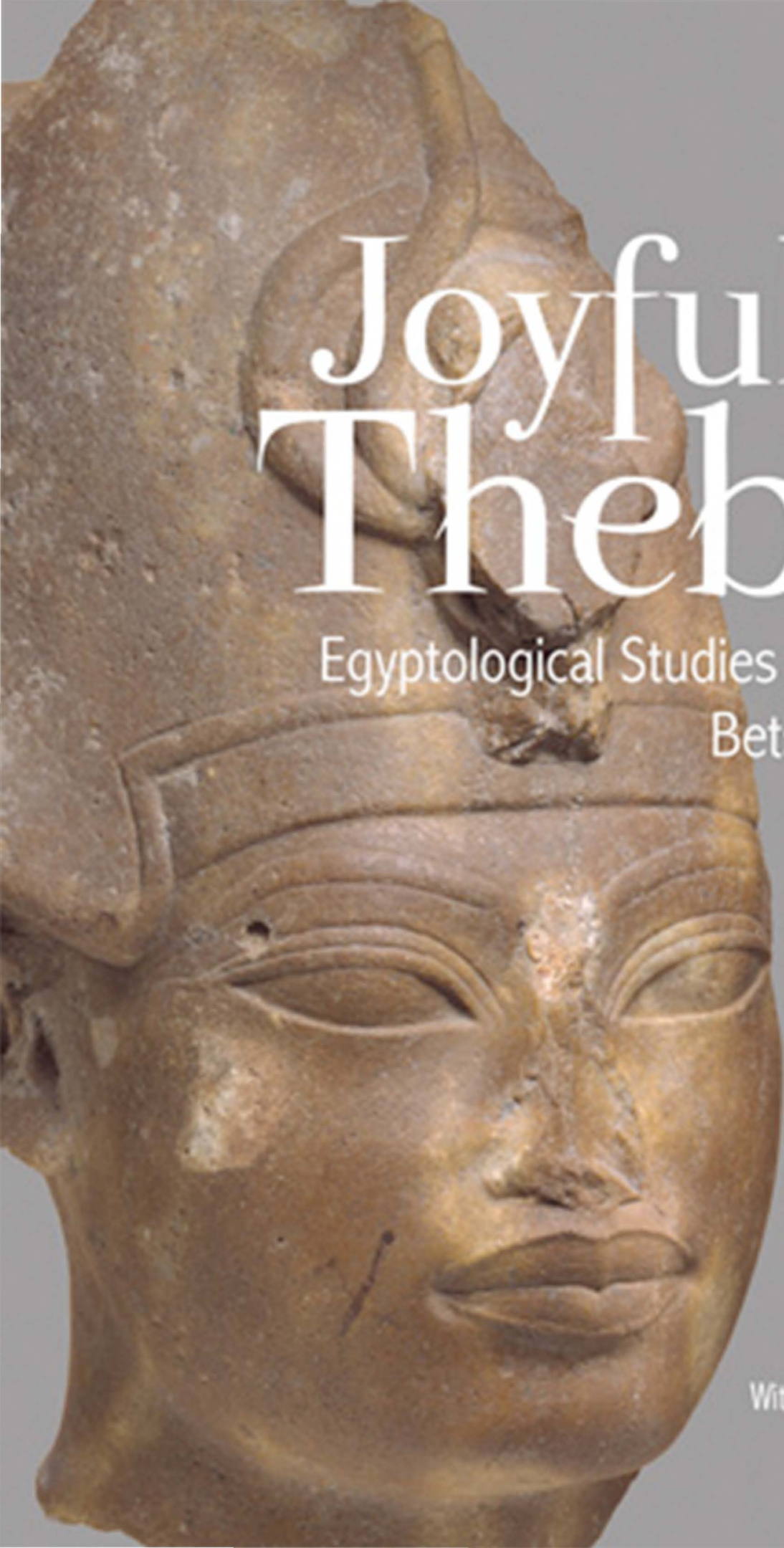

# Joyful in Thebes

## Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan

Edited by
Richard Jasnow
Kathlyn M. Cooney

With the assistance of
Katherine E. Davis

# JOYFUL IN THEBES

## EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF BETSY M. BRYAN

# MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT

NUMBER ONE

JOYFUL IN THEBES
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LOCKWOOD PRESS
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Cover design by Deborah Shieh, adapted by Susanne Wilhelm.

Cover image: Amenhotep III in the Blue Crown (detail), ca. 1390–1352 BCE. Quartzite, Ht. 35 cm. Face only: ht. 12.8 cm; w. 12.6 cm. Rogers Fund, 1956 (56.138). Image copyright © the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

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

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors are first of all grateful to the contributors themselves, who so patiently endured an endless stream of email queries and "gentle reminders." Their enthusiasm for the project truly made this a "joyful" experience. We would also like to thank those who aided in the preparation of this volume. Katherine Davis, a graduate student in Egyptology at Johns Hopkins, helped enormously during the complicated editing process. Not only has Katherine been a keen-eyed reader of manuscripts, but she also resolved problems of computer fonts and overcame other technological obstacles. We are further indebted to Deborah Shieh, a recent graduate of UCLA, who provided important support to the editors and designed the cover of the book. James (Jay) T. VanRensselaer, the Johns Hopkins University Senior Photographer, who has been a participant in Betsy's excavations for years, kindly made available most of the images of Betsy published in this volume. We also thank Vonnie Wild, Senior Administrative Coordinator for the Department of Near Eastern Studies (JHU), and Glenda Hogan, Academic Program Coordinator for the Department of Near Eastern Studies (JHU), who both assisted in this project. It is a pleasure as well to acknowledge our debt to Sanchita Balachandran, Violaine Chauvet, Janet Johnson, Leslie Schramer, JJ Shirley, and Mark Smith, who have offered very useful insights and help in the project. Arielle Kozloff and Larry Berman kindly provided the wonderful images of Betsy at the British Museum and Sedinga Temple that follow the introduction. We thank Diana Craig Patch (Curator in Charge of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum) and Catharine Roehrig who arranged for us to use the image of the beautiful head of Amenhotep III Metropolitan Museum no. 56.138 on the cover of this volume. Christina Di Cerbo advised on many points of the editorial process, especially with regard to the selection of images accompanying this introduction. As always, she has been a tremendous source of encouragement. Finally, what is a book without a publisher? The editors were fortunate to have found in Billie Jean Collins of Lockwood Press an ideal collaborator. Her skill and experience were an invaluable resource to the editors through the years of work on the volume. Billie Jean's unfailing support for the project is profoundly appreciated. May all editors be as lucky!

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 *chaine 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!"

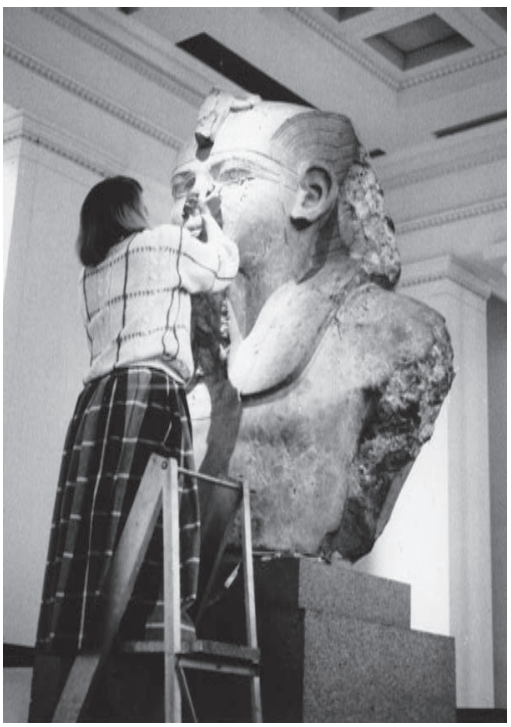
Richard Jasnow
Kara Cooney

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) *Band*, "volume" |
| BD | Book of the Dead |
| BM | British Museum, London |
| BP | before the present |
| Brooklyn | Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn |
| ca. | *circa*, approximately |
| cat. | catalogue |
| CE | Common Era |
| cf. | *confer*, 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. | *exempli gratia*, for example |
| esp. | especially |
| et al. | *et alii*, and others |
| etc. | *et cetera*, and so forth |
| fasc. | fascicle |
| ff. | following |
| fig(s). | figure(s) |
| frag(s). | fragment(s) |
| GEM | Grand Egyptian Museum |
| ht. | height |
| ibid. | *ibidem*, in the same place |
| IFAO | Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire |
| JE | JdE = *Journal d'Entrée*, 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. | ostracon |
| 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. | *quo vide*, which see |
| RSV | Revised Standard Version (Old Testament) |
| SCA | Supreme Council of Antiquities |
| SR | Special Register |
| s.v. | *sub verbo*, under the word |
| Taf. | *Tafel* (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* | *Acta Orientalia* |
| *ActAnt* | *Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae* |
| 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* | *Ägypten und Levante* |
| AHAW | Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg, 1997–. |
| *ÄIB* | G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. 2 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913–24. |
| *AJA* | *American Journal of Archaeology* |

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

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| 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 Gesamtakademie. 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 Miszellen. 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* |

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| JRASup | Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series. Ann Arbor, 1990–. |
| *JSS* | *Journal of Semitic Studies* |
| *JSSEA* | *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* |
| KÄT | Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden, 1969–. |
| KAW | Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt. Mainz, 1977–. |
| *KHWB* | Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1977. |
| KRI | Kenneth A. Kitchen *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. 8 volumes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–1999. |
| KSG | Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen. Wiesbaden, 2004–. |
| *KTU* | Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013. |
| *LÄ* | Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992. |
| *LAAA* | *(Liverpool) Annals of Archaeology and Anthrolopogy* |
| LD | Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 12 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–56. |
| *LGG* | Christian Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 8 volumes. OLA 110–116 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003. |
| *LingAeg* | *Lingua Aegyptia* |
| LingAegSM | Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1994–. |
| MAe | Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–. |
| MÄS | Münchener Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–. |
| *MDAIK* | *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* |
| 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* | *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* |
| *MMAF* | *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* |
| *MMJ* | *Metropolitan Museum Journal* |
| MonAeg | Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–. |
| *MVAeG* | *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* |
| *MVAG* | *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* |
| NAWG | Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, 1941–2006. |
| *NH* | *Natural History* (Pliny the Elder) |
| *OAJ* | *Oxford Art Journal* |
| OBO | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freibourg, Göttingen, 1973–. |
| OCA | Orientalia Christiana Analecta. Rome, 1935–. |
| *OEAE* | Donald Redford, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 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–. |

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| 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 I[1] | 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. |
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| PMMA | Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1916–. |
| *PSBA* | *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* |
| PTT | Private Tombs at Thebes. Oxford, 1957–. |
| RAPH | Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Cairo, 1930–. |
| *RB* | *Revue biblique* |
| *RdE* | *Revue d'égyptologie* |
| *RecTrav* | *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* |
| 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* | *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. London, 1903–1908. |
| SAGA | Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens. Heidelberg, 1990–. |
| *SAK* | *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* |
| 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* | *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. Berlin, Brandenburg, 2004. http://aaew.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* | *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles, 2010–. https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee |
| UGAÄ | Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig, 1896–1956. |
| *Urk.* I | Kurt Sethe. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. |
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| *VA* | *Varia Aegyptiaca* |
| *VT* | *Vetus Testamentum* |
| *Wb.* | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 volumes, plus 5 volumes. Belegstellen. Berlin: Akademie, 1926–1963. |
| WAW | Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, 1990–. |
| *WZKM* | *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* |
| *WZKM*-B | Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna, 1936–. |
| YES | Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–. |
| *ZÄS* | *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* |
| *ZDMG* | *Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* |

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# TABULA GRATULATORIA

James Allen
Susan Allen
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# ON THE MASTER PAINTER OF THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP SISE, SECOND HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN UNDER THE REIGN OF THUTMOSE IV (TT 75)

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The contribution of Betsy M. Bryan to the study and understanding of the art of the Eighteenth Dynasty is immense. As an art historian, I would like to acknowledge our common debt to her expertise, sensibility, and ingenuity in this field. Having especially in mind her pioneering and most inspiring research on the painterly practices attested in the Theban Tomb of Suemniwet (TT 92) and given the fact that her name will certainly always be linked to the reign of Thutmose IV, it seemed to me an appropriate homage to her and her scientific achievements to devote this contribution to a Theban painter who lived under that king.

The tomb of the second High Priest of Amun under the reign of Thutmose IV, Amenhotep Sise (TT 75), is one of the very few Theban tombs that can be nominally ascribed to its artistic author.[1] Indeed, in the large banquet scene of the first or broad hall of this funerary chapel appears, in a quite prominent place and distinguished from the anonymous guests, "the painter of Amun Userhat" (fig. 1). The editor of the monument, Norman de Garis Davies, cautiously concluded that "He may well have been the designer of these scenes."[2] Actually, such a self-inclusion into the composition is very well attested throughout the entire history of art as a subtle but nonetheless

1. N. de G. Davies (*Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (Nos. 75 and 90)*, TTS 3 [London, 1923], 3) already noted that the painted decoration of the monument resulted from "the collaboration of two designers," most probably a master—the real designer or artistic author—and his (less experienced) apprentice or "underling" (to quote Davies). The examination of painterly practices in the tomb confirms this conclusion and it is a pleasure for me to thank H. Tavier for his insight in this respect. I use here the expression "artistic author" in order to distinguish the latter from his commissioning patron, who is also, in a way, an author of the monument. For other cases of "signed" Theban Tombs, see, for instance, TT 82 and TT 62 (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)*, TTS 1 [London, 1915], 37, pl. 8); for examples of the Ramesside era, see TT 111 (A. Amer, "The Scholar-Scribe Amenwahsu and His Family," *ZÄS* 127 [2000], 2; KRI III:303, 9), TT 113 (J. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. 2nd series. Supplement: *Index and Plates* [London, 1841], pl. 86; T. Bács and R. Parkinson, "Wall-Paintings from the Tomb of Kynebu at Luxor," *EA* 39 [2011], 41–43; and T. Bács, "'… like heaven in its interior': Late Ramesside Painters in Theban Tombs 65," in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities. November 5, 2009*, ed. Z. Hawass, T. Bács, and G. Schreiber [Cairo, 2011], 35) and TT 218 (PM I[1], 317 [1, ii]; unpublished [the *zš-ḳd Pȝy* reading ritual texts during the funerals alongside a priest clad with a leopard skin]); and for precedents outside the Theban area, see the case of Sedjemnetjeru in Elkab and Hierakonpolis (W. Davies, "The Dynastic Tombs of Hierakonpolis: The Lower Group and the Artist Sedjemnetjeru," in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. Davies [London, 2001], 113–25), the one of Pahery in the tomb of his grandfather Ahmose son of Ibana at Elkab again (W. Davies, "The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab. Documenting the Family and Other Observations," in *Elkab and Beyond. Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, ed. W. Claes, H. de Meulenaere, and St. Hendrickx, OLA 191 [Leuven, 2009], 139–75), or the one of Seni in el-Hawawish (N. Kanawati and A. Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom; Techniques and Achievements* [Cairo, 2009], 8–10), as well as the many other examples gathered and studied by H. Junker, *Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich*, SÖAW 233.1 (Vienna, 1959).

2. Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 8. M. Hartwig (*Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*, MonAeg 10, Série

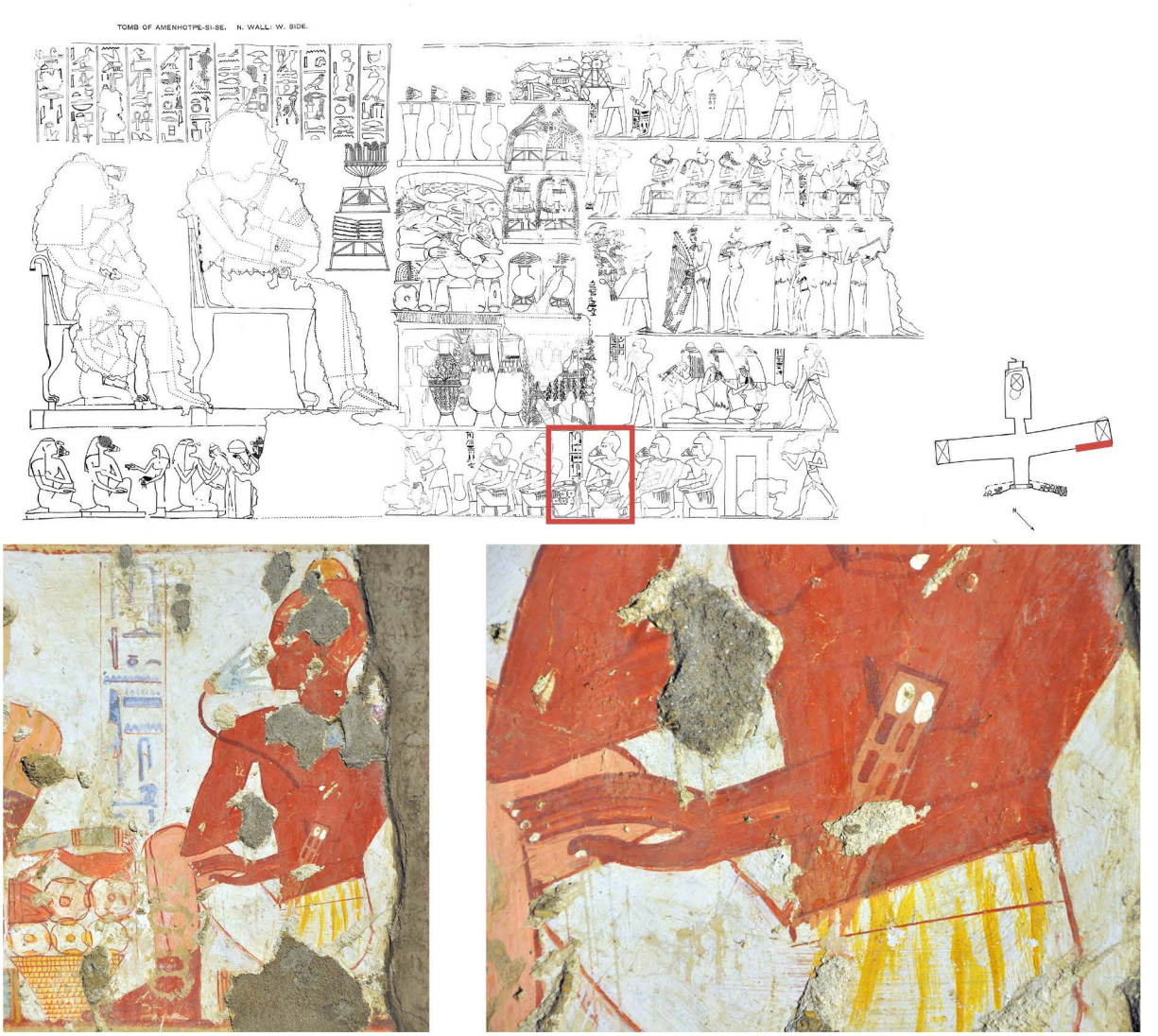


Fig. 1. "The painter of Amun Userhat" in the banquet scene on the western section of the north wall of the broad hall of TT 75 (after Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pls. 4–6; and author's photographs).

clear strategy that artists from many different cultures used in order to express their authorship regarding their creation. On the basis of very famous examples from the Italian Renaissance, art history usually calls these pictorial signatures self-portraits *in assistenza*.[3] Ancient Egyptian art from the nonroyal sphere provides quite a number of such self-depictions of artists, accompanied by short inscriptions (a *cartellino* in art-historical vocabulary) stating

IMAGO 2 [Brussels, 2004], 24), also noted the presence of this "painter of Amun" but did not seem to consider the possibility that he was responsible for the decoration of the tomb, although this could be an argument in favor of her theory of a "temple style."

3. See, notably, A. Chastel, "Art et civilisation de la Renaissance en Italie," *Annuaire du Collège de France* 71 (1971), 537–40. On self-portraiture in Renaissance art, see the excellent synthesis of Fr. Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven, 2000), 209–43.

more or less explicitly their claims for the making of the decoration or even sometimes of the complete monument.[4] But in most cases, the artist is simply designated by his professional title, this elementary information being obviously deemed sufficient to convey the message to the beholder. In the tomb of Amenhotep Sise, the expression of the figure's professional identity is reinforced by the presence of a painter's palette conspicuously protruding from the belt of his kilt (fig. 1).[5]

Moreover, our painter Userhat portrayed himself in another mural of the tomb, just in front of the banquet scene. The wall under discussion, one of the two focal walls of the monument,[6] was decorated with a very important tableau (now almost completely lost) evoking a major event in the tomb owner's life: his induction as second High Priest of Amun by the king himself.[7] This commemorative image was continued by an extensive representation of a cortège of "royal friends" leading the honored and newly appointed dignitary to the temple of Amun, where he was welcomed by his wife and three daughters, all chantresses of the god, and escorted by rows of lower-ranking officials, among whom a man is again singled out by the presence of exactly the same painter's palette, with six wells for colors (fig. 2). Although the tomb decoration as a whole refers to many individuals by their name (members of the family, as is usually the case, but also subordinates or servants),[8] most of the figures in this (unfinished) scene—with the notable exception of the ladies of the family—remained unlabeled. Nevertheless this iconographical detail, opposite the named representation of "the painter of Amun Userhat" at the banquet, was clearly sufficient to allow the identification of this specific character.[9]

But there is even more than this double mirroring self-portrait *in assistenza*. In the other half of the broad hall (i.e., to the southeast of the tomb's axis), the other focal wall displays the rather classical theme of the tomb owner presenting precious objects to the king[10] and being honored for this in return (fig. 3), in front of a scene, on the opposing wall, where Amenhotep Sise is depicted "supervising the workshops [of the temple of Amun] (…)," obviously under his responsibility.[11] Although badly damaged, the descriptive text of this—second—royal kiosk

4. See above, n. 1. While the now anonymous painter of TT 62 and some of his predecessors, like Seni at el-Hawawish or Horimeniankhu in the famous tomb of Djehuty-hotep at el-Bersheh (P. Newberry, *El Bersheh*. Part 1: *The Tomb of Tehuti-hetep*, ASE 3 [London, 1895], pl. 12 and 15; *Urk*. VII:50, 6–7), asserted that they made (*irỉ*) or decorated (*zš*) the monuments in which they represented themselves, Pahery wrote next to one of his many portraits in the tomb of his grandfather Ahmose, son of Ibana, at Elkab (just before the beginning of the famous—and focal—autobiographical text of the latter): "by the son of his daughter, the one who directed all the works in this tomb as the one who causes the name of the father of his mother to live, the painter of Amun Pahery, the justified." For the fact that these signatures only occur in nonroyal art in ancient Egypt, see D. Laboury, "Le scribe et le peintre: À propos d'un scribe qui ne voulait pas être pris pour un peintre," to be published in a forthcoming volume dedicated to a distinguished French colleague in the series OLA.

5. Despite the renowned quality of N. de G. Davies' epigraphic drawings, the pl. 6 of Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, does not render this very significant detail.

6. On this notion of focal wall, derived from the German concept of *Blickpunktsbild* or "focal point representation," see Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 16–19, and *passim*.

7. The reconstitution of the scene, despite the damage that it has suffered (probably from early robbers, in addition to the systematic obliteration of Amenhotep Sise's figures in ancient times), is made absolutely clear and certain by the remains of the text that largely extends on the right and, regarding the attendance of the ceremony, by the preserved multiple feet of the courtiers at this official audience; see Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 8–10, pl. 13. The sequence here depicted appears as a forerunner of the classical theme during the atenist period of the tomb owner rewarded by the king and then heading to the temple (see, e.g., Davies, *RTA* VI, pl. 19–20). On the "award of distinction icon," as she proposes to call it, in pre-Amarna times, see Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 81–84.

8. That is, the secretary and steward Djeserkaraseneb (owner of TT 38), the scribe and confidant Nebseny, the butler Neferkhawet, the "follower" (*šms.w*) Nebenkemet and the servants (*sḏm-ʿš*) Bak, Hormose and …-anen (Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pls. 5–6, 8, 14–15).

9. He was also differentiated among his fellows in this procession by his garment, wearing the only short kilt painted in white and pink. Exactly the same strategy of two mirroring self-portraits *in assistenza*, only one of them labeled, on two opposite walls was used more than twenty-eight centuries later by the Italian Renaissance painter Benozzo Gozzoli in his famous frescoes of the Palazzo Medici in Florence; see Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*, 215–16.

10. The so-called Gift Icon in the typology proposed by Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 79; see Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 12–15, pl. 11–12.

11. Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 10–12, pl. 7–8, 10. The same kind of scene was carved in the tomb of Puyemra, one of Amenhotep

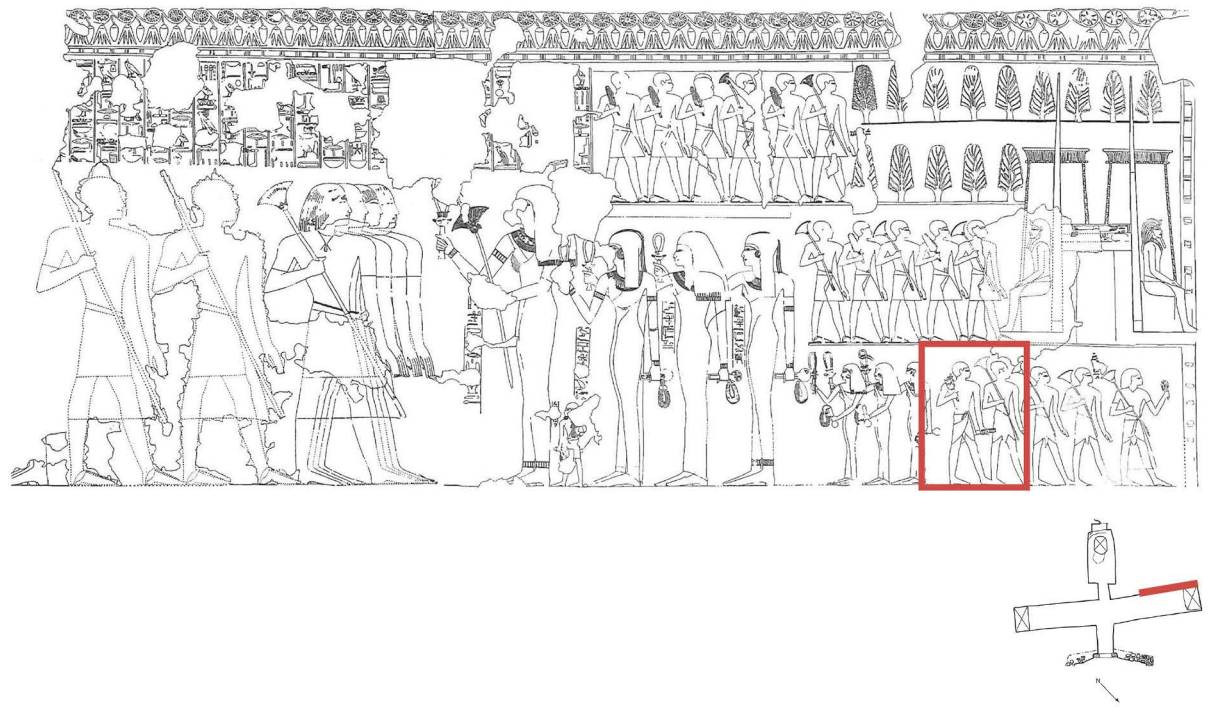

Fig. 2. The painter of Amun Userhat in the scene of the procession to the temple on the western section of the south wall of the broad hall of TT 75 (after Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pls. 13–14; and author's photographs).

Sise's direct predecessors in the office of Second High Priest of Amun, who bore the explicit title *imy-r ḥmw.w nw ḥw.t-nṯr n Ỉmn*; see N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, PMMA, Robb de Peyster Tytus memorial series 2–3 (New York, 1922), 27–28, 66–76, pl. 23–27. On the function of the second High Priest of Amun in the administration of the estate of the god (notably analyzed through the study of those two tombs), see G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e^ dynastie* (Paris, 1929), 22–26, §4. The

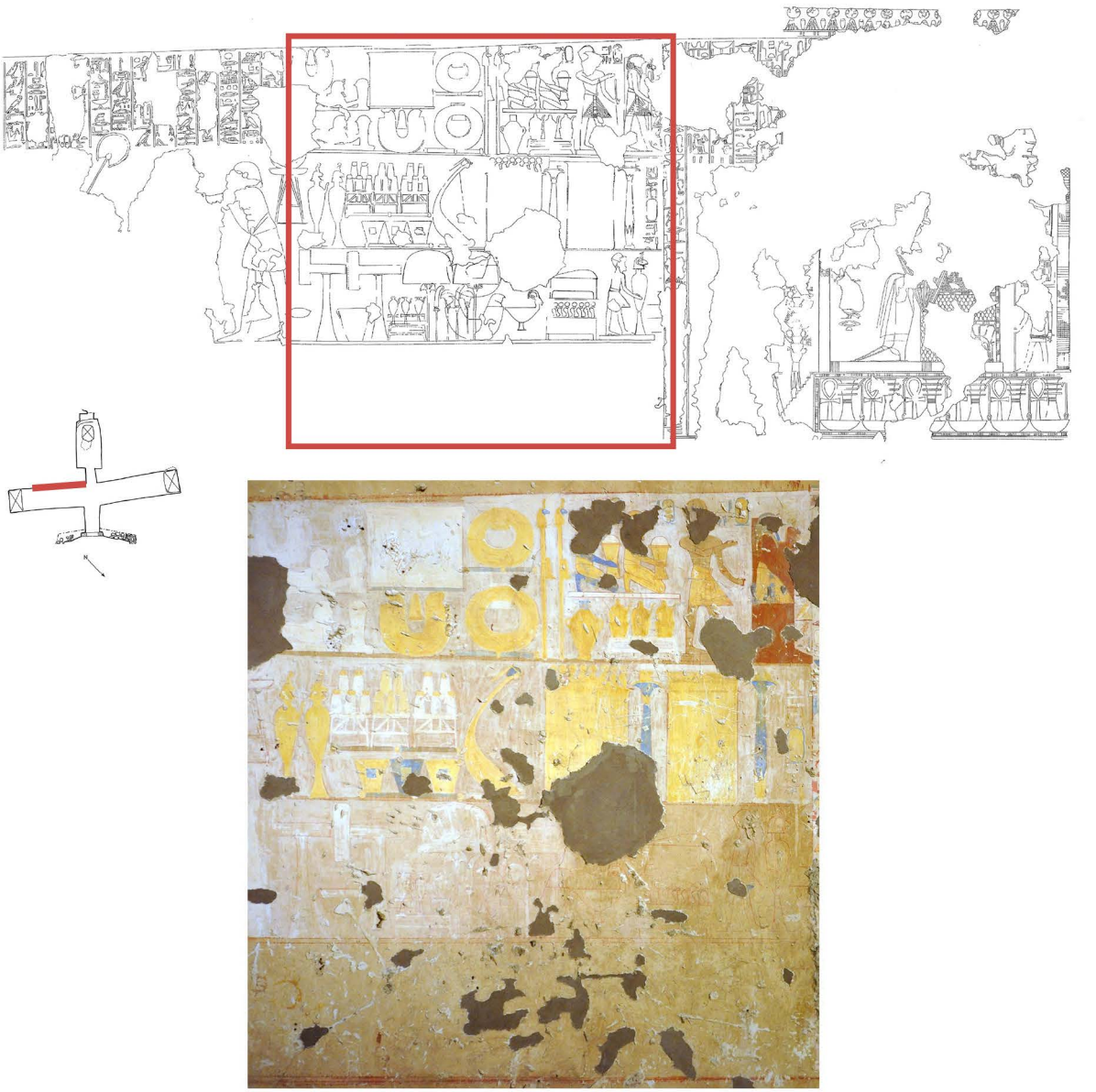

Fig. 3. The royal monuments for Amun presented by Amenhotep Sise to the king on the eastern section of the south wall of the broad hall of TT 75 (after Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pls. 11–12; and author's photograph).

scene[12] still reads: "Coming [in peace with the bouquet of Amun of] Karnak (*Ipet-sut*), 'may he (the god) praise you (the king), may he love you, may he prolong your existence and grant you life, stability and [wealth], power and victory over all lands (…), may you live like Ra', by the noble, the prince, the [chancellor] of the king of Lower Egypt,

restoration of the mention of the temple of Amun in the inscription accompanying the image of the tomb owner is secured by the titles of the chief artists he meets, the *ḫry.w ḥmw.w nw ḥw.t-nṯr Imn* (Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. 8).

12. On this motif, see Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 54–73.

[… Amenhotep-Si]se, justified." Another figure of the second High Priest of Amun, rewarded with "the favors of the Lord of the two Lands in gold," closes the depiction of the precious goods brought to Pharaoh,[13] with the caption: "directing the monuments and presenting (them) to the sight of [the king (*?*) …] works according to the command and desire of His Majesty in making propitiation of the heart of the Lord [of the gods …] seeking what might serve [his father Amun] and adorning his house with electrum. It was too much to be recorded in writing, all kinds of vessels without end, [*menats*, sistrums, necklaces, … statues, …] the king of the gods. And it is praised and beloved in the presence of His Majesty that the second High Priest of [Amun, Amen]hotep went out." Together with the large workshop scene on the opposite wall, this unusually long title inscription makes perfectly explicit the claims of Amenhotep-Sise for the responsibility of producing the depicted monuments presented to Pharaoh.

Although the scene was left unfinished at a still rather preliminary stage,[14] some of those monuments were labeled: on the top register, before three royal statues accompanied by a cartouche and the epithet "beloved of Amun," a quite unusual ram-standard bearer sculpture of the king is painted in red-ocher (with a few polychrome elements), along with the inscription "[… Amun] who hears prayers," a figure that Betsy M. Bryan convincingly suggested to identify with an actual quartzite statue of Thutmose IV found in Karnak and now in the Cairo Museum (JE 43611);[15] and, just below, at the beginning (i.e., on the right) of the second register, a monumental doorway named "the great door of electrum of king … (cartouche left blank): 'Amun is powerful of respect.'" L. Borchardt and N. de G. Davies recognized in this last image the portico made in the name of Thutmose IV in order to enhance the entrance of the IVth pylon of the temple of Amun in Karnak.[16] This porch was actually part of a vast and prestigious architectural project ordered by the king to embellish the festival courtyard in the front of this sacred precinct with an impressive and sumptuous peristyle.[17] It is the late J. Yoyotte who drew attention to another con-

13. From a compositional point of view, the secondary—though quite sizable—image of the anonymous servant placing the royal rewards "in gold" on the chest of Amenhotep Sise was cleverly integrated into the scene in order to visually emphasize the character of the honored dignitary as well as the consequence of the latter's achievement: the king's satisfaction and favors. By doing so, the mural designer gave a narrative dimension to his composition (as he did on the other focal wall, discussed above). In the same perspective, a third figure of the tomb owner, now completely hacked out (like all the other ones), holding a papyrus stalk and turned in the other direction (i.e., to the left), was meant to extend the scene under discussion into another one, at the very end of the prepared surface of the wall, the rest of this aisle of the broad hall being only quite roughly hewn. This abrupt cessation of the painting surface and of the painting itself is a good case of what I have proposed to call ergonomic conflicts (i.e., incompleteness of a task due to the incompleteness of the previous necessary phase[s] of the work, engendering a possible necessity of repair), revealing specific modalities of work coordination and the—almost—simultaneous activity of different trades involved in the making of decorated tombs (D. Laboury, "Tracking Ancient Egyptian Artists, a Problem of Methodology: The Case of the Painters of Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010*, ed. K. A. Kóthay, [Budapest, 2012], 204–5). It also shows that, at least in this particular instance, the iconographic program was well and precisely planned in advance, before the completion of the stone-cutting operation; for another example of the same kind, see D. Laboury and H. Tavier, "À la recherche des peintres de la nécropole thébaine sous la 18e dynastie: Prolégomènes à une analyse des pratiques picturales dans la tombe d'Amenemopé (TT 29)," in *Thèbes aux 101 portes. Mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin*, ed. E. Warmenbol and V. Angenot, MonAeg XII, série *imago* 3 (Brussels, 2010), 98–99.

14. M. Baud, *Les dessins ébauchés de la Nécropole Thébaine*, MIFAO 73 (Cairo, 1935), 113–14, pl. 15–16. This incompletion plainly reveals that the painter-designer worked his scene top down and from right to left (i.e., like a written document in ancient Egyptian scribal practice) between the two large figures of the tomb owner, placed in advance (as shown by the grids), almost certainly with the help of his apprentice for the application of undercoats and background colors (this is probably why Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 3, was inclined to recognize the work of the "underling" of the team in this unfinished panel).

15. B. M. Bryan, "Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV," *JARCE* 24 (1987), 13–20 (with earlier bibliography).

16. L. Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak*, UGAÄ 5 (Leipzig, 1905), 27–28 (misinterpreting the structure as a monument of Thutmose III); Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 14. On this portico, see B. M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 170–71; and now the publication by B. Letellier and Fr. Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, Soleb - études d'égyptologie 12 (Paris, 2012). B. Letellier showed that this porch or portico was designated at the time as a *sbḥ.t*; see B. Letellier, "Thoutmosis IV à Karnak: Hommage tardif rendu à un bâtisseur malchanceux," *BSFE* 122 (1991), 43. On the meaning of *sbḥ.t*, see J. Yoyotte, "Un nouveau souvenir de Sheshanq I et un muret héliopolitain de plus," *RdE* 54 (2003), 229–32.

17. On this complex, see the publication of Letellier and Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*. On the previous festival courtyard

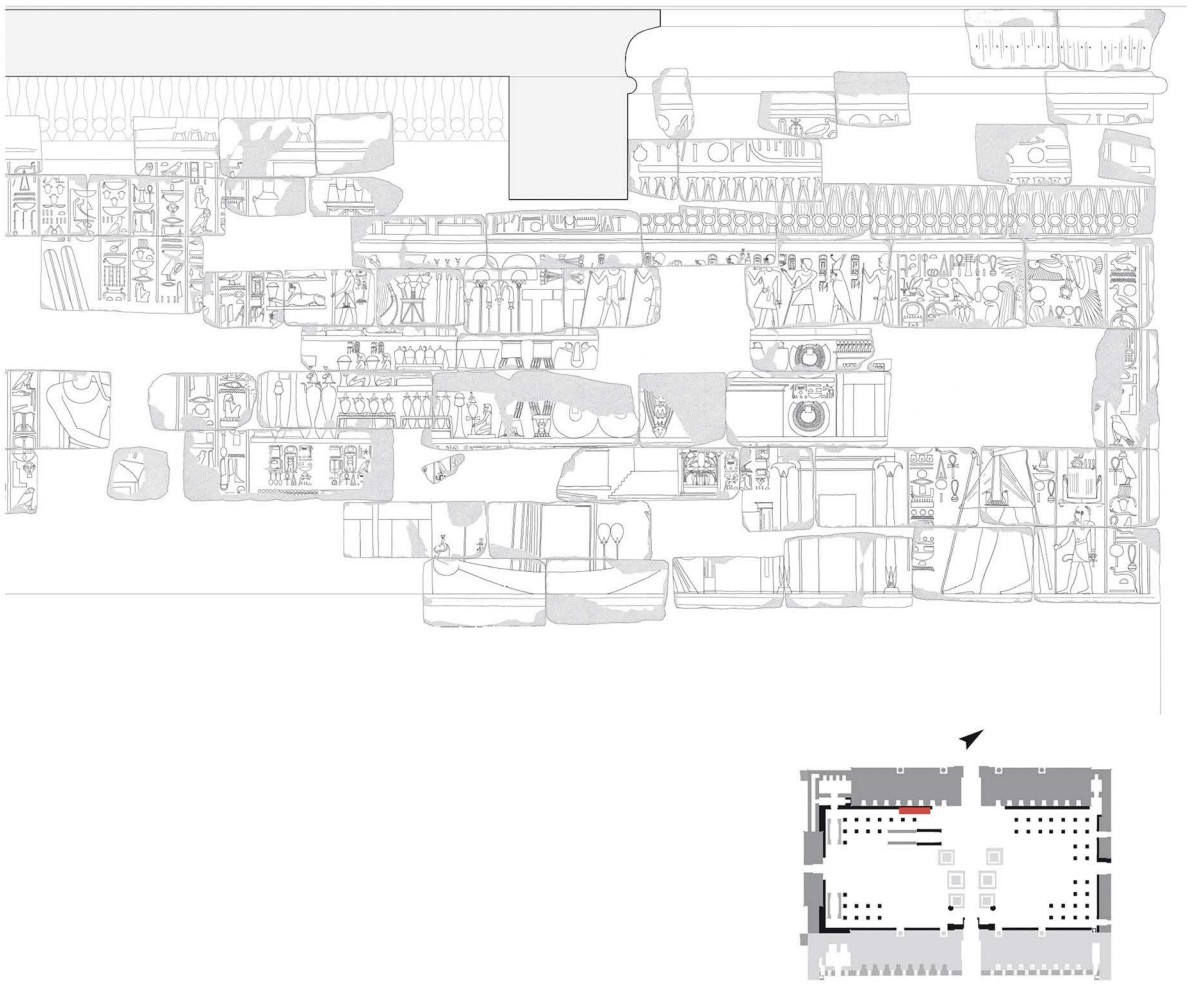

Fig. 4. The royal monuments presented by Thutmose IV to Amun on the southern section of the eastern wall of the king's festival courtyard in Karnak (after Letellier and Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, dépliant 3).

temporaneous and identical representation of the same portico on a block coming from this decorated peristyle.[18] At that moment, in the middle of the previous century, the block under discussion was isolated from its original iconographic context. But, thanks to the work of B. Letellier and Fr. Larché, the initial composition in which it took place has now been restored through the anastylosis of the peristyle of Thutmose IV in the open-air Museum of Karnak. This allows a better appraisal of the scene, as well as an improvement of the comparison between the two

that it was meant to adorn and the history of this double structure, see L. Gabolde, "À propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II, dédiés à son père Thoutmosis I et érigés sous le règne d'Hatshepsout-pharaon à l'ouest du IVe pylône," *Karnak* 8 (1987), 143–58; idem, "La 'cour des fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak," *Karnak* 9 (1993), 1–100; idem, "Compléments sur les obélisques et la 'cour des fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak," *Karnak* 11 (2003), 417–68; idem, "Le parvis et la porte du IVe pylône à Karnak. Considérations sur une chapelle et des obélisques," in "*Parcourir l'éternité.*" *Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, ed. Chr. Zivie-Coche and I. Guermeur, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses 156, 1 (Turnhout, 2012), 459–81.

18. J. Yoyotte, "Un porche doré: La porte du IVe pylône au grand temple de Karnak," *CdE* 28 (1953), 28–38.

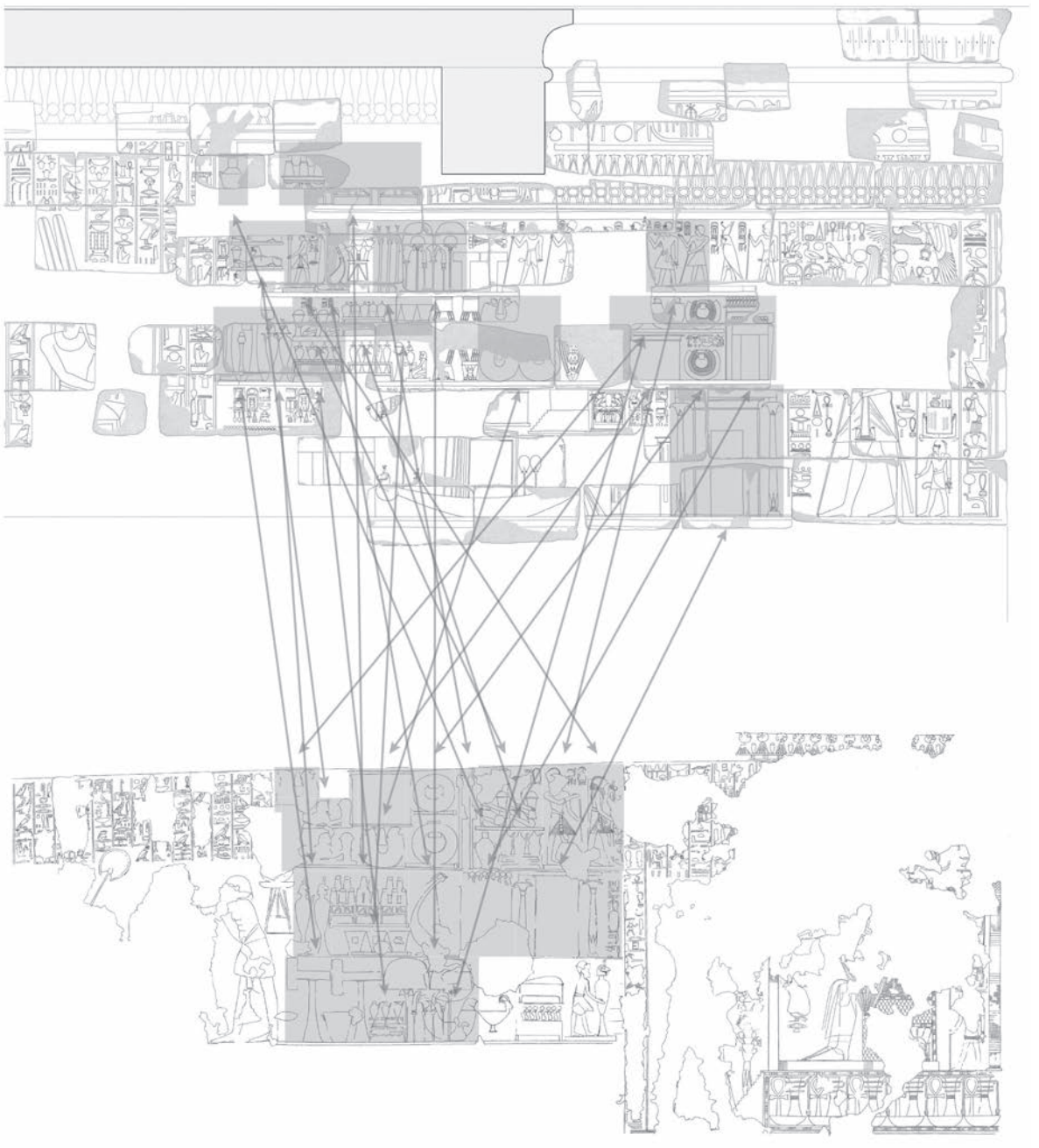

Fig. 5. Comparison between the scenes of presentation of the royal monuments for Amun in the festival courtyard of Thutmose IV and in TT 75 (after Letellier and Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, dépliant 3, and Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pls. 11–12).

depictions of the luxurious monuments dedicated by Thutmose IV to Amun of Karnak, in the tomb of Amenhotep Sise and in the festival courtyard made anew by the king.

Just as in the tomb of the second High Priest of Amun, the extensive tableau at the entrance of Karnak temple of the time (fig. 4) was displayed at a focal point, unavoidable for any visitor going back and forth to this semipublic part of the temenos. It occupied the entire height of the wall,[19] just to the right when entering the temple, half of it in full sunlight, the rest, with the seated figure of the god, under the beginning of the peristyle. But more striking is the thematic correspondence between the two contemporary scenes. In her study of "the Noble Harp of Amun," L. Manniche underlined this point: "It is a rare coincidence that the very same harp was depicted by one of the king's officials in his tomb in a similar situation, that is, among offerings to the god. The harp is virtually identical, but rendered with fewer surviving details for the reason that this part of the decoration was only sketched. A comparison between the display of gifts in TT 75 and the building of Tuthmosis IV reveals that the majority of the objects are identical, including the model of a golden porch of the king, all items which would delight the god during the cult ritual and processions. Sistra and menat are mentioned in the tomb, but not depicted, whereas the sistra appear to be included in the decoration of the temple, just to the right of the harp."[20] Actually, every object but four drawn in TT 75 has its—almost exact—equivalent in the festival courtyard representation,[21] although the composition is not identical (fig. 5). It is important to stress here the idiosyncrasy of the many occurrences of this type of royal gifts scene. Whether in temples or in private tombs, they are always different and quite specific.[22] Another hint regarding the significance of the iconographic convergence between the two depictions is provided by clear traces of thematic rather than morphological corrections or *pedimenti* in the sketches drawn on the third register of the scene in the tomb of Amenhotep Sise (fig. 3), where a pair of *wsḫ*-collars terminating with falcon heads (already evoked on the top register) were modified into a set of six fans that appear, in exactly the same combination, on the reliefs of the peristyle of Thutmose IV (figs. 4 and 5).[23] So the detailed content of the scene

19. Except for the large depictions flanking the monumental doors of the festival courtyard of Thutmose IV (including those on its rear wall, leaning on the western façade of the IVth pylon, on each side of the porch discussed above), the rest of the wall decoration was displayed in two superposed registers of the same scale as the single scenes that adorned each face of the pillars of the peristyle; see Letellier and Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*.

20. L. Manniche, "The Noble Harp of Amun," in Warmenbol and Angenot, *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 139. The thematic convergence between the two scenes was also noted and commented on by Letellier, "Thoutmosis IV à Karnak," 43; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 34, 81; and Letellier and Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, 205, 208–9, 210–17, 453, 461–64. Since the painting in TT 75 was left unfinished, it is of course impossible to be sure that sistra and menat, referred to in the accompanying inscription, were not meant to be depicted in the last or lowest register, which is completely blank. Nevertheless, the complementarity between texts and images in this case is noteworthy.

21. Given the state of preservation of the temple wall, with a few missing blocks, it is also impossible to assert with certainty that the ibex cup, the two chests and the statue(tte?) of the king presenting a vase with a lid in the shape of the ram head of Amun depicted in TT 75 (third register) were absent in the Karnak composition, although there is not so much space for them in this tableau. They rather seem to be additions or creations by Amenhotep Sise's painter, whether evoking actual objects of the temple's treasury, or invented and inspired by the representation in the festival courtyard; in this hypothesis, the standing royal figure with the vase, for instance, could be a variation or formal reinterpretation of the kneeling sculpture of the king handing over a similar vessel in the Karnak scene, just as the consecrating statue of Thutmose IV in TT 75 (on the top register) is obviously a combination of the two sculptures of this kind depicted on the temple wall (compare garments, headgears, and gestures).

22. Compare, for example, the famous tableau on the so-called wall of the Annals of Thutmose III (PM II$^2$, 97–98 [282]; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Zweiter Teil (Leipzig, 1935), pl. 33b; P. Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Rê: essai d'exégèse*, RAPH 21 [Cairo, 1962], 151–52, pl. 21) with another scene of the same kind made by the same king a few meters away, on the south part of the western façade of the "Palais de Maât," in Karnak (PM II$^2$, 95–96 [277]; Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, 128); or, for the private sphere, the almost contemporaneous scenes of TT 76 (Tjenuna; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, PTT 1 [Oxford, 1957], 50–51, pl. 72), TT 96 (Sennefer; PM I$^1$, 198 [6]; N. de G. Davies, "The Graphic Work of the Expedition at Thebes," *BMMA* 23 [Dec. 1928], 46, fig. 6), TT 93 (Qenamun; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, PMMA 5 [New York, 1930], pl. 13–20, 22–24) and TT 92 (Suemniwet; B. M. Bryan, "Painting Techniques and Artisan Organization in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92," in Davies, *Colour and Painting*, pl. 22, 1). Of course, the phenomenon of intericonicity, referred to here below, implies (the possibility of) some borrowings or even quotes, but they are never as extensive as in the case under discussion.

23. Close-up drawing in Baud, *Les dessins ébauchés*, pl. 15. The chronology between the two sketches is made clear by the fact that the fans received their white undercoat, contrary to the collars, partly hidden in this first painting process.

was undeniably very important to the designer of the decoration of TT 75 and there can be no doubt that this iconographic correspondence between the tomb and the temple is fully deliberate.

The message that Amenhotep Sise wanted to convey is plainly obvious: any visitor to his funerary and commemorative chapel, especially among his contemporaries, intimates, and colleagues,[24] was certainly—or was supposed to be—able to recognize the link he meant to establish between his own monument of eternity and the temple in which he held his office, and, at the same time, to understand that he was responsible for the production of at least a part of the sumptuous royal gifts to the god overtly displayed in the entrance festival courtyard of the temple. As the connection between the two scenes implies, Amenhotep Sise provided the king with the precious products the latter was to offer to Amun,[25] demonstrating the exceptional importance the tomb owner enjoyed during his lifetime.

But, aside from this commissioning patron's perspective, there are also some properly artistic implications of this iconographic convergence. We have here a good, and actually quite extreme, case of cross-references between two pictorial compositions, which I have recently proposed to describe as a phenomenon of intericonicity, arguing that it is within this very phenomenon that creativity operates in ancient Egyptian art, a creation by imitation, emulation, and/or (re)interpretation of previous works.[26] The comparison between the two royal gifts scenes, in TT 75 and in the festival courtyard of Thutmose IV, reveals a clear instance of direct inspiration, that is nevertheless not a slavish copy, but rather a creative copy or—better—borrowing, intentionally allowing, on the one hand, the understanding of the intericonical reference linking the model and its derivation and blurring, on the other hand, the copy process itself by the creation of a new composition with the same set of motifs (fig. 5). In order to achieve such an aim—no doubt settled, in this case, by the tomb owner and patron—the designer of the scene must have had a very good and precise knowledge of the large and impressive tableau at the entrance of Thutmose IV's courtyard in Karnak and most probably used a copy of it.[27]

As we have seen, the tomb decoration was signed, in the other aisle of the chapel, by a double mirroring self-portrait *in assistenza* made by "the painter of Amun, Userhat" (figs. 1 and 2).[28] As such, this painter was in his everyday life and usual business a subordinate of his patron in this private funerary project, the second High Priest

24. The ancient graffiti recorded in TT 161 suggest that, in addition to the circle of family and friends, the tombs were also visited by colleagues, sometimes a few generations later; see S. Quirke, "The Hieratic Texts in the Tomb of Nakht the Gardener, at Thebes (No. 161) as Copied by Robert Hay," *JEA* 72 (1986), 79–90 (I wish to thank here A. Den Doncker for drawing my attention to this very clear and interesting case). Unfortunately for Amenhotep Sise, the magnificent festival courtyard of Thutmose IV, to which he connected his own tomb, was to be short lived, for it was almost completely dismantled in the next generation, during the reign of Amenhotep III (see above, n. 17). Moreover, he himself had some enemies who took care to erase every single depiction of him in his—moreover—unfinished mortuary chapel.

25. From this point of view, it is interesting to note that the two figures of the king, in the tomb and on the temple wall, seem—once again—to mirror each other: followed by the royal *ka*, they are dressed almost identically, wearing the liturgical kilt with a triangular apron and the *ibes* wig with double feather (*ibs šw.ty wr.ty*) and double *uraeus*, although Pharaoh is depicted passive and receiving in TT 75 while he is standing and active in the festival courtyard scene.

26. D. Laboury, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art," to be published in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, ed. T. Gillen, AegLeod (Liège, forthcoming). On the concept of intericonicity, sometimes also referred to as interpictoriality (or *Interbildlichkeit* in German), see G. Isekenmeier, ed., *Interpiktorialität: Theorie und Geschichte der Bild-Bild-Bezüge* (Bielefeld, 2013; I wish to thank here G. Pieke for this reference). It applies perfectly to what D. Arnold described in her excellent contribution entitled "Egyptian Art—A Performing Art?" in *Servant of Mut; Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. S. H. D'Auria, PÄ 28 (Leiden, 2007), 1–18. For a tentative definition of how innovation and creativity were conceptualized in ancient Egyptian culture, see D. Laboury, "Citations et usages de l'art du Moyen Empire à l'époque thoutmoside," in *Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit*, ed. S. Bickel, AegHel 22 (Basel, 2013), 11–28, pls. 1–10.

27. This is indeed strongly suggested by the very close similarity or often the exact identity of the iconographic conventions chosen to depict many objects in both scenes, like, for instance, the portico "Amun is powerful of respect," the set of fans referred to above (n. 23), the "Noble Harp of Amun," the different series of collars, and the sphinxes holding a vase. The recomposition of the scene in TT 75 does not at all hint at physically separated copies of discrete elements of the Karnak representation (like, as usually postulated in such circumstances in Egyptology, on a set of *ostraca*) for such a hypothesis would completely neglect—if not negate—the creative capabilities of the painter, otherwise very well attested in the overall design of the tomb decoration, as well as in the shaping of individual figures (see, e.g., above, n. 21).

28. On the homogeneity of the paintings and painterly practices in the tomb, see above, n. 1.

of Amun Amenhotep Sise, in charge of "the workshops [of the temple of Amun] and the pro[ducts] of [every artistic function] (…) made by his Majesty (…) for the [temple] of [his father Amun]."[29] Although he presented himself just as a "painter of Amun," and not a "chief painter" or "director of the painters of Amun," his selection by Amenhotep Sise, who had all artists of Amun's domain at hand,[30] the very fact that he was authorized to include himself in his compositions, twice and in such a favorable condition, and the high level and quality of his oeuvre in the tomb (both in terms of overall design and of painterly expertise and skills) indicate his importance as a "painter of Amun."[31] In this capacity, he must have been involved—in all likelihood significantly—in the important iconographical projects of his time in Karnak, that is, the festival courtyard of Thutmose IV, and so must have had easy access to the composition of the inspiring scene in the temple of Amun or even to its original plans. And, moreover, if he was an important and recognized iconographer or image expert in the administration and hierarchy of the domain of Amun, as all seems to indicate, there is a strong probability that he could have been the original designer of the royal gifts scene at the entrance of the magnificent courtyard of Thutmose IV, an achievement that would have justified perfectly his selection by his chief, Amenhotep Sise, to design the decoration of the latter's own tomb.

29. See above, n. 11.

30. On the recruitment of workers and trades for the making of a private tomb in the New Kingdom, see the remarks in Laboury, "Tracking Ancient Egyptian Artists," 202–3.

31. According to the available evidence (see above, n. 1), the signature habits, at least in the New Kingdom, normally did not imply the display of a full curriculum vitae or complete titulary (to the contrary of the situation of self-thematization that prevailed for monuments owned by artists themselves, like their stelae or tombs). The important message in this very context lays, it seems, in the expression of the official status of artistic author, in this case "the painter," with the administrative and probably prestigious precision "of Amun" (here, again, a parallel might be made with Renaissance times; see Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*). Moreover, among the expected visitors of the tomb (see the discussion above), it is highly plausible that most of them were capable of recognizing who this "painter of Amun, Userhat" really was. On the status of the painter in ancient Egypt, see D. Laboury, "Le scribe et le peintre." One of the administrative *ostraca* recording the making of the tomb of the first High Priest of Amun Mery (TT 95), during the last decade of the reign of Amenhotep II, found by the Belgian Archaeological Mission in the Theban Necropolis, a joint project of the University of Brussels and the University of Liège, refers to the work of "the painter Userhat and the painter Pairy." These texts should soon be published by A. Gnirs and P. Tallet in a forthcoming volume of *MDAIK*. If TT 75 was prepared in the early reign of Thutmose IV, as suggested by Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 4 (on a stylistic ground) and F. Kampp (*Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, SAGA 13 [Mainz, 1996], 310), this "painter Userhat" attested in the tomb of Mery and the one who designed and signed the decoration of the funerary chapel of Amenhotep Sise could be one and the same, responsible for the making of—at least parts of—two almost contemporaneous Theban tombs within the same socio-professional sphere, in which he was besides employed. I would like to express here my deepest gratitude to A. Gnirs for the discussion which we had on this matter and for inviting H. Tavier and myself to analyze the paintings and painterly practices in TT 95 in order to address the issue from an art-historical and technical point of view.