695–700; R. Stadelmann, "šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w als Kultstätte," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 167.

<sup>159</sup> F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), 12, pl. XXV; R. Stadelmann, "šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w als Kultstätte," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 169.

<sup>160</sup> R. Stadelmann, "šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w als Kultstätte," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 169.

out of the cliffside.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, it should be noted again that as all of these chapels are on the north side of their respective complexes and oriented toward Heliopolis, so too is Room D in the Edifice of Taharqa.

#### The Cult of Divine Rebirth and Processional Temple Space

Theologically, the Egyptian temple revolves around the rebirth of the resident god, the king naturally being bound up in this ritual as seen in his rejuvenation during the sed festival or his rebirth in the Pyramid Texts. In the New Kingdom, scenes were carved for the first time recounting in great detail the divine parentage and creation of the king. At Deir el Bahari, Hatshepsut included such scenes in her funerary temple, as did Amenhotep III at Luxor.<sup>162</sup> Both temples included the divine consummation between the human queen and the god Amen and the subsequent birth of the human king, imbued with the power of the royal and divine ka. Fazzini has reaffirmed Barguet's original attribution of the birth scenes found in Temple A in the Mut Precinct at South Karnak to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, suggesting that an erased cartouche from a nearby stray block reads Shabaka or Shebitku, or Taharqa.<sup>163</sup> Very similar to the New Kingdom representations, the remaining scenes include a row of deities holding the royal child, the circumcision of the child and his royal ka, as well as the remnants of the king and his ka accompa-

nied by two goddesses, the so-called *mn<sup>c</sup>t*, and his mother, the queen.<sup>164</sup>

The Edifice of Taharqa involves the resurrection of the god Amen-Re and thereby that of the national kingship, a concept much bigger than the rebirth of one single king into a pleasant afterlife.<sup>165</sup> The so-called "funerary" scenes and texts found in the edifice necessitate a transformation in the same way as the representations within a tomb, but what is transfigured is the national ideology, the god Amen-Re, and the kingship of Egypt, all in a constant Osirian cycle. Temples of a similar funerary nature were built by numerous kings at Abydos,<sup>166</sup> the traditional dwelling place and burial site of Osiris, the quintessential god of death and rebirth. In the same way that past kings identified their reign with the favor of Osiris by building a temple and

P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Re*, 9–10, n 6; F. Daumas, *Les mammis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958), 49, n. 2; R. Fazzini and W. Peck, "The Precinct of Mut during Dynasty XXV and Early Dynasty XXVI," *SSEAJ* XI (1981), 120–26; R. Fazzini, "Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV, 12–13. The stray block was found in room 18, and both R. Fazzini and J. van Dijk have independently read the first part of the cartouche as "shab," with Shabaka being the obvious choice. Unfortunately the rear half of the cartouche in question is not preserved. Fazzini expects to publish this cartouche in: *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Art, Architecture, and Religious Iconography: Late Dynasty XX-Dynasty XXV* (in progress), (R. Fazzini, personal communication 1999).

<sup>164</sup> R. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 12–13.

<sup>165</sup> L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 no. 4 (1985), 280.

<sup>166</sup> For the temples, or so-called Cenotaphs, at Abydos, see B. Kemp, "Abydos," in *LÄ* I, 37–39. The cenotaphs are attributed to, among others, Sesostri III (PM V, 92; O. Firchow, *Studien zu den Pyramidenanlagen der 12. Dynastie* [Hamburg, 1942], 53–55; W. K. Simpson, "Sesostri III," in *LÄ* V, 903), Ahmose (B. Kemp, "Abydos," in *LÄ* I, 38; S. Harvey, "Monuments of Ahmose at Abydos," *Egyptian Archaeology* 4 [1994], 3–5), Thutmose III (M. Pouls, "New Fieldwork at the Periphery of the Osiris Temple in Abydos: The Temple of Thutmose III," presented at ARCE's annual meeting in Los Angeles, 1998), Seti I (A. Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville* [Hildesheim, 1998]; A. M. Calverly and M. F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* [London, 1935]; R. David, *A Guide to religious ritual at Abydos* [Warminster, 1981]), Ramses II (M. Eaton-Krauss, "Ramses II," *LÄ* V, 112; W. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* [Chicago, 1977], 71–73; K. P. Kuhlmann, "Der Tempel Ramses II. in Abydos," *MDAIK* 35 [1979], 189–92) and Ramses III (B. Kemp, "Abydos," in *LÄ* I, 39). Blocks also attest the existence of cenotaphs belonging to Hatshepsut, Thutmose IV, Ay, Setnakht, Ramses III, and Psamtik. See W. K. Simpson, "Kenotaph," *LÄ* III, 387–91.

<sup>161</sup> G. Maspero, "La chapelle nouvelle d'Ibsamboul," *ZÄS* 48 (1910), 91–96; A. Barsanti, *Rapports à la Consolidation des Temples* I, 146–57 and II, pls. CLI, CLVII–CLXII; R. Stadelmann, "šwt-R<sup>c</sup>w als Kultstätte," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 176.

<sup>162</sup> For the general topic of royal conception and birth, see L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 no. 4 (1985), 251–94; H. Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden, 1964); for the royal birth scenes of Ramses II, see G. A. Gaballa, "New Evidence on the Birth of Pharaoh," *Orientalia* 36 (1967), 299–304, pls. 63–65; L. Habachi, "La Reine Touy, Femme de Séthi I, et ses proches parents inconnus," *RdÉ* 21 (1969), 28–39. For the concept that Luxor Temple could have functioned as the *mammisi* of Karnak Temple, see L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 no. 4 (1985), 263. For the royal birth in Nubia, see L. Török, *The Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom* (Lille, 1995), 83–88.

<sup>163</sup> The birth scenes are located in the North Sanctuary of Temple A in the Mut Precinct. PM II<sup>2</sup>, 272 (22)–(24);

cenotaph at his holy city, perhaps Taharqa also wished to tie his rule to the creative powers of Amen-Re at Thebes. After all, it would be natural to associate Kushite rule of Egypt with the Theban manifestation of Amen, the favorite god of the Kushites in his form at Gebal Barkal, in order to legitimize the reign of a king who might still be considered of foreign extraction. And so Taharqa, and perhaps even Shabaka before him,<sup>167</sup> created a cult center for the national kingship dedicated to its recreation throughout eternity with the solemn favor of Amen-Re, in much the same way as past kings did by building temples at Abydos. Here, it is to the Osireion behind the temple, also called the Cenotaph of Seti I,<sup>168</sup> that the Edifice of Taharqa can be most appropriately compared. The Osireion was originally buried under a great artificial mound of earth thought to be the tomb of Osiris. Within the subterranean chambers of Seti's Cenotaph, the walls of the Great Hall are inscribed with chapters from the Book of the Dead, including the chapter of knowing the names of Osiris,<sup>169</sup> akin to the Edifice's Litany of Re in Staircase A and the ten bas of Amen in room F. The ten bas of Amen do not merely prepare one to come into the presence of the god, but they enable the act of creation itself.<sup>170</sup> Such an act of creation can be seen upon the west wall of the large entrance hall of the Osireion in the form of a scene termed the Vivification of Osiris.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Taking into account the reused blocks of Shabaka in the Edifice of Taharqa, it is entirely possible that Taharqa was only reconsecrating and restoring a monument near the Sacred Lake that had already been built under Shabaka. For the reused blocks, see Parker et al. 1979, 7–8.

<sup>168</sup> M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos* (London, 1904); H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London-Antrim, 1933); D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Zürich, 1994), 183; B. Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel* (Hildesheim, 1983), 425–59. Also see D. Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 163–83.

<sup>169</sup> M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, 3, 8–20; H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, 66.

<sup>170</sup> According to Traunecker, each ba consists of the continuous animated energy of Amen. The first five represent the cosmic universe; the last five are living beings that roam the Earth. Their creative power comes from every being in the cosmos, and as such they enable the primeval Amen to be renewed. See *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 139.

<sup>171</sup> PM VI, 30, scene 21–22; M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, 8–10. Horus, wearing the double crown, stands before

Here Horus and his Earthly representative, the king, play a vital role within the ritual processions and ceremonies that resurrect the cycle of life within the body of Osiris. Upon the east wall of a passage leading to the Temple of Seti is represented a scene of the sunrise, while upon the west one can find the sunset.<sup>172</sup>

Unfortunately, the Osireion also shares a less desirable trait with the Edifice: its function as a processional and ritual space is almost as difficult to define as Taharqa's structure adjacent to the Sacred Lake. Frankfort claimed that Seti was the original commissioner of the monument, and that it is indeed his 'cenotaph' or substitute tomb, thus identifying the king, upon his death, with Osiris in the holy city of Abydos.<sup>173</sup> Whether this is true or not, the two monuments certainly share a focus upon death, and through death, the gods—Osiris or Amen-Re—are transformed and reborn. In both monuments the king depends upon the god for his own transformation and the maintenance of justice.<sup>174</sup> It should also be mentioned that Taharqa was himself buried in such an Osireion<sup>175</sup> at Nuri in his homeland of Nubia.<sup>176</sup>

the shrine of his dead and mummiform father offering *ꜥnh* to the nostrils of Osiris, so that he may breathe in life and be reborn.

<sup>172</sup> M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, 20–22. In the sunrise scene, the sunbark is shown held aloft by the Nun. In the center of the bark, and protected on either side by Isis and Nephthys, is a beetle, the symbol of the new sun born from death. Upon the opposite wall is the depiction of the sunset, in this case protected by two serpents.

<sup>173</sup> H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, 27.

<sup>174</sup> J. Assmann, *Ma'at*, 203–11.

<sup>175</sup> It clearly shows elements of an Osiris grave: a raised island in the middle of a low central chamber of 15 × 20 m filled with groundwater. The square pillars also mimic those of Seti's monument. The entire grave was topped by a high pyramidal structure probably meant to represent the Urhügel. See D. Dunham, *Nuri II* (Boston, 1955), 6–16; D. Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 163–83; D. Arnold, "Osiris-Grab (Osireion)," *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, 183; L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 327–28; A. A. Hakem, *Meroitic Architecture*, 279–90.

<sup>176</sup> In his *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 183, Eigner maintains, however, that the Nuri Osireion was not his grave but only a cenotaph, and that the real grave was most likely at Sedeinga. On the other hand, in his article, "Taharqa à Sedeinga," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens II: Religion* (Göttingen, 1984), 1113–17, J. Leclant studies the Sedeinga site and associated Taharqa period blocks and concludes instead that they were reused in a monument of Meroitic date.

In the New Kingdom, a cult of divine rebirth was celebrated either in the guise of the sun god Re, often associated with Amen as Amen-Re, or in the form of Osiris, but an obvious syncretization between the two had not yet taken place.<sup>177</sup> During the Third Intermediate Period and the ensuing Late Period, the Osirian cycle of Amen becomes increasingly popular at Thebes. For example, a profusion of small chapels dedicated to both Amen and Osiris<sup>178</sup> were built in northeast Karnak,<sup>179</sup> and numerous Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty statues dedicated to Amen but representing private individuals holding a shrine containing Osiris have been found at Karnak.<sup>180</sup> Therefore, in the Third Intermediate Period, the Theban god Amen-Re begins to take

<sup>177</sup> Under "Osiris," in *LÄ* IV, 629, John G. Griffiths writes, "The sun god Re is to some extent in conceptual opposition to Osiris, the celestial and the chthonic being contrasted. Yet in the New Kingdom a fusion of the two gods is presented in the setting of the sun god's nocturnal visit to the underworld." Also, see A. Niwinski, "The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the 'State of Amun' in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1987-88), 89-107 who finds evidence for the beginnings of such a syncretization as early as the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, including the scenes from the Litany of Re which includes both the solar and chthonic.

<sup>178</sup> Most of these small chapels were dedicated to both Amen and Osiris together. For an example in the Chapel of Osiris Nebankh, see J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 30-31, figs. 5 and 6 for figures of both gods.

<sup>179</sup> J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 262-92. Among them are the Chapel of Osiris Wennefer Nebdjefa (PM II, 193-94), the Chapel of Osiris Nebankh, called Osiris Paweshebiad (PM II, 194-95; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 23-36), the Chapel of Osiris-Wennefer 'in the Persea Tree' (PM II, 202-3), a small chapel built during Dynasty Twenty-Two and about ten meters northeast of the last chapel (PM II, 203; Leclant, *Recherches*, 41-47), the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished/Temple J renamed by D. Redford as "The House of Isis of the Great Mound-of-the-God of Wese" (PM II, 203-4; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 20, 275-76; D. Redford, "New Light on Temple J at Karnak," *Orientalia* 55 [1986], 1-15), the chapel of Osiris Hekadjet (PM II, 204-6; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 47-54, 264-65, 267-68, 312; R. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV*, 20-21), and the chapel of Osiris of Coptos (PM II, 207; J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 54, 282). For an analysis of such epithets of Osiris, see S. Cauville, *Essai sur la Théologie d'Osiris à Edfou* (Cairo, 1987), 180-87. For an Osirian 'necropolis' or 'catacomb' located at Karnak just north of the Eastern Temple, see F. Leclère and L. Coulon, "La Nécropole Osirienne de la 'Grande Place' à Karnak," in C. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings*, 649-59.

<sup>180</sup> J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 263. For example, the Osiphoros Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty statue in the Walters Art Gallery, W.A.G. 22.174. See G. Roeder, *Mythen und Legenden*

on many of the roles associated with Osiris,<sup>181</sup> as the primeval Amen-*ḏsr*-*c*,<sup>182</sup> Amen Kamutef,<sup>183</sup> and Amenemope.<sup>184</sup>

For example, there is evidence of building activity by Taharqa at the Opet temple in the southwest corner of the Amen precinct in the form of a pylon and small colonnade.<sup>185</sup> Priests of the Opet temple also first appear in Dynasty XXV.<sup>186</sup> The present temple was built by Ptolemy Everget II (VIII), but there are remains

(Zürich-Stuttgart, 1960), pl. 1; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 59-60, pls. 31, 116. In the same catalogue, also see W.A.G. 22.215, W.A.G. 22.206. Also see B. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (New York, 1969), nos. 4, 14, 28, 39, 48; G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de Rois et de particuliers* (Cairo, 1906-25), nos. JE 36746, JE 42900.

<sup>181</sup> For the Osiris cult at Karnak and associated rituals, see P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176*, op. cit. For the fusion of Re and Osiris at Edfu, see S. Cauville, *La Théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*, 187-89; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon* (Berlin, 1952), 574; J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I in Gurna I* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 50-51, 103-4; E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* (Genève, 1975-76), 53-56; J. Assmann, *Sonnenshymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), xv. For the concept that Amun was the true power behind Osiris at Thebes, see C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris II*, 139; R. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV*, 24.

<sup>182</sup> Also see P. Barguet, "Le rituel archaïque de fondation des temples," *RdÉ* (1952), 14-21; C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 303.

<sup>183</sup> H. Jacobsohn, "Kamutef," in *LÄ*, 308-9; H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter*, *ÄF* 8 (Glückstadt, 1955); H. Ricke, *Kamutef-Heiligtum* (Cairo, 1954).

<sup>184</sup> J. von Beckerath, "Amenemope," in *LÄ* I, 195-96. On some different manifestations of Amen for this period, see J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 230-46, and K. Sethe, *Amun*, §16, 26, 111, 115.

<sup>185</sup> The majority of blocks at the site date to either Amenhotep II or to Taharqa. Sandstone architraves were found with the names of Taharqa, possibly coming from a modest colonnade before the Opet Temple. See J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 82-84; M. Azim, "À propos du pylone du temple d'Opet à Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* VIII (1982-85), 51-80. According to the excavation work done by Azim, Taharqa built a pylon (with "en pluie" stippling which is so characteristic of Dynasty XXV according to J. Leclant, *Monuments*, xiv-xv) before the older New Kingdom version of the Opet Temple which was then rebuilt under the Ptolemies.

<sup>186</sup> C. DeWitt, *Les Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet à Karnak*, vol. III (Bruxelles, 1958-68), 172; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, 56-57, no. 166, pls. XXX, CXV. His title is *ḥm nṯr ipt wrt*, "priest of the Opet Temple (at Karnak)." For another title of a priest active at the temple of Opet in Dynasty XXV-XXVI, *ḥm nṯr ipt wrt ms psdt*, "priest in the temple of Opet who was born of the

of a Kushite colonnade in the open court before the hypostyle hall. Reused blocks were also found, not only of Taharqa, but also from the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.<sup>187</sup> All this naturally points to a much older date for the Opet Temple at Karnak. Technically the temple is dedicated to the female hippopotamus deity Ipet, also known as *t3 wrt*, 'the great one' and whose epithets include 'Mother of Kamutef' and 'the One who engenders the god'.<sup>188</sup> At Deir el Bahri and Luxor, she is associated with the divine birth. At the Opet temple, she protects the divine rebirth of her 'son', Osiris, but some of the traditional 'mammisi' scenes also appear here, such as Khnum modeling the newborn king on his pottery wheel and the goddess suckling the royal child.<sup>189</sup> The temple represents, essentially, both the cenotaph or crypt of Osiris as well as his birth house; it is called 'the Place where he is engendered'.<sup>190</sup> As in the Edifice of Taharqa, in the Temple of Opet the Theban god Amen is syncretized with the chthonic god and is completely intertwined in the Osiris cycle.<sup>191</sup> Amen is represented as three generations—grandfather, father, and son.<sup>192</sup> Here, Amen is known as 'the one who created himself, the hidden ba of Osiris'<sup>193</sup> as well as Amen-Wennefer.<sup>194</sup> He is described in both solar and lunar terms. In one key scene the ba of Amen, in the form of a bird, flutters over the prone body of Osiris in order to join with him.<sup>195</sup>

Ennead," see O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des Sarcophages et cercueils Égyptiens* (Copenhagen, 1951), no. 10, p. 46.

<sup>187</sup> C. DeWitt, *Les Inscriptions I*, vi–vii; P. Barguet, "Karnak," *LÄ III*, 346, n. 85; 347, n. 92; J.-C. Degardin, "Correspondances Osiriennes Entre les Temples d'Opet et de Khonsou," *JNES 44* (1985), 119. Traunecker proposes that the Ptolemaic temple of Opet replaced a Kushite building already there. See C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 139.

<sup>188</sup> C. DeWitt, *Les Inscriptions I*, vii.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, viii.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 152–57.

<sup>192</sup> K. Sethe, *Amun*, §115; A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, 107.

<sup>193</sup> K. DeWitt, *Les Inscriptions III*, 148.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 149.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 150. He is called 'Amen-Re, the venerable ba of Osiris that places itself over the body in the house of birth'. Osiris is described as 'Resident of Thebes, King of *ipt-wrt*, reposing on his bed in the House of his Engenderment, King of the gods, power of the gods, It is Re, he is Re'.

The crypt of the Opet Temple provides a stunning parallel to room F in the Edifice of Taharqa. Not only is the room subterranean, but it contains a depiction of the ten bas of Amen.<sup>196</sup> One could even assume that the Ptolemies duplicated and incorporated the scene in room F of the Edifice of Taharqa into the crypt of Opet, or even that they copied a scene of the ten bas which had already been built on the site of the Temple of Opet by Taharqa, placing it in the same subterranean context. In this temple, the bas of Amen regenerate the god Osiris; they are his dynamic essence. In the Edifice of Taharqa, they cause the primeval god Amen-*ḏsr-c* to be reborn.

There is also evidence that Taharqa was active in the area where the Dynasty XXIX Hakoris chapel now stands, just outside the first pylon on the southern side.<sup>197</sup> Again, some of the same themes found in the Edifice of Taharqa are found here. Both buildings have the Litany of Re in common, and both include scenes of the transformations (death and rebirth) of the sun god. Traunecker maintains that the Edifice of Taharqa and the Hakoris Chapel had essentially the same religious role, especially in light of the fact that Hakoris probably replaced or completed an already existing Kushite monument on the site. An inscription on the west door also attributes Taharqa with the initiation of its construction.<sup>198</sup> The texts of the Hakoris chapel deal with the Decade Festival and Amen's trans-

<sup>196</sup> The ten bas of Amen are thought to have been created for the purpose of empowering Amen in his new Late Period roles as a creator god and protector of Maat. See C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 139–40. Just as the fourteen bas of Re were needed in the complex of Re-Horakhty at Medinet Habu for rebirth and the solar cycle to take place, so too are the ten bas of Amen required for his new role as creator god. Each ba is an emanation of Amen, animated energy and perpetual creative power. The first five constitute the cosmic universe, while the second are living beings and animals. The sixth ba is Amen, representing the 'living ba' of the royal ka, the god Amen and the king intertwined. The bas of Amen represent the creative power to rejuvenate the dead Osiris (*ibid.*, 139).

<sup>197</sup> It should also be mentioned that Hakoris was also active in the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, where he built a small annex, decorated with scenes of the Decade Festival. See U. Hölscher, *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 55; M. Doresse, "Le Dieu voilé," *RdÉ 23* (1971), 122–26, pl. 7.

<sup>198</sup> C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achoris*, 138.

formations as Amen-*dsr*<sup>c</sup> of the Kom Djeme mound, again syncretizing the god with the Osirian cycle.<sup>199</sup>

Perhaps it is best to remember that all that is left of the Edifice of Taharqa is the crypt.<sup>200</sup> For example, Ptolemaic crypts seem to have been used to store ritual objects, more specifically statues of deities.<sup>201</sup> Traunecker indicates crypt nos. 4 and 5 of Karnak's Opet Temple were decorated with representations of the statues of, among others, Osiris and Isis, and that these must have been stored here and used in the ritual functions depicted and described in that temple.<sup>202</sup> The Eastern crypt at Dendera was ostensibly where ka statues of deities would be stored until their ritual appearance in the open, the *hnm itn*, where the god joins the rays of the sun on the roof of the temple, designated as the places-of-seeing-the-disk.<sup>203</sup> Waitkus raises the possibility that the statues appeared and joined with the rays of the sun many times during the year, and not just for the New Year's Festival.<sup>204</sup> It should also be remembered that the entrance of the Eastern crypt at Dendera was

very closely associated with the (*wsh*) *w<sup>c</sup>bt*,<sup>205</sup> such as at Dendera, Kalabsha, El-Qala, Deir el-Schelwit, and Schanhur.<sup>206</sup> Waitkus concludes that the crypts were used in rituals celebrating the cults of chthonic or primordial gods, deities who needed to be awakened and reborn with a procession to the chapels upon the roof of the temple.<sup>207</sup> The texts in the Eastern crypt and in the roof shrines at Dendera name these gods as *ddw*, 'forefathers' or 'Urgötter' and seem preoccupied with granting them *nh m hrw*, 'life of the day'.<sup>208</sup> Waitkus even briefly mentions the Edifice of Taharqa as the forerunner of such a crypt, concerned with underworld deities and their revivification.<sup>209</sup>

It would not be illogical then, given the above Ptolemaic comparison, to suggest that the Edifice of Taharqa utilizes the vertical axis and consists of both a crypt and perhaps even a kind of *w<sup>c</sup>bt*,<sup>210</sup> dedicated to the divine rebirth of the

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 139. For a Ptolemaic text on the east thickness of the gate of the nearby Khonsu Temple within the Karnak Precinct, see A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, 34, 100–111, and M. Gabolde, "L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 249.

<sup>200</sup> For crypts in general, see C. Traunecker, "Krypta," *LÄ* III, 823ff.; C. Traunecker, "Cryptes connues et inconnues des temples tardifs," *BSFE* 129 (1994), 21–24; L. Pantalacci and C. Traunecker, "Le Temple d'el-Qal'a à Coptos," *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 383–84; D. Arnold, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Baukunst*, under "Krypta"; W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten des Hathortemples von Dendera* (Mainz, 1997), 3–4.

<sup>201</sup> W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten*, 233–34.

<sup>202</sup> C. Traunecker, "Cryptes décorées, cryptes anépi-graphes," in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), 574–75; C. Traunecker, "Cryptes connues et inconnues," *BSFE* 129 (1994), 42.

<sup>203</sup> W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten*, 254–55. For the *hnm-itn* ritual for the primeval gods at Hibis Temple, see J. Osing, "Dekoration des Tempels von Hibis," in *Studies Lichtheim*, 763. For the rooftop complex at Dendera associated with the rebirth of Osiris, see S. Cauville, "Les mystères d'Osiris à Dendera: Interprétation des chapelles osiriennes," *BSFE* 112 (June, 1988), 23–36. For the rooftop chapels in the Hibis Temple, see S. Aufrère, J. Golvin, J. Goyon, *L'Égypte restituée*, 2, 91–93. For the ritual at Edfu, see M. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, BdE 20 (Cairo, 1949–54), 418.

<sup>204</sup> W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten*, 266.

<sup>205</sup> *WB* I, 284.1–2 translates *w<sup>c</sup>bt* as "die reine Stätte." For the *wsh* *w<sup>c</sup>bt*, f or "court of its wabet" at Dendera, see C. Traunecker, "Les ouabet des temples d'el-Qal'a et de Chenhour," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, D. Kurth, ed., *ÄAT* 33,1 (Wiesbaden, 1995), 251. Of course, the Edifice of Taharqa is also called a *wsh*.

<sup>206</sup> W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten*, 266–67. For a complete list of the ten known *w<sup>c</sup>bt*s and a discussion thereof, see C. Traunecker, "Les ouabet des temples d'el-Qal'a et de Chenhour," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 241–82. There is evidence that the Decade Festival was celebrated at Deir el-Shelwit from the 2nd cen. A.D. See C. M. Zivie-Choche, *Le Temple de Deir Chelouit III* (Cairo, 1982), text no. 126, p. 90.

<sup>207</sup> W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten*, 268–69. Waitkus also cites Assmann who sees the forerunner of the *hnm-itn* ritual in connection with the Opening of the Mouth ceremonies when the mummy is united with the sun in the forecourt of the tomb complex. See *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart, 1984), 55–56. Also see J. Osing, "Dekoration des Tempels von Hibis," *Studies Lichtheim*, 761–62; W. Waitkus, "Zum Funktionalen Zusammenhang von Krypta, Wabet und Goldhaus," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, op. cit. Others suggest that the *w<sup>c</sup>bt*, the room in a Ptolemaic temple, derives from the *w<sup>c</sup>bt*, the place of mummification. See H. Altenmüller, *LÄ* I, 752–54; J. Goyon, *Ritual Funéraires* (Paris, 1972), 24, n. 3; *WB* I, 284.4.

<sup>208</sup> W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den Unteren Krypten des Hathortemples von Dendera*, 269–71.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 272.

<sup>210</sup> To this end, it should also be noted that the sacred lake, to which the Edifice of Taharqa is adjacent, is also called *šī w<sup>c</sup>b*, at least by a priest of the Twenty-second dynasty. Block

primeval gods through the Decade Festival, in this case, Amen  $\underline{d}sr^c$ , Amenemope, and the Ogdoad. The crypt includes the staircase entrance A and rooms B through F. The  $w^c bt$  would be represented by the superstructure's covered room to the south and the open air sun court, both postulated by Leclant and where Goyon proposed that the primeval god would make his triumphant appearance following his journey to the grave of the Ogdoad on the West Bank. Both chthonic and solar imagery are connected. In this one small temple, the solar open court and room D, dedicated to the death and rebirth of the sun, are combined with "funerary" books and archaic Osirian festivals associated with the funerary mound. Perhaps then, the Edifice of Taharqa is a precursor of the  $w^c bt$ , the open room of appearances and covered side room where the god's statue spent the night. To this point, I would like to make the tentative suggestion that the location of the Edifice of Taharqa is precisely where one would expect, according to the model of the Ptolemaic temple. If one imagines the main Karnak precinct as an enclosed temple, the Edifice is located on the same approximate spot as the Ptolemaic  $w^c bt$  in most temples: to the south of the main axis, toward the rear of the temple but not yet on an axis with the most holy sanctuary (fig. 16).<sup>211</sup> Those Ptolemaic temples lying parallel to the river and in a north-south orientation as one enters the precinct, such as Edfu and Kom Ombo, are the exception. In these cases, the  $w^c bt$

lies to the east of the sanctuary; nonetheless, they are still to the right of the sanctuary when one walks toward the rear of the temple.<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, I would also suggest that the location of the Sokar-Osirian suite in a Ptolemaic temple oriented east-west, in the back northeast corner, could correspond to the many Osirian chapels interspersed throughout the same northeast corner of the main Karnak area.<sup>213</sup> Nonetheless, it must also be remembered that this part of Karnak was not taken into the main Amen precinct until Dynasty XXX,<sup>214</sup> and at the time of Taharqa would have been enclosed within its own separate but adjacent ritual space.

#### The Edifice of Taharqa and the Role of the King

At first it may seem an odd arrangement to find a structure so associated with death within the temple precinct of Karnak. Yet as Assmann<sup>215</sup> has indicated, the underworld texts chosen for the Edifice of Taharqa actually belong to a so-called "kulttheologischer Traktat," a collection of descriptive, liturgical, or hymnal texts associated with the solar cult ritual which was ideally led by the king as chief priest and guarantor of ma'at and the continued fertility of his land. Naturally, death and subsequent rebirth express the essential mysteries shared by all Egyptian cult and mortuary temples.<sup>216</sup> If one looks closer, not far behind these profound philosophies of state religion lies a national ideology and political agenda. The commissioning of such a building prominently placed within the largest state

Louvre C. 258 (E3336); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 111; B. Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel*, 174. Traunecker suggests another Dynasty XXV structure as the precursor of the  $w^c bt$ , namely the sun chapel in the rear of Taharqa's Kawa temple. See "Les ouabet des temples d'el-Qal'a et de Chenhour," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 272-73.

<sup>211</sup> This works even better if we assume that the sanctuary of Karnak was in the Akh-menu during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, rather than where the Ptolemaic sanctuary is now located because the  $w^c bt$  of a Ptolemaic/Roman temple is not immediately next to the sanctuary, but rather situated next to one of the offering halls in front of the sanctuary. For the argument that the Akh-menu was the most holy sanctuary at this time period, see F. Daumas, "L'interprétation des temples Égyptiens anciens à la lumière des temples Gréco-Romains," *Cahiers de Karnak* VI (1973-77), 261-84; N. Beaux, "L'architecture des niches du santuaire d'Amon dans le temple de l'akh-menou à Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* IX (1993), 101-2.

<sup>212</sup> Seven out of the ten known  $w^c bts$  are located to the right of the officiant walking toward the back of the temple. See C. Traunecker, "Les ouabet des temples d'el-Qal'a et de Chenhour," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 259.

<sup>213</sup> For a similar idea of spatial meaning, see L. Coulson, F. Leclère, and S. Marchand, "'Catacombes' Osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* X (1995), 221.

<sup>214</sup> See D. Redford, "An Interim Report on the Second Season of Work at the Temple of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Karnak," *JEA* 59 (1973), 20; L. Coulson, F. Leclère, S. Marchand, "'Catacombs' Osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* X (1995), 220-23.

<sup>215</sup> J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970); *ibid.*, *Re und Amen* (Freiburg-Göttingen, 1983).

<sup>216</sup> D. Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägyptens* (Ithaca, 1997), 40-41.



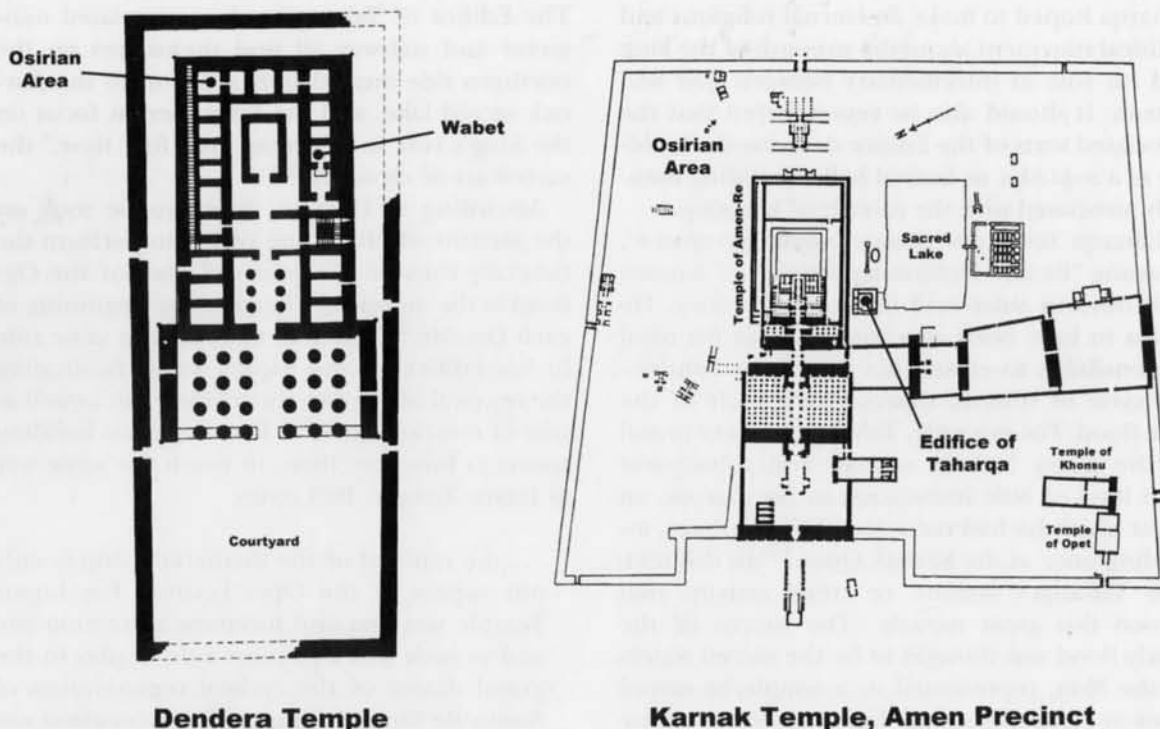


Fig. 16. Location of the Edifice of Taharqa and Osirian buildings at Karnak compared to the location of the *w<sup>c</sup>bt* and Sokar-Osiris suite at Dendera temple.

temple eternally tied Taharqa and his dynasty to the city of Thebes. The Kushite dynasty built many colonnades and chapels, and they embellished many already-existing temples in Thebes, presumably to legitimize their own rule as foreigners.<sup>217</sup> The numerous Kushite building projects within precincts dedicated to Amen bound the manifestation of Amen of Thebes together with the southern manifestation, Amen of Gebel Barkal, the god of the Kushite kings.<sup>218</sup> Therefore, Taharqa hastened the association of a local

god with the Egyptian national god. Thereafter through partnership with the king, the form of Amen worshipped in Nubia became the creative and solar god of the southern capital of Egypt. The Edifice of Taharqa stands as not only a religious, but also political, comment on the strength of the kingship, especially one with foreign roots that might require proper backing.<sup>219</sup> Moreover, the Kushite kings were all interred within their native homeland, and so it would be expedient to create a replacement mortuary presence in the southern capital city. By building the Edifice,

<sup>217</sup> For Piye and his legitimization efforts, i.e., the Piye Stela, see J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt IV* (Chicago, 1906–7), 796–883; N. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 8862 et 47086–47089* (Cairo, 1981); K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)* (Warminster, 1973), 363–78; N. Grimal, *A History of ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 335–43.

<sup>218</sup> J. Leclant, *Recherches*, 230–31. For the southern manifestation of Amen-Re, see P. Pamminger, "Amun und Luxor—Der Widder und das Kultbild," *BzS 5* (1992), 93–140.

<sup>219</sup> R. Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period," in *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu, CA, 1990); see also R. Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 6–7, and E. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, 22–24. For archaism to achieve political legitimacy in regards to the Twenty-second Dynasty, see A. Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 57.

Taharqa hoped to make an eternal religious and political statement about the strength of the king and his role as intermediary between god and human. It should also be remembered that the associated texts of the Edifice describe the building as a *wšht ḥbyṯ*, or festival hall, a building naturally associated with the rebirth of kingship.

Taharqa took the throne name *ḥw-nfrtm-rꜥ*, meaning "Re and Nefertem protect me," a name with obvious solar and fertile associations. He seems to have been very interested in his royal responsibility to ensure *ma'at* and the continuous cycle of rebirth, especially the cycle of the Nile flood. For example, Taharqa was very proud of the heavy Nubian rainfall and subsequent high level of Nile inundation in his year six, an event which he had recorded multiple times, including once at the Karnak Quay.<sup>220</sup> In this text, it is Taharqa's actions, or ritual activity, that caused this great miracle. The source of the yearly flood was thought to be the sacred waters of the Nun, represented in a temple by sacred lakes or nilometers, and Taharqa seems to have been attracted to those parts of a temple. He restored not only the sacred lake at Karnak but also those in the Mut and Monthu precincts.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>220</sup> J. von Beckerath, "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)," *JARCE* 5 (1966), 48 and 53; J. Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte* (München-Wien, 1996), 396–400; L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 141–42, 173; L. Török, *The Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom*, 128–31. Taharqa also recorded the events of his year six at Mata'na and Coptos (V. Vikentief, *La haute crue du Nil et l'averse de l'an 6 du roi Taharqa* [Cairo, 1930]) as well as Dahshur (H. Altenmüller, A. M. Moussa, "Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse," *SAK* 9 [1981], 57–84) and Tanis (J. Leclant and J. Yoyotte, "Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa," *Kemi* 10 [1949], 28–42).

An excerpt from this text reads, "Wunder geschahen in der Zeit Seine Majestät im Jahre 6 seiner Thronbesteigung, dergleichen nicht gesehen wurde seit der Zeit der Vorfahren, weil sein Vater Amun-Re ihn so sehr liebte. Seine Majestät erbat eine Überschwemmung, von seinem Vater Amun-Re, Herrn von Karnak, um zu verhindern, daß in seiner Zeit eine Dürre eintritt. Da verwirklichte sich nun alles, was von den Lippen Seine Majestät hervorging, auf der Stelle." Translated by Assmann, J., *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte* (München-Wien 1996), p. 397.

<sup>221</sup> C. Traunecker, "Les rites de l'eau à Karnak d'après des textes de la rampe de Taharqa," *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 195–236;

The Edifice of Taharqa and its associated nilometer and stairway all find themselves on the northern side immediately adjacent to the Karnak sacred lake, and the texts therein focus on the king's role in renewing "the first time," the sacred act of creation.<sup>222</sup>

According to Doresse, Amenemope took on the identity of Horus son of Isis to perform the funerary rites for the primeval gods of the Ogdoad at the mound of Djeme at the beginning of each Decade.<sup>223</sup> Taharqa takes on the same role in his Edifice by the Sacred Lake, facilitating the renewal of his own divine kingship as well as that of creation itself.<sup>224</sup> The enigmatic building seems to function, then, in much the same way as Luxor Temple. Bell states:

... the renewal of the divine kingship is only one aspect of the Opet Festival. For Luxor Temple was first and foremost a creation site and as such had a primary role to play in the grand drama of the cyclical regeneration of Amun-Re himself. The god's rejuvenation was achieved through his return to the very place, even the exact moment, of creation at Luxor, and the triumph over chaos represented by the

B. Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel* (Hildesheim, 1983), 153–74. Assmann also points out that Taharqa seems to be responsible for moving the monumental granite scarab of Amenhotep III to the northwest corner of the sacred lake; see Assmann, "Chepre," *LÄ* I, 935.

<sup>222</sup> For example, in room D, the knowledge of the king and his solar aspects are the focus of a text that reads, "He knows the rebirths [of Re and his transformations that take place in the flood. He knows] this mysterious [door] through which the great god comes out. He knows the one who is in the day bark and the great image that is in the night bark . . . Re has given Taharqa to the living eternally and forever, in order to judge men, to pacify gods . . . [The living who depend upon him are in happiness as (those) who depend upon] Re-Harakhty . . .]. Restored by Goyon from known parallels, Parker et al. 1979, 39–40.

<sup>223</sup> M. Doresse, "Le Dieu voilé," *RdÉ* 25 (1973), 99.

<sup>224</sup> For the concept that kingship derives from Horus, son of Osiris, and the Sun god or creator god, see L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44, no. 4 (1985), 256. For the royal ka associated with the Edifice of Taharqa, see L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 277–79. For Assmann's connection between royal rule and creation during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, specifically the Shabako Stone, see *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte* (München-Wien, 1996), 383–96.

annual rebirth of the kingship ensured Amun's own re-creation. The two miracles are inextricably intertwined in the celebration of the Opet Festival.<sup>225</sup>

In this sense, the Decade Festival functioned for Taharqa analogous to Luxor temple where the Feast of the Opet facilitated the rule of kings of the New Kingdom. In the Edifice of Taharqa, the Primeval gods intimately associated with the

"first time" and the rebirth of creation have been expanded to fit with the theology of the time. While previous Kushite kings, such as Piye, maintained the tradition of the Opet Festival,<sup>226</sup> Taharqa and his representatives at Thebes chose to focus on the Decade Festival and the sacred rites of Djeme.

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<sup>225</sup> L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44, no. 4 (1985), 290.

<sup>226</sup> W. Murnane, "Opetfest," *LÄ* IV, 575; N. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi('ankh)*, 44.

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