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The “Kernbau” of the Temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir al-Bahari

Luc Gabolde

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JOYFUL IN THEBES
EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF
BETSY M. BRYAN

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE
OF ANCIENT EGYPT

NUMBER ONE



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Edited by
Richard Jasnow and Kathlyn M. Cooney

With the assistance of
Katherine E. Davis



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BETSY M. BRYAN

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Betsy Bryan in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.

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Richard Jasnow
Kara (Kathlyn) Cooney

INTRODUCTION

The editors of this book were deeply moved by the enormously positive response to the invitation to contribute to this collection of articles in honor of our friend and colleague, Betsy Bryan. Distinguished scholars, despite all of their other pressing obligations, volunteered to write. Even more remarkable, perhaps, most actually submitted their articles on time. While we could not predict the response to our initial invitation, we had in fact suspected that undertaking this project would indeed be a joyful experience. Having worked with Betsy for years, we knew that few Egyptologists have as many friends and colleagues as she throughout the world. Frankly, a major challenge to the editors was simply compiling a list of possible contributors from such a large circle of potential invitees. It seemed necessary to maintain an Egyptological focus for the volume while at the same time keeping it within practical bounds. We know well that we have omitted some who would have gladly participated. We apologize to them and hope they will understand our dilemma. The present volume is only a token of the great good will and esteem which Betsy has earned; it hardly represents the sum total of all her friends and well-wishers within the Academe.

It is often said of a particular scholar that she or he has a wide a range of interests. While this is sometimes mere rhetoric, in Betsy's case the phrase is perfectly apt. The imposing breadth of topics treated in this Festschrift, from Pre-Dynastic to Late Antiquity, truly reflects Betsy's Egyptological interests. A glance at the table of contents reveals, fittingly, that many authors wrote about New Kingdom objects from an art historical perspective or dealt with excavations and standing monuments, particularly those located in Thebes. Nevertheless, several articles treated philological subjects from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman period. Other contributors examined historical or gender issues. A few explored topics strictly speaking outside of Egypt proper; thus both Nubia and the Near East are represented. Those not knowing Betsy may doubt that she should be seriously interested in so many subjects. Nevertheless, her friends will surely agree that this rich diversity of interests is one of the most striking characteristics of Betsy's scholarly persona. Not only is she receptive to topics outside of her "formal" specialties, but she has the background knowledge and intellectual curiosity to engage productively with them. This point was quickly impressed upon Richard when in 1995 he began team-teaching Egyptian texts with her. Once, aware that Betsy had returned to Baltimore from Egypt around midnight, after a long excavation season, he hardly expected her for class early the next morning. Betsy nevertheless appeared, enthusiastic as always, declaring, "she could not bear to miss reading this particular Coptic Gnostic text." Some time after that he was equally amazed to learn that, before Richard's arrival at Hopkins she had also taught Demotic. We suspect few art historians have felt the urge to teach Demotic, but, as Betsy has said, "she thought it was important that the students know this stage of Egyptian." And so she taught it. Richard thus realized early on that Betsy was no "narrow specialist." Here was a colleague with whom one could talk about many scholarly topics in the expectation of receiving really constructive feedback and advice.

Of course, Betsy's interest in Coptic Gnostic texts and Demotic should hardly have been surprising. The graduate program at Yale was strongly historical and philological. She wrote her very much text-based thesis on the reign of Thutmose IV under the supervision of William Kelly Simpson, a scholar equally at home in art and language. Philology is therefore very much at the core of her Egyptological soul. It was really after receiving the doctorate that she proceeded to make her name as an art historian, with such groundbreaking exhibitions as that on Amenhotep III in the Cleveland Museum and the Louvre (in collaboration with Arielle Kozloff and Larry Berman). Already as a student she had participated in archaeological excavations, beginning with Donald Redford at the Akhenaten

Temple Project (1977–1980). Since 1993 she has staged annual expeditions—first at the Tomb of Suemniwet (Theban Tomb 92) on the West Bank and then at the Temple of Mut in Karnak.¹ This last project is a massive undertaking, involving excavation, epigraphy, conservation, and restoration of the monuments on a large scale. In addition to the many significant finds, Betsy and her team have been able to reconstruct such structures as the “Drinking Portico of Hatshepsut,” which now forms part of an “open-air” museum at the site. Many of us have had the opportunity to learn something about the various subdisciplines comprising Egyptology. A philologist may join an excavation for a season or two, an archaeologist may intern at a museum for a semester. However, Betsy’s intense work in these very different fields is clearly of an entirely different order. It is precisely this sustained engagement with philology, archaeology, and art history which gives her a unique Egyptological profile. The most casual reader of her articles and books quickly observes that she marshals evidence from all three subdisciplines (if not more) in her investigations of a given subject.

If Betsy’s scholarly work is nothing else, it is holistic—taking into account the materiality, production history, social importance, ritual place, and visual quality. She never looks at a tomb painting without considering the entire *chaîne d’opératoire*—which craftsmen painted which parts of a given tomb scene, whether sparkling yellow orpiment or the bright orange of realgar were included and in which scenes, what social markers were included in a painting and why. Her work always treats the entire monument or the entire assemblage, and beyond. It goes without saying that she can rattle off most of the Theban Tomb numbers together with their owners and titles, to the consternation of her graduate students. Her recent work, lectures, and articles on the festivals of drunkenness in Thebes are a *tour de force* of holistic examination, drawing on Theban tomb scenes, religious hymns, temple scenes and architecture, historical treatises, and arcane ritual instructions.² All are marshaled into a nuanced and beautifully intricate discussion of human behavior. She teaches her graduate students to look at Egyptian production, be it text or object, in the same holistic manner—what stone was the statue made of and what does this tell us about craft production? Where was the text placed and who was its intended audience? Was the piece reworked or recut? Where was the focus of attention meant to be drawn? Her work on women’s studies is particularly illuminating: simultaneously social, historical, anthropological, and visual, she has, for example, deftly swept aside outdated patriarchal assumptions about female kings like Hatshepsut (including some about her possible affairs) and placed Egyptian female power in its larger context of kingship, dynastic succession, elite power systems, and the Egyptian desire for continuity.

Teaching has always been central to Betsy’s scholarly activity. Having begun as an Adjunct Assistant Professor in Ancient History at Marymount Manhattan College (1978–1986) and as a lecturer at Yale (1980–1982), she came to Johns Hopkins in 1986. She was named the Alexander Badawy Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology in 1997. Thanks to her efforts, Hopkins has a vigorous graduate program in Egyptology. It is no surprise that applicants from all over the world have sought to study with her. Betsy has always taught far more than was required, both on the undergraduate and graduate levels. She has carefully balanced her offerings in language and art history. She has also presented regularly the essential introductory survey classes to ancient Egypt. Having led the effort to renovate the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum and to arrange for the long-term loan of many pieces from the Eton Collection, discussed in more detail below, Betsy has made first-hand examination of the objects an integral part of her art-historical classes.

As a teacher, Betsy impresses upon her students the importance of approaching a particular problem of ancient Egypt using all the available evidence. A theoretical framework is important, but lasting results require a first-rate knowledge of the material. You must “own the material,” as she says. Naturally, this is an aspirational goal; a scholar

1. The large site is divided between the Brooklyn Museum of Art Archaeological Expedition to the Precinct of Mut, directed by Richard Fazzini, and the Johns Hopkins University Expedition, directed by Betsy.

2. See, e.g., “Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, ed. J. Galán, B. Bryan, and P. Dorman, SAOC 69 (=Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop = Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010) (Chicago, 2014), 93–123.

constantly seeks to deepen his or her knowledge. A scholar never stands still and must be prepared to take risks. Clearly, Betsy herself has always been ready to explore new lines of research and to ask new questions. This willingness to face fresh challenges and never repeat herself makes her an exciting teacher and popular lecturer. Kara remembers a particular teaching moment that made an impression. In her first year of graduate school, in her first art-history seminar, Betsy asked Kara to present and critically compare the exhibition catalogue on Amenhotep III (the lauded *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*) with other academic work on the Eighteenth Dynasty king. Not only was this a daunting assignment for a beginning graduate student to be performed in front of her advisor, but it made clear to Kara that Betsy was entirely open to scrutiny and criticism. Betsy once said that some scholars are willing to change their minds and admit they were wrong; others stick to their story forever, especially once it has been immortalized in print. Betsy is, thankfully, of the former category.

While certainly an innovative scholar, Betsy can be proudly “old school” as a teacher. Students in Betsy’s Egyptian language classes know her systematic approach to texts. They can expect questions about the grammar and vocabulary of every sentence. Of course, there is a purpose to this preoccupation with philological detail; her goal is to enable the students to recognize the meaning and significance of the text. Aware that a simple resolution is often impossible in ancient Egyptian, she tries to ensure that the students understand clearly the nature of the problems. Her abomination is a superficial explanation of a text or the easy acceptance of an “establishment” rendering. Betsy happily reads with students from virtually every genre known from ancient Egypt: literature, religion, medicine, magic, history, or economics. While of course not neglecting the core works, such as Ptahhotep or Sinuhe, she always keeps in mind the individual interests of her students in such reading classes. If a student would like to explore more specialized areas, Betsy has never hesitated to set up independent studies in such topics as Nubian period Texts or Hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

Betsy has been closely associated with museums through her entire career. While living in New York, she was a Research Associate with the Brooklyn Museum (1983–1986), establishing enduring scholarly and personal relationships of great importance in her academic development. Having moved to Baltimore, Betsy became deeply involved in the reinstallations of the Egyptian collections in both the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian (1993–2000) and the Walters Art Museum (1996–2000). A particular highpoint was the exhibition “The Quest for Immortality,” which she organized with Erik Hornung for the National Gallery of Art. The above mentioned 1992 Cleveland Amenhotep III exhibition, hailed as “extraordinary,” certainly stimulated the study of that seminal period of Egyptian history.³ It is thus natural that, in addition to her teaching, research, and fieldwork, Betsy is the Director of the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Together with her colleagues at the Museum and with the students, she has been working to set up an online catalogue of the objects in the Museum. She and her Museum colleagues have successfully applied for substantial grants to fund this catalogue project. Visitors to the Museum can often see groups of students, both undergraduate and graduate, closely examining a scarab or seal under microscopes. Sanchita Balachandran, the Curator/Conservator at the Archaeological Museum, who collaborated with Betsy on the new installation, has been ideally placed to observe Betsy’s interaction with Egyptian objects. We quote here Sanchita’s remarks, reflecting the point of view of a scientifically trained conservator:

I’ve long admired the fact that she loves the full object, the weight of it, the materiality of it, and doesn’t see an object as a mere substrate upon which text is inscribed. And she wants to know the details, the tiny technological details—such as her obsession with how the bow drill really worked—that have everything to do with how the final object was produced.

Betsy’s friends will immediately recognize how accurate is another of Sanchita’s observations: “What I love about talking to Betsy about objects is that she immediately gets drawn into them, and often loses track of the many other meetings she has scheduled.”

3. See, e.g., D. O’Connor and E. Cline, eds., *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor, 1998), v.

Having traveled yearly (often twice yearly) to Egypt since at least 1977, Betsy has developed a close attachment to the land and people. She has made a special point of training young Egyptian Egyptologists in the Hopkins graduate program. The articles of these scholars in this volume bear witness to her mentorship. Betsy's dedication to strengthening cultural ties between Egypt and the United States also finds expression in her activity on behalf of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), which promotes and expedites fieldwork in Egypt. Despite her heavy scholarly and university obligations, she has selflessly served on many important committees of the American Research Center in Egypt.

As colleagues have probably noted, the title of this Festschrift, *Joyful in Thebes*, evokes the various New Kingdom eulogies to the ancient capital. Certainly, Betsy has been closely associated with both ancient Thebes and modern Luxor through the years. However, her contributions to our knowledge of this important city go beyond her own personal research. Some years ago, for example, she began a series of extremely productive workshops with Peter Dorman of the Oriental Institute (and now of the American University in Beirut) for the purpose of bringing together scholars involved in all aspects of Theban Studies. These meetings have encouraged an open exchange of ideas and information in a most congenial setting. The workshops have explored such subjects as Ptolemaic Thebes, sacred space, and the iconography and ideology of war in New Kingdom Thebes. The latest publication of papers from this series is *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (2014), co-edited with Peter Dorman and Jose Galán.

Art Historian, Archaeologist, Philologist, and Historian, an impressive list of designations no doubt ... Still, academic credentials and achievements only partly explain why so many felt honored to contribute to this Festschrift. Betsy Bryan has always been more than a researcher; she has been a benevolent, if exacting, mentor to her students and a supportive ally to her colleagues. A true lover of Egypt and Egyptology, a believer in the importance of Near Eastern Studies to the Humanities, she has often sacrificed her own work (and time) for the good of our discipline and of the University. She is one of those fortunate people who have truly made a difference both as a scholar and as a person.

We conclude in the second person singular. As a modest individual, Betsy, this display of affection by your colleagues and students may well embarrass you. Still, we know you will accept this Festschrift with your characteristic grace and good will. May you continue for many years to be "joyful in Thebes!"

Richard Jasnow
Kara Cooney



Betsy examining archaeological plan drawn by a graduate student; back of the Mut Precinct. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy in conversation with the conservator Hiroko Kariya at the Open Air Museum at the Temple of Mut. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy recording excavation pottery from the Temple of Mut. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy (with Dr. Zahi Hawass, then secretary general of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, and others) at the discovery of the recarved statue of Queen Tiy (now on display at the Cairo Museum), the Temple of Mut, 2006 season. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Above: Betsy at Sedinga Temple, Sudan, 1989. Photograph courtesy of Larry Berman

Left: Betsy measuring a colossal statue in the British Museum. Photograph courtesy of Arielle Kozloff

FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES AT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The Department of Near Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins prides itself on its collegial atmosphere and the harmonious cooperation between its subdisciplines. We are happy to acknowledge that we owe a great deal of this tradition of mutual interest and encouragement to our much admired and cherished colleague Betsy Bryan. Since joining the Department as an Assistant Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology in 1986, working with Professor Hans Goedicke to build the Egyptology Program, Betsy has always reached out to colleagues and students in the other subfields and encouraged a free flow of ideas and interactions. Having studied Akkadian at Yale, where she first developed a deep interest in the interaction between Egypt and the Near East, Betsy effortlessly established collegial and intellectual relationships with her other fellow departmental faculty members, Jerry Cooper, Del Hillers, Georg Krotkoff, Kyle McCarter, Glenn Schwartz, and Ray Westbrook. This group fostered a spirit of scholarly interaction, encouraged students to explore classes in other fields, and supported one another's projects. Indeed, Betsy already knew Glenn and Ray from Yale, all three having been graduate students there.

While the core faculty of the Department has, of course, changed and grown since the 1980s, the spirit of cooperation has continued. Betsy's empathy for, and interest in, sister-fields served her well when she chaired the Department of Near Eastern Studies for a number of years and helped to solidify and expand our program. In a broader context, Betsy has also been an extremely active university citizen, serving on high level committees and advising the administration on strategy. In this arena, she has been an advocate and eloquent spokesperson for the role of the Humanities (and of Near Eastern Studies) in university education, and we greatly appreciate her work in this regard, as we do all her efforts on behalf of Near Eastern Studies and Egyptology.

Prof. Glenn Schwartz, Chair

Jerry Cooper
Paul Delnero
Marian Feldman
Michael Harrower
Richard Jasnow
Jacob Lauinger
Ted Lewis
Kyle McCarter

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

///	indicates damage
BCE	before the Common Era
Bd.	(German) <i>Band</i> , “volume”
BD	Book of the Dead
BM	British Museum, London
BP	before the present
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn
ca.	<i>circa</i> , approximately
cat.	catalogue
CE	Common Era
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
CG	Catalogue Général
cm(s)	centimeter(s)
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute
col(s).	column(s)
Dem	Demotic
diss	dissertation
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by, edition
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth
fasc.	fascicle
ff.	following
fig(s).	figure(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)
GEM	Grand Egyptian Museum
ht.	height
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place
IFAO	Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire
JE	JdE = <i>Journal d’Entrée</i> , Cairo Museum
KV	Valley of the Kings
lit.	literally
m	meter
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n(n).	note(s)

NK	New Kingdom
no(s).	number(s)
NYHS	New York Historical Society
o.	ostrakon
OI	Oriental Institute (Chicago)
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
P., Pap.	Papyrus
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PC	Papyrus Carlsberg
PT	Pyramid Text(s)
q.v.	<i>quo vide</i> , which see
RSV	Revised Standard Version (Old Testament)
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SR	Special Register
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word
Taf.	<i>Tafel</i> (German)
trans.	translator
TT	Theban tomb (tomb number)
UC	University College (London)
UCL	University College London
var.	variant
vol(s).	volume(s)
vs.	verso

BIBLIOGRAPHIC

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1960–.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, 1979–.
ACE	Australian Centre for Egyptology
ACER	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports. Sydney, 1989–.
ACES	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies. Sydney, 1989–.
AcOr	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
ActAnt	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae</i>
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe. Glückstadt, 1958–.
AegHel	Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Geneva, 1974–.
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, Liège, 1987–.
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, 1936–.
Ä&L	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
AHAW	Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg, 1997–.
ÄIB	G. Roeder, <i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> . 2 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913–24.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>

AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnAe	Analecta Aegyptiaca. Copenhagen, 1940–1959.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969–.
AOB	<i>Acta Orientalia Belgica</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series. New Haven, 1925–.
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>
ASCEVOA	Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico. Materiali e studi. Bologna, 1996–
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Mainz, 1970–.
BÄBA	<i>Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde</i>
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932–.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. Oxford, 1978–.
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford, 1974–.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo, 1908–.
BeiBf	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 11 volumes. Cairo, Zürich, Wiesbaden, 1937–1997.
BEM	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BESud	Brown Egyptological Studies. Oxford, Providence, 1954–79.
BidE	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut du désert d'Égypte</i>
BIE	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</i> , later <i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>
BMJ	<i>Brooklyn Museum Journal</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers. London, 1978–.
BMQ	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BSA	<i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt</i> . London, 1905–1953.
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
BSAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte</i>
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
CAD	I. J. Gelb et al., eds. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 volumes. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CD	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.
CDD	J. Johnson, ed., <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 2001–. http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago .
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth

- CENIM Cahiers "Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne." Montpellier, 2008–.
- CGC *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo, 1901–.
- CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden, 2000–.
- CRIPEL *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*
- CSEG Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie. Geneva, 1991–.
- DAWW Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl., 1850–1918.
- DCH *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 volumes.
- DDD Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst, eds. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- DE *Discussions in Egyptology*
- DemStud Demotische Studien. Leipzig 1901–1929; Sommerhausen, 1988–.
- DGÖAW Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie. Vienna, 1947–.
- EA *Egyptian Archaeology, The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society*
- EG Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd rev. ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.
- ENiM *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne*
- EPRO Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, Leiden, 1961–1992.
- FIFAO Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1921–.
- GM *Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
- GOF Göttinger Orientforschungen (IV. Reihe: Ägypten), Göttingen, 1973–.
- HÄB Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim, 1976–.
- HALOT Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
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- HO Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten. Leiden, 1952–.
- HP Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. 3 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909–2012.
- HTBM *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*. London, 1911–.
- IBAES Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Berlin, 1998–.
- IJAHS *International Journal of African Historical Studies*
- JANER *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
- JEA *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JEH *Journal of Egyptian History*
- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch*
- JES *The Journal of Egyptian Studies*
- JFA *Journal of Field Archaeology*
- JHS *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series. Ann Arbor, 1990–.
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KÄT	Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden, 1969–.
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt. Mainz, 1977–.
KHWB	Wolfhart Westendorf, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg: Winter, 1977.
KRI	Kenneth A. Kitchen <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 volumes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–1999.
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen. Wiesbaden, 2004–.
KTU	Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LAAA	(Liverpool) <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
LD	Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 12 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–56.
LGG	Christian Leitz, ed., <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 volumes. OLA 110–116 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
LingAeg	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>
LingAegSM	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1994–.
MAe	Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MEEF	Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. London, 1885–1936.
MEES	Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Society. London, 1885–.
MEOL	Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap “Ex Oriente Lux.” Leiden, 1934–1946.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire. Paris, Cairo, 1902–.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
MMAF	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MonAeg	Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.
MVAeG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i>
NAWG	Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, 1941–2006.
NH	<i>Natural History</i> (Pliny the Elder)
OAJ	<i>Oxford Art Journal</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg, Göttingen, 1973–.
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta. Rome, 1935–.
OEAE	Donald Redford, ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> . 3 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
OLC	Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago, 1922–.
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications. Chicago, 1941–.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–.

- OIS Oriental Institute Seminars. Chicago, 2004–.
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven, 1975–.
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
- ORA Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Tübingen, 2009–.
- OrMonsp Orientalia Monspeliensia. Centre d'égyptol. de l'univ. Paul-Valéry (Montpellier). Montpellier, 1979–.
- PÄ Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden, 1953–.
- PM I¹ B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960.
- PM I² B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.
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- PM IV B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 4: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyut)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1934.
- PM VI B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 6: *Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.
- PM VII B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 7: *Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1952.
- PM VIII¹ J. Málek. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 8: *Objects of Provenance Not Known, Part 1: Royal Statues Private Statues (Predynastic to Dynasty XVII)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1999.
- PM VIII² J. Málek. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 8: *Objects of Provenance Not Known, Part 2: Private Statues (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period). Statues of Deities*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1999.

PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1916–.
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PTT	Private Tombs at Thebes. Oxford, 1957–.
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Cairo, 1930–.
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
RGRW	Religions of the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden, 1992–.
RILT	Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple. Chicago, 1994–.
RIMAP	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Period. Toronto, 1987–.
RTA	<i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna</i> . London, 1903–1908.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens. Heidelberg, 1990–.
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, 1931–.
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Cairo, 1946–.
SAT	Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch. Wiesbaden, 1998–.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna, 1848–.
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Cairo, 1975–.
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse). Vienna, 1848–1946.
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. Toronto. 1977–.
StudDem	Studia Demotica. Leiden, 1987–.
TÄB	Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge. Bonn, 1973–1976.
TLA	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> . Berlin, Brandenburg, 2004. http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/
TTS	The Theban Tomb Series, London, 1915–1933.
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–2001.
TUATNF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Gütersloh, 2004–.
UEE	<i>UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i> . Los Angeles, 2010–. https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig, 1896–1956.
Urk. I	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.
Urk. IV	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4, fasc. 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–09. 2nd rev. ed., 1927–1930. Continued by W. Helck, fasc. 17–22. Berlin: Akademie, 1955–1958.
Urk. VII	Kurt Sethe and Wolya Erichsen. <i>Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935–.
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Wb.	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 volumes, plus 5 volumes. Belegstellen. Berlin: Akademie, 1926–1963.
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, 1990–.
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
WZKM-B	Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna, 1936–.
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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TABULA GRATULATORIA

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THE “KERNBAU” OF THE TEMPLE OF MENTUHOTEP II AT DEIR AL BAHARI: A MONUMENTAL SUN ALTAR?

LUC GABOLDE

to Betsy, great lady of Thebes

THE “KERNBAU” OF MENTUHOTEP’S TEMPLE AND THE RELATED RECONSTRUCTION HYPOTHESIS

The excavations of the German Institute at Deir al Bahari have provided us with a splendid and comprehensive study of the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II at Thebes. One of the most debated features of the monument is the reconstruction of the structure in the central area, the “Kernbau.” The discussion was initiated by Naville and Winlock who both believed that it was once some kind of pyramid (fig. 1A).¹ The accurate study of the remains by D. Arnold, after numerous and remarkable research campaigns, had led this scholar to the conclusion that the central structure was in fact a square mastaba-like building adorned with cavetto cornices (fig. 1B).² R. Stadelmann elaborated another variant of the hypothesis, an Osirian mound crowned with trees (fig. 1C).³ More recently, D. Polz, through his close examination of the place and typology of the burial complex of Nubkheperre Antef in the series of funerary monuments of the west bank, has reverted to Winlock’s idea, and suggested that Mentuhotep II’s monument was in fact crowned by a pyramid, though of a much smaller size than that proposed by his predecessors (fig. 1D).⁴ One of the major observations of Arnold was that not a single casing stone with an appropriately sloping side, potentially fitting with the casing of a pyramid, has ever been found among the debris left on the spot. The hypothesis of a pyramid—at least a big one—appears thus rather unlikely.

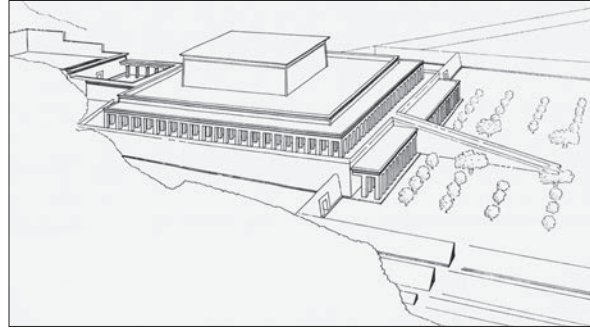
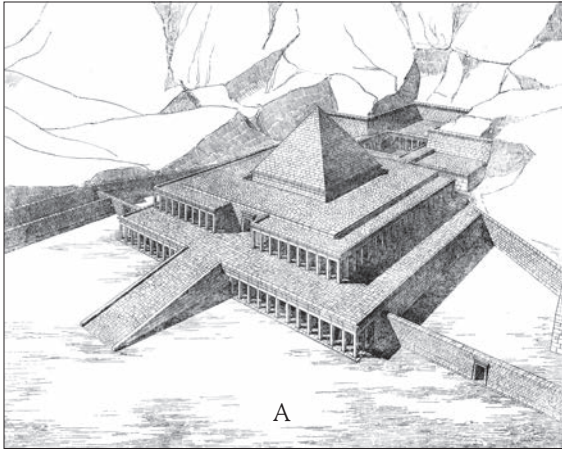
In order, once more, to contribute to the debate initiated by these prominent scholars, I would like to present here another avenue of exploration, and to offer it to Betsy Bryan, as a tribute to her constant curiosity.

1. E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty temple at Deir el Bahari I*, MEEF 28 (London, 1907), 28–29; H. E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York, 1947), 40.

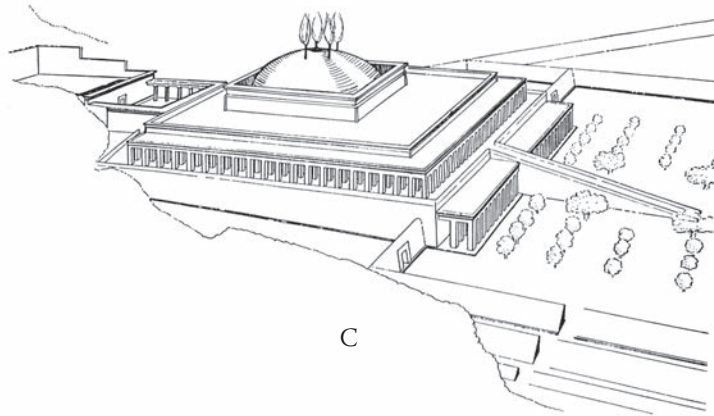
2. D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari I*, AVDAIK 8 (Mainz, 1974), fig. on p. 6; 27–32, pl. 31.

3. R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden, vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder*, KAW 30 (Mainz, 1991), 232 and fig. 74.

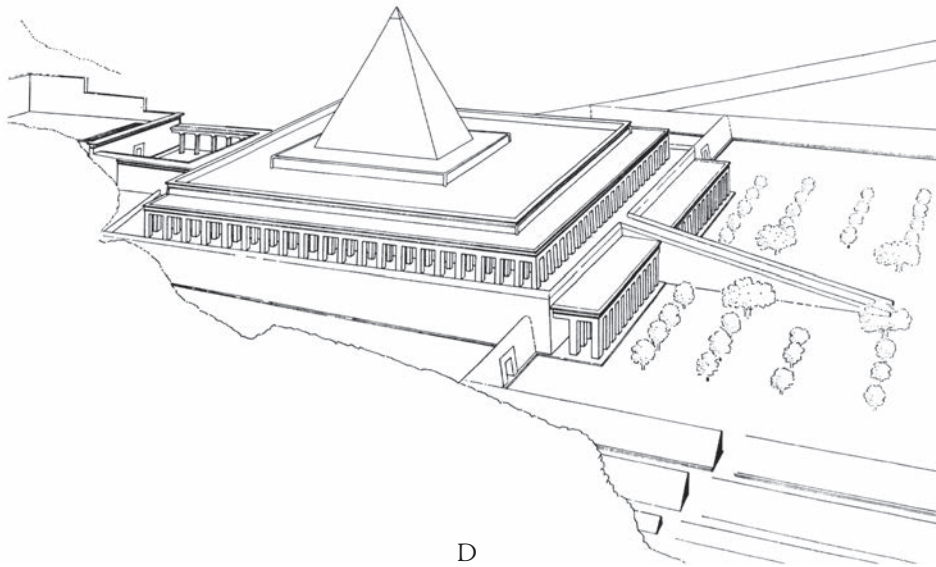
4. D. Polz, “New Archaeological Data from Dra’ Abu el-Naga and their Historical Implications,” in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Projects*, ed. M. Marée, OLA 192 (Leuven, 2010), 349–50 and fig. 4.



B



C



D

Fig. 1. The various proposed hypotheses for the reconstruction of Mentuhotep II's temple. A) Naville's and Winlock's reconstructions; B) Arnold's reconstruction; C) Stadelmann's reconstruction; D) Polz's reconstruction.

PECULIARITIES IN THE LAYOUT OF MENTUHOTEP’S TEMPLE

The plan of Mentuhotep’s temple shows a rather strange feature: contrary to all the other structures of the building (passages, courtyards, burial chamber, sanctuary), the gate leading from the western corridor of the “Kernbau” to the western courtyard located behind the central building is not aligned with the main axis of the temple but shifted to the north. This peculiar arrangement is probably the consequence of an asymmetrical enlargement to the south of the original layout which included the six princesses’ mortuary shrines.⁵ However, the off-centered gate also allowed there to be an available space on the western side of the “Kernbau” left free for any architecture planned in the axis of the sloping corridor of the burial chamber (fig. 2).

THE QUESTION OF THE SOLAR ALTARS IN MORTUARY TEMPLES

Most of the mortuary temples of the west bank of Thebes seem to have been equipped with solar altars, intimately linked to the liturgies performed for the deceased king (they are probably connected with the solar-osirian concept underlying chapter 182 of the *Book of the Dead* and brilliantly expressed in the tomb of Nefertary as “Osiris who rests in Re, it is Re who rests in Osiris”).

The best preserved exemplars of such altars are the one in Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahari (fig. 3)⁶ and the one in Seti I’s temple at Gurna.⁷ Traces of others have been found, in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, in that of Merenptah, and by Ramses III’s temple at Medinet Habu.⁸ Their general shape is that of a mastaba topped with cavetto cornice and accessible through stairs that abut their eastern side.

A close examination of the very accurate plans of Mentuhotep II’s temple drawn by Dieter Arnold fails, however, to reveal any trace of such an altar, though the presence of this kind of element in a mortuary temple seems to have been likely and perhaps even mandatory.

Moreover, as we know now that solar altars existed already in the reign of Sesostris I at Karnak,⁹ we can legitimately expect that some version of the altar existed only a few decades earlier, under the reign of Mentuhotep II (fig. 4).

SOLAR ALTARS AND OBELISKS

Solar altars seem to have regularly been associated with obelisks. Originally a solar altar was attached to a monumental obelisk in the Old Kingdom sun temples, as is demonstrated by Neusera’s solar sanctuary at Abu-Gorab (fig. 5).¹⁰

5. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, 64, “Bauphase B.” Note, however, that the door is not centered on the symmetrical axis between the two groups of three chapels.

6. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari I*, MEEF 13 (London, 1895), 8, pl. VIII ; J. Karkowski, *The Temple of Hatshepsut: The Solar Complex*, 2 volumes, Deir el-Bahari 6 (Warsaw, 2003), 1:250; 2:pl. 50-50bis.

7. J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos’ I. in Gurna*. Vol. 1: *Die Reliefs und Inschriften*, AVDAIK 20 (Mainz, 1977), 51–52 and pl. 36 a–c.

8. H. Jaritz et al., “Der Totentempel des Merenptah in Qurna, 3. Grabungsbericht,” *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 208–9, fig. 2 and pl. 36a; U. Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu III*, OIP 54 (Chicago, 1941), 10, fig. 5 (no. 18) and 15, fig. 8.

9. L. Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Ré: la genèse d’un temple, la naissance d’un dieu*, forthcoming. This altar was not yet known when Rainer Stadelmann wrote his article on the *Šwt-Rꜥw* (“*Šwt-Rꜥw* als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich,” *MDAIK* 25 [1969], 125–78), and therefore this scholar considered that the solar temples had played no role in the royal offerings. The existence of Sesostris I’s altar from Karnak now fills this gap.

10. F. W. von Bissing and L. Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, 3 volumes (Berlin, 1905–1928), 1:43–45, figs. 33–34, pl. I.

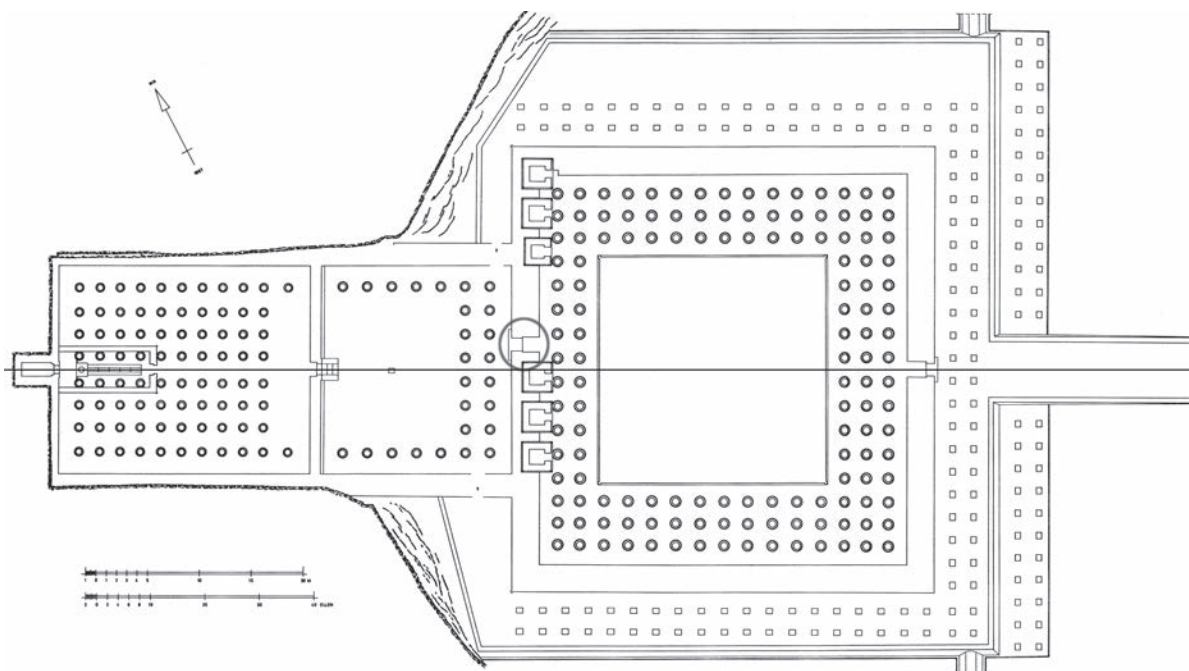


Fig. 2. Plan of the temple of Mentuhotep II (after Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pl. 27. Circled: the gate out of the axis).

Later on, small obelisks appear to have been frequently associated with solar altars. Obelisks of Amenhotep II and Thutmosis IV (fig. 6) found at Elephantine recall this architectural link as they mention: $\overline{\text{II}} \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{S}}$ “Two obelisks for the sun-altar.”¹¹

In the following dynasty, Ramses II built at Abu-Simbel a solar altar equipped with two small obelisks (fig. 7).

THE HYPOTHESIS OF A MONUMENTAL SUN ALTAR FOR MENTUHOTEP II

Consequently, the possibility that the central building of Mentuhotep’s temple possessed a monumental solar altar, probably topped with a single or a pair of obelisks, is an interpretation of the archaeological data which deserves consideration.

The access to the altar would have been possible through a monumental wooden ramp that elongated the corridor leading to the burial chamber and that followed along the axis, taking advantage of the positioning of the intermediate gate which was not aligned with the axis.

11. *Urk.* IV:1561, 4–5; C. Kuentz, *Obélisques, Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, n° 1308–1315 et 17001–17036* (Cairo, 1932), pl. X, Nr. CGC 17016; similar text on the obelisk of Amenhotep II at Alnwick Castle: *Urk.* IV:1355, 1–2.

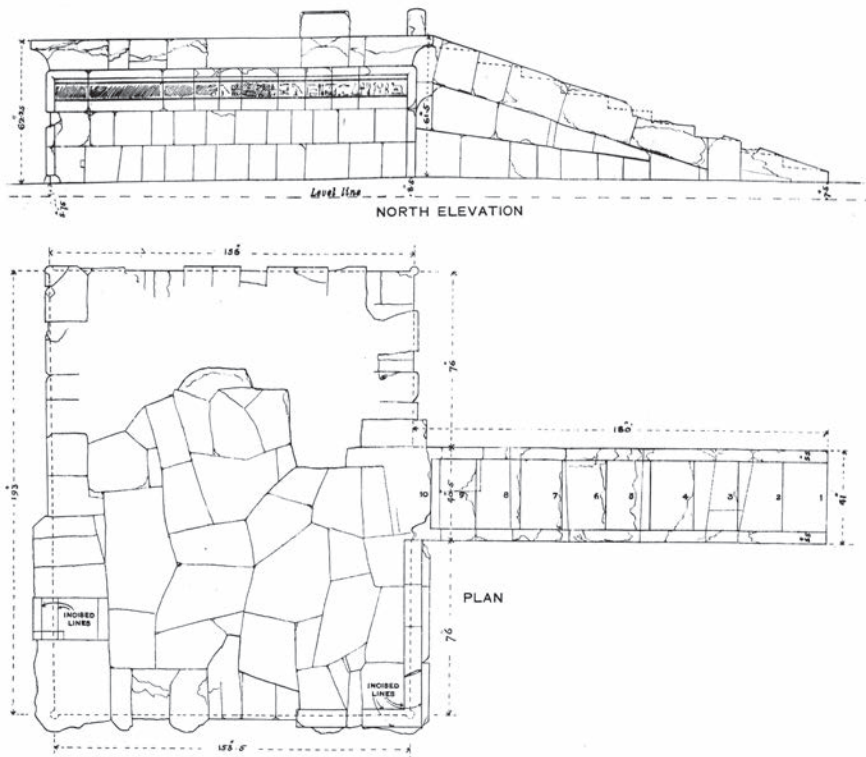


Fig. 3. Solar altar at Deir al Bahari. After Naville, *Deir el-Bahari I*, pl. VIII).

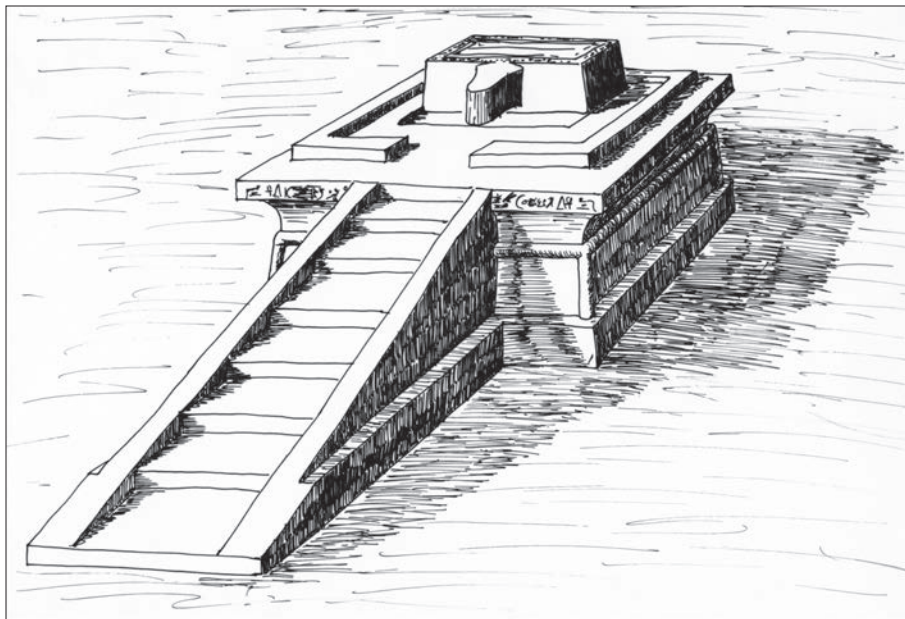


Fig. 4. Sun altar of Sesostris I at Karnak. Reconstruction by the author.

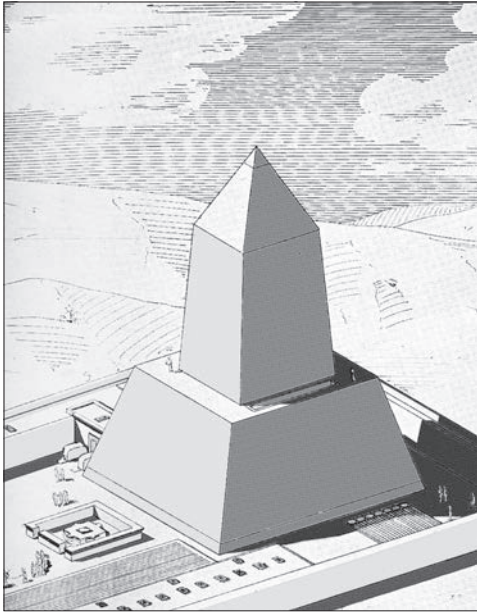


Fig. 5. Sun temple of Neusera with a sun altar adjoined to the obelisk. After von Bissing and Borhardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, pl. I.



Fig. 7. Solar altar of Ramses II at Abu-Simbel, framed with two small obelisks.



17016

Fig. 6. Obelisk from a sun altar of Thutmose IV at Elephantine. CGC 17016.

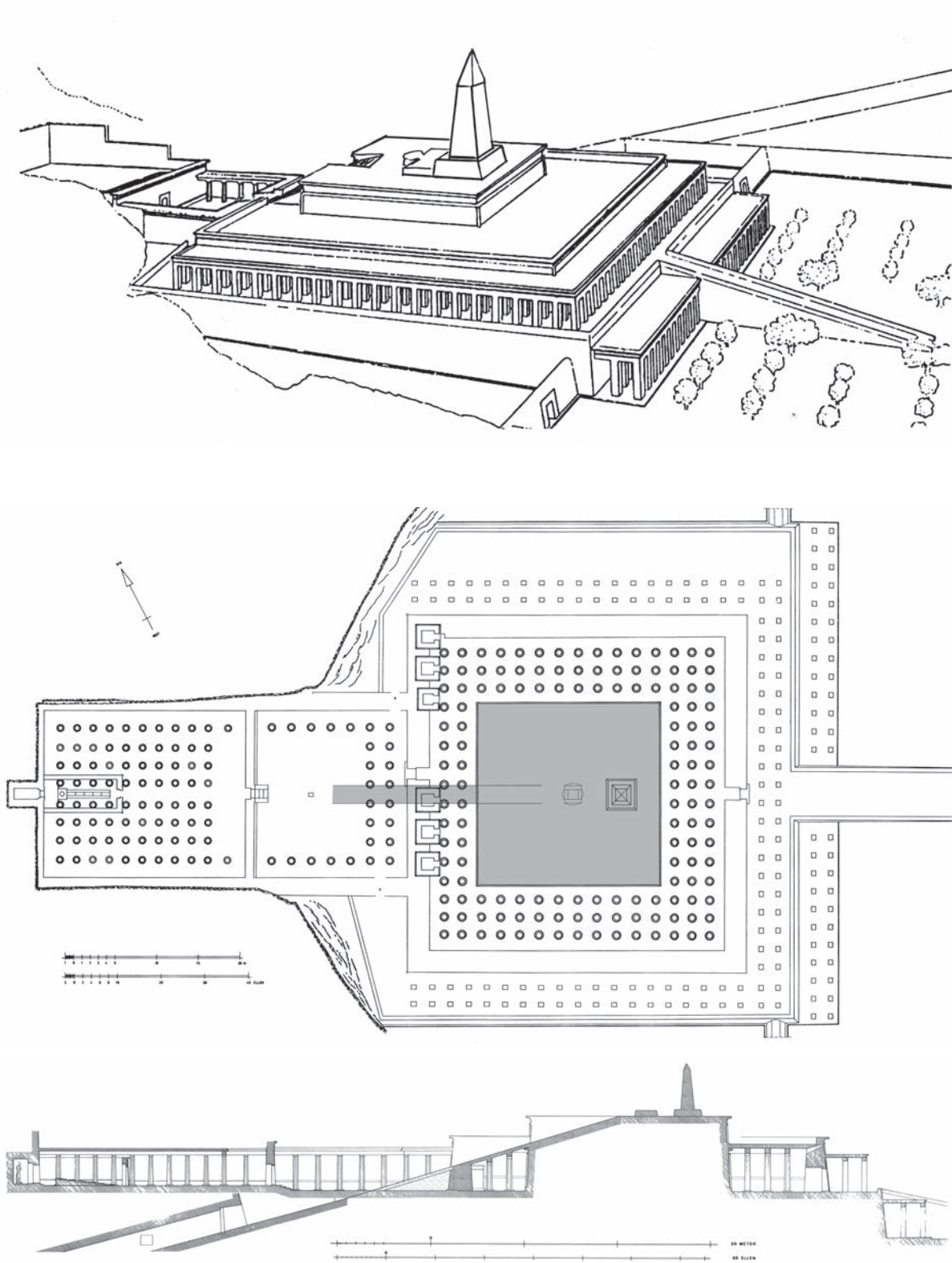


Fig. 8. Hypothesis 1: suggestion of an altar-shaped terrace with a sun-offering table and a sole obelisk (adapted after D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pls. 27 and 28).

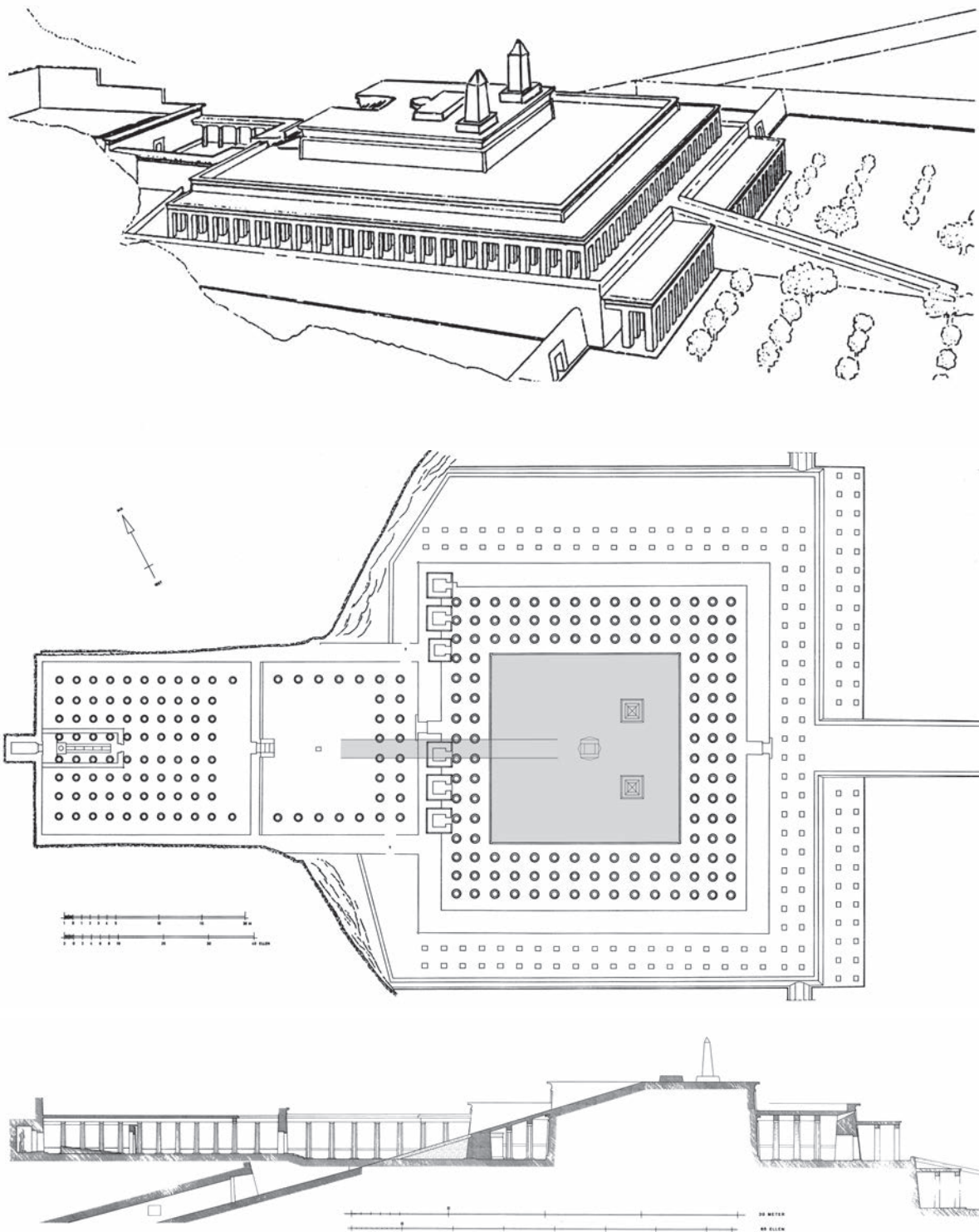


Fig. 9. Hypothesis 2: suggestion of an altar-shaped terrace with a sun-offering table and two obelisks (adapted after D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pls. 27 and 28).

THE TEXTS, GRAFFITI, AND QUARRY MARKS

The mention in a stele, as well as the graffiti collected by Winlock, which seem to imply a pointed structure, either a pyramid¹² (figs. 10A, B), or more interestingly an obelisk¹³ (fig. 10C), as the central part of the monument, further support such an hypothesis. One of them even appears to show an obelisk topped with the sun disk and its rays¹⁴ (fig. 10D).

This last quarry mark (fig. 10D) echoes significantly the determinatives of some of the obelisk-shaped sun temples of the Old Kingdom, as collected in the seventies by Georges Goyon (fig. 11).¹⁵

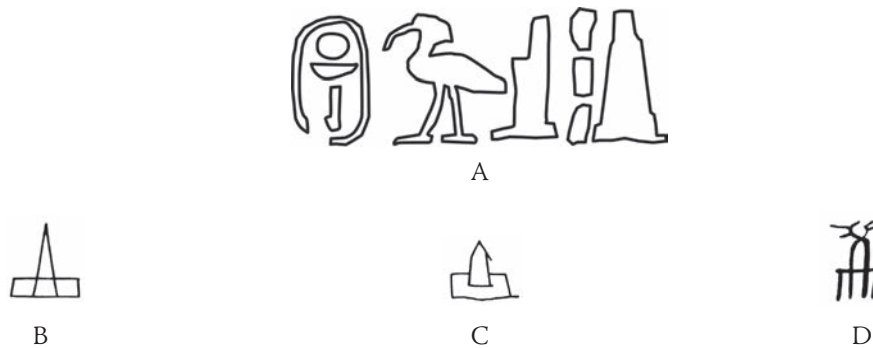
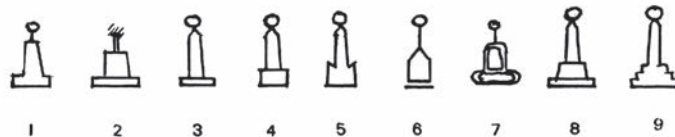


Fig. 10. A) Stele of *Ttw* Abydos CGC 20088 = Mariette Cat. 605; B) Graffito Spiegelberg S.952; C) Graffito Spiegelberg S.948; D) Mark from the temple.



1. Berlin 11661. 2. *ZAS* 80, pl. 14, 4. 3. *Mar. Mast.* D 52. 4. *Ibidem* D 54. 5. *Ibidem* H 6. 6. Berlin 11469. 7. *SIABAK* I, 5. 8. *Mar. Mast.* D 51. 9. *Mast. de Bruxelles*.

Fig. 11. Determinative signs of Sun Temples. After G. Goyon, *RdE* 22 (1970), 95, figs. 1–9.

THE ORIENTATION OF THE TEMPLE

In that respect, it is overall interesting to note that the orientation of the main axis of the temple did approximately point towards the direction where the sun would rise at the winter solstice.¹⁶

12. Stele of *Ttw* Abydos CGC 20088, H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches I* (Berlin, 1902), 105–97 and IV, pl. VIII; A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), no. 60; W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis* (Heidelberg, 1921), no. 948.





13. Spiegelberg *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, no. 952.

14. H. Winlock, *The Slain Soldiers of Neb-hep-et-Re Mentu-hotpe*, PMMA 16 (New York, 1945), 26; Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, 91, §4.6.

15. G. Goyon, "Nouvelles observations relatives à l'orientation de la pyramide de Khéops," *RdE* 22 (1970), 95, fig. 1–9.

16. Personal data and calculations. The orientation of the temple itself is given in M. Shaltout and J-A. Belmonte, "On the Orientation of Ancient Egyptian Temples: (1) Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 36.3, no. 124 (2005), 273–98, table 1, 278.

<i>Deir al Bahari Dynasty 11 Temple</i>	<i>Longitude Φ</i>	<i>Latitude λ</i>	<i>Azimet a</i>	<i>Altitude h</i>	<i>Angle to horizon α</i>	<i>Sunrise at winter solstice</i>
Mentuhotep II	25° 44′ 14.47″ N	32° 36′ 22.73″ E	≈ 118°	125 m	0° 43′ 55.46″	116° 44′ 20″

The phenomenon of sunrise on the upper terrace of Mentuhotep’s temple at Deir al Bahari would, in the case of a single obelisk (fig. 8), have prefigured the pattern of the prominent sole obelisk of Thutmose III—erected by Thutmosis IV—in the eastern sector of Karnak, along the axis of the temple, which, at winter solstice would have produced the following image: . If the structure featured two obelisks, then a parallel could be established with a text of Hatshepsut, from the great literary composition engraved on the lower part of the shaft of the northern Wadjyt obelisk:  “The sun-disc rises between them (i.e. the two obelisks) as it appears at the horizon of the sky;”¹⁷ with a clear assimilation of  with .

CONCLUSION

Though the present hypothesis does not answer all the questions raised by the problematic “Kernbau” of Mentuhotep’s temple at Deir al Bahari and leaves some uncertainties unsolved, it may, however, fill the gap created by the absence of a solar altar in the temple and can explain some puzzling graffiti and quarry marks related to this building. The problem of reconstructing a wooden ramp in the absence of any remaining trace is of course crucial.¹⁸ However, it should be kept in mind that in some circumstances, such as the emblematic case of the main naos of Amun in the Akhmenu sanctuary, the accessibility to a shrine raised on a high podium (1.05 m high) and to its gates, for the daily ritual opening ceremony and for the complete liturgical services, was possible only through a wooden staircase of which, nevertheless, no material, iconographic, or textual trace has survived.¹⁹

17. *Urk.* IV:362, 15–16.

18. Most of the masonry covered by the hypothetical wooden ramp is destroyed down to the foundations: see Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pl. 26.

19. J.-F. Carlotti, *L’Akh-Menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2001), 1:133, 230.