
AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF RAMSES IX THRESHOLD AT “BAYBARS II” KHANQAH

MAGED RADY

FACULTY OF TOURISM AND HOTELS, MINIA UNIVERSITY, EGYPT

ABSTRACT

This research profoundly analyzes the reused stone from the reign of Ramses IX, the eighth pharaoh of the twentieth dynasty of the New Kingdom. Although two previous studies briefly covered the stone, this study provides a deep analytical explanation of its specifications and historical background. The significance of this stone lies in its presence as a threshold in an Islamic facility of high importance, namely the mosque of Baybars II (Jashankeer) AD 1306. The mosque is located in the archaeological area of Gamaliah (medieval Cairo), an important tourist area in Fatimid Cairo. Despite the fact that the area is high traffic for tourists and is a vital location for tourism, very little is known about the stone. That said, the researcher believes that this stone, in particular, needs to be studied in depth. Also, this research contributes to the current literature by thoroughly analyzing and examining various stone elements in terms of royal cartouches, scenes of the king's posture with different hairstyles, the deity depicted with him, and the form of the king's depiction on the stone. The researcher believes no prior research has studied those elements in the stone by scrutinizing literature works. Moreover, and most importantly, the inscriptions and reliefs on the threshold are expounded in detail. Also, this paper includes some hieroglyphic signs on the stone that were omitted in previous studies. In addition, the author highlights, elucidates, and modifies some of the engraved shapes that were not accurately recorded in previous studies. Lastly, the threshold of Ramses IX is examined from various perspectives, including the place of discovery and registration and its materials, shape, and dimensions. Each of those assessments is followed by the analysis of each dimension. Provided such an extensive study, unique attributes are found in the elements of Ramses IX threshold, and various findings are surmised.

KEYWORDS: Ramses IX, Threshold, Baybars II Al-Jashankeer, Behdetite, Bekhen-stone, Reused-blocks, Spolia, door-jamb.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The use of "Spolia"¹ was common in ancient and medieval times, not only in Egypt but also worldwide. This is because recycling was less expensive and more time-efficient than quarrying new stones. Although the use of spolia could be intentional, its usage did not bear meaning or significance whatsoever other than economic purposes (Umali & Pederson, 2008). In addition, Spolia is one of the most interesting architectural traditions known all over Egypt and throughout various periods of its history, starting from the Old Kingdom till the nineteenth century (Abdulfattah, 2017, pp. 93–96; Ali & Magdi, 2017, p. 334; V. Davies, 2015, p. 87; Flanagan, 2017, p. 26).

Reused ancient blocks in Islamic monuments were so common, especially during the medieval era, as documented by the travelers and the historians in the Mamluk and Ottoman eras like Al-Maqrizi, bin-Wasif Shah, and ibn Abi Asaba'a (1418b; 2001; n.d.). Furthermore, some European travelers and pilgrims recorded these recycled stones during the Middle Ages, from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century (Brown & Serge, 1974; Fermanel, 1975; Ghistele, 1976). Some examples are found in the "Description of Egypt," which was written by the French campaign scholars (Lancret, 2002, pp. 383–84; Scholars of the French campaign, 2002, pp. 342–46), and in some of the paintings of European artists, e.g., the paintings of Luigi Mayer (1801). Additionally, Muslim historians alluded to the reuse of these stones and their importance in the Islamic installations, particularly Al-Maqrizi, in his plans "AlKhattet" (1418a, vols. 1–4).

Many archaeologists, specialized in Islamic antiquities, referred to these ancient Egyptian stones in various Islamic monuments, like Creswell in his books "The Muslim Architecture of Egypt" volume I and II (1952, pp. 195–196, 1959) as well as Hassan Abdel-Wahab, who published a scientific study which explored the reasons for using these stones. Although Abdel-Wahab pointed out some ancient Egyptian stones and other stones which were transferred from previous Islamic facilities or seized, he did not study or illustrate their depictions and inscriptions in detail (Abdel Wahab, 1956). Moreover, Doris Abu Seif's (2014; 2004), Muhammad Ali Abdel Hafeez (2008), Michel Greenhalgh (Greenhalgh, 2009), and Radwa Zaki (2015, 2019) all of whom conducted several studies concerning the reused ancient stones on the Islamic monuments in numerous published research and books.

¹ Spolia is the Latin word for "spoils". Spolia is defined as cutting stones, decorative elements or materials extracted from older buildings and are reused in new buildings or monuments. (Art History Glossary, n.d.; Umali & Pederson, 2008).

Spolia has been studied in extant literature. There are many Islamic and ancient archeological books and research which pointed out spoiled pharaonic blocks and dealt with the "Spolia" phenomenon, e.g., (Abdulfattah, 2017; Ali & Magdi, 2017; Coomans, 2012; Gonnella, 2010; Kinney, 1997, 2001; Ockinga, Dorman, & Bryan, 2007). By the same token, ancient archaeologists also paid attention to ancient reused stones. During the beginning of the twentieth century, especially with the propagation of Egyptology and archaeological studies, George Daressy² was the first to document ancient Egyptian antiquities that were reused in Islamic monuments in the city of Cairo. He mentioned the reuse of ancient Egyptian stones in several of his publications, e.g., (1903, 1908), and specifically, Rameses IX stone in his paper *Nouvelles inscriptions antiques trouvées au Caire* (1900), in which he stated the address and the material of the threshold in Khanqah Baybars II yet attributed the stone to Ramses X³ instead of the IX (1900) (**Figure 1, Figure 2**).

Lately, Sotohy published two studies in 2011 and 2021 (2021; 2011) about reused blocks in Islamic monuments. In his latter study, he dealt with the stone of Ramses IX, but with an incomplete description of its hieroglyphs and depictions rendering it deficient from this perspective. Thus, both the hieroglyphs and the depictions require more analysis and correction of some of their results.

Lastly, there are plenty of other works that examined reused stones in Islamic monuments. For example, Lillian and Isabel studied the stones of King Sesostris I in Bab al-Tawfiq ran a comprehensive study of the pharaonic inscriptions in an Islamic installation (2005). Also, Harrell, Lazzarini, and Bruno examined the reuse of roman ornamental stones in medieval Cairo (2002), and Lorand examined "A block of Ramesses II reused as a threshold in the Wakala of Qawsun" (2013), although all those previous researches did not mention the block of interest, they dealt with other cases of reused ancient Egyptian blocks.

² Georges Émile Jules Daressy (19 March 1864 – 28 February 1938) was a French Egyptologist. In 1914, he was the Secretary General of the Antiquities Service of Egypt. He discovered different antiquities in Egypt. Daressy left an impressive number of publications, including multiple articles in the Annals of Service of antiquities or in the collections of works, and some volumes of the General Catalog of Egyptian Antiquities of Cairo Museum. He also bequeathed archives that his widow, before passing away herself in 1940, entrusted to the College de France, adding to this donation the rich library of her husband (Perdu, 2017).

³ According to Petrie and Maspero's arrangement, Ramses IX was referred to as Ramesses X (Peet, 1925, p. 37 F.n. 6), which explains why Daressy refers to the owner of this block as Ramesses X rather than IX.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction consists of two main parts; the first discusses the original owner, Ramses IX, and the second section studies his antiquities.

THE ORIGINAL OWNER RAMSES IX

Ramses IX (ruled 1126–08 BCE) is the eighth king of the Twentieth Dynasty (Raphaël, 2017, p. 65). According to Botti, the reign of Neferkarē-Ramses IX lasted nineteen years and was succeeded by Khepermarer-Ramses X (Botti, 1928, p. 51). Ramses IX ruled entire Egypt within the first four years of his reign. During his ruling, Ramses XI⁴ controlled a small area most likely encompassing "Spermeru",⁵ which Ramses IX later controlled, starting from his fifth year, and was passed on to the reign of Ramses X (Thijs, 2019, p. 7). His successor Ramses X must have been associated with him in the leadership style and political views of the kingdom before his death, as the nineteenth year of his reign appears to overlap with the first year of his successor Ramses X (E.A Wallis Budge, 1902, p. 196).

Numerous ancient papyrus documents referred to the Ramses IX era⁶. These documents informed us about many exceptional events that occurred during that period; for example, the great prosecution of tomb robbers, which was carried out by his government (E.A Wallis Budge, 1902, p. 196; Peet, 1925)⁷, and the revolution of the high priest of Amun⁸ (Peet, 1926). It

⁴ Ramses IX, X, and XI were related, and there is no evidence of a long-running feud between them. For the most part, they may have coexisted reasonably and harmoniously. It is probable that during the "War in the Northern District," Ramses X and XI fought alongside one another against a shared foe (Thijs, 2006, p. 316). For more details about the enigmatic period "wHm mswt" (the era of the Renaissance) see (Gardiner, 1941a; Peet, 1925, 1928; Thijs, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2014).

⁵ Spermeru  (Gauthier, 1928, p. 31) is located in middle Egypt, in the south of Henen-Nesut (classical Herakleopolis Magna, modern Ihnasya el-Medina) (Gardiner, 1941b, p. 29)

⁶ The Abbott papyrus, Mayer papyrus, Amherst papyrus, Turin papyrus, and several British Museum's papyri (B.M. 10052, 10053 recto, 13,14) are the most important kinds of papyrus that are related to Ramses IX era (Thijs, 2009).

⁷ We can infer from Papyri in the collections of Lord Amherst, the Museum of Liverpool, and Abbott Papyrus in the British Museum that were originally discovered in Thebes, and certainly in other parts of Egypt as well (Budge, 1902, p. 196)(Budge, 1902, p. 196). For more information about the tomb's robbery see (National Museums Liverpool, 2021; Peet, 1925; Töpfer, 2018).

⁸ The high priest, appeared to have exercised all religious and many governmental functions in Thebes, while Ramses remained in his capital (Find a Grave database and

also documented other important historical events like the war in the north, which led to the decadence of the XX Dynasty. Therefore, the reign of Ramses IX can be characterized by chaos filled with internal troubles as well as external adversities, especially from the Libyan tribes, the "Meshwesh"⁹(Museo Egizio, 2019).

In addition, Ramses IX was the last outstanding prince of the line of Ramessides. Shortly after his reign ended, the advent of theocracy and the caste struggles for political influence prepared for the enslavement of Egyptians to foreigners (Daressy, 1900, p. 130). We can attribute three sons to Ramses IX: Montuhirkhopshef, his eldest surviving son, and Nebmare, who was High Priest of Re-Atum in Heliopolis. However, neither Montuhirkhopshef nor Nebmare were destined to succeed Ramesses IX, but instead, prince Amenirkhopshef, known to us as Ramesses X, succeeded him (Kitchen, 1984, pp. 128–129). According to Cyril Aldred, Ramses IX was characterized as being: "*delicate, slightly aquiline nose, the deep lower jaw with its prominent, well-rounded chin, the plump cheeks, and the pronounced furrow at each corner of the mouth*" from his statue, which Trechman purchased in 1947¹⁰ (Aldred, 1955, p. 7).

RAMSES IX' ANTIQUITIES

Ramses IX's public works were modest. He focused primarily on the Temple of the Sun of Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, where a lintel inscribed with the names of Ramses IX and his son Nebmare, the High Priest of Ra in Heliopolis, was discovered (Dodson & Hilton, 2010, pp. 191–93; Find a Grave database and images, 2003; Kitchen, 1983, p. 360 [10]). Nevertheless, his mark can also be traced in the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, his gateway was built, and several of his statues and sphinx were kept¹¹ (Amer, 1982, 1999; Brand, 2000; Kitchen, 1983; Murnane, 2001). Also, decorations and paintings of the fortified western gate of Medinet-Habu temple, built by Ramses III, hold his cartouches (Hölscher, 1951, fig. 26-D, 1954, p. 1). Ramses IX's initial burial place, now known as KV6 (105 m long), was a brilliantly painted tomb that still maintains its hues

images, 2003). For more information about the high-priest revolution see (Peet, 1926; Thijs, 2003, 2009)

⁹ During the reigns of Ramses IX (ruled 1126–08 BCE) and Ramses X (1108–04 BCE), there are frequent references in the papyri regarding the disruptions of marauding Libyans near the Theban necropolis (Wente, Baines, & Dorman).

¹⁰ This statue is located in the National Museum Scotland (National Museums Scotland, 2017).

¹¹ Ramesses IX's gateway connects the cachet court behind the Seventh Pylon with the court between the Third and Fourth Pylons. The doorway itself, as well as a wall separating the two courts, are part of this structure (Brand, 2000, p. 218).

today (Roberson, 2009). Additionally, he built another tomb KV19 for his son Montuhirkhopshef (Find a Grave database and images, 2003; Raphaël, 2017, p. 66).

Ramses IX's antiquities have been transferred to museums all over the world, including his greywacke figure in the Scotland Museum (National Museums Scotland, 2017), his stela exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2020b)¹², a mold with his cartouche of the birth name *s3 rꜥ* displayed in Los Angeles County Museum of Arts (LACMA, 2021), and numerous papyrus fragments are presented in the British, Turin, and Liverpool Museums (Budge, 1902; Gardiner, 1941a; Thijs, 2009). Furthermore, several other important pieces from his collection can be found in the Egyptian Museum, including his offering-table discovered in Heliopolis (Kamal, 1909, pp. 78–81 no.23903; Porter & Moss, 1968, p. 3), his Stella discovered in Memphis (Amer, 1982), and his inlaid ivory paneled casket discovered in Thebes, Deir el-Bahri (Werner Forman Archive, n.d.).

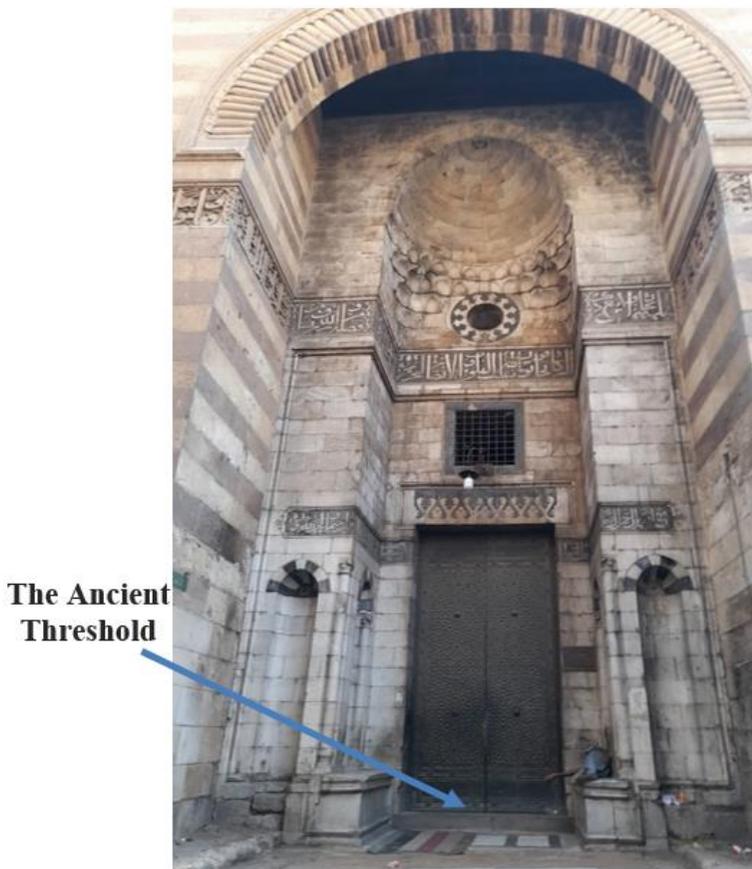
Ramses IX left his cartouches and his title on many constructions built during previous dynasties, such as the XIX and XX dynasties. For example, he carved his name on an obelisk that belonged to Ramses I and on the double altars beside the cartouches belonging to Ramses IV and VI (Raphaël, 2017, p. 66).

The mummy of Ramses IX was moved multiple times before its discovery in Deir-El-Bahari cache in 1881. It was originally taken into the cache without its original coffin and was placed in a random coffin belonging to someone else before being relocated to Boulaq in 1881 (Niwiński, 1984, p. 80; Parsons, 2011), and subsequently to an annex of Ismail Pasha' palace in Giza in 1890, then to the Egyptian Museum in 1902 (Saleh, 1987, p. 9). Finally, in April 2021, twenty-two mummified bodies, eighteen kings including Ramses IX and four queens, were carried through Cairo in a spectacular parade starting from the Egyptian Museum to a new resting place, the new "National Museum of Egyptian Civilization". The remarkable parade was in conjunction with the museum's inauguration and the opening of three halls, including the Mummies Hall (Essam & Marie, 2021; NMEC, 2021; Parisse, 2021).

¹² The Metropolitan Museum of Art also include a few items depicting Ramses IX, including two ostracas and temperas on paper (N. de G. Davies, 2020; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2020a)



Figure 1: The Threshold's Block's Display. (By the author)



**The Ancient
Threshold**

Figure 2: The Baybars II Khanqah Entrance with the Ancient Threshold (By the author)

THE THRESHOLD'S DESCRIPTION

The block is currently located at 15 El Gamaliah Street, near Bab el Nasr. It is used as a threshold in the entrance of the Baybars II¹³ Khanqah¹⁴

¹³ Al-Malik Al-Muzaffar Rukn Ad-Din Baibars Al-Jashankir Al-Mansuri also known as Abu al-Fath, became the 12th Mamluk Sultan of Mamluk Egypt in 1309–1310. He ascended to the throne for a year after temporarily deposing al-Nasir Muhammad, He built his Khanqah and was also responsible for the rebuilding of the minaret and the restoration

(Figure 1, Figure 2). The block appears to be expropriated from a bigger scene that follows the traditional Egyptian art steps and features. As shown in Figure 3, it is divided into three registers and a base. The representation of the figures on the block is in profile, which is a long ancient Egyptian artistic tradition (Daniels & Bright, 1996, p. 120; Saleh, 1987, pp. 42–3)

This block was rotated 90 degrees clockwise from its original state of display. It is carved in hollow relief and is divided into four parts, a base, and three registers. When the block is viewed vertically instead of its horizontal position (current state), the inscription on the far right of the stone would be shown at the bottom, whereas the figure on the far left should be at the very top (For illustration, please refer to the rotated picture of the block in the figures below, 3 and 4).

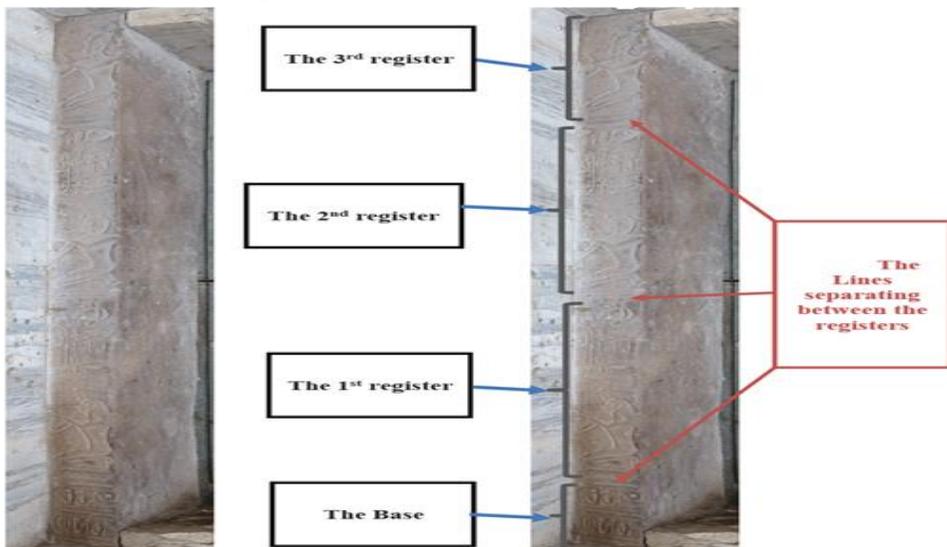


Figure 3: Vertical View of the Threshold's Block (By the author)

Figure 4: The Description of the Threshold's Block (By the author)

of the nearby mosque of Al-Hakim (DBpedia, n.d.; Fernandes, 1987, p. 38; Kalash, 2013, pp. 20–1; Salah, 2009, p. 102; Warner, 2005, p. 93; Williams, 2008, p. 206).

¹⁴ Khanqah (caravansary, guest house, rebat) is a Persian word that refers to a homeless abode for Sufis and Muslims. The construction of the Baybars II' khanqah began in 1306 while Baybars was still a prince. The khanqah's plan is cruciform in structure, with a courtyard surrounded by four chambers each representing the four Islamic school of thoughts. The monument was built in two stages, with the mausoleum of the complex being constructed afterward. It has three levels of lodging for the khanqah's Sufi students. The secondary structures, such as the kitchens, have mostly vanished, but the complex's surviving endowment deed offers comprehensive information on how the khanqah operated (Abdel Wahab, 1956, p. 250; Çelebi, 2016, p. 290; Fernandes, 1987, pp. 22, 38; Warner, 2005, p. 93).

The three registers have a striking resemblance. Each register is divided into two sections: the hieroglyphic inscriptions at the top and the pharaoh's figure at the bottom.

The upper register (the third), as well as the final lower part (the base), are curtailed, as the upper and lower halves of their hieroglyphic inscriptions are missing, while the second and third registers are complete (**figures 3 and 4**).

PLACE OF ORIGIN

Both Memphis and Heliopolis were used as quarries for construction in Medieval Cairo (Lorand, 2013, p. 272). Therefore, this block could have been transferred from either location since some antiquities belonging to Ramses IX were found in both sites, e.g., an incomplete stela from Memphis (Amer, 1982, pp. 11–12)¹⁵. While several objects were found in Heliopolis like the offering-table (Kamal, 1909, pp. 79–80)¹⁶, this does not provide certainty that Heliopolis was the location from which the stone's materials were extracted. In fact, there are also some archeological and documentary traces of the presence of significant and distinguished temples in both cities, Heliopolis and Memphis, specifically in the Ramesside's era, presenting the possibility that the stone's materials could have been quarried from either location. However, the belief that this block is originally from Heliopolis is more convincing, especially that the names of Ramses IX and his son Nebmara (the High priest of Ra) are on the lintel of the east gateway in the Heliopolis temple (Dodson & Hilton, 2010, pp. 191–3; Kitchen, 1983, p. 36010, 1984, p. 129) providing obvious evidence that the gateway was, in fact, founded by Ramses IX.

MATERIAL, FORM, AND MEASUREMENTS

MATERIAL

While Daressy stated that this stone is made from "*grès compacte*" which means "*compact sandstone*" (1900, p. 131), Sotohy mentioned that this block's material is "*Pharaonic red granite*" (2021, p. 26). The researcher agrees with Daressy's opinion, especially after examining and photographing the stone and studying much research concerning the building of ornamental stones in ancient Egypt and Egyptian quarries. The researcher deduces that the stone used is the greywacke, a kind of sandstone, which is characterized by hardness and is referred to as

¹⁵ Stored in Egyptian Museum on the ground floor: JdE.45567.

¹⁶ Comes from Heliopolis. Transported to Alexandria in antiquity, it was discovered by M. Grebaut (Kamal, 1909, pp. 79–80).

"*Bekhen*" *bhn*¹⁷. The examined stone is one of the most famous ornamental stones exploited in Egypt (Borghi et al., 2015, p.11.). It was mined in Wadi Hammamat (Othman, 2017, p. 52)¹⁸, the wadi depicted on the Turin Papyrus¹⁹. In the verso texts of the Turin Papyrus, four well-known Deir El-Medina residents are identified, three of whom worked during the reign of Ramses IX (Harrell & Brown, 1992, p. 92), this could be proof of Ramses IX's usage of the Wadi Hammamat quarry to obtain stones for his artifacts. It is a very rigid serpentine rock (Varille, 1934) with exceptional beauty and symbolic significance. Its hardness and color can be compared to iron, and it was frequently confused with basalts. The widespread use of dark stones (Black Granites and Bekhen Stone) is associated with the traditional meanings of fertility and resurrection.(Borghi et al., 2015; Harrell & Storemyr, 2009)²⁰.

FORM AND MEASUREMENTS

The massive Greywacke *bhn* (approximately 229 cm long, 18 cm high, and 46 cm depth) is a partial architrave commemorating Ramses IX. Both ends were fractured to fit the Mamluk doorframe but based on the lettering that survived; the upper surface on the sides appears to have been less impacted than the center of the block.

Since the height and the length of the block were truncated, some parts of the entire hieroglyphs were lost. Approximately 1/4 to 1/3 of their original height and 3/4 of their original length were cut. The current length (229 cm) consists of four parts: the third register is 48 cm, the second register is 75 cm, the first register is 80 cm, and the base is 26 cm. The height (or width in its original state) is 18 cm with some millimeters reduced in the middle area due to wearing out as a result of excessive worshipers' stepping, particularly in this center of the stone.

¹⁷ Greywacke was known as the *bekhen* (*bhn*) stone from at least the Middle Kingdom onwards, with the topographic term "mountain of *bekhen*" emerging by the New Kingdom (Othman, 2017).

¹⁸ Located in the central sector of the Eastern Desert, along the Quift–Quseir road from the Nile Valley to the Red Sea (Harrell & Brown, 1992). In this site, impressive quarrying activity is documented by almost 600 rock inscriptions from the Predynastic to the late Roman period (approximately 4000 B.C. until 300 A.D (Borghi et al., 2015, p. 12).

¹⁹ Manufactured during the reign of Ramesses IV (1151–1145 B.C.), found near Thebes in the early nineteenth century and is now exhibited in the Egyptian Museum of Turin. It was ascribed to the Wadi Hammamat area and represents the world's oldest surviving geological map (Harrell & Brown, 1992).

²⁰ For more information about the *bekhen*-stone see: (Gardiner, 1938; Harrell, 2013; Klemm & Klemm, 2001; Othman, 2021; Siddall, 2013).

The hieroglyphs are nicely carved and used to be text quadrants around 7 cm in height (roughly the size of an ancient Egyptian palm *šsp* of 7.5 cm (Clagett, 1999, p. 436). By adding the estimated broken part block, its height would most likely be approximately 3 m high, resembling the original form of the block. Additionally, the inscription in sunken relief helped reduce the corrosion. The reused block is severely eroded on its upper surface and on the upper edges of the threshold (**Figure 1**).

THE BLOCK'S ORIGINAL USAGE

It is essential to understand that the original use of this stone block. The scenes and inscriptions in different parts of the temple are associated with the function of the place in which blocks were inscribed, and therefore if the original location from, which this stone block was extracted, is determined, it would be possible to visualize the figures and texts that complement the block and thus re-imagine their complete original form.

The original place from which this piece was removed is most likely the jamb²¹ of a temple's gate, built to commemorate Ramses IX (**Figure 5**). Daressy noted: "*est constitué par un ancien montant de porte*" (1900, p. 130), which is translated: "consists of an old door jamb". To ensure the validity of his statement, the researcher conducted an examination of temples built during the Ramses IX era and concluded that the most relevant door jamb was the Ramses IX gate in Karnak temple, as shown in figures 6, 7, and 8. Figures 6 and 8 demonstrate the left and right jamb of the outdoor passage of the Ramses IX gate, in which the jamb is divided into three registers and a base (consistent with the examined block). The base consists of the king's cartouches, while the three upper registers consist of offering scenes made by the king to different deities. The three registers in each jamb are almost identical to our threshold block except for some minor differences. It is most noticeable that in Karnak's jamb, the king was standing, whereas in the research block, he is kneeling while making an offer. However, in both jambs, the sun-disc with the two Ankh hanged on the two uraei is situated upon the king's head followed by the Behdetite hieroglyphs and finally concluded by the king's two cartouches representing his birth and coronation names.

The temple gates served three purposes: the first was used for defending purposes, the second was to hold trials, and the third was to serve as a public chapel (M. I. S. Abdul Basit, 2018, p. 10). The gate is called "the

²¹ It is called *bnš*  in ancient Egypt (Faulkner et al., 2017, p. 102). 
bnšw the plural (E. A. WALLIS Budge, KNT, & F.S.A, 1920, p. 219).

shadow of the deity", and this name comes from the fact that the deity resides in the temple (M. I. S. Abdul Basit, 2018, p. 2)

It seemed natural to invoke the deities on the temple gates because they supposedly reside within the temple; therefore, the gates are a place where prayers are heard. At the same time, the ordinary people were not allowed to enter the temple, so the gates were the closest they could get and pray to the deities. ²² (Ahmed, 2009, p. 249; Ausec, 2010, p. 64).

Outdoor passage exterior scenes, right and left Jambs.

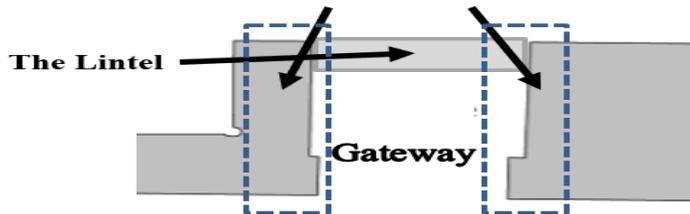


Figure 5: Door's parts (by the author)

Table 1: Comparative table between the Ramses IX Karnak' gate and the research threshold

No	Comparing points	Cairo	Karnak	No	Comparing points	Cairo	Karnak
1	The king standing	-	X	10	rams <i>mrr imn h^c w3st</i> cartouche	?	X
2	The king kneeling	X	-	11	The <i>nb t3wi</i> sign	X	X
3	The king offering	X	X	12	The <i>nb h^cw</i> Cartouche	X	X
4	The sun disk with two uraei	X	X	13	The <i>hprš</i> headdress	X	?
5	The <i>nh</i> symbol hung on the uraei	X	X	14	The <i>nms</i> headdress	X	X
6	The behdetite hieroglyphs	X	X	15	The <i>h3t (3fnt)</i> headdress	?	X
7	The <i>ntr 3 pt</i> hieroglyphs	X	-	16	A base and three registers	X	X
8	The <i>w3s</i> and <i>nh</i> additional surrounding signs	X	-	17	The sun disc with the two uraei and the attached <i>nh</i>	X	X
9	The <i>nb h^cw</i> sign	X	X	18	The cartouche on the base	X	X

²² The reliefs of the deity "who hears requests" were placed in the door jambs, indicating that this location was frequented by community members (Teeter, 1997, pp. 26, f.n. 76).

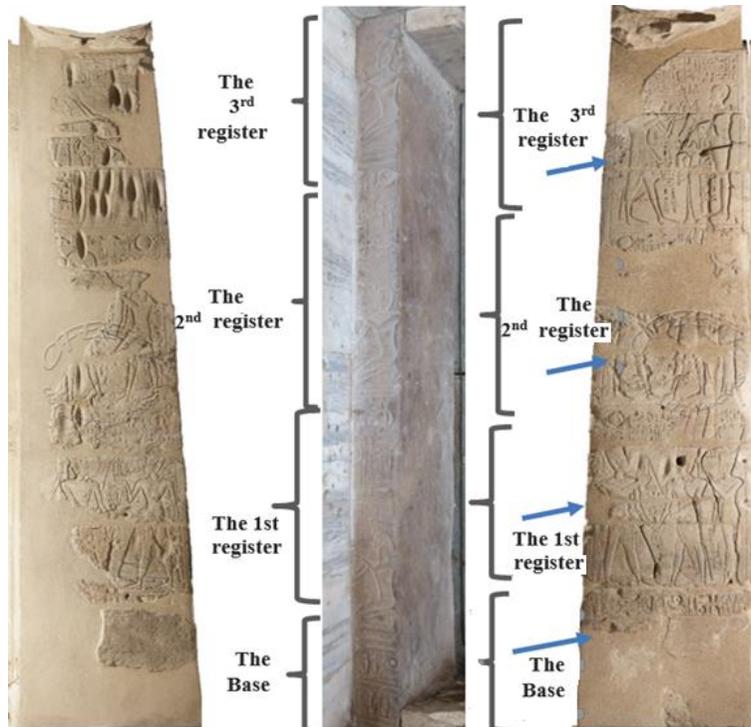


Figure 6: Ramses IX Karnak Gate, East jamb (Maucor & Saubestre, 2016a, fig. 183229)

Figure 7: Ramses IX Threshold (by the author)

Figure 8: Ramses IX Karnak Gate, West jamb (Maucor & Saubestre, 2016b, fig. 183449)

COMMENT

Table1 provides a comparative analysis to juxtapose the block used as a threshold in Cairo with Ramses IX's door jambs in his gateway in Karnak. The two blocks are identical except for three minor differences: first, the king is shown in a standing posture on Karnak's jambs while he appears sitting on his knees on the other. Second, the god Horus-Behdetite title was written in a shortened version on Karnak's jamb as *bḥdt* while it was written in its elongated form as *bḥdt ntr nb ʿ3 pt* in the threshold. Lastly, the two signs *w3s* and *ʿnh* surrounding the deity hieroglyphs are missing from the Karnak jambs. The threshold's number of registers, the size of the figures, the organization, and the patterns of the scenes, and even the content and theme of scenes and inscriptions are all consistent with the traditional order and arts of the temple's doors in the New Kingdom.

Therefore, the researcher confidently determines that the block was originally made for a door jamb in a temple²³.

THE REGISTERS' DEPICTIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS

THE THIRD REGISTER (UTMOST PART)

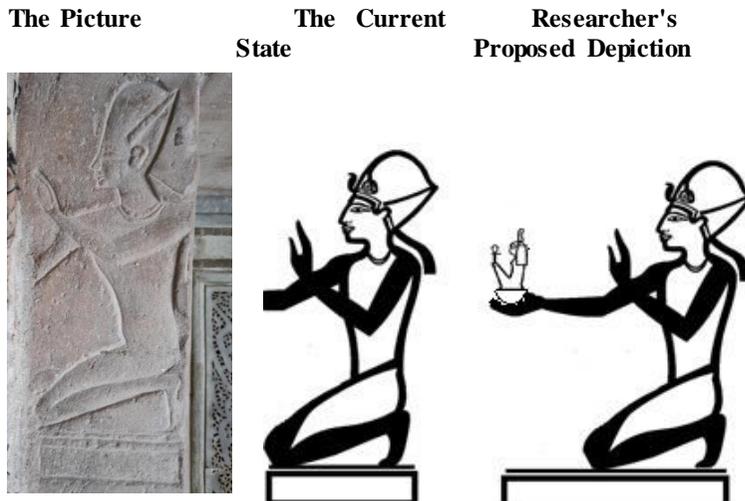


Figure 9: Ramses IX Depiction in the Third Register (By the author)

As exhibited in Figure 9, the third register shows the king kneeling on a rectangular base with his left hand raised. Since the threshold is broken, the researcher conjectures that the original form of the block would be the extension of his right hand holding one of the offerings and wearing the Khepresh headdress *hprš* (Figure 9), which is a popular headgear in the New Kingdom (S. A. Collier, 1996, p. 137). The Khepresh was generally embellished with cloths or leather and small circular studs. The Khepresh, or the so-called "blue crown" because it is usually colored in blue²⁴, includes coiled uraeus, a characteristic of the New Kingdom. The Khepresh also shows one of the two long streamers trailing pendants hanging from the back.

There are several indications that the king is holding the goddess Maat "*mꜣt*" as an offering in this scene. Although crowns in offering scenes are not generally associated with a specific offering, both Elsayed (2001, p. 468) and Teeter (1997b, p. 131) believe that there are some offerings presented only when specific crowns are worn, such as the Maat, which is

²³ For more information and pictures about the temple's gates, please see: (Abdul Basit, 2017; Ausec, 2010; El-Neanai, 2016; Elsayed, 2001; Emam, 2018).

²⁴ It later disappears in the site, during later periods (Goebis, 2015, p. 9; Leahy, 1992, p. 224; Watson, 1999, p. 36).

generally offered when blue crown is used. Furthermore, Teeter (1997, p. 47) added that the presentation of "Maat" appears to be correlated with scenes of wine (shown in the second and third registers, (**Figure 10** & **Figure 11**)) as it is commonly paired with *Mꜣt* in double offering scenes. Moreover, in its vast majority of scenes, Maat presentation is located in public areas of the temple, specifically in places of regular supplication such as door jambs. Thus, it could be surmised that Maat is generally placed in prominent and high traffic locations leading to the deduction that there will be scenes, close by, that exhibit the offering of the wine (Poo, 2013, pp. 43–46; Teeter, 1997, pp. 26, 40, 41, 43). Maat are extraordinarily prominent and revered to the extent that many gates were called "The gate at which the Maat is given" *rwt di mꜣt* (Ahmed, 2009, pp. 249–50).

Hence, the researcher confirms that the king was holding a Maat offering given the combination of 1) the stone initially being a door jamb, 2) there are wine offerings in the second and third registers, as informed by Daressy (1900, p. 130), 3) and the king wearing the crown of Khepresh.

The figure of Maat in offering scenes is most commonly placed on top of the *nb* \cup *qr* *hb* \cup sign (**Figure 9**) (Teeter, 1997)

THE SECOND REGISTER (MIDDLE PART)

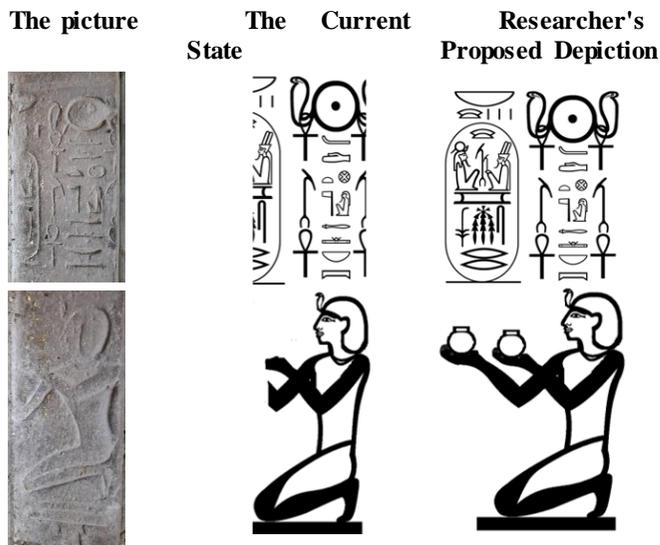


Figure 10: The Second Complete Register, The Hieroglyph Inscription and Ramses IX Depiction (By the author)

HIEROGLYPH'S INSCRIPTION

(A) HIEROGLYPH

5.2.1 a 1:

current state



Original state



5.2.1 a 2:

current state



Original state



(B) TRANSLITERATION

5.2.1 b 1:

nb ḥ^cw r^cm s-sw mri imn ḥ^c m w3st (Noor Eldin, 2011, p. 302).

5.2.1 b 2:

(Sun disc with two uraei with hanging ḥ^cnh, then two w3s and two ḥ^cnh bordering the inscription) bhdt ntr 3 nb pt

(C) TRANSLATION

5.2.1 c 1:

Ramses -Meryamun-Khaemwaset, Born of Ra, Beloved of Amun, Rising in Thebes (Aldred, 1955; National Museums Scotland, 2017).

5.2.1 c 2:

(Behdetite who gives life and dominion) Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven (sky, appearance)(Amer, 1999, p. 7).

COMMENT

At the top of the second register (**Figure 10**), a sun disk ☉ is shown with two uraei ☉; two ḥ^cnh signs hung on the uraei extend from both sides of the disk ☉. Below the sun disc, there are two additional Lordship's signs

w3s¹ and two signs of life [⊙]nh¹ hanging down to both sides parallelly . It could be interpreted that Behdetite who gives life and dominion, borders the deity's name Behdetite bhdt  and his epithet the great god ntr ³ , Lord of heaven nb pt .

According to Shonkwiler, the twin uraei on a sun disk are primarily associated with the Behdetite, as well it could be a symbol of the king's unity, Horus (in the form of the Behdetite), and Re. Moreover, the usage of the twin uraei, is invariably used to write *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* or "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" in the king's *titulry*. It is also a mark of divinity indicating that the king is the *Behdetite*. In addition, it represents the "shadow of Re" mentioned in the "Dream Stela" of Thutmose IV, who protects the king by imbuing him with a god's shadow (2014, pp. 105–121)²⁵.

According to the description above, Ramses IX is represented in this scene as the god Horus the Behdetite, protected by the god's shadow and given life and dominance.

THE PHAROAH'S FIGURE

The second register (**Figure 10**) depicts the king kneeling on a rectangular base and is wearing the Khat *h3t* or afnet headdress²⁶ combined with an uraeus, which is another kind of royal headgear. Khat *h3t* are generally

²⁵ The use of the sun disk with two uraei became more common during the reign of Amenhotep III, though uncommon. It appears upon the king's head. The sun disk with two uraei sees its greatest use in the Ramesside Period, where it is often the most frequently used of the hovering motifs found above the king's head in temple reliefs. It continues to be the dominant motif used in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods (Shonkwiler, 2014, pp. 101–106).

²⁶ A simple textile 'kerchief' or bag-like headgear worn by both sexes of the nobles, unlike the other royal headdresses. The earliest depiction of this form may be seen on an ivory label of king Den wearing it, discovered at Abydos of the first Dynasty, and it was similar to the well-known striped Nemes, but without the side flaps and gathered at the back. It is not mentioned again until King Djoser's reign, but it appears to have been popular, particularly during the Amarna period (Harris, 2018, pp. 34–5). It is typical of Isis and Nephthys as mourners of Osiris, and of the four goddesses protecting the sarcophagus of the deceased king (Abo-Rashad, 2021), and this may explain its occasional appearance on non-royal women in contexts of mourning. The Khat can be used in representations of the royal Ka and in crown combinations, it appears to be complementing the Nemes as these two kerchiefs generally appear together in the object friezes and on royal wooden statues guarding the entrance to the burial chambers of several New Kingdom royal tombs (Goebis, 2015, p. 8).

depicted in several different colors, most cases in white yet they appear in yellow in some instances (Art of Counting, n.d.).

Daressy informed us that the kneeling king presented vases of wine on two different occasions (1900, p. 130), which means that the inscriptions were more evident in the past (in 1900, about 122 years ago) than today. Daressy's description is entirely consistent with the customary inscription on the ancient doorpost, as (Elsayed, 2001, p. 462) explained that wine was most frequently used in offering scenes on the doorpost, followed by the offering of the statue of Maat, leading the researcher to infer that the king was also offering wine in the second register's scene.

Although the crowns represent different aspects of kingship, there is no satisfactory explanation regarding the rationale behind the use of different crowns in the ritual of wine offering. The kneeling king could be holding two *nw* pots²⁷ as it is most often interpreted as an act of wine offering (Poo, 2013, pp. 42–44) since the inscriptions on the block -due to its fracturing- provide only the royal name, there are no other additional inscription that would explain the presence of wine.

In very few cases, the vessels used in wine offerings are different kinds of jars, such as the *dšrt*²⁸. Unusually for the first time, the *dšrt* pot was used to offer wine in the New Kingdom. However, it was customary to offer it in *nw* pot and had been repeated invariably depicted in the New Kingdom's offering scenes, with no interruption except under the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun (Elsayed, 2001, pp. 354–359, 463), The *nw*-pot can also be employed in offerings other than wine, such as water *kbh*. Nonetheless, these occasions are extremely rare, it occurred only during the XVIII and IXX Dynasties and ended during the XX Dynasty (Elsayed, 2001, p. 464). Thus, whenever a scene shows the king offering *nw* pot, even though no accompanying title of the act exists, the act would most probably represent wine offering as Daressy previously mentioned (1900, p. 130; Poo, 2013,

²⁷ The *nw* pot , it's a spherical vessel associated with offerings, gifts, and grants, whether made by the king to the deities or by the common people to the temple, that also serves as a prefix for words and phrases that express the meanings of offerings, and of various vessels (Riyad, 2021, pp. 273, 296)(Riyad, 2021, pp. 273, 296), its traditional form known since at least the in the late periods of Old Kingdom (British Museum, n.d.).

²⁸ The *dšrt* pot , is one of the vessels associated with water and pouring rituals. It was also associated with beer, wine, and various types of offerings. It appeared in the Pyramids texts in various inscriptions (Riyad, 2021, p. 276). Its name seems to refer to the red vessel, which is made of a red material brought from the sands of the desert, and possibly the color of the pottery from which this vessel may be made, which was the reason for its introduction into the world of funeral rites and purifying rituals, as this color was associated with eternal symbolism (Riyad, 2021, p. 292).

p. 43). Regarding the offerings, the pots' names were sometimes mentioned to emphasize their importance, and in some instances, the pot itself would be the offering (Elsayed, 2001, p. 463).

As the threshold, however, most likely initially showed the king carrying two *nw* pots the researcher believes that the rest of the original scene would reveal that they were offered to Amon-Ra or Ra-Hor-akhty, as they were the deities who received the most of his offerings, respectively (Elsayed, 2001, p. 463).

THE FIRST REGISTER (LOWEST REGISTER)

The picture	The State	Current	Researcher's Depiction	Proposed

Figure 11: The Complete First Register with the Hieroglyph Incriptions and Ramses IX Depiction (By the author)

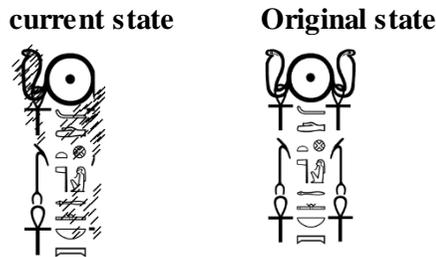
HIEROGLYPH'S INSCRIPTION

(a) HIEROGLYPH

5.3.1 a 1:

current state	Original state

5.3.1 a 2:



(B) TRANSLITERATION

5.3.1 b 1:

nb ḥ^cw r^cm s-sw mri imn ḥ^c m w3st.

5.3.1 b 2:

(Sun disc with two uraei with hanging ḥⁿḥ, then two w3s and two ḥⁿḥ surrounding the inscription) bhdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt

(C) TRANSLATION

5.3.1 c 1:

Ramses -Meryamun-Khaemwaset, Born of Ra, Beloved of Amun, Rising in Thebes (Aldred, 1955; National Museums Scotland, 2017).

5.3.1 c 2:

(sun disc with two Ankh hanged on the two uraei) Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven (sky) (Amer, 1999, p. 7).

COMMENT

All of the inscriptions on this register are similar to those in the following registers, with the exception that this one is more demolished and eroded, as seen in Figure 11.

THE PHAROAH'S FIGURE

The figure shows the king in also a kneeling position, with hands holding a globular jar *nw*, on top of a rectangular base. The *nw* pot depiction on the first register is still partially noticed on the stone (**Figure 11**). It is not surprising that the scene of the offering of *nw* pots is repeated in two different registers inscriptions in a door jamb. This has been previously depicted with Ramses III on the doorjamb on the east face of the granite portal of the second pylon of Medinet Habu temple, on which he was offering two *nw* pots in the third (middle) register to Amun-Ra and the fourth (upper) register to Amun-Min, in the north and the south doorjamb (Epigraphic Survey, 1957, fig. 252). In addition, the inscriptions of any of

the New Kingdom gates in the Karnak temple, Medinet Habu, and the Ramesseum did not escape the scene of kings' offerings of wine in the *nw* pot followed by or preceded by the offering of a statue of Maat on the same door jambs' registers (Abdul Basit, 2017, fig. 1, 2,3,4). Moreover, according to Cauville, wine is primarily offered to temple lords and deities from wine-producing regions, as well as to Heliopolis' gods (Cauville, 2010, p. 32), which makes the repetition of the pair of *nw* pot extremely appropriate.

In the first register, Ramses IX is wearing Nemes headdress, which is one of the most commonly depicted ancient Pharaonic headdresses, with two linen flaps (lappets) hung down rested on the shoulder. These were gathered and twisted in tresses at the back, with the uraeus coiled in the front (Figure 11).

THE BASE: (FIGURE 12)

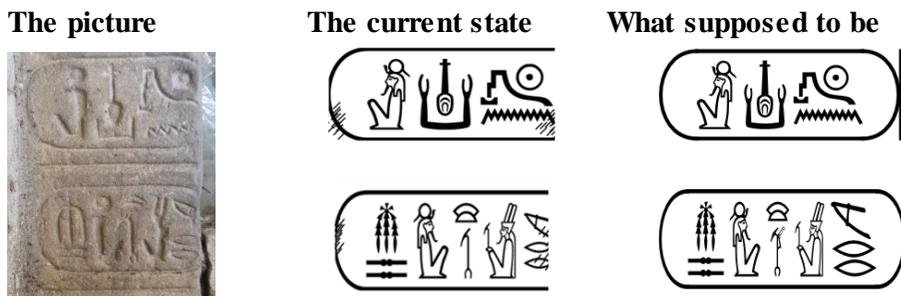


Figure 12: The base with Ramses IX two cartouches (By the author)

THE FIRST CARTOUCHE

(A) HIEROGLYPH



(B) TRANSLITERATION

nfr k3 r^c stp n r^c

(C) TRANSLATION

Neferkara-Setepenra Beautiful is the Ka of Ra, Chosen of Ra (Aldred, 1955; National Museums Scotland, 2017).

COMMENT

Although Ramses IX is the only Ramses in the XX Dynasty who did not incorporate Maat in his prenomen or coronation name, he compounds his golden name with Maat in the epithet *irt m3^ct* (Teeter, 1997, p. 2)(Teeter,

1997, p. 2)²⁹. The coronation name of Ramses IX was 'the lord of the two lands', the *nsw bity* name.

(Bothmer, 1952, p. 54). This name was written in different forms, and sometimes it was written *nfr-k3w r^c* with a plural Ka  (Darnell, 2004, fig. 31). However, in most cases, the *nfr* sign  was inscribed within the letter ka , and sometimes it was beside it  (Darnell, 2004, fig. 34). Also, the group signs *nfr k^c* in the horizontal cartouche was written beneath the Ra deity or beside it, it depended on the availability of space for the inscription (Darnell, 2004, fig. 36).

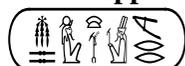
THE SECOND CARTOUCHE

(A) HIEROGLYPH

The current state



What supposed to be



(B) TRANSLITERATION:

nb h^cw r^cm s-sw mri imn h^c m w3st .

(C) TRANSLATION

Ramses -Meryamun-Khaemwaset, Born of Ra, Beloved of Amun, Rising in Thebes (Aldred, 1955; National Museums Scotland, 2017).

COMMENT

The king's two cartouches with his prenomen (*ns.w.bi.ti*, lord of two lands, coronation name) "Neferkarer-setpenrer", and his nomen (*sA.ra*, son of Re, the name of birth) "Rarmessu-Mereramun-Khaemwaset " are repeated at the bottom of the block, the area where, customarily, the dedicatory inscription should have been given the name of the door of which this jamb was incorporated. The texts of the gate dedications were a fixed element, the components of which contain the word *sb3*  (Abdul Basit, 2017, p. 146) which means "door" (Faulkner, Lit, & A, 2017, p. 271).

The names of the gates, in general, went through multiple stages of development. The names were attributed to the deities of the first half of the XVIII dynasty mostly resembled the gate of Thutmose I, the gate of the

²⁹ There are more exceptions in the nineteenth Dynasty: Ramses I and Memneptah have Maat in their nomens, Amunmese and Twosert honor the goddess in their Horus names, and the titularies of Seti II and Siptah omit any mention of Maat (Teeter, 1997, p. 34)(Teeter, 1997, p. 34).

fourth Pylon: "great is the prestige of *3mun*" *imn wr šft*. Nevertheless, starting from the reign of Thutmose III, the situation changed, and the kings began to name the gates after their own names (Abdul Basit, 2017, p. 25); this demonstrates that this gate could be named after Ramses IX.

GENERAL COMMENT

The scenes' apparent distinctiveness is emphasized through visual evidence. The king not only performs various sacred offerings from one register to the next, but he also changes his physical appearance by wearing various crowns and headgears. Also, the gods the king worshiped, and their appearances should vary from one scene to another.

The king made the offering on his knees and bare feet, as shown in Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 11 of the rituals. This is an indication of the special status of the gods to whom the offerings are presented, as well as the king's humility and his completion of the purification ritual in order for the king to enter with his feet touching the land of the holy shrine and to receive blessings (El-Neanai, 2016, p. 14).

The lack of a link between the king's choice of a specific crown and a particular rite or deity (El-Neanai, 2016, p. 14) makes it impossible to identify the deity to whom the offering is presented definitively. Nevertheless, the female/male deity receiving the offerings would be in a standing position on the doorjambs. The god could be standing alone or shadowed by a related goddess/god (Epigraphic Survey, 1957, fig. 252, 341).

Since the block was most likely transferred from Heliopolis or Memphis, the deities could be *Ptḥ*, *Rḥ-hqr-khty*, *3mqn* Re, or even one of the female deities such as *Mut* or *Maat*, yet it is not certain.

One of the things that kings were proud of was creating or renovating a gate. Gates can be seen as a form of political and religious propaganda for the king, as well as a manner of displaying his privileges and gifts from deities as a form of political support, mainly because the public was not permitted to access the temple at all times (Abdul Basit, 2017, pp. 227–229). Therefore, this can justify why Ramses IX established several gates in his temples, so people could easily view the scenes without even the need to enter the temple.

Texts and images are an inseparable sum of ritual scenes. Texts repeatedly explain and describe representations of the scenes while identification labels appear over images of kings and deities, revealing their names, titles, and deeds (Dorman & Bryan, 2007, pp. 39–40). The title of the offering act is inscribed before the figure of the king. Usually, there are two forms of writing the title: the first is a short version, e.g., *rdit irp* offering wine, whereas the second version is more extended, adding to the

preceding sentence the orientation of the offering *n.it.f* to his father or *n.mwt.f* to his mother, then the king's wish *ir.f di'nh* or 'may he make a life given' (Poo, 2013, pp. 47–8). The text of the dedication to the deity can be presented in five different forms; 1) in general, it is inscribed in a vertical row below the figure (the legs level) (**Figure 13**) 2) In some instances, it is inscribed in a horizontal row between the king and the god. 3) It could be inserted above the interaction of the two 4) It could be placed between the king and the god in a vertical row. 5) In rare cases, it is situated vertically and horizontally at the same instance (Abdul Basit, 2017, p. 466).

According to the do-ut-des principle³⁰, the relationship between kings and deities was a benefit-based reciprocal relationship, in which the king makes an offering to an idol and expects something in return (Abdul Basit, 2017, p. 207; Dorman & Bryan, 2007, p. 40). A text inscription above the deity would undoubtedly reveal his/her replies. The basic vocabulary predominantly employed is; life *nh*, luck *w3s*, health *snb*, stability *dd*, happiness *3wt. ib*. These fundamental terms can be combined to form a variety of expressions (Poo, 2013, p. 48)

CONCLUSION

This is a door jamb (229 cm long, 18 cm high, and 46 cm depth) that was transferred from a temple gate made by Ramses IX in Heliopolis, in which the king is depicted offering to the gods and is represented as Horus the Behdetite. The block was removed from its original location and fractured to fit the door size. It is made of a greywacke stone known to the ancient Egyptians as Bekhen-stone *bhn*, which was discovered in Wadi Hammamat in the eastern desert in Egypt.

To date, an offering ceremony including three figurines of the kneeling king wearing different headgears can be seen. They are topped by text inscribed with Ramses IX's Cartouche and the name and epithet of the deity Behdetite and the king's prenomen and nomen on the doorjamb base.

Only the offering on the first register is partially present today and appears to be using the *nw* pots. As for the second register, Daressy noted 122 years ago that it was a wine offering. The first two premises lead to the conclusion that the third register's offering is a Maat statue and that the offerings, in the 'broken' hands of the two other fractured figures of the two other scenes, include *nw* pots. This conclusion goes in accordance with the technical art standards and traditions of engraving scenes of offerings at the gates of the New Kingdom.

³⁰ "Do ut des", is a Latin sentence which means "I give so you may give" or "something for something" and is used to describe a fair trade or something given in exchange for something else (The Free Dictionary [Internet], 1995)

The length of the base and third register is reduced due to the block's fracture, but the inscriptions remain visible, whereas the inscriptions in the center part (the second and first registers) are more ruined due to the higher use of the central part by passersby entering the Khanqah.

An imaginative reconstruction of this jamb will be as follows with 3 m height and 0.60 m width (Figure 13):

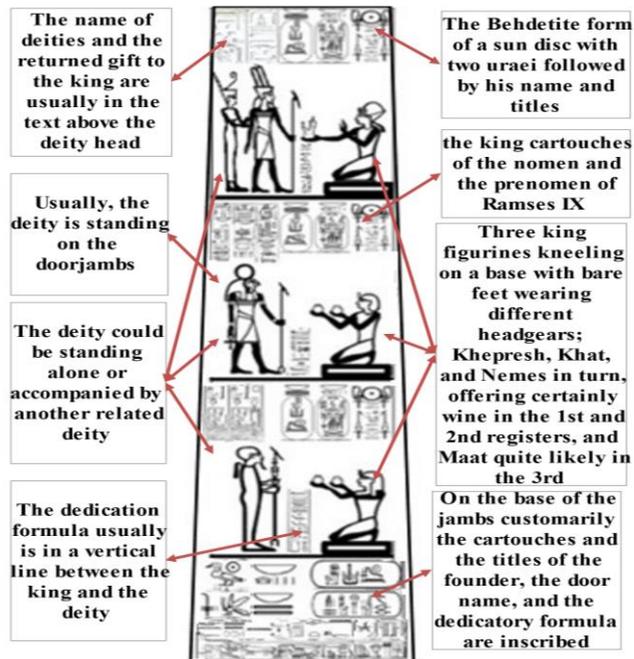


Figure 13: The threshold reconstruction (by the author)

Finally, the paper successfully tackled very important aspects of this significant block. It provided up-to-date measurements of the stone and determined that the material used to construct the stone, which is "Bekhen" stone, a type of greywacke. From the stone type, the author was able to deduce that the area and quarry where the rock was brought was "Wadi Al-Hammamat".

Furthermore, the researcher provided detailed clarification of the inscriptions which had previously gone unnoticed, such as "the sun with the two *ur^cei*" and the "*nw* pot" in the king's hands, "the cartouche" in front of the kneeling king and the "epithet" above it. In addition, the block's depictions were thoroughly translated and explained with analysis. Also, by studying the jambs of the temple gates and their inscriptions, the researcher extrapolated the missing parts of the stone and created an imaginative reconstruction of this block.

Additionally, the study was able to refute a previous theory by Sotohy involving the king's position, in which he claimed he was praying instead of making offerings to the gods the paper proposed that the king was offering wine in two of the three scenes, wherein in the third scene he was offering the goddess Maat. The study also demonstrated the original use of this block by collating it to a comparable edifice's gate located in Karnak.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The block inscriptions must be protected by a pane of glass, allowing them to be seen while also being preserved. In addition, a plaque or a special banner with information about this stone and its original owner, as well as some plans showing its original state, must be placed. This would create more awareness about the inconspicuous threshold and would allow tour guides to acknowledge its presence and its history when visiting the Khanka and other Ramses IX facilities. Lastly, since the threshold is currently located in a mosque, this creates a fantastic medley between different eras in the history of Egypt, which can be elaborately explained to the tourists showing the combination of diverse Egyptian artifacts located in one historical site.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdel Wahab, H. (1956). Movable and plagiarized antiquities in Islamic architecture, *Egyptian Scientific Academy Journal*, 38(1), 244–282.
- AbdelHafez, M. A. (2008). Re-use of Islamic archaeological elements in some buildings in Cairo 0511 AD (-Islamic in the era of the Muhammad Ali family) 0011 archaeological and civilized study. *The Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists (JGWAA)*, 11(11), 939–971. Retrieved October 15, 2021, from https://cguaa.journals.ekb.eg/article_38284_fed09f31781b1b6744ff6107841e086a.pdf
- Abdul Basit, M. E. S. (2017). *The inscriptions of the gates of the temples of Thebes from the beginning of the modern state until the end of the Late Period*. Qena. Retrieved November 16, 2021.
- Abdul Basit, M. I. S. (2018). The gates of the temples of Thebes, a chapel for the public. In *The Fourth Young Researchers Conference at the Faculty of Archeology in Luxor*. Luxor. Retrieved November 16, 2021.
- Abdulfattah, I. R. (2017). Theft, Plunder, and Loot: An Examination of the Rich Diversity of Material Reuse in the Complex of Qalāwūn in Cairo. *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 20, 93–132. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1RF5S5S>. (<https://doi.org/10.6082/M1RF5S5S>)
- Abo-Rashad. (2021). Ancient Egyptian Crowns and Headdresses. Retrieved December 1, 2021, from <https://www.egy-king.com/2020/07/egyptian-crowns-and-headaddresses.html>

- Ad Thijs. (2019). *A reply to critics part 4: Ramses IX, X and XI: where and when did they reign?* Retrieved November 13, 2021, from <https://kun.academia.edu/AdThijs>
- Ahmed, S. M. (2009). The places of hearing prayers in Ancient Egypt. In *Studies in the Archeology of the Arab World 11* (pp. 237–260). Cairo: Union of Arab Archaeologists.
- Aldred, C. (1955). A Statue of King Neferkarē' Ramesses IX. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 41, 3–8. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3855230>
- Ali, M., & Magdi, S. (2017). The influence of Spolia on Islamic architecture. *International Journal of Heritage Architecture*, 1(3), 334–343.
- Al-Maqrizi, T. A.-D. (1418). *al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khīṭaṭ wa-al-āthār, Sermons and consideration in remembrance of plans and effects* Author: Ahmed bin Ali bin Abdul Qadir, Abu Al-Abbas Al-Husseini Al-Obaidi, Taqi Al-Din Al-Maqrizi (deceased: 845 AH), Volume 2. (K. Al-Mansour,Ed.) (1st ed., Vol. 2). Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, Beirut Edition.
- Amer, A. A. M. A. (1982). Notes on Ramesses IX in Memphis and Karnak. *GM*, 57, 11–16.
- Amer, A. A. M. A. (1999). *The gateway of Ramesses IX in the temple of Amun at Karnak*. Aris and Phillips.
- Art History Glossary. (n.d.). Spolia. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from <https://blog.stephens.edu/arh101glossary/?glossary=spolia>
- Art of Counting. (n.d.). Variable of the Day, Ancient Egypt: Khat headdress. Retrieved November 5, 2021, from <http://www.artofcounting.com/2011/08/14/variable-of-the-day-ancient-egypt-khat-headdress/>
- Ausec, C. L. (2010). *Gods who hear prayers: Popular piety or kingship in Three Theban Monuments of New Kingdom Egypt*. University of California, Berkeley.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D. (2014). Between quarry and magic: The selective approach to spolia in the Islamic monuments of Egypt. *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean. Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, 402–425.
- bin Wasif Shah, I. (2001). *Mukhtasar ajaib al dunya, Summary of Wonders of the World by Sheikh Ibrahim bin Wasif Shah, who died 599 AH*. (S.K. Hassan,Ed.) (1st ed.). Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-elmiyya .
- Borghesi, A., Angelici, D., Borla, M., Castelli, D., d'Atri, A., Gariani, G., Vaggelli, G. (2015). The stones of the statuary of the Egyptian Museum of Torino (Italy): geologic and petrographic characterization. *Rendiconti Lincei*, 26(4), 385–398.

- Botti, G. (1928). Who Succeeded Ramesses IX-Neferkerē'? *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14(1/2), 48–51. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3854066>
- Brand, P. (2000). The Gateway of Ramesses IX in the Temple of Amun at Karnak. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 37, 218–219. Retrieved November 5, 2021 from <https://doi.org/10.2307/40000535>
- British Museum. (n.d.). figure-fitting; model; offering-jar. Retrieved December 1, 2021, from https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA64176
- Brown, E., & Serge, S. (1974). *Voyage en Egypte, 1673-1674 (The travels and adventures of Edward Brown) Trad. de l'anglais par Marie-Therese Breant*.
- Budge, E A Wallis. (1904). *The gods of the Egyptians : or, Studies in Egyptian mythology*. London: Methuen & Co.
- Budge, E. A. WALLIS, KNT, & F.S.A. (1920). *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (Vol. I). London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.
- Budge, E.A Wallis. (1902). *A History of Egypt From The End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30 (Egypt Under Ramses The Great)*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO. Ltd.
- Cauville, S. (2010). *L'offrande aux dieux dans le temple égyptien*. (S. Lotfallah,Ed.). B H R.
- Çelebi, E. (2016). *Tourism in Egypt 1611-1682 (Arabic)*. (M.A. (translation) Ouny, A. Azam, A.A. Soliman, & A. Fouad,Eds.). Cairo: Dar Elkotob Almasreya.
- Clagett, M. (1999). Ancient Egyptian science, Ancient Egyptian mathematics: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society.
- Collier, S. (1993). The Khepresh Crown of Pharaoh. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 21(1–2).
- Collier, S. A. (1996). *The crowns of Pharaoh: their development and significance in ancient Egyptian kingship*.
- Coomans, T. (2012). Reuse of Sacred Places: Perspectives for a Long Tradition.
- Creswell, K A C. (1959). *The Muslim architecture of Egypt. II II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron. (1952). *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt, by KAC Creswell. Ikhshids and Fatimids, AD 939-1171* (Vol. I). Clarendon Press.
- Daniels, P., & Bright, W. (1996). *The world's writing systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Daressy, G. (1900). Nouvelles inscriptions antiques trouvées au Caire. *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, 4(1), 129–132. Retrieved October 8, 2021, from <http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.com/2012/12/open-access-journal-bulletin-de.html>

- Daressy, G. (1903). Inscriptions Hieroglyphiques Trouvées au Caire. *Annales Du Service Des Antiquites De L'Egypte*, IV, 101–109.
- Daressy, G. (1908). Note sur des pierres antiques du Caire. *Annales Du Service Des Antiquiteis De L'egypte*, IX, 139–140.
- Davies, N. de G. (2020). Ramesses IX before the barque of Amun, Tomb of Imiseba | New Kingdom, Ramesside. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557839>
- Davies, V. (2015). 10. Observations on antiquities in later contexts. *A COSMOPOLITAN CITY*, 85.
- Davies, W. v. (1982). The Origin of the Blue Crown. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 68, 69–76. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3821624>
- DBpedia. (n.d.). Baibars II. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from https://dbpedia.org/page/Baibars_II
- Dodson, A., & Hilton, D. (2010). *The complete royal families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Doris Abu Seif. (2004). Ancient Antiquities in Islamic Egypt between their Destruction and Reuse. *Hadih Al-Dar Magazine*, 18, 12–13.
- Dorman, P., & Bryan, B. M. (2007). *Sacred space and sacred function in ancient Thebes*. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Eaton-Krauß, M. (1977). The “Khat” Headdress To The End Of The Amarna Period. *Studien Zur AltÄgyptischen Kultur*, 5, 21–39. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44324530>
- El-Neanai, H. A. A. M. (2016). The ornaments of the king's head in some rituals religious scenes at the chapels of Abydos temple, 1(4), 236–255.
- Elsayed, A. A. Z. E. A. (2001). *The offerings and sacred symbols presented by the kings to the gods in the scenes of the modern state*. Tanta.
- Epigraphic Survey. (1957). *Medinet Habu. Volume V, Plates 250-362, The temple proper. Part I, The portico, the treasury, and chapels adjoining the first hypostyle hall with material from the forecourts* (Orient Institute, 83, Vol. V). Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago press. Retrieved November 20, 2021 from <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/epigraphic-survey>
- Essam, A., & Marie, M. (2021). Egypt's Pharaohs' Golden Parade: A majestic journey that history will forever record - EgyptToday. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/100469/Egypt%E2%80%99s-Pharaohs-Golden-Parade-A-majestic-journey-that-history-will>
- Faulkner, R. O., Lit, D., & A, F. S. (2017). *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. (B. Jegorović,Ed.). Oxford: Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum.
- Fermanel, G. (1975). *Serie voyageurs occidentaux en egypte; Voyage en Egypte de Vincent Stochove; Gilles Fermanel; Robert Fauvel,1631*. (B. van de

- Walle,Ed.) (Vol. 15). Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Fernandes, L. (1987). The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture. *Muqarnas*, 4, 21–42. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/1523094>
- Find a Grave database and images. (2003). memorial page for Ramses IX. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7261679/ramses_ix
- Flanagan, M. (2017). Muscle memory: Interactions between the religioscapes and archeoscapes of Paganism, Christianity, and Islam in Luxor, Egypt. *Lambda Alpha Journal*, 47, 20–39. Retrieved November 10, 2021 from https://soar.wichita.edu/bitstream/handle/10057/20023/LAJ_vol.47_pg.20-38.pdf?sequence=1
- Friedman, F. D., & Friedman, F. (1995). The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 32, 1–42. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/40000828>
- Gardiner, A. H. (1938). The House of Life. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 24(2), 157–179. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3854786>
- Gardiner, A. H. (1941). Adoption extraordinary. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 26(1), 23–29.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1944). Horus the Behdetite. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 30, 23–60. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3855181>
- Gauthier, H. (1928). Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques. *Dictionnaire Des Noms Géographiques Contenus Dans Les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, V.
- Ghistele, J. van. (1976). *Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Egypte: Voyage en Egypte de Joos van Ghistele, 1482-1483.* (R. Bauwens-Préaux,Ed.) (Vol. 16). Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Goebes, K. (2015). Crown (Egypt). *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East*, (Electronic Pre-Publication), 10–11. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from <http://www.religionswissenschaft.unizh.ch/idd>
- Gonnella, J. (2010). Columns And Hieroglyphs: Magic “Spolia” In Medieval Islamic Architecture Of Northern Syria. *Muqarnas*, 27, 103–120. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25769694>
- Greenhalgh, Michael. (2009). *Marble past, monumental present: building with antiquities in the mediaeval Mediterranean.* Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill.
- Harrell, J. A. (2013). Ornamental stones. *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1(1).
- Harrell, J. A., & Brown, V. M. (1992). The oldest surviving topographical map from ancient Egypt:(Turin Papyri 1879, 1899, and 1969). *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 29, 81–105.

- Harrell, J. A., Lazzarini, L., & Bruno, M. (2002). Reuse of Roman ornamental stones in medieval Cairo, Egypt. *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the "Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity" (Venice, 2000)*, 2000, 89–96.
- Harrell, J. A., & Storemyr, P. (2009). Ancient Egyptian quarries—an illustrated overview. *Geological Survey of Norway Special Publication*, 12, 7–50.
- Harris, S. J. (2018). *Decoding ancient Egyptian diadems: symbolism and iconography as a means of interpreting feminine identity*. South Africa. Retrieved November 26, 2021 from <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/24936>
- Hassaan, G. A. (2016). Mechanical Engineering in Ancient Industry (Royal crowns and Headdresses). *World Journal of Engineering Research and Technology*, 2(2), 1–25. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from www.wjert.org
- Hölscher, U. (1951). *The Excavation of Medinet Habu: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III...* University Press.
- Hölscher, U. (1954). The Excavation of Medinet Habu/5 Post-Ramesside remains. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*.
- Ibn Abi Asaba'a, M. A.-D. A. A.-A. (n.d.). *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, *The eyes of the news in the layers of doctors by Ahmed bin Al-Qasim bin Khalifa bin Yunus Al-Khazraji Muwaffaq Al-Din Abu Al-Abbas Ibn Abi Asaba'a (d. 668 AH)*. (N. Reda, Ed.). Beirut: Al-Hayat Library House.
- Kalash, A. A.-J. D. (2013). *The literature of natural disasters in the first Mamluk era (648 - 784 AH): an objective and artistic study*. Nablus.
- Kamal, A. (1909). *Tables d'offrandes. Nos. 23001-23256 I, I, (Vol. I)*. La Caire: Impr. de l'Inst. Français d'Archeologie Orientale.
- Kapiec, K. (2014a). The winged sun disc motive its origin in Ancient Egypt and spread to other cultures. In *15th Current Research in Egyptology (CRE XV)*. London. Retrieved December 2, 2021, from <https://pan-pl.academia.edu/KatarzynaKapiec>
- Kapiec, K. (2014b). Was Horus Behdetite from Delta? The relationship between god and Lower Egypt. In *1st International Postgraduate Conference „The Land of Fertility”* (pp. 1–1). Kraków. Retrieved December 2, 2021, from <https://pan-pl.academia.edu/KatarzynaKapiec>
- Kinney, D. (1997). Spolia Damnatio and Renovetio Memoriae. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 42, 117–148. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/4238749>
- Kinney, D. (2001). Roman Architectural Spolia. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 145(2), 138–161. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1558268>

- Kitchen, K. A. (1983). Ramesside inscriptions/6 Ramesses IV to XI and contemporaries. *Ramesside Inscriptions Historical and Biographical*.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1984). Family Relationships of Ramesses IX and The Late Twentieth Dynasty. *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 11, 127–134. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44324488>
- Klemm, D. D., & Klemm, R. (2001). The building stones of ancient Egypt—a gift of its geology. *Journal of African Earth Sciences*, 33(3–4), 631–642.
- LACMA. (2021). Mold with Cartouche of Birth Name of Ramses IX or XI | LACMA Collections. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://collections.lacma.org/node/245233>
- Lancret, M.-A. (2002). *Description of Egypt: The city of Cairo and Arabic calligraphy on the buildings of Cairē*. (Z. Al-Shayeb & M.Z. Al-Shayeb,Eds.) (Reading Festival, Vol. 10). Cairo: Egyptian General Book Authority, الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب.
- Leahy, A. (1992). Royal Iconography and Dynastic Change, 750-525 BC: The Blue and Cap Crowns. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 78, 223–240. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3822074>
- Mayer, Luigi, Ainslie, R., Milton, T., Bensley, T., & Bowyer, R. T. (1801). *Views in Egypt: from the original drawings in the possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, taken during his embassy to Constantinople*. London: Printed by Thomas Bensley, Bolt-Court, Fleet-Street, for R. Bowyer, Historic Gallery, Pall-Mall.
- Murnane, W. J. (2001). Review of The Gateway of Ramesses IX in the Temple of Amun at Karnak, by Amin A. M. A. Amer. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 60(4), 300–305. Retrieved November 5, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/545951>
- Museo Egizio. (2019). Collection online - Journal of year 8 of Ramesses IX on the recto and a list of workforce of the necropolis on the verso. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_2074/?description=&inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=
- National Museums Liverpool. (2021). Tomb Robbery Papyrus (Papyrus Mayer B) | National Museums Liverpool. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/tomb-robbery-papyrus-papyrus-mayer-b>
- National Museums Scotland. (2017). Statue of Ramesses IX. Retrieved November 12, 2021, from <https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/statue-of-ramesses-ix-3faa74d77b3c4081907b042f58fd03df>
- Niwiński, A. (1984). The Bab El-Gusus Tomb and the Royal Cache in Deir El-Bahri. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 70, 73–81. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3821576>
- NMEC. (2021). Ramses IX - NMEC. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://nmec.gov.eg/mummies-hall/ramses-ix/>

- Noor Eldin, A. (2011). *The ancient Egyptian Language (Arabic)* (IX, Vol. I).
- Ockinga, B., Dorman, P. F., & Bryan, B. M. (2007). Use, reuse, and abuse of 'sacred space': observations from Dra Abu al-Naga. *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, 61, 139–162.
- Othman, A. I. (2017). Extraction and Use of Greywacke in Ancient Egypt. *Journal of The Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University*, 14(1), 52–77.
- Othman, A. I. (2021). A Preliminary Perspective of Industrial Heritage and Geo-Tourism in the Quarry Site of Bir Hammamat. *Journal of Tourism, Hotels and Heritage*, 2(1), 30–46.
- Parisse, E. (2021). 22 Ancient Pharaohs Have Been Carried Across Cairo in an Epic "Golden Parade." Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.sciencealert.com/22-ancient-pharaohs-have-been-carried-across-cairo-in-an-epic-golden-parade>
- Parsons, M. (2011). Egypt: Royal Caches at Deir el-Bahri. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/cache.htm>
- Peet, T. E. (1925). Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes: Some New Papyri in London and Turin. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 11(1/2), 37–55. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3854271>
- Peet, T. E. (1926). The Supposed Revolution of the High-Priest Amenhotpe under Ramesses IX. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 12(3/4), 254–259. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3854394>
- Peet, T. E. (1928). The Chronological Problems of the Twentieth Dynasty. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14(1/2), 52–73. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2307/3854067>
- Perdu, O. (2017). *Daressy : un savant, des archives : trente-six années en Egypte au tournant du XXe siècle*. College DE France.
- Poo, M.-C. (2013). *Wine & Wine Offering In The Religion Of Ancient Egypt*. Routledge.
- Porter, B., & Moss, R. L. B. (1968). *Topographical Bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings IV, Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Postel, L., & Régen, I. (2005). Annales héliopolitaines et fragments de Sésostris Ier réemployés dans la porte de Bâb al-Tawfiq au Caire. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale*, 105, 229–293.
- Raphaël, V. (2017). L'Égypte de Ramsès IX. *Pharaon*, 31, 65–68.
- Riyad, Z. A. (2021). *Stoneware between art and employment*. Hindawi Foundation. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from <https://www.hindawi.org/books/64837505/>
- Roberson, J. (2009). A Solar Litany from the Tomb of Ramesses IX. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 45, 227–232. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/25735455>

- Salah, M. H. M. (2009). *Natural disasters in the Levant and Egypt (491-923 AH = 1097-1517 AD)*. الكوارث الطبيعية في بلاد الشام ومصر 491- 923 هـ = 1097-1517م. Ghaza. Retrieved November 22, 2021 from <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12358/17787>
- Saleh, Mohamed. S. Hourig. (1987). *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo : official catalogue*. [Cairo]; Mainz, Germany: Organisation of Egyptian Antiquities, the Arabian Republic of Egypt ; Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Scholars of the French campaign. (2002). *Description of Egypt: The city of Cairo and Arabic calligraphy on the buildings of Cairo*. (Z. Al-Shayeb & M.Z. Al-Shayeb,Eds.) (Reading Festival, Vol. 10). Cairo: Egyptian General Book Authority, الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب.
- Shonkwiler, R. L. (2014). *The Behdetite: a study of Horus the Behdetite from the old kingdom to the conquest of Alexander*. The University of Chicago.
- Siddall, R. (2013). Geology in the British Museum: the monumental stones of the Eastern Desert. *Museum Geology*, 1, 1–16.
- Sotohy, H. (2021). Reused Pharaonic blocks in Cairo Islamic monuments: Part two. *Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality*, 21(1), 25–33.
- Sotohy H. T. A. (2011). Re-used Pharaonic blocks in Cairo Islamic monuments. *Journal of Association Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality*, 8(special issue).
- Teeter, E. (1997). *The presentation of Maat: Ritual and legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- The Free Dictionary [Internet]. (1995). Do ut des - definition. Retrieved December 19, 2021, from <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Do+ut+des>
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (2020a). Ostrakon Depicting Ramesses IX . Retrieved November 12, 2021, from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544716>
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (2020b). Relief of Ramesses IX | New Kingdom, Ramesside. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548358>
- Thijs, A. (1998). Reconsidering the end of the twentieth dynasty, part I: The fisherman Pnekhtemope and the date of BM 10054. *Göttinger Miszellen*, (167), 95–108.
- Thijs, A. (1999). Reconsidering the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, part II. *GM*, 170, 83–99.
- Thijs, A. (2000). Reconsidering the end of the twentieth dynasty, part IV. The Harshire-family as a test for the shorter chronology. *Göttinger Miszellen*, (175), 99–103.
- Thijs, A. (2003). The Troubled Careers of Amenhotep and Panehsy: The High Priest of Amun and the Viceroy of Kush under the Last Ramessides.

- Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 31, 289–306. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/25152898>
- Thijs, A. (2006). “I Was Thrown out from My City” – Fecht’s Views on Pap. Pushkin 127 in a New Light. *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 35, 307–326. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/25157785>
- Thijs, A. (2014). Once more, the length of the Ramesside Renaissance. *Göttinger Miscellen: Beiträge Zur Ägyptologischen Diskussion*, (240), 69–82.
- Thijs, A. A. J. (2009). The Second Prophet Nesamun and His Claim to the High-Priesthood. *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 38, 343–353. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/27751380>
- Töpfer, S. (2018). The Turin Papyrus Online Platform (TPOP): An Introduction. *Rivista Del Museo Egizio*, 2.
- UM. (n.d.). The Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project ritual Scenes and Their Sequence - Hypostyle. Retrieved November 26, 2021, from https://www.memphis.edu/hypostyle/reliefs_inscriptions/ritual-scenes.php
- Umali, P., & Pederson, E. (2008). Art in Antiquity: Spolia. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from https://brown.edu/Departments/Joukowsky_Institute/courses/artinantiquity2013/17475.html
- Varille, A. (1934). Quelques données nouvelles sur la pierre" Bekhen" des Anciens Egyptiens. *Le Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale (BIFAO)*, 34(en ligne), 93–102. Retrieved October 15, 2021 from <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bifao/034/07/>
- Warner, N. (2005). *The monuments of historic Cairo: A map and descriptive catalogue*. American University in Cairo Press Cairo.
- Watson, P. J. (1999). *Costume of ancient Egypt*. Oxford.
- Werner Forman Archive. (n.d.). Inlaid ivory paneled casket from the reign of Ramesses IX. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.heritage-print.com/inlaid-ivory-panelled-casket-reign-ramesses-ix-15079010.html>
- Williams, C. (2008). *Islamic monuments in Cairo: the practical guide*. American Univ in Cairo Press. Retrieved November 8, 2021, from https://books.google.com.sa/books?redir_esc=y&hl=ar&id=Cmc4HSC5XWgC&q=reused#v=onepage&q=pharaonic&f=false
- Zaki, R. (2015). Lights on the Pharaonic antiquities transferred to Islamic buildings in Cairo, a study through the paintings of the orientalist “Luigi Mayer” (Arabic) *The Conference Book of the General Union of Arab Archeologists The Conference Book of the General Union of Arab Archeologists*, 18(18), 412–436.
- Zaki, R. (2019). *The Legacy of the Stone: The Biography of Movable Antiquities in the Architecture of Islamic Cairo*,. The General Egyptian Book Authority.