

The Grave Goods of Tutankhamun – Expectations of a Royal Afterlife

Barbara O'Neill

In this essay I will examine five categories of grave goods found in, or close to, the burial chamber of Tutankhamun. These are:

1. The gilded wooden shrines surrounding the sarcophagus;
2. The 'Procession of the Bed-chamber' jewellery;
3. The 'Guardian' statues;
4. Their associated headdresses;
5. The magical bricks.

In the reductionist analysis of items which follows I will examine each of these elements individually, although it is important to note that all of these objects functioned together; part of 'an inseparable unity', the primary purpose of which was to ensure the means through which the king could achieve an afterlife with the gods (Grallert, 2007, p38, p.35; Snape, 2011, p.184; Manniche, 2006, p.98; Wilkinson, 1984, p.344; Hornung, 1982, p.172).

The architectonic composition of the royal tomb, its burial chamber, and associated objects of cult (including the grave goods) worked as an interconnected whole; maintaining the deceased king in a perpetually occurring ritual, and through him, the cosmos (Gundlach, 2009, pp.66- 67; Grallert, 2007, p.35, 46; Snape, 2011, p.144).

This cultic interaction of sacred space and the objects within it created a liminal state of mythological temporality, closely connected with the *sp tpy*, or 'first time' of creation, which was re-enacted daily through mortuary cult for the deceased king (Grallert, 2007,

pp.40-46; Gundlach, 2009, p.66). In the fluid nature of ancient Egyptian theology with its 'inconsistent spiritual landscape' the deceased king's rebirth and his mystical transformation was understood as occurring daily and in perpetuity (Kemp, 2007, p3; Manniche, 2006, p.98; Silverman, 1991, p.72-73; Gundlach, 2009, p.66).

The Royal Tomb

Tutankhamun's tomb has been described as 'atypical'; 'a very modest affair' in terms of its architectural simplicity, yet at the same time described as 'far from run of the mill' in terms of the vast amount of burial goods contained within it (Reeves, 1997, pp.1-2; Kawai, 2000, p.35). His small tomb was filled with a rich repertoire of royal burial items of the sort one might expect from an architecturally more complex tomb (Reeves, 1990, p.68). This apparent anomaly can be explained through consideration of the role of sacred space, with the physically small dimensions of the king's tomb perhaps an irrelevance once this location had been designated as a royal tomb (Grallert, 2007, p.119).

The 'basic nature' of the Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb at this time was a modest-sized, rock-cut 'hidden' tomb where the deceased king joined Re and Osiris on a perilous journey through the underworld at night, culminating in his rebirth at dawn with the rising sun (Snape, 2011, p.182).

At the time of Tutankhamun's death 'probably during or shortly after his Year 9', his intended tomb was unfinished and he was interred in KV 62, 'a modest, private tomb' which fulfilled the requirements of a royal burial in the magnificence of its funerary equipment and in the architectural adaptations made to this 'modest' space (Tyldesley, 2009, p.142; Snape, 2011, pp.54-55; Reeves, 1990).

'There was, and always would be, a significant difference between what happened to the king and what happened to everyone else after death' with royal expectations of the afterlife described as a 'veritable smorgasbord of possibilities' encompassing stellar, solar and Osirian roles where the king was at one with the eternal stars; united with the sun-god Ra on the solar barque as it traversed the amduat, or alongside Osiris in the

netherworld (Snape, 2011, p.117). There was no ideological conflict or confusion here, but a wide tolerance of this apparent inconsistency with no single theological theme (Kemp, 2007, p.3).

Throughout all periods of Egyptian history, the paternalistic dynamic of the son inheriting from the father permeated the underlying structure of royal and elite society, influencing the ideology of 'kingship' (Hornung, 1990, p.297). Encapsulated in the Horus and Seth mythology lies the metaphor of pharaoh as Horus, inheriting the kingship of Egypt from his deceased father Osiris, protected and sustained by his mother, Isis (Hornung, 1990, p.297). At the same time, the king was closely identified with the sun-god, Re.

The development of solar theology reached its zenith during the New Kingdom, where the nightly voyage of the sun through the netherworld was the dominant theme of the funerary programme within royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings (Hornung, 1990, p.304). The deceased king's incarnation as the sun-god ensured the repetition of the creator god's acts; cleansing contamination and restoring the world to the perfect state of the 'first time' of creation (Hornung, 1990, p.300, p.305). The living king enacted the role of a creator god on earth, and maintained the cosmos as a deceased king in the netherworld; a dual role conceptually linked through tomb and temple ritual (Hornung, 1990, pp.305-306; Gundlach, 2009, p.66).

An internalised mortuary programme predominated in Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs, with their explicit focus no longer on the tomb's external appearance (as was the case with the pyramid complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms) but on their internal structure (Snape, 2011, pp.53-54, p.182). Within this architectural space, the locus of cosmic renewal was now centered within the burial chamber of the deceased monarch (Snape, 2011, p.54; Wilkinson, 1984, pp.335-336; Robins, 2007, p.322-323).

The Gilded Burial Shrines

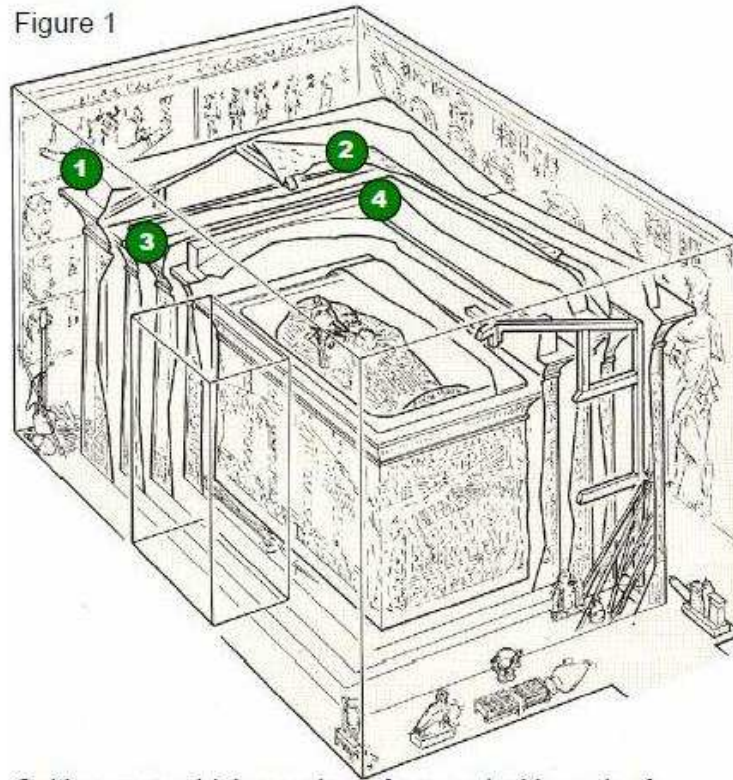
Situated immediately within his burial chamber, Tutankhamun's sarcophagus rested within a 'nest' of four cedar-wood shrines, their gilded surfaces bound together with

ebony, copper and bronze staples and seals (Reeves, 1990, p.199) The shrines may have represented areas within the royal palace and specifically, the royal bed-chamber, a cultic space replicated within temples, palaces and royal tombs where rituals related to Osiris' rebirth were enacted (Gundlach, 2009, pp.45-67; Wilkinson, 1984; Robins, 2010, pp.210-211). This connection between royal bed-chamber and ritual burial chamber, 'where the king is transformed and reborn in divine form', indicates the Osirian nature of the royal funerary programme at this time (Robins, 2007, p.330; Robins, 2010, pp.210-211; Wilkinson, 1984, p.335; Snape, 2011, p.54).

Tutankhamun's gilded shrines may also reflect other royal living spaces, 'parallel' regions where the gods were called upon to communicate with the king in cult performance, referencing aspects of cosmic renewal enacted in the burial chamber of the deceased monarch.

Figure 1: Carter 207; 237; 238; 239 (Gundlach, 2009, p.62; Wilkinson, 1984, p.336; Reeves, 1990, pp.101-104).

Figure 1



Cultic space which may be referenced with each of Tutankhamun's four gilded shrines:

- 1 The outer shrine: The Place of Judgment & Renewal;
 - 2 A ceremonial space: The Pavilion of the Cover;
 - 3 An audience room within the palace where the king communicated with the gods;
 - 4 The inner shrine: The bed-chamber of the king
- (Wilkinson, 1984; p.344-337; Gundlach, 2009, pp.47-67)

Cultic space represented in the shrines may include the 'double heb-sed canopy' where the judgment of the deceased took place; whilst the inner shrine may have represented the *t Hnkj.t*, the bedchamber of the king (Wilkinson, 1984, p.344-337). This range of architectonic areas of cult within Tutankhamun's burial chamber ensured that the magical continuation of ritual, related to the king's regeneration, was assured (Gundlach, 2009, p.62; Wilkinson, 1984, p.336; Robins, 2010, pp.210- 211).

Beyond their function as ritual spaces, the 'all-encompassing protection' afforded by the

shrines is bolstered by vignettes and spells from a range of funerary compositions, and through the presence of funerary goddesses, including Isis, Nephthys and Nut who encircle and protect the body of the deceased king (Hornung, 1982, p.171; Reeves, 1990, pp.100-104; Robins, 2010, pp.210-211).

Text and imagery from Chapter 17 of the funerary texts known as the 'Book of the Dead' are inscribed on the innermost shrine: '[a]lthough the Book of the Dead can be classified into a small number of discrete texts, their essential subject matter is the same; namely the perilous night- journey of the sun-god Re through the underworld' (Snape, 2011, p.182; Wilkinson, 1984, p.343).

In the Late Period, a ceremonial space known as an 'Osiris' bed-chamber' is depicted as a temporary shrine-like structure, 'a big gilded wooden box' situated on the roof of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera (Wilkinson, 1984, pp.335-336). Similar shrine-like structures are depicted on the roof of major temples at Edfu and Philae, representing the grave of Osiris in the ritual of the 'Hourly Watch' (Wilkinson, 1984, pp.335-336). This temporary structure or pavilion, 'composed of columns, covered with papyrus mats' is reflected in the form and structure of Tutankhamun's four gilded shrines; an analogy extended to his mummified remains enclosed in a coffin in the form of Osiris (Wilkinson, 1984, p.336; Robins, 2007; p.330).

The Dendera inscriptions refer to a 'leonine' bed inside the shrine of the bed-chamber, which symbolised the mystical space where the king was reborn (Wilkinson, 1984, p.337). Tutankhamun's body rests on just such a lion-headed couch (Wilkinson, 1984, p.337). Although the Osirian structure at Dendera is significantly later than the Eighteenth Dynasty, a shared theme of gilded shrines wherein transformations of the deceased king are enacted 'seems to be evident' from references as early as the Pyramid Texts (Wilkinson, 1984, p.342; Robins, 2010, pp.210-211).

Other rituals which connect the shrines, the bed and associated regalia are attested as taking place in the *pr nbw*, the 'house of gold', a cultic space identified in earlier (and later) mortuary structures including the tomb of Thutmose III (Wilkinson, 1994; p.344). In an ancient plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV, the *pr nbw* is indicated surrounding his coffin,

exactly as the shrines were found surrounding the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun (Wilkinson, 1984, p.344; Gundlach, 2009, p.66). The 'house of gold' is attested in the Pyramid Texts (Utterance 540) as the place in which the *wpt-r*, the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual, takes place (Wilkinson, 1984, p.344).

The 'Procession of the Bed-Chamber' Jewellery

Two boxes, found close to the gilded shrines, are labelled 'golden jewellery of the procession of the bed-chamber' designating their use in a ritual described on the docket as *Sms wDA t Hnkjt*, 'the (funerary) procession of the bed-chamber'. Figure 2: Carter 270 and 272 (Wilkinson, 1984, p.335).

These boxes may once have held other items of regalia, used in a ritual which was probably part of a complex sequence of rites performed during royal funerals (Wilkinson, 1984). One of the boxes is labelled 'golden jewelry of the procession made in the bedchamber of Nebkheprure', using the king's prenomen and indicating a context for these items. The second box was empty except for a fan and dried fruits; fans were highly iconographic referencing the *Sw.t* or shadow of the deceased king, indicating his divinity. This box bears a briefer inscription in hieratic, reading 'the (funeral) procession of the bedchamber', (Wilkinson, 1994, p.335). It is likely that the second box once contained additional cult items associated with rituals of the 'first hour' (a scene depicted on the walls of Tutankhamun's burial chamber) which marked the sun-god's descent into the *amduat*, the underworld realm of Osiris (Roehrig, 2007, p.119; Wilkinson, 1994, p.335; Robins, 2007, p.323).

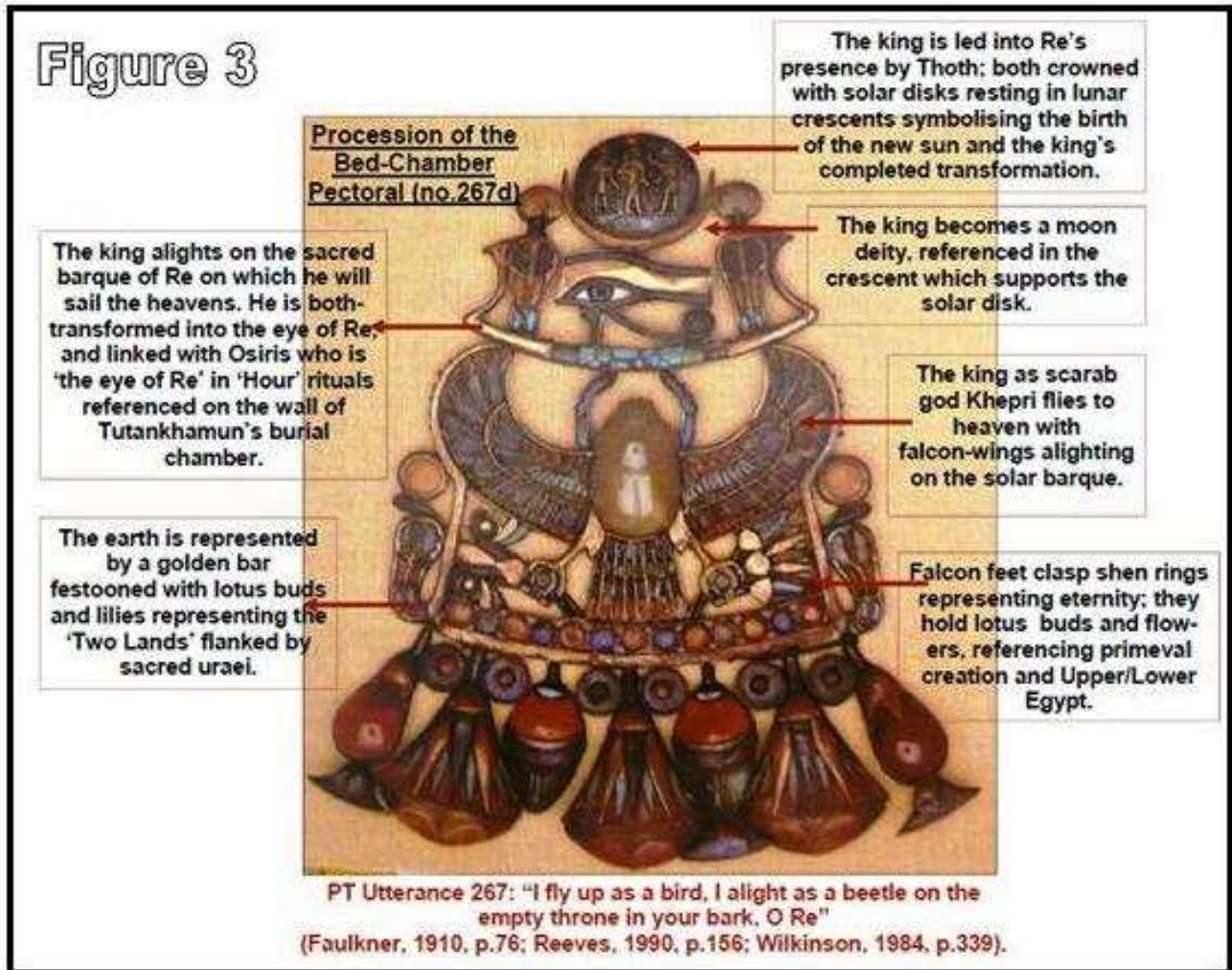
Jewellery, within the procession-ritual boxes, is entirely related to the mystical transformation of the deceased king; 'falcons, vultures and scarabs, winged and unwinged, appear on eleven pectorals and three counterpoises with clasps' (Wilkinson, 1984, p.335). All incorporate Tutankhamun's royal titulary and indicate his flight to heaven as described in the Pyramid Texts, during which the king is transformed into a 'great-breasted falcon' soaring to the skies before alighting as a beetle on the throne of Re



(Wilkinson, 1984, p.339, p.343). The image of the sacred barque of Re, the ultimate destination of the deceased king, appears on three of the larger pectorals, all of which reference different stages in the sun-god's perilous journey through the amduat to dawn (Wilkinson, 1984, p.336-p.342; Faulkner, 1969, p.174). Each of these jewellery-like items function as semiotic indicators of the sequential transformations of the king; from living ruler to divine entity, at one with the gods (Reeves, 1990, p.154; Wilkinson, 1984, p.339).

One of the pectorals (Carter 267d) beautifully illustrates many of these ontologically complex stages in Tutankhamun's transformation from deceased monarch to divine entity, Figure 3 (Wilkinson, 1984, p.339;

Figure 3



Reeves,1990, p.154). In total, the 'procession of the bed-chamber' jewellery illustrate twenty of the twenty four known transformations which occurred throughout the hours of the day and the night (Wilkinson,1984, p.342). Cryptography embedded in this jewellery, which was placed close to the king's burial shrines, suggests a strong cultic connection between the shrines and these ritually significant items (Wilkinson,1984, p.341). Painted imagery on the burial chamber walls which depicts the procession of the royal cortege and the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual (both 'first' instances of these funerary rites depicted in a royal tomb) occurs close to the gilded shrines and the boxes of 'processional' regalia suggesting an extended cultic connection between image, text and object (Roehrig, 2007, p.119; Robins,2007, p.323; Wilkinson, 1984, p.341; Hays-Schenck, 2007, p.102).

Beyond the important theological rationale underlying interconnected imagery and

objects, this mis-en-scene may also have had a propagandistic purpose, legitimising Ay's role as Tutankhamun's successor; the titular and metaphorical Horus to his Osiris (Robins, 2007p.323; Gundlach, 2009, p.66-67).

Tutankhamun had many other pieces of jewellery-like objects included amongst his grave goods, much of it positioned around his neck which was festooned with twenty amuletic pieces, all closely related to texts and spells inscribed on the gilded shrines (Kawai,2000, p.48; Wilkinson, 1984, p.343). It is probable that the shrines, the 'processional' jewellery, and associated texts and imagery from the 'Book of the Hidden Chamber' (with the first attested depiction of Isis in this context) functioned collectively, uniting the deceased Horus-king with his divine 'father' Osiris and with the sun-god with whom he would maintain the cosmos in daily cycles of renewal (Robins, 2007, pp.322-323; Gundlach, 2009, pp.59-61).

Although it is difficult to visualise the performance of ritual (particularly one which indicates a processional element) in such a confined space, it is possible that the ritual's effectiveness was just as potent if enacted symbolically through the presence of all the necessary elements positioned close to the body of the king (Wilkinson, 1984, p.344). It is also possible that the actual processional aspect of this rite was metaphorical, or if it did occur, this element of the ritual may have been performed at the king's mortuary temple (Wilkinson, 1984; p.344).

Facilitating this process of transition and renewal were other ritually charged elements of Tutankhamun's burial repertoire; his so-called 'Guardian Statues' and the tomb's magical bricks.

The Guardian Statues

In front of the entrance to the burial chamber stood two large gilded- wood statues of the king; their skin-parts blackened with resin; their regalia highlighted in gold (Reeves,1990, pp.128-129). The statues are jointed, constructed from wood with gesso and linen components; there were no stone statues in royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings 'as

these properly belonged to the funerary temples at the edge of the cultivation' (Reeves,1990; Hornung, 1982, p.170). Each statue stands 1.9m tall, significantly larger than life, figure 4 (Reeves,1990, p.128). Both bear the king's titulary inscribed on their ceremonial kilts.

The figure on the western side of the burial chamber (left side, figure 4) wears the *xAt* headdress (Carter 029: JdE-60708). The eastern statue, adorned with the *nms* headdress (Carter 022: JdE-60707) is identified as the *kA* of the deceased monarch (Reeves, 1990, p.129).

The subject of what constituted the royal *kA* is complex; '[i]t may be described as ... linking him both with the gods and with all his royal ancestors' representing the life-force of the king (Bell,1985, p.256; Robins,2007, p.326). The cult of the royal *kA* was particularly prominent during the reign of Amenhotep III and was a focus of Tutankhamun's monumental construction at Luxor Temple during the relatively brief period of his reign (Reeves, 1990, p.28; Bell,1985, p.253).



The position of these 'Guardian' statues close to the entrance to Tutankhamun's burial chamber creates 'an extraordinary atmosphere of divine presence' (Hornung, 1982, p.171). Cult figures such as these were a natural focus for religious ritual with a cohesive relationship between statue, space, text and ritual performance in 'sacral structures' of temple and tomb (Grallert, 2007, p.35; Hays-Schenck, 2007, p.102). The statues possess a complex axiology acting as guards of the royal burial chamber whilst encapsulating divine aspects of the deceased ruler (Reeves, 1990, pp.128-129; Bell, 1985). Indeed, they appear to serve multiple purposes, functioning as host to the royal *ka* whilst providing access to royal mortuary cult beyond the confines of the tomb (Reeves, 1990, pp.128-129; Bell, 1985).

While this statue-pair is often described as 'guarding' the burial chamber, and this function does appear to be an important aspect of their complex funerary role, a less obvious consideration may be that they are 'emerging from it' (Bell, 1985, p.256). It seems evident in their blackened skin, their ritualistic stance and the specific items of royal regalia featured in their composition that beyond 'simply' representing the king, each indicates a specific '*twf*', the image or cultic personification of the deceased monarch (Bell, 1985, p.256; Robins, 2007, p.333). Each statue may reference a significant stage in the afterlife transformation of the king (Bell, 1985, p.256).

Similar examples of 'guardian' statuary bearing the royal regalia of uraei, headdresses, staff and mace, were found amongst the burial assemblages of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, with still earlier examples attested from royal tombs of the Middle Kingdom (Kawai, 2000, p.40). All previous examples are significantly smaller than Tutankhamun's larger-than-life statuary. This increase in size may reflect greater focus on the cult of the royal *ka* following the paradigm of the Egyptian canon of proportion, where increased importance may be indicated through increased size (Kawai, 2000, p.44; Bell, 1985; Robins, 2007). The possibility that these statues may have functioned as receptacles for Tutankhamun's funerary papyri has proven not to be the case, following x-ray examination of the figures (Kawai, 2000, p.47, p.55; Kondo, 2005).

The conceptual duality of the deceased king and his *ka* is reflected further in Book of the

Dead vignettes painted on the western wall of the burial chamber (Robins, 2007, p.327). Within the scaled-down imagery of this tomb, two-dimensional images of the king and his *kA* depicted within these vignettes, are mirrored in the presence of the three-dimensional Guardian statues nearby; each serving as a 'determinative in the round' (Robins, 2007, p.326).

Accompanying inscriptions on the statues indicate the divinity of the king as '*nTr nfr n swb n.f jtjj n aba jm.f*'; 'a perfect god to be proud of; a sovereign to boast about' (Robins, 2007, p.326). The Guardian figures contribute to the programme of interconnected ontology within the royal tomb, signalling its primary function in conveying the king to the cosmos 'the goal and only purpose of all efforts' (Hornung, 1982, p.172; Assmann, 2001, p.187).

Crown Headdresses of the Guardian Statues

There are at least nine basic royal headdress and crown-types, with different crowns symbolising different aspects and manifestations of kingship (Goebis, 2008, p.24). Crowns, including the *xAt* and the *nms* headdresses worn by Tutankhamun's Guardian statuary 'symbolise kingship in its entirety' (Goebis, 2008, p.109).

Many of the terms used to describe the appearance and manifestation of the deceased king with a given crown, or adorned with specific items of jewellery, share terminology used in the context of the coronation; connecting the king, his crowns and specific items of royal regalia from coronation to death, at which point he is transformed from Horus, the divine son, to Osiris, the deified 'father' (Robins, 2007, p.335; Gundlach, 2009, p.66; Goebis, 2008, p.359).

xAt and *nms* headdresses have a long history in Egyptian iconography forming a related pair in Middle Kingdom object friezes and on the guardian statues found in royal contexts, figures 5 and 6 (Robins, 2007, p.337).



The western statue, representing the royal *kA*, bears Tutankhamun's prenomen in its inscription; '*kA (ny) swt n(y) Hr-Axty Wsir n(y)-swt nb tAwy Nb-xprw-RA mAa-xrw*' indicating that the deceased king has joined Osiris; their joint cultic role in the netherworld encapsulated in the lunar symbolism of its *xAt* headdress, figure 5 (Bell, 1985, p.256; Goebis, 2008, p.139). This crown also identifies the king as possessor of nocturnal radiance (Robins, 2007, p.337; Goebis, 2008, p.139, p.366). *iAxw* or 'radiance' is a 'visible' indication of divine kingship identifying this statue as the transformed *kA* of the deceased king (Goebis, 2008, p.366; Bell, 1985, p.288).

The statue to the eastern side of the burial chamber wears the *nms*- headdress referencing the king's solar rebirth and his nightly union with Osiris and the sun-god in the amduat, figure 6 (Goebis, 2008, p.30; Robins, 2007, p.335). This statue embodies the deceased monarch, fully transformed as a justified *Ax*; his *nms*-headdress symbolising the birth of the morning sun and solar aspects of kingship (Bell, 1985, p.256; Goebis, 2008, p.153, p.30). Aspects of the king's ascent to the sky as the sun-god's *xaw* or 'manifestation' is referenced in the iconography of this crown; a process emphasised

succinctly in a related utterance from the Pyramid Texts ‘for I am the representative of Re and I do not die’ (Faulkner, 1969, p.225, PT 570; Goebs, 2008, p.24, p.153).

A king could only present himself to and associate with the gods if he appeared with the correct regalia; headdresses worn by Tutankhamun’s guardian statues confirm his authority in the celestial realm (Goebs, 2008, p.366, p.139, p.25). Two important aspects of the king’s lunar and solar transformations are therefore referenced through headdresses worn by his cult-statues, positioned as they are, close to the sacred space where these mystical transformations were enacted (Hornung, 1982, p.171; Robins, 2007, p.323). Whether the figures are positioned apotropaically relative to Tutankhamun’s burial chamber, or if they should be regarded conceptually as having emerged from it, the statues (and their regalia) serve in representing the royal *kA* and the deceased king’s Osirian and solar transformations in death (Bell, 1985, p.256; Wilkinson, 1984).

The Magical Bricks

Magical bricks are attested in royal (and elite) burials from the New Kingdom (Reeves, 1990, p.21; Roth, 2002, p.121). The bricks warded off threats to the deceased from all four cardinal points of the cosmos (Silverman, 1996; p.726). Each of the bricks was conceptually linked to a particular cardinal point and associated with an amuletic object:

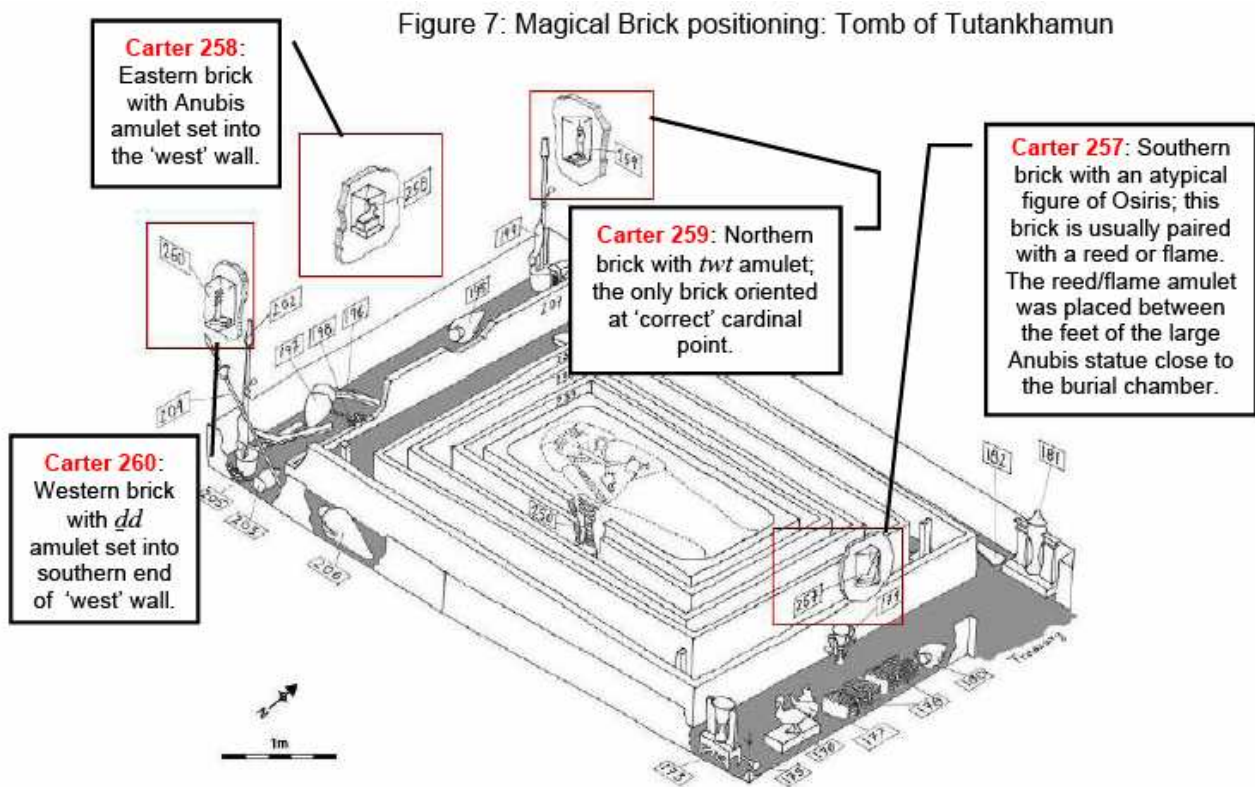
1. The northern brick with a mummified figure;
2. The southern brick with a reed or flame;
3. The western brick with an Osirian *Dd* pillar;
4. The eastern brick with an Anubis jackal

(Roth, 2002, p.122; Regen, 2010, p.268).

Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead contains detailed instructions on how the bricks should be formed and positioned within the burial chamber (Roth, 2002, pp.121-122; Regen, 2010). There is wide variation however, in how the bricks were actually formed and positioned, with variation too in the composition of amulets associated with each brick (Roth, 2002, pp.122-124; Regen, 2010, pp.268-269).

Although there are earlier examples of magical bricks attested from the tombs of

Thutmosis III, Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep II, Tutankhamun's was the only royal burial chamber where all four bricks were found in situ, sealed within their respective niches, figure 7 (Roth, 2002, p.122; Kawai, 2000, p.45; Regen, 2010; p.268).



Magical bricks belong to 'the subset of mortuary equipment with metaphorical ties to birth' (Roth, 2002, p.129). Pairs of stacked bricks are attested as a traditional child-birth support for ancient Egyptian women, while ethnographic studies suggest that their use was continued into the Coptic and early Islamic era (Roth, 2002, pp.129-130). Other implements associated with 'living' birth processes replicated within the funerary programme, include the *psS-kf* knife, which may have been used to cut the umbilical cord, and which had a mortuary function during the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual in tomb and temple (Roth, 1992, pp.113-147).

The mythology of the monarch's divine birth (depicted in Eighteenth Dynasty mortuary





temples from the reign of Hatshepsut) and that of the ritual rebirth of the king represented in the royal tomb context, is especially significant in the funerary programme of the New Kingdom where an emphasis on the cult of the divine (living) king was particularly prominent, encapsulated in important festivals including the Festival of Opet (Bell, 1985, pp.252-253). The divinity of the deceased monarch was already well-established by this juncture (Silverman, 1994, p.68-69). Use of the bricks at cardinal points within the burial chamber of the royal tomb was another means through which divinity for the deceased king could be realised (Silverman, 1994, p.69). Within this space, the bricks functioned apotropaically, magically protecting each part of the burial chamber at a time when the deceased king was particularly vulnerable during the first hours of his transitional process to the afterlife (Roth, 2002, p.124).

Magical bricks placed at, or near to, the main cardinal points of the burial chamber, referenced the mythical space inhabited by the deceased and of the cosmos over which the deceased king ruled (Gundlach, 2009, pp.45-67). Tutankhamun's magical bricks were 'clustered' together at the western-end of his burial chamber, aligned with the head-end of the sarcophagus which was directed towards the west, the mythical location of the netherworld, figure 7 (Roth, 2002, p.125).

A fifth brick, accompanied by the torch amulet, along with some burnt charcoal indicating that the torch had been lit, was found between the feet of the large Anubis statue positioned in front of Tutankhamun's burial chamber (Regen, 2010; p.270). This fifth brick is inscribed with the 'Eastern' text which is associated with Anubis (Regen, 2010, p.270).

The positioning of this 'additional' magical brick placed close to the large statue of Anubis, a god who ensured the king's safety en route to the netherworld, may have been an intentional 'deviation' from prescribed ritual with underlying theological reasons (as yet poorly understood) supporting the inclusion and positioning of this fifth brick (Regen, 2010, p.271).

Figure 8

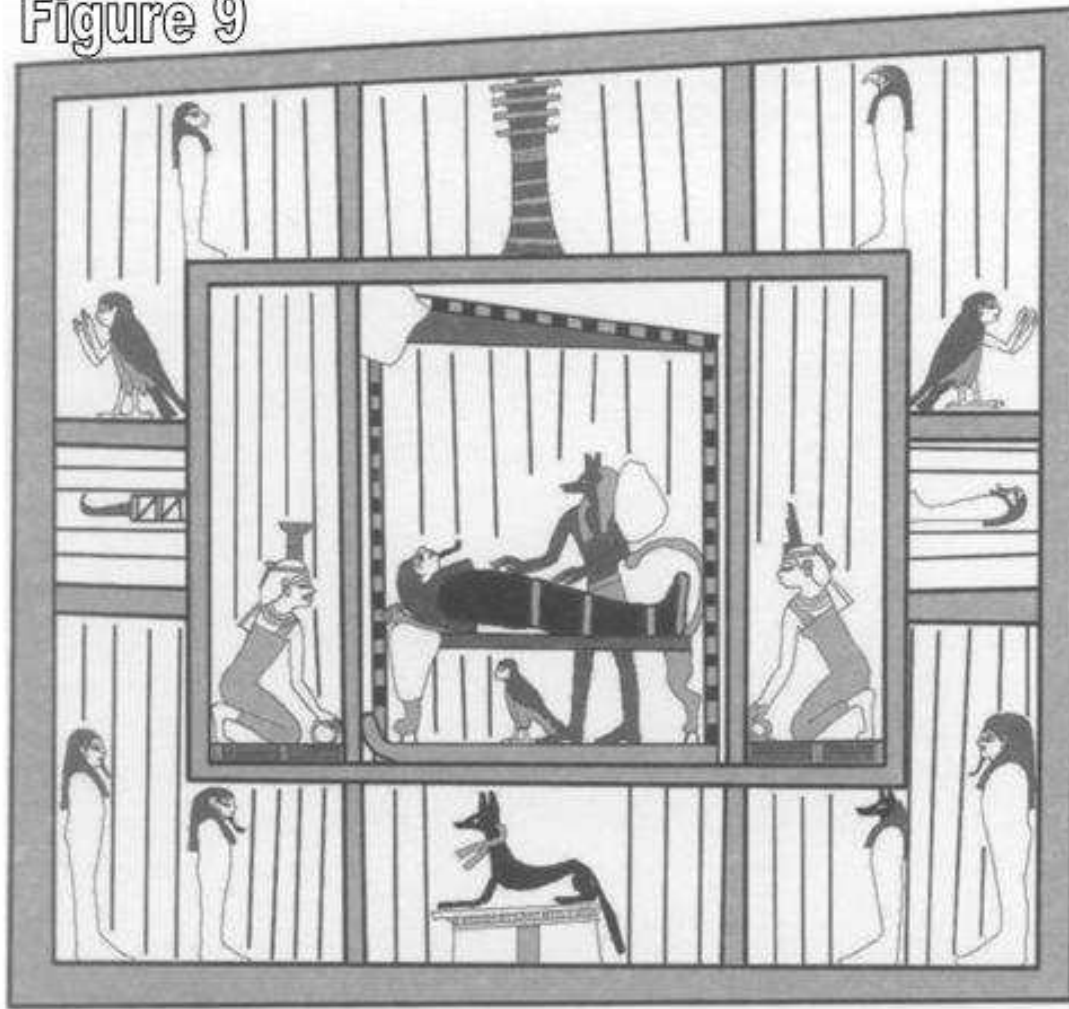
All images and information Macy-Roth, 2002, p.122	Cardinal Direction	Associated Amulet	Tutankankhamun's Tomb
 <p>North - Mummiform Image Casts down the caster-down and pushes aside the pusher-aside</p>	Northern Brick	Mummified figure	The only brick and associated amulet found in the 'correct' position in the north wall of the royal burial chamber.
 <p>South - Reed/Flame Prevents sand from choking the secret chamber</p>	Southern Brick	Reed/Flame	An 'anomalous' figure of Osiris was attached to this brick, found in the east wall.
 <p>East - Anubis Jackal Repels the anger and rage of an inimical being</p>	Eastern Brick	Incumbent Anubis	This brick and its amulet were set into the west wall.
 <p>West - Djed Pillar Keeps off the one whose steps are backwards and whose face is hidden</p>	Western Brick	Dd pillar with Osiris	The brick and its amulet were set into south wall.

The range of variation in the positioning, composition and numbers of bricks found within Tutankhamun's burial chamber was not therefore unique to this tomb, with a wide range of variation attested from other royal and elite contexts (Roth, 2002, pp.122-124; Regen, 2010). It is perhaps evident from such 'deviations', that a wide range of interpretations was tolerated within the decorum of magical brick use at this time (Roth, 2002, p.124; Regen, 2010, p.271). In a contemporaneous depiction of a vignette from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead (from the tomb of Sennefer, TT-96) associated with liturgy related to the magical bricks, the deceased is depicted in a mummified form, laid on a leonine bed attended by Anubis, Nephthys and Isis, figure 9 (Roth, 2002, pp.126-127). The central part of this vignette (below) may represent the royal bedchamber, with each of the bricks positioned at proscribed cardinal points which appear to associate these protective objects with areas of cult within temple, tomb and palace (Roth, 2002, p.127; Gundlach, 2009, p.45-67).

Sexuality has been described as 'an underlying force' in the funerary programme of non-royal tombs (Manniche, 2006, p.97). Similar ideology may be referenced in the royal tomb

through the presence of female deities, including sister-goddesses, Nephthys and Isis, at the head and foot of the royal sarcophagus, emphasising their role in the regeneration of the deceased king, figure 9 (Manniche, 2006; pp.97-98; Roth,2002, p.129).

Figure 9



Other female deities, including Meskhenet (often depicted as a personification of the bricks) along with Hathor, Nut and Tefnut are all associated with these cult objects (Manniche, 2006; pp.97-98; Roth, 2002,p.129). Hathor, Nut and Tefnut were goddesses of the Heliopolitan ennead, offering sustenance, protection, and powers of rejuvenation

to the deceased king (Manniche, 2006; pp.97-98; Roth, 2002,p.129; Troy,1982, p.3, p.17). This divine female association indicates that magical bricks encapsulated aspects of both genders; their accompanying amulets are generally considered as masculine components of the bricks (Roth, 2002, p.133).

The encoded duality of masculine and feminine components within the axiology of the magical bricks can be extended into concepts of fertility referenced in the Nile mud from which the bricks were formed, and on a wider cosmological level, into the mythic perspective of fertility and creation crucial to the regeneration of the deceased king (Roth, 2002, p.132; Robins, 2007, p.333; Manniche, 2006, p.97; Troy,1982, p.7, p.17).

Engendered ideology was extended in a royal tomb context into a wider cosmological focus, where the king himself fulfilled the role of creator gods including Nefertum, Ptah, Geb and Amen-Re (Wilkinson,1984, p.341). There was no theological fuzziness or uncertainty over the king's identification with this wide range of deities; 'the idea of many gods was held within a mental shell of ultimate singleness, whose essence was the power of the sun' (Kemp,1989, p.262; Manniche,2006, p.97, p.104; Wilkinson,1984, p.341).

Whatever the underlying reasons for 'deviations' in the placement of Tutankhamun's magical bricks, these objects and their amulets 'were clearly protective' functioning in providing ritual protection whilst referencing the king's divine birth and ensuring his magical rebirth (Roth, 2001, pp.125-127; Regen,2010, p.270).

Conclusion

The complex sequence of transformations represented within Tutankhamun's tomb are achieved through an emphatic return to pre- Amarna iconographic conventions which appear 'paramount' in royal representations at this time (Goebis, 2008, pp.368-370; Gundlach, 2007, p.67; Bell,1985, p.258; Robins, 2007, p.322).

Tutankhamun's burial shrines, the 'Procession of the Bed-Chamber' jewellery, his Guardian or *kA*-statues with their associated crowns, and the king's magical bricks all functioned as interconnected parts of a ritually charged whole. There was no canonical or figurative division between the cardinal points represented in text and imagery within

Tutankhamun's burial chamber (Robins, 2007, p.324). It may be appropriate then, to consider these three-dimensional objects placed in, or close to this sacred space, as vital elements in a cohesive programme of transition for the deceased king. Each of these five elements within the king's burial assemblage played an important, interrelated role within the charged ritual space in which Tutankhamun's passage to the netherworld was assured and enacted repeatedly, in perpetuity.

It has been hypothesised that many of the funerary objects within Tutankhamun's tomb, including his gilded wooden shrines, the sarcophagus, and even his iconographic funeral masks were all 'appropriated' (Reeves, 1997). Indeed, several objects from this tomb are described as intended for use by earlier kings (Reeves, 1997). Such appropriations however, can perhaps be regarded theologically as largely irrelevant. For following the departure of officials and priests and the ritual sealing of this tomb, the entire assemblage of burial objects, architectural elements, inscriptions, spells and imagery would have been magically activated specifically for this king. It is Tutankhamun's name that was inscribed on most of the items within his burial assemblage, ensuring that it was Tutankhamun who would be fully justified as a *nTr nfr* enabled to fulfill his divine role in maintaining the cosmos alongside Re and Osiris for eternity (Gundlach, 2009, p.53,67; Assmann, 2001, p.187).

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Images

Figure 1: Reeves, N., 1990, *'The Complete Tutankhamun'*, p.82, Thames and Hudson, London

Figure 2: Griffiths Institute, Image: Carter 270 and Carter 272 , The Processional Boxes, URL: <http://snipurl.com/26vzqvz>

Figure 3: Reeves, N., 1990, *'The Complete Tutankhamun'* p.154, image modified by B. O'Neill

Figure 4: Griffiths Institute, Image: Carter 022 and 029 Guardian Statues: URL: <http://snipurl.com/26vzqnx>

Figure 5: Lessing Image Archive: xAt headdress on Guardian Statue, URL: <http://snipurl.com/26vzpv1>

Figure 6: Ancient-Egypt.co.uk: nms headdress on Guardian Statue, URL: <http://snipurl.com/26vzqj9>

Figure 7: Reeves, N., 1990 *'The Complete Tutankhamun'*, p. 82, image modified by B. O'Neill

Figure 8: Table based on images and information from A.M. Roth and C. Roehrig, 2002, p.122 in 'Magical Bricks and the Bricks of Birth' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume 88, pp.121-139, Egypt Exploration Society, London, UK

Figure 9: A.M. Roth and C. Roehrig, 2002, p.127 in 'Magical Bricks and the Bricks of Birth' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume 88, pp.121-139, Egypt Exploration Society, London, UK
