It is a great pleasure to dedicate this study to my mentor Donald Redford. Exposure to the sheer depth and broad range of his scholarship both in print and in person during classes in Toronto as a Ph.D. candidate sparked my historical imagination in many directions, despite the natural tendency of the graduate student towards keeping a rather narrow perspective while researching a thesis. He has and continues to exemplify for me the value of a multi-disciplinary approach to Egyptological studies, the importance of a rigorous analysis of every scrap of evidence and the fruits to be derived from an overarching historical viewpoint in examining Egyptian civilization.

During the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, a number of what might be called “official” ex voto graffiti were carved at the behest of the clergy of Amen-Re as objects of popular devotion. These can sometimes be found on the walls of New Kingdom temples that had been left undecorated by the pharaohs of that era, and they frequently occur alongside the much cruder etchings of devout commoners. Another phenomenon associated with popular temple devotion was the securing of veils to screen selected icons from view. The presence of these screens can be detected by holes drilled into the walls which surround such images. Here the line of demarcation between “popular” and “official” religious practice blurs, since the veils were placed by the temple hierarchy in response to popular cult practice. Yet another manifestation of the official piety of the high clergy and later kings was the restoration of the monuments of their New Kingdom predecessors. This was most common in the Ptolemaic era, although examples may be found throughout the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.¹

All three of these phenomena coincide in Luxor temple on the west exterior wall of the solar court of Amenhotep III (figure 1). Here, an isolated raised relief depicts the ithyphallic form of Amen-Re, stand-

¹ A doctoral dissertation on this subject is now underway; Joseph Brett McClain, Restoration Inscriptions and the Tradition of Monumental Restoration (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, forthcoming).
ing on a m3fr-plinth before an offering stand laden with bread loaves, a nms3t-jar and a single lotus blossom. Behind him is a temple-shaped pedestal supporting a plumed staff flanked by lettuce plants. The head and upraised forearm of the god are missing, although part of his beard and three tips of his flail remain. Amen sports a broad collar with a narrow loop at the neckline which may be a shyw-collar, and a strip of cloth draped over his torso below the broad collar like the letter X. His distinctive ribbon, dangling behind him, touches the plinth. Significantly, no officiant, royal or otherwise, attends the god.

Three holes have been drilled into the wall below the relief along with a fourth between the god’s leg and the offering stand, to secure a veil which once hid the icon from view. Holes of this type are quite common on the exterior portions of Theban temples and were made to secure linen veils, probably mounted on wooden frames so that selected divine images which had become the object of popular devotion could be shielded from or exposed to view as needed. Immediately before the vignette, a single column of incised text had been added. It reads:

\[
\text{sm3wy-mnw ir.n.n hmr-ntr tpy n Imn-R'}^2 \text{ nsrw ntrw Mn-hrp-R'}^2 \text{ m3fr-hrw s1 nsw nb tshwy Ptry-ndm-mr-Imn m pr it.f 'Imn-ipt}
\]

Restoration of monuments which the high priest of Amen-Re king of the gods Menkheperre, true of voice, the son of King Pinedjem-meriamen made in the domain of his father Amen-Opet. Surely this inscription postdates the icon itself, since the text claims that restoration work has been done here. The fact that the text is inscised would tend to confirm that it is later than the bas relief image. What, then, was the date of the original relief? There is nothing to suggest that we have here a repair to an Eighteenth Dynasty relief vandalized by Akhenaten, for the icon would then have to date to the later reign of Amenhotep III who built the solar court in the later years of his reign. No traces of vestigial hacking persist to betray evidence of a pre-Amarna origin for the relief. True, the surface of the wall has been cut back surrounding the figure, but this was done to create a raised relief on the blank wall. So, there is no epigraphic basis for suspecting that we are dealing with an icon of Amenhotep III belatedly repaired in the wake of Amarna iconoclasm. In fact, such ex voto images of the gods carved on blank exterior walls of Theban temples do not seem to antedate the later Ramesside period.

The icon itself is no mere pilgrim’s graffito, rudely scratched on the wall of the temple by a devout visitor. It is quite large and carefully rendered in raised relief, and was provided with a veil. No doubt the priesthood of the day officially sanctioned the image, and the lack of a royal officiant standing before the god would tend to confirm that it was not made at the behest of some king. It is liable, then, to have stemmed from an age of priestly power vis-à-vis royal weakness, perhaps from the late Twentieth Dynasty or the early Twenty-First Dynasty.

Since the high priest Menkheperre has added a renewal text to a relief that appears undamaged, we might fairly ask why? Even a cursory examination of the figure of Amen reveals extensive recutting. The god’s penis has been enlarged as many as two times along with the front of his torso from the midriff to the shoulder. The posterior of his torso from the small of the back to the armpit and the back of his leg from the thigh to the heel have each been recut once. Amen’s beard has also been adjusted and it is likely that the now missing profile and plumed headdress were altered as well.

There is at least one other parallel example of a recut ex voto image of Amen in the so-called “Monthu” precinct at north Karnak. This was also a veiled cult image added to a wall space left blank by the

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4 A. Varille, Imanu I (Cairo, 1943) 4, fig. 3; Luc Gabe & Marc Gabolde, “Une catastrophe antique dans le temple de Montou,” BIFAO 93 (1993) 257, fig. 4, pl. 6B.
original builder. Here, both versions are in sunk relief, but only the leg of the ithyphallic Amen with his dangling streamer and the shrine-shaped platform behind him survive. The god’s instep, toe, the back of his leg from the calf to the heel and his streamer have all been enlarged slightly, with the final version being cut to a somewhat shallower depth. This icon was also provided with a veil secured by at least five square drill holes. There are two pairs of holes along the bottom of the image; two are drilled below the baseline of the scene, another pair are drilled through it. The fifth hole behind the scene has remains of plaster inside it. Other mismatched sets of holes may be found on other votive reliefs, sometimes of differing shapes—square and round—indicating that new holes were drilled when the original veil canopy was replaced with a new one and the original holes were filled in with plaster.2 Unfortunately, there is no trace of a restoration inscription or any other text associated with this relief.

Was the recut icon from Luxor temple related to any other reliefs at that site? There are two clusters of divine icons on the east exterior wall of Luxor temple (figs. 3-4). The first is found immediately to the south of the southeast gateway of the hypostyle hall adjoining the sun court of Amenhotep III.10 The second group is clumped around the north-east gateway of the solar court.11 This odd lot of graffiti includes a handful of small, crude etchings representing Amen and other deities and a few inscriptions of private individuals. Most of these reliefs, however, are large-scale figures of gods carved by temple sculptors in sunk relief. They include several images of Amen-Re, along with Re-Horakhty, Mut, Khonsu, Maat and Hapi. The Amen figures are shown standing, enthroned and squatting. The only texts associated with these images are bald labels giving the deity’s name and one or two brief epithets such as Amen-Re lord of heaven, Khonsu lord of the Two Lands and in one case “Amen-Opet the-one-who-answers-the-poor.”12 Many, but not all, of these icons have drill holes to attach veils. None have renewal texts and there is almost no evidence of recutting.13 They appear clumped together without respect to their size or positioning relative to one another. All these factors lie in contrast with the graffito from the west exterior wall.

A similar constellation of divine images is found on the west exterior wall of the Khonsu temple at Karnak (figure 5).14 This wall, between the pylon and the west gate of the hypostyle hall, was largely left uninscribed by the late Ramesside kings and their Third Intermediate Period successors, except for a few bandeau texts midway up the pylon thickness and the south-west portal of the outer court immediately north of the pylon.15 The lower half of this wall is occupied by clusters of private and official votive graffiti representing various deities. Most of these represent Amen-Re of Karnak, who may be either standing or enthroned, along with one ithyphallic Amen. Both the falcon-headed and mummiform aspects of Khonsu also appear, as does Mut and a finely detailed image of a hawk. The great majority of these reliefs have round or square shaped drill holes to secure veils, and in several instances, the same image has two sets of holes indicating that the original veil was replaced as some point.16 In one case, a veiled image of a goddess was not the product of temple artisans, but apparently the crude work of a pilgrim.

What was the raison d’être for these constellations of deities at Luxor and Khonsu temples? It has been suggested that the Luxor reliefs on the east exterior wall were “trial pieces” for sculptors. In particular, there are many patch stones occurring with these figures, and Johnson claims that this was the object of the sculptors’ practice.17 In one case, the image of Inm-lpt-Pt3-wsib-Id, part of the god’s flail on a patch stone has been recut (figure 3). But what would the sculptors have been practicing for? The divine images in these clusters of reliefs date to somewhere between the very late Ramesside period and the Twenty Fifth Dynasty. Yet apart from raised reliefs of Shabako in the Twenty Fifth Dynasty. Yet apart from raised reliefs of Shabako in the passageway through the Ramesside pylon,18 there is no conventional ritual decoration post dating Ramesses III’s tableaux along the exterior walls of the south part of the temple.19 Moreover, only deities were

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14 Nelson, Key Plans, KM 95; PM II, 243 (120).
15 Nelson, Key Plans, KM 96; not recorded in PM II, 243.
17 Raymond Johnson by personal communication. There are, however, many other blank sections of this wall that also have or had patch stones.
18 PM II, 305 (15c-g); Nelson, Key Plans, LG 18-20.
19 PM II, 334-36 (210-12 and 222-23); Nelson, Key Plans, KG 65-75, 80-84, 93-100. Reliefs of Ramesses III on the southernmost wall of the temple were usurped in the Twenty Fifth Dynasty.
shown, never complete offering scenes or kings. Even more interesting is the frequency of squatting divine figures in the Luxor group (figure 6). Amen-Re is most commonly shown in this manner, but Re-Horakhty and Maat also appear. Although squatting figures of this type might be shown in private tomb decoration,²⁰ they are not found in temple reliefs except as hieroglyphic determinatives in texts. The evidence for a tradition of popular devotion to these images seems hard to escape. It is most likely that the temple authorities provided these images to the devout and were certainly responsible for fixing and maintaining the veils which screened many of them.

Returning to the west exterior wall of the solar court, the question of Menkheperre’s motive for recutting the icon of Amen and adding his renewal text to the previously undamaged icon still remains. Both these phenomena are surely related, and the inspiration for the High Priest’s alterations may, perhaps, be found just inside the solar court. There, well over a dozen smbw-y-mnw texts of Seti I label repairs he made to the reliefs of Amenhotep III were vandalized by Akhenaten. As I have shown elsewhere, Seti I’s repairs here are “secondary restorations,” that is, the systematic recutting made by him for political reasons of divine icons previously repaired by Tutankhamen.²¹ The proximity of Menkheperre’s renewal text added to a recut icon on the outer wall of the selfsame court—makes it very tempting to conclude that he was inspired by Seti’s example on the other side of the wall. It is unclear precisely what motivated the High Priest to add his renewal text, but it is likely that he justified it in the same manner his Ramesside predecessor had, i.e., by “restoring” the icon itself.

In the post-imperial age at Thebes, when popular piety was, if anything, more important in temple worship than it had been earlier, the priestly hierarchy seem to have developed new cultic practices and iconography to express their own service to the gods as well as to facilitate popular worship. In a period when few large building projects were undertaken, existing monuments were adapted. At Karnak and Luxor, heretofore blank spaces of wall surface on the exteriors of the temples could become a tableau for dozens of official and unofficial ex voto images of the gods.

The veiling of icons seems to have been a key part of this practice. Certainly, not all of the ex voto icons were screened, especially at Luxor. Moreover, veils were often added to conventional ritual scenes left by New Kingdom kings on the exterior walls of the temples as well. They are quite common at Karnak, for example, in the decoration of Ramesses II on the wall enclosing the main part of the temple²² and on the exterior walls of the small temple of Ramesses III in the court of the First Pylon.²³ There are other examples.²⁴ The precise mechanics of these veils remain unclear. Borchardt²⁵ thought that such reliefs were actually covered with metal sheets, while others believe they supported fabric screens,²⁶ perhaps on a wooden framework.²⁷ And what was the purpose of the veils? Some may have been made to screen particular reliefs throughout the year except on special occasions. Two examples of this type are found, exceptionally, on the interior and not the exterior walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall. One depicts the “sacred marriage” of Amen-Re with his consort Mut who embraces him inside a shrine.²⁸ The relief has a number of square peg holes around it, and the late William Murnane suggested that the relief was exposed to view on “special occasions” including the Festival of Opet.²⁹ The other relief depicts Amen-Re enthroned within a shrine with Mut and Khonsu.³⁰ Here the god represents “the great inundation” and is to be understood here as the source of the Nile

²² W. Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Unfassizierungsaufnahme Ramses‘ II. in Karnak, 2 (Wasbaden, 1968) passim.
²³ Epigraphic Survey, Ramses III’s Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amun, (Chicago, 1936), pis. 95-99, 102-109, and passim.
²⁴ E.g., isolated images on the north and south exterior walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall. On the north wall in particular, the Theban Triad with Maat inside of a Kiosk in a scene depicting Seti I presenting the spoil of his Hittite campaign, the deities were enclosed in a shrine with side walls built against the main wall. A frieze of Ramesses III’s cartouches below the scene indicates that this project dates to his reign. Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I (RIK 4; Chicago, 1986) 111-12, and esp. 129-30 with the references cited there.
²⁶ Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, 130, n. 3.
²⁷ Dills, Sena 4 (1935) 79; Raymond Johnson by personal communication.
²⁹ William Murnane by personal communication.
itself. Perhaps this Amen was only exposed during solemnities connected with the start of the annual inundation.

Beyond rare examples such as these, the vast majority of screened icons appear on the exterior walls of the temples in locations to which the public had access. The question remains as to why they were veiled; not simply because they were images of the gods subjected to “profane eyes,” since any number of representations of deities in ritual scenes on the exterior walls of the temples were left exposed. In the case of Amen-Re, for example, only selected images of him were screened on the exterior walls, and these are often found side by side with others that were not. Bulking large among the veiled icons are deities that appear but rarely in temple ritual scenes as the object of cult like Amenet, Onuris or Nekhbet. When more common deities such as Amen-Re and Ptah are veiled, they sometimes have epithets that mark them as rare manifestations. All this supports the notion that screened icons were deliberately selected and transformed into mere representations of the god in narrative ritual scenes into actual cult figures that served henceforth as objects of worship.

As to the precise function of the veil, one possible explanation might be that it represents the “shadow of the god” resting on the cult image. In cases of the king as a sphinx, sacred animals, cult statues of the

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32 These peg holes, which are not fully recorded in Nelson’s volume, were observed and recorded by the author during the 2001 season of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project.
33 So from the curtain wall around the main part of Karnak Temple, examples include Ahmose-Nefertari, Amenet, Bastet, Hathor, Isis, Onuris and Osiris. Helck, *Umfassungsmauer*, pls. 17, 27, 30, 42, 46, 66, 77, 85.
36 See Edward Brovarski et al., *Egypt’s Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558-1085 B.C.* (Boston, 1982), cat. 410, 300-301. The fan does not represent the sḫw “shade, a linen veil could, perhaps, express the same concept. Unfortunately, this must remain mere speculation, because there is no textual evidence to support it.

An alternate explanation may lie in the complex dichotomy between the hidden and revealed natures of Egyptian deities. The notion that the veil served to underline the hidden aspect of the god Amen in particular, is supported by texts. Hymn 200 of the Leiden Amen Hymn, says of the god that “he is too secretive for his incarnate form (ḫmn) to be revealed.”

The cult statues of gods in processional barque shrines were ensconced in closed cabin shrines further obscured by a linen pall. The Egyptian term for a sacred barque was sḫm-ḫw “protected image,” and the veil, like the cabin shrine itself, guarded the god’s statue from view. At the same time, texts describing the processional and oracular activities of the barque make it clear that the god translated his intentions into actions not through the medium of the cult statue within the cabin shrine, but through the form of the barque itself. Karlhausen concludes that only sḫm-ḫw “protected images,” such as the cult statue inside the barque shrine needed to be screened from view. Likewise, the figureheads of the barques themselves served as cult images, and fans were carried aloft above the barques to indicate this.

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38 So in numerous examples where the barque is carried in procession or resting in its shrine. See Bell in *Milanges Mohktar*, 33.
39 Ibid., 34.
40 Translation from Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1997) 196. Assmann translates the word ḫmn as “majesty,” but ḫmn clearly refers to the physical form of both kings and gods, and was commonly used in reference to cult images. See, fundamentally, the long overlooked study of J. Spiegel, “Die Grundbedeutung des Stammes ḫmn,” *ZAS* 75 (1939) 112-21, where he proves the meaning of the word ḫmn to be “incarnation/bodily form” beyond all doubt. In Middle English, the term majesty was used to refer to the physical person of the monarch, as well as to the greatness and splendor of the same. Since the end of the Tudor era, the former connotation of the word has largely been forgotten by English speakers.
Yet, despite the hidden aspect of Amen in particular, he did not always secret himself from the devout. Like other gods, he made ḫnty, “appearances,” in public during festivals. The same Leiden hymn draws attention to this dichotomy calling him “secret of transformations and sparkling of appearances.”

Some procession images, ḫnty, were highly visible including the cult statue of Amen-Kamutef, which was fully exposed to view during the procession of the Min Feast or the cult statue of the divine Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina. It is most likely, then, that the veils which screened images on the exterior walls of temples were occasionally set aside so that the god’s image was exposed to popular worshipers. Perhaps these appearances coincided with the various festivals which punctuated the Theban calendar.

A PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE AND SETTLEMENT AT TELL TEBILLA (EAST DELTA).^1

Gregory Mumford

The ancient settlement at Tell Tebilla^2 is located in the eastern delta, 12 kilometers to the north of Tell Rub’a (Mendes), along the now defunct Mendesian branch of the Nile. The site was occupied during the late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period,^3 the Second Intermediate Period to early Dynasty 18,^4 the Third Intermediate Period to the Roman period,^5 and in recent times. The southern location

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^1 The Tell Tebilla project is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (1999-2005), an American Research Center in Egypt cultural documentation grant (2000), and private donors from Los Angeles, and is supported by the Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations at the University of Toronto. Further thanks go to the officials of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Cairo and el-Mansoura, the municipality of Dikirnis, the staff of the water filtration plant, the villagers at Tell Tebilla, and the in-field and Toronto project staff, for all their assistance and encouragement towards the success of the Tell Tebilla project. This writer drew figures 1, 2:1-3, 3:1-6, 4:1-3, 4:5-6, 4:8, and 5, incorporating the topographic map by L. Pavlish into figure 1, while L. Chinery and C. Gilbert drew figures 2:4, 4:4, and 4:7.

^2 For early work at Tell Tebilla, called Tell Balala elsewhere, and its location, see pp. 39 and 271 (map grid ref.G3) in Porter. and Moss, 1934. A more recent summary and bibliography is provided in Malek, 1985.

^3 The northeastern part of the water plant, beyond the northern end of the current mound, yielded fragments from crude bread moulds and carinated bowls with red slip and burnishing, duplicating First Intermediate Period forms from Mendes (Mumford forthcoming).

^4 Project ceramicist, Rexine Hummel, noted up to a dozen sherds from black-rimmed bowls and two Tell el-Yahudiye ware sherds dating from the Second Intermediate Period to early Dynasty 18 (no later than the reign of Thutmose III).

^5 To date, the mound has produced very few Ptolemaic or Roman potsherds, with the majority of the pottery representing the Saite to Persian periods. This may accord well with the general destruction of delta settlements, ca. 342 B.C., by Artaxerxes III, who likely caused the major destruction (i.e., burn debris) visible across one of the last strata at Tebilla. In a brief visit to Tell Billeh (Tebilla) in 1887, F.Ll. Griffith noted numerous ancient shells (Ampullaria ovata) in the upper stratum. He suggested they indicated Roman occupation since this mollusc represented a favourite Roman food source and appeared in abundance at other sites, such as Naukratis (p. 70 in Griffith, 1890).

^6 The modern village occupies an irregularly shaped, lower residual strip of the eastern side of the mound, raised 1-2 metres above the surrounding fields and covering an area of 100 metres east-west by over 400 metres north-south.

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^Assmann, Moses the Egyptian, 196.

^Karlshausen, L'Iconographie de la barque processionale, 333-42, esp. 341.
Figure 1. Recut image of Amen-Kamutef with renewal inscription of the High Priest Menkheperre. Luxor temple, west exterior wall of the solar court of Amenhotep III.

Figure 2. Facsimile drawing of the relief by author, inked by William Schenk.
Figure 3. A constellation of divine images on the east exterior wall of Luxor temple including Amen-Opet-the-one-who-answers-the-poor. Some of these have drill holes to secure veils over them.

Figure 4. More icons of varying sizes on the east exterior wall of Luxor temple. Some of these have drill holes to secure veils over them.

Figure 5. An isolated icon of Amen-Re on the west exterior wall of Khonsu temple with drill holes to secure a veil.

Figure 6