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### Re-figuring the Past: The Architecture of the Funerary Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu: A Re-assessment

Mariam Ayad Dr.

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# Perspectives on Ancient Egypt

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDWARD BROVARSKI

Cover Illustration:  
**Khafre Pyramid, seen from the  
Menkaure Pyramid Temple, looking  
northeast. January 7, 2004.  
Photograph by Peter Der Manuelian.**



EDWARD BROVARSKI

SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES  
ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ

# Perspectives on Ancient Egypt

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDWARD BROVARSKI

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## RE-FIGURING THE PAST: THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE FUNERARY CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS I AT MEDINET HABU, A RE-ASSESSMENT

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*Mariam F. AYAD*

The funerary chapel of Amenirdis at Medinet Habu forms an intriguing link in the development of ancient Egyptian architectural forms. Utilizing older architectural traditions and later ones, its architecture anticipates several features that later appear in Ptolemaic temples. It is both a pleasure and an honor to offer the following remarks to Dr. Edward Brovanski, whose own interest in the art and architecture of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period has contributed so much to our understanding of these fascinating periods of Egyptian history.<sup>1</sup>

Located within the temple enclosure at Medinet Habu, the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I is situated to the southeast of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> The chapel was once second in a row of four chapels constructed for the God's Wives of Dynasties Twenty-three to Twenty-six. The chapels stood to the south of the main axis of the Great Temple at Medinet Habu, with their façades facing the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Amun, *dsr-st*, constructed by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. The chapel was first cleared in 1895, but it was not until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the architecture of the chapels was surveyed and published.<sup>3</sup> Of the four original chapels, only the two central ones, belonging to the Nubian God's Wives of Amun, Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II, are still preserved.

Without easily identifiable prototypes, the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I constitutes a pivotal, albeit intriguing, link in the development of Egyptian mortuary and cultic architecture. In 1954, Hölscher suggested that the chapel's architectural prototype might be found among Middle Kingdom tombs at Aniba.<sup>4</sup> More recently, Dieter Arnold and others linked the architectural design of the chapel to New Kingdom Memphite and Theban tombs.<sup>5</sup> In this paper, the individual architectural features of the chapel will be examined in an attempt to identify their prototype(s). In addition, the chapel's influence on later monuments, particularly on the temples of the Greco-Roman Period, will be highlighted. But first a brief description of the chapel's architecture is necessary.

## A Brief Description of the Chapel

Of the four funerary chapels constructed for the God's Wives at Medinet Habu, the chapel of Amenirdis is the best preserved. A narrow doorway in its single-towered pylon-façade leads to a columned court. Currently, only the bases of the four columns that once stood in the court are preserved. In antiquity, the columns would have supported a roof covering the colonnade that ran along the two sides of the court, but left the middle aisle open. Evidence from the temple of Amun *dsr-st* indicates that the columns were carried off in antiquity to be reused by Achoris in his restoration of that temple (c. 380 BC).<sup>6</sup> The chapel's rectangular court is wider than it is deep. Doorways in its east and west walls lead to the adjacent chapels of Shepenwepet I and II, respectively.<sup>7</sup> A third door in the court's south wall leads to the cult chapel of Amenirdis I.

The south wall of the court also forms the façade of Amenirdis's cult chapel. The chapel of Amenirdis I consists of two 'tent shrines' set one inside the other.<sup>8</sup> A single chamber constitutes the shrine that covers the tomb of Amenirdis I. This chamber is independently roofed with a stone barrel vault and measure about 3 m. in depth and 2 m. in width.<sup>9</sup> This chamber is set within a larger building (which is also roofed), with the result that a narrow corridor is created around Amenirdis's sanctuary. The corridor is dimly lit by sixteen small apertures in its roof. The roof of the outer structure rests on the cavetto cornice that adorns the exterior walls of the *cella*, which also has torus moldings at its corners.<sup>10</sup>

The burial chamber of Amenirdis I supposedly lay underneath her cult chamber. Although initially accessible when surveyed by Hölscher, currently the crypt is inaccessible.<sup>11</sup> Both crypt and *cella* are devoid of inscriptions. Instead, scenes pertaining to Amenirdis's funerary service, along with funerary texts aimed at reviving her, are located on the inner and outer walls of the corridor created between the two structures.<sup>12</sup> The exterior wall surfaces of the inner structure (or *cella*) form the inner walls of that corridor or passage. These walls bear offering lists and cult representations, while the outer walls of the passage depict scenes from the funerary cult of Amenirdis. Forty-five scenes from the Opening of the Mouth ritual are engraved on the upper register of these outer walls, while the lower register includes excerpts from the Pyramid Texts and two sun hymns.<sup>13</sup>

In his publication of the architecture of the chapel, Hölscher noted the existence of an 'earlier crypt . . . [which] was exactly on the axis of the chapel and corresponded in position, . . . level, . . . form and size to [Shepenwepet I's]'.<sup>14</sup> He proposed that the presence of this earlier crypt suggested an earlier, different plan for the chapel of Amenirdis. He postulated that this earlier plan was very similar to the plan of her predecessor's chapel next door, and that Amenirdis's chapel was likewise initially constructed of mud brick. Noting that the door sill leading into the chapel of Shepenwepet II was slightly lower than the ground level of Amenirdis's court, Hölscher also suggested

that the construction of Shepenwepet II's chapel began prior to the completion of the chapel of Amenirdis.

The alterations seen in Amenirdis's crypt were thus probably initiated by Shepenwepet II, who also may have been responsible for the decision to use stone masonry in the construction of Amenirdis's chapel. That Shepenwepet II was the builder of Amenirdis's chapel is suggested by the numerous representations of the former in the chapel. Shepenwepet is often depicted on the outer walls of Amenirdis's *cella* and in the court, performing cultic rites for her deified adoptive mother or standing before various gods. In addition, a broad frame of inscriptions carved on the portal of the chapel proclaims that Shepenwepet II, daughter of Piye, constructed this chapel for her mother, Amenirdis.<sup>15</sup> The date of construction of Amenirdis's chapel may thus be assigned to Shabako's reign (c. 716-702 BC).<sup>16</sup>

The various architectural elements of the chapel of Amenirdis I, used together, make this tomb-chapel structurally unique. Hölscher went as far as to assert that the tomb-chapel of Amenirdis differs from 'any previously known Egyptian tomb structures'.<sup>17</sup> Closer examination of the various architectural elements used in the chapel, however, shows that its architect(s) relied on older building traditions. At the same time, through the innovative reworking of these older elements, new concepts/features were introduced. These new features would later become traditions in their own right. The 'tent shrine' that comprises the sanctuary of Amenirdis I, for example, is first seen in stone at the Third Dynasty funerary complex of Djoser at Saqqara.<sup>18</sup> There, this architectural form is most evident in the façade of 'Temple T'.<sup>19</sup> In the chapel of Amenirdis I, however, placing one 'tent shrine' inside another is done for the first time. Similarly, the use of stone masonry in constructing the chapel forms a break from earlier Third Intermediate Period practice<sup>20</sup> and pre-dates the popularity of stone masonry in the Saite and Ptolemaic Periods. In addition, Amenirdis's vault, while small, is possibly the earliest example of 'a true [stone] vault in the Late Period'.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to numerous examples from temples, the pylon-façade occurs in a number of New Kingdom tombs; for example, in the tombs of Horemheb and the tomb of Tia and Tia at Saqqara. In both tombs, a pylon-façade leads to an open court, which is followed by a colonnaded court.<sup>22</sup> Otherwise, the pylon-façade was rarely used in funerary architecture.<sup>23</sup> In fact, the two-towered stone pylon does not appear before the New Kingdom; examples dating to earlier periods remain unverified.<sup>24</sup> The pylon-façade also occurs in the Nubian cemeteries of el-Kurru and Nuri, where they commonly form the entrance to the tomb-chapel. There, the pylons-façade is found in royal tombs 9–60 and queens' tombs 24–50, while the simplified pylon occurs in private tombs only.<sup>25</sup> As reconstructed by Hölscher, the Twentieth to Twenty-second Dynasty mortuary chapels at Medinet Habu, too, had pylon-façades.<sup>26</sup>

Among the various architectural features found in the chapel of Amenirdis, the colonnaded courtyard is probably the most widely attested. In addition to being an

integral part of temple architecture, it appears in numerous tombs. It is found in New Kingdom tombs at Memphis as well as in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties tombs at Asasif; and it is attested as far south as Aniba. It is this latter example that bears most similarity to the chapel of Amenirdis I.

The earliest attested example of a stone 'tent shrine' comes from the funerary complex of Djoser at Saqqara, where it occurs in three different types. The first two types are characterized by their curved roofs and, 22 examples in total, are the most widely attested in Djoser's complex.<sup>27</sup> The third type of the tent shrine, whose exterior is characterized by 'a severe version of the wood and matting style'<sup>28</sup> is exemplified by Temple T at Djoser's complex. It is to this type that Amenirdis's chapel belongs. Just like all the other elements of Djoser's complex, the tent shrine imitated, in stone, buildings that were originally constructed of reed matting or wood. The tent shrine's versatility and portability led to its widespread use, and the popularity of its design.<sup>29</sup> The corridor surrounding an inner sanctuary appears for the first time in the chapel of Amenirdis I. Thus far, no earlier examples have been identified within Egypt's proper prior to its occurrence in the chapel of Amenirdis I. In 1954, Hölscher suggested that a parallel may be found among the Middle Kingdom tomb chapels at Aniba: tomb S 41.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, many of the tombs at cemetery S are comprised of two structures set one inside the other. A columned hall often led to these two structures. In several tombs the two structures share a wall, with the result that the resulting corridor encloses the inner structure on three sides only. Several tombs, such as SA 27 and S 33, employed structural supports between the inner and outer structures.<sup>31</sup> Remarkably, these two tombs are later in date than S 41.<sup>32</sup> Although Bietak refined Steindorff's dating of the tombs at Aniba, in his study on the chronology of the Nubian C-group, he seems to agree with Steindorff's assessment of these three tombs.<sup>33</sup> Despite the considerable architectural experimentation that seems to have been going on at Aniba, tomb S 41 remains the closest parallel to Amenirdis's chapel, sharing with it a North-South orientation.<sup>34</sup>

László Török has suggested that habitation continued in Lower Nubia even after the Egyptian withdrawal at the end of the New Kingdom.<sup>35</sup> Just like other Lower Nubian administrative centers, Aniba would have continued to thrive as a major administrative center into the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>36</sup> Located about 230 kilometers south of Aswan, Aniba would have been passed by the invading Nubian armies *en route* to Egypt.<sup>37</sup> Being built of mud brick, the tomb chapels may already have been destroyed by the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. But if they were not, they could have served as the prototype of Amenirdis's chapel. Alternatively, their architecture might have reflected a Nubian tradition that no longer survives. The tombs may have been copies of structures made of more perishable materials (reed matting or wood) that were still popular in Lower Nubia at the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. With their columned courts and corridors surrounding the cult chapel, the tomb chapels

at Aniba (especially tomb S 41) have all the structural features found in Amenirdis's chapel. The tombs at Aniba are the only example predating the chapel of Amenirdis with this kind of plan. Later parallels, however, abound.

With the superstructures of the royal tombs at Tanis and Shepenwepet I's chapel constructed of mud brick, the funerary chapel of Amenirdis is probably the first Third Intermediate Period funerary structure built of stone.<sup>38</sup> Hölscher suggested that Amenirdis's chapel was originally built of mud-brick, and that this original structure was later demolished by her successor, Shepenwepet II, who decided to erect a stone tomb chapel for her adoptive mother.<sup>39</sup> One can only speculate as to what caused this decision. The change may have been prompted by the destruction of Shepenwepet I's chapel in antiquity (assuming the destruction took place, prior to, or more likely during, the construction of the chapel of Amenirdis). Shepenwepet II may have had reason to suspect mud-brick would not make a good choice for the 'monument for eternity' she wanted to erect for her mother. Alternatively, the decision may have been a consequence of the newly established stability in the Theban area, as the construction of the *stone* chapel of Amenirdis coincides with Shabako's reign characterized by major building activities in Thebes and Nubia.<sup>40</sup>

### **Toward Identifying a Prototype for the Chapel of Amenirdis**

In his description and analysis of the tomb-chapel of Amenirdis, Arnold links the chapel to both New Kingdom Memphite and Theban tombs and later Ptolemaic tomb-chapels, especially those at Tuna el-Gebel.<sup>41</sup> His analysis ignores the earlier tombs discovered at Aniba, which were noted by Hölscher.<sup>42</sup> While the New Kingdom tombs excavated by Martin do have a pylon-façade and a columned court, in their proportion and in their lack of a 'free standing' cult chapel, they differ markedly from the chapel of Amenirdis I. Similarly, the plan of the funerary chapel of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel differs from the plan of the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I.<sup>43</sup> Although the chapel of Petosiris originally is free standing, it does not have the 'room-within-a-room' structure found in the chapel of Amenirdis I.

### **The Chapel's Influence on Later Architectural Forms**

The general plan of the chapel of Amenirdis seems to have been similar to that of the unexcavated Saite royal tombs, which were located to the southeast of the temple of Neith at Sais and which may have had a North-South orientation.<sup>44</sup> Of the Saite royal tombs, Herodotus reports:

The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In

this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, in their basic plan and choice of building material, the Saite royal tomb-chapels seem to have been similar to Amenirdis's.

Later, the same basic plan of Amenirdis's chapel appears in Ptolemaic and Roman temples where it is used extensively. In the temple of Horus at Edfu, the best preserved temple in Egypt, a passage runs around the innermost sanctuary where the image of the deity was housed. Eight other rooms open onto this corridor. It has been noted that the practice of 'embedding the holy of holies deep within the temple [was] not an invention of the Greco-Roman Period, but the contemporary builders deliberately adopted it systematically and consistently'.<sup>46</sup> However, other than mentioning its presence as a standard feature, little attention has been given to this corridor.<sup>47</sup> A prototype might well be found in the chapel of Amenirdis.

The plan of the chapel of Amenirdis at Medinet Habu is also quite similar to later Ptolemaic and Roman temples, particularly those dedicated to Isis (e.g., the Isis temples/ sanctuaries at Deir el-Shelwit, Dendera, and Philae). At the temple of Isis at Dendera, the entrance to the temple, as in the chapel of Amenirdis, is located in the North wall. At Deir el-Shelwit, four rooms open into the corridor surrounding the inner sanctuary, two on the east side and two on the north side.<sup>48</sup> Both inner and outer structures at Deir el-Shelwit are independently roofed with the result that the corridor around the *cella* is very dark. Traces of column bases found between the sanctuary and the massive gate indicate that it used to have a columned courtyard, which no longer survives.

## Conclusions

As demonstrated by Lanny Bell, the distinction between a cult temple and a funerary temple is often blurred.<sup>49</sup> In order for the chapel of Amenirdis to function both as a 'cult temple' and a tomb for Amenirdis, its architects had to revert to older funerary forms. In bringing back a basic design, the 'tent shrine', attested in the Third Dynasty mortuary complex of Djoser at Saqqara, the chapel's designers were emphasizing their care for older tradition and their ancient roots. But, by setting one tent shrine inside the other, they innovatively created a new tradition. A tradition that became almost commonplace in Ptolemaic and Roman temples, and one that is especially evident in shrines dedicated to Isis (e.g., at Deir el-Shelwit). The concept of a free standing sanctuary also set the trend for later Ptolemaic tomb-chapels (e.g., Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel).

The chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu thus represents a classic example of the Egyptians' penchant to create tradition. Thus proving once more that '[t]radition is not wholly a mechanical repetition of ancient forms which thereby provide a key to

past times. . . . Traditions . . . answer current needs and are the products of ingenious minds'.<sup>50</sup>

In light of the general Nubian tendency to favor Old Kingdom models in their archaizing efforts, it might be more prudent to locate the prototype of the chapel of Amenirdis I among the *older* tombs at Aniba, rather than the New Kingdom Theban and Memphite tombs. But the very difficulty of pinning down a prototype for Amenirdis's chapel demonstrates once more that

'Architectural ideal types were less amenable to mechanical reproduction, and had a more complex evolution. They had a very real existence in the minds of the Egyptians. But gave rise to broader scope in their realization as structures and buildings. *Even more than with art, Pharaonic architecture reveals how tradition was invented*'.<sup>51</sup>

In selecting stone as building material, the chapel of Amenirdis differs from the mud-brick tombs of Aniba, its proposed prototype. Indeed, the chapel of Amenirdis I is the earliest royal, or quasi-royal, Third Intermediate Period mortuary structure to be built of stone. The superstructures of the royal tomb-chapels at Tanis were constructed of mud brick as was the adjacent mortuary chapel of Amenirdis's predecessor, Shepenwepet I. Moreover, the chapel of Amenirdis I seems to share the same ground and design with the yet un-recovered royal tombs of Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The chapel of Amenirdis I thus seems to have set the precedent for the tombs, which were constructed within the temenos wall of the temple of Neith at Sais.

The choice of stone as a building material was Shepenwepet II's. As builder of the chapel, Shepenwepet II demolished the older mud brick structure constructed by her late mother and deliberately modified the original plan of Amenirdis's chapel. In so doing, Shepenwepet II was, firstly, bringing back an archaic Nubian style (if not in origin, then definitely in location), and, secondly, constructing a true, stone, *monument for eternity* for her adoptive mother. It is here that the roofed sanctuary set within a larger structure is seen for the first time. This, together with the corridor surrounding the sanctuary became standard features in later Ptolemaic and Roman cultic and funerary architecture. It was a style particularly favored in temples dedicated to Isis.

'The temples [of the Ptolemaic Period] conformed to convention and showed almost no foreign influence; nevertheless, it is also obvious that their makers took tradition into their own competent hands and, with purpose and understanding, carried them further'.<sup>52</sup>

The Nubians' active involvement in architectural revival and development is evident in their (re)introduction of the Kiosk, e.g., at Gebel Barkal.<sup>53</sup> Such revival was deliberate, and in line with Egyptian architectural tradition, which 'recalled a lost and largely mythical past of primitive simplicity . . . [F]ormal temple architecture looked

for inspiration to what the Egyptians considered to be their roots, a world of tent shrines and no palaces . . .'<sup>54</sup> It thus seems highly unlikely that Shepenwepet II would have chosen a random plan for her mother's chapel.

## Endnotes

- 1 Ed's publications are too numerous to recount here, but perhaps his article on the 'Serddab', in LÄ V: 874-879 exemplifies his thorough research and ability to link form with function.
- 2 PM II, 476-478 and pls. 42 and 45.3, for the chapels' location within the temple enclosure at Medinet Habu and a detailed plan of the chapel, respectively.
- 3 G. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, (Cairo: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), 29-42; U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, V: Post-Ramessid Remains*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 17-30.
- 4 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 5 D. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 49; A. J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, (London: Penguin, 1982), 240-41.
- 6 U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), 20 and 55; and idem., *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 20.
- 7 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 20.
- 8 B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 97-98.
- 9 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22; Arnold, *Temples*, 49.
- 10 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 11 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 12 Initially published in 1901 (G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions de la chapelle d'Amerirtis à Médinet-Habou', *RT* 23 (1901), 4-18).
- 13 See, M. F. Ayad, 'The Selection and Layout of the Opening of the Mouth Scenes in the Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004), 113-134; idem, 'The Pyramid Texts of Amenirdis I: Selection and Layout', *JARCE* 43 (2007), 71-92; and idem, 'Some Remarks on the Pyramid Texts Inscribed in the Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu', in Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian (eds), *Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, (Providence: Brown University, Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, 2008), 1-13.
- 14 Hölscher, *Excavations of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 15 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 20.
- 16 Regnal dates are based on K. A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1986; reprint, 1995), 154 and 378-79.
- 17 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 18 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 92-97.
- 19 See J.-P. Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés: L'architecture I: Texte*, (Cairo: IFAO, 1936), 149-52.
- 20 The superstructures of the royal tombs at Tanis and the chapel of Shepenwepet I were built of mud brick, cf. R. Stadelmann, 'Das Grab im Tempelhof: Der Typus des Königsgrabes in der Spätzeit', *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 111-23.
- 21 Arnold, *Temples*, 49.
- 22 Cf. Pl. 8 in G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*. Excavation Memoir 55 (Egypt Exploration Society: London, 1989); idem., *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*. Excavation Memoir 58 (Egypt Exploration Society: London, 1997); idem., *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 43-45 and figs. 9-11 (for the tomb of Horemheb); 103-15 and fig. 64 on p. 102 (for the tomb of Tia and Tia).
- 23 B. Jaroš-Deckert, 'Pylon', *LÄ* IV, 1202-5 and S. B. Shubert, 'Studies on the Egyptian Pylon', *JSSEA* 11 (1981), 135-164, especially at 158-59.
- 24 Shubert, 'Pylon', 138-41.
- 25 D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush: El Kurru*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), 125-26.
- 26 U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu IV: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Pt. 2*. SAOC 37 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 22-25, see fig. 25 on p. 23 and fig. 26 on p. 24.
- 27 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 95.
- 28 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 97.
- 29 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 92: 'The whole structure could be taken apart, packed up in a box, and transported. This fact probably explains the widespread use of this type of structure. It was suitable for royal occasions outside the brick palace; for funerals, where the burial equipment could be laid out for display and possibly even for the preparation of the body prior to burial; and for the comfort of the official class when visiting the countryside.'
- 30 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 31 G. Steindorff, *Aniba II*, (Glückstadt: Druck J.J. Augustin), plans 18 and 39.
- 32 See Steindorff, *Aniba I*, 174, for Steindorff's description of tomb S 41; 170-71, for his description of tomb S 33; and

- 227–29, for tomb SA 27.
- 33 The tombs are not included in his list of New Kingdom tombs exhibiting Nubian features. See M. Bietak, *Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor chr.*, (Vienna: Herman Böhlhaus, 1968), 36–37 and 140.
- 34 Steindorf, *Aniba*, 174 and pl. 19. Other tombs that are somewhat similar in plan to Amenirdis's chapel are S 5, S 33 and SA 27 (cf. *Aniba* II, plans. 12, 18, 39).
- 35 L. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 111: 'the collapse of the temple-towns as elements of the Egyptian political and economic structure . . . did not cause, as a rule, the depopulation of the temple-towns.'
- 36 L. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 111, n. 201.
- 37 Aniba lies on the western bank of the Nile 110 kilometers North of the second cataract (T. Säve-Söderbergh, 'Aniba', *LÄ* I, 272).
- 38 Cf. Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 18–20 (for the chapel of Shepenwepet); P. Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis I–III*, (Paris: Jourde et Allard, 1947–60) and A. Dodson, 'Some Notes concerning the Royal Tombs at Tanis', *CdE* 63 (1988), 221–23; Stadelmann, 'Das Grab im Tempelhof', 115.
- 39 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 40 Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, 335–340. See also, *ibid.*, 19–23, for the Shabako's colonnade at Karnak; 61, for blocks of Shabaka at the sacred lake in Karnak; 77–80, for blocks bearing his name reused in the edifice of Taharqa at Karnak.
- 41 Arnold, *Temples*, 49.
- 42 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu V*, 22.
- 43 S. Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis ouest*, (Cairo: IFAO, 1941), pls 19, 21, 24, 27, 29.
- 44 Location within the temple complex and orientation follow plan in Stadelmann, 'Das Grab im Tempelhof', 113 [a]; PM IV, 46. See also, E. Sieber, 'Assimilating the Past – The Art of the Late Period', in R. Schulz and M. Seidel (eds), *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs*, (Könemann, 1998), 282.
- 45 *Herodotus Book II*, 169, trans. A. D. Godley. Loeb Classical Library 117, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1920), 483.
- 46 D. Kurth, 'A world order in Stone – The Late Temples', in: *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs*, 297.
- 47 Finnestad, for example, characterizes it as a standard feature in: 'Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods', 190.
- 48 The temple of Deir el-Shelwit is located on the west bank of Thebes, about three and half kilometers south of the temple of Medinet Habu (see PM I.2, plan 3). For the inscriptions, see C. Zivie, *Le Temple de Deir Chelouit I–III*, (Cairo: IFAO, 1982–1986).
- 49 L. Bell, 'The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor' in Byron E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 127–184, at 184.
- 50 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 107.
- 51 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 91; emphasis is mine.
- 52 Finnestad, 'Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods', 188.
- 53 Cf. Arnold, *Temples*, 284.
- 54 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 103.



**Fig. 1.** The Pylon-façade.

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**Fig. 2.** Courtyard: Showing a column base & the doorway to Eastern Adjacent Chapel.

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