

# TT 31 OF KHONSU AT SHEIK ABD EL-GURNAH (THEBES): RESEARCHES INTO CONSTRUCTED LANDSCAPES

## ABSTRACT

La tomba tebana (TT) 31 di Khonsu, primo sacerdote di Menkheperra, si rivela luogo di osservazione privilegiato per comprendere la percezione del paesaggio, naturale e artificialmente costruito, attraverso la differente resa iconografica. Partendo dalla descrizione e dall'analisi del programma decorativo della tomba di Khonsu, emergono elementi di continuità e differenze tra le rappresentazioni delle diverse strutture culturali che si riscontrano a livello generale anche sulle pareti delle tombe di nobili funzionari della XVIII e XIX Dinastia a Tebe ed Amarna. Le similitudini e le discontinuità a livello iconografico sembrano riflettere quindi differenti concezioni religiose e di accessibilità del luogo sacro per eccellenza, il tempio.

The Theban tomb (TT) 31 of Khonsu, First Prophet of Menkheperre, is an ideal case-study to understand the perception of natural and constructed landscapes, throughout the analysis of their different iconographies. Starting from the description of the decorative programme of Khonsu's tomb, it could be possible to identify elements of continuity and differences between the depictions of the different sacred structures that can be appreciated also within the Theban and Amarnian tombs of the nobles during the XVIII and XIX Dynasty. The use of specific themes and iconographies might correspond to peculiar conceptions of the most sacred space, the temple.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the image of an “eternal Egypt” has been questioned, alternative issues related to the nature of landscape – intended as a conceptually built environment and a continually changing reality in the present as in the past – have emerged. In fact, this line of research has been only recently pursued within the broader field of Egyptian archaeology. The First International Colloquium Landscape Archaeology dedicated to Egypt and the Mediterranean context (Cairo, September 2010) could be seen as a first step towards a new, shared approach to the analysis of the ancient Egyptian landscape.

The study of landscape reveals its importance not only for the pre/protohistoric period, but as a valuable means of understanding the broader relationship between man and its environment. Each site, acknowledged as the basic unit for archaeological investigation, should be understood as the result of combined processes involving both mental and physical reaction against the surroundings. The observation and analysis of how the ancient Egyptians have recorded their landscape through iconography might be a valid starting point.

In this article, the perception of the landscape through the ancient Egyptian iconographic records will be explored. Due to the vastness of the researching area,

a specific case study will be employed. The starting point will be the research done for my MA dissertation about the Theban tomb (TT) 31 of Khonsu, First Prophet of Menkheperre, at Thebes<sup>1</sup>. After a brief description of the tomb and its figurative repertoire, the depictions of temples within the New Kingdom Theban tombs and the Amarna rock tombs will be compared. The aim of this research is to define if a divergent perception of dissimilar geographic and sociopolitical environments could have influenced the images of temples and their use in funerary context.

## 2. A CASE STUDY:

### TT 31 OF KHONSU AT SHEIK ABD-EL-GURNAH (THEBES)

The research on TT 31 is part of a broader project of digitalising the Egyptological photographic archive of Alexandre Varille, acquired by Università degli Studi di Milano in 2002<sup>2</sup>. Within the archive more than 50.000 images are stored and two carnets (number 10 and 261) contain photographs of TT 31. Dossier n.10 includes twelve photographic plates (inv. 84-95), while dossier n.261 consists of thirteen prints (inv. 605-617).

The correspondence between plates and related prints and the exact location of the subjects portrayed in the tomb could be summarised as follows:

Dossier number 10	Dossier number 261	Location	Bibliography (PM I: 47-49)
Varille archive, inv. 84	Varille archive, inv. 614	Niche, rear wall	Scene (15)
Varille archive, inv. 85	Varille archive, inv. 611	Transverse hall, northern side, western wall	Scene (9)
Varille archive, inv. 86	Varille archive, inv. 616	Transverse hall, southern side, eastern wall	Scene 1(4)
Varille archive, inv. 87	Varille archive, inv. 617	Transverse hall, southern side, western wall	Scene 4(6)
Varille archive, inv. 88	Varille archive, inv. 613	Transverse hall, northern wall	Scene 8.I, 8.II

1. Ugliano 2009.

2. Piacentini 2002, pp. 5-9, 14-16; Piacentini 2003, pp. 133-143; Piacentini 2007, pp. 1509-1518; Piacentini 2010, pp. 64-82.

Varille archive, inv. 89	Varille archive, inv. 615	Transverse hall, southern side, eastern wall	Scene 1(4)
Varille archive, inv. 90	Varille archive, inv. 606	Transverse hall, southern side, western wall	Scene 4(6)
Varille archive, inv. 91	Varille archive, inv. 605	Transverse hall, southern side, eastern wall	Scene 2(4)
Varille archive, inv. 92	Varille archive, inv. 612	Transverse hall, northern side, eastern wall	Scene (7)
Varille archive, inv. 93	Varille archive, inv. 609	Transverse hall, southern wall	Scene (5)
Varille archive, inv. 94	Varille archive, inv. 608	Niche, eastern wall	Scene (15)
Varille archive, inv. 95	Varille archive, inv. 610	Niche, western wall	Scene (15)
	Varille archive, inv. 607	Ceiling, passage between corridor and niched chapel	Scene (14)

Khonsu, called Ta, was the owner of the TT31, which is the only source for reconstructing the private and public life of his family. His main duties, as we can state from the titles accompanying his name, were that of Superintendent of the cattle of Menkheperure<sup>3</sup>, First Prophet of Montu, lord of Tod<sup>4</sup>, and First Prophet of Menkheperre<sup>5</sup>. The exact succession of his *cursum honorum* cannot be defined without doubt, as all the titles are never recorded in a single sequence. Another point of interest are the family members that are depicted within the tombs. From their titles it emerged a close link between the family and the funerary cults of XVIII dynasty pharaohs and of the god Montu.

The first mention of the tomb is found in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*<sup>6</sup>, where he defined it a recent discovery and identified the owner thanks to the legends depicted on the tomb's walls although no mention of the corridor and of the niche are recorded. The first archaeological investigation was carried out by M.R. Mond in 1905,

3. Kees 1953, pp. 137-139; Helck 1961, p. 99; Haring 1997, p. 213.

4. Helck 1961, p. 159; Hofmann 1970, p. 85; Werner 1985, pp. 192, 297-298 (n° 6A).

5. Kees 1953, pp. 137-139; Helck 1961, pp. 8-11, 95; Hofmann 1970, p. 85.

6. LD, pp. 262-264.

who relocated the tomb entrance during his 1903-1904 winter campaign<sup>7</sup>. Then, in 1913, the tomb was numbered as TT 31 by sir A.H. Gardiner and A.E. Weigall during their first systematic survey of the Theban necropolis<sup>8</sup>. Finally, the final archaeological campaign that cleared the niched chapel from the ancient debris and the investigation of the funerary pits were concluded in 1925-1926<sup>9</sup>.

The tomb, dated at the second half of Ramesse II reign<sup>10</sup>, reflects the typical structure of the Ramesside tombs - type Vb, that is different from the traditional “T-shaped” pattern due to the presence of a niche (or a niched chapel) at the end of the corridor<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 1).

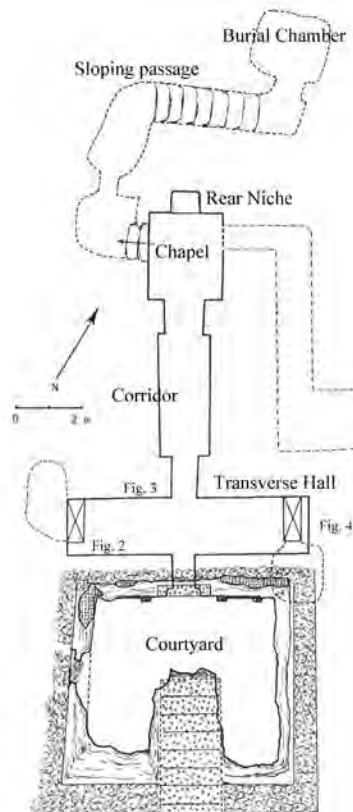


Figure 1 - Plan of TT 31. From Kampp 1996, p. 22, fig. 125 (modified).

7. Mond 1905, p. 71; Davies - Gardiner 1948, p. 12; Collins 1976, p. 33.

8. Gardiner - Weigall 1913, pp. 18-19, pl. IV-V.

9. Mond - Emery 1927, p. 30.

10. Hofmann 2004, p. 26 (note 72).

11. Kampp 1996, pp. 24, 219.

The tomb entrance, flanked by two rock-cut stelae, is situated in the northern side of a squared courtyard, while in its western side is located the access of the TT 301. The transverse hall, aligned along a east-west axis, houses in its right and left edges the accesses of two pits, that were excavated in 1925 by M.R. Mond and are possibly not pertinent to the primary burial<sup>12</sup>. A long corridor, aligned perpendicularly along a south-north axis, opens into a niched chapel. From the eastern and the western sides of the chapel, two different ways lead to sloping passages, but only the last could be ascribed to the TT31 burial, while the other conduct to TT 30 and, as stated by Kampp<sup>13</sup> contrary to Davis and Gardiner<sup>14</sup>, it could be pertinent to a reuse of the tomb.

The decoration is depicted on a thin gypsum layer that covers the mud-and-straw plaster, while the entrance thicknesses and the lintel between the transverse hall and the corridor have been incised in sunk relief. The decorative program is focused on the religious festival of the god Montu, whose sacred procession from his temples at Tod to Armant is illustrated over the southern side of the transverse hall. The northern part is occupied by the deceased performing his duties as Superintendent of the cattle and First Prophet of Menkheperre (northern wall), and by the “weighing of the heart” and “opening the mouth” ceremonies (eastern wall)<sup>15</sup>.

The general conservation conditions are precarious as only part of the transverse hall and the rear niche preserve their original decorations. Compared to the situation illustrated by the photographs from the Varille archive (first half of the last century), it could be affirmed that the present state of conservation<sup>16</sup> is not entirely dissimilar and that only small portions of the depictions already damaged have vanished.

### **3. TEMPLE DEPICTIONS WITHIN THE TT 31: DESCRIPTION AND HYPOTHESES OF IDENTIFICATION**

The presence of temple depictions portrayed on the TT 31 transverse hall walls can be explained by the close relationship between Khonsu’s family and their role

12. Mond - Emery 1927, p. 30; Kamp 1996, p. 219.

13. Kampp 1996, p. 219.

14. Davies - Gardiner 1948, p. 11.

15. A complete description and visual reproduction of the scenes can be found in Davies - Gardiner 1948, pp. 12-26, pl. X-XXI. For the texts transcription and translation, see KRI III, pp. 399-410 and RITA III, pp. 289-297.

16. As recorded by the author in January 2009.

in the religious community. The problem of connecting these temples with archaeological remains emerged due to the lack of legends that could identify the historical structures. However, thanks to the context of the scenes and the comparison with other coeval representations it could be possible to propose valid hypotheses of identification.

In fact, there are three depictions of temples and sacred structures within TT 31: a way-chapel for the god Montu, in front of which Khonsu is making offers (east wall, southern side), the entrance of the Armant temple, identifiable because of a legend written among the pylons (western wall, southern side), and the pylons of a temple bearing the cartouche of Thutmose III, background of the mortuary cult of the pharaoh (western wall, northern side).

### 3.1 KHONSU AT TOD: A THUTMOSE III WAY-CHAPEL?

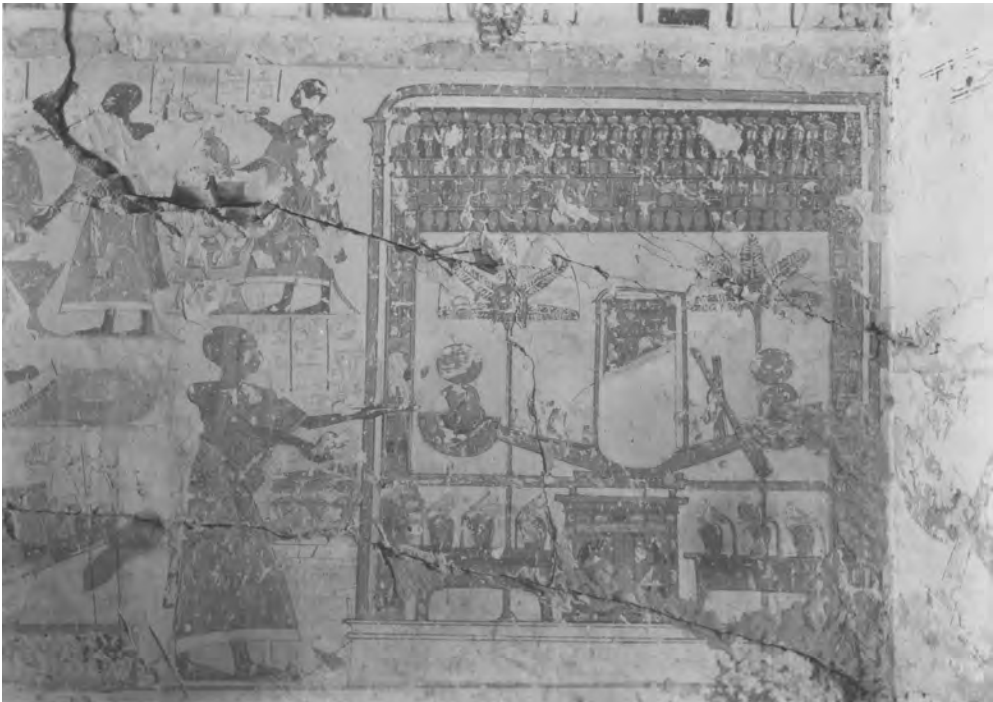
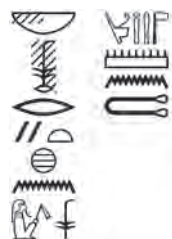


Figure 2 - TT31, Khonsu at Tod. © Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano, inv. 605.

Khonsu, clothed in priest garments, is making the purification rituals in front of a light structure laid on a pedestal that accommodates the god's bark, characterised by frontal and rear protomes in form of hawks (Fig. 2). Two fans are at its

sides, and on the first one it could be possible to read the fourth name of Thutmose III. This scene represents the first stop in the city of Tod during the pilgrimage of the god Montu within his Theban *Palladium*. This can be gathered from the legend above Khonsu, that states:



The First Prophet of Montu, lord of Tod<sup>17</sup>, Khonsu

The city was the centre of Montu's cult, as the numerous religious structures that have been dedicated to him by Montuhotep II to Antoninus Pius confirmed<sup>18</sup>.

A very remarkable discovery was made in 1948 by J. Vercoutter who, during the unearthing of the rear part of the Middle Kingdom temple, found the remains of a small sandstone temple, similar in its structure to the peripteral chapels with squared pilasters at Karnak<sup>19</sup>. In the light of the plan and the texts, he interpreted the construction as a way chapel for the god Montu's sacred bark erected by Thutmose III and completed by his successor Amenhotep II<sup>20</sup>. Built in the proximity of the god's main temple in the occasion of the royal jubilee, it has been interpreted as a non-permanent bark chapel, where the god's statue could have found a temporary accommodation during the different festival stages. In front of it, sport rituals and religious celebrations have been performed not only during the royal festivals but also

17. The sign Gardiner M24 that Lepsius recognised and that is in fact visible only in its inferior part, should be considered a scribe's mistake, as he had confused the word *rsy* (southern) with the toponym *Drty*; otherwise the phonetical complements could not be explained. Furthermore, the title can be integrated thanks to the central line of the lintel text (see LD, p. 263; KRI III, p. 409.16).

18. Bisson de la Roque 1937; Vercoutter 1952, pp. 69-87; Barguet 1952, pp. 80-104; Desroches-Noblecourt 1982, pp. 5-20; Desroches-Noblecourt - Leblanc 1984, pp. 81-109; Pierrat et al. 1995, pp. 405-503; Adam - Pierrat-Bonnefois 2003, pp. 65-132.

19. Vercoutter 1952, pp. 77-79, pl. III-IV.

20. Barguet 1952, pp. 80-104, pl. I-XII.

in several other occasions. Otherwise, the god's bark had in all probability a permanent seat within the temple's structures, today missing, as some inscriptions seem to demonstrate<sup>21</sup>.

A critic iconographic analysis reveals that the construction depicted within TT31 is a light structure, more similar to the *naos* accommodating the god's statue on his sacred bark, as could be seen on the left part of the same wall, where the beginning of the procession is represented. Moreover, compared to other way-chapel depictions as within TT 19 of Amenmose, it is noteworthy to notice that usually these constructions were characterised by built structural elements as columns, pylons and decorated lintels<sup>22</sup>. For these reasons, it could be excluded that the structure depicted in TT31 could be identified as the way-chapel of Thutmose III at Tod.

### 3.2 FIRST DOORWAY OF MONTU, LORD OF ARMANT, «BEAUTIFUL-IS-HIS APPEARING»



Figure 3 - TT 31, Armant temple. © Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano, inv. 617.

21. Adam - Pierrat-Bonnefois 2003, pp. 117-125.

22. Foucart et al. 1932, pl. XIII.



There are no problems of identification for the depiction of the Armant temple (Fig. 3), as the legend among the pylons, although chiseled away, states (originally in column):



First Doorway of Montu, Lord of Armant, Beautiful-is-his-appearing.

Also the builder's name, Thutmose III, is clearly indicated by the cartouches that are inscribed within the friezes that run along the pylon:



(on the left tower)



(on the right tower)

Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, beloved of Re, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menkheperre, given life.

The cult of Montu is attested in this temple since its construction by the XI dynasty pharaohs, particularly devoted to him. The first archaeological investigations were conducted by M.R. Mond and W.B. Myers on behalf of Egypt Exploration Society between 1930 and 1940 and focused on the original site of the Montu's temple<sup>23</sup>. Fragmentary reliefs and inscriptions, dated back to a period not earlier than Montuhotep III reign, confirmed that the first construction phases of the temple should be placed at his time. Several additions can be recorded during the XII dynasty, as numerous blocks bearing Amenemhat I, Senuseret I and III inscriptions have been unearthed reused in the Ptolemaic foundations<sup>24</sup>. But the greatest refurbishment was at the hands of Thutmose III, who built new structures in front and south to the former ones and added a new monumental gateway<sup>25</sup>. More difficult is to define the role of Ramesse II, whose cartouches and references to his ninth, tenth and eleventh jubilees have been inscribed over the pylon<sup>26</sup>.

23. Mond - Myers 1940.

24. Mond - Myers 1940, pp. 166-172.

25. Mond - Myers 1940, pp. 3, 17, 187, pl. XXXI, XL; Gardiner 1955, pp. 91-98.

26. PM V, p. 157.

The analysis of the archaeological remains and the depiction of Armant temple within TT31 show a clear connection between the illustration and the historical reality: in fact, during Ramesses II reign, when the owner of the tomb Khonsu lived, the structures that could have been seen by the priest were those built by Thutmose III. His temple has been represented in the most comprehensible way, as clearly indicated also by the legend and the cartouches. The choice of the pylon as a metonymy to indicate the whole temple is not casual, and will be later discussed and analysed.

### 3.3 A TEMPLE IN THE BACKGROUND OF THUTMOSE III FESTIVAL

The last representation to take into consideration is the temple depicted as the point of arrival of the sacred bark carrying the statue of Thutmose III at the end of his festival procession. The bark is represented as sailing along a T-shaped channel, which ends with a rectangular structure, probably a wharf. Close to it, there is the pylon of a temple, bearing the cartouches of his builder, i.e. Menkheperre (Fig. 4). In the middle, on a panel that decorates the gateway, an adoration scene is represented. No legends are present and only a broader analysis that takes into account also the general social, historical and religious contexts of the scene could help us in identifying the structure here represented. In this specific case, the lack of legend can be explained as the result of the bad conditions of conservation or as a voluntary omission due to the fact that the illustration could have been easily interpreted thanks to other elements. As it will be now elucidated, I am rather in favour of the last explanation.

Davies proposed to identify the depiction with the Karnak temple, hypothesis justified by the presence of Amon on the panel that decorates the gateway. For this reason, he also believed that Khonsu here played his role of First Prophet of Menkheperre and not within his “Mansion of Millions of Years” at western Thebes<sup>27</sup>. In opposition to his hypothesis, it is significant to note that the second pylon at Karnak, that in this period constituted the monumental entry to the site, has not been commissioned by Thutmose III<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, in the decoration of co-eval Theban tombs, the Karnak temple is characterised by a different iconography, by a more accurate definition of the facade elements, as it can be seen for example within TT 16 of Pahenesi (Fig. 5).

27. Davies - Gardiner 1948, p. 20.

28. Maruéjol 2007, pp. 262-264.



Figure 4 - TT 31, Khonsu and Thutmose III festival. © Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano, inv. 613.

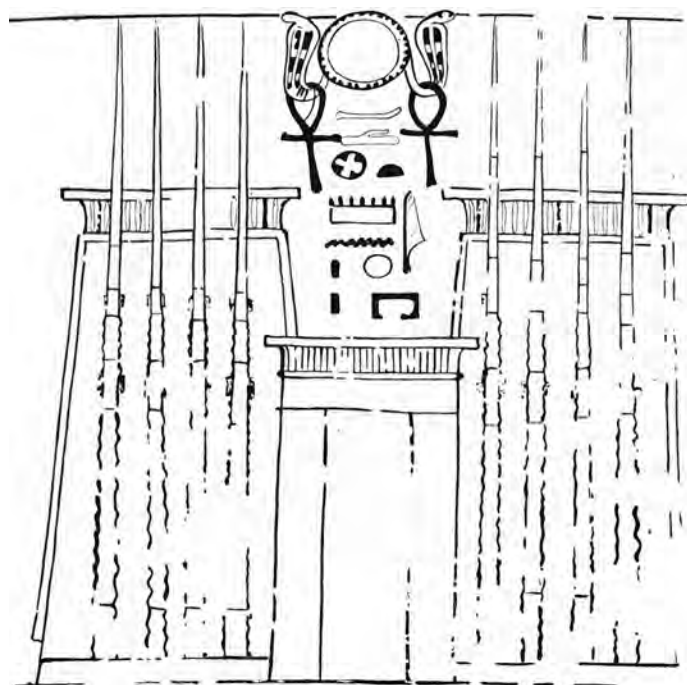


Figure 5 - TT 16 (Pahenesi). From Foucart - Baud - Drioton 1932, fig. 10.

Among the monuments built by the above mentioned pharaoh, the only one that has features comparable with the illustration is his “Mansion of Millions of Years”, called *Heneket-ankh*, that he built during his co-regency with Hatshepsut<sup>29</sup>. The location and the name of the temple were known since the end of the XIX century thanks to the unearthing of mud-bricks and foundation deposits bearing the cartouches of Thutmose III<sup>30</sup>. But only during the first archaeological investigation in 1905 the identification has been confirmed and the plan of the temple outlined<sup>31</sup>. If we take into account the titles held by the priests that played their role at *Heneket-ankh*, it could be possible to state that the temple has been dedicated not only to the pharaoh mortuary cult but also to Hathor and Amon<sup>32</sup>. The presence of the panel with the adoration scene is not in contrast with the identification of the TT 31 depiction and the temple described. Moreover, the comparison with the temple of Amenhotep I depicted within TT 19 of Amenmose could confirm that the temples of Millions of Years could have been characterised by panels decorated as above discussed (Fig. 6). In this last case, the identification of the temple is certain due to the legend on its right side. Two other depictions of temples are present also in TT 19 and the hieroglyphs identify them as *ḥwt nswt* of Menkheperre: clear analogies with the TT 31 royal festival can be recognised<sup>33</sup>.

Together with the remarks about the iconographic features, it should be taken into consideration also the most important title held by Khonsu. The lack of any mention of the place where he performed his duties of First Prophet of Menkheperre caused a division among scholars who, starting from the analysis of other titles held by people devoted to the pharaoh’s funerary cult, suggested three different interpretations.

As above mentioned, Davies proposed that Khonsu played his role within the Karnak temple, as he recognised in the depiction its sixth pylon<sup>34</sup>.

Contrary to his opinion, Gardiner and later Werner suggested that Khonsu directed a funerary foundation for Thutmose III at Armant, as the final procession

29. PM II, pp. 426-429; Ricke 1939; Cline - O’Connor 2006, pp. 207-208; Maruéjol 2007, pp. 239-242.

30. Spiegelberg 1897, pp. 86-88.

31. Weigall 1906, pp. 121-141; Weigall 1907, p. 286; Ricke 1939, pl. IV-VII.

32. Helck 1961, pp. 95-97.

33. Foucart *et al.* 1932, pl. XIII.

34. Davies - Gardiner 1948, p. 20.

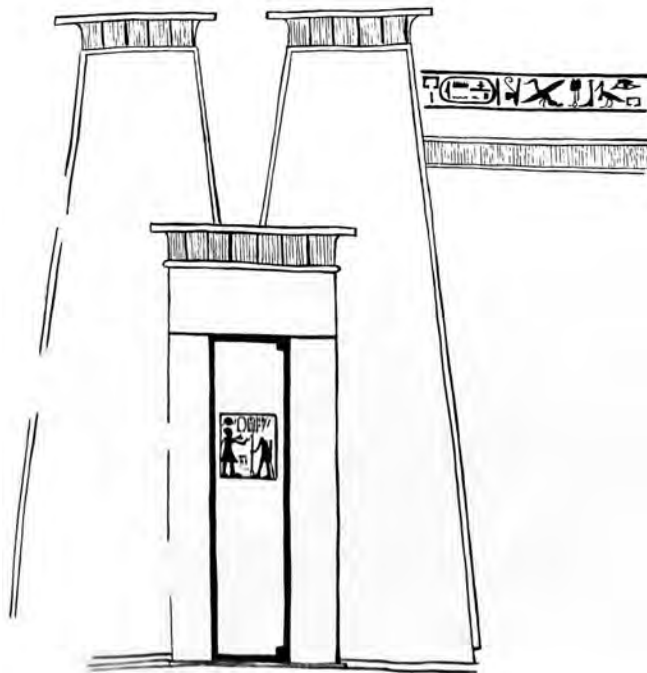


Figure 6 - TT 19 (Amenmosi). From Foucart - Baud - Drioton 1932, pl. XXVIII.

scenes clearly showed<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, Werner pointed to the presence of the cartouches and of adoration scenes that decorate the panels of the sacred bark repository as a confirmation for a deep-rooted funerary cult of the king in this city<sup>36</sup>.

Finally, H. Kees, in his study dedicated to the New Kingdom priesthood, doubted about the existence of a specific funerary cult for Thutmose III at Armant and presented the case of Amehwahu<sup>37</sup>, First Prophet of Montu at Tod and *sem*-priest at Ramesseum, to demonstrate the possibility of playing religious roles in different places. Due to these facts, he proposed that Khonsu played his role in the Mansion of Millions of Years at western Thebes, i.e. *Heneket-ankh*<sup>38</sup>.

Starting from the analysis of the titles composition in Ramesside period, W. Helck and later B.J. Haring established that the formulary became simpler than in XVIII dynasty and that the title of priests operating within funerary temples was composed only by the specific function (in this case, First Prophet) followed

35. Davies - Gardiner 1948, pp. 17-18; Gardiner 1955, p. 91.

36. Werner 1985, pp. 192, 194-195.

37. Gauthier 1920, pp. 1-12; Habachi 1956, pp. 61-62; PM I, pp. 351-352.

38. Kees 1953, pp. 137-139.

by the name of the king, without mentioning the word *pr* and the proper name of the structure<sup>39</sup>. Since the XVIII dynasty the kings' funerary cult has been concentrated in the Mansions of Millions of Years on the Theban Western bank, it was redundant to make it explicit for the title<sup>40</sup>.

In conclusion, both the iconographic analysis and the biographical interpretations seems to point out the relationship between Khonsu and *Heneket-ankh*, the Mansion of Millions of Years of Thutmose III, that can be conclusively recognised in the western wall depiction.

#### **4. TEMPLE DEPICTIONS AT THEBES AND AMARNA: A PROCESS OF CONTINUITY?**

After having briefly presented the case-study of TT 31 at Thebes, the depictions of temples within the Theban and Amarna necropolises will be now taken into consideration in order to outline the role of depicted landscape in funerary contexts. In particular, the influence of the Amarnian art will be considered to define whether the use of representing constructed landscape in tombs have undergone a process of continuity or not.

In fact, the depiction of landscape in New Kingdom Egyptian tombs is a common occurrence. Gardens, marshes, mountains, local and foreign environments are well attested as parts of the traditional decorative programme<sup>41</sup>. Nevertheless, this presence is not simply a reflection of iconographic conventions, but reveals itself as a clear choice of themes and a privileged channel to transmit purpose-built messages. Even the use of «pure landscape»<sup>42</sup> as in the wall reliefs of the “Botanical Garden” of the *Akh-menu* or of the royal expedition to the land of Punt was aimed at highlighting the differences and defining cultural boundaries between Egypt and the outside world<sup>43</sup>. As the representation of natural but highly idealised environments, the images of «constructed landscapes»<sup>44</sup> had a prominent role. Houses, tombs and royal institutions were perfect scenarios to determine the social position of the de-

39. Helck 1961, pp. 8-11.

40. Helck 1958, pp. 100-101; Helck 1961, p. 95; Haring 1997, p. 434.

41. Manniche 1988.

42. Bianchi 1997, p. 93.

43. Beaux 1990.

44. Knapp - Ashmore 1999, p. 10.

ceased and his family. To observe how the natural and constructed landscape was interiorized and then reproduced is a valuable means of defining stylistic conventions and general perceptions.

The images of temples or similar structures are reproduced on the walls of the Theban funerary chapels from at least the second half of the XVIII dynasty. Considering the entire period of use of the necropolis, the Rameside epoch saw an increase in the frequency of this type of representation. This phenomenon may have its roots in the immediately preceding Amarna period. In fact, a high percentage among the rock tombs of the Northern Group is decorated with images of temples. In order to define parallel or divergent patterns in the use of iconography as a mediated perception of landscape, the depiction of temples within the Theban and Amarna tombs are now compared. The available data for the Theban area might be summarised as follows. Along with the name of the owner, the location of the tomb and the period, a list of the main titles held by the deceased is included.

Name	Tomb n°	Period	Main Titles
Amenuser	TT 131 (Gurna)	Thutmose III	Governor of the city; Vizier
Kenamun	TT 93 (Gurna)	Amenhotep II	Chief steward of the King
Sennefer	TT 96 (Gurna)	Amenhotep II	Mayor of the Southern City
Amenhotepsize	TT 75 (Gurna)	Thutmose IV	Second Prophet of Amun
	TT147 (Dra Abu el Naga)	Thutmose IV (?)	Head of the masters of ceremonies
Nebamun	TT 90 (Gurna)	Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Captain of the troops of the police on the West of Thebes; Standard-Bearer of (the sacred bark called) "Beloved of Amun"
	TT 334 (Dra Abu el Naga)	Amenhotep III (?)	Chief of the husbandmen
Ramose	TT 55 (Gurnah)	Amenhotep IV	Governor of the town; Vizier
Neferhotep	TT 49 (Khokka)	Ay	Chief scribe of Amun

Userhat	TT 51(Gurnah)	Sethi I	First Prophet of the Royal Ka of Thutmose I
Amenmosi	TT 19 (Dra Abu el Naga)	Ramesse I-Sethi I	Prophet of “Amenhophis of the Forecourt”
Amenemopet, called Ipy	TT 41 (Dra Abu el Naga)	Ramesse I-Sethi I	Chief Steward of Amun in the Southern City
Paser	TT 106 (Gurna)	Sethos I-Ramesse II	Governor of the city; Vizier
Kha’bekhnet	TT 2 (Deir el Medina)	Ramesse II	Servant in the Place of Truth
Panehesi	TT 16 (Dra Abu el Naga)	Ramesse II	Prophet of “Amenhophis of the Forecourt”
Khonsu	TT 31 (Gurnah)	Ramesse II	First Prophet of Thutmose III
Nezemger	TT 138 (Gurna)	Ramesse II	Overseer of the garden in the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun
Nekht-Dḥout	TT 189 (Asasif)	Ramesse II	Head of the gold workers in the Estate of Amun
Neferhotep	TT 216 (Deir el Medina)	Ramesse II-Sethi II	Foreman
Amenemopet	TT 215 (Deir el Medina)	XIX Dynasty	Royal scribe in the Place of Truth
Thaueany, called Any	TT 134 (Gurna)	XIX Dynasty	Prophet of Amenophis who navigates on the sea of Amun
Thonufer	TT 158 (Dra Abu el Naga)	Ramesse III	Third Prophet of Amun

Comparable data are available also for the Amarna rock tombs and are presented in the table below<sup>45</sup>.

45. Only the titles related to “religious” offices have been here recorded, as functional to the present study.



Name	Tomb n°	Main titles
Akhenaten	Royal Tomb (room a)	
Meryra	4 (North Group)	High Solar Priest of the Aten in the temple of the Aten in Akhetaten; <i>et cetera</i>
Panehesy	6 (North Group)	Chief Servitor of the Aten in the Residence of the Aten in Akhetaten; <i>et cetera</i>
Huya	1 (North Group)	Overseer of the royal harem and of the two Treasuries; <i>et cetera</i>
Ahmes	3 (North Group)	Real royal scribe; <i>et cetera</i>
Pentu	5 (North Group)	Chief servitor of the Aten in the Residence of the Aten in Akhetaten; <i>et cetera</i>
Maḥu	9 (South Group)	Commandant of the police of Akhenaten
Tutu	8 (South Group)	Chief servitor of Neferkheperura in [...] of the temple of Aten in Akhetaten; <i>et cetera</i>
Ay	25 (South Group)	Divine father; <i>et cetera</i>

It is noteworthy that in the second half of the XVIII dynasty, before the Amarna period, the depictions of temples were associated to tombs whose owner was not directly involved in religious offices. Compared to the Amarna period, the situation is slightly different. In fact, it is possible to observe a balance between temple images in the tomb of priests and royal staff employed in other services. In the XIX dynasty, and especially during the reign of Ramesse II, this class of representation seemed to be confined to the funerary chapels of men holding titles related to religious offices or institutions.

If a different use of the iconography appears to be attested, the perception of landscape reveals a continuity testified by the basic components of the pictorial mediation. In particular, the pylon is a constant element within all representations and symbolizes, by metonymy, the temple itself. But while in the Theban representations this latter is the dominant feature, in the Northern Group at Amarna the viewer is overwhelmed by a multitude of details. Due to the impossibility of a deep analysis in this paper and of a singular description of all the above recorded examples, only selected case studies are taken into consideration. By way of illustration, in the tomb of Amenhotepise (Fig. 7) the entrance pylon of a temple is represented from a frontal point of view. A colossal seated statue of the king flanks one of the two towers, while two flagstaffs are placed on both sides of a large doorway. If we compare this representa-

tion dated to the reign of Thutmose IV to later depictions as in the tombs of Khonsu, Pahenesi and Amenmose (Fig. 2-6), it is striking to notice that the only visible element of the temple is the entrance pylon. The addition of peculiar iconographic details indicate that different categories of temple are depicted. The presence of legends (Fig. 5) or the analysis of the titles held by the deceased are valuable means of identifying these different structures. For example, the royal “funerary” temples (Mansions of Millions of Years) are usually represented without flagstaffs and statues (Fig. 6).

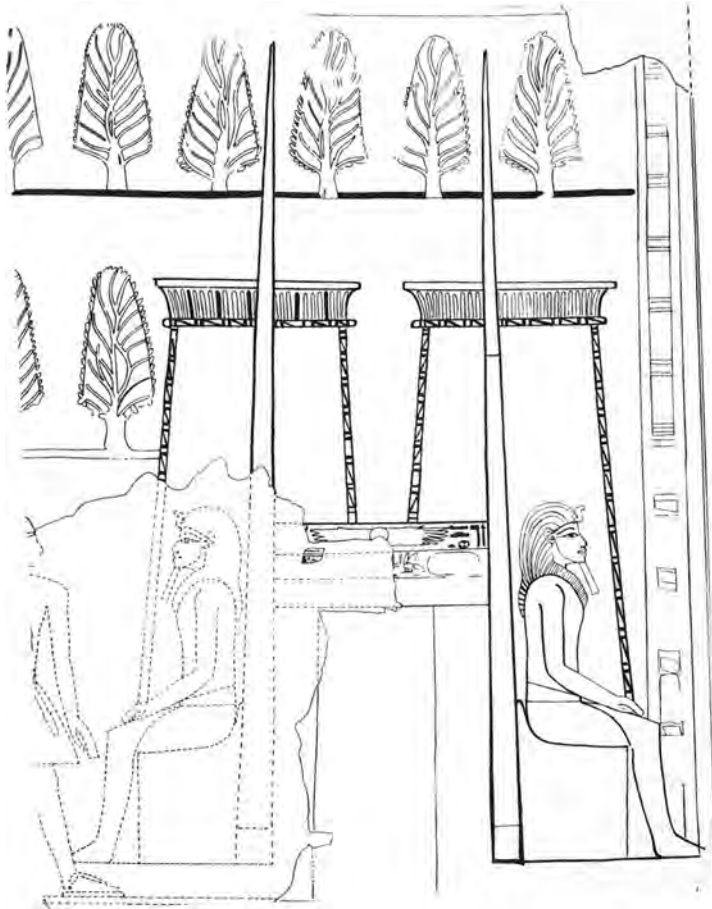


Figure 7 - TT 75 (Amenhotep III). From Davies 1923 , pl. XIV.

The use of the pylon as a metonymy for the temple is found also in few Amarna tombs of the Southern Group (tomb 25 of Ay and tomb 9 of Maḥu)<sup>46</sup>. But in the

46. Davies 1908b, pl. XXX; Davies 1906, pl. XVIII.

greatest number of cases, entire walls were occupied by extremely detailed representations of the Small and the Great temples of Aten. Three complete pictures of the latter are in the Northern tombs and all the possible points of view have been adopted in order to better describe it<sup>47</sup>. For example, in the tomb of Meryra<sup>48</sup> the temple is observed in a bird's eye view from the front, while in the tomb of Huyu<sup>49</sup> from the right hand. The wealth of detail and the precise architectural description have led some scholars to compare the iconography to the archaeological remains in order to assess its reliability in architectural terms. An example is the work of A. Badawy<sup>50</sup>, who first tried to reconstruct the original plan of the Greatest temple by means of the Amarna depictions<sup>51</sup>. What the images show is a massive structure, surrounded by two enclosing walls separated by a narrow corridor. All the gateways were composed after one pattern and shown on a larger scale. The main gate was flanked on each side by four flagstaffs. Along the whole length, small altar tables occupied the sides while in the middle was clearly identifiable the shrine. All the graphic rules usually adopted by the Egyptian artisans were here employed. First of all, the best point of view is adopted so that «nothing could be lost, covered or misunderstood because of an incomplete visual»<sup>52</sup> and every single component of the scene could be identified. For the architectural representation, a combined use of the plan and elevation of the building is aimed at the same purpose. Finally, noteworthy to notice is the use of a different dimension to indicate a symbolic hierarchy.

In fact, the man's experience of landscape was reduced to an iconographic scheme capable to transmit social meanings. The internalisation of the surrounding environment expressed the shift from a physical to a conceptual landscape. This conceptualisation was obtained by means of iconographic devices – for example hierarchical dimensions – covered with an unequivocal significance.

The perception of the temple as a close/open or inaccessible/accessible space, might explain the peculiar iconographic differences within the two necropoleis. In the Amarna period it has been conceived as an unroofed open-air place with

47. Davies 1905, p. 20.

48. Davies 1903, pl. XII.

49. Davies 1908, pl. VIII.

50. Badawy 1948, pp. 169-181.

51. A 3D model of the city can now be found on the Amarna Project web site, based on the survey maps published in Kemp - Garfi 1993.

52. Rossi 2004, p. 96.

open courts for the direct worship of the sun. The wealth of detail of the internal structures is antithetical to the conception of the hidden *Djeser-Djeserw* of Theban tradition. But further consideration could be made by observing that within the Amarna rock tombs the images of the king and the royal family are always associated to the depictions of temples. The pictorial expression of the wealth of the temple and the celebration of its magnitude might reflect the richness and the power of the pharaoh himself. The image of the temple was a self-congratulation of the king within the tombs of his subjects. This did not happen at Thebes, where rather its depiction appeared as a self-celebration of the deceased. Anyway, a process of continuity between the pre, post and Amarnian representations of temple can be found in its main element: the pylon. The acknowledgment of this as the constitutive element to symbolise, by metonymy, the temple itself is attested also in the Amarna period. And this observation does not refer exclusively to the sphere of private individuals. In the Colonnade Hall of the temple of Luxor<sup>53</sup>, the representation of temples reflect this tradition. Admitting the compositional integrity based on an original draft conceived during the reign of Tutankhamon but accomplished by Sethi I, it's «likely that the compositional complexity and geographical specificity [...] are derivate of similar large-scale scenes known from Tell el Amarna»<sup>54</sup>.

On the other hand, if a relative continuity in the iconographic model is shown, a different use of the images of temples is attested. As stated above, in the second half of the XVIII dynasty no relationship between these depictions and the deceased's role seemed to be occurred. On the contrary, the greatest number of Ramesside attestations revealed a link between the image of the temple and the titles of the owner. This shift might be firstly occurred in the Amarna period, when half of the representations testified this kind of association.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The above proposed case studies have clearly demonstrated the role of the images of temples as valuable means of expressing the perception of the landscape and its internalisation in terms of decoded iconographic schemes. In fact, the analysis of the iconographic records is a privileged observation point to understand the shift from a natural environment to a conceptualised landscape. As a result of combined processes, the use of specific themes and iconographies might

53. Epigraphic Survey 1994, pl. 16, 105.

54. Epigraphic Survey 1994, p. XIX.

correspond to peculiar conceptions of the surrounding environment or merely be an instrument of social and political success. As evidently demonstrated by the Amarnian case a clear distinction between the two tendencies is impossible. In fact, «there is no absolute landscape»<sup>55</sup>, neither in physical nor in cultural terms.

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55. Hirsch 1995, p. 23.

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