



## A Study of the Role Played by the High Priests of Amun in Thebes in the Restoration of Royal Buildings and Mummies

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### ABSTRACT

#### Keywords:

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At the end of the Ramesside period when the royal power in the south decreased, the conservation and the construction of sacred buildings became the responsibility of the high priests of Amun in Thebes. This responsibility included as well the reburial of royal mummies in the valley of the kings on the west bank of Thebes. Several high priests were linked with the preservation of royal buildings and the restoration and the reburial of royal mummies. This study aims at investigating the role played by those priests, how they recorded the different activities and the terms they used for their documentation of their work. The paper starts with a historical background followed by the work of restoration of each high priest in a chronological order with a commentary and analysis. The study ends with a main conclusion.

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### Introduction

After the death of Ramesses III, Egypt was ruled by eight weak kings bearing the name Ramesses, during that period Egyptian kings lost their power, economy collapsed, poverty spread, and several workers' strikes were recorded in Deir El Madina. At time when kings were coming and going every few years, the high priests of Amun acquired a stability where from Ramesses III to Ramesses IX only three high priests held office namely Ramesses-nakht, Nesamun and Amenhotep [1]. At the same time power and authority was decreasing of kings in Thebes, that of the high priests of Amun were increasing in the south. The reign of Ramesses XI witnessed a violent confrontation between the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep and the viceroy of Kush Pinhase. General Piankh was sent by the king to resolve the problem, Piankh's repulse of Pinhase strengthened his position and divided the power in the country between north and south. The south was controlled by the high priests of Amun while the north and the nominal sovereignty of the country were under the control of king Ramesses XI and his successor Semendes. This led to an alternative dating system that Ramesses XI started in year 9 of his reign till his death and called it the "wHm-mswt "or the" renaissance period" [2]. The distinguishing feature of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty was as well the duality of rule between kings who ruled from the north at Tanis, and the high priests of Amun and army commanders who ruled from the south at Thebes. The fullest single record of the genealogical sequence of these high priests is on the shroud found on the mummy of Painedjem II, from Herihor and Paiankh at the end of

Ramesses XI till Painedjem II and his son Psusennes III [3]. The high priests of Amun in Thebes continued the responsibility of the restoration of the monuments carried by the earlier kings besides the preservation of royal mummies on the west bank of Thebes. Tomb robbery in ancient Egypt was practiced as early as the Predynastic period proven by the archaeological records. In the New Kingdom, the plundering in the Theban necropolis is further documented by a group of juridical documents known as the “Tomb Robbery Papyri” which were hidden with other treason records in the temple of Medinet Habu [2]. “Tomb -Robbery Papyri”, like papyrus Mayer B mentions court records of tomb robbery of Ramesses VI, during the reign of Ramesses IX. Papyri Abbott, BM 10053, 10054, 10068, Leopold-Amherst, shows court records, list of thieves, thefts from tombs and temples between years 16-18 Ramesses IX. Papyri BM 10052, 10383, 10403, Mayer A, Abbott-Dockets, Rochester 51.346.1, show court records, thefts of tombs of queens and nobles, palaces and temples, lists of suspects years 19-20 of Ramesses XI [4]. Tomb robbery passed by two main phases during the New Kingdom, the 1<sup>st</sup> started with the dynastic troubles at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (in tomb of Tuthmosis IV KV 43, are 2 seals, the 1<sup>st</sup> one is the original one while the 2<sup>nd</sup> was during reign of Horemheb [5] and the 2<sup>nd</sup> extended phase of tomb robbery in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty during corruption, inflation, famine and Libyan invasion [2]. Reeves claimed that tomb robbery during this period – based on the letter now in the British Museum EA 10375, this letter was directed by *Bw-th3-Tmn* year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt* period- that looking for tombs was deliberately made not by ordinary thieves but under the support of the administration itself to provide the military mission of Paiankh in the south. However, Newinski did not support Reeves opinion because it contradicts the ethics of the ancient Egyptian civilization and this was never practiced in times of wars and difficult times before in ancient Egypt [6], [7]. The high priests of Amun – according to documents, played another role in the restoration of the royal mummies and its conservation, in the transfer of the royal mummies, its reburial and rewrapping.

#### **This study aims at:**

- Understanding the role played by the high priests of Amun in Thebes in the restoration of monuments and royal mummies at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> dynasties.
- The locations chosen to make their conservation and restoration of monuments and royal mummies, and where it was recorded on walls of temples, tombs and linen
- The terms used in the conservation/restoration actions whether buildings or royal mummies

#### **1- Amenhotep the high priest of Amun and his conservation/restoration role in the temples of Karnak**

Amenhotep, son of Ramesses-nakht, was appointed as high priest of Amun at Karnak around year 9 or 10 of Ramesses IX. In fact, the earliest mention of Amenhotep is in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Ramesses IX in Papyrus Mayer A, 6,6-9 in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the *wḥm-mswt* [8], also another source is a wall scene close to pylon III [9]. He ascended the throne after a short and not well-known period of administration of his brother

Nesamun. Papyrus BM 10052, and Papyrus Mayor A are the main sources of knowledge concerning the suppression of the high priest Amenhotep at Thebes [10]. Also, there are new discussions of the suppression of Amenhotep [11].

**On the south side of the 7<sup>th</sup> pylon is written:** “*kd.i t3y d3d3 n pr Imn m m3w* “ I built this *d3d3* chapel for the house of Amun anew (PM II2, 172 [12]; KRI VI, 542-543 [13]). **Between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> pylon is writtenn:** “*Tw.s w3ti r w3sy* “ being fallen into ruins, “*Tw.i kd.s m m3wy* “ I built it as new, “*Tw.i kd w<sup>c</sup> pr-hd m dbt m m3wy* “ I built one treasury out of bricks anew. “*Tw.i kd p3y.s d3d3w 3w m inv*” I built its great *d3d3* chapels out of stone (PM, II 2, p.172 [12]). Also Amenhotep restored **the Middle Kingdom sacred chamber in Karnak:** “*Ink ikd st m kd nfr, iw.i di n.s h3w m 3 m snn nfrw hr p3y.s iwt3*” I am who built it as good work, I gave it greater dimensions with good foundation at its base (KRI VI, 532-533 [13], [14]).

### Commentary

It seems that the work of restoration of the high priest **Amenhotep** was concentrated in the temple of Amun Ra in Karnak in 3 main places, **7<sup>th</sup> pylon**, between the **7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> pylon**, in the **middle kingdom sacred chamber**, the common repeated term is “*kd*”, “building”, “*m m3w, m m3wy*” “a new”.

## 2- The high priest Herihor and his conservation/restoration role in the temples of Karnak

Another high priest of Amun, Herihor continued the role of restoration in Karnak, first in conjunction with royal works of Ramesses XI, but then carving commemorative inscriptions of his own. Over than 30 texts were found by Herihor in **the temple of Khonsu**, on the pylon, its flag staves, the court and the hypostyle hall in the form of “*ir(i).n.f m mnw.f* .....”, mentioning his name [15], [16]. Other several texts mention the work of Herihor to the temple anew “*ir.n.f hwt-ntr m m3wy*”, which suggests the improvement of an already existing structure (pls.139,140,142c,143A, 143C, 195,196 [16]). **Among 2 marginal inscriptions carved in the east and west wings of the hall:** “*ir.(i) n.f m mnw.f n hns w m W3st Nfr-htp ir.i n.f hwt-ntr m m3wy*” he has made as his monuments for Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, he made for him the temple anew. (Khonsu I,1979). “*swsh r3 pr.f m k3t nhh* “ widening his temple as work for eternity. “*s3 mnw.f r imy hr h<sup>c</sup>t di.f h<sup>c</sup>w hr imynt kb.f wnt m b3h*” making his monument larger than before, as he has increased daily requirements and he doubled what was before ([16]; KRI VI, 705/15, 706/4 [13]). Herihor also mentions that he doubled the offerings in a text above the lintel of the south doorway of the hypostyle hall (PM II 2, p.233(24) [12]. Ten of the column bases in the southern half of the **hypostyle hall of Karnak** have preserved renewal texts: nos. 22,32,40,42,49,51,57,60,62,63 [17], same proposed numbering of columns in PM II2). Of which “*sm3wy mnw*” is mentioned followed by name of Herihor. Roth suggests that all of the 61 columns in the southern half of the hall would have originally contained same renewal texts. Herihor’s restoration activity is also shown in the avenue of the sphinxes, south of the 10<sup>th</sup> pylon (on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> sphinx, following the same *sm3wy-mnw* pattern, (KRI VI, 847,8 [13]; PM II2, 192 [12]).

## Commentary

It seems that Herihor focused on the hypostyle hall of Karnak and the temple of Khonsu in his restoration activities. Wente suggests a connection between the temple of Khonsu and the hypostyle hall of Karnak in connection to Herihor. The connection according to him is related to the same pattern of sunk and raised relief used by Herihor in the courtyard of the Khonsu temple and that of the hypostyle hall of Karnak, similarities of some scenes, and in a case similarity of royal titles of Herihor in both places [10].

### Herihor's role in the preservation of the mummies in the Valley of the Kings

According to several graffiti, Herihor was associated with the restoration of various royal mummies as follows:

**1- Graffiti year 4 in tomb KV57 of Horemheb** consisting of 5 hieratic texts, located at the entrance of the tomb, probably dating to the *wḥm mswt* period (reign of Ramesses XI), which Gardiner copied into Hieroglyphic in 1909 in his notebook, now in the archive of the Griffith's institute in Oxford [18]. The 1<sup>st</sup> text mentions the 4<sup>th</sup> year, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *3ḥt*, day 22, by military scribe *Bw-th3-Imn.* " *m-ḥt iw.f r-rdit ir.tw sdm-mdw m pr dt m pr hr n ....*" , after coming to cause the implementing of the decisions in the burial chamber of the tomb of .... [19].

**2- Graffiti year 6 on the coffin lid of the mummy of Seti I CG 61019** consisting of 3 texts, the upper one dates to Herihor, where the cartouches of Seti I were written in black ink The text mentions year 6, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the *3ḥt*, day 7, " *n wd ir.n t3ty imy-r ḥm ntr ...*" *tpy n Imn R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw ḥry-hr r wḥm kr n*" , by order of the vizier high priest of Amun Ra , king of the gods Herihor , to renew the burial of the king ..., (MMAF I (4) [20], [21])

**3- Graffiti 2056- a above the entrance of the tomb of Seti II KV 15**, consisting of 3 texts written on the top of one another, the 1<sup>st</sup> text mentions year 6 , 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the *3ḥt* , 7<sup>th</sup> day(KRI VI, 146, 3-4 [13], Table 10, No.6 [22]).

**4- Graffiti year 6 in tomb KV56 of Horemheb**, the text mentions year 6, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the *3ḥt* , day 12," *hrw n f3i k3s3 ws n*" . the day his burial was transferred, and the name of Herihor is mentioned [18], translation according to: [19].

**5- Graffiti on the kA chamber in the tomb of TAwrt / stnXt KV 14**, consisting of 2 texts in 2 side chambers " Ka, Kb" giving year 6 and 7 of an unknown period , Gardiner thinks that they are probably from the reign of *t3wsrt* and Peden agrees with this opinion [18], [23], while Reeves thinks that these 2 dates are from the period of the *wḥm – mswt* and are the activities of Herihor in the tomb, based on similar dates found on the coffin of Seti I and Ramesses II and Graffiti of the tomb of Horemheb all dating from year 6 (pp.109-110 [22]).

**6- Graffiti year 6 on the coffin of the mummy of Ramesses II**, the coffin was not intended for Ramesses II since it is of an earlier date (probably end of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, Horemheb is a high possibility, all original decoration was removed from the coffin and a yellow paint was added, it was inscribed with 3 texts, 2 on the head and the 3<sup>rd</sup> on the chest. The 1<sup>st</sup> text on the head dates to year 6, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *prrt*, day 15

under the supervision of Herihor, the text seemed to have been erased to write the 2<sup>nd</sup> text on it [19].

### Commentary

All restoration inscriptions are written in Hieratic. It seems that the majority of the work done by Herihor in the preservation of the royal mummies was made in year 6 of the *wḥm-mswt*, during the *3ḥt* season. Also, most of the graffiti were inscribed on walls of tombs, while 2 on the coffins.

### 3- High priest Painedjem I, son of Paiankh and his conservation/restoration role in the temples of Karnak

Herihor was succeeded as high priest directly or after a period of time by Painedjem, son of Paiankh who held the high priest position during the first 15 years of the reign of king Smendes I of Tanis [3]. It is worth mentioning that there is an opinion of the possibility that Paiankh preceded Herihor as high priest of Amun. No building or restoration inscriptions name Paiankh (KRI VI ,848-849 [13]). The most significant restoration work of Painedjem I was completing the decoration of the peristyle court and the pylon of **the temple of Khonsu at Karnak** that Herihor started. On the south wall of the passageway, the king is shown offering bouquets to the Theban triad, Amun speaks relating to Painedjem: “*shb.n.k pr.i m m3wy kd.k wnw n w3sy* “ , you have made my house festive anew, you (re)built what was ruined” [16]. The text accompanying Painedjem I in the same scene explains more the priest’s act of restoration: “*irt hrr k3.f kd ḥwwt ntrw nbw ms.i ḥmw.sn m dꞥm*”, doing what pleases his Ka , he builds the mansions of all the gods, fashioning their bodies with electrum [16]. In the next scene above:” *s3 pr ḥnsw m W3st n nb.f , mh.f sw m mnw nfrw wꞥbw*” ,who enlarged the house of Khonsu in Thebes for his lord, filling it with beautiful pure monuments [16]. The same epithet “who has enlarged the house of Khonsu ...” is repeated among the several scenes on the north jambs of the gateway [16]. The previous scenes has also stated the building acts made by Painedjem in terms like: “*ir.i n.f mnw n nb .f ḥnsw m W3st nfr-ḥtp*” ,he made monuments for his father Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep [16]. Also “*shṭp ntrw nbw m mnw wrw*”, who has satisfied all the gods with great monuments (pl.119A/10-11 [16]).” *Ir 3ḥw knw m pr ḥnsw*”, who has carried profuse benefactions in the house of Khonsu [16] “*shb pr ḥnsw m bw nfr, shṭp ntrw imyw.f*”, who made the house of Khonsu festive with good things, who has satisfied the gods who are in it [16].” *shṭp ib n ḥnsw m mnw wrw*” , who has satisfied the heart of Khonsu with great monuments [16]. On the doorjamb scenes, the text on the right and the left are almost similar “*ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f ḥnsw , ir.i n.f bhꞥn(t) m m3wy*”, he has made as monuments to his father Khonsu , he has carried the making for him of the pylon a new [16]for the right text and *ibid* pls.121-125 for the left text). Decoration on the outer face of the pylon and its gateway was also accomplished under Painedjem I, with terms similar to that on the inside of the gate (PM II 2, pp.228,229 [12]). Painedjem’s restoration activities also appears in the **18<sup>th</sup> dynasty small temple of Amun in Medinet Habu** where on the socle of the eastern façade terms as “*sm3wy mnw* “ , renewal of the monuments and “*ir(i) n.f mnw n it.f Imn Rꞥ*” , he has made monument for his father Imn Ra [24]. On the south side of the temple “*W3y r w3sy sm3wy mnw ir(i) n.f r shṭp ib n it.f šps Imn dꞥrt hnꞥ psdt .f kd.f r3 pr.f n*



*m3wt*”, fallen into ruins , renewal of the monument which he made in order to satisfy the heart of his noble father Amun along with’ his ennead as he built his house anew [25]. On the north wall, also the use of terms like “ *sm3wy mnw*”,renewal of the monuments “ *gm.n.f sw w3w r w3sy*”, he has found it fallen into ruins “ *srwd r3 pr.f sbty .f m m3w* “, strengthening his temple and his enclosure wall anew. Painedjem made also minor repairs in **the great mortuary temple of Ramesses III**, at the inner end of the passageway through the 1<sup>st</sup> pylon , on the north side and on the south wall of the passage “ *sm3wy mnw*” , renewal of the monument [26].

### Commentary

The restoration activities of Painedjem were concentrated mainly in 3 places: **The temple of Khonsu** (completing the decoration of the peristyle court and the pylon), the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty small temple of Amun in **Medinet Habu**, minor repairs in the **great mortuary temple of Ramesses III**. The most repeated restoration terms were: “*kd*”, building “ *m m3wy*”, as new , *s3 pr hnsw*”, enlarging the house of Khonsu “ *ir.i n.f mnw.f*”, I made for him his monuments “ *shb*”, festive “ *shp*”, satisfy “ *sm3wy mnw*”, renewal of the monuments, and gave reason to the restoration activities occasionally by: “ *w3y r w3sy*”, fallen into ruins.

### Painedjem’s I role in the preservation of the mummies on the west bank

#### 1- Graffiti year 6 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Tuthmosis II

The graffiti gives year 6, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *prt*, day 7, the name *qf P3y ndm*, “*r whm sm3 n nsw 3 hpr n R<sup>c</sup>*”, the reburial of the king *3 hpr n R<sup>c</sup>* (MMAF I, (4), pp.536,537 [20], table 10, No.13 [22]).

#### 2- Graffiti year 6 on the lid of the coffin of king Amenhotep I

The graffiti gives year 6, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *prt*, day 7, name of *P3y ndm*, “*r whm krs n nsw dsr k3 R<sup>c</sup>* “,” *in imy r prwy hq P3y ..*” the renewal of the burial of the king... by the supervisor of the ... *P3y ..* (MMAF I, (4), p,537 [20], table 10, No.14 [22]).

#### 3- Graffiti year 9 and 10 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Ramesses III

The 1<sup>st</sup> graffiti gives the name of *P3y ndm* son of *P3y 3nh* for his father *Imn* in year 9, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> one is mentioned by Maspero same as the previous one but with year 10, unfortunately unpublished (MMAF I, (4), p,564 [20], table 10, No.15 [22]).

#### 4- Graffiti year 10 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Seti I

The graffiti “ *mnht ir.n hm-ntr tpy n Imn R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw P3y ndm m3<sup>c</sup> hrw 3 p3y 3nh m3<sup>c</sup> hrw n it.f hnsw m rnpt -sp 10* “ , linen made by the high priest of *Imn R<sup>c</sup>* king of the gods *P3y ndm* son of *P3y 3nh* true of voice for his father Khonsu in year 10 (MMAF I, (4), p,555 [20], table 10, No.17 [22]).

#### 5- Graffiti year 13 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Ramesses III

The graffiti gives year 13, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the *smw*, day 27, name of *P3y ndm* son of *P3y 3nh* (MMAF I, (4), p,563,564 [20], table 10, No.20 [22]).

#### 6- Graffiti year 13 in the tomb of Amenhotep II

Romer mentions Hieratic writings on some blocks at the entrance of a side chamber from the main burial chamber No. JC, that was used as a cachette of royal mummies [27]. Loret reads the text: year 13, day..., *sipty* [28] .

**7- Graffiti year 16 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Ramesses II**

The graffiti mentions year 16, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *pṛt*, day 6, the terms used “*wḥm.f r K3s.f*”, ;the renewal of his burial, and the name of *P3y ndm* (MMAF I, (4), p,560 [20], table 10, No.22 [22]).

**Painedjem as a king****8- Graffiti year 6 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Seti I**

The text mentions terms “*mnḥt ir.n ḥm-nṯr* .....”, linen done by the high priest Menkhepre , name of *P3y ndm* to his father and year 6 (MMAF I, (4), p, 555 [20],table 10, No.26 [22]).

**9- Graffiti year 7 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Seti I**

The graffiti mentions year 7, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the *pṛt* , day 16, “ *hrw n krs nsw* “, day of the burial of the king (MMAF I, (4), pp, 554, 555 [20], table 10, No.27 [22]).

**10- Graffiti year 7 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of the queen Ahmose Sat Kamose (CG 61063)**

The graffiti mentions year 7, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *3ḥt*, day 8, “ *pn rdit Wsir n s3t nsw ḥmt nsw wrt* ....” and the name of the queen , “the placement of/ to make in the Osiris form of the daughter of the king , the royal wife ... (MMAF I, (4), pp, 541 [20] ).

**Graffiti year 8 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of the king Ahmose I**

The graffiti mentions year 8, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *pṛt* , day 29, the name of the king “ *r rdit -wsir n wsir nsw nb pḥty r<sup>c</sup>* “, the placement of/ to make in the Osiris form of the Osiris king *nb pḥty R<sup>c</sup>* (MMAF I, (4), pp, 534 [20]).

**11- Graffiti year 8 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Sa-Amun CG 61059 ( Deir el Bahari Cachette)**

The graffiti mentions year 8, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *pṛt* , day 29, his majesty ordered “ *r rdit -wsir n s3-nsw s3-Imn* “, “, the placement of/ to make in the Osiris form of son of the king *s3 Imn* (MMAF I, (4), p, 538 [20], table 10, No.30 [22]).

**Graffiti year 16 on the coffin of the mummy of Amenhotep I**

The graffiti mentions year 16, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *pṛt*, day 21, the terms used are “*wḥm-Krs n nṯr pn* .... “, the renewal of the burial of this god.... And it was done by *P3y ndm* (MMAF I, (4), p,536,537 [20], table 10, No.23 [22]).

**12- Graffiti year 18 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Queen Ahmose Merit Amun**

It is worth mentioning that two queens share the same name of Merit Amun in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: the wife of Amenhotep I, and the wife of Amenhotep II, researchers disagree about the identity of both mummies discovered with the same name [29], [30], [31]. The tomb of Queen Ahmose Merit Amun TT 358 was reused in the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty for the burial of a princess that might have been the daughter of *P3y ndm* the 1<sup>st</sup> (PM I 1, p.421, PM I 2, p.629 [12]).

The text mentions terms “*mnḥt ir.n ḥm-nṯr* .....”, linen done by the high priest , name of *P3y ndm* and year 18 (Table 10, No.24 [22])

### **13- Graffiti year 19 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Ahmose Merit Amun**

The graffiti mentions year 19, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *pṛt*, day 28, the terms used are “*n pn sipy hmt-nsw Mryt -Imn*”, day of the examination of the royal wife Merit Amun ([30],table 10, No.25 [22]).

### **14- Graffiti at the entrance of KV 38**

This tomb was carved in the reign of Tuhotmose III for his father Tuhotmose I, The graffiti mentions year 1, 1<sup>st</sup> month of the *3ḥt*, day13, “*iyt Mniw-nfr wn (p3 ḥr n) 3-hpr-k3-Rc ..*” came *Mniw-nfr* to open ( tomb of) *3-hpr-k3-Rc*...(Table 10, No.31 [22], [23]).

### **Commentary**

It seems that most of the work of Painedjem I concerning the preservation of the mummies was done during a longer period compared to that of Herihor, also the no. of mummies involved, it started from year 6 till year 19 of his priesthood, the common season of work was the *pṛt* season, during the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> months. Same years of Painedjem as king and same season and months.

### **4- High priest Menkhepre’s role in the preservation of buildings**

Menkhepre was responsible for construction projects at several upper Egyptian sites, where he fortified brick enclosures, a stela is found in the ruins of the eastern colonnade of Taharqa (PM II 2, p.210 [12]). One fragment of the **Karnak** priestly Annals No.3A records an inspection of Theban temples conducted in his name [3]. A Karnak stela of year 48 records building a “very great wall” on the north of the temple of Amun [32] . On the west exterior wall of the hypostyle hall at **Luxor temple**, the “*sm3wy mnw*” formula is conducted by Menkhepre.

### **Commentary**

The name of Menkhepre was associated with Theban temples in Karnak, Luxor temples.

### **Menkhepre’s role in the preservation of the royal mummies**

#### **Graffiti year 6 on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Seti I**

The text mentions terms “*mnḥt ir.n ḥm-nṯr .....*”, linen done by the high priest Menkhepre , name of *P3y ndm* to his father and year 6 (MMAF I, (4), p, 555 [20],table 10, No.26 [22], [3]).

### **5- Painedjem’s II role in the preservation of the mummies on the west bank**

Painedjem II is the son of Menkhepre , son of Painedjem I , this is represented on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Painedjem II\_(MMAF I, (4), p, 572 [20]).Painedjem II was the high priest of Amun for 32 years, reign of Amunnubi, Userkhor, and SaAmun (for more details of his time see [33]. After Menkhepre, it is apparent that the high priests of Amun did not undertake any building projects in Thebes, probably due to the increase authority of the Tanite kings corresponding to the decrease of the control of the high priests in Thebes as agitators of monumental construction. However, Painedjem II continued the work of his father and his grandfather in the reburial and restoration of royal mummies, it also marks the last era of the documentation of the reburial and restoration of royal mummies in ancient



Egypt and its transfer from the valley of the kings to the cachette of Deir el Bahari. Interesting enough, Painedjem II and some members of his family were buried together with the transferred mummies in the cachette of Deir el Bahari, which might have been that the cachette was originally a tomb for Painedjem's family or to share and receive blessings from the burial of the other royal mummies.

### 1- Graffiti year 5 of Nsy-Xnsw, wife of Painedjem II on the linen wrappings of the mummy of Ramesses IX (Deir el Bahari Cachette)

The graffiti reads “*in ir.n wr-hnrwt-tpy n Imn hmt -ntr n Imn hnm W3st Nsy-hnsw m rnpt 5*”, done by (a gift) the chief of the 1<sup>st</sup> harem of Amun, priestess of Amun unified with Thebes *Nsy-hnsw* in year 5 (MMAF I, (4), p, 567 [20], table 10, No.35 [22]). It is noteworthy to mention that Nsy-xnsw prepared two coffins, who originally belonged to the daughter of Menkhepre and the 2<sup>nd</sup> wife of Painedjem II, mummy of Nsy-xnsw was put in one coffin CG 61030, while the other one was dedicated to the mummy of Ramesses IX, who she as well dedicated new linen for his mummy [34].

### 2- Graffiti year 10 on the coffins of the mummies of king Ramesses I CG 61018 Seti I CG 61019, Ramesses II, CG 61020

Two similar texts are written on the coffins of the three kings record the transfer of these mummies in the reign of *s3 imn*, the 1<sup>st</sup> text gives year 10, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *prt*, day 17, it mentions the transfer of these three mummies from the temporary location in the tomb of Seti I on their way to *K3Y* of queen *in hꜥpy* “*hrw n in(t) nsw MN-phꜥty - Rꜥ r bnr m hnw .... k3y n In hꜥpy*”, the day the king was brought outside from inside the tomb of.... To.... Text 2 mentions year 10, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *prt*, day 20, but it is only mentioned on the coffins of Seti I, Ramesses II, and is assumed to have been recorded likewise on that of Ramesses I [5] “*hrw n sꜥk ntr r st.f r rdit hꜥp (n) t3y hwt nhh*”, the day the god was entered to his place to rest in his house/palace of eternity. (MMAF I, (4), p, 551 [20], [21], table 10, No. 40-43 [22])

#### Commentary

The work of Painedjem II in the conservation of royal mummies seemed to have been executed in year 10 in the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the *prt*, involving the transfer of 3 royal mummies to the tomb of *In hꜥpy*, that of Ramesses I, Seti I, Ramesses II.

#### The Role of the High Priests in the Conservation/Restoration of Royal Buildings

Occasionally kings of the New Kingdom gave reason for their restoration activity to buildings of earlier kings which was due to the bad condition of the building or because it was being decayed or fallen apart. These kings used some specific terms to explain their work, the most common were “*sm3wy mnw*” [35]. When the high priests of Amun at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty and the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty continued the role of restoration in Thebes, they continued in using some of the terms of the earlier kings like “*sm3wy mnw*” and others. The sequence of their work and the parallel kings in the north is discussed by Palmer [36].




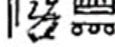




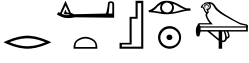
#### The Role of the High Priests in Restoration of Royal Mummies

Apparently, several of the royal mummies were separated in antiquity from their original coffins and replaced in different ones, this was discovered by Loret in 1898 in the KV35. The labeling directly on the mummy wrappings gave more the reliable

identification [2]. Examples of royal mummies placed in different coffins are that of Amenhotep III placed in the coffin of Ramesses III, and Seti II, the mummy of Ramesses II placed in the coffin of Horemheb, the mummy of Merenptah found in the coffin of Setnakht, the mummy of Ramesses III found in the coffin of queen Ahmose Nefertari .It seems that the royal mummies in the valley of the kings were rewrapped and restored in various places. Two graffiti found above the entrance of KV 49 mention temple linen in great quantity brought to the tomb by the scribe Butchamun and the workmen, which could indicate probably that the tomb was used as a storeroom for the restoration of royal mummies. Medinet Habu is mentioned on a docket found on the wrappings of Ramesses IX, with the addition of several funerary objects found there, like Ushabtis of Amenhotep III, Seti I and Ramesses III (p.206 [22]).Also Legrain found an Ushabti of Amenhotep III( Cairo museum JE 37372) and Canopic heads , in Karnak cachette, which suggested that Karnak could be one of the places for restoration of royal mummies, although the distance remains an obstacle that should not be neglected [37]. It seems that the high priests of Amun recorded their work of restoration of mummies in 4 places: Graffiti at the entrance of the tombs as in KV35, KV15, KV 38, in tombs wall docket as in KV43, KV 57, KV 9, KV 35, KV 15, on linen docket as in Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Tuhutmose I, Amenhotep III, Seti I, Ramesses II, Ramesses III, Ramesses IX, coffin docket as in Amenhotep I, Ramesses I, Seti I, Ramesses II. Two main types of docket were encountered, a text on the coffin lid or on the shroud covering the chest of the mummy, the first type of which containing a record of the deceased's name and details of status like that on coffin employed for Amenhotep III. The second type was more detailed, containing a date (year, month, season, day), record of work undertaken, names and titles of the person who undertook the work, like that docket on mummy of Amenhotep III [2].

#### A Table displaying the Terms used for the Restoration of Buildings and Royal Mummies

Terms	
1- Terms used in Restoration activities in buildings	1- <i>Kd</i> (WB, V, p.72 [38]) to build
	2 - <i>m m3w -m m3wy lt</i> <i>m m3wt</i> (WB, II, p.26 [38]) to make a new
	3- <i>ir.n.f m mnw.f</i> To make for him as his monuments
	4- <i>swsh r3 pr.f</i> ( to widen his house) <i>swsh</i> (WB, IV, p.74,75 [38]) to widen, to enlarge
	5- <i>s3 mnw.f</i> (to enlarge his monuments)

	<p> <b>s<sup>3</sup></b>   (WB, IV, p. 42 [38])</p> <hr/> <p>6- <b>sm3wy mnw</b> (renewal of monuments)  <b>sm3wy</b> (WB, IV, p.126 [38])                      To make new /Renewal</p> <hr/> <p>7- <b>srwd r3 pr.f m m3w</b> ( to strengthen his house as new)  <b>srwd</b> (WB, IV, p.194/11 [38])                    Strengthening /to maintain</p>
<p><b>2-Terms used in Restoration and conservation of royal mummies</b></p>	<p>1- <b>sipty</b> (WB IV, p. 36,2-16 [38])                    To examine /to inspect</p> <hr/> <p>2- <b>Krs</b> (WB V, p. 63,11-15 [38])                    To bury/burial</p> <hr/> <p>3-<b>whm</b> (WB, I, p. 341 [38])                    to repeat  <b>whm-Krs</b> (To rebury)  <b>whm-sm3</b> (renewal of burial)  <b>whm.f r k3s.f</b> (renewed to be buried)</p> <hr/> <p>4-<b>rdit-wsir</b>                    (To be placed/put in the Osiris-form)</p>

**Conclusion**

At the end of the new kingdom and the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, five significant high priests of Amun in Thebes played a significant role in the conservation and restoration of royal buildings and mummies: Amenhotep, Herihor, Painedjem I, Menkhepre, Painedjem II. Their work of restoration was recorded on temple walls, stelae, tombs walls, coffin lids, linen wrappings. Certain terms were used for restoration of buildings like **Kd**, - **m m3w -m m3wy lt, ir.n.f m mnw.f , swsh r3 pr.f s<sup>3</sup> mnw.f , sm3wy mnw srwd r3 pr.f m m3w**, While other terms were used for the restoration of royal mummies like **sipty,Krs whm-Krs whm-sm3 rdit-wsir whm.f r k3s.f**

Painedjem I is considered the most interested high priest in the restoration of buildings and mummies among the other high priests of his period whether as high priest or as a ruling king. This role played by the high priests mark at least for the buildings, a continuation of the role played by the kings of the New Kingdom to conserve and restore the buildings of their ancestors.

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### دراسة الدور الذي لعبه كبار كهنة أمون في طيبة في ترميم المباني والموميوات الملكية

ترنيم بيومي

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المعلومات المقالة	المخلص
الكلمات المفتاحية كبار كهنة أمون؛ طيبة؛ ترميم؛ مباني؛ موميوات.	في نهاية فترة الرعامسة في مصر، في الأسرة العشرون والواحد والعشرون عندما تقلصت سلطة الملوك في الجنوب أصبح الترميم والبناء مسئولية كبار كهنة أمون في طيبة. هذه المسئولية تضمنت ايضا اعادة دفن وترميم الموميوات الملكية في وادي الملوك غرب طيبة. أرتبط اسماء العديد من كبار الكهنة بعملية الحفاظ على المباني الملكية والموميوات الملكية مثل باينجم الأول والثاني وحريحور وغيرهم. هذه الدراسة تهدف الى بحث ودراسة الدور الذي لعبه كبار الكهنة في طيبة، كيفية تسجيل هذا الدور والأنشطة المختلفة للبناء والترميم سواء للمباني أو للموميوات، المصطلحات المستخدمة في هذا العمل. تبدأ الدراسة بمقدمة تاريخية عن هذه الفترة والأسباب التي ادت إلى هذا الدور من قبل الكهنة ثم استعراض لدور كل كبير كهنة على حدي مرتب من الأقدم إلى الأحدث مع تعليق من الباحث على هذه الأعمال وتحليلها. تنتهي الدراسة بالخاتمة التي تتضمن مجموعة من الاستنتاجات.
(JAAUTH) المجلد 21، العدد 3، (ديسمبر 2021)، ص 36-49.	