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# The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers

BARBARA A. RICHTER

## Abstract

*The Amduat, a new genre of funerary literature chosen by the Thutmoside kings to decorate their tombs, describes the journey through the twelve hours of the night by the sun god Ra, arising reborn at sunrise. Few studies have examined the ways in which the texts and pictures of this composition work together with the architecture of the tombs to create a synthetic whole. Following Roehrig's suggestion that the layout of the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34) reflects concepts from the Amduat itself, this paper delves more deeply into the decorative and architectural relationships of the burial chamber of KV 34 and also examines the other two pre-Amarna tombs with complete versions of the Amduat (KV 35 and KV 22) to see the ways in which succeeding kings utilized this Netherworld text. The investigation revealed that KV 34 represents a true synthesis of decoration and architecture, transforming the burial chamber into a working microcosm of the Netherworld and emphasizing the identification of the king with the unified Ra-Osiris in order to ensure his potential for rebirth. In addition, it was discovered that the Litany of Ra's textual and pictorial decoration works together with the most critical section of the Amduat to reinforce this important identification. Succeeding kings elaborated and expanded the architecture and decoration of their tombs in order to describe ever more fully the afterlife in both its solar and Osirian aspects, striving to guarantee their protection, regeneration, and ascent to the sky for eternity.*

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Thutmoside kings of the early 18th Dynasty chose not only a new site for their tombs, in the desolate valley located beneath a pyramid-shaped mountain called the Gurn, but also a new genre of funerary literature for the decoration of their burial chambers—the pictures and text of the underworld book called the Amduat. Written in cursive hieroglyphs and illustrated with sparsely drawn stick-figures, it presented a detailed description of the Duat, the Netherworld in which the sun god journeyed at night, arising reborn at sunrise. By identifying with the god, the king hoped for the same rebirth after death. Although fragments of the Amduat were found in the tomb of Thutmose I

<sup>1</sup> A shorter version of this article was presented as a paper at the ARCE Annual Meeting in Seattle (April 2008). I am especially grateful to Dr. Catharine Roehrig for her insightful comments about the tomb of Thutmose III and her assistance in obtaining photographs from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I would also like to thank Prof. Kent Weeks, Magdi Ali, Francis Dzikowski, Dr. Monika Dolińska, Dr. Zbigniew Doliński, Gonzague Halflants, Prof. Laure Pantalacci, Prof. Jiro Kondo, Prof. Nozomu Kawai, and Dr. Thierry Benderitter, for photographs and images, and David Rager for the illustrations. This paper is dedicated to the memory of my teacher and mentor, Prof. Cathleen Keller, who first brought this topic to my attention.

and Hatshepsut (KV 20)<sup>2</sup> and in the tomb of Thutmose I (KV 38),<sup>3</sup> the first complete version preserved to us appears in the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34), adorning the walls of his oval-shaped burial chamber (figs. 1 and 2). The use of the Amduat in the king's tomb continued throughout the pre-Amarna era; parts of it remained in use in the decorative programs of the later 19th and 20th Dynasty royal tombs<sup>4</sup> as well, even after the repertoire of Netherworld books had expanded to include ever more complex depictions of the cosmos.

Although scholars have studied the architecture of the royal tombs that first employed the Amduat as decoration<sup>5</sup> as well as the text of the Netherworld book itself,<sup>6</sup> there have only been a few studies<sup>7</sup> of the way in which the text and pictures work together with the architecture of the royal tombs to create a synthetic whole. Roehrig<sup>8</sup> notes that the layout of the tomb of Thutmose III reflects a number of concepts from the Amduat itself; this intriguing idea merits more investigation. Therefore, this paper takes her ideas as a starting point, delves more deeply into the decorative and architectural aspects of the burial chamber of Thutmose III's tomb, and looks at the other two pre-Amarna tombs with complete versions of the Amduat, those of Amenhotep II (KV 35) and Amenhotep III (KV 22), to see the ways in which succeeding kings utilized the Netherworld texts as they expanded and adapted the architecture of their burial chambers.<sup>9</sup> In this way, we hope to shed more light on how the architecture and decorative programs of these early New Kingdom royal tombs work together to create a functioning mechanism for guaranteeing the perpetual rebirth of the deceased king.

<sup>2</sup> John Romer, "Tuthmosis I and the Bibân el-Molûk: Some Problems of Attribution," *JEA* 60 (1974), 119–33, esp. 121–22, suggests that KV 20 was the tomb originally prepared for Thutmose I, having been later expanded by Hatshepsut as a double burial, and that KV 38 was built for Thutmose I by Thutmose III. However, Catharine H. Roehrig, "The Building Activities of Thutmose III in the Valley of the Kings," in Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, eds., *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 238–59, esp. 246–48, argues that KV 38's simpler plan (only one pillar in the burial chamber, a storage room, no pillared hall, and no right-angled turn of its axis) suggests that it was built earlier than KV 20 and was the original burial of Thutmose I. Texts and fragments of the Amduat were found on fifteen limestone blocks in the second burial chamber of KV 20, probably intended as lining for the soft shale walls of the room. See Georges Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)* (Cairo, 1902); CGC 24990A and 24990B; Special Register Nr. 2328–2330 in the Cairo Museum; Roehrig, "Building Activities," 248, 258, n. 87; Hornung, *Amduat* 1, x; Kent Weeks, *Theban Mapping Project*, [www.thethebanmappingproject.com](http://www.thethebanmappingproject.com).

<sup>3</sup> Two fragments from the eighth and fifth hours of the Amduat were found in KV 38 and published by Daressy, *Fouilles* (Cairo, 1902); CG 24990C. See also Roehrig, "Building Activities," 258, n. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Such as the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, Ramesses III, Ramesses V/VI, and Ramesses IX, although it was no longer confined to the burial chamber as it had been in the 18th Dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> Victor Loret, "Le tombeau de Thoutmès III à Biban el-Molouk," *BIE* 3,9 (1899), 91–97, and idem, "Le tombeau d'Aménophis II et la cachette royale de Biban el-Molouk," *BIE* 3,9 (1899), 98–112; Alexander Piankoff and Erik Hornung, "Das Grab Amenophis III im Westtal der Könige," *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 111–27; Elizabeth Thomas, *The Royal Necropolis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966); John Romer, "The Tomb of Tuthmosis III," *MDAIK* 31,2 (1975), 315–51; C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, Teil I: Text (Wiesbaden, 1963); Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, Teil II: Übersetzung und Kommentar (Wiesbaden, 1963); Hornung, *Amduat* 1–3; idem, *Die Nachtfahrt der Sonne: Eine altägyptische Beschreibung des Jenseits* (Zurich, 1991); Winfried Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitstexte für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 42 (Munich, 1985); Friedrich Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 146 (Freiburg, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Hermann Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 12–39; Nadette Hoffmann, "Reading the Amduat," *ZÄS* 123 (1996), 26–40; Roehrig, "Building Activities."

<sup>8</sup> Roehrig, "Building Activities," 242–46.

<sup>9</sup> Roehrig, "Building Activities," 244, suggests that the positions of the storage rooms work together with the texts, with the rooms possibly having contained objects (like linen, offerings, etc.) mentioned therein. However, because the contents of the rooms of all three tombs in this study were removed or disturbed in antiquity, this idea, while interesting, cannot be proved from the available evidence; it is not investigated further in this paper.

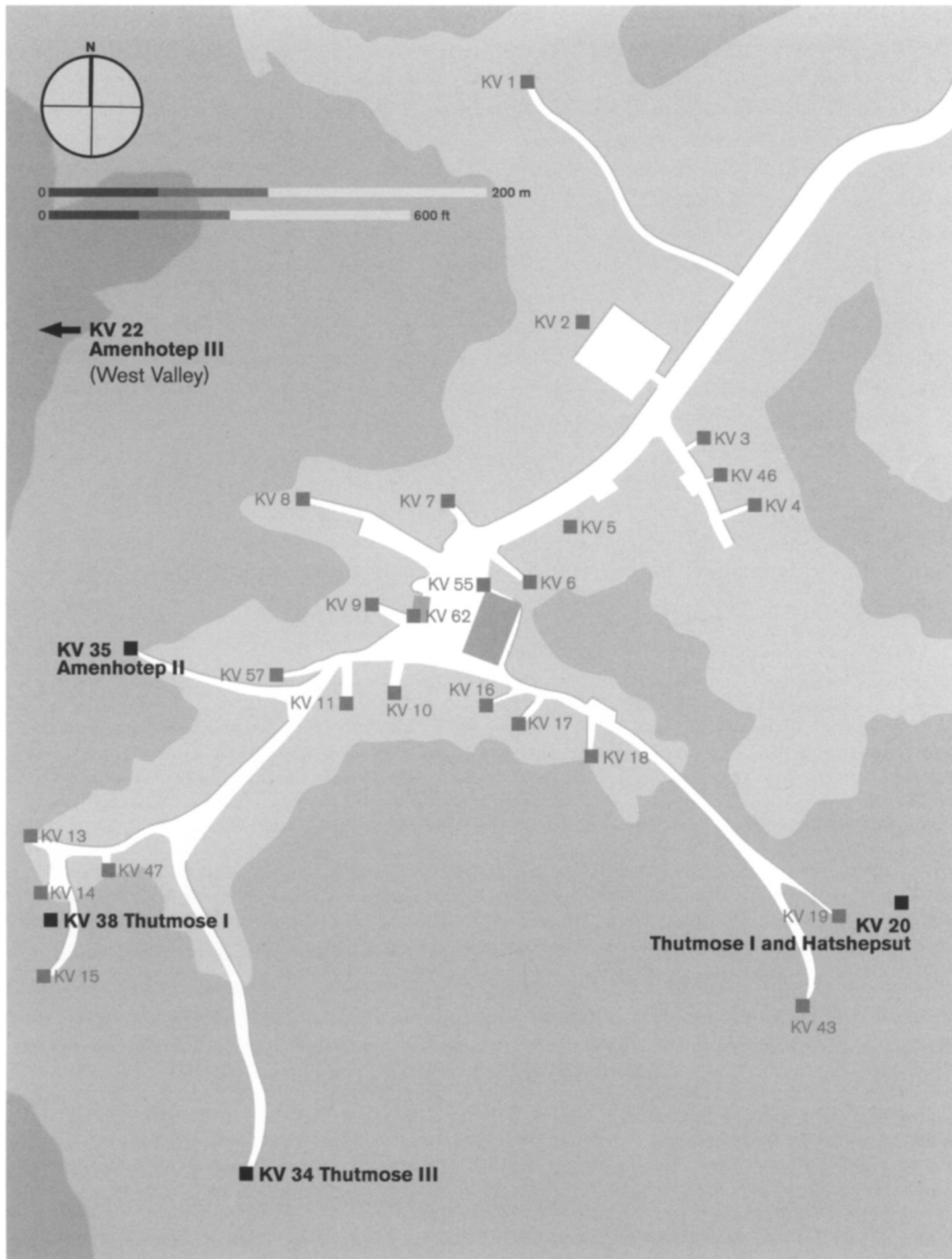


Fig. 1. Plan of Theban necropolis (illustration by David Rager).



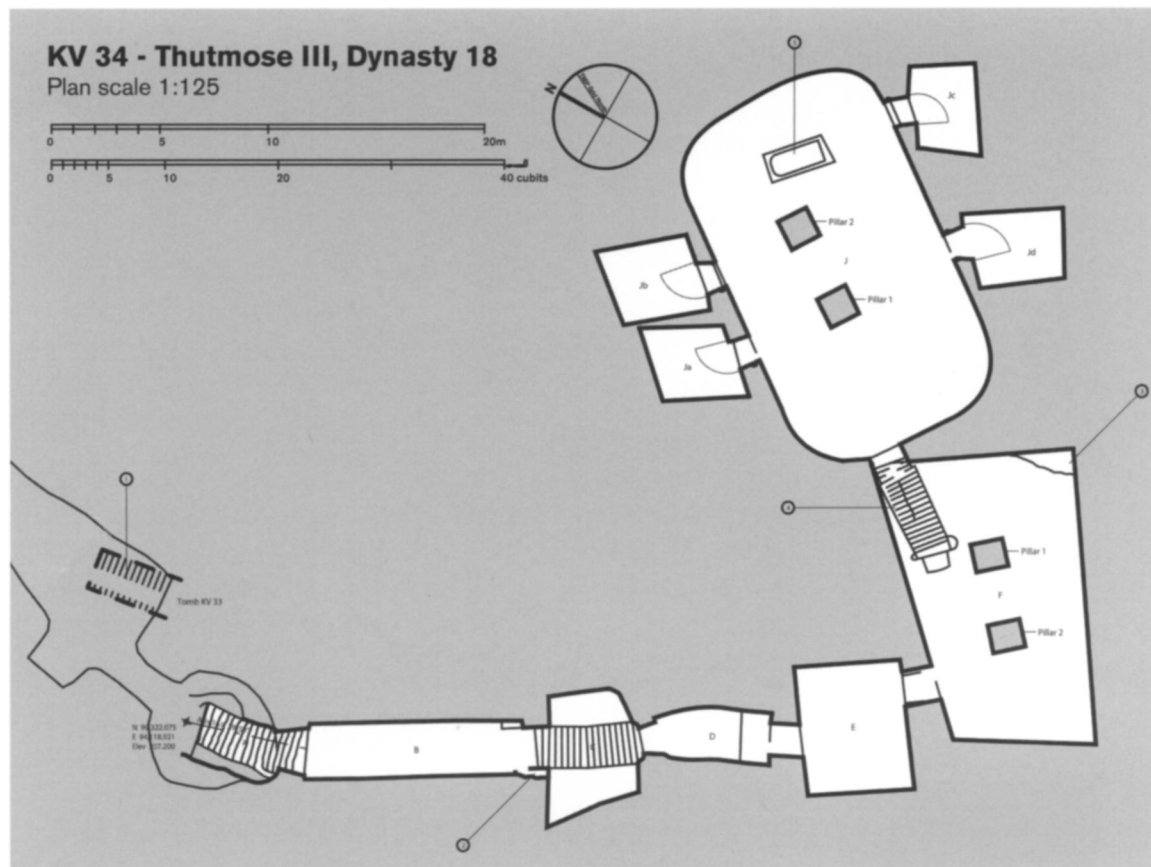


Fig. 2. Plan of tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34) (© Theban Mapping Project).

By means of publications of the three tombs,<sup>10</sup> together with plans of the Theban Mapping Project,<sup>11</sup> an overview of the general architectural features and decorative scheme of the burial chambers was first accomplished. Then, plans of the burial chambers were compared and the precise positions of the hours of the Amduat were determined, as far as possible, for each tomb.<sup>12</sup> Next, the texts and scenes of the Amduat were examined in order to identify the most important hours. These hours were then studied in more depth, their texts translated, and their placements within the chambers correlated with the architecture as a whole. In the course of this investigation, a particularly interesting relationship connecting texts, images, and architecture in the burial chamber of KV 34 was discovered, which (to the best of my knowledge) has been overlooked by scholars.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Bucher, *Les textes des Thutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, MIFAO 60 (Cairo, 1932); Romer, "Tomb of Tuthmosis III," 315–51; Piankoff and Hornung, "Grab Amenophis III," 111–27; Jiro Kondo, "A Preliminary Report on the Re-clearance of the Tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22)," in C. N. Reeves, ed., *After Tut'ankhamūn: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (London, 1992), 41–54; J. Kondo, "The Re-clearance of Tombs WV 22 and WV A in the Western Valley of the Kings," in Richard H. Wilkinson, ed., *Valley of the Sun Kings: New Explorations in the Tombs of the Pharaohs* (Tucson, 1995), 25–33.

<sup>11</sup> Weeks, *Theban Mapping Project*.

<sup>12</sup> Much of the decoration in the tomb of Amenhotep III has been lost to salt efflorescence; the positions of the hours in his tomb were determined by means of Maya Müller, "Zum Werkverfahren an thebanischen Grabwänden des Neuen Reiches," SAK 13 (1986), 149–64, esp. 156–57, and PM I-2, 548–49.

The following pages will first take a brief look at the Amduat as represented in text and pictures. Then, the architecture and decorative programs for the burial chambers of each of the three tombs will be described, noting symbolism, trends, and changes over time. Particular hours of the Amduat that have special significance for the king are subsequently highlighted for each tomb, along with other relevant details, in order to demonstrate how the decorative programs and the architecture work together for the deceased king.

### The Amduat

The Amduat (*imy-dw3t*, “that which is in the Duat”), whose original title was “The Book of the Hidden Chamber,” is an illustrated text describing the Netherworld and tracing the sun god Ra’s journey through the twelve hours of the night. It was placed in royal tombs in order to ensure the well-being and rejuvenation of the king after his death.<sup>13</sup> In this sense it was similar to the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, although those texts were more ritualistic in nature and did not feature illustrations. Unlike the Pyramid Texts, and even the later Book of the Dead, the Amduat was an invariable text, with pictures that were not vignettes but part of an integral whole.<sup>14</sup> During its first use in the early 18th Dynasty, the Amduat was placed almost exclusively on the walls of the king’s burial chamber; in the later Ramesside period, excerpts from it appeared in other locations in the royal tomb.<sup>15</sup> The texts and illustrations of the Amduat are painted in a swift, calligraphic style with a limited palette of black, red, white, and pink on a buff ground, imitating the look of an unrolled ancient papyrus scroll. Each hour after the first is divided into three horizontal registers, with the upper register featuring general phenomena of the Netherworld and the bottom register supplying additional details specific to the particular hour. In the middle register the sun god Ra, accompanied by a crew of gods, journeys across the waters of the Nun that flow through the Duat, bringing light to its otherworldly inhabitants.<sup>16</sup> On this journey, Ra appears in his nightly ram-headed form. It is the *Ba*, or soul of Ra, that is traveling through the Netherworld; because a ram in Egyptian is also called a “ba,” this depiction is actually a visual pun. The ultimate goal of Ra’s journey through the Netherworld is to become rejuvenated, so that he can emerge reborn in the morning. He had to navigate a deceptive, zigzag path, overcome menacing serpents, and pass through the forbidden cave of Sokar. He also had to unite with the body of Osiris (Ra’s “corpse,” or “flesh”), bathe in the rejuvenating waters of the Nun, and travel backwards in time, finally emerging, victorious and newly born as Khepri, the following morning. Thus, the sun god who entered the Netherworld at dusk as an old man becomes a newborn at dawn. To reflect this idea of time proceeding backwards, as well as the “reversed world of the dead,” the text is written primarily in retrograde hieroglyphs, with the columns placed in the reverse order to which they are normally read.<sup>17</sup> In addition, some sections employ “enigmatic” writing using very unusual spellings, thus underlining the mysterious nature of the text.<sup>18</sup> Supplementing the

<sup>13</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitstexte*, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Erik Hornung, “Funerary Literature in the Tombs of the Valley of the Kings,” in Kent R. Weeks, ed., *The Valley of the Kings* (New York, 2001), 124–33, esp. 124.

<sup>15</sup> A rare exception of a non-royal tomb using the Amduat in its decoration is the tomb of Useramun (TT 61), vizier of Thutmose III, which contains the third and fourth hours of the Amduat. See Eberhard Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 84 (Mainz, 1994). See also Hornung, *Amduat* 1, xiii.

<sup>16</sup> Hellmut Bunner, “Illustrierte Bücher im alten Ägypten,” *Wort und Bild* (Munich, 1979), 212.

<sup>17</sup> Retrograde writing is used not only in the Amduat, but for religious texts in general. See also Erik Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltstexte* (Zurich, 1972), 31.

<sup>18</sup> For example, the title of the fourth hour is written “cryptographically.” See Bucher, *Les textes*, 63, lines 3–4. This passage will be discussed further in the section below in relation to Thutmose III’s tomb.

complete version containing text and pictures, an abridged version, usually un-illustrated, was written on the wall immediately after the twelfth hour of the complete version.<sup>19</sup>

### Thutmose III (KV 34)

In no other tomb is the synthesis of decoration and architecture more striking than in KV 34 of Thutmose III. Cut into the base of a cliff face in a southern wadi of the Valley of the Kings, the tomb consists of three entrance corridors, a well shaft, a pillared antechamber, and a burial chamber with four side rooms (fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> The basic plan suggests a progressive development over KV 38, possibly of Thutmose I, and KV 20 of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut: it has a sharp, almost 90-degree bend in the axis similar to that of KV 20 (although counterclockwise instead of clockwise); it continues the use of the distinctively shaped rectangular burial chamber with rounded corners first seen in KV 38 (variously described as oval or cartouche-shaped<sup>21</sup>); its burial chamber has two pillars (an increase of one over KV 38, although KV 20 had three) and four storage rooms (one more than KV 20).

The architectural elements of the tomb (fig. 2) are not merely symbolic but also play an integral role in the afterlife of the king. The bend in the tomb's axis may represent the winding paths of the Netherworld<sup>22</sup> or a spiral expressing the unending repetition of the sun's cycle.<sup>23</sup> The shape of the burial chamber is that of an oval, suggesting an opened papyrus scroll, the oval cave of Sokar (which plays an important role in the fifth hour), or the curvature of the Netherworld itself. The oval shape with its many connotations seems to have been reserved exclusively for the king's burial chamber; Thutmose III was the last king to employ it. The sarcophagus within the burial chamber is that of the royal cartouche encircling the king's name, thus associating him with the solar cycle<sup>24</sup> and giving him protection and dominion over everything that the sun encompassed. Figure 3 shows a plan of the burial chamber, with its two central pillars, four storage chambers, and the cartouche-shaped sarcophagus at the rear. The entire twelve hours of the Amduat spread out along buff-colored walls. The complete title of the Amduat, as given in the introduction, is *sš n ʿt ʿimnt ʿhʿw bšw ntrw šwt ʿhw ʿrw*, "The writing of the Hidden Chamber, the standing-places [or, "location"] of the *Bau*, the Gods, the Shadows, and the *Akhu*, and [their] actions."<sup>25</sup> The hidden chamber is, of course, the burial chamber of the king, which thus becomes a microcosm of the Duat by means of its architecture and the decoration on its walls. The book's purpose is to provide knowledge about the beings of the underworld, their functions, and the topography of the Duat. In a sense it is a guidebook about the realm of the

<sup>19</sup> Hoffmann, "Reading the Amduat," 38. In the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34), the abridged version is written on the two pillars in the burial chamber.

<sup>20</sup> KV 34 was discovered in 1898 by Inspector Hosni and cleared by Victor Loret of the Service des Antiquités. Publications include studies of the tomb by Loret, "Le tombeau de Thoutmès"; Romer, "Tomb of Tuthmosis III"; Annamari Fornari and Mario Tosi, *Nella Sede della Verità: Deir el-Medina e l'ipogeo di Thutmosis III* (Milan, 1987); catalogue of objects by Daressy, *Fouilles*; texts by Bucher, *Les textes*, Hornung, *Texte*.

<sup>21</sup> Erik Hornung, "Struktur und Entwicklung der Gräber im Tal der Könige, ZÄS 105 (1978), 59–66, esp. 63, notes that the oval shape "resembles" a royal cartouche, whereas Roehrig, "Building Activities," 256, n. 49, clearly distinguishes the oval shape of the burial chamber from the cartouche shape of the sarcophagus.

<sup>22</sup> The bend in the axis is seen in the substructure of Middle Kingdom pyramids, such as that of Senusret II at Lahun. The winding roads are also represented in the Book of Two Ways painted in Middle Kingdom coffins, such as that of Gua from Bersheh (British Museum, EA 30839). See Erik Hornung, *Tal der Könige: Die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen* (Zurich, 1982), 123, and Friedrich Abitz, "Die Entwicklung der Grabachsen in den Königsgräbern im Tal der Könige," *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 1–24, esp. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Dieter Arnold, "Architektur des mittleren Reiches," *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 15 (Berlin, 1975), 150–70, esp. 163.

<sup>24</sup> John Baines, "Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation," in David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 9 (New York, 1995), 9.

<sup>25</sup> Hornung, *Amduat*, 1, 100.

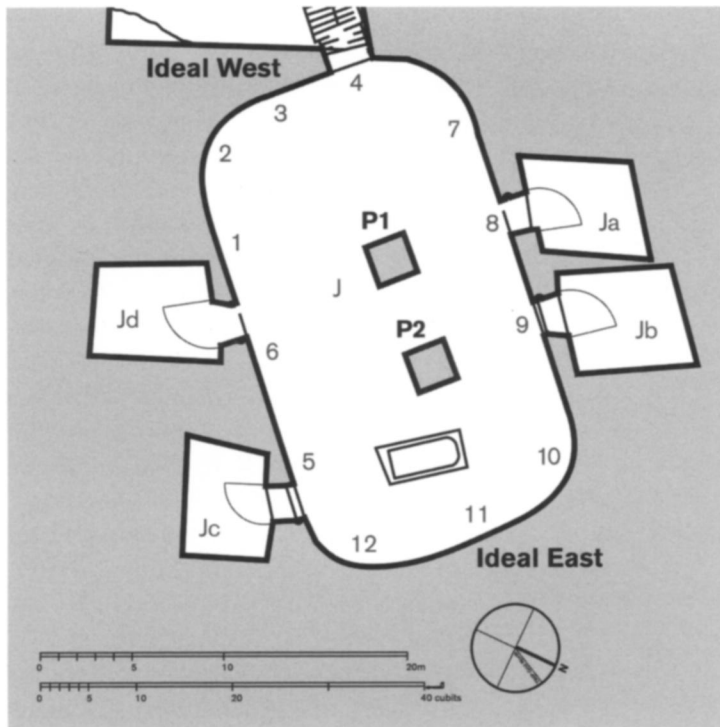


Fig. 3. Plan of burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34), with numbers indicating placement of hours of the Amduat (adapted by David Rager from plan of KV 34 © Theban Mapping Project).

dead and the nightly journey of the sun god, the knowledge of which will help the king in his own otherworldly journey.<sup>26</sup>

Instructions in the text itself also dictate the placement of each hour (fig. 3), stating that the first four hours should be on the west side of the Hidden Chamber, the middle four hours on the south, the next four on the north, and the final four hours on the east.<sup>27</sup> This placement is carried out in the tomb of Thutmose III, the last (and possibly the only) king to do so.<sup>28</sup> The orientation of the first and last hours, in the west where the sun god sets at the beginning of his journey and in the east where he arises reborn at dawn, thus coincides with the reality of the solar cycle. In the tomb of Thutmose III, they also occur on the rounded portions of the walls, reflecting the cyclical curve of the solar cycle. The text notes these entry and exit points, saying, *ḥ3t wp imn(t) sb3 n 3ḥt imnt(t)*

*ph.wy kkw-sm3w sb3 n 3ḥt imntt*,<sup>29</sup> “The beginning is the Horn of the West, the door of the western horizon. The end is Utter Darkness,<sup>30</sup> the door of the western horizon.” However, the fifth and sixth hours do not follow in consecutive order, which at first glance may seem puzzling. Barta explains that this ordering of the hours actually creates a spiral.<sup>31</sup> If one visualizes this spiral in three dimensions, as a combination of *nḥḥ* (cyclical time) and *dt* (linear time), and with the spiral moving through time, it perfectly reflects the daily repetition of the solar cycle (fig. 4).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Hornung, *Amduat Kommentar*, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Placements are (following Hornung, 1972, page numbering): 1st Hour—West (60); 2nd Hour—West (72); 3rd Hour—West (84); 4th Hour—West (93); 5th Hour—South (104); 6th Hour—South (118); 7th Hour—North (129); 8th Hour—North (140); 9th Hour—East (158); 10th Hour—East (169); 11th Hour—East (172); 12th Hour—East (183).

<sup>28</sup> The axis of the burial chamber is actually SW-NE, so the placements of the hours were a compromise made according to an “ideal west,” and an “ideal east” (Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 44). The entry wall is thus considered to be west, the end wall east, and the side walls north and south (Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 4).

<sup>29</sup> Hornung, *Amduat* 1, 100–102.

<sup>30</sup> The chaotic depths of darkness which existed before Creation. See Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, 59 and 497, n. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Winfried Barta, “Zur Stundenanordnung des Amduat in den ramessidischen Königsgräbern.” *BiOr* 31 (1974), 197–201, esp. 199, and idem, “Zur Verteilung der 12 Nachtstunden des Amduat im Grabe Tuthmosis III,” *JEOL* 21 (1969–70), 164–68, esp. 168.

<sup>32</sup> The concept of spiral time appears to have existed in Egyptian thought at least as early as the Old Kingdom. Valérie Angenot, “Lire la paroi: Les vectorialités dans l’imagerie des tombes privées de L’Ancien Empire Égyptien,” *Annales d’Histoire de l’Art et d’Archéologie* 18 (1996): 7–21, esp. 9–10, shows that the placement of narrative daily life scenes in Old Kingdom tombs and mastabas exhibits a spiral time sequence, as shown in scenes depicting the production of flour in the tomb of Akhetotep; she also notes that a spiral expresses the idea of eternal return as well as completion. After Thutmose III, the kings of the New



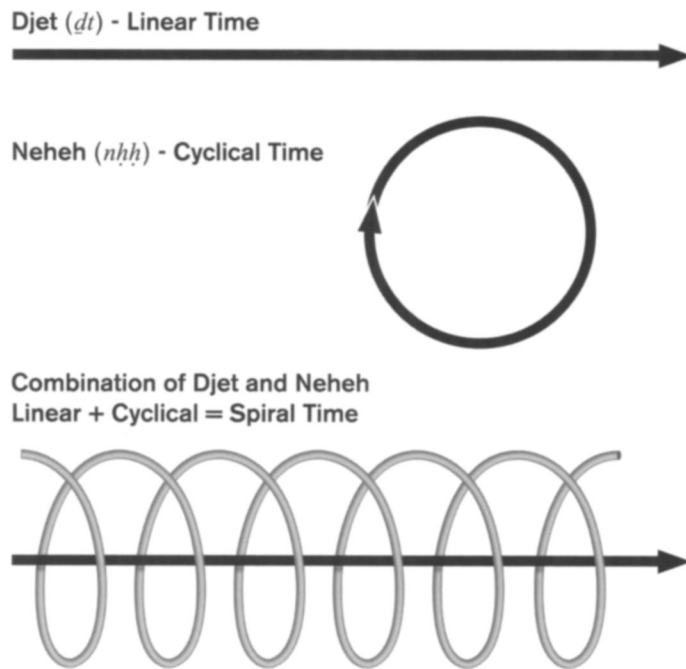


Fig. 4. Linear, cyclical, and spiral time (illustration by David Rager).

pictures are “useful for a man on earth.”<sup>34</sup> The scenes and texts on the pillars also help to personalize the burial chamber for the king. On the north face of Pillar One, Thutmose III (identified by his cartouche) appears with his three wives, daughter, mother, and the goddess of the sycamore, who suckles him (fig. 5).<sup>35</sup> The text and images of the Litany of Ra, which also appear on the pillars and explicitly refer to the king by name, will be discussed further while examining the highpoint of his journey through the Duat, during the crucial fifth and sixth hours of the night.

The great solar cycle begins with the entrance of the sun god into the interstitial domain of the first hour of the night. This hour is depicted on the curve of the west wall in Thutmose III's burial chamber, the shape of the wall additionally reflecting the sun's cycle. Gods of the hour appear in a table

In order to become reborn in the Afterlife, the king identifies with the sun god as he journeys through the Netherworld towards his transformation. This identification is actualized by personalizing the tomb for the king with his name and depiction in texts and images. In the Amduat painted on the walls of the burial chamber, his name appears in the introductory text of almost every hour, allowing Menkheperre specifically to be the one who knows the meaning of what is written in the Hidden Chamber and to benefit from this secret knowledge. For example, at the end of the introduction to the second hour, in reference to pictures of the otherworldly *Bau*, the text states, *iw 3h n nswt (Mn-hpr-r)* | *nh dt tp t3* . . . “It is useful for the King of Upper Egypt, (Menkheperre)|, living forever on earth . . .”<sup>33</sup> Later versions of this text in other royal tombs omit direct reference to a specific king, saying simply that the

Kingdom abandoned the spiral ordering of the Amduat's hours in favor of a circular, numerical sequence, as we shall see in the following sections on the tombs of Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III. However, Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, ÄAT 72,1 (Wiesbaden, 2008), esp. 77–78 and 472, notes a revival of this practice in the Late Period, as priests reinstituted the placement of the hours on 30th Dynasty sarcophagi according to the same cardinal directions found in the Amduat text of KV 34. Because none of the Late Period sarcophagi reproduce these instructions, Manassa suggests that the Late Period theologians had access to KV 34 or to a papyrus copy of the complete Amduat from the 18th Dynasty. For a discussion of the concepts of *dt* and *nhh*, see Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Ithaca, 1973), 169–70, Jan Assmann, “Ewigkeit,” *LÄ* 47–54, and idem, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ewigkeit*, AHAW 1 (Heidelberg, 1975), esp. 43–45.

<sup>33</sup> Bucher, *Les textes*, 9, lines 6–7; Hornung, *Amduat* 1, 181.

<sup>34</sup> Such as in the tombs of Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, and Seti I. See Hornung, *Amduat* 1, 181.

<sup>35</sup> The goddess is labeled, “Isis,” which was also the actual name of Thutmose III's mother.



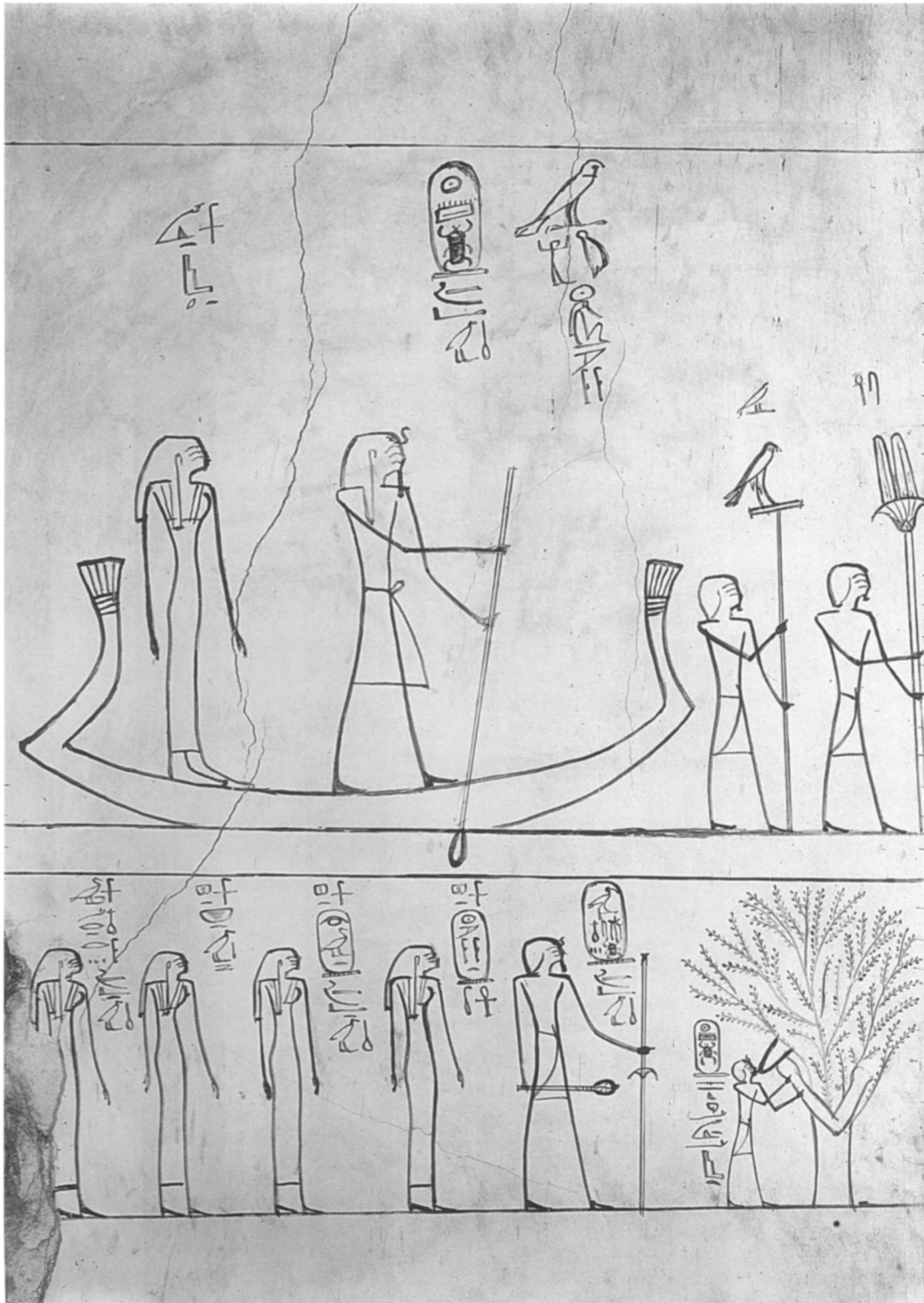


Fig. 5. Image of Thutmose III on north face of Pillar 1 in his burial chamber (KV 34) (photograph by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

similar to the catalogue of divinities in the antechamber; the solar barque, accompanied by its divine crew and other boats, travels in the two middle registers.<sup>36</sup> After a long journey<sup>37</sup> through this twilight realm, the sun god commands the resident divinities to open the Portal to the Duat, so that he may enter: *ḳ ntr pn m ʿrryt imntt nt ʒht*, “This god enters the western gate of the horizon.”<sup>38</sup> The first hour with its placement on the western wall is thus important for the king because it ends with the entrance of the sun god into the Duat at sunset. Because the king is identified with Ra, he also enters the Netherworld at this time, passing from one sphere to another in preparation for his own rebirth.

The next hour in the burial chamber of Thutmose III whose placement works together with the architecture in a particularly striking way is the fourth hour of the Amduat (fig. 6). Placed around the entrance to the burial chamber, it contains a prominent broken sand path that cuts diagonally through the horizontal registers, leading deep into the Netherworld. Pink areas interspersed with white and red dots represent the sandy path. It is called, *wʒwt štʒwt nt rʒ-šʒw mʒnw dšrw n(w) imht sbʒw imnw imyw tʒ skr ḥry š(y).f*, “The mysterious ways of Rosetau, the holy roads of Imhet,<sup>39</sup> the hidden gates which are in the land of Sokar, (who is) upon his sand.”<sup>40</sup> This title is written in enigmatic hieroglyphs, with unusual spellings for the words. For example, *imht* (“Imhet”) is spelled *nḥt*, and *imnw* (“hidden”) as *innṯ*. Only by comparison with the corresponding passage in the more conventionally written abridged Amduat, located on the pillars, can its meaning be deciphered.<sup>41</sup> The purpose of the Amduat was to give knowledge to the king, so the cryptographic writing of this title was probably not meant to obscure its meaning from him,<sup>42</sup> though its cryptic nature may have protected its mystery from workmen or artists. The king, having access to all palace and temple archives, as well as god-like understanding received at coronation, would no doubt have been expected to understand this enigmatic writing.<sup>43</sup> Darnell notes that enigmatic writing can reflect liminal areas dealing with the crossing of cosmic boundaries.<sup>44</sup> Its use here thus not only emphasizes the mystery of the path leading into the Netherworld, but may also increase the magical effectiveness of the passage between this world and the next.

This deceptive, zigzag path—sandy, full of fire, and often blocked by gates—leads to the secret cavern of Sokar,<sup>45</sup> which will figure prominently in next hour (and which, being out of order, thus begins the spiral). The solar boat, no longer able to sail freely in the sandy realm, is now dragged by means of tow-ropes through Rosetau (lit. “gate of dragging”).<sup>46</sup> The placement of this hour just before the entrance to the burial chamber is particularly appropriate, because the three stairways leading to the burial chamber precisely mirror the three breaks in the sandy path of the fourth

<sup>36</sup> The first hour appears in four registers instead of the usual three. Hornung, *Amduat Kommentar*, 9, suggests that the reason for dividing the middle register into two halves, thus creating four registers, is because the list of divinities requires less space than a normal register.

<sup>37</sup> Specified as “120 *itrw*,” which Hornung, *Amduat* 1, 111, translates as “120 miles,” although James Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge, 2000), 101, lists one *itrw* equal to 20,000 cubits, or 6.52 miles.

<sup>38</sup> Hornung, *Amduat* 1, 110.

<sup>39</sup> This word denotes the otherworldly realm of Sokar only in the fourth and fifth hours. See Hornung, *Amduat Kommentar*, 82, n. 11.

<sup>40</sup> Bucher, *Les textes*, 23, line 7.

<sup>41</sup> Bucher, *Les textes*, 86, line 19.

<sup>42</sup> Hoffmann, “Reading the Amduat,” 27.

<sup>43</sup> As suggested by Cathleen A. Keller, private conversation, March 20, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> John Coleman Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198 (Fribourg–Göttingen, 2004), 479–81.

<sup>45</sup> The Memphite god of the dead, identified with the “otherworldly” Horus, who, as a form of the sun god as well as the son of Osiris, is another name for the union of Ra and Osiris. See Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, 49.

<sup>46</sup> For discussion of the meaning of the word Rosetau, with various opinions, see Hornung, *Amduat Kommentar*, 90–91.

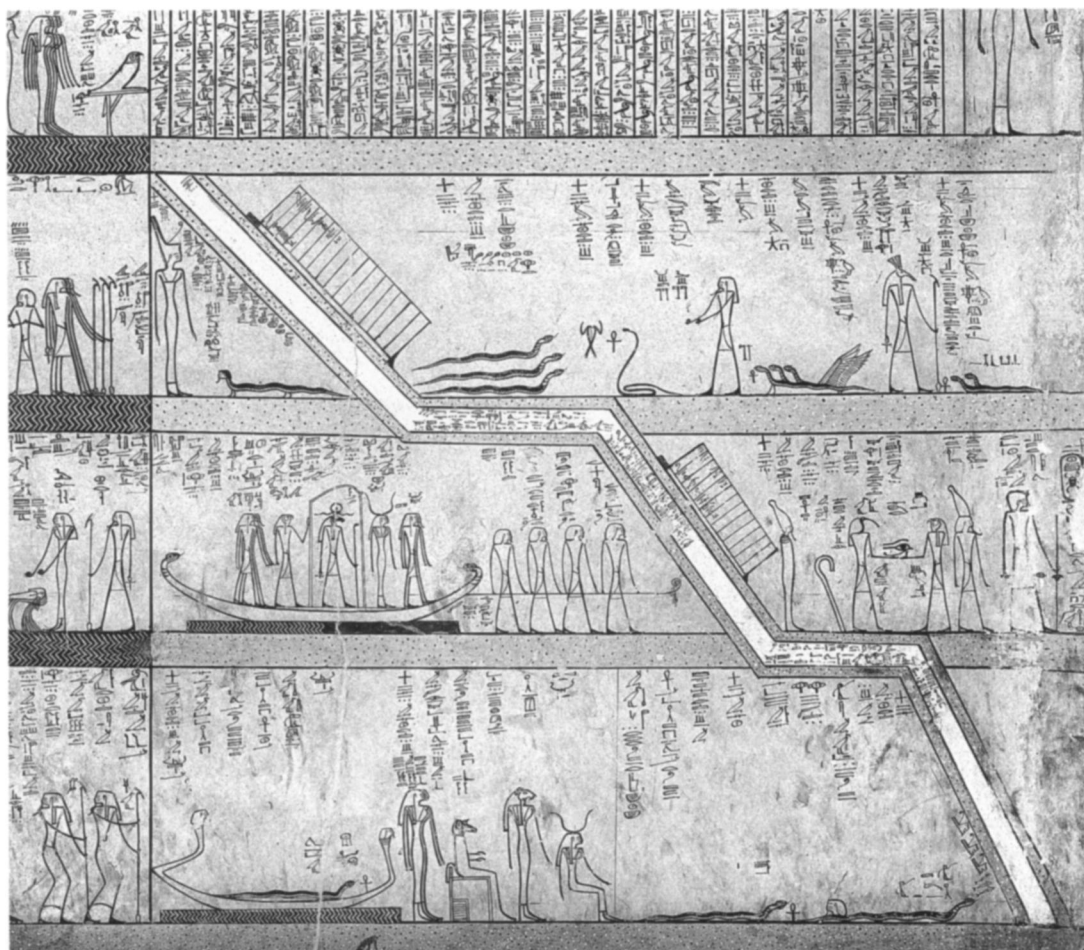


Fig. 6. Fourth hour of the Amduat in the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by Zbigniew Doliński).

hour.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the path of Rosetau leading down to the cavern of Sokar deep in the Netherworld becomes the inclined path upon which the coffin is dragged to the “Hidden Chamber” of the king’s tomb.<sup>48</sup>

This destination and the crucial moment in the sun god’s (and thus the deceased king’s) journey in the Netherworld are represented in the fifth (fig. 7) and sixth (fig. 8) hours, which are placed together on a stretch of wall between the entries to side chambers Jd and Jc. Visible from the foot end of the sarcophagus are the intersecting registers of the first of these two important hours (fig. 9). The lowest register shows the cavern of Sokar, represented as an oval set between the two Aker sphinxes that guard it, and covered by a vaguely pyramidal mound of sand protected by the head of Isis at its peak. Roehrig notes that these two elements form a cutaway image of the Valley of the Kings, with the

<sup>47</sup> Roehrig, “Building Activities,” 244.

<sup>48</sup> The word *št* not only means “hidden, secret,” but also “difficult of access” (Wb IV, 551).



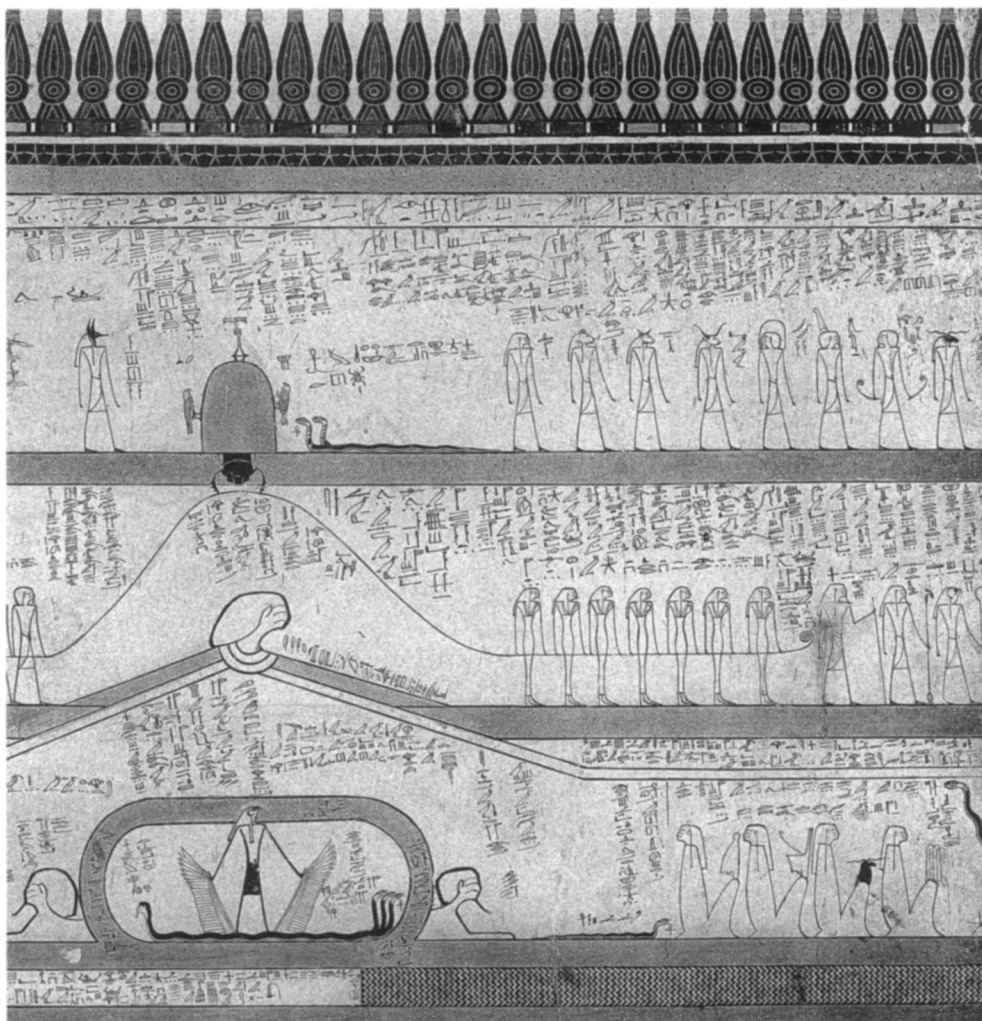


Fig. 7. Fifth hour of the Amduat in the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by Zbigniew Dolinski).

pyramidal mound of the Gurn rising above the oval burial chamber itself.<sup>49</sup> Brunner suggests that this cavern contains pre-creation energy that, while indispensable for the existence of life, must be guarded because it contains dangerous forces.<sup>50</sup> Hornung states that it is here that the mysterious union of Osiris (identified here with Sokar) and Ra (in the form of a multi-headed winged snake) takes place.<sup>51</sup> In order to help the barque of the sun god traverse the narrow path over the cavern,

<sup>49</sup> Roehrig, "Building Activities," 245, and 256, n. 49, who notes that the shape of the burial chamber was first connected with the cavern of Sokar by J. Zandee, in his review of *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie* by S. Schott, *BiOr* 18/1-2 (1961): 36-37, esp. 37, who sees both as representations of the Netherworld as the earth. Roehrig (personal communication, April 28, 2008) pointed out to me that the shape of Sokar's cavern is also similar to the *ḥ*-hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List N16), the ideogram for "earth."

<sup>50</sup> Brunner, "Illustrierte Bücher," 212.

<sup>51</sup> Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Ithaca and London, 1997), 37.

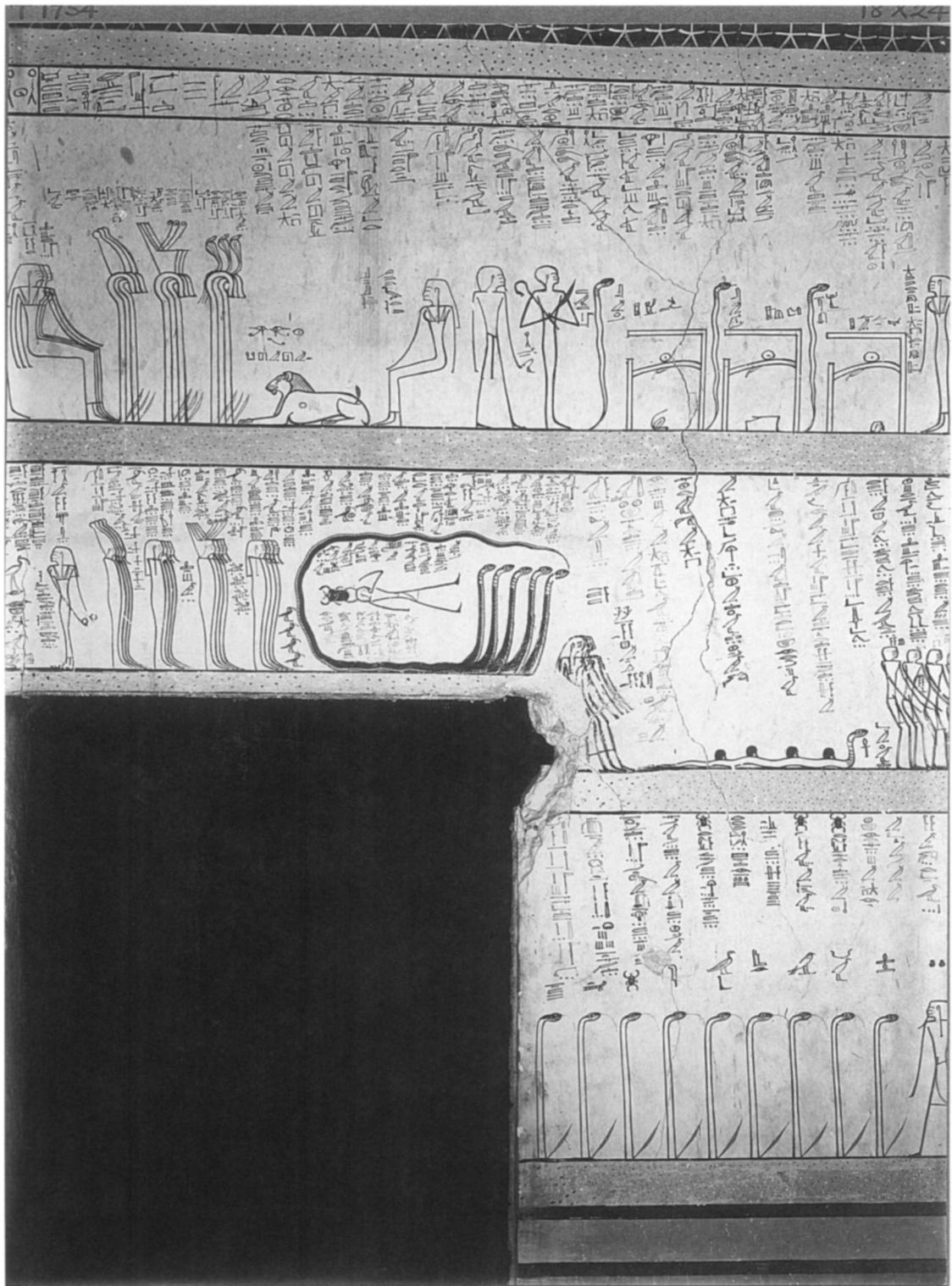


Fig. 8. Sixth hour of the Amduat in the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



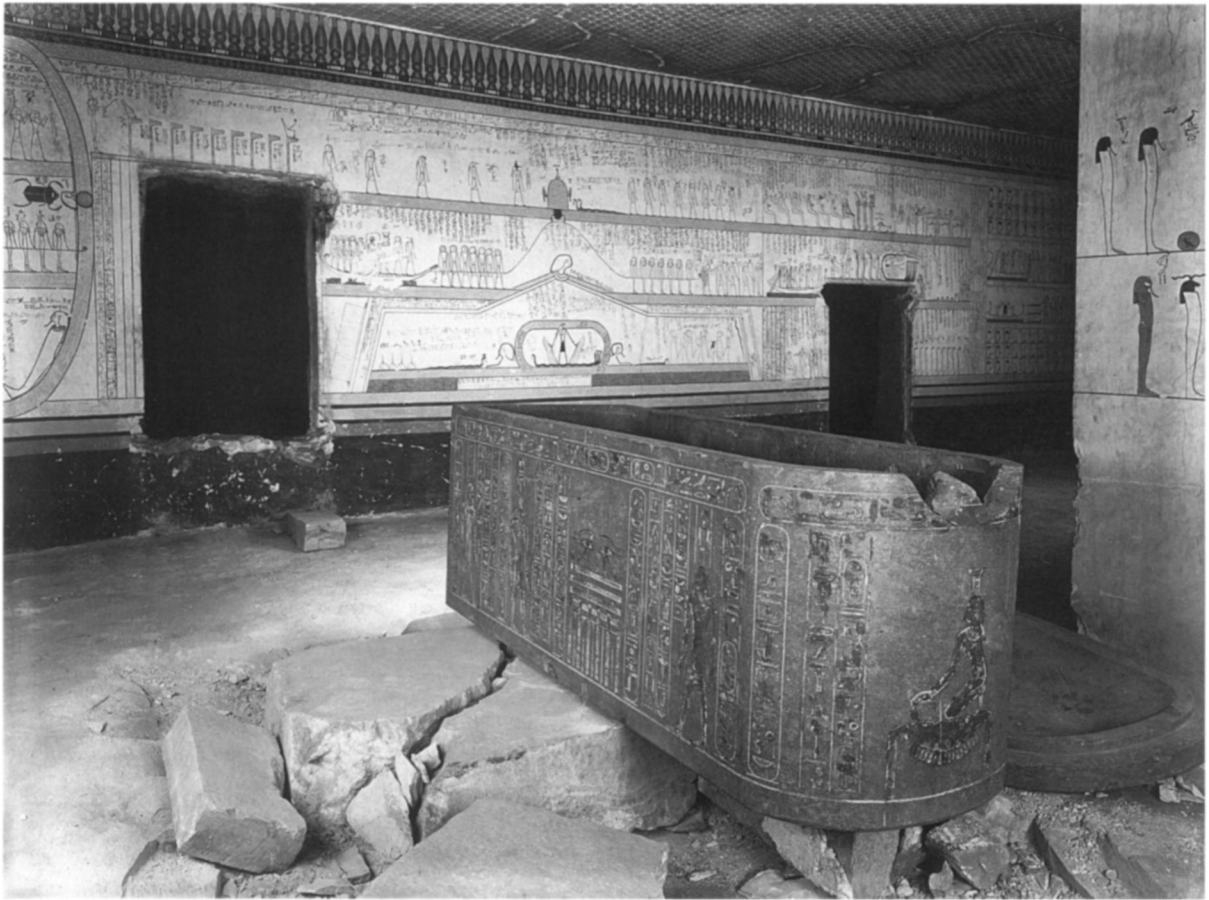


Fig. 9. Fifth and sixth hours of the *Amduat*, visible from the foot of the sarcophagus, on the south wall of the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

past menacing serpents, the black beetle of Khepri, seen emerging from the burial mound of Osiris in the upper register and thus symbolizing rebirth, helps pull the tow rope from above.

Having successfully passed through this potent but dangerous region of the Netherworld, Ra's barque moves into the crucial sixth hour, where he enters a water hole surrounded by five protective snakes and containing the primeval, regenerating water of the Nun that is necessary to complete Ra's rejuvenation (fig. 8). The text states, *b3.i m-'.i htp.i hr h3t.i*, "My *Ba* is with me so that I might rest upon my corpse."<sup>52</sup> The *Ba*, or soul, of Ra thus unites with his corpse, the body of Osiris; this union is shown by the solar scarab on the head of the rejuvenated god. What we are seeing in the fifth and sixth hours is essentially a repetition of Creation: Sokar's dark cavern contains pre-Creation energy—the spark that breathes new life into the union of two elements (Ra and Osiris). This life is then nourished in the waters of Creation—the Nun. We are also seeing the simultaneous existence of two alternate realities: the cavern of Sokar and the oval water hole in the Unseen world, where rejuvenation takes place; and the equivalent image of the oval burial chamber in the Seen world, where the acts taking place in the

<sup>52</sup> Hornung, *Amduat* 2, 509.

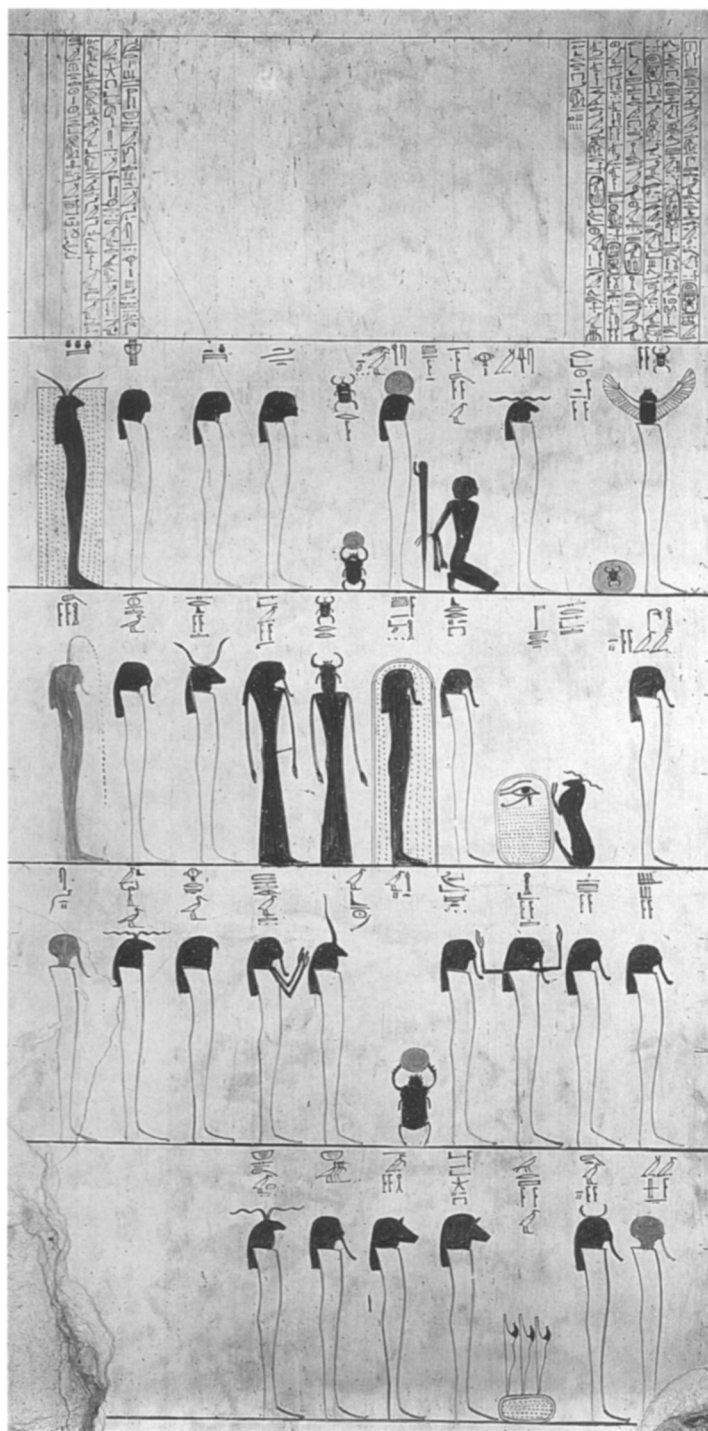


Fig. 10. *Litany of Ra with text in the far right column of the top row mentioning the Deba Demedj, on the south side of Pillar One, which faces the sixth hour of the Amduat on the south wall of the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).*

Duat allow the regeneration of the King. The connection with kingship is also unmistakable in this hour, because for the first time in the Amduat, representations of repeated royal symbols of scepters, crowns, and uraeii appear, in both the upper and middle registers.

At this juncture, we will now take a brief detour to examine a particularly interesting correspondence between texts, images, and architecture that came to light during my investigation of this tomb. The Litany of Ra, first used here in the tomb of Thutmose III, invokes the sun god seventy-five times in various names and forms; it is distributed among the faces of the two pillars in the burial chamber.<sup>53</sup> A connection exists between the text of the Litany on one pillar, an image on another pillar, and the events we just saw take place in the crucial fifth and sixth hours of the Amduat on the wall.

The text on Pillar One facing the sixth hour addresses one of the forms of Ra, the Deba-Demedj (the unified form of Osiris-Ra, lit. "substituted one of the united one"),<sup>54</sup> stating (fig. 10):

"Hail to you, O you who belongs to the Deba-Demedj! Your soul is glorious, your bodies breathe. King Menkheperre passes by the mysterious caverns and he traverses the mysteries therein. King Thutmose, Neferkheperu, calls to you as the Soul of Ra; you call King Menkheperre as

<sup>53</sup> See Friedrich Abitz, *König und Gott: Die Götterszenen in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern von Thutmosis IV bis Ramses III*, ÄA 40 (Wiesbaden, 1984), 195.

<sup>54</sup> Alexander Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, Bollingen Series 40, ETR 4 (New York, 1964), 11, notes that this figure represents the fusion of Osiris with the Ba of the sun god Ra. As Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 434, notes, "The union of Re and Osiris is thus the joining of the two gods that substitute for one another."



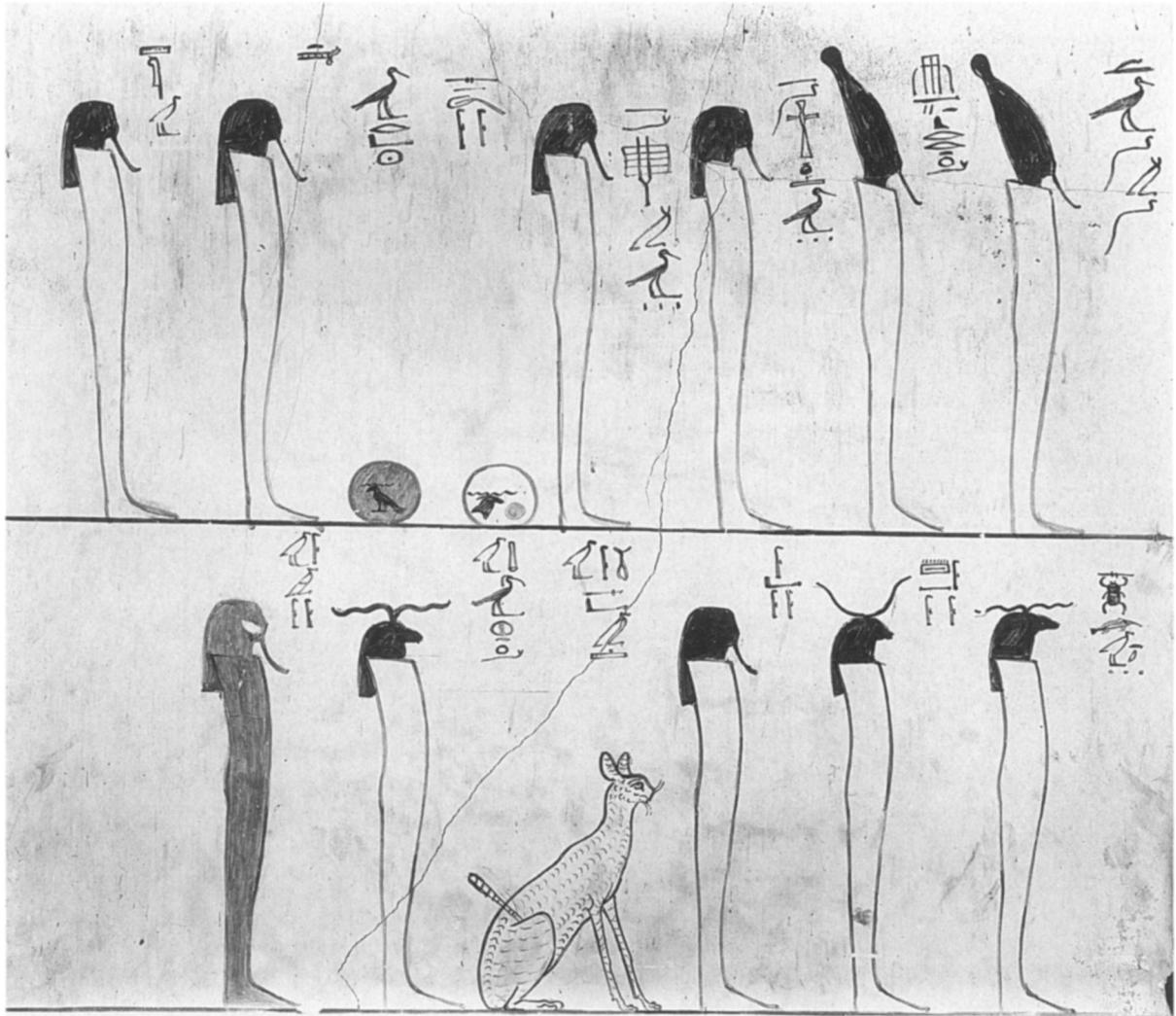


Fig. 11. *Litany of Ra with image of Deba Demedj at the far right of the top row, on the east side of Pillar Two, which faces the sarcophagus in the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).*

the Soul of Ra. His soul is your soul, his bodies are your bodies . . . Ra says to King Menkheperre, 'You are like me, my very second self.'<sup>55</sup>

The text emphasizes the identification of the king with Ra, who has just joined with the body of Osiris, while in essence giving a summary of the important events in the fifth and sixth hours of the Duat, which it directly faces. Because the Litany is distributed among the sides of the two pillars, the positioning of this particular section suggests that its placement was intentional. In addition to the textual reference, this unified Being—the very fusion of the soul of Ra with the body of Osiris—is shown pictorially on the side of Pillar Two that faces the king's sarcophagus (fig. 11). A mummiform

<sup>55</sup> Adapted from Piankoff, *Litany of Re*, 12. The text appears in on the right side of the top row on the south side of Pillar One (fig. 10).

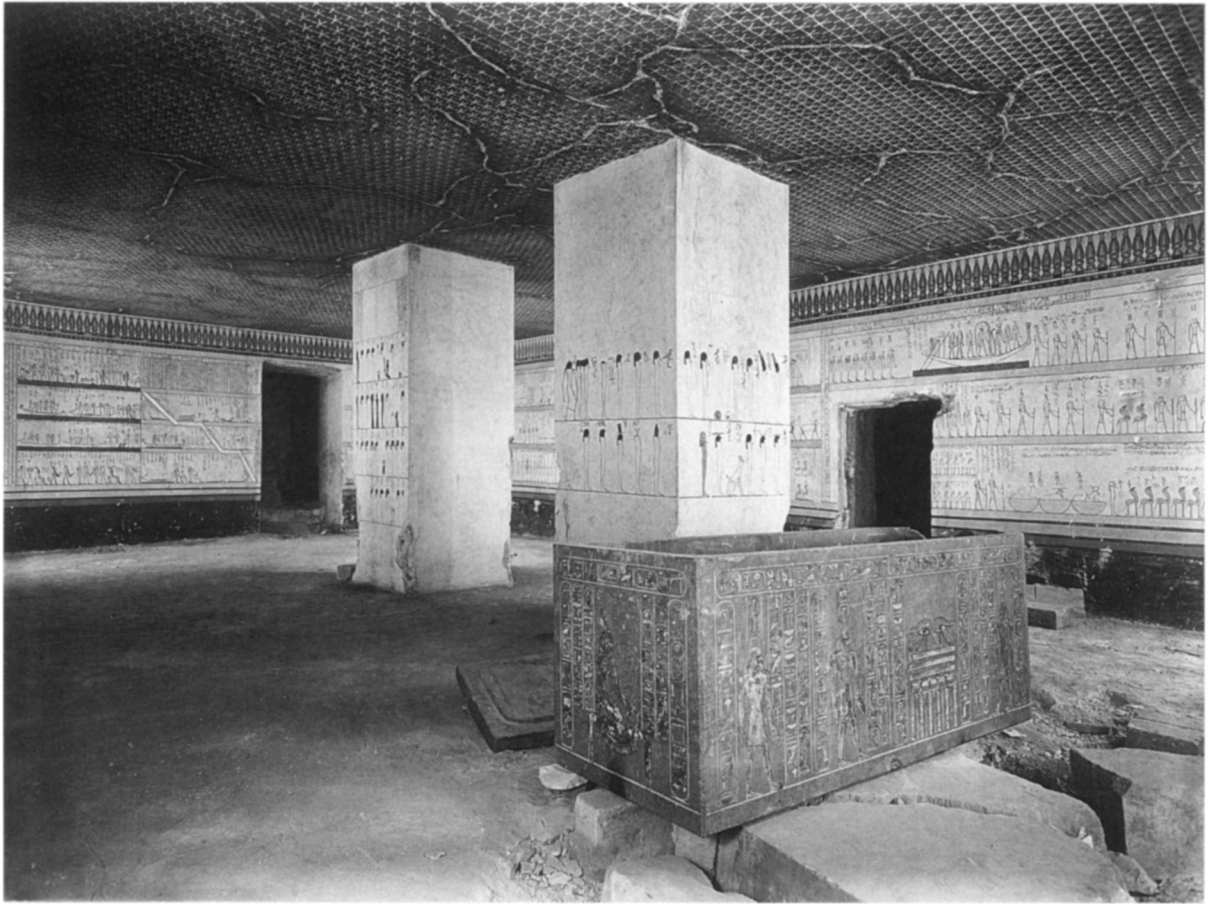


Fig. 12. View of burial chamber of Thutmose III looking west, showing relative positions of the pillars and sarcophagus (photograph by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

figure at the far right of the top row, wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, is accompanied by the hieroglyphic label, “Deba-Demedj”—the same Unified Being identified with the king in the previous text on Pillar One (fig. 10). The location of this depiction facing the sarcophagus emphasizes the king’s identification with this Unified Being, and again, suggests that its placement was intentional. In addition, inside the sarcophagus, the mummy itself was wrapped in a linen shroud also inscribed with the Litany of Ra, thus further identifying the king with the Litany’s text and depiction on the pillars.<sup>56</sup> Thus, in the burial chamber the placement of the Litany’s textual and pictorial decoration on the two pillars works together with the most critical part of the Amduat on the wall, reinforcing and elaborating the events taking place in it (figs. 12 and 13). The section of the Litany of Ra directly facing the sixth hour emphasizes the union of the sun god with Osiris and states that the king is identical with this Unified Being. The image of the composite Ra-Osiris on the side of the pillar facing the sarcophagus further underlines this identification with the king, whose shroud was inscribed with the

<sup>56</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 433, discusses the meaning of *dbj* used in the Litany of Ra, suggesting that it may be an alternate orthography for *dbj*, “to cover, clothe, or enclose.” Thus, *dbj-dmd* may also mean “United Clothed One,” thus coinciding with the mummiform unified Ra-Osiris shown on Pillar 2 in KV 34 as well as the mummified king himself, lying in his sarcophagus directly below the image on the pillar.

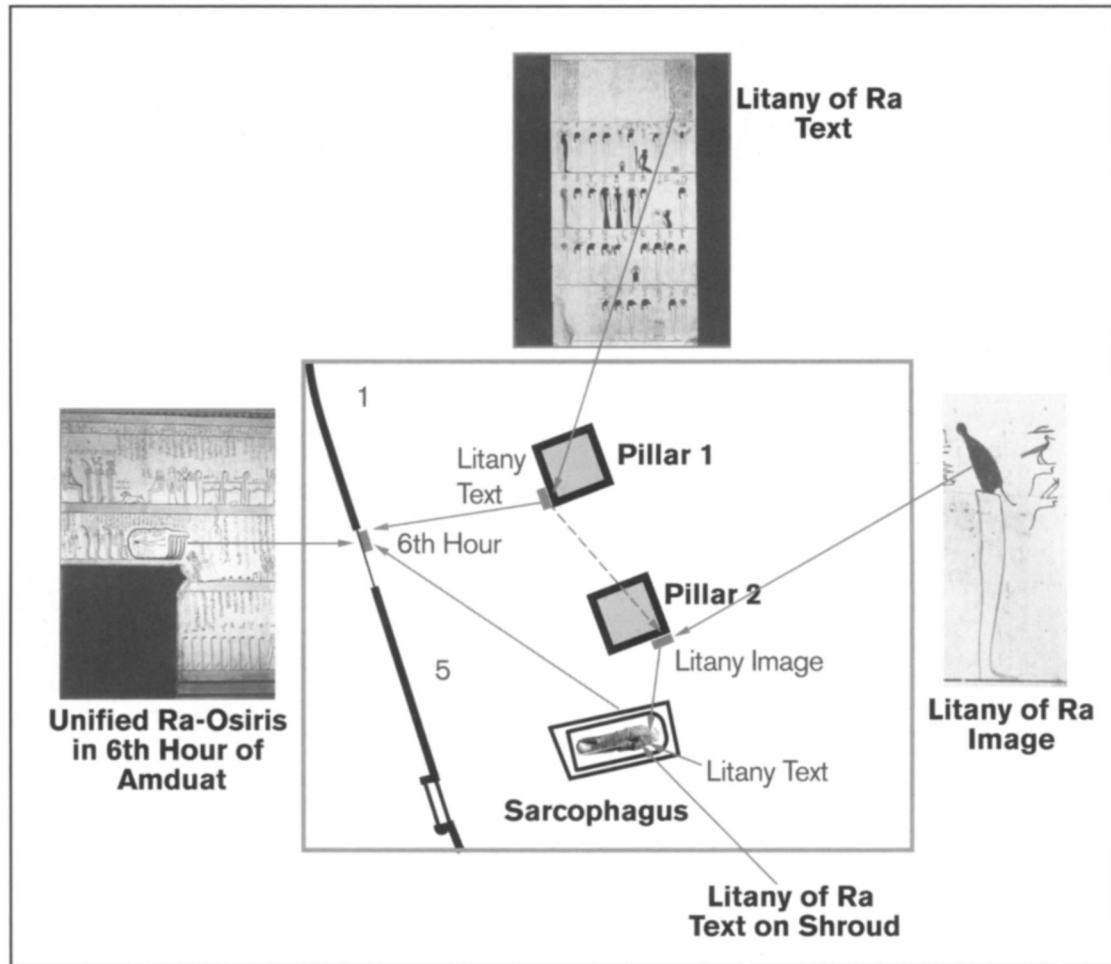


Fig. 13. Interrelationship between text, image, and architecture in the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (illustration by David Rager, with photographs by the Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

same textual passage from the Litany of Ra seen on Pillar One. Because the union of Ra and Osiris is necessary preparation for the sun god's rejuvenation, by equating this union so explicitly with the deceased king, he, too, would be guaranteed rebirth at dawn. It is this striking relationship between text, image, and architecture in the burial chamber of KV 34 that I discovered during my study of this tomb.

Having been rejuvenated in the waters of the Nun, Ra now continues his journey, passing by enemies being punished in the seventh hour, and a lake where those who had died by drowning are led to a blessed Afterlife in the tenth hour. However, the next hour whose placement in the burial chamber is especially significant for the king is the twelfth and final hour of the Amduat (fig. 14), during which the sun god Ra finally completes his rebirth. In order to do so, the solar barque carrying Ra and his crew, as well as millions of blessed souls inhabiting the Netherworld, must be pulled backwards through the body of a gigantic serpent named, *ḥḥ-nṯrw* ("Life of the Gods"). The motion from tail to head creates an inversion of time: *ḥ.sn m sšmw štj n ḥḥ-nṯrw m imjhyw pr.sn m ḥwn(w) nw R' r'*



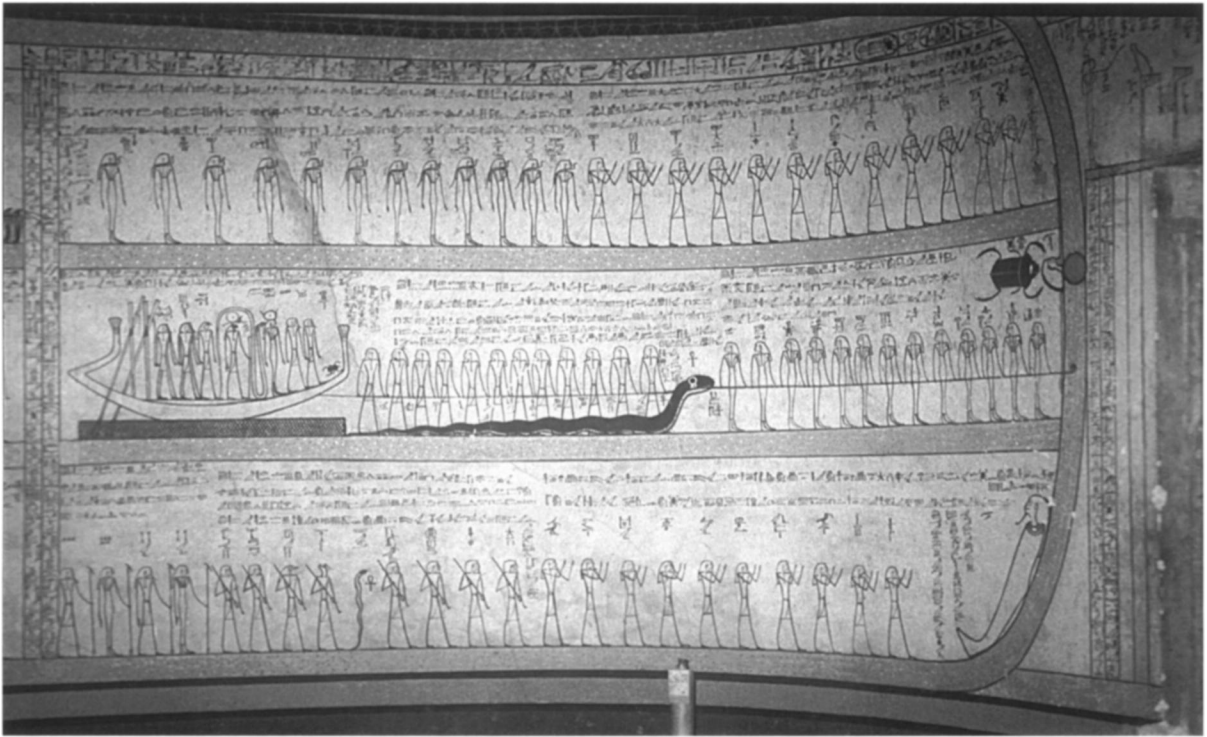


Fig. 14. *Twelfth hour of the Amduat on the rear wall of the burial chamber of Thutmose III (KV 34) (photograph by Kent Weeks, © Theban Mapping Project).*

*nb*, “They enter the secret image of the (serpent) ‘Life of the Gods’ as revered ones; they come forth as the youth of Ra every day.”<sup>57</sup> Finally, the newborn sun-scarab Khepri flies into the outstretched arms of the god Shu, who lifts him into the sky as the Netherworld opens for a split second. The body of Osiris, depicted as a mummy leaning against the curve of the lower register, remains in the Duat, in the land of the dead. According to the instructions at the beginning of the twelfth hour, the scene should be placed “on the east side of the Hidden Chamber of the Duat.”<sup>58</sup> In KV 34 it was painted on the curve of the “ideal east” wall, near the foot of the sarcophagus. The shape of the wall recalls the solar cycle, as it did in the placement of the first hour; its proximity to the sarcophagus facilitates the king’s rebirth in this space of the Hidden Chamber.

The tomb of Thutmose III represents a unique synthesis of decoration and architecture to aid the king in reaching his destination in the Netherworld. The basic forms of the tomb are symbolic: the bent axis, well shaft, and oval shape of the burial chamber suggest, respectively, winding paths, deep caverns, and the circular path of the sun. The burial chamber itself is a microcosm of the Duat, formed by the placement of the Amduat hours at significant places in the room. The fourth hour’s zigzag descent into the Netherworld mirrors the adjacent staircase; the twelfth hour’s rebirth of the sun near the sarcophagus facilitates the king’s own rebirth at dawn. The crucial fifth and sixth hours are not only given the most space, but their function is also reflected in the text of the Litany of Ra on one pillar and the depiction of the Unified Ra-Osiris on the other. The placement of this text and

<sup>57</sup> Bucher, *Les textes*, 80, lines 10–12.

<sup>58</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 43.

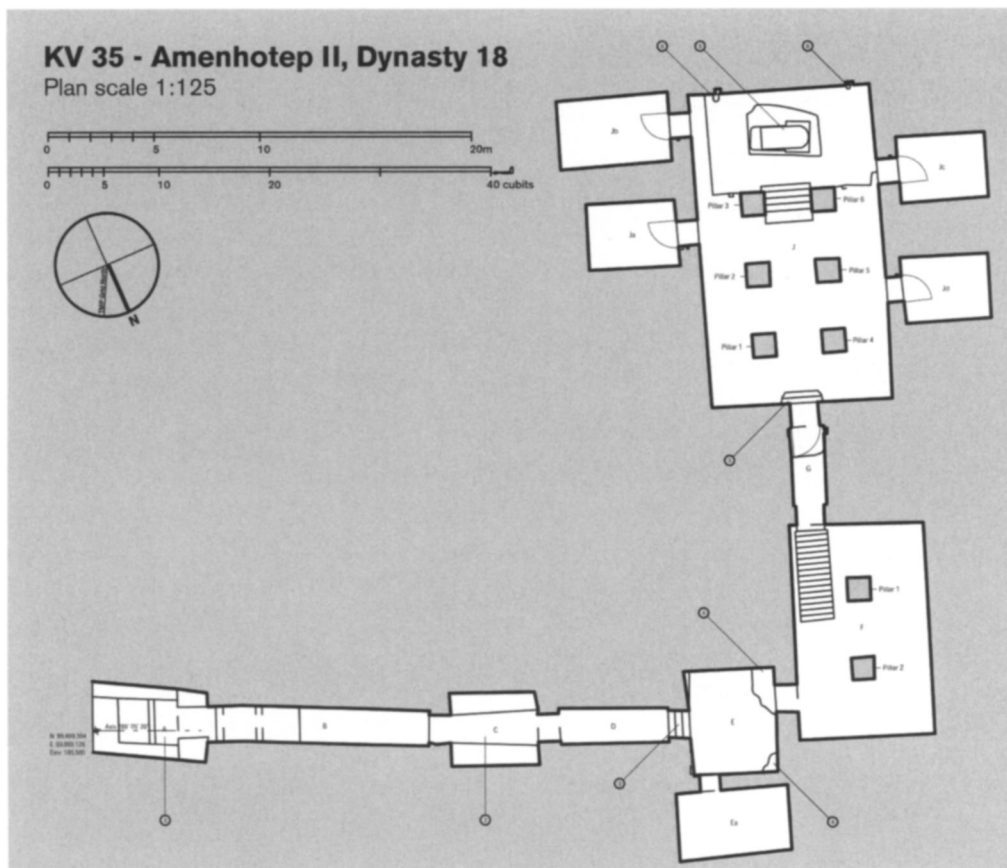


Fig. 15. Plan of tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (© Theban Mapping Project).

image on the pillars works together with the Amduat on the wall and with the mummy's shroud, identifying the king with the unification of Ra and Osiris—a necessary step in his process of rejuvenation. Thus, the decoration and architecture, together with the personalization in texts and pictures, work together to facilitate the king's safe journey to rebirth each morning.

### Amenhotep II (KV 35)

The next king to utilize the Amduat in the decoration of his tomb was Thutmose III's son, Amenhotep II (KV 35).<sup>59</sup> He chose the base of a cliff in the southwest wadi of the Valley of the Kings for its location. As part of a trend of progressive elaboration of the royal tomb, he introduced several architectural innovations that served to enlarge and formalize the earlier tomb design (fig. 15).<sup>60</sup> Abandoning the oval-shaped room of his father, he changed the burial chamber to a rectangle, created two floor levels separated by five steps, and placed three pairs of pillars down the center (fig. 16). Unlike

<sup>59</sup> KV 35 was discovered by Loret (1898), photographed by Bucher (1932), and epigraphy by Hornung (1982–92). Publications include texts by Bucher, *Les textes*, a catalogue of objects by Daressy, *Fouilles*, and a study by Müller, "Zum Werkverfahren." KV 35 is famous for its cache of royal mummies reburied in the second side chamber during the 21st Dynasty.

<sup>60</sup> William C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 19 (Princeton, 1935), 7.

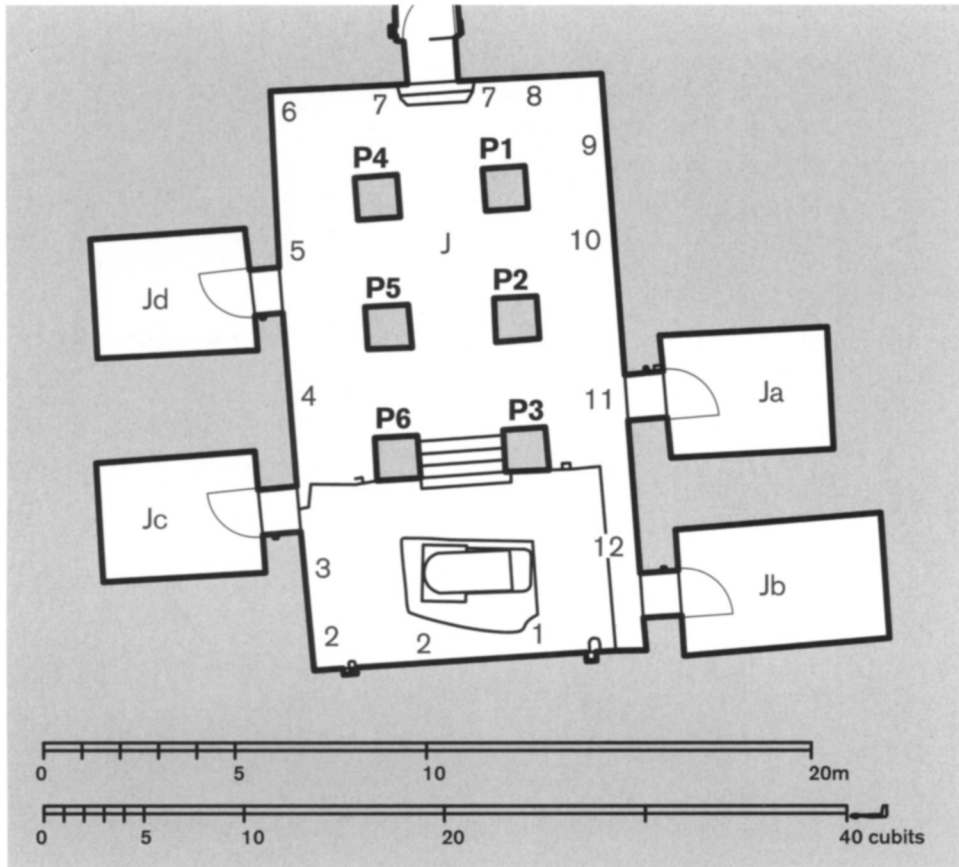


Fig. 16. Plan of burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35), with numbers indicating placement of hours of the Amduat (adapted by David Rager from plan of KV 35 © Theban Mapping Project).

the tomb of Thutmose III, this burial chamber was the only part that was decorated, but it continued the basic calligraphic style and color scheme of the Amduat hours used in KV 34.<sup>61</sup> Supplementing the wall decoration were more completely drawn scenes of the king interacting with divinities on the pillars. However, in keeping with the spare style of the painting, only the multi-colored borders, heaven-signs with stars, and some of the headdresses, jewelry, and regalia, were fully painted, harmoniously uniting the decoration of the walls and pillars. Instead of following the directions in the Amduat, Amenhotep II placed the hours in numerical, clockwise order around the walls of the burial chamber, beginning with the first hour on the rear wall adjacent to the foot of the sarcophagus and ending with the twelfth hour on the rear left wall next to its head. Thus, rather than forming a spiral like the hours in the tomb of Thutmose III, they form a circle, which is nevertheless also representative of the solar cycle. Although this placement changed the way the hours worked with the architecture, there are still connections between the two elements, which become evident with closer study.

The cycle of hours begins with the first hour placed on the wall behind the sarcophagus in the lower area of the burial chamber. The crypt, being the deepest place of the chamber, is comparable to the depths of the Netherworld; the setting sun at the end of the first hour thus represents the

<sup>61</sup> Weeks, *Theban Mapping Project*.



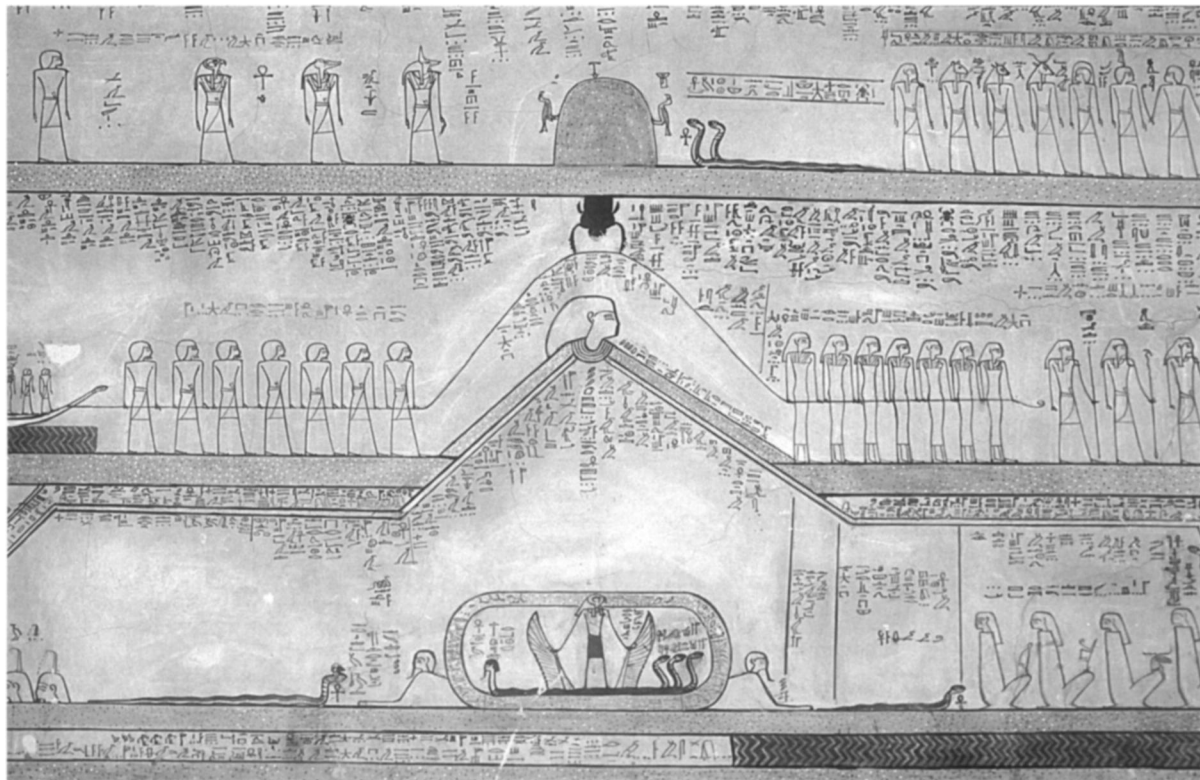


Fig. 17. Fifth hour of the Amduat in burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (photograph by Francis Dzikowski © Theban Mapping Project).

deceased king entering the Duat from his burial place. The crucial fifth and sixth hours, in which Ra's *Ba* unites with the corpse of Osiris, are placed on the west wall of the burial chamber (figs. 17 and 18). This position may emphasize the descent into the Duat that the sun god makes at dusk, as Ra begins his descent towards the burial place of Osiris. In contrast to the tomb of Thutmose III, where the fourth hour and its zigzag path marked the entrance, Amenhotep II's chamber is framed by the seventh hour (fig. 19). Having just emerged rejuvenated from the primeval waters of the Nun in the cavern, the sun god is now in his most vulnerable state. In order to protect him, this hour is filled with scenes of the punishment of enemies. The serpent form of Apep, the arch-adversary of Ra who attempts to stop the solar barque's progress, lies fettered and speared with knives on a sand bank, while enemies of Osiris are chained and beheaded. The scenes of enemies being punished are reminiscent of the apotropaic smiting scenes on the entrance pylons to temples, where they serve to protect the sacred spaces within from the forces of chaos. By means of their placement near the entrance to the burial chamber, these scenes would serve a similar purpose in the tomb. Finally, the twelfth hour depicting the sun's emergence as Khepri at dawn is situated near the foot of the sarcophagus and next to an opening, on the appropriate east wall where the sun rises (fig. 20). It thus functions in a similar way to the twelfth hour in the burial chamber of Thutmose III, allowing the king in his crypt to rise rejuvenated from the depths of the Netherworld at dawn.

The texts and representations of the Amduat in KV 35 do not contain insertions of the king's name, as they do in the tomb of Thutmose III. However, the six pillars feature large figures of the king being given life by the primary deities of the underworld: Hathor, Anubis, and Osiris (fig. 21).

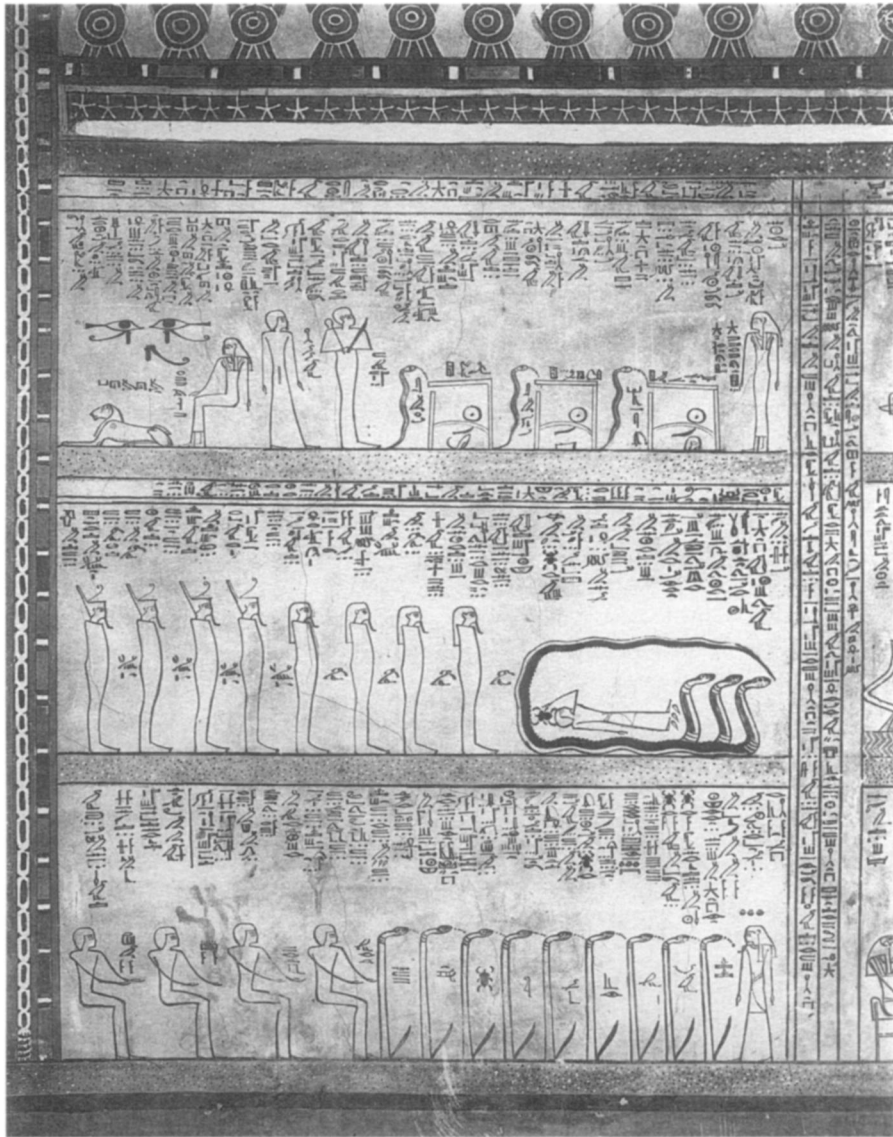


Fig. 18. Sixth hour of the Amduat in burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (photograph by Paul Bucher, *Les textes*, pl. 33, reproduced with permission of the IFAO).

Altogether, the king thus appears twenty-four times on the column sides, corresponding to an appearance of the king for every hour of the day and night.<sup>62</sup> Each scene is labeled with the king's name and the name and title of the deity, thus personalizing the whole burial chamber for the monarch. Hathor, who accompanies Ra in his night bark as *nbt w3*, "Mistress of the Barque,"<sup>63</sup> hands the *nh* sign of life to the king on all eight sides of Pillars Three and Six, which stand closest to the sarcophagus. Her epithets, such as *nbt pt hry(t)-tp smyt* "Mistress of Heaven, Chieftainess of the Necropolis" on

<sup>62</sup> Abitz, "Entwicklung der Grabachsen," 21.

<sup>63</sup> Bucher, *Les textes*, 4, line 3.



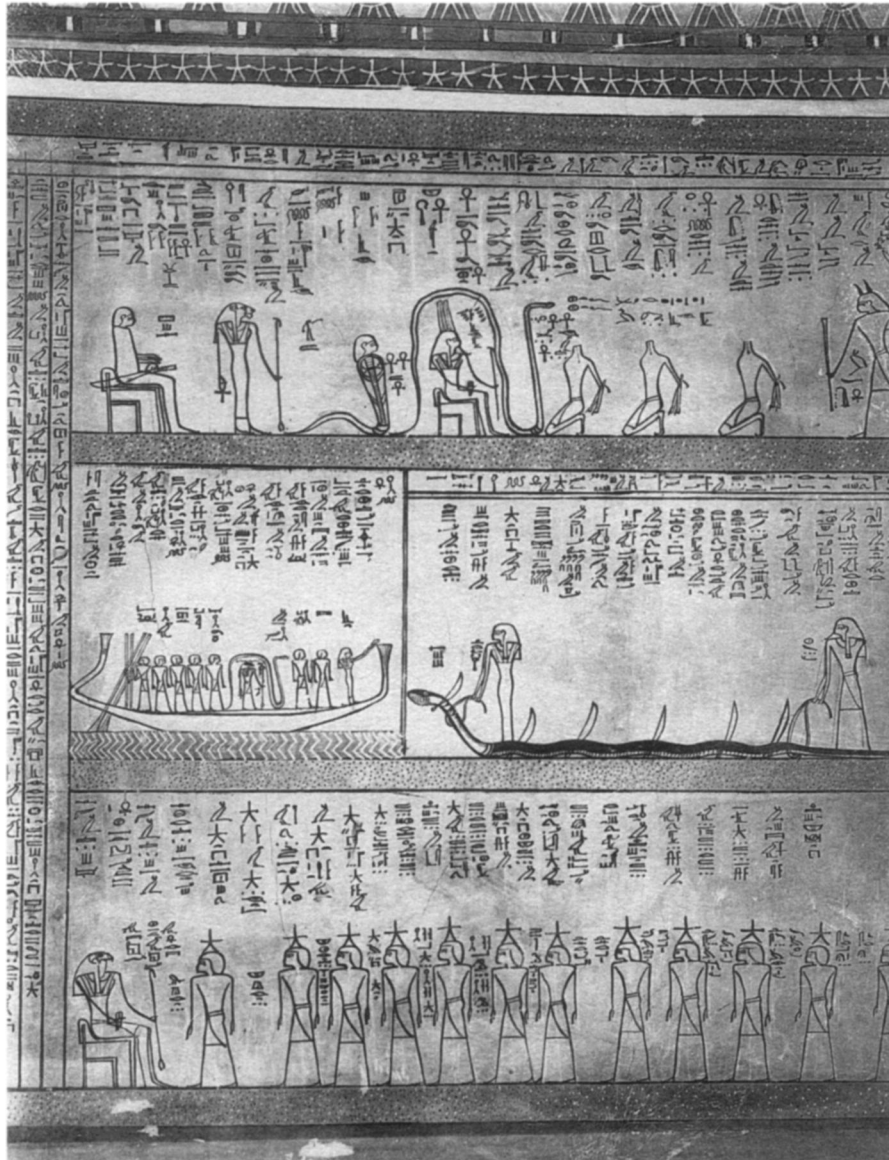


Fig. 19. Seventh Hour of the Amduat, burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (photograph by Paul Bucher, *Les textes*, pl. 34, reproduced with permission of the IFAO).

the southern face of Pillar Three (fig. 22), and *ḥry(t)-tp wʿs.t nbt pt* “Chieftainess of Thebes, Mistress of Heaven” on the southern face of Pillar Six, both of which face the sarcophagus, underline her role as a solar goddess as well as a goddess of the Netherworld. As the representation of regeneration for the king in the afterlife, her images nearest the sarcophagus would aid in his rebirth.<sup>64</sup>

The tomb of Amenhotep II continues the progressive elaboration of the architecture and decoration of the royal tomb. The burial chamber takes on a more monumental character with its rectangu-

<sup>64</sup> Erik Hornung, “The Tomb of Amenhotep II,” *The Valley of the Kings* (New York, 2001), 140–45, esp. 145.

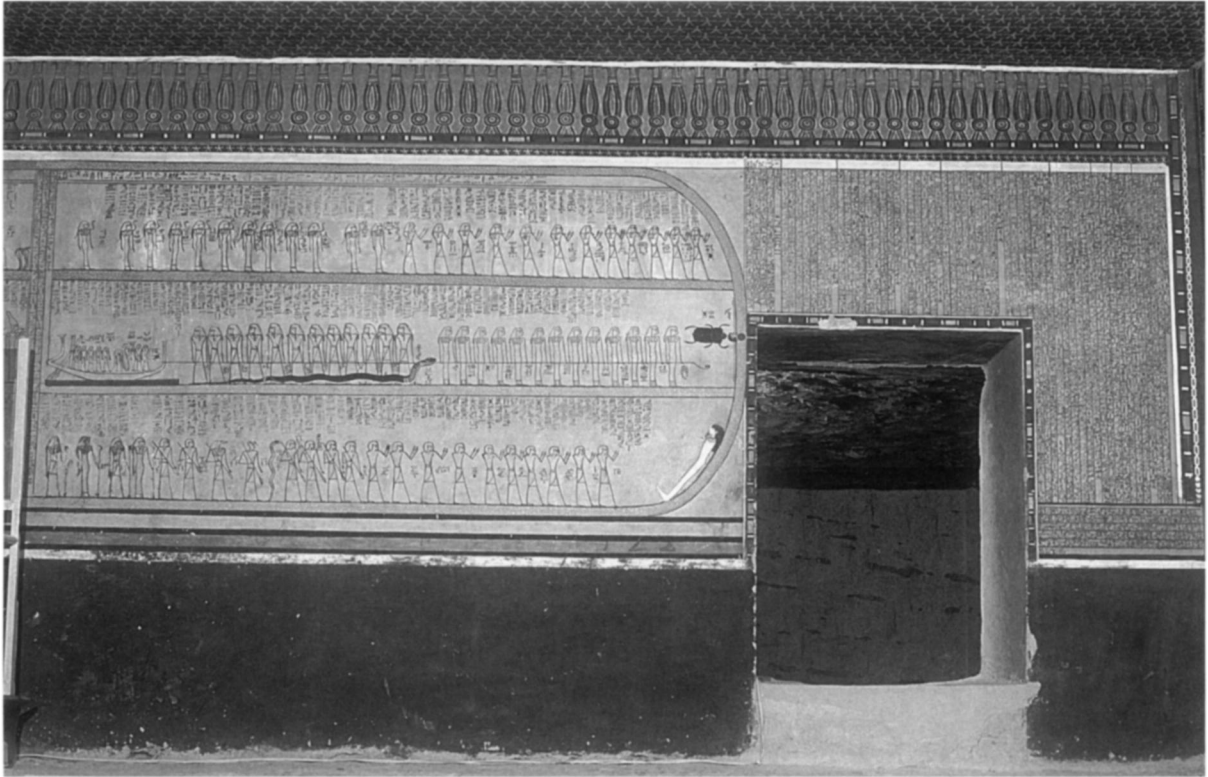


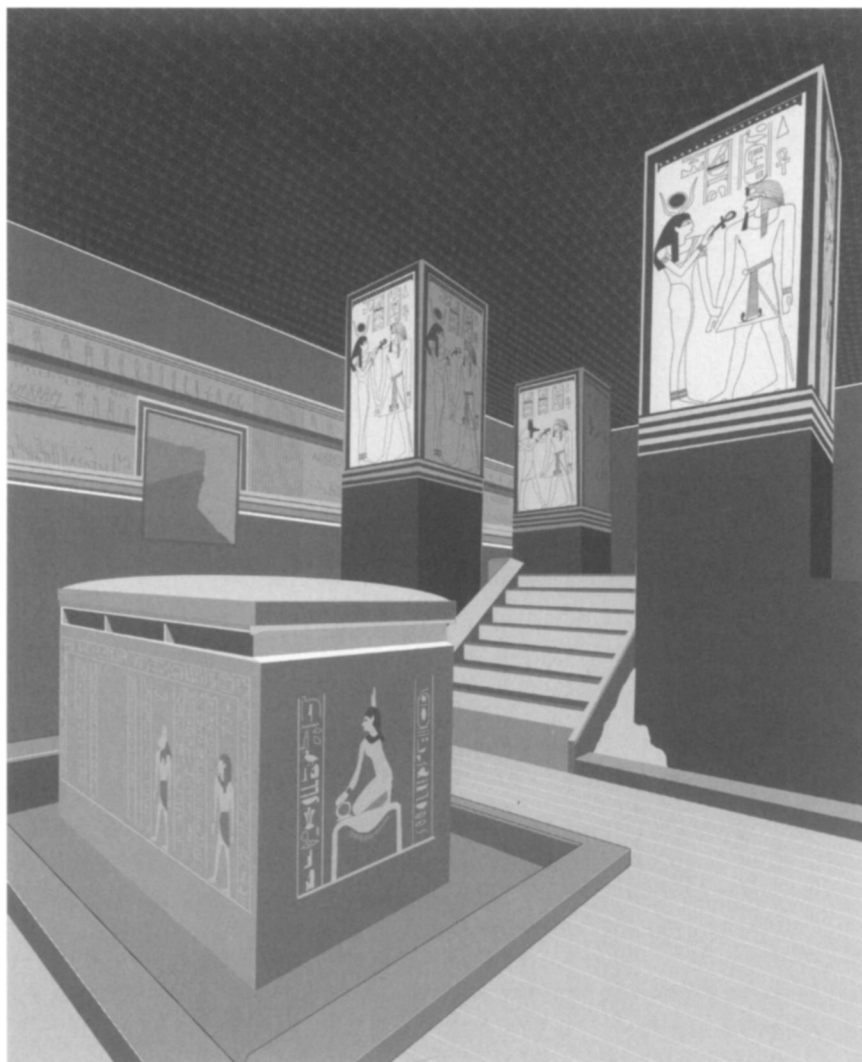
Fig. 20. *Twelfth Hour of the Amduat in burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (photograph by Francis Dzikowski © Theban Mapping Project).*

lar shape, added pillars, and sunken crypt for the sarcophagus, which imitates the depths of the Netherworld. The positioning of the Amduat hours sheds the spiral sequence and instead creates a circular image of the solar journey. The first and last hours are both placed near the sarcophagus, representing the king entering the Duat at dusk and emerging reborn at dawn; the seventh hour with its apotropaic scenes of punishment guards the entryway to the king's Hidden Chamber. Personalization of the texts for the king and his interaction with the gods becomes formalized in this tomb, with fully drawn depictions on the pillars of the burial chamber. Although the decoration and architecture continue to work together to create a microcosm of the Duat, they do so in a more formalized, monumental way, reflecting the desire of the king to expand and elaborate on the achievements of his predecessor.

#### Amenhotep III (KV 22)

After Amenhotep II, the next tomb to be decorated with a full version of the Amduat was that of Amenhotep III, whose tomb (KV 22) (fig. 23) is the largest in the western Valley of the Kings.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> KV 22 was discovered by Jollois and Devilliers (1799), epigraphy by Lepsius (1844–45), Loret (1898–99), Hornung (1959), and Piankoff (1959). Excavation by Davis (1905–14), Carter (1915), and the Waseda University Egypt Archaeological Mission (1989– ), which has done conservation and restoration work: Sakuji Yoshimura and Jiro Kondo, eds., *Conservation of the Wall Paintings in the Royal Tomb of Amenophis II* (Tokyo, 2004). Publication by Piankoff and Hornung, “Grab Amenophis III.”

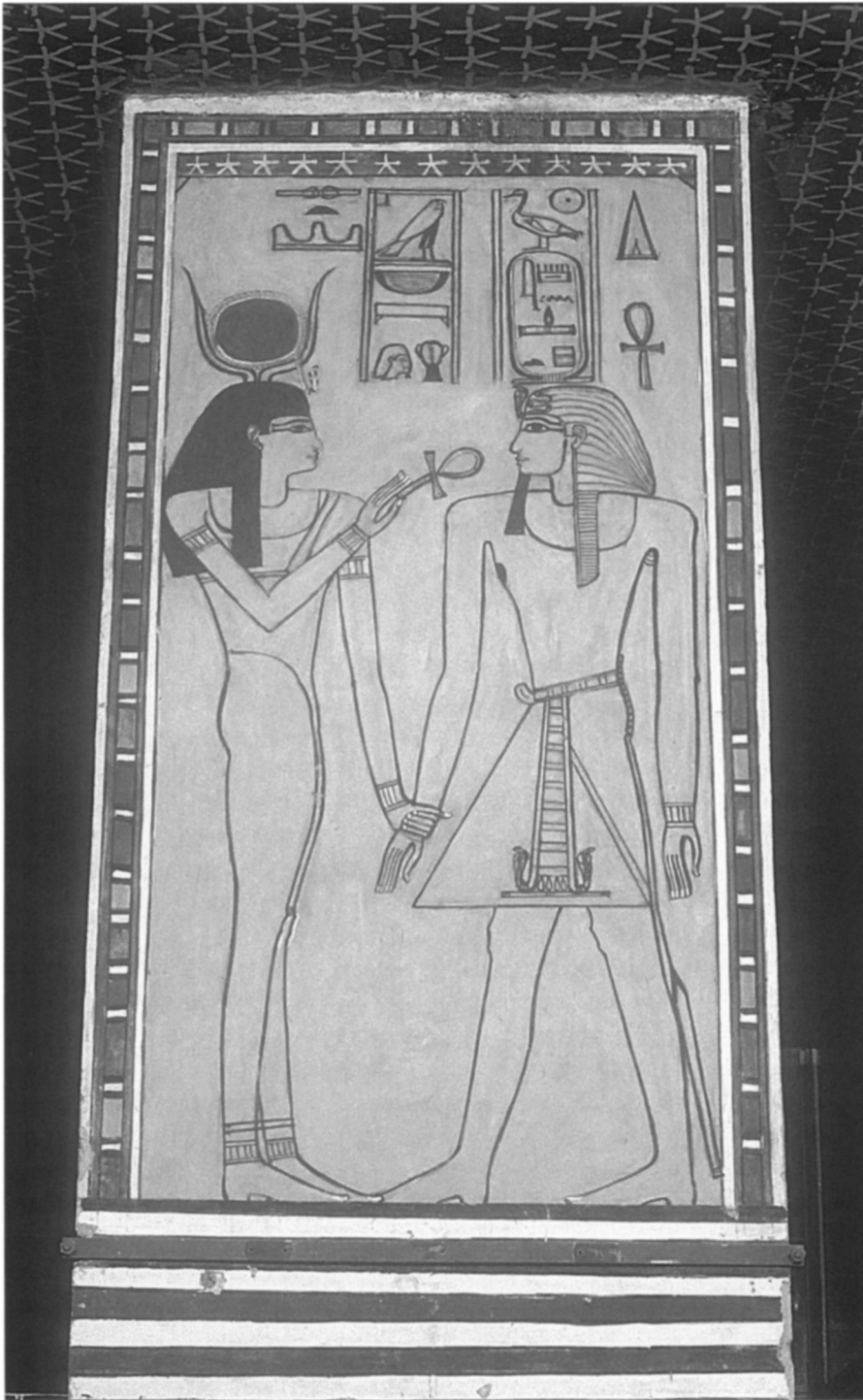


*Fig. 21. View of sarcophagus and pillars in burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (illustration by David Rager).*

Unlike those of his predecessors, the tomb was located in a slope away from the cliff face. There are many similarities between this tomb and KV 35; it has the same 90-degree bent axis, a well shaft with side chamber, and a rectangular, two-level burial chamber with six pillars. However, the entrance corridor was lengthened and expanded with additional staircases and the burial chamber equipped with three storage rooms and two larger one-pillared rooms, each with its own storage annex.<sup>66</sup> The calligraphic style and color scheme used previously for the Amduat is again painted on the walls of the

<sup>66</sup> The larger rooms were probably meant for the burials of Queen Tiye and his daughter-queen Sitamun. De Villiers found four shabtis with the inscribed name of Amenhotep III and one with the name of Queen Tiye, Piankoff and Hornung, "Grab Amenophis III," 112.





*Fig. 22. Hathor as Chieftainess of the Necropolis, on southern face of Pillar Three facing sarcophagus in the burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35) (photography by Francis Dzikowski © Theban Mapping Project).*

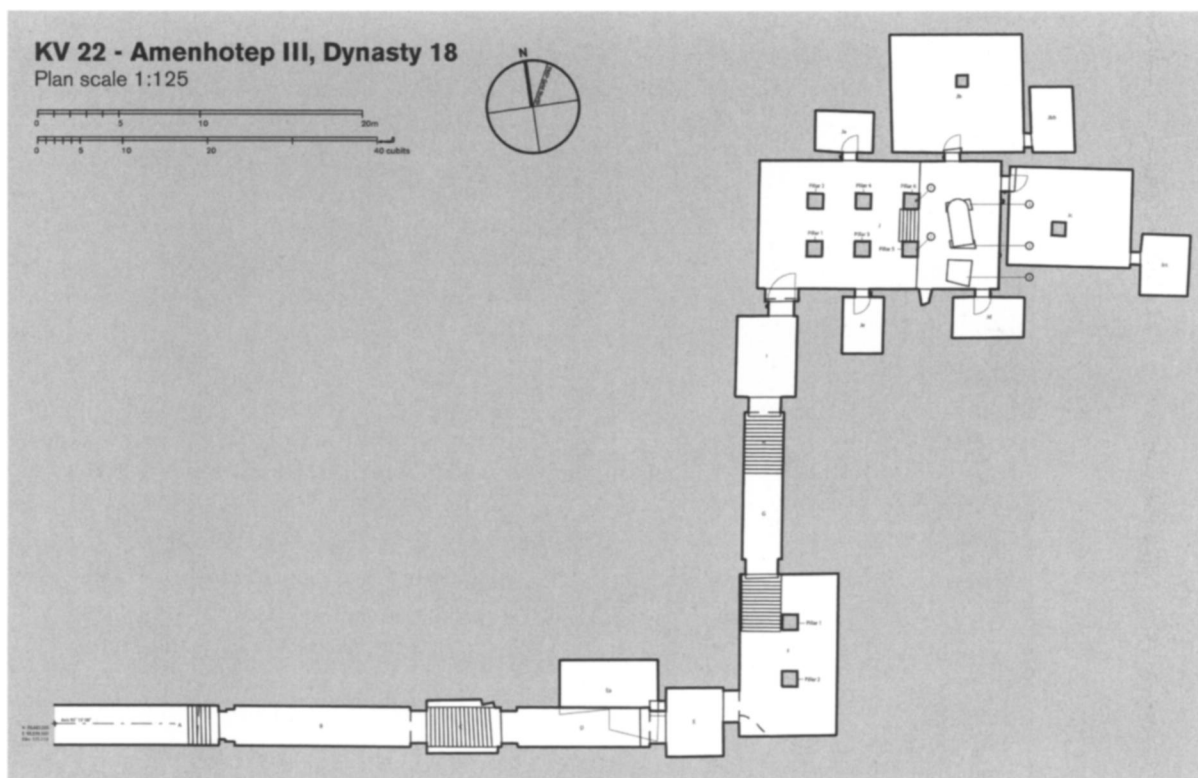


Fig. 23. Plan of tomb of Amenhotep III (KV 22) (© Theban Mapping Project).

burial chamber, but fully painted scenes of the king with deities now decorate the well shaft, pillared antechamber, and the pillars of the burial chamber. Later flood waters washed off paint on some of the walls and pillars, exposing the red grids and preliminary sketches of figures and text.<sup>67</sup>

The hours of the Amduat are again positioned in a clockwise numerical order, but their positions are somewhat different than in KV 35 (fig. 24). The first hour was placed on the wall facing the foot of the sarcophagus in the crypt, an appropriate place for the scene of the sun's descent into the Duat. Because the entrance had been moved to the southwest corner of the chamber, the fourth hour with its zigzag path into the Duat could now frame the door as it had in the tomb of Thutmose III. Again, the scene imitates the many stairways of the entrance corridors that lead into the tomb. The west wall of the chamber, unbroken by entrances to side chambers, held the important fifth and sixth hours, during which the *Ba* of Ra unites with the corpse of Osiris (fig. 25). Finally, the twelfth hour of the night, featuring the rebirth of the sun god, was placed on the rear wall directly behind the sarcophagus, thus aiding in the deceased king's rejuvenation (fig. 26).

As in the tomb of Amenhotep II, the text and representations of the Amduat do not contain the name of the king; he is, however, again represented on the six pillars of the burial chamber interacting with divinities. A separate, funerary aspect of Hathor, as the goddess Imenet, Mistress of the West

<sup>67</sup> Piankoff and Hornung, "Grab Amenophis III," 116.

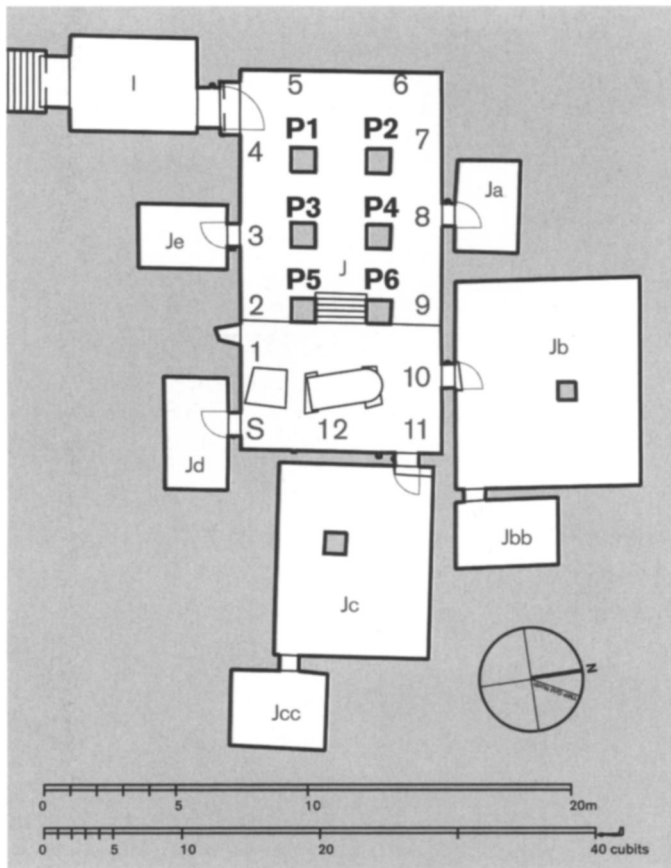


Fig. 24. Plan of burial chamber of Amenhotep III (KV 22), with numbers indicating placement of hours of the Amduat (adapted by David Rager from plan of KV 22 © Theban Mapping Project).

and the Western Desert (fig. 27), now appears on the southern face of every pillar. By contrast, Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Lady of Heaven and Mistress of all the Gods, adorns the northern face of every pillar, suggesting that this aspect of the goddess is facing away from the dead, towards the living.<sup>68</sup> The side of each pillar facing the sarcophagus depicts the king with Osiris, the Great God of the realm of the dead.

Many elements introduced by Amenhotep II were continued in the tomb of Amenhotep III, but the latter king continued the process of elaboration and expansion as well. His tomb not only had longer corridors, more stairways, and more rooms, but it also had more decoration. The Amduat hours continue to be presented in a numerical, clockwise order, with the first and last hours again near the sarcophagus crypt. A change in the position of the entrance door allowed the placement nearby of the zigzag descent to the Duat in the fourth hour, mirroring the descending stairways to the burial as it did in the tomb of Thutmose III. Thus, the tomb of Amenhotep III shows the next step in the expansion of the royal tomb. His more intensive decorative program,

which continues to work with elements of the architecture, continues the trend to describe ever more fully the afterlife of the king, in both its solar and Osirian aspects.

### Conclusion

The decoration and architecture of the early 18th Dynasty royal tombs show clear development over time. The introduction of the Amduat into the decorative program provided an opportunity for a true synthesis between decoration and architecture, most perfectly realized in the tomb of Thutmose III. The placement of the hours in strategic positions on the walls of his burial chamber enabled the transformation of this chamber into a working microcosm of the Netherworld—the hidden space of the Duat, through which the sun would travel during the night. Correspondences between the Litany of Ra on the pillars, the mummy's shroud, and the crucial fifth and sixth hours of the Amduat, when the sun god unites with the body of Osiris, emphasize the identification of the king with the unified Ra-Osiris. Thus, when the sun god transforms into his morning form of Khepri in the

<sup>68</sup> Piankoff and Hornung, "Grab Amenophis III," 124–25.



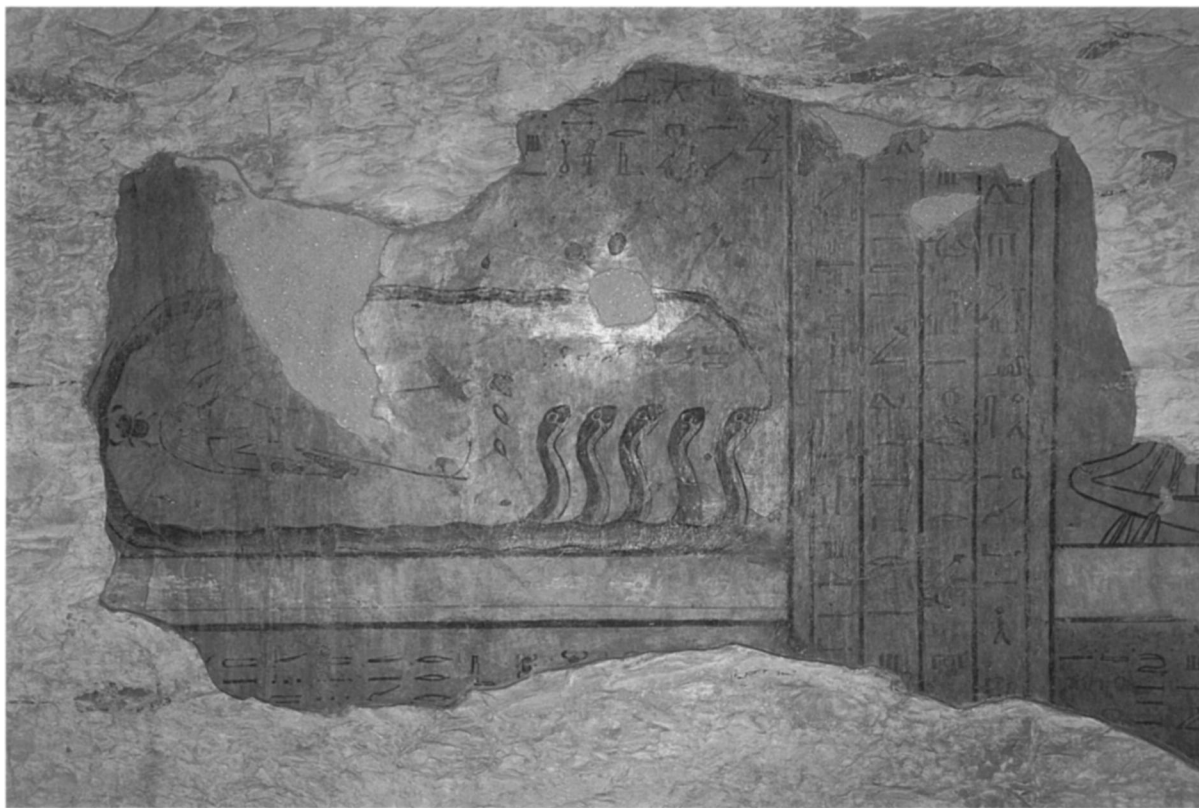


Fig. 25. Sixth hour of the Amduat in the burial chamber of Amenhotep III (KV 22) (photograph by Thierry Benderitter, [www.osirisnet.net](http://www.osirisnet.net)).



Fig. 26. Twelfth hour of the Amduat in the burial chamber of Amenhotep III (KV 22) (photograph courtesy of the Institute of Egyptology, Waseda University, Tokyo).



*Fig. 27. Hathor as Lady of the West on pillar in burial chamber of Amenhotep III (KV 22) (photograph by Thierry Benderitter, [www.osirisnet.net](http://www.osirisnet.net)).*

twelfth hour behind the sarcophagus, the king is rejuvenated as well. A progressive trend of elaboration and expansion by succeeding kings, such as Amenhotep II and III, caused the tomb architecture and decoration to change. The rooms increased in size and number; some elements that had previously imitated the underworld so closely were abandoned, while others were added. The decorative program, which had been mostly confined to two rooms under Thutmose III, expanded to include ever more rooms, allowing the divine realm of the gods, and the king's interaction with it, to be depicted in more varied ways. The rooms also joined in the realization of the Duat by the tomb structure, acquiring functions for the king in his afterlife.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the architecture and decorative programs in the royal tombs of the early 18th Dynasty reflect the desire of the kings to represent the Duat and their place in it in successively more elaborated and creative ways, all with the purpose of securing their protection, regeneration, and ascent to the sky for eternity.

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<sup>69</sup> This trend would continue in following dynasties, until all of the chambers of the tomb would eventually be decorated and all would play a part in creating what would eventually become a microcosm of the whole universe and not just the Duat. An example is the 19th Dynasty tomb of Seti I, with its representations of the sky and the underworld.