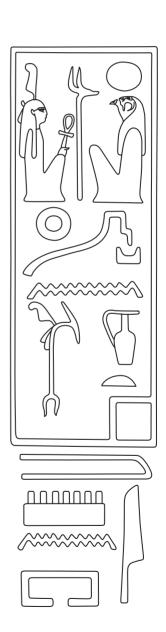
MEMNONIA

BULLETIN ÉDITÉ PAR L'ASSOCIATION POUR LA SAUVEGARDE DU RAMESSEUM







Le Bulletin *MEMNONIA* traite, en priorité, des études et recherches effectuées sur le temple de Ramsès II longtemps désigné sous l'appellation de *Memnonium*. Périodique annuel d'archéologie et d'histoire régionales, il contient également des études spécifiquement consacrées à Thèbes-Ouest, aire géographique connue sous le nom de *Memnonia* à l'époque gréco-romaine. Financé et édité par l'Association pour la Sauvegarde du Ramesseum, il est adressé gratuitement aux Membres d'honneur, aux Membres donateurs, bienfaiteurs et titulaires.

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INSIDE THE MOSQUE OF ABU EL-HAGGAG: REDISCOVERING LONG LOST PARTS OF LUXOR TEMPLE. A PRELIMINARY REPORT [Pl. XVI–XXI]

Mansour BORAIK *

"À cette époque l'obélisque et les pylônes marquaient l'extrémité septentrionale de l'édifice ; quelques architraves étaient visibles dans la mosquée d'Abou l'Haggag et dans les maisons voisines."

Georges Daressy, Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor. Le Caire 1893.

Any visitor to the court built by Ramesses II in front of the Temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor is impressed by the vision of the towering mosque that engulfs the north-eastern part of the double portico surrounding the ancient sacred space. However, rare are those who take the time to round the ancient egyptian temple to visit its medieval successor.

Since the rediscovery and excavation of Luxor Temple, the presence of the mosque has been harshly disputed and it has been at different time threatened of destruction by those who would have liked to free the "Southern Harim of Amun" of this unwelcome invader.

Being however an important worship place for the islamic community who comes to pray for the protection of the patron saint of the city, and a precious and rare testimony of islamic architecture in the *Saïd*, the monument deserved to be preserved for its own sake and is now under control and protection of the Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities.

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The author would like to thank Prof. Dr. Zahi Hawass, SCA Secretary General, Sabry Abdelaziz, Head of Egyptian Antiquities Sector, and special thank to Sultan Eid, General Director of Luxor Temple, and his staff, for the daily support they kindly offered this project. His gratefulness also goes to Dr. Christian Leblanc, Abdelgawad El-Haggagy, General Director of Islamic Antiquities Department, Abdulsatar Badry and Attyeb Gharib from Karnak Temple and the Haggagia Family.

It was however sadly and badly threatened again in July 2007, when an accidental short-circuit developed into a fire that hit the very heart of the monument. This serious incident revealed the sad condition of the mosque and caused the Supreme Council of Antiquities to undertake a major restoration project for the mosque and tomb. We immediately started to salvage the pharaonic scenes and inscriptions, which fortunately were covered by a thick layer of modern plaster. This event gave us the chance to document and study this lost part of Luxor Temple for the first time ⁽¹⁾.

THE ISLAMIC MONUMENT (cf. fig. 1)

According to Abu Ga'far El-Adfaoui (who died in 748 H. / 1347 A.D.) in his book *El Tale El Said*, the mosque with its monumental minaret and the saint's tomb was constructed by Sheikh Ahmed El-Nagem, the son of Sheikh Abu El-Haggag, in 1244 A.D. (632 *Hijra*) ⁽²⁾. Its old mud-brick minaret is on the other hand said to date to the time of fatimid minister Badr El-Gamali, who died in 1094 AD. (487 H.) ⁽³⁾

One of the famous mystics of the seventh century of the *Hijra*. Sheikh Abu El-Haggag was born in Baghdad during the reign of the Abbaside caliph Almoktafi Biamr Allah (531-555 H. / 1136-1160 A.D.). A descendant of El-Hussein Ibn Ali, the grandson of the Prophet Mohamed, he settled in Luxor and became, after a prosperous and busy life, a famed sufi master followed by many disciples.

⁽¹⁾ The architectural survey of the mosque during the conservation work was kindly ensured by the Hampikian-Ibrashy Architecture and Heritage Management Agency, Cairo, with the support of the American Research Center in Egypt through a grant from USAID. May Al-Ibrashy and Nairy Hampikian are thus responsible for all the architectural drawings published here. The epigraphic survey of the pharaonic reliefs was coordinated by Dr. Philippe Martinez, MAFTO-CNRS, PhD., lead epigrapher at the Ramesseum, kindly lent to our project by Dr Christian Leblanc. Philippe Martinez is the author of all the epigraphic drawings published in this article. This publication would thus never have been possible without their precious help and their hard work under often difficult conditions. May they all receive our heartfelt thanks in recognition.

⁽²⁾ See the arabic book of Abu Ga^c far El-Adfaoui entitled:

الطالع السعيد الجامع لأسماء الفضلا والرواه بأعلى الصعيد. طبعة مصر 1333 م ص 79.

⁽³⁾ K.A. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Vol. 2, Oxford, 1952, pp. 153-154. See also: C. Mayeur-Jaouen, «Égypte», dans H. Chambert et Cl. Guillot, *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman*, Paris 1995, pp. 61-73; C. Mayeur-Jaouen, *Pélerinages d'Égypte*, *XV*°-XX° s., Paris 2005.

The famous traveler Ibn Battûta visited the mosque during the 14th century A.D. ⁽⁴⁾. It is maybe the mosque he visited that was to be represented in some architectural plates of the *Description de l'Égypte* ⁽⁵⁾ (cf. Pl. XVI–A). It looks like, at the time, it only consisted of a small, rather square, praying hall surmounted by a single minaret, and separated from the saint's tomb. However, the existing plates make it quite clear that the minaret was then the mud-brick tower that still survives at the north-east of the structure and that could very well date to the fatimid era. But apart from this verified presence, it is very difficult to judge of what remains of the medieval structure that was still visible in 1832 to the French obelisk Expedition. The mosque was indeed finally extensively renewed during the reign of Kediv Abbas Helmi II (1892-1914 A.D). On this occasion, another minaret was constructed to the west of the tomb while the praying hall was very much enlarged and fitted with a façade decorated with faience tiles and arches. It thus seems clear that the walls that still stand today must date from this very late construction stage.

The *zâwiya* stands in the great open court of Luxor Temple, behind the eastern tower of the first pylon. It was apparently built over the remains of an early christian church ⁽⁶⁾ and the area subsequently has never been cleared to its dynastic level. The mosque thus stands at the medieval level of occupation that lies about seven meters above the rediscovered pharaonic grounds. Its main façade in fact opened to the center of the ramesside court. Due to the clearance of the sacred grounds by the *Service des Antiquités* from 1885 till 1892, the mosque was left suspended above the newly created void and thus fitted with a new façade and stairway access on its eastern side.

Some photographs dating to this period seem to show that part of the integrity of the monument was altered to free the central passage of the pylon giving access to the pharaonic court which was completely blocked up to the level of the shoulders of the seating colossi guarding the gateway (cf. Pl. XVI–B). An open gallery fronting the actual western façade of the mosque

شرف الدين ابن عبد الله - الشهير بابن بطوطة. الرحلة المرسومة بتحفة النظار في غرائب الأمصار وعجائب الأسفار. الأزهر. 130 Ross E. Dunn, The Adventures of Ibn Battuta. A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century, University of California, 2004.

[«]Je gagnai Louqsor, belle petite ville, où se trouve le tombeau du pieux et dévôt Abu El-Haggag El-Uqsuri, tombeau près duquel a été érigé une *zâwiya*», in *Voyageurs arabes*, Gallimard, Paris 1995, p. 413.

⁽⁵⁾ Volume III, plates 2 to 4.

محمد عبده الخجاجي. العارف بالله أبو الحجاج الأقصر. 1968. ص 130-130

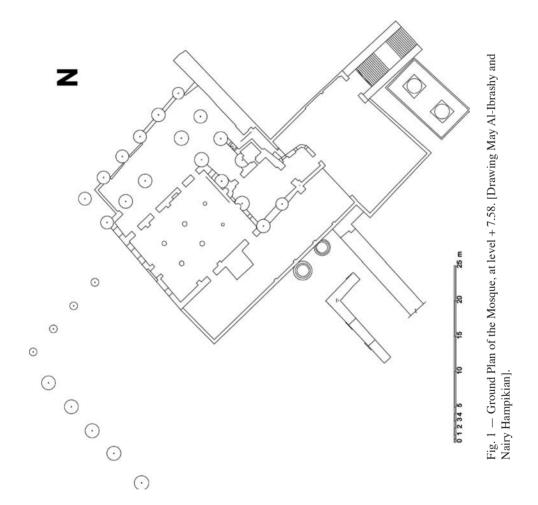
thus clearly disappeared in the process. It also seems that the southern face of the pylon was then also cleared of the debris, possibly sacrificing another aisle of the waiting hall.

As we see it, today, the mosque has thus already been highly crippled by its interaction with Luxor Temple transformed into a touristic attraction (cf. Pl. XVII). And it is thus difficult to get a clear idea of its past grandeur.

The *zâwiya* presents a somewhat classical spatial arrangement, even if its internal circulations have been also compromised by the refurbishing of the end of the XIXth century. The main access to the monument was then gained through a door situated to the north. It gave access to a long space opening to the right and south, by three doors on the praying hall. The hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of three columns that are clearly reused from roman or coptic structures, maybe straight from the church that the mosque replaced. Those columns support brick arches that in their turns receive the wooden beams of the ceiling structure. Right behind the *qiblah* wall, to the east of the praying hall lies the tomb of the saint, a square room covered by a dome.

Due to the change of access to the mosque at the end of the XIXth century, the monument was furbished with a colonnaded porch protecting the entrance to the saint's tomb while a favored and more direct access to the praying hall seems to have been opened to the south. It is certainly during this phase of work that part of the upper eastern wall of the ramesside court was dismantled, destroying parts of the war scenes decorating its outside eastern surfaces while numerous offering scenes disappeared from the inside.

What is of course striking is the overwhelming presence of architectural elements of the ancient egyptian temple court still present and visible inside the mosque. The monument fully occupies one quarter of the ramesside court and is set at its upper level, encompassing the upper part of the column shafts and the architraves while all the ceiling slabs seem to have been dismantled. Some of the architraves themselves are missing though it is clearly difficult to date the period of their disappearance. The presence of this ancient pagan remnants are of course unwelcome in the heart of a mosque. Though they form the core of the stone structure of the monument, columns and architraves were covered with multiple layers of different materials, from earth-based *muna* to modern concrete. The islamic architect however took advantage of this presence of stone in a monument mainly built out of fired bricks and wood: the two *mirhabs* or praying niches present in the praying hall and its eastern *qiblah* wall, were thus carved in the bundle capitals of two of the columns.



THE CONSERVATION PROJECT

During the conservation and documentation work we found out that the mosque and tomb were constructed out of sandstone blocks, remnants of the pharaonic building, linked by walls made of mud and burnt brick. Most of the Pharaonic Period inscribed blocks were still *in situ*, such as the columns, architraves and the walls of the court behind. Some were reused as inclusions of the walls, entrance jambs and lintels and the columns of the mosque.

During the restoration work we cleaned the upper parts of the columns and the architecture on which the mosque and tomb are built (cf. Pl. XVIII—XIX). Some rooms adjacent to the mosque, which were added recently, were destroyed to reveal and document the scenes and relief on the interior part of the eastern wall of the open court from north to south which depict Ramesses II presenting offerings to different gods. As much as it was possible, the project tried to keep the architectural unity of the islamic monument, while giving back access to and preserving the elements of the pharaonic architecture, a balance particularly difficult to keep.

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN REMAINS (cf. fig. 2)

Surrounded by a double portico of 74 papyrus-bud columns, the great ramesside court measures 57 x 51 meters ⁽⁷⁾. The mosque occupies its northeastern quarter, though the area abutting the southern face of the pylon was somewhat recently cleared from the accumulated debris. These attain the height of more than seven meters and supposedly contain the remains of a preexisting church. The debris thus serving as "foundations" for the islamic monument have been strengthened by modern mortared stone walls.

For evident reason, this specific area of reuse and construction was selected during the coptic period as it was evidently the largest area available in the court without demolishing existing structures. This is first due to the fact that the two axes of the court do not cross in its middle, the east-west access joining the two lateral gateways being clearly pushed towards the south. On the other hand the north-west quarter was already occupied by the triple shrine erected by Ramesses II with blocks reused from a chapel dating to the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmes III.

⁽⁷⁾ According to the measurements given by K. R. Weeks, *Luxor*, 2005, pp.124-125

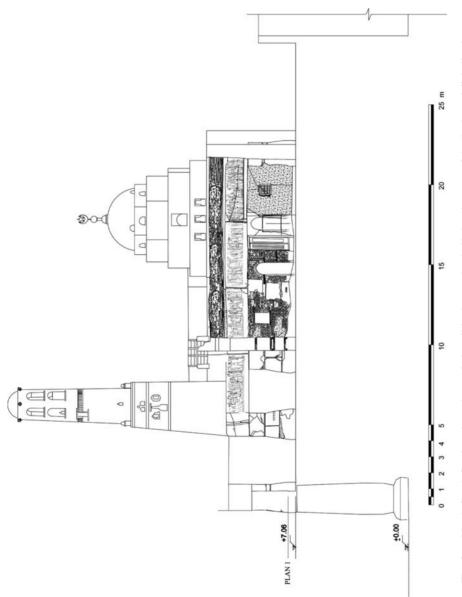


Fig. 2 — North-South Section along the *mirhab* wall in the praying hall showing part of the "enigmatic" dedication text. [Drawing May Al-Ibrashy and Nairy Hampikian].

For these reasons, the monument encompasses and "hides" an area that originally contained no less than the southern face of the eastern tower of the pylon, the north-eastern wall of the court, 24 columns and 28 architraves. Of the columns, only 18 are preserved, while the architraves have suffered an even worse fate, with only 18 survivors as well.

THE COLUMNS

Only the top third of their elevation is visible, namely the papyrus bud "capital" and the dado receiving the architraves. The "capitals" do not show any specificity if compared to those preserved elsewhere in the court. They are decorated with friezes of cartouches over *nwb*-signs, protected by pairs of *uraei*. To be more precise the *nswt-bity* name *Usimare Setepenre* surrounded by two cobras crowned by a solar disk, alternates with the *praenomen* which seems to be continuously spelled *Ra-mes-es*.

This is in contrast with the writing of the *praenomen* on the dados which reads *Ra-mes-su*, normally indicating a later date, theoretically set after the 20th year of the reign. However the mix use of both writings is known in other contexts in Thebes and it is difficult to know whether this clue can be seen as definitive in terms of dating.

The dado present alternatively, on opposite faces, the name and *praenomen* of the king. From one column to the other, this placing observes a rotation of 90° so that someone walking like today at the level of those dados is flanked alternatively with faces showing on both sides the name and then the *praenomen*. This arrangement seems to suffer only one notable exception at the north-eastern corner of the double colonnade, though it remains difficult to know whether this "irregularity" could be seen as ritually meaningful.

THE ARCHITRAVES (cf. fig. 3)

The bottom of each architrave is decorated in sunken relief with two parallel lines, which, when read along all the architraves of one row of columns, sum up the titulary of king Ramesses II and put him in connection with one favored manifestation of Amun. The two lines in fact do not differ, except for the title of the god Amun, at the end of the text. As these text do not really bring anything new to our knowledge, we decided to postpone their divulgation to the final publication of the monument. Their interest lies mainly with the way their orientation can give us priceless information concerning the sacred circulations thus materialized in the court.

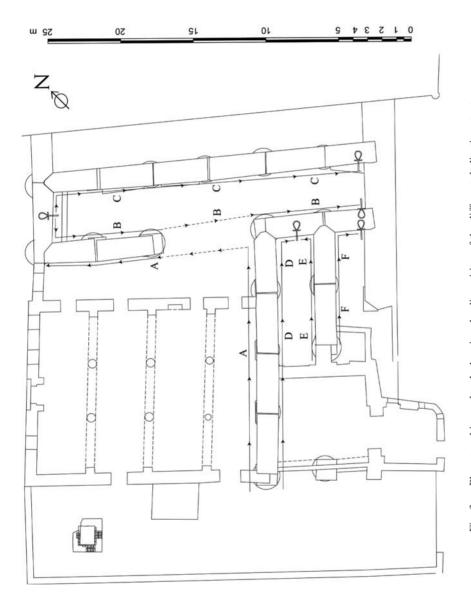
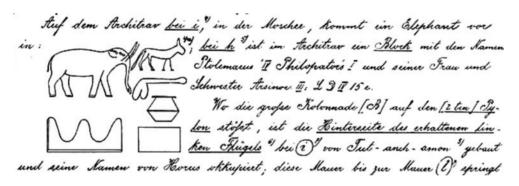


Fig. 3 — Plan at architrave level, showing the disposition of the different dedications texts. [Drawing May Al-Ibrashy and Nairy Hampikian].

The architraves supported by the columns have to be separated in four different groups. One text was running from south to north, on the outside, western, face of the portico. The texts running parallel in the central part of the portico was divided in two separate groups by intersecting architraves were parallel texts began and ended. Those groups are strictly separated according to the direction of the portico they decorate. Another last group of texts ran on the inside face of the portico, along the wall of the court.

THE WESTERN FACE

The outer western face is the second half of the already well-known so-called "Luxor cryptographic text". It is clear that this text alone, written with unusual signs showing mainly divine and kingly figures is titillating the curiosity of everybody. Its publication has been impatiently awaited since the rediscovery of those texts and could be seen as the central focus of this preliminary report. These texts covered with a deep coating of plaster and *muna* was not however entirely unknown. Its beginning is visible to all in the south-east part of the court, while its last three architrave blocks have been cleaned after the clearance of central access to the court.



Notation of the text on a rare visible portion of an architrave as seen by Richard Lepsius.

Architrave A) The so-called "cryptographic text" (cf. Pl. XX–XXI)

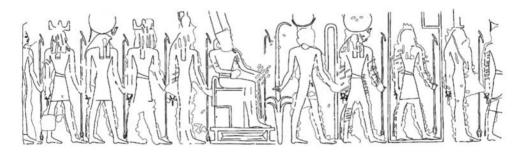
Some blocks preserved in the mosque were visible at the end of the XIXth century as the Lepsius Expedition members, for instance, were able to copy a few enigmatic signs ⁽⁸⁾. However, what had been shown already by

⁽⁸⁾ Noted in LD Text III, 78, reproduced above.

E. Drioton⁽⁹⁾, is that far from being really cryptographic or even cryptic, the text isn't enigmatic at all. It is the transcription in a highly graphic way of writing, playing on the reading of the actions or of the small attributes held by deities or kings, or rather skillful headgames, that are basically functioning along principles used in ptolemaic monumental writing such as acronymy ⁽¹⁰⁾.

It looks like an even more sacred way of expressing a ritual description, that could be described as "writing with gods". Reading such inscriptions can, it is true, remain tricky. However, in Luxor Temple, the problem is almost instantly solved as this "cryptographic" text is the graphically complex version of the dedicatory text running on the architraves of the court to the west, symmetrically. This dedicatory text is written "in clear" and using a phraseology that is rather common to this type of text, can be translated without real difficulty, when it is preserved ...

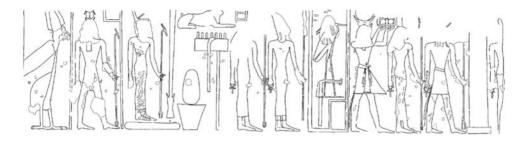
This dedicatory text has already been published and translated. Up till now, the text written "in clear" had been used to understand what was visible of the "cryptographic" text. With the rediscovery and the cleaning of the architraves entrapped in the walls of the Abu El-Haggag Mosque, the situation is in some case reversed, as some portions of the text preserved in "cryptography" were missing in the western dedicatory text, even if, unfortunately, some of the voids have not yet been filled.



m ḥwt-nt̞r (R^c-ms-sw Mry-Imn) ḥnmt nḥḥ m

⁽⁹⁾ E. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale", in ASAE 40, 1940, pp. 305-428.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Thus already precisely described by G. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor*, Paris 1893, p. 34 : «Dans l'angle du sud-est, on remarque cependant la légende royale écrite d'une manière compliquée, presque sous forme de rébus : chacun des mots faisant partie de cette légende est placé sur la tête d'un personnage divin, ou bien c'est le personnage lui-même qui exécute l'action que désigne le mot».



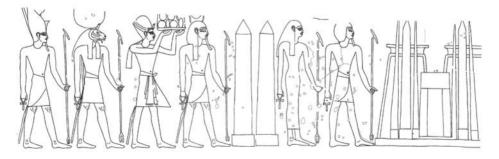
pr-Imn m-ḥft-ḥr Ipt rsyt snṭ ḥr t3 m



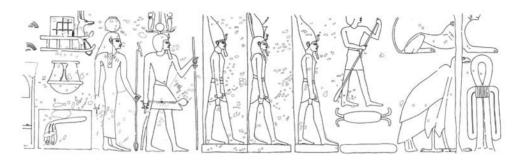
mdwt wr in Sš3t nbt kdwt hws.ty



(m k³wt.)s ḥḥ in rsy-inb.f nb ḥmw.s [...] inr n m³t ³bw



bhnt [...] thnwy n it.f Imn- R^c



Tm (phr.ty m) hntiw n nb (nh wd3 snb) m bi3t m3t km 3wy (n) n m [...]

The best available and complete translation was presented a few years ago by K. A. Kitchen (11) and the version we present here in a preliminary way is based on his text, completed whenever possible, and using, when necessary, some interesting parallels (12). We take this opportunity to republish the translation for the whole dedication text that encomprise the portions we recently rediscovered, thus giving them a more complete context. The translation of the texts recently recovered in cryptographic form is shown in bold type.

"Live the Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Maat; Him of the Two Ladies, who protects Egypt, who repels the foreign lands; the Golden Horus, Rich in Years, Great in Victories, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra, the Son of Ra, Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, given life ever and ever, beloved of Amun Ra, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding in Karnak, of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, Mistress of all the gods, and of Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep. He has made as his monument for his father, Amun Ra Sonter, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes, the constructing for him of a noble chapel in (?) namely the Temple of "Ramesses Meryamun United with Eternity" in the Domain of Amun, in front of Southern Opet, planned out upon the ground at full scale by Seshat, Lady of Building, it

⁽¹¹⁾ After the text first published by M. Abd El Razik, «The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple», in *JEA* 60, 1974, p. 142 with translations presented in *JEA* 61, 1975, pp. 125-136. See also K*RI* II, pp. 612-613.

⁽¹²⁾ For instance the passage that cites the craftmanship of Ptah finds an interesting parallel in a cryptographic text inscribed during the reign of Darius on the temple of Hibis at Khargah. Already transcribed by E. Drioton, «Recueil de cryptographie monumentale», in *ASAE* 40, 1940, pp. 305-428, and since then epigraphically published by N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el-Khargeh Oasis*. III, *The decoration*, New York 1953.

being constructed in her workmanship of a million of millions of years, being the craftmanship of Ptah who resides to the south of his wall (13), Master of the craftsmen [...] out of granite from Aswan [...] a pylon (14) [...] a pair of obelisks of his father Amun Ra Atum, it being surrounded by statues of the lord, out of quartzite, pink and black granite, the doors of its abode being of beaten copper, overlaid with asiatic gold (15), its name good and abiding like [...] Ramesses Meryamun given life".

THE NORTHERN GROUP

Architrave B)

In the first row of columns, two complete architrav blocks are missing, as well as the fourth column that supported them. One of its architraves was used as the ceiling of the tomb of Sheikh El-Maghraby, one of Abu El-Haggag's pupils. Its northern surface is inscribed as follows:



'nh Ḥr k3 nht mry M3't nbty mk kmt 'wf h3swt ḥr nwb wsr rnpwt '3 nhtw nswt-[bity] [...]

"Live the Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Maat; Him of the Two Ladies, who protects Egypt, who repels the foreign lands, the Golden Horus, Rich in Years, Great in Victories [...]".

(Two architraves missing).

⁽¹³⁾ This expression can also be found in the dedication text visible on the south face of the east tower of the pylon. See M. Abd El Razik, «The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple», in *JEA* 60, 1974, p. 145, col. 12 and *JEA* 61, 1975, pp. 126.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Though this description of a pylon was lacking in the parallel dedication text written in clear, it was already present in two unfortunately damaged dedication texts that logically adorn both towers of the pylon itself. See M. Abd El Razik, *loc. cit.*, in *JEA* 60, 1974, pp. 152-153 and *JEA* 61, 1975, p. 131.

⁽¹⁵⁾ An even more precise description of the monument can be read in a dedication text that adorns the south-east wall of the court and that even interestingly witnesses the presence of osiride statues of the king. Cf. M. Abd El-Razik, *loc. cit.*, in *JEA* 60, 1974, p. 147 and *JEA* 61, 1975, p. 128.



[...] nb t3wy (Wsr-M3^ct-R^c stp-n-R^c) s3 R^c n ht.f mry.f nb h^cw (R^c-ms-s Mry-Imn) mry Imn-R^c nswt ntrw di ^cnh

"[...] Lord of the Two Lands (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), the Son of Ra, from his loins, his beloved, the Lord of the Crowns (Ramesses Beloved of Amun) beloved of Amun, King of the Gods, given life".

Architrave C)



'nh Ḥr k3 nht mry M3't nbty mk kmt w'f h3swt ḥr nwb wsr rnpwt '3 nhwt nswtbity nb t3wy (Wsr-m3't-R' stp-n-R') ir n.f m mnw.f n it.f Imn st-htp n nb ntrw n hb.f nfr m ipt rsyt nswt-bity nb t3wy (Wsr-m3't-R' stp-n-R') s3 R' m ht.f mry. f nb h'w (R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn) mry Imn-R' nswt ntrw di 'nh

"Life the Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Maat, Him of the Two Ladies, who protects Egypt, who repels the foreign lands, the Golden Horus Rich in Years, Great in Victories, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), he made as his monument for his father Amun, a place of residence for the Lord of the Gods in his beautiful feast in the Southern Harim (16); by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), the Son of Ra, from his body, his beloved, Lord of the Crowns (Ramesses, Beloved of Amun), beloved of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods, given life".

⁽¹⁶⁾ Usual designation for Luxor Temple.

THE SOUTHERN GROUP

Architrave D)



The facing side of the 2nd row of the architraves bears a text in sunk relief that reads as follows:

[...] (R^c-ms-s Mry-Imn) ḥnmt nḥḥ m pr Imn st-sw3š n rḥywt ḥr rn wr n nṭr nfr s3 R^c (R^c-ms-s Mry Imn) mry Imn-R^c di ^cnh

"[...] (Ramesses Beloved of Amun) is United with Eternity in the Temple of Amun, a place of praise ⁽¹⁷⁾ by the commoners for the great name of the Perfect God, Son of Ra (Ramesses Beloved of Amun), beloved of Amun, given life".

Architrave E)

The southern part of this row of columns with their architraves served as foundations for the tomb of Abu El-Haggag and Sainte Tharzah (his wife) (18).



[...] (R^c-ms-s Mry-Imn) ḥnmt nḥḥ m Pr-Imn m inr ḥḍ nfr n rwḍt pḥr.ty m ^c3w ir.n n.f s3 R^c mry.f nb ḥ^cw (R^c-ms-s Mry-Imn)

"[...] (Ramesses) is united with Eternity" in the temple of Amun, surrounded by columns. He did it for him, the son of Ra, his beloved, the Lord of the Crowns (Ramesses Beloved of Amun)".

⁽¹⁷⁾ This is an interesting mention as a few other dedicatory texts present at Luxor define the court erected by Ramesses II as "a place of supplication, of hearing the petitions of God and men".

⁽¹⁸⁾ See G. Legrain, Lougsor sans les pharaons, Bruxelles-Paris 1914, pp. 47-91.

Architrave F)



The eastern face of this architrave which is used as entrance to the mosque has a sunken texts that reads as follows:

[...].sn m sk3 b3w.f di.sn i3w n ntr nfr [...] nswt-bity (Wsr-M3^ct-R^c stp-n-R^c) s3 R^c nb h^cw (R^c-ms-s Mry-Imn) di (^cnh)

"[...] they [...] while raising his manifestations, they give prayers to the Perfect God /?/?/?⁽¹⁹⁾ the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), the Son of Ra, Lord of the Crowns (Ramesses Beloved of Amun)".

THE WALL SCENES

The walls of the court were decorated with two registers running along them, from its northern entrance towards the pylon of the temple of Amenhotep III to the South.

The southern face of the eastern tower of the pylon thus shows the procession of the god Min in the lower register, while a second register is occupied by numerous offering scenes showing the king facing a divinity seating in a shrine, thus synthesizing the description of the pantheon adored in his foundation erected in front of *Ipet-Resyt*.

Theses scenes continued along the eastern wall of the court obliterated by the debris accumulated under the mosque. But luckily the offering scenes of the second register are preserved to their full height and some of them are amazingly preserved.

⁽¹⁹⁾ This part of the text shows an interesting but difficult to explain hesitation in the formulation of this somewhat simple royal titulary.

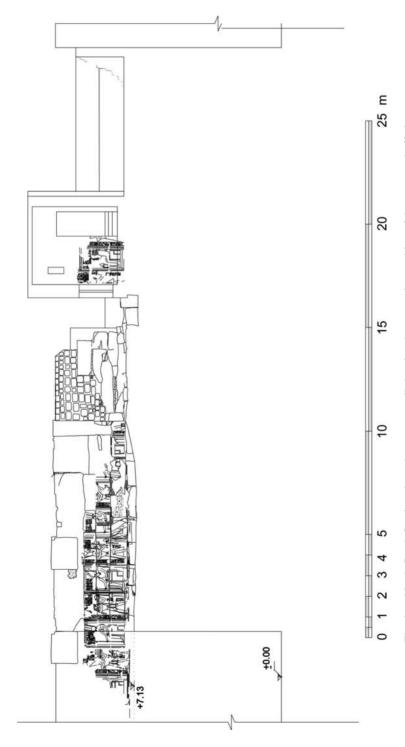
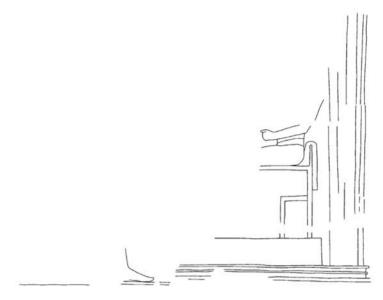


Fig. 4 — North-South Section along the eastern wall showing the respective position of the preserved offering scenes. [Drawing May Al-Ibrashy and Nairy Hampikian].

FROM NORTH TO SOUTH (cf. fig. 4)

a) The king makes an offering in front of an undefined male deity.



Scene a) – Remains of the king in front of a male deity.

b) The king offering ointment to the cow-headed goddess Shentayt.

Behind the king:

[...] t3wy nb irt ht nb hpš (Wsr-M3^ct-R^c stp-n-R^c) h^cw hr st hr nt ^cnhw mi R^c

"[the Lord of the] Two Lands, Lord of the Ritual, the Lord of Power, (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), who has appeared on the throne of the Horus of the Living like Ra".

In front of the king:

di mdt n nbt pt ir.f di ^cnh

"To give ointment to the Mistress of Sky, he does it so that he receives life".

Above the goddess:

 $\underline{d}d$ mdw in $\underline{S}nt3yt$ n s3.s (R^{c} -ms-s Mry-Imn) di.n.i n.k 3wt-ib nb(t) knt nb(t) nht nb(t)

"Words spoken by Shentayt to her son (Ramesses Beloved of Amun): I give you all joy, every strength and every power".

c) The king makes a libation of cool water in front of Osiris.

The king stands in front of Osiris in official dress and pours fresh water out of a ceremonial vase, on an offering table, set in front of a shrine where the god is shown seated, wearing the *atef*-crown and the *shendjyt*, while holding a *was*-scepter and the *'ankh*-sign. The accompanying vertical line of text reads:

- 1) [...] ntrw (?) nb hw (R^c-ms-sw Mry-Imn) hw m hk3 3wt-ib dt
- "[...]gods (?), Lord of the Crowns, (Ramesses Beloved of Amun), who has appeared as ruler of joy for eternity".
- 2) [...] ntr nfr s3 Imn nb t3wy (Wsr-M3^ct-R^c stp-n-R^c) nb h^cw (R^c-ms-sw Mry-Imn)
- "[...] the perfect god, son of Amun, Lord of the Two Lands (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), Lord of the Crowns (Ramessu, Beloved of Amun)".

Between the king and the god:

- 3) irt kbh n nb nhh ir.f di 'nh
- "Making a libation of cool water to the Lord of Eternity, he does it given life".

In front of the head of Osiris there are three vertical lines, reading:

- 4) dd mdw in Wsir di.n.i n.k nḥḥ m nswt Ķmt
- "Utterance by Osiris, I give you Eternity as King of Egypt".

d) The king offers white conic bread to Amun.

To the south, the king is shown with the double crown, burning incense before Amun upon his throne. Between them is an offering table surmounted by a lotus flower. Behind the king, a vertical line read as follows:

wnn nswt ir(w) mnw nb hps hr [...] nb nswt-bity (Wsr-M3 c t-R c stp-n-R c) [...] m pr it.f Imn n Ipt Rsyt .



Scene b) – The king offering ointment to the cow-headed goddess Shentayt.



Scene c) – The king makes a libation of cool water in front of Osiris.

"The king who makes a memorial for the Lord of Power [...], the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra) [...] in the house of his father Amun in the Southern Harim (Luxor Temple)".

In front of king's face are the remains of a text covered by plaster, showing part of a cartouche and nb dt. Between the god and the king is inscribed the line:

'k (it).f'Imn ir.f di 'nh

"[...] his [father ?] Amun, he does it given life".

Above the head of Amun, three vertical lines read:

Imn-R^c hry-ib pr ihy (m) prwy nb pt

"Amun-Ra who resides in Ihyny (?) (20), the Lord of Heaven".

e) Partly preserved scene.

The scene to the south is missing its upper and lower part, but we can see the king presenting what might be perfumed ointment for a god. Behind him the remains of a vertical text read:

[...] h'w $(R'-ms-sw\ Mry-Imn)$ [...] h'w [...]

"[Lord of the] Crowns (Ramessu Beloved of Amun) who appeared on [...]".

Between the king and the god the remains of a vertical text read:

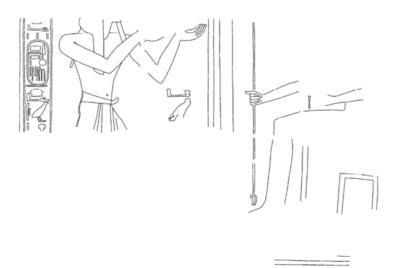
hnk m[d3t] ? [...]

"Presenting perfumed ointment [...]".

⁽²⁰⁾ The formulation of this epithet of Amun remains totally baffling. The three strokes marking the plural after *hry-ib* doesn't seem to make sense, while the word *Ihyny* seems to be a rather obscure toponym. It could be however the representation of a rare, somewhat yet unknown, local manifestation of Amun. This topic should clearly be further explored.



Scene d) – The king offers white conic bread to Amun.



Scene e) – Partly preserved scene.

f) Reused block: The king offers to the goddess Sekhmet.

To the extreme south in this part we can see another scene still visible in a block which is upside down (the drawing here published is of course rotated 90° to reveal the normal orientation of the relief). It is decorated with the lower part representing the king with his kilt in front of the goddess Sekhmet enthroned in a chapel. Between the king and the goddess a vertical text reads:

[...] n mwt.f Shmt irt.f di 'nh

"[...] to his mother Sekhmet, he does it so that he receives life".

Finally a stretch of wall is preserved, though badly, in the eastern wall of the tomb of Abu El-Haggag. It has heavily suffered from ancient hacking and from being part of a wall of the saint's grave, being covered with different layers of plaster or cement.

g) The king offers a representation of Maat to the God Ptah.

The king who was wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt and the *shendjyt*, presents a statue of the goddess Maat. The god Path seats on a throne under a canopy holding his typical complex scepter combining the *was*-, the *ankh*- and the *djed*-symbols. In front of him, a stand supports a water-jar surmounted by a lotus flower, the whole pure and cool offering being remarkably set inside the naos.

Above the king:

ntr nfr tit R^c nswt-bity nb t3wy (Wsr-M3^ct-R^c stp-n-R^c) s3 R^c nb h3w (R^c-ms-s Mry-Imn)

"The perfect god, the image of Ra, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra), the Son of Ra, the Lord of the Crowns (Ramesses Beloved of Amun)".

In front of the king:

di m3^ct n it.f Pth nb nsyt t3wy

"Offering Maat to his father Ptah, Lord of the Kingship of the Two Lands".



Scene f) – Reused block. The king offers to the goddess Sekhmet.



Scenes g) and h) – The king offers a representation of Maat to the God Ptah.

Above the god:

dd mdw in Ptḥ n s3.f mry.f nb t3wy ([...] stp-n-R^c) [...] ^cnḥ w3s nb [...] 3wt-ib nb

"Words spoken by Ptah to his beloved son, the Lord of the Two Lands, ([Weser-Maat-Ra] Setep-en-Ra), [...] all life and prosperity, [...] every joy".

h) The king makes an undefined offering to an undefined god.

Only the back of the king, wearing either the double crown or *pschent*, or simply the red crown, is preserved.

Behind the king:

[...] irt ht (Wsr-M3 ^{c}t -R c stp-n-R c) h3w m hwt-ntr n it f 1mn m 1pt-rsyt

"[the Lord] of the Ritual, (Weser-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra) who has appeared in the temple of his father Amun in Ipet-Resyt (i.e. Luxor Temple)".

CONCLUSION

When it comes to finish such an important project as the restoration of the Abu El-Haggag Mosque in Luxor Temple, one is always filled with regrets that fortunately fuel hope for further and future developments.

The first foreseeable one is a more systematic and thorough documentation survey of the whole ramesside court of Luxor Temple, this part of the monument being under the scientific responsibility of the Center of Documentation (CEDAE). I thus hope the documentation published in this preliminary report shall soon be extended and find place in a publication of a larger format, better suited for the publication of architecture and monumental inscriptions.

But my real regret lies in the fact that this restoration project took place under the stress of a damaging incident that turned it into an emergency and forbade us to plan it and turn into a more structured effort. More than sixty-years ago, when the southern face of the eastern tower of the pylon was finally freed from the rubble, part of the eastern wall of the court finally appeared, frustratingly revealing only parts of its impressive decoration. It was projected to free the rest of the wall surfaces, at least temporarily, to complete

the documentation of these reliefs. It was then noted that the technical skills of these days where making such a task possible or at least plausible (21).

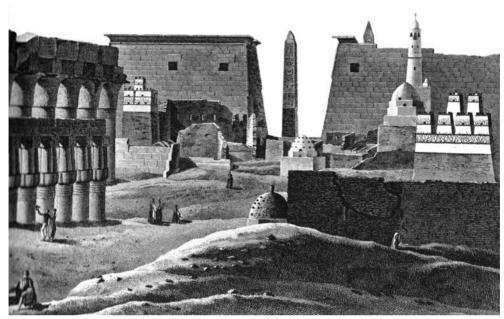
It is thus dismaying to have to note that, half a century and quite some technical progresses later, the situation remains the same. It was even more frustrating to note that those reliefs, which haven't been seen by human eyes since the beginning of the christian era, were practically at hand during almost a year.

However, it is also clear that the stability of the pylon has been a concern for years and that the fragile structure of the mudbrick northern minaret of the mosque was also at stake, when it might be the oldest surviving part of the islamic monument. Our preliminary study however shows that the eastern wall itself doesn't structurally support anything, while it seems that a trench a few feet wide could somewhat easily being freed. But a structural analysis of the platform supporting the mosque would be a simple, but relatively costly, if unescapable necessity, to be able to prepare for such an endeavour, while making sure that such work would not further harm the pylon, which is also in dire need of attention and funding.

It is thus my firm hope that the SCA and his international partners shall find the energy and will to push this project one step ahead and enable us to make steady progresses in the study of the ramesside court at Luxor Temple as well as in the preservation of the equally important Mosque of Abu El-Haggag.

⁽²¹⁾ See for example Ch. Kuentz in the introduction to his study, La face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramsès II à Louxor, CEDAE, Collection Scientifique, I, Le Caire 1971, pp. 1-2: «Le déblaiement du temple de Louxor s'est avéré long et difficile.... le texte de fondation, ainsi que les scènes du culte, commencent sur le mur Est de la cour, à la porte Est; leur mise au jour temporaire, envisagée comme très possible par les services compétents, ..., sera délicate, mais, comme elle est indispensable, elle a été décidée en principe».

planches



A.— Abu El-Haggag Mosque as it stood in Luxor Temple according to the *Description de l'Égypte*. [Drawing François-Charles Cécile, *Description de l'Égypte*, Antiquités-Planches, vol. III, Pl. 43].



B.— The Mosque, about 1923-1930. [Cliché © R. F. Lehnert and E. H. Landrock].



A.— The Abu El-Haggag Mosque seen from the first court of Luxor Temple. $[{\it Clich\'e} \ @ \ {\it Philippe} \ Martinez/CNRS].$



B.— The Abu El-Haggag Mosque. Modern access from the East. [Cliché ${@}$ Philippe Martinez/CNRS].



A.— Inside Abu El-Haggag Mosque during restoration : the *qiblah* wall. [Cliché © Mansour Boraik].



B.— Inside Abu El-Haggag Mosque during restoration : detail of the brick and wood construction apparel. [Cliché @ Mansour Boraik].



A.— Exterior of the restored Abu El-Haggag Mosque : the capitals of the ramesside portico protruding from the southern wall. [Cliché @ Philippe Martinez/CNRS].



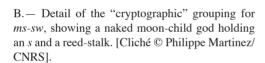
 $B.-Exterior of the restored Abu El-Haggag \, Mosque: the \, eastern \, portico \, restored \, to \, its \, past \, arrangement. \\ [Cliché © Philippe Martinez/CNRS].$



One of the most interesting part of the "cryptographic text": the northern architrave describing the Temple of Ramesses II with its pylon, obelisks and statues. [Clichés © Philippe Martinez/CNRS].



A.— End of the eastern "cryptographic" architrave : signs showing an unindentified feline, maybe a serval (*Leptailurus serval*) and an interesting elephant. [Cliché © Mansour Boraik].







C.— Detail of the cryptographic text showing the god Khnum at his potter's wheel. [Cliché © Philippe Martinez/CNRS].

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