Studies in the Lexicography of Ancient Egyptian Buildings and their parts.

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to attempt to clarify the meanings of the various terms used by the ancient Egyptians to describe the architectural elements which constituted an Egyptian temple. It consists of discussions of a total of fifty-seven nouns which have, in the past, been translated by general terms such as "shrine", "hall", "column" and "wall". Each of the terms is discussed individually, and the entries are arranged according to the order of the Egyptian alphabet.

Each entry consists of a detailed review of the evidence for the history and development of the meaning of the term, comparing, where possible, the textual evidence with the plans of surviving temple-remains. The etymology of each term, if known, is noted together with any relationship it may have had to a similar term in another language. Each discussion is preceded by examples of the various hieroglyphic writings of the term at different periods.

Most of the terms studied in this work have never before been thoroughly investigated, and even those which had been studied previously were often still poorly understood and, in some cases, mistranslated. The main result of this study has been to trace the developments and changes in meaning of the terms included, and for some terms it has been possible either to suggest new translations or to produce further evidence in support of a previously-suggested translation which had not gained general acceptance.
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LDT Lepsius, C.R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text, 5 volumes, (Berlin, 1897-1913).

MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo.

MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.

Piehl, Inscriptions; Piehl, K., Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies (en Europe et) en Egypte, 3 series, (Leipzig, 1886-1903).


FSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.


Rec. de Tray. Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes pour servir de bulletin à la mission française du Caire.

Rev. d'Eg. Revue d'Egyptologie.

SAK Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.


Simuhe. Blackman, A.M., Middle Egyptian Stories, (Brussels, 1932), 1-41.

Urk., I, Sethe, K., Urkunden des Alten Reichs, (Leipzig, 1903-1933).


Urk., III, Schäfer, R. and Steindorff, G., Urkunden der Alteren...
Äthiopenkönige, I, (Leipzig, 1905).


Urk., VI, Schott, S., Urkunden Mythologischen Inhalts, I, (Leipzig, 1929).


ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
Introduction

The value of lexicographical studies into the language of the ancient Egyptians was stressed by Gardiner in the preface to his Onomastica and also in a review-article on the first two pages of the Wörterbuch. In the latter study of only twenty words Gardiner found "all but three urgently calling for further elucidation" and stated; "In my considered opinion lexicography is among the most important tasks still confronting the student of the Egyptian language in its various phases".

Despite this, very few lexicographical studies have been undertaken since, and only two major works in this field have been published; Harris's "Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals" and Graef's "Untersuchungen zur Wörterfamilie būš". Harris, in the introduction to his study stresses the continuing need for further lexicographical research.

There are many categories of terms for which a comparative study would be of great value. This work concentrates on those nouns which were applied to the elements which constituted an Egyptian temple. The original intention was to undertake a review of terms relating to all the different types of building in ancient Egypt, religious, secular and funerary. It soon became apparent, however, that this would involve the inclusion of almost five-hundred terms; a number far too great to be studied in the detail required to trace the history of each term and elucidate its meaning. The nouns applied to elements in temple architecture were selected as they appeared to be those most likely to provide rewarding results. The reasons for this are self-evident. There are many more extant texts which describe Egyptian temples than which deal with houses or palaces, and there are more surviving temples than any other type of building. It has, therefore, been possible to compare contemporary descriptions of temples with the standing monuments, showing a far greater degree of accuracy in the application of the terminology than might have been expected.

There have been several valuable studies on terms for temple-parts. Some of the nouns included here are discussed in Gardiner's commentary to the Onomastica and a list of architectural terms, with their usual translations, is given by Badawy. Christophe
has studied those terms which occur in Papyrus Harris I and Posener-Krieger those which are found in the Abusir Papyri. Another valuable work is Barguet's study of the temple of Amun at Karnak. In addition, there are many detailed discussions of individual terms to be found in commentaries on the texts in which they occur. These are too numerous to be listed here but each is noted in the appropriate place.

One main problem confronting any lexicographer, particularly when dealing with an ancient language, the knowledge of which was lost for many centuries, is the varied nature of the textual evidence that is available for study. Although a large amount of written material has survived from ancient Egypt, it can only be a fraction of what once existed, with the result that a term may seem not to have been in use at a particular period when, in fact, the type of text in which it occurs simply has not survived. For the temple-terms under discussion here, this is particularly true of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

Another problem is that it is necessary to assume that each term did have a specific meaning originally and that the ancient writers usually, if not always, applied it correctly. This may not have been the case, but without these basic assumptions any lexicographical study would be impracticable.

New words which entered the Egyptian language subsequent to the Twentieth Dynasty have been excluded from this study, although the history of pre-existing terms has been traced down to the Ptolemaic period. Words which came to be used to describe administrative departments, rather than actual built structures, have also been largely omitted, since they would require a separate study of a different nature. The main exceptions to this are pr and hwt which could not be excluded from a work on temple-terms.

Since the terms discussed here are arranged alphabetically, they have been omitted from the Egyptian Index. The only other indexes of value to this work seemed to be one of architectural hieroglyphs and a Topographical Index.
1 Gardiner, Onom., I, ix-xxi.
2 Gardiner, JEA 34 (1948), 12-18.
3 Ibid., 17.
4 Ibid., 12.
5 (Berlin, 1961).
6 (Cologne, 1971).
7 Harris, Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, 9-18.
8 The exception to this is, of course, Egyptian funerary monuments, tombs and pyramids. Terms which relate specifically to such structures were among the first to be omitted from this study since they form a distinct group and require separate investigation. Mortuary temples, since they, by and large, conform to the standard plan of an Egyptian cultus-temple, have been included.
9 Gardiner, Onom., II, 204*-219*.
11 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 17-29.
13 Barguet, Temple, passim.
This word occurs twice in one fragmentary inscription of the Fifth Dynasty. The translation given by the Wörterbuch is "Teil eines Tempels? oder ein Gerät?", and the suggestion is made that it may be connected with a verb 3\textsuperscript{a} "to build"\textsuperscript{2} which is, however, found only in Late Egyptian texts.\textsuperscript{3} There could also be a connection between this 3\textsuperscript{w} and another 3\textsuperscript{w} which seems to have been a container for writing materials.\textsuperscript{4} This second 3\textsuperscript{w} was current in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and was, therefore, contemporaneous with the term under discussion.

In the Fifth-Dynasty inscription mention is made of; "///, established under the 3\textsuperscript{w} of this hwt-ntr///" and "///,(I) built the 3\textsuperscript{w} (but I) did not lay the sawt///".\textsuperscript{5} Since the verb kd "to build" is used with 3\textsuperscript{w}, it is likely that it does refer to a part of the temple rather than to an object within the building. The use of the preposition hr and the comparison with "flooring" (sawt)\textsuperscript{6} would suggest that 3\textsuperscript{w} may have been a term for a ceiling or roofing. If this were so then a connection with 3\textsuperscript{w} "box or container" would be indicated.

1 Urk., I, 181, 9; 10 (Quibell, Saqqara, 1907-8, pl.LXI, 3.)
2 Wb., I, 3, 9.
3 Ibid., I, 2, 13.
4 Ibid., I, 3, 7-8; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 1.
5 Urk., I, 181, 9; 10.
6 See s3t, below p. 213-214.
\hbox{3h\text{tyw}}

Dyn. XII 1

3h\text{tyw}, known only in the plural, occurs twice in Pap. Reisner I from Naga ed-Der although the full writing is not preserved. One example shows the form quoted above while the other is completely lost except for the 3h hieroglyph. The word was discussed by Simpson in his publication of the papyrus 3 where he decided that it was not the same word as the singular 3h\text{yt} 4 which has been translated as "stockyard" 5 and "stillroom". 6 Simpson then suggested that 3h\text{tyw} was a term used to describe the innermost part of a temple, which included, in this case, the rooms 't 'st, 't ëpsat and kÌ l\text{ibty}. Only the last named is linked with 3h\text{tyw} in the papyrus, in the phrase kÌ l\text{ibty} n 3h\text{tyw}. 7

Further evidence is needed before a definite decision can be made on the meaning of this term but, since 3h\text{y} was used to describe Egyptian temples 8 and was also used in their names, 9 Simpson's suggestion may well be correct.

1 Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, pl.13, G, 6.
2 Ibid., pl.15, I, 4.
3 Ibid., 69, 3.
4 Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten, III, pl.93, No. 218; pl.94, No. 245; Smith H.S., The Fortress of Buhen, the Inscriptions, pl.LI (B.M.65739).
5 Hayes, JNES 10 (1950), 92.
7 Simpson, op. cit., pl.13, G, 6; pl.15, I, 4.
8 Wb., I, 14, 10.
9 Wb., I, 14, 13; Gauthier, Dict. Geog., I, 6-10.
Although 1wn is not often found in texts describing particular columns before the New Kingdom, the form of column depicted is a very ancient one. The sign was used with the phonetic value of 1wn at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty in the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum where the hieroglyphs are drawn in great detail and coloured a reddish-brown, indicating that the 1wn column, as one would have expected, was originally made of wood. The column sign continued to be used as phonetic 1wn, for example in place-names such as 1wnw and 1wnnt.

The word 1wn was also used in contexts which were logical extensions of the original meaning of "column". It came to be used figuratively in such expressions as; 1wn n fnd to describe the bridge of the nose, 1wn knmt, a priestly title, 1wn mw.t.f, an epithet of Horus and also a priestly title and alone to describe a man as being the "pillar" of his family. 1wn was also used in one papyrus as the name for the shaft of an obelisk.

The type of column represented by 1wn was described by Gardiner as a "column with a tenon at the top" and, more fully, by Petrie as a "fluted eight-sided column with a tenon on the top to fit the lintel". The characteristic vertical lines which are found on detailed depictions of the 1wn would support Petrie's theory that it was originally applied to fluted columns, although these lines could also indicate the reeded or polygonal types. Both reeded and fluted columns occur in the Third-Dynasty enclosure of the Step Pyramid of King Djoser and although the reeded variety did not recur the fluted column continued to be popular into the Middle Kingdom. In the New Kingdom the fluted column was used mainly in Nubia, while the polygonal variety increased in popularity within Egypt proper. Since the fluted column is a more ancient type than the
polygonal the original šmn columns must have been fluted. However fluted and polygonal columns are very similar in appearance and are both quite distinct from the plant-form columns. It is thus to be expected that šmn would describe fluted or polygonal columns where it is possible to relate a text containing the word to actual remains. Neither the Wörterbuch 25 nor Faulkner 26 specify the column-type involved.

The earliest texts which mention šmn do not refer to specific buildings 27 so that it is not possible to identify the forms of the columns. However šmn has been found in a number of building inscriptions of the New Kingdom which refer to columns which can be identified.

Architrave fragments from the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai mention sandstone šmn. 28 The architraves would seem to have come from the "Shrine of the Kings" in which a similar architrave, also mentioning šmn, was found. The columns in this "shrine" are described by Petrie as "fluted". 29

The polygonal and cylindrical columns of the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple at Buhen 30 are called šmn 31 as are the polygonal columns of the temple at Amada 32 which are so described in the stela of Amenhotep II 33 and on one of the columns. 34 The parallel stela, from Elephantine, also mentions šmn and, although the actual temple plan has not survived, architectural fragments, including column drums, bearing the name of Amenhotep II were found to have been re-used on the islands of Elephantine and Philae. 35 The column drums were from sixteen-sided polygonal columns.

A block of Tuthmosis IV which was found within the Third Pylon at Karnak refers to a šm n hr n šmn or wrid phr.w n šmn. 36 Many blocks of this king were found in the fill of the Third Pylon and it has been suggested that these came from a hall situated before the Fourth Pylon. 37 In such a position it would have had to have been removed when the Third Pylon was erected in the reign of Amenhotep III. There do not seem to have been any columns of Tuthmosis IV in the pylon to which šmn could refer although blocks have been found which Barguet estimated would constitute between twenty and thirty square pillars. It is possible, but improbable, that šmn was used to describe these pillars in which case it would have to be assumed that šmn had become a general word for a "column" or a "pillar".
Two descriptions of the temple of Seti I at Abydos almost certainly use ỉwnw in this general way to include all the columns of the
temple. The halls of the Osiris suite are called ỉwnyt but the
columns within, which are cylindrical, are not themselves named.

In the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera ỉwn is determined
with a single-stem papyriform column and so would seem again to
refer to columns in general rather than to a specific type. Erichsen
notes only one occurrence in demotic of ỉwn as a pillar and the
word did not survive into Coptic.

In origin ỉwn must have been used to describe a fluted column
and, if more building inscriptions of the Old and Middle Kingdoms had
survived, then there would surely have been instances where fluted
columns were described as ỉwnw. Within Egypt the fluted variety was
rarer in the New Kingdom and ỉwn was transferred to the polygonal
column which is very similar in appearance. At the same time and par-
ticularly in later periods, ỉwn became a more general word for a
column of any description.

1 Pyr., 524d.
2 Sinuhe, E.196.
4 Ibid., pl.IXXIX, 317, a.
5 Caminos, Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script, pl.10, 3, 4.
6 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, pl.95, 4; Urk., IV,
819.7; 1296.1;2; Černý, op. cit., pl.LXXIV, 310, a.
7 Chevrier, ASAE 51 (1951), 572, fig.8.
8 KRT, I, 186, 10.
9 Gauthier, La grande inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos, 5, line 32
of the text.
10 Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatempsps, pl.XI, 3.
11 Petrie, Medum, pl.X; XIII and frontispiece.
12 Gardiner, Cnom., II, 144*, 400.
13 Ibid., 30*, 343.
15 Crum, PSBA 16 (1894), 135.
16 Wb., I, 53, 16; Capart, ZÄS 41 (1904), 88.
17 E.g. Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 69, 23; 74, 4.
Plugged columns were still found, although less often, in Egypt. (ID, I, 83. The temple of Mut at Karnak).

Possibly 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰 describes the rock-cut pillars of the tomb which, although very roughly cut, are, in the majority of cases, polygonal in cross-section and so could have been called 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰. (See plan; ibid., pl.I and photographs ibid., pl.V.)

An inscription within the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla, presumably describing the tomb itself, mentions 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰. (Vandier, Moalla, 232, Insc. No.11, V, <, 4.) This is a difficult text, full of obscure mythological references, and it is not possible to be certain as to what was intended. Vandier (op. cit., 236, note g.) suggested that 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰 was part of a compound noun, 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰-𝐩𝐫𝐰, "... 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰 désigne les montants, en pierre, de l'encadrement de la porte et prw...... peut-être, les pièces de bois qui bordaient verticalement les battants de la porte et qui les consolidaient." Possibly 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰 describes the rock-cut pillars of the tomb which, although very roughly cut, are, in the majority of cases, polygonal in cross-section and so could have been called 𝐢𝐰𝐧𝐰. (See plan; ibid., pl.I and photographs ibid., pl.V.)

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33 Urk., IV, 1296.1.
34 Barguet and Dewachter, op. cit., pl.XXXIV, 75.
35 Borchardt, Beiträge Bd. 2. Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang, 44-45 with abb.13; De Morgan, Cat. Mon., I, 113.
36 Chevrier, ASAE 51 (1951), 572, fig.8; Chevrier, ASAE 52 (1954), pl.VIII.
37 Barguet, Temple, 94-96. For the latest views on the nature of this building see; Letellier, Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 51-71.
38 See further under ỉwnyt, p.18-19.
39 KRI, I, 186, 10; Gauthier, loc. cit.
40 KRI, I, 162, 12; 162, 14; 165, 14; 169, 5.
41 Dümichen, loc. cit.
42 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 23 (citing Griffith and Thompson, The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, II, pl.XIII, 3.)
The *Wörterbuch* translates *iwnyt* as a "pillared hall" or "columned hall" while Faulkner describes it as a "pillared hall". Neither dictionary specifies the type of column concerned although one would expect a *iwnyt* to have been, a priori, a hall or court containing the polygonal or fluted *iwn* columns. As has been noted previously the *iwn* column was a very ancient type, although the word has not survived in many texts earlier than the New Kingdom. The same is true of *iwnyt*. Apart from the isolated example from the Tenth Dynasty, all of the known occurrences are from the New Kingdom. It can be assumed that the word was in use in the intervening period, the Middle Kingdom, although no texts which describe the building of a *iwnyt* have been preserved.

The earliest known *iwnyt* can not be identified. The word occurs in the tomb of Kheti at Siut where the deceased is promised that his name will be forever in the temple of Wepwawet and his memory will be fine in the *iwnyt*. This was presumably a hall or court in the local temple of Wepwawet but no more positive identification is possible.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty *iwnyt* was used by Tuthmosis I to describe the colonnaded court which he erected behind the Fifth Pylon at Karnak. A dedication inscription still survives on one of the sixteen-sided columns which was later enclosed by masonry of Tuthmosis III. Here the court is described as being "a noble *iwnyt* which adorns the two lands with its beauty." Before this area was altered by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, the *iwnyt* was a large open court encircled by a colonnade of polygonal columns and Osiride statues. It was, thus, a true *iwnyt*, containing *iwn* columns.
However this is not true of another hall of Tuthmosis I at Karnak, that situated between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons, which was described by Hatshepsut as a 1wnyt on the base of one of the obelisks which she erected in the middle of the hall. The text tells of the erection of the two obelisks "in the noble 1wnyt between the two great pylons (benty wrty) of the king". This hall was originally built by Tuthmosis I, although no dedication inscriptions of his referring to this hall, have survived intact. The biography of Ineni is, unfortunately, damaged at the point where one would expect the description of the 1wnyt to occur, immediately before that of the pylons which are said to be "on its two sides". Sethe, in Urkunden IV, has restored the damaged text to read [s 'h 1wnyt epsst m w3dy]. This could be correct as a feminine noun is certainly required but both w3dyt and wsht were also used to describe the same hall and either of these could be restored in place of 1wnyt. The name of the hall in the reign of Tuthmosis I could not, in any case, be established by this text since Ineni lived on into the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III and may have used a contemporary term which was not the name originally given to the hall when it was erected. However this hall was regarded as a 1wnyt by Hatshepsut so one can only conclude that it was then taken to be a general word for a colonnaded hall as the columns of this hall were papyriform, not polygonal or fluted.

The Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut, where the queen describes her benefactions for the gods, mentions their 1wnyt (in the plural) implying that a 1wnyt was a characteristic part of each temple. The word also occurs on two building ostraca of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

1wnyt is found on the parallel stelae of Amenhotep II from Amada and Elephantine. At Amada this refers to the colonnaded court immediately behind the pylon which contained polygonal 1wn columns and was, therefore, a 1wnyt. The temple of Amenhotep II at Elephantine also contained polygonal columns, parts of which were later reused on the same island and on Philae, so that, although the plan of the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple has not yet been recovered, it is not unreasonable to assume that the 1wnyt at Elephantine was a colonnaded court similar to that at Amada.

The sandstone blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were found in the fill of the Third Pylon at Karnak also bear the term 1wnyt on certain
architrave inscriptions. These blocks must have come from an edifice of some size, whether it was a hall within the temple proper or a separate building. The texts describe it as a wsht 'st and a wsht hft-hr m lnr mnḥ m rwdt phrw m ḫnw as well as a ḫnwyt. The reports of the recovery of these blocks give no indication that there were any polygonal columns, or parts thereof, found; the only columns which were discovered are square in section. It is possible that the blocks which mention the ḫnwyt and the ḫnw are not from the same building as the square columns but, as the blocks have not yet been adequately published, the nature of the ḫnwyt can not be ascertained.

Finally the columned halls of the Osiris suite of the temple of Seti I at Abydos are both described as ḫnwyt. The columns in these halls are not polygonal or fluted but are circular in section with flattened faces for hieroglyphic inscriptions and are, therefore, not dissimilar in appearance to the original ḫnw column. Such columns, which do not have capitals, could be regarded as a simplified form of the polygonal ḫnw.

Since the ḫnw column, and consequently halls or courts containing such columns, ceases to be common in Egyptian temples after the New Kingdom, one would not expect ḫnwyt to continue in use. This does, indeed, seem to be so. ḫnwyt is found in neither Ptolemaic nor demotic and does not recur in Coptic.

On the present evidence ḫnwyt can be regarded as having been current only in the period from the Tenth to the Nineteenth Dynasties, although it is probable that it was in use from the Old Kingdom as the ḫnw column certainly existed then. It is also likely that it was more widely used in the Middle Kingdom than can be proved at present.

Essentially a ḫnwyt was a hall or court containing ḫnw columns. The main exception to this is the hall between the Fourth and Fifth pylons at Karnak which, although it underwent several changes in design in the Eighteenth Dynasty, never seems to have contained ḫnw columns. It must, therefore, be assumed that the term could also be used for a pillared hall regardless of the column-type involved.

2 *Urk.*, IV, 92, 10; 1295, 16.
3 Urk., IV, 365, 3.
4 Ibid., 384, 5 (see also Gardiner, JEA 32 (1946), pl.VI, 5).
5 Urk., IV, 1174, 15; Gardiner and Černý, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XXII, 1, recto, 6.
6 Urk., IV, 1295, 15.
7 Unpublished architrave from the sandstone building, blocks from which were found in the Third Pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak and are now in the north-east corner of the enclosure. Barguet (Temple, 95) notes that this building was called q, a writing which I, during a brief inspection of these blocks, was unable to find (see further under note 33 below). For details of the blocks so far published see PM, II, 72 which, however, wrongly equates the sandstone building of Tuthmosis IV with the wooden-roofed porch before the door of the Fourth Pylon.
8 As note 7.
9 KRI, I, 165, 14; 169, 5.
10 Ibid., 162, 12 and 14.
11 Wb., I, 54, 2.
13 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 290.
14 Griffith, loc. cit.
15 For a plan of the temple in the reign of Tuthmosis I see; Borchardt, Baugeschichte, 9, abb.7.
16 A photograph of this column is published by Borchardt, op. cit., 8, abb.6 where it is wrongly labelled as "hinter Pylon 4".
17 Urk., IV, 92, 10.
18 Ibid., 365, 3.
19 Traces of original texts of Tuthmosis I can be seen on some of the columns which were reused by Tuthmosis III (Borchardt, op. cit., 10-11; Barguet, op. cit., 98).
20 Urk., IV, 56, 1.
21 Ibid., 55, 17.
22 Ibid., 157, 13; 158, 8; 374, 11; 1328, 1-3.
23 Ibid., 1331, 11.
24 Borchardt, op. cit., 11.
25 Urk., IV, 384, 5.
26 Ibid., 1174, 15; Gardiner and Černý, loc. cit.
27 Urk., IV, 1295, 15 and 16.
28 Barguet and Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada*, II, pls. XXXII-XXXIV.
29 Borchardt, *Beiträge Bf. 2. Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, 45, abb. 13; see also De Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, I, 113 where one druh appears to be cylindrical but Borchardt, having inspected it himself, states that it is polygonal.
31 Barguet, op. cit., 95.
32 Chevrier, *ASAE*, 51 (1951), 572, fig. 8; Id., *ASAE* 52 (1952), 250, pl. VIII.
33 The architrave inscriptions are incomplete and read as follows:
34 *ASAE* 28 (1928) - 59 (1966).
35 *KRI*, I, 162, 12 and 14; 165, 14; 169, 5.
36 Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III, pl. 2 and 51.
'Iwnn is essentially a term of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. If it was in great use before and after the New Kingdom, then the evidence has not survived. One isolated example is known from the Middle Kingdom which, however, gives little indication as to the meaning of the word. It occurs on a leather roll in a hieratic text which describes work of Sesostris I in the temple of Heliopolis, including statues in the 'Iwnn of the gods. No determinative is used to help with the identification of the type of temple or shrine involved.

Unfortunately few of the occurrences of this term are at all instructive. In the majority of cases the 'Iwnn is described as belonging to a god or gods so it must have been some kind of cult-place although further information about the nature of the 'Iwnn is lacking in such texts. There are, however, a small number of examples which can provide a little more detail concerning the 'Iwnn.

Several texts suggest that 'Iwnn could be used for a small shrine within which the cult image of a god could sit. In only one text is the term actually determined with such a shrine and, in fact, the determinative is the only sign preserved. The rest of the word has been restored as 'Iwnn, although this restoration is not absolutely certain. This "great [Iwnn] in Nubian ebony" has been identified with the ebony shrine from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari although a text on the shrine itself describes it as a Sh-ntr. It is possible that this one shrine could have been called by both names. Sh-ntr was often used for the cult-shrine of a temple.

Another text in which 'Iwnn may refer to a shrine for a cult-image mentions each god being "in the 'Iwnn which he has desired." In other contexts, however, 'Iwnn is certainly equated with an entire cultus-temple. This is particularly so with the temple of Amun
at Karnak where 𓊨𓊪𓊢𓊪 is used to describe the entire temple 𓊨 where with the temple of Seti I at Abydos 𓊨 where the "Osiris Suite" is also called a 𓊨. 𓊨

In the Eighteenth Dynasty an unidentified temple or shrine called 𓊨𓊪𓊢𓊪 is described as a 𓊨 in a building inscription of Tutankhamun III from Karnak while, on a block from the sanctuary of Hatshepsut, a building of the same name is listed within a hwt-encl.

Further texts would seem to indicate that 𓊨 could also be used of the temple-complex since it could be provisioned with wild fowl and endowed with property and offerings.

It is likely that 𓊨 originally had a specific meaning and referred to one particular kind of shrine or temple. However, the examples which have survived indicate that, from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards it was used primarily as a synonym for other "shrine" or "temple" words and no more specific translation than these two terms can be supported.

𓊨 occurs in Ptolemaic texts by which time it has acquired an ending in 𓊢 but it is not found in either demotic or Coptic texts.

1 Stern, ZAS 12 (1874), 89.
2 Urk., IV, 16, 1; 279, 11; 384, 2; 612, 5; 2027, 9; 2029, 3; 2107, 2; KRI, I, 42, 3-4.
3 Urk., IV, 166, 3 (partially restored); 299, 3; 618, 12; 834, 2; 854, 9; 1259, 18; Artyon, Currelly and Wiegall, Abydos, III, pl. XXI, No. 1; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl. XIX, c; KRI, I, 131, 2; 154, 5; 155, 8; 164, 11; 203, 5; Naville, Goshen and the Shrine of Saft El-Henneh, pl. 5, 1, 2; Berlin Königlichen Museen, Ägyptische Inschriften, II, 226.
4 Urk., IV, 423, 16 (only the determinative is preserved, see note 12).
5 Ibid., IV, 1673, 6; 1957, 12.
6 Mariette, Denderah, II, pl. 34, a.
7 Ibid., II, pl. 82, c.
8 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 18, 44.
9 Urk., VIII, 16, d; 30, c.
10 Stern, loc. cit.
11 E.g., Urk., IV, 16, 1; 279, 11; 299, 3; 1673, 6; 1957, 12; 2107,
2; Ayrton et al., loc. cit.; Berlin Königliche Museen, loc. cit.

12 Northampton et al., Theban Necropolis, frontispiece.

13 *Urk.*, IV, 423, 16.


15 Naville, *Deir El-Bahari*, II, 1-4; pls.XXV-XXIX.

16 *Ibid.*, 3; pl.XXVII.

17 See below, sch-nfr, p.252ff.

18 *Urk.*, IV, 384, 2.

19 *Ibid.*, IV, 612, 5; 618, 12; 834, 2; 854, 9; *KRI*, I, 203, 5.


21 *KRI*, I, 155, 8; 164, 11.

22 For discussions of the evidence relating to this shrine or temple, see: Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, I, 84, § 138; Nims, *JNES* 14 (1955), 114; below, hwt-nfr, p. 182.

23 *Urk.*, IV, 166, 8.

24 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 84, § 136.

25 *Urk.*, IV, 476, 7.


28 *Wb.*, I, 55, 12 describes ḫmn as "Wohnung (o.s.) eines Gottes" while Faulkner (Con. Dict., 13) gives "sanctuary".

29 Mariette, *Denderah*, II, pls.34, a; 82, c; Chassinat, loc. cit.

The last example is quoted by the *Wörterbuch* (Belegstelken, I, 10 (ref.55, 13)) as the only writing of ḫmn to refer to individual temple rooms. The word is written with the "hare" sign (Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign List, E.34) instead of the "bubalis" (*Ibid.*, E.9), and could, therefore, be a writing of wnt (*Wb.*, I, 315, 1). The text in question refers to "every ḫmn/wnt of the hwt-nfr".
As can be seen immediately from the writings quoted above, ตำบล is an ancient word which is found in all stages of the Egyptian language, including in the demotic script. It does not, however, occur in Coptic in which the main words for "wall" are COB and XOB derived from sbty and xoε from dryt.

Etymologically one would expect ตำบล "wall" to be derived from a verb of the same stem meaning "to enclose" or "to wall in" and such a verb is known, but, unfortunately, so far only in a text of the Eighteenth Dynasty. There is also a feminine noun ตำบล which was a term for some kind of fortress.

The earliest writings of ตำบล seem to show a buttressed enclosure rather than a wall and it has, accordingly, been suggested that the "wall" sign originally represented a rectangular enclosure. Later writings which use the ideogram were depicted in less detail and seem to have been interpreted as walls.

Since the same hieroglyphic sign was used as the determinative for other wall-nouns (and also of related terms, such as the verb oklyn "to build") when the sign is used as an ideogram it is often impossible to be certain as to which term is intended. This can be illustrated by an Eighteenth Dynasty example in which the siege-wall built by the army of Tuthmosis III around the town of Megiddo is described in one text as an ตำบล wmtt in others as a sbty or a sbty n wmtt while a final text uses ตำบล . In view
of the fact that the adjunct is \( n\ wmtt \) and not just \( wmtt \) it would seem preferable to take this as a writing of \( sbty\ n\ wmtt \). The use of \( \text{ín} \) to describe a siege-wall at Megiddo is unique. More usually the term was used for the walls of a town or a temple.

It would seem to be likely that \( \text{ín} \) was used for all kinds of walls, from the brick walls of private houses to the stone walls of temples and massive enclosure walls around a town or temple. However, as usual, the surviving textual evidence relates primarily to monumental architecture. There are several texts which use \( \text{ín} \) to describe the walls of private houses\(^{33}\) once in contrast to the town enclosure wall, \( sbty \).\(^{34}\) \( \text{ín} \) could also be used for the walls around a garden\(^{35}\) and those of a storehouse.\(^{36}\)

As the name of a town wall \( \text{ín} \) occurs at a very early period. The first known occurrences of the term are in the name of the city of Memphis, \( \text{ín} \ \text{bü-Hy} \),\(^{37}\) which, presumably refers to the walls of the town. Other town walls which are called \( \text{ín} \) are at Lash\(^{38}\) Thebes\(^{39}\) and Megiddo,\(^{40}\) where the walls of the town are distinguished from the encircling siege-wall erected by the besieging Egyptians. It is possible that \( \text{ín} \) was used for a town-wall at all periods although \( sbty \) seems to have been preferred, particularly from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.

\( \text{ín} \) was most frequently used to refer to the walls of temples, both the large brick enclosures\(^{41}\) and the stone walls of the temple proper.\(^{42}\) In the case of some examples it is not possible to be certain as to which of these was intended.\(^{43}\)

The term also occurs in the names of fortresses such as \( \text{ín} \text{bü-Hs},\) "Walls of the Ruler",\(^{44}\) which was a fort on Egypt's eastern frontier, and \( \text{ín} \text{bü-mm-m-ht},\) "Walls of Amenemhat (III)"\(^{45}\) which was probably the name of a fortress in Nubia.\(^{46}\)

There is little that can be usefully added concerning this term. \( \text{ín} \) was the most common word for a wall particularly in the earliest periods and it was in continuous use until the hieroglyphic script was abandoned. Its basic meaning of "wall" cannot be doubted, even if the ideogram, which was later interpreted as a wall, originally represented an enclosure. It is possible that some of the examples in which the ideogram alone is used and which have been treated here as writings of \( \text{ín} \), are, in fact, writings of other wall-nouns
but, since ḫnb is the most ancient and also the most common word for a wall, this is unlikely.

1 Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pl.XXIII, 193 (in the name of Memphis, ḫnb ḫḏ).
2 Garstang, Maḥṣa and Bête Khallâf, pl.IX (also in ḫnb ḫḏ).
3 Junker, Gīza, I, 252, abb.63; pl.XL, b.
5 Pierret, Inscriptions du Louvre, II, 29 (Louvre C.15); Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 67, 6; Urk., IV, 173, 17; 834, 15; 1041, 15; 1330, 3 and 4; LD., III, 152, b; 170; 171; Christophe, BIFAO 60 (1960), 78.
6 Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), 10-11 (of autographed text); Urk., IV, 1864, 11; LD., III, 194, 24; Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl. 14, 2; Traunecker, in Karnak, V, 1970-1972, 142, fig.1; Urk., III, 47, 14.
7 Caminos, Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script, pl.10, 3, 4.
8 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 44-45; pl.XII, 17, recto.
9 Nandville, Das Ägyptische Todtenbuch, II, pl.CXXXVIII; Urk., IV, 1235, 14 (omitting x).
10 (In plural), Ibid., IV, 1295, 3.
11 Ibid., IV, 1650, 15.
12 KRI, I, 186, 4.
13 Gardiner, Cn9m., pl.XIIIA, 1.
14 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 69, 7 (with ← added); 25, 7 (with − added).
15 Urk., III, 26, 15.
16 Erman and Wilckën, ZÄS 38 (1900), 129.
17 Chassinat, Edifou, I, 328.
18 Fakhry, ASAE 34 (1934), 89 (see also; Traunecker, op. cit., 147, No.19 and 149, note 7).
19 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 35.
21 Cerny, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 148. See also sbty, below p.238ff.
22 Cerny, op. cit., 753b-754a.
23 Cerny, op. cit., 309.
24 Wh., I, 95, 11 (untranslated). Faulkner, (Con. Dict., 23) translates
as "to wall off (a place)". The verb occurs in the Karnak decree of Horemheb, in which the king describes the inspection and organization of the country (Urk., IV, 2155, 11).

25 Wb., I, 95, 10.
26 Scharff, Archäologische Beiträge zur Frage der Entstehung der Hieroglyphenschrift, 18-19; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.36.
27 See, for example, writings of sbty, snt, tsmt, etc.
28 Wb., V, 74.
29 Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), pl.IV, 14 (Urk., IV, 1254, 9).
30 Ibid., 184, 16; 894, 17.
31 Ibid., IV, 661, 4. See also; Ibid, 758, 12-13 (sbty swmt). For further discussion of these terms with regard to the siege-wall at Megiddo, see; Grapow, Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten, 56-57, and sbty, below p.239.
32 Urk., IV, 767, 11.
33 Pierret, loc. cit.; Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose, pl.VI, 9.
34 Urk., III, 26, 15.
36 Ibid., IV, 1350, 3 and 4; Wreszinski, Der Papyrus Ebers, 203, 17; Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), 11, P.10096, 12.
37 Petrie, loc. cit.; Garstang, loc. cit. See also; Wb., I, 95, 6-7; Gardiner, Onom., II, 122*-123*, Sethe, Beiträge zur Altesten Geschichte Ägyptens, 121ff.
38 Caminos, loc. cit.
39 Leclant, Montuemhat, 88; pl.XXIV.
40 Urk., IV, 1235, 14.
41 Ibid., IV, 173, 17; 765, 16; 1295, 3 and 4; 1864, 11; Christophe, loc. cit.; KRI, I, 186, 4; LD., III, 152, b; Traunecker, op. cit., 142, fig.1; Fakhry, loc. cit.; Erman and Wilcken, op. cit., 124-125; Maspero, ZÄS 23 (1885), 5; Daressy, ASAE 19 (1920), 164.
42 Hayes, loc. cit.; Urk., IV, 1650, 15; LD., III, 170; 171.
43 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 29, 14; 68, 16; 69, 7; Macadam, loc. cit; Erman and Wilcken, op. cit., 129; Montet, Kemi 8 (1946), pl. V (after p.40).
44 Simue, B.17.
45 Heizer, Excavations at Karima, IV-V, 509, fig.343, No.30.
46 Hintze, ZÄS 91 (1964), 84. See further below, snb(t), p. 248.
47 'Inb (spelled 'inbt) occurs in the Onomasticon of Amenemope, after sbty (spelled sbtt) and tsmt (Gardiner, Onom., pl.XIIA, 1). Gardiner (Ibid., II, 213* [446]) expressed some doubt as to whether this was a writing of Inb "wall" or Inbt "fortress", but in view of its position in the list, and also taking into account the fact that sbty also has an extra t, it is almost certainly to be understood as Inb.
The 'ɔ' column was a light wooden one with a tenon at the top, by which it was set into the architrave. The exact form is depicted in Old Kingdom inscriptions, both as the hieroglyph with the phonetic value 'ɔ', and as the supporting column of the booth. These "tent-pole" columns were used principally to support light structures such as the covering of a ship's cabin or a kiosk and, consequently, the term occurs only rarely in hieroglyphic building inscriptions.

This column-type must be a very ancient one since the sign is used as phonetic 'ɔ' on a jar-seal of the Early Dynastic Period and the column itself was often depicted, from the Old Kingdom onwards, in representations of cabins and kiosks.

In a mythological context 'ɔ' occurs in Spell 60 of the Coffin Texts, in a very corrupt passage, and also in Chapter 159 of the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom. Jequier thought that 'ɔ' in the latter example referred to the amulet which is depicted at the head of the chapter. However, this is referred to throughout as and is unlikely to have had two names. Budge regards this 'ɔ' as the word for a door-leaf rather than the column.

Fortunately there are also more tangible examples of the term. The earliest is a title of the Middle Kingdom, "the decorator of columns". These could have been made of stone but are more likely to have been of wood. The only known stone columns of this type occur in the festival hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak and it is gratifying to find that these are described as 'ɔ'.

A damaged text on one of the columns records that the king erected 'ɔ' and the determinative of the term (which is used for the festival hall, shows that the columns were of the form. These columns may also have been described as 'ɔ' although this reading
is not certain.

Although these are the only monumental stone ḫw which have been found, it is possible that others were erected by Ramesses III. In a hymn to Amun-Re in the king's temple at Karnak Ramesses claims to have made for the god " службы in stone / / in your wb3." The columns of the temple itself are all either Osiride or stylised papyriform-clusters. However, the expression ṭ wb3.k indicates only that the columns were within the temenos of Amun so that they could have been anywhere at Karnak, or even, if wb3 is taken in its widest sense, on the west bank.

Papyrus Harris I records a more typical example of the use of ḫw as the supports of a shrine on a barque. The term was still in use in the Ptolemaic period, occurring both at Edfu and Denderah. In the latter case ḫw is determined by a w3q-column so that it must be assumed that the term has come to be used with the general meaning of "columns".

The Wörterbuch defined ḫ as a pillar of wood or stone, as part of a building or a ship. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to define the term as a wooden column used primarily to support ship's cabins or shrines since the stone examples are so few.

This term does not recur in either the demotic or Coptic stages of the Egyptian language.

1 Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, pl.XII, I, 1, 3.
2 Be Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 253, d and f; Urk., IV, 857, 17; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Ramses III's Temple within the Inclosure of Amun, pls.22, A, 18; 23, A, 18 (dual).
3 De Buck, op. cit., 253, d.
4 Loc. cit.
5 Loc. cit.,
6 Ibid., 253, f.
7 Lepsius, Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter, pl.76.
8 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 51, 15; 51, 16 (with instead of ḫw).
9 Mariette, ëmchorh, III, pl.37, 1.
10 Chassinat, ëmforh, I, 554.
11 Petrie, Medum, pl.XIII; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.29; Davies, N[orman] de G, Ptahhotep, I, pl.XII, 250.

12 Petrie, loc. cit..

13 Jéquier, BIFAO 9 (1911), 69-70; Id., BIFAO 19 (1922), 8-10. For actual examples of the $\alpha$-column used in this way, in the Khufu boat, see; Abu Bakr and Mustafa, Beiträge Bf., 12, Festschrift Ricke, pl. 6.


15 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl.91, 346, bis.

16 De Buck, op. cit., 253.

17 Lepsius, loc. cit..

18 Jéquier, op. cit., 9.

19 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Translation volume, 287.

20 Griffith, loc. cit..

21 For photographs of these columns see; Jéquier, L'architecture, I, pls.50-51.

22 Urk., IV, 857, 17.

23 Ibid., IV, 856, 8.

24 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x+3. See also below, p.284-285.

25 Chicago University, loc. cit..

26 Ibid., pl.3.

27 Ibid., pl.31.

28 See below, Wb3 p.68.

29 Erichsen, loc. cit..

30 Chassinat, loc. cit..

31 Mariette, loc. cit..

32 Wb., I, 164, 10.
The hieroglyphic sign which was used as an ideogram for 𓊀 and as a determinative for 𓊀 itself, as well as for other related terms, is a representation of a typical Egyptian door-leaf. Such leaves were usually made of wood, as is indicated by the horizontal planks shown on the more detailed depictions, although they could, particularly when employed in religious architecture, also be plated with metal. An Egyptian door-leaf turned on pivots set into indentations in both the threshold and lintel of the doorway. Examples of such doors have survived so that there can be no doubt as to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic sign. In addition tomb-scenes show men at work on the manufacture of door-leaves of the same form as the hieroglyph.

The term is attested from the beginning of dynastic Egypt to the Ptolemaic period, although it does not seem to have recurred in texts written in either the demotic or Coptic scripts.

Obviously a word for a door-leaf could not have existed until the building of permanent dwellings had become a regular practice, presumably in the late predynastic period. In the earliest dynasties the term is found most frequently in titles although this is, undoubtedly, merely a reflection of the nature of the inscribed material which has survived from the early dynastic period.

In texts from the Old Kingdom, however, 𓊀 is used with its regular meaning of "door-leaf," made of wood in a private house or a palace and of stone in a royal pyramid. In the same period the term came to be used for the lid of a sarcophagus, a logical extension of its original meaning.

This term is found meaning "door-leaves" in tombs of the First Intermediate Period and for a private house at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.
In texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards, the term 3w are described in greater detail. The 3 of the first door (ebs) of the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan was of cedar of Nega and was six cubits high while two stelae of the Second Intermediate Period tell how temple 3w which had fallen into ruin were replaced.

In the building texts of the New Kingdom, 3w occurs most often to describe the large monumental door-leaves in Egyptian temples. These could be the leaves of the pylons and major doorways at Karnak and elsewhere, of rock-cut temples like that of Pakht at Speos Artemidos or of smaller shrines belonging to various gods.

Temple door-leaves, like those in smaller buildings, were normally made of wood, and then decorated with various metals. The leaf could also be covered entirely with sheets of beaten metal, usually copper, which led to it being described as an of copper. It is possible that some of these door-leaves were made of cast metal, but this method of manufacture was probably reserved for the smaller doors of shrines and naos. The usual wood employed was a coniferous wood, although Nile acacia was also used. The metals could be bronze, electrum, gold and copper which is the most common.

Most Egyptian doors were double-leaved, consequently 3 is often found in the dual form 3w and also in the plural 3w when, for example all the door-leaves of a temple are intended.

After the New Kingdom, 3 continued to be used of temple door-leaves and also those of private houses. References to the latter are rare since texts describing private dwellings are not often found.

Surprisingly the term did not survive into either demotic or Coptic, although Fecht and Westendorf suggest an Egyptian original of tpy-3 for the Coptic 3 door-lintel. Using, however, has refuted this suggestion, preferring to regard the noun tw as the etymological ancestor of 3.

The term does not appear to have ever been used for any other element of a doorway, other than the leaves.

1 Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, pl.XXX; Cf., Petrie, Royal Tombs, I, pl.XVIII, 4 (in dual form).
2 Ibid., I, pl.VII, 9.
3 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl.97, 391.
This is the simplest form of the hieroglyph and it is found throughout Egyptian history. It is, however, possible that many of the writings quoted here show greater detail than is indicated in the publications. This writing occurs in singular, dual and plural forms. Kaplony, op. cit., III, pl.89, 388; Urk., I, 107, 3; 237, 3; Pyr., 1266c (with !); Vandier, Moalla, 232, V, \( \alpha \), 1; pl. 20; Petrie, Koptos, pl.12, 3; Urk., IV, 53, 15; 387, 3; 388, 11; 476, 1; 1249, 14; 1295, 3 and 4; Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x+16 and x+17; KRI, I, 43, 2; 141, 8; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.11, a and b; Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl.XIII, 47; Vercouter, BIFAO 49 (1950), pl.III; Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 7; Urk., II, 68, 3; VIII, 33; 39/40, 2; 115, 143, 1.

5 Petrie, Deshashash, pl.XXI; Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire, et de la XIeme Dynastie, 46, 11; Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199; pl.XVII, 10 (with !) and 12; Urk., IV, 56, 9 (with !); 168, 2; 422, 10; 424, 17; 1233, 4.

6 Urk., I, 121, 14; Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 46, 10; Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.14, 3;

7 James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.26, 9; De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 71, 16.

8 Urk., IV, 159, 11; 168, 16; 169, 17; 423, 2.

9 Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 147, 4; Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.XXIV, 10 (with !); Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 9 (pl.); 30, 15 (pl.); Müller, Liebespoesie, pl.5, 12 (dual).

10 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.31.

11 For constructional details of ancient Egyptian door-leaves see; Koenigsberger, Die Konstruktion der Ägyptischen Tür, 13-24.

12 See, for example, the well-preserved leaves from a shrine of Toueris, now in Moscow in Monuments of the Alexander II museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, pl.XIII (no author or editor is given, for the Russian title of the book see Bibliography, p.315).

13 Petrie, loc. cit.; Hassan, Giza, II, fig.219 (facing p.190)

14 Kaplony, op. cit., III, pl.89, 338; 97, 389; 391, 399; 109, 570; 47, 176 (this last is interpreted by Kaplony as a part of a name, \( \text{iery-awy} \) (Tbid, II, 1115) but could it be a title (\( \text{i} \)x\( \text{y} \)) \( \text{awy}? \) Compare the common title \( \text{iry-\text{awy}} \) (Wb., I, 164, 17).

15 Urk., I, 121, 14.

16 Ibid., I, 237, 3.
17 Ibid., I, 107, 3.
18 Wb., I, 164, 22. E.g., Urk., I, 106, 15.
19 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 46; 10 and 11; Vandier, op. cit., 232, v, 1; pl. 20.
20 James, loc. cit.
21 De Buck, loc. cit.
22 Petrie, Koptos, pl. 12, 3; Helck, loc. cit.
23 Urk., IV, 36, 9; 168, 2-5; 169, 17; 170, 1-2; 423, 2; 424, 17;
   476, 1; Nims, loc. cit.
24 Urk., IV, 388, 11; 422, 10; 1249, 14.
25 Ibid., IV, 387, 3; KRI, I, 43, 2.
26 Urk., IV, 168, 16; Abd El-Razik, loc. cit.; Erichsen, op. cit.,
   6, 9; 30, 15.
28 E.g., Urk., IV, 388, 11 et al.
29 Koenigsberger, op. cit., 24.
30 Urk., IV, 168, 2-5 and 16; 423, 2; 1295, 3 and 4; et al.
31 Gardiner, Nom., I, 8, note 1.
32 Urk., IV, 387, 3.
33 Ibid., 423, 2; 1249, 14.
34 Ibid., 170, 2; 422, 10.
35 Ibid., 168, 4; 476, 1; Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 6 (ktm).
36 Urk., IV, 387, 3; 422, 10; 388, 11; Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 9; 30,
   15; KRI, I, 141, 8; Mariette, op. cit., 3, 4; et al.
37 E.g., Mariette, loc. cit.; KRI, loc. cit.; et al.
38 Urk., IV, 424, 17; 388, 11; et al.
39 Caminos, loc. cit.; Vercoutter, loc. cit.; Daressy, loc. cit.
40 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl. XXIV, 10; Müller, loc. cit.; Urk.,
   IV, 1233, 4.
41 Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 251; Fecht, Wortakzent und
   Silbenstruktur, 103-105.
42 Curn, A Coptic Dictionary, 443b.
43 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 635.
44 See below, two, p. 276-277.
This curious term is clearly a compound of the dual form of "door-leaf" and the true meaning of which was "mouth" but which could also be used to mean "opening" or "entrance". Logically, therefore, one would expect to describe a "double-leafed entrance".

The earliest example of the term would certainly seem to indicate this. It comes from the description of the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan. "An of six cubits of cedar of Nega to be the first of the tomb. An of five cubits and two palms for the of the which is within this tomb." The "first door" with an of six cubits is the doorway between the portico of the tomb and its main hall. This had only one pivot for a single-leafed door (1). The is the name of the "shrine" at the rear of the tomb, the entrance to which from the main hall was through a doorway which had pivots on either side, proving that this was a double-leafed door (c).11

A further example from the Middle Kingdom occurs in the Book of the Dead. "As for this it is by which my father, Atum, proceeds to the eastern horizon of heaven." The text has an Eighteenth Dynasty parallel.12

A building inscription from Karnak of the Second Intermediate Period king, Sebekhotep IV, describes "a of ten cubits in fine cedar of the Lebanon, with worked in gold and silver." This door cannot now be identified, but it can be assumed to have been double-leafed.

Writings of this term from the reign of Ramesses II are paralleled by writings of showing that the two terms are synonymous. These double-doors were between the portico and the first hall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. The vertical texts on the door-bands describe the doorway as "a in black copper, banded with copper and gilded with electrum" while the horizontal texts have,
"a sb3 in black copper, '3wy in electrum." 17

The final example of '3wy-r comes from Papyrus Harris I, in which a granite shrine at Heliopolis is described as having '3wy-r made from a copper-alloy. 18

Although there are so few examples of this term, there can not be any doubt that its meaning was "doubé-leafed door" 19 and it was in fact a synonym of '3wy. This may be the reason for the infrequent use of '3wy-r since the simple term could be employed with exactly the same meaning.

1 De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 72, 1.
2 Urk., V, 28, 1.
3 Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199; pl.XVII, 10.
4 Urk., V, 28, 1.
5 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.11, a and b (vertical texts).
6 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 52, 13.
7 Wb., II, 389-392.
8 Although r can often be translated as "entrance" this is simply an extension of its original meaning of "mouth". It was not usually employed to describe an actual doorway or any of its components and has, therefore, been omitted from this study. One text in which r does seem to have had a more "concrete" meaning than usual is from the regency of Philip Arrhíaeus when work was carried out on the w'bt of the Falcon at Athribis including six 'hwvt which had "..... in Tura limestone and..... '3wy in true cedar" (Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 6). In this case r must mean "door-frame".
9 De Buck, loc. cit..
10 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, 52; pl.XXIIIA, (main doorway).
11 Ibid., 53; pl.XXIIIA, (doorway to shrine).
12 Urk., V, 28, 1.
13 Ibid., V, 28, 13.
14 Helck, loc. cit..
15 For plan see; PM., VI, 32.
16 Mariette, loc. cit..
17 Ibid, II, pl.11, a and b (horizontal texts).
18 Erichsen, loc. cit..
19 The term is translated by Wb., I, 164, 15; II, 390, 11 as "die Flügel der Tür" and by Faulkner (Con. Dict., 37) as "the two leaves of the door".
It is generally agreed that this term, which is found in only a few
texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, is a loan-word of
semitic origin.\(^7\) It occurs most often in Papyrus Harris I where it
is given as a part of an enclosure wall, along with \(\text{tkrw}\) and \(\text{tsmwt}\).
The most useful occurrence from this text is in the description of the
enclosure wall (\(\text{sbty}\)) of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu
which had "\(\text{rwt} \text{ and tkrw in sandstone}\)".\(^8\) This is the only temple wall
described in the papyrus which does not have \(\text{tsmwt}\). The mortuary
temple of Ramesses III had two brick enclosure walls, the outer one
of which was lower than the inner and was faced with stone on the side
facing the cultivation. It was surmounted by turrets which straddled
the wall.\(^9\) It would seem likely, therefore that these turrets are
either the \(\text{rwt}\) or the \(\text{tkrw}\).

The other descriptions are of temple enclosure walls which have
not survived.\(^{10}\)

In the account of the travels of Wenamun, the Egyptian tells how
he found the ruler of Byblos "seated (in) his \(\text{r}\), his back turned
to a window".\(^{11}\) This is the only writing of \(\text{r}\) in the singular and
is usually understood to refer to an "upper chamber".

Finally the term occurs in a description of the city of Pi-Ramesse,
"Beautiu of windows (\(\text{s}\)), radiant with \(\text{rwt}\) of lapis lazuli and
turquoise."\(^{12}\) Caminos has translated the word in this passage as
"halls".\(^{13}\)

Both Borchardt and Helck\(^{14}\) translate \(\text{r}\) as "\(\text{S\öller}\)" and note
its relationship to the semitic verbal stem "to climb". In view of
this connection it would seem that the \(\text{rwt}\) at Medinet Habu could
well be the turrets on the top of the wall.\(^{16}\) It can only be assumed
that the other enclosure walls which no longer exist had similar
turrets. When used in other contexts an \(\text{r}\) could have been either
a balcony or a chamber situated at a height within a building.

1 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 28, 13.
2 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 3-4.
3 Ibid., 4, 10-11.
4 Ibid., 68, 13.
5 Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), pl. II, x+5. This writing occurs in a badly damaged text, relating to restoration work of the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, at Karnak. For Sauneron’s discussion of this writing, which may not be ‘rt, see Ibid., 15.
6 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 66, 4.
7 Jéquier, BIFAO 19 (1922), 12-13; Gardiner, Onom., II, 210* [432]; Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 2 und 3 Jahrtausend v. Chr., 510, No. 37.
8 Erichsen, op. cit., 4, 10-11.
10 Erichsen, op. cit., 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 3-4; 68, 13.
11 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 66, 4.
12 Id., Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 28, 13.
13 Caminoss, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 101.
14 Burchardt, Fremdworte und Eigennamen, II, 15, 279-16, 279.
15 Helck, loc. cit.
16 See also thew, below p. 290.
This term, 'ryt', ought not to be confused with the more common noun, 'rryt (q.v.), although both had, no doubt, a similar origin in the verb 'rstellen' "to approach, to rise up".

This term is only found in New Kingdom texts and clearly refers to a relatively small building element. Gardiner did not distinguish 'ryt' from 'rryt' and suggested that, when used of the small element, the term described a lintel. He based this suggestion primarily on the Turin papyrus with the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV. The description on the verso seems to belong to a different Ramesside tomb as the measurements given do not correspond to those of the tomb of Ramesses IV. Whichever tomb is concerned, the figures quoted show that the height of the 'ryt' could be added to the height of the door-jamb (bnš) to give the height of each chamber. For this reason Gardiner proposed that 'ryt' be translated as "lintel".

A typical example of the measurements is: "thickness of the bnš of one cubit and three palms, breadth of five cubits, one palm and two digits, height of the bnš of seven cubits and one palm, 'ryt of two cubits and six palms, total; ten".

Gardiner cites another text in which the bnš and the 'ryt' are associated. This is an Eighteenth Dynasty ostracon which lists the number of workmen employed on the construction of a building. They include nty hr p3 bnš and nty m t3 'ryt'.

The two terms also occur together in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead where the deceased is interrogated by first the bnš of the sbš and then the left and right 'ryt'. This mention of the possible division of an 'ryt' into two halves led Gardiner to suggest that the term was originally applied to a "half-lintel". This seems unlikely although I cannot offer any other interpretation for the "left" and "right" 'ryt'.

The balance of the evidence would tend to support the view that an 'ryt' was a lintel, since it was clearly a part of the door-frame
and usually occurs in association with the door-jambs (bnśw).

The term is found alone on an ostracon from Deir El-Bahari on which three masons are described as "those who worked on the outer c̣ryt (c̣ryt n bnr)".\(^{11}\) Hayes\(^{12}\) translates c̣ryt here as "the outer door-jamb", but the evidence cited by Gardiner and quoted above shows that c̣ryt is more likely to have referred to a lintel.

1 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl. IX, 4, recto, 4; Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 146-148, passim.
2 Ibid., 146 (Ost. Gardiner 46).
3 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text volume, 264; Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, II, 326.
4 Loc. cit.
5 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 147.
6 Ibid., 157-158.
7 Ibid., 146 (3).
8 Ibid., 146 (Ost. Gardiner 46).
9 Budge, loc. cit.; Naville, loc. cit.
10 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 147.
11 Hayes, loc. cit.
12 Ibid., 33.
There are a number of problems connected with this word which have to be resolved before an attempt can be made to elucidate the meaning.

First of all, it must be recognised that all the different writings given above are to be understood as variants of one word. The Wörterbuch gave six separate entries under: 'rwt, 36, rwr, 37 cxyt, 38 cryt, 39 nyt and ryt. 41 All of these, with the exceptions of nyt and ryt which do not occur in Middle Egyptian, were grouped together by Faulkner under an entry 'rrwt 42 and this does seem to be the correct interpretation. The reason for the many variant writings would seem to be the fact that this term has its etymological origin in the verb 3x/3x "to rise up, to approach". 43 Another noun from the same verbal
I, stem "uraeus" could also show many different forms, such as: 'r't, 3' r't, 'rrt, 'r'rrt, 45 so it is not surprising that 'rryt should have so many variants. The earliest texts, of the Fifth Dynasty, write the word as 'rrt (once 'rt) but later in the Old Kingdom the usual form was 'rrwt, less often 'rwt. In the Middle Kingdom the most frequent writing was 'rryt and this has been adopted here as the heading for this entry, since it is the most common form of the word in Middle Egyptian. In the New Kingdom the spelling 'r'yt occurs as do the variants 'ryyt, because of the reversal of c and r, and n'yt which reflects the phonetic similarity of r and n.

It has also been suggested, previously, that the writings and are to be read as 'rryt. There is, however, no evidence that either initial sign could be interpreted as 'r' and both of these are, in fact, variants of the word 'rryt (q.v.); the ploughshare having been substituted for the lion through the confusion of two similar hieratic signs.

The term 'rryt must also be distinguished from the noun 'ryyt which described a smaller architectural element, although, undoubtedly, they must have had a common origin in the verb 1'r/cr.

One further problem is the form of the determinative of 'rryt in the Old Kingdom. From the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period the most frequently used determinative was but in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period the determinative was entirely different and has usually been interpreted as the sign "corner of a wall". This is the determinative of knbt "corner" and other related words from the same stem. When used for words with the stem knb the sign seems to have been usually a right-angle with sides of equal length. However, the various forms of the determinative of 'rryt in the Old Kingdom, as demonstrated above, consistently show one side longer than the other and also, in several cases, show a form in which the vertical side descends at an obtuse angle to the horizontal. The use of this particular determinative is rare after the Old Kingdom although there are a small number of examples from the Middle and New Kingdoms. The nature of this sign, which is distinct from that used to determine knbt, will be discussed further below.

Various meanings for 'rryt have been suggested and the word has been discussed often. The Wörterbuch includes such translations as; "door" and "seat of administration" for both 'rwt and 'rrwt.
"hall" for 'ryt' and "house" for n'yt. Faulkner, under rryt, gives a list of possible translations: "gate, leaf of a double door, lintel, hall of judgement, dwelling, home". Gardiner, discussing the use of rryt on the reverse of the Turin papyrus with the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV, suggested that the original meaning of rryt was a "half-lintel", later a full lintel, then a door and finally a court of justice. The word which occurs in this text is, in fact, the small architectural element rryt which, as was noted above, is to be distinguished from the term under discussion here. Gardiner, in later publications, considered the usual meaning of rryt to have been "gate" and that it was later extended in meaning to refer to a place of judgement.

Helck has suggested that the rryt was the building at the door through which access was gained to the royal palace, "Die Wache". He also noted that documents could be deposited within the rryt and officials tried there and that the importance of the rryt is indicated by the fact that it was the Vizier himself who was responsible for appointing the officials of the rryt. Helck then discusses the other officials of the "Wache".

This summary of the functions of the rryt is certainly valid for the New Kingdom, however it is generally recognised that the use of rryt to describe a hall or court attached to the palace administration evolved from an original and more specific use of rryt as the name of a particular architectural feature, in the same way as the meaning "council" for kmt grew out of its original meaning "corner". This original meaning of rryt is usually understood to have been a "gate" or "door" at the entrance to the palace.

However, if rryt had been used, originally, to describe an entrance of any kind it could have been expected that some writings, particularly in the Old Kingdom, would have indicated this by the choice of determinatives, since the Egyptian language was well-provided with signs which were regularly used to determine words such as sb3 or '». This is not the case. In the Pyramid Texts a sign which appears in various forms but which is basically [r] is used with rryt. This determinative was used principally for the term rwt (q.v.), which was the name for a false-door. It depicts the complex niche-structure of the door in section. The use of this
sign to determine  is probably an error due to the confusion of two similar-sounding words  and (in its Old Kingdom spelling) . The only other determinative which could support a translation of "door" is found in a Ptolemaic text.

From the Middle Kingdom onwards the determinative  is indicative of the extended use of to describe some kind of hall, but, in the Old Kingdom, the distinctive determinatives do not support a primary meaning of "door" or "gate".

It is now necessary to examine the textual evidence for before any conclusions can be drawn concerning its original use.

The earliest known examples of occur, in the form , in the archives of the mortuary temple of at Abusir. Most often  is used as the name of a part of the temple to which various officials are assigned for duty. These places can not be identified with any degree of certainty as the evidence is insufficient. However it is possible that in some cases the  is to be identified with either the or the which are also mentioned in the papyri and for which identifications have been suggested.

Posener-Kriéger has already pointed out the connection between the , the and the . The can be identified, without any doubt, as the columned "vestibule" at the front of the temple and Posener-Kriéger suggested that the  was the name of the white-plastered terrace which ran along the facade of the temple. The  is less easy to identify although it was clearly situated in the vicinity of the and Posener-Kriéger does not commit herself to a firm identification of this . In two places, at least, the appears to be a subdivision of the  so it can not positively be claimed that all three elements were separate entities. While assuming that the general meaning of was "une porte" Posener-Kriéger suggested that, in these papyri, "le mot paraît avoir un sens plus administratif qu'architectural." She later added " , on le voit, ne désigne pas un élément d'architecture mais les abords d'un édifice ou d'une partie d'édifice." Since the name could appear in the duty rota alone, without a qualifying adjective, it must have referred to a particular part of the temple which could itself be regarded as one area while, at the same time, it could be subdivided
for greater administrative convenience. Possibly, in the context of this temple, 'rrt referred to the entire area in front of the west.
This included the vestibule, pr wrw, while the adjectives ḫn ḫt and ḫn ḫt referred to the entire area in front of the west.
While the adjectives ḥn ḫt and ḫn ḫt would have been used to specify the outer and inner areas of the 'rrt.

Other 'rrt were named in the papyri although it is not possible to identify these with existing remains. These include an 'rrt of the solar temple of Neferirkare, St-3b-rʿ, the site of which has not yet been discovered; an 'rrt of the w2-barque which Posener-Krieger suggested was an area where grain could be stored after being unloaded from the barque prior to its transportation to the temple and an 'rrt nhp which may have been an area close to the river where pottery for use in the temple was made.

In the Fifth Dynasty, therefore, 'rryt was certainly neither a door nor a gate, nor had it yet acquired a link with the palace administration or the courts of justice. It is most likely that the basic meaning of 'rryt was rather less specific than has been previously recognised. The suggestion of Posener-Krieger that 'rryt was the "abords d'un édifice" would seem to be correct. This would certainly agree with the etymological origin of the word in the verb ḫr/ṛ which can mean "to approach" as well as "to rise up". The true meaning of 'rryt was the "approaches" to a building. This could mean the area immediately in front of the entrance, or even, in the case of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare, the front portion of the building.

It remains now to examine other texts in which 'rryt occurs to see if this conclusion can be upheld.

The other most important examples of 'rryt in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period come from the decrees set up by various kings in the temple of Min at Koptos. Most of these are described as being placed "at the 'rrwt of the pr of Min of Koptos." Since these decrees would have been intended to be accessible to as many people as possible, they must have been at the front of the temple to which the greatest number of people would have been admitted. Hayes has noted that these decrees, (which were not found in situ), had been originally set in brick walls but, as they were not very weathered, they could not have been too openly exposed to the elements. He therefore suggested that they had been originally set into the reveal of a doorway or the walls of a deep vestibule,
similar to those found in contemporary pyramid temples. 83

The basic plan of an Old Kingdom cultus temple is still a matter of speculation since so few early remains have survived on any site. It is therefore not possible to reconstruct the entrance to the temple at Koptos. However the evidence of the Koptos decrees would suggest again that 'rryt referred to the front part of the temple.

In the Pyramid Texts 'rryt does not occur in useful contexts 84 although two examples would again suggest that it was situated at the entrance to a building. 85

Further occurrences from the Old Kingdom include the use of 'rryt in the titles 1ry 'rrt 86 and 1my-r 'rrwt 87 and in the funerary invocation; "(I) will destroy their survivors upon earth, (I) will not allow their 'rrt to be established." 88

In the Middle Kingdom 'rryt is first found in the title whmw n 'rryt which recurs in the New Kingdom. It is also used in the titles ssmw 'rryt, 90 sbw 'rryt, 91 sâ 'rryt 92 and the unusual 1my-r w n 'rryt. 93

The title whmw n 'rryt, in particular, sheds some light on the position and function of the 'rryt in connection with the palace administration. The "herald" would greet the petitioners outside the entrance to the palace, or the office concerned, and would guide the visitors inside to the rryt (q. v.) where he would await the summons into the inner apartments. It is possible, particularly in the Middle Kingdom, that 'rryt was the term applied to the area immediately before the entrance to a private house or a palace. This area can be seen, from models like those of Meketre94 or from soul-houses, 95 to have been lightly roofed with a wooden canopy, usually supported by two wooden columns. It may be this light wooden roof which is depicted in the determinatives found with 'rryt in the Old Kingdom. 96

Other texts of the Middle Kingdom support the view that the 'rryt was the "approach" to a building. In the story of the Eloquent Peasant the High Steward was petitioned r pg3 n 'rryt 97 "at the entrance of the 'rryt". The fact that the peasant petitioned the Steward in the 'rryt is not in itself an indication at this date of a connection between the 'rryt and the administration of justice, as the peasant petitions Rensi wherever he happens to find him. The use of pg3 for the entrance to the 'rryt is of interest as this would indicate that 'rryt is being used of the "portico" at the front of the house. This was open on one side to the courtyard so that, if the peasant was
standing there, making his speech, while the Steward stood under the canopy, protected from the sun, then **ps3** would be a more appropriate term for the entrance than words such as **rwt** or **sba** which would imply that there was an actual doorway or gate involved.

A private stela of the official Wepwawet-aa describes his reception at the palace; "the seal-bearers who are in the **pr-nsw**, the people (**nhw**) who are at the **rryt** see my admittance to the **pr-nsw**."98

Increasingly, from the Middle Kingdom, the **rryt** became an administrative department. This is shown by the fact that the **rryt** could own and control transport-barges.99 The administrative function of the **rryt** is indicated most clearly in the New Kingdom, particularly in the texts from the tomb of Rekhmire where the judicial aspect of the **rryt** is very evident.100 Similarly the Inscription of Mes shows that legal documents could be deposited in the **rryt**,101 while other texts relate that the **îmbt**-council could meet in the **rryt**.102

Apart from this use of **rryt** to describe a courtroom or an administrative department, there are also indications that the word retained its original meaning.

A stela of king Ahmose describes defeated foreigners standing in humility "at his **rryt**",103 while a later text, of the reign of Tanutamun, gives a detailed description of a similar scene when the king, within his palace, is told that the Delta-chieftains are waiting at the **rryt**.104 The king leaves the palace building and finds the chieftains prostrating themselves. The palace **rryt** was also used as a reception-area for taxes105 and other produce.106

Finally the **rryt** occurs in the Book of the Dead where it is one of the obstacles which the deceased must pass in order to enter into the Underworld. Usually, in such contexts, **rryt** is translated as "gate" or "door" but, as with **sbht**, the convenient translation is inaccurate. It is noteworthy that some vignettes show the guardians of the **rryt** sitting outside of the doorway rather than within, indicating that the **rryt** was the approach to the door and not the door itself.107

The generally accepted translations of "door" or "gate" are therefore unsuitable for **rryt** and should not be retained. The original meaning, and one which seems to have been preserved throughout Egyptian history, was the "approach" to a building. Basically this described the area immediately before a door, whether of a temple, palace or
private house. In the latter two cases this area could be lightly roofed to provide some protection from the heat for those awaiting admittance, and it may be this light roof which is depicted in the determinatives of the Old Kingdom. The fact that this sign is only rarely found in later periods, having been generally replaced by $\text{\textsuperscript{16}}$, is an indication of the extension in meaning of 'rryt to describe a "meeting-place" or a "courtroom". This use of the word easily developed from its original meaning. It is a custom, in many countries, for people to gather around the entrances of buildings in order to discuss affairs or to resolve communal problems. In an ancient Egyptian private house the natural place to meet would be the courtyard, under the shade of the canopied portico where mastabas could be situated out of the sun's heat. Consequently the name of the portico continued to be used for such a meeting-place, even when it had acquired a more permanent form as a part of the official administration. This development in the use of 'rryt is well illustrated by a Nineteenth Dynasty text which describes a meeting of the knbt-council "(at) the 'r'-yt of Pharaoh.....beside Hrw-ib-hr-m$t, the great tr$ of Ramasses-Miamun." 108

It is, therefore, impossible to suggest one translation for 'rryt which would be acceptable for every occasion on which the word is found, so each text must be judged individually, taking the context into account, and a decision made as to whether "approach", "portico" or "meeting-place" would be the most appropriate translation.

1 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pls.XIIA, b and c; XCVIIA, A4; the remaining writings of this form are all damaged; ibid., pls.VIIA, A,J and B; XA, C; XCI:IA, A; Pyr. 392a.
2 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.IVA, g and h; LXXXVI, A2 and B; XCI:IA, B (this last in the plural).
3 Ibid., pl.XIA, 1 and 2.
4 Piankoff, The Pyramid of Unas, pl.16 (Pyr. 292d. This spell (No. 254) also occurs in the pyramid of Teti, the texts from which are reproduced, in hand-copy, by Sethe (Die Altegyptischen Pyramidentexten). Sethe gives the form of the determinatives in Teti as $\text{\textsuperscript{16}}$ but, as he also gives this form for the writing in Unas, it can not be relied upon for accuracy.
5 Piankoff, op. cit., pl.26 (Pyr. 392a. This text also occurs in
the pyramids of Teti and Pepi II (see note 1) where the forms of
the determinatives are again in doubt.

6 Pyr., 1740b.

7 Pyr., 952a. (This writing occurs in the pyramid of Pepi I while in
that of Merenre the determinative is of the form $\exists$.)

8 Pyr., 952a. (Pepi II).

9 Pyr., 2263b (published by Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid
Texts. Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts, 79); Urk., I, 292, 9;
306, 10.

10 Pyr., 1869b. (Pepi II).

11 Lugn, Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus Ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden,
pl.XI.


13 Capart, Chambre funéraire de la sixième Dynastie, pl.V.

14 Urk., I, 218, 14.

15 Urk., I, 282, 11.

16 Urk., I, 286, 3; Iutz, Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones,
pl.24, No.46.

17 Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et
de la XIème Dynastie, 11, 3; De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts,
VII, 107 (spell 901).

18 Cardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, pl.VI, 4-5.

19 Koevoet-Petersen, Les Steles Egyptiennes, pl.15; Simpson, Papyrus
Reisner II, pl.104, 8, 3.

20 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XVIII.

21 Pierret, Inscr Louvre, II, 104, ( Louvre 03, 15); Urk., IV, 1107,
5; 1114, 5; 1684, 1; Urk., III, 23, 10; 72, 3; Mariette, Denderah,
III, pl.83, 9; et al.

22 Fakhry, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, II, Part II, 91, fig.427A
damaged text of the same official (ibid., 72, fig.392 and pl.IXX)
has '/\Lv](kh which is probably to be restored as [rr]yt.);
Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl.XX.

23 Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and Dér Râfeh, pl.16, 7.

24 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches,
II, 93, 3. (The copy given by Mariette of this text(Catalogue
générale d’Abydos, 96, No.544) has $\exists$ in fount. Although origin-
ally ascribed to the Middle Kingdom this text, which can be dated
to the reign of Intef-aa, belongs to the Seventeenth Dynasty. See
wibl p.37, note 4.
25 Urk., IV, 1073, 3; 2155, 18; 2160, 17; Erman, ZÄS 17 (1879), 72.
26 British Museum, Select Papyri, I, pl.XX, 2; XXI, 8.
27 Zive, C.M., Giza au deuxième Millénaire, 204.
28 Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), Text, 327 (Budge gives the
form of the determinative as 𓊥 but it is in fact as shown here.
See B.M. 10477, 26.)
29 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 701.
30 Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri found by J.E. Quibell in
the Ramesseum, 1895-6, pl.IXA, 80.
31 Korostovtsev, BIFAQ,45 (1947), 157 and pl.t, 8.
32 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl.
16,9.
33 Bergmann, Eine Sarcophaginschrift aus der Ptolemäerzeit, 9, 1.
34 Dumichen, Altaegyptische Kalenderinschriften, pl.IX, c, 9.
35 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 87, bottom.
36 Wb., I, 210, 12-17.
37 Wb., I, 211, 8-14.
38 Wb., I, 209, 6.
40 Wb., II, 207, 16.
41 Wb., II, 403, 1.
42 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 45.
43 Wb., I, 41, 14-24.
44 Wb., I, 42, 1-4.
45 Erman, ZÄS 46 (1909-1910), 96-104.
46 Erman, ZÄS 80, (1882), 2, 1; Muller, ZÄS 26 (1888), 90-92; Spiegelberg,
Studien und Materialen zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches, 52-53.
48 Ibid., 439; Gardiner, JEA 15 (1929), 54; Compare Møller, Hierat-
ische Palaeographie, I-II, No.125 and 468.
49 Wb., I, 209, 5. See above p.41-42.
50 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 039.
51 Wb., V, 53, 5-6.
52 Wb., V, 53-54.
53 Wb., I, 210, 12-17.
54 Wb., I, 211, 8-14.
56 Wh., II, 207, 16.
57 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 45.
58 Gardiner and Carter, JEA 4 (1917), 147.
59 Gardiner, ZAS 60 (1925), 65; Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., 22;
   Gardiner, Grammar, 558; Sign List, 038.
60 Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, 65.
61 Quoting Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes, S, 6.
62 Quoting Urk., IV, 1107, 5.
63 Quoting Urk., IV, 1114, 5.
64 Helck, op. cit., 66ff.
65 Wh., V, 53, 9-21; 54, 1-11.
66 Wh., V, 53, 5-6.
67 Pyr., 952a; 1740b.
68 Bergmann, loc. cit.
69 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls. IVIA, h; VIIA, j; IXA, 1; XIA, 1 and 2; IXXVA, N.
70 Posener-Krieger, Archives Nefertirka, 27-29; 511.
71 Ibid., 496-499.
72 Ibid., 511.
73 Ibid., 28-29, 51q.
74 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.IVIA, 9; VIIA, j.
76 Ibid., 511.
77 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XCIIA, B.
78 Ibid., pl.XCVIIA, A4.
80 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XIA, 1 and 2.
81 Posener-Krieger, op. cit., 512.
82 Urk., I, 282, 11; 286, 3; 292, 9; also Ibid., I, 306, 10 "at the
   'rrwt of [every r-pr] in which your monuments are."
83 Hayes, JEA 32 (1946), 6-7.
84 Pyr., 392a; 1740b; 1869b; 2263b.
85 Pyr., 520a; 952a.
86 Lugn, loc. cit.
87 Lutz, loc. cit.; Junker, loc. cit.
88 Capart, loc. cit. Compare also Urk., I, 218, 14.
89 Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, II, pl.XV, 34;
   Černy, The Inscriptions of Sinai, I, pl.XXII, 79 and 80; Kofoed-
Petersen, loc. cit.; Couyat and Montet, Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiérotiques du Câdi Hammâmât, 41, No. 19; pl. V; Urk., IV, 965, 5; 969, 11; 972, 15.

90 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 103, s; Newberry, loc. cit.

91 Griffith, op. cit., pl. XXX, 43.

92 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pls. 19, (15, 8); 20, (19, 1); 26, (25, 19).

93 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 249.

94 Winlock, Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt, pls. 11-15.

95 Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pls. XV-XXII

96 Compare, for example, the form of the canopy over the throne on the Narmer mace-head in Oxford (Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, pl. XXVI, B) and the profile of sunshades (Fischer, Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin 24 (1958), 29ff.

97 De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 95, 13.

98 Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 74, 14.

99 De Buck, op. cit., 91, 14; Simpson, loc. cit.

100 Urk., IV, 1107, 5; 1108, 4; 1114, 5; 1115, 1 and 11; 1117, 1.
    See also; Ibid., 2155, 18; 2160, 17.

101 Gardiner, The Inscription of Mest, 3, 6.

102 Erman, loc. cit.; British Museum, Select Papyri, I, pl. XX, 2.

103 Urk., IV, 18, 4.

104 Ibid., III, 72, 3. Compare also, Mariette, Denderah, III, pl. 83, 9.

105 Urk., III, 23, 10.

106 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 19.

107 Budge, The Book of the Dead, The Papyrus of Ani, I, pls. 11 and 12; Naville, Das Ägyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl. CLIV.

108 Erman, loc. cit.
This term is known only from blocks of the red quartzite sanctuary of Hatshepsut from the temple of Amun at Karnak. It occurs twice in the list of temples in the Theban area. The first example gives the name of the wsht tpt, enclosed within a hwt-sign. Lacau and Chevrier have suggested that this "first wsht" was the first way-station on the processional route from the temple of Luxor to that of Karnak. The "second wsht" wsht sn-nwt, is also named, as would have been others if the sanctuary had been found intact.

That a wsht was a way-station is certain from both the evidence of the sanctuary blocks and the etymological origin of the term in the verbal stem ws. Another series of blocks shows the sacred barque resting in various wsht when in procession, and being carried from one to another. The scenes show that a wsht was a shrine on a pedestal within which was a plinth on which the barque could rest. The fact that these are dignified with the name of hwt would suggest that they were permanent stone structures.

Westendorf has suggested that wsnt is the origin of the Coptic Oyaqo, although no etymology is given for this term by Ėrny.

1 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 82, §134; 83, §135.
2 Ibid., I, 161, §207; 163, §214; 164, §216; 165, §217; 165, §218; 166, §219; 167, §220; 167, §221; 168, §222 (see also Urk., IV, 379).
3 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 82, §134.
4 Loc. cit.
5 Ibid., 83, §135.
6 Wb., I, 253-257. For wsht, see; Ibid., I, 258, 4; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 54.
8 At the time of writing, volume II of Lacau and Chevrier's publication has not appeared. Photographs of two of these blocks showing the wsnt can be seen in Leblain and Naville, L'aile nord du Pylône d'Amenophis III à Karnak, pl.XIV.
9 For a discussion of these ώςήτ see; Foucart, BIFAO 24 (1924), 94-100.

10 Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 284.

11 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 24b (αʔ B).

12 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary.
The single-stem papyriform column is first found in Egypt in the enclosure of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, where the slender columns are engaged. After this, the type was not common until the New Kingdom although there is evidence that it did occur in the Middle Kingdom. A scene in tomb 5 at El-Bersheh clearly shows a single-stem papyriform column and there is also evidence that such columns existed in the town at Kahun. However this type of column does not seem to have been popular in Egypt before the New Kingdom.

The papyriform cluster column first appeared in the Fifth Dynasty and examples are known from the Middle Kingdom. By the New Kingdom this type had virtually replaced the lotiform column, to which it bears a strong resemblance, and which had previously been more popular.

Essentially, therefore, the development of the two papyriform column types was the same. Although both are found prior to the New Kingdom the examples increased greatly in number from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward. Since both types represent the same plant-form, the papyrus, it is possible that both were described by the same word, w3d. This certainly seems to be indicated by the earliest extant example where papyriform cluster columns are described as w3d, a term which one would expect to have been applied primarily to campaniform columns as this is the type which the w3d sign depicts.

The text is on several pieces of various papyriform cluster columns found on the ancient site of Crocodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayum). Each column bore the same inscription which described work carried out by Amenemhat III for the god Sobek. The king made a wsbt with w3d and s3wt in granite. This is the material of which the columns are
made so there can be no doubt that the text refers to the columns on which it is inscribed. The copy of the text given by Habachi, which is in fact, shows the standard papyrus plant hieroglyph, as does the copy, given by Lepsius, of a part of one of the columns which he found being used as a threshold in Medinet el-Fayum. However the only photograph reproduced by Habachi which is clear enough to allow the was-signs to be distinguished, shows that the signs are of the form given in the first of the writings above. The open papyrus plant is intended even though the columns themselves are of cluster-form.

In the New Kingdom, when such columns were often erected, the ideogram 𓊸, usually in the plural, was used to describe them. The reading of this sign is problematical. If both papyriform column-types were called was, then one would have to assume that, in texts such as those of the Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak which describe the hall as phr-tl m 𓊸 hr 𓊸, both groups are to be read as was. The papyriform cluster columns of Amenhotep III at Luxor seem to have been called nbw (q.v.) which was originally the name for lotiform columns and it is possible that the ideogram was to be read as nbw. However this is an isolated case and actual papyriform cluster columns are, more frequently, called was.

In the second hypostyle hall of the temple of Seti I at Abydos there are three rows of columns, with twelve in each. The front row is of straight-shafted cylindrical columns, while the other two rows are stylised papyriform cluster columns. A damaged ceiling inscription in the hall contains the group 𓊸 which, presumably, refers to the columns in the hall. Possibly was was used here as a general term for a column as, indeed, was the word wnb in the same temple. On the other hand the columns may have been described as was because the majority of them were papyriform.

The columns of the forecourt of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak are also stylised papyriform cluster columns and are described in the dedication inscription of Herihor as was. A possible third example comes from the Ramesside forecourt of the temple of Luxor where a text on the back of the east wing of the pylon describes the forecourt, with its stylised papyriform cluster columns, as a waḥt.... phr-tl m was(?). The form of the signs is uncertain as the text is damaged and the capitals of the column hieroglyphs are lost. However the bases of the signs, as published, would suggest that papyriform
columns were intended.

It is possible that, in all these examples, w3dw was being used to mean simply "column", but it is more likely that both papyriform column types were called w3d and that the ideogram I is to be read in this way.

There can, however, be no doubt that the single-stem papyriform column was, consistently, referred to as w3d. This is true of the columns erected by Tuthmosis III in the hall between Pylons 4 and 5 in the temple of Amun at Karnak, where the king added to the number of columns erected by Tuthmosis I.28 As Borchardt has demonstrated, the columns of the earlier king differed slightly from those of Tuthmosis III, but both sets were single-stem papyriform columns.29 No capitals belonging to these columns have been found but they would have been campaniform. Columns in the same hall were also called w3dw by Amenhotep II who completed the decoration started by his father.30 In the Nineteenth Dynasty w3dw was used of the aisle of campaniform papyrus-columns in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak31 and also of a similar aisle in the Ramesseum.32

In the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Montuemhat recorded building, for Mut, at Karnak, a h3yt (q.v.) with twenty-four w3d-columns in sandstone.33 Both Wresszinski and Leclant have suggested that this was a "porch", similar to those erected by Taharqa in the Amun temple enclosure.34

A text of Nectanebo II over the north colonnade of the portico of the temple of Hibis in El-Kharga oasis, records that the king constructed "beautiful w3dw in sandstone".35 The engaged columns of this portico were of three types; palmiform, open-flowered lotiform and campaniform papyrus columns.36 In this case one can only assume that w3dw was used as a term for columns in general and did not refer to the papyriform examples alone.

An interesting use of w3d occurs at Hermopolis where a Thirtieth Dynasty building text employs the term to describe columns with Hathor-headed sistrum capitals.37

In the temples of the Ptolemaic period the columns are of many varied forms and the papyriform column w3d occurs along with other detailed ideograms.38 W3d is not found in either demotic or Coptic.

Although w3d was used primarily to describe the single-stem papyriform column, it was also the name of the papyriform-cluster column and, from the Thirtieth Dynasty, it could be used of other types.
1. Habachi, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 88; *LD.*, II, 118g.

2. *Urk.*, IV, 933, 7 (these *wṣd* columns, in a text from tomb 86 at Thebes, are coloured green on the shaft and white on the base and capital); De Wit, *Ch. d'Ég.* 36 No. 72 (July 1961), 285.

3. *Urk.*, IV, 842, 1; 1328, 1-3; 1331, 11 and 12; *LD.*, III, 243a; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pls. 22, A, 18; 23, A, 18; Wreszinski, Orientalistische Literatur-zeitung 13 (1910), pl. II (after p. 387), 13; Roeder, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 79, D, 12.


5. Ibid., 202, 9; 203, 8; 205, 2 and 9; De Wit, *Ch. d'Ég.* 36 No. 71 (January 1961), 87.

6. Yoyotte, *Ch. d'Ég.* 28 No. 55 (January 1953), 34.


12. For a description of the development of both papyriform column types see; Borchardt, *Die Aegyptische Pfützansäule*, 25-43.


14. *LD.*, I, 47 (columns of Amenemhat III from Hawara); Habachi, *op. cit.*, 85-95 (also of Amenemhat III from Medinet El-Fayum).

15. See *nbhw*., note 14.


17. *LD.*, II, 118g.


19. E.g. *KRI*, I, 201, 5; 205, 9; Christophe, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 79.


21. Since *nbhw* and *wṣd* are of different gender it may, one day, be possible to decide on the reading of the ideogram if a text were to be discovered in which the gender of the word was indicated. One inscription in which this may seem to be possible (Budge, *Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the possession of Lady Meux of Theobalds Park, Waltham Cross*, 143) has in fact been
wrongly copied by Budge. The signs reproduced as  are, in fact, to be read ↓↓↓ (Raffle and Kitchen, Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, 70, pl. VIII; *KRI*, III, 197, 4). Consequently any discussions as to the identification of these "columns" is now irrelevant (see, for example Barguet, Temple, 330, note 1; Raffle and Kitchen, op. cit., 73).

22 Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, IV, pl. 57.
23 *Ibid.*, IV, pl. 62, D.
24 *KRI*, I, 186, 10.
25 Capart, Thebes, fig. 45. These columns were made up from older drums which were transported to Karnak from the temple of Horemheb at Medinet Habu, see; Hölscher, *Exc. Med. Habu*, II, 79, and fig. 69.
26 *LbL*, III, 243a (also published by Champollion in *Notices Descriptives*, II, 222.
28 *Urk.*, IV, 842, 1.
30 *Urk.*, IV, 1328, 1-3; 1331, 11 and 12.
31 *KRI*, II, 202, 9; 203, 8; 205, 2 and 9.
32 Christophe, op. cit., 79.
33 Wreszinski, *loc. cit.*.
35 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, op. cit., III, pl. 64. This group was read as wadyt by Badawy (*ZAS* 102 (1975), 85).
36 For a plan of the porch see; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, op. cit., I, pl. XXXIII and for photographs of the columns see; *Ibid.*, I, pls. IV+VIII.
37 Roeder, *loc. cit.*.
Like many other names for architectural features in Egyptian temples wsdyt has not been found prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the case of most words this is due to an accident of survival, but this may not be true of wsdyt. As the Wörterbuch noted wsdyt described, primarily, a columned hall with wsd columns. Since wsd designated particularly the single-stem papyriform column which did not occur often before the New Kingdom (see above p. 57) it would not be reasonable to expect wsdyt to be found in texts of earlier date. It was only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties that the hall with wsd columns became popular.

In particular wsdyt seems to have been used of one hall; that situated between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Although the plan of this hall was changed extensively between the reigns of Tuthmosis I and Amenhotep II, it always contained wsd columns. In the original hall, as erected by Tuthmosis I, there were four or five columns to which Tuthmosis III added a further nine or ten to make their number up to fourteen. The earliest text to call this hall a wsdyt is of the reign of Hatshepsut who, on a block from her sanctuary which was found within the Third Pylon, described the erection of her obelisks "within (m bnt) the noble wsdyt." At the time when this work was carried out the hall consisted of a single central row of papyriform columns, at least two of which would have had to be removed to facilitate the erection of the obelisks.

An inscription of Tuthmosis III, also at Karnak, tells how the young prince was standing in the "northern wsdyt" when he was chosen to be king by Amun, while the god was processing around the wsdyt. This use, by Tuthmosis III, of the expression "northern wsdyt" to mean the northern half of the hall is paralleled by the use of the phrase "southern wsdyt" in the reign of Amenhotep II. This king decorated the columns in the southern half of the hall and texts still survive on three of these which record that the king had made
"w3d columns for the southern w3dyt." They were, in fact, erected by Tuthmosis III but this did not deter his successor from claiming that he not only decorated but also built the columns.

On the sanctuary of Hatshepsut the goddess Hathor is described as hntt st m w3dyt which, at Karnak, probably refers to the hall of Tuthmosis I.

After the Eighteenth Dynasty w3dyt has not been found again before the Twenty-second Dynasty. In the reign of Sheshonq I the sandstone quarry at Silsila was re-opened for building work in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Sheshonq planned a bhnt and a w3ht-hbyt surrounded by statues and a w3dyt, all of which he described on a stela in the quarry. Although the king himself died soon after the stela, erected in his last known regnal year, was inscribed, the original plan seems to have been followed and the existing forecourt with its colonnades corresponds to the w3ht-hbyt with a w3dyt. These colonnades do not have single-stem papyriform columns, like the hall of Tuthmosis I, but consist of stylized papyriform cluster columns which can also be called w3d (see the entry on w3dj p. 58) so that w3dyt is still an accurate name for these colonnades.

Two statues of the same dynasty mention a w3dyt in connection with the god Amun. Since both came from the cachette at Karnak it is reasonable to assume that the w3dyt in question was in the Amun temple. Presumably once again the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons.

In the Ptolemaic period w3dyt was used to describe, among other buildings, the roof-chapel of the Hathor temple at Dendera. The word is found neither in demotic nor Coptic.

The original meaning of w3dyt as a hall of w3d columns is not open to doubt despite the small number of examples of the word. It is possible that w3dyt was used only of the hall of Tuthmosis I at Karnak until the Twenty-second Dynasty when it was applied to the colonnades of the forecourt. In Ptolemaic w3dyt seemed to lose its original meaning and was used as a general word for a columned edifice.

1 Urk. IV, 374.11; 158.8; 1328.1-3; Legrain, Statues et statuettes, III, 60A; Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl. XIII, 48.
3 Legrain, *op. cit.* 80, 1 and pl. XLI.

4 Dümichen, *Resultate*, pl. 50, 8.

5 Wb., I, 269, 6–9. Faulkner (*Con. Dict.* 56) translates *wṣdyt* as "hall of columns" without specifying the column type involved.

6 For the history and development of this hall see; Borchardt, *Baugeschichte*, passim especially p. 10–14.

7 *Urk.*, IV, 374, 11. This text is also published, in font, by Lacau and Chevrier, *La Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 232, 369.

8 *Urk.*, IV, 157, 13.

9 Ibid., 158, 8.

10 Ibid., 1328, 1–3 (column 2 omits rayt).

11 Lacau and Chevrier, *op. cit.* 100; 104 note ac. See also Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses' II in Karnak*, 77.

12 Caminos, *loc. cit.*

13 Legrain, *op. cit.* III, 60, d; 80, 1 and pl. XLI.


Addendum.

Another writing of *wṣdyt*, which occurs on a wsh-collar amulet from tomb No. 2 at Sai in Nubia. The writing is found in the title *ḥry wṣdyt* of an official named Ḥuy, and is dated to the New Kingdom (Gout-Minault, *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, 33; Vercoutter, *CRIPEL* 3 (1975), 13.)
These writings of wb3 do not include all of the many variants known as it is a word which could be written in an almost infinite number of ways. The initial sign was often confused with and many unusual forms of these two signs were employed. The could be used with, or without, the and, from the Nineteenth Dynasty, was often written through phonetic confusion. In Late Egyptian various semi-consonants were added. Consequently it has not been practicable to give all the possible spellings of the term, although those quoted above are a representative selection.

Etymologically wb3 is related to the verbal stem "to bore, to open" and this has undoubtedly contributed, in the past, to the
tendency to translate \( \text{wb} \) as an "open forecourt"\(^{39} \) or "open court"\(^{40} \). The Wörterbuch also gave a secondary meaning of "Heiligtum".\(^{41} \) The accepted translation of "forecourt" has been challenged by Christophe with regard to the use made of \( \text{wb} \) in Papyrus Harris I in which \( \text{hw} \) could justify a translation of "court" for only one example. He suggested that, in this papyrus at least, \( \text{wb} \) should be translated as "sanctuaire, pris dans son sens large de "temple" ou même de "domaine sacré"."\(^{42} \) A similar meaning has also been suggested by Otto.\(^{43} \) Since \( \text{wb} \) is derived from the verb \( \text{wb} \) "to open" it ought to have referred to some part of a temple complex which could have been regarded as being "open". However there is no evidence that this was the temple forecourt which was usually an unroofed court, the sides of which were lined with statues and colonnades, situated immediately behind the pylon. I hope to show that \( \text{wb} \) was, in fact, used to describe a much wider area than is generally believed.

\( \text{wb} \) is usually regarded as having been confined in use to descriptions of temples and, with one exception, this does seem to have been the case. The one exception also happens to be the earliest occurrence of the word and the only writing known to predate the New Kingdom. The Wörterbuch noted that \( \text{wb} \) first appeared in the Eighteenth Dynasty and occurred often in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.\(^{44} \) This must now be amended as \( \text{wb} \) was certainly known in the Eleventh Dynasty and was, therefore, probably in use throughout the Middle Kingdom. As with so many words, the absence of examples from any particular period does not necessarily indicate that the term was not being employed. The documentary evidence for \( \text{wb} \) in the New Kingdom and later is provided by the kinds of texts (building inscriptions and temple papyri) which have been rarely found from earlier periods.

The earliest writing of \( \text{wb} \) occurs in a series of inventories which were drawn up for the Theban official Hekanakhte. The majority of these deal with livestock and produce, but account No.6 lists items made of wood, among which are parts of a boat, including a mast which is described as being "\( \text{m wb} \)".\(^{45} \) The only other location given in the list is for five pieces of willow-wood which are "\( \text{m pr-ha} \)". James has taken \( \text{pr-ha} \) to be the rear part of a house "perhaps even the out-houses"\(^{46} \) and compared it with a passage in the Dream Stela of Tanutamun\(^{47} \) where \( \text{pr-hat} \) (q.v.) refers to the rear part of the temple of Amun at Napata. James also noted that this example of
wb3 "demonstrates that in origin it was used to describe courts other than those of temples." There is, indeed, no direct evidence to suggest that these two terms, wb3 and pr-h3, do not refer to parts of the house or estate of Hekanakhte himself. However, in view of the fact that both words are only known elsewhere in temple-contexts, it is possible that Hekanakhte owned wooden items which were being stored in a temple-precinct. This may seem unlikely but there is an interesting parallel in the papyrus B.M. 10363 in which there is recorded a dispute over the ownership of a mast which is described as being in the possession of a private individual "behind the sbyt // of the hwt." In this case t3 hwt certainly refers to the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu, the sbyt of which was the brick enclosure wall. It is, therefore, not impossible that the wb3 of the Hekanakhte inventory was attached to a temple-precinct although wb3 could well have referred, originally, to a part of a private estate since the plan of any Egyptian temple was based on that of a private domestic dwelling. Whether it was in a temple precinct or a private estate, a wb3 in which a mast could be stored can only have been a fairly large open space.

The usual, convenient translation of "forecourt" can not be applied to many of the texts in which wb3 occurs. The number and types of both buildings and activities which are described as being within the temple wb3 can only be accounted for if the word is understood to have referred to the entire temple temenos and, by extension, all land sacred to the god.

This can be seen with regard to the single obelisk of Tuthmosis III from the Eastern Temple at Karnak (the Lateran obelisk). It bears an inscription indicating that it was to be erected m wb3 pry hwt-ntr. This obelisk was left unfinished by Tuthmosis III and was finally erected in the reign of Tuthmosis IV r sb3 hry n 'Ipt-sw t "at the upper sb3 of Ipet-su". Despite earlier theories to the contrary, Nims has shown that the obelisk was intended, by Tuthmosis III, to stand in the Eastern Temple, the site being designated by the inscription of this king as the wb3 hry "the upper wb3". One would expect this location to correspond closely to the region of the sb3 hry mentioned in the text of Tuthmosis IV, and there is, therefore, no reason to doubt that the obelisk was intended for the site in which it was, belatedly, erected. It is impossible that this area
could have been regarded as the "forecourt" of the temple in the reign of Tuthmosis III and \textit{wb3} here must be understood as referring to the temple temenos,\textsuperscript{57} the adjective \textit{hry} indicating that it was this particular part of the enclosure, at the back of the main temple, which was intended.

Once again there is a break in the known history of this term as no further examples have been found from the Eighteenth Dynasty. This must be due to an accident of survival since the word must have still been in use. However from the reign of Seti I \textit{wb3} occurs frequently in all kinds of texts.

In the temple of Luxor Ramesses II described how he made a \textit{wb3} provided with two obelisks for his father Amun-Re Atum.\textsuperscript{58} The obelisks stood before the pylon of the temple and were not within the Ramesside forecourt. In this case, therefore, \textit{wb3} referred to the area immediately in front of the temple pylon which may have been enclosed by a Ramesside wall which has since been completely destroyed. There are remains at Luxor of a Thirtieth Dynasty wall\textsuperscript{59} which could have been built over an earlier one. However the temple of Luxor was a subsidiary of the main Amun temple at Karnak and consequently the land on which the temple was built and the processional way between the two building complexes would have been regarded as belonging to Amun and could be described as the \textit{wb3} of the god if the term was applied in its broadest sense.

This must be the case with the temple of Seti I at Gurna which is described as being situated \textit{m wb3 nt'Ipt-swt}.\textsuperscript{60} This particular example also shows the impossibility of translating \textit{wb3} as "forecourt".

One curious use of \textit{wb3} is found in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where the hall is named, on an architrave inscription, as \textit{hwt-nfr \textit{wb3} (Sti mn-n-Imn) m pr-Imn m Ipt-pr n'Ipt-swt \textit{wb3} ṣpsa m w3w w3w phr.ti m ḫẖ ḫẖ "The \textit{hwt-nfr} (called)"Glorious is Seti Merenamun" in the pr of Amun, in front of Ipet-sut, a noble \textit{wb3} with great w3w columns and \textit{w3w}.\textsuperscript{61} In this text \textit{wb3} can only be in apposition to \textit{hwt-nfr} and is therefore being used of the Hypostyle Hall itself. Christophe translated \textit{wb3} in this text as "sanctuary" \textsuperscript{62} but in another damaged text from the same hall he preferred to translate \textit{wb3} as "avant-cour",\textsuperscript{63} assuming that in this example\textsuperscript{64} the text was
referring to the unfinished hall before the smaller columns were erected. This is an unnecessary assumption if \textit{wb3} is properly understood. In this case the hall was built on land immediately in front of the main entrance to the existing temple, the same area as was called "the \textit{wb3}" at Luxor. As Christophe has pointed out, Seti I regarded his hall as being "in front of Ipet-sut." If the hall was built in the \textit{wb3} of the temple it is easy to see that the name of the original clear area before the entrance could have been transferred to the hall itself. Alternatively the use of this term to describe a hypostyle hall may be an example of hyperbole, since the same hall was also called a \textit{hwt-ntr}. One further text also uses \textit{wb3} for the Hypostyle Hall: \textit{wb3 ūpsr m mnw nfrw wrw ūjw\textsubscript{1}} "a noble \textit{wb3} with great and beautiful monuments, \textit{ūjw}-columns\textsubscript{1}.

Obviously the meaning of \textit{wb3} in any text can only be confirmed if the example can be related to a surviving monument. This is particularly true of the temple complex at Karnak.

In the reign of Ramesses II the Eastern Temple was redesigned and extended. The work is described on the back pillar of a statue of Bakenkhons, detailing the building itself, the obelisks, doors (\textit{tryw}, q.v.) and finally the flagstaffs which were erected \textit{m \textit{wb3 ūpsr m-hft-hr n hwt-ntr}}. "in the noble \textit{wb3} in front of his \textit{hwt-ntr}". Once again, as at Luxor, the \textit{wb3} is the area before the entrance to the temple. Nims has suggested that this temple was "an edifice built by the state for the use of the people of Thebes." The fact that the ordinary people could come to the \textit{wb3} of Amun to petition the god is shown in a series of Twentieth Dynasty letters, instructing the family of a sick man to pray for him in the \textit{wb3} of Amun. When the man recovers he is supposed to go to the \textit{wb3} to thank the god himself. Since \textit{wb3} could include all the land within the enclosure wall, there was no need for the general public to enter the main temple to petition the god. Shrines and statues could be set up "in the \textit{wb3}" to which petitions and offerings could be brought. This is undoubtedly the origin of the god "Amenhotep of the \textit{wb3}", a form of the deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I. Presumably there was once a statue of the king somewhere "in the \textit{wb3}" of Amun to which popular representations were made. Eventually the cult required a shrine of its own and a pr of the deified king was established on the West Bank at Thebes.
and provided with a priesthood. The original site of the statue could have been anywhere in the area of Karnak or even, since the temple of Seti I at Gurna was regarded as being in the wb3, on the West Bank at Thebes, on land sacred to Amun.

Wb3 occurs frequently in Papyrus Harris I. The temple of Ramesses III at Karnak is described as hft-hr n wb3.k and the king also notes the providing, for the wb3 of Amun, of a jar-stand, plunder from foreign campaigns, sycamore-trees and a black granite shrine. At Heliopolis the king carried out works in the wb3 of Atum including instituting offerings, building a storehouse for offerings and providing men to police and sanctify the wb3. At Medinet Habu a hwt was erected in the wb3 of Ptah and a temple of Thoth at Hermopolis. Finally the king describes what he did for the gods and goddesses of the South and North "I made hwt (pl.) and r-pr (pl.) in (hr) their wb3(w)."

Wb3 was a very common term in the Nineteenth Dynasty and later periods. Further buildings which were erected in a wb3 of a god include the Amun temple of Seti II at Hermopolis and a temple of Merenptah at Memphis. The wb3 formed a part of the temple complex of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and at Heracleopolis a hwt was erected in the wb3 of Horshof. Other works carried out in wb3w include the erection of an obelisk at Heliopolis, columns at Thebes, a great offering table of silver and gold at Karnak, statues of copper and wood at Thebes and a hwt in the enclosure at Dendera in the Ptolemaic Period.

Various officials of the wb3 are known including a wib priest and several scribes. In the Twentieth Dynasty the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, was introduced in to the great wb3 of Amun when he was installed in his office, and he was praised and glorified in the great wb3 of Amun-Re.

Wb3 occurs in the demotic script but was not retained into Coptic, presumably because the word was so closely connected with pagan temples which were no longer being built or operated.

The shortage of evidence from the period prior to the Eleventh Dynasty makes it impossible to trace the origins of wb3. It may have been first used in relation to domestic architecture if the writing in the Hekanakhte account refers to his own home, but this is by no means certain. In any case, the plan of an Egyptian temple was derived
from the basic house-plan since the temple was the home of the god, so it is possible that \( \text{wb}_3 \) was used to describe the area bounded by enclosure walls of both religious and private estates. However, by the Nineteenth Dynasty, and probably even by the Eighteenth, the term had become firmly affixed to temple architecture alone and it did not recur in a secular context.

From the New Kingdom onward \( \text{wb}_3 \) seems to refer to all that land sacred to the god outside of the actual temple building itself. Thus it could be used of the area within the enclosure wall, the temple temenos, and this can be seen particularly in Papyrus Hartis I where the building and offering activities which take place in \( \text{wb}_3 \) or \( \text{pr wb}_3 \) can all be best understood as having occurred within the temple enclosure. Other building texts also clearly use \( \text{wb}_3 \) to mean the temple temenos.

There are other cases, however, where a translation of "temenos" is inadequate. In several texts \( \text{wb}_3 \) is used specifically of the area immediately "in front of" or "outside" a main temple entrance and in the case of the temple of Seti I at Gurna \( \text{wb}_3 \) was extended in meaning to include land on the West Bank which belonged to Amun.

There is no one word which can be used to translate \( \text{wb}_3 \) correctly on all occasions and each occurrence will have to be assessed on the context. The one translation which is inaccurate on most occasions is the generally accepted "forecourt" and, for the majority of texts "temenos" would be a suitable rendering.

Since \( \text{wb}_3 \) could be extended in meaning to include all land sacred to a god, it is important not to confuse its meaning with that of the term \( \text{pr} \) \((\text{q.v.})\) which, in the context of an Egyptian temple, could also designate all the land belonging to a particular god. \( \text{pr} \), however, has an administrative connotation which is entirely lacking in \( \text{wb}_3 \). The \( \text{pr} \) of a god could include land which was administered for the temple but was situated far away from the main cult-centre. When a temple on the West Bank at Thebes was described as being \( \text{m pr}^3 \text{Imn} \), this implied that it was under the administrative control of the temple of Amun while the expression \( \text{m wb}_3 \) simply indicated the physical situation of the temple.

In actual fact, any temple which was erected on the \( \text{wb}_3 \) of Amun would have been under the administrative control of the main Amun temple at Karnak, and could, therefore, have been described also as
This can be seen in the case of the temple of Seti I at Gurna.  

The main distinction between the two terms is that m ṭb described the location of the temple while m ṭr indicated that a temple was economically subordinate to the main cult-centre of the god in question.

1 James, The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.12, V, 3; KRI, I, 216, 5.
2 Urk., IV, 584, 10.
3 KRI, I, 201, 5; 201, 15; 205, 4.
5 Plantikow-Münster, ZÄS 95 (1969), 119, Abb.1, b, 6.
6 KRI, II, 278, 11.
7 Ibid., II, 278, 13; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 3, 11; 6, 14-15; 34, 4; 54, 12; et al.
8 KRI, II, 37, 11-15.
9 Baud and Drioton, Le Tombeau de Panehsey, 25, fig.12.
10 Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 147, 4.
11 Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 345; pls.V; VI.
12 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 10, 9; Černy, Late Ramesside Letters, 31, 11.
13 Berlin Königlichen Museen, Ägyptische Inschriften, 159, 7.
14 Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.102, 2.
15 Virey, Rec. de Trav. 8 (1886), 170 and unnumbered plate.
16 Černy and Gardiner, op. cit., pl.89, recto, 9.
17 KRI, V, 250, 2.
18 Ibid., V, 237, 7.
19 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Ramesses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, I, pls.22, A, 18; 23, A, 18.
20 Id., Medinet Habu, III, pls.182, 2; 184, 5 (this last without $\Theta$).
21 Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XIX, 6, recto, 4.
22 Ibid., pl.I, 2, 8.
23 LMT, III, 101; 218, b (with $\Omega$ instead of $\Phi$); Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands Frères d'Amon Romē-Rōy et Amenhotep, 63, Ins. XV, b, 3 and 6; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, III, 80, 3.
24 Černy, op. cit., 72, 7.
25 Černy, JEA 31 (1945), 46 (wb3 is written like this in lines 2, 6 and 9 of the stela (BM 278). In line 5 an \( \alpha \) is added.)

26 Černy, Late Ramesside Letters, 2, 10.

27 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 18, (6).

28 Badawi, ASAE 44 (1944), 204.

29 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), pl.II, 2; III, 2 (Vercoutter would prefer to date this to the Thirtieth Dynasty. See wb3, note 59).

30 Ibid., pl.V, 3; Chassinat, Rec. de Trav. 23 (1901), 79.

31 Koefoed Petersen, Les Stèles Egyptiennes, pl.65.

32 Daumas, BIFAO 50 (1952), 149.

33 Sauneron, Étud., III, 10, 197, 14.

34 Id., Mélanges Mariette, 245.

35 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, U.26 (also U.27, an Old Kingdom variant).


37 Gardiner, JEA 15 (1929), 52.

38 Wb., I, 290, 1-23; 291, 1-7. See also, now, Ward, The Four Egyptian


40 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 58.

41 Wb., I, 291, 14. (The Wörterbuch also lists a word \( \text{wb}^3 \) (t) which is feminine, occurs in Late Egyptian only and for which the Wb. gives the translation "Vorhof des Tempels" (Wb., I, 291, 15). The writing comes from BM Ostraca 5656a which is a New Kingdom hymn to Amun-Re (Birch, Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collection of the British Museum, pl.26, 5656a, verso, 9). However the hieratic forms of the first three signs bear no resemblance to their equivalents as given by Möller (Hieratische Paläographie, II, 487 (wb3, neither does the sign resemble \( \text{mat} \), 486); 124 (h); 208 (ba)). In view of this it is probably not to be taken as a feminine writing of wb3.)

42 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 24.


44 Wb., I, 291. (The belief that wb3 was unknown before the New Kingdom led Roeder (ASAE 52 (1954), 348, (a)) to assume that it must have referred to a part of the temple which did not exist in earlier examples.)

45 James, op. cit., pl.12, V, verso, 3 (for the transcription see pl. 12A.)
46 Ibid., 61, note 27.
49 Peet, op. cit., II, pl.XXII, 3, 7 (for a translation of the whole passage see Ibid., I, 125).
50 Černý, JEA 26 (1940), 127-130.
51 Compare the court of an Amarna house (Lloyd, JEA 19 (1933), 1-7).
52 Urk., IV, 584, 10.
53 Ibid., 1550, 18.
54 PM, II, 213.
55 Nims, Beiträge Bf.12, Festschrift Ricke, 109 and note 15.
56 The Eastern gate of the temple of Amun is again called "ab3 hry" in the reign of Ramesses II (Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., Abb.1, b, 5.
57 The brick enclosure wall of the Amun temple in the Eighteenth Dynasty seems to have been a buttressed wall, portions of which have been found on the eastern side of the temple (Barguet, Temple, 34; Plan I). Barguet's plan shows the wall bending in the area of the Eastern temple so that one can not be certain as to its exact position with regard to the obelisk.
58 Abd El-Razik, op. cit., 147, 4.
59 PM, II, pl.XXIX.
60 KRI, I, 216, 5 (see also; Christophe, BIFAO 60 (1960), 78-79.)
61 KRI, I, 201, 4-5 (Christophe, op. cit., 73)
62 Ibid., 74; 78.
63 Ibid., 78.
64 Loc. cit. (KRI, I, 205, 4).
65 Christophe, op. cit., 78.
66 KRI, I, 201, 4; 201, 9; 201, 15; 202, 8; 203, 7; 203, 13; 203, 16; et al.
67 Ibid., I, 201, 15.
68 Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 119, Abb.1, b, 6.
69 Nims, op. cit., 111.
70 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 2, 10; 31, 11.
71 Ibid., 72, 7.
72 Schmitz, Amenophis I, 117-118; Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 162-164.
73 Peet, op. cit., II, pl.1, Abbott, 2, 8.
Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, III, 136, No. 884; Legrain, op. cit., III, 80; Baud and Drioton, loc. cit.

Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 17.

Ibid., 6, 14-15.

Ibid., 8, 7.

Ibid., 9, 1.

Ibid., 6, 11.

Ibid., 30, 10.

Ibid., 34, 4.

Ibid., 31, 11.

Ibid., 33, 5.

Ibid., 50, 8.

Ibid., 67, 4.

Ibid., 70, 10.

Roeder, op. cit., 345; 346; pls. V; VI.

KRI, V, 250, 2.

Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit., V, pl. 355, B.

Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88; pls. II, 2; III, 2 (Louvre A. 88); 103; pl. V, 3 (unnumbered statue in Alexandria).

KRI, I, 118, 11.

Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pls. 22, A, 18; 23, A, 18.

KRI, V, 231, 7.


Ibid., II, pl. XXI, 4, verso, 20.

Daumas, BIFAO 50, (1952), 149.

Koefoed Petersen, loc. cit.

Wreszinski, Ägyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 90; Chassinat, Rec. de Trav. 23 (1901), 79; Parker, A Saite Oracular Papyrus from Thebes, 33; pl. 12, K. 7 and K. 12.

Lefebvre, op. cit., 63, Insc. XV, b, 3; pl. II.

Ibid., 63, Insc. XV, b, 6; pl. II.

Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 65.

KRI, I, 215, 15; 216, 10; et al.
The Wörterbuch translates wmt as "the thickness of a door" and also "doorway, portico" and notes that, in Late Egyptian, the noun was treated as a feminine word. A similar translation (gateway) is given by Faulkner. Gardner, while suggesting a translation of "gateway," noted that the real meaning was "rather the inner part of the gate, the gateway rather than the entire structure," and Christophel, discussing the occurrences of wmt in Papyrus Harris I, takes wmt to be the entire length of the passage in the thickness of the wall between the exterior and interior faces of the door. Hayes has noted that the gender of wmt seemed to change from masculine to feminine by confusion of the final consonant t with the feminine termination.

This change in gender was also remarked upon by Caminos in his commentary on the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon where he takes ti wmt as to have been the name of a department, office or institution named after its main architectural feature, an alabaster gateway.

Wmt seems originally to have been a masculine word, the final t of which came to be mistaken for the feminine ending. With the exception of Ostracan Petrie 59, the writings in Simuhe show no final t. Barns thought he could make it out in the Ashmolean Ostracan. One of the writings in this text is in the phrase wmt nt d'rn, showing that, even at this early date, the masculine noun was mistaken for a feminine one. Chronologically, the next writing of wmt is on a hieratic ostracan from the tomb of Senmut at Thebes. This also does not show the terminal t and the noun is preceded by the masculine article pr.

Most examples of the term, however, have no indication of gender, although in Papyrus Harris I wmt is once treated as masculine while
in B.M. Papyrus 10053\textsuperscript{23} and in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon\textsuperscript{24} the feminine article \textit{t3} is used before \textit{wmt}. Inscriptions of Darius at the temple of Hibis also treat the term as feminine.\textsuperscript{25}

Etymologically \textit{wmt} is derived from \textit{wm} "to be thick"\textsuperscript{26} and it is often difficult to distinguish \textit{wmt}, the building element, from \textit{wm} "thickness"\textsuperscript{27} since the two words are used, and can be spelled, so similarly.

As was noted above, the earliest writings of \textit{wmt} are in the story of Sinuhe, the earliest extant version of which dates to the Middle Kingdom, with copies of the text surviving from later periods.

When Sinuhe returns to Egypt he goes to the palace and prostrates himself between the guarding sphinxes while the royal children stand in the \textit{wm\(<i>\)w} to greet him.\textsuperscript{28} Presumably they would be standing in the passage formed by the thickness of the monumental gateway at the entrance to the palace. This is a clear indication that the original meaning of \textit{wmt} was the "thickness" of a gate- or doorway. In the case of small doors this would entail merely the width of the door-jamb, the reveal, but in the monumental doorways which were constructed in Egyptian temples and palaces the \textit{wmt} would be the passage through the thickness of the wall or pylon into which the door was set.

The other example of \textit{wmt} in the story of Sinuhe is less straightforward and both Sethe and Gardiner viewed this writing of \textit{wmt} as an error, copied from the previous example.\textsuperscript{29} The occurrence is in the same passage as the former writing. When Sinuhe goes into the palace he finds the king seated on his throne. The most complete text has;\textit{gm.n.j hm.f hr st wrt m \textit{wm\(<i>\)nt} d\textsuperscript{m}.}\textsuperscript{30} Gardiner suggested that the text should be amended to read \textit{st wrt nt d\textsuperscript{m}} since it would not be natural for the king to sit, on his throne, in a doorway. In support of the suggestion he cited a further example of \textit{st wrt nt d\textsuperscript{m}}.\textsuperscript{31} This view has since been challenged by both Rossenvasser\textsuperscript{32} and Barna\textsuperscript{33} who prefer to retain \textit{st wrt m \textit{wmt nt d\textsuperscript{m}}} as this is now supported by the publications of new versions of the text. In particular, a fragment of papyrus in Buenos Aires, containing parts of lines B. 251-256, although damaged, clearly reads; \textit{kr} \textit{st wrt m \textit{w\[st ht. \textit{d\textsuperscript{m}\downarrow\textsuperscript{4}]]}}, the determinatives of \textit{d\textsuperscript{m}},\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{4}}\textsuperscript{4} being still preserved.\textsuperscript{34} This papyrus has been assigned a date similar to that of the Berlin version and is, therefore, not far removed in time from the date of the original
composition. This reading is also supported by two New Kingdom ostraca. The Ashmolean Ostracon has hr st wrt m wmt [l/³/s] d₄m and, although Bams could not reconcile the traces between wmt [t] and d₄m with a reading of nt the sense of the text can not be doubted. Ostracon Petrie 59 shows m wmt nt d₄m.

Caminos has suggested that wmt, in this context, should be understood as referring to a recess in which the throne was situated. This would agree well with the etymological origin of the term since the throne would be set in the "thickness" of the recess. It is almost certain, therefore that the text of Sinuhe does not need to be amended at this point.

An interesting indication of the meaning of wmt is given on an ostracon from the tomb of Senmut at Thebes, describing work on the tomb itself. According to Hayes the wmt to which reference is twice made could only be the "inner doorway" of the tomb, as the proportions of this door approximate closely to those given on the ostracon. Since three dimensions are quoted for the wmt, the entire inner surface of the doorway must have been intended.

It is interesting to note that, in this case, mdt "depth" is used for the actual thickness of the jamb, the measurement which originally gave the name wmt to the reveal.

The reveal of the doorway is called wmt on the verso of the Turin papyrus, the recto of which describes the tomb of Ramesses IV. The identity of the royal tomb described on the verso has not yet been established but the measurements given for the doorways leave no doubt that the "thickness" of the jamb, the reveal, is the meaning of wmt. In his translation, Gardiner regards wmt in this text as the abstract noun "breadth", indicating the difficulty of deciding on the best translation. Both terms have, essentially, the same meaning, so that the question of which of the two was actually intended is, to a certain extent, irrelevant since, in this case, neither the spelling of the word nor the context in which it is found can distinguish between the two.

A text of the reign of Ramesses II illustrates the true meaning of wmt. A woman, concerning whom prognostications are to be made, is told to stand m wmt nt ab. In Papyrus Harris I the wmt is also obviously a part of the door-frame.
Although vmt originally and continuously referred to the reveal of a door, which in monumental architecture became a "passage", the term does seem to have acquired a wider meaning and it came to be used for the entire frame of the doorway. An early example of this may occur in a damaged text of the reign of Amenhotep III, describing the king's hwt st nbw m mmpw at Memphis which contained wshwt wmtw m [///]. The fact that the wmtw were listed with the wshwt would suggest that entire doorways were intended rather than reveals. This would also seem to be so in the papyrus B.M. 10053 where mention is made twice of the sb3 bry n t3 wmt n lnw sbw from which 4½ deben of copper was removed. Sb3 here is used to refer to the door-leaf, a meaning which the term had acquired by the Twentieth Dynasty, with wmt used to describe the door frame.

Similarly the wmt of alabaster mentioned on the Bubastite gate at Karnak and the granite wmt of the temple of Horshaf at Heracleopolis would have been doorways, not just reveals.

Finally the gate of the pylon of Darius at the temple of Hibis is called a wmt and is described as being made of [sand]stone with sb3w of copper. The text is inscribed on the front and back reveals of the gate so that, although wmt must mean the entire gateway the texts themselves are on the true wmtw, the reveals.

From its apparent origin in the Middle Kingdom wmt was used of the reveal of a door down to the Twentieth Dynasty at least. However, during the New Kingdom the meaning was extended to include the entire door frame. This was probably underway in the Eighteenth Dynasty and was certainly so in the Twentieth and later Dynasties.

1 Sinuhe, B.250; B.252. 2 Sinuhe, Ostracon Petrie, 59, 1
3 Hayes, Ostraca and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mut (No.71) at Thebes, pl.XV, No.75.
4 Urk., IV, 1712, 1. This damaged writing is restored by Helck (Urkunden der 18 Dynastie Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22, 224) as which he translates as "Nirlibungen".
5 Urk., IV, 1795, 13.
6 KRI, I, 47, 12. The determinatives include [ ] probably borrowed from wmt "wall" (see p.82 ). The fact that these wmtw are of granite would indicate reveals rather than walls. This also applies to another writing which could be taken to be either word. See further
under wat p.82.

7 Wressinski, Der Grosse Medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums (3038), 47, 4; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 67, 1; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XX, BM 10053, 2, verso, 15.

8 Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 147; 148.

9 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 47.

10 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88, t3.


12 Loc. cit..


14 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 60.

15 Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, 95-96.

16 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 23.

17 Hayes, op. cit., 32.


20 Sinuhe, B.250. and parallel texts.

21 Hayes, op. cit., pl.XV, No.75.

22 Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 11.

23 Peet, loc. cit..

24 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit..

25 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, loc. cit..


27 Ibid., I, 306, 15.

28 Sinuhe, B.250.

29 Gardiner, op. cit., 96.

30 Sinuhe, B.252.

31 Urk., IV, 349, 11.

32 Rosenvasser, JEA 20 (1934), 48.

33 Barns, op. cit., 28.

34 Rosenvasser, op. cit., 47, fig. 1, 3; pl.IX, 1.

35 Barns, op. cit., verso, 44-45.

36 Ibid., 28.

37 Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, 36, 15.

38 Barns, loc. cit..
39 Hayes, loc. cit.
40 Ibid., 32.
41 Carter and Gardiner, loc. cit.,
42 Loc. cit..
43 Wreszinski, loc. cit.
44 Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 11; 67, 1.
45 Urk., IV, 1795, 13.
46 Peet, op. cit., pl. XX, B.M. 10053, 2, verso, 15; (omitting bry) 3, verso, 3.
47 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.
48 Vercoutter, loc. cit.
49 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, loc. cit.
50 Ibid., III, pls. 1; 58-59.
The use of \( \text{wmt} \) as the determinative of \( \text{wmt} \) is a certain indication that the term refers to some kind of wall. Unfortunately none of the occurrences is in a useful context. One is a component of a private name, while two others are descriptive epithets of the king.\(^7\) The two remaining examples are from texts which refer to actual buildings. One is on an ostracon and mentions work on "the wmt of 'The Tomb'\(^8\) and the other is in a text describing work on an 't w'bt at Karnak in the reign of Ramesses IX.\(^9\)

Obviously a \( \text{wmt} \) will have been a "thick wall" and the term may have had no more specific meaning than this. It probably evolved from the adjectival adjunct \( \text{n wmtt in sbyt n wmtt} \)\(^10\) and \( \text{lnb(n)wmtt} \)\(^11\) in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

1 KRI*, I, 7, 11.
2 L.D*, III, 166.
3 In a man's name \( \text{p3 n t wmt} \), Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 67, 1; Ranke, Personennamen, I, 111, 16.
4 Spiegelberg, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 5(1902), 325.
5 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 4.
6 Ranke, loc. cit.
7 KRI*, I, 7, 11; L.D*, III, 166.
8 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.
9 Mariette, loc. cit.
10 See below, p.239.
Wnbwt occurs only in an inscription of the reign of Tuthmosis III at Karnak and is not given in either the Wörterbuch or Faulkner's dictionary. As can be seen from the writing above, the word has to be partially restored, although the determinatives are well preserved. Unfortunately the text immediately preceding the description of the wnbwt is completely lost and the inscription, as it now stands, reads; \[ \text{wn[bwt]} \text{ rwy mn nbwy} \] "their \[ \text{wn[bwt]} \] in gold." Lacau, in his discussion of the text, suggested that the wnbwt were the bases of columns, showing, in the determinatives, the leaf-design which was characteristic of the papyriform columns. Lacau linked the word with wnb "part of the eye" and w3b "root" or "root of a tooth or eye" and suggested that the columns under discussion were those immediately behind the Sixth Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak. These are sandstone papyriform cluster columns. One would then have to assume that the preceding text, now lost, described the columns themselves.

In spite of the fact that the writing has to be largely restored the distinctive form of the determinatives would suggest that it is the base of the column shaft that was intended. This part of the column was often glazed originally and so would comply with the description of the wnbwt as given in the text.

1 Lacau, ASAE 53 (1959), 228. Lacau reads the group as \text{b3wy} but Harris has pointed out that there is no reason not to read the group as \text{nbwy} (Minerals, 39). This text is also published in Urk., IV, 168.9 where the word has been restored differently.

2 Lacau, loc. cit.


4 e.g. Borchardt, Die Ägyptische Pflanzensäule, 32 (papyriform-cluster column); 41 (single-stem papyriform column).

5 Wb., I, 319, 2.

6 Wb., I, 250, 9-11.

7 Lacau, op. cit., pl.II.

8 ibid., 221-234.
The first point to note regarding \textit{wh3} is that the word has a much longer history than was recognised when the \textit{Wörterbuch} was compiled. The earliest example known at that time was from the Middle Kingdom but a text of the Fifth Dynasty has since been published, containing the word \textit{wh3}. This is a block from the causeway of the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara showing palm-columns being transported by barge for the construction of the pyramid complex. The inscription describes them as, \textit{"wh3\textsubscript{w} of granite"} and the columns of the pyramid-temples were, in fact, granite palm-columns. Unfortunately no further examples of the word from the Old Kingdom have yet come to light.

In the Fifth Dynasty writing the word is spelt \textit{wh} without the 3. This is also true of the one known Middle Kingdom writing while one of the Seventeenth Dynasty is spelt \textit{whi}. In spite of these indications that the word may have originally been \textit{wh} or \textit{whi}, it is probably preferable to read the word as \textit{wh3} since, from the Second Intermediate Period onward, this is the usual spelling. With only two exceptions, both of the reign of Taharqa from Kawa in Nubia, \textit{wh3} was consistently written with the biliteral \( \ddagger \quad h3 \).
The *Wörterbuch* translated *wh3* as a "column, pillar (of wood or of stone), also tent-pole." and added that it could be used figuratively in the phrase "column of heaven" to describe the King or a god. Faulkner noted that it could mean "column" or "tent-pole".

Apart from having been used in building contexts, *wh3* was used to describe not only tent-poles but also a part of a ship, presumably a pole or a mast.

As can be seen from the writings given above, it would be impossible to decide to which column-type, if any, *wh3* originally referred, on the basis of these writings alone. Virtually all types were used, at one time or another, as determinatives of the word. The evidence from actual buildings is also inconclusive as most *wh3* can not be identified, while those that can are not all the same column-type.

The earliest reference, as detailed above, describes the palm-columns of the Unas pyramid complex. *wh3* was also used as a term for a palm-column on a Ramesside stela which shows a man offering to the god Ptah who is described as ḫnty pš *wh3* and behind whom stands a quite distinct palm-column. A palm-column is also used as the determinative of *wh3* on the pedestal inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor. In this case *wh3* was used as a general term for the temple columns which were described, more specifically, as ḫḥblwt (q.v.). *Wh3w* was the name given to the columns of the temple (T) of Taharqa at Kawa where the majority of the columns were palm-form although there were some papyriform columns as well.

It would seem then to be at least possible that an *wh3*-column was, originally, a palm-column. There does not, however, appear to be any etymological evidence to support such a theory. In the Graeco-Roman period the word for a palm-column was bnrt which was a logical term for a palm-column, originating in bnrt "date-palm". It is, therefore, possible that all palm-columns, even in dynastic Egypt, were called by this name, despite the fact that no such writings have survived.

Other *wh3w* can be identified with existing columns of different forms. In the temple of Ptah at Karnak Tuthmosis III describes how he found the temple built of brick with *wh3w* and *sb3w* of wood and he rebuilt the temple in stone. The *wh3w* are not mentioned again so that one cannot be certain that this term was also applied to the only
remaining Tuthmosid columns in the temple. These are polygonal. However one can be certain that \textit{whw} in a dedication inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Montu at Karnak\textsuperscript{42} does refer to the papyriform-cluster columns of the temple,\textsuperscript{43} particularly as, for once, the determinatives given to the word corresponds to the actual column-type.

As mentioned above, \textit{whw} in the Luxor inscription of Amenhotep III seems to be a general term for all the columns of the temple, where those erected by this king were either papyriform-clusters or single-stem papyriform columns.\textsuperscript{44}

\textit{Wh} was often linked, in texts, with elements which went to make up doorways, such as; \textit{sbd}, \textit{sbdht}, \textit{sw}, \textit{htw}.\textsuperscript{47} In the case of the work carried out at Karnak in the Twentieth Dynasty by the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, Sauneron suggested that the \textit{whw} were "les supports d’un toit précédant la porte".\textsuperscript{49} In view of the strong connections between the \textit{whw} and doorways this was probably also the case in many of the texts where it is not possible to identify the \textit{whw} with existing remains.

\textit{Wh}-columns could have been made of wood\textsuperscript{50} or stone\textsuperscript{51} and, in one case, a man was likened to a \textit{wh} of reeds under which was a \textit{sp} of copper.\textsuperscript{52} Of the types of building in which \textit{whw} were erected, temples and their associated buildings occur most frequently, although \textit{whw} were also set up in a palace,\textsuperscript{53} a tomb\textsuperscript{54} and an unspecified secular building.\textsuperscript{55}

In the Ptolemaic period \textit{whw}, as was also the case with other column-terms, was used in a general way for all kinds of column, with detailed determinatives added to indicate the column-type involved.\textsuperscript{56}

The word occurs, at Philae, in a demotic inscription on one of the columns of the Western colonnade.\textsuperscript{57} This column, now in Berlin, is, in fact, a palm-column\textsuperscript{58} and there is no reason to doubt that the inscription, carved by the stone-mason in a formal demotic script, refers to this palm-column.

It is tempting to suggest, in view of this last example and also the earlier evidence, that a \textit{wh} was, originally, a palm-column.\textsuperscript{59} Unless the word \textit{hnrt} is much older than its earliest attested reference, which is always possible, there is no known term for a palm-column in dynastic Egypt, although the form was a very ancient one.
in constant use from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period.

However, more usually, **wh3** was a general term for a column and did not refer to a specific type, although the determinatives could indicate the actual form. Wh3 was used not only for large, stone columns but also for lighter wooden ones, both in temple architecture for porches and in the context of a ship or a tent.

On present evidence it is not possible to be more specific than this about the meaning of **wh3**. It was, however, a very long-lived word, examples being known from the Fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period in hieroglyphic and to the Roman period in demotic. In spite of the fact that **wh3** was still being used at such a late date, it seems to have disappeared from the language by the time the Coptic script was in general use.

1 Hassan, ZAS 60 (1955), 137, fig.1.
2 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXVI, 196.
3 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.2, 10.
4 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs, II, 94. This block is also published by Mariette (Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos, 97, No.545) and the writing of **wh3** is quoted by Newberry (PSBA 22 (1900), 99, note*) and Faulkner (Con. Dict. 67). Mariette reproduces the form of the determinative as while Faulkner and Newberry both show a papyriform-cluster column. There does not appear to be a published photograph of the block (Cairo 20503 see PM, V, 73) so that one cannot be certain of the exact form of the sign, but as neither Faulkner nor Newberry claim to have collated the text with the original there is no reason to suppose that the sign is a papyriform-cluster column. The block was originally ascribed to the Eleventh Dynasty on the grounds of its similarity to another block from Abydos (Cairo 20502 see Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., 93) which mentions the king Intef-aa who was, at that time, believed to have belonged to the Eleventh Dynasty (Gauthier, Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte, I, 227). However it has since been shown that this king belonged to the Seventeenth Dynasty (Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), 234-237.) and these blocks from Abydos should be re-dated accordingly.
5 Urk., IV, 1379, 8.
6 Nimis, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig. 7, x+16.

7 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.XIII, 21, recto 7 (also 3, without "—"); Černý, JEA 15 (1929), pl.XLIII, recto 2, 6 (B.M. 10055).

8 Urk., IV, 765, 13.

9 Varilla, Karnak, I, pl.XVII, 7.

10 Urk., IV, 1712, 2. This is the damaged pedestal inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor. For discussion of the form of the determinative here see nbwrt note 2. Another writing of '"', without a determinative, also occurs on the pedestal (Urk., IV, 1711, 9).

11 Spiegelberg, Orientalistische Litteratur-zeitung 5 (1902), 319-320, Ostr. Cairo 25241, recto 2, 4 and 6. For a facsimile of the hieratic see Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.60, b.

12 Roeder, ZÄS 61 (1926), 61; pl.IV, 2.

13 Posener, Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques litteraires de Deir el Medineh, II, pl.49, Ostr. 1217, 2.

14 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 10.

15 Ibid., 16, 13.

16 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 4; Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), pl.II, x+5; x+7.

17 Naville, The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889), pl.VI, frag. 11.

18 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pls.7, 23; 8, 23 (Insc. No.43).

19 Ibid., I, pl.11, 17; 12, 17 (Insc. No.6).

20 Ibid., I, pl.13, 3; 14, 3 (Insc. No.7).

21 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88, 3, 2 (Louvre A88).

22 Ibid., 101. This statue (now in the museum in Alexandria) was found in the East Harbour at Alexandria and has been ascribed to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty by comparison with Louvre A88 (Daressy, ASAE 5 (1905), 127-128). However see further below note 59.

23 De Wit, Ch. d'Eq. 36 No.72 (July 1961), 300.

24 Ibid., 285.

25 Wb., I, 352.

26 Hassan, loc. cit..

27 For a photograph of one of these columns see Jéquier, Architecture, I, pl.6, 1.

28 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, M12.

29 Wb., I, 532, 12-14.
Set
W-b-t It 5329 15-16. It was also used to describe some kind of
column or pole which seemed to serve as a divine totem (Erichsen,
op. cit., 16, 13. Possibly also Spiegelberg, loc. cit.. and Roeder,
loc. cit..) This may be connected with the Wb-column of Cusae
(Wb., I, 552, 2) but is outside the scope of this study.

Paulkner, Con. Dict., 67.
Urk., IV, 664, 7; 705, 13.
Urk., IV, 23, 14; 707, 13.
Roeder, loc. cit.
Urk., IV, 1712, 2.
Macadam, op. cit., I, pls. 8, 23; 12, 17; 14, 3.
ibid., II, 99; 107-9; pl.s XIV, IX, c.
Wallert, Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten, 35-37.
Wb., I, 462, 1-3.
Urk., IV, 765, 13. This particular part of the stela was restored
in the reign of Seti I but there is no reason to suppose that wbw
did not occur in the original text.
For a photograph see Jéquier, Architecture, I, pl. 54, 2.
Varille, loc. cit.
ibid., pl. XI.
Jéquier, op. cit., I, pls. 62-68.
Urk., IV, 765, 13; 1379, 8; Sauneron, op. cit., pl. II, x+5; Erichsen,
loc. cit.
Gardiner, Admonitions, pl. 2, 10.
Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 94; Nims, loc. cit..
Erichsen, loc. cit.; Mariette, loc. cit.; Sauneron, op. cit., pl.
II, x+5; x+7.
ibid., 16, note (c). Compare also Nims, op. cit., 73.
Urk., IV, 1379, 8; Nims, op. cit., fig. 7, x+16; Gardiner, loc. cit.,
(This last by implication, since the wbw were destroyed by fire);
Urk., IV, 765, 13.
Hassan, loc. cit.; Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Černy, loc. cit.;
Mariette, loc. cit.; Sauneron, op. cit., pl. II, x+7; Brugsch, loc.
cit.; Daressy, loc. cit.; Hayes, loc. cit. (By implication, since
wb is determined with ).
Posener, loc. cit.
Erichsen, loc. cit.
Černy, loc. cit.
56 De Wit, *op. cit.*, 285, 300.
58 Lyon, *A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae*, pl. 39-40, (column No. 19). A further Roman example of ḫỉw "column" exists on the "Barberini Obelisk" of which I have been unable to find a publication. Brugsch (*Wörterbuch*, 269) gives a spelling of ḫỉw and the text is translated, without a copy of the inscription, by Erman *Römische Obelisken*, 17, IV, c.
59 Other ḫỉw have also been identified with existing palm-columns. The description of the columns is found, in two similar accounts, on statues of the official Hor which are generally regarded as belonging to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Louvre A88 and an unnumbered statue in the Alexandria museum. See note 22 above and, for a bibliography of each statue, see Vercoutter *BIFAO* 49 (1950), 85-100.) However Vercoutter (*ibid.*, 85-114), although admitting that, on stylistic grounds, he would prefer to date the statues to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, equates the work described by Hor with work of the Thirtieth Dynasty at Heracleopolis. This is in the temple of Hor-shef which was excavated by Petrie (*Ehnasya*, 5-17; pls. V-XI), who found it to have been mainly the work of Ramesses II with some later rebuilding, possibly in the reign of Nectanebo II. There was no definite evidence for rebuilding in the Saite period. At the front of the temple is a row of granite palm-columns and it is these which Vercoutter would like to identify with the ḫỉw of granite in the two texts.

Since these columns are covered with the name of Ramesses II they can not have been erected by Hor whether he lived in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty or the Thirtieth. It is possible that Hor restored the columns and then claimed to have built them, but one would then have expected them to have been inscribed with the cartouche of the king for whom the work was carried out. A further objection to Vercoutter's theory is that the side walls of the court which he would equate with the "south and north ḫỉbw" of the text on Louvre A88 do in fact lie to the east and west of the temple which faces south. In addition the elements named by Hor do exist
in the Ramesside temple at Heracleopolis but equally could be found in any normal Egyptian temple and it is possible that there was once a Late Period temple at Heracleopolis which has since been destroyed.

Consequently while it is tempting to accept Vercoutter's identification which would provide further evidence that the basic meaning of \textit{wh3w} was "palm-column", it is not yet possible to identify positively the \textit{wh3w} of the Hor texts with the palm-columns of the Heracleopolitan temple of Horshef.
The examples of wsht shown above do not claim to be exhaustive as the number of ways in which this word could be written is almost as great as the total number of writings. These variants do, however, present a representative selection.

In examples which employed the | enclosure the sign could be depicted with or without the "battlements" and where these did appear their form and number could differ considerably. In addition the signs enclosed by the | could vary, as could those within the "palace" if
it were included. Ptolemaic writings which use the "battlemented" enclosure usually give, within the sign, the name of the hall in question.

_Wešt_ is a word which occurred in many different contexts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. Etymologically it is derived from the root _wsb_ "to be broad" and has, therefore, generally been regarded as the name for a "(broad) hall or court" similar in type to words such as _wsb_ "broad necklace" and _wsb_ "transport ship for cargo."

In the Old Kingdom _wešt_ occurred in titles such as the common _ḥp_ _wešt_ and _ḥm-ḥ r_ _wešt_ and also, in mythological contexts in the Pyramid Texts. There are exceptions but in general, in these texts, the _wešt_ is either a hall in which offerings were made or one from which offerings came. The connection between the _wešt_ and offerings was, thus, established at a very early date and is reflected by the name _ḥp_ _wešt_ which was one of the regular donations in the offering lists, and is also mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. The implication that offerings were frequently made in the _wešt_ is supported by the archaeological evidence from the only Old Kingdom _wešt_ which can be identified with any degree of certainty.

This is the large, open court, surrounded by a colonnade of lotiform columns, in the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir. There can be no doubt that this court is the _wešt_ with thirty-seven lotiform columns ( _nhbwt q. v._ ) which is mentioned in an inspection-account in the Abusir Papyri. This open court originally contained an altar so there can be no doubt that offering ceremonies were performed there.

It is not possible to identify any other _wešt_ of the Old Kingdom so it is difficult to determine the nature of the _wešt_ in the earliest periods of Egyptian history. The detailed depictions of the Old Kingdom writings often show a palace, labelled as _ḥd_, standing in the corner of the enclosure and it is tempting to interpret this arrangement as a representation of the ancient form of the _wešt_. In origin, therefore, one would expect the _wešt_ to have been an open court, presumably broader than it was long, surrounding and protecting an important building such as a palace. The projections on the _wešt_-sign are probably buttresses rather than battlements, reflecting the popularity of the niched wall in both secular and funerary architecture of the Archaic period. However, by the Fifth Dynasty,
the word has come to be used of an open court which formed a part of, rather than enclosed, the pyramid temple of Neferirkare so it must be assumed that, during the early Old Kingdom, wsḥt was transferred from an outer court to one within a building. It is this later meaning which was retained and developed.

As usual the lack of evidence from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, both of actual temple remains and detailed building texts, precludes the identification of temple wsḥt. However it is clear that, by the Twelfth Dynasty at least, wsḥt was in regular use as a term for a court or hall in a temple.

The building accounts contained in Papyrus Reisner III refer to a wsḥt nt ḫwt-nṯr, while a papyrus from Lahun recording the inspection of the ḫwt-nṯr of the pyramid-town of Ankh-Sesostris, mentions various wsḥt in the temple.

Rather more information about a temple wsḥt can be obtained from column-drums of Amenemhat III from Crocodilopolis. These drums describe the building, for Sobek, of "a wsḥt, its ṣḥḥ-columns and its ṣḥḥt in granite, its ḫbw in electrum." The wsḥt was clearly the hall in which these granite papyriform cluster columns were erected so this wsḥt must have been either a roofed hypostyle hall, or an open court with colonnades, similar to that of Neferirkare at Abusir.

An interesting Thirteenth Dynasty stela of Sebekhotep VIII, which was found within the Third Pylon at Karnak, records that an unusually high inundation flooded the temple of Amun. "His majesty proceeded to the wsḥt of the ṛ-pr (and) Hapi, the great one, was seen coming to his majesty, the wsḥt of this ṛ-pr being full of water. His majesty waded in it...." A similar, but less well-preserved text on the other side of the stela describes the same events. Unfortunately the plan of the Middle Kingdom temple is largely a matter for speculation so this wsḥt can not be identified with any existing hall. However as so much emphasis was placed on the fact that the wsḥt of the temple was flooded, it can be assumed that it was one of the main halls or courts of the temple. This is also suggested by another Second Intermediate Period stela, of Sebekhotep IV, who carried out building-work in the Amun temple. He records making "a pure ḫḥḥw in the wsḥt ḫḥḥt of this ḫwt-nṯr." The adjective ḫḥḥt has no determinative but, in such a context,
presumably refers to the fact that the wsât contained wâd columns. It can, therefore, be assumed that the early temple of Amûn at Karnak included an important colonnaded hall or court which was known as a wsât.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty various wsâwt are attested in the same temple but most of these can not be positively identified. One exception is the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons which is described by Amenhotep II as a "wsât of nûble wâd-columns". This same hall was also called a wsâyt and a wânyt, both of which reflect the fact that the hall contained columns. In view of the etymological origin of wsât it is interesting to note that, in this case at least, a wsât was broader than it was deep. This is the first known use of wsât for a hypostyle hall rather than a colonnaded court.

Further wsâwt at Karnak can not be so firmly identified. Among the sandstone blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were extracted from the Third Pylon are a number which make up a scene of bulls. Along the top of this scene is an incomplete building text which mentions a hîfr-mîr n râwt phrw m iwmw. The first word has been restored by Barguet as wsât, and, in view of the fact that similar expressions to wsât hîfr-îr are attested elsewhere, this restoration is almost certainly correct. The exact nature of the building (or buildings) from which these blocks came is still uncertain. Barguet considers it to have been a colonnaded court situated in front of the Fourth Pylon.

Another example of wsât occurs on a granite block from the sanctuary of Tuthmosis III at Karnak. This building text describes a wsât c'ît wâdyt tâw m iîn r râwt, "a great columned wsât (with) sandstone tâ-columns". Originally Nims identified this as the court behind the Sixth Pylon but he later reconsidered and decided that it referred to the pillared hall of the Festival Temple of Tuthmosis III. Barguet had previously suggested that this was the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons. Which of these identifications is correct is impossible to say. Both the hall of Tuthmosis I and the court behind the Sixth Pylon had papyriform columns and so could have been described as wsâyt, while the form of the determinatives of the unusual word tâw(q.v.) would support the view that it was the rare tent-pole columns of the Festival Temple to which the text refers.

Whichever of these interpretations is correct, it is clear that
in the Eighteenth Dynasty there was more than one wsbt in the Amun temple at Karnak. It is evident that wsbt was not being used of one particular hall in the temple but as a term for any large and important hall or court. The fact that there could be more than one wsbt in any temple is also illustrated by a text of Amenhotep III, describing his hwt nt hbw m mpwt at Memphis in which were wsbt. The plan of this temple is unknown but, presumably, wsbt referred to all the major halls or courts within the building.

A wsbt of the reign of Amenhotep II is known to have existed in the temple of Medamud but, as this example seems to be an abbreviation for wsbt hbyt, it will be discussed below.

There was also a wsbt in the great temple of the Aten at Amarna. This is described as the wsbt n hwt bbn n pr 1tn and must have been one of the courts of the great temple. There was another wsbt at Amarna which can be identified more positively but it was a part of the so-called "great palace", not the main temple, and will be detailed below.

In the temple of Seti I at Abydos a dedicatory text for the Butcher's image describes it as a shw w'ib with a wsbt and wdjw. The wdjw will be the three storerooms, opening onto the Butcher's Hall itself and it is most likely that the wsbt is the main hall although it could also, possibly, be the smaller hall with four columns. Two further texts from this temple refer to the same wsbt.

The colonnaded court which Rameses II added onto the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Luxor is described as a "wsbt in front of his (Amun's) 1pt," while the same king used wsbt to describe the hypostyle hall of his Theban mortuary temple, indicating, quite clearly, that wsbt could be used of both a forecourt and a hypostyle hall in the same reign.

Later texts, of the Twentieth to Twenty-Second Dynasties, show, by using the plural form, that there were a number of wsbyt in the temple of Amun at Karnak. If any principal hall or court could be designated a wsbt then the addition of descriptive adjectives to help specify the wsbt in question became necessary. This is demonstrated in a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus which describes how the Vizier made offerings for the workmen of the Royal Tomb in t3 wsbt '3t "the great wsbt" of the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. The use of the adjunct '3t would have distinguished this wsbt from any other in the same temple.
This use of descriptive adjectives led, from the New Kingdom, to the formulation of various compounds of \(\text{wsbt}\), the most common of which, \(\text{wsbt \ ūbyt}\), will be discussed separately below.\(^89\) Others, which occur only rarely, include \(\text{wsbt \ ūy\cprime t}\) \(^90\) which is found in the Nineteenth Dynasty and must have described the hall into which the image of the god made its appearance. There is also the term \(\text{wsbt n bnr}\) "the outer \(\text{wsbt}\)" which is self-explanatory,\(^91\) and the Graeco-Roman expression \(\text{wsbt mǎt}\),\(^92\) which was used for that part of the temple to which the public could be admitted, probably the area immediately in front of the pylon.

In the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu every hall on the main axis of the temple was described as a \(\text{wsbt}\) and so the name of the hall was added to the noun in order to specify the hall in question.\(^93\)

In the context of a temple, therefore, the development of \(\text{wsbt}\) is quite clear. The word originated as a large open enclosure and was, by the Old Kingdom, transferred to an open colonnaded court within a temple. In the Middle Kingdom the \(\text{wsbt}\) is known to have contained columns, but whether in a hypostyle hall or in colonnades can not be decided. However, by the New Kingdom, \(\text{wsbt}\) could certainly be used of both the hypostyle hall and the open forecourt. The increased use of the plural form and the evidence of the Ptolemaic texts from Edfu show that, eventually, \(\text{wsbt}\) could describe any of the major halls or courts within a temple. It is noticeably never used of siderooms or stores.

In relation to the palace it is, as one would expect, much more difficult to identify particular \(\text{wsbt}\), although something of the nature of a palace \(\text{wsbt}\) can be reconstructed from the evidence available.

In the reign of Hatshepsut there was a royal palace ('\(\text{ḥ}\)') attached to the temple of Amun at Karnak. In one place this is called the '\(\text{ḥ n wsbt}\)'\(^94\). There are no remains extant of this palace which Gitton has suggested was situated in front of the Fourth Pylon (at that time the entrance to the temple)\(^95\). It is possible that the \(\text{wsbt}\) in question was a part of the temple added to '\(\text{ḥ}\) in order to fix its position within the temple complex.

Other \(\text{wsbt}\) which are connected with palaces are, however, clearly within the palaces themselves. In the reign of Tuthmosis III his heir,
the prince Amenhotep, was taught to shoot in the wsbt of the pr-ḥ3 of Thinis, which must have been a large open court. On the other hand the wsbt which was full of records in the office (ḥ3) of the Vizier Rekhmire must have been an inner rooded room. One further wsbt which can be identified with actual remains is in the "great palace at Amarna. The ceremonial open court at the front of the building is almost certainly the wsbt ẖtn to which reference is made in various fragmentary inscriptions, found in the area around the court.

This evidence that wsbt could be used for a large ceremonial court in front of a building is supported by other texts in which captives and plunder from foreign campaigns were assembled in the wsbt of the palace and inspected by the king.

However, more usually in the New Kingdom wsbt occurs in the plural form in contexts from which it can only be deduced that wsḥwt pr-nsw had become a standard phrase to describe the royal palace; the court. One text, at least, implies that access to the wsḥwt pr-nsw was not easy "... as for he who reaches the wsḥwt pr-nsw, he is like the waves of the sea, one remains alive while a thousand die." In the palace, as in the temple, it would seem that wsbt was used originally for a large open court and was later transferred to all the principal rooms of the palace, so that the residence itself could be referred to as the wsḥwt pr-nsw.

Even when wsḥt is used of more than one hall or court within a building, whether a temple or a palace, it is only found to refer to large and important rooms, and, for this reason, it is not usually applied to private houses. One exception to this is a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus which tells how a private individual, Raia, built a fine bḥn for himself, containing wsḥt. Since the text goes on to praise the building in great detail it can be assumed that the use of wsḥwt in this context is to emphasize the size of the house and the importance of its owner.

One further use of wsḥt, a detailed study of which would be outside the scope of this work, is as a place of judgement, usually in mythological contexts, which presumably reflects a similar use of the term on earth.

Various wsḥwt of the gods are known some of which may be actual courts within the temples of the gods, while others appear to be purely mythological.
One final use of wsbt was to describe the large open court in which the Sed festival was celebrated. This is shown particularly by the title 3ry-p't (l):y dnbw wsbt which is attested for the Middle and New Kingdoms and which was held by the official responsible for the symbolic dnbw around which the king would run. Further proof of this meaning of wsbt is provided by a scene of Hatshepsut wearing the short hb-sd robe which is entitled "coming and going to the pr-nx, to the wsbt hb-sd." This use of the term is of particular interest as it supports the view that the original pre- or early dynastic wsbt was a large open court such as that found within the Step Pyramid enclosure which is, in fact, a copy, for the afterlife, of the Heb-sed court on earth.

Wsbt is a very ancient word which was used primarily for large halls or courts in temples and palaces. Although it was probably first applied to open courts within such buildings it later came to be refer to all the principal halls, including the hypostyle hall and the forecourt. In view of this fact, unless the context suggests a more specific translation, one should only use such general translations as "hall" or "court" for wsbt. Unlike the compound wsbt hbyt (q.-v.), wsbt was never applied to one particular part of the temple or palace.

Since the use of wsbt was confined almost exclusively to palaces and temples, the word disappeared from the language when such buildings were no longer in use, and it, consequently, does not occur in Coptic.

1 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pls. 110, abb. 579; 111, abb. 597; 598. (According to Kaplony (Ibid., I, 1167) the former of these writings of wsbt occurs in a title "hm-ntr- Hthr von der wsbt (oder hm-ntr in der wsbt der Hthr)" while the second example, which is found on two cylinder seals, is in the proper name "Nj-wsbt-Nt" (Ibid., I, 1169). I can find no corroborative evidence for either the title or a connection between the wsbt and either goddess. Nor is the name Nj-wsbt-Nt noted by Ranke (Personennamen). Since the reading and interpretation of these early seals is still rather problematical, and the sign in question could be read as alphabetic h the existence of wsbt on the Archaic seals can not be taken for granted. It must be under-
stood, however, that the wasšt enclosure was undoubtedly a very ancient type of edifice and that the lack of evidence for its existence prior to the Fourth Dynasty is merely a result of the paucity of inscribed material which has survived from the first three dynasties.); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The

Subastite Portal, pl. 16, 51. Caminos, (The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 68-69,) reads the sign  \( \text{\textbar} \) as wasšt but finds it "disturbing" that wasšt should have been used in such a context to mean a 

"scribal office or scriptorium". There are, however, titles linking a wasšt with scribal offices in the Old Kingdom; \( \text{hr}p \text{sš wasšt \text{(Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches, I, 186; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 247)}} \) and \( \text{hr}p \text{sš m wasšt \text{\textcdot} \text{(t)} \text{(Hassan, Giza, V, 263, fig.119; pl.XXXIII, A)}} \), so it is possible that wasšt was used to describe a scribal office. The alternative would be to take this writing as an example of the rare word \( \text{h} \) from which the alphabetic sign acquired its phonetic value (\text{Wh., II, 470, 1-2; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 04}). The exact meaning of this word is doubtful and the contexts in which it occurs are singularly unhelpful. Gardiner (\text{loc. cit.}) notes that a Late Period sign papyrus describes the sign as a pr n sšt "field-house" so the \( \text{h} \) would have been a light temporary structure rather than an established hall or court. Fairman (\text{ASAE 43(1943), 308}) noted that Grdseloff was of the opinion that all writings of \( \text{h} \) were, in fact, variants of wasšt. However the examples of \( \text{h} \) quoted by the Wörterbuch (Belegstellen, II, 715 (ref.470, 1-2)) would not seem to support this view. It is certainly true that the two "enclosure" signs were interchangeable in writings of wasšt, and an example is quoted by Fairman (\text{loc. cit.}) of the reverse procedure where sign 013 occurs in place of 04 in a writing of \( \text{\textbar} \text{h} \text{\textcdot} \text{t} \text{(Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Mastaba of Mereruka, I, pl.80)} \).

2 Junker, Giza, XI, 55, abb.33.

3 Urk., I, 47, 10 (This word, in the title \( \text{\textbar} \text{mdw m wasšt} \), was read as hayt both by Hassan (Giza, V, 238, No.14, translated as "audience chamber") and Fischer (\text{WTO 7 (1960), 304, note 9}). Fischer noted that this was an example of the judicial function of the hayt. I can find no evidence that hayt was ever used as the name of a court, although the title \( \text{\textbar} \text{h} \text{\textcdot} \text{hayt} \) was often held by officials.
who also had judicial functions. There are, however, firm links between the waḥt and the judicial procedure so it is more likely that this writing is for waḥt than for ḫaḥt. This title can be compared with the similar ḫmy-r wḏ mdw n waḥt (Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, pl.XVIII). Finally it can be noted that, in the same tomb at Giza as the title under discussion, the offering ḫtp waḥt is also written with the sign □ (Hassan, op. cit., V, 252, fig. 111).

4 Posener-Kröger and De Genival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XXXIIA, 11 (other writings of waḥt in the same archive employ the "enclosure" sign, see; ibid., pls.VIIA, B; LIIX, A, 3, b); Urk., IV, 2060, 11; The Nineteenth Dynasty writings use the same signs in different groupings, (e.g. KRI, I, 358, 4; IV, 9, 1); Naville, Goshen and the Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh, pl.5, 3.

5 Davies, [Norman] de C., The Tomb of Ptahhotep, I, pl.XVIII, 406. For further examples with the buttresses inverted see ibid., pl. XXVIII; LD, II, 48.

6 Murray, op. cit., pl.XXIVXV. For similar examples see; ibid., II, pl. VI; Davies, op. cit., I, pl.XII, fig.225; II, pl.VI.

7 Murray, op. cit., pl.XVIII. The exceptional shape of the buttresses in this writing may be an attempt to indicate more realistically the niched facade of the enclosure.

8 The form, number and positioning of the buttresses in the following writing varies considerably but the basic form of the sign remains the same. LD, II, 103; Mariette, op. cit., 230; Pyr., 905b; 1749a; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 121; 176, b, 4; Mariette, Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos, 261; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 135; Urk., IV, 1092, 6; Abd el-Razik, JRA 60 (1974), 147, 3; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, III, 59.

9 The same variations listed for note 8 also apply here. Murray, op. cit., pl.XXIII; Pyr. 59c; Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl.XIII, 9; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXXV; LD, III, 25, 1; De Wit, Ch. d'Eg., 36 No.71 (Jan. 1961), 69; 90.

10 Pyr., 1069a; Urk., IV, 265, 5.

11 LD, II, 64, a; Murray, op. cit., pl.IX; Davies, op. cit., II, pl. XVIII; Pyr., 1551a.

12 Pyr., 1984a.
13 Pyr., 1266b.
15 Ibid., pl. 10A, E, 4; similar, pl. 10A, E, 36.
16 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pl. 16, Gr. 17, 3.
17 Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), Autographed pages, 10, 7; 11, 9-10 (papyrus 10096); Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 20, 3; 108, 3; 110, 15; Id., Late Egyptian Stories, 39, 4; 40, 7; 56, 2; Id., Ramesside Administrative Documents, 64, 12. This is the usual writing of wsät in Late Egyptian hieratic texts. Writings with the cursive w are also common, see; Id., Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 66, 16; 80, 8; 124, 6.
18 Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88.
19 Id., SAK I (1974), 209; pl.I.
21 Mariette, Abydos, II, 30, 28.
22 Louvre stela C286; Wreszinski, Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 56 (omitting the t).
23 Berlin Königlichen Museen, Aegyptische Inschriften, II, 4, D, 3.
24 Urk., IV, 116, 9; 66, 17; 976, 13; 1483, 12; 1795; 13; 1778, 6; Janssen, Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs, 9, x+11; De Wit, op. cit., 90.
25 Urk., IV, 1644, 5 (in the proper name 'Imm-m-wsät, see Ranke, Personennamen, I, 28, 2).
26 Berlin Königlichen Museen, op. cit., II, 38.
27 Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Antichita Egizie, 204; Naville, Les Quatres Stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille, pl.XIII; De Wit, op. cit., No. 72, (July 1961), 312.
28 Urk., IV, 1331, 11.
29 Griffith, A Collection of Hieroglyphs, pl. 3, 30.
30 Davies, N[orman]de G, El Amarna, II, pl. IX.
31 KHI, I, 194, 1 and 10.
32 Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, III, pl. X, B, e, 3.
33 LDT, III, 134.
34 Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II in Karnak, pl. 19, bild 21.
35 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 17, 5.
36 Brugsch, Reise nach der Grossen Case El Khargh in der Libyschen Wüste, pl. XXII, 9.
37 De Wit, op. cit., 285, 288; Ibid., No. 71, (Jan 1961), 68.
38 Wb., I, 364, 11-19; 365, 1-3.
39 Ibid., I, 366, 5-17; 367, 1-2; Gardiner, Onom., II, 208* 428*; Id., Grammar, 562; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 69.
40 Wb., I, 365, 16.
41 Ibid., 366, 1-2; similar, 366, 3-4.
42 Ibid., 367, 1.
43 Ibid., 367, 2.
44 Pyr., 1266b; 1551a; 1749a; 1984a.
45 Ibid., 214c; 807b; 866a; 905b; 1069a.
46 Barta, Die altägyptische Opferliste, passim.
47 Pyr., 59c; 103b; See also De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 209f.
48 Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke3-re', pl.10.
50 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XXIII, 11.
51 Borchardt, op. cit., 7.
52 Weeks, JARCE 9 (1971-1972), 29-33, see especially the plan of the gateway.
53 Emery, Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, I-III.
54 Simpson, op. cit., pls.10A, E, 36; 10A, E, 4; 15A, G, 5, 23. For a discussion of wsbt as used in this papyrus see Ibid., 37.
55 Scharff, loc. cit..
56 Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88.
57 Id., SAK I (1974), 211; pl.II.
58 Ibid., 209; pl.I.
60 Helck (Ibid., 196) translates waht w3dyt as "Saulenhalle".
61 Urk., IV, 1331, 11.
62 Ibid., 157, 13; 158, 8; 374, 11; 1328, 1-3.
63 Ibid., 365, 3.
64 FM., II, pl.X.
65 Chevrier, ASAE 51 (1951), 572, fig.8; Id., ASAE 52 (1954), 250, pl.VIII.
66 Barguet, Temple, 95.
67 Compare; Abd el-Razik, loc. cit. (waht.s m hft-hr ²pt.f) and LDT, III, 134 (waht 'st ñpsst.....hft-hr.s).
68 Sauneron, BIFAO 75 (1975), 453.
69 Barguet, loc. cit.
70 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig. 7, x+3.
71 Ibid., 72.
72 Nims, Beiträge Bl. 12, Festschrift Ricke, 107, note 3.
73 Barguet, op. cit., 54.
74 See wid p. 59.
75 See Ibid., 59 and 59 p. 30-31.
76 Urk., IV, 1795, 13.
77 Ibid., 1485, 12.
78 See waht hbyt p. 109.
79 Davies, op. cit., I, pl. XXVII; IV, pl. XXXIII (Ap'y 6); VI, pl. XIV, (ceiling inscription S.); XVI, 10. See also Ibid., II, pl. IX for offerings made in the waht at Amarna.
80 Fairman in Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten, III, Text, 194-195.
81 See p. 98.
82 KRI, I, 194, 1.
83 PM, VI, 22.
84 KRI, I, 194, 10; Mariette, op. cit., I, 53. Compare also, in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos, Ibid., II, 7.
85 Abd el-Razik, loc. cit. An Eighteenth Dynasty waht at Luxor has been taken to have been a peristyle court in front of the temple; Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 133; 135, note 1.
86 LDIt, III, 134.
87 Gardiner, JEA 41 (1955), pl. X (P. Turin 1882, recto, IV, 2); Barguet, op. cit., 37; Brugsch, loc. cit.; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 21, 15.
88 Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 64, 12.
89 See p. 107-113.
90 Legrain, BIFAO 13 (1917), 3, No. 7; 8, note 1 (also Barguet, op. cit., 315); KRI, I, 75, 14; LD, III, 132, b. Barguet, (op. cit., 314) also suggests that the hall of Tuthmosis I between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak was a waht hbyt but he does not cite any evidence for this. At Tod the excavation report calls the columned hall of Sesostris I a waht hbyt (Bisson de la Roque, Tod, 8; 13; 15; 18) but, again, no evidence for this is presented.
91 Wb., I, 461, 10.
92 Wb., I, 366, 11.
93 De Wit, op. cit., No. 71 (Jan. 1961), 68; 69; 90; No. 72 (July
1962), 265; 268; 269; 293; 311; 312. For other temple wehwt (less easily identified) in the Ptolemaic period see; Barguet, Le Papyrus N.31'76 (S) du Musée du Louvre, 17, V, 24 (a wehwt of Amonit which Barguet identifies with the hypostyle hall at Karnak); Ray, The Archive of Hor, 74, 161 pl.XX (a wehwt in which a court of elders was held and which Ray suggests (ibid., 79, note n) referred to the "forecourt" of the temple of Ptah at Memphis.)

94 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 98, Karnak, 11.
95 Gitten, BIFAO 74 (1974), 63-73. See also Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gauen, 25.
96 Urg., IV, 976, 13.
97 Ibid., 1992, 6-7.
98 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.XIIIb; XIV. For the view that this building was a temple- rather than a palace see; Uphill, JNES 29 (1970), 151-166. See also åwt-r'(hršty), below p. 262-3.
99 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.CIII, 31; CIII, 41.
100 KRI, IV, 9, 11; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 20, 3.
101 Ibid., 66, 16; 80, 8; 108, 3. See also Urg., IV, 2159, 14 (wehwt n 'hpwty in the reign of Horemheb); Gardiner, JEA 10, (1924), 90; Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 256, note on (19, 6).
102 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 124, 6.
103 Ibid., 110, 15.
104 E.g. Urg., I, 47, 10; Smither, JEA 28 (1942), 17, 10; Mariette, op. cit., II, 30, 28; Urg., IV, 66, 17; Naville, Les Quatres Stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille, pl.XIII; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 39, 4; 40, 7; 56, 5.
105 Janssen, op. cit., 9, line x+11 of text; Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II in Karnak, pl.19, bild 21;
Hamada, loc. cit. 106 Pyr., 1984a; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 230. See in particular the wehwt of Geb; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, I, 63; II, 31; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 176, b, 4; NavILLE, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, III, pl.X, B, e, 3; KRI, I, 358, 4; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 38, 9; Mariette, Catalogue general des Monuments d'Abydos, 261; Berlin Königliche Museen, op. cit., II, 226; Wrezinski, op. cit., 56. Wehwt also occurs in such names as 'Imn-m-wehwt (Urg., IV, 1644, 5); Naty-m-wehwt (Mariette, op. cit., 914; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I,
121; 122). For a list of such names see: Ranke, Personennamen, III, 44.

107 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 152, 6; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl. XXXV; LDT, III, 252; Urk., IV, 1513, 13; Schiaparelli, op. cit., 266; Urk., IV, 1881, 4; 1897, 10; Naville, Bubastis, pl. XXXV, E.

108 Spencer, JEA 64 (1978), 52-55.

109 Naville, Deir el-Bahari, III, pl. LXIV (Urk., IV, 265, 5).
Wsbt hbyt is the most frequently found compound of wsbt, and it is the only one which survives in enough examples for any detailed conclusions to be made, concerning its position and function in an Egyptian temple. 22 The earliest writing known dates to the Seventeenth Dynasty which may suggest that wsbt hbyt was the name applied to a part of the temple which had not existed previously, although the absence of earlier writings could be just an accident of survival. The term occurs often in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but only sporadically in later periods. As one would expect with a word which was confined in use to temple architecture, wsbt hbyt has no equivalent in Coptic.

The Wörterbuch translates wsbt hbyt as "Festhof des Tempels" 23 and Faulkner as "festival hall". 24

As has been shown above wsbt alone could refer to any of the principal halls or courts of a temple, although originally it was used of an open court. Consequently one would expect wsbt hbyt to be the
specific name of one of these major halls, presumably one in which
festal ceremonies took place. Barguet concluded that "Il ne s'agissait
pas de la cour véritable du temple, celle qui précède le pronaos ou
la salle hypostyle, mais d'un espace s'étendant dans l'ancienne du
temple, en avant du pylône d'entrée".25 He considered that the waḥt
ḥbyt was a court in which were held certain ceremonies to which a
selected number of members of the public were admitted.26 On present
evidence it is not possible to be specific about the function of the
waḥt ḫbyt, it is, however, possible to identify the position of the
waḥt ḫbyt within the temple.

The earliest waḥt ḫbyt so far known was in the Seventeenth Dyn-
asty temple of Osiris at Abydos. Since the text which mentions the
term is on a column it can be assumed that the waḥt ḫbyt was either
a hypostyle hall or a colonnaded court. The latter, in view of later
evidence, is more likely to be correct. It is of interest that the ins-
cription, of king Intef V, states, [ḥ]r.:n.f waḥt ḫbyt m mswt, "He
made the waḥt ḫbyt anew", 27 suggesting that there had already been
such a court in the temple. If this earlier court were of the Middle
Kingdom then the history of the term would be carried back further
than can be proved on present evidence.

From the reign of Hatshepsut there are a number of references to
a waḥt ḫbyt in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Unfortunately these do
not occur in dedication inscriptions in any particular halls or courts.
There are two references to the fact that the tribute from the Punt
expedition was measured and offered to Amun in the waḥt ḫbyt 28 and
two of the blocks from the sanctuary of Hatshepsut show a scene of
the barque of Amun being carried by the priests with a descriptive
title ṣḥṭ m waḥt ḫbyt.29 Lacau and Chevrier have suggested that this
waḥt ḫbyt was the hypostyle hall of Tuthmosis I between the Fourth and
Fifth Pylons.30 This hall was described, later, by Amenhotep II, as a
waḥt 31 although it is not called a waḥt ḫbyt in any text which can be
firmly ascribed to it. The identification of the waḥt ḫbyt in the
reign of Hatshepsut 32 will be discussed below when more conclusive
evidence for the usual location of this court has been presented.

Fortunately such evidence does exist, as courts in various temples
are known to have been called waḥt ḫbyt.

In the South temple at Buhen an inscription on one of the columns
of the court describes the making, by Tuthmosis III, of a waḥt ḫbyt.33
As has been noted by Caminos this can only refer to the court in which the column stands. There is some doubt as to whether this court was open to the sky or roofed but it would seem to be most likely that it was an open court with only the colonnades roofed over.

The Amada stela of Amenhotep II describes the temple as containing "a sandstone pylon in front of the waḥt ḫḥbyt", leaving no doubt at all that the term was being used to describe the forecourt of the temple. In the reign of Amenhotep II this was an open court with only four columns along the facade of the hypostyle hall. The same forecourt was also called, on the same stela, a lwnyt, illustrating the distinction in Egyptian between a name which described the physical appearance of a hall, lwnyt, and a name which specified the function of the same hall, waḥt ḫḥbyt.

The parallel stela, which describes the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, also mentions a waḥt ḫḥbyt. The plan of this temple has not been recovered but it is of interest to note that another reference to the waḥt ḫḥbyt of Amenhotep II at Elephantine exists on a block which was reused in the temple of Trajan on the island. This describes the making, for Khnum, of a "waḥt ḫḥbyt so that all the people (ḫḥbyt) might see." This text would support Bargue's view that the waḥt ḫḥbyt was open to certain members of the public, at least on the occasions of festivals.

The remaining known waḥṭ ḫḥbyt of the Eighteenth Dynasty can not be identified although one text, on a private statue from the temple of Medamud, indicates something of the nature of the court involved. The inscription states that the statue was to be set up in the waḥṭ ḫḥbyt "so it might soak up the water sprinkled on the altars which are in the waḥṭ." It is not possible to reconstruct this temple, of which only architectural fragments were found and the statue was not in situ. The description given, however, shows that the term waḥṭ ḫḥbyt could be abbreviated to waḥṭ and that the court could contain, not only altars on which offerings were made, but also private statues which could benefit from the reversion of offerings.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty the court of Ramesses II in the temple of Luxor was called a waḥṭ ḫḥbyt and in the Twentieth Dynasty an inscription on the top of the second pylon of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu has been understood to refer to the second court of the temple as a waḥṭ ḫḥbyt.
The forecourt of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak was described, by Herihor, as a *waḥt ḫbyt* 46 and so was the present day forecourt of the temple of Amun. The latter reference occurs on a stela of Sheshonq I from Silsila where the quarries were reopened to provide stone for building work at Karnak, including a *waḥt ḫbyt* which was to be surrounded by statues and a colonnade (*waḥt q.wv.*). 47

The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temple of Re-Horakhty beside the sacred lake at Karnak contained a *waḥt ḫbyt* which can not, now, be identified. In the Ptolemaic period, as is true of so many words, the meaning of *waḥt ḫbyt* was extended to include a hypostyle hall, 49 although, in the temple of Philae, it was still used for a colonnaded court. 50

From this evidence it can be seen that the *waḥt ḫbyt* of a dynastic temple was the colonnaded court situated immediately behind the pylon. The name primarily describes the function of this particular temple *waḥt* as a place in which offerings were made and to which certain members of the public could be admitted for festivals. However, the fact that this court was made accessible to citizens other than the priesthood ensured that the *waḥt ḫbyt* was always the first hall of the temple. 51 It clearly could not be situated towards the rear of the temple to which access could only be gained by means of the more sacred halls to which only the priests were admitted. Consequently, although the term *waḥt ḫbyt* does not in itself describe the physical appearance of the court, it came to be used solely for the colonnaded forecourt. The change of meaning in the Ptolemaic period may reflect a change in the temple ritual, or may be a case of the loose application of a once specific term.

It remains to be decided, on the basis of the evidence presented above, exactly which hall in the temple of Amun is the oft-referred to *waḥt ḫbyt* in the reign of Hatshepsut.

At the time of the return of the Punt expedition 52 when the produce was weighed and offered to Amun in the *waḥt ḫbyt*, the temple was basically that erected by Tuthmosis I so the *waḥt ḫbyt* could have been either the hypostyle hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons or the large open court surrounded by colonnades and statues behind the Fifth Pylon. 53 The latter fulfills the usual plan of a *waḥt ḫbyt*, an open colonnaded court but it must be remembered that the term was used for such a court because, in later temples, the forecourt was
the first hall to which the public could be easily admitted. Since the primary requisite of a waḥt ḫbyt was its accessibility, it is more likely that the waḥt ḫbyt of the reign of Hatshepsut was the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons which, before the erection of the queen’s obelisks and the addition of further columns by Tuthmosis III, presented a much more open aspect than it does today.54

1 Petrie, Abydos, I, pl. LVI. This writing is the result of replacing the column fragment on the left of pl. LVI in the lowest break in the column on the right, as was suggested by Barguet (Temple, 309, note 2).

2 Jéquier, L’Architecture, I, pl. 25, 4. See also Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 192, § 277, note (1).

3 Ibid., 192.

4 Uruk, IV, 340, 1.

5 Ibid., 346, 15.

6 Ibid., 429, 10.

7 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, pl. 79 (Uruk, IV, 819, 2).

8 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl. 193, 6; Uruk, IV, 1483, 10 (without the determinative).

9 Ibid., 1295, 13.

10 Ibid., 1295, 14.

11 Ibid., 1361, 6.

12 Davies, N [ormanj de G, El-Amarna, III, pl. XIX.

13 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref. 465, 6).

14 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, V, pl. 356D.

15 LD, III, 244a. The cartouches contain the titles of Herihor.

16 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 16 (ref. 60, 13).

17 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl. XIII, 47.

18 Drioton, ASAE 29 (1929), 2.

19 LD, IV, 39b.

20 De Morgan et al., Kom Ombos, I, 357, 460.

21 Chassinat, Edfou, II, 11, 13.

22 For waḥt n bnr, waḥt māt and waḥt Ḫbyt see waḥt p. 97.

23 Wb., I, 366, 10.

24 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 167 (under entry for Ḫbyt "festival offerings").

26 Ibid., 309-310. For another discussion of the waḥt ḫḥyt see; Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunction in Ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches, 106ff.

27 Petrie, loc. cit.

28 Urk., IV, 346, 15; 429, 10.

29 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 192 (For a photograph of one of these blocks see; Jequier, loc. cit.).

30 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 197.

31 Urk., IV, 1331, 11.

32 For further references to this waḥt ḫḥyt see; Ibid., 340, 1 (where Hatshepsut is described as "glittering as do the stars in the waḥt ḫḥyt". This would seem to provide evidence that the waḥt ḫḥyt was an open court from which the stars would have been visible but since Egyptian ceilings were painted with a star-design the possibility that the shaw in question were painted motifs can not be ruled out) and Ibid., 437, 14 (where waḥt ḫḥyt has been restored from P\(\frac{2}{3}\)///).

33 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, pl.79 (also Urk., IV, 819, 2).

34 Caminos, op. cit., 66.

35 Ibid., 12.

36 Urk., IV, 1295, 13.

37 Barguet and Dewachter, Le Temple d'Amada, II, pl.I.

38 Urk., IV, 1295, 14.

39 Ibid., 1361, 6.

40 Naville, loc. cit.; Davies, loc. cit. (presumably a court in the great Aten temple at Akhetaten); Urk., IV, 2124, 4 (a waḥt ḫḥyt built by Horemheb in the temple of Ptah at Memphis). One more example of an Eighteenth Dynasty waḥt ḫḥyt which was quoted by both Barguet, (op. cit., 309, note 2) and Arnold (op. cit., 107, note 5) is the result of an incorrect restoration by Moret (Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 121) of the first sign of the noun nḥbw.t (q.v.).

41 Urk., IV, 1483, 10.

42 Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Medamoud, (1926), 107-110.


44 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6).
45 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit. See also Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, III, 8 and note 24.
46 LD, III, 244a; Wb., Belegstellen, III, 16 (ref. 60, 13).
47 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl. XIII, 47.
48 Drioton, loc. cit. Wsbt ḫbyt was taken by PL II, 219 to be the name of this temple. In view of the fact that, elsewhere, wsbt ḫbyt is always a court within a temple, this is unlikely to be correct.
49 Chassinat, loc. cit.; De Morgan, loc. cit.
50 LD, IV, 39b.
51 The exception being the second court of the temple of Medinet Habu see note 45.
52 In year 9 of Hatshepsut (Urkh, IV, 349, 10).
53 Borchardt, Baugeschichte, 9, abb. 7. The work which Hatshepsut herself executed at Karnak, including the erection of the obelisks, took place after the return of the Punt expedition (Urkh., IV, 367, 4-5; Borchardt, op. cit., 20).
54 See now, however, Letellier in Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 69; pl. XI, A, where a text from a limestone building of Tuthmosis II is published. The damaged inscription relates that Tuthmosis II made, for Amun, a [ /**/*] in ẖn ḫd nfr n nw. Letellier reconstructs the damaged signs to read wsbt ḫbyt, which is undoubtedly correct. She suggests (Ibid., 70-71) that this structure stood in front of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak and was later refurbished with the sandstone blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were recovered from the fill of the Third Pylon. If this suggestion for the situation of the wsbt ḫbyt is correct, then it would have occupied a similar position, within the temple, to other courts of the same name. This court of Tuthmosis II is, therefore, likely to be the one to which references are made in texts of the reign of Hatshepsut.
This is the only word noted by the Wörterbuch with the stem bnš" so it is not possible to relate it, etymologically, to any other term. 

Bnš did not survive into either demotic or Coptic (however see further below) and so would appear to have had a very brief existence as it is known only from texts of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

This term has been discussed by Gardiner 11 who assessed all the evidence and concluded that bnš was a "door-jamb" or "door-post"; a conclusion with which it is not possible to disagree. However it is valuable to restate the evidence for this since bnš is so rare a word.

It first occurs in the Book of the Dead in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the closing section of Chapter 125 the deceased is barred from entering the ws73t ms'ry by the bnš n bbs-pn until he tells them their names. The same procedure is repeated with the t'ryt and then the door-fastenings. 12 Bnš and t'ryt are also linked on an ostracon which lists workmen engaged on a building project, two groups are described as nty br pn bnš and two as nty m tš t'ryt. 13 In a papyrus now in Turin a stone-worker is given as employed on ntw bnšw in the hwt-nfr of Ramesses II. 14

Bnš is also used in conjunction with t'ryt on the verso of the papyrus with the tomb-plan of Ramesses IV on the recto. The identity of the tomb on the verso has not been firmly established; it may be that of Ramesses V which was usurped by Ramesses VI 15 or that of Ramesses IX. 16 From the measurements quoted for the bnš 17 Gardiner concluded that it referred to the "door-jamb". The measurements of the bnš are given as wmt (reveal or thickness), hy (height) and hr (face), all of which combined can only refer to the jamb.

Such an interpretation is also supported by the use of bnš in the story of the Two Brothers in which a bull is sacrificed and two drops
of blood fell beside the two bnšw of His Majesty which are on the two sides of the great tri (g.v.) of Pharaoh. 18

This amount of evidence that bnš was used to describe a door-jamb refutes the suggestion of Drioton 19 that bnš was the ancestor of the Coptic noun λωγή "crown", "coping" or "battlement", 20 This etymology is followed by Westendorf 21 but not by Černy 22 who prefers to derive λωγή from the Semitic stem lbs "to clothe" "arm", in Arabic "to make a stockade, bulwark of reeds". Drioton's suggestion that bnš be translated by "fronton" is hardly commensurate with the facts known from the Ramesside tomb-plan papyrus and the story of the Two Brothers. The former gives the measurements of a tall vertical object while the latter shows that the bnšw were based on the ground on either side of the door.

One final mention of bnš occurs in a love-song of the Twentieth Dynasty where a young man who finds the door to his lover's house closed, decides to offer various animals to parts of the door so that they will admit him. This includes a stout goose to the bnšw. 23

There can be no doubt, in view of this evidence, that bnš does mean "door-jamb".

1 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.138 (Chap.125, 29).
2 Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), 264, 4.
3 Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XVII, 1, 11 and 12.
4 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 127, 13.
5 Id., Chester Beatty I, pl.XVII, 10.
6 Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 149, (5), (6) and (7).
7 Ibid., 146, (3); 147, (4).
8 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 12 (emended to <a href="#">26a, note 16, 9, d.</a>
9 Naville, op. cit., II, 326 (Chap.125, 29, T.f).
10 Wh., I, 464, 3; See also Faulkner, Con. Dict., 83.
11 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 146-147.
12 Budge, loc. cit.; Naville, op. cit., II, 326.
13 Černy and Gardiner, op. cit., pl.XVII, 1, 11 and 12 (bnš); 1, 13 and 14 (*ryt); Also Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 146.
14 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 127, 13.
15 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 158; Wh., I, part 2, 511-517; plan on 510, (9).

17 Carter and Gardiner, *op. cit.* 146, (3); 147, (4); 148, (5), (6) and (7).

18 Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 26, 12.


21 Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 76.

22 Černy, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 70.

The first point to note about bbnt, the meaning of which is not open to doubt, is that it may have existed prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the earliest date given for its use by the Wörterbuch. The Twelfth Dynasty writing quoted above occurs twice in Papyrus Reisner III. Unfortunately the contexts are not clear and so it is not possible to state for certain that these two occurrences are writings of the later word bbnt. Simpson is of the opinion that these are for bhnt and does not see the use of h instead of b, as a problem. One of the examples in this papyrus refers to the which Simpson takes to be a writing of rwyt ibnty bbnt, "the eastern gateway of the pylon".

As will be shown below, however, rwyt does not mean "gateway" while rwty, which does, is not usually spelled in this way. This may be a writing of the rare word rwyt which describes a smaller architectural element, possibly a lintel. The main doubt, however, is concerned with the writing bbnt which would be the earliest known
example of the Egyptian name for a pylon. It would be inadvisable to
dismiss this on the grounds that all other examples of the word are
of the New Kingdom and later since an earlier writing of ḫnt, once
also thought not to have existed prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, has
now been recognised. The archaeological evidence would suggest that
there were pylons in temples, certainly in the Middle Kingdom and
possibly in the Old Kingdom. Few early pylons have survived because
they would have been made of mud-brick with only their doorways in
stone. This practice continued in the Theban mortuary temples up to,
and including, the pylon of the temple of Seti I at Gurna. Since ḫnt
was the regular term for a pylon and since pylons seem to have existed
in the Middle Kingdom, it would not be surprising to find a Twelfth
Dynasty writing of the word. However in view of the fact that the
writings in Papyrus Reisner III are ḫnt, not ḫnt, and having regard
to the unclear contexts in which the word is used, it would be best
to treat these occurrences as possible, rather than certain, writings
of ḫnt.

Etymologically ḫnt is derived from a verbal stem "to be vigilant" and is related to similar expressions in Hebrew. It can easily be
seen how a tower or tower-like structure such as a temple pylon acquis-
ted a name based on such a verb. A similar name, bbn, was used from
the New Kingdom for a large estate and the two words can look very
like each other. Usually the context can be used to distinguish one
from the other. Neither of the two terms seems to have survived into
Coptic, which is hardly surprising in the case of ḫnt, while in dem-
otic texts the two words seem to be indistinguishable.

The meaning of ḫnt is not open to question. From at least the
Eighteenth Dynasty, and possibly earlier, ḫnt was the usual term
for the monumental pylon which was such a characteristic and dist-
inctive feature of the Egyptian temple.

The word is found in the singular, dual and plural; all three forms
being used to describe one pylon. The reason for this has been des-
cribed by Caminos as, "the duality inherent in a two-towered structure." However in some cases where the dual or plural has been used more than
one pylon was intended. This is so with the two pylons erected by
Tuthmosis I at Karnak, Pylons 4 and 5. When Hatshepsut built her
obelisks in the hall between these pylons she described them as being
"between the ḫnty wty of...... Aakheperkare" while the biography
of Inoniq, which details the work of Tuthmosis I at Karnak, uses the plural form bbnwnt for the two pylons.\textsuperscript{45} Similarly the use of the dual b\textsuperscript{Ý}nty wrty\textsuperscript{46} in a dedication inscription of Rameses II at his temple at Abydos probably reflects the fact that the temple originally had two pylons,\textsuperscript{47} while the pylons of the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu\textsuperscript{48} are described as bbnw<t>.\textsuperscript{49} More usually, however, b\textsuperscript{Ý}nt in either the dual or the plural refers to one pylon alone. The dual form is used for the Sixth Pylon at Karnak\textsuperscript{50} the pylon of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes\textsuperscript{51} and the model pylon of Seti I,\textsuperscript{52} while the plural form is found describing the following pylons; those of the temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb,\textsuperscript{53} the temple of Seti I at Abydos,\textsuperscript{54} the Khonsu temple at Karnak,\textsuperscript{55} the temple of Taharqa at Kawa\textsuperscript{56} and the First Pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak.\textsuperscript{57} Whenever b\textsuperscript{Ý}nt is found in the dual or the plural the text must be compared with the plan of the temple to which it refers in order to decide whether one or more pylons is intended.

The Wörterbuch gives a secondary meaning for b\textsuperscript{Ý}nt; "Auch von einem einfachen Tor (in einer Mauer)"\textsuperscript{58} for which the Belegstellen gives only two references. The first of these is an unpublished text from Karnak\textsuperscript{59} which I have taken to equal a text of Rameses IX describing as a bpn<t>\textsuperscript{60} the gate which he erected in the southern wall between the Third and Fourth Pylons of the Amun temple.\textsuperscript{61} The doorway is itself labelled as a sb3\textsuperscript{62} which is the usual term for a large temple door in the New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{63} This can only be interpreted as hyperbole since Rameses IX also built the adjoining stone walls, leaving no room for any kind of pylon to be erected on either side of the gateway.\textsuperscript{64} The second reference given by the Belegstellen is in a Ptolemaic text from one of the crypts of the Hathor temple at Dendera.\textsuperscript{65}

These two examples do not provide a firm basis for the assumption that b\textsuperscript{Ý}nt developed a secondary meaning. They are more likely to be cases either of hyperbole or simple misuse of the term, since b\textsuperscript{Ý}nt is one word which retained its original, and quite specific, meaning throughout dynastic Egypt until the Ptolemaic period.

\textsuperscript{1} Simpson, Papyrus Reisner III, pls. 10A, E32; (omitting x) 17A, J34.
\textsuperscript{2} Urk., IV, 365, 4; 738, 1.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., 56, 1.
14 Abd el-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 151, 2. The damaged sign is reproduced in the publication as □ but, from comparison with other writings it is probably the pot △ which is intended. The other alternative would be the sign □ as in No. 15.

15 Ibid., 151, 5.

16 KRI, II, 38, 4; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanea, 134, 2;
Janssen, Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs, 61, 9.

17 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, V, pl.355, B.

18 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 9; 50, 14-15; Barguet, Temple, 84;

19 Id., III, 248, h and i; 251, a and b.

20 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl.XIII, 46.

21 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl.8, 24; 12, 17.

22 Ibid., pl.14, 4.

23 Abd el-Razik, MDAIK, 23 (1968), 159 (in plural); Id., MDAIK 34 (1978), 114.

24 Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendara, VI, 6, 7.

25 Id., Edfou, V, 311, 12.

26 Petrie, Koptos, pl.XX, 20; (with one tower only) XX, 19.

27 Chassinat, op. cit., V, 4, 2.

28 Wb., I, 471, 9-11.


30 Ibid., pl.10A, E32.

31 Ibid., 38.

32 See below p. 151ff.
33 See below p. 143.
34 See below p. 149, n. 36.
35 James, The Hekanakhte Papers, pl. 12A, verso, 3. See also above p. 66.
36 The earliest certain pylon would seem to be that of the chapel of king Séankhkaré on the western cliffs at Thebes. (For photographs of this see Petrie, Qurneh, pl.s V and VI; for a description of the pylon see Hölscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II, 4-5, fig. 2)
There were also brick pylon-towers on either side of the Middle Kingdom gateway in the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis (Bittel and Hermann, MDAIK 5 (1934), 24-25) and other brick pylons, which have since been completely destroyed, must once have existed.
37 The evidence for pylons prior to the Middle Kingdom is less conclusive. A pylon is thought to have existed in the "temple primitif" at Medamud but is not described in detail in the publication (Robichon and Varille, Description sommaire du Temple primitif de Medamud, Plan.) A Fifth Dynasty pylon has been restored, in plan, by Von Bissing at the solar temple of Niuserre (Von Bissing, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-š, I, 8-10; 19-24) while a precursor of the pylon was seen in the structures at the corners of the same king's funerary complex at Abusir (Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-š, 97).
38 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 258; 632-633, note 1116. See also Sethe, Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Agypter und ihre Namen, 903ff.
39 Wb., I, 471; Gardiner, Gnom., II, 204*-205*.
40 Wb., I, 471, 6-7.
41 Compare, for example, Erichsen, op. cit., 4, 9 (bŷnw(t)) with Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 110, 11 (bhn).
42 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 121.
43 Caminos, op. cit., 56.
44 Urk., IV, 365, 4.
45 Urk., IV, 56, 1.
46 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl. 3, 4.
47 PM, VI, 32.
48 PM, II, pl. XLI.
49 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 9.
50 Urk., IV, 940, 12. Another description of the same pylon (Urk., IV, 167, 15) uses the singular form.
51 Urk., IV, 1650, 4. As Caminos (loc. cit.) noted, the dual noun is here followed by the plural adjective '3w.

52 Badawy, loc. cit.

53 Urk., IV, 1750, 13. The inscription is from one of a number of granite rams found at Gebel Barkal but originally intended for the temple at Soleb to which the texts refer (PM, VII, 216; Reisner, ZAS 66 (1931), 81, 6-10. For a plan of Soleb temple see PM, VII, 168).

54 KRI, I, 47, 12. The temple of Seti I, as it now stands, has only one pylon which was erected by Rameses II (PM, VI, 1-2). It is, however, possible that it was originally intended to build two pylons as was done at the nearby temple of Rameses II (Ibid., 32).

55 ID, III, 248, h and i.

56 Macadam, op. cit., pl.8, 24. For a plan of the temple see; ibid., II, pl.12.

57 Caminos, op. cit., pl.XIII, 46.

58 Wb., I, 471, 11.


60 Barguet, op. cit., 84.

61 PM, II, pl.X.

62 Barguet, op. cit., 273.

63 See sbp p.221.

64 PM, II, 75-76.

65 Quoted by the Belegstelle as; Mariette, Denderah, III,47, ab, 10, but this has now been published by Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendera, VI, 6, 7.
There are no true variants of pr which was always written with either the ideogram alone or with the ideogram and a stroke. The latter is the more frequent writing, occurring from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period, while the writing without the stroke is found only infrequently for pr alone, although it was employed in compounds of pr from the Archaic period onwards.

Since the sign, c–, had the phonetic value of pr it was used in other words of the same stem and also served as a general determinative for a building or place. The pronunciation of pr is indicated in the Sign Papyrus from Tanis, which dates from the Roman period and gives the reading as ps. In Coptic pr survives in words such as ḫεψετεσ from a hypothetical *διδα n pr and περίπερα from pryt pr–c, although there is no direct descendant of pr which meant "house" in Coptic, as the common noun ṣḥ is from the Egyptian ṣt. At one time it was believed that ṣḥ originated in pr but this theory has been rejected in favour of ṣḥ which, to some extent, fulfils the same role as pr in the later dynasties.

The basic meaning of pr given by the Wörterbuch is "house". The dictionary then goes on to list the various uses of pr, many of which are outside the scope of this study. Since pr can usually be translated as "house" the sign itself has been interpreted as a representation of a house. However, in a series of letters to Lefebvre which were later published, Loret has suggested that the sign represented an enclosure with an entrance rather than a domestic house as we would understand the term today. He points out that for the semi-nomadic pre-dynastic Egyptians, amongst whom the language evolved, the word pr would describe temporary structures which were erected at night as protection against the weather and predators. These people would have had no need for permanent dwellings and the earliest known settlement in Egypt consisted only of unroofed shelters. Loret also suggested that the pr-enclosure could have contained other kinds of buildings, beside houses, and this would explain the use of pr in compounds such as pr-hd, which would have been used originally to describe an enclosure which contained storehouses. Later such expressions came to be used of administrative departments, and they are not included in this work since the extent to which they referred to actual buildings, rather than to the administrative body concerned.
is open to doubt. Examples of these compounds are numerous, occurring from the Archaic period.\(^\text{16}\)

In the biographical inscriptions of the Old Kingdom \(pr\) is used to describe the large estates of high officials and, although to a poor man \(pr\) undoubtedly denoted his own small dwelling, to a wealthy man a \(pr\) was something much more grandiose. The earliest extant description of a \(pr\) dates to the reign of Sneferu when Metjen built a \(pr\) which was 200 cubits in length and 200 cubits in width.\(^\text{17}\) The size of this \(pr\), added to the fact that the text continues to say that the \(pr\) contained a lake and orchards,\(^\text{18}\) proves that this \(pr\) was an estate rather than a house.

Similarly Harkhuf, in the Sixth Dynasty, describes building a \(pr\), erecting \(st\)-columns, digging a lake and planting trees.\(^\text{19}\) The same inscription tells how Harkhuf, on his way home to Egypt from the South, came from the neighbourhood of the \(pr\) of the ruler of Setju and Irtjet\(^\text{20}\) which must have been the estate of this Nubian chief.

Another indication that, in the Old Kingdom, \(pr\) meant "estate" comes from a text from Giza in which a man describes how he was left in charge of all the possessions (\(i\at\)) of his brother, during which time "the property (\(ht\)) increased more in his \(pr\) than (in) the \(pr\) of any noble."\(^\text{21}\) Another Old Kingdom inscription from Giza records the sale of a \(pr\),\(^\text{22}\) while a similar sale is mentioned in the Hekaw-nakht letters.\(^\text{23}\)

The natural development of the term resulted in its being used for an "estate" in its widest sense, the land and property owned by one man or administrative department. This is illustrated in the contracts which Hapdjea made with the priesthood of the temple of Wepwawet at Siut. He stipulated that the offerings were to come from the property of the \(pr\) of his father and not from the \(pr\) of the nomarch.\(^\text{24}\) Presumably the nomarch was not permitted to use the property of the official estate for his own benefit and had to pass it on, intact, to the next holder of the office.

Egyptian texts often mention the "founding of a \(pr\)" (\(gr\)\(pr\)) which is taken by the \(Wörterbuch\) to be a synonym for "to marry"\(^\text{25}\) and seems to indicate that a young man would leave the family home and establish his own \(pr\). The maxims of Ptahhotep show that this was regarded as the right and responsible thing for a man to do,\(^\text{26}\) while
Ahmose, son of Ebana, tells how he joined the navy after he had founded his pr.27

Although pr was used often for an "estate" it also retained its original meaning of "house". By the New Kingdom 't, the ancestor of the Coptic ḫ1 had begun to be used with the same meaning.30 However, the more conservative vocabulary of the literary texts preserved the use of pr for "house".

In the Story of the Two Brothers, when Anpu returned to his pr, he found that the fire had not been lit and that the pr was in darkness.31 This can only be referring to the actual house-building and the same must be true, in the story of the Doomed Prince, of the pr which the ruler of Naharain built to keep his daughter isolated, as it is described as having only one window which was 70 cubits from the ground.32

There are also some examples of pr being used in preference to 't in non-literary texts of the same and later periods33 and pr is also found in demotic texts.34

It can, therefore, be seen that at all periods pr was used of a "house". This usage was not, however, confined to the actual house-building but, even by the Old Kingdom, it could be extended to include an entire estate. It was logical that the house of the king, the palace, should have been described as pr-nsw 35 and this term also, like the simple pr, came to be used of an estate from which produce could be issued.36

The differences between pr-nsw and other terms which are usually translated as "palace" such as ḫ, 37 stp-s3, 38 and pr-า 39 could only be elucidated after a detailed study which is not relevant to this work. The distinctions could well be based on their respective administrative functions rather than on their physical characteristics.

The role of the term, pr, as it related to Egyptian temples is of concern to this study. The fact that pr could be used of a temple as well as of a domestic dwelling, indicates that the term was not restricted in use to one particular building-plan. Although the plan of an Egyptian temple, as the "house of the god" was based on that of a house, the simple house-plan was extended and elaborated to such an extent that the plan of a temple bears no resemblance to the original enclosure depicted in the ideogram.
In the Koptos Decrees of the Old Kingdom the temple of Min at Koptos is referred to variously as r-pr pr "this r-pr", 40 "the pr of Min" 41 and "the hwt of Min", 42 while the Decrees of Neferkauhor also use the term hwt-ntr. 43 The terms hwt and hwt-ntr describe the function of the temple as a cult-centre, 44 r-pr indicates that the temple served as an offering-place 45 while pr reflects the fact that the temple was the actual home of the god. The fact that the decrees were to be set up "at the crrwt of the pr of Min" 46 suggests that pr here is being used of the temple itself and not its administrative estate. However, in the same way that the pr of a private individual could be his "house" or his "estate" a temple pr could be the stone temple itself, in which case the term was being used as a synonym for hwt-ntr, the entire temple complex within the enclosure wall, or the administrative estate. Unfortunately there are many texts in which the context does not allow a decision to be made as to which of these translations would be the most accurate.

There are a few texts which support the view that pr could be used of the stone temple alone. An inscription of Tuthmosis III from the Festival Complex at Karnak gives a speech of the Ennead to the king instructing him to embellish (snn̄b) the pr of his father Amun-Re in ḫr ḫḏ nfr n c[nw. 47 The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari is described as a pr 48 as is the Anubis chapel within the temple. 49 The temple of Ramesses III within the forecourt of the Amun temple 50 at Karnak is called "the pr of Usermaare Meriamun in the pr of Amun" and a curious use of the term is found in relation to the temple T of Taharqa at Kawa. The text tells how the king found the temple of Amun built of brick and ordered it to be reconstructed in stone. The inscription continues, "then this hwt-ntr was built in sandstone.... the pr in gold, the columns (wbbw) in gold......its pylons (bbnw) and its doors (sbbw) inscribed with the Great Name of his Majesty." 51 The sandstone hwt-ntr is clearly the stone temple-building and Macadam has suggested that pr also refers to the main temple because, "minute specks of gold leaf were found adhering to the walls in places". 52 If this is so, and it is difficult to see to what else pr could refer in such a context, then pr n nwb must be in apposition to hwt-ntr n Ȝn ḫḏ nfr n rwk.t.

Two interesting tomb-scenes show the facades of temples with labels indicating that each was regarded as a pr. One, from the tomb of
Panehsy at Thebes (No. 16) shows the frontage of the temple of Amun at Karnak which, in the reign of Ramesses II to which the tomb is dated, was at the second pylon. The text above the representation states that it is the pr of Amun-Re.⁵³ The second example is from the tomb of Amenmosey, also at Thebes (No. 19), and depicts the facade of a temple dedicated to the deified king Amenhotep I. The legend reads; pr (²Imn htp) n p₃ wb₃ "The pr of Amenhotep of the wb₃".⁵⁴ Since the entrance to the temple complex and the entrance to the stone temple would have both been through the pylon which formed the temple facade it is not possible to decide on which of these two interpretations was intended.

There are, however, other texts which show, quite clearly, that pr could be used of the temple temenos, as distinct from the stone building, the hwt-nfr.

A building text of Amenhotep I from Karnak states that the king built his (Amun's) pr and embellished (smnb) his hwt-nfr,⁵⁵ while texts of the reign of Hatshepsut describe how trees, brought back to Egypt by the Punt expedition, were planted on both sides of the hwt-nfr in the pr of Amun.⁵⁶ The distinction between the pr and the hwt-nfr is also well exemplified in the stela of Pianchi. After the conquest of each major cult-centre, the king went to the pr of the god where, after purification rituals in the pr-dw, he entered the hwt-nfr to make offerings.⁵⁷

In the New Kingdom in particular, however, the pr of a god was the designation of his administrative estate, so that a temple which was described as being within the pr of a particular god was administratively subordinate to the main temple of the god in question. In this way the royal mortuary temples on the West Bank at Thebes were often described as "the hwt of king ...... in the pr of Amun",⁵⁸ indicating that they were under the control of the temple of Amun at Karnak. Obviously the situation of the temples on the opposite bank of the Nile precludes the identification of pr, in this expression, with the temenos of the main temple building.

The same relationship is also found outside of Thebes between the main cult-centre and its dependent temples. For example, at Heliopolis, Ramesses III built a hwt nt ḫbw m rnpwt to the north of the city, which was regarded as being "in the pr of Re".⁵⁹

It can be seen, therefore, that the simple term, pr, could
have various meanings throughout the dynastic period in Egypt. When used of the dwelling of a private individual, it could refer to the house-building itself and also to the whole of an official’s estate. Similarly, when the term was transferred to temple architecture the pr could be the main temple-building, the temenos or the administrative estate. Only a careful examination of each occurrence, comparing the textual evidence with existing temple remains, where these are preserved, can show which interpretation of the term is the most suitable.

1 E.g.; Devaud, Les Maximes de Ptahotep, 38, verso, 383; Pyr., 292d (Unas); 1189c (Pepi I); Urk., I, 150, 16; Gayet, Stèles de la XIIe Dynastie, pl.LIV, 2; De Buck, Reading Book, 91, 13; Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 93, 20; Urk., IV, 409, 9; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VI, pl.47, 12; Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 14 and 15.

2 Examples of this writing of pr are legion, e.g.; Urk., I, 3, 1; 4, 10; 121, 13-14; 125, 8; 163, 11; 216, 11; VII, 1, 15; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 69, (IV, pl.VI); II, 29, (IV, pl.XXXI); Sethe, op. cit., 93, 3, 20; James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.26, 8; Urk., IV, 3,1; 43, 10; 47, 7; 96, 12; 100, 6; 117, 5; 132, 7; 160, 7; 163, 3; 165, 4; 194, 16; 195, 1; 227, 4; 300, 2; 328, 4; 352, 10; 353, 2; 399, 14; 405, 3; 409, 9; 449, 5; 456, 9; 472, 16; 862, 5; 912, 13; 1064, 15; 1494, 16; 1559, 11; KRI, I, 124, 5, 9 and 10; 202, 8; 203, 13; 206, passim; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 11-31, 1; 48, 15; 49, 2; Id., Late Egyptian Stories, 3, 5 and 12; 7, 10; 9, 12; 10, 4; 13, 13 and 15; 18, 16; 30, 14; 75, 3; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6,5; 10, 14; 12, 6; 34, 8-11; 55, 6; 58, 6-9; 69, 11; Urk., III, 15, 2; 21, 8; 35, 6; 58, 10; 41, 10; 42, 3.

3 See; Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühezeit, III, passim; Wb., I, 515-518.

4 Ibid., 518-532.

5 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Sign List, 0.1.

6 Griffith and Petrie, Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis, 16pl.IV, XVI, 1

7 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 316; Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 775a.

8 Ibid., 269b; Černý, op. cit., 128.
9 Crum, op. cit., 66.
10 Černý, op. cit., 41.
11 Wb., I, 511.
12 Ibid., 511-516.
13 Gardiner, loc. cit.,
14 Loret in Lefebvre, Kêmi XII (1952), 18ff.
15 See, for example, the predynastic shelters at Mahásna; Garstang, Mahásna and Bêt Khallâf, 5-8; pl.IV.
16 As note 3.
17 Urk., I, 4, 10.
18 Ibid., I, 4, 13-14.
19 Ibid., I, 121, 13-14.
20 Ibid., I, 125, 8.
21 Ibid., I, 216, 17.
22 Ibid., I, 257, 15.
23 James, loc. cit.,
24 Sethe, op. cit., 93, 20.
25 Wb., I, 512, 8.
26 Devaud, op. cit., 34 (P. Prisse, 8, 10); 38 (P. Prisse, 10, 8).
27 Urk., IV, 3, 1.
29 Černý, op. cit., 41; Crum, op. cit., 66.
30 Gardiner, Onom., II, 206*-207*.
31 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 13, 13-15.
32 Ibid., 3, 5.
33 E.g.; Peet, Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XXXII, B.M. 10052, 11, 18; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Misc-
34 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 132; Griffith, Catalogue of the
35 Wb., I, 513, 3-5.
36 E.g.; Urk., I, 175, 10; 58, 10; 60, 16; 1105, 5-6; 2158, 16;
37 Wb., I, 214, 10-21.
38 Ibid., IV, 340, 11-13; 341, 1-11.
39 Ibid., I, 516, 2-4.
40 Urk., I, 281, 1; 282, 2; 283, 15; 285, 10; 286, 5; 292, 2; 294, 12.
41 Ibid*, I, 280, 18; 282, 6; 283, 2; 283, 8; 284, 6; 285, 16; 286, 3; 287, 7; 292, 9.
42 Ibid*, 290, 4.
43 Ibid*, 300, 3; 302, 16; 303, 15.
44 See below, hwt p.165ff and hwt-ntr p.177ff.
45 See below n-pr p.137ff.
47 Urk*, IV, 863, 5. 'Inr hd nfr n 'nw should properly be translated "limestone" but most of the works of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, including the Festival Complex, are of sandstone. See further under hwt-ntr, below p. 182.
48 Ibid*, IV, 297, 4.
49 Ibid*, 300, 2.
50 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 5.
51 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl.8, 23 (Insc.IV).
52 Ibid*, 21, note 52.
53 Baud and Drioton, Le Tombeau de Panehay, 21, fig.10.
54 Foucart, Le Tombeau d'Amonmos, pl.28. The owner of the tomb was a priest of Amenhotep of the wb3. For this god and his relationship to the wb3 of Amun see further under wb3, above p. 69-70.
55 Urk*, IV, 43, 10.
56 Ibid*, IV, 328, 4; 353, 2.
57 Ibid*, III, 35, 6; 38, 10. See also under hwt-ntr, below p. 184.
58 Examples are numerous, e.g.: Id., III, 152, c; KRI, I, 206, 8; 216, 11; V, 228, 11; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 42; Erichsen, op. cit., 12, 6; 13, 17; Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus, IV, 59; 61; Marciniak, Deir El-Bahari, I, 69; pl.LXXXIV; Bruyère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El-Médineh (1933-1934), 56; Chevrier and Dripton, Le Temple reposoir de Seti II à Karnak, 25-26.
59 Erichsen, op. cit., 34, 10.
The first of the two examples of pr-ḥ3(t) occurs in the Eleventh Dynasty accounts of Hekanakhte, in which five pieces of willow-wood are said to be m pr-ḥ3. James has noted that the pr-ḥ3 was the rear part of a house "perhaps even the out-houses". As has been noted above the only other location given in the account is for a mast which is in a wb3, a term which is not elsewhere found outside of a temple-context.

The second example of pr-ḥ3(t) is in the Dream Stela of Tanutamun and refers to a part of the Amun temple at Napata. Although this cannot be firmly identified, the etymology of the term would suggest that it was either the rear part of the temple or a building at the back of the main temple building.

Possibly pr-ḥ3(t) could be used for the rear part of any kind of building or complex. Since the term was in use in both the Eleventh and the Twenty-Fifth Dynasties, it is likely that further examples of the term may come to light, hopefully in contexts from which a more certain identification of the nature of the pr-ḥ3(t) can be made.

1 James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.12, V, 2.
2 Urk., III, 68, 13.
3 James, loc. cit.
4 Ibid., 61.
6 James, op. cit., pl.12, V, 3.
7 Urk., III, 68, 13.
This term, known only from three as yet unpublished ostraca, was taken by Helck⁴ to mean "veneer" and the same interpretation has been adopted by Janssen.⁵

In Ost. Berlin 11260 the ph³ is linked with the door-frame, the ḫtri, in the phrase ps ḫtri psy.f ph³ "the ḫtri and its ph³" ⁶ and in Ost. IFAO 704 it occurs in the expression ph³ n ps sbṣ "the ph³ of the sbṣ." ⁷

Kemp⁸ has pointed out that door-frames were unlikely to have been veneered and suggests that the ph³ was, in fact, either the lintel or the threshold of the door. In view of the fact that ḫtri (or ḫtrw in the plural) seems to have included both jambs and lintel, the ph³ is most likely to have been the threshold. In Ost. Deir El-Medineh 289 the ph³ is made of wood ¹⁰ and wooden thresholds for doorways have been found at Deir El-Medineh. ¹¹

1 Unpublished, see Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 25; 391.
2 Unpublished, see Ibid., 391-392.
3 Unpublished, see Ibid., 81-82; 391-392.
4 Helck, Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 888.
6 Ibid., 391.
7 Ibid., 391.
8 Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 183.
9 See below, ḫtri, p. 195ff.
10 Janssen, op. cit., 391.
11 E.g., Bruyère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1928), 37, fig. 25.
There are only two known examples of this word and both are in the plural form, nkibwt. The first writing is from the archives of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir and describes the columns of that temple, while the second is in a building inscription of Amenhotep III, referring to the construction of the temple at Luxor.

nkibwt is related to the word nlýbt "flower of the lotus, especially the closed bud." (From the Nineteenth Dynasty nhbt and nhb were also used of the lotus bud and the flower respectively.) It would thus be reasonable to assume that nkibwt was used to describe lotiform columns, particularly those with closed-bud capitals.

The lotus bud column was very popular in the Old and Middle Kingdoms and recurred in the Ptolemaic period. Columns with an open lotus capital were often depicted in tomb-scenes but few actual examples have been found. 6

The Fifth Dynasty writing occurs in a context which leaves no doubt that it refers to the thirty-seven columns of the great court of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare, the twelve columns of the "vestibule" and the four columns of the "porch." Only the bases of these columns remain but Borchardt was able to reconstruct them and prove that they had been wooden lotus bud columns on limestone bases. 8 So there were, at Abusir, lotiform columns which were described in a contemporary papyrus as nkibwt.

Unfortunately the determinatives of nkibwt are not lotus bud columns and the hieratic signs used have been transcribed in the publication of the papyri as . 10 This hiéroglyph depicts a papyrus plant and was therefore used as an ideogram for a papyriform column but would not have been a suitable determinative for a lotiform column. It is possible that these hiéroglyphs should be transcribed as , an open lotus flower, which is used as the determinative of nhbt "lotus" in the Pyramid-texts. 11

The second writing of nkibwt, the only reference given for this word by the Wörterbuch, 12 is of the Eighteenth Dynasty so that it is impossible to trace the development of nkibwt. This is unfortunate since this later example appears to describe papyriform cluster
columns and it would have been interesting to have had evidence as to how this change, or extension, in meaning came about.

The second nhbwt occurs on the south pedestal inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor. The text tells how the king made, for Amun-Re, a great lpt in sandstone and then continues;-

The orthography of this inscription is somewhat unusual. The j in ḫbwr is probably a misplaced pronoun and the group is to be read ḫbwr's. In addition the plural strokes of nhbwt ought to be after, not before, the determinative. It would seem that, in this inscription, ḫb was used as a general word for a column while nhbwt was used to specify the particular column-type involved.

There are, however, no lotiform columns in the temple of Luxor and all those erected by Amenhotep III are either papyrus-cluster form, (the hypostyle hall and the court), or single-stem papyriform, (the colonnade), so it is to some or all of these that this text must refer. Since the determinative is of the form ḫ it is almost certainly the papyriform-cluster columns which were described as nhbwt.

How exactly the Old Kingdom word for a lotiform column came to be used in the Eighteenth Dynasty for papyriform columns can not be proved in view of the lack of evidence for the intervening period. However the papyrus-cluster column largely superseded the lotus bud column in the New Kingdom and the word nhbwt was probably transferred from one column-type to the other, since they resemble each other very closely. 14

Although this one text uses nhbwt of papyriform cluster columns these seem to have been, more usually, described as ḫbw (q.v.). However it is impossible to be certain of the reading in texts where the ideogram ḫ alone is used, usually in the plural. 15

Written evidence is unfortunately lacking but nhbwt was probably used of both types of lotiform column, that with the open flower as well as the closed-bud variety, just as ḫbw was used to describe both types of papyriform column.

The fact that nhbwt is such a rarely found word can be easily explained as detailed building texts are generally of the New Kingdom while the lotiform column was most common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. If more building inscriptions had survived intact from the
earlier periods then no doubt the number of known writings of nhbw would have been augmented.

1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XXXIIA, 11.

2 Urk., IV, 1712, 2. This text, from the pedestal of the south wall of Luxor temple, has also been published in full by Moret (Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 121.) and the part relevant to the columns is quoted by Wallert, (Die Palmen im Alten Agypten, 36.) and the Wörterbuch, (Die Belegstellen, II, 429, ref.294, 4.). Moret restored the missing sign as [E], and this was followed by Wallert but is almost certainly wrong. The Wörterbuch restored the sign as the nh bird (Gardiner, Grammar, Sign-list, G.21) which is supported by the later publication of the Fifth Dynasty text. The surface of the stone upon which the missing sign was inscribed is now completely lost and no trace of the original sign remains. The variety of forms given by the different writers for the determinatives of both whsw and nhbw in this text only serves to emphasize the need for true epigraphic copies. The Wörterbuch Belegstellen gives wrong forms for both determinatives while Wallert has that of whsw correct but that of nhbw wrong. Since there appears to be no published photograph of the text (PM, II, 336.) I checked the original at Luxor. The determinative of whsw is a palm-column, that of nhbw is a papyriform cluster column.

3 Wb., II, 294, 2-3.


6 Borchardt, Die Agyptische Pflanzensäule, 3-17.

7 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, II, 435, note y. See also Kaplon, Orientalia 41 (1972), 203, who, for some reason, reads the word as nhbw rather than nhbw.


9 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XXXII.

10 Ibid., pl.XXXIIA, 11.

11 Pyr., 1223e. On the other hand it is also possible that nhbw acquired the w3d sign as determinative because of the use of w3d to describe the papyriform cluster column which bears a strong resemblance to the lotus bud column. Examples of the former type
have been found in the mortuary temples of Niuserre and Sahure at Abusir. (Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re', II, abb. 5. and Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ashu-re', I, 53, abb. 59-61.)

12 Wb., II, 294, 4.
13 Urk., IV, 1712, 2. See footnote 2 above.
14 Compare Borchardt, Die Agyptische Pflanzensäule, 7, abb. 10, (lotiform) with ibid., 32, abb. 55, (papyriform). This similarity between the two forms led to their being often confused in early works on Egyptian architecture. See, for example, Foucart, Histoire de l'ordre lotiforme, passim, where both forms are treated as one and the same.
15 E.g., KHI, I, 201, 5; 202, 9.
### R-pr

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The etymology of r-pr has been discussed in some detail by Vergote who concludes that it is not to be understood as "la porte de la maison" but rather as "la porte de sortie", since r-pr was first applied to a false-door in an Old Kingdom tomb, out of which the spirit of the dead man could come to accept the funerary offerings. Gradually the offering-place developed into a niche, then a room within the superstructure of the tomb. The term had, therefore, come to be used of a "chapel" and it was then transferred to other chapels and applied to "temples".

This theory of Vergote's would seem to be an accurate assessment of the development of the use of r-pr. It will, therefore, be necessary here only to present the textual evidence to support this view since Vergote himself, whose article was primarily etymological in intent, omitted to do so.

The evidence for the use of the term for a false-door comes from tombs of the Old Kingdom at Saqqara. In particular a text describing offering-bearers in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ti reads "Bringing produce to the <i> upheld </i> of the "sole courtier" Ti." The Sixth Dynasty tomb of Sneferunefer has a similar formula using <i> upheld </i>. In the tomb of Kagemni, formulae have "the chamber (<i>i</i>) of the r-pr", r-pr is also used of the offering chapel in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Debhen at Giza. This was lined with limestone. This use of r-pr is not restricted to the tombs of private individuals since a royal funerary chapel, of king Menkauhor, is also called a r-pr.

It can be seen, therefore, that, even by the Fourth Dynasty, r-pr could be used of a "chapel" as well as for the false-door, for which the usual term was rwft.
R-pr was also being employed, by the Old Kingdom, as a term for a temple and occurs as such in the decrees issued for the benefit of the temple of Min at Koptos. This temple is often referred to as r-pr "this r-pr" 17 and the decree for the Vizier Idu clearly implies, 18 that r-pr were to be regarded as being as important as hwt-nfr (pl.). This text, in which r-pr and hwt-nfr are used side by side, raises the question as to what the difference, if any, is between the two terms.

Gardiner once remarked "that"r-pr seems sometimes to imply a temple of secondary rank or a provincial temple'19 This view has been rejected by Vandersleyen 20 who considers it to have been founded on fortuitous occurrences. He prefers to regard a r-pr as being a part of a hwt-nfr and cites an example from the Book of the Dead in support of this theory, 1 wa'ir ink hm n r-pr.k 1my-ib n hwt-nfr.k 21 which he translates as "O Osiris, je suis le prêtre de ton lieu de culte qui est dans ton enclos sacré." 22 Unfortunately this is based on a wrong translation since 1my-ib does not mean "which is in" but is a noun "favourite". 23 The text should, therefore, be translated as, "O Osiris, I am the servant of your r-pr, the favourite of your hwt-nfr", implying a degree of equivalence between the two terms.

This is also suggested by other texts, particularly those in which a specific temple is described as both hwt-nfr and r-pr. This is the case with the temple of Ptah at Karnak which was rebuilt by Tuthmosis III. "Now his majesty found this r-pr in brick.......his majesty ordered that this hwt-nfr be built for him in sandstone". 24 Both the temples of Amada and Elephantine, which were completed by Amenhotep II, are also referred to by both terms. "Now it was his majesty who beautified this hwt-nfr which his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kheperre, had made.........in order that the great name of his father, the Son of Re, Tuthmosis, might be established in this r-pr for ever". 25

There are other temples for which both terms are known to have been used. These include the temple of Osiris at Abydos, 26 the temple of Mut at Karnak, 27 the northern temple at Buhen (in a Nineteenth-Dynasty text), 28 the festival complex of Tuthmosis III at Karnak 29 and the Karnak temple of Amon itself. 30 The fact that the Amon temple, the major state cult-centre in the New Kingdom and in later periods, should have been so often described as a r-pr is a clear indication that a r-pr was in no way inferior in status to a hwt-nfr.
A tomb scene from the tomb of Puyemre at Thebes would seem to suggest that r-prw were in some way regarded as subordinate temples. This shows the weighing of incense in the presence of Puyemre with the descriptive label "Reckoning the incense for the r-prw which are subordinate to (? Imyw-ḥt) the pr of Amun, in the pr-hd of the hwt-ntr." 31 Facing the scene are the names of the r-prw which include the pr of Amun itself, the prw of Mut (?), Khonsu, Monthu and Ptah (?) and several royal mortuary temples on the West Bank as well as (possibly) the temple of Luxor. 32 All of these temples would have been under the administrative control of the temple of Amun, which is why they are described as being subordinate to the pr of the god. However, each of these could elsewhere have been called "hwt-ntr" or "hwt" showing that there were no distinctions in either size or function between a r-pr and a hwt-ntr.

This can also be illustrated by a building text of Tuthmosis III from Karnak. "I (the king) pleased him (Amun) by making for him...... ...a hwt-ntr on the east of this r-pr." 33 In this text the r-pr is the Karnak temple of Amun, while hwt-ntr is, probably, the much smaller "Eastern Temple". 34

Another text shows that a r-pr could even be regarded as "containing" a hwt-ntr. A statue of the official Minnakhte from Koptos describes him as "one who informs every official of their duties in the hwt-ntr of every r-pr." 35

It is unnecessary, therefore, to attempt to distinguish between the two terms. Both were used for a temple to describe, not its physical appearance nor its size, but the fact that it was a cult-centre (hwt-ntr) and a place in which offerings could be made (r-pr). Since both criteria were relevant to every temple in Egypt it follows that any hwt-ntr could be described as a r-pr and vice versa. 36

R-pr often occurs in the plural form as a generic term for "temples" but it seems always to have retained its meaning as an offering-place and the link between a r-pr and offerings is stressed in texts of all periods.

"One who knows the offerings of the r-prw" (Eleventh Dynasty stela of Intef, son of Myt). 37

"Controller of divine offering(s) in the r-prw of the gods of this city" (Twelfth Dynasty title from Beni Hasan). 38

"Usermakhte did whatever all the gods desired, by making laws and
establishing the rule, by building their _r-prw_, by establishing their
divine offerings" (Eighteenth Dynasty stela from Gurna ). 39

"An offering which the king gives (to) Amun-Re, king of the gods,
that he might cause the offerings to be received in his _r-prw" (Eight-
teenth Dynasty statue). 40

"One who provisions the offering-tables in the _r-prw_" (Eighteenth
Dynasty statue). 41

Describing a former time of anarchy; "They made the gods like the
forms of men, offerings were not presented within the _r-prw_." (Papyrus
Harris I). 42

_R-pr_ was originally used for a false-door, then an offering chapel
and, by extension, any place in which offerings could be made. It could,
therefore, be applied, quite accurately, to any temple with the result
that one building could be described, legitimately, as both a _hwt-ntr_
and a _r-pr_.

_R-pr_ occurs with the meaning of "temple" in both the demotic43 and
Coptic scripts.

1 This is one of the most frequently found writings of _r-pr_ in the
singular, particularly in the Eighteenth Dynasty, e.g.; Urk., I,
20, 5; 212, 3; 279, 4; 281, 1; 282, 2; 292, 2; Mariette, Les Mast-
abas de l'ancien Empire, 394, bottom; Clère and Vandier, Textes
de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIe Dynastie, 47,
33, 11; Mariette, Abydos, II, pls. 30; 39; Urk., IV, 100, 11; 163,
8; 169, 7; 175, 9; 268, 13; 363, 12; 366, 15; 753, 2; 767, 1; 863,
2; 992, 4; 1187, 11; 1225, 3; 1252, 17; 1294, 7; 1370, 5; 1432, 13;
1441, 9; 1511, 4; KRI, I, 27, 4; 283, 14; 360, 11; Abd El-Razik,
JEA 60 (1974), 151, 5. This grouping is also found in the plural
forms, (Urk., IV, 413, 2; 1392, 3) and (KRI, I, 240, 12).

2 Steindorf, Das Grab des Ti, pl. 31.

3 Von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai, II, 20; pl.XI; Sethe,
Aegyptische Lesestucke, 76, 22 and 24; Urk., IV, 1446, 4; Vercoutter,
Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 3; pl.1.

4 This writing is occasionally found in the singular, Sethe, op. cit.,
76, 12; Urk., IV, 832, 13; 834, 17, but occurs more often in the
plural, Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 44, 31, 3; Urk., VII, 18, 19;
44, 19; 45, 5; 45, 20; 49, 4; Urk., IV, 1045, 5; 1047, 7; 1151, 14;
1156, 3; 1441, 13; 1443, 1; 1444, 14.

5 Sethe, op. cit., 73, 21; Urk., IV, 208, 9; 769, 5; 772, 4; 835, 7; 839, 17; 879, 5; 1376, 12; 1447, 13; 1495, 14; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VI, pl.47, 14; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 588, (ref. 397, 6). Also in the plural forms, \( \overline{\text{\textcircled{1}}} \overline{\text{\textcircled{1}}} \) (Urk., I, 304, 18; Sethe, op. cit., 69, 18); \( \overline{\text{\textcircled{1}}} \overline{\text{\textcircled{1}}} \) (Urk., IV, 102, 2 and 10); \( \text{\textcircled{1}} \text{\textcircled{1}} \) (Ibid., IV, 913, 2); and \( \overline{\text{\textcircled{1}}} \overline{\text{\textcircled{1}}} \) (Urk., VIII, 43).

6 Usually in the plural, Sethe, op. cit., 33, 4; Urk., IV, 157, 8 (singular); 387, 2; 483, 12; 2027, 3; 2029, 14; KRI, I, 42, 8 and 9; 49, 7 (singular); 126, 2; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 6, 9; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 7, 9; 12, 7; 91, 13; Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 70.

7 All the following examples are in plural forms, Urk., IV, 248, 9; 1095, 9; 1184, 10; 1186, 9; Mariette, op. cit., I, pl.52, 16; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 42; Vandersleyen, Rev. d’Eg. 19 (1967), pl.9, A, 18; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 229.

8 Usually in the plural, Urk., IV, 96, 5; 150, 7; 834, 13 (singular); 1293, 11; Erichsen, op. cit., 91, 13; Urk., III, 66, 12.

9 Urk., III, 35, 1; 91, 12; 93, 1 (all plural).

10 Vergote, ZAS 91 (1964), 135-137.

11 Steindorf, loc. cit..

12 Mariette, Les Mastabas de l’ancien Empire, 394, bottom.

13 Von Bissing, loc. cit..

14 Urk., I, 20, 5.

15 Ibid., I, 212, 3.

16 See mwt, p.143-144.

17 E.g., Urk., I, 281, 1; 282, 2; 292, 2. Similarly for the temple of Osiris at Abydos, Ibid., I, 279, 4.

18 Urk., I, 304, 18.

19 Gardiner, op. cit., 70, note 1.


21 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CCIV, Chap.180, 12 (Pa).

22 Vandersleyen, op. cit., 148.

23 Wb., I, 72, 18; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 18.

24 Urk., IV, 879, 5.

25 Urk., IV, 1295, 7 and 8.

28 KRI, I, 38, 8 (r-pr); 38, 7 (hwt-ntr).
30 E.g., Ibid., 157, 8; 175, 9; 365, 12; 366, 15; 753, 2; 839, 17;
31 Davies, The Tomb of Puyemre, I, pl.XI.
32 Ibid., I, 94-96. See also, Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 23-24.
33 Urk., IV, 834, 13. See, Barguet, Temple, 33.
34 See, PM., II, pl.XVII, 6.
35 Urk., IV, 1187, 11.
36 E.g., Sethe, op. cit., 33, 4; 78, 9; Urk., IV, 96, 5; 102, 2; 102, 10; 104, 7; 413, 2; 484, 10; 1151, 14; 1392, 3; 1441, 13; 1443, 1;
   2027, 3; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.52, 16; KRI, I, 126, 2; 240, 12;
   Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 7, 9; 12, 7; Chicago University, loc.
   cit..
37 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 44, 31, 3.
38 Urk., VII, 43.
39 Ibid., IV, 1045, 3-6.
40 Ibid., IV, 1225, 2-3.
41 Ibid., 1184, 10.
42 Erichsen, op. cit., 91, 13.
43 Id., Demotisches Glossar, 245.
44 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 298b; Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 138. See also, in greater detail, Vergote, loc. cit.
Two entries with the spelling rwt are given by the Wörterbuch. The first is a term for the false-door of a tomb while the second is translated as "gate" or "door". In view of the fact that the basic meaning of each rwt is the same, it seems likely that they are, in fact, the same term, applied at different times to different types of entrances. Consequently both are included in this entry.

There does, however, seem to be a distinction between the terms rwt and rryt (q.v.) which will be discussed below, and between rwt and rwyt, one of the accoutrements of the false-door.

In the Old Kingdom rwt was used for the false-door of a tomb, or a royal pyramid temple. When it was used in such a way rwt was
determined by detailed signs depicting the complex design of the false-door.

This was not, however, the only meaning of *rwt* in the Old Kingdom. It was also used as a term for an actual entrance and one stone doorway has been found which was labelled "*rwt*. This came from the funerary temple of Queen Wedjebten of the Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara. The doorway belongs to two officials and gives their names and titles on the jambs while the lintel has the name and titles of the Queen. Beneath the figures of the two officials on each side is the text *rwt nt dtr f* "the *rwt* of his funerary estate (?)." 41 This was discussed by Jéquier 42 who suggested that the estates of the officials had formed a part of the estate of the Queen. Whatever the true meaning of *dt* 43 there can be no doubt that *rwt* is the name of the doorway itself. In the Pyramid texts, also, *rwt* is used for some kind of entrance. 44

*Rwt* is, in addition, found, both in the Old Kingdom and later, in the expression *rwt 1st*. The Wörterbuch regarded this as a compound noun and commented that it was "parallel zu *knwt und pr-hd" and "eine Ortlichkeit bei Memphis". 45 The evidence for the first of these comes from various offering formulae of the Old Kingdom in which offerings (usually of meat) are provided from the *rwt 1st*. 46 The expression in this context was discussed, briefly, by Junker. 47 For the second definition the Wörterbuch gave several references, none of which are very helpful. Two of these are titles involving the *rwt 1st*, 48 while the third is presumably that on which the definition is based, since it describes Sokar-Osiris as "preeminent in the *rwt 1st* of *Hwt-k3". 49 *Hwt-k3* may be short for *Hwt-k3-pth*, a name of Memphis, but the epithet gives no indication of the nature of the building. The second component of the compound, *1st*, is a term for some kind of kitchen or bakery 50 so the *rwt 1st* was probably a workplace from which goods were issued for the mortuary cult to be offered at the false-door, the *rwt*.

In the Middle Kingdom the use of the dual *rwty* appears. The expression *rwty rwty* occurs in the story of Sinuhe where it is used of the main entrance to the royal palace. At the beginning of the story the *rwty rwty* are closed on the death of Amenemhat I 51 and when his successor writes to Sinuhe to ask him to return to Egypt he says that
on his arrival Sinuhe can kiss the earth at the rwty wrty. Finally, when Sinuhe has returned to the palace and had his audience with the king in the hnwty, he leaves the palace by the rwty wrty and is installed in the house of a prince.

Other examples of the dual form include the rwty of the pr-nsw of Nekhen while a stela of the Second Intermediate Period mentions the rwty of the god Osiris at Abydos, presumably the entrance to the temple. A further example from the Middle Kingdom may occur on the jambs of the gateway of Amenemhat II at Hermopolis which is described as being a sb3 r rwty (plural) hwt-ntr. This was taken by the excavators to be a writing of the preposition r-rwty, although the use of the plural form would be unusual in this expression. This shows that it is not always possible to be certain as to whether rwty is for the dual form of the noun of a component of the preposition r-rwty. The latter will have originated in the use of the former to describe an entrance so that anything which was "at the entrance" was "outside" of the building. Which of the two was intended must be decided on the context, the spelling of the word and the determinative used. For example, a text of Amenhotep I, from Karnak, describes the door (sb3) on which it was inscribed as being r rwty hwt-ntr. The door in question is a large monumental entrance (20 cubits high) and is also called "the southern sb3," indicating that it stood, originally, on the south side of the Amun temple and probably marked the main southern entrance to the temple complex. It has been suggested by Sethe that rwty was the word used for a pylon before the introduction of bbnt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Since the earliest known examples, from the story of Sinuhe, describe a palace, not a temple, this can not be proved. Most surviving examples of rwty and rwty wrty date from the Eighteenth Dynasty or later and so are contemporaneous with bbnt. In addition there does seem to have been a distinction made between the rwty of a temple and the bbnt of the same building.

In the reign of Tuthmosis I, both the Fourth and Fifth Pylons of the temple of Amun at Karnak were erected. The surviving obelisk of this king, before the Fourth Pylon, is stated to be "at the rwty
of the bwt-nt r, that is to say, in front of the main entrance to the temple. Another text which describes the work of Tuthmosis I gives details of the two bnt on either side of the columned hall and continues with a description of the flagstaffs at the rwt of the bwt-nt r. It is interesting that the same text should use both rwty and bnt in such close proximity to describe the same pylon (the Fourth). The reason for this is that both the Fourth and Fifth Pylons could be called bnt but only the Fourth, the main entrance to the temple in that reign, could be described as a rwty, and it was outside the Fourth Pylon that the obelisks and the flagstaffs were erected.

The same pylon is again described as a rwty by Tuthmosis III who also constructed obelisks in the space before it.

At Karnak, in particular, there could be several rwty. The main entrance to the temple will always have been from the west, along the temple axis and this was the rwty rwty of the temple. There was also a rwty on the southern side of the temple, as is shown by the door of Amenhotep I, presumably on the line of the existing southern approach, and there was a "western rwty" which led into the palace (r) named Nn-w3.1-r.f, probably situated to the north-west of the approach to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple.

In the context of the temple, therefore, rwty was used of an important entrance and rwty rwty of the main entrance. With the exception of Karnak the two probably nearly always coincided.

Further temple rwty include a mention in a damaged text of Amenhotep II in a flagpole niche of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak, describing the erection of the flagpoles at the rwty (only the determinative is preserved) of the bwt-nt r. In the reign of this king the Eighth Pylon was the southern entrance to the temple.

Rwt is also found in texts from the temple of Seti I at Abydos. In one case braziers are to be set up at a rwt while shrines (hsw) were to be built of stone at the rwty of the lord of Ta-Djeser.

At the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu two of the flagpole dedications on the first pylon state that the flagpoles are "at the rwty rwty of his bwt-nt r." Once again the term is being used for the main entrance of the temple.

At Kawa, king Tahaiq made obeisance to Amun at the rwty of the bwt-nt r and the Shabaka stone describes the union of the reed and
the papyrus at the \textit{rwty} of the \textit{hwt} of Ptah.\textsuperscript{76} In texts which date to \textsuperscript{77} the Ptolemaic period \textit{rwty} was used generally for the doors of a temple.

Both \textit{rwty} and \textit{rwtywrty} also occur in texts which relate to the royal palace. This was noted above in the story of Sinuhe and the usage continued into the New Kingdom.

In the duties of the Vizier from the tomb of Rekhmire the text tells how the Vizier meets other officials, \textit{\theta p\alpha sb\beta n rwty rwty}, \"in the sb\beta of the rwty rwty.\textsuperscript{78} This shows that \textit{rwty rwty} was the term used for the \"entrance\" to the palace and so could itself be regarded as having a \"door\" (sb\beta), and that \textit{rwty} was not just a synonym for sb\beta.

In the Heb-sed scenes of Amenhotep III from the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes, the king appears at the \textit{rwty} of the \textit{ch}.\textsuperscript{79} while, in the Nineteenth Dynasty, an official goes to make his report beside the \textit{rwty wrty}.\textsuperscript{80}

Originally, therefore, \textit{rwty} was a term for the entrance to a building or an estate. In the Old Kingdom it was used to describe the false-door of the tomb and also occurred in mythological contexts from this period onward as the entrance to, for example, heaven.\textsuperscript{81} From the Middle Kingdom \textit{rwty} is found most frequently in the dual form, often qualified by the adjective \textit{wr}, to mean the main entrance to a palace or temple. It was not, in dynastic Egypt, used for other doorways within the buildings and, apart from the example from the funerary temple of Queen Wedjebten detailed above, no door-frames bear the name \textit{rwty}.

\textit{Rwty} should be regarded as a term for an \"entrance\" rather than the name of the door itself, for which \textit{sb\beta} was the usual term.

The word does not occur in either demotic or Coptic.

1 Borchardt, \textit{Denkmäler des Alten Reiches}, I, 44; pl.10 (No. 1384).
2 \textit{Urk.}, I, 38, 9.
3 \textit{Urk.}, I, 38, 11. The forms of the determinatives of this and the preceding writing are not given correctly in the publication. The forms of the signs shown here have been collated with the originals in the Cairo Museum (No. 1482).
4 Murray, \textit{Saqqara Mastabas}, I, pl.VII; Hassan, \textit{Gīza}, 1929-1930, 109, \textit{fig.183} (\textit{Urk.}, I, 234, 16); \textit{Urk.}, I, 175, 12; \textit{Pyr.}, 1638a.
6 \textit{Urk.}, I, 107, 2.
7 Borchardt, *op. cit.*, I, 114 and pl. 28 (*Urk.*, I, 86, 16).
8 Pyr., 603a.
9 *Urk.*, I, 99, 16.
10 Pyr., 1639a; 2067b.
11 Pyr., 1713a (see also 603a with  and  reversed).
12 Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, 22, fig. 28 (*Urk.*, I, 273, 4).
13 *Urk.*, I, 220, 11.
14 Drioton, *Rev. d'Ég.*, 1 (1933), pl. IX, x+6 (The text, Louvre stela C. 15, was published, inaccurately, by Pierret ([*Insc. Louvre*, II, 29]). Clère (in Nims, *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 71-72, notes) has pointed out that the initial sign of this word is the lion (*Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, E. 23*) not the bubalis (*Ibid.*, E. 9) as was given by Pierret. This can be confirmed from the photograph (Drioton, *op. cit.*, pl. IX).
16 Simuhe R. 9; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 39, 6; For as a determinative of rwt see; *Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, N.* 1.
17 Simuhe B. 189; B. 205.
18 Roeder, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 28, fig. 13.
20 *Urk.*, IV, 43, 4; Barguet, *Temple*, 81.
21 *Urk.*, IV, 93, 6; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 98, 9, 19; 108, 11 and 12.
22 *Urk.*, IV, 56, 3.
23 Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952), pl. IV, 2.
24 *Urk.*, IV, 1105, 16.
25 *Urk.*, IV, 1386, 16 (Faulkner, *Con. Dict.*, 147 quotes this reference as a writing of rwt "outside"). 1867, 5.
26 Wb., *Belegstellen*, II, 598 (ref. 404, 5); Mariette, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 40, a, 12.
27 Erman, *ZAS* 38 (1900), 29.
28 Mariette, *op. cit.*, I, p. 35, b.
29 *KRI*, I, 177, 1.
30 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 103, 16.
31 Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I, pl. 8, 9 (*Insc. No. 4*).
33 Piehl, Inscriptions, II, 84.
34 Chassinat, Edfou, II, 31.
35 Wb., II, 403, 13.
36 Ibid., II, 404, 1-10; Faulkner, op. cit., 147.
38 Ibid., II, 407, 9-10; Maspero, PSBA XI (1889), 304ff.
39 Urk., I, 38, 9 and 11; 99, 16.
40 Ibid., I, 107, 2; Pyr., 2067b.
41 Jéquier, loc. cit.
42 Ibid., 23.
43 Wb., V, 510, 4-9.
44 Pyr., 603a; 1638a; 1713a.
45 Wb., II, 404, 4-5.
46 Urk., I, 175, 12; Murray, op. cit, pl.VII; Junker, loc. cit.
47 Junker, loc. cit.
48 Pierret, op. cit., II, 35 (C.176); Wreszinski, Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 179, V, 2.
49 Wb., Belegstellen, II, 598 (ref.404, 5). For further writings of rwt 1st see; Ibid, II, 598 (ref.404, 5) and possibly Borchardt, op. cit., I, 44; pl.10 (No.1384).
50 Wb., I, 127, 7-9.
51 Simuhe R.9.
52 Ibid., B.189.
53 Ibid., B.285.
54 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 153; IV, pl.XLI, 15.
55 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.30, 37.
56 Roeder, loc. cit.
57 Ibid., 28, note 2; Id., ZÄS 67 (1931), 85, note 5.
58 Wb., II, 405, 6-8.
59 Urk., IV, 43, 4. The blocks from this doorway were found in the "cour de la cachette" at Karnak, see; PM., II, 133-134.
60 Urk., IV, 43, 12.
61 Barguet, op. cit., 88 and note 2.
62 Sethe, Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namens...
904.
63 Urk., IV, 93, 6. Faulkner, Con. Dict., 84, took this to be a writing \[\text{\textbf{TT}}\] of the dual of b\textit{hnt}, but in this context it is more
likely to be for rwty. For the location of these obelisks see: PM, II, 75.

64 Urk., IV, 56, 1.
65 Ibid., IV, 56, 3.
66 Ibid., IV, 642, 12. See also PM, II, 74-75.
68 Urk., IV, 43, 4 and 12; 1332, 19.
69 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 98, 19.
70 Ibid., 103, n. See also Gitten, BIFAO 74 (1974), 63-73.
71 Urk., IV, 1332, 19.
72 KRI, I, 171, 1.
73 KRI, I, 177, 1. For a rw (?) in the hwt-ntr of Ptah-Sokar see; Mariette, op. cit., I, 140, a, 12.
74 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, II, pl. 103, 5 and 16.
75 Macadam, op. cit., I, pl. 8, 9.
76 Breasted, loc. cit.,
77 Chassinat, loc. cit.; Piehl, loc. cit.; Wb., II, 404, 2.
78 Urk., IV, 1105, 16.
79 Ibid., 1867, 5.
80 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanea, 39, 6. Erman, Ägypter, 63, quotes this text as an example of rwty rwty as a title of the king.
81 Wb., II, 404, 1.
The first problem to be resolved concerning this word is that of the reading. The Wörterbuch queried the reading *rwy* in view of the number of writings with the double *r* and also those which omitted the *w*. Gardiner gave the word as *rwt*, under the same entry as *rwt*, while Faulkner, who again reads the word as *rwy*, has separate entries for *rwy* and *rwt*. However, Černý took the reading of the word to be *rryt*, which would be supported by the majority of the writings quoted above. Those which contain the *w* are rare and are probably due to confusion with the similarly spelled word *rwt* (q.v.) while the Late Egyptian writings and particularly the earlier variant would suggest that a double *r* was intended at the beginning of the word. Writings in which only one *r* occur are again probably due to confusion with *rwt*. Both of the writings with only the *dy* sign come from the title 1my-r rr*yt* of Imaunedjeh in the reign of Tuthmosis III, showing that various spellings could be used for one word, even within the same text.

The balance of the evidence would seem to be in favour of a reading *rryt* and this has, accordingly, been adopted in this study.

*rryt* occurs in texts from the Old Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. It is used most frequently in the title 1my-r rr*yt* which is first found in the Sixth Dynasty and is the title of several officials at Dendera in the First Intermediate Period. It continues to be used in the Middle Kingdom, although it is never a very common title. In the New Kingdom one important holder of the title is the Theban official Imaunedjeh who was both a 1my-r rr*yt* and 1my-r
rryt nsw. 25 Other officials of the same dynasty also held the simple title 26 and it recurs in the Saite period. 27 There would seem to have been more than one official attached to the rryt since an Eighteenth Dynasty text talks of the rryt of the rryt. 28 However titles such as this, no matter how often they may occur, are not very helpful in deciding on the nature of the building involved.

An important indication as to the function of the rryt is found in the Maxims of Ptahhotep where the rryt appears to be a kind of reception-room or antechamber connected with the office of an important official. 29 Men are warned that there is a code of behaviour for the rryt and that they must act accordingly if they wish to be received. Gardiner has noted that one version of the text has pr-nsw instead of rryt "the picture conveyed to my mind is that of officials crowding at the entrance to the palace, and waiting their turn to be admitted." 30 This interpretation, regarding the rryt as a reception room at the entrance to an official building is also supported by the evidence of Eighteenth Dynasty texts. As was noted above the official Imaunedjeh held the titles 3my-r rryt and 3my-r rryt nsw 31 and he was also a whm nsw 32 and whm nsw tpy. 33 The fact that Imaunedjeh had such a combination of titles has undoubtedly contributed to the confusion in the past between the rryt and the rryt as another official, Intef, had the titles whm nsw, 35 whm 'a n nsw, 36 whm tpy n nsw 37 and whm tpy n rryt. 38 Although Imaunedjeh's titles are never compounded with rryt, the fact that both men were whm has led to the mistaken identification of the rryt of Imaunedjeh's title, 3my-r rryt, and the rryt in Intef's title, whm tpy n rryt. To add to the confusion, among the list of Intef's duties are the statements "One who carries out the procedure of the 3my-q n rryt" 39 and "These were my duties in the 3my-q n rryt." 40 This group has been taken, previously, to be a writing of rryt but there is no evidence that the sign 3my-q can be read as rryt. It was, however, often confused with because of the similarity of the two signs in hieratic, 41 and the group is, therefore, to be understood as a writing of rryt. This means that the official Intef, among whose titles was whm tpy n rryt, performed duties in the rryt. This does not, however, necessitate the identification of the two, although it is probably fair to assume that they were in close proximity as both appear to have been situated
at the entrance to an official building, often the palace.

The "rryt" was the "approach" to a palace or office, the area immediately before the door, while the rryt was a reception-room within the building, as is shown by the consistent use of the determinative for rryt. It is, therefore, highly likely that the duties of the officials connected with the two areas would meet and overlap. The whmn would greet visitors and petitioners in the rryt and lead them to the rryt where they would wait before being conducted in to the presence of the official with whom they had business.

Originally rryt would seem to have been confined in use to the official reception-rooms of administrative buildings. However, from the New Kingdom the term appears to have been extended to include similarly-placed rooms in private houses. Early examples of this are dated to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties but these give little indication of the function of the rryt. In the Twentieth Dynasty a text advising a scribe to reject his idle life, remarks that he has made for himself a rryt in the brewers' quarter, while, in love-songs of similar date, the rryt seems to be a meeting-place for lovers.

Cerny has suggested that rryt may be related to the Coptic term "cell, room".

Essentially, therefore, rryt was used to describe a reception-room or antechamber attached to administrative offices, usually within the palace, although it, later, came to be used for a room in a private dwelling. Rryt does not seem to have ever occurred in a temple-context and is included here primarily because it has, in the past, been confused with both rwt and "rryt.

1 Davies, N[orman] de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi, II, pl. XII.
2 Weill, Dâra, pl.XLIII; another, damaged, writing occurs on pl.XLII.
3 Petrie, Dendera 1896, pl.IX; XI; Urk., IV, 957, 15; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 603, (ref. 407, 14).
4 Petrie, op. cit., pl.X.
5 Fischer, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C., pl.XVII, a.
6 Zâba, Les Maximes de Ptahhotep, 33, 220 and 227 (the earliest extant version of this text is Papyrus Prisse, in which this spelling of rryt occurs, and which has been dated to the early Middle
Kingdom. Other versions are of the Middle and New Kingdoms. There must, however, have been an Old Kingdom original of the text from which the later versions were copied (Ibid., 7). It is probable, therefore, that this spelling of ṭyt was also used in the original text); Urk., IV, 958, 10; 961, 1; 985, 6; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 303; II, 310 (with a stroke added); Davies Nem [orman] de G, El-Amarna, III, pls.27; 29 (largely restored); Hari, (Repertoire Onomastique Amarnien, No.19) gives a writing of ṭyt in the title of the official Ahmose, ḫmy-r ṭyt, as (The final stroke does not in fact exist on any of the inscriptions of this man (Davies, loc. cit.; Petrie, Tell El-Amarna, pl.23, No.44; Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten, III, pl.LXXXIV, 7). Hari also gives the same title, spelled in the same way, for User (Hari, op. cit., No.72). This official is named on a weight which bears his titles (Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.LXII, 4; CIII, 49 ) including the damaged group ( It is possible that this is to be read as ṭyt (Ibid., III, 161, 7) although it is more likely to be a writing of ṭy. In any case the word cannot be restored to give the writing reproduced by Hari; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 25, 13; 106, 17.

7 Zāba, op. cit., 51, 442 (This writing occurs in a Twelfth Dynasty version of the Maxims of Ptahhotep (Papyrus B.M. 10371/10435, 0. 5). The older version of this passage (Papyrus Prisse, 13, 10) has ṭr-sw instead of ṭyt so it is possible that this term may not have occurred in the original text.

8 Newberry, Beni Hasang I, pl.XXX; Pierret, Inscription Louvre, II, 108.

9 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 310; Urk., IV, 955, 10; 957, 6; 958, 15; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 603 (ref.407, 14).

10 Urk., IV, 954, 5; 958, 8.

11 Ibid., IV, 967, 7; 973, 17.

12 Ibid., IV, 1064, 15; 1867, 6.

13 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.XXX, 92, 4.

14 Ibid., pl.XVI, 9.

15 Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series, pl.XLII, column III, 12 (this writing was transcribed as shown here by Gardiner, (op. cit., 36, note 1) and Černý (Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 134) but as (by Müller, (Liebespoesie, pl.6).)
16 Wb., II, 407.
17 Gardiner, Grammar, 577.
18 Paulkner, Con. Dict., 148.
19 Černý, op. cit., 134
20 Urk., IV, 954-961, passim.
21 Davies, loc. cit.; Weill, loc. cit.
22 Petrie, Denderah, 1898, pls. IX; X; XI; Fischer, op. cit., pl. XVII, a.
23 Newberry, loc. cit.; Pierret, loc. cit.; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 310, 4; Petrie, Lahun, II, pls. XXI; XXIX.
24 Urk., IV, 954, 5 and 8; 955, 10; 957, 6 and 15; 958, 10 and 15.
25 Ibid., 958, 8; 962, 11.
26 Ibid., 983, 6; Davies, loc. cit.
27 Wb., Belegstellen, II, 603, (ref. 407, 14).
28 Urk., IV, 1867, 6.
29 Zāba, op. cit., 33, 220 and 227.
30 Gardiner, JEA 37 (1951), 109, note 2.
31 As notes 24 and 25 above.
32 Urk., IV, 955, 10; 957, 10; 958, 11; 960, 2; 961, 9; 962, 7.
33 Ibid., IV, 957, 6; 957, 15; 958, 12; 959, 8; 961, 1; 962, 12 and 17.
34 Erman, ZÄS 20 (1882), 2, note 1; Müller, ZÄS 26 (1888), 90-92; Spiegelberg, Studien und Materialen zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches, 52-53.
35 Urk., IV, 975, 16 and 17.
36 Ibid., IV, 963, 15.
37 Ibid., IV, 964, 9.
38 Ibid., IV, 965, 5; 972, 15.
39 Ibid., IV, 967, 7.
40 Ibid., IV, 973, 17.
41 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, E.23 and U.13; Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, I-II, 125 and 468.
42 Urk., IV, 1064, 15; Müller, Liebespoesie, pl. I, 18.
43 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanea, 25, 13.
44 Ibid., 106, 17.
45 Gardiner, Chester Beatty Papyri, I, pl. XVI, 9; XXX, G.2, 4; Müller, op. cit., pl. 6-7, column III, 12; For a discussion of these writings of rryt see; Gardiner, op. cit., 36, note 1.
46 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 134.
47 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 287b.
The Wörterbuch has three entries for building elements named hayt. One of these seems to be connected with the verb ḫ3t "to roast" and was, probably, some kind of bakery or kitchen. As such this word, which occurs only in accounts of the reign of Seti I, is outside the scope of this study and is unlikely to be related to the hayt under discussion here.

The other two words in the Wörterbuch are hayt "hall" or "fore-
court" and hayt "heaven" or "roof". This division into two separate terms is also followed by Faulkner who gives hêt "ceiling" and hayt "portal".

However, it seems likely that there was only one term the meaning of which changed, or rather became extended, between the Old and Middle Kingdoms when the preferable translation is "ceiling" and the Late and Graeco-Roman periods when a small chapel or portico was intended.

Hayt occurs very frequently from the Old Kingdom onwards in the title smsw hayt writings of which show determinatives to support translations of both "hall" and "ceiling", indicating that, on the evidence of this title alone, only one word is involved. Despite the fact that this is a very old title which continued in use throughout dynastic Egypt, little is known of the duties of the smsw hayt. He could be attached to a temple or a pyramid although he seems, more often, to have been a palace official. In the last capacity he is mentioned in the biography of Rekhmire as "clearing the way for the Vizier to enter the palace." This would suggest that the hayt was at the front of the building, a porch or a portico leading into the main edifice. Since Rekhmire had just mentioned reaching the sba of the hayt where courtiers were bowing down to him, it would be reasonable to assume that, having entered the area immediately before the main building (the hayt, q.v.) he was ushered on by the official of the hayt, a covered portico in front of the door.

Examples of hayt outside of this title are rare before the Third Intermediate Period. Those which are known would support an original meaning of "ceiling" for hayt, although it is also possible that the word had acquired an interpretation of "portico", at least by the Middle Kingdom since it could, by that date, be already determined by a "columned hall" sign.

One of the earliest examples of hayt outside of the title smsw hayt occurs in the description of the tomb of Ankhtifi: at Meïla. Here, in a very obscure passage, the would appear to have been part of the "-door." Fortunately other examples of hayt leave no doubt of the meaning of the word.

In the Instructions of Amenemhat I, the haywt of a pr are dea-
cribed as being made of lapis. The choice of a blue stone would suggest that this h3yt was a ceiling, coloured blue to imitate the sky. Although surviving versions of this text date from the New Kingdom the original composition, and consequently the choice of vocabulary, was of the Middle Kingdom.

Texts of the New Kingdom, also, support a meaning of "ceiling". An Eighteenth Dynasty stela records the fact that the storehouses of the temple of Amun at Karnak were filled with tribute up to their h3yt, while, in the Book of the Dead, the house (pr) of Osiris contains walls (Ìnbw), a floor (sâtw) and a ceiling (hâyt). A similar description of a pr of Amun, in the Twenty-First Dynasty, also includes a hâyt, Ìnbw, sâtw and t3wy.

Clearly, in these texts, hâyt is to be understood as a "ceiling" and this, on the evidence available, would seem to be the preferable translation for the term in texts ascribed to the New Kingdom or earlier. The use of the word in the title smsw hâyt, however, particularly as illustrated in the Rekhmire inscription, strongly suggests that hâyt was already acquiring a wider meaning as a term for a portico or porch before an entrance.

Unfortunately further texts of the New Kingdom are not very helpful for an understanding of the development of the term.

One interesting case where hâyt is used of a porch before a temple pylon occurs in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty when Shabaka renewed the door and porch of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak. He describes the resulting structure, a lightly roofed porch with two supporting columns, as a hâyt st. At the end of the same dynasty, Tanutamun built two hâyt for the temple of Amun at Napata. One is described as being of stone with door-leaves (t3wy) of electrum while the second, at the back (? pr hît, q.v.) of the temple was connected with the care of cattle. Whatever the nature of the latter, the former hâyt was probably a portico like those erected in the Thirtieth Dynasty. This is possibly also true of the hâyt built in the wba of HorShef by the official Hor in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Vercoutter has identified this with the frontage of the Ramesside temple at Heracleopolis but this suggestion remains unproved.

A damaged text, contemporaneous with the Twenty-Sanh dynasty, notes
the restoration of a ḫȝ[t] at Kawa. 64

By the Thirtieth Dynasty ḫȝ[t] had become the term used for the porticos with low screen walls and engaged columns, which were erected on several temple sites. One of these was constructed by Nectanebo I at Philae and was described as a "ḥȝ[t]... of sandstone, surrounded by columns." 65 The same king records the building, at Hermopolis, of a pr for the goddess Nehmetaawy, with a ḫȝ[t] which is said to have columns with sistrum-capitals, 66 as has the portico at Philae. 67 The Hermopolis portico was undoubtedly of similar design.

In the temple of Hibis in Kharga oasis, Nectanebo II constructed a portico with plant-form columns, abutting onto the front of the temple. This is called a ḫȝ[t] 68 and also a ḫȝ[t] 3t. 69

In the time of Philip Arridaeus work was executed on the ḳḥ[t] of the Falcon at Athribis, including the building of a ḫȝ[t] with eight ṣḏd columns, situated at the entrance (r) to the ḳḥ[t]. 70

By this time ḫȝ[t] was firmly established as the name of these small "porticos" and was, thus, easily extended in use and applied to all structures of similar design, wherever their position within the temple complex. In the Ptolemaic period the term was used for the roof-chapel of the temple of Hathor at Dendera 71 and for buildings situated beside the sacred lakes. 72 The Dendera roof-chapel 73 is similar in style to the Thirtieth Dynasty porticos and there is no reason to suppose that other ḫȝ[t] which can not be so readily identified, differed greatly in plan, size or appearance. Other Graeco-Roman ḫȝ[t] are recorded at Esna, 74 Karnak, 75 and Edfu. 76

The meaning of ḫȝ[t] in the Late and Graeco-Roman periods is not in doubt; it referred to a small portico or chapel with screen walls and engaged columns. Similarly there is no doubt of the existence, in texts up to the Twenty-First Dynasty of a noun ḫȝ[t] which is best translated as "ceiling". It is possible that these are two separate unrelated terms which happen to show similar spellings, however, it is much more likely that the original term ḫȝ[t], "ceiling", was extended, probably at a much earlier date than can be proved on present evidence, to cover a small porch in front of an entrance and it is as such that it occurs in the title ḳȝsw ḫȝ[t]. Later still the term came to be applied, specifically, to the porticos of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods.
Previous discussions of hīyṭ have, in the main, concluded that it was a term for a portico, pavilion or similar structure. One exception to this is Goedicke who, in discussing the title ṣmḥw hīyṭ, preferred to see the hīyṭ as a "collective designation of the administrative quarter." If this were so, then hīyṭ as used in this title would have to be distinguished from the term which, clearly, described a part of a building. This is not necessary since there is no corroborative evidence to support Goedicke's suggestion.

Hīyṭ is probably related to the term hīṭ "heaven", a translation which the Wörterbuch gives as an alternative meaning of ḫīyṭ "roof".

Whether or not hīyṭ survived into Coptic is open to question. Gardiner regarded ḫīyṭ as the ancestor of the Coptic ḫānīṭ a "gateway, porch or forecourt," although Černý, following Spiegelberg and Krall preferred to see ḫānīṭ as a derivative of Egyptian ẖīṭy.

1 Junker, Gīza, IX, 77, abb.31; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 262 (wrongly numbered 362).
2 Junker, op. cit., 78, abb.32; Mariette, op. cit., 341.
3 Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, I, 24, No.22; 142, No.212.
4 Hassan, Gīza, VI, part III, 103.
5 Borchardt, op. cit., I, 25, No.23.
6 Vandier, Mo'alla, 232, V, α, 3; pl.20.
7 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 67.
8 Ibid., 17.
9 Ibid., 249; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 415.
10 Griffith, ZAS 34 (1896), 47. See also Malinine, BIFAO 34 (1934), 65.
11 Urk., IV, 1073, 5.
12 Ibid., IV, 429, 7.
13 Griffith, loc. cit.; Malinine, loc. cit. (P. Sallier II, III, 1. The second bird was transcribed by both Griffith and Malinine as the ḫ nb-sign (Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, G.21). It is, in fact, the ṭīw-bird (Ibid., G.4) as would be expected in such a writing. For a copy of the hieratic text see: Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series, pl.LXV.
Compare the sign with Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, II, p. 191. The same also applies to the transcription by Malinine of the same sign on a new ostracan (Malinine, op. cit., 65 and following plate (unnumbered). This writing determines the word with \[\text{\textw} \] instead of \[\text{\textw} \].

14 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Egyptian Text volume, 267, (Chapter 125, 44); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, I, pl. 23A, 49; Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 393.

15 LD., III, 170.
16 Gardiner, Onom., pl. XVI, 15.
17 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 17, 3.
19 Wreszinski, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 13 (1910), pl. II, 12 (after p. 381); Leclant, Rev. d'Ég. 8 (1951), 107; pl. 4;
Mariette, Denderah, III, pl. 37, i.
20 Urk., III, 68, 5.
21 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88; pl. II; III.
22 LD., III, 285a.
23 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, The Temple of Hibis in El-Kharga Oasis, III, pl. 64, top (same, omitting \[\text{\textw} \] pl. 65, reveal).
24 Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 8.
26 Ibid., 196, Insc. 284, 12.
27 Urk., VIII, 152, 237.
28 Chassinat, BIFAO 30 (1930), 300.
29 Urk., VIII, 52, No. 63, h.
30 Mariette, op. cit., IV, pl. 2.
31 Urk., VIII, 52, No. 63, d.
32 Mariette, op. cit., I, pl. 62, j.
33 Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatemps, pl. XXXI, 14 and 17.
34 Wb., II, 476 (not quoted by the Belegstellen).
35 Ibid., 476, 14.
36 Ibid., 475, 9.
37 KRI, I, 244, 15; 245, 14; 260, 9; 269, 15.
38 Wb., II, 476, 4-11.
39 Ibid., 476, 12-13. Leclant, op. cit., 111, note 3, notes that
Fairman is of the opinion that the Wörterbuch should have translated ḫyt as Decke "ceiling" rather than Dach "roof".

40 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 156.
41 Loc. cit.
42 Wb., II, 476, 8-11.
43 E.g., Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 17; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 61, 1; Malinine, loc. cit.
44 E.g., Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., 67; 249; Urk., IV, 429, 7; 1073, 5.
45 Murray, Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, pl.XLI.
46 For discussions of this title see; Helck, Beamantiteln, 83, note 31; Gardiner, Onom., I, 60*-61* [132].
47 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 61, 1; Davies N[ina] de G and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat, pl.VII, see also; Ibid., 7.
48 Hassan, loc. cit.; Badawi, ASAE 40 (1940), pl.60.
49 See; Gardiner, Onom., I, 60*-61* [133].
50 Urk., IV, 1073, 5.
51 Ibid., IV, 1073, 3.
52 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 67; 249.
53 Vandier, loc. cit.
54 Malinine, loc. cit.
55 Urk., IV, 429, 7.
56 Budge, loc. cit.
57 Hamada, loc. cit.
58 LD., III, 170 (a ḫyt at the Ramesseum); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.; Gardiner, op. cit., pl.XI, 15.
59 Leclant, loc. cit. (also Yoyotte, Ch. d'Eg, 18 No.55 (Jan. 1953), 28-38.
60 Urk., III, 68, 5.
61 Ibid., III, 68, 13.
62 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88 and pl.s.II; III. (See also; Dar-essy, ASAE 5 (1905), 127.
63 See further under ḫḥ₂, p.90,note 59.
64 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, 67, note 200; pl.26, line 106.
65 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 166; 167. For a plan see; PM., VI, 202; 204; for photographs see; Lyons, A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae, Nos.3 and 4.
66 Roeder, op. cit., 393.
67 Lyons, loc. cit.

68 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, op. cit., III, p. 65, reveal; for a plan see; Ibid., I, pl. XXXIII, and for a photograph see; Ibid., I, pl. VII.

69 Ibid., I, p. 64, top.

70 Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 8.

71 Mariette, op. cit., III, p. 37; IV, p. 2; Dümichen, loc. cit.

72 Mariette, op. cit., I, p. 62, j.

73 Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendara, I, pl. XLI; PM., VI, 100-103 and plan on 94.

74 Sauneron, op. cit., 194, Insc. 284, 3.

75 Urk., VIII, 52, 63, d and h; 152, 237.

76 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 415; Id., BIFAO 30 (1931), 300.

77 Leclant, op. cit., 111-112; Badawy, ZÄS 102 (1975), 88; Vercoutter, op. cit., 95; Barguet, Temple, 288; Alliot, Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au Temps des Ptolemées, II, 483; Daumas, Les Mammisis des Temples égyptiens, 210, note 4; Yoyotte, op. cit., 36; Chassinat, Le Mammisis d'Edfou, p. X, note 8; See also Cartef and Cardiner, JEA 4 (19 17), 134, note 7 (2) for hiyt as a term for "ceiling".


79 Wb., II, 476, 12. See also Wilke, ZÄS 76 (1940), 93-99.

80 Gardiner, Onom., I, 60*-61* \[133\]. For qaeǐt see; Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 713b-714a. This term does not appear to be entered in Westendorf's Koptisches Handwörterbuch.

81 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 298.

82 Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 248; Id., Koptische Etymologien, 25, No. 16.

83 Krall in Revillout, Revue Egyptologique 2 (1882), 31, note 1.

84 Wb., III, 222, 5.
Hwt is an extremely common term which was in use throughout dynastic Egypt, from the Archaic period to the Ptolemaic era. It is a term to which a separate study ought really to be devoted and it is not possible in a work of this kind, which is attempting to review a large number of words, to assess adequately this one word which occurs so frequently in texts of all periods. However, it would also be unacceptable to omit such an important term and I propose to give here a summary of the history of hwt and to discuss its use with relation to actual buildings.

The term is a very ancient one which occurs, both alone and in compounds, from the First Dynasty onwards. It is, therefore, clear that the enclosure which is represented in the hwt-hieroglyph must have been a building-type which was already in existence in the pre- and protodynastic periods. The form of the hieroglyph varies slightly in the Archaic period (see the writings above), but it is essentially a rectangular enclosure which, at this period in Egypt, would have been constructed of brick. The main point of contention concerning the exact nature of this enclosure is the matter of the identification of the small square which is usually depicted in one of the lower
corners of the enclosure in the most usual form of the sign which was in constant use from the First Dynasty. Some writers have interpreted the square as a building, possibly a tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure, while others have regarded it as being a representation of the gateway itself. The early variants of the sign would tend to support the latter interpretation as the second writing quoted above does seem to show an entrance. It is, therefore, probable that the small square represents a gateway in the corner of the enclosure. This was, probably, a complex entrance designed to restrict ease of access to the enclosure in which case it can be claimed that at least two protodynastic hwt have survived.

These are the large brick enclosures at Abydos, known today as the Shunet Ez-Zebib and the Middle Fort. A third example also exists which it has not been possible to excavate as the enclosure is now occupied by a Coptic monastery. The original purpose of these enclosures has been a subject of much debate. The excavators regarded them as "forts", a judgement which was, presumably, based primarily on their size. More recent opinions on the nature of these enclosures have depended on whether or not the writer believed the royal cemetery at Um El-Qa'ab to be the actual tombs of the kings of the Archaic period. The weight of the evidence does, however, indicate that the royal tombs of the First Dynasty, and some of those of the Second Dynasty, were at Abydos, the large archaic mastabas at Saqqara belonging to high officials. In this case it is most likely that the enclosures at Abydos were connected with the provision of the mortuary cult of the dead kings, playing a similar role to that of the court around the Step Pyramid at Saqqara. Both the Shunet and the Middle Fort have complex gateways which would have been readily represented in the hieroglyphic sign by a square in the corner of the enclosure.

Those writers who prefer to regard Saqqara as the royal cemetery of the Archaic period have suggested other interpretations. Emery sees them as "surrounding the Upper Egyptian residence of the king" and Ricke considers that they were "Residenzen für die Teilnahme der lebenden Könige an abydenischen Götter-festen" at the nearby Osiris temple. Lauer, however, suggests that they were magazines for this same temple.

In view of the comparison which can be made with the court of the Step Pyramid, the proximity of the enclosures to the royal cemetery
and the overwhelming evidence that ḫwt was concerned primarily with the funerary cult, these enclosures are much more likely to have served as cult-places for dead kings than as either residences for the live monarch or storehouses for the Osiris temple.

The surviving enclosures at Abydos are of the Second Dynasty but there is no reason to doubt that similar structures existed within the rectangles bounded by the "tombs of the courtiers", to serve the cults of the kings of the First Dynasty. 37

Since the form of the hieroglyph was already well-established by the start of the dynastic period, it would seem logical to suppose that similar enclosures had existed in predynastic Egypt. These need not necessarily have been connected with the cults of dead rulers as it is possible that any large brick enclosure, whatever its purpose, was called a ḫwt. There is certainly evidence to suggest that large produce-bearing estates were originally enclosed by brick boundary walls and known as ḫwt, since the term is used, in the Old Kingdom, to describe the funerary estates which provided offerings for the mortuary cults. This use of the term is outside of the scope of this study and has already been extensively studied by Jacquet-Gordon who discusses both the ḫwt-foundations and those known as ḫnḫwt, which also provisioned the funerary cults. 38 She regards the ḫwt as having been foundations instituted by the king to provide for his mortuary cult and under the control of officials appointed by the king. These estates are also attested for an earlier period, when the occurrences of ḫwt on the jar-seals of the Archaic period refer either to the estate from which the produce originated 40 or, if contained in a title, the office of the administrator responsible for despatching the offerings to the tomb of the noble or king concerned. 41

To return to ḫwt as it is known to have referred to actual buildings, there is further evidence, from texts, that the cult-centres of the kings of the Archaic period were called ḫwt, which serves to support the identification of the function of the Abydene enclosures.

A piece of a diorite vase found at the tomb of king Kaš at Abydos bears the title of a sem-priest of the ḫwt of Kaš. 42 This would have referred to the ḫwt of the king at Abydos which has since been completely destroyed. In addition the expression ḫwt-ḫ3 had already come into use by the end of the First Dynasty. A ḫwt-ḫ3 of Adjib is
attested as is a $hwt-k3$, called $ah-nfr$, of the first king of the Second Dynasty, Hetepsekhemuy. The use of $hwt-k3$ for the mortuary chapel of both private and royal individuals continues.

In the Old Kingdom $hwt$ was retained as the name of the mortuary temple of the king even when the design of the edifice had been changed to such an extent that it no longer resembled the original brick enclosure. This is illustrated by the fact that blocks which were intended for the Valley temple of Snofiru at Dashur were marked with a $hwt$-hieroglyph before they left the quarries. In the Abusir papyri the pyramid temple of Neferirkaire is referred to as "the $hwt$ of Neferirkaire" and "the $hwt$ of Kakai". There can be no doubt with these examples that this $hwt$ of the king was the temple itself and not a "foundation" in view of the contexts in which the terms occur, particularly the writing of $Hwt-Nfr-Ir-k3-r$ which is found in a duty-rota specifying the officials which are to be on duty in the $r$t-$hnt$ and the $pr$-$w$-$w$, both of which refer to particular areas of the temple.

However, other examples from the Old Kingdom of the $hwt$ of a king probably refer to an estate of the king rather than to his mortuary temple. This is so with another example from the same archive which records that provisions for the temple of Neferirkaire were brought from the $hwt$ of Raneferfet.

In the Old Kingdom, therefore, $hwt$ was used in two ways. Firstly, and most frequently, to describe a foundation which provisioned a mortuary cult, and secondly as the name of the building in which the cult was celebrated. $Hwt$ does not occur as the term for a cultus temple in the Old Kingdom, the regular expression being $hwt-nfr$ (q.v.), although possible exceptions to this are found on the Fifth Dynasty Palermo Stone.

In inscriptions of the Archaic period rectangular enclosures which lack the "gateway" can be equated with others of the same name which employ the standard $hwt$-hieroglyph, showing that the simple rectangle could be read as $hwt$. On the Palermo Stone the same sign is also found, within which are hieroglyphs representing the name of the edifice. The usual $hwt$-sign is not employed for the same buildings but, occasionally the rectangular enclosures have "battlements". These buildings have been discussed by Kaplony who regards them as "Götterfestungen".

In view of the fact that at least three of these buildings are named
in connection with the pd-šs ceremony, it is most likely that they were temples of some kind.

In the same annals the expression tp-hwt (q.v.) occurs\(^{56}\) to mean the "roof" of a temple.

The use of hwt in the Middle Kingdom is less well attested, although it was certainly still connected with the mortuary cult as the hwt of various individuals are known.\(^{57}\) There is little evidence for the use of the term in relation to cultus temples although the title ḫmy-r hwt n Swth "Overseer of the hwt of Seth"\(^{58}\) implies that hwt could be employed as an abbreviation for hwt-ntr. However, due to the relative paucity of relevant texts for this period, further evidence has not survived.\(^{59}\)

As with so many words the majority of the extant examples date from the New Kingdom.

One interesting text, from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, records how Ahmose I built, at Abydos, a pyramid and a hwt for his grandmother Tetisheri.\(^{60}\) These structures have been excavated, revealing that the hwt, in which the stela bearing the text was found, consists of a square brick building, divided into many compartments which were filled with rubble to form a solid construction. An offering chapel, at the entrance to which were hundreds of offering pots, extended from one side into the centre of the structure. The stela had been, originally, set up at the back of this chapel.\(^{61}\) The use of hwt to describe such an edifice, which bears no resemblance either to the enclosure represented by the hieroglyph, or a standard Egyptian temple, indicates that the basis for using this particular term for a building lay in its function, not in its plan. This virtually solid construction was purely an offering chapel for the cult of the dead queen, the presence of the large amount of pottery leaving no doubt as to the purpose of the building. This shows the continuance of the essentially funerary nature of the hwt, as already evidenced for the Old Kingdom and the term continues to be used as the name of the mortuary temples of the kings and queens of the New Kingdom.

Examples of this are much too frequent to be detailed individually and little would be gained by so doing. However, it can be noted that the royal mortuary temples on the West Bank at Thebes were most often described as being the hwt of a particular king.\(^{62}\)
Often these temples are described as being "the hwt of the king (named) in the pr of Amun", indicating that they were under the administrative control of the main temple of Amun at Karnak. One text refers to these temples collectively as "the hwt (pl.) of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt which are beside his (Amenhotep III's) father Amun at Thebes". The full name of each of these temples was "the hwt nt hhw m rnpwt "the hwt of millions of years" of the king. This expression, which was once thought to have been used only for actual mortuary temples, was, in fact, used of any temple in which the worship of the king was observed, even if the temple in question was dedicated primarily to the chief god of the area. Since this expression is linked so closely with the cult of the king it is interesting to note that the full name of a king's tomb in the Valley of the Kings was p3 hr '3 ḫps n hbw n rnpwt pr-'3 pr ḫmntt wast "The great and noble tomb of millions of years of Pharaoh on the west of Thebes".

Hwt, therefore, clearly retained its association with the funerary cult and, in the New Kingdom, this was extended to private individuals. It was, however, from the New Kingdom onward that hwt was used with increasing frequency for the cult-place of a god, as an abbreviation for hwt-ntr. Once again, examples of this are so numerous that there can be no doubt that hwt was employed in this way and to quote texts at length is unnecessary.

In the Ptolemaic period hwt is found referring to individual rooms within a temple.

There is little that can be usefully added in such a brief study of this important term. The administrative aspect of the hwt, as indicated in the Ramesside Wilbour Papyrus, is a topic too diverse and complex to be considered here. It is worth, however, emphasising once again the fundamentally funerary nature of hwt which can be seen clearly in the Old Kingdom when it was used almost exclusively in this way, and which continued into the New Kingdom as the name of the royal mortuary temple. Since a hwt was essentially a cult-place, there is no one form of building which can be identified as a hwt, the term defining the function of an edifice rather than its plan. Originally a hwt was an enclosure like that depicted in the hieroglyphic sign but, even by the time of
the Old Kingdom, the term was being applied to buildings which bore no resemblance to the original enclosure. The link between these hwt and those of the pre- and protodynastic period was their identity of function. Since the simple term was so closely identified with the cult of the dead, the adjunct ntr was employed to distinguish the cult place of a god from that of a king. Although even in the Old Kingdom the distinction was not being enforced with the result that the temple of a god could be called a hwt while the cult-place of the king, his mortuary temple, could be described as a hwt-ntr.

Hwt occurs in the demotic script with a similar range of meanings but in the Coptic period, by which time the pagan temples had fallen into disuse, hwt survives only as a term for a "sepulchre."

1 Emery, Hor-Aha, 20, fig. 13 (also published in Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl. 19, 36. The sign occurs on a seal from tomb 3357 at Saqqara, and has within the enclosure the name of Hor-Aha. The seal has two rows of hwt-enclosures and one large ¼. This group has been read by Kaplony as either hwt-njswt or hwt-em'(t) (Ibid., II, 1098).

2 Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pl. XII, 3. The reading of the sign as hwt is confirmed by comparison with Ibid., I, pl. VI, 8 which shows a typical hwt-enclosure of the same name.

3 Ibid., I, pl. IX, 12.

4 Although this sign lacks the characteristic "gateway" of the hwt-hieroglyph, the reading is confirmed, as with No. 2, by comparison with other writings (Ibid, I, pl. IX, 1 and 2; IX, 1 and 3). Other writings of this simple enclosure which could be interpreted as "hwt" see; Kaplony, op. cit., III, pls. 35, 110; 67, 241; Urk., I, 165, 15; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pl. 20.

5 This writing of hwt occurs consistently from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period. Examples are so numerous that the following references provide only a representative selection; Petrie, op. cit., I, pls. XV, 16; XXVI, 58, 59 and 60; Kaplony, op. cit., III, pls. 35, 115; 36, 118, 86, 322; 123, 737; 125, 749; Urk., I, 4, 9; Petrie, Medum, pl. 21; LD., II, 42a; 76a; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, 384; Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl. XXXIII; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I,
39, h, 5; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.VII; Urk., IV, 25, 10; Naville, The XIth. Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, pls.VI, 1; XVI, 1; Urk., IV, 1796, 10; Mariette, Abidos, I, 47b; KRI, I, 335, 3; II, 428, 9; Marciniak, Deir El-Bahari, I, pl.LXXXIV, Graffito No.128; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 40; Benson and Gourlay, The Temple of Mut in Asher, 351; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 92; 539; Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.XXIII.

Petrie, Medum, pl.21; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 6; Quibell, The Ramesseum, 1896, pl.XXXXIII; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, 317 (in the name of a town); Davies N[orman] de G, Ptahhotep, I, pl.XII, 228; LD., II, 63; Petrie, Denderah, pl.III; Urk., I, 102, 7; Urk., VII, 61, 3; Holscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 109, figs. 92; 93.

Petrie, Medum, pl.21; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 6; Quibell, The Ramesseum, 1896, pl.XXXXIII; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, 317 (in the name of a town); Davies N[orman] de G, Ptahhotep, I, pl.XII, 228; LD., II, 63; Petrie, Denderah, pl.III; Urk., I, 102, 7; Urk., VII, 61, 3; Holscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 109, figs. 92; 93.

7 Urk., I, 236, 14.

8 Pyt., 308; Urk., I, 85, 7; Newberry, op. cit., I, pl.XVIII; Urk., IV, 387, 1; Davies N[orman] de G, El-Amarna, IV, 3; Urk., IV, 2027, 10; LD., III, 152d; Mariette, Abidos, I, pl.47, a.

9 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 4; Urk., I, 264, 14 (in hwt-k3);
212, 10 (the exact form of the hwt here is □); VII, 28, 16; IV, 28, 1; 108, 1; 447, 5; 766, 2; 885, 7; 975, 8; 1748, 5; KRI, I, 171, 5 and 6; 326, 11; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 3; 7, 7; 13, 17;
30, 3; 50, 6; 67, 16; Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 6, 15;
24, 12; 33, 5.


11 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 160e; Adam, ASAE 56 (1959), pl.9.

12 Louvre C.198 (this stela, mentioned by Pierret (Insc. Louvre, II, 53) does not appear to be published and this sign, in the title hkt hwt, was noted in the Louvre. The stela is dated by Boreux (Antiquités égyptiennes, Catalogue Guide, I, 161) to the Twelfth Dynasty).

13 Bisson de la Roque, Tod, 107.

14 Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kabun and Gurob, pl.35, 34.

15 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pl.2 (this could conceivably be a writing of kht, but, since hwt-nfr in the same stela is written □, a reading of hwt for this group is probably to be preferred).

16 Urk., IV, 131, 16.
17 Ibid., 1542, 8.
18 Berlin Königlichen Museen, Aegyptische Inschriften, II, 41 (with oo instead of 'i'); KRI, I, 42, 3; 48, 3; Erichsen, op. cit., 7, 9; 70, 10; 81, 15 (with a and $ reversed); 49, 22 (with cursive w).
19 Urk., IV, 1928, 14.
20 KRI, I, 39, 13.
21 Foucart, Le Tombeau d'Amonmos, pl.XIII.
22 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, II, pl.123, B.
23 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 589.
24 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.6, note 1 (after Calverley).
25 Griffith, A Collection of Hieroglyphs, 35.
26 Maspero, PSEA.XII (1889-1890), 247; Lefebvre, Grammaire de l'Égyptien Classique, 402, 0.6 and 0.7; Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, 28-29; Ayrton Cyrrelly and Wiegall, Abydos, III, 5.
27 See, for example, Emery, Archaic Egypt, 118, fig.75 and 76. It has also been suggested that the hwt hieroglyph depicts a sanctuary within a temple enclosure-wall and it has been claimed that such a situation exists on the site of the Old Kingdom temple at Tell-Basta (Jacquet Gordon, Les Noms des Domaines funéraires sous l'ancien Empire égyptien, 4, after Anon. Ch. d'Egypt. 39 and 40 (January and July 1945), 84). However, Habachi makes no mention of a sanctuary in the North-West corner (Tell Basta, 11-32) and although the temple sanctuary may well lie to the North-West of the centre of the enclosure, it is not in the corner and the plan of the temple enclosure does not resemble the usual hwt-hieroglyph (Ibid, plan).
28 Ayrton et al., op. cit., pl.VI.
29 Ibid., pl.VII.
30 Ibid., 3.
31 Ibid., 1-5.
32 Kemp, JEA 52 (1966), 13-22.
33 See notes 28 and 29 above.
34 Emery, op. cit., 116.
35 Ricke, Beiträge Bd. 4. Bemerkungen, I, 27; 130, anm.163.
37 Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos, 1-9; pls.I-XXI; PM,
38 Jacquet-Gordon, op. cit., passim, especially 3-14; Junker, ZÄS 75 (1936), 69, note 30; Goedicke, MDAIK 21 (1966), 18; Fischer, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C., 11, note 53; 73.
40 E.g. Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl. 19, 36; 38, 210; 67, 236; 68, 243; 69, 246, 249 and 251;
41 E.g. Ibid., III, 35, 114; 36, 118; 49, 182; 86, 327; 94, 366; 123, 737; 154, 878.
42 Petrie, op. cit., I, pl. IX, 12. For the exact provenance of this inscription see; Ibid., 15; pl. IX (over chamber 3).
43 Amelineau, Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896, I, pl. 32.
44 Petrie, op. cit., I, pl.VII, 10; II, pl.VIII, 9-11; Lacau and Lauer, La Pyramide à Degrés, IV, pl.12 (Nos.61 and 62); 15 (No. 74).
45 Wb*, III, 5, 14-20; See also; Varille, Inscriptions concernant l'Architecte Amenhotep fils de Hap, 75-76.
46 Fakhry, op. cit., 14.
47 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.IVA, g.
48 Ibid., pls.XVIIIA, B; XCIIIA, A (twice); XCV, A.
50 Posener-Krieger, Archives Neferirkare, I, 36-42.
52 See note 4 above.
53 Schäfer, Ein Bruchstuck Altgägyptischer Annalen, pl.I, 3, 4 and 5.
54 Ibid., pl.I, 2 and 3. The same buildings are named on inscriptions from elsewhere, see; Kaplony, ZÄS 88 (1962), figs.13-23.
55 Ibid., 5-16.
56 Schäfer, op. cit., pl.II, the signs can not be distinguished on this photograph, see Ibid., 36 and 39; See also Urk., I, 244, 3; 248, 1.
57 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pls.2; 10; III, pl.38; Adam, ASAE 56 (1959), pl.9; Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, pl.35, 34; Urk., VII, 26, 16; Newberry, Bl-Bersheh, I, pl.XXXIII. For hwt in the plural, referring to the estates, see;
British Museum, op. cit., II, pl. 8; Urk., VII, 61, 3.

58 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 39, h, 5.

59 For another example which may refer to a cult-centre of Sesostris I at Tōd, see Bisson de la Roque, Tōd, 107.

60 Urk., IV, 28, 1.

61 Ayrton et al., op. cit., 35-37; pl. LI. For another copy of the stela see; Ibid., pl. III.

62 E.g. Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, pl. XVI, 1 (Thutmose III); id., Deir El-Bahari, I, pl. XX (Hatshepsut); Urk., IV, 885, 7 (Thutmose III); Wb., Belegstellen, III, 1 (ref. 2, 5) (Amenhotep II); Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, pl. VII 1; VIII, E for a better photograph see; Hayes, Scepter of Egypt, II, fig. 191) (Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun); Holscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 109, figs. 92 and 93 (Horemheb); KRI, I, 332, 4 (Seti I); Quibell, The Ramesseum, 1896, pl. X (Ramesses II); Erichsen, op. cit., 13, 17 (Ramesses III).


64 Urk., IV, 1796, 10.

65 Wb., III, 2, 7-8; Gardiner, Memphis, V, 35.

66 Schaedel, Die Listen des Grossen Papyrus Harris, 22-23; Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues, 28; 76; Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 62-63. There are, however, a number of temples which are referred to as ḫwt nt ḫhw m Ṣmpwt in which evidence for the provision of a royal cult is not immediately obvious, although it may once have existed.

67 Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 22-24. It is also of interest that the one exception to the rule that only royal tombs are called p3 hr, i.e. the use of the term to describe the "tomb of the Apis" the Serapeum at Saqqara (Ibid., 14). The Serapeum is also called a ḫwt nt ḫhw m Ṣmpwt (Brugsch, ZÄS 22 (1884), 116) indicating the high regard in which the Apis bull was held since expressions normally reserved for the tomb and cult-place of the king were applied to the burial-place of this sacred animal. The Sepapeum was also described as a ḫwt-nṯr (Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapeum de Memphis, 32).

68 Urk., IV, 106; 1; 131, 16; 132, 4 and 14; 447, 5 (quoted by the
as a use of hwt for the house of a private individual).

69 E.g. Urk., IV, 29, 10; 387, 1; 766, 2; 859, 2; 975, 8; 1796, 10; 2027, 10; Davies, N[orman] de G, El-Amarna, IV, 3; KRI, I, 42, 3; 171, 5 and 6; LD., III, 152, d; Van Dyk, Göttingen Miscellen 33 (1979), 23, 7; Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 3; 7, 7-9; 30, 3; 50, 8; 70, 10; 67, 4, 5 and 16; 81, 15; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Ramesses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pl.III, E; Id., The Bubastite Portal, pl.16, 40; Benson and Gourlay, The Temple of Mut in Asher, 351; et al.

70 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 92; 539; Mariette, Denderah, III, 23.

71 Since, however, the mortuary temples of the New Kingdom were also dedicated to the chief god of the area, the use of hwt-ntr is not inaccurate.

72 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 283·284.

73 Černý, Coptás Etymological Dictionary, 273. Hwt is also retained in Coptic in place-names and in the names of the goddesses Nepthys and Hathor (loc. cit) and in the noun ẑeneete which is derived from hwt-ntr (Ibid., 289; Ösing, Nominalbildung, 441).
Hwt-ntr is the standard term for an ancient Egyptian temple and was in continuous use from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period, surviving into Coptic as ꜜwȝnȝt "monastery" and also into more modern languages.

The term is self-explanatory, designating the hwt of a god. The simple term, hwt, was originally the name of the cult place of the dead king and in the pre- and protodynastic periods the building was of a form identical to that depicted in the hieroglyphic sign, an enclosure with a fortified gateway. Since the cult centre of the king was called a hwt, it would have been a logical step to indicate that a temple was dedicated to a god other than the king by the addition of ntr to the basic term. It cannot be proved, however, that the cult centre of a god ever resembled the hwt-enclosure. The earliest known representations of cult-temples seem to show shrines built of wood and reeds which are quite different in plan to the large brick enclosures which were erected for the mortuary cults of the kings. However, it is possible that these shrines were enclosed by a brick boundary wall, as were later dynastic temples, with the result that all that would be visible of the shrine itself from the
exterior would be the tops of the flagpoles, denoting the fact that the building was dedicated to the service of a god. It is, therefore, possible that the most frequently found writings of hwt-ntr in the Old Kingdom which enclose the ntr-sign within the hwt are an attempt to reproduce pictographically the temple as it was seen by the general public outside of the enclosure wall. This form of hwt-ntr was already established by the end of the First Dynasty, occurring on a seal of Ka-a from Saqqara. 24

The archaeological evidence for the plans of early temples is inconclusive as these temples, built of brick, wood and reeds, have not survived to any great extent. 25

By the time of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period hwt-ntr was firmly established as the name of a cultus temple and several examples, belonging to various gods, are known which cannot be identified with any extant remains. 26 One exception to this is a number of references to the Old Kingdom temple of Khentimentiu at Abydos. 27

Theoretically a royal mortuary temple was referred to as the hwt of a particular king or queen. However, these temples could also be called hwt-ntr. This is the case with the pyramid temple of Neferirkare to which references are made in the Abusir Papyri. 28 Other such temples of the Old Kingdom which are called hwt-ntr include those of Nebka, 29 Snoferu, 30 Menkaure, 31 Shepseskaf 32 and various queens. 33

In the Middle Kingdom hwt-ntr occurred frequently, but is, unfortunately, only rarely found in contexts which are of use in deciding on the physical nature of the building in question. One Twelfth Dynasty hwt-ntr which can be identified, although little of it now remains, is the Thoth temple at Hermopolis in which Amenemhat I erected a limestone gateway (sbs) after he had found the hwt-ntr in ruins. 34 The ruined temple was presumably one built during the Old Kingdom, and it is of interest to note that a graffito of the First Intermediate Period records that six hundred men were sent to bring stone from Hatnub to the hwt-ntr of Thoth, Lord of Eshmunein; 35 almost certainly a reference to the temple at Hermopolis. Other Middle Kingdom hwt-ntr which can be identified with extant remains include the Osiris temple at Abydos, at which work was undertaken by an official, Mentuhotep, in the reign of Sesostris I, 36 the temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre at Deir El-Bahari 37 and the Amun temple at Karnak. 38
Other temples are known only from titles or epithets.

Most of the texts of the Middle Kingdom, in which hwt-ntr occurs, give more information about the rituals and services of the temple than they do about the actual layout of the structure in question. This is well exemplified in the contracts arranged by Hapdjefa with the priesthood of the hwt-ntr of Wepwawet at Siut. The rituals of the temple are not of concern to this study but it can be noted that texts which bear on the subject of the functions of the temple tend to suggest that hwt-ntr itself was used primarily of the stone-built temple and did not refer to the entire temple temenos. For example, there are not infrequent references in the Middle Kingdom to the fact that statues of private individuals could be set up within the hwt-ntr to benefit from the reversion of offerings. These statues would have been within the main temple, not within the temenos. Similarly, the contracts of Hapdjefa mention the ceremony of lighting the torch in the hwt-ntr, clearly, here the main temple building, while other texts give indications of the equipment used in the temple rituals.

These indications that hwt-ntr was used primarily for the actual temple building are supported by the evidence of later periods when detailed building texts were composed, often listing as elements of the hwt-ntr components which were found only within the main temple. This is well illustrated by a text of the Second Intermediate Period which records work carried out, by Sebekhotep IV, in the temple of Amun at Karnak. The construction work took place within the pr of Amun but the text shows that the hwt-ntr, said to contain a sbj, 3wy-s, a swt in the wght wdyt and "a second pr", was the stone temple itself.

This view is also supported by many other building texts of the New Kingdom, of which a representative selection only need be quoted here:

"I built his (Thoth's) great hwt-ntr in Tura Limestone, its sbw were of alabaster of Hatnub and its rsw of Asian copper" (Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut).

"Menkheperre, he made for his father Dedwen, Lord of Nubia, and for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakaure, the making for them of a hwt-ntr in sandstone; because my Majesty had found it (made) of brick and greatly destroyed." (Senna).
"Now my Majesty (Tuthmosis III) found this hwt-ntr built of brick, its wsw and sbw in wood, having fallen into ruin. My Majesty ordered the cord to be stretched over this hwt-ntr anew, it being erected in sandstone" 49 (Temple of Ptah at Karnak).

"Menkheperre, he made as his monument for his father Khnum....the making for him of a hwt-ntr in sandstone*50 (Kumma).

"Now it was his Majesty (Amenhotep II) who beautified this hwt-ntr which his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, had built for Khnum.....it being constructed in stone as a work of eternity, the Inbw around it in brick, the csw in cedar worked with copper, the sbw in granite" 51 (Elephantine).

"He made as his monument for his father Amun......the making for him of a noble hwt-ntr.....in sandstone, worked with gold..." 52 (Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes).

"I (Bakenkhons) made for him (Amon) a hwt-ntr......at the upper sb3 of the pr of Amon. I erected obelisks within it in granite." 53 (Reign of Ramesses II, the Temple of Amon-Hearer-of-Prayers at Karnak).

"I (Ramesses III) built for you (Amon) your hwt-ntr within its ground, in limestone, its sbw and htrw were of gold, mounted with copper..."54 (a Temple within a vineyard in the Delta).

All of these texts suggest that hwt-ntr is being used of the main stone temple building. Further evidence of this comes from the Punt reliefs of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari where the queen describes how she has carried out the commands of Amon "that Punt should be established for him, within his pr, that trees of Ta-Sety be planted upon both sides of his hwt-ntr, in his garden (hnty-ḥ)."55 The picture conjured by such a description is of trees planted on either side of the stone temple, within the temple enclosure wall.

Similarly the inscription of Tuthmosis III on the Lateran obelisk describes its situation (at the eastern temple at Karnak) as "in the wbs (temenos) of the hwt-ntr, in the neigbourhood of Ipet-Sut", 56 while Tuthmosis I had previously erected two obelisks at the rty hwt-ntr, 57 the Fourth Pylon of the Ammn temple. Since obelisks normally stood just in front of the entrance to the stone building, it is to this that hwt-ntr must refer.

There are many other references to the hwt-ntr of Amun at Karnak, the principal temple in Egypt in the New Kingdom. The hwt-ntr itself
contained treasure-stores as these could be more easily and efficiently guarded if they were situated within the main body of the temple. This is shown in a text of the reign of Hatshepsut, "I [sealed] the prwy-hd of all the precious stones in the hwt-ntr of Amun at Karnak, they being filled with his tribute up to their ceiling (hbt)." 59

Into these stores went taxes 60 and tribute from foreign campaigns. 61 The administrative buildings of the Amun temple, as well as the homes of priests, storehouses for less-valuable articles, pens for the sacred animals, workshops, etc. would have been situated outside of the hwt-ntr, but within the temple enclosure wall. These would, however, have been regarded as "belonging to" the temple they served and it is interesting to note that the workshops of the Amun temple are described as ḫs n kḥt nw hwt-ntr 'I[mn] 62 and the master craftsmen as ḫryw ḫmwt nw hwt-ntr. 63

Karnak forms a complex containing many temples, each of which could, in its own right, be called a hwt-ntr. This is the case with the temple of Amun-hearer-of-prayers, as described above, the festival complex of Thutmose III, 64 the temple of Khonsu, 65 the temple of Ramesses III in the forecourt, 66 the temple of Ptah, 67 the temple of Mut 68 and the temple of Montu. 69 In addition hwt-ntr was also used of parts of the Amun temple. The granite sanctuary of Hatshepsut is called a hwt-ntr 70 as was the Hypostyle Hall. 71 The Hatshepsut sanctuary was also described as a ḫwt, ḫm and sh-ntr 72 so that it is clear that each of these terms was not being employed with any degree of accuracy. In the case of the Hypostyle Hall it was probably felt that such an imposing hall was worthy of a more bombastic name than one which could have been more accurately applied, such as ḫwnyt, ḫwdyt or ḫwḥt. The use of hwt-ntr for this hall can be compared to the use of ṣḥt as a name for the same hall.

In general, however, hwt-ntr was not employed as a term for a part of a temple rather than an entire building, although it does also seem to have been used to describe the sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari. In this case the term occurs on an inscription which was, perhaps, originally a graffito from the site. The text reads; "Fourth month of Akhet, day 16, beginning of opening the sb3 of the hwt-ntr in the mountain of Djeseru." 73 Hayes has suggested that the text "without much doubt records the initiation of the cutting of the central sanctuary of the temple." 74 In view of
the fact that the Karnak sanctuary was also called a hwt-ntr in the same reign, this is a reasonable assumption. Also at Deir El-Bahari, hwt-ntr was applied to the Hathor chapel which was in fact a separate cult-centre with its own sanctuary and could, therefore, be described as a hwt-ntr in the same way that the various temples within the Karnak complex were so described.

Another interesting use of this term, from the same reign, occurs with regard to a building called ntr mnw. On the statue of Hapusoneb this is referred to as hwt-ntr m īmr ḫd nfr n 'nw Māt-kā-n ā ntr mnw "The hwt-ntr in limestone (named) Maātkare, ntr mnw". However on the Karnak sanctuary of Hatshepsut a hwt of the same name is assigned to Tuthmosis III. The change of royal name is not remarkable and these two buildings can almost certainly one and the same. A problem arises, however, with a third reference to ntr mnw, this time in a building text of Tuthmosis III from Karnak, where it is described as the īwnn ntr mnw m īmr ḫd nfr n rwdt "the īwnn, ntr mnw, in sandstone". The difference in building material has led Lacau and Chevrier to assume that two buildings are involved, one made of limestone and another of sandstone. However, this apparent difference of material may not be significant since the Egyptians were not consistent in the use of the terminology for types of stone. As Harris has pointed out ḫd nfr n 'nw "is quite often applied by mistake to buildings of sandstone". This can be illustrated with regard to the festival complex of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, a sandstone building which is described variously as being made of īmr ḫd nfr n 'nw, īmr ḫd nfr n rwdt and īmr n rwdt. Bearing this in mind, it is possible that the apparently limestone ntr mnw and the apparently sandstone ntr mnw were in fact the same building, probably actually made of sandstone. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify this building with any known remains although the terminology used would suggest that it was an edifice of some size, serving as a cult centre in its own right. The text of Tuthmosis III indicates that ntr mnw was within the Karnak complex and it could have been one of the buildings cleared away to make way for later Eighteenth Dynasty constructions. The blocks from this structure could, therefore, yet be discovered, re-used elsewhere on the site.

In the reign of Akhenaten hwt-ntr occurs only rarely as ntr was
a term which was avoided since there was only supposed to be the one god, the Aten. Accordingly the great temples of the Aten both at Thebes and at Amarna were usually described as hwt, rather than hwt-ntr. With the restoration of the cult of Amon the term was re-established although it is noticeable by its absence from the "Restoration Stela" of Tutankhamun. However the "Coronation Text" of Horemheb states smwy.n.f hwt-ntr (pl.) hst 3dp x ti-sty smy.n.f īy.mw.sn nbw "He renovated the hwt-ntr from the marshes of the Delta to Nubia. He fashioned all their images." 89

One problem which relates to the use of hwt-ntr from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward concerns writings such as and . The former is a standard writing of the expression sb-n-tr (q.v.) and it is often almost impossible to decide as to whether hwt-ntr or sh-ntr is intended. The second form, with the feminine ending is almost certainly to be taken as a writing of hwt-ntr and, for the purpose of this study, those examples of both writings which have been treated syntactically as feminine are regarded as forms of hwt-ntr rather than sh-ntr. In many cases, however, the lack of qualifying adjectives or verbal forms with feminine endings precludes any such decision. It ought to be possible to make a decision as to the reading of the group on the context in which it is being employed, since sh-ntr seems to have been used, primarily, for a shrine so that examples of to describe an entire temple could be quite reasonably regarded as writings of hwt-ntr. However, it is, unfortunately true that the Egyptians were not consistently accurate in the usage of such terminology with the result that sh-ntr seems to have acquired a wider meaning in the New Kingdom, probably through confusion with hwt-ntr. Those writings which are treated as feminine and can, therefore, be taken as hwt-ntr include a form which occurs in the inscription of Bakenhons describing work carried out for Ramesses II in the temple of Amun-hearer-of-prayers at Karnak. Although apparently for sh-ntr, the term is used as if it is a feminine noun and, since it is employed to describe an entire temple, it is most likely to be a variant of hwt-ntr. Other texts which would seem to be writings of sh-ntr have parallels which use the regular writings of hwt-ntr and on a stela of Ramesses I from Buhenein, in which both and occur, both are, presumably, to be read as hwt-ntr. As an indication of the
difficulty of distinguishing the two terms, it can be noted that the Wörterbuch in one case gives a reference to the same text under both sh-ntr and hwt-ntr while, in another case, a writing which would seem to be an example of hwt-ntr is quoted by the Wörterbuch as a writing of sh-ntr.

More usually, however, hwt-ntr continued to be spelled with the hwt-wnclosure, leaving no doubts as to the reading of the term.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty hwt-ntr is used to describe many temples, for example those of Seti I at Abydos, Kanais, Memphis, Redesieh, Gurna and Speos Artemidbs and of Ramesses II at Karnak and Luxor.

In Papyrus Harris I, the term is used of the temple of Re at Heliopolis, the temple of Osiris at Abydos, and the temple of Ramesses III within the temple of Amun at Karnak in addition to being used as a term for temples in general (in the plural) and to describe an unidentified temple of Amun in the Delta.

The Pianchi stela records how the king was received into the great temple of Ptah at Memphis after his subjugation of that city. "His Majesty proceeded to the pr of Ptah and his purification was carried out in the pr-dw3. All the rituals which are performed for a king were performed for him. He entered into the hwt-ntr and a great offering was made for his father Ptah, South-of-his-Wall, of bulls, short-horned cattle, fowl and every good thing." This text indicates, quite clearly, that the hwt-ntr was the stone-built temple itself and not the entire temenos. Similar ceremonies took place when the king reached Heliopolis; "(He) came and proceeded to the pr of Re, entering into the hwt-ntr in great praise" and on the submission of Tefnakhte.

Later, in the same dynasty, Monthuemhat records that he embellished the hwt-ntr (pl.) of Thebes while the last king of the dynasty, Tanutamun, mentions several important hwt-ntr on the "Dream Stela", including that of Khnum at Elephantine, of Ptah at Memphis and of Amun both at Karnak and at Napata. This last temple was still described as a hwt-ntr long after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty had ended in Egypt.

In the following dynasty there is an interesting reference to the Serapeum at Saqqara as "his (the Aps') hwt-ntr on the desert
of Ankhtawy." Strictly speaking hwt-ntr ought not to have been used to describe a burial place, however, the Serapeum was also a cult centre and the use of hwt-ntr indicates the importance of the cult of the Apis in the Late Period.

Like hwt, hwt-ntr describes a place in which a cult was celebrated so that, in theory at least, the building involved could have been of any form. In practice, however, Egyptian temples conformed to a basic plan which did not change greatly, so that most hwt-ntr did in fact resemble one another. The hwt-ntr itself was the actual temple building, situated within the temple-temenos (wbt) and under the administrative control of the god's estate (pr). Rarely the term could also be used of a part of a temple rather than the whole, although examples of this are exceptional.

1 Kaplonyp Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl. 80, 301; Urk., I, 7, 3; 26, 12; 26, 13; 241, 15; LD, II, 39, b; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XII, b; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pls.XXXV, 14; XXIX; Urk., IV, 46, 2; Davies and Macadam, A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones, 506; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 145, 2; KRT, I, 206, 6; Petrie, Memphis, II, pl.XXIV; Urk., III, 35, 9; 52, 9; Wb., Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref. 4, 14); Urk., II, 45, 12. This writing is also found in a plural form ([\(\pi\eta\pi\eta\varepsilon\nu\)]), Goedicke, Re-used blocks from Lisht, 19, No.5; Davies and Macadam, op. cit., 461; Leclant, Monthouemhat, 89. Although this writing of hwt-ntr is found from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, it is not common after the Old Kingdom and examples from any particular dynasty are few in number. The "gateway" could, of course, be positioned in either of the bottom corners of the sign, as in the case with most variants of the term.

2 This is really only a variant of the first writing but the more accurate depiction of the form of the flagpole makes it worthy of note, Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück Altegyptischer Annalen, pl.I, 3.

3 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XLIA, 2; Fischer, JARCE 3 (1964), 26; Urk., I, 131, 6; 269, 14; 272, 8; 275, 3, 279, 10; 300, 3; 304, 8; 307, 16.

4 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.XA, e; VIA, d; XIII, 1; XLVII, B; LXIII, 26-27; Urk., I, 87, 14; 119, 8; 170, 17-18;
181, 13; II, 67, 3.

5 Urk., I, 37, 15; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 199; Urk., IV, 194, 6; KRI, I, 206, 9.

6 Anthes, Die Felsenschriften von Hatnub, pl.14, No.13; Couyat and Montet, Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Quadi Hammamat, pl.XXI (in the plural. The copy given of the text (Ibid., 81) has $\sqrt{a}$ instead of $\sqrt{a}$, the latter being the correct form).

7 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 39, e, 7; II, 100; 407; Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 74, 19 and 22; 76, 20, 93, passim; 94, 23; Urk., IV, 70, 5; 93, 3; 328, 6; 353, 3; 408, 12; 409, 8; 412, 10; 834, 9; 834, 12; 1156, 3; 1294, 13; Davies and Macadam, op. cit., 436; KRI, I, 124, 5; Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 32; Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 414. An interesting, but damaged, plural form of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is $\\sqrt{a}$.

8 Jequier, Le Mastabat Faraoun, pl.XII; Newberry, op. cit., II, pl. XXXVI; Borchardt, Statueu und Statuetten, III, 138; pl.155 (dated by Borchardt to the Thirteenth Dynasty but by PM I (II), 784 to the time of Menthuhotep Nebhepetre, presumably because the prenomen of the king appears in the text. Since, however, the statue was intended for the king's mortuary temple at Deir El-Bahari it need not be contemporaneous with his reign as this particular temple continued to function long after the death of the king); Sethe, op. cit., 98, passim; Urk., IV, 43, 4; 56, 3; 186, 2; 212, 1; 213, 14; 386, 4; 429, 6; 476, 7; 769, 13; 816, 15; 858, 8; 882, 2; 932, 4; 978, 15; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VI, pl.47, 4; Varille, Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou, 8; Davies, El-Amarna, VI, pl.XVI, lower register, 11; KRI, I, 43, 2; 65, 5; 129, 14; 129-135, passim; 205, 16; 206, 2, 3; LD, III, 140, d, 1.

9 Sethe, op. cit., 72, 19; 97, 3; 96, 14-21; Urk., VII, 1, 15; 17; 42, 16; 58, 9; Neville, The Xith Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, I, pl.XXIV; De Buck, Reading Book, 96, 5; Roeder, MDÄK 3 (1932), 28, fig.13; Mariette, Abydos, II, 30, 39; Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.IX, 3; Urk., IV, 738, 10; 765, 12-15; 1187, 11; 1294, 14; Davies and Macadam, op. cit., 461; Badawy, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, I, pl.5, fig.5; Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca,
pl.X, 3, recto, 1; Champollion, Notices Descriptives, II, 85;
Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 3; 10, 10; 30, 3; 34, 15; 67, 16;
70, 10; Urk., III, 38, 11; 63, 3; 65, 2; 65, 10; 65, 12; 66, 2;
67, 12; 92, 8.
10 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 154; 155; Sethe, op. cit., 96, 4;
Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199, 11; pl.XVII, 11; Lacau and Chevrier,
Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 267, 418; 270, 424; Urk.,
IV, 43, 11; 165, 3; 388, 9; 765, 7; 823, 5; 1056, 8; 1648, 7;
2066, 14; KRI, I, 2, 4.
11 Naville, loc. cit.; KRI, I, 206, 8 (with ω within □ ); 124, 5
(grouped thus □ □ ).
12 Naville, loc. cit.
13 Urk., IV, 100, 15.
14 Ibid., IV, 298, 16.
15 Ibid., IV, 301, 7.
16 KRI, I, 216, 11 (after hwt-ntr is the name of the temple, that of
Seti I at Gurna).
17 Kuentz, La Face sud du Massif est du Pylône de Ramses II à Louxor,
pl.XXI (enclosed within the sign is the name of the temple of Ram-
sses II at Luxor. For a similar example from the temple of Seti I
at Gurna see; ID, III, 150).
18 KRI, I, 3, 2; Wb. Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref.4, 11); Chicago Univer-
sity, Oriental Institute, Ramses III's Temple within the Great
Inclosure of Amun, pl.I, pl.77, A.
19 Brunner, Die Südlichen Raum des Tempels von Luxor, pl.153, Scene
XVIII/155 (all the scenes on the masterplan of the west wall (pl.
19) are wrongly numbered); Plantikow-Münster, ZAS 95 (1969), 119,
abb.1, b, 5; LDT, I, 15; Wb. Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6).
These writings have been included here because they are either
treated as feminine nouns or have parallels which are read hwt-ntr,
see further above p.183 and below, under sb-ntr, p.254.
20 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 289; Crum, A Coptic Diction-
ary, 692a; Qsing, Nominalbildung, 441.
21 Roquet, BIFAO 71 (1972)1 , 96-117.
22 See above, hwt p.165-167.
23 See, for example, the temple of Neith (Pettie, Royal Tombs, II,
pls.III, a; X) and the shrines depicted on archaic seals (Kaploný,
op. cit., III, pls.19, 37 and 38; 40-45). For a review of these
early temples see; Jéquier, BIFAO 6 (1908), 25-41.

24 Kaplony, op. cit., III, pl. 80, 301.

25 Very few temple remains which can be positively dated to the Archaic Period have been excavated. There was an early building on the site of the Osiris temple at Abydos (Petrie, Abydos, II, 7-9; pls. I; II) and scanty remains of archaic structures were found at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, II, 7-8; pl. LXXII). The "temple primitif" at Medamoud consists of an enclosure bounded by a polygonal wall, within which were two artificial mounds (Robichon and Varille, Description sommaire du Temple primitif de Médamoud, 1-2; Plan.)

26 Urk., I, 26, 12 and 43; 37, 45; 87, 14; 131, 6; 241, 15 and 18; 2691, 14; 300, 3; 304, 18; 305, 1 and 11; Fischer, loc. cit.

27 Urk., I, 119, 8; 170, 171, 279, 10. For plans of the Old Kingdom temple at Abydos see; Petrie, op. cit., pls. LII-LIII.

28 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls. VA, e; XIIA, D; XIXA, 1; XLIA, 2; XLVIIA, B; IXIIA, 26-27; LXXX, A, 5.

29 LD, II, 39, b.

30 Urk., I, 7, 3.

31 Ibid., I, 275, 3.

32 Jéquier, Le Mastabat Faraoun, pl. XII.

33 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl. VIA, d; Urk., I, 272, 8; 307, 16.

34 Roeder, loc. cit.

35 Anthes, loc. cit.

36 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 154; 155. For the same temple see also; Ibid., II, 199.

37 Borchardt, loc. cit.; Naville, loc. cit.

38 Naville, loc. cit.

39 E.g. Urk., VII, 17, 4; 42, 16; 58, 9; Couyat and Montet, loc. cit.; Newberry, op. cit., I, pl. XXIII; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 39, s; 7; II, 407.

40 Urk., VII, 1, 15; Newberry, op. cit., II, pl. XXXVI.

41 Sethe, op. cit., 92-96, passim.

42 Newberry, op. cit., I, pls. XXV, 14; XXIX; Sethe, op. cit., 74, 22; 96, 4.

43 Ibid., 93, 4.
44 Ibid., 96, 14-21; 97, 3; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 100.
45 Helck, loc. cit.
46 Urk., IV, 398, 9 (Cardiner, JEA 32 (1946), pl. VI, 27).
47 'Inr hd nfr n t3 sty. As Caminos has pointed out (The New Kingdom
Temples of Buhen, I, 20, note 6) all the temples (Buhen, Semna and
Kumma) which are described as being made of this material are built
of sandstone. Harris, however, (Lexicographical Studies in Ancient
Egyptian Minerals, 69) prefers to regard the term as a name for
"limestone from the neighbourhood of Aswan". The only rocks in the
vicinity of Aswan are sandstone and granite.
48 Urk., IV, 197, 16.
49 Ibid., IV, 765, 12-15.
50 Ibid., IV, 212, 7. See note 47 above. This temple is also described
as being made of 'Inr hd nfr n 33't, another name for sandstone
(Harris, op. cit., 72).
51 Urk., IV, 1294, 14-1295, 6. Compare the almost identical text of
the Amada stela, Ibid., IV, 1294, 13-1295, 5.
52 Ibid., IV, 1648, 6-9.
53 Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit.
54 Erichsen, op. cit., 10, 10.
55 Urk., IV, 353, 3. Compare also Ibid., IV, 328, 6; 346, 16.
56 Ibid., IV, 584, 10.
57 Ibid., IV, 93, 3.
58 E.g. Ibid., IV, 43, 11; 165, 3; 298, 16; 768, 13; 769, 17; 978,
15; 1056, 8; 1156, 3; 2066, 14; Varille, loc. cit.; Wb. Belegstellen,
III, 2 (ref. 4, 14); et al..
59 Urk., IV, 429, 6.
60 Ibid., 186, 2.
61 Ibid., 70, 5.
62 Ibid., 932, 4.
63 Ibid., 933, 15.
64 Ibid., 858, 8 and 11; 860, 2.
65 Champollion, op. cit., II, 234; 235.
66 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, op. cit., I, pl. 77, A and
D.
68 Urk., IV, 412, 10.

70 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 267, 418; 270, 424. For a discussion of this see; Ibid., I, 48, 59.

71 KRI, I, 201, 4 and 15; 202, 8 and 13; 203, 7, 13 and 16; 205, 16; 206, 3 and 6-9.

72 Lacau and Chevrier, loc. cit.. See also at wrt, below, p.204.

73 Hayes, loc. cit.

74 Ibid., 32 (in his note 2, Hayes gives, as another example of hwt-ntr meaning "sanctuary" a reference to Urk., IV, 427. This is the "Northampton Stela" of Djehuty which refers to the "granite sanctuary of Hatshepsut. The term in question is, however, sh-ntr, not hwt-ntr).

75 Urk., IV, 301, 7; 308, 7.

76 PM, II, 350-353; pl.XXXVI, 1.

77 Urk., IV, 476, 7.

78 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 84, 136.

79 Urk., IV, 166, 8.

80 Lacau and Chevrier, loc cit.

81 Harris, op. cit., 69.

82 Urk., IV, 855, 17; 858, 14; 859, 3; 863, 5.

83 Ibid., IV, 856, 9.

84 Ibid., IV, 856, 16; 857, 7; 858, 11.

85 For discussions of the identity of ntr mnw see; Otto, *Topographie des Thebanischen Gauss*, 23; Lacau and Chevrier, loc. cit.

86 Smith, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, I, 61. Hwt-ntr does occur in one variant of the shorter hymn to the Aten, see; Davies, *El-Amarna*, IV, pl.XXXIII; VI, pl.XVI. Another variant has śwt-r (Ibid., I, pl.XXXVII, see also under śwt-r below p.264.)

87 In the reign of Tutankhamun, for example, see; Urk., IV, 2066, 14; 2079, 16.

88 Ibid., IV, 2025-2032. At the beginning of the stela, where the text lists the temples and shrines which have fallen into ruin, the following terms occur; r-pr, bm, ỉwnn, and hwt.

89 Ibid., IV, 2119, 13.

90 See notes 17 and 18 above.

91 See further under sh-ntr below p.254-255.

92 Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit.
93 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6); Compare LDT., I, 15 with Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, pl.XXXIX, 2 and see; Yoyotte, Kemi 14 (1957), 84, note 2.
94 KRI, I, 2, 14.
95 Ibid., I, 3, 2.
96 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref.4, 11) and III, 129 (ref.465, 5).
97 Ibid., III, 129 (ref.465, 6).
98 KRI, I, 129, 14; 129-135, passim.
99 Ibid., I, 65, 5.
100 Ibid., 124, 5.
101 Ld., III, 140, d, 1.
102 KRI, I, 216, 11.
103 Ibid., 43, 2.
104 Plantiköw-Munster, loc. cit.
105 Abd El-Razik, op. cit., 145, 2; 147, 1.
106 Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 3; 34, 15.
107 Ibid., 67, 16.
108 Ibid., 6, 3.
109 Ibid., 70, 10.
110 Ibid., 10, 10.
111 Urk., III, 35, 6-11.
112 Ibid., III, 38, 11.
113 Ibid., III, 52, 9.
114 Leclant, Monthuemhat, 88; pl.XXIV.
115 Urk., III, 65, 2.
116 Ibid., III, 67, 12.
117 Ibid., III, 65-66.
118 Ibid., III, 63, 13.
119 Ibid., III, 92, 8 and 10; 93, 7 and 12; 103, 13; 104, 12 and 16; 105, 7; 111, 7, 12 and 15; 117, 5; 120, 12.
120 Vercoutter, loc. cit.
121 See also under hwt, p.175, n.67.
This term has been discussed in detail by Barguet who regards the hrt-ib of a temple as being the hall immediately before the sanctuary, being preceded by either a barque-shrine (in dynastic temples), or by a "hall of offerings" (in Ptolemaic temples). The evidence for the location of the hrt-ib comes from the Ptolemaic temples at Edfu and Denderah. In both of these the hall between the "hall of offerings" and the shrine is called wsbt hrt-ib. However, in both temples two other rooms are also known as hrt-ib. These are side-rooms opening off the hypostyle hall and serving as corridors through to the ambulatory. As Haeny has pointed out, a hrt-ib should, therefore, be regarded as a "salle intermédiaire" rather than a "Mittelsaal".

Barguet, however, assumes that the position of the wsbt hrt-ib in the Ptolemaic temples reflects its position in dynastic temples, as a major hall between the barque-shrine and the sanctuary. Unfortunately the only dynastic hrt-ib which can be identified is the Festival complex of Tuthmosis III at Karnak. This is also the earliest known use of the term, which occurs in the dedication texts of the building. It is possible that hrt-ib refers only to the hypostyle hall of the complex (the term being twice determined with the "columned hall" sign as shown above), but the evidence of the texts would suggest that hrt-ib is to be equated with šb-mnw which is the name of the entire building.

"......making for him (Amun) a noble hrt-ib anew in limestone (sic.)." 13

"......erecting for him a hrt-ib anew in sandstone." 14

"......erecting for him šb-mnw anew in sandstone." 15

"......erecting for him a noble hrt-ib, šb-mnw, anew." 16

The same dedicatory-texts also call the building a hwt-st 17 and a hwt-ntr. 18
Since the Festival complex clearly does not occupy a similar position at Karnak to that of a waḥt hrt-lb in a Ptolemaic temple, Barguet suggests that Tuthmosis III was copying, in the basic plan of the complex, the lay-out of the now-destroyed buildings in the "Middle-Kingdom court" at Karnak. He regards the hypostyle hall of the Festival complex as the equivalent of the Middle-Kingdom hrt-lb. The evidence for this theory is largely circumstantial, resting on Barguet's own suggested reconstruction of the plan of the area of the "Middle-Kingdom court". In any case the use of hrt-lb in the dedicatory texts of Tuthmosis III would suggest that the entire complex, and not just the hypostyle hall, was intended.

It is unfortunate that other occurrences of the term from the dynastic period are few in number, and that their nature is such that they cannot be identified with any particular buildings or halls.

An Eighteenth-Dynasty statue of the goddess Satet, from Elephantine, gives her the epithet ntrt n hrt-lb wr(t), and Sokar is described, in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, as m hrt-lb. The Festival complex of Tuthmosis III is mentioned again in the epithet of a priest of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, "one who enters to the hrt-lb of Amun, one who enters to ḫb-mnw." This would seem to suggest that there was another hrt-lb at Karnak besides the Festival complex, and this is also indicated in one of the Twentieth-Dynasty Tomb-Robbery Papyri. The tomb of king Sekhemreashedtawy Sobekemsaf of the Second Intermediate Period was violated, the king being described as having "his (the king's) monuments resting in his (Amun's) hrt-lb to this day." Statues of this king must have been erected in a hrt-lb of the Middle-Kingdom temple.

It would seem, therefore, that there must have been a hall, or court, in the temple of Amun at Karnak, other than the Festival complex, which was regarded as being a hrt-lb, probably in the region of the "Middle-Kingdom court". It is not, however, possible, on the evidence available, to be quite as definite concerning the location of a hrt-lb within a temple as Barguet is. The fact that the term was used of "corridor-rooms" in the temples of Edfu and Denderah, would suggest that it was merely a term for an intermediate hall or building which gave access to another.

1 Urk., IV, 855, 16.
2 Ibid., IV, 856, 8.
3 Ibid., IV, 857, 12; 858, 2.
4 Weigall, ASPAE 8 (1907), 48; KRI, I, 171, 14; Piehl, Inscriptions, II, 93; Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.59, c; 64, d; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 388; De Wit, CH d'Ég. 36 No.72 (July 1961), 312; 313.
5 LeGrain, Statues et Statuettes, II, 57.
6 Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.III (B.M.10221), 6, 4.
7 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.8, d.
8 Chassinat, op. cit., II, 63.
9 Barguet, Temple, 172, note (2); 323-327; Id., BIFAO 52 (1953), 152-155.
10 Mariette, op. cit., I, pl.5; De Wit, op. cit., No.71 (January 1961), 68.
11 Ibid., No.72 (July 1961), 312; 313; Mariette, loc. cit.
12 Haeny, Beiträge 99, Basilikale Anlagen, 12.
13 Urk., IV, 855, 16-17.
14 Ibid., IV, 856, 8-9.
15 Ibid., IV, 857, 6-7.
16 Ibid., IV, 858, 2.
17 Ibid., IV, 856, 16.
18 Ibid., IV, 858, 8 and 11.
19 Barguet, op. cit., 154-155; pl.II.
20 This comparison seems to be based solely on the fact that three granite door-sills were found in situ in the "Middle Kingdom court", suggesting to Barguet, the three aligned rooms on the axis of the Festival complex. (Barguet, Temple, 323; PM, II, 108).
21 Weigall, loc. cit.
22 KRI, I, 171, 14.
23 LeGrain, loc. cit.
24 Peet, loc. cit.. The Wh., III, 138, 21, took this to be a reference to a hrt-šb in the king's tomb, but this is certainly incorrect.
Dyn. XIX, XX

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Dyn. XIX, XX}^1 & \text{Dyn. XIX, XX}^2 & \text{Dyn. XX}^3 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Dyn. XX}^4 & \text{Dyn. XX}^5 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

[htrw] appears to have been confined in use to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties and occurs most often in the plural form. Janssen regards [htrw] as a term for "both jambs" while Christophe considers that the term denotes the "chambranle", the two jambs and the lintel. This assessment is made from the evidence of Papyrus Harris I in which [htrw] (always in the plural) is used for the door-frame, in conjunction with a term for the door-leaves which is usually [sbw] but is, occasionally, [tri]. The [htrw] and the [sbw] could be made of the same material, wood or a precious metal or of different materials. For example the pr of Wepwawet at Siut was surrounded by a [sbty] with "great [htrw] of stone and [sbw] of cedar". On those occasions where [htrw] occurs with [tri] the two elements are of different materials. The pr of Osiris at Abydos is provided with a [sbty] with "[htrw] of stone and [tri] of cedar".

In this papyrus, therefore, it would certainly seem that [htrw], the plural form, describes all the elements which made up a door-frame, the jambs and the lintel, and this is probably also the case with other examples of the word.

In the tomb-robbery papyrus, B.M. 10053, thieves describe how they went to the pr n nbw of the Ramesseum and removed the gudw from the [htrw] while an inscription of the High Priest of Amun, Roma-Roy, at Karnak records that a structure was found in ruins, the [htrw] of wood being missing, and was restored with [htrw] of sandstone, the determinatives used for the two writings of the term reflecting the different materials involved. Similarly work carried out, also at Karnak, by the High Priest Amenhotep, replaced [htrw] [of wood(?)] with examples in sandstone. Other occurrences of this term in building texts include [htrw] of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu end of Ramesses IX at Karnak.

In the context of a private house "[htrw] of limestone, inscribed
and carved with a chisel" were erected in the "fine bhn" which the official Raia built in the Twentieth Dynasty.

The few occasions when ḫt彳 was found in the singular form are all on ostraca. A list of funerary equipment on Ost Gardiner 136 includes pt ḫt彳 to ḫtCol "the ḫt彳 of the tomb" presumably, in this case, the ḫt彳 was regarded as one entity rather than as the sum of its components. Other writings of the term in the singular occur in Ost. Deir El-Medineh 319 and on the unpublished ostraca, Berlin 11260 and IPAQ 764.

One problematical writing of ḫt彳 is found on another ostracon, Deir El-Medineh 1012, which contains a copy of several lines of P. Anastasi I. When describing an obelisk the papyrus states "its pyramion (bmn) of one cubit in height, its ḫtRol of two fingers. The ostracon, however, replaces ḫtRol with ḫtRol. Gardiner translated the former as "point(?)" a not unreasonable suggestion in view of the context and the determinative involved. The reading of ḫt彳 on the ostracon is quite certain and can only be interpreted as an error on the part of the writer of the ostracon.

Since the meaning of ḫtRol in Papyrus Harris I is "door-frame" rather than just "jamb" this is probably the true meaning of the term whether it is used in the singular or the plural.

1 Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands Frères d'Amon, Rome-Roy et Amenhotep, pl.I, 9; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 10, 11; 6, 7 (with ← replaced by \); Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.IX, 5; Černý, Catalogue des Ostraca hieratiques non litteraires de Deir El-Médineh, IV, pl.24, 319, recto, 2.

2 "The writing with this determinative is found only in the plural, at least so far as published examples are concerned. It may occur in the singular in the, as yet unpublished, Ost. IPAQ 764 (Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramesseid Period, 392); Lefebvre, loc. cit.; Erichsen, op. cit., 5, 10 (with ← replaced by \); 7, 13 (as 5, 10); 50, 11; 67, 1; 68, 4; 68, 13-14; 70, 2, 94, 8; Gardner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 110, 16; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.sXX, passim; XXI, 3, verso, 18-21.

3 As given by Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 4, Brugsch, Thesaurus, 1323, has
Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Madinet Habu, IV, pl.233.
Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), pl.II.
Janssen, op. cit., 391.
Christophe, Melanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 23.
Erichsen, op. cit., 94, 8.
Ibid., 5, 10; 6, 7; 9, 16; 10, 11. Probably, in fact, gilding on stone or wooden frames.
Ibid., 68, 13-14, Compare also 50, 11; 70, 2.
Ibid., 68, 1; 67, 13.
Ösing (Nominalbildung, 635) has taken ḫtr sb3 to be a compound noun meaning "door-post". The occasional reversal of the two terms and their separation when different materials are involved show that this compound is in fact a writing of "the door-frame (ḥtrw) and the door-leaves (sbhw)". See further under tw3, below p.276.
Peet, op. cit., II, pl.XX, 2-XXI, 3, passim.
Lefebvre, loc. cit..
Sauneron, loc. cit..
Chicago University, loc. cit..
Mariette, loc. cit..
Gardiner, loc. cit..
Černy and Gardiner, loc. cit..
Černy, loc. cit..
See, Janssen, op. cit., 391.
Ibid., 392.
Gardiner, Egyptian Hieratic Texts, I, 54, 7-8.
Posener, Catalogue des Ostraca hieratiques litteraires de Deir El-Medineh, I, pl.7, 10.
Gardiner, op. cit., 17*.
Posener, op. cit., pl.7A, 10.
Janssen gives the etymology of ḫtr as being derived from the noun for "twins" and, therefore, prefers to interpret the building element as a term for the two jambs alone. He compares it to ḫt "a span of oxen" (Janssen, op. cit., 391). However, both these terms are, one would think, derived from the verbal stem ḫt "to tie together" (Wb., III, 202, 2-3) indicating that it is the notion of the combination of various elements (jambs and lintel or various animals) that is inherent in terms formed from this stem.
From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards hm is a very common term and it is curious that prior to the New Kingdom it has survived in only one place, the Pyramid texts. Undoubtedly it was also in use during the intervening period and it is to be regretted that other examples have not yet been discovered.

There are very few bmw which can be identified with the result that it is not possible to decide whether or not a hm differed in any major respect from other shrines. It would seem to be likely, however, that a hm-shrine was one of the Lower Egyptian type since, in the few writings where a determinative other than is employed, this is the shrine-type chosen. If this is correct it would seem to be logical to connect the hm-shrine with the ancient Lower Egyptian city of Letopolis, the name of which was also hm. Such a connection can be supported by a text from one of the stelae from the South Tomb of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara. The stela in question shows the king, wearing the red crown, standing (or striding forward) carrying a mace and a short stave. The vertical text reads This is clearly a reference to the shrine of the falcon-god of Letopolis, identified with a form of Horus.
the ḫb-šd ceremony although its exact interpretation is uncertain. The king may be visiting a shrine or founding one. Whatever the nature of the scene it is, perhaps, possible to see in this writing of "the shrine of Horus of Letopolis" an origin for the ḫm-shrine which, however, later became indistinguishable from other shrine-words.

The earliest recognised occurrence of the term, in the Pyramid Texts, is, unfortunately, not connected with either Letopolis of Horus but with Imetet, the goddess of Imet (Nebsheh) in the Eastern Delta. "Imetet grasps my (the king's) hand for herself in her ḫm, in her secret place which the god made for her." It would seem likely, therefore, that, by the Sixth Dynasty, whatever the type of shrine originally involved, ḫm had become a word for a shrine in general.

From the Eighteenth Dynasty ḫm, often in the plural, occurs in non-specific contexts, referring to cult-centres which cannot be identified.

"I sanctified their ḫmw for the future. I embellished their ḫ-prw."

"You have purified the ḫmw and the ḫ-prw" (speech of Thoth to Seti I).

".....the ḫmw being enlarged, the favourites of all the gods, each one in the ḫmn which he has desired." The restoration stela of Tutankhamun tells of the parlous state of the temples and shrines of the gods following the reign of Akhenaten. "Now when his majesty arose as king, the ḫ-prw of the gods and goddesses ......... had fallen into ruin, their ḫmw had fallen into decay, their ḫmn were as if they had never existed and their ḫt (pl.) were a trodden path." After the king had restored the cult-places, "the gods and the goddesses are joyful, the possessors of ḫmw rejoice." ²³ ḫm

Other texts refer to specific ḫmw but these can not be identified. In one case the location of the ḫm is known but the building itself has not survived. This is the temple of Hathor at Cusae, which was restored by Hatshepsut. "The ḫt-ntr ......had fallen into ruin, the earth had swallowed up its noble ḫm and children danced on its tp-hwt." This text would suggest that the ḫm was a part of the temple (ḥwt-ntr), perhaps the sanctuary itself. This is supported by comparison with one of the few ḫmw which can be identified.

The sanctuary which Hatshepsut erected in the temple of Amun at Karnak is described variously as a ḫwt, ḫwt-ntr, st wrt, sh-ntr as well
as a ḫm in two separate texts. One of these is on a block from the sanctuary itself, inscribed for Tuthmosis III when he was still co-ruler with Hatshepsut. "He made as his monument for his father the erecting for him of a noble ḫm (called) 'Imn-st-lb, in granite and hard stone of the Red Mountain (quartzite)." 36 The second example comes from the main Amun temple. "Now my majesty erected for him a noble ḫm (called) 'Imn-st-lb....in hard stone of the Red Mountain, its interior worked with electrum." 37 The name, 'Imn-st-lb, is definitely that of the Hatshepsut sanctuary so that there can be no doubt about the identification of this particular ḫm.

Another ḫm is also mentioned on one of the blocks from this sanctuary, in a list of temples; 38 It is possible that this ḫm is to be equated with another, the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu. Hatshepsut built a temple here on the site of an earlier one and Tuthmosis III later replaced the front part of the queen's building with a peripteral chapel containing a barque shrine. 39 This structure the king described as  "a sacred ḫm in sandstone." 40 The temple on this site was dedicated to Amun ḫsr-st 41 and the full name of the Tuthmoside temple seems to have been (km-bpr-r')'Imn-ḫsr-st. 42 Since Tuthmosis III described the temple as a ḫm ḫsr it is not unreasonable to suggest that the ḥwt called ḫm ḫsr, named on the sanctuary block, might be the name of the temple of Hatshepsut on the same site. 43

In the temple of Seti I at Abydos, the chapels of Isis, 44 Horus 45 and Osiris 46 are each described as ḫm, as is the hypostyle hall of the temple of the same ḫng at Qurna. 47 ḫm continued to be used, although sporadically, into the Ptolemaic period but it does not seem to have been used in demotic, nor to have reappeared in Coptic.

Like so many terms, ḫm would have had a specific meaning originally, probably a Lower Egyptian shrine connected with Letopolis. However the meaning of the term broadened so that it could be used of any kind of shrine or chapel and, later still, of a hall within a temple.

1 Pryr., 1139b.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Urk., IV, 96, 4; 102, 1.
4 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 77, 124.

5 Ibid., 261, 411.

6 Urk., IV, 383, 17; 1411, 6 (with the first two signs reversed).

7 Ibid., IV, 386, 5; KRI, I, 165, 16 (partially restored); 177, 1.

8 Urk., IV, 881, 10; 1690, 6 (with the first two signs reversed).

9 Ibid., 167, 1.

10 Ibid., 576, 10. Faulkner (Con. Dict., 191) takes this to be a separate term, ḫm, "sacred image", for which he cites only this example. This is possible although it could also be a writing of ḫm "shrine" with a false determinative.

11 Urk., IV, 1071, 7; Badawy, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, I, 5, fig.4; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.XIX, e;

12 Urk., IV, 1152, 17; 1329, 10; KRI, I, 161, 1; 158, 11.

13 Urk., IV, 1690, 6; 2027, 6.

14 Ibid., IV, 1946, 11.

15 Ibid., IV, 2030, 14.

16 KRI, I, 197, 5; similarly, with  for  and  restored, 216, 15.

17 Ibid., I, 214, 12.

18 Ibid., I, 190, 11; V, 116, 10.

19 Urk., III, 35, 2.

20 Ibid., II, 46, 14.

21 Chassinat, Edfou, II, 9.

22 Urk., II, 186, 8; Chassinat, op. cit., I, 285.

23 Mariette, Denderah, I, pls.46, a, 4; 54, b (bottom).

24 Wb., III, 280, 15; Gauthier, Dictionnaire Geographique, IV, 175;


26 Firth and Quibell, The Step Pyramid, II, pl.41.

27 Ibid., I, 180-182.

28 Pyr., 1139b.

29 Urk., IV, 102, 1.

30 KRI, I, 190, 11.

31 Urk., IV, 383, 17.

32 Ibid., IV, 2027, 6.

33 Ibid., IV, 2030, 14.

34 Eg., Ibid., IV, 1152, 17; 1329, 10.
36 Lacau and Chevrier, *loc. cit.*
37 *Urk.*, III, 167, 1.
38 Lacau and Chevrier, *op. cit.*, 77, 124.
39 *PM.*, II, pl. XLV, 1.
40 *Urk.*, IV, 881, 10.
42 *Urk.*, IV, 882, 3.
44 *KRI*, I, 158, 11.
The original, and main, meaning of **st wrt** is a "throne" of either a king or a god. In the early Eighteenth Dynasty **st wrt** seems to have been transferred to the pedestal upon which the sacred barque of a god could rest, when in procession. These pedestals were usually situated within a stone barque-shrine, open at both ends to allow ease of access for the priests carrying the barque. Brovarski has previously noted this specific use of the term in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and has pointed out that, on the blocks from the Karnak sanctuary of Hatshepsut, the barque of Amun is depicted on a pedestal and is described as **htp hr st wrt**. In two examples the location of the pedestal is described in greater detail:

"Resting upon the **st wrt** in Karnak (Ipt_swt)."

"Resting upon the **st wrt** in Amun-Djeser-Djeseru, in the monument of Maatkare" (the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari).

In such scenes **st wrt** was being used of the pedestal itself, an obvious extension of its original meaning. However, in the same period
st wrt was extended in meaning still further and came to be used to describe the entire shrine, not just the pedestal within it. The sanctuary of Hatshepsut (IImn-st-ib) is itself called a st wrt in a building inscription of Tuthmosis III from Karnak:

"Now my majesty erected for him (Amon) a noble hmin, IImn-st-ib, his st wrt like the horizon of heaven in quartzite (3nrt n rwdt nt dw dör), its interior worked with electrum." 32

Another text may also describe the same sanctuary as a st wrt. This is the autobiographical stela of Djehuty who was in charge of many building projects in Thebes during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Among the buildings to which he "led the craftsmen to work" was a "st wrt, a sh-ntr built in granite". 33 Unfortunately the name of this sanctuary is not given so that it cannot be proved to be that of the Amon temple. However, if it is not to be so identified then the Amon sanctuary would be omitted from the list of the queen's works for Amon, which is unlikely. The fact that the shrine is described as being made of granite, rather than quartzite and granite as is the case, is no real problem. 34

The same stela of Djehuty mentions work on two other swt wrt, one of which cannot be identified. This is a "sh-ntr, st-ntr, his st wrt in electrum of the best of the foreign lands". 35 The name, st-ntr, cannot be related to any known shrine.

The remaining sanctuary for which Djehuty was responsible has been identified, by Brovarski, 36 with the sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahri;

"I led the craftsmen to carry out works on h-at, the st wrt of Amon; his horizon which is in the west, all its doors (3w) were of true cedar, worked with bronze." 37 Since the description of this sanctuary follows immediately after Djehuty's description of the temple at Deir El-Bahari, IImn-dsr-darw, h-at could well be the name of the sanctuary of Hatshepsut's temple.

In the reign of Tuthmosis III the temple of Ptah within the Amon enclosure at Karnak was rebuilt, and the king describes how he "decorated (? sw6) his st wrt with fine metals and precious stones". 38

Interestingly st wrt soon came to be applied to entire temples or to halls within temples other than the sanctuary. The hypostyle-hall of Tuthmosis I, between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak,
is called, in an inscription of Amenhotep II; a wsr of wsd-columns, 

...a st wrt for the Lord-of-All, resembling the horizon which is in heaven, and the temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor is described as "sacred Ipet, his st wrt of the first time."

In the Nineteenth Dynasty st wrt occurs frequently in the dedicatory texts of the temple of Seti I at Abydos. These texts in the Seti temple are problematical as it is difficult to decide as to whether they are listing various elements in the temple, or using different terms in parallel to describe either the whole temple, or parts of it. For example the texts on the inner door of the aisle of Re-Horakhty in the second hypostyle hall state that the king made a pr wr in gold, a st wrt in gold, a sacred ch in gold, a hwt-št in gold, a hwt-ntr in gold and a horizon of eternity in gold. This sequence would seem to suggest that each of the terms is being used to describe the temple itself but the dedicatory texts from the aisles of the other gods, which include rather more specific terms such as sbšt, sbš, and tš, can only be understood as lists of parts of the temple. Similar parallel texts are found within the shrines of the gods and these shrines are themselves actually called swt-wrt in the main dedications of each shrine;

"....making for him (Ptah) a st wrt /// sbšt in electrum". 
"....making for him (Re-Horakhty) a st wrt decorated with gold, its sbšt gilded with electrum". 
"....making for him (Osiris) a st wrt /// in front of the Lord-of-Ta-Djeser, a pr-wr gilded with electrum, its sbšt ///."

The chapel of Seti himself is described as a "noble pr-wr in my hwt of millions of years, my st wrt beside their majesties." The dedicatory text from the chapel of Amun is damaged at the relevant point.

The temple of Ramesses II at Abydos had a, more usual, single sanctuary, lined with alabaster walls and a pink granite ceiling. This is described, on a block from the ceiling as "a st wrt in alabaster" and, in a longer building text from the exterior of the temple, as "a st wrt in pure alabaster, roofed in granite." The sanctuary of the temple of Seti I at Gurna is stated to be a "st wrt in electrum in which the god rests."
In Papyrus Harris I at wrt is used for the sanctuaries of the temples of Re at Heliopolis, "the st wret in gold, the 3wy in ketem," and of Ptah at Memphis, "its st wret being enlarged like a pr-wr, covered by a tytyt of gold like the 3wy of heaven." The term is also used in the same papyrus to describe an entire temple.

In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the barque-rooms of Amun, Khonsu and Montu are each called "st wret in the hwt of Usermaatre-Meryamun."

The barque-shrind of the Amun temple at Karnak was replaced during the regency of Philip Archidæus who describes how "the st wret of Amun which had been built in the time of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, had fallen into ruin....his majesty built it anew in granite."

In the Graeco-Roman Period st wret was often used to mean an entire temple but it was also still applied, specifically, to the sanctuary of a temple. This is so at Edfu and in the temple of Opet at Karnak.

The development of st wret from "throne" to "barque-pedestal," then to "barque-shrine," "sanctuary," and "temple" seems to have occurred in a short period of time in the Eighteenth Dynasty, although it is always possible that the term had these meanings in earlier periods for which there are fewer extant building texts. Once these extended meanings were established, they remained in use through to the Ptolemaic Period in hieroglyphic texts, although st wret does not seem to occur in the demotic script.

1 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 157; 197; 349; 615; 350, 617.
2 Ibid., I, 347, 612 (for a photograph of this block see; Chevrier, ASAE 26 (1926), pl.IV, c); 349, 613 (photograph; Pillet, ASAE 23 (1923), pl.IV.
3 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 172; 233; KRI, I, 134, 5; 150, 7; 151, 13.
4 Urk., IV, 342, 11; 1571, 10; KRI, I, 131, 7; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 480; II, 36.
5 Urk., IV, 167, 2 (with final = restored); 421, 10; 422, 17; 425, 9; 766, 7; 1709, 13; 1726, 17; KRI, I, 130, 5; 132, 12; 164, 14; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.30, a and b; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 51, 9; Chassinat, op. cit., IV, 5; De Wit, Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet.
à Karnak, 98; 99 (both with ŋ ); Id., Ch. d'Ég. 36. No. 71 (January, 1961), 67; Mariette, Denderah, III, pl. 7, b, 4-5.

6 Urk., IV, 427, 15; KRI, I, 155, 4; 160, 13.
7 Urk., IV, 1331, 17.
8 Ibid., IV, 2083, 15.
9 Ibid., IV, 1918, 11; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl. 19, a.
10 Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl. XLV, 4, 5; Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 5-6; 50, 15.
11 Griffith, JEA 13 (1927), pl. XXXIX. This is in an epithet of Ptah, hrý st wrt, which is more often written without the determinative, e.g., Urk., IV, 1802, 5; 1936, 10; KRI, I, 59, 13.
12 Ibid., I, 151, 8, 9 and 10; 158, 7; 163, 10; 219, 16.
13 Ibid., I, 160, 3 and 4.
14 Ibid., I, 157, 11 and 12.
15 Ibid., I, 149, 14 and 16; 149, 13 and 15 (with an open door); 154, 10 and 11.
16 Ibid., I, 43, 2.
17 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl. 3, 4.
18 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Med. Habu, VII, pl. 501, A;
   (without the determinative, Ibid., VII, pl. 501, B).
19 Ibid., VI, pl. 409.
20 Ibid., VI, pl. 441, c.
21 Urk., II, 10, 7.
22 Mariette, Denderah, I, pl. 46, a, 2.
23 LDT, II, 244.
24 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 574.
25 Ibid., I, 22; 35; II, 79.
26 For the view that this term should be read st wrt see; Fecht,
   Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, 6-8, 10.
27 Wb., IV, 7, 4-7. See also, in further detail, Kuhlmann, Der Thron
   im alten Ägypten, 28-32.
28 Brovarski, JEA 62 (1976), 72-73.
29 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 347, j 613; 349, j 615; 350, j 617.
30 Ibid., I, 157, j 197.
31 Ibid., I, 172, j 233.
32 Urk., IV, 167, 2.
33 Ibid., IV, 427, 15.
34 See further under sh-ntr, p. 253.
35 Urk., IV, 421, 10.
36 Brovarski, loc. cit..
37 Urk., IV, 422, 17.
38 See; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 216.
39 Urk., IV, 766, 7.
40 Ibid., IV, 1331, 17.
41 Ibid., IV, 1709, 13.
42 KRI, I, 131, 4-15.
43 Ibid., I, 129-135.
44 Ibid., I, 147-163.
45 Ibid., I, 149, 9-16.
46 Ibid., I, 151, 3-10.
48 Ibid., I, 157, 11-14.
49 Ibid., I, 148, 1-2.
50 Ibid., I, 153, 3-5.
51 PM., VI, 38-39.
52 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.19, a.
53 Ibid., II, pl.3, 4.
54 KRI, I, 219, 16.
55 Erichsen, op. cit., 39, 5-6.
56 Ibid., 50, 15.
57 Ibid., 51, 9.
58 Rooms 7, 15 and 33, see; PM., II, pl.XLVIII.
59 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, op. cit., IV, pls.409; 441, c; VII, pl.501, A and B. 60 Urk., II, 10, 7.
61 Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.46, a, 2; III, pl.7, b, 4-5; LDT, II, 244; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 22; 35; 574; II, 79.
62 De Wit, C. d’Eg. 36 No.71 (January, 1961), 67.
63 Id., Inscriptions du Temple d’Opet à Karnak, 98; 99 (the dedicatory text which mentions the st wrt is actually situated in the room (No. VII) immediately before the sanctuary (No.X), but there can be no doubt that the description refers to the latter (for a plan of the temple see; PM., II, pl.XXII).
The Wörterbuch quotes references for s3t only from the Middle Kingdom onwards but the term occurs in three places in the Old-Kingdom Abusir Papyri, although not in contexts which are of any great value for elucidating the meaning of the term. In one example, the s3t is made of wood and is subdivided into "southern", "middle" and "northern". Another occurrence mentions the s3t of a palace and a third, the eastern s3t of a granary (kawt).

Chronologically the next known example of the term is in an early Middle-Kingdom graffito from the quarries at Hatnub where it seems to have been used for the wall of the quarry itself. In the Teaching of Amenemhat I, s3t, determined with the wall-sign, occurs in the description of a pr: "decorated with gold, its kawt in lapis, the s3t in silver." An inscription of Hapdjeja from Siut tells how the nomarch "erected (ts) s3wt which were destroyed", and the Admonitions describe how the children of princes were dashed against s3wt.

Such texts give no indication of any difference in meaning between s3t and other terms for a wall. However, from the Eighteenth Dynasty, a specific nuance of meaning for s3t becomes apparent.
An inscription of Senmut at Deir El-Bahari records that he was permitted to perpetuate his name on all the sswt in the service of the king (Hatshepsut), in her mortuary temple (Djeser-djeseru) and in the r-prw of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. Temple-walls upon which the name of an official can be inscribed must be made of stone, suggesting that sst was not used of, for example, brick enclosure walls. Other texts also specifically use sst when referring to inscribed walls.

"I built this tomb.....the inscription (ss) made its sswt great!"

"His majesty ordered that the victories which Amun had given to him should be perpetuated on the stone sst in the hwt-ntr." 31

"O, those who will pass by this hwt......and will look at the sswt and will recite from my utterances, may the King of Upper and Lower Egypt favour and love (them)." 32

"The inscription (ss) upon the sst, engraved with the Great Name!

"Your sacred images cut upon the s3w(t)." 34

"His s3wt engraved with his cartouche." 35

It would seem, therefore, that sst was used mainly for a stone, inscribed wall in texts which date from the New Kingdom and later. A text of the reign of Ramesses II allows the meaning to be even more specifically defined. It refers to a building attached to the Ramessum; "the inbw in stone, engraved on the sswt with inscriptions of Thoth." 36 Sst here must refer to the surface of the wall upon which texts could be carved. Traunecker has suggested that a sst was, "plus spécialement a l'origine les parois d'un mur." 37 This is supported by a description of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as a "fine ms4nt for the Ennead, surrounded by open- and closed-capital columns, its sswt like the limits of the cultivation (tnwil)." 38 The walls in question are the inscribed inner walls of the hall.

This term does, therefore, seem to have had a particular meaning, but, like so many terms, it was used less-accurately as time went on and, by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at least, it was being used as a non-specific term for a wall. Ssw(t) occurs often in the stela of Pianchi, in the descriptions of the various seiges by which the king took control of Egypt, and seems to be a general term for "wall". It certainly does not retain, in this stela, its original meaning.

Sst is found as a word for a wall in Ptolemaic texts and also occurs in the demotic script but does not survive into Coptic.
1. Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl. LVIIIA, G.
2. Ibid., pl. XIXA, 4; LXXVIA, M (partial); Urk., IV, 1048, 5 (in plural).
3. Anthes, Die Felsenschriften von Hatnub, pl. 13, 9, 9. The exact date of this graffito is disputed, but it is probably of the early Middle Kingdom.
6. Gardiner, Admonitions, 4, 3; Malinine, BIFAO 34 (1934), 65.
7. Hayes, MDAIK 15 (1957), 85, fig. 3.
9. Ibid., IV, 1845, 13.
12. Ibid., I, 194, 2.
13. Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 5; Chassinat, Édifou, I, 18; Id., Denderah, III, 62 (similar).
15. Ibid., 16, 1; 30, 17; 31, 14; 32, 3.
16. Ibid., 24, 1; 34, 1 and 3.
18. Mariette, Denderah, II, pl. 17, d (twice); II, pl. 82, c.
19. Ibid., III, pl. 68, i.
21. Wb., IV, 14, 4-14.
22. Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl. LVIIIA, G.
23. Ibid., pl. XIXA, 4.
24. Ibid., pl. LXXVIA, M.
25. Anthes, loc. cit.
26. Malinine, loc. cit. Since floors (sitw) are often described as being made of silver, it is possible that the text is corrupt at this point.
29. Helck, loc. cit.
31. Ibid., IV, 684, 10.
32. Ibid., IV, 1845, 13.
33 KRI, I, 194, 2.
34 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 18.
35 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl. 17, d (twice).
36 L.D., III, 170-171.
37 Traunecker, Karnak, V, 153, 4 and note 3.
38 KRI, I, 202, 9.
39 Urk., III, 5, 15; 16, 1; 24, 1; 30, 17; 31, 14; 32, 3; 34, 1 and 3.
40 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 18; 327; Mariette, op. cit., II, pls. 17,
  d; 82, c.
41 Erichsen, Démotisches Glossar, 405.
The Wörterbuch suggested that this term, for which it cited only two references, meant "Fussboden-platten". The earliest example occurs in a damaged inscription of the Fifth Dynasty from Saqqara, "... (I) built the sit, (I) did not lay down (or, overlay) the s3wt." The use of the verb dr with s3wt would certainly support such a meaning as that given by the Wörterbuch, since dr is elsewhere used with sitw "floor". However the other texts in which s3wt occurs are not so easy to interpret.

In the description of the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla the sat, which was brought from Elephantine, appears to be an element in a door. The same is true of an occurrence in the Book of the Dead, "I will not let you pass over me", said the sat of this s3ty, "unless you tell me my name". These two passages would suggest that sat could be used for the threshold of a door. In another, damaged, text, the s3wt are mentioned in proximity to doors (saw) and are probably also "thresholds".

In two temples, however, the s3wt are described along with columns. The first example is on the inscriptions of the red-granite papyrus-cluster columns of Amenemhat III from Crocodilopolis, "making a ws4t, its w3dw and its s3wt in granite, its sbzw in electrum." Texts from the temple of Hathor at Serabit El-Khadim in Sinai describe "erecting for her s3wt and iww of sandstone". In these cases s3wt may refer to the bases upon which the columns stood.

Basically sat seems to have been a term for a stone element at floor-level, a threshold, column-base or flooring itself. It is probably related to an identically-spelled term which is determined with →, and which seems to refer to "planks" or "beams" of wood.

1 Urk. I, 181, 10 (Quibell, Saqqara, 1907-8, pl. IXI, 3); Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88 (L.D., II, 118, g).
2 Vandier, Mohila, 232, V, ∞, 5; pl.XX.
3 Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, 46, 11.
5 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text, 264, 12.
6 Gardiner and Peet, op. cit., I, pl.IXXIV, 310, (a).
7 Habachi, loc. cit.; Urk., I, 181, 10; (cited by earlier publications, see note 1, above).
8 Wb., III, 412, 14.
9 Urk., I, 181, 10.
10 Wb., V, 475, 3-6.
11 Urk., IV, 1150, 13; 1164, 9.
12 Vandier, loc. cit.
13 Budge, loc. cit.
14 Clère and Vandier, loc. cit.
15 Habachi, loc. cit.
16 Gardiner and Peet, op. cit., pl.IXXIX, 317, A, a; cf. also Ibid., pl.IXXIV, 310, (a).
17 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 254, a; Urk., IV, 707, 14; Compare also atv "der Balken" (Wb., III, 419, 14-17) and at which occurs in the Abusir Papyri, Posener-Krieger, Beiträge Bf., 12, Festschrift Rike, 76-77.

See further below, satw, addendum, p. 216-218.
Sitw is originally, and usually, a term for the earth or the ground, and its use in architectural contexts as a word for the floor can be easily understood. It is probably also connected with the term sit which was used for thresholds and flooring. Sitw does not seem to have been applied to a floor in a building before the New Kingdom.

The meaning of this term is not in any doubt and a few examples will suffice to show its typical usage.

"I led the craftsmen to work on the works in the pr of Amun..... its sitw worked with gold and silver." 10

"Making for him (Amun) a hm of gold, its sitw in silver." 11

"Bringing Asian copper which his Majesty brought from campaign in Retenu, to gild the s3t-doors of the sh-ntr of Amun in Ipet-sut, its s3tv overlaid with gold (nbwy)." 12

A mythological example from a Late-Period papyrus illustrates, clearly, the meaning of the term; "As for the House of Life, it is in Abydos,...... Geb is its s3tv and Nut its ceiling (bhw)." 13

Sitw was not often used to mean "floor" and does not recur as such in either demotic or Coptic texts.

1 Urk., IV, 158, 15; 423, 10; 1331, 18; 1648, 10; 1650, 16; 1668, 4.
2 Ibid., IV, 1329, 10.
3 Ibid., IV, 1150, 13; Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 733 (Wb., III, 424, 8, wrongly quotes this reference as Ibid., II, 732).
4 Wreszinski, Der Papyrus Ebers, 203, 17.
5 Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), Text, 267 (Chapter 125, 44).
6 Derchain, Le Papyrus Salt 825, 8*, VI, 8.
7 Wb., IV, 423-424.
8 See above, sit, p.213.
An example from a stela of the Second Intermediate Period (Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199; pl. XVII, 10) of \( \text{bast} \) may be a different word altogether since both the determinative used, and the context of the part of the inscription in which the term occurs, would suggest a translation of "door".

Urk., IV, 423, 10.
Ibid., IV, 1329, 10.
Ibid., IV, 1150, 13.
Derchain, loc. cit.

Addendum

After this study was completed there appeared a discussion of \( \text{sit} \) and \( \text{sitw} \) by Frandsen in an article in which he publishes an additional example of the former term, from a hieratic letter of the Middle Kingdom.\(^1\) Essentially Frandsen's conclusions on the meaning of \( \text{sit} \) do not differ from my own, although he makes no attempt to discuss the use of the term in connection with columns. He regards a \( \text{sit} \) as having been, originally, a "door-sill" with its meaning "later extended to cover all kinds of paving".\(^2\)

However, Frandsen also equates \( \text{sit} \) and \( \text{sitw} \), regarding the latter as a plural-form of the former.\(^3\) This would seem to be in contradiction to the evidence that \( \text{sitw} \) (also written \( \text{sytw} \)) is attested as a term for "ground" "earth" from the Old Kingdom onwards.\(^4\) It would, therefore, seem to be not illogical to regard writings of \( \text{bast} \) in building inscriptions as the word for "earth" transferred to an architectural context as a term for the "floor". This has been the generally accepted interpretation in the past, and one which I see no reason to reject. Since Frandsen suggests that a \( \text{sat} \) could also be a paving block, he would presumably support a translation of "floor" for the "plural" \( \text{sitw} \) in most cases, although this would seem to be a rather tortuous route to arrive at the usual translation.

He does, however, quote six examples of \( \text{sitw} \) from Eighteenth Dynasty building texts, in which the element is described as being made of, or decorated with, precious metals.\(^5\) Concerning these he states; "the meaning 'paving-block' 'sill' does not account satisfactorily for the Urk., IV examples where the \( \text{sitw} \) is said to be
decorated (šbkr, sw’b, dr) with precious metals. I would suggest that s3tw is here used with reference to the block or blocks making up the bed of the door, i.e., the sill proper, with the socket and the groove leading into it. 6

Frandsen does not make clear exactly what is the difference between "the sill" and "the sill proper", and I see no reason to translate these examples as anything other than "floor". Although Frandsen does not say so, he presumably would object to a translation of "floor" because these s3tw are decorated with metal. This can, however, be compared with the expression šm bd "floor of silver" which is found with reference to the Amun temple at Karnak in the Twenty-First Dynasty. 7 In addition, metal-worked s3tw are often parts of shrines, 8 rather than of temples, and could easily have been covered with a precious metal. Frandsen does not quote any of these examples, and of the six he does mention, only one is obviously a shrine. This is the description, from the tomb of Rekhmire, of the casting of metal door-leaves (csw) for the šh-ntr of Amun at Karnak. 9 The remaining five examples are from general descriptions of temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty. 10 In all of these s3tw can be easily translated by "floor" with the possible exception of the description of the door of the Third Pylon at Karnak. In this text the s3tw is a part of the doorway, "...making for him (Amun) a very great sb3 before Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, worked in its entirety in gold.....its (masc.) šbpyt in front of it being set in place". 11

In this example s3tw could be being used for the door-sill. It could also have been applied to the "floor" of the doorway since a door in an Egyptian temple pylon was several feet thick and formed a passage through the thickness of the stone-work which could have been regarded as having had a "floor".

Frandsen, in support of his view that s3tw is a plural of št, makes the point that, in the description of the temple of Monthu, the adjective nb is used with s3tw, rather than r-š-w.s, "implying "a plurality of objects". 12 It is also possible that s3tw šnb refers to "all its (the temple's) floors".

Although the similarity of stem of the two terms makes it likely that they were connected in some way, I see no reason to regard s3tw merely as a plural-form of št, nor to adopt a new translation for
the metal-decorated sātw in the random examples quoted by Frandsen.

2 Ibid., 29.
3 Ibid., 28.
4 Wb., III, 423, 7-16; 424, 1-12. The term also survives into Coptic as emph with the same meanings; Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 38.
5 Frandsen, op. cit., 27-28.
6 Ibid., 29.
7 Wb., V, 214, 15.
8 E.g., Urk., IV, 1329, 10; 1331, 18; Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 733.
9 Urk., IV, 1150, 11-14. Frandsen inaccurately translates šḥ-nfr as "temple" (op. cit., 28, No.8).
10 Urk., IV, 1648, 10; 1650, 16; 1654, 8; 1655, 7; 1668, 2-5.
11 Ibid., IV, 1654, 4-9.
12 Frandsen, op. cit., 28.
13 Urk., IV, 1668, 4.
There can be no doubt as to the basic meaning of \( \text{sb}_3 \), both the determinatives used and the contexts in which the word is found show that \( \text{sb}_3 \) is to be translated as "door". There are, however, interesting developments in the history of this word which make a re-examination of the evidence valuable.

At first glance it would appear that there were many different
ways of writing \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) but, in actual fact, many of the variants shown above are isolated examples and the most frequent writing in the building texts of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties was No. 13. The Late Egyptian writings can be easily explained through confusion with other words formed from the same stem, although \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) "door" does not appear to be related in meaning to these other words.\(^42\) The earliest examples of \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) date from the Fifth Dynasty and the word was used consistently up to, and including, the Ptolemaic period.\(^43\) It also occurred in demotic\(^44\) and survived into Coptic as \( \text{CBE} \text{S}, \text{Bi}, \text{CBH} \text{F}, \) \( \text{pl. CBHY} \text{A} \text{2} \).

The \( \text{Wörterbuch} \) noted that \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) could refer to the entire doorway, the frame or the leaves\(^45\) and it is the question of exactly which parts of the doorway were described as \( \text{sb} \text{3w} \) which will be discussed here.

In the Abusir Papyri \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) is used in a context in which there can be little doubt that the entire doorway was intended since the \( \text{sb} \text{3 n bh} \) is subdivided into \( \text{3wy.f} \) "its leaves", \( \text{emb.f} \) (meaning uncertain) and \( \text{ds.f} \) "itself".\(^46\) Clearly \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) here denotes the entire doorway, although the designation of the frame as "itself" indicates that \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) could also be used of the frame alone. This is also shown by those examples which state that \( \text{sb} \text{3w} \) were made of stone. These include doors for the pyramid-temple of Merenre\(^47\) and a mortuary temple of the First Intermediate Period.\(^48\)

In the Middle Kingdom the first examples are found of actual door frames which are labelled as "\( \text{sb} \text{3} \)". The gateway of the Middle Kingdom temple of Thoth at Hermopolis is described as a \( \text{sb} \text{3} \),\(^49\) as is the granite door frame from the \( \text{d3gw} \) of Amenemhat I at Quantir\(^50\) and a jamb found in the foundations of the temple of Medamud.\(^51\) This last example is from a building named \( \text{En n htpw-ntr} \) "storehouse of divine offerings". In the Middle Kingdom most buildings were constructed in brick, with only certain elements in the more costly stone. The door frames were among these elements and consequently have survived, often re-used, when the rest of the building has been lost. It has been seen, so far, that \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) was used of doorways in temples, palaces (\( \text{d3gw} \)) and administrative buildings. It was also used of the doors of private houses\(^52\) and tombs\(^54\) as well as in mythological contexts.\(^55\)

Two texts of the Second Intermediate Period show that at that time \( \text{sb} \text{3} \) was the name for the door frame alone and it did not refer to the entire doorway which included the door leaves. A stela of
Sebekhotep IV describes work at Karnak where the king erected a wooden sb3 of 10 cubits with ḫny-r worked in gold and silver while a stela from the temple of Min at Koptos tells of the sb3w and ḫw having fallen into ruin.

As is the case with so many words sb3 has survived principally in the detailed building texts of the New Kingdom. Undoubtedly sb3 was a frequently occurring word prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty but few useful texts have been preserved from the earlier periods. In the New Kingdom many temple doorways were labelled "sb3", including the doorways of pylons and other doors, both in the temple proper and in the enclosure wall. Such examples are too numerous to list in detail and, in fact, little would be gained from this since the evidence is quite conclusive, showing that sb3 was used of the door frame which was usually made of stone. Some of these sb3w are described as being made of metal but it is the fact that the stone jambs could be plated with metal to which reference is being made. It is principally in the Eighteenth Dynasty that sb3 was used of the monumental stone door frame, although this usage continued into the Nineteenth Dynasty and is found occasionally later. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this use of sb3 in the New Kingdom.

"I inspected the erection of the great sb3 (called) jmn-shm-fṣw, its great ḫ was of Asian copper." (Karnak)

".....its sb3w in granite of Elephantine, its ḫw in bronze......" (Armant)

"..... ḫw in cedar worked with copper, the sb3w in granite." (Elephantine)

".....sb3w in granite, their ḫy in copper."  

".....a sb3 in black granite, ḫny-r banded with copper and gilded with electrum." (Both the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos)

Although in the New Kingdom sb3 was used principally for a monumental temple doorway, it could still be used, but rarely, of the door of a private house and, more often, for palace doorways.

From the Nineteenth Dynasty there is a change in meaning of sb3, indicated by the use of the new determinatives and . The use of these signs would suggest that sb3 has been transferred from the door frame to the door leaf, a conclusion which is supported by the contexts in which sb3 is found from this period. This change in meaning of sb3 is curious since the regular word for a door leaf
c-3, which had been in constant use from the early dynastic period, still occurred, although it was not as frequently used as in earlier periods. 68

There can, however, be no doubt that sb3 was transferred from the door frame to the door leaf. One indication of this is when the sb3w of temples are described as being made of wood. Even in the Middle Kingdom the doorways of brick temples were usually made of stone and in the stone temples of the New Kingdom the only wooden parts to a doorway were the door leaves. Since sb3 also retained its original meaning this led to a situation where the same word was used to describe both door frames and leaves in different texts relating to the temple of Seti I at Abydos. The actual doorways are labelled "sb3" 69 while, in the Nauri decree, the door leaves are called sb3w and described as being "of cedar....gilded with electrum and banded with copper...." 70 There are other texts where sb3w made of wood are probably to be understood as door leaves. 71 This is particularly true of the work of Ramesses III at various temples described in Papyrus Harris I. As Christophe has noted 72 sb3w in this papyrus can always be translated as "door leaves". Sb3 in this text is determined consistently with →, and although some of the sb3w are described as being made of metal 73 they are wooden door leaves 74 plated with gold or electrum. 75 Whenever sb3 is determined by ← or → 76 or → 77 it is probably safe to assume that the intention is to refer to the door leaves.

One final example from the tale of the two brothers provides clear proof that sb3 could be used for a door leaf. When Bata returned to the stable, "...he looked under the sb3 of his stall (and) he saw the feet of his elder [brother] as he was standing behind the sb3." 78 The distinctive shape of the Egyptian door leaf with the pivots and the resulting "cut-away" sections at the top and bottom 79 is suggested here, and it is only if sb3 is translated as "door leaf" that the sighting of Anpu's feet "behind the sb3" can be understood.

Sb3 originally referred to the door frame while 'aw was used to describe the leaves. The entire doorway could also be called sb3. Later, from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, the word was transferred to the door leaf, while also retaining its original meaning. 80

2 *Pyr.*, 799a; 1115b.

3 *Pyr.*, 799a.

4 *Pyr.*, 799a; Urk., I, 107, 4; Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la première Période intermédiaire*, 44; 45, 1; Pierret, *Insc. Louvre*, II, 29 (C.15, 5); Balcz and Bittel, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 28, abb. 13a and b; De Buck, *Egyptian Reading Book*, 72, 1; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 30, 23.

5 *Pyr.*, 1115b.

6 Clère and Vandier, *op. cit.*, 46, 1; Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*, pl.17A (K.14); Petrie, *Koptos*, pl.12, 3; Urk., IV, 65, 9; 426, 8; 1105, 16; 1106, 13-1369, 11.

7 De Buck, *op. cit.*, 91, 13; 96, 5; Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), pl.IX, 3; Müller, *Liebespoesie*, pl.10, 8-9 (with B added by error.)

8 Bisson de la Roque and Clère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Médamoud* (1927), 98, fig.72; 123, fig.84; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, II, 93.

9 Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl.13A (G.7 and G.12); 14A (H.37); 16A (J.7).

10 De Buck, *op. cit.*, 72, 3.


12 Habachi, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 88; 91, fig.6.

13 Also determined with T. Urk., IV, 43, 12; 56, 8; 295, 6; 382, 12; 302, 6, 8, 10; 618, 14; 819, 17; 829, 17; 851, 12; Nims, *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, fig.7; Mariette, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 11a; 18; 30b; KRI, I, 132, 3; 149, 13-16; 162, 12 and 14.

14 Urk., IV, 43, 4; 382, 5; 1648, 11.

15 Ibid., 388, 10; 357, 5; 1668, 2.

16 Ibid., 521, 13.

17 Ibid., 430, 10; 2159, 16; 2160, 1.

18 Ibid., 1379, 8.

19 Wb. *Belegstellen.*, IV, 22 (ref.83, 14); Urk., IV, 831, 6.

20 Ibid., 1073, 3.

21 Ibid., 1249, 14.

22 Ibid., 765, 13; 1550, 18.

23 Ibid., 1295, 5 and 6.

24 Ibid., 1651; 1.

25 Wb. *Belegstellen.*, IV, 22 (ref.83, 9); Badawy, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* I, 5, fig.5; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 64 (1966), pl.II, x+5 and x+7;
Davies, N., de G., *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, pl.13; 30; Wb., *Belegstellen*, IV, 22 (ref.83, 17).

26 *KRI*, I, 47, 10.


29 Barguet, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 274; 276; 277, fig.7; 278; Plantikow-Münster, *ZAS* 95 (1969), 119, abb.1b, 5.


34 Erichsen, *op. cit.*, 70, 2; also (omitting τ) 5, 10; 6, 7; 9, 16.


37 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu*, VII, pl.501, A.

38 Peet, *op. cit.*, pl.XXI (B.M. 10053, verso, 4, 9).


40 Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.43, p.


42 Wb., IV, 82-86. See also; Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots*

43 Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 419. | br, 63, §120-121.


45 Wb., IV, 83, 9-17.


47 *Urk.*, I, 107, 4.

48 Clère and Vandier, *op. cit.*, 45, 1.

49 Balcz and Bittel, *loc. cit.*.

50 Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 451; pl.IV. For another door-jamb of the same king see; Naville, *Bubastis*, 8; pl.XXXIII, A.

51 Bisson de la Roque and Clère, *loc. cit.*.
52 See also for the Middle Kingdom; Habachi, ASAR 37 (1937), 88, 91, fig. 6; De Buck, op. cit., 96, 5; Simpson, op. cit., pls. 13A (G.7 and G.12); 14A (H.37); 16A (J.7); 17A (K.14).
54 Ibid., 72, 1; 72, 3.
55 Pyr., 799a; 1115b; Urk., IV, 65, 9; 430, 10; Mariette, Abydos.; II, pl. 30, 23. See also Wb., IV, 83, 17.
56 Helck, loc. cit.
57 Petrie, Koptos, pl. 12, 3.
58 Urk., IV, 43, 4; 43, 12; 56, 8; 167, 6, 7, 8; 168, 12; 295, 6; 302, 6, 8, 10; 382, 5 and 12; 388, 10; 426, 8; 521, 13; 616, 14; 680, 1; 819, 17; 829, 17; 831, 6; 844, 15; 849, 11; 850, 10 and 17; 851, 12; 1550, 18; 1651, 1; 1706, 3 and 18; 1708, 8; KRI, I, 121, 2; 149, 13–16; 162, 12 and 14; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 149, 1–5; Mariette, op. cit., I, pls. 18; 30b; Bargue, loc. cit.; Chassinat, loc. cit.; For a list of doors of the New Kingdom see Helck, Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 959–60; 963–4.
59 E.g., Urk., IV, 1648, 11; 1655, 8; 1668, 2; KRI, I, 132, 3.
60 E.g., Urk., IV, 167, 6–8; 1654, 3.
61 Urk., IV, 56, 8.
62 Ibid., 1249, 14.
63 Ibid., 1295, 6. Compare the Amada stele (Urk., IV, 1295, 5) where the sb3w are of sandstone.
64 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl. 3, 4.
65 Ibid., II, pl. 11, a and b.
66 Gardiner, loc. cit.; Müller, loc. cit.
67 Urk., IV, 1073, 3; 1105, 16; 1106, 13; 1369, 11; 2159, 16; 2160, 1; Černý and Gardiner, loc. cit.; Wb., Belegstellen., IV, 22 (ref. 83, 14).
68 See 3 p. 33–34.
69 KRI, I, 132, 3; 149, 13–16; 162, 12 and 14.
70 Ibid., I, 47, 10.
71 Abd El-Razik, loc. cit.; ID, III, 152c; Sauneron, loc. cit.; Peet, loc. cit.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, loc. cit.
72 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc. 4, 23, III, c.
73 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 10; 6, 7; 50, 11.
74 Ibid., 70, 2; 94, 8.
75 Ibid., 9, 16.
76 E.g., Davies, loc. cit.; Badawy, loc. cit.; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.; Wb. Belegstellen, IV, 22 (ref. 83, 17.
77 E.g., Peet, op. cit., II, pl. IV (B.M. 10221, 7, 1); XXII (B.M. 10383, 2, 1-4); Mariette, Denderah, III, pl. 43, p.
78 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 15, 6 and 8.
80 E.g., Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 597; KRI, I, 121, 2; Barguet, loc. cit.; Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit.
Sbht occurs in texts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period but, unfortunately, it is most often found in texts which give little or no indication as to the specific nature of the building element involved. One of the principal uses of sbht is in religious texts such as the "Book of the Dead" or the "Book of Gates" where the sbhwt are usually interpreted as being doors or gates through which the deceased had to pass, successfully, to reach the Underworld. This usage has led to sbht being regarded as another term for an entrance.

Consequently sbht has been translated as "Tür" and "Tür" by the Wörterbuch, "gateway" by Gardiner, "portal" by Faulkner and "Tür" by Erichsen. The word does not appear to have recurred in the Coptic stage of the language.

Etymologically sbht must be a noun formed from the verb sbh "to
enclose" and both words share the same determinatives. Sbbt ought therefore, to be understood as something which encloses or, less likely, which is enclosed. It is difficult to reconcile the obvious etymological origin of the noun with accepted translations such as "door" or "gate". An alternative rendering has been suggested by Barguet who preferred to describe the sbbṭ as "un élément de protection à l'entrée du temple," and by Janssen who, while maintaining that at Deir el-Medina sbbṭ always described the door-frame, added "basically it seems to indicate the porch of a building so that it could also be translated with "portal" or even as pars pro toto with "palace"." Sauneron regarded the sbbṭ as "un portique, une porte pourvue d'une avancée." The basis for the usual translations of sbbṭ is the use made of the term in the religious texts, supported by the occurrences of the sign as a determinative of sbbṭ. This sign is not, however, used regularly until the Ptolemaic period, as can be seen from the writings quoted above. Previous to this era the door determinative occurs occasionally in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties while it is only found once before the New Kingdom.

This is in the Westcar papyrus, which dates from the First Intermediate Period. The word is damaged but is clearly to be read as sbbṭ. The determinative employed has a hieratic form very similar to that of the hieroglyph (or ) and Erman transcribed the determinative of sbbṭ once as such and once as the door. The latter transcription has since been generally accepted. However no such determinative in a hieratic form is quoted by Møller prior to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and it is possible that the sign used in the Westcar papyrus has been misinterpreted. Møller himself transcribes the sign as although the hieratic form in Westcar is quite different to examples of in hieratic of similar date.

The more usual determinatives of sbbṭ varied in form as can be seen from the writings shown above, although the signs used tend to reflect the connection between sbbṭ and the verb sbb "to enclose". The "battlemented enclosure" occurs quite often and so does the sign which is a portion of the same. These determinatives were used originally for the verb and do not really assist in the elucidation of the meaning of the noun, so it is fortunate that there do exist still sbbṭ which can be identified.
In the Twenty-Second Dynasty Pedubast I built a sbht of sandstone in front of the doorway of the Tenth Pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak.50 This consisted of screen-walls built at right-angles to the face of the granite doorway which was erected by Horemheb.51 An inscription on the screen-doorway stated that it was "a great sbht of sandstone", built to replace a similar structure which had fallen into ruin.52 Once an actual sbht has been identified it is easy to see how the term came to be understood, mistakenly, as a "door" or "gate" and also how the noun is derived from the verb "to enclose".

At all periods in dynastic Egypt sbht would have been used for the screen-walls which protected important entrances. These could have been of the same form as that of Pedubast I or of a more complex form with the screen-walls turning at right-angles to "enclose" the entrance to the building.53 It is this form which is shown in the Book of Gates where each god is described as being within a sbht, a description which can be readily understood as the sbht encloses a space in which the guardian of the door can sit. This is also the case in the Book of the Dead where the demons are depicted sitting within the sbht, in contrast to the guardians of the rryt who were sometimes shown sitting outside of the door.55 In these religious texts it is not the actual door, nor its frame, which is called sbht but the screen-walled "porch" within which the guardian sits.56

It is now necessary to investigate whether or not this interpretation of sbht can be applied to occurrences of the term in other texts.

As was noted above, those texts which do contain the word are singularly unhelpful. The earliest known example is from the Fourth Dynasty when Debhen brought limestone from Tura to line the r-pr of his tomb at Giza and also for the šškət.57 The Wörterbuch interprets this as a compound noun rwt-sbht, for which there are, however, no parallels.58 It is also possible that the text is to be read "The rwt and the sbht". The tomb of Debhen contains a certain amount of Tura limestone which can be distinguished from the local limestone into which the tomb is cut. The second large chamber was
lined with the Tura stone and has been identified, by Hassan, with the r-pr in the inscription. This conclusion seems to be inescapable. The only other significant amount of Tura limestone which has survived in the tomb formed the fourth wall of this chamber, dividing the tomb (cut originally as one large cavity) into two main rooms. Since the sbht in question is determined with the wall-sign it is tempting to identify this wall with the sbht of the text, in which case the rwt would probably refer to a false-door. The original meaning of sbht as a term for the screening walls in front of an entrance could have led easily to the use of the term for another kind of wall and it is perhaps surprising that sbht did not develop such an alternative meaning. However it is impossible to be certain that there were not, originally, further elements in the tomb made of the Tura stone, particularly as the tomb has been damaged extensively by later re-use.

A text of the First Intermediate Period shows that there could be sbht in private houses, since an individual describes the founding of his pr and the enlarging of every sbht in it. Possibly the sbht which are mentioned in the Admonitions as having been destroyed by fire along with wjyw and dnty were also a part of a private estate. Apart from these few examples sbht has survived mainly in mythological texts in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.

Sbht does not appear to have occurred in many titles unlike other building elements, around which a number of officials were stationed. There is one title, ḫryw sbht, on a Twelfth Dynasty stela from the Theban area; "I was one who entered to his Lord with the great ones at his back, the ḫryw sbht bending down until I reached the place in which His Majesty was." Probably these were officials guarding the door but stationed before it within the sbht, like the guardians in the Underworld who also bore the same title.

In the New Kingdom it is necessary to distinguish between the sbht under discussion here and another term, sbht, which was used as the name for a gilded wooden temple screen, although both words had the same etymological origin and the same basic function. This is illustrated by the fact that in religious texts the sbht of the Underworld were sometimes depicted as screens rather than the more accurate form of stylized "porch".

However other New Kingdom sbht were screen-walled porches and
the term is used particularly of ṣḥḥwt at Karnak, where, in the reign of Hatshepsut, two officials each record that they inspected ṣḥḥwt. The stela of Amenhotep III from his mortuary temple on the West Bank at Thebes which also describes other building work of the king in the area, includes details of what is probably the Third Pylon at Karnak with "ṣḥḥwt if front of it".

Ṣḥḥwt is also found in offering lists of the Nineteenth Dynasty. In the temple of Seti I at Abydos a list of gods to whom offerings are to be made includes ḫrt m ṣḥḥt ṛṣy(t) "Horus in the Southern ṣḥḥw" and ḫmḥw m ṣḥḥt ṣḥḥ(t) "Anubis in the Northern ṣḥḥt". These ṣḥḥwt must have been monumental screen-porches rather than wooden screens within the temple. At the Ramesseum a list of beneficiaries from offerings made to the god Re and the Ennead includes, among various gods, barques, shrines and pieces of land, ṣḥḥt ṣḥḥ(t) ḫmḥ(t) ḫwt- ṣḥḥwt n Twmnw "The secret ṣḥḥt which is in the ḫwt-ṣḥḥt of Heliopolis. The phrase is determined with the seated-goddess sign.

There remain further temple ṣḥḥwt which were almost certainly monumental screen-walled gateways but which cannot always be identified with any known monuments.

In the Twentieth Dynasty the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, instigated various building projects at Karnak, among which was the erection of a ṣḥḥt. The text which describes this work is badly damaged but it tells how Amenhotep found the structure, built of brick and wood, in ruins and rebuilt it in stone. The name of the building is lost at the beginning of the text but it is described as a "ṣḥḥt of stone" towards the end of the passage. Various elements which want to make up the ṣḥḥt are listed, including ḫḥḤw, ḫḥw and ṣḥḥ. These would tend to suggest that this ṣḥḥt was a monumental gateway. Sauneron regarded the ḫḥw as being the "chambranle" of the door while he took ṣḥḥ as referring to the supports of a roof in front of the door. ṣḥḥ, in this text, is determined by the sign so almost certainly refers to door-leaves rather than to a door frame. This ṣḥḥt would seem then to have been a stone structure erected before a main door at Karnak with a light wooden roof supported by columns. Although Sauneron did not attempt to identify this ṣḥḥt with any extent remains at Karnak, Amenhotep did erect the screen gateway on the South side of the Eighth Pylon of the temple.
of Amun and this could be the sbht to which the text refers. The main objection to this identification is that the High Priest describes the original wood and brick structure as having been built in the reign of Sesostris I while the Eighth Pylon dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, in another text Amenhotep also claims to have reconstructed buildings of Sesostris I at Karnak and it may be the case that this king was particularly venerated and the High Priest wished to associate himself with Sesostris by ascribing to his reign ruined buildings which were in fact of later date.

Also at Karnak, in the reign of Djedhor, an inscription on the exterior wall of the temple of Khonsu records that the king renovated the hwt-ntr of Khonsu in sandstone and made a sacred sbht. Barguet has suggested that this refers to the Ptolemaic gate of the temple, possibly built by Djedhor and later decorated by Ptolemy III. The Ptolemaic inscriptions on the gateway would seem to call it a sbt, however, an inscription on the similar gateway of the Montu enclosure at Karnak describes the building of "sbhw(t) of sandstone, with "wy of cedar, banded with copper." The use of the plural here could be intended for all the gateways in the Karnak enclosure walls. The wall of the Amun temple was probably built by Nectanebo I so that it is quite possible that Djedhor could have completed (or claim to have completed) one of the stone gateways. The gate in the Eastern wall of the Amun temple bears the name of Nectanebo I as does the similar gate of the temple of Maat. It would therefore seem likely that all these gates were erected in the Thirtieth Dynasty, although some were decorated by the Ptolemies. This use of sbht to describe such a gateway is an extension of its original meaning. However, these propylons did stand before the main entrance to a temple and were therefore, in a similar position to the older sbhw. Like many words sbht had a much wider range of meanings in the Ptolemaic period; for example, at Edfu, the rooms immediately around the sanctuary of the temple of Horus were described as sbhw(t), either because they themselves were particularly sacred and needed protection or because they enclosed and protected the sanctuary. In this era sbht also occurred in the expression sbht t3 pn "sbht of this land", a name which was used for the royal palace.

Sbht can now be seen to have been neither a "door" nor a "gate"
but rather a screen-walled "porch", an architectural element which consisted of projections in front of gateways which could also turn at right-angles to enclose and protect the entrance. This function of the sbḥṭ is reflected in the Book of the Dead where the guardian sits within the enclosed space, guarding the door behind him. Although the sbḥṭ of these mythological texts were depicted in a stylized form in the papyri, a more accurate representation of the screen-walls can be seen in the "Book of Gates" in the tomb of Ramesses VI. 89

Originally a sbḥṭ would have been made of reeds and later of wood so that is is not surprising that early examples have not survived. It is only when the structure has been translated into stone that the sbḥṭ, as a building element, can be identified.

The basic function of a sbḥṭ was to protect an entrance and make access difficult for unwanted visitors. The same was true of the sbḥṭ screens which were used to protect sacred objects from the gaze of those judged unfit to view them. When sbḥṭ was extended in meaning in the Ptolemaic period and used to describe the propylons built into the enclosure wall at Karnak, the original function of the sbḥṭ was still preserved since these gates provided the only means of access to the main gate of each temple, and thus protected it from unwanted intruders.

1 Urk., I, 20, 6.
2 Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIe Dynastie, 16, B, 9; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 166 (Cairo 20543, 15); Naville, Das Ägyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl. CL, 137A, 20; Legrain, ASAE 14 (1914), 14.
4 Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 24 (ref. 92, 1). See also addendum, below p. 237.
5 Griffith, PSBA 18 (1896), unnumbered plate (after p. 196), 4.
6 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 193a.
7 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl. 2, 10.
8 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl. 30, 23.
9 Urk., IV, 475, 6; Naville, op. cit., I, pl. CXLVI, 133, 25.
10 Urk., IV, 438, 4.
11 Ibid., IV, 1654, 9.
12 Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.LXXXIX, recto, 7.
13 Ibid., I, pl.XCII, 1, verso, 9.
14 Ibid., I, pl.XCII, 1, recto, 4; WB., Belegstellen, IV, 22 (ref. 83, 9).
15 Benedite, Tombeau de Neferhotepou (MMAP 5, fascicule 3) pl.III, 3rd register down, 2nd column from the left.
16 KRI, I, 184, 36, B.
17 Ibid., I, 184, 34, B.
18 Goyon and El-Achirè, Le Ramesseum, VI, frontispiece; 23; pl.VIII.
19 Davies, Norman de G., Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah, pl.XXV; Bor- 
charit, Statuen und Statuetten, II, 177, No.630; pl.116 (omitting ")"; Lèdrain, Les Monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 
pl.LXX (with " reversed).
20 Murray, The Osireion at Abydos, pl.XI,
21 Loc. cit.; WB., Belegstellen, II, 579 (ref.391, 12) quotes an example of which is taken to be a writing of sb3. However in 
view of the particular form of, the sign, sb4t is more likely to 
be the correct reading.
22 Ramboval, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, pls.39; 45; 47.
23 Ibid., pls.29, 61.
24 Winlock, Excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1911-1931, pl.88.
25 Montet, La Necropole royale de Tanis, I, pl.35.
26 Bouriant, Rec. de Trav. 11 (1889), 154 (a personal examination of 
this text at Karnak showed that the determinative is a shorter 
sign than the mm given by Bouriaht).
27 Urk., II, 18, 4.
28 Faulkner, Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 34, 2; 48, 10.
29 Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.30, a, 12; WB., Belegstellen, IV, 24 
(ref.92, 2); Mariette, op. cit., III, pl.68, j and k (with "

30 Ibid., I, pl.13; II, pl.57; a; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 405.
31 WB., Belegstellen, IV, 24 (ref.92, 2); De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36, No.71 
(January 1961), 66, 5; Varille, Karnak, I, 3; pl.VI. There are 
many other ways of writing sb4t in the Ptolemaic period, but the 
variants quoted here seem to occur most frequently.
32 WB., IV, 92, 1-9.
33 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.32; 589.
34 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 220.
35 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 422.
36 Černý, (Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 148), notes that the Coptic 
CB3E (Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 324a) may have been related to 
šght.
37 Wb., IV, 91, 10-20; Faulkner, loc. cit.
38 Compare Wb., IV, 91 and 92.
39 Barguet, Temple, 311.
40 Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 389 (There is, 
in fact, no evidence to support the view that a śght at Deir el-
Medina was a door-frame and Janssen cites no references for this. 
Since śght does not have this meaning elsewhere it is unlikely to 
have been used in this way.)
41 Sauneron, BIFA 64 (1966), 15, note m; see also Ibid., 16, note o.
43 Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, II, 584.
44 Erman, op. cit., II, 23.
46 Möller, op. cit., III, 340; 341.
47 Ibid., I, 341. Compare; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu 
Sir Papyri, Palaeography, pl.VIII, O.17; IX, O.32.
48 Gardiner, op. cit., Sign List, 0.13.
49 Ibid., Sign List, 0.14.
50 Wb., II, 189; Barguet, op. cit., 246;pl.XXXIII, B.
51 Wb., II, pl.XV, 585, g-j.
52 Legrain, loc. cit.
53 As before the following pylons at Karnak; Second (Wb., II, pl.VII), 
Third (Ibid., II, pl.X), Eighth (Ibid., II, pl.XIV).
54 Rambova, op. cit., pls.29; 39; 45; 47; 59; 61.
55 Budge, The Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Ani), pls.11 and 12; Compare 
Naville, op. cit., I, pl.CLXV (šght) with ibid., I, pl.CLX (šght).
56 For representations of the śght of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 
146, see; Naville, op. cit., I, pls.CLX-CLXIV; Allen, The Egyptian 
Book of the Dead, pls.LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.
57 Urk., I, 20, 6.
58 Wb., IV, 92, 3.
59 Hassan, Giza, IV, 173, fig.120; 174-175.
60 Ibid., IV, 170-172; 173, fig. 120; 175.
61 Ibid., IV, 160.
62 Lange and Schäfer, loc. cit.
63 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl. II, 10-11.
64 De Buck, loc. cit.; Clère and Vandier, loc. cit.; Erman, op. cit., II, pl. VII, 26; For a possible further writing of sbḥt in the Coffin Texts see; De Buck, op. cit., I, 253d, but note Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 55, note 9.
65 Griffith, loc. cit.
66 Montet, loc. cit.; In Faulkner, Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 48, 10 the guardians of the sbḥwt of the Underworld are called sỉw nw sbḥwt.
68 Naville, op. cit., I, pls. CLV; CLXIV.
69 Urk., IV, 438, 4; 475, 6.
70 Urk., IV, 1654, 9. The Third Pylon at Karnak does, in fact, have a sbḥt before the door (FM., II, pl. X); which was decorated mainly by Seti I and Ramesses II but, as there are remains of a scene of Amenhotep IV, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the sbḥt is of the same date as the pylon.
71 KRI, I, 184, 34, B.
72 KRI, I, 184, 36, B.
73 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 906.
74 Sauneron, op. cit., pl. II.
75 Ibid., 16, note o.
76 FM., II, 176; pl. XIV.
77 Sauneron, op. cit., pl. II, x+4.
78 This pylon was erected by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (FM., II 174; pl. XIV; Barguet, Temple, 258-264). Barguet (Ibid., 258) suggests that the present stone pylon was built on the site of an earlier structure, probably made of brick, but there is no evidence that such a pylon, if it existed, was the work of Ses- ostris I. This king does, however, seem to have built extensively at Karnak (FM., II, 108; Barguet, op. cit., 153-155; 356, index).
79 Mariette, Karnak, pl. 40. See also Lefebvre, Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak, 187.
80 Bouriant, loc. cit.
81 Barguet, op. cit., 29-30, especially note (2).
82 Clère, La Porte d'Evergete a Karnak, pls.19, 75. On pl.19, B the
gate is called a [J] which could be restored as either \text{sb[3]} or \text{sb[bt]} . The other three inscriptions use the ideogram \text{[p]} (pl.
19, A; 75 (twice)). This could be read as \text{sb[bt]} but the absence of
a feminine ending on the qualifying adjective "great" would
suggest that it was the masculine noun \text{sb[3]} which was intended. The
form of the sign, without a cobra or \text{hkr} frieze would also support
a reading of \text{sb[3]} rather than \text{sb[bt]}.

83 Varille, loc. cit.

84 Barguet, op. cit., 29.

85 PM., II, 208.

86 Ibid., II, 11-12. This gate, leading to the temple of Maat, is in
fact in the enclosure wall of the Montu temple (Ibid., II, pls.II;
IV, 2.

87 De Witt op. cit., 66, 5; 68, 11.

88 Wb., II, 92, 7.

89 Rambova, op. cit., pls.29; 39; 45; 47; 59; 61.

Addendum.

A writing of \text{sb[bt]} is found on one of the blocks from the
sandstone building of Tuthmosis IV at Karnak (Letellier, Hommages à
Serge Sauneron, I, 58). The text relates to a depiction of the door
of the Fourth Pylon, \text{shm šy[3]}, and Letellier suggests that the \text{sb[bt]}
is the wooden porch which is known to have existed there (Yoyotte,
Ch. d'Eg. 55 (1953), 28-38). Until the entire block is properly
published so that the text can be related to the scene it describes
the identification must remain open to doubt.
On the evidence of published texts, sbty does not seem to have been used prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. This may be due to the relative paucity of building inscriptions before this date, or sbty could be a new word, coined, presumably, during the Second Intermediate Period, although it does not appear to be a loan word from any other Near Eastern language. Sbty does, however, survive into demotic and Coptic as well as the modern languages; Arabic, Dongolese and Nubian.

The meaning of the term is not in question since, from the contexts in which it is found, it clearly referred to an enclosure wall. The earliest extant reference to a sbty is in the text of Kamose, found on his first stela and also on Carnavon Tablet I. In describing his attack on the town of Neferuy the king claims to have hacked down his (the
ruler's) sbtyw and killed his people. In this case the sbtyw must have been the walls of the town. The use of the plural is interesting, but probably refers only to the various walls making up the outer perimeter of the town, rather than to more than one enclosure wall.

It is possible that, in origin, a sbty was a town enclosure wall rather than that of a temple, as it is used in the former sense also of the wall of the town of Kadesh which was breached by the army of Tuthmosis III, and of the wall at Megiddo. In the latter case, however, the wall around the besieged town was built by the Egyptians to prevent the escape of the inhabitants.

This siege is described in several texts where the wall is called both a sbty and a sbty n wmtt, showing that there was no difference between the two terms. The essence of the various texts is that the king surrounded Megiddo with a sbty (n wmtt) to deprive the townspeople of the breath of life. Tuthmosis described this as a "prison (bnrt) of their own making", by which he, presumably, meant that the inhabitants had chosen to undergo the siege rather than surrender, and not that the wall itself was built by them. The king refused to allow any of the townspeople to come out on to the sbty until they were ready to surrender. The use of sbty to describe the siege-wall of Megiddo is unusual since sbty is more often found to describe the defensive wall of a town or the protective wall of a temple.

Only two further examples of sbty n wmtt are known, both from the Eighteenth Dynasty. A stela from Heliopolis records that Tuthmosis III ordered the n-pr to be enclosed by a sbty n wmtt and Amenhotep III built a sbty n wmtt around his hwt at hhw m rnpwt at Memphis. The addition of "n wmtt" to the more common noun sbty probably only serves to emphasize the thickness and strength of the wall. There is no structural difference between the two, as can be seen from the fact that both were used of the same wall, at Megiddo.

Further examples are known of the use of sbty to indicate the wall of a town or city. In the reign of Amenhotep II captives were hung from the sbty of both Thebes and Napata, while the same king, in his campaigns in the East, was greeted at Ny by the townspeople upon their sbty. Other town walls are called sbtyw on the stela which records Pianchi's conquest of Egypt. At Lisht a distinction was made between the main fortified enclosure, the sbty, which was closed and the actual walls of the buildings, the lnbw, which were
full of soldiers,\textsuperscript{43} while at Memphis the \textit{sbty} had been raised in height to withstand the Nubian attack.\textsuperscript{44} At Neferusy the \textit{sbty} had been overthrown by Nimlot. \textsuperscript{45}

The frequent use of \textit{sbty} to describe a town wall led to its appearance in the names of towns and cities. \textsuperscript{46} This can be seen particularly in a name for Alexandria "The \textit{sbty} of Alexander". \textsuperscript{47}

The other main use of \textit{sbty} was as a temple enclosure wall. Such walls were huge affairs, built high and thick to protect the sacred area both physically and symbolically. Often their construction must have taken almost as long as the building of the stone temple and the walls have survived in some places as well preserved as the temples they were designed to protect.\textsuperscript{48} The examples of the term used to describe temple enclosure walls are legion and need not all be examined in detail.

There are inscriptions of various dates which note the building or renewing of the enclosure walls around the temple of Amun at Karnak, including work of Ramesses II,\textsuperscript{50} Siptah,\textsuperscript{51} Ramesses III,\textsuperscript{52} Menkheperre,\textsuperscript{53} Taharqa,\textsuperscript{54} Montuemhat \textsuperscript{55} and Nectanebo I.\textsuperscript{56} Other \textit{sbtyw} at Karnak include a Ptolemaic wall around the temple of Khonsu-Neferhotep\textsuperscript{57} and a Roman wall around the temple of Mut.\textsuperscript{58} This last wall was built in the reign of Tiberius when the \textit{sbty} of Geb at Koptos was also renewed.\textsuperscript{59}

Much building work on enclosure walls was carried out by Ramesses III and Papyrus Harris I records the erection of a \textit{sbty} at Medinet Habu\textsuperscript{60} and at the temples of Osiris at Abydos,\textsuperscript{61} of Anhur at Thinis, of Thoth at Hermopolis\textsuperscript{63} and of Wepwawet at Siut.\textsuperscript{64} The wall of the temple of Medinet Habu is also recorded on a stela from the north side of the second pylon of the temple.\textsuperscript{65} Further work on the same enclosure was undertaken in the reign of Taharqa.\textsuperscript{66}

Other walls at other sites include a \textit{sbty} of Amenhotep III at Soleb,\textsuperscript{67} one of Merenptah at Memphis\textsuperscript{68} and the Ptolemaic wall of the temple at Koptos.\textsuperscript{69} Petrie decided that this last \textit{sbty} must refer to the inner stone wall rather than to the brick wall because of the measurements which are given in the text.\textsuperscript{70} This would also seem to be so in the case of a Twenty-Second Dynasty \textit{sbty}. A hieratic papyrus states that formulae are to be recited before the images of Amun and Thoth on (hr) a \textit{sbty} of Kheperkare (Sesostris I) at Karnak.\textsuperscript{71} Since figures were not depicted on brick walls \textit{sbty} must, in this case,
refer to a stone wall, either dating from or in commemoration of the reign of Sesostris I.

Other Graeco-Roman sbtyw include one around the temple at Athribis and that of the temple of Esna upon which the townspeople stood to watch the ceremonies in the enclosure.\(^73\)

One problematical reference to a sbty occurs in a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus recording the names of the citizens of the West Bank at Thebes. The list is headed; "List of the men.......every man of every house which is (in) the sbty of the hwt of Ramesses III "from the hwt of Seti I "as far as the hwt of Ramesses III.\(^74\) This would seem to imply that an enclosure wall encompassed the whole of the West Bank from Gurna to Medinet Habu which is clearly not possible. One can only conclude that sbty is here being used as a general term for the land and property which was under the administrative control of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

Since the sbty was such an important part of the defensive system of any temple or town, it is hardly surprising to find that it was used frequently in epithets of both the king and the gods to emphasise their strength and symbolise the protection which they gave to Egypt. Typical examples of this are; "a sbty which protects Egypt" (of Amenhotep II),\(^75\) "my sbty of a million cubits" (Akhenaten describing the Aten),\(^76\) "a sbty of quartzite" (Thoth describing Seti I)\(^77\) and "a sbty for his soldiers on the day of battle" (of Ramesses II).\(^78\)

There are a few texts in which sbty is used to enclose something other than a temple or a town but the sense of the term as a strong defensive wall remains the same. It could be employed to describe a wall around cattle,\(^79\) a well\(^80\) and a vineyard.\(^81\)

The Wörterbuch gives three main meanings for this word "an enclosure wall",\(^82\) "a fortress\(^83\) and "the wall of a room".\(^84\) For the second of these the Belegstellen gives references to those texts in which sbty is used for town enclosure walls, so "fortress" is not a particularly apposite translation. For the third meaning three texts are quoted. One is the Golenischeff Onomasticon where sbty occurs after wal and before tæmt, Inb and mrrt.\(^85\) Gardiner, in his commentary to the Onomasticon, translates sbty in this text as "surrounding wall"\(^86\) and there does not seem to be any valid reason for suggesting another, less common, translation. Another of the texts referred to is a damaged building inscription from the Festival Hall of king
Osorkon II at Bubastis; "all its sbtyw in electrum and whnw-columns [///.///.]." The context would suggest that these walls are part of the Festival Hall itself and the mention of electrum implies that they were stone walls with gilding rather than brick walls.

In this case, therefore, sbty probably does refer to a wall of a building and not to an enclosure wall. This is also true of the third example given by the Wörterbuch where sbty is used for interior walls in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb. Four stelae were set into each wall with a text detailing the recitations which were to be made at the North, South, East and West sbty of the tomb.

These are, however, isolated examples of sbty being used in such a way. The original and true meaning of sbty was a large defensive enclosure wall, usually built of brick. Such walls were erected principally around temples and towns, although sbty could be used of any kind of protecting enclosure. The main attributes of a sbty were its size and strength and this is emphasised by the occasional addition of n wmtt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. For this reason sbty was not used as a regular term for any other kind of wall.

1 Lacau, ASAE 39 (1939), pl.XXVII, 15; Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 144, S, IX, 10; Urk., II, 66, 13; Erman, ZÄS 38 (1900), 124.
2 Urk., IV, 184, 16; 894, 17; KRI, I, 190, 15; 194, 1; Louvre stela C.94 (see Pierret, Insc. Louvre, II, 50 which, however, wrongly gives $ in place of $); Legrain, Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1906-1907, 21, 1; Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, II, pl.33, 4-5; Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 34, fig.31; Erman, op. cit., 126.
3 Urk., IV, 661, 12; 758, 12; 1312, 3;
5 Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, II, 144, No.589.
6 KRI, I, 111, 6; Naville, Les Quatres Stèles Orientées du Musée de Marseille, pl.XII-XIX.
7 KRI, II, 91, 15.
8 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 14, 15; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.VII, 2 verso, 2.
9 Gaballa, BIFAO 71 (1972), 131, fig.1; pl.XXIII.
11 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 67, 11; Legrain, ZAS 35 (1898), 19, 2 and 3.
12 Habachi, Kemi 20 (1970), 233, fig.2; 234, fig.3.
13 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, I, pl.28, 67.
14 Erichsen, op. cit., 4, 10; 94, 6-7; et al.
15 Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.LXXX, verso, 4.
17 Urk., III, 6, 12; 26, 14; 31, 3.
18 Ibid., III, 134, 2.
19 Habachi, op. cit., 231, fig.1; pl.XXIA.
20 Urk., II, 14, 14.
22 Urk., II, 217, 1.
23 Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.62, h.
24 Reinach and Weill, ASAE 12 (1912), 2.
26 Reinach and Weill, op. cit., 12.
27 Urk., IV, 832, 13 (the copy of the same text in LD., III, 29b, has II instead of ||).
28 Urk., IV, 661, 4, 5.
29 Ibid., IV, 767, 11. This was taken by Gardiner (JEA 38 (1952), 11) as inb n wmtt, to which he compared a text of Tuthmosis III in the Festival Hall at Karnak where the Megiddo siege wall is described as an inb wmtt (40579034 112 112 112 112) (Ibid., pl.IV, 14 and Urk., IV, 1254, 9). See further under inb p. 25-26.
30 Urk., IV, 1795, 14.
31 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 423; Ray, The Archive of Hor, 151.
32 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 148; Üsing, Nominalbildung, 394; Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 177.
33 Roquet, BIFAO 71 (1972), 100-101; See also Yoyotte, Rev. d'Eg. 15 (1963), 106ff.
34 Lacau, loc. cit., 35 Urk., IV, 894, 17.
35 Urk., IV, 184, 16; 767, 11 (see also under inb p.25); 661, 4, 5; 758, 12; See Grapow, Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten, 56-57.
51 Lauffray, *Karnak*, V, 28. Here and *Ibid.*, 146 (No. 3) a stela of Siptah is described as having been found in excavations in the South-East corner of the Amon enclosure. It is detailed as "Elle commémore des travaux exécutés dans les remparts.....". "Rempart" is also used to translate sbty which occurs on a different damaged stela found in the same area (pl.II,B). Although a plate number is not quoted for the Siptah stela it must be the one on pl.IX, opposite p.28, since only one stela of Siptah was found. At the bottom of the stela are two lines of hieroglyphs with a building inscription which ends with; ḫr.n.ꜣ m mnn.f n ẖt.f'Tmn-R[///]/. The final word is not legible on the photograph but presumably the excavators were able to restore the traces sufficiently to read sbty. No hieroglyphic copy, transliteration or translation of this text is given.

52 Habachi, *op. cit.*, 234, fig.3.


54 Mariette, *Karnak*, pl.42, 23.


56 Habachi, *op. cit.*, 231, fig.1; pl.XXI, a.

57 Erman, *op. cit.*, 126.

58 *Loc. cit.*
59 Reinach and Weill, op. cit., 2, 12. The Greek term for the same wall is περίσσον from which one could suppose that the entire enclosure, rather than just the wall, was intended. However, one text (Cairo 31101) specifically states that the sbty was of brick.

60 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 10.

61 Ibid., 68, 3.
62 Ibid., 66, 17.
63 Ibid., 67, 11.
64 Ibid., 68, 12.
65 Habachi, op. cit., 223, fig.2.
66 Hölscher, loc. cit.
67 Urk., IV, 1750, 6.
68 KRI, IV, 32, 13.
69 Petrie, Koptos, pl.XX, 17.
70 Ibid., 21.
71 Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, II, pl.33, 3-4.
73 Sauneron, loc. cit.
74 Peet, loc. cit.
75 Urk., IV, 1290, 11 and 12.
76 Ibid., IV, 1971, 9.
77 KRI, I, 190, 15.
78 KRI, II, 91, 15.
79 Blancenberg Van Delden, loc. cit.
80 Erichsen, op. cit., 94, 6-7.
81 Ibid., 10, 7.
82 Wb., IV, 95, 10-13.
83 Ibid., IV, 96, 1-2.
84 Ibid., IV, 96, 3.
85 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XI.
86 Ibid., II, 243* 444.
87 Naville, op. cit., pl.VI, No.11.
88 Naville, Les Quatres Steles Orientées du Musée de Marseille, pls. XII; XIII; XIV; XV.
Although there are only a few examples of this term there is no doubt that the meaning of spt was the "base" of a column. It is also, in Papyrus Harris I, used of the "bases" of stelae.\(^5\)

An qstracon from Deir El-Medineh describes a man as being "like a column (\(\text{w}h\)\(^3\)) of reeds, under which is a spt of copper."\(^6\) Fortunately this figurative use of spt is supported by more concrete examples.

In a hymn to Amun-Re Ramesses III states that he will erect stone columns in the w\(\text{h}\)\(^3\) of the god, with spwt in silver,\(^7\) while, in the Twenty-Second Dynasty, granite columns in a temple of Ptah were to have "sp[w]t in every stone."\(^8\)

The dual form of the term is used in a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty inscription from the temple of Amun at Karnak where Shabaka erected a wooden porch before the gate of the Fourth Pylon. It was supported by two columns worked with electrum "the spty under them in pure electrum."\(^9\) In this case, as in those described earlier, the bases would, in fact, have been made of wood or stone and decorated with the metal.

Spt does not appear to have been used as a term for a column-base in either the demotic or Coptic stages of the language.

1 Posener, Catalogue de Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir El-Médineh, II, pl.49, (No.1217, 3).
2 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, pl.23, A, 18.
3 Badawi [Ahmed], ASAE 44 (1944), 204.
4 Yoyotte, Ch. d'Eg. 18 No.55 (1953), 34.
5 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 8, 3 (the term is spelled \(\underline{\text{S}}\underline{\text{S}}\) and the bases are described as being decorated in silver and gold).
6 Posener, loc. cit.\(^.\)
7 Chicago University, loc. cit.\(^.\)
8 Badawi, loc. cit.\(^.\) 9 Yoyotte, loc. cit.\(^.\)
The writings quoted above are treated here as variants of one word, snb(t), for reasons which will become clear when the textual evidence is assessed. The Wörterbuch, however, preferred to distinguish two terms, a masculine snb translated as "Mauerzinnen" and a feminine snbt "Mauer". The same division is followed by Faulkner who translates snbw as "battlements" and snbt as "rampart". This term has not been discussed often, one exception to this being the comments of Posener-Krieger on the two occurrences of the term in the Abusir papyri.

In these papyri snb is found as a part of a door (sb3), which is divided into da.f "itself", presumably the frame, ʿswy.f "its leaves" and snb.f which Posener-Krieger takes to be the "couronnement" in brickwork above the lintel of the door. The other occurrence in these papyri is spelled snbt and is translated as "muraille". This passage, however, also seems to refer to parts of a door (sb3) so it is possible that this snbt, which is described as having fallen (h3.t1), is also the coping above the lintel.

Unfortunately snb(t) occurs most frequently in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts in contexts which are of limited value to this study. The term is most often found with reference to "the falcon upon the snbw of the hwt of The-One-whose-Name-is-hidden (ʾImn-ʾmn)." Other gods are also described as being upon snbw(t), including Sobek, as a hawk, and Khnum.
This idea of gods in bird-form sitting on s nbw(t) recurs in Ptolemaic and it is from these examples that the suggestion of "battlements" as a translation for s nbw(t) has arisen. Such a translation is also supported by the unusual determinative which is found in the Pyramid Texts. This determinative is used for both s nbw and s mbt, indicating that only one term is involved. In addition, in spell 355 of the Coffin Texts, the phrase "Khnum sits on his s nbwt" has variants which show writings of s nbw.

Khnum is also associated with s nbw in the Book of the Dead in an interesting passage which would also seem to support a translation of "battlements"; "Khnum has sat upon his s mbt. If the sky comes with a north wind, he sits to the south of it. If the sky comes with a south wind, he sits to the north of it." This implies that the god could shelter from the weather behind the s mbt.

Another god who is associated, in the Pyramid Texts, with s nbw(t) is Shu, where the s nbw of Shu seem to be obstacles which must be destroyed before the king can reach heaven. In the Coffin Texts there are also references to the s nbw(t) of the sky.

The evidence of these religious texts would seem to indicate that the s nbw(t) were battlemented ramparts on the top of buildings. This translation would also be suitable for two occurrences of the term on Middle Kingdom stelae.

The first is a stela of the reign of Amenemhat III, which Reisner found at Kerma. It belongs to an official who records the number of gbt (bricks, or perhaps blocks of stone) required to build "the s mbt which is in "Walls-of-Amenemhat". Reisner originally identified the place with the funerary chapel (?), K.II, at Kerma but it has since been shown that the Egyptian monuments found at Kerma had been taken there from Egyptian sites with the result that "Walls-of-Amenemhat" does not have to be a building at Kerma itself. Hintze has suggested that it was perhaps situated in the region of the second cataract and comparison with the name of an east-Delta fortress, 'Inbw (Imn-m-hat), "Walls-of-the-Ruler" in the story of Sinuhe, would suggest that "Walls-of-Amenemhat" was also the name of a fort.

There is an interesting parallel to this stela on another, also of the reign of Amenemhat III, which was found (or perhaps merely
purchased) at El-Kab. "His majesty ordered that snbwt which are in "Walls-of-Seshemu-tawy" be built / / / / ." Unfortunately the rest of the text is lost. Seshemu-tawy is the "Horus" name of Sesostris II so this can be assumed to have been a fortress named after this king. Since the exact provenance of this stela is uncertain, it may also refer to one of the Nubian fortresses. In these stelae snbwt could well be fortified ramparts.

Snbw(t) recurs in hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic period but only one more occurrence from dynastic Egypt has been published. This is on an Eighteenth Dynasty stela, of king Ahmose, from Karnak, which describes a storm during which damage was caused to the Theban temples. The king took measures so that "the monuments of the gods should be established, their snbwt raised up and sacred objects be replaced in the t ṣpsat." In such a general description it is not possible to be certain as to the exact nature of the snbwt, but the use of the verb ḫs3 "to raise" would suggest that the snbwt were on the top of the buildings.

This was never a very common term and, outside of religious texts, examples are few and far between. If, as the evidence suggests, snbt was used particularly to describe the battlemented ramparts of a fortified building, then the lack of examples is hardly surprising since most detailed building texts refer to temples. The original meaning of the term may have been less specific since it appears to have been used in the Fifth Dynasty Abusir papyri to describe the coping above a door.

Snbt does not appear in Erichsen's Demotisches Glossar, nor does it seem to have occurred in Coptic.

1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XXIA, B, 4; Pyr., 1121b; 1955b; De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, V, 2c; Vandersleyen, Rev. d'Eg. 19 (1967), pl.8, x+14; 9, x+19.
2 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.IXIXA, b; De Buck, op. cit., V, 2c; VII, 110t.
3 Pyr., 1778a.
4 Ibid., 299b.
5 Loc. cit; Ibid., 1953b.
6 Reisner, Kerma, IV-V, 509, fig.343, No.30.
7 De Buck, op. cit., II, 221d; 223a.
8 Stobart, *Egyptian Antiquities*, collected on a voyage made in Upper Egypt in the years 1854 and 1855, pl. 1 (Stobart's copy is also reproduced by Le Grain in *PSBA* 27 (1905), plate opposite p. 106).

9 Gardiner, *Rev. d’Eg.* 11 (1957), pl. 4, 141; De Buck, *op. cit.*, II, 220a; 223a; VII, 220h.

10 Ibid., II, 221d; IV, 46g.

11 Ibid., V, 2c.

12 Blackman, *ZAS* 49 (1911), 63; Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, (1898), Text, 129, 3.

13 Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch*, I, pl. CIX, 2.

14 Mariette, *Denderah*, III, pl. 66, a, 3; Dümichen, *Kalender Inschriften*, pl. LIX, f, 2; Id., *Tempel Inschriften*, II, pl. XV, 2.


16 Dümichen, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XIX, 3.

17 *Wb.*, III, 458, 6.

18 Ibid., III, 458, 7.


20 One can only note, with interest, the comment of Adams (*Nubia*, 210); "No-one knows what a snbt was, since the word occurs in no other text".

21 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, *loc. cit.*.


23 Id., *Archives Neferirkare*, II, 430.


25 *Pyr.*, 1778a; De Buck, *op. cit.*, II, 220a; 221d; 223a; VII, 199e.

26 Gardiner, *loc. cit.*.

27 De Buck, *op. cit.*, V, 2c.

28 Chassinat, *loc. cit.*.

29 *Pyr.*, 1778a; 1953a.

30 De Buck, *loc. cit.*.

31 The version in the New Kingdom Papyrus of Nu has ‘h₃₄ n n₂₄ h₄₃’, uses the plural form of snbt and changes the suffix pronoun with h₄₃ to the first person (Blackman, *op. cit.*, 63-64).

32 *loc. cit.*. The text continues in the same vein with regard to the east and west winds. Blackman notes that this Middle Kingdom text is a better version than that of Nu.
33 Pyr., 299b; 1121b; 1953b-1955b.
34 De Buck, op. cit., IV, 466; VII, 110t; 220h.
35 Reisner, loc. cit.
36 Ibid., I, 126-127.
37 Adams, op. cit., 209.
38 Hintze, ZÄS 91 (1904), 84.
39 Sinuhe, E. 17.
40 Stobart, loc. cit. There is a third stela which may once have contained a similar text to those from Kerma and El-Kab. This is a stela of Kamose which was re-used at Buhen. The text is badly preserved but can be restored to read, after the date, "building the (p3) \[\ldots\] which the \[\ldots\] great \[\ldots\] of the city did\[\ldots\]" (Smith, H.S., The Fortress of Buhen, The Inscriptions, 8-9; pl.II; LVIII, 1). Smith has suggested that the damaged word could be either Inb or Snb and prefers Inb because of the masculine article, p3. Snb(t) does seem to have been a feminine word but it could be written without the t and could, possibly, have been mistaken for a masculine term. The similarity to the other stelae and its provenance make it at least possible that this stela also refers to building activity on the ramparts of a Nubian fortress.
41 Dümichen, op. cit., I, pl.XIX, 3; II, pl.XV, 2; Id., Kalender Inschriften, pl.LIX, f, 2; Mariette, loc. cit.
42 Vandersleyen, loc. cit.
43 We., V, 405-407.
One of the most frequent uses of this term is in the epithet of Amunis šnty sh-nṭr. 10 The nature of the sh-nṭr in this context has been investigated in detail by Altenmuller 11 so this study of the term will be restricted to those examples of sh-nṭr, from which the type of building can be identified.

Probably a sh-nṭr was originally a temporary booth, made of light materials, 12 erected to perform some function in the festivals of the gods. Evidence is lacking for the existence of the term in the earliest dynasties, outside of its use in epithets. However, there are two tomb-scenes of the Fifth Dynasty in which shrines are labelled specifically as sh-nṭr.

The first is from the tomb of Iymeri at Giza (No. 16) and shows carpenters at work on the funerary equipment of Iymeri. A finished shrine stands alone and is described as; sh-nṭr n ṣḥn, "A sh-nṭr of Juniper". 13

The second scene occurs in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara. In this scene a shrine of the form is being polished by a kneeling workman, the entire group being labelled as šmḥt sh-nṭr, "Polishing the sh-nṭr." 14

In both of these examples the sh-nṭr is a part of the burial equipment of private individuals, a small wooden shrine.

Other examples of the term in texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms can not be identified 15 with any particular types of building. Fortunately the same is not true of the New Kingdom.

A good example is an ebony shrine of which Naville recovered one side and one door-leaf in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. 16 Most of the dedication texts are damaged at the point where the name of the shrine should be given, one, however, is preserved, describing the shrine as a sh-nṭr ḫrṣs ṣḥn ṣḥn n ṭw ḫỉswt.
"a noble sh-ntr in ebony of the best of the foreign lands". The shrine stood over six feet tall, was decorated both inside and outside, and opened with a double-door. It is clearly a shrine made to contain the image of a god, presumably Amun-Re, since it is he to whom the shrine is dedicated. Porter and Moss suggest that it originally stood in a chapel of Amun within the temple.

In the reign of Hatshepsut, sh-ntr is also applied to the stone sanctuary of the Amun temple at Karnak. The blocks from this were found in the fill of the Third Pylon. One block has a scene of the Queen dedicating electrum before Amun, the electrum being intended "to decorate the noble sh-ntr which she has made." Lacau and Chevrier have suggested that this text refers to the sanctuary itself, and there seems to be no reason to doubt this. Another text may also refer to the same sanctuary as a sh-ntr.

This is the stela of Djehuty which describes work of Hatshepsut, including a st wrt sh-ntr kd(w) m mtr "a st wrt, a sh-ntr built of granite." The main obstacle to the identification of this sh-ntr with the Hatshepsut sanctuary is the fact that the sanctuary is not made entirely of granite, but consists of red quartzite on a base of black granite. This discrepancy is not, however, insurmountable as the Egyptians were often inaccurate when it came to using the correct terminology for building materials and the sanctuary was, in any case, partly made of granite. In addition, the term st wrt was elsewhere applied to the Hatshepsut sanctuary in a text which mentions the building by name. It can, therefore, be regarded as a possibility that the sh-ntr of the Djehuty stela is this sanctuary, particularly as there is no other edifice named on the stela which could be so identified. It is unlikely that this chronicle of Hatshepsut's works for Amun should omit the sanctuary of the main temple.

Other blocks from this sanctuary mention a further sh-ntr at Karnak. This is the alabaster barque-shrine of Amenhotep I which was also used in the Third Pylon. A dedication inscription on the shrine itself describes it as "the sh-ntr (named) 'Imm-mn-mnw in alabaster of Hatnub, with upon it in Asian copper," while on the blocks of Hatshepsut (Nos. 102 and 129) it is called "the sh-ntr of alabaster (named) 'Imm-mn-mnw." The scene on block 102 has been published, previously, by Lacau and shows the barque of Amun resting on a pedestal within the alabaster shrine.
Three writings of *sh-ntr* occur in an incomplete building text of Tuthmosis III from Karnak. The first refers to the shrine on the sacred barque of Amun "Amun-user-het" and the second to the monolithic alabaster naos, within which were carved two seated figures, of Amun and Amenet, and which the king placed in the Eastern temple at Karnak. The text describes this naos as "a *sh-ntr*.... from one block of stone." The third example refers to the alabaster barque-shrine in the way-station of Tuthmosis III, to the south of the Seventh Pylon, describing it as "a *sh-ntr*.... in lustrous alabaster of Hatnub."

Each of these examples, all of which can be identified, accord well with the evidence that a *sh-ntr* could be either a shrine in which the image of a god could reside, or a barque shrine in which the god could rest when he was carried in procession.

Other texts of the New Kingdom mention *shw-ntr* which were almost certainly cult or barque-shrines. Another of the buildings listed on the stela of Djehuty is a *sh-ntr* called "Horizon of the god"(*sh-t ntr*). This *sh-ntr* is also called a *st wrt*, indicating that it was a shrine in which the image of the god could rest.

A scene in the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes shows copper being brought from Retenu to cast the doors (*3w*) of the *sh-ntr* of Amun at Karnak.

Undoubtedly the term continued to be used for such shrines throughout the dynastic period, although continuous evidence for this has not survived. However, in the Thirtieth Dynasty a monolithic red granite shrine, parts of which were found at Shubra Hor in the Delta, was described as a "very great *sh-ntr*,".

Unfortunately *sh-ntr* seems also to have broadened in meaning until it became a synonym for *hwt-ntr*, helped, no doubt, by the fact that the two terms employed similar groupings. Where a writing of *hwt* has been treated syntactically as a feminine noun, I have taken it to be an example of *hwt-ntr*, because writings such as *hwt-ntr* show that the sign *h* could be substituted for *h* in *hwt-ntr*.

There are occasions, however, when *sh-ntr* was used to mean "temple!" For example the Annal Inscriptions of Tuthmosis III are described as having been recorded; *hr sh-ntr pn* "upon this *sh-ntr*", the use of the masculine, *pn*, suggesting that the group is to be read as *sh-ntr* and not as the feminine *hwt-ntr*. Another text of the same reign uses
sh-ntr to mean "temple". It occurs on an architrave from the king's temple at El-Kab, in a largely destroyed dedication text. 39

In the Nineteenth Dynasty a dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II from the forecourt of the temple of Luxor describes this court as "a waḥt ħbyt for the sh-ntr in sandstone", certainly referring to the entire temple. It is also of note that a Memphite temple could be called either: sh-ntr śḥ(Stl-mry-Pth) m pr Pth 41 or ḫwt-ntr śḥ(Stl-mry-Pth) m pr Pth 42

Another case in which sh-ntr is used to mean "temple" is with regard to the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. A dedication text of Herihor describes "making festal his sh-ntr as a fine monument for eternity." 43

In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu a scene depicting the preparation of food in the temple slaughterhouse includes a row of men carrying offerings which are destined to go "to the sh-ntr", 44 and a text of Seti II at Karnak relates that it was this king "who increases his (Amon's) pr, who embellishes his sh-ntr as an excellent work of eternity." 45

In the Graeco-Roman period sh-ntr could also be used of a single room within a temple 46 and there is evidence to show that this may have been true in earlier periods. An incomplete text on the east wall of room 29 in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III mentions a sh-ntr ḫrty-ḥ ḫwt-Wsr-m3t-r śnry-Smn [m] pr 'Imn. 47 In this expression ḫwt refers to the temple itself so that it can only be concluded that sh-ntr is being applied to room 29. 48 One further use of the term was to describe the Serapeum at Saqqara, 49 a complex which was also regarded as a ḫwt-ntr. 50

Erichsen cites only one reference for sh-ntr in demotic, translating the expression as "Götteshalle". 51 The term did not recur in Coptic.

A sh-ntr, therefore, in the pre- and protodynastic periods, was probably a light booth, or shrine, erected for specific festivals. In the Old Kingdom it is attested as a term for a shrine, forming a part of the funerary equipment of private individuals. Although the textual evidence has not been preserved, it would seem likely that sh-ntr could always have been used to describe the shrine in a cultus temple in which the image of the god was kept. By the New Kingdom it was also applied to a barque shrine in which the god could rest when his image was carried in procession and to the
shrine on the barque itself. At the same time, however, either by
extension of meaning or through confusion with hwt-ntr, sh-ntr came
to mean "temple". It could also, at least in the Graeco-Roman period,
and probably earlier, be used for one specific room within a temple.

1 The actual form of the shrine can vary and can be depicted in great
detail. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, pls.I; II; XX; Dunham and Simpson,
The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, figs.3a; 6; 40; Urk., I, 120,
10; 196, 3; Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période inter-
médiaire et de la XIe Dynastie, 30, T), 1 and 3; Urk., VII, 2,
2; 43, 6; IV, 296, 6; 427, 15; 734, 15; 829, 10; 1341, 16; Nims,
Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x + 6; x + 14; x + 20;
Lacau, ASAE 26 (1926), pl.IV (between p.130 and 131); Pillet, ASAE
24 (1924), 57; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 155; Helck, ZAS 83
(1958), pl.III, 27; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet
Habu, III, 173, 16-21; LDT, I, 15; Jéquier, L'architecture, III,
pl.1.

2 Moussa and Altenmuller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep,
pl.62.

3 LD, II, 49, b (the group as reproduced by Lepsius is ?). The
copy of the same text, by Champollion (Monuments de L'Egypte et
de la Nubie, IV, pl.CCCCLX, 1) has [ ]. Whatever the actual form
of the sign it is clearly intended to be for ( ). KRT, I, 310,
2 and 3; Chicago University, op. cit., VII, pl.486, C, 2; Vercoutter,
Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 17; pl.II; Mariette,
Denderah, II, pl.22; Urk., II, 63, 11; 69, 16.

4 Pyr., 2100c.

5 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 25, 8), 1.

6 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 196a (BIOc).

7 Arnold, Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir El-Bahari, II,
pls.22; 23; De Buck, op. cit., I, 196a; Urk., IV, 421, 10; 1150,
12.

8 U r k., IV, 1423, 17 (with the masculine article p3).

9 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 358.

10 Wh., III, 465, 1-3.


12 The simple term, sh, was not generally used of temples or parts
thereof; one exception to this being in the Graeco-Roman period
when it could, like sh-ntr, be used of a room in a temple (Wb., III, 464, 3-21). The sh itself seems to have been a light construction supported by a wooden column, see; Wb., Belegatellen, III, 129, (ref.464, 3).

13 LD., II, 49, b (see note 3 above). The term w'n is translated by Faulkner (Con. Dict., 57) as "juniper(? )". The Wörterbuch restricts itself to the less specific "Conifer" (Wb., I, 285, 16-20; 286, 1-4). In view of the fact that the juniper is a red wood (Lucas and Harris, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, 437) and a shrine made of w'n is coloured red in a tomb scene from Deir El-Gebrawi (Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El-Gebrawi, II, pl.X), the identification of w'n with juniper seems likely. The term used for the shrine at Deir El-Gebrawi is, unfortunately, not preserved. All that remains of the label is [/////]n w'n. It is possible, however, that the missing term is to be restored as sh-ntr.

14 Moussa and Altenmuller, loc. cit.

15 E.g., Pyr., 2100c; Arnold, op. cit., pls.22; 23; 52, No. 4931; Urk., VII, 2, 2.

16 Naville, Deir El-Bahari, II, 1-4; pls.XXV-XXIX. This shrine, which is now in the Cairo Museum, is also described as a iwmn, see p.22.

17 Ibid., pl.XXVII (Urk., IV, 296, 6).

18 PM., II, 355.

19 Ibid., 363-364; pl.XXXVI, 4, IX.

20 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 23-44,

21 Ibid., 231, 366.

22 Ibid., 231, 367.

23 Urk., IV, 427, 15.

24 Ibid., 167, 3. This text also calls the sanctuary a ḫm and describes it as being made of ḫmr n rwḥt n ḫw dār "quartzite" (Harris, Lexico graphical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, 76). Another of the blocks from the shrine also uses the term ḫm and describes it (for once accurately) as being made of both quartzite (rwḥt nt ḫw dār) and granite (miḏ) (Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 261, 411).

25 PM., II, 63-64.

26 Pillet, loc. cit.

27 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 195, 286.

28 Lacau, ASAE 26 (1926), pl.IV, B (between p.130 and 131).
29 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x + 6.

30 PM, II, 216-217. For views of this naos see; Varille, ASAE 50 (1950), pls.VII-XII.

31 Nims, op. cit., fig.7, x + 14.

32 PM, II, 173-174.

33 Nims, op. cit., fig.7, x + 20. For the identification of these shw-ntr at Karnak, see; Ibid., 72-73. The alabaster barque-shrine had a dedication inscription which is, unfortunately, badly damaged. The term used for the shrine is destroyed but has been restored, in Urk., IV, 852, 2, as hm, paralleling a text from Medinet Habu (Urk., IV, 881, 10). Sethe (Ibid., 852, note a) states that hm is a necessary restoration because of a following masculine pronoun, although sh-ntr is another possible restoration.

34 Urk., IV, 421, 10.

35 Ibid., IV, 1150, 12. This scene is labelled "Bringing Asian copper which his Majesty brought from Retemu ⲫ Ⲧ Ⲩ Ⲧ Ⲫ of Amun at Karnak" (Davies, N. de G., The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes, II, pl.LIII). Faulkner (Con. Dict., 76) takes the group ⲫ Ⲧ Ⲩ to be the only example of a term wdb meaning "door of cast metal". This group is, in fact, to be read wdb '3wy "to cast the '3-doors" and the entry should, therefore, be deleted from Faulkner's dictionary.

36 Habachi, ASAE 53 (1956), fig.14 (after p.464).

37 See above, hwt-ntr, p.183-184.

38 Urk., IV, 734, 15; 743, 7.

39 Ibid., 829, 10.


41 LDT, I, 15.

42 Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with names, pl.XXXIX, 2. See also Yoyotte, Kâmi 14 (1957), 84, note 2.

43 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6).

44 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, III, pl.173, 16-21.

45 Barguet, Temple, 118.


47 Chicago University, op. cit., VII, pl.486, 6, 2.

48 For the disposition of this room within the temple, see; Ibid., fig.16.
49 See above, ibid., 175, n. 67.
50 Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 17; pl. II.
51 Brichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 445.
This unusual term is known only in texts from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. The most usual writing of the word is šwt-r, occasionally abbreviated to šwt, however, in Papyrus Wilbour, the term is frequently given as šwt-r', showing that it is this aspect of the solar god which is involved. This is also indicated by the frequent use of the term in inscriptions from Akhetaten, since it was Re-Horakhty, and not any other aspect of the god Re, which was associated with the Aten. In addition the epithet bry-ib šwt-r' occurs above a representation of Re-Horakhty in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu, so that there can be no doubt that, even when the term is abbreviated to šwt-r' or šwt, it is to be understood as a chapel dedicated to the god Re-Horakhty.

This expression was discussed by Fairman, particularly in relation to šwt-r' in the Amarna period and Stadelmann has, more recently, identified šwt-r' with a Re-chapel within a temple dedicated to another god. Stadelmann has shown that the main element of a šwt-r' was an open court containing an altar and, as examples of this, he cites the Re-chapels in the mortuary temples of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, of Seti I at Gurna, of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and the temple of Abu Simbel.

There would seem to be no doubt that this interpretation of the
of the design and function of a šwt-r' is correct although, in only one case, the Re-chapel at Medinet Habu in which the epithet ḫry-šb šwt-r' referred to above occurs, is the chapel in question named as a šwt-r'.

Stadelmann has also suggested that the Re-chapel, which is known to have existed on the roof of the Amun temple at Karnak, was a šwt-r' and he would equate this with the mentioned in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon. One can only assume that this chapel corresponded in plan to the Re-chapels in other New Kingdom temples, as no remains of the roof-chapel have been found.

By analogy with the šwt-r' which Stadelmann has identified it would seem logical to assume that the šwt-r' of the Amarna period were also chapels dedicated to Re-Horakhty within temples to the Aten, although, as the Aten was originally an aspect of Re-Horakhty, the relationship between the two divinities is somewhat unique.

In his discussion of the term Fairman identified one of the šwt-r' at Akhetaten, belonging to the princess Meretaten, with the central kiosk on the island of Maruaten to the south of the city. The texts which mention this šwt-r' show that it was, originally, inscribed for a queen, but was later re-assigned to Meretaten. In view of the fact that blocks inscribed for the Aten šn šw Mrt-šn M P mšrw n ḫtn n ps ḫtn m šwt-šn (the name and title of the princess not being original) were found within one of the smaller kiosks on either side of the approach to the central kiosk, it is more likely that the entire complex, known as Maruaten II, was the šwt-r', with the central kiosk, containing an altar, as the focal point. The excavation report implies that this kiosk was roofed, although there appears to be no actual evidence for this and, as cult-places at Akhetaten were, axiomatically, open to the sun's rays, it is more likely that this kiosk was open to the sky so that the sunlight could reach down to the offerings heaped upon the altar. This Amarna šwt-r', therefore, contained the principal element of the other Re-chapels, an open area with an altar. Unfortunately the identification of the remaining šwt-r' at Akhetaten is not so certain.

The šwt-r' of queen Tiy is depicted in the tomb of Huya, at Amarna, and was clearly an edifice of some size and complexity. It is noteworthy that no qualifying statement as to the location of the šwt-r' of Tiy is given. It is not, presumably, to be found at Maruaten like
the example discussed above, nor is it to be found within the pr ḫy n pr 3 ūt. As is the case with two further šwt-ṛ from Amarna. It can only be assumed that this šwt-ṛ of queen Tiy was a building large enough to stand alone, the location of which was obvious without qualification. The temple, as depicted on the tomb-wall, consists of a pylon-gateway leading into a large court, surrounded on all four sides by colonnades with statues of a king and queen. In the centre of the court is an altar, reached by a flight of steps, while another pylon-gateway leads to the smaller halls and courts at the rear of the building.

This šwt-ṛ cannot be identified with any known building at Amarna, although the fact that the lowest register shows river-scenes has led to the suggestion that the šwt-ṛ of Tiy was situated somewhere along the river-bank like that at Maniaten. 35

The connection between the šwt-ṛ and the royal women at Akhetaten is not in question but the reason for this is unclear. Stadelmann has connected it with the role of the queen as God's Wife of Amun in relation to Re as the creator-god. 36 Whatever the reason, it is certain that šwt-ṛ existed at Akhetaten for the king's mother Tiy, presumably for the great queen Nefertiti 37 and possibly also for another queen, Ki. 38 There were also two šwt-ṛ assigned to the two eldest princesses Meretaten and Ankhesenpaaten, both of which were m pr ḫy n pr 3 ūt m pr 3 ūt n sḥt ūt. 39

This is the name of the large monumental building to the west of the Royal Road which was described by the excavators as the "Great Palace". 39 However, such an edifice was clearly not intended as the domestic quarters of the royal family and Uphill has suggested that it was, in fact, not a "palace" but a "temple". 40 This interpretation does seem to be more plausible although, as Assman has pointed out, 41 the distinction between civil and religious buildings at Amarna is not very clear.

The name of the building would also support an interpretation as a religious structure, particularly one connected with the Sed-festival 42 and it would, therefore, not be surprising that two šwt-ṛ were situated within the pr-ḥy.

Uphill 43 equated the šwt-ṛ of queen Tiy with a part of the pr-ḥy, at the rear of the building, opening off the hypostyle hall. 44
This was balanced, on the other side, by a similar structure which could not be planned as it was under the then line of cultivation. It is noteworthy that this temple has no sanctuary on the axis, the hypostyle hall being the central room at the rear of the building. It seems likely, therefore, that the two identical structures on either side of the hall are the focal points of the temple and it is tempting to identify these two structures with the two Šwt-r which are known to have existed within the pr-h'y. It is, however, unlikely that either is the Šwt-r of queen Tiy, since this is not described as being within the pr-h'y and would seem to have been an altogether more complex building than these two areas of the pr-h'y.

Each of the structures consisted of a peristyle court in the centre of which was a concrete platform, on which, as Uphill has suggested, probably stood an altar. Four side rooms opened off this court beyond which was a large open court, containing two kiosks, one of which was never completed. The plan of this part of the pr-h'y has all the major elements of the standard Re-chapel and can, therefore, be identified as a Šwt-r. In addition, blocks from the doorways leading from the hypostyle hall into the Šwt-r show Akhenaten as a lionsphinx, a representation of Re-Horakhty which occurs on unprovenanced blocks, possibly from this building, which do mention a Šwt-r.

The ownership of these two Šwt-r is open to question. One almost certainly belonged to the eldest princess Meretaten. It is mentioned on a statue base, now in the British Museum, to Šwt-r n sit-nsw.... Mrt-ltn.....m pr-h'y n ps ltn m pr ltn m sht-ltn. The name of the princess is original and the statue gives the early forms of the names of the Aten so it would seem fair to assume that this Šwt-r was always intended for Meretaten, rather than having been re-assigned to her on the death, or downfall, of any queen.

The second Šwt-r was, at one time, assigned to Ankhesenpaaten although Hanke has suggested that it belonged, originally, to queen Kia. However, of those inscriptions which mention the Šwt-r of Ankhesenpaaten/Kia quoted by Hanke, only two do not require the restoration of the term Šwt-r. These texts are both on blocks from Hermopolis and both have been wrongly restored, in the past, to give the name of the princess Ankhesenpaaten-ta-sherit. From Roeder's photographs neither of these blocks seem to have been re-worked, al-
though Hanke implies that they were. There is also a third block which gives the name of the šwt-rʿ and the name and titles of the princess in full, leaving no doubt as to the correct restoration of the other two, incomplete texts. This third block has a scene of Akhenaten beneath the rays of the Aten, who is described as being m t3 šwt-rʿ n sāt-nsw n ḫt f mrt f ʿnḫ s-n-p3-liṭn m pr-hʿy n ps liṭn m pr liṭn m šḥt-liṭn.52 This block, although not well preserved, seems not to have been re-worked but, unlike the statue base of Meretaten, bears the later forms of the names of the Aten.

It is possible, therefore, that these two šwt-rʿ were intended from the start to belong to the two princesses, although one may have been originally assigned to a queen.

The importance of a šwt-rʿ as a cult-place is indicated by texts from Amarna and particularly by the Ramesside Papyrus Wilbour.

In one version of a hymn to the Aten šwt-rʿ is used instead of the more usual ḫwt-ntr,53 indicating that, to some extent, the two words were regarded as synonyms. It is also evident that a šwt-rʿ had its own priesthood as both a wʿb-priest 54 and ḫnw-ntr 55 are attested for various šwt-rʿ.

Papyrus Wilbour, while not helping to identify any šwt-rʿ with particular buildings, shows that a šwt-rʿ could own and cultivate land,56 for which an administrative and labouring staff would have been essential. The šwt-rʿ of this papyrus are situated either within a pr of another god57 or are described as being in a particular town.58 One is located within a fortress (? sgr)59 which can be compared with another šwt-rʿ situated within a sḥby.60

A šwt-rʿ, therefore, was a cult-centre of the god Re-Horakhty, which could be situated within a temple dedicated to another god or be a separate temple. The main element of a šwt-rʿ was the large open court with an altar, upon which offerings could be placed61 and to which the sun's rays had direct access. A šwt-rʿ had its own priesthood and staff, although it was, no doubt, under the administrative control of the cult-centre of the chief god of the area.

Although the earliest known reference to a šwt-rʿ is of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is possible that they existed prior to this date. All the surviving examples are of the period from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty, with the exception of one writing from the
temple of Esna in the Roman period, indicating that the term had been in constant use from the New Kingdom onward.

Šwt-r occurs in neither the demotic or Coptic scripts.

1 Urk., IV, 498, 1.
2 Ibid., 1673, 11.
3 Petrie, Tell El-Amarna, pl.XXIV, 76; Janssen, Two Ancient Egyptian Ships Logs, 15, 26 and 27 (omitting ); Spiegelberg, Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres, 57, 10 (transcribed as here, but read as by Fairman in Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten, III, 203, e).
4 Davies, El-Amarna, V, pl.XXX, 15.
5 Roeder, Amarna-Reliefs aus Harmopolis, pl.19 (207-VIII, A); Tawfik, MDAIK 32 (1976), 222, fig.1; Aldred, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, 99, No.13.
7 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VIII, pl.XXIV.
8 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 201, e ( is probably an abbreviated form of the name of the Aten (Fairman, op. cit., III, 169; Peet and Woolley, The City of Akhenaten, I, 167) showing the identification of Re-Horakhty and the Aten.)
9 Peet and Woolley, op. cit., I, pl.LVI (22/273, reverse).
10 Ibid., I, pl.LVI (22/273, obverse).
11 Davies, op. cit., III, pl.VIII (there is also an example, copied as presumably in error; Ibid. cit.).
12 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.LXXVIII, 109 (for ‘nb r’ see note 8 above).
13 Ibid., pl.LXXXVIII, 110.
14 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 70, 12-13 (Erichsen transcribes the initial sign as but Fairman, op. cit., 202, 2, d reads it as ); Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus, I, pls.63, 22; 70, 20; 70, 22; 72, 23, 24; 60, 4 (the last has an additional ); after the .
15 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, VI, pl.427, A.
16 Gardiner, op. cit., I, pl.7 (A, 16, 38); This is the standard spelling of the term in this papyrus, although the signs are often more cursive. See also, Ibid., pls.3 (A, 9, 1); 8 (A, 18, 37); 18 (A, 40, 21); 29 (A, 62, 33); 30, (A, 64, 29); 48 (A, 98, 17); 49
(A, 100, 9).

17 Ibid., I, pls.37 (A, 78, 34); 42 (A, 86, 46); 44 (A, 91, 30).
18 Sauneron, Esna, III, 10, 197, 14.
20 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.
21 Fairman, op. cit., 200-208.
23 Ibid., 165ff.
24 Naville, Deir El-Bahari, I, 1-11; pl.I-VI; PM, II, 362-363; pl.

XXXVI,4 (for the dedication inscriptions on the altar see; Urk.,
IV, 295, 13-16).
25 PM, II, 420; pl.XL, 1 (court XLIII).
26 Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, III, 15, fig.8; PM, II, 509-510; pl.

XLVIII, (rooms 17-19).
27 PM, VII, 99; plan on p.96 (the North chapel).
28 Stadelmann, op. cit., 175-176.
29 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl.

22, 11.
30 Fairman, op. cit., III, 206.
31 Hanke has suggested that this was a šwt-rˁ of Kia as the names
and titles of Nefertiti would not fit into the space now occupied
by the name and title of Meretaten (Hanke, Amarna Reliefs aus Her-
mopolis, 166-168).
32 Peet and Woolley, op. cit., I, 121-122; pls.XXXIV, 1 and 2; LVI,
22/273.
33 Ibid., 122.
34 Davies, El-Amarna, III, pls.VIII-XI. Fairman (op cit., 205) sugg-
ested that šwt-rˁ may have referred only to the small kiosk with
an altar at the rear of the temple (Davies, op. cit., pl.VIII; XI)
as the names and titles of the Aten, described as nb t3 šwt-rˁ n
mwt-nsw hmt-nsw wrt Til, occur over this rear part of the temple.
However, the title of the entire scene is quite explicit; "Con-
ducting the Great Queen, the king’s mother, Tiy, to let (her) see
her šwt-rˁ", it would seem to be more logical to assume that šwt-
rˁ was the name of the entire complex. See also; Stadelmann, op.
cit., 163-164.
35 Fairman, op. cit., 204; Stadelmann, op. cit., 164.
36 Ibid., 165.
37 There seem to be no texts extant which mention a šwt-rᶜ of Nefer-
titi by name, but the boundary stelae state that a šwt-rᶜ of a
queen (name lost) was to be built (Davies, op. cit., V, pls.XXX,
15; XXXII, 17) while a hieratic docket mentions šwt-qn-rᶜ...
.. of the queen...in the south” (Fairman, op. cit., 201, e. See
also; Ibid., pl.LXXXVIII, 108; 109.
38 See note 31 above and note 49 below.
39 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 33ff; pls.XIIIA-XVI. For the identific-
ation of this building with the pr-hᶜ’y see Fairman, op. cit., III,
193-194. The excavators included in the pr-hᶜ’y the buildings be-	ween the main structure and the Royal Road. However, in view of
the true nature of this building, it is more likely that the name
refers only to the temple itself. As Fairman pointed out there is
no direct evidence that the “harem” was regarded as a part of the
pr-hᶜ’y (Ibid., 193-194).
40 Uphill, JNES 29 (1970), 151-166.
41 Assman, JNES 31 (1972), 155.
42 Ibid., 150ff.
43 Uphill, op. cit., 156-160.
44 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 58-59; pls.XIIIB; XIV; XLI; XLII.
45 Uphill, op. cit., 158.
46 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.XLI, 2 and 3.
47 Tawfik, op. cit., 221-222, fig.1; Aldred, loc. cit.
48 British Museum, op. cit., VIII 27-28; pl.XXIV.
49 Hanke, op. cit., 160; Abb.44-45; 48-50. It should be noted that
although some of Hanke’s examples in which he has restored the
name šwt-rᶜ are entirely plausible, it is also possible that an-
other term, such as pr, would be the correct restoration. See
particularly blocks 443-VIII A (Ibid., Abb.48; Roeder, op. cit.,
pl.47); 328-VIII A (Hanke, op. cit., Abb.49; Roeder, op. cit.,
pl.19); 324-VIII C (Hanke, loc. cit.; Roeder, op. cit., pl.53).
50 These are Hermopolis blocks 207-VIII A (Hanke, op. cit., Abb.48;
Roeder, op. cit., pl.19) and 338-VI A (Ibid., pl.148; Hanke, op.
cit., Abb.49).
51 Both have been wrongly restored in the past to read st-nsw n ḫt.f
Mr. Iht-njr n-s-n-p₃ Iht-njr n-s-n-p₃ (Roeder, op. cit., pl. 19; 148; Brunner, ZAS 74 (1938), 106 (block 336-VI A only). Both texts are correctly restored by Hanke (op. cit., Abb. 48; 49) but incompletely, omitting m pr Iht n s Iht-njr.

52 Roeder, op. cit., pl. 55 (450-VII A).
53 Davies, op. cit., I, pl. XXVII.
54 Janssen, op. cit., 15.
55 Loc. cit.; Gardiner, op. cit., I, pls. 70, 20; 72, 23.
56 E.g. Ibid., pl. 7 (A 16, 38); 8 (A, 18, 37); 70 (B, 23, 22); 72 (B, 20, 23-24); et al.
57 In a pr of Amun; Ibid., I, pl. 29 (A, 62, 33); of Seth; Ibid., I, pl. 7 (A, 16, 38); 30 (A, 64, 29).
58 Ninsu; Ibid., I, pls. 3 (A, 9, 1); 70 (B, 23, 20-22); Har speru; pl. 60 (B, 13, 4); Menankh; pls. 42 (A, 86, 46); 44 (A, 91, 30); 46 (A, 98, 17); Shatina; pl. 8 (A, 18, 37); Sako; pl. 37 (A, 78, 34); 49 (A, 100, 9).
59 Ibid., pl. 18 (A, 40, 21).
60 Janssen, loc. cit..
61 The emphasis on offerings with regard to the šwt-r₃ is shown in the following texts which otherwise give no indications as to the function or plan of a šwt-r₃; Urk., IV, 498, 1; Fairman, op. cit., III, 202; Sauneron, loc. cit.
62 Loc. cit.
The earliest known writing of k3rığı, the only example which antedates the Middle Kingdom, occurs in the Pyramid Texts, and refers to a k3rığı in heaven. 29 This writing is determined with the unusual sign which represents a palanquin and more usually determines the noun, rpyt, "a female statue" or "a goddess". 30 This palanquin also figures in scenes of the Sed-festival where it bears the msw-nsw to watch the rituals. 31 The evidence from texts of later periods would make it unlikely that a k3rığı was originally a palanquin, and the use of this determinative can best be understood as an attempt to represent a shrine on carrying poles. In the Nineteenth-Dynasty temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, a shrine, described as a k3rığı, is shown being carried on poles, by four men, 32

This kind of portable shrine was one of the meanings of the term, and it could also be used for the "cabin" of a barque-shrine which was also carried in procession. 33 However, the principal meaning of k3rğı was "naos", the evidence for this being quite conclusive.
There are several Late-Period examples of naos which are actually labelled "k3ri⁵". One is the granite naos provided for the temple of Horus at Edfu, by Nectanebo II, which is described as "a noble k3ri in granite". ³⁴ Another granite naos, of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, is also called a k3ri⁶, as is a naos, made from the rare bzn-stone, found at Koptos and dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty. ³⁶ In addition a Ptolemaic relief from the temple at Tod shows a naos, elevated upon a stepped podium, which is labelled as a k3ri⁶. ³⁷

Although all these examples of naos which can be proved to have been regarded as k3ri⁵ date to the latest periods of Egyptian history, earlier texts also support the view that a k3ri was a naos. Unlike sb-ntr and bm, k3ri does not seem to have been used for an open-ended, stone barque-shrine.

Examples of k3ri are rare before the New Kingdom, although this may not be significant since most building texts which are extant date to the period after the Second Intermediate Period. The earliest writing from the Pyramid Texts has already been noted. From the Middle Kingdom there are several occurrences, only one of which, from the stela of Ikermofret, gives any indication as to the nature of a k3ri. "I fashioned the gods who are in his (Osiris') following, and made their k3ri⁶ (determined with 𓊱) anew." ³⁸ This refers to the shrines of other gods within the Abydene temple of Osiris.

K3ri is also used of the chapel, containing a statue of the deceased, in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan ³⁹, and occurs in the descriptions of temple-building in Papyrus Reisner 1.⁴⁰

From the New Kingdom onwards there are many references to the k3riw of the gods in general which support a translation of "naos". ⁴¹ A typical example is: "His father Re created him to fashion those who are in their k3riw (determined with 𓊱), to provision their altars." ⁴² Other texts give more specific information about particular shrines:

".....k3riw in stone, with 𓊱 doors in true cedar to follow the statues of my majesty". (Inscription of Tuthmosis III at Karnak).

"I made for you (Amon) a secret k3ri from one fine block of granite, 𓊱 doors upon it in copper, worked and engraved with your divine name, your image resting within it like Re in his horizon." (Work of Ramesses III at Thebes).

Usually, as in these two examples, a k3ri was made of stone, but wooden examples are also known to have existed;
"Then the scribe of the army, Oner, sent to him again, saying,
'Send me a kārī of cedar' and the scribe, Sedi, gave him a kārī which
measured two cubits in height." 45 (Tomb-Robbery Papyri).

'I found this pr of Amun fallen into ruin, I erected it as it had been.....I caused his kā to rest as it wished, I made for him a kā(rī)
in cedar." 47 (Twenty-Second Dynasty graffito on the exterior wall of
the temple of Luxor).

Kārī, therefore, unlike other "shrine" terms, seems to have had
a specific meaning, a naos, and to have retained that meaning from the
Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. Surprisingly, perhaps, the term
does not appear in Erichsen's Demoticum Glossar, nor is it found in
Coptic texts.

1 Pyr., 1773c.
2 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 248a.
3 Loco cit., *
4 Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestucke, 71, 6.
5 Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, pl.14A, 32 and 38. For another, damaged,
occurance of kārī in this papyrus, see; Ibid., pl.13A, 6.
6 Urk., VII, 34, 19.
7 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II,
155, 4.
8 Urk., IV, 1350, 12.
9 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text, 44; Chassinat, Edfou,
I, 18 (twice).
10 Urk., IV, 1320, 2.
11 The exact form of the determinative varies. Ibid., IV, 168, 15;
553, 13; Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CXLIII; CXCI;
KRI., I, 58, 13; 126, 3; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.19, c and d.
12 Urk., IV, 1341, 16.
13 Ibid., IV, 1674, 1; KRI., V, 226, 13.
14 Ibid., IV, 445, 3.
15 Ibid., IV, 1341, 16.
16 KRI., I, 186, 16; 187, 1; 188, 4; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5,
8; 6, 5; 6, 8; 7, 4; 30, 14; 52, 12.
17 The exact form of the determinative varies. KRI., I, 42, 5; Chicago
University, Oriental Institute, Med. Habu, III, pl.138, 45
(wrongly quoted by Wh., V, 108, 3, as; pl.138, 55); Naville, op.
18 Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 47, 9; Erichsen, *op. cit.*, 50, 17; 67, 4.


21 Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 14 (1893), 34, LV, e, 4-5.

22 Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.* 19 (1897), 95-96, B, 1 (the same term also occurs in line 3, without the divine determinative).

23 Piankoff, *Rev. d'Ég.* 1 (1933), 164.


27 Chassinat, *op. cit.*, II, 23, 112.


29 *Pyr.*, 1773c.


31 E.g., Kaiser, *Beiträge Bf.*, 12, Festschrift Ricke, *Falttafel* 4, top register; 5, lower two registers; Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XXVI, B.

32 Mariette, *op. cit.*, II, pl.19, c.

33 E.g., Spiegelberg, *loc. cit.*; Sauneron, *loc. cit.*.

34 Chassinat, *op. cit.*, I, 18 (twice). For the form of the naos see; *Ibid.*, 9, fig.2.

35 Piankoff, *loc. cit.*. For the form of the naos see; *Ibid.*, pl.VIII.

36 Lebrail, *loc. cit.*. For a photograph of this naos see; Roeder, *op. cit.*, pl.15.

37 Champollion, *loc. cit.*.

38 Sethe, *loc. cit.*.

39 *Urk.*, VII, 34, 19. For a plan of the tomb see; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl.XXIII.

40 Simpson, *op. cit.*, pl.13A, 6; 14A, 32 and 38.

41 E.g., *Urk.*, IV, 130, 16; 1320, 2; *KRI.*, I, 42, 5; 126, 3; 187, 1; 186, 16; V, 116, 10; 226, 13; Gardiner, *loc. cit.*; Erichsen, *op. cit.*, 7, 4; 50, 17.
42 Urk., IV, 553, 13.
43 Ibid., IV, 168, 15. Barguet, Temple, 124, identifies these k3riw with the side-chapels of Tuthmosis III in the Northern court, behind the Sixth Pylon (PM., II, 92-93; pl.XI.).
44 Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 8 (similarly, for Re, Ibid., 30, 14; and for Ptah, Ibid., IV, 52, 12).
45 Peet, loc. cit..
46 See writing No. 21 above.
47 Daressy, loc. cit..
The *Wörterbuch* distinguished two terms; *t3*, translated as "door, gate, in temple" and *t3yt* "door in temple". It would seem, however, to be unlikely that more than one term is involved since the writings and apparent meanings are so similar.

This term is used in temple descriptions only rarely and not prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty, although its earlier meaning can be surmised since other words with the stem *t3* are connected with weaving and woven garments. A temple-*t3yt* was probably, originally, some kind of curtain or screen of woven reeds. The Nineteenth-Dynasty *t3yt* from the temple of Seti I at Abydos, are described as being made of gold so these must, clearly, have been more solid objects. Likewise the example of the term from Papyrus Harris I refers to the *t3yt* of a *st wrt* as being "of gold like the two *iwy* of heaven." This text would seem to suggest that a *t3yt*, determined here with the → sign, was a gilded, wooden double-door.

The hieroglyphic sign  
was used from the Old Kingdom onwards in the title of the Vizier, and as a determinative of words with the stem *t3*, but the exact interpretation of the sign is open to question. Gardiner regards it as a "gateway (?) surmounted by protecting serpents," while Habachi sees it as an attempt to depict both the plan and the facade of a hall. The taller version of the sign which figures in three of the four known writings, is also found as a determinative of *sbbt*, a screening-porch in front of an entrance, and it is interesting to note that these two terms are used in parallel in descriptive epithets of a Vizier: "A *sbbt* of Amun, a *t3yt* in the time of the Lord-of-All." It is tempting to suggest that a *t3yt* served a similar function to a *sbbt* and was also some kind of screening-device.

Screen-walls, surmounted by friezes of uraei, are found in Egyptian architecture, particularly in connection with the Window-
Appearances, and in Graeco-Roman temples, although it cannot be proved that tšt was ever actually applied to such walls.

The tšt in Papyrus Harris I could have been a gilded, wooden, double-doored screen which stood before a shrine (at wrt), perhaps even enclosing it like the gilded "shrines" from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

1  KRI, I, 133, 3; 134, 7.
2  Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XCII, 1, verso, 10 (Ost. Gardiner, 303).
3  Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 50, 16.
4  Chassinat, Edfou, I, 18.
5  Wb., V, 230, 15. One of the references quoted is; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl. 19, a. The writing is given in Wb., Belegstellen, V, 43, as šš, which does not, in fact, occur on the plate quoted and seems to be the result of confusion between writings of šš and šš.
6  Wb., V, 231, 10.
7  Ibid., V, 231-233.
8  KRI, I, 133, 3; 134, 7.
9  Erichsen, loc. cit.
10  See, Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc. 4, 23.
11  Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.16.
12  Loc. cit.; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 293.
13  Gardiner, loc. cit.
14  Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 503.
15  See šššt, above, p. 227ff.
16  Černy and Gardiner, loc. cit.
17  E.g., at Amarna, Davies, El-Amarna, I, pl.XXV; III, pl.XIII; and at Medinet Habu, Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, III, pl. 4.
18  E.g., Jéquier, L'Architecture, III, pls. 25 (Edfu); 37 (Kom Ombo); 56 (Denderah); 72 (Esna).
The Wörterbuch dates this term to the Graeco-Roman period only. However, Ösing has suggested that the first writing quoted above, which comes from the Nineteenth Dynasty Anastasi Papyrus III, is an early example of tw₃.

The passage in question is badly damaged but concerns work carried out in the royal workshops, among which are:

Caminos interpreted this as "dwt of willow-wood of the three great doors". Ösing, however, has demonstrated that the second word is not tr₃ "willow-wood" but tri "door" and he prefers to take tw₃-tri as a compound noun meaning "Tür-Pfosten". Such a compound would seem to have been an illogical choice for "door-jambs" since either bn₃w or htri(w) would have been preferable and both terms were in use in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Ösing suggested that the compound tw₃-tri could be compared to the use of a compound htri-sb₃, meaning "door-jamb" which occurs in Papyrus Harris I. This compound does not, in fact, exist, the examples in this papyrus being all writings of "the door-frames (htriw) and the door-leaves (sb₃w)", where both elements were made of the same material. The order of the two terms could also be reversed, and the separate identities of htr and sb₃ are confirmed from other passages where the two are made of different materials. It is, therefore, most unlikely that tw₃-tri is a compound noun and it is probably to be interpreted in the same way, as "the tw₃-columns and the tri-doors."

Since tri could be used of any of the elements which went to make up a door it is possible that these triw are "door-leaves". The tw₃w could, therefore, be the "door-jambs" although either bn₃w or htriw would have been preferable.

In the Graeco-Roman temples tw₃ is used as a general noun for a column, a logical development from the etymological origin of the term in tw₃ "to raise up, to support".
Ösing also proposed that tw3 be regarded as the ancestor of the Coptic ṭoγα "door-post" or "lintel" refuting the suggestion of Fecht that ṭoγα originated in an, as yet unfound, compound *tpy-.

The recognition of tw3 in Anastasi III pushes back the known history of the term to the Nineteenth Dynasty although it would seem to have changed slightly in meaning between then and the Graeco-Roman period.

1 Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 30, 12 (P. An. III, verso, 1, 8).
2 Dümichen, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, pl.XXXVIII, 5 (Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.7, b gives ḫ for the second sign).
4 Dümichen, *op. cit.*, pl.XV, 4.
5 Wb., V, 250, 19.
6 Ösing, *Nominalbildung*, 635.
7 Gardiner, *loc. cit.*
8 Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 107.
9 Ösing, *loc. cit.*, see also tri, note 22 below, p.283.
10 Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 5, 10; 9, 16; 94, 8.
11 Ibid., 6, 7; 10, 11.
12 Ibid., 68, 13-14; 70, 2.
13 See below, tri, p. 281ff.
14 Dümichen, *op. cit.*, pl.XV, 4; XXXVIII, 5; De Witt, *loc. cit.*
15 Wb., V, 248-250.
16 Ösing, *op. cit.*, 143; 634-637.
18 Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, 103-104, 194. Both suggestions for the etymology of ṭoγα are noted by Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 251, but ṭoγα is omitted from Černý's *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. 
The *Wörterbuch* translates *tp-hwt* as "der Dach" and this meaning is in no doubt. Originally, presumably, the term would have described only the roof of a temple (*hwt*) and this is its most usual meaning in Egyptian texts, although it could also be used for the roof of other types of buildings. In the Admonitions, *tp-hwt* refers to the roof of a private house, and in the new Kamose stela *tp-hwt* describes the roof of the palace (?) at Avaris. The *tp-hwt* of another palace (') is attested on a New Kingdom stela as is the *tp-hwt* of a storehouse on a Ramesside papyrus.

Most often, however, *tp-hwt* describes the roof of a temple, and it is as such that it first occurs in the Abusir Papyri and on the Palermo Stone, both of the Fifth Dynasty.

In the Abusir Papyri *tp-hwt* is used for the roof of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare. As such it was one of the places included in the duty-rota for the priests of the temple "those who are on watch (on) the *tp-hwt*." On the Palermo Stone are the first indications of the existence of chapels dedicated to the god Re on the roofs of temples of other gods. This would seem to have been quite a common practice and is particularly well-attested for the temple of Amun at Karnak. This chapel seems to have been called a *ḥwt-ḥr*, and it is possible that the other roof-chapels dedicated to Re were given the same name.

*Tp-hwt* has also been found in texts which describe other temples. In the Sesostris Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut the *ḥwt-ḥr* of the Lady of Cusae is described as being in ruin, "the earth had swallowed up its noble *ḥn*, and children danced on its *tp-hwt*." Similarly, in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Taharqa found the temple of Amun at Kawa in disrepair, the sand-drifts having accumulated up to the level of the
tp-hwt.  

The term may occur in the demotic script but does not seem to recur in Coptic.

Tp-hwt was used for the roof of a building, particularly a temple, from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, and does not seem to have had any other meaning.

1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pls.IIIA, e; VA, a, 1; XIA, i; Gardiner, Admonitions, 13, 3; Le grain, Statues et Statuettes, III, 32, 2.
2 Urk., IV, 244, 3; 248, 1; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.XIIA, e; XIVA, B; LXXVIIA, B.
3 Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose, pl.VI, abb.12, 8; Mariette, Denderah, IV, pl.2.
4 Benedite, Tomben de Neferhotepu, pl.III, upper register; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 2, 2; Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostrakes, I, pl.XLV, 4, 5; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Subastite Portal, pl.22, 11; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 513; Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 33, 5; Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl.12, 16.
5 Urk., IV, 386, 6; 1760, 7.
6 Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Antichita Egizie, I, 491; Macadam, op. cit., I, pl.8, 11.
7 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XII (Amenemope, 6, 3).
8 Le grain, op. cit., III, 80, f, 3; Mariette, Monuments Divers, pl.47, B.
9 Id., Denderah, IV, pls.7; 9; 10; Brugsch, Thesaurus, 539.
10 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 549.
11 Wb., III, 2, 1; V, 290, 9-18.
12 Gardiner, Admonitions, 13, 3.
13 Habachi, loc. cit.
14 Schiaparelli, loc. cit.
15 Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 37, 1. The Wörterbuch (V, 290, 11) quotes Simuhe B.19 as an example of tp-hwt to describe the roof of a fortress. However other variants of the text have tp lnbw which is probably to be preferred (Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, 12; Barns, The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Simuhe, recto, 16).
16 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.VA, a, 1; XIA, i;
XIII, e; XIVA, B; LXXVIII, B. See also; Posener-Krieger, Archives Neferirkare, 510-511.
17 Posener-Krieger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl. IIIA, e.
18 Urk., I, 244, 3; 248, 1.
19 Spiegelberg, Rec. de Trav. 35, (1913), 38; El-Sayed, BIFAO 78 (1978), 462-463; Legrain, loc. cit.; Faulkner, loc. cit.; Černý and Gardiner, loc. cit.; Mariette, Monuments Divers, pl. 47, B.
20 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit. See further, šwt-r, above p. 261.
21 Benedite, loc. cit.; Mariette, Denderah; IV, pls. 2; 7; 9; 10; Chassinat, op. cit., I, 549.
22 Urk., IV, 386, 6.
23 Macadam, op. cit., pls. 8; 11; 12, 16.
24 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 627 (tp-h).
Tri seems to have been first used in the reign of Ramesses II, to describe doors at Thebes. In one case the word is found in the plural but, as it is followed by the dual adjective wrty, it is presumably to be understood as a dual. Plantikow-Munster, following Yoyotte, identified these two tri as the doorways leading from the outer hall to the inner hall of the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II at the back of the temple of Amun at Karnak. This text certainly refers to the Eastern Temple but the suggested identification for the tri remains open to doubt. They are described as being "great, of electrum, their beauty joining with the sky," and it is, perhaps, more likely that such a description would refer to the great gilded doors at the main entrance to the temple rather than to minor doorways within the building. This is also suggested by the fact that the description of the tri comes between that of the gardens and that of the flagstaffs, both of which would be more closely associated with the main entrance than with inner doorways. The use of the dual and also the material of which the tri are made imply that it is the door-leaves which are being described.

Another inscription of the same reign, however, uses the same word for an entire doorway. This text notes the meeting of the knbt-council at the 'rtyt of Pharaoh, in the Southern City (Thebes) beside "hrw-ib hr M3t, the great tri of Ramesses-Miamun." This gateway, the precise location of which is unknown, is also mentioned in another text where it is called a sb3, indicating that sb3 and tri were interchangeable at this date. In such a context tri is unlikely to have referred to the door-leaves alone.

In Papyrus Harris I most of the occurrences of tri can be best
be translated as "door-leaves" since htrwy and wmt are used to describe the door frames and the trlw are made of wood, decorated with precious metals.17 However in the same papyrus tr'l is also used of the door frames. For example, the description of work of Ramesses III in the temple of Amun speaks of trlw of granite with sb3w and htrwy in gold,18 sb3w, in this case, being used for the door-leaves.19 A similar example is found in the temple of Medinet Habu where the trlw were of gold inlaid with precious stones while the door-leaves were decorated with km-t-gold.20

A final example of trl used to mean an entire doorway occurs in the story of the Two Brothers where the blood of the bull falls beside the two door jambs (bnšw, qv'y.) of his majesty, "one on each side of the great trl of Pharaoh."21 Other occurrences of the word may also be for the doorway, rather than the door-leaves.22

Kitchen has suggested that trl is a loan-word from West Semitic dl 23 which would explain the relatively late appearance of the word, in the Nineteenth Dynasty and the varied syllabic writings. With the possible exception of one text, trl is used only for monumental doors in either temples or palaces and was probably restricted in use to these large, highly decorated doors.

Like sb3, trl could be used for the entire doorway, the frame or the leaves,25 so each occurrence of trl will have to be judged on its context. Trl does not occur in either demotic or Coptic.

1 Plantikow-Münster, ZAS 95 (1969), 119, abb.1, b, 6.
2 Erman, ZAS 17 (1879), 72; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 8; 50, 12; 67, 1; 67, 13; 68, 4.
3 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 12.
4 Kitchen, JEA 60 (1974), 173, fig.1, 4.
5 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 13; 27, 1.
6 Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, II, 53, d, 4.
7 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl. XVII, 11.
8 Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 1; 6, 6.
9 KRI, V, 74, 4.
10 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 17, 5.
11 Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 128, notes z and dd.
12 Yoyotte, Kemi 14 (1957), 88.
Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 128, note dd. For the situation of these two doors see; Barguet, ASAE 50 (1950), 270, C and D; PM II, pl.XVIII, M. Yoyotte, (loc. cit.) also included as one of the trīw "the Upper Gate", the main entrance to the temple (Barguet, op. cit., 270, A).

Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 119, abb.1, b, 6.

Eman, loc. cit.

Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 39, 2; Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 148.

Erichsen, op. cit., 67, 1; 67, 13; 68, 4. Other examples where trī is probably used for door-leaves include; ibid., 4, 8; 6, 1; 50, 12; Legrain, loc. cit.; Kitchen, loc. cit. For a discussion of trī in Papyrus Harris I see; Christophe, Melanges Maspero, I, fasc. 4, 23, III, b.

Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 6.

See ibid p.222. One final occurrence of trī in Papyrus Harris I is problematical since, among the door parts, it lists ḫtrw, wmt, sb3w and trīw (Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 12).

KRI, V, 74, 4. For ktm, a kind of gold, see; Harris, Minerals, 37-38.

Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 13; 27, 1.

Hamada, loc. cit.; Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.17, 10 (this is the curious spelling א which Gardiner (Ibid., 38, note 2) takes to be a writing of trī. If so this is the only example where trī does not refer to a monumental door. One final, damaged, writing of trī may occur in P. Anastasi III (Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 12). This was taken by Caminos (Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 106) to be for trī "willow-wood" but this has been refuted by Ösing (Nominalbildung, 635) who prefers to see this as a writing of a compound dw3w-trī, meaning "door-posts". See further under twi p.276.

Kitchen, op. cit., 170.

See note 22 above.

For the dictionary entry for trī see; Wb., V, 318, 14-17.
Dyn. XVIII

This word is known from only one text, on a granite block from the sanctuary of Tuthmosis III in the temple of Amun at Karnak. The inscription records benefactions of the king to the god consisting of building projects within the temple and also gifts to the temple treasury.

Unfortunately this interesting text is badly preserved and it is not possible to be certain to which parts of the temple the inscription refers. The line immediately before that which mentions the t3 columns gives the name of the door of the Sixth Pylon 4Imn t3 kft. After a break in the text, the relevant line is;

Nims, who first published the complete text, translated this as; "a great spacious hall, t3-pillars of sandstone, inlaid with electrum and costly stone ...." and originally identified this wsbt with one of the two courts to the north and south of the sanctuary, the columns of which are papyriform clusters. However, later, Nims decided that this passage did in fact refer to the "festival hall" of Tuthmosis III at Karnak in which case the t3-pillars would be the formalized stone tent-poles which are peculiar to this hall.

It is impossible to identify this hall at Karnak with any degree of certainty. As well as the festival hall, Tuthmosis III created the courts with the papyriform cluster colonnades on either side of the Sixth Pylon and also changed the plan of the hall of Tuthmosis I between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons. The description of the hall as a wsbt t3 w3-dyt could well fit the last of these which is elsewhere described variously as a lwnt, a wsht and a w3-dyt. The exact meaning of w3-dyt as an adjective is unclear. Nims' translation gives "spacious", unless this is a reflection of the "breadth" of the wsbt, in which case he leaves w3-dyt untranslated. A parallel to this is found on a stela of Sebekhotep IV, also from Karnak, in which mention is made of work carried out m wsht w3-dyt nt hwt-ntr tn. Helck, who published the text translated wsht w3-dyt as "Saalenhalle" but, since this must have referred to a part of the now-destroyed Middle-Kingdom temple, it
is impossible to identify the hall. If wdyt in these two cases reflects the fact that the halls were columned, then one would have little hesitation in identifying the waḥt 'at wdyt of Tuthmosis III with the hall of Tuthmosis I, as was suggested by Barguet who gave a copy, in footnote, of the sentence: waḥt 'at wdyt setDefault in rwḥt which he translated as "grande salle (ou cou) à colonnes.... en pierre de gres." However this would mean that setDefault would have to refer to the single-stem papyriform columns of this hall, which is hardly satisfactory since these were elsewhere called waw and the three determinatives of the setDefault-columns, although indistinct in form, have "closed" capitals.

This feature of the setDefault could correspond to either of the sets of papyrus cluster columns behind the Fifth and Sixth Pylons or to the tent-pole columns of the festival hall. The former type is elsewhere called waw and nhbt so that one would hesitate to suggest that this one column-form could have had a third name, setDefault.

On the other hand one would have expected the tent-pole columns to have been called setDefault since this was the name of the original wooden columns which were reproduced in stone in the festival hall and, in fact, a dedication inscription on one of these columns reads; As reproduced in Urkunden IV these signs are clearly setDefault-columns although it is possible, if improbable, that these ideograms were to be read as setDefault rather than setDefault.

Probably setDefault was an alternative name for the tent-pole columns of the festival hall. This would explain why the word has not been found elsewhere as these columns were unique in Egyptian stone architecture.

1 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A Wilson, fig.7, x+3.
2 Ibid., 69-74.
3 Ibid., fig.7, x+2.
4 Ibid., fig.7, x+3.
5 Ibid., 70, II, (3); 71, note d.
6 Ibid., 72, II; PM, II, 92-97; pls.XI, VI; XII, VI; Barguet, Temple, 115-136. For photographs of these columns see Jequier, Architecture, I, pl.48, 1.
7 Nims, Beiträge Bf. 12, Festschrift Rieck, 107, note 3.
8 PM, II, 110-111; pls.XII, 2; XIII, 1; Barguet, op.cit., 167-182; For photographs of these columns see; Jequier, Architecture, I,
For a detailed description of the building projects of Tuthmosis III in the Amun temple see; Borchardt, *Baugeschichte*, 21-33.

See the separate entries for each of these words.


Helck, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 199, n; pl. XVII.

ibid., 196.

Barguet, op. cit., 54. Barguet reproduces the determinatives of t3w as 3 columns.

See under each entry.

Urk., IV, 857.17. The forms of these columns are depicted more accurately in the determinative of the word hRt-iR (Urk., IV, 856.8 and note c.) which was used to describe the festival hall itself, see above p. 192ff.

There remains the possibility that the t3 sign is an ancient error on the part of either the scribe who composed the text or the mason who transferred it to the wall of the temple. If the sign were to be omitted altogether then the three columns could be taken as the determinatives of w3dyt, indicating the unusual column-type involved.
The earliest occurrence of this term is of the reign of Merenptah, on the Israel stela, where messengers are described as being sheltered from the heat of the sun by the temw(t)". 19 In the Cnomasticon, "temw occurs between the two major "wall" words, abty and hnb, suggesting that it was, in itself, a prominent feature. This writing is in the singular form as is another writing in the Pianchi stela which
has the curious determinative — . "Tefnakhte is telling his troops that they will be safe in Memphis; "— sbty, a great ðm(t) has been built, constructed with skillful workmanship." Later in the same dynasty, Montuemhat records the rebuilding of the sbty of the temple of Amun at Karnak, including the re-erection, in brick, of ðmwt which have fallen to the ground.

Finally, ðm(t), again in the singular form, occurs on a stela of the Roman period, describing work carried out at Luxor for the emperor Tiberius. Traunecker has pointed out that the Roman wall at Luxor did have bastions.

The balance of the evidence would seem to support the suggestion that ðm(t) should be translated as "bastion".

1 Spiegelberg, ZAS 34 (1896), 8, 3.
2 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 66, 18; 68, 13; 94, 7-8.
3 Ibid., 67, 12; 68, 4.
4 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XIIA, 6, 1.
5 Wreszinski, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 13 (1910), pl.III, 10 (after p.387).
6 Urk., III, 31, 3.
7 Ibid., III, 29, 15.
8 Daressy, ASAE 19 (1919), 165.
9 Erichsen, op. cit., 66, 18.
10 Ibid., 68, 13.
11 Ibid., 67, 12.
12 Ibid., 68, 4.
13 Ibid., 94, 7-8.
14 Hölsscher, Exc. Med. Habu, IV, 1-3; pl.2.
16 Urk., III, 31, 3.
17 Traunecker, Karnak V, 151-152.
18 Ibid., 151, note 5.
19 Spiegelberg, loc. cit.
20 Gardiner, op. cit., pl.XIIA, 6, 1.
21 The form of this determinative has been checked on the stela in the Cairo Museum and resembles that given in Urk., III, 29, 15, Mariette, Monuments Divers, pl.4, 86 has — while De Rouge, Chrestomathie, IV, 47 gives appid.
22 Urk., III, 29, 15.
23 Wreszinski, loc. cit..
24 Daressy, loc. cit.
Tkrw is only known from Papyrus Harris I where it occurs, always in the plural, in association with ʿrwt and ʿswt as parts of an enclosure wall (sby). That of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is described as having only ʿrwt and tkrw (of sandstone), while the other temples have ʿswt as well. As has been noted above the outer enclosure wall at Medinet Habu which had turrets straddling the wall and fortified gates at the entrance, was faced with sandstone.

Since ʿrt comes from a stem which means "to climb" this term was probably applied to the turrets on the top of the wall, while tkrw, from a semitic stem meaning "to lock" referred to the gates at the entrance to the enclosure.

1 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 11; 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 4; 68, 13.
2 Ibid., 4, 11.
3 Ibid., 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 4; 68, 13.
4 See ʿrt, p.39.
6 Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend V. Chr., 525, No.297; Burchardt, Fremdworte und Eigennamen, II, 59, 1172.
The first point to note concerning ḏḏḏ, is that the writings quoted above may not all be variants of the same term. The earliest example, occurs on a granite doorway from Qantir. The door was, apparently, first erected and inscribed by Amenemhat I and was re-inscribed later in the same dynasty, by Sesostris III. Two identical texts of the latter king, on the jambs, read: "He made as his monument, the erecting of the ṣb of the ḏḏḏ ṣw of Amenemhat, by renewing that which his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre, had made."

Unfortunately, the noun ḏḏḏ ṣw is, on both jambs, inscribed over the joins between the lintel and the jambs, and is, therefore, badly damaged, so that the form of the determinative cannot be confirmed from the photograph. Habachi reads the word as ḏḏḏ ṣw, and identifies the building as a "palace", since the doorway does not have either the name of, or a dedicatory inscription to, any god. Bietak trans-literates the term, wrongly, as ḏḏḏ ṣw, and equates it with the noun for a "Beratungs oder Audienzhalle" in the palace.

The building in question has not been excavated since the greater part of it lies under a modern village, but a brick wall, three metres thick, led off from either side of the doorway, and limestone blocks were found in the vicinity, one of which showed the king and, presumably, Seshat participating in a foundation ceremony. A statue of Amenemhat I, which describes him as "beloved of Ba-neb-djed" is also said to have been found "lying not far from the stones of the door". The block with the foundation ceremony might suggest that ḏḏḏ Amenemhat was a temple, or a shrine within a temple enclosure,
but the determinative used, and the absence of a deity on the door-
way would tend to support Habachi's view that this building was of
a secular rather than a religious nature.

It is possible, therefore, that this example of ḏḏḏā ought to be
distinguished from the others which refer to temple-buildings. The
problem could only be satisfactorily resolved if the Qantir building
were to be excavated, and its true nature revealed.

Although the remaining examples of ḏḏḏā are all identifiable as
religious structures, few can be actually related to any known build-
ings. The earliest writing from the New Kingdom occurs on a stela of
king Ahmose. "He (made) as his monument, a ḏḏḏā anew, for his father
Monthu..." 23 Despite the unusual order of the various elements in
this sentence (a more usual order would be; ḫr n.f m mnw.f n ḫt.f
Mntw..... ḏḏḏā) there can be no doubt that the ḏḏḏā is the building
which has been constructed. This stela is unprovenanced but the fact
that the ḏḏḏā is dedicated to "Monthu, Lord of Thebes, who is in the
midst of (hry-īb) Armant", would suggest that Armant was its original
provenance. One block of Ahmose has been found in the temple at
Armant 24 and three pieces of limestone relief-work, showing Ahmose
offering to Monthu, were re-used in the construction of the Banqueum.
These blocks may come from the ḏḎḎ of Ahmose, or from the temple to
which the ḏḎḎ was attached.

Barguet, who has discussed the meaning of this term in some detail,
considers that a ḏḏḏā is a "colonnade" erected before the entrance
to a temple, such as those of Taharqa at Karnak. 26 The evidence would
certainly seem to suggest that a ḏḏḏā was a separate structure sit-
uated outside of the main temple building. It is often linked with
processions of the god 27 and could be positioned on the side of a
channel, sacred lake 29 or quay. 30

The only real description of a ḏḏḏā comes from the Nineteenth-
Dynasty inscription of Bakenkhons, concerning the Eastern Temple of
Ramesses II at Karnak. "Erected obelisks in it (hwtntr) in granite,
their beauty reaching up to heaven, a ḏḏḏā in front of it (hwtntr)
in stone, in front of (m [h]f [t]hr n) Thebes." 31 From this descrip-
tion it can be assumed that the ḏḏḏā stood before the entrance to
the temple, on the site now occupied by the colonnade of Taharqa. 32

One can only assume that it was some kind of kiosk or peripteral
chapel.
Although Barguet is convinced that the Taharqa "colonnades" are **ddaw** there is no evidence for this in the texts of the colonnades themselves, so that this identification must remain a matter of speculation. Barguet is not the only writer to have discussed the nature of **ddaw**, although none have reached any definite conclusions as to the appearance and function of these structures.  

The evidence that does exist would suggest that a **ddaw** was an edifice within a temple's environs but separate from the main temple-building, and often situated by the side of a canal or lake where it served as a resting-place for the image of the god when in procession. It would, therefore, seem to be most likely that **ddaw** was a term for a peripteral chapel.

Despite its frequent use in Ptolemaic, hieroglyphic texts, **ddaw** does not appear to have been employed in the contemporary demotic texts. Less surprisingly, it does not recur in Coptic.

1 Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 451; pl.IV.
2 Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, I, pl.1, 1.
3 Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), pl.XA, 8, 1.
7 Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 62, 12.
10 Barguet, *Le Papyrus N.3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, 20, 1; 20, 7; 22, 1.
11 Chassinat, *Edfou*, V, 350, 6; 351, 1; Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 266-267, takes this to be for **ddaw** (also writing 12). However, see Gardiner, *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 74.
12 Dümichen, *Bauwerke der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, pl.XVII, depicts the bird as **r** as does Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 365. However, Mariette, *Denderah*, I, pl.62, g, h and i, shows the bird as a **q**, and this is followed by Alliot, *loc. cit.* These writings are, unfortunately, in the part of the temple not yet re-published by Chassinat.
14 Habachi, op. cit., 448-458.
15 Ibid., pl.III,
16 Ibid., pl.IV.
17 Ibid., 455; pl.IV.
18 Bietak, Tell El-Dab'a, II, 37.
20 Habachi, op. cit., pl.VII, A.
21 Ibid., 453; pl.V.
22 Ibid., 452.
23 Stewart, loc. cit.. Stewart reads 𓊕𓊨𓊑𓊠𓊩𓊗 as 𓊖𓊤𓊤𓊳𓊭 and translates it as "this edifice" (Ibid., 1, 1, note 2).
24 Mond and Myers, Temples of Armant, I, 172; II, pl.C, 6.
25 Id., The Bucheum, II, 50; III, pl.LIV, 46 (the reliefs each have a vertical dedicatory-text of which only //n.f m mnw.f// remains.)
26 Barguet, Temple, 301-302; Id., Le Papyrus N.3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre, 39-41.
27 Brugsch, Reise nach der Grossen Oase El-Kharga, pl.XXII, 9; Barguet, op. cit., 20, 1; 20, 7; 22, 1; Mariette, loc. cit.. See further; Alliot, loc. cit..
28 Hayes, loc. cit..
29 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 7.
30 Sauneron, loc. cit.. See further, Id., Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna, 343, note (1).
31 Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit..
32 PM., II, 208ff; pl.XVIII.
33 Cf., for example; Yoyotte, Kêmi 14 (1957), 86, note 4, which gives a summary of the opinions of earlier writers; Sauneron, loc. cit.; Alliot, loc. cit.; Hayes, op. cit., 36, note 1.
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