MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE, DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE

BULLETIN
DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 84 (1984), p. 335-345

Alix Wilkinson

Jewellery for a Procession in the Bed-Chamber in the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun.

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JEWELLERY FOR A PROCESSION IN THE BED-CHAMBER IN THE TOMB OF TUTʿANKHAMŪN

Alix WILKINSON

Continuity in belief and practice is a familiar feature in Egyptian religion. An example of a practice surviving over a thousand years seems to link the tomb of Tutʿankhamūn with the Ptolemaic temple at Dendera [1] and a Book of Hours of the first century A.D. [2]. The connection in this case is a place called the bed-chamber.

In Tutʿankhamūn's tomb there was a box of jewellery bearing an ink inscription in hieratic : « *Golden jewellery* (?) *of the funerary procession made in the bed-chamber of Nebkheperurē* » [3].

Another box, which was empty except for a fan and some dried fruits, has a similar inscription, but without the mention of jewellery : « *The* (*funeral*) *procession of the bed-chamber* » [4]. The words for « bed-chamber », are *ʿ·t ḥnkj·t*. A bedroom in a house was also called bed-chamber [5], and one of Tutʿankhamūn's labels [6] mentions « Servants of the bed-chamber », these were domestic servants. But the bed-chamber specified on the two boxes is clearly religious. It was a ceremonial place where the rituals of Osiris's revivication and rebirth were performed.

In the temple of Hathor at Dendera [7] the bed-chamber was one of the Osiris rooms on the roof [8]. The same name was given to a temporary structure [9] placed inside the room on the roof during the Festival of Osiris in the Month of Khoiak. It was a big,

(1) PM VI, 93-100.

(2) Golenischeff, *CGC*, 58027; see also 58028-9. Golenischeff suggests that this papyrus was for use during the life of the king, but it seems to resemble other texts which are funerary.

(3) Černý, *The Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn*, nº 52. For the funeral procession (*šmś wḏ3*) without mention of the bed-chamber, see nº 49, 53, 58 (The contents of these boxes were said to be gold vases, rings and ingots).

(4) *Ibidem*, nº 54.

(5) *Wb.* III, 119, 8-9; Ward, *CdE* 57, 191-200.

(6) Černý, *o.c.*, nº 77.

(7) PM VI, 93-100

(8) *Wb.* III, 119, 11; PM VI, 93-100; Daumas, *Dendara et le temple d'Hathor*, p. 69; Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak;* here called *ḥnk·t nmmj·t*, p. 33, 62-4, 606-8; see also the associated words *nmj·t* (*Wb.* II, 266, 2-5) and *mnm·t* (*Wb.* II, 80, 13-14).

(9) Chassinat, *o.c.*, p. 63.

BIFAO 84 (1984), p. 335-345 Alix Wilkinson
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gilded box [1], made of ebony, covered with gold, 3 cubits long, 2 cubits wide and 3 ½ cubits high. It was called *ḥnk·t nmmj·t* [2].

Tutʿankhamūn had just such a box. In fact, he did not have one, but four — the shrines over his coffin [3]. The comparison can be extended to his mummified remains enclosed in a coffin in the form of Osiris, like the replica of Osiris-Sokaris inside its coffin at Dendera. Chassinat [4] noted the analogy between the bed-chamber at Dendera and the shrines of Tutʿankhamūn. He identified the four shrines with the « Pavilion of the Cover », which enclosed the bed-chamber.

But according to the inscriptions, this Pavilion was composed of columns, covered with papyrus mats, and was therefore a frame, more like Hetepheres's canopy [5]. The shapes of the shrines of Tutʿankhamūn are not all the same. The innermost shrine has a barrel-shaped top and is identified by Piankoff [6] with the *pr nw,* the predynastic palace of the North and the place for the coronation and presentation of the Eye of Horus. It is in the same form as the shrines illustrated at Philae [7] which mark the grave of Osiris in the Hourly Watch [8]. In the scenes of the Hours of the Day, the top resembles the hieroglyphic sign for the grave of Osiris, and in the Hours of the Night, the top is undecorated. A shrine of similar shape covers the leonine bed under the statue of Sokaris in his *ḥnw*-bark, and it is clearly different from the flat-topped shrines [9] in which the tree and the relic of Osiris's leg were kept. At Edfu [10] the final episode of the resurrection of Sokaris takes place in a barrel-shaped shrine. A shrine with a sloping roof, the archaic palace of the kings of the South, is the place for the penultimate stage. So, it is clear that the shrines were differentiated according to the events which took place in them.

The fourth shrine, the outermost one, is in the form of the double *heb-sed* canopy where the Judgement of Osiris took place [11].

The bed-chamber may well have been the innermost shrine directly over the bed and the other shrines could have been the « Pavilion of the Cover ».

(1) Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire,* p. 243; *ḥnkj* meant a big box.

(2) Chassinat, *o.c.,* p. 62.

(3) Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tutankhamon* (*Bollingen Series* XL, 2).

(4) Chassinat, *o.c.,* p. 63.

(5) Reisner, Smith, *The Giza Necropolis,* 2, *The Tomb of Hetep-heres,* p. 23-7, pl. 5-10.

(6) Piankoff, *o.c.,* p. 42.

(7) Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philæ,* pl. 51-8.

(8) Junker, *Stundenwachen in den Osiris-Mysterien.*

(9) Bénédite, *o.c.,* pl. 40, 42.

(10) Cauville, *La théologie d'Osiris à Edfou,* p. 26, fig. 3.

(11) Piankoff, *o.c.,* p. 133.

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THE BED IN THE BED-CHAMBER.

The Dendera inscription describes the bed inside the bed-chamber : « *There is a gold bed inside under the god* » [1]. The scenes on the walls provide illustrations. The Sokaris-Osiris-Khentiamentit replica which was the focus of the ceremonies at Dendera, rested on beds with lions' heads and bodies.

But not only were the leonine beds the place where the replica was laid, they were also the place where the mystical resurrection of the god took place. The scenes show his first movements, then raising himself up and finally his union with Isis and the conception of the new Horus.

Under the god Tut'ankhamūn there was indeed a bed [2] which still supports his coffin. It has lion-heads fixed to one end and a movable tail at the other. The sides are straight, not animal-shaped.

Revival, resurrection, rebirth and the conception of Horus on a leonine bed are illustrated [3] in temples, royal tombs and in Books of the Dead from after the time of Tut'ankhamūn and, in the Pyramid Texts, heaven, where all these events happened, is called the « Great Bed » (*Pyr.* 658).

Anubis sometimes stands beside the leonine bed either holding his *snw*-vase or anointing, bandaging or simply watching over the deceased [4].

Royal and divine births took place on a leonine bed [5]. The earliest illustration of the event is in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari and one of the latest in the mammisi of the Roman period at Dendera [6].

The new infant, Tut'ankhamūn, was symbolized by an ointment box found under his leonine bed inside the granite sarcophagus [7]. Inlays on the sides of the box show

[1] See above n. 8, p. 335.

[2] Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, 2, p. 89. A wooden model of Tutankhamūn on a leonine bed found in his tomb has an invocation to Nut inscribed on it. Assaad, Kolos, *The Name of the Dead*, Cat. 40.

[3] Ceilings : PM I², p. 542-3, Roy. Tomb 17, Hall K; p. 514-5, Roy. Tomb 9, Corridor F and Hall H; p. 503, Roy. Tomb 6, Corridor C. PM I², p. 55, Th. Tomb 33 (45); Habachi, *MDAIK* 22, 42-7; for refs. to lion-beds see *Wb.* III, 120, 1 : bed of the mummy.

Conception and resurrection : PM VI, p. 24 (218)-(221); David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 105; PM VI, p. 22; David, *o.c.*, p. 149-150; PM V, p. 79 coffin J. 32090 in Cairo Museum; PM VI, p. 96 (37)-(41); *o.c.*, p. 100 (78)-(82).

[4] Jéquier, *o.c.*, p. 315; PM I², p. 530, Roy. Tomb 14 (19); p. 565, Roy. Tomb 47 (4)-(5); *BD*, Ch. 151, vignette (Hornung, *Das Totenbuch des Ägypter*, p. 318, fig. 77).

[5] Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, passim.

[6] *LdÄ* II, 464. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, pl. 59-60.

[7] Carter, *o.c.*, 2, p. 90, pl. 74; *LdÄ* III, 425; Manniche, *AcOr.* 43. 10.

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him as a child seated on a *heb*-sign. In one of the portraits his face is coloured black to symbolize the stage before rebirth. In the other three portraits his face is slightly different light reds showing him at different ages.

The bed in the bed-chamber was in the form of a lion, symbolizing the place where the king would come alive again and be reborn with his full bodily powers.

Texts for the Bed.

In the rituals performed during the Festival of Osiris in the Month of Khoiak, three texts mention the Bed. They are :

1. the « Setting up of the Bed » [1]
2. the « Protection of the Bed » [2]

   The words for the « Protection of the Bed » are in chapters 169-170 of the Book of the Dead.

3. This text does not seem to imply a ritual as do the first two. It is simply a statement by eight gods that they are presenting a bed (*ḥnkj·t*) to Osiris : « We present you with a bed. You kneel on it as Rē rests on his steps/stool of *baq*-wood » [3].

The « Protectors of the Bed » appear in the description of the « Room of the Bed » at Dendera [4] and in the 2nd and 10th Hours of the Day of the Hourly Watch [5] which is recorded in the Ptolemaic temples of Horus at Edfu, Isis at Philae and Hathor at Dendera.

Specific liturgies were performed in connection with the leonine bed. The emphasis is on « protecting » the bed and its occupant.

The jewellery — a collection of transformations.

The jewellery [6] in the labelled box consists of eleven pectorals and three counterpoises and clasps. The designs represent a falcon, vultures and wingless as well as winged scarabs, some of which incorporate, or indicate the name of the king. A boat is an

[1] Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, p. 52, n. 2 (= PM I², p. 96, Th. Tomb 50 (9)-(10)).

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 15-7, 19, 24, 48-52. Lange, Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg* n° I, B 1, 20, p. 19.

[3] Chassinat, *o.c.*, col. 122, p. 778.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 62; 606.

[5] Junker, *o.c.*, p. 38; 63.

[6] Murray, Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb*, n° 267 a, b, de, g-h, i, k, j, l-q (*g³s*) — jewellery imitating flowers, Černý, *o.c.*, n° 52, may mean « pectorals » specifically (*Wb.* V. 156, 3).

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important feature in three of the pectorals. There is also a scene of the king standing between Ptah and Sekhmet.

At his death the king turned himself into different winged creatures in order to get to heaven. He could become a falcon or a vulture or a scarab. The scarab as part of the king's name was a particularly apt metaphor. There are even illustrations of the king wearing his « flying name » in his tomb-chamber and on a small gilded shrine [1].

There are three examples of this design among the pectorals [2], and a more elaborate version with the king's name as a winged scarab arriving between solar uraei [3].

A falcon is another royal transformation [4]. The idea goes back to the Pyramid Texts : « *You have grown wings as a great-breasted falcon, as a hawk seen at evening traversing the sky* » (*Pyr.* 1048), and « *I come to you, O Nut ... my wings have grown into those of a falcon, my two plumes are those of a sacred falcon* » (*Pyr.* 250).

One pectoral illustrates all the stages of the transformations from the moment of leaving the earth to the meeting with Rē. It also illustrates *Pyr.* 366 : « *I fly up as a bird, I alight as a beetle on the empty throne which is in your bark, O Rē* ».

The king is a falcon with a scarab body [5] flying up from the earth which is a gold bar with lotus and poppy flowers hanging from it. In his claws he holds his identification — the lily and lotus, the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt. Then he reaches the sun-boat which is inlaid with turquoise, like the « Green Boat » of *Pyr.* 1933, suppl., and becomes the Eye of Rē, flanked by uraei. (Osiris is addressed as the Eye of Rē in the Hourly Watch). The king becomes a moon-god, as does Osiris in the « Glorification of Osiris » : « *Thou hast entered into the* wḏ3t *and hast united with it ...* » (Papyrus of Nesmin) [6]. Finally, Thoth brings him into the presence of Rē, who takes his hand and blesses him. Both the king and Thoth wear on their heads discs resting in crescents. Nesmin again : « *Mourning has ceased because of thy appearance in the sky with Rē on the festival of the 15th Day ...* ».

Thus the whole cycle of transformations are gone through with the culmination of the king being together with Rē.

A stage of this transformation is illustrated when the king becomes the Eye of Rē. This is the theme of a counterpoise [7] which shows Heh between uraei holding up the Eye.

[1] Assaad, Kolos, *o.c.*, Cat. 13.

[2] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 105, 107.

[3] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, pl. 50 B

[4] Aldred, *o.c.*, 104.

[5] Wilkinson, *o.c.*, pl. 56 B; the counterpoise for the corselet has a similar scarabo-falcon with wings and a tail, Feucht-Putz, *Die Königlichen Pektorale*, 45.

[6] Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, p. 38, n. 112 and p. 53.

[7] Aldred, *o.c.*, 108.

BIFAO 84 (1984), p. 335-345 Alix Wilkinson
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Another way of expressing the connection of the king with the sun and the moon is shown in a clasp [1] which has the cartouche with the king's name surmounted by a moon's disc within a crescent and flanked by uraei.

The king could transform himself into a deity. One of the pectorals shows the king standing between Ptah and Sekhmet [2]. It may represent his transformation into Nefertum. The inscription reads : « *I Ptah, Lord of Truth, give you all life, power and health* », and «*I Sekhmet, Lady of Heaven, give you years of Eternity*». Aldred thought this pectoral was for the coronation. Since the innermost shrine was in the form of the place of coronation — this pectoral may confirm the identification of 'bed-chamber' with the innermost shrine.

Other interpretations of this pectoral are possible and it may, of course, represent all of them. The king is wearing the short *heb-sed* cloak and the inscriptions could fit with a *heb-sed* scene. The culmination of the formula for the « Protection of the Bed » is the king being greeted by the gods who grant him thousands of jubilees.

Tut'ankhamūn's pectorals illustrate moments in time in the cycle of the after-life : they are just before dawn and dawn.

In the scene depicting just before dawn [3] the scarab holds the sun's disc below the sign for heaven. He is about to push it up into the heaven. On either side of him sit baboons, ready to screech out to greet the birth of the sun [4].

At dawn [5], the scarab, again in a boat, pushes the horizon containing the sun's disc up through the curtain of night, made of blue and gold beads.

Vultures played several roles in the after-life of the king — one of which was to be the means of getting to heaven : « *If you gods go up to the sky as vultures, I will go up on the tips of your wings* » (*CT* III, 61 f-g). Partial transformation was also possible : « *My head is a vulture. I will ascend* » (*Pyr.* 1303). Vultures could also be the agents of rebirth. « *The vulture has become pregnant with the king in the night* .... » (*Pyr.* 568-9). The vulture represented both Nut the sky-goddess, mother of the king, and Nekhbet the royal emblem of the south [6].

There were two vulture-pectorals in this group. They are sculpted as if hovering in flight, poised protectively over the king. One wears an *atef*-crown [7] and the other has a bald gold head [8].

(1) Aldred, *o.c.*, 107.

(2) *Ibidem*, 99, 100.

(3) Wilkinson, *o.c.*, pl. 52; *BD* chap. 17, vignette.

(4) Thomas, *Bull. Egypt. Seminar. California*, 1, 91.

(5) Wilkinson, *o.c.*, pl. 55.

(6) Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period*, Ch. 7, p. 209-20. Vultures can represent several goddesses; comments on other winged creatures.

(7) Wilkinson, *o.c.*, pl. 50 A.

(8) Aldred, *o.c.*, 105.

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This group of pectorals illustrates events in the after-life of the king : his transformations into winged creatures for ascending to heaven (scarab, falcon, vulture), his transformation into a god, the son of Ptah, Nefertum, and the moment of the rebirth of the sun, at dawn. The coronation and the *heb-sed* are also alluded to. Both events took place within shrines of the same shape as Tut'ankhamūn's shrines. The connection between the shrines and the box of jewellery is thus more likely.

Transformations and the bed-chamber.

A text which describes transformations in the bed-chamber is Papyrus Boulaq 7 [1]. Its title is the « Book of the Room of the Bed in the House of the King ». This is a first century A.D. papyrus listing the transformations of the king at each hour of his journey through the Duat. The transformation into Nefertum took place in the nineth Hour of the Night. The other transformations in this papyrus are into a scarab and into various deities including Nephthys, Geb, the god of the morning, Horus, Lord of Joy, and Amen-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands ... conceived yesterday, born today, great mysterious lion who lives in Manu ... whose soul is in the sky, whose body is in the Duat.

As with the Dendera texts, the connection is over a long interval of time — more than fourteen hundred years. But the echoes of the Pyramid Texts and even of the texts on Tut'ankhamūn's shrines are strong enough to suggest that the two bed-chambers and the transformations are in a line of descent, and that the occasion for their use, namely the burial of a king, was the same.

This papyrus provides a text for a liturgy and gives instructions on how it should be performed.

The officiant must recite the words over figures of the gods painted on the funerary bed. Then, in front of the funerary bed, draw an *udjat*-eye and place in the pupil of this eye a seated man. The next direction is rather hard to understand, but it seems to indicate that the speaker should be facing or moving towards the bed. The ritual was thus performed close to the bed.

Could the jewellery have been a representation in the round of something like these illustrations? Was there a recitation for each of the pieces, as there was a recitation at each hour of the Night in Papyrus Boulaq 7 and also in the Hourly Watch at the Ptolemaic temples?

[1] See above n. 2, p. 335.

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It is impossible to be certain because thieves had removed some of the jewellery from the boxes, and the canon of transformations would not have remained the same for a thousand years. Nevertheless, the theme of transformations seems to be evident.

In the box there were eleven pectorals and three counterpoise-clasps for pectorals no longer present, which makes fourteen pieces. Some more pieces of jewellery [1] which probably belonged to the same « set » were in an unlabelled box in the same row. They consist of bracelets and earrings and one pectoral. Both boxes together provide illustrations for twenty transformations. Twenty-four would have been needed for a full day and night. (The counterpoise and chain belonging to the pectoral of Ptah and Sekhmet were also in the second box).

ANOTHER BOX OF JEWELLERY ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSCRIBED BOX.

The second jewellery box is in the form of a cartouche. In it was a smaller box which contained the earrings.

The inscription carved on the box (as part of the decoration of the box, not a label) described the king as : « *The likeness of Rē, the sacred egg of Khepri* » [2]. Many of the pieces feature scarabs in their design. Other elements are falcons, uraei, ducks and the king himself. Again the theme is transformations.

One of the pairs of earrings [3] shows the king standing on a *heb*-sign for festival and rebirth. He is flanked by uraei. Above him is the falcon which he will become, flying up to the cross-bar decorated with sun's discs and uraei representing his destination, the sun.

A duck-headed falcon is the main element in another pair of earrings [4], a reminder of the Pyramid Texts : « *You shall ascend to the sky as do falcons, your feathers being those of ducks* » (*Pyr.* 913), and « *The king flies up from you, O men, as do ducks* » (*Pyr.* 1484).

Scarabs are the main feature of the bracelets. One [5] shows the newly created scarab ready to rise on a beam of sunlight, represented by the gold base : « *O silent land wherein are mysteries, creating forms like Khepri cause thou that I ascend as the Disk at the ascent of sunshine which I set apart in the west of the sky .... I have passed the sky I have trod upon the metallic expanse* » (*BD* 64).

The Night Bark is represented as a boat containing a disc within a crescent moon, floating through, or above, lotuses, which grow up out of the sign for heaven [6].

(1) Murray, Nuttall, *o.c.*, 269 a, g, i-k, m-o; Noblecourt, *Tut'ankhamen*, fig. 45.

(2) Assaad, Kolos, *o.c.*, Cat. 28.

(3) Wilkinson, *o.c.*, pl. 46 A.

(4) *Ibidem*, pl. 45 B.

(5) Aldred, *o.c.*, 109, 110. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p. 138.

(6) Wilkinson, *o.c.*, pl. 54 B.

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« *Thou crosseth the lotus lake in the north of Nut like the star which crosses the sea on the body of Nut* » (*Pyr.* 802) [1].

A Pyramid Text links the Night Bark with the Hall of the Baldachin : « *I know the Hall of the Baldachin in the middle of the Platform of the Zenith* (?) *from which you go aboard the Night Bark* » (*Pyr.* 496-7). The «Baldachin» mentioned in the Pyramid Texts has affinities with the shrines of Tut'ankhamūn and the shrines illustrated at Dendera. Isis is present and the shrines cover the starting point of a mystical journey : « *Isis has grasped your hand and inducts you into the Baldachin* » (*Pyr.* 744). This Baldachin is identified by Sethe as the grave where the parts of Osiris's body were reassembled [2]. Sethe also notes that the word « zenith », *iskn*, is the place where Rē greets the king. (cf. the pectoral of the flying scarab and the moon's disc). Thus the sequence of events would be : leading by Isis into the baldachin, meeting with Rē, and joining him in his Night Bark.

The transformations which correspond between the jewellery in the two boxes and P. Boulaq 7 are into a scarab and into Nefertum.

A TEXT FOR A RITUAL IN THE BED-CHAMBER.

The only place to look in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn for a text for any ritual is on the shrines themselves, since there were no papyri found, and the walls do not have the proper decoration for a royal tomb.

On the innermost shrine, *BD* Ch. 17 is inscribed. The opening words are : « *Chapter of Coming forth by day, making all the transformations one likes to be transformed into, every day* » [3].

The text on the outside of this shrine and on the other shrines is more like the Hourly Watch, in which deities come to protect the deceased and assure him that everything is in order. From time to time the king is told to « take his forms » or to « make transformations like Rē ». This is not a continuous list of transformations at each hour as in P. Boulaq 7. It may be that a papyrus similar in sequence to P. Boulaq 7 supplemented the texts on the shrines. Most of the pieces of jewellery illustrate one or more of the Pyramid Texts, and it would be no surprise if there were a liturgy for which these pieces were the illustrations in the round. They might even be considered the physical embodiment of the text for a ritual.

[1] Feucht-Putz, *o.c.*, 33.

[2] Translation in *Pyr. Komm.* Band. 2, p. 337-8; Band 3, p. 383.

[3] Piankoff, *o.c.*, p. 48, and other mentions of transformations see p. 75, 79, 148.

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WHERE WAS THE RITUAL IN TUT'ANKHAMŪN'S BED-CHAMBER PERFORMED?

It is hard to imagine any ritual being performed in the confined space in Tut'ankhamūn's tomb with the shrines in position, but his tomb was not built as a royal tomb. Other royal tombs were much larger. So perhaps the shrines were erected in Tut'ankhamūn's mortuary temple, and the ritual was performed there.

The name for rooms connected with the mysteries of Osiris in temples was the « Room of Gold » [1]. The rooms can be identified in the Akhmenu (Festival Temple) of Tuthmosis III [2] at Karnak and at Dendera [3] as one of the Osiris rooms on the roof. The Middle Kingdom temple at Abydos [4] had a « Room of Gold », but that temple no longer exists.

The « Room of Gold » was also the name for the place in a tomb where the shrines were erected, as can be seen on the ancient plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV [5]. The burial-chamber is labelled as the « Room of Gold », and four shrines are illustrated around the coffin.

The room contained *grg* [6], which might be interpreted as a name for the shrines, but this word seems to refer to small objects, possibly vases [7].

In the Pyramid Texts the « Room of Gold » was where the « Opening of the Mouth » was performed : « *Your mouth is split open by* Dw3-wr *in the Mansion of Gold* » (*Pyr.* 1329). *Dw3-wr* is the god of the morning and of the beard [8], and the « Opening of the Mouth » was the most important revivification ritual.

Carter [9] suggested that the *ʿ·t ḥnkj·t* mentioned on the jewellery box was the bier-chamber, being the same as the burial-chamber. But from the evidence it is clear that the burial-chamber in royal tombs was called the « Room of Gold ».

The *ʿ·t ḥnkj·t*, the bed-chamber or bier-chamber, which was the same as the *ḥnk·t nmmj·t*, is one or more of the shrines, most probably the innermost one.

(1) *Wb.* I, 517, 7, 9; II, 238, 16-8; 239, 1; 240, 10. Beinlich, *RdE* 32, 24; Cauville, *RdE* 32, 48, n. 13.

(2) Barguet, *o.c.*, p. 18, 48.

(3) Chassinat, *o.c.*, 15-8.

(4) Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, p. 123-4.

(5) Carter-Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 130 sq.

(6) Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture, The Empire*, p. 384-5; *Wb.* II, 164, 12.

(7) Jéquier, *o.c.*, p. 314; Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, p. 39 and 49.

(8) *GM* 5, 25-31; *GM* 9, 33.

(9) Carter's index cards in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. Permission to consult this material is here most gratefully acknowledged. See also Černý, *o.c.*, n° 52.

BIFAO 84 (1984), p. 335-345 Alix Wilkinson
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SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

1. The « bed-chamber » is different from the « Room of Gold » which is the name for the burial chamber in royal tombs.
2. At Dendera, the bed-chamber was a temporary structure over a bed for the replica of the god at the time of the Festival of Osiris in the Month of Khoiak.
3. In Tut'ankhamūn's tomb there was a bed and a shelter for it. The shelter was formed of four shrines. Therefore, the bed-chamber is the name for one or more of the shrines (and the bed).
4. Jewels intended for a funerary procession in the bed-chamber have as their theme the transformations of the king.
5. A document (Papyrus Boulaq 7), describes a ritual to be performed in the bed-chamber; the ritual is of the transformations of the king.
6. The Pyramid Texts describe the transformations of the king into winged creatures and deities.
7. Tut'ankhamūn's shrines are inscribed with some texts about transformations.
8. The text for a liturgy could have been based on the Pyramid Texts, since the jewellery itself illustrates phrases from the Pyramid Texts quite closely. P. Boulaq 7 quotes phrases from the Pyramid Texts.
9. The form of the ritual may have been a recitation over each piece as indicated in P. Boulaq 7.
10. There was not enough space in Tut'ankhamūn's burial chamber for any « procession », so the ritual itself may have been performed in his funerary temple [1] in the room there which paralleled in name the burial-chamber : the « Room of Gold ».
11. In spite of the long interval of time, it is still possible to explain Tut'ankhamūn's bed-chamber in the light of the places and equipment used in the Festival of Osiris in the Month of Khoiak over a thousand years later.

[1] PM II², p. 458 (No longer existing; position unknown).

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