

Middle Kingdom Studies 12

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

*Contributions on Archaeology, Art,
Religion, and Written Sources*

vol. III



Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki (eds)



GHP

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Religion, and Written Sources

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Middle Kingdom Studies 12

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Abbreviations

Ä&L/ÄuL/ÄgLev = *Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete* (Vienna)

ÄA = *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)

ÄAT = *Ägypten und Altes Testament* (Wiesbaden)

Abgadiyat = *Abgadiyat: Scientific Refereed Journal by the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Calligraphy Center* (Alexandria)

Achet = *Achet Schriften zur Ägyptologie* (Berlin)

ACER = *Australian Centre for Egyptology. Reports* (Sydney)

AegMonast = *Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia* (Aachen)

AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin/Graz/Vienna)

AHL = *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* (London)

AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (Napoli)

ÄMP = *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin*

Ann CdF = *Annuaire du Collège de France* (Paris)

Ann. Rev. Anthropol = *Annual Review of Anthropology* (Palo Alto)

AnOr = *Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* (Rome)

AntOr = *Antiguo Oriente* (Seminario de Historia Antigua II, Universidad de Alcalá)

AOS = *American Oriental Series* (New Haven)

ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo)

ASE = *Archaeological Survey of Egypt* (London)

ASEM (EES) = *Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Memoirs* (London)

ASOR = *American Schools of Oriental Research* (Alexandria, VA)

AV = *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo* (Berlin / Mainz am Rhein)

AVDAIK = *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo* (Berlin/ Mainz am Rhein)

BABELAO = *Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour l'Etude des Langues Anciennes et Orientales* (Louvain)

BACE = *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* (North Ryde)

BaE = *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* (Brussels)

BAR = *British Archaeological Reports* (Oxford)

BAR IS = *British Archaeological Reports International Series* (Oxford)

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Alexandria, VA)

BCE = *Bulletin de la céramique égyptienne* (IFAO, Cairo)

BdE = *Bibliothèque d'Étude* (IFAO, Cairo)

BEC = *British Egyptology Congress* (EES, London)

BEM = *Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo)

BES = *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* (New York)

BH = Beni Hassan, Egypt

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)

BiOr = *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden)

BM = *British Museum*, London

BMPES = *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* (London)

BMSAES = *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* (London)

BMRAH = *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels)

BODO = *BIBEL und ORIENT Museum* (Fribourg) online database

BOLMG = *Bolton Museum and Art Gallery*, Bolton, UK

BOREAS = *Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern* (Uppsala)

BOS NS = *Bonnener Orientalische Studien. Neue Serie* (Stuttgart/Bonn/Wiesbaden)

BSAE/ERA = *British School of Archeology in Egypt/ Egyptian Research Account* (London)

BSAE = *British School of Archaeology in Egypt* (London)

BSEG = *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* (Geneva)

BZÄ = *Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* (Vienna)

CAENL = *Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant* (Vienna)

CASAE = *Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE* (Cairo)

CCEM = *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* (Vienna)

CdE = *Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles* (Brussels)

CG/CGC = *Catalogue General du Musée du Caire* (Cairo)

CHANE = *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* (Leiden)

CNMAL = *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden)

CRAIBL = *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (Paris)

CRIPeL = *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* (Paris/Lille)

CSIC = *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (Spanish National Research Council)

CT = *Coffin Texts*

DAIK = *Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*

DE = *Discussions in Egyptology* (Oxford)

DFIFAO = *Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* (Cairo)

DGÖAW = *Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna)

EA = *Egyptian Archaeology* (London)

EEF = *Egypt Exploration Fund* (London)

EES = *Egypt Exploration Society* (London)

- EES EM = Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs (London)
- EES OP = Egypt Exploration Society, Occasional Publications (London)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EJARS = *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies* (Sohag)
- ENiM = *Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne* (Montpellier)
- EU = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EVO = *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* (Pisa)
- FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires (Cairo)
- FIP = First Intermediate Period (2160–2055 BC).
- GHPE = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
- GM = *Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen)
- GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen I V. Reihe, Ägypten (Wiesbaden)
- GSL = Gardiner's Sign List (in A.H. GARDINER: *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1957)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- HES = Harvard Egyptological Studies (Leiden/Boston)
- IAA = Israel Antiquities Authority
- IBAES = Internet-Beitraege zur Aegyptologie und Sudanarchaeologie (Berlin/London)
- IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem)
- IFAO = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
- IJCP = *International Journal of Cultural Property* (Cambridge)
- IJHS = *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (Taylor & Francis online)
- IRSR = *International Regional Science Review* (Los Angeles/London/New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC/Melbourne)
- JAEA = *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (online)
- JAIE = *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (Tucson)
- JAR = *Journal of Anthropological Research* (Chicago)
- JARCE = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo)
- JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* (London)
- JEH/JEgH = *Journal of Egyptian History* (Leiden)
- JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
- JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
- JSA = *Journal of Social Archaeology* (United Kingdom)
- JSem = *Journal for Semitics* (South Africa, SASSEM)
- JSSEA = *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto)
- KASKAL = *Kaskal. Journal History, Environment, and Cultures of the Ancient Near East* (Venezia)
- KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz am Rhein)
- Kush = *Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service/ Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM)* (Khartoum)
- LÄ = W. HELCK, E. OTTO, W. WESTENDORF (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, 1972–75 (Wiesbaden)
- LAAA = *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology & Anthropology* (Liverpool)
- LingAeg StudMon = *Linguae Aegyptia. Studia Monographica* (Göttingen)
- MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin/Munich/Mainz am Rhein)
- MÄSB = *Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin)
- MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden)
- MEEF = EEF Excavation Memoirs (London)
- MET = Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York
- MFA = Museum of Fine Arts in Boston
- MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Paris/Cairo)
- MK = Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 BC).
- MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London/Pisa)
- MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York
- MMJ = *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York)
- MRAH = Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
- MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Brussels/Turnhout)
- MVEOL = Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- NCM = Nottingham City Museums and Galleries
- NEA = *Near Eastern Archaeology* (Alexandria, VA)
- OBO = *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* (Freiburg/Göttingen)
- OBOSA = *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica* (Freiburg/Göttingen)
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- OIMP = Oriental Institute Museum Publications (Chicago)
- OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Leuven)
- OM = *Orient & Méditerranée* (Paris)
- PdÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden/Boston/Köln)
- PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund (London)
- PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (London)
- PIHANS = PIHANS, *Egyptologische Uitgaven, Achaemenid History* (Leuven)
- PM = B. PORTER, R. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols., 1927–1951 (1960–), (Oxford)
- PMAG = Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Perth, UK
- PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition) (New York)

- PPYE = Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt (New Haven)
- PT = Pyramid Texts
- QDAP = *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (Jerusalem)
- PN = H. RANKE, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen*, 2 vols. (Glückstadt, 1935, 1952)
- RACE = *Reports of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* (Sydney)
- RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
- REAC = *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* (Bologna)
- RecTrav/RT = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris)
- Rime = *Rivista del Museo Egizio* (Turin)
- Rives = *Rives méditerranéennes* (Marseille)
- RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden
- ROM = Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada
- ROSAPAT = Rome «La Sapienza» Studies on the Archaeology of Palestine & Transjordan (Rome)
- SACOS = School of Archaeology, Classic and Oriental Studies
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
- SAHL = Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant (Winona Lake)
- SAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg)
- SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte (Hamburg)
- SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin)
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
- SASAE = Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte (Cairo)
- SDAIK = Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Wiesbaden)
- Shedet = *Shedet. Annual Peer-reviewed Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University* (Fayoum)
- SIP = Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 BC)
- SMC = Studies in Manuscript Cultures (Berlin)
- TdE = *Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt* (Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife)
- TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (Berlin)
- TPPI = J.J. CLÈRE, J. VANDIER, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} Dynastie*, (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 10, Brussels 1948)
- TT = Theban Tomb
- UC = Petrie Museum, University College London, Inventory Number
- UCL = University College London
- UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim/Leipzig/Berlin)
- UMM = University Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
- Urk. = K. SETHE, W. HELCK, H. SCHÄFER, H. GRAPOW, O. FIRCHOW (eds), *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 8 vols., 1903–57 (Leipzig/Berlin)
- UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna)
- VDI = *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (Revue d'Histoire ancienne), (Moscow/Leningrad)
- WA = Writings from the Ancient World. Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
- Wb = A. ERMAN, W. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache*, 7 vols, 1926–61 (Berlin)
- WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
- ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin/Leipzig)
- ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Wiesbaden)

The Preservation of Monuments in the Written Sources of Dynastic Egypt between 2000 and 1550 BC

Micòl Di Teodoro

Abstract

This paper introduces the concept(s) of preservation of monuments during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, part of a larger diachronic project I am working on. The media for the preservation of monuments in Ancient Egypt encompassed the realm of the supernatural, going beyond the limits of the physical world. Rituals and magic combined with restoration works, renewals, and embellishments guaranteed the preservation of public and private buildings, assuring the eternal remembrance of the benefactor and the beneficiary. Written sources ranging from literary compositions, administrative documents, and funerary inscriptions attest to explicit and implicit wishes to preserve monuments, which gives different nuances to the concept of preservation itself. Various reasons can be identified behind the intent to preserve monuments, mainly of ideological and political character. These may also reveal an awareness of the monumental past that nowadays can be included in the so-called cultural heritage of a country.

«A man acts for the one who was his predecessor, from the wish that what he has made may be restored by another who comes after him»*

Introduction

As Alois Riegl states, ‘a monument in its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or vents (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations’.¹ As such, the concept of monument is tied to the memory of people and events, and the monument itself can be intended as a materialisation of our – as human beings – natural inclination to continuity. The acts of making, transforming, and destroying monuments, and generally speaking art, is a ‘mode of memory’.²

Nowadays the monumental past of a given country is part of its ‘cultural heritage’, when it is imbued with historical, artistic, or commemorative values.³ Architectural monuments are considered worthy of preservation as the ‘cultural memory’⁴ of a social group, for the benefit of the individual, the collectivity, and future generations. Under the rubric ‘monuments’ figure architectural structures of public and private characters, religious and profane. We need to bear in mind that since Antiquity the attitude towards preservation or non-preservation of monuments has always gone hand in hand with indigenous values and beliefs, and the needs of the present times.⁵ The values assigned to a monument can change over time, and even from group to group at the same time. The awareness of the ‘historical past’ and its positive or negative evaluation play an active and basic role in the tendency towards preservation or non-pres-

*Extract from the Teaching for Merikara: P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 23, column 10, lines 12-13.

¹ RIGEL, *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, 1.

² ELSNER, in NELSON, OLIN (eds), *Monuments and memory*, 209.

³ BARASSI, *Tate Papers* 8, 1-2.

⁴ ASSMANN, *Cultural Memory*.

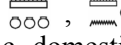
⁵ LAYTON, in LAYTON (ed.), *Who needs the Past?*, 10; VAN DYCKE, ALCOCK † (eds), *Archaeologies of Memory*, 3.

ervation⁶ (see Fig. 1). A positive evaluation of the past and historical consciousness⁷ result in the preservation of memory, and in all those actions aiming at restoring and keeping monuments in their pristine state. They also fuel the cultural phenomena of archaism and antiquarianism. The former is the revival of the past, so the creation of a new monument embedding elements of the past which are considered as permeated with artistic values, or of ideological importance in the present times. In archaism, new and old coexist.⁸ Antiquarianism is the devotion to and interest in antiquities for their age, and the cultural, artistic or aesthetic values, which results in the collection of past objects.⁹ On the other hand, a negative evaluation of the past results in oblivion, destruction, and major transformations. Those are due to the loss of the original significance and value of the monument, the loss of memory, and reinterpretation. The reuse of the material with different values and functions is the most common transformation. The destruction, total or partial of the monument is also due to the intent to obliterate the memory of individuals (*damnatio memoriae*), and to annul the power of the monument. For example, Christians of the Late Antique period (third-eighth century AD) damaged the statues of ancient Egyptian and Greek gods because they were symbols of polytheism. This damage stemmed from a negative evaluation of the past and the commitment to establishing the hegemony of the Christian cult. Damaging the statues made the polytheistic religions powerless in front of Christianity.¹⁰

The concept of 'preservation' was deeply rooted in the culture of dynastic Egypt (2700-332 BC). The main recipient of acts of preservation was the human body. For

ancient Egyptians life was everlasting, death being just the transition into another phase of existence.¹¹ The preservation of the body, through the practice of embalming and magical rituals, guaranteed the survival of the individual in the afterlife. To that end, the preservation of the tomb – the place where the individual remains present in the realm of the living after death – was equally important as it ensured protection to the body of the deceased, and guaranteed the remembrance of their name, thus the preservation of their memory.¹² For the same purpose, the statues of kings, officials, and common people were 'activated' through the 'opening of the mouth and the eyes' ritual,¹³ which turned the monuments into the living materialisations of the deceased. Damaging the statue or erasing the name of an individual from his monument (statue, stela, tomb etc.) was like deleting his existence, killing his essence. The mutilation of statues, especially royal statues and coffins was very common throughout dynastic times. Many statues were broken at knee height in order to paralyse them forever. Others had their eyes, nose, and mouth damaged to avert the revenge of the deceased (see below).¹⁴

Preservation of Monuments in Dynastic Egypt

The Ancient Egyptian word for 'monument' was *mnw*, variously written . It identifies public, domestic, and funerary buildings, along with portable objects such as stelae, statues, and pieces of furniture. The noun *mnw* derives from the verb *mn* that means 'to be stable, firm, established', 'to endure'. These meanings embody the concepts of continuity and permanence and are linked to linear time. The Egyptian words *nḥh* and *dt* indicated two different types of temporal dimensions: cyclical and linear, dynamic timeflow and static timeflow, eternal recurrence and eternal sameness, future eternity and past eternity, infinity

⁶ BAINES, *Visual and Written Culture*, 183ff.

⁷ For a recent discussion on the terms *history* and *historical consciousness* see BAINES *et al.*, in BAINES *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 1-6.

⁸ This phenomenon is typical for the Late Period, from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards, but it appeared already during the Middle Kingdom with the revival of forms of Old Kingdom dynasties. See for example: ASSMANN, *Cultural Memory*, 19; BAINES, *Visual and Written Culture*, 197; MORKOT, in TAIT (ed.), *Never had the like*, 99; WILDUNG, in TAIT (ed.), *Never had the like*, 65.

⁹ Antiquarian interests have been recognised during the New Kingdom: MORKOT, in TAIT (ed.), *Never had the like*, 97. Moreover, collections of statues of deities, royal ancestors, and private persons were stored and preserved inside temples since the Middle Kingdom, even if the evidence of this practice dates mostly from the New Kingdom onwards: DÍAZ-HERNÁNDEZ, *JEA* 103/1. For Antiquarianism in Ancient Egypt see also WENDRICH, in SCHNAPP *et al.* (eds), *World Antiquarianism*; for the cultural phenomenon in general see MOMIGLIANO, in MOMIGLIANO (ed.), *Sui fondamenti*.

¹⁰ BLEIBERG, in BLEIBERG, WEISSBERG (eds), *Striking Power*, 60.

¹¹ ASSMANN, *Death and Salvation*, 141-63.

¹² The *name* was one of the main constituent physical and spiritual elements of the person, along with *ka* (vital force), *ba* (double of the person, 'soul'), *akh* (transfigured spirit), heart, and shadow (ASSMANN, *Death and Salvation*, 87-8; BONGIOANNI, TOSI, *La spiritualità*, 107-16). By speaking his name, the deceased kept living in the realm of the dead, and in the living memory of his descendants.

¹³ On the ritual see for example: FABIÁN, in SAZABÓ, VARGYAS (eds), *Cultus Deorum*; GOYON, *Rituel funéraires*; OTTO, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*; PAHL, in DAVID (ed.), *Science in Egyptology*; SCHIAPARELLI, *Il libro dei funerali*; SMITH, *The Liturgy*.

¹⁴ See more recently: BLEIBERG, in BLEIBERG, WEISSBERG (eds), *Striking Power*, 48-55; DEL VESCO, in ANONYMOUS (ed.), *Anche le Statue Muoiono*, 44-5.

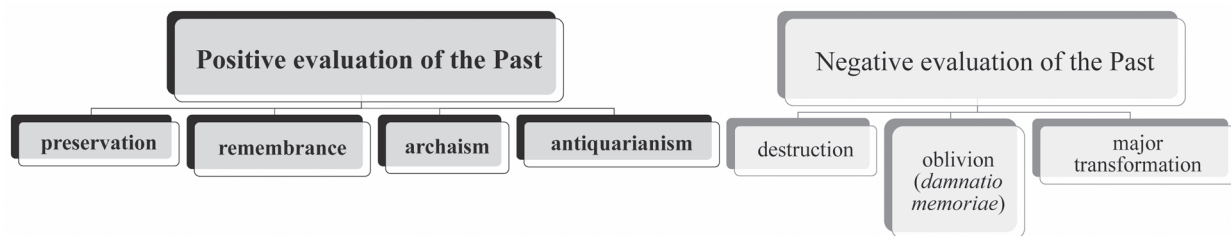


Fig. 1 – Graph showing the effects of positive and negative values assigned to the past © author

and everlastingness, Ra and Osiris.¹⁵ The cyclical time-flow (*nḥḥ*) is superimposed on the linear timeflow (*dt*) and unifies the past, present, and future. For example, time in kinship has both a cyclical and linear dimension. The former is expressed by the cycle of social roles and the cycle father > son > father > son, what Marcelo Campagno defines as the ‘circuit of kin-defined roles’, while the latter is expressed by the linear sequence of generations, so the continual line of descent from ancestors.¹⁶ Linear timeflow means continuity since the mythical primeval time (*p3wt*), the time of the gods and the primordial order. Kingship itself has a double temporal dimension. The cycle begins from the accession to the throne which marks the repetition of the creation, and continues with the Sed festival which means regeneration, to end with death which is a new birth.¹⁷ At the same time every new king re-establishes the continuity since the primeval time. Monuments have also a close connection with cyclical time. The restoration formula of the so-called ‘restoration inscriptions’ (see below), that celebrated restoration works undertaken on the monument, is *sm3wy mnw* ‘renewal of the monument’. The concept of ‘renewal’ itself expresses a cyclical return and re-establishment of that primeval order which, in the context of monument’s restorations, is performed by the current king. So the preservation of monuments involves both repetition and continuity. Moreover, often new monuments were built in a place already considered of special importance because of past events, past traditions, or the presence of relevant older structures.¹⁸ They were places of memory already.¹⁹

¹⁵ On these concepts see: BAKIR, *JEA* 60; BOCHI, *JARCE* 31; MARAVELIA, in CHANTRAIN, WINAND (eds), *Time and Space*; ROETEN, *GM* 201; SERVAJEAN, *ENIM* 1; UPHILL, in TAIT (ed.), *Never had the like*. The sun god Ra, the symbol of regeneration and cycle (rise-set-rise-set) is the exponent of *nḥḥ*, while Osiris, in his form as ‘unchangeable continuation as mummy’ was the exponent of *dt*: ASSMANN, *Death and Salvation*, 372.

¹⁶ See CAMPAGNO, in BAINES *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 98-9; the quotation is on page 99.

¹⁷ BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 20.

¹⁸ For example, the construction of the step pyramid of king Djoser in a place which had been seat of the mortuary cult of previous kings, whose tombs were still there: BAINES, in BAINES *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 114-5.

¹⁹ For the concept of *places of memory* see NORA, *Representations* 26.

Hence, the preservation of such monuments meant also the renewal of historical continuity, and preservation and transmission of those past values and traditions linked to those specific places.

There were two methods to protect monuments in Ancient Egypt. First, construction activities and maintenance operations to improve, consolidate, and protect the building from damages, or to restore the building’s pristine state. Examples are restorations, repairs, the construction of barriers, and removal of sand. The second method involved the use of magical spells and rituals. The main aim of both modes was to guarantee the integrity, stability, and eternal existence of monuments. Incantations and rituals provided additional protection of a magical and supernatural type to both sacred and profane monuments – from temples to houses, tombs, and even rooms – and could also be used to encourage their damage or destruction (see Table 1). Restoration acts and incantations or rituals often coexisted on the same monument, combining different types of protection from a wide range of damages.

We do not have any law codices regulating the preservation of monuments in Ancient Egypt. However, inscriptions on religious and profane monuments bear evidence of restorations and embellishments. Moreover, along with literary compositions on papyri and *ostraca*, these inscriptions reveal explicit or implicit allusions to the intent whether to preserve monuments. Also metaphors are often used to express the wish to protect or destroy. The written evidence covers a large time span from the Old Kingdom to the Greco-Roman times and can be organised into six groups according to context and purpose: inscriptions from funerary context, administrative texts, restoration inscriptions, visitors’ graffiti,²⁰ incantations, and literary compositions. The inscriptions from funerary context include the so-called ‘warnings to rob-

²⁰ The visitors’ graffiti were secondary inscriptions left on public monuments by ancient visitors. They date to the New Kingdom, especially to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Many of them were written by scribes, often by experienced scribes who visited the monument with their apprentices. For key publications on the topic see: KAHL, *GM* 211; NAVRÁTILOVÁ, *The Visitors’ Graffiti*; NAVRÁTILOVÁ, in RAGAZZOLI *et al.* (eds), *Scribbling through History*; RAGAZZOLI, *NeHet* 4; RAGAZZOLI, *La Grotte des Scribes*; VAN PELT, *RIME* 3.

MONUMENT	PRESERVATION MEDIA	
	Construction activities/Actions to improve, consolidate, restore pristine state	Incantations and Rituals
PUBLIC: temples, palaces, quarries, canals etc	*	*
DOMESTIC: houses	?	*
FUNERARY: tombs	*	*
PORTABLE OBJECTS: stelae, statues, pieces of furniture	*	*

Table 1 – The media for the protection of monuments and the contexts of their application © author

bers and the impure’, and the ‘letters to the dead’. The administrative texts comprise decrees and treaties. The group of incantations consists of medico-magical texts and rituals for the protection of the house. During the Old Kingdom, most of the evidence is from elite tombs in the form of ‘warnings to robbers and the impure’. These inscriptions contain threats to whoever would have damaged the tomb or entered the tomb in an impure state.²¹ Any damage to the tomb would have negatively interfered with the protection of the deceased and his memory (see above). To avoid the punishments mentioned in the warnings, the robbers used to damage specific parts of the face of the statues or the coffins of the tomb owners. The nose was damaged as ‘*incense placed at the nose allowed the breath of life to enter the soul of the deceased*’.²² Then the stony materialisation of the deceased was blinded by damaging his eyes, so that he could not see what criminals were doing inside his tomb. Finally, a vandalised mouth could not speak the warning formulae. An important administrative text of the Old Kingdom is the royal decree of Pepi II (Sixth Dynasty).²³ The text forbids the removal of property of the pyramid town of Menkaura:

‘You do not have the authority to permit men of this troop ... to go forth to remove property from the aforementioned pyramid town. My majesty has ordered the exemption and protection of this pyramid town so that the property thereof should not be taken by any man’²⁴

Then during the First Intermediate Period (FIP) we keep finding ‘warnings to robbers and the impure’, and royal decrees like the exemption decree of Demedjibtawy (Eighth Dynasty) from Coptos.²⁵ This decree protects monuments through warning:

‘As for any man of this entire land who will do a destructive, evil thing to any of your statues...to any of your offering stones...to any of your ka chapels...to any of your furniture...to any of your monuments which are in any of the chapels or any of the divine temples...as for any man of this entire land who will disturb or damage a thing from your offerings which are taken under the authority and made for your statues...they be restrained and tied as prisoners of the king, of Osiris, and of their local gods’²⁶

During the First Intermediate Period we have the first ‘restoration inscriptions’, which will be widespread during the New Kingdom. Such inscriptions, carved on facades and walls of sacred and profane buildings, celebrated the restoration, repair, or embellishments of architectural structures. Archaeological traces of these actions are still visible.²⁷

Famous examples of the First Intermediate Period are the inscriptions of the nomarch Djehutinakht at Sheikh Said and Deir al-Bersha, where he claims he restored

²¹ See STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 40-1, and 217-37.

²² BLEIBERG, in BLEIBERG, WEISSBERG (eds), *Striking Power*, 48.

²³ The decree was engraved on a limestone slab from the Valley Temple of Menkaura in Giza, and is currently stored in the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston (inv. no. MFA 47.1654).

²⁴ The translation is from STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 107.

²⁵ The text, engraved on a limestone slab, is now in the Cairo Museum (inv. no. JdE 41894).

²⁶ The translation is from COLLEDGE, *The Process of Cursing*, 243-4.

²⁷ For the restoration inscriptions of the New Kingdom in their relationship with the visible traces of the restoration works see BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*. For a more comprehensive study of restoration inscriptions from the earliest dynasties to Ptolemaic Egypt see MCCLAIN, *Restoration Inscriptions*.

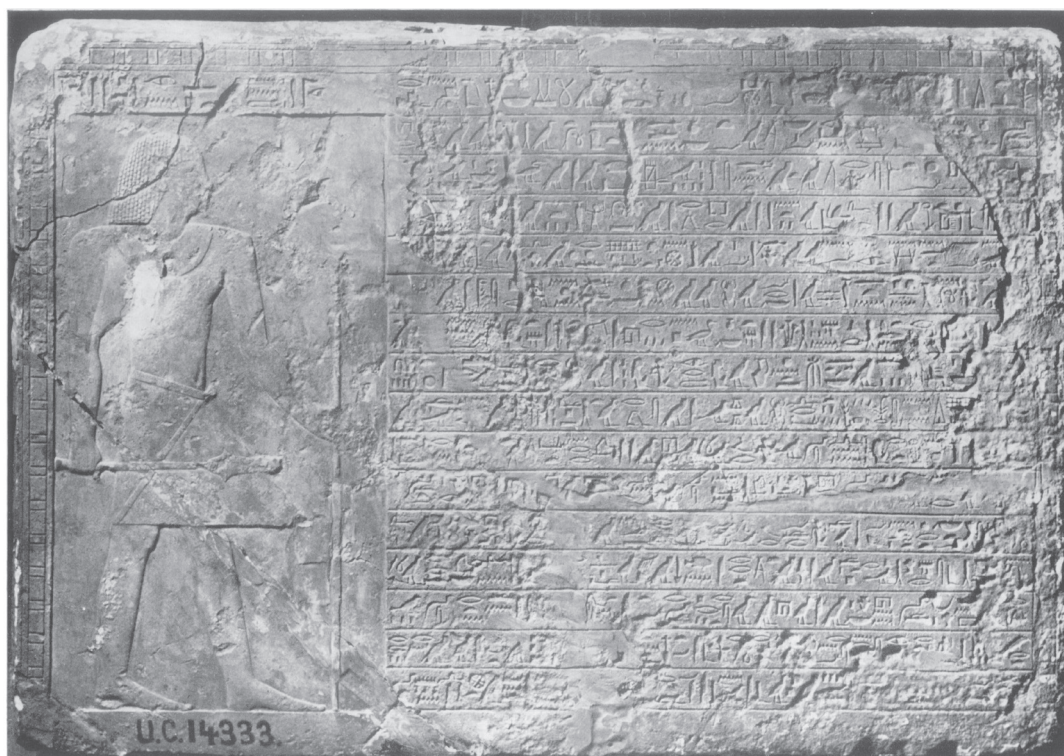


Fig. 2 – The Stela of Montuhotep son of Ipwy: UC14333. The text mentioned in the paper is the last horizontal line © courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology

the tombs of his ancestors which were falling into ruins, an act nobody had done before.²⁸

The Sources of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (SIP)

To the Middle Kingdom date a few warnings from funerary context, some restoration inscriptions, and various literary works (see Table 2). The surviving Middle Kingdom literary compositions are mostly Middle Egyptian copies written during the New Kingdom, especially in the Ramesside period, on diverse material supports, mainly papyri and *ostraca*, but also wooden tablets and leather. To the Second Intermediate Period date a few restoration inscriptions.

Written evidence from funerary context

Four documents are typical ‘warnings to robbers and the impure’: the stela of Khenty, probably coming from Hatnub,²⁹ another stela from the Hatnub quarries,³⁰ an

offering table now at the British Museum,³¹ and the inscription from the tomb of Djefayhapy in Assiut.³² The first three warnings start with the common formula ‘as for he/those who’,³³ while the inscription from Assiut specifies who are the recipients: ‘as for’ *rmt nb* ‘any person’, *sš nb* ‘any scribe’, *rh ht nb* ‘any wise man’, *nds nb* ‘any commoner’, or *tw3 nb* ‘any inferior’ [...]. Then the texts proceed with the threat as follows: ‘who will damage this image of mine, who will erase this injunction of mine’ (stela of Khenty), ‘who will damage this image’ (stela from the Hatnub quarries), ‘who will harm this offering’ (offering table), and ‘who will do evil things in this tomb, who will damage its inscription, who will destroy its images’ (tomb of Djefayhapy). Then the punishments follow. In all cases, except for the stela from the Hatnub quarries, the culprit is subjected to divine punishment. The curse of the stela from the quarries will instead prevent the return of the culprit to his house and his family. All these inscriptions attest to acts of preservation through magical spells. As previously mentioned, the safety and integrity of the manifestations of the deceased, of his tomb, of his offerings, and consequently of his memory, were the main reasons and aims of such

²⁸ DE MEYER, in FITZENREITER (ed.) *Genealogie - Realität und Fiktion sozialer und kultureller Identität*, 125-35.

²⁹ The provenance from the Hatnub area has been proposed by William K. Simpson on the basis of similarities of this text and the Hatnub graffiti, and the presence of the gods Thot and Nemty: SIMPSON, *JNES* 20, 30.

³⁰ POSENER, *JEA* 54.

³¹ SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*.

³² GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*.

³³ In the stela from the Hatnub quarries and the offering table the formula has *ir grt*, while the variant *ir swt* is in the stela of Khenty.

warnings. The eternal remembrance of the name is the focus of the inscription on the stela of Montuhotep son of Ipwy (see Fig. 2):³⁴

*mnw pw n s nfrw=f smh pw bin bi3(i) ir wn hpr(w) mi
dd(w) wnn rn(=i) nfr mn m niwt(=i) n w3si mnw(=i) n dt*

‘The monument of a man is his goodness. Forgotten is the one who is evil of character.³⁵ If it happens as has been said, my name will (constantly) be good and enduring in my town, and my monument of eternity will not fall into ruins’

The imperfective (or circumstantial) *sdm.f* form of the verb *wn* ‘to be’ used with the noun *rn* ‘name’ stresses the continuative aspect of the action, which may correspond to the concept of *nḥh*. The idea of continuity is also expressed by the word *dt* (see above), but in this case indicates a linear continuity corresponding to a resultative action: the monument will continue to exist unchanged for posterity. In this inscription the word *mnw* is used as a metaphor for ‘virtue’. The real memorial of a man is not an architectural structure but a life of good conduct. Quoting Jan Assmann, the building was just the ‘*external sign of the remembrance that was attached to a life spent in virtue and righteousness*’.³⁶ An exemplary behaviour will assure the eternal memory of the name and eternal life in the memory of the descendants. The verb *w3si* ‘to fall into ruins/to ruin’ used in connection with the figurative *mnw* is the same verb used in reference to buildings in many ‘*restoration inscriptions*’ (see Table 3). An inscription in Beni Hassan from the tomb of Khnumhotep II, who was nomarch under Amenemhat I and Senwosret I, praises Amenemhat I saying:³⁷

smnh=f gmt.n=f wstw

‘He restores what he found dilapidated’

The description of the state of ruins contrasts with the renewals of the king who brings back to life what he had found in ruins, restoring its memory. Self-promotion is here the primary reason at the basis of the works of restoration. Then Khnumhotep talks about his achievements:³⁸

³⁴ He was governor of Armant under the reign of Montuhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty). The stela, now in London at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (inv. no. UC14333), has been dated to reign of Senwosret I (Twelfth Dynasty) on the basis of stylistic features on figures. See GOEDICKE, *JEA* 48.

³⁵ This is an Ancient Egyptian proverb: see GUNN, *JEA* 12, 282.

³⁶ ASSMANN, *Death and Salvation*, 55.

³⁷ See Urk. VII, 27, line 11.

³⁸ See Urk. VII, 32, lines 20-1 and 33 lines 1-3.

*sḥnḥ.n=i rn n it=i gm.n=i wš hr sb3w rh m tit mty šdt nn
dit ky m-ḥ ky ist s3 pw srwd rn n tpy-ḥ*

‘I made the names of my fathers live, which I found destroyed on the doorways and recognizable in signs, exact as that which is read, and I did not place one together with another.³⁹ It is an efficient son who restores the names of his ancestors’

There recurs the importance of the name. Khnumhotep feels the need to renew the damaged inscriptions in order to make the names of his ancestors legible again. An erased name meant the obliteration of the memory and existence of the individual.

The destruction of a monument is instead mentioned as a warning in a ‘letter to the dead’ inscribed on a bowl from Saqqara (see Fig. 3).⁴⁰ Here a widow asks the *akh*-spirit⁴¹ of the deceased to fight the hostile influence of malevolent people who are making her maidservant ill. A lack of help would result in the destruction of her house, as the maidservant is the one who is keeping the house and makes it last. So the bad behaviour of the spirit of the deceased would be the cause of the destruction of the house. This recalls the proverb on the stela of Montuhotep where a life of bad conduct would result in oblivion.

Dedicatory and restoration inscriptions

The earlier ‘restoration inscriptions’ were prompted by the social and economic disorders and political chaos that followed the fall of the Old Kingdom. Thus, the re-establishment of order after disorder and destructions is the main theme of Middle Kingdom restoration inscriptions. There were royal and non-royal inscriptions. The latter were found in the tombs of members of the elite and priests. Restoration texts and dedicatory inscriptions could have the form of short formulaic texts, or prose-type texts. The latter, also known as *Königsnovellen*, are royal novels made for public display, where the king is glorified as the hero of significant events.⁴² He overcomes

³⁹ This sentence means that he did not confuse the name of one person with the name of another.

⁴⁰ The ‘letters to the dead’ were petitions to dead relatives in the form of letters. Usually prompted by misfortunes, these letters aimed at receiving help about specific matters. These texts were commonly inscribed on pottery elements like bowls filled with offerings and placed inside the tomb of the recipient. They date from the end of the Old Kingdom to the early Twelfth Dynasty. The inscription discussed in this paper was written on a bowl from Saqqara currently stored in the Cairo museum (inv. no. 25375): BRESCIANI, *Letteratura*, 68-9; DONNAT, in STORCH (ed.), *Perception of the Invisible*, 53-5; MINIACI, *Lettere ai morti*, 65-6; WENTE, *Letters*, 215, no. 350.

⁴¹ See note 12.

⁴² See for example BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 48-52; BRO-

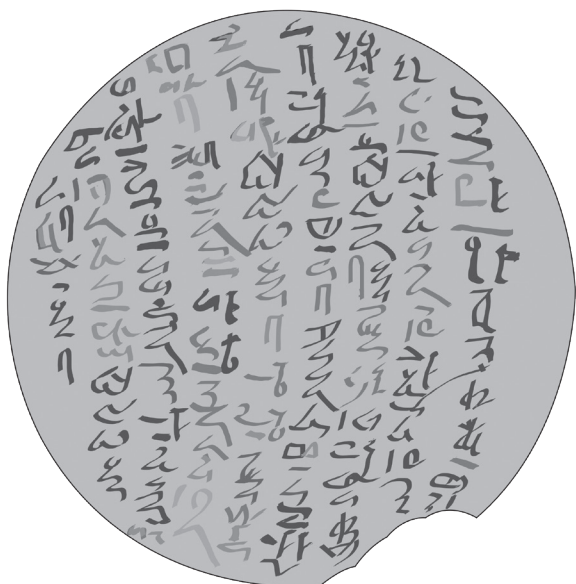


Fig. 3 – Facsimile of the Cairo bowl no. 25375 from Saqqara © author

disasters restoring *maat* in the country.⁴³ The constant realisation of *maat* by the king guaranteed social stability. The main function of such novels is royal propaganda, and a way to justify the accession to the throne. The formulaic texts are shorter commemorative inscriptions built around the verb *sm3* ‘to renew’ or the noun *sm3wy* ‘renewal’ (Table 3).⁴⁴ The earliest Middle Kingdom inscription was left under the reign of Montuhotep II, sixth ruler of the Eleventh Dynasty and first king of the Middle Kingdom. The object of the restorations is the temple of Montu in Tod (Table 2).⁴⁵ The inscription

PHY, *BACE* 2; JANSEN-WINKELN, *WZKM* 83; HSU, *JEJ* 98; LOPRIENO, in LOPRIENO (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 277ff.
⁴³ *Maat* was the Egyptian goddess of truth, order, justice, and balance. The concept of *maat* was the core of Ancient Egyptian society. Behaving according to *maat*, so in a virtuous and righteous way, assured remembrance and salvation in the final judgement of the deceased: the heart of the deceased was placed on a plate of the scale and weighted against Maat’s feather. If the heart was lighter than the feather the deceased was assured eternal life in the Underworld. Maat was the cosmological divinely-ordained order. The opposite of *maat* was *isefet*, which embodied chaos and disorder. The antagonism *maat* – *isefet* was also spatially applied. According to Egyptian ideology, the territory within the Egyptian frontiers was ruled by *maat*, while foreign countries were the dominion of *isefet*. See for example ASSMANN, *Death and Salvation*, 55-69, 174-6, 380-4; LANGER, in CHANTRAIN, WINAND (eds), *Time and Space*; O’CONNOR, in TAIT (ed.) *Never had the like*; PARYS, *BABELAO* 7.
⁴⁴ The specific restoration formula *sm3wy mnw* ‘renewal of the monument’ and its variants start to be used in the post-Amarna period. Since that time the short formulaic text type outnumbered the *Königsnovellen*. See McCLAIN, *Restoration Inscriptions*, 3-5, and 74ff.

⁴⁵ See McCLAIN, *Restoration Inscriptions*, 36.

focuses on the king as the one who:

*sm3w(y) pr=f n dt=f hwt-ntr=f nt p3(w)t tpyr*⁴⁶

‘Carried out the renewal of his house of his estate, and his temple of the first primeval time’

This inscription bears evidence of restoration works undertaken under Montuhotep who is praised as the one who renewed the monuments of the god Montu,⁴⁷ restoring them to their pristine state: a return to the original divine state of perfect order. The purpose of the re-establishment of the primeval order and the pristine state was to enable a continuous, unbroken, and permanent link with the mythical past, namely a link between the realm of humans and that of the gods. Thanks to the restoration works of Montuhotep the continuity with the primeval time of earth and its cyclical return is guaranteed. Moreover, *maat* is established anew after the disorders of the FIP. The temple of Tod was rebuilt again under Senwosret I (Twelfth Dynasty). A long *Königsnovelle* describes the horrible condition in which the king himself had found the temple:

‘(...) I myself saw this place, this temple...the shrine of the god and the lord of gods, fallen so that a mound was in the water, all its rooms filled with debris, mounds of dirt in its secret chambers because of the destructions of what had been made therein... there was a bog at the entrance to its pool, reaching its middle and its edges; this temple being overgrown with weeds, and nobody knew about the sacred place. What I saw in it was decay (...)’⁴⁸

Then a part dedicated to the reconstruction of the monument follows. The verb *w3* ‘to fall’ is very common in restoration inscriptions and is usually followed by other words to form the expressions: *w3w r w3s/3kw* ‘fallen into ruins’,⁴⁹ *w3w r fh/mrh* ‘fallen into decay’, and *w3w r stp* ‘fallen into disarray’ (see Table 3). The temple was facing a state of devastation, abandonment, and oblivion. Here recurs the same contrast between the state of ruins and the regeneration of the building by the current ruler, which I already pointed out concerning the inscription of Khnumhotep II (see above). Dedications are inscribed also on the architrave of the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak:

⁴⁶ This inscription is carved on a lintel now preserved in the Louvre (inv. no. E15105). For the image and the hieroglyphic transcription see BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *Tôd*, 69.

⁴⁷ The *3ms* suffix pronouns *f* refer to the god.

⁴⁸ For the entire inscription see BARBOTIN, CLÈRE, *BIFAO* 91.

⁴⁹ This expression is used, for example, in the Admonitions of Ipuwer (see the section on literary evidence in this paper).

‘He made (it) as his monument for his father Amun-Re, erecting for him a (chapel called) “The One who raises the Double Crowns of Horus” of white good stone... never did His Majesty find that something similar had been done in this temple previously’⁵⁰

The achievements of the current king are emphasized in comparison with what had been done before. The concept of ‘going beyond his predecessors’⁵¹ will be a common motif in New Kingdom restoration inscriptions.⁵² A red granite doorway at Tell Qirgafa (Lower Egypt, Delta) commemorates restoration works of a monument of Amenemhat I – founder of the Twelfth Dynasty – undertaken by Senwosret III:

sm3w ir.t.n it=f nswt bity shtp-ib-R^c

‘A renewal of what his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetep-ib-re had done’⁵³

A similar inscription was carved on a monumental gate of the temple of Montu in Medamud during the reign of Sobekemsaf (Seventeenth Dynasty, end of the SIP):

*ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f mntw m sm3wy irt.n it=f nswt bity
h^c-k3w-r^c m3^c-hrw⁵⁴*

‘As regards his monument for his father Montu, he renewed what his father the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ka-kau-re true of voice had done’

Here the king commemorates renewals of a gate originally build by Senwosret III. The intervention consists in the decoration, with ritual scenes, of the previously undecorated surface. The reference to previous kings is also present in the Late Middle Kingdom inscription of the statue of Montuhotep II in Karnak:

‘The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-nefer-re, given life: as regards his monument for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-hepet-re, the justified, he renewed what the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kau-re, the justified, and the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kheper-re, the justified, his fathers, given life like Re forever, had done’⁵⁵

In this inscription Sobekhotep IV (Thirteenth Dynasty)

commemorates renewal works of the statue of Montuhotep II, which had been previously repaired under the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III. All these renewals of what had been done in the past can be interpreted as pious acts towards the royal ancestors. To the reign of Sobekhotep IV dates another inscription left on a stela at Karnak,⁵⁶ commemorating renewal works, mostly in the form of what we could define as ‘embellishments’, of the temple of Amon. A gate of Lebanese cedar wood is made anew and adorned with precious metals like gold, silver, copper, and bronze, and the perishable parts of another door undergo renewals because:

gm.n hm-i 3 n sb3 pn isw wrt

‘My majesty found the doors of this gate very old’

Then the king instituted new offerings to the god Amon. This act, along with the embellishments with precious materials, can be seen as self-celebration and display of piety towards the god. Moreover, by restoring the house of the god and renewing his cult, the king restores *maat*.

Evidence from literature

In the Loyalist Teaching⁵⁷ and the Discourse of Sasobek⁵⁸ (see Table 2), the use of *mnw* as a metaphor is in the context of life conduct, like in the stela of Montuhotep (above):

*in dw hb3 i3t=f grg niwt n mryty mnw pw n s w3h-ib
3h gr [...]*⁵⁹

‘It is the evil man who destroys his home ground, while a city is founded for the loved man. The monument of a man is benevolence; silence is good for [...]’

*mnw pw kd*⁶⁰

‘A good character is the monument’

⁵⁶ See McCLAIN, *Restoration Inscriptions*, 40-1.

⁵⁷ This teaching is mostly known from New Kingdom papyri and *ostraca*. The only Middle Kingdom source is a stela from Abydos (Cairo CG 20538). The first part of the document is a praise to the king, while the second part is a eulogy of workers, the stratum of society essential for the life of the elite. For the entire text see DESSOUEIX, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 576-601; POSENER, *L’enseignement loyaliste*; QUIRKE, *Egyptian Literature*, 108-11.

⁵⁸ This composition is preserved on one source only, Papyrus Ramesseum I, now stored in London at the British Museum (inv. no. EA 10754).

⁵⁹ The Loyalist Teaching, chapter 13.

⁶⁰ This is an extract of the Discourse of Sasobek. The transliteration follows the hieroglyphic transcription of Papyrus Ramesseum I by BARNS, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. 2, lines 21-2.

⁵⁰ Translation from BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 23.

⁵¹ On this concept see VERNUS, *Essai sur la conscience*, 76-121.

⁵² See for example BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 29ff.

⁵³ See HABACHI, *ASAE* 52, 451-58.

⁵⁴ For the entire text see BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *Rapport*, pl. XI.

⁵⁵ The entire text is in LEGRIN, *ASAE* 7, 33-4.

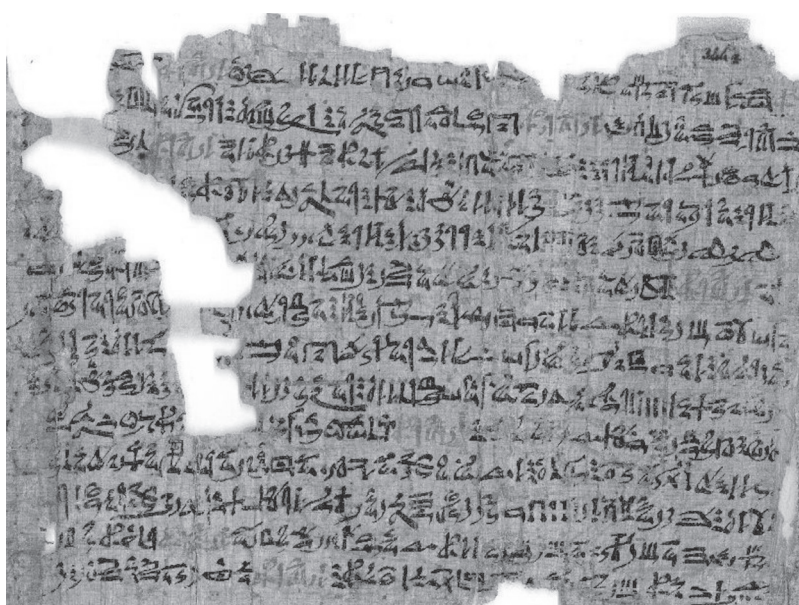


Fig. 4 - P. Leiden I 344rt. The Admonitions of Ipuwer, column 3 © National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden

The correlations of evilness-destruction and goodness-construction (foundation) of the Loyalist Teaching can be compared with the correlations of evilness-oblivion and goodness-remembrance of the stela of Montuhotep. Like in the latter, destruction causes oblivion while foundation results in remembrance. In those correlations is implicit the wish to maintain a virtuous life. The composed adjective *w3h-ib* means ‘patience’ or ‘kindness/benevolence’. Given the comparable expression from the stela of Montuhotep, where the monument of a man is his goodness, I prefer the translation ‘benevolence’.⁶¹ Silence is often referred to as a good quality in wisdom literature, and the silent man is always exalted.⁶²

The Admonitions of Ipuwer focus instead on the contrast between chaos and order (see Fig. 4).⁶³ Ipuwer complains about social disorders, negligence towards monuments, and generally about a wide range of deplorable behaviours, all seen in their opposition to an ideal concept of ordered world:

*nwy m h3t hpr is w^cbt m nwy*⁶⁴

‘The floodwater is the tomb, while the chapel has become a flood’

*iw ms sbht w3hw driwt 3mm*⁶⁵

‘Gates, columns, walls are set on fire’

*hd wh^t d^cbt irtyw m3^cw nwt št3w... ptr ir.tn r=s w3w r 3kw*⁶⁶

‘Destroyed are carob, charcoal, paint, posts, poles, firewood!... What are you all to do about it, fallen into ruin?’

Richer of interesting passages is the Teaching for Merikara.⁶⁷ In this treatise on kingship, the king intends to teach his son how to be a good king.⁶⁸ Like in the Admo-

⁶¹ See instead POSENER (*ibid.*) and QUIRKE (*ibid.*) who prefer ‘patience’.

⁶² Praises to the silent man are for instance in the Kemit, in the Instruction to Kagemni, the Teaching of Ptahhotep, and the Instruction of Amenemope. In the latter is the expression *grw m3* ‘the truly silent’, who is the man who behaves according to *maat*. See SHUPAK, in GALIL *et al.* (eds), *Homeland and Exile*, 246-50.

⁶³ The composition is preserved in a single copy on papyrus, P. Leiden I 344rt, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. The Admonitions can be dated to the Late Middle Kingdom by references to titles and institutions of that specific time, like the *hnrt* and the *hnrt wr* (for a recent study on these institutions see DI TEODORO, *Labour Organisation*, 62-81). For the entire text see DESSOUDÉIX, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 604-71; GARDINER, *The Admonitions*; QUIRKE, *Egyptian Literature*, 140-50.

⁶⁴ The Admonitions of Ipuwer, chapter 3, column 2, lines 6-7. The translations of this and the following chapters of the Admonitions of Ipuwer are from QUIRKE, *Egyptian Literature*, 141-50.

⁶⁵ The Admonitions of Ipuwer, chapter 4, column 2, line 11.

⁶⁶ The Admonitions of Ipuwer, chapter 7, column 3, lines 11, 13.

⁶⁷ The author of this teaching is the king and the recipient his son, the future king of the Ninth or Tenth Dynasties Merikara. The composition has been variously dated to the First Intermediate Period and the Twelfth Dynasty. See ASSMANN, *SAK* 8; BJÖRKMAN, *Orientalia Suecana* 13; DEMIDCHICK, *Cultural heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient* 6; QUACK, *Studien zur Lehre*; SCHENCKEL, *Reperes chronologiques*. The teaching is preserved on the Eighteenth Dynasty papyri Hermitage 1116Avs, Moscow 4658 and Carlsberg 6, and on one Ramesside ostrakon: cf. QUACK, *Acta Antiq Hung* 46.

⁶⁸ For a discussion on the political realism of the teaching see

nitions of Ipuwer bad and good behaviours are compared but in the sphere of government and military practice. The king shows a deep reverence for the knowledge and the traditions transmitted from Antiquity, which need to be kept alive. The wisdom of the ancestors should be emulated. The matter of construction/destruction of monuments is discussed, too. A passage of chapter 7 of the Teaching for Merikara⁶⁹ states that continuing something done by predecessors is good, but surpassing them is even better, which recalls the dedication inscription of Senwosret I in Karnak (see above). Thus, the past is exalted and at the same time used as a measure of the current ruler's performance. Chapter 7 further states:

*sw3h mnw=k m mrwt=k*⁷⁰

‘Make your monument endure out of love of you’

This sentence recalls the quotations from the Loyalist Teaching and the stela of Montuhotep where the word monument is used as a metaphor (above). A good behavior assures eternal existence and memory. Other passages focus on the eternal memory of the name:

*ir mnw=k [...] n ntr s'nh rn pw n ir sy ir s 3ht n b3=f*⁷¹

‘Make your monuments...for the god. That makes the name live, for the one who does it. A man should do what is good for his *ba*’

*ir n ntr ir=f n=k mitt m 3bt nt sw3d b3 m hnt s'mt pw rn=k s's3 ntr m irr n=f*⁷²

‘Act for the god, so that he may do the same for you, with offerings which will make the offering-stone flourish, with carvings that proclaim your name. The god becomes aware of the one who acts for him’

In the last two passages the construction of monuments is a pious act towards the gods who in turn will reward the king with eternal life and remembrance of the name. The gods and the king are bound by a relationship of reciprocity.⁷³ Again:

LANGER, *JEH* 8.

⁶⁹ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, column 3, line 11.

⁷⁰ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 7, column 4, line 2.

⁷¹ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 13, column 6, lines 6-7.

⁷² P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 24, column 11, lines 9-10.

⁷³ This mutual relation between gods and humans is typical of Mesopotamia too, from the late Fourth millennium BC onwards. See COLLINS, in BAINES *et al.* (eds), *Historical Consciousness*, 41ff.

*srwd mnw=k hft wsr=k iw hrw w' di=f n nhh wnwtt smnh=s n m-h*⁷⁴

‘Consolidate your monuments, as far as is within your power. Even one day contributes to eternity, an hour embellishes posterity’

Steady monuments will assure eternal memory. Even one more day or hour spent to strengthen them will promote the cyclical and eternal recurrence of the remembrance of the self among the future generations. Then the king advises his son not to harm antiquities, as he had done, as the gods will not be benevolent; they will disapprove and stand against the perpetrator of such an offense. Again the stress is on the relation of reciprocity between humans and gods:

*h3 r kmt m hrt-ntr m' d iswt m 'd spw iw ir.n=i mitt hpr mitt m' irt.n n tht n mitt m- ntr*⁷⁵

‘The battle for Egypt was in the necropolis, by destroying tombs and offensive actions. I did just that and the same happened, as is done to one who similarly transgresses in the eyes of the gods’⁷⁶

Moreover, the king advises his son not to destroy monuments built by his predecessors, or reuse material from destroyed monuments to build his own buildings. Destruction of older monuments should be avoided.

*m hq mnw n ky wh3=k inr m r-3w m kd isy=k m shnyt irt r irt sy*⁷⁷

‘Do not destroy the monument of another, but quarry stone from Tura. Do not build your chapel out of ruins of what was (already) made (to use it) for that which is to be made’

⁷⁴ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 13, column 6, lines 9-10.

⁷⁵ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 14, column 6, line 12 and column 7, line 1.

⁷⁶ For the translation of *tht n mitt m- ntr* I follow DESSOUEIX, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 485.

⁷⁷ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 15, column 7, lines 9-10. For the translation of the sentence *m shnyt irt r irt sy* I follow BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 17. Similar interpretations are in BRESCIANI, *Letteratura e poesia*, 96; DESSOUEIX, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 487; LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 103; POSENER, *ACF* 64, 305ff; QUACK, *Studien zur Lehre*, 47. Stephen Quirke and Alessandro Roccati interpret the preposition *r* differently: the former with the meaning ‘against’: ‘that is done against the doing of it’: QUIRKE, *Egyptian Literature*, 116. Roccati interprets *r* as the preposition that renders the meaning of the comparative: ‘una cosa fatta (conta) più di una cosa da fare’, namely ‘what has been done matters more than what still needs to be done’: ROCCATI, *Sapienza egizia*, 65.

*hsy pw grt <hdt>⁷⁸ nn 3h n=f srwd swst.n=f shn kd=f smnh
s^cs^t⁷⁹.n=f s33.ti r=s db3.tw sh m mity=f mdd pw irt nbt⁸⁰*

‘It is vile to destroy. It is not useful for him to restore what he dilapidated or to buildup what he has demolished, embellish what he has defaced. Be on guard against it! A blow is repaid with its own like; that is the response to every action’

Here it is stressed that every action corresponds with an analogous consequence, which may allude to divine justice. The king proceeds stating that the monuments of predecessors should be consolidated and embellished by the current ruler in the hope that future rulers will restore, in turn, what he has made, what Gun Björkman defines as ‘*solidarity inter pares*’.⁸¹ This will make monuments endure and, as a result, the memory of the king to be cyclically renewed among posterity. The respect for the achievements of the past kings and the preservation of their monuments – and so doing of their memory – will guarantee a similar behaviour by future rulers towards one’s own achievements and monuments:

*i3t pw nfrt nsyt nn s3=s nn sn=s sw3h mnw=s in w^c smnh
ky ir s n nty hr-h3t=f m mryt smnh irt.n=f in ky iy hr s3=f⁸²*

‘Kingship is the good office. Even if it has no son, it has no brother to make its monuments to endure, one (king) embellishes another. A man acts for the one who was his predecessor, from the wish that what he has made may be restored by another who comes after him’

By embellishing his tomb in the cemetery, the king acts for the gods and behaves according to *maat*:

sikr hwt=k nt imnt smnh st=k nt hrt-ntr m k3 m irt m3^ct⁸³

‘Make excellent your chapel in the West, embellish your place of the necropolis, in being upright and acting according to *maat*’

Another teaching of the king to his son is the Teaching of Amenemhat I (see Fig. 5), one of the Middle King-

dom’s most copied literary works.⁸⁴ The teaching – composed for Senwosret I – was prompted by the attempt on the king’s life, which is the focus of the first part of the composition. Humanity is portrayed as unreliable and ungrateful, ready to betray the one who made its life better, the one whom it was supposed to protect. That is why a king cannot have any friend and cannot trust no one. The second part of the teaching is a celebration of Amenemhat’s administration and of the great actions he did for the country, a way to exalt the contrast with the ungratefulness of people.⁸⁵

*iw ir.n=i n=i pr shkrw m nbw h3wt=f m hsb d s3rwt m
hd s3tw m nh3t 3w m hmt k3ryt m hsmn ir n dt hryt r
nhh hr=s⁸⁶*

‘I made for me a house adorned with gold, its ceilings in lapis-lazuli, its walls in silver, its floors in sycamore, its doors in copper, its bolts of bronze, made for eternity, prepared for everlasting life’

The king’s monument was of exquisite craftsmanship and embellished with precious minerals, built to renew the eternal continuity since the primeval time, and ready for the cyclical recurrence. The use of precious materials is here believed to facilitate even more the immortality of memory. So the king advises his son:

s^ch^c mnw=k smnh rwd=k⁸⁷

‘Raise your monuments, embellish your tomb-shaft(?)’

The Teaching of Amenemhat I was probably composed at the behest of Senwosret I to legitimate his accession to the throne.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ The Teaching of Amenemhat I is preserved on heterogeneous materials: more than 200 New Kingdom and Ramesside *ostraca*, at least five papyrus manuscripts of the New Kingdom – P. Millingen, P. Sallier I (BM EA 10185), P. Sallier II (BM EA 10182), P. Berlin 3019, and a fragment from Theban tomb TT48 – the Late Period P. Berlin 23045, a leather roll and a few writing boards: MATHIEU, in ANDREU (ed.), *Deir el-Medineh*; QUIRKE, in LOPRIENO (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 387ff; QUIRKE, *Egyptian Literature*, 129; ROCCATI, *Sapienza Egizia*, 73-4.

⁸⁵ The extracts are from P. Millingen and P. Sallier II, the transcription of which are in DESSOUEIX, *Lettres égyptiennes*, 503-8. The manuscript P. Millingen – main source of the teaching – was copied by A. Peyron in 1843 before being lost.

⁸⁶ P. Millingen, chapter 13, column 3, lines 3-5.

⁸⁷ P. Millingen, chapter 15, column 3, line 7.

⁸⁸ SCHAEFER, *ZÄS* 113. On the possibility that the Teaching of Amenemhat I is an apocrypha of the Eighteenth Dynasty see GRIMAL, *BIFAO* 95 (1995).

⁷⁸ This verb, omitted in P. Hermitage 1116Avs, is here integrated according to P. Moscow 4658 and P. Carlsberg 6. See QUACK, *Studien zur Lehre*, 72-3 and 192.

⁷⁹ The reading of the verb follows P. Moscow 4658 and P. Carlsberg 6. P. Hermitage 1116Avs has the corrupted form *s’nt*. See QUACK, *Studien zur Lehre*, 74-5 and 192.

⁸⁰ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 23, column 11, lines 1-3.

⁸¹ BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 17.

⁸² P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 23, column 10, lines 11-13. The translation follows QUIRKE, *Egyptian Literature*, 118.

⁸³ P. Hermitage 1116Avs, chapter 24, column 11, lines 7-8.

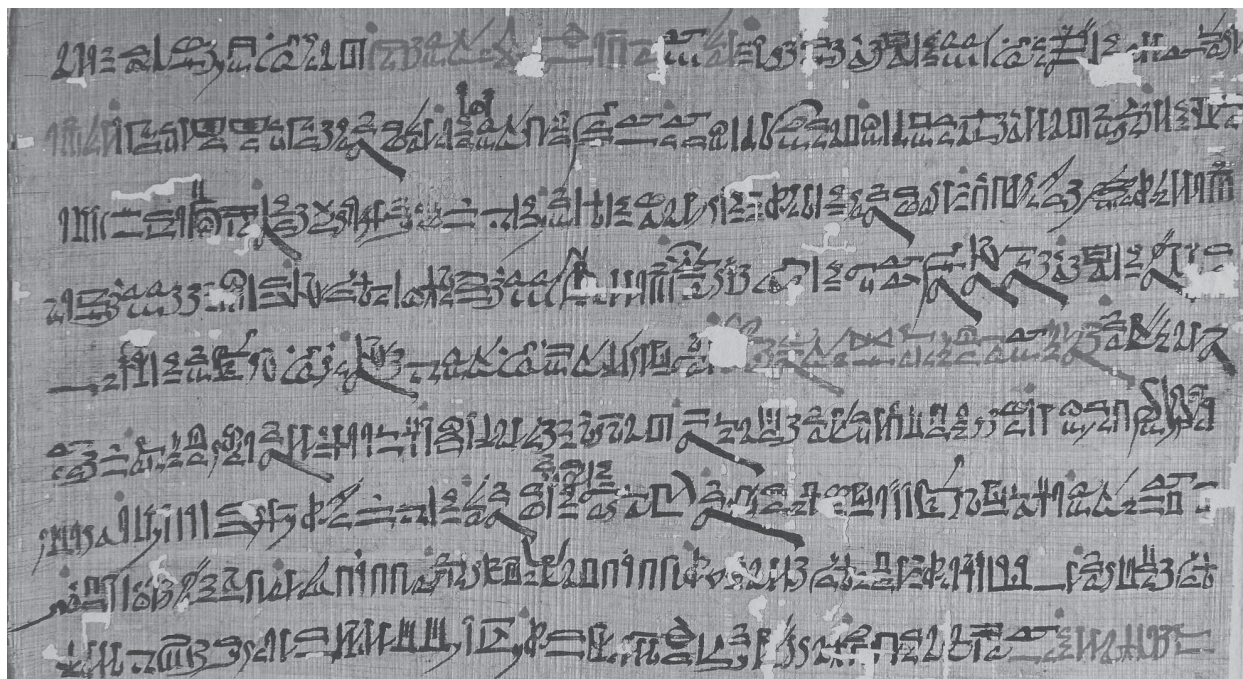


Fig. 5 – P. Sallier II (BM EA 10182rt): the Teaching of Amenemhat I, col. 3 © The Trustees of the British Museum

Discussion

From an *etic* point of view,⁸⁹ the information from the sources presented in this paper can be defined forms of preservation of the monumental past and cultural heritage. This can be affirmed despite the ideological and political reasons that prompted the restoration or embellishment works, and regardless of whether the performers of such acts were aware or not of the cultural, historical, or aesthetic significance of their monumental past. The statements of the Teaching for Merikara have indeed the stature of laws: do not destroy the monument of another, quarry new material, do not build out of ruins. In modern terms we could already define the content of some Old Kingdom exemption decrees, a form of preservation of ‘portable artefacts’, despite the reason behind such acts.⁹⁰ After all, even nowadays behind the protection of cultural heritage are reasons which go beyond the genuine intent to preserve the cultures inherited from the past due to their historical or artistic

significance. Various opportunistic gains can be recognised behind heritage preservation. They span from the use of heritage to promote political agendas or establish authorised governmental discourses,⁹¹ to economic exploitations like long-term tourism, to commercial interests, to the shaping of group identity at local and national levels,⁹² to the oppression of communities. Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, the choice itself of what to consider ‘heritage’ is often driven by a wide range of immediate circumstances of the present times. Sometimes heritage is exploited to support the rise of a regime. Other times the choice of what can be considered heritage is the result of the shift in the politics of a country. So, the recognition itself of cultural heritage is a very selective process and time-specific.⁹³ Mem-

⁸⁹ *Etic* and *emic* are two opposite approaches to data interpretation. *Etic* refers to the point of view of an outsider, of someone (researcher, archaeologist, scientist etc.) who is interpreting processes of social, political, economic life of a community from an external perspective. *Emic* instead refers to the insider’s viewpoint, the one who tries to understand how the members of that community thought and behave from an internal perspective. Cf. for example HARRIS, *Ann. Rev. Anthropol.* 5; MINIACI, *ZÄS* 143/1.

⁹⁰ See especially the exemption decree of Demedjibtawy from Coptos.

⁹¹ MESKELL, in MESKELL, PELS (eds) *Embedding Ethics*, 127; for the use of cultural heritage to advance soft power strategies in Asia see WINTER, *JSA* 14/3.

⁹² See for example the use of the remains of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of Vilnius, a World Heritage Site, to create national identity and achieve economic growth: MUNASINGHE, *IJHS* 11. See also the use of the idealised and romanticised ruins of Angkor as marker of identity for the Cambodian population worn out by decades of turmoil. The preservation of this World Heritage Site contributes to the creation of a homogeneous ethnic-national identity stemming from vestigial glories of a past civilisation, which actually traps the country in a ‘static, mono-cultural, mono-ethnic national identity’: WINTER, *Post-Conflict Heritage*, 145ff; the quotation is on page 146.

⁹³ GRAHAM, *Urban Studies* 39, 1007; Bell recalls the example of the destruction of the vernacular villages of Gurna, Egypt, to preserve the pharaonic heritage. The inhabitants of Gurna

ory too is selective. Drawing from the *dt-nhh* relation (above), we could state that a dynamic ‘memory’ is superimposed on a linear ‘history’, history resembling a one direction arrow and memory a bidirectional arrow. History is the reconstruction and representation of a past that no longer exists.⁹⁴ Memory is the renewal of the past, an action that may involve evolution, deformation, reorganisation, and manipulation of the past itself by the living societies. Memory and heritage are not just linked to the past, but also to the present where they are both shaped, what hence defines the future directions.⁹⁵ Both processes are active and undergo constant development and adaptation.

As the sources presented in this paper show, the preservation of memory and the guarantee of its cyclical renewal and eternal existence is at the center of all the actions done on monuments during the Middle Kingdom and the SIP. Especially important is the memory of the name and the memory of the self. The latter is shaped and manipulated by the current rulers. The *topos* of the contrast between the state of ruins and their renewal by the current ruler is a means to present himself and be remembered by posterity as a savior and a good king who restored the primeval order and acted according to *maat*. The gods, in turn, will bless him. The *topos* of exceeding what had been done in the past works the same way, despite the arguable authenticity of that declaration. The reorganisation of memory is part of the royal propaganda, as is the selection of monuments worthy of being preserved. When Senwosret I sees the state of decay faced by the temple of Montu in Tod, he stresses that ‘*nobody knew about this sacred place*’ anymore. The temple had been forgotten and so had been the cult and the rites of the god. So, the king punishes those who had desecrated the place, rebuilds the temple, and restores all the sacred rites. Of course, the king expected to be rewarded by the god for his pious actions. As far as the figurative use of *mnw* ‘monument’ as virtue is concerned, the ‘preservation’ of good behaviours assures the eternal memory of the self. Shaping one’s own character towards an ideal goodness, improving it, and refining it is comparable with the embellishment of buildings. The exceptional behaviour of the current king, already realised or just envisaged, is often inflated in the sources, especially in the literary compositions. This is another way to manipulate memory.

lived in houses that incorporated pharaonic tombs. After failed attempts to peacefully relocate the villagers, the resolution of the authorities was the demolition of the villages and the forced relocation of their inhabitants: BELL, *IJCP* 20/4.

⁹⁴ This definition of *history* is from NORA, *Representations* 26, 8.

⁹⁵ APAYDIN, in APAYDIN (ed.) *Critical Perspectives*, 16.

The question whether behind the royal propaganda, self-promotion, and pious deeds of pharaonic acts of preservation, it is possible or not to discern an active awareness of the monumental past is a different matter. This has to do with an *emic* perspective (see n. 89) which is hard to decipher, also considering that the Middle Kingdom and SIP written evidence on the topic is scarce if compared to that of the New Kingdom and later times. The audience of the monuments and their inscriptions was small and exclusive. That was the same audience whom the messages behind the acts of restoration and renewal were directed to. The past was turned to the advantage of a single individual (the king) or the ruling class. However, that does not automatically exclude an understanding of what was exploited. This can be surely recognised later, during the Ramesside times and especially from the end of the Third Intermediate Period (with the restorations of Taharqa), during the Late Period, and the Greco-Roman times.⁹⁶ The appreciation of past monuments is evident already in some visitors’ graffiti of the New Kingdom (see n. 20). But can we recognise evidence of an understanding of the cultural value of relics, or proofs that in Middle Kingdom and SIP Egypt people⁹⁷ had a notion close to the modern ‘preservation of cultural heritage’ as the intent to preserve monuments for their recognised artistic, historic, or commemorative significance for the benefit of the individual, the collectivity, and future generations? Ancient Egyptians certainly had historical consciousness and engaged with the past actively in many different ways and circumstances since the earliest dynasties.⁹⁸ Values were assigned to past events, periods, and artistic and cultural productions. The classification and selection itself of literary compositions considered exemplary works of the past, worthy of been copied and transmitted to the future, attest to an active awareness, interpretation, and treatment of the past. Moreover, as mentioned previously, since the beginning of the dynastic era, new monuments were sometimes built over the ruins of previous monuments, or in places already imbued with history and memory, in order to continue and transmit the traditions of the past. This can be defined ‘cultural continuity’. There-

⁹⁶ See McCLAIN, *Restoration Inscriptions*, especially chapters 4 and 5.

⁹⁷ Of course I intend the ruling groups and the elite who were the agents or the beneficiaries of the works of restoration and embellishment, and whose monuments are referred to in the literary compositions.

⁹⁸ BAINES, in BAINES *et al.* (eds) *Historical consciousness*, 111ff; BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 89; WILDUNG, in TAIT (ed.), *Never had the like*, 65. For the reverence to the past involved in the creation of the first king-lists see REDFORD, *Pharaonic King-lists*, in particular 130ff and 156-7.

SOURCE	DATE	GENRE	KEYWORDS	PRESERVATION	NON PRESERVATION
Stela of Khenty, Hatnub	12 dyn	funerary context <i>warning</i>	curse, warning, damage, iconoclasm	X through warning	
Hatnub stela, Hatnub quarries	early 12 dyn	funerary context <i>warning</i>	curse, warning, damage, iconoclasm	X through warning	
Offering table, British Museum, no invent. no.	MK	funerary context <i>warning</i>	curse, warning, damage	X through warning	
Tomb of Djefayhapy, Assiut	12 dyn	funerary context <i>warning</i>	curse, warning, damage, iconoclasm	X through warning	
Stela of Montuhotep (UC14333)	Senwosret I	funerary context	memory, metaphor	X	
Cairo bowl 25375, Saqqara	early 12 dyn	funerary context <i>letter to the dead</i>	threat, destruction, bad behaviour, illness		X
Tomb of Khnumhotep II, Beni Hassan	Amenemh. I - Senwosret I	funerary context	restoration, ruins	X	
Tod temple	Montuhotep II	restoration inscription	renewal, primeval time, decay, repair, social disorders	X	
Tod temple	Senwosret I	restoration inscription	decay, ruins, desolation	X	
White Chapel, Karnak	Senwosret I	restoration inscription	predecessors	X	
Tell Qirqaḫa temple	Senwosret III	restoration inscription	renewal	X	
Medamud temple	17 dyn Sobekemsaf	restoration inscription	renewal	X	
Statue of Montuhotep	13 dyn Sobekhotep IV	restoration inscription	renewal	X	
Stela, Karnak	13 dyn Sobekhotep IV	restoration inscription	old age	X	
Loyalist teaching	early 12 dyn	literary text	metaphor	X	
Lament of Sasobek (P. Ramesseum 1)	late MK	literary text	metaphor	X	
Admonitions of Ipuwer (P. Leiden I 344r)	late MK	literary text	social and political chaos, destructions, ruins		X
Teaching for Merikara, 7 (P. Hermitage 1116A _{vs})	MK	literary text	good behaviour, memory	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 13 (P. Hermitage 1116A _{vs})	MK	literary text	memory, posterity, eternity, name	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 14 (P. Hermitage 1116A _{vs})	MK	literary text	destruction, antiquity, traditions		X
Teaching for Merikara, 15 (P. Hermitage 1116A _{vs})	MK	literary text	destruction, ruins, reuse	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 23 (P. Hermitage 1116A _{vs})	MK	literary text	embellishment, predecessors, posterity, destruction	X	
Teaching for Merikara, 24 (P. Hermitage 1116A _{vs})	MK	literary text	memory, embellishment, Maat	X	
Teaching of Amenemhat I	12 dyn	literary text	everlastingness, eternity, raise, embellish	X	

Table 2 – List of the written sources discussed in the present paper © author

fore, a historical sense of the past was present, to some extent, throughout the pharaonic times. The example of the ‘antiquarian’ Senwosret III may be also considered linked to the same discourse.⁹⁹ The decision to unearth two sarcophagi of the Third Dynasty and bury them as foundation deposit within the mortuary complex of the ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty had the purpose to fix the

connection with Djoser, the admired precursor of whom Senwosret wants to present himself as a linear descendant. This connection was already made by reproducing Djoser’s temenos in the mortuary complex of Senwosret III: a link that was made visible to everyone¹⁰⁰, complementing the exclusive message to the gods what the

⁹⁹ DODSON, *Antiquity* 62.

¹⁰⁰ The word *everyone* has a limited range though, meaning just the elite, so a small part of the Egyptian population.

WORDS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TERMINOLOGY
consolidate, strengthen, repair, restore (v)	<i>srwd</i> (Teach. for Merikara, Khnumhotep tomb)
decay, abandonment (n)	<i>tp šw</i> (Tod temple)
deface (v)	<i>s 's ' (Teach. for Merikara)</i>
destroy/demolish/damage (v)	<i>nss</i> (Djefayhapy tomb) <i>hbbz</i> (Cairo bowl 25375, Loyalist Teach.) <i>shn</i> (Tod temple, Teach. for Merikara) <i>hd</i> (Djefayhapy tomb, Khenty stela, Hatnub quarries stela, Admonitions of Ipuwer, Teach. for Merikara) <i>'d</i> (Teach. for Merikara) <i>wš</i> (Khnumhotep tomb)
destruction (n)	<i>shnw</i> (Tod temple)
dilapidate (v)	<i>wst</i> (Teach. for Merikara, inscr. of Khnumhotep)
disaster, desolation (n)	<i>m tp šw</i> (Tod temple)
embellish, restore (v)	<i>smnh</i> (inscr. of Khnumhotep, Teach. for Merikara, Teach. of Amenemhat I)
erase (v)	<i>wđ</i> (Khenty stela)
fall (v)	<i>w3(i)</i> (Tod temple)
make endure (v)	<i>sw3h</i> (Teach. for Merikara)
primeval time (n)	<i>p3wt</i> (Tod temple)
raise (v)	<i>s 'h ' (Teach. of Amenemhat I)</i>
renew (v)	<i>sm3</i> (Tod temple, statue of Montuhotep II)
renewal (n)	<i>sm3wy</i> (Tell Qirgafa, Medamud temple)
ruin/fall into ruins (v)	<i>w3si</i> (stela of Montuhotep) <i>w3w r 3kw</i> (Admonitions of Ipuwer)
ruin (n)	<i>shnyt</i> (Teach. for Merikara)

Table 3 – Terminology used in the written evidence discussed in this paper. In brackets are the sources where the specific terms are used © author

foundation deposit buried under the ground represented. The reproduction of Djoser's temenos may be compared to the modern replication of past works of art in order to combine their 'historical value' and a 'newness value'. The latter is the recreation of the historical object bringing it back to its pristine state, so without the damages of time. In both the modern example and that of Senwosret III, what prompts the act of replication is the perception of a 'historical value': the object/monument of the past is considered important as '*representative of a particular aspect of a precise moment in history*'.¹⁰¹ The recognised historical importance of a monument – for the benefit of the individual, the collectivity, and future generations – is among those core values which nowadays lead to the inclusion of that specific monument in the cultural heritage of a country, encouraging its preservation. In the case of Senwosret III the historical value is used as a means to establish his legitimacy and a sense of continuity with the glorious past, and to construct his identity through the link with the great sovereign Djoser. So, the acknowledged historical importance of the monument is beneficial to the individual

only (Senwosret III). Nevertheless, we can identify some sense of awareness of a monumental past. Moreover, the works of renewal of what previous kings had built are indeed pious acts towards the ancestors and expedients for the king to present himself as their legitimate successor, but they may also be seen as attestation of the recognition of the historical value of the monuments of the past. The monuments built by selected kings are singled out from within the historical past and are considered more important than others for the place in history held by their benefactors.¹⁰² However, in those cases too, it

¹⁰² Montuhotep II and Amenemhat I, whose monuments are restored by the kings of the Middle Kingdom, have been chosen among the kings of the past probably principally for their role as founders of new epochs: Montuhotep II had reunified the country after the disorders of the First Intermediate Period, and Amenemhat I founded the new ruling house of the Twelfth Dynasty. This concept had been expressed already by Dietrich Wildung who, however, excludes that those kings were chosen also for their historical achievements as this '*would be to over-estimate the historical consciousness of the Egyptians*': WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 229ff. Of different opinion are Serge Sauneron and Gun Björkman: see BJÖRKMAN, *Kings at Karnak*, 44.

¹⁰¹ BARASSI, *Tate Papers* 8, 1.

is very hard to see the intention to preserve monuments for the collectivity and future generations. In the eyes of the benefactor the single stands out as the main and likely the only beneficiary. Also a commemorative value may be present in the intention to preserve monuments of the royal ancestors. The statue memorialising king Montuhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty) is restored first by Senwosret II and Senwosret III (Twelfth Dynasty) and finally during the Thirteenth Dynasty by Sobekhotep IV. The statue is restored to adequately honour that king of the past (see n. 102). In this case, too, it is clear that the works are done to the benefit of an individual only (the current ruler). Additionally, the acknowledgement of those historical and commemorative values that we may recognise in those preservation acts certainly took a back seat. As far as artistic and aesthetic values are concerned, these are not manifest in the Middle Kingdom and SIP written sources. It is not possible to detect any appreciation of the monuments mentioned in the texts. The only stated personal opinion on the physical aspect of a monument is in the inscription of Sobekhotep IV on the Karnak stela. The king renews the perishable parts of a gate of the temple of Amon because he had found them *isw wrt* 'very old/ancient'. This expression is there used with a negative connotation.

Final Remarks

The written sources presented in this paper reveal that there was no disinterested approach to the preservation of Antiquity, at least between the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period. Opportunistic and utilitarian purposes played the main role. Also, references to the preservation of monuments due to their aesthetic value are absent. However, we can perceive the presence, to some extent, of an awareness of the monumental past, as well as an understanding of the historical importance of what was exploited. Though the final beneficiary of these acts of preservation is an individual (the current ruler), and to a limited extent a very selected collectivity (the elite). What the benefactors want to preserve for the future generations is the memory of the name and the self. Monuments seem to be just a means to achieve that goal.

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