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THE CHAPEL OF AMENHOTEP II EMBEDDED BETWEEN THE OBELISKS OF TUTHMOSIS I

François Larché (CNRS, EBAF)
with the collaboration of Charles Van Siclen (ARCE)

IN 1986 CHARLES VAN SICLEN¹ produced an accurate reconstruction drawing of the calcite fragments of the chapel of Amenhotep II, which Franck Burgos carefully followed in his rebuilding at the Karnak Open Air Museum. Based on those scattered fragments and his keen observations, Ch. Van Siclen placed the chapel inside a structure. Since at the time it was impossible for him to see the faces of the blocks that have since been restored, he hypothesized that the chapel was embedded in a wall parallel to the southern enclosure of the festival courtyard of Tuthmosis II. However from 2002 to 2004, he contributed his wisdom and expertise to the rebuilding of the chapel, which gave him the opportunity to observe all the faces of the restored blocks. They provided new evidence, which allowed him to update his reconstruction and he now agrees with what Fr. Burgos and myself have recreated in the Open Air Museum.²

To the west of the 4th Pylon, three pairs of obelisks once stood on either side of the axis of a large festival courtyard in the name of Tuthmosis II.³ Only the southern obelisk of the eastern pair, in the name of Tuthmosis I, is still standing on its granite base; the northern base has disappeared. Both granite bases of the middle pair are still in place leaning against the east face of the 3rd Pylon, while the fragments of obelisks in the names of Tuthmosis III and of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut are stored on benches. The foundations of the westernmost, third, pair still remain inside the 3rd Pylon. It is now possible to present an accurate description of the foundations of the three obelisks buried on the north side of the axis.⁴ Each granite base rested on 4 courses, at the most, each course consisting of at least 4 long sandstone blocks set side by side and tied with clamps.⁵ The long joints of the courses crossed one another in order to provide the best possible division of the loads and avoid differential subsidence. The upper course of the foundation would have been partially visible since it formed a

¹ Ch. VAN SICLEN, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio, Texas, 1986, p. 45, n. 14.

² Drawings (L. Baqué, Fr. Burgos, L. Eleya, Fr. Larché) and photographs (A. Chéné) were made by the CFEETK.

³ L. GABOLDE, “La ‘cour de fêtes’ de Thoutmosis II”, *Karnak* 9, 1993, p. 1-82; Chr. WALLET-LEBRUN, forthcoming, Text 18/4 A: “[...] Amon, seigneur-des-trônes-des-deux-terres, qui-préside-à-*Ipet-sout*, ériger pour lui une ‘cour de cérémonie’ en belle pierre blanche de calcaire, laquelle met en fête les deux terres par sa haute taille, accueillant les richesses de tous les pays étrangers ainsi que les produits de l’orbe de l’astre solaire. Il a œuvré le dieu parfait, le seigneur des deux terres, le fils de Rê, Thoutmosis II [...]”.

⁴ In the spring of 2004, the upper face of the third course (from the top) of the foundations of the two northern obelisks, in the name of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III, lay just below the water table. This water table prevented access to a possible fourth course. The axial passage remains blocked by a thick foundation of reinforced concrete placed there by H. Chevrier when he removed the ceiling slab of the calcite chapel from the southern wing of the 3rd Pylon. The setting course for the northern obelisk of Hatshepsut, in the courtyard between the 5th and 4th Pylons, was uncovered again in autumn 2004.

⁵ These clamps are visible on the drawings of the excavation around the obelisk foundations discovered below the 3rd Pylon. See S. SAUNERON, “Fouilles dans la zone axiale du III^e pylône à Karnak”, *Kémi* 19, 1969, p. 249-271.

sandstone step projecting around each granite base,⁶ thus the obelisk stood on the base and the base rested on the step (**fig. 1-8**).

Until now it was assumed that the two granite bases leaning against the east face of the 3rd Pylon, on either side of its axial door, belonged to Tuthmosis III. However, the recent clearing of the foundations of the three obelisks on the north side of the temple axis has revealed features that require the chronology of their construction to be reconsidered. Indeed the two eastern obelisks, one belonging to Tuthmosis I and the other until now attributed to Tuthmosis III, stood on a common foundation, while the western obelisk,⁷ supposed to be from Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut, is clearly on a separate foundation. Common sense has always opposed the hypothesis that Tuthmosis III slid his pair of obelisks in between already existing two pairs.⁸

The southern obelisk of Tuthmosis I, which is in situ, and some fragments⁹ characteristic of the obelisks of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut are providing essential data on their misfortunes over the centuries.

1. The pair of obelisks in the name of Tuthmosis I

1.1. The southern obelisk

The southern obelisk¹⁰ is still standing. Its 4 faces were carved with a central vertical text in the name of Tuthmosis I but the pyramidion remained blank. The hammering of Amun's name on the 4 vertical texts indicates that this pair of obelisk was standing under Akhenaten. Later, two kings of the 19th dynasty added a decoration and new texts:

- Ramesses II carved the blank surface set between the lower end of the centred text and the base of the obelisk with two symmetrical scenes showing the king facing a seated Amun.
- Ramesses IV added his protocol on the whole height of the obelisk, on both sides of the vertical centred text.

1.2. The northern obelisk (**fig. 1-2**)

The northern was smashed to pieces, but an old photograph¹¹ shows a fragment (n°79 now stored on a bench¹²) of obelisk, placed on a cube of masonry which replaces the granite base of the northern

⁶ A similar layout is visible at the base of the obelisks of the 7th Pylon.

⁷ L. GABOLDE, "À propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II, dédiés à son père Thoutmosis I et érigés sous le règne d'Hatshepsout-Pharaon à l'Ouest du IV^e pylône", *Karnak* 8, 1985, p. 143-158 and L. GABOLDE, C. GRATALOUD, "Compléments sur les obélisques et la 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 11, 2003, p. 417-435.

⁸ Two technical reasons make the embedding of the foundation of the obelisks of Tuthmosis III between two other foundations already in place, those of the obelisks of Tuthmosis I and of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut, very unlikely:

- on one hand, the digging of a new foundation pit, at least 3 m deep, between two such close foundations would jeopardize their stability;
- on the other hand, there would probably not be sufficient space to operate the long setting levers whose notches are visible on 3 faces of each block of courses 1 and 2 of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's foundation. The location of these notches indicates that the blocks of course 2 were pushed southwards against each other while those of the setting course 1 were moved eastwards.

⁹ An atlas of the obelisks is in preparation by L. Gabolde.

¹⁰ P. BARGUET, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê*, *RAPH* 21, 1962, p. 87: "Ces obélisques avaient été dressés à l'occasion de la fête jubilaire du roi comme nous l'apprend le texte gravé sur la face sud de l'obélisque encore debout : le maître des dieux a solennellement inscrit pour lui la fête-*Sed* sur le perséa auguste".

¹¹ M. AZIM, G. RÉVEILLAC, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* 2, Paris 2004, p. 97, n° 4-4/22.

obelisk. The perpendicular faces of its preserved corner are decorated with two symmetrical scenes showing a king facing a seated Amun. This rameside decoration suggests that this fragment should be attributed to the lower part of the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis I although it could also be joined with another fragment¹³ (n° 747) which is still balanced rather precariously on the granite base leaning against the north wing of the 3rd Pylon. Belonging to the lower part of an obelisk, this last fragment has two perpendicular faces:

- the first is decorated with two symmetrical scenes showing a king facing a seated Amun, both scenes being carved below a vertical centred text;
- the second one is also carved with a vertical centred text but without rameside additions, and its lower part is carved with the negative of a missing patch on which should be carved symmetrical scenes identical to those visible on the first face.

If these two fragments (n^{os} 79 and 747) were contiguous, both could belong, despite the lack of a Ramesses IV protocol, to a Tuthmosis I obelisk as suggested by the rameside decoration on the lower part of the monolith. However, since it is still not known whether the lower part of the obelisks of Tuthmosis III also had the same kind of rameside decoration, it is difficult to say to which obelisk these two fragments belong: the obelisk of Tuthmosis I or Tuthmosis III.

2. The pair of obelisks in the name of Tuthmosis III (fig. 4-7)

Old photographs show many fragments of both obelisks between the 3rd and the 4th Pylon.¹⁴ The names and figures of Amun being intact, these obelisks could not have been visible under Akhenaten, whereas the other obelisks of Tuthmosis III must have been visible, since the single obelisk (now in Rome) and the obelisks of the 7th Pylon (one is now in Istanbul) show signs of hammering and recarving. The scenes carved on the upper part of their northern faces remained unfinished,¹⁵ which might mean that these two obelisks of Tuthmosis III had lain with their northern face down before being raised. Unfinished vertical rameside texts were added on three faces of the southern obelisk but only on two faces of the northern one.¹⁶ It also seems that, as on the obelisks of Tuthmosis I, Ramesses II carved the blank surface between the lower end of the centred text and the base of the obelisk with two symmetrical scenes showing the king facing a seated Amun. These observations allow the assertion that this pair of obelisks of Tuthmosis III had not been visible under Akhenaten, but were once again visible during the 19th dynasty and that they may have been re-erected on the occasion of the jubilee of Ramesses II.

¹² Archives CFEETK, neg. 50305, 50311.

¹³ Archives CFEETK, neg. 52332, 52337, 52404, 52405, 52412.

¹⁴ M. AZIM, G. RÉVEILLAC, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* 2, p. 93-94, n^{os} 4-4/11 to 13.

¹⁵ L. GABOLDE, *Karnak* 8, 1985, p. 149, n. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149, n. 7. The north obelisk is badly damaged on its west face but it remains a third of the upper part of the other faces. A nearly continuous assembly of 40 fragments reaches a length of ~10 m long out of the original ~30 m. Merenptah's vertical texts remained unfinished; some complements by Amenmes were recarved in the name of Seti II. The south obelisk is also very damaged on its west face, its decoration is nevertheless reconstructed on its north and south faces where about 30 fragments are put together for a length of ~17.5 m.

3. The pair of obelisks in the names of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut (fig. 1, 2, 8)

The existing few fragments of these obelisks have been put together on paper.¹⁷ Since their decoration is in the names of both Tuthmosis II and *Maatkare*,¹⁸ it could have been completed only after year 7 given that the beginning of the co-regency with Tuthmosis III was marked by the change of Hatshepsut's name to *Maatkare*.¹⁹ Although Tuthmosis II was mentioned as if he were alive, it was in fact a posthumous mention. A hypothesis has been put forward for the story of their construction.²⁰ Old photographs²¹ show that fragments of both obelisks were found between the 3rd and the 4th Pylon. Some others had been reused in Philip Arrhidaeus' barque chapel. The names and figures of Amun are intact, proof that the obelisks were not visible under Akhenaten. One face of one obelisk seems to have remained unfinished since the vertical text occupies only a part of the height of the monolith. No rameside decoration being added, it appears that the obelisks were not standing during the 19th dynasty and that they had perhaps remained invisible until their reuse in the barque chapel.

4. The problem raised by the place of discovery of the fragments

Many fragments of the obelisks of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut were discovered along the east face of the 3rd Pylon. If the two granite bases joined to the 3rd Pylon served to support the obelisks of Tuthmosis III, it would be perfectly normal to find their fragments nearby. But then what were the big fragments²² of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisks, which are supposed to have been overturned by Amenhotep III to make space for the 3rd Pylon, doing in the same place? As it seems unlikely that these obelisks of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut remained on the ground between the 4th and the 3rd Pylon, one must find another explanation for the presence of some of their big fragments in this place. In the event that the obelisks of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut had been broken during their overturn, the longest fragments would most likely have been stored to the north of the 3rd Pylon, while the smallest ones would have been reused in the fill of both wings of the Pylon. These last fragments reappeared when the upper part of the Pylon was dismantled and they fell along its east face, as can be seen in the old photographs.²³

¹⁷ *L'atlas des obélisques de Karnak* is in preparation under the direction of L. Gabolde. All Amun's figures carved on Hatshepsut's eastern pair of obelisks were hammered under Akhenaten, then later recarved. However, a tall representation of Amon in high relief remained intact, very probably standing near Hatshepsut on one of the four faces of the lower part of the monolith. In order for Amun to be invisible under Akhenaten, it must have been hidden by the walls of the contra-temple of Tuthmosis III. This Amun was then necessarily facing the temple axis in order for both couples in high relief to face each other. This layout allows the positioning of all the obelisks' decoration.

¹⁸ Then, Tuthmosis III hammered away Hatshepsut's name to replace it by the name of Tuthmosis II.

¹⁹ A quartzite namestone carved with Maatkare's cartouche was discovered in the disturbed layer placed above the sand filling the foundation trench of Tuthmosis I's north obelisk. This area being disrupted by the concrete that Chevrier poured in the axial passage, this namestone was probably not far from its original place, such namestones being linked with Hatshepsut's foundation deposits (fig. 3).

²⁰ L. GABOLDE, *Karnak* 11, 2003, p. 435: "En somme, après avoir été seulement projetés pendant le règne de Thoutmosis II, les obélisques de la cour de fêtes auraient vu leur réalisation différée pendant quelques sept années ; leur extraction aurait été ensuite reprise à la fin de la régence de la reine ; leur gravure et leur mise en place étant achevées au début de la corégence avec Thoutmosis III, après le changement de statut d'Hatshepsout, survenu au cours de l'an 7. Thoutmosis II, quoique désigné comme vivant, n'y apparaissait donc qu'à titre posthume".

²¹ M. AZIM, G. RÉVEILLAC, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* 2, p. 93-94, n^{os} 4-4/13 and 4-4/12.

²² L. GABOLDE, *op. cit.*, p. 447, fig. 1. This fragment appears on Legrain's photographs n^{os} 4-4/13 and 4-4/12.

²³ *Infra*, n. 31.

5. The attribution of the obelisks of the courtyard between the 3rd and 4th Pylons

In Nerferhotep's tomb, a scene painted during the reign of Amenhotep III represents the section of a temple which has been identified with Karnak (**fig. 9**).²⁴ One sees, from left to right, a channel leading to a large lake dominated by a kind of platform. Then, after a wide empty space, the profile of the 3rd Pylon appears with its flagpoles and those of the 4th Pylon, behind which stands the sanctuary. In the courtyard between the two Pylons are two structures whose vestiges are still in place: an obelisk standing on its base put on a step represents the pair belonging to Tuthmosis I, and the campaniform column, tied with a curved roof to the door of the 4th Pylon, is identified as the golden porch of Tuthmosis IV.

The realism of the representation confirms that, at the end of the 18th dynasty, only the pair of obelisks in the name of Tuthmosis I was visible. The absence of the two other pairs is essential to explain why Amun's name and portraits were not hammered away on the obelisks of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut: neither pair was visible under Akhenaten.

The only explanation for this absence is that both pairs were overturned by Amenhotep III at the time of the construction of the 3rd Pylon. It is impossible to establish whether both middle granite bases remained or not on either side of the axial door of the Pylon. The symmetrical position of a pivoting groove cut into each granite base should be noted: along the south edge of the southern one and along the north edge of the northern one. An identical symmetrical layout of groove exists on the bases of Hatshepsut's eastern obelisks. Since the fragments of the pair of obelisks in Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's names apparently received no ramesside addition, it appears that they were not re-erected on the two granite bases during the 19th dynasty, but the question arises for those of Tuthmosis III. Indeed unfinished vertical ramesside texts were added on three faces of the southern obelisk and only two of the northern one, indicating that the two obelisks of Tuthmosis III were being prepared to be raised. The presence of their fragments around the two granite bases joined to the east face of the 3rd Pylon suggests that both obelisks did indeed once stand on these bases.

The study of the foundations of the obelisks has shown that henceforth the attribution of the foundations of the Tuthmosis III pair has to be reversed with that of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut. The long foundation discovered north of the axis, common to two obelisks, finds its *raison d'être* perfectly if one places the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis I on its eastern half and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's northern obelisk on its western half, and the foundations still in place below the 3rd Pylon would belong to the obelisks of Tuthmosis III. During the 19th dynasty, the obelisks of Tuthmosis III would have been re-erected, but on the bases of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisks since these obelisks had

²⁴ DAVIES, *The Tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes* I, pl. 41 and II, pl. 3 (voir PM I, 82 [13]) and J. YOYOTTE, "Un porche doré : La porte du IV^e pylône au grand temple de Karnak", *CdE* 28, 1953, p. 28-38: "Il existe peut-être une troisième représentation du porche du IV^e pylône. Une peinture du tombeau de Néferhotep (époque d'Aï) représente un temple malheureusement anonyme, que Davies et d'autres savants (Seele et Badawi) ont voulu identifier avec le grand temple de Karnak. Cette identification ne va pas sans quelque difficulté, [la présence d'un seul obélisque à l'emplacement qui correspondrait aux obélisques de Tuthmosis I et Tuthmosis III, a amené Madame Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt (*ASAE*, 50, p. 259-280) à identifier le monument érigé chez Néferhotep, avec le temple oriental de Karnak...], mais il convient de noter que l'on voit sur le dessin, à l'endroit même où, selon l'hypothèse de Davies, on s'attendrait à le rencontrer, un élément qui n'est autre que la représentation, vue de profil, (fig 10) du dispositif particulier qui se rencontre, vu de face, au tombeau 75 et sur le bloc thébain. Ce fait, loin d'être embarrassant comme le croyait Davies, constituerait plutôt un argument en faveur de sa thèse."

been broken and some of their fragments had been used in the fill of the 3rd Pylon while others were stored further north (to be later reused in Philip Arrhidæus' barque chapel).

Tuthmosis I ruled only 13 years, so the reference to his jubilee carved on the southern obelisk is difficult to explain unless one considers that both pairs of obelisks (Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut) were built by Hatshepsut, on common foundations, in a memorial capacity. The discovery of a quartzite *Maatkare* namestone along this foundation would thus seem to make sense (fig. 3).

6. The foundations common to the northern obelisks of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut

Only setting course 1 and course 2 (from top to bottom) of both foundations could be observed in detail during the recent work, course 3 barely emerging above the water table. The existence of course 4, as in the foundations of the western obelisks of Tuthmosis III (whose foundations are below the 3rd Pylon), is hypothetical.²⁵ Indeed, Hatshepsut's obelisks, between the 5th and 4th Pylons (northern *Wadjyt*-hall), rest on a foundation apparently made of 3 courses. Thus, the number of courses can vary from one obelisk to another.

6.1. Setting course 1: the step surrounding each granite base (fig. 1, 2, 8)

Like the foundation of Hatshepsut's obelisk in the northern *Wadjyt*-hall, the step of setting course 1 of the two northern obelisks of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut framed each granite base separately. However, the wide projection of these steps around the granite base left a passage only 80 cm wide between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut.

6.2. The common foundation sub-structure under setting course 1 (fig. 1, 2, 8)

Courses 2 and 3 of both foundations were built continuously in order to form a common sub-structure under each setting course 1, which remained clearly separate. The blocks of course 3 form a sub-structure common to both foundations,²⁶ on which all course 2 of both foundations rests, with no division between the obelisks of Tuthmosis and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut. This all seems to indicate that course 3 of the foundations of both obelisks were built at the same time.

This single sub-structure is also obvious in course 2 in so far as the two smaller inserted blocks (D + E), put end to end, were perfectly placed between the two long, parallel blocks (which are facing each other) of course 2 of both foundations. The cross joints of the two inserted blocks (D + E) are perpendicular to the long blocks. The western block of setting course 1 of the obelisk of Tuthmosis I and the eastern block of the setting course 1 of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisk rest together on these two inserted blocks (D + E) of course 2. This overlapping of the two setting courses 1 above the inserted blocks (D + E) makes this continuity in laying out the blocks of course 2 of both foundations even more obvious. The two setting courses 1 are clearly divided by a large joint (width: 60 cm),

²⁵ In front of the 7th Pylon, the obelisks of Tuthmosis III appear to have 6 foundation courses. See H. CHEVRIER, *ASAE* 51, 1951, p. 559: "Nous avons encore dégagé complètement les deux faces sud et est des fondations de l'obélisque oriental placé au Sud du 7^e pylône... ces fondations sont constituées de six couches de pierres, grès, de hauteurs différentes suivant les assises". A foundation deposit was found in a sand pocket near the north-east corner of the foundation.

²⁶ This is sure only for course 3, course 4 not being reached because of the water table.

empty at present, but in which the pavement of the narrow passage between the steps of the obelisks of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut was once laid.

7. The two independent foundations of the obelisks of Tuthmosis III below the 3rd Pylon

Chevrier²⁷ noted the foundation of an obelisk below each wing of the 3rd Pylon, placed symmetrically on either side of the temple axis. In 1968, Sauneron and Vérité²⁸ continued the clearing of both foundations on which a pair of obelisks in the name of Tuthmosis III was hypothetically reconstructed.²⁹ This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by Menkheperreseneb's biography, which lists the constructions undertaken by Tuthmosis III, from east to west, on the main axis.³⁰ Each foundation consists of 4 courses (height: c. 4 x 2 cubits = 8 cubits) made of very long blocks (c. 8 x 2 cubits) (**fig. 4-7**). The courses are numbered from top (course 1) to bottom (course 4). The south-west corner of course 3 was built differently, the lower elevation of the two long western blocks being compensated for by small blocks wedged between courses 2 and 3.

7.1. Course 1 for setting the granite base

Four long, contiguous blocks, bonded with wooden clamps, compose setting course 1 on which the granite base of the obelisk rested (at an elevation of +74.14 in the north and +74.29 in the south). The middle of the setting course of both foundations is marked with a square surface (6 x 6 cubits) delimited by a flat projection protruding about 4.5 cm the edge of the course. In a few places, the projection was not cut but an incised line still indicates its place. This square surface marks the place of the granite base on which the obelisk rested.

7.2. The step surrounding the granite base

The granite base was asymmetrically framed with a step which is narrower on two adjoining sides: one along the axial passage, the other one facing east. The granite base of each obelisk was thus slightly off centre eastwards and towards the temple axis. The faces of setting course 1 are slightly inclined up to a certain height (1 cubit) in order to form a step all around the granite base. The horizontal support of the pavement is visible in the middle of the face, at an elevation of +73.79, which indicates the ground level at the time of Tuthmosis III.

7.3. The block F inserted east of the first course of the northern foundation (**fig. 4-7**)

The perfectly smooth east face of the easternmost block of setting course 1 is touching a fifth slab F to which it is not clamped. Although it seems to belong to setting course 1, it is clear that, for the two following reasons, this inserted slab F has no load-bearing function:

- the base of the obelisk does not rest on it;
- only the western half of this inserted slab F is resting (at an elevation of +73.17) on the projection of the 5 blocks of course 2 of the foundation of the obelisk of Tuthmosis III; its eastern half rests on a fill.

²⁷ H. CHEVRIER, *ASAE* 30, 1930, p. 159-160: "une plate-forme [dans le môle nord] composée de quatre grandes dalles, et qui ressemble aux fondations d'un obélisque".

²⁸ S. SAUNERON, *Kémi* 19, 1969, p. 249-271.

²⁹ L. GABOLDE, C. GRATALOUP, *Karnak* 11, 2003, p. 417-435.

³⁰ Chr. WALLET-LEBRUN, 18/5 A, forthcoming.

On the east side, this inserted slab F does not touch setting course 1 of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisk. It is separated by a large joint at the bottom of which appears (at an elevation of +73.36) the extremity of the blocks of course 2 of the foundation of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisk. These blocks, which hardly stick out past Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's setting course 1, do not extend under the inserted slab F and are about 60 cm away from the 5 blocks of course 2 of Tuthmosis III. Moreover, the top face (+73.36) of these blocks of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's course 2 is 19 cm higher than the top face (+73.17) of course 2 of Tuthmosis III. This difference in level (19 cm) of the top of each course 2, as well as the wide open joint (60 cm) which separates them, cast doubt on their simultaneous construction.

This inserted slab F could not have been slid against the smooth face of the east step of the obelisk of Tuthmosis III. This slab was placed after course 2 of the foundation on which the step of the obelisk of Tuthmosis III rests was laid, but before building the step. The northern and southern faces of the inserted slab F are smooth and slightly inclined in order to extend the step. The lower part of both faces gave support to the pavement (+73.79) which once abutted the setting course 1 of the obelisk of Tuthmosis III. The long eastern face of the inserted slab F was not entirely hidden by setting course 1 of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisk. The northern half of this long eastern face being visible, it was smoothed like a step in order to maintain the continuity between the steps of both obelisks: in this way the north-east corner of the inserted slab F extends the north step of the obelisk of Tuthmosis III (associated pavement at an elevation of +73.79) and is perpendicular to the north step of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisk (associated pavement at an elevation of +73.93). Thus, the pavement associated with the pair of obelisks of Tuthmosis III is 14 cm lower than the pavement surrounding both grouped pairs of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I.

8. The foundation pits of the obelisks

The vestiges of a cut mud brick structure appeared along the north, south and east sides of course 2 (from top) of the foundation of the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis I (**fig. 1-3**) and just to the west of course 2 (+72.35) of the foundation of the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis III.³¹ The narrow trench between the foundation and the bricks was filled with sand. This mud brick structure seems well connected to the north with the mud bricks that were cleared along the foundation of the 4th Pylon.³²

Thus, it seems that the foundation pits of the obelisks were dug into the base of a vast mud brick structure that occupied the area between the 3rd and the 4th Pylon (and even below the 3rd Pylon), and that would have been destroyed at the beginning of the New Kingdom, maybe when the 4th Pylon was built. Most of the mud brick vestiges probably disappeared when a large modern pit was dug in the northern part of this courtyard; the modern pit can be seen in the section north of the foundations of the obelisks.

9. The proposed chronology

The continuity in the jointing of courses 2 and 3 (course 4 still being hypothetical) of the foundations of the northern obelisks of Tuthmosis I and of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut leaves no doubt as

³¹ S. SAUNERON, J. VÉRITÉ, *Kêmi* 19, 1969, p. 264, fig. 13, section CC: the mud bricks appear on the drawing.

³² A. MASSON, M. MILLET, "Sondage sur le parvis nord du IV^e pylône", *Karnak* 12, 2007, p. 659-679. An *in situ* level is linked with these mud brick structures with a material typical of the end of 17th to the beginning of the 18th dynasty.

to their simultaneous construction. These new observations on the foundations of the three pairs of obelisks in the names of four successive sovereigns and on the foundations of Hatshepsut's western pair of obelisks (northern *Wadjyt*-hall between the 4th and 5th Pylons) allow the following stages to be suggested:

1. Tuthmosis I quarried two monoliths from Aswan with the intention of erecting a pair of obelisks in front of the 5th Pylon. However, their foundations were never built, either because he died or he decided to place them in front of a more imposing new (4th) Pylon to be built further west.
2. Hatshepsut reused her father's obelisks that were probably lying somewhere on the ground. She erected them on the two new long, parallel foundations built after her coronation, west of the 4th Pylon, on either side of the axis. On each extremity of each long foundation, a sandstone step was added in order to support the granite base. She erected two pairs of obelisks:³³ on the eastern end, those of her father and, on the western end, the pair in the names of Tuthmosis II and herself. Both pairs of obelisks are probably those represented on the back wall of the south portico of *Djeser-djeserou*'s first terrace:³⁴ first they are seen laying down on a big barge, then Hatshepsut is seen dedicating 4 obelisks decorated with a vertical centred text and a scene on their pyramidion to Amun.
3. Around year 16, Hatshepsut erected a new pair of obelisks on a 3-course foundation she built in front of the 5th Pylon. The lower halves of these obelisks were quickly walled in.
4. Then Tuthmosis III erected a new pair of obelisks, in the festival courtyard of Tuthmosis II, to the west of the two pairs set up by Hatshepsut. The new foundations being further apart than those of the previous ones, the obelisks of Tuthmosis III did not obscure the west faces of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's obelisks.
5. At the time of the so-called "proscription" Tuthmosis III erased the queen's name on Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut's pair of obelisks, and replaced it with the name of Tuthmosis II, leaving the original name of Tuthmosis II intact. On Hatshepsut's eastern pair of obelisks (east of the *Akhmenou*), he replaced each figure of the queen by an offering table. He could not change the names and the figures on Hatshepsut's walled-in obelisks since their lower half was entirely covered by a wall and their upper part was partially hidden by the unfinished roof of the colonnade hall known as the northern *Wadjyt*-hall. The pyramidion and the five upper registers remained visible above this roof but neither the figures of Hatshepsut nor her name were hammered away, except for the 6th register from the top on the western face, where Hatshepsut's torso and cartouche were erased, probably because the roof of the *Wadjyt*-hall was not yet finished in that place.³⁵

10. The calcite chapel of Amenhotep II between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I

The next chapter will demonstrate how Amenhotep II highlighted the obelisks of his forefathers by erecting a calcite chapel between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I. Ch. Van Siclen's epigraphic and

³³ S. SCHOTT, *Zur Krönungstag der Königin Hatshepsut*, Göttingen, 1955, p. 206: He had already suggested that Hatshepsut raised obelisks in the name of Tuthmosis I.

³⁴ The Deir al-Bahari representations of the transport of obelisks could refer to these two pairs, on the assumption that the blocks were correctly restored in the back wall of the portico. But there is some doubt about this since J. Karkowski thinks it is possible that this reconstruction has omitted the space for a missing block in the middle of the barge.

³⁵ Fr. LARCHÉ, *Karnak 12*, 2007, pl. 58.

architectural study³⁶ of this chapel was used by Fr. Burgos for its rebuilding at the entrance of the Open Air Museum. This reconstruction allowed the hypothesis proposed in Ch. Van Siclen's study to be checked and above all the discovery of the chapel's original location in front of the 4th Pylon. This work resulted from the joint observations of Fr. Burgos³⁷ (for the embedding of the base of the obelisk of Tuthmosis I), Ch. Van Siclen (for the orientation of the chapel and the embedding of the granite stela) and myself (for the support of the side projection of the chapel against an obelisk) (**fig. 8**).

Most of the calcite blocks from this chapel were found reused to fill the 3rd Pylon, except for two huge blocks which were converted into stelae³⁸ by Ramesses II to stand at the entrance of temple A in the Mut complex. Each block formed the second course framing the door of the chapel. The two faces of the left-hand block (when entering) are still intact but the outer face of the right-hand block is completely destroyed.³⁹ During the reconstruction, it was only after lifting these two huge blocks onto the thin blocks of the first course on both sides, followed by the setting of the heavy roof slab, that the unexpected way in which the blocks of this chapel had been assembled became evident.

10.1. The side projection

The huge roof slab has a projection (186 cm wide and 20 cm deep) on both sides. On the left side, this projection extends downwards (getting wider and thinner) onto the second course and at its base reaches a greater width of 206 cm and a thinner depth of 2 cm. The face of the second course of the right side is destroyed so the projection has completely disappeared from there. The three sides of the projection of the left side are regularly inclined giving each of them a trapezoid shape: the two opposite narrow sides are converging upwards while the third one is inversely inclined. The shape of this projection shows that it leaned against a narrow structure also equipped with three inclined sides, which must have been an obelisk since a Pylon cannot be so narrow. The existence of this projection on both parallel sides of the chapel implies the presence of a pair of obelisks.

10.2. The horizontal groove cut in the left-hand block

The lower face of the huge block forming the second course of the left side of the chapel is cut with a deep horizontal groove (height: 40 cm, depth: 25 cm, length: 280 cm) along nearly the entire length of its outer face. This groove has so much narrowed the lower face of the block that it could not stand vertical by itself. This groove corresponds in reality to the edge of the base of the obelisk against which the projection just described leaned.⁴⁰

10.3. The location of the chapel

The red crown that Amenhotep II wears on the right doorjamb means the chapel must have faced east.⁴¹ The huge roof slab (103 tonnes) was found reused in the south wing of the 3rd Pylon, probably

³⁶ Ch. VAN SICLEN, *The Alabaster Shrine*.

³⁷ Former stone-cutter of the CFEETK.

³⁸ A facsimile of both stelae was drawn by P. Calassou in 2005. It could be used to make life size copies of the stelae in order to exhibit them *in situ* at the temple of Mut.

³⁹ Facing the ground, the inner face of this block was better preserved while the outer, exposed one has entirely crumbled. The many fragments of both blocks were glued and pinned by A. Oboussier (Cnrs-CFFETK), A.-L. Capra and G. Jezequel.

⁴⁰ Observation by Fr. Burgos; M. PILLET, *ASAE* 25, 1925, pl. IV: the horizontal groove is clearly visible on the photography.

⁴¹ Observation by Ch. Van Siclen.

very near to the chapel before it was dismantled. At the time of Amenhotep II, three pairs of obelisks stood to the west of the 4th Pylon, in the centre of the festival courtyard of Tuthmosis II. A closer look will show that the only possible location for the chapel was between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I and not between either of the other two pairs:

- the foundations of the western pair of obelisks, of Tuthmosis III, are too far apart to build a chapel between them;
- the granite bases of the middle pair of obelisks, of Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut, are too long and too high to be inserted into the horizontal groove cut at the base of the outer face of the second course.

However, to the east, the foundations of the obelisks of Tuthmosis I show that the distance between the monoliths was the exact width of the chapel:

- the reconstructed distance between the two granite bases of the obelisks is estimated at about 8 cubits, which is the distance that separates the rough outer faces of the thin blocks of the first course of the chapel;
- the reconstructed distance between the lower faces of the obelisks is estimated at about 10 cubits, which is the distance that separates the projections at the base of the outer faces of the second course of the chapel;
- the length (5 cubits) of the south granite base of Tuthmosis I equals the length of the groove cut at the base of the block forming the second course of the left side;
- at its base, the north face of the southern obelisk of Tuthmosis I is 206 cm wide, which is equal to the width of the lower end of the projection of the left side of the chapel;
- the projection of the roof slab of the chapel is the same width (186 cm) as the north face of the obelisk five metres above the granite base. This level corresponds exactly with the level of the support for the projection of the roof slab.

10.4. Explanation of the structure of the chapel

The location of the chapel, between the bases of the obelisks of Tuthmosis I, explains perfectly why its first course was made only of thin, aligned calcite blocks. On either side of the door a thin block (A and A') formed the doorjamb, whose hidden face is cut at right angles (**fig. 10**). This reflex right angle abutted the corner of the granite base of the obelisk, while the rough outer face of the thin block (A and A') leaned entirely against the side (the one facing the axis) of the granite base. Shorter than the inner length of the chapel, the thin block (A and A') had a west cross joint which should line up with the west side of the granite base.

The second block (B and B') of the first course extended the first thin one (A and A') as far as the back inner face of the chapel. The east joint of this second block (B and B') abutted both the west joint of the first thin block (A and A') and the west side of the granite base. However, this second block (B and B'), thicker than the first (A and A'), does not seem to be as thick as the second course. This second block (B and B') was probably the inner face of the first course, and the outer face of another abutted third calcite block (C and C') would have been aligned with the outer face of the second course.

10.5. The back of the chapel and the granite stela

The inner face of the back wall of the chapel was also made of thin superimposed calcite blocks, only one of which is preserved. The huge roof slab rested on the whole upper face of the side walls,

but its support on the back wall was only 20 cm deep. This minimal support seems well justified by the thinness of the inner face.

The back wall must have been a double faced wall and the blocks of its outer face have been identified.⁴² They belong to what was most probably a granite stela for the glory of Amenhotep II, built of at least 3 thin courses (about 50 cm thick). One fragment⁴³ of this stela was found in the 3rd Pylon and two⁴⁴ were reused as foundations of the foregate that Tuthmosis IV abutted against the door of the 4th Pylon, that is to say facing the obelisks of Tuthmosis I. The difference in height of the registers decorating these 3 fragments does not preclude their belonging to the same stela, since one only has to look up at walls in Karnak or Luxor to see that such differences are legion.⁴⁵ This identification should be checked with a precise facsimile of the fragments carved in sunken relief, one of which is exhibited at Luxor museum⁴⁶ (J. 129) and two at Cairo museum⁴⁷ (JE 36360).

Stored in front of the north wing of the 2nd Pylon, a fourth fragment is decorated, on its outer face, with a scene usually found on lintels⁴⁸ (length c. 4m; thickness 60 cm; neg. 42959/19): the king wearing the red crown stands on the left and *Amun-Re who dwells at Perounefer* is mentioned, but the right part of the scene is missing. Nevertheless, this existing half allows the reconstruction of the complete block, whose length (320 cm or 360 cm if flanked by rising toruses) would be slightly less than the width of the lintel of the calcite chapel of Amenhotep II. Topped with an horizontal torus which supported a cornice, this fragment was recently hypothesized⁴⁹ as the lintel of a granite chapel consecrated by Amenhotep II to Amun of Perounefer. However, two technical details mean that this fourth fragment could not have been a door lintel:

- *the extreme thinness of the fragment* (thickness 60 cm): a lintel needs a more substantial thickness to withstand the opening and closing of large doors. It is always possible that the original block was thinned to be reused, but the irregular shape of its inner face is more akin to the softening of a newly quarried rough face than to cutting subsequent to the dismantling of the original structure.
- *no rebate* was ever cut on the lower face of the fragment, which would be normal on a counter-lintel facing inside, but the presence of an horizontal torus topped with a cornice means that it was not facing inwards.

It seems more probable that this false lintel crowned the stela of Amenhotep II and leaned against the roof slab of the calcite chapel. However a doubt remains about the date of the decoration in the name of Amenhotep II, since it appears to have been re-carved. Ch. Van Siclen thinks unlikely that it would have been re-carved by Seti I (or anyone else) unless it formed part of a standing monument at the time: could the false lintel have been doubled up and been reused in conjunction with the

⁴² Observation by Ch. Van Siclen.

⁴³ H. CHEVRIER, *ASAE* 27, 1927, p. 142; *id.*, *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 126.

⁴⁴ G. LEGRAIN, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903", *ASAE* 5, 1904, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Contrary to what J.-Fr. Carlotti put forward in "Le mur fantôme de la 'cour de la cachette' du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak", in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à J.-Cl. Goyon*, *BdE* 143, 2008, p. 58, n. 14.

⁴⁶ H. CHEVRIER, *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 126: "Je donne enfin un dessin du très beau bloc de granit d'Aménophis II trouvé l'an passé dans le III^e pylône et dont les fragments n'avaient pu être rassemblés jusqu'à maintenant. Deux blocs analogues certainement du même monument avaient été trouvés autrefois par Legrain et sont actuellement au Musée du Caire".

⁴⁷ PM II², p. 74; G. LEGRAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 24; A.H. Zayed, "Une représentation inédite des campagnes d'Amenophis II", in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, *BdE* 97/1, 1985, p. 5-17, pl. I; P. DER MANUELIAN, *Studies in the reign of Amenophis II*, *HÄB* 26, 1987, p. 258.

⁴⁸ I. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, *BEHESR* 123, 2005, p. 15-21.

⁴⁹ J.-Fr. CARLOTTI, in *Hommages à J.-Cl. Goyon*, p. 55-66.

Perounefer architraves, perhaps around the Amenhotep II granite shrine, which outlived the dismantlings of Amenhotep III?

10.6. The calcite cornices crowning the chapel

All the calcite cornices were found and, during the reconstruction, inserted in their original place in the 3 specially made cuts on the roof slab. On the façade, two long joined cornices fill the entire width of the chapel. Each cornice turned at a right angle above the corner of the façade, in order to extend the cavetto on the sides of the chapel until it abutted the obelisks. This support of both cornices against an obelisk is confirmed by their rough cross joint which could not have joined another cornice.

Behind the obelisks, the side cornices also turn at a right angle above each corner of the back wall of the chapel. The cross joints of the side cornices are also rather peculiar. The eastern joints are not smooth since they were adjacent to the obelisk while the other two cross joints, parted by the width of the chapel, face each other. Both are not flat but strongly curved, which prevents the insertion of another cornice in between. This treatment of these two cross joints reinforces the hypothesis of a granite stela abutting the back of the chapel.

10.7. Traces of the foundations of the chapel

The placing of the chapel between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I was confirmed by the partial clearing of the southern and complete clearing of the northern foundations of the obelisks. The sandstone step that projected all around both granite bases was intentionally cut plumb with three faces of each base in order to allow the following stages with the calcite blocks of the first course of the chapel (**fig. 1-3**):

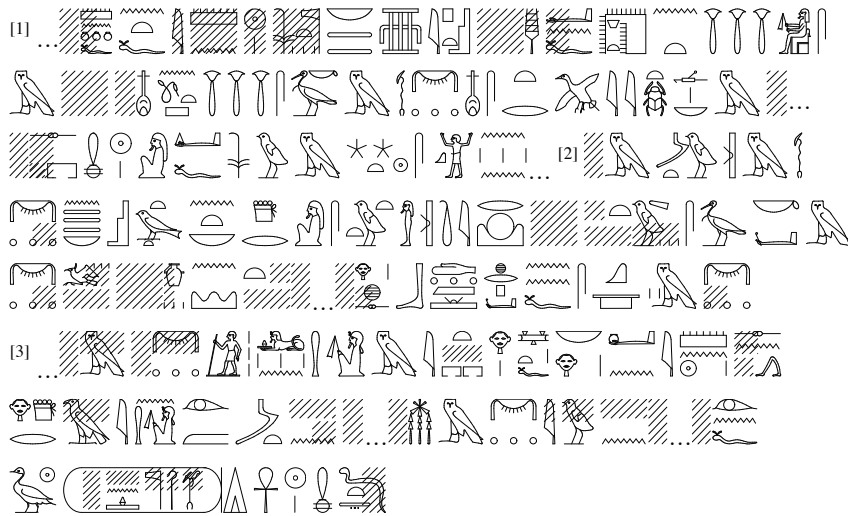
- the sliding westwards against each granite base of the two thin calcite blocks A and A', whose inner joints were cut at right angles and whose small faces belonged to the doorframe;
- the abutting of the inner joint, cut at right angles, of both blocks A and A' against the corner (facing the axis) of each granite base (**fig. 10**);
- the sliding, perpendicularly to the axis, of the calcite blocks B and B' that extended the inner side faces of the chapel westward, following the previous blocks A and A';
- the sliding, perpendicularly to the axis, of the calcite blocks C and C' leaning on the previous blocks B and B' in order to form the outer face of the first course.

Many calcite chips attesting the destruction of a calcite monument were found in the axis, particularly along course 2 of the foundation on which the step that supported the granite base of the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis I rests. A thick calcite threshold⁵⁰ with a doorhinge socket was found in the 3rd pylon and is now stored at the Open air museum. Its top face shows traces of support for a doorjamb whose dimensions could fit those of the chapel. A pavement of calcite slabs might have been built to complement such a threshold. The calcite chips recovered could have come from the removal of such a pavement when Tuthmosis IV dismantled the chapel in order to build his golden porch in front of the door of the 4th Pylon. One has to remark here that the chapel would not have prevented the barque procession from getting in or out of the temple, since nearly 6 metres separated its façade from the door of the 4th Pylon, allowing sufficient space in which to turn.

⁵⁰ M. PILLET, *ASAE* 22, 1922, pp. 239, 240; this threshold has another doorhinge socket cut on its lower face. It could have been reused as a threshold in the calcite shrine of Tuthmosis IV.

10.8. A text of Amenhotep II

An incomplete text from Amenhotep II is carved on the columns of the south courtyard dividing the 4th from the 5th Pylon (southern *Wadjyt*-hall). It mentions architectural and movable elements:



In her translation, Chr. Wallet-Lebrun places the statues and the sphinx on either side of a chapel:⁵¹ “(I) have consecrated for him two gold socles... in electrum, statues of My Majesty – standing and as a sphinx – making an offering to Amun-Re, on each side of the chapel, outside”. Following this interpretation, the statues and sphinx could very well have been around the calcite chapel of Amenhotep II, either along the outer north and south faces in the space left free between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut, or in front of the granite stela forming the back of the chapel.

However, it is not confirmed that this text is indeed relevant, since Ch. Van Siclen reads it differently: “I have consecrated for him two socles of gold and ... of electrum, statues and sphinxes of My Majesty in the twin shrines on its (sic) every side, making offerings to Amun-Re.” He suspects that the twin shrines are an oblique reference to the northern and southern *Wadjyt*-halls—the twin shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt. Alternatively, it could be translated “in niches on its every side.”

⁵¹ Chr. WALLET-LEBRUN, Texte 18/7 B: “[Amenhotep II ... qui compte parmi] son œuvre en faveur de son père Amon-Rê-sonner, seigneur-des-deux-terres, qui-préside-à-*Ipet*-[sout, l’éréc]tion de la splendide cour à colonnes papyrifomes en belle [pierre blanche] de grès, aux colonnes plaquées d’électrum; c’est encore plus beau qu’auparavant, chacun(e?) ?... une chapelle ? aussi éclatante (?) que Rê quand il se montre au matin et nous dresse (?)... à neuf en électrum de toutes les terres, sanctuaire du seigneur universel, pareil à l’horizon [céleste], au sol plaqué d’or; *rekhyt*... tributs ? de [tous] les pays étrangers... et véritable lapis-lazuli. (Je) lui ai consacré deux socles en or... en électrum, des statues de Ma Majesté - debout et en sphinx - faisant offrande à Amon-Rê, de chaque côté de la chapelle, à l’extérieur. Ma Majesté a surpassé ses ancêtres, réalisant à neuf... façonné en or. (J)’ai [réalisé]... Il a œuvré, le fils de Rê A[m]enhotep II, doué de vie comme Rê éternellement”. This translation differs from the one used by J.-Fr. Carlotti (in *Hommages J.-Cl. Goyon*, p. 59, n. 15) to justify his hypothesis since it evokes not one but two chapels built on either side of something.

11. The other elements in the name of Amenhotep II

In his hypothetical reconstruction of the calcite chapel, J.-Fr. Carlotti noted three lines⁵² incised on the west face of the east enclosure of the *cachette* courtyard.⁵³ Framing a sphinx in sunken relief,⁵⁴ these lines seem to indicate the support of a vanished structure, inclined on both faces and built after the east enclosure of Tuthmosis III, against which it would have been abutted. J.-Fr. Carlotti has hypothesized an west-east wall dividing the *cachette* courtyard, and whose support against the west enclosure disappeared when the ramesside Hypostyle Hall was built since this construction destroyed the north end of the west enclosure. Assuming the existence of such a vanished wall, J.-Fr. Carlotti put two Amenhotep II chapels face to face with two pillars supporting a portico on either side of the north-south axis.⁵⁵ It has been explained above why it is too risky to reconstruct a granite chapel from a single fragment that could not have been used as lintel in spite its decoration. The reasons for building the calcite chapel⁵⁶ between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I were also carefully established. Now, a suggestion has to be made about what to do with the fragments of the two parallel porticos as well as with the limestone block that J.-Fr. Carlotti has reconstructed in the central doorjamb of the vanished wall.

11.1. Possible door of Amenhotep II

A limestone block, carved in sunken relief with a text in the name of Amenhotep II, was reused between the Taharqa kiosk and the foregate of the 2nd Pylon.⁵⁷ Amun's name was hammered away, then restored probably by Seti I. It seems to have belonged to a doorjamb decorated with large vertical columns of text that J.-Fr. Carlotti placed at the centre of his vanished wall. However, a limestone doorjamb would logically be in a wall built of the same stone, and it would, therefore, seem extremely

⁵² A fourth one is partially visible, parallel to the south battered line. A fifth short horizontal line is incised above the upper left corner of the scene of the criosphinx.

⁵³ Ch. VAN SICLEN, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, p. 45, n. 14. Ch. Van Siclen and myself have observed these two pairs of battered lines and the decoration carved between them. These lines stop right above the top of the scene of the criosphinx. On the other hand, a blank surface (2 x 2 cubits) appears at ground level, exactly below the criosphinx's head, between two small symmetrical scenes in Merenptah's name. The decoration on the socle of the criosphinx shows unfinished horizontal lines at its base. We reconstruct at this place a real socle perpendicular to the wall, on which rested the criosphinx whose representation is carved right above. The battered lines and the horizontal one would have then delimited the place of a large wooden naos protecting the criosphinx. The wall surface above and north of the sphinx naos having been left blank, Ramesses IX decorated it with two scenes, the upper scene of which shows the Ennead sitting above the reconstructed naos (Fr. LE SAOUT, "Reconstitution des murs de la cour de la cachette", *Karnak* 8, p. 253). The divinities are not directly carved above the sphinx's skyline but are separated from it by a thick blank band. South of the sphinx naos, another blank surface (L: 1,5 m ; H: 2,5 m) divides it from a large scene of Ramesses IV. This surface is punctuated by four tiny mortises lined up horizontally which could have been used to fasten a stele. It may be that the decoration of the northern part of the wall was left blank due to the presence of the sphinx and its naos. Similarly, the roof of the naos above the sphinx made invisible the undecorated band below the Ennead. A detailed publication of this hypothesis will be made by Ch. Van Siclen.

⁵⁴ PM II², p. 131; P. BARGUET, *Temple*, p. 275; H. SOUROUZIAN, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, SDAIK, 1989, p. 149; A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, OLA 97, 2001, p. 219

⁵⁵ The door opened at the north end of the east *cachette* enclosure should be carefully examined to check if possible traces of the blocking suggested by J.-Fr. Carlotti really existed.

⁵⁶ Ch. VAN SICLEN, *The Alabaster Shrine*; Fr. LARCHÉ, *Karnak* 12, 2007, p. 477-480.

⁵⁷ J. LAUFFRAY, "La colonnade-propylée occidentale de Karnak, dite 'Kiosque de Taharqa' et ses abords", *Kèmi* 20, 1970, p. 144, fig. 24, bloc VI.P (40) 12; R. SA'AD, Cl. TRAUNECKER, "Textes et reliefs mis au jour dans la grande cour du temple de Karnak", *Kèmi* 20, 1970, p. 165-166; Ch. VAN SICLEN, *op. cit.*, n. 13; P. DER MANUELIAN, *Studies in the reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26, 1987, p. 258.

odd that Amenhotep II should abut his limestone wall against the sandstone walls that form the east and west enclosure of the *cachette*. It seems much wiser to place this door somewhere else. Ch. Van Siclen suggests that this fragment could come from the missing upper part of the west doorjamb of the north face of the so-called gateway of Tuthmosis I in Karnak North. This gateway was, in fact, built by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III and the names of Hatshepsut were replaced by those of Amenhotep II.

11.2. The imaginary portico placed in front of the fictitious granite chapel of Amenhotep II

Architraves on which elements of the name of Amenhotep II, as well as the mention of Amun of Perunefer, are preserved were reused in the lower course of the cornice on top of the wall built by Ramesses IX to close the north side of the *cachette* courtyard.⁵⁸ A torus was carved on one of their cross joints. In sunken relief on one side and in raised relief on the other, their faces show that Amun's name was hammered away under Akhenaten and restored later,⁵⁹ indicating that the architraves remained in place until the end of the 18th dynasty. In his hypothesis, J.-Fr. Carlotti had them rest on two pillars that would have served as an entrance to one of the two chapels that he placed facing each other between the vanished wall and the south face of the enclosure of Tuthmosis II. However, simple observations would tend to refute this hypothesis:

- **The hieroglyphs** carved on the fragmented architraves allow the reconstruction of a minimum length of text: this exceeds what would fit on the length of the 3 architraves suggested between the south enclosure of Tuthmosis II and the vanished wall. Two fragments were placed to the left of an axis and the two others to the right. The text reconstructed by Ch. Van Siclen seems well standardised: “[The Horus, Mighty Bull gre]at of strength, lord of actio[n Aakheperure] son of Re of his body his beloved [Amenhotep divine ruler of Thebes; he has made] as his monument for his father Amun-Re dwelling in Perunefer the making for him of [a ... that he might make] "given life" forever”. Such a text would normally consist of at least 24 groups on either side of the axis since the texts would most probably be in rough mirror image. However, the length of each fragment being unknown, it is difficult to estimate the real length of the text. Ch. Van Siclen wisely remarks that attributing these architraves to a structure earlier than the 3rd Pylon but dismantled by Amenhotep III, refutes the hammering away of Amun's name as well as its restoration which prove that the monument lasted at least until the end of the 18th dynasty without being destroyed when the 3rd Pylon was built⁶⁰.

- **The pillars** are disproportionately stretched (height: 6 m under architrave) in order to allow the roof slabs resting on the architraves to pass over the monolithic roof of the chapel (on J.-Fr. Carlotti's fig. 5, the top of the cornice overhangs the pavement by about 6,25 m). These too high pillars are not proportionate with the height of the architraves, the usual ratio being given by the reconstructed pillars of Tuthmosis IV (height under architrave: 4,865 m) or Amenhotep II (reused by Horemheb in the temple built between the 9th and 10th Pylons), both being at least one metre shorter. One should not forget the two polygonal sandstone drums that mention Amenhotep II and Amun-Re of Perunefer,

⁵⁸ A. AMER, *The gateway of Ramesses IX in the temple of Amun at Karnak*, Warminster, 1999, p. 1-5; Fr. LE SAOUT, “Reconstitution des murs de la cour de la cachette”, *Karnak 7*, 1982, p. 1982, p. 233 and p. 257, pl. 9; P. DER MANUELIAN, *Studies in the reign of Amenophis II*, p. 258-259.

⁵⁹ F. LE SAOUT, *op. cit.*, p. 233 and p. 257, pl. 9.

⁶⁰ J.-Fr. CARLOTTI, in *Hommages J.-Cl. Goyon*, p. 61: he hypothesized that only the chapel remained leaning against the *cachette*'s east enclosure while the small southern Pylon of Tuthmosis II was destroyed.

reused by Ramesses IV in the Khonsu temple, since these columns are possible candidates to support the architraves in question.

- *The two superposed roofs* that are implied by the hypothesis of a front portico seem unnecessary in view of the thickness of the roof slab of the calcite chapel. The only double roofing known at Karnak is above the barque chapel. All the indications are that the calcite chapel of Amenhotep II did not support the second roof shown in J.-Fr. Carlotti's section (p. 66, fig. 5).

11.3. An alternative hypothesis for the architraves of Amenhotep II

Since Amun's name was hammered away and subsequently restored on the architraves, surely their supports would also have remained in place after Akhenaten, which excludes their position in front of the stela of Amenhotep II that abutted the back of his calcite chapel. It is probably when the wall of Ramesses IX was built that the eastern half of the south limestone enclosure of Tuthmosis II was destroyed. This eastern half had not been in the way of the construction of the 3rd Pylon, so Amenhotep III had left it even when he (or Amenhotep IV) built a south enclosure against the 3th pylon. The remains of the limestone enclosure of Tuthmosis II and the sandstone walls applied by Tuthmosis IV in the angle formed by this south enclosure with the west enclosure of the 4th Pylon were dismantled at the same time. It is probably from this angle that the sandstone blocks decorated in raised relief came, which were reused at the base of the wall of Ramesses IX.

A hypothetical reconstruction⁶¹ places the granite shrine of Amenhotep II in the south-east angle of the courtyard of Tuthmosis IV. This shrine was dismantled by Ramesses III to become a barque sanctuary in the heart of the Khonsu temple. The shrine could have been reused only after the end of the 18th dynasty since Amun's images were hammered away under Akhenaten and then restored, probably by Horemheb. Hidden by the sandstone walls of the Khonsu temple, its original decoration was preserved on the outer faces of the sides (east and west) and the rear (north). Some decorated fragments have preserved cross joints that allowed the reconstruction⁶² of the dimensions of the shrine and the observation that they were identical to the calcite shrine of Amenhotep I. The scenes and their layout are also the same although, contrary to that of Amenhotep I, the king moves in the same direction both outside and inside: on both outer sides (east and west), Amenhotep II is facing the rear façade (north) and inside, Ramesses IV also faces it.⁶³

As in the shrine of Amenhotep I, two vertical texts giving the names of Amenhotep II⁶⁴ decorated each doorjamb. Under Ramesses IV, the texts of the front façade (south) were replaced with a new

⁶¹ B. LETELLIER, Fr. LARCHÉ, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, forthcoming.

⁶² Fr. LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *Le sanctuaire de la barque et les salles attenantes*, to be published. The outside decoration of the granite shrine of Amenhotep II is the mirror image of that of Amenhotep I. Ch. Van Siclen assumes that the interior decoration was originally also a mirror image. When the granite walls were imbedded into the fabric of the Khonsu Temple, the hidden Amenhotep II reliefs were oriented towards the back of the temple (and towards Karnak proper). The visible reliefs in reuse would then have faced the wrong way, so they were erased and replaced by new and different scenes of Ramesses IV oriented towards the back of the Khonsu Temple.

⁶³ Only one representation of Ramesses IV is preserved inside the shrine on the right doorjamb (south façade). On the only decorated block preserved on the left (west) face, the orientation of Amun followed by a goddess shows that the king should move towards the back of the shrine (north) like on the carving of the previous doorjamb.

⁶⁴ M.-D. MARTELLIÈRE, "Compte rendu de la mission sur l'étude complémentaire des blocs épars concernant la chapelle de granit rose d'Amenhotep II", CFEETK report, October, 2002. The western doorjamb of the north façade has been partly re-erected.

decoration of 3 superposed registers, while its rear façade (north) remained hidden behind sandstone walls. The blank faces of the door reveals were decorated by Ramesses IV.

It would be tempting to place the architraves of Amenhotep II around his granite shrine. However, their inner face is in raised relief while the inner faces of the parallel architraves of Tuthmosis IV are blank around the calcite shrine of Amenhotep I (or in sunken relief elsewhere), which is reconstructed facing the chapel of Amenhotep II. Such difference casts some doubt on this placement for the architraves of Amenhotep II. They could equally rest on the polygonal sandstone columns whose two drums mention Amenhotep II and Amun-Re of Perounefer. Other polygonal columns of Amenhotep II discovered near Karnak, to the north, are exhibited at the Open Air Museum. They come from a structure in a garden of Amenhotep II and do not seem to have belonged to any formal temple structure.

Nothing would have prevented Amenhotep II from building a portico around a shrine for Amun of Perounefer somewhere else at Karnak. For example, it could have been either within the courtyard he built along the south face of the 8th Pylon or in the courtyard of the *offerings* in front of the main sanctuary of Amenhotep I (the so-called “Middle Kingdom” courtyard) where other polygonal sandstone drums in the name of Senwosret I were found.

12. Conclusion by Ch. Van Siclen

When I wrote my slim volume on the reconstruction of the alabaster shrine of Amenhotep II, I felt it incumbent on myself to suggest some site for the monument and to explain some of its architectural peculiarities. The ensuing work done by Fr. Burgos and Fr. Larché has shown that my suggestions were wrong. The archaeological evidence is overwhelming that the alabaster shrine of Amenhotep II stood between the obelisks of Tuthmosis I before the Fourth Pylon and that the shrine faced east into the temple, as Fr. Larché has described.

Of more interest is what might be described as the plain, exterior rear wall of the shrine. In fact, for anyone entering the temple from the west, this seemingly blank space was actually a visible focal point. Indeed, this area was emphasized by the two pairs of obelisks of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis II (ex Hatshepsut) which visibly flanked and closed in on the shrine’s exterior. The four obelisks formed a small truncated courtyard (perhaps closed off laterally by matching stela⁶⁵) that focused in on the back of the shrine. But what existed there?

As noted by Fr. Larché, it would seem that the visual focus on the back wall of the alabaster shrine was a great stela in red granite in the shape of a false door. At its head was a lintel with four scenes surmounted by a horizontal torus and cavetto (which could have aligned with the upper torus and cavetto of the shrine). The granite lintel mentioning Amun of Perunefer would fit this reconstruction, and it should be noted that the width of this lintel, if restored, would be only about 3.20 m (or 3.60 m if flanked by rising toruses),⁶⁶ narrower than the 4+ metre width of the rear of the alabaster shrine. In the recess of the false door, framed by the lintel and missing jambs, would have been fixed the red granite panels (now in the Cairo Museum) which show Amenhotep II triumphant in Asia, initially with a blank dado below. At a later point, below a horizontal joint in the granite, there was then carved the famous archery stela of Amenhotep II (now in the Luxor Museum). The stela and the shrine celebrate Amenhotep II. What is more, this entire complex with its memorials (i.e. obelisks) of Tuthmosis I,

⁶⁵ The possible frame of a stela in alabaster is called a “niche” by J.-Fr. Carlotti.

⁶⁶ Rather than the 4 + metres as published by J.-Fr. Carlotti.

Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis III all focus in on Amenhotep II, the successor (and likely co-regent of Tuthmosis III). Thus the position of the alabaster shrine of Amenhotep II forms a highly visible cult place and shrine that magnifies the house of Tuthmosis in general, and specifically its descendant Amenhotep II, perhaps with dynastic and political overtones.

The pair of sphinxes of Amenhotep II now in the 'cour de la cachette' could also have as easily been a part of this shrine to Amenhotep II and the house of Tuthmosis.

One is also struck by the play of colours: The white of the shrine sets off the red of the stela. The red obelisks flank the white shrine and may be separated by intervening white stelae.

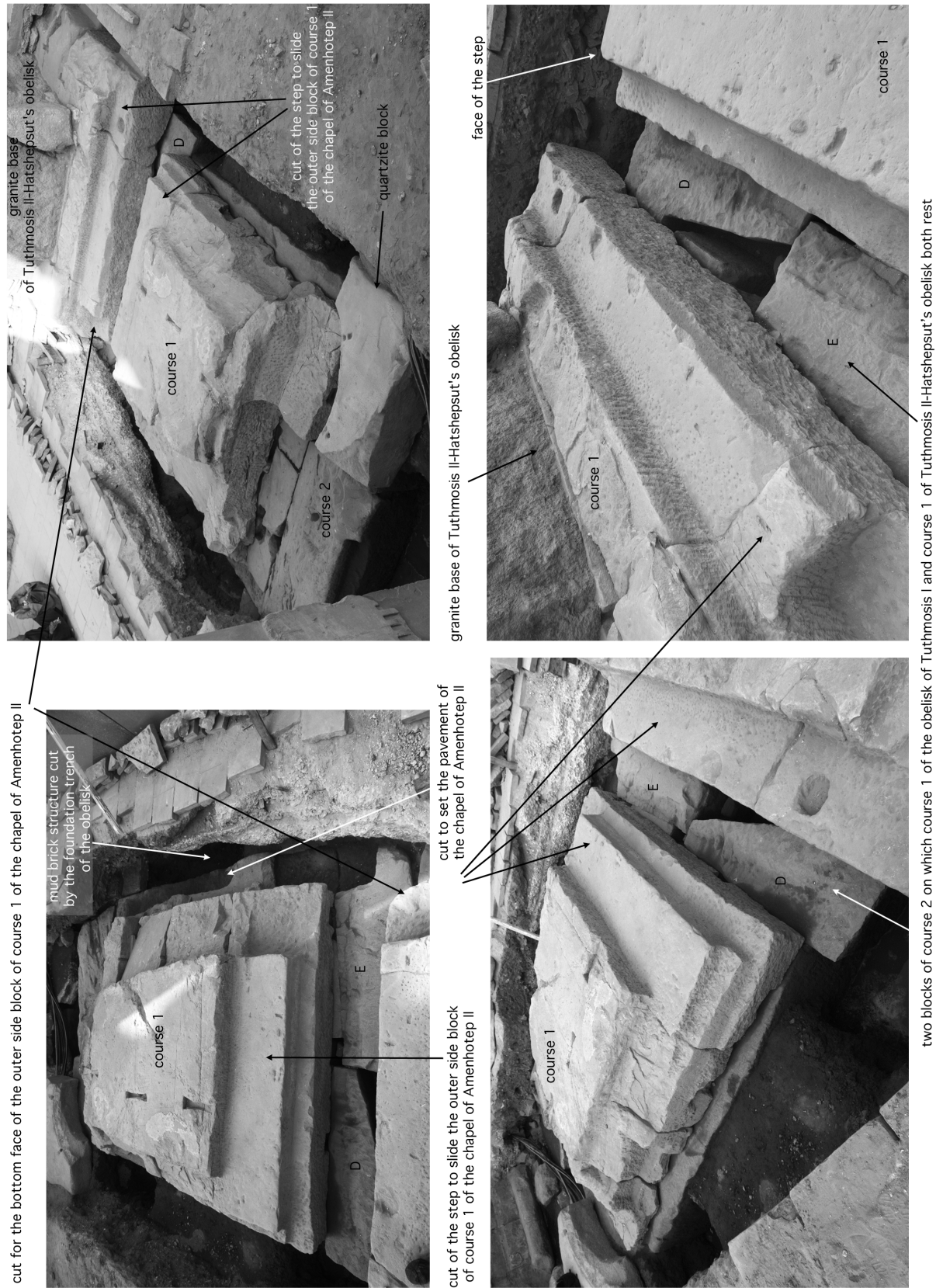


Fig. 1. Common foundation of the northern obelisks of Tutmosis I and Tutmosis II-Hatshepsut.

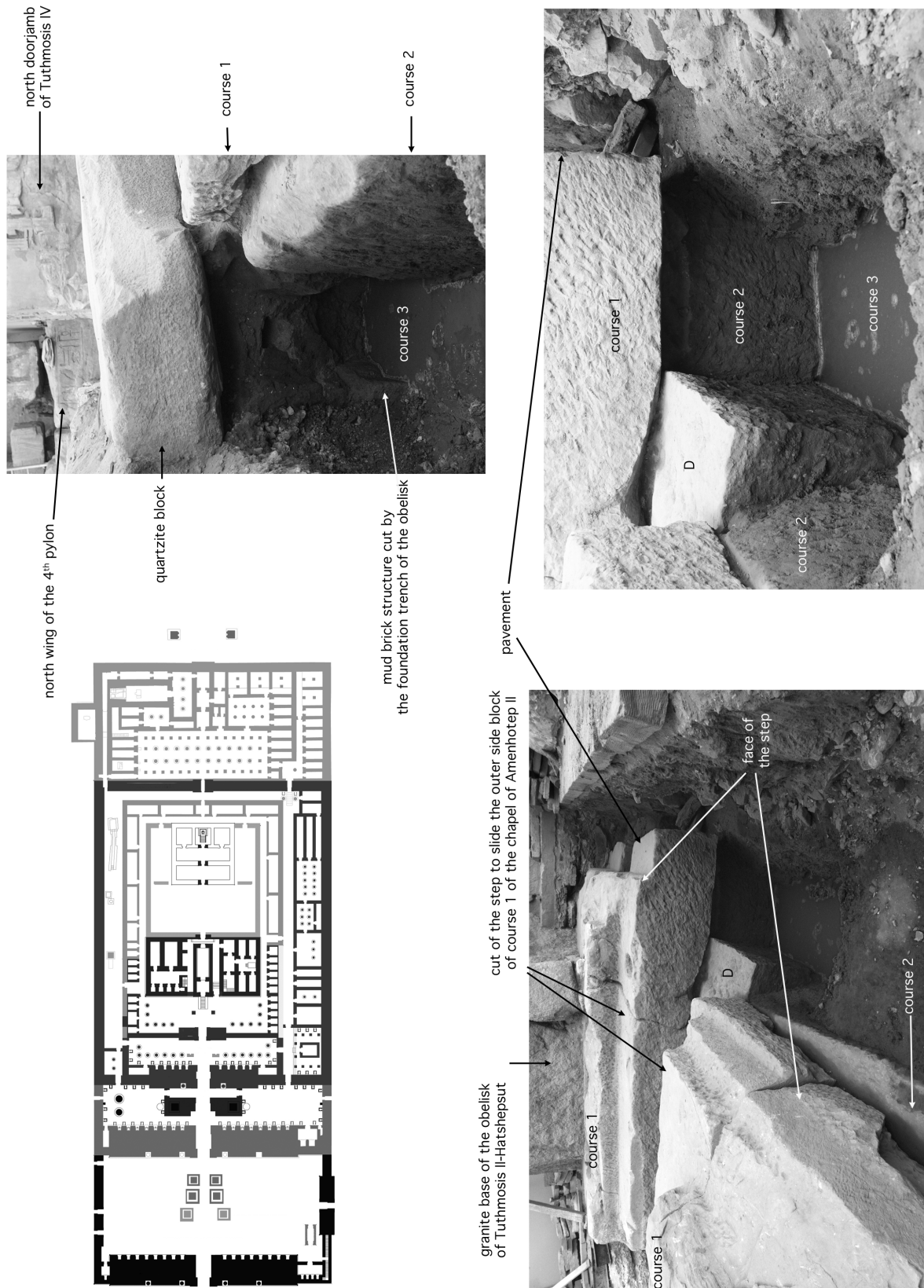


Fig. 2. Common foundation of the northern obelisks of Tutmosis I and Tutmosis II-Hatshepsut.

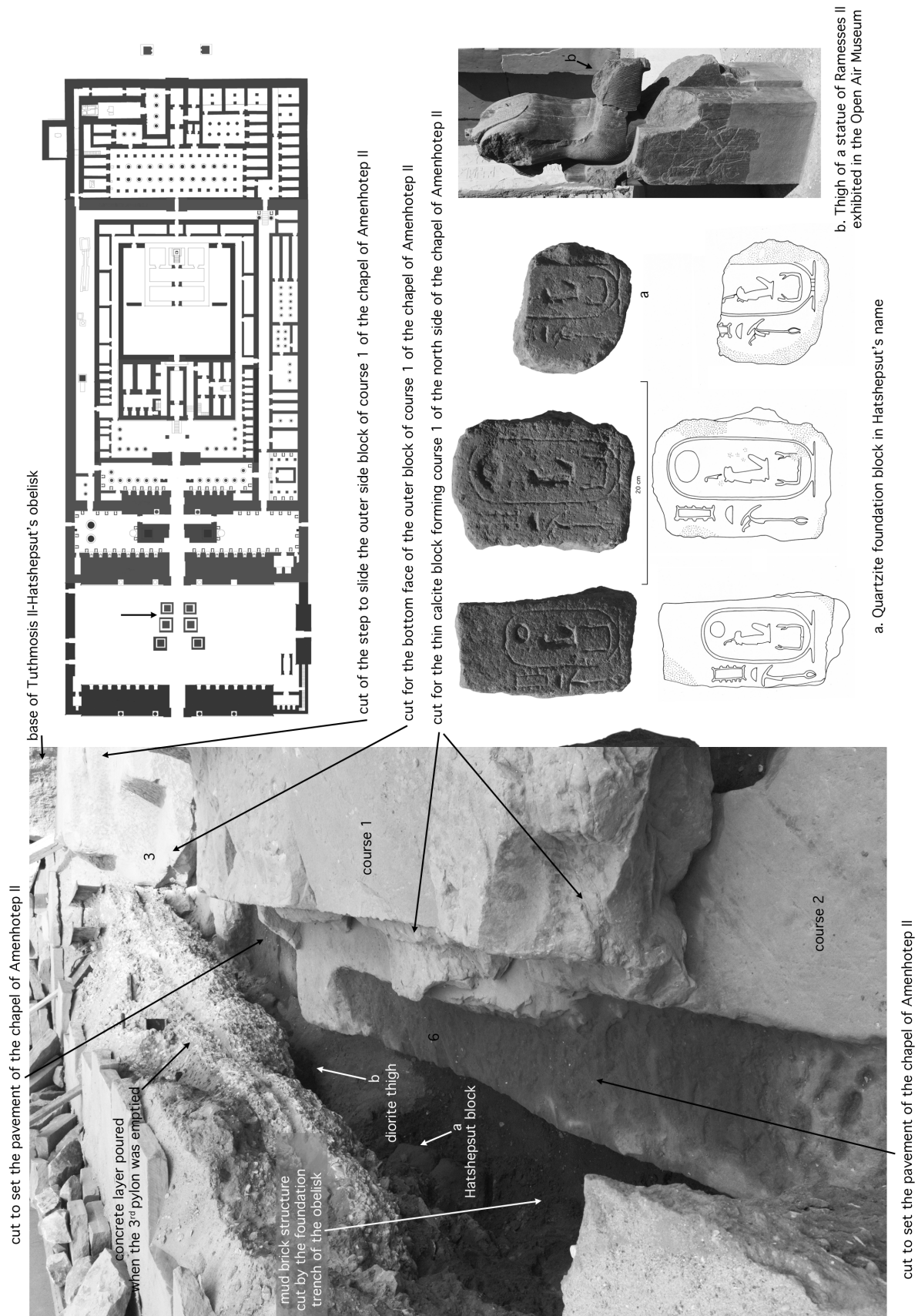


Fig. 3. Common foundation of the northern obelisks of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II-Hatshepsut.

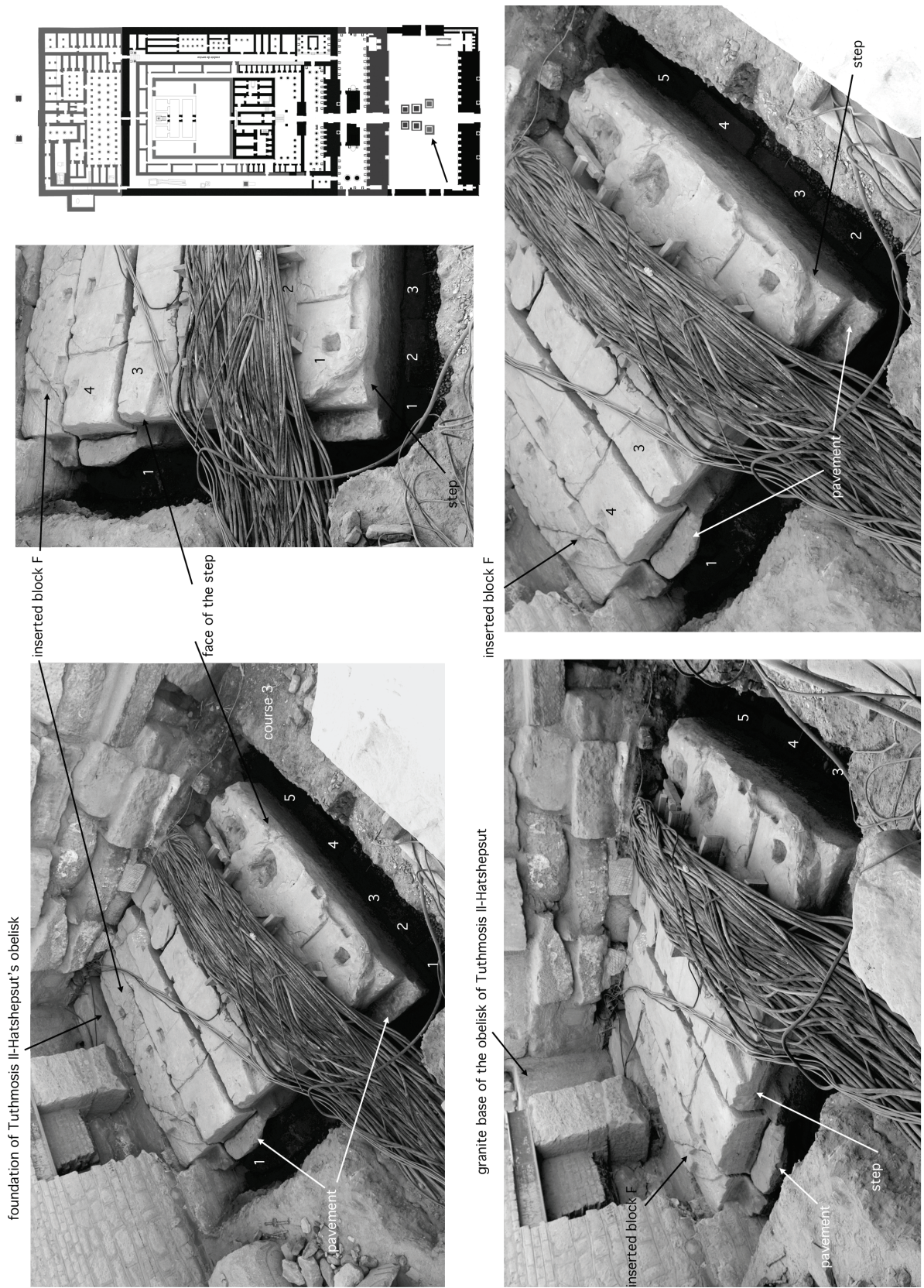


Fig. 4. Independant foundation of the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis III.

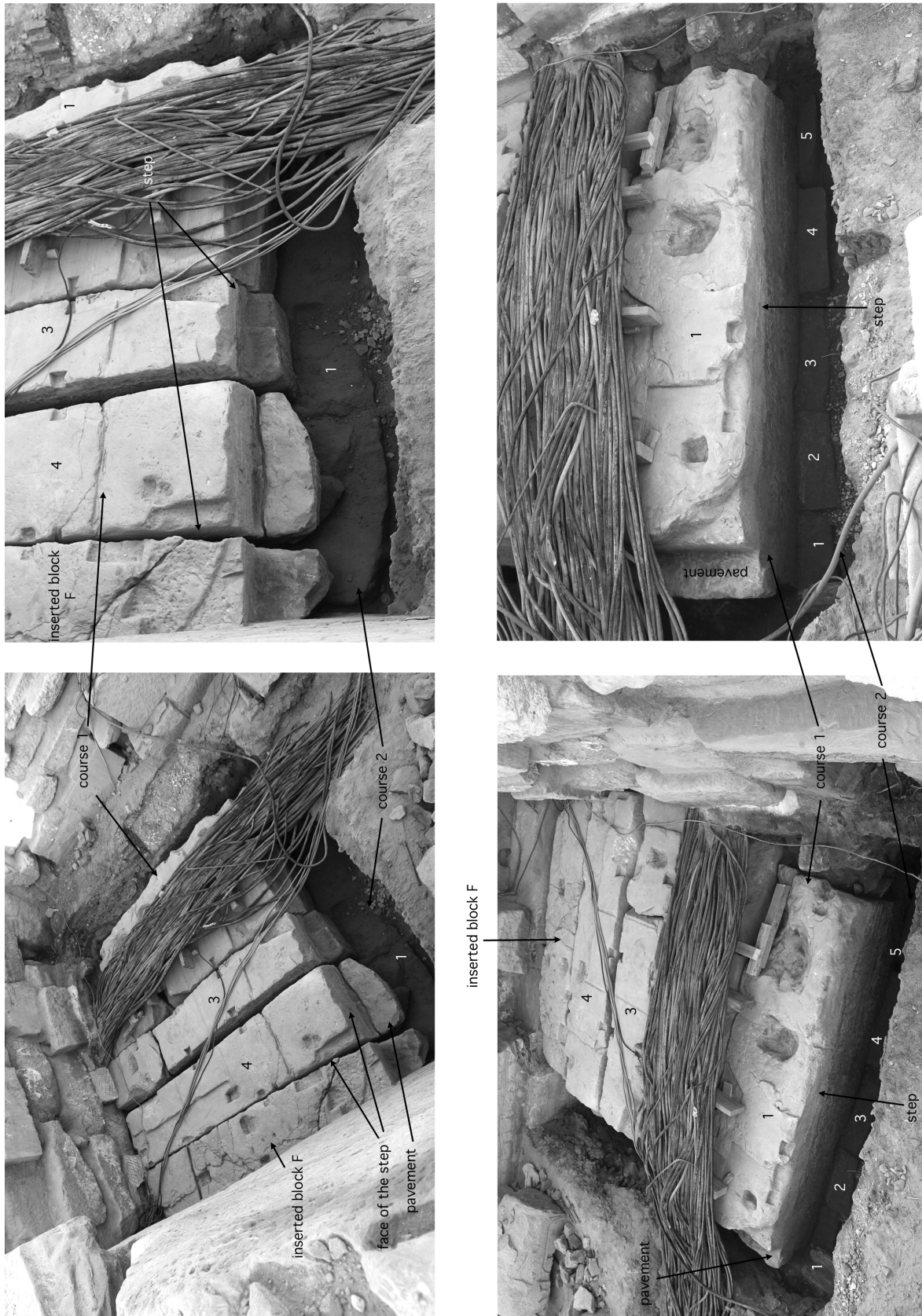


Fig. 5. Independant foundation of the northern obelisk of Tuthmosis III.

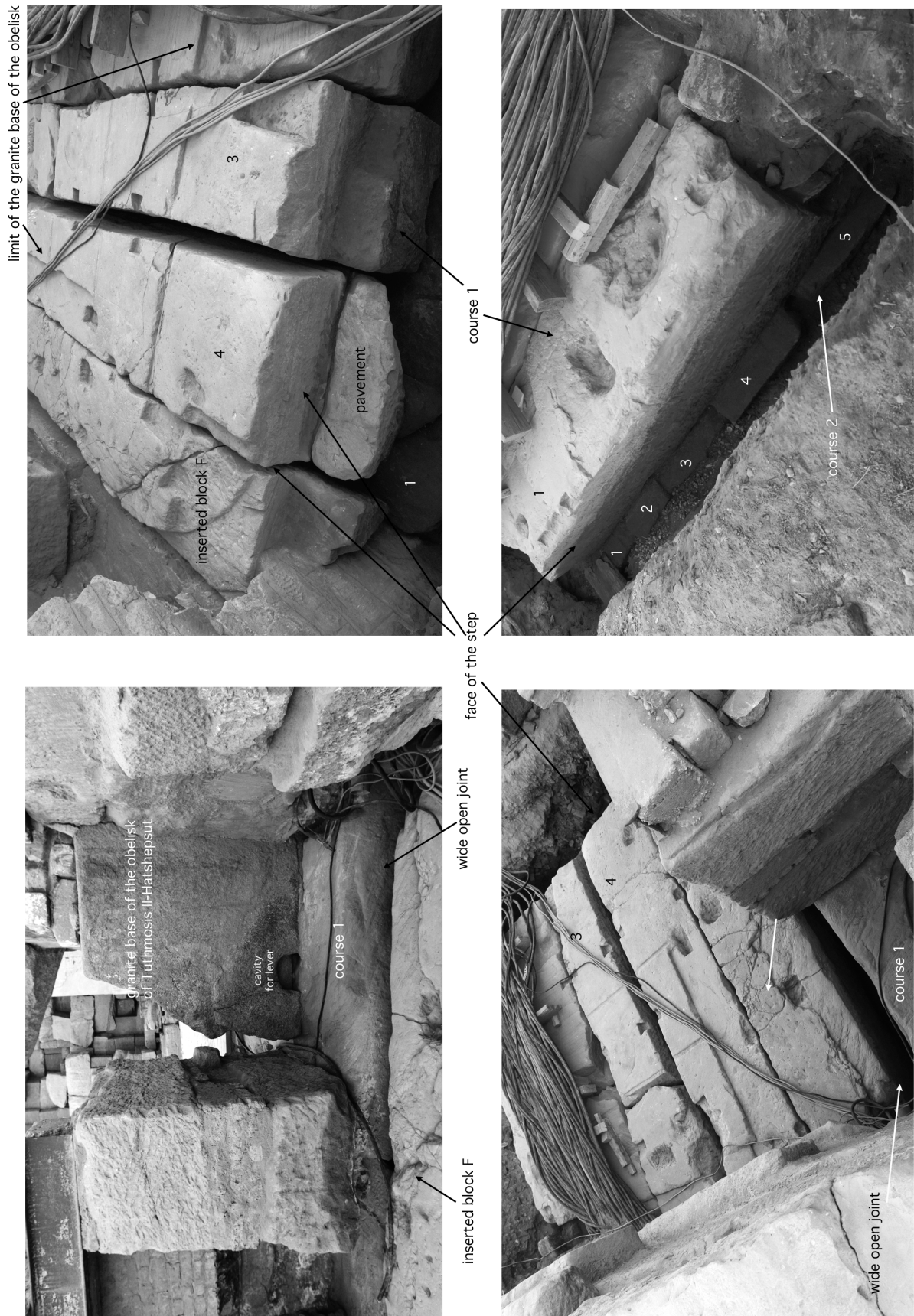


Fig. 6. Independant foundation of the northern obelisk of Tutmosis III.

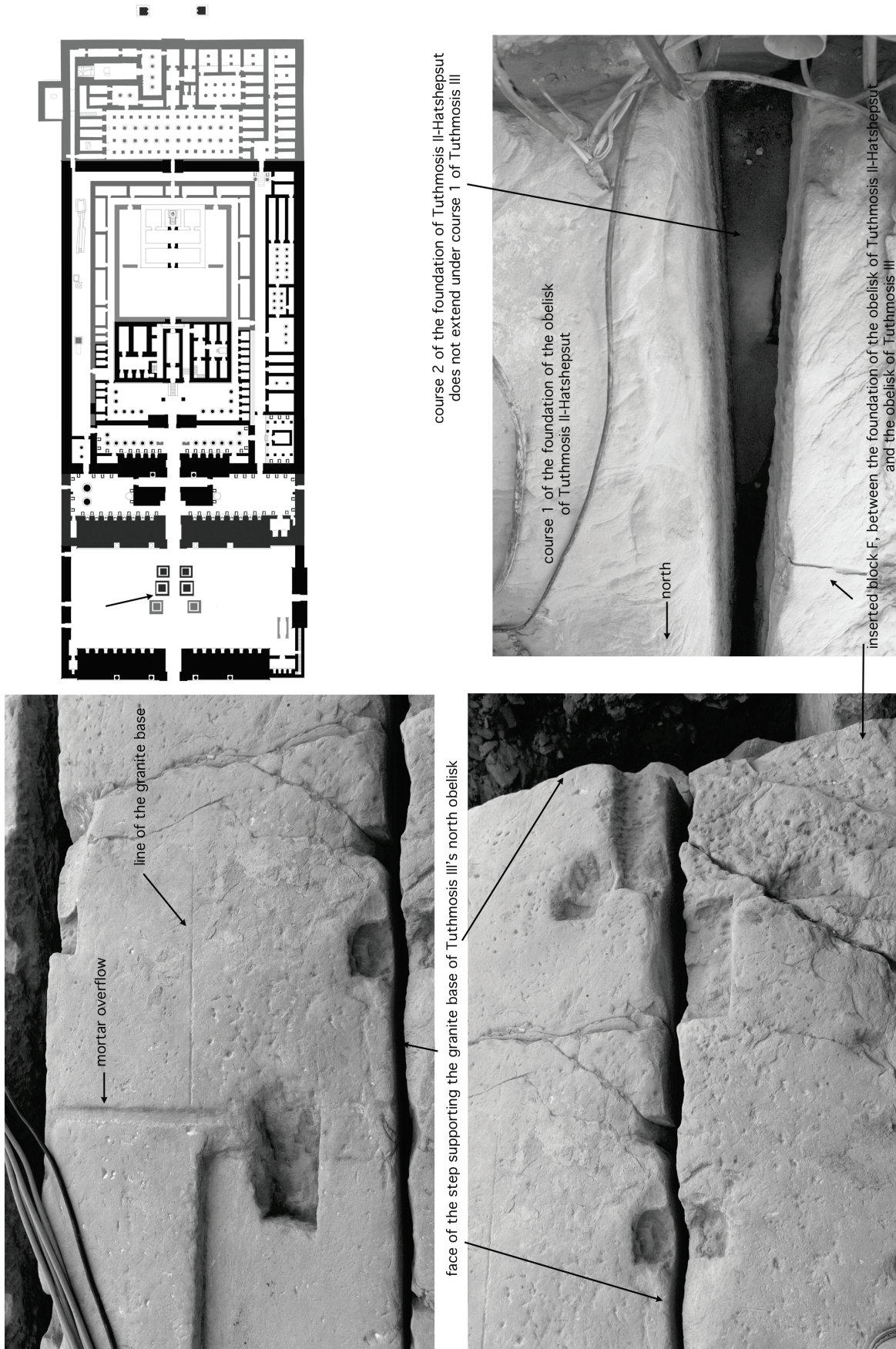


Fig. 7. Independant foundation of the northern obelisk of Tutmosis III.

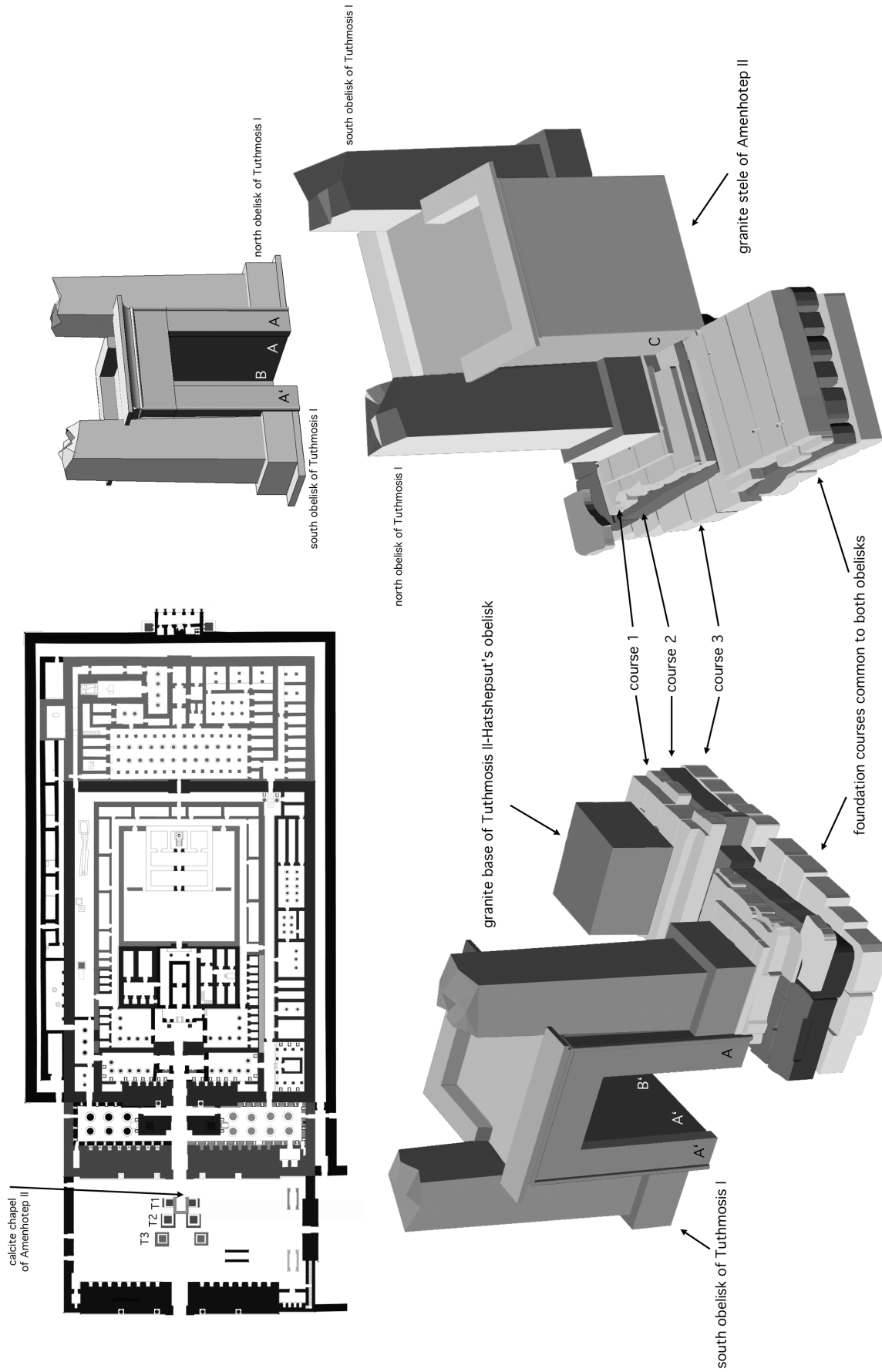


Fig. 8. Amenhotep II's chapel embedded between Tuthmosis I's obelisks.

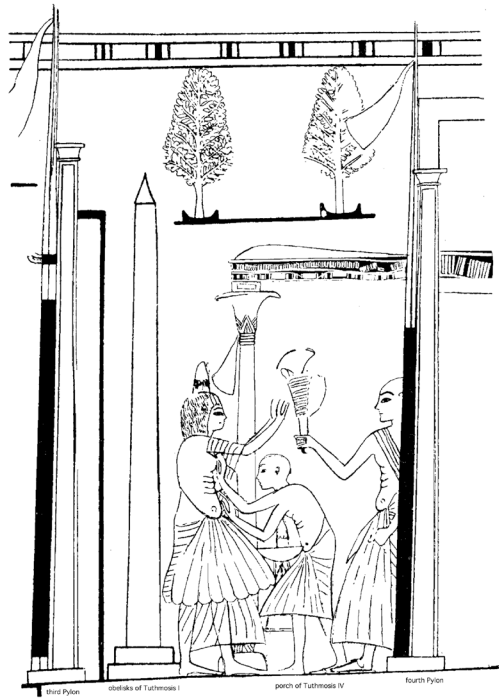


Fig. 9. Representation of the courtyard between the 3th and 4th pylons of Karnak in the tomb of Neferhotep

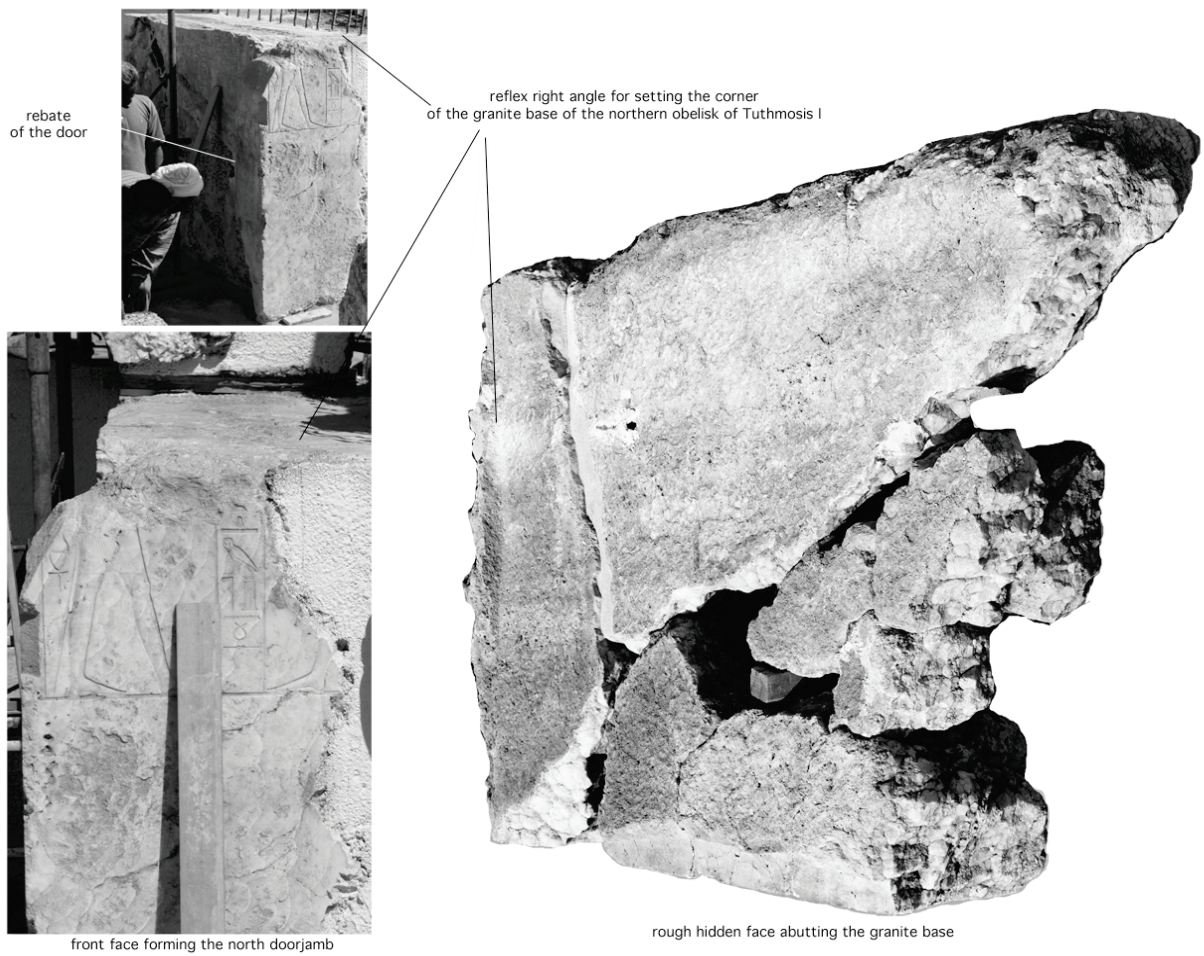


Fig. 10. The thin block A forming the course 1 of the right side of Amenhotep II's chapel.



Fig. 11. The reconstruction of Amenhotep II's chapel in the Open Air Museum of Karnak. © Cnrs-Cfeetk.

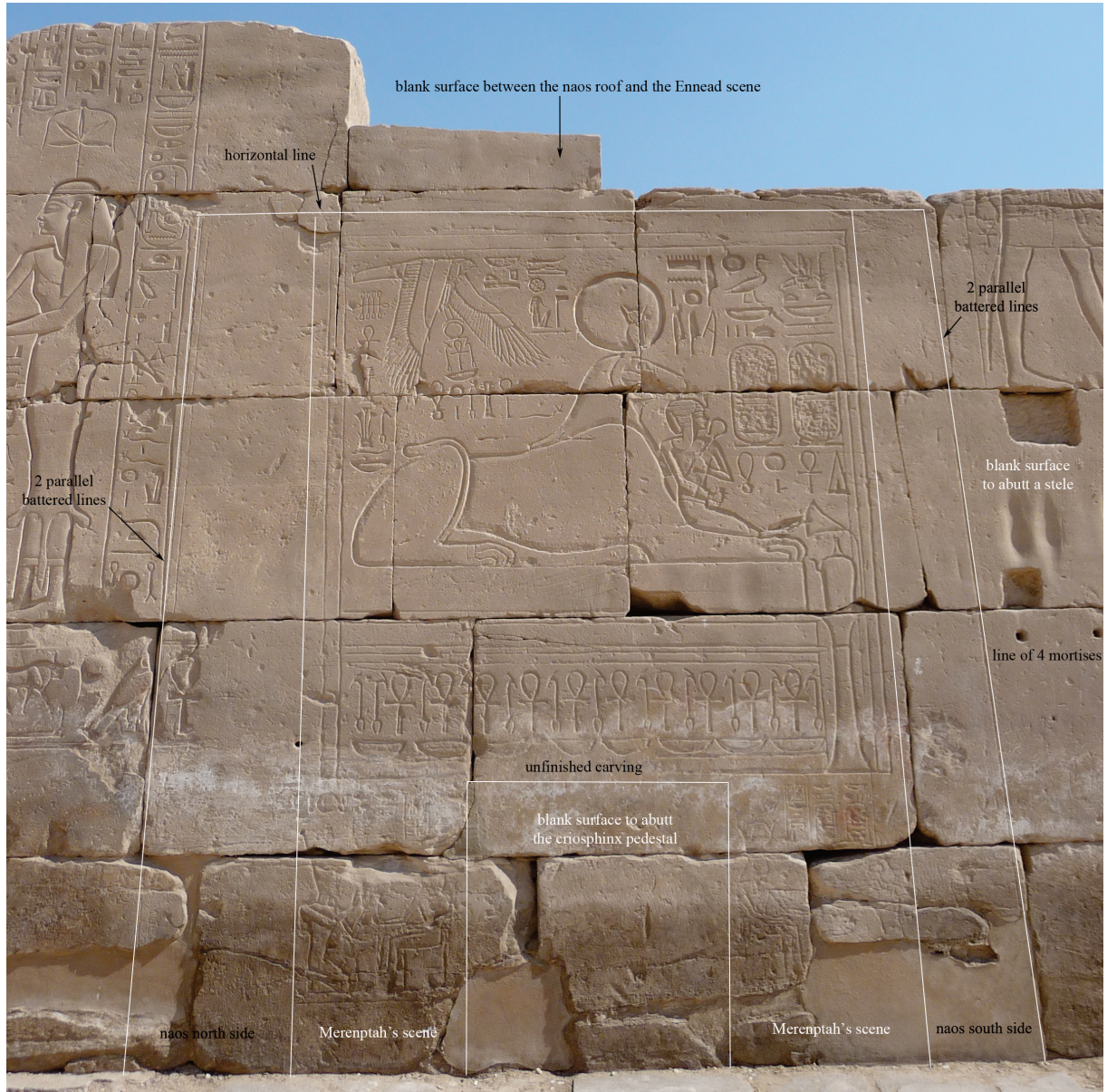


Fig. 12. Traces of a missing criosphinx and its naos against the east wall of the "cachette" courtyard.