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*Jmn hntj jpwt.f*  
*from the Middle Kingdom*  
*to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty*

Among the many Amun epithets only some have been analysed in detail by scholars. There are studies devoted to the titles *nb nswt t3wj*,<sup>1</sup> *nswt ntrw*,<sup>2</sup> *n3bt Jmn*<sup>3</sup> and *p3 mry nfr / mry (ntr) p3 nbj nfrw*,<sup>4</sup> but these epithets which describe god's relationships to the cult places have not been interpreted separately so far. The epithet *Jmn hntj jpwt.f* (plural) seems to belong to this group.

There are only 21 examples of the latter title known from written sources with only one of them coming from Shabaka's time,<sup>5</sup> one from Osorkon III's time,<sup>6</sup> and the rest dating to Sesostri's reign and the early New Kingdom (from the reign of Amenhotep I to the reign of Thutmose IV).

The epithets *hntj*<sup>7</sup> / *hrj-jb*<sup>8</sup> / *m jpwt.f*<sup>9</sup> and *nb jpwt*<sup>10</sup> have been interpreted by scholars as titles of the main god of the Luxor temple.<sup>11</sup> However, it seems important to note that the god whose name was connected to the Luxor temple during the early Eighteenth Dynasty was

\* I wish to thank Ms. Aleksandra Hallmann and Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek for giving me an impulse for further research. I am also sincerely indebted to Barbara Majchrzak for correcting my English.

<sup>1</sup> H. GOEDICKE, *Jmn nb nswt t3wj*, [in:] Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday, *StudAeg* 14, Budapest 1992, pp. 197–203.

<sup>2</sup> J.-M. KRUCHTEN, Le “Maître des dieux” de Karnak, [in:] U. Verhoeven, E. Graefe (Eds), Religion and Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991, *OLA* 39, Leuven 1991, pp. 179–187.

<sup>3</sup> N. TOYE, A particular form of Amun at Deir el-Medina: Amun-Re *n 3b.t jmn* or Amun-Re *n 3b.(w)t Jmn?*, *JEA* 95, 2009, pp. 257–263.

<sup>4</sup> L. GABOLDE, Amon-Rê, *p3 mry nfr*, Amon, *mry (ntr) p3 nbj nfrw*, au temple de Deir al-Medina, [in:] Ch. Thiers (Ed.), Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives 1, *OrMonsp* 19, Montpellier 2009, pp. 75–83.

<sup>5</sup> J. LECLANT, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne I, Le Caire 1965, pp. 138, 239 (from Luxor).

<sup>6</sup> Chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, east inner room, eastern wall, speech of *Jmn-R*: G. LEGRAIN, Le temple et les chapelles d'Osiris à Karnak. Le temple d'Osiris-Hiq-Djeto, partie éthiopienne, *RecTrav* 22, 1900, p. 132; W. HELCK, Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak. I. Eine Inschrift Ramses' IV, *ZÄS* 82, 1958, pp. 124–125 [18]; N. IMBERT, La restauration de la chapelle d'Osiris *Heqa-djet*, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, Pl. V; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 206 [22.1].

<sup>7</sup> L. GABOLDE, Le « Grand Château d'Amon » de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak. La décoration du temple d'Amon-Rê au Moyen Empire, *MAIBL* n.s. XVII, Paris 1998 [= Grand Château d'Amon], Pls XXVI–XXVII; N. GRIMAL, F. LARCHÉ, Karnak, 1994–1997, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, Pls I, IX; L. GABOLDE, Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatshepsout à Karnak, Le Caire 2005 [= Monuments], Pls XIX, XXXVII; U.R. HAMZA, Some Remarks Concerning Chapel XII of Hatshepsut at Karnak Temple, *JSSEA* 21/22, 1991/1992 [1994], p. 39 Fig. 2; M. EL-SAGHIR, Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel, *Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie* 6, Mainz a/Rhein 1996 [= Statuenversteck], p. 70; P. BARGUET, Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse, *RAPH* 21, Le Caire 2008<sup>3</sup> [= Temple d'Amon-Rê], p. 202 (additional picture No. 53813).

<sup>8</sup> P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, Une chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak, Le Caire 1969 [= Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup>], Pls 11, 22; F. BURGOS, F. LARCHÉ, La chapelle Rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout. I. Fac-similés et photographies des scènes, Paris 2006 [= Chapelle Rouge I], p. 225; W.S. SMITH, Recent Discoveries in the Egyptian Department, *BMEF* 40, 1948, p. 49 Fig. 9.

<sup>9</sup> BURGOS, LARCHÉ, Chapelle Rouge I, p. 242.

<sup>10</sup> LACAU, CHEVRIER, Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup>, Pls 18, 29.

<sup>11</sup> E. OTTO, Topographie des Thebanischen Gaus, Berlin-Leipzig 1952, p. 40; О.И. ПАВЛОВА, Амон Фиванский. Ранняя история культа (V–VII династии), Москва 1984 [= Амон Фиванский], p. 151; M. ULLMANN, Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape, [in:] P.F. Dorman, B.M. Bryan (Eds), Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, *SAOC* 61, Chicago 2007, p. 11; GABOLDE, Monuments, p. 121 n. a.

*Jmn(-R<sup>c</sup>) nb nswt t3wj*<sup>12</sup> / *hntj Jpt-swt*<sup>13</sup> / *nswt ntrw*<sup>14</sup> and *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpt.f*.<sup>15</sup> It must be stressed that in these epithets the term *jpt* is always used in the singular. The epithet mentioning *jpwt* (plural) is rare and appears meaningful from a theological point of view. Thus, it seems necessary to look closer at it and analyse its meaning and purpose.

## TEXTS AND ICONOGRAPHY

The titles of Amun containing the word *jpwt* are attested for the first time during the reign of Sesostris I on two of his monuments found in Karnak. These were carved four times on the *Chapelle Blanche* pillars and architraves and once on the block connected by L. Gabolde with the central part of the temple of this king in Karnak.

Inside, on the northern face of the architrave placed on the western side of the chapel is an inscription mentioning Kamutef in his ithyphallic form, described as: *hrj-jb jpw.t.f* (**Fig. 1a**).<sup>16</sup> The god addresses the Great Ennead Who-is-in-*Jpt-swt* informing

<sup>12</sup> Hatshepsut: L. HABACHI, The Triple Shrine of the Theban Triade in Luxor Temple, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, p. 95, Fig. 1, Pl. XXXIII (Ramesside reconstruction).

Thutmosis III: M. EL-RAZIK, Luxor Studies, *MDAIK* 27/2, 1971, Pl. LXII; H. BRUNNER, Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor, *AV* 18, Mainz a/Rhein 1977 [= Südliche Räume], p. 85, Fig. 41, Pl. 186b; HABACHI, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, p. 96, Fig. 2.

Amenhotep III: A. GAYET, Le temple de Louxor. 1<sup>er</sup> Fascicule. Constructions d'Amémophis III. Cour d'Amémophis, Salle hypostyle, Salle de Offertoires, Salle du Lever et Sanctuaire de Maut, *MIFAO* 15, Paris 1894 [= Temple de Louxor], Pls II.6, VIII.47, X.59–61, XI.53, XV.49, XVII.64, 65, 67, XIX.76, XX.73, XXII.77, XXIII.82, XXXV.138, XXXVI.137, XXXVII.128, XL.131, XLIV.122–123, XLV.121, XLVI.111, XLIX.134–135, Lbis.105, LII.103, LIII.100–101, LIV.98, LV.114, LVI.112, LVII.116, LXVIII.205, LXIV.197, LXV.200, LXVIII.213; BRUNNER, Südliche Räume, Pls 47, 55, 57, 64, 69, 85, 109, 114, 121, 125, 141, 142, 144, 148, 153, 157, 158, 161, 168, 173, 177, 181; M. ABDEL-RAZIQ, Das Sanktuar Amenophis' III im Luxor Tempel, *SEC* 3, Tokyo 1986 [= Sanktuar Amenophis' III], p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Amenhotep III: *Urk.* IV, 1684.9, 1688.2; GAYET, Temple de Louxor, Pls XVIII. 65, LIII.100–101, LVI.112; BRUNNER, Südliche Räume, Pls 39, 40, 57, 104, 109, 114, 145 (*hrj-jb Jpt-swt*), 157; ABDEL-RAZIQ, Sanktuar Amenophis' III, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Amenhotep III: *Urk.* IV, 1686.1; 1687.13; 1688.2; 1690.13; 1691.10, 15; 1692.9; 1693.3; 1694.10, 18; 1698.1; 1699.3; 1700.9; 1702.4; GAYET, Temple de Louxor, Pl. IX Fig. 58, Pl. X Fig. 60, Pl. XXII Fig. 79; BRUNNER, Südliche Räume, Pls 52, 63, 74, 112, 116, 125, 135, 155, 162, 173, 177.

<sup>15</sup> Hatshepsut: *Jmn nb jpt* (BURGOS, LARCHÉ, Chapelle Rouge I, p. 18); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj hntj jpt.f* (Ramesside reconstruction, HABACHI, *MDAIK* 20, 1965, p. 95, Fig. 1, Pl. XXXIII); *Jmn nb Jpt-rsy*t (Senenmut's statue BM 174, E. MEYER, Senenmut. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung, Hamburg 1982, p. 304).

Thutmosis III: *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpt.f* (EL-SAGHIR, Statuenversteck, p. 71); [...] *m jpt.f* (LD III, Pl. 36d).

Amenhotep III: *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj ntr* <sup>c3</sup> *hntj jpt* (GAYET, Temple de Louxor, Pl. XI.52); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XXI.75); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj nb pt hrj-jb jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XXIII.78); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw nbw hrj-jb jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XXIII.79); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj hrj-jb jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XXV.82); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XXIV.81); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj nb pt hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. LX.137); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj nb pt hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. LIII.131); *nb jpt* (*ibid.*, Pl. XLVIII.126); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> n jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XLVI.123); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj m jpt.tn* (*ibid.*, Pl. XLI.111); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. LIV.134); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV.98); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. XLIV.118); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> m jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. LXI.170); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. LXXI.203); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj hntj jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. LXXI.205); [...] *jpt.f* (BRUNNER, Südliche Räume, Pl. 57); [...] *nswt ntrw hrj-jb jpt.f* (*ibid.*, Pl. 63); *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wj hntj jpt* (*ibid.*, Pl. 121); [...] *hntj jpt.f hrj-tp Psdt* (*ibid.*, Pl. 134).

<sup>16</sup> Architrave D2: LACAU, CHEVRIER, Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup>, § 82, Pl. 11.

them that he gives *rnḫpwt* to the king. The text is incomplete and its proper translation is difficult.<sup>17</sup>

On two sides of the passage of the chapel there are two parallel scenes represented on the inner surfaces of two pillars: the statue of ithyphallic Amun is carried by the *jt-ntr*-priest, the king stands at the back of the god, touching him with his hand.<sup>18</sup> In the northern scene, the god is described as *Jmn nb ḫpwt* (**Fig. 1b**) and in the southern one – as *Jmn nb Jpt-swt*. Amun says: *dj.n.[j] ḫnh dd w3s nb n S-n-Wsrt* (*I gave all life, stability and prosperity to Sesostris*).

The next scene is also depicted on a pillar, this time in the outer southern row on the pillar's western face (**Fig. 1c**).<sup>19</sup> It shows the king kneeling on a mat, with *nw*-vases in his hands in front of ithyphallic Amun. The garden with three lettuces is carved behind the god's back. The offering is described as *rdjt mw kbḫw* 'giving cold water'. The god's name is written in front of him: *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> ḫrj-jb ḫpwt.f*.

The last scene from the *Chapelle Rouge*, where plural *jpt* appears in the god's epithet is represented on the western face of the easternmost pillar on the southern side of the passage (**Fig. 1d**).<sup>20</sup> Again, there are two parallel scenes showing ithyphallic Amun with the garden of three lettuces behind his back. In front of him, the king, followed by his *k3*, embraces the god named as *Jmn nb ḫpwt* in the northern scene and as *Jmn nb Jpt-swt* in the southern one.

On the limestone block found on the *Cour de la cachette*<sup>21</sup> there is a small niche preserved on its right side (**Fig. 2**).<sup>22</sup> On the left side of the niche's frame the inscription mentions the king *Ḥr* [*ḫnh*]-*mswt* as beloved of *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> ḫntj ḫpwt.f*. Below the niche, a small panel is carved with the female representation of *ḫwt Ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-šhm* kneeling with offerings in her hands. The representation of the temple is turned to the right. The scene on the left side of the niche, also turned to the right, shows Amun leading the king to the *ḫwt-ḫt n Jmn nb nswt t3wj*. The block was placed by L. Gabolde in the vicinity of the main gate of the temple in the second court, as a fragment of the decoration of the western wall (north part, east face).<sup>23</sup> However it seems much more probable to locate it on the inside left wall of the gate, as it is visible e.g. on the gate of Fifth or Seventh Pylons at Karnak.<sup>24</sup>

In the small calcite chapel *Mn-mnw-Jmn* built by Amenhotep I in Karnak, on the right inside wall is the last scene of the lower register depicting the offering of *nmst*-jar done

<sup>17</sup> Cf. LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Chapelle de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup>*, § 82.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, § 201, Pl. 16 [scenes 13 and 14].

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, § 237, Pl. 22 [scene 21].

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, § 291, Pl. 29 [scene 5'].

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209 § 584; GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, p. 85 § 125 n. 40.

<sup>22</sup> GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, p. 88 § 128, Pls XXVI–XXVII; A. EL-H. MAAROUF, TH. ZIMMER, *Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: Varia 2, CahKarn IX*, 1993, pp. 236–237, Figs 3–4.

<sup>23</sup> GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> M. PILLET, *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921–1922)*, *ASAE* 22, 1922, p. 243; PM II, p. 169 [498]; cf. MAAROUF, ZIMMER, *CahKarn IX*, p. 231.

by the king to standing Amun (**Fig. 3**).<sup>25</sup> The god is described as *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jp[wt].f*. The identification of Amun's epithet seems very probable; the single sign *jp*t preserved above the sign *f* is placed on the right side of it giving the space needed for two other *jp*t-signs.

During the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III there are six mentions of *jpwt*, all preserved in the temple of Amun in Karnak.

The first of them is depicted on the inside right wall of the limestone bark chapel bearing the names of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut.<sup>26</sup> This bark chapel comes from the early reign of Hatshepsut and was probably replaced later with the *Chapelle Rouge*.<sup>27</sup> The long scene represents the god named *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpwt.f* sitting on a throne in front of an offering table and offering list (**Fig. 4**). On the other side of the offering table, the figure of the king was probably placed, but only the beginning of the royal titles is preserved.

For the second time the title *hntj jpwt.f* appears on the sandstone lintel found in the foundation of the southern of the eastern obelisks of Hatshepsut, in an epithet of the king: *Dhwtj-ms-nfr-h<sup>c</sup>w [mry] Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpwt.f* (**Fig. 5**).<sup>28</sup> Only two of three *jp*t-signs are preserved on the monument. In the first line on the lintel, the king is described as *3-hpr-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hr st[.f wrt]*.

The next two mentions of *jpwt* are preserved on the walls of *Chapelle Rouge*. On the block No. 36 placed in the third register of the northern wall of the sanctuary of the chapel, Hatshepsut offers *nw*-vases to three sitting gods: *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> m Jpt-swt m W3st, Jmn m jpwt.f, Jmn nb nswt t3wj m Jpt-swt m W3st* (**Fig. 6**).<sup>29</sup> On the block No. 174 located in the sixth register of the same wall, Hatshepsut followed by her royal *k3* is performing the *w33 s<sup>c</sup>* ritual in front of ithyphallic Amun-Ra *hrj-tp t3wj hrj-jb jpwt.f* (**Fig. 7**).<sup>30</sup> In this case only two of three *jp*t-signs are preserved.

On the northern obelisk of Hatshepsut in the *W3dyt*-Hall, in the upper part (in the first upper register) of its northern face, the epithet of Amun appears again in an important context (**Fig. 8a**).<sup>31</sup> The queen offers cold water to the god *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hnty jpwt.f* who gives the sign of life to the nostrils of Horus sitting on the Hatshepsut's serekh name. The text beginning with the royal protocol was written on the occasion of the first *hb-sd* of the queen. It mentions the establishing of the names of Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I, and the writing down of them on the *jsd*-tree,<sup>32</sup> a ritual that traditionally constituted a part of the coronation ceremony. In the second register on the southern face of the northern obelisk,

<sup>25</sup> GRIMAL, LARCHÉ, *CahKarn XI*, 2003, Pl. I.

<sup>26</sup> G. LEGRAIN, Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902, *ASAE* 4, 1903, p. 21; GABOLDE, *Monuments*, p. 121, Pl. XXXVII.

<sup>27</sup> GABOLDE, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>28</sup> A. VARILLE, Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d'Amon-Re à Karnak, *ASAE* 50, 1950, p. 140, Pl. V.2; J.-F. CARLOTTI, L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. Étude architecturale. Texte, Paris 2001, pp. 23–24, Fig. 6c; GABOLDE, *Monuments*, pp. 78–79, Pl. XIX.

<sup>29</sup> BURGOS, LARCHÉ, *Chapelle Rouge I*, p. 242; s.v. *Jmn-m-jpwt.f*, *LGG I*, 311.

<sup>30</sup> BURGOS, LARCHÉ, *Chapelle Rouge I*, p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> *LD III*, Pl. 22.

<sup>32</sup> A.-K. SELIM, Les Obelisques Égyptiens II, *CASAE* 26, Le Caire 1991, p. 27.

Thutmose III praises *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hrj-jb jpwt.f* four times (**Fig. 8b**).<sup>33</sup> For the third time the title appears on the same obelisk in the upper part (in the second upper register) of its western face (**Fig. 8c**).<sup>34</sup> Thutmose III is represented offering the *mdt*-oil to Amun-Ra *hnty jpwt.f*. On the same face of the obelisk once again Thutmose III offers four *nmst*-vases to *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hrj-jb jpwt.f* (**Fig. 8d**).

The title is also present on the eastern face of the southern obelisk of Hatshepsut that was placed in the *W3dyt*-Hall.<sup>35</sup> The name of the god is not preserved, but the representation leaves no doubt that it was Amun who was carved there (**Fig. 9a**). The epithet of the god is still visible: *[hrj]-jb jpwt.f*. On the southern face of the southern obelisk of Hatshepsut from the *W3dyt*-Hall, the king *Mn-hpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* offers milk to *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpwt.f* (**Fig. 9b**).<sup>36</sup>

The last representation from Hatshepsut's reign comes from her late building – *hwt-<sup>c</sup>3t n M3<sup>c</sup>t* located in central Karnak. In Room XII in the lower register of the northern wall<sup>37</sup> Hatshepsut (chiselled out by Thutmose III) runs with *hs*-vase in front of the ithyphallic god described as *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup>-K3-mwt.f hrj-tp ntrw nb pt jwnj hntj jpwt.f* (**Fig. 10**).<sup>38</sup>

*Jpwt* are mentioned twice during the sole reign of Thutmose III. The first example is written on the northern column of one of the north-western rooms (SW.1) of Akhmenu. The king is described there as beloved of *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpwt.f* (**Fig. 11**).<sup>39</sup>

On one of the statues found in the *Cachette* in Luxor representing the kneeling figure of Thutmose III, the king bears an epithet *mry Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hntj jpwt.f* (**Fig. 12**).<sup>40</sup> This is the only mention of *jpwt* in this temple. It must be stressed that in the *Cachette*, statues of many different gods were present, not only the main god of the temple. Among them is a group displaying Atum sitting on a throne with Horemheb kneeling in front of him (in the same position and similar size as the statue in question).<sup>41</sup>

For the last time in the New Kingdom *jpwt* are attested on an addition to the bark chapel *Mn-mnw* constructed during the reign of Thutmose IV. The scene represented on its southern exterior wall shows the king with his hands along the body in front of ithyphallic Amun-Ra who bears the titles *nswt ntrw hntj jpwt.f nswt ntrw nb pt* (**Fig. 13**).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>33</sup> LD III, Pl. 23.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 22.

<sup>35</sup> MFA 75.13: SMITH, *BMFA* 40, 1948, p. 49 Fig. 9.

<sup>36</sup> K. MARTIN, Ein Garantsymbol. Untersuchungen zu Ursprung und Geschichte der altägyptischen Obelisken bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, *HÄB* 3, Hildesheim 1977, Fig. 15.

<sup>37</sup> The wall was moved there, originally it constituted part of the northern wall of the room that housed the *Chapelle Rouge* (BARGUET, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, p. 148 n. 3).

<sup>38</sup> HAMZA, *JSSEA* 21/22, 1991/1992 [1994], p. 39 Fig. 2.

<sup>39</sup> BARGUET, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, p. 202 additional picture No. 53813.

<sup>40</sup> EL-SAGHIR, *Statuenversteck*, p. 70.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35–40.

<sup>42</sup> GRIMAL, LARCHÉ, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, Pl. IX.

THE MEANING OF *JPT* AND *JPWT*

The interpretation and translation of *jpwt* cited above differs in publications. The most common translation is ‘chapels’,<sup>43</sup> ‘*jpwt*-chapels’<sup>44</sup> and ‘*jpwt*-chambers’,<sup>45</sup> but they are also named ‘palaces’<sup>46</sup> and ‘harems’.<sup>47</sup>

To understand the position of the god described as *nb jpwt* it is necessary to examine all examples of the appearance of the singular *jpt*.

The word appears for the first time in a literary text written down in the Westcar Papyrus<sup>48</sup> dated by most of scholars to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty (**Fig. 14**).<sup>49</sup> The story is about the king Khufu who wanted to be entertained. His son Hordjedef mentioned a magician called Djedi who knew *the number of jpwt of the wnt of Thoth (tnw n3 n jpwt nt wnt nt Dhwtj)*.<sup>50</sup> The king was interested in this, because he was *searching for himself these jpwt of the wnt of Thoth in order to make the like thereof for himself, for his ‘horizon’*.<sup>51</sup> The magician was fetched to the court and after some proofs of his power, he was asked to say the number. His answer was that he did not know the number, but he knew *the place in which it was*,<sup>52</sup> i.e. in a box of flint in a room called ‘the Inventory’ (*sjpty*) in Heliopolis. The king was aware that Djedi was not the one who would bring it to him; the magician explained that the eldest of the three children of Reddjedet would do this. The key fragment of the text says that the king then became sad, and Djedi asked him if this sadness was because of these three children. He told the king to not be worry, *first your son, then his son and then one of them*.<sup>53</sup>

The text does not solve the puzzle of the meaning of *jpt*, but it shows that *jpt* constitutes a part of *wnt Dhwtj* or it belongs to *wnt Dhwtj*. It appears that it was not the number (*tnw*) of *jpt*, but *jpt* itself that was important for the king who was seeking it for his horizon, i.e. for his pyramid complex. As J. Berggren rightly stresses, the determinative  $\square$  was

<sup>43</sup> E. HORNING, Die „Kammern“ des Thot-Heiligtumes, *ZÄS* 100, 1973, pp. 33–35; BRUNNER, Südliche Räume, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> GABOLDE, Grand Château d’Amon, p. 88 §128 n. a.

<sup>45</sup> V.M. LEPPER, Untersuchungen zu pWestcar. Eine philologische und literaturwissenschaftliche (Neu-)Analyse, *ÄA* 70, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 41–42.

<sup>46</sup> P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, Une chapelle d’Hatchepsout à Karnak, Le Caire 1977 [= Chapelle d’Hatshepsout], p. 363 § 640.

<sup>47</sup> MAAROUF, ZIMMER, *CahKarn* IX, 1993, p. 229; F.L. BORRERO GALLARDO, L’image d’Amon à la Chapelle Blanche, *TdE* 2, 2003, p. 58 n. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung P. Berlin 3033: A.M. BLACKMAN, The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians. Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033), W.V. Davies (Ed.), Reading 1988 [= Papyrus Westcar], pp. 8–9, Pls 7 and 9.

<sup>49</sup> H.M. HAYS, Historicity of pWestcar, *ZÄS* 129, 2002, p. 27 n. 60, see also J. BERGGREN, The *Ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar (7,5-8; 9,1-5), Uppsala 2006 [= *Ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar].

<sup>50</sup> pWestcar 7,5-6.

<sup>51</sup> pWestcar 7,7.

<sup>52</sup> pWestcar 9,3.

<sup>53</sup> pWestcar 9,14.

consequently used in all examples of *jpt* spelling written in the Westcar Papyrus, suggesting a kind of construction.<sup>54</sup>

Numerous publications of the Westcar Papyrus have brought many different translations of the word *jpwt*. A. Erman and H.O. Lange suggested ‘locks’,<sup>55</sup> although it was much more frequently translated as ‘(secret) chambers’<sup>56</sup> or ‘shrines’.<sup>57</sup>

Studies on the word *jpt*<sup>58</sup> in the Westcar Papyrus concentrate on two episodes of the first part of the story, when the king says that he needs something similar for his horizon and Djedi explains where *tnw n3 n jpwt* is kept. It would seem that it should be unimportant who could bring *tnw n3 n jpwt* to the king, but this is not so. It is evident that for the king it would be very comfortable if this was Djedi himself, and he became sad because it would be brought by one of three children of an unknown woman. The magician’s answer was very informative: he spoke about the succession to the throne. It seems that taking *jpwt* from Heliopolis makes a man a legal heir to the throne. The magician, probably as a priest and one who is clean, could take *jpwt* without consequences as an agent of the king, exactly in this way as he performed other priestly duties on behalf of the ruler.<sup>59</sup>

The confirmation of the existence of *jpt* in Heliopolis can be read on the block found reused in the gate of Bab al-Tawfiq in Cairo coming from the reign of Sesostris I.<sup>60</sup> This time it is not a fictive story, but a kind of royal annals mentioning offerings and constructions the king made in Heliopolis. The text is only partly preserved and the beginning of the sentence in question is lost. It is said that Sesostris I *made it as his monument for b3w of Heliopolis* and subsequently different parts of the temple are specified. Among them there is also something located *in jp(3)t in Heliopolis (m jp(3)t m Jwnw)* (**Fig. 15**). L. Postel and I. Régen pay attention to the fact that in the Third Intermediate Period the temple of the Great Ennead *jmj jpt* and the priest of Osiris-Hemag *hntj jpt* existed in Heliopolis.<sup>61</sup> J. Yoyotte suggests even that this Third Intermediate Period temple was *le sanctuaire osirien d’Ope*.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>54</sup> BERGGREN, *Ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar, p. 12.

<sup>55</sup> A. ERMAN, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, Leipzig 1923, p. 70; H.O. LANGE, *Egyptiska myter och sagor*, Sverige-Stockholm 1925, pp. 100, 102.

<sup>56</sup> A.H. GARDINER, *The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth*, *JEA* 11, 1925, pp. 2–5; M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature – A Book of Readings 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Los Angeles 1975, pp. 218f.; R.O. FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962, p. 17; ПАВЛОВА, АМОН Фиванский, p. 151; R.B. PARKINSON, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940–1640 BC*, Oxford 1997, pp. 112–113, 115.

<sup>57</sup> HORNUNG, *ZÄS* 100, 1973, pp. 33–35; J. ROUSSEAU, M. ROUSSEAU, *Rehabilitation d’un celebre scribe...*, *DiscEg* 5, 1986, p. 59; W.K. SIMPSON, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An anthology of stories, instructions, stelae, autobiographies, and poetry*, New Haven-London 2003, pp. 13–23.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30–39 and the literature quoted there.

<sup>59</sup> H.M. HAYS, *Between Identity and Agency in Ancient Egyptian Ritual*, [in:] R. Nyord, A. Kyølby (Eds), *Being in Ancient Egypt: Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition*, Oxford 2009, pp. 15–30.

<sup>60</sup> L. POSTEL, I. RÉGEN, *Annales héliopolitaines et fragments de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> réemployés dans la porte de Bâb al-Tawfiq au Caire*, *BIFAO* 105, 2005, pp. 236–237, 267–268 n. II.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>62</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *Prêtres et sanctuaires du nome héliopolite à la Basse Époque*, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 91.



The texts preserved on the architraves of the Luxor temple dating to the reign of Amenhotep III are an important indication for understanding of the meaning of *jpt*.<sup>63</sup> The first inscription is written on the west side of the eastern architrave in the vestibule of the temple. The text says that *jpt* is a place for the one who created the king,<sup>64</sup> the place of *m3ʿt*, where the god rejuvenates himself,<sup>65</sup> ʿh-palace which he comes out of in the time of his appearance, when his *hprw* are in the face of the king.<sup>66</sup> It seems that creating *jpt* anew is what pleased *K3-mwt.f*.<sup>67</sup> *Jpt* is also a sacred ʿryt of the lord almighty,<sup>68</sup> where the god shines with his *nfrw* for every land at his stairway of the millions of the first time when he receives there his greatness by miracle.<sup>69</sup>

The epithets of *jpt* used on architraves identify it as a perfect and sacred place: *jpt dsrt*,<sup>70</sup> *jpt ʿ3t*,<sup>71</sup> *jpt špst*,<sup>72</sup> *jpt nfrt*.<sup>73</sup>

*Jpt* is also described as *st wrt n sp tpy*<sup>74</sup> and *st htp* of the Lord of Gods,<sup>75</sup> which can be understood as a place of the beginning and the end, and which corresponds well with rejuvenation of the god.

It is also named as a *st jb n nb ntrw*,<sup>76</sup> where the god's heart rests.<sup>77</sup>

### JPT AND JPWT IN THEBES

*Jpt* appears in the names of three Theban temples: *Jpt-swt*, *Jpt-rsy*, and *Jpt-wrt*. The similarity of the names was obvious already for K. Sethe.<sup>78</sup>

Although *pr Jmn* as the designation of the temple in Karnak is known from the Eleventh Dynasty,<sup>79</sup> the name *Jpt-swt* is attested for the first time during the reign of Sesostri I.<sup>80</sup> It appears to be fixed then, and its spelling does not differ much from the Middle Kingdom on.

<sup>63</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1683.1–1684.11; S. GRALLERT, *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*, *ADAIK* 18, Berlin 2001 [= *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen*], p. 227.

<sup>64</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1683.1: *jpt n msj.wj*.

<sup>65</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1683.2: *st.f p w nt m3ʿt hwn.f jm.s*.

<sup>66</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1683.3–4: ʿh pr.n.f jm.f m 3wt-jb m tr.f n hʿ.f hprw.f m hr Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ.

<sup>67</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1683.5: jr hr jr jt.f K3-mwt.f m mmw nfrw ʿ3w wrw.

<sup>68</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1684.1: ʿryt dsrt nt nb r dr

<sup>69</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1684.6–8: ʿbʿb.f jm m nfrw.f n t3 nb r rd.f k3 n hh n sp tpy šsp.f wryt jm n by3t.

<sup>70</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1709.13, 1711.4, 1711.18.

<sup>71</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1691.16.

<sup>72</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I. The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, *OIP* 112, Chicago 1994, Pls 22, 99, 119.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls 34, 42; *Urk.* IV, 1696.7.

<sup>74</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1709.13; GRALLERT, *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen*, p. 219 (A3/Wf029).

<sup>75</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1688.12, 1699.18, 1700.13, 1705.10; GRALLERT, *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen*, pp. 221 (A3/Wf018 and A3/Wf019), 222 (A3/Wv004), 228 (A3/Wv001).

<sup>76</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1691.17.

<sup>77</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1691.18.

<sup>78</sup> K. SETHE, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs*, *APAW* 1929/4, Berlin 1929, pp. 15–16.

<sup>79</sup> W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh*, *BSAE* 16, London 1909, Pl. X (B.33).

<sup>80</sup> According to P. BARGUET, *s.v.* Karnak, *LÄ* III, 341 the most ancient mention of the name *Jpt-swt* comes from the reign of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, but given reference does not confirm this statement.

*Jpt-rsy* appears for the first time at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty on the stela erected to celebrate the opening of the quarries at Tura in twenty-second year of King Ahmose's reign. The text names temples to be built of the limestone extracted there, and among them the *Jpt-rsy* temple. *Jpt* there is spelled with the *njw*-sign as a determinative after signs *j*, *p*, and *t*.<sup>81</sup>

There is a name connected by N. de G. Davies with *Jpt-rsy* that is preserved in the tomb of Puimra in Qurna.<sup>82</sup> On the list of incense that is distributed from the temple in Karnak to other temples in the area there is a temple called *jtrwt jpt* (Fig. 16). It is uncertain if this is really the name of the Luxor temple as this phrase does not appear in any other context.

There are two subjects connected strongly with the ideology of *jpt* and the Luxor temple, too broad to be discussed here, namely: the name of the god, *Jmn-m-jpt*, and the Beautiful Feast of Opet.

To fully present the existence of *jpt* in theology, the god *Jmn-m-jpt* must be taken into consideration.<sup>83</sup> He was attested in later sources, beginning with Seti I<sup>84</sup> and was an ithyphallic god of Luxor known mainly from the rituals of Djeme. His name probably comes from the earlier form *Jmn hntj jpt.f / Jmn hrj-jb jpt.f / m jpt.f*.<sup>85</sup>

It is worth noting that the temple *Jpt-rsy* had its own festival – the Beautiful Feast of Opet (*hb nfr n Jpt-rsy*) – mentioned in sources from the Hatshepsut's reign onwards.<sup>86</sup> It was a feast of Amun who visited Karnak and Luxor temples carried in his processional bark as well as transported in his river bark *Wsr-ḥ3t*.

The last *jpt*, *Jpt-wrt*, is known today as the Opet temple and is situated inside the precinct of Amun-Ra in Karnak. The goddess *Jpt* (*Jpy*, *Jpt-wrt*, *Jpy-wrt*) represented as a female hippopotamus was a birth-giving goddess and described as the mother of the king in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>87</sup> She was attested from the Old Kingdom onwards.<sup>88</sup> Her temple in Karnak was seen as a place of regeneration. It existed in Thebes at least from the

<sup>81</sup> LD III, Pl. 3a, d; *Urk.* IV, 25.10.

<sup>82</sup> N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes II*, New York 1923, pp. 79–80, Pl. 40.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. s.v. *Imn-m-ipt*, LGG I, 309–310; M. DORESSE, *Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade*, *RdE* 25, 1973, pp. 121–135; EAD., *Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade*, *RdE* 31, 1979, pp. 49–65; CH. SAMBIN, *Les portes de Médamoud du Musée de Lyon*, *BIFAO* 92, 1992, p. 178.

<sup>84</sup> Stela BM 706: *KRI* I, 331.2-3.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 12.

<sup>86</sup> W. WOLF, *Das schöne Fest von Opet. Die Festzugsdarstellung im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luksor*, Leipzig 1931; LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pp. 154–169; W. MURNANE, s.v. *Opetfest*, *LÄ* IV, 574–579; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I*, *pass.*; and recently A. MIRONOVA, *The Relationship between Space and Scenery of an Egyptian Temple: Scenes of the Opet Festival and the Festival of Hathor at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III*, *MOSAIKjournal* 1, 2010, pp. 279–330; J. DARNELL, *Opet Festival*, [in:] J. Dieleman, W. Wendrich (Eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2010 (<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4739r3fr>, accessed 15.11.2012)

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *Pyr.* § 381a.

<sup>88</sup> Faience tile, MFA (18)72.1593; P. LACOVARA, *A Faience Tile of the Old Kingdom*, [in:] P. Der Manuelian, R.E. Freed (Eds), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II*, Boston 1996, pp. 488–489, Figs 1–2; s.v. *Jpt-wrt*, LGG I, 218–219.

reign of Thutmosis III onwards; blocks coming from his temple were found in the foundation of the later temple.<sup>89</sup>

The multiplicity of *jpwt* was obvious for ancient Egyptians. The fact can be ascertained by an unpublished block stored in the *lapidarium* of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (**Fig. 17**). It represents a fragment of a text written on columns. The previous decoration of the first column seems to be well polished, and the method of chiselling-out is characteristic of Thutmosis III. The text preserved in the next column mentions something that is in *second jpt* ([...] *m jpt 2-nwt*).

Double *jpt* is known from the scene representing the Rites of the Mound of Djeme from the Chapel of Osiris *Hk3-dt*,<sup>90</sup> where *the first ones before his jptj* (*tpjw m-hnt jptj.f*) are referred to. The text says next: *that is the living image that is in the jpt rsyf of Djeme* (*twf nḥ pw jmj jpt-rsyf t3-mwt*).<sup>91</sup> On the eastern wall of Taharqa's Edifice, in the scene of the Rites of the Mound of Djeme, the procession to *Jpt-rsyf to protect his temples when he rests there every day like Ra in heaven* (*pr.f m Jpt-rsyf r nd ḥwwt.f ḥtp.f jm r<sup>c</sup> nb mj R<sup>c</sup> m pt*) is mentioned.<sup>92</sup> Thus it is very likely that *jpt 2-nwt* from Hatshepsut's block could be *Jpt-rsyf*.

The existence of the second *jpt* can be simply associated then with the time of its appearance, namely it could be the Luxor temple that was built later than the Karnak temple. It can also be understood as a repetition of the function of the first one. It seems that *Jpt-rsyf* as the Luxor temple had its counterpart in *jpt-rsyf* of Djeme.

## INTERPRETATION OF JPWT

Theological interpretation of *jpwt* and their god seems to be very complex. The first known *jpt* is attested in Heliopolis and this information comes from Sesostri I's reign. The only other place where *jpwt* are mentioned is Thebes.<sup>93</sup>

The connections of *jpt* with Heliopolis are very strong. There was *jpt* in Heliopolis during the reign of Sesostri I (**Fig. 15**). Amun-Ra-Kamutef carved on the northern wall of the Room XII in Hatshepsut's Palace of *M3ṛt* in Central Karnak bears, among others, the title *jwnj* naming his provenance as one from Heliopolis (**Fig. 10**). It is worth to note that in the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak, on the west part of its northern wall there is

<sup>89</sup> A. VARILLE, La grande porte du temple d'Apet a Karnak, *ASAE* 53, 1956, pp. 80 n. 1, 112 n. 1; M. AZIM, À propos du pylône du temple d'Opet à Karnak, *CahKarn* VIII, 1987, p. 53 n. 15; D. MEEKS, s.v. Ipet, *LÄ* V, 173 n. 20; L. COULON, L. GABOLDE, Une stèle sur le parvis du temple d'Opet à Karnak, *RdE* 55, 2004, p. 7 n. 9; D. VALBELLE, E. LAROZE, Un sanctuaire de Thoutmosis III à la déesse Ipy Ouret, édifié à Karnak par le premier prophète d'Amon Menkhéperrésénéb, *CahKarn* XIII, 2012, pp. 401–428; G. CHARLOUX, R. ANGEVIN, Le parvis du temple d'Opet à Karnak. Exploration archéologique (2006–2007), Le Caire 2012, pp. 206, 238, 263–266, 284.

<sup>90</sup> R.A. PARKER, J. LECLANT, J.-C. GOYON, The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak, *BESud* 8, Providence 1979, Pl. XXV.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. my article, The Function of *jpt* in the dynastic cities, *in preparation*.

a representation of the procession of the Theban Triad's barks and above *the procession to jpt R<sup>c</sup> (wꜥꜣ r jpt R<sup>c</sup>)* is mentioned.<sup>94</sup> As it was said above, *jpt* in Heliopolis is also known from the Late Period.

It seems that *Jpt* was a place of primeval creation, the place of the beginning and the end, and due to that, the place of regeneration of the god and the king. The theology of the place was formulated in Heliopolis and was connected with the repetition of the creation and the legitimisation of royal power. The *Jmn nb jpw<sup>t</sup>* was the creator-god and the royal power could be rejuvenated only when the god's *hprw* were in the face of the king, as it is said on Amenhotep's III architrave from the Luxor temple.

This special connection with Heliopolis is also confirmed by the features of the god. The one who is the foremost of *jpwt* seems to be a solar creator-god. He is represented six times in his ithyphallic form, in two cases he is also named *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup>-K3-mwt.f*. In most cases he is described as Amun-Ra to underline his solar connotations.

Plural *jpwt* are mentioned mostly on the northern side of buildings, which could possibly be associated with Heliopolis located in the northern part of the country, where the first *jpt* is attested.

*Jmn hntj jpw<sup>t</sup>.f* represented on the northern side had his counterpart on the southern side – *Jmn hntj Jpt-swt* (cf. pillars of Sesostri I) or *Jmn nb nswt tꜥwj* (cf. obelisks of Hatshepsut in the *Wꜥꜥyt*-Hall). It can be interpreted as a geographically expressed emphasising of the connections between Heliopolis and Thebes. These relationships were also stressed in the name of the Karnak temple as *jwnw rsyt*, the southern Heliopolis, attested from the Ahmose's reign onwards.<sup>95</sup>

It must be stressed that it is not the lord of a single *jpt* but the lord of all *jpwt* that is the one who has the power to present the names to the king (cf. northern obelisk of Hatshepsut, **Fig. 8a**),<sup>96</sup> which means to offer him a kingship. He also offers the gift of regeneration to the king (cf. the architrave of Sesostri I, **Fig. 1a**). The representations of cold water offerings (cf. the pillar of Sesostri I, **Fig. 1c**, northern obelisk of Hatshepsut, **Fig. 8a** and northern wall in the Room XII of the *Mꜣꜥt* Palace of **Fig. 10**) could be treated as a confirmation of this fact.

It is important to note that all representations of *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> hnty jpw<sup>y</sup>.f* from Hatshepsut's time come from two phases of the temple, but most probably from one area between the Fourth Pylon and the Palace of *Mꜣꜥt*. This means that the idea was alive during the whole reign of the queen, and the re-building of the temple did not change it. Maybe it was the place of the proper *jpt* in Karnak. All other buildings where lord of *jpwt* was represented were not found *in situ*, but it is most probable that they were built in the same area, i.e. at least in the Central Karnak. It is also worth emphasising that in the edifices that replaced older ones (e.g. *Mn-mnw*, **Figs 3** and **13**) the epithet of Amun containing the expression '*jpwt*' used once was repeated in a newly reworked scene.

<sup>94</sup> H.H. NELSON, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I.1. The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106, Chicago 1981, Pl. 180.

<sup>95</sup> CL. VANDERSLEYEN, Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d'Amosis relatant une tempête, *RdE* 20, 1968, pp. 128–129, 131.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. also the speech of *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup>* from the chapel of Osiris Hekadjet, *supra* n. 5.

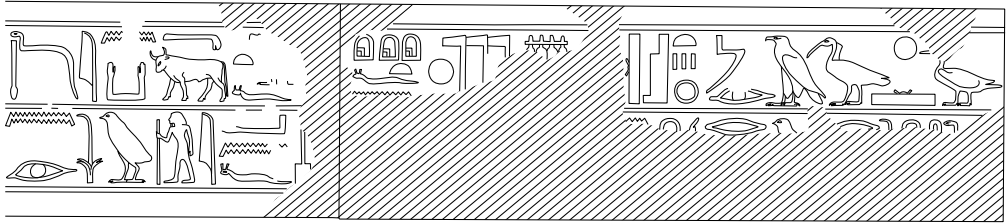
The presence of *Jmn m jpwt.f* in between two other emanations of Amun: *Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> m Jpt-swt m W3st* and *Jmn nb nswt t3wj m Jpt-swt m W3st* (**Fig. 6**) places him as an equal to these aspects of the god of Karnak. His only representation in this context as a mummified god sitting on a throne in the scene cited above indicates his position as a member of the community of gods' ancestors who have the power of rejuvenation of the god and the king at his side.

The foregoing interpretation of *jpt* and *jpwt* is consistent with the later sources as well as with the presence of *jpt-rsyt* in Djeme on the Western Bank, where regeneration was one of the main theological elements.\*

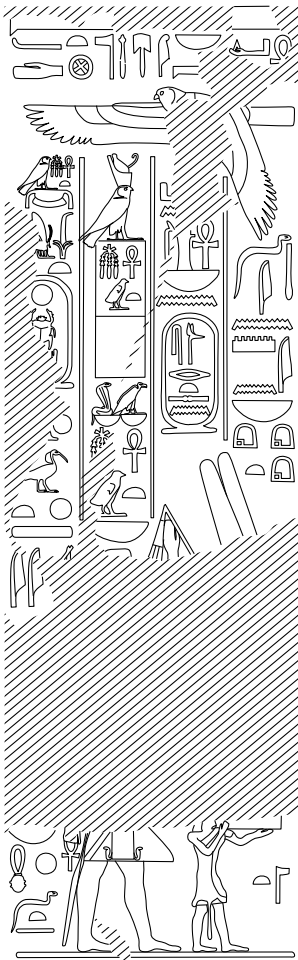
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\* After the completion of this article, another example of *Jmn hntj jpwt.f* was published (B. LETTELIER, F. LARCHÉ, La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV, *Études d'égyptologie* 12, Paris 2013, pl. 70, pp. 201f.). Note-worthy as it is, it does not change the interpretation or the conclusions included in this article.



a



b



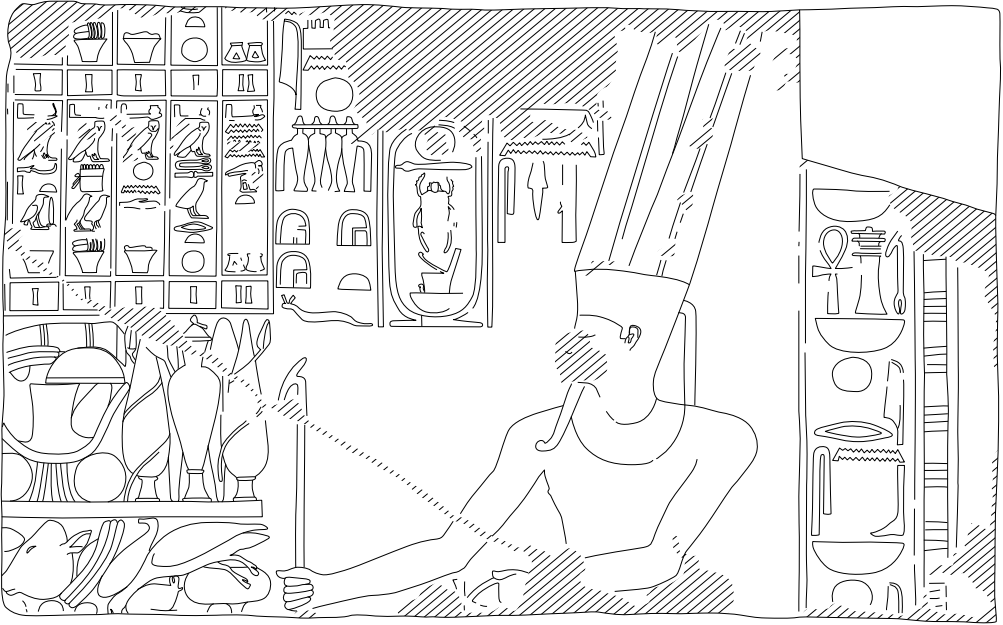
c



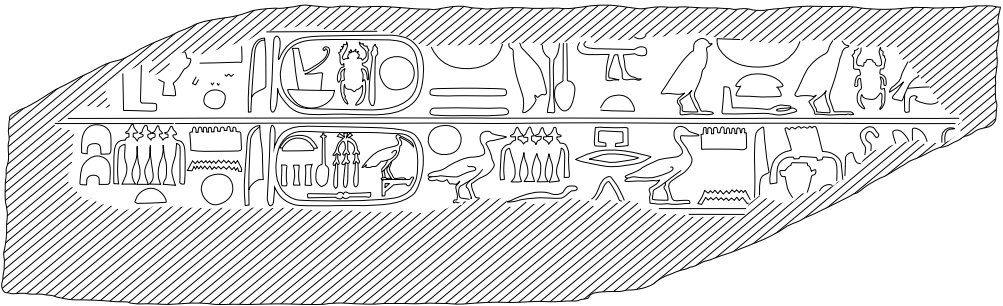
d

1. Scenes from the *Chapelle Blanche*: a. Fragment of an architrave D2; b-d. Fragments of pillars (after LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup>*, Pls 11, 18 [scene 14, 22 [scene 21], 29 [scene 5<sup>e</sup>]] respectively; digitizing of all drawings J. Iwaszczuk).



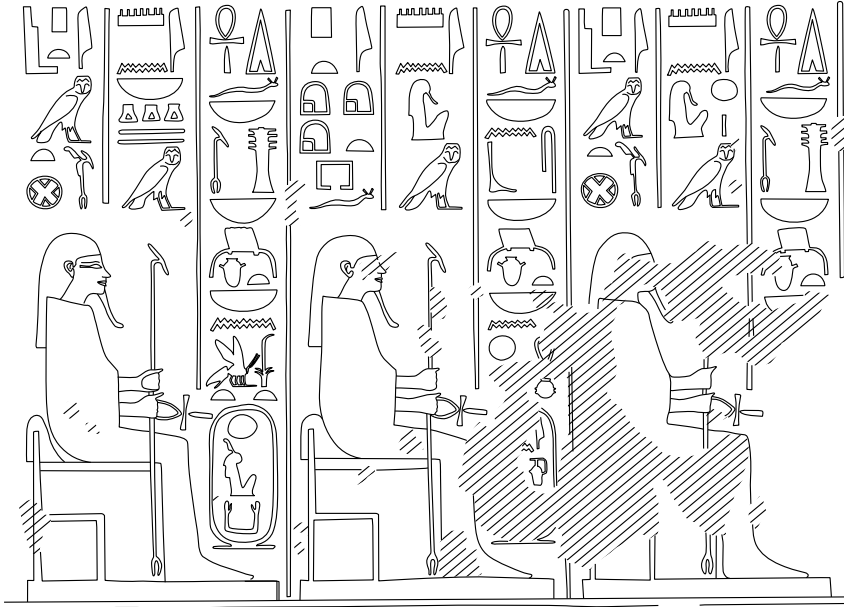


4. Block from the limestone bark chapel of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis II (after GABOLDE, *Monuments*, Pl. XXXVII).

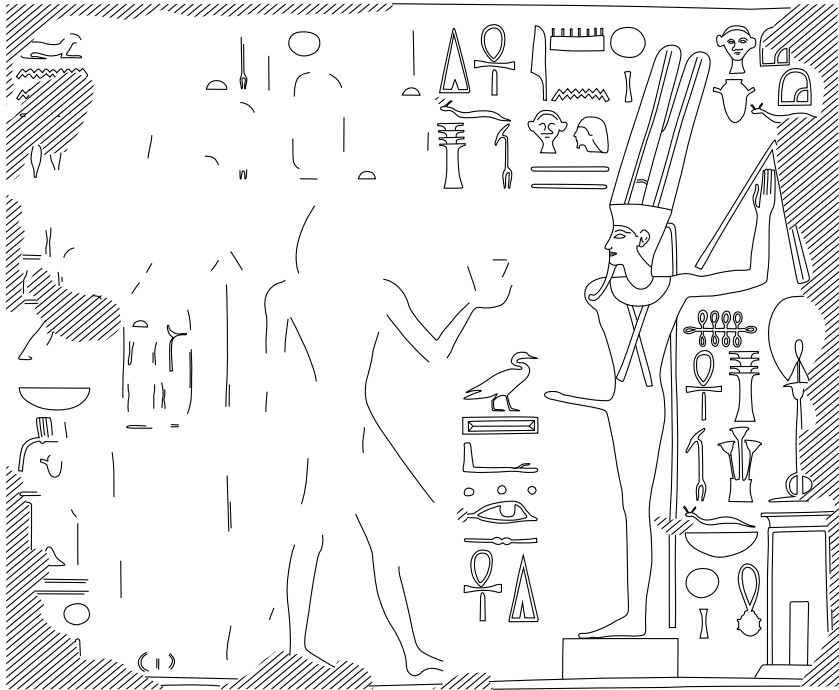


5. Sandstone lintel from the foundation of the southern of the eastern obelisks of Hatshepsut (after GABOLDE, *Monuments*, Pl. XIX).

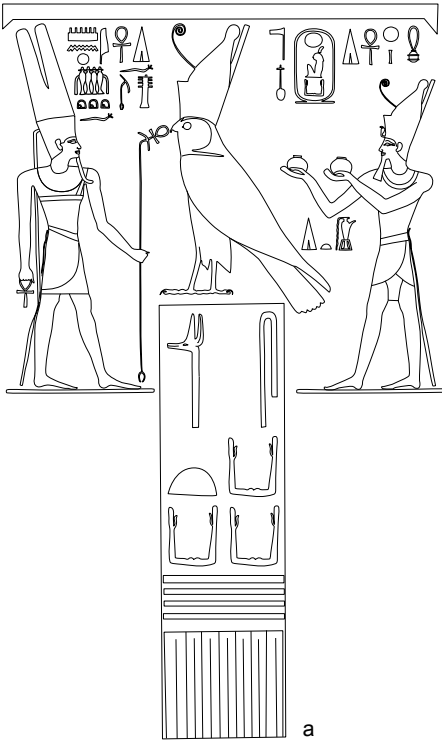




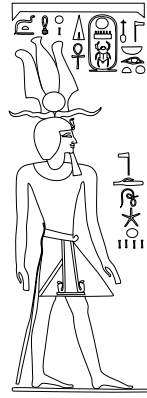
6. Block No. 36, third register of the northern wall of the sanctuary of *Chapelle Rouge* (after BURGOS, LARCHE, *Chapelle Rouge* I, p. 242).



7. Block No. 174, sixth register of the northern wall of the sanctuary of *Chapelle Rouge* (after BURGOS, LARCHE, *Chapelle Rouge* I, p. 225).



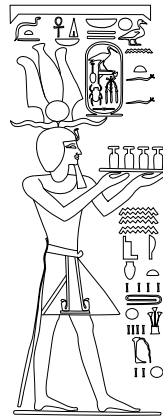
a



b



c



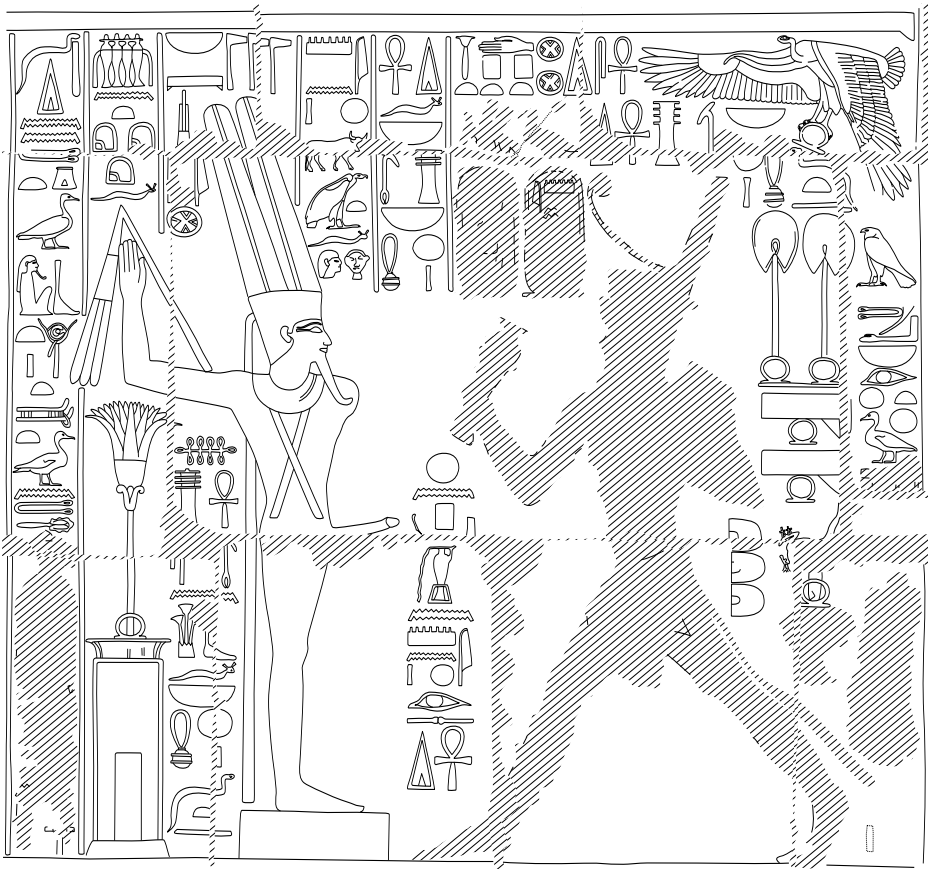
d



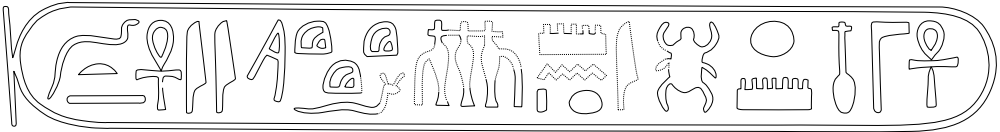
8. Scenes from the northern obelisk of Hatshepsut from the *W3dyt*-Hall: a. northern face; b. southern face; c-d. western face (LD III, Pls 22–23).



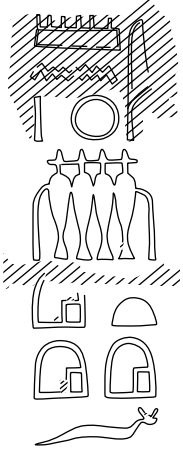
9. Scenes from the southern obelisk of Hatshepsut from the *W3dyt*-Hall: a. eastern face (after SMITH, *BMEF* 40, 1948, p. 49 Fig. 9); b. southern face (based on MARTIN, *Ein Garantsymbol*, Fig. 15).



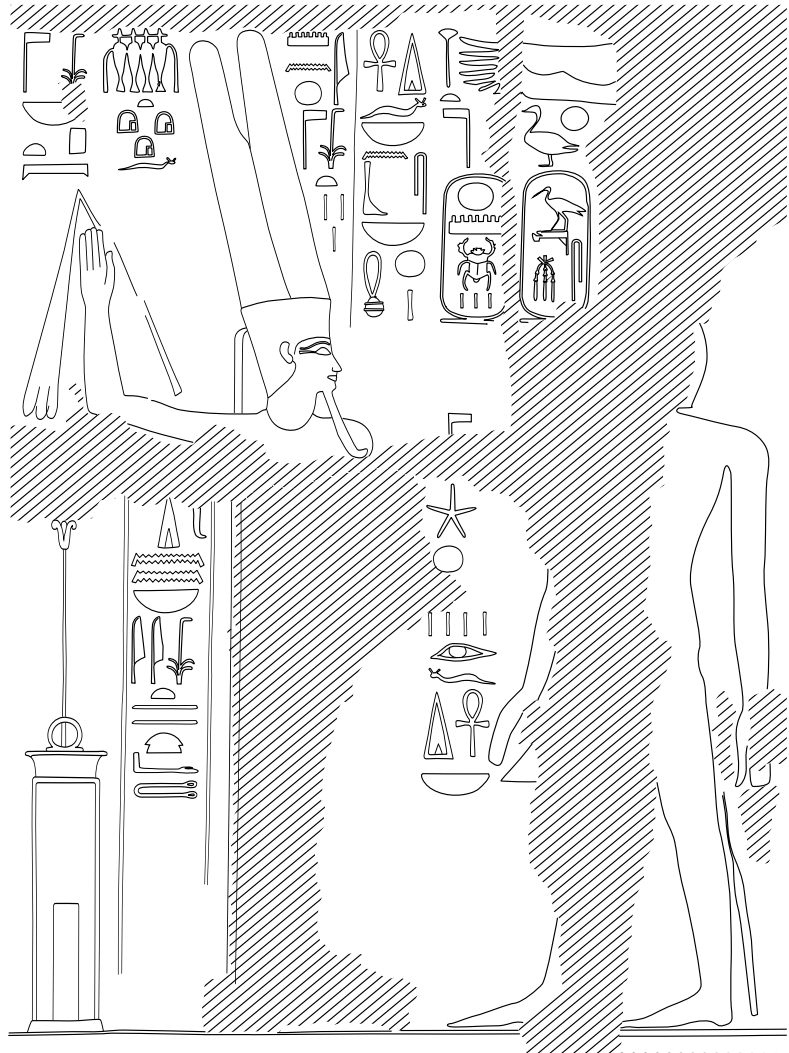
10. Fragment of a scene from the lower register of the northern wall, Room XII, Palace of *M37* (after HAMZA, *JSSEA* 21/22, 1991/1992 [1994], p. 39 Fig. 2).



11. Northern column of one of the north-western rooms (SW.1) of Akhmenu (after BARGUET, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, p. 202, additional picture No. 53813).



12. Statue from the 'Luxor Cachette' representing the kneeling figure of Thutmose III (after EL-SAGHIR, *Statuenversteck*, p. 70).



13. Fragment of a scene, southern exterior wall, upper register, the bark chapel *Mn-mnw* of Thutmose IV (after GRIMAL, LARCHE, *CahKarn XI*, 2003, Pl. IX).



p. Westcar 7.5

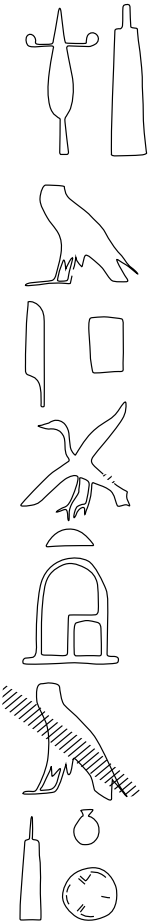


p. Westcar 7.7



p. Westcar 9.2

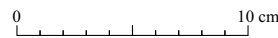
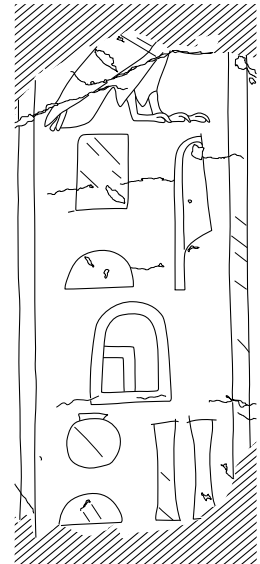
14. *Jpwt* mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus (after BLACKMAN, Papyrus Westcar, Pls 7 and 9).



15. *Jp(3)t* on the block from the reign of Sesostris I reused in the gate of Bab al-Tawfiq in Cairo (after POSTEL, REGEN, *BIFAO* 105, 2005, Fig. 5).



16. *Jtrwt jpt* from the tomb of Puyemra in Qurna (after DAVIES, *The Tomb of Puyemrê II*, Pl. 40).



17. Block from the *lapidarium* of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Phot. and Drawing J. Iwaszczuk).