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THE PRESENTATION OF MAAT

RITUAL AND LEGITIMACY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

by

EMILY TEETER

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Cover Illustration

Seti I Presents Maat to Osiris in the Presence of Isis and Harsiese. Inner Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Seti I at Abydos. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

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To the memory of my grandmother,
Louise Teeter,
who was always there

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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Abydos I	*The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume 1: The Chapels of Osiris, Isis, and Horus.* A. M. Calverly and M. F. Broome (A. H. Gardiner, editor). London: The Egypt Exploration Society; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1933
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CT I	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts, Volume I: Texts of Spells 1–75.* A. de Buck. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 34. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935
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GEG[3]	*Egyptian Grammar.* (Third edition). Alan H. Gardiner. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1957
Hiero. Texts	*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum.* (11 vols.). London: The British Museum
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LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie.* (7 vols.). Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, editors.Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975–1992
LD	*Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.* (12 vols.). R. Lepsius. Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres. (Reprint)
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MH III	*Medinet Habu, Volume III: The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 23. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934
MH IV	*Medinet Habu, Volume IV: Festival Scenes of Ramses III.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 51. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940
MH V	*Medinet Habu, Volume V: The Temple Proper, Part I: The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels Adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall, with Marginal Material from the Forecourts.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 83. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957

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MH VI	*Medinet Habu, Volume VI: The Temple Proper, Part II: The Re Chapel, the Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 84. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963
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MH VIII	*Medinet Habu, Volume VIII: The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 94. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970
OIP 106	*The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Volume I, Part 1: The Wall Reliefs.* H. H. Nelson (W. J. Murnane, editor). Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 106. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981
Opet	*Reliefs and Inscriptions from Luxor Temple, Volume 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 107. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994
PM I/1	*Topographic Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs.* (Second edition) Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960
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PM VI	*Topographic Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume VI: Upper Egypt: Chief Temples (Excluding Thebes), Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo, and Philae.* Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939
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RIK I	*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume I: Ramses III's Temple Within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part 1.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 25. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936
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RIK III	*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume III: Bubastite Portal.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 74. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954
RIK IV	*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume IV: The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I.* The Epigraphic Survey. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 107. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1986
Urk. I	*Urkunden des Alten Reiches, Band I.* Kurt Sethe. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903–33
Urk. IV	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Band IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1927–84
WB	*Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* A. Erman and H. Grapow. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926–51

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ATP	Prefix for registration number of photograph, Akhenaton Temple Project, University of Toronto
BD	Book of the Dead
Berlin	Prefix for registration number of object in the Berlin Museum, Berlin
BM	Prefix for registration number of object in the British Museum, London
Brooklyn	Prefix for registration number of object in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn
ca.	*circa*, about, approximately
Cairo	Prefix for registration number of object in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Carter no.	Prefix for registration number of object in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
CFETK	Centre Franco-égyptien d'Études des Temples de Karnak
CG	Prefix for registration number of object in the Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo
col(s).	column(s)
cont.	continued
CT	Coffin Text spell
DM	Deir el-Medina
DN	divine name
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
ed(s).	edition, editor(s)
et al.	*et alii*, and others
fig(s).	figure(s)
fn(s).	footnote(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)

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Guide	Prefix for Maspero's numbering system for Egyptian Museum, Cairo
i.e.	*id est*, that is
IFAO	L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JE	Journal d'Entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo
KV	Kings' Valley
l(l).	line(s)
loc.	location(s) in *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. H. H. Nelson. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 56. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941 (Second printing, 1965)
Louvre	Prefix for registration number of object in the Musée du Louvre, Paris
MMA	Prefix for registration number of object in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
OI	Prefix for registration number of object in the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago
p(p).	page(s)
P.	papyrus
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl(s).	plate(s)
PN	personal name
Pushkin	Prefix for registration number of object in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
RN	royal name
s.v.	*sub verbo, sub voce*, under the word
sc.	*scilicet*, that is to say
TT	Theban Tomb
Turin	Prefix for registration number of object in the Museo Egizio, Turin
University Museum	Prefix for registration number of object in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
viz.	*videlicet*, namely
« »	to be omitted

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that the principles embodied in Maat, the goddess of "truth," are a fundamental element in ancient Egyptian civilization. With Maat's emphasis upon tradition and unchanging values, she provided the sense of continuity that ensured the permanence of many features of ancient Egyptian culture. Although there has been considerable discussion of the role and aspects of the goddess Maat,[1] there have been only cursory comments concerning the ritual of the presentation of her image.[2]

It is generally accepted that the ritual, as any other offering ritual, expresses the relationship of the king to the gods.[3] However, the offering of Maat very specifically commemorates the willingness of the king to uphold the fundamental principles of world order (*mꜣʿt*) that were established at the beginning of time. The ritual also functions as a symbol of the king's legitimacy.

Several scholars have suggested that the presentation of Maat is a symbol of a supreme offering, or of all other types of offerings subsumed in her tiny figure.[4] Others have discussed a more specific purpose in this ritual, suggesting that its depiction has a political propaganda value, presumably expressing to mankind that the king ruled in accordance with divine law and with divine approval.[5] This sense of the ritual acting as a sign of political and divine legitimacy is emphasized by the fact that, with few exceptions and unlike most other types of ritual offerings, the donor of Maat is the reigning king or a figure of quasi-royal authority.[6] In this context of the ritual seeking to establish a sense of legitimacy for the donor, Assmann (1970: 65) asserts that the restriction of the presentation of Maat to the king is a reflection of the pharaoh's superior and sole ability to discern the true functions and value of Maat. He alone, as the divinely supported ruler, knows the values by which Egypt should be guided.

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1. Boylan 1922: 146; Bleeker 1929; Moret 1940: 1–14; Frankfort 1948a: 43–44, 53–58; idem 1948b: 51–52; Anthes 1952; Bonnet 1952: 430–34; Westendorf 1966: 201–25; Aldred 1968: 25–26; Bergman 1968: 176; idem 1972: 80–101; Morenz 1973: 113 ff., 265; Hornung 1982: 213–16, 279; Finnestad 1985: 154–55; Preuss 1987: 20–23; W. Helck, "Maat," *LÄ* III, cols. 1110–19; Tobin 1988: 77–88; idem 1989: 169–83. For Maat and art and architecture, see Westendorf 1971: 143–46; Kuhlmann 1977: 94; Shirun-Grumach 1985: 172–201; for Maat and the gods, see Westendorf 1954: 165–82; for Maat and the afterlife, see Jankuhn 1973: 19–22; Seeber 1976: 139–47; for Maat and the Pyramid Texts, see B. Altenmüller 1975: 67–72; for Maat as an ethical feature, see Fecht 1958; Morenz 1964: 42 ff.; Brunner 1963: 103–20; Volten 1963: 73–101; Assmann 1969: 156–57; Lichtheim 1979: 283–306; Assmann 1979: 10–72; Fox 1980: 126–27; Assmann 1980: 22–27; idem 1983b: 277–86; idem 1984a: 11–14, 232–81; idem 1984b: 687–701; idem 1989a; Goyon 1988: 29–30, 34; Hornung 1987: 385–427; idem 1989: 131–45; Assmann 1990; 192–99; Hornung 1992: 131–45; Lichtheim 1992; Assmann 1994.
2. Blackman 1918: 156; Moret 1940: 6–7; Frankfort 1948b: 157–58; Anthes 1952: 10–11; Caminos 1958: 11; Derchain 1961: 66–67; Arnold 1962: 44, n. 1; Leclant 1965: 378; Bergman 1968: 25–28; idem 1972: 80–101; Bleeker 1973: 80; Assmann 1969: 154–57, 161–62; Morenz 1973: 120–21; Smith and Redford 1976: 24; Hornung and Staehelin 1979: 286, n. 475; for the presentation of Maat as a cryptogram for Amun, see Hornung 1982: 214; Rössler-Köhler 1984: 929–45; Moftah 1985: 225–26; Myśliwiec 1985: 9; Finnestad 1985: 154–55; Raye 1985: 183–84; Englund 1987: 57–66; Tobin 1987: 115; H. Altenmüller, "Opfer," *LÄ* IV, col. 581; W. Helck, "Maat," *LÄ* III, col. 1113; Hornung 1987: 385–89, 400, 416–17; Frandsen 1989: 95–108; Hornung 1992: 131–34, 139–40, 142; Smith 1994: 78–79. Assmann (1990: 186–95) is primarily concerned with the association of the deceased and the sun god, and the role of the ethical concept of maat in the association of the deceased with the sun god.
3. For the king and Maat, see Frandsen 1989: 107; Tawfik 1989: 227; Fazzini 1988: 20; Morenz 1973: 120 ff.; Assmann 1970: 65; Blumenthal 1970: 432–41; Bergman 1968: 215–16.
4. Arnold 1962: 44, n. 1; Bergman 1972: 92; Bleeker 1973: 80; Finnestad 1985: 154–55; Raye 1985: 183–84; Frandsen 1989: 98–99; Hornung 1992: 136.
5. Moftah 1985: 225–26; Myśliwiec 1985: 9. Blumenthal (1970: 432–41) gives many references to Maat that might be construed as possible propaganda.
6. See *Chapter 2*. For comments about royal legitimacy expressed through temple ritual, see Otto 1969: 385–411; Bell 1985a: 290–91.

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The relationship of the values of Maat to the sense of royal legitimacy can be demonstrated by a variety of records. In Coffin Text Spell 1105, it is stated that "I have nurtured Maat; prepare a path for me that I might receive the *wrrt*-crown ... from her" (*CT* VII, 432–33). Kagemni warns "do Maat for the king (for) Maat is what the king loves ... speak Maat to the king, (for) Maat is what the king loves."[7] The value and symbols of Maat followed the king throughout his life. The Instructions for Merikare indicate that life itself depended upon Maat: "Do Maat that you may endure upon earth."[8] Ramesside kings' prenomens, assumed at their accession to the throne, are with few exceptions compounded with the name Maat.[9] Far before the first attestation of the presentation of Maat in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, the kings incorporated the goddess' name into portions of their titulary.[10] At least one ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty was crowned in the Temple of Maat, which once stood to the east of Pylon 5 at Karnak.[11] Kuhlmann (1977: 94, n. 1) suggests that the base of the king's throne is the Maat hieroglyph.[12] Westendorf (1971: 143–46) proposes that the roof slabs of the causeways of the Old Kingdom funerary complexes were deliberately carved in the shape of double Maat signs.[13] In certain scenes from New Kingdom tombs, the goddess Maat stands protectively behind the king while he is seated in his kiosk.[14] A late Ramesside or Saite statue that depicts the seated goddess wearing the royal uraeus is another indication of the association of royal power and Maat.[15]

Maat permeated ancient law and the administration of the state. As the Maxims of Ptahhotep relate: "Maat (justice) is great and its appropriateness is lasting; it has not been disturbed since the time of him who made it ... there is punishment for him who passes over its laws ... ."[16] The association between law and Maat is echoed by the Maat-form pendant that was worn by the vizier.[17] Strudwick (1985: 178) suggests that another "secular and administrative" official also bore a Maat-related title, *ḥm-nṯr Mꜣʿt*.[18] The loss of order, or what was perceived as lawlessness, was attributed to the loss of Maat, which is most apparent in the post-Amarna period when according to the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun the king restored Maat in the land that had been in confusion during the time of his predecessor.[19] So, too, the scenes of the king slaying the assembled enemies of Egypt who appear on the face of pylons echo the association of the king and the proper order of the land. In such compositions, the defeated enemy holds a Maat feather as a sign of submission.[20] Such compositions could be related not only to the king's ability to rule the land correctly, but also to his ability to restore order and to maintain the primordial order of the land that existed at the beginning of time. The associations of Maat with the ancient Egyptian state and idea of kingship are so numerous and pervasive that one could be tempted to conclude that during the pharaonic period "l'état, c'est Maat."[21]

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7. *Urk.* I, 195.6–8; Blumenthal (1970: 432–41) lists other such examples.
8. So commented upon by Assmann (1984b: 695–96).
9. With the following exceptions, all Ramesside kings have Maat in their prenomen: Ramesses I and Merneptah have Maat in the nomen rather than the prenomen; Amunmesse and Twosert have Maat in their Horus name rather than nomen. The last kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Seti II and Siptah) and the first of the Twentieth (Sethnakht) lack Maat in any part of their titulary. This characteristic is shared by Ramesses IX. Herihor compounded his Golden Horus name with Maat in the epithet *irt Mꜣʿt*.
10. This occurs first in the *nbty* name (*nb Mꜣʿt*) and Horus name (*nb Mꜣʿt Snfrw*) of Snefru. See also Christophe 1950: 138–46 (cited in Hornung 1982: 214, n. 68).
11. Murnane 1977: 33, with further references to the coronation of Hatsheput. For the architecture of this "palace of Maat," see Hegazy and Martinez 1993: 54–63.
12. See Hornung 1992: 134 for comments about the use of the sign as the base for divine thrones.
13. See also Hornung 1987: 397.
14. TT 48 (Amunemhet): Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 39; TT 55 (Ramose); TT 58 (usurped by Amunhotep): Davies and Gardiner 1936, pl. LX; TT 93 (Kenamun): Nina de Garis Davies 1930, pls. XI–XXIV; Černý 1927: 190, fig. 15. This role is not restricted to Maat; for this role filled by the queen, see Černý 1927: 189, fig. 14; Luxor Museum 1979: 78–79, n. 101.
15. Small blue stone statue in the Egyptian Museum, Gallery 19, bearing paper tag with number 5189, pictured in Grdseloff 1940, fig. 29, and dated by him to the Saite period.
16. Translation by Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 412.
17. Möller 1920: 67 ff.; Grdseloff 1940: 185–202; Hornung 1987: 398–99.
18. It is rather unlikely that this is a secular title, but rather that it is a title which denotes a priest of Maat who is involved in the judicial workings of the government. Due to Maat's intimate role in the legal structure of the land, or at least in the formation of the traditions upon which the land was ruled, it would not be unlikely that such a priestly title would be found in a more "secular" realm. Note also the well-attested multiplicity of offices that were held by one individual. Strudwick (1985: 206–07) also mentions that the *ḥm-nṯr Mꜣʿt* title is "usually associated with legal officials," which accords well with the many associations that the vizier had with Maat.
19. *Urk.* IV, 2026.18–19.
20. *RIK* III, pl. 3; loc. KG 43, 90, 143.
21. The centrality of Maat to the state is also summarized by Assmann (1990: 200).

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The scenes of the presentation of Maat can also express political responsibility. Bergman (1972: 83) considers the ritual to represent the king presenting aspects of the state, and thus literally upholding the laws which the gods love. Hornung also comments upon the political implications of the ritual, citing it as a physical symbol of the partnership between god and mankind. As the representative of mankind, the king presents Maat because "... gods and people must together ensure that disorder does not come to overpower justice and order; this is the meaning of their common obligation toward *maat*" (Hornung 1982: 213).

One of the features of the ritual that is most commonly commented upon is its expression of the *do ut des* relationship between the king and the gods.[22] In this ritual, the king presents the image of the goddess, who represents law and righteousness, to the gods who have granted boons to the king.[23] Although this relationship is expressed in all types of offering rituals, the presentation of Maat, as the embodiment of the laws and customs upon which the land is founded, is the most complete expression of the reciprocal god-king relationship because of Maat's association with royal duties and prerogatives.

A feature of the presentation of Maat that has been less frequently noted is its association with the offering of the royal name.[24] In what ways are the two rituals associated, and what is the origin of the Ramesside name-offering ritual? Rössler-Köhler (1984: 941) points out that during the Amarna period the presentation of Maat was replaced by representations of the king and queen in the guise of the offspring of Re, elevating the name of the Aton. To what extent are these Amarna scenes the inspiration or direct predecessor of the Ramesside ritual of the presentation of the name?

In the course of this work, an attempt is made to compare more systematically the iconography and inscriptions of the presentation of the royal and divine name with the closely related scenes of the offering of Maat, and to determine whether the offering of the royal Ramesside name is indeed derived from scenes of the presentation of the name of the Aton, or if it is a new iconographic feature of the Ramesside period.

By far the most intriguing issue that pertains to the presentation of Maat, championed by Assmann and referred to by others, relates to the proposed change in the nature of the man-god relationship in the Ramesside period.[25] Assmann (1983b: 283–86; 1984b: 687–701) suggests that the man-god relationship at this time is directly related to a changing conception of the idea of Maat. These changes, which according to Assmann are rooted in the Amarna experience, are manifested by a growing dependence of mankind upon the gods and the diminution of the king's role as an intermediary. This ensuing *persönliche Frömmigkeit* (personal piety), characterized by mankind's sense of helplessness and total reliance upon god's will, as well as the disassociation of act and reward, is according to Assmann due to the gradually diminished role of Maat as an ethical concept.[26] Assmann proposes that by the mid-Ramesside period, this sense of personal piety had dramatic implications for funerary beliefs because an assurance of justification was no longer based upon conducting one's life in accordance with the precepts of Maat or upon funerary endowments and furnishings. The fate of man came to depend entirely upon the whim and will of the gods,[27] and the assured or "automatic atonement" of the earlier period was gone (Morenz 1973: 127–30). Assmann (1984b: 699) suggests that this is also reflected in the iconography of tomb decoration, which during the Ramesside period emphasizes scenes of the gods and themes of immortality rather than biographical information.

Assmann's assertions are based upon a fairly compact series of hymns from private tombs, personal letters, didactic literature, and a limited number of historical texts.[28] His important discussion of Ramesside ethics and religion has not taken into account an entirely different corpus of material, specifically the

22. Bergman (1972: 92) also comments upon the dual cult actions of the god and the king in these offering scenes.

23. For the temporal order of the different acts of donation expressed in the ritual scenes, see *Chapter 5: General Conclusions*.

24. J. Osing, "Namesopfer," *LÄ* IV, col. 337, with bibliography. For additional references, see Rössler-Köhler 1984: 943; Teeter 1986b: 175–84; Hornung 1987: 416–17; Englund 1987; Frandsen 1989: 100–07.

25. Morenz 1964: 42 ff.; Brunner 1963: 103–20; Volten 1963: 74–101; Lichtheim 1979: 283–306; Assmann 1979: 10–14; idem 1980: 22–27; Hornung 1982: 196; Assmann 1983b: 277–86; idem 1984a: 11–14; idem 1984b: 687–701; idem 1989a: 69 ff.; W. Helck, "Maat," *LÄ* III, cols. 1117 ff.

26. Assmann 1983b: 283–86; idem 1984a: 11–14, 232–81; idem 1984b: 687–701 (most succinctly stated on pp. 698–99); idem 1990: 252–60.

27. Assmann 1984b: 698, with references in note 62; idem 1990: 259–60. See also Brunner 1962: 103–20.

28. Assmann 1975; idem 1984a. Amunemope is among the more frequently cited texts. See Lichtheim 1992 for of biographic texts and in particular her comments on pp. 99–101 regarding her previous conclusions drawn about the Late period wisdom texts that she withdraws; note that her conclusions were adopted by Assmann as an integral part of the argument about the decline of Maat. See also Assmann 1983/84: 203 and Ockinga 1987: 38–48 for the Kadesh reliefs of Ramesses II as documents of personal piety.

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scenes of the presentation of Maat. With Assmann's far-reaching suggestions concerning the changing role of the goddess and of the Ramesside king, one assumes that the scenes of the king presenting Maat are of special relevance to his argument. One might question whether the incidence, iconography, and inscriptions of the scenes of the presentation of Maat in any way support, or conflict with, Assmann's theoretical reconstruction of a change in the conception of Maat.

The information for this study is derived primarily from reliefs that appear on New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period temples. The relevance of the temple inscriptions and reliefs to a study of popular religion cannot be overlooked because certain inscriptions and architectural features indicate that portions of the temples were indeed accessible to the general population.

That the common man had access to the temples is best attested by the so-called "Temples of the Hearing Ear," places of supplication and hearing petitions, which are found in association with the temples of Luxor and Karnak.[29] One such structure to the east of Karnak was begun by Hatshepsut or Thutmose III possibly upon the foundations of a temple with a similar function dating from the time of Thutmose I (Nims 1971: 111). In the time of Ramesses II, another shrine was constructed nearby by Bakenkhonsu, High Priest of Amun. The resident deity of this Temple of "Amun-Re-Horakhty" was alternately referred to as "the place where Ramesses hears Petitions" (*KRI* III, 298.12) or as a place where the god Amun *sḏm nḥt* "hears petition(s)."[30] Reliefs of Herihor in the court of the Temple of Khonsu depicting the southern chapel of the Karnak temple indicate that by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the resident deities of the chapel were Amun and Amunet along with the otherwise unknown "Amunhotep of the Date Palm," and that the chapel was called the *ʿnḫ sḏm m pr ʾImn* "the hearing ear in the Temple of Amun."[31] The structure continued to be a place of popular worship into the Ptolemaic period, when it was a place of petition to Amun. In the reign of Ptolemy VIII, the king again was the one to whom petitions were made.[32]

The Amun chapel of the triple shrine of Seti II in the first court of the temple was referred to as a "place of obeisance, honoring, and praying to all the gods,"[33] and hence was a place of popular worship.

The doorway of the chapel of Osiris Hekadjet at Karnak is decorated with a scene of Amunirdis presenting Maat. The doorway is named "The great doorway ... of Amunirdis, whom the people adore in the house of her father Osiris, Ruler of Eternity" (Nims 1955: 116, 123, no. 20), suggesting that the entrance of the small temple, with its scene of the presentation of Maat, was a place of popular gathering.

The presence of non-priestly individuals within the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and the relevance of the decorated hall for a study of popular religion can be attested by architrave inscriptions that refer to the hall as "a place where the common people (*rḫyt*) praise the name of his majesty" (*KRI* II, 559.7–8; Nims 1954: 80). The hall was also referred to as the place "in which Amun is manifest to the populace" (Nims 1965: 93). This ability of the common man to enter that area of the temple is also attested by the *dwꜣ rḫyt nb* "RN [of king] whom all the common folk praise."[34]

Although the court located to the south of the Fifth and Sixth Pylons is not specifically called a place of prayer, Barguet suggests that it was a place of procession and thus was an area of assembly. The north wall of this court is decorated with a scene of Ramesses III presenting Maat to an image of Amun (D3), which was originally covered with precious metal (Barguet 1962: 113–14, no. 6).

The first court at Luxor Temple was also an area of public assembly and thus its decoration is relevant to popular religion. Doors into the court are named *nsw bỉt Wsr-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ dwꜣ rḫyt nb ʿnḫ.sn* "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt whom the common people praise that they may live," and *nsw bỉt Wsr-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ dwꜣ rḫyt m tꜣ ḥwt-nṯr Rʿ-mss mry-ʾImn m pr ỉmn* "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Wsr-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ* whom the common people praise in the estate of *Rʿ-mss-mry-ỉmn* in the domain of Amun."[35] According to an inscription in the southeast corner of the court, that area (or perhaps the entire

29. See also Nims 1954: 80 for references to such structures at Abydos, Horbeit, and Memphis.

30. *KRI* II, 585.4 (door of the temple). For additional evidence that it is the king who hears petitions in this temple rather than or in addition to the god, see Wente 1971: 318; Wente restores the name of the king as opposed to Helck (1968: 129) and Kitchen (*KRI* II, 582.1–2) who restore epithets of the god Amun.

31. *Khonsu* I, pl. 29; Nims 1955: 116–17; idem 1971: 107–11.

32. According to a dedication added by Nectanebo I, the deity of the chapel was recognized as Amun (Nims 1971: 108).

33. *KRI* IV, 254.6: *st snty tꜣ swꜣš snmḥ nṯrw nbw*.

34. For general remarks about the rebus, see Baines 1985: 48–54; Bell 1985a: 275.

35. *KRI* II, 610.7–8, 10, 12; Nims 1955: 117. See Bell 1985a: 270–71 for general remarks concerning public access into the court.

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court) was an area where commoners could put petitions before the god (*KRI* II, 607.14–15). The pillars on the east side of the court are decorated with the *dwꜣ rḫyt nb* rebus, again attesting to the access that the public had into the area. Inscriptions in the Khonsu and Mut chapels in the triple shrine in the court indicate that these structures were also areas of popular worship.[36] So, too, Murnane (1985a: 147–48) suggests that the false door and ram-headed standards in the Amun section of that structure are indications that common folk prayed within the chapel.

Certain sections of the Medinet Habu complex were also employed by non-priestly worshippers. The figure of Ptah "who hears petitions" on the south wall of the passage through the High Gate at Medinet Habu attests to popular assembly and piety in that area of the temple complex.[37] Like the image of Amun in the Thutmoside court south of the Fifth and Sixth Pylons at the Temple of Amun, this image of Ptah at Medinet Habu might have been covered with precious overlay (Murnane 1980: 7). A marginal inscription on the exterior west wall of the temple refers to *st snmḥ sḏm sprwt* "a place of supplication and hearing prayers" (*MH* III, pl. 181A). Nims demonstrates that the "Amun-Re in the Thickness of the Door" leading to the first court of the great temple was the focus of popular devotion, as has Fischer for the representations of gods who are surrounded by peg holes from which coverings were hung near the entrance of the Second Court.[38] The west and north walls of the Second Court also bear traces of peg holes around scenes of the Theban Triad, Ptah, and the shrines of the triad on their sacred barks,[39] suggesting that this section of the temple was, at least on occasion, accessible to the public. Fischer (1959: 198) argues that although the exterior doorways of the temple with their associated representation of the deity were the primary areas of popular petition, the west wall of the Second Court, which functioned as the portico for the inner areas of the temple, might have been the deepest area of the temple into which the non-priestly staff could enter. This judgment is based not only on the presence of peg holes that surround figures of certain gods on the west wall of the Second Court,[40] but also upon the fact that in four out of five examples of barks upon the north wall of the Second Court the shrines of the barks are veiled as they would be in public processions.[41] The Eighteenth Dynasty temple also served as a place for petitions and prayer into the Late period.[42]

A reference to *snmḥ sḏm sprwt* "supplication and hearing petitions" is found in the bandeau texts at the base of the east wall of the first hall of the Ramesseum (*KRI* II, 653.4–5), indicating that common people were allowed into that section of the temple.

The reliefs of the Inner Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Seti I at Abydos were also for public consumption as suggested by the use of the *dwꜣ rḫyt nb* motif on the lower portion of the pillars of the hall (*Abydos* IV, pls. 5; 41B–C; 57). So, too, the First Octostyle Hall of the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos is decorated not only with the *dwꜣ rḫyt nb* rebus, but also with the *dwꜣ pʿt nb* "all mankind gives praise" rebus.[43]

This survey of public access to temples demonstrates the relevance of the monuments to a study of the relationship of man to his gods and to his king. The sources derived from the temples are complementary to Assmann's "private" documents and sources, because although composed from the "official" viewpoint, they were ultimately not only for the consumption of priests and the privileged, but also for the same group of people who lived and built their tombs at Thebes. To overlook this vast body of material is to have an incomplete view of the religion of the common man. Since Assmann's reconstruction of Ramesside religion also emphasizes a diminished role of the king and an accompanying closeness of man and god, one might expect that the temple reliefs, wherein the focus is on the king's relationship to the gods, should be included in a test of any changes in theology in the Ramesside period.

The following chapters document the basic features of the presentation of Maat, a ritual that has been acknowledged to be so important yet has received little systematic study. The comments and conclusions about the incidence of the scene, its iconography, sequence, significance, and especially its relation to other

36. *KRI* II, 616.16–617.1 (Khonsu), 616.3 (Mut); Bell 1985a: 270–71.

37. *MH* VIII, pl. 608; Nims 1954: 79; idem 1955: 119.

38. Nims 1954: 79–80; Fischer 1959: 196–98; *MH* V, x. For examples of peg holes, see *MH* V, pls. 246I, 254, 260A–B, 266A, 304A, 305A, 306A.

39. *MH* IV, pls. 229–33; MH V, pls. 290–91. Note that the Second Court of the temple has the greatest concentration of scenes of the presentation of Maat. See further in *Chapter 4: Location of Scenes of the Presentation of Maat.*

40. *MH* V, pls. 290–91; Fischer 1959: 198.

41. *MH* IV, pls. 229 (two examples), 231 (two examples); Fischer 1959: 197.

42. Nims 1954: 80 (inscription of Hakoris).

43. PM VI, 37; see also Zayed 1962: 115–18.

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associated rituals, such as the presentation of the royal name, provide an additional background of information by which to evaluate changes in ancient Egyptian ethics and religion in the Ramesside period.

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Scenes that are repeatedly referred to herein are collected in the *Appendix: Classification of Scenes*. These scenes are divided into eighteen classes (A–R), determined by the dominant feature of the scene, viz., the donor (whether the donor is the king, a God's Wife, a non-royal individual, deity) or by its general theme (Maat associated with deities or textual references to the presentation of Maat).

Table 1. Description of Scenes Listed in the *Appendix: Classification of Scenes*

Class	*Number of Examples*	*Description*
A	35	King presents Maat with full inscription
B	30	King presents Maat with partial inscription
C	14	King presents Maat with no inscription
D	4	King presents Maat with inscription other than offering formula
E	4	King presents Maat in the presence of Maat
F	22	King presents prenomen
G	5	King presents prenomen without inscription
H	3	King presents nomen
I	1	King presents nomen and prenomen
J	12	Amunhotep IV or Nefertiti present Maat
K	10	God's Wife presents Maat
L	2	Quasi-royal (other than God's Wife) as donor of Maat
M	10	Non-royal individual presents Maat
N	13	Deity presents or bears Maat
O	7	King presents Maat in presence or on behalf of private individual
P	5	Presentation of object equated with or in parallelism to Maat
Q	16	Maat associated with *ʾImntt* and other funerary associations
R	12	Textual references to the presentation of Maat

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CHAPTER 2

CHRONOLOGY

THUTMOSE III TO AMUNHOTEP IV

The presentation of Maat first appears as an iconographic device in the time of Thutmose III (A1, B1).[1] The earliest (A1) of the scenes appears in the Festival Hall, which is dated after year twenty-four when the cord for the temple was stretched.[2] The scene (B1) on the east face of the wall to the north of the present sanctuary is later, about year fifty.[3] Two other scenes are cited by Porter and Moss (B16–17) as being of a similar date. However, the first is now attributed to Merneptah,[4] and the second to Amunmesse, usurped by Seti II.[5] The attribution of an additional scene (B2) is less secure, considering that Amunhotep I is also honored on the same monument.[6]

There are no representations of the presentation of Maat that can be ascribed to the reign of Hatshepsut, although a textual reference can be cited from the base of a statue from Deir el-Bahari which portrays the queen offering jars. The statue bears the inscription *Ḥꜣt-špswt-ḥnkt-Mꜣʿt-n-ʾImn* "Hatshepsut, who offers Maat to Amun."[7] Another possible example, from the queen's chapel at Speos Artemidos does not employ the usual phraseology associated with the ritual presentation of Maat.[8] These two texts suggest that although there are no examples of the representation of the ritual from the reign of Hatshepsut, the presentation of Maat was performed during her reign.

No scenes of the ritual are known from the reign of Amunhotep II. However, Van Siclen (1985: 227; 1986: 44, no. 6) suggests that the Amunhotep III's Temple of Maat in Karnak North is built of blocks reemployed from an Amunhotep II structure that might have been dedicated to Maat.

The reign of Thutmose IV yields no examples of the representation of the ritual, although the Sphinx Stela refers to the ritual (*Urk.* IV, 1540.15), employing the same vocabulary as that which narrates some of the earlier depictions of the ritual itself (*ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ...*). The consistency of the vocabulary suggests that the ritual continued as a theme for temple decoration in the time of Thutmose IV; although there are no examples of the scene itself from that reign, its significance was undiminished.

Maat received more emphasis in the reign of Amunhotep III, not only through representations of the goddess and the presentation of her image, but also in the construction of the Temple of Maat in Karnak North (Varille 1943: 21–27). No scenes of the presentation of Maat from that Eighteenth Dynasty structure are known.

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1. In contrast to the statement of Anthes (1952: 13) that the ritual is known only once before the Amarna period and Derchain's (1961: 66, no. 10) rather vague "Les examples de l'offrande de Maat sont ... attestés depuis le Nouveau Empire ... ."
2. Nims 1966: 97; Dorman 1988: 57.
3. According to Van Siclen (pers. comm., 1986), "... sometime between years 46–52, and ca. year 50." Dorman (1988: 47) is more conservative in his estimate, suggesting that it dates no earlier than year 42.
4. Lanny Bell, pers. comm.
5. Van Siclen, pers. comm., 1986. According to Van Siclen, scene B17 was usurped from Amunmesse, but the usurper's name was never reinscribed. The reused gateway *ʾImn-ḏsr-fꜣw* into which scene B17 is incorporated does date to the coregency of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III (Dorman 1988: 55); however, Van Siclen suggests that the present texts of Seti II replacing Amunmesse "probably replaced Annals texts."
6. "Thebes, Eighteenth Dynasty" is the only given provenance (*Hiero. Texts* 6, pl. 42).
7. R1. See Tefnin 1979: 74–75 for the suggestion that the inscription is the name of the statue; Hayes (1959: 95–97) assumes, despite the participial ending of *ḥnkt*, that the phrase was a caption which described the statue's function.
8. *sʿr.n.i mꜣʿt mrt n.f ỉw rḫ «n» ʿnḫ.f ỉm.s* "I have elevated(?) Maat which he loves, because [I] know that he lives on it" (*Urk.* IV, 384.15–16). For the use of *sʿr*, see *Chapter 5: The Verb*.

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Despite the emphasis upon Maat that the construction of the Temple of Maat seems to indicate, only four examples of the presentation of the goddess' image dating to the reign of Amunhotep III (A2, B3, C1–2) have been identified. The Cairo naos (C2), the Cairo stela (B3), and the scene on the Third Pylon at Karnak (C1; Murnane 1979: 11–27) depict the king presenting Maat to Amun. A representation on one side of a pedestal from el-Ashmunein portrays the king offering to an inscription of Thoth (A2). Three of these examples (A2, B3, C1) are dated to the later years of his reign after the celebration of his first jubilee.[9]

The relatively great number of unmutilated and unusurped reliefs that can be dated to Amunhotep III allows a more accurate evaluation of the incidence of the motif during his reign. Yet, even with the greater corpus of material, it is evident that the presentation of Maat was not a standard or at least common motif in temple decoration at that time. The decorative scheme of the southern part of Luxor Temple, with its wealth of ritual scenes charged with symbolism of royal power and legitimacy (Bell 1985a: 251–94), does not include a single depiction of the presentation of Maat. This omission creates some doubts about the assumed importance of the ritual in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, or at least concerning its relevance to the theme of kingship as expressed at Luxor Temple.

Although representations of the presentation of Maat are not numerous in the time of Amunhotep III and before, textual references to the ritual, or at least to the idea of offering Maat, appear in private monuments from the time of Thutmose IV through the end of the dynasty (M5; R2, 4–6, 11–12). These texts, although not accompanied by a representation of the offering rite, indicate that the ritual was certainly known to the Theban citizens who, in the course of their own devotions, visited the areas of the temples where the presentation of Maat was displayed.[10] The stelophorous statue of Nefermenu (R2) and scenes from TT 38 (Djeserkaresoneb; R4) and TT 66 (Hepw; R12), which mimic the standard phrase *ḥnk(.i) M3ʿt* employed in the royal scenes,[11] document this transfer of the theme to the non-royal context.

Other non-royal attestations refer to the possession or transfer of Maat. In TT 102 (M5), Imhotep relates *ỉỉ.n.ỉ ḥr.k ʿwy.ỉ ḥr M3ʿt ỉw M3ʿt ḥr ḏbʿw.ỉ* "I have come to you, my arms bearing Maat; Maat is upon my fingers." In the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192; R6) an inscription refers to *snm.k M3ʿt ḥr ḥry.s* "you feed on Maat from the one (i.e., Kheruef) who bears it."[12] The sun hymn on the north reveal of the doorway of the tomb of Neferhotep (R11) contains many references to Maat and Re. In one passage the deceased avows *ḏd.k M3ʿt ḫnt ỉb.ỉ sʿr(.ỉ) s(t) n kȝ.k* "It is in order that I elevate Maat to your ka that you give Maat to me."[13]

Means of transfer of this purely royal motif between the royal and non-royal spheres of experience include not only the scenes that were visible to common folk in the temples, but also hymns and popular liturgical literature. Another means through which the common folk were able to glean information about the presentation of Maat is from the corpus of traditional funerary texts, such as the Coffin Texts, which include references to the transfer or elevation of Maat. Spell 647 (*CT* VI, 267) contains the passage "I have lifted Maat up to the altar of Shu." Spell 723 (*CT* VI, 352) alludes to the presentation of Maat to Re: "[PN] is the butler of Re who will never die, Maat is raised up to him (i.e., Re)." Spell 491 (*CT* VI, 70–71) suggests that presenting Maat to Re will provide for the soul of the deceased. Spells 16, 17, and 165 (*CT* I, 51; *CT* III, 6) elucidate the symbiotic relationship of Maat and Re because the goddess is referred to as an invocation offering and as the food of Re.

THE AMARNA PERIOD

The relief record of the talatat at Karnak indicates that the presentation of Maat was far more common in the early Amarna period than in any other period of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[14] Thirty examples are attested (e.g., J1–10): twenty nine from the Karnak materials and an additional, non-talatat example from Amarna (J11).

9. The dating of the monuments is based on W. R. Johnson's (1990: 26–46) analysis of the artistic styles of Amunhotep III. For the date of the Third Pylon, see Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 98.

10. For the placement of such scenes, see *Chapter 4: Occurrences on Monuments*. The most prominent example from the Eighteenth Dynasty is the Thutmoside eastern temple at Karnak.

11. *ḥnk M3ʿt* in A1–4, passim. See *Chapter 5* for a discussion of the vocabulary employed in the scenes.

12. For the suggestion that it is Kheruef who bears Maat, see *Kheruef*, pl. 31, note h.

13. Norman de Garis Davies 1933: 54, pl. 37, ll. 13–16; Assmann 1983a: 89 (text 62).

14. In 1985/86, with the support of a fellowship from the American Research Center in Egypt, the photographic ar-

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The frequency of the representation of the presentation of Maat is in contrast to the traditionally held views about Maat in the Amarna period. Redford inexplicably comments that "It is noteworthy that we have been unable to find at Amarna the most frequent offering object at Karnak. This is a small statue of the goddess *Mꜣʿt*, Goddess of Truth, seated in a bowl" (Smith and Redford 1976: 24.2). This comment is curious in several ways. The offering of Maat was certainly not, and never was, the most common or even among the more common offerings at Karnak.[15] Secondly, the offering of Maat did continue at Amarna, attested by representations (J11–12) and through textual references in private tombs at Amarna.[16] The texts in the tomb of May and of Aye both preserve the phrase *sꜣ.f ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ḥr.k nfr* ...[17] "His son (Akhenaton), who presents Maat to your (Aton's) beautiful face." In both examples, *Mꜣʿt* is written  , being perhaps a circumlocution for a ritual that was still held to be a royal prerogative.[18] The verb *ḥnk* is characteristic of the dedication inscriptions that narrate the presentation of Maat in non-Amarna era scenes.[19]

Several features distinguish the scenes from the time of Amunhotep IV and the Amarna period proper from those of the earlier and later periods. The Amunhotep IV/Akhenaton presentation scenes are not narrated by dedication, and because the Aton is mute, there are no response inscriptions. The king is not the sole officiant (J6–9, 11),[20] and an unusual proportion of the scenes are double compositions wherein the same figure, be it the king or queen, is shown twice, the figures face to face beneath the rays of the Aton (J1, 3[?], 4–5, 7–8, 10).

THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

There are few examples of the presentation of Maat in the post-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty. No scenes are known from the time of Smenkhkare. Five scenes can be dated to Tutankhamun: the bezel of a gold ring depicting the king kneeling as he elevates an image of Maat as Nekhbet hovers overhead (C4); the decorations on the towboat which draws the *Wsr-ḥꜣt*-barge in the reliefs in the southeast corner of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple (C3); a double scene that adorns the representation of a temple doorway in the Opet reliefs at Luxor Temple (C6); and a stela (usurped by Horemheb) which depicts the presentation of Maat to Amun and Mut (C5).[21] Another loose block at Karnak (B4) has been dated to either Tutankhamun or Aye.[22]

The presentation of Maat in the reign of Tutankhamun is paralleled by the importance that the goddess is given in the text of that king's Restoration Stela (*Urk.* IV, 2026.18–19), wherein Tutankhamun boasts *Mꜣʿt mn.tỉ m st.s dỉ.f wn grgw m bwt tꜣ mỉ sp.f tpy* "Maat is established in her place; he (Tutankhamun) has caused lies to be an abomination, the land being as (it was) in its primordial time." This general phraseology was copied by other rulers who followed periods of real or conceptualized political distress.[23]

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chives of both the Akhenaton Temple Project of the University of Toronto (stored at Chicago House, Luxor) and the Centre Franco-égyptien d'Études des Temples de Karnak were examined. Twenty-nine examples of the presentation of Maat among the 47,000 talatat photographs were recorded.

15. Although other types of scenes were not systematically recorded, the presentation of various vessels is the most common type of offering, followed perhaps by censing.
16. Anthes 1952: 10–11; Rössler-Köhler 1984: 940–41; Teeter 1985/86: 45–46.
17. Sandman 1938: 59.18, 91.8; Anthes 1952: 13–14.
18. Hari (1985: 13) notes "The absolute refusal to allude to anything that recalls the traditional pantheon ... . The image of the goddess (Maat) had been replaced ... by phonetic readings." However, the epithet *ʿnḫ m Mꜣʿt* is written  without avoidance of the divine determinative on a "royal example" from Akhetaton (J11) and the inscriptions on the center and side bands of the coffin recovered from Tomb 55 (Davis 1910: 18) have  . For examples of the avoidance of the divine determinative, see Gardiner 1957b: 13. See Aldred 1988: 203 for additional comments concerning the coffin and its inscriptions.
19. See further in *Chapter 5*.
20. Working with largely unmatched talatat made it difficult to determine precisely who was the officiant of the presentation in the majority of the scenes. However, eight of the twenty-nine Karnak talatat scenes clearly show the queen presenting Maat. A single example from Amarna depicts the queen as the officiant.
21. Schaden 1985: 36. Otto Schaden kindly assisted in locating scenes from the reign of Aye.
22. Schaden 1988: 279–84. See Eaton-Krauss 1988: 8–9 for the assertion that it is to be dated to the reign of Tutankhamun.
23. See the Edict of Horemheb (*Urk.* IV, 2141.16) and the text of High Priest Osorkon (L1). The idea of kingship and the establishment of Maat might be echoed in the adoption, upon accession, of names that incorporate Maat. In the Eighteenth through Twentieth Dynasties alone, the following rulers have prenomens, or Horus or Golden Horus names, compounded with the name of the goddess: Thutmose I, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Amunhotep III, Tutankhamun, Aye, Horemheb, Ramesses I, Seti I, Ramesses II, Merneptah, Amunmesse, Twosert, Ramesses III–VIII, Ramesses X–XI. In contrast, only three kings (Ramesses I, Merneptah, and Ramesses IV) have nomens that include a mention of Maat.

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One fragmentary scene (B4), already cited, can possibly be ascribed to Aye. The stela usurped from Tutankhamun (C5) is the single example of the representation from the reign of Horemheb. However, both Aye and Horemheb incorporated Maat into their titularies: Aye within his prenomen (*Ḫpr ḫprw Rʿ ir Mɜʿt*, written without the seated female determinative) and Horemheb within his Golden Horus name (*ḥr ḥr Mɜʿt sḫpr tɜwy*) and in a variant of his prenomen (*Ḏsr ḫprw Rʿ ḥḳɜ Mɜʿt*), both written with the seated goddess determinative (von Beckerath 1984: 87, 232). The Edict of Horemheb offered the king an opportunity to claim that he was in fact united with the goddess of truth: *Mɜʿt iiy.t ḥnm.n.s im.f* "Maat () has come and she has united with him (Horemheb)" (*Urk.* IV, 2141.16). Considering the devotion to the goddess Maat reflected in the titularies of the last two pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is possible that both rulers portrayed themselves presenting Maat on other monuments which are now lost.

THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD

Significant changes in the depiction of the presentation of Maat occurred during the Ramesside period. The scene became a very common iconographic device, the prenomen of the king was associated with the ritual, and features of the motif were usurped for use in non-royal tombs.

The only example of the motif recorded for Ramesses I is a citation in Porter and Moss.[24] There are numerous examples of Seti I presenting Maat.[25] The motif was employed in the decoration of every major monument of the king and several minor monuments in the Nile Valley, the deserts, and in Nubia.[26]

The presentation of the royal prenomen equated with Maat appears first in the reign of Seti I[27] and it continues to be employed through the reign of Shoshenq III (pl. 21, G5). The equivalence of the two offerings is made clear not only by their shared iconography, but more fundamentally by the dedication *ḥnk Mɜʿt n* ... "presenting Maat to ..." which accompanies most of the scenes of the offering of the royal name. The name is associated with Maat not by the dedication inscription, but rather by her prominence in the depiction of the presentation of a complex rebus of the king's name. This association of Maat with the royal name is an indication that the conception of Maat and the Maat presentation ritual had undergone a significant change, because pharaohs of the preceding dynasty who are otherwise known to have employed the Maat presentation theme had prenomens (viz., *Nb Mɜʿt Rʿ* and *Mɜʿt kɜ Rʿ*) that allowed for the composition of complex rebuses[28] and could have been adapted to such ritual presentation. Yet, these Eighteenth Dynasty rulers did not present the rebus of their prenomen.[29]

This equation of the presentation of Maat and the royal name indicates that the Ramesside kings wished to express the idea that their names, and thereby themselves, were an aspect of Maat. Although the idea of the king being united with Maat is attested before the Ramesside period,[30] the presentation of the rebus of the king's name equated with Maat appears first in the reign of Seti I. It may not be coincidental that Seti assumed another epithet, *wḥm mswt* "Repeating of Births," a title that is attested in other periods when

24. PM II, 39 (144) II.I.2: a king, possibly Ramesses I, is represented offering Maat to Amun(?). The wall is so fragmentary and so heavily repaired that the scene was not visible.
25. No effort is made in the *Appendix: Classification of Scenes* to list every one of the very numerous examples of the presentation of Maat from the time of Seti I onward. With the exception of class J (Amarna), all of the known Eighteenth Dynasty examples are given.
26. Specifically, the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (A7); Temple of Seti I at Abydos (A3–4, B5); Kanais (F1); Luxor Temple (B6); Temple of Ptah at Karnak (B8); his mortuary temple at Gourna (F2–3, 7); and the Popolo Obelisk (C8). The Nauri Decree (A6) is also illustrated with a scene of the presentation of Maat.
27. Equated with Maat through the dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n* ... "Presenting Maat to ..." (F1–2, 5–8, 12–13, 20–22); and the variants: *rdit Mɜʿt* ... "giving Maat" (F10–11; pl. 24) and *di Mɜʿt* (F19). As noted by Rössler-Köhler (1984: 943, no. 71), the presentation of the nomen is rare (to her list add H2–3, both Ramesses IV).
28. For rebuses of Hatshepsut, see Drioton 1938: 237–40; of Amunhotep III, see the block statue of Nebnefer in the *Luxor Museum Journal*, no. 136, pictured in Luxor Museum 1979: 94–95.
29. In the only known example of Amunhotep III presenting his name, he offers the double cartouches poised upon a rebus for "millions of years of stability" (*ḏd*) (pl. 16). In contrast to the Ramesside examples, there is no attempt to make an abstract rebus of the hieroglyphic elements of the name in the Amunhotep III example.
30. Edict of Horemheb: *Mɜʿt iiy.t ḥnm.n.s im.f* "Maat has come after she united with him (Horemheb)" (*Urk.* IV, 2141.16). It is also tempting to interpret the Amarna phrase *ʿnḫ m Mɜʿt*, conventionally translated as "living in Truth" as "Living as Maat."

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a break was sought from a preceding era.[31] Seti's association of himself with Maat as expressed through the presentation of his prenomen equated with Maat could be related to his intent to assume a new era of just and regular rule.

The extensive use of the presentation of Maat and of the prenomen as Maat as a decorative theme in temple decoration continues through the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties[32] and reached peaks of frequency under Ramesses III at Medinet Habu[33] and Ramesses IV and Ramesses XI at the Temple of Khonsu.

The presentation of Maat in the non-royal context appears in two manifestations: the king acting as an agent for the deceased and the deceased himself acting as the officiant. The pharaoh acting as agent for the deceased appears first in the reign of Ramesses II (O1–3) and can be interpreted as a circumlocution or a softening of the transition of the movement of a purely royal theme into the non-royal sphere.[34] The top register of the Mosi Stela in Hildesheim (O1) shows Ramesses II presenting Maat to Ptah and rewarding Mosi, the owner of the stela. The lower register depicts Mosi and others receiving gifts from the pharaoh in the presence of a statue of the deified Ramesses II (Habachi 1969, fig. 17). The three actions shown on the stela are all royal prerogatives, executed on behalf of Mosi. A similar scene on the Karo Stela (O2) portrays Ramesses II, followed by the vizier Paser, presenting Maat to Ptah. In the lower register, the deceased gives praise to Ptah. So, too, another stela of Ramesses II presenting Maat depicts the vizier Paser standing directly behind the king rather than in a separate register (O3). Additional examples can be cited from Gebel Silsila.[35] In all of these examples, the king acts as an intermediary for the deceased. Because the ritual presentation of Maat was a royal prerogative in this period, the deceased had to rely upon the king for the execution of the ritual, yet the scene, which formerly appeared in the royal context alone, was transferred to a non-royal context and use.[36] This type of stela continued to be produced during the time of Merneptah. Examples from that reign include a fragmentary stela from Deir el-Medina (O4), which, similar to the stela of Karo, is dedicated to Ptah, "Lord of Maat." Another stela, the Panhasy Stela (O5), is dedicated to Amun-Re. Two later examples show Maat presented to Amun-Re (O6, Ramesses IV) and to Ptah (O7, Siamun).

What appears to be a non-royal figure offering Maat first appears in four tombs constructed in the reign of Ramesses II and thus is roughly contemporary with the appearance of the stelae that show the king presenting Maat on behalf of the deceased. Two of the four tombs are at Deir el-Medina, the others in Gourna and Khokha. Varying degrees of the usurpation of the ritual can be discerned within this corpus of material.

Two scenes, one from the tomb of Amunwahsu (pl. 1, M1) and the other from the Book of the Dead papyrus of Sethnakht (pl. 2), depict the deceased holding a standing figure of Maat on their raised hand. This scene has royal precedents, the earliest being a similar scene of Seti I in the Osireion at Abydos (pl. 18, G1; Frankfort 1933, pl. 74). A feature that differentiates the royal from non-royal form of this scene is that in the non-royal scenes the deceased simply carries the figure of the goddess on his palm,[37] whereas in the royal scenes the god and the king are shown jointly supporting the image of the goddess. The royal scenes depict the interaction of the god and the king who literally support Maat or the name in rebus or cartouche form.

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31. The epithet is also attested for Amunemhet I and Horemheb and for regnal years 19 onward of Ramesses XI (Murnane 1985b: 74–75, no. 50).
32. Rössler-Köhler (1984: 943, no. 69) suggests that an isolated example of the presentation of the prenomen occurs in the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis (pl. 21, G5 = Montet 1960, pl. 30), which appears to be the presentation of the name as a simple rebus, not associated with Maat. This differentiation is distinguished by the form of the flat base that in the Twentieth Dynasty is found under rebuses in the form of a jar or vase, which are not associated with Maat. Compare the Shoshenq example with rebuses of Ramesses IV in the Ambulatory at the Temple of Khonsu (PM II, 237 (47 II) = loc. KM 409b; PM II, 236 (40) II.2 = loc. KM 367), which are not associated with Maat.
33. There are sixty-eight such scenes published in the Medinet Habu series (*MH* I–VIII).
34. For general remarks concerning this "democratization" of royal prerogatives, see A. I. Sadek 1987: 211, 229; Podemann 1989: 120–21.
35. PM V, 210 (15) Amunwahsu; PM V, 211 (30) Yuy; PM V, 212 (47) (49) Khay.
36. A very fragmentary stela in Strasbourg is similar to that of Karo. In that example, Ramesses II presents Maat to Ptah. The lower section of the stela that presumably showed the deceased praising Ptah is lost (Bruyère 1930: 51, fig. 32).
37. Another "passive" example can be cited in the texts from the tomb of Amunmesu (TT 373), in which the deceased declares: *ms.tw n.f Mꜣʿt* "Maat is brought to him (Re)." Here, the deceased is a passive bystander in the presentation or transport of Maat. For text, see Assmann 1983a: 360.49 (text 254).

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The Deir el-Medina examples, both dated to the reign of Ramesses II or slightly later, exhibit a more complete usurpation of the iconography of the royal ritual. The south wall of the burial chamber of Irynefer (pl. 3, M3) depicts the deceased, kneeling in front of his parents. All three figures face Ptah who is seated on a throne. A figure of Maat, holding an *ʿnḫ*, sits on an offering table that is supported by Irynefer whose hands are cupped under the table in a pose of offering. The family of Irynefer is surrounded by inscriptions giving praises to Ptah and an invocation offering formula calling for thousands of provisions for the parents of Irynefer. Book of the Dead Spells 151 and 166 are inscribed behind Ptah. The speech of Saudjayet, the deceased's father, is related to the figure of Maat:

> *ỉi(wy) ỉn.n(.ỉ) Mɜʿt ḥʿy.k ỉm.s dỉ.k wỉ m wʿ m nn ḥsyw m tɜ n Mɜʿty* ... "Welcome! I have brought Maat so that you (Ptah) might rejoice over her! May you place me as one of these favored ones in the land of *Mɜʿty* ..."

Here, the idea of the presentation of Maat is usurped from the royal model; however, certain strictly royal features of the ritual have not been fully absorbed into its non-royal use. The offering inscription does not take the form of the typical royal/divine dedication and response and the figure of Maat rests upon an offering table, being a more passive offering than one actually proffered to the god by the donor. The inscription from the tomb of Irynefer, with its indication that Ptah and Maat have granted a good afterlife, and that the invocation offerings are connected with Maat, are references to the funerary role of Maat. This scene, like that in the tomb of Amunwahsu and those scenes which depict the king as an agent (class O), could be a conspicuous effort to absorb the potency of certain royal rituals, without encroaching entirely upon royal respect and prerogatives.

A more complete usurpation of some of the elements of the royal model occurs in the Deir el-Medina tomb of Amunnakht (pl. 4, M4). The east wall of the burial chamber shows the deceased and his wife before Thoth. Amunnakht elevates a small figure of Maat seated on a *nb*-basket and holding an *ʿnḫ*, both features of the royal presentation scenes. The only feature of the iconography of this scene that sets it apart from those at, for example, the Temple of Amun is the form of the inscription (see *Chapter 6: Significance of the Ritual*).[38]

Several small bronze statues dating to the Ramesside period and later are in the form of priestly figures who elevate Maat on a *nb*-sign (M5–6).[39] Statues of the king (shown with uraeus) presenting Maat are known from this period.[40] It is possible that these bronzes represent the king in his priestly function rather than the statues being an attempt on the part of priests to commemorate themselves usurping royal privilege, which is seen in the Court of the Temple of Khonsu where Pinudjem I presents Maat to an offering inscription that invokes Khonsu (B27). In contrast, every scene of "king" Herihor presenting Maat in the Foreourt of the Temple of Khonsu (A28–33, E4) shows Herihor, as the donor of Maat, wearing a uraeus on his priestly skullcap and his double cartouches are prominently displayed, symbolizing his dual rank of king and his function of High Priest of Amun.[41] From these representations one might conclude that the small bronzes are votive figurines of priests acting on behalf of the king.[42]

The scenes of Herihor presenting Maat are located in the Court of the Temple of Khonsu, the primary area where the high priest depicted himself as king (*Khonsu* I, xiv). These scenes complement our understanding of his usurpation of the royal power; not only did he assume the fivefold titulary and in some cases the royal headgear, but he engaged in royal rituals such as the Vasenlauf, Ruderlauf, and the presentation of Maat (ibid., xv–xvi).

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38. Another example of the non-royal presentation of Maat (TT 184 = M2) is questionable. The tomb was inaccessible in 1985/86 and no photograph was available. Porter and Moss' citation "man with image of Maat" could describe a scene similar to that in the tomb of Amunwahsu (pl. 1, M1) or it could simply be the deceased with Maat.
39. Also MMA 89.2.518 (Roeder 1956, ¶368a).
40. See, for example, a Ramesside(?) bronze statuette in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, that is exhibited in Gallery 19 adjacent to CG 28/4/21/11 (= M6); see also Ziegler 1988: 181–85.
41. The scene of Pinudjem also omits the cartouches around his name, in which his names and epithets are enclosed within a triple box topped with a *pt*-sign, further eroding his pretensions to royalty (B27).
42. In L1, High Priest Osorkon, wearing a priestly skullcap without uraeus, presents Maat. For a discussion of this scene, see *The Third Intermediate Period*, below.

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The presentation of Maat became an element in the decoration of the Ramesside royal tombs at Thebes, occurring in the sepulchers of Merneptah (P1), Seti II (P2), Twosert/Sethnakht (P3), Ramesses III (B18), Ramesses IV,[43] Ramesses VI,[44] Ramesses VII,[45] and Ramesses IX.[46]

THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Examples of the presentation of Maat are attested for Osorkon III (B28), Shebitku (B30), Taharka (C14), Tanwetamani (A34), and Aspelta (A35).[47]

The presentation of Maat by members of the high clergy of Thebes is a feature of the Third Intermediate Period, indeed this type of scene (classes K–L) is more numerous than that which shows the acknowledged ruler. Among the examples of ecclesiastical figures who present Maat in this period are High Priest Osorkon (L1) and Iuwelot (L2); in both cases they are accompanied by the acknowledged ruler Takalot II and Takalot I respectively. The depiction of the high priest engaged in a ritual normally reserved for the ruler is in character with the events of both priests' careers and with their aspirations to full kingship.[48]

This tendency of non-kingly, yet quasi-royal figures to present Maat is very pronounced among the ranks of the God's Wives of Amun (class K). Each God's Wife, from Shepenwepet I to and including Ankhnesneferibre, is portrayed presenting Maat.[49] These scenes of the God's Wives are located in the small chapels north of the Temple of Amun and in the tomb chapels at Medinet Habu.[50] In these scenes, the God's Wife is depicted in the same scale as the god, indicating her exalted status.[51]

The presentation of Maat scenes dated to Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre (K8–10) differ slightly from those of their predecessors. In each of these examples, the God's Wife is accompanied by their "major domo," Pabasa and Shoshenq (*rpʿt ḥ3ty-ʿsḏwty bity smr wʿt* ... and *imy-r pr wr n dwʒt nṯr* respectively). The depiction of these government administrators might have been included as a method of bolstering the God's Wives' power beyond their ecclesiastical foundation.[52] The earlier scenes (K1–7) show the women acting as the sole officiant before the god.

The Third Intermediate Period yields two examples of a person of non-royal status presenting Maat to a deity. In the first example, on a stela in the British Museum, the priest Harsiese, presents a figure of the goddess on a *nb*-base to Re-Horakhty (pl. 5, M8). The stela displays the usurpation of many of the elements of the royal ritual, including the overall iconography (donor/recipient) and the form of the Maat offering, and lacks the characteristic dedication and response of the royal examples; as with the non-royal examples from the Ramesside period, the stela of Harsiese is funerary in nature, which is emphasized by the garb of the priest who wears the panther skin of the *Iunmutef* priest and also by the inscriptions that refer to the priest as *mʒʿ-ḫrw* and as "the Osiris."[53]

The second example, dating from the reign of Shoshenq III, appears on the front surface of a block state of Nespekashuty from the Karnak Cachette, now in the Luxor Museum (M9).[54] The front surface of the

43. PM I/2 499 (14) (15).
44. PM I/2, 516 pillars A (a)–(b); 517 pillars A (a)–(b); 517 C (c)–(d), D (a)–(b).
45. PM I/2, 497 (13).
46. PM I/2, 503 (18) 1.
47. Another scene of a king presenting Maat to Thoth in the Cincinnati Art Museum (1945.64), published as Seti I (Pritchard 1969, #572, p. 318), is certainly Third Intermediate Period, most probably Twenty-second Dynasty.
48. See Kitchen 1973: 331–33 for the "ambition" of Osorkon, and ibid., p. 311, for the irregularities in dating of monuments in the time of Iuwelot. For High Priest Osorkon, see also Murnane 1977: 88; Caminos 1958: 176.
49. The God's Wife Karomama Merymut also boasts of presenting Maat to her father Amunopet in an inscription on the base of a statue recovered from the Karnak Cachette (R10).
50. Specifically, the chapels of Osiris Hekadjet, Osiris Nebankh, Osiris-Onuphris Nebzefa, and the Chapel of Amasis and Nitocris. The tendency of the God's Wives to dedicate small chapels is noted by Leclant (1965: 377). Note erroneous citation: PM II, 193 (I), (b) III, where Ankhnesneferibre, followed by Shoshenq, offers *nw*-vessels rather than Maat to Ptah and Sekhmet. Cf. *LD* III, pls. 273 f. (lowest register).
51. Noted also by Leclant (1965: 379).
52. According to Leclant (1965: 378), the major domo appears with the God's Wives during the time of Shepenwepet II and Amunirdis II. The government official is also present in the course of other rituals, e.g., presenting *nw* (*LD* III, pls. 273 f.) and shaking sistra (ibid., 274o). See Leclant 1965: 365 for the assertion that the power of the God's Wives might have waned after Amunirdis II, which could possibly account for the addition of the major domo to the scenes of Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre.
53. For the function of the *Iunmutef*, see Bell 1985a: 260; H. te Velde, "Iunmutef," *LÄ* III, cols. 212–13.
54. Luxor Museum 1979, no. 260.

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statue is decorated with a double scene. To the left, Nespekashuty, a priest of Maat, is depicted offering the figure of Maat to Amun. On the right side of the double offering scene the priest pours a libation to Amun. The inscriptions that appear above and below the offering scene are epithets and labels. No dedication or response is included among the texts and hence the usurpation of the typically royal presentation scene is not complete.

CONCLUSIONS

This chronological survey of the representation of the presentation of Maat indicates that the scene was, with few exceptions, a ritual which was restricted to the king or to people of quasi-royal status. The rare examples of the usurpation of aspects of the representation itself (class M) for non-royal use date to the Ramesside and the Late periods[55] and are from the funerary rather than a temple context.

The oldest surviving scene of the presentation of Maat dates to the midyears of the reign of Thutmose III. However, other innovations in religious iconography in the time of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III suggest that the presentation of Maat was one of the "new" depictions of cultic scenes which themselves were rooted in antiquity. Among these new features are the depiction of the divine royal birth,[56] the cult of tree-goddesses and their representation,[57] the depiction of the Opet Festival,[58] the canonical lists of the Nine Bows,[59] and the emphasis upon Mut in the Theban Triad.[60] Some of these features are possibly true innovations (tree goddesses) and others (Opet scenes, divine birth, the presentation of Maat) could merely be the first concrete representation of a traditional ritual.[61] There was a desire to enrich the religious iconography during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, perhaps fueled by a wish to stress proof of legitimacy in the wake of the irregularities of the royal succession.[62] The presentation of Maat, a ritual alluded to in texts from the Middle Kingdom,[63] was just one of the motifs that became a part of the religious iconography of the period.

As reflected by the extant monuments, the representation of the presentation of Maat was, with the exception of the early Amarna period, not a common religious motif until the Ramesside period and it was never a common theme in royal or non-royal funerary monuments.

The scenes from the early Amarna period provide a striking contrast to those from the pre- and post-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty. Only four examples can be cited from the many monuments of Amunhotep III (A2, B3, C1–2); thirty examples, and perhaps more,[64] are known from the reign of Amunhotep IV/Akhenaton. This increased incidence could be ascribed to renewed emphasis upon the primacy of the solar cult, especially in the early years of the Amarna interlude. The role of Maat as the food of Re made her a specially suitable offering to the new preeminent solar disk.[65] She served as a bridge between the old and new theologies; as the daughter of the traditional solar deity Re, she was offered up to the newly emphasized Aton.

Further, the proportion of talatat which depict Nefertiti presenting Maat (over half of the identifiable scenes show the queen) underscores the important role that Nefertiti played in the cult of the Aton.[66] She is

55. An additional example of the non-royal presentation of Maat occurs in the tomb of Pedashtar at Baḥria Oasis (M10); cf. Fakhry 1940, pl. 120.
56. First occurrence during the reign of Hatshepsut (Bell 1985a: 290).
57. Lane 1976; examples include scenes from the tombs of Amunemheb (TT 85) and Puimre (TT 39).
58. First under Hatshepsut (Bell 1985a: 290).
59. Bell 1985b: 17.
60. Bell 1985a: 290.
61. See Settgast 1963: 112; Myśliwiec 1985a: 2, 30. Myśliwiec creates confusion in lumping the development of the iconography of tombs with that of temples; he suggests that there was little real innovation in the period between Hatshepsut and Amunhotep III and that after the reign of Amunhotep III new iconography appeared. It is apparent that there were many important new iconographic devices in the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.
62. Bell 1985a: 290–91. In light of other innovations in religious iconography, scenes of the presentation of Maat are curiously lacking for Hatshepsut. For comments on the iconography of Hatshepsut, see Assmann 1984a: 225 ff.
63. See *CT* VI, 267, 322 (= N9), 352; *CT* VII, 251 (= N10).
64. It is very likely that more talatat showing the presentation of Maat will be recovered as the Centre Franco-égyptien d'Études des Temples de Karnak finishes clearance of the blocks from the east wing of the Ninth Pylon at Karnak.
65. Not only as the food of Re (*CT* III, 6–7), but also through the pun *mꜣꜥ* (*WB* II, 22.5) "offering."
66. Samson 1978: 121–22; Smith and Redford 1976: 80, no. 32; see Aldred 1973: 20 for the suggestion of her being "regarded as a deity ... ."

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the first non-kingly, non-male figure to present the image of the goddess Maat, indicating her parity with Akhenaton and underscoring the assumption that she had an equally intimate relationship with the Aton.[67]

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, when references to the offering of Maat first occur in private tombs (M5; R4–6) and on non-royal statuary (R2), there is a division in the function that the Maat scenes play in the royal and non-royal contexts. The textual references to the presentation of Maat that occur in private tombs from the Eighteenth Dynasty are related to the role of Maat in her association with Re. Nefermenu's texts (R2) appear on a stelophorous statue inscribed, as is usual, with a hymn to Re. Those of Djeserkaresoneb (R4) and Imhotep (M5) appear in the tombs' doorway hymns to the sun god. Further, all three of these examples associate the presentation of Maat with the *wḏȝt*-eye,[68] rituals which Hornung (1992: 142) suggests are linked by their symbolic allusion to "a constantly endangered order that must repeatedly be established anew." In such a scene from the tomb of Imhotep, the link between the two rituals is graphically illustrated. There, the deceased holds the *wḏȝt* in one hand and the feather of Maat in the other, alluding to the parallel presentation of the eye and Maat. The placement of these scenes within hymns to the sun makes it clear that Maat appears as an aspect of her father Re and that she is rejuvenated with the rise or rebirth of the sun each day.

The text from the tomb of Kheruef (R6) appears within the hymn to the sun. The text of Khaemhet (R5) is inscribed on a stelophorous statue and likewise is connected with the adoration of Re. These two examples focus on Maat's aspect as the sustenance of Re (*CT* III, 6). Kheruef's "you (Re) feed on Maat from the one who brings it" is more specific regarding the consumption of Maat than Khaemhet's "I have brought Maat to you (Re) that you may live by means of it." However, the last example clearly links Re's existence to Maat. This theme is elaborated upon in the sun hymn in the tomb of Neferhotep, in which the rising, setting, and powers of Re are associated with Maat.[69] All of these non-royal examples, as Westendorf (1966: 201 ff., esp. p. 209) points out, allude to the partnership of Maat and Re, specifically to the role that Maat, as the personification of cosmic order, played in the maintenance of the solar cycle.

This theme is elaborated upon in the allusions to Maat in the sun hymns of many private tombs in the Ramesside period.[70] However, references to elevation and possession in a non-royal context were, throughout the pharaonic period, consciously differentiated from the royal model through the omission of the characteristic inscription and modification of the iconography. Even the occurrences that mimic the royal phraseology of *ḥnk Mȝʿt* ... (R2–3) or *ỉn.n(.ỉ) n.k Mȝʿt* ... (R5, 7) are textual references alone. They do not infringe upon the royal monopoly on the representation of the ritual.

The presentation of Maat became a common element in the royal iconography of the Ramesside period. The ritual was used as a decorative theme in virtually all of the Ramesside temples and in eight royal

67. Blackman 1922: 522–23; Smith and Redford 1976: 81; Tawfik 1973: 85, pl. 29a; Cooney 1965: 82–83, no. 51a; Harris 1973: 9–11; Samson 1978: 121–23, 133–39; Aldred 1973: 20. See Krauss 1978: 96 ff. for a different view of Nefertiti's regnancy.

68. For further associations of Maat and the eye, see Moret 1902: 138; Gardiner 1931: 13, n. 4; Assmann 1969: 219–20, nos. 151–53; Troy 1986: 41–43; Englund 1987: 15; Hornung 1987: 401–02; idem 1989: 142; Frandsen 1989: 98; Assmann 1990: 190. The association of Maat and the eye is increasingly common in the later periods; see, for example, the alternation of the presentation of the eye and Maat in the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis (pl. 17, B29). For a very different connection between the *wḏȝt* and Maat, unrelated to any Re associations, see Raye 1985: 183–84. For additional examples of the alternation of Maat and *wḏȝt* on stelae and coffins, see Tosi and Roccati 1972: 280 (Ostracon 50046; the baboon form of Thoth elevates the *wḏȝt* to Thoth of the night); Quibell 1898, pls. 17–18; TT 65 (Ramesses IX, flanked by Maat, presents a *wḏȝt*-eye to Amun who holds a Maat feather); Rochemonteix 1892, pl. XIIIb (scenes in the sanctuary at Edfu; the presentation of the *wḏȝt* and the presentation of Maat, both on *nb*-signs, appear above and below a scene of thurification); Fakhry 1939, pl. 114a; idem 1942, fig. 34 (the tomb of Bannenitou; Baḥria Oasis; an ape presents the feather of Maat upon a *wḏȝt*). Compare the scene from the tomb of Bannenitou with the scene in the tomb of Amunemwia, wherein the heart is weighed against the eye (Derchain 1958: 75–76; referred to in Assmann 1969: 219, no. 153).

69. Norman de Garis Davies 1933, pl. 37. For a discussion of this hymn, see Assmann 1969: 270; idem 1983a: 83–90.

70. Assmann 1983a: 62, entire text for the association of Maat and Re (TT 49); 118.17 (TT 106); 33(6).4 (TT 39), 212.B.1 (TT 218: Re lives on Maat); 224.H.1 (TT 263: Maat, whom Re has born). For the *ba*'s association with Maat, see ibid., 108.2–3 (TT 99: *ba* lives on Maat), 136.b.1–3 (TT 131: *ba* rejoices at Maat), 254.49 (TT 373: one brings Maat to the *ba*). For later period examples, see ibid., 228.II.4 (TT 279: I bring to you (Re) your beloved daughter Maat). See also the Berlin Service Book (XXII-7) for "the two sides of the land come to you bearing Maat giving everything that the disk (*ỉtn*) encircles" (Moret 1902: 143). Maat also appears with Re in the following Theban tombs: TT 25–26, 45, 58, 105, 115, 149, 156, 178, 183, 189, 195, 305–07, 409. See also Tosi and Roccati 1972: 306 (DM Ostracon 50103); Westendorf 1966: 201–25.

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tombs. From the reign of Seti I to the end of the Ramesside period, the presentation of Maat was fused with the presentation of the royal name.

In this era, other formerly royal texts and the representations themselves were adopted for use in private tombs,[71] yet there are only six (possibly seven) representations of the presentation of Maat in the non-royal context (pls. 1, 3–4; M1, 3–5, 7–9).[72] The relatively small number of representations which show a private person holding Maat suggests that the theme was considered to be inappropriate for use in private tombs and thus was not subjected to the same level of borrowing as other religious texts and representations.

Of the non-royal scenes, none shares all of the elements of the royal model. The composition of the scenes from the tomb of Amunwahsu (pl. 1, M1) and the papyrus of Sethnakht (pl. 2) is completely different from the royal temple examples. In the private scenes, the deceased appears to carry Maat rather than present her image to the god(s). The scene in the burial chamber of Irynefer (pl. 3, M3) shows the deceased in a passive rather than active stance and, similar to the other non-royal examples, lacks the characteristic dedication and response. The vignette from the tomb of Imhotep (M5) is a reference to the association of the *wḏ3t* and Maat, rather than to the presentation of Maat.

Although the relief of Amunnakht (pl. 4, M4) does incorporate many of the features of the standard royal iconography (Maat seated on *nb*, holding an *ʿnḫ*), it lacks an inscription that fully validates the divine-royal relationship symbolized by the royal scenes and is clearly funerary in nature. The scene is flanked by vignettes of Anubis and the funerary banquet and Thoth rewarding the deceased with life. The symbolism of presenting Maat in this context is a conflation of the illustration for BD chapter 125 with the presentation of Maat. In this example, rather than weighing the heart of the deceased against Maat in anticipation of Thoth inscribing the verdict, the deceased presents Maat in exchange for renewed life, represented by the *ʿnḫ*-scepter, topped with an *ʿnḫ*-sign that Thoth holds to Amunnakht's nose. The symbol of the seated goddess also serves as a substitute for the text of the Negative Confession. This scene, although related in iconography to the royal scenes, is of an entirely different and funerary nature.

Although these examples could initially be recognized as usurpations of a royal prerogative, none of these vignettes shares the full iconography and the intent of the royal motif. The non-royal scenes are funerary in nature, vignettes related to BD chapter 125, whereas the royal scenes are rooted primarily in a sense of royal legitimacy and the reciprocal nature of semi-divine rule.

Coffin Text Spells 452 (*CT* V, 321c–d) and 959 (*CT* VII, 178) which relate Re's role as scribe or as the balance at the judgment of the dead, link the symbolism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty non-royal scenes. The shared element is the funerary nature of the scenes expressed in the earlier texts through the adoration of the rising or setting sun, and the later examples in their funerary iconography and texts. Both genres are deeply rooted in the symbolism of Re and Maat in their funerary aspects.[73]

The depiction of the Ramesside king presenting Maat on behalf of the deceased (O1–7) functions on two levels of understanding. On one level, the deceased was made a privileged party to witness and indirectly partake of the potency of the pact between king and god and incidentally to proclaim for eternity that his king did indeed uphold the tenets of Maat. He had, after a fashion "seen" or experienced this agreement; it is proclaimed alongside events such as rewards from the king that we can presume were historically based. This confidence in the king, and its commemoration upon the stela, provides a thoroughly non-modern link between theology and political reality. Another aspect of the idea of the king as agent is its association with the *ḥtp dỉ nsw* formula (Radwan 1969: 106; Myśliwiec 1985: 11). The king is shown making an offering on behalf of the deceased in "order to gain the god's favor for him" (ibid., p. 11). Here, apparently, the "favor" is the king's maintenance of the cosmic order, the successful execution of which was considered to be essential to every facet of the deceased's life and afterlife. The association of the *ḥtp dỉ nsw* with these scenes makes the function of these stelae more understandable in their funerary context.

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71. For Amduat in private tombs, see Wente 1982: 161 ff.; A. F. Sadek 1985: 326. The Book of Gates appears in TT 23 (*Ỉ3y*). For more general discussions of the usurpation of royal ritual and iconography, see Podemann 1989: 109–25; Hornung 1989: 139.

72. The questionable example is M2; see footnote 38, above.

73. The scenes are also related through the solar aspects of the judgment scenes because Re is associated with the weighing of the heart of the deceased; see *CT* VII, 178 (Re as the scribe at the judgment); *CT* V, 321c–d ("the scale on which Re weighs truth"). For references for the association of Re and Maat, see footnote 70, above.

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The Third Intermediate Period saw the erosion of the strictly royal nature of the presentation of Maat. The scenes of this period that portray a figure other than the acknowledged pharaoh presenting Maat are clearly executed in the pursuit of royal stature. The two High Priests of Amun (Osorkon and Takalot), the God's Wives of Amun, and the Napatan kings all share the characteristic of attempting to legitimize their political ends through theological means. Each of them, as members of the royal family, acted as virtual ruler in the Thebaid where their presentation of Maat scenes are found; yet they were not the acknowledged rulers of all Egypt.

This association of the presentation of Maat with a desire to legitimate marginal right to rule is clearly seen in the Donation Stela of Iuwelot (L2). On that document, the donor of Maat, Iuwelot, usurps the royal ritual of the presentation of Maat in the same sense of independence as he dated the Nile levels at Thebes in his own name, rather than in the name of his brother, Pharaoh Takalot I. Both acts attest to Iuwelot's self-assumed sense of authority in Thebes (Kitchen 1973: 311). The relief on the Bubastite Portal (L1) portrays High Priest Osorkon presenting Maat to Amun in the presence of Takalot II. The text below the vignette honors Osorkon's actions in subduing the Theban revolt (ll. 31–34), punishing the rebels (ll. 35–36), and restoring order in the southern city. Performing the functions of pharaoh himself, Osorkon boasts of being suckled by a goddess (l. 25) and later he issues decrees, on which Caminos (1958: 176) comments:

> The issuing of such high decrees on the sole authority of the high priest appears to be unattested elsewhere. Perhaps Osorkon did exceed, by issuing them, the rights of his office, even if his action, as indeed he declared, was motivated by his desire to further the interests of the king.

Osorkon's aspirations to the kingship of Egypt were demonstrated not only by his actions in the Theban revolts and in the phraseology of the tale of his military successes, but foremost in the representation of him presenting Maat that accompanies the tale of his deeds. It served as a vivid graphic reminder of his ability to rule and restore order (*mꜣʿt*) to the land.

The presumption of independent rule assumed by the God's Wives, especially Amunirdis I and Shepenwepet II, is well attested.[74] The presentation of Maat on the part of these women is another graphic indication of their assumption of royal power; only in the last years of the Nubian domination did the God's Wives represent themselves presenting Maat in the company, and support, of another administrator (K8–10; Leclant 1965: 384–85). In contrast to these actions, the highly influential Prophets of Amun at Thebes, particularly Montuemhet, from whose era many monuments are preserved, did not represent themselves in text or figure offering Maat, which is a reflection, perhaps, of their recognition of their own distance from the ruling house's bloodline.

The scenes of the Nubian kings Shebitku, Taharka, Tanwetamani, and Aspelta presenting Maat to the gods are another example of their assumption of the traditional trappings of the Egyptian kingship (Russmann 1974: 24–26). Scenes of the presentation of Maat are attested for four Napatan kings, a high proportion considering the few monuments left by rulers of the line (ibid., pp. 11–24).

In summary, the presentation of Maat was exclusively a royal ritual that was based, above all, upon the idea of royal legitimacy received from the gods. The aberrant occurrences (God's Wives, High Priests) were executed in the attempt to proclaim royal authority. Inscriptions of non-royal individuals of the Eighteenth Dynasty that refer to the presentation of Maat are related to the adoration of Re rather than a direct association with Maat. The Ramesside vignettes that depict the deceased elevating the goddess usurp elements of royal iconography; however, the resulting scenes serve a different function because they are entirely funerary in nature and are thus unrelated to the royal presentation of Maat.

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74. Leclant 1965: 374–86 (see p. 378 for specific reference to the presentation of Maat as a reflection of their assumption of royal power). However, despite the trapping and evidence of the *heb-sed* of Amunirdis II, Kitchen (1973: 177) asserts "the God's Wife of Amun never aspired to real pharaonic powers in the 23rd–26th Dynasties" and Leclant (1965: 383) comments that the God's Wives did not date the Nile flood levels in their own name.

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CHAPTER 3
ICONOGRAPHY

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Scenes of the presentation of Maat are composed of the donor, the Maat symbol that is offered, and the divine recipient.[1] In more elaborate scenes one or two attendant deities stand behind the recipient or one stands behind the donor (pl. 7). The donor and recipient face each other, flanking the Maat figurine that comprises the offering. The orientation of the goddess agrees with that of the donor; that is, they both face the recipient.[2] There is no significant difference in the iconography of the offering of Maat and the presentation of the Ramesside prenomen with the exception of the hand gestures of Ramesses IV.[3] The scene may be one of a series of scenes that is shown with or without marginal inscriptions to break the sequence.[4] With the few exceptions listed in the following paragraphs, the donor of Maat is the king or a figure of "quasi-royal" status,[5] who appears in anthropomorphic form.

THE DONOR

SCENES WITH ANOMALOUS DONORS

ROYAL DONORS: ANOMALOUS ICONOGRAPHY

As noted, with few exceptions the donor of Maat is the king or a person of quasi-royal status portrayed in anthropomorphic form. In one exceptional scene from the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis, the king's Horus name acts as the donor (pl. 17, B29).[6] Another unusual scene appears on a block at Tanis. There, Ramesses II in the form of a sphinx is portrayed presenting Maat (pl. 14).[7] A similar scene of Ramesses II in the form of a sphinx presenting Maat to Amun-Re appears over a doorway in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel (PM VII, 109 (96)).

In other scenes, the iconography of the king is conventional, yet the action portrayed in the scene is not. Such a composition appears in the Osireion (pl. 18, G1) and close parallels are found in the tombs of Ramesses VI (pl. 19, G4), Ramesses IX (pl. 20, I1), and Shoshenq III (pl. 21, G5). In the monument of Seti I (pl. 18), the king faces Horus and each figure extends a hand in order to support a flat base upon which Maat stands.[8] This differs from the traditional iconography in several ways. Not only does the Maat figure stand on a flat base rather than sit on a *nb*-sign, but the figure also faces the king rather than the god. The orientation of Maat suggests that Horus is presenting the goddess to the king. However, in a scene from the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 19, G4), which forms a very close parallel, the goddess, standing on a similar flat base, faces the god, suggesting that in this scene the god rather than the king is the recipient.

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1. For exceptional scenes wherein the divine recipient is not depicted, see *The Recipient(s)*, below.
2. For an exception, see plate 18, G1; see also *Royal Donors: Anomalous Iconography*, below, concerning the subject matter of this scene.
3. See *Posture*, below.
4. See further in *Chapter 4: Sequence*, below.
5. For exceptions, see *Chapter 2: Chronology*, above. In contrast, Finnestad (1984: 154–55) states "the priest offers (Maat) to the god."
6. For other examples of the name of the king substituting for his figure, see Radwan 1975: 213–34; Bell 1985c: 32.
7. Montet 1933, pl. 20.4. For additional examples of the king as a sphinx, see Hassan 1953, fig. 135; Dewachter 1985, fig. 1. For remarks concerning sphinxes in offering scenes, see C. M. Coche-Zivie, "Sphinx," *LÄ* V, col. 1139. I thank Lorelei Corcoran for bringing the Tanis scene to my attention.
8. Compare with the two examples of non-royal persons carrying a standing Maat figure (pls. 1 [= M1], 2).

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A further development of this iconography is seen in the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis (pl. 21, G5), in which it is clear that the standing Maat figure is an element in a rebus of the king's name *Wsr M3ʿt Rʿ* because the figure of Maat is joined by the *wsr*-sign and the composition is supported by Re.[9] The orientation of the hieroglyphic elements of the name give no indication which figure is the donor or the recipient, or whether the name is being supported rather than presented from one party to another.

Although the example from the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 20, I1) predates the example from the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis, it is a more elaborate example of the scene in the Tanite tomb. In the earlier tomb, two figures jointly hold the double cartouches of the king. A figure of Maat stands between the two cartouches, facing left. The figure to the left wears the double crown; the figure to the right wears a *nemes* with uraeus. Since there is no differentiation in the status of the two figures or any textual information as to their identity, one might assume that the figures are two aspects of the king rather than the king and a deity. As with the Shoshenq example (pl. 21), there is no indication that the name is being presented rather than being physically upheld. Although the standing figure of Maat faces the left hand figure, that is perhaps not enough evidence to suggest that the figure to the right acts as the donor, passing the name to the figure on the left.

This examination of the scenes from the Osireion and the tombs of Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX, and Shoshenq (pls. 18–21) suggests that they are not to be classified as scenes of the presentation of Maat or the name because there is no clear differentiation of donor and recipient, no offering inscription that identifies the scenes as the presentation of Maat or the royal name, and no indication that the name or the image of the goddess is being given from one party to another. Rather they are illusions to the association of Maat and the name. They are symbolic of the acclamation of the king's name by the gods and the rebirth of the name and king[10] and their identification with Re, which is suggested by the fact that in all four vignettes the composition appears as a double scene composed of two solar boats.[11] The scene to the left contains the Maat or name vignette; the scene to the right depicts the king in the company of a female attendant while being introduced to Atum in the presence of the "gods who are in the company of Re in heaven."[12]

DIVINE DONORS

Although scenes that represent a god serving as the donor of Maat are rare, there are numerous literary references to such an act. These references range from the rare use of the verb *ḥnk* (N8, Q1)[13] in this context to more generalized references to Maat being upon the arms of the god or the god bearing Maat.[14] With few exceptions,[15] the god upon whose arms Maat lies or who presents or elevates the goddess is Thoth (N1–3, 5–6, 9–11). This association of Maat and Thoth is well attested in the vignettes of Chapters 125 and 126 of the Book of the Dead, from their association in the bark of the sun god, and from other contexts.[16]

Several scenes depict a god offering Maat.[17] The first such scene appears on the facade of the tomb of Setau at el-Kab (N12). There, a baboon-headed figure elevates Maat seated upon her *nb*-platform to the sun disk. This scene is a reference to Thoth's presentation of Maat at the rising of the sun (symbolized by the disk of Khepri) as related in Chapter 126 of the Book of the Dead.[18] This association is made more clear

9. For other such rebus writings, see Teeter 1986b: 175–84.
10. For the association of the king and his name, see Frandsen 1989: 100–01.
11. For solar barks in pairs, see Thomas 1956: 65–79.
12. Scenes G1, 4, and 5 (pls. 18–19, 21) clearly label the divine figure as Atum and call the figures in multiple registers to the left and right *nṯrw ỉmyw-ḫt Rʿ m pt* ... .
13. See *Chapter 5: The Verb* for a discussion of other verbs used for the presentation of Maat in literary texts.
14. *M3ʿt ḥr ʿwy.f* "Maat upon his hands" (N1, 5); *ʿwy.ỉ tm ḥr M3ʿt* "My two arms filled with Maat" (N6); *ỉw n.k* DN *ḥr M3ʿt* "DN comes to you bearing Maat" (N7).
15. N7 (Atum); Q1 (the West).
16. Bleeker 1973: 121–23, 135–41; see B. Altenmüller 1975: 70 for Thoth bringing Maat in the Pyramid Texts; note also the parallelism of the group statue in the sanctuary at Medinet Habu that portrays Ramesses III with Thoth and Maat (PM II, 512 (157)–(58); Coffin Text Spell 1093); for his presence in the Maat Temple at Karnak North, see Varille 1943: 23, fig. 18, pl. LXXIII, LXXIV. There is probably a connection between the *šbt* that is composed of Thoth as a baboon on a *nb*-sign and the emblem of Maat on a *nb*. For *šbt*, see Handoussa 1979: 65–74; Sambin 1988.
17. To this might be added G1 (pl. 18, Osireion). However, see *Scenes with Anomolous Donors*, above, concerning whether this scene actually portrays the presentation of Maat.
18. For the association of the king and the baboon-Thoth, see te Velde 1988: 130, 133–34; Assmann 1990: 186, 190. In the context of the scene from the tomb of Setau, the identification of the baboon-headed figure with Thoth seems more straightforward than the association of the figure with the king; te Velde (ibid., 130) suggests that "he (the king) is one of them already on earth." These texts do not suggest any direct association of the king and the baboon, nor the king's assumption of the form of a baboon, al-

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by the context of the scene because a pair of baboons flank the boat, namely, the four baboons that adore the rising sun.[19] Further, the entire composition appears above a stela of the deceased praising Re-Horakhty.

A naos of Nectanebo in the Egyptian Museum is decorated with a scene of Onuris-Shu presenting Maat to a mummiform Osiris-Onuphris (N13).[20] This scene occurs alongside a more conventional composition of the king presenting the image of the goddess to the baboon-form Thoth.

Several other scenes that depict a god presenting Maat emblems, rather than the seated figure of the goddess, are modifications of the more usual iconography. In the tombs of Tjaynefer (N2) and Nebwenenef (N3) at Thebes, the deceased kneels before Thoth who holds a Maat feather. Thoth also holds the "*r*" hieroglyph. The recitation of the recipient, *dỉ.k n.ỉ Mꜣʿt spd-r wp.k n.ỉ s(t) r Mꜣʿt* "you have given Maat to me, one skilled in speech that you may judge it for me in accordance with Maat," is apparently a reference to Thoth and Maat's association at the judgment of the dead.[21]

A scene in the tomb of Neferabet (N4) portrays Harsiese and Thoth pouring libations over the head of the deceased. Harsiese's vessel is in the form of a Maat-type feather, while that of Thoth is in the form of a hawk head.[22] Although the scene alludes to Maat and depicts the god holding a Maat emblem, the god clearly is not bestowing it upon a recipient. The association of Thoth and Maat shown in this tomb vignette is stressed by the number of these scenes (N1–6) in which Thoth is a participant.

NON-ROYAL DONORS

Scenes that show a non-royal individual presenting or transporting Maat are rare. All of the documented scenes are listed below. Members of the royal family (Prince Osorkon, Iuwelot, and God's Wives) are considered to be quasi-royal figures and are not listed here (see classes K and L in the *Appendix: Classification of Scenes*).

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

1. Imhotep (TT 102; M5): Deceased presents Maat and *wḏꜣt*-eye to Re.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY

2. Amunwahsu (TT 111; pl. 1, M1): Deceased carries standing figure of Maat on uplifted palm.
3. Nefermenu (TT 184; M2): Porter and Moss indicate that a scene of "man with image of Maat" occurs in this tomb. This could not be verified by photographs or by entry to the inaccessible tomb.
4. Papyrus of Sethnakht (pl. 2): The deceased holds a standing figure of Maat on his raised hand.
5. Irynefer (TT 290; pl. 3, M3): The deceased kneels in front of his parents, facing Ptah who is seated on a throne. A figure of Maat holding an *ʿnḫ* sits on an offering table that is supported by Irynefer. The hands of the deceased are cupped under the table in a pose of offering.
6. Amunnakht (TT 335; pl. 4, M4): Amunnakht elevates a small figure of Maat seated on a *nb*-basket and holding an *ʿnḫ*.

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

7. Stela of Harsiese (pl. 5, M8): Priest Harsiese presents Maat to Re-Horakhty.
8. Block Statue of Nespekashuty (M9): Nespekashuty presents Maat to Amun-Re.

Several small bronze statues dating to the Ramesside period and later are in the form of a priestly figure who elevates Maat on a *nb*-sign (M5–6).[23]

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though such a representation is known from colossal statues at Ashmunein (see Bell 1985c: 58, no. 204). The association in the texts is rather to the ability of the king to recognize the truths inherent in the sacred language of the baboon (te Velde 1988: 134).

19. BD chapter 126; see also te Velde 1988: 130, no. 7.
20. Most recently pictured in Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, no. 257.
21. The above text was taken from collation sheets of the tombs of Tjaynefer and Nebwenenef kindly supplied by Lanny Bell. The Maat feather and "*r*" in the hands of Thoth could be a rebus for *mꜣʿt ḫrw*, which is alluded to in Tjaynefer's recitation.
22. The emblems of the composition appear to be deliberately transposed in that Thoth pours from a vessel crowned with a hawk head (symbolizing Harsiese?) and Harsiese's vessel is in the form of a Maat plume. For the *ʿnḫ*-vessel, see Radwan 1985b: 211–17 (his fig. 4 = N4).
23. Also MMA 89.2.518 (Roeder 1956, ¶368a).

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POSTURE

The donor stands upright[24] or kneels before the god(s), postures which might be dictated not by the ritual, but rather by the composition.[25] In some examples, the king kneels on a *ḥb*-sign (A28, 31, 33; F21–22). This platform also appears in scenes where the gods present the royal name or jubilees to the king.[26]

The donor holds Maat, or the name equated with Maat, in one outstretched hand.[27] According to a Ptolemaic period offering inscription at the Temple of Khonsu, the hand that does not hold the image of Maat is raised in protection of the goddess.[28] This posture is comparatively unusual in Egyptian offering scenes that usually show the king offering with both hands.[29] This single hand offering stance, however, is characteristic not only of the offering of Maat, but also of the royal name, white bread,[30] clepsydra,[31] ointment,[32] and more rarely, incense,[33] and libations.[34] The vast majority of single arm offering scenes, be they Maat, the name, or other items, show a far arm dominance (in the perspective of the viewer), regardless of the orientation of the scene. When the donor faces left he offers with his right hand, and when facing right he offers with his left hand. In such scenes, the donor's near arm is slightly extended and bent at the elbow and the palm is held upward and exposed to the recipient as he presents the offering in his far hand. In most examples, the palm saluting the recipient is behind the hand which holds the offering.[35]

The reason for this far arm dominance does not seem to be ritual, but rather a practical necessity of the artistic composition of the offering scenes. The far arm's extension beyond the near arm ensures that the object being presented by the far arm is more easily visible, and that the near arm and its actions are not obscured, which is noticeable also in the two arm offerings that also show the far arm in front of the near arm.[36]

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24. The donor does not assume a humble posture (bending forward) such as he or she takes in other types of scenes (cf. *RIK* IV, pl. 77).
25. See, for example, the columns in the Second Court at Medinet Habu on which the uppermost of three scenes uniformly portrays the kneeling king, the two lower scenes portray the king standing (*MH* V, pls. 260–71). A similar situation is seen in the decoration of the west wall (north half) of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, where the lowest register shows the king kneeling (OIP 106, pl. 262), and the east wall (north half) where the king kneels before the god in the daily offering service (ibid., pl. 264), with the exception of the rituals that involve the opening and closing of the shrine. See also the posture of the recipient on the south side of the Enclosure Wall at Karnak, where in the upper register the recipient is seated, and in the lower register the deity stands (Helck 1968, pls. 39–53). At Abydos, in a series of four registers, the donor stands in the upper three and is seated in the lowest (*Abydos* IV, pl. 24), which is due to the correspondence of the lowest register to adjacent scenes that show seated deities who inscribe years and adore the king.
26. *MH* V, pls. 291, 316; *MH* VII, pl. 498. However, the *ḥb*-base is not an invariable part of such compositions (see OIP 106, pls. 52, 70, 79).
27. Bergman (1968: 207) states that the king holds Maat in both hands. This double-hand offering is known from literary illusions to the ritual (N1, 5–6, 8) but is unknown in relief representations. So, too, statues generally show a single-hand offering stance (cf. Ziegler 1988: 182, fig. 1). The name, presented in the form of an ornate jar or statue, can be held in both hands (PM II, 237 (47) b = loc. KM 409b), although there is no direct association between the rebus and Maat.
28. "I give you Maʿat in my left hand, my right arm protecting her ..." (Parker and Lesko 1988: 171).
29. See Osing 1977: 15, n. 46, for the assertion that this pose is related exclusively to the presentation of Maat and to white bread. On the basis of his conclusion and the sequence of the scenes, Osing reconstructs his scene 1.1 as the presentation of Maat. This reconstruction is questionable considering the variety of offerings that are actually offered with one hand.
30. *MH* V, pls. 274C, 278A, 281C; Osing 1977, pls. 21, 30.
31. *Khonsu* I, pl. 72; Osing 1977, pl. 9; Helck 1968, pl. 74; *MH* V, pls. 263A, 271A. For more complete listings of *šbt* presentation scenes, see Handoussa 1979: 65–69; Graefe 1984: 865–905; Sambin-Nivet 1988: 369–78.
32. Note that the presentation of ointment could involve a different hand gesture. The near hand (i.e., the one not holding the offering) is normally held in a curious "finger salute" wherein only the index and little fingers are extended, presumably since they have been dipped into the ointment (*MH* V, pls. 265B, 269B, 276E; *MH* VI, pl. 434F; *MH* VII, pl. 570B; Helck 1968, pls. 25, 72 [with salute]; *Khonsu* II, pl. 129A [Ptolemy IV]). Contrast these scenes to *Khonsu* I, pl. 27A, in which ointment is offered with both hands. For the salute, see Wainwright 1961: 492–93.
33. *Khonsu* I, pl. 38; *MH* V, pls. 263A, 265B, 272B, 273C, 276E, 279C, 342B; *MH* VI, pls. 365, 439B, 475.
34. *MH* IV, pl. 242A, E; *MH* VI, pl. 375C1 (*nmst*).
35. The scenes from the time of Ramesses IV at the Temple of Khonsu do not always follow this form, and in many examples the salute is held before the offering; see PM II, 236 (40) I.4 = loc. KM 361), presenting ointment; in PM II, 239 (73) = loc. KM 365 and 236 (40) II.5 = loc. KM 370 = F16, Ramesses IV presents his name. See also Helck 1968, pl. 78, and further comments about this scene, below. Note also the different hand position of Ramesses III in a scene of the presentation of Maat that was altered to show the presentation of wine (*MH* VI, pl. 442A). Here the angle of the wrist differs slightly from that which is associated with the presentation of Maat.
36. For example, Helck 1968, pls. 47–48, 50–51, 66–68, 70, 73. Two of these scenes (pl. 67, presenting a necklace; pl. 68, flowers) display an amusing feature of the far arm

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There are a few examples in which the far arm is not dominant. One such example is encountered in a scene of Ramesses II on the east surface of the Enclosure Wall at Karnak, north of the door (Helck 1968, pl. 78). In that scene, the offering is held in the near arm, yet, similar to the standard scenes, the far arm is extended beyond the near arm. Another example on the east face of the Enclosure Wall portrays the king pouring a libation to Amun, holding the vessel in his near hand (ibid., pl. 69). The reversal of the near and far arm here might stem from the cramped composition of the scene. It is only by extending the near arm across the width of the king's body that the libation could be centered over the offering table.[37] Other examples of near arm offering include a scene in the tomb of Seti II and in the tomb of Ramesses III in which each king offers with his near (left) hand.[38]

Scenes of Ramesses IV reflect a different pattern. With only one exception,[39] when Ramesses IV is shown presenting Maat, his prenomen, or complex jars that incorporate a rebus of his name, he is shown offering with his near arm when facing left and with his far arm when facing right.[40] In the single arm offerings, however, Ramesses IV with few exceptions uses his left hand.[41] This unusual consistency creates a strange lack of symmetry on lintels where the near and far arms respectively present the offering (pl. 7).[42] This pattern is in striking contrast to the iconography of the other Ramesside kings.

HEADGEAR

A variety of crowns is associated with the presentation of Maat; however, the blue (*khepresh*) crown occurs far more frequently than any other. At Medinet Habu, of the sixty-one examples of the presentation of Maat or the royal name in which the crown is preserved,[43] twenty-five scenes (40%) portray the blue crown. In the Ambulatory of the Temple of Khonsu, Ramesses IV wears the blue crown in conjunction with the presentation of his name in slightly less than 50% of the examples.[44] The same figure can be cited for the occurrence of the blue crown in the presentation of Maat scenes at the Gourna Temple of Seti I[45] and on the Enclosure Wall at Karnak (Helck 1968, pls. 22, 71).

Two specific scenes emphasize the association of the blue crown with the presentation of Maat. The first, on the portico of the Temple of Seti I at Gourna (B11), shows the deceased Seti with his son, Ramesses II, who presents Maat to Re-Horakhty. As the active partner in the ritual, Ramesses wears the blue crown. The passive Seti wears the *nemes* headdress.[46] This close association of the blue crown with the performance of the ritual is also evidenced by a recut scene in the first hall of the tomb of Twosert (P3). There, the motif of the queen, who wears a double-plumed crown while presenting *nw*-vessels, was replaced by Sethnakht's figure, wearing the blue crown and presenting Maat. Apparently the blue crown was considered to be the more appropriate headgear for the ritual.[47]

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dominance. The depiction of the object being presented is compromised by the need to have the far arm in front of the near arm. In both these scenes the offering is oddly intertwined in and behind the far arm. See also the comments of Osing 1977: 57, no. 120.

37. So, too, for a similar scene with near arm dominance on the south surface of the Enclosure Wall (Helck 1968, pl. 52).
38. For Seti II, see PM 1/2, 532 (3) 2; for Ramesses III, see B18.
39. The example (A24) of Ramesses IV offering with his right (far) hand is inside Room 2 off the Ambulatory of the Temple of Khonsu. See Oriental Institute negative 7385 (loc. KM 470).
40. See PM II, 235 (37) I.1; (38) I; (38) II.2 (= F15); ibid., 236 (40) II.5 (= F16); 236 (41) I (= F17); 236 (42) I.4; 236 (42) II.4; ibid., 237 (47) a, b.I, II; ibid., 238 (64) a–b; ibid., 239 (73)—all Temple of Khonsu Ambulatory. See also PM 1/2, 499 (14)–(15) for three scenes from the tomb of Ramesses IV presenting Maat with his left hand (two examples show his near hand, one his far hand).
41. For another single-hand offering of ointment rather than Maat in the Temple of Khonsu, see PM II, 236 (40) I.4 = loc. KM 361, in which the king faces left and offers with his left or near hand. For an exceptional offering of Maat with the near hand, see Helck 1968, pl. 78.
42. See, for example, PM II, 238 (64) a–b = loc. KM 371; 239 (73) = loc. KM 365.
43. In seven examples (of the total of sixty-eight) the crown is not preserved.
44. Four of nine scenes.
45. C11. If one accepts Osing's (1977) reconstruction that this is the presentation of Maat.
46. For further comments on this scene, see *Attendants*, below.
47. For the relationship of *nw* and Maat, see *Chapter 5: General Conclusions*, below. For the location of the Maat offering scenes in juxtaposition to the Litany of Re texts, see *Chapter 4: The Royal Tombs*, below. For the use of the double-plumed crown in the presentation of the royal name as Maat, see F8 and G2. In a study of the crowns that the king wears while offering wine, Poo (1984: 52–53) suggests that there is no association between the offering and the crown: "the headdresses of the king ... are determined by the decorative scheme, rather than any particular relationship between the offering and the crowns."

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Among the other crowns that are shown in significant numbers in the Maat presentation scenes are the *nemes*[48] and *atef*.[49] In the Ambulatory at the Temple of Khonsu, the *nemes* neatly alternates with the blue crown in the presentation of the royal name scenes.[50] On the Enclosure Wall at Karnak, the *atef* and the blue crown are the only types of headgear to appear in conjunction with the presentation of Maat.[51]

There are relatively few examples of the regional crowns (red[52] or white[53]) in the scenes of the presentation of Maat; however, when the crowns appear, they do so most often in balanced pairs,[54] which emphasizes that the ritual stressed the overall world view of a united Egypt. The best illustration of this appears on the portal of the First Pylon of the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, which is decorated with a series of scenes, including two symmetrically opposed scenes of the presentation of Maat.[55] These scenes show the king in the red and white crown respectively. This pattern of balancing the red and white crown is repeated in the scenes of the *Ruderlauf* and *Vasenlauf*, which appear at the top center of the doorway. The four other double scenes (libating, presenting wine, ointment, and being escorted into the presence of the gods) that make up the door's decorative scheme show the king crowned with the *nemes* or blue crown. Here, the rituals associated with the *heb sed* and with the presentation of Maat, both of which are charged with symbolism of effective rule, are given special emphasis through their association with the regional crowns that appear not singly but in pairs to stress the importance of the particular action to all of Egypt.[56]

The crowns of the Amarna period do not show significant deviation from those associated with the presentation of Maat from other periods. The Amarna period talatat from Thebes preserve six examples of the ritual in which the king's headgear is preserved. Of these six scenes, four show the blue crown (J1–2, 4–5), one the white crown (J3), and one the red crown with streamers (J10).[57] Considering the preference for double compositions on the talatat, it is very probable that the scenes of red and white crowns would have appeared in a balanced composition.[58] A seal from Amarna shows the king wearing a three-feathered crown (J12) as he presents Maat.[59] Scenes of Nefertiti presenting Maat also show a diversity in her crowns. The talatat record two examples of the Hathor crown (J6–7) and single examples of the layered wig (J8) and the soft wig (J9).[60] An example excavated at Amarna (J11) portrays the queen in the layered wig.[61]

48. Medinet Habu 25.9% (fifteen examples).
49. B5, 8, 24; P4–5. For the *atef*, see Myśliwiec 1985b: 149–60.
50. Starting from the north wall, west section: PM II, 235 (38) II.2, blue, west wall, east section; ibid., 236 (41) I, *nemes*, west wall; 236 (42) II.1, blue; 236 (42) I.4, *nemes*, south wall, portions of west wall reliefs are destroyed. The doorways in the east wall also show the alternation of the blue crown (ibid., 238 (64 a–b)) and the *nemes* (ibid., 239 (73)).
51. Helck 1968, pls. 36, 78 (*atef*); 22, 71 (blue).
52. The red and white crowns are not shown in conjunction with the presentation of Maat or royal name scenes at the Temple of Seti at Gourna, the Khonsu Ambulatory, the scenes of Ramesses XI in the court at Khonsu, and on the Enclosure Wall at Karnak, all monuments that have a considerable number of presentation scenes.
53. Red: E4, right; *MH* IV, pl. 244M; J10. White: J3; *MH* IV, pl. 244H; *MH* V, pl. 261B; *MH* VII, pl. 503.
54. C6 (Tutankhamun in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple) is an exception to this balancing of regional crowns, in which a doorframe is shown with scenes of the presentation of Maat in the upper register to the left and right. Although the right scene is damaged, the symmetry of the crowns worn by the king on the scenes forming the left-right pairs of scenes on the frame suggests that the upper right scene, similar to the upper left, shows the king wearing the red crown. The king wears the white crown in the register below the scenes of the presentation of Maat.
55. *MH* IV, pl. 244H (white), M (red).
56. For a similar scene of Ptolemy II in the Temple of Khonsu, see *Khonsu* II, pl. 115A–B; *MH* VII, pl. 547, which although damaged, could also show the red crown in parallelism with the white. For other scenes that cannot be matched, either because of their isolated location or because of damage to the adjacent scenes, see *MH* V, pl. 344A; *MH* VII, pl. 503 (only relief preserved in that chamber). See also the balancing of the white crown and the red crown on the south and north walls, respectively, in the offering room of the Gerf Hussein Temple of Ramesses II (referred to in Osing 1977: 67.3, no. 155).
57. Even this small sampling shows the greater frequency of the blue crown noted by Rammant-Peeters (1985: 41) in the scenes from Amarna. See also Cherpion 1977: 21–22 for conclusions about the relationship of crown to ritual (summarized in Rammant-Peeters 1985: 44). J1 is a group of three talatat that make up a double scene showing the king wearing the blue crown as he presents Maat to the Aton.
58. There are not enough examples of the presentation of Maat on the talatat to match such scenes; however, it is conceivable that J3 and J10 could form elements of such dual compositions. Note, however, that these two blocks cannot be matched together because J3 is a header and J10 is a stretcher.
59. This seal will be published by Rolf Krauss (pers. comm.); I thank him for bringing this seal to my attention. For additional examples of the three-feathered crown and its association with Maat, see Teeter 1985/86.
60. See Rammant-Peeters 1985: 40 for the conclusion that there is little correlation between the queen's actions and her crown with the exception of the *hmhm* and the khat's association with offering scenes. For comments on Nefertiti's headgear, see ibid., 21–48; M. Eaton-Krauss 1981: 252 ff.; Smith and Redford 1976: 81–82.
61. For the identification of the offering that the queen elevates as Maat, see Teeter 1985/86: 46–47.

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The God's Wives of Amun of the Third Intermediate Period most commonly wear their characteristic vulture cap with tall plumes (K3–6, 8–9).[62] Two scenes, one of Shepenwepet I (K1) and another of Amunirdis I (K2), omit the vulture element of the headdress. However, Amunirdis is seen elsewhere offering Maat with the vulture headdress (K3). The crown of Ankhnesneferibre is further adorned with a solar disk and lyre horns (K8–9).

The examples of Herihor and Pinudjem I, High Priests of Amun, offering Maat or a royal name[63] uniformly depict them wearing the close-fitting skullcap[64] rather than the blue crown that is so closely associated with the ritual. This skullcap is normally worn by the king when his role as high priest is emphasized.[65] This depiction of an officiant wearing headgear that is not necessarily royal while performing rituals usually restricted to the king is known from other scenes of Herihor in the Court at the Temple of Khonsu, in particular the scenes of the high priest performing the *Ruderlauf* and *Vasenlauf* while wearing the priest's cap rather than the expected royal headgear (*Khonsu* I, pp. xv–xvi, pls. 10, 35). As with the presentation of Maat, this omission of a type of royal crown in the context of rituals previously reserved for royalty tempers the usurpation. Specifically in the case of the *Ruderlauf* and *Vasenlauf*, the tempering is not only reflected in the headgear but also by the static rather than active pose of the high priest.

The sense of usurpation conveyed by the single scene of Pinudjem I presenting Maat (B27) is moderated not only by the appearance of the skullcap in place of a blue or other royal crown, but also by the composition of the scene itself, because Pinudjem offers the image of the goddess not directly to a divine recipient, but rather to an offering inscription in which the god Khonsu is evoked.

KILT AND FOOTWEAR

Four types of masculine dress are shown in conjunction with the presentation of Maat; the short pleated *šndyt* kilt[66] typical of the Opfertanz and *heb sed* ceremonies, a short kilt,[67] a long voluminous kilt,[68] and a short kilt with an intermediate length overskirt cut on the bias.[69] The short and long kilts can appear with a triangular panel.[70] With the exception of the *šndyt*, the kilts are usually worn with a sporran decorated with uraei, and in the majority of the examples the kilt is decorated with the symbolic bull's tail. None of these forms of royal costume is associated exclusively with the presentation of Maat.[71] The variation in types of dress is especially evident in double scenes where the king presents Maat and another offering and there is no attempt to differentiate the donor's clothing.[72]

There is no characteristic dress worn by women who present Maat. In the case of the God's Wives, the women wear the long pleated gown with two shoulder straps which is their standard garb.[73]

The only example (J11) from the Amarna period that preserves the queen's dress and crown portrays Nefertiti wearing a pleated gown.

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62. The headdress is indistinct in example K7. See Leclant 1965: 355–56 for further remarks on the crowns.
63. For the rebus that Herihor presents being the prenomen of Ramesses XI, see Teeter 1986b: 177–84.
64. Herihor: A28–29, 31–33; E4; *Khonsu* I, pls. 15, 45, 51, 62, 97; Pinudjem: B27.
65. See *Khonsu* I, p. xv, n. 37, for further references to the skullcap and its symbolism. See also L1 in which Prince Osorkon wears a skull cap rather than a crown as he presents Maat in the presence of his father, who alternately wears the white crown (left) and the red crown (right).
66. This type of skirt appears only on certain monuments; for example, it does not appear in the reliefs in the Temple of Seti I at Gourna nor on the Enclosure wall at Karnak, except in the context of the Opfertanz and the *heb-sed* (Osing 1977, pl. 26). However, at the Temple of Khonsu, in the First Court, there are many examples of Herihor and Ramesses XI wearing such a kilt while engaged in the presentation of Maat and in the course of more routine offering rituals (E4, F21–22). In each of the examples at the Temple of Khonsu, the king/high priest is kneeling.
67. *Khonsu* I, pls. 15, 36 (= A33), 45, 104 (= A29).
68. Osing 1977, pls. 1.1 (= C11) 24a, 25 (= A9), 35; Helck 1968, pls. 22, 36, 71, 78; *Khonsu* I, pls. 40 (= A31), 62, 82.
69. This is more rare than the other styles (*Khonsu* I, pl. 99 [= A32]).
70. There are many examples; see Osing 1977: 27 for his listing of SpLS and SpS types.
71. For example, on the Enclosure Wall at Karnak, Ramesses II wears the combined long and short forms with the triangular panel in three occurrences of the ritual (Helck 1968, pls. 22, 36, 78) and the long kilt in another example (ibid., pl. 71). The six scenes of Ramesses II presenting his name or Maat in the Temple of Seti I at Gourna consistently portray him wearing the combined long and short skirt with the triangular front panel (Osing 1977, pls. 3 [= G2], 11 [= F8], 16, 24, 25 [= A9], 35). However, that particular dress is exceedingly common in all types of rituals in that temple (Osing's type SpLS).
72. C11: *nw* and Maat; K2: purifying and presenting Maat.
73. K2–6, 9. Example K2 also shows two long ties on the dress that are not visible in the other examples. It is impossible to reconstruct the type of dress in example K7. See Leclant 1965: 354 for remarks on the women's dresses.

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The king most often appears unshod before the god, although there are many exceptions.[74] Among the scenes of the presentation of Maat, such exceptions occur on the High Gate at Medinet Habu where the king, wearing sandals, offers not only Maat and his name but also other ritual gifts and captives to the gods.[75] He appears shod even when he is conducted into the company of the gods (*MH* VIII, pl. 614), a context in which one might expect the utmost humility. The portrayal of the king on the High Gate, as reflected through the king's appearance with and without sandals, could indicate that the High Gate was considered to be a public area of the temple, an area of transitional sanctity.[76] Although the king officiates before the gods, he appears shod in the presence of his subjects. The theme of the reliefs also emphasizes the public nature of this section of the structure. The east and west facades, as well as the passage, are dominated by vignettes of the king presenting defeated enemies to the god(s), scenes which were for public consumption.

The many scenes depicting the High Priest Herihor offering to the gods while wearing sandals are more difficult to explain.[77] There does not appear to be any connection between the location of the scene in the court, the action, and the dress of the officiant. For example, Herihor is portrayed receiving jubilees from the gods as he kneels with sandals on (*Khonsu* I, pls. 50, 58, 69A) and in other occurrences of the same ritual without sandals (ibid., pls. 54, 57A, 65). This inconsistency is carried over into the scenes of him presenting Maat.[78]

MAAT

POSTURE

With few exceptions, in scenes of the royal presentation of Maat, the goddess is shown in profile as a seated figure whose gown is drawn down over her knees. Four scenes from the royal context depict the goddess standing rather than sitting (pls. 18–21). Each of these scenes is differentiated from the standard iconography by the omission of a dedication inscription.[79] In none of the scenes is it clear whether the king is presenting or receiving Maat or his name to or from the god, or if the upheld hands of the king and the god merely support the flat platform upon which the goddess or name stands. All four exceptional scenes allude to the association of Maat with the royal name.

A scene on the west doorway of the first court of Luxor Temple appears to be unique because Maat is depicted in the form of an unguent jar (pl. 15). Although the scene is damaged and details of the iconography are hard to distinguish, Maat appears to sit in her conventional posture (with gown over knees) upon an elongated platform. A figure of the king is on one knee; the other leg outstretched behind him appears to support or present the Maat figure. This type of iconography is known from other statues of Ramesses II that represent the king presenting an altar-shaped object, or a rebus of his own name.[80] This shared iconography of the presentation of Maat depicted on the doorway of Luxor Temple and statues of the king presenting a rebus of his name is another indication of the close association of the two rituals.

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74. For example, in the Court at the Temple of Khonsu, there are many examples of the high priest wearing sandals as he officiates before the gods (*Khonsu* I, pls. 17, 27, 32, 34, 38–39, 48, 50, 53, 59, passim). Two scenes of the procession of the divine barks depict some of the priests wearing sandals; other scenes, in which the same barks are supported, depict some of the priests without sandals (ibid., pls. 44, 69B).

75. Ramesses III presents Maat or his name to the god while wearing sandals (*MH* VIII, pls. 603, 608, 617B–C). But note that the king also appears shod in other, very non-public areas of the temple, e.g., at the treasury and other rooms in the back of the temple (*MH* V, pls. 328, 331; *MH* VII, pls. 504, 512A–B, 513A–B, 515, 516 [partial listing of references]). The sandals were erased from two scenes (*MH* V, pl. 331; *MH* VII, pl. 513), which is curious since adjacent scenes where the king wears sandals were not changed.

76. The king appears with sandals in all of the reliefs of the High Gate with the exception of, inconsistently, the scenes paired on the left and right jambs of the passage (east face; *MH* VIII, pl. 618A, B [left jamb], E, G [right jamb, topmost scene], which show the king with sandals; ibid., pl. 618F, which shows the king without sandals; ibid., pl. 618C [bottommost of left jamb] is damaged). The east portal of the main passage, north and south reveals (ibid., pl. 619), also reflects this inconsistency. The placement of the relief of Ptah "who hears petitions" (B24) in the central passage indicates that this area was frequented by members of the community.

77. See references in footnote 74, above.

78. Of the fourteen scenes that depict High Priest Herihor presenting Maat or a name, three such scenes show the officiant wearing sandals (*Khonsu* I, pls. 74 [= A28], 141C–D [= A30]). The baseline of two scenes is damaged (ibid., pls. 82, 97).

79. See, however, plate 18, G1, in which an enigmatic dedication and divine recitation appear above the representation.

80. Habachi 1969, figs. 26, 28; Matthiew 1930, pl. 11.3.

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Two non-royal scenes from the Ramesside period represent the goddess standing on the hand of the deceased (pls. 1–2). In contrast to the royal scenes, the goddess is held on the uplifted palm of the deceased, slightly behind his head.[81]

In the standard scenes, i.e., those which show Maat seated, the goddess is always shown in the same orientation as the donor (be it royal or non-royal), i.e., facing the recipient. With the exception of the standing figures of Maat from the tomb of Amunwahsu (pl. 1) and the papyrus of Sethnakht (pl. 2), the goddess is positioned between the donor and recipient.

HEADDRESS

As an offering in the presentation scenes, the goddess most often wears a single ostrich plume on her head.[82] The questions of the feather's association with air and the goddess' subsequent association with Shu has been discussed elsewhere.[83]

STAVES AND WANDS

By far, the most common staff that the goddess holds is the *ʿnḫ*, which is related to the many associations of Maat with the concept of life. As stated in the Memphite Theology, "Thus justice (*mꜣʿt*) was given to him who does what is liked and injustice to him who does what is disliked. Thus life was given to him who has peace and death was given to him who has sin" (Morenz 1973: 116). Without Maat, there would be no life and therefore the scepter serves as a determinative for the goddess' sphere of influence.

A relief of Herihor presenting Maat in the Temple of Khonsu omits the staff in the hands of the goddess (*Khonsu* I, pl. 51 [left]); this omission may be due to the cramped composition in which the legs of the goddess are nearly tucked under the top of the *wꜣs*-staff leaving no room for the goddess' emblem.

PLATFORM

The figure of Maat is most commonly seated upon a *nb*-basket.[84] The composition forms the rebus *nb Maat* "the possessor of the qualities of Maat," a reflection upon the character of the donor of the image.[85] The *nb* is used as a platform for few other objects; the most significant being the red or white crown or emblems related to the crowns.[86]

On the north jamb of the west door of the Ramesses II court at Luxor Temple, Maat sits on a flat platform of what appears to be an ointment jar (pl. 15).[87] The dedication (*ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ỉt.f* ...) makes it clear that

81. See *Kilt and Footwear*, below, for doubts whether these scenes should be grouped with other scenes of the presentation of Maat.
82. For exceptions, see below. For further comments about Maat and multiple feathers, see Teeter 1985/86: 43 ff.
83. Van de Walle 1980: 29, no. 2, Derchain 1975b: 110–16; I. Grumach-Shirun, "Federn und Federkrone," *LÄ* II, cols. 142–45. For the confusion of Maat and Shu, see TT 290 (pictured in Seeber 1976, fig. 55; Samson 1973: 136; Harris 1977: 340–43); for the association between the two divinities, see Coffin Texts Spell 80 (*CT* II, 32–36).
84. Smith (1994: 78–79) suggests that the platform is a *ḥb*-sign, without any further discussion of the *nb*.
85. Alternatively, Handoussa (1979: 71) suggests that in the presentation of *šbt*, the *nb* is only a base that can be replaced with a flat land sign as a support; Moftah (1985: 225–26) suggests that the *nb* is part of a rebus of "Maat opfern dem Herrn der Maat." On the translation of *nb Mꜣʿt*, see *Chapter 5: The Recipient*, below.
86. See Oriental Institute photograph no. 11214 from the Abydos Temple of Ramesses II, which shows the king receiving the double crown on a *nb* from Horus and Edjo on a *nb* from Isis (similar to a scene at Kom Ombo: PM VI, 184, columns). The prenomen of Ramesses II, III, and VI can also be poised on a *nb*-sign (Osing 1977, pls. 3, 11, 16; *MH* VIII, pls. 499; 617B–C; Oriental Institute photograph no. 42524 [= loc. MHE 134/135]; F9–10, 20). The offering of jubilees incorporates the *nb*, in which context the *nb* as an offering is not uncommon (cf. OIP 106, pls. 104, 200; *MH* V, pls. 316, 329, 332, 337). The offering of the *šbt* also incorporates the *nb*; see Handoussa 1979: 65–69 for a listing of scenes. *Nb*-signs topped with *wꜣs*- and *ʿnḫ*-signs can also be presented; see OIP 106, pl. 112; loc. MHC 111 (Oriental Insitute negative no. 9750; Amunirdis). A curious scene of the ram-headed Amun presenting the red crown and a skull cap with uraeus (without any base) appears on the Piankhy stela from Gebel Barkal (Reisner 1931, pl. VI). See also loc. MHC 111 (Oriental Institute negative no. 9750) for *snb* "health" on a *nb*-sign (Amunirdis); see loc. MHC 111 (Saite period) for *ỉwt ỉb* "happiness" on a *nb*.
87. PM II, 307 (23) II (b). Such jars are fairly common in Ramesside reliefs, yet this example and the example cited in footnote 86, above, are the only known compositions that include Maat. For such examples that do not include Maat, see *MH* V, pls. 323, 342; Helck 1986, pls. 15, 70. See also Habachi 1969, figs. 26, 28, for statues in the form of ointment jars.

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the scene is indeed the presentation of Maat rather than of ointment. So, too, a scene on the northern reveal of the bark sanctuary of Ramesses IV in the Temple of Khonsu shows the rebus of the king's name in the form of an ointment jar (PM II, 237 (47) b.I). As with all scenes of the presentation of the rebus of the name of Ramesses IV, that scene lacks a dedication which directly equates the rebus with Maat.[88]

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NAME REBUS EQUATED WITH MAAT

Scenes of the Ramesside king presenting his prenomen to the gods display considerable variation in iconography. In some cases, all of the phonetic values that make up the royal name are clearly incorporated in the rebus, while in others, certain phonograms of the rebus are supplied by elements of the overall composition.

REBUSES THAT EXPRESS ALL PHONETIC COMPONENTS

The earliest examples of the presentation of the name, in which the dedication inscription equates the rebus with Maat date to the reign of Seti I. These rebuses incorporate all phonetic elements of the prenomen *Mn Mꜣʿt Rʿ*. Examples from the time of Seti I substitute a hawk-headed figure of Re with a disk on his head for the Maat figure (F1–4; *LD* III, pl. 139b). The phonetic value of Maat is expressed by means of a feather that the god holds. The divine figure sits upon the game board *mn*-sign, thereby completing Seti's prenomen *Mn Mꜣʿt Rʿ*.

The prenomen of Ramesses II (*Wsr Mꜣʿt Rʿ*) is also fully expressed by rebuses. The form of these compositions is directly influenced by the rebuses of his father. With few exceptions[89] the monogram of Ramesses II, as with the rebuses of Seti I, is composed of a hawk-headed figure with the sun disk on his head who holds a Maat feather.[90] The *wsr*-sign stands in front of the figure. The rebus is positioned on a *nb*- or *mr*-hieroglyph.

Other forms of the rebus of the name of Ramesses II are attested at Abu Simbel, Gourna, and Luxor Temple.[91] One of the Gourna examples (F8) could represent a transition in the iconography because a seated figure with a human face is substituted for the Re figure. The seated figure is apparently a combination of the king and Re because the face is human, yet it wears a sun disk ("Re") on its head. The sign may be an allusion to the association of the king and the sun god. The phonetic value for Maat is supplied by the ostrich feather that the figure holds. As is customary with the rebuses of the names of Ramesses II, the *wsr*-hieroglyph stands in front of the figure.

A further variation that occurs upon the facade of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel[92] displays a combination of several forms of the rebus. There, the feather of Maat is surrounded by the sun disk of Re and the goddess (with a human face) carries a *wsr*-form scepter.

The name rebuses of Ramesses III are derived from those of Ramesses II that employ a figure of Maat. The rebus writings of the name of Ramesses III are, in appearance, more closely related to the iconography of the ritual of the offering of Maat because a wholly conventional figure of Maat (i.e., sitting on a *nb*-sign) makes up the central element of the composition. The use of the hawk-headed figure to convey the value "Re" seems to have been discarded by Ramesses III and examples of the Re element in his prenomen being expressed by means of the therianthropic form of the sun god are lacking.

There is far less variation in the monograms of Ramesses III than is evident in rebuses of Ramesses II. In the Twentieth Dynasty examples, every example of the rebus of the prenomen *Wsr Mꜣʿt Rʿ* (which lacks the epithet *Mry ʾImn*) is made up of the seated figure of Maat holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign, her feather emblem on

88. For these scenes, see *Chapter 5: Presentation of the Royal Name Equated with Maat*, below.

89. The varieties of the style of rebus for Ramesses II do not neatly fit a chronology, i.e., the hawk-headed examples (derived from the rebus of his father) are restricted to the earlier part of his reign and the Maat-dominated rebus date to his later years. The lack of clear development is made most clear by the fact that both the hawk-headed and Maat-dominated rebuses appear in the Gourna Temple reliefs of Ramesses II.

90. See, for example, F6, 8–9; G2; loc. KI 169 (Oriental Institute negative no. 6315); OIP 106, pl. 136 (top); loc. Gourna 357 (pl. 23).

91. For Abu Simbel, see Habachi 1969, pl. 5a; for Gourna, see loc. Gourna 166 (pl. 22) and F7; for Luxor Temple, see F5.

92. Habachi 1966, pl. 5a. For further discussion of the base of this example, see *The Addition of Extra Phonetic Elements to the Rebus*, below.

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her head.[93] The *wsr*-hieroglyph stands in front of the goddess. The phonetic value for *Rʿ* is added as a disk inserted in the space between the face of Maat and the back of the *wsr*-sign.

Examples of the addition of the epithet *mry ʾImn* to the core of the prenomen of Ramesses III are attested.[94] In two such cases (F12–13), the figure of Amun takes the place of Maat and the phonetic value of Maat is expressed by a feather that the god holds. In one of these examples (F12) from the High Gate at Medinet Habu, the entire composition is placed upon a flat *mr*-base, thereby completing the epithet. The lower portion of the other example (F13) is damaged, but the addition of the Amun figure makes it probable that the base was a *mr*-sign.

The many rebus writings of the prenomen of Ramesses IV (*Ḥkꜣ Mꜣʿt Rʿ*) in the reliefs of the Temple of Khonsu[95] show great uniformity. The feather of the central Maat figure is surrounded by an outline of the disk of Re and the goddess holds the *heka*-scepter. The rebus sits on the usual *nb*-base. A single example from Wadi Hammamat (G3) places the sun disk between the Maat figure and her scepter.

One example of the rebus of the name can be cited for Ramesses V (F19) and for Ramesses VI (F20), respectively. The example of Ramesses V appears as  and includes the epithet *Sḫpr n Rʿ*, assuming that the *Rʿ* in the prenomen does "double duty." For another resolution to the reading of this name, see *Phonetic Values of the Rebus Supplied by Elements of the Scene*, below.

The rebus of the name of Ramesses VI (F20), similar to the examples of Seti I, replaces Maat with the hawk-headed figure of Re who holds a Maat feather. The composition rests upon a *nb*-sign, which completes the rebus of the prenomen *Nb Mꜣʿt Rʿ*. This incorporation of the *nb* into the phonetic makeup of the prenomen rebus is unique.

Examples of rebus writings of the royal name employed in offering scenes for Ramesses VII–X are lacking. The composition of the name rebuses of Ramesses XI are similar to those of Seti I with whom he shared the prenomen *Mn Mꜣʿt Rʿ* (*Khonsu* II, pl. 157). Examples of the rebus of Ramesses XI that are completed by other elements in the composition are discussed in the following section.

PHONETIC VALUES OF THE REBUS SUPPLIED BY ELEMENTS OF THE SCENE

There are examples of the writing of the rebus of the king's name that lack expected phonograms. The ability of the ancient Egyptians to incorporate text and representation has no better illustration than the manner in which these missing elements of the rebus are supplied by other features of the presentation scene.

One of the more common ways in which a phonetic sign is supplied to an otherwise incomplete writing is through the incorporation of the phonetic value of the name of the recipient into the rebus, which is seen, for example, in a relief of Ramesses II in the Gourna Temple (pl. 22, loc. Gourna 166). In that relief the king offers a composition of Maat holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign. The tall *wsr*-sign is in front of her. There is no indication of a disk on the head of or in front of the goddess nor, anticipating an argument pursued below, is there a solar disk over the head of the king. The logical solution is to take the phonetic value of the recipient of the offering, Amun-Re, as completing the omitted Re portion of the rebus.

Another example from Gourna (F7) is also apparently missing the Re element. In this scene, the rebus is dominated by a figure that, because of the human face and feather on her head, is surely Maat. The traditional *ʿnḫ*-scepter of Maat is replaced with a redundant Maat feather and augmented by a small staff in the form of the *wsr*-hieroglyph.

Certain scenes that omit the Re element of the rebus include a sun disk on whose uraei are hung multiple *ʿnḫ*-signs above the king's head. Examples appear in the reliefs of Ramesses II in the Gourna Temple of Seti I,[96] in the work of Ramesses III on the High Gate at Medinet Habu,[97] and in a scene of Ramesses XI at the Temple of Khonsu.[98] Such scenes do raise the possibility that the omitted Re element of the rebus is

93. F10, 13; *RIK* I, pls. 7B, 8K (and possibly 8G), 52B; *RIK* II, pl. 97F.
94. F11–12; see also F14, which is discussed in more detail below.
95. F15–18; loc. KM 365, 371, 450. Note that these rebuses of Ramesses IV are not accompanied by a dedication that equates them with Maat.
96. F7, with two Maat feathers. Osing (1977, pl. 23) does not note that the Re element is missing: "Darbringen der Maat (in Form des Names *Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿw*)."
97. F14. See Teeter 1986b: 175–77. Other aspects of these scenes are discussed in more detail below.
98. F22. See Teeter 1986b: 177–80 for further comments about this scene.

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to be supplied by the sun disk rather than by the recipient, who in these examples is Amun-Re (F7, 22) or Amun-Re-Horakhty (F14).

However, if one is looking for a single solution that will resolve whether the Re value is to be taken from the sun disk or from the identity of the recipient, the consistent feature of these scenes is not the appearance of the sun disk, which is omitted in the Gourna scene of Ramesses II (pl. 23) and Ramesses V (F19), but rather the Re element of the recipient Amun-Re.

In one example of a Ramesside rebus, a missing phonetic element seems to be derived from the attendant's name rather than from the recipient's. This scene that appears on the High Gate at Medinet Habu (F12) depicts the king presenting a rebus composed of Amun and *wsr* upon a *mr*-sign. Here, the values Re and Maat are supplied by the recipient (Amun-Re) and his attendant (Maat) (Teeter 1986b: 175–77).

Another solution to completing the phonetic values in this scene is to assume that the rebus itself conveys the value of Maat, which is supported by the dedication inscription accompanying many scenes (F1–8, 10–13, 18–22) that equates the name with Maat.[99] In one exceptional scene of the presentation of a rebus of the nomen (H1), the rebus is composed of a seated figure of a child, his finger to his mouth (*ms*), who wears a sun disk (*Rᶜ*) on his head. The figure is seated upon a bolt *s*-hieroglyph that in turn is placed upon the *nb*-sign, which traditionally appears under Maat. This rebus incorporates all the phonetic values of the nomen *Rᶜ ms s(w)*.[100] The name, however, does not include any phonetic value for Maat, yet the dedication inscription directly equates the entire rebus with Maat: *ḥnk m Mꜣᶜt n ỉt.f* . . . .

With the association of the rebus itself with Maat, the scene at Medinet Habu that shows Ramesses III presenting a rebus to Amun-Re and Maat (F14) might be more conventional; the missing phonetic element "Maat" would be supplied by the rebus itself rather than by the identity of the attendant.

There are at least two other examples which indicate that indeed the rebus was considered to contribute the phonetic value Maat to an otherwise incomplete rebus. One such example appears in the Gourna Temple of Seti I, decorated by Ramesses II (pl. 23, loc. Gourna 357). The rebus that the king presents to Mut is composed of a hawk-headed figure with a sun disk on his head who holds an *ᶜnḫ*-sign. He is seated on the flat *mr*-sign and a *wsr*-sign stands in front of him. The omitted Maat element could be supplied only by the rebus itself.[101]

Another example occurs in the reliefs of Ramesses XI in the Temple of Khonsu (F21 = *Khonsu* II, pl. 177). There, the rebus *Mn Mꜣᶜt Rᶜ* is made up of a figure with a disk on its head who holds a combined *ᶜnḫ*-flower scepter[102] and is seated upon the game board *mn*-sign. In this example, the gender of the seated figure is unclear; although the fillet around the head and the coiffure suggests it is female. As is customary, the profile of the hieroglyph does not give any hint as to its gender by an indication of breasts. Here, the figure could be a human-headed Re, and the rebus itself Maat; or the figure could be Maat without her characteristic feather symbol.

One last example is damaged and somewhat doubtful. Located in the southeast corner of the Ramesside court at Luxor Temple (F5), the scene is composed of a seated figure who wears a sun disk on its head. A fissure in the stone makes it difficult to tell if a Maat feather was placed alongside the sun disk.[103] If not, the rebus itself would supply the value Maat. The doubling of attributes in headdresses (the combination of ostrich feather and sun disk) is attested in reliefs of Ramesses IV in the Temple of Khonsu (F15–18; loc. KM 371, 450).

THE ADDITION OF EXTRA PHONETIC ELEMENTS TO THE REBUS

In several examples, the usual *nb*-base of the goddess Maat in the rebus is replaced by the flat *mr*-sign. In scenes of Ramesses III, in which the rebus incorporates the value Amun or in which Amun acts as the recipient,[104] the *mr*-sign is considered to be a component of the royal epithet *mry ỉmn* "beloved of Amun."

99. See also Frandsen 1989: 102–04.

100. See a similar example from the reliefs of Ramesses II at Gerf Hussein that is badly damaged and lacks a dedication inscription (el-Tanbouli; Kuentz, and Sadek 1975, pl. 16).

101. Another but perhaps less satisfactory solution might be that the Maat figure in the cartouche above the rebus is doing double duty. For the association of the iconography of hieroglyphs in cartouches and in presentation scenes, see Teeter 1986b: 182, n. 12.

102. A similar scepter is known from Petrie's excavation at Gizeh and Rifeh (Petrie 1907, pl. VE [lower right]) and from the Twenty-first Dynasty papyrus of Nesipautiutaui (Piankoff 1957, pl. 3).

103. Oriental Institute photograph no. 12562.

104. F12–13 (damaged but probable), 14.

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The *mr*-sign also occurs as a base under rebus writings of the prenomen of Ramesses II when the name is presented to Amun[105] or to gods other than Amun.[106] Although *stp n Rʿ* is the usual epithet for Ramesses II, at the Ramesseum (Gauthier 1914: 54 [LXVII]) and on the Pantheon obelisk in Rome (ibid., p. 71 [CLIV]) his usual epithet is augmented by *mr(y) ʾImn*. Hence in the scenes wherein the king presents the rebus on a *mr*-sign to Amun, the rebus is considered to express the prenomen with its less common epithet. However, in the case of the scenes where Amun is not a recipient, and therefore that phonetic value is lacking, the *mr* is fulfilling a different function, namely the formation of the epithet *mry Mɜʿt* "beloved of Maat," which is attested as a variant of the Horus name of Ramesses II (Kitchen 1984: 236). In such cases, the entire rebus should again be considered to function as the phonogram "Maat."

THE RECIPIENT(S)

With only five exceptions, Maat is presented to a representation of a deity.[107] A full range of gods and goddesses appears in this role.[108] As might be expected, the patron deity of the temple is the most common recipient, although Amun often is the recipient in Theban temples dedicated to other deities.[109]

As with other types of offering scenes, the recipient faces the donor (and Maat) and is depicted in a passive stance; no effort is made to reach out to the donor, nor is there any direct interaction such as placing a hand on the donor's shoulder. Maat serves as the link between the two parties, not only iconographically, but also theologically.[110]

ATTENDANTS

In many examples of the ritual, Maat or the royal name is presented in the presence of one or more attendants who stand behind the donor or recipient. In almost all examples, this figure is a divinity. Many different gods fill this role including Thoth (A28, E1, F22), Seshat (B23, F13), Mut (A14, 30; B6), Maat (E1–4),[111] Hathor (A31, B8), Sekhmet (F20), Sobek (F11), Amunet (F15), Isis (F17), and Montu (A21, B25). The attendant(s) stand behind the donor (A13, 30–31; B8; F15, 17) or behind the primary recipient (A6,

105. F5–6; loc. Gourna 166 (pl. 22); loc. KI 169 (Oriental Institute negative no. 6315); OIP 106, pl. 136.

106. Plate 23; G2; Habachi 1969, pl. 5a (Abu Simbel).

107. In three of the five scenes where the divine recipient is not depicted, he or she is referred to in the dedication formula: Amunhotep III presents Maat to an inscription of Thoth (A2); naos of Nectanebo (CG 70016) where the king presents Maat toward his cartouches, narrated by the dedication *ḥnk Mɜʿt n mwt.f* (Roeder 1914, pl. 12b). In this case, another portion of the inscription indicates that *mwt.f* is Bastet, who is not otherwise depicted. Pinudjem presents Maat to a dedication inscription (B27) with the dedication *ḥnk Mɜʿt n Ḫnsw* ... . As with the scene from the naos, the divine recipient is not actually represented. The other two exceptional scenes show the king presenting Maat to the donor's name rather than to a deity. Ramesses III presents Maat to a rebus of his prenomen and the cartouches of his nomen (Hölscher 1941, pl. 36b). There is no dedication of the offering that refers to the identity of the recipient. The final example (J12), a seal impression excavated at Amarna, shows Akhenaton presenting Maat to his own prenomen; there is no dedication.

108. For example, in the funerary Temple of Ramesses III the following deities receive Maat: Amun, Amun-Re, Amun-Re-Kamutef, Re, Re-Horakhty, Ptah (in several aspects), Khonsu, Shu-wepet, Thoth (as a standard), Atum, Ptah-Sokar, Osiris, Harsiese, Onuris, Seth, Hornefer, Montu, and Sobek.

Hornung (1989: 138), however, suggests that there is a more restricted group of gods to whom Maat is presented and states, more directly: "But it would be inconceivable to present Maat to either Seth or Mont, the war god" (ibid., p. 139). For a scene of the presentation of Maat to Seth, see A18 and *MH* VII, pl. 576B (Ramesses III presents Maat to Montu of Thebes). The identity of the recipient is more a function of the location of the scene (i.e., patron deity of the structure) than any definite list of deities who were considered to be appropriate recipients. Since Montu is so closely associated with the power of the king and the state, and the recitation of divine recipients is often so belligerent (I have given to you *ḳn*-power / *nḫt*-strength / *pḥty*-strength), it is surprising that Montu is not more frequently portrayed as a recipient of Maat. For these attributes given by the god, see *Chapter 5: The Gods' Donation*, below.

109. For example, of the sixteen examples of the presentation of the prenomen and/or Maat in the Court and First Hypostyle Hall at the Temple of Khonsu, Amun is the recipient in eight of the scenes; *Khonsu* I, pl. 82; *Khonsu* II, pl. 157A) and Khonsu is the recipient in five scenes (E4; *Khonsu* I, pls. 15, 51, 62, 97).

110. As noted by Bergman 1972: 92–93.

111. Hornung (1992: 134) suggests that these scenes of Maat as an attendant indicate "that the god has power over her and will continue to exercise it." However, the text that Hornung uses to elucidate this text is from a private tomb. Hornung also comments that Maat stands behind Re as his daughter, just as Isis stands behind the throne of her brother Osiris. However, this does not seem to be a significant pattern because Maat stands behind the king (E2) or behind the recipient, who is a god other than Re (E1, 4).

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15–16, 19; B6, 9). Attendants are located behind both the primary recipient and the donor (A14, 17, 23, 28; B23, 25; C12; E1; F11, 13, 19, 21), or very rarely before the donor or recipient.[112] The more common compositions in offering scenes are the placement of a single attendant on either side of the scene or the placement of two figures behind the recipient.

The presence or absence of attendant figures in offering scenes does not appear to conform to any distinct pattern. For example, the reliefs on the Enclosure Wall at the Temple of Karnak are almost exclusively made up of donor/recipient groupings without attendants. The exceptions to this pattern are the ritual scenes in which a third being would normally be involved, such as conducting the king into the presence of the gods, the coronation, and the awarding of scepters (Helck 1968, pls. 6, 8, 56). The use of attendants in offering scenes is also relatively rare in the Ramesses II section of the Seti Gourna Temple. There, of the three scenes which incorporate attendants, one is the *Vasenlauf* (Osing 1977, pl. 26 [top]), which does not fall into the strict category of an offering scene. The remaining two scenes record the presentation of milk to the Theban Triad and wine to Amun in the presence of Mut (ibid., pls. 25 [top], 43b). The decoration of the interior of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak illustrates the variability in the use of attendants. Some areas of the temple are decorated with motifs of donor and recipient, and other adjacent areas incorporate attendants. In yet other areas, such scenes are mixed together with no apparent pattern.[113]

Like many of the other aspects of the presentation of Maat, the addition of divine attendants to an offering scene is not unique to scenes of the presentation of Maat, and there is no apparent association between the offering and the presence or identity of the attendant.

The divine attendants function as witnesses to the action of the presentation, be it Maat or another type of donation. The role of these attendants purely as attendants and not as direct recipients of the offering is confirmed by the address of the dedication that is in the singular form *n it.f* "to his father" and *n nb Mꜣʿt* "to the possessor of Maat" rather than in the plural.[114] The presence of the attendants strengthens and confirms the action of the donor, and in cases where the donor and recipient are flanked by such deities, the pair is literally surrounded by the support of the divine world.[115]

Regardless of the side of the composition on which attendants appear, their recitation is couched in the same *dì.n(.i) n.k* form as the recipient, and in some examples the "speech" of the attendant behind the donor appears in a more elaborate form, referring to monuments or other aspects of kingship (A28, 30; F22). In a number of examples, a divine attendant stands behind the donor, holding the year rib staff or inscribing years or jubilees for the donor in addition to intoning the *dì.n(.i) n.k* formula (A23, B25).[116] This figure serves a special function of adding strength and legitimacy to the ritual and further perpetuating the donation.

In a scene of Ramesses II presenting Maat to Re-Horakhty in the presence of Seti I (B11), the divine attendant behind the donor is replaced by a deified ruler who by virtue of his deification can act as an attendant in the ritual. In this scene, the deification of Seti I and therefore the appropriateness of his role as an attendant is indicated by his action: *snṯr n Rʿ Ḥr ꜣḫty nb pt* ... "censing to Re-Horakhty, Lord of the Sky." As Bell (1985a: 281) suggests, "By paronomasia, this (*snṯr*, which here is a pun for to "become a god") is

112. The deified Ahmose Nofertari appears before the donor in the Thutmoside South Court at Karnak (D3), in a scene of Ramesses III presenting Maat to Amun. In a similar scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX, a small figure of Maat stands before Ptah, to whom Ramesses IX presents Maat (E3).

113. Areas in which there is no discernible pattern include the south wall (OIP 106, pl. 259) and the west wall, south half (ibid., pl. 258). Other areas do display a pattern; e.g., east wall, north half (ibid., pl. 264), where the majority of the scenes show only the donor and recipient, with the exception of the last scene on the third section of the wall from the left (ibid., pls. 205, 209, 214, 222), where the offering is made in the presence of another divinity. This pattern is repeated on the southern portion of that wall (ibid., pl. 260), where, with the exception of non-offering scenes such as purification (ibid., pl. 105) and being conducted into the presence of the gods (ibid., pl. 106), the leftmost scene of the second portion of the wall from the right alone incorporates attendants into the composition (ibid., pls. 89, 102). There is an exception to the pattern (ibid., pl. 88), which depicts the shaking of a sistrum to Amun-Re and Isis. This scene perhaps is located in the upper register because it was crowded out of place in the middle register by the insertion of an additional donor/recipient scene (ibid., pl. 95).

114. See however, Frankfort 1933, pl. 51, in which Seti I presents Maat to Horus and Osiris with the dedication *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n nb(w)*  *Mꜣʿt*. See Edel 1955/64, §§214, 243aa, for this as a writing of the singular form of the noun.

115. See A17, Great Temple at Medinet Habu, in which Khonsu stands behind the king, Mut behind Amun, and both attendants assume the same protective gesture.

116. The use of the rib behind the donor is especially common in the Court and Hypostyle Hall at Khonsu (A28, 30–31; F22). Other examples from the Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak show the attendant with the year staff in a variety

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what the king receives in his turn ... ." The respective actions of the donor and his attendant are very clear. As the royal successor, Ramesses II presents Maat, the duty of the living king, while he is literally backed up by his attendant, the now deified Seti I, who as a symbol of his role and status performs the act of *snṯr*. A related example of deified royalty acting as an attendant appears in the sun court of the same temple wherein Ahmose Nofertari stands behind Amun as Ramesses performs the *Vasenlauf*.[117]

NON-DIVINE ATTENDANTS

A non-divine figure may serve as an attendant in an offering scene.[118] In this type of scene, the donor is of royal or semi-royal status (God's Wives, queen), while the non-divine attendant is most often a member of the royal family.[119] The attendant's function in the scenes of the God's Wives was to strengthen the efficacy of the donation by enhancing the status of the donor before the gods, which could be viewed as an attempt to bolster the provisional regnancy of these women and their ability to participate in, or usurp, purely royal rituals.[120] As agents of the king, the women perform a ritual that was thought to be essential to world order and to the well-being of the state. In this context, the women's major domos who assist them in the execution of state administration appear with them to add to the power of legitimacy that is essential for the efficacious presentation of Maat.

A scene that bridges the iconography of the divine and non-divine attendant is seen in the decoration of a lintel from the chapel of Osiris Padiankh,[121] in which Amunirdis I acts as an attendant for her successor, Shepenwepet II. Here, Amunirdis is positioned behind a divine attendant by virtue of her status as *mꜣʿ ḫrw*, which distinguishes her from non-divine attendants. However, her relative status in reference to the divine attendant, Isis, is distinguished by the absence of the *dî.n(.î) n.k* formula that is normally intoned by the goddess.[122]

A similar situation, with the same explanation, is encountered on the lunette of the Dream Stela (A34). There, Tanwetamani offers Maat to Amun as Piry (his wife) shakes a sistrum behind him. Here, she is not a recipient in the ritual, but rather through her cultic action she aids the king in its successful execution.

A different situation, although couched in a similar composition, is seen on the Bubastite Portal (L1) wherein Prince Osorkon stands behind his father Takalot II, who is embraced by Amun. Here, Osorkon assumes the position of attendant for his father. However, Osorkon himself presents Maat to the god, essentially ignoring the presence of his father.

CONCLUSIONS

The overall iconography of the scenes of the presentation of Maat serves to stress the link that Maat formed between the gods and the donor (Bergman 1972: 92–93). The goddess appears between the participants, frozen in the midst of the moment of presentation. She faces the recipient, as the donor does, because

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of types of offering scenes: incense (*RIK* I, pls. 37A, 42G, 45E); ointment (ibid., pls. 37C, 52D, 61A); *nw*-vessels (ibid., pls. 54C, 61B, 75B–C; *RIK* II, pl. 97C); flowers (*RIK* I, pls. 52C; 53B, D); Maat (ibid., pls. 44G, 54D); the prenomen (*RIK* II, pl. 97F); also at the Ambulatory of the Temple of Khonsu: flowers (PM II, 235 (38) I = loc. KM 391); name (ibid., 236 (41) I = loc. KM 374); insignia (ibid., (41) II.2 = loc. KM 377).

117. Osing 1977, pl. 26 (top). Although this is not an offering scene, it is cited as another rare example of a deified royal attendant.

118. *LD* III, pl. 174e; Petrie 1909, pl. XXIV (top); K7–9. This type of composition is found several times in the rock-cut stelae at Gebel Silsila (PM V, 208 (2); 209 (6), (8); 210 (15), (17); 212 (39), (42)–(43)).

119. For scenes of the God's Wives with non-divine attendants, see K8: Pabasa; K9–10: Shoshenq; Leclant 1965, pl. 20 (Diesehebsed). For examples with royal donors wherein the attendant is not a member of the royal family, see O5; PM V, 208 (2); 209 (8); 210 (15); 212 (30) (39, followed by queen and Panhasi); for examples with attendants as members of the royal family, see PM V, 210 (22); 212 (42–43).

120. For the authority of the God's Wives, see Kitchen 1973: 176–77; Leclant 1965: 383 (on p. 365 he asserts that the power of the God's Wives waned in the time of Amunirdis II).

121. Leclant 1965, pl. LXIII (upper) = JE 39402 (right): Shepenwepet II shakes sistra to Osiris Nebankh, Isis, and Amunirdis I.

122. See also the left side of the same lintel (Leclant 1965, pl. LXIII [top], text on p. 101), wherein Taharka consecrates offerings to Amun, Harsiese, and the deceased Amunirdis I. Here, the political debt that Taharka owed to Amunirdis as administrator of the Thebaid is expressed through her role as an attendant for the donation of offerings to the gods. As with the scene of Shepenwepet II, the deceased Amunirdis stands behind the divine recipient and is accompanied only by her name and titles.

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the donor in this context is indicating that although Maat initially came from the gods, in the ritual Maat flows back from the king through his pious actions to the gods. This iconographic convention stresses the active, continuing, and eternal nature of the ritual, of the interplay between the donations of the gods, and the king's duty to uphold Maat and her precepts.

The royal nature of the ritual is reflected most clearly in the regalia assumed by the donor. The blue crown numerically dominates these scenes because of the crown's association with the legitimacy of the ruler,[123] a principle that is associated with the presentation of Maat, whereas the regional crowns (red or white) are rarely found because they did not adequately emphasize the significance of the ritual for all of Egypt.

In some occurrences of the scene, the presentation of Maat is further associated with the more significant rituals of kingship and legitimacy through the use of the *ḥb*-sign as a platform for the kneeling donor. This base is used in conjunction with the presentation of Maat (A28, 31, 33), the royal name (F21–22), and with scenes of the coronation,[124] all rituals that are directly associated with royal prerogative.

The basic composition of the presentation of Maat does not differ from other types of ritual scenes. Attendants may or may not appear in the scenes, and they may appear in varying numbers and in various positions.

In essence, there is little about the iconography of this particular type of scene to set it apart from the presentation of other offerings. It is this similarity that provides the key to the iconography of the ritual; the presentation of Maat is not so much like all the other types of scenes, as they are like the presentation of Maat. To the Egyptian mind, the presentation of Maat was not a unique and isolated ritual, but one in which all others were subsumed; all were an integrated reflection of the relationship between the king and gods which affected mankind.

The only manner in which the presentation of Maat is distinguished from other types of offering scenes is in the form of the Maat offering itself. Rather than presenting an emblem or some other related non-anthropoid object, the figure of the goddess herself is offered to the gods. The tiny figure symbolizes an active and more potent offering than an inanimate object, and in the course of this particular ritual, the small divine figure, imbued with the power of right doing, symbolizes the active cooperation between the king and the world of the gods, mediated by the goddess Maat.

The iconography of the goddess who is presented to the gods is, with the exception of her association with the royal name, invariable. Her feather is the phonetic value of her name, and the *ʿnḫ*-scepter symbolizes her domain. Her base, the *nb*, is found under a very limited number of objects, including crowns, clepsydra, and in its variant *ḥb*-form, under *sed* festivals.[125] These items are related; all are abstract symbols of royalty and legitimacy and all are within the domain of Maat, because it is by upholding the principles of Maat that the king sits upon the throne and is granted years of rule. The concept of time (as symbolized by the clepsydra) and order are intimately related to the domain of Maat. In the context of the ritual, the *nb*-base under the tiny Maat figure which is presented completes a rebus for an epithet of the donor, he or she being the "possessor of the qualities of Maat."[126]

From the time of Seti I onward,[127] there was a conscious effort to equate the presentation of Maat and the royal name through shared iconography. From the Nineteenth Dynasty onward, this identification was so complete that scenes of the presentation of the royal name are captioned as "presenting Maat,"[128] and that in turn, only prenomens which include the goddess' name are presented to the gods.[129] It is with the incorporation of Maat into the royal name in the Ramesside period that the goddess' traditional feather head-

123. W. V. Davies 1982: 69–76. See also Russmann 1974: 27, nos. 11–12, regarding the suggestions of Müller and Leclant that the blue crown has more political than divine connotations.

124. *MH* V, pls. 291, 316; *MH* VI, pl. 460; *MH* VII, pl. 498.

125. See footnote 86, above.

126. For the possible distinction between "lord of Maat" and "possessor of Maat" in these scenes, see pp. 53–54, below.

127. See *Chapter 2: The Ramesside Period*, above.

128. See classes F and G in the *Appendix: Classification of Scenes*. Notable exceptions to this equation occur with scenes of Ramesses IV (F18, pl. 12; H2, pl. 11).

129. The rare examples of the presentation of the nomen do not always include the goddess' name. See Rössler-Köhler 1984: 943, no. 71; Teeter 1986b: 175, no. 2. This is related to the association of Maat and the sense of legitimacy of rule. The prenomen, as the name assumed upon accession, celebrates the association of the king and Maat; the "family" name or nomen does not necessarily do so.

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dress and *ʿnḫ*-scepter were subject to variation, and it is in this context that the intimacy of the tie between the king's name or person and Maat can best be documented. This connection is very clear in certain offering scenes of Ramesses XI at the Temple of Khonsu, in which the scepter that Maat carries in a rebus of the king's prenomen which is presented is shown in forms other than the usual *ʿnḫ*. In each such example, the variations in the staff are carried over to the representation of the goddess who appears in the king's prenomen cartouche.[130] This shared iconography stresses the closeness of the relationship between the king and the goddess.

The incorporation of Maat's name into virtually all of the prenomens of the Twentieth Dynasty[131] coincides with the use of the presentation of Maat as a standard motif in temple decoration. These two uses of the image of the goddess, which are related through the presentation of the Ramesside prenomen equated with Maat, reflect a vastly increased prominence of Maat in the period following the Eighteenth Dynasty.[132] The assumption of prenomens compounded with Maat and the subsequent presentation of those names equated with Maat through the offering inscription are a reflection of the king's striving for closer association with Maat and with her inherent moral values that had constituted the traditional principles of behavior in the pre-Ramesside era. This new emphasis upon Maat rituals in the Ramesside period is also clearly indicated by the absence of any equation of the prenomen with Maat (as attested by the presentation of the prenomen) until the advent of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Assmann relates the late New Kingdom references to Maat to the erosion of the Ramesside kings' sense of confidence to rule according to their own will and initiative (which was always tempered and guided by the precepts of Maat), as well as to a growing sense of fate and reliance upon the gods.[133] According to this scenario, the increase in scenes of the presentation of Maat, or the royal name equated with the goddess, would be viewed as striving to recapture the guidance which the precepts of the goddess had provided, but which was being eroded with the growth of personal piety.[134] Objections to this interpretation are expressed in the final conclusions of this work.

130. *Khonsu* II, pls. 157, 177 (= F21); cf. also Teeter 1986b: 182, no. 12.

131. The only exception is Ramesses IX. There are more exceptions in the Nineteenth Dynasty: Ramesses I and Merneptah have Maat in their nomens, Amunmese and Twosert honor the goddess in their Horus names, and the titularies of Seti II and Siptah omit any mention of Maat.

132. This increase in the use of Maat-related iconography can be demonstrated through a comparison of the incidence of the presentation of Maat scenes in the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside period (table 2).

133. Assmann 1983b: 283–85; idem 1984a: 273–74; idem 1984b: 698; Lichtheim 1979: 294: "... the concept of Maat had been narrowed to meaning 'truth' and 'justice,' and the universal order was now viewed as depending directly on the actions of the gods."

134. Assmann 1984a: 267–74; idem 1984b: 697–98; Brunner 1963: 111–12.

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Table 2. Comparison of Incidence of the Presentation of Maat in the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside Period*

Ruler	*Number of Examples*	*Sources*
EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY**		
Hatshepsut	1	Possible example: PM II, p. 175 (520c), on reused block
Thutmose III	4	A1; B1–2 (A1 recarved by Alexander; B1 recarved by Philip)
Amunhotep III	4	A2; B3; C1–2
Akhenaton	7	J1–5, 10, 12
Nefertiti	5	J6–9, 11
Tutankhamun	4	B4; C3–5
NINETEENTH DYNASTY***		
Seti I	25	Temple at Abydos
	4	Kanais
	5	Mortuary Temple, Gourna
Ramesses II	4	Enclosure Wall at Karnak
	7	Gourna Temple of Seti I
	27	Hypostyle Hall, Karnak
	2	Beit el-Wali
Merneptah	1	KV 8
	4	Osireion
Amunmesse	2	Karnak
	1	Gourna
Seti II	8	Shrine, First Court at Karnak
	1	KV 15
	1	Hermopolis
Twosert	1	KV 14
Sethnakht	1	Elephantine Stela
	1	KV 14
TWENTIETH DYNASTY***		
Ramesses III	59	Medinet Habu
	24	Karnak Temple of Ramesses III
	6	KV 11
Ramesses IV	16	Ambulatory and side rooms, Temple of Khonsu
	1	Wadi Hammamat
	3	KV 2
Ramesses V	1	Gebel Silsila
Ramesses VI	1	Medinet Habu
	1	KV 9
Ramesses VII	1	KV 1
Ramesses IX	1	KV 6
Ramesses XI	4	Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Khonsu
Herihor	13	Court, Temple of Khonsu

*Numbers for the Ramesside period include examples of the presentation of the name equated with Maat.

**All known examples for the Eighteenth Dynasty are listed.

***Only selected examples of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties are given for comparison of relative incidence.

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CHAPTER 4

SEQUENCE AND PATTERNS

GENERAL REMARKS

The arrangement of particular offering scenes and their sequence in relation to other types of offerings have been discussed by a number of scholars. Some assert that the scenes on the walls of a particular monument are related to the rituals that were performed in that chamber.[1] Others suggest that certain scenes always appear in specific areas of temples.[2] Most recently, Poo discounts any relationship of the scenes to the function of the structure,[3] suggesting that the ritual representations function as symbols of the king's piety or as decorative motifs rather than as narration for rituals. Hence, according to Poo's thesis, we should not expect offering scenes to conform to a predictable order or sequence.

Studies of the order and sequence of offering scenes tend to concentrate on what deities are involved in the offering rather than on what objects are exchanged between the rituals' participants.[4] These studies have successfully shown that on certain monuments the deities are not randomly placed, but more commonly their arrangement expresses alternate aspects of a particular god[5] or local and regional groupings.[6]

Other scholars have turned their attention to the relationship of the offering to the overall scene, specifically why a certain object is offered to certain gods and whether a specific type of offering scene occurs in a particular area of a temple, tomb, or other structure.[7]

Although the majority of comments pertaining to the sequence of the presentation of Maat or the royal name are based upon the reliefs in Ptolemaic temples,[8] certain scholars have commented on the location of the scenes of the presentation of Maat in the New Kingdom and Late New Kingdom temples. Goff (1979: 180), apparently following Moret and Derchain, suggests that the ritual is found in the back of the temple sanctuary. Osing (1977: 66–69) associates the ritual with scenes of the presentation of incense and libation, wine and food. Myśliwiec (1985a: 9) states that, as a type of propaganda, scenes of the presentation of Maat are an element of the decoration of the first court which abuts the temple's facade.

A difficulty in dealing with the sequence of reliefs in temples is determining to what extent and in what direction the reliefs relate to each other. For example, does a scene in an upper register express a certain sequence with a scene below it, or does it have a special relevance only to the scenes on its immediate left

1. Alliot 1949: 3; Arnold 1962; Ibrahim 1975: 18–20; David 1981: 57. See also Myśliwiec 1985a: 7 for the comment that the scenes "do not depict episodes of a particular ritual, but are a multiplied illustration of the room's function."
2. Moret 1902: 147; idem 1940: 7; Derchain 1962: 66; Bergman 1972: 83–84; Goff 1979: 180.
3. Poo 1984: 70, 83. See also de Wit 1968: 145.
4. Kuentz 1971: 7 (First Pylon at Luxor Temple); Helck 1968: 70–71 (Enclosure Wall at Karnak); Helck 1976: 57–65 (columns in Hypostyle Hall at Karnak); Osing 1977: 26–29 (Temple of Seti at Gourna). See Schuller-Götzburg 1990: 60 for comments about the sequence of the items presented in ritual scenes.
5. In particular the forms of Amun-Re and Amunkamutef in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Helck 1968: 70–71; idem 1976: 57).
6. Triads of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Enclosure Wall at Karnak (Helck 1968: 70–71); Upper Terrace at Medinet Habu (*MH* VII, pls. 539–66; see also Gardiner 1947: 53–54, pls. XXIV, XXVI).
7. Helck 1968: 108 (censing and libation only to Amun or Amunet on the east side of the Enclosure Wall); Barta 1973: 163–66 (with additional references); Osing 1977: 65–69 (for the proposed sequence Maat/food/incense, libation and wine, discussed further below); Barta 1966: 116–22 (with references to earlier work); H. Altenmüller 1969: 16–25; David 1981: 58–82 (for the order of the daily temple ritual); Poo 1984: 54, 83.
8. Moret 1902: 147; idem 1940: 7; Winter 1968: 55–61. Derchain (1962: 66) comments that the scenes of the presentation of Maat occur in the sanctuary behind the statue of the resident deity. Bergman (1972: 83–84) suggests that the scene marks the axis of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera.

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and right? Recent studies show that there is no uniform orientation of temple scenes. For example, the scenes on the north half of the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall at the Temple of Amun at Karnak appear to have a dominant right to left, horizontal pattern,[9] while it has been suggested that the chapels in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos are to be read from alternating upper and lower registers, or strictly as separate upper and lower registers.[10] The columns of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak are to be read in diagonal patterns through the hall rather than along the east-west or north-south orientation of the hall itself (Helck 1976: 57–65). The Enclosure Wall at Karnak is arranged as a mirror image of itself, the central scene located in the middle, the other scenes radiating out horizontally from it (Helck 1968: 70–71). Winter (1968: 55–56) suggests that in the Ptolemaic period, some of the reliefs are to be read in vertical registers, from top to bottom. Generally, there does not appear to be a uniform ordering of the scenes. However, in many of the Ramesside temples, the register lines give an indication that many series of scenes are to be read in separate horizontal registers, which is very evident in the Temple of Khonsu wherein the scenes within a register are of unequal size and their marginal inscriptions do not match up with scenes directly below, suggesting a horizontal sequence from right to left or left to right.[11] The difference in registration lines from one wall surface to the one immediately adjacent to it suggests that, at least in that temple, the walls were to be read separately.[12]

An additional difficulty in determining the sequence of particular scenes is the variability in subject matter that was used as decoration in the temples. This variability is especially critical to our understanding when attempting to evaluate the importance of a specific ritual through a comparison of basic information such as the relative incidence of the ritual's appearance. For example, one temple might rely more heavily upon certain ritual themes that are not as prevalent in another temple, even though both temples were built during the same reign. The presentation of the royal name equated with Maat is relatively rare at Medinet Habu. Of sixty-eight examples of this type of presentation scene, only four (5%) display the rebus of the royal name, but at the small Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, the prenomen makes up 30% of such scenes.[13] The presentation of the royal name is not employed as a decorative theme in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos,[14] although it is encountered among the reliefs at his mortuary temple at Gourna.[15]

9. Although the lowest register (B–D) is read left to right (Nelson 1949: 202–04).

10. Barta 1966: 119 (separate registers); ibid., pp. 116–19 (for summary of earlier interpretations); H. Altenmüller 1969: 16–25 (generally separate registers); Barta 1973: 163–66; David 1981: 60–74 (alternating registers).

11. See, for example, the west wall of the court on which loc. KM 192–200 appear to be a sequence that is not related to the lower register (scenes 201–10; pl. 8a). Contrast this type of pattern to the south wall of the First Hypostyle Hall, on which two registers (scenes 253–54 and 256–57) could be taken as a multi-register sequence (pl. 8b) on the basis of the similarity of their size and orientation.

12. See the discontinuity of register size at the junction of the west, north, and east walls of the Ambulatory (pl. 9). For additional discussion concerning reliefs that bridge corners, see *Khonsu* I, pp. xi–xii.

13. F12–14 and H1 from Medinet Habu. At the Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, there are a total of twenty-one scenes of the presentation of Maat, seven of which show the king presenting a rebus of his name (*RIK* I, pls. 7B, 8G, 8K, 52B; *RIK* II, pls. 97F, 98A [= F10], 99B [= F11]).

14. Although the bases on the columns in the Hypostyle Hall and the scenes on the east wall and ceilings of the Second Hypostyle Hall are decorated with a rebus of Seti's prenomen used in alternation with the nomen. Although only the nomen is surrounded by a cartouche, both names are enclosed in the undulating coils of a uraeus (*Abydos* IV, pls. 52, 58).

15. Of the thirteen examples in that temple, eight (61%) are of the presentation of the name. The rebus is exclusively favored on the exterior north wall (Osing 1977, pls. 3, 11, 16); Maat is the only form of the offering within the sun court (Osing 1977, pls. 24–25, 35). This penchant for one form or the other is encountered in the Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, in which the south wall shows only the presentation of the rebus (F10–11; *RIK* II, pl. 97F) and the east wall shows only the presentation of the Maat figurine (*RIK* II, pls. 103I, 107B, 107E). It is possible that this reflects a desire to make the scenes of the presentation of the name, which is a symbol of the king's legitimacy, visible without entering the temple proper. The scenes on the east wall of the Karnak Temple are within the confines of the first court, and the scenes on the south wall were, in the time of Ramesses III, the exterior of the temple proper. The same case could tentatively be made for the Gourna Temple. Although the temple was surrounded by a girdle wall, the scenes of the presentation of the name are on the exterior, and those of the offering of Maat are in the court. This placement of scenes might be due to the association of Maat and Re that would be appropriate to the decoration of a courtyard, as opposed to the rebus scenes that stress the association of the king and Maat. For these latter scenes as a type of propaganda, see Myśliwiec 1985a: 9.

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LOCATION OF SCENES OF THE PRESENTATION OF MAAT

NON-MONUMENTAL OCCURRENCES

The presentation of Maat is rarely encountered as a decorative theme in the non-monumental context. It is almost unknown as a vignette on papyrus.[16] Several examples of the presentation of Maat are known from Ramesside ostraca.[17] A number of bronze statues of priests, or of kings acting as high priest, presenting Maat date to the Late period (M6–7). Although Maat herself is not an uncommon theme on jewelry,[18] the presentation of her image was only rarely used as decoration on pectorals, ring bezels, and scarabs.[19] There are no examples of the presentation of Maat or of the royal name from the "domestic" context, i.e., from wall or floor paintings from houses.

OCCURRENCES ON MONUMENTS

The presentation of Maat is found upon Eighteenth Dynasty stelae (B3, C5), a naos (C2), a pedestal (A2), talatat from Karnak (J1–10), a parapet fragment and seal impression from Amarna (J11–12). In the Ramesside period, there are many more examples that come from contexts as diverse as the apex of obelisks,[20] pedestals or naoi,[21] various stelae,[22] and temples and royal tombs (see below). Three scenes that share many of the characteristics of the royal ritual are found in private tombs (pls. 3–5) and variations in the theme are found in two other tombs at Deir el-Medina (pl. 1 [= M1]; M2, which is questionable).

By far the greatest number of scenes of the presentation of Maat are found among the reliefs that adorn Ramesside temples. The scene occurs in the areas of the temples that were accessible to the common folk, as well as in the inner sections of the structures.[23] The presence of the scene in places of popular supplication, in particular, opposite "Amun Re in the thickness of the door" at Medinet Habu[24] and in the chapels of supplication and hearing petitions at Karnak,[25] Luxor,[26] and Medinet Habu,[27] indicate that the common people were familiar with depictions of the ritual.[28] The association of the presentation of Maat with places of popular supplication continues through the Late period and even into the Roman era as attested by the representation of the presentation of Maat commissioned by Domitian on the north and south exterior walls

16. Papyrus of Sethnakht (Nineteenth Dynasty; pl. 2), which shows the deceased holding Maat on the palm of his uplifted hand. See the discussion of this scene in *Chapter 2: The Ramesside Period*, above.
17. Among them, Bruyère 1925: 50, fig. 3 (Ramesses II); Louvre H497 (Ramesses VII, unpublished); and MMA 14.6.215 (joined with MMA Old Catalog 25017 [D4, Ramesses IX, unpublished]).
18. This is especially common on the pectorals that Osiris wears; cf. *Abydos* III, pl. 4 (= A3–4). For an actual example from the tomb of Tutankhamun, see Aldred 1971, pl. 100 (Carter 269 I, J, Q).
19. Gold ring of Tutankhamun (Carter 256ccc = C4; Edwards 1976, pl. 15); scarab of Ramesses II (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 305); Oriental Institute scarab no. 17416; pectoral carved upon the Persian period statue of Ptahhotep (Brooklyn 37.353; Bothmer 1960, pl. 60, fig. 151).
20. Obelisk of Ramesses II before Luxor Temple: scene on the west side of the pyramidion; obelisk of Seti I ("Popolo"), south face (C8). The scene in this context refers to Maat as the "food of Re" or to her filiation with the sun god.
21. Pedestal of Ramesses II (A8), post-Ramesside naos of Amasis (Louvre E605), and naos of Nectanebo (N13).
22. B2, Ramesside period(?); Bruyère 1930: 51, fig. 32 (now in Strasbourg); Silsila West (Ramesses II) in *LD* III, pl. 174e.
23. For the access of non-priestly people into the temples, see pp. 4–5, above.
24. For "Amun-Re in the shadow of the door," see *MH* V, p. x; Nims 1954: 79–80; Fischer 1959: 196–98. For representation of the presentation of Maat opposite Amun-Re in the thickness (shadow) of the door, see *MH* IV, pl. 246A; *MH* V, pl. 306.
25. For the eastern chapel, see PM II, 211 (29) e, h; for the triple shrine of Seti II, see PM II, 25 (27), (29) 2.
26. On the southeast corner of the first court, see footnote 28, below.
27. On the high gate (F12, H1).
28. At Medinet Habu, the king gives Maat to Ptah "who hears petitions" (B24). At Karnak, the Ramesside eastern temple is decorated with scenes of the presentation of Maat or the name equated with Maat (PM II, 207; 211 (29) e, h (30) 2, (31) 2). In the Triple Shrine of Seti II at Karnak, there is a scene of the presentation of Maat in the Amun shrine wherein the structure is specifically called a place of supplication and prayer (*KRI* IV, 254.6). The chapel of Khonsu of the Seti II shrine is decorated with two addition scenes of the presentation of Maat, one in the Mut chapel and one on the facade (cf. PM II, 25 (27) (29) 2). Other areas of the shrine are also decorated with scenes of the presentation of Maat (PM II, 26 (31) e, (35) a, (37) I.4, II.3). At Luxor Temple, the king presenting his name as Maat (F5) takes up much of the southeast wall of the forecourt. This southeast corner of the temple is called a "place of prayer and hearing petitions" (*KRI* II, 607.14–15). THE western door that is referred to as a place of supplication (*KRI* II, 610.7–8, 10, 12) is also decorated with a scene of the presentation of Maat (PM II, 307 (23) II b). For the iconography of this scene, see *Chapter 3: Posture*.

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of the north chapel near the Thutmoside Chapel of the Hearing Ear.[29] The Trajan era Chapel of the Hearing Ear on the back of the Temple of Kom Ombo is also decorated with a winged Maat.[30]

The common man's exposure to representations of the ritual is illustrated by the location of such scenes at Medinet Habu. Scenes of the presentation of the goddess occur on the back of the southern porter's lodge and many times in the passage through the High Gate.[31] The portal of the first pylon is ornamented with two scenes of the presentation of Maat, and the stela to the south of the doorway depicts the king presenting Maat.[32] As Nims (1954: 79–80) and Fischer (1959: 196–98) indicate, the second court was also, at least on occasion, a place of popular assembly. The columns in this portion of the temple have the greatest concentration of the scenes of the presentation of Maat.[33] Although the presentation of Maat or the royal name equated with Maat does occur in the area behind the second court and the upper terrace, it does so far fewer times than in the public areas.[34]

The Temple of Seti I at Abydos also illustrates the accessibility that the common people had to scenes of the presentation of Maat. As evidenced by the *dwꜣ rḫyt nb* rebuses in the Second Hypostyle Hall, the non-priestly classes were allowed into that section of the temple. That area of the temple has a far greater number of scenes of the presentation of Maat than any other section of the temple.[35]

The location of the scenes of the presentation of Maat at Karnak Temple also indicates that such scenes, or those of the presentation of the royal name equated with Maat, were commonly, although not exclusively, located in areas of popular access. One might contrast the public area of the great temple, primarily the first court and hypostyle hall to the inner areas behind the hypostyle hall.[36] Only four scenes of the presentation of Maat are located in the area of the temple to the east of the hypostyle hall (A1; B1, 16–17), and thirteen such scenes occur on the walls of the hypostyle hall itself and upon the porch of the Third Pylon.[37] The pillars in the northern half of the hall are incised with nineteen additional scenes of the presentation of Maat.

The court of Thutmose I located to the south of the Fifth and Sixth Pylons is decorated with a scene of the presentation of Maat being offered to a figure of Amun whose face was originally inlaid with some precious material (D3). Barguet (1962: 113 f.) suggests that this relief lay along the processional route, so although it was perhaps not as accessible to the common folk as the places of prayer, it was, on occasion, visible.

The scenes of the presentation of Maat in the Temple of Ramesses III in the First Court at Karnak are located primarily, although not exclusively, on the exterior of the temple where they could easily be seen.[38] The main entry into the temple is decorated with five additional representations and the northern reveal of the western door also is incised with the scene.[39]

In summary, the vast majority of scenes of the presentation of Maat, or the name as Maat, was located in public areas of the temple, in particular, in places of popular supplication. This placement makes it evident that not only the priestly classes but all worshippers were familiar with the iconography of this ritual.

A series of scenes of the presentation of Maat appear at Gebel Silsila.[40] The location of such scenes could be an association of the fame of Gebel Silsila as the place from which the inundation originated with the scene of rejuvenation and renewal inherent in Maat.

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29. PM II, 218 (39) (40). Also on the north wall of the south chapel (PM II, 218 (35)).
30. PM VI, 97 (227), in which the figure is erroneously referred to as Shu.
31. B24–25; F12, 14; H1; *MH* VIII, pl. 623E.
32. *MH* II, pl. 107; *MH* IV, pl. 224.
33. *MH* V, pls. 261A–B, 262B, 263B, 264B, 266A, 269A, 270A, 271B (all pillars on the east side of the court). The door that provides access from the first to the second court also is decorated with two scenes of the presentation of Maat (*MH* V, pls. 256, 258D). For such ritual scenes in the northern portion of the court, see *MH* V, pls. 272A, 276, 279A (= A20), 281, 283A, 290; *MH* VI, pls. 371D1, 374B2, 375A1, 376B2.
34. For scenes in the inner areas of the temple, see A13–15, 17; B21–22; F13; P5; *MH* IV, pl. 227; *MH* V, pls. 336, 341B; *MH* VI, pls. 423, 428B; *MH* VII, pls. 503, 522, 524.
35. *Abydos* IV, pls. 24, 27, 33, 43B, 44, 45A, 50, 67–68, 70–74, 76–77. Two scenes do occur on the jambs of the door of the Re-Horakhty sanctuary (*Abydos* IV, pl. 24). A few scenes are located in the first Osiris Hall (*Abydos* III, pls. 4, 11b, 16, 21–22). No such scenes are located within the seven sanctuaries.
36. This division of the temple is based upon the name of the hall, the "place where the common man praises the name of his majesty" (*KRI* II, 559.7–8; Nims 1954: 80).
37. OIP 106, pls. 75 (= F9), 81A (= A10), 117, 126 (twice), 136, 156, 169 (= A7), 180, 213, 235, 249, 251.
38. *RIK* I, pls. 97F, 98A, 99B, 101B, 103i, 107E, 107B.
39. For the main entry, see *RIK* I, pls. 7B, 8B, C, G, K; for the western door, see ibid., pl. 9C.
40. PM V, 209 (8), 210 (15), (17), (22), 212 (39) (42)–(43).

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THE ROYAL TOMBS

Scenes of the presentation of Maat occur in the tombs of Merneptah (P1),[41] Seti II (P2),[42] Twosert,[43] Ramesses III,[44] Ramesses IV,[45] Ramesses VI,[46] Ramesses VII,[47] Ramesses IX (E3), and Shoshenq III (pl. 17, B29). The scene most commonly appears above the descent to the burial chamber (Merneptah [P1], Seti II [P2]), Ramesses III,[48] Ramesses VII), or as the second or third scene on the left or right side of the first hallway.[49] The tomb of Ramesses IV shows the ritual in the course of the Book of Gates and the tomb of Ramesses IX uses the motif as a large scale vignette upon the walls of Corridor C (E3).

The tombs of Ramesses VI (pl. 19, G4) and Ramesses IX (pl. 20, I1) are decorated with scenes of the king and a god holding a standing figure of Maat,[50] but as suggested in *Chapter 3: Royal Donors: Anomalous Iconography* (above), these scenes stress the association of the royal name and Maat and might not depict the actual presentation of the image of the goddess.

The scenes of the presentation of Maat that occur in the first hallway of certain Ramesside tombs could be an allusion to the cycle of Re and to the association of the sun god with his daughter Maat.[51] The first portion of the hallway, which might be decorated with the Litany of Re, is the only area of the sepulcher that was symbolically struck by the sun's rays, hence the placement of the solar texts. The cycle of the sun is emphasized by the placement of the beginning of the litany on the left, proceeding only as far as the rays of the sun might penetrate, then continuing across the hallway on the right surface, to the right door jamb. In the tombs of Seti II and Merneptah, scenes of the presentation of Maat are intermixed with the text of the litany, further emphasizing the association of Maat and the solar god. Although only the tombs of Merneptah and Seti II actually incorporate scenes of the presentation of Maat into the Litany of Re, the tomb of Twosert/Sethnakht (P3), which does not have the litany in its first hall, has the two scenes of the presentation of the goddess' image at the entrance of the tomb.[52] The tombs of Merneptah and Ramesses VI have abbreviations of this iconography on the royal sarcophagus, the shoulder area of which is decorated with a small figure of Maat (pl. 10), the crocodile (or snake), and the single-horned animal head that occurs above and below the solar disk which illustrates the Litany of Re.[53] This composition is apparently a reference to the sun's symbolic penetration into the darkness of the burial chamber and hence the symbolic association of the rebirth of the king with the solar cycle. The sun enters the tomb and is invoked by the litany or by scenes of the presentation of the daughter of Re. The sun's penetration into the darkness is symbolized by the emblems on the shoulders of the king's sarcophagus, and the rebirth of the king is evoked by the exit of the sun via the Litany of Re texts on the opposite wall of the entry.

The depiction of the presentation of Maat over the descent to the burial chamber (Merneptah, Seti II, Ramesses III) is uniformly a double scene, showing the king on the left and right, facing inward to a double

41. Pictured in Abitz 1984, fig. 3.
42. Pictured in Abitz 1984, fig. 5.
43. P3; PM 1/2, 527 (2).3.
44. PM 1/2, 524 pillars A (a)–(b); 524 (39) (pictured in Abitz 1984, fig. 7); 525 pillars B–C, H.
45. PM 1/2, 499 (14) (15).
46. PM 1/2, 516–17 pillars A (a)–(b), C (a)–(b), D (a)–(b).
47. PM 1/2, 497 (12), (13).
48. PM 1/2, 524 (39).
49. Twosert/Sethnakht: left side, third scene, and right side, third scene; Seti II, right side, second scene.
50. In the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 19, G4), the Maat figure stands on a flat platform. See also plate 18 (G1, Cenotaph of Seti I) for a similar scene; see plate 21 (G5, Shoshenq III) for a variation in this iconography. In the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 20, I1), the figure of the goddess is flanked by the king's cartouches.
51. Placement of the scenes near the entry of the tomb might also be related to references to Maat in the first portion of the sun hymns that occur in private tombs (Assmann 1983a: XX 3.2.1.1.A6).
52. A figure of Maat, often seated on a *nb*- or a *ḥb*-sign, is a common decorative motif for the jambs of the first corridor of the Ramesside tombs (Ramesses I, Ramesses II, Amunmesse, Ramesses III, Seti II, Siptah) and could be a reference, not so much to the vindication of the deceased king, but to the association of Maat and Re. A figure of the goddess is also commonly found on jambs of succeeding hallways and lintels over further halls (PM II, 536 (7), 568 (5), 763 (12), 764 (22) (23) (28)), perhaps a reference to the symbolic passage of the sun's rays into the darkness of the burial chamber. This association of Maat and the passage of the rays of the sun through darkness can also be seen in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel where the presentation of Maat is shown not only on the facade but also on the lintels of the successive halls leading to the sanctuary (PM VII, 101 (facade), 108 (108–09), 109 (96), 110 (109–10)).
53. Elements of this relationship were suggested by Edwin Brock in connection with his work on the Ramesside sarcophagi. Mr. Mohammed Seyyid el-Hassan, Inspector in the Valley of the Kings, kindly allowed field notes to be taken.

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image of Osiris in his shrine.[54] In the tombs of Seti II and Merneptah, the king offers Maat in the left scene, and in its counterpart he offers wine (so labeled in the dedication in the tomb of Merneptah). This scene is most probably an illustration of the association of Maat with all types of offerings,[55] as well as a reference to the king's piety and worthiness of justification, expressed by his offerings to Osiris.

The presentation of a rebus of the royal name occurs only once in the royal tombs,[56] and then without a dedication inscription that explicitly associates the rebus with Maat.

PRIVATE MONUMENTS

Although the goddess Maat appears in many private tombs,[57] the representation of a private individual presenting her image is extremely rare, and with only one exception, a statue of Nespekashuty (M9), every example of the depiction of the ritual with a non-royal donor is from vignettes that accompany mortuary literature (M3–5, 8, 10).[58] Two (possibly three) examples of an individual conveying Maat are also funerary: one (pl. 2) is a vignette from the Book of Caverns (Piankoff 1974: 47) and the others are from tomb paintings (pl. 1 [= M1]; possibly M2). The only example on jewelry from a non-royal context is a scene of the king presenting Maat that appears on a pectoral carved on a statue of the official Ptahhotep of the Persian period.[59]

There is no pattern in the location of the scene in the non-royal use of the ritual. Hornung's (1992: 140) observation "... that such images [of non-royal presentation of Maat] have been documented only in now inaccessible subterranean Theban burial chambers, which in all likelihood were themselves modeled after royal tombs," should be qualified because such scenes could occur not only in other parts of the tomb, but also on stelae (M8) or statues (M9). Specifically regarding location in tombs, the scene could indeed, as suggested by Hornung, appear not only in the burial chamber itself (M3–4), but also in the transverse hall of the tomb (M1). In the tomb of Nefermenu (M2), the scene appears in the right wall of the inner room of the tomb; in the Late period tomb of Pedashtar (M10), the representation is located on the left wall of the tomb's inner room.

The ritual is not found in predictable alternation with a particular theme. As might be expected from the association of Maat and Re, the scene is found near or in conjunction with the solar litany (M2, 5). In a single tomb (M4), the offering of Maat is adjacent to a scene of a funerary banquet. The examples of the ritual from tombs at Deir el-Medina clearly indicate the funerary nature of the scene. In the tomb of Irynefer (pl. 3, M3), the presentation of Maat is associated with Spells 151 and 166 of the Book of the Dead; in the tomb of Amunwahsu (pl. 1, M1), the scene is shown in conjunction with the weighing of the heart (BD chapters 30B, 125). The only private stela (pl. 5, M8) that depicts the presentation of Maat is also funerary in nature. In that example, the officiant, the priest Harsiese, is dressed as a *sem*-priest, censing to Re-Horakhty.

Each of these examples, with the one stated exception (M9), is from a funerary context, which is in striking contrast to scenes with a royal donor that are attested in the reliefs that decorate temples (with very few exceptions; see E3, P1–3).

NEW KINGDOM TEMPLES

Scenes of the presentation of Maat or of the royal name equated with Maat occur on all portions of New Kingdom temples—walls, columns, door jambs, and lintels[60]—in any register of the surfaces' decoration.

54. In the tomb of Ramesses III, two separate shrines are differentiated; in the tomb of Seti II, two separate shrines are suggested by a thin middle dividing line; and in the tomb of Merneptah, the double figures of Osiris stand back to back in one shrine (see Abitz 1984, figs. 3, 5, 7).
55. Osing (1977: 66–69) suggests that wine and Maat are often shown in the same context. See also Moret 1902: 142 (Chapter XLII of the Berlin Service Book), in which all types of offerings are associated with the goddess.
56. Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954, pl. 138a) in contrast to the presentation of cartouches (Ramesses IX [pl. 20, I1]). See also pp. 19–20 for comments on plates 19 and 21 (G4–5).
57. Partial listing of Theban Tombs with depictions of Maat other than weighing of the heart vignettes: TT 2, 5, 13, 23, 25–26, 33–34, 45, 48, 51, 55, 58, 65, 89, 93, 106, 115, 139, 149, 158, 177–78, 183, 189, 192, 194–95, 212, 214, 219, 255, 259, 277, 284, 305–07, 335, 395, 406, 408–09.
58. The exception being the block statue of the priest of Maat, Nespekashuty (M9), which was recovered from the Karnak Cachette.
59. Brooklyn 37.353 (Bothmer 1960, pl. 60, fig. 151).
60. Compare Poo's (1984: 54) conclusion that "the representation of wine offering was such a common theme that it could be found on almost any part of the temple."

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Many examples of the presentation of Maat appear as symmetrically arranged double scenes on or near doorways and their associated lintels and jambs,[61] and their prominence in this location has led at least one scholar to suggest that it is a characteristic place for the scene to appear.[62] However, this location is not unique to Maat but has been noted for many different types of offerings.[63]

POSSIBLE SEQUENCES AND PATTERNS

There is no obvious sequence to the appearance of scenes of the presentation of Maat or of the royal name equated with Maat.[64] Neither ritual occurs in a predictable pattern with other scenes, suggesting that they are an iconographic expression of the king's piety rather than an act which formed a part of a set ritual.[65] Neither type of scene occurs in the relief record within the context of known rituals, such as the daily offering service,[66] the Ritual of Amunophis I,[67] festivals to other gods,[68] or other rituals of which the component rites are known. However, the presentation of Maat comprises Chapter XLII of the Berlin Service Book (Moret 1902: 138–65), suggesting that the ritual was indeed considered to be a part of the daily offering service, despite the fact that the ritual does not appear in the relief record of that service. Unfortunately, the Berlin Papyrus, the only pre-Ptolemaic liturgy for the presentation of Maat, provides very little information about the sequence of the ritual in the context of the daily offering service except that the rite followed the presentation of the *wḏ3t*-eye.[69]

On the basis of scenes at Edfu, Ibrahim states that the presentation of Maat was a component of the coronation ceremony.[70] However, the reliefs from the pre-Ptolemaic temples do not clearly confirm nor disprove Ibrahim's suggestion because scenes of the presentation of Maat occur only inconsistently in the same context as coronation scenes.[71] The presentation of Maat also occurs adjacent to other types of scenes that are intimately related to the sense of royal legitimacy, such as the purification of the king,[72] scenes of

61. Luxor Temple: C6; Abu Simbel: PM VII, 101 (facade), 108 (108–09), 109 (96), 110 (109–10); *MH* VIII, pl. 617B (= F12), C (= H1); *RIK* I, pl. 8B–C (Maat), G–K (name as Maat); Temple of Khonsu Ambulatory: loc. KM 365, 371. For such scenes flanking a passage, see PM II, 211 (29) n–(29) i; 211 (30) 2 (= F6), (31) 2; Temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty at Karnak: OIP 106, pls. 117 (lower), 249 (lower; north and south wing of the vestibule); *MH* V, pls. 272A, 279A; *Abydos* III, pl. 4; *Abydos* IV, pls. 24, 72–73 (on columns flanking entry); PM VI, 5 (40)–(41). For single scenes of the presentation of Maat on doorframes, lintels, or jambs, see B1, 12, 17; D2; F5–6; K2, 5–6, 8–9; *MH* V, pls. 256, 258D, 306; OIP 106, pls. 126, 249; *RIK* I, pl. 7B; PM II, 25 (27), 29 (58) (c) (incorrect in PM, cf. Oriental Institute photograph no. 5514); 39 (144); 409 (14); 414 (70) (a)–(b); 420 (125) (c)–(d); 440 (26b) II; *MH* V, pl. 341B; *MH* VIII, pl. 603 (= F14); Osing 1977, pl. 24a; *Abydos* IV, pls. 24, 43B, 45.

62. Olaf Kapler during a lecture presented at the Dutch Institute in Cairo, February 6, 1986.

63. Especially the offering of wine (Poo 1984: 54–55).

64. That the two types of related scenes have the same lack of apparent sequence emphasizes their common nature, which is most apparent from the dedication inscription that equates the two rituals (see *Chapter 5: Presentation of the Royal Name Equated with Maat*).

65. See Poo 1984: 65, 83 for similar conclusions about scenes of the offering of wine.

66. Barta 1966: 116–25; H. Altenmüller 1969: 16–25; Barta 1973: 163–66; David 1981: 58–82. Note, however, that although the presentation of Maat does not occur in the chapels which depict the daily offering service, it is shown on and around the doorways to the chapels of Ptah and Re-Horakhty (*Abydos* IV, pls. 24, 27). The presentation of the name rebus equated with Maat is not shown in this temple.

67. Nelson 1949: 201–32, 310–45. However, the presentation of Maat does occur near the scenes that make up the "ritual of Amunophis" on the east wall (north half) of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (OIP 106, pl. 213) and at Medinet Habu (*MH* IV, pls. 244M, 246B). Nelson excludes these scenes from the ritual.

68. For the festivals of Min and Sokar at Medinet Habu, see *MH* IV, pls. 196–235.

69. Moret 1902: 138, 152. The scene does occur in sequence with the offering of the eye at Edfu (Moret 1902: 152). The association of the two offerings can otherwise be documented through a variety of sources (see above, *Chapter 2*, footnote 68; Troy 1986: 41–43; Frandsen 1989: 98–99). For a Ptolemaic liturgy that accompanies the presentation of Maat, see Parker and Lesko 1988: 168–75; D2 (Merneptah).

70. Ibrahim 1975: 18–20. Note also the role of Maat in the crowning of Amun-Re in the Berlin Papyrus: ... Maat, *ỉry.s wrrt ḥr tp.k* "she places the *wrrt*-crown on your head" (Moret 1902: 143 [XXIII:1]).

71. For the occurrences of the presentation of Maat with coronation scenes, see the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: OIP 106, pls. 74–75; at Medinet Habu: *MH* V, pls. 290A (= A22; presenting Maat to Ptah in his shrine), 290B (being escorted into the presence of the shrine of Amun-Re), 291 (crowned before the Theban triad); *MH* V, pls. 316 (the king is crowned which occurs directly below), 315B (= B19; the presentation of Maat). For examples in which the offering of Maat does not occur in the same context as scenes of the coronation, see OIP 106, pls. 70 (Hypostyle Hall at Karnak); 192 (at the moment of inscribing the name of the king on the *ỉšd*-tree; Hypostyle Hall at Karnak).

72. Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory: loc. KM 367–68 (unpublished); PM II, 211 (30) 1–2 (left); *Khonsu* II, pls. 176

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the king being escorted into the presence of the gods,[73] running with vases,[74] receiving the royal names,[75] and Thoth inscribing jubilees for the king.[76] In the First Osiris Hall of the Temple of Seti at Abydos, only the chapel of the king is decorated with scenes of the presentation of Maat; other types of scenes were employed for the chapels of Isis and Horus (*Abydos* III, pls. 3–5). Two scenes of Ramesses II, one on the portico of the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (PM VI, 3 (36)) and the other on the portico of the Temple of Seti I at Gourna (B11), also associate the presentation of Maat with finishing and embellishing the monuments of his predecessor, an act that is intimately associated with royal legitimacy. In both scenes, Ramesses appears with Seti I, whose presence strengthens his succession.

The possible association of the presentation of Maat with the Opet festival is attested by two series of scenes, both of which are carved on the hull of the Userhat barge in the Opet procession. The first (C3), in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple, dates to the time of Tutankhamun; the second (C1), on the east face of the Third Pylon (north half) at Karnak, is attributed to Horemheb (Murnane 1979: 11–27). The sequence of rituals that decorates the two barges is as follows:

Karnak (C1)	Luxor (C3)
nw-vessels	*nw*-vessels
nw-vessels	[lost]
[lost]	*nmst*
flowers	*M3ʿt*
tray	*nw*
M3ʿt	*nmst*
nw	*ḥs*
staff/mace	[lost]
ʿb3	[lost]
passive, flanked by gods	[lost]
nw to bark of Amun	ointment
flowers, fabric	fabric
bread	[lost]
incense	[lost]
oar	[lost]
	incense to bark of Amun

A comparison of these two sequences shows that even with the many lacunae they share more dissimilarities than similarities. Not only are there a different number of vignettes in each, but the sequence of the individual ritual scenes also does not correspond, suggesting that the scenes on the barges do not represent a set sequence of rituals connected with the Opet procession, but rather a record of more random ritual acts. Since the offering of Maat does occur in both sequences, it is quite possible that the ritual was a portion of the cult actions associated with the Opet festival.[77] What significance the ritual could have had within the festival is more difficult to deduce. Since Luxor Temple has been shown to be associated with the cult of the royal *ka* and with the king's legitimacy, it is curious that there are no Eighteenth Dynasty scenes of the presentation of Maat among the many other offering scenes within the vestibule of Luxor Temple.[78] Consid-

(purification), 177A (presenting Maat), 177B (receiving jubilees).

73. Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory: loc. KM 369–70 (unpublished).

74. *Khonsu* I, pl. 36 (= A33, presenting Maat) and pl. 35 (presenting ship's gear to Amun), on which see ibid., p. 18, no. a to pl. 35; *Khonsu* II, pl. 188B next to 189 (= F22; presenting Maat); PM II, 412 room VI at the Temple of Seti I at Gourna, (52) west wall (presentation of the royal name), (54) east wall (running with vases).

75. *Khonsu* I, pls. 49 (= E4; presentation of Maat), 50 (receives titulary).

76. *Khonsu* I, pl. 74 (= A28; Maat to the Theban Triad while Thoth inscribes jubilees); *Abydos* IV, pl. 24; PM VI, 3 (35) (presentation of Maat), 5 (38–41) (Ramesses receives insignia and Thoth inscribes years; scenes on either side of doorway).

77. Column F in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple does bear a scene of Seti I presenting Maat (B6).

78. Scenes of the presentation of Maat (B6) or the name equated with Maat (F5) were added to the colonnade hall by Seti I and Ramesses II. Additional scenes of the presentation of Maat were added to the Ramesside portions of the temple. The Triple Shrine in the First Court has three scenes in the Mut chapel: PM II, 309 (33) (34) (35) (not fully documented in PM); west door of First Court: PM II, 307 (23) (b); south face of First Pylon: PM II, 306 (17) I.2, III.1. Alexander added three additional scenes on the inner

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ering the importance[79] of these scenes and the association between the ritual and royal legitimacy, one should not take the absence of the depiction of the offering of Maat in the southern portion of Luxor Temple as evidence that the ritual was not a part of the ceremonies involving the revitalization of the royal *ka*. In a similar vein, the inclusion of the ritual in the Berlin Service Book, yet its omission from the related reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, warns against assuming that the rite was not a part of a particular ritual because it is not portrayed on the temple walls.

Unfortunately, the two sequences of rituals upon the Opet barges are the only unaltered scenes of the presentation of Maat that occur in a set sequence from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

RAMESSIDE PERIOD SEQUENCES AND PATTERNS

Certain sequences can be, or have been, documented for scenes of the presentation of Maat during the Ramesside period.

Mꜣʿt / *nw*-VESSELS

The most common sequence into which Maat enters is its juxtaposition with the offering of *nw*-vessels,[80] which is seen in the tombs of Merneptah (P1) and Seti II (P2), in which the king alternately offers Maat and *nw*-vessels over the descent to the burial chamber. Maat and *nw*-vessels are often juxtaposed in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.[81] This association between the two offerings was so close that there are examples of the conflation of the offerings. On the exterior of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (P4; decorated by Ramesses III), the king presents *nw*, although the dedication clearly reads *dì Mꜣʿt n ỉt.f* "presenting Maat to his father." A similar situation is encountered in the Great Temple where Ramesses III presents an offering, now lost; although traces suggest that the relief showed *nw*-vessels (P5). The original dedication, *ḥnk Mꜣʿt* ... "presenting Maat," was recarved to *ḥnk ỉrp* ... "presenting wine." This association of the two offerings is also seen in the first corridor of the tomb of Twosert/Sethnakht where a scene was recarved to alter it from the queen presenting *nw*, to a scene of her successor (Sethnakht) presenting Maat (P3). This *Mꜣʿt* / *nw*-vessel sequence is also frequently seen on the frames of temple doorways.[82]

In the southern chapel at the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, a double scene depicts the king presenting *nw*-vessels (right) and the rebus of his prenomen (left) (Curto 1965, pl. 199), thereby stressing the association of the presentation of the prenomen and Maat.[83]

UPPER / LOWER REGISTER

The columns in the Second Court at Medinet Habu are decorated with scenes of the presentation of Maat in the uppermost and lowermost of three registers, but never in the middle register.[84] These columns

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and outer faces of his sanctuary: PM II, 324–25 (143) II.5; 325 (144) I.6; 325 (149) 3. For these scenes, see Abd el-Raziq 1984: 18, 35, 46, pls. 5c, 9c, 14b.

79. As analyzed by Bell 1985a: 251–94.

80. This has been commented on by Osing (1977: 66–69), who extends this sequence to the offering of wine, Maat, incense/libation, and food. He specifically mentions the *Mꜣʿt* / *nw*-vessel association in his reference to the Gerf Hussein Temple of Ramesses II (Osing 1977: 67, n. 3). See also Traunecker, La Saout, and Masson 1981: 147 for the association of *nw*-vessels and *Mꜣʿt*. See also B5; *Kheruef*, pl. 9; University Museum E 14317 (for Akhoris alternately presenting *nw*-vessels and Maat); Ranke 1950: 56; *Khonsu* I, pl. 82; *RIK* I, pl. 8G–K (name), B–C (Maat) corresponding to 8A–D and E–H (*nw*-vessels); Petrie 1909, pl. XXIV (top). The two offerings are also associated at Beit el-Wali by their exclusive use of the *ỉr n.f m dỉ ʿnḫ* formula that follows their dedication. See also *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 1 (= 31B), 32C, F; R1 (Hatshepsut). Scene D4 is on a double-sided ostracon that shows the presentation of Maat on one side and the offerings of *nw*-vessels (with censing) on the other. For stelae from the gate of the First Pylon at the Gourna Temple that show the presentation of Maat (stela 2) and *nw*-vessels (stela 5) adjacent to each other, see Stadelmann 1988: 256, 260, 268. See also the ostracon of Ramesses IX (D4) that depicts the king censing on the verso and offering a *nw*-vessel on the recto.

81. *MH* V, pls. 262B, 263B, 269A–B; *MH* VII, pl. 547A; *MH* VIII, pls. 608–09; *RIK* I, pl. 8.

82. Temple of Seti at Gourna: PM II, 414 (70) (a)–(b) (name); (70) (c)–(d) (*nw*-vessel); *RIK* I, pl. 8G–K (Maat), E–H (*nw*-vessel); Osing 1977, pl. 25 (= A9), top: *nw*-vessel, bottom: Maat; ibid., pl. 35a (*nw*-vessel), 35b (Maat). For such a juxtaposition on a stela of Seti I, see PM II, 198 (8) = *KRI* I, 40–41.

83. For discussions of this association, see *Chapter 2: The Ramesside Period* (above), *Chapter 3: Iconography of the Name Rebus Equated with Maat* (above), and *Chapter 6: The Theology of the Offering of the Name* (below).

84. *MH* V, pls. 261A–B; 262B; 263A–B; 264B; 266A; 269A; 270A; 271B.

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also reflect the Maat / *nw*-vessel sequence, because in almost all of the examples in which Maat is at one extreme register *nw*-vessels are found in the opposite register. With only three exceptions, when *nw*-vessels are not found in the expected juxtaposition to Maat,[85] the offering of *nw*-vessels is found on the opposite face of the column,[86] or in one example, in the middle register of the same face of the column.[87]

First Scene in First Register

In his discussion of the reliefs of Ramesses II in the Gourna Temple, Osing (1977: 15, no. 46) reconstructs a damaged offering scene as the presentation of Maat. This reconstruction is based upon the hand gestures of the king and parallel appearances of the ritual in the first (lowest) register of the north half of the west wall of the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak[88] and the south side of the eastern half of the First Pylon at Luxor Temple (Kuentz 1971: 7, pl. 8). Several objections can be cited in this proposed sequence. First, the hand gesture, which Osing suggests is restricted to the offering of white bread and Maat, is in fact employed for a variety of objects,[89] and therefore the scene might not be the offering of Maat. Secondly, although the scene of the presentation of Maat certainly does occur as the first scene in the lowest register of the Hypostyle Hall and Luxor Temple, there are no other examples of this perhaps coincidental pattern with which to bolster the suggested sequence. Considering the great number of scenes of the presentation of Maat and the wide variety of their locations, it seems unlikely that the scenes cited by Osing make up a deliberate or significant pattern.

Maat / Wine / Incense and Libation / Food

Osing (1977: 66–69) suggests that Maat, wine, incense/libation, and food offerings comprise a set pattern of wall decoration in certain temples. As evidence, he cites temple reliefs dating from the Ramesside to the Ptolemaic periods.[90] The scenes that make up Osing's sequence occur within several different registers, and in one example might be divided by a larger scale offering scene.[91] In another example, the sequence makes up the entire decorative scheme of a small room,[92] which does seem to reinforce the unity of the scenes. However, it is unclear that Osing's sequence is a deliberate pattern. Since the items that make up the grouping are among the more common offerings, it might be only coincidental that these four types of scenes are shown in proximity to each other in the eight examples upon which Osing bases the sequence. The entire corpus of offering scenes is enormous, and it is very likely that there will be correspondences that could, in fact, be accidental and thus of no real significance. For example, the presentation of Maat or a rebus of the royal name is very commonly found next to the presentation of flowers without the other two elements of Osing's proposed sequence.[93] Yet flowers and Maat, respectively, are found in sequence with a great number of other objects. In essence, the significance of such sequences cannot be evaluated in the absence of more compelling evidence that these items indeed comprise a deliberate scheme with a ritual function. Attempting to determine sequences of very common offerings in temple reliefs can be likened to numerology—with enough material and enough variation in the material, patterns can be established, be they coincidental or deliberate. Such coincidental ordering could explain Osing's (1977: 69) variant of the four part sequence wherein he substitutes cloth for the wine element, yet suggests that this new four part sequence is possibly comparable. Proceeding in this manner, with the incredibly large corpus of offering scenes available for study, one can easily establish a non-exclusive relationship between any two, three, or four offerings, although their ordering could, in fact, be coincidental.

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85. *MH* V, pls. 261B: sequence = food / flowers / Maat; 263A: sequence = *šbt* / incense / Maat; 266A: sequence = Maat / flowers / *ḥtp dỉ nsw*.
86. *MH* V, pls. 264A; 269B; 270B; 271A.
87. *MH* V, pl. 263B: sequence = Maat / *nw*-vessels / *ḥtp dỉ nsw*.
88. OIP 106, pls. 169 (= A7), 262 (overall plan).
89. See *Chapter 3: Posture* (above) for a discussion of such one-handed offering.
90. Such reliefs were found at Gourna, Ramesseum, Gerf Hussein, Opet, Ramesses III at Karnak, Medinet Habu, and the Temple of Imhotep at Philae. Osing (1977: 65–66) also proposes a shorter sequence: wine, milk, incense / libation.
91. *RIK* II, pls. 95–96 = Osing's example 5 (Osing 1977: 68).
92. *MH* VII, pls. 520–24 = Osing's example 6 (Osing 1977: 68).
93. *Khonsu* I, pls. 39–40, 48–49, 51 (lintel with double scene), 73–74, 82–83, 90–99 (across doorway); Ambulatory: loc. KM 367–69; Enclosure Wall at Karnak: Helck 1968, pls. 77–78.

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CONCLUSIONS

Scenes of the presentation of Maat or of a rebus of the royal name are most commonly found on walls of New Kingdom temples and on related architectural features such as obelisks and stelae. The representation of the presentation of Maat is also, to a less frequent degree, found upon ostraca and jewelry in the royal Ramesside tombs.

The scene is prominently and frequently located in public areas of temples, and less frequently in the areas wherein the common man was not allowed. The representation of the ritual in places of popular worship and petition suggests that the common man was well aware of the iconography of the ritual and that the ritual was relevant to religion in general. This relevance is confirmed by the existence of examples of the presentation of Maat in which a non-royal individual acts as the donor (class M). In contrast to the royal scenes, with only one possible exception, all such examples with non-royal donors are from tombs, funerary papyri, or funerary stelae. Those from tombs do not occur in any discernible pattern in relation to other tomb decoration or architectural features. The one possible exception to the funerary origins of the examples of the presentation of Maat on the part of a non-royal donor is the statue of Nespekashuty (M9). This statue was recovered from the Karnak Cachette and thus was presumably from the hypostyle hall of that temple. The motif upon the front of the statue could be a reflection of the role of Nespekashuty as a prophet of Maat (*ḥm nṯr n Mꜣʿt;* Legrain 1914: 80j).

The scenes that portray the king as donor of Maat do not occur in any predictable sequence with other types of offerings. Although one can identify sequences such as upper/lower register on columns or the scene's association with other representations related to royal legitimacy, the presentation of Maat or the name does not occur exclusively in these locations or contexts. The presentation of Maat appears to be associated with the presentation of wine—not only does it occur with some regularity in the same context, but it is also often juxtaposed to it in double offering scenes. This association is also attested by rare textual references in which one offering is referred to by the other's designation (P1–5).

Why is it so difficult to establish more certain ordering and sequence for scenes of the presentation of Maat or the royal name? One major consideration is our imperfect understanding of the details of temple ritual and the relationship of the presentation of Maat to the rituals enacted in the temple.[94] This lack of understanding, exacerbated by the almost complete lack of relevant liturgical texts, clouds an understanding of how this ritual, and many other rituals, functioned in temple settings. The references to the ritual that appear in the Berlin Service Book and in the Late period reliefs at Edfu, as well as its depiction in conjunction with rituals associated with the Opet festival (C1, 3), suggest that the rite was one of the standard rituals and that it was actually performed in the temple, yet this assumption cannot be confirmed and elaborated upon on the basis of New Kingdom records.

The lack of discernible pattern in the scenes might also be explained by proposing that there simply is no overall scheme in the arrangement of temple reliefs. There are, however, several strong arguments against this suggestion. It is difficult to believe that the ancient Egyptians would have decorated the walls of their temples with a random patterning of ritual scenes; such randomness would be in marked contrast to the decorative schemes of funerary structures.[95] Although the scenes might not be an accurate record of the rituals that were conducted in a particular chamber, it is unthinkable that the scenes did not have a ritual function, whether as a record of actual or symbolic rites or as symbols of the king's piety. Further, the studies of Nelson, Bell, Barta, Altenmüller, Osing, Helck, and others have demonstrated that sequences for certain portions of temples can be documented.[96]

Yet another explanation for the apparent vagueness of the sequence of the scenes could lie in our assumptions about the significance of the ritual. One might argue that if this type of offering ritual were of primary importance, as suggested by Arnold (1962: 44, no. 1) and Bleeker (1973: 80), it would perhaps have

94. For a discussion of how ritual representations do or do not relate to myth and their association with oral and written traditions, see Assmann 1982: 13–15; Brunner 1986: 167–69.

95. Settgast 1963: 112–14; Assmann 1983a: XIII-I; Hornung 1984: 19, 22; E. Feucht 1988: 99.

96. See, for example, Nelson 1949: 201–32, 310–45; Barta 1966: 116–22; Helck 1968: 70–71; H. Altenmüller 1969: 16–25; Barta 1973: 163–66; Helck 1976: 57–65; Osing 1977: 65–69; idem 1981: 39–47; Poo 1984: 54–71; Bell 1985a: 251–94.

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been depicted in a relatively fixed sequence, much as the daily temple ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were recorded in snippets in the temples of Amun at Karnak, Medinet Habu, the Temple of Seti at Abydos, and the Ptolemaic temples (Nelson 1949: 201–32, 310–45; David 1981: 83–118). So, too, the possible relative lack of importance of the presentation of Maat might be argued from the almost complete lack of liturgical texts that refer to the rite. However, the great number of depictions of the ritual argues for the importance of the rite.

In summary, although the presentation of Maat does not occur in a definite and predictable pattern among other themes of ritual offering in the New Kingdom temples, this does not in any way indicate that the ritual is insignificant. The sheer number of examples of the scene, its placement in public as well as private areas of the temples, and its association with expressions of legitimacy such as scenes of coronation, purification, and the king being escorted into the presence of the gods suggest that it had a special relevance to the concept of royal legitimacy and the proclamation of that legitimacy. This sense is inherent in the offering of Maat and also in the ritual of the presentation of the name equated with Maat. In the former, the king presents the image of the goddess who represents the principles upon which the state is governed and the perfect state of the world at the time of its creation. In the latter ritual, with few exceptions,[97] the king presents his prenomen, the name that he assumed at his accession to the throne, which is the name by which he, as pharaoh, is known. Hence he and his name are Maat and worthy of ruling the Two Lands. The incorporation of Maat into the majority of the titularies of the Ramesside kings further emphasizes the association of the name ritual with royal legitimacy.[98]

The expression of legitimacy inherent in the ritual of the offering of the rebus of the royal name associated with Maat is also indicated by the near absence of this particular scene in the royal tombs.[99] The omission of the rebus associated with Maat should be weighed against scenes that show the elevation of the royal name (pl. 20, I1), or the elevation of a rebus incorporating Maat (G1, 4–5),[100] but which are never through the dedication equated with the presentation of Maat. The use of one form of the ritual over the other suggests that the theme of the presentation of the name as Maat was not considered to be so relevant in the context of royal tomb decoration.[101] Since the standard decorative motifs that adorn the royal Ramesside tombs stress the king's association with the sun and his attainment of a blessed afterlife, the ritual of the presentation of the name, which emphasizes the king's legitimacy as a living king, was considered to be less appropriate in such a context. The presentation of Maat, however, is employed in the royal tombs because rather than stressing the status of the living king (his legitimacy while upon earth), the offering of Maat is associated with themes that are appropriate to the funerary beliefs expressed in the tombs. These themes include Maat's association with the Litany of Re[102] and the juxtaposition of representations of the offering of Maat and *nw*-vessels which expresses the idea that other offerings are subsumed in Maat and that Maat is the "food of the gods."[103]

97. For exceptions, see class H.

98. Only the titularies of Seti II, Siptah, Sethnakht, and Ramesses IX lack references to Maat.

99. A single known exception is in the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954, pl. 138a). This scene lacks a dedication that directly equates the rebus with Maat. However, the iconography of this scene is directly inspired by those scenes which equate the rebus with Maat in contrast to those which show the elevation of the name (G1, 4–5).

100. G1 (Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos) is included in this list because of the mortuary nature of that structure.

101. The funerary temples could be grouped with the festival temples due to their shared accessibility to the public, their role as a place for popular worship, and their use during the lifetime of the king. For such features of these structures, see *Chapter 1* and *Occurrences on Monuments* (above). This accessibility is in contrast to the royal tombs that have a function which relates only to the king and the affirmation of his afterlife and which were presumably inaccessible after the burial was deposited. For the question of access into the royal tombs of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, see Thomas 1966: 274.

102. P2–3. The two scenes of the presentation of Maat by Ramesses IV on the solar bark also express the Maat/Re association (PM I/2, 499 (14) (15)). The scene actually appears on the small side walls to the right and left of the entry to the chamber. These side walls do not have separate numbers in PM.

103. P1–2. For an exception, see E3.

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CHAPTER 5
INSCRIPTIONS

The great majority of scenes of the presentation of Maat are accompanied by three inscriptions: (1) a dedication of the offering, which is followed by (2) the phrase *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* or its variants, and (3) a recitation of the recipient of Maat.[1] These inscriptions occur with only minor variations throughout the period that the presentation of Maat was a part of the religious iconography. Scenes from the Amarna period, however, do not have dedication inscriptions nor a recitation from the normally mute Aton.

THE DEDICATION

The dedication normally takes the form: verb + Maat + dative *n* + epithets of recipient + recipient's name + *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* (or variant) formula. In many cases, there are variations in this stereotyped scheme, most commonly the omission of the recipient's epithets or variations in, or omission of, the *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* or *dỉ ꜥnḫ* formulas.

THE VERB

The earliest references to the ritual of the offering of Maat employ the verbs *sꜥr*,[2] *ỉn*,[3] or substitute a non-verbal phrase, i.e., preposition *ḥr* or *ḥr* + noun.[4] Although all three early forms continued to be associated with the presentation of Maat in texts,[5] the offering formulas that accompany representations of the presentation of Maat down to the Ptolemaic period[6] show (with few exceptions) the use of the verbs *ḥnk* or *ḥnk m* and forms of *rdỉ* (*dỉ, dỉt, rdỉt*).[7] *Sꜥr* and *ḥnk* are found in alternation in several texts that are not associated with offering scenes,[8] prompting Anthes (1952: 13) to speculate whether the verbs denoted two distinct rituals. The main distinction in the terms apparently is the restriction of *sꜥr* to literary allusions to the elevation of Maat.[9] Perhaps the clearest differentiation is that *sꜥr* means "to cause to ascend" and *ḥnk* is more strictly "to present" in the context of offering scenes. Lichtheim (1992: 36) suggests that *sꜥr* in the non-royal context indicates that "the royal official's reporting to the king on the responsible performance of

1. For a general discussion of the inscriptions, see Bergman 1972: 85–86; Derchain 1961: 64–66; Osing 1977: 12–13; Englund 1987: 61–63.
2. *CT* VI, 267, 322, 352 (restored); Lichtheim 1992: 20–22. Assmann (1990: 19–21) claims that "Das typische Verb für den Akt der Maꜥat-Darbringung ist *sꜥr* ... ." However, as is demonstrated below, this term is restricted to literary illusions to the presentation of Maat and is never used with the representation of the ritual. However, see ibid., 192–93, 204 for his qualification that *sꜥr* is associated with the Sonnenlauf, in which the voice of the deceased rather than Maat is raised.
3. *CT* VII, 375; *CT* VI, 70 (in passive voice).
4. GEG[3] §166.2; *CT* VI, 67, 70. That these are references to the presentation of the goddess are made clear by the addition of the seated female determinative: *CT* VI, 267. For the use of the preposition and noun, see *ḥr ꜥwy.f* (N5); *ꜥwy.ỉ tm ḥr Mỉꜥt* (N6); *ỉw n.k ỉꜣtm ḥr Mỉꜥt* (N7).
5. *sꜥr Mỉꜥt*: *Urk.* IV 384.15 (Speos Artemidos) and title of Chapter XXII of the Berlin Service Book (Moret 1902: 81); Sphinx Stela, Thutmose IV (R3); TT 49, Neferhotep (Anthes 1952: 13, no. 132 = Assmann 1983: 62.9–12); *ỉn* (R5); *ḥr* (N6–7); Seti I at Abydos, episode 10 of the daily offering ritual in the chapel of Re-Horakhty (*Abydos* II, pl. 15); Moret 1902: 143 = XXII.7; Montet 1947, pl. 24—all without representations of presentation.
6. Anthes 1952: 13, n. 134.
7. *Sꜥr* is used with the representation of the presentation of Maat in the Kom Ombo Temple (de Morgan 1895: 352 [#477]).
8. TT 49, Neferhotep (Anthes 1952: 13, no. 132 = Assmann 1983: 62.9–12); Sphinx Stela (R2).
9. Cairo 20539 (Twelfth Dynasty, vizier Mentuhotep; Lichtheim 1992: 35, no. 31); Cairo 20571 (Twelfth Dynasty, monument of *Rmny-ꜥnḫ*; Lichtheim 1992: 35–36, no. 32); *Urk.* IV, 384.15 (Speos Artemidos); Seti I at Abydos, episode 10 of the daily offering ritual in the Chapel of Re-Horakhty (*Abydos* II, pl. 15)—both without representations of presentation; Berlin Ptah Hymn (Wolf 1929: 39, l. 9). See also Assmann 1990: 204.

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his duties." *Ḥnk* (as well as *[r]dỉ*) is found not only in the offering scenes with the meaning to "present" or "offer," but also in the non-offering scene texts as well; *sʿr* did not convey the action required by the presentation scenes. Emphasizing this distinction, *sʿr* is not used in a context of dedication followed by divine recitation, confirming Anthes' suggestion that the verbs denote different rituals. Therefore, both *ḥnk* and *(r)dỉ* denote the actual transfer of Maat from donor to recipient, while *sʿr* describes the physical elevation of the goddess' image.

Anthes' comment that *ḥnk* does not appear with the presentation of Maat before the Amarna period is countered by a pedestal of Amunhotep III (A2) and by a Thutmoside scene in the Festival Hall (A1), which although recarved under Alexander exhibits the writing *ḥnk*.[10]

In the dedication inscriptions, *ḥnk* or *ḥnk m* is the favored form, with forms of *rdỉ* serving as a variant (see table 3). The similarities in orthography shared by these two verbs lead to some confusion concerning which verb is actually employed, especially when the verbs are written in their simplest and most common forms:  or  (*dỉ*) and  (*ḥnk*). This is a particular problem in damaged scenes, in which the epigrapher had to differentiate between two very similar forms.[11] This problem of distinguishing *dỉ* from *ḥnk* is alleviated when the latter verb is followed by the preposition *m* or when the verb is written phonetically.[12] The use of the preposition, however, is irregular,[13] and only when it is employed can one distinguish between the two verbs in damaged or questionable scenes. An examination of a large corpus of scenes that were executed during a relatively short period of time, such as those at Medinet Habu, shows how inconsistent is the use of *m* after *ḥnk*. Of the sixty-eight scenes of the presentation of Maat in the Temple of Ramesses III, twenty-eight examples employ *ḥnk* alone and twenty-two *ḥnk m*.[14] These examples are scattered throughout the temple. Neither verb is associated with a particular divine recipient.

The possible confusion of *ḥnk* and *dỉ* poses an additional difficulty when trying to determine if one form is associated with the earliest representations of the presentation of Maat. The scenes from Thutmose III have been recut. However, in their present form they are divided in their use of *dỉ* (B1), the infinitive *rdỉt* (B2), and *ḥnk* (A1).[15] Although there are very few scenes from which to draw conclusions, the Thutmoside offering rituals reflect the variation of association of verb and object that is seen in other offering scenes as well.

Ḥnk (*m*) is not associated exclusively with Maat presentation scenes. It is used in offering scenes from the Old Kingdom (Moussa and Altenmüller 1977: 51, pl. 11, scene 2.4), and it is used in connection with the dedication of wine,[16] honey,[17] bread,[18] and a number of other offerings.[19] In contrast, scenes upon the Enclosure Wall at Karnak display an exceptionally close association between verb and object. There, *ḥnk* occurs

10. See comments (below) concerning the confusion in orthography of *rdỉ* and *ḥnk*. For the omission of the particle *m* when the verb *ḥnk* is used to narrate the presentation of unguent or oil, see Meeks 1977: 251. But see Osing 1977, 22 (2.12), pl. 16, for *ḥnk m mɜʿt*. The *m* could be the first radical of the noun *mɜʿt*.

11. See, for example, *MH* V, pl. 275C (top), and *MH* VII, pl. 555B, for the phrase *dỉ m*. The spurious particle *m* suggests that the ancient draftsman might have mistaken the *dỉ* sign for *ḥnk*. See the adjacent scene (*MH* VII, pl. 555A) in which the first hieroglyph was restored as *ḥnk* for *ḥnk m ỉrp* ... . See also Stadelmann 1988: 261 for a transliteration of the dedication that appears in figure 3. The verb is clearly not "*rdỉỉ.t*" because the verb lacks the *r* as well as the final *-t*. That the verb is *ḥnk* is shown clearly in Stadelmann 1988, pl. 79. As shown in table 3, the verb *ḥnk* was with few exceptions employed for such scenes in the reign of Seti.

12. See B18 for the writing  . For other examples not associated with the offering of Maat, see  on Brooklyn 67.119 (Shoshenq V, referred to in Kitchen 1969/70: 64);  in Moussa and Altenmüller 1977, pls. 11 text: 51 (2.4), 15 text: 82–83 (11.3.1). See *MH* I, pl. 28, line 72, for the phonetic writing with the Maat feather in the hand of the arm determinative ().

13. A7, 9, 18, 20, 33; B4, 6, 26; F7–8, 12, 21–22; H1. See also Osing 1977, pl. 11 (left), in which *m* is erroneously used after *dỉ*.

14. Five scenes employ *dỉ*, in six scenes the verb is lost, and the six remaining scenes have no dedications. The form *ḥnk* does seem to be favored in the temple proper (twenty-four examples of *ḥnk* to fourteen of *ḥnk m*). In contrast, *ḥnk m* is exclusively used in the five scenes upon the High Gate. This irregularity is perhaps more a result of a single draftsman than a reflection upon the significance of the verb employed.

15. The only other Thutmoside example (B2) employs *rdỉt Mɜʿt*, however, this example may not be contemporary with the others. See comments in *Chapter 2. Thutmose III to Amunhotep IV*, above. However, see B3, an unaltered stela of Amunhotep III, for *rdỉt Mɜʿt* ... .

16. OIP 106, pls. 85, 209; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 385; Osing 1977, pls. 13, 14, 17, 33; Helck 1972: 26.

17. Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 385.

18. Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 382

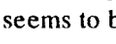
19. Other items include libations: Osing 1977, pl. 15; *ḫpš*: Lacau and Chevrier 1977/79: 383; ointment: Brunner 1977; OIP 106, pls. 222, 224, 230; Helck 1968, pl. 70; idem 1972: 34, 45; milk: Osing 1977, pls. 17–18; OIP 106, pl. 59; Helck 1972: 28; water: Helck 1972: 155.

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with only two objects: Maat (three times) and ointment (*mḏt*, twice).[20] The offerings that are commonly paired with *ḥnk* on other monuments are, on Ramesses II's Enclosure Wall, paired with *irt* and (*r*)*dì*,[21] and only once does Maat appear with another verb, *rdìt* (Helck 1968, pl. 71).

Although there was a preference for *ḥnk* to be associated with *Mɜʿt*, there are numerous exceptions in which *dì*, *dìt*, or *rdìt* occurs with *Mɜʿt* (see table 3).[22] Headings of such narrative labels as the dedications are normally in the infinitive form;[23] however, the orthography of *rdì* does not commonly show the full writing of the infinitive. In the *Appendix: Classification of Scenes*, there are twenty-six occurrences of a form of *rdì*. Of those examples, slightly over one half, a very small proportion of the entire corpus of Maat presentation scenes, exhibit the final *-t* of the infinitive.[24] As with the alternation of *ḥnk m* and *ḥnk*, the use of the fully written infinitive form is not restricted to a particular chronological period or location.

This variation in the verb associated with a specific offering is seen with other rituals as well. For example, *irt snṯr* "making thurification" alternates with *ḥnk snṯr* in similar reliefs at the Temple of Seti I at Gourna (Osing 1977, pls. 15, 17), just as *dìt Mɜʿt* and *ḥnk Mɜʿt* are used alongside each other in the tomb of Ramesses III (B18) and *ḥnk m Mɜʿt*[25] appears as the dedication of the Nauri Decree's lunette (A6) while the banner above the king's head is *rdìt Mɜʿt*. This flexibility suggests that the ancient Egyptians considered *ḥnk* and (*r*)*dìt* to be synonymous when used in offering scenes. Both verbs are well attested in offering formulas, and the suggestion that *ḥnk* alone is the normal form in such cases is without foundation (Meeks 1977: 251). A scene of the offering of Maat in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel underscores the apparently interchangeable nature of the verbs *ḥnk* and *dì* because there the ritual is accompanied by the dedication *rdìt ḥnk m Mɜʿt n ìt.f* (Desroches-Nobelcourt et al. 1956: 11 [Y11d]).

The form  (*rdì*) is never employed in the offering of Maat (or of the royal name equated with Maat), perhaps because it did not reflect the form of the infinitive that was considered to be appropriate in this context, while *rdìt*, *dìt*, and *ḥnk* all morphologically are infinitive forms. The verb *irt* is used in the dedication of Maat once in the Temple of Ramesses II at Beit el-Wali where it appears as *irt Mɜʿt ìr n.f m dì ʿnḫ*.[26] In the southern chapel at Abu Simbel, the dedication for the presentation of the goddesses' image is  ,[27] which seems to be a conflation of the two more common verbal forms. A single scene of the presentation of Maat in the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis (pl. 17, B29) employs *mn n.k* () "take to yourself [Maat]," which is otherwise unattested in this context and therefore could be a corruption of the phonetic writing of *ḥnk* () "I have brought to you."[28]

The phrase *ìn.n.*(*ì*) *n.k Mɜʿt* is only rarely encountered in textual references (R5, 7) to the offering of Maat.[29] Its use in the tomb of Nebwenenef (N3) where Thoth holds Maat (Seele 1959, pl. 17) again illustrates the flexibility in vocabulary because the same scene appears in the nearby tomb of Tjaynefer (N2) with the inscription *dì.n*(*.ì*) *n.k Mɜʿt*.

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20. Helck 1968, pls. 22, 78 (Maat), 70, 91(?) (for the ointment jar in the shape of an elaborate rebus of the king's name shown on pl. 70, see section C). Note that in these examples *ḥnk m* occurs only with *Mɜʿt*, suggesting that the verb is actually *ḥnk* and the *m* serves as the first phonogram of *Mɜʿt*. The offering of ointment occurs four additional times on the Enclosure Wall, paired with *ìrt* (ibid., pls. 15, 19, 25, 55).
21. It is curious that the more common offerings elsewhere are not represented on the Enclosure Wall: milk only once (scene 18) and wine also only once with water (Helck 1968, pl. 18).
22. A6, 8, 14, 19, 23–25; B1(?), 2–3, 18–19, 30; F10–11; K2–3, 6–7; L1; O2; P1; R10.
23. GEG³ §306.1. The infinitive of *ḥnk*, an immutable verb, is indistinguishable from its other forms and therefore does not supply any indication of the grammatical form of the verb in the dedication. However, see F18 for an exceptional use of the *sḏm.f* form with expressed first person singular subject.
24. A23–25; B2–3, 30; F10–11; K2, 7 (twice); N13; O2; P1; Q11 show the form *rdìt*. A6; B18; K3, 6 show the form *dìt*. Note that many of these scenes are included in the *Appendix* specifically because they exhibit the full writing of the infinitive. See table 3 for a summary.
25. Certainly not *dì m* as restored in *KRI* I, 45.12. See also P1 where, in a double scene, Merneptah presents wine and Maat with the parallel dedications: *ḥnk ìrp* ... and *rdìt Mɜʿt*.
26. B14. *ʾIrt* is used in the dedication of other items, such as wine, which are normally paired with a form of either *rdì* or *ḥnk* (ibid., pl. 34A). This verb also occurs at the small temple at Abu Simbel (Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 28 [B2], 160 [no. 137]).
27. Oriental Institute photograph no. 2511; also Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1956: 11.
28. For the phonetic writing, see footnote 12, above.
29. See also *CT* VI, 70, for an example in the passive voice.

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MAAT (*M3ʿt*)

In the offering inscriptions, the name of the goddess is written in the full form  or in the shorter form  . The fullest phonetic writing  is rarely used.[30] The short or long form of the name is not restricted to certain time periods or specific monuments,[31] nor does it appear have more than a casual association with the form of the verb that precedes it.[32] The short version of the name might not have been considered to be very distinct from the longer writing because the image of Maat that the king presents to the deity could be construed as serving for the determinative (Fischer 1977: 3–4).

The short form of the name is written with or without the final *-t*. Again, this writing is inconsistent. At Medinet Habu, thirteen examples do not express the feminine *-t*, eight do.[33] In the Court and First Hypostyle Hall at the Temple of Khonsu, there is a marked preference for expressing the feminine ending (8 to 1). This tendency is shared by the God's Wives of Amun, who with one exception (K1) write Maat in the abbreviated form with the feminine *-t* (K2, 4–6).

THE RECIPIENT

A great majority of the scenes of the presentation of Maat portray the officiant offering to more than one god. Each god in the scene has his own recitation in the form of a short inscription; however, the dedication, with its single address (*n nb.s, n it.s,* etc.) makes it evident that only the god immediately facing the officiant is a direct recipient of the offering.[34] The other divine participants are hereafter referred to as "attendants."[35]

RECIPIENT'S EPITHETS

There is a decided preference for the epithets *it* + 3rd person suffix "his/her father" or *nb* + 3rd person feminine suffix "her lord."[36] The variation in the gender of suffix pronouns and their association with male or female recipients indicate that there was a flexibility in the understanding of to whom the epithets referred. These variations include:

Category 1. Epithet *it.f* "his father" with male donor and recipient (A1, 5–6, 11–12, 14–28, 31, 34; B1 (twice), 10, 18 (twice), 19–20, 30; E1, 4; F1, 5–6, 11–13, 19–20, 22; H1; O5, 7; P4–5) indicates that the suffix must refer to the donor; therefore, this form of the epithet indicates that the donor is the "son" of the recipient. These examples are attested throughout the entire history of the representation of the presentation of Maat.

Category 2. Epithet *it.s* "her father" with female donor and male recipient (K1, 4, 7–8; R10) indicates that the suffix *s* refers to either the female donor or to Maat. Therefore, the recipient of the offering could be considered to be either the father of the donor or the father of Maat. These examples are restricted to the God's Wives of the Third Intermediate Period.

Category 3. Epithets *nb.s* "her lord/possessor" (A3, 7, 29, 33; B3, 6; F2, 21) or *it.s* "her father" (A10)[37] with a male donor and recipient indicate that the *s* suffix refers to Maat; therefore, the deity who receives Maat is the possessor (*nb*) of the qualities of Maat or the father (*it*) of Maat. These examples are attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty (B3) as well as in the Ramesside period.

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30. See B3 (Amunhotep III), L1 (Osorkon), and B30 (Shebitku). The simplest writing is found on B4 and *MH* V, pl. 336.
31. See, for example, the columns in the first court at Medinet Habu where the two forms of the name appear on the same column (*MH* VI, pls. 374B2; 374D1; 375A2, long; 376B2; 397D, long form).
32. For example, at Medinet Habu, the full writing of the name follows *ḥnk* nine times, *ḥnk m* seventeen times, and another form of *rdi* twice; the short writing is associated with *ḥnk* sixteen times, *ḥnk m* three times, and another form of *rdi* three times. The five scenes of the presentation of Maat on the High Gate all associate the full writings of the goddess' name with *ḥnk m* (*MH* VIII, pls. 617B–C; 618A, E; 623E).
33. *MH* V, pl. 344A, is questionable and is not included among the eight examples.
34. A single example of what appears to be a plural form of address appears in Abydos (Frankfort 1933, pl. 15: *ḥnk M3ʿt n nbw M3ʿt*). However, since Edel (1955/64, §§214, 243aa) gives examples of *nbw* as the writing of the singular, and since this example is unique, *nb*(*w*) could be the singular.
35. This is suggested by the label used by the Epigraphic Survey for offering scenes: "presenting x to y in the presence of z," specifying that the attendants are only witnesses to the offering.
36. GEG[3] §§115, 115A. Note also that a god can bear more than one epithet; see F19 (Ramesses V) for *ḥnk M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt n it.f*.
37. See also B7 for the epithet where *it* is restored.

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Category 4. Epithet *nb M3ʿt* "lord/possessor of Maat" (A4, 8–9, 13–16, 22–24, 30, 32; B5, 9, 13, 22; F7, 10, 19; K2–3, 6; L1) is unambiguous in indicating that the recipient is the possessor of the qualities of the goddess Maat.[38]

Category 5. The epithet *mwt.f* "his mother" (F8; H2) occurs where the kings, Ramesses II and IV respectively, present their prenomen, equated with Maat, to a goddess (Mut and Amunet). Here, the recipient is considered to be the mother of the donor.

This range of epithets expresses three main relationships:

1. A filial relationship between the donor and recipient (categories 1, 2, 5, and the *ỉt.s* variation of 3).
2. A filial relationship between the deity Maat and the recipient deity (*nb.s* variation of category 3).
3. A relationship between Maat the rest of the gods (category 4).

It is apparent that within the context of the presentation of Maat, the most common association expressed by the donation epithets is the filial relationship between the recipient and the donor. It is not unexpected, considering the nature of the offering scene, that the donor, most commonly the king, is regarded as the offspring of the gods. This same relationship is expressed in categories 2, 3, and 5, wherein the donor is placed in a father-son[39] or a mother-son relationship with the deity to whom the offering is made. The relationship is not one of superior-inferior but rather that of parent to offspring.

This expression of filial relationship is also extended directly to Maat in the rare *ỉt.s* "her father" example of epithet category 3, in which Maat herself is called the offspring of the recipient. However, considering that there is only one example of this epithet, it is possible that this association of Maat as the offspring of the recipient is a minor one, or that this one example is an error.

The filial relationship expressed in the scenes from the time of the God's Wives (class K, epithet category 2: *ỉt.s* "her father" with the female donor and male recipient) has at least two possible interpretations. One is, similar to the rare variation (*ỉt.s* "her father" with male donor and recipient) of category 3, that Maat is considered to be the daughter of the divine recipient. The other, preferable interpretation is that the relationship expressed refers to the God's Wife as the daughter of the divine recipient. The first translation, namely Maat being the daughter of the recipient, is attested only in the rare variation of category 3 (*ỉt.s* "her father" with male donor and recipient). The second interpretation is more plausible because of the unambiguous emphasis put upon the analogous father-son relationship expressed in categories 1, 2, and 5, which seems to be the dominant pattern of the relationship. This conclusion is confirmed by the inscription upon a statue of Karomama (R10), in which *dỉ M3ʿt n ỉt.s* "presenting Maat to her father" is followed by the name of the woman's actual human father, Amunemopet (Jacquet-Gordon 1967: 87). Here, it is clear that the father-daughter relationship refers to the donor and recipient rather than to Maat. This emphasis on the dual nature of the relationship, the donor and recipient, is expressed in other ways in the context of the presentation of Maat (see *Chapter 4*, above).

The general sense of a filial relationship in the offering is not restricted to certain historical periods or particular rulers; however, it is very common in the Ramesside period inscriptions that accompany the presentation of Maat.

Category 4 (*nb M3ʿt* "lord/possessor of Maat") makes no judgment about the relative status of the donor and recipient. This phrase is conventionally translated as either "the lord of Maat" or "the possessor of (the qualities of) Maat." The use of the epithet in the context of the presentation of Maat suggests that the second interpretation is to be preferred. A basic objection to the translation "the lord of Maat" is the fundamental question whether a god (or a king) can be the lord of (i.e., superior to) Maat. The use of the epithet during the Old Kingdom,[40] especially as it was applied to Snefru,[41] strongly suggests that the phrase *nb M3ʿt* should be rendered as "possessor of the qualities of Maat" rather than "lord of Maat" because it would be inconceivable for a king to consider his own status to be above that of the goddess.

38. See Frandsen 1989: 99–100 for a discussion of H. Altenmüller's ("Opfer," *LÄ* IV, col. 581) and Derchain's (1965) analyses of the relationship between the offering and the recipient.

39. See Bergman 1972: 86–87 for comments regarding the filial relationship expressed in this ritual.

40. In the Fifth Dynasty it was also applied to Re and Osiris (Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981: 100; Morenz 1973: 128–30; Kees and von Bissing 1928: 41, frags. 318, 346). See B. Altenmüller 1975: 69 for references to Re. For Osiris as *nb M3ʿt*, see Westendorf 1954: 172–74.

41. *Urk.* I, 7.17 (golden Horus name of Snefru).

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By the New Kingdom, when Maat achieved additional prominence as expressed through the presentation of her image, many gods were called *nb M3ʿt* "possessor of (the qualities of) Maat,"[42] which is a reference to each of these gods partaking of the qualities of Maat. Each is affected by the abstract concepts of Maat, yet none rules over her. The entire sphere of gods possess qualities of Maat as an indication of their basic morality.

It is noteworthy that the expression *nb.f* "his lord"[43] does not occur in the epithets related to the presentation of Maat because the use of such an epithet would change the donor-recipient relationship expressed in categories 1–4 from that of father or mother to son, to that of a lord and presumably non-lord, namely that of superior to inferior. This type of unequal relationship is clearly avoided in the context of this ritual that stresses the ability of the king to interact with the gods.

In the iconography and inscriptions in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the following gods, as recipients of Maat, receive the epithet *nb M3ʿt*: Amun/Amun-Re and Ptah (four occurrences each),[44] Khonsu (twice),[45] and Thoth, Ptah-Sokar, Re-Horakhty, Osiris, and Montu (once each).[46] These gods receive other epithets, most commonly, *it.f* "his father" in other scenes of the presentation of Maat in the same temple.[47]

The doorway of the chapel of Seti I in the Inner Osiris Hall of the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (A3–4) presents an intriguing example of how subtle is the differentiation in use of the epithets. Upon first examination, the decoration of the left and right side of the doorway seems to be identical: Seti presents Maat to Osiris. The king and god's stance, crowns, and the offering table between the donor and recipient are identical with the exception of the dedication inscriptions. To the right (A3), the king dedicates *M3ʿt n nb.s*, to the left (A4), he dedicates *M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt*. To the right (A3) the pectoral of Osiris is decorated with figures of Osiris and Maat flanking a rebus of the king's name. Here, the *s* suffix of the epithet refers to the tiny Maat figurine in the pectoral, and as in category 1 of epithets, it means that the recipient, Osiris, is considered to be the possessor of the qualities of Maat.

The pectoral on the Osiris figure to the left (A4) is decorated with figures of Osiris and Ptah, seated between a rebus. The epithet *nb M3ʿt* is well attested for Ptah,[48] who is depicted on the pectoral; Ptah is possessor of the qualities of Maat. In this complex set of scenes, the same sense of the recipient being associated with Maat is expressed by two different epithets.

RECIPIENT'S NAME

The omission of the recipient's name is very rare in the presentation scenes. When it is omitted, the recipient's epithet such as *nb M3ʿt*, stands in its place. The reversal of the god's name is irregular but not uncommon, not only in the Maat presentation scenes,[49] but also in other types of contemporary offering scenes.[50]

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42. Christophe 1950: 139. See Osing 1977: 48, no. 93, for the statement that the title *nb M3ʿt* occurs at Gourna only in conjunction with the offering of Maat to Amun. This does not seem to be a strong statement, since of the plates that show the presentation of Maat to Amun (ibid., pls. 1, 24, 25, 35) or the royal name (ibid., pls. 3, 11, 16), only on plates 25 and 16 does the king refer to Amun as *nb M3ʿt*, perhaps illustrating a casual association rather than any real connection between the epithet and the type of offering. See also W. Helck, "Maat," *LÄ* III, cols. 1111–12.
43. In such a construction it would be implausible to translate *nb.f* as "possessor [of] him"; here *nb* would have to be a substantive "lord."
44. Amun: *MH* V, pls. 258D, 269A, 270A; *MH* VI, pls. 364, 376B2; Ptah: *MH* V, pls. 290A, 344A; *MH* VI, pl. 374B2; *MH* VII, pl. 576D.
45. *MH* V, pl. 261A; *MH* VI, pl. 397D.
46. *MH* V, pls. 308A, 345; *MH* VI, pl. 460; *MH* VII, pls. 524, 576B.
47. Partial listing: Amun: *MH* II, pl. 107; *MH* IV, pl. 244 H; *MH* VI, pls. 442A, 464; Ptah: *MH* IV, pl. 246B; *MH* V, pl. 271B; Khonsu: *MH* V, pl. 263B; *MH* VI, pl. 464; Thoth: *MH* VII, pls. 562, 584B; Re-Horakhty: *MH* V, pls. 276D, 283A. The other example of Osiris receiving Maat (*MH* VI, pl. 480B) is damaged and the epithet cannot be read.
48. Statue of Ptah from tomb of Tutankhamun (JE 60739 in Edwards 1976: 150; also see *MH* V, pls. 290A, 344A; *MH* VI, pl. 374B2; *MH* VII, pl. 534).
49. For example, of the sixteen scenes of the offering of Maat in the Court and Hypostyle Hall at the Temple of Khonsu, almost one-third show the reversal of the recipient's name (*Khonsu* I, pls. 15, 62, 82; *Khonsu* II, pl. 189). See also examples at Medinet Habu (*MH* V, pl. 315B; *MH* VI, pls. 374D1, 434G, 442A; *MH* VII, pls. 499, 555B; *MH* VIII, pls. 617B–C, 618E).
50. Fischer 1977: 93–95. Note that, according to Fischer, the reversal of the recipient's name is not a common feature until the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

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THE *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ* FORMULA

The dedication inscriptions of many scenes of the presentation of Maat conclude with the phrase *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ*.[51] The formula appears in the following forms:

dỉ ᶜnḫ[52]

ỉr.f n.f dỉ ᶜnḫ[53] (with feminine donor: *ỉr.s n.f dỉ ᶜnḫ*[54])

ỉr n dỉ ᶜnḫ[55]

ỉr n.f dỉ ᶜnḫ[56] (feminine form: *ỉr n.s dỉ ᶜnḫ*[57])

ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ[58] (feminine form: *ỉr.s dỉ ᶜnḫ*[59])

ỉr n.f m dỉ ᶜnḫ[60]

Such phrases appear in scenes of a wide variety of offerings, including incense, libation, cakes, wine, milk, and bread. Their association with the act of offering is suggested by the fact that they are employed only rarely in scenes wherein offering is not depicted. Examples of non-offering compositions in which the formula is employed include scenes of the pharaoh before a procession, performing the Opfertanz, a scene of adoration, and Ramesside scenes of ritual harvest.[61] The formula also appears on some doorframes.[62] The most common use of the *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ* type formula in a context other than offering is as the last phrase in the *ỉr.f m mnw.f n ỉt.f* dedication.[63]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ* FORMULA

The phrase *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ* conventionally translated "he makes given life" appears first in the inscriptions of the dedication of offerings of the Middle Kingdom.[64] The *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ* formula is of special interest because of the apparent change in the relationship of the verb *ỉr* to the phrase *dỉ ᶜnḫ* and whether the donor or the recipient is the subject of *ỉr*. The latter question can be tested by the agreement of the gender of the donor and recipient in regard to the suffix that follows the verb. Unfortunately, the diagnostic examples, those which show a female donor offering to a male recipient, all date to two compact time periods (Hatshepsut and the God's Wives of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties).[65] Scenes that show a male donor offering to a female recipient before the time of Ramesses III, narrated by the inscription *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ*, are not common.[66] Fisher suggests that the orientation of the hieroglyphs of the formula can also provide information about the meaning of the phrase.[67] His general premise is that the signs are oriented in accordance with the orientation of the figure to whom they refer. Hence, if the formula is in the same orientation as the divine recipient, the verb has special relevance to the god.

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51. See B3; F12; *MH* IV, pl. 227D; *MH* V, pls. 263B, 264B, 270A, 271B, 308A; *MH* VI, pls. 423B, 428B, 442A; *MH* VII, pls. 503, 522, 562A.
52. With the presentation of Maat: A14, 17; B3; F10; P5.
53. *LD* III, pl. 57b.
54. *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 27, *Urk.* I, 294.15.
55. Fischer 1977: 103, no. 280. One of Fischer's examples (*MH* V, pl. 280C: *ỉr.s dỉ ᶜnḫ*) is in error; see *Urk.* IV, 764.11.
56. A27; Fischer 1977: 103, no. 281. Earliest examples occur in the Thirteenth Dynasty but are perhaps accidental; it is attested during the later Eighteenth Dynasty and onward and is very common in the reliefs of Ramesses IV in the Ambulatory of the Temple of Khonsu.
57. *Khonsu* II, pl. 164; loc. KM 360.
58. Among the many examples, see Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pls. 21, 26, 31, 33–34, passim; Helck 1968, pls. 49–50 (damaged), 71, 73; OIP 106, pls. 12, 22, 168.
59. Hatshepsut: Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 2, nos. 32, 306; 8, nos. 293 (twice), 312; 13, no. 222; 14, no. 150 (twice); passim. With female divine recipient in the Ramesside age, see OIP 106, pl. 208; *MH* V, pls. 280C (bottom), 294A; *Khonsu* II, pl. 158.
60. *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 1 and 31B (= B14), 32C, 32F.
61. Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 21, block no. 193 (queen salutes Amun-Re); *Deir el-Bahari* VI, pls. 161–62; Opfertanz: *LD* III, pls. 57b, 119e; OIP 106, pl. 103; Ramesses II adoring Re-Horakhty: *LD* III, pl. 181; harvest: *LD* III, pls. 162, 212.
62. *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 27; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pl. 134; *LD* III, pls. 67, 122e.
63. For this formula, see Vittmann 1977: 21–32; Leahy 1987: 57–64; Castle 1993.
64. For early examples in the form *ỉr.f dỉ ᶜnḫ* that date to the reign of Sesostris I, see Fischer 1977, figs. 97–99.
65. *Deir el-Bahari* I, pls. 11, 20; *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 94; *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pls. 97 (contrasted to queen offering to female deity), 102; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pls. 133, 140. God's Wives: K1, 3–5; Leclant 1965, pls. 8–9, 24, 84; loc. KH 145, 147–48, 173, 254; loc. MHC 3–4, 6, 8, 23 (= Leclant 1965, pl. 84), 26, 105, 108, 118–19, 125 (twice), 152, 194b, 203, 213.
66. *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 92; *LD* III, pls. 29a, 80c; OIP 106, pls. 103, 122, 168, 205, 208, 244, 250. For male donor offering to female recipient with *ỉr.s dỉ ᶜnḫ* before the era of Ramesses III, see OIP 106, pl. 208; for *ỉr.s n.f dỉ ᶜnḫ*, see *Abydos* IV, pl. 53D (with Mut as recipient).
67. Fischer 1977: 97–106; see also *Khonsu* II, pl. 41a.

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Fischer cites many examples of the formula from the Middle Kingdom onward, noting that the phrase appears in the longer, more grammatically explicit form *ir.f n.f dì ꜥnḫ* "he (the donor) acts for him (the god) who has given life (to the donor)."[68] This form existed alongside *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ* and the most abbreviated *dì ꜥnḫ*, which were the favored forms during the later Eighteenth Dynasty and onward. The relationship of the various phrases is most clearly indicated by Eighteenth Dynasty scenes in which they appear alternately, although they apparently fulfill the same function. On the left side of a relief from Kummeh, Thutmose II offers wine to Khnum, while on the right Thutmose III performs the Opfertanz before Hathor.[69] The dedication of Thutmose II is followed by the phrase *ir.f n.f dì ꜥnḫ*, that of Thutmose III by *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ*. In a similar fashion, *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ* and *dì ꜥnḫ* directly follow the name or epithet of the god to whom the offering is made on the lunette of a stela of Amunhotep III (B3). The employment of three forms of the *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ* in the same context supports Fischer's assumption that the phrases, despite their varying components and grammatical structure, have a similar function and theological content.[70]

Nims (1975: 76; 1976: 173) and Fischer's conclusion that the donor is the subject of the verb *ir* is, with the two exceptions noted below, confirmed by the reliefs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The twelve examples of the formula from the Chapelle Rouge, which depict the queen offering to male deities and use the phrase, employ the form *ir.s dì ꜥnḫ*, indicating that the donor is the subject of the verb *ir*. Although the name of the god to whom the offering is made is subject to reversal, the orientation of formula itself agrees with the donor.

The reliefs at Deir el-Bahari also indicate that the donor is the subject of the verb *ir*, because as with the materials from the Chapelle Rouge, the scenes of the queen offering to a male deity are accompanied by the formula *ir.s dì ꜥnḫ*[71] and scenes of a male donor offering to a female deity employ the phrase *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ*.[72] As on the Chapelle Rouge, there are no examples of the reversal of the hieroglyphs that make up the formula.

Two exceptional examples from Deir el-Bahari that use *ir.s dì ꜥnḫ* with a male donor and male recipient are thought to be the result of recarving[73] and thus might have originally depicted the queen as the officiant. However, neither scene appears to have been restored. Since in neither Thutmose scene can the subject of the verb refer to the recipient or to the donor, the suffix must honorifically refer to the queen for whom the temple was constructed.[74]

A few other diagnostic scenes can be cited from the later Eighteenth Dynasty. A stela of Thutmose III from Serabit el-Khadim (*LD* III, pl. 29a) that depicts the king offering to Hathor bears the phrase *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ*, indicating that the donor was the subject of the verb, which is also documented by a single example from the reign of Amunhotep III that depicts the king offering to Nekhbet with the formula *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ mì Rꜥ ḏt* (*LD* III, pl. 80c). There is one example of the reversal of the phrase in the time of Amunhotep III.[75] However, the reversal of the entire phrase in that scene is probably due to its orientation to the deified Amunhotep III who acts as the recipient of the offering. The near absence of reversals of the phrase[76] further supports the conclusion that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the subject of *ir* is the donor.

The verb's relationship to the donor rather than to the recipient in the Eighteenth Dynasty is likewise supported by the iconography of the offering scenes. The *ir.f dì ꜥnḫ* first appears in conjunction with the donor's dedication inscription and in most examples the orientation of the hieroglyphs agrees with the

68. Fischer 1977: 97, no. 258; see also Birkstam 1974: 18 for the comment "It [*ir.f dì ꜥnḫ*] is often augmented with a suffix pronoun in dative ... ."

69. *LD* III, pl. 57b. This equation between the two forms is rejected by Nims (1975: 76).

70. See also Leahy 1987: 59, whose assumption that the two formulas are related is evident by the transliteration *ir.f (n.f) dì ꜥnḫ*.

71. *Deir el-Bahari* I, pls. 11, 20; *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 44; *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pls. 97, 102; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pls. 133, 140; *Deir el-Bahari* VI, pl. 162.

72. *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pls. 92, 95.

73. *Deir el-Bahari* I, pl. 14 (chapel of Thutmose I); *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 45 (niche in Anubis shrine).

74. Another example of the lack of agreement between the subject of *ir* and the donor can be attributed to recarving: on *Deir el-Bahari* I, pl. 18, the formula *sꜣ ꜥnḫ ḏd wꜣs nb ḥꜣ.s mì Rꜥ* appears behind Thutmose II, whose cartouches are superimposed over those of the queen. For the founding of the temple by Thutmose II, see Wysocki 1986: 225–27.

75. *LD* III, pl. 85a (middle) from Soleb. For the deification of Amunhotep III at that temple, see Bell 1985c: 35.

76. Fischer (1977: 98) notes that the Hathor shrine of Thutmose III and a stela of Amunhotep I display reversal of the formula.

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donor's orientation.[77] One may conclude that since the formula refers to the donor's actions, it is located in his or her section of the composition.

Nims (1975: 76; 1976: 173) and Fischer (1977: 98–99) suggest that there was a fundamental change in the underlying theology of the formula during the reign of Ramesses III, at which time the subject of the verb *ỉr* was understood to refer to the recipient of the offering. Nims (1975: 76) proposes that "Through the reign of Ramesses II the actor is the ruler ..." and that in the later scenes, the meaning has changed to "so that the deity may grant (to the ruler) 'Given-Life.'" The determination of the period in which this change occurred is based upon certain scenes that were recopied from the Ramesseum for use in the Great Temple at Medinet Habu. As Nims points out, the only change in the earlier and later copies of the scenes is that the suffix pronouns are modified to agree with the gender of the recipient of the offering. Fischer agrees with Nims that the "new interpretation," i.e., that the subject of *ỉr* is the deity, is first consistently displayed in the reliefs at Medinet Habu.

Although we can definitely say that the change is first manifested in the reliefs at Medinet Habu, it seems likely that the interpretation predates the period when it is used so uniformly and that a period of gradual reappraisal of the formula preceded the period of Ramesses III. Certain elements of this reinterpretation can indeed be traced in the late Eighteenth and especially in the Nineteenth Dynasties.

One might view the occasional reversals of the formula as the first indication that the *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* was gradually being reinterpreted. Although Fischer (1977: 98, fig. 99) cites a few scattered examples from the Middle Kingdom and Eighteenth Dynasty, the reversal became fairly frequent in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The apparent "contradictions" in the meaning of the formula suggest that the iconographic expression of it did not, in the time of Seti I, express its current meaning, which might explain the variation in formulas encountered in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. There, *ỉr.s dỉ ꜥnḫ* follows the dedication of an offering to Sekhmet (OIP 106, pl. 208), while four other scenes of the king offering to a goddess have the terminal formula *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* (ibid., pls. 103, 122, 168, 205). The single exceptional scene in that temple may express the actual meaning of the formula during the time of Seti I.

So, too, in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, a single text on the thickness of a doorway that evokes a goddess (Isis) contains the formula *ỉr.s n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ*.[78] This inscription, along with the frequent reversals of the formula in the offering scenes wherein the king offers to a male deity at Abydos,[79] substantiates the suggestion that the phrase was in the process of reinterpretation in the reign of Seti I. The frequency of the reversal in the Abydos Temple and the examples of *ỉr.s* in the Hypostyle Hall and the Abydos Temple suggest that the reinterpretation of this formula began in the reign of Seti I.

The ambiguity between the meaning and expression of the formula is reflected in the reliefs of Ramesses II. The formula is employed only eight times in the reliefs of Ramesses II on the Enclosure Wall at Karnak, and all examples are with male donor and recipient. The reversal of *ỉr.f* is irregular; two examples are reversed, three others are not, and three are too damaged to determine their direction.[80]

In contrast to the lack of information that the reliefs of the Enclosure Wall give about the reinterpretation of the formula, earlier dedication inscriptions of the same king at Beit el-Wali strongly suggest that the phrase had undergone a change in its meaning. The formula is rarely employed in that temple, and when it is used, it occurs in the form that is unattested elsewhere: *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ*[81] "it (the offering) is done for him

77. There are examples of the reversal of the phrase *ỉr.f* in the Middle Kingdom and Eighteenth Dynasty (Fischer 1977, fig. 99, who on p. 98 notes "This reversal was infrequent during the Eighteenth Dynasty ...").

78. *Abydos*, IV, pl. 55D. Note, however, that this formula is in the context of the *ỉr.f m mnw.f n ỉt.f*, not in the context of offering.

79. Fischer 1977: 98. This same situation is reflected in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, where only one of the four examples of the king offering to a female displays reversal of *ỉr.f* (OIP 106, pls. 103, 122, 205 [not reversed], 168 [reversed]).

80. Helck 1968, pls. 71–72 (reversed); 45, 49, 73 (not reversed); 19, 50, 81 (damaged). The phrase occurs low on the wall where the surface has suffered the most damage.

81. *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 1 and 31B (= B14), 32C, 32F. Note that in this temple the formula is employed only with the offering of Maat or of *nw*-vessels, confirming that these two offerings had a special relationship to each other and a special relevance to the state of *dỉ ꜥnḫ*. For this association, see *Chapter 4: Ramesside Period Sequences and Patterns*, above. Both examples of the presentation of Maat at Beit el-Wali are accompanied by the phrase and only one of several examples of the offering of vessels is so narrated.

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(the god) as the one who has given life."[82] This variation of the formula, similar to the Ramesses III formula *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*, wherein the *ir* refers to the recipient, excludes any reference to the action of the donor and stresses the role of the god. No examples of the formula at Beit el-Wali display reversal of the phrase *ir.f*.

The reliefs at Medinet Habu document the following stage in the iconographic expression of the formula; at that temple there is uniform agreement of the gender of the suffix with the deity. However, the penchant for reversing the phrase *ir.f* (and very often the name of the male deity with whom the suffix agrees) continued in an irregular manner. In the case of the scenes of the presentation of Maat in the Court and Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Khonsu, eight of the fourteen Maat presentation scenes of Herihor and Ramesses XI display such reversal.[83] In scenes where the king officiates before goddesses and in which there can be no confusion about to whom the *s* suffix of the verb refers, there still is irregular reversal.[84]

A final iconographic innovation that occurs in the Ramesside period is the formula's physical separation from the dedication phrase.[85] In such examples, the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* is either placed in a different line from the dedication proper or is separated from it by an obvious gap.[86] In another scene, the association of the phrase with the recipient is emphasized not only by its separation from the donation inscription, but also through the reversal of the hieroglyphs to agree with the deity's orientation (*Khonsu* I, pl. 99).

The formula underwent yet another change in the late Third Intermediate Period. Fischer cites several examples from the Twenty-fourth Dynasty which indicate that the recipient was still understood to be the subject of *ir*. However, scenes from the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty indicate that the formula was reinterpreted again to assume its pre-Ramesside meaning.

This change back to the pre-Ramesside use of the formula can be dated to the time of Shepenwepet I and Amunirdis I. Scenes from Shepenwepet I in the chapel of Osiris Hekadjet display an irregular lack of agreement between the gender of the recipient and the suffix that follows *ir*. In one scene that Shepenwepet offers praises to Montu the formula appears as *ir.s dì ʿnḫ* (loc. KH 173), and in another scene in the same structure she offers Maat to Amun (K1) with the formula *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*. This lack of agreement in the use of the formula is likewise attested in the reign of her successor Amunirdis I. In the chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, two large scale offering scenes are accompanied by the Ramesside style phrase *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* wherein the suffix agrees with the recipient.[87] However, vertical text bands and the smaller scenes that frame the doorway of the temple are phrased with *ir.s dì ʿnḫ* in the pre-Ramesside style,[88] which suggests that the large scale scenes were designed with the help of a Ramesside period copy book and the smaller informal scenes express the colloquial meaning of the formula.

The texts in the tomb chapel of Amunirdis at Medinet Habu consistently appear in the pre-Ramesside form, *ir.s dì ʿnḫ*.[89] Hence, by the end of the lifetime of Amunirdis I, the suffix following the verb *ir* again agreed in gender with the donor rather than with the recipient. This pattern is consistently expressed in the reliefs of Shepenwepet II and Nitocris (loc. MHC 194b, 203, 213).

The same agreement of suffix with the donor continues into the Late period and is attested in several scenes from the reign of Nectanebo II. On a naos in Cairo, the king is portrayed kneeling upon a stand offering Maat to his double cartouches (Roeder 1914, pl. 12b). The dedication *ḥnk Mɜʿt n mwt.f* refers to the female recipient, Bastet (who is not depicted), yet the terminal formula is *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*, indicating that the suffix following *ir* refers to the donor.

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82. Translation after Fischer 1977: 103. Note translation in *Beit el-Wali*, pp. 26–27: "It is done for him (the god) as one given life." For the question of the active versus passive translation, see *The ir.f dì ʿnḫ Formula*, below.
83. *Khonsu* I, pls. 40, 49, 51, 99; *Khonsu* II, pls. 141C, 141D, 157A, 189. Three examples are not reversed (*Khonsu* I, pls. 15, 74, 104); two examples do not use the phrase (*Khonsu* I, pls. 62, 82); and one example entirely omits the suffix *dì ʿnḫ mì Rʿ* (*Khonsu* I, pl. 45). See also *Khonsu* II, pl. 42, note a.
84. *Khonsu* II, pls. 158A (Amunet, reversed), 164 (Mut, not reversed).
85. As with the reversal of hieroglyphs, this is also attested occasionally before the Ramesside period (cf. Fischer 1977, fig. 103 [Sobekhotep]).
86. *Khonsu* I, pls. 15, 40, 49, 51, 74, 81, 99, 104; *Khonsu* II, pls. 157A, 164, 189; Fischer 1977, figs. 103–04 (and noted by him on p. 98). In the case of the Temple of Khonsu, only rarely is the formula not separated from the dedication (*Khonsu* II, pls. 141F, 157B).
87. Loc. KH 147–48; these are the only large scale scenes of Amunirdis that are accompanied by any variant of the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula.
88. Loc. KH 173 (two scenes); Legrain 1900: 124 (= loc. KH 136), 127 (= loc. KH 149). The vertical framing texts are very difficult to see in the Oriental Institute photographs.
89. Loc. MHC 3–4, 118–19, 194 (*irt.s dì ʿnḫ*), 203; as does the block presumably from Karnak (K4; see Fazzini et al. 1989, commentary to object 70).

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The *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula continued to be employed in the Ptolemaic period (*LD* IV, pls. 4, 28a, 34b [twice], 35a, 68 [twice], 73h). During this period, the suffix following *ir* continues to agree with the gender of the donor. This agreement is made especially clear on the lintel of the doorway of the First Pylon at the Philae Temple (*LD* III, pl. 286a). In two vignettes, the king offers incense to Isis and a vase to a male deity. Both scenes bear the formula *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*.[90]

In the Ptolemaic temples, the phrase occurs only in dedications made in the earlier concise form consisting of verb + object + recipient's name rather than as a terminal formula of the more elaborate Ptolemaic-style dedication. Reversals of *ir.f* are rare, although the name of the recipient continued to be occasionally reversed to place in it the same orientation as the god to whom it referred.[91]

Apparently, during the Late period and through the Ptolemaic era, the formula was employed in its pre-Ramesside sense. This reinterpretation explains Fischer's (1977: 100) statement that "reversals of the phrase in question became less frequent after the New Kingdom." The phrase was no longer reversed but placed in the same orientation as the donor because it again referred to the donor. It must, however, be noted that during the Persian period and beyond, the formula appears in conjunction with the recitation of a divinity. The best examples of this shift of the formula from the recitation of the donor to that of the recipient is attested in the reliefs of the Hibis Temple. There the variation in the formula, viz., *ir n.f dì ʿnḫ*, appears with some regularity not only in the recitation of the divinity,[92] but also in the recitation of the royal donor.[93] At that temple, the concordance of the gender of the suffix following *ir* indicates that the suffix agrees with the deity.[94] There are no reversals of the formula in the Hibis Temple because the orientation of the formula agrees with the text of the recitation or dedication, which is usually oriented toward the actor or speaker.

During the Ramesside period the *ir.f* element of the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula referred to the action of the recipient; and in the period before the Nineteenth Dynasty the donor was the subject of the verb. The underlying sense of *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* in the pre-Ramesside period expressed the king's ability to achieve *dì ʿnḫ* through his pious actions (*ir.f*); during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties all references to the actions of the king were removed from the formula and the action of the god alone was expressed. Why was the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* phrase not moved to the deity's side of the offering scene in the Ramesside period since it clearly pertains to the action of the god and not to the activity of the donor? This could be due to the overall composition of the offering scenes and the Egyptian reluctance to change traditional iconography. Further, since in both periods the god is often accompanied by the *dì.f ʿnḫ* "he gives life" formula, perhaps it was thought that the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula would duplicate the *dì.f ʿnḫ* on the recipient's side of the composition. Perhaps this acknowledgment that the Ramesside *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula duplicated the meaning of the *dì.f ʿnḫ* explains why *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* so often is absent from the repertoire of the inscriptions that accompany offering scenes of the Ramesside era.[95]

The theological significance of the change in the formula is discussed in *Chapter 6*.

GRAMMATICAL FORM OF *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*

Since it is documented that the formula *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* and its variants were reinterpreted during the Ramesside period, it is worthwhile to examine the grammatical elements of the phrase to see if they too were modified.

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90. For other such examples depicting a female recipient and male donor with the formula *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*, see Junker and Winter 1965: 146 (898), 148 (897).

91. *LD* IV, pls. 18, 15d (twice), 37a; Junker and Winter 1965: 142 (top), 144 (top, not only the name of the recipient, *mwt.f*, is reversed but so also is *ir n.f*).

92. Norman de Garis Davies 1953, pls. 7–9, passim.

93. Norman de Garis Davies 1953, pl. 8 (in dedication of white bread).

94. See, for example, Norman de Garis Davies 1953, pls. 7 top, recitation of Mut: *ir n.s dì ʿnḫ*, recitation of Ptah: *ir n.f dì ʿnḫ*; 8, dedication of ointment before Mut: *ir n.s* [*dì*] *ʿnḫ ḏt*.

95. See, for example, the reliefs of the Enclosure Wall at Karnak (Helck 1966), in which the formula *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* is rarely employed. The scenes on the Enclosure Wall tend to be slightly cramped compositions, and therefore the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula might not have been employed in order to save space. The *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula does not commonly appear in the reliefs of Ramesses II in the Temple of Seti at Gourna, perhaps for similar reasons.

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THE VERB *ỉr*

As noted, from the Middle Kingdom to the Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Late period the subject of the verb *ỉr* was the donor of the offering, whereas in the Ramesside period the subject of the verb refers to the divine recipient. In the Third Intermediate Period, the pronomial subject again refers to the donor. However, what tense is the verb *ỉr* and does its form change from period to period?

Although it is generally accepted that *ỉr* is an optative,[96] Nims makes the very reasonable suggestion that in the Ramesside period the phrase is to be translated as a clause of purpose. This interpretation fits well in the context of offering scenes. In such compositions, *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* would be translated "Presenting X ... in order that he (the god) may make given life (for the donor)."

However, the question of the changing nature of the formula has been overlooked in prior discussions of the grammar of the phrase. Does the verb *ỉr* have an optative sense in the pre- and post-Ramesside formula? To apply Nims' clause of purpose to the Eighteenth Dynasty and post-Ramesside phrase *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*, when the donor is the subject of *ỉr*, would yield the translation "Presenting X ... in order that he (the donor) shall act for him who has given life."[97] The difficulty with this translation is the phrase's relationship to the dedication with which it is associated. The dedication, phrased in the infinitive, states that the donor is actively undertaking a certain action. The clause of purpose with an optative "Presenting X ... in order that he (the donor) shall act for him" is redundant and only repeats the fact that the king is offering to the god. The phrase is better rendered by the circumstantial "Presenting X ... in so much as he (the donor) acts for him who has given life."

The variant *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* employed in the Eighteenth Dynasty could conceivably be translated "in order that he (the donor) makes for himself given life," in which case this phrase could be a clause of purpose. However, this possibility can be dismissed on the existence of the form *ỉr.s n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* dating to Hatshepsut[98] because the two different suffix pronouns indicate that there were two different participants. The form that would definitively support a reflexive translation of the *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*, namely *ỉr.s n.s dỉ ʿnḫ*, is not attested. Therefore, in the *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* form, the second suffix pronoun must refer to the recipient and hence a translation of *ỉr* as a clause of purpose is, on account of its association with the action referred to in the dedication, untenable.

If the *ỉr* in these formulas of the Eighteenth Dynasty were taken as a circumstantial *sḏm.f* related to the infinitive of the offering formula, it could be rendered "Presenting X ... (in so much as) he (the donor) acts for him who has given life." Taking *ỉr* as a circumstantial therefore places the two phrases in a logical relationship to each other. The dedication, phrased in the infinitive, is a description of the offering activity; the *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* indicates that the king's actions thereby serve the god.

But must the pre- and post-Ramesside form *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*, in which the suffix following the verb *ỉr* refers to the donor, be translated as a circumstantial? It does not have to be, because certainly the conventional rendering "Presenting X ... in order that he (the donor) may make given life" makes very good sense. However, as Fischer notes and is supported by the equivalent scenes from Amunhotep III and Thutmose II and III, the underlying form of the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* is really *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*,[99] which does not accommodate itself to interpretation as an optative and clause of purpose. Since the two forms are variants of each other, perhaps the shorter form of the Eighteenth Dynasty and Late period should be viewed linguistically as a circumstantial rather than an optative.

In the Ramesside period the verb *ỉr* appears with some frequency in variations of the formula such as *ỉr n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* without an expressed subject.[100] This form could be the passive *sḏm.f* "it (the offering) is done."

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96. Fischer 1977: 97; Nims 1975: 76. Osing (1977: 21, no. 55) suggests a very different translation for *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*: "was er ausführt, indem ihm Leben gegeben ist," assuming that *ỉr.f* is a relative form modifying an initial infinitive such as *ḥnk*.
97. The question of the active or passive translation of *dỉ ʿnḫ* is discussed in the next section.
98. *Urk.* IV, 294.15, 296.7 (= *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 27).
99. Fischer 1977: 97; in contrast Nims (1975: 76) denies any relationship between the formulas.
100. For Ramesside examples, see footnotes 56, 60, above. For an Eighteenth Dynasty example, see *Urk.* IV, 764.11 (dated to Thutmose III).

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THE PHRASE *dì ʿnḫ*

A difficulty with the grammatical interpretation of the phrase *dì ʿnḫ* lies in the fact that it is employed in various contexts. It commonly follows the cartouche of a king[101] or queen[102] or the name of a god[103] or goddess.[104] The phrase infrequently appears at the end of the dedication of an offering, either in the simple form *dì ʿnḫ* or incorporated into the *ỉr.f/s dì ʿnḫ* formula.[105] It is also frequently employed as the last phrase in the longer *ỉr.n.f m mnw.f* formula.[106]

An examination of the use of *dì ʿnḫ* directly following an offering dedication shows that in such a use the formula is to be equated with the use of *dì ʿnḫ* directly following the name of a deity. This equation is indicated by the fact that, when employed at the end of an offering dedication, the phrase directly follows the name or epithet of the god to whom the offering is made.[107] This use follows patterns such as *dì(t) Mɜʿt ... n ỉt.f Rʿ Ḥrɜḫty dì ʿnḫ* (A14) "Presenting Maat to his father Re-Horakhty, *dì ʿnḫ*" (formula following proper name) or *ḥnk m mḏt n ỉt.f dì ʿnḫ* (*MH* V, pl. 256E) "presenting ointment to his father, *dì ʿnḫ*" (formula following the epithet of the god). The phrase *dì ʿnḫ* directly follows a word other than the name or epithet of the divine recipient only once.[108] In this case (and if it is not an error), the phrase *dì ʿnḫ* apparently refers to the offering itself.[109]

One would hope to confirm that *dì ʿnḫ* after the name or epithet of a goddess refers to the female participant of the offering scene through the addition of the expected feminine ending *-t* to the verb *dì*. Several such scenes that are composed of a male donor and female divine recipient can be cited;[110] however, in each the form of the verb is simply  (*dì*) without a feminine ending. As it is discussed below, it is not uncommon for the form (*dì*) to appear in reference to a female,[111] and hence the omission of the expected feminine ending may not be a strong indicator of the grammar of the phrase.

The *dì* in *dì ʿnḫ*

This discussion deals with the use of *dì* in the formula *dì ʿnḫ* when it follows the cartouche of a ruler or the name or epithets of a god.

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101. Exceedingly common, see *Abydos* I, pls. 3–4, 6, 17–19, passim; *Abydos* II, pls. 21, 26–27, 29–30, 32, 35–36, passim; Osing 1977, pls. 1, 3–7, passim. For Middle Kingdom examples, see Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pls. 14, 21, 24. For Eighteenth Dynasty examples, see Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 9, block nos. 303, 126; and very frequently elsewhere.

102. For Hatshepsut, see Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 2, nos. 58, 167, 173, 216, 245, 273; 3, nos. 25, 233, 301; 7, nos. 26, 40, 135, 169, 170, 300; 9, nos. 102, 104, 126, 176, 303; 23, no. 137, passim; *Urk.* IV, 236.1, 261.17, 290.6, 311.16, 394.16, 408.10, 420.8, 456.1. For Nofertari, see Desroches-Nobelcourt and Kuentz 1968, pls. 94, 112. For God's Wives, see loc. KH 141, loc. MHC 17; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978, fig. 23; *Deir el-Bahari* III, pls. 59, 61, 66 (all restored); *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 115; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pls. 131, 134, 137.

103. A14; P5; *MH* V, pls. 256E, 257B, 258A (top), 260B (top), 261A (bottom), 262A (top), 262A (bottom), 263B (top), 265A (top), passim. With female recipient, see *MH* V, pls. 273A (bottom), 281C (top), 294B. See also Helck 1968, pl. 37; *Urk.* IV, 1658.5. Birkstam (1974: 16) wrongly notes that *dì ʿnḫ* never occurs after the name of a god other than Aton.

104. F10; Helck 1968, pl. 50; *MH* V, pls. 273C (bottom), 281C (top).

105. The use of *dì ʿnḫ* in the *ỉr.f dì ʿnḫ* is discussed below.

106. For this formula, see Leahy 1987: 57–64; Castle 1993.

107. A14; *MH* V, pls. 256E, 257B, 258A (top), 260B (top), 261A (bottom), 262A (top), 262A (bottom), 263B (top), 265A (top), passim. With female recipient, see *MH* V, pls. 273A (bottom), 281C (top), 294B. See also Helck 1968, pl. 37; *Urk.* IV, 1658.5.

108. Helck 1968, pl. 35: *nḏ ḥr m nw 3 n ḳbḥ dì ʿnḫ* "presenting three vases of cool water, which give/which have given(?) life."

109. As recognized by Helck (1968: 39) "Opfer von 3 Gefässen kühlen Wassers, damit Leben gegeben werde."

110. Helck 1968, pl. 50 (epithet restored as *nbt pt*); *MH* V, pls. 273C (bottom), 281C (top).

111. After the name of queens, Hatshepsut: Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 2, nos. 58, 167, 173, 216, 245, 273; 3, nos. 25, 233, 301; 7, nos. 26, 40, 135, 169, 170, 300; 9, nos. 102, 104, 126, 176, 303; passim; *Urk.* IV, 236.1, 261.17, 290.6, 311.16, 394.16, 408.10, 420.8, 456.1; Nofertari: Desroches-Nobelcourt and Kuentz 1968, pls. 94, 112; after the names of God's Wives: loc. KH 141, loc. MHC 17; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978, fig. 23; after the name of goddesses: Helck 1968, pl. 50; *MH* V, pls. 273C (bottom), 281C (top).

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The forms of *dỉ* are as follows:

A. Masculine

1. Royal figure: Without exception the form is  (*dỉ*).[112]
2. Divine figure: Without exception the form is  (*dỉ*).[113]

B. Feminine

1. Royal figure: The most common form is (*dỉ*).[114] A few examples of Hatshepsut from the Chapelle Rouge and Deir el-Bahari have the form  (*dỉt*), with a final *-t*.[115]
2. Divine figure: At present, all known examples are  (*dỉ*).[116]

The verb *dỉ* in *dỉ ʿnḫ* when used after royal or divine names, could be translated as either a participle or an Old Perfective form. These alternatives are discussed below.

The use of (*dỉ*) after a female name poses a difficulty, because if it were a participle, the verb should appear as  (*dỉt*) (GEG³ §§357–61); the Old Perfective form should be  or  (*dỉ.tỉ*) (ibid., §309). However, the list of forms of *dỉ* employed after the name of goddesses or queens demonstrates that the form  (*dỉ*) without the expected feminine ending is very commonly employed. An inconsistency in the expression of the feminine ending might be expected in texts of Hatshepsut due to the ambiguity in the gender of her inscriptions. However, the consistent omission of expected feminine endings is also encountered in texts of Queen Nofertari at Abu Simbel and of the God's Wives at Thebes.[117]

dỉ in *dỉ ʿnḫ* as a Participle. When following a name, either divine or royal, *dỉ* in *dỉ ʿnḫ* never exhibits gemination and thus should be considered to be a perfective participle. Several scholars propose that *dỉ* is a perfective passive participle and that *dỉ ʿnḫ* is derived from *rdy n.f ʿnḫ* "to whom life is given" with an omitted resumptive pronoun.[118] A possible difficulty with this interpretation of the verb as a passive participle is that the expected morphological forms of *dỉ* as a perfective passive participle, *dy* ( or ) or *rdy* (), are not used. The form that most commonly appears in conjunction with royal or divine names is  (*dỉ*), which should be a perfective active participle.[119] However, Edel cites one example of the perfective passive participle written simply as  ,[120] suggesting that indeed, the form employed after names can be considered to be a perfective passive participle. Fischer (1977: 103–06) argues that *dỉ* was a passive participle until the Ramesside period, at which time it was considered to be an active participle.

The use of the *dỉ ʿnḫ* formula after the names of deities as well as after the name of kings or queens raises an important issue and indicates that one must look at how the same forms could be used in both contexts. The answers to two important questions could help to indicate whether *dỉ* is active or passive: (in the context of the offering scenes, in which *dỉ ʿnḫ* follows the name of the donor or the recipient) who gives life and to whom is life given?

Hornung (1982: 199) and Fischer (1977: 97–98)[121] both strongly argue that in the context of offering scenes, life emanates from the god who bestows it upon the king. Hence the god as the superior being is the only source of life. So, too, Derchain suggests that life emanates from the gods to the king in the offering

112. Exceedingly common, see *Abydos* I, pls. 3–4, 6, 17–19, passim; *Abydos* II, pls. 21, 26–27, 29–30, 32, 35–36, passim; Osing 1977, pls. 1, 3–7, passim.

113. A14, 17; *MH* V, pls. 256E, 257B, 258A (top), 260B (top), 261A (bottom), 262A (top), 262A (bottom), 263B (top), 265A (top), passim. With female recipient, see *MH* V, pls. 273A (bottom), 281C (top), 294B. See also Helck 1968, pl. 37; *Urk.* IV, 1658.5.

114. For Hatshepsut, see Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 2, nos. 58, 167, 173, 216, 245, 273; 3, nos. 25, 233, 301; 7, nos. 26, 40, 135, 169–70, 300; 9, nos. 102, 104, 126, 176, 303; passim; *Urk.* IV, 236.1, 261.17, 290.6, 311.16, 394.16, 408.10, 420.8, 456.1. For Nofertari, see Desroches-Nobelcourt and Kuentz 1968, pls. 94, 112. For God's Wives, see loc. KH 141, loc. MHC 17; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978, fig. 23.

115. Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 23, no. 137; *Deir el-Bahari* III, pls. 59, 61, 66 (all restored); *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 115; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pls. 131 (one *-t* between the *dỉ* and the *ʿnḫ*), 134, 137.

116. Helck 1968, pl. 50; *MH* V, pls. 273C (bottom), 281C (top).

117. See footnote 114, above.

118. Kammerzell 1983: 57–64; Schenkel 1981: 427–32; GEG³ §378; Lefebvre 1955, §455.

119. For examples, see GEG³ §359.

120. Edel 1955/64, §639β; see also Lefebvre 1955, §444, for *rdỉ*  without double reed leaves (no reference given).

121. See also K. Martin 1977:27.

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scenes.[122] Winter (1968: 69–70, 90–91) notes that this is apparently true until the time of Ptolemy II when the situation is reversed and the king is shown offering *ʿnḫ*, *ḏd*, and *wȝš* to deities.

Another indication that the god in an offering scene is the source of life and that the king is the recipient of that life is illustrated by the contrast of two phrases. *Dì.f ʿnḫ* "he has given life"[123] is frequently employed as a caption for the god, and the formula *dì ʿnḫ* "who has been given life" is placed near or adjacent to the name of the royal donor.[124] These two formulas illustrate a clear contrast between the donor and the recipient of that gift. The formula associated with the deity stresses his donation of life (*dì.f ʿnḫ* "he gives life"); the formula associated with the king stresses his role as recipient (*dì ʿnḫ* "who has been given life" or "given life"). The juxtaposition of these two formulas serves as further evidence that in the offering scenes up to the Late period the source of life was considered to be the god and the recipient of that life was the king.

The preceding conclusion that the deity is the only source of life does not apply to situations other than to offering scenes. The offering scenes, which portray the relationship between the king and his gods, should be differentiated from situations involving the king and his subjects in which the king is frequently the giver of life, not only to his subjects, but even to vanquished enemies.[125]

K. Martin (1974: 288; 1977: 26–27) suggests that in the context of the offering scenes the king is capable of giving life.[126] In his analysis of the form of *dì* in *dì ʿnḫ*, Martin suggests that the verb can function simultaneously as an active and passive form, concluding that the offering scenes show not only the receiving of life by the king from the god (passive), but also the active form in which the king gives life to his subjects. The second action is not portrayed or indicated in the offering scenes and is beyond the immediate subject matter of the relationship of god to king and the donation of life from the deity to his deputy.

Hence, in the time period under consideration and in the context of the phrase *dì ʿnḫ* employed after names in offering scenes, life is given only from the god to the king. Taking the principle that life originates from the gods and is given to the king as the theological foundation of the activity of the offering ritual, *dì ʿnḫ* after the name of a king should be translated as a perfective passive participle "who has been given life" and not as a perfective active participle "who has given life," because the king in the offering scenes is the recipient of life from the god. After the name of a deity, the phrase must be taken as a perfective active participle "who has given life (to the donor)" rather than "who has been given life."

dì in *dì ʿnḫ* as an Old Perfective. *dì* in *dì ʿnḫ* could also be considered to be an Old Perfective form. However *dì* in *dì ʿnḫ* after the name of a god cannot be rendered as an Old Perfective, because if it were an Old Perfective, the formula would have to be translated as a passive (GEG[3] §320) "being given life," "being caused to be alive"; but as it was shown above, the gods do not make life for themselves in the time period under discussion.

After the name of a ruler, it is possible that *dì/dìt* is the Old Perfective because the passive translation is wholly in keeping with the sentiment of the theology of the offering scenes. However, if one wished to identify whether the grammatical form of *dì* is an Old Perfective or a participle after the name of a ruler as well

122. "Anchzeichen," *LÄ* I, col. 269.

123. Taking *dì.f* as a present perfect. See Wente 1969: 1–2, no. 7, for a discussion of the present perfect in Middle Egyptian expressed through the construction noun + *sḏm.f*. For examples in the context of offering scenes, see Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pls. 21 (scenes 19–20), 24 (scene 25, the name of the god, Amun-Re, although it follows the phrase *dì.f ʿnḫ mì Rʿ*, could be considered to precede the formula through honorific transposition). Taking *dì.f* as a present perfect also explains the lack of coordination between the text and representation because the inactivity of the god rules out the form being taken as a circumstantial. The possibility of it being a prospective is also unlikely since the king is referred to as *dì ʿnḫ* "who has been given life," indicating that the god has already made his donation. See, however, Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pls. 28 (scenes 3–4), 30 (scene 7); idem 1979, pl. 14, no. 103, where the *dì* in *dì.f ʿnḫ* could be circumstantial ("he hereby gives life") because the god is shown holding the *ʿnḫ*-hieroglyph to the nose of the king or actively bathing the queen with a libation of *ʿnḫ*-signs. For other examples of this parallel use of the two formulas, see *Urk.* IV, 1287.12, 14–15; 1319.6–7.

124. Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pls. 21 (scenes 19–20), 24 (scenes 25–26), 31 (scene 10), 33 (scene 14); *Abydos* I, pl. 3 (north side; *dì.s ʿnḫ* in reference to Nekhbet above the king's head).

125. Blumenthal 1970: 83–46; Grimal 1986: 237–57; P. Derchain, "Anchzeichen," *LÄ* I, col. 269; W. Westendorf, "Atem," *LÄ* I, col. 518.

126. Fischer (1977: 106) disagrees with Martin's suggestion. Frankfort (1948b: 59) concludes that *dì ʿnḫ* after the name of a king can be translated as "giver of life" as well as "endowed with life."

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as a god, then to be consistent one should eliminate the Old Perfective, because as discussed, *dỉ* after the name of a god cannot possibly be an Old Perfective form.

The *ʿnḫ* in *dỉ ʿnḫ*

ʿnḫ () takes the following forms in the phrase *dỉ ʿnḫ* following royal or divine names:

A. Masculine

1. Royal figure: Very common, and without exception, the form is (*ʿnḫ*).[127]
2. Divine figures: Without exception the form is  (*ʿnḫ*).[128]

B. Feminine

1. Royal figure: The most common form is  (*ʿnḫ*);[129] however,  (*ʿnḫ.t*[*ỉ*])[130] is attested in certain texts, as is (*ʿnḫ.tỉ*).[131] In certain cases, in which a single *-t* appears between the *dỉ* and the *ʿnḫ* (),[132] it is problematic as to which element of the phrase the *-t* refers, or whether it is considered to be doing double duty.
2. Divine figure: Without exception the form is  (*ʿnḫ*).[133]

Schenkel[134] suggests that *ʿnḫ* is a substantive (infinitive or noun); Kammerzell,[135] in response to Schenkel, suggests that *ʿnḫ* in the *dỉ ʿnḫ* formula is an Old Perfective.

ʿnḫ as a Substantive. The clearest and most unequivocal evidence to support Schenkel's assertion—that *ʿnḫ* in *dỉ ʿnḫ* is a substantive—is the qualification of *ʿnḫ* by *nb* in the phrase which follows the name of a king or queen: *dỉ ʿnḫ nb* ()[136] "who has been given all life."

ʿnḫ as an Old Perfective. Although the *ʿnḫ* in *dỉ ʿnḫ nb* indicates that *ʿnḫ* must be a substantive, examples of *dỉ ʿnḫ.tỉ* without *nb*[137] indicate that *ʿnḫ* was in other cases considered to be an Old Perfective.

Fischer (1977: 97, n. 257) suggests that th*t* displayed after the word *ʿnḫ* indicates that *ʿnḫ* was "at least sometimes regarded as the old perfective," unless the *-t* is viewed as "a meaningless proliferation of the feminine ending."[138] Two scenes from the Chapelle Rouge[139] suggest that indeed in some cases the *-t* ending may be meaningless, which can be demonstrated by comparing two blocks from the Chapelle Rouge. On one block[140] the formula appears as  , and on the other[141] it appears as  . Although both display multiple feminine endings *ʿnḫ*, *ḏdt*, and *wꜣs* on the second block are qualified by the adjective *nb*, indicating that they were considered to be substantives. On the other hand, the consistency of the feminine endings on the first block suggests that there *ʿnḫ*, *ḏdt*, *wꜣs*, and *snbt* were considered to be Old Perfectives *ʿnḫ*(*tỉ*), *ḏd.t*(*ỉ*), *wꜣs*(*.tỉ*), and *snb.t*(*ỉ*). The qualification of Fischer's remark, i.e., that the form

127. Osing 1977, pls. 1, 3–6, passim; Helck 1968, pls. 47–48.
128. A14, 17; B4; *MH* V, pls. 256E, 257B, 258A (top), 260B (top), 261A (bottom), 262A (top), 262A (bottom), 263B (top), 265A (top), passim. With female recipient, see *MH* V, pls. 273A (bottom), 281C (top), 294B. See also Helck 1968, pl. 37; *Urk.* IV, 1658.5.
129. Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 2, nos. 58, 167, 173, 216, 245, 273; 3, nos. 25, 233, 301; 7, nos. 26, 40, 135, 169–70; passim; *Urk.* IV, 236.1, 261.17, 290.6, 295.13, 420.8; Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968, pls. 94, 112; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978, fig. 23.
130. *Deir el-Bahari* III, pls. 59, 61, 66 (all restored); *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 115; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pls. 131 (only one *-t* is written, between *dỉ* and *ʿnḫ*), 134; Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 15, no. 156; 9, no. 128; 20, no. 260.
131. K3–4; *Deir el-Bahari* V, pl. 137 (twice), referred to in Kammerzell 1983: 60, n. 10.
132. *Deir el-Bahari* V, pl. 131.
133. *MH* V, pls. 273C (bottom), 281C (top); Helck 1968, pl. 50.
134. Schenkel (1981: 427–32) deals with masculine examples of the phrase.
135. Kammerzell 1983: 57–64. In response to Schenkel's suggestion that only prospective or passive forms (rather than the Old Perfective) can function as the object of *dỉ*, see GEG[3] §315. Kammerzell (1983: 60–64) discusses whether *ʿnḫ* could be an active participle (*ʿnḫt*) or the writing of the Old Perfective (*ʿnḫ.t*(*ỉ*)) and decides in favor of the latter.
136. Chapel of Sesostris I: Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pls. 14 (scene 6), 28 (scene 4); idem 1979, pls. 18, block no. 44; 19, no. 259; 20, no. 105; 22, no. 180 (two examples); *Deir el-Bahari* III, pl. 59 (restored).
137. See footnotes 130–32, above.
138. So, too, K. Martin 1974: 293 for "sinnlos" feminine endings.
139. Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 9, no. 128; 20, no. 260.
140. Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 9, no. 128 (partially vertical, partially horizontal registers).
141. Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 20, no. 260 (vertical register).

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which displays a final *-t* was "sometimes regarded as Old Perfective," seems a reasonable solution for some examples of *ʿnḫ*, but those qualified by *nb* are undoubtedly substantives. In summary, there was an apparent flexibility in the grammatical structure of the phrase.

The ability of *ʿnḫ* to be employed as either an Old Perfective or as a substantive in the *dỉ ʿnḫ* formula is in contrast to the simple *ʿnḫ.tỉ*, which frequently follows the name of a queen or princess.[142] This form is clearly the Old Perfective form used as an exclamation, "May she live!" (GEG[3] §313). A few examples from the reign of Hatshepsut[143] that lack the feminine Old Perfective ending could be a reflection of the ambiguity of gender that is evident in her texts.[144]

It is significant that *ʿnḫ.tỉ* is not employed after the name of a goddess because goddesses (like gods) were not considered to be the recipients of life, but rather the source of life. Hence it would be inappropriate to wish that the deity may have life (*ʿnḫ.tỉ*).

THE PHRASE *dỉ ʿnḫ* IN THE *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* FORMULA

The following discussion of the function of *dỉ* and *ʿnḫ* in the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula is based upon its use in the offering formula. The use of *dỉ ʿnḫ* in other formulas such as the *ỉr.n.f m mnw.f*[145] is not considered here except as specifically noted for comparative purposes. All examples under consideration are drawn from the New Kingdom through the Third Intermediate Period.

THE VERB *dỉ* IN *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*

The following discussion is based upon several premises that have been discussed elsewhere in this work. The first is that the gods are the source of life and that the donor of the offering is the recipient of that divine gift. The second consideration is that the form *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* is an abbreviation of the more explicit *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula.

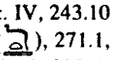
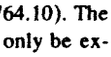
The five variations of the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula are discussed below; in each of the variants, the verb *dỉ* must be translated as a perfective active participle.

1. *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
2. *ỉr n dỉ ʿnḫ*
3. *ỉr n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
4. *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
   a. Ramesside period when the subject of *ỉr* is the divine recipient
   b. Pre- and post-Ramesside periods when the subject of *ỉr* agrees with the donor of the offering
5. *ỉr n.f m dỉ ʿnḫ*

Variant 1. *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*

[Presenting X to DN] "hereby he (the donor) acts for him who has given life."

This variant occurs in the pre-Ramesside period[146] when the subject of the verb *ỉr* agrees with the donor of the offering. Although there are difficulties posed by the omission of expected feminine endings on *dỉ*,

142. Among the very numerous examples, Ahmose: *Urk.* IV, 25.2; Tetisheri: *Urk.* IV, 26.7; Hatshepsut: *Urk.* IV, 243.10 (restored), 244.3, 257.6 (), 260.5 (), 271.1, 369.13 (), 370.13, 391.14, 396.6, 396.16, 398.4, 405.9, 414.1, 464.7, 467.9; Neferure: *Urk.* IV, 391.14, 396.16, 467.9; Nofertari: Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968, pls. 47, 53, 57, 94, 96, 116. A single example from a stela of Thutmose III and Queen Satioh has the form  (*ʿnḫ.tỉt*) after her name (*Urk.* IV, 764.10). The second *-t* after the Old Perfective ending can only be explained as a meaningless proliferation of the feminine ending (see Fischer 1977: 97, n. 257).

143. *Urk.* IV, 259.3, 307.4, 361.5, 429.14, 439.15.

144. For example, contrast the presence and absence of the feminine ending *-t* in the phrase *dỉ ʿnḫ*. For examples with feminine ending, see Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 23, no. 137; *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 115; for examples without final feminine ending, see Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 2, nos. 58, 167, 173, 216.

145. For this formula, see Leahy 1987: 57–64; Castle 1993.

146. *LD* III, pl. 57b (Thutmose II). This form is far more common in conjunction with the *ỉr.n.f m mnw.f* formula than in the context of the dedication of an offering. For examples, see Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pl. 10, A1, B2; *Abydos* IV, pl. 55D (feminine); *Urk.* IV, 213.15 (partially restored), 294.15 (restored), 816.4, 816.16, 821.14 (the latter are both in plural form and partially restored); Leahy 1989: 59 ff.

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the masculine form of *dỉ* in *ỉr.s n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* with a female donor and male recipient (attested at the end of a *ỉr.n.s m mnw.s* formula at Deir el-Bahari [*Urk.* IV, 294.15]) suggests that here *dỉ* agrees with the deity who has given life rather than with the donor. Hence the form must be regarded as be a perfective active participle rather than a passive participle.

Variant 2. *ỉr n dỉ ꜥnḫ*

[Presenting X to DN] "it (the offering) is done for the one who has given life."

This form appears twice on an Eighteenth Dynasty stela[147] and several times in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu;[148] it must be translated as a perfective active participle ("it is done for the one who has given life"), rather than a perfective passive participle ("it is done for the one who has been given life") because it is clear from the first elements of the dedication (presenting X to Y) that the offering is given to the god, not to the king. In this context, a god is not one who is "given life." The use of the perfective active participle *dỉ* in this formula is also confirmed by an example used with a female donor (a queen of Thutmose III) and male divine recipient.[149] In that example, the verb *dỉ* appears without any feminine ending, suggesting that the verb refers to the male divine recipient. Thus the verb must be an active rather than passive participle because the passive form should, in its agreement with the feminine donor, have a final *-t*.[150]

Variant 3. *ỉr n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ*

[Presenting X to DN] "it (the offering) is done for him who has given life."[151]

In a fashion similar to the preceding example, taking the verb as a passive participle "it is done for him, who has been given life" would suggest that the offering is for the benefit of the king (who has been given life) rather than for the god who has given life to the donor. *ỉr n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* is attested once in the Middle Kingdom. It is again employed in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fischer 1977: 103, no. 281) and is common in the reliefs of Ramesses IV in the Temple of Khonsu. It continues to be used through the Late period.[152]

One might suggest that the form incorporates a *sḏm.n.f* form: *ỉr.n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* "he has achieved a given life(?)." However, scenes in the Temple of Khonsu that incorporate a female recipient employ the form *ỉr n.s dỉ ꜥnḫ*.[153] In this case, the *n* + suffix must be a dative "for her" because if one were to take it as a *sḏm.n.f*, the formula would have to be rendered "she (the goddess) has made a given life(?)." However, in the period under discussion the gods do not make life for themselves but rather for the donor. Another objection to the verb being a *sḏm.n.f* is the existence of the form *ỉr n dỉ ꜥnḫ* ("it is done for the one who has given life"), which simply omits the suffix after *n*. The ability of the formula to be used without an expressed subject suggests that the suffix after *n* is the direct object rather than the subject of the verb *ỉr*. Hence the suffix could be omitted without changing the meaning of the formula because the suffix served as the antecedent of the participle *dỉ* rather than as the subject of *ỉr*.

Secondly, the parsing *ỉr n.s/f* is favored over *ỉr.n.s/f* because at the Hibis Temple the formula occurs in the context of direct discourse in speeches of deities, preceded by *ḏd mdw ỉn ...*.[154] In such cases, the passive *sḏm.f* allows for better coordination between the formula and its context, e.g., "Words said by (DN), 'It (the offering) is done for him who has given life (to the king).'" This translation indicates that the king offers to the deity, and that the deity acknowledges not only that the offering is being made, but that it is being made because of the initial gift of life from god to donor.

147. *Urk.* IV, 764.11; see Lacau 1909: 27–28 for two attestations on this same stela (referred to in Fischer 1977: 103, n. 280).

148. Fischer 1977: 103, no. 280; *MH* V, pl. 275C (top); *MH* VI, pl. 434C. Note that Fischer's reference *MH* V, pl. 280C (bottom), is *ỉr.s dỉ ꜥnḫ* rather than *ỉr n dỉ ꜥnḫ*.

149. *Urk.* IV, 764.11 (Satioh).

150. Given, however, that the addition or omission of the feminine ending on the verb *dỉ* in these formulas is irregular.

151. Add A27 and *Abydos* IV, pl. 74 (north side), to examples given by Fischer 1977: 103, no. 281. Note that CG 34013 is *Urk.* IV, 764.8, 14.

152. Naos of Nectanebo (CG 70018) pictured in Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 257.

153. *Khonsu* II, pl. 164; loc. KM 360 (Ramesses IV).

154. Norman de Garis Davies 1953, pls. 8–9, 14, 59, passim.

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Variant 4a. *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* (in the Ramesside period)

[Presenting X to DN] "in order that he (the god) may act, (he) who has given life."

This variant is found during the Ramesside period when the subject of *ỉr* is the divine recipient. Here, the king offers to the god who has given him the initial gift of life. Scenes that incorporate a female recipient take the form *ỉr.s dỉ ʿnḫ*.[155]

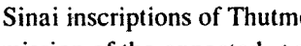
Variant 4b. *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* (in the pre- and post-Ramesside periods)

[Presenting X to DN] "hereby he (the donor) acts (for him [the god]) who has given life."

This variant is found during the pre- and post-Ramesside periods when the subject of *ỉr* agrees with the donor of the offering. With a feminine donor the form is *ỉr.s dỉ ʿnḫ*.[156] The translation is based upon the suggestion that the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* and its feminine form is an abbreviation of *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* with the dative expression omitted.[157] Although, as already discussed, there are difficulties with the consistency of the expression of feminine endings; the equality of the longer and short formulas is suggested by examples that employ a female donor and male recipient in the Eighteenth Dynasty and Third Intermediate Period. In such examples the participle *dỉ* in *ỉr.s dỉ ʿnḫ* omits the feminine ending, suggesting that its antecedent is masculine, namely the *f* of the omitted dative phrase *n.f*.

Treating the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* as an abbreviation of the longer *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* allows one to eliminate the possibility of the verb being a perfective passive participle ("hereby he [the donor] acts for him (the god), who has been given life"), because again, such a translation indicates that the god was given life by the king. So, too, the possibility of the form being a perfective passive participle with the meaning "he (the donor) acts for him(self), namely the king who has been given life" can be eliminated by the form *ỉr.s n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* (*Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. 27). Although, as noted, there are difficulties with the irregular use of feminine endings that are expected in such formulas, the masculine form of *dỉ* suggests that it refers to the *f* in the dative expression and that the formula should then be translated with a perfective active participle: "she (the donor) acts for him (the god) who has given life." Hence, the verb in the masculine and feminine forms of *ỉr.f/s n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* must be considered to be a perfective active participle: "hereby he/she (the donor) acts for him (the god) who has given life (to the donor)."

Although the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* is an abbreviation of the longer *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula, *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* is a far more common form. There are difficulties in producing an accurate translation of the short form that expresses the perfective active participle. Because unless one acknowledges the omitted dative that allows for a smooth English rendering, one is forced to translate the verb in the short form (*ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*) as a perfective passive participle ("hereby he acts, the one who has been given life") in order to indicate clearly that the king is the recipient rather than the donor of life.

A scene from Sinai inscriptions of Thutmose III appears as  (Gardiner and Peet 1917, pl. 59, n. 189). The omission of the expected *-t* after the infinitive form of the verb *dỉ* in the dedication as well as the lack of attestations for *ỉr dỉ ʿnḫ* suggest strongly that the inscription should be emended to the conventional formula *dỉ*[*t*] *ḳbḥw ỉr.*[*f*] *dỉ ʿnḫ*.

Variant 5. *ỉr n.f m dỉ ʿnḫ*

[Presenting X to Y] "it (the offering) is done for him (the god) as the one who has given life."[158]

This unusual variation in the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula is attested only three times, exclusively in the Temple of Ramesses II at Beit el-Wali. The translation employing a perfective active participle emphasizes the be-

155. OIP 106, pl. 208; *MH* V, pls. 280C (bottom), 294A; *Khonsu* II, pl. 158. Note that none of these examples show the expected feminine ending on *dỉ* (*dỉt*). However, as shown above, the feminine ending is rarely expressed in these formulas.

156. For Hatshepsut, see Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pls. 2, nos. 32, 306; 3, no. 125; 8, nos. 293 (twice), 312; 13, no. 222; 14, no. 150 (twice); 15, nos. 163, 308; 21, nos. 174, 193. For God's Wives, see loc. MHC 3, 203, 213; loc. KH 136, 173, 230, 234, 254. Note that these examples depict a female donor offering to a male deity, hence *dỉ* is the masculine perfective active participle "who has given life." Examples of a female offering to a goddess accompanied by the formula in the eras before and after the Ramesside period are wanting.

157. See above and Leahy 1989: 59.

158. Other translations of this formula are less specific about its theological context, e.g., *Beit el-Wali*, 26 (pl. 31B), 27 (pl. 32C, F): "It is done for him (the god) as one given life." Here, it is unclear if it is meant that the king has given life

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lief that the god has given life and that the donor acts for the one who has given that basic gift. It cannot be rendered by means of a perfective passive participle without indicating that the god is one "who has been given life," which is not the case in the offering scenes.

One might suggest that *dỉ* is an Old Perfective ("it is done for him as one given life"). An objection to this is that *m* + Old Perfective is a suspect construction, which is more likely to be expressed by means of *nty* + Old Perfective (GEG[3] §328) or more commonly by the use of *m* + perfective passive participle.

One might also suggest that the phrase is to be parsed as *ỉr.n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* employing a *sḏm.n.f* form, "he (the king)[159] has acted as one who has been given life" (taking the *dỉ* as a perfective passive participle). Although this is a possible translation, because neither the theological content nor the grammar make it impossible, it is perhaps better to take the phrase as *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* for several reasons. First, no other variations of the *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* employ a *sḏm.n.f* form.[160]

Secondly, if the Beit el-Wali formula, specifically the one example that is preceded by a full dedication (*ḥnk Mꜣꜥt n ỉt.f* "presenting Maat to his father"; *Beit el-Wali*, pl. 32C) were translated as a *sḏm.n.f*, it would be rendered "presenting Maat to his father, he (the king) has acted, being the one who has been given life." This translation seems redundant, especially in comparison to the forms that employ the circumstantial "he hereby acts (for him, the god) who has given life" (variant 4b).

The same objection is valid for one of the other versions of this formula at Beit el-Wali: *ỉrt Mꜣꜥt ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* (B14), which if a *sḏm.n.f* would be translated "Presenting (*ỉrt*) Maat, he (the king) has acted as one who has been given life." The third example from the temple lacks any dedication before the *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* (ibid., pl. 32F) and therefore no conclusions can be drawn concerning the coordination between the dedication and the *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* formula.

Taking the form as a *sḏm.n.f* rather than as the passive *sḏm.f* + dative *n.f* could also be objected to upon the grounds that such parsing results in the omission of any mention of the god and thus is in marked contrast to the other Ramesside forms that refer to the god by means of a pronoun: *ỉr.f n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* "hereby he acts for him (the god) who has given life" (variant 1), *ỉr n.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* "it is done for him (the god) who has given life" (variant 3), *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* "in order that he (the god) may act, (he) who has given life ..." (variant 4a), or by means of the participle *ỉr n dỉ ꜥnḫ* "it is done for the one (the god) who has given life" (variant 2).

The other two examples of *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* from Beit el-Wali that lack any indication of the name or title of the divine recipient in the dedication[161] could indicate that indeed the *n.f* is to be viewed as a dative expression which supplies a specific reference to the god. If one were to take the *n.f* in the Beit el-Wali formula (*ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ*) as the dative, [it is done] "for him" (i.e., the god), rather than as the past tense verb ending ("he has acted"), the Beit el-Wali formula could be regarded as having the components of the other variations of the *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ*, mainly, an indication of the action ("it is done") and for whom the action is intended ("for him"). The dative expression then serves as a specific reference to the divine member of the offering ritual.

Although it is possible to view the Beit el-Wali formula as incorporating a *sḏm.n.f* form, a comparison of this formula to the other variations suggests that it more properly should be parsed as *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ*.

SUMMARY

The discussion (above) of the various forms of the phrase *ỉr.f dỉ ꜥnḫ* indicates that in all of the variation of the formula, the verb *dỉ* is a perfective active participle and that the perfective active participle was not, as suggested by Fischer, restricted to a certain time period.[162]

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to the god or if the king has been given life by the god. See also Fischer 1977: 103: "It is done for him as the one who gives life." Here, the god is the one who gives life to the king.

159. The suffix following the verb *ỉr* refers to the king and not to the divine recipient in the reliefs of Ramesses II.

160. Granted, there are exceptions in the form employed for the more normal *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* of the god's recitation, however, these are Late Egyptian equivalents of the monumental Middle Egyptian forms (see *Anomalous Forms*, below, for such exceptions).

161. *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 31B (= B14): *ỉrt Mꜣꜥt ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* "presenting Maat, it is done for him (the god) as one who has given life"; 32F (without introductory dedication): *ỉr n.f m dỉ ꜥnḫ* "it is done for him (the god) who has given life."

162. See Fischer 1977: 103–06 for the suggestion that the formula employed the perfective passive participles until the Ramesside period and the active participle in the Ramesside era.

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As has been seen with this reinterpretation of the phrase, the Eighteenth Dynasty forms refer to the king as the subject of *ỉr* and the action and role of the king is explicitly mentioned in the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula. In the Ramesside period, references to the action of the king are replaced by emphasis upon the activity of the god. The phrase appears most commonly as "in order that he (the god) may act, he who has given life (to the donor)," with the variations *ỉr n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* "it is done for him who has given life" and *ỉr n.f m dỉ ʿnḫ* "it is done for him as one who has given life (to the donor)." All Ramesside examples eliminate any mention of the king as the instigator of action that results in either the god giving life to the king or the king being given life. No longer does the king's action produce "given life." Rather, in the Ramesside period, in the context of the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula, the king is merely a recipient of life from the gods. All emphasis is placed upon the god's ability to make life for the king. It is tempting to interpret the Eighteenth Dynasty form *ỉr n.f dỉ ʿnḫ* "It is done for him who has given life" and the Ramesside variation *ỉr n dỉ ʿnḫ* "it is done for the one who has given life" as attempts to express more deliberately the changing emphasis of the formula. These two variations of the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* may indeed be viewed as transitional phrases that do not yet reflect the Ramesside meaning that the god is the subject of the verb *ỉr*.[163] The theological implications of this change are discussed in *Chapter 6*.

THE RECITATION OF THE GODS

The recipient and attendants in scenes of the presentation of Maat or of other offerings are very frequently accompanied by a recitation introduced by the *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* formula. Generally there is very little difference in the form and content of any of these brief inscriptions, although that of the attendant behind the king may be a more elaborate commentary upon the proceedings (A13).

THE *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* FORMULA

In scenes of the presentation of Maat, this first portion of the recitation, with few exceptions, appears in the *sḏm.n.f* form.[164] The use of the normally perfect form has sparked considerable discussion of its function in the context of offering scenes. Gunn and Gardiner, and more recently Helck and others,[165] take this form to be a synchronous present tense, assuming that the action of the recipient is present, relative to the action of the donor. This analysis of the verb form as a synchronous present has long been subjected to scrutiny.[166] Wente, in agreement with Edel, takes it as a perfect, implying that the action of the god is anterior to that of the donation.[167] More recently, this form has been the subject of analysis by Žabkar and Vernus.

Žabkar's (1981: 141–71) study focuses upon the *sḏm.n.f* and its alternation with the *sḏm.f*, particularly in the context of the solar hymns published by Assmann (1969; 1975).[168] Whereas Žabkar (1981) concludes that the *sḏm.n.f* in the solar hymns is the nominal form which serves to emphasize a following circumstantial *sḏm.f*,[169] he believes that the *sḏm.n.f* form in the context of the *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* formula seems to emphasize "the enduring action completed in the past, an action by which the jubilees, as well as many other benefits were bestowed upon the king from the very beginning of his reign" (ibid., pp. 171, 169).[170]

163. The two forms are used in parallelism on CG 34013 in offering scenes of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV, 764.8, 14: *ỉr n.f dỉ ʿnḫ*; 764.11: *ỉr n dỉ ʿnḫ*).

164. For such exceptions, see *Anomalous Forms*, below.

165. GEG[3] §414.5; Gunn 1924: 69–74; Brunner 1960: 77–78; Lefebvre 1955, §279; Helck 1968: 15–19, 21–23. Gunn recognizes the perfect connotation and Gardiner tends to translate the form primarily as a present. See also Wente 1971: 316.

166. See, for example, Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 4, no. 13a: "We have here retained the traditional tense rendering of the *sḏm.n.f*, because one of us feels that the Egyptians intended a past tense with these words." See also Assmann 1969: 292 ff.; Ray 1972: 252; Žabkar 1981: 168–71, especially p. 168 for a brief bibliography of the question of the so-called synchronous present.

167. *Beit el-Wali*, 31, note d to plate 41B; Wente 1971: 316; Edel 1955/64, §539. For present perfect, see Junge 1970: 18–20; for "true past," see Hornung 1982: 204, no. 30; for (doubts about) synchronous present, see Vernus 1980: 121, n. 21; idem 1984a: 159 ff. See also Allen 1984, §401 ff.; Perdu 1978: 104.

168. See also footnote 171, below.

169. Ray (1972: 252) and Piccione (1980: 106) suggest that it is a nominal form. In contrast, Assmann (1969: 356) concludes that the intransitive *sḏm.f* and the transitive *sḏm.n.f* indicate contemporaneity ("Gleichzeitigkeit"). For a summary of Assmann's argument, see Žabkar 1981: 145–47.

170. But see Žabkar's (1981: 170) curious comment that "This response is expressed in a general, stereotyped, endlessly repeated, but nevertheless emphatic *sḏm.n.f* form." The use of the term "response" suggests that the action conveyed by the *sḏm.n.f* is posterior to any other action in the offering scene. However, Žabkar's thesis is that action expressed in the *sḏm.n.f* occurred before (past tense) the other actions of such scenes.

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Vernus' (1985: 307–16, 378–82) analysis relies upon a synthesis of the grammatical construction and the actions depicted in the scene. He terms the *sḏm.n.f* form used in the offering scenes "ritual" or "performative" and attempts to demonstrate how the phrase is related to the scene not in tense, but in aspect, conveying the sense of *accompli*.

Vernus (1985: 307–16, 378–82), to a greater degree than Žabkar (1981: 169–70), emphasizes a very basic feature of the offering scenes, namely, that the action described in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula is only peripherally, if at all, related to the action of the god.[171] Indeed, in these ritual scenes, the god stands or is seated stiffly before the donor. He or she is not shown presenting the boon to which the formula refers. This discrepancy between the iconography and the verbal expression mitigates heavily against Gunn and Gardiner's synchronous present.

According to Vernus' (1985: 312–13) conclusions, in the context of the offering scenes, this "ritual" or "performative" functions without regard for the temporal context of the donation;[172] the gods have given; their action is *accompli* and it is remote from the offering of the king. Therefore, the recipient is shown in an inactive pose because his donation has already been accomplished. He suggests that the *sḏm.n.f* form in this context conveys that the action is "past in regard to the moment of speaking, but that this fact is definitely established ..." (ibid., p. 312).

Žabkar (1981: 171) and Wente (1971: 316; *Beit el-Wali*, pl. 31, n. d to pl. 41B) propose, upon different grounds, that the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* in such a use refers to an action that occurred prior to the king's offering activity. In the context of the offering scenes, in which there is no correspondence between the iconography and the inscription, this makes good sense because according to Wente and Žabkar, in such scenes the god's donation expressed in the *sḏm.n.f* occurred before the offering of the king, which is the focus of the ritual representation. Žabkar does allow that the two activities are related; it is because the god has given life that the king is able to offer to the gods. As Hornung (1982: 203) indicates, there is no reason to assume that the offering is a "tribute demanded from him" but rather that the action of the king is an act of piety.[173]

In summary, the *sḏm.n.f* form employed in the recitation of the recipient is the nominal *sḏm.n.f*. The prepositional phrase *n.k* "to you" serves as the adverbial adjunct of the nominal; hence *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿnḫ nb* "It is to you that I have given all life." The perfect tense nominal *sḏm.n.f* form is employed in the context of offering scenes because it clearly indicates that the activity of the god precedes any ritual action of the donor,[174] and it stresses the relationship of the god and king through the emphasis placed upon the adverbial adjunct *n.k* "it is to you."

The use of the perfect in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k.* formula creates a good correspondence between the inscription and the iconography. The god sits motionless, because as expressed through the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula, the action referred to has already taken place. Wente and Žabkar's perfect "I have given" indicates that the gods have performed their action before the king makes his donation to the deity.

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171. Žabkar discusses the coordination of inscription with iconography primarily in connection with the use of the *sḏm.f* in ritual scenes.

172. However, Vernus (1985: 312 ff.) attempts to support his position with a text of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (*Urk.* IV, 300.1–9). In his discussion, he contrasts a series of what he takes to be *sḏm.f* forms to *sḏm.n.f* forms. However, as pointed out by Edward Wente (pers. comm.), the supposed *sḏm.f* forms are feminine perfective active participles (*Urk.* IV, 2–6), which is confirmed by line 6 of that text: *ỉrt mrrt m ỉrt n nbt nfrt wʿbt* ... "who has done what [I] desire, in making every good and pure thing ..." (translated by Vernus as "thus makest what I love, in making for me every good and pure thing ..."). Here, *ỉrt* cannot be a nominal *sḏm.f* (*ỉr.t*) as Vernus suggests because in the text the verb displays no gemination and thus it must be a perfective active participle. In turn, the verbs that precede it are better taken as perfective active participles than nominal *sḏm.f* forms. The same problem with identifying participles as supposed nominal *sḏm.f* forms is also encountered with Vernus' (1985: 312–13) analysis of the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut (*Urk.* IV, 290.1–9).

173. For more on the relationship of the action of god and king, see *General Conclusions*, below.

174. Poo's (1984: 160, 163) comments that "the king's blessings and gifts ... were commonly expected of the deities in reaction to an offering," which is similar both to Nelson's "He (the king) receives from Amun those blessings ... in reward for his pious acts" (1949: 344) and to Björkman's "That this grant [life] is made in return for what the king has done ..." (1971: 39–40). However, it is not clear from Björkman's discussion whether she is referring to the gift of *ʿnḫ* in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula (which is anterior to the donation of the king) or in the *ỉr.f dì ʿnḫ* (which is a result of the king's action). Frandsen (1989: 95, 100, 104) and Smith (1994: 79) more clearly express the idea that the donation of the god is made in response to the action of the donor rather than, as suggested in this work, prior to that action.

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THE USE OF THE *sḏm.f* FORM IN THE RECITATION OF THE GODS

Although the *sḏm.n.f* is the nearly universally employed form in the recitation of the divine recipient and attendants, there are infrequent occurrences of the *sḏm.f* form.[175]

In certain scenes, the *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* occur in the same relief as apparent variations in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula,[176] while in other scenes the *sḏm.f* is employed in place of the usual *sḏm.n.f*. This alternation of forms could be due to a desire to avoid the repetition of like consonantal signs; hence *dì(.ì) n.k ...* for *dì(.n.ì) n.k* (GEG[3] §62). However, this possibility is made unlikely by the alternation of the *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* forms of verbs, such as *ìì.ì* and *ìì.n.ì*, wherein two forms are clearly differentiated (Wente 1969: 12–13).

The use of the *sḏm.f* in parallelism to the *sḏm.n.f* form would formerly have been explained through the "synchronous present," assuming that the two forms were identical and both expressed the present tense. More recently, Wente and Žabkar have addressed the use of the *sḏm.f* where one might otherwise expect the *sḏm.n.f*. In his treatment of the *sḏm.n.f* form in religious hymns, Žabkar (1981: 171) concludes that the *sḏm.f*, which he takes as a "synchronous *sḏm.f*," describes the simultaneous action depicted in the scene and the narration, and the *sḏm.n.f* form, which is an emphatic form, stresses the "enduring effect of an action completed in the past."

Wente (1969: 11–13) cites a number of examples of the alternation of the two verb forms, culled primarily from Ramesside period sources. He concludes that examples of the *sḏm.f* form of verbs of motion are the Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f*, which as the equivalent of the Middle Egyptian nominal *sḏm.n.f* of verbs of motion is interchangeable with the earlier form.[177]

Examples of the *sḏm.f* used where one might expect the *sḏm.n.f* can be grouped into two different categories; those which demonstrate Žabkar's use of the circumstantial *sḏm.f* in place of the *sḏm.n.f*, and those in which the verb is Wente's Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f*.[178] As indicated by Žabkar (1981: 169–70), the two different uses are often distinguished by the relationship of the inscription to the relief. The circumstantial narrates action that is depicted in the scene, whereas the Late Egyptian nominal is unrelated to the action of the offering's recipients.[179]

An example of the use of the circumstantial *sḏm.f* in direct opposition to the *sḏm.n.f* appears in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formulas on a double scene in an architrave at Medinet Habu (*MH* VI, pl. 389A).[180] Both vignettes portray Amun-Re offering an *ꜥnḫ* to the nose of the Horus falcon hieroglyph that begins the writing of the full titulary of Ramesses III. On the right side of the scene, the *sḏm.n.f* form is employed: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḥbw-sd mì Rꜥ* "I have given to you jubilees like Re." To the right, Amun's recitation employs the *sḏm.f* form: *dì.ì ꜥnḫ wꜣs r fnd.k nb tꜣwy mrr Rꜥ* "I hereby give life and dominion to your nose, oh Lord of the Two Lands, you who love Re." The *sḏm.f* which here is a circumstantial form correctly narrates the actions of the god who holds an *ꜥnḫ* and *wꜣs*. This form is in contrast to that of the opposite side which employs the nominal *sḏm.n.f* in reference to jubilees, which have no corresponding representation in the scene.[181] As Žabkar (1981: 171) notes, the circumstantial *sḏm.f* is employed to stress the "simultaneity of Amun's word and his gesture" and the nominal stresses "the enduring effect of an action completed in the past."

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175. With the presentation of Maat, see plate 17 (B29, Shoshenq III); with the name as Maat, see F1 (Temple of Seti I at Kanais). For examples with the offering of other items, in addition to those discussed in this section, see *MH* III, pl. 139; Žabkar 1981: 168–71. An example from the time of Hatshepsut occurs in her chapel at Speos Artemidos (*LD* III, pl. 26.7), in which the Ennead hold forth *ꜥnḫ*-signs and intone *dì.f* DN or *dì.n.f* DN.

176. For examples culled from Assmann 1969 and 1975, see Žabkar 1981: 160 ff. Also see the alternation of *dì.f* and *dì.n.f* in the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut (*LD* III, pl. 26.7).

177. For the suggestion that a passage might be restored as either *dì.n(.ì).k* or *dì(.ì) n.k*, see *Khonsu* II, 58, note c to pl. 185; for the use of classical and Late Egyptian forms at Medinet Habu, see Piccione 1980: 103–08; for the morphology of the emphatic *sḏm.n.f* as the form *rdì.n.ì*, see the comments of Polotsky in Vernus 1985: 380.

178. This, of course, assumes that none of the inscriptions are in error, with the second *n* hieroglyph being inadvertently omitted.

179. Note that here is no differentiation between the writing of the nominal and circumstantial forms in the offering inscriptions. Although  is the most common form,  is also employed.

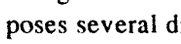
180. Cited by Žabkar (1981: 170) in contrast to his comment that "this [use of the *sḏm.f* in place of the usual *sḏm.n.f*] occurs only in the legends of the later Ptolemaic and Roman period ..." (ibid., p. 169).

181. This scene has many iconographic irregularities. One might argue that this is not an offering scene since here the god offers rather than is being offered to. Essentially, the roles of donor and recipient are reversed. The god as donor is usually restricted to the awarding of scepters, crowns, or other ritual regalia.

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Another example of the circumstantial *sḏm.f* appearing in place of the usual *sḏm.n.f* is inside room 2 off the Ambulatory of the Temple of Khonsu (A26). There Nekhbet, standing behind Ramesses IV, holds the year-rib hieroglyph that is decorated with *heb-sed* signs. The inscription reads *dì.s ḥbw-sd* "She hereby gives jubilees." As on the left side of the Medinet Habu architrave, the inscription at the Temple of Khonsu directly relates to action portrayed in the scene and hence is the circumstantial rather than the Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f*.

As mentioned above, the second use of the *sḏm.f* as the Late Egyptian nominal can be distinguished from the first use of the *sḏm.f* by the lack of any correlation between the inscription and the scene which it narrates. Several examples of the Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f*, which is translated as a perfect active in offering formulas, occur in the reliefs in the Temple of Seti I at Kanais.[182] Although the *sḏm.n.f* form is employed elsewhere on the monument in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula, a dedication inscription on the back of a pillar appears as *dì(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿw.f m nb tȝwy* "I have given to you his lifetime as Lord of the Two Lands."[183] Here, the inscription does not occur in the context of a pictorial relief but rather is a statement that the grant was given and therefore is framed in the Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f*, which could be confirmed by parallel texts (in the same hallway) that employ the Middle Egyptian equivalent, i.e., the nominal *sḏm.n.f*.[184] Another such example from the same monument occurs in conjunction with the presentation of wine: *dì.ì n.k ʿḥʿw n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾItm* ... "I have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum."[185] A parallel inscription on the opposite wall employs the Middle Egyptian nominal *sḏm.n.f* form: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿw n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾItm* "I have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum," as the king adores the god.[186] Another example of the use of the Late Egyptian form occurs on a monument at Medinet Habu, the inscriptions on which bear other traces of the later stages of grammar mixed with the classical forms (Wente 1969: 11–14). This scene on the exterior south wall below the calendar depicts the king "recounting his benefactions" to Amun and Mut. Behind the recipients stand Khonsu and Maat (*MH* III, pl. 136). Two examples of the Late Egyptian nominal form are employed in the recitations of the gods in this scene. In the first example, the text associated with Khonsu must be interpreted as the Late Egyptian nominal, which is made evident not only by the type of gift that he gives (the temple itself), which has no correlation to the image, but perhaps also through the following Old Perfective that qualifies the temple: *dì.ì ḥwt.k mn.tì mì pt* ... . Here, the nominal emphasizes the adverbial phrase which follows: "It is like heaven that I have caused your temple to be established ... ." This statement is paralleled in the same scene by the recitation of Maat that also employs the Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f* form: *smn.ì n.k ḥpw n rn.ì r shtp ìb n nṯrw* ... "It is in order to satisfy the heart(s) of the gods that I have established for you laws in (*n*) my name."[187]

A more problematic example of the use of the *sḏm.f* in an offering scene occurs in the Hall of the Temple of Seti I at Kanais, in which the king is portrayed offering Maat to Amun-Re who holds *ʿnḫ-* and *wȝs*-emblems in his hands (A5).[188] The recitation of the god poses several difficulties ().[189] Because the action of the god does correspond to the inscription, the *dì.ì n.k ʿnḫ wȝs* could be the circumstantial *sḏm.f*: "I hereby give to you life and dominion." The first phrase poses more difficulties because it can parsed as *ìr.n.k* or as *ìr(.ì) n.k* with decidedly different implications for its meaning. If one were to take the phrase as the nominal *sḏm.n.f*, emphasizing the following subjunctive, the sentence would be rendered as "It is in order that I shall give you life and dominion that you (the donor) have acted." An objection to this translation is that the rendering indicates that the god's grant of life follows the activity of the donor. It seems unlikely that this one inscription would express a completely different sequence within the offering ritual.

182. Weigall 1908: 78 (east wall, second scene), 81 (back of columns in hall).

183. Weigall 1908: 81 (backs of columns in Hall, right-hand line; east wall of hall, second scene).

184. Weigall 1908: 81 (backs of columns; first east, second east, first west).

185. Weigall 1908: 78 (east wall, second scene).

186. Weigall 1908: 79 (west wall, second scene).

187. Another example of the use of the Late Egyptian nominal occurs at Luxor Temple (F5, recitation of Mut).

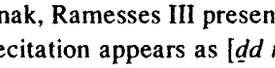
188. Oriental Institute negative no. 3786 (photograph no. 28527) in which only the left-hand side of the scene, with the donor and the legs of the god, is shown. However, it is clear that the god is seated and is not portrayed actively giving the emblems to Seti but rather holding them. The scene is unpublished.

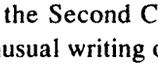
189. Weigall 1908: 78, with text (east wall, third scene); Gauthier 1920: 22, with comments, but without full text; partially visible on Oriental Institute negative no. 3786 (photograph no. 28527).

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If one were to parse the phrase as *ỉr(.ỉ) n.k*, namely taking the phrase as the Late Egyptian nominal *sḏm.f*, followed by an emphasized subjunctive, the result would be: "It is in order that I shall give to you life and dominion that I have acted for you." In such a translation, the god alludes to the initial donation, *ỉr(.ỉ) n.k* "I have acted for you" and then, in the subjunctive form that serves as the emphasized adjunct, promises the future gift of life and dominion, namely the hieroglyphs that he holds before the donor. This second and preferable rendering of the passage brings it into accordance with the huge corpus of inscriptions which indicate that the god has made the initial donation, which in turn makes the subsequent action of the donor possible.

ANOMALOUS FORMS

Two scenes of Ramesses III employ an anomalous form of the verb in the god's recitation. In a scene in his temple at Karnak, Ramesses III presents a rebus of his prenomen to Ptah and Sekhmet acts as attendant to the god. Her recitation appears as [*ḏd mdw ỉn Sḫmt*] *dỉ Sḫmt ḥḥt r ḫftyw.k*  (F11). The form of the pronoun after the verb could be an unusual writing of the first person feminine singular suffix, which is suggested by such a writing of the first person singular feminine suffix  in a passage from the Gurob Papyrus (Gardiner 1940: 14.6; E. F. Wente, pers. comm.), and its variant, simply  , in a hymn in the tomb of Thothemheb (Assmann 1978: 30h). Hence, the *-t* following *ḥḥ* must be a writing of the first person singular and the recitation could then be interpreted as *dỉ.ỉ ḥḥ.ỉ r ḫftyw.k*.[190] The recitations of the other divine attendants in the offering scenes shown in conjunction with that showing the presentation of the prenomen are phrased in the *sḏm.n.f* form (*RIK* II, pl. 99A–C), and therefore the *dỉ.ỉ* of Sekhmet could be the equivalent, the Late Egyptian perfect: "Words said by great Sekhmet, beloved of Ptah, 'I have set my fiery blast against your enemies.'"

The second passage in the Second Court at Medinet Habu that depicts the king presenting a *šbt* to Sekhmet also displays an unusual writing of the suffix pronoun after the verb *dỉ*,  .[191] On the basis of the writing of the first person singular in the Karnak inscription of Ramesses III and in the Gurob papyrus, one might suggest that in the Medinet Habu inscription, the  following the verb is a writing of the Late Egyptian third person singular feminine suffix pronoun  (*.s*)[192] with the signs transposed: *dỉ.s snb ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs nb*. Another solution to the reading of this passage is to take the bread loaf *-t* as an element in the writing of *dỉ*  ,[193] followed by the conventional orthography of the third person feminine suffix. An additional difficulty with this passage is posed by the use of the third person rather than the first person which is required for the direct discourse expected after *ḏd mdw ỉn*. A possible explanation is that the recitation of the goddess has simply been omitted. Examples of such an omission are attested elsewhere at Medinet Habu, in the Beit el-Wali Temple, and in the royal tombs at Luxor.[194] If so, the verb might be taken as a circumstantial and hence the Medinet Habu passage would be rendered "Words said by great Sekhmet, beloved of Ptah ... (recitation omitted) ... as she gives all health, life, stability, and dominion."

THE GODS' DONATION

The gods grant a great variety of material and spiritual virtues to the donor of Maat. These include: power (*ḳn* or *nḫt*), eternity (*ḏt*, *nḥḥ*), kingship in the aspect of certain other gods (*nsyt n Rʿ nsyt ỉtm*, etc.), the lifetime of Re (*ʿḥʿ n Rʿ*), strength (*pḥty*), the two lands, years, various types of provisions (*dfȝw*, *ḥtpw*), truth of kingship (*mȝʿt m nsyt*), the throne or seat of various gods, jubilees, and combinations of *ʿnḫ*, *ḏd*, *wȝs*, and *snb nb*. Clearly all of these are attributes or possessions of a good king. A difficulty in the interpretation of the relationship of these donations to the presentation of Maat lies in the fact that these same boons are also granted to the king in scenes of more mundane and routine donations such as flowers or

190. For the transliteration *.ỉ* of the first person suffix written , see the transliterations of the third person Late Egyptian suffixes (*.s*) and (*.f*) in Černý and Groll 1975: 27 (§2.4.1).

191. *MH* V, pl. 263A (top); see Handoussa 1979: 68, no. 28.

192. Černý and Groll 1975: 27 (§2.4.1); Erman 1933, §§70–71.

193. Behnke 1930: 40; Frandsen 1974, §2.

194. *MH* V, pl. 271A (top); *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 34A–B, 41A–B (it might be expected that the speech of the goddess would be preceded by the *ḏd mdw ỉn* formula). See also Lorton 1988: 90 and his comments about Abitz' treatment of such omissions in the royal tomb texts.

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wine.[195] Further, a particular quality or virtue granted is not associated with a particular time period or reign; for example, in the sixty-eight scenes of the presentation of Maat at Medinet Habu, the following distribution is seen:[196] twelve examples of jubilees;[197] six examples of life, dominion (and variants);[198] eight examples of the lifetime of Re;[199] five examples of all lands (or the two lands);[200] and three examples of power (*kn* or *phty*).[201]

The recitation of the gods in scenes of the God's Wives of Amun's dedication of Maat (class K) shows the following variation: A scene of Amunirdis I, one of the God's Wives, is in conjunction with the god's donation of the lifetime of Re and the kingship of Atum (K3), which is a common recitation in scenes of the royal donation of Maat. Amunirdis II is granted the thrones of Tefnut and Wadjyet (K7).[202] The most common recitation among the God's Wives is some combination of *w3s ʿnḫ* (K4, 6–7, 10).[203]

In summary, although all of the virtues granted by the gods to whom the offering of Maat is made are related to ideals of kingship, none of the items named in the god's recitation are exclusively linked with the presentation of Maat.

GRANTS BY ATTENDANTS

In some scenes, Maat is presented to the gods in the presence of another figure who is differentiated from the other attendants by his or her position behind the donor.[204] With the exception of some examples of classes K and O, all these figures who act as attendants to the king are deities.[205]

The recitation of the attendant behind the king is not appreciably different from that of the attendants on the other side of the king. The formula most often takes the form *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* and, like the recitations already discussed, promises various kingly attributes and virtues.[206] Rather than being an almost inanimate figure who receives the offering and intones a formal recitation, the king's attendant in turn makes an offering to the donor of an elongated year-rib staff hieroglyph adorned with either jubilees[207] or *ʿnḫ, ḍd, w3s* symbols (A14). In other examples, the interaction between the two participants takes the form of the attendant touching an *ʿnḫ* to the back of the donor (F15).

In certain examples, the recitation of the king's attendant is expanded to give it a more active nature. Like the *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* formula of the recipient and the recipient's attendants, the phrase occasionally displays the substitution of the circumstantial *sḏm.f* for the more usual *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k*. However, there is no more than an occasional association of the more active poses with the use of the circumstantial form. An example of the circumstantial form employed with activity on the part of the king's attendant can be cited from Medinet Habu (A13). There, the attendant, Harsiese, crowns the king with the *atef* while reciting *smn.ỉ n.k 3tf ḥr tp.k šsp.k nsyt Rʿ m wḏ ỉt.k nb nṯrw Pth ḳmỉ nfrw.k* "I hereby fix for you the *atef* upon your head; you have received the kingship of Re as your father the Lord of the Gods, Ptah who has created your beauty has ordained." The circumstantial *sḏm.f* is used to coordinate the inscription with the activity of the attendant. Another particularly clear example of the coordination of the circumstantial *sḏm.f* with the activity of the attendant is seen in the Temple of Khonsu (A28). There, Thoth inscribes jubilees on his palette as he intones *sš.ỉ n.k ḥbw-sd n Rʿ* ... "I hereby inscribe the jubilees of Re for you ... ." This is in contrast to the *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* formula that occurs before Mut *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ w3s nb mỉ Rʿ* "I have given to you all life and dominion like Re." In this example, the *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k* serves to emphasize the prior donation of life and dominion by the goddess, and the circumstantial narrates the action of the god. Although the attendant plays a more active role than the recipients in a limited number of scenes, there is no significant difference in their roles.

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195. *MH* V, pls. 263A, 346A; *MH* VIII, pl. 618F. For examples with incense, see ibid., pl. 619C; with wine, see Osing 1977, pl. 27; with a plate of offerings, see ibid., pl. 26.
196. Fifteen scenes either have no recitation or are too fragmentary to reconstruct.
197. *MH* IV, pl. 246B; *MH* V, pls. 263B, 264B, 272A; *MH* VI, pls. 370, 374D1, 375A2, 442A, 460; *MH* VII, pl. 534; *MH* VIII, pl. 617B.
198. *MH* V, pls. 261A, 262B, 271B; *MH* VII, pl. 584B; *MH* VIII, pls. 596, 603.
199. *MH* IV, pl. 244H; *MH* V, pls. 336, 344A; *MH* VI, pls. 374B2, 480B; *MH* VII, pls. 503, 551; *MH* VIII, pl. 608.
200. *MH* V, pls. 261B, 269A, 276D; *MH* VI, pl. 387A; *MH* VII, pl. 576D.
201. *MH* VI, pl. 397D; *MH* VII, pls. 562A, 576B.
202. For the association of the God's Wives with Tefnut, see Leclant 1965: 372–73.
203. For the function of this response in the Ptolemaic period and its association with Tefnut, see Winter 1968: 69–98.
204. A13–14, 17, 23, 28, 30–31; B8, 11, 23, 25; C12; E1–2; F11, 14–15, 17, 19, 21; K7–10; O3, 5, 7.
205. For examples of non-royal attendants, see K8; O3, 5, 7.
206. A13, 17, 23, 28, 30, 32; B25; F12, 14–17, 19.
207. A17, 28, 30–31; B25; F11, 13, 17, 20, 22.

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In contrast to the role that the divine attendants play in the offering scenes, the non-divine attendants are never accompanied by a recitation which indicates that they take an active role in the ritual. For example, Ankhefenmut (O7) intones praise for the divine recipient Ptah rather than any boon on behalf of the donor. Likewise, in scenes where Shoshenq acts as the attendant for Ankhnesneferibre (K9–10), he is accompanied by his titles alone. This lack of any recitation analogous to that of the divine attendants suggests that in the context of the offering scenes, the *dì.n(.i) n.k* formula was an action restricted to the gods who function as direct participants in the ritual.

PRESENTATION OF THE ROYAL NAME EQUATED WITH MAAT

There is little distinction between the inscriptions that narrate the presentation of Maat and those which show the offering of the prenomen or nomen equated with Maat. This lack of differentiation is most clear in the dedication inscription that explicitly refers to the royal name which incorporates the goddess' image as Maat (pl. 12; F18), indicating that the ancient Egyptians equated the ritual of the presentation of the royal Ramesside name with the presentation of Maat. The shared dedication also indicates that Maat and the Ramesside royal name which incorporated Maat were equated with each other. The association between the two rituals suggests that the majority of the Ramesside kings compounded their throne names with the name Maat because the king's name, persona, and even his office were so closely associated with the goddess. This association of the king and his name is most clearly expressed by a complex presentation scene (pl. 17, B29) in the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis that shows the Horus name of the king presenting Maat to Sokar.[208] Although the king is not specifically referred to as Maat, by extension, since the king is equated with his name and the name is associated with Maat, the king himself is also closely associated with the goddess.[209] This association may be born out by the brief inscription which accompanies a scene of Merneptah offering Maat stating that the king is "united with her [Maat]" by means of his offering.[210]

The only distinction between the dedication inscriptions for the offering of the royal name and of Maat lies in the decided preference for the use of the verb *ḥnk* in this context.[211] This use of *ḥnk* is a reflection of the Ramesside preference for the use of that verb in all types of offering scenes. Ramesses III alone retains the use of the full writing of the infinitive (*rdìt*), although, similar to the other Ramesside kings, he usually employs *ḥnk*.[212] In the single example of the presentation of the prenomen of Ramesses V, the verb *dì* is employed (F19).

The many reliefs that depict Ramesses IV presenting his name in the Ambulatory of the Temple of Khonsu display considerable variation from the scenes of other Ramesside kings who present their prenomens (Seti I, Ramesses II, III, V, VI, XI). In that temple, the iconography of the scene directly follows that of his patronymic forefathers, yet the inscriptions do not directly equate his name with Maat. At the Temple of Khonsu, rather than narrating the scene with the customary *ḥnk Mɜʿt n* ... formula, the dedication is either missing (F14–17)[213] or it takes the form *ḥnk rn špsy n* ... (presentation of the nomen: pl. 11; H2) or *ḥnk.ì n.k rn wr* (prenomen: pl. 12; F18). These examples are of special interest because they indicate that after year two, when Ramesses IV decorated the ambulatory around the sanctuary of the Temple of Khonsu,[214] there was a deliberate avoidance of the traditional equation of the royal name with Maat. This variation in traditional iconography that is so closely related to the idea of Ramesside kingship could be considered another feature which distinguishes the reign of Ramesses IV from the other Ramesside kings.[215]

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208. This composition can be contrasted to the many that show the king presenting a rebus of his name (Teeter 1986b: 175–84). Although the divine recipient is a phonetic element of the rebus, the king plays no role, phonetic or otherwise, other than acting as the donor of an element or elements of the rebus. For the assertion that the king is associated with the sun god through the juxtaposition of his name with the sun disk, see Radwan 1975: 213–34. See also Assmann 1984a: 102–07 for further associations of the king and his name.

209. See *Chapter 1* for discussion of Maat and the sense of legitimacy that surrounded the office of pharaoh.

210. D2: *ḥnm.kwì m mɜt rʿ nb ḥnk.ì n.k st* "I am united with Maat every day, because I present her to you."

211. See also the use of *ḥnk m* (F7–8, 12, 21–22; H1) and *dì* (F19).

212. F12–13 (Medinet Habu); see table 4 for a summary.

213. For additional examples, see F9; loc. KM 365, 371, 409b, 450.

214. As reflected in the form of his name (Kitchen 1984: 246–47).

215. See Kitchen 1982: 116–25, particularly p. 118, no. 15, for bibliography on the question about the legitimacy of

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Although these scenes of Ramesses IV presenting his prenomen lack a dedication equating the name with Maat, the scenes do have a divine recitation that shows no significant variation from the normal pattern. [216]

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The presentation of Maat, similar to other types of offerings, is most often accompanied by three inscriptions: (1) a divine recitation phrased in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula, (2) the dedication, (3) and the *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ* formula that may follow the dedication. In scenes that have only one of these elements, there is a preference for expressing the dedication. The phrases that narrate the presentation of Maat are stereotyped offering formulas—in form, vocabulary, and grammar—that are not unique to the presentation of Maat or the royal name. In this respect, the phrases supply a disappointing amount of information about the specific significance of the Maat offering ritual. However, in the overall view, they do shed considerable light upon the relationship of the presentation of Maat to other offering rituals in general and to the theology of offering rites.

The intent of the inscriptions, in their grammar and phraseology, is to illustrate not only the relationship between the officiant and recipient, but also their respective nature and role in the offering ritual. Each section of the tripartite offering inscriptions employs a specific verb form that differentiates it from the other sections of the offering formula.[217] A basic question that serves to illuminate the theology of the offering ritual is how are these three inscriptions related to each other?

The *dì.n(.ì) n.k* in the god's recitation refers to the activity of the god. Once thought to be a synchronous present, the form is identified as a nominal form by Žabkar (1981: 169) and as a "ritual" *sḏm.n.f* by Vernus (1985: 311–12). Wente, Edel, Žabkar, and Junge agree that the form is to be translated as present perfect.[218] With the discrediting of the older synchronous present, the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* can be recognized as essentially a perfect form. It is the only section of the offering formula that usually occurs in the *sḏm.n.f*. This perfect is used to differentiate the action referred to in the recitation of the god from the other subsequent actions conveyed by the dedication and the *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*. The phrasing of the formula in the past clearly indicates that the god has given certain basic aspects of a powerful king to the donor, particularly the wish for an eternity of years, for very many jubilees, and for the rulership of the two lands, all of which are aspects of enduring kingship. The qualities and boons referred to in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula are therefore considered to provide the underpinning for the king's existence and for his subsequent actions before the gods. It is because of the virtues expressed in the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* that the king *is* king.

How is the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* of the god related to the king's donation? As stated, the boons referred to in the gods' recitations provide the basis for the king's existence, and it is because of those boons that the king can offer to the gods.[219] However, as Hornung (1982: 203) suggests, there is no strong evidence to indicate that the offering of the king is something "demanded" of the king because the god gave him life at some earlier period.[220]

The activity of the king is expressed by the infinitive form. The use of the infinitive creates a clear coordination of the iconography with the inscription and underscores the activity that is portrayed in the offering scene.

The relationship of the *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ* formula to the *dì.n(ì) n.k* and to the dedication is more complex. As noted, the *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ* displays variations, such as to whom the suffix following the verb *ìr* refers. Although the form of *ìr* could be viewed as an optative in the simple *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ* formula throughout all periods, this phrase is derived from the *ìr.f n.f dì ʿnḫ* formula and hence should technically be viewed as a circumstantial form.

Ramesses IV; see *Beit el-Wali*, 37–38, for additional comments and references.

216. F15–18; loc. KM 237, 365, 371, 409b, 450.

217. The contrast of verb forms echoes Bergman's (1972: 82) observation of the active and passive status of the donor and recipient; see also Derchain 1962: 65.

218. *Beit el-Wali*, 31d (pl. 41B); Wente 1971: 316; Edel 1955/64, §539; Žabkar 1980: 121, n. 21; Junge 1970: 18–20.

219. Accordiong to Finnestad (1985: 155), "because the king already has received the life-sustaining capacity—this is precisely what he shows by offering it to the god who is its source."

220. See, however, the objection of Frandsen (1989: 103–04). There is little evidence from the offering inscriptions which would support Frandsen's stand that offering-giving was compulsory.

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The Ramesside *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* that is conventionally translated as an optative has a different relationship to the *dì.n(.i) n.k* and dedication than do *ir n.f m dì ʿnḫ*, *ir.f n.f dì ʿnḫ*, *ir n dì ʿnḫ*, and *ir n.f dì ʿnḫ*, which are circumstantials and employ perfective active participles. The optative "[Presenting X] may he (the recipient) make given life (for the donor)" suggests that the renewal of life from the divine recipient was regarded as being in a causal relationship to the action of the donor. The action of the king was made in anticipation of repeatedly receiving "given life" from the divine recipient. In contrast, the circumstantial forms with perfective active participles—"[Presenting X] hereby he (the donor) acts for him (the god) who has given life" (of the pre- and post-Ramesside periods), and "[Presenting X] (hereby) it is done for the one who has given life" of the Ramesside period—serve only as acknowledgments of the god's action (*dì.n[.i] n.k*), rather than an expression of any future grant from the god on account of the donor's action.

To what extent do the three elements of the offering scenes together express the often cited *do ut des* relationship? As discussed above, in all periods the first action in the offering sequence is the donation of life and other basic gifts from the gods (*dì.n[.i] n.k*). This initial gift enables the donor to offer to the gods ("offering X to Y"). As suggested, the scenes from the Eighteenth Dynasty and post-Ramesside period that employ a circumstantial in the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formulas (*ir.f n.f dì ʿnḫ* / *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* "hereby he acts for the one who has given life")[221] serve only as an acknowledgment of the king's offering and hence in those eras the three elements of the offering formula were not considered to express the cyclic *do ut des* relationship between donor and recipient because there is no link between the king's presentation and a repeated gift of life from the gods.

The relationship of king and god expressed in offering scenes in the pre- and post-Ramesside periods is better expressed as a "cooperative" rather than a *do ut des* relationship. The gods provide the basic values of life for the king, and the gods enjoy the offerings that mankind brings, but the gods' actions are not directly influenced by the king's actions.

The situation in the Ramesside period is more complex. The *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* of the Ramesside era "may he (the god) make given life (for the donor)" contrasts with the forms *ir n.f dì ʿnḫ* "it is done for the one who has given life" and *ir n.f m dì ʿnḫ* "it is done for him (the god) who has given life." In the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* of the Ramesside period, all three elements of the offering inscription "I have given to you life/presenting X to Y/ may he (the recipient) make given life (for the donor)" are linked and the three formulas form a continuous chain of interconnected events. However, in contrast to this are the other Ramesside forms, *ir n.f dì ʿnḫ* and *ir n.f m dì ʿnḫ*, which, similar to the pre- and post-Ramesside forms, serve only as an acknowledgment of the original donation of the god and thus do not express the *do ut des* relationship. Hence the offering scenes in the Ramesside period express an inconsistency in their theological content.

Thus in the pre- and post-Ramesside periods as well as in many scenes of the Ramesside era that employ forms other than the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ*, there is no expression of a true *do ut des* relationship in which a cyclic offering from god to man to god is expressed.[222] In scenes from those periods, the action of the king is clearly related to the god's *dì.n(.i) n.k* because the boons granted by the god allow the king the prestige and position that allow him to offer to the gods.[223] However, the action of the king does not guarantee or even allude to any further divine action because the phrase and its variants other than the Ramesside *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* function only as an acknowledgment of the god's initial donation rather than referring to any result of the king's offering.

The brief inscriptions that accompany offering scenes illustrate an additional aspect of the relationship of king to god. This aspect is indicated by the use of the third person pronoun for the king in the dedication (*n it.f* "to his father") and the first person for the divine recipient in the divine recitation (*dì.n[.i]* "I have given").[224] These forms create a balance and contrast of specificity; the king as the corporate personality of Egypt is non-specific;[225] the donor is "he" or "she" rather than a specific egocentric "I" before the gods. By

221. For the difficulties in determining whether the verb *ir* in *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* of the Eighteenth Dynasty should technically be viewed as a circumstantial, see above.

222. In contrast to the suggestion of Frandsen (1989: 99 f.), with Altenmüller, that the Ramesside scenes do illustrate the *do ut des* relationship; see also Assmann 1990: 186–87.

223. Finnestad (1985: 155) terms the relationship between the *dì.n(.i) n.k* and the dedication as one of "reciprocity."

224. For an exception with the third person singular, see *MH* V, pl. 263A.

225. Wente 1969a: 90, no. 48. Or perhaps, as Assmann (1970: 58–70) suggests, the king becomes the sun god and therefore loses his individual personality. Notwithstanding Assmann's suggestion, this sense of non-specific identity of the donor accords well with usurpation of scenes and the addition of bandeau texts to earlier offering scenes. The

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referring to himself not as "I" but in the third person ("his father"), he defers to the divine presence. This feature eliminates any single or personal identity of the donor of Maat, because the donor is not an individual in this context, he/she is the representative of mankind who interacts with the gods. In contrast, the divine recipient and attendants are usually referred to in the first person. Each god personally deeds an aspect of kingship to the donor. They are individuals who interact with the representative of humanity who offers Maat.

This differentiation of specific god and lack of specificity of donor in the offering texts suggests that the scenes are to be viewed from the reference point of the gods. In an offering scene, the god speaks in the first person (*dì.n[.ì] n.k*), which is in marked contrast to the use of the infinitive of the dedication that stresses the impersonal character of the donor. The donor never declares "I present Maat" but rather he or she appears "presenting Maat." [226] This is, according to Finnestad (1985: 153–54), related to the respective role of man and gods in the offering scenes: the officiant moves in the world of gods, and therefore, the scenes are viewed from the god's perspective. The employment of the scenes of the presentation of Maat exclusively in tombs and temples, rather than as decorative motifs in a domestic context,[227] also underscores this feature of the offering scenes. The scenes were placed in the realm of the deities, in temples and tombs, because the scenes were considered to be for the gods' consumption and were to be viewed from the gods' perspective.

In summary, the inscriptions that narrate the presentation of Maat are not different from those which accompany the donation of other ritual offerings.[228] A better understanding of the scenes of the presentation of Maat might be gained by reversing our view: although the Maat scenes appear later than many other types offering scenes, it is the routine offering scenes that are similar to the scenes of the presentation of Maat. As the symbol or icon of the cosmic order, any individual item offered to the gods was an element of Maat, which is seen at Medinet Habu (P4) and in the descent to the burial chamber in certain royal tombs of the Ramesside period (P1–2) where the presentation of *nw*-vessels is shown in juxtaposition to the offering of Maat. This association of all offerings with Maat serves as the focus of Chapter XLII of the Berlin Service Book, the only extensive liturgy of the presentation of Maat. There the goddess is equated with "what you eat ... what you drink ... your bread ... your beer ... the fumes of incense which you breathe ... (and) the breath of your nose ..." (Moret 1902: 142). In essence, all offerings were, by the Ramesside period, considered to be an aspect of Maat,[229] and therefore there is virtually no differentiation in the inscriptions of the presentation of Maat from those that accompany other types of offerings. Maat, as a summary of all offering rituals, was the epitome of offerings, and as Arnold (1962: 44, no. 1) suggests, all other tangible offerings are subsumed in the Maat ritual (see also Smith 1994: 79).

The equation of Maat and the Ramesside royal name, as reflected in the offering texts, fulfills the commitment of mankind to the gods. The ritual indicates that the totality of Egyptian humanity, represented by the name of the king, who is the corporate personality of the entire population of Egypt, *is* the offering and *is* Maat (Frandsen 1989: 100–01). This is confirmed by the recitation of Merneptah in the Osireion: *ḥnm.kwì m mɜʿt rʿ nb ḥnk.ì n.k st* "I am united with Maat every day, I hereby present her to you" (D2). The royal name equated with Maat could also be seen to serve as an icon for the representative of mankind and in fact all Egypt's obligation to the gods. The pre-Ramesside ritual of the offering of Maat symbolized the presentation of all physical offerings, but in the early Ramesside period during the reign of Seti I this iconography and its associated inscriptions were modified to equate the presentation of Maat with the royal name and thus to include the entire population of Egypt as represented by the royal name as offerings to the gods.

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sense of personal identity with a series of offering scenes was so flexible that the recutting of the name or the addition of names to scenes made them beneficial to the king who made the additions to the relief. For the bandeau texts, see Kitchen 1984: 553; for general comments about usurpation, see Björkman 1971. This idea of the king being a non-specific entity could also be expressed through the idea of the royal *ka* (see Bell 1985a: 256–57, 280).

226. However, in a single example (F18; pl. 12) the dedication of the "great name" is followed by the first person singular suffix.

227. See *Chapter 4* for discussion concerning the location of offering scenes and their absence in the domestic context.

228. See Poo's (1984: 139, 161, 225) comments in a study of the inscriptions that narrate the presentation of wine.

229. Reflections of this may also be seen in the pun of *mɜʿ* (offer) and *Mɜʿt* (the goddess). Also, in the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates porters carry Maat-type plumes on their heads, much like the nearby figures who carry baskets of grain as offerings (PM I/2, 512 (10), Ramesses VI). For further references to the equation of food offerings and Maat, see Finnestad 1985: 154, no. 106; Englund 1987: 57.

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Table 3. Verbs Used in the Dedication of the Presentation of Maat*

	*ḥnk***	*dỉ*	*dỉt*	*rdỉ*	*rdỉt*
		A. EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY			
THUTMOSE III					
Karnak	A1	B1(?)	—	—	—
Other	—	—	—	—	B2
AMUNHOTEP III	A2	—	—	—	B3
TUTANKHAMUN					
Karnak	B4	—	—	—	—
		B. NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH DYNASTIES			
SETI I					
Abydos	A3–4; B5	—	—	—	—[a]
Kanais	A5	—	—	—	—
Karnak	A7	—	—	—	—
Other	A6***; B6–7	—	A6***	—	—
RAMESSES II					
Abu Simbel	—	—	—	—	—[b]
Abydos	B9–10, 13	—	—	—	—
Gourna	A9	—	—	—	—
Karnak	A10	—	—[c]	—	—[d]
Other	—	A8	—	—	O2
MERNEPTAH					
Abydos	A11	—	—	—	—
KV 8	—	—	—	—	P1
Other	O5	—	—	—	—
SETI II					
Hermopolis	—[e]	–	–	–	–
SETHNAKHT					
Elephantine	A12	—	—	—	—
RAMESSES III					
Karnak	A21	—	—	—	—[f]
KV 11	B18***	—	B18***	—	—
Medinet Habu	A13, 15–18, 20, 22; B20, 22; P5	A14, 19; B19	—	—	—
RAMESSES IV					
Karnak	A27	—	—	—	A23–25
HERIHOR					
Karnak	A28–33; E4	—	—	—	—
		C. GOD'S WIVES OF AMUN (CLASS K)			
AMUNIRDIS I	K4	—	K3	—	K2
AMUNIRDIS II	—	—	—	—	K7
SHEPENWEPET I	K1	—	—	—	—
SHEPENWEPET II	K5	—	K6	—	—

*Attestations from scenes not listed in the *Appendix* are listed in notes for this table, below.

**Other attestations of *ḥnk* not in the *Appendix* include *RIK* I, pls. 37D, 54D.

***Used in parallelism with another verb in the same scene

[a] One example: *Abydos* IV, pl. 68

[b] In a dedication with a duplication of verbs: *rdỉt ḥnk m M3ʿt* (Desroches-Noblecourt 1956, pl. 11)

[c] One example from the Temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty at Karnak: loc. KI 162/163 (Oriental Institute negative no. 7010)

[d] One example: Helck 1968, pl. 71 (Enclosure Wall)

[e] Roeder 1959, pl. 64

[f] *rdỉt* is attested in many scenes other than those included in the *Appendix* (*RIK* I, pls. 8B, 8C, 39, 44D, 44G, 46C; *RIK* II, pls. 101B, 101E, 107B).

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Table 4. Verbs Used with the Presentation of the Royal Name*

	ḥnk	*rdit*	*di*
SETI			
Gourna	F2–3	—	—
Kanais	F1	—	—
RAMESSES II			
Gourna	F7–8	—	—
Luxor	F5		
Karnak	F6		
RAMESSES III			
Medinet Habu	F12–13; H1	—	—
Karnak	—	F10–11	—
RAMESSES IV			
Karnak	F18; H2[a]	—	—
RAMESSES V	—	—	F19
RAMESSES VI			
Medinet Habu	F20	—	—
RAMESSES XI			
Karnak	F21–22	—	—
HERIHOR			
Karnak[b]	A28, 31–32; E4; *Khonsu* I, pls. 51, 97	—	—

*Class F = prenomen, class H = nomen

[a] In the *sḏm.f* form. Neither example uses the word "Maat" in the dedication.

[b] For Herihor presenting the prenomen of Ramesses XI, see Teeter 1986b: 177–84.

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CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS
GENERAL REMARKS

Although the presentation of Maat is attested by textual references as early as the Middle Kingdom, it does not occur as an iconographic device until the reign of Thutmose III. Its appearance closely coincides with other iconographic innovations, such as the representation of the Feast of the Valley, the Opet festival, and scenes of the divine birth.

The presentation of the royal name equated with Maat first appears in the reign of Seti I.[1] The equation of the two rituals is made very clear by their shared iconography and more clearly by the dedication text that refers to the rebus of the name as Maat.

Although the presentation of Maat occurs occasionally on small objects, stelae, and architectural elements, it is depicted most frequently on the walls of Ramesside temples. The scene is found but rarely in the royal tombs of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties where it shares the iconography of the non-funerary examples.

Scenes of the offering of Maat do not occur in any predictable sequence in the temple reliefs. Although certain patterns can be perceived, such as the propensity for the scene to be on doorframes and the alternation of *nw*-vessels with Maat, these patterns are not consistent throughout the entire corpus of temple material, nor are they unique to scenes of the presentation of Maat. In the royal tombs, the scene with few exceptions appears most commonly in connection with the texts of the Litany of Re and as a double scene above the descent to the burial chamber.[2]

Maat, or the royal name equated with the goddess, is always presented to a divinity, never to an individual or to a king.[3] Other gods may act as attendants in whose presence the offering is presented. A wide variety of gods and goddesses act as recipients or as attendants. The identity of the recipient is apparently a function of the patron deity of the structure in which the scene is employed. For example, in temples dedicated to Amun, Amun will be the recipient in the majority of scenes; in the Temple of Khonsu, Khonsu is more frequently the recipient.

The inscriptions that narrate the offering of Maat do not differ in any significant manner from the dedication and recipient's recitations which accompany other types of offerings; hence they do not give much direct information about the ritual. However, they do supply valuable information about the overall theology of such rituals. Scenes of the presentation of Maat, similar to most other types of offering scenes, are in their most complete form, narrated by a tripartite offering formula. Each of the sections of the formula employs a specific grammatical form that indicates the full content and the sequence of the elements which make up a single offering scene.

The first action referred to in offering scenes is that of the god. It is, with few exceptions, phrased in the *sḏm.n.f* form as *dì.n(.ì) n.k.*[4] This *sḏm.n.f* is identified as nominal by Žabkar, perfect by Wente, and ritual or performative by Vernus.[5] In the context of the offering scenes, this phrase refers to divine action that oc-

1. W. R. Johnson suggests (pers. comm.) that a scene of Amunhotep III presenting Maat on a *nb*-sign while kneeling under a sun disk *rʿ* could also be a rebus of the name (Spencer, Bailey, and Burnett 1983, fig. 22). With the lack of evidence for such attestations from the rest of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the fact that the sun disk overhead is such a common element in offering scenes, the presentation of the name might better be viewed as an innovation of the Nineteenth Dynasty.
2. The exceptions are J12 and Hölscher 1941, pl. 36b; see *Chapter 3*, fn. 110, above.
3. The deceased or deified king could, however, act as an attendant; see B13; El-Achirie and Jacquet 1980, pl. 37.
4. For the exceptions, see *Chapter 5: The Recitation of the Gods* (*Anomalous Forms*), above.
5. Žabkar 1981: 169; *Beit el-Wali*, 31, note d; Vernus 1985: 169–71.

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curred before the action which is the subject of the offering scene. The conclusion that divine action preceded the king's donation is in contrast to the analysis of Nelson, Altenmüller, Frandsen, and others,[6] who have assumed that the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* formula is the result of the king's actions. The brief phrase that promises the most basic qualities (life, dominion, health, years) commemorates the relationship of the king and the gods in that the gods have granted these qualities which allow the pharaoh to exist. In a few examples, the *dì.n(.ì) n.k* "I have given to you ..." can be phrased in the circumstantial *sḏm.f* in order to narrate more correctly the activity depicted in the offering scene.

The second element in the offering inscription is the donor's dedication of the offering that is phrased in the infinitive. This tense provides a correspondence between the grammar and iconography of the scene because in these scenes the donor is caught in mid-action, hence the infinitive. There is a decided preference for the verb *ḥnk* to be associated with the presentation of Maat. Other forms that are also used are *dì*, *dìt*, and *rdìt* (see table 3). Although examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty are not numerous, it appears that in the Ramesside period *ḥnk* is the form most commonly used in scenes of the presentation of Maat and by far the most common form employed in the dedication of the royal name (table 4).

In many offering inscriptions, the dedication is followed by the third element of the offering inscription, i.e., the *ìr.f (n.f) dì ʿnḫ* formula that is conventionally translated as "may he make given life." As noted, this element of the offering formula underwent significant change in the Ramesside period. However, from its first use in the Middle Kingdom through the Eighteenth Dynasty and again in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and onward, the subject of *ìr* was the donor and hence the phrase emphasized the activity of the donor in the offering ritual. In the pre- and post-Ramesside periods, the verb *ìr* is a circumstantial form to be translated as "hereby he (the donor) acts for him (the god), who has given life."[7]

As Nims (1975: 76) documents from the scenes recopied for use at Medinet Habu, in the Ramesside phrase *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ* the suffix following *ìr* refers to the recipient. As Nims also indicates, the phrase during the Ramesside era is a clause of purpose: "in order that he (the god) may act, (he) who has given life (to the donor)." The implications of this change are discussed below.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RITUAL

ROYAL PRESENTATION OF MAAT

The royal presentation of Maat could be thought of as an archetypal offering, a supreme offering into which all other offerings are subsumed, which is particularly evident from the text of papyrus Berlin 3055 dated to the Ramesside period that explicitly associates the presentation of Maat with all other offerings (Moret 1902: 142). This equation of Maat with other offerings is echoed in the epithet of Maat as "food of the gods" and that the "gods live on Maat."[8] She was considered to be the basic sustenance of the gods. The association of Maat with other offerings is also supported by the lack of differentiation of the iconography and inscriptions of the presentation of Maat scenes from other types of offerings, and by the offering of wine jars in scenes which specifically state that the action portrayed is the presentation of Maat.[9]

The presentation of Maat also functions as a potent expression of the legitimacy of the king. With the exception of a few figures of quasi-royal status (classes K–L) and a few examples of divine donors,[10] only the king (and the queen in the Amarna period) is shown offering Maat in the temple context. He is most frequently shown wearing the blue crown that also has connotations of legitimacy.[11] The ritual is not infrequently shown adjacent to scenes of the purification or crowning of the king. The presentation of Maat is a

6. Nelson 1949: 344; H. Altenmüller ("Opfer," *LÄ* IV, col. 581) refers to the *sḏm.n.f* as the "Antwort"; Frandsen (1989: 95) suggests "to which Re-Harahkti replies: 'I have given you ... .'" For other examples, see ibid., pp. 100, 104; Poo 1984: 160, 163; all of which are in contrast to Hornung's (1982: 204) suggestion "Before mankind gives anything, the gods have already given everything."

7. For variations, translations, and discussion of the *ìr.f dì ʿnḫ* formula, see *Chapter 5: The Dedication*, above.

8. W. Helck, "Maat," *LÄ* III, col. 1113; see also Assmann 1990: 186 for Maat being the primary offering.

9. See P4, north wall, of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, wherein Ramesses III presents wine jars even though the dedication clearly states *dì Mɜʿt n ìt.f*. In the tomb of Twosert (P3) and at the great temple at Medinet Habu (P5) wine vessels are superimposed upon the figure of Maat, which is offered.

10. N13; see Roeder 1914: 54; pictured in Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 257; N12. See additional comments in *Chapter 3: The Donor*, above.

11. W. V. Davies 1982: 75. See also Bell 1985c: 35, nos. 121–22, for kings who "Live on Maat" (*ʿnḫ m Mɜʿt*) and that

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potent visible symbol that the king is capable of literally upholding the tenets of Maat by which the state is governed.[12] The equation of the presentation of the royal name, most commonly the prenomen, further stresses the royal prerogative inherent in the ritual. The offering of the name which the king assumed at his accession to the throne indicates that as a king, rather than as an individual, he not only acknowledges the principles of Maat but is also associated with the goddess and indeed is imbued with Maat.

The conclusion that the presentation of Maat is a symbol of royal legitimacy could explain why the scene first appears as an iconographic device in the time of Thutmose III. The representation of the ritual could be a reflection of the king's desire for a deliberate expression of his right to rule. Both the account of his divine selection (Breasted 1906a: 55, §§131 ff.) and the first appearance of the scenes of the presentation of Maat date to the later years of his reign.[13] These dual expressions of legitimacy convey the same sentiment as the divine birth scenes of his predecessor, i.e., the confirmation of political rule through ritual. The campaign to desecrate Hatshepsut's monuments that occurred late in the reign of Thutmose III,[14] just as the scenes of the presentation of Maat and the account of the oracular selection, may be attempts to emphasize his own legitimacy in contrast to that of his predecessor.

NON-ROYAL SCENES

With one exception (M9), all examples of the representation of the presentation of Maat with a non-royal donor (pls. 1–5; class M) are from a private mortuary context[15] and fail to exhibit the full iconography of the royal scenes. The examples from the tomb of Amunwahsu (pl. 1) and the papyrus of Sethnakht (pl. 2) depict the deceased carrying Maat on their uplifted palms, rather than presenting her image to the gods. Although the tomb paintings of Irynefer, Amunnakht and the stela of Harsiese (pls. 3–5) share the characteristic iconography of a donor offering Maat to a god, these scenes are funerary in nature and are related to the association of Maat and Re, or to Maat's role in the justification of the deceased. The single example of the non-royal presentation of Maat that is not strictly funerary in origin, and thus is differentiated from the other non-royal examples of the depiction of the presentation of Maat, appears on the front of a statue of Nespekashuty (M9). The appearance of the scene on the statue may well be related to the fact that Nespekashuty was a prophet of Maat (Legrain 1914: 80j), and as related in Chapter XLII of the Berlin Service Book (Moret 1902: 141–42), a priest could, as deputy for the king, present Maat to Thoth. This role of a priest acting on behalf of the king suggests that Nespekashuty was not usurping royal prerogatives regarding ritual actions.

The absence of offering formulas in the private scenes illustrates another significant difference between the royal and non-royal scenes. Since there is no dedication and the gods do not have any recitation related to the offering activity, the private scenes do not reflect interaction between the gods and mankind as do their royal counterparts. The royal scenes emphasize the respective actions of both parties through the recitation of the god (*dì.n[.ì] n.k*), the dedication of the king, and the *ỉr.f dì ʿnḫ* formula of the Ramesside period. In the private scenes, the deceased merely offers Maat without an indication of a *do ut des* relationship between the donor and the god.[16]

THE PRESENTATION OF MAAT AND PERSONAL PIETY

Assmann suggests that in the Ramesside period, with the rise of personal piety, the common man developed a closer rapport with his god. The intimacy of the relationship eliminated the old conception of Maat

epithet applied to "the deified king as possessor of the royal *ka*."

12. Stated by Assmann (1990: 186) in a curious and perhaps fanciful manner: "Der Titel 'König,' äg. *nỉ-swt*, kenn als 'Der sie (scil. Maʿt) bringt' gedeutet werden."

13. Gardiner 1961: 182. For the dating of the Thutmoside scenes of the presentation of Maat, see *Chapter 2: Thutmose III to Amunhotep IV*, above.

14. Dorman 1988: 46–65, especially p. 65.

15. An exception is the statue of Nespekashuty (M9), recovered from a non-funerary context (the Karnak Cachette).

16. The stela of Harsiese (pl. 5, M8) shares most features with the royal scenes in regard to the expression of the king-god relationship. On that stela, the deceased offers Maat to Re-Horakhty, whose recitation appears as *dì.f ḥtpw n Wsỉr* "May he give offerings to Osiris (Harsiese)." This scene, however, lacks the full reciprocal nature of the royal scenes, viz., the initial donation of the god that allows the donor to present Maat and the subsequent donation of the god.

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as an ethical standard because a person's actions were judged directly by the free will of the gods.[17] In this transition, the king's status was diminished as mankind sought refuge directly in his god rather than in the pharaoh as an intermediary to the gods. This sense of god's will dictating the fate of man is summarized in the Instruction of Amunemope, which recounts:

> Do not lie down in fear of tomorrow:
> Comes day, how will tomorrow be?
> Man ignores how tomorrow will be;
> God is ever in his perfection,
> Man is ever in his failure ...
> He (the god) seals the verdict with his finger.
> There is no perfection before the god
> But there is failure before him; ...
> Keep firm your heart, steady your heart,
> Do not steer with your tongue;
> If a man's tongue is the boat's rudder,
> The Lord of All is yet its pilot.[18]

Assmann (1984a: 11–14, 232–81; 1980: 22; 1989a: 66–68) proposes that the elimination of Maat as an ethical standard is rooted in the Amarna period when the concept of Maat was absorbed into the idea of the Aton and into the king himself. During that era, according to Assmann, the devotion of the common folk was focused upon the Aton through the king as the intermediary for the Aton; during the Amarna interlude, the people acted directly for the king, striving for his praises (*ḥswt*), rather than regulating their behavior according to the age-old principles of Maat. Since the king (and the queen) were the only communicants with the mute god, loyalty to the Aton exclusively through his intermediary the king, rather than the principles of Maat, became the rule by which lives were conducted.

In the post-Amarna period, there was, according to Assmann, a general reaction against the Amarna experience and a diminishing of the king's status due to disillusionment over Akhenaton's exclusive rapport with the Aton. The spiritual isolation experienced by the population who had access to their god only through the king created a desire to have a direct relationship with their god unencumbered by an intermediary, be it the king or the ethical code personified by Maat. In the post-Amarna period, again according to Assmann, this resulted in a closeness of man and his god, an attitude of humility and fate and the disassociation between action and result because all was in the "hands of the god."[19] This closeness coincided with a change in tomb decoration. In the Ramesside period, representations of the family and daily life of the deceased were generally replaced by scenes related to the search for immortality, such as vignettes from the Book of the Dead (Assmann 1984b: 698–99).

Assmann's proposal that personal piety is a result of the Amarna experience does not take into account texts which document an individual's direct worship of the Aton nor those which attest to the concept of Maat as an ethical value.[20] Although these texts attest to the king-god association to which Assmann refers, this relationship is not as exclusive as his conclusions might suggest. Two letters of the oil bearer Ramose from Amarna bear the opening salutation "Behold I am begging the Aton (l.p.h.) here in Akhetaton (l.p.h.) to keep you well every day, and to cause you to be in favor ... ."[21] On the basis of one of the letters, this relationship appears to have been reciprocal because the writer avows that the Aton has given him guidance, not through the intermediary of the king, but directly from god to devotee (Peet 1930: 93 [24], n. 29).

Žabkar collected other references to direct veneration of the Aton as well as very pertinent references to Maat as an ethical standard from tomb texts at Amarna.[22] In one such text, after Tutu praises the Aton he avows that he has committed no misdeed because "Maat has made her place in me."[23] So, too, Tutu declares that "I have come with praise to Aton, the living and only god ... I have not received reward to lying

17. Assmann 1983b: 283–86; idem 1980: 1–32, especially pp. 22–29; idem 1979: 10 ff.; idem 1989a: 75–78, 80–82; Hornung 1992: 139; see also Brunner 1963: 103–20.
18. Translation from Lichtheim 1976: 157–58.
19. Assmann 1984b: 698; idem 1979: 10–14; idem 1989a: 76–80; W. Helck, "Maat," *LÄ* III, cols. 1117–18.
20. Peet 1930: 89–97; Anthes 1952; Žabkar 1954: 94–95.
21. Peet 1930: 88 (2–3), 92 (2–3); Wente 1990: 95–96.
22. Žabkar 1954: 94–95. See also Anthes 1952 for additional references to Maat in the Amarna period.
23. Žabkar 1954: 94; Sandman 1938: 74.1. Note that *M3ʿt* is written with a seated female determinative.

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in order to expel the righteous on behalf of the guilty, but I executed Maat for the king ... ."[24] Although the relationship of the king and the sun god is very prominent in these texts, the non-royal devotee's direct appeal to the god and the numerous references to Maat suggest that Assmann's conclusions are subject to question.

PERSONAL PIETY AND THE KING

Assmann's conclusions concerning the rise of personal piety and the resulting erosion of the importance of Maat are based primarily upon private documents and tomb litanies. He places little emphasis upon sources such as temple reliefs.[25] One might question to what extent the royal offering inscriptions confirm or conflict with Assmann's proposals about the diminished theological role of the king in the midst of the growing closeness of the man-god relationship.[26] Do the scenes of the presentation of Maat support his proposal that Maat was absorbed into a transcendent god and hence ceased to be an important feature of Egyptian ethics in the Ramesside period?

The temple reliefs that depict the presentation of Maat do not support the suggestion that there was a dramatic change in the conception or veneration of Maat in the Ramesside period as compared to the Eighteenth Dynasty. This stability is most evident in the iconography of the offering scenes because the portrayal of the king offering to the gods does not exhibit any significant change or evolution (with the exception of the innovation of the presentation of the royal name equated with Maat), which might reflect a modification in the underlying theology. Nor does the king assume humble postures (bending or kneeling before the god) any more than he did in previous eras.[27]

The presentation of the royal name as Maat is the most evident Ramesside innovation that relates to Assmann's conclusions about personal piety in the Ramesside age. The iconography and the dedication inscription equate the king's name and hence his entire being with Maat.[28] This type of association is hardly one of humility, which Assmann suggests is a feature of the relationship of the Ramesside king to his god. On the contrary, such an association, unprecedented before the time of Seti I, gives the impression of new vigor and confidence through the king's affiliation with Maat.

The lack of any significant change in the temple offering reliefs from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty is especially evident in an examination of the offering inscriptions that narrate the rituals. The only major change that is apparent in the Ramesside age is the modification of the Ramesside *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula, which through the new agreement of the suffix following the verb *ỉr* with the god rather than the royal donor removed any direct reference to the action of the king and emphasized the activity of the god. One might argue that this is wholly in keeping with Assmann's conceptions of personal piety, i.e., that the status of the king was diminished as the sense of god's action's was emphasized.

However, this change in the formula must be balanced against other features of the offering inscriptions. The first consideration is that other variations of the *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* formula were in use in the Ramesside period,[29] and with the exception of the specific form *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*, the other variations in the formula express exactly the same relationship of god to donor as in the Eighteenth Dynasty; namely, that the offering ritual is illustrative of the cooperative relationship between god and king.

Secondly, any possible diminution of the role of the king evidenced by the agreement of the suffix following *ỉr* with the god, and hence the emphasis upon the deity, must be balanced against the Ramesside era reinterpretation of the simple *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*, because it is this element of the offering inscriptions that reflects a change in the theology between the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside era offering scenes. Rather than serving as an acknowledgment of the god's initial donation of life (*dỉ.n*[*.ỉ*] *n.k*), the Ramesside *ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ* "in order that he (the god) may act (he) who has given life (to the king)" expresses a true *do ut des* relationship in the offering scenes, a relationship that binds the actions of the god to the king; the action of the king in some way influences the god to again bestow life upon the pharaoh.

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24. Žabkar 1954: 94; Sandman 1938: 77.1–2.
25. Most conveniently, Assmann 1975: 349–417. See also Brunner 1963: 103–20. Assmann (1983/84: 203) does consider the Kadesh reliefs of Ramesses II; see further Ockinga 1987: 38–48.
26. Summarized in Assmann 1983b: 278, 283–85.
27. See *Chapter 3: Posture*, above.
28. For recent comments regarding the equation of name and self, see Frandsen 1989: 100–01.
29. See *Chapter 5:* ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ *Formula*, above.

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The *do ut des* relationship as expressed in the Ramesside *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* formula is in complete opposition to Assmann's (1984b: 687–701; 1989a: 75–80) assertion that action and result were disassociated in the Ramesside period. This portion of the offering narration suggests that there was a new sense of the king's ability to affect or influence the god's actions. In contrast to the prior era when the king's donation had no bearing upon the activity of the god and the *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* was merely an acknowledgment, in the Ramesside period the action of the king was thought to be able to influence the future activity of the god.

This sentiment which is diametrically opposed to the ideas inherent in Assmann's personal piety is not restricted to the offering texts. In the great dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II on the portico of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, the courtiers eulogize the king, equating him with the gods: "Lord of destiny, creator of Renenet, Khnum who fashioned the people, giver of breath into the nostrils of all, making all the gods, pillar of heaven, support of earth, [///] adjusting the Two Lands ... maker of the great, fashioner of the lowly, whose word produces food ... ."[30] In this text, the king and his generative powers are equated with those of the gods. Rather than indicating a diminution of the god's ability to affect the fate of the world and the king's passive nature, the Abydos text indicates that the king was considered to play an active role in determining the condition of the world. So, too, the Quban inscription of Ramesses II refers to the ability of the king to achieve seemingly impossible tasks,[31] a traditional attribute that is based upon texts of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.[32]

Assmann concludes that the presentation of Maat became more popular as a theme in temple decoration in the Ramesside period due to the king's increasing sense of personal piety and resulting humility.[33] Assmann (1984b: 697) interprets offering rituals as an indication of the pharaoh's desire to keep the goodwill of the gods through his activity for them. Hence perhaps according to Assmann's suggestions, the offering of Maat could be seen as an act of humility in the performance of which the king holds up Maat as a means of assuring the unpredictable god of his willingness to rule according to the moral precepts inherent in Maat. However, the temple scenes simply do not support this interpretation. As stated, the scenes do not document any increase in humble postures before the god, and the Ramesside era *ir.f dì ʿnḫ* suggests there was a new stronger association between the action of king and god. Further, the new association of the king's name with Maat cannot be construed as being indicative of a weak king but rather of a new confidence and association with the gods.

In summary, there is no evidence from the temple offering reliefs and accompanying inscriptions to suggest that the king's sense of personal piety was an important aspect of Ramesside religion. Further, Assmann's suggestion that the Ramesside situation which is characterized by the diminution of the king's role as a result of his sole contact with the Aton and by the decline of Maat in the Amarna period should be reevaluated in light of references to Maat and to hymns to the disk in that era. There is no evidence that confirms or even suggests that Maat ceased to be an important feature of Ramesside religion. On the contrary, the great number of examples of the presentation of Maat that decorate so many Ramesside monuments—especially those scenes located in areas of public appeal to the gods—attest to the emphasis placed upon the goddess who according to Assmann (1984b: 696; 1989a: 73, §b) had been reduced from a moral code to a sense of meaningless social solidarity. On the contrary, in this period, as in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the temple relief record suggests that Maat was associated with the king's legitimacy and power and his ability to rule in accordance with the precepts of Maat. The emphasis put upon Maat in the royal sphere is further evidenced by the presentation of the royal name equated with the goddess, a ritual that appears first in the time of Seti I. This rite stressed not the humility of the king before the god but rather the king's direct association with the goddess and the continuing importance of Maat.

PERSONAL PIETY AND THE COMMON MAN

How do the scenes of the presentation of Maat accord with Assmann's (1984b: 678–702) conclusions that the common man no longer revered Maat as an ethical concept? Certainly, personal piety is manifested

30. Breasted 1906b: 108, §265 = *KRI* II, 326 = Assmann 1975: 495.

31. Breasted 1906b: 120, §288 = *KRI* II, 355.13–356.3 = Assmann 1975: 493–94.

32. Breasted 1906b: 120, note a.

33. Assmann 1980: 27; see also Hornung 1982: 211–12. For oracles as an expression of personal piety, see Assmann 1984a: 188; for a different view, see Baines 1987: 88–89.

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in certain hymns and letters of the common folk during the Ramesside period. However, the evidence does not support Assmann's conclusion that closeness to god automatically excluded veneration of Maat. Maat had an undiminished and even expanded presence in non-royal religion of the Ramesside period. This importance of Maat is manifested not only in the great number of scenes of the presentation of Maat that appear in the major temples, sections of which were places of worship for the common man, but also in scenes of the offering of her image that appear in certain Ramesside private tombs (M1–4). Although there are textual references to individuals holding, elevating, or presenting Maat (R2, 4–6; M5) prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty, with one exception (M5) all such representations date to the Ramesside period (M1–4) or early Third Intermediate Period (M8);[34] the era when, according to Assmann, Maat ceased to be an important ethical concept. The examples of the presentation of Maat from private tombs are augmented by a great number of textual references to the goddess, her appearance in Ramesside tomb scenes, and the great number of new epithets for the goddess that were generated in that era.[35] The many attestations of Maat, both as literary allusions and tomb representations, are in direct conflict with Assmann's conclusions that Maat was no longer an important feature of Ramesside private religion.

The hymns and wisdom literature (such as Amunemope) do indicate that the concept of Maat underwent a fundamental change. However, although her importance as an ethical concept may have been eroded or that a sense of the willfulness of the gods was held by some of the population, the emphasis put upon Maat-related themes in temple and tomb iconography indicates that generally her role was broadened and redefined rather than strictly eroded. As a result of this redefinition, two distinct yet related conceptions of Maat evolved in the Ramesside period; one that pertains to royal religion and function and the other to non-royal beliefs.

MAAT IN NON-ROYAL RAMESSIDE RELIGION

The appearance of Maat in tomb paintings, the presentation of her image in private tombs, the proliferation of funerary epithets, and new syncretistic associations for the goddess[36] date to the same era in which Assmann concludes that Maat no longer is relevant to popular beliefs. This prominence of Maat strongly argues for an increased interest in the goddess rather than a decline in her influence. Her presence, especially in the scenes of the deceased offering Maat, signifies that the goddess was still revered by the same Thebans whose letters and hymns formed the basis of Assmann's thesis. The iconographic innovation of the private presentation scenes also indicates a new interest in the representation of Maat-related beliefs that earlier had been restricted to textual references.

The Ramesside emphasis upon Maat in the non-royal sources are, with the exception of the statue of Nespekashuty (M9), from the funerary context. Although Maat was associated with funerary beliefs since the Old Kingdom,[37] the goddess became more closely associated with the mortuary realm in the Ramesside period; it was in this context that Maat was especially revered by the common people. This funerary role of Maat is reflected in many of the hymns upon which Assmann based his conclusions because in the late Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Ramesside period there was a close association of Re and Maat.[38] For example, the sun hymn of Neferhotep (R11) invokes Maat and specifically refers to the deceased presenting Maat to the rising sun.[39] In this context as well, Maat functions within her funerary role and in contrast to Assmann this indicates an emphasis upon Maat, not a diminution of her role.

The mortuary role of Maat in the Ramesside period is attested most clearly in her association with *ʾImntt*, the goddess of the West. This affiliation manifests itself most clearly in the early Nineteenth Dynasty[40] by the many funerary epithets and terms that are applied to, or associated with, Maat. Among these

34. One additional example (M9) dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Nespekashuty), a period upon which Assmann does not specifically comment.
35. See *Maat in Non-royal Ramesside Religion*, below.
36. Jankhun 1973: 19–22; Bleeker 1973: 69.
37. Westendorf 1966: 209. For associations of Maat with the opening of the mouth ceremony, see *CT* VII, 15k (Spell 816); Assmann 1970: 62–63; Jankhun 1973: 19–22; Otto 1960: 92–93, 99.
38. See, for example, the indices in Assmann 1969, 1983a, and 1990: 160–99 for many references to Maat in the context of the sun hymns.
39. Maat is frequently invoked in the sun hymns; see *Chapter 2: Conclusions*, above; for a summary of the occurrence of Maat in the sun hymns and additional listings, see Assmann 1983a: 383.
40. Baines 1985: 66; Jankhun 1973: 19–22.

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terms is *st mꜣʿt* "Place of Truth," a term for the Theban necropolis in the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside period.[41] A Ramesside inscription from the Thutmose III temple at Deir el-Bahari equates the Gourna peak, which dominates the necropolis, with Maat: "The Great Peak of the West in this its name of Maat, the daughter of Re who resides in the sacred necropolis."[42] In the tomb of Qen, the West is referred to as the "place for those who have done Maat" (*KRI* III, 681.1).

The multiplication of the goddess' funerary epithets is attested by titles such as *nbt pt ỉmy st ỉmntt* "Mistress of Heaven who is in the West" (Q2); *ḥnwt ỉmntt* "Mistress of the West"[43] (Q5); *nbt ỉmntt ḥry-ỉb ỉgrt* "Mistress of the West who Resides in the Necropolis" (Q7); *ḥtp(t) ỉgrt* "Who satisfies the Necropolis" (Q9); *tpt ỉmntt* "Foremost of the West" (KV 9); and *Mꜣʿt nty m tꜣ ḫrt ỉmntt* "Maat, who is in the western necropolis" (*KRI* III, 7.16 [Paser]).[44] Certain of these epithets are known from the Old Kingdom,[45] but there is a multiplication of these associations in the Ramesside period. Maat's new prominence in the funerary context, which exceeds her old association with the weighing of the heart, is emphasized by texts such as those that appear in the tomb of Paser: *rdỉt ỉꜣw n Rʿ ... sn tꜣ n Mꜣʿt sꜣt Rʿ dỉ.sn ḳrst nfrt m st nḥḥ ...* "Giving praises to Re ... kissing the earth to Maat, daughter of Re, that they may give a good burial in the place of eternity..." (Q11);[46] on the pillars in the transverse hall of that tomb Maat stands behind Osiris.[47] A stela of a certain Ramesses depicts Maat seated behind Ptah as the deceased addresses a prayer which asserts that Maat and Ptah had the power that *dỉ.sn ḳrst nfrt ...* "they may give a good burial" (Bruyère 1930: 192; see also Q11). Maat's ability to effect a good burial is referred to in another text from the tomb of Paser: *ỉw ỉr.n.k Mꜣʿt n nb Wꜣst wḏ.f n.k ỉmntt ...* "You have done Maat for the Lord of Thebes, so he thereby bequeaths the West to you ..." (*KRI* I, 293.5–6). To be "joined with Maat" was a euphemism for death and justification (*KRI* III, 496.16). A passage from Papyrus Hannover 3454 recounts *dỉ(.ỉ) ḥʿỉ.k m Mꜣʿt m ḫrt-nṯr ḏt* "I cause that you shall rejoice over Maat in the necropolis forever."[48] In the tomb of Imyseba, Maat sits inside the disk that the deceased adores (Assmann 1983a: 219 [pl. 6]). In other sources, there appears to be an overall conflation of Maat and the West, perhaps due to their shared feather emblem.[49] In the Ramesside period, the feather, which the goddesses share and which can ambiguously stand for either deity, is represented as a symbol that is touched to the face of the deceased to ensure revitalization.[50]

Maat is associated with other funerary gods in Ramesside mortuary texts. She acts as a recipient of incense along with Re-Horakhty, Osiris-Wennefer, Isis, Mut, and the Greater and Lesser Enneads.

The funerary aspect of Maat in the Ramesside period is also attested by *ḥtp dỉ nsw* formulas. During that time, Maat, or Maat in conjunction with other deities, is invoked among the gods who will provide for the deceased in the afterlife.[51] Maat's association with funerary offerings is also confirmed by a reference to her in the Song of the Harper in the tomb of Paser: *Mꜣʿt dỉ.f s(t) ḫr.k wnn.t ḫnḳt ỉrp mḏt ... n.k* "Maat, he places her before you, that [you shall have] bread, beer, wine, and ointment" (*KRI* III, 8.7). A text in the

41. For *st mꜣʿt*, see Ventura 1986: 38–63; Černý 1973: 29–67; Ventura 1986: 42–50 (for comments of Ventura concerning Černý's conclusions). See also Ventura 1986: 43, no. 45, for additional references to *st mꜣʿt;* also Jankhun 1973: 20. For the use of the female determinative after the term, see Ventura 1986: 47, no. 60.

42. Translation from Ventura 1986: 47.

43. For the use of *ḥnwt* in such titles and syncretistic groupings, see Baines 1985: 27.

44. For the funerary nature and titles of Maat, see Jankhun 1973: 19–22; see also Seeber 1976: 143–47.

45. *ḫnty st ỉmntt* "Foremost of the place of the West" from Giza Mastaba G 2430 (Q6). For the association of the West and Maat in the Old Kingdom, see Jankhun 1973: 19; see also Westendorf 1966: 209.

46. See also similar passage in *KRI* III, 20.10.

47. In that scene (MMA photograph no. 2946), the traditional role of Maat is alluded to by the recitation of the deceased which is derived from the Negative Confession: *ḏd.f ỉỉ.n(.ỉ) ḫr.k ỉb.ỉ ḫr Mꜣʿt nn ỉsfwt m ḫt.ỉ n ḏd.ỉ grg ...* "He says, 'I have come before you, my heart full of Maat; there is no falsehood in my body, I have not told a lie ... .'"

48. Cited in Seeber 1976: 100, 223, no. 25. See ibid., p. 100, for other similar examples.

49. For the borrowing of such emblems and the conflation of the two goddesses, see Baines 1985: 65–66; Bonnet 1952: 433; Bruyère 1930: 191. For the conflation of the two goddesses in the Berlin papyrus, see Moret 1902: 144–45 (XXIII.9–XXIV.3); Jankhun 1973: 20.

50. Q15–16. Apparently in reference to scene 39 of the Opening of the Mouth (Otto 1960: 92–93, 99). This feather can be carried by Thoth by virtue of his association with the judgment of the dead and his association with Maat. For the association of Thoth and Maat, see Coffin Text Spell 1093B; B. Altenmüller 1975: 70; Boylan 1922: 136–41; Bleeker 1973: 121–23. For Thoth carrying the feather, see Stewart 1983, pl. 16.27 (from the Late period). Also note that Chapter XLII of the Berlin Service Book wherein Maat is presented by Thoth and the donor of Maat is equated with Thoth (Moret 1902: 138–39).

51. *KRI* I, 329.16, 341.4; *KRI* III, 2.6–7, 15.15, 20.10, 21.7, 49.5, 334.1.

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tomb of Tjay associates the one who acts in accordance with Maat with the receiving of praise from the bark of Sokar (*KRI* IV, 114.2–3).

In the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods, the Maat-feather emblem appears on a wide variety of objects associated with the funerary cult. These might appear singly, in pairs, or double pairs.[52]

Maat feathers appear frequently as emblems upon private coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty.[53] On such coffins, Isis and Nephthys, the traditional mourners for the deceased, may carry Maat feathers.[54] Coffins from the Twenty-first Dynasty also show Maat feathers in other purely mortuary settings, such as in the hands of figures who offer to the *ba* of the deceased.[55] The four sons of Horus are occasionally shown with Maat feathers in their hands.[56] This use of Maat emblems in the funerary context continues onward into the later period and is attested in the Saite period Tomb of Tjaty (Q13), in which the Maat feather is associated with the god Anubis.[57]

The appearance of *Ḥft-ḥr-nb.s*, a female deity whose head is in the form of a Maat feather (or the sign for the West), is another indication of the funerary emphasis of Maat in popular religion of the Ramesside era.[58] This goddess is shown on coffins and funerary papyri of the Ramesside period.[59] On coffins, her action is described as *dì.s ḥtpw ḏfȝw n Wsìr* ... "She gives offerings and provisions to the Osiris ..."; she can also appear in the place of Maat in scenes of the judgment of the deceased.[60]

As demonstrated, emphasis upon Maat in the mortuary realm is well attested through both textual references and iconography in the Ramesside period, casting doubt upon Assmann's assertion that Maat was no longer an important ethical feature in religion of that period. Perhaps as Assmann suggested, the goddess Maat no longer provided the only standards by which man conducted his life. However, the funerary emphasis upon Maat in Ramesside religion suggests that the goddess did not decline in importance, but that the popular conception and relevance of the goddess had shifted from primarily an ethical concept that was a standard of human behavior, to a funerary concept. In this funerary realm, her earlier role in the judgment of the deceased was broadened to emphasize her role as a goddess with wide-ranging mortuary associations. This new prominence in the funerary realm explains her continued incorporation into Ramesside non-royal iconography in a period when, according to Assmann, her primary role as an ethical concept had been effaced by the rise of personal piety. In essence, her role in private religion was modified to express not her traditional role in the regulation of human behavior, but her role in the necropolis and the afterlife.

ROYAL CONCEPTIONS OF MAAT

The continuing importance of Maat in royal religion is manifested in the many scenes of the presentation of her image on the walls of Ramesside period temples. Scenes of the presentation of Maat serve as proclamations of the king's legitimacy, a conclusion that is reached not only by the prominent placement of the scene in public areas of the temple,[61] but also by the nearly universal appearance of the king as the donor of Maat.[62] The ritual expresses the association of the king and Maat, hence of the king's cognizance of

52. Teeter 1985/86: 43–52. Also see a shawabty box in Bologna as another example of the deceased carrying Maat feathers in scenes of justification (Botti 1932, pls. 27a, 28b).
53. Seeber (1976: 144) comments that Maat's role as protector of the dead reached its zenith in the Twenty-first Dynasty.
54. Among many examples; the outer coffin of *Nsty-nbt-tawy* (JE 29716; Niwinski 1988, no. 134), as well as the middle coffin of the same woman; and the coffin of Sennu (JE 29651).
55. Coffin of *Šbti* (Twenty-first Dynasty; JE 29711; Niwinski 1988, no. 132); *Nsty-nbt-tawy* (JE 29716; Niwinski 1988, no. 134; *ba* with Maat feather).
56. Cairo coffin (Guide no. 1234). The Four Sons of Horus carry Maat feathers to Osiris.
57. See also el-Sadeek 1984, pl. 8, for an example of a deity with a Maat-feather head from the Saite tomb of Thery at Giza.
58. For this goddess, see Bleeker 1929: 54–55 (p. 61 for her being the "Maat of the Dead"); Bruyère 1930: 193–202; Černý 1973: 37; Seeber 1976: 144; Baines 1985: 30–31; Ventura 1986: 47, no. 67; E. Otto, "Chefethernebes," *LÄ* I, col. 914; W. Guglielmi, "Personifikation," *LÄ* IV, cols. 982–83; P. Vernus, "Siegreiches Theben," *LÄ* V, col. 938; Cozi 1996.
59. On coffins, see JE 29706, Amunpermwt (Niwinski 1988, no. 74); JE 29670, Pakhal; JE 29699 (anonymous); JE 29653, Amunemonet. On funerary papyri, see Piankoff 1957, pls. 15–16.
60. Coffin JE 29666 of Paduamun (Niwinski 1988, no. 75). This substitution continues far into the Late period. See the sarcophagus of Penamunopet from Qantir (in Egyptian Museum, Cairo), in which *Ḥft-ḥr-nb.s* stands by the scale.
61. See *Chapter 4: Occurrences on Monuments*, above.
62. See *Chapter 3: The Donor*, above.

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correct governance. The presentation of the name assumed upon the accession to the throne equated with Maat is another indication of the ritual's association with legitimacy. In such scenes the king's name, which in the Ramesside period is often compounded with Maat, is through the dedication inscription directly associated with the goddess. Both the offering of Maat and the royal name stress the relationship between the king and the gods; the gods have granted the king life, so the king gives the incarnation of the principles of statecraft to the deity

Assmann's assertion that the god-king relationship changed in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties as a result of the diminished role of Maat does not accord with the evidence provided by the scenes of the presentation of Maat. On the contrary, the ritual scenes provide the strongest argument against Assmann's suggestion that Maat was no longer an important religious concept in the Ramesside period.

Foremost, the iconography of the royal offering of Maat does not display any significant change from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ramesside period. Furthermore, if, as Assmann suggests, Maat was no longer an important ethical concept that guided man's behavior in the Ramesside period, one might expect representations of her to occur less frequently as a theme in tomb and temple decoration. On the contrary, a new emphasis upon Maat-related iconography can be documented by scenes of the presentation of Maat in private tombs and by the great proliferation of scenes of the presentation of her image in temples. The offering of the name equated with Maat that dates to the reign of Seti I also indicates a desire to expand the repertoire of Maat-related iconography.

The significance of the scenes of the presentation of her image does not appear to change from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. In both eras, the representations on the great temples functioned not only as an affirmation of royal legitimacy, but also as a symbol of the power of the king for the common people who visited the temples. The appearance of the scene at sites of popular supplication confirms that the ritual was intended to express the legitimacy of the king and his association with Maat to the populace, and that symbolically the king in conjunction with Maat was responsible for granting petitions and responding to prayer.[63] Myśliwiec (1985a: 9) comes close to the mark when he likens the scenes of the presentation of Maat to scenes of political propaganda, although the word "propaganda" is charged with deliberate deception that does not apply to the ancient situation. The scenes of the presentation of Maat in the temples were a visible affirmation of the king's ability to rule in accordance with the traditions of statecraft that were associated with the religious concepts embodied in Maat.

The evidence from a study of the presentation of Maat and of the name equated with Maat strongly attests not only to the continuation of the pre-Ramesside association of the king and Maat, but also to a new emphasis upon the role of Maat in relationship to kingship in the Ramesside era. Simultaneously, Maat achieved a new prominence in the funerary beliefs of the common man. Rather than confirming Assmann's suggestion of a diminution of the role of Maat, both temple and tomb reliefs attest to Maat's importance in two distinct spheres of interest. The royal conception of Maat expressed the equation of the goddess and the king's legitimacy and the ability of the king to rule in accordance with the age-old precepts of Maat. The second conception is that documented by the increase of Maat-related themes in private funerary beliefs. In essence, personal piety of the Ramesside period was not incompatible with continuing and even accentuated veneration of Maat.

* * * * * * * * * *

EXCURSUS: THE PRESENTATION OF THE ROYAL NAME AND THE STATUS OF THE RAMESSIDE KING AND MAAT

Does the ritual of the presentation of the royal name equated with Maat relate in any way to Assmann's conclusions about the changing conception of Ramesside kingship or to the conception of Maat in the Ramesside period? The representation of the ritual of the presentation of the royal name directly associated with Maat occurs first in the time of Seti I, which indicates that the ritual may have some bearing upon Assmann's proposed changes in Ramesside theology. Rössler-Köhler (1985: 939–41, 944) suggests that the

63. See *KRI* III, 298.12, for the king rather than the god as the one who hears petitions in the Eastern Temple at Karnak.

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Ramesside ritual of the presentation of the name associated with Maat can be traced to the Amarna period,[64] the era in which, according to Assmann, the impetus for many of the features of personal piety were present. More recently, Frandsen (1989: 103) states that the name of the king was associated with Maat for "the major part of the New Kingdom." Considering these variant views, it is useful to examine how far before the Ramesside period the ritual of the presentation of the royal name equated with Maat can be traced, and what, if any, implications does the ritual have for the relationship of Maat and the king in the Ramesside era.

VARIATIONS IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE NAME TO THE GODS

There are three variations in the ritual that portrays the royal name presented to the gods.

TYPE 1

The earliest variation in the ritual, here called Type 1, is first attested in the time of Amunhotep III (pl. 16). In this type of representation, the king presents his own name enclosed in cartouches to the god.[65] There is no equation of the offering with Maat either by dedication inscription or through the composition of the name as a rebus that emphasizes Maat.[66] This sort of ritual continues to be attested in the later Eighteenth Dynasty by objects recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun.[67] Type 1 scenes of the presentation of the royal name continue to be a theme in Ramesside iconography.[68] The offering in such a ritual is most often in the form of one or two ornate vessels that the king dedicates to the god. These may or may not take the form of name rebuses and may or may not be enclosed in cartouches. A non-rebus form appears among the reliefs in the Treasury of Medinet Habu (*MH* V, pl. 333); rebus examples are attested by several statues in Cairo that represent the king presenting his name to Amun.[69] A further development of the offering of a rebus of the king's name not equated with Maat is attested in the reliefs of Ramesses IV at the Temple of Khonsu.[70] These scenes resemble Type 3 of the Ramesside period in their emphasis upon the Maat hieroglyph in the rebus (see below), although the rebus is not, by means of the dedication or by the absence of a dedication, equated with Maat. In an exceptional example from the reliefs of Ramesses IV at the Khonsu Temple the dedication specifically states that the rebus, although dominated by the Maat hieroglyph is the *rn wr* "great name" (pl. 12, F18) rather than Maat.

TYPE 2

The second type of name presentation is unique to the Amarna period. In that era, the king or the queen offers the names of the Aton rather than the royal names. The recipient is the god himself.[71] As with Type 1, the name does not take the form of a rebus but rather the names appear as the normal full writing, enclosed in cartouches that are usually poised on a flat base or, less frequently, on a *nb*-shaped base.[72] The dedica-

64. See Frandsen 1988: 102 for reservations about Rössler-Köhler's conclusions.
65. See el-Nadoury 1955: 79 for comments about this scene and its association with the coronation of the king.
66. A royal name rebus that emphasizes the Maat hieroglyph is a feature of the Ramesside scenes of Types 1 and 3. Although both Amunhotep III and Hatshepsut had prenomens that could easily have formed rebuses which emphasized Maat, attestations of such compositions are lacking. For rebuses of Amunhotep III, see Luxor Museum 1979, no. 123; Hayes 1951, figs. 31–32. W. Raymond Johnson kindly noted the latter reference.
67. Gold box with rebus of the king's name (Edwards 1976, no. 19) and perhaps a cartouche-shaped box (ibid., no. 28).
68. Note that G1, 4–5 and I1 (pls. 18–21) are not included here because they do not depict the presentation of the name, but rather the acclamation of the name. See *Chapter 3: Scenes with Anomalous Donors*, above.
69. See examples in Habachi 1969, figs. 26–29; Matthiew 1930, pl. 11.3.
70. F15–18; PM II, 239 (73) right = loc. KM 365.
71. Among the examples, see J11; Aldred 1973, figs. 35 (University Museum E 16230), 47 (Tomb of Ipy); ATP 34-80, 20776; Centre Franco-égyptien d'Études des Temples de Karnak inventory no. 30.157. For scenes that depict the king supporting the names of the Aton rather than presenting them, see Aldred 1973, no. 47 (Berlin 2045); Radwan 1985a: 61, fig. 12.
72. J11; Smith and Redford 1976: 26; Aldred 1973, fig. 35 (*nb*-base); Aldred 1973, fig. 47; ATP 34-30, 20776 are on a flat base. The example from the Centre Franco-égyptien d'Études des Temples de Karnak is fragmentary and the base is not preserved.

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tion inscription of this Type 2 name offering ritual does not, through iconography or dedication, equate the name with Maat.[73]

TYPE 3

The third type of the presentation of the name first occurs during the reign of Seti I and takes the form of a rebus of the king's name directly equated with Maat by the dedication inscription (F1–8, 10–13, 19–22; H1; pls. 22, 24). This type of name presentation ritual occurs with considerable frequency in the Ramesside period. Type 3 of the ritual may involve a rebus of the king's prenomen (classes F–G), or less frequently, nomen (H1, 3). In all examples, the rebus is presented by the king to a god, and in classes F and G the Maat hieroglyph is, with the exception noted below, the dominant feature of the offering, so much so that the scene may be mistaken for the presentation of Maat rather than of the royal name. In a double scene from the High Gate at Medinet Habu that depicts the king presenting his prenomen (F12) and his nomen (H1), the Maat hieroglyph is a minor element in the rebus of the prenomen, while the nomen does not even incorporate the hieroglyph for Maat. Yet both scenes bear the dedication *ḥnk m M3ʿt n it.f.*

THE THEOLOGY OF THE OFFERING OF THE NAME

Each type of the offering of the royal name reflects a specific relationship between the donor and divine recipient.

Type 1, the offering of the royal names to the god, invokes the king's sense of piety to the god, and perhaps a dedication of himself, symbolized by his name, and his efforts on behalf of the god.[74] The single example from the reign of Amunhotep III (pl. 16) is, as indicated by the rebus of the vessel upon which the cartouches stand, a request to the god for an acclamation of "millions of years of stability for king Amunhotep III." In the case of the Ramesside examples, with few exceptions (F8, 11, 17; G2–3; H3) the name is dedicated to Amun, the "state god,"[75] suggesting that the king offers his name and thus himself to efforts of statecraft.[76]

Type 2 scenes from the Amarna period commemorate the veneration of the Aton by the king and queen. In such scenes, the king or the queen elevates the names of the god to his visible manifestation, the sun disk. With these scenes, as in Type 1, there is no equation between the donation and the goddess Maat.

However, two exceptional scenes from Amarna reflect a variation in the theology of the presentation of the name. In the tomb of Ipy at Amarna, the king elevates an offering consisting of the cartouches of the Aton, flanked by standing figures who wear the uraeus and who are therefore identified with the king. These male figures also wear three feathers on their head.[77] The multiple Maat feathers suggest that in this scene, it is the king who is associated with Maat rather than the offering (Teeter 1985/86).

On the second document, a fragment of a parapet from Amarna, the Aton's names are elevated by an intermediary figure of the queen (identified by a single uraeus) who, like Maat, squats on a *nb*-sign (Aldred 1973, no. 18). The pose of the female figure as well as the multiple feathers which appear on her head suggest that, as in the tomb of Ipy, the queen is assimilated to the role of, or otherwise associated with, Maat.[78] In this scene, the usual *ʿnh*-sign that is held by Maat is replaced by the names of the life-giving Aton. The iconography of these two anomalous scenes equates not the name that is offered with Maat, but the donor (king or queen) with Maat.

The distinctive feature of Type 3 scenes of the Ramesside period is the specific equation of the rebus with Maat, which is made very clear by the dedication that takes the form *ḥnk M3ʿt n* ... "presenting Maat

73. There are few dedication inscriptions on any of the talatat from which most of the sources herein are drawn.
74. See Frandsen 1989: 100–03 for comments about the equation of self and name.
75. F1–3, 6–7, 9–10, 12–16, 18–22; H1, 2 (Amunet).
76. Note that of ten scenes of Ramesses IV at the Temple of Khonsu, four of the scenes portray the king offering his name to Amun (F15–16, 18 [pl. 12]; H2 [pl. 11]) and six show the king presenting his name to Khonsu (F17; H3; PM II, 237 (47) 4b.11 = loc. KM 409b, 238 (64) a–b = loc. KM 371, 239 (73a–b (left)) = loc. KM 365, 237 (48) a = loc. KM 450). This proportion of scenes showing the name being offered to a god other than Amun could be due to the fact that Khonsu is the patron deity of the temple.
77. Aldred 1973, fig. 47. See also the seal impression from Amarna (J12; to be published by Rolf Krauss), which shows Akhenaton wearing three feathers on his head as he presents Maat to his own prenomen.
78. Teeter 1985/86. For the association of Nefertiti with Tefnut, see Harris 1977: 340–43; for Nefertiti as Hathor and the four goddesses of the canopic material, see G. Martin 1974: 15.

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to ..." (pls. 22, 24). Such scenes unequivocally equate the name and the king himself with Maat.[79] With few exceptions (class H), it is the prenomen, the name which was assumed upon succession to the throne[80] and which more frequently than not in the Ramesside period includes the element "Maat," that is presented to the gods. This ritual thus stresses the legitimacy of the king and his commitment to rule in accordance with the precepts of Maat, the substance "upon which the gods live."

It is only in the Type 3 scenes of the Ramesside period that there is any direct evidence for the association of Maat with the ritual presentation of the name. Type 1 scenes, which originate in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as indicated above, continue through the Ramesside period and do not evolve into Type 3 rituals as suggested by Frandsen.[81] So, too, the dissimilarities of the iconography and theology of Type 2, in which the name of the Aton is presented to the Aton, to Type 3 (direct equivalence between Maat and the royal name) puts Rössler-Köhler's suggestions in doubt.

In summary, the Ramesside era presentation of the royal name equated with Maat (Type 3) is an innovation of the Ramesside period, which is indicated most clearly by the fact that Type 1 scenes continue through the Ramesside period, during which era Type 3 scenes also appear, suggesting that the Type 1 and Type 3 rituals served different and distinct purposes.

How does this summary of the varieties of the ritual of the presentation of the name pertain to the question of the status of the king in the Ramesside period? The appearance of Type 3 in the early Ramesside period, and not before, indicates that the ritual fulfilled a desire to express a new role or dimension for the Ramesside pharaoh. The ritual stressed his new relationship with Maat and his commitment to the gods. This further development of Maat-related theology as reflected by the iconography expresses an enhanced interest in Maat and is another manifestation of the Ramesside era interest in the deity. The association of the king with Maat through the equation of Maat and the royal name does not support Assmann's (1980: 1–32; 1983b: 283–85; 1984a: 227–28, 264–65; 1984b: 687–701; 1989a: 72–82) assertion that Maat ceased to be an important feature of Ramesside religion, rather it attests to an enhanced interest in Maat. Rather than being a symbol of humility resulting from a decline in the influence of the ruler that Assmann proposes for kings of the Ramesside period, the ritual may be viewed as a symbol of confidence, of a new direct association with the world of the gods.

79. For the equation of king and name, see Englund 1987: 60; Frandsen 1989: 100–03.

80. For a discussion of when the prenomen was formulated, see Kitchen 1989: 251.

81. Frandsen (1989: 102–03) suggests that the Eighteenth Dynasty examples (here referred to as Type 1) are direct antecedents of the Ramesside scenes.

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APPENDIX

CLASSIFICATION OF SCENES

SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

In presentation scenes, the donor and the recipient always face each other. The recipient is the focus of the composition. The following conventions are employed to indicate the orientation of the participants who surround the recipient:

>	Indicates the orientation of a specific figure; faces right.
<	Indicates the orientation of a specific figure; faces left.
»	Indicates figure at left presents to figure at right.
«	Indicates figure at right presents to figure at left.
A » B	Figure A presents to figure B.
A > B > C « D	Figures A, B, and C face right; figure D facing left presents to figure C.

* * * * * * * * * *

CLASS A. KING PRESENTS MAAT WITH FULL INSCRIPTION

A1 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Thutmose III, Festival Hall
Citation: PM II, 119 (395) I.2
Participants: Thutmose III / Alexander » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ỉt.f ʾImn Rʿ ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nsyt tꜣwy m ...*

A2 PEDESTAL OF AMUNHOTEP III

Location: El-Ashmunein
Citation: Spencer 1989, pl. 40
Participants: Amunhotep III » Inscription of Thoth
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(ỉ) ḥḥw m ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs*

A3 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, First Osiris Hall
Citation: PM VI, 19 (182) a; *Abydos* III, pl. 4 (right)
Participants: Seti I » Osiris
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n nb.s ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ ḏt*
Recitations: *dỉ n(.ỉ) n.k ḥḥ ḥbw-sd ḏt m rnpwt ḥtpw*
dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḳnt (n tꜣ) nb / ʿnḫ wꜣs nb

A4 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, First Osiris Hall
Citation: PM VI, 19 (181) b; *Abydos* III, pl. 4 (left)
Participants: Seti I » Osiris
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n nb Mꜣʿt*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ỉꜣt.ỉ st.ỉ hst.ỉ ḏt sp sn*

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A5 RELIEF

Location: Kanais, Temple of Seti I, Hall
Citation: PM VII, 324 (16) (17)
Participants: Seti I » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ʾImn Rʿ nb nswt tɜwy ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *ỉr.n.k dỉ.ỉ n.k ʿnḫ wɜs*

A6 NAURI DECREE

Location: Nauri
Citation: PM VII, 174
Participants: Seti I » Amun-Re < Re-Horakhty < Ptah
Dedications: *dỉt Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ʾImn Rʿ nb nswt tɜwy*
ḥnk m Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ʾImn Rʿ nb nswt tɜwy nb pt
Recitations: Amun-Re: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḥḥ m nsyt tɜwy ḏt ḥr ỉr.n ỉb.k*
mỉ Rʿ ḏt sp sn nb tɜwy / rsy mḥtt dmḏ ḥr ṯbty.k
Re-Horakhty: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb snb nb mỉ Rʿ*

A7 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 44 (152) III.5; OIP 106, pl. 169
Participants: Seti I » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n nb.s*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb ɜw-ỉb snb nb mỉ Rʿ*

A8 STATUE PEDESTAL

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: Cairo 11/11/20/86(?)
Participants: Ramesses II » Horus *Ḫnty ḫtyt*
Dedication: *dỉ Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ mỉ Rʿ*
Recitation: *dỉ.f ʿnḫ nb ḳn nb snb nb ɜwt-ỉb nb ḥb-sd nb*

A9 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I
Citation: PM II, 420 (126) II; Osing 1977, pl. 25
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḳn n(ḫt) nb*

A10 LOOSE BLOCKS

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall, South Wall
Citation: OIP 106, pl. 81A
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.s ...*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wɜs nb ḫr.ỉ*

A11 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Osireion, Architrave
Citation: PM VI, 30 (21)–(22)
Participants: Merneptah » Osiris
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n n ỉt.f Wsỉr*
Recitations: Left: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k st.ỉ nst.ỉ ỉwʿt.ỉ*
Right: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k kɜw ḏfɜw nb*

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A12 STELA OF SETHNAKHT

Location: Elephantine
Citation: Drenkhahn 1980: 62
Participants: Sethnakht » Khnum
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n it.f nb M3ʿt mỉ Rʿ*
Recitation: *(dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k) rnpt nsyt nt ʾItm*

A13 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 23
Citation: PM II, 511 (150) (f); *MH* VI, pl. 460
Participants: Harsiese > Ramesses III » Ptah Sokar Osiris < Nerfertum
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ ḏt*
Recitations:
Harsiese: *smn.ỉ n.k 3tf ḥr tp.k šsp.k nsyt Rʿ m wḏ ỉt.k nb nṯrw Ptḥ ḳm3 nfrw.k*
Ptah Sokar Osiris: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥbw-sd n Rʿ*
Nerfertum: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḥḥ m nb t3wy*
dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ dd w3s nb snb nb

A14 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First Hypotsyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 505 (111) I.1; *MH* V, pl. 308A
Participants: Mut > Ramesses III » Re-Horakhty, *ʾIwsʿ3t*
Dedication: *dỉ M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt n it.f Rʿ Ḥr3ḫty dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitations:
Re-Horakhty: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḥḥ ḏt snb nb*
dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k 3w-ỉb nb
ʾIwsʿ3t: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k 3w-ỉb nb*

A15 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 2
Citation: PM II, 506 (120) i; *MH* V, pl. 344A
Participants: Goddess > Ptah « Ramesses III
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt (n) nb M3ʿt n it.f Ptḥ ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitations:
Ptah: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ*
Goddess: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k t3w m ḥtp*

A16 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 505 columns; *MH* VI, pl. 397D
Participants: Ramesses III » Khonsu < Goddess
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt n it.f Ḫnsw*
Recitation:
Khonsu: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḳn nb*
Goddess: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ m pt*

A17 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 24
Citation: PM II, 511 (151) g; *MH* VI, pl. 464
Participants: Khonsu > Ramesses III » Amun < Mut
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n it.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitations:
Amun: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḥḥ m nsyt t3wy*
Mut: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥbw sd ʿš3t mỉ Rʿ*

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A18 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Roof Terrace
Citation: PM II, 516 (184) 26–27; *MH* VII, pl. 555B
Participants: Seth « Ramesses III
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n ỉt.f Sth nb Wnw*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ...*

A19 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, North Exterior Wall
Citation: PM II, 520 (189); *MH* VII, pl. 584B
Participants: Ramesses III » Thoth < *Nḥmt-ʿɜy*
Dedication: *dỉ Mɜʿt n ỉt.f*
Recitations:
Thoth: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb*
Nḥmt-ʿɜy: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ m pt*

A20 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Second Court
Citation: PM II, 503 pillar 24; *MH* V, pl. 279A top
Participants: Atum « Ramesses III
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ʾỉtm*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nsyt ỉr.n.ỉ*

A21 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Ramesses III
Citation: PM II, 31 columns; *RIK* I, pl. 54D
Participants: Montu > Ramesses III » Amun-Re < Mut
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ʾỉmn*
Recitations:
Amun-Re: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥbw-sd ʿšɜw*
Mut: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wɜs nb snb nb mỉ Rʿ*
Montu: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k pḥty.ỉ wsrw(.ỉ)*

A22 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Second Court, Portico
Citation: PM II, 501 (105) II.2; *MH* V, pl. 290A
Participants: Ramesses III » Ptah in Shrine
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt n ỉt.f Pth*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥwt.k ḫr ḏfɜw ḏt sp sn*

A23 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Room 2
Citation: PM II, 238 (58) I
Participants: Edjo > Ramesses IV » Ptah < Sekhmet
Dedication: *rdỉt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ỉr. f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitations:
Ptah: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ Rʿ m pt*
dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k rnpwt n ỉtm
Sekhmet: *dỉ.s hh.s r ḫftyw.k*
Edjo: *dỉ.n n.k. ḥbw-sd ʿšɜw mỉ Rʿ ḏt*

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A24 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Room 2
Citation: PM II, 238 (58)
Participants: Sekhmet > Ptah « Ramesses IV < Buto
Dedication: *rdìt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitation: Ptah: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ m pt / rnpwt nt ʾItm*

A25 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Room 3
Citation: PM II, 238 (62)
Participants: Atum « Ramesses IV < Nebethetep
Dedication: *rdìt Mɜʿt n ìt.f ʾItm*
Recitations: Atum: *dì.n(.ì) n.k rnpwt ḥry-ìb tɜ*
Nebethetep: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ rnpwt n mr.ì*

A26 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Room 2
Citation: PM II, 258 (56) I
Participants: Nekhbet > Ramesses IV » Ptah < Hathor
Dedication: ... *Mɜʿt ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitation: Nekhbet: *dì.s ḥbw sd*

A27 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Corridor Around Sanctuary
Citation: PM II, 235 (37) 6
Participants: Ramesses IV » Khonsu
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ìt.f Ḫnsw nfr ḥtp ìr n.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k nḥḥ m nsw tɜwy /// m ḥkɜ ɜwt-ìb nst Gb /// ʿḥʿ m pt*

A28 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 231 (22) I.3; *Khonsu* I, pl. 74
Participants: Theban Triad « Herihor < Thoth
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ìt.f ʾImn Rʿ nsw nṯrw nb pt ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations: Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.k.ʿnḫ wɜs nb mì Rʿ*
Khonsu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḳny nb / snb nb ɜwt-ìb nb*
Thoth: *sš.ì n.k ḥbw-sd n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾItm smn.ì* [*rn*].*k m nsw tɜwy ḏt sp sn*

A29 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Column in the Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 232 column 26; *Khonsu* I, pl. 104
Participants: Herihor » Theban Triad
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb.s*
Recitations: Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.k nsyt ìr.n.ì*
Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.k nst Rʿ*
dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb
Khonsu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb ɜw-ìb nb*

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A30 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 232 architrave; *Khonsu* II, pl. 141C–D (= two scenes)
Participants: Mut > Herihor » Amun-Re
Dedication: Scenes C–D: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt irf dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations: Scene C: Amun-Re: *dì.n(.i) n.k nḥḥ m nsw tɜwy ir.k ḥḥ rnpt mì ʾItm*
Mut: *dì.n(.i) n.k ḳn nb nḫt nb tɜ nb dmḏ ḫr ṯbty.k mì Rʿ ḏt*
Scene D: Amun-Re: *dì.n(.i) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wɜs nb snb nb ɜwt-ib nb tɜw nb ḫɜst nb ḫr ṯbty.k*
Mut: *dì.n(.i) n.k mnw.k mn mì pt mn wɜḥ n ḏt*

A31 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 230 (17–18) I.6; *Khonsu* I, pl. 40
Participants: Hathor > Herihor » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ir.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations: Amun-Re: *dì.n(.i) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wɜs nb*
Hathor: *dì.n(.i) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ*

A32 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Column in Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 232 column 22; *Khonsu* I, pl. 99
Participants: Herihor » Amun-Re < Khonsu
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ir.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations: Amun-Re: *dì.n(.i) n.k ḥb-sd n Rʿ m pt*
Khonsu: *dì.n(.i) n.k tɜw nbw m ḥtpw*
dì.n(.i) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wɜs nb snb nb

A33 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 230 (17) I.2; *Khonsu* I, pl. 36
Participants: Herihor » Amun-Re < Mut < Khonsu
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n nb.s*
Recitations: Mut: *dì.s ʿnḫ ḏd wɜs snb*
Khonsu: *dì.n(.i) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ*

A34 TANWETAMANI DREAM STELA

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: JE 48863; Grimal 1981b, pls. I, Ia
Participants: Piry > Tanwetamani » Amun-Re
Dedication: *dì Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ʾImn ir.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations: *dì.n(.i) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb*
dì.n(.i) n.k tɜw nbw psḏwt dmḏ ḫr ṯbty.k ḏt

A35 EXCOMMUNICATION STELA

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: JE 48865; Grimal 1981b, pls. VIII, VIIIa
Participants: Aspelta(?) » Amun-Re < Mut < Khonsu
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ʾImn ir.f dì ʿnḫ mì Rʿ*
Recipients: Amun: *dì.n(.i) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb*
Mut: *dì.n(.i) n.k snb nb*
Khonsu: *dì.n(.i) n.k ɜwt-ib nb*

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CLASS B. KING PRESENTS MAAT WITH PARTIAL INSCRIPTION

B1 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Room 5A (recarved by Philip)
Citation: PM II, 91(260) II.3 (c)
Participants: Left: Amun « Thutmose III
Dedication: [*dỉ*(?) *M3ʿt*] *n ỉt.f ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Participants: Right: Thutmose III » Amun
Dedication: *dỉ M3ʿt n ỉt.f ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*

B2 STELA OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUNHOTEP I

Location: London, British Museum
Citation: BM 153; *Hiero. Texts* 6, pl. 42
Participants: Thutmose III » Theban Triad < Hathor
Dedication: *rdỉt M3ʿt n nb ḥtpt*

B3 STELA

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum (Western Thebes, reused in the mortuary temple of Merneptah)
Citation: CG 34026; PM II, 448
Participants: Amunhotep III » Amun
Dedications: *rdỉt M3ʿt n nb.s dỉ ʿnḫ*
rdỉ ỉrpt n ʾImn ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ

B4 BLOCK

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Block Yard
Citation: Block B5 W40; Eaton-Krauss 1988, fig. 2
Participants: Tutankhamun / Aye » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk m M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt*

B5 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, Osiris Annex
Citation: PM VI, 19 (177); *Abydos* III, pl. 16
Participants: Seti I » Hor-Bhedty
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n nb M3ʿt ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ mỉ Rʿ*

B6 RELIEF

Location: Luxor, Luxor Temple, Colonnade, Column F
Citation: PM II, 316 F
Participants: Seti I » Amun < Mut
Dedication: *ḥnk m M3ʿt* (*n*) *nb.s ʾImn Rʿ ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*

B7 RELIEF

Location: TT 106, Paser, Transverse Hall
Citation: PM I/1, 222 (10) I.1
Participants: Seti I » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt* [*n ỉt*].*s*

B8 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Ptah
Citation: Stela of Seti I; PM II, 198 (8)
Participants: Ptah « Seti I < Hathor
Recitation: Ptah: *dỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k ḳn nḫt r ḫ3st nb*

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B9 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Temple of Ramesses II, Room 11
Citation: PM VI, 38 (55)
Participation: Goddess > Osiris « Ramesses II
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*

B10 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, Court of Ramesses II
Citation: PM VI, 3 (31)
Participants: Ramesses II » Theban Triad
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.f*

B11 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Portico
Citation: PM II, 409 (8)–(13) (II) 2
Participants: Re-Horakhty « Ramesses II < Seti
Dedications: Re-Horakhty: *... Mɜʿt n RʿḤrɜḫty ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ ḏt*
Seti: *snṯr n RʿḤrɜḫty nṯr ʿɜ nb pt*

B12 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Eighth Pylon, Doorway
Citation: PM II, 175 (520) (c) II
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḫt ḫpš.ỉ pḥty.ỉ wsr.ỉ*

B13 RELIEF

Location: Abydos, Temple of Ramesses II, First Octostyle Hall
Citation: PM VI, 36 (36)–(37)
Participants: Ramesses II » Ptah / Osiris < Ramesses II
Dedication: Left + right: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*

B14 RELIEF

Location: Beit el-Wali, Temple of Ramesses II
Citation: PM VII, 25 (28); *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 1, 31B
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun
Dedication: *ỉrt Mɜʿt ỉr n.f m dỉ ʿnḫ*

B15 RELIEF

Location: Derr
Citation: *LD* III, pl. 183b
Participants: Ramesses II » Khnum
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḳn nḫt*

B16 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, South Court of Thutmose III
Citation: PM II, 95 (271) II
Participants: Merneptah* » Amun-Re
[*first attributed to "Thutmose III"]
Recitation: *dỉ.n n.k ʿḥʿ (ʾItm)*

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B17 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, South Court of Thutmose III, Entrance
Citation: PM II, 95 (270) (a–b)
Participants: Amunmesse* » Amun
[*first attributed to "Thutmose III"]
Dedication: Defaced

B18 RELIEF

Location: KV 11, Ramesses III, Corridor S
Citation: PM I/2 524 (39)
Participants: Left: Ramesses III » Osiris
Right: Osiris « Ramesses III
Dedications: Left: *dỉt Mɜʿt n ỉt.f Wsỉr ỉr.f dỉ m wɜs ḏd wɜs*
Right: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.f Wsỉr*

B19 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 505 (113)–(114) I; *MH* V, pl. 315B
Participants: Ramesses III » Horus < Goddess
Dedication: *dỉ Mɜʿt n ỉt.f Ḥr*

B20 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First Pylon
Citation: PM II, 491 (60); *MH* VI, pl. 434G
Participants: Ramesses III » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.f ʾỉmn*

B21 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Osiris Chapel, Room 25
Citation: PM II, 511 (152) (h) 2; *MH* VI, pl. 480B
Participants: Isis > Osiris « Ramesses III
Recitations: Isis: *dỉ.s ḥbw sd ʿšɜw wrw*
Osiris: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ m pt*

B22 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 3
Citation: PM II, 506 (121) g I; *MH* V, pl. 345A
Participants: Ramesses III » Thoth on Standard
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt n ...*

B23 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Ramesses III, Hypostyle Hall, Column
Citation: PM II, 31columns; *RIK* I, pl. 54B
Participants: Seshat > Ramesses III » Khonsu < Maat
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k Mɜʿt m nsyt.k*

B24 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First Pylon
Citation: PM II, 484 (16) II; *MH* VIII, pl. 608
Participants: Ramesses III » Ptah < Sekhmet
Recitations: Ptah: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾỉtm / snb nbɜwt-ỉb nb ḏt nḥḥ*
Sekhmet: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥbw-sd ʿšɜw wrw mỉ Rʿ hrw nb*

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B25 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Guard House
Citation: PM II, 483 (10)–(11); *MH* VIII, pl. 596
Participants: Montu > Ramesses IV » Amun-Re < Mut < Khonsu
Recitations:
Montu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ /// n Rʿ rnpwt ///*
dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb ꜣwt-ìb ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs ḏt ḥr st Ḥr
dì.n(.ì) n.k /// ʿšꜣw wrw
Amun-Re: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ṯꜣw nbw ḥtpw ḏt*
dì.n(.ì) n.k nsyt ʿꜣt mì Rʿ
Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb ꜣwt-ìb nb mì Rʿ*
Khonsu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḳny nḫt nb mì Rʿ ḏt*
dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs snb (mì) Rʿ

B26 BLOCK

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Block Yard
Citation: Block B5 W42, Unpublished
Participants: Ramesside King » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mꜣʿt n ìt.s*

B27 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Pylon
Citation: PM II, 229 (12) g; *Khonsu* II, pl. 122B
Participants: Pinudjem I » Inscription
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n Ḫnsw m Wꜣst nfr-ḥtp ìr.f dì ʿnḫ ḏt*

B28 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, East Inner Room
Citation: PM II, 206 (22) I
Participants: Left: Thoth > Amun « Osorkon III
Recitation: Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḥbw-sd ʿšꜣw wrw ḫʿ ḥr st Ḥr /// ìmy ʾIpt-swt*
Participants: Right: Takalot > Atum < Shu
Recitation: (Inscription Illegible)

B29 RELIEF

Location: Tanis, Tomb of Shoshenq III
Citation: Plate 17; Montet 1960, pl. 29.
Participants: Sokar « Horus Name Shoshenq III
Dedication: *mn n.k Mꜣʿt.k sḏꜣ tp.k ...*

B30 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, Hall
Citation: PM II, 205 (5) II.1
Participants: Shebitku » Amun
Dedication: *rdìt Mꜣʿt n ìt.f ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*

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CLASS C. KING PRESENTS MAAT WITH NO INSCRIPTION

C1 RELIEF
Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Third Pylon
Citation: PM II, 61 (183)
Participants: Amunhotep III » Amun

C2 NAOS
Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: CG 70025; Roeder 1914, pl. 35a
Participants: Amun-Re « Amunhotep III

C3 RELIEF
Location: Luxor, Luxor Temple, Colonnade Hall, East Wall
Citation: PM II, 315 (82); *Opet*, pl. 80
Participants: Tutankhamun » Amun

C4 GOLD RING OF TUTANKHAMUN
Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: Carter no. 256ccc; Edwards 1976, pl. 5 (right)
Participant: Tutankhamun

C5 STELA FRAGMENT
Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun
Citation: Schaden 1985: 35–36
Participants: Tutankhamun » Amun < Mut

C6 RELIEF
Location: Luxor, Luxor Temple, Colonnade Hall, West Wall
Citation: PM II, 314 (77)–(81) 3; *Opet*, pl. 16
Participants: Left: Tutankhamun » Amun
Right: Mut > Amun « Tutankhamun

C7 RELIEF
Location: Memphis, Temple of Ramesses II, Pylon
Citation: PM III, 844
Participants: Seti I » Ptah Sekhmet

C8 POPOLO OBELISK (TWO SCENES)
Location: Rome
Citation: PM VII, 409 (2)
Participants: Re « Seti I

C9 RELIEF
Location: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, Inner Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM VI, 9 columns; *Abydos* IV, pl. 67
Participants: *Ḥr-sȝ-ȝst* « Seti I

C10 RELIEF
Location: Abydos, Temple of Ramesses II, First Octostyle Hall
Citation: PM VI, (36)
Participants: Ramesses II » Khepri

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C11 RELIEF
Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Court XLII
Citation: PM II, 420 (131)1; Osing 1977, pl. 1.1
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun-Re

C12 STELA
Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I
Citation: PM II, 409 (14)
Participants: Amunmesse » Theban Triad and King

C13 RELIEF
Location: Wadi Hammamat
Citation: PM VII, 333 (12); *LD* III, pl. 219e
Participants: Nekhbet > Bastet « Theban Triad > Ramesses IV < Min < Harsiese < Isis < Wadjyet

C14 RELIEF
Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, North Court of Thutmose III
Citation: PM II, 92 (262)
Participants: Taharka » Deity

CLASS D. KING PRESENTS MAAT WITH INSCRIPTION OTHER THAN OFFERING FORMULA

D1 RELIEF
Location: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, Second Court, Facade
Citation: PM VI, 3 (36); *KRI* II, 323
Participants: Ramesses II » Osiris < Isis < Seti I
Inscription: (See *KRI* II, 323)

D2 RELIEF
Location: Abydos, Osireion, Entrance Passage, East Wall
Citation: PM VI, 29 (1)–(2); Frankfort 1933, pl. 22
Participants: Merneptah » Horus
Texts: King: *ỉỉ.n(.ỉ) ḥr.k sȝ Wsỉr ḫnm.kwỉ m mȝʿt rʿ nb ḥnk.ỉ*
n.k st ỉw.ỉ tp tȝ bwt n(.ỉ) ỉsft m rk(.ỉ)
Horus: *dỉ.f ṯȝw nḏm n ʿnḫ nb ḥr.f*
Text Behind King: *wnn nsw (Bȝ n [Rʿ mr n Ptḥ]) mȝʿ ḫrw ḥr ḥnk Mȝʿt n [Ḥr] sȝ Wsỉr ḏt*

D3 RELIEF
Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Court between Fifth and Sixth Pylons
Citation: PM II, 86 (226)
Participants: Ramesses III » Amun-Re (with small figure of Ahmose Nofertari between them)
Text: *... Mȝʿt ḥr ḥr Mȝʿt mr Mȝʿt ... Mȝʿt ḥtp.f ḥr Mȝʿt*

D4 OSTRACA
Location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Citation: MMA 14.6.215 + MMA Old Catalog 25017; Unpublished
Participants: Ramesses IX Censes and Holds Maat
Text: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k snṯr ỉrp šdḥ mnḥt n ʾỉmn Rʿ nsw nṯrw ...*

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CLASS E. KING PRESENTS MAAT IN THE PRESENCE OF MAAT

E1 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 504 column 22; *MH* VI, pl. 370
Participation: Maat > Amun-Re « Ramesses III < Thoth
Dedication: (*ḥnk M3ʿt*) *n ỉt*(*.f ʾImn*)
Recitations:
Amun-Re: *dỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k nḥḥ m ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs*
Thoth: *dỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k ʿḥʿ. r nḥḥ mnṯ m nsw tȝwy Kmt dsrt ḥr ṯbty.k ḥʿ.ṯ mỉ Rʿ*
Maat: *dỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k nḥḥ m nsw tȝwy Ḥr ʿȝ nsyt*
dỉ.n(*.ỉ*) *n.k nḥḥw m ḥbw-sd ḥfnw m rnpwt ḏt m ʿnḫ wȝs*
dỉ.n(*.ỉ*) *n.k ḳn nb nḫt nb*
dỉ.n(*.ỉ*) *n.k snb nb ȝwt-ỉb nb*
(*dỉ*)*.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾỉtm*

E2 RELIEF

Location: Wadi Hammamat
Citation: PM VII, 333 (240); *LD* III, pl. 223c; *KRI* VI, 9–11
Participants: Upper: Maat > Ramesses IV » Amun-Re < Min < Isis
Participants: Lower: Thoth > Ramesses IV » Onuris < Osiris Standard < Isis < Horus

E3 RELIEF

Location: KV 6, Ramesses IX, Corridor C
Citation: PM I/2 503 (18) I
Participants: Ptah (Small Figure Maat) « Ramesses IX

E4 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Forecourt
Citation: PM II, 230 (19) I.2; *Khonsu* I, pl. 49
Participants: Herihor » Khonsu < Maat
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n ỉt.f Ḫnsw ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitation:
Khonsu: *dỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k nḥḥ m nsw tȝwy*
dỉ.n(*.ỉ*) *n.k tȝw nbw ḫȝswt nbw*

CLASS F. KING PRESENTS PRENOMEN

F1 RELIEF

Location: Kanais, Temple of Seti I, Forecourt
Citation: PM VII, 323 (7)
Participants: Seti I » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n ỉt.f ʾImn Rʿ ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ mỉ Rʿ*
Recitation: [*dỉ.n n*]*.k phty Mnṯ n sȝ nw*

F2 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 410 (24) II.1
Participants: Seti I » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk M3ʿt n nb.s*
Recitations: *dỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *n.k tȝw nbw psḏt dmḏ ḥr ṯbt.k*
dỉ.n(*.ỉ*) *n.k ʿḥʿ Rʿ rnpwt n ỉtm*

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F3 LOOSE BLOCK

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I
Citation: Plate 24; loc. Gourna 357; Stadelmann 1989: 22–23
Participants: Mut > Amun « Seti I
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt* ...
Recitations: Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿnḫ wꜣs*
Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḳnt nb nḫt nb mì Rʿ*

F4 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Side Room 14
Citation: PM II, 414 (70) a–b
Participants: Seti I » Falcon-headed God < Goddess
Dedication: ... *n nb Mꜣʿt ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k phty Mnṯ n sꜣ Nwt / ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs mì Rʿ*

F5 RELIEF

Location: Luxor, Luxor Temple, Court of Ramesses II
Citation: PM II, 307 (27) II.3
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun < Mut
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ìt.f ʾImn Rʿ ... ìn nsw bìt ... ìw.f rḫ ḥtp ḥr.s*
Recitation: Mut: *dì.ì ʿḥʿ.k* ...

F6 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Temple of Amun Re-Horakhty, Outer Hall
Citation: PM II, 211 (30) (left) 2
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ìt.f ʾImn ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs nb / snb nb*

F7 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Exterior
Citation: PM II, 421 (133)–(134) II.13; Osing 1977, pl. 16
Participants: Ramesses II » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mꜣʿt n nb Mꜣʿt*
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb*

F8 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Exterior
Citation: PM II, 421 (133)–(134) II.2; Osing 1977, pl. 11
Participants: Ramesses II » Mut
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mꜣʿt n mwt.f*
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ / ḳnt (nb)*

F9 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall, Interior South Wall
Citation: PM II, 48 (159) II.8; OIP 106, pl. 75
Participants: Amun « Ramesses II
Recitation: ... *wn rn.k mn ḏdw m ʾIpt-swt*

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F10 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Ramesses III, Exterior
Citation: PM II, 34 (123); *RIK* II, pl. 98A
Participants: Ramesses III » Amun-Re < Khonsu
Dedication: *rdìt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations:
Amun-Re: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḥfnw m ḥbw sd mì Tɜtɜtn*
dì.n(.ì) n.k ḳny nb nḥt nb mì Rʿ
dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ nsyt ʿɜt
dì.n(.ì) n.k phty Ḥr Stḫ nbty pšn m tɜ pn
Khonsu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k nb phty (n) Ḥr Stḫ nbty pšw m tɜ pn*

F11 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Ramesses III, Exterior
Citation: PM II, 34 (123) I.1; *RIK* II, pl. 99B
Participants: Sekhmet > Ptah « Ramesses III < Sobek
Dedication: *rdìt Mɜʿt n ìt.f Ptḥ nb Mɜʿt ìr n.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitations:
Sekhmet: *dì Sḫmt hht r ḥftyw.k*
Ptah: *dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb*
dì.n(.ì) n.k ɜwt-ìb nb

F12 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, High Gate
Citation: PM II, 485 (22) a–b; *MH* VIII, pl. 617B
Participants: Ramesses III » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜʿt n ìt.f ʾImn Rʿ ìr.f dì ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḥbw-sd ʿšɜw wrw*

F13 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 32
Citation: PM II, 513 (163) f; *MH* VII, pl. 499
Participants: Maat > Hathor(?) > Amun-Re « Ramesses III < Seshat
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ìt.f ʾImn Re*
Recitations:
Hathor(?): *dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb ɜwt-ìb nb*
Maat: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ m pt*

F14 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Pylon
Citation: PM II, 484 (14) I; *MH* VIII, pl. 603
Participants: Ramesses III » Amun-Re-Horakhty < Maat
Recitations:
Amun-Re-Horakhty: *dì.n(.ì) n.k snb nb ɜwt ìb nb*
dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾItm
Maat: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḥbw sd ʿšɜw wrw*

F15 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory
Citation: PM II, 235 (38) II.2
Participants: Amunet > Ramesses IV » Amun
Recitations:
Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḳny nb nḥt nb*
Amunet: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ʿnḫ wɜs nb mì Rʿ*

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F16 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory
Citation: PM II, 236 (40) II.5
Participants: Mut > Amun « Ramesses IV
Recitations:
Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ꜥḥꜥ n Rꜥ m ḥrt*
dì.n(.ì) n.k st.ì nst.ì ỉɜt.ì
Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.k nsyt Rꜥ*

F17 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory
Citation: PM II, 236 (41) I
Participants: Khonsu « Ramesses IV < Isis
Recitations:
Khonsu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ꜥnḫ ḏd wɜs nb mì Rꜥ*
Isis: *dì[t].ì ꜥwy.ì m sɜ ḥɜ ḥr.k smn.ì* [?].*k mì Rꜥ*...

F18 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Bark Sanctuary
Citation: Plate 12; loc. KM 402; PM II, 236 (42) II.1
Participants: Ramesses IV » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk.ì n.k rn wr prì* [...].*k ỉr(.ì) n.k ḥr nst.k*
Recitation:
Amun: *dì.n n.k ḳn nḫt nb mì Rꜥ*...

F19 RELIEF

Location: Gebel Silsila West
Citation: *LD* III, pl. 223b
Participants: Sobek > Khonsu > Mut > Amun « Ramesses V
Dedication: *dì Mɜꜥt n nb Mɜꜥt n ỉt.f ỉr.f dì ꜥnḫ*
Recitations:
Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḳny ḥr ḫpš.f*
Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.k ḥbw sd ꜥɜwt*
Khonsu: *dì.n(.ì) n.k tɜw m ḥtp dmḏ ḥr ṯbty.k*
Sobek: *dì.n(.ì) n.k tɜ nb m ḳsì*

F20 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Outer Enclosure Wall
Citation: PM II, 482 (3) and (4); loc. MHE 134/135
Participants: Sekhmet > Ramesses VI » Theban Triad < Prince(?)
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜꜥt n ỉt.f ỉmn Rꜥ ỉr.f* [*dì ꜥnḫ*]
Recitation: *dì.n(.ì) n.k tɜ nb ḥr ṯbty.k*

F21 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Hypostyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 233 (25) I.1; *Khonsu* II, pl. 177
Participants: Ramesses XI » Amun
Dedication: *ḥnk m Mɜꜥt n nb.s*

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F22 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Hypstyle Hall
Citation: PM II, 233 (27) I; *Khonsu* II, pl. 189
Participants: Thoth > Ramesses XI » Theban Triad
Dedication: *ḥnk m M3ʿt n it.f ʾImn ir.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitations: Thoth: *sš.ỉ n.k ḥb-sd n Rʿ rnpwt n ʾItm m wḏ.n n.k nb nṯrw ʾImn nb nswt t3wy*
Mut: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ w3s nb 3wt-ỉb nb*
Khonsu: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) ḳn nb nḥt nb / nḥḥ m ... ʿnḫ w3s nb snb nb [3wt-ỉb?] nb mỉ [Rʿ] ḏt*

CLASS G. KING PRESENTS PRENOMEN WITHOUT INSCRIPTION

G1 CENOTAPH OF SETI I

Location: Abydos, Osireion, East Side of Roof of Sarcophagus Chamber
Citation: Plate 18; PM VI, 30; Frankfort 1933, pl. 74
Participants: Re « Seti I

G2 RELIEF

Location: Gourna, Temple of Seti I, Exterior
Citation: PM II, 421 (133)–(134) III.6; Osing 1977, pl. 3
Participants: Ramesses II » Ptahtatenen

G3 RELIEF

Location: Wadi Hammamat
Citation: PM VII, 333 (222)
Participants: Ramesses IV » Min < Isis < Harsiese

G4 RELIEF

Location: KV 9, Tomb of Ramesses VI, Hall H
Citation: Plate 19; PM I/2 515 ceiling; Piankoff 1957, pls. 183–84
Participants: Re « Ramesses VI < Female Deity

G5 RELIEF

Location: Tanis, Tomb of Shoshenq III, South Wall
Citation: Plate 21; Montet 1960, pl. 30
Participants: Re « Shoshenq III < Female Deity

CLASS H. KING PRESENTS NOMEN

H1 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, High Gate
Citation: PM II, 485 (22) (a)–(b); *MH* VIII, pl. 617C
Participants: Amun-Re « Ramesses III
Dedication: *ḥnk m M3ʿt n it.f ʾImn Rʿ nsw nṯrw ir.f dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḥḥ m nsw t3wy*

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H2 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory
Citation: Plate 11; loc. KM 367; PM II, 236(40) II.2
Participants: Amunet « Ramesses IV
Dedication: *ḥnk rn špsy n mwt.f ʾImnt ḥry-ỉb ỉpt*
Recitations: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs nb snb nbʾw-ỉb nb ḳny ḫht nb n nsyt ʾItm m ʿnḫ wȝs*

H3 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, Room 4A
Citation: PM II, 239 (73)
Participants: Right: Khonsu « Ramesses IV
Recitation: Khonsu: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nsywt n ʾItm m ///*

CLASS I. KING PRESENTS NOMEN AND PRENOMEN

I1 RELIEF

Location: KV 6, Thebes, Tomb of Ramesses IX, Hall F
Citation: Plate 20; PM I/II 505 (28)
Participants: Two aspects of Ramesses IX support cartouches, with standing figure of Maat between them

CLASS J. AMUNHOTEP IV/AKHENATON OR NEFERTITI PRESENT MAAT

J1 TALATAT

Location: Karnak
Citation: ATP 3.2
Participants: Aton « Amunhotep IV

J2 TALATAT

Location: Karnak
Citation: CFTEK 25-209A
Participants: Amunhotep IV » Offering List

J3 TALATAT

Location: Karnak
Citation: CFTEK 32-391
Participants: Aton « Amunhotep IV

J4 TALATAT

Location: Karnak
Citation: CFTEK 36-123
Participants: Amunhotep IV » Aton

J5 TALATAT

Location: Karnak
Citation: CFTEK 25-95
Participants: Amunhotep IV » Aton

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J6 TALATAT
Location: Karnak
Citation: ATP 83: 4
Participants: Nefertiti » Aton

J7 TALATAT
Location: Karnak
Citation: ATP 05-10(?)
Participants: Nefertiti » Aton

J8 TALATAT
Location: Karnak
Citation: ATP 1717-3/1696–10
Participants: Aton « Nefertiti

J9 TALATAT
Location: Karnak
Citation: Tawfik 1973, pl. XXIXb
Participants: Aton « Nefertiti

J10 TALATAT
Location: Karnak
Citation: ATP 75.2
Participants: Amunhotep IV » Aton

J11 ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT
Location: Amarna
Citation: Brooklyn 41.82; Aldred 1973: 104–05
Participants: Aton « Nefertiti

J12 SEAL IMPRESSION
Location: Amarna
Citation: Seal Impression 25.145, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
Participants: Prenomen Akhenaton « Akhenaton

CLASS K. GOD'S WIFE PRESENTS MAAT

K1 RELIEF
Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, Hall, East Wall
Citation: PM II, 205 (6) I.1
Participants: Shepenwepet I » Amun-Re
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.s ʾImn Rʿ ỉr.f dỉ ʿnḫ ḏt*

K2 SCENE ON DOOR JAMB
Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, Door Jamb
Citation: PM II, 205 (4) (a) II; Leclant 1965, pl. 24
Participants: Amunirdis I » Amun
Dedication: *rdỉt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt [ỉr.s?] dỉ ʿnḫ*

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K3 RELIEF

Location: Medinet Habu, Chapel of Amunirdis, Facade
Citation: PM II, 476 (2) II; loc. MHC 7/8
Participants: Hathor > Amun-Re « Amunirdis I
Dedication: *dỉt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ỉr.s ʿnḫ.tỉ ḍt*
Recitations: Amun-Re: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.t nsyt ʾỉtm*
Hathor: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ʿḥʿ n Rʿ m (pt)*

K4 RELIEF FRAGMENT

Location: Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art
Citation: Brooklyn 87.184.1; Fazzini et al. 1989, no. 70
Participants: Khonsu > Amun « Amunirdis I
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.s ʾỉmn Rʿ ỉr.s ʿnḫ.tỉ*
Recitation: Amun: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.t ʿnḫ wɜs nb, dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.t snb nb*

K5 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Nebankh
Citation: PM II, 195 (5); Leclant 1965, pl. 9
Participants: Shepenwepet II » Amun-Re < Mut
Dedication: *ḥnk Mɜʿt [n] ʾỉmn Rʿ ỉr.s dỉ ʿnḫ ḍt*

K6 LINTEL FRAGMENT

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: Leclant 1965, pl. 67B
Participants: Shepenwepet II » Amun-Re
Dedication: *dỉt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt ỉr.s dỉ ʿnḫ*
Recitation: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.t wɜs ʿnḫ nb*

K7 LINTEL FRAGMENT

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: JE 29251; Leclant 1965, pl. 67A
Participants: Left: Amunirdis II » Amun-Re < Mut
Dedication: *rdỉt nt Mɜʿt n ỉt.s ʾỉmn nb nst tɜwy*
Recitations: Amun: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.t ʿnḫ wɜs nbt*
Mut: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.t ʿnḫ wɜs nb snb nb mỉ Rʿ ḍt*
Center: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.ṯ ʿnḫ wɜs nb snb nb ɜwt-ỉb nb ḫʿ.ṯ ḥr st Tf(n)t mỉ Rʿ ḍt*
Participants: Right: Khonsu > Amun-Re « Nitocris
Dedication: *rdỉt Mɜʿt n ỉt.s ʾỉmn nb nst tɜwy*
Recitations: Amun: *dỉ n(.ỉ) n.ṯ ʿnḫ wɜs nb*
Khonsu: *dỉ n(.ỉ) n.t ʿnḫ wɜs nb snb nb mỉ Rʿ ḍt*
Center: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.ṯ ʿnḫ wɜs nb snb nb ɜwt-ỉb nb ḫʿ.ṯ ḥr st Wɜḏyt mỉ Rʿ ḍt*

K8 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Nebankh
Citation: PM II, 13 (43)
Participants: Pabasa > Nitocris » Amun-Re
Dedication: *dỉ ḥb-sd* (A)
Recitation: [*ḥnk*?] *Mɜʿt n ỉt.s ʾỉmn Rʿ nb pt mỉ Rʿ ḍt*

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K9 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris-Onuphris Nebzefa
Citation: PM II, 193 (1) (b) IIId; *LD* III, pl. 273e
Participants: Shoshenq > Ankhnesneferibre » Theban Triad

K10 RELIEF

Location: Karnak, Chapel of Amasis and Nitocris
Citation: PM II, 192 (1) c; *LD* III, pl. 274c
Participants: Shoshenq > Ankhnesneferibre » Theban Triad
Recitations: Amun: *dì.n(.ì) n.t ꜥnḫ wꜣs nb*
Mut: *dì.n(.ì) n.t snb nb ꜥw-ìb nb*

CLASS L. QUASI-ROYAL (OTHER THAN GOD'S WIFE) AS DONOR OF MAAT

L1 BUBASTITE PORTAL

Location: Karnak
Citation: PM II, 35 (125); *RIK* III, pl. 16
Participants: A: Osorkon » Takalot > Amun-Re
Dedication: *«rdìt Mꜣꜥt» n nb Mꜣꜥt shtp.f m mr.f*
Participants: B: Amun-Re > Takalot « Osorkon
Dedication: *... Mꜣꜥt ḥsw wì nṯrw ...*

L2 STÈLE DE L'APANAGE

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: Cairo 800; Legrain 1897: 12–16
Participants: Left: Iuwelot » Amun-Re
Participants: Right: Khonsu > Amun-Re « Iuwelot

CLASS M. NON-ROYAL INDIVIDUAL PRESENTS MAAT

M1 RELIEF

Location: TT 111
Citation: Plate 1; PM I/1, 229 (2)
Participant: Amunwahsu

M2 RELIEF

Location: TT 184 (questionable)
Citation: PM I/1, 291 (10)
Participant: Nefermenu

M3 RELIEF

Location: TT 290
Citation: Plate 3; PM I/1, 373 (7)
Participants: Irynefer » Ptah

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M4 RELIEF
Location: TT 335
Citation: Plate 4; PM I/1, 402 (14)
Participants: Thoth « Amunnakht < "Sister" < Seshat

M5 RELIEF
Location: TT 102
Citation: PM I/1, 215 (2)
Participant: Imhotep
Dedication: *ỉỉ.n.ỉ ḥr.k ꜥwy.ỉ ḥr Mɜꜥt ỉw Mɜꜥt ḥr ḏbꜥw.ỉ*

M6 STATUE (PRIEST WITH MAAT)
Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: Cairo 28/4/21/11

M7 STATUE (PRIEST WITH MAAT)
Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: No Registration Number

M8 STELA OF HARSIESE
Location: London, British Museum
Citation: Plate 5; BM 66421; *Hiero. Texts* 11, pl. 6.2
Participants: Re-Horakhty « Harsiese

M9 BLOCK STATUE OF NESPEKASHUTY
Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: CG 42232; Luxor Museum 1979, no. 260
Participants: Amun-Re « Nespekashuty

M10 RELIEF
Location: Baḥria Oasis, Tomb of Pedashtar
Citation: PM VII, 302 (12)
Participants: Pedashtar » Tenen

CLASS N. DEITY PRESENTS OR BEARS MAAT

N1 RELIEF
Location: TT 41, Amunemopet
Citation: PM I/1, 78 (4) III
Participants: Maat upon Thoth's Arms
Text: *Ḏḥwty Mɜꜥt ḥr ꜥwy.f*

N2 RELIEF
Location: TT 158, Tjaynefer, Hall
Citation: PM I/1, 270 (12) I
Participants: Deceased Adores Feather of Thoth

N3 RELIEF
Location: TT 157, Nebwenenef
Citation: PM I/1, 267 (2)
Participants: Thoth Presents Feather and "*r*"

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N4 RELIEF

Location: TT 5, Neferabet, Chamber A
Citation: PM I/1, 13
Participants: Horus Presents Maat-shaped Vessel

N5 BOOK OF THE DEAD, PAPYRUS OF ANI

Location: London, British Museum
Citation: P. BM 10470; Faulkner 1985: 27
Participants: Thoth with Maat
Text: *ḥr ʿwy.f* "Upon his arms"

N6 PAPYRUS

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Citation: P. Berlin 3055 (XX.2); Moret 1902: 138–89
Text: *ỉnk Ḏḥwty ʿwy.ỉ tm ḥr Mɜʿt*
"I am Thoth, my two arms bear Maat"

N7 PAPYRUS

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Citation: P. Berlin 3055 (XXII.4–5); Moret 1902: 142
Text: *ỉw n.k ʾItm ḥr Mɜʿt*
"Atum comes to you bearing Maat"

N8 PAPYRUS

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Citation: P. Berlin 3055 (XXIII.2); Moret 1902: 143
Text: *ḥnk n.k Ḏḥwty Mɜʿt ʿwy.f ḥr nfr.s* ...
"Thoth presents Maat to you, his two arms filled with her beauty"

N9 COFFIN TEXT

Location: —
Citation: Coffin Text Spell 691; *CT* VI, 322
Text: [*Ḏḥwty*] *sʿr Mɜʿt* ...
"[Thoth] elevates Maat ..."

N10 COFFIN TEXT

Location: —
Citation: Coffin Text Spell 1028; *CT* VII, 251
Text: *Ḏḥwty... ʿbɜ Mɜʿt*
"Thoth ... who presents Maat"

N11 BOOK OF THE DEAD

Location: KV 9, Ramesses VI, Hall H
Citation: BD chapter 126; Piankoff 1954: 321, pl. 105
Text: *in.n s[t] Ḏḥwty*
"Thoth brought her [Maat] ..."

N12 RELIEF

Location: El-Kab, Tomb of Setau
Citation: PM V, 181 (1)
Participants: Monkey-headed deity in solar boat presents Maat

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N13 NAOS OF NECTANEBO FROM ABYDOS

Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Citation: CG 70018; PM V, 71
Participants: Onuris-Shu » Osiris-Onuphris
Text: *rdỉt Mɜʿt n fnd.k nb ʿnḫ*
"Presenting Maat to your nose, oh Lord of Life"

CLASS O. KING PRESENTS MAAT IN PRESENCE OR ON BEHALF OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL

O1 MOSI STELA

Location: Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum
Citation: Pelizaeus Museum 374; Habachi 1969, fig. 17
Participants: Upper: Ptah « Ramesses II
Lower: Ramesses II rewards Mosi

O2 KARO STELA

Location: London, British Museum
Citation: BM 328; *Hiero. Texts* 9, pl. 40
Participants: Upper: Ptah « Ramesses II < Paser
Dedication: King: *rdỉt Mɜʿt n nb Mɜʿt*
Participants: Lower: Karo and his son *Hwy-nefer*
Text: Karo: *rdỉt ỉɜw n Pṯḥ nb Mɜʿt* ...

O3 STELA FRAGMENTS

Location: Turin, Museo Egizio
Citation: Turin 50095 + 50097; Tosi and Roccati 1972: 129, 304
Participants: Amun « Ramesses II < Paser

O4 STELA FRAGMENTS

Location: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
Citation: IFAO plaque 6467; Unpublished
Participants: Upper: Merneptah » Ptah and Maat
Lower: Dedication text of owner (name lost)

O5 PANHASY STELA

Location: Gebel Silsila West
Citation: *LD* III, pl. 200c
Participants: Panhasy > *sɜ nsw* > Merneptah » Amun-Re
Dedication: Merneptah: *ḥnk Mɜʿt n ỉt.f*
Recitations: Amun-Re: *dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḫt nb mỉ Rʿ*
dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k tɜ nb ḫɜswt nb

O6 RELIEF

Location: Wadi Hammamat
Citation: PM VII, 334; *KRI* VI, 2–3
Participants: Left: Amun-Re adored by Ahshakhet
Participants: Right: Amun-Re « Ramesses IV
Text: *ỉr n ỉdnw n wr* [*n Mʿḏɜy*] ...

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O7 LINTEL FROM TOMB OF ANKHEFENMUT

Location:	Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek	
Citation:	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ 1012; Koefoed-Petersen 1956, pl. 68	
Participants:	Ankhefenmut > Siamun » Ptah	
Dedication:	King:	*ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ỉt.f Ptḥ nb Mꜣʿt*
Text:	Ankhefenmut:	*dwꜣ Ptḥ sꜣw nfrw.f ỉn rpʿ ḥꜣty-ʿ*

CLASS P. PRESENTATION OF OBJECT* EQUATED WITH OR IN PARALLELISM TO MAAT

*Object presented in relief indicated by parentheses

P1 RELIEF

Location:	KV 8, Merneptah, Above Descent to Hall G	
Citation:	PM I/2 509 (17)	
Participants:	Left:	Merneptah (*Mꜣʿt*) » Osiris
Dedication:	*rdỉt Mꜣʿt n nbw r nḥḥ*	
Participants:	Right:	Osiris « (*nw*-vessel) Merneptah
Dedication:	*ḥnk ỉrp n ỉt.f Wsỉr*	

P2 RELIEF

Location:	KV 15, Seti II, Above Descent to Room F	
Citation:	PM I/2 533 (17)	
Participants:	Left:	Seti II (*Mꜣʿt*) » Osiris
	Right:	Osiris « (*nw*-vessel) Seti II

P3 RELIEF

Location:	KV 14, Twosert / Sethnakht, Corridor A
Citation:	PM I/2 529 (3)
Participants:	Twosert / Sethnakht (*nw*-vessels / *Mꜣʿt*) » Re-Horakhty < Hathor < Nephthys
	[Scene changed from vessels of Twosert to Maat of Sethnakht]

P4 RELIEF

Location:	Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 16
Citation:	PM II, 473 (83) 3; loc. MHB 9/10
Participants:	Re-Horakhty « (*nw*-vessels) Ramesses III
Dedication:	*dỉ Mꜣʿt n ỉt.f Rʿ*
Recitations:	*dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k nḥḥ m nsyt tꜣwy*
	dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥḥw m ḥbw-sd ḥfnw m rnpwt ḏt m ʿnḫ wꜣs

P5 RELIEF

Location:	Medinet Habu, Great Temple, Room 16	
Citation:	PM II, 508 (138) j; *MH* VI, pl. 442A	
Participants:	Ramesses III (*Mꜣʿt* / *nw*-vessels) » Amun-Re < Mut	
Dedication:	Original:	*ḥnk ỉrp n ỉt.f ỉmn dỉ ʿnḫ ḏt sp sn*
	Modified to:	*ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ỉt.f ỉmn dỉ ʿnḫ ḏt sp sn*
Recitations:	Amun-Re:	*dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḥbw-sd n Rʿ rnpwt n ỉtm*
	Mut:	*dỉ.n(.ỉ) n.k ḳn nb nḥt nb*

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CLASS Q. MAAT ASSOCIATED WITH *ʾIMNTT* AND OTHER FUNERARY ASSOCIATIONS

Q1 PAPYRUS

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Citation: P. Berlin 3055 (XXIII.10); Moret 1902: 144
Association: *ḥnk n.k ỉmntwy Mɜʿt*
"The West presents Maat to you ..."

Q2 RELIEF

Location: TT 335, Nakhtamun, Chamber C
Citation: PM I/1, 403 (25)
Association: *Mɜʿt nbt pt ỉmy st ỉmntt*
"Maat, Mistress of Heaven who is in the West"

Q3 RELIEF

Location: TT 225, Roy, Hall
Citation: PM I/1, 339 (2) I.1
Association: *nbw ỉmntt ḏɜḏɜw ʿɜ st Mɜʿt*
"Lords of the West and the Great Magistrates of the Place of Truth"

Q4 RELIEF

Location: TT 216, Neferhotep B
Citation: Westendorf 1954: 169
Association: *Nfr-ḥtp ... ỉr Mɜʿt nb[t] ỉmntt*
"Neferhotep whom Maat, Mistress of the West Made"

Q5 RELIEF

Location: KV 11, Seti, Corridor Y
Citation: PM I/2, 526 (59)
Association: *ḥnwt ỉmntt*
"Mistress of the West"

Q6 MASTABA

Location: Giza Mastaba G 2430, Hetepnyptah
Citation: PM III, 95 (8–9)
Association: *Mɜʿt ḫnty st ỉmntt nb(t)*
"Maat, Foremost of the Place of the West"

Q7 RELIEF

Location: TT 65, Imysba, Transverse Hall
Citation: PM I/1 130 (5)
Association: *Mɜʿt nbt ỉmntt ḫry-ỉb ỉgrt*
"Maat, Mistress of the West who Resides in the Necropolis"

Q8 RELIEF

Location: TT 106, Paser, Column in Transverse Hall
Citation: PM I/1 223D (a) I
Association: *ḥnwt ỉgrt*
"Mistress of the Necropolis"

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Q9 RELIEF

Location: TT 106, Paser, Column in Transverse Hall
Citation: PM I/1, 223 E (d) I
Association: *ḥtp ỉgrt*
"Who Satisfies the Necropolis"

Q10 COFFIN TEXT

Location: —
Citation: Coffin Text Spell 32; *CT* I, 106
Text: *dỉ.k rḫ ỉmntt nfrt sȝt.ṯ ỉs pw ms n Mȝʿt*
"You shall cause the beautiful west to know that he is your son, whom Maat bore"

Q11 RELIEF

Location: TT 106, Paser, Pillar
Citation: PM I/1 223E (d) I
Text: *rdỉt ỉȝw n Rʿ ... sn tȝ n Mȝʿt sȝt Rʿ dỉ.sn ḳrst nfrt m st nḥḥ ...*
"Giving praises to Re ... kissing the earth to Maat, daughter of Re, that they may give a good burial in the place of eternity...

Q12 TEXT FROM ELOQUENT PEASANT

Location: —
Citation: Eloquent Peasant (1.307–08)
Text: Maat descends with the one who does it into the necropolis ...

Q13 RELIEF

Location: Baḥria Oasis, Tomb of Tjaty
Citation: PM VII, 304 (14–15)
Association: Anubis on with Maat feather on back

Q14 COFFIN TEXT

Location: —
Citation: Coffin Text Spell 634; *CT* VI, 256
Association: PN has come. PN is Maat ...

Q15 RELIEF

Location: TT 42, Amunmose, Room D
Citation: PM I/1 83 (15)
Association: Priest touches feather to mouth of a mummy

Q16 RELIEF FRAGMENT

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Citation: Relief Fragment 2070; Löhr 1975: 172, pl. VI.I
Association: Priest carries *Mȝʿt* feather
Text: *n.k Mȝʿt ỉrty n šwt ḥr.k ỉm.s*

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CLASS R. TEXTUAL REFERENCES TO THE PRESENTATION OF MAAT

R1 COLOSSAL STATUE OF HATSHEPSUT FROM DEIR EL-BAHARI

Location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Citation: MMA 29.3.1
Text: *Ḥꜣt-špswt ḥnkt mꜣʿt n ʾImn*
"Hatshepsut who presents Maat to Amun"

R2 STELA OF NEFERMENU

Location: Moscow, Pushkin Museum
Citation: Pushkin 1.1a 4986 (1067); Hodjash 1982, no. 53
Text: *ʿwy.i ḫr wḏꜣt ḥnk(.i) Mꜣʿt di.i ḥtp ḥmt.s*
"My two hands bear the *wḏꜣt*-eye, [I] present Maat, I cause her majesty to be satisfied ..."

R3 SPHINX STELA

Location: Giza
Citation: PM III/I 37
Participant: Thutmose IV
Text: *ḥnk Mꜣʿt n ʾItm sʿr s[t] n Rsy-inb.f*
"Presenting Maat to Amun, elevating her to Resyinebef"

R4 RELIEF

Location: TT 38, Djeserkaresoneb
Citation: PM I/1 69 (1); Assmann 1983a: 65
Participant: Djeserkaresoneb
Text: *ʿwy.i ḫr wḏꜣt ḥnk.i Mꜣʿt ...*
"My two hands bear the *wḏꜣt*-eye, I present Maat ..."

R5 STELEPHORUS STATUE OF KHAEMHET

Location: Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art
Citation: Brooklyn 37.48E; Assmann 1983a: 77.17
Participant: Khaemhet
Text: *in.n.i n.k Mꜣʿt ʿnḫ.k im.s*
"I have brought Maat to you in order that you may live on her"

R6 RELIEF

Location: TT 192, Kheruef, Vestibule
Citation: PM I/1 298 (1); Assmann 1983a: 249
Participant: Kheruef
Text: *snm.k Mꜣʿt ḫr ḫry.s*
"You feed on Maat from the one who bears it"

R7 RELIEF

Location: TT 41, Amunemopet, Court
Citation: PM I/1 78 (5)
Participant: Amunemopet
Text: *ỉi.n(.i) n.k Mꜣʿt*
"I have brought Maat to you"

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R8 FRAGMENT FROM TOMB

Location: TT 183, Nebsewmenu
Citation: PM I/1 289 fragment
Participant: Nebsewmenu
Text: *ʿwy.i tmm ḫr Mɜʿt ...*
"My two arms are full of Maat"

R9 PAPYRUS OF ANHAI

Location: London, British Museum
Citation: P. BM 10472; Seeber 1976: 100
Participant: Anhai
Text: *pr.i m-bɜḥ psḏt ib.i ḥr ršrš ʿwy.i ɜtp m Mɜʿt*
"I go forth before the ennead, my heart joyful, my two arms laden with Maat"

R10 STATUE OF KAROMAMA

Location: Paris, Louvre, Karnak Cachette
Citation: Louvre 500; Jacquet-Gordon 1967: 86–87
Participant: Karomama
Text: *[Kɜr mʿmʿ] di Mɜʿt n it.s ʿImn m ipt ...*
"[Karomama] who gives Maat to her father, Amunemope"

R11 RELIEF

Location: TT 49, Neferhotep, Pillared Hall
Citation: PM I/1, 93 (12); Assmann 1983a: 89
Participant: Neferhotep
Text: *dd.k Mɜʿt ḫnt ib.i sʿr.i s(t) n kɜ.k iw.i rḫ.kwi ...*
"It is in order that I elevate Maat to your ka that you give Maat to me"

R12 RELIEF

Location: TT 66, Hepw, Hall
Citation: PM I/1, 132 (2); *Urk.* IV, 1576.14
Participant: Hepw
Text: *... ḫnk Mɜʿt n nb tɜwy ḫrt-hrw nb ...*
"Who presents Maat to the Lord of the Two Lands every day"

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CONCORDANCE OF SCENES IN THE APPENDIX

SCENES FROM THEBES

KARNAK TEMPLE

TEMPLE OF AMUN

Miscellaneous scenes

A1; B1, 12, 16–17, 26; C1, 14; D3; F6

Eaton-Krauss 1988, fig. 2 (= B4)

Schaden 1985: 35–36 (= C5)

OIP 106, pls. 75 (= F9), 81A (= A10), 169 (= A7)

RIK III, pl. 16 (= L1)

TEMPLE OF KHONSU

Khonsu I, pls. 36 (= A33), 40 (= A31), 49 (= E4), 74 (= A28), 99 (= A32), 104 (= A29)

Khonsu II, pls. 122B (= B27), 141C–D (= A30), 177 (= F21), 189 (= F22)

Miscellaneous scenes (= A23–27; F15–17, 18 [pl. 12]; H2 [pl. 11], 3)

TEMPLE OF PTAH

Stela of Seti I (= B8)

TEMPLE OF RAMESSES III

RIK I, pl. 54B (= B23), 54D (= A21)

RIK II, pls. 98A (= F10), 99B (= F11)

SCENES FROM CHAPELS AT KARNAK

CHAPELS OF THE GOD'S WIVES

AMASIS AND NITOCRIS

LD III, pl. 274c (= K10)

OSIRIS HEKADJET

B28, 30; K1

Leclant 1965, pl. 24 (= K2)

OSIRIS NEBANKH

K8

Leclant 1965, pl. 9 (= K5)

OSIRIS-ONUPHRIS NEBZEFA

LD III, pl. 273e (= K9)

OTHER SCENES

Leclant 1965, pls. 67A (= K7), 67B (= K6)

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SCENES FROM LUXOR TEMPLE

MISCELLANEOUS SCENES

B6; F5

Opet, pls. 16 (= C6), 80 (= C3)

SCENES FROM VALLEY OF THE KINGS

KV 6

E3

Plate 20 (= I1)

KV 8

P1

KV 9

Plate 19 (= G4; Piankoff 1957, pls. 183–84)

KV 11

B18; Q5

KV 14

P3

KV 15

P2

SCENES FROM MEDINET HABU

MH V

Pls. 279A (= A20), 290A (= A22), 308A (= A14), 315B (= B19), 344A (= A15), 345A (= B22)

MH VI

Pls. 370 (= E1), 397D (= A16), 430B (= B21), 434G (= B20), 442A (= P5), 460 (= A13), 464 (= A17)

MH VII

Pls. 499 (= F13), 555B (= A18), 584B (= A19)

MH VIII

Pls. 596 (= B25), 603 (= F14), 608 (= B24), 617B (= F12), 617C (= H1)

OTHER SCENES

Loc. MHB 9/10 (= P4)

Loc. MHC 7/8 (= K3)

Loc. MHE 134/135 (= F20)

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SCENES FROM GOURNA

TEMPLE OF SETI I

Osing 1977, pls. 1.1 (= C11), 3 (= G2), 11 (= F8), 25 (= A9)

OTHER SCENES

B11; C12; F2, 4

Osing 1977, pl. 16 (= F7)

Plate 24 (= F3; Stadelmann 1989: 22–23)

SCENES FROM THEBAN TOMBS

TT 5

N4

TT 38

Assmann 1983a: 65 (= R4)

TT 41

N1; R7

TT 42

Q15

TT 49

Assmann 1983a: 89 (= R11)

TT 65

Q7

TT 66

Urk. IV, 1576.14 (= R12)

TT 102

M5

TT 106

B7; Q8–9, 11

TT 111

Plate 1 (= M1)

TT 157

N3

TT 158

N2

TT 183

R8

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TT 184

M2

TT 192

Assmann 1983a: 249 (= R6)

TT 216

Westendorf 1954: 169 (= Q4)

TT 225

Q3

TT 290

Plate 3 (= M3)

TT 335

Plate 4 (= M4); Q2

SCENES FROM SOUTH OF THEBES

BEIT EL-WALI

Beit el-Wali, pls. 1, 31B (= B14)

DERR

LD III, pl. 183b (= B15)

ELEPHANTINE

Stela of Sethnakht, Drenkhahn 1980: 62 (= A12)

GEBEL SILSILA WEST

LD III, pls. 200c (= O5), 223b (= F19)

EL-KAB

Tomb of Setau (= N12)

NAURI

Nauri Decree (= A6)

SCENES FROM NORTH OF THEBES

ABYDOS

Abydos III, pls. 4 (= A3–4), 16 (= B5)

Abydos IV, pl. 67 (= C9)

EL-ASHMUNEIN

Pedestal of Amunhotep III (= A2)

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GIZA

Mastaba G 2430 (= Q6)

Sphinx Stela (= R3)

MEMPHIS

Temple of Ramesses II (= C7)

OSIREION

A11

Frankfort 1933, pls. 22 (= D2), 74 (= G1, pl. 18)

OTHER SCENES FROM THE TEMPLE OF SETI I

B10

KRI II, 323 (= D1)

TANIS

Montet 1960, pls. 29 (= B29, pl. 17), 30 (= G5, pl. 21)

TEMPLE OF RAMESSES II AT ABYDOS

B9, 13; C10

SCENES FROM THE DESERTS

BAḤRIA OASIS

M10; Q13

KANAIS

A5; F1

WADI HAMMAMAT

G3

KRI VI, 2–3 (= O6)

LD III, pl. 219e (= C13)

LD III, pl. 223c; *KRI* VI, 9–11 (= E2)

MISCELLANEOUS SCENE

ROME

Popolo Obelisk (= C8)

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OBJECTS IN MUSEUMS

ÄGYPTISCHES MUSEUM, BERLIN

Seal Impression 25.145 (= J12)

AKHENATON TEMPLE PROJECT, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

ATP 05-10(?) (= J7)

ATP 3.2 (= J1)

ATP 75.2 (= J10)

ATP 83: 4 (= J6)

ATP 1717-3/1696–10 (= J8)

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

BM 153; *Hiero. Texts* 6, pl. 42 (= B2)

BM 328; *Hiero. Texts* 9, pl. 40 (= O2)

BM 66421; *Hiero. Texts* 11, pl. 6.2 (= M8, pl. 5)

P. BM 10470; Faulkner 1985: 27 (= N5)

P. BM 10472; Seeber 1976: 100 (= R9)

BROOKLYN MUSEUM OF ART, BROOKLYN

Brooklyn 37.48E; Assmann 1983a: 77.17 (= R5)

Brooklyn 41.82; Aldred 1973: 104–05 (= J11)

Brooklyn 87.184.1; Fazzini et al. 1989, no. 70 (= K4)

CENTRE FRANCO-ÉGYPTIEN D'ÉTUDES DES TEMPLES DE KARNAK

CFTEK 25-95 (= J5)

CFTEK 25-209A (= J2)

CFTEK 32-391 (= J3)

CFTEK 36-123 (= J4)

EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO

Cairo 11/11/20/86(?) (= A8)

Cairo 28/4/21/11 (= M6)

Cairo 800; Legrain 1897: 12–16 (= L2)

Carter no. 256ccc; Edwards 1976, pl. 5 (right) (= C4)

CG 34026 (= B3)

CG 42232; Luxor Museum 1979, no. 260 (= M9)

CG 70018 (= N13)

CG 70025; Roeder 1914, pl. 35a (= C2)

JE 29251; Leclant 1965, pl. 67A (= K7)

JE 48863; Grimal 1981b, pls. I, Ia (= A34)

JE 48865; Grimal 1981b, pls. VIII, VIIIa (= A35)

No Registration Number (= M7)

L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

IFAO Plaque 6467 (= O4)

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LOUVRE, PARIS

Louvre 500; Jacquet-Gordon 1967: 86–87 (= R10)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

MMA 14.6.215 + MMA Old Catalog 25017 (= D4)

MMA 29.3.1 (= R1)

MUSEO EGIZIO, TURIN

50095 + 50097; Tosi and Roccati 1972: 129, 304 (= O3)

NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK, COPENHAGEN

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ 1012; Koefoed-Petersen 1956, pl. 68 (= O7)

PELIZAEUS MUSEUM, HILDESHEIM

Pelizaeus Museum 374; Habachi 1969, fig. 17 (= O1)

PUSHKIN MUSEUM, MOSCOW

Pushkin 1.1a 4986 (1067); Hodjash 1982, no. 53 (= R2)

STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN

P. Berlin 3055

XX.2; Moret 1902: 138–89 (= N6)

XXII.4–5; Moret 1902: 142 (= N7)

XXIII.2; Moret 1902: 143 (= N8)

XXIII.10; Moret 1902: 144 (= Q1)

Relief Fragment 2070; Löhr 1975: 172, pl. VI.I (= Q16)

TEXTUAL REFERENCES

BOOK OF THE DEAD

Introductory Hymn to Re, Papyrus of Ani; Faulkner 1985: 27 (= N5)

BD chapter 126; Piankoff 1954: 321, pl. 105 (= N11)

COFFIN TEXT SPELLS

32; *CT* I, 106 (= Q10)

634; *CT* VI, 256 (= Q14)

691; *CT* VI, 322 (= N9)

1028; *CT* VII, 251 (= N10)

ELOQUENT PEASANT

1.307–08 (= Q12)

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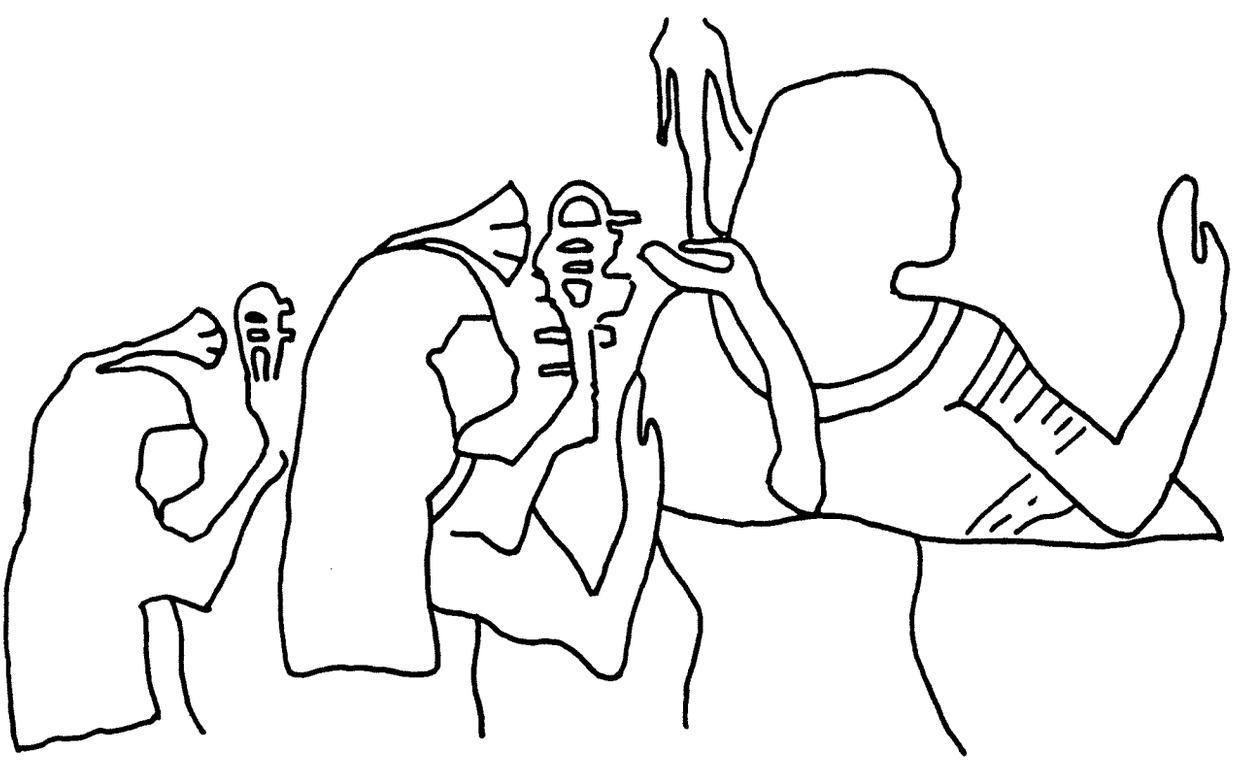
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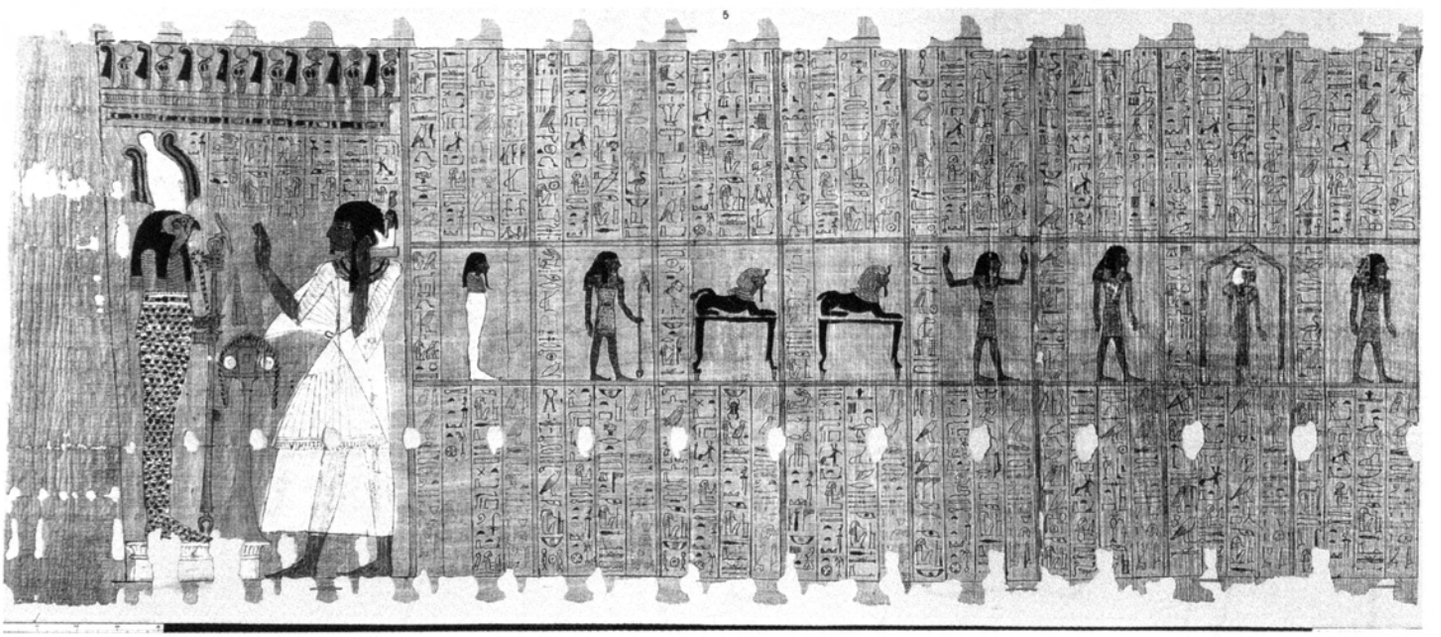
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Amunwahsu Holds Maat (M1; TT 111; after Pillet 1930, fig. 103)

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Plate 2



Sethnakht Elevates Maat. Papyrus of Sethnakht (MMA 35.9.19E). Gift of Edward S. Harkness to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1935. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

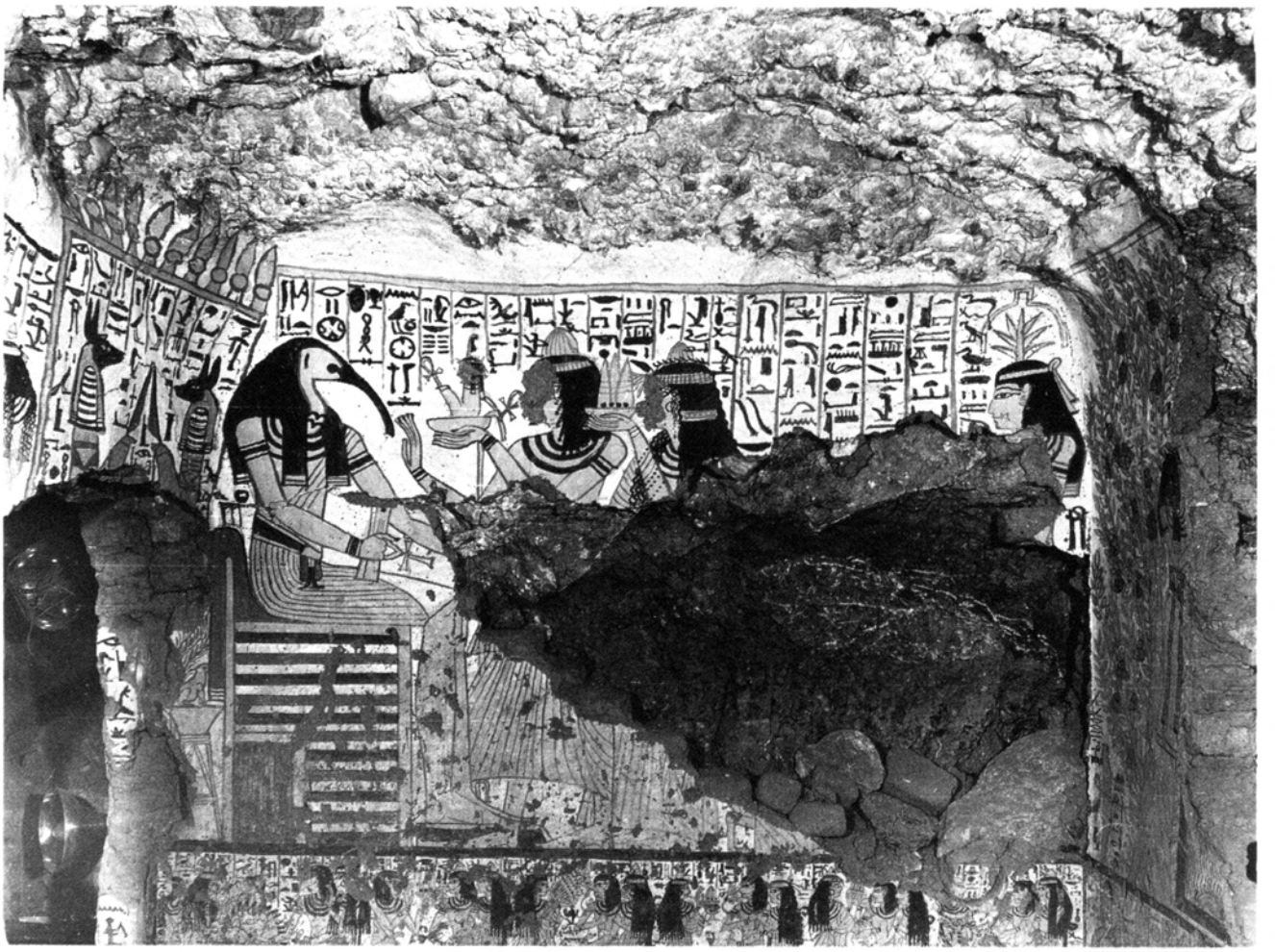
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Irynefer and His Family before Ptah (M3; TT 290). Courtesy of the Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

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Plate 4



Amunnakht Elevates Maat before Thoth (M4; TT 335). Courtesy of the Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

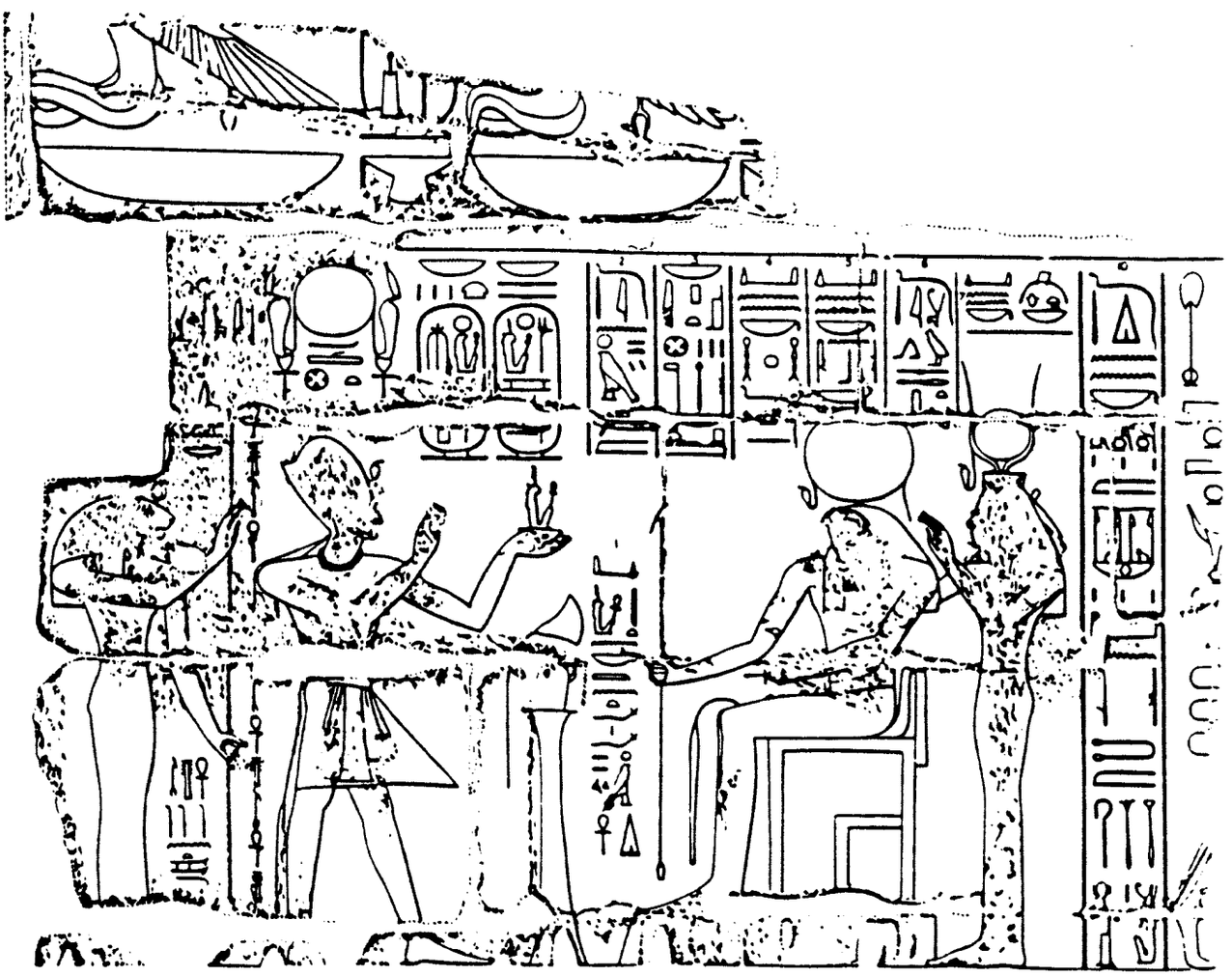
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Priest Harsiese Offers Maat to Re-Horakhty (M8; BM 66421). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London

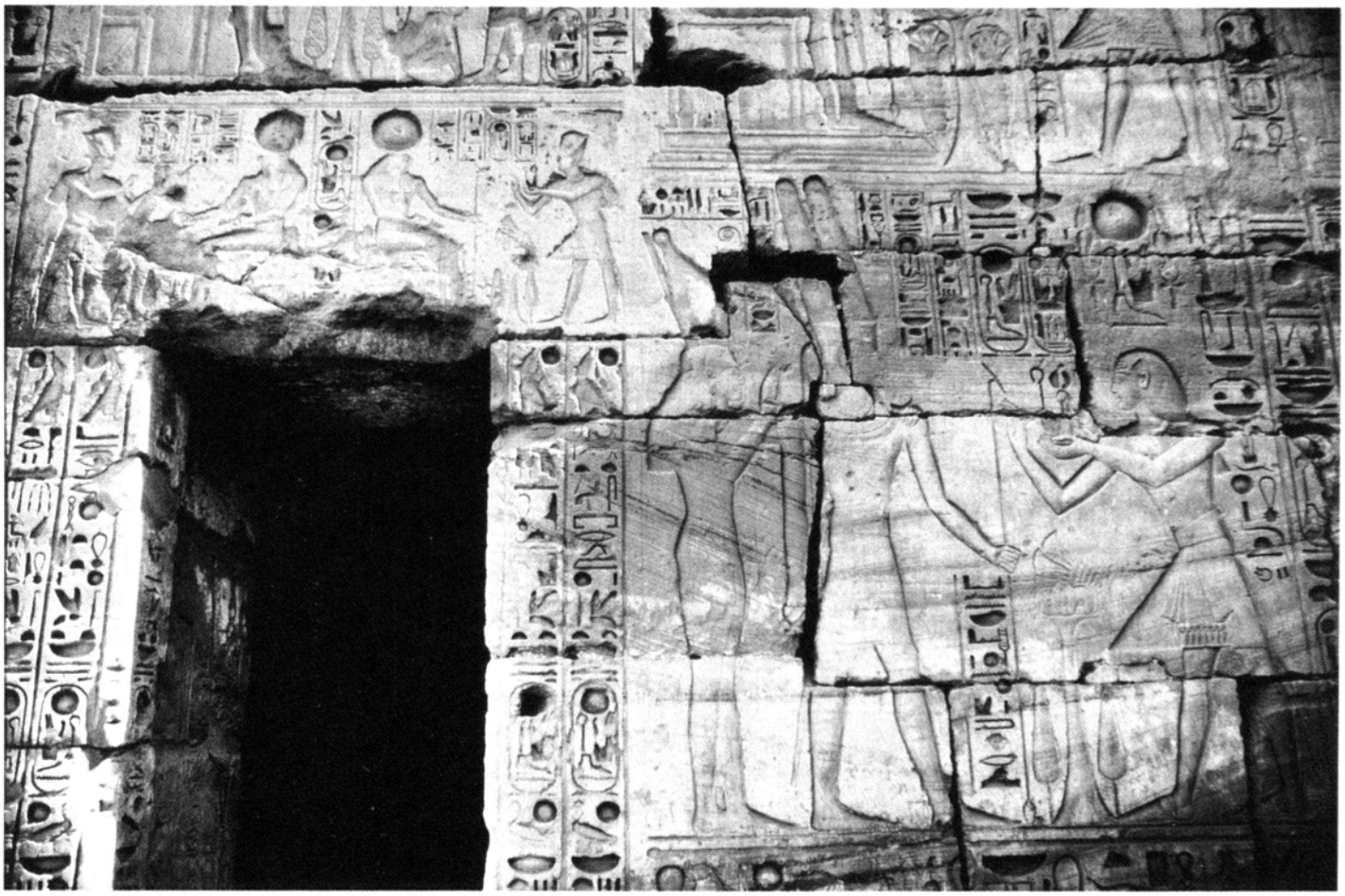
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Plate 6



Offering Scene with Donor, Recipient, and Attendants (*MH* V, pl. 308A).
Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

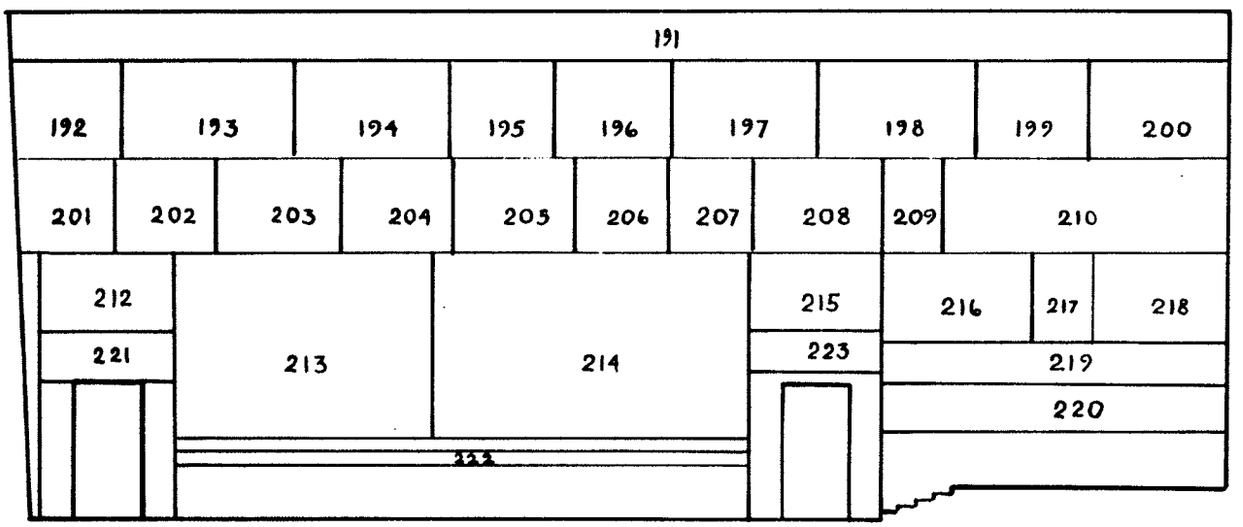
oi.uchicago.edu



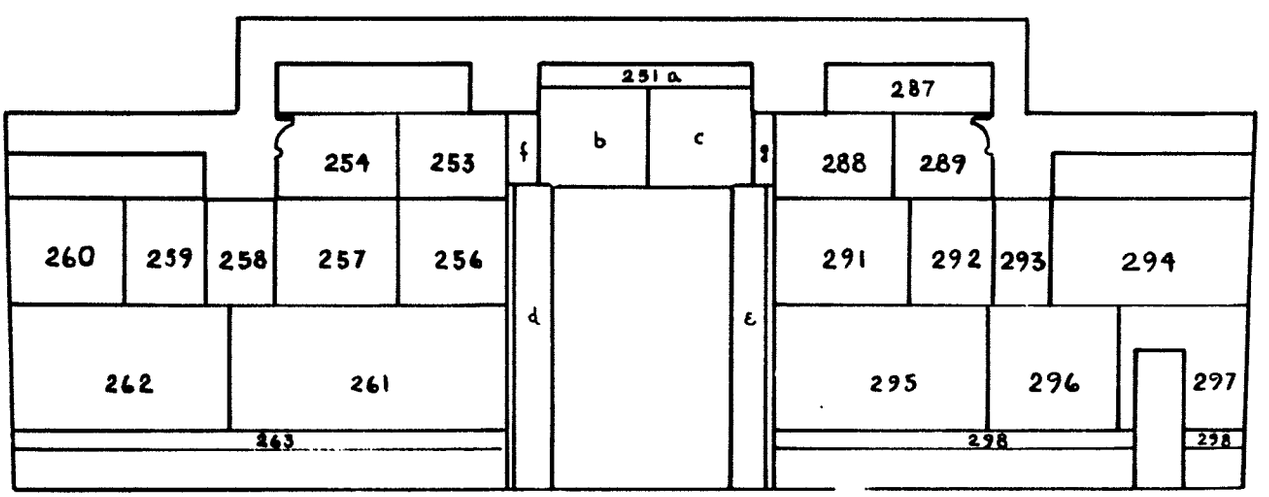
Ramesses IV Presents the Rebus of His Name with His Left Hand (Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory, loc. KM 370)

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Plate 8



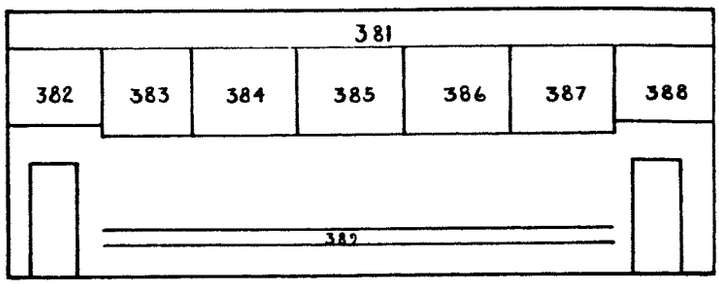
a



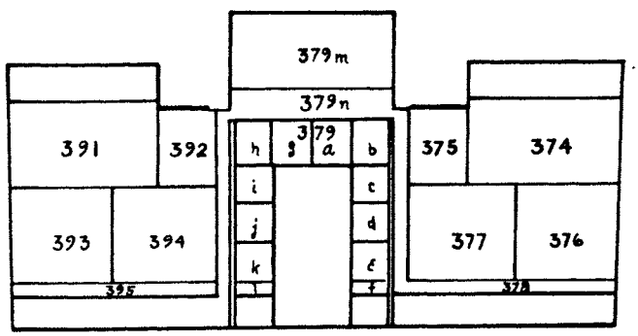
b

Temple of Khonsu: (a) Court, West Wall; (b) First Hypostyle Hall, South Wall (after Nelson 1941, pl. 17, figs. 7, 10)

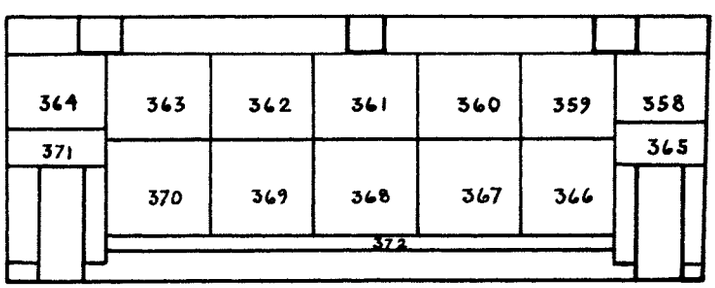
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West Wall



North Wall

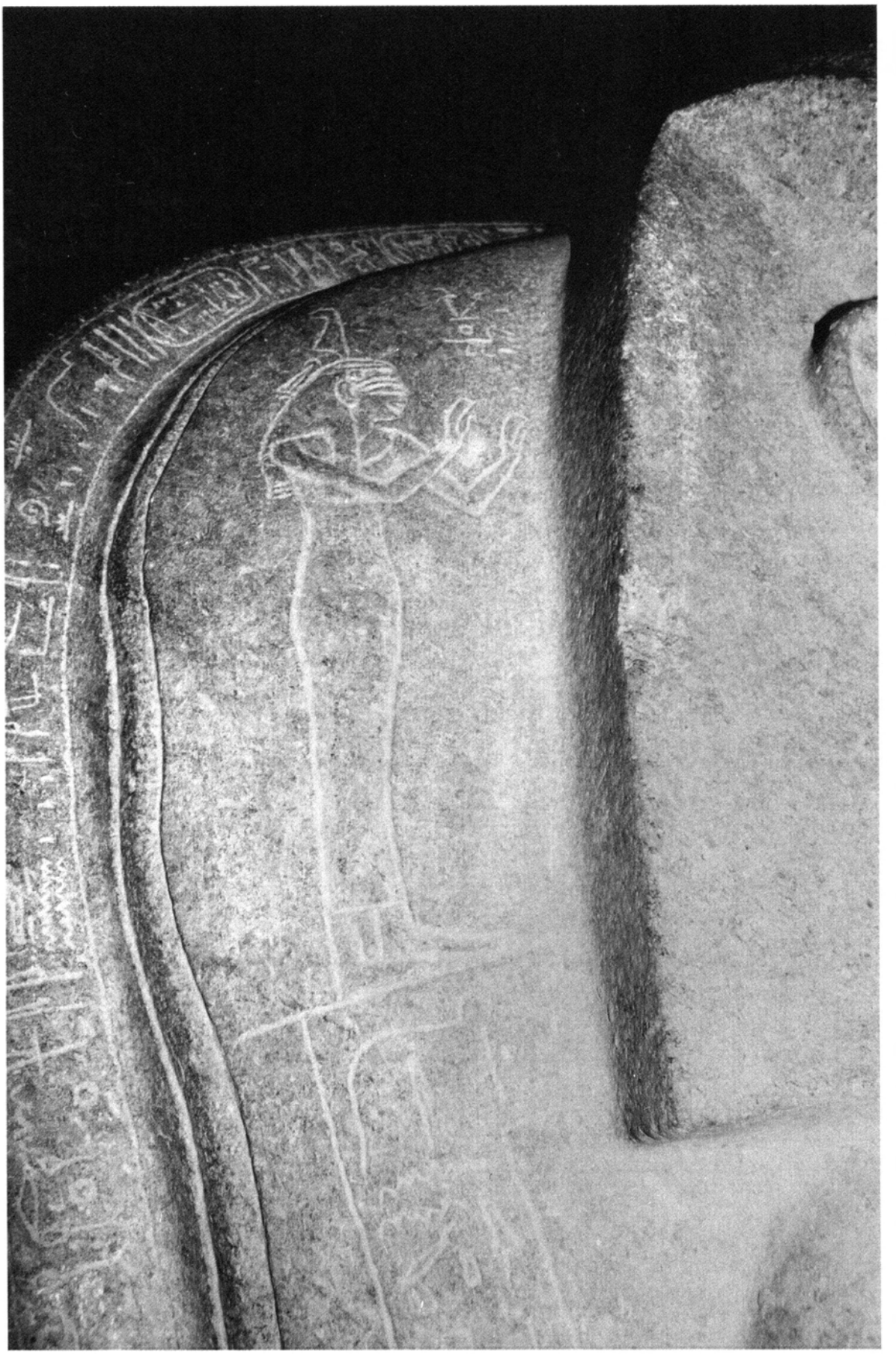


East Wall

Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory, West, North, and East Walls (after Nelson 1941, pl. 17, figs. 15–17)

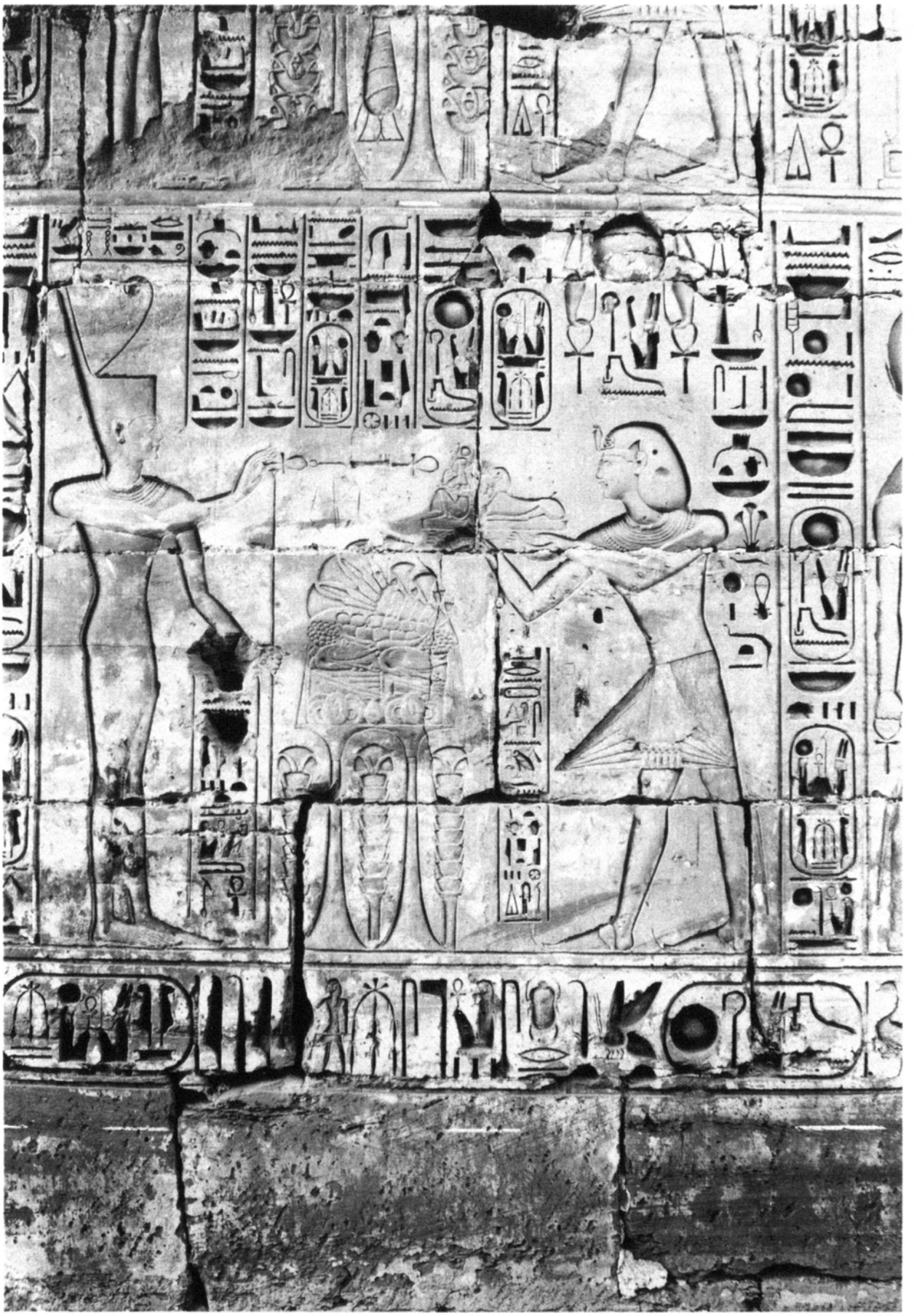
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Plate 10



Shoulder of Sarcophagus of Merneptah (KV 8)

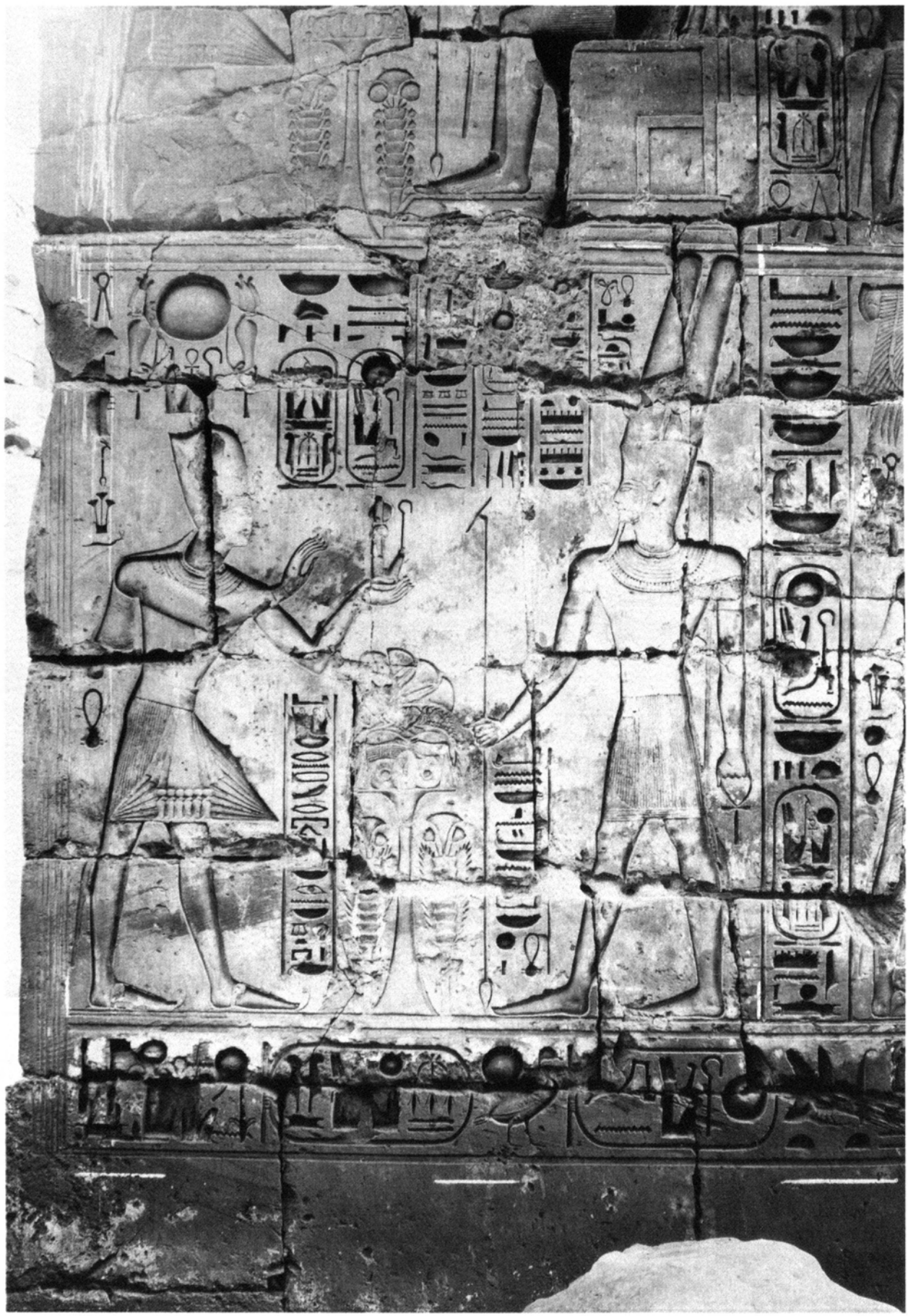
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Ramesses IV Presents His "Noble Name" to Amunet (H2; Temple of Khonsu, loc. KM 367)

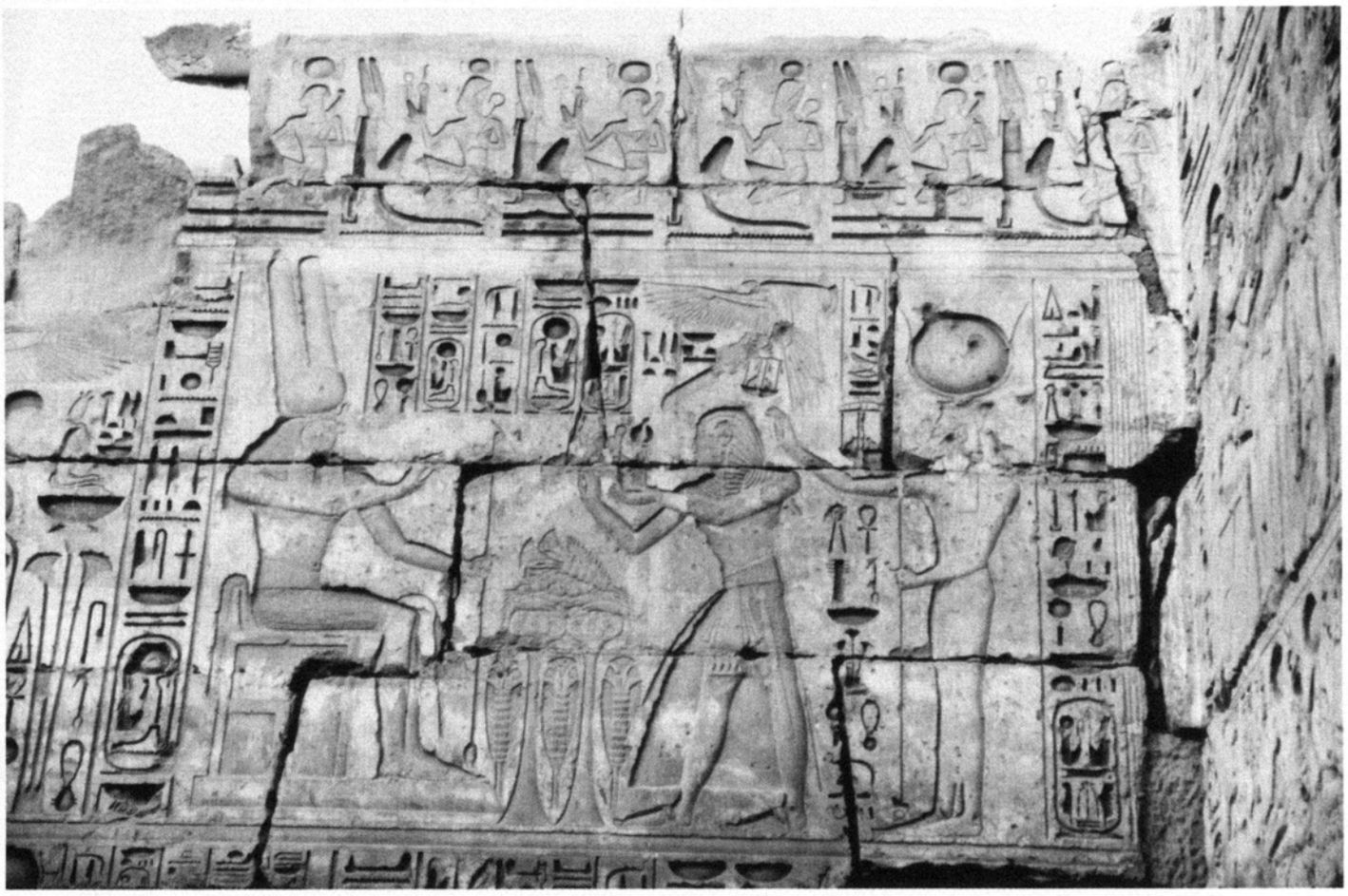
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Plate 12



Ramesses IV Presents His "Great Name" to Amun (F18; Temple of Khonsu, loc. KM 402; Oriental Institute photograph no. 3340).
Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

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Ramesses IV Presents His Name to Khonsu (Temple of Khonsu, Ambulatory, loc. KM 374)

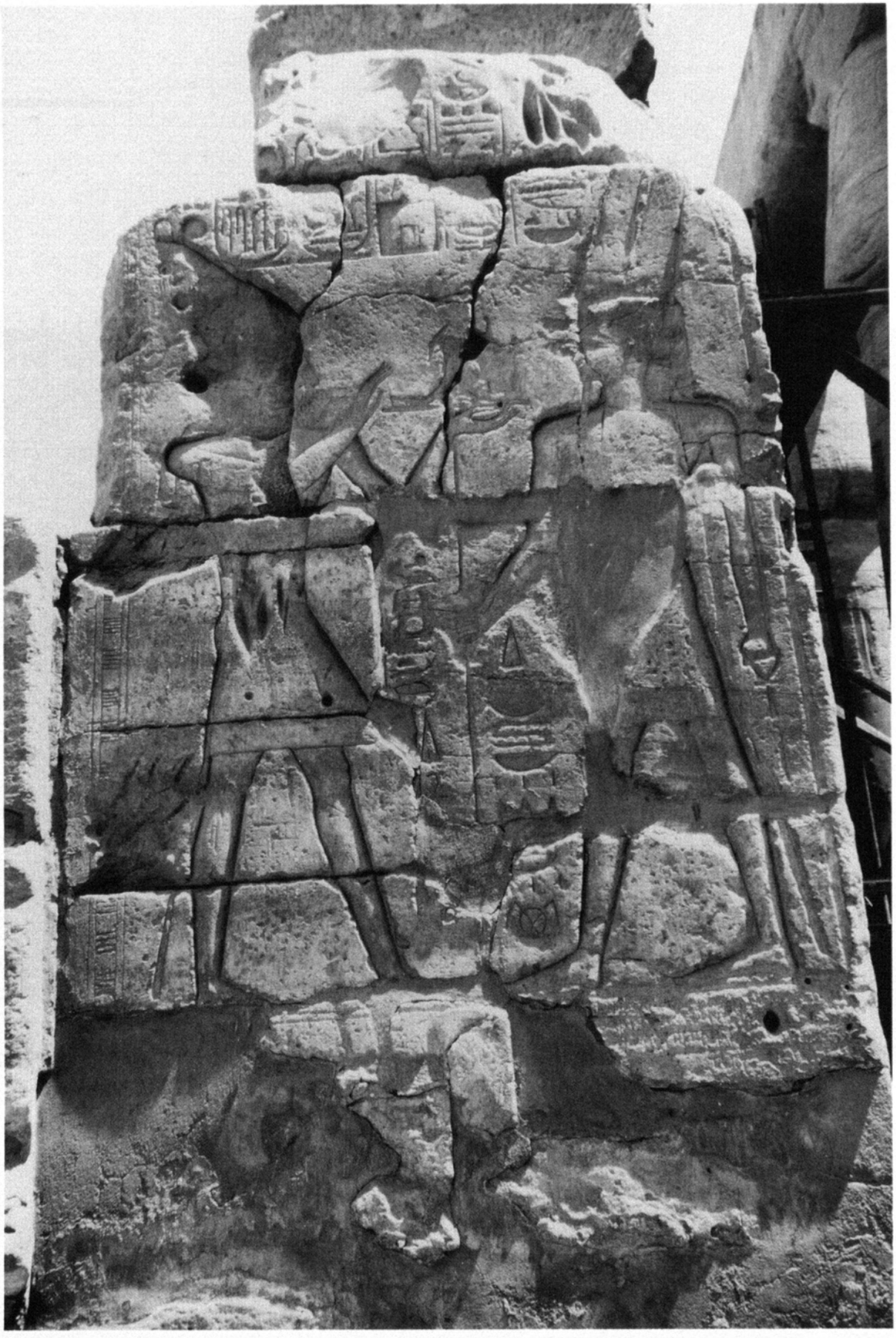
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Plate 14



Ramesses II in the Form of a Sphinx Presents Maat (Tomb of Shoshenq, Tanis)

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Ramesses II Presents Maat in the Form of an Unguent Vessel (Temple of Luxor, First Court, Western Doorway, loc. A 39)

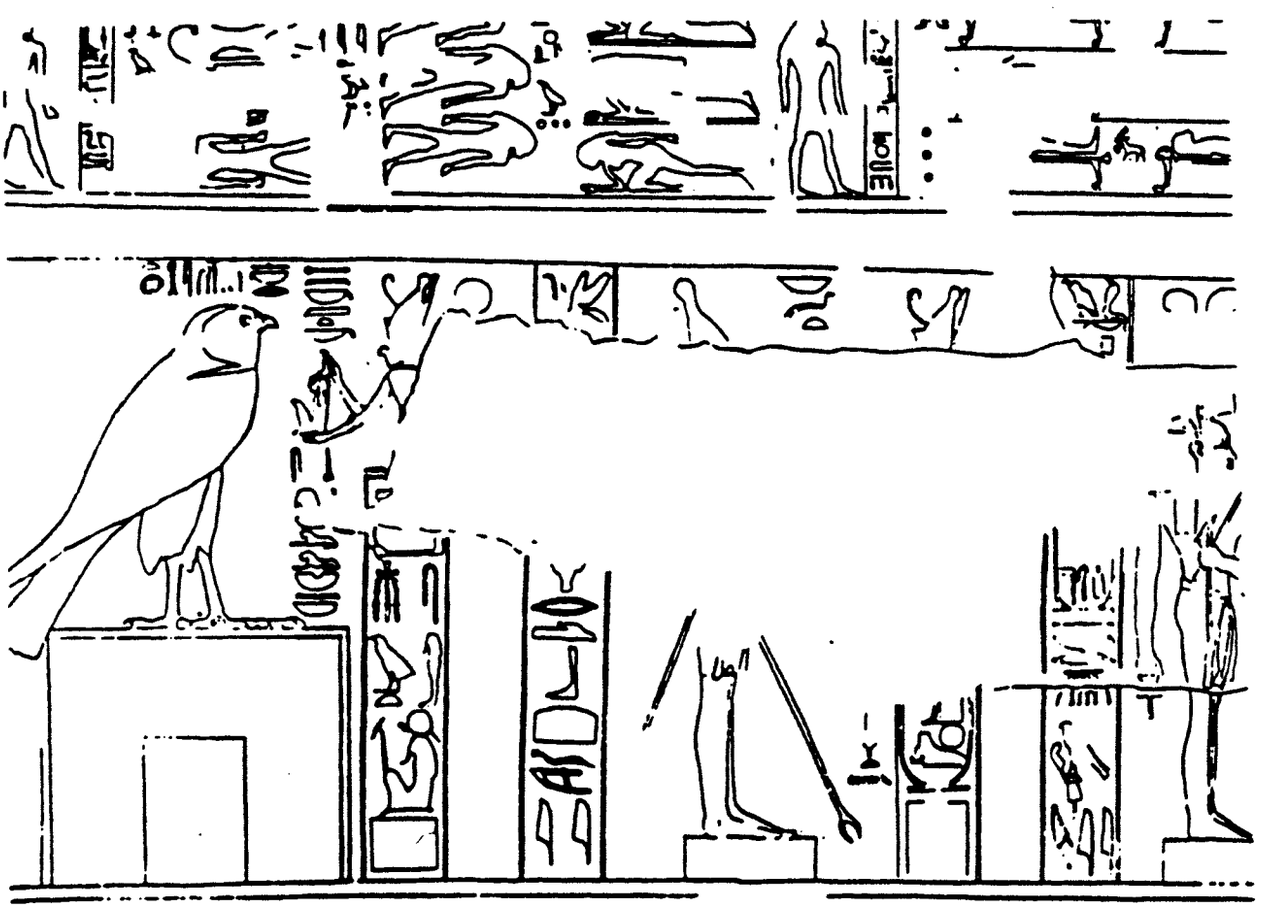
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Plate 16



Amunhotep III Presents His Name to a Deity (Karnak). Courtesy of Robert K. Ritner

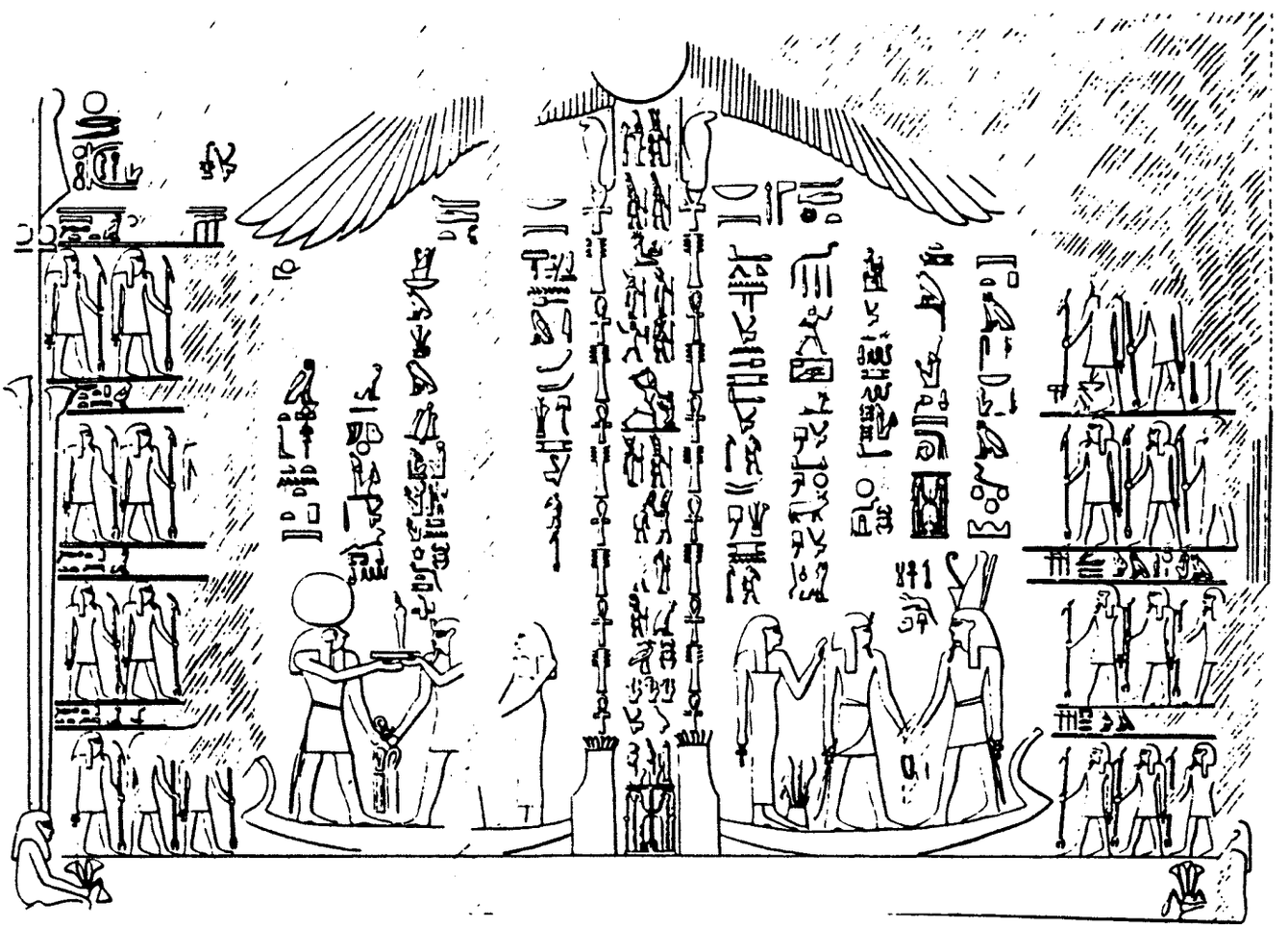
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Horus Name of Shoshenq III Presents Maat to Sokar (B29; Tomb of Shoshenq, Tanis; after Montet 1960, pl. 29)

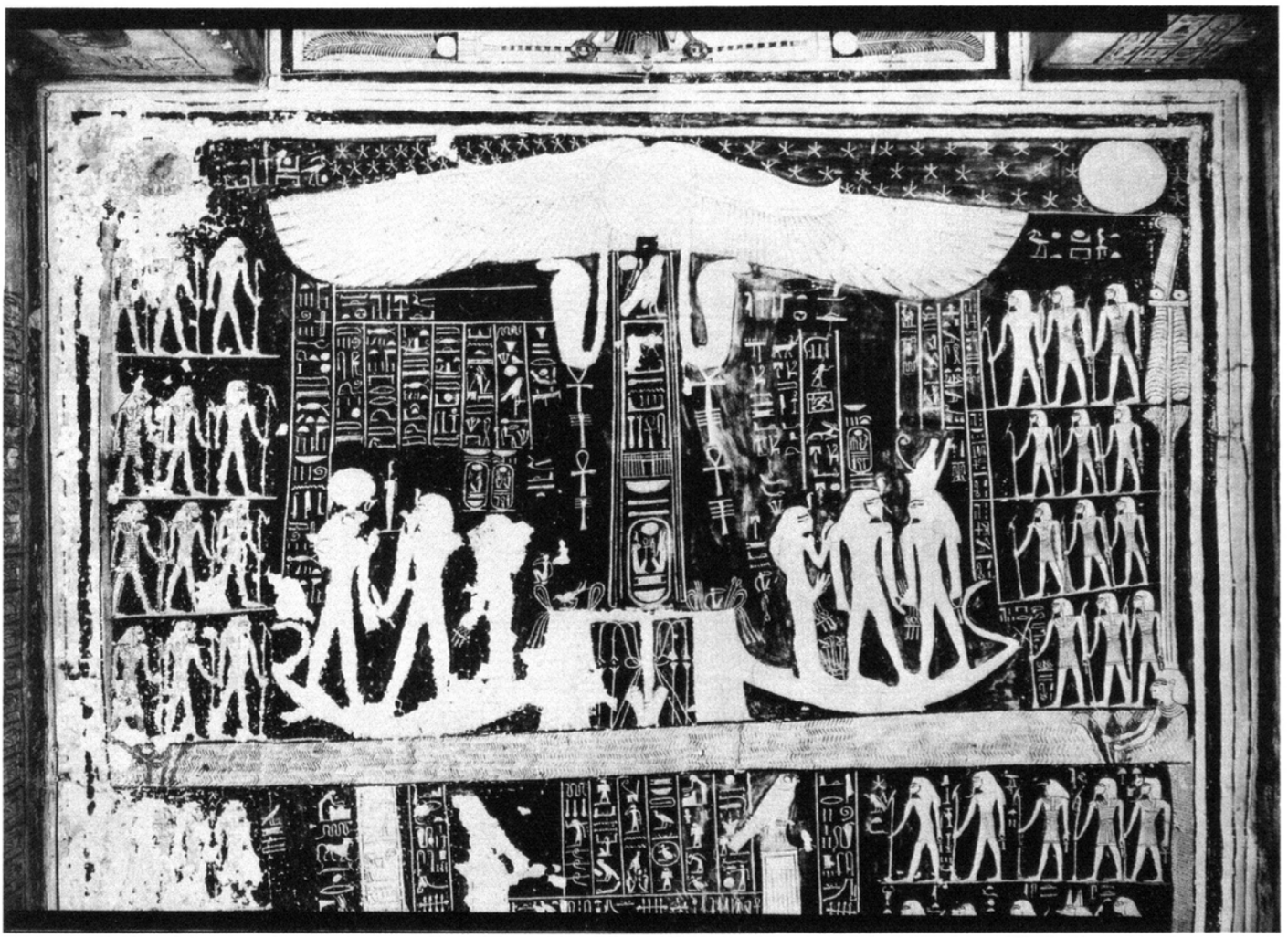
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Plate 18



Seti I and Horus Support a Figure of Maat (G1; Osireion, East Side of Roof of Sarcophagus Chamber; after Frankfort 1933, pl. 74)

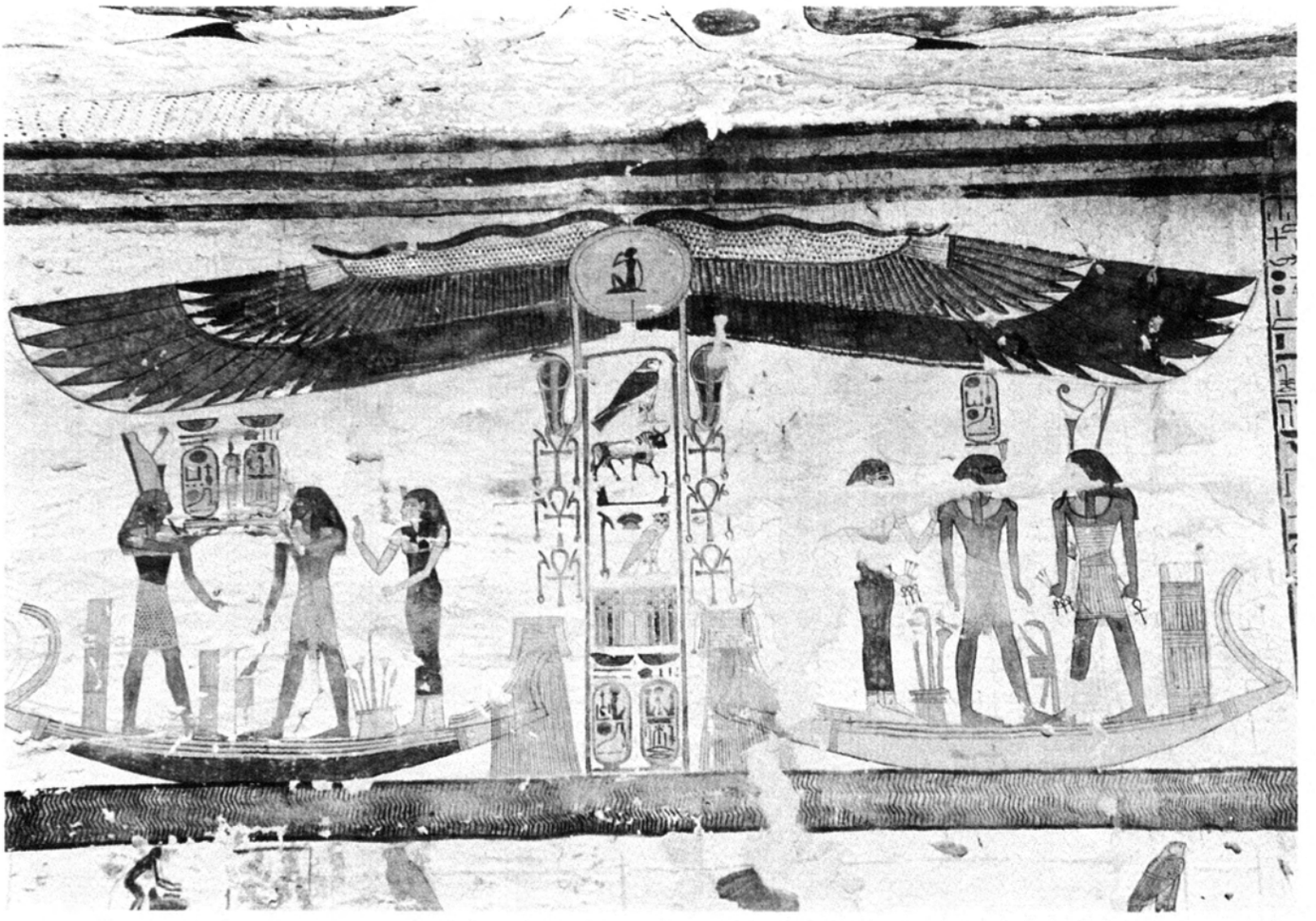
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Hawk-headed Deity and King Ramesses VI Support a Figure of Maat (G4; Tomb of Ramesses VI)

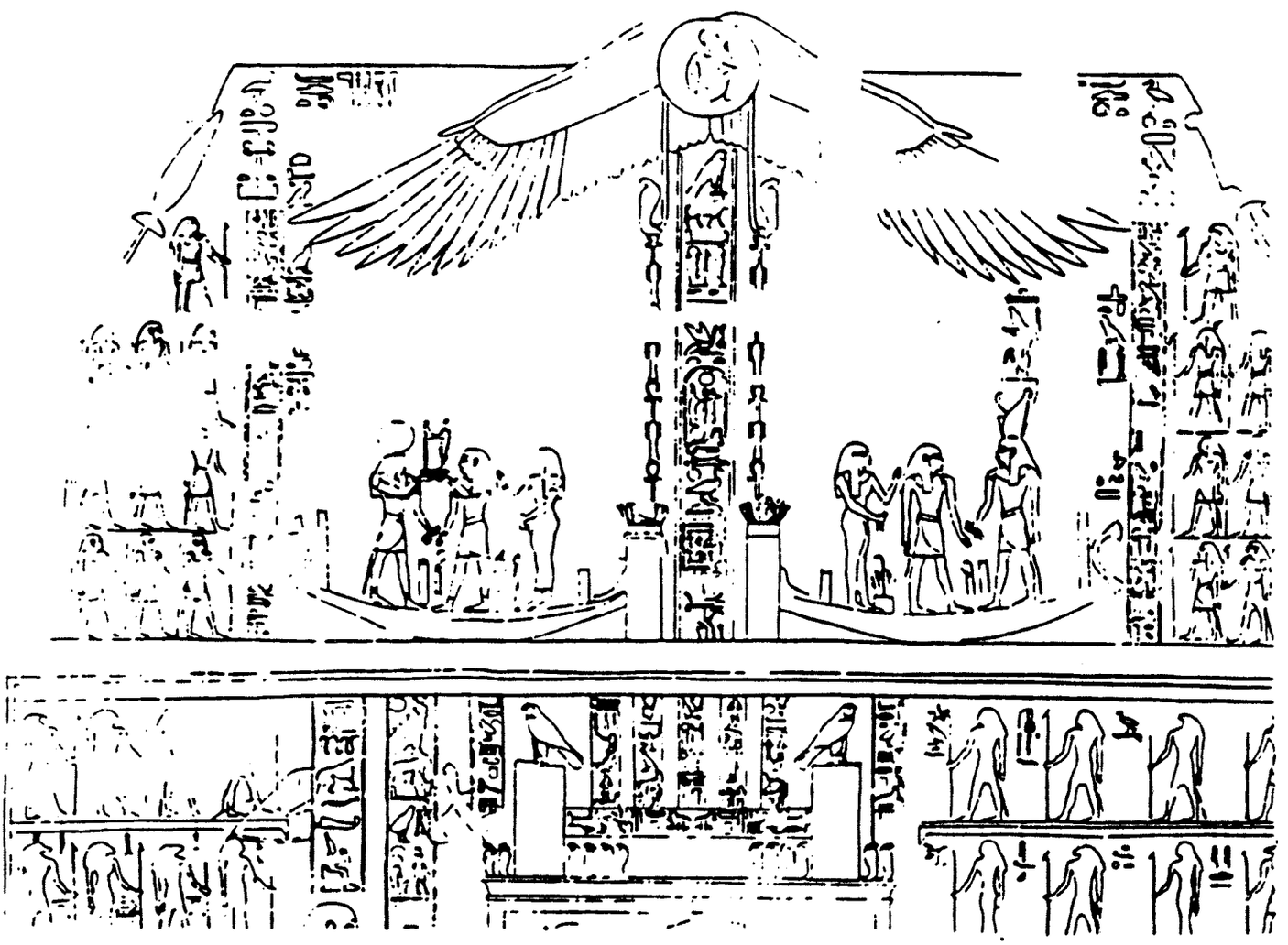
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Plate 20



Two Aspects of King Ramesses IX Support the King's Names (I1; Tomb of Ramesses IX, Thebes, KV 6).
Courtesy Peter F. Dorman

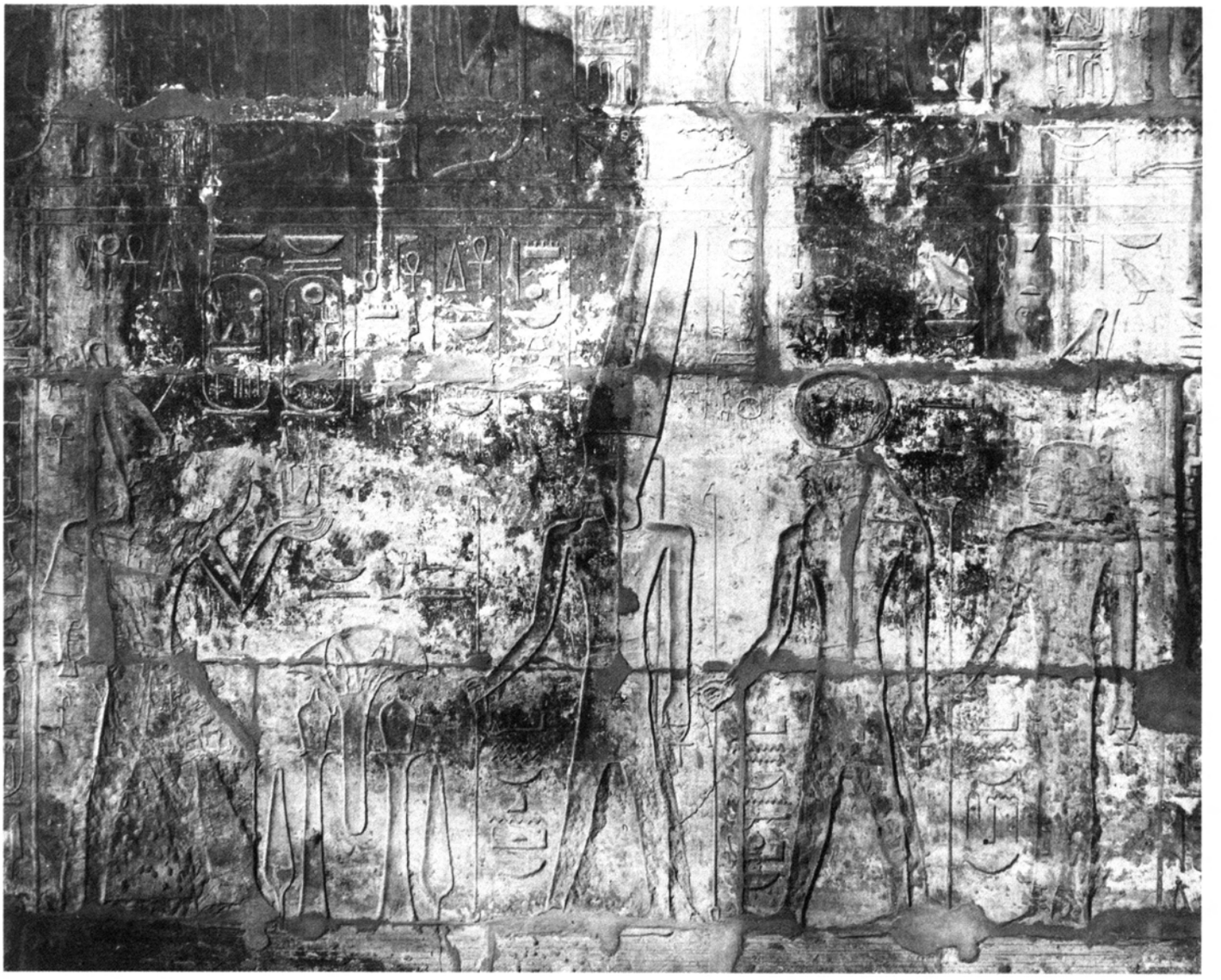
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Re and Shoshenq III Hold a Rebus of the King's Name (G5; Tomb of Shoshenq III, Tanis; after Montet 1960, pl. 30)

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Plate 22



Ramesses II Presents a Rebus of His Prenomen to the Theban Triad (loc. Gourna 166; Oriental Institute photograph no. 7184).
Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

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Ramesses II Presents a Rebus of His Prenomen to Mut (loc. Gourna 357; Oriental Institute photograph no. 8249).
Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

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Plate 24



Seti I Presents a Rebus of His Name Equated with Maat (F3; Temple of Seti I, Gourna)