A Bookish Burial: Kings, Scribes, and the Amduat Catalogue

1. Introduction

The Writing of the Hidden Chamber (*sḫꜣ n ꜥt ỉmnt*), commonly termed the Amduat, is attested as a "long" series of twelve tableaux of texts and pictures and as a "short" unillustrated summary. Alongside these two versions is a tabular catalogue, which is attested only as painted wall decoration in the pillared hall adjoining the burial chamber in the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34), and which calls to mind ancient and well-known means of condensing information that could otherwise be elaborated in longer texts or combined pictorial-verbal compositions. The catalogue has received little attention in comparison to the long and short versions of the Amduat.[1]

The Amduat is part of a larger corpus of underworld books. These cosmographic compositions are often mined for details of religious ideas and iconography, and for the light they shed on evolving religious traditions. Such treatments usually characterize the Amduat catalogue as a summary of the long version. Textual-critical analyses seldom treat it at length, and its terseness impedes philological analysis.[2] I approach its relationship with specific sources and processes of transmission through visual features instead: transformations of images between the long version and catalogue, across the statuses of phonogram, logogram, determinative, and picture; as well as general aspects of format and layout. These features are grounded in the social context of the Amduat.

Incorporating issues of materiality and landscape, I then address possible motivations of users and makers by considering aspects of travel, historical consciousness, and aesthetic experience. Rather than being a mere accident of preservation, the catalogue in KV 34 may relate to the overall conceptualization of that tomb. This goes beyond religious concepts of manifesting underworlds through tomb architecture and decorative programs.[3] As a social space and historical site, the tomb may have been part of royal self-presentation strategies aligned with scribal identity and values.

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[1] The most extensive treatments remain Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963–1976), and Erik Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, 3 vols. (Genève: Éditions Belles-Lettres, 1987–1994). A convenient overview is John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manassa Darnell, *The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books* (Atlanta: SBL, 2018). The most focused treatment of the catalogue is Colleen Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14 (2013): 47–68.

[2] Hartwig Altenmüller, "Zur Überlieferung des Amduat," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 20 (1967–1968): 27–42; Peter Jürgens, "Das Stemma des Amduat nach den Textzeugen des Neuen Reiches," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 27 (1999): 141–71; Daniel Werning, "An Interpretation of the Stemmata of the Books of the Netherworld in the New Kingdom: Tomb Decoration and the Text Additions for Osiris NN," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists: Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004*, eds. Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 1935–49, https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00003857.

[3] Selected studies: Winfried Barta, "Zur Stundenanordnung des Amduat in den ramessidischen Königsgräbern," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 31, nos. 3–6 (1974): 197–201; Barbara Richter, "The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 44 (2008): 73–104.

2. Lists and Scenes

The Amduat describes the sun-god's nightly journey through the underworld and list the inhabitants of its various regions, most comprehensively in the twelve tableaux of the long version. The descriptions probably originated in the Middle Kingdom solar cult, whose initiates could access and consult it.[4] It was secondarily adapted to mortuary contexts so that deceased people could join the sun-god.[5] Although the short version that briefly describes the activities of the sun-god in each hour of the night is explicitly termed a summary or abstract (*sḫwy*) of the long version, the catalogue should not be seen as a complementary pictorial conspectus. Comparing the layout and content of the long version and catalogue suggests that shared types of source material were transformed in different ways.

18th Dynasty copies of the Amduat employ linear hieroglyphs and "stick figures" in red and black ink on a pale wash background with pink and white detailing, evoking a manuscript unrolled across the walls. In the long Amduat, rows of labelled figures are arranged in registers, interposed with lengthier captions to individual figures or groups. Descriptions of whole hours are written between and above the tableaux.

The catalogue is a set of tables.[6] That it is not one very lengthy table is seen from the titles in a central horizontal band, marking out sections and indicating the contents of each, for example "names of the gods who are in the secret cavern of Sokar-upon-his-sand" (*rnw nw nṯrw ỉmw qrrt štȝt nt skr-ḥry-šʿ(y)=f*) for figures from the fifth hour.[7] Parts of the catalogue were probably transmitted separately because it would have been unwieldy to have them all on a single manuscript for consultation, as has been suggested for the long Amduat.[8] Above the central band are three registers of vertical rectangular cells. Each contains a star and a censer. Below the central band are another three registers, where each cell is divided in half by a horizontal line. Generally, the upper half contains the name of a deity while the lower half contains its image next to a censer. The order of figures largely corresponds to that in the long version (see further discussion below), emphasizing the importance of the twelve-hour structure.

Possible traces of source materials are the vertical dividers that separate groups of figures in the long version as found on the burial chamber walls of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II (KV 35), and

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[4] Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1970); Edward Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41, no. 3 (1982): 161–79. Other proposed dates range from the Old Kingdom to the early New Kingdom: Joachim Quack, review of *Pfortenbuchstudien*, by Jürgen Zeidler. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 57, nos. 5–6 (2000): 546–59, https://doi.org/10.2143/BIOR.57.5.2015787; Daniel Werning, "Linguistic Dating of the Netherworld Books Attested in the New Kingdom: A Critical Review," in *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, eds. Gerald Moers et al. (Hamburg: Widmaier, 2013), 274, https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00003833.

[5] Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 36–41.

[6] Paul Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1932), pls 14–22. See also the color photographs from the Theban Mapping Project: https://thebanmappingproject.com/images/10647jpg?site=5754 (accessed 16 January 2024).

[7] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 17; Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, 2:393.

[8] John Baines, "Orality and Literacy," in *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, by John Baines (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007b), 162–63; Alexandra von Lieven, *The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne; Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007, 205–7, with n. 1116.

the vizier Useramun (TT 61).[9] In contrast to the catalogue, where most cells contain only one figure or a collective (such as the solar entourage or sons of Horus), the dividers in the long version demarcate larger groups of figures. Especially relevant are the double dividers framing major scenes and delineating subheadings in the sixth and seventh hours, reproducing paratextual schemes known from Books of the Dead, images and texts of which were stored and transmitted separately.[10] Similar processes probably underlay the creation of the long Amduat.

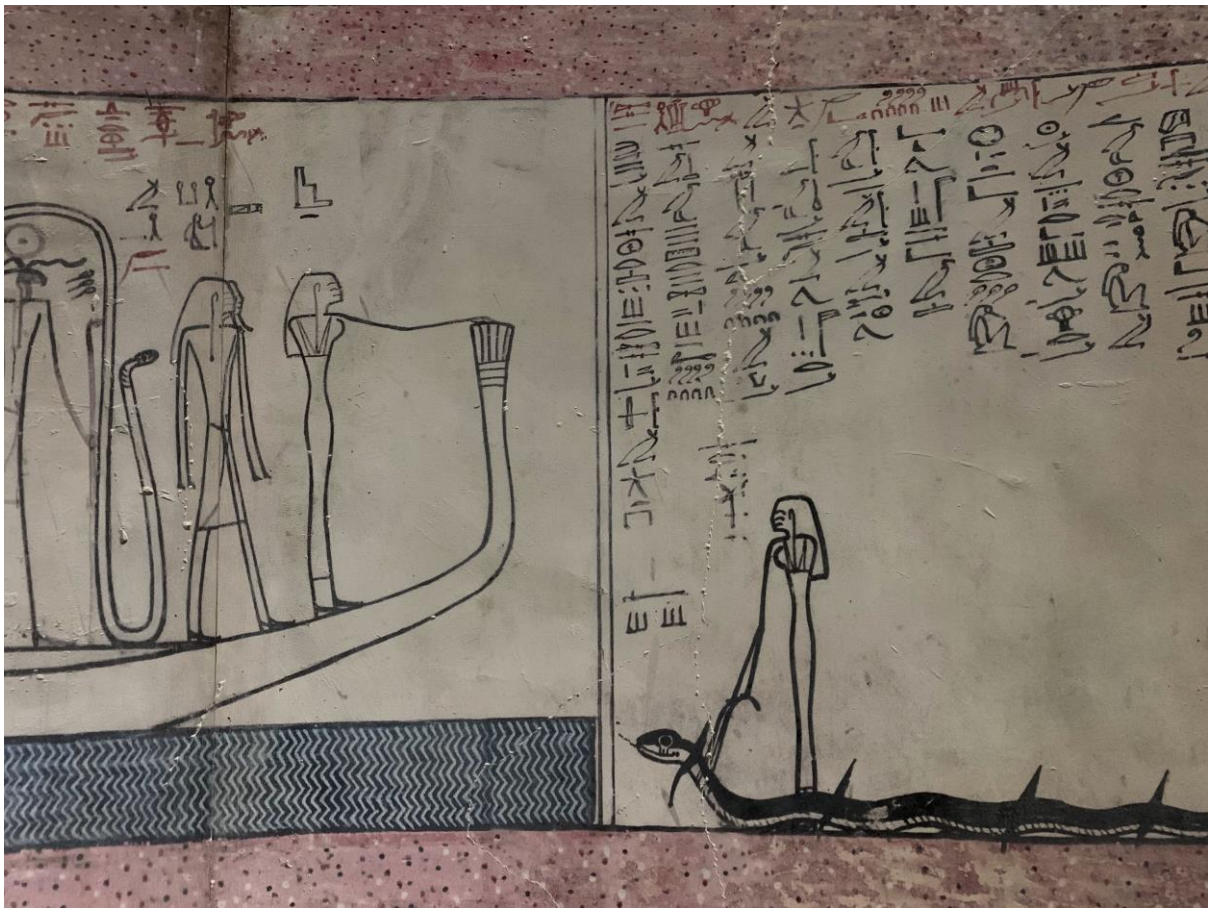


Figure 1. Double vertical dividers in the seventh hour. Bolton Museum KV 34 facsimile. Photograph by the author.

Mortuary papyri from the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period frequently combine figures and scenes known from underworld books. An early example is the 20th Dynasty Book of the Dead of Anhay, which includes the closing scene from the Book of Gates.[11] Some mortuary compositions are designated books of "coming forth by day" (*prt hrw*), while others are books of "what is in the underworld" (*ỉmy-dwꜣt*), suggesting that all such compositions drew on a

[9] I thank Lucía Díaz-Iglesias Llanos for allowing me to examine photographs taken during conservation work in TT 61.
[10] Peter Dorman, "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 55 (2019): 19–21, 37–42, https://doi.org/10.5913/jarce.55.2019.a003.
[11] P. British Museum EA 10472, 7: Nigel Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2006), 236–37.

repertoire of images with associated labels and longer texts.[12] The long Amduat employed in New Kingdom tombs and, a millennium later, on Late Period sarcophagi, represents a specific selection arranged in a sequence of twelve tableaux.[13]

Selection from pattern books was an ancient practice that may even be depicted in the 6th Dynasty tombs of Mereruka and Khentika at Saqqara, where the tomb owner, accompanied by a scribe, sits at an easel to consult a partly unrolled manuscript featuring scenes known from monumental wall decoration.[14] It complements the excerpting of passages from longer texts or thematic collections.[15] Source manuscripts may have compiled thematically, chronologically, and geographically dispersed content.[16] Creative combinations of elements were not unusual in the 18th Dynasty, when there was great innovation in the design of verbal and pictorial compositions.[17]

The Amduat catalogue does not represent such sources, but rather evokes antecedent forms: lists of names expanded into tables of figures. This is not a novel idea, but the processes and motivations involved have not been explored in depth.[18] Amduat figures are often labelled in both enigmatic and non-enigmatic script, the former usually in black and the latter as a red gloss. In the long version, the top register of the third hour includes a figure of Anubis atop a shrine; a *wꜣs*-scepter is in front of him on its own baseline. Unlike the surrounding figures, this image is captioned only in red, non-enigmatic script, *ỉnpw wꜣs*, suggesting that the jackal-on-shrine and scepter are enlarged logograms.[19] Another example is the representation of the goddess Selqet as a

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[12] Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

[13] Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period; Part 1: Sarcophagi and Texts; Part 2: Plates* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007).

[14] Winfried Barta, "Bemerkungen zur Darstellung der Jahreszeiten im Grabe des *mrr-wj-kꜣ.j*," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 97 (1971): 1–7; Patricia Bochi, "The Enigmatic Activity of Painting the Seasons at an Easel: Contemplative Leisure or Preemptive Measure?" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 40 (2003): 159–69.

[15] Discussion in relation to Books of the Dead: Felicitas Weber, "Thematic Groups and Sequences of Spells," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Egyptian Book of the Dead*, eds. Rita Lucarelli and Martin Andreas Stadler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 341–56, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190210007.013.6; Ursula Verhoeven, "Writing Book of the Dead Manuscripts: Tasks and Traditions," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Egyptian Book of the Dead*, eds. Rita Lucarelli and Martin Andreas Stadler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 164–65, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190210007.013.12.

[16] On the likely Memphite roots of the fourth and fifth hours: Ursula Rößler-Köhler, "Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil I: Ein 'Gottesbegräbnis' des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext; Amduat, 4. Und 5. Stunde," in *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum: Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien, 24.-26.9.1997*, eds. Rolf Gundlach and Wilfried Seipel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 85–88.

[17] Irmtraut Munro, "The Book of the Dead in the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Egyptian Book of the Dead*, eds. Rita Lucarelli and Martin Andreas Stadler (New York: Oxford University Press), 52–55, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190210007.013.22. For pictorial compositions, see, e.g., Dimitri Laboury, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017), 229–58.

[18] Hermann Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 72 (1936): 33. Compare John Baines, "An Abydos List of Gods and an Old Kingdom Use of Texts," in *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, eds. John Baines et al. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1988), 124–33.

[19] Annamaria Fornari and Mario Tosi 1987. *Nella Sede della Verità: Deir el-Medina e l'ipogeo di Thutmosis III*, with an Arabic presentation by Ahmed Kadry and a preface by Sergio Donadoni (Milan: Franco Maria Ricci, 1987), pl. 7.

serpent in the top register of the fourth hour.[20] Selqet is rendered in linear-hieroglyphic style, unlike all other serpents in KV 34, which are fully figured. In front of the serpent's mouth is an *ꜥnḫ*, next to which is a scorpion. There is no red annotation. The figure may write "Selqet" with an oversize logogram followed by a serpent-with-*ꜥnḫ* as determinative.

In the catalogue, the *wꜣs*-scepter is not in front of Anubis but is a logogram in the label above him.[21] Anubis is more of a picture accompanying a phonogrammatic writing, closer to a determinative than a logogram. The scorpion has a feminine *-t* ending and is closer to being a logogram with a phonetic complement, whereas the fully figured cobra beneath those elements has the stronger pictoriality of a determinative.[22] Yet another approach to relations of scale and schematization is represented by the figure adjacent to Anubis in the long version. Captioned "bringer of the eye, satisfier of the gods" (*ỉn*(*w*) *ỉrt sḫtp*(*w*) *nṯrw*), this is a half-kneeling man in a highly schematized linear-hieroglyphic style (Gardiner no. A3), with no indication of bodily width or garments, unlike other anthropomorphic Amduat entities. A form that would otherwise belong in the surrounding labels as "script" is scaled up to more elaborate figures and functions like them. That status carries over into the entity's catalogue entry, where the same large, schematized, half-kneeling figure occurs in the bottom half of the cell; it is not replaced either by a fuller-figured version or by a generic "seated god."[23]

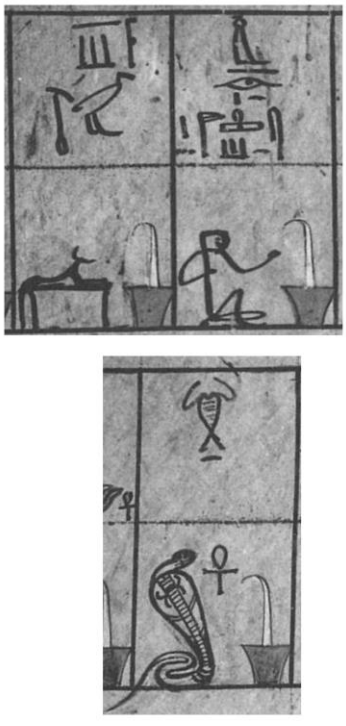


Figure 2. Anubis, half-kneeling man in linear-hieroglyphic style, and Selqet in the catalogue. After Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 16.

[20] Fornari and Tosi, *Nella Sede della Verità*, pl. 9.
[21] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 16.
[22] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 17.
[23] Fornari and Tosi, *Nella Sede della Verità*, pl. 7; Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 16.

Multimodal play facilitates the expansion of name lists into tables that range across the spectrum from writing to picture.[24] Colleen Manassa Darnell notes that horizontal serpents and serpents with legs appear in the top halves of their catalogue cells, with a seated god occupying the bottom half next to the censer, whereas vertical serpents are depicted in the bottom halves without seated gods, and without any serpent figures in the upper halves. Rather than proposing as yet unknown "ontological distinction" between the types of serpent as Manassa Darnell suggests,[25] one could treat the horizontal or legged serpents as elaborate determinatives following phonogrammatic writings in the hypothetical lists of divine names underlying the catalogue—a reverse configuration to that of the scorpion logogram with phonetic complement observed for Selqet. When the lists were expanded into the scenes that were combined to form the long Amduat, determinatives were integrated as pictorial figures, as was done with Anubis and Selqet, but not with the half-kneeling man.

Some figures may preserve evidence of that process. In the middle register of the sixth hour, a five-headed serpent encircles the corpse of Khepri (see Figure 3). An extended caption names the figure "Many-Faced" (*ꜥšꜣ-ḥrw*) with a determinative, written in black, that closely resembles the larger figure. The only differences between them are the direction of the tail's curl, and the fact that the determinative in the caption originally had six heads, the last of which was erased, perhaps to match the appearance of its larger counterpart. Both these differences might reflect appearances in a source manuscript. Turning to the catalogue, the five-headed serpent and the corpse of Khepri occupy the same position as horizontal or legged serpents that function as determinatives—in the top half of the cell and immediately below the two phonogrammatic writings of *ꜥšꜣ-ḥrw*—while a seated god appears in the bottom half.[26]

[24] Alexandra Lapčić, "Bild-Schrift-Gestalten des Göttlichen: Multimodale Informationsverarbeitung im Amduat Thutmosis' III," in *Bild: Ästhetik – Medium – Kommunikation; Beiträge des dritten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie* (*MAJA 3*), *7. Bis 9.12.2012*, eds. Gregor Neunert, Alexandra Verbovsek, and Kathrin Gabler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 169–92.

[25] Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy," 57–58.

[26] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 18.



Figure 3. Multi-headed serpent and the corpse of Khepri in the sixth hour. Bolton Museum KV 34 facsimile. Photograph by the author.

Also relevant is the double sphinx Aker from the fifth hour. In the long version, the two halves of the sphinx flank the "oval of Sokar" and are symmetrically labelled "Aker who guards the secret flesh" (*ꜣkr sꜣꜣ ỉwf štꜣ*). In the black enigmatic text, *ꜣkr* includes a seated god determinative in the left label but not the right one.[27] As with the five-headed serpent, the catalogue entry for Aker shows the double sphinx in the top half of the cell and a seated god in the bottom half.[28]

Plays on size and position that shifted graphs across modalities of expression are not unique to KV 34. In the tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11), the scorpion of Selqet was rendered so large that it has the character of a picture equivalent to the serpent accompanying it (see Figure 4), whereas the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) scales it closer to the hieroglyphs in the columns of text above the pair.[29] Such treatments pivot on the animacy of scorpion and serpent.

[27] Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, trans. David Warburton (New York: Timken, 1990), pl. 45.
[28] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 17.
[29] Alexandre Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, ed. Natacha Rambova, photographs L. F. Husson, 2 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1954), pl. 80.



Figure 4. Selqet in the fourth hour, tomb of Ramesses III. Photograph © Heidi Kontkanen, reproduced with permission.

The examples indicate hierarchies of logograms and determinatives, pictures and writing. When a highly distinctive determinative follows phonograms, its logographic qualities are diminished, so a secondary determinative with a less specific form is added. The result is a more cohesive composition, aligned with the generic seated or standing anthropomorphic forms of most Amduat figures. Consistency and systematization would have helped users to acquire knowledge of the divine realm in an efficient way, to memorize it, and to recount it to others.[30] The long version's twelve-tableau sequence provides a neat linear structure, and a layout in mainly three registers facilitates subdivisions and thematic groupings of deities. Most of the serpents, for example, cluster in the underground desert environments of the fourth and fifth hours. Such a model for the visual features of the Amduat catalogue corresponds with Gaëlle Chantrain's analysis of classifier usage on New Kingdom papyri. Between the 18th and 20th Dynasties, many nouns acquired an additional, more generic determinative which complemented more specific ones characteristic of earlier orthography.[31] Siting the design of the Amduat catalogue, which

[30] Compare the Litany of Re, e.g., Roland Enmarch, "Litanies in Ancient Egyptian Written Culture," in *The Litany in Arts and Cultures*, eds. Witold Sadowski and Francesco Marsciani (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 36–37, https://doi.org/10.1484/M.STT-EB.5.119205. For lists in general, see Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: Maclehose, 2009), 153–55; Joachim Quack, "Ägyptische Listen und ihre Expansion in Unterricht und Repräsentation," in *Die Liste: Ordnungen von Dingen und Menschen in Ägypten*, eds. Susanne Deicher and Erik Maroko (Berlin: Kadmos, 2015), 51–86.

[31] Gaëlle Chantrain, "The Use of Classifiers in the New Kingdom: A Global Reorganization of the Classifiers System?" *Lingua Aegyptia* 22 (2014): 46–9.

employs contemporary conventions whilst evoking older references, in the reign of Thutmose III accords well with the timeframe of that broader reorganization.[32]

Casting the Amduat catalogue as a distinct "version" of the Amduat mischaracterizes the decisions of scribes working between lists, scenes, and their contexts of use and presentation. Different relationships between sources and final product are observable in the burial chamber of Tutankhamun (KV 62), where content from the first hour was abbreviated to fit limited wall space. Above a grid of baboons is a barque from the first hour: not the solar barque, but one in which Khepri is praised by two figures of Osiris. The relationship between the sun-god and Osiris was the crux of all the underworld books; it was probably paramount to include it. Selecting a boat from the first hour may have ensured that the composition did not depart too far from the twelve-hour sequence. An adjacent cell represents the sun-god's journey *pars pro toto* through five members of his entourage, shown separately from the barque as in the catalogue of KV 34. Rather than understanding the KV 62 composition as a hybrid of two "versions"—the long Amduat and the catalogue—I see common principles at play.[33] Elements from underlying sources—lists in the case of the KV 34 catalogue, pattern books or similar for KV 62—were selected to ensure consistent presentation and to manage space constraints.

3. Collation and Transformation

More than one type of source likely underpinned the Amduat catalogue, which was designed specifically for use in KV 34 and does not simply reproduce a perishable document.[34] Three lines of evidence support this claim. First, some figures present in the long version are absent from the catalogue. They were central to the long version, so its sources, as well as the derived templates used for decorating the burial chamber walls—variously called *integrale Vorlagen* or "decoration papyri"[35]—must have included them. The censers in the catalogue suggest connections with litanies, perhaps performed at intervals through the night: the so-called Litany of Re is depicted on the pillars in the KV 34 burial chamber as a table of captioned figures; later copies include the instruction, "This book-roll is recited when these *sšmw*-images are made in tables on the ground" (*šdd.t*(*w*) *mḏꜣt ṯn ỉw ỉr nn n sšmw m ḥsbw ḫr sḏꜣṯw*).[36] Although ritual performance may account for

[32] Similar arguments have been put forward for the grammar of royal monumental inscriptions from the period: Andréas Stauder, "L'émulation du passé à l'ère thoutmoside: la dimension linguistique", in *Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit*, ed. Susanne Bickel (Basel: Schwabe, 2013), 77–125; Matthias Müller, "Hatschepsut und der Umgang mit der Vergangenheit: zur angeblichen Mittlere-Reich-Vorlage für Hatschepsuts Darstellung ihrer Erhebung zur Koregentin," in *Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit*, ed. Susanne Bickel (Basel: Schwabe, 2013), 187–202.

[33] *Pace* Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy," 52.

[34] Monumentalizing other genres was hardly a straightforward process either. See, e.g., Christelle Alvarez, "Monumentalizing Ritual Texts in Ancient Egyptian Pyramids," *Manuscript and Text Cultures* 1 (2022): 112–42, https://doi.org/10.56004/v1a112.

[35] Jochem Kahl, *Siut-Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Werning, "Stemmata," 1935–49.

[36] Erik Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* (*Sonnenlitanei*): *Nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, 2 vols (Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1975–1976), 1–2. Compare Raymond Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours* (*Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, 1958), with brief discussions in Alexandra

the Amduat catalogue's omission of hostile beings such as Apophis, it does not explain the absence of other deities.

Second, the labels to figures in the catalogue do not always match those in the long version from the KV 34 burial chamber. The serpent "Sweeping-Head" (*ḏsr-tp*) in the fifth hour has an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in front of its mouth in the long version, but the corresponding figure in the catalogue is a serpent labelled *ꜥnḫ*.[37] Other labels in the catalogue are absent from the long version in the burial chamber, suggesting that the two compositions developed from different sets of sources. Those from the second hour are damaged in the long version, but the catalogue displays parallels with labels on the sarcophagus of Merenptah that was reused by Psusennes I.[38]

At times, the content and structure of the catalogue do not correspond with any known copies of the long version. Alexandra von Lieven notes some initial confusion in the catalogue, where the sequence of figures did not originally match that of the long version and had to be corrected, possibly because of the figures' secondary identifications as celestial bodies.[39] If the catalogue's sources were organized differently, editing would have been required to bring the catalogue in line with the long version in a tomb. In one instance, Thutmose III's prenomen is in the top half of a cell, and the king is depicted wearing the White Crown in the bottom half.[40] This follows the figures found in and around the red sandy "oval of Sokar" that contains the regenerating sun-god in the fifth hour. The arrangement reiterates that the king is in that underworldly setting, interred in an oval sarcophagus of red granite inside an oval burial chamber. An example of a serpent staff from the sixth hour goes further. In the long version, the figure is identified as a "manifestation (*sšmw*) of the active form (*jrw*)" of the personified primeval mound Tatenen, but the associated catalogue entry—located in the same register as the figure of the king just described—labels the staff with Thutmose III's nomen.[41] The entry seemingly identifies the king with the cliff housing his burial, a notion to which I later return.

In parts of the long Amduat that employ tables rather than full scenes, particularly the first hour, corresponding sections of the catalogue point to yet other processes of compilation and collation occurring between sources, long version, and catalogue, and governed by shifting balances between thematic coherence, aesthetic layout, and clarity of expression. In most copies

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von Lieven, "Mysterien des Kosmos: Kosmographie und Priesterwissenschaft," in *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, eds. Jan Assmann and Martin Bommas (München: Fink, 2002), 51–53; Enmarch, "Litanies," 40. Statues of Sekhmet in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hitan may constitute a three-dimensional counterpart of lists in texts and two-dimensional imagery: Jean Yoyotte, "Une monumentale litanie de granit: Les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse," *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 87–88 (1980): 46–75.

[37] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 18.

[38] Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris: n.p., 1951), pl. 79; Aidan Dodson, "Some Notes Concerning the Royal Tombs at Tanis," *Chronique d'Égypte* 63, no. 126 (1988): 226–28. I am grateful to Joachim Quack for bringing my attention to the sarcophagus.

[39] Alexandra von Lieven, "Amduat und klassisches Himmelsbild (zu Amduat 325-328, 396-399 und 757-758)," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 149, no. 1 (2022): 108–9, 112–13, https://doi.org/10.1515/zaes-2021-0015.

[40] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 18.

[41] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 18; Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, 2:522; Hermann Alexander Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen: nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches* (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 23.

of the long Amduat's first hour, the top and bottom registers depict several groups of adoring figures in grids of rectangular cells. They contrast with the central horizontal register, where figures are arranged in one row. The grids compress many figures into a limited space, and each grid has its own heading.[42] The two groups of nine baboons, for example, are captioned "names of the gods who open portals for the great *ba*" (*rnw nw nṯrw wnyw ꜥ3w n bꜣ ꜥ3*) and "names of the gods who sing for the sun when he enters the underworld" (*rnw nw nṯrw ḥssyw n rꜥ ꜥq=f m dwꜣt*).[43] Aesthetic concerns with symmetry in the long version meant that the first of these lists was placed in the top register, and the second list in the bottom register, but in the catalogue they are combined into a single, two-row table. The title of the first list is written in a line above the top row, and that of the second list runs above the bottom row, but the grid is in fact a sequence of nine short columns reading right to left, the members of the first list running into those of the second (see Figure 5).[44] That this was more likely a reorganization of the groups' presentation in the long version than a derivation from a source manuscript is suggested by the fully figured, solid black forms of the baboons. These recall the enlarged baboons accompanying the names in the long version and the fully figured cobras of adjacent lists from the first hour; they are indicative of an editorial process similar to that suggested above for the figure of Selqet in the fourth hour.

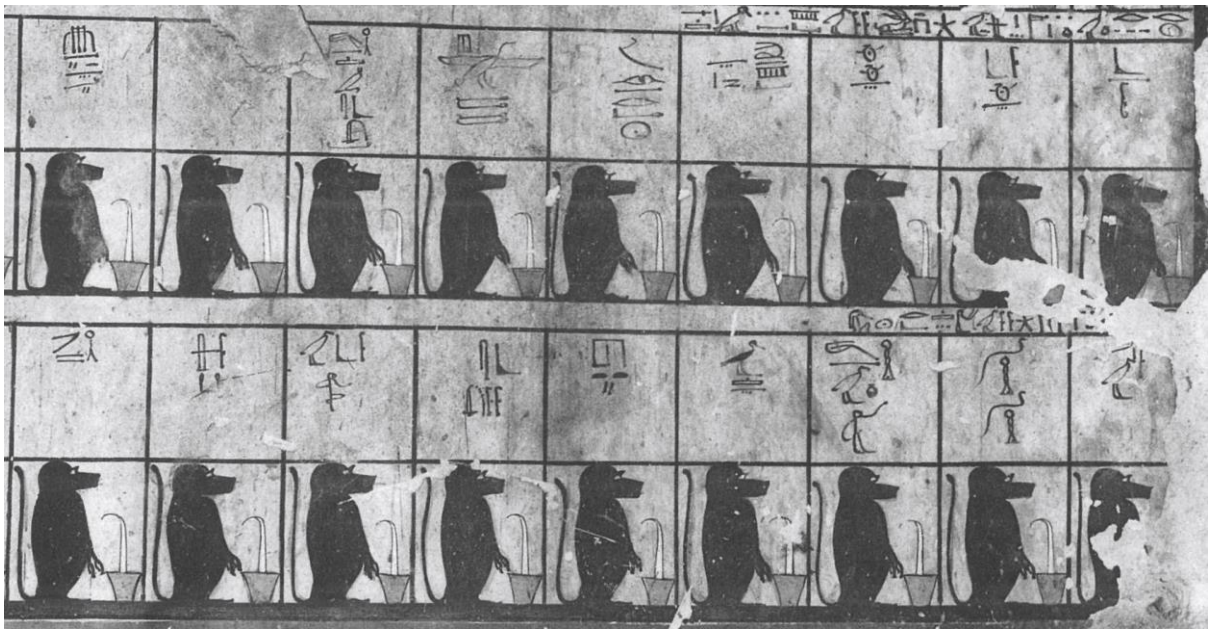


Figure 5. Adoring baboons from the first hour in the catalogue. After Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 14.

Based on the evidence, it is possible that designers of the Amduat catalogue collated one or more lists of deities' names and expanded them into tables of labelled figures while adjusting content and sequences based on the adjacent burial chamber, templates for which were likely developed from sources of different kinds and on different manuscripts. The interpretation

[42] Hornung, *Das Amduat*, 2:9.
[43] Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, 1:114–16, 140–42.
[44] Bucher, *Textes*, pl. 14.

accords with the stemma modelled by Daniel Werning and fleshes out some of his suggestions regarding stages of editorial work.[45] The catalogue represented the burial chamber, from the wall decoration to the king in his sarcophagus, in the form of a document employed in ritual performance. The catalogue neither summarizes the long version, nor reproduces a source manuscript, but recompiles the burial chamber's contents for use in new contexts. Compared with the appending of royal names and figures to the long Amduat, as was frequently done in Ramesside tombs,[46] the production of the catalogue in KV 34 represents a more substantive adaptation of content to setting because it involved changes to structure and layout.

4. Travelling Scribes and Erudite Kings

Reasons for devising the catalogue and locating it in the pillared hall may lie in the social milieu of scribal life, where connoisseurs and students sought out and reworked texts and images. Such practices tied in with the ritual associations of the Amduat catalogue in the context of Thutmose III's tomb, and spoke to an enduring form of royal self-presentation, in which kings vaunted their intellectual pursuits. They contributed to developing a new sacred landscape in the Valley of the Kings.

Images of the Amduat are termed *sšmw*: they enact what they depict.[47] Since the king was integrated with the realm brought into being by the Amduat surrounding his body, the burial chamber became an underworld as valid as any other, including those tombs adorned with "eclectically" spliced compositions.[48] The Amduat catalogue achieves the same result because it runs anticlockwise from the entrance of the pillared hall,[49] thus from west to east like the nightly journey of the sun. It manifests the underworld in a different way.

Lists and longer descriptions demonstrated prestigious access to various forms of restricted religious knowledge.[50] Concern with the diversity and interrelationships of forms, in particular the tension between compact and expansive modes of representation, permeates the corpus of underworld books. As mentioned earlier, Amduat figures are compact and consistent. Designers chose to fit a great number of actors into the composition and did not lavish space on expansive forms. In the Book of Gates, by contrast, many groups of figures span almost entire registers. A different approach is taken in the Book of Caverns, Books of the Earth, and several smaller compositions, where expansive groups occur alongside compact ones that combine elements such as arms, heads, and discs in complex assemblages.[51] Probably composed a few centuries after the

[45] Werning, "Stemmata," fig. 1, specifically the relationships of the hypothetical copies δ and ε.

[46] Friedrich Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches* (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

[47] Rune Nyord, *Seeing Perfection: Ancient Egyptian Images Beyond Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 12–16, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108881494.

[48] Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 15.

[49] Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, 1:xi.

[50] John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 1–23.

[51] Illustrations in Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*. For iconographic analyses of the latter two groups, see John Coleman Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in*

Amduat, Litany of Re, and related "cult-theological treatise" often known as the "king as sun-priest" text, these cosmographies moved away from what was possibly seen as reductive consistency, and celebrated complexity instead. Concision and elaboration were also explored in the textual domain, with compositions employing the full range from brief captions to long expositions. The "short" version of the Amduat occupies a middle ground in this regard. It is a précis of each hour of the night, lacking descriptive detail and captionable figures. Co-occurrences in the same tomb of several underworld books, of underworld and celestial cosmographies, or of cosmographies and other types of ritual text such as the Book of the Dead, suggest that initiates were ideally meant to acquire a holistic understanding of multiple works, their purposes, and their relationships.

Richard Parkinson has emphasized the value of imagining when and where ancient Egyptians read and performed literary texts.[52] I take a similar approach to religious compositions. The tombs of Thutmose III and Useramun are the only ones that lay out the tableaux of the Amduat according to the instructions of the long version.[53] Given that other royal copies of the Amduat from the 18th Dynasty probably derived from the *integrale Vorlagen* of Thutmose III's burial chamber,[54] which was subsequently adapted to create the catalogue, the Amduat in KV 34 may have been considered exemplary. Perhaps the tomb was consulted by those seeking knowledge.

Many literate elites in the New Kingdom sought out monuments from the past. In the 19th and 20th Dynasties, scribes from "Houses of Life" (*pr-ʿnḫ*) who traveled on court business "occasionally left graffiti in outlying areas of Egypt in connection with their work."[55] Informal trips into local necropoleis and country, and sometimes further afield, were also vital to cultivating a sense of history and aesthetic appreciation among elites: the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* acclaim royal cities, and some scribes even fashioned a grotto out of an unfinished 11th Dynasty tomb at Deir el-Bahri.[56] Visitors' inscriptions were most common in the 18th Dynasty, with scores of graffiti left by travelers admiring or critiquing the aesthetic value of monuments across the country. The beauty and prominence of an edifice were not the only factors influencing destination choices. Attraction to certain temples and royal tombs was spurred in part by the renown of the associated king,[57] and

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the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Joshua Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* (Atlanta: Lockwood, 2012), chap. 5; Joshua Roberson, *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky* (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

[52] Richard Bruce Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among Other Histories* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

[53] Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 131–32.

[54] Werning, "Stemmata," fig. 1.

[55] Fredrik Hagen, "Libraries in Ancient Egypt, *c.*1600-800 BCE," in *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, eds. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 254.

[56] Chloé Ragazzoli, *Éloges de la ville en Égypte ancienne: histoire et littérature* (Paris: Pups - Pu Paris Sorbonne, 2008); Chloé Ragazzoli, *La grotte des scribes à Deir el-Bahari: La tombe MMA 504 et ses graffiti* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2017). Broader contexts: John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2013).

[57] Hana Navratilova, "Thutmoside Graffiti and Thutmoside Traditions: A View from Memphis", in (*Re*)*productive traditions in ancient Egypt: proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017), 554.

visitors were drawn to nonroyal monuments by the educational value of their texts and decorative programs. Living among groups of literate elites, Thutmose III was likely aware of these dual motivations and sets of destinations, and perhaps capitalized on them for the design of his own tomb. The same factors may also help to explain why the burial chamber of the vizier Useramun did not seem to acquire the same significance. Apart from the fact that it is much smaller than KV 34 and perhaps could not comfortably accommodate guests, visitors probably called at Useramun's nearby tomb chapel instead (TT 131), in which offerings could be made and other texts pertaining to his career and character could be read.[58]

Nor did Useramun's burial chamber offer suitable educational exercises for scribes. During trips to nonroyal tombs, students copied texts, assembled lists of words, and learned repertoires of images.[59] Apart from the Amduat and Litany of Re, the decoration of TT 61 centered on offering lists and the ritual of opening the mouth,[60] in contrast to the content of older tombs that were visited and admired in the New Kingdom, for example the early 11th Dynasty tomb of Iti-ibi the Elder at Asyut in Middle Egypt.[61] Much later visits to second-millennium tombs in Middle Egypt are recorded in Roman-period papyri from Tebtynis in the Fayum, which bear copies of First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tomb inscriptions from Asyut.[62] The texts include monumentalized legal contracts of the 12th Dynasty official Hapydjefai, themselves not exact reproductions of the original documents. In the tomb inscriptions, "the typical attributes of a legally binding contract such as the date, oaths, and a list of witnesses and their signatures" are omitted, a figure of "the seated tomb owner is depicted in the part of the wall-decoration closely associated with the contracts," and the language used approaches that of biography and literary narratives.[63]

Rough comparisons can be made between the life history of Hapydjefai's legal documents and the manipulation of content and form in the Amduat catalogue, suggesting that visits by scribes were partly influenced by a desire to observe the traces of complex scribal practices. However, Hapydjefai's documents were changed to integrate them with the predetermined decorative program and social setting of his tomb chapel, whereas the form of the Amduat catalogue may have served to fashion a new social arena out of a royal tomb, as part of a budding sacred landscape in the Valley of the Kings. KV 34 was excavated into the floor of a fissure gouged out by rainwater streaming down from the slopes of the high plateau. From this cleft, water and debris

[58] Eberhard Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun: Theben Nr. 61 und 131* (Mainz: Zabern, 1994), 49–101.
[59] Chloé Ragazzoli, *Scribes: Les artisans du texte en Égypte ancienne (1550–1000)* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2019), 246–49, 542; Jochem Kahl, "The Egyptian Tomb as an Epistemic Site," in *Collect and Preserve: Institutional Contexts of Epistemic Knowledge in Pre-modern Societies*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jochem Kahl, and Eun-Jeung Lee (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 65–82, https://doi.org/10.13173/9783447108294.
[60] Dziobek, *User-Amun*, 21–47.
[61] Ursula Verhoeven, *Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assiut*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190210007.013.12.
[62] Jürgen Osing and Gloria Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis*, 2 vols. (Firenze: Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli, 1998), 55–92.
[63] Jochem Kahl, "Manuscripts and Monuments: The Ten Contracts of Djefai-Hapi and Economies of Knowledge," *Manuscript and Text Cultures* 1 (2022): 96, https://doi.org/10.56004/v1k83.

cascaded onto the main valley floor in a seasonal waterfall. The entrance to the tomb was located behind a smaller waterfall that occasionally poured into the cleft from above. Ramesside scribes and their sons who came to view the "water from the sky" left graffiti near the plunge pools of other waterfalls in the area.[64] Royal tombs were sealed off in principle, but the reality was often different. A man called Amenhotep visited the burial chamber of KV 34 during the 20th Dynasty and left a graffito next to the solar barque of the Amduat's fourth hour, admiring the decoration of the room:

> *ỉmn-ḥtp*
> *nfr.w(y) tỉt ḥr wnmỉ m ḫ3*
> Amenhotep. How beautiful is the *tỉt*-image on the right, among a thousand![65]

It is unclear whether such visits were sanctioned by authorities, or if the pre-Ramesside tombs had been abandoned and possibly plundered by the time of Amenhotep's visit. Amenhotep seems to have been a respectful visitor, "cautious enough not to damage any of [the images] unnecessarily, even doing without the proper writing of the last consonant of the word *ḥtp*, which forms part of his own name."[66] Comparable scribal activities in the Valley of the Kings, including interactions with existing buildings, are found in contemporary secondary inscriptions in Middle Kingdom tombs at Asyut.[67] Kings and princes enjoyed excursions and curios as well: Amenhotep II recounts horse-riding near the Giza pyramids, and Thutmose IV claims to have collected a flint nodule of unusual shape.[68]

Aesthetic and educational pursuits in necropoleis may have intersected with the performative associations of the Amduat catalogue. Viewers of the catalogue stand before the tables of deities, including the king, in an underworld space. They are involved in cultic performance; visiting the tomb became an initiation. Apart from parallels with the presentation of other ritual lists, notably

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[64] John Romer, "The Tomb of Tuthmosis III," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 31 (1975): 317–21; Andreas Dorn, "The Hydrology of the Valley of the Kings: Weather, Rainfall, Drainage Patterns, and Flood Protection in Antiquity," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, eds. Richard H. Wilkinson and Kent R. Weeks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 30–38, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199931637.013.41; Andreas Dorn, "Flash-floods, Huts and Stratigraphy in the Valley of the Kings," *Göttinger Miszellen* 259 (2019): 91–112.

[65] Jürgen Osing, in Romer, "The Tomb of Tuthmosis III," 349–50, fig. 8, pl. 107c; Adam Lowe, "Conservation in the Age of the Digital Reproduction," in *Immortal Pharaoh: The Tomb of Thutmose III*, eds. Erik Hornung et al. (Madrid: Antikenmuseum, 2005), 178.

[66] Martin Bommas, "New Thoughts on the Late Transmission History of the Book of Amduat (Including the Unpublished Papyrus Eton College, Windsor, ECM 1573)," in *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, eds. Richard Jasnow and Kathlyn M. Cooney (Atlanta: Lockwood, 2015), 50–51.

[67] E.g., Verhoeven, *Dipinti*, 45, 295–99, no. TN13.

[68] Christiane Zivie, "La stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza: A propos d'une interprétation récente," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 8 (1980): 283–84; Alexandra von Lieven, "'His Majesty Found This Stone in the Shape of a Divine Falcon' (Cairo CG 70002 + JE 40064 [b])," in *La Cachette de Karnak: Nouvelles perspectives sur les découvertes de Georges Legrain*, ed. Laurent Coulon (Cairo: Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities; Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2016), 255–65.

royal veneration of past kings at Abydos and Karnak,[69] there is resonance with "entering" (*ʿq*) into sacred knowledge,[70] the sun-god's entry to the underworld, the deceased "descending" (*ḥȝi*) into their tombs, the exploration of past monuments,[71] and initiates developing deep understanding.[72] KV 34 appears as a library of sorts, a repository for three types of document—illustrated treatise, written summary, and recompiled list for ritual performance—that were at least notionally available for consultation, a function served by some earlier nonroyal tombs during the New Kingdom.[73] This characterization connects KV 34 with the self-presentation of Egyptian kings, who commissioned texts portraying themselves seeking out information and templates for the design of religious objects and buildings. Such texts from the Middle Kingdom to the end of the Late Period refer to images of gods and to hidden knowledge about the sky and earth, cosmic domains complemented by the underworld.[74]

The topos connects with increased references to *mdw-nṯr* in royal inscriptions, which embedded kings in discourses around scribal identity previously mobilized almost exclusively by the nonroyal elite.[75] Yet, the scribal aspect of kingly identity is elaborated in the 18th Dynasty less in the content of texts and more through architectural and inscriptional programs that drew extensively on 11th and 12th Dynasty royal and nonroyal models.[76] Thutmose III reproduced a temple wall scene of Senwosret I, retaining the earlier king's name in one copy and replacing it with his own name in two other copies.[77] Also set up at Karnak during his reign were a compendium of flora and fauna, and lists of Nubian and Levantine toponyms.[78] Considering their likely Middle

[69] Auguste Mariette-Pacha, *Abydos: Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie A. Franck; Imprimerie nationale, 1869–1880), 1: pl. 43; Dietrich Wildung, "Aufbau und Zweckbestimmung der Königsliste von Karnak," *Göttinger Miszellen* 9 (1974): 41–48.

[70] E.g. P. Turin 1882, rto 2.7–8: Alan Gardiner, "A Pharaonic Encomium," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 41 (1955): pl. 8; Alan Gardiner, "A pharaonic encomium (II)," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 42 (1956): 10.

[71] Ragazzoli, *Scribes*, 527, on the Step Pyramid of Djoser. Graffiti in the Osireion at Abydos show that visitors identified it as the underworld realm *štȝyt*: Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 31n48.

[72] Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 200–208.

[73] Verhoeven, *Dipinti*, 322.

[74] For a brief overview of the topos, including its parodying in the Tale of King Cheops and the Magicians (P. Westcar = P. Berlin 3033), see Richard Bruce Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London: Continuum, 2002), 97–98, 139–40, 184–86.

[75] Niv Allon, "The Social Lives of *mdw-nṯr*," *Hieroglyphs* 1 (2023): 193–218.

[76] John Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past: Third to Second Millennium Evidence," in *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, by John Baines (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 197, with references; Navratilova, "Thutmoside Graffiti and Thutmoside Traditions," 546–548; Alexis Den Doncker, "Reactions to Images in the Theban Necropolis: Towards Socio-professional Visualities," in *ICE XII: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Egyptologists, 3rd-8th November 2019, Cairo, Egypt*, eds. Ola el-Aguizy and Burt Kasparian, vol. 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2023), 385–86.

[77] Pascal Vernus, "Modelling the Relationship between Reproduction and Production of 'Sacralized' Texts in Pharaonic Egypt," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017), 485, with references.

[78] Nathalie Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III: Plantes et animaux du "jardin botanique" de Karnak* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990); Kenneth Kitchen, "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists: An Historical Resource with 'Literary' Histories," in *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, eds. Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 129–35.

Kingdom origins, the monumental display of the Amduat and related works such as the cult-theological treatise in Thutmoside temples and tombs can be situated in that trend—the earliest known fragments of the Amduat were found in the tombs of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings (KV 20 and KV 38, the latter constructed at a later date by Thutmose III), and the earliest known copy of the cult-theological treatise occurs in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.[79]

The Amduat catalogue sets Thutmose III apart from his contemporaries by approaching the topos of the historically minded king in a different way. Patterns of lacunae in his Amduat copy differ from those of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep II (KV 35).[80] The lacunae, frequently marked as having been "found lost" (*gm-wš*), point to damaged sources and raise the question of why tomb designers did not collate sources to rectify gaps, especially when two or more manuscripts were employed in single tombs.[81] Acquiring manuscripts even from faraway repositories was not impracticable, since scribes and courtiers travelled around the country.[82]

The source manuscript(s) for the Amduat in each tomb were valued and monumentalized regardless of textual defects.[83] Thutmose III was the only 18th Dynasty king with an oval burial chamber paralleling images in the Amduat, and he was the only one whose burial chamber was recompiled into the style of a manuscript. Thutmoside kings mobilized the past through reference to scribal practices, but Thutmose III spoke to posterity as well. The Amduat catalogue complements accounts of kings uncovering damaged texts in ancient temples or restoring derelict monuments, for example that in the introductory caption to the text of the "Memphite theology" on a basalt slab dated to the 25th Dynasty reign of Shabaka:

> *s[pḥ]r.ỉn ḥm=f sḫ3w pn n m3wt m pr ỉt=f ptḥ rsy ỉnb=f ỉs gm.n ḥm=f ⟨sw⟩ m ỉr(t) n tpyw ỉw(=f) m wnm m dm nn rḫ{.n}.tw=f m ḥ3t r [pḥ(wy)]*

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[79] Florence Mauric-Barbério, "Le premier exemplaire du Livre de l'Amdouat," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'rchéologie Orientale* 101 (2001): 315–50; Janus Karkowski, *The Temple of Hatshepsut: The Solar Complex* (Warsaw: Éditions Neriton, 2003), 167–211; Khaled Abdel Ghany, "Amduat-Exemplare von Thutmosis I.: Weitere Fundstücke im Grab KV 38," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 146, no. 1 (2019): 1–17, https://doi.org/10.1515/zaes-2019-0001. Blocks perhaps intended to be decorated with the Amduat were found in Hatshepsut's first tomb in the Wadi Sikkat el-Taqa el-Zeide: Howard Carter, "A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsuit and Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4, no. 2/3 (1917): 114–15, https://doi.org/10.2307/3853878.

[80] For a plausible history of transmission, see Von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, 211–14.

[81] Compare Joshua Roberson, "Whose Error Anyway? Epigraphic and Orthographic Variation in a Book of the Earth as Evidence for Multiple Master Documents in the Sarcophagus Chamber of Ramesses VI." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 55 (2019): 161–71, https://doi.org/10.5913/jarce.55.2019.a010.

[82] *Pace* Jürgens, "Stemma," 159. For the copying and transfer of tomb inscriptions, see Kahl, *Siut-Theben*. For visual motifs, see Gabriele Pieke, "Remembering Forward: On the Transmission of Pictorial Representations in Tomb Decoration up to the New Kingdom," in *Perspectives on lived religion II: The Making of a Cultural Geography*, eds. Lara Weiss, Nico Staring, and Huw Twiston Davies (Leiden: Sidestone, 2022), 49–70. For royal travel, see Fredrik Hagen, "On Some Movements of the Royal Court in New Kingdom Egypt," in *Another Mouthful of Dust: Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin*, ed. Jacobus van Dijk (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 155–81.

[83] It is not known why the damaged manuscript was repaired by collation before being used to decorate the tomb of Seti I (KV 17): Werning, "Stemmata," 1936.

> Then his Person recopied this (set of) writings anew in the house of his father, Ptah who is south of his wall, as his Person had found ⟨it⟩ as a work of the ancestors, (it) being a worm-eaten thing, incomprehensible from beginning to [end].[84]

KV 34 may have been designed to be just such an ancient setting for future generations to discover, and from which they might recover and redeploy religious documents to construct additional underworlds in tombs and temples. Built in a relatively untouched site, it was located further up the wadi than the preceding KV 20, embedding the king and his cosmographic knowledge into the living rock—an idea to which the king's identification with Tatenen in the Amduat catalogue may allude (see above). An embodiment of deep time and the frontiers of ordered space in New Kingdom Egypt and the wider Near East, living rock commonly bore boundary inscriptions, including those of Thutmose I and III, for example at the Hagr el-Merwa outcrop near Kurgus in Upper Nubia and their lost northern counterparts on the Euphrates in Syria.[85] The Hagr-el-Merwa records are accompanied by graffiti left by members of Thutmose I's royal entourage, commemorating their arrival after what must have been a grueling expedition.[86] The rock-cut tomb KV 34, reached through a challenging ascent into a high cleft that occasionally surged with miraculous stormwaters, was potentially conceived in similar fashion, as a significant monument worth the effort of visiting.

The distinctiveness of KV 34 emerges more strongly when set against another landmark in the Theban hills: the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33), built in the Asasif nearly a millennium later during the 26th Dynasty.[87] Padiamenope integrated chronologically and geographically wide-ranging architectural and decorative programs in the design of his tomb, from Old Kingdom pyramid substructures to the niched ambulatory of an Osiris tomb, as well as courtyards and halls typical of New Kingdom and Late Period nonroyal tombs. A selection of cosmographies adorned the walls of the inner, Osirian part of the tomb, which ran around and above the sarcophagus

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[84] British Museum EA 498: James Henry Breasted, "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 39 (1901): 41, pl. 1, https://doi.org/10.1524/zaes.1901.39.jg.39. For restoration inscriptions more generally, see Silke Grallert, *Bauen - Stiften - Weihen: Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie* (Berlin: Achet, 2001), 67–73.

[85] Zainab Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaktion, 2014), 109–14; Jen Thum, "When Pharaoh Turned the Landscape into a Stela: Royal Living-Rock Monuments at the Edges of the Egyptian World," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 79, no. 2 (2016): 75, https://doi.org/10.5615/neareastarch.79.2.0068; Jen Thum, "Sensing Salience in the Landscapes of Egyptian Royal Living-Rock Stelae," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Senses in the Ancient Near East*, eds. Kiersten Neumann and Allison Thomason (London; New York: Routledge, 2022), 274–83, 290–91, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429280207-17.

[86] John Baines, *High Culture*, 251; Jen Thum and Anne-Claire Salmas, "Narrating Temporality: Three Short Stories About Egyptian Royal Living-Rock Stelae," in *Afterlives of Ancient Rock-cut Monuments in the Near East: Carvings in and out of Time*, eds. Jonathan Ben-Dov and Felipe Rojas (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), 80–4, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004462083_004.

[87] A convenient summary is provided by Claude Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamenope: Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current Research," in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), 205–34. See also Niv Allon and Hana Navratilova, *Scribal Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 46.

chamber. Alongside these are a figure and speech of Padiamenope welcoming visitors who seek out texts and leisure in the necropolis.[88]

Like Padiamenope, Thutmose III mobilized historically significant written and pictorial material in his tomb in order to situate himself in scribal communities, although conventions of royal tomb decoration may have precluded the inscription of comparable appeals and greetings. Both tomb owners anticipated educated visitors, but their monuments represent contrasting strategies for self-presentation in the Theban necropolis. Whereas KV 34 embeds the king in an extensively worked list of underworld beings and memorializes him at the heart of a nascent sacred landscape, TT 33 incorporates features of that landscape—ancient by Padiamenope's time—into further networks spanning Old Kingdom Memphis to Late Period Thebes.[89] Padiamenope's approach to the landscape instead parallels more closely that of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III's predecessor, whose mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri and tomb in the Valley of the Kings established connections with existing Theban cultic topography.[90]

5. Conclusions

The Amduat catalogue in KV 34 completes the cycle of ritual practices centered on the copying and editing of texts. The text of the long Amduat claims it is copied from an underworld,[91] while it was reproduced in tombs to reinforce their identities as underworlds. In the case of KV 34, the decorated burial chamber and its contents were collated with additional references and recompiled into the form of a source document. The pillared hall recorded and became an underworld that involved actual or notional visitors as initiated cultic officiants.

The historical consciousness that guided the creation of the Amduat catalogue parallels the probable geographic scope of the Amduat's sources as well as the diverse iconographies and structures of New Kingdom cosmographies. In assembling chronologically and spatially wide-ranging material, designers of the Amduat catalogue grouped them by theme and form, and made use of graphic strategies to present these interlocking dimensions clearly and consistently. Diversity among the cosmographies has been connected with shifting religious conceptions over the course of the New Kingdom.[92] It is tempting to link combinations and collations in the earlier

[88] A photograph of the scene and translation of the text is provided in Claude Traunecker, and Isabelle Régen, "The Funerary Palace of Pediamenope at Thebes," *Egyptian Archaeology* 43 (2013): 33–34.
[89] Janet Richards, "Conceptual Landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Valley," in *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 84. Other regions of the Theban cliffs were part of this landscape: Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras, *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom: People Making Landscape Making People* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004435681; Ikram Ghabriel, "The So-called Oratory of Ptah and Mertseger Re-examined," in *Deir el-Medina: Through the Kaleidoscope; Proceedings of the International Workshop, Turin 8th–10th October 2018*, eds. Susanne Töpfer, Paolo Del Vesco, and Federico Poole (Turin: Museo Egizio; Franco Cosimo Panini, 2022), 772–80.
[90] Andreas Dorn, "Hatschepsuts Jenseitsarchitektur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Legitimation," in *Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit*, ed. Susanne Bickel (Basel: Schwabe, 2013), 29–47.
[91] Nadette Hoffmann, "Reading the Amduat," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 123 (1996): 26–40.
[92] Margaret Geoga, "The Advent of the Book of Gates: Tomb Decoration and Theological Change in KV 57," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 47 (2018): 43–56.

18th Dynasty to the emergence of a universal solar cult, growth of which accelerated during the reign of Amenhotep III and culminated in the Amarna period, but to explore that phenomenon and the impacts of the Amarna period on later developments in the relationship between cosmography, scribal culture, and royal self-presentation would require more extensive research.

Visual forms and the bodies of knowledge they represent were vital parts of initiation and education. Middle Kingdom artists and New Kingdom priests boasted about their knowledge of forms and tradition.[93] Viewing a familiar composition through a similar lens has involved considerations of landscape and historical consciousness, complementing a more nuanced perspective on the relationship between kings and scribes. Besides the aspirations of the literate elite towards royal privileges or proximity,[94] kings negotiated forms of self-presentation that played up their own erudition and awareness of contemporary scribal practices, from copying texts to touring tombs. These intersected with concomitant royal interests in reaching and establishing presences in deep time and remote places. The Amduat catalogue evokes life experiences, intellectual pursuits, and aesthetic values that were the hallmarks of scribal life in New Kingdom Thebes.

Acknowledgements

This research was completed as part of the VIEWS project (Visual Interactions in Early Writing Systems, UKRI Frontier Research Grant no. EP/X028240/1). For the purpose of open access, the author has applied a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence to any Author Accepted Manuscript version arising. I am grateful to Richard Bruce Parkinson and Philippa Steele for comments on early ideas, and to Joachim Quack and Alexandra von Lieven for their helpful pointers during the conference in Mainz.

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[93] Jean-Marie Kruchten, "Un sculpteur des images divines ramesside," in *L'atelier de l'orfèvre: Mélanges offerts à Ph. Derchain*, eds. Michèle Broze and Philippe Talon (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 110; Andréas Stauder, "Staging Restricted Knowledge: The Sculptor Irtysen's Self-presentation (ca. 2000 BC)," in *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000-1550 BC*, eds. Gianluca Miniaci et al. (Leiden: Sidestone, 2018), 239–71.
[94] Heike Guksch, *Königsdienst: zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994).

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