

American University in Cairo

AUC Knowledge Fountain

Faculty Book Chapters

2018

Moving Pictures: Context of Use and Iconography of Chariots in the New Kingdom

Lisa Sabbahy Dr.

Follow this and additional works at: https://fount.aucegypt.edu/faculty_book_chapters



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#)



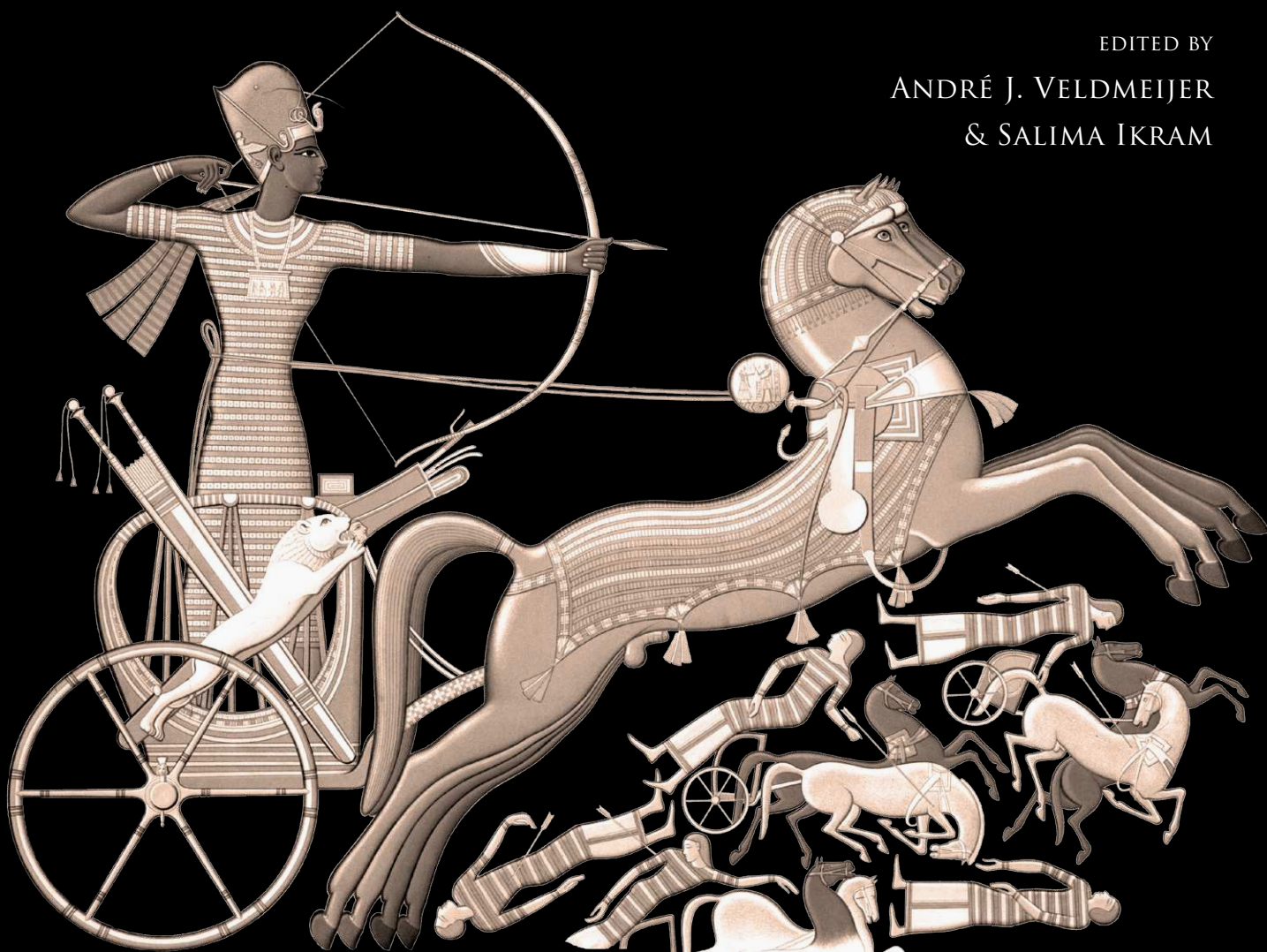
CHARIOTS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

THE TANO CHARIOT, A CASE STUDY

EDITED BY

ANDRÉ J. VELDMEIJER

& SALIMA IKRAM



CHARIOTS IN ANCIENT EGYPT



CHARIOTS

IN ANCIENT EGYPT

THE TANO CHARIOT, A CASE STUDY

EDITED BY
ANDRÉ J. VELDMEIJER
SALIMA IKRAM

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY
OLE HERSLUND
LISA SABBABY
LUCY SKINNER

© 2018 A.J. Veldmeijer

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Lay-out: A.J. Veldmeijer

Cover Design: Sidestone Press

Photograph cover: Sculpture: combat de Ramsès-Meïamoun contre les Khétas sur les bords de l'Oronte (Thèbes -- Ramesseum -- XIXe. dynastie) Retrieved from <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-68d4-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>
The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library (1878). Colour details: photography by André J. Veldmeijer. Courtesy of the Ministry of Antiquities/ Egyptian Museum Authorities.

ISBN 978-90-8890-466-0 (softcover)

ISBN 978-90-8890-467-7 (hardcover)

ISBN 978-90-8890-468-4 (PDF e-book)

To Khalid Ikram and our ancestor, Mian Nuru Khan,
the *chabuk sawar* of Raja Ranjit Singh

Contents

Part I. Analysis

I. Introduction (André J. Veldmeijer & Salima Ikram)	12
I.1. Scope of the Project	12
I.2. The Chariot in Ancient Egypt	13
I.3. Sources of Evidence	13
I.4. Methodology	13
I.5. Introduction to the Archaeological Evidence	14
I.5.1. Maiherpri	14
I.5.2. Tomb of Amenhotep II (Cat. Nos. 1-11)	14
I.5.3. Tomb of Thutmose IV (Cat. Nos. 12-27)	15
I.5.4. Tomb of Amenhotep III (Cat. Nos. 28-42)	16
I.5.5. Amarna	17
I.5.6. Tomb of Tutankhamun	18
I.5.6. Tano Chariot (Cat. Nos. 43-167)	20

II. Deconstructing and Construction:

Identifying the Parts of a Chariot (André J. Veldmeijer & Salima Ikram)	22
II.1. Chariot Body	22
II.1.1. Main Casing	22
II.1.2. Siding Fill	28
II.1.3. Support Straps	30
II.1.4. Nave Hoops	34
II.2. Accessories	35
II.2.1. Bow-Cases and Quivers	35
II.2.2. Pouches	46
II.2.3. Holder(?)	48
II.3. Harness	49
II.3.1. Neckstrap	49
II.3.2. Girth	52
II.3.3. Yoke Saddle Pad	54
II.3.4. Headstall (including blinker and bridle boss)	56
II.3.5. Enigmatic Bands	60
II.4. Charioteer's Accessories	60
II.4.1. Wrist Guards	60
II.5. Discussion: Piecing the Tano Leather Together	62
II.5.1. Main Casing and Siding Fill	62
II.5.2. Support Straps	67
II.5.3. Bow-Case	67
II.5.4. Nave Hoops	69
II.5.5. Neckstrap and Girth	69
II.5.6. Various	69

III. Looking at Skin: Analysis of the Leather (Lucy Skinner)	72
III.1. Introduction	72
III.2. The Raw Material: Skin	73
III.2.1. Structure	73
III.2.2. Areas Within a Skin	75
III.2.3. Species	75
III.3. Skin Processing	80
III.4. The Degradation of Skin	83
III.5. The Tano Leather	84
III.5.1. Condition	84
III.5.2. Skin Type	86
III.5.3. Evidence for Leathering or Tanning	90
III.5.4. Colour Identification	93
III.6. Handling and Conservation	95
III.7. Conclusions	95
IV. Dressing a Chariot: Leatherwork Technology (André J. Veldmeijer & Salima Ikram)	97
IV.1. Manufacturing Chariot and Chariot Related Leathers	97
IV.1.1. Glue, Stitching and Seams	97
IV.1.2. Constructional Features	102
IV.1.3. Decoration	108
V. Moving Pictures: Context of Use and Iconography of Chariots in the New Kingdom (Lisa Sabbahy)	120
V.I. Introduction	120
V.2. Pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty	121
V.2.1. Royal Scenes: Warfare, Victory, and Sport	121
V.2.2. Non-Royal Scenes: Officialdom at Work, Hunting, and Funerals	125
V.3. Amarna Period	131
V.3.1. Royal Scenes: Karnak <i>Talatat</i>	131
V.3.2. Amarna	133
V.4. Post-Amarna 18th Dynasty	138
V.4.1. Royal Scenes of Battle, Victory, Procession and Hunting: Kings Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb	138
V.4.2. Elite Scenes	139
V.5. Ramesside Period	142
V.5.1. Royal Scenes	142
V.5.2. Non-Royal Depictions	148
V.6. Conclusion	149

VI. Chronicling Chariots:		
Texts, Writing and Language of New Kingdom Egypt (Ole Herslund)		150
VI.1. Introduction		150
VI.2. Chariots in War		151
VI.3. Chariots as Booty and Tribute		156
VI.4. Chariots as Gifts for the King		159
VI.5. Chariot Workers, Production and Materials		159
VI.6. Private Ownership and Daily Use of Chariots		162
VI.7. Ideology, Kingship and Meanings of Chariots		165
VI.8. Chariots in the Lexicon and Writing Systems		169
VI.8.1. General		169
VI.8.2. Lexicological Catalogue of Chariot Part Names		177
VI.9. Discussion		194
VII. Discussion and Conclusions (André J. Veldmeijer & Salima Ikram)		199
VII.1. Chariot Leather Craftsmanship		199
VII.2. The Tano Leather		200
VII.2.1. Provenance and Ownership		200
VII.2.2. Dating the Tano Material		201
VII.2.3. Shape		202
 Part II. Catalogue (André J. Veldmeijer & Salima Ikram)		
Tomb of Amenhotep II	(Cat. No. 1-11)	206
Tomb of Thutmose IV	(Cat. No. 12-27)	256
Tomb of Amenhotep III	(Cat. No. 28-42)	288
Tano		317
Main Casing	(Cat. No. 43-49)	317
Siding Fill	(Cat. No. 50-80)	350
Suspension Straps	(Cat. No. 81-87)	402
Nave Hoops	(Cat. No. 88-90)	416
Bow-Case	(Cat. No. 91-95)	422
Harness	(Cat. No. 96-119)	442
Unidentified	(Cat. No. 120-167)	475
Appendix		523
I. Concordance		524
II. Chariot Leather from Amarna (facsimile)		542
III. What's in a Stitch (facsimile)		562
Abbreviations		565
Glossary		566
Chronology of Egypt		570
Bibliography		574

V. Moving Pictures

Context of Use and Iconography of Chariots in the New Kingdom

Lisa Sabbahy

V.I. Introduction

The ancient Egyptians probably obtained the chariot when the Theban kings of the 17th Dynasty launched attacks against the Hyksos to drive them out of Egypt's Delta at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, about 1650-1549 BC. The earliest evidence of the chariot used by Egyptians is actually textual, and found in the autobiographical inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana, who mentions "following the chariot of His Majesty", in the reign of King Ahmose (Sethe, 1961: 3, 6; see Chapter VI). There are fragments of battle scenes from Ahmose's temple at Abydos, but it is not clear from the fragments of bridled chariot horses whether or not they belong to the Hyksos or the Egyptians (Harvey, 1998: figs. 76-79). The initial use of the chariot may well have been slightly earlier, in the reign of Kamose, since he boasts of taking away chariots from the Hyksos in the text on his Second Stela (Habachi, 1972: 36; Malek, 1989: 71-72; discussed in detail in Chapter VI).

Once the chariot has been introduced into Egypt, it is used throughout the period of the New Kingdom, particularly by the king, who is depicted riding in a chariot in scenes of war, hunting, and procession. Elite officials also adopt the use of chariots, and are depicted riding in them for work-related activities, and while hunting. Often a parked chariot with a waiting attendant is shown as a subsidiary detail to a scene of official business, particularly associated with the examination of the fields. Only in the Amarna Period, and in processional scenes, are females shown in chariots. These females are royal, the queen or her daughters, although sometimes women accompany them who might have been non-royal. By the time of the later New Kingdom (19th and 20th Dynasties), with some exceptions, only royal chariot scenes are known, and they are limited to displays of warfare, victory and hunting. The war scenes include depictions of the chariotry divisions of the king's army, but they are never shown outside of these royal scenes, all of which are carved on cult and funerary temple walls.

V.2. Pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty

V.2.1. Royal Scenes: Warfare, Victory, and Sport

Textual evidence shows that the kings of the early 18th Dynasty captured chariots in war (see Chapter VI). For example, Ahmose, Son of Ebana, captures a chariot with horses and charioteer in a battle in Retjenu, or Syro-Palestine, and presents them to Thutmose I (Sethe, 1961, Vol. 1: 9-10, section 39). There is also written evidence for the king of Egypt riding into battle on a chariot: Thutmose III appears at dawn on a chariot of fine gold for the attack on Megiddo (Sethe, 1961, Vol. 3: 657, section 85; see Chapter VI). Unfortunately, representations of royal chariots at this time are minimal. Rediscovered pieces of a lost temple of Thutmose I on the West Bank (Barakat, 1981) give fragmentary evidence for a battle scene with a chariot, but they only show hooves with part of a chariot wheel, and small parts of the chests and throats of two horses (Iwaszczuk, 2011: 24; 2012). A green jasper scarab in the British Museum (EA17774), dating to the 18th Dynasty, depicts Thutmose I in a chariot shooting arrows at a wounded Nubian (Hall, 1913: 50, no. 475; Heinz, 2001: 235; Figure V.1).

Similar to the scene fragments from Ahmose's temple at Abydos are portions of scenes from the funerary temple of Thutmose II, which was either built or finished by his son, Thutmose III, on the West Bank of Thebes (Jaeger, 1982: 344, note 849). The decoration may well date to late in the reign of Thutmose III (Gabolde, 1989; 2009: 175-176). The fragments show horse hooves and chariot wheels, horse heads and bodies with bridle equipment (Bruyère, 1926: pls. II-IV). The largest fragment shows parts of the wheels of four superimposed chariots. The wheels appear to have eight spokes, and the body of the chariot is very open (Bruyère, 1926: pl. III, 7), but it is not clear whether Egyptians or foreigners were in them. Johnson (1992: 96) suggests that these fragments come from two scenes, one on each side of a columned court, with the Egyptian king attacking retreating Asiatic chariots.

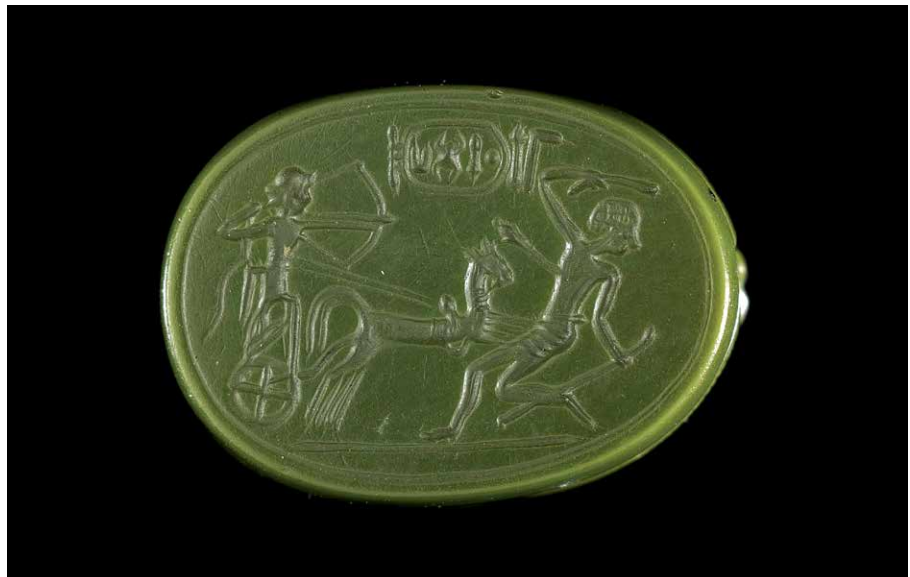


Figure V.1. Jasper scarab (EA17774) depicting King Thutmose I in a chariot. © Trustees of the British Museum (London).

The upper part of a broken granite block in the Egyptian Museum (Cairo) (JE 36360), discovered in the Fourth Pylon at Karnak, depicts Amenhotep II victorious, smiting and presenting tied up captives to the god Amun (Zayed, 1985: pls. 1-2; Janzen, 2013: 120-122). In the lower part of the block, the king is depicted tying up captives, and then, mounted on a chariot, he leads them away. His chariot and horses also have bound captives on them. Three captives sit on the backs of the horses, two stand in front of the king, tied to the railing of the chariot body, and one other captive, on his back, is tied to the chariot pole (Figure V.2).

A scene similar to that of Amenhotep II with captives tied on his chariot is found on a limestone stela from the mortuary temple of his grandson, Amenhotep III, which was later reused in the mortuary temple of King Merenptah (Petrie, 1896: pl. X). The upper and lower parts of the stela are divided in half by the way that the scenes are laid out. In the top half, figures of Amun stand back-to-back in the centre of the stela, while on one side the king offers a figure of Ma'at to him, and on the other side, jars of wine. Below, the lower part depicts two back-to-back figures of the king in a chariot. On the left proper, the king drives over foreigners from the south, although the bottom part of this scene with the horses' legs is missing. On the right he drives over foreigners from the north, but here the body of the chariot, and those of the horses, are broken away. It is clear on the left side, however, that four captives are tied and seated on the chariot horses, while another is tied kneeling on the chariot pole. A sixth face can be seen protruding from the bottom front of the chariot (Johnson, 1992: 104; Saleh & Sourouzian, 1987: no. 143).

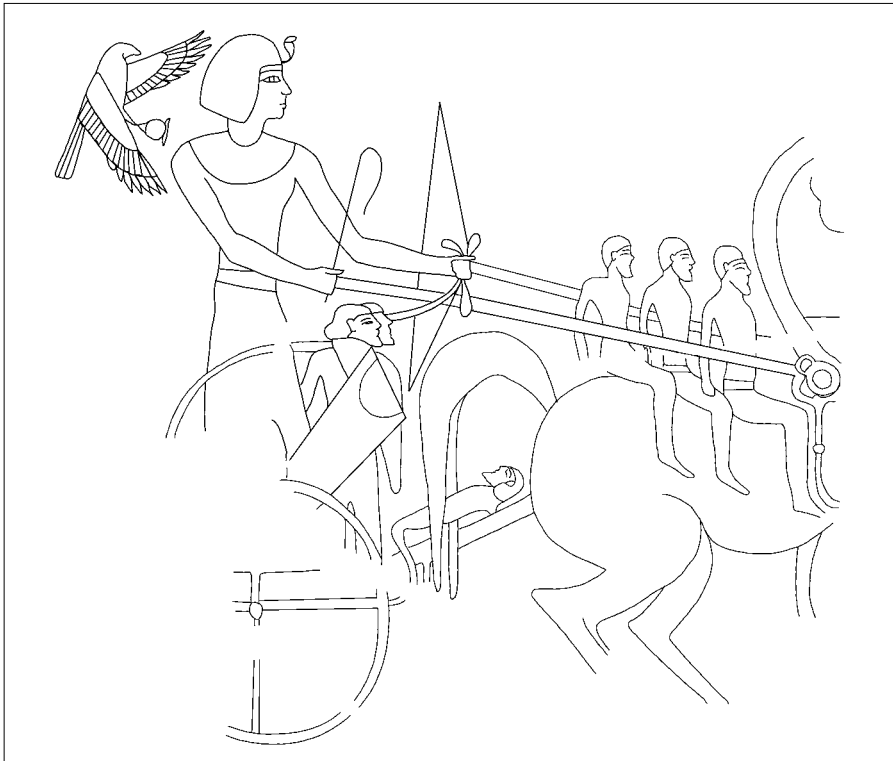


Figure V.2. A block, found in 1904 in the Fourth Pylon at Karnak, showing Amenhotep II with captives. After: Zayed (1985: pl. 1). Drawing by L.D. Hackley.

Figures tied to royal chariots are not seen often after this stela. Johnson (1992: 29) suggests that the depiction of prisoners on the chariot horses was somewhat awkward, and so the scene was ‘discontinued’. There are some Ramesside examples, discussed below, but they only have figures of foreign captives tied under or behind the chariot, and in one case, there seems to be a head on the top railing; captives are not found placed on the horses.

A granite block in the Luxor Museum (J. 129), found in pieces in the fill of the Third Pylon of Karnak Temple in 1927, may come from the same monument as the Amenhotep II block with tied up captives on his chariot, discussed above. On this block, Amenhotep II is shown shooting arrows through a pillow-shaped copper ingot, as he rides in his chariot, reins tied around his waist (Der Manuelian, 1987: 206; Romano, 1979: 68). In both scenes on these two blocks in the Egyptian and Luxor Museum, the king’s chariot has largely open sides, *i.e.* it lacks a siding fill.

The driving and manipulating of the chariot has been a topic of discussion, particularly with regard to tying the reins around the waist of the chariot’s royal occupant. Is tying the reins around the waist merely artistic license so that the king can be shown alone in the chariot, or could someone actually drive a chariot in this position? As seen in the tomb of Userhet (TT56), Userhet is also shown thus. Did artistic license extend to the elite depictions as well? Looking at other chariot scenes with archers in chariots supplies further evidence. In the Battle of Qadesh, as depicted in Ramesses II’s temple at Abu Simbel, two men are shown in each Egyptian chariot: A shield-bearer and an archer (Figure V.3). The shield-bearer grasps the shield with one hand, and holds onto the chariot with the other. In other scenes, the shield-bearer’s free hand reaches out and holds the reins that are tied around the archer’s waist, who is drawing his bow and shooting. Another scene from the battle shows the royal princes arriving in chariots. Each prince drives the horses while also holding his bow in one hand. A shield-bearer accompanies them in the chariot, and helps with the reins. In the poem about the battle, Ramesses II refers several times to his charioteer and shield-bearer (Lichtheim,

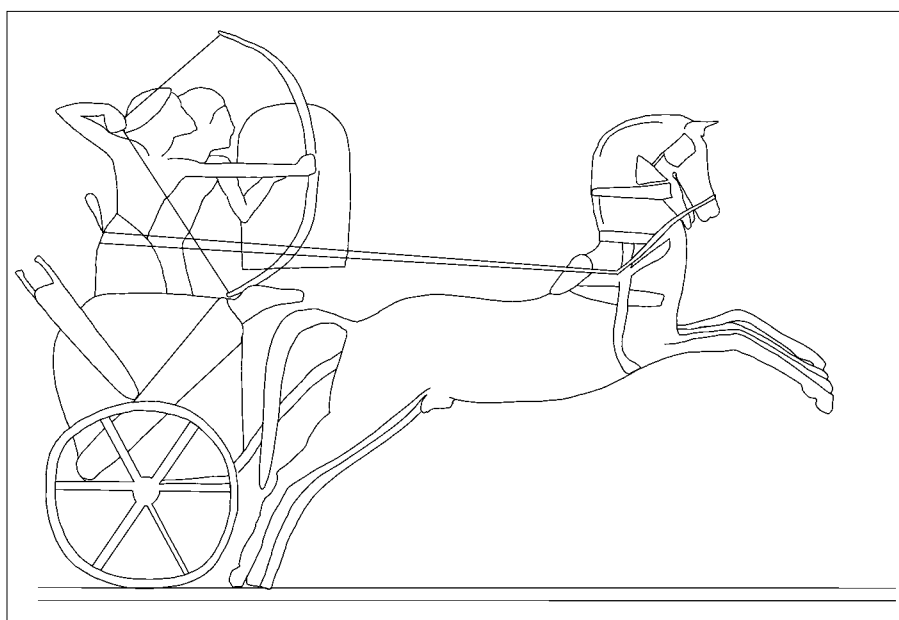


Figure V.3. Shield-bearer and archer. Abu Simbel. Great Temple. After: Oriental Institute P2345, Photographic Archives, Nubia. Drawing by L.D. Hackley.

1976: 68-70). In the action described in the poem, it is clear that wielding the shield to protect the king is this man's main responsibility, but obviously, he could help drive as well. In all of these examples, the archer drives the chariot, but when busy shooting, he ties the reins around his waist. These depictions with reins tied around the waist do appear to reflect reality (Hansen, 1992: 176-77; Heagren, 2010: 74-75; Crouwel, 2013: 87; Sabbahy, 2013: 193).

Another, similar depiction of King Amenhotep II in a chariot, shooting, is found in the tomb of Rei on the West Bank of Thebes (TT72). Rei was a priest at the mortuary temple of King Thutmose III, father of Amenhotep II (Radwan, 1969: 101). Although the tomb wall is badly damaged by burning, it is clear that the king is in his chariot, pursuing wild animals, with his arm in position to be shooting an arrow. There are also hunting dogs, and some accompanying soldiers, as well as a fragmentary text stating that the kill from the hunt would be "presented by the king for sacrifices in the mortuary temple of his father" (Davies, 1934-1935: 50). The only other depiction of Amenhotep II in a chariot is on a small, rectangular, green jasper plaque in the Louvre (E 6256) in which the king is shown in battle shooting arrows from his chariot (Desroches-Noblecourt, 1950; Heinz, 2001: 235), which, like the scarab of Thutmose I mentioned above, dates to the 18th Dynasty (Jaeger, 1982: 2000).

The chariot body of King Thutmose IV, found in his tomb at the Valley of the Kings, is decorated with scenes of the king in a chariot (Figure II.17). The body has a wooden frame with paneling that was covered with cloth, and then stucco, carved with scenes and ornamental decoration (Carter & Newberry, 1904: 26; see also Calvert, 2013; Johnson, 1992: 100-102). It has been suggested that it was probably also covered with silver or gold (Littauer & Crouwel, 1985: 72, but see Calvert, 2013: 47, note 2), but that this was pulled off by tomb robbers. On the outside right proper of the chariot the king is shown driving his chariot, reins tied around his waist, shooting arrows into a mass of fleeing and dying enemies, also in chariots, but only with four spokes and not as elaborate as the king's. Beside the king, and helping him aim his bow, is the hawk-headed god Montu, wearing his insignia of disc and two feathers on his head. Montu stands next to and slightly behind the king, so it is clear the god is there, but also merged with the king. The hieroglyphic inscription in front of the king begins by stating that the king is 'beloved of Montu'. The chariot body that is depicted on the real body has, obviously, a main casing but also a siding fill. A bow-case and quiver are attached to the side. The wheel has eight spokes, which is unusual, and may indicate the heaviness of the chariot body. There is an interesting detail on the body of the chariot, just above the spoke of the wheel, and parallel with the base of the chariot body: the small head and neck of a duck or goose. There is at least one other example of a small figure in that position. A part of a limestone block from the Great Aten Temple at Amarna depicts a chariot wheel with a small kneeling captive in exactly the same position (Whitehouse, 2009: 75). However, a *talatat* block from Karnak might also show this type of kneeling figure (Ertman, 1998: 59-60). These small figures at the bottom of the chariot are perhaps related to small heads of foreigners that can be found as decorations on the top of chariot linchpins, and serving as symbols of the king's destruction of his enemies (Ritner, 1993: 130-131). This decorated linchpin appears first in the Amarna Period, on a *talatat* from the Great Aten Temple at Amarna (Aldred, 1973: 151; Ertman, 1998: 51-60), and they are common on chariots in military scenes of the 19th and 20th

Dynasties (The Epigraphic Survey, 1930: pls. XXI, XXX, XXXI; 1986: pls. V, X, XXII, XXXV). Note that the small head can also be shown being bitten by a lion whose head appears to be on top of the human head (The Epigraphic Survey, 1930: pl. XVII). On the left side of the chariot body Thutmose IV is shown alone in a chariot riding into a group of foreign enemies who are also in chariots. The king is not shooting, but grabbing enemies by the hair with one hand, while holding his bow, and dispatching them with his war axe, held in his other hand. The reins are tied around his waist. The side of the depicted chariot shows the Horus falcon spreading a wing across the opening. A quiver hangs on the chariot's side (Carter & Newberry, 1904: pl. XI; Figure II.17).

V.2.2. Non-Royal Scenes: Officialdom at Work, Hunting, and Funerals

Officials of the 18th Dynasty are often depicted in their tombs using chariots in their work. In fact, the earliest complete, surviving New Kingdom scenes featuring chariots are non-royal and non-military. The tomb of Renni, (T7) at El Kab, dating to the reign of Amenhotep I, depicts his chariot parked in the field, as part of a harvest scene (Tylor, 1900: pl. II). This is the earliest known example of a chariot standing empty in the fields, which becomes more popular in the 18th Dynasty, particularly in tombs of officials connected to grain, as was Renni, who held the titles of mayor and counter of the grain. The chariot is accompanied by an attendant, probably the chariot driver, who waits, holding the reins, or, rarely, sitting in the chariot. In Renni's scene, the attendant stands behind the chariot, holding the reins and a whip. The body of the chariot is damaged, but a bow-case seems to point up from the side. The wheel has four spokes.

A similar scene appears in the El Kab tomb of Paheri (T3), from the reign of Thutmose III (Tylor & Griffith, 1894: pl. 3). Paheri was mayor as well as scribe of the granary. His chariot is also shown waiting in the fields, with an attendant standing behind it holding reins and whip (Figure V.4). The chariot wheel has four spokes; the chariot body only has a main casing. In the bottommost scene on the wall, a boat is shown twice, once with its sail down for traveling downstream, and once with the sail up for tacking upstream. In each boat a chariot with four-spoke wheels is shown lying on the roof of the cabin. In the boat with the sail up, the chariot horses are standing in the front of the boat. The boats are connected to a scene of Paheri "receiving the tribute of gold for the king" (Tylor & Griffith, 1894: 12). A similar boat scene is found in the tomb of Ka'emhet in Thebes (TT57), reign of Amenhotep III, who was a scribe and overseer of granaries. A chariot is lying on the roof of a boat being rowed, and the chariot horses are standing in the very rear of the boat (Decker, 2006: fig. 28). This chariot has six-spoke wheels, but the details of the chariot body are somewhat amorphous.

The tomb of Amenemopet (and Djehutynefer; TT297), who was a scribe and counter of the grain of Amun, has two very similar scenes of chariot teams waiting by a tree, under which is a round-topped boundary stone (Strudwick, 2003: pl. 3, 6.2 b-c). Only fragments of either chariot can still be seen, but the chariot teams, trees, and boundary stones make the type of scene clear. This scene development showing detailed field measuring, appears in the scenes from the tomb of Nebamun (tomb location unknown, but in Thebes) and Menna (TT69). Nebamun was scribe of the grain accounts of Amun, active probably during the

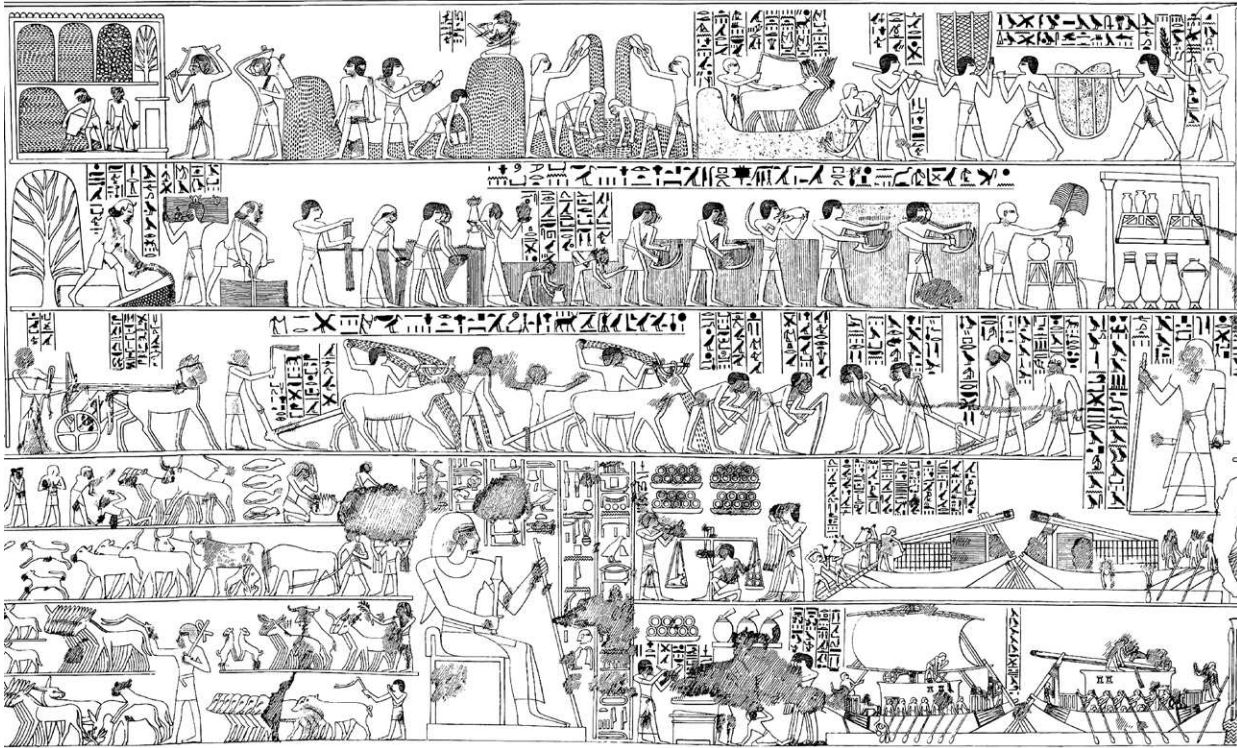


Figure V.4. Scene from the Tomb of Paheri (T3) at El Kab. From: Tylor & Griffith (1894: pl. III).

reign of Thutmose IV. A beautiful fragment from his tomb depicting two chariots waiting by a sycamore tree is housed in the British Museum (London) (Parkinson, 2008: 110) (Figure V.5). Nearby, although not completely preserved, officials measure fields of grain. In the top register, the attendant of the chariot stands behind the vehicle, holding the reins with both hands. In the register below, the chariot attendant sits on the floor of the chariot body, dangling his legs off the back. The reins are looped casually over the top railing, and the attendant holds them as they hang down. The horses of this chariot seem to be drinking from a trough of some kind, although the paint on this part of the wall is not well preserved. Both chariots have bluish or faded green colored leather or wood as main casing, and no siding fill; the wheels have six spokes.

A very similar scene occurs in the aforementioned tomb of Ka'emhet (TT57). A bored, or possibly sleeping, chariot attendant sits backward in the chariot while the horses, like in the Nebamun scene, face a tree and seem to be eating (Wreszinski, 1915: pl. 192). In the field measuring scene in this tomb, four chariots are shown waiting with their attendants or drivers (Wreszinski, 1915: pl. 191). The first chariot has his driver standing behind the chariot holding the reins. In the next two chariots the drivers are looking backwards, and their heads are at a lower level, so they must be seated backwards in the chariot. The driver of the last chariot stands in it, bending forward, pulling on the reins and holding a whip. Only the details of the first chariot can be seen: the siding is filled and the wheel has eight spokes.

Menna was scribe of the fields, during the period of Thutmose IV to that of Amenhotep III. In his tomb in Luxor (TT69) a chariot stands ready, reins held by the attendant behind it, while a large pile of grain is being measured (Campbell, 1910: 86; Hodel-Hoenes, 1991: fig. 54; Parkinson, 2008: 111). The main casing



Figure V.5. Scene from the tomb of Nebamun (EA37982), showing two chariots waiting by a sycamore tree. © Trustees of the British Museum (London).

of the chariot has a dark bluish hue, and the chariot has a siding fill. A bow-case is attached to the side and the wheels have six spokes.

There are a few other types of work scenes where an official is depicted in or with his chariot. Meeting Puntites on the Red Sea shore is shown in TT143 of an unknown owner (Davies, 1934-1935: 48, fig. 3; Hallman, 2006: pl. 9), but tentatively dated to the period of Thutmose III to Amenhotep II (Hallman, 2006: 24, note 829). There are two registers, the upper one showing the arrival of the Puntites by water, and offering of goods to the Egyptians, and then below, the departure of the Puntites, while the Egyptian official makes offerings, before they leave as well. Behind the official, an attendant holds the reins of the chariot horses (Wreszinski, 1915: pls. 347-348). The Egyptians are armed with shields, spears, axes and quivers, and a bow-case is on the side of the chariot.

In the tomb of Amenmose (TT89), Chancellor of the King, who had a long career spanning the reigns of Thutmose III to that of Amenhotep III, Amenmose is depicted with his soldiers, leaving the shore of the Red Sea where the Puntites have brought him exotic goods (Davies & Davies, 1940: pl. XXV). After a scene of the tribute of Syria and Nubia, there are two registers of Puntites presenting piles and sacks of gum, followed by two registers below showing the Egyptian soldiers heading away with their loaded donkeys. None of these men are shown with weapons. Among them is Amenmose in his chariot, shown large enough to span both registers. Unfortunately, Amenmose's figure has been completely damaged, along with much of the chariot.

Two more scenes of officials in chariots from the reign of Thutmose IV are known. In TT90, the tomb of the Standard-Bearer and Troop Commander Nebamun (not to be confused with the Nebamun mentioned previously), there is a fragment showing a man in a chariot beside the river, next to the royal boat

(Davies, 1923: pl. XXIV, XXV). Amenhotep-sise, Second High Priest of Amun (TT75), is shown driving his chariot with attendants walking in front of him, and four others, one with scribal equipment, following behind him (Davies, 1923: pls. VI, XVIII).

Offering of chariots to the temple of Amun as gifts for the New Year is sometimes depicted. One such scene is seen in the tomb of Amenhotep (TT73), who was an overseer of works for Hatshepsut's obelisks at Karnak (Aldred, 1969: 78; Porter & Moss, 1960: 143). There are three registers of offerings on the northwest wall: One chariot is offered in the top row, while two are shown in the bottom register (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957a: pl. 3). All three chariots have low and narrow main casings only and thus are largely open. Two of the chariots clearly show two support straps on the side. All the chariots have an empty quiver on the side; the wheels have four spokes. Another such scene is found in the tomb of Kenamun (TT93), Chief Steward of King Amenhotep II. Included with weapons and shields given as New Year gifts for the king, are two chariots on stands (Aldred, 1969: 79). Their images are not completely preserved, but it is clear that they both have a bow-case attached (Davies, 1930: pl. XXII; Littauer & Crouwel, 1985: pl. LXXV). A similar scene in (TT92) the tomb of Suemniwet, the Royal Butler of Amenhotep II (Bryan, 2009: 25, pls. 10-11), shows registers of objects offered to Amenhotep II, which include at least four chariots.

A common scene in 18th Dynasty Theban tombs belonging to high officials, such as the vizier, or a High Priest of Amun, is of foreigners, invariably Syrians, presenting tribute including chariots and horses, to the king. This scene is first known from the period of the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Morkot, 2007: 172), and perhaps the earliest example is found in the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire (TT100; Davies, 1943: pls. XXII-XXIII; Hallman, 2006: pl. 2). On the southwest wall of the north-south hall, a Syrian wheels a chariot, holding the chariot pole and yoke. An empty bow-case is attached to the side, attached by straps. There is only a main casing and the wheel has four spokes. A similar scene appears in the tomb of Intef (TT155) the Great Herald of the King, dating to the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957a: pl. 13). One man pulls a chariot, holding the yoke with one hand and the chariot pole with the other. The bow-case on the side of the chariot is open, and a man following the chariot carries a bow and quiver for arrows.

Menkheperaseneb, High Priest of Amun under Thutmose III, has a five-register tribute scene on the northwest wall of the north-south hall of his tomb (TT86), where in the third register a chariot with team of horses is brought in. In the register just below, a man carries a chariot pole with yoke and chariot body attached, on his shoulder, and holds a wheel in one hand (Davies, 1933a: pl. VII; Wreszinski, 1915: pls. 273, 276-277). Two contemporary tombs, TT84 of Amenedjeh, the Royal Herald of Thutmose III (Davies & Davies, 1941: pl. 13), and TT42, of Amenmose, Captain of the Troops (Davies, 1933a: pl. XXXV), each has a two-register scene of Syrian tribute. In TT84, a man wheels in a chariot, pulling it by the pole, and holding a quiver in his other hand. The chariot body has a low main casing and support straps are visible. A bow-case is on the side of the chariot; the wheel has four spokes. The chariots in TT42 are the same in every detail. There are two of them, presented by a Syrian kneeling on the ground. The chariots are not attached to horses, but standing with a stick supporting the chariot pole; the horses are being held behind the chariots by attendants.

Two additional Syrian tribute scenes with chariots are somewhat later. Sobekhotep (TT63), from the reign of Thutmose IV (Dziobek & Raziq, 1990), only has a fragment of a chariot wheel visible on a piece from the tomb currently housed in the British Museum (London) (EA37987). Two horses are depicted behind the wheel fragment, so it has been suggested that one man was pulling the chariot by its pole, and the reins of the horses were tied to the chariot railing (Hallman, 2006: pl. 4; Dziobek & Raziq, 1990: pl. 33). The tomb of Amenmose (TT89), from the reign of Amenhotep III, depicts a row of Syrians presenting tribute, two of whom have chariots that they hold with both hands upright by the chariot pole (Davies & Davies, 1940: pl. XXIV). The scene is somewhat damaged, but one chariot wheel clearly has six spokes.

A related scene-type in tombs of high officials is the production of chariots, or parts thereof, often depicted along with scenes of leather making (discussed in more detail in Chapter II). The earliest scene of chariot production seems to occur in the tomb of Hepusonb (TT67), First Prophet of Amun in the time of Hatshepsut, from which a fragment of a scene is preserved (Davies, 1963: 9, note 6). After that, is a scene of chariot manufacturing in the tomb of Intef (TT155). Although only fragments remain, one of them clearly shows the work being done to shape a chariot pole (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957a: pl. 10, 5). The tomb of Menkheperaseneb (TT86), shows the finishing of the wheels and one man seems to be finishing the attachment of a chariot body and pole (Davies, 1933a: pl. 12).

A similar scene is found in the tomb of Puyemre (TT39), who was the Second High Priest of Amun in the reign of Thutmose III. A craftsman is shown working on the body of a chariot, set on a stand, with its two wheels shown, but not yet attached (Davies, 1922-1923: pls. XXIV, XXVIII). A virtually identical scene is seen in the tomb of Mery (TT95), who was High Priest of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep II (Wreszinski, 1915: pl. 307). In one register a man makes finishing touches on a chariot body with pole, while in the register below, two wheels are finished, and a yoke is being attached to a pole.

Two tombs from the reign of Thutmose IV have manufacturing scenes that include chariots: the tomb of Hepu (TT66; Figure II.8), the vizier, and the tomb of Amenhotep-sise (TT75), Second Prophet of Amun. Hepu is depicted seated, watching the work of three registers of craftsmen (Davies, 1963: pl. VIII). In the top register leather is being worked for quivers and bow-cases, and a strip of leather or rawhide is being put on a chariot wheel to serve as a tire. In the register below is a completed chariot body with pole and yoke on a stand awaiting wheels. This scene is repeated in the tomb of Amenhotep-sise; a man in exactly the same position is putting a leather or rawhide tire onto a wheel, while a completed chariot, minus the wheel, is on a stand behind him (Davies, 1923: pl. X; Wreszinski, 1915: pls. 241-242).

Hunting scenes in tombs of elite officials also feature chariots. A fragment of such a scene is preserved in the tomb of User (TT21), in the reign of Thutmose I (Davies, 1913: pl. XXII). The fleeing animals, shot with arrows, are preserved, but only part of the wheel of the chariot pursuing them is. Another fragment from a hunting scene is preserved from the tomb of the Intef (TT155; Säve-Söderbergh, 1957a: pl. 16). The bottom half of the chariot wheel and the horses' legs are shown, facing a man with a gazelle over his shoulders. Behind the chariot is a foot pushing off the ground; perhaps this individual is stepping up into the chariot. Other assorted fragments show bits of sandy ground, parts of various wild animals, and arrows.

A fragmentary chariot scene, which is suggested to belong to a scene of bringing the catch from a hunt, was found in the tomb of Djehuty (TT11), the overseer of the treasury in the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Säve-Söderbergh, 1958: 287, fig. 5), although the actual hunting is on foot, and shown in another room (Säve-Söderbergh, 1958: 290, fig. 7). An empty chariot is preserved, along with the legs of the chariot team, a man next to the horses, and one in front. Another scene of a man in a chariot shooting his bow is found in the just mentioned tomb of Amenedjeh (TT84), from the reign of Thutmose III. The scene is complete but the paint and plaster are badly damaged. The man stands in a chariot that is clad with only a main casing, shooting his bow and driving with the reins around his waist, and a quiver on his back (Porter & Moss, 1960: 169, 15; Virey, 1891: 355, fig. 5; Wegner, 1933: pl. IXa).

The first completely preserved hunting scene is that in the tomb of Userhet (TT56), reign of Amenhotep II (Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, 1987: pl. 12). Userhet stands in the chariot, reins tied around his back, shooting arrows at the fleeing desert animals. Userhet's stance in his chariot is modeled on that of King Amenhotep II, discussed above, as he shoots arrows through copper ingots.

One last type of elite tomb scene that includes a chariot is that of the funeral. A few scenes, seemingly all belonging to the period of Thutmose III to Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III, show a chariot being carried or pulled to the tomb along with other possessions of the deceased. In the tomb of Userhet (TT56) one man pulls a chariot, holding the yoke in one hand and the chariot pole in the other. Another man walks beside the chariot, holding the reins of a single horse that walks behind. The chariot only has a main casing, two support straps attached to the side, as well as a bow-case and the wheels have four spokes (Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, 1987: pls. 14, 27). A similar scene is seen in the tomb of Haremheb (TT78), dating to the period of Thutmose III to Amenhotep III. A register depicting objects being brought to the tomb shows one chariot being carried, followed by a second chariot pulled by a team of horses. No one is in the chariot; an attendant walks behind it, pulling on the reins (Brack & Brack, 1980: pls. 54, 61). Chariots being brought in a procession of funerary goods for the burial are shown as well in the tomb of Mentiwy (TT172), reign of Thutmose III (Porter & Moss, 1960: 280, 5-6); Ahmose (TT121), reign of Thutmose III (Porter & Moss, 1960: 235, 8); Hety (TT151), reign of Thutmose IV (Porter & Moss, 1960: 261, 8), and that of Sobekhotep (TT63), reign of Thutmose IV (Porter & Moss, 1960: 125, 11).

A related funerary scene can depict a river boat pulling or accompanying a smaller papyriform funeral boat that is taking the deceased and his wife on the pilgrimage to Abydos (Assmann, 2001: 305-308; Settgastr, 1963: 80). Such a scene appears in the tomb of Ka'emhet (TT57), mentioned before. He and his wife are shown seated in a papyriform boat being pulled by a larger ship with rowers. A chariot lies on the roof of the cabin, along with a bed and headrest. The horses can be seen on the deck at the front (Wreszinski, 1923: 207). Sometimes the horses are shown on the boat, but the chariot is not, for example in the 19th Dynasty tomb of Tia, an official of Ramesses II, and his sister, Tia, at Saqqara (Martin, 1997: pl. 47).

V.3. Amarna Period

V.3.1. Royal Scenes: Karnak Talatat

There is an abundance of pictorial evidence for chariot use in the Amarna Period, which can be basically divided into three different categories: *talatat* blocks from Karnak; the *talatat* blocks from Amarna that were removed and taken to Hermopolis in Ramesside times (particularly by Ramesses II), and scenes in the elite rock cut North and South Tombs at Amarna. The Karnak *talatat* blocks depict chariots of the king and queen in procession, accompanied by military or police personal, also in chariots. Those taken from Amarna depict this same subject as well. In addition, the scenes in the elite tombs contain royal processions, and, moreover, some tombs show the tomb owner carrying out the duties of his office, as well as being rewarded for such by the king.

That royal chariot scenes are so abundant in the Amarna Period, especially in terms of processions, begs the question of what happened before that to bring about this seemingly new development. Other than the stela of Amenhotep III with the captives on his chariot, discussed above, there are no other known chariot depictions from his reign. In fact, little evidence is preserved of everyday use by royalty of chariots in the earlier part of the 18th Dynasty; what is preserved does not shown royal use of chariots for processions or travel, but rather for war or sport. This might reflect the new landscape of Amarna, with its complex system and importance of roads (Kemp, 2008: 8), or an increase in production and use of chariots.

The *talatat* blocks from Karnak with chariot scenes come from the *Rwd-mnw*, one of the four sun temples Amenhotep IV built at Karnak. The chariot scenes seem to indicate that this structure had long walls, with the decoration focusing on processions by the royal family, accompanied by military attendants (Redford, 1984: 72). These scenes have been discussed in great detail by Hoffmeier (1988: 35-40), so only the most important details that were actually present on the *talatats* in the greatly restored scenes are discussed here. The largest scene that could be identified depicts Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti standing together in a chariot pulled by galloping horses, with the king holding the reins. The queen grasps a handle attached to the top of the top railing with her right hand (Hoffmeier, 1988: pl. 37). It is an actual handle, a rare feature and only seen in the Amarna period, and different from the cut out hand-grips seen on chariots at Amarna (see Section V.3.2 'Royal Processions'). A bow-case is on the side. The wheel has six spokes. Behind them, and on a much smaller scale, are three registers of attendants in chariots, three chariots to a register. Each chariot has a driver, bending over and holding the reins, and a second man who stands, also bending over.

This scene displays another development in the Amarna Period: the appearance of a female member of the royal family in a chariot. This type of scene first appears here in the Karnak *talatat*, but it is much more common in the Amarna tomb scenes depicting royal processions in the city. At Amarna the queen can be shown in a chariot with the king, or driving her own chariot behind him. The royal daughters can be shown in these two ways, as well. Hoffmeier (1988: 36, and pl. 18) suggests a reconstructed scene based on Karnak *talatat* blocks TS 1465 and TS 1441, of the king in a large chariot followed by the queen, driving alone in a much smaller chariot, but this is, according to him, "very tentative".

A number of new and unusual chariot scenes appear in the *talatat* blocks from Karnak. One partially restored scene depicts King Akhenaten stepping into his chariot with the help of a stool (Figure V.6). This is the first known scene of a king mounting his chariot, but one that will be repeated numerous times in Ramesside temple relief scenes of the king setting off on campaign (e.g. The Epigraphic Survey, 1930: pl. XVI), and returning in victory to Egypt (such as The Epigraphic Survey, 1986: pl. XXXV).

A number of *talatat* that were found reused in the interior of the Ninth Pylon have scenes from a first *heb-sed* of Amenhotep IV, which must have taken place very early in his reign. The reconstructed blocks show the king, and also his family, coming and going from the palace to the celebration, and being carried in the jubilee procession (Redford, 1984: 116-18). All of them are carried, in carrying chairs, or in the case of the king, on a large palanquin (Gohary, 1992: pl. I). There is one scene of two small, waiting chariots with attendants, but the chariots might well belong to a man labeled Mayor of Thebes and Vizier, standing nearby (Gohary, 1992: pls. 2, 19). There is no evidence of chariot use by the royal family during any of the movement connected to the *heb-sed*. There is also no evidence of a *heb-sed* having been depicted in the Amarna tombs, so there is no comparative evidence.

The ceremonial setting created by Akhenaten at Amarna may have been influenced by that created by his father, Amenhotep III, at Thebes, which became “a stage for enacting kingship” (Baines, 2001: 299). Amenhotep III built or added to a series of very traditional cult temples on the East Bank of Thebes, connected by processional avenues set up north-south (O’Connor, 2001: 155-157). In addition, there were approaches to the temples by water, such as the canal that led up to the quay before the entrance into the Karnak Amun Temple. On the West Bank, the king built his extensive funerary temple, and to the south a palace complex including another Amun temple (Malqata). A large harbor known as the Birket Habu was cut south of the palace, and opposite on the East Bank, was a smaller, matching harbor (O’Connor, 2001: 77). It is known that during ceremonies, such

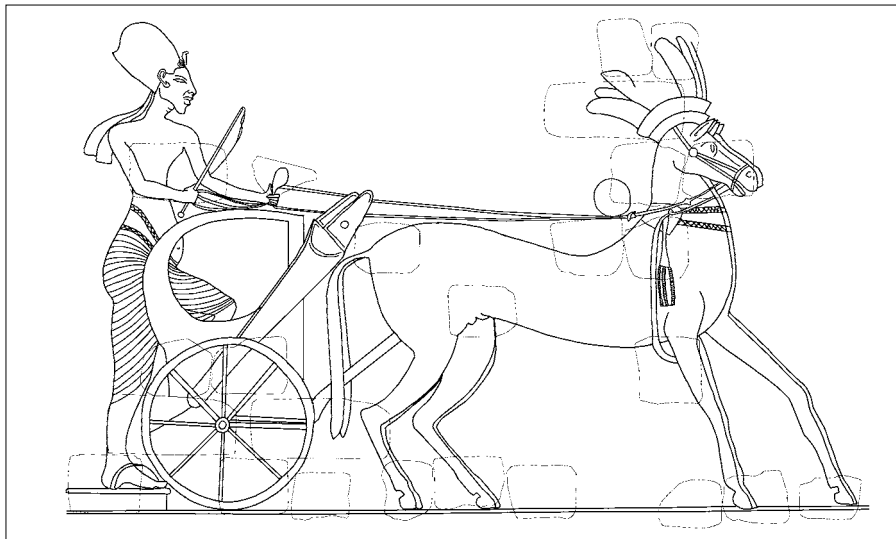


Figure V.6. King Akhenaten with stepping-stool. After: Redford (1976: pl. 12). Drawing by L.D. Hackley.

as his *heb-seds*, Amenhotep III traveled in barques in these harbors (Kemp, 2006: 277), reenacting the travels of the sun god Ra “through the day sky and then the netherworld” (O’Connor, 2001: 162) in the god’s day and night barques. In the tomb of Kheruef (TT192), who was the Steward of Queen Tiye, is a text describing part of the ceremony at the king’s first *heb-sed*, which states: “(They) were directed to the lake of His Majesty to row in the bark of the king. They grasped the towropes of the evening bark and the prow rope of the morning bark, and they towed the barks at the great place” (The Epigraphic Survey, 1980: 43).

V.3.2. *Amarna*

Royal Processions in Elite Tomb Scenes

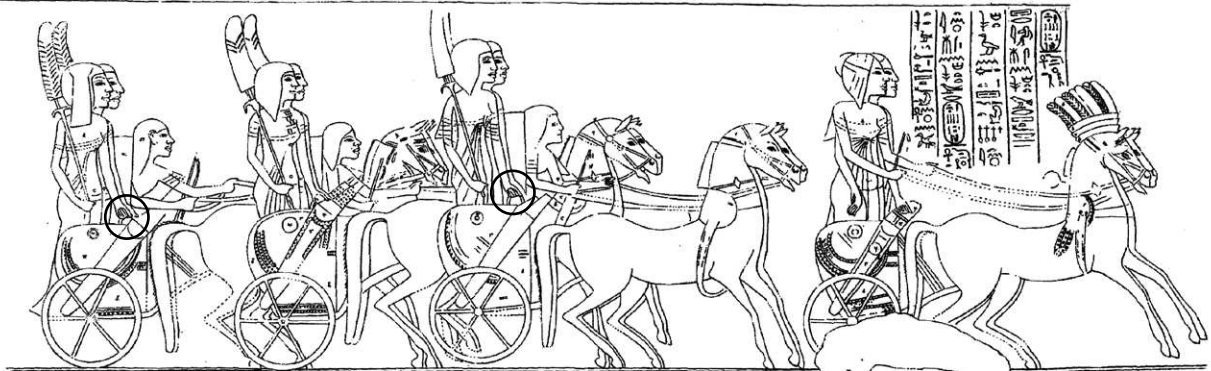
The city of Amarna was set up on a north-south axis alongside the river. The royal family lived at the far north, and the largest ceremonial palace and the Great Aten Temple were in the center of the city. A straight road, called the Royal Road, started in the north and passed straight south through the city. On a daily basis, the royal family left the North Palace, and galloped down the Royal Road to the Great Temple of the Aten in central Amarna in the morning, and returned in the evening, perhaps in a recreation of a tradition temple procession in which divine images would have been carried through the populace (Kemp, 2006: 284). Or, it has been suggested, Akhenaten, appearing like the sun (in his electrum covered chariot), traveled through the city on the Royal Road as if, like the sun, he brought creation to life each day (Aldred, 1988: 131). The processions of his father Amenhotep III were based on boat travel, in the tradition of the ancestors. The inscription of Kheruef (TT192), mentioned above, says that the king insisted the barks were towed “in accordance with writings of old” (The Epigraphic Survey, 1980: 43). “From time immemorial the gods in Egypt had travelled over the waters of heaven in ships” (Aldred, 1988: 130). Akhenaten continued his father’s predilection for processions, but he ‘modernized’ them with chariots, which were also more practical in his new city.

In the rock cut tomb of Ahmes at Amarna (T3), Royal Scribe and Fan-Bearer, there is a badly damaged scene depicting Akhenaten, Nefertiti and one of their daughters, together in a chariot being driven by the king (Davies, 1905b: pl. XXXVa). There had been no evidence of royal daughters in any of the chariots in the Karnak *talatat*, perhaps because they may have been too young at that point. This scene in the tomb of Ahmes, then, is the earliest example of a royal daughter riding in a chariot. The king faces forward, and the queen, slightly in front of him and on his far side, turns to face him. The Aten is directly above them, and one ray holds an *ankh*-sign between their faces. The small princess stands in the very front of the chariot with just her head over the bar, while her left arm rests on a quiver. The reconstruction of the scene clearly shows an object resembling three strands of beads, or decorated leather that looks similar to beads, hanging down from the neckstrap of the horse. In his discussion of the chariots on the Karnak *talatat*, Hoffmeier (1988: 37) pointed out several *talatat* that he said have a *menat* hanging down on the side of the horse. The present author does not see a *menat* in the relevant block in TS 45, and what Hoffmeier refers to in scene TS 1464 is something different than what seems to be on T45, and also not a *menat*. Ikram and Veldmeijer (Personal Communication, 2017) suggest that these are just beads

and are decorative, similar to what is found on horses pulling carriages in Egypt today. In fact, a string of faience decorative beads, with eyes, *wadjet* eyes, and an *ankh*, which functioned to protect the horse, was found in the stable belonging to house N 51.3 at Amarna (Weber, 2012: 214; Markowitz, 1999: 261).

The tomb of the High Priest of the Aten, Meryre I (T4), has a scene of the daily procession from the palace in the north, with the king driving a large chariot, and the queen behind, driving a much smaller one (Davies, 1903: pl. X). Both of their chariots have a circular aperture in the siding fill, and a double front support going from the chariot body to the chariot pole. Their chariots, like all the others in the scene, have a closed bow-case on the side, and the wheels have six spokes. Behind the queen's chariot, two much smaller registers show their daughters and attendants in chariots. The first group in each of the registers is a chariot with two princesses. One drives, holding the reins and whip, while the other stands beside her, right hand grasping a hand-grip which sticks out of the top railing of the chariot, and left arm around her sister. The inscriptions in the tomb of Meryre I have the late epithets given the Aten, and so the princesses may have been older at that time, and able to drive their own chariot, although Redford (1988: 87) warns against believing that the "artist would always faithfully depict the age of his royal subjects". Behind each chariot with the princesses are three chariots with attendants. These chariots are driven by charioteers, who are depicted on the far side of the chariot, hunched over, protruding from a kind of cabin, separating them from the two attendants. Each attendant holds a tall feather fan in the right hand, and holds onto a sticking out handle on the chariot with the left hand (encircled in Figure V.7). This is the only representation of the people in chariots who hold on in such a way and it is not entirely without doubt if the sticking out objects are truly purpose-made hand-grips or not. A partition separating the driver from the other occupants of the chariot is not depicted in any other scenes of chariot drivers from Amarna, however. All of the chariots with the daughters and attendants have siding fill, and there is a small circular cut out hand-grip in the center of the side of the vehicle, just below the top railing. Hand-grips first appear in the chariots at Amarna and are seemingly meant for passengers. Though common in the Amarna Period, they appear only occasionally afterwards. Since the Amarna Period is also when females are first seen in chariots, perhaps hand-grips and female use of chariots are related, although there are images, Amarna Period and just after, showing males using the hand-grips too (see below). At the very bottom of the scene is a register with running military personnel and standard-bearers, as well as five chariots, which seem to be carrying high officials,

Figure V.7. Royal daughters and their attendants in a chariot procession. Amarna. Tomb of Meryre I (T4). From: Davies (1903: pl. XIX).



although the details are not well preserved (Davies, 1903: pl. XX). After the royal family arrives at the temple, Meryre I accompanies them inside. Two drivers are shown waiting with chariots from the retinue traveling with the royal family, and other attendants hold the chariots of the king and queen (Davies, 1903: pl. XXVI). The drivers stand behind the chariot, holding the ends of the reins and bowing toward the king, while two other men stand at the horses' heads, holding the reins by the horses' head. Finally, a scene follows of the royal chariots waiting at the riverside, again with attendants holding the horse at the headstall (Davies, 1903: pl. XXIX). These same two minor scenes are shown in the tomb of Pentu (T5), Royal Scribe and Chief Physician. Four chariots of officials and one royal chariot wait outside the temple, each with one attendant at the back, holding the reins (Davies, 1906: pl. V). Another scene has four chariots waiting near boats on the river (Davies, 1906: pl. VIII).

A somewhat similar procession leaving from the palace can be found in the tomb of Panehsy (T6), the Second Prophet of the Aten, whose tomb inscriptions also have the late Aten epithets (Davies, 1905a: pl. XIII). The king is driving his own chariot, which has a large circular opening in the siding fill. The queen drives behind in a smaller chariot with a closed side panel. One small chariot with princesses, and attendants following is right behind the chariot of the queen, and another is shown below (Davies, 1905a: pl. XV). As in the tomb scene just discussed above, one princess drives and another stands beside and slightly behind her. The attendants are two to a chariot, and the charioteer driver is hunched over, but clearly not separated by a partition. A *talatat* block found at Hermopolis has a similar grouping of attendants (Cooney, 1965: 57), with the driver leaning forward on the far side, but also in this case, there is no partition separating him from the attendants. Redford (1976: 89) has suggested from inscriptional evidence that the *talatat* from Hermopolis seem to have come from a "sunshade of Ankhesenpaaten" and "a house of Meretaten", so processions with attendants would probably be an expected scene type. Note that there are *talatat* blocks depicting attendants restraining waiting chariots with horses (Cooney, 1965: 54, 58). An interesting detail of Panehsy's tomb scene is that in the lower right corner there is a chariot with three individuals: a driver, and two attendants holding sunshades (Davies, 1905a: pl. XVIII). One of the chariots in front of this group has the man standing next to the driver holding on to the hand-grip. On the east side of the south wall of Panehsy's tomb are four registers with minor scenes, each having a waiting chariot; the chariot details are not well preserved (Davies, 1905a: pl. XI).

Elite Work and Reward Scenes

The Chief of Police at Amarna, Mahu, is depicted in other scenes in his tomb (T9) involved with his responsibility for security at the city. In the first scene, on the north-east wall, the king and queen, with one of their small daughters, leave the temple in their chariot, and then are greeted and adored by Mahu as they pass through an area in which Davies (1906: pls. XX-XXII) suggests are gate-like structures with sentries. Other, different interpretations have been put forth, including that these odd structures are platforms with standards (Healey, 2012: 34-37), or else the actual boundary stelae of the city (O'Connor, 1988: 41-52). The royal chariot is entirely closed, has a bow-case at the side, and a single

front support. The wheels have six spokes. Another scene, on the south-west wall, depicts Mahu's role in capturing three criminals, and taking them to the vizier (Davies, 1906: pl. XXVI). In the upper registry Mahu is listening to the news brought by men running up to him on foot. His chariot and driver are waiting. In the lower register, Mahu drives up to the vizier's office in his chariot, reaching out with his left hand to pull on the reins along with his driver (Figure V.8). The chariot is entirely closed, and there is a bow-case on the side. Two other minor scenes with waiting chariots show Mahu and his attendants in front of the palace, and Mahu visiting the temple (Davies, 1906: pls. XVII, XIX).

Huya (T1) was the Overseer of the Royal Harim and Steward of the Great Wife Tiye. One scene in his tomb depicts him accompanying Queen Tiye when she visits the temple with her son, Akhenaten (Davies, 1905b: pl. VIII). A small register showing waiting royal chariots runs under the temple scene (Davies, 1905b: pl. XII). Huya was present at Akhenaten's receiving of foreign tribute from Syria and Kush in regnal year 12. Soldiers are shown bringing in two chariots as part of the tribute. Royal chariots waiting with their drivers are depicted amid the scenes of the foreigners and tribute (Davies, 1905b: pl. XIV). This same scene of foreign tribute in year 12 is depicted in the tomb of Meryre II (T2) (Aldred, 1988: 178-179). In the top register a chariot is shown along with other weapons and armaments, and three registers below, a chariot is shown being carried in and presented (Davies, 1905a: pl. XXXIX). Like in Huya's tribute scene, waiting royal chariots are included as part of the scene (Davies, 1905a: pl. XL). On the back wall of the shrine in Huya's tomb, funerary objects are depicted around his statue, sculpted in the rock. Along with other furniture, in the top left is a chariot (Davies, 1905b: pl. XXIV).

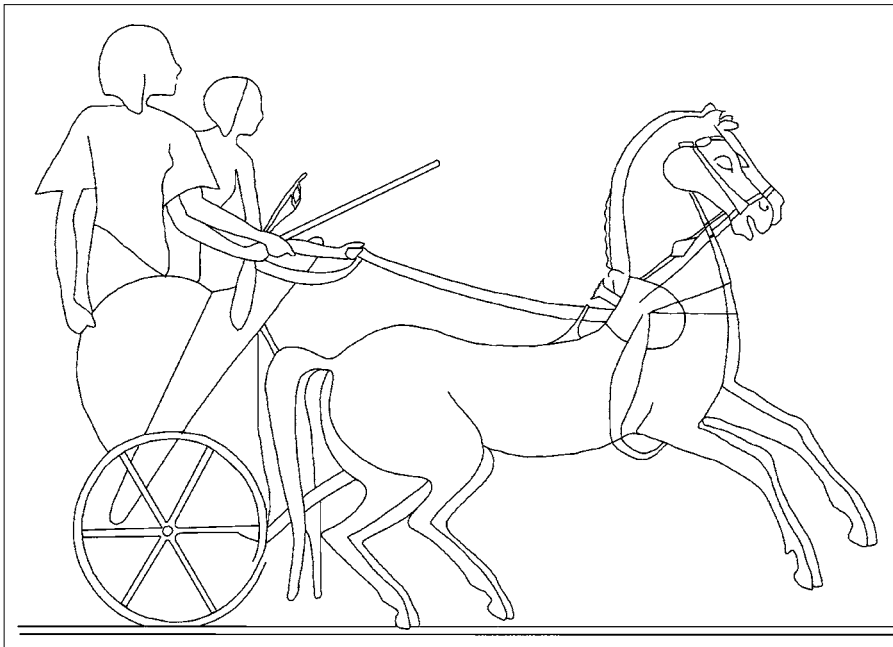


Figure V.8. Mahu chasing criminals, from his tomb at Amarna. After: Davies (1906: pl. XXVI). Drawing by L.D. Hackley.

During the Amarna Period, rather than a single scene displaying the Gold of Honour (*shebu*) being given by the king to the official, the occasion becomes a sequence of scenes. The rock cut tomb of Meryre II (T2), Royal Scribe and Overseer of the House of Nefertiti, contains a good example of such a sequence (Davies, 1905a: pl. XXXIII). Meryre II is standing under the Window of Appearance while King Akhenaten leans over and hands him down the Gold of Honour. Other gold collars are already around his neck. The royal chariots are depicted in two small registers up at the level of the king and queen. They both are entirely closed with a hand-grip as the only aperture. The upper chariot clearly has a decorative band of uraei with discs on their heads along the bottom of the main casing. Both chariots have a bow-case at the side. The wheels are six-spoked. In the register below this, Meryre II, greeted by cheers, returns to his chariot, driver holding the reins. Then in the next register below, amid a jubilant crowd, Meryre II is driven home, standing in the chariot holding the top railing, while a bending over charioteer drives. The chariot has a main casing and siding fill and is thus entirely closed, and the wheels have six spokes.

A similar reward scene appears in the tomb of Parennefer (T7), the Royal Craftsman. Parennefer is shown below the Window of Appearances wearing several Gold of Honour collars (Davies, 1908b: pl. IV). The royal chariots are shown waiting in registers above, opposite the large window. Parennefer's waiting chariot may have been shown, but the scene is badly damaged. However, there is enough preserved to see that he is driven away amid celebrating people (Davies, 1908b: pl. V).

Similarly, in the tomb of Tutu (T8), Gold of Honour necklaces are given by the king, and then Tutu moves away from the Window of Appearances, driving away in his chariot and holding onto the hand-grip (Davies, 1908b: pls. XIX-XX). There are numerous small scenes with chariots in the registers above and below him. For example, in the top register, horses are shown eating out of troughs, with their chariots parked nearby. Two chariots, each with driver and passenger, are galloping along; another scene has a driver starting up a chariot, while another man jumps on.

The reward scene in the tomb of Ay (T25) is also similar to that of Parennefer and Tutu. Ay's chariot is not shown waiting – only those of the king and queen (Davies, 1908b: pl. XXIX). Then Ay is shown being congratulated when he has left the palace. Three waiting chariots with drivers are depicted above this scene, but it is not clear if one of the chariots belongs to Ay (Davies, 1908b: pl. XXX).

A much simpler version of the award of the Gold of Honour is depicted on the stela of Any, found at Amarna (Davies, 1908a: pl. XXIII; Freed, 1999: 173). The stela simply depicts Any returning after receiving the award. He is shown being driven by his charioteer. He stands, wearing four gold collars, holding on to the left side of the chariot, and resting his right hand on the bar of the chariot. The chariot is entirely closed, and there is a bow-case on the side. The wheels have six spokes. In the inscription above him, it states: "I come in peace as the favored one of the king".

Saqqara: Elite Scenes

Two tombs from the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway date to the reign of Akhenaten, and both have scenes including chariots. The tomb of Meryneith, Royal Scribe and Steward of the Temple of Aten in Memphis has a 'sub-scene' of six chariots with attendants as part of the scenes of the funeral ritual (Raven & Van Walsem, 2014: 96, 15). The nearby tomb of Ptahemwia, the Royal Butler, depicts his waiting chariot and driver in a scene of an encampment by the river, probably during an inspection tour (Raven *et al.*, 2007: 26, fig. 8).

V.4. Post-Amarna 18th Dynasty

V.4.1. Royal Scenes of Battle, Victory, Procession and Hunting: Kings Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb

Large and small sized blocks from the interior of the Second Pylon of Karnak Temple, originally part of a structure built by Amenhotep IV were reused by Tutankhamun to build a temple of 'Nebkheprure in Thebes', probably on the East Bank at Karnak (Eaton-Krauss, 2016: 95-101; Johnson, 1992: 34-47). There are fragments of depictions from two battle scenes, one Asian and one Nubian, which were probably placed opposite each other on the walls of an open court. Sixteen blocks have preserved portions of chariots (Johnson, 1992: 156-182), mostly parts of wheels, except for Blocks 50 and 66, which preserve the chariot body. Johnson has reconstructed two scenes: one, the battle with Egyptian chariots against an Asiatic city, including the king in his vehicle and two, the presentation of the spoils of the battle to King Tutankhamun, including his waiting chariot, and three smaller registers of waiting chariots (Johnson, 1992: 187-190).

The procession to Luxor Temple for the Opet festival was carved in relief on the inner walls of the Colonnade Hall during the reign of Tutankhamun. Attendants with the royal chariots are shown among those on the side of the river, accompanying the procession of the sacred barques from Karnak Temple, and then they are being driven in the scene of the return to Karnak from Luxor (The Epigraphic Survey, 1994: pl. LXVIII). The chariots are those typical of the Amarna Period: main casing and siding fill, circular cut out hand-grip just below the top railing, and attached bow-case (The Epigraphic Survey, 1994: pls. XVIII, XXII).

A procession scene with King Tutankhamun driving his chariot was carved on the façade of a tomb at Akhmim, belonging to a man who held the title of Overseer of Tutors (Eaton-Krauss, 2016: 14-15; Ockinga, 1997: pls. 36-39). Although badly preserved, there appears to be a second figure in the chariot, holding a fan. Ockinga (1997: 35) suggests that this person might be Ay, God's Father under Tutankhamun. If the reconstructed drawing of the king's chariot, and the five smaller ones following behind are correct, they all have eight spokes, which is unusual, as six spokes is "the standard with occasional eight-spoked exceptions" (Littauer & Crouwel, 1979: 115). There are only two other examples of eight-spoked chariots wheels in the present work (see the decoration on the chariot body of King Thutmose IV, Section V.2.1. 'Royal Scenes: Warfare, Victory, and Sport', and the field scene in T57, tomb of Ka'emhet, section V.2.2. 'Non-Royal Scenes: Officialdom at Work, Hunting, and Funerals').

After the hunting and sporting scenes of King Amenhotep II, the next known hunting scenes are those of King Tutankhamun. For the most part Tutankhamun's hunting scenes are on objects from his tomb, but there are also two blocks that were found in the Ninth Pylon at Karnak preserving portions of a bull-hunting scene attributed to Tutankhamun (Lauffray, 1979: pl. 120; Sa'ad, 1975: pl. 34). Other blocks possibly show a desert hunt (Eaton-Krauss, 1983; Johnson, 1992: 17). Only parts of the front of the chariot body can be seen. Both the obverse and reverse of Tutankhamun's wooden bow-case (Carter's Number 335; Carter, 1933: 94-97; pl. XXVIII-XXIX) depict the king in his chariot, reins tied behind his back, shooting at fleeing desert game (McLeod, 1982: pls. 9, 14). One side of Tutankhamun's fan (Carter's Number 242; Carter, 1927: pl. LXI-LXII) represents him shooting bustards (Reed & Osborn, 1978: 273-276), usually referred to as ostriches (Houlihan, 1986: fig. 1), in the same manner (James, 2000: 78-79), and on the other side he drives his chariot behind the bearers taking back the kill (Edwards, 1978: 110-113). His chariot has a large, circular aperture in the siding fill and double front supports going to the chariot pole. The lid of Tutankhamun's painted box (Carter's Number 021) has two parallel scenes of hunting game in the desert – lions on one side, and gazelles and other animals on the other. The king is alone in his chariot, shooting with the reins tied behind his back (Carter & Mace, 1923: pls. L-LI; Edwards, 1978: 76- 77). The king's chariot has a large circular opening in the siding fill, while the chariots of his attendants, in two small registers behind him, have entirely closed chariots with hand-grips. The king's horse wears a housing.

From the reign of King Ay is a piece of gold leaf showing the king in a chariot shooting arrows through a copper ingot. The chariot is of the Amarna type with entirely closed body and circular hand-grip. The king drives the chariot with the reins tied around his waist (Davis, 1912: 127, fig. 3).

V.4.2. Elite Scenes

Huy was the King's Son of Kush under King Tutankhamun. In his tomb (TT40) is a scene on the west wall of the Nubian Prince Hekanefer, along with the other Princes of Wawat and Kush, coming with tribute for the king (Davies & Davies, 1926: pl. XXIX). Included in his retinue is a Nubian royal woman brought in a chariot pulled by a pair of oxen (Figure V.9), a mixture of Egyptian conveyance and Nubian animals, discussed by Van Pelt (2013: 536) as an example of "relational entanglement". The chariot is clearly one like those used in Egypt at the time: six spokes, main casing (here elaborately decorated) and siding fill with round cut out hand-grip just below the top railing, and a bow-case attached to the side. The driver bends forward in good Amarna style. One other chariot shown in Huy's tomb appears to be a model one in gold that can be seen in the small registers of offering (Davies & Davies, 1926: pl. 26).

The Gold of Honour rewarding scene in the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT49), dating to the reign of King Ay near the end of the 18th Dynasty, is perhaps the most interesting of all these scenes of royal gifting (Figure V.10). It shows that when a chariot was the conveyance of choice, even in an elite, ceremonial setting its use does not extend to non-royal females. Neferhotep is seen below the Window of Appearance, having been given the Gold of Honour (Davies, 1933b: pl. I). Then he is seen driving away in his chariot, in the same pose as Meryre II in his Amarna tomb (see above), with a charioteer doing the driving. In the scene in the registers



Figure V.9. A Nubian royal woman in a chariot. Luxor. Tomb of Huy (TT40). From: Davies & Gardiner (1936: pl. LXXXI). See also Figure II.1C.

above this, the queen gives Neferhotep's wife the Gold of Honour collar from her own Window of Appearance. When the wife turns to go, an attendant takes her arm, and she is escorted away on foot. She does not share her husband's chariot, nor does she have her own. Females driving and riding in chariots seem to be a prerogative of the Amarna royal family (Köpp-Junk, 2015a).

The tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara was built in the period when he served as Commander of the Army under Tutankhamun. The Saqqara scenes from the time of his military career come from the second court, behind in the statue room, and innermost court. The chariot scenes all come from the second court and fall into two groups: the theme of attendants waiting with chariots in a military setting, and then, on the north wall of the court chariots and their drivers in a westward procession as part of the funeral (Martin, 1976: 15; 1989: pls. 120-123; 1991: 79). This funeral scene is very much like the one in the Saqqara tomb of Meryneith (see V.3.2. 'Saqqara: Elite Scenes'). In the military scenes there are a total of six chariots in four small scenes. On a block in the Berlin Museum (AM 20363), which came from this part of the tomb, an attendant sits backward on the floor of a chariot parked on a stand (Martin, 1989: pls. 28-29). Three other blocks, one in Bologna (1889) and two still preserved on the tomb wall, depict attendants, holding reins and whips, standing with chariots attached to their teams of horses (Martin, 1989: pls. 32, 94). All of these chariots have closed bodies, circular aperture (the position relatively far below the top railing rules out it is a hand-grip), bow-cases and six spoke wheels (Figure V.11).

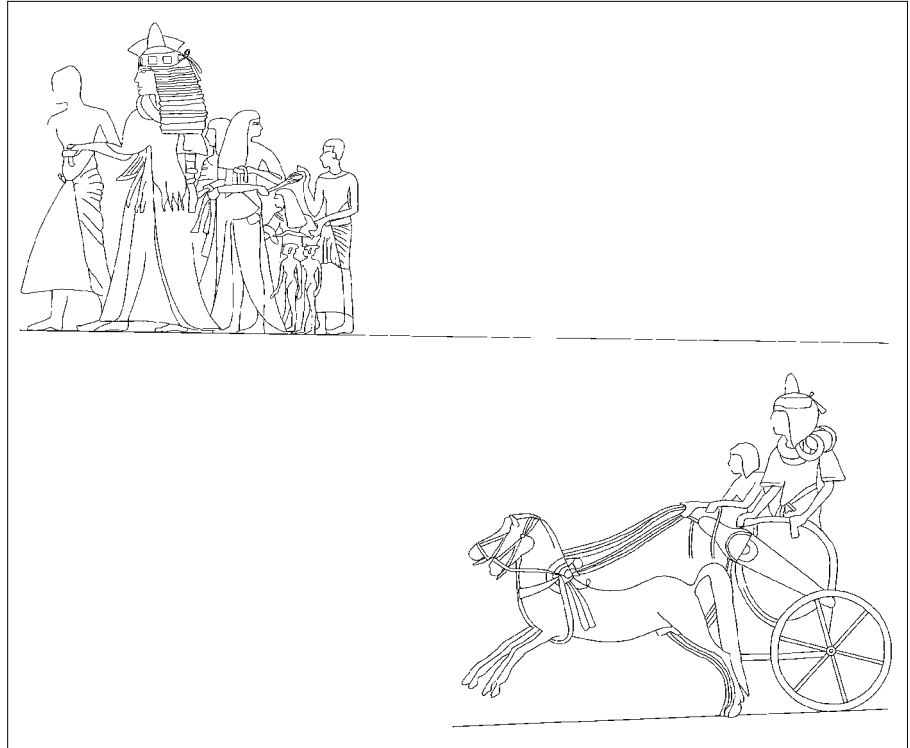


Figure V.10. Neferhotep (TT49) and his family after receiving the Gold of Honour. After: Davies (1933b: pl. II). Drawing by L.D. Hackley.



Figure V.11. Attendants with chariots. Saqqara. Tomb of Horemheb.

There are two blocks in the Yale Art Gallery that are likely to have come from Saqqara, and have been dated to the late 18th Dynasty, based on the similarity of the carving style to that in the tomb of Horemheb (Manassa, 2002: 257, note 8, pls. 14-17). Each block has a fragment of registers with offering bearers; one depicts a man pulling a chariot by its pole, with another chariot in front of him, and the other just preserves a chariot body. The chariots have bodies with decorated edges of the main casing, and a small hand-grip at the usual spot. Each has a bow-case and quiver on the side, so these chariots are probably part of a military-related scene.

V.5. Ramesside Period

V.5.1. Royal Scenes

Extensive narratives of ancient Egyptian military expeditions and victories decorated temple walls in the Ramesside Period. The entire story of a military expedition unfolded in carved and painted relief portraying the march, the battle itself, the resulting slaughter of the enemy, the victorious king, and the return home with booty. Johnson (2009: 31) concludes that the Ramesside narratives were “the culmination and final flowering of a much longer tradition, which was in full flower by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty”. The bulk of these scenes belong almost, if not entirely, to Kings Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III, and they are very stereotypical showing the king and his soldiers in chariots attacking and the victorious king returning in his chariot (often dragging along captives). The discussion that follows will focus on presenting particular scenes or details in these larger battle narratives, many of which seem to be innovations of Ramesside Period artists.

One such scene is the motif of the smiting king, who steps over the front bar of the chariot and onto the chariot pole. The earliest evidence known for this is in the reign of Seti I of the 19th Dynasty. In his battle against the Libyans, depicted on the north outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Temple, Seti has caught a Libyan by the neck with his bow, and is stepping and swinging with his *khepesh* sword (The Epigraphic Survey, 1986: pl. XXVIII), and he also steps over onto the chariot pole in his attack on Yenoam (The Epigraphic Survey, 1986: pl. XI). There is a similar scene in the temple of Beit el-Wali, carved in year 13 of Seti I, while Ramesses II was still crown prince (Figure V.12). Ramesses II steps onto the chariot pole while grasping his bow and the hair of two Bedouins in one hand, swinging his *khepesh* with the other (Ricke *et al.*, 1967: pl. 13). Ramesses II is shown doing this in the damaged war scenes on the south outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as well (Gaballa, 1969: 17-18).

Ramesses III is also depicted in this stance. He steps onto the chariot pole swinging his *khepesh* when storming the town of Tunip (The Epigraphic Survey, 1932: pl. LXXXVIII), and when spearing wild bulls in the swamp as well, which can be seen on the back of the south wall of the First Pylon at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey, 1932: pl. CXVII, CXXX). The latest known example of this scene is found on an ostrakon from the reign of Ramesses IV of the 20th Dynasty (Heinz, 2001: 323). The king is stepping onto the chariot bar while grasping foreigners with his left hand. His right arm is down by his side, but it is not clear if he is holding anything in it.



Figure V.12. King Ramesses II stepping onto the chariot pole. Temple of Beit el-Wali.
Photograph by L. Sabbahy.

Another type of scene that first appears in the Ramesside Period is that of the king watching the ‘counting of the hands’ after a battle. Near an Egyptian outpost, such as on the Way of Horus, the king stands in what appears to be a portable Window of Appearance. Out on a battlefield in foreign territory, the king uses his chariot as a throne, and sits in it backward. He is not sitting on the floor of the chariot, but up at the level of the top railing (Sabbahy, 2016: 321-328). The first completely preserved example of such a scene is of Ramesses II after the Battle of Qadesh (Desroches Noblecourt *et al.*, 1971: pl. III, d). The king is shown sitting backward in his chariot, left hand holding reins and bow, while resting on the top railing of the chariot. He gestures with his right hand down to the cut-off hands being piled before him, in three small registers. Two attendants with sunshades stand

on the far side of his chariot team, while two other attendants stand in front of the horses, controlling them. The line of the king's long garment and his foot below, are clear. The bottom of the king's foot is horizontal with the wheel spoke just below it. The latest depiction of such a scene appears to be that of Ramesses III after his first Libyan battle (The Epigraphic Survey, 1930: pl. XXIII). On the south wall of the second court of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, Ramesses III sits backward in his chariot (Figure V.13) in front of four registers; three depict prisoners and piles of hands, and one has prisoners and a pile of phalli (Figure V.14).

The sitting backward in a chariot scene is one that can be recognized just by the detail of a backward foot extending down over a chariot wheel. This is clear in a fragmentary scene from the north exterior wall of the Ramesses II temple at Abydos; only the chariot wheel with the king's feet can still be seen in front of the piles of hands (Naville *et al.*, 1930: pl. 21; Iskander & Golet, 2015: pl. 2.2.23). Sometimes the addition of a captured foreigner, or his head, is part of this 'counting of the hands' scene. On the interior south wall of the second court of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, decorated in the time of Ramesses II, the preserved relief breaks along the top of a chariot wheel, before which a pile of hands is being counted. A sandaled left foot, slanting down from above, can be seen through the spokes of the wheel. Just under the king's foot, is the head of a foreigner, seemingly attached under the chariot (Figure V.15).

A detail similar to this can be found in the earlier scene of Seti I's return from a Libyan campaign on the north exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. A rectangular section is marked off on the bottom of the chariot body, and from it, two heads can be seen between the spokes, and a third head stretches up above the wheel. In addition, there is a small head on the top of the linchpin (The Epigraphic Survey, 1986: pl. XXI; see above section V.2.1). A later parallel is found in the captives tied under the chariot of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu when he is shown returning from his Libyan campaign. Not just the heads, but entire figures of captives are shown under the chariot, as discussed previously. Ramesses II's chariot wheel in the Seti I Abydos temple scene is depicted with an axle whose linchpin top is carved with the head of a lion biting the head of a foreigner. This same motif decorates the linchpin of his chariot in the scene at his own Abydos Temple, discussed just above, as well as in the chariot of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, when he is shown setting out on his Libyan campaign, following the chariot bearing the standard of Amun (The Epigraphic Survey, 1930: pl. XVII) (Figure V.16). The chariot is driven by one of the royal princes, and the king follows along behind, driving his own chariot. The two chariots are exactly the same size, and the king and the god's standard are exactly the same height. The inscription accompanying the standard's chariot reads in part: "Words spoken by Amun-Re, King of the God's: Behold, I am before you, my son...I open for you the ways of the Tjemehu" (The Epigraphic Survey, 1930: pl. XVII). The god Montu was shown in a chariot with Thutmose IV, discussed above, helping the king with steadying his aim with the bow, but this scene at Medinet Habu is the only known example of a divine standard driven in a chariot. The only other scene of a deity in a chariot is possibly the god Shed, the 'protector' or 'savior', known from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Brunner, 1983: 547-549). A small limestone fragment from the Amarna Period preserves the figure of a nude young man with a side lock, in a chariot with reins around his waist, pulling back a bow (Brooklyn Museum Acc. No. 36.965). Brunner (1984: 49-50) has identified the



Figure V.13. King Ramesses III sitting backward in his chariot. Medinet Habu. Photograph by L. Sabbahy.

figure as Shed, rather than as a young prince, such as Tutankhamun, as Romano (1983; 1991) has claimed. Indeed, there are other depictions of Shed from Amarna on stelae from the tomb chapels east of the Workman's Village (Peet & Woolley, 1923: 97, pl. XXVIII).

One last, rather small detail about chariots dating from the period of Ramesses II to his successor Merenptah should be mentioned: the use of a chariot umbrella or canopy. The most outstanding example of such an umbrella appears in the Battle of Qadesh scene at the temple of Abu Simbel. Behind and below Ramesses II sitting in his camp near Qadesh, an attendant stands behind the king's chariot, holding the reins (Desroches Noblecourt *et al.*, 1971: pl. IV). On a single pole,

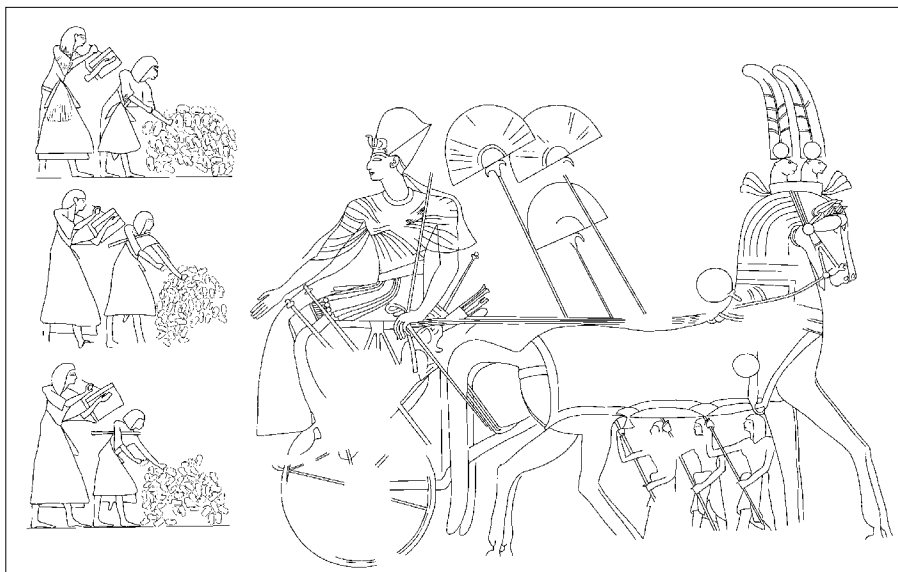


Figure V.14. Ramesses III seated backwards in his chariot, counting trophies. Medinet Habu. After: *The Epigraphic Survey* (1930: pl. LXXVI). Drawing by L.D. Hackley.

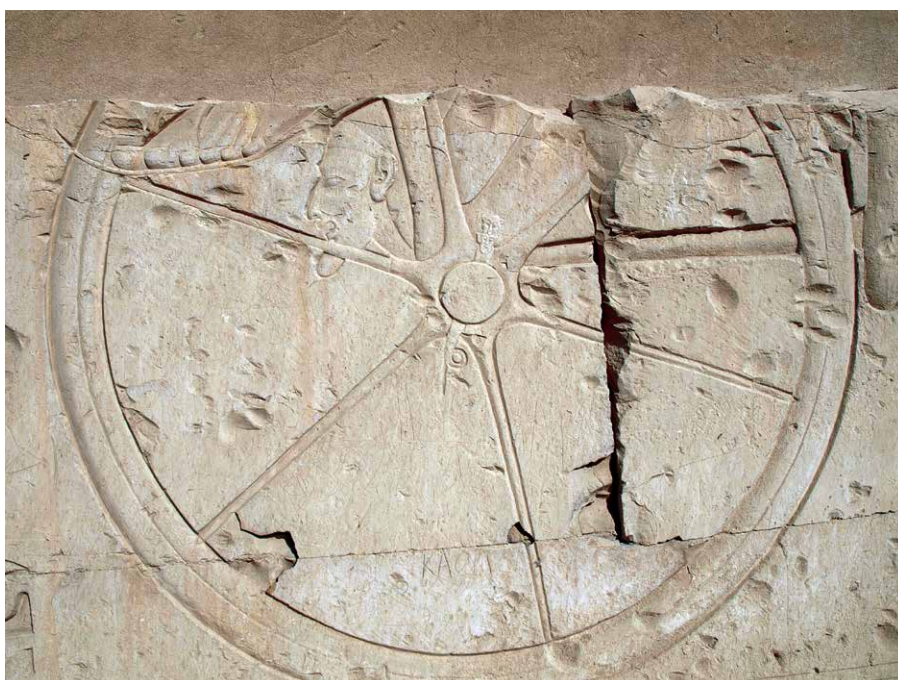


Figure V.15. A wheel of Ramesses' II chariot in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. The king's foot shows that he is sitting backwards. Note the head and foreigner and linchpin with a lion biting a human head. Photograph by B. Taylor Woodcock.

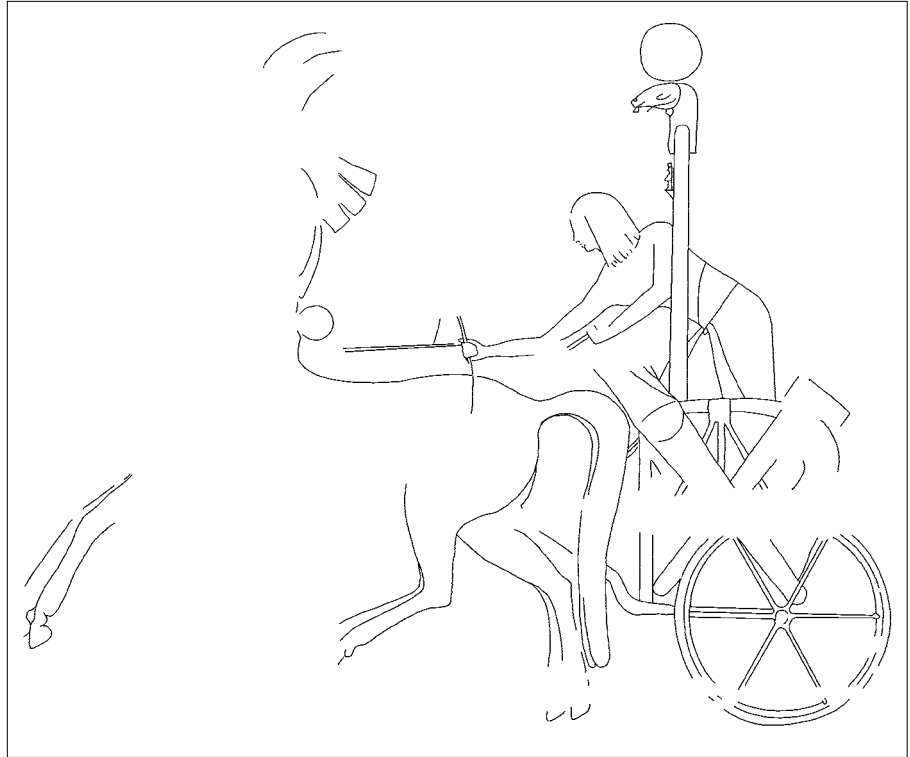


Figure V.16. Standard of the god Amun in a chariot. Medinet Habu. After: *The Epigraphic Survey* (1930: pl. XVII). Drawing by L.D. Hackley.

which seems to come from the center front of the chariot body, is a round-topped umbrella topped by a vulture holding feathers in her claws. A fringed edge hangs down from the umbrella cloth. A comparable umbrella can be seen in a similar scene on the west wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Iskander & Golet, 2015: pl. 2.1.13) although the vulture cannot be seen. Brock (2013: 39, fig. 10) published a photo of a similar umbrella on the west wing of the First Pylon of the Luxor Temple, another place Ramesses II decorated with scenes from his Battle of Qadesh. There is one last example this author knows of from the war scenes of Merenptah on the west wall of the *Cour de la Cachette*. There is a block with Merenptah's son, Crown Prince Seti, driving a chariot with a similar umbrella shading him (Brand, 2004-2005: 5).

Brock suggests that the wooden frame and bars from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter's Number 123 [and 095b]; JE 60705), generally accepted as a stand to hold up a canopy over the king, was actually to be put on the so-called 'State Chariot' (Carter's Number 122) (Brock, 2013: 35-36). This chariot was probably only used in slow moving processions, or as an "impromptu audience pavilion" (Brock, 2013: 41). Certainly this rather cumbersome frame, if it was associated with a chariot, could not have functioned in the same way that the Ramesside umbrellas on a single pole, discussed just above, did.

V.5.2. Non-Royal Depictions

There is only very limited representational evidence for chariots in non-royal contexts in the Ramesside Period, because in this period tomb decoration focuses on religious scenes (Dodson & Ikram, 2008: 252). However, there are a few tombs that still include scenes of the official's professional life. The tomb of Chief Steward of Amun in Thebes and Overseer of the Granaries, Amenemopet (TT41), dates to the very late 18th or the early 19th Dynasty (Binder, 2008: 119). A scene on the top of the northeast wall depicts him amid standing in a chariot with a bow-case on the side. He holds on to the railing, while a much smaller figure drives (Assmann, 1991: pl. 31). He arrives and enters his home.

The Theban tomb of the High Priest of the cult temple of Thutmose I, User-het (TT51), dates to the early 19th Dynasty. User-het is depicted leaving the temple while being greeted by members of his family (Binder, 2008: 120). In a small upper register, his chariot driver waits, standing and holding the reins while in discussion with another man. The chariot seems to have a completely closed body, with round hand-grip, and a bow-case is on the side.

Blocks from Saqqara from lost or unknown tombs of the early Ramesside Period have scenes of chariot production or use. One example is that of Kairy, Chief of Chariot-Makers (Grajetzki, 2001; Herold, 2003), known from blocks found by Quibell in a church foundation. There are workshop scenes with finished chariots being carried, pulled, and lined up. Other blocks found by Quibell, from a lost tomb of Apuia, show a workshop scene with a chariot wheel being made, and a possible scene of military training including a chariot (Quibell & Hayter, 1927: pls. 12-13). A miscellaneous block shows a finished chariot on a stand (Martin, 1987: pl. 10, 32). Another block, also from Saqqara, shows a king's [royal?] Scribe Tjay, being driven by a charioteer, while he holds onto the top railing with his left hand, and the charioteer's arm with his right (Cooney, 1965: 52; Martin, 1987: pl. 26, 72).

V.6. Conclusion

Chariot depictions first appear in Egypt in the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. Although both kings and elite officials used chariots, until the reign of Amenhotep II, there are only a few damaged, representations of chariots at the royal level. An elite tomb scene with a chariot is known from the reign of Amenhotep I, and by the time of Thutmose III, scenes of officials' chariots are numerous. These scenes with elite chariots have a fairly wide range of subjects, such as: inspection of fields, meeting Puntites on the Red Sea coast, loaded on a boat to travel with their owner, being made in workshops, brought as tribute to the crown, carried with other funerary objects to be placed in their owner's tomb.

It is really not until the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten that royal scenes with chariots become common, and then it is almost always in the context of a procession, not only of the royal family, but also with a myriad of attendants and military personal. Perhaps it was the importance of roads in the layout of the city of Amarna, along with Akhenaten's seeming fixation on ceremonial procession that brought about this change. The scenes in elite tombs at Amarna, although focused on the activities of the royal family, depict a wide variety of elite chariot use: accompanying the royal family's procession, returning from being rewarded

with the Gold of Honour, getting about on official business, as well as two tribute scenes including chariots as gifts, and one of the chariot as a funerary object.

Depictions of royal chariot use become extensive in the cult and mortuary temple battle scenes of the Ramesside Period, while their appearance in elite contexts, in terms of scenes, wanes. This, of course, must have been influenced by the change in elite tomb decoration, which becomes almost entirely religious. Particularly under Ramesses II of the 19th Dynasty, and Ramesses III of the 20th, battle scenes predominate in the exterior decoration of temples. Since Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, is the last major pharaonic temple structure of the New Kingdom, this fact itself probably explains the disappearance of large scale military scenes, including depictions of chariots, but should not be taken as evidence that, therefore, chariots disappeared from the lives of the Egyptians either.