

MEDINET HABU — VOLUME IX

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

PART I

THE INNER SANCTUARIES

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

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PLATES 1 — 142

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

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WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

by

THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY

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ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960–
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Bamberg and Wiesbaden, 1979–
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> . Cairo, 1900–
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Berlin and Mainz, 1970–
Barta, <i>Opferliste</i>	W. Barta. <i>Die altägyptische Opferliste, von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche</i> . Münchner ägyptologische Studien 3. Berlin, 1963
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo, 1908–
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> . Cairo, 1901–
Brunner, <i>Die südlichen Räume Demot. Nb.</i>	H. Brunner. <i>Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor</i> . AV 18. Mainz, 1977
Edgerton, <i>Medinet Habu Graffiti</i>	E. Lüddeckens et al. <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, 1960–
Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i>	W. F. Edgerton, ed. <i>Medinet Habu Graffiti: Facsimiles</i> . OIP 36. Chicago, 1937
GM	A. H. Gardiner. <i>Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift</i> . London, 1935
Hölscher, <i>Excavation 2</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> . Göttingen, 1972–
JARCE	U. Hölscher. <i>The Excavation of Medinet Habu II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty</i> . OIP 41. Chicago, 1939
JEA	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> . Boston and Princeton, 1962–
JNES	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London, 1914–
Khonsu 1	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942–
Khonsu 2	The Epigraphic Survey. <i>The Temple of Khonsu I: Scenes of King Herihor in the Court</i> . OIP 100. Chicago, 1979
LÄ	The Epigraphic Survey. <i>The Temple of Khonsu II: Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall</i> . OIP 103. Chicago, 1981
L.D.	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> 1–7. Wiesbaden, 1975–1992
L.D. Texte	K. R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> I–VI. Berlin, 1849–58
MÄS	K. R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Texte</i> I–V. Berlin/Leipzig, 1897–1913
MDAIK	Münchner ägyptologische Studien
Naville, <i>Deir el-Bahari</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
Nelson, “Certain Reliefs”	E. Naville. <i>The Temple of Deir el-Bahari</i> , Parts 1–6. Egypt Exploration Fund 13, 14, 16, 19, 27, 29. London, 1895–1908
Nelson, <i>Key Plans</i>	H. H. Nelson. “Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I,” <i>JNES</i> 8. 1949
OIP	H. H. Nelson. <i>Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations</i> , OIP 56. Chicago, 1941
OLA	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–
PM II ²	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven, 1975–
	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II: Theban Temples</i> . Oxford, 1972 (2nd ed.)

<i>RdÉ</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> . Paris and Cairo, 1933–
<i>RILT</i> 1	The Epigraphic Survey. <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall</i> . OIP 112. Chicago, 1994
<i>RILT</i> 2	The Epigraphic Survey. <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple II: The Façade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall</i> . OIP 116. Chicago, 1998
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> . Hamburg, 1974–
<i>SAOC</i>	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago, 1931–
<i>Sethos I at Abydos</i>	A. Calverley and M. Broome. <i>The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos</i> I–IV. London, 1933–58
Thissen, <i>Med. Habu</i>	H. Thissen. <i>Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu</i> . Demotische Studien 10. Sommerhausen, 1989
<i>Urk.</i> 4	G. Steindorff, ed. <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> 1–16 (K. Sethe, ed.), 17–22 (W. Helck, ed.). Leipzig and Berlin, 1906–58
<i>Wb.</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> 1–7, and <i>Belegstellen</i> 1–5. Leipzig, 1926–51
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Leipzig and Berlin, 1863–

GENERAL

BD	Book of the Dead
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
CG	Catalogue Général (Cairo Museum)
CGT	Catalogo Generale del Museo Egizio di Torino (Turin)
col(s).	column(s)
ed(s).	editor(s), edition
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth
fig(s).	figure(s)
Gr.	graffito/graffiti
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
l(1).	line(s)
lit.	literally
MH.B	Medinet Habu, Section B (see Nelson, <i>Key Plans</i> , pl. 27)
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
OM	Opening of the Mouth
p	papyrus
pBM	papyrus British Museum
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PT	Pyramid Text
TOR	temple offering ritual
TSR	temple sanctuary ritual
UC	University College (London)

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- [] enclose material which does not exist today either on the wall or in earlier modern copies, but which is believed to have been present originally. Lacunae in the texts are indicated with [...] in the translations.
- () enclose words not written in the original text, but understood to have been present (as with the frequently unwritten suffix pronoun *ḫi*) or added as necessary in translation.
- < > enclose material believed to have been miswritten by the ancient scribe.
- { } enclose material actually present in the text, but which is believed to be superfluous.

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PREFACE

With the present volume the Epigraphic Survey returns to its series of publications dedicated to the reliefs and inscriptions of the Medinet Habu complex, a series inaugurated in 1930 with the publication of the war scenes and earlier historical records from the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.¹ The Ramesside temple and the High Gate were to occupy the efforts of the Survey for the next four decades, ending in 1970 with the appearance of *Medinet Habu* VIII. In resuming the Medinet Habu series, the Survey initiates what is envisioned to be a sequence of several volumes documenting the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Amun and subsequent additions thereto, beginning with this publication of the reliefs in the six innermost rooms of the temple. These chambers were begun during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and completed by the latter king during his sole reign.

In earlier literature these inner sanctuaries of the temple of Amun are designated according to various numerical or alphabetical schemes. Porter and Moss employ roman numerals, as for other temples in their compendium: Roman numeral I is used as the designation for the first chamber entered, then II through VI are disposed in clockwise rotation around the first.² Lepsius used the capital letters L through Q, beginning with the first chamber entered (L), with M and N assigned to the rooms directly north and south, respectively; O, P, and Q were given to the western range of rooms in the same order (central, north, south).³ Neither scheme accurately reflects the organic relation of each chamber to its neighbors, but although it made little sense in terms of architectural contiguity, the Lepsius scheme was followed by Uvo Hölscher.⁴ In order to avoid the implication of numeric sequence in the present volume, the various chambers have here been provided with names appropriate to their ritual context and relief decoration. This scheme serves as the framework for the arrangement of plates in this volume, which accords with what can be recognized as both spatial and cultic associations. For purposes of continuity and reference to earlier Medinet Habu publications, however, the letter designations used by Lepsius and Hölscher have been retained in tandem with the new labels.

Only one of the six chapels of the temple, located to the north of the main axis, stands physically separate from the other five. Provided with a separate entrance from the ambulatory, to the north of the temple axis, it was the chamber in which funerary offerings were presented to the deceased Thutmose III and is referred to here as the King's Chamber (Hölscher's room M). The other five chambers are physically interconnected and are decorated with a series of scenes culled from the daily offering ritual. These ceremonies are distributed over two distinct ritual axes devoted, respectively, to Amun and to his ithyphallic form.⁵

Access to these five chambers is gained solely through the main doorway on the axis of the temple. Behind the doorway is the Dyad Chamber (L), originally dominated by a colossal pair statue of Amun and Thutmose III and illuminated by means of a small light well cut into the roofing slabs.⁶ Directly to the west is the Sanctuary of Amun (O), a room whose main focus is marked by back-to-back images of Amun seated on a dais before a table of offerings, occupying the western wall (pl. 41A–B). To the north, a doorway leads into the square Naos Chamber (P), so called by virtue of the pink granite naos found inside, a late addition to the temple bearing a painted inscription of Ptolemy IX (pls. 111–12). These three rooms (L–O–P), aligned along the temple axis with a dogleg to the right (north) and occupying the central space of the temple, may be presumed to have had ritual priority and are therefore presented first in this volume. The two southern rooms constitute a separate suite that is entered through a doorway on the south side of the Dyad Chamber. It consists of a rectangular Vestibule (N), which forms an elongated antechamber aligned east–west, and the Sanctuary of Ithyphallic Amun (Q), the western wall of which

¹ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*, OIP 8 (Chicago, 1930).

² PM II², pp. 470–72, plan 45.

³ L.D. *Texte* III, p. 150.

⁴ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, p. 11.

⁵ As recognized by Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, pp. 9–10.

⁶ This was the only source of natural light included in the original design of the six chambers, the other existing light wells in the chambers having been added in later periods. The five smaller chambers were, by implication, intended in the Eighteenth Dynasty to be shrouded in darkness.

is adorned with back-to-back images of the deity embraced by the king (pls. 81A and 81B). That the temple is thus provided with two separate ritual axes, each devoted to a different aspect of Amun, is confirmed by the relative prevalence of these two representations in each of the ritual suites. Along the main axis (L and O), the striding or enthroned Amun is the primary recipient of offerings in both the Dyad Chamber and in the Amun Sanctuary, while the ithyphallic Amun is shown only once in each room, as if to ensure his presence by at least a token representation. By contrast, the adjoining Naos Chamber (P) depicts the two forms of Amun in an almost equal distribution: the striding Amun appears in four out of the seven scenes. On the other hand, the priority accorded to the ithyphallic avatar of Amun in the southern suite is equally clear. This deity appears in exactly four out of the eight scenes in the Vestibule (N), arranged in careful alternation with the striding Amun, but in four out of the six scenes in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun (Q), and, as noted above, it is his ithyphallic manifestation that serves as the ritual focus of the entire suite.

The respective orientation of king and deity throughout the temple is unremarkable for the most part, with depictions of the monarch facing consistently inward, culminating with the center of ritual focus in both the Sanctuary of Amun and the Sanctuary of Ithyphallic Amun, on the western wall of each chamber (pls. 5 and 8). In the Naos Chamber (P), however, the direction of ritual offering does not conform as expected — that is, leading to the middle of the western wall — but rather tends toward the chamber's northwest corner, diagonally opposite the entrance to the room. At this northwest corner, a striding Amun appears on the north wall, facing east, while an ithyphallic Amun is shown on the western wall, facing south, an equitable pairing of the two forms of the god (pl. 6). Although unusual, the diagonal orientation of ritual focus is not unique to this monument; at least two rooms of the Thutmoside temple on Elephantine exhibit the same diagonal emphasis in ritual offering, with the focal points located at a corner directly opposite the entrance to the chamber in each case.⁷ The granite naos in Room P, however, installed in the Late Dynastic or Ptolemaic period, obstructs the diagonal symmetry of the original relief decoration, as it was positioned carefully in the center of the western wall.

Hölscher correctly identified the extent of decoration in the temple that had been completed during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁸ For the most part this identification is obvious, due to the alterations made to the figure and name of the female king. A further clue is the presence or absence of the repeated rebus, composed of a coiled serpent adorned with a horned sun disk and perched upon a pair of *ka* arms, spelling out Hatshepsut's *prenomen*, Maatkare, which was arranged as a frieze along the tops of the interior chapel walls whose decoration she completed.⁹ On the basis of these indicators, it is clear that three chambers were entirely decorated during the coregency period: the Vestibule and both Amun sanctuaries. Two walls of the Naos Chamber were completed as well (the eastern and northern walls), while the other two were carved and painted during the sole reign of Thutmose III, who preferentially employed the standard *hkr*-frieze above the scenes he initiated and completed, both here (on the southern and western walls) and throughout the remaining sections of temple. As for the Dyad Chamber, only its western wall belongs to the coregency period: Hatshepsut, embracing Amun, was represented on either side of the western doorway, and her rebus fills the frieze above. Although Thutmose III completed the other three walls, Hatshepsut's suspended decorative scheme is indicated by traces of her rebus visible under the *hkr*-frieze at the western end of the north wall (pl. 92B). Unlike the standard *hkr*-elements, the rebus of Maatkare has an explicit orientation, facing necessarily either to the left or right; curiously, in the rooms where the rebus frieze appears, it does not always correspond to the ritual orientation of the scenes below. In each of the two Amun sanctuaries, the cryptographic frieze emerges on either side of the doorframe on the eastern wall and continues westward in procession around the north and south sides of the room, meeting at the exact center of the western wall, which is occupied by the cartouche of Maatkare written in ordinary hieroglyphs.¹⁰ The western wall of the Dyad Chamber — the only one here to bear the rebus frieze and central cartouche — conforms to this pattern as well, although the other three walls now bear the *hkr*-frieze. In the Naos Room, the rebus of snakes runs north along the eastern wall, then west along the northern wall, simply ending at the northwest corner. In the Vestibule, the rebus runs westward along the north and south side walls, terminating at the corners of the west wall; on the chamber's east wall, however, the serpents face inward, toward the central cartouche. Thus, at the northeast and southeast corners of this room, the cobras stand back to back (pl. 7).

⁷ These are chambers D and E of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple to Satet, the decoration of which was begun, like that of Medinet Habu, during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III; see W. Kaiser et al., "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Achter Grabungsbericht," *MDAIK* 36 (1980), p. 255.

⁸ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, p. 11, fig. 10. The figure caption tends to suggest competing agendas for the two co-ruling monarchs, noting sections "decorated by Hatshepsut" and "decorated by Thutmose III."

⁹ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, pp. 12–13.

¹⁰ Amenhotep III imitated this directional rebus frieze, including the use of central cartouches toward which the snakes tend; compare Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 3 and 14.

THUTMOSIDE ALTERATIONS

The inner chapels of the temple of Amun attest amply the alterations wrought by Thutmose III to the original decoration completed during the lifetime of Hatshepsut.¹¹ The Thutmoside program of recarving, which has in general been described elsewhere, was achieved in various ways, including the alteration of the female pharaoh's cartouches or (alternatively) the complete obliteration of her figure and accompanying text, as well as the partial erasure of her distinctive rebus on virtually all her public monuments.¹² Hölscher accurately characterized the re-ascription of the royal presence in a simple diagram of the inner chapels.¹³

The reliefs at Medinet Habu shed no further light on the date of these alterations, but considerable premeditation is evident in the various methods by which Hatshepsut's presence was eradicated, and in the distribution of those methods; indeed, the changes were carried out in a carefully orchestrated manner that varied according to the location of the scenes within the temple. This careful program suggests that the reliefs of Hatshepsut were not altered haphazardly on a piecemeal basis, and that decisions about these alterations were not entrusted to workmen on the scene; rather, the evidence shows that a deliberate agenda lay behind the particular decorative changes, depending on the ritual function of the chapels, or, more specifically, on the ritual axes along which the scenes are distributed.

The suite of rooms comprising the main cult of the seated Amun presently depicts Thutmose III as the sole officiant before the god. This result was achieved by the complete erasure of the figures of Hatshepsut and her *ka*, together with the captions pertaining to them, wherever they appeared on the walls of the Sanctuary of Amun (O) and the Naos Chamber (P), and, in their stead, the addition of offering tables and jar stands. In the two libation scenes in the Naos Chamber — rituals involving pouring with the *nms.t*- and *dšr.t*-vessels — animated *ankh*-signs were added to effect the tipping of the jars (pls. 53 and 55).¹⁴ Significantly, these alterations were not the easiest way to eradicate the presence of Hatshepsut — the recutting of her cartouches and titulary in the name of another Thutmoside king would have been simpler — and were achieved only with a good deal of labor. The revision entailed the chiseling away of the raised-relief figures of Hatshepsut, her *ka*, and their accompanying texts, the smoothing back of all rough areas, and finally the recarving and repainting of the now-vacant spaces, generally in a much lighter style of raised relief that often forms a distinct contrast with the original decoration. In each of these rooms, the simple recarving of Hatshepsut's cartouches in favor of her father or husband, as elsewhere relatively common on her monuments, was rejected in favor of this more laborious process. Even more striking, the option of placing the names of Thutmose III in Hatshepsut's cartouches — one of the simplest alterations of all — was rejected, even though this strategy resulted in an oddly unbalanced distribution of the royal presence in the main ritual axis of the temple. Similarly, in the Naos Chamber, the three scenes originally exhibiting Hatshepsut's figure, located on the northern and eastern walls of the room, were also changed into heaps of offerings, leaving the god without a royal celebrant in three of the eight reliefs (pl. 6). In the Sanctuary of Amun itself, four images of Hatshepsut were recarved as offering tables, leaving just two figures of Thutmose III present in the six ceremonial scenes; there is no royal figure performing a ritual act in front of Amun on the western wall, presumably the actual focus of the cult (pl. 41A–B). To be sure, in every case the content of the specific rite was preserved to the extent possible without a royal officiant or accompanying caption to make it explicit. In one instance, Hatshepsut's presentation of natron (“five pellets of incense; a pellet taken to the mouth and taken to the hand”) was subtly suggested through the addition of bowls under the offering table, two containing five pellets, two others containing just one (pl. 39). Nearby, a scene in which Hatshepsut extended a censer to Amun while dropping pellets of incense into the flame was recarved to show three braziers and, below, three bowls containing five pellets each (pl. 41B).

¹¹ Hatshepsut's proscription is to be dated no earlier than year 42 of Thutmose III; see P. Dorman, *Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (London, 1988), pp. 46–65; C. Van Siclen, “New Data on the Date of the Defacement of Hatshepsut's Name and Image on the Chapelle Rouge,” *GM* 107 (1989), 85–86; D. Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, *Aegyptiaca Loediensia* 5 (Liege, 1998), pp. 483–84, has further suggested, on the basis of textual evidence from *Dsr-ḥ.t* and the statues extracted from the “Hatshepsut hole” by the Metropolitan Museum below the causeway of that temple, that the inception of her official fall from grace must have occurred no later than the early part of year 43.

¹² Although Hatshepsut's proscription is now generally regarded as a program to rewrite the official history of recent events, with little or no personal animus involved, the motive behind it remains a topic of controversy. For different perspectives, see, *inter alia*, Laboury, *Statuaire*, pp. 483–512; P. F. Dorman, “The Proscription of Hatshepsut,” in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by C. Roehrig (New York, 2005), pp. 267–69; Do. Arnold, “The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahri,” *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by C. Roehrig (New York, 2005), pp. 270–76; and A. M. Roth, “Erasing a Reign,” in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by C. Roehrig (New York, 2005), pp. 277–81.

¹³ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, pp. 11–12, with fig. 1.

¹⁴ The libation rituals are the only two scenes where Hatshepsut's image was erased, in which the captions to the scenes have been left intact, doubtless because the physical act of pouring is actually shown being performed by the animated *ankhs*.

Throughout these altered scenes, the presence of Thutmose III is nonetheless implied through the minimal changes made to the direct speech of Amun, in which feminine endings and pronouns have been changed to masculine ones. In fact, the deity is placed in the odd position of having to address thin air: the name of the king never appears, and the second-person masculine pronouns only indirectly allude to his presence. This anomalous cultic vacuity demonstrates the extent to which Thutmose III actively rejected the usurpation of Hatshepsut's figure for his own use, despite the resulting dearth of cultic participation by the reigning monarch in these inner chambers.¹⁵

The expurgation of Hatshepsut's figure and royal titulary also led to the double notation of Amun's name in these scenes. The *ʾImn* element in her personal name was left intact by the Thutmoside workmen, allowing it to float over the recarved scene, apparently in pious reference (but in reverse orientation) to the figure of the god.¹⁶ These examples of the "floating" Amun name were, of course, subsequently attacked by the agents of Akhenaten (with the exception of one, which was overlooked; see pl. 39) and then faithfully replaced under the post-Amarna restorers;¹⁷ yet by themselves they are redundant elements, remnants of a reverent piety exercised during the proscription of Hatshepsut.

In the two southern rooms of the temple, along the axis of the ithyphallic Amun, a starkly different situation is found. In only one instance was Hatshepsut's image erased and replaced by a seemingly innocuous ritual object, on the southern wall of the Sanctuary of Ithyphallic Amun. This scene originally depicted Hatshepsut dedicating a large offering pile before Amun, seated to the far right (pl. 75), so that her erased figure could not readily be replaced by another such heap, apparently posing something of a challenge to the Thutmoside redactors of the wall. The ingenious solution was to shift the ritual reference away from the seated Amun (to the right) and reorient the scene in the opposite direction: Hatshepsut was recarved as a giant lettuce, the sacred ritual object belonging to the standing ithyphallic Amun figure in the adjoining scene to the left (pl. 73). Due to the damage inflicted on this fetishistic emblem during the Amarna period, only traces of the lettuce are now visible: bits of greenery below the image of Nekhbet, in the area once occupied by Hatshepsut's titles, traces of which may still be seen, and at the lower right side, where the edge of the lettuce appears above a corner of the rectangular stand on which the vegetable was resting. Beneath the lettuce and subsequent Atenist damage, the female king's figure is most easily detectable at the groundline, where the soles of both her feet can be discerned. Yet while this mode of alteration is the general rule in the central axis of the temple, it stands as an exception in the southern ritual axis. Elsewhere in the ritual scenes of the southern suite, Hatshepsut's cartouches were simply surcharged with the names of Thutmose I (twice) or Thutmose II (seven times), who now appear alongside the four scenes in which Thutmose III was originally present. The changes in royal names and texts cannot be explained away simply because of the less cumbersome mode of alteration. As evident from the other chambers, neither efficiency nor the press of time was the major consideration in deciding how to alter a particular relief. One must assume that the straightforward re-ascription of the scenes of the southern axis to the father and grandfather of Thutmose III, in contrast to the other rooms of the temple, must have had a programmatic reason.

Aside from the major wall scenes, in which ritual acts were depicted, the other Thutmoside alterations were relatively routine: the doorway texts of Hatshepsut were simply adapted by surcharging her cartouches with those of Thutmose I or II (never Thutmose III), with the feminine pronouns and endings erased and masculine ones inserted where necessary. As in other temples, the distinctive Maatkare rebus was rendered essentially "illegible" by the erasure of the *ka* arms, leaving the divine elements of the *prenomen* (the sun disk and rearing cobra) intact (pl. 93B).¹⁸ As for the *prenomen* cartouches that served as the focal point of the converging rebus friezes, located over the center of various walls in four of the chambers, the hieroglyphs of the goddess Maat and the *ka* arms were both targeted for erasure, and only the sun disk was left intact. Three of these mutilated cartouches were never recarved (in the Vestibule and in both of the Amun sanctuaries), but were left in a damaged state or simply painted over. In the Dyad Chamber, on the wall directly opposite the entrance, the cartouche was surcharged for Thutmose II (pl. 92D), presumably due to its prominent visibility.

¹⁵ In rare cases, perhaps in acknowledgment of the unbalanced nature of the ceremony, portions of text that describe the god's usual response to the royal offering, namely, "as he (the god) gives life, all stability and dominion, and all joy" were erased as well (pls. 53 and 55).

¹⁶ The preservation of "Amun" has to do with the presence of the god, rather than with the sanctity of the divine name itself; by contrast, in places where Hatshepsut's titulary was wholly erased, the element "Re" was included in the erasure (e.g., pls. 33, 37, 39). In the usurped cartouches, of course, the disk was retained in the recarved names (Aakheperkare, Aakheperenre), though it might itself be reworked to suit the spacing (see pl. 92C–D).

¹⁷ One example, on pl. 55, l. 10, was restored not in its original location, but higher and to the right, perhaps because the original *ʾImn* was carved over a convergence of three block lines where the surface was especially weak; see the epigraphic comments for pl. 55.

¹⁸ Not all rebuses were given equal attention; several examples, located toward the corners of the chambers and thus less accessible or visible, occasionally escaped being damaged (pl. 93D).

As in other temples, Thutmose III generally avoided usurping images of Hatshepsut for himself. Only two examples of direct usurpation are evident at Medinet Habu, both located on the western wall of the Dyad Chamber. Here alone, in scenes situated on either side of the western doorway, where Hatshepsut was depicted embracing Amun (pls. 26 and 27), the *prenomen* of Thutmose III was cut over that of his deceased coregent. The reason for this direct usurpation was probably the prominent location of these scenes. A visitor entering the main doorway of the inner sanctuaries would be confronted immediately by the colossal dyad of Amun and the king, the back pillar of which would have hidden the doorway behind it, but leaving the two scenes on either side of the door exposed as the first visible relief images of the deity and royal donor (pl. 105). It was here alone in the temple that Thutmose III claimed Hatshepsut's cartouches for himself, rather than for his father or grandfather, presumably to advertise himself as the pre-eminent monarch of the temple.¹⁹

The revisions in the ritual chapels, therefore, can be briefly summarized as follows: the alterations in the two southern rooms required (with the exception of the colossal lettuce) only the recutting of royal cartouches, a fairly simple process and one that did little violence to the reliefs overall. The names of the king's father and grandfather were introduced into every one of Hatshepsut's cartouches in the Vestibule, and that of Thutmose II into two of the scenes in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun. By contrast, extensive redrafting and recutting was ordered for the scenes in the Sanctuary of Amun and the Naos Chamber so as to remove any indication of the presence of Hatshepsut, but without inserting the names of the earlier Thutmosides so prominent elsewhere,²⁰ while, at same time, avoiding the apparently unpalatable expedient of having Thutmose III's name surcharged over that of Hatshepsut. Except for the two scenes in the Dyad Chamber noted above, usurpation of his predecessor's figures by the reigning king was not preferred, despite the labor required to erase and recarve them instead.

The result is that the ancestral kings are overwhelmingly predominant in the southern suite, while elsewhere in the temple Thutmose III is the sole royal figure represented in the ritual scenes. This disparity in the pattern of alterations leads to the conclusion that they were not made at random, nor undertaken without a considerable amount of forethought. It is clear that Thutmose III intended not merely to remove evidence of the presence of his former coregent, but to do so in a manner that would emphasize (or perhaps to instate) particular cultic agendas for individual parts of the temple. While the areas that he chose to revise, in accordance with two very different agendas, correspond respectively to the ritual axes of the two forms of Amun revered at Medinet Habu, the content of the wall reliefs alone offers little assistance in differentiating the nature or purpose of one divine cult from the other, as the decoration of the temple consists essentially of a single unified offering ritual spread over two cultic axes, with little redundancy between them (see the following discussion by H. Hays). On the other hand, although for the most part the divine epithets employed for the two forms of Amun are generic and largely indistinguishable, there is one consistent pattern. The epithet "Amun, foremost of *Dsr-s.t*," the resident deity of the temple, occurs five times in the texts of the inner chambers: three times on doorjambs located within the Dyad Chamber and twice more in scenes in which a seated Amun is depicted, once in the Dyad Chamber, and once on the west wall of the central Sanctuary of Amun. In each case, the text is a post-Amarna restoration carried out over an Atenist attack, but, in view of the fact that such restorations were usually carried out in a manner faithful to the original, it is clear that Amun of *Dsr-s.t* is the resident deity to whom the central axis is dedicated.

As for the identity of the ithyphallic Amun, no epithet provides the name of a temple or shrine in which he is resident. On the other hand, the original plan of the temple, as envisioned by Hatshepsut, was designed to accommodate the regular visitation of a portable cult object, albeit one of distinctly modest size and scale. Hölscher's reconstruction of that earlier plan, based on the location of the extant foundation walls, indicates that the six inner sanctuaries were to be situated behind a pillared transverse hall, in front of which stood a small ambulatory and a repository for a portable image (fig. 1A). Equipped with doorways at the east and west ends, the cult repository measured just 10 cubits ("ells") square, not large enough to shelter a traveling bark, but sufficient to house a palanquin or platform of smaller dimensions.

¹⁹ Laboury, in *Statuaire*, p. 539, has suggested that the recutting of the cartouches in these two scenes took place long before the onset of Hatshepsut's proscription, tying in the textual alteration with a simultaneous revision in the royal physiognomy ("un nez au lobulé arrondi," present in other figures of the Dyad Chamber), which he believes to be more in keeping with the iconographic program of Thutmose III in his third decade of rule, not his fifth. He also concedes that, due to the proximity of the *ankh* proffered to the king's nostrils by Amun, that the apparent rounding of the tip of Thutmose III's nose may be an unintentional effect caused by post-Amarna restorers of the later Atenist attack. Other figures of Thutmose III at Medinet Habu carved during the coregency with Hatshepsut were not thus altered.

²⁰ This may be contrasted with the alterations carried out in the southern suite of rooms in the "Palais de Maat" at Karnak (PM II², pp. 104–06, Rooms XVI–XXII), where the female pharaoh's image and name were systematically erased, and then, at a later stage, replaced with more crudely carved images of the king, with the erased cartouches, in most (but not all) cases, surcharged in the name of either Thutmose I or Thutmose II.

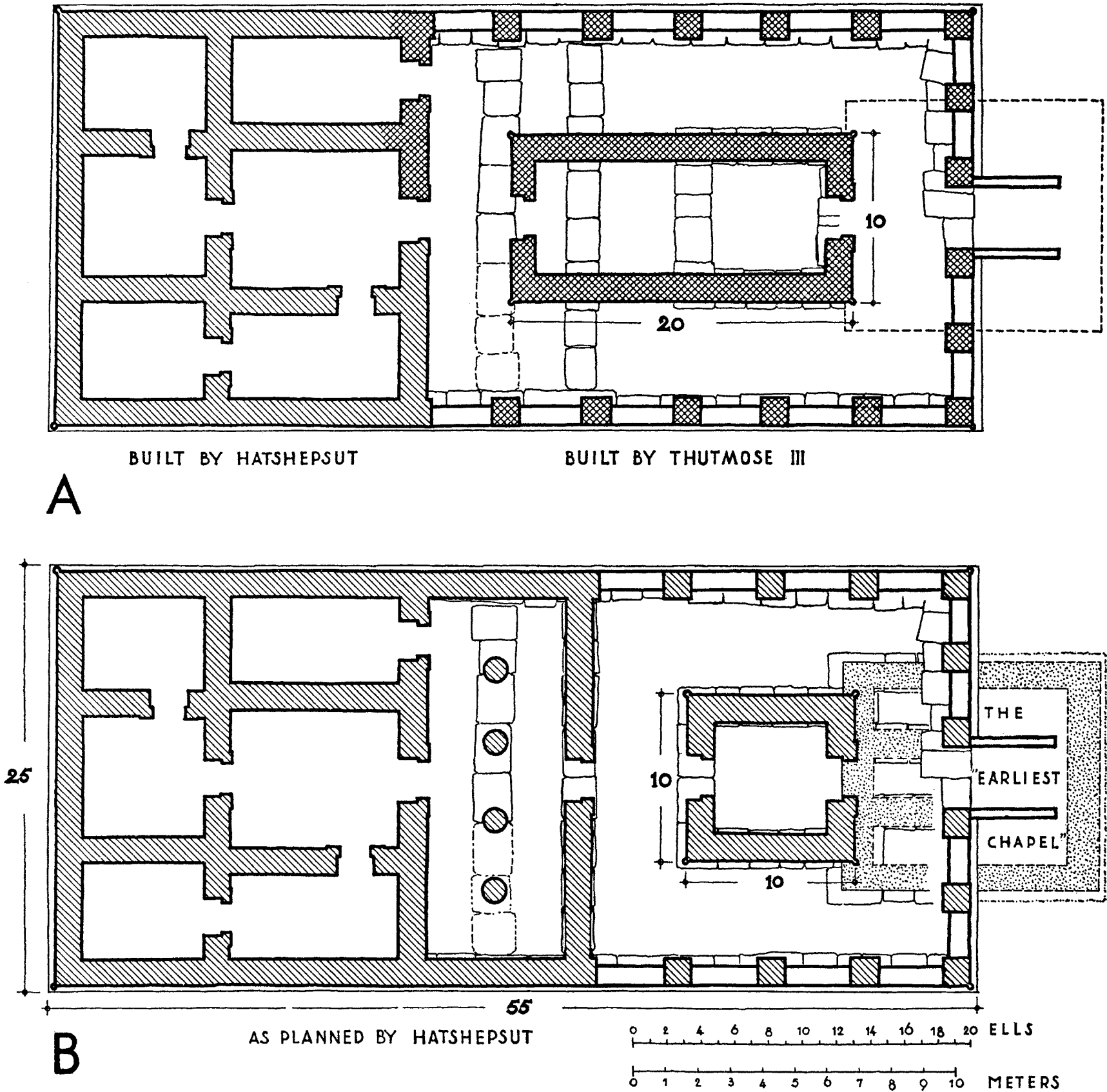


Figure 1. The Original and Final Architectural Plans of the Temple of Amun (Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, fig. 41)

By the evidence of several reliefs in the Theban region, during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties ithyphallic manifestations of Amun were transported on an open platform carried by groups of priests who were largely covered by an enveloping shroud adorned by rosettes and the cartouches of the reigning king.²¹ In one such procession, depicted in the temple of Luxor itself, Amenhotep III offers incense and holds out a supporting hand to the image of an ithyphallic god, labeled “Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of *’Ip.t-s.wt*,” as priests follow behind with several heads of lettuce placed in a carrying crate; the procession heads out of Luxor Temple, presumably en route to Karnak.²² In the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, a sequence of three scenes shows the ithyphallic “[Amun-Re]-Kamutef, the great god, foremost of his *’Ip.t*,” first standing together with Amunet, then lifted in procession on an open platform as Seti I steadies him, and finally standing in a kiosk while presented with offerings by the king.²³ At Medinet Habu, the smaller repository of Hatshepsut would have accommodated such a portable ithyphallic figure displayed on a platform. Her original intention, however, was never realized; the final version of the architectural plan allowed for the expansion of the repository to twice its size — ten by twenty cubits — presumably to permit the visits of a larger portable conveyance. This change in layout omitted the planned transverse hall, inadvertently resulting in insufficient foundational support for the western wall of the enlarged repository, which was to create, in time, structural problems in this portion of the temple (fig. 1B).²⁴

On the interior north wall of Thutmose III’s bark repository, two kinds of carrying equipment are indeed depicted. In the upper register, in a ceremony that doubtless took place within this chamber, the king presents offerings to the bark of Amun, resting on a pedestal and accompanied by various standards (*mdw.w šps*).²⁵ In the register below, an ithyphallic Amun is transported into the repository on an open platform by a group of nine priests, while Thutmose III lifts up a supporting arm (fig. 2); in the adjoining scene a separate menu of offerings is dedicated to the same deity, shown standing on a plinth at ground level.²⁶ This ithyphallic god is identified simply as “Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands” and “lord of heaven, king of the gods.” The epithets are the same generic ones to be found in the inner sanctuaries of the temple, and again, give no hint as to the local identity or origin of this ithyphallic image; but the salient point is that Hatshepsut’s original plan anticipated *primarily* the visit of an ithyphallic form of the Theban god, no doubt the one depicted in the reliefs of the bark repository, and to whom the southern suite of rooms is also dedicated.²⁷

The Thutmoside temple at Medinet Habu was to become, in the course of time, the destination of the procession of the ithyphallic Amun of Luxor during the Feast of the Decade, who came to pour water to the “great living *bas*” every ten days and to enable the regeneration of the primeval Ogdoad thought to be buried there, as well as the deceased mortals interred in

²¹ The ithyphallic Amun was endowed with the same physical attributes, epithets (“Kamutef”), and fetish characteristics as Min and, like that deity, was carried in the open, exposed to public view. Processions of this form of Amun are occasionally mislabeled as “festivals of Min,” when the latter god is in fact nowhere mentioned.

²² PM II², p. 322, where the lettuces are identified as “persea trees.” The scene, located on the northwest wall of the second antechamber of Luxor Temple (room VIII), is reproduced in Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV: Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, OIP 51 (Chicago, 1940), pl. 211; the caption refers to “the figure of (Min-)Amun-Re.”

²³ Ibid., pl. 212, where the scenes are labeled, “Seti I officiating in the ceremonies of the Feast of Min”; PM II², p. 43, describes the sequence of reliefs as the “Festival of Min (here called Amun)”; see also H. H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I/1: The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106 (Chicago, 1981), pls. 158–59. In the final scene Amun-Re-Kamutef is evidently depicted resting in a way station rather than in a temple sanctuary, as indicated by the enveloping cloak with which the carrying poles are still draped.

²⁴ Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, pp. 15–18.

²⁵ PM II², p. 469 (47); Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 27 MH.B 182.

²⁶ PM II², p. 469 (47); Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 27 MH.B 186–87. The caption supplied by the Epigraphic Survey for the scenes in figure 2 incorrectly conflates the god with Min. Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 144–45 with n. 47, identifies the offering menu as an anomalous Type E list, noting that the third register of the list does not conform to others of this type, which “ist weder im Neuen Reich noch in der Spätzeit an einem bestimmten Tempelraum gebunden und erscheint völlig regellos sowohl im Sanktuar als auch in den übrigen Kammern und Sälen des eigentlichen Tempelhauses” (p. 142). He also refers to the ithyphallic deity in the bark repository as Min, as does R. Stadelmann, “Medinet Habu,” *LÄ* 3, col. 1258. The interior of the bark repository was completely recarved during the Ptolemaic restoration of this section of the temple. Both in text and representation, the Ptolemaic workmen followed the original decorative scheme rather closely, faithfully including the restoration texts added under Seti I, now all rendered in monumental Ptolemaic palaeography.

²⁷ It has been suggested previously that the southern suite of rooms was, from the beginning, intended for the cult of the ithyphallic Amun of Luxor, or that the god was at least a regular visitor during the time of Hatshepsut or even earlier: C. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs: Pattern for Every City* (London, 1965), p. 156; Stadelmann, *LÄ* 3, col. 1258; and M. Ullmann, “Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape,” in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by P. Dorman and B. Bryan, SAOC 61 (Chicago, 2007), pp. 9–10.

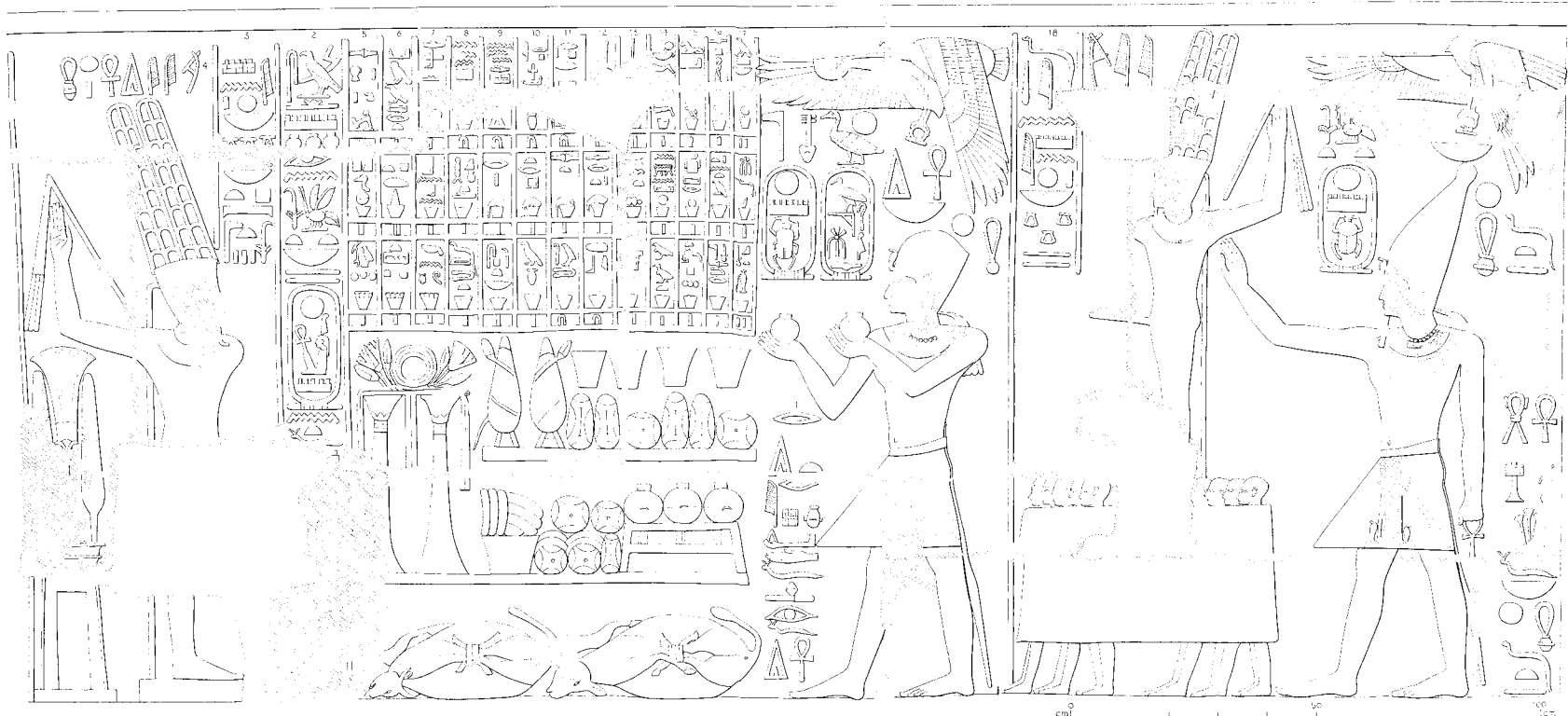


Figure 2. Reliefs Depicting the Ithyphallic Amun, Lower Register of the North Interior Wall of the Bark Repository.
Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 210C–D

western Thebes.²⁸ From the end of the New Kingdom onward, the temple was frequently referred to by the sobriquet “mound of the fathers and mothers,” (*i3.t t3.w mw.wt*) in reference to the eight primeval gods who, together with Amun of Djeme, constituted a local ennead. Later representations of the processional image of Amun of Luxor show that the deity, now called *ʾImn-(m)-ʾIp.t*, was carried in an elaborate palanquin or sedan chair decorated with flanking lions and sphinxes, while the god himself, embraced by the protective wings of goddesses, was enveloped in a shroud that left only his head protruding.²⁹ The earliest datable depiction of this Amun of Luxor, however, dates to the reign of Psammetichus II,³⁰ while for the New Kingdom there is no evidence for a carrying device of this complexity. For the Eighteenth Dynasty only three textual references are attested for the decade feast, closely contemporaneous with the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III but mostly uninformative as to the character of the festival during their reigns, or whether it involved the periodic visits of an ithyphallic avatar of Amun. The earliest mention is a fragmentary inscription from the memorial temple of Thutmose II, making allusion to “offering of beef fat [...] and birds [...] when the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] *ʿ3-hpr-n-Rʿ* [goes forth] from *šsp.t-ʿnh* (the temple) for the decade (feast) on this day.”³¹ The second reference appears on a statue of Senenmut discovered at the

²⁸ The earliest unequivocal allusion to the decade procession of Amun of Luxor to Medinet Habu is in the invocation contained in a late Ramesside letter, pBibliothèque Nationale 198, I, of the late Twentieth Dynasty; see J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 9 (Brussels, 1939), p. 66; E. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, SAOC 33 (Chicago, 1967), pp. 77–78, with n. b. For the theology of the later cult of Amun celebrated at the Thutmoside temple of Medinet Habu, see the fundamental exegesis of K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin, 1929). On Amun and the decade feast, see also M. Doresse, “Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse,” *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 113–36, *RdÉ* 25 (1973), pp. 92–135, and *RdÉ* 31 (1979), pp. 36–65; R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence, 1979), pp. 48–65, 80–86; C. Traunecker, *La chapelle d’Achoris II*, *Recherches sur les grandes civilisations* 5 (Paris, 1981), pp. 130–42; and K. Cooney, “The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Rule of the King,” *JARCE* 37 (2000), pp. 4–58.

²⁹ See Doresse, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), p. 119, for the full description of the three-dimensional cult image.

³⁰ Idem, *RdÉ* 25 (1973), pp. 101–03; the scene, chased on a bronze mirror, shows the veiled portable image labeled as “Amon-Re-Kamutef who resides at the mound of Djeme,” while behind stands a cult statue of the ithyphallic “Amun-Re [who is upon] his great [throne], foremost of his Opet”; in a lower register are ranged the Theban triad of Amun of *ip.t sw.t*, Mut, and Khonsu, as well as Montu “lord of Thebes” and Atum of Heliopolis.

³¹ L. Gabolde and M. Gabolde, “Les temples «mémoires» de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques),” *BIFAO* 89 (1989), pp. 149–50, pl. 16. The authors doubt that the text contains a reference to the decade feast per se, since the festival determinative is missing, preferring to understand the event as a “service amplifié,” observed “du dixième jour” (ibid., n. 145).

temple of Mut, CG 579: “I was one who replenished [...] in the granary of the divine offerings of Amun, intended for the first (day) of every decade.”³² The third is in the tomb of Rekhmire: “It was he who inspected what is drunk on (the feast of) the first (day) of every decade.”³³ As Marianne Doresse observes, it is hardly possible, from these meager allusions, to determine whether the decade feast at this time consisted merely of the periodic distribution of food offerings to various temple cults in western Thebes and the population at large, or whether the feast already involved the public commemorative processions of both east and west banks that are better known from later periods.³⁴

The reign of Ramesses II marks the first reference to a processional celebration associated with the decade feast, contained in the dedicatory inscription in the first court at Luxor Temple. Among other architectural features at Luxor, the king describes his newly erected triple shrine behind the first pylon as “a sanctuary (*ḥ*) of repose for the lord of the gods in his festival of Opet, that his pauses might be taken there on (the feast of) the first (day) of every decade.”³⁵ The central and largest sanctuary of the triple shrine is dedicated to “Amun, king of the gods, foremost of his Opet,”³⁶ which Doresse takes as a specific reference to the Luxor Amun: “si la première destination de la chapelle était d’abriter Amon de Karnak pendant le séjour qu’il faisait un fois l’an dans son *ipt* du sud, c’est la forme ithyphallique d’Amon résidant à Louxor — les textes postérieurs ne laissent aucun doute à ce sujet — qui y faisait des apparitions décadales.”³⁷

The creation of a way station for the occasion of these same two festivals was also a project undertaken by Ramesses III. On a stela from Luxor, Ramesses boasts of the erection of “a shrine [*ḥw.t*] in Southern Opet, upon the west side, for his august father, Amun foremost of his Opet, that he might rest therein on (the feast of) the first (day) of every decade... [and] a place of perambulation for the lord of the gods during his beautiful festival of Opet.”³⁸ Unlike the triple shrine of Ramesses II, the location of this later construction has never been identified, but it was probably situated along the route leading from the western gate of the first court of Luxor Temple directly down to the Nile, a location suitable for either the Opet festival (and the water route to Karnak) or the decade feast and the roads to the western necropolis.³⁹

Despite these suggestive bits of evidence, it is impossible to establish that an ithyphallic image of a god known as Amun of Opet participated in the observance of the decade feast during the Eighteenth Dynasty; there is no unequivocal depiction of such a procession or specific divine name such as *ʾImn-(m)-ʾIp.t* to be found at the Thutmoside temple of Medinet Habu or in the portions of Luxor Temple built by Amenhotep III.⁴⁰ The strongest evidence, circumstantial though it may be, is that Hatshepsut’s plan for the temple incorporated a small repository whose interior space would have measured barely 3 meters on a side, best suited only for a modest carrying platform or palanquin, implying the visitation of just such an image. Related to this architectural detail, however, is the deliberation with which the images of Hatshepsut were systematically altered. While Thutmose III now takes precedence in the northern rooms as the only king to preside over the rituals, in the southern axis — the cultic domain of the ithyphallic Amun — his deceased forebears were inserted in virtually every possible location, with the sole exception of the anomalous gigantic lettuce. The nature of these revisions is certainly in keeping with the theology of Luxor Temple, built just a century later during the reign of Amenhotep III. As outlined by Lanny Bell, Luxor was the locus for the series of rites through which the king annually became united with his *ka*-force, described as “the divine aspect of

³² *Urk.* 4, 411/9–10.

³³ *Urk.* 4, 1115/8.

³⁴ Doresse, *RdÉ* 31, p. 37.

³⁵ K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical 2: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1979), 607/13–14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 614/6, 13–14.

³⁷ Doresse, *RdÉ* 31 (1979), p. 38.

³⁸ K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical 5: Setnakht, Ramesses III, and Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1983), 292/3–5.

³⁹ As suggested by Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 79, n. b; and Doresse, *RdÉ* 31, p. 40. The date of this inscription can hardly be more than ninety years removed from the first unequivocal mention of the decade procession in pBibliothèque Nationale 198, I.

⁴⁰ The Ramesside link between the decade feast and the festival of Opet raises the question of whether and to what extent Amun of Karnak was a participant in the decade feast during the New Kingdom, especially in view of the fact that Karnak figures so prominently in those rituals during the Kushite period and later, as the monuments of Taharqa and Achoris attest, for which see the references in n. 28, above. T. Schuller-Götzburg, *Zur Semantik der Königsikonographie*, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 9 (Vienna, 1990), pp. 77–78, suggests that Luxor Temple, during the New Kingdom, was viewed merely as the “southern sanctuary” of Amun of Karnak, who was accorded the epithet “foremost of his Opet” by virtue of his periodic visits to the southern shrine, not because of a distinct manifestation of godhead there, and only later did a separate form of Amun develop at Luxor. On this question, see also Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pp. 11–12; and P. Paminger, “Amun und Luxor – der Widder und das Kultbild,” *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992), pp. 93–99. On processional cult-images, see K. Eaton, “Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the New Kingdom,” *ZÄS* 134 (2007), pp. 15–25.

the king, linking him with both the gods and all his royal predecessors.”⁴¹ Bell also sees the avatar of Kamutef as the uniting element of the two great temple cults on the eastern bank of the Nile: “he is the manifestation of Amun as the Theban Min, the physical creator of the gods (at Medinet Habu) and of the king and his *ka* (at Luxor); in him are united both Amun-Re of Karnak and the Amun of Luxor.”⁴² Specifically, the transmission of the *ka*-force is effected “through the agency of Kamutef, the divine progenitor par excellence,” and the ithyphallic manifestation of Amun that represented to the ancient Egyptians the idea of immortality “as evidenced in the regeneration of the royal *ka*, shared by every ruler to sit upon the throne of Egypt.”⁴³ If Thutmose III elected to alter the original decoration of the southern sanctuary largely in favor of Thutmose I and II, his intention may have been to reaffirm, in the memorialized presence of his own ancestors,⁴⁴ the regenerative aspects of the ithyphallic Amun in his two major functions of imbuing the kingship with the ancestral *ka*-force and of revivifying the deceased gods on the west of Thebes by the periodic observance of their funerary rites. Whether this visiting deity was resident at Karnak or Luxor during the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and whether such visits were celebrated in decadal processions, are questions that cannot be conclusively answered.⁴⁵

In this regard, however, Luc Gabolde has drawn attention to the peculiar location of the memorial temple of Thutmose II, called *Šsp.t-‘nh*, built far to the south of the traditional locus of mortuary temples of earlier rulers and, for that matter, at the southern end of New Kingdom mortuary temples generally.⁴⁶ Gabolde has been able to show, through the reconstruction of the temple’s decorative elements, that the nature of the rituals of *Šsp.t-‘nh* (and the later, neighboring memorial temple of Tutankhamun) is distinctly different from the daily observation of standard funerary rites for the deceased king, but that the cult was scheduled on a ten-day cycle, “par essence funéraire, exécuté sur un substitut de corps, la statue de *kꜣ*. Il est bien évident qu’il ne s’agit pas là du culte journalier dans les deux temples mémoriaux et que l’office décadaire était l’événement marquant de ces sanctuaires.”⁴⁷ Such rites, performed on behalf of *ka*-statues representing deceased royalty on a cycle of every ten days, prefigure what is known of the nature of decade feast in later centuries, in broad outline if not in detail. Importantly in this regard, *Šsp.t-‘nh* stood very close to the Thutmoside temple at Medinet Habu.

While clear evidence for the decade feast and for a portable image of Amun of Opet derives only from later monuments, given what is known about the longevity of divine cults it should not be surprising that certain underlying functions of the festival — the rejuvenation of the royal *ka*-force and the regeneration of deceased kings at the temple of Medinet Habu through mortuary offerings and the periodic visits of Amun-Kamutef — may have been in place at the beginning of the New Kingdom. If so, the decade feast may already have been a processional public event in the early Eighteenth Dynasty that required an appropriate repository for the ithyphallic Amun of Thebes in his journeys to the west, and it is entirely fitting that Thutmose III should have decreed the alteration of Hatshepsut’s original decoration in the southern suite so that his immediate ancestral forebears might take the predominant ritual role in the cult celebrating that god at Medinet Habu.

Nor is it impossible that the festival had an earlier origin, in the now-vanished temple whose foundation underlies that of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁴⁸ A recent study by Martina Ullmann has examined the early-Middle Kingdom origins of the ritual landscape in the Theban region, including an incipient north–south axis at the temple of Karnak (implying that Luxor was a ritual destination as early as the Twelfth Dynasty) and the close identification of divine and royal cults in the area of

⁴¹ L. Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” *JNES* 44 (1985), p. 256.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁴⁴ A relevant situation may be noted at Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahari, where the room dedicated to the cult of the king’s father is also located south of the central axis; see Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 5, p. 6, and pl. 129. A suite of rooms with similar function existed in the mortuary temple of Seti I at Gurnah, where chambers 28, 29, 30, and 31 were dedicated by Ramesses II to his ancestors Ramesses I and Seti I; see PM II², pp. 417–19.

⁴⁵ In this vein it must be emphasized that, since the representations of the ithyphallic Amun in the southern suite of the Small Temple are not labeled explicitly as images of Kamutef, and, indeed, since the name of Kamutef occurs only once in the six inner chambers (in the Naos Chamber, at pl. 51A), an identification of the god depicted in the Vestibule and the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun as the god Kamutef resident at Karnak and Luxor Temple cannot be demonstrated.

⁴⁶ Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les temples «mémoriaux»,” pp. 133–34, with fig. 3. The memorial temple of Thutmose II is situated just north of the Medinet Habu complex, along the south side of the later mortuary chapel of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁸ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, pp. 4–5.

Thebes.⁴⁹ That Hatshepsut would choose to focus her local construction efforts at Karnak, Luxor, and Medinet Habu reflects no religious innovation on her part, but a desire to magnify the centrality of existing cult centers as well as the routes connecting them, a program subsequently continued during the sole reign of Thutmose III.⁵⁰ For this purpose she evidently provided a sanctuary at Medinet Habu for the traveling image of Amun-Kamutef, as well as a repository for the relatively small-scale portable equipment used to elevate the statue of that deity while in procession. The enlargement of the original repository suggests that Thutmose III intended to make Medinet Habu the destination not only of an early version of the Feast of the Decade but of other festivals in which the portable ram-headed bark of Amun of Karnak played a central role.

Finally, it is suggested here that the strikingly differential pattern of Thutmoside alterations at the temple of Amun at Medinet Habu is an expression of the particular cultic exigencies or ceremonial practices observed at the monument itself and thus manifested according to very local concerns. The pattern at Medinet Habu was only part of, but not necessarily typical of, the larger program of the systematic revision of the evidence of Hatshepsut's kingship. It may well prove to be the case that the specific methods chosen to redact Hatshepsut's reliefs in other temples at Thebes were likewise predicated on deliberate choices made according to the purpose and context of individual monuments, or even the rooms within them.

Two other sets of alterations to the original Thutmoside decoration of the chambers must be noted. One is the erasure, in certain locations in the temple, of the *nfr*-sign that appears in one of the versions of the king's *nomen*: *Dḥwty-ms nfr-hpr*. The phenomenon is a widespread one (see the commentary to pl. 15), yet it does not appear to have been undertaken consistently, either in this monument or in any other. In a number of instances at sites other than Medinet Habu, the epithet was replaced by another (such as *smʒ-hpr*, *ḥkʒ-Mʒʿ.t*, *ḥʿ-hpr[.w]*, or *ʿʒ-hpr[.w]*), some requiring complete replacement, others just the change of a single sign. None of the examples in the inner sanctuaries at Medinet Habu was altered *in toto*, but only the *nfr*-element was attacked, leaving the cartouche to be understood as perhaps *Dḥwty-ms-(ms)-hpr(.w)*. In any case, the reliefs at Medinet Habu do not clarify to any extent the dating or the significance of this peculiar program of changes. Here the hacking of the *nfr*-element was sporadic, occurring in only five locations: on the jambs of the entrance to the Dyad Chamber (pl. 15); on the inner jambs of the same doorway (pl. 17); on the jambs and lintel door leading into the Vestibule (pl. 57); in a Vestibule scene showing Thutmose III presenting water to Amun (pl. 63A); and on the lintel of the doorway leading into the King's Chamber, although an intact example is preserved on the left jamb (pl. 83). Little purpose can be deduced from such an inconsistent distribution, but it is worth noting that two of the *nfr*-signs were not simply gouged, but smoothed back in such a manner that only trace lines remain. These examples are both located on the doorways leading into the Dyad Chamber and the King's Chamber, which are the two that were once apparently gilded as part of a Late Period or Ptolemaic restoration. It is possible that, in preparation for applying the gilding, the workmen of the time simply smoothed away the broken signs to avoid enshrining the damage in gold.

The other alteration, equally puzzling, is the reworking of certain royal figures by what appears to be a light scraping of the surface of the raised relief, resulting in the loss of internal carved features, such as the broad collar and the outlines of the arms (see the commentary for pl. 61A in particular). Strikingly, the scraping is limited to a discrete set of figures. Seven of the eight royal images in the Vestibule have been so altered, and all of these originally belonged to Hatshepsut, subsequently reascribed to Thutmose I or II. The only figure in the Vestibule to escape this treatment is that of Thutmose III himself (pl. 63A). Another example of such "scraped" figures is on the western wall of the Sanctuary of Ithyphallic Amun, where Thutmose II (originally Hatshepsut) embraces the deity, while in the pendant scene the figure of Thutmose III has been left untouched (pl. 81A and 81B, respectively). Finally, on the west wall of the Dyad Chamber north of the doorway, the figure of Thutmose III (originally Hatshepsut) has been scraped down (pl. 27), but in the same scene south of the doorway the royal figure of Thutmose III (again, originally Hatshepsut) has not been changed in this manner (pl. 26).

⁴⁹ Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," especially pp. 9–10.

⁵⁰ See, recently, A. M. Roth, "Erasing a Reign," pp. 147–51.

SUBSEQUENT ALTERATIONS

The temple suffered heavily from the attacks of Akhenaten's agents during the proscription of Amun, although in four places the name of the god survived intact, demonstrating that, even in a carefully concerted program of iconoclasm, inconsistencies are always evident.⁵¹ The following elements in the sanctuaries were targeted by the agents of Akhenaten:

- the name, figure, and epithets of Montu-Re on the façade
- the name, figure, and epithets of Atum (pl. 11A); by contrast, all these elements were left intact for the other figure of Atum on the same wall (pl. 13)
- the name, figure, and epithets of the Wepwawet standard on the façade
- the name, figure, and epithets of Amun(-Re) throughout the temple, although the Re element was frequently (but not always) left intact
- the name, figure, and epithets of ithyphallic Amun, together with his emblematic shrine and fan, as well as the great lettuce on pl. 75
- the name and epithets of the Behdetite
- the name and epithets of Nekhbet shown as a hovering vulture
- the name and figure of the cobra goddess Wadjet on the standard facing the royal cartouches
- a textual reference to Geb (pl. 35)
- the figures of the Iunmufef priests and *sm*-priests in the King's Chamber
- the titles of the priestly participants in the offering ritual in the King's Chamber

Two scenes in the temple offer puzzling instances of Amarna damage or restoration. The first is the extraordinary scene in which Hatshepsut's figure was replaced by an enormous lettuce (pl. 75), discussed above, in which the offending image of the sacred plant was doubtless identified for disfigurement by the agents of Akhenaten. But it is equally noteworthy that the damage was never repaired by post-Amarna restorers. The reason for this remains something of a conundrum. Considering the position of the hovering vulture and the protective Wadjet on a basket, it must have been obvious that a royal figure had been present at this location at one time. Even if the traces of the giant lettuce were still visible, the scene on the left (pl. 73), once repaired, included the appropriate sacred emblems of ithyphallic Amun. The scribes and workmen charged with restoring the temple, perhaps puzzled by the context of the damage, recarved neither the lettuce nor the king's figure (assuming they recognized its traces). If they recognized the erased cartouches of Hatshepsut on the wall, they refrained from re-enshrining her; nor did they insert a name or figure for any of the three Thutmoside kings present elsewhere in the adjoining chapels. In any case, this scene is unusual in preserving for posterity at least one instance of "intact" Amarna hacking.

The damaged offering stand on pl. 33B may be a second instance of an unrepaired Amarna attack. Here in the Sanctuary of Amun, immediately to the south of the doorway, Hatshepsut was originally embraced by Amun and presented with the sign of life. The Thutmoside revision involved the erasure of her figure and titles, the addition of an offering stand with a bouquet of plants, and the repositioning of Amun's hands so that the god is shown striding forward, holding a tall *wꜣs*-scepter. The offering stand has been thoroughly gouged in a manner not typical of later period iconoclastic attacks (even the stems of the bouquet, to the left of the stand, are included in the gouging), but the damaged areas also seem to have received a coat of grayish-white background paint reminiscent of late Eighteenth Dynasty techniques. Why the damage was not simply smoothed down entirely, however, or simply recarved as a stand, is a question that cannot be answered.

The survival of black ink graffiti in a number of places indicates that the post-Amarna textual restorations were often guided by scribal notations added in the vicinity to assist the draftsmen in their work of preparing the wall for stonecutters (see the commentary to pls. 96–98). These graffiti were usually followed with precision, not only in their content, but also in their orthography and in the physical layout of signs. Certain texts, however, cannot reflect the original wording of the scenes, as some divine epithets were restored incorrectly in places. For example, in pl. 77 the epithet *nb p.t*, applicable to both the Behdetite and to Amun-Re, who are both depicted in the scene, actually appears three times; the third instance is clearly redundant, and a result of thoughtless planning or drafting.⁵²

⁵¹ Pl. 25, l. 2; pl. 39, l. 10; pl. 49A, l. 1 (located low on the wall, and perhaps protected by a statue or other piece of ritual furniture); pl. 59, l. 4; pl. 9, l. 4.

⁵² Occasionally, certain elements of Hatshepsut's titulary (erased by Thutmose III rather than Akhenaten's agents), obviously readable to the post-Amarna workmen, were restored as well, even if they made no sense as recarved: for one example, see A. M. Roth, "Erasing a Reign," fig. 96 on p. 278.

In later periods the temple was extensively restored, as attested by the gilding applied to the outer doorframes of the entries to the Dyad Chamber and King's Chamber (see the commentary to pl. 15), and graffiti added to the main scenes within the temple bespeak a long tradition of private devotion in later centuries. Since the inner sanctuaries offer only a partial glimpse of these phenomena, which pertain to the temple as a whole, further discussion of restoration, reuse, adaptation, and visitors' graffiti are best deferred to later volumes of this series.

The iconoclastic damage inflicted on the temple scenes in the medieval and even relatively modern periods can only be characterized in a general way. Such damage seems to involve both obvious targets of opportunity and mere whim, and even within the same chamber or scene there is not necessarily any consistency to the phenomenon. The epigraphic commentary to each plate describes the extent of this later iconoclasm in detail, but in general the objects targeted include:

- the faces, hands, arms, legs, and occasionally the torso of major figures in scenes
- the phallus and raised arm of ithyphallic Amun⁵³
- the uraei and feather tips of the winged sun-disk above the door lintels
- the figures of the priests in the King's Chamber
- the faces of human hieroglyphs: the *hr*-face hieroglyph, the *nisbe* adjective *hry-tp*, and, rarely, the heads of seated divine determinatives
- birds: the *m*-owl, *ḥ*-bird, *sḥ*-goose, Horus falcon, quail chick, ibis (both the bird on the standard and the ibis-headed divine determinative of *Dḥwty*), and the body and feathers of the birds hovering above royal figures
- other animals: the *kḥ*-bull, *hpr*-beetle, *bi.ty*-bee, *sḥ*-goat, *f*-viper, the ram determinative of *šfy.t* (pl. 15, l. 11), and the head and tail of the Wepwawet standard (pl. 11A)
- offering piles: birds and animals that are shown as part of the offerings, as well as a ritual vessel that perhaps had an animal head (pl. 41A)

In addition to the epigraphers, artists, photographers, and other resident scholars who have been engaged in the production of the plates and commentary presented in this volume, a great many other members of the Chicago House team have been involved in activities directly related to the success of the Epigraphic Survey's work at the temple of Amun, and I have the distinct honor to acknowledge their contributions here, especially in the areas of conservation and administration. Their efforts have been integral in every way to the complex task of producing field records in an overseas venue.

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⁵³ On pl. 65, the phallus was cut out sometime after the scene was recorded by the Lepsius epigraphic mission; assuming a proximate time and motive, the same may be true for the phallus on pl. 73.

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PREFACE

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THE RITUAL SCENES IN THE CHAPELS OF AMUN

HAROLD M. HAYS

The six scenes¹ flanking the doorways along the Eighteenth Dynasty temple's axis into Rooms L, O, N, P, and Q show the god Amun-Re *shꜥtpꜥfꜥib* "as he satisfies the heart² of the king, or *dꜥfꜥnhꜥ* "as he gives life"³ to him, thus depicting the reciprocal result of cult performed for the god.⁴ But, where their original decoration is preserved, the remainder of the scenes in these five rooms feature the king in the active role of priest as he performs rites for Amun-Re.⁵ Owing to their dominant content,⁶ the rooms may be understood as having been devoted to the god's cult,⁷ and thus this essay contextualizes the depicted rites within what may be surmised of temple ritual in the New Kingdom.

¹ In the Dyad Chamber (L) and the Sanctuary of Amun (O), pls. 18, 19, 26, 27, 32, and 33.

² Pls. 18, 26, 27, 32, and 33. The text on pl. 32, l. 1, is inscribed with the verb's suffix pronoun delayed until after the object. The scenes on pls. 32 and 33 were recarved to remove the image of Hatshepsut, but the captions remain, as do traces of the female pharaoh.

³ Plate 19, l. 1.

⁴ For this principle, see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 104; similarly W. Barta, "Kult," in *LÄ* 3, cols. 839–40; and for further references, see A. Gulyás, "The Osirid Pillars and the Renewal of Ramesses III at Karnak," in *SAK* 36 (2007), p. 37, n. 69.

⁵ See E. Graefe, "Die Deutung der Sogenannten 'Opfergaben' der Ritualszenen ägyptischer Tempel als 'Schriftzeichen,'" in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, edited by J. Quaegebeur, OLA 55 (Leuven, 1993), pp. 144–45, for the rejection of calling scenes of this kind "Opferszenen," and for an enumeration of four categories of rites represented in late temples: *Realhandlung*, *Kultgerät*, *Scheingerät*, and *Sinnbild*. As described below, the ritual representations from Rooms L, N, O, P, and Q concern cultic actions, such as laying hands upon the god, and the manipulation of cultic items, such as the presentation of wine.

⁶ See the axiom of Di. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 2 (Berlin, 1962), p. 4, wherein a "Bindung einer Szene an den Ort, an dem sie wirklich stattfindet" is seen. Beyond their physical, cultic signification, especially late representations of rites may also be understood as having broader significations, as, for example, cosmic, mythological, or geographical notions, as explained by P. Derchain, "Un manuel de géographie liturgique à Edfou," in *Chronique d'Égypte* 37 (1962), pp. 31–35. On the tension between concrete and symbolic understanding of temple representations, see further P. Derchain, "Du temple cosmique au temple ludique," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 93–97; Graefe, "Die Deutung der Sogenannten 'Opfergaben,'" pp. 143–44; D. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zurich, 1994), pp. 33–36; A. Egberts, "Praxis und System: Die Beziehungen zwischen Liturgie und Tempeldekoration am Beispiel

des Festes von Behedet," in *3. ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, edited by D. Kurth, ÄAT 33/1 (Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 13–14 and 30–31; and M. Poo, "Ritual Texts in the Ptolemaic Temples: The Liturgies of Libation and Beer Offering," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists 2*, edited by J. Goyon and C. Cardin, OLA 150 (Leuven, 2007), pp. 1527–29; and see also the theoretical, "sozio-kommunikativ" analytical framework developed by C. Reiche, "'Eine Welt aus Stein, Bild, und Wort.' Bild und Text als Medien des monumentalen Diskurses im Alten Ägypten," in *In Pharaos Staat: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by D. Bröckelman and A. Klug (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 159–204.

⁷ On the basis of their function, these five rooms may be distinguished from the King's Chamber (Room M), which was devoted to the cult of Thutmose III according to Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, p. 9. According to Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, pp. 62–64 and 72, offering table scenes (*Speisetischszenen*) of the sort displayed on the side walls of the King's Chamber are found in three situations: in rooms dedicated to the royal cult, in peripheral statue niches and bark stations showing the king as secondary recipient of divine offerings, and in purification chapels, wherein priests readied themselves for service to the god. For his part, *ibid.*, pp. 75 and 118 (evidently followed by W. Murnane, *United with Eternity: A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu* [Chicago, 1980], p. 77; cf. Di. Arnold, "Tempelanlagen der 18. Dynastie," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 36 [1961], p. 377), opts for the third interpretation of the King's Chamber, since in his view it was isolated from the other five rooms by virtue of having a separate entrance. However, in acknowledging that its entrance was later expanded so as to permit the introduction of a cult statue, Arnold conceded that "Dies läßt vermuten, daß der Raume unter Veränderung der Kultgepflogenheiten in eine Königskultstätte verwandelt wurde" (Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 75). It is simpler to observe that the dominant decoration in Room M shows the king as recipient of mortuary cult complete with the Type C offering list, a list directly related to mortuary cult (see Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 111–14 and 117–18); the modification to the entrance may suggest that the room's original cult statue was later replaced by a larger one.

As the ritual scenes in these five rooms showed no more than image and caption in their original forms, they fall into the commonest and most traditional mode of ritual representation; reaching back to the Fifth Dynasty are captioned images of the king, showing him manipulating an object before a passive divinity.⁸ Notwithstanding the traditionality of this kind of representation, the bulk of information on temple ritual comes from the Eighteenth Dynasty and later.⁹ Indeed, it is monuments of Seti I in the Nineteenth Dynasty that supply the first rich mass of liturgical material,¹⁰ above all through scenes decorating the north half of the east wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak¹¹ and those of his temple at Abydos, especially in the six chapels dedicated to the gods Ptah, Re-Harakhti, Amun-Re, Osiris, Isis, and Horus.¹² Whereas the usual mode of temple decoration merely shows caption and image, the Seti I scenes typically offer image, caption, and recitation, thereby providing a more complete picture of the rites. The Abydos scenes are particularly instructive, because the activities are effectively identical from one chapel to the next:¹³ temple ritual appears to have been essentially ecumenical.¹⁴

Consistency between gods is matched by appreciable consistency in time and place, since the great majority of the Abydos recitations are duplicated¹⁵ in a pair of Berlin papyri datable to the Twenty-second Dynasty, the most important of them being Papyrus Berlin 3055, as it appears to be complete.¹⁶ Providing only titles and recitations, the papyrus details a part of the

⁸ Whence a fragment from the Abusir pyramid of Sahure showing the king in the act of *it.t m(i)m(i) n B3s.t(i)t* “taking seed-grain to Bastet”; see L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 49 with n. 2, and pl. 35. The same scene is attested also from the pyramid of Niuserre; see idem, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 94, fig. 72. From the reign of Khasekhemwi comes a representation of the foundation rite (presumably for a temple) involving the king and the goddess Seshat, on which see R. Engelbach, “A Foundation Scene of the Second Dynasty,” in *JEA* 20 (1934), pl. 24; L. Morenz, “Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel am Beispiel zweier Fragmente des archaischen Tempels von Gebelein,” in *Ägyptische Tempel: Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, edited by R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz, Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 37 (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 218–19; N. Alexanian, “Die Reliefdekoration des Chaschemui aus dem sogenannten Fort in Hierakonpolis,” in *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l’Ancien Empire*, edited by N. Grimal, BdE 120 (Cairo, 1997), p. 12 and pl. 7b; and J. Baines, “Temples as Symbols, Guarantors, and Participants in Egyptian Civilization,” in *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, edited by S. Quirke (London, 1997), p. 221; and on the significance of the rite, see D. Budde, *Die Göttin Seshat* (Leipzig, 2000), pp. 191–99.

⁹ Owing to the temporal distribution of the surviving evidence. On early temples and their decoration, see Morenz, “Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel,” pp. 217–38; and idem, “Die Götter und ihr Redetext: Die ältestbelegte Sakral-Monumentalisierung von Textlichkeit auf Fragmenten der Zeit des Djoser aus Heliopolis,” in *5. ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, edited by H. Beinlich et al., ÄAT 33/3 (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 137–58.

¹⁰ The earliest attested temple ritual script is evidently that of Luxor XVII/28 (Brunner, *Die südliche Räume*, pl. 63; for the location of room XVII, scene 28, in Luxor Temple, see Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 23), where it is incorporated into a scene as decoration; further reference is made to this scene below in connection with pl. 73 in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun. Fragments of what may possibly be a temple rite occur on a Middle Kingdom papyrus from Lahun; see M. Collier and S. Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, BAR International Series 1209 (Oxford, 2004), p. 7 (UC 32091C).

¹¹ For the scenes, see H. H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I/1: The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106 (Chicago, 1981), pls. 202–32 and 264. For the chronology of the relief decoration there, see P. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical, and Art*

Historical Analysis, Probleme der Ägyptologie 16 (Leiden, 2000), pp. 212–13; and A. El Sharkawy, *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 202–03.

¹² For the chapel scenes, see *Sethos I at Abydos* 1 and 2, pls. 1–28; and K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical 1: Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1975), 149/9–162/4.

¹³ Most easily appreciated in the synoptic presentation of A. Mariette, *Abydos: Description des fouilles 1: Ville antique: Temple de Sêti* (Paris, 1869), pp. 34–70.

¹⁴ As similarly concluded by W. Barta, “Die Anordnung der Wandreliefs in den Götterkapellen des Sethos-Tempels von Abydos,” in *MDAIK* 21 (1966), p. 122; and D. Lorton, “The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt,” in *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, edited by M. Dick (Winona Lake, 1999), p. 132.

¹⁵ See J. Osing, “Zum Kultbildritual in Abydos,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by E. Teeter and J. Larson, SAOC 58 (Chicago, 1999), pp. 318–19 (and note that his rite numbers for the papyri do not entirely match those of A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte d’après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti I^{er}, à Abydos* [Paris, 1902]); E. Kausen, “Das tägliche Tempelritual,” in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments 2: Religiöse Texte, Part 3: Rituale und Beschwörungen II* (Gütersloh, 1988), pp. 391 and 394–95; and Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, pp. 2–4 and 229–46.

¹⁶ According to the unpaginated introduction to G. Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1: Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut* (Leipzig, 1901), pBerlin 3055 “ist vollständig erhalten, falls sich nicht vielleicht zwischen S. XIX und XX eine Lücke befindet.” Its mate is the incomplete pBerlin 3014 + 3053 for the cult of Mut at Karnak. For the papyri, see Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus*; and Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*. For an itemization of the few differences between them, see Osing, “Kultbildritual,” p. 317. Their dating is upon palaeographic grounds, matching the character of the hand that wrote a dated notation in pBerlin 3048, according to the introduction to Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus*. On the dating of pBerlin 3048 and papyri associated with it, see C. Knigge, *Das Lob der Schöpfung: Die Entwicklung ägyptischer Sonnen- und Schöpfungshymnen nach dem Neuen Reich*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 219 (Fribourg, 2006), p. 140 with n. 411.

ritual performed for the god Amun-Re at Karnak in which the officiating priest or priests approach the sanctuary, enter it, and handle the image therein, with the whole procedure thus referred to here as the “temple sanctuary ritual.”¹⁷ One of the important features of the Berlin papyrus is its necessarily linear nature; while the order of scenes in the Abydos chapels is subject to interpretation,¹⁸ because their scenes are stacked vertically and spread laterally across multiple wall surfaces, the papyrus presents the rites in an indisputable sequential order.¹⁹ Even though the variance between it and the Abydos scenes suggests that the content of the temple sanctuary ritual was not immutable,²⁰ the consistency between them is enough to warrant consideration of the Small Temple scenes through the prism of external information.

Rooms O (the Sanctuary of Amun) and P (the Naos Chamber)²¹ of the Small Temple are dominated by scenes readily corresponded to rites from the sanctuary ritual of the Berlin papyrus. The acts represented at Medinet Habu may be conceptually

¹⁷ Previously referred to as the “rituel du culte divin journalier” (as in Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*; similarly A. Blackman, “The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy,” in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* [1918–1919], pp. 27–53; Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 8, and elsewhere). The old term is unsatisfactory since the New Kingdom temple offering ritual, discussed below, was also a temple liturgy and was also performed daily (see similarly Barta, “Kult,” col. 843). The ritual in its entirety is often called the “Kultbildritual” (as by Knigge, *Das Lob der Schöpfung*, p. 159), but, to be precise, only a portion of the ritual directly involves the image of the god. On the sanctuary ritual, see O. von Lemm, *Das Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes* (Leipzig, 1882); Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*; Blackman, “Sequence of Episodes,” pp. 27–53; M. Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, BdE 20/1 (Cairo, 1949), pp. 59–98; J. Griffiths, “The Horus-Seth Myth in the Daily Temple Liturgy,” in *Aegyptus* 38 (1958), pp. 3–10; G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten* (Zurich, 1960), pp. 72–141; Arnold, “Tempelanlagen der 18. Dynastie,” pp. 376–78; Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, pp. 8–9; Barta, “Anordnung der Wandreliefs,” pp. 116–22; idem, “Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult,” in *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”* 19 (1965–1966), pp. 457–61; B. Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult* (Hamburg, 1968), pp. 175–211; H. Altenmüller, “Die abydenische Version des Kultbildrituals,” in *MDAIK* 24 (1969), pp. 16–25; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptische Hymnik* 1, MÄS 19 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 165–66; J. Wilson, “The Daily Ritual in the Temple,” in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., edited by J. Pritchard (Princeton, 1969), pp. 325–26; W. Barta, “Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion des abydenischen Kultbildrituals,” in *MDAIK* 29 (1973), pp. 163–66; R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos (c. 1300 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973), pp. 89–144; idem, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (London, 1981), pp. 58–82; Barta, “Kult,” cols. 842–43; W. Guglielmi, “Bemerkungen zum Maatopfer im Amunsritual,” in *GM* 40 (1980), pp. 23–28; J. van Dijk, “Hymnen uit het dagelijks tempelritueel voor de egyptische godin Moet,” in *Schrijvend Verleden: Documenten uit het oude nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht*, edited by K. R. Veenhof (Leiden, 1983), pp. 233–46; Kausen, “Das tägliche Tempelritual,” pp. 391–405; M. Witkowski, “Le rôle et les frontons des Chapelles d’Anubis dans le complexe funéraire de la reine Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari,” in *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985: Linguistik-Philologie-Religion*, edited by S. Schoske, *SAK*, Beiheft 3 (Hamburg, 1989), pp. 431–40; H. Roeder, *Mit dem Auge sehen: Studien zur Semantik der Herrschaft in den Toten- und Kulttexten*, *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 16

(Heidelberg, 1996), pp. 268–69; W. Guglielmi and K. Buroh, “Die Eingangssprüche des Täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I, 1–VI, 3),” in *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, edited by J. van Dijk (Groningen, 1997), pp. 101–66; R. Ritner, “Daily Ritual of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak,” in *The Context of Scripture* 1, edited by W. Hallo (Leiden, 1997), pp. 55–57; E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57 (Chicago, 1997), pp. 43–48; J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1999), pp. 268–82; Lorton, “Theology of Cult Statues,” pp. 131–45; Osing, “Kultbildritual,” pp. 317–34; H. Bartel, “Funktionale Aspekte des täglichen Rituals im Tempel Sethos’ I. in Abydos,” in *5. ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, edited by H. Beinlich et al., *ÄAT* 33/3 (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 1–16; K. Goebis, “A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes,” in *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2 (2002), pp. 51–53; H. Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped in the Pyramid Texts,” in *SAK* 30 (2002), pp. 153–67; D. Heiden, “New Aspects of the Treatment of the Cult Statue in the Daily Temple Ritual,” in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* 2, edited by Z. Hawass (Cairo, 2003), pp. 308–15; J. Gee, “Prophets, Initiation, and the Egyptian Temple,” in *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31 (2004), pp. 97–107; R. Gillam, *Performance and Drama in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2005), pp. 73–77; Knigge, *Das Lob der Schöpfung*, pp. 159–63 and 173–79; K. Eaton, “Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the New Kingdom,” in *ZÄS* 134 (2007), pp. 23–24; Poo, “Ritual Texts in the Ptolemaic Temples,” pp. 1530–32; and A. Sugi, “Iconography and Usage of an ‘nh-vessel in New Kingdom Temple Ritual,” in *6. ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume. Leiden, 4.–7. September 2002*, edited by B. Haring and A. Klug (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 248–55.

¹⁸ For references to the various interpretations of the order of the Abydos chapel scenes, see Barta, “Kult,” col. 847, n. 28; for summaries thereof, see David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, pp. 104–14, with her own interpretation at *ibid.*, pp. 114–19; and Osing, “Kultbildritual,” p. 317, with his own interpretation at *ibid.*, pp. 318–21.

¹⁹ Compare S. Schott, *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 26.

²⁰ Observed by Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, p. 6.

²¹ Four of the Naos Chamber scenes have been associated with the “Kultbildritual” (here referred to as the “handling the image” segment of the sanctuary ritual; see below, n. 24) by Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 15 (cf. Osing, “Kultbildritual,” p. 324, fig. 6, and below, n. 41), while two of its scenes are further discussed at Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten*, pp. 185 and 198–99.

situated within the wider context of the sanctuary ritual through dividing the ritual of the papyrus into segments, according to the presence of libating, censuring,²² and other framing rites. In what follows, the numerical designations of rites correspond to those given them by Alexandre Moret in his 1902 study of pBerlin 3055. The acronym *TSR*, indicating “temple sanctuary ritual,” replaces Moret’s term *chapitre*.

1. Approaching the sanctuary. Consisting of purification of the priest (TSR 1–4), opening the sanctuary (TSR 5–9), seeing the god (TSR 10–11), prostrations (TSR 12–17), and hymns (TSR 18–19).
2. Entering the sanctuary.²³ Consisting of preliminary purifications (TSR 20–21), entering the sanctuary (TSR 22–25), seeing the god (TSR 26–28), prostrations (TSR 29–34), interim purifications (TSR 35–36), and hymns (TSR 37–42).
3. Handling the image.²⁴ Consisting of preliminary purifications, including putting hands upon the god,²⁵ *nms.t*-purification, *dšr.t*-purification, and *sntr*-purification (TSR 43–48), followed by rites of robing and anointing, including giving cloth and clothing with cloth (TSR 49–57), and ending with final purifications, including rites of spreading sand,²⁶ *sm̄n*- and *bd*-natron, incense, water, and *‘nt.yw*-resin²⁷ (TSR 58–66).

Within this framework, the acts represented in the Naos Chamber predominantly concern the third segment, in which the image is handled:

TSR 44A/TSR 50 = Pl. 51B

Traces are preserved of the scene’s original image, with the king Hatshepsut extending her arms toward the god, and of its caption, showing the unmistakable tail end of an *ꜥf*, along with an infinitive ending *.t*; these are followed by traces of two *ll*-signs (S27) lower down. These traces indicate that the caption may be restored either simply *[s]f[h].t mn̄h.t* “[Re]moving clothing” or *[s]f[h].t mn̄h.t [dbꜣ] mn̄h.t* “[Re]moving clothing and [putting on] clothing,”²⁸ captions to a rite represented in several contemporary temples²⁹ but not in the Berlin papyrus. One of the most important of the contemporary scenes appears in the temple of Thutmose III at Kumma, where the king similarly extends his arms to a standing Khnum. There, the single image receives a double caption, *rdi.t ‘.wy hr ntr sfh.t mn̄h.t*³⁰ “Putting hands upon the god and removing the clothing,” and

²² As observed by Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 87 with n. 11 (similarly for purifications alone by Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten*, pp. 212 and 214, and for censuring alone by L. Gabolde and M. Gabolde, “Les temples «mémoires» de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques),” in *BIFAO* 89 [1989], p. 156 with n. 181), rites of libating and censuring regularly introduce offering rituals, a principle he applies to divide one section of the New Kingdom offering ritual from another.

²³ On the basis of the term *hb* “festival” in TSR 20 and 26, David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, pp. 135–36, supposes that the present segment was intended as a special version of the first, to be performed on festival days. That cannot be correct, since the first segment (TSR 1–19) includes no rites for the actual entry into the sanctuary and since the second segment (TSR 20–42) includes neither rites for the purification of the priest nor for the opening of the sanctuary.

²⁴ This segment is elsewhere referred to as “Kultbildritual” or “toilet,” as by Altenmüller, “Die abydenische Version des Kultbildrituals,” p. 16, and Blackman, “Sequence of Episodes,” p. 31, respectively.

²⁵ The purificatory significance of this rite is drawn out below in association with pl. 81A–B in Room Q.

²⁶ On spreading sand as a purificatory rite, see Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten*, pp. 180–81.

²⁷ On *‘nt.yw* as resin generally rather than myrrh specifically, see J. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (Norman, 1996), p. 158.

²⁸ For the reading of these traces, see below.

²⁹ In addition to the Kumma and Amada scenes discussed below, the Thutmoside chapels of Ptah and Hathor at Karnak both feature a scene with king in parallel posture, each with the double caption *sfh.t mn̄h.(t) dbꜣ mn̄h.(t)*, “removing clothing and putting on clothing”; see G. Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite),” in *ASAE* 3 (1902), pp. 106–07; and Oriental Institute Negatives 9636 and 9628 for the captions (comparing fig. 4, below), and *Wb.* 5, 557/1 for the phraseology *sfh.t mn̄h.(t) dbꜣ mn̄h.(t)*. Very similar ritual scenes appear in the upper and lower chapels of Anubis at Deir el-Bahari, with *sfh.t dbꜣ mn̄h.t* “removing and putting on clothing”; see Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 11, and *Deir el-Bahari* 2, pl. 45, respectively; cf. also Witkowski, “Le rôle et les frontons des Chapelles d’Anubis,” pp. 432–34 with figs. 1–2; for the designation of the Deir el-Bahari rooms, see Z. Wysocki, “The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari – Its Original Form,” in *MDAIK* 42 (1986), p. 214, fig. 1. The rite *sfh.t mn̄h.t* appears independently in the Abydos chapels, where its full recitation script is given; see Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, pp. 229–30; and *Sethos I at Abydos* 2, pls. 5, 7, 15, and 23. For *sfh.t dbꜣ mn̄h.t* in rituals for the king’s statue, see Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les temples «mémoires»,” p. 161 and pls. 18–19 and 23.

³⁰ See R. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma 2: The Temple of Kumma*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs 38 (London, 1998), pl.

it is juxtaposed to another scene showing the king in identical posture, captioned *ḏbꜣ mnḥ.t*³¹ “Putting on clothing.” Because *rdi.t ꜥ.wy ḥr ntr* corresponds to TSR 44³² and *ḏbꜣ mnḥ.t* corresponds to TSR 50,³³ *sḥ.t mnḥ.t* (or its variant) should occur between them.³⁴ For the sake of argument, it is here labeled “TSR 44A.”

TSR 46 = Pl. 55

Despite ancient layers of modification to the original scene — first to remove Hatshepsut as the ritualist, second to erase the image of the god Amun-Re, and third to recarve the divine image — the represented rite is clearly identifiable. Besides the shape of the vessel held by the king,³⁵ there is the caption *mw nms.t 4* “water of four *nms.t*-jars,” corresponding to *rꜣ n ꜥb 4.t nms.(t) n.t mw* “utterance of purification (with) four *nms.t*-jars of water” of the Berlin papyrus, TSR 46.³⁶

TSR 47 = Pl. 53

This scene exhibits modifications similar to the preceding, but further incidental damage has destroyed the caption below *mw* “water.” Nevertheless, *dšr.t 4* “four *dšr.t*-jars” can be restored based on the shape of the jar in the depiction³⁷ and by this scene’s juxtaposition to the preceding scene, as the two are often paired together.³⁸ Plate 53 thus corresponds to *ir.t ꜥb m 4.t dšr.t n.t mw* “performing purification (with) four *dšr.t*-jars of water” of the Berlin papyrus, TSR 47.³⁹

TSR 48 = Pl. 49A

The salient correspondence is between the caption *ir.t sntr* “Censing” and the title *ir.t ꜥb m sntr* “Performing purification with incense” of the Berlin papyrus, TSR 48.⁴⁰

TSR 50 = Pl. 51A

The correspondence is between the caption *ḏbꜣ mnḥ.t* “Putting on clothing” and *rꜣ n ḏbꜣ mnḥ.t* “Utterance of putting on clothing” of the Berlin papyrus, TSR 50.⁴¹

69; and D. Dunham and J. Janssen, *Semna Kumma, Excavated by George Andrew Reisner* (Boston, 1960), pl. 77; together with L.D. III, 66c, corrected at L.D. Texte V, p. 216 with n. 4. A scene with identical caption and posture occurs at the contemporaneous temple of Amada; see M. Aly, F. Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada 4* (Cairo, 1967), pl. P6–10. Note that the posture of the king in these scenes is applicable specifically to the *sḥ.t mnḥ.t* portion of the two rites, as is clear from scenes where only *sḥ.t mnḥ.t* is mentioned, and as is clear from the different posture in the scenes where only *rdi.t ꜥ.wy ḥr ntr* is mentioned; for citations of the latter, see below, n. 124.

³¹ See Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* 2, pls. 68–69; and Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, pl. 78. L.D. III, 66c, mistakenly shows **in b mnḥ.t*, with no correction at L.D. Texte V, p. 216.

³² Cited below in reference to pl. 81A–B in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun.

³³ Cited below in reference to pl. 51A in the present chamber.

³⁴ Furthermore, in the Deir el-Bahari chapels of Anubis (see above, n. 29), the rite is represented to the immediate left of a scene showing the manipulation of *nms.t*-jars, TSR 46, which in turn is immediately to the left of one showing the manipulation of *dšr.t*-jars, TSR 47, thereby providing grounds for assuming that *sḥ.t mnḥ.t* precedes these two.

³⁵ For their shape, see H. Balcz, “Die Gefässdarstellungen des Alten Reiches, Fortsetzung,” in *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pp. 219–27. On

their significance, see S. Tawfik, “Aton Studies,” in *MDAIK* 35 (1979), pp. 335–44.

³⁶ pBerlin 3055 XXVI, 10.

³⁷ See the citations of the following note and H. Balcz, *Die Gefässdarstellungen des Alten Reiches* (Augsburg, 1932), pp. 19–21, 219, and 226–27. According to Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten*, p. 88, the *dšr.t*-vessel of this rite is the New Kingdom correlate of the Old Kingdom *ꜥb.t*-vessel.

³⁸ As at Luxor (three times, at XVII/20–21, XVII/44–45, and XVIII/151–52; see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 52–53, 78–79, and 151–52, respectively); the Akhmenu at Karnak (see Osing, “Kultbildritual,” p. 325, fig. 8a–b); Kumma (Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* 2, pl. 66; Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, pls. 79–80); Deir el-Bahari (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 11, and *Deir el-Bahari* 2, pls. 44–45); and Amada (H. Gauthier, *Le temple d'Amada* [Cairo, 1913], pls. 12–13); see further E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Part 2: *Kommentar*, ÄA 3 (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 43, n. 4.

³⁹ pBerlin 3055 XXVII, 4.

⁴⁰ pBerlin 3055 XXVII, 7.

⁴¹ pBerlin 3055 XXVIII, 7; cf. Osing, “Kultbildritual,” p. 324, fig. 6d, who ascribes this scene to TSR 49–52 (numbered 52–55 by him); but TSR 49, 51, and 52 refer specifically to *ḥd-*, *wꜣd-*, and *ins-cloth*.

TSR 58 = Pl. 49B

The caption of this scene may be restored [wšꜣ] šꜥ “[Pouring out] sand,” owing to the match of šꜥ and the king’s posture with other exemplars of the scene.⁴² The correspondence is with *rꜣ n wšꜣ šꜥ* “Utterance of pouring out sand” of the Berlin papyrus, TSR 58.⁴³

The final scene of the Naos Chamber, pl. 47, with the caption *rdi.t irt.t* “giving milk,” corresponds to the thirteenth rite of the New Kingdom temple offering ritual, discussed below in connection with the Vestibule (Room N).

To turn to the Sanctuary of Amun (Room O), all but one of its five ritual scenes originally depicted Hatshepsut as priest; afterwards, her image was entirely replaced with heaps of offerings. Nevertheless, traces from captions of two of these scenes,⁴⁴ together with the intact fifth scene, show a similar concentration of rites from the temple sanctuary ritual: specifically, rites 59 through 63 from Moret’s list, continuing the series of scenes concerned with handling the image:

TSR 60 = Pl. 35

The salient correspondence is between the caption’s *bd tꜣ 5* “Five pellets of *bd*-natron” and *rꜣ n ʿ n bd* “utterance of a cup of *bd*-natron” in the Berlin papyrus, TSR 60.⁴⁵

TSR 61 = Pl. 39

Plate 39 depicts one of the scenes where the figure of Hatshepsut was replaced, but clear traces of the original caption permit a correspondence between its *sntr tꜣ* [number] “X pellets of incense” and *rꜣ n ʿ n sntr* “utterance of a cup of incense” in the Berlin papyrus, TSR 61.⁴⁶

TSR 59, 62, and 63 = Pl. 37

In the last of the scenes where indications of the original rites are intact, the image of Hatshepsut was likewise replaced, but again a clear trace of the caption is preserved. The first sign of it should be read *ntrw*⁴⁷ “*ntrw*-natron,” since the manipulation of *ntrw*-natron is elsewhere depicted immediately adjacent to the *bd*-natron rite.⁴⁸ Through this single item one may find a connection to three rites of the temple sanctuary ritual, TSR 59, 62, and 63. As Moret has observed,⁴⁹ the script of TSR 62, *ir.t ʿb* “performing purification,”⁵⁰ is parallel⁵¹ to Pyramid Texts utterance 35, which involves

⁴² As in the chapels of Ptah and Hathor at Karnak; see Oriental Institute Negatives 9639 and 9625; and Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f,” pp. 106–07. The image accompanying the same rite at Abydos is slightly different, with the king leaning forward and tipping a pan; see *Sethos I at Abydos* 1, pls. 22 and 30; and *Sethos I at Abydos* 2, pls. 12 and 18. The rite *hꜣnk šꜥ* “presenting sand” mentioned within TSR 44 (pBerlin 3055 XXVI, 2: *ind-hꜣr = k Wsir m hrw pn nfr m hꜣnk šꜥ* “hail to you, Osiris, on this beautiful day of presenting sand”) probably refers to TSR 58.

⁴³ pBerlin 3055 XXXIII, 7.

⁴⁴ Especially because pl. 47 from the Naos Chamber displays a scene from a ritual other than the sanctuary ritual, one cannot be sure what the original decoration of pl. 41A–B (from the back wall of the Sanctuary of Amun) might have been. However, assuming that the lost scenes did come from the sanctuary ritual, it may be guessed that they might have shown the application of oil (TSR 54–55), green and black eye-paint (TSR 56–57), or purification with water (TSR 64), since these rites are depicted elsewhere in contemporary temples in conjunction with the ones encountered here; see Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, pp. 12, 14–15, and 17–19.

⁴⁵ pBerlin 3055 XXXIV, 6.

⁴⁶ pBerlin 3055 XXXV, 1. As observed by Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, p. 50 with n. 2, the Berlin papyri show a different arrangement for a corresponding set of rites in the Pyramid Texts (PT) and the Opening of the Mouth (OM). See Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped,” p. 158, for a schematic of the correspondences PT

34/OM 4/TSR 59, PT 35/OM 5/TSR 62, and PT 36/OM 6/TSR 61. The script of TSR 60 is also a version of the text found in PT 35, but is shorter and involves the manipulation of *bd*-natron, an event not occurring in this set of rites in the pyramids (but see PT 109 §72d). See below at n. 51 on the significance of the connections between these rituals.

⁴⁷ See *Wb.* 2, 366 (under *ntrj*), properly read *ntrw* owing to the tripling of its phonetic-ideogram at PT 484 §1024 (P). Although the sign consisting of “le signe *ntr* associé, soit à la bourse-ʿrf, soit à une boulette de natron” (S. Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, BdE 105 [Cairo, 1991], p. 606 with n. 12) may appear as phonetic-ideogram for the word *bd* (*Wb.* 1, 486), such a reading is unlikely for the caption of pl. 37, as the rite involving that substance appears on the adjacent wall.

⁴⁸ At Deir el-Bahari in both the upper chapel of Anubis (see Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 10) and the main sanctuary (see Osing, “Kultbildritual,” p. 322, fig. 2B.c), as well as at Room XXII at Karnak (see *ibid.*, p. 323, fig. 5.XXII.a–d).

⁴⁹ Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, p. 208, n. 1.

⁵⁰ pBerlin 3055 XXXV, 6.

⁵¹ Owing to the lack of attestations of temple ritual scripts from before the New Kingdom, it is speculative to suppose that mortuary rites of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts represent the genuine origin of temple ritual rites; see J. Quack, “Zwiebel und Keule,” in *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 237, n. 22; Lorton, “Theology of Cult Statues,” pp. 132–33; Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped,” pp. 154–56; and J. Quack, “Fragmente des Mundöffnungsritual

purification by *ntrw*-natron, specifically Lower Egyptian *ntrw*-natron.⁵² Similarly, the scripts of TSR 59 and 63, both of which are entitled *rꜥ n smꜥn* “utterance of *smꜥn*-natron,”⁵³ are parallel to PT 34. The text of PT 34 indeed makes reference to *smꜥn* (*zmrn*)-natron, but the item it specifies to be manipulated is actually *ntrw*-natron, or more precisely Upper Egyptian *ntrw*-natron.⁵⁴

In interim conclusion, the Sanctuary of Amun and the Naos Chamber are dominated by depictions of rites corresponding to those from the temple sanctuary ritual, specifically the segment in which the image is handled. Their proximity to one another underscores the correspondences, since the indicated rites closely follow each other in the Berlin papyrus: TSR 46, 47, 48, 50, and 58 in the Naos Chamber and TSR 59 (+ 62 and 63), 60, and 61 in the Sanctuary of Amun. About half of the rites involve the preliminary purifications of the segment (TSR 46–48 and presumably TSR 44A), one of the rites involves robing the image (TSR 50), and the other half involve concluding purifications (TSR 58–63). Finally, there is the scene of pl. 47, showing the rite of giving milk, exceptional to the others, since it comes from the New Kingdom temple offering ritual.

The temple offering ritual may now be discussed. Just as the recitations in the chapel scenes from the Abydos temple of Seti I have correspondents in the Berlin papyrus, so also are there matches from papyri to scenes typically showing image, caption, and recitation at the Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall. In this case, it is a matter of two papyri: one roll now divided between Cairo and Turin, CG 58030 and CGT 54041, respectively,⁵⁵ and another, Papyrus British Museum 10689.⁵⁶ Neither of them is complete, with the first broken off at the beginning and end, and the latter continuing on to include more of an annex of rites to be performed on specific days. Although the Cairo-Turin papyrus is complicated inasmuch as the deified king Amenhotep I is pervasively designated as beneficiary,⁵⁷ Harold H. Nelson showed how the recitations of the papyri correspond both to those

aus Tebtynis,” in *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, edited by K. Ryholt, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 30 (Copenhagen, 2006) p. 136 with n. 128; in contrast to, for example, J. Assmann, “Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Ägypten,” in *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte*, edited by H. Tellenbach (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 32–33; idem, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 2001), p. 50; K. Cooney and J. McClain, “The Daily Offering Meal in the Ritual of Amenhotep I: An Instance of the Local Adaptation of Cult Liturgy,” in *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 5 (2005), pp. 64–65; and Gillam, *Performance in Drama in Ancient Egypt*, p. 75. Such tomb-to-temple conjectures for some scenes become especially complicated when a reverse trajectory of a transformation is posited for others — thus from temple to tomb — as at J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970 6: Das Grab der Mutirdis*, AV 13 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pp. 54, 56, and 58. What may be factually said is that rites, phraseology, and role structures were shared among rituals of different settings, from the moment that details from those settings emerge; see Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped,” pp. 155–67. In this context, see also Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les temples «mémoires»,” p. 175; E. Cruz-Urbe, “Opening of the Mouth as Temple Ritual,” in Teeter and Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise*, p. 72; Bartel, “Funktionale Aspekte des täglichen Rituals,” p. 12; Morenz, “Die Götter und ihr Redetext,” pp. 138–40; N. Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” in *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart*, edited by C. Metzner-Nebelsick (Rahden, 2003), pp. 31–32; and J. Quack, “Ein Prätext und seine Realisierungen: Facetten des ägyptischen Mundöffnungsrituals,” in *Text und Ritual: Kulturwissenschaftliche Essays und Analysen von Sesostri bis Dada*, edited by B. Dücker and H. Roeder (Heidelberg, 2005), p. 168. One may readily agree with Quack, “Zwiebel und Keule,” p. 237, n. 22, that “Wo der Ursprung einer bestimmten Szenenformulieren liegt, wird sich allenfalls durch sehr genaue Detailanalysen feststellen lassen.” But a convincing analysis will include more than a prejudiced evaluation of the appropriateness of a rite’s content to its setting; for example, when a text itself declares its setting to be mortuary cult (as at Papyrus Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen II. Frag. A, col. 1; see

J. Quack, “Ein neuer funerärer Text der Spätzeit (pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II),” in *ZÄS* 127 [2000], p. 78), it is self-evident that its content is appropriate to that setting (contrast *ibid.*, p. 83).

⁵² PT 35 §27e (W): *ntr(w) mḥw tꜥ 5 š.t-p.t* “five pellets Lower Egyptian *ntrw*-natron of Wadi Natrun.”

⁵³ pBerlin 3055 XXXIV, 2, and XXXVI, 1, respectively.

⁵⁴ PT 34 §26e (W): *ntr(w) šmꜥ(i) tꜥ 5 nḥb* “five pellets of Upper Egyptian *ntrw*-natron of Nekheb.”

⁵⁵ For Papyrus CG 58030 (pCairo), see W. Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 83 (Cairo, 1927), pp. 134–56 and pls. 24–27. For Papyrus CGT 54041 (pTurin), see E. Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotep I* (Turin, 1942), with further reference to Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 79, n. 2. See further Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” p. 27.

⁵⁶ For Papyrus British Museum (pBM) 10689, see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, pp. 78–106 and pls. 50–58; and Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” pp. 27–28. On the ancient ownership of pBM 10689, see P. Pestman, “Who Were the Owners, in the ‘Community of Workmen,’ of the Chester Beatty Papyri?” in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, edited by R. Demarée and J. Janssen (Leiden, 1982), pp. 155–72.

⁵⁷ As observed by Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” pp. 344–45; see also Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, pp. 101–02. The remarks of L. Bell, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun,” in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* 1, edited by P. Posener-Kriéger (Cairo, 1985), p. 41, and idem, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” *JNES* 44 (1985), p. 285, confuse ritualist and beneficiary. On the deified Amenhotep I and his cult, see J. Černý, “Le culte d’Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine,” in *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 159–203; idem, “Egyptian Oracles,” in *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3)*, edited by R. Parker, Brown Egyptological Studies 4 (Providence, 1962), pp. 41–43; A. Sadek, “Glimpses of Popular Religion in New Kingdom Egypt 1: Mourning for Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina,” in *GM* 36 (1979), pp. 51–56; B. Haring, “Kult und Gedächtnis Amenophis’ I. auf thebanischen

of the Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall scenes⁵⁸ and to a further set of scenes in the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.⁵⁹ Nelson concluded that the Cairo-Turin rites were based on those for the god Amun-Re,⁶⁰ who is in fact specified as beneficiary in the preponderance of rites in the British Museum papyrus. Since Nelson, further connections between the rites have been drawn out by Nikolaus Tacke to scenes from the east wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Abydos,⁶¹ once more with the various deities of the six chapels as beneficiaries:⁶² ultimately, it is a matter of a single ritual which could be performed for different gods.⁶³ For this reason, and since the ritual in question revolves around the offering of items, it is apt that Tacke calls the ritual “das Opferritual des Neuen Reiches.”⁶⁴

The seemingly exceptional scene in the Naos Chamber, “giving milk,” corresponds to one of the rites of the New Kingdom temple offering ritual. And indeed that episode is represented once more in the Vestibule (Room N), together with several other rites readily corresponded to the same. This sequence of scenes can be more specifically situated within the wider context of the offering ritual as presented in the Cairo-Turin and British Museum papyri, through dividing it into segments according to

Grabwänden und Stelen,” unpublished Auslandsemesterreferat (Heidelberg, 1990); A. von Lieven, “Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis I. 1. Amenophis I. auf schildförmigen Mumienamuletten,” *RdÉ* 51 (2000), pp. 103–14; and idem, “Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis I. II. Der Amenophis-Kult nach dem Ende des Neuen Reiches,” *ZÄS* 128 (2001), pp. 41–64, with p. 42, n. 5, for further reference.

⁵⁸ For which, see n. 11.

⁵⁹ For which see Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV: Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, OIP 51 (Chicago, 1940), pls. 241–43.

⁶⁰ See Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” pp. 202 and 343–45.

⁶¹ See Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” pp. 28–29, and 31.

⁶² For which, see *Sethos I at Abydos* 4, pls. 43 and 45–52.

⁶³ As already observed by Barta, “Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult,” p. 457. For reference to further parallels, see Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” pp. 28–29, with nn. 12 and 17–20, to which may be added Ostraca DeM 10119 and 10120 (for which see P. Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh*, Tome X – Nos 10001–10123 [Cairo, 2006], pp. 116–17 and 317, the references by the kind courtesy of Ben Haring). Note also that Ostrakon Michaelides 72 has been republished by Cooney and McClain, “The Daily Offering Meal,” p. 78.

⁶⁴ The new terminology is adapted from Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 9, by Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” p. 31 with n. 28. As the two papyrus exemplars of the ritual feature Amenhotep I either as donor (as is the general rule with the British Museum papyrus) or beneficiary (as is the general rule with the Cairo-Turin papyrus), it has previously been called the “Ritual of Amenophis I,” David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 146; and idem, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 83, wrongly promoted the term “Ritual of Royal Ancestors,” asserting that it “involved the presentation of certain offerings to the Royal Ancestors,” but in the plural the term is specifically applicable only for the reversion of offerings segment (Temple Offering Rituals 34–41, especially 34 and 38) and one rite of the Festival of Amun (Temple Offering Ritual 44). On the New Kingdom offering ritual, see G. Daressy, “Rituel des offrandes à Amenophis I^{er},” *ASAE* 17, pp. 97–122; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, pp. 78–106; H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in*

der Theologie der alten Ägypter, Ägyptologische Forschungen 8 (Gluckstadt, 1939), pp. 40–46; Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotep I*; Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” pp. 201–32 and 310–45; idem, “The Rite of ‘Bringing the Foot’ as Portrayed in Temple Reliefs,” in *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 82–86; Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, pp. 9–10; Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 135–47; idem, “Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult,” pp. 457–61; idem, “Zum Ritual der Götterbarke im Neuen Reich,” in *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap ‘Ex Oriente Lux’* 19 (1965–1966), pp. 462–63; Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten*, pp. 175–76; David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, pp. 146–94; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 165–66, 246–62; J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos’ I. in Gurna: Die Reliefs und Inschriften* 1, AV 20 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pp. 65–66; David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, pp. 83–111; J. Goyon, “La fête de Sokaris à Edfou,” in *BIFAO* 78 (1978), pp. 416–24; Barta, “Kult,” cols. 843–44; Bell, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun,” pp. 40–41; idem, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” pp. 283–85; Haring, “Kult und Gedächtnis Amenophis’ I.,” pp. 41–42; C. Graindorge-Hérel, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, 4. Reihe 28 (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 385–98; Roeder, *Mit dem Auge sehen*, pp. 239–50; El Sharkawy, *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak*, pp. 250–51; Teeter, *Presentation of Maat*, pp. 43–48; J. Assmann, “Der Ort des Toten: Bemerkungen zu einem verbreiteten Totenopfertisch,” in *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, edited by H. Guksch and D. Polz (Mainz, 1998), pp. 241–42; idem, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 263–68; Quack, “Ein neuer funerärer Text der Spätzeit,” p. 84; Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped”; Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” pp. 27–36; J. Assmann, in collaboration with M. Bommas and A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien 2: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Heidelberg, 2005), pp. 65–66, 75, 104–05; Cooney and McClain, “The Daily Offering Meal,” pp. 41–78; Gillam, *Performance and Drama in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 73–77; J. Aksamit, “Room C in the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari,” in *6. ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*, Leiden, 4.–7. September 2002, edited by B. Haring and A. Klug (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 3–6; and Sugi, “Iconography and Usage of an ‘nh-vessel,” pp. 248–55. See Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” p. 27, n. 1, for reference to his 2002 Freie Universität Berlin dissertation, currently being prepared by him for publication.

the presence of libating, censuring, and other framing rites. The following outline employs the numerical designations of rites assigned by Nelson.⁶⁵ The acronym *TOR*, indicating “temple offering ritual,” replaces Nelson’s term *Episode*.

0. Indeterminate beginning. Presumably including a heading or title and an uncertain number of rites,⁶⁶ only fragments of one of which are preserved in the Cairo-Turin papyrus (TOR 1).⁶⁷
1. Meat offerings. Consisting of introductory rites (TOR 2–4), cooking rites (TOR 5–7), and a libation with beer (TOR 8).
2. Preliminary food offerings. Consisting of basic food offerings, including the presentation of white bread, wine, and milk (TOR 9–13), as well as purifications and libations (TOR 14–19).
3. Second food offerings. Consisting of principal food offerings (TOR 20–22) along with libation and censuring (TOR 23–24). After its lost beginning, the first rite preserved on pBM 10689 is TOR 21.
4. Closing the shrine. Consisting of rites of closing of the shrine (TOR 25–31) along with libation and censuring (TOR 32–33).
5. Reversion of offerings. Consisting of rites of reversion (TOR 34–35) and concluding rites (TOR 36–41).
6. Annexes. Consisting of rites for the Festival of Amun (TOR 42–47), the First- and Sixth-day Festivals (TOR 48–40), the New Year Festival (TOR 51–55), and the Festival of Mut (TOR 56–57). The Cairo-Turin papyrus breaks off at TOR 46.

Within this framework, most of the scenes from the Vestibule can be easily corresponded to rites from the second segment, preliminary food offerings.⁶⁸

TOR 9 = Pl. 61A

The correspondence is between the caption’s *sqr t ḥḏ* “striking white bread” and *rꜥ n sqr t ḥḏ{t}* “utterance of striking white bread”⁶⁹ in the Cairo-Turin papyrus, TOR 9.

TOR 12 = Pl. 67B

The correspondence is between the caption’s *rdi.t irp* “giving wine”⁷⁰ and *rꜥ n ḥnk m irp* “utterance of presenting wine”⁷¹ in the Cairo-Turin papyrus, TOR 12.

TOR 13 = Pl. 67A

Although partially lost in the Cairo-Turin papyrus, the title of TOR 13 therein preserves the word *irt.t* “milk”;⁷² that and references to milk in the body of the rite’s text⁷³ provide a correspondence to this scene’s *rdi.t irt.t* “giving milk.”⁷⁴ This is the rite previously encountered in the Naos Chamber.

⁶⁵ See Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” pp. 229–32. The set of rites he designates as Episodes A–E are discussed below in connection with scenes at the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and at the First Court in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.

⁶⁶ The very beginning of the Cairo-Turin papyrus is broken off, as discussed by Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, esp. pp. 80–81.

⁶⁷ pCairo 58030 I, 1–3, and pTurin 54041 XII, 2–3.

⁶⁸ Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos’ I.*, pp. 65–66 with n. 138, observes that scenes showing wine, milk, libating, and censuring typically occur together on temple reliefs (see his “Gruppe A”), and associates them to the rites of the New Kingdom offering ritual.

⁶⁹ pTurin 54041 XII, 11.

⁷⁰ On this rite, see M. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), pp. 78–85; and P. Dils, “Wine for Pouring and Purification in Ancient Egypt,” in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, edited by J. Quaegebeur, OLA 55 (Leuven, 1993), p. 111.

⁷¹ pCairo 58030 II, 2.

⁷² pTurin 54041 XIII, 1: *[rꜥ] n [bḥ] m irt.t [ḥḏ.t]* “[utterance] of [drenching] with [white] milk.” The text’s parallel in the Second Hypostyle Hall at Abydos gives the corresponding recitation but neither title nor caption; see *Sethos I at Abydos* 4, pl. 46.

⁷³ pTurin 54041 XIII, 2: *bḥ n(y)-sw.t ḏsr-kꜣ-Rḥ m irt.wt ḥḏ.t* “let the King Djeserkare be drenched with white milk” and XIII 3: *di.t(w) nꜥk iḥ.wꜥk ḥḏ.w{t} ḥnḥ irt.wtꜥsn* “many cows being given to you together with their milk.”

⁷⁴ In light of the juxtaposition of *rdi.t irp* to *rdi.t irt.t* in the Vestibule, compare the pair of scenes over the *Heb-Sed* doorway of Sobekhotep I at Medamud (see C. Eder, *Elkab 7: Die Barkenkapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III. in Elkab* [Turnhout, 2002], p. 240), with *ḥnk m irp* “presentation of wine” (TOR 12) on the right and *ḥnk m irt.t* “presentation of milk” (TOR 13) on the left. Similarly, at Abydos (see above, n. 72), the same two rites are juxtaposed, there identifiable by their recitations.

TOR 14 = Pl. 61B

In view of the content of the other scenes in the Vestibule, the salient correspondence is between the caption's *ir.t sntr qbḥ* "Censing and making a libation" and *rꜥ n swꜥb ḥtp-ntr m qbḥ sntr* "utterance of purifying the divine offerings with libation and censing"⁷⁵ in the Cairo-Turin papyrus, TOR 14. The same caption and image appear again in a scene in the Dyad Chamber (Room L) where, in contrast, its context, and therefore correspondence, are less clear.

TOR 15–16 = Pl. 63A

Granting that the Vestibule has a series of matches from TOR 12 through 14, and that the scene immediately adjacent to that of pl. 63A corresponds to TOR 17 (see below), the next two rites of the Cairo-Turin papyrus, entitled *rꜥ n qbḥ tpḥ* "utterance of the first libation"⁷⁶ and *rꜥ n qbḥ sn-nw* "utterance of the second libation,"⁷⁷ may be understood as corresponding to this scene's *rdi.t qbḥ* "Giving a libation."

TOR 17 = Pl. 63B

The correspondence is between the caption's *nd-ḥr m nms.t* "salutation with the *nms.t*-jar" and *rꜥ n i.nd-ḥr m nms.t* "utterance of salutation with the *nms.t*-jar"⁷⁸ in the Cairo-Turin papyrus, TOR 17.

r[di.t šꜥ.t] = Pl. 65A

The manipulated object may be identified as *šꜥ.t*-bread by its shape,⁷⁹ with the caption thus restored as *r[di.t šꜥ.t]*. Although the rite of presenting *šꜥ.t*-bread is indexed in four different offering lists identified by Winfried Barta,⁸⁰ the most important of them in the present context is the Type E list. This list represents a series of short offering rites given in full in TOR 20, entitled *dbḥ.(t)-ḥtp n.(t) rꜥ nb* "the requisite offerings of every day,"⁸¹ from the second food offerings segment of the offering ritual. The connotative association is reinforced by the fact that the rite of giving *šꜥ.t*-bread is repeatedly found in conjunction with that of *sqr t ḥd* "striking white bread,"⁸² TOR 9. One may assume that the single item drawn from the longer list was intended to stand as a part for the whole.

The caption of the remaining scene in the vestibule, pl. 65B, is likewise lost, but the object proffered by the king is the distinctively shaped *ꜥbw*-lettuce.⁸³ While the rite is specific to Min and ithyphallic Amun,⁸⁴ the ritual to which it properly belongs is ultimately uncertain.⁸⁵

In interim summary, the Vestibule is dominated by a set of scenes from the preliminary food offerings segment of the temple offering ritual. As with the Sanctuary of Amun and the Naos Chamber, their proximity to one another underscores their correspondences to the rites shown on papyrus, since there they occur in close succession: TOR 9, then 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and

⁷⁵ pTurin 54041 XIII, 6.

⁷⁶ pTurin 54041 XIII, 11.

⁷⁷ pCairo 58030 III, 2–3.

⁷⁸ pCairo 58030 III, 6. For further correspondences, see Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, pp. 141–42.

⁷⁹ See, for example, its representation at the White Chapel of Senwosret I (P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak* [Cairo, 1956], pls. 15, 26, and pl. 33) and at the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut (idem, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* [Cairo, 1977–79], pl. 10, nos. 174 and 313, and pl. 13, no. 184; for this monument, see now N. Grimal, F. Burgos, F. Larché, *La chapelle rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque de Hatshepsout 1: Fac-similés et photographies des scènes* [Paris, 2006]). In light of the juxtaposition of *r[di.t šꜥ.t]* to *nd-ḥr m nms.t* here, compare their juxtaposition at the bark chapel of Sobekhotep III (see Eder, *Elkab* 7, p. 220), with *nd-ḥr [m nms.t]* on the right and *[r]di[.t] šꜥ[.t]* "giving *šꜥ.t*-bread" on the left.

⁸⁰ See Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 182–83.

⁸¹ pTurin 54041 XIV, 14.

⁸² As noted by Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er}*, pp. 98–99; see, for example, idem, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 10, nos. 70 and 258. On this monument it also occurs adjacent to the rite of *rdi.t ꜥbw* "giving lettuce"; see *ibid.*, pl. 13, nos. 295 and 184.

⁸³ See, for example, its representation at Karnak (Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 214).

⁸⁴ On the plant and its relation to this deity, see L. Keimer, "Die Pflanze des Gottes Min," in *ZÄS* 59 (1924), pp. 140–43; H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), pp. 160–72; J. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), pp. 45–46; and B. Adams, "A Lettuce for Min," in *GM* 37 (1980), pp. 9–16.

⁸⁵ Note that for his part, Barta, "Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult," p. 459, assumes that it belongs to the offering ritual.

17. Meanwhile, the rite of presenting $\text{š}^{\text{c}}.t$ -bread perhaps stands metonymically for TOR 20, from the second food offerings segment of the offering ritual, and, in addition, there is a further rite the precise context of which is uncertain.

As rites from two different rituals have been identified in Rooms N, O, and P, it is appropriate to speak at this point of the relationship between them. Dividing cultic activities into daily and calendrical rituals,⁸⁶ it may be said that the temple sanctuary and temple offering rituals fall into the former category, that of the daily ritual, the first on the basis of the title of the whole sanctuary ritual in the Berlin papyrus⁸⁷ and the second on the basis of information internal to some rites of the Cairo-Turin and British Museum papyri.⁸⁸ So long as concurrency of performance is not assumed, then it must be understood that one ritual followed the other. The position of Nelson was that the temple offering ritual represents the continuation and completion of the temple sanctuary ritual,⁸⁹ and there are good reasons for accepting his view.⁹⁰ First, as Barta has observed, the rites of handling the image, its purification, and food offerings for it occur in the same order in both the mortuary ritual and the opening of the mouth ritual; one may therefore reasonably suppose that the same order also held for the temple ritual.⁹¹ Second, the temple sanctuary ritual makes reference to one of its rites being performed at dawn,⁹² while one of the terminal rites in the temple offering ritual makes reference to its performance in the evening.⁹³ Finally, Nelson observed that a short set of rites introducing the offering ritual scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and in the First Court of the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu — a set of rites not found in the Cairo-Turin or British Museum papyri — are in fact “the initial episodes of the daily service, concluded long before the Ritual of Amenophis I began.”⁹⁴ By their recitations, these introductory rites match TSR 8–10, in which the priest “broke the clay seal with which the doors had been secured at the close of the last preceding service, drew back the bolts and, grasping the handles of the doors, threw them open,”⁹⁵ with the scenes being displayed in their seemingly correct order in both the Hypostyle Hall and the First Court.⁹⁶ As the subsequent scenes in the First Court at Medinet Habu are from the offering ritual (OR 16–19, 30–31, and 35) and indeed match the order shown in

⁸⁶ As with H. Fairman, “Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple,” in *Bulletin of John Ryland's Library* 37 (1954), p. 174. Compare the division of cult into daily and processional activity by S. Meyer, “Festlieder zum Auszug Gottes,” in *4. ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, edited by R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz, ÄAT 33/2 (Wiesbaden, 1998), p. 135. As observed by A. Spalinger, “The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion,” in *JNES* 57 (1998), p. 242 with n. 11; idem, *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*, ÄA 57 (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 1–31; and idem, *Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts and Their Chronological Implications* (Baltimore, 1992), p. 4, there is also a distinction between two sorts of calendrical rituals: $hb.w n.w p.t$ “festivals of the sky,” which occur more than once a year, and $tp-tr.w$ “seasonal festivals,” which occur only once a year. The basis for the distinction is in the festival calendar of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, a calendar understood to be a copy of that of Ramesses II. See Spalinger, “Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion,” p. 1, n. 2, for an overview of previous studies of the two terms. For that calendar’s distinction between daily ritual, festivals of the sky, and seasonal festivals, see K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical* 5: *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1983), 116/15–117/6: $w\text{š}h\text{=}\dot{i} n\text{=}\dot{k} htp-ntr n hr(i).t-hrw smn\text{=}\dot{i} hb.w n.w p.t r s.w\text{=}\dot{s}n \dots \dot{i}r.w\text{=}\dot{i} n\text{=}\dot{k} tp-tr.w n hb ip.t hb in.t m\dot{i}t(i)t nn h\text{=}\dot{s} im\text{=}\dot{s}n$ “I will set down for you the divine daily offerings and establish the festivals of the sky on their dates.... I will perform for you the seasonal festivals at the festival(s) of Opet and the Valley likewise, without stint from them.”

⁸⁷ pBerlin 3055 I, 1: $h\text{=}\dot{s}.t\text{=}\dot{c} m r\text{=}\dot{s}.w nw h.wt ntr irr.wt n (< m) pr imn-R^{\text{c}} n(y)\text{=}\dot{s}w.t ntr.w m hr(i.t)\text{=}\dot{h}rw n.t r nb in w^{\text{c}} b^{\text{c}} \dot{s} imy hrw\text{=}\dot{f}$ “Beginning of the utterances of the god’s rites which are done in the house of Amun-Re, king of the gods, in the course of the day, every day by the great *wab*-priest on duty (lit. who is in his day).”

⁸⁸ As already observed by Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 82 with n. 3, for the title of TOR 20, cited below in the discussion of pl. 65A. Additionally, the title of TOR 38 (pCairo 58030 IX, 5; simi-

larly pBM 10689 VII, 5) is $r\text{=}\dot{s} n srf tk\text{=}\dot{s} r^{\text{c}} nb$ “utterance of lighting the torch of every day.” TOR 20 evidently includes the specification $r^{\text{c}} nb$ “every day” in order to distinguish itself from two further $dbh.wt\text{=}\dot{h}tp$ appearing in the annexes, the first for the Festival of Amun (TOR 42) and the second for the Sixth-day Festival (TOR 50). TOR 38 adds the temporal specification for a similar reason: there is another instance of lighting the torch in the annex for the New Year Festival (TOR 52, virtually lost in pBM 10689, but present in the Karnak scenes; see Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” p. 336 with fig. 37). While the purpose of the temporal marker $r^{\text{c}} nb$ is to distinguish TOR 20 and 38 from TOR 42, 50, and 52, in the process, this qualification serves to show that the setting of the first part of the temple offering ritual (TOR 1–41) is the daily service, while the annexes (TOR 42–57) apply to the calendrical services.

⁸⁹ Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” p. 202.

⁹⁰ For the notion that the offering ritual instead preceded the sanctuary ritual, see Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 76, n. 1, followed by Fairman, “Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple,” p. 180.

⁹¹ See Barta, “Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult,” pp. 459–60; also idem, “Kult,” cols. 844–45.

⁹² Namely, in the title of TSR 41 (pBerlin 3055 XIX, 3–4): $ky dw\text{=}\dot{s} Imn hr tp dw\text{=}\dot{s}w$ “Another hymn of Amun at dawn.”

⁹³ As observed by Tacke, “Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches,” p. 31. See TOR 41 (pTurin 54041 XXI, 3; similarly pBM 10689): $r\text{=}\dot{s} n h\text{=}\dot{s} w.wy \dot{d}d\text{=}\dot{s}w hr rwh\text{=}\dot{s}$ “utterance of the song of the Two Regions, said at evening.”

⁹⁴ Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” p. 204.

⁹⁵ Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” p. 206.

⁹⁶ See Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” p. 205; idem, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 227 (Karnak); Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 241B–D (Medinet Habu); as well as Guglielmi and Buroh, “Die Eingangssprüche des täglichen Tempelrituals,” pp. 144–55 (with all parallels synoptically arranged there).

the Cairo-Turin and British Museum papyri,⁹⁷ Nelson's conclusion is inevitable by virtue of its simplicity. Assuming that the set of rites depicted at the Small Temple corresponds to what was performed therein and that the order of performance conformed to the order reflected by the external sources, then the overall sequential relationship between the represented rites may be understood as progressing from Room P, to O, to N.⁹⁸

The remaining chambers are less determinate and more heterogeneous in content, inasmuch as their depicted rites are not as easily linked to one another. The Dyad Chamber shows a mirrored representation of ambiguous significance and a rite seemingly from the offering ritual.

rdi.t m3' htp.(w)-ntr = Pls. 21 and 25

The activity labeled as *rdi.t m3' htp.(w)-ntr* "Causing the presentation of divine offerings" in both pls. 21 and 25 does not appear to correspond to any individual rite or specific set of rites. Although elsewhere this caption and an image of the king in identical posture before a heap of offerings accompany the offering list specific to the Festival of Amun⁹⁹ — with that list in fact corresponding to one of the annex rites of the Cairo-Turin and British Museum papyri (TOR 42)¹⁰⁰ — the same list can occur with the king in a completely different posture and without the caption here attested.¹⁰¹ Moreover, our caption and image can be found individually or together for gods other than Amun.¹⁰² Further, the image of the king bearing the *mks*-staff and white mace in one hand with the other stretched out in an attitude of recitation¹⁰³ before a heap of offerings and a god or gods can be found accompanied by quite different captions, such as *ir.t htp-di-n(y)-sw.t* "performing the offering that the king gives,"¹⁰⁴ an act corresponding to TOR 21, as well as less determinate activities such *wdn htp.(w)-[ntr]* "consecrating [divine] offerings,"¹⁰⁵ *rdi.t m3' 3b.t* "causing the presentation of an oblation,"¹⁰⁶ and the combination *wdn htp.(w)-ntr rdi.t m3' 3b.t 3.t* "consecrating divine offerings and causing the presentation of the great oblation."¹⁰⁷ In view of this diversity, the mirrored scenes in the Dyad Chamber may be construed as representing the overall offering procedure.¹⁰⁸ (To be precise, by the caption, the scenes identify the king as the donor of offerings, the personage who himself *causes* that service be performed.¹⁰⁹) A caption of identical meaning accompanies the same image once more in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun (Room Q), discussed below.

⁹⁷ See Nelson, "Certain Reliefs," pp. 230–31.

⁹⁸ However, this is not to say that the rites were necessarily performed in precisely their rooms of representation, as might perhaps be obviated by the fact that TOR 13 is depicted in both Rooms P and N.

⁹⁹ At Luxor XVIII/167 (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 165). Luxor XVII/26 (ibid., pl. 60) shows a similar scene with Type D list, but with the king bearing *hrp*-staff in upraised hand and no caption. Luxor XVIII/141 (ibid., pl. 145), Deir el-Bahari (Navelle, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 24), and Karnak (Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 77) have scenes with captions matching those of pls. 21 and 25, likewise without offering list.

¹⁰⁰ The Type D offering list; see Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 136–40. According to Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 92, the Festival of Amun is a calendrical ritual to be performed in the middle of the second Egyptian month.

¹⁰¹ As at Luxor itself (see Nelson, "Certain Reliefs," pls. 19–20a) and Karnak, where the full recitations are given (see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 207).

¹⁰² For Khentimentiu at Abydos (see W. Petrie, *Abydos* 1 [London, 1902], pl. 43); for Montu at Medamud (see R. Cotteville-Giraudet, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud*, Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Rapports préliminaires 9 [Cairo, 1933], pl. 3); for Khonsu at Karnak (see *Khonsu* 2, pl. 128A); and possibly for Horus Lord of the South at Buhen (see R. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2, Archaeological

Survey of Egypt Memoirs 34 [London, 1974], pl. 57 and pp. 66–68 with n. 2).

¹⁰³ The king's posture itself is manifestly not specific to any single rite or ritual, since it occurs within a rite of the dedication ritual *rdi.t pr [n] nb=f* "giving the house [to] its lord" at Karnak (Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 26).

¹⁰⁴ R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence, 1979), pl. 10B.

¹⁰⁵ J.-F. Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: Le Heret-Ib et les chapelles attenantes* (Paris, 2000), pl. 47 (left); similarly, ibid., pl. 73 (left); and Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 15, no. 310; as well as flanking an entry at ibid., pl. 17 nos. 205, 247, and 190; and Luxor XVII/27b–c (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 62) with no offerings depicted.

¹⁰⁶ At pls. 21 and 25; similarly Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 15, no. 209.

¹⁰⁷ Gauthier, *Le temple d'Amada*, p. 12 and pl. 4; similarly Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak*, pl. 112.

¹⁰⁸ Similarly Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, p. 395, in respect to an instance of *wdn htp* at the Red Chapel cited above at n. 105: "Il s'agit, ici, de la récapitulation globale de toutes les offrandes alimentaires présentées sur les parois du monument."

¹⁰⁹ See the observation by Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 104, on the British Museum papyrus, wherein the actual performers of cult are

ir.t sntr qbh = Pl. 23

The caption *ir.t sntr qbh* “Censing and making a libation” together with its accompanying image are essentially identical to one of the scenes encountered in the Vestibule (pl. 61B). In that place, because of the character of the scenes neighboring it, it was associated with TOR 14 without hesitation, but the context here is the generalized imagery of pls. 21 and 25. A similar match is found at the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak: the scene of libating and censing is there labeled *ir.t sntr qbh m-ht ir.t hss.t* “Censing and making a libation after doing what is praised,”¹¹⁰ while its immediate companion, also showing the king with the *mks*-staff and white mace, is labeled *wdn htp.w-ntr rdi.t m3^c 3b.(t) 3.t* “consecrating divine offerings and causing the presentation of the great oblation.”¹¹¹ By its generalized context, one may suppose that the present scene simply indicates two activities repeatedly carried out in the course of temple ritual.

The representations in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun (Room Q) are the most mixed of the five chambers.

TSR 49 = Pl. 73

The recitation entitled *r3 n mnḥ.(t) ḥd.(t)* “utterance of white cloth”¹¹² in the Berlin papyrus, TSR 49, is given nearly in full in the offering hall of Luxor Temple,¹¹³ where the rite is simply labeled *rdi.t mnḥ.(t)* “giving cloth,”¹¹⁴ corresponding to the caption found here. In the Berlin papyrus, the rite falls within the segment in which the image of the god is handled, where it immediately precedes *db3 mnḥ.t* “putting on clothing,” one of the rites depicted in the Naos Chamber.

rdi.t dsr.t = Pl. 77

The rite *rdi.t dsr.t* “giving *dsr.t*-beer”¹¹⁵ is represented in text and image in at least one other divine temple,¹¹⁶ although it otherwise does not occur as a rite within the temple offering ritual as given by the Cairo-Turin and British Museum papyri. However, it does correspond to a rite specified in one kind of offering list, the Type A list.¹¹⁷ Although this list is typically displayed in the context of mortuary cult, it is also attested in the offering hall of Luxor Temple.¹¹⁸

sm3^c htp.(w)-ntr = Pls. 75 and 79

The image of pl. 79 is the same as that of pls. 21 and 25, and its caption is equivalent: *sm3^c htp.(w)-ntr*, with the causative *sm3^c* “make presented” employed in place of *rdi.t m3^c*. Even though the specific caption *sm3^c htp.w-ntr* elsewhere labels the king in the same posture alongside the offering list appropriate to the Festival of Amun,¹¹⁹ the same ambiguity attendant to pls. 21 and 25 applies.¹²⁰

to be distinguished from the kings Ramesses II and Amenhotep I as donors.

¹¹⁰ Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak*, pl. 115.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pl. 112, cited above at n. 107. Compare the scene combining *hw.t sp 4 r 3b.t* “striking four times at the oblation” and *ir.t sntr* “performing the rite of incense” at the Red Chapel (Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 7, no. 273).

¹¹² pBerlin 3055 XXVII, 10.

¹¹³ Room XVII, called “Speisetischsaal,” at Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, p. 79.

¹¹⁴ At Luxor XVII/28, l. 15 (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 63).

¹¹⁵ On *dsr.t* certainly as a kind of beer — a usage extending back to the Old Kingdom — see H. von Deines and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* (Berlin, 1959), p. 604; and Balcz, *Gefäßdarstellungen*, p. 221. It is doubtful that it has any connection to the word *dsr* “to be sacred, i.e., separate from the profane”; for references to discussions concerning the latter, see L. Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms*

de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 123/1 (Cairo, 2005), p. 163, n. 94.

¹¹⁶ See M. Giorgini et al., *Soleb 5: Le temple: Bas-reliefs et inscriptions* (Cairo, 1998), pl. 267: *rdi.t dsr.[t]*.

¹¹⁷ Items A22 (corresponding to Pyramid Texts utterance 90) and A64 (corresponding to Pyramid Texts utterance 145); on the items of the Type A list and their correspondences to Pyramid Texts, see Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped,” pp. 153–54 with nn. 6–8.

¹¹⁸ Luxor XVII/24 (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 57). On this scene, see Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshipped,” pp. 153–55.

¹¹⁹ Luxor XVIII/170 (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 168).

¹²⁰ As this scene was displayed in the Dyad Chamber on opposing walls, one may expect that originally a similar situation pertained in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun with the scenes in pls. 75 and 79, although, in the former, the image of the king, presumably Hatshepsut, has been all but completely eradicated, as has whatever caption that might have accompanied it.

TSR 44 = Pl. 81A–B

The last of the intact ritual scenes in the five chambers is repeated in a mirrored representation of yet another rite from the temple sanctuary ritual. The king is shown leaning forward and wrapping his arms around the god.¹²¹ Although this image is bereft of explicating caption both here and in numerous other exemplars of it¹²² — including five other places in the Small Temple’s ambulatory and bark station¹²³ — there does exist an Abydene exemplar which shows the same action¹²⁴ and offers both caption and recitation: *dī.(t) ʿwy hr¹²⁵ ntr* “putting hands on the god.”¹²⁶ The Abydos caption and its recitation correspond to TSR 44, again from the image-handling segment of the temple sanctuary ritual, specifically among its preliminary purifications.¹²⁷

¹²¹ As correctly interpreted by Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, p. 107, the upper arm, though represented as being before the image of the god, is to be understood as passing behind it. Their interpretation is corroborated by the example within the bark shrine at MH.B 191, recarved in Ptolemaic times, with the upper arm then shown as behind the image of the god.

¹²² At Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 18; J. Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 6: The Temple of Hatshepsut: The Solar Complex* (Warsaw, 2003), pl. 23 (restored); Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 47; P. Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d’exégèse* (Cairo, 1962), pl. 38; A. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire 15 (Cairo, 1894), pl. 8, fig. 46; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, pls. 29 and 39; idem, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout*, pl. 10 (nos. 15 and 156) and pl. 15 (no. 14); and the unpublished bark station of Amenhotep I (on which structure see C. Graindorge, “Les monuments d’Amenhotep I^{er} à Karnak,” in *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 16 [2000], pp. 31 and 33 with figs. 11a and 11b; and Barta, “Zum Ritual der Götterbarke im Neuen Reich,” p. 463).

¹²³ Two pillars in the ambulatory (MH.B 91 and 135), twice on the west exterior wall of the bark station (MH.B 163 and 165), and on the north interior wall of the bark station (MH.B 191).

¹²⁴ *Sethos I at Abydos* 1, pl. 10, where the scene reproduces the leaning posture of the king and the position of his hands in every detail, the only significant difference being that the god is mummiform Osiris instead of ithyphallic Amun. The posture of the king there matches that of pl. 81 because of the similarity in shape of mummiform Osiris to ithyphallic Amun. When it is a matter of a standing, non-mummiform god, the posture is slightly different

owing to the leading arm and staff in the deity’s hand, as at Luxor XIX/127 (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 135), where the caption reads *dī.t ʿwy hr ntr*, and so also does it differ with seated gods, as at *Sethos I at Abydos* 1, pl. 27, and *Sethos I at Abydos* 2, pls. 15 and 23, and probably also Luxor XIX/116 (Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 129), although in the latter case the caption is lost. See also the vignette to BD 151a (Aa) (E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgeben* 2 [Berlin, 1886], pl. 174), in which Anubis reaches his arms around the prone coffin, the act being called *rdī.t ʿwy=f(y) hr nb-ʿnh* “putting his hands on the Lord of Life (namely, the coffin). See also above, n. 30.

¹²⁵ Either modernly miscopied or anciently miscarved as *ib*.

¹²⁶ The rite is correctly identified for the Small Temple’s scenes at Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 16. As the officiant is placing his hands upon the god, it is not precise to say that the king is “steadying a portable figure of the ithyphallic Amun,” as described by Murnane, *United with Eternity*, pp. 78–79, and Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 47; to touch is not to steady.

¹²⁷ Although the rite does not stipulate the manipulation of purificatory items, it is no more than a slightly expanded version of TSR 2, *r3 n t3.(t) shtp.[y]* “utterance of taking a censuring-arm” (pBerlin 3055 I, 5). The purpose of both rites is the priest’s assumption of a suitably pure state so that he might manipulate the sacred image; see the priest’s closing words of TSR 44: *ink hm ʿnh n R ʿink w ʿb iw=i w ʿb.kw ʿb=i ʿb ntr.w htp-dī-n(y)-sw.t iw=i w ʿb.kw* “I am a living servant of Re, I am a *wab*-priest, and I am pure, my purity being the purity of the gods. The offering given of the king: I am pure” (pBerlin 3055 XXVI, 6).

TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

PLATE 11A. THE KING LED INTO THE TEMPLE BY MONTU-RE AND ATUM

BEFORE MONTU-RE

¹Coming in and going out.^a Introducing the king into the Great Mansion.

ABOVE AND BEFORE MONTU-RE

²Words spoken by Montu-Re, lord ³of Thebes, the great god: ⁴“Come with (me) to the Great Mansion, ⁵(O) good god,^b that your [fa]ther Amun may see [y]ou^c in this beautiful crown that (I) have given to you, so that you may achieve (the state of) living forever.”^d

ABOVE AND BEHIND ATUM

⁶Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, lord of heaven: ⁷“Come to the Great Mansion, (my) beloved son, ⁸Menkheperre, that you may see^e your father ⁹Amun-Re, inasmuch as he decrees for you jubilees as a reward for this beautiful monument which you have made for him, that you may achieve (the state of) living forever.”

BELOW THE WEPWAWET STANDARD

¹⁰Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life and dominion, all stability, all health, all joy, every offering, all provisions, like Re forever.

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

¹¹The Behdetite, the great god, as he gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

¹²The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-chosen-of-Re,¹ ¹³given all life, stability, and dominion ¹⁴like Re.

¹ In previous publications by the Epigraphic Survey, the royal epithets that are contained within cartouches have been treated variously, either by phonetic rendering, i.e., “Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,” at *RILT* 2, p. 3, and pl. 136, l. 1, “Senedjemibre-Setepenamon,” at *Khonsu* 2, p. 39, and pl. 154C, l. 1, or by simplification, as with the use of “Ptolemy IV” for *Ptwlmys* ‘nh d.t

BEHIND MONTU

¹⁵As he gives life.

BEFORE ATUM

¹⁶As he gives all life.




RENEWAL INSCRIPTION

¹⁷Renewal of the monument which Menkheperre made for his father Amun.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a To be read *iw.t pr.t*; cf. *Khonsu* 1, pl. 43, and text, p. 21.

^b There need not have been any signs in the gap above *ntr nfr*, since the end of the ribbon on the Wepwawet standard would have filled part of this area.

^c Reading *mꜣ [t]w i[t] = k*, as originally suggested by Sethe, *Urk.* 4, 568/15. This area shows two stages of modification: in the first instance, the area of surface below and to the left of the break, originally containing the hieroglyphs , , and , was shaved back when the adjacent head of Montu-Re’s *wꜣs*-scepter was restored in the post-Amarna period; the stem of the reed leaf and most of the viper remain as originally carved under Thutmose III. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that these signs were recarved under Akhenaten’s successors; possibly the post-Amarna repair was carried out only in plaster. It seems that at some later date the restored surface of the corner of this block was broken away, necessitating a further repair which was made during the Late or Ptolemaic period. This repair involved covering the dam-

mr(y) ꜣs.t, at *ibid.*, p. 39 and pl. 154D, l. 8. Since this approach has been inconsistent and is increasingly cumbersome, as epithets grow longer for the later dynasties, we have elected here to translate those epithets within the cartouches which are variable, and which therefore do not themselves form part of the proper name. Thus “Menkheperre” and “Thutmose” are, following normal practice, rendered phonetically, but *stp(w) n Rꜥ*, *tꜣ.t Rꜥ*, *swꜣ.t ꜣImn*, etc., are translated into their English equivalents. An exceptional case is *hnm.t ꜣImn hꜣ.t ꜣps.wt*; since both elements occur ubiquitously together in this temple, and since *hnm.t ꜣImn* seems itself to have functioned independently as a variant of the *nomen* (cf. H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d’Égypte* 2 [Cairo, 1912], p. 248, LXIV, and p. 249, LXVIII), rather than as an epithet, “Chnemeta-mun-Hatshepsut” is here used for all occurrences of this *nomen*.

aged area with a layer of rough grayish plaster, similar to the plaster found in other late repairs within the sanctuaries, and repainting the hieroglyphic signs in green and blue paint of shades typical of the Ptolemaic palette. In this painted restoration either a \cup or a \cup was erroneously put where the original text would have contained t , while the painted reed leaf does not quite match with the remaining bit of the Eighteenth Dynasty version. Moreover, directly above the head of the $w\beta s$ -scepter part of a painted column divider is visible; this must also have been added during the Late or Ptolemaic period.

^dThe reading 'nh.t(i) may be restored based on l. 9.

^e $m\beta n\neq k$, see A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1957) § 448; also J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* (Cambridge, 2000) p. 245; for the writing in a Nineteenth Dynasty example of this scene, see W. Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums 1*, ÄA 25 (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 4.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Several areas of this scene were damaged during the Amarna period and subsequently restored. These include the figure of Montu-Re and the inscription $Mntw-R\text{' }nb\ W\beta s.t\ ntr\ \text{'}$, the figure of Atum along with the first two lines of text (ll. 6–7) containing his names and the beginning of his address to the king, the words $\text{'Imn-R\text{' }m\text{' }w\text{' }d}$ at the top of l. 9, and the words $Bhd.t(y)\ ntr$ at the beginning of l. 11. Also damaged and restored were the Wepwawet fetish atop its standard and the hieroglyphs for $Wp-w\beta.wt\ \check{S}m\text{' }w(y)\ shm\ t\beta.wy$ (l. 10).

The restoration text carved to the right of Montu-Re, sunk below the level of the surrounding surface, was added after the Amarna period, when the god's figure was recarved. The interior of the cartouche, moreover, is cut back even farther into the surface of the stone, suggesting later modification. Though repeated examination has failed to distinguish conclusively any traces of an earlier royal name, the most likely originator of this text is Horemheb, whose names appear as originally carved in a similar restoration text on the westernmost scene of the north exterior wall of the bark sanctuary (Nelson no. MH.B 162). The cartouches in the other restoration texts on the north and south walls of the sanctuary were also recarved with the name of Menkheperre; the stylistic features of these cartouches, in particular the mn -hieroglyphs with only four or five game pegs, suggest a late date, perhaps during the reign of Achoris, who added texts in the name of Thutmose III on the reused polyhedral columns inserted in the ambulatory.² The small personified *ankh* that appears at the base of Montu-Re's $w\beta s$ -scepter is neither part of the

original decoration nor a feature of the post-Amarna recarving of the scene; its outline is incised roughly in the stone, and it appears to be either another Late/Ptolemaic modification or a curiously imitative medieval graffito.

The figures of the king and the two gods show medieval-style iconoclastic hacking to the heads, arms, legs, and genital areas. The head and tail of the jackal on the Wepwawet standard were also deliberately damaged. Several hieroglyphs in the text are damaged, but apparently at random; in general, the hacking of hieroglyphic signs in this temple is unsystematic and inconsistent from scene to scene. Across the dado below the figures, several large holes have been bored into the sandstone blocks; these are not arranged in any obvious pattern, but they must indicate some sort of domestic use of the structure during the medieval period.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene is presented in color on pl. 113. The painted detailing here and on the other scenes of the façade is relatively well preserved, with two versions distinctly visible, one painted over the other. The earlier is that of the New Kingdom, including the original Thutmoside color treatment, typified by a palette of medium blue, turquoise, green, red, yellow, white, and black, applied to a blue-gray background, with restored areas rendered in the post-Amarna paint scheme, characterized by wider use of yellow, red, and white.

In this New Kingdom stage of painting the most notable feature is the king's elaborate costume, dating to the reign of Thutmose III and composed of a distinctive vest with curved vertical seam and a A -kilt, both patterned with a finely detailed feather design. The feathers are rendered with alternating blue and green chevrons; each has a red tip, and all are outlined with yellow; in many places, moreover, the small-scale grid of red lines, provided for the original layout of the feather pattern, can clearly be seen. The king's belt had a yellow background with a tiny zigzag pattern of blue lines and even more minuscule red diamond details at top and bottom; the curved seam on the king's vest is white with a red center line. Below, horizontal bands intersect the lower folds of the kilt; these bands are filled with a leopard-skin pattern of red spots surrounded by black details on a yellow background. These costume details are depicted more fully in figure 3 and in the color detail photograph pl. 139F. The king wears the same costume in two contemporary examples at Buhen, one of which also occurs in an introduction scene,³

² The restoration texts on the bark sanctuary will be described in more detail in the forthcoming volume *Medinet Habu XI*, while the texts on the polyhedral columns in the ambulatory will appear in *Medinet Habu X*. On the insertion of these columns during the reign of Achoris, see Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, pp. 19–20, fig. 18, and pls. 18–19.

³ R. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2* (London, 1974), pls. 27–28 (Scene 14) with comments on p. 22, and pl. 56 (Scene 62) with comments on pp. 65–66. The former shows the king scattering gypsum in the foundation ritual; the latter shows the king led into the shrine by a male and a female deity.

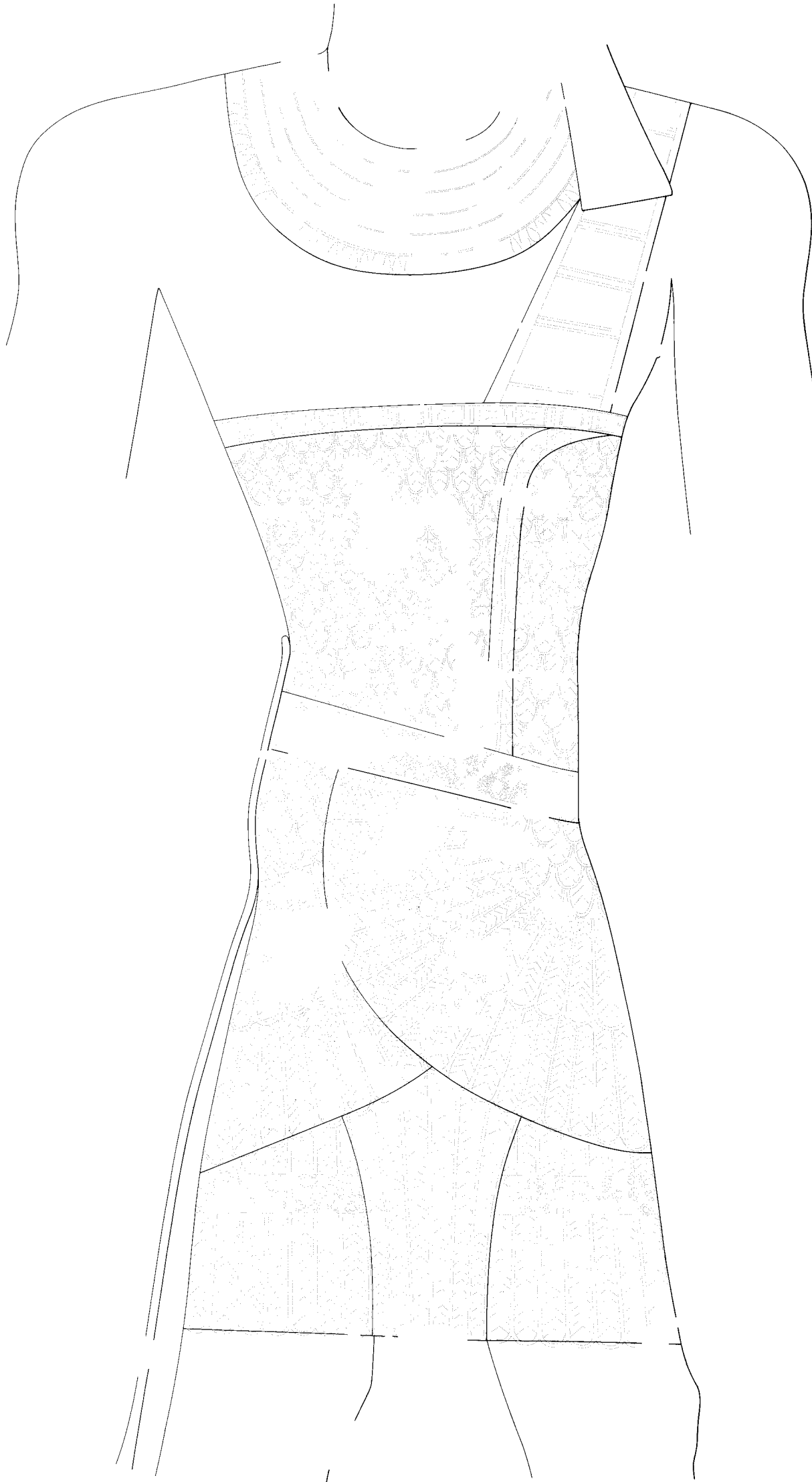


Figure 3. Details of the Costume of Thutmose III on the Façade (cf. pl. 11A). Drawing by Vértès

and in several scenes at Amada,⁴ but the colored details are much better preserved here.⁵

In many other areas of the scene, however, the New Kingdom paint is difficult to distinguish below the final decorative stage. This latter consists of a layer of paint of a distinctly different color palette, thickly applied over the earlier surface of most of the façade, excluding the doors, which were treated in a different fashion. In the color plate (pl. 113) it may be observed that, among other changes, the flesh of the god-figures (Atum, Montu-Re, and Amun), which was originally red, has been painted a dark blue. Though the king's flesh was left with its original Eighteenth Dynasty red paint, his costume was repainted with a pattern in green, red, and white; whether this imitated the original feather design is difficult to say for certain. The shades used, a bright, garish green and the deep brick red in particular, are distinctly different from the Thutmoside palette and, based on comparison with other areas of later decoration in the Small Temple, are suggestive of Late Period or Ptolemaic date. The most curious feature of all is that the background color of the scene seems to have been repainted with a blend of light blue and green, contrasting vividly with the original muted blue-gray; against this, the figures were picked out with heavy, dark red outlines. The hieroglyphic signs were also repainted, bright green and dark blue being the most widespread color choices for these. Details of this later paint stage are shown overlapping the original Thutmoside design on plate 11; the net pattern of Atum's shoulder straps, his corslet with its dotted details, and the stripes on his kilt, for instance, all date to this stage; originally these features were plain, with a white kilt and red flesh for the god's torso. The angular feather details on the plumes of Montu-Re's headdress, alternating green and black, also date to this later period. The king's *atef*-crown was repainted, the replacement of its originally red central band with dark blue being particularly distinct; the horizontal stripes visible in the plumes are also a later addition in blue. These are only the most salient examples of a complete revision of the façade's color scheme, the details of which are in places now difficult to distinguish from the original version.

⁴ M. Aly, F. Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada* 4 (Cairo, 1967), pls. F17a–19, L10, and L13. The first of these is an introduction scene similar to the example shown here; in the latter two, the king is shown in the rite of driving the four calves and in that of striking the *mr.t*-chests. In a fourth example (pl. N1–3), the king sports this garment in the presence of Hathor and Re-Horakhty; substantial remains of the painted details parallel closely those shown here.

⁵ Several additional examples of this costume, with painted details in a superb state of preservation, have been found among the fragments of the Deir el-Bahari temple of Thutmose III, now stored in the magazine of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission.

As for a date for this repainting, we must admit two possibilities: one, that it was carried out in the Late Period, when, as is discussed below, extensive repairs were made to the six inner chambers, while reused polyhedral columns and monumental doorways bearing the name of Achoris were added to the ambulatory. The second possibility is that the repainting of this area was done when the bark sanctuary was repaired and modified in the time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. The paint scheme used here on the façade, dominated by the bright green and brick red pigments, is more similar to that seen on the east façade of the bark shrine, reworked under Euergetes II, than to the darker, vestigial coloration of the original painted sketch on the Gate of Achoris, thus favoring the later date for the repainting. It may, then, be supposed that this repainting was part of the overall restoration project carried out in the temple under Euergetes II.

For a discussion of the episode *bs n(y)-sw.t*, see J. M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, OLA 32 (Leuven, 1989), p. 166. The scene of “introducing the king...” occurs frequently, and with considerable variation, from the Middle Kingdom⁶ onward; this example is one of the more elaborate versions, including as it does the speeches of the two escorting deities. The episode appears again in a modified form on the south interior wall of the temple's bark sanctuary (Nelson no. MH.B 206), originally decorated under Thutmose III but recarved under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, as well as in the Late Period portico (at MH.B 247). Another contemporary example, also much abbreviated, is carved in Room XIV of Thutmose III's Festival Temple in Karnak.⁷ This episode often forms part of a series of scenes depicting the king's elevation to royal office;⁸ the present example is part of a simplified version of this sequence, followed at right by a scene depicting the king received by Amun-Re (pl. 11B) and, on the other side of the central doorway, the king's coronation by Atum in the presence of Amun-Re (pl. 13). Additional notes on this ritual sequence may be found in J. Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa: Allaitement et «apparition» royale,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, BdE 32 (Cairo, 1961), p. 261, n. 4; and F. Le Saout, “Restitution des murs de la Cour de la Cachette,” in *Cahiers de Karnak* 7 (1982), p. 220, n. 69, with further references in *RILT* 2, p. 21, n. a.

⁶ An example from the reign of Senwosret I is given in A. Maarouf and T. Zimmer, “Le moyen empire à Karnak: Varia 2,” in *Cahiers de Karnak* 9 (1993), pp. 227–32 and figs. 3–4. See also L. Gabolde, *Le «grand château d'Amon» de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak*, Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, n.s., 17 (Paris, 1998), pp. 85–88 and pls. 26–27.

⁷ Scene unpublished; see PM II², p. 115 (364a), Nelson no. K.F 99, Chicago House photograph no. 6832.

⁸ A. Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh,” in *JEA* 36 (1950), pl. 2.

PLATE 11B. THE KING RECEIVED
BY AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, lord of heaven, chief of the gods.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

²Words spoken: “To you (I) have given all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy on my part, inasmuch as (I) love you, living like Re forever.”

BEFORE NEKHBET

³Nekhet, the [bri]ght^a one of Hierakonpolis; as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

BEHIND NEKHBET

⁴Nekhet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

ABOVE THE KING


⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁶chosen of Re, great of strength, ⁷who smites the Nine Bows, the god who rules Heliopolis, ^b ⁸given all life, stability, and dominion forever.

BEHIND THE KING

⁹The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and health surrounds him.





NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aOn the epithet *ḥd.t Nḥn*, see *RILT* 2, p. 16, n. b.

^bRead *ḥwi pḏ.t psḏ.t ntr ḥqꜣ ꜥIwnw*. The small head at the top left of this line is that of the determinative of *ḥwi*, .

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The seated figure of Amun, including his feet and bull's tail visible below the king's kilt, was damaged during the Amarna period and subsequently restored. The dais of the god's throne, however, was not damaged. Traces of the original ribbon at the back of Amun's crown, of the lowest finger of the right hand, and of the upper right corner of the throne show that the seated god was slightly more to the right in the original. The name and epithets of Amun in l. 1, along with the names and epithets of Nekhet in ll. 3–4, were also hacked and then restored, but the sun disk in the name *ꜥImn-Rꜥ* in l. 1 was left untouched. The patch stone at the top of l. 7 is original to the Thutmoside decoration; though no carved details remain, there are bits of typical Ptolemaic turquoise and red painted plaster on its surface, underneath which appear traces of deep blue and red paint from the Eighteenth Dynasty finish. The reason for the square hole carved in the center of this stone is uncertain; it may have been part of a Late Period or Ptolemaic repair.

As noted above, it is apparent that this portion of the façade was repainted at a late date. In several areas of pl. 11B the two layers of paint are clearly distinguishable, including the head and shoulder of the vulture figure of Nekhet, Amun's girdle and throne, including the dais, and the hieroglyphs  and  in l. 1,  in l. 5, and  in l. 6, among others. In all these areas the earlier layer of paint is visible where the later layer has been broken or worn away. It is impossible to show all the areas of repainting on the line drawings, yet one may note that the style and colors used in the repainting of this wall are the same as those on the opposite wall, the west exterior wall of the bark sanctuary, where the entire scene was painted over in “late” colors, even to the extent of altering the details of the king's costume.

Extending below the king's left foot into the dado is an area where the stone has been scraped away leaving an elongated trough; this type of damage is usually associated with the collecting of grains of sand from sandstone temple walls for magical use during the later periods. The heads of Amun and the king, the king's hands and left shoulder, and the body of the vulture goddess, as well as the *ḥpr*-beetle in the king's name and the quail-chick hieroglyph in l. 2, were damaged in the medieval era.

PLATE 13. THE KING CROWNED BY ATUM
IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

²Words spoken: “For you (I) have established your rank of king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the throne of your father Amun, and the office of Atum, living forever.”

ABOVE ATUM

³Atum, lord of the Two Lands, ⁴lord of heaven, ⁵ruler of Heliopolis, ⁶as he gives all life, all stability and dominion.

BEHIND ATUM

⁷Words spoken: “For you (I) have established your rank of king upon the Horus throne of the living.” First occasion of the jubilee of his majesty.

BEFORE AND BEHIND WADJET

⁸Wadjet, she of Dep and Pe, as she gives all life, ⁹stability, dominion, and all joy like Re.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁰[The king of Up]per and [Lower Egypt], Menkheperre-chosen-of-Re, ¹¹given life like Re.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The seated figure of Amun-Re, his throne, and the area of his feet and bull's tail visible below the king's kilt, along with his name and epithets, including the sun disk *R'* (l. 1), were damaged during the Amarna period and subsequently restored. The throne's pedestal, however, was left intact, as on pl. 11*B*. The words (*i*)*t*≠*k* 'Imn in l. 2 were also damaged and then recarved, as were the words *W*3*dy.t* *Dp.t* *P.t*, including the two city determinatives (l. 8). The only traces of the original carving in these areas may be seen just above the two *p*-hieroglyphs in *Dp.t* *P.t*. The figure of Atum behind the king, his name and epithets, and the repetition of his name in l. 2 were left intact during the Amarna episode. Atum's figure likewise was spared on the east side of the ambulatory (Nelson no. MH.B 109), but was erased by the Atenists in the introduction scene on the façade itself (pl. 11*B*).

Like the scenes to the south of the doorway (pl. 11*A–B*), this scene was extensively repainted, probably in Ptolemaic times. The original flesh of the Amun figure was repainted dark blue, while his plumes bear a green, blue, and red pattern; his corslet appears to have been painted a light blue, while the belt is green with a red diamond pattern. The figure of the king seems to have kept its original color, except for the belt, which was painted green. As for Atum, his original red flesh color was retained, but the torso was repainted in green, presumably to indicate a covering garment. The belt was newly rendered in red and green, and the striated portion of the kilt, originally yellow, was repainted green. Around the figures, the new light blue background is widely preserved, extending even over the original Eighteenth Dynasty polychrome border design.

Two large Coptic crosses (Gr. 452) were incised across the lines of the dado below the king's feet, and a smaller cross appears within the lines of Amun's throne. Also extending below the dado are two long gouges made by scraping to obtain sand for magical use; these must post-date the crosses since the lower arm of the rightmost cross was obliterated. The faces of all three figures, the forearms and hands of Atum and the king, and the king's feet were all desecrated in the medieval period; the figure of Wadjet, the hieroglyphs *s'h*, *b't*, and the seated-god determinative of Atum in l. 2, along with *s'h* and *hr* in l. 7 and the *hpr* in the king's cartouche (l. 10) were treated in the same fashion.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A more elaborate version of the king's coronation is shown in Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 3, pl. 64; there, Hatshepsut receives separately the kingship of Upper and of Lower Egypt, while Horus utters the corresponding phrases *smn.n*≠(*i*) *n*≠*t* *s'h*≠*t* *n* *n*(y)-*sw.t*... and *smn.n*≠(*i*) *n*≠*t* *s'h*≠*t* *n* *b'ty*.... Here, the

two episodes seem to have been combined as Atum presents the king with the *hprš*-crown; for a discussion of this crown in the coronation ritual, see A. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," in *JEA* 39 (1953), pp. 27–28. Despite these considerations, it is unlikely that Thutmose III's actual coronation is what is depicted on this façade, since this coronation scene itself contains the notation *sp tpy hb-sd n hm*≠*f*. On the possibility that the king's coronation was repeated as part of his jubilee festival, see E. Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites," in *JNES* 24 (1965), pp. 380, 382, along with W. Barta, "Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche Zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme," in *SAK* 8 (1980), pp. 36–37 and n. 24, and M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, "Thronbesteigung," in *LÄ* 6, col. 531. Compare also the remarks of J. Berlandini-Grenier, "Senenmout, stoliste royal, sur une statue-cube avec Néferourê," in *BIFAO* 76 (1976), pp. 130–32.

PLATE 15. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE DYAD CHAMBER

ABOVE THE LINTEL, LEFT HALF

¹(Long) live the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, given life forever.

ABOVE THE LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

²(Long) live the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun, given life forever.

LINTEL, FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

³The Behdetite, the great god.

⁴The Behdetite, the great god.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

⁵(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands; ⁶(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re; ⁷[(Long) live the son of] Re, Thut[mose]-ruler-of-Maat, given life and stability forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁸(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands; ⁹(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re; ¹⁰[(Long) live the son of] Re, T[hutmose]-ruler-of-Maat, given life and stability [for]ever.

LEFT JAMB

¹¹Two Ladies: great of majesty in all lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-image-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.


¹²Falcon of Gold:^a great of strength, who smites the Nine Bows, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given all life like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

¹³Two Ladies: great of majesty in all lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-image-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.

¹⁴Falcon of Gold: great of strength, who smites the Nine Bows, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given all life like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the probable reading of  as *bik n nbw* in the time of Thutmose III, see J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien 49 (Mainz am Rhein, 1999), pp. 17–21, with reference to *Urk.* 4, 160–61.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Several sections of the text were erased under Akhenaten and subsequently restored. These include: l. 1, *mry ʾImn* (the sun disk of *Rʿ* was left undamaged); l. 2, *mr[y] ʾImn* (the *y* of *mry* was not damaged); ll. 3–4, *bḥd.ty nṯr ʿ3*; l. 6, *ʾImn* (including the seated-god determinative, but the sun disk *Rʿ* was not damaged); and l. 9, *ʾImn* (the sun disk *Rʿ* was not damaged; the recarved area includes part of the left edge of the *mr*-sign). In ll. 11 and 13, the word *šfy.t* was attacked: in l. 11, only the lower part of the *š*-sign was damaged, but in l. 13 the entire *š* had to be recarved, and the original *t* was not restored, there being, however, no trace of the original *t* in l. 11. It is possible that the Atenists associated the ram's head hieroglyph with Amun, and that the word was vandalized for this reason; in any case there are no traces to suggest a different writing in the original. At the base of both l. 11 and l. 13, the words *mry ʾImn-Rʿ nb ns.wt t3.wy* were attacked and then restored; in l. 11 it seems that the sun disk *Rʿ* was recarved along with the surrounding signs, but in l. 13 the disk was left undamaged.

The *nomen* of Thutmose III on the left and right door-jambs (ll. 12, 14) as originally carved included the epithet *nfr-hpr*. Subsequently, the *nfr*-signs were carefully smoothed away; the bits that remain are visible behind the *Dḥwty*-hieroglyph in each cartouche. The removal of the *nfr* in the king's *nomen* occurs frequently both in the chapels and in the ambulatory of this temple, but the phenomenon is not systematic; in many places the *nfr* is left intact, as originally carved. Moreover, the method of removing the sign is not consistent; in some places, as here, the intention was to leave a smooth

surface where the hieroglyph had been (for discussion, see above, p. xxxiii), whereas elsewhere, and more frequently, the sign was simply hacked out with pick or chisel. There is no discernible pattern to the treatment of this epithet; neither location nor context seems to have influenced the decision to delete the *nfr* or to leave it as carved. This alteration of the king's name has been noted elsewhere, with the *nfr-hpr* sometimes altered to *ḥq3-m3ʿt*, but at Medinet Habu the epithet is generally not recarved; the *nfr* is merely erased. The dating of this widespread alteration of the royal name is uncertain, but doubtless significant; for further discussion, see D. Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III: Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique* (Liege, 1998), p. 66; and Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 1, p. 15, nn. 2–5, and the chart on pp. 92–96. In this and the subsequent plates, the *nfr*-signs are shown as they appear, whether intact, damaged, or smoothed away, leaving only traces of the carved lines.

A patch stone forms part of the interior corner of the left jamb; from the rough plaster fill in the gaps around the block, it appears to be a late insertion. If so, the Late Period restorers took the trouble roughly to carve the right ends of the hieroglyphs of l. 11 and the left line of the column divider. Another patch stone, originally inserted at the bottom of the right jamb, is now missing.

During the 2004–05 field season, while cleaning the stone surface of this doorway, the conservation team discovered a few tiny flecks of gold leaf adhering to the stone on the left jamb, in ll. 11–12. These remnants suggest that a coating of gold leaf was applied to the decorated surface of this doorway; similar traces of gold were found on the doorway to the king's chamber (pl. 83). Close examination of this central doorway reveals that it had been painted as part of the original Thutmoside decorative scheme, leading to the conclusion that the gold coating was applied at a later time. At some point, the lintels and jambs of this doorway were extensively scraped, presumably to remove the gold, leaving the contours of many of the signs and column dividers in an abraded state, in contrast to the surface of the adjoining scenes, which is well preserved (see pls. 2, 14, and compare the photographs of the adjoining scenes, pls. 10, 12). The extent of this abrasion over the surface of the doorway (not shown as damage in the drawing for the sake of clarity) suggests that the jambs and lintel may have been entirely covered with gold. If so, then it is possible to suggest a date for the gilding based on comparison with the treatment of the east entrance to the ambulatory and the east entrance to the bark shrine. The jambs and reveals of these two portals were recarved with Ptolemaic texts and scenes under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. Close examination of these areas has revealed that they never received painted decoration; rather, they retain in places the remains of a white plaster-like substance over the sandstone surface. This surface treatment is similar in character to that found on the entrance to the shrine of Imhotep and Asklepios at Deir el-Bahari, also decorated

under Euergetes II, where it served as an adhesive base for the application of a gold-leaf coating, sections of which are still preserved *in situ*.⁹ Although no traces of gold are to be found on the Ptolemaic portals at Medinet Habu, it is likely that they were at least prepared to receive gilding in a similar fashion. If so, then it may be that the gilding of the Thutmoside doorway into the Dyad Chamber was carried out at the same time as a component of Euergetes II's restoration program within the temple.

PLATE 17. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE EAST DOORWAY IN THE DYAD CHAMBER

LINTEL, FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite.

²The Behdetite.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) I[ive the Horus: mighty bull appearing in Maat], the good [god], the ruler of Thebes. ⁴(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-[beloved]-of-[Re,^a living] forever. ⁵(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, beloved of A[m]un.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁶(Long) I[ive] the Ho[rus: mighty] bull [appearing] in Maat, the good god, the ruler of Thebes. ⁷(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-beloved-of-Re, [given] life, stability, and dominion. ⁸(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, like Re forever.^b

LEFT JAMB

⁹The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre-image-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of heaven, king of the gods. ¹⁰The beloved bodily [son of Re], Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

¹¹The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre-image-of-Re, beloved of Amun-[Re], foremost of *Dsr-s.t*. ¹²The beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a *mr-n-R* is suggested here, based on l. 7.

^b Note that the ends of ll. 7–8 could also be construed together: “given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.”

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The names and titles of Thutmose III on this doorway are original. The *nfr*-signs in his *nomen* (ll. 10, 12) were both deliberately hacked out at some time after the initial carving. The following areas of the text were destroyed during the Amarna period and subsequently restored: ll. 1–2: *Bhd.t(y)*, l. 5: *Imn*, l. 9: *mry Imn... nb p.t n(y)-sw.t ntr.w*. The *R* of *Imn-R* was left intact; also, during the post-Amarna repair the orientation of the word *mry* was reversed; a trace of the upper right corner of the original *mr*-hieroglyph is visible beside the rightmost reed leaf. In l. 11, *mry Imn... hnty Dsr-s.t* is recarved, but the area of the sun disk *R*, now missing, and its determinative stroke shows no evidence of having been recarved. The style of recarving in this column of text is unusual; in particular, the high, rounded contours of the *dsr*-arm, the narrow shape of the *s.t*-sign with its vertical internal detail, and the thin, slanted *-t* are inconsistent with the shapes of these signs in other instances of post-Amarna restoration. The odd spacing of these signs could suggest that this epithet is not the same as what was originally carved here; nevertheless, the level of the surface is still sufficiently high to preclude the possibility of a second episode of recarving after the original post-Amarna repair. In the absence of any traces of the original signs in this area, it is impossible to explain the curious rendering of the recarved hieroglyphs, and, though the shapes appear generally to be stylistically late, any more specific dating would be speculative. This area is shown in detail on pl. 94.

Additional traces of the original Thutmoside carving are visible at the tip of the *bh*-hieroglyph in l. 2, and by the *s.t*-sign, the *pr*-determinative, the *mr*-sign, and the rightmost reed leaf at the bottom of l. 11. Medieval iconoclastic damage can be seen at the heads of the *s3*-birds and the Thoth-birds in ll. 5 and 8, the *s3*-bird at the top of l. 12, and the *hpr*-signs within the cartouches of ll. 7, 11, and 12. The *hpr*-signs in ll. 9 and 10 were left intact.

An area in the middle of the left jamb is covered with a thick layer of plaster whose surface, where preserved, is finished with grayish paint. Large sections of this plaster surface have broken away, revealing the plaster bedding underneath. Careful examination of the underlying stone block reveals significant cracking along the strata in the sandstone and leads to the conclusion that sections of the block's surface flaked off in ancient times, necessitating repairs. This area is also shown in detail on pl. 94. The heavy, granular quality of the plaster is similar to that found in numerous other locations within these six chambers where the original stone blocks have shifted or broken, and the consistency of these many instances of plaster repair leads to the conclusion

⁹ E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari 3: Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (Warsaw, 1984), p. 20.

that they were carried out as part of a general restoration of the temple in the Late Period, perhaps during the reign of Achoris. The characteristics of this program of repair are discussed in more detail in the comments for pl. 43, below.

Above the doorway, in the lintel, three or more large patch stones, added during an ancient repair, are now missing, exposing the rough interior stone surface and areas of mortar.

PLATE 18B. THE KING EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN

¹Amun-Re, the lord of heaven, ²as he satisfies the heart.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

³The Behdetite.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The good god, ⁵Menkheperre, ⁶given life.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Amun was defaced during the reign of Akhenaten and later repaired. As on pl. 19, the areas recarved included the god's body and limbs, along with his hand behind the king's head; the recarving extended left as far as, but did not include, the king's staff. Traces of the original lines of the legs, the right toe, the kilt, the left elbow, and the hand, as well as the plumes of the crown, show that the god's figure was generally wider when first carved. The *mn*-sign and its phonetic complement *n* in the god's name were also damaged and recarved, but the reed leaf and sun disk were left intact. Above, the words *Bḥd.t(y)* and *nb p.t* also fall within the restored area. In fact, because of the arrangement of the recarved signs, it is possible to read *nb p.t* as an epithet either of Amun-Re or of the Behdetite. Two or three patch stones, missing from the left edge and the central area of the scene, may have been part of the Late Period repairs, while the area of heavy plaster noted on the left jamb of the main doorway (pl. 17) extends into the right portion of this scene, affecting the border line and the *ḥnh* in the king's hand.

PLATE 19B. THE KING EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN

¹Amun-Re, ²as he gives life.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

³The great god.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The good god, ⁵Menkheperre, ⁶given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The name and figure of Amun were damaged under Akhenaten and subsequently restored. Traces of the reed leaf and game board signs in l. 1 indicate that the god's name appeared somewhat to the right in the original; this would require that the original plumes of his crown be slightly shorter, as on pl. 18. The front of the crown, however, is shown by a trace to have been slightly more to the left. The recarved areas carefully delineate the figure of Amun, including his hand behind the king's head, the other hand, grasping the king's arm, and his leg and toe in the area below the king's kilt. The king's arm extending across Amun's body was left intact, but the staff in the king's hand was included in the damaged area and had to be replaced; a trace at its top shows that it was originally placed farther to the right. The surface of Amun's figure is restored in rather high relief in comparison with other examples, and it is possible that the god was not damaged as seriously here as elsewhere.

The plaster at lower left, in the area of the dado, is part of the Late Period repair program. At lower right, the right side of the block, where it intersects the corner of the room, has been chiseled away to receive a heavy plaster fill, as has the entire area of the block line at the bottom of this course of stones; throughout the temple, this type of repair was generally used in places where the blocks had shifted out of alignment with one another. Within the scene, the faces and lower legs of both figures, as well as the arms and hands of the king, were defaced with slanting blows of a pick or hammer in the medieval period.

PLATE 21. THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Causing the presentation of divine offerings to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,^a he having achieved^b (the state of) being given life like Re forever.

ABOVE AND BEHIND AMUN-RE

²Words spoken by Amun-[Re, lord of] heaven:
³"Menkheperre, (my) son, (my) beloved, ⁴how beautiful are these things which you have done, ⁵all the works of my

exact place^c having been protected⁶ with costly sandstone, (my) sacred place, which the earlier kings of Egypt have [ne]glected.^d You are the one who shall achieve (the state of) living forever.”^e

BEFORE NEKHBET

⁷Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven, lady of the bows,^f mistress of all the gods, as she gives all life, stability, and dominion on her part.

ABOVE THE KING

⁸Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, ⁹the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, [Menkheper]re, ¹⁰the bodily son of Re, Thut[mo]se [...], ¹¹given all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

BEFORE THE TRUSSED CALF

¹²Long-horned calf

NOTES TO TRANSLATION


^a On the expression *rdt mꜣꜥ*, see J.-L. Chappaz, “Un nouvel assemblage de *talâtât*: Une paroi du rw-mnw d’Aton,” in *Cahiers de Karnak* 8 (1982–85), p. 90, n. d. ¹*Imn-Rꜥ nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy* is written in reverse here and consistently in the offering captions throughout the six chambers.

^b Perhaps the *n* is intrusive, and the text should read *irꜥf di(w) ꜥnh* “that he may achieve (the state of) being given life...” On this formula, see *RILT* 1, p. 24, n. a (to pl. 61).

^c In the dedicatory text of Thutmose III on the south architrave of the ambulatory, this temple is called *s.tꜥf mt(y).t n.t sp tpy* “his (= Amun’s) exact place of the first occasion” (*Urk.* 4, 881/11). The same designation occurs in the architrave inscriptions of Seti I in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple (*RILT* 2, pls. 196B, l. 1, and 197A, l. 1, with p. 49). For a reference to the temple as the god’s “exact shrine” (*hm... mty*), see A. De Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden, 1948), p. 114, l. 13.

^d Reading *s.tꜥ(i) dsr.t hm.(t).n bi.tyw*. Sethe, *Urk.* 4, 883/6, restored a quail chick here after *dsr.t*, but closer examination shows it to be the tail of the owl hieroglyph *m*. For *bi.tyw* “early Egyptian kings,” see *Wb.* 2, 435. We are grateful to Professor Robert Ritner for his observations on this difficult section of the text.

^e The phrase *twt irꜥk ꜥnh.ti d.t* occurs also on one of the pillar faces in the ambulatory, Nelson no. MH.B 88, l. 2. *Twt* is understood as the archaic independent pronoun, second person (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 53, §64).

^f The trace here is most likely the lower left corner of the -hieroglyph, all that remains of the original epithet *ꜣw.t-rmn* “she with the extended arm” as on pl. 37, l. 8. This was replaced by *nb.t p.t* in the post-Amarna restoration.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The enthroned figure of Amun, including his pedestal, was destroyed by the agents of Akhenaten and recarved in the post-Amarna restoration; the recarving process caused the loss of parts of the surrounding hieroglyphs and column dividers. A few traces of the original figure are visible on his left arm and waist, and at the back of the throne and pedestal. Much of the restoration involved building up the wall surface in plaster, which has subsequently been chipped away; the extent of plaster restoration is especially visible in the god’s lower legs and bull’s tail. Several sections of the text were also damaged in the Amarna iconoclasm and had to be restored: l. 1, ¹*Imn-Rꜥ nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy ir.n...* (the upper left horn of the viper was erased during the recarving process); l. 2, ²*Imn-Rꜥ [nb] p.t*; l. 7, *Nhb.t hꜣ.t Nhn nb.t p.t nb.t... hnw.t ntr.w nb.w diꜥsꜥnh dꜣ wꜣs nb hrꜥs*. The word *pꜣ.wt* was left intact as originally carved; another example is found on the south wall of the Thutmoside bark sanctuary, Nelson no. MH.B 168.

The king’s face, lower leg and hands, the face, arms, and legs of Amun, and the head of the Nekhbet vulture were defaced during the medieval period. A few of the hieroglyphs, including the *m* and the *w* in l. 6, the face of *Hr* and the *kꜣ* in l. 8, the *sꜣ* in l. 10, and the *f*- and *Dꜥhwt*-signs in the same line, were slightly damaged as well.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The ritual of “causing the presentation of divine offerings” also occurs on the opposite wall (pl. 25) and in the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun (pls. 75, 79), where, with the caption *smꜣꜥ htp.(w)-ntr*, it is depicted somewhat less elaborately. The episode is shown as well in Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple (Navelle, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pls. 16, 24); the mace and staff in the king’s hand are standard features of this episode. For numerous references to other examples of this type of scene, see *RILT* 2, p. 10, n. a. This scene is shown in color on pl. 114.

PLATE 23. THE KING CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Censing and making a libation.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods, upon [his great] pedestal:^a ³“(As for my) son, Menkheperre, (my) beloved, who has made beautiful monuments for (me), ⁴who has embellished my house, who has sanctified ⁵(my)

place more than (those of) ⁶the gods, he knowing how to satisfy^b the one who is before him, ⁷(it is) to him (that I) have given all lands and all foreign countries.”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁸The protection of all life, stability, dominion, all health, and all joy surrounds him like Re.

BEFORE NEKHBET

⁹Nekhet.


ABOVE THE KING

¹⁰The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre, ¹¹the beloved son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes, ¹²lord of strength, chosen of Re, who smites the rulers ¹³of foreign countries who attack him,^c given life ¹⁴like Re forever.

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁵He shall be foremost of the *kas* of all the living like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThere is a patch stone missing from the center of the scene, and the end of the epithet *hr(y) s.t...* in l. 2 is lost. A clue, however, may be provided by the restoration graffito (Gr. 411, pl. 96) which was intended as a guide for restoring the text above. The first line of the ink graffito reads *dd mdw in 'Imn-R' n(y)-sw.t ntr.[w] hr(y) s.t...* followed by two small bits which might indicate the tops of the strokes of a suffix *=f*. These two traces do not suit a restoration of the hieratic *dsr*-sign. Since the scribe was indicating the intended repair to the carved text, we may tentatively suggest that the god's epithet here was *hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* (Wb. 4, 7/17), the writing of which would suit the available space at the bottom of the text column. For the translation of *s.t=f wr.t* as “his great pedestal,” see *Khonsu* 2, pl. 114B, 4, and text, p. 3. This translation suits the ithyphallic form of Amun, who is commonly depicted standing on a statue pedestal, though the determinative employed in the text at Khonsu temple is the *pr-wr* shrine (). For an alternate interpretation of the term, compare K. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1977), pp. 29ff.

^bRead (*s*)*htp*. This column of text is within the area of post-Amarna recarving, and it is possible, given the spacing, that the *s*- was originally present, although there is no trace to confirm this. A less likely reading is *rh.n=f htp.(t) hnt.(t)=f* “... he knowing the offering that is before him.”

^cCompare pl. 89, ll. 6–7; the phrase also occurs in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III (*Urk.* 4, 555/13).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of the ithyphallic Amun, along with his emblematic shrine, fan, and the text behind him (l. 8), were damaged during the Amarna period, and the whole area was later cut back and recarved. Traces of the original version are visible at the left corner of the statue base, below the god's shoulder, and above the tail of the viper hieroglyph *=f* in the protection formula. The name of Nekhet (l. 9), the words *'Imn-R' n(y)-sw.t ntr.w hr(y) s.t...* in l. 2, and all of l. 6 were also damaged under Akhenaten and later restored.

The rectangular gap immediately in front of Amun is an opening extending through the wall to the King's Chamber; presumably this would have been covered over with a patch stone. Another large patch stone is missing from the middle of the scene. An area along the block line at the lower right corner of the scene has been chiseled back to receive a plaster repair, and some areas of plaster restoration are still to be seen in the block line below the king's kilt and in the area above his crown, as well as in the block line to the left of Amun-Re. These features are characteristic of the Late Period program of wall repairs. A Demotic graffito in black ink (Gr. 428, pl. 101) appears to the left of the twin offering stands. The faces of the king and god, along with the god's phallus, were vandalized by iconoclasts in later times.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene is presented in color on pl. 115, with the king's crown shown in detail on pl. 137J. The king's eye and eyebrow are not carved in the normal fashion, but rendered naturalistically in paint only. For this ritual episode, compare Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pls. F15, H9, and L8; for a later example, see *RILT* 2, pl. 158.

PLATE 25. THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Causing the [present]ation^a of divine offerings to Amun-Re of *dsr-s.t*.

ABOVE AND BEHIND AMUN-RE

²Words spoken by Amun-Re,^b lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “(My) beloved son, ³Menkheperre, to you (I) have given the years of eternity. ⁴To you (I) have given the years of Atum (and) the portion ⁵of the two lords, consisting of uniting the Two Lands^c ⁶in the midst of years [of] ⁷peace^d (and) celebrating millions of jubilees upon the Horus throne of the living, as he rejoices together with his *ka*^e like Re forever.”

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁸The Behdetite.

ABOVE THE KING

⁹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre, ¹⁰the bodily son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, ¹¹beloved of Wadjet of Lower Egypt,^f ¹²given all life, stability, and dominion ¹³like Re forever.

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁴King Menkheperre shall be enduring in the mouths of the living.

BEFORE THE TRUSSED CALF

¹⁵Long-horned calf

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a *rdit* [*mʒʿ*] can be restored based on the similar caption of pl. 21 on the opposite wall.

^b The god was originally named as ^ʾ*Imn* here; since the reed leaf and game board are intact as originally carved under Thutmose III, we can conclude that the name was left untouched by the agents of Akhenaten, and that, during the post-Amarna repair, the name was changed to ^ʾ*Imn-Rʿ*.

^c *Urk.* 4, 564/6, omits *tʒ.wy*, but the right ends of the two land signs are clearly visible below the block line.

^d Read *m-hnw rnp.wt* [*m*] *hṭp.t*. No trace remains of the suggested \equiv *m* below the plural strokes, but in the original version, with the top of the plumes on Amun's crown slightly lower, there would have been sufficient space for an *m* here.

^e Note the shift from 2nd to 3rd person in the speech of Amun.

^f For this reading of the name of Wadjet with the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt, see *RILT* 1, p. 6, n. d to pl. 16, l. 7, and *RILT* 2, p. 20, n. a to pl. 165A, l. 9.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The seated figure of Amun-Re, his throne, and its pedestal were desecrated during the Amarna period and subsequently were restored. Traces of the original figure are visible near the neck and shoulders, on the ribbon behind the crown, near the forearm, and the top line of the legs; traces of the Thutmoside plumes are also visible near the tips of the recarved plumes. The restoration of the plumes caused the loss of the left sides of the book-roll determinative and the word *tʒ.wy* in l. 5, the column divider at the left of l. 5, and lower half of the words *rnp.wt* [*m*] in l. 6; the erased portions were left uncarved by the restorers. The following areas of the inscription were also recarved following Atenist damage: l. 1, ^ʾ*Imn-Rʿ* *ḏsr-s.t*; l. 2, *nb ns.wt tʒ.wy sʒʿi*, and

see discussion above (note *b*); l. 4, ... *ʒ k rnp.wt n.(t) (ʾI)tm psš*; l. 11, *mry Wʒdy.t mḥw* (the *mr*-hieroglyph is preserved as originally carved, although the left corner of its handle was erased as a result of the recarving process); l. 8, *Bḥd.t(y)*. A rectangular patch stone is missing from the lower right area of the pile of offerings, revealing the surface underneath, which was chiseled to hold mortar. There are three Demotic graffiti in black ink, two below the scene's painted dado (Gr. 429, 430) and one below the 𓆎 -sign in l. 15 (Gr. 431); these are shown in detail on pl. 101. The hieroglyphs *dī ʿnh ḏd wʒs nb* in l. 12 were vandalized sometime after the Pharaonic period, and the mace and staff in the king's hand were also deliberately damaged, together with his nose and fingertips. This scene is shown in color on pl. 116.

PLATE 26B. THE KING GIVEN LIFE
BY AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re,^a as he satisfies the heart, ²as he gives all life, all stability and dominion.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

³The Behdetite, the great god.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The good god{dess},^b ⁵Menkheperre, ⁶given life like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The sun disk is separated from ^ʾ*Imn* by a column divider, which is a feature of the recarved version of the scene; the name was not thusly separated in the original.

^b The original feminine *.t* of *nṯr.t* remains intact, unlike in the pendant scene north of the doorway, where it was carefully smoothed away.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

As on pl. 27B, the king's cartouche originally contained the name of Maatkare; the traces of the *mʒʿ.ṯ*-hieroglyph and the *kʒ*-arms are clearly visible. Though the royal names have been changed, the shaving down of the surface and other alterations to the king's figure noted elsewhere (see notes to pl. 61A) are not visible here. Most of the right side of the scene, including the figure of Amun, his name and epithets, and the name and epithet of the winged disk were damaged under Akhenaten and later restored. Traces of the original carving are visible where Amun's hand holds the *ankh* to the king's nose, and also in the right plume of his crown. In the

original rendition, the king was holding a staff, which was erased completely during the restoration; traces of it are visible in the area of his hand. Much plaster fill was used in the restoration of the arm, head, and crown, and this was easily hacked away by those iconoclasts who later defaced the scene. At the lower left corner, the surface of the blocks has been chiseled down to a uniform level as part of the repair program undertaken during the Late Period.

A large area of the lower right block of this scene has broken away along its upper and left sides. The fragment (registration no. 129) containing the king's hand grasping a trio of small *ankh*-signs was recovered during the reconstruction of the chamber floor in 1999–2000 and has been reattached.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

As on the east interior wall of this chamber, here the king is shown to the north of the doorway wearing the red crown, and on the south side wearing the white crown. These scenes are shown in color on pl. 117.

PLATE 27B. THE KING GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, as he satisfies the heart, ²as he gives all life.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

³The Behdetite, the great god.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The good god,^a ⁵Menkheperre, ⁶given life.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aTraces of the original *t*-loaf of *ntr.t* are visible at the lower left of the *ntr*-sign, unlike the same phrase on pl. 26B, where the *t*-loaf remains unaltered.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The name of Menkheperre has replaced that of Maatkare in l. 5, as shown by traces of the *m3' .t*-hieroglyph visible within and above the game board; the sun disk in the cartouche was left unchanged. The change of the cartouche to Thutmose III's name is unusual; in most cases Hatshepsut's cartouches were either left blank or usurped for Thutmose I or II.¹⁰ The alteration here and in the scene south of the door

(pl. 26) may be explained by the prominent location of these scenes upon either side of the central doorway to the inner chamber, where it would have been desirable to depict the king as officiant, rather than a predecessor. Unlike pl. 26, however, in this scene, the king's figure has been altered; the raised relief surfaces have been shaved back and smoothed, especially around the base of the beard, collar, and torso, so that the incised lines of the collar and part of the lines of the belt are lost. The red paint of the torso shows light diagonal scrape marks associated with this modification. For further discussion of this treatment of Hatshepsut's figure, see notes to pl. 61A, below.

The figure of Amun and the area above, including his name (l. 1) and that of the winged disk (l. 3), were damaged during the Amarna period and subsequently were restored, though the sun disk *R'* was carefully left intact. Traces of the Thutmoside carving are visible by the god's back heel and bull's tail, and the hem of his kilt has been recarved somewhat lower than the initial version. The god's hand, which had extended vertically behind the king's head, was moved to his shoulder. Originally, the king held a staff, only the lower part of which is still visible; the upper half, which was included in the damaged area of Amun's torso, was not restored, though traces of it may be seen above the king's hand.

A patch stone is missing from the area of the king's arm at right. Amun's face and hand are slightly damaged by chisel blows, along with his arm and torso, but otherwise there is no medieval-style iconoclastic hacking. This scene is shown in color on pl. 117.

PLATE 29. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN

LINTEL, FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite, the great god.

²The Behdetite, the great god.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, powerful of strength, the good god, the ruler of Karnak. ⁴(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁵(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life, stability, and dominion forever.

einmal untersucht (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1932. Phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 4), §58. For comments on the possible chronological significance of Thutmose III's modifications to the scenes on this wall, see Laboury, *Statuaire*, pp. 491–92 and 536–46.

¹⁰ W. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (Chicago, 1933), p. 11 and p. 21, n. 11. See also K. Sethe, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch*

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁶(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, powerful of strength, the good god, the ruler of Karnak. ⁷(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁸(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life, stability, and dominion forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁹The good god, the lord of ritual, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re who resides in *Dsr-[s].t*. ¹⁰The bodily son of Re, Thutmose-created-of-Amun, given all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

¹¹The good god, the lord of [diadems],^a Aakheperenre, [beloved of] Amun-[Re], lord of [...]. ¹²The bodily son of Re, Thutmose-egg-of-Amun,^b given all life, stability, and dominion like Re [forever].

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a Originally carved as *ntr nfr nb.t [h^c.w]*. The inconsistent placement of the feminine *.t* in ll. 10 and 12 is also to be noted.

^b The O -sign was erroneously rendered as O in the recarved version of the *nomen*. For the epithet *swt.t Imn*, see also pls. 31, 45, 69, and 71.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The names of Thutmose II have been carved in place of those of Hatshepsut in every instance, including the Horus name in ll. 3 and 6, where *K3-nht wsr-ph.ty* is carved over the original *Wsr.t-k3.w*. At the beginning of l. 9, the spacing suggests the presence of an original *.t*, now missing, in *ntr.[t] nfr.(t)*. As elsewhere in the temple, the sun-disk hieroglyph *R^c* within the cartouches was left intact as originally carved and painted. Numerous traces within the name-rings clearly show the original readings. The feminine *.t* endings were carefully erased in ll. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (now missing), 10, 11, and 12.

Several areas of the text were effaced during the Amarna period and subsequently restored. These include the name and epithet of the winged disk in ll. 1–2, the name *Imn* (but not the sun disk *R^c*) in ll. 4 and 7, and also *Imn* in the cartouches in ll. 5, 8, 10, and 12. The text *mry Imn-R^c hr(y)-ib Dsr-[s].t* in l. 9, and the corresponding area, now mostly broken away, in l. 11, also had to be recarved following Atenist damage.

In the post-Pharaonic period, the lintel suffered considerable damage to an assortment of the hieroglyphic signs; the uraei and feathers of the winged sun disk were also deliberately hacked. The doorjambs, by contrast, were spared iconoclastic damage, as were the offering registers above the lintel, where the fine carving is quite well preserved despite

the loss of almost all painted detail. At some point two slots, similar to those shown on pls. 56–57, were cut into the jambs as sockets for a wooden doorframe or other structure. The reveals are blackened with soot, and it is possible that the wooden portions of the door were at some point burned.

PLATE 31. SANCTUARY OF AMUN.
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE
DOORWAY FROM THE DYAD CHAMBER

FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite

²The Behdetite

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁴(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-image-of-Amun,^a given life forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁵(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁶(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁷The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, given life forever.

RIGHT JAMB

⁸The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord^b of ritual, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The *nomen* of Thutmose II, as carved during the reign of Thutmose III, contained the epithet *ti.t-Imn*. As recarved in the post-Amarna restoration, the space below the *n* of Amun's name contains the sign O . It cannot be determined whether the egg sign was original to the Thutmoside version of the cartouche or was added during the post-Amarna restoration, but since the two epithets cannot have been intended to be read together, and since the *ti.t*-sign is certainly part of the Eighteenth Dynasty version, the epithet *ti.t-Imn* has been transliterated here.

^b The original feminine ending, erased in *ntr.t nfr.(t) nb.t t3.wy*, has been left untouched in *nb.t ir.(t) h.t*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The lintel originally contained the names of Hatshepsut, visible only as traces; they were replaced by those of Thutmose I on the right side and Thutmose II on the left. The right jamb was also inscribed for Maatkare and was recarved for Aakheperkare; the left jamb bears the original name of Menkheperre. The replacement of $M\beta^{\epsilon}.t-k\beta-R^{\epsilon}$ with $\beta^{\epsilon}-hpr-k\beta-R^{\epsilon}$ on the right side of the doorway required only the replacement of the central part of each cartouche; both the sun disk and the $k\beta$ -arms are original. Feminine $.t$ endings were erased in ll. 4 and 6, as well as in l. 8, with the exception noted above.

The Amarna iconoclasm resulted in the erasure of $Bhd.t(y)$ in ll. 1–2, of $\beta^{\epsilon}Imn$ in l. 3, and $mry\ \beta^{\epsilon}Imn$ in l. 5 (the sun disk R^{ϵ} being left intact in both places), of $\beta^{\epsilon}Imn$ in the cartouches in ll. 4 and 6, of $\beta^{\epsilon}Imn$ in l. 7, and of the text $mry\ \beta^{\epsilon}Imn-R^{\epsilon}\ n(y)-sw.t\ ntr.w\ nb\ p.t$ in l. 8. All these areas were later recarved. The graffito at the right of the right jamb (Gr. 412, pl. 96) served as a guide for the post-Amarna restorers when they repaired the adjoining area of text. In the medieval period, the uraei and feathers of the winged sun disk, the $bi.t(y)$ hieroglyphs in ll. 3 and 5, the hpr in ll. 5 and 7, and the $s\beta$ -birds in ll. 4 and 6 were all deliberately pecked out. A patch stone is missing from the lower portion of the left jamb. The upper corners of the jambs have been cut out to receive a wooden door emplacement; at top left, where the lintel block had shifted out of alignment with the jamb, the surface of the reveal was repaired, probably during the Late Period restoration, with a rough plaster fill. These details are visible in the photograph (pl. 30).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The bottom of the inner border line on the left jamb was erroneously carved with the forked base of a $w\beta s$ -scepter; the inner border line on the opposite jamb was carved correctly. The outer border line on both jambs bears the head of a $w\beta s$ -scepter, but the typical base of this scepter is absent on both the left and right outer lines. For other doorframes rendered with this feature, compare pl. 29, pl. 57, and pl. 83. This doorway and the scenes on either side are presented in color on pl. 118.

PLATE 32B. THE KING EMBRACED
AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re,^a as he satisfies the heart.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

²The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

ABOVE THE KING

³The good god, Menkheperre.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a As on pl. 26 above, the sun disk is separated from $\beta^{\epsilon}Imn$ by a superfluous column divider, added during the post-Amarna restoration of the scene.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The name and figure of Thutmose III are original. The name and figure of Amun and the name and epithets of the Behdetite show Amarna-period damage and subsequent recarving, as elsewhere. Although the iconography of the king in this stance would normally include a staff in his hand along with the *ankh*-signs, no trace of a staff has survived the reworking of Amun's figure. The sun disk in Amun's name, though not itself vandalized under Akhenaten, was slightly reworked when the surrounding areas were restored, leaving traces of its original shape. Much of the surface around the figures' heads, particularly below the block line, was refinished and recarved in a layer of plaster fill, probably as part of the Late Period restoration, since the heavily granular plaster is quite similar to that used around the doorway immediately to the left (pl. 43). A large area of this surface has fallen out or been hacked away, revealing the underlying plaster and stone. The remaining area of Amun's face, his arm, and the arms of the king were severely vandalized in medieval times, but the legs were left relatively untouched, perhaps indicating the level of debris which accumulated on this side of the room after the temple fell out of use. The painted details of this scene are quite well preserved and are shown in color on pl. 118.

PLATE 33B. THE KING (ERASED)
BEFORE AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, as he satisfies the heart.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

²The Behdetite, the great god.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

³The good god, Maatkare.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene originally showed Hatshepsut, wearing the double crown, being embraced by Amun-Re, who held the sign of life to her nose. Under Thutmose III, Hatshepsut was erased and an offering stand with flowers added to fill the space at the left of the scene; yet traces of much of her name and figure are clearly visible, since the grayish background paint applied to the recarved sections took on a slightly different color within the damaged areas. Moreover, small sections of the band of her cartouche escaped the chisels of Thutmose III's sculptors and remain intact as originally carved. The stance of Amun was also modified, so that he now holds a *wꜣs*-scepter in his right hand, with his left arm extending down behind him holding the *ankh*-sign. Amun's figure was subsequently defaced under Akhenaten and later restored, so that two sets of traces must be distinguished within the scene: the first, consisting essentially of the name and figure of Hatshepsut, with the *ankh*-sign in front of the king's face and the god's hand behind her head, and a trace of the original toe of her front foot; and the second, the original (i.e., pre-Amarna) version of the *wꜣs*-scepter, with another trace near the front toe, as well as a trace above the rear foot. At some point after the Thutmoside recarving, and probably during the Amarna period, the offering stand with its vase of flowers was deliberately destroyed; this was not restored, but the damaged area was painted over with the typical Ramesside gray-white background color. The name of Amun-Re, the words *shꜣp=f iꜥb*, and *Bḥd.ty ntr* ³ above were also restored following Atenist damage. A large patch stone, perhaps added as part of the post-Amarna restoration, is missing from the wall at lower right, leaving the emplacement plaster exposed beneath; as the photograph shows, this has been subsequently removed as part of the wall conservation process. Another patch stone at the back of Amun's crown remains in its original position. The face and arms of Amun, along with the feathers of the winged disk, were intentionally damaged in the medieval period.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene is shown in color on pl. 118. The erased figure of Hatshepsut and the intact figure of Thutmose III on the opposite panel (pl. 32) are the only examples within the six chambers of the king wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The double crown occurs fairly infrequently throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty temple; it is worn by Atum on the façade (pl. 13) and by the king in several of the pillar scenes within the ambulatory.

PLATE 35. THE KING OFFERING *BD*-NATRON TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Five pellets of *bd*-natron. A pellet taken to the mouth and taken to the hand. ²Going around four times.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

³Amun-[R]e, lord of the thr[on]es of the Two Lands, ⁴chief of the gods.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds him like^a Re. ⁶Words spoken: "To you (I) have given the throne of Geb and the office of Atum as the reward for these things that you have done for (me)."

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁷The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, the lord of heaven, the lord of Mesen;^b as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁸The good god, Menkheperre, ⁹the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ¹⁰given all life like Re ¹¹forever.

BEHIND THE KING

¹²He shall be foremost of the *kas* of all the living like Re forever.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA-STANDARD

¹³The living *ka* of the king,^c ¹⁴lord of the Two Lands, ¹⁵foremost of the room of purification, ¹⁶Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The reed leaf *i*, added to fill out the end of the column, serves as a phonetic complement to *mi*.

^b H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* 3 (Cairo, 1926), p. 60.

^c The area of text at the top of ll. 13–15 was damaged during the Amarna period and later restored; originally the words *kꜣ n(y)-sw.t* were located farther to the right, while at left, as shown by the traces, was the word *ḏbꜣ.t* "room of vestiture," which would have been the first word of l. 14. The original reading would therefore have been ¹³*kꜣ n(y)-sw.t nḥ nb tꜣ.wy ḥnt(y)* ¹⁴*ḏbꜣ.t ḥnt(y) pr ḏwꜣ.t* "The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the room of vestiture, foremost of the room of purification." In the restoration the words *kꜣ n(y)-sw.t* were changed to read horizontally, with the determinative figure added at left; this resulted in a dit-

tography of *hnt(y)* at the end of l. 14 and the beginning of l. 15.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

In the *nomen* of Thutmose III, the *nfr*-sign was left intact as originally carved. The figure of ithyphallic Amun, with his name and epithets in ll. 3–4, the text behind him (l. 5), and his fetish shrine were completely recarved after being damaged during the Amarna period. A restoration graffito in black ink, just in front of the king's kilt (Gr. 413, pl. 96) corresponds to l. 3 of the text. In l. 7, the following section of text was damaged under Akhenaten and later recarved: *Bḥd.t(y) ntr ʿs sḥb šw.t(y) nb p.t nb Msn di ʿf nḥ*; the *dd* and *wḥs* were left intact. In the text behind Amun (l. 6) the words *...ʿk ns.t Gb iḥ.t...* were damaged and then recarved; a second restoration graffito (Gr. 414, pl. 96) refers to this area. At top left, the words *kḥ n(y)-sw.t* were also restored, with *dbḥ.t* replaced by the seated deity (see note *c* above).

Along the left edge of the scene a crack in the wall was filled with a thick layer of roughly applied plaster; this attempt at repair was made during the Late Period restoration of the sanctuary. As part of the conservation work carried out on this wall during the 2002–03 season, portions of this plaster were removed from the area at upper left, revealing the carved bits of l. 15 visible to the left of the block line.

Several areas of the scene suffered intentional damage during the medieval occupation of Medinet Habu, including the head, arms, and legs of the king; the face, phallus, up-raised arm, and lower legs of Amun; the wings and body of the Behdetite Horus; the Horus figure above the name of the royal *ka*; and a number of the hieroglyphic signs. This scene appears in color on pl. 119.

PLATE 37. THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) OFFERING *NTRW*-NATRON TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹...pellet[s] of *ntrw*-natron...pellet...to...^a2...

ABOVE AMUN-RE (ERASED TEXT)

³[Amun]-Re...^b

ABOVE AMUN-RE (FINAL TEXT)

⁴As he gives all life, all stability and dominion, ⁵all health, and all joy.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁶Words spoken: “To you^c (I) have given the kingship of the two lands and the years of eternity as king upon the throne of Horus, forever.”^d

BEFORE THE ROYAL CARTOUCHES

⁷Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt,^e as she gives life and dominion.

BEFORE NEKHBET

⁸Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, she with the extended wing, lady of Fagt,^f mistress of the gods, as she gives life.

ABOVE THE KING (FRASED TEXT)

⁹The king of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, ¹⁰the son^g of Re, [Chnum]etamun-[Hat]shepsut, ¹¹given life like Re ¹²forever.



BEHIND THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹³The protection of [all] life, stability, dominion, health, and joy ...surround...[like] Re...

OFFERING LABEL

¹⁴Long-horned calf.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aTraces of  can be observed within the portion of meat at the upper right corner of the pile of offerings, along with two *tḥ*-signs () below, and part of an *r* can be seen in the next-to-lowest tabletop. This is enough to suggest a caption similar to that found in the adjoining scene (pl. 35): *bd tḥ diw tḥ iṯ(w) r r iṯ(w) r ʿ* “Five pellets of *bd*-natron; a pellet taken to the mouth and taken to the hand,” with *ntrw* instead of *bd* in this scene.¹¹ For a discussion of these two words for natron, see P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (Leuven, 1997), pp. 559–60.

^bThe name of Amun-Re, originally carved above the god's plumes, was not restored here in the post-Amarna repair. Instead, the name of Amun, recarved within the area once occupied by the *nomen* of Hatshepsut (l. 10), served as the caption designating the god.

^cThe original feminine suffix *ʿt* was retained here.

^dThe lower portion of this column of text, beginning with *n(y)-sw.t*, is scarred with peck marks typical of the Atenist iconoclasm, with the exception of the sun disk, which was left intact. The area was then recarved, probably as part of

¹¹ A similar example, in which these two types of natron are presented in adjacent offering scenes, is found in the Chapel of Anubis at Deir el-Bahari; see Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 10.

the restoration of Amun's figure during the Amarna period. Traces show the original *mi R*^c; this phrase was replaced by *d.t* in the restored version.

^e For the use of 𓂏 to write (*t3*)-*mḥw*, compare Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 454.

^f A locale within the third Upper Egyptian nome. For a discussion of *F*^c*g*/*F*^c*g.t*, see H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 243–44, and H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques 2* (Cairo, 1925), p. 160. Other contemporary examples of this epithet are found at the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari 2*, pl. 35, with a similar series of epithets: *Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn 3w.t-^c nb.t F^cg.t nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w dī s^c nḥ dd w3s*, *F^cg.t* being written with the city-determinative), the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab (J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* [London, 1894], pl. 8, where the epithets of Nekhbet occur within a *ḥtp-dī-n(y)-sw.t* formula; *F^cg* is apparently written with 𓂏 erroneously substituted for either 𓂏 or 𓂏), and in the destroyed temple of Thutmose III at the same site (*Urk.* 4, 829/9).

^g No trace of the expected feminine *.t* ending is visible here.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Hatshepsut originally stood facing Amun with both hands raised in the same attitude of presentation as seen on pl. 35. Traces of her hands, arms, torso, kilt, legs, and feet are clearly visible, and the traces of the text above her are almost complete, since the hieroglyphs were shaved carefully down to the level of the surface, and nothing was carved over them. The caption to the scene (ll. 1–2) and the text behind the king cannot completely be made out, since they are obscured by the pile of offerings that replaces the royal figure.

In the Amarna period, the figure of Amun, his name, and epithets were damaged and had to be recarved under Akhenaten's successors. The name and epithets of Nekhbet (l. 8), the figure of Wadjet upon her standard (l. 7), and the area of text behind Amun mentioned in note *d* above were all similarly treated. Moreover, Amun's name in Hatshepsut's *nomen*, evidently left intact when her names were erased under Thutmose III,¹² was attacked by the Atenists, and the name was subsequently restored in raised relief. Later iconoclastic damage to the scene is concentrated on Amun's head, shoulder, and legs, the heads of the two sacrificial cattle, and the body of the lower calf, along with the birds and other items in the offering pile, and the vulture figure of Nekhbet. The *ḥr*-hieroglyph in l. 6 was also deliberately hacked away. This scene is shown in color on pl. 120.

PLATE 39. THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹[Five] pellet[s] of incense. [A] pellet taken to the mouth and taken ²to the hand. Going around [fo]ur times.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

³Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, chief of ⁴the gods, ⁵as he gives all life and all health.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁶Words spoken: “For [you] (I) have united the Two Lands in peace, you having appeared^a upon the throne of Horus^b like Re forever.”

BEFORE THE ROYAL CARTOUCHES

⁷Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

BEFORE WADJET

⁸Wadje(t), (she of) Dep and Pe, lady of heaven, lady of the court, as she gives life and dominion like Re.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁹The good goddess, Maatkare, ¹⁰the son^c of Re, Chnemetamun-Hatshepsut, ¹¹given life like Re ¹²forever.

BEHIND THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹³She [shall be] foremo[st] of the *kas* of [all] the living like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a Reading *ḥ^c.t(i)*, the Old Perfective, perhaps left intact because the ending would be the same for masculine and feminine (cf. pl. 53, l. 7). In the original version, of course, it would have been possible to understand *ḥ^c s^c t* “that you may appear.”

^b The text has been altered here; traces suggest an original reading *ḥr s.t s(i) wnn s^c t mi R^c d.t*.

^c No trace remains of the expected feminine *.t* ending.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Hatshepsut, the scene caption (ll. 1–2), and the text behind her figure (l. 13) were erased and replaced by a pile of offerings, during the sole reign of Thutmose III. There are sufficient traces to reconstruct her original stance presenting two ∇ -vessels, a pose that is appropriate to the erased caption “[Five] pellet[s] of incense. [A] pellet taken to the mouth and taken to the hand...” (cf. pl. 35, l. 1). Above

¹² Compare pl. 39, l. 10.

her figure, her name and epithets (ll. 9–11) were shaved down to the level of the surface, and nothing was carved over them; yet the name of Amun in Hatshepsut's *nomen* was left intact as originally carved. Moreover, unlike the example on pl. 37, l. 10, it was inexplicably left undamaged in the era of the Amarna iconoclasm.

During the reign of Akhenaten, the figure of Amun was defaced, along with several areas of text, all of which were later recarved: ll. 3–4, ¹*Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy hr(y)-tp ntr.w*; l. 6, the text from the second *hṭp* sign down to the top of *mī R'* (see note *b* above); l. 7, the figure of Wadjet on her standard, along with the signs *dī = s' nh w3s*; l. 8, the sections *W3dy.t Dp.(t) P.(t) nb.t p.t nb.t wsh.t* and *w3s mī R'*, and the bolt-*s* hieroglyph of *dī = s*; but the *dī*- and *nh*-signs were left intact. Traces of the original figure of Amun can be seen at the base and top of his *w3s*-scepter and to the left of the bull's tail. In the medieval period Amun's face, arms, and legs were extensively hacked, along with the hieroglyphs *hr(y)-tp* in l. 3 and the winged figure of Wadjet at the upper right corner of the scene. A small patch stone, perhaps part of the Late Period restoration, is missing from the block join just below Wadjet's wing, and another patch stone has been removed from the lower area of l. 6. Yet another patch stone, near the top of the left border, is part of the original construction of the wall.

PLATE 41A. THE KING AND THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²foremost of *Dsr-s.t*.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

³Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion, all stability,^a all health, and all joy like Re forever."

BEFORE THE ROYAL CARTOUCHES

⁴Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

⁵The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, who has gone forth as the horizon dweller,^b as he gives life and dominion on his part.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁶[The king of Upper] and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, ⁷the son of Re, [Chnem]amun-Hatshepsut, ⁸given life like Re forever.

BEHIND THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁹She [shall be] foremost of [the *kas* of all] the living...

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA-STANDARD (ERASED TEXT)

¹⁰The living *ka* of the king, the lord of the Two Lands,
¹¹foremost of the room of purification, ¹²Horus...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe feminine *.t* after *dd* appears also on pl. 41B, written in the same fashion.

^bFor *3h.ty* "he of the horizon," etc., see *Wb.* 1, 18/1.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Hatshepsut, originally standing before the throne of Amun, and the royal *ka* with its accompanying text were erased under Thutmose III and replaced by a pile of bouquets and offerings. Traces of the king's feet, bull's tail and wig, and of the Horus figure and staff atop the *ka*-standard, can be seen in the recarved area. Hatshepsut's name and epithets and those of the royal *ka* were also erased down to the level of the wall surface. The position of the traces of the royal figure in this scene and in the adjoining one (pl. 41B) does not allow for the presence of a caption between the king and god, on analogy with those on the west wall of the Sanctuary of the Ithyphallic Amun (pl. 81). In this scene, Hatshepsut wore the *khat*-wig and stood leaning slightly forward, in a pose that had both arms extending in front of the body, omitting the left shoulder and leaving the back of the *khat* fully visible. There are several ritual acts in which the king could be shown in this pose; since a scene of pouring water over the divine image is precluded by the composition in this case, the most likely possibilities here are either an image-handling episode, a censuring rite, or a rite in which the king arranges offerings upon a table in front of the god (*ts h.t hr h3.t*). Contemporary examples of both poses may be seen in Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. P6–10; compare also L.D. III, 67a, and Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 21.

Under Akhenaten the figure of Amun was hacked out, along with his throne and base, and several areas of text, including the name and epithets of Amun (ll. 1–2), the serpent Wadjet on her standard, with the accompanying text (l. 4), and the name and epithets of the winged solar disk (l. 5). All these were afterwards recarved. Traces of the original carving are visible along Amun's kilt, at the back of the throne's base, and in the name of *Bhd.t(y)* in l. 5. The name of Amun in Hatshepsut's *nomen* was destroyed by the Amarna iconoclasts and also had to be restored.

Amun's face and arms were deliberately chiseled out during the medieval period. Curiously, a round, stoppered jar on the offering table before him was also singled out for attack. The lower half of this western wall of the chamber is badly damaged, and large areas of the surface have broken away. A fragment, recovered during the cleaning under the floor of these rooms, has been reattached in place at the top of the leftmost offering stand.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The top of pl. 41A shows the rebus frieze of Hatshepsut in relation to the scenes below. The vertical portions of the *k3*-arms have all been hacked out, but not carefully smoothed down, as with the names and epithets of Hatshepsut in the scenes themselves. The figure of Maat in the central cartouche of the frieze was also damaged, apparently in order to prepare the cartouche to be recarved in the name of Thutmose I, but the recarving was never completed and the remainder of the name was left intact, in contrast to the example of the same feature shown on pl. 92, from the Dyad Chamber, recarved with the name of Thutmose II. Each cobra in the frieze was carefully detailed in paint; the palette used here is the same as that shown in color on pls. 125 and 137D.

PLATE 41B. THE KING AND THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE

BEFORE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-R[e...],^a lord of heaven, ²as he gives all life, all health, ³and all joy like Re. ⁴...^b

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵[Words] spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and all joy like Re forever."

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, who has gone forth as the horizon dweller, as he gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁷The good god, Maatka[re], ⁸the son of Re, [Chnemetamun]-Hatshepsut, ⁹given life like Re forever.

BEHIND THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹⁰He^c shall be foremost of the *kas*...

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA-STANDARD (ERASED TEXT)

¹¹The living *ka* of the king, lord of the Two Lands, ¹²foremost of the room of vestiture, ¹³Horus, powerful of *ka*[s].

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a*N(y)-sw.t ntr.w* could be restored here.

^bA trace of the sun-disk hieroglyph indicates that the name ¹*Imn-R*^c was once carved before the plumes of the crown; this was not restored after the Amarna period.

^c*≠f* shows clearly in the traces; the opposite scene, pl. 41A, had *≠s* in this position.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Hatshepsut, along with the emblem of the royal *ka*, was erased under Thutmose III and replaced with an array of offerings, including flaming censers and vessels with pellets of incense or natron. The names and epithets of both king and *ka* were also carefully erased. The traces show that the king's arms were extended in the act of presenting a censer of scepter form, so the burners and pellets in the offering array may intentionally echo the original act depicted. The carving technique in the offering piles in these two scenes is of differing quality; in this right-hand scene the offerings are crudely and hastily rendered, while in the scene at left (pl. 41A) they are carved in good low relief, comparable to that of the scenes carved under Hatshepsut in other rooms of the temple. The historical reasons for this marked difference in quality have not yet been explained; the same dichotomy has been noticed in the Naos Chamber.¹³ An odd feature is the cow's head in the offering pile, which is carved in such a way that it seems to overlap the object to its left, perhaps a bunch of grapes.

The enthroned figure of Amun and his name and epithets in l. 1 were damaged under Akhenaten and subsequently restored. The words *m 3h.ty di 3f* in l. 6 were also hacked out and later recarved. Amun's *w3s*-scepter was shifted to the left in the restored version of the scene, but otherwise there are few observable traces of the original carved lines. Amun's face and arms, along with the feathers of the winged solar disk and the *m*- and *3h*-signs in his epithets, show the hack marks typical of medieval desecration, while much of the carved surface at the bottom of the scene has broken away.

¹³ Edgerton, *Thutmosid Succession*, p. 11.

PLATE 43. DECORATION SURROUNDING
THE DOORWAY FROM THE SANCTUARY
OF AMUN TO THE NAOS CHAMBER

FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite, [the great god].

²The Behdetite, the great god.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, [the good god, the ruler of]^a Karnak. ⁴(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁵(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life like Re forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁶(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, powerful of strength, the good god, the ruler of Karnak. ⁷(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁸(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life like Re forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁹The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods. ¹⁰The beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

¹¹The good [god], the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of [ritual...] beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. ¹²The beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-created-of-Amun, given life like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe bottom of the signs $\hat{\text{f}}$ and Δ in $hq\text{?}$ are visible beneath the damaged area, followed by the base of β . This allows the restoration of $ntr\ nfr\ hq\text{?}\ 'Ip.t-s.wt$ based on l. 6.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The names and titles on this doorway, both lintel and jambs, were originally those of Hatshepsut, as shown by numerous traces of the original carving. Her names on the left side of the lintel (ll. 4–5) were replaced by those of Thutmose I (with the ? -sign in $\text{?}-hpr-k\text{?}-R\text{?}$ rendered only in paint); on the right side of the lintel and the left jamb the names of Thutmose II were substituted, while on the right jamb the *nomen* may be that of either Thutmose I or II.¹⁴ In ll. 10 and 12, the original feminine endings of $mr(y).t=f$ were left intact, though the other feminine endings on this door-

way were erased; the t -loaf of $h.t=f$ in l. 12 was erased by mistake. A curious feature is the n in l. 10, which the carvers never bothered to finish; the internal details of $h.t$ were also left unfinished.

In the reign of Akhenaten, several areas were damaged, including the name and epithet of the winged disk (ll. 1–2), the name of Amun (but not $R\text{?}$) in ll. 4 and 7, the name of Amun within the cartouches in ll. 5, 8, 10, and 12, the words $mry\ 'Imn... n(y)-sw.t\ ntr.w$ in l. 9 (with $R\text{?}$ left intact), and $mry\ 'Imn... ns.wt\ t\text{?}.wy$ in l. 11 (with $R\text{?}$ and nb left intact). Each of these sections was recarved during the post-Amarna restoration of the temple. A tiny restoration graffito (Gr. 425, pl. 96) reading $Bhd.t(y)\ [ntr\ \text{?}]$ appears at the top of l. 12, corresponding to the text of l. 2 above.

The jambs of this doorway underwent additional repairs at a later date. On the left side of the left jamb, a thin layer of plaster was applied, finished with a gray wash; its right edge is shown in the drawing where it interrupts the carved signs of the leftmost column of text. Upon this background a hieroglyphic text was added in black paint, the last word of which, $d.t$, may still be seen to the left of the Eighteenth Dynasty carved text. The remaining bits of this painted text cannot be deciphered. The right side of the doorway received more extensive repairs. Two patch stones were inserted into the inner edge of the doorjamb, replacing parts of the original stone block which had deteriorated or been damaged. Since the original blocks of the lintel and the jamb had shifted out of plane with one another, the patch stones, carefully aligned with the existing surface of the lintel and the reveal, project outward about 0.5 cm beyond the surface of the block at right. This may account in part for the thick plaster that was applied here, along with a gray wash similar to that which covered the left jamb. On this surface bits of a painted text in red and black are visible, but the only distinguishable sign is a crudely executed ? .¹⁵ This, and the vertical painted border at the right of the restored area, do not correspond to the text that would originally have been carved here. Above, and to the right, the three-way join of the lintel, the jamb, and the adjoining corner was repaired in plaster, on which some indistinct painted details are to be discerned. Finally, to the right of the lintel and jamb there continued the heavy layer of plaster, from two to five centimeters thick in places, filling in the recessed space of the corner between the doorway and the adjoining scene on the east wall (pl. 32). This thick layer of fill, which is now preserved only at the lower and upper right corners, was also finished with a gray plaster wash and painted with a border design in imitation of the original Thutmoside decoration, but in darker colors. The whole area between this border and the doorway was thus filled with a thick layer of plaster which was painted with an inscription that differed from the Thutmoside original. The consistent texture and finishing of the plaster in all these

¹⁴ Edgerton, *Thutmosid Succession*, p. 9.

¹⁵ Edgerton was unable to observe the bits of painted text, since the surface had not been cleaned at the time of his observations.

repairs indicate that they are contemporaneous, and a Late Period date may perhaps be suggested based on the paint scheme employed.

The corner of the left jamb is pierced with a hole extending through the reveal; this was probably made in later times and used to secure a door.

PLATE 45. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE NAOS CHAMBER TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN

FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹[The Beh]detite.

²The Behdetite.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the good god, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁴(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-egg-of-Amun, given life forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁵(Long) live the good god, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁶(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁷The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

⁸The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re, like Re forever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal titulary on both sides of the lintel and on the right jamb originally contained the names of Hatshepsut. The cartouches on the right side of the lintel were recarved in the name of Thutmose I (see details on pl. 94 and pl. 137); for the *prenomen* this required only the replacement of *m3ʿ.t* with *3-hpr*. The same held true for the right jamb, where the cartouche was altered to read *3-hpr-k3-Rʿ*. On the left side of the lintel the cartouches were recarved with the name of Thutmose II; the sun-disk hieroglyph in the *prenomen* was left intact. The left jamb bears the unaltered, original cartouche of Menkheperre; the fine painted details of the word *bi.ty* in his titulary are shown on pl. 137B. Feminine endings in *t*

were erased where they appeared. In the Amarna period, the names of Amun in ll. 3, 4, 5, and 6 were damaged and subsequently recarved; in ll. 7–8 the phrase *mry ʿImn Rʿ*... was treated in the same fashion, though the accompanying sun-disk hieroglyphs were left intact. A restoration graffito (Gr. 415, pl. 97) corresponds to the damaged area of l. 8. During the Late Period, wide cracks in the left and right sides of the lintel and along the far edge of the left jamb were repaired with coarse plaster. Some of this plaster was removed in 2003 from the join at the upper left, revealing additional details, which are included in the drawing. Several hieroglyphs, including the *hpr*-scarabs, the Thoth-figures, and the *s3*-birds, were deliberately hacked out in medieval times.

Three Demotic graffiti are found on the reveals of the doorway leading from the Sanctuary of Amun. One of these, Gr. 236, appears in Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 60.¹⁶ The other two, Gr. 432 and 433, are shown in detail on pl. 102.

PLATE 47. THE KING OFFERING MILK TO AMUN-RE¹⁷

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving milk to Amun, that (he) may give life.^a

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, chief of the gods. ³Words spoken: “To you (I) have given all life and dominion.” ⁴Words spoken: “To you^b (I) have given all stability.”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵Words spoken: “To you (I) have given the kingship of the two lands and the years of eternity in joy, according as (I) desire, and all health forever.”^c

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, who has gone forth as the horizon dweller, as he gives life.

¹⁶ Translated by H. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu* (Sommerhausen, 1989), pp. 146–48.

¹⁷ Part of the scene was obscured by the granite naos at the time the drawing was made; the remainder has been added by the artist on the basis of tracings at 1:1 scale. The same technique has been employed on pl. 49 and pl. 55.

ABOVE THE KING


⁷The good god, Menkheperre, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁹given all life, all stability, dominion, ¹⁰and health ¹¹like Re forever.^d

BEHIND THE KING

¹²[He] shall be [foremost of the *kas*] of all the living, having appeared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRead *dī = (f) 'nh*.

^bThe handle has been omitted from the right corner of the  here.

^cThe words *snb nb d.t* at the end of this column should not properly follow *mī mrr...*, but the carving of this area is contemporary with the remainder of the column, and there is no indication that the text has been altered.

^dThis arrangement of *mī R' d.t* is due to the constricted space available.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The cartouches above the royal figure contain the original names of Menkheperre. The presence of the *hkr*-frieze above the scene, visible in the photograph (pl. 46), as in the scenes on the west wall (pls. 48–49), confirms that these three scenes were decorated during his reign, while the north and east walls bear Hatshepsut's rebus frieze.¹⁸ The *nfr*-sign in the king's *nomen* has been left intact, as originally carved. During the reign of Akhenaten, the figure of Amun was defaced, along with his name and epithet (l. 2), the caption of the scene (l. 1), and the name and titles of the Behdetite (l. 6) up to and including the signs *dī = f*; all these areas were repaired following the Theban restoration. A trace of Amun's original *w3s*-scepter appears to the right of the recarved version.

Several Demotic graffiti appear in this scene; Gr. 225 is located in the space between the king's figure and l. 12, while Gr. 445 and 446 are written in the area above Amun's *w3s*-staff. Yet another inked Demotic text (Gr. 447) is written within the words *Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 s3b...* in l. 6. These are shown in detail on pl. 102. A large area of stone has broken away at the left of the scene, including part of the right jamb of the adjoining doorway (pl. 45); this damage may have been accidental, but the faces and arms of the king and god, the wing and face of the falcon figure, and several of the hieroglyphs were deliberately hacked out during the medieval occupation of the temple. The painted details of this scene are quite well preserved and are shown in color on pl. 121.

¹⁸ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, pp. 11–13.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For a similar example of this scene, see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. J2. The falcon figures of the Behdetite here and in several other places in the chambers retain vestiges of fine painted feather decoration, similar to that of the example shown in Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 2, pl. 39.

PLATE 49A. THE KING CENSING
BEFORE AMUN-RE¹⁹

BEFORE THE KING

¹Cen[sing] for Amun-Re, that he may achieve (the state of) being given life.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the gods, ³as he gives all life, all stability and dominion.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁴Words spoken: “To you (I) have given the yea[rs] of Atum in life and dominion, according as [I] desire, living like Re forever.”





BEFORE NEKHBET

⁵The Behdetite, the great god,^a variegated of plumage, as he gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

ABOVE THE KING

⁶The good god, the lord of the [Two] Lands, the lord of ritual, ⁷the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, ⁹given life and stability forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe name and epithets of the Behdetite were erroneously restored in place of those of Nekhbet, hacked out during the Amarna iconoclasm; traces of the signs , , , and , indicating the goddess's name and epithet *Nhb.t hq.t* [*Nhn...*], are visible within the recarved version.

¹⁹ The bulk of this scene and pl. 49B to the right were formerly obscured by the granite naos; this area was thus copied by tracing at 1:1 scale and added to the drawing in facsimile. Collations were also performed by tracing the relief at 1:1. Restoration of the naos from 2005 to 2007 allowed this area to be checked directly for final verification. The area covered by the top of the naos is indicated by the dashed line on the plate.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Amun, his name and epithet in l. 2, and those of the winged vulture in l. 5, up to and including *dī=f*, were damaged during Akhenaten's reign and subsequently recarved; note that the head of Amun's *wšs*-scepter was restored only in paint. The name of Amun-Re in the caption, l. 1, was left undamaged during the Amarna period, while the bottom of the *wšs*-scepter is also original, suggesting that this area may have been covered by an earlier shrine or statue which protected it from the Atenist desecration.

Prior to or during the reign of Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter, part of this wall was dismantled so that the granite naos could be placed inside the room, and the wall blocks were then carefully replaced.²⁰ It is possible that the damage in the area at lower right, partially filled in with rough plaster, resulted from this difficult feat of engineering. The area of plaster repair along the block line at upper left is part of the Late Period restoration program. The faces of the god and king, the head of the winged vulture, Amun's arm, and the king's upraised hand were vandalized during the Middle Ages.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

For a note on the possible chronological implications of the style in which this scene is carved, see Laboury, *Statuaire*, pp. 536–38.

PLATE 49B. THE KING OFFERING SAND
TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹[Pouring out] sand^a that he may achieve (the state of) being given life.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ³foremost of Karnak, ^b ⁴chief of the gods.

BEHIND AMUN

⁵The protection of [all] life, stability, [...] all health surrounds him like Re.

²⁰ Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, p. 15; see also G. Daressy, "Comment fut introduit le naos du petit temple de Médinet-Habou," in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 22 (1904), pp. 144–46. Demotic numbers were inscribed on the exterior of the blocks of this wall as a guide to the order of their replacement after the naos was inserted; a palaeographic examination of these numbers in view of establishing a date for the undertaking has, however, proved inconclusive.

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE



⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord^c of heaven, as he gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁷The good god, Menkheperre, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, ⁹given life like Re ¹⁰forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a Almost certainly to be restored [wšš] š^c; see *Wb.* 1, 369/9 and 4, 419/25.

^b At the top of l. 3, the original sign  was repaired erroneously as , confused as a phonetic complement of the *p.t*-sign above in l. 6.

^c A feminine *.t* has been included erroneously below the word *nb*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Amun-Re on his pedestal, his name and epithets (ll. 2–4), the text behind him (l. 5) with his emblematic shrine and fan, and the name and epithets of the Behdetite (l. 6) were damaged in the Amarna period and later restored. A trace of the original *R^c* suggests that the text of l. 5 was farther to the left in the original. Medieval-type damage is visible in the heads and arms of the king and god, the *sš*-sign in the royal titulary, and the head of the winged falcon of Behdet.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Other contemporary versions of this episode are found on the obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak²¹ and in the Southern Temple at Buhen.²² Later examples show the king leaning forward with a dish and pouring out the sand,²³ but the upright stance shown here was standard during the Thutmoside period.

PLATE 51A. THE KING CLOTHING
ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE KAMUTEF

BEFORE THE KING

¹Putting on clothing for Amun.

²¹ *L.D.* III, 22, west side, fourth scene from top.

²² Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2*, pp. 62–63 and pl. 52.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 63, n. 1.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re Kamutef, ³as he gives all life, ⁴stability, and dominion.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵The protection of all life, stability, and dominion, [all] health [... like Re] forever.

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁷The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁸the son^a of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁹given all life, stability, and [dominion] ¹⁰like Re [fore]ver.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a The feminine .t here, carved and then erased, may have been an error on the part of Hatshepsut's draftsman, who retained the ending used in the adjacent scene (pl. 51B), or it may be that this scene was originally sketched for Hatshepsut, but ultimately carved for Thutmose III,²⁴ and the .t retained from the sketch.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The plastered and painted finish of the king's figure has been stripped away from the surface of the stone, probably due to water seepage from a crack in the ceiling above. The damage has revealed cavities in the sandstone, carefully filled with plaster as part of the original Eighteenth Dynasty surface preparation.

The figure of ithyphallic Amun was damaged during the Amarna period, along with the scene caption (l. 1), the ⁷*Imn* and *K3-mw.t=f* elements of the god's name (but with *R* left intact), the text behind the god (l. 5), and the emblematic shrine, along with the name and epithets of the Behdetite (l. 6) up to and including *s3b šw.(ty)*; all these areas were re-carved after Akhenaten's reign. The front edge of the god's pedestal was considerably farther to the left in the original version. The king's hand near Amun's shoulder and his foot near the pedestal were carefully left intact by Akhenaten's men. Part of an ink graffito, perhaps a restoration sketch, is visible in front of the king's belt.

A patch stone is missing from the right side of the scene above the king's head, and the surface in the surrounding area is built up of a heavy grayish plaster fill whose surface is carved with portions of the signs in the king's titulary. The greenish gray coloration of the surface treatment is similar to that in other examples of Late Period repair, and we conclude that both the insertion of the patch stone and the repair

of the adjacent signs were done as part of the Late Period repair program. More plaster from this episode of repair can be seen filling the diagonal crack running across the king's arm.

A Demotic graffito (Gr. 434) was carved above and below the god's erect phallus, and two others (Gr. 435, 436) were scratched around his flail; these are illustrated on pl. 103 and translated below. A figurative graffito (Gr. 448) appears to the left of the king's midsection, and another graffito (Gr. 449), showing a pair of serpents, was drawn below the dado. These are shown to scale on pl. 99.

Below the groundline of the scene there is extensive damage to the lower course of blocks and extending down beneath the dado, the result of structural deterioration. The faces and hands of the figures, the head of the Behdetite, and the hieroglyphs *b1.t* and *s3* in the king's titulary were hacked out in the medieval fashion.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene is shown in color on pl. 122. The episode *db3 mnḥ.t* is shown in the northeast chamber at Amada; see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. P1–5. There the king's pose differs; he stands with both arms extended to touch the divine figure. Such a gesture may also be seen in R. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma 2: The Temple of Kumma*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoirs 38 (London, 1998), pls. 72–73. This gesture seemingly occurred only once at Medinet Habu, in the following scene in this chamber (pl. 51B).

PLATE 51B. THE KING (REPLACED BY
AN OFFERING TABLE WITH OFFERINGS)
BEFORE AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹[Re]moving clothing and [putting on] clothing that she might achieve (the state of) living.^a

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, the great god, ³as he gives life, all health, ⁴and all joy like Re.

BEFORE NEKHBET

⁵Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven, as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)








⁶The good goddess, Maatkare, ⁷the daughter of Re, [Chnumet]amun-[Hat]shepsu[t], ⁸given life like Re ⁹forever.

²⁴ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, pp. 11–12; compare pl. 63A, below.

BEHIND THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹⁰King [Maatka]re shall be...



NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aTraces of the tail of  and the infinitive ending .t are detectable at the left side of the offering pile; below may be seen part of the right side of a . Near the apex of the conical pot below the offering table may be seen traces of the right side of another , with a gap of approximately one word-square in between the two signs. The caption concludes within the pot with clear traces of *ir=s* 'nh.ti. The presence of the two -signs, along with the traces of *f* and .t above, are sufficient to show that this caption refers to an episode that also appears in the “Chambre de Ptah” within the temple of Ptah at Karnak, and which there bears the label *sfh.t mnḥ.t dbꜣ mnḥ.t ir=f di* 'nh mi R “Removing clothing and putting on clothing that he may achieve (the state of) being given life like Re” (fig. 4).²⁵ In our example, the traces present two main problems of interpretation: first, what would have appeared in the area between the two -signs, and second, why the traces seem to suggest that there was a slight disjunction in the vertical column of text somewhere in the gap between these two signs, so that the signs in the upper part of the column are not aligned with those below. The most likely solution to the former is to restore   *dbꜣ*, as in the Karnak example, for, although the episode of “removing clothing” could also be presented individually as *sfh.t mnḥ.t*,²⁶ the double episode *sfh.t mnḥ.t dbꜣ mnḥ.t* or *sfh.t dbꜣ mnḥ.t*²⁷ is also attested for Hatshepsut.²⁸ As for the misalignment of the upper and lower halves of the caption, such a situation is not found elsewhere in this temple. It is possible that the arrangement of the text column was modified either in the course of the original carving during Hatshepsut’s reign, or at a later time, yet still prior to the erasure of the caption and the carving of the offering array. If so, the original reading may have been [*s*]*f*[*h*].t *mnḥ.t*, but this cannot be demonstrated for certain. Assuming that the caption remained un-

modified up to the time of its erasure, the most likely reading would be [*s*]*f*[*h*].t *mnḥ.t* [*dbꜣ*] *mnḥ.t ir=s* 'nh.ti.²⁹

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene originally showed Hatshepsut before Amun-Re; her figure, her names and epithets above, the scene caption (l. 1), and the text behind her (l. 10) were erased under Thutmose III, and a table piled with offerings was carved where she had once been. Traces of her figure indicate that she stood with both arms extended horizontally toward Amun in the act of “removing clothing,” the same pose shown in the above-mentioned parallel scene from the Temple of Ptah at Karnak (fig. 4), as well as in the examples of this episode at Amada, Kumma, and Deir el-Bahari.³⁰ The stance is confirmed by the angular trace of the ribbon extending below the back of the king’s *khat*-crown, visible within the side of ribs on the offering pile, since in this pose the king’s right shoulder was not shown. Traces of the king’s feet, legs, kilt, chest, shoulder, and face are also visible. Nothing was carved over Hatshepsut’s royal titulary, so that it can be read in its entirety from the traces.

In the time of Akhenaten the figure of Amun, most of the text referring to him (ll. 2–4, with the exception of the upper half of the signs *di* 'nh in l. 3), and the name and epithets of Nekhbet (l. 5) as far as *di=s* were damaged and had to be restored in the post-Amarna period. The *nhb*-hieroglyph () in l. 5 was erroneously recarved as . The name of Amun in Hatshepsut’s *nomen* was also restored in raised relief. There is almost no trace of the pre-Amarna version of Amun. In a later period, cracks along the block line to the left of the divine figure were filled in with undecorated plaster, which obscured part of the carved line of the plume at top left; this was similar to the repair plaster observed in many other locations within the chapels.

Five Demotic graffiti are inscribed within this scene: Gr. 17³¹ under the offering table, Gr. 438 and 440 in front of the figure of Amun-Re, Gr. 439 within the erased text of Hatshepsut’s titulary, and Gr. 437 at right, within the erased text of l. 10. These graffiti are shown in detail on pl. 103. Amun’s face, right hand, and arms, along with the head and body of the Nekhbet vulture, were chiseled out sometime during the medieval period. This scene is shown in color on pl. 123.

²⁵ G. Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite),” in *ASAE* 3 (1902), p. 106. Another example of this ritual episode occurs in the “Chapelle d’Hathor,” *ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁶ *Sethos I at Abydos* 2, pl. 15; see also Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* 2, pls. 72–73. At Kumma and also at Amada the caption of this episode reads *rdi.t* 'wy hr ntr *sfh.t mnḥ.t* “Placing the hands upon the god; removing clothing” (see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. P6–10) but the spacing of the traces here does not allow for anything to precede *sfh.t*. For additional references on this episode, see nn. 29 and 30 in Harold Hays, *Ritual Scenes in the Chapels of Amun*, herein.

²⁷ *Wb.* 5, 557/1.

²⁸ See Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pl. 11; and *idem*, *Deir el-Bahari* 2, pl. 45.

²⁹ The phrase *ir=s* 'nh.ti is uncommon in comparison with *ir=s di*.(t) 'nh (sometimes written *ir=s di.t* 'nh.t) in the captions of scenes of Hatshepsut; one other occurrence is found in the “Chapelle Rouge” at Karnak; see P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977–79), pl. 13, block 295.

³⁰ References in nn. 25 and 26, above.

³¹ Published in Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 4.

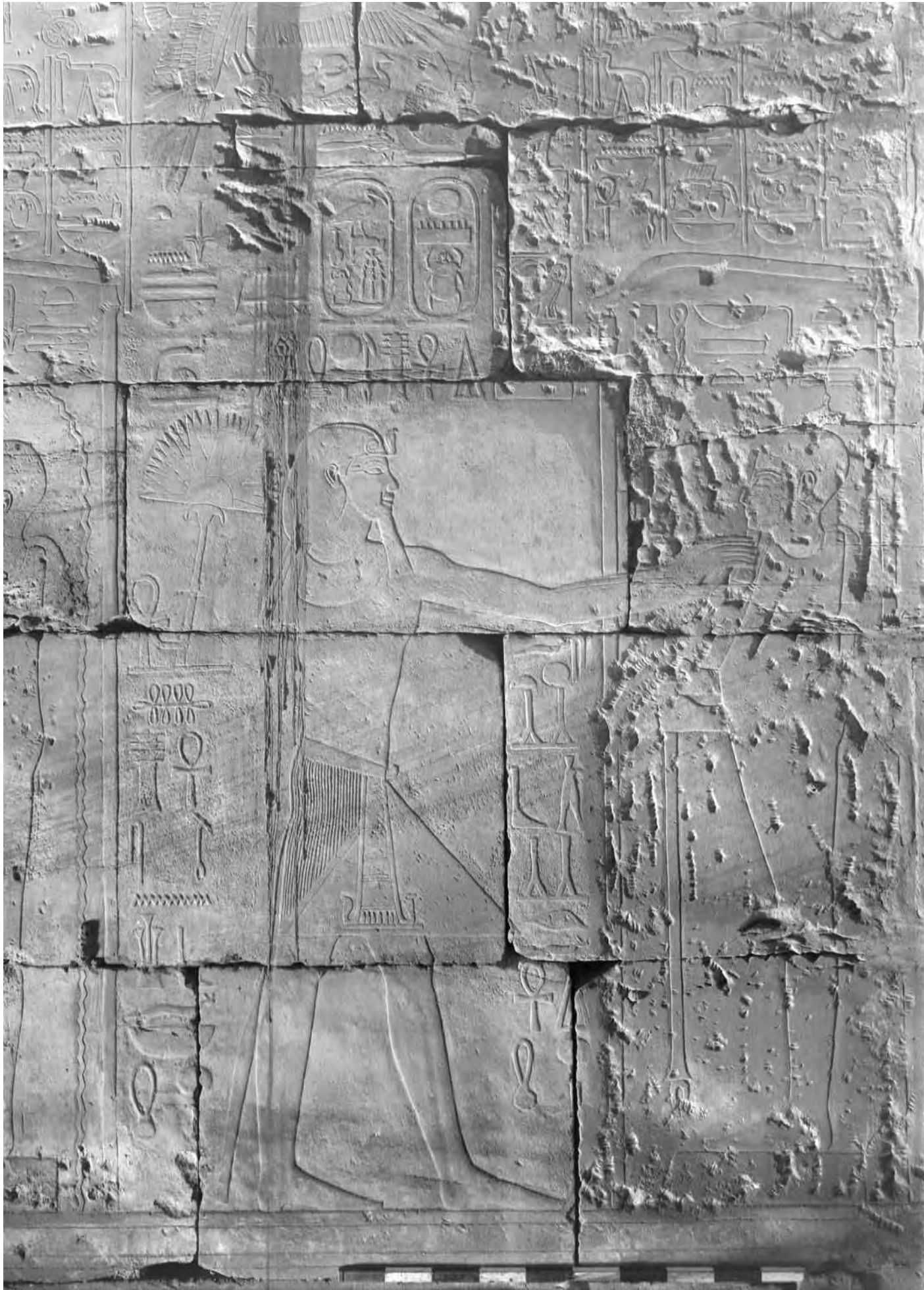


Figure 4. Scene of “Removing Clothing and Putting on Clothing” from the Temple of Ptah at Karnak (Chicago House photograph no. 9636)

PLATE 53. THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY
THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY A PILE OF
OFFERINGS AND THE PERSONIFIED ANKH),
POURING WATER OVER ITHYPHALLIC
AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Water of [four *dšr.t*-jars, tak]en to the mouth and taken [to the hand]. ²Going around fo[ur] times. Words] spoken [four times:] “A[mun-Re, twice pure!]”^a

ABOVE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

³Amun-Re, king of the gods, ⁴lord of heaven, ⁵as he gives life, ⁶all joy, and every kind of offering.

BEHIND ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

⁷Words spoken: “To [you]^b (I) have given all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and all joy, you having [ap]peared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt [...]”

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁸The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, lord of Mesen, who has gone forth as the horizon dweller, as he gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁹The good goddess, Maatkare, ¹⁰the son^c of Re, Chnum[et] amun-Hatshepsu[t], ¹¹given life like Re ¹²forever.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA-STANDARD (ERASED TEXT)

¹³Horus...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The text can be mostly restored based upon that on pl. 55, l. 1, adjoining to the left, though a different sort of vessel, the *dšr.t*-jar, was certainly referred to here.

^b The original feminine suffix in *dī.nε(i) nεt* has been erased, but the expected replacement *εk* appears never to have been carved.


^c No trace remains of a feminine *.t*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The original figure of Hatshepsut, accompanied by the royal *ka*-standard with the king's Horus name, was erased after her reign, and a pile of offerings on three offering stands was carved in her place. Where Hatshepsut's extended hands held the water pot, a large personified *ankh* took the place of the king as ritual actor.³² Traces of the original hands may be

seen around the base of the pot next to the recarved version. In the area above, the royal titulary and accompanying text, along with l. 5 *dī εf εnh*, was also erased under Thutmose III. Edgerton noted that the quality of the offerings carved here to replace Hatshepsut's image was “in good low relief, comparable to other elements in the decoration of this temple which can be positively attributed to Hatshepsut, Thutmose III or Harmhab,” while the offerings carved on the adjoining scene to the left (pl. 55) were of inferior technique.³³

Much of the remainder of the scene was recarved following damage sustained during the Amarna period. The reworked areas include the figure of Amun, with the space behind him containing the lettuce fetish, his name and the accompanying text, as well as the name and titles of the Behdetite up to and including *nb Msn*. The *dšr.t*-pot with its stream of water over the god's head was, however, carefully preserved by the Atenists along most of its length. The ritual caption (ll. 1–2) was also left intact during both the Thutmoside and Ramesside recarvings of the scene. A restoration graffito (Gr. 417) showing the figure of the ithyphallic god was drawn immediately above the word *phr* in l. 2; it is shown in detail on pl. 97. In Hatshepsut's erased *nomen*, the name of Amun was damaged under Akhenaten and subsequently restored; another graffito (Gr. 416; see pl. 97) corresponds to this repair.

Heavy plaster, part of the Late Period restoration program, fills the gap caused by the block line at the upper right. Three Demotic graffiti were incised within the scene during the Ptolemaic period; two of these (Gr. 18 and 442) appear in the center, to the right of Amun's head and shoulder, and the third (Gr. 441) is at right, near Hatshepsut's erased head and Horus name. These are shown in detail on pl. 104. Medieval iconoclastic damage is visible on Amun's head, torso and phallus, on the head and claws of the falcon god, and on the -hieroglyphs in ll. 7 and 8. Large areas of the surface are broken away from the lower part of the scene; a rectangular fragment containing part of the caption, recovered during the restoration of the flooring in the two central chambers, is shown in place on the drawing and has now been reattached to the wall.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene is shown in color on pl. 124. For a similar grouping of two purification scenes together, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 52–53, scenes XVII/20, 21.

³² For examples from Karnak in which animated *ankhs* were carved in place of Hatshepsut's figure in purification scenes, see Laboury, *Statuaire*, p. 491.

³³ Edgerton, *Thutmosid Succession*, p. 11.

PLATE 55. THE KING (REPLACED BY
OFFERING STANDS AND THE PERSONIFIED
ANKH) POURING WATER OVER AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Water of four *nms.t*-jars taken to the mouth and taken to the hand. ²Going around four times. Words spoken [four] times: “Amun-Re, twice pure!”

ABOVE AMUN-RE (PARTLY ERASED TEXT)

³Amun-Re, ⁴as [he] gives [all] life, all stability and dominion, ⁵and [all] joy.^a

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁶Words spoken: “To you (I) have given^b all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and all joy on my part, like Re forever.”

BEFORE WADJET

⁷Wadjet, [she] of Dep and [Pe], lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, as she gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁸The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, ⁹the son of Re, Chnem[etamun]-Hatshepsut, ¹⁰given life like Re^c ¹¹forever.

BEHIND THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

¹²The protection of [all] life, stability, dominion, health, and joy...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aLines 4–5 were erased at the same time that the royal figure was replaced by offering stands, leaving only the name of Amun-Re (l. 3); the name ³*Imn* was recarved after the Amarna period.

^bThe masculine pronoun *ꜥk* is part of the original carving of the scene; there is no indication that a *ꜥt* was ever written here.

^cThe name of Amun was carved over the traces at the top of l. 10 after the Amarna period; see discussion below.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

As in the previous scene, the figure of Hatshepsut performing the libation was erased, with two tall offering stands, a garland of flowers, and a personified *ankh* carved in her place. Traces of much of her figure are detectable. The upper portions of the garland and large *ankh* overlap parts of the erased text that contained Hatshepsut's titulary and the text of l. 4; this area is shown in detail on pl. 137E. Fine de-

tails in white paint are faintly visible within the blue-painted *ankh*. The text in ll. 4–5 was also erased at this time, perhaps merely because of proximity to the recarved area below; part of the text pertaining to Amun on pl. 53 (see comment above) was erased for a similar reason. A trace groundline to the left of Amun's left heel appears to be an earlier version of the original carving of the scene, since it corresponds neither to the Thutmose traces nor to the final, post-Amarna version.

Under Akhenaten, the god Amun-Re, the ³*Imn* element of his name (l. 3), the name and epithets of Wadjet in l. 7 up to and including *dꜥs*, the words ⁴*nḥ wꜥs nb* in l. 6, and the name of Amun in l. 2 were effaced; all were subsequently restored. A restoration graffito (Gr. 418, pl. 97) written over the erased *dꜥ nḥ* of l. 4 refers to the damaged area of l. 7. Much of the restoration plaster has fallen away from the lower sections of Amun's figure, revealing the Amarna-period damage underneath. As on pl. 53, the jug and the stream of water issuing from it were carefully left intact. Immediately below the feet of the vulture goddess, over the erased text *dꜥ nḥ* of l. 10, the name of Amun was carved in the post-Amarna period, probably because the area of Hatshepsut's cartouche in l. 9 which would have contained ³*Imn* falls on a block line and was too badly damaged under Akhenaten for the name to be restored in its original location.

There are two Demotic graffiti written here; one in black ink, Gr. 443, appears below *nb.t p.t* in l. 7, while the second text, Gr. 444, is incised to the right of Amun's shoulder. These are shown in detail on pl. 104. The surface of a large block is missing from the lower right of the scene; this is a continuation of the extensive area of damage at the bottom of pl. 53. The face, hands, and feet of Amun were defaced in the medieval period, as were the head, wings, and claws of Wadjet. A small patch stone is missing from the extreme lower left corner.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene is presented in color on pl. 125. A close parallel, in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak, was noted by Nelson.³⁴ The rite of purification with four *nms.t*-jars is part of the mortuary ritual incorporated into the temple ceremonies in connection with the revitalization of the cult statue. It is distinct from the “salutation with a *nms.t*-jar.”³⁵ A section of the rebus frieze of Maatkare from above this scene is shown in detail on pl. 137D.

³⁴ Nelson no. K.F 447; Chicago House photograph no. 5857. Both scenes are published in Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” pls. 22 and 23.

³⁵ Nelson, “Certain Reliefs,” p. 218, p. 221 n. 48.

PLATE 57. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE VESTIBULE

LABELS OF THE TRUSSED SACRIFICES ABOVE THE LINTEL

- ¹Long-horned calf
- ²(*n*)*g*(*ʒ*)*w*-calf
- ³Gazelle calf
- ⁴Oryx calf

LINTEL, FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

- ⁵The Behdetite, the great god.
- ⁶The Behdetite, the great god.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

⁷(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, powerful of strength, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the ruler of Thebes. ⁸(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁹(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

¹⁰(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, the good god, the ruler of Thebes. ¹¹(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re. ¹²(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestations, given life forever.

LEFT JAMB

¹³The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god. ¹⁴The beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

¹⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre-chosen-of-Re, (beloved of) Amun-Re, lord of heaven, foremost of *Dsr-s.t*. ¹⁶The beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The left corner of the offering panel above the doorway shows two stages of decoration. Initially the Horus hieroglyph accompanied by the sun disk with pendant uraeus was carved in raised relief; this was part of an initial plan to include the Horus name of a king along the left edge of the doorway, beyond the line of the doorframe, as can be seen on pl. 71. The plan was altered, and the area to the left of the doorway

was left uncarved, decorated only with the usual multicolored border design, while the carved signs and the uncarved area immediately below were painted over with more offering vessels; vestiges of a basket in yellow and red paint are visible over the Horus figure. The border design was itself carved in relief along the top of the offering panel and to the left of where the hieroglyphic inscription was begun; below this point, along the left side of the door, the border appears in paint only, further highlighting the change in the decorative scheme.

The names and titles of Thutmose II on the left half of the lintel were originally carved as those of Hatshepsut. Traces of her Horus name, *Wsr.t-kʒ.w*, are visible within *Kʒ-nḥt wsr-ph.ty* in l. 7; a *t*-loaf has been erased after *ḥnḥ*, and another below *nb*, but the original *.t* ending of *ḥqʒ* was left intact. A trace of the bottom of the *kʒ*-arms can be seen in the cartouche in l. 8, and the original *t*-loaf in *mry.t* has been carefully smoothed away. Part of *ḥʒ.t* is visible in the cartouche in l. 9 within the later Thoth hieroglyph. The recarved portions of these and all other usurped Hatshepsut cartouches in the chapels are clearly distinguishable from the sunken surface of the reworked area, the more muted color of the normally bright yellow-painted background, and the more hastily executed quality of the recarved hieroglyphs, as well as from the numerous traces that survive of the original carving and paint (compare pl. 139E).

The names and titles on the right half of the lintel and on both doorjambs are original to Thutmose III. In both l. 12 and l. 16, the *nfr*-sign in the king's name has been roughly hacked out. During the Amarna period, the following areas of text were damaged, and had subsequently to be restored: ll. 5–6, *Bḥd.t(y) ntr ʒ*; ll. 7, 10, *Wʒs.t* at the end of each line; ll. 8, 11, *ʾImn* (the sun disk and determinative stroke of *Rʿ* were left intact in both cases); l. 9, *ʾImn* within the cartouche of Thutmose II; l. 13, *mry ʾImn-Rʿ nb ns.wt tʒ.wy ntr ʒ*. The restored signs at the end of this line, especially *ns.wt*, *ntr*, and *ʒ*, are palaeographically unusual, and the style of carving is similar to that found on pl. 17, l. 11, discussed above. In this case also, one is inclined to suggest a late date for the carving, but the absence of any visible traces of an earlier version makes a more specific identification impossible. The level of the surface, which is slightly more hollowed out here than in other restored areas, might indicate some secondary modification, unlike the example on pl. 17. Also hacked out and then restored was l. 15, *ʾImn... nb p.t ḥnt(y) Dsr-s.t*. The sun-disk hieroglyph was left intact by the Atenists. Traces of the original *nb*- and *ḥnt*-hieroglyphs are visible near the recarved versions; their spacing suggests that *p.t* was originally rendered without its phonetic complements.

Several areas were intentionally defaced in the medieval period, including the heads of the four sacrificial cattle above the doorway, the two uraei of the winged solar disk, the faces of the Horus falcons, the *kʒ*-signs, the *m*-sign and the *sʒ*-birds in the royal titularies on the lintel, the *sʒ*-birds, the Thoth hieroglyphs, and the *ḥpr*-signs on both doorjambs,

and the *bi.ty*-hieroglyph at the top of l. 13. At some point slots were cut into the inner edges of the doorway to hold beams of a wooden door or similar appurtenance; these can also be seen on pl. 58.

PLATE 59. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE VESTIBULE TO THE DYAD CHAMBER

FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

²The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the good god, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁴(Long) live the good god, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re.

LEFT JAMB

⁵The good god, [the lord of the Two Lands], the lord of ritual, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, given life, ⁶the beloved bodily son of [Re], Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life, stability, dominion, and health; that he might be joyful like Re forever.^a

RIGHT JAMB

⁷The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, given life, ⁸the beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-image-of-Amun, may he live;^b (given) all stability and dominion, and health; that he might be joyful like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a For another example of this formula, see Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2, p. 16, n. 4 and pl. 20.

^b The traces to the right of the *nh*-hieroglyph indicate the original *.ti*. The original feminine Old Perfective form referred to Hatshepsut; the ending was changed to the phonetic complements of $\frac{\text{Q}}{\text{I}}$ in the time of Thutmose III, and the resulting form is best read as the masculine singular Old Perfective. The omission of *di* in this context is nevertheless unusual.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal names and epithets on both sides of the lintel and on the right jamb, recarved for Thutmose II, were formerly those of Hatshepsut, with numerous traces of the original names and feminine endings still visible. In each cartouche containing the *prenomen*, the sun disk was left intact, and hpr-n was carved in place of $M\text{hpr}.t-k\text{h}$. The left jamb bears the original titulary of Thutmose III; in his *nomen*, the *nfr*-sign was left intact as originally carved. In l. 8, some additional changes were made to the text during Thutmose III's reign; immediately below the king's cartouche, the original *ti*-sign was replaced as noted above (note *b*), and two original *.t* endings after *dd* and *wjs* were replaced with a *nb*-sign; finally, beneath *sw-ib* traces of the original sw-ib are to be seen within the masculine sw-ib .

In the reign of Akhenaten, several areas of the text were damaged, including the names and epithets of the winged disk (ll. 1–2), and the phrase *mry Imn-R* in l. 3 with, however, the sun-disk hieroglyph left intact. In l. 4, the name of Amun-Re was, exceptionally, left untouched by the Atenists. Also hacked out was the phrase *mry Imn-R nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t di nh* in ll. 5 and 7, again with the sun-disk sign left undamaged; in l. 8, the name *Imn* within the king's cartouche was destroyed. All these areas were restored in the post-Amarna period. When the text in l. 7 was restored, the area of stone shaved back for recarving extended into the left side of l. 8, so that the left edges of the signs for *sw*, *sf*, and *R* were erased. These may have been replaced in paint, as was the *s* of *snb* above. Part of a restoration graffito referring to the damaged area of text in l. 7 is preserved over the *nb*-sign in l. 8 (Gr. 419, pl. 97).

Within the doorframe on the left side is visible a slot carved in the stone thickness of the reveal. At the upper right corner of the pile of offerings is a section of undecorated plaster fill, part of the Late Period program of repair noted elsewhere. In this section it is particularly apparent that the edges of the patch stones were shaved back to facilitate the filling of the spaces around them; leading to the conclusion that, even before the Late Period, these blocks had shifted out of alignment, resulting in large gaps that needed to be repaired systematically with plaster in order to even out the wall surface. Thick plaster covering areas in the center of the lintel may also have been part of these Late Period repairs. With the exception of the *hpr*-beetle in l. 5 and the *s3*-bird in l. 8, the hieroglyphic signs on this doorway seem to have been spared the medieval-type iconoclastic damage typical elsewhere. The right wing of the winged sun disk was, however, crudely vandalized at some point after the temple fell out of use.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The panel of offerings to the right of the doorway forms a separate element, framed above by its own small *p.t*-sign. Similar offering panels may be seen on pl. 69.

PLATE 61A. THE KING PRESENTING A LOAF TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Striking^a white bread that he may achieve (the state of) being given life.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ³ruler of Thebes, ⁴as he gives all life and all health.

BEFORE WADJET

⁵Wadjet, she of Dep and Pe, the lady of heaven, as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁶The good god, Aakheperenre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-created-of-Amun, ⁸given all life like Re ⁹forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a This is an early occurrence of the writing of *sqr*, literally “strike,” but perhaps “knead” (*Wb.* 4, 306/13) or simply “present” (*Wb.* 4, 307/9–10), written with the 𓂏 -sign instead of the 𓂏 .

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The cartouches above the king originally contained the names of Hatshepsut, as shown by the traces of *m3ʿ.t* in the *prenomen* and of the flail of *šps* in the *nomen*. The sun disk in the *prenomen* was left intact. Feminine endings in *.t* were smoothed out after *ntr* and below *s3* in the royal titulary.

The figure of the king exhibits an unusual stylistic modification. At some point after the original carving and painting of the scene, the surface of the king’s flesh was scraped away, removing the darker red finished color and leaving only the lighter red undercoating across much of the king’s torso, arms, and legs. Moreover, the removal of the finished surface also extended across parts of the king’s headdress, collar, belt, and sporran, resulting in the occasional loss of carved lines; similar modifications have been observed in other scenes in this chamber. By contrast, the figures of Amun, all of which were restored in the post-Amarna period, do not show such modifications. The historical implications of this treatment of the royal figures are discussed in the *Preface*.

During the Amarna period, the figure of Amun, his name and titles (ll. 2–3), and those of Wadjet (l. 5), along with the *ʾImn* in the cartouche of Thutmose II and in the scene caption (l. 1), were all damaged and had to be restored afterwards. Almost no trace of the original carving is visible in these areas.

At the top left corner of the scene may be seen sections of heavy plaster fill, part of a late restoration similar to that found elsewhere. Also part of the Late Period restoration

program are the wide chisel marks visible below the figures’ feet; these were intended as a preparation for plaster fill in order to even out the surface in the area of the dado, which had been cut back when the figure of Amun was restored in post-Amarna times. Some of this plaster is still visible within the chiseled areas. The faces and hands of both the king and god were defaced during the medieval period.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene and the adjoining scene are shown in color on pl. 126. For contemporary examples of the episode *sqr t ḥd*, see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. J5; Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 1, pp. 19–20, pl. 24; Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 2, pl. 29.

Above this scene and the adjacent scene (pl. 61B), and extending around the tops of the north and south walls of this chamber (though not over the doorway on the west wall) appears the rebus frieze of Maatkare, which originates at the top center of the east wall, immediately above pl. 61, with her cartouche (shown in detail on pl. 141). The frieze and cartouche are visible in the photographs on pls. 60 and 126, where it may be observed that the name of Hatshepsut has been ritually removed by erasing the arms of the *k3*-signs in the cobra rebus and the hieroglyphs *m3ʿ.t* and *k3* within the name-ring. The erased parts of the *k3*-arms in the rebus were painted over with gray paint, and the missing signs in the name-ring were painted over with yellow paint, but this paint adhered unevenly to the damaged stone surface, leaving the outlines of the erased elements clearly visible. Moreover, in this instance, as with the cartouche on the west wall of the Sanctuary of Amun, but unlike the example on the west wall of the Dyad Chamber, Hatshepsut’s name was not replaced by that of Thutmose II. Details of the rebus frieze above pls. 63A–B and 65B are shown on pl. 93. The presence of the rebus frieze, along with the occurrence of Hatshepsut’s name in the original version of the royal cartouches on all four walls of the chamber, indicate that the Vestibule was decorated entirely during the reign of the female pharaoh.

The ceiling of the Vestibule and of the other five chambers was originally painted a deep blue with yellow stars in a regular pattern. This decoration is best preserved here, at the east end of the Vestibule, as shown in color on pl. 139G.

PLATE 61B. THE KING CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Censing and making a libation.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re,^a lord of the throne[s of the Two] Lands, lord of heaven, ³ruler of Thebes.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁴The protection of all life surrounds him like [Re].

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁵The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁶The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, ⁸given life, stability, and dominion ⁹forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a The sun disk and determinative stroke are separated from the name ³*Imn* by a column divider added during the post-Amarna restoration of the scene; see also pls. 26B, 32B, 63B, 77, 91A, 91B.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal cartouches originally contained the names of Hatshepsut, as shown by the trace of Maat's feather and the *k3*-sign in the *prenomen* and *šps* in the *nomen*; the names were recarved for Thutmose II, with only the sun disk *R* left intact. The feminine *.t* ending was erased below *s3 R* in the titulary. The surface paint has been scraped away from parts of the king's arms and torso, as noted above; the carved lines of the figure nevertheless remain intact in this case.

During the reign of Akhenaten, the figure of ithyphallic Amun-Re, his name and titles (ll. 2–3), the emblematic shrine and text behind him (l. 4), the name and epithets of the winged Horus (l. 5), and the name of Amun in the royal *nomen* were all damaged; these areas were recarved in the post-Amarna restoration. Traces of the god's phallus and pedestal, along with the base of his shrine, show that both originally stood somewhat more to the left. The right side of the *ꜥ* in l. 4 was erased when the emblematic shrine was repaired.

This scene was included in the general repair program of the Late Period; the block edges on either side of the large vertical block line to the right of Amun-Re were shaved back in order to reconstruct a smooth surface in this area, and a section of the heavy plaster fill is visible in the upper right corner of the scene. Moreover, the upper left corner of the lowermost block, extending into pl. 61A at left, was also cut back at this time. A small rectangular patch stone, perhaps also part of the late repairs, is missing from the middle of the king's kilt. The king's head was damaged iconoclastically in the medieval era, but Amun's face and figure were, exceptionally, left intact. The well-preserved color scheme here is shown on pl. 126.

PLATE 63A. THE KING OFFERING JARS OF WATER TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving a libation, that he may achieve (the state of) being given life.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the gods, ³as he gives all life and all health.

BEFORE NEKHBET

⁴Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven, as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁵The good god, Menkheperre, ⁶the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁷given all life, stability, and dominion ⁸forever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal cartouches contain the original names of Thutmose III. This is the only offering scene in this chamber which did not initially bear the names of Hatshepsut, though the names of Thutmose III also appear on the right jamb of the west doorway and the left jamb of the north doorway. Curiously, feminine endings in *.t* were originally carved after *nfr* in l. 5 and *s3* in l. 6; it is therefore possible that this scene was originally intended to contain the names of Hatshepsut, and also that the royal names were changed to those of Thutmose III during the decoration process. A similar situation occurs on pl. 51A, noted above. In the king's *nomen*, the *nfr*-sign was hacked out at some point after the initial carving. At right, the figure of Amun-Re, along with his name and epithets, and the name and epithets of Nekhbet (l. 4) were damaged during the Amarna period and had to be recarved. Traces of his original *w3s*-scepter and arm may be seen to the left of the restored version; to the left of l. 2 the column divider was only partly recarved, with the remainder rendered in paint. Parts of the caption (l. 1) and the king's fingers were also affected by the recarving process.

In later times, the blocks forming the southeast corner of the room, which is at the left edge of this scene, began to shift out of place; the area of thick plaster fill at the upper left is part of the attempt made during the Late Period to address this type of structural damage within the six temple chambers. Amun's face was slightly damaged in the medieval period, but the figures were otherwise spared iconoclastic hacking. Deterioration of the stone has caused parts of the surface to break away from the lower courses.³⁶ The scene

³⁶ These missing areas are shown as intact in L.D. III, 17c. Much of the deterioration along the base of this southern wall of the

is shown in color on pl. 127; a detail of the rebus frieze of Maatkare above appears on pl. 93A–B and pl. 137A.

PLATE 63B. THE KING PRESENTING A NMS.T-JAR TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Salutation with the *nms.t*-jar for Amun.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the gods, ³chief of the Ennead.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁴The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health [surrounds him like Re forever].^a

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁵The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life.


ABOVE THE KING

⁶The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-chosen-of-Amun, ⁸given all life, [stability, and dominion] ⁹like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a For the restoration, compare pl. 65B, l. 4.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The king's cartouches, which originally contained the names of Hatshepsut, were recarved for Thutmose I; only the sun-disk sign in the *prenomen* was left intact. Feminine endings in *.t* were erased following *s3 R* in the titulary and below *di* and *nh* in l. 8; in place of the latter two occurrences,  was added in green paint, a corner of which is still visible. The surface of the king's figure was shaved off after the original decoration was finished; the affected area comprises the left shoulder and upper arm, the lappet, and the face.

In the time of Akhenaten, the figure of Amun-Re was damaged, and it later had to be restored; the damaged areas included the god's name and epithets (ll. 2–3), along with those of the Behdetite (l. 5) and the text and emblematic shrine with surmounting fan behind the god. The traces show that Amun stood considerably more to the left in the original.

temple is the result of groundwater seepage, a relatively recent phenomenon, so it is possible that the areas in question were indeed undamaged when observed by Lepsius.

When the scene was restored he was shifted to the right, and this permitted the text of the caption (l. 1), which was included in the restored area, to be shifted upward by one text square. The shift permitted the addition of the words *n 3Imn* to be added to the caption, which originally read only *nd-hr m nms.t*.³⁷ The change in Amun's position also allowed the sun-disk hieroglyph in l. 2 to be shifted to the right; a column divider was added between *3Imn* and *R*. The name *3Imn* in the *nomen* of Thutmose I was also attacked by the Atenists and subsequently restored.

The figures in this scene do not show the iconoclastic damage typical of the medieval period. The lowermost course of blocks, however, is in poor condition due to increasing groundwater seepage, resulting in the loss of the lower right corner of the scene.³⁸ This scene appears in color on pl. 127.

PLATE 65A. THE KING OFFERING LOAVES TO AMUN

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giv[ing^a *3*.*t*-bread]^b that he may achieve [*sic*] life and dominion.

ABOVE AMUN

²Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ³as he gives all life and all health.

BEFORE NEKHBT

⁴Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives all life and dominion on her part.

ABOVE THE KING

⁵The good god, Aakheperenre, ⁶the son of Re, Thutmose-chosen-of-Amun, ⁷given all life, stability, and dominion ⁸like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a L.D. III, 17d, shows the signs  intact here below .

^b The shape of the loaves allows the restoration of the label; compare P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), pl. 15, scenes 7, 8 and pp. 72–74,

³⁷ In the Amada example of this episode, the scene caption, which is original to the time of Amenhotep II, also lacks the designation of the beneficiary deity; see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. R6–10.

³⁸ The god's feet and pedestal, with the lower section of the ribbon behind, are shown intact at L.D. III, 7e.

with pl. 26, scene 30 and p. 98, and pl. 33, scene 13' and p. 121.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal cartouches originally contained Hathsepsut's names, but they were later replaced with those of Thutmose II, only the sun disk in the *prenomen* remaining intact. Traces of the erased feminine *.t* endings are visible after *ntr* and below *s3* in the titulary. Parts of the surface of the king's figure were shaved down, removing the final paint finish and resulting in the loss of the carved lines of the king's upper left arm. During the Amarna period, Amun's figure, his name and epithets (l. 2), and his name in the royal *nomen* (l. 6), along with the name and epithets of Nekhbet (l. 4), were all damaged; these were restored following Akhenaten's reign. Traces of the god's original feet may be seen at bottom. A few areas, including the king's nose and Amun's face and lower hand, were damaged in medieval times. The deterioration of the lower blocks, noted in the comments to pl. 63B, continues to the lower left of this section. This scene is shown in color on pl. 128.

PLATE 65B. THE KING PRESENTING LETTUCE TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, king of the gods, ²the great god, ³who is upon the [great] pedestal.^a

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁴The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds him like Re [forever].^b


BEFORE THE BEHDETITE






⁵The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life.

ABOVE THE KING

⁶The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-egg-of-Amun, ⁸given life, stability, and dominion ⁹like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThis area of the surface is badly damaged, and the blocks have shifted out of alignment along the horizontal block line, increasing the difficulty of interpretation. Nevertheless, it is clear from the traces that the original reading was *dī=f nh w3s nb*, written in an unusual configuration thus: . In

the final (post-Amarna) version, a  occupies the top of the group, while below appears the base of a , followed by the , below which is the ending *.t*. No preserved part of the remaining sign above  can be determined with any certainty; by far the most likely solution for the missing sign is , which would yield the attested epithet *hr(y) s.t wr.t* (compare *Urk.* 4, 457/14, *L.D. Texte* III, p. 16).

^b Compare pl. 67A, l. 5.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The king's cartouches originally contained the names of Hatshepsut, but they were later altered in favor of Thutmose II, with only the *R*^c hieroglyph left intact. Feminine endings in *.t* were erased below *s3 R*^c in l. 7 and below *dī*, *nh*, *dd*, and *w3s* in l. 8.³⁹ The king's figure was scraped to remove areas of the finished surface; this is especially evident around the lappet and collar.

During the Amarna period, the ithyphallic god, his name and epithets in ll. 1–3, his emblematic shrine and the text behind him (l. 4), Amun's name in the king's *nomen* (l. 7), and the name and epithets of the Behdetite in l. 5 were defaced; all were subsequently restored under the successors of Akhenaten. Traces of the god's leg and pedestal showed that he stood a bit more to the left in the original version.

Medieval iconoclastic damage is visible to the faces, arms, and hands of the king and god. The god's phallus has been hacked out in a single deep gouge; since the member is shown intact in *L.D.* III, 17b, the vandalism must have been effected at some more recent time. The lowermost course of blocks has deteriorated badly due to groundwater, as in the preceding scenes. This scene is shown in color on pl. 128.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Within the area of the king's kilt may be seen a portion of the red paint grid used by Hatshepsut's artisans to lay out the proportions of the scene. Vestiges of such grids are found on the decorated surfaces throughout the temple, both in the inner chambers and in the ambulatory, especially where the paint is reasonably well preserved. The episode of offering lettuce (*rdi.t bw*) to the ithyphallic god is found elsewhere without label; compare Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, pl. 21, scene 20, and pl. 23, scenes 23 and 24.

³⁹ On the phenomenon of including *.t* endings in such contexts, see H. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1: *Reversals* (New York, 1977), p. 97, n. 257; and Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2, pl. 12 and p. 10, n. 1.

PLATE 67A. THE KING OFFERING MILK TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving milk to Amun.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, chief of
³the Great Ennead, ⁴as he gives all life, all stability and
dominion.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all
health surrounds him like Re forever.

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord
of heaven, who has gone forth as the horizon dweller, as
he gives life.

ABOVE THE KING

⁷The good god, Aakheperenre, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-
image-of-Amun, ⁹given all life, stability, and dominion
¹⁰like Re forever.

BEHIND THE KING

¹¹(She)^a shall be foremost of the *kas* of all the living like
Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe bolt-*s* feminine suffix was erased, but not recarved, and
its complete outline is still visible.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Originally the cartouches in this scene contained the
names of Hatshepsut, but they were later recarved as those
of Thutmose II; traces of the *m3'c.t*-hieroglyph are visible
in the *prenomen*, and a trace of the flail of *šps* can be seen
within the *Dḥwty*-sign in the *nomen*. Feminine endings in *.t*
were erased behind *nṯr* and below *s3 R'c* in the titulary. The
surface finish of the king figure was scraped away in places;
the scratch marks from this procedure are visible in the pho-
tograph (pl. 66A).

During the Amarna period, the figure of Amun-Re, his
name and epithets (ll. 2–3), the shrine and text behind him,
and the name and epithets of the Behdetite (l. 6) were dam-
aged, along with the name of Amun in the king's *nomen*; all
were subsequently restored. Unusually, the *h*-sign in the word
3ḥ.t(y) in l. 6 was left untouched by Akhenaten's agents,
presumably by confusion with the sun-disk hieroglyph. The
scene caption was also included in the damaged area and had
to be restored. Traces of the god's original pedestal show

that it was slightly larger than the final version. The god's
phallus was deliberately damaged in the medieval period.

On the wall surface below the lower right corner of the
scene is a graffito in faded black ink showing a group of co-
bras (Gr. 450); this is shown in detail on pl. 99.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The painted decoration in this scene and its neighbor (pl.
67B) is among the best preserved in the six chambers; the
scenes are presented in color on pl. 129. The hieroglyphs
ḥr(y)-tp in l. 2 of this scene are shown in detail on pl. 137I;
the feet of the falcon deity appear on pl. 137F, and the de-
tails of the king's sporran are shown on pl. 137H.

PLATE 67B. THE KING OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving wine to Amun that he may achieve (the state of)
being given life.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, ³as he gives all life, all life (*sic*) and dominion,
⁴all health, and all joy.^a

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and domin-
ion, all stability, all health, and all joy on my part like Re
forever."

BEFORE NEKHBT

⁶Nekhbet,^b the bright one of Hierakonpolis,^c the lady of
heaven, the mistress of the gods, as she gives life.

ABOVE THE KING

⁷The good god, Aakheperkare, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-
created-of-Amun, ⁹given all life, stability, and dominion
¹⁰forever.



NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe hieroglyphs of *3w.t-ib* are reversed, though it is unclear
whether they were so in the original (pre-Amarna) version.

^bThe *nḥb*-plant (𓎡) has been erroneously rendered here as
sw (𓎡) in the post-Amarna recarving.

^cFor the late variant writing of *Nḥn* with the otiose ending *.t*,
see *Wb.* 2, 310/8–9. It is possible that in this case the *.t* is an
error for 𓎡 introduced during the post-Amarna restoration
of this text.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Hatshepsut's cartouches in this scene were altered in favor of Thutmose I; in the *prenomen*, the original R^c and the $k3$ were left intact (compare pl. 138H). Traces of  and  are visible in the *nomen*. Feminine *.t* endings were erased behind ntr and below $s3 R^c$ in the titulary. In l. 5, traces of the original $di.n=i n=t$ are clearly visible. The painted finish of the king figure was scraped away from much of its surface area, resulting in the loss of carved lines of the right arm and painted details of the collar, the headdress, and the bracelets; this treatment may be observed in the color photograph (pl. 129). A detail of the preserved paint on the dd -pillar in l. 9 may be seen on pl. 138G.

During the Amarna period, the figure of Amun was damaged, along with the text in ll. 2, 4, and 6, as well as the scene caption in l. 1; these areas were subsequently restored. The name of Amun in the king's *nomen* was also damaged and later restored. Traces of Amun's original $w3s$ -scepter are visible slightly to the left of the recarved version. Within the block line below the king's cartouches may be seen restoration plaster fill, probably dating to the Late Period. Below the scene, in the area of the painted dado, appears a large graffito in red ink (Gr. 451) depicting a foreleg of beef; this is illustrated on pl. 99. The faces of the king and god were left intact in the medieval era, but Amun's hands and legs, and the legs of the king, were defaced.

PLATE 69. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

²The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, powerful of strength, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the ruler of Karnak.^a ⁴(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, be[lov]ed of Amun-Re. ⁵(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-egg-of-Amun, given life and dominion [for]ever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁶(Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Maat, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the ruler of Karnak. ⁷(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁸(Long) live the son

of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, given life and dominion forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁹The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thron[es] of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ¹⁰the beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-image-of-Amun, given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.



RIGHT JAMB

¹¹The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ¹²the beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the king as $hk3$ $Ip.t-s.wt$, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 35 (showing Amenhotep III); *Khonsu* 2, pls. 142B, 1, and 143A, 2 (showing Herihor); Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 5, pl. 120 (showing Hatshepsut, with $Ip.t-sw.t$ defaced during the Amarna period). Here, the words $Ip.t-s.wt$ were also hacked out under Akhenaten and subsequently recarved; the expected sign or signs above \otimes (either \triangle or $|||$) were omitted from the restored version or perhaps rendered in paint, which has now disappeared.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The left half of the lintel and the left jamb originally bore the names of Hatshepsut, but were recarved with those of Thutmose II; in the usual fashion, the sun-disk hieroglyph in the king's *prenomen* was left as originally carved. Traces of Hatshepsut's Horus name, $Wsr.t k3.w$, are visible within $K3-nht wsr-phity$ in l. 3; traces of the former Horus name are also visible on the right half of the lintel below that of Thutmose I, $K3-nht mr(y) M3^c.t$, in l. 6. The cartouches on the right half of the lintel were also recarved with the name of Thutmose I. On the lintel and the left jamb, feminine endings in *.t* were erased wherever they occurred, with the exception of $mr(y).t$ in l. 10, which was left as carved. The erased endings are generally distinguishable in trace outlines. Occasionally, as in $ntr.t nfr.(t)$ in l. 6, signs were recarved to accommodate changes in the titulary. The right jamb bears the original name and epithets of Thutmose III; the nfr -sign in his *nomen* is intact. A notable feature is the use of the living Thoth-hieroglyph  in the *nomen* of Thutmose II in l. 5, rather than the more common mummiform sign .

During the Amarna period, several areas of the text were damaged and had subsequently to be restored, including: ll. 1–2, $Bhd.t(y) ntr 3 s3b sw.ty$; l. 4, mry , with most of the name of $Imn-R^c$ left untouched, except for the reed leaf i which was hacked out and recarved; l. 5, Imn in the cartouche of Thutmose II; l. 7, $mry Imn$, with the sun disk R^c and its

determinative stroke left intact; l. 8, ³*Imn* in the cartouche of Thutmose I; ll. 9, 11, *mry* ³*Imn-R* ^c*nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t*; l. 10, ³*Imn* in the cartouche of Thutmose II. A small graffito (Gr. 420, pl. 97) was painted in the leftmost column of the left jamb as a guide for artisans restoring the damaged area in l. 9. In the medieval period, several hieroglyphs were damaged, including the Horus falcons and bulls in ll. 3 and 6, the *bi.t*- and *s3*-signs in the royal titulary on the lintel, and the *hpr*-beetles inside the cartouches, along with the *Dḥwty*-hieroglyph in Thutmose II's *nomen* (l. 5), and also the twin uraei of the winged solar disk above the door.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS


This doorway is shown in color on pl. 130. The west wall of the chamber lacks the rebus frieze of Hatshepsut that surmounts the other three walls. The doorframe is flanked on either side by a pile of offerings extending from the dado all the way to the top of the wall; each offering pile is surmounted by a -sign. A detail of the offerings on the right panel appears on pl. 137G. Along the edge of the left offering panel, which is the southwest corner of the chamber, the central block has been extensively cut back at its left edge. As the blocks in this corner have shifted considerably out of alignment, it is likely that this cutting was part of the Late Period repair program; plaster would have been applied here to fill the widening gaps in the wall. The plaster in this lower area is now gone, but small bits of it are preserved in the upper left corner of the panel, to the left of the upper block line.

PLATE 71. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, as he gives life.

²The Behdetite, the great god, as he gives life.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

⁴(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁵(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

⁶(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-egg-of-Amun, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁷The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, ⁸the beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-created-of-Amun: he made (it) as his monument for his father ⁹Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven,^a that he might give all life and stability like Re forever.

RIGHT JAMB

¹⁰The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, ¹¹the beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-image-of-Amun: he made (it) as his monument for his father ¹²Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, that (he) might give to him^b all life and stability [like] Re.^c

LEFT OF DOORWAY

¹³Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.^d

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the latest discussion of the various theories on this formulaic expression, along with some alternative suggestions, see L. Depuydt, “‘Of Their Monuments They Made One for an Esteemed Colleague...’: On the Meaning of a Formulaic Expression in Egyptian,” in *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2001), pp. 83–122.

^bWritten *dī.<n> n≠f*, but presumably to be read *dī≠(f) n≠f*.

^cThe surface of the stone is rough and unfinished below the determinative stroke of *R*^c and it appears that the block was not even smoothed down to the level of the text column here. Moreover, the right side of the column divider between ll. 11 and 12 stops when it reaches the unfinished area. It therefore seems that the expected *d.t* was never carved.

^dThis column of text originally ended with the additional group *dī* ^c*nh*, whose traces are visible below *mry*. Moreover, the word *mry* was originally carved with a feminine *.-t* ending, despite the fact that this column contains the names of Thutmose III. Subsequent to the initial carving, the *.t* and the *dī* ^c*nh* were erased and the painted lines of the typical dado in red, yellow, and black were added over them at the same level as the adjoining scene on the north wall (pl. 77).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The names and epithets on the left half of the lintel, along with the leftmost column of text (l. 13), are original

to Thutmose III. The *nfr*-sign in his cartouche (l. 4) was left intact. The cartouches on the left jamb originally contained the names of Hatshepsut but were recarved in favor of Thutmose I; the feather of the original *m3^c.t*-hieroglyph is visible as a trace near the top of the *prenomen*, in which the sun disk and the *k3*-sign were left intact as originally carved. The feminine *.t* endings on the left jamb were erased except in *mr(y).t* in l. 8, where the *.t* was left standing. The cartouches on the right half of the lintel and the right jamb, originally those of Hatshepsut, were recarved with the names of Thutmose II, leaving the original writings detectable in numerous traces. As on the left jamb, the feminine endings in *.t* were erased on the right lintel and jamb, except in the case of *mr(y).t* in l. 11. Where the *.t* was removed, the resulting scar was painted over in a blue background color very slightly different from the blue of the original background, so that the faint outlines of the sign may still be discerned. In both examples of the dedication formula carved on the doorjambs, the feminine suffix pronouns in *≡s* referring to the king were changed to *≡f*; this change was made in three cases in l. 8 on the left jamb (compare pl. 138B), and on the right jamb in ll. 11 (three examples) and 12 (one example), by shaving the original *≡s* down to the level of the surface. In some cases the recarved *≡f* was not positioned directly upon the location of the original *≡s*; where this occurred, the erased area of the original sign was painted over with blue, as with the erased endings in *.t*.

During the reign of Akhenaten, several areas of the text were damaged; these were restored in the post-Amarna period: l. 1, *Bḥd.t(y) ntr 3 s3b šwt dī ≡f ʿnh*; l. 2, *Bḥd.t(y) ntr 3 dī ≡f ʿnh*. To the left of the recarved *ʿnh*-sign may be seen traces of an earlier *w3s*. Given the way the traces of the original *dī* and *≡f* are positioned, it is likely that the original reading here was *dī ≡f [ʿnh] w3s*. Other restored areas include l. 3, *mry ʿImn... n(y)-sw.t ntr.w*; l. 4, *mry ʿImn... n(y)-sw.t ntr.w*, with the sun disk *R^c* left intact; l. 6, *ʿImn* in the cartouche of Thutmose II; l. 7, *mry ʿImn... n(y)-sw.t ntr.w*; l. 8, *ʿImn* in the cartouche of Thutmose I; l. 9, *ʿImn nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t dī ≡f*; l. 10, *mry ʿImn... n(y)-sw.t ntr.w*; l. 11, *ʿImn* in the cartouche of Thutmose II; l. 12, *ʿImn nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t dī n*, the restored area stopping between the two *n*-signs; l. 13, *ʿImn-R^c n(y)-sw.t ntr.w*. A restoration graffito written on the left jamb (Gr. 421, pl. 98) corresponds to the recarved name of Amun within Thutmose II's cartouche. On the right jamb, another restoration graffito (Gr. 422a, pl. 98) indicated the area to be restored in l. 10, while a third graffito (Gr. 422b, pl. 98) reading *ʿImn nb ns.wt [t3.wy nb] p.t...*, gave the desired restoration for the text at the beginning of l. 12.

Plaster fill within the block lines of the upper and lower sections of the right jamb, as well as the smoothing marks visible at the lower left corner of the left jamb, are part of the Late Period repair program. Areas damaged in the medieval period include the signs *bī.t* and *s3* in each of the royal titularies, the *hpr*-signs where they appear in the cartouches, and the hieroglyph of Thoth on his perch in ll. 4 and 12, along

with the uraei on the winged solar disk. The entire east wall is shown in color on pl. 131; the painted details of the *s3*-hieroglyph in l. 8 are depicted on pl. 138A.

PLATE 73. THE KING OFFERING CLOTHING TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving clothing.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the gods, ³lord of heaven.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁴The protection of all life, dominion, and all health [sur]-rounds him like Re.

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁵The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life.

ABOVE THE KING

⁶The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁸given all life, stability, and dominion ⁹like Re forever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The cartouches in this scene bear the original names of Thutmose III. The *nfr*-sign in his *nomen* is intact. The scene was damaged under Akhenaten; the caption (l. 1), the figure of Amun-Re, his name and epithets (ll. 2–3), the name and epithets of the Behdetite (l. 5), Amun's emblematic shrine, and the text behind him (l. 4) were all destroyed and had to be restored in the post-Amarna period. Traces show that the god's pedestal was originally somewhat farther to the left; his toes also extended slightly more to the left, as did the accompanying lotus fan and shrine. The recarving of this entire area resulted in the loss of the right border line, which must originally have extended as far as the base of the scene, separating it from the scene to the right (pl. 75). The faces of the god and king, the left arm and left leg of the king, and Amun's upraised arm were all deliberately hacked out in the medieval period, as were the hieroglyphs *bī.t* and *s3* in the royal titulary, the *hpr*-signs in the cartouches, the Thoth hieroglyph in the *nomen*, the face of Horus of Behdet, and the head of the seated-god hieroglyph in l. 2. The god's phallus appears to have been extracted from the wall in one piece, presumably as a curio, during modern times (compare

pl. 65B). For the preserved coloration of this scene, see pl. 132.

PLATE 75. THE KING (EFFACED) WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN

BY THE PILE OF OFFERINGS

¹Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.^a

ABOVE AMUN

²Words spoken by Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven. ³“[To you] (I have) given[...] ⁴all life and dominion, all stability and dominion on my part.” ⁵(Words spoken). ⁶(Words spoken).^b

BEFORE NEKHBET

⁷Nekhet.

BEFORE THE ROYAL CARTOUCHES

⁸Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING (ERASED TEXT)

⁹The good goddess [Maatkare], ¹⁰the daughter(?) of Re, [Chnemmetamun-Hatshepsut], ¹¹given all life[...] ¹²[like Re] forever.^c

BEFORE THE TRUSSED CALF

¹³Long-horned calf.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a It is likely that the original caption was the same as that of the scene on pl. 79, on the opposite wall: *smꜣꜥ ḥtp.(w)-ntr n ꜥImn nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy*. Only the divine name and epithet were restored after the Amarna period.

^b The position of Amun’s plumes below ll. 3, 5, and 6 was substantially raised during the post-Amarna restoration of the figure, and, as a result, the signs following *ḏḏ mdw* in each of these columns were smoothed away; in l. 5 perhaps only *ꜣw.t-ib nb* is lost, and l. 6 would originally have contained no text after *ḏḏ mdw*; l. 3 contained a lengthy *ḏi.nꜥi nꜥk* formula, similar to that on pl. 79. Of this no trace can be seen below the first *n*-sign. The order in which the columns of text must be read in this scene and in that on pl. 79 is most unusual.

^c The trace of part of a *nb*-sign is just visible at the upper left corner of the damaged area; below this trace and to the left of the damage is another trace that is probably the back of a

ḥ, giving a possible reading *nb [mꜣ Rꜥ ?] ḏ.t* for this line, based on the text on pl. 79.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The image of Hatshepsut that originally stood at the left of this scene was recarved under Thutmose III as a tall stand of lettuce plants, painted pale green with black details, and leaving few traces of the original figure. One of these is a small depression, painted red, at the height where one would expect the central cavity of the ear to have been carved; another is the trace of the king’s right heel at the ground-line, below the damaged area. The signs in the royal titulary were erased down to the level of the surrounding surface in the same manner as those in the Sanctuary of Amun and the Naos Chamber. By transforming Hatshepsut’s figure into a stand of lettuce, which may be associated with the figure of ithyphallic Amun, Thutmose III in effect linked this scene and the scene at left (pl. 73) into one, leaving himself as the sole officiant for both deities. The stand of lettuce was itself subsequently effaced in a precise manner during the Amarna desecration and was never repaired. A similar treatment of an object replacing Hatshepsut’s figure may be observed on pl. 33. The history of this scene differs from that of the opposite wall, pl. 79, which originally had the same arrangement of figures and iconographic elements; but there Hatshepsut’s figure was left in place, and only her names were altered.

The figure of Amun and his name and epithets in l. 2 (beginning with the *ꜣm* of *in*), as well as in the original caption (l. 1), along with the name of Nekhet (l. 7) and the heraldic Wadjet-figure and text (l. 8), were also damaged under Akhenaten and subsequently had to be restored. The pedestal of Amun’s throne was not included in the damaged area. As already noted, the restorers failed to replace most of the original text in ll. 3 and 5–6. Much plaster was used in repairing the damaged Amun, with the result that his figure was an easy mark later on for the medieval iconoclasts, who practically obliterated his face, arms, legs, and chest. The surface of an entire block is missing from the scene at the lower right corner.

The well-preserved painted surface of the offering pile is shown in color on pl. 133, with details on pl. 138C–F. Of note is the painted pattern imitating colored veins on the stone vessel at the center of the offering array; a similarly rendered vessel may be seen in Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 2, pl. 37, near the top of the scene.

PLATE 77. THE KING OFFERING *DSR.T*-BEER TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving *dsr.t*-beer that he may achieve (the state of) being given life.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re,^a king of the gods, lord of heaven.

BEHIND AMUN-RE

³The protection of all life, stability, dominion, all health, and all joy surrounds him.

BEFORE THE BEHDETITE

⁴The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, [lord] of heaven, as he gives dominion. ⁵Lord of heaven.^b

ABOVE THE KING

⁶The good god, Menkheperre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁸given all life, stability, and dominion ⁹like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a The sun disk and stroke must be read with ⁹*Imn*, disregarding the column divider.

^b The words *nb p.t*, part of the post-Amarna restoration, face left, as if oriented with the text of l. 4 above, referring to the Behdetite, and are thus translated here. As originally carved, however, this area would have contained a different epithet of Amun-Re, following *nb p.t* in l. 2, but no trace of the original text remains.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal cartouches contain the original names of Thutmose III; the *nfr*-sign in his *nomen* is intact. During the Amarna period, the entire left side of the scene was damaged, including the figure of Amun-Re, the scene caption (l. 1), the god's name and epithets (l. 2), the emblematic shrine with the text behind the god (l. 3), and the name and epithets of the Behdetite (ll. 4–5), with the exception of the final *w3s*-sign in l. 4, which was left intact. All these elements were recarved in the post-Amarna restoration; the position of the god's flail was altered slightly, so that it overlaps the original left border line. A trace of Amun's original shoulder may be seen slightly to the right of the final version.

In the medieval era, the face and arm of Amun, the king's head, arms, and legs, the head of the Horus falcon, and the hieroglyphs *hpr*, *s3*, and *Dhwtj* were damaged for iconoclastic reasons, along with the *ib*-hieroglyph in l. 3. A damaged area of the surface at upper right, extending upward along the block line, is filled with plaster, part of the Late Period

program of repair. Above this scene, in the area of the cobra frieze, a stone fragment, found during the repair of the temple floors, has been reattached in place (pl. 95C). The entire scene appears in color on pl. 134.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

For a contemporary example of this scene, see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Amada* 4, pl. J15.

PLATE 79. THE KING WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Presenting divine offerings to Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Words spoken by Amun-Re: ³“To you (I) [have] given all life and dominion, all health, all stability, and all joy on my part, living^a like Re forever, ⁴all health on my part, ⁵(and) all joy.” ⁶(Words spoken).^b

BEFORE WADJET

⁷Wadje(t)

BEFORE THE ROYAL CARTOUCHES

⁸Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenre, ¹⁰the son of Re, Thutmose-chosen-of-Amun, ¹¹given all life, all stability and dominion^c ¹²forever.

BEFORE THE TRUSSED CALF

¹³(*n*)*g*(*3*)*w*-calf

NOTES TO TRANSLATION


^a The lower right side of the *3* in *nh.ti* is preserved.

^b As recarved in the post-Amarna restoration, the plumes of Amun's crown overlap the original signs *dd mdw*. Although the height of the original plumes cannot be determined precisely from the traces, it is likely that there was never any text following these signs, as was the case in the corresponding location on the opposite wall (pl. 75).

^c The *nb*-baskets in *di nh nb dd w3s nb* are rendered in paint only; these were added when the royal titulary was altered, rendering superfluous the *nb* originally carved in l. 12. Traces

of the erased feminine endings in .*t* may be observed beneath the painted signs.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The king's cartouches in this scene originally contained the names of Hatshepsut; they were later altered in favor of Thutmose II (compare pl. 139*H*). Traces of the feather of *m3' .t* and of the *k3*-arms may be seen in the *prenomen*. In l. 3, the dative *n3t* was altered to *n3k*. During the reign of Akhenaten, the figure of Amun was attacked, along with several areas of text, including the lower part of l. 1 (from the  to the end of the line), the name *Imn* in l. 2 (with the sun disk *R'* carefully left intact), the signs *nb hr3i* in l. 4, the whole of l. 5, the lower section of l. 3 beginning with *'nh.ti*, and all of ll. 7–8, along with the god's name in l. 10. These areas were restored following the end of the Amarna period. Two restoration graffiti (Gr. 423, 424, pl. 98) were provided to guide the sculptors in recarving the damaged areas.

Part of the gap below and to the right of the central block, running from Amun's knees through the middle of the offering pile, was filled in with plaster, as part of the repairs made during the Late Period. Also part of this later repair is an area at the left edge of the scene, along the block line, where the edges have been cut back to allow the gap between the blocks to be filled in with plaster. In medieval times, the heads, arms, and legs of both the king and god were systematically hacked, as was the head of Wadjet; damage to some of the hieroglyphic signs in the royal titulary and to the birds within the array of offerings may also be ascribed to the medieval period. At the upper left corner of the scene, a rounded niche was rather carefully carved into the surface, presumably to hold a lamp of some sort when the chamber came to be used for domestic purposes.

As on the opposite wall (pls. 74, 75, 133), the original painted decoration is well preserved here; it appears in color on pl. 135. The painted details of the king's kilt, staff, and mace are also shown on pl. 139*I*; details of the offering pile are presented on pl. 139*C–D*.

PLATE 81A. THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA, EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, king of the gods, ²lord of heaven, ³as he gives all life and dominion on his part. ⁴Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion, all stability, all health, all joy, and every kind of offering like Re forever."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds him like Re.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁷The good god, Aakheperenre, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-beloved-of-Amun, ⁹given life like Re forever.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA-STANDARD

¹⁰The living *ka* of the king, ¹¹foremost of the room of purification, ¹²Horus: mighty bull, powerful of strength.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The royal names, originally those of Hatshepsut, were changed to those of Thutmose II. Traces of the feather of the *M3' .t*-sign may be seen just above *hpr* in the *prenomen*, while the back of *h3 .t* and the foot of *šps* are visible as traces in the *nomen*. The Horus name of Hatshepsut, *Wsr.t-k3.w*, is clearly legible in the traces within that of Thutmose II atop the *ka*-standard. Feminine endings in .*t* were erased after *ntr* and below *s3* in the royal titulary, and in l. 4 the dative *n3t* was replaced with the masculine *n3k* (here written in reverse).

The king's costume has undergone a slight alteration. Originally a ribbon hung around the king's neck over the collar, as on pl. 81*B*, but this was later erased and the collar decoration painted over it; on stylistic grounds, the repainted collar may be ascribed to the alteration of the scene under Thutmose III. Since the two scenes on this wall have approximately the same arrangements of figures and iconographic elements, it is difficult to explain this change in the royal accoutrements; it is possible that, when the name of the king depicted in this scene was changed from Hatshepsut to Thutmose II, there was a desire to emphasize the place of the living king, Thutmose III, shown in the adjoining scene at right, as officiant in this portion of the ritual, and that the ribbon was emblematic of this function. In this scene, Thutmose II's figure has also been scraped in places to remove the finished painted surface, a treatment similar to that observed in the scenes of the Vestibule. Parts of the carved lines of his left arm are missing as a result.

During the Amarna period, the figure of Amun-Re was damaged, along with his emblematic shrine and lotus fan, his name and titles (ll. 1–2), the protection text (l. 5), and the epithets of Horus of Behdet beginning with *ntr 3* (l. 6); the name *Bhd.t(y)* itself was not damaged, but left intact, an unusual omission on the part of Akhenaten's agents. The name of Amun in the royal *nomen* was also damaged at this time; it was later restored in paint only. Traces of the god's shoulder and of the right side of his statue pedestal show that he was originally situated somewhat farther to the left. The

repair of the damaged parts of this and the adjoining scene (pl. 81B) was achieved with particular care and skill, and the well-preserved painted colors clearly show the differentiation between the original pale blue background of the Thutmoside decoration and the white-gray background used in the post-Amarna restoration. Both scenes are presented in color on pl. 136; the winged sun disk surmounting the double scene is also shown in detail on pl. 139B.

Several areas were deliberately hacked out during the medieval period, including the god's head, arm, and hand, the king's face and hands, the figure of Horus atop the *ka*-standard, the royal bust atop its staff, the uraei of the winged solar disk, and the hieroglyphs *s3* and *hpr* in the king's titulary. The missing area of stone surface shown on pl. 75 extends into the lower left border of this scene.

PLATE 81B. THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA, EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

ABOVE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, king of the gods, ²lord of heaven, ³as he gives all life and dominion on his part. ⁴Words spoken: "To you (I) have given^a all life and dominion, all stability, all health, all joy, and every kind of offering like Re forever."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁵The protection of [al]l life, stab[ility, and dominion], and all health surrounds him like Re.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, lord of Mesen, as he gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁷The good god, Menkheperre, ⁸the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁹given life like Re forever.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA-STANDARD

¹⁰The living *ka* of the king, ¹¹foremost of the room of vestiture, ¹²Horus: mighty bull, appearing in Thebes.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aAlthough this scene was carved with the names of Thutmose III, the original dative was written *n=ṯ*, subsequently altered to *n=k*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The cartouches and Horus name of Thutmose III are original; the *nfr*-sign in the king's *nomen* was left intact (compare pl. 139A). The figure of Amun-Re was damaged in the Amarna period, along with his name and epithets (ll. 1–2), the emblematic shrine and lotus fan with protection text (l. 5), and the name and epithets of the winged disk (l. 6). The king's arm where it crosses the god's body was left intact. All these areas were carefully restored following Akhenaten's death. A trace of the god's original phallus may be seen immediately below the recarved version, and traces of the Thutmoside statue pedestal and the base of the shrine differ somewhat from their position as restored. The god's flail was restored overlapping the column divider at left; the overlapping portion was rendered in paint only.

The heads of both figures were destroyed by iconoclasts in the medieval period; their hands and arms, the figure of Horus atop the *ka*-standard, along with the hands of the *ka*-sign, the royal bust atop its staff, and the uraeus of the winged disk above were also damaged. Large sections of the surface from the lower half of the scene have broken away due to deterioration of the stone, but the surface and painted details in the upper portions of both of these scenes are quite well preserved.

PLATE 83. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE ENTRANCE TO THE KING'S CHAMBER

LINTEL, FLANKING THE WINGED DISK

¹The Behdetite, the great god.

²The Behdetite, the great god.

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

³(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-image-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁴(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestations,^a given life forever.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

⁵(Long) live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-beloved-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁶(Long) live the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, given life forever.

LEFT JAMB

⁷Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-beloved-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re. ⁸Two Ladies: enduring of kingship

like Re in heaven, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given all life forever.

RIGHT JAMB

⁹Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre... beloved of Amun-Re].

¹⁰Two Ladies: enduring of kingship like Re in [heaven, the son of Re, Thutmose... given] all [life] forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe epithet *nfr-hpr.w* appears only twice in the temple sanctuaries: here, and on pl. 57, l. 12. *Nfr-hpr* is far more common.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

In the *nomen* of Thutmose III in l. 4 the *nfr*-sign of *nfr-hpr.w* has been smoothed back, leaving several traces of the original sign visible. In l. 8, however, the *nfr* in the king's name, though slightly damaged in the medieval period, is otherwise intact as originally carved. The following sections of the text were erased under Akhenaten and subsequently restored: ll. 1–2, *Bḥd.t(y) ntr* ʿ; ll. 3, 5, *mry ʿImn-Rʿ* (including the *Rʿ*-signs); l. 7, *mry ʿImn* (with the *Rʿ* of *ʿImn-Rʿ* left undamaged). The only trace of the original carving visible in these areas is at the upper right corner of the *mn*-hieroglyph in the word *ʿImn* in l. 5.

The lower portion of the right jamb shows evidence of repair carried out in ancient times. At the lowermost right, the stone surface has been chiseled in a regular pattern to receive a patch stone, which has subsequently fallen away. Above is an area where one or more additional patch stones were installed; here, the heavy mortar backing is still in place. The break at the lower left, to the left of *d.t*, is the result of accidental damage, rather than part of the patch stone preparation. It is difficult to assign a date to the insertion of these patch stones; nevertheless, it is possible that this area was damaged at the same time that the stone balustrade between the two westernmost pillars of the ambulatory, immediately to the right of this scene, was removed in order to create a northern entrance to the temple. This operation was most likely carried out during the Late or Ptolemaic period, and so the repairs to this doorway may have been done at the same time. None of the missing patch stones, which presumably would have been inscribed, has so far been located.

Medieval iconoclastic hacking is visible on several of the hieroglyphs, including the *hpr*-hieroglyphs in ll. 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8, the *k3*-bulls in ll. 7 and 9, the *bḥ.t*-hieroglyphs in ll. 3 and 7, the Thoth signs in ll. 4, 6, and 8, the *s3*-birds in ll. 4 and 8, and the faces of the owl signs in ll. 8 and 10; the *d*-serpents in ll. 4, 6, 8, and 10 were also vandalized.

During the 2004–05 field season, the conservation team discovered a few tiny flecks of gold leaf within the inscriptions on the lintel, as on pl. 15 (see discussion above).

PLATE 85. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY IN THE KING'S CHAMBER

LINTEL, LEFT HALF

¹(Long) live the good god, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun.

LINTEL, RIGHT HALF

²(Long) live the good god, Menkheperre, beloved of Amun.

LEFT JAMB

³The beloved bodily son of Re, the lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, [living] forever.

RIGHT JAMB

⁴The beloved bodily son of Re, the lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of heaven, living forever.

UPPER LEFT NILE GOD

⁵[H]u, ⁶as he gives all life ⁷and all health.

LOWER LEFT NILE GOD

⁸Djefau, ⁹as he gives all life ¹⁰and all joy.

UPPER RIGHT NILE GOD

¹¹Hu, ¹²as he gives all life ¹³and all health.

LOWER RIGHT NILE GOD

¹⁴Djefau, ¹⁵as he gives all life ¹⁶and all joy.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The cartouches on this doorway and throughout the whole of this chamber are original to Thutmose III. The *nfr*-sign in the king's *nomen* in l. 4 is intact as originally carved. During the Amarna period the names of Amun were damaged; in ll. 1–2 the damaged area included the 𓂏-signs but not the phonetic 𓂏. On the left jamb the restored area extended from the middle of the king's cartouche, including the signs 𓂏 and 𓂏, down to the end of the word *p.t*; the traces show that the original writing of the god's name was *ʿImn*, but after the Amarna period it was restored as *ʿImn-Rʿ*.

On the right jamb the situation is more complicated. There were two stages of recarving within the affected area of l. 4. In the initial post-Amarna restoration, the name *ʿImn* was restored as it presumably had been in the original Thutmoside text, forming one text block. Note, however, that the only trace of the original Thutmoside 𓂏 is a tiny section shown at the sign's right edge. The trace of 𓂏 shown in the drawing is part of this post-Amarna recarving, lying within a recessed area of the stone surface. Below this area there

is enough room for the post-Amarna version of the signs ☉ | to have been carved, though no trace of these survives; farther down can be seen a trace of the post-Amarna ☐ within the final *p*-sign. A subsequent alteration of the text gave the same reading, 'Imn-R' *nb p.t*, but with the signs arranged differently. A thick layer of plaster was applied in the area of Amun's name; an *n*-sign was added immediately below the game board, which was made smaller in order to accommodate the new arrangement. Below the new *n* a large sun disk was carved out of the heavy plaster, which would have obscured the post-Amarna *n*; in the photograph (pl. 84), it may be seen how this plaster layer has broken away, revealing the traces of the post-Amarna *n*-sign. The remaining signs were then carved in a thick layer of plaster below: *nb*, an unusually elongated *p*, and *.t*. When these final signs were painted, however, a further change was made: the *nb*-basket was painted farther down than the carved *nb*, as was the *p*, so that the painted outlines do not correspond to the final carved version of the signs. It must also be noted that the ☐-sign is original to the Thutmoside decoration; its lower side was apparently reworked as part of the later (second) modification, resulting in the visible trace of the original. It is difficult to imagine a reason for this later series of changes, but it is certain that the first restoration dates to the post-Amarna repair, and the later modifications, based on the heavy, dark-colored plaster used to build up the sunken surface areas and the darker-hued painted colors of the final version of the signs, may tentatively be ascribed to the Late Period or Ptolemaic repair program.

Other areas of the scene show evidence of repairs carried out during the Late or Ptolemaic period. At right, a series of patch stones was inserted to stabilize a gap that had begun to appear in the southeast corner of the chamber. Only one of these patches, a narrow vertical block, is still in place; around it, and partly covering its top end, can be seen vestiges of the heavy sealing plaster used in the repairs. Part of the right-side border line was carved in this plaster, even though the original Eighteenth Dynasty borders had been rendered in paint only. In the upper left corner of the wall, much of the area containing the figure of the Nile god was repaired, especially the offering tray and the remaining portion of the god's shoulders, which were recarved in a partial plaster overlay and repainted in the darker color scheme typical of these late modifications.

The upper right and lower left Nile gods were defaced during the medieval period, while the large crack in the scene at upper left is the result of structural deterioration in this corner of the temple. Above this damaged area, a rectangular hole, visible in the photograph (pl. 84), was made to extend out through the roof of the temple. Though now partly filled with debris and sealed from above, it was probably intended as a light well, made by the medieval inhabitants when the temple came to be used for domestic purposes. Heavy gouges, made by a wide-bladed chisel, may be seen along the edge of the block to the right of this aperture.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A group of Nile gods with similar iconography appears in Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 4, pl. 110; for discussion, compare J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, 1985), p. 90 (fig. 55) and pp. 157–58. Another contemporary example may be seen in R. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma 1: The Temple of Semna* (London, 1998), pl. 21. All four walls of this chamber are decorated with a *hkr*-frieze, painted in blue, green, and red, above the scenes. The frieze is rendered in paint only, with the exception of a section above the central portion of the scene on pls. 86–87, where the details of the *hkr*-element are incised. The presence of the *hkr*-frieze confirms that the decoration of this chamber was accomplished under Thutmose III.⁴⁰

PLATE 87. IUNMUTEF WITH OFFERINGS AND OFFICIANTS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN

BEFORE IUNMUTEF

¹Giving offerings: a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of cattle, a thousand of fowl.

BY THE OFFERING TABLE

²Amun-Re, as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

BEFORE NEKHBET

³Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she^a gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁵the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes, ⁶lord of strength, who has seized all lands, ⁷given life like Re forever.

ABOVE THE QUEEN

⁸The great royal wife, Meretre-Hatshepsut, ⁹may she live.

ABOVE AND BEHIND IUNMUTEF

¹⁰Iunmutef, the great god, the lord of heaven, ¹¹as he gives all life, all stability and dominion, all health, all joy, every kind of offering, and all provisions to Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life like Re forever. ¹²Words spoken: "Performing the royal offering four times. ¹³A thousand of everything good and pure for the *ka* of ¹⁴King Menkheperre, twice pure."

⁴⁰ Hölscher, *Excavation* 2, p. 13.

BEFORE THE KING

¹⁵Royal natron; the funerary meal.

OFFERING LIST^b

¹⁶Water: 1

¹⁷*ht*-bread: 1

¹⁸*psn*-loaf: 1

¹⁹*dp.t(y)*-bread: 1

²⁰Bean(s): 1

²¹Roast joint: 1

²²Wine: 2

²³Beer: 2

²⁴Clay pots^c of beer: 2

²⁵Water: 1

²⁶Oh, be fearful!^d

²⁷*snw*-vessel of honey: 1

²⁸Red jars of water: [2]

²⁹*bd*-natron: 2

³⁰Wine: 2^e

³¹Roast joint: 2

³²Large cut of meat: 1^f

³³Rib roast: 1

³⁴*š*^c.*t*-bread: 1

³⁵*p(š)d*-loaf^g in two halves: 1

³⁶Red jars of water: 2

³⁷*mnsš*-jars of water: 2^h

PRIESTLY OFFICIANTS

³⁸Priest.

³⁹Priest.

⁴⁰Priest.

⁴¹Priest. ⁴²Words spoken: “Removing the footprint.”

⁴³Priest.

⁴⁴Priest.

⁴⁵*sm*-priest.

⁴⁶Reciting many transfiguration spells ⁴⁷by the lector-priests.

⁴⁸Priest. ⁴⁹Bringing choice cuts.

⁵⁰Priest. ⁵¹Bringing choice cuts.

⁵²Priest.

⁵³Priest.

BELOW THE OFFERING TABLE

⁵⁴Bread: 1,000

⁵⁵Beer: 1,000

⁵⁶Cattle: 1,000

⁵⁷Fowl: 1,000

⁵⁸Alabaster: 1,000

⁵⁹Clothing: 1,000

⁶⁰Incense: 1,000

⁶¹Ointment: 1,000

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The writing *šs<t>* may be an intrusion of Late Egyptian orthography; see F. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2001), p. 52. The same writing occurs in a scene on the south side of the bark shrine at Nelson no. MH.B 158.

^b The offering lists on this wall and the opposite wall (pl. 89) correspond to the “Type C” funerary lists discussed in Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 111–28.

^c Read *mt.t* (*Wb.* 2, 175) or *m(n)t(š).t* (*Wb.* 2, 92/7); and see *Khonsu* 1, pl. 53, l. 39, and text, pp. 29 and 30, n. *d*, where, however, both the spelling of the word and the vessel depicted are different from those in this list. Compare also a similar writing from the “Chapelle Rouge” of Hatshepsut, in Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout*, p. 381. The usual entry in this position, No. 9 in the Type C list, is *špn.t*; see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 111.

^d Alternative translations include “O feared one!” or “O fear” or “fear descends” (see *Khonsu* 1, p. 30, n. *e*, and *RILT* 1, p. 3, n. *p*; and H. Hays, “*Hš snd* ‘Oh be fearful!’” *GM* 204 (2005), pp. 51–56.

^e The standard entry in this position, No. 15, is *irp mḥwy nms.t* “*nms.t*-jars of Lower-Egyptian wine”; see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 111, with variants given on p. 116. Neither this entry nor the corresponding entry on the opposite wall (pl. 89) is determined by a *nms.t*-jar.

^f Read *wr n i(w)f* “Ein Fleischstück”; see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 111.

^g Normally *pšd* (*Wb.* 1, 501); written *p(š)t* in the corresponding entry on the opposite wall (pl. 89).



^h *mw mnsš* is given in Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 116, as a variant entry for No. 22 in the Type C list; other variants include *qbḥw (sd.t) snṯr* “a libation and (burning) incense,” along with *ḥ.t snṯr* and *sd.t snṯr* “burning incense.”

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The *nomen* of Thutmose III in l. 11 contains the epithet *nfr-ḥpr*, left intact as originally carved. The number-box in l. 26 of the offering list, *hš snd*, shows traces of an earlier

version in which the top of the “box” was rendered like those of the other columns; it was later changed to contain the gesturing figure usually found with this section of the list. There is no trace of any earlier carving within the box, and the gesturing figure is not sunk below the level of the surrounding carved surface, so the alteration was presumably made during the original carving of the scene.

The figure of Iunmutef was damaged in the time of Akhenaten and subsequently recarved; included in the restored area were portions of the text above, including the four strokes at the bottom of l. 12, the words *nfr.t w^cb.t n k³{t}* at the bottom of l. 13, the words *w^cb sp-sn* at the bottom of l. 14, and the whole of l. 10. The edge of the area cut back for recarving overlapped the left ends of the signs in l. 1, which were restored in paint, and part of the border to the right of l. 11. As on the north wall, the title of each priestly officiant was erased during the Amarna period and subsequently restored. An exception here is the title *hr(y).w-hb* (l. 47), erased on the opposite wall but left intact here. The entire figure of the *sm*-priest is recarved, as on pl. 89. In the right-hand portion of the scene, some areas of the text were also damaged during the Amarna period. These include l. 15 with the exception of the *sw*-plant and the word *h₁tp*, all of l. 2 with the exception of the sun disk, and l. 3; additionally, the king's titles *n(y)-sw.t b₁t(y)* and *s₃...* were restored (the sun disk *R^c* was left untouched). Rather than supposing deliberate Atenist damage to the king's titles, it is more likely that this area was affected incidentally when the name and epithets of Nekhbet, immediately above, were desecrated and then recarved.

The head and lower arm of Iunmutef were damaged in the medieval period. The rectangular hole in the offering pile, cut in the wall at a later date, corresponds to the hole on pl. 89, noted below. The priests below the offering list were all damaged, as were the bird at the left of the second register of offerings, the signs  and  in l. 46, and the pinioned birds held by the two priests at the left of the bottom register, but the top two registers, including the offering list, were left untouched by the medieval occupants. The faces, hands, and feet of both the king and queen were also hacked out by medieval iconoclasts; most of this damage has been omitted from the copy of this scene appearing at L.D. III, 38b.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

As noted above, a section of the *hkr*-frieze above the central portion of this scene was roughly carved in raised relief, though elsewhere in the chamber the frieze was rendered only in paint. For similar scenes of Iunmutef before the king with a list of offerings, compare Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 1, pls. 6, 7, and Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* 5, pls. 129, 135. These scenes are also related in style and content to those appearing in the chapels on the south side of the South Court in the central area of Karnak, one of which also contains the “Type C” offering list; see PM II², p. 96. For remarks on the style of the figures of the king and queen, see Laboury, *Statuaire*, p. 576.

PLATE 89. IUNMUTEF WITH OFFERINGS AND OFFICIANTS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN

BEFORE IUNMUTEF

¹Giving offerings: a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of cattle, a thousand of fowl.

BY THE OFFERING TABLE

²Amun-Re, as he gives life, [stability, and dominion].^a

BEFORE WADJET

³Wadjet, she of Dep and Pe, as she gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The good god, Menkheperre, ⁵the son of Re, Thutmose-[ruler]-of-Maat, ⁶who smites the rulers of foreign countries ⁷who attack him, like Re forever.

ABOVE THE QUEEN

⁸The great royal wife, Meretre-Hatshepsut, ⁹may she live forever.

ABOVE AND BEHIND IUNMUTEF

¹⁰Iunmutef, the great god, the lord of heaven, ¹¹as he gives all life, all stability and dominion, all health, all joy, every kind of offering, and all provisions to Thut[mose...] ^bgiven life like Re forever. ¹²Words spoken: “Performing the royal offering four times. ¹³A thousand of everything good and pure for the *ka* of ¹⁴King Menkheperre, twice pure.”

BEFORE THE KING

¹⁵[Royal]^c natron; the funerary meal.

OFFERING LIST

¹⁶Water: 1

¹⁷*ht₃*-bread: 1

¹⁸*psn*-loaf: 1

¹⁹*dp.t(y)*-bread: 1

²⁰Bean(s): 1

²¹Roast joint: 1

²²Wine: 2

²³Beer: 2

²⁴Clay pots of beer: 2

²⁵Water: 1

²⁶Oh, be fearful!

²⁷*snw*-vessel of honey:^d 1

²⁸Red jars of water: 2

²⁹*bd*-natron: 2

³⁰Wine: 2

³¹Roast joint: 2

³²Large cut of meat: 1

³³Rib roast: 1

³⁴*ȝ*^c.*t*-bread: 1

³⁵*p*(*ȝ*)*t*-loaf in two halves: 1

³⁶Red jars of water: 2

³⁷*mnsȝ*-jars of water: 2

BEFORE THE TRUSSED CALF

³⁸(*n*)*g*(*ȝ*)*w*-calf.

PRIESTLY OFFICIANTS WITH OFFERINGS

³⁹Priest.

⁴⁰Priest.

⁴¹Priest. ⁴²Words spoken: “Removing the footprint.”

⁴³Long-horned calf.

⁴⁴Priest.

⁴⁵*sm*-priest.

⁴⁶Recit[ing] many transfiguration spells ⁴⁷[by the] lector priests.

⁴⁸Priest. ⁴⁹Bringing choice cuts.

⁵⁰Priest. ⁵¹[Bring]ing choice cuts.

⁵²Priest.

⁵³Priest.

BELOW THE OFFERING TABLE

⁵⁴Bread: 1,000

⁵⁵Beer: 1,000

⁵⁶Cattle: 1,000

⁵⁷Fowl: 1,000

⁵⁸Alabaster: 1,000

⁵⁹Clothing: 1,000

⁶⁰Incense: 1,000

⁶¹Ointment: 1,000

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a *ȝd.t* and *wȝs* can be restored based on the parallel text on the opposite wall.

^b The *𓆎* in the king’s *nomen*, now missing, was recorded as intact by J.-F. Champollion in *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la*

Nubie: Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux 1 (Paris, 1844), p. 719.

^c The *sw*-plant can be restored here based on the parallel on pl. 87, opposite.

^d See *Khonsu* 1, pl. 53, l. 43, and text, p. 29.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Iunmutef was damaged during the Amarna period and subsequently recarved, along with several areas of the surrounding text: the last part of l. 12 below *𓆎*; the bottom of the word *kȝ{t}* in l. 13, the lower part of *w^cb sp-sn* in l. 14, and all of l. 10 below *𓆎*. The *𓆎* above *𓆎* in *iwn-mw.t=ḫ* was restored in paint only. Most of the column divider to the left of l. 11, and parts of some of the signs next to it, were erased when the surface was cut back for recarving. The title of each priest depicted in the central area of the scene was also erased and later recarved. The words *ir.t sȝḫ* as far as the back of the *𓆎* were damaged and then repaired; unlike the example on pl. 87, the *𓆎* was left intact. Moreover, the figure of the *sm*-priest in the bottom register was entirely recarved. In the left portion of the scene, the words *Imn-R^c dī=ḫ nḫ...* in l. 2 and *Wȝd(y.t) Dp.t P.t*, including the two town-determinatives, in l. 3 were hacked out and had later to be repaired.

The rightmost portion of the scene was spared serious damage in the medieval period, except for the destruction of the signs *𓆎* and *𓆎* in l. 1 and the loss of Iunmutef’s face. The rectangular hole in the upper part of the offering pile corresponds to a similar hole in the opposite wall and pierces the thickness of both walls (see pl. 87). The lower half of this wall along its entire length has suffered serious deterioration due to high humidity and salt-induced decay of the stone, resulting in the loss of almost all of the painted finish and of many carved details. Each priest below the offering list was hacked out in medieval times, though the extent of this hacking varied from damage to the face only to the destruction of the entire figure. In the bottom register, the right foot of the rightmost priest, now missing, can be seen in several old photographs in the Epigraphic Survey’s Photographic Archive (nos. 1301, 3047, 7694) and has been added to the drawing. With the exception of the bird at the right of the third register, the array of offerings itself survives intact. The faces and shoulders of both the king and queen, along with the king’s feet and fingertips, were destroyed by iconoclasts in medieval times. The object held in the king’s hand cannot have extended above the shoulder, as with the *𓆎*-scepter suggested in the copies made by Champollion⁴¹ and Lepsius;⁴² the damage to the king’s torso in fact precludes a certain identification of the emblem in question. The queen’s right heel, now missing, has also been partly restored based

⁴¹ J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, d’après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux* (Paris, 1835), pl. 195.3.

⁴² L.D. III, 38a.

on older photographs (nos. 1300, 3048). Above the scene, in the area of the painted *hkr*-frieze, an opening was cut into the wall at a late date; this may be seen on pl. 88.

resulting in a disjunction of the carved lines along the join. The degree of misalignment corresponds to that of the lower block in the scene at right.

PLATE 91A. THE KING OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving wine.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re,^a lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ³as he gives all life, all stability and dominion.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

⁴The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, lord of Mesen, as he gives life.

ABOVE THE KING

⁵The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, ⁶the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, ⁸given life like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a As in several other locations within the temple chambers, the restored name of Amun-Re here is split by a superfluous column divider.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The *nomen* of Thutmose III bears the epithet *nfr-hpr*, intact as originally carved. The seated figure of Amun was defaced in the Amarna period and subsequently recarved; the damaged area was carefully limited and included the *nh* and *dd* extending from the god's scepter, though not the pedestal beneath his throne. The name and epithets of Amun in l. 2 were also damaged and recarved, though the sun disk and the adjacent tops of Amun's plumes were left untouched; the epithets of the winged disk (though not the name *Bhd.t(y)* itself) too had to be recarved following the reign of Akhenaten. The recarved area is continuous with that in the adjoining scene, pl. 91B, and includes the divider between the two scenes. The faces of both the king and god, along with Amun's arms, suffered damage at the hands of the temple's medieval occupants. The lowermost block in the scene has broken into three sections, and these have shifted out of plane with the rest of the wall surface; moreover, the lower block itself has become misaligned horizontally from the middle block,

PLATE 91B. THE KING OFFERING COOL WATER TO AMUN-RE

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving cool water.

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re,^a king of the gods, lord of heaven, ³as he gives all life, all stability and dominion.

BEFORE THE WINGED DISK

⁴The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life.

ABOVE THE KING

⁵The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, ⁶the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ⁷the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, ⁸given life like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a As restored, the column divider separates *Imn* from *R* here.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The figure of Amun in this scene was damaged during the Amarna period; Akhenaten's men hacked out the *w's*-staff with its *dd* and *nh* symbols, but carefully avoided the hands of the king holding the water pots. The name and titles of Amun in l. 2 were included in the damaged area, but the sun disk, along with the tops of the god's plumes, was carefully left intact. In both this and the adjacent scene, the internal details within Amun's plumes were restored in paint only, leaving a bit of the original carved spine at the top. The epithets of the winged disk (l. 4) were also damaged, as far as the left edge of the *ꜥ*, and recarved during the Theban restoration; the name *Bhd.t(y)* itself was, remarkably, left intact, except for the wrist of the *ꜥ*.

The king's face and arm were hacked out during the medieval period, but Amun was left untouched by the iconoclasts. Over time the central block has shifted somewhat to the right, leaving a disjunction in the carved lines on the lower part of the scene.

PLATE 92A–B. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE
ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE DYAD
CHAMBER, WEST END

Shown is an area of the upper left corner of the north wall in the Dyad Chamber, above pl. 25. Within the lines of the roughly carved *hkr*-elements may be distinguished traces of an original version of the frieze, consisting of the cobra rebus of Maatkare. Three complete rebus groups and the left side of the *k3*-arms of a fourth group represent the probable extent of the original decoration, which was evidently not continued farther to the right. When the decoration of the scenes below (pls. 23, 25) was completed under Thutmose III, the incomplete rebus frieze was smoothed down and replaced with the *hkr*. The traces of the unfinished cobra rebus represent, then, the point at which decoration in the name of Hatshepsut ceased within this chamber, later to be resumed during the sole reign of Thutmose III. The heavy plaster shown at the left of the plate, covering portions of the Thutmoside frieze, is part of the Late Period repair program, intended to fill a broken area at the upper left corner of the wall below the roof block.

PLATE 92C–D. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON
THE WEST WALL OF THE
DYAD CHAMBER

Running along the top of the west wall in the Dyad Chamber is a frieze of cobras with horned sun disks and resting on *k3*-hieroglyphs, representing in rebus form the name of Maatkare. The hands and forearms of the *k3*-signs have been carefully chiseled down to the level of the surrounding surface, but the edges of the raised-relief detail remain clearly visible.⁴³ Above the western doorway of the chamber the ends of the frieze confront a cartouche, originally containing the name of Maatkare, but recarved with that of Aakheperenre (Thutmose II). Of four such cartouches this is the only one to have been recarved; in two other examples, visible on pl. 60 and pl. 80, the hieroglyphs *M3^c.t* and *k3* were shaved down to the level of the surface, but the name was not replaced,⁴⁴ while in the fourth case, shown on pl. 41, only the majority of the *M3^c.t* figure was erased. An unusual feature is the enlargement of the sun disk in the recarved version; this is not found elsewhere in the recarved cartouches of the temple sanctuary.

⁴³ The Hatshepsut frieze is discussed more fully in Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, pp. 11–13.

⁴⁴ See photograph, *ibid.*, p. 13.

The uppermost stone surface of the frieze was carved out of the roof block, as on the other walls of this chamber. Over time the roof block has shifted westward, with the result that the top of the carved frieze is recessed approximately 15 cm behind the surface of the wall below.

PLATE 93A–B. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON
THE SOUTH WALL OF THE VESTIBULE,
EAST SECTION

The cobra frieze of Maatkare occupies the tops of the east, north, and south walls of the Vestibule. Several areas of the frieze retain much of the original painted detail; one such portion, in the area above pl. 63, is shown here and on color pl. 137A. The removal of the *k3*-arms, carefully executed in some locations, is done rather crudely in this instance, leaving bits of the fingers visible.

PLATE 93C–D. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON
THE SOUTH WALL OF THE VESTIBULE,
WEST END

Here is shown an additional section of the frieze along the south wall of the Vestibule, above pl. 65, with cobras crowned with horned sun disks and resting on *k3*-hieroglyphs, representing the name of *M3^c.t-k3-R^c*. Although in most areas the hands of the *k3*-signs were effaced in order to proscribe Hatshepsut's name (see pls. 92C–D, 93A–B), a small portion in the southwest corner of the Vestibule was left intact as originally carved.

PLATES 96–98. RESTORATION GRAFFITI
IN THE INNER CHAMBERS
(GR. 411–425)

Only four out of the forty-seven ancient graffiti⁴⁵ found in the six inner chambers appear in Edgerton, *Medinet Habu*

⁴⁵ Two Arabic graffiti have been found within the temple chambers, one on the north wall of the King's Chamber and the other on the north wall of the Dyad Chamber. These consist of two or three letters each, probably bits of personal names, and were most likely incised in modern times. For this reason these graffiti are not presented here.

Graffiti. The four published examples are priests' graffiti in Demotic dating to the Ptolemaic period and are discussed in the following section; Edgerton did not publish any of the New Kingdom restoration graffiti. Many of these inked texts, written on the walls as guides for those restoring the damaged areas during the post-Amarna period, would not have been visible when Edgerton was working in the temple, the walls at that time still being covered with layers of grime. Careful cleaning of the walls over the period from 1999 to 2004 has brought a number of these texts to light, and even so, many are scarcely visible, even under close examination. Each and every scene in the temple's interior was damaged during Akhenaten's reign and had subsequently to be repaired, and the number of preserved restoration graffiti (sixteen) is small by comparison, but enough of them have survived to give an idea of how and where such notations were made in order to facilitate the repair process.

The numbering system used here continues that of Edgerton, who ended his catalog with no. 410. This system will be used for all future publications of graffiti from the Medinet Habu precinct, a corpus that now exceeds Edgerton's original collection by several hundred.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 23 (GR. 411, PL. 96)


TRANSLITERATION


¹*dd mdw in 'Imn-R' n(y)-sw.t ntr.[w] hr(y) s.t=f^a...*
²*smnh pr=i sdsr...*
³*ntr.w rh.n=f [(s)htp^b...]*

TRANSLATION

¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the god[s], who is upon his [great]^c pedestal... ²who has embellished my house, who has sanctified... ³the gods, he having known how to [satisfy...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a As noted above, the two small marks here suggest an original .

^b The last bit of ink in the graffito must be part of the right end of , corresponding to the inscribed text of pl. 23, l. 6.

^c For the suggested restoration of *wr.t* here, see the epigraphic comments for pl. 23.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This inked graffito corresponds to ll. 2, 4, and 6 of pl. 23 and served as a guide for those who restored the damaged areas of these lines of text. The inclusion of l. 4 (= l. 2 of the graffito) is curious, as this line of the inscription suffered no

apparent damage in the Amarna period; nevertheless, some of the lower and left edges of the signs may have been included in the reworked area of the god's plumes, necessitating the second line of the graffito.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 31 (GR. 412, PL. 96)

TRANSLATION

Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Written on the outer edge of the right jamb of the western doorway in the Sanctuary of Amun, this graffito corresponds to the damaged area of text on pl. 31, l. 8.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 35 (GR. 413, PL. 96)

TRANSLATION

Amun-Re, lord of...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This small graffito, written in front of the king's kilt, corresponds to part of the restored area of l. 3 of the scene and includes a sketch of the ithyphallic deity. The lower part of both the inked text and the sketch are lost; the graffito presumably concluded with *ns.wt t3.wy*.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 35 (GR. 414, PL. 96)

TRANSLATION

To you (I) have given the throne of Geb and the office of Atum...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS







The damaged area in l. 6 of pl. 35 included the words ... *=k ns.t Gb i3w.t...*, while the restoration graffito includes undamaged portions of the text, perhaps in order to ensure that the restoration was done properly in the context of the preserved signs.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 43
(GR. 425, PL. 96)

TRANSLATION

The Behdetite, [the great god].

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This tiny graffito, badly preserved, was an instruction for the recarving of the divine name in l. 2, to the right of the winged disk. Bits of the signs  and  are visible, and below can be seen  and the determinative . The marks to the left are probably part of *ntr* ; the stroke below is either extraneous or, possibly, an indication of the restored -sign at the right end of l. 6.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 45
(GR. 415, PL. 97)

TRANSLATION

Beloved of Amun-(Re), [like Re (?)]...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito corresponds to the damaged area of pl. 45, l. 8; in this area, the word *ʿImn*, the seated-god determinative of *R*^c, and the word *mry* were damaged and had to be recarved, while the sun-disk sign was left intact by Akhenaten's agents. The graffito is quite badly preserved, but it seems that it did not include the sun disk, which did not need to be restored; the back of the seated-god determinative is nevertheless clear. Two areas of ink at the bottom of the graffito may indicate the tops of the signs *m*ⁱ *R*^c; if so, these were probably included for the sake of context.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 53
(GR. 416, PL. 97)

TRANSLATION

Amun

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito refers to the name of Amun within the erased cartouche of Hatshepsut; damaged under Akhenaten, this was restored in the time of his successors.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 53
(GR. 417, PL. 97)



Though difficult to see, this small graffito depicts the outline of the ithyphallic Amun-Re and must have been intended to indicate the divine figure to be restored at the left of the scene. If any text originally accompanied the inked figure, no trace of it remains.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 55
(GR. 418, PL. 97)

TRANSLATION

Wadjet, she of De[p] and Pe, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, as [she] gives life.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito corresponds to the damaged area of text on pl. 55, l. 7, which extended as far as *dī* *s*; the  was included in the graffito for the sake of context. The writing of  is unusual, with the central flourish crossing over the horizontal stroke of the top of the sign; for comparison, see G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* 2 (Leipzig, 1909), p. 46, nos. 510–11.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 59
(GR. 419, PL. 97)

TRANSLATION

Beloved... lord of [heaven...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

When complete, this graffito, located on pl. 59, l. 8, would have corresponded to the damaged area of text in l. 7, *mry ʿImn-R^c nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t dī ʿnh*.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 69
(GR. 420, PL. 97)

TRANSLATION

Beloved of Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, [lord] of heaven.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Written in l. 10 of pl. 69, this graffito indicated the text to be restored in the damaged area of l. 9.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 71, LEFT JAMB (GR. 421, PL. 98)

TRANSLATION

Amun

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito indicated that the name *ʾImn* within the cartouche of Thutmose II in l. 8 was to be restored.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 71, RIGHT JAMB (GR. 422A, PL. 98)

TRANSLATION

Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Located on the edge of the right jamb, this graffito corresponds to the restored text in the lower section of l. 10. Although the graffito includes the sun disk *R*^c, in the inscription this sign remained untouched during the Amarna period, and did not have to be recarved.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 71, RIGHT JAMB (GR. 422B, PL. 98)

TRANSLATION

Amun, lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands, lord] of heaven.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Located below the \equiv -sign in l. 11, this graffito indicated the area of text to be restored in l. 12.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 79 (GR. 423, PL. 98)

TRANSLATION

[...b]y Amun Re.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito, located within the offering stand in the center of the scene, shows the enthroned figure of Amun-Re holding the *wʿs*-scepter, accompanied by a section of text corresponding to the lower portion of l. 2. In this line of the

inscription only the name *ʾImn* had to be recarved after the Amarna period; the remaining signs were included in the graffito to indicate the context. The seated figure of Amun, to which the graffito referred, was also entirely restored.

RESTORATION GRAFFITO ON PL. 79 (GR. 424, PL. 98)

TRANSLITERATION

[...*ḥtp.w-ntr*] *n ʾI[m]n nb ns.wt tʿ.wy nb p.t*

TRANSLATION

[...divine offerings] to A[mu]n, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito indicated that part of the scene caption, which had been damaged under Akhenaten, was to be restored. The damaged section of the hieroglyphic text extended downward from the \equiv -determinative to the end of the column; in the graffito, the signs 𓂏 and 𓂐 were included to indicate the starting point of the recarved area. The top left corner of 𓂏 and most of the 𓂐 in the name of Amun are visible on either side of the break; while the god's name is written facing left in the graffito, in the inscription it was recarved honorifically facing right. At the end of the graffito the scribe initially wrote the words *nb p.t*, but these were ultimately not to be included in the restored text; the scribe indicated this emendation in the graffito with a red ink stroke to the left of the two omitted signs.

PLATE 99. MISCELLANEOUS GRAFFITI (GR. 426, 427, 448–452)

HIERATIC GRAFFITO IN THE KING'S CHAMBER (GR. 426)

TRANSLATION

The scribe [...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Of this small inked graffito, located just to the left of the words *ḥʿ m ḥnq.t* in l. 1 of pl. 87, only the first sign is clearly legible; of the remainder only parts of strokes remain. This text and the following one, Gr. 427, are neither restoration graffiti nor are they Demotic and are thus unlike the rest of the graffiti in the temple chambers; other hieratic graffiti


are found elsewhere within the Medinet Habu precinct (see Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pls. 7–14), and to these Gr. 426 and 427 are similar, though much shorter than any of the published examples.

HIERATIC GRAFFITO IN THE KING'S CHAMBER (GR. 427)

TRANSLATION

The scribe Pa(?)-[...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The front stroke of the sign  (Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* 2, p. 48, no. 537) was recurved at the tip, bits of which are visible here; this feature is not preserved in Gr. 426. The preserved bits of strokes after *sš* seem to indicate the group *pꜣ*; compare *ibid.*, p. 20, no. 221; this would be the first element in the scribe's name. This graffito is located within the array of offerings in front of Iunmutef on pl. 87, just above the bunch of onions.

FIGURATIVE GRAFFITO (GR. 448)

This graffito in black ink, located to the left of the king figure on pl. 51A, appears at first glance to be part of a reed leaf-hieroglyph, but in fact, in the absence of any other remains of writing, it is more likely to be a casual scrawl in imitation of the standing king. As such, a late date is most probable.

TWO COBRAS (GR. 449)

In the area below the dado of the right side of pl. 51A appears this graffito in faded black ink showing two serpents. The one on the left is smaller, and only bits of it are

preserved; on the right appears a larger, coiled cobra with a solid painted sun disk atop its head.

GROUP OF COBRAS (GR. 450)

Below the painted dado of pl. 67A are the outlines of probably three cobra heads in faded black ink. Only the rightmost is somewhat complete; of each of the other two serpents, only one stroke remains.

FORELEG OF BEEF (GR. 451)

This graffito in red ink is located within the lines of the painted dado below pl. 67B. In addition to drawing the foreleg, the artist also traced along the red, yellow, and black bands of the dado in red ink; the color of the lines of the graffito is clearly distinguishable from the original Thutmoside red of the dado. Two such forelegs appear carved in the pile of offerings next to the adjacent doorway (pl. 69) and may have served as a model for the graffitist.

TWO CROSSES (GR. 452)

Two large Coptic crosses are inscribed in the area of pl. 13 below the king's feet, extending across the lines of the dado. The lower portion of the rightmost cross was obliterated when a groove was made in the stone in order to obtain sand for magical use.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITI IN THE INNER CHAMBERS

RICHARD JASNOW AND CHRISTINA DI CERBO

The Demotic graffiti published here are located on the north wall of the Dyad Chamber and in the Naos Chamber (pl. 100). The majority are found within the Naos Chamber, though not on the west wall, which had been dismantled in the Late or Ptolemaic period in order to bring in the naos. Most of the graffiti are incised; only a few are inked. The incised lines are generally quite faint and difficult to detect. The generally poor state of preservation of this corpus of texts from the six chambers probably explains why Edgerton decided to publish facsimiles of only the more visible Gr. 17, 18, 225, and 236. One has the impression that the graffiti are chiefly the work of a single priestly family, which would have been active in the Small Temple during the first century B.C. The individuals have either the title of *ḥt-nṯr* (“god’s-father”), or no title at all. They employ the basic standard formulary of Demotic graffiti: *ḥn pꜣy=k by* + name; title + name(s); *pꜣ rn nfr mn ty m-bꜣḥ ʾImn* (or variations thereof); deity *tī ḥn n* person. There is a rather interesting mixture of hieroglyphic and Demotic scripts in Gr. 18, 432, and 435. As expected, the deity named in these graffiti is always a form of Amun.

PLATE 101. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI IN THE DYAD CHAMBER

(GR. 428–431)

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 428)

TRANSLITERATION

¹[... *P*]trwm[ys ...]
²d ... [...]
³[*Wsṯr*]-wr(?) ... [...]
⁴ ...
⁵[...]
⁶[...]

⁷[...]*Wn-nfr*¹ [...]

⁸... [...]

TRANSLATION

¹[... *P*]tolem[ys ...] ²Has said ... [...]
³[*Wsṯr*]-wr(?) ... [...]
⁴... ⁵[...] ⁶[...] ⁷[...] *Wn-nfr*¹ [...]
⁸ ... [...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This inked inscription is located on pl. 23, to the left of the jar stands before the ithyphallic god.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 429)

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] ... [...] *ḥm-nṯr imn tsr^a s[.t]* ...
²... *Wsṯr(?) tꜣ rnp.t(?)* ...
³*ir pꜣ tꜣ ... tw ... imnt ... irpy*
⁴... *Wsṯr-wr ...^b*
⁵... *ꜣḥw(?) n imn ...*
⁶... *imn(?) šꜥ nḥḥ d.t*
⁷...
⁸...
⁹...

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] priest of Amun, sacred of pla[ce] ...
²... *Wsṯr(?)*, the year(?) ...
³make the earth ... mountain ... west ... temple
⁴... *Wsṯr-wr* ...
⁵... benefactions(?) for Amun ...
⁶... Amun(?) for ever and ever
⁷...
⁸...
⁹...^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The reading *tsr* is tentative.

^b There are traces of words immediately above the beginning of l. 4, but these do not seem to form a complete line in themselves.

^c This notation may be a date.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito in black ink is written below the painted dado, in the area underneath Amun's throne on pl. 25.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 430)

Nothing can be read of this ink inscription, which appears under the dado below the king figure on pl. 25.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 431)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹ *nh pzy=k by*
² [*r nh(?)*] *ropy=f r d.t^a*
³ [... *Hr*]-*smz-tz.wy sz in-ir.t-Hr-r-r=w^b*
⁴ [...] *mhwz.t^c* ...
⁵ ... *Hr* ...
⁶ ... *y* ...

TRANSLATION

- ¹ May your *ba* live
² [for ever(?).] May he be rejuvenated eternally.
³ [... *Hr*]-*smz-tz.wy*, son of *in-ir.t-Hr-r-r=w*
⁴ [...] ... family ...
⁵ ... *Hr* ...
⁶ ...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a For this formula, see Thissen, *Med. Habu*, p. 197, nos. 1.4, 42,1 44,10.11. 57,2, 66,1–2(?).

^b For *in-ir.t-Hr-r-r=w*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 72.

^c *Mhw.t* is generally written with a first *h*; W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1890–1966), p. 171.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This inscription in black ink is written immediately below the loop of the ⲕ -sign on pl. 25, l. 15.

PL. 102. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE NAOS CHAMBER
(GR. 225, 432, 433, 445–447)

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 432)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹ *pz r<n>^a nfr it-ntr Ns-pzwtz-tz.wy sz Wzh^b-ib-R^c mn.w^c*
^{t(y)^d n^e hsb.t 7 ibt 2 šm.t sw 20}
² *irm nzy=f it.w nzy=f mw.wt nzy=f mh[w.t ...]^f*

TRANSLATION

- ¹ The good name of the god's-father *Ns-pzwtz-tz.wy*, son of *Wzh-ib-R^c*, remains here in regnal year 7, second month of summer, day 20,
² together with his fathers and his mothers and his fami[ly ...].

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The *n* of *rn* must be supplied, unless the damage below is interpreted as an *n*.

^b This scribe seems to use the *h*-sign for *wzh*.

^c The obelisk is written for *mn* "to remain," *Wb.* 2, 60. The reading *ti* is also possible.

^d The rather flat bread-loaf *t* seems to stand for *ty* "here."

^e On the use of the *nw*-jar for *m*, see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 487. However, one might also interpret what is transliterated as *mn.w t(y) n hz.t-sp* as a somewhat confused writing of *mn m hz.t-sp*.

^f For the addition of *mhw.t* "family," see Thissen, *Med. Habu*, pp. 81 and 100. As in Gr. 431, l. 4, the scribe writes *mhw.t* for the more usual *mhw.t*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito is incised on the reveal of the doorway leading from the Sanctuary of Amun to the Naos Chamber. The same man is responsible for Gr. 18, which displays the same interesting mixture of hieroglyphs and Demotic. This is the only graffito that has a clear date. While the ruler cannot be determined, the inscription probably dates to the first century B.C.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 433)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹ *nh pzy=k by*
² *Ns-pzy=w-tz.wy (sz) Pz-šr-(z)-ph[t]*

³*pꜣ rn nfr Pa-rt sꜣ Ns-Mn*

⁴*Ns-Mn sꜣ Pa-rt*

⁵*Wn-nfr (sꜣ) Pa-rt*

⁶*Hr-sꜣ-ꜣIs.t sꜣ Pa-rt^a*

TRANSLATION

¹May your *ba* live,

²*Ns-pꜣyꜣw-tꜣ.wy*, (son of) *Pꜣ-šr-ꜣ(ꜣ)-ph[t]*.

³The good name of *Pa-rt*, son of *Ns-Mn*,

⁴*Ns-Mn*, son of *Pa-rt*,

⁵*Wn-nfr*, (son of) *Pa-rt*,

⁶*Hr-sꜣ-ꜣIs.t*, son of *Pa-rt*.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aLine 6 seems to have been written by a different hand.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

These persons probably belong to the same family as was responsible for the lengthy Gr. 236, published in Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 60, and translated in Thissen, *Med. Habu*, pp. 146–48. Gr. 236 is located on the east reveal, opposite Gr. 433, both within the thickness of the doorway leading to the Naos Chamber.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 225)

The fine copy of Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 55, is reproduced here. We basically follow the translation of Thissen, *Med. Habu*, p. 132.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*ꜣImn-...^a tꜣ ꜣnh*

²*n ꜣ-phꜣt sꜣ Pꜣ-tꜣ-Hr-pꜣ-hꜣrt*

³*šꜣ d.t*

⁴*sh*

TRANSLATION

¹*ꜣImn-...* gives life

²to *ꜣ-phꜣt*, son of *Pꜣ-tꜣ-Hr-pꜣ-hꜣrt*

³for ever,

⁴Written.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThissen suggests *ꜣImn-ꜣpy*, but *ꜣpy* is difficult to see. The concluding element rather resembles *Hmnw*, but this does not yield an expected name.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This incised graffito is located on pl. 47, in the space to the left of the king's kilt, below the *šn*-elements.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 445)

TRANSLITERATION

ꜣy-m-ꜣtp sꜣ ꜣnh-pꜣ-...^a Ns-pꜣ-wt (sꜣ) Wsꜣr-wr

TRANSLATION

ꜣy-m-ꜣtp, son of *ꜣnh-pꜣ-...* *Ns-pꜣ-wt*, (son of) *Wsꜣr-wr*

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aPresumably, *ꜣnh-pꜣ-hꜣrt* is to be read, *Demot. Nb.*, p. 99, but the *pꜣ* is not secure. *ꜣy-m-ꜣtp*, (son of) *ꜣnh-pꜣ-hꜣrt(?)*, appears in Gr. 446, but these seem to be different individuals.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito is located in the center of the scene shown on pl. 47, immediately below *ꜣnh wꜣs nb* in l. 3. We have interpreted it as a single graffito, but it may actually consist of two separate inscriptions. The first section is incised, the second inked. This text is clearly related to the following one, Gr. 446.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 446)

TRANSLITERATION

ꜣy-m-ꜣtp (sꜣ) ꜣnh-pꜣ-hꜣrt(?) sꜣ Wsꜣr-wr (sꜣ) Ns-pꜣyꜣw-tꜣ.wy

TRANSLATION

ꜣy-m-ꜣtp, (son of) *ꜣnh-pꜣ-hꜣrt(?)*, son of *Wsꜣr-wr*, (son of) *Ns-pꜣyꜣw-tꜣ.wy*

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENT

This incised text is located immediately to the right of Gr. 445. The same name *ꜣy-m-ꜣtp*, (son of) *ꜣnh-pꜣ-hꜣrt(?)*, appears in Gr. 445, but these seem to be different individuals.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 447)

This inked graffito appears in the area of the words *Bꜣd.t(y) nꜣr ꜣ* on pl. 47, l. 6. What remains of the text is illegible.

PL. 103. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI ON THE EAST
WALL OF THE NAOS CHAMBER
(GR. 434–440)

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 434)

TRANSLITERATION

¹*it-ntr Wsir-wr s3 Ns-p3-wt*
²*s3 Pa-rt rn=k mn*
³*ty m-b3h imn-n3y=w-Hmnw š^c d.t*
⁴*sh hsb.t 10(?) šmw ibt 2 sw 19*
⁵*it-ntr Kp=f-h(3)-Hnsw ...^a*

TRANSLATION

¹God's-father *Wsir-wr*, son of *Ns-p3-wt*
²son of *Pa-rt*, your name remains
³here before *imn-n3y=w-Hmnw* forever.
⁴Written in year 10(?) second month of summer(?), day 19.
⁵The God's-father *Kp=f-h(3)-Hnsw* ...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a For *Kp=f-h(3)-Hnsw*, see *Demot. Nb*, pp. 1006–07. The name is attested in Thissen, *Med. Habu*, p. 45. This line may form a separate graffito.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This incised graffito is written on the scene shown on pl. 51A, above and below the phallus of Amun-Re. The persons mentioned in this text may also appear in Gr. 236; Thissen, *Med. Habu*, pp. 146–48.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 435)

TRANSLITERATION

¹*it-ntr Hr<-t3y=f>-nht^a*
²*it-ntr Hr-t3y=f-nht*
³*Hr<-m->hb*

TRANSLATION

¹God's-father *Hr<-t3y=f>-nht*
²God's-father *Hr-t3y=f-nht*
³*Hr<-m->hb*

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a *Hr-t3y=f-nht* can be written in a very abbreviated fashion; see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 840.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This incised graffito is located in the area of pl. 51A to the left of the angle of the god's flail. As in Gr. 18 and 432, the writer used both hieroglyphs and Demotic in his inscription.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 436)

TRANSLITERATION

¹... *Hnsw-iw(?)* ...
²[...] *mn ty m-b3h 3Imn* ...
³*Ns-Mn s3 Pa-rt (s3) Ns-n3y=w-Hmnw* ...
⁴*sw 19(?)*

TRANSLATION

¹... *Hnsw-iw(?)* ...^a
²... remains here before Amun ...
³*Ns-Mn*, son of *Pa-rt*, (son of) *Ns-n3y=w-Hmnw*...
⁴day 19(?)

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a For *Hnsw-iw*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 878.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This incised graffito is located near the preceding Gr. 435, to the right of the flail of Amun-Re.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 437)

TRANSLITERATION

¹*it-ntr(?)* ...
²*it-ntr(?)* ...

TRANSLATION

¹God's-father(?) ...
²God's-father(?) ...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Located on pl. 51B, at the right edge of the scene, this incised graffito was carved over an erased inscription of Hatshepsut (l. 10); the surface is uneven and scratched. The actual number of lines in this graffito is consequently uncertain.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 438)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹[pʒ] rn nfr ʿNs-pʒyɛw-tʒ.wyʿ ...
²... mn ty šʿ d.t

TRANSLATION

- ¹[The] good name of ʿNs-pʒyɛw-tʒ.wyʿ ...
²... remains here for eternity.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This incised graffito is also located in the scene shown on pl. 51B, immediately above Amun's wʒs-scepter.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 439)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹pʒ rn nfr... (sʒ) iy-m-ḥtp(?) (sʒ) Ns-...
²... mn ...
³... sh ...

TRANSLATION

- ¹The good name of ..., (son of) iy-m-ḥtp(?), (son of) Ns-...
²... remain ...
³... write ...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Again, this incised text is in a much-erased section, the original royal titulary on pl. 51B, which renders the reading of the graffito difficult.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 440)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹rn ...
²...

TRANSLATION

- ¹Name ...
²...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito is carved to the left of the upper portion of Amun's wʒs-scepter on pl. 51B.

PL. 104. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE NAOS CHAMBER (GR. 18, 441–444)

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 18)

A copy of this graffito has been published in Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 4. There are several differences between the facsimile presented here and that of Edgerton. Notable is the shift from hieroglyphic to Demotic script in l. 2. The same man has left a very similar inscription in Gr. 432.

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹pʒ r<n>^a nfr it-ntr Ns-pʒwty-tʒ.wy sʒ Wʒḥ-ib-R^b mn tʿ^c
m-bʒḥ ʿImn
²irm nʒ it.w ʿmw.wtʿ^d trɛw šʿ d.t

TRANSLATION

- ¹The good name of the god's-father Ns-pʒwty-tʒ.wy, son of Wʒḥ-ib-R^c, remains here before Amun
²together with all fathers and ʿmothersʿ for ever and ever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a The scribe has omitted the *n* of *rn*, which is, however, supplied by the following *nfr*.

^b Ḥ(ʿʿ)-ib-R^c seems to be written, *Demot. Nb.*, p. 777, but this is to be understood for Wʒḥ-ib-R^c; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 113.

^c The damaged sign after *mn* is taken to be the pestle sign for *tʿ*.

^d Gr. 432 has *irm nʒyɛf it.w nʒyɛf mw.wt nʒyɛf mḥ[w.wt]*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito is located in the central area of the scene shown on pl. 53, to the right of the god's shoulder and above the tops of ll. 1–2. The text crosses over the top of the plume on the small Amun-figure of Gr. 417.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 441A)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹... Wsir-...
²... ty ...

TRANSLATION

- ¹... Wsir-...
²... here ...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Graffiti 441a and 441b are located close together in the upper right area of the scene shown on pl. 53. The texts are inscribed in an area containing traces of the erased head, emblematic staff, and Horus name of Hatshepsut.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 441B)

The priests in this text may also appear in Gr. 236; see Thissen, *Med. Habu*, pp. 146–48.

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹*it-ntr Hr-... s3 Ns-p3-wt s3 Pa-rt (s3) Ns-Mn*
²*it-ntr Sm3-t3.wy s3 Ns-Mn s3 Hr- ... s3 Pa-Qm^a*
³*it-ntr Ns-p3-wt (s3) Wsir-wr s3 Ns-p3-wt s3 Pa-rt*
⁴*it-ntr [Hr]-p3-hrt(?) s3 Ns-p3-wt s3 Pa-rt*

TRANSLATION

- ¹God's-father Hr-..., son of Ns-p3-wt, son of Pa-rt, (son of) Ns-Mn
²God's-father Sm3-t3.wy, son of Ns-Mn, son of Hr- ..., son of Pa-Qm^a
³God's-father Ns-p3-wt, (son of) Wsir-wr, son of Ns-p3-wt, son of Pa-rt
⁴God's-father [Hr]-p3-hrt(?), son of Ns-p3-wt, son of Pa-rt

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor Pa-Qm^a, see *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 432–33.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 442)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹... Hr ... *it-ntr Ns-p3-y-w-It3.wy1* š^c *d.t*
²... *it-ntr* ...
³... *it-ntr* ...

TRANSLATION

- ¹... Hr ... god's-father Ns-p3-y-w-It3.wy1, for ever.
²...god's-father...
³...god's-father...

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This graffito is carved just above Gr. 18, to the left of Amun's face on pl. 53.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 443)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹*p3 rn nfr ... Pa-rt(?) ... htp... mn ty š^c d.t*
²*p3 rn nfr ... P3-šr[-^c(3)]-ph[t] mn ty š^c d.t*

TRANSLATION

- ¹The good name ... Pa-rt(?) ... htp... remains here for ever.
²The good name ... P3-šr[-^c(3)]-ph[t] remains here for ever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Graffito 443, in black ink, is written near the top of the scene shown on pl. 55, below the words *nb.t p.t* in l. 7.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 444)

TRANSLITERATION

- ¹... *mn ty*
²... š[^c...]

TRANSLATION

- ¹... remains here
²... fo[r ...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This incised graffito is found in the area of pl. 55 between Amun's right shoulder and the *w3s*-scepter.

THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN

W. RAYMOND JOHNSON

PLATES 105–110

A colossal dyad of Thutmose III and Amun,⁴⁶ carved from a single piece of black granodiorite, occupies the central chamber (Room L), where it has been partially reassembled from sixty-two fragments.⁴⁷ Its maximum preserved height is 2.93 m, its greatest width 1.01 m, and the maximum depth of the lower base is 2.20 m. Most of the fragments of the statue were recovered from the disturbed rubble fill below the floor of this chamber and that of the Sanctuary of Amun (Room O), which were re-cleared before the sandstone floors of the two chambers were restored.⁴⁸ The original height of the statue, almost 4 m, is proof positive of its original location in this chamber, the only one of the six chambers with a ceiling of sufficient height to accommodate it. A light well was cut toward the east end of the room's ceiling, positioned to illuminate the statue from the front; a raised lip around its opening on the roof indicates that it was part of the original Eighteenth Dynasty design of the chamber. This was the only

light well originally planned for the inner sanctuaries, the remaining rooms being intentionally kept dark within.

The two figures, both missing their heads, are seated beside each other in close embrace on a double throne, with Thutmose III on Amun's right (i.e., to the left as one faces the statue), and Amun on the king's left. Amun's fingers are still preserved on the back of the king's right shoulder,⁴⁹ and fragments of the king's fingers have been found which join the back of Amun's left shoulder (pl. 110*F*). The double throne is positioned on a base 26 cm in height and 152 cm in length, with a curved front on which rest the feet of the king and god. The whole group is raised upon an additional base 44 cm in height, which extends almost three-quarters of a meter past the front of the upper base. This forward extension of the lower base may have been used as a platform for the presentation of offerings.⁵⁰ Such a double base may be unique for a statue group of this size.⁵¹

That the king wore the double crown is demonstrated by his bare shoulders, and also by a fragment preserving the top of the combined red and white crowns (pl. 110*A–D*).⁵² Both figures sat against a single round-topped back support,

⁴⁶ Three large pieces of this dyad were discovered in the floor debris of Room L during the Oriental Institute's clearance of the Small Temple. These are described in Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, pp. 9, 13–14, and 50, and illustrated on pls. 3 and 24.

⁴⁷ These consist of seven large pieces and fifty-five smaller fragments of varying size. An additional 368 small fragments, which belong to the sculpture but cannot be rejoined physically, have also been recovered; these include the knee and leg fragments shown on pl. 110*E*. The long, narrow shape of the quartz inclusions in the granodiorite from this statue is remarkably distinctive, serving to facilitate the identification of fragments from this statue among the large number of fragments of other black granite and granodiorite statuary found in the Medinet Habu precinct, which generally have inclusions of a more rounded shape.

⁴⁸ The restoration of the sandstone floor was part of a conservation and restoration program undertaken by the Epigraphic Survey from 1996 to 2006, supported by a grant from the Egyptian Antiquities Project (EAP) of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), funded by USAID. The dyad's weight is supported by a reinforced, damp-coursed concrete footing over which the new sandstone flooring has been laid. The detailed report on this conservation and restoration project will appear in the EAP series published by ARCE.

⁴⁹ Amun's fingers were missed by Akhenaten's agents when they mutilated the god's image.

⁵⁰ The polished sides of the lower base indicate that it was meant to be visible, rather than being set into the floor, in which case the sides would have been left rough. Because Hölscher lacked fragments of the fronts of the upper and lower bases, his reconstruction showing a rounded front for the lower base and a square front for the upper base (Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, pl. 3) was erroneous. The reverse is actually true.

⁵¹ The additional base may have functioned as a representation of the "exact mound of the West," in later times the mound of Djeme, at which this temple was believed to be located (*Urk.* 4, 882/2).

⁵² Hölscher (*Excavation 2*, p. 14, fig. 13, and pl. 3) mistakenly suggested the white crown. The fragment of the top of the double crown was fortuitously discovered, not below the floor of the inner sanctuaries, but among the fragments stored in the Medinet Habu blockyard east of the palace of Ramesses III, by Rais Badawy Mohammed Abd-el-Rahman. That the top of the crown came to be separated from the rest of the statue's fragments buried below the floor suggests that the heads of the king and Amun were broken off before the total demolition and burial of the statue.

18 cm in thickness, which extended slightly past the height of Amun's plumes; the top of this support is now lost. The sides of the support were smooth, but a small round hole, 10 mm in diameter, was drilled into its right side at the level of the king's shoulder (visible on pl. 109F). The purpose of this hole is uncertain.⁵³ The king's right arm is held diagonally against his chest (pl. 109E), his clenched fist holding a cylindrical object that is partly broken away (not a scepter, as would be expected for this position in the Eighteenth Dynasty). This pose is most unusual for a royal statue; in fact, the closest, and perhaps the only, parallel is the Third Dynasty limestone seated statue of Djoser from the *serdab* of his temple complex at the Step Pyramid of Saqqara,⁵⁴ where the king also holds his right arm and clenched fist against his chest. It is possible that Thutmose III appears here in a deliberately archaizing posture specifically in order to establish a link between himself and the ancestral kings of Egypt, the *bity.w*, who are mentioned in the speech of Amun on the south side wall of this chamber, immediately next to the dyad itself.⁵⁵ While the shoulders and the chest of the king are smooth, with no sculpted broad collar, scrutiny reveals a faint curved indentation forming the outline of such a collar, which may have been applied in some other material (pl. 109E–F). The king wears a tightly pleated *shendyt*-kilt, the middle element of which is preserved in a fragment (pl. 110E), and traces indicate that Amun's kilt was also pleated.

The two sides of the throne are decorated with a standard border pattern, within which, forming the central decorative element in the lower back quadrant of each panel, the *sm3-t3.wy* device with entwined sedge and papyrus plants is incised (pl. 109A–C). The king's belt is decorated with a zigzag-and-diamond pattern that closely resembles that found in paint on the belt of the king figure on the façade

(compare fig. 3). The belt buckle (pl. 109D) bears the king's titulary:⁵⁶

TRANSLITERATION

¹*ntr nfr nb t3.wy* ²*mn-hpr-R* ³*di nh d.t*

TRANSLATION

¹The good god, the lord of the two lands, ²Menkheperre, ³given life forever.

Aside from these elements, the statue is devoid of texts; even the back (pl. 108) is completely uninscribed.

During the Amarna period, the figure of Amun was vandalized as part of Akhenaten's general iconoclasm, while that of the king was left intact; as with the relief-carved divine images within the temple, the god's statue was restored after Akhenaten's death. The damaged stone of the figure was smoothed back, yielding a figure of slightly smaller dimensions than the original, and slots were carved into the stone where new composite head and body sections were keyed into place.⁵⁷ It appears that the dyad remained in its restored state until the end of paganism in Egypt; at some point afterwards, the Coptic inhabitants of Medinet Habu broke off and disposed of the heads of the figures, and then, as damage to the doorway behind the statue attests, the dyad was tipped over backwards to allow the floor blocks below it to be ripped up, perhaps in a search for foundation deposits or other objects of value. The dyad was then broken into pieces, which were buried beneath the floor when it was filled in again. The fragments of the statue remained buried until their rediscovery in 1929–30 by the excavators of the Architectural Survey.

⁵³ Its exact position is shown at Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, p. 14 (fig. 13).

⁵⁴ Cairo JE 49158; see M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Munich, 1987), no. 16.

⁵⁵ See pl. 21, l. 6.

⁵⁶ Compare Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, p. 14 (fig. 14), showing the inscription in line drawing.

⁵⁷ Contra Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, p. 50, who believed that the wedge-shaped slots were part of the demolition of the statue. A similarly restored dyad of Thutmose III and Amun (Cairo JE 42066), found in the Karnak cachette, is shown at *ibid.*, p. 51 (fig. 44).

THE GRANITE NAOS IN THE NORTHWEST CHAMBER

PLATES 111–112

TRANSLITERATION

¹[... ..Nb.ty sh^ˆi sw mw.t]^a =f hr [ns.t it] =f n(y)-sw.t-bity
nb t3.wy [iw^ˆ (n)] ntr mnḥ ntr.t mr.(t) mw.t =s ndt.(t) stp [n]
Pth [iri m3^ˆ.t] R^ˆ shm ˆnh ˆImn[...]^b

²Bik-n-nbw nb T3-mri ḥq3 =f m ḥ^ˆ nb (ḥb).w-sd (mi)^c T3-
tnn [it] ntr.w (n)y.w-sw.[t...]^d

[...] nb [ḥ^ˆ.w Ptwlmys] ˆnh-d.t mry-Pth ntr.w mr.(w) mw.t
[mry] ntr.[w...]^e

TRANSLATION

¹[... ..the Two Ladies: He] whose [mother caused him to appear] upon [the throne of] his [father]; the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, [Heir of] the God Euergetes and the Goddess Philometor Soteira, chosen [of] Ptah, [who does the justice] of Re, living image of Amun, [...]

²Falcon-of-gold: lord of Egypt as he rules with rejoicing, lord of jubilees (like) Tatenen, [father] of the gods and kings [... ..] lord of [diadems, Ptolemy] ever-living, beloved of Ptah, the Gods Philometores, [beloved of] the God[s...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a No trace of the text is discernible above the =f, the upper half of the left jamb being the part of the naos most heavily covered by soot. The obscured section of the left jamb contains sufficient space for both the Horus name, which would have begun at the top of the column, and the Two Ladies name, the end of which can be reconstructed here based on the traces (compare von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, p. 241, no. N1).

^b Nothing remains of the text below the cartouche; this area would have contained the epithets of Ptolemy IX, Cleopatra III, and their predecessors, as on the right jamb.

^c Written *n*, which is to be understood as a writing, influenced by Demotic, of the expected *m(i)*; for the standard rendition of the title, compare von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, p. 243, no. G1. Professor Robert Ritner is to be thanked for this clarification of the text.

^d The painted text below the plural strokes is rubbed off and nothing can be made out clearly before the *nb*-sign above the cartouche below. There is sufficient room here for the remainder of the Falcon-of-gold name, ...*ity smn hp.w mi Dḥwty* 3 3 “...sovereign who establishes the laws like Thoth the twice-great,” before the beginning of the personal name.

^e As on the left jamb, the epithets of the royal ancestors would have followed here. Only bits of the *ntr*-signs are visible, so the particular epithets selected here cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The titulary of Ptolemy IX Philometor (Soter II) appears on the left and right jambs of the pink granite naos, bordered along their outer edges by torus moldings. The signs are rendered in red paint, which makes them difficult to discern against the bare stone background. The painted text, with the hieroglyphs shown in outline, appears to have been intended as the basis for an inscription that was never carried out; this accords well with the incomplete state of the carved features of the naos, including the winged sun disk, which was left as a rectangular blank. The text consisted of the king’s complete five-fold titulary, with the Horus, Two Ladies, and throne names on the left jamb and the Falcon-of-gold and personal names on the right. Large portions of the text, particularly in the center of each jamb, have worn or faded away, and the entire naos was at some point burned, so that the painted texts were obscured by soot. Surface cleaning has permitted the reading of most of the right jamb and the lower section of the left jamb; the upper half of the left jamb was too severely burned for all the soot to be removed.⁵⁸

In the facsimile copies (pl. 112), the red brush strokes have been indicated in outline, with single-weight line; for reasons of clarity, and given that the paint has in many places been completely rubbed away, these strokes have not

⁵⁸ The jambs of the naos have undergone cleaning in two stages. The first cleaning, undertaken during the Epigraphic Survey’s 1982–83 field season, allowed the preliminary identification of the royal titulary of Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter by the epigraphic staff; see *Oriental Institute Annual Report, 1982–83*, edited by Robert McC. Adams (Chicago, 1983), pp. 5–6. The second cleaning, carried out in 2004, facilitated the preparation of the facsimile copies presented here.

been filled in and hatched in accordance with the Epigraphic Survey's normal convention for red painted graffiti. Though the signs seem to have been rendered fairly carefully, it is clear that they were intended only as a guide for the planned carving of the inscription. A wide border would have been incised along the outer edges and at the bottom of each column; a *p.t*-sign appears at the top of the right column, and the same sign would no doubt have appeared atop the left column of text.

The right jamb, along with the entire right side of the naos and part of its back, was shattered, presumably during the Coptic period. The shrine was set back in place and its pieces stuck together with Portland cement, but without proper alignment, sometime prior to the Oriental Institute's architectural survey of this monument (1926–33). Repairs made to the naos in 2004–05 have facilitated correct realign-

ment of the jamb and its text, and the shrine is shown in its restored state in the accompanying photograph (pl. 111).

The titulary of Ptolemy IX appearing here is in the form used during his first reign (116–107 B.C.), when he shared the throne with his mother Cleopatra III. Her influence is indicated in the Two Ladies name: “He whose mother caused him to appear upon the throne of his father (i.e., Euergetes II)” as well as in the throne name: “Heir of the God Euergetes and the Goddess Philometor Soteira.” The royal epithet *ntr.w mr.(w) mw.t* also indicates her presence.⁵⁹ Ptolemy IX suppressed the memory of Cleopatra III after he returned to power in 88 B.C. and ruled as Soter II (*p3 ntr nty nhm*).⁶⁰ The texts on the shrine can thus be dated to 116–107 B.C., though the date at which the shrine itself was placed in the chamber remains uncertain.⁶¹

⁵⁹ The renditions of Ptolemy IX's royal titulary during the two separate stages of his reign are the subject of a forthcoming paper by Professor R. Ritner, “Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes,” shortly to be published as part of the proceedings of the 2006 Chicago-Johns Hopkins Theban Workshop. Prof. Ritner has kindly provided several helpful recommendations on the present example, which he studied from copies in 2006 and from the original in March 2007.

⁶⁰ G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London, 2001), pp. 204–07 and 211–12.

⁶¹ Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, p. 15; see also note 20 above (p. 38).

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
art.	article
aux.	auxiliary
caus.	causative
circ.	circumstantial
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
div.	divinity
fem.	feminine
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gr.	graffito, graffiti
imper.	imperative
inter.	interjection
loc.	locality

masc.	masculine
n.	noun
num.	number
part.	particle
pers.	person
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
RN	royal name
sing.	singular
ult. inf.	<i>ultimae infirmae</i>
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
2ae gem.	<i>secundae geminatae</i>
3ae inf.	<i>tertia infirmae</i>

EGYPTIAN

ꜣw adj. vb. “to be wide, to be joyful (of heart), to rejoice,” 25:7; 59:6, 8; and in the epithet of Nekhbet
ꜣw.t-ꜥ “she with the extended wing,” 37:8
ꜣw.t-ib n. “joy,” 47:5; 75:5 (erased); 79:5; and in the following compounds:
ꜥnh wꜣs nb snb nb ḏd.t nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 79:3
ꜥnh wꜣs nb ḏd.t nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 41A:3; 41B:5; 53:7; 55:6; 67B:5
ꜥnh wꜣs nb ḏd.t nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb.t, 81A:4; 81B:4
ꜥnh wꜣs nb ḏd.t nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb ḏfꜣw nb, 11A:10
ꜥnh nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 85:9–10, 15–16
ꜥnh nb ꜣw.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb, 53:5–6 (partly erased)
ꜥnh nb ꜥnh wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 67B:3–4
ꜥnh nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 41B:2–3

ꜥnh nb ḏd wꜣs nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 55:4–5 (erased)
ꜥnh nb ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 37:4–5
ꜥnh nb ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb ḏfꜣw nb, 87:11; 89:11
ꜥnh snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 51B:3–4
ꜥnh ḏd wꜣs nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 13:8–9
ꜥnh ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb, 11B:2; 23:8; 77:3
ꜥnh ḏd wꜣs snb ꜣw.t-ib, 55:12 (erased)
ꜥnh ḏd wꜣs snb ꜣw.t-ib...ḥꜣ=f...mꜣ Rꜥ, 37:13 (erased)
ꜣpd.(w) n. “fowl,” 87:1, 57; 89:1, 57
ꜣḥ.ty n. “horizon dweller,” 41A:5; 41B:6; 47:6; 53:8; 67A:6
ꜣḥw n. “benefactions,” 101:Gr. 429, 5 (uncertain)
ꜣšr.t n. “roast joint,” 87:21, 31; 89:21, 31
i first-pers. sing. suffix pron., passim

- i3w.t* n. “office,” 13:2; 35:6; 96:Gr. 414
- iw* vb. ult. inf. “to come,” 11A:1
- iw3* n. “long-horned cattle,” 21:12; 25:15; 37:14; 57:1; 75:13; 89:43
- iw^c* n. “heir,” 112:1 (restored)
- iw^c* n. “reward,” in the following compound:
m-iw^c, 11A:9; 35:6
- iwf* n. “meat,” 87:32; 89:32
- ³*Iwnw* loc. “Heliopolis,” 13:5; and in the epithet of Atum
³*Iwnwy* “the Heliopolitan,” 11A:6
- ³*Iwn-mw.t3f* div. “Iunmutef,” 87:10; 89:10
- iwr* n. “bean(s),” 87:20; 89:20
- ib* n. “heart,” 18B:2; 25:7; 26B:1; 27B:1; 32B:1; 33B:1; 59:6, 8. See also *3w.t-ib*
- ibt* n. “month,” 102:Gr. 432, 1; 103:Gr. 434, 4
- ³*Ip.t-sw.t* loc. “Karnak,” 29:3, 6; 43:3 (partly restored), 6; 49B:3; 69:3, 6
- ³*Imn* div. “Amun,” 11A:5, 17; 13:2; 15:2; 17:5 (partly restored); 29:5, 8, 10, 12; 31:4, 6; 37:10; 39:10; 41A:7; 43:5, 8, 10, 12; 47:1; 51A:1; 51B:7; 53:2 (partly restored), 10; 55:10; 57:9; 59:8; 61A:7; 61B:7; 63B:1, 7; 65A:2, 6; 65B:7; 67A:1, 8; 67B:1, 8; 69:5, 8, 10; 71:6, 8, 9, 11, 12; 75:1, 2; 79:1, 10; 81A:8; 85:1, 2, 3 (erased), 4 (erased); 97:Gr. 416; 97:Gr. 420; 98:Gr. 421; 98:Gr. 422B; 98:Gr. 424; 101:Gr. 429, 1, 5, 6 (uncertain); 102:Gr. 225, 1; 103:Gr. 434, 3; 103:Gr. 436, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 1; 112:1. See also ³*Imn-R^c*
- ³*Imn-R^c* div. “Amun-Re,” 11A:9; 11B:1; 13:1; 15:1, 6, 9, 11, 13; 17:9, 11 (partly restored); 18B:1; 19B:1; 21:1, 2 (partly restored); 23:2; 25:1, 2; 26B:1; 27B:1; 29:4, 7, 9 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 31:3, 5, 7, 8; 32B:1; 33B:1; 35:3 (partly restored); 37:3 (erased); 39:3; 41A:1; 41B:1, 4 (erased); 43:4, 7, 9, 11; 45:3, 5, 7, 8; 47:2; 49A:1, 2; 49B:2; 51A:2; 51B:2; 53:3; 55:2, 3; 57:8, 11, 13, 15; 59:3, 4, 5, 7; 61A:2; 61B:2; 63A:2; 63B:2; 65B:1; 67A:2; 67B:2; 69:4, 7, 9, 11; 71:3, 5, 7, 10, 13; 73:2; 77:2; 79:2; 81A:1; 81B:1; 83:3, 5, 7; 85:3, 4; 87:2; 89:2; 91A:2; 91B:2; 96:Gr. 411, 1; 96:Gr. 412; 96:Gr. 413; 97:Gr. 415; 98:Gr. 422A; 98:Gr. 423
- imnt* n. “west,” 101:Gr. 429, 3
- in* prep. “by,” 11A:2 (partly restored), 6; 21:2; 23:2; 25:2; 75:2; 79:2; 87:47; 89:47 (restored); 96:Gr. 411, 1; 98:Gr. 423 (partly restored)
- ini* vb. 3ae inf. “to bring, to remove,” 87:42; 89:42
- inr* n. “stone,” 21:6
- ind-3r* vb. “to greet, to salute,” 63B:1. Compare also *ndt. (t)*.
- iri* vb. 3ae inf. “make, do, perform,” 11A:5, 9 (twice), 17; 17:9, 11; 21:1, 4, 6; 23:1, 3, 10; 25:7, 9; 29:9, 10, 11 (restored); 31:7, 8; 43:9, 11 (restored); 49A:1 (twice), 6; 49B:1; 51B:1 (erased); 57:13, 15; 59:5, 7; 61A:1, 7; 61B:1; 63A:1; 65A:1; 67B:1, 8; 69:9, 11; 71:8 (twice), 11; 77:1; 87:12, 46; 89:12; 46; 91A:5; 91B:5; 101:Gr. 429, 3; 112:1 (restored)
- irp* n. “wine,” 67B:1; 87:22, 30; 89:22, 30; 91A:1
- irpy* n. “temple,” 101:Gr. 429, 3
- irm* prep. “with,” 102:Gr. 432, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 2
- irt.t* n. “milk,” 47:1; 67A:1
- it* n. “father,” 11A:5 (partly restored), 8, 17; 13:2; 71:8, 11; 102:Gr. 432, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 2; 112:1 (restored), 2 (restored)
- it-ntr* n. “god’s-father,” 102:Gr. 432, 1; 103:Gr. 434, 1, 5; 103:Gr. 435, 1, 2; 103:Gr. 437, 1, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 1; 104:Gr. 441B, 1, 2, 3, 4; 104:Gr. 442, 1, 2, 3
- ³*Itmw* div. “Atum,” 11A:6; 13:2, 3; 25:4; 35:6; 49A:4; 96:Gr. 414
- iti* vb. 3ae inf. “to take, seize,” 35:1 (twice); 39:1 (twice, erased); 53:1 (twice); 55:1 (twice); 87:6
- ^c n. “arm, hand,” 35:1; 37:8; 39:2 (erased); 55:1
- ³ adj. “great,” 15:11, 13; 67A:3 and in the following compounds:
³ *hps*, 11B:6; 15:12, 14
ntr ³, 11A:3, 11; 15:3, 4; 19B:3; 26B:3; 27B:3; 29:1, 2; 32B:2; 33B:2; 35:7; 41A:5; 41B:6; 43:1 (restored), 2; 47:6; 49A:5; 49B:6; 51A:6; 51B:2; 53:8; 57:5, 6, 13; 59:1, 2; 61B:5; 63B:5; 65B:2, 5; 67A:6; 69:1, 2; 71:1, 2; 73:5; 77:4; 81A:6; 81B:6; 83:1, 2; 87:10; 89:10; 91A:4; 91B:4; 96:Gr. 425
 See also ³-*hpr-n-R^c*, ³-*hpr-k3-R^c*
- ³-*hpr-n-R^c* RN “Aakheperenre” (*prenomen* of Thutmose II), 29:4, 7, 9, 11 (partly restored); 31:3; 43:7, 9; 45:3; 57:8; 59:3, 4, 7; 61A:6; 61B:6; 65A:5; 65B:6; 67A:7; 69:4, 9; 71:5, 10; 79:9; 81A:7; 92D
- ³-*hpr-k3-R^c* RN “Aakheperkare” (*prenomen* of Thutmose I), 31:5, 8; 43:4; 45:5, 8; 63B:6; 67B:7; 69:7; 71:7
- ^c*nh* (1) vb. “to live,” 11A:5, 9; 11B:2; 13:2; 15:1, 2, 5, 6, 7 (restored), 8, 9, 10 (restored); 17:3 (partly restored), 4, 5, 6 (partly restored), 7, 8; 21:6; 29:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 31:3, 4, 5, 6; 43:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 45:3, 4, 5, 6; 49A:4; 51B:1 (erased); 57:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 59:3, 4, 8; 69:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 71:3, 4, 5, 6; 79:3; 83:3, 4, 5, 6; 85:1, 2, 3 (restored), 4; 87:9; 89:9; 101:Gr. 431, 1; 102:Gr. 433, 1; 112:1, 2; and in the following compounds:

- k3 n(y)-sw.t 'nh nb t3.wy hnty pr-dw3.t*, 35:13–15
(final text, partly restored); 41A:10–11
(erased)
- k3 n(y)-sw.t 'nh nb t3.wy hnty db3.t*, 41B:11–12
(erased)
- k3 n(y)-sw.t 'nh nb t3.wy hnty db3.t hnty pr-dw3.t*,
35:13–15 (erased text)
- k3 n(y)-sw.t 'nh hnty pr-dw3.t*, 81A:10–11
- k3 n(y)-sw.t 'nh hnty db3.t*, 81B:10–11
- (2) n. “life,” 11A:13; 19B:2; 37:8; 61B:4; 67B:6;
91A:4; 91B:4; 97:Gr. 418; 102:Gr. 225, 1; and in the
following compounds:
- 'nh w3s*, 11A:11; 37:7; 39:7, 8; 41A:4, 5; 41B:6;
49A:4; 49B:6; 53:8; 65A:1; 69:5, 8; 75:8; 79:8;
81A:6; 81B:6; 87:3; 89:3
- 'nh w3s nb*, 47:3; 65A:4; 81A:3; 81B:3
- 'nh w3s nb snb nb*, 73:4
- 'nh w3s nb snb nb dd.t nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 79:3
- 'nh w3s nb dd w3s nb*, 75:4
- 'nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 41A:3;
41B:5; 53:7; 55:6; 67B:5
- 'nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb.t*,
81A:4; 81B:4
- 'nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb df3w
nb*, 11A:10
- 'nh nb*, 11A:16; 15:12, 14; 27B:2; 35:10; 61A:8;
75:11–12 (erased); 83:8
- 'nh nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 85:9–10, 15–16
- 'nh nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb*, 53:5–6 (partly erased)
- 'nh nb 'nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 67B:3–4
- 'nh nb snb nb*, 39:5; 61A:4; 63A:3; 65A:3; 85:6–7,
12–13
- 'nh nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 41B:2–3
- 'nh nb dd w3s nb*, 13:6; 26B:2; 49A:3; 67A:4;
79:11; 91A:3; 91B:3
- 'nh nb dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 55:4–5 (erased)
- 'nh nb dd w3s nb snb*, 47:9–10
- 'nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 37:4–5
- 'nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb df3w
nb*, 87:11; 89:11
- 'nh snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 51B:3–4
- 'nh dd*, 15:7, 10; 49A:9
- 'nh dd w3s*, 11B:3; 17:7 (partly restored); 19B:6;
29:5, 8; 35:7; 49A:5; 51A:6; 51B:5; 55:7;
57:14, 16; 61A:5; 61B:5, 8; 63A:4; 65B:8
(originally *'nh.t dd.[t] w3s.t*); 71:4, 6; 87:2
(written *'nh dd.t w3s*); 89:2 (partly restored)
- 'nh dd w3s nb*, 11A:13; 11B:8; 17:10, 12; 21:7,
11; 25:12; 29:10 (originally *'nh.t dd.t w3s
nb*), 12 (originally *'nh.t dd.t w3s nb*); 51A:3–
4, 9; 63A:7; 65A:7; 65B:3 (erased); 67A:9;
67B:9; 73:8; 77:8
- 'nh dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 13:8–9
- 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb*, 35:5; 49B:5 (partly
restored); 51A:5 (partly restored); 63B:4;
65B:4; 67A:5; 81A:5; 81B:5 (partly restored)
- 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 11B:2; 23:8;
77:3
- 'nh dd w3s snb*, 59:6; 69:10, 12
- 'nh dd w3s snb... nb*, 11B:9
- 'nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-ib*, 55:12 (erased)
- 'nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-ib...h3=f...mi R*, 37:13
(erased)
- 'nh dd nb*, 71:9, 12
- di 'nh*, 13:11; 15:1, 2; 18B:6; 21:1; 23:13;
26B:6; 27B:6; 31:4, 6, 7; 37:11 (written *di.t
'nh.t*, erased); 39:11 (written *di.t 'nh.[t]*,
erased); 41A:8 (written *di.t 'nh.t*, erased);
41B:9 (erased); 43:5, 8, 10, 12; 45:4
(written *di.t 'nh*), 6; 49A:1; 49B:1, 9; 51B:8
(originally *di.t 'nh.t*, erased); 53:11 (erased);
55:10 (erased); 57:9, 12; 59:5, 7; 61A:1;
63A:1; 63B:8 (originally *di.t 'nh.t*); 65B:8
(originally *di.t 'nh.t*); 67B:1; 71:13 (erased);
77:1; 81A:9; 81B:9; 83:4, 6; 87:7, 11; 89:11;
91A:8; 91B:8
- (3) n. “the living (ones),” 13:7; 23:15; 25:7, 14;
35:12; 39:13 (erased); 41A:9 (erased); 47:12;
67A:11
- 'š3* adj. “many,” 87:46; 89:46
- w* third-pers. plural suffix pron., 104:Gr. 18, 2
- w3h* vb. “to endure,” 83:8, 10
- w3s* n. “dominion,” in the following compounds:
- 'nh w3s*, 11A:11; 37:7; 39:7, 8; 41A:4, 5; 41B:6;
49A:4; 49B:6; 53:8; 65A:1; 69:5, 8; 71:2
(erased); 75:8; 79:8; 81A:6; 81B:6; 87:3; 89:3
- 'nh w3s nb*, 47:3; 65A:4; 81A: 3; 81B:3
- 'nh w3s nb snb nb*, 73:4
- 'nh w3s nb snb nb dd.t nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 79:3
- 'nh w3s nb dd w3s nb*, 75:4
- 'nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb*, 41A:3;
41B:5; 53:7; 55:6; 67B:5
- 'nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb.t*,
81A:4; 81B:4
- 'nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb df3w
nb*, 11A:10
- 'nh nb 'nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 67B:3–4

- nh nb dd w3s nb*, 13:6; 26B:2; 49A:3; 67A:4;
 79:11; 91A:3; 91B:3
nh nb dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb, 55:4–5 (erased)
nh nb dd w3s nb snb, 47:9–10
nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 37:4–5
*nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb df3w
 nb*, 87:11; 89:11
nh dd w3s, 11B:3; 17:7 (partly restored); 19B:6;
 29:5, 8; 35:7; 49A:5; 51A:6; 51B:5; 55:7;
 57:14, 16; 61A:5; 61B:5, 8; 63A:4; 65B:8
 (originally *nh.t dd.[t] w3s.t*); 71:4, 6; 87:2
 (written *nh dd.t w3s*); 89:2 (restored)
nh dd w3s nb, 11A:13; 11B:8; 17:10, 12; 21:7,
 11; 25:12; 29:10 (originally *nh.t dd.t w3s
 nb*), 12 (originally *nh.t dd.t w3s nb*); 51A:3–
 4, 9; 63A:7; 65A:7; 65B:3 (erased); 67A:9;
 67B:9; 73:8; 77:8
nh dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb, 13:8–9
nh dd w3s nb snb nb, 35:5; 49B:5 (partly
 restored); 51A:5 (partly restored); 63B:4;
 65B:4; 67A:5; 81A:5; 81B:5 (partly restored)
nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 11B:2; 23:8;
 77:3
nh dd w3s snb, 59:6; 69:10, 12
nh dd w3s snb... nb, 11B:9
nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-ib, 55:12 (erased)
nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-ib...h3=f...mi R^c, 37:13
 (erased)
di=f w3s, 77:4
dd w3s nb snb, 59:8
W3s.t loc. “Thebes,” 11A:3; 13:1; 17:3, 6 (partly
 restored); 23:11; 35:16; 57:7, 10; 61A:3; 61B:3;
 71:13; 81B:12; 83:7, 9; 87:5
W3d(y).t div. “Wadjet,” 13:8; 25:11; 37:7; 39:7, 8; 41A:4;
 55:7; 61A:5; 75:8; 79:7, 8; 89:3; 97:Gr. 418
wy inter. “How (+ adj.),” 21:4
w3b adj. “pure,” 55:2; 87:13, 14; 89:13, 14
wpi vb. 3ae inf. “to separate, open”; see *Wp-w3.wt*
Wp-w3.wt div. “Wepwawet,” with the following epithet:
Sm^cw shm t3.wy, 11A:10
wnn vb. “to be, exist,” 23:15; 25:14; 35:12; 39:13
 (erased); 41A:12 (erased); 41B:10 (erased); 47:12;
 51B:10 (erased); 67A:11
wr adj. “great,” 65B:3 (partly restored); 87:8; 89:8
wr n. “large cut (of meat),” 87:32; 89:32
Wsir div. “Osiris,” 101:Gr. 429, 2 (uncertain)
wsr adj. “powerful,” in the following compound:
wsr ph.ty, 29:3, 6; 43:6; 57:7; 69:3; 81A:12
 See also *Wsr.t-k3.w*
Wsr.t-k3.w RN “powerful of *kas*” (Horus name of
 Hatshepsut), 29:3, 6; 41B:13; 81A:12
wsh.t n. “court,” 39:8
wš3 vb. “to pour out,” 49B:1 (restored)
wḏ vb. “to decree,” 11A:9
b3h see *m-b3h*
by n. “*ba*,” 101:Gr. 431, 1; 102:Gr. 433, 1
bik n. “falcon” in the royal title *bik n nbw* “Falcon of
 Gold,” 15:12, 14; 112:2
bit n. “honey,” 87:27; 89:27
bi.ty n. “king of Lower Egypt,” 21:6. See also *n(y)-sw.t
 bi.ty*
Bhd.ty div. “the Behdetite” (epithet of Horus of Edfu),
 11A:11; 15:3, 4; 17:1, 2; 18B:3; 25:8; 26B:3; 27B:3;
 29:1, 2; 31:1, 2; 32B:2; 33B:2; 35:7; 41A:5; 41B:6;
 43:1, 2; 45:1, 2; 47:6; 49A:5; 49B:6; 51A:6; 53:8;
 57:5, 6; 59:1, 2; 61B:5; 63B:5; 65B:5; 67A:6; 69:1,
 2; 71:1, 2; 73:5; 77:4; 81A:6; 81B:6; 83:1, 2; 91A:4;
 91B:4; 96:Gr. 425
bs vb. “to introduce,” 11A:1
bd n. “(type of) natron,” 35:1; 87:15, 29; 89:15, 29
P loc. “Pe,” in the compound epithet *Dp(y).t P(y).t* “she
 of Dep and Pe,” 13:8; 39:8; 55:7; 61A:5; 89:3; 97:Gr.
 418
p.t n. “heaven,” 83:8, 10 (restored); and in the following
 compounds:
nb p.t, 11A:6; 11B:1; 13:1, 4; 17:9; 18B:1; 21:2
 (partly restored); 31:8; 35:7; 41B:1; 47:6;
 49B:6 (written *nb.t p.t*); 53:4, 8; 57:15; 59:5,
 7; 61A:2; 61B:2; 63B:5; 65A:2; 65B:5; 67A:6;
 69:9, 11; 71:9, 12; 73:3, 5; 75:2; 77:2, 4
 (partly restored), 5; 81A:2, 6; 81B:2, 6; 85:3,
 4; 87:10; 89:10; 91A:2, 4; 91B:2, 4; 96:Gr.
 412; 97:Gr. 419 (partly restored); 97:Gr. 420
 (partly restored); 98:Gr. 424
nb.t p.t, 21:7; 39:8; 51B:5; 55:7; 61A:5; 63A:4;
 67B:6; 97:Gr. 418
p3 masc. sing. def. art., 101:Gr. 429, 3; 102:Gr. 432, 1;
 102:Gr. 433, 3; 103:Gr. 438, 1 (restored); 103:Gr.
 439, 1; 104:Gr. 18, 1; 104:Gr. 443, 1, 2
p3y=k second-pers. masc. sing. poss. art., 101:Gr. 431, 1;
 102:Gr. 433, 1
p3d n. “(type of) loaf,” 87:35; 89:35 (written *p3t*)
pn dem. adj., 11A:5, 9

- pr* n. “house, temple,” 23:4; and in the compound *pr-dwꜣ.t* “robing room,” 35:15 (partly restored); 41A:11 (erased); 81A:11; 96:Gr. 411, 2
- pri* vb. 3ae inf. “to go forth, to go out,” 11A:1; 41A:5; 41B:6; 47:6; 53:8; 67A:6
- ph* vb. “to attack,” 23:13; 89:7
- ph.ty* n. “strength,” in the following compound:
wsr ph.ty, 29:3, 6; 43:6; 57:7; 69:3; 81A:12
- phr* vb. “go around,” 35:2; 39:2 (erased); 53:2; 55:2
- psn* n. “loaf,” 87:18; 89:18
- psš* n. “share, portion,” 25:4–5
- psd.t* n. “Ennead,” 63B:3; 67A:3
- psd(.t)* adj. “nine”; see *pd.t psd.t*
- Pth* div. “Ptah,” 112:1, 2
- pd.t* n. “bow,” 21:7
- pd.t psd.t* n. “the Nine Bows,” 11B:7; 15:12, 14
- f* third-pers. sing. masc. suffix pron., 11A:9 (twice), 10, 11, 15, 16; 11B:9; 13:6, 7; 17:10 (twice, once partly restored), 12; 18B:2; 19B:2; 21:1, 10; 23:6 (twice), 7, 8, 11, 15; 25:7 (twice), 10; 26B:1, 2; 27B:1, 2; 29:10, 12; 32B:1; 33B:1; 35:5, 7, 12; 37:4; 39:5; 41A:5 (twice); 41B:2 (restored), 10 (erased); 43:10 (twice), 12 (twice); 47:1 (restored), 6; 49A:1, 3, 5; 49B:1, 5, 6; 51A:2, 3, 6; 51B:3; 53:5 (erased), 8; 57:14 (twice), 16 (twice, once restored); 59:6 (three times), 8 (three times); 61A:1, 4; 61B:4, 5; 63A:1, 3; 63B:5; 65A:1, 3; 65B:4, 5; 67A:4, 5, 6; 67B:1, 3; 69:10 (twice), 12 (twice); 71:1, 2, 8 (five times), 9, 11 (five times), 12; 73:4, 5; 77:1, 3, 4; 81A:3 (twice), 5, 6; 81B:3 (twice), 5, 6; 85:3 (twice), 4 (twice), 6, 9, 12, 15; 87:2, 11; 89:2, 11; 91A:3, 4; 91B:3, 4; 96:Gr. 411, 1, 3; 101:Gr. 431, 2; 112:1 (twice); 112:2
- Fꜥg.t* loc. “Fagt,” 37:8
- fdw* num. “four,” 35:2; 39:2 (erased); 53:2 (partly restored); 55:1, 2 (twice, once restored); 87:12; 89:12
- m* prep. “in, as, with, by, being/consisting of, from,” 11A:5, 9; 15:11, 13; 17:3 (restored), 6 (partly restored); 21:6; 25:5, 6 (twice, once restored), 7, 14; 35:6, 16; 37:6; 39:6; 41A:5; 41B:6; 47:5, 6, 12; 49A:4; 53:7, 8; 57:10; 63B:1; 67A:6; 71:8, 11, 13; 81B:12; 83:7, 8, 9, 10; 87:1 (four times), 13, 35; 89:1 (four times), 13, 35; 112:2
- m-bꜣh* prep. “before,” 103:Gr. 434, 3; 103:Gr. 436, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 1
- mꜣꜣ* vb. 2ae gem. “to see,” 11A:5, 8
- mꜣ-hꜥd* n. “oryx,” 57:4
- mꜣꜥ* adj. vb. “presentation (of offerings),” 21:1; 25:1 (restored)
- mꜣꜥ.t* n. “maat” (= right order), 69:6 (in titulary); 112:1 (restored). See also *Mꜣꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, *hꜥqꜣ-mꜣꜥ.t*, *hꜥꜥ-m-mꜣꜥ.t*
- Mꜣꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥ* RN “Maatkare” (*prenomen* of Hatshepsut), 26B:5; 27B:5; 29:4, 7, 9, 11; 31:3, 5, 8; 33B:3; 37:9; 39:9; 41A:6; 41B:7; 51B:6, 10; 53:9; 55:8; 57:8 (erased)
- mi* imper. vb. “come!” 11A:4, 7
- mi* prep. “like, as, even as, inasmuch as,” 11A:9; 11B:2; 47:5; 49A:4; and in the following compound:
mi Rꜥ, 11A:10, 14; 11B:2; 13:9, 11; 15:12, 14; 17:8, 10, 12; 19B:6; 21:1, 11; 23:8, 14, 15; 25:7, 13; 26B:6; 29:10, 12; 35:5, 10, 12; 37:6 (erased), 11 (erased), 13 (erased); 39:6, 8, 11 (erased), 13 (erased); 41A:3, 8 (erased); 41B:3, 5, 9 (erased); 43:5, 8, 10, 12; 45:7, 8; 47:11, 12; 49A:4, 5; 49B:5, 9; 51A:10; 51B:4, 8 (erased); 53:11 (erased); 55:6, 7, 10 (erased); 57:14, 16; 59:6, 8; 61A:8; 61B:4 (partly restored); 63B:9; 65A:8; 65B:4, 9; 67A:5, 10, 11; 67B:5; 69:10, 12; 71:4, 6, 9, 12 (partly restored); 73:4, 9; 77:9; 79:3; 81A:4, 5, 9; 81B:4, 5, 9; 83:8, 10; 87:7, 11; 89:7, 11; 91A:8; 91B:8; 97:Gr. 415 (partly restored)
- mw* n. “water,” 53:1; 55:1; 87:16, 25, 28, 36, 37; 89:16, 25, 28, 36, 37
- mw.t* n. “mother,” 102:Gr. 432, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 2 (restored); 112:1 (twice, once restored), 2. See also *Kꜣ-mw.t=f*
- mn* vb. “to remain,” 102:Gr. 432, 1; 103:Gr. 434, 2; 103:Gr. 436, 2; 103:Gr. 438, 2; 103:Gr. 439, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 1; 104:Gr. 443, 1, 2; 104:Gr. 444, 1
- Mn-hꜥr-Rꜥ* RN “Menkheperre” (*prenomen* of Thutmose III), 11A:8, 17; 11B:5; 15:1, 2, 6, 9; 18B:5; 19B:5; 21:3, 9 (partly restored); 23:3, 10; 25:3, 9, 14; 26B:5 (originally *Mꜣꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥ*); 27B:5 (originally *Mꜣꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥ*); 31:7; 32B:3; 35:8; 45:7; 47:7; 49A:7; 49B:7; 51A:7; 57:11, 13; 59:5; 63A:5; 69:11; 71:3, 13; 73:6; 77:6; 81B:7; 85:1, 2; 87:4, 14; 89:4, 14; 91A:6; 91B:6, and with accompanying epithets:
Mn-hꜥr-Rꜥ mr-n-Rꜥ, 17:4 (partly restored), 7; 83:5
Mn-hꜥr-Rꜥ mr(y)-Rꜥ, 83:7
Mn-hꜥr-Rꜥ stp-n-Rꜥ, 11A:12; 13:10; 57:15
Mn-hꜥr-Rꜥ tꜣ.t-Rꜥ, 15:11, 13; 17:9, 11; 83:3
- mnw* n. “monument,” 11A:9; 23:3; 71:8, 11; and in the following compound:
smꜣwy mnw, 11A:17
- mnꜥ* adj. “excellent, beneficent” 21:6; 112:1
- mnꜥ.t* n. “clothing,” 51A:1; 73:1; 87:59; 89:59
- mnsꜣ* n. “(type of) jar,” 87:37; 89:37

Mntw div. “Montu,” in the following combination:

Mntw-R^c, 11A:2

mri vb. 3ae inf. “to love,” 11A:7; 11B:2; 15:1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 (partly restored), 11, 13; 17:5 (partly restored), 9, 10, 11, 12; 21:3, 8; 23:3, 11; 25:2, 11; 29:4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11 (restored); 31:3, 5, 6, 7, 8; 43:3, 4, (originally *mry.t*), 7 (originally *mry.t*), 9, 10 (written *mr.t*), 11, 12 (written *mr.t*); 45:3 (originally *mr.t*), 5 (originally *mr.t*), 7, 8; 47:5; 49A:4; 57:8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16; 59:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (originally *mr.t*); 61B:7; 69:4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (written *mr.t*), 11, 12; 71:3, 5, 7, 8 (written *mr.t*), 10, 11 (written *mr.t*), 13 (originally *mry.t*); 81A:8; 83:3, 5 (twice), 7 (twice); 85:1, 2, 3 (twice), 4 (twice); 96:Gr. 412; 97:Gr. 415; 97:Gr. 419; 97:Gr. 420; 98:Gr. 422A; 112:1, 2 (three times, once restored)

Mr.t-R^c *ḥ3.t-šps.(w)t* RN “Meretre-Hatshepsut,” 87:8; 89:8

mhwt n. “family,” 101:Gr. 431, 4 (written *mhwt*); 102:Gr. 432, 2 (partly restored)

Mḥw loc. “Lower Egypt,” 25:11; 37:7; 39:7; 75:8; 79:8

msi vb. 3ae inf. “to bear (a child).” See *Dḥwty-ms*

Msn loc. “Mesen,” 35:7; 53:8; 81B:6; 91A:4

mty adj. “exact, precise,” 21:6

mt.t n. “clay pot,” 87:24; 89:24.

mdw n. “word(s);” see *dd mdw*

md.t n. “ointment,” 87:61; 89:61

n masc. sing. indirect genitive part., 13:2, 7 (twice); 17:10, 12; 21:6 (twice), 10; 25:4, 10, 14; 29:10 (originally *n.t*), 12 (originally *n.t*); 43:10, 12; 47:5; 51A:1; 57:14, 16; 59:6, 8 (originally *n.t*); 69:10 (originally *n.t*), 12; 71:8 (originally *n.t*), 11 (originally *n.t*); 85:3, 4; 87:32; 89:32; 112:1 (restored), 2

n.t fem. sing. indirect genitive part., 13:7; 25:7

n prep. “to, for, at,” 11A:9, 17; 21:1; 23:7; 25:1; 35:6; 47:1; 49A:1; 63B:1; 67A:1; 67B:1; 71:8, 11, 12; 79:1; 87:11, 13; 89:11, 13; 98:Gr. 424; 101:Gr. 429, 5; 102:Gr. 432, 1 (written for *m*); 102:Gr. 225, 2; 112:1 (restored); and in the following compounds:

n=k 11A:5, 9; 11B:2; 13:2, 7; 25:3, 4; 35:6; 41A:3; 41B:5; 47:3, 4, 5; 49A:4; 55:6; 67B:5; 79:3; 81A:4; 81B:4; 96:Gr. 414

n=t 37:6; 39:6 (restored); 53:7 (erased); 67B:5 (erased); 79:3 (erased); 81A:4 (erased); 81B:4 (erased)

n3 pl. def. art., 104:Gr. 18, 2

n3y=w third-pers. pl. poss. art., 103:Gr. 434, 3

n3y=f third-pers. masc. sing. poss. art., 102:Gr. 432, 2 (three times)

nb adj. “all, every, any,” 11A:10 (six times), 13, 16; 11B:2 (three times), 8, 9; 13:6 (twice), 9 (twice); 15:11, 12, 13, 14; 17:10, 12; 23:7 (twice), 8 (four times), 15; 21:5, 7 (twice), 11; 25:12; 26B:2 (twice); 27B:2; 29:10, 12; 35:5 (three times), 10, 12; 37:4 (twice), 5 (twice); 39:5 (twice), 13 (erased); 41A:3 (four times), 9 (restored); 41B:2 (twice), 3, 5 (four times); 47:3, 4, 5, 9 (twice), 12; 49A:3 (twice); 49B:5; 51A:4, 5, 9; 51B:3, 4; 53:6 (twice), 7 (four times); 55:4, 6 (four times); 59:8; 61A:4 (twice), 8; 61B:4; 63A:3 (twice), 7; 63B:4 (twice), 8; 65A:3 (twice), 7; 65B:3 (erased), 4 (twice); 67A:4 (twice), 5 (three times), 9, 11; 67B:3 (twice), 4 (twice), 5 (four times), 9; 71:9, 12; 73:4 (three times); 75:4 (twice), 12 (erased); 77:3 (four times), 8; 79:3 (four times), 4, 5, 11 (twice), 12; 81A:3, 4 (five times), 5 (three times); 81B:3, 4 (five times), 5 (three times); 83:8, 10; 85:6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16; 87: 6, 11 (six times), 13; 89:11 (six times), 13; 91A:3 (twice); 91B:3 (twice)

nb n. “lord,” 29:11; 35:7; 53:8; 81B:6; 91A:4; 112:2 (three times); and in the following compounds:

nb ir-ḥ.t, 17:9, 11; 23:10; 25:9; 29:9, 11 (originally *nb.t ir(?) -ḥ.t*, partly restored); 31:7; 43:9, 11 (partly restored); 49A:6; 57:13 (written *nb ir.t ḥ.t*), 15; 59:5, 7; 69:9, 11; 91A:5; 91B:5

nb W3s.t “lord of Thebes,” 11A:2–3

nb ns.wt t3.wy, 15:11, 13; 21:1; 25:2; 35:3; 39:3; 41A:1; 43:11; 49B:2; 57:13; 59:5, 7; 61B:2; 65A:2; 67A:2; 69:9, 11; 71:9, 12; 75:1, 2; 79:1; 91A:2; 96:Gr. 413 (partly restored); 97:Gr. 420; 98:Gr. 424

nb p.t, 11A:6; 11B:1; 13:1, 4; 17:9; 18B:1; 21:2 (partly restored); 31:8; 35:7; 41A:1; 41B:1; 47:6; 49B:6 (written *nb.t p.t*); 53:4, 8; 57:15; 59:5, 7; 61A:2; 61B:2; 63B:5; 65A:2; 65B:5; 67A:6; 69:9, 11; 71:9, 12; 73:3, 5; 75:2; 77:2, 4 (partly restored), 5; 81A:2, 6; 81B:2, 6; 85:3, 4; 87:10; 89:10; 91A:2, 4; 91B:2, 4; 96:Gr. 412; 97:Gr. 419 (partly restored); 97:Gr. 420 (partly restored); 98:Gr. 424

nb ḥpš, 23:12; 87:6

nb t3.wy, 11A:6; 13:3; 15:1, 2, 5, 8; 17:9, 11; 21:9; 31:7, 8 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*); 35:14; 41A:10 (erased); 41B:11 (erased); 43:9 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*), 11 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*); 45:7, 8 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*); 49A:6; 57:7 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*), 13, 15; 59:7 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*); 69:3, 6 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*), 9 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*), 11; 71:7

- (originally *nb.t t3.wy*), 10 (originally *nb.t t3.wy*), 13; 85:3, 4; 91A:5; 91B:5; 112:1
- nb.t* n. “lady,” 21:7; 37:7, 8; 39:7; 75:8; 79:8; and in the following compounds:
nb.t ir-ḥ.t, 31:8
nb.t p.t, 21:7; 39:8; 51B:5; 55:7; 61A:5; 63A:4; 67B:6; 97:Gr. 418
- Nb.ty* title of king “Two Ladies,” 15:11, 13; 83:8, 10; 112:1 (restored)
- nfr* adj. “good, beautiful, perfect,” 11A:5, 9; 21:4; 23:3; 87:13; 89:13; 102:Gr. 432, 1; 102:Gr. 433, 3; 103:Gr. 438, 1; 103:Gr. 439, 1; 104:Gr. 18, 1; 104:Gr. 443, 1, 2; and in the following compounds:
nfr-ḥpr (epithet of Thutmose III), 15:12, 14; 17:10, 12; 35:9; 47:8; 51A:8; 57:16; 59:6; 63A:6; 69:12; 71:4; 73:7; 77:7; 81B:8; 83:8; 85:4; 87:11; 91A:7
nfr-ḥpr.w (epithet of Thutmose III), 57:12; 83:4
ntr nfr, 11A:5; 15:1, 2, 5, 8; 17:3 (partly restored), 6 (partly restored), 9, 11; 18B:4; 19B:4; 26B:4 (written *ntr.t nfr*); 27B:4 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 29:3, 6, 9, 11; 31:7, 8 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 32B:3; 33B:3; 35:8; 39:9 (erased, originally *ntr.t nfr*); 41B:7 (erased); 43:6, 9 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 11; 45:3 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 5 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 47:7; 49A:6; 49B:7; 51B:6 (originally *ntr.t nfr*, erased); 53:9 (originally *ntr.t nfr*, erased); 57:7, 10; 59:3 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 4, 5, 7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 61A:6 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 63A:5 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 65A:5 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 67A:7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 67B:7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 69:3, 6, 9 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 11; 71:7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 10 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 13; 75:9 (originally *ntr.t nfr*, erased); 77:6; 81A:7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 81B:7; 85:1, 2; 89:4; 91A:5; 91B:5
- nms.t* n. “*nms.t*-jar,” 55:1; 63B:1
- nn* dem. pron. “this, these,” 21:4; 35:6
- nhḥ* n. “eternity, forever” 25:3; 37:6; 47:5; 101:Gr. 429, 6; 101:Gr. 431, 2 (uncertain)
- Nḥb.t* div. “Nekhbet,” 23:9; 75:7, and with the following epithet:
ḥd.t Nḥn, 11B:3, 4; 21:7; 37:8; 49A:5 (erased); 51B:5; 63A:4; 65A:4; 67B:6; 87:3
- Nḥn* loc. “Hierakonpolis,” 11B:3, 4; 21:7; 37:8; 51B:5; 63A:4; 65A:4; 67B:6; 87:3
- nḥt* adj. vb. and adj. “mighty, victorious, powerful,” in the following compound:
k3 nḥt “mighty bull,” 15:5, 8; 17:3 (restored), 6 (partly restored); 21:8; 29:3, 6; 35:16; 43:3, 6; 57:7, 10; 69:3, 6; 71:13; 81A:12; 81B:12; 83:7, 9
- ns.t* n. “throne, seat,” 13:2; 35:6; 96:Gr. 414; 112:1 (restored); and in the following compound:
nb ns.wt t3.wy, 15:11, 13; 21:1; 25:2; 35:3; 39:3; 41A:1; 43:11; 49B:2; 57:13; 59:5, 7; 61B:2; 65A:2; 67A:2; 69:9, 11; 71:9, 12; 75:1, 2; 79:1; 91A:2; 96:Gr. 413 (partly restored); 97:Gr. 420; 98:Gr. 424
- nsy.t* n. “kingship,” 37:6; 47:5; 83:8, 10
- n(y)-sw.t* n. “king,” 11A:1; 13:7; 25:14; 37:6; 51B:10 (erased); 87:12, 14, 15; 89:12, 14, 15 (restored); 112:2 (written (*n*)y.w-sw.[t]); and in the following compounds:
n(y)-sw.t bity, “king of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 11A:12; 11B:5; 13:2, 10 (partly restored); 15:6, 9, 11, 13 (partly restored); 17:4, 7; 21:9; 23:10; 25:9; 29:4, 7; 31:3, 5; 37:9; 41A:6 (erased); 43:4, 7; 45:7, 8; 47:12; 49A:7; 51A:7; 53:7 (partly restored); 55:8 (erased); 57:8, 11, 13, 15; 61B:6; 63B:6; 65B:6; 69:4, 7; 71:3, 5, 7, 10; 73:6; 79:9; 83:3, 5, 7, 9 (restored); 87:4; 91A:6; 91B:6; 112:1
n(y)-sw.t ntr.w, 17:9; 23:2; 31:8; 43:9; 49A:2; 53:3; 61A:2; 63A:2; 63B:2; 65B:1; 71:3, 5, 7, 10, 13; 73:2; 77:2; 81A:1; 81B:1; 85:3; 91B:2; 96:Gr. 411,1; 96:Gr. 412; 98:Gr. 422A
ḥm.t-n(y)-sw.t wr.t, 87:8; 89:8
k3 n(y)-sw.t ‘nh nb t3.wy ḥnty pr-dw3.t, 35:13–15 (final text, partly restored); 41A:10–11 (erased)
k3 n(y)-sw.t ‘nh nb t3.wy ḥnty db3.t, 41B:11–12 (erased)
k3 n(y)-sw.t ‘nh nb t3.wy ḥnty db3.t ḥnty pr-dw3.t, 35:13–15 (erased text)
k3 n(y)-sw.t ‘nh ḥnty pr-dw3.t, 81A:10–11
k3 n(y)-sw.t ‘nh ḥnty db3.t, 81B:10–11
- (*n*)g(3)w n. (class of cattle), 57:2; 79:13; 89:38
- ntrw* n. “(type of) natron,” 37:1 (erased)
- ntr* n. “god,” 11B:7; 23:6; 96:Gr. 411, 3; 112:1, 2 (three times); and in the following compounds:
n(y)-sw.t ntr.w, 17:9; 23:2; 31:8; 43:9; 49A:2; 53:3; 61A:2; 63A:2; 63B:2; 65B:1; 71:3, 5, 7, 10, 13; 73:2; 77:2; 81A:1; 81B:1; 85:3; 91B:2; 96:Gr. 411, 1; 96:Gr. 412; 98:Gr. 422A
ntr 3, 11A:3, 11; 15:3, 4; 19B:3; 26B:3; 27B:3; 29:1, 2; 32B:2; 33B:2; 35:7; 41A:5; 41B:6; 43 1 (restored), 2; 47:6; 49A:5; 49B:6; 51A:6; 51B:2; 53:8; 57:5, 6, 13; 59:1, 2; 61B:5;

63B:5; 65B:2, 5; 67A:6; 69:1, 2; 71:1, 2; 73:5;
77:4; 81A:6; 81B:6; 83:1, 2; 87:10; 89:10;
91A:4; 91B:4; 96:Gr. 425

ntr nfr, 11A:5; 15:1, 2, 5, 8; 17:3 (partly
restored), 6 (partly restored), 9, 11; 18B:4;
19B:4; 26B:4 (written *ntr.t nfr*); 27B:4
(originally *ntr.t nfr*); 29:3, 6, 9, 11; 31:7, 8
(originally *ntr.t nfr*); 32B:3; 33B:3; 35:8;
39:9 (erased; originally *ntr.t nfr*); 41B:7
(erased); 43:6, 9 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 11;
45:3 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 5 (originally *ntr.t
nfr*), 47:7; 49A:6; 49B:7; 51B:6 (originally
ntr.t nfr, erased); 53:9 (originally *ntr.t nfr*,
erased); 57:7, 10; 59:3 (originally *ntr.t nfr*),
4, 5, 7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 61A:6 (originally
ntr.t nfr); 63A:5 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 65A:5
(originally *ntr.t nfr*); 67A:7 (originally *ntr.t
nfr*); 67B:7 (originally *ntr.t nfr*); 69:3, 6, 9
(originally *ntr.t nfr*), 11; 71:7 (originally
ntr.t nfr), 10 (originally *ntr.t nfr*), 13; 75:9
(originally *ntr.t nfr*, erased); 77:6; 81A:7
(originally *ntr.t nfr*); 81B:7; 85:1, 2; 89:4;
91A:5; 91B:5

hnw.t ntr.w, 37:8; 55:7; 67B:6; 97:Gr. 418

hnw.t ntr.w nb.w, 21:7

hry-tp (n) ntr.w, 11B:1; 35:4; 39:3–4; 47:2; 49B:4

htp-ntr, 21:1; 25:1; 79:1; 98:Gr. 424 (partly
restored)

ntr.t n. “goddess,” 112:1. See also *ntr nfr*

ndt.(t) n. “savior” (for *Soteira*), 112:1

r prep. “to, into, for, against, in order to, (more) than,”
11A:1, 4, 8; 23:5; 35:1 (twice); 37:1 (twice, erased);
39:1 (erased), 2 (erased); 53:1; 55:1 (twice);
101:Gr. 431, 2 (uncertain), 3

r n. “mouth,” 25:14; 35:1; 39:1 (erased); 53:1; 55:1

R^c div. “Re,” 11A:10, 14; 11B:2, 6; 13:9, 11; 15:5, 8, 12,
14; 17:8; 19B:6; 21:1, 8, 11; 23:12, 14; 25:13; 26B:6;
29:10, 12; 35:5, 10, 12; 37:6 (erased), 11 (erased);
39:6, 8, 11 (erased), 13 (erased); 41A:3, 8 (erased);
41B:3, 5, 9 (erased); 43:3, 5, 8, 10, 12; 47:11, 12;
49A:4, 5; 49B:5, 9; 51A:10; 51B:4, 8 (erased); 53:11
(erased); 55:6, 7, 10 (erased); 57:14, 16; 59:6, 8;
61A:8; 61B:4 (restored); 63B:9; 65A:8; 65B:4, 9;
67A:5, 10, 11; 67B:5; 69:10, 12; 71:4, 6, 9, 12; 73:4,
9; 77:9; 79:3; 81A:4, 5, 9; 81B:4, 5, 9; 83:3, 5, 7,
8, 10; 87:7, 11; 89:7, 11; 91A:8; 91B:8; 97:Gr. 415
(partly restored); 112:1. See also *Imn-R^c*, *3-hpr-
n-R^c*, *3-hpr-k3-R^c*, *M3^c.t-k3-R^c*, *mi R^c*, *Mn-hpr-R^c*,
Mntw-R^c, *Mr.t-R^c* *h3.t-šps.t*, *s3 R^c*, *ti.t-R^c*

rwḏ.t n. “sandstone,” 21:6

rpy vb. “to be rejuvenated,” 101:Gr. 431, 2

rn n. “name,” 102:Gr. 432, 1 (partly restored); 102:Gr.
433, 3; 103:Gr. 434, 2; 103:Gr. 438, 1; 103:Gr. 439,
1; 103:Gr. 440, 1; 104:Gr. 18, 1; 104:Gr. 443, 1, 2

rnp.t n. “year,” 25:3, 4, 6 (partly restored); 37:6; 47:5;
49A:4; 101:Gr. 429, 2 (uncertain)

rnn n. “calf,” 25:15; 37:14; 57:1, 2, 3, 4; 75:13; 79:13;
89:38, 43

rh vb. “to know,” 23:6; 96:Gr. 411, 3

rk enclitic part., 11A:7

rd n. “footprint,” 87:42; 89:42

rdi vb. “to give, grant, cause,” 11A:5, 10, 11, 15, 16;
11B:2, 3; 13:6, 8; 19B:2; 21:1, 7; 23:7; 25:1, 3, 4;
26B:2; 27B:2; 35:6, 7; 37:4, 6, 7, 8; 39:5, 7, 8; 41A:3,
4, 5; 41B:2, 5, 6; 47:1 (twice), 3, 4, 5, 6; 49A:3, 4, 5;
49B:6; 51A:3, 6; 51B:3, 5; 53:5 (erased), 7, 8; 55:4
(erased), 6, 7; 61A:4, 5; 63A:1, 3, 4; 63B:5; 65A:1
(partly restored), 3, 4; 65B:3 (erased), 5; 67A:1,
4, 6; 67B:1, 3, 5, 6; 71:1, 2, 9, 12; 73:1, 5; 75:3, 8;
77:1, 4; 79:3, 8; 81A:3, 4, 6; 81B:3, 4, 6; 85:6, 9, 12,
15; 87:1, 2, 3, 11, 12; 89:1, 2, 3, 11, 12; 91A:1, 3, 4;
91B:1, 3, 4; 96:Gr. 414; 97:Gr. 418; 102:Gr. 225, 1;
and in the following compounds:

di ḥnh, 13:11; 15:1, 2; 18B:6; 21:1; 23:13; 26B:6;
27B:6; 31:4, 6, 7; 37:11 (written *di.t ḥnh.t*,
erased); 39:11 (written *di.t ḥnh.[t]*, erased);
41A:8 (written *di.t ḥnh.t*, erased); 41B:9
(erased); 43:5, 8, 10, 12; 45:4 (written *di.t
ḥnh*), 6; 49A:1; 49B:1, 9; 51B:8 (originally
di.t ḥnh.t, erased); 53:11 (erased); 55:10
(erased); 59:5, 7; 61A:1; 63A:1; 63B:8
(originally *di.t ḥnh.t*); 65B:8 (originally *di.t
ḥnh.t*); 67B:1; 71:13 (erased); 77:1; 81A:9;
81B:9; 83:4, 6; 87:7, 11; 89:11; 91A:8; 91B:8

di ḥnh w3s, 69:5, 8

di ḥnh nb, 15:12, 14; 35:10; 57:9, 12; 61A:8;
75:11–12 (erased); 83:8

di ḥnh nb ḏd w3s nb, 79:11

di ḥnh nb ḏd w3s nb snb, 47:9–10

di ḥnh ḏd, 15:7, 10; 49A:9

di ḥnh ḏd w3s, 17:7 (partly restored); 19B:6;
29:5, 8; 57:14, 16; 61B:8; 71:4, 6

di ḥnh ḏd w3s nb, 11A:13; 11B:8; 17:10, 12;
21:11; 25:12; 29:10 (originally *di.t ḥnh.t ḏd.t
w3s nb*), 12 (originally *di.t ḥnh.t ḏd.t w3s nb*);
51A:9; 63A:7; 65A:7; 67A:9; 67B:9; 73:8; 77:8

di ḥnh ḏd w3s snb, 59:6; 69:10 (originally *di.t*),
12

h3 inter. “Oh...!,” 87:26; 89:26

- ḥ.t-ʿ3.t* n. “Great Mansion” (as a designation of the temple), 11A:1, 4, 7
- ḥ3* prep. “around, surrounding,” 11B:9; 23:8; 35:2, 5; 37:13 (erased); 39:2 (erased); 49B:5; 53:2; 55:2; 61B:4; 65B:4; 67A:5; 73:4; 77:3; 81A:5; 81B:5
- ḥsb.t* n. “regal year,” 102:Gr. 432, 1; 103:Gr. 434, 4
- Ḥ3.t-šps.wt* RN “Hatshepsut”; see *Mr.t-Rᶜ ḥ3.t-šps.t*
- ḥᶜᶜ* n. “rejoicing,” 112:2
- Ḥw* div. “Hu,” 85:5, 11
- ḥwi* vb. 3ae inf. “smite, strike,” 11B:7 (partly restored); 15:12, 14; 23:12; 89:6
- ḥwn* n. “rib-roast,” 87:33; 89:33
- ḥb-sd* n. “jubilee,” 11A:9; 13:7; 25:7; 112:2
- ḥm* n. “majesty,” 13:7
- ḥm-ntr* n. “priest,” 87:38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 48, 50, 52, 53; 89:39, 40, 41, 44, 48, 50, 52, 53; 101:Gr. 429, 1
- ḥm.t* n. “wife,” in *ḥm.t-n(y)-sw.t wr.t*, 87:8; 89:8
- ḥnᶜ* prep. “with, together with,” 11A:4; 25:7
- ḥnw.t* n. “mistress,” in the following compounds:
ḥnw.t ntr.w, 37:8; 55:7; 67B:6; 97:Gr. 418
ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w, 21:7
- ḥnq.t* n. “beer,” 87:1, 23, 24, 55; 89:1, 23, 24, 55
- Ḥr* div. “Horus,” 13:7; 15:5, 8; 17:3 (restored), 6; 21:8; 25:7; 29:3 (originally *Ḥr.t*), 6 (originally *Ḥr.t*); 35:16; 37:6; 39:6; 41A:12 (erased); 41B:13 (erased); 43:3 (originally *Ḥr.t*), 6 (originally *Ḥr.t*); 53:13 (erased); 57:7 (originally *Ḥr.t*), 10; 69:3 (originally *Ḥr.t*), 6 (originally *Ḥr.t*); 71:13; 81A:12; 81B:12; 83:7, 9
- ḥr* prep. “on, upon, with, because of,” 13:7; 25:7; 37:6; 39:6 (restored); 112:1
- ḥry* *nisbe* adj. “upon,” 96:Gr. 411, 1; and in the following compound:
ḥry s.t wr.t, 23:2 (partly restored); 65B:3 (partly restored)
- ḥry-ib* *nisbe* adj. “residing in,” 29:9
- ḥry(.t)-tp* *nisbe* adj. “chief, at the head of,” 63B:3; 67A:2; and in the following compound:
ḥry-tp (n) ntr.w, 11B:1; 35:4; 39:3–4; 47:2; 49B:4
- ḥḥ* n. “million,” 25:7
- ḥq3* vb. “to rule,” 11B:7; 112:2
- ḥq3* n. “ruler,” 13:5; 23:12; 29:3 (originally *ḥq3.t*), 6; 43:6; 69:3, 6; 89:6; and in following compounds:
ḥq3 W3.s.t, 13:1; 17:3, 6 (partly restored); 23:11; 57:7 (written *ḥq3.t W3.s.t*), 10; 61A:3; 61B:3; 87:5
ḥq3 m3ᶜ.t (epithet of Thutmose III), 15:7 (partly restored), 10; 17:5, 8; 25:10; 49A:8; 49B:8; 57:14; 83:6; 85:3; 89:5 (partly restored); 91B:7
- ḥtpw* n. “peace,” 39:6
- ḥtp-ntr* n. “divine offering,” 21:1; 25:1; 79:1; 98:Gr. 424 (partly restored)
- ḥtp-dī-n(y)-sw.t* “royal offering,” 87:12; 89:12
- ḥtp.t* n. “offering,” 11A:10; 25:7; 53:6; 81A:4; 81B:4; 87:1 (written *ḥtp*), 11; 89:1 (written *ḥtp*), 11. See also *dbḥ.t-ḥtp*
- ḥt3* n. “(type of) bread,” 87:17; 89:17
- ḥd* adj. “white,” 61A:1
- ḥd* adj. vb. “to be bright,” in the epithet of Nekhbet, *ḥd.t Nḥn* “the bright one of Hierakonpolis,” 11B:3, 4; 21:7; 37:8; 51B:5; 63A:4; 65A:4; 67B:6; 87:3
- ḥ.t* n. “thing, offering(s),” 17:9, 11; 23:10; 25:9; 29:9, 11 (restored); 31:7, 8; 43:9, 11 (restored); 49A:6; 57:13, 15; 59:5, 7; 87:13; 89:13; 91A:5; 91B:5
- ḥ3* num. “thousand,” 87:1 (four times), 13, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61; 89:1 (four times), 13, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61
- ḥ3.s.t* n. “foreign country,” 23:7, 13; 89:6
- ḥᶜᶜ* vb. 3ae inf. “to appear (in glory),” 39:6; 47:12; 53:7; and in the following compounds:
ḥᶜ-m-W3.s.t (in Horus name of Thutmose III), 35:16; 57:10; 71:13; 81B:12; 83:7, 9
ḥᶜ-m-m3ᶜ.t (in Horus name of Thutmose III), 17:3 (restored), 6 (partly restored)
- ḥᶜw* n. “crown, diadem,” 11A:5; 29:11 (restored); 112:2 (restored)
- ḥwi* vb. 3ae inf. “to protect, endow with (*m*),” 21:4
- ḥpr* vb. “to exist, to come into being,” in the following compounds:
nfr-ḥpr (epithet of Thutmose III), 15:12, 14; 17:10, 12; 35:9; 47:8; 51A:8; 57:16; 59:6; 63A:6; 69:12; 73:7; 77:7; 81B:8; 83:8; 85:4; 87:11; 91A:7
nfr-ḥpr.w (epithet of Thutmose III), 57:12; 83:4
See also *3-ḥpr-n-Rᶜ*, *3-ḥpr-k3-Rᶜ*, *Mn-ḥpr-Rᶜ*
- ḥpš* n. “foreleg, (mighty) arm, strength, might,” 11B:6; 15:12, 14; 23:12; 87:6
- ḥm* vb. “to forget, to neglect,” 21:6 (partly restored)
- Ḥmnw* div. “the Ogdoad,” 103:Gr. 434, 3
- ḥnt* prep. “in front of, before,” 23:6
- ḥnty* adj. “foremost (one),” 17:11; 49B:3; and in the following compounds:
ḥnty pr-dw3.t, 35:14–15 (dittography); 41A:11 (erased); 81A:11

- hnty k3.w ʿnh.w*, 23:15; 35:12; 39:13 (erased);
41A:9 (erased); 41B:10 (erased); 47:12
(restored); 67A:11
- hnty db3.t*, 35:14–15 (erased); 41B:12 (erased);
81B:11
- hnty dsr-s.t*, 41A:2; 57:15
- hr* prep. “with, before, by, from,” 11B:2; 21:7; 41A:5;
55:6; 65A:4; 67B:5; 75:4; 79:3, 4; 81A:3; 81B:3
- h.t* n. “body,” 17:10, 12; 21:10; 25:10; 29:10, 12; 43:10,
12; 57:14, 16; 59:6, 8; 69:10, 12; 71:8, 11; 85:3, 4
- (*m*)-*hnnw* prep. “within, in the midst of,” 25:6
- Hnm.t-ʿImn h3.t-šps.wt* RN “Chnemetaṃun-Hatshepsut,”
31:4, 6; 37:10; 39:10; 41A:7; 41B:8; 51B:7; 53:10;
55:9; 57:9
- hry-hb* n. “lector-priest,” 87:47; 89:47
- s* third-pers. sing. fem. suffix pron., 13:8; 21:7 (twice);
37:7, 8; 39:7, 8, 13 (erased); 41A:4, 9 (erased);
51B:1 (erased), 5; 55:7; 61A:5; 63A:4; 65A:4
(twice); 67A:11 (erased); 67B:6; 71:8 (three times,
erased), 11 (twice, erased), 12 (erased); 75:8; 79:8;
87:3; 89:3; 97:Gr. 418; 112:1
- s.t* n. “seat, throne, pedestal, place,” 21:5, 6; 23:5; 96:Gr.
411, 1; and in the following compounds:
s.t wr.t, 23:2 (partly restored); 65B:3
s.t Hr, 37:6; 39:6
s.t Hr n.t ʿnh.w, 13:7; 25:7
dsr-s.t, 17:11; 25:1; 29:9; 41A:2; 57:15; 101:Gr.
429, 1 (written *tsr s[t]*, uncertain)
See also *ʿIp.t-sw.t*
- s3* n. “son,” 11A:7; 21:3; 23:3; 25:2; 29:12; 101:Gr. 431,
3; 102:Gr. 432, 1; 102:Gr. 433, 2 (restored), 3, 4, 5
(restored), 6; 102:Gr. 225, 2; 102:Gr. 445 (twice,
once restored); 102:Gr. 446 (three times, twice
restored); 103:Gr. 434, 1, 2; 103:Gr. 436, 3 (twice,
once restored); 103:Gr. 439, 1 (twice restored);
104:Gr. 18, 1; 104:Gr. 441B, 1 (three times, once
restored), 2 (three times), 3 (three times, once
restored), 4 (twice); and in the following compound:
s3 Rʿ, 15:7 (partly restored), 10 (partly
restored), 12, 14; 17:5, 8, 10 (restored), 12;
21:10; 23:11; 25:10; 29:5 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*),
8 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 10 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*),
12; 31:4 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 6 (originally
s3.t Rʿ); 35:9; 37:10; 39:10; 43:5 (originally
s3.t Rʿ), 8, 10 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 12
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*, erased); 41A:7 (erased);
41B:8 (erased); 45:4 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 6
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 47:8; 49A:8; 49B:8; 51A:8
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 51B:7 (originally *s3.t*
Rʿ, erased); 53:10 (erased); 55:9 (erased);
57:9, 12, 14, 16; 59:6, 8 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*);
61A:7 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 61B:7 (originally
s3.t Rʿ); 63A:6 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 63B:7
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 65A:6 (originally
s3.t Rʿ); 65B:7 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 67A:8
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 67B:8 (originally *s3.t*
Rʿ); 69:5 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 8 (originally
s3.t Rʿ), 10 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 12; 71:4, 6
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 8 (originally *s3.t Rʿ*), 11
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 73:7; 75:10 (originally
s3.t Rʿ (?), erased); 77:7; 79:10; 81A:8
(originally *s3.t Rʿ*); 81B:8; 83:4, 6, 8; 85:3, 4;
87:5; 89:5; 91A:7; 91B:7
- s3* n. “protection,” in the following compounds:
s3 ʿnh h3=f nb, 61B:4
s3 ʿnh w3s nb snb nb, 73:4
s3 ʿnh dd w3s snb 3w.t-ib...h3=f...mʿ Rʿ, 37:13
(erased)
s3 ʿnh w3s dd snb... nb, 11B:9
s3 ʿnh dd w3s nb snb nb, 35:5; 49B:5 (partly
restored); 51A:5 (partly restored); 63B:4;
65B:4; 67A:5; 81A:5; 81B:5 (partly restored)
s3 ʿnh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 23:8; 77:3
s3 ʿnh dd w3s snb 3w.t-ib, 55:12 (erased)
- s3b* adj. “variegated,” in the epithet:
s3b šw.t, 32B:2; 35:7; 41A:5; 41B:6; 47:6; 49A:5;
49B:6; 51A:6; 53:8; 59:1, 2; 61B:5; 63B:5;
65B:5; 67A:6; 69:1, 2; 71:1; 73:5; 77:4; 81A:6;
81B:6; 91B:4
- s3h* n. “recitation,” 87:46; 89:46
- sʿh* n. “rank,” 13:2, 7
- sw* third-pers. sing. masc. dependent pron., 23:13; 89:7;
112:1 (restored)
- sw* n. “day,” 102:Gr. 432, 1; 103:Gr. 434, 4; 103:Gr. 436,
4
- sp* n. “time, occasion,” 35:2; 39:2 (erased); 53:2
(restored); 55:2 (three times); 87:12, 14; 89:12, 14;
and in the compound:
sp tpy “first occasion,” 13:7
- sflh* vb. “to remove,” 51B:1 (erased)
- sm* n. “*sm*-priest,” 87:45; 89:45
- sm3* vb. “unite,” 25:5; 39:6
- sm3wy* caus. vb. “renovate, renew,” in the compound
sm3wy mnw, 11A:17
- sm3ʿ* caus. vb. “to present,” 79:1
- smn* caus. vb. “to establish,” 13:2, 7
- smnh* caus. vb. “to embellish,” 23:4; 96:Gr. 411, 2
- snw* num. “two,” 55:2; 87:14; 89:14

- snw* n. “(type of) vessel,” 87:27; 89:27
- snb* n. “health,” 47:5; 79:4; and in the following compounds:
‘nh w3s nb snb nb, 73:4
‘nh w3s nb snb nb dd.t nb 3w.t-ib nb, 79:3
‘nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 41A:3; 41B:5; 53:7; 55:6; 67B:5
‘nh w3s nb dd.t nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb htp.t nb.t, 81A:4; 81B:4
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‘nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 11B:2; 23:8; 77:3
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- sh‘i* caus. vb. “to cause to appear,” 112:1 (restored)
- shp* caus. vb. “to bring,” 87:49, 51; 89:49, 51
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- sdsr* caus. vb. “to sanctify,” 23:4; 96:Gr. 411, 2
- š‘* n. “sand,” 49B:1
- š‘* prep. “until, for,” 101:Gr. 429, 6; 102:Gr. 225, 3; 103:Gr. 434, 3; 103:Gr. 438, 2; 104:Gr. 18, 2; 104:Gr. 442, 1; 104:Gr. 443, 1, 2; 104:Gr. 444, 2
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- k3* n. “ka,” 25:7; 87:13 (written *k3.t*); 89:13 (written *k3.t*); and in the following compounds:
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- k3* n. “bull,” in the following names and epithets:
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ḏd vb. “to say,” 101:Gr. 428, 2; and in the following compound:

ḏd mdw “words spoken,” 11A:2, 6, 8; 11B:2; 13:2, 7; 21:2, 3, 4, 6; 23:2; 25:2, 4; 35:6; 37:6; 39:6; 41A:3; 41B:5; 47:3, 4, 5; 49A:4; 53:2 (partly restored), 7; 55:2, 6; 67B:5; 75:2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 79:2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 81A:4; 81B:4; 87:12, 42; 89:12, 42; 96:Gr. 411, 1

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ʿnh wʒs nb ḏd.t nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb.t, 81A:4; 81B:4

ʿnh wʒs nb ḏd.t nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb ḏfʒw nb, 11A:10

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ʿnh ḏd wʒs nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 13:8–9

ʿnh ḏd wʒs nb snb nb, 35:5; 49B:5 (partly restored); 51A:5 (partly restored); 63B:4; 65B:4; 67A:5; 81A:5; 81B:5 (partly restored)

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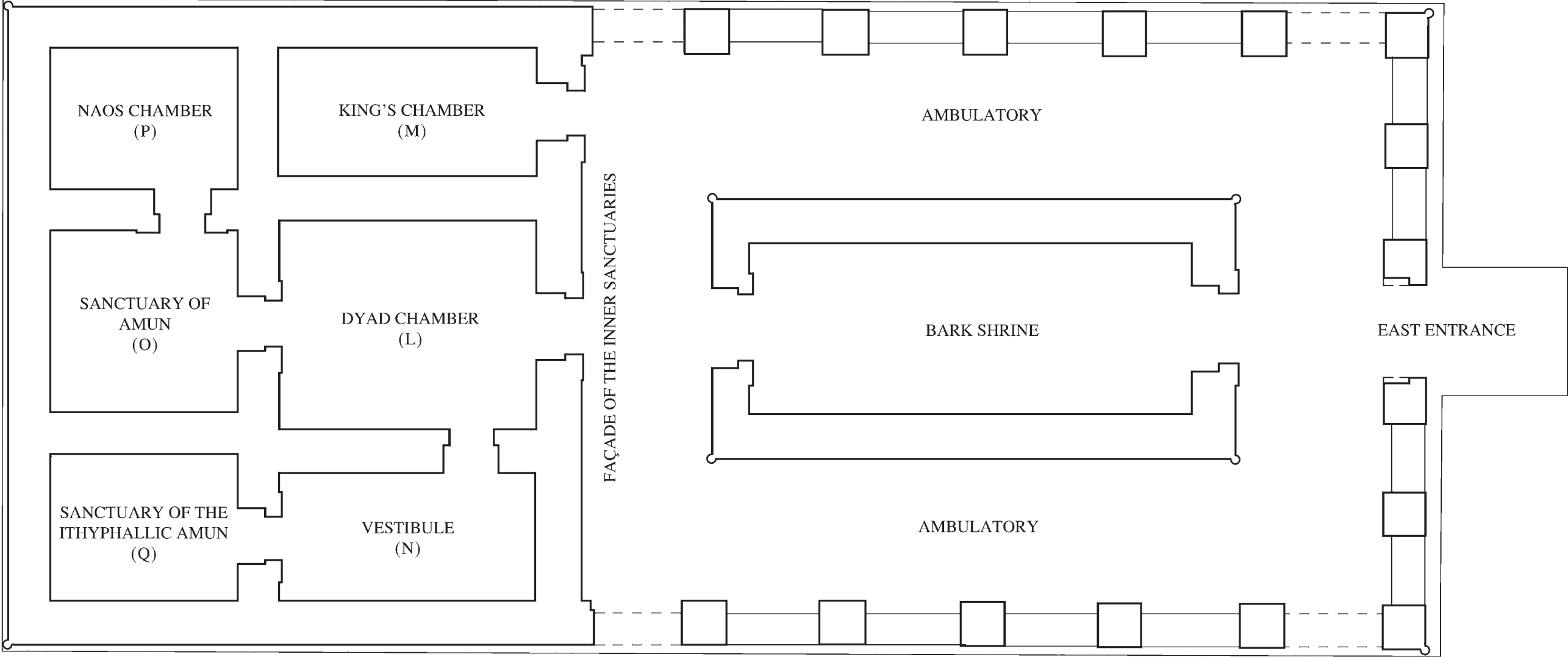
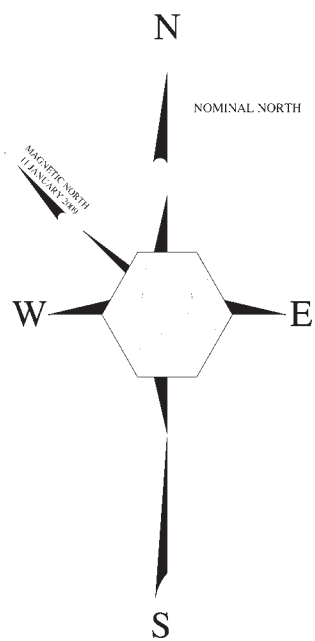
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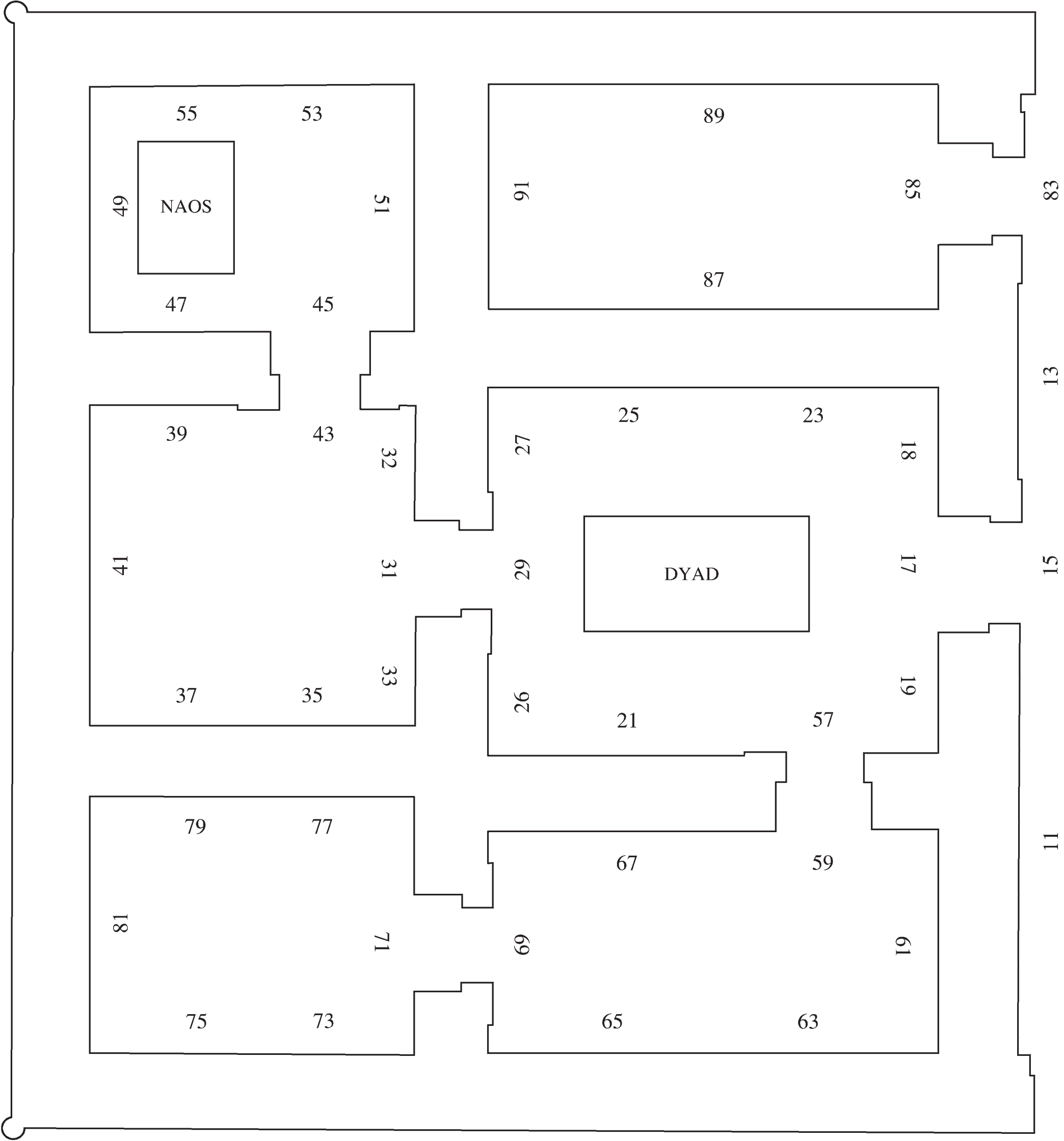
Kp^εf-h(³)-Hnsw 103:Gr. 434, 5

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GROUND PLAN OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE OF AMUN AT MEDINET HABU



GROUND PLAN OF THE INNER SANCTUARIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE
NUMBERS INDICATE THE POSITION OF THE FACSIMILE PLATES APPEARING IN THIS VOLUME



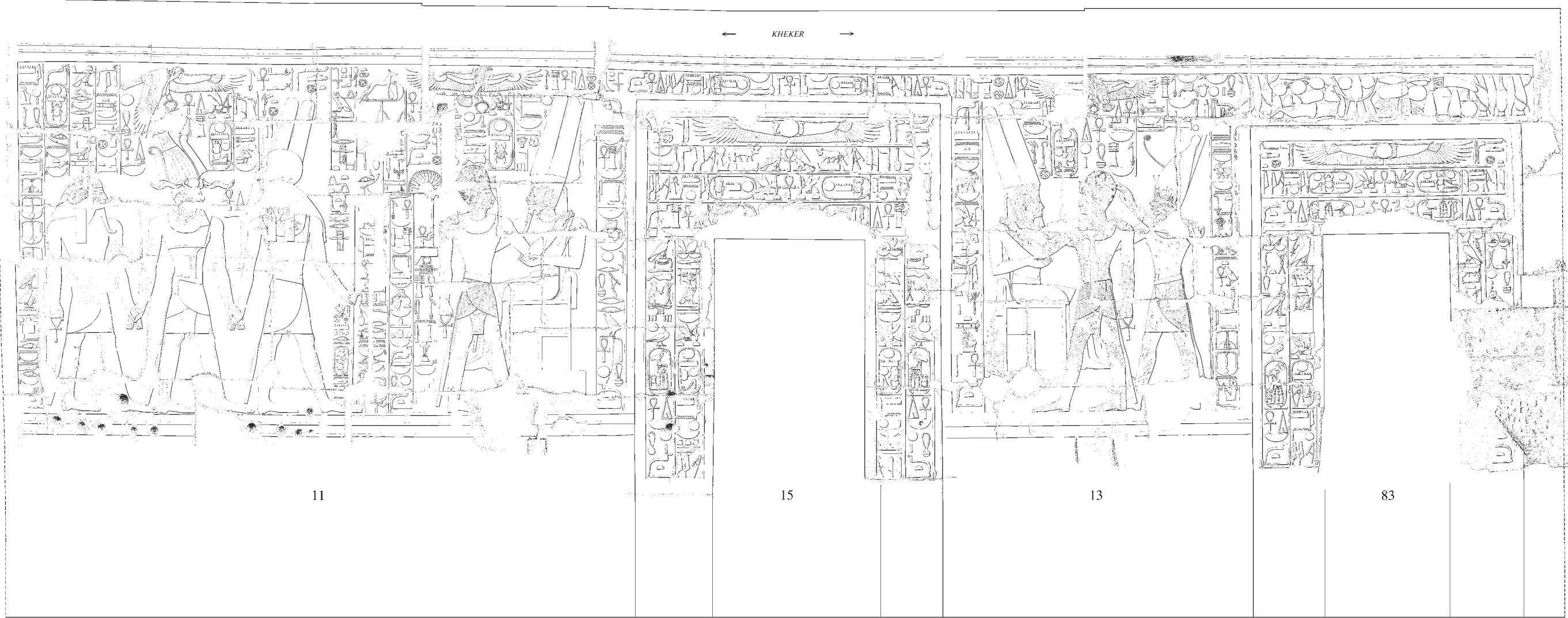
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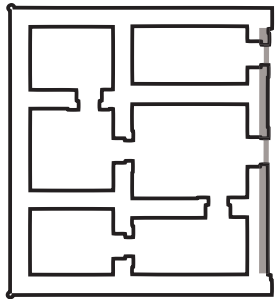


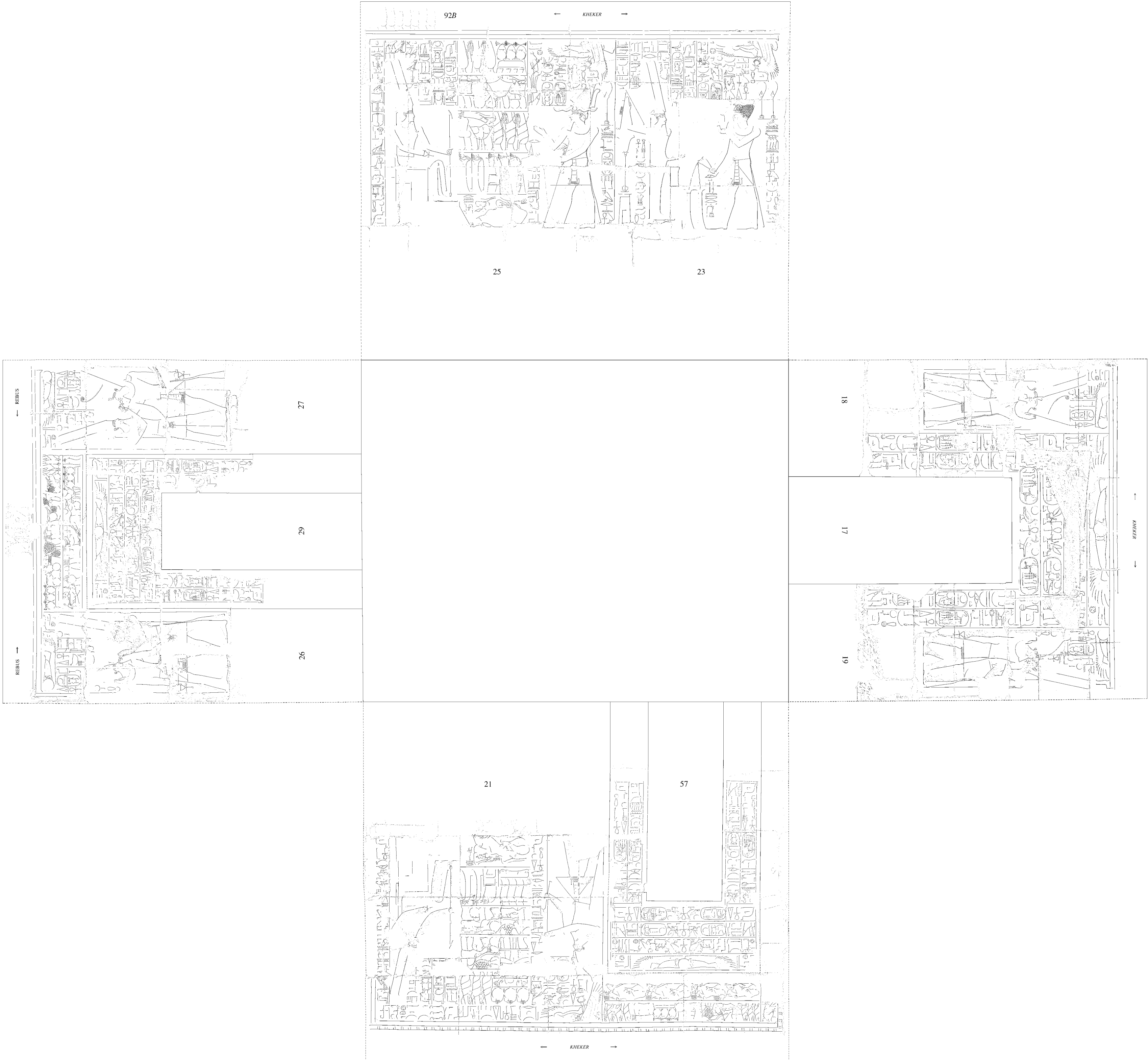
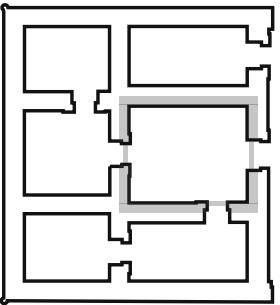
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THE FAÇADE OF THE INNER SANCTUARIES



SCENES ON THE FAÇADE OF THE INNER SANCTUARIES IN CONTEXT
NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS

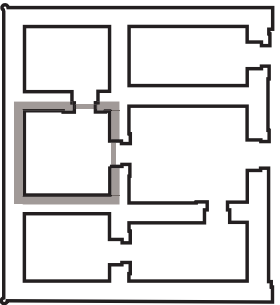


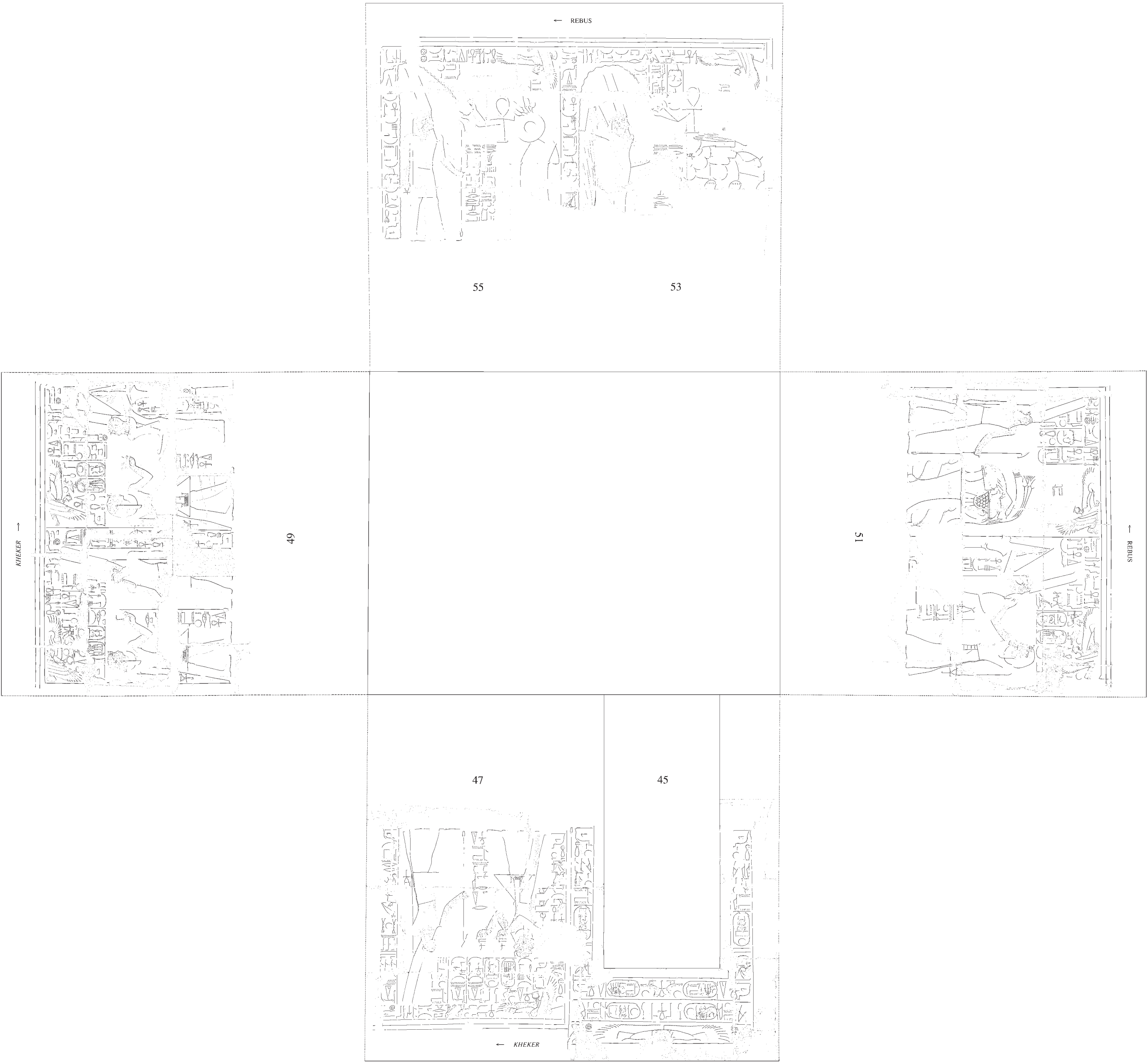


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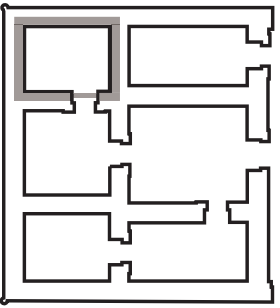


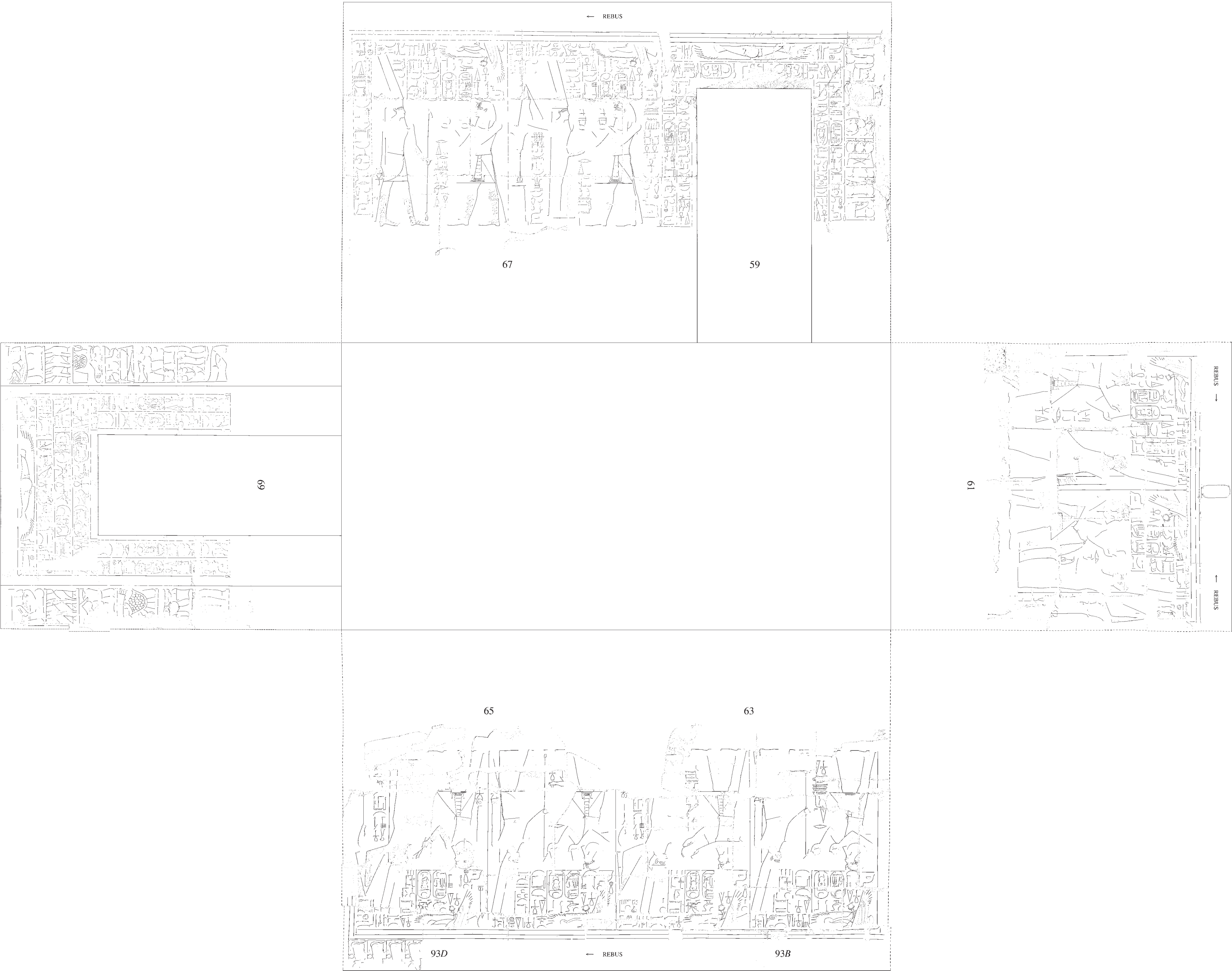
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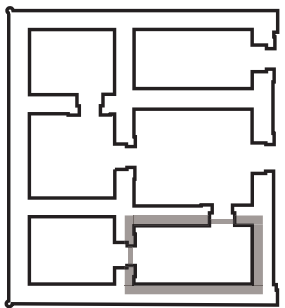


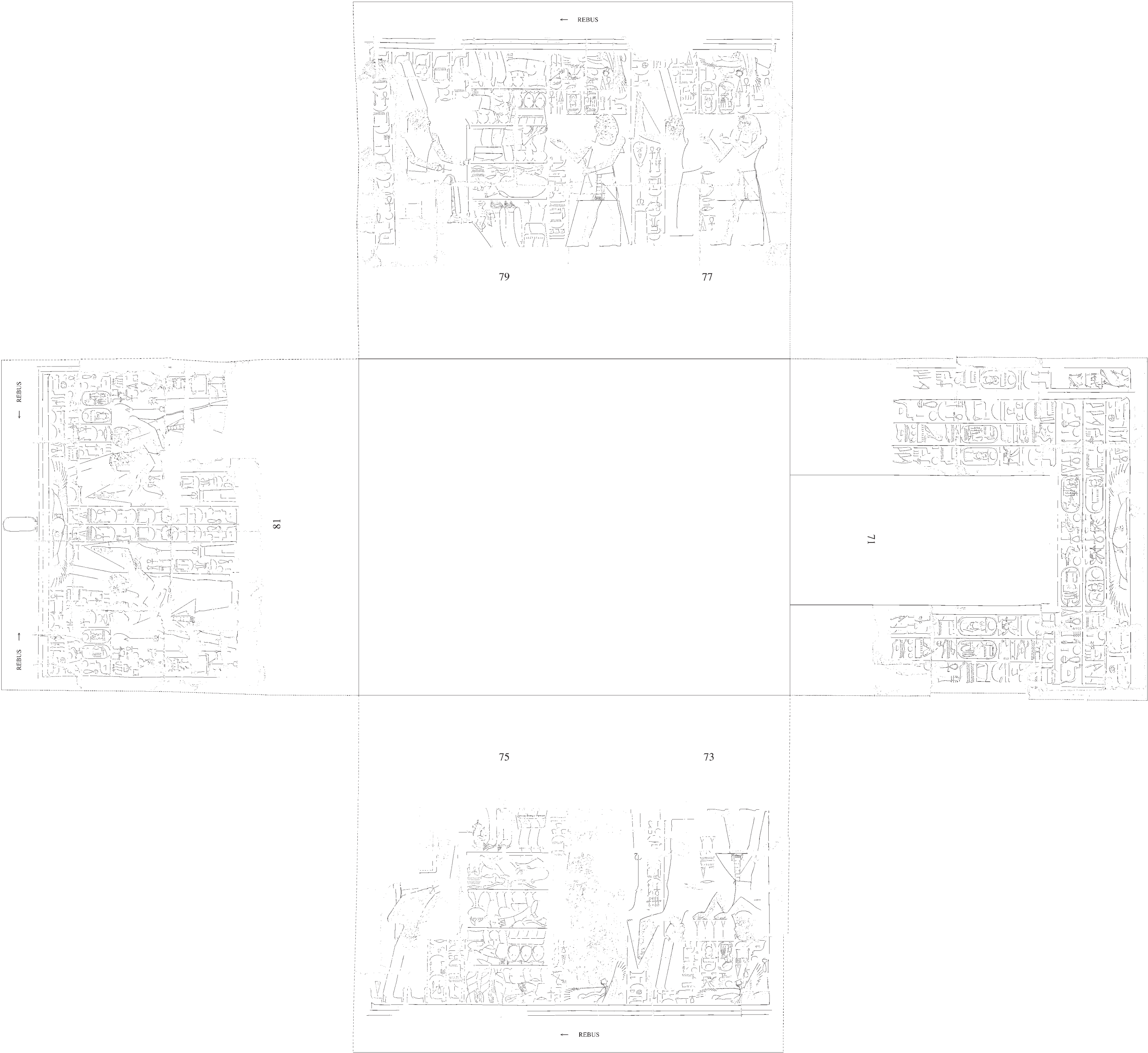
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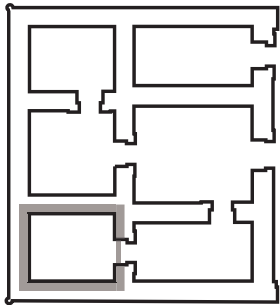


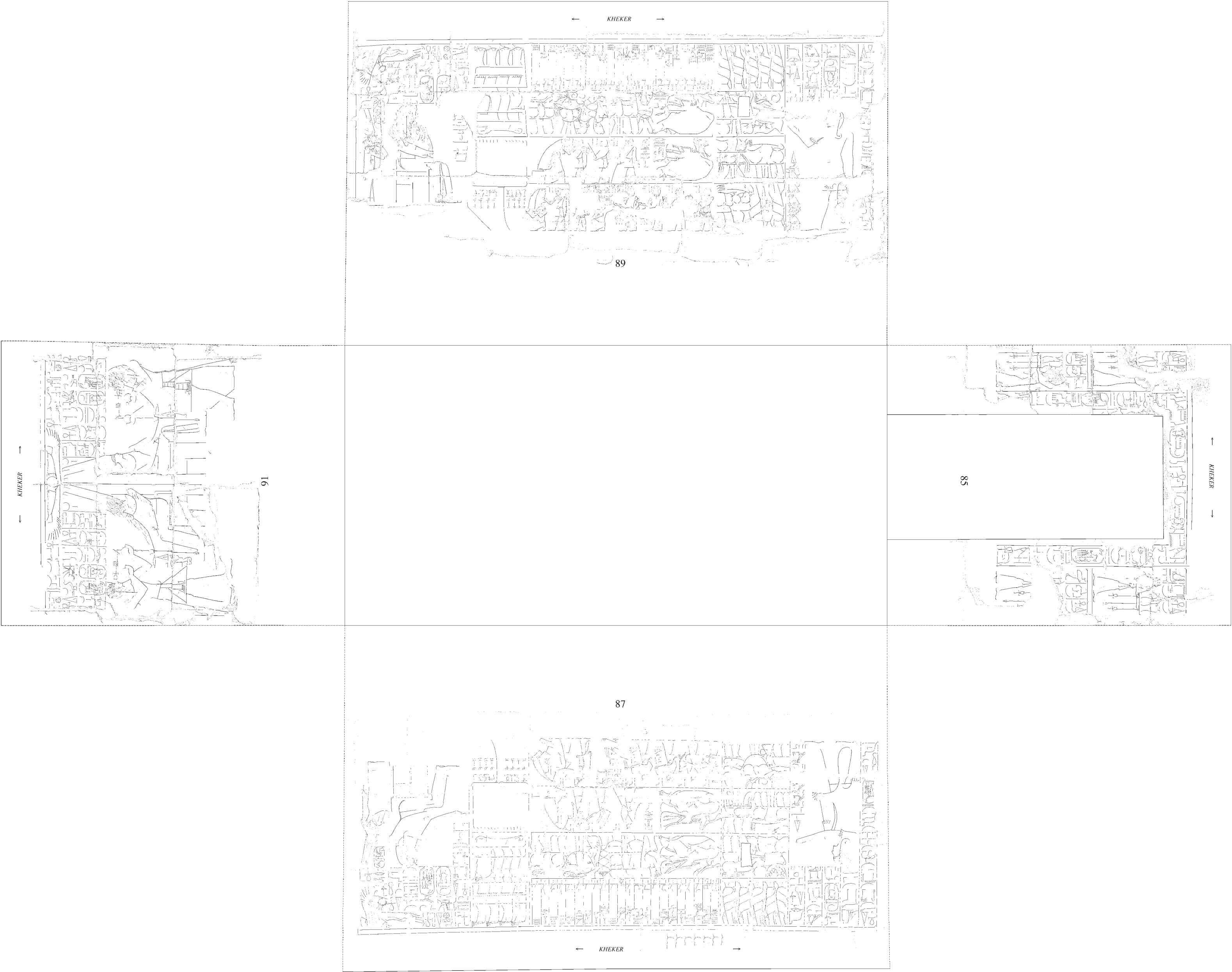
SCENES IN THE VESTIBULE IN CONTEXT
NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS



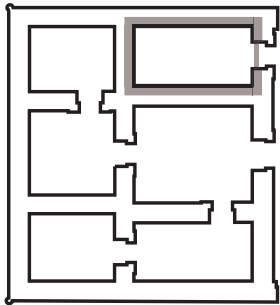


SCENES IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN IN CONTEXT
NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS





SCENES IN THE KING'S CHAMBER IN CONTEXT
NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS



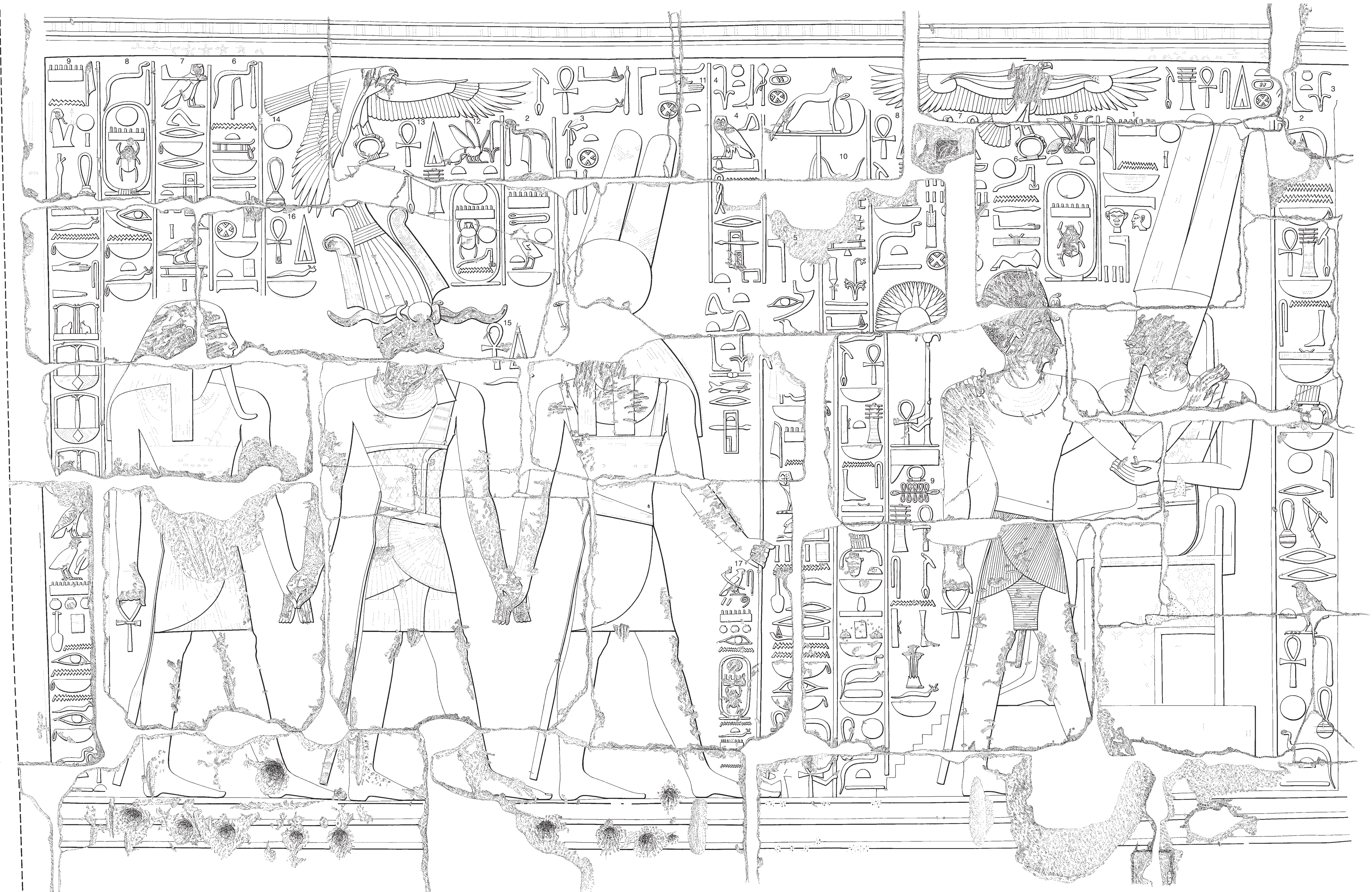


Photograph by Kobylecky

A

B

THE KING (A) LED INTO THE TEMPLE BY MONTU-RE AND ATUM AND (B) RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE
 FAÇADE, SOUTH HALF
 (Compare Plate 11 and Color Plate 113)



Drawing by Osgood

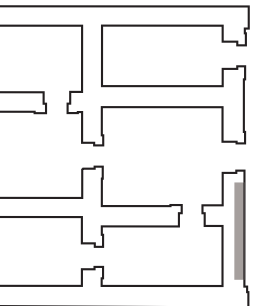
A

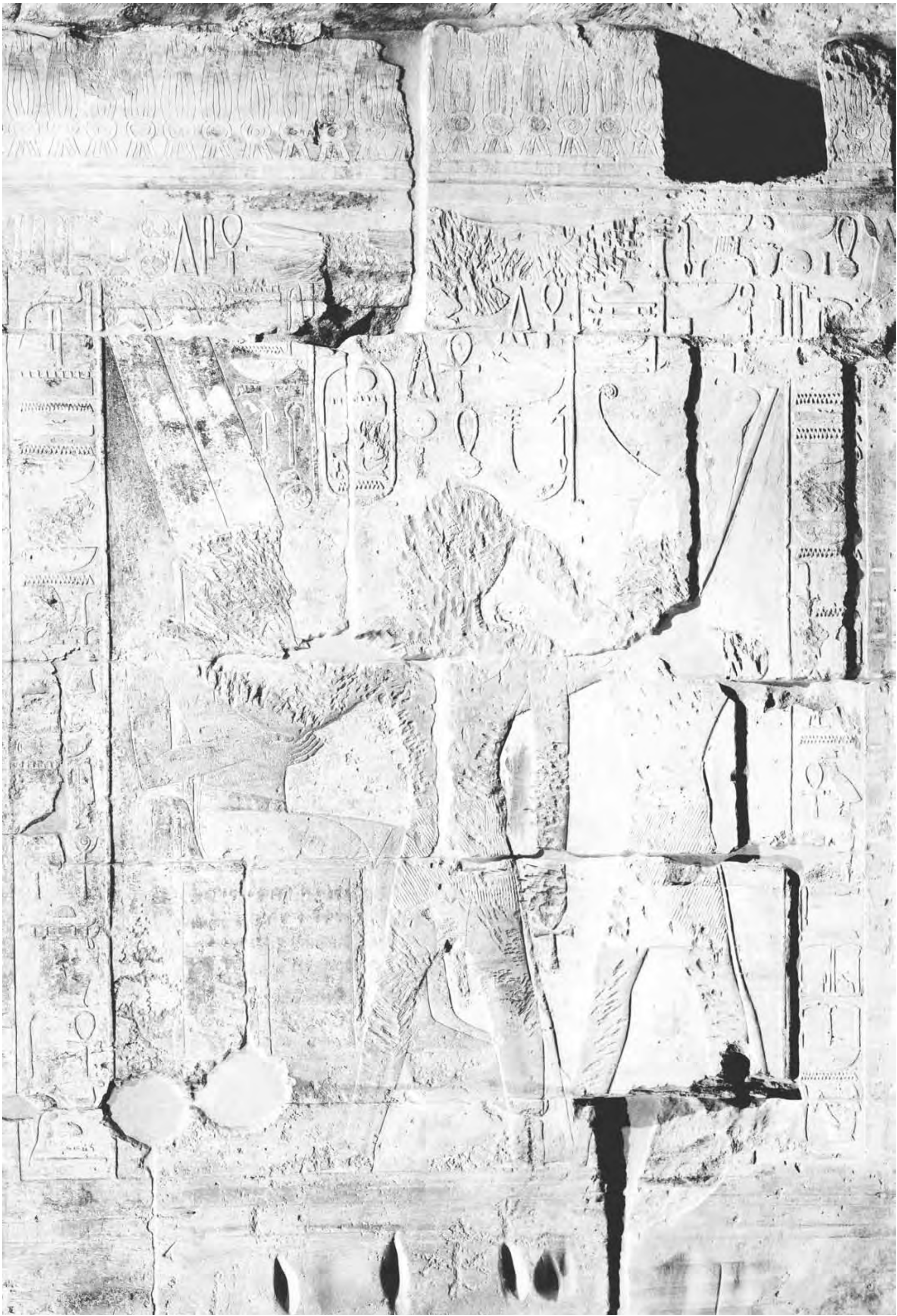
B

0 1 m

THE KING (A) LED INTO THE TEMPLE BY MONTU-RE AND ATUM AND (B) RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE
 FAÇADE, SOUTH HALF

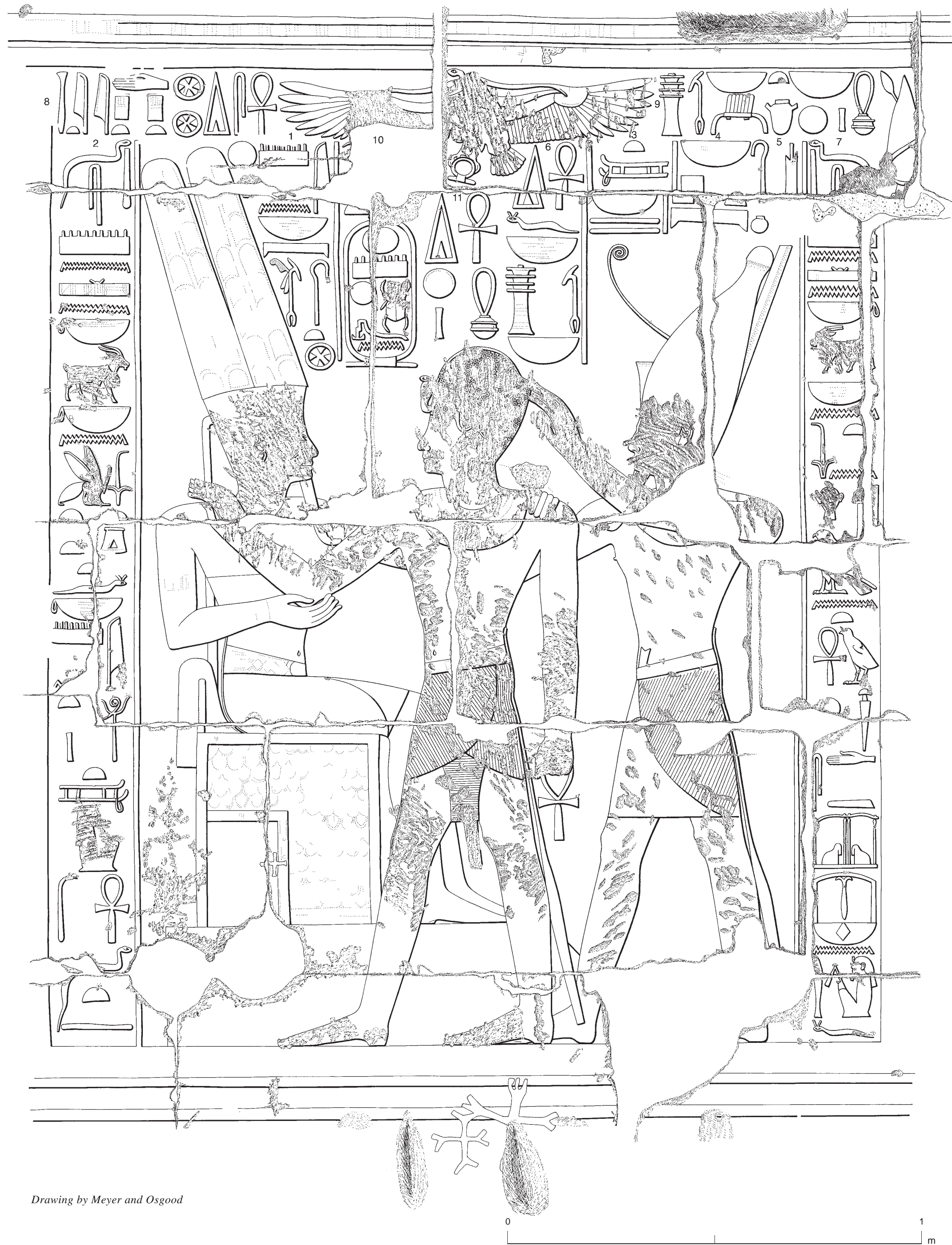
(See Plate 10 and Color Plate 113)





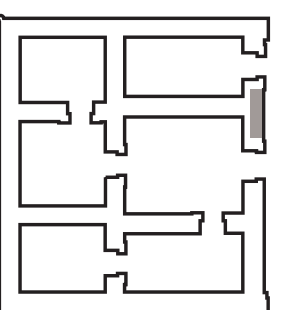
Photograph by Kobylecky

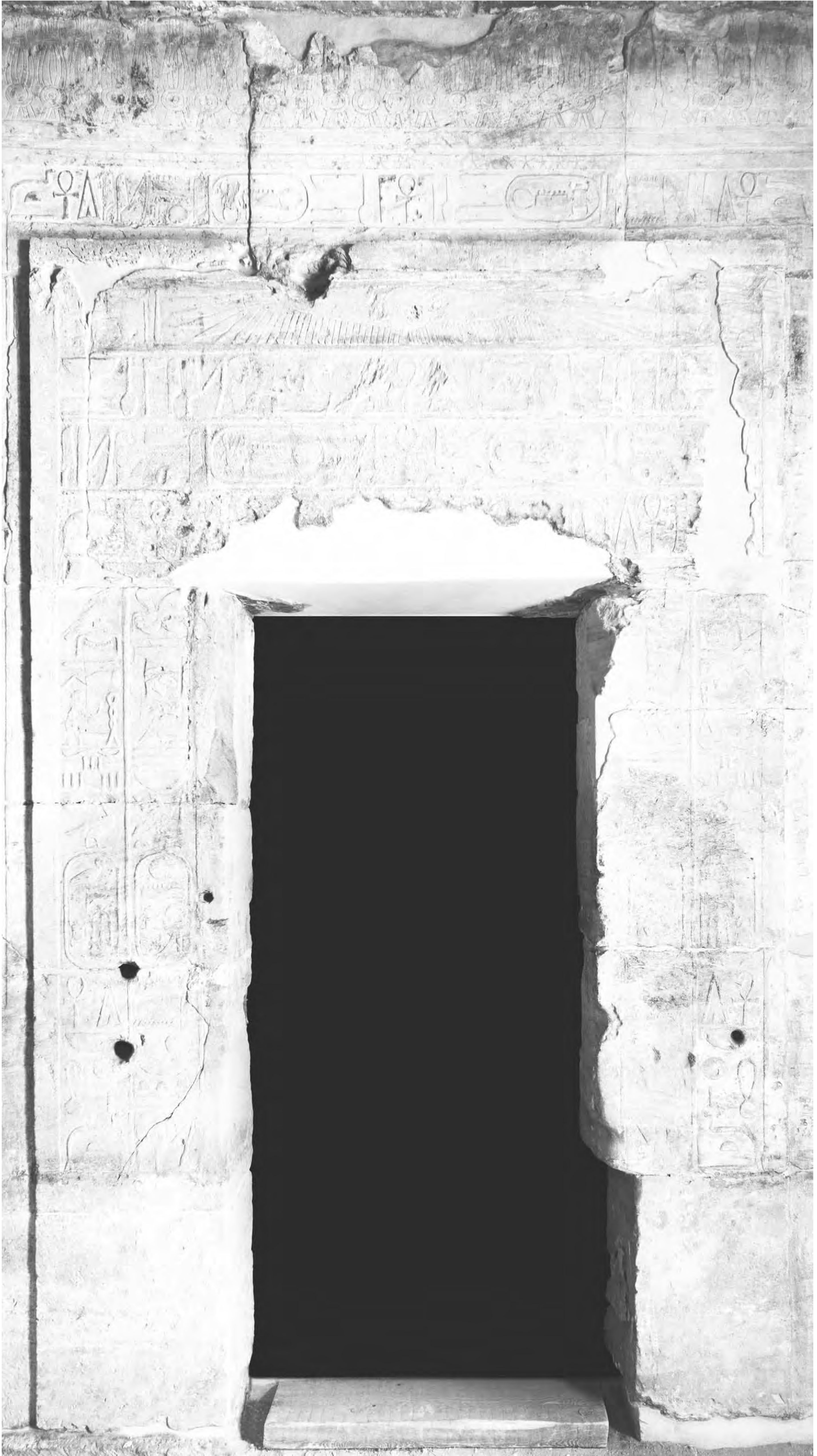
THE KING CROWNED BY ATUM IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE
FACADE, NORTH HALF
(Compare Plate 13)



Drawing by Meyer and Osgood

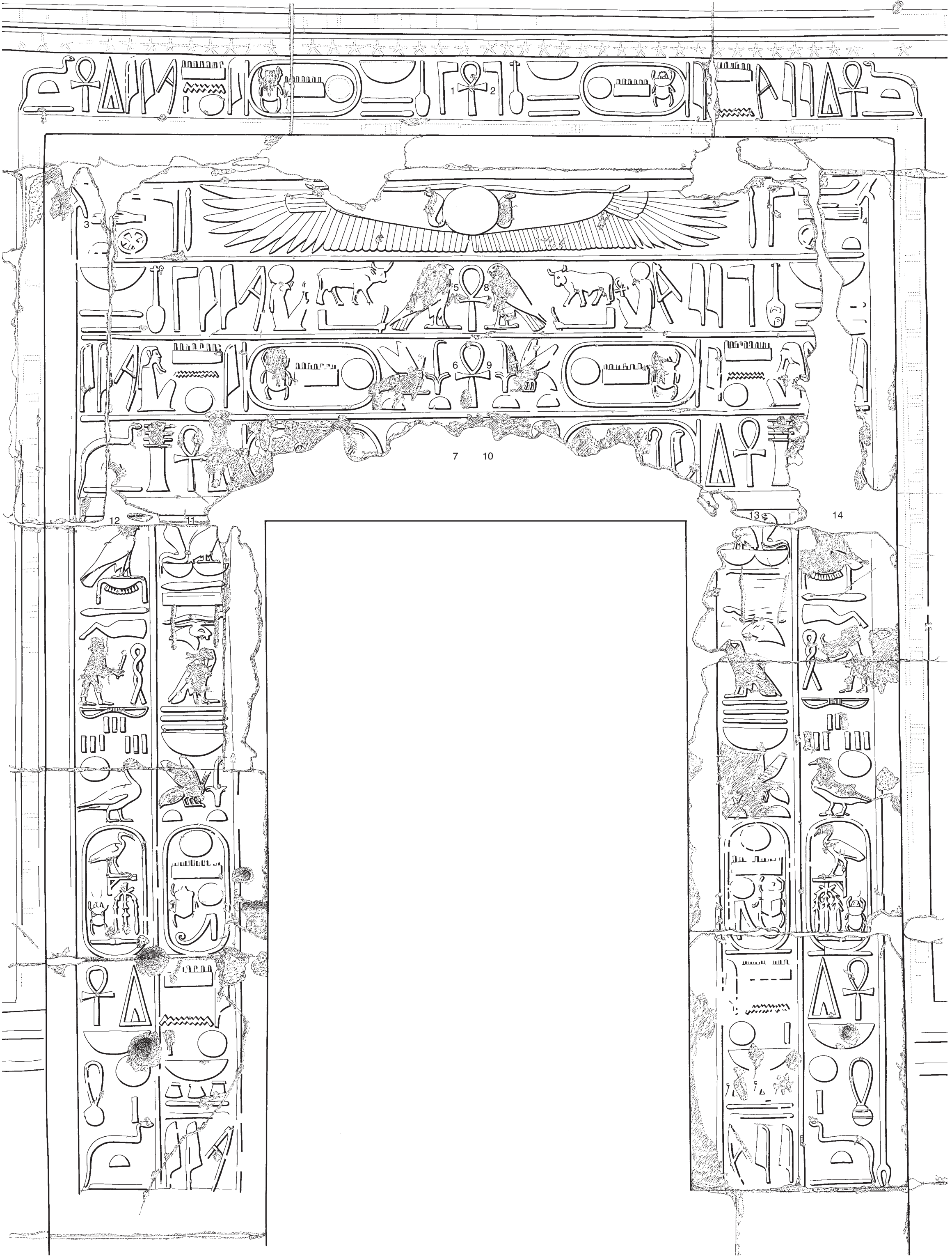
THE KING CROWNED BY ATUM IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE
FACADE, NORTH HALF
(See Plate 12)





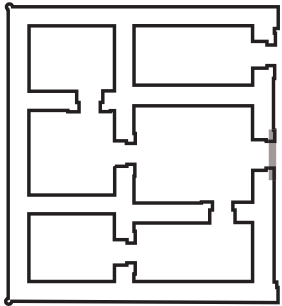
Photograph by Kobylecky

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE DYAD CHAMBER
FAÇADE
(Compare Plate 15)



Drawing by Meyer and Osgood

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE DYAD CHAMBER
FAADE
(See Plate 14)





Photograph by Kobylecky

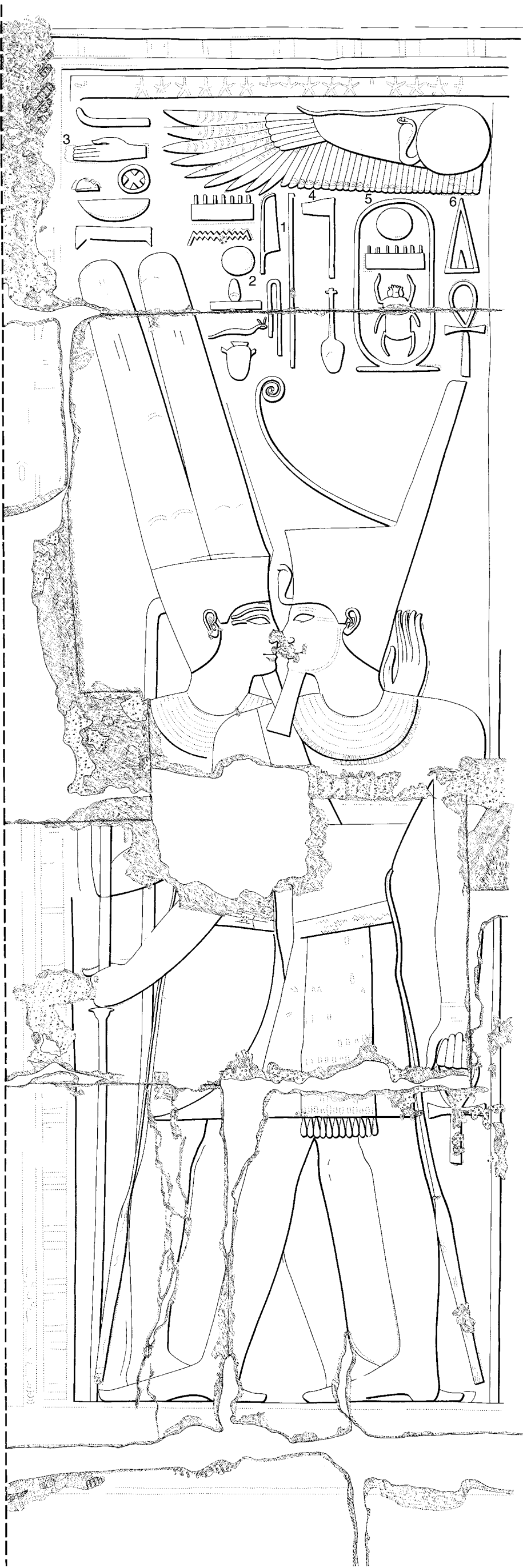
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE EAST DOORWAY IN THE DYAD CHAMBER
(Compare Plates 17, 18, and 19)





Photograph by Kobylecky

A

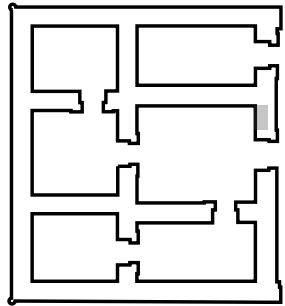


Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B



THE KING EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, EAST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY





Photograph by Kobylecky

A

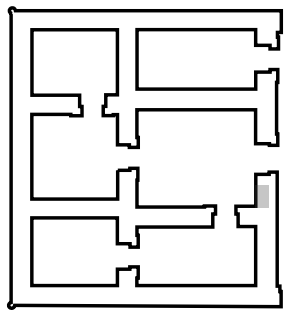


Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B



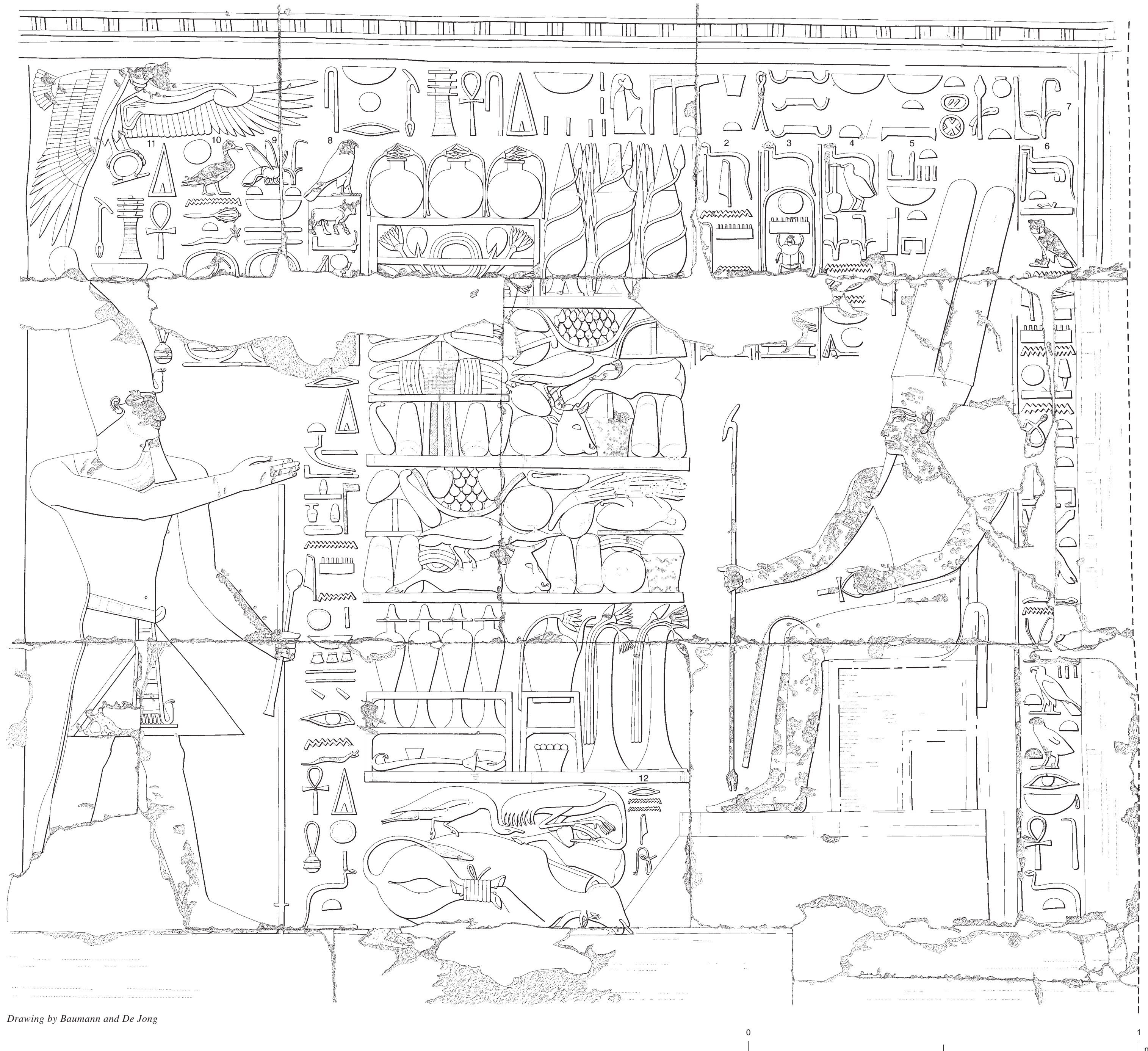
THE KING EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, EAST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY





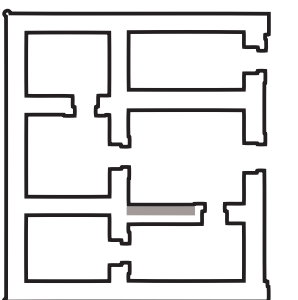
Photograph by Kobylecky

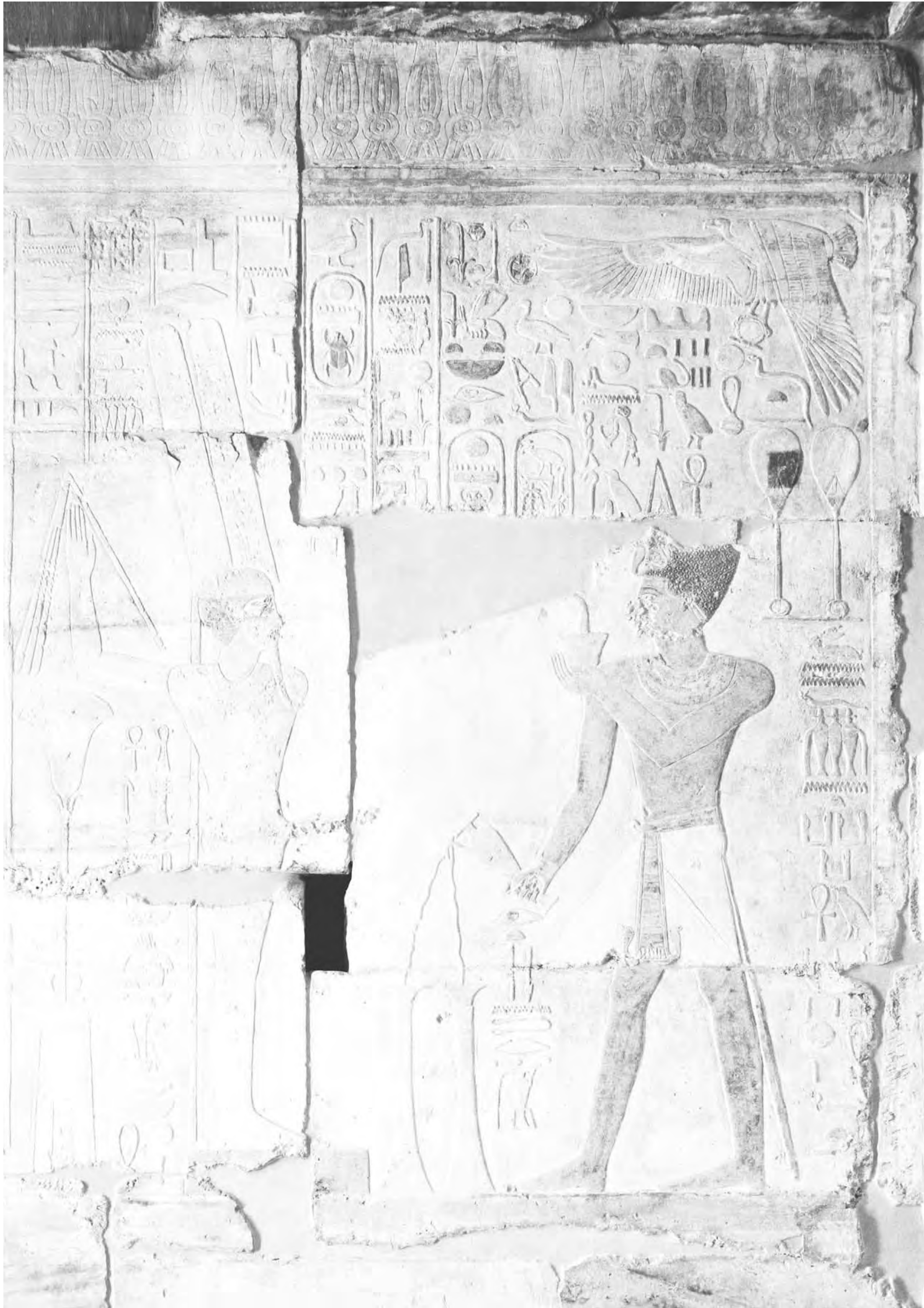
THE SOUTH WALL OF THE DYAD CHAMBER
(Compare Plates 21, 56, and 57, and Color Plate 114)



Drawing by Baumann and De Jong

THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 20 and Color Plate 114)





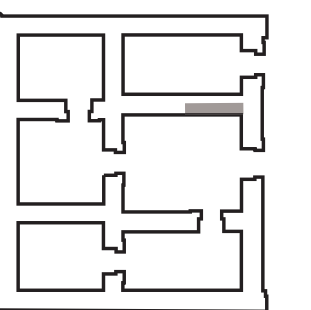
Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plate 23 and Color Plate 115)



Drawing by De Jong, Johnson, and Osgood

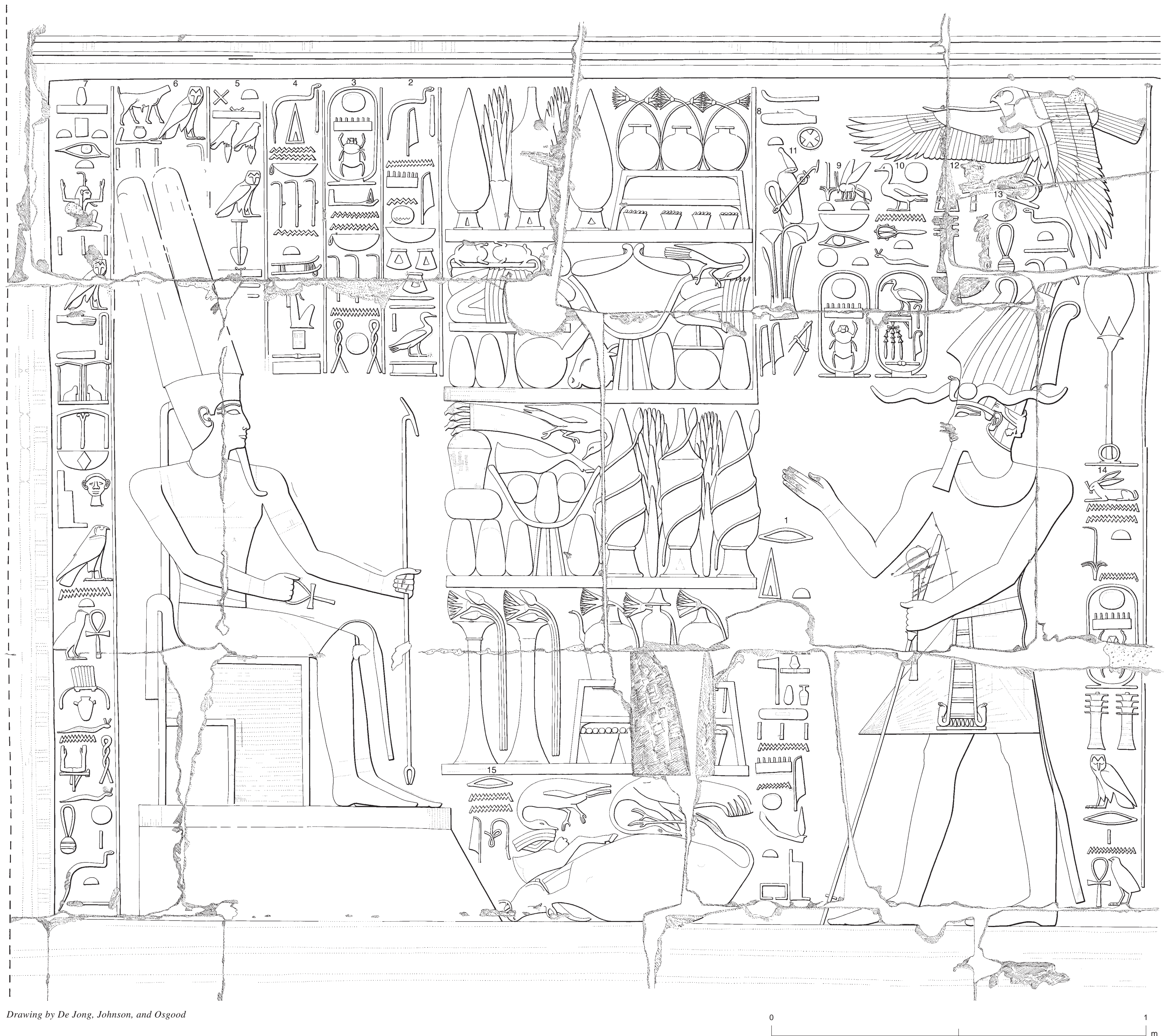
THE KING CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 22 and Color Plate 115)





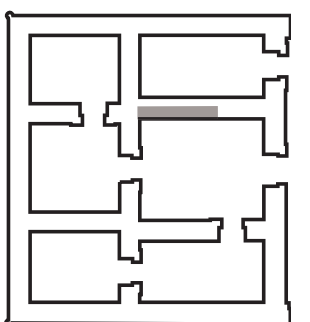
Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plate 25 and Color Plate 116)



Drawing by De Jong, Johnson, and Osgood

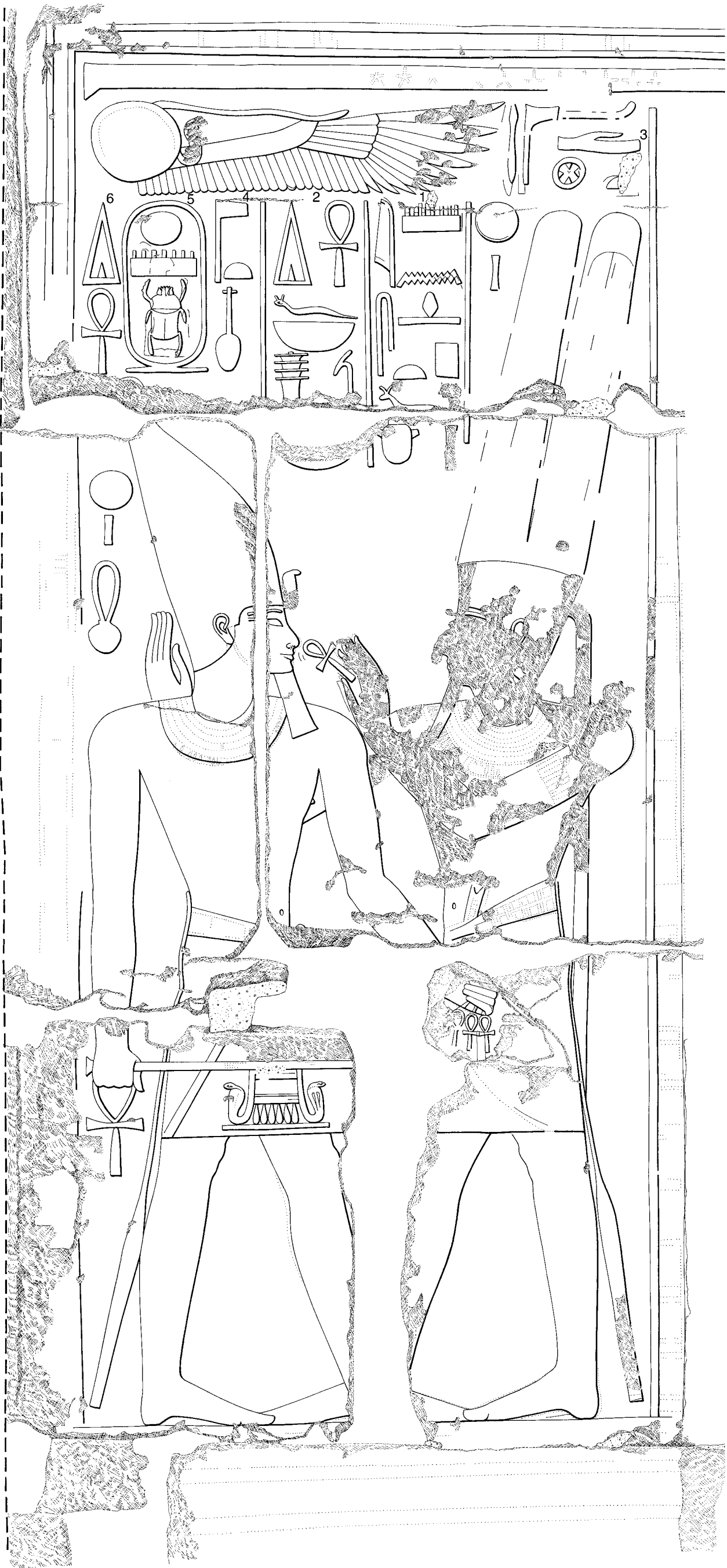
THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 24 and Color Plate 116)





Photograph by Kobylecky

A

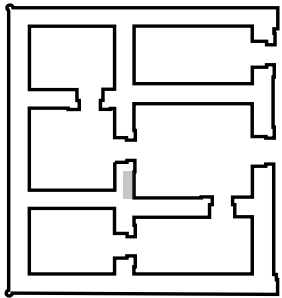


Drawing by De Jong and Osgood

B



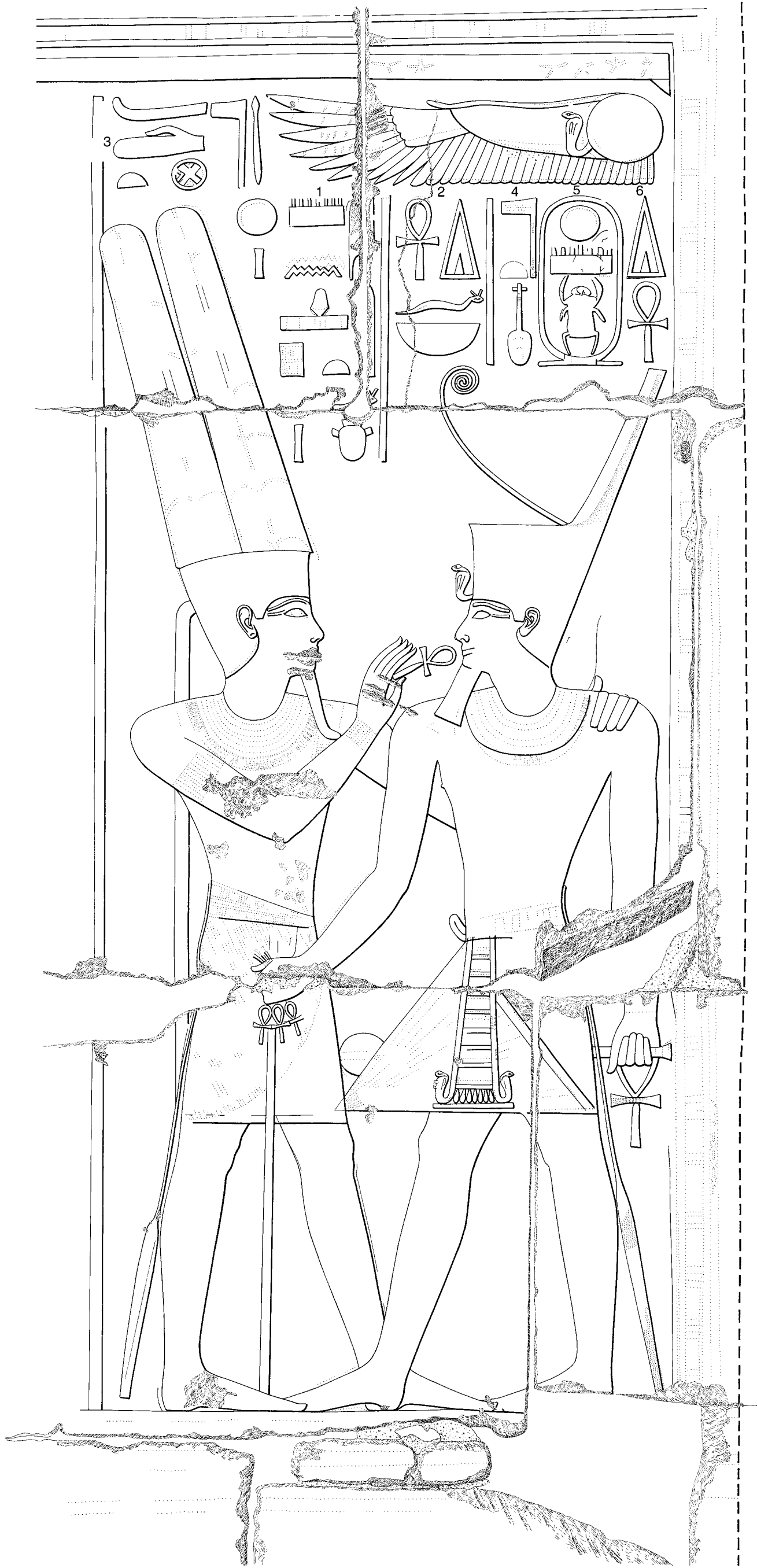
THE KING GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, WEST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY
(Compare Color Plate 117.A)





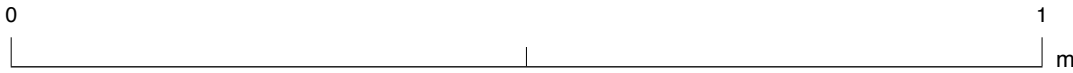
Photograph by Kobylecky

A

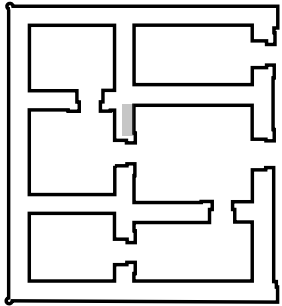


Drawing by De Jong and Osgood

B



THE KING GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, WEST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY
(Compare Color Plate 117.B)





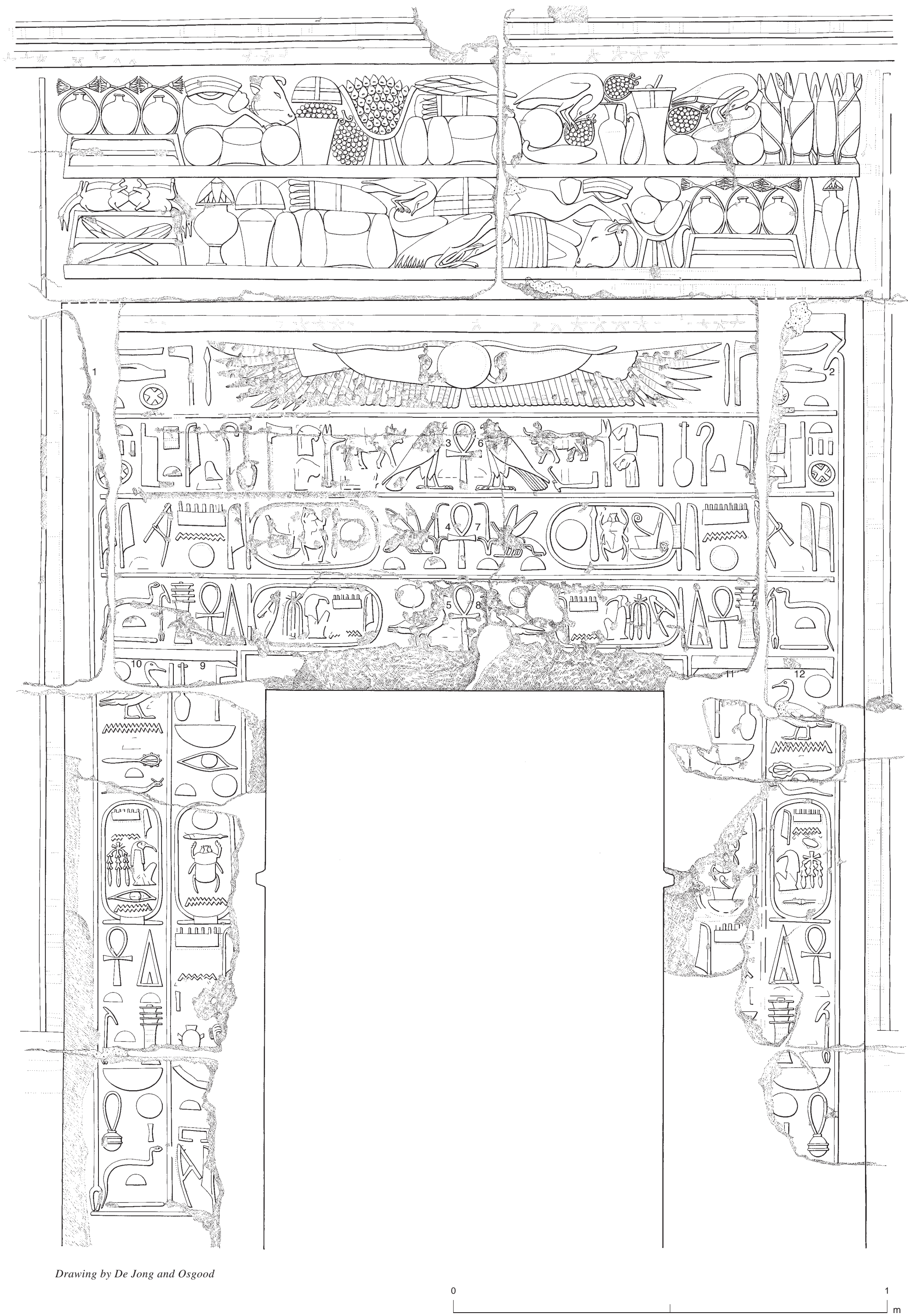
Photograph by Kobylecky

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
DYAD CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(Compare Plates 26, 27, and 29)



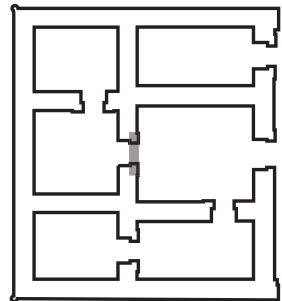
Photograph by Kobylecky

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
DYAD CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(Compare Plates 26, 27, and 29)



Drawing by De Jong and Osgood

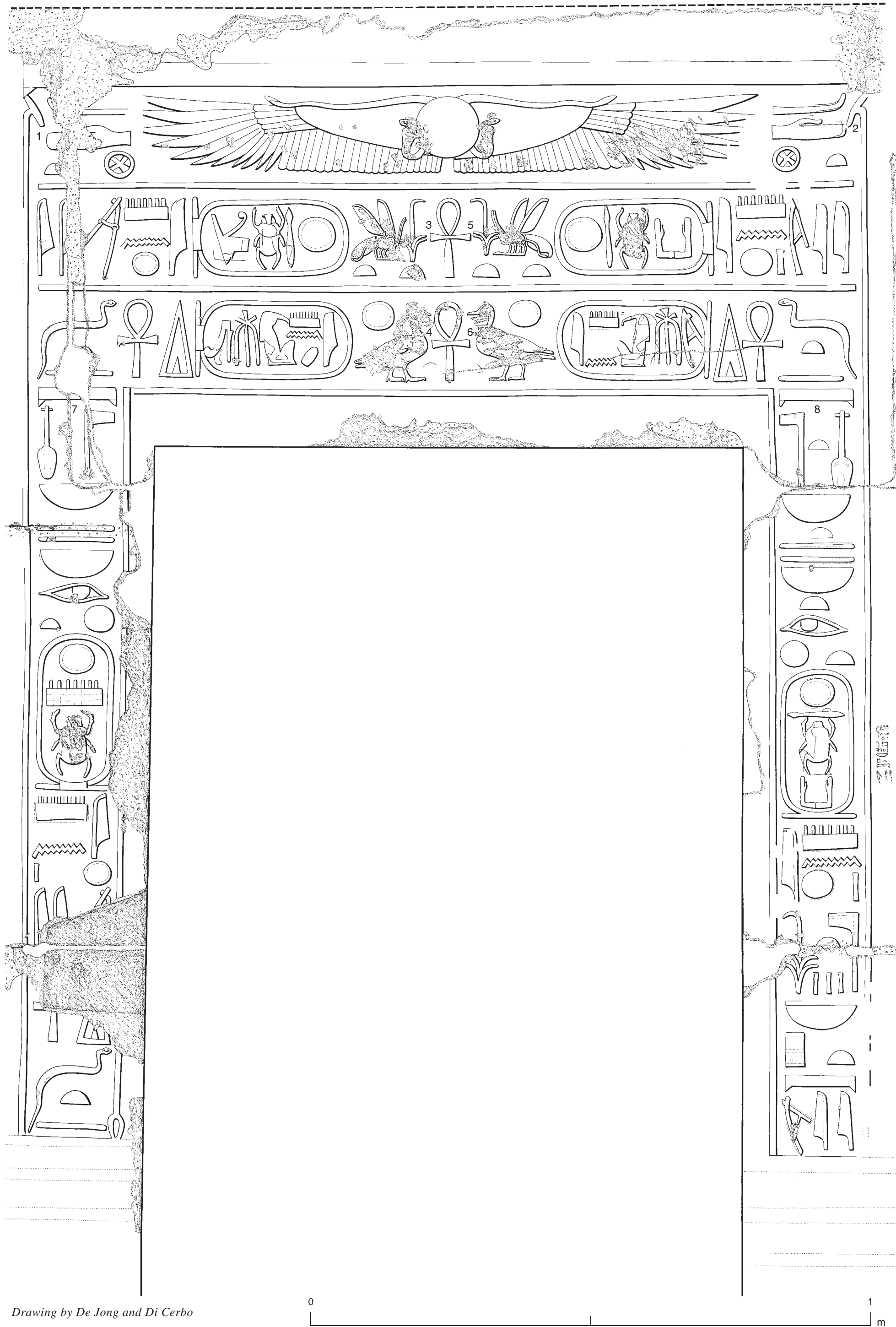
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
DYAD CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(See Plate 28)





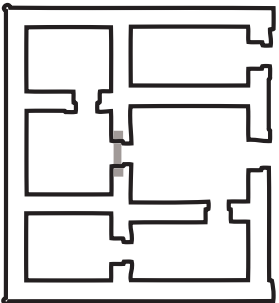
Photograph by Kobylecky

SANCTUARY OF AMUN. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE DYAD CHAMBER
(Compare Plates 31, 32, and 33, and Color Plate 118)



Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

SANCTUARY OF AMUN. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE DYAD CHAMBER
(See Plate 30 and Color Plate 118)





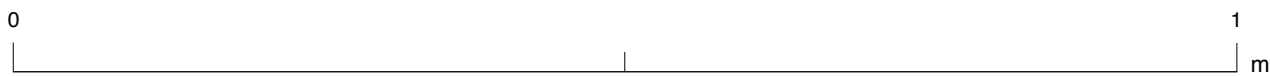
Photograph by Kobylecky

A

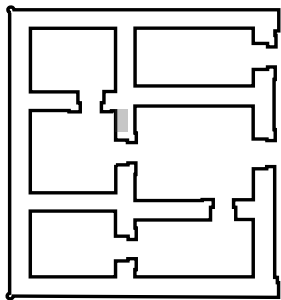


Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

B



THE KING EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, EAST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY
(Compare Color Plate 118)





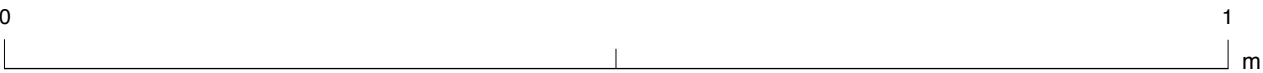
Photograph by Kobylecky

A

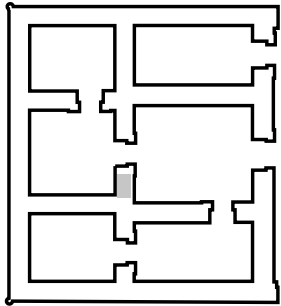


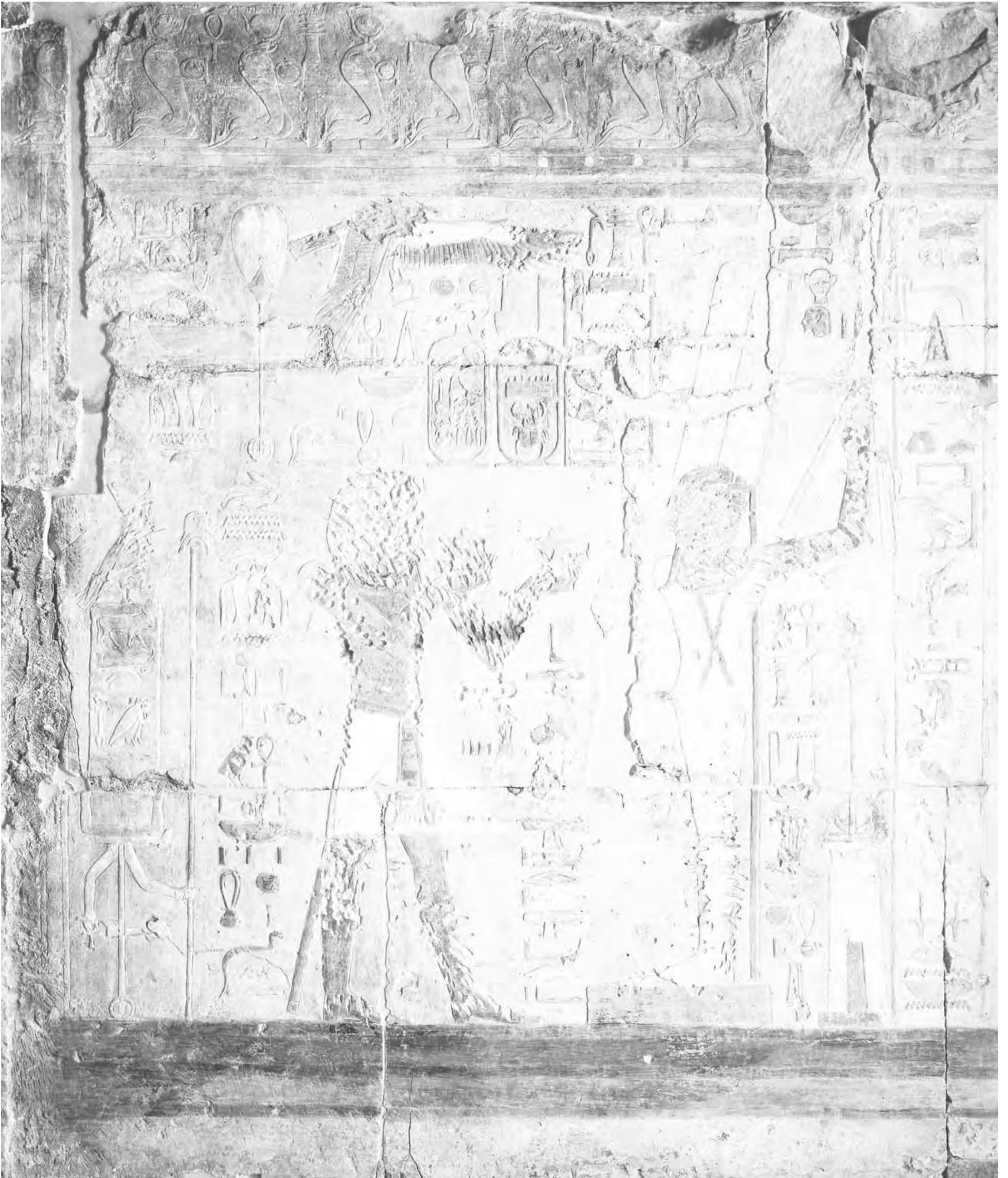
Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

B



THE KING (ERASED) BEFORE AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, EAST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY
(Compare Color Plate 118)



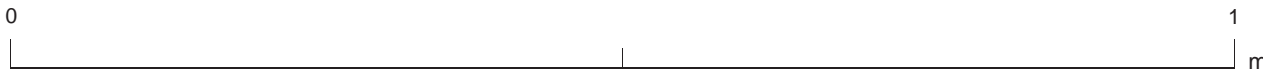


Photograph by Kobylecky

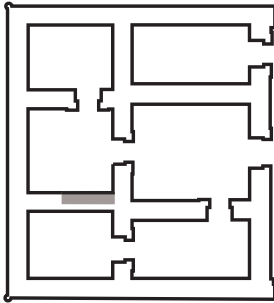
THE KING OFFERING *BD-NATRON* TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF AMUN, SOUTH WALL
 (*Compare Plate 35 and Color Plate 119*)

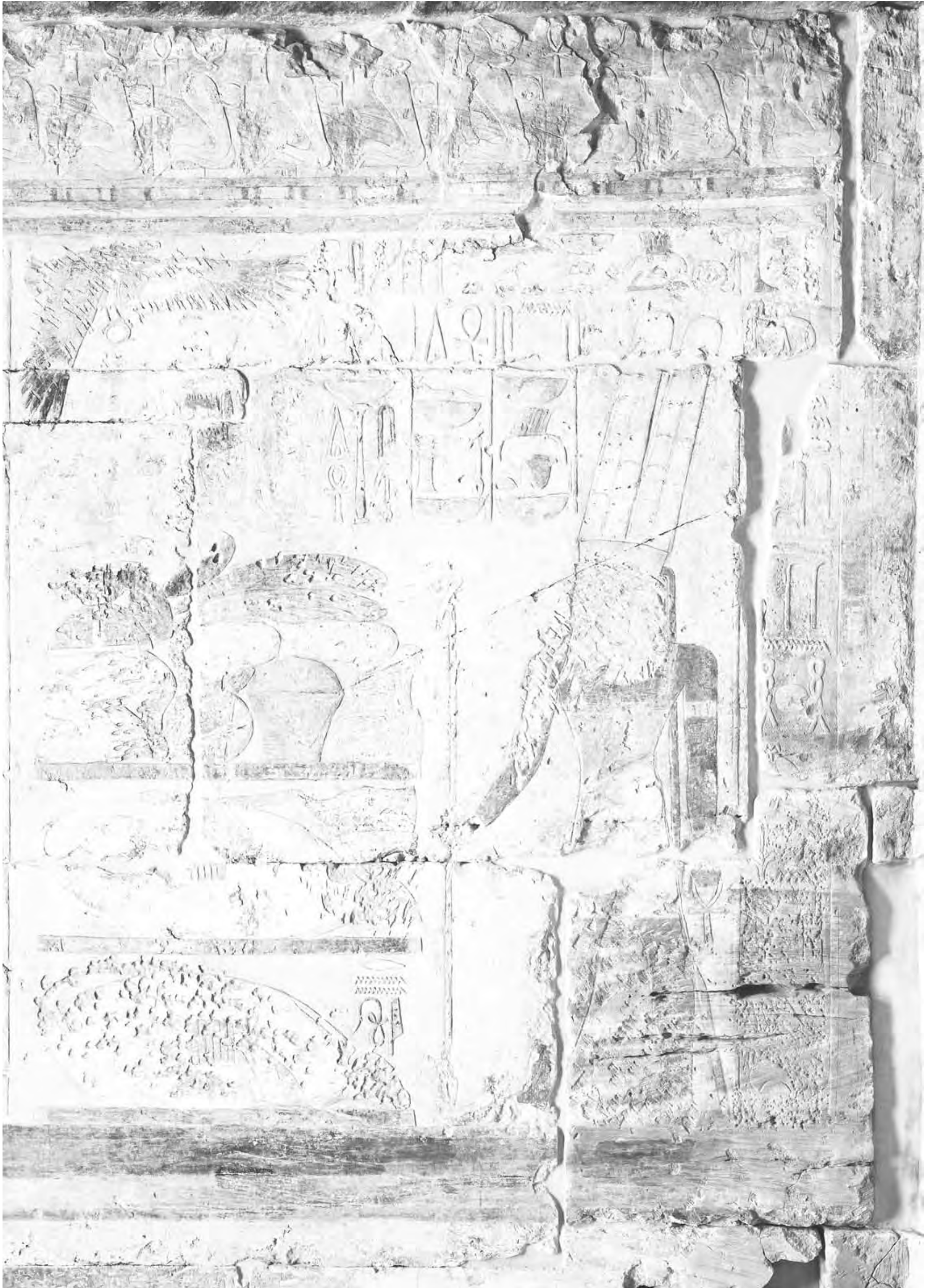


Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo



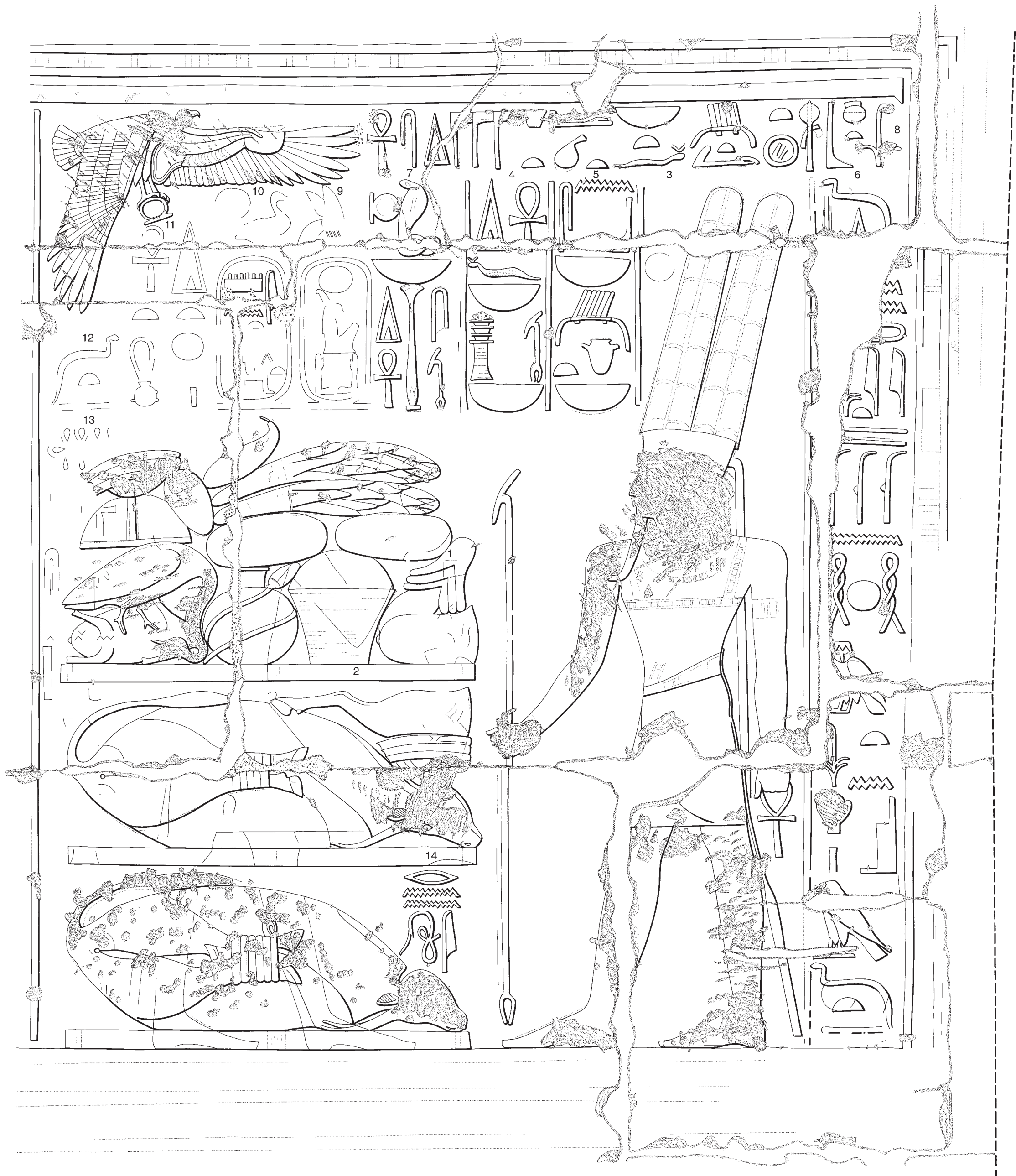
THE KING OFFERING *BD-NATRON* TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 34 and Color Plate 119)



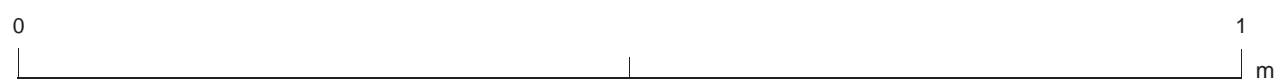


Photograph by Kobylecky

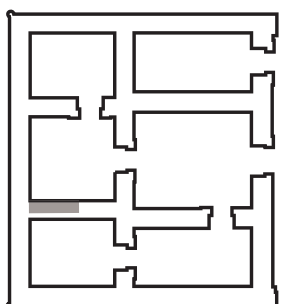
THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) OFFERING *NTRW*-NATRON TO AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plate 37 and Color Plate 120)

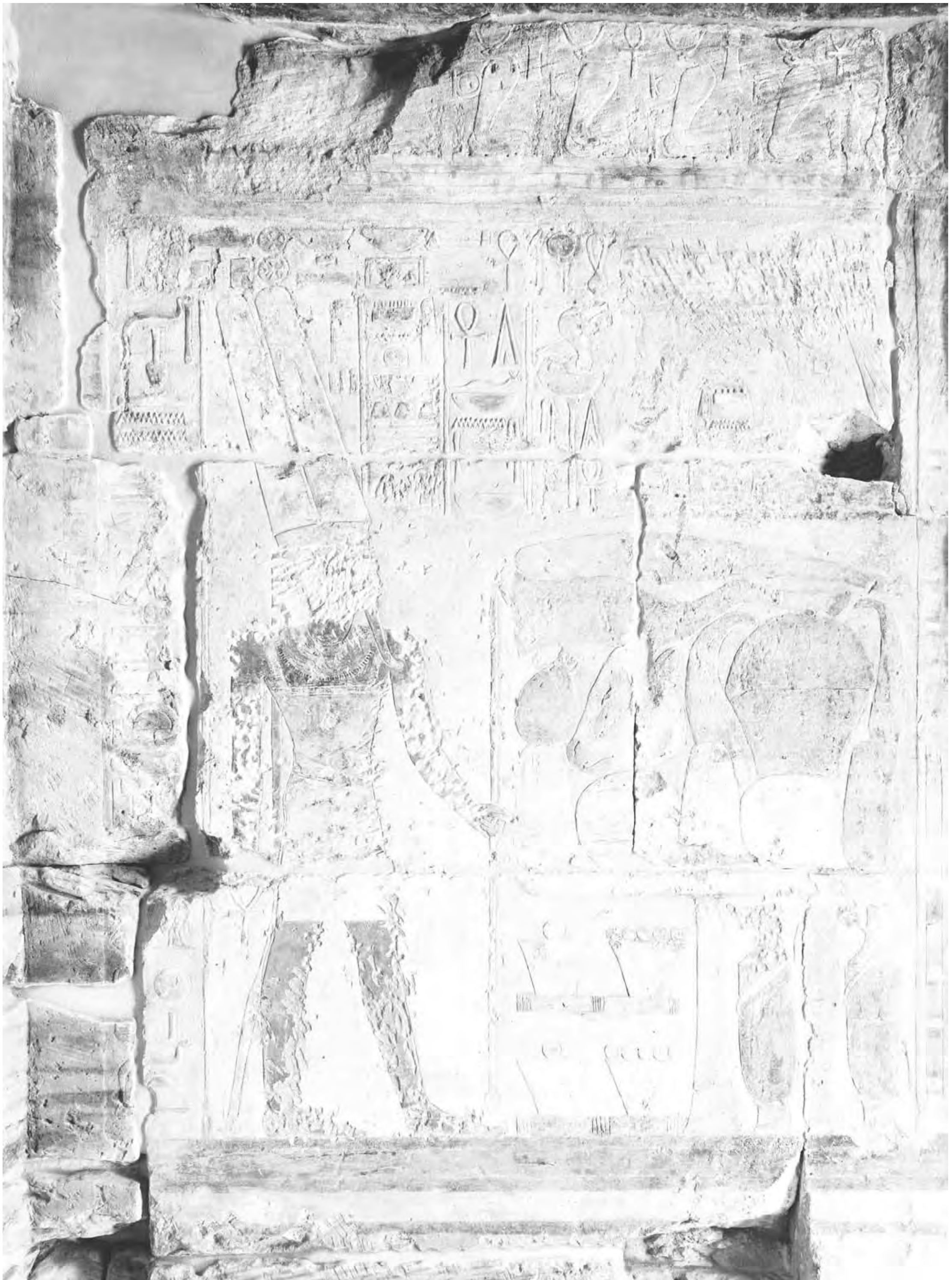


Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo



THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) OFFERING *NTRW*-NATRON TO AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF AMUN, SOUTH WALL
 (See Plate 36 and Color Plate 120)



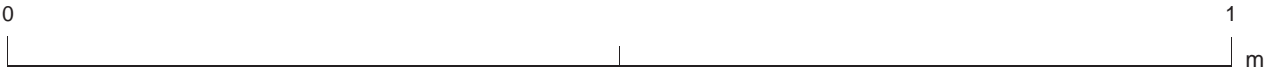


Photograph by Kobylecky

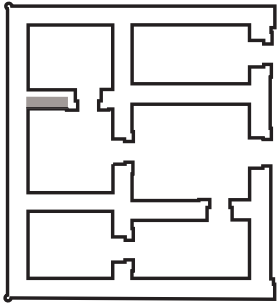
THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF AMUN, NORTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 39)



Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo



THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 38)



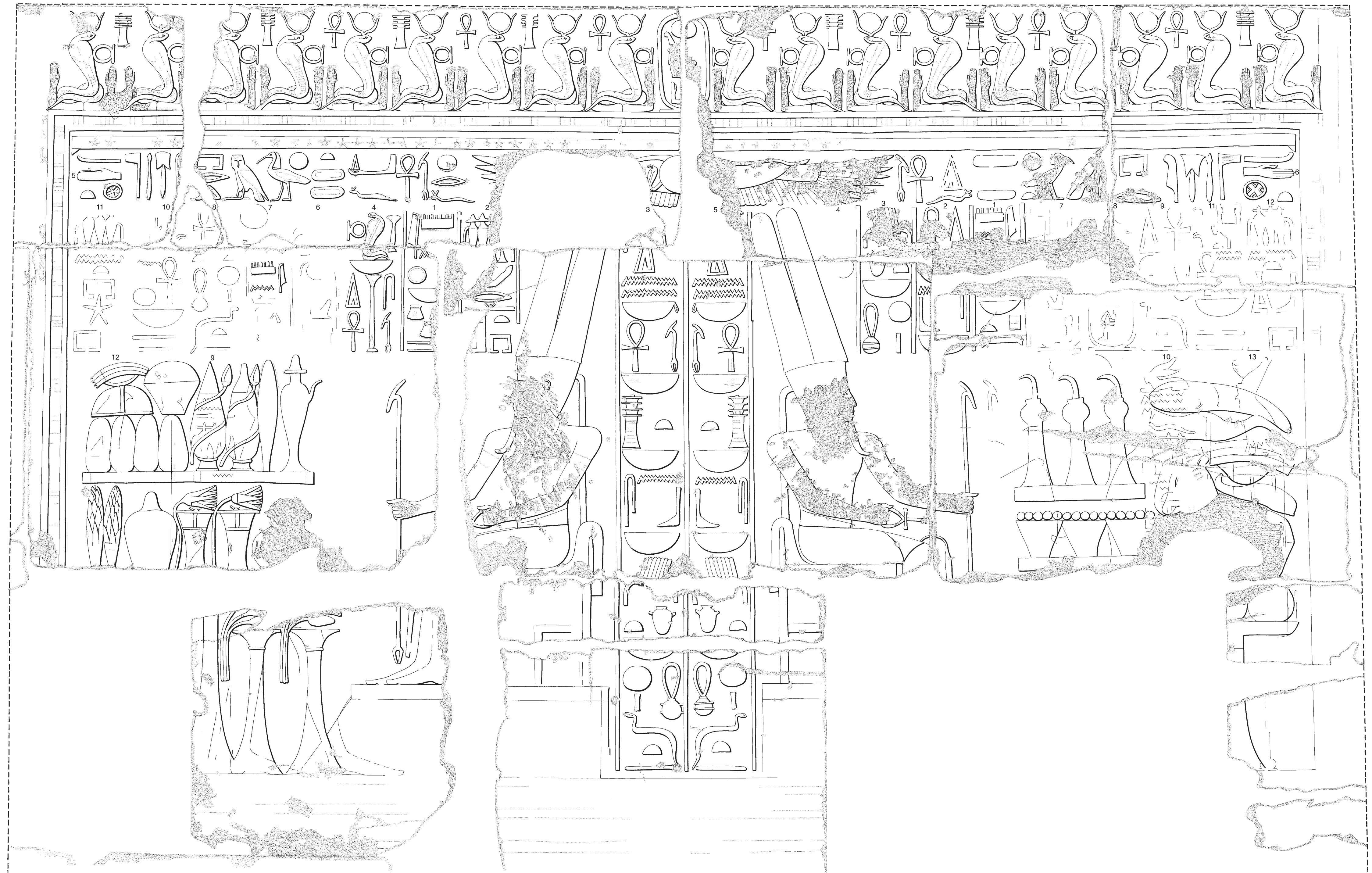


Photograph by Kobylecky

A

B

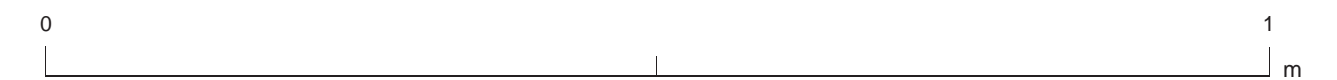
A. AND B. THE KING AND THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY PILES OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, WEST WALL
(Compare Plate 41)



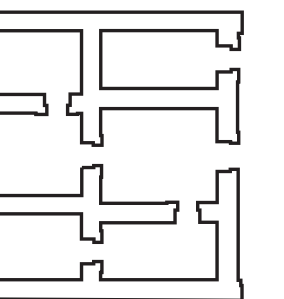
Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

A

B



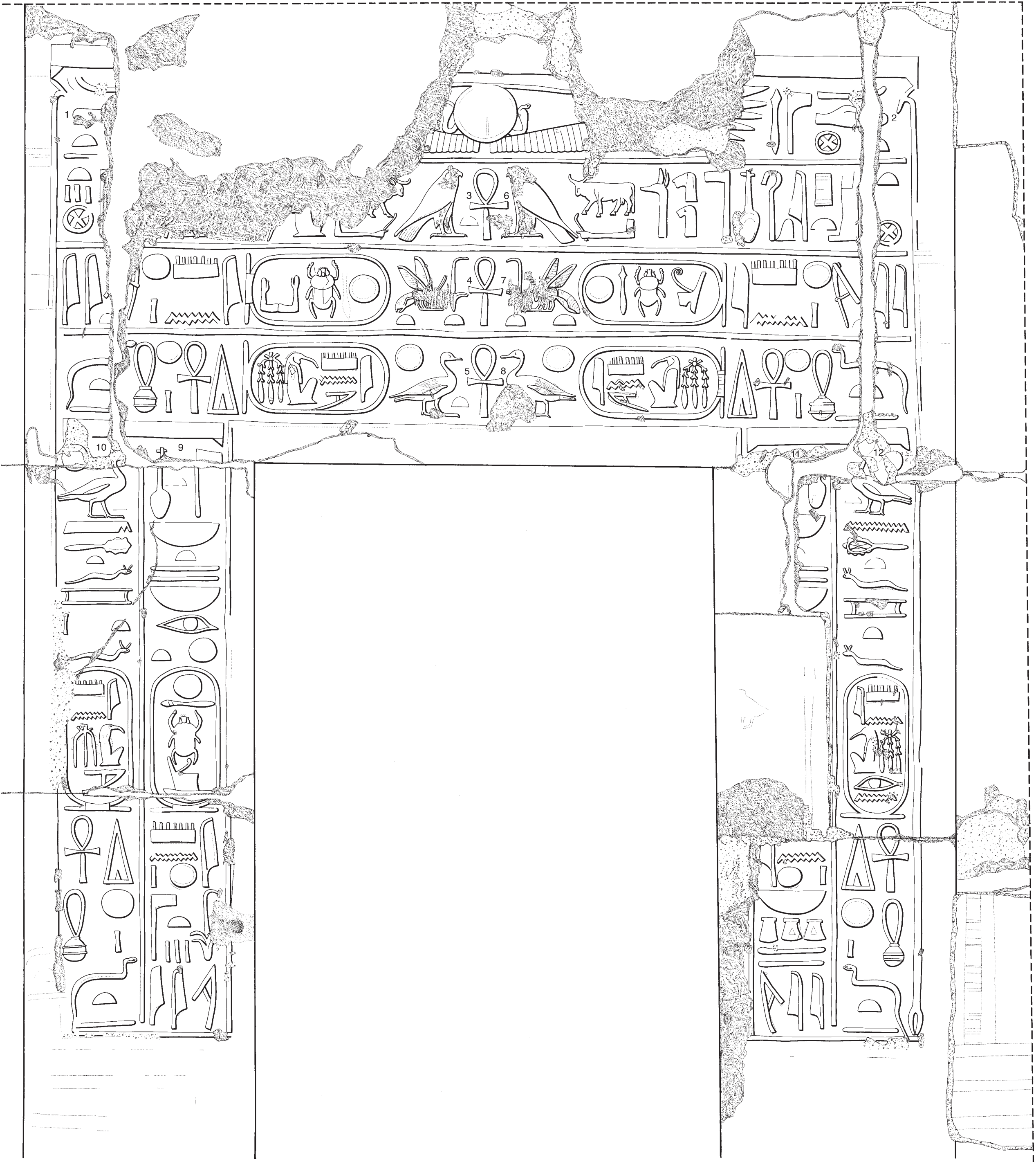
A. AND B. THE KING AND THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY PILES OF OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, WEST WALL
(See Plate 40)



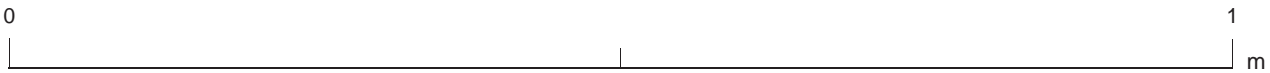


Photograph by Kobylecky

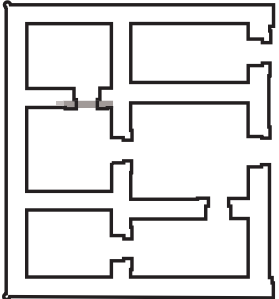
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN TO THE NAOS CHAMBER
(Compare Plate 43)



Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo



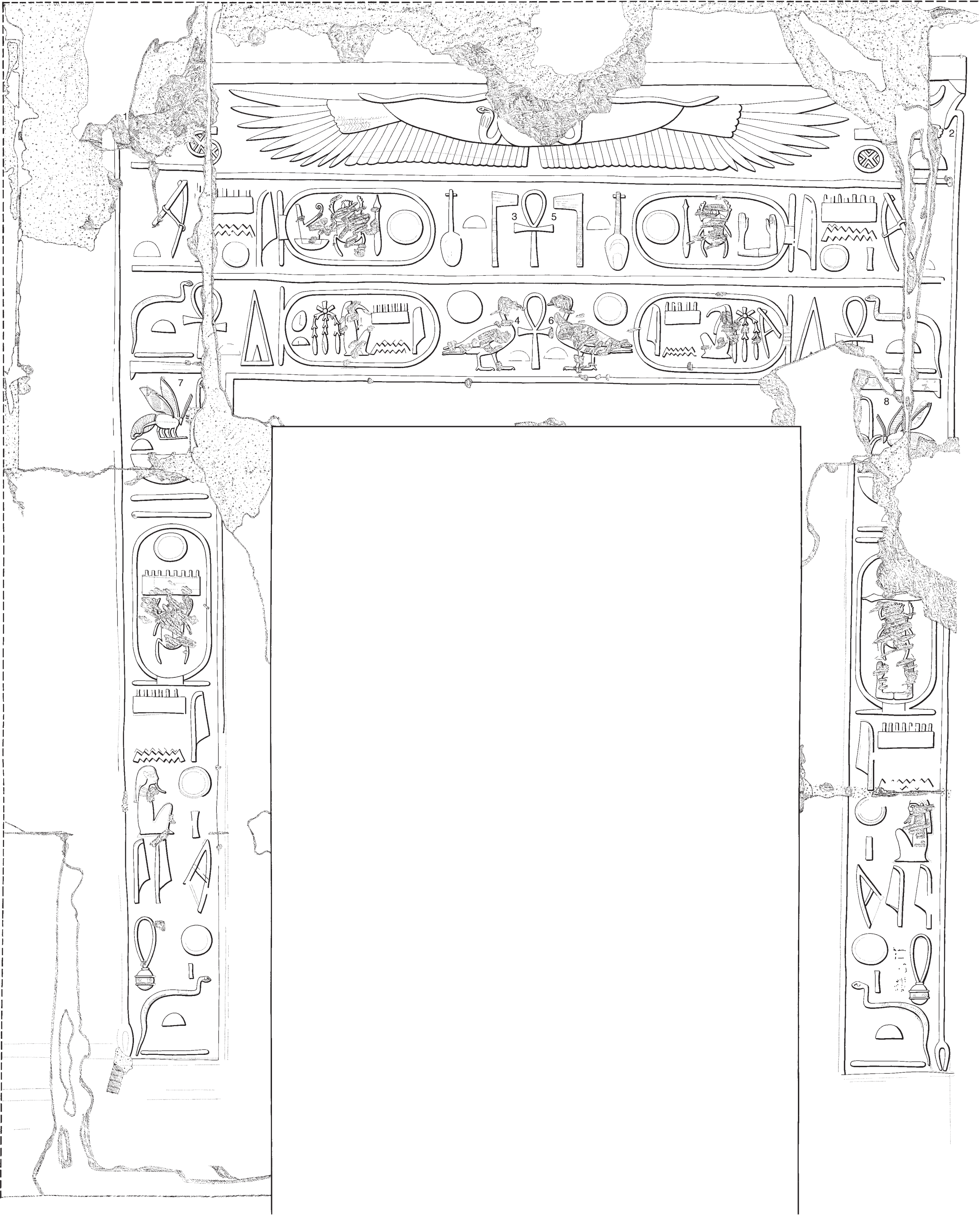
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN TO THE NAOS CHAMBER
(See Plate 42)



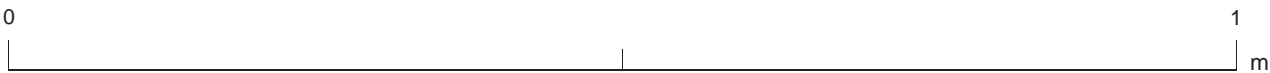


Photograph by Kobylecky

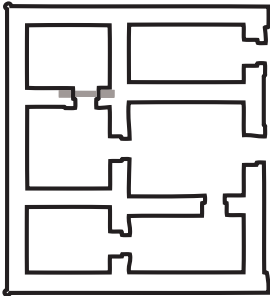
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE NAOS CHAMBER TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
(Compare Plate 45)

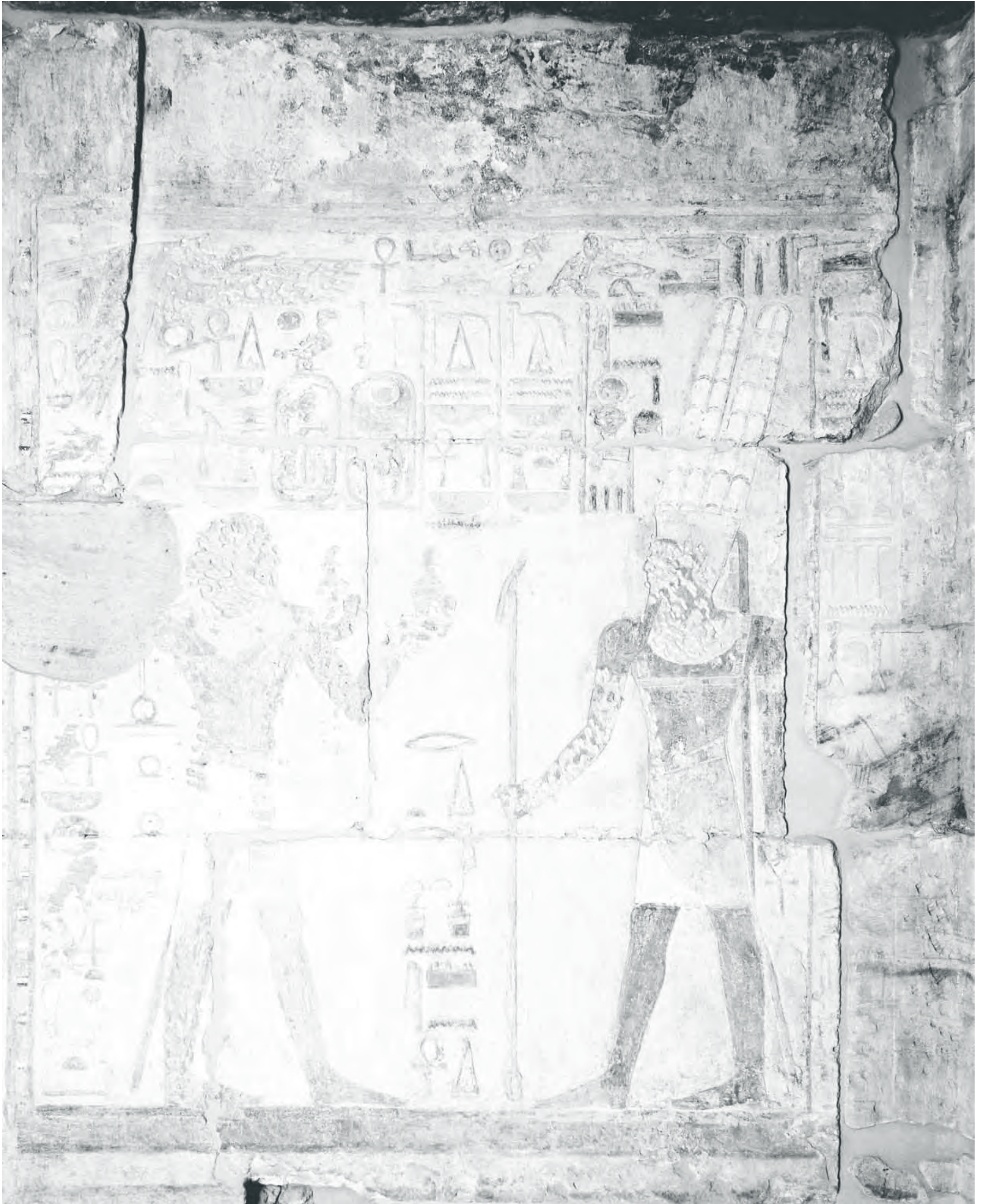


Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo



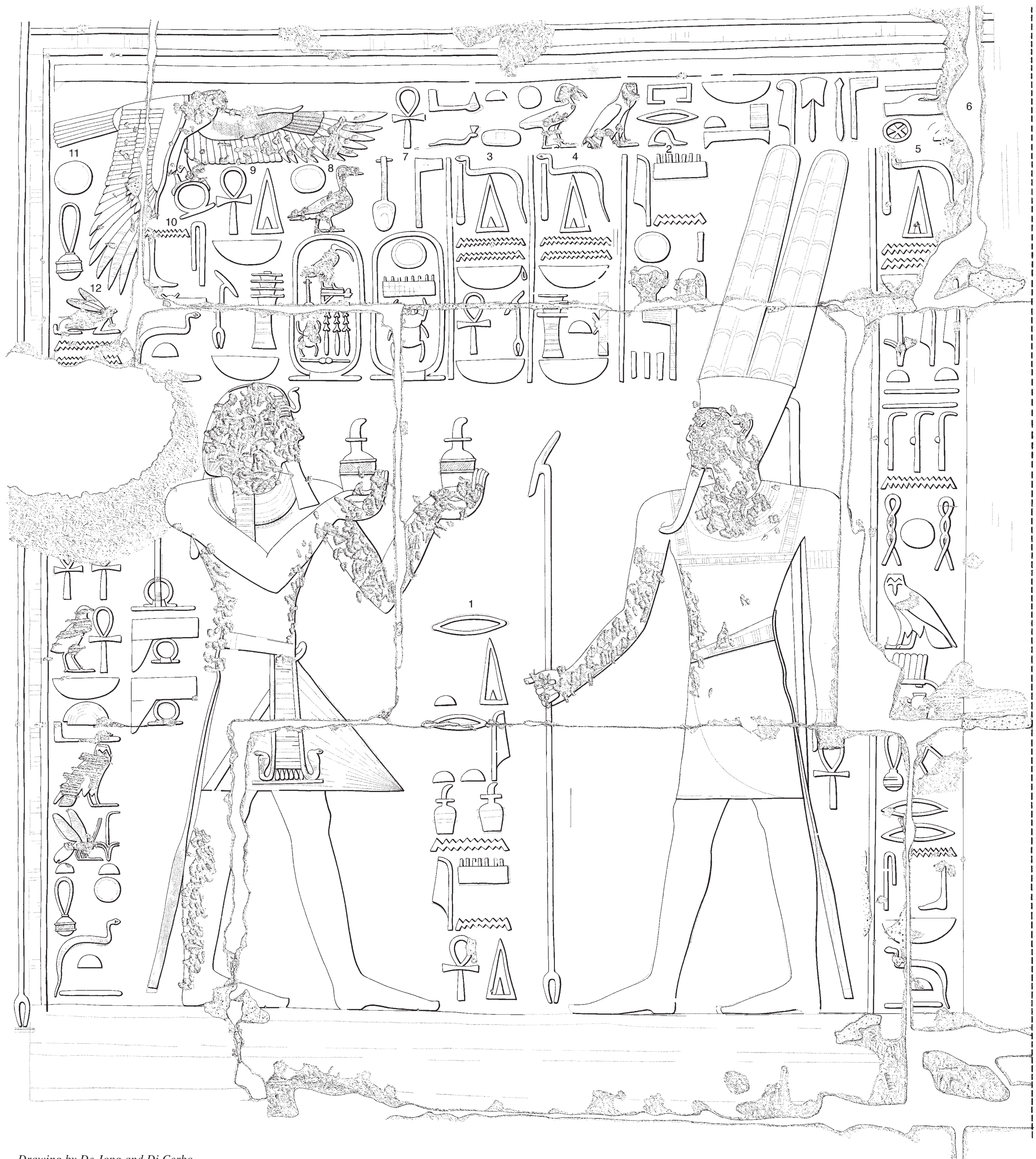
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE NAOS CHAMBER TO THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
(See Plate 44)





Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

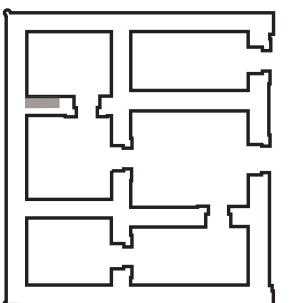
THE KING OFFERING MILK TO AMUN-RE
 NAOS CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 47 and Color Plate 121)



Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

0 1 m

THE KING OFFERING MILK TO AMUN-RE
 NAOS CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
 (See Plate 46 and Color Plate 121)



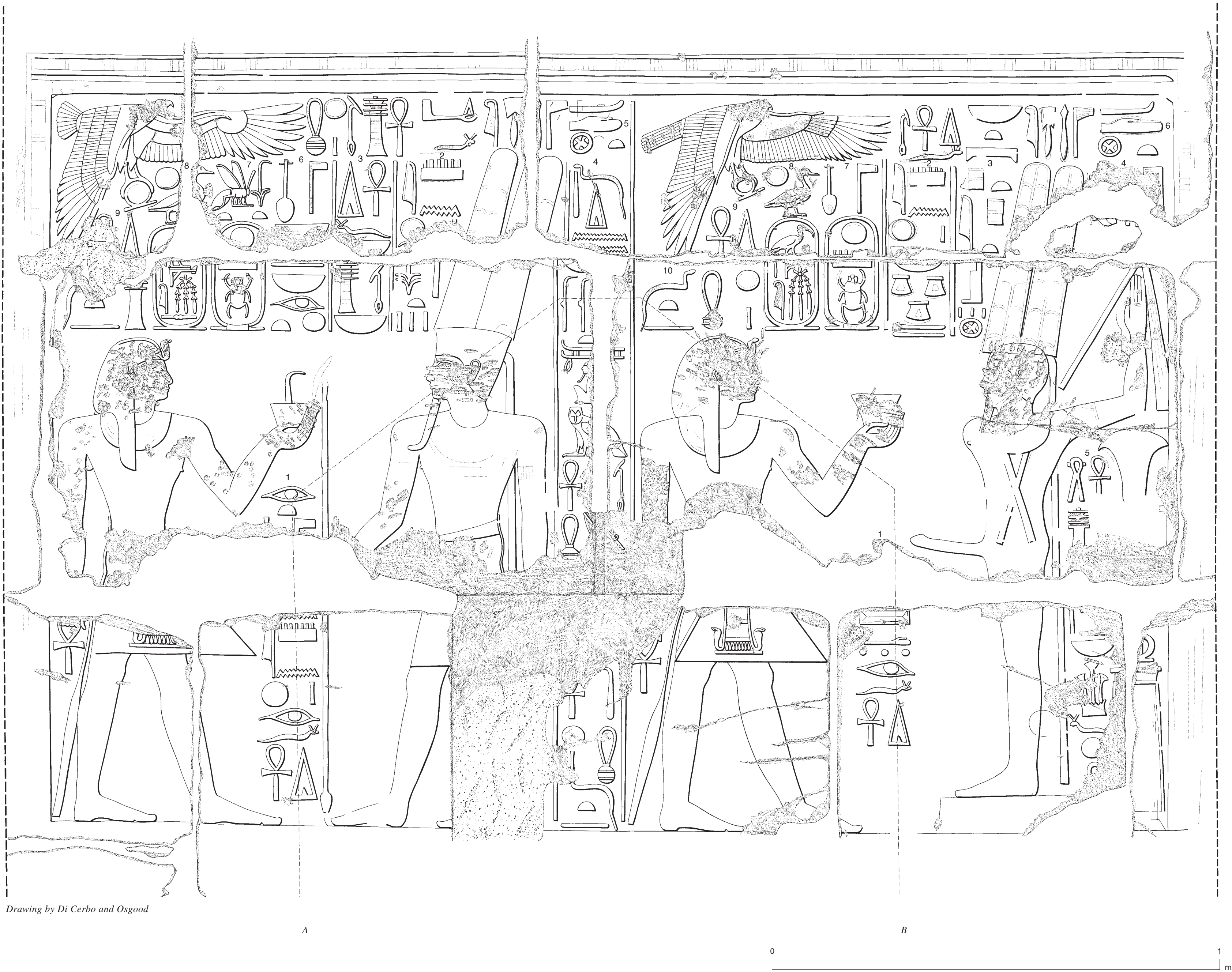


Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

A

B

THE KING (A) CENSING BEFORE AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING SAND TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
NAOS CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(Compare Plate 49)



Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

A

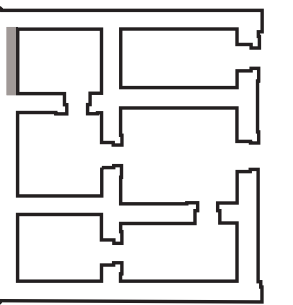
B

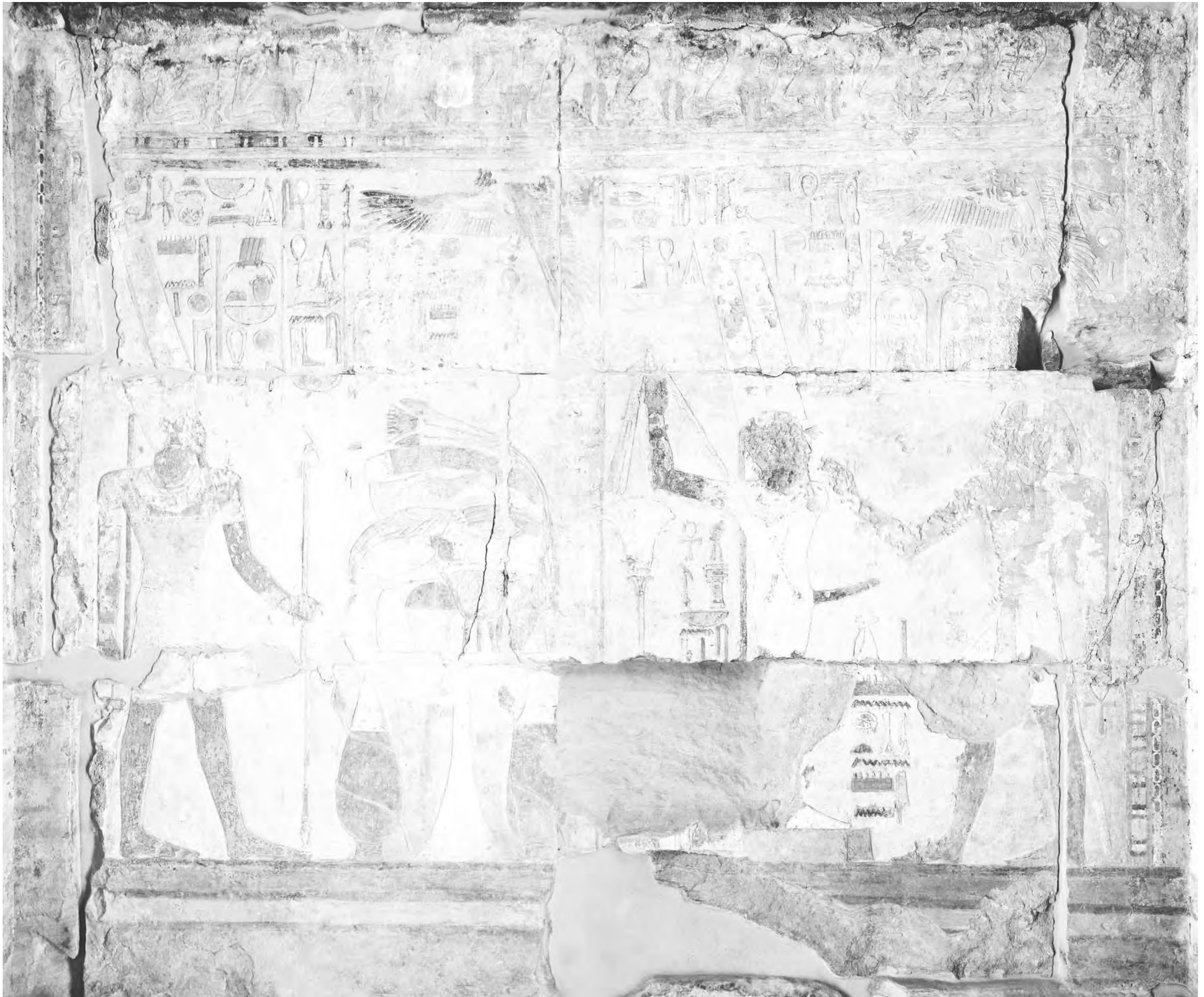
0

1

m

THE KING (A) CENSING BEFORE AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING SAND TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
NAOS CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(See Plate 48)





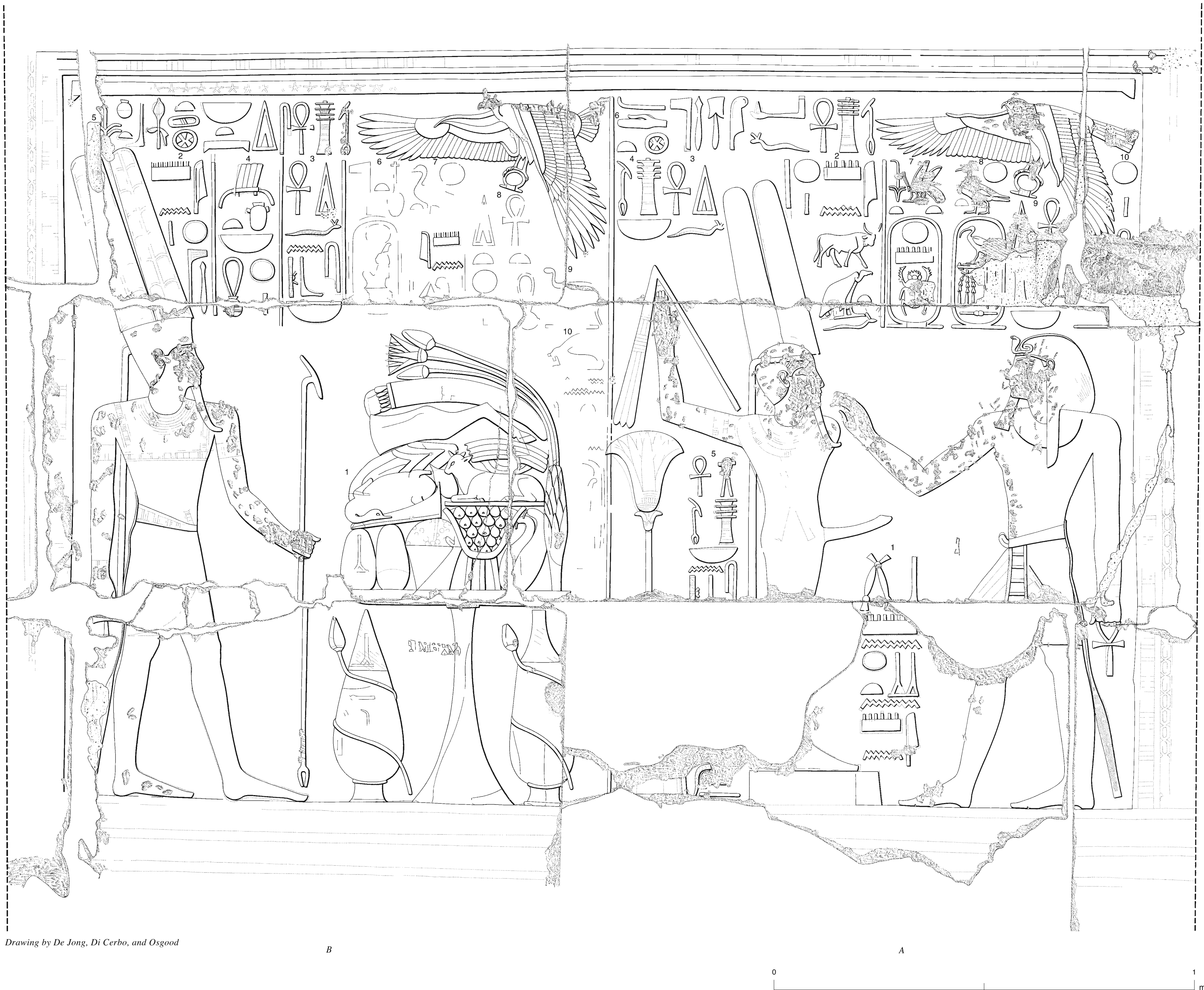
Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

B

A

THE KING (A) CLOTHING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE KAMUTEF AND (B) (REPLACED BY AN OFFERING TABLE WITH OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE
NAOS CHAMBER, EAST WALL

(Compare Plate 51 and Color Plates 122 and 123)



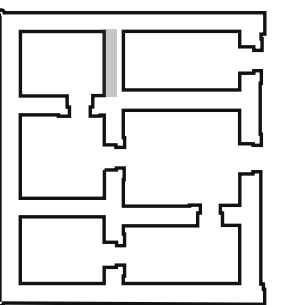
Drawing by De Jong, Di Cerbo, and Osgood

B

A

0 1 m

THE KING (A) CLOTHING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE KAMUTEF AND (B) (REPLACED BY AN OFFERING TABLE WITH OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE
 NAOS CHAMBER, EAST WALL
 (See Plate 50 and Color Plates 122 and 123)

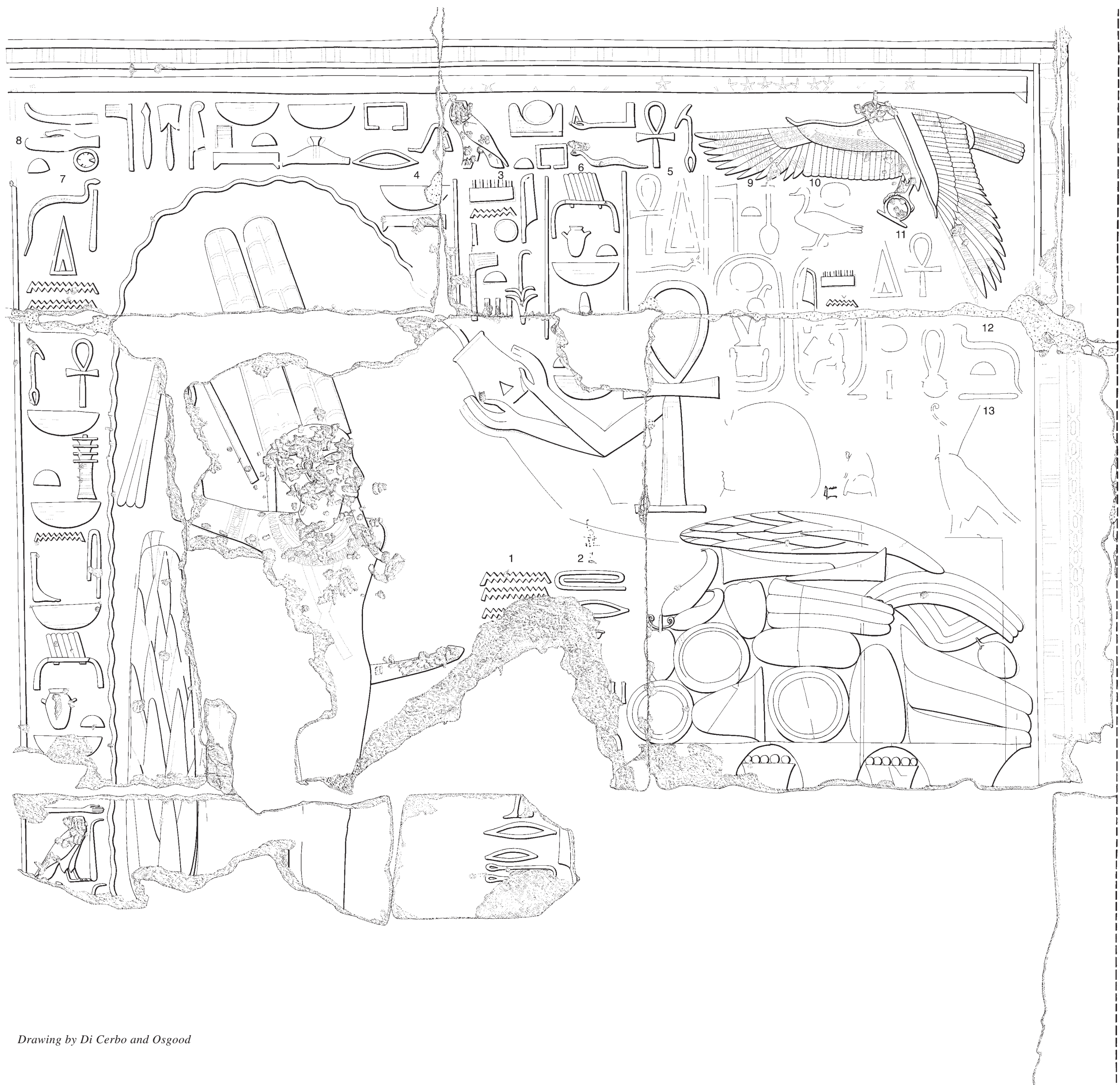




Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS AND THE PERSONIFIED ANKH),
POURING WATER OVER ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE

NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plate 53 and Color Plate 124)

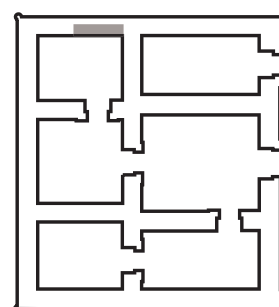


Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS AND THE PERSONIFIED ANKH),
POURING WATER OVER ITHYPHALIC AMUN-RE

NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL

(See Plate 52 and Color Plate 124)



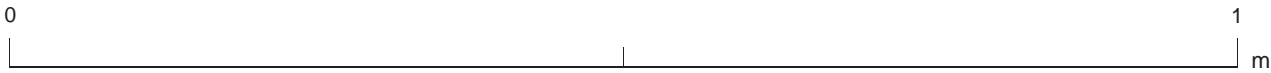


Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

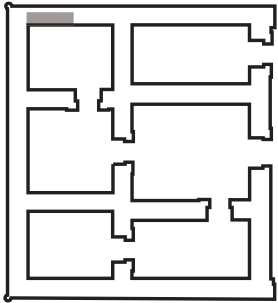
THE KING (REPLACED BY OFFERING STANDS AND THE PERSONIFIED ANKH) POURING WATER OVER AMUN-RE
 NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 55 and Color Plate 125)



Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood



THE KING (REPLACED BY OFFERING STANDS AND THE PERSONIFIED ANKH) POURING WATER OVER AMUN-RE
NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 54 and Color Plate 125)





Photograph by Kobylecky

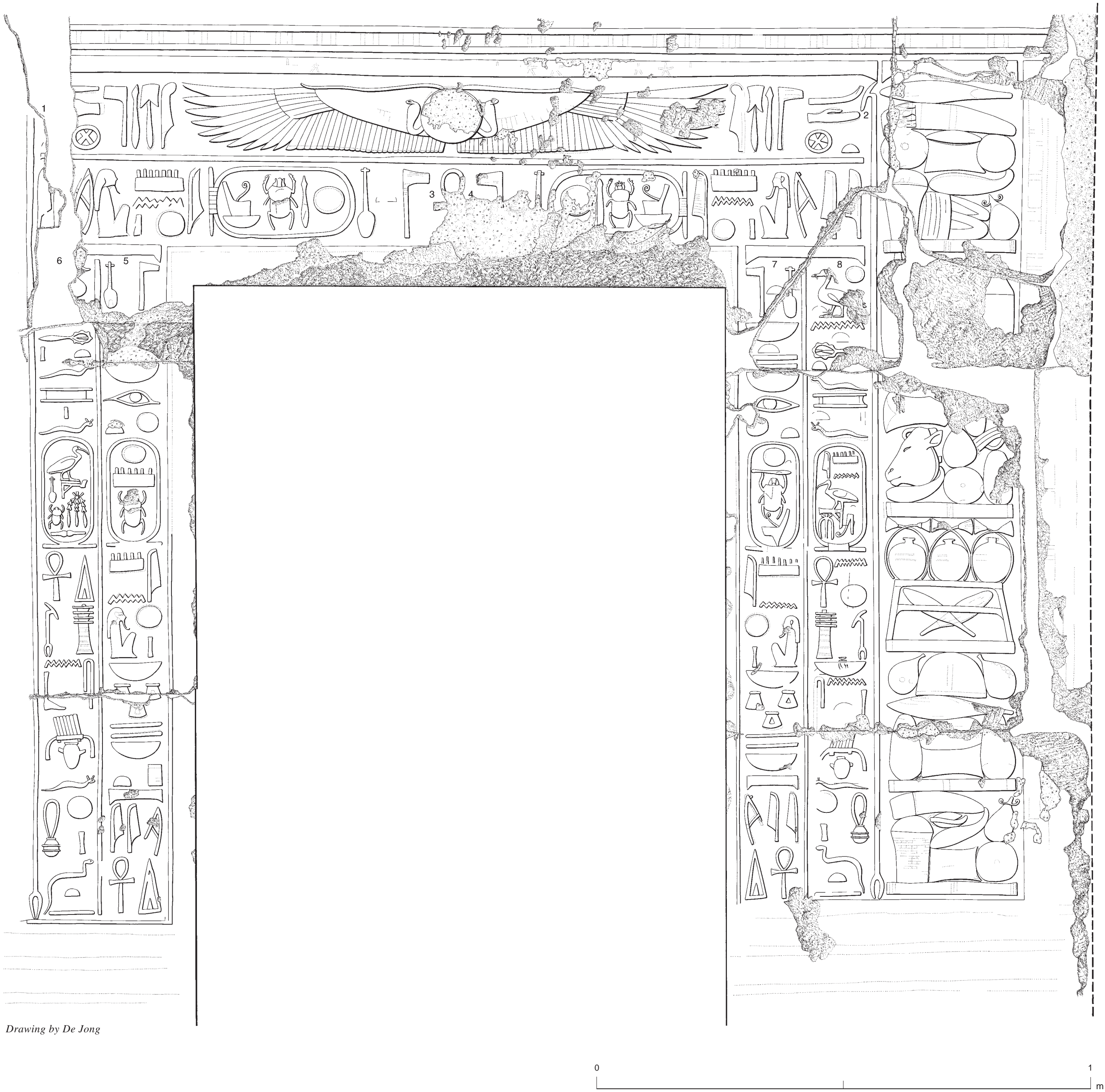
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE VESTIBULE
DYAD CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plate 57)

Drawing by Baumann and De Jong



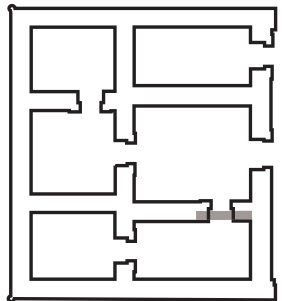
Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

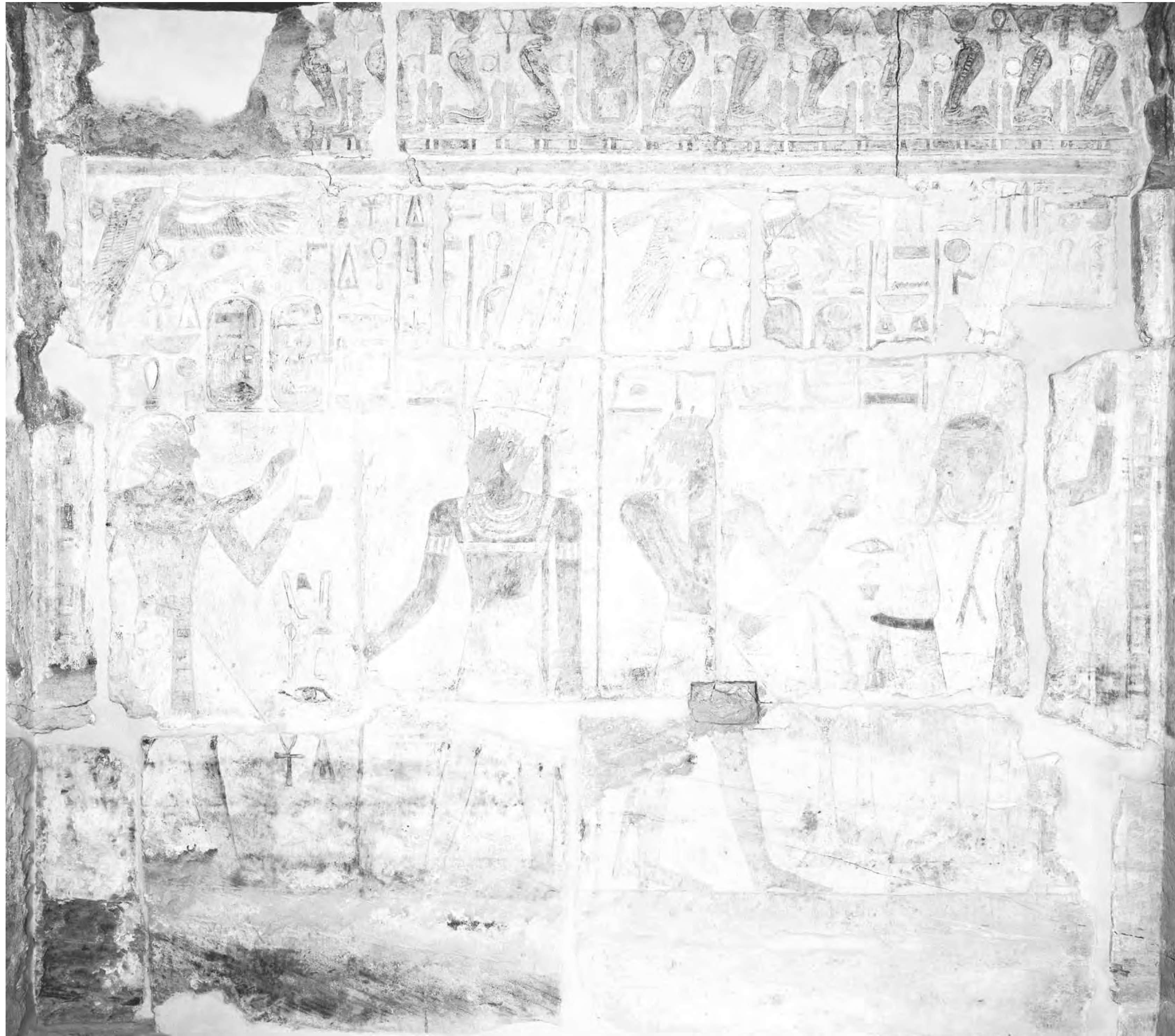
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE VESTIBULE TO THE DYAD CHAMBER
(Compare Plate 59)



Drawing by De Jong

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY FROM THE VESTIBULE TO THE DYAD CHAMBER
(See Plate 58)





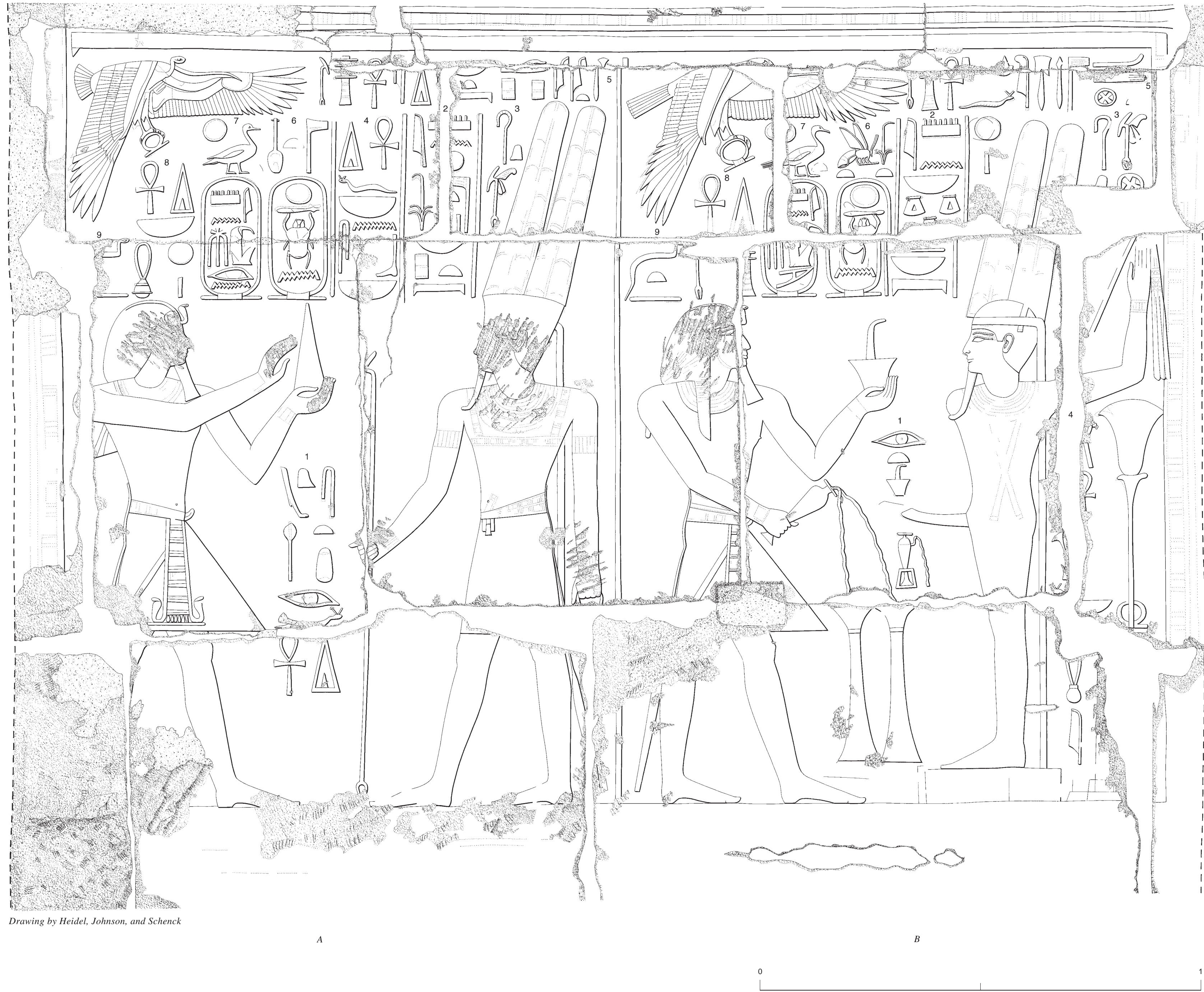
Photograph by Kobylecky

A

B

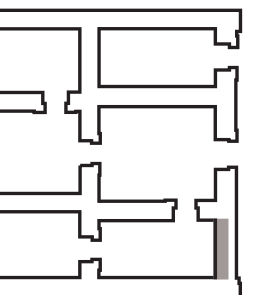
THE KING (A) PRESENTING A LOAF TO AMUN-RE AND (B) CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALIC AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, EAST WALL

(Compare Plate 61 and Color Plate 126)



Drawing by Heidel, Johnson, and Schenck

THE KING (A) PRESENTING A LOAF TO AMUN-RE AND (B) CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALIC AMUN-RE
 VESTIBULE, EAST WALL
 (See Plate 60 and Color Plate 126)



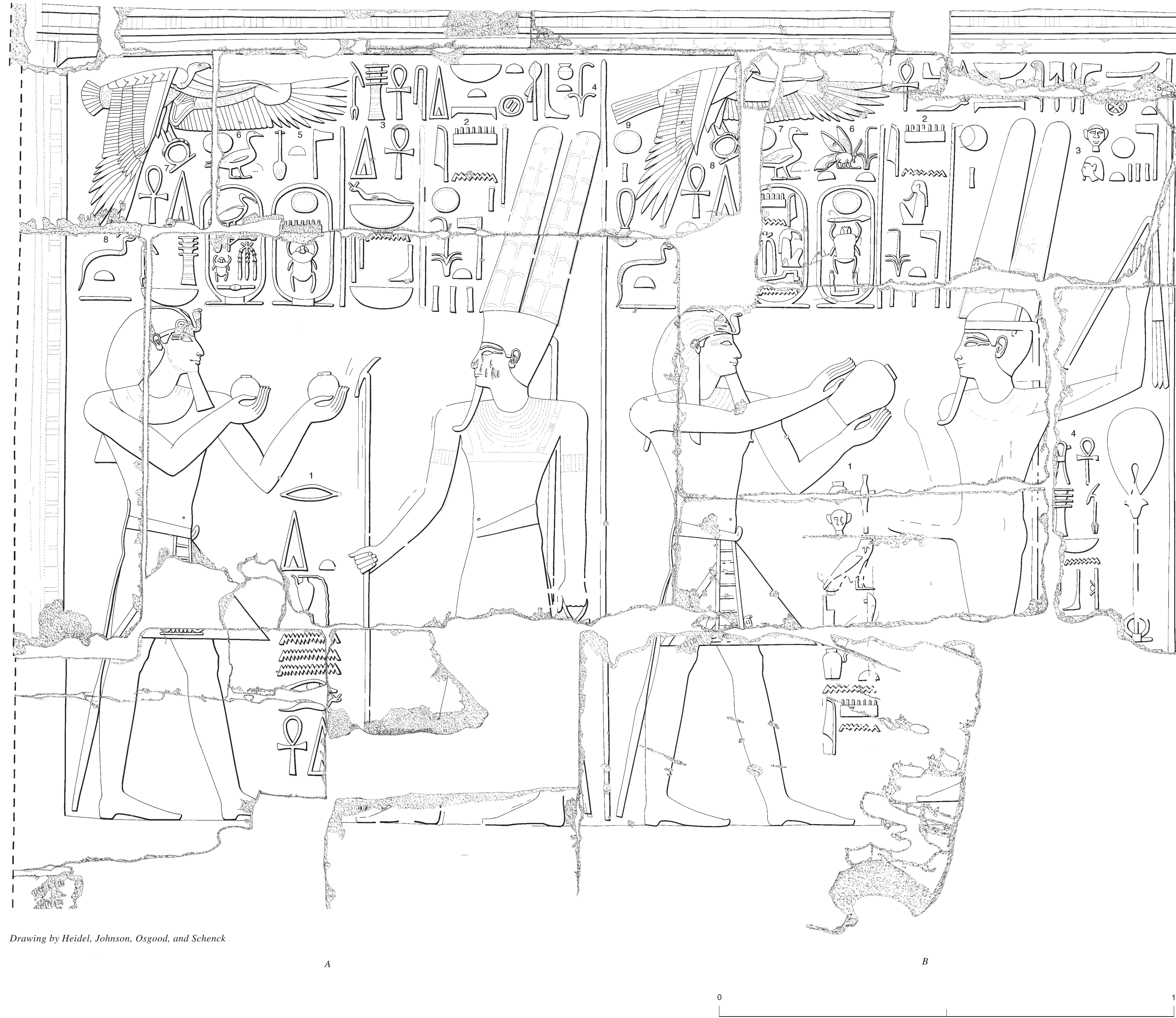


Photograph by Kobylecky

A

B

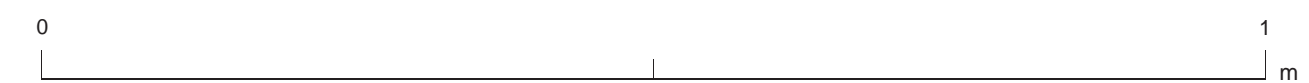
THE KING (A) OFFERING JARS OF WATER TO AMUN-RE AND (B) PRESENTING A NMS.T-JAR TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 VESTIBULE, SOUTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 63 and Color Plate 127)



Drawing by Heidel, Johnson, Osgood, and Schenck

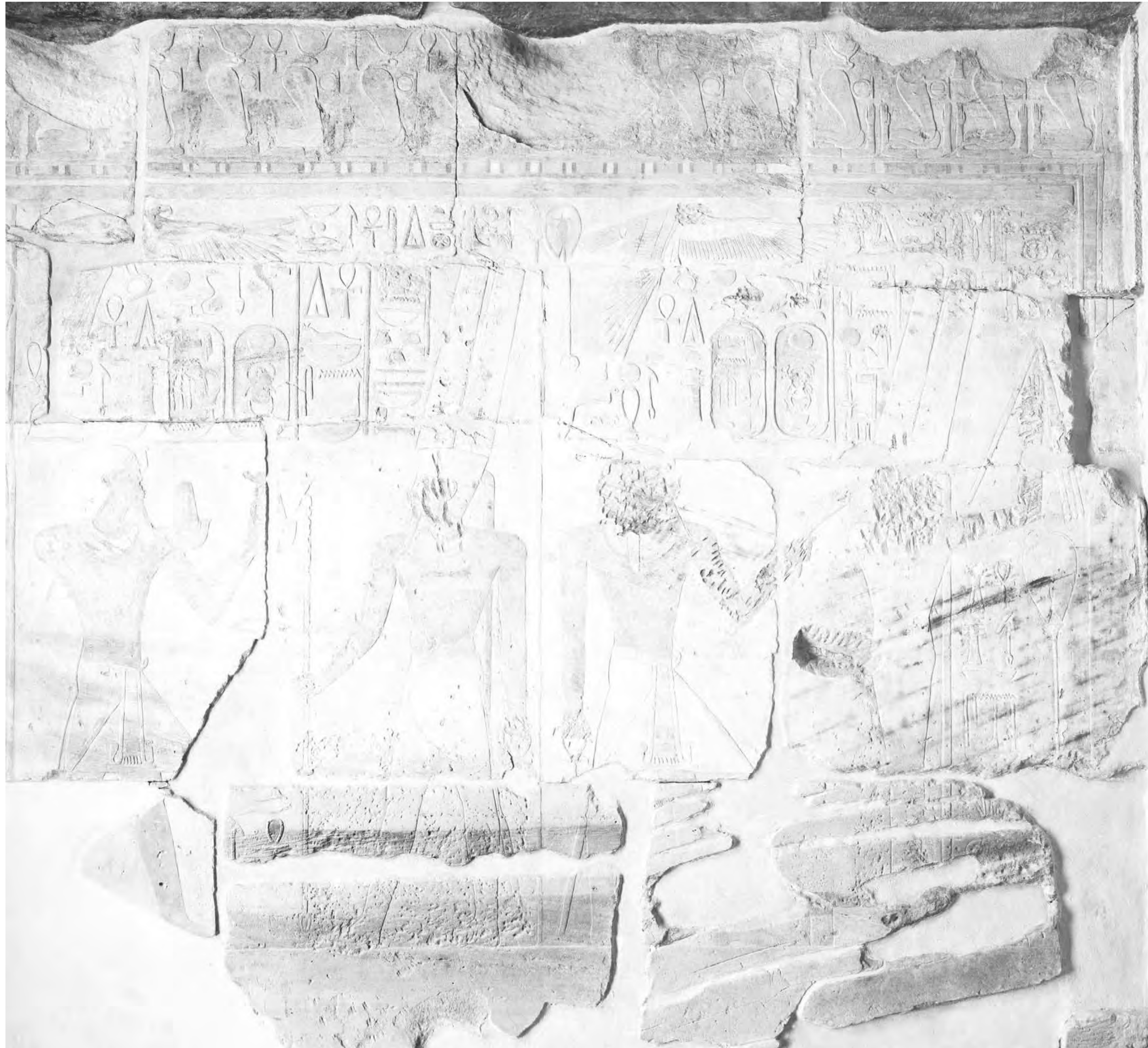
A

B



THE KING (A) OFFERING JARS OF WATER TO AMUN-RE AND (B) PRESENTING A *NMS.T*-JAR TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 62 and Color Plate 127)





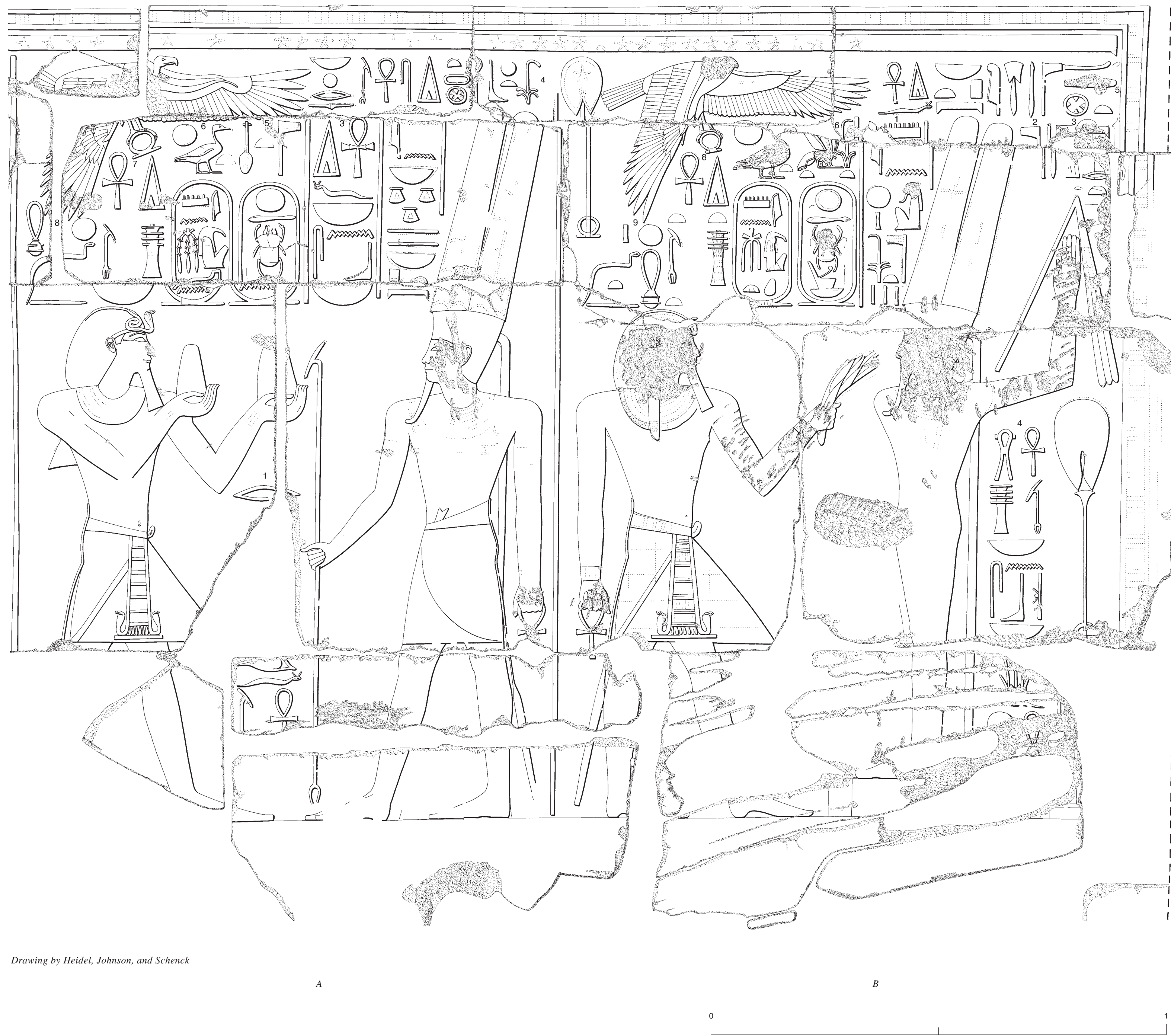
Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

A

B

THE KING (A) OFFERING LOAVES TO AMUN AND (B) PRESENTING LETTUCE TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, SOUTH WALL

(Compare Plate 65 and Color Plate 128)



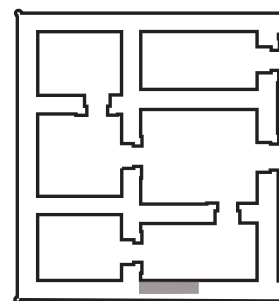
Drawing by Heidel, Johnson, and Schenck

A

B

0 1 m

THE KING (A) OFFERING LOAVES TO AMUN AND (B) PRESENTING LETTUCE TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 64 and Color Plate 128)



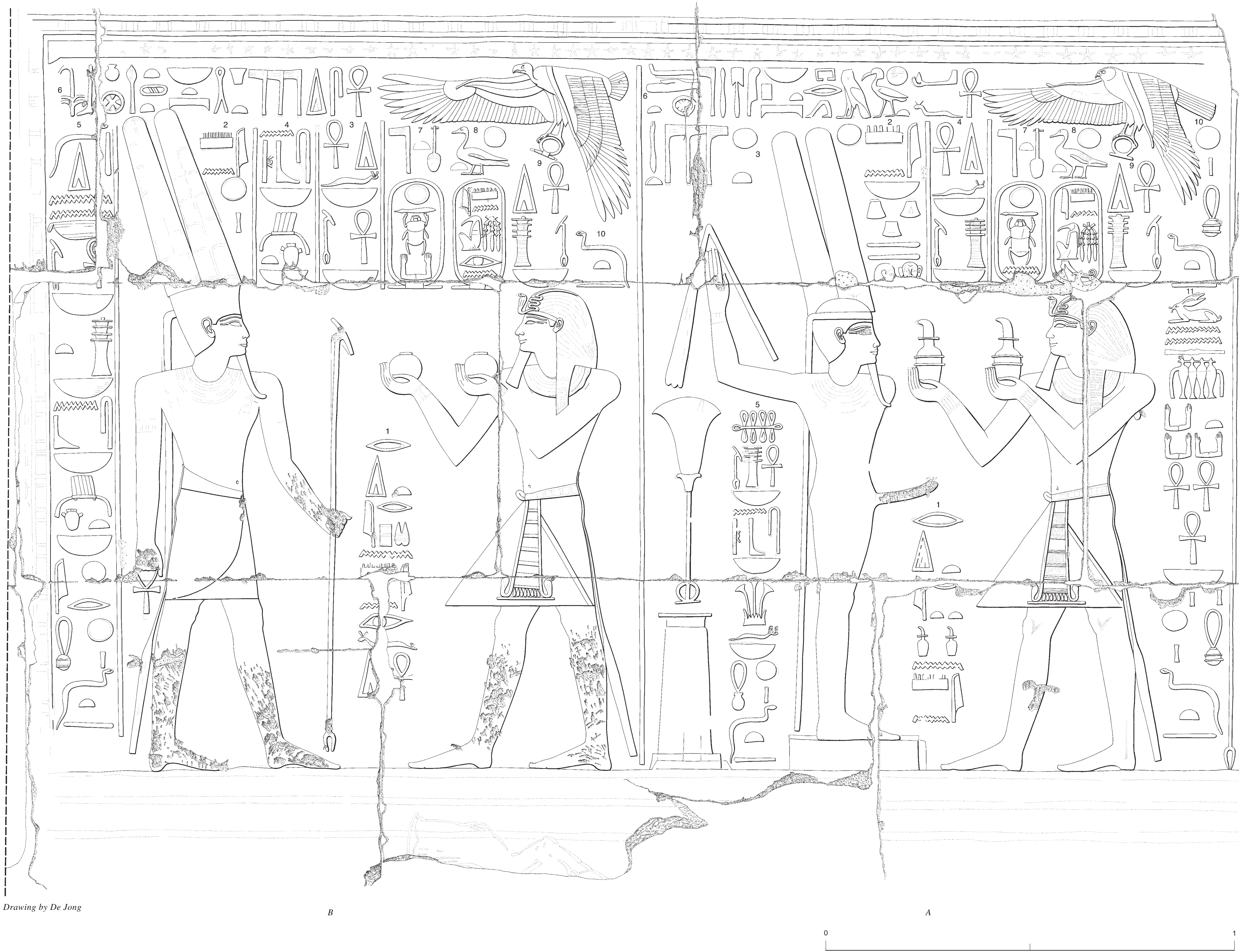


Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

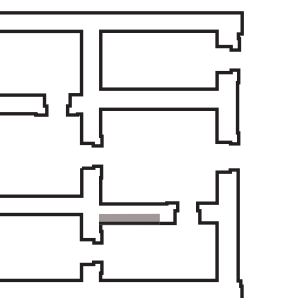
B

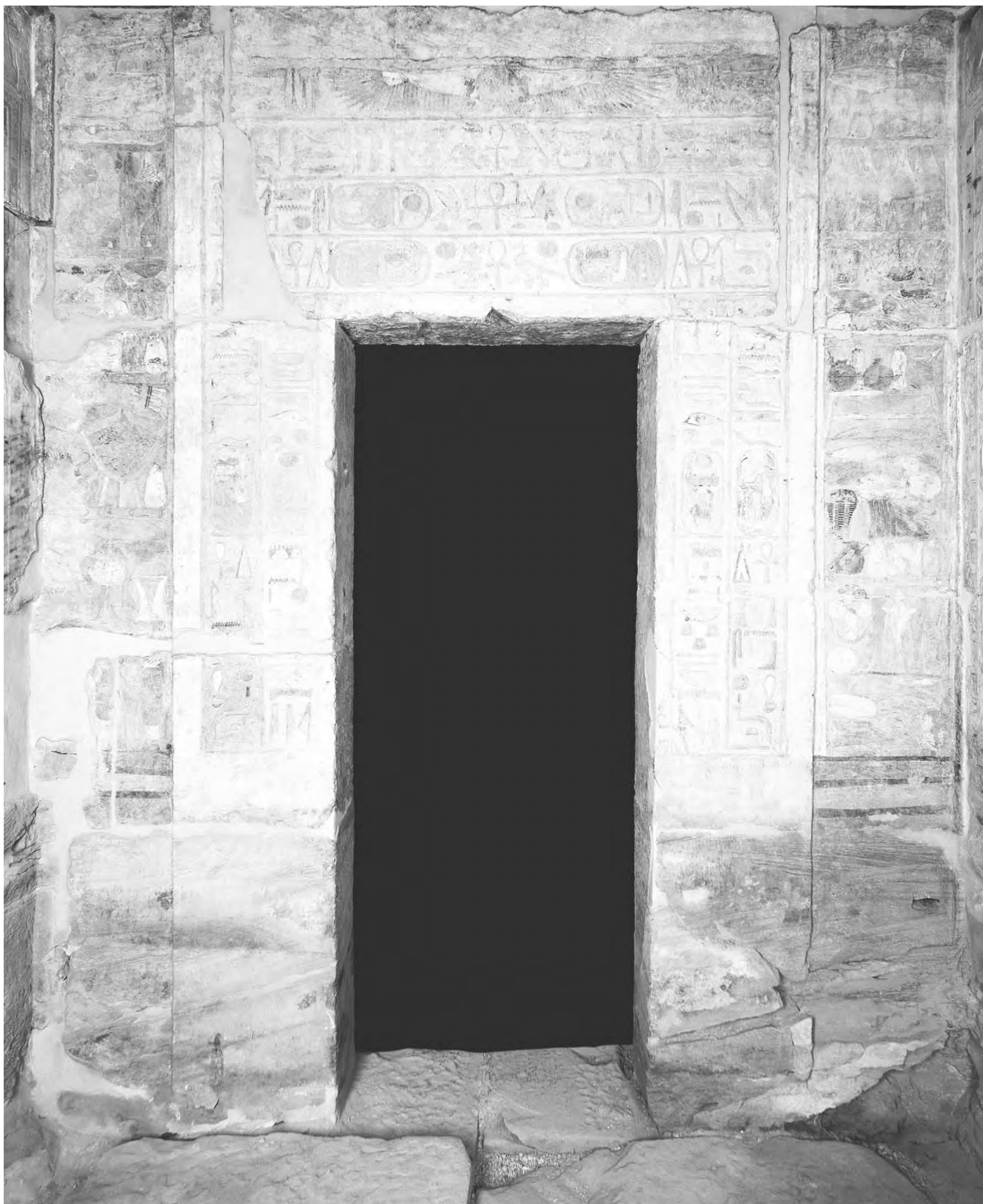
A

THE KING (A) OFFERING MILK TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plate 67 and Color Plate 129)



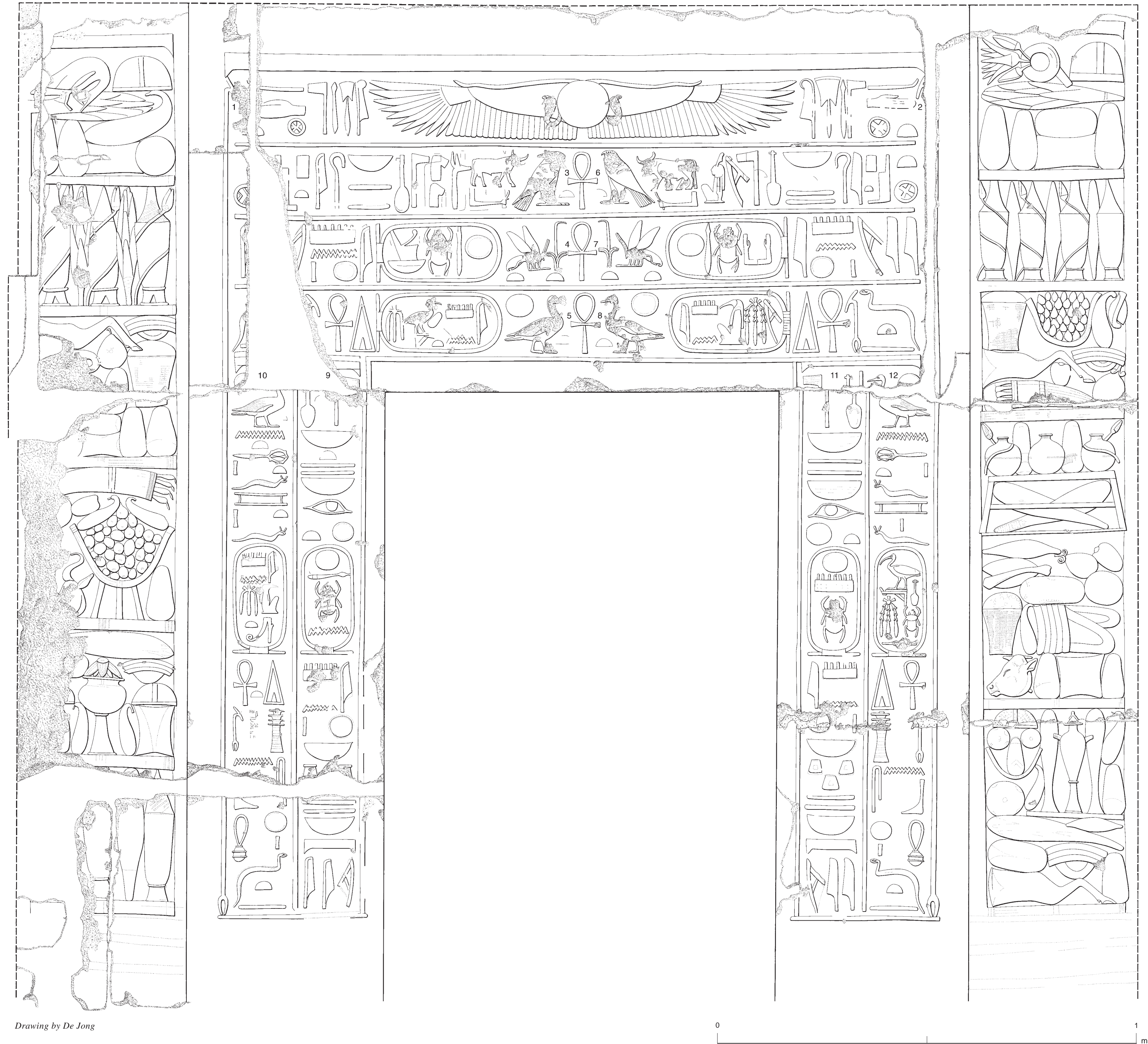
THE KING (A) OFFERING MILK TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 66 and Color Plate 129)





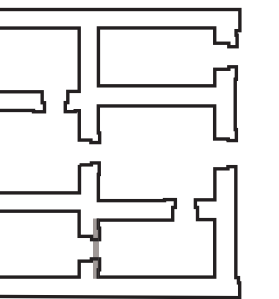
Photograph by Kobylecky

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
VESTIBULE, WEST WALL
(Compare Plate 69 and Color Plate 130)



Drawing by De Jong

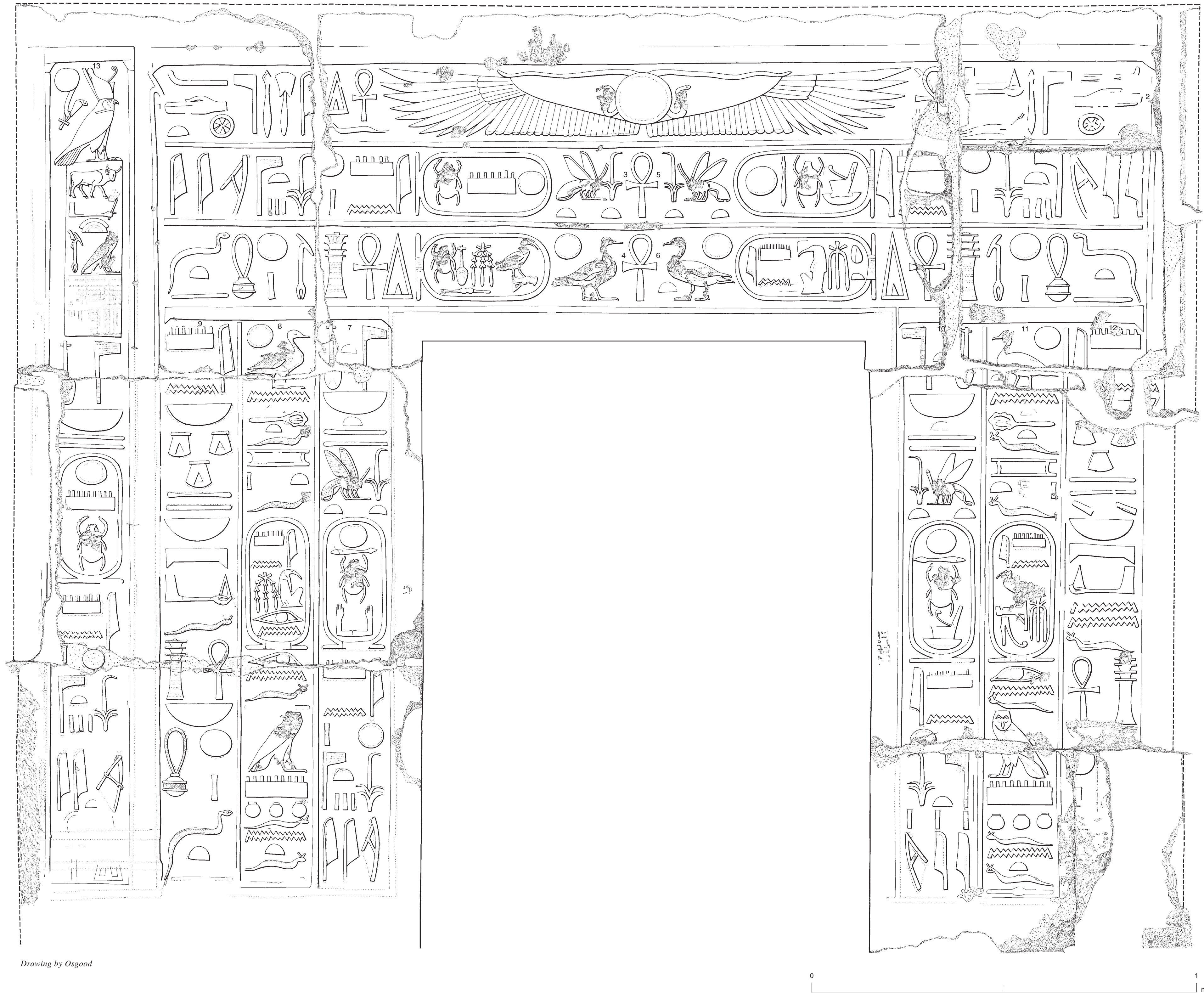
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
VESTIBULE, WEST WALL
(See Plate 68 and Color Plate 130)





Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
(Compare Plate 71 and Color Plate 131)



Drawing by Osgood

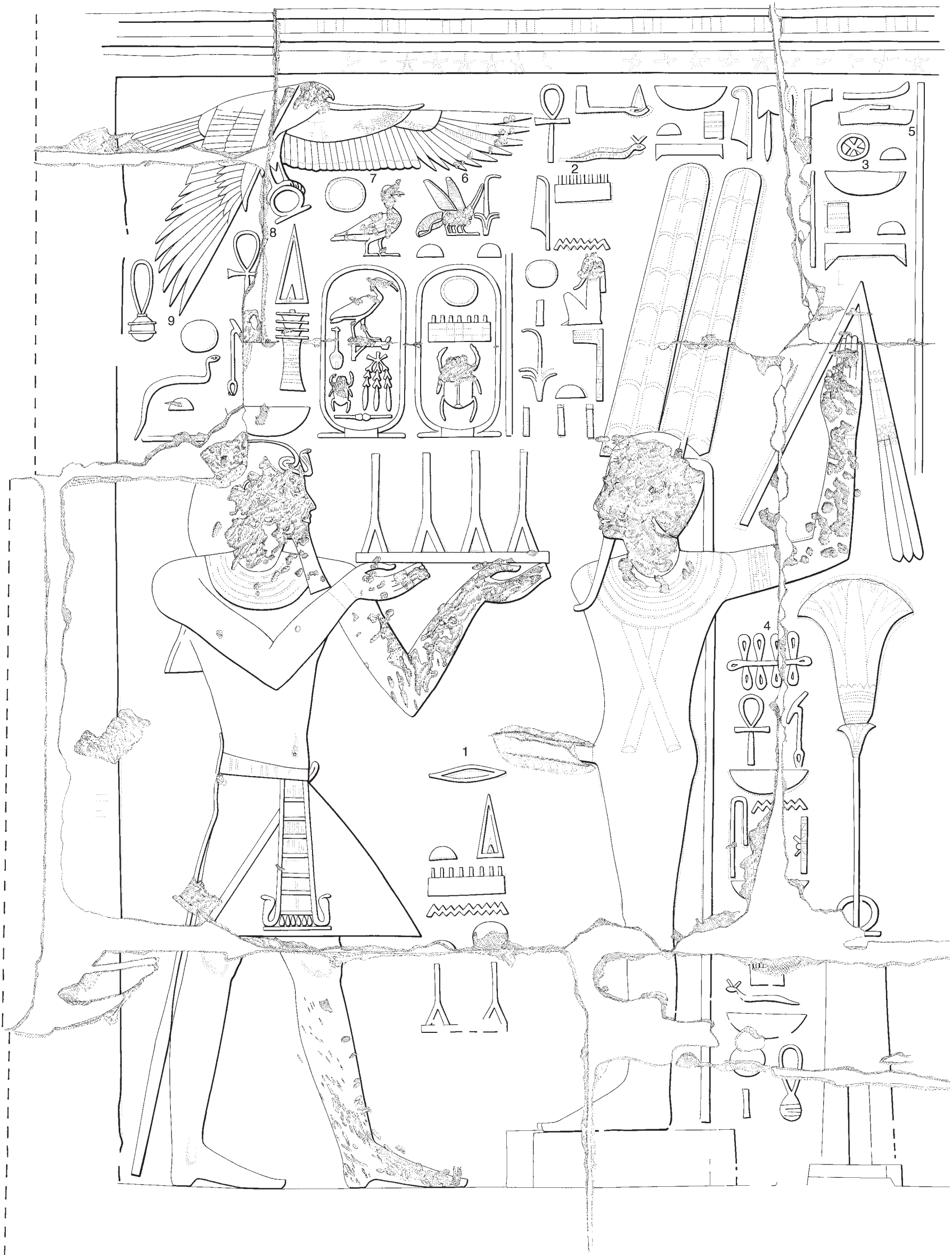
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
(See Plate 70 and Color Plate 131)



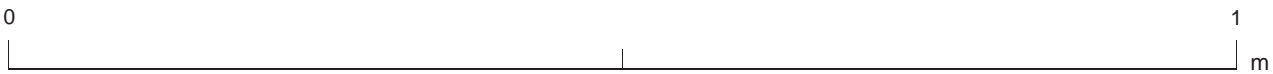


Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

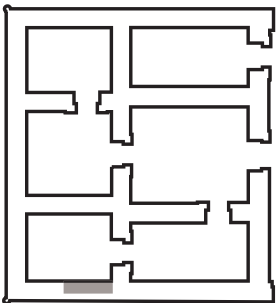
THE KING OFFERING CLOTHING TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 73 and Color Plate 132)



Drawing by De Jong and Johnson



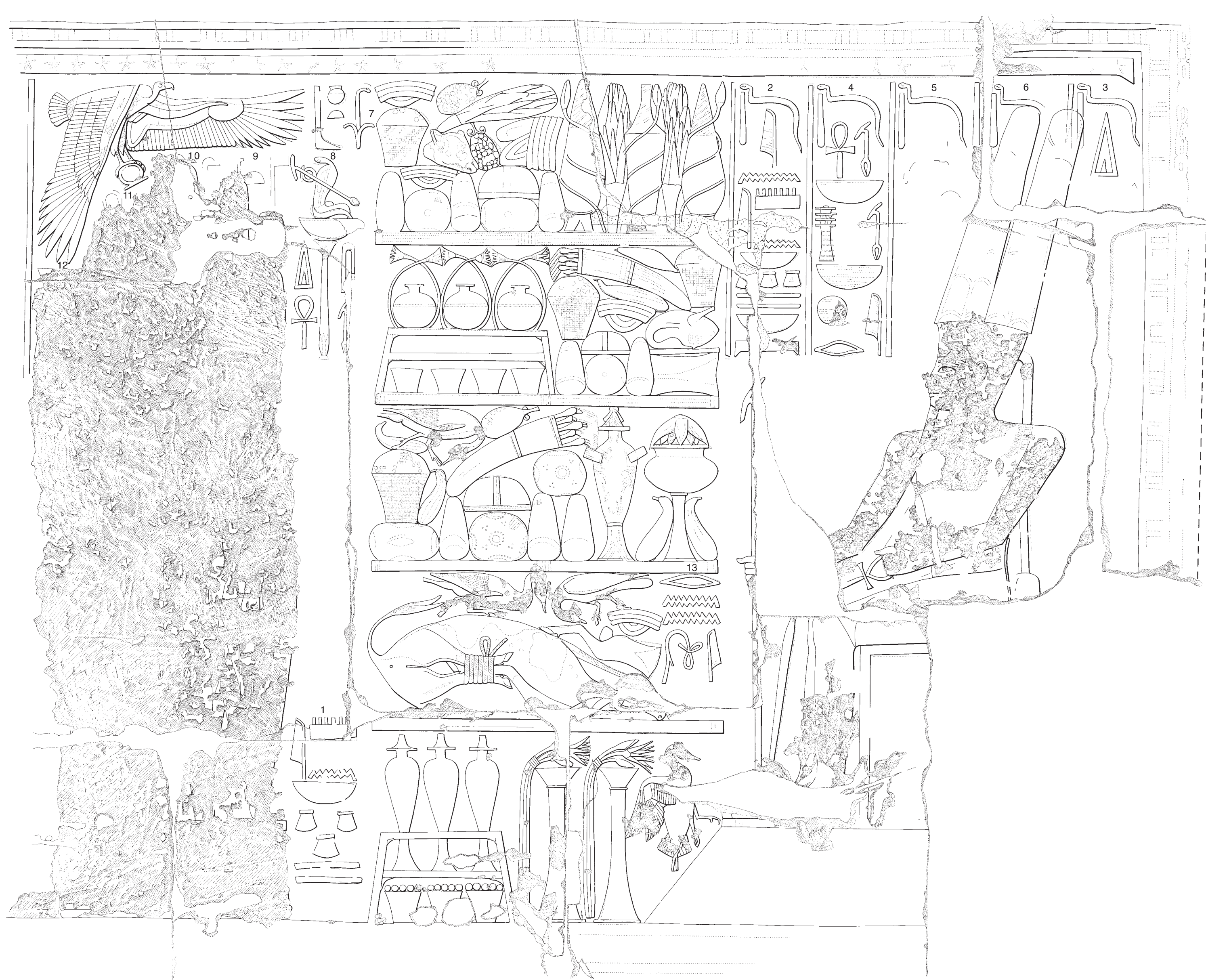
THE KING OFFERING CLOTHING TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 72 and Color Plate 132)





Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

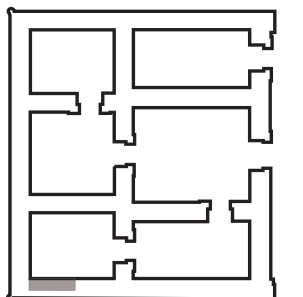
THE KING (EFFACED) WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plate 75 and Color Plate 133)

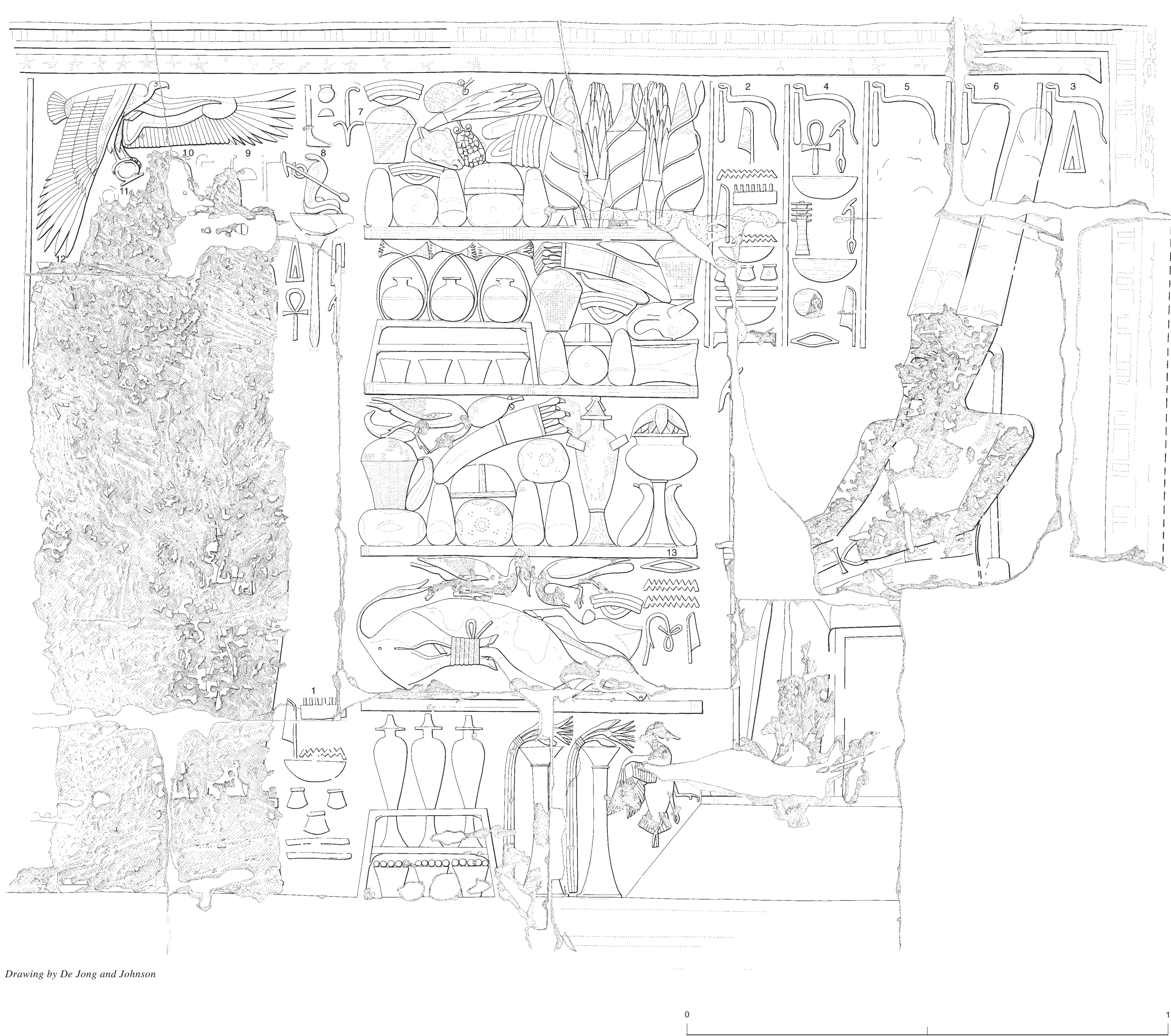


Drawing by De Jong and Johnson

0 1 m

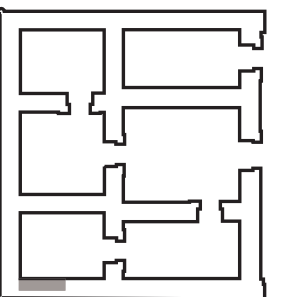
THE KING (EFFACED) WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN
SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 74 and Color Plate 133)





Drawing by De Jong and Johnson

THE KING (EFFACED) WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
 (See Plate 74 and Color Plate 133)





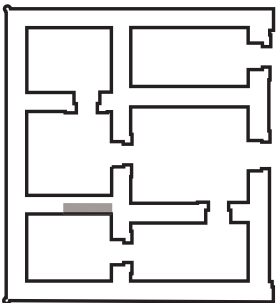
Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

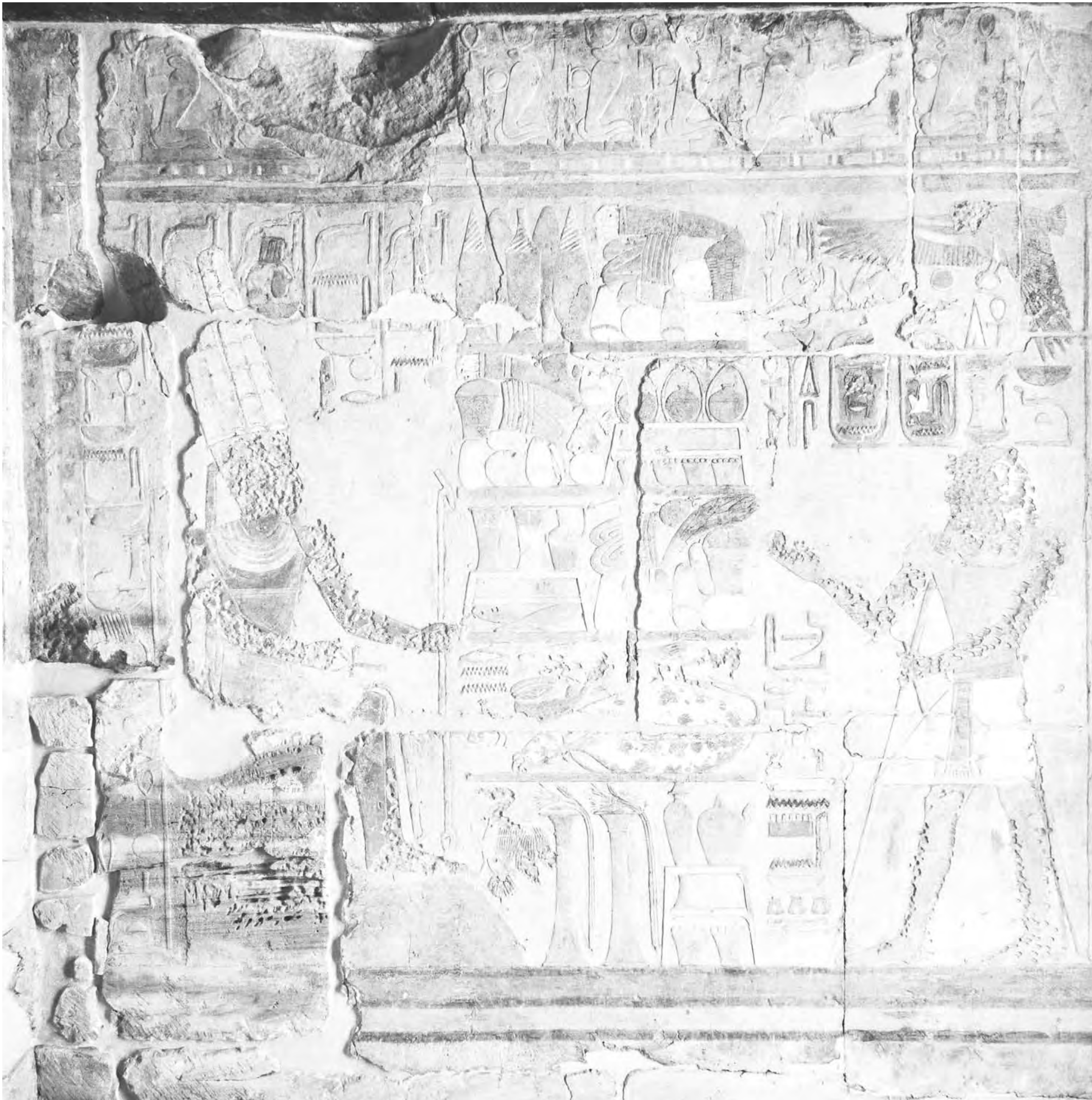
THE KING OFFERING *DSR.T*-BEER TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NORTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 77 and Color Plate 134)



Drawing by Osgood

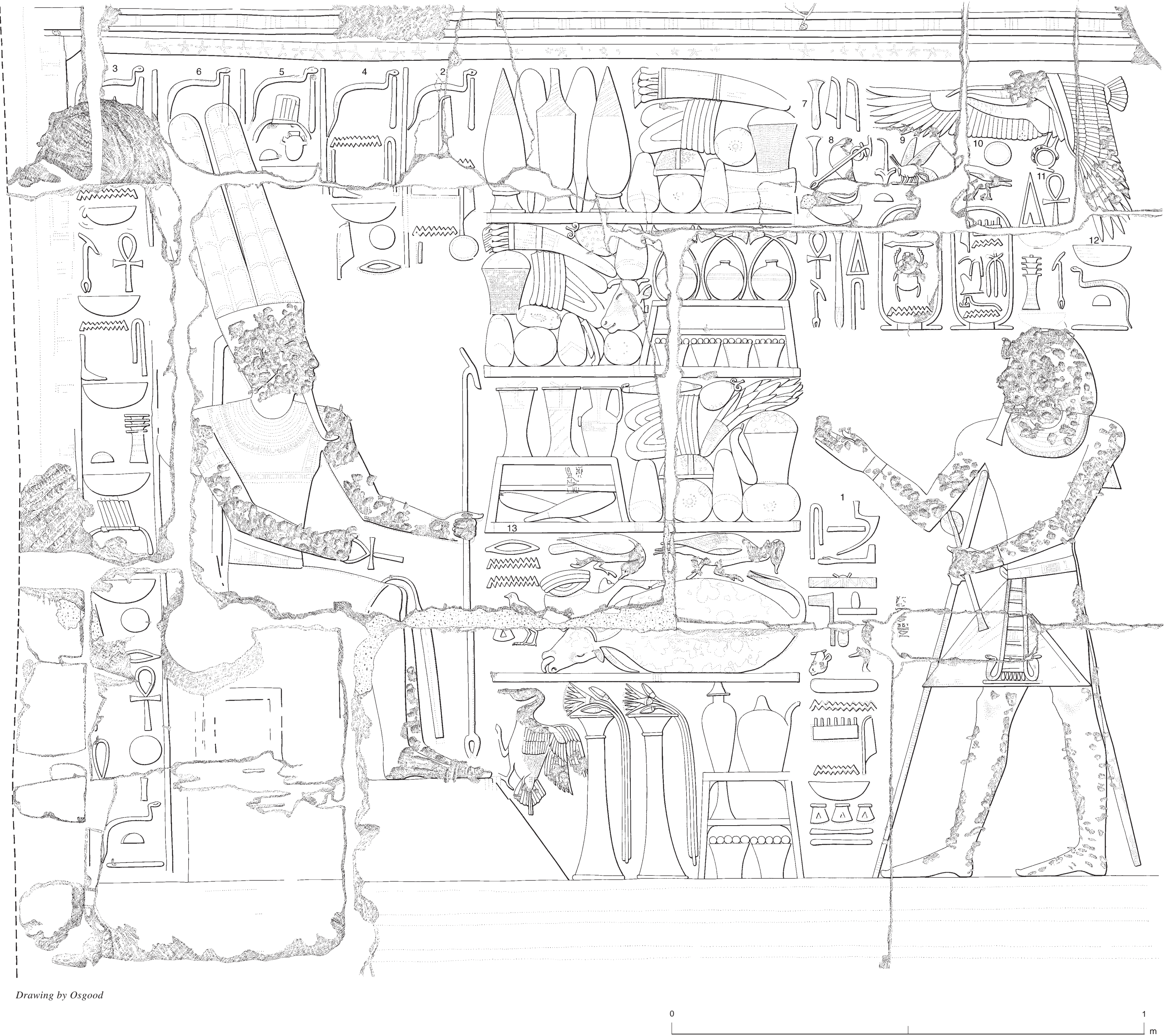
THE KING OFFERING *DSR.T*-BEER TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 76 and Color Plate 134)





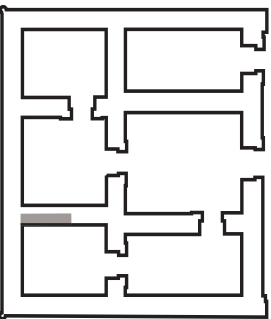
Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALIC AMUN, NORTH WALL
 (Compare Plate 79 and Color Plate 135)



Drawing by Osgood

THE KING WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NORTH WALL
 (See Plate 78 and Color Plate 135)



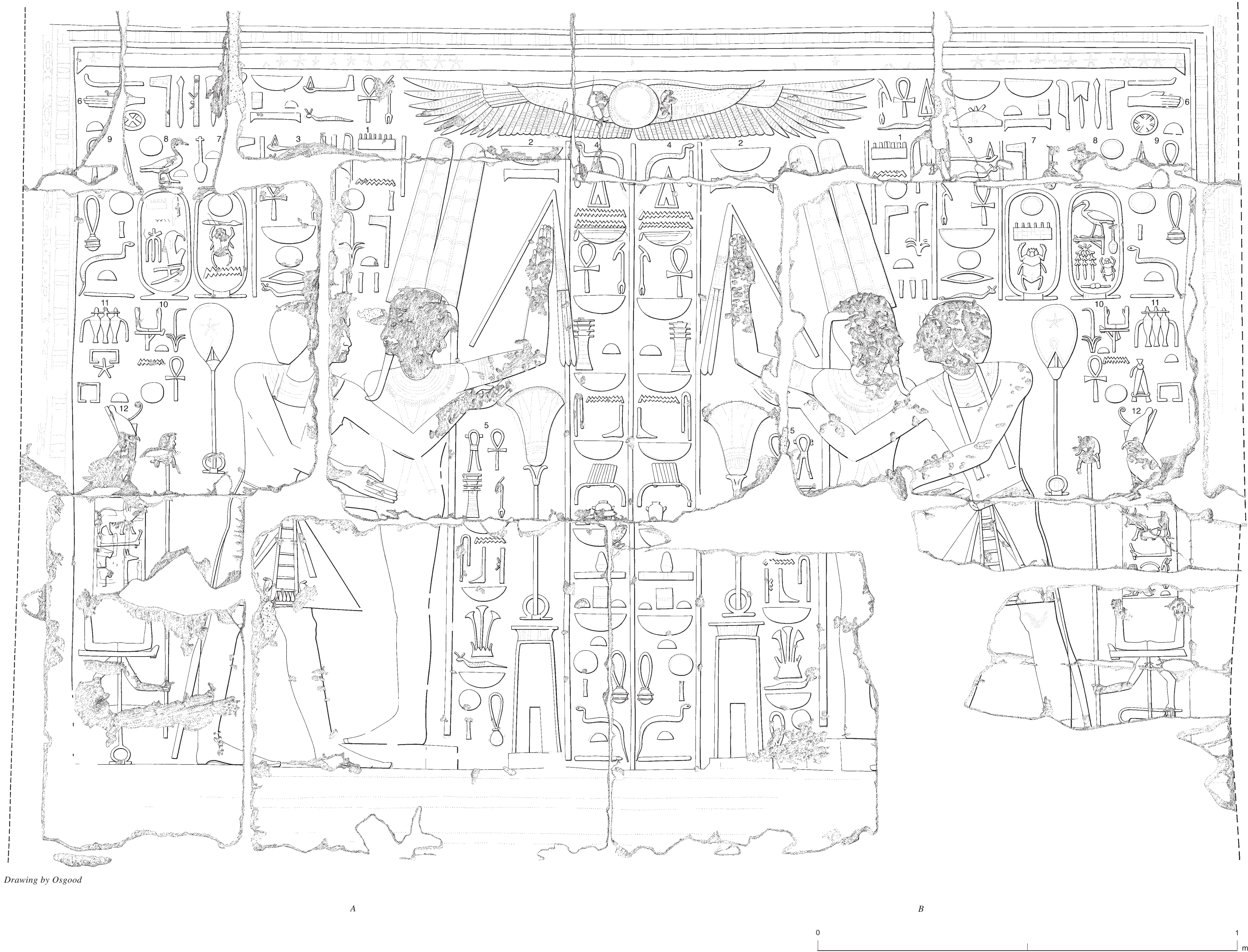


Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

A

B

A. AND B. THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA, EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, WEST WALL
(Compare Plate 81 and Color Plate 136)

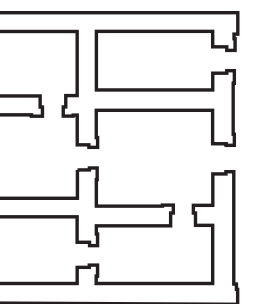


Drawing by Osgood

A

B

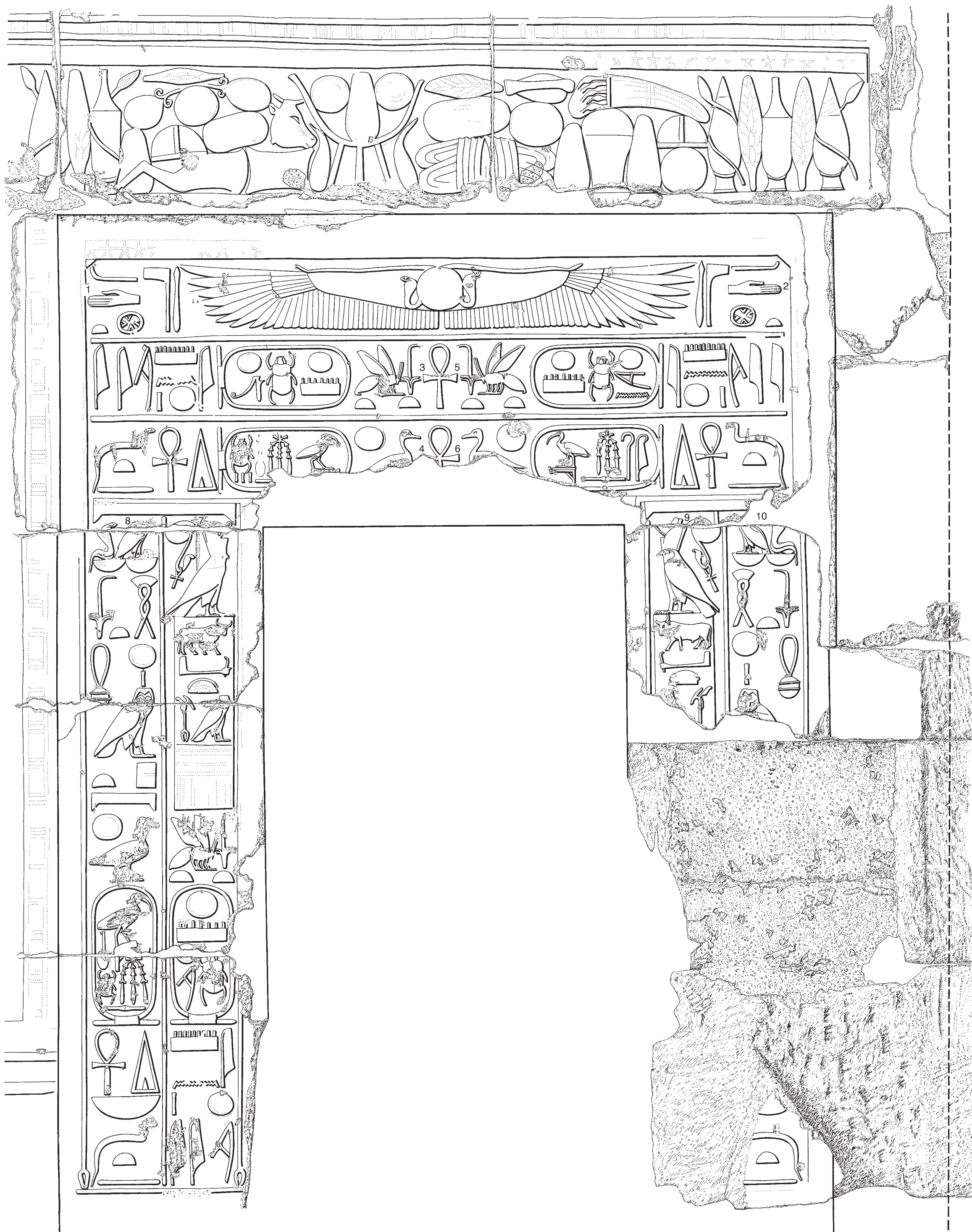
A. AND B. THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA, EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE, WEST WALL
(See Plate 80 and Color Plate 136)



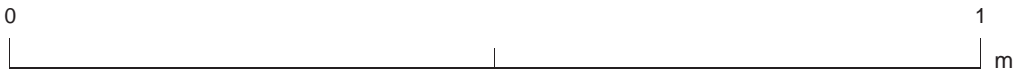


Photograph by Kobylecky

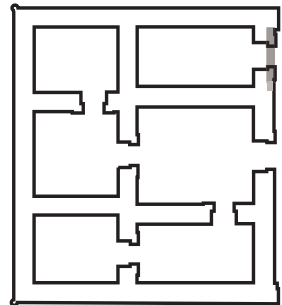
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE ENTRANCE TO THE KING'S CHAMBER
 FAÇADE, NORTH END
 (Compare Plate 83)



Drawing by Meyer and Osgood



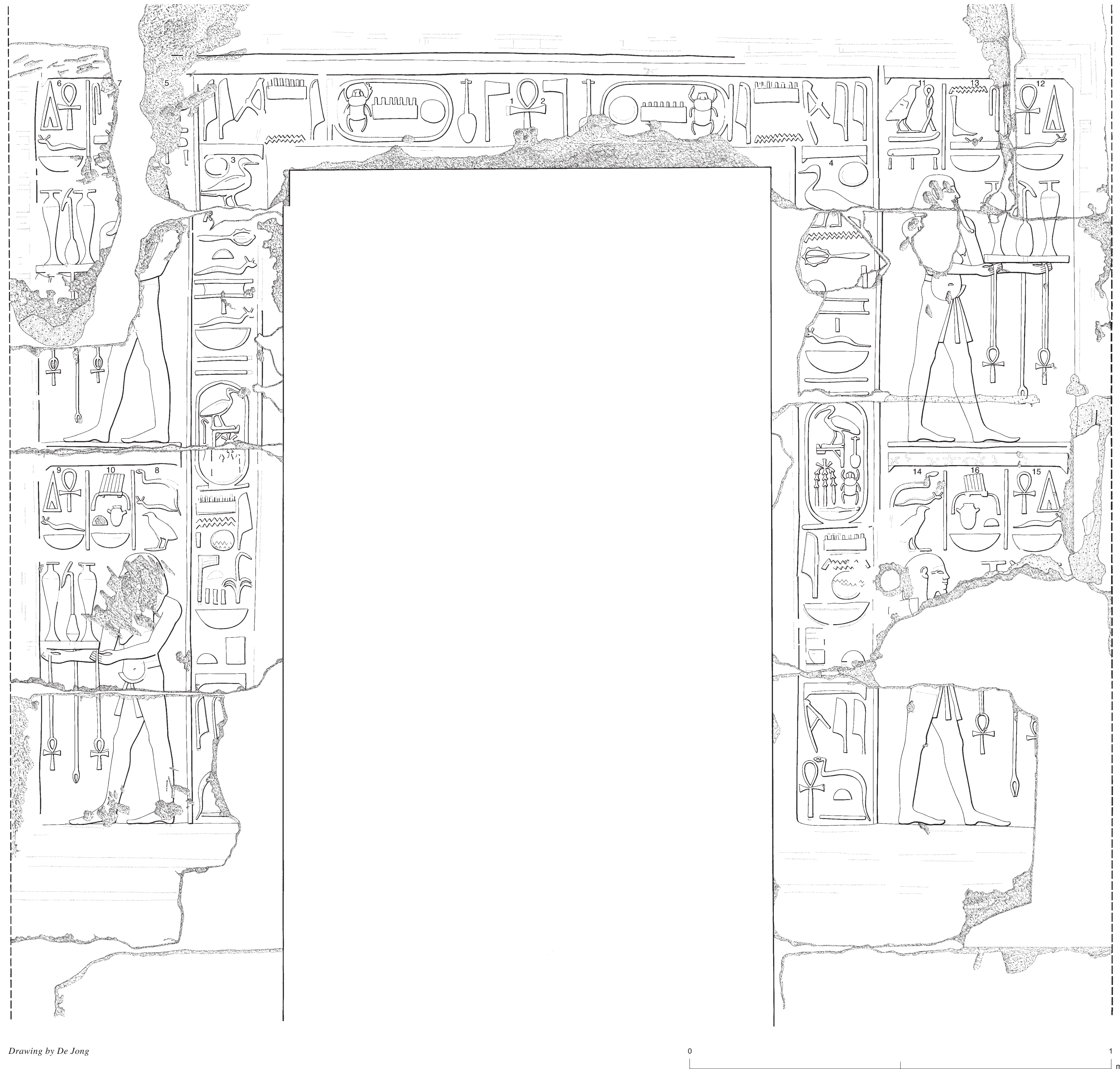
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE ENTRANCE TO THE KING'S CHAMBER
FAÇADE, NORTH END
(See Plate 82)





Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

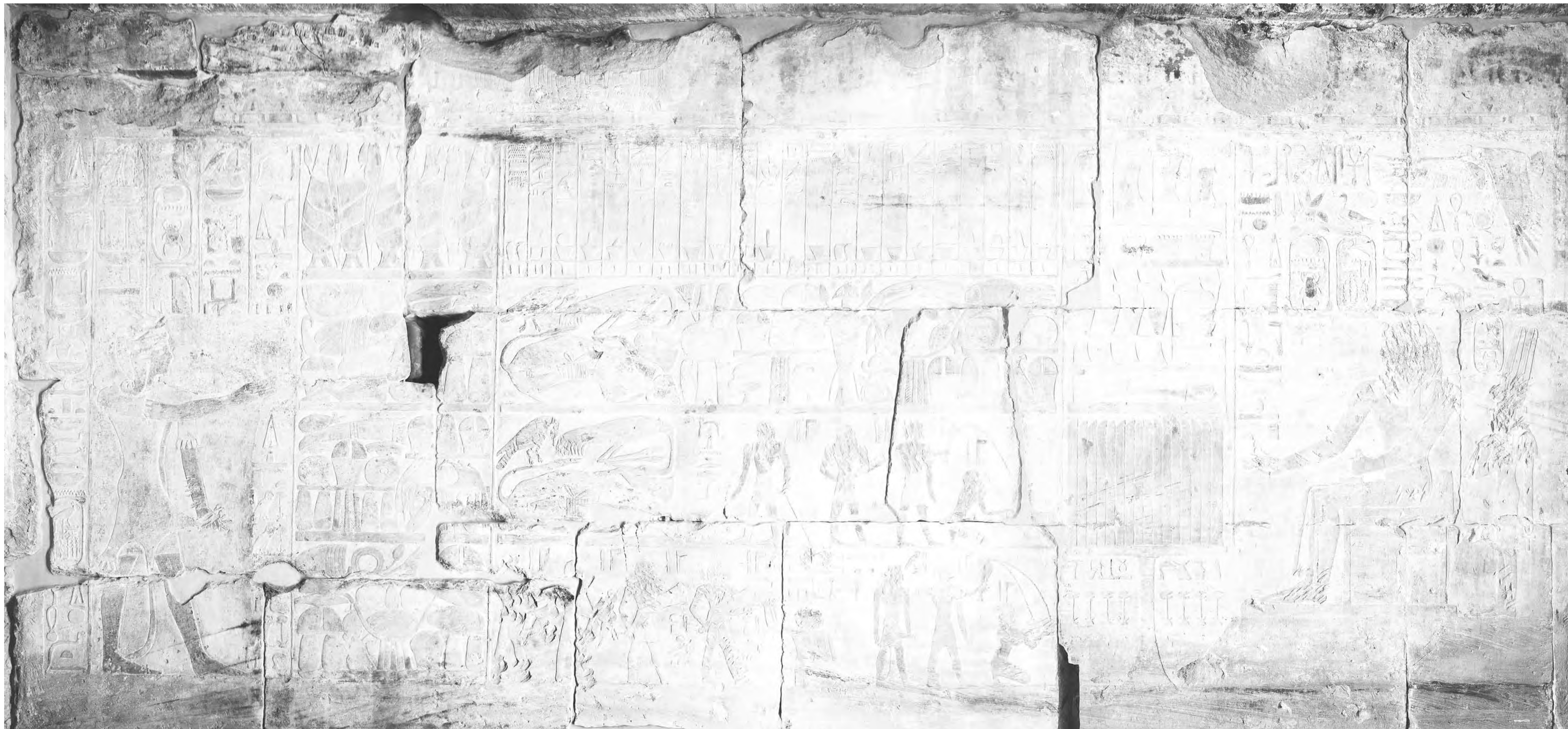
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY IN THE KING'S CHAMBER
(Compare Plate 85)



Drawing by De Jong

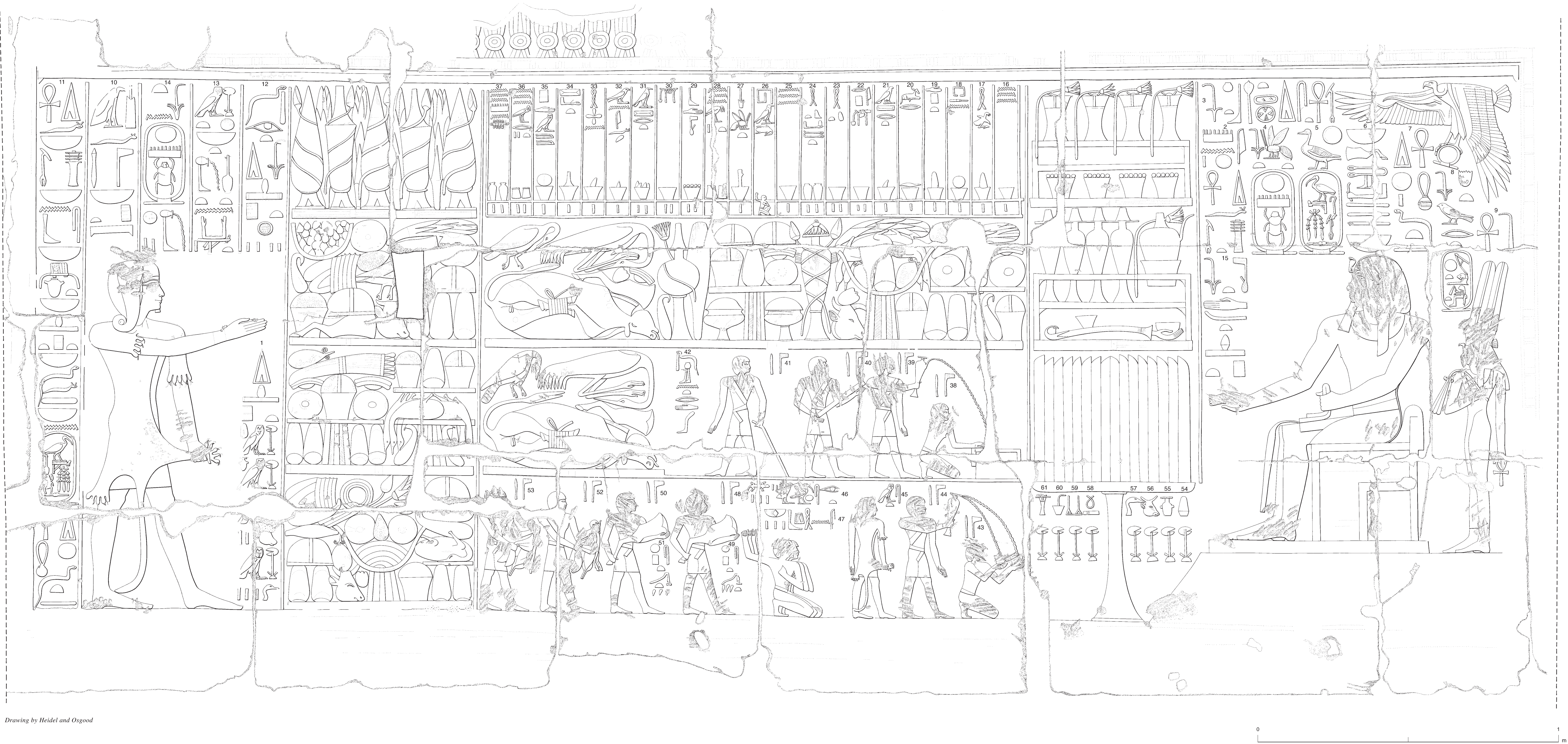
DECORATION SURROUNDING THE DOORWAY IN THE KING'S CHAMBER
(See Plate 84)





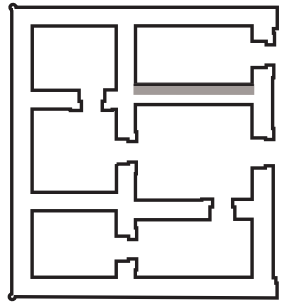
Photograph by Kobylecky

IUNMUTEF WITH OFFERINGS AND OFFICIANTS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN
KING'S CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plate 87)



Drawing by Heidel and Osgood

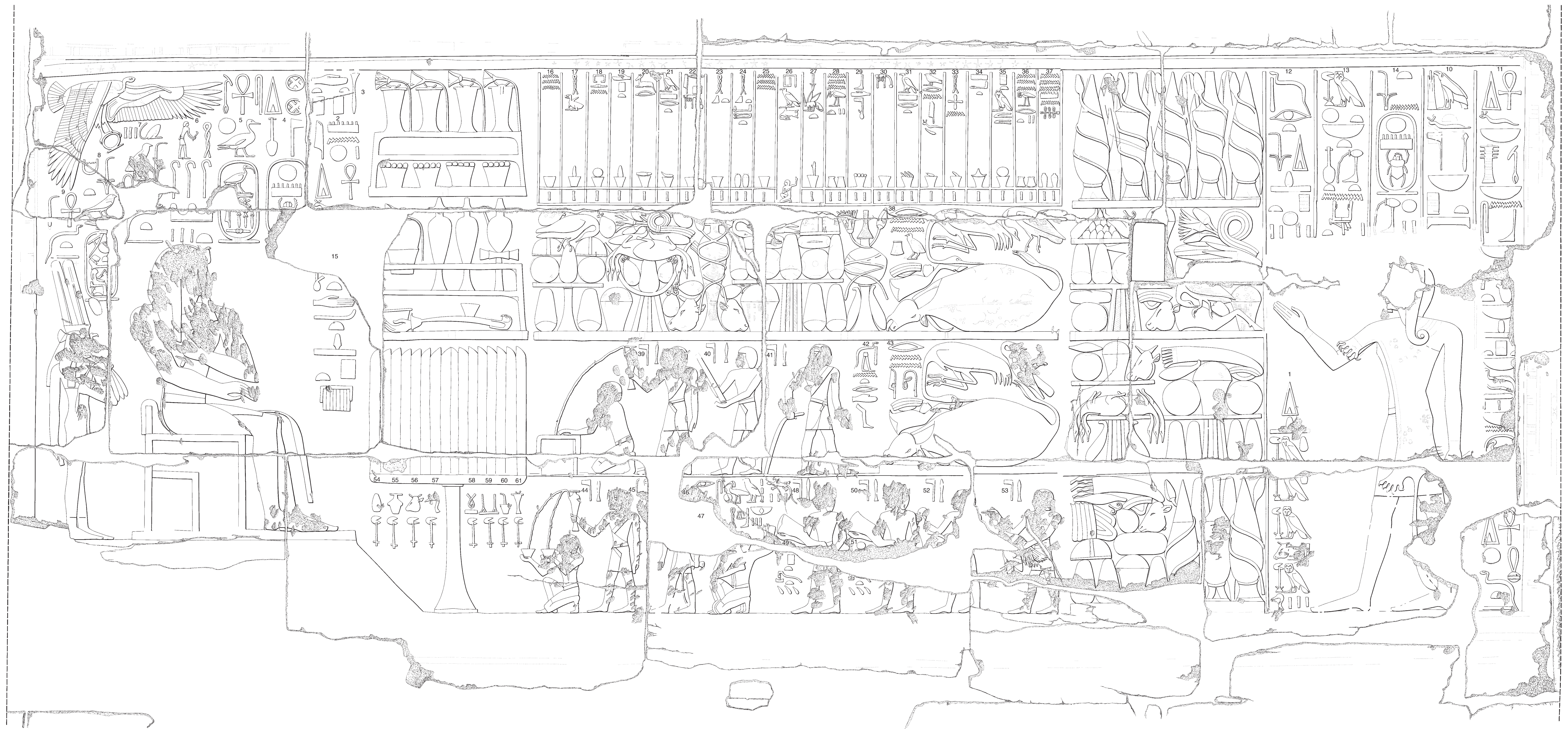
IUNMUTF WITH OFFERINGS AND OFFICIANTS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN
KING'S CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
(See Plate 86)





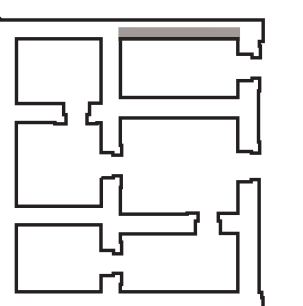
Photograph by Kobylecky

IUNMUTEF WITH OFFERINGS AND OFFICIANTS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN
KING'S CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plate 89)



Drawing by De Jong

IUNMUTEF WITH OFFERINGS AND OFFICIANTS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN
KING'S CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(See Plate 88)



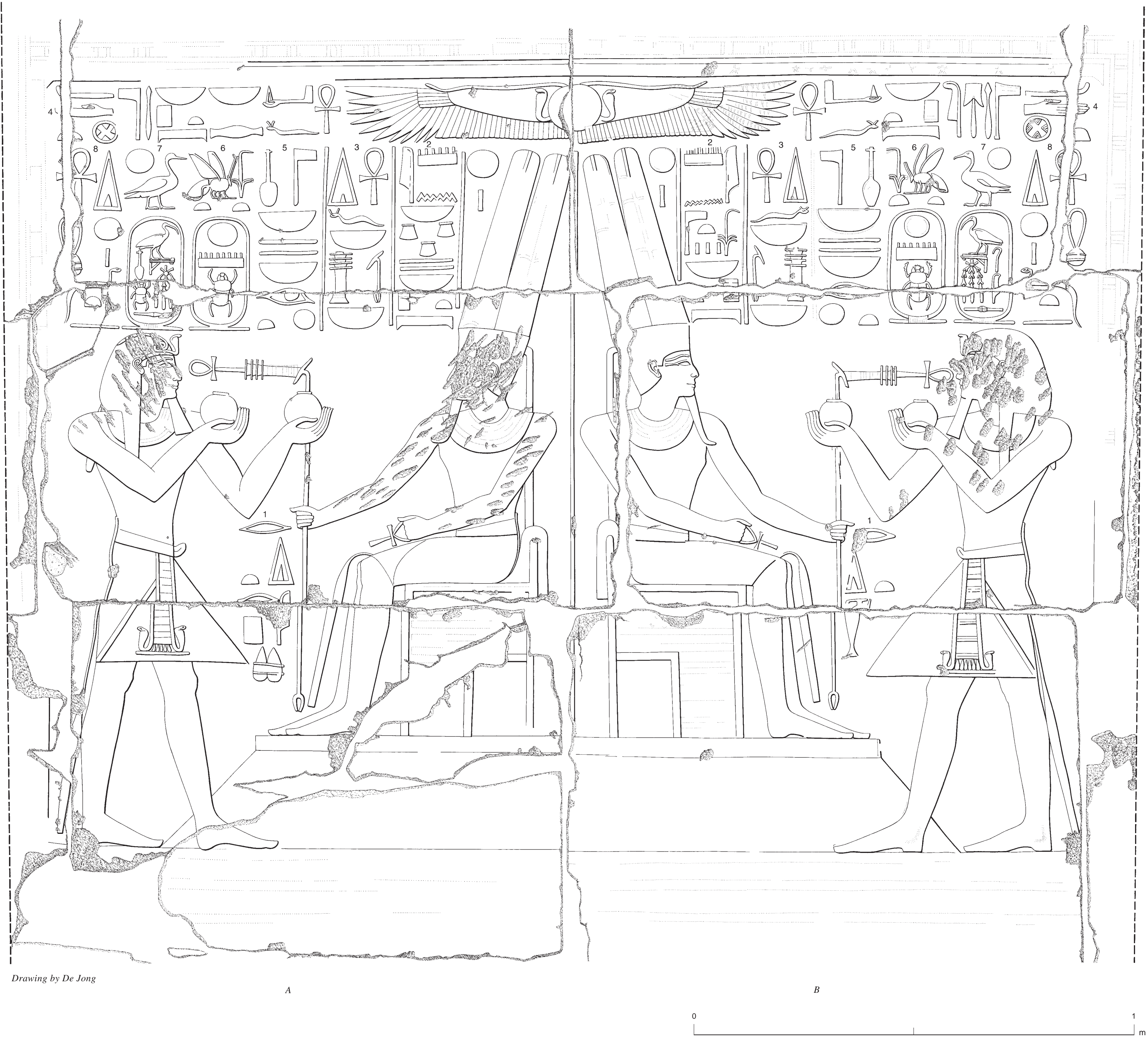


Photograph by Kobylecky

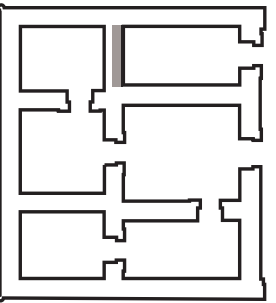
A

B

THE KING (A) OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING COOL WATER TO AMUN-RE
KING'S CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(Compare Plate 91)



THE KING (A) OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING COOL WATER TO AMUN-RE
KING'S CHAMBER, WEST WALL
(See Plate 90)

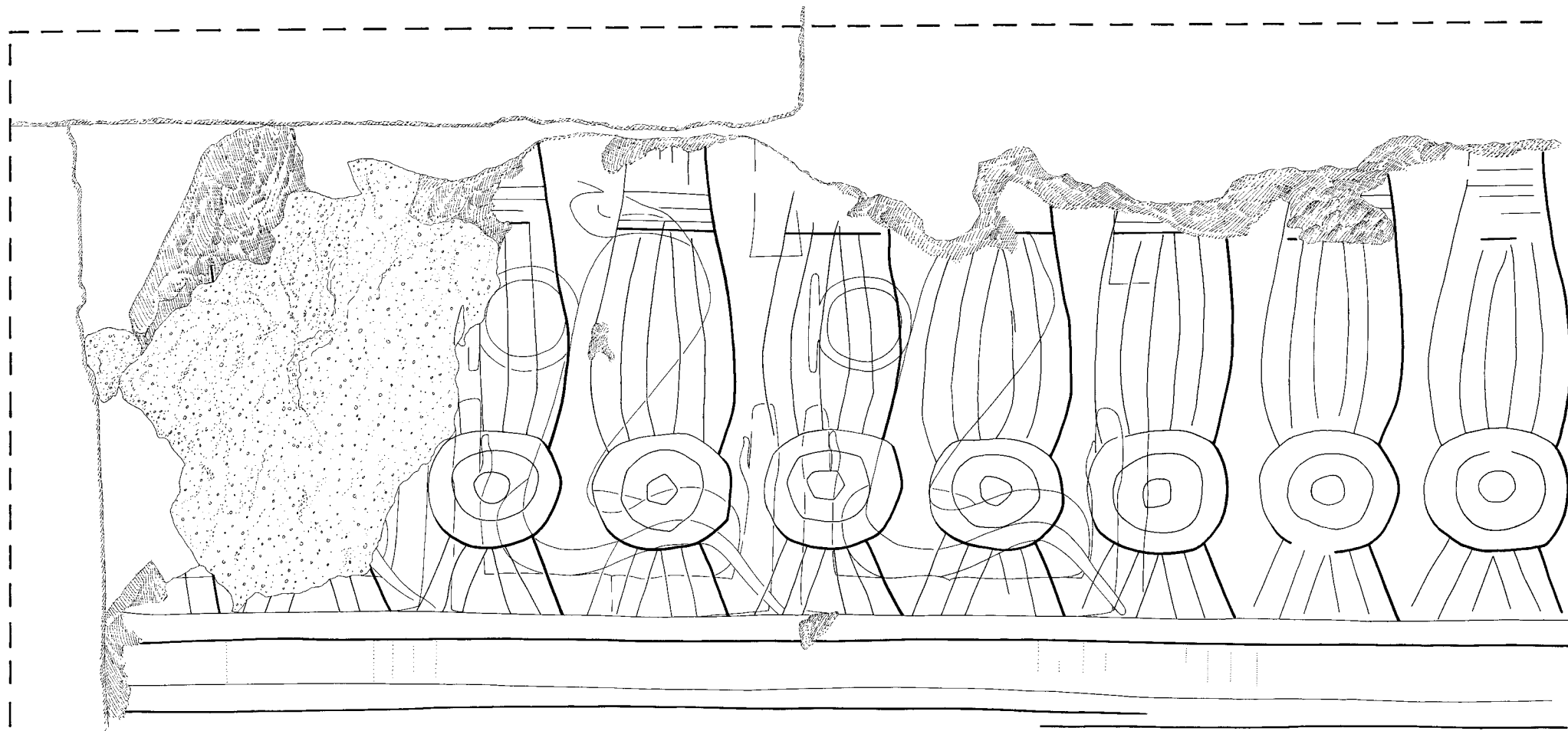




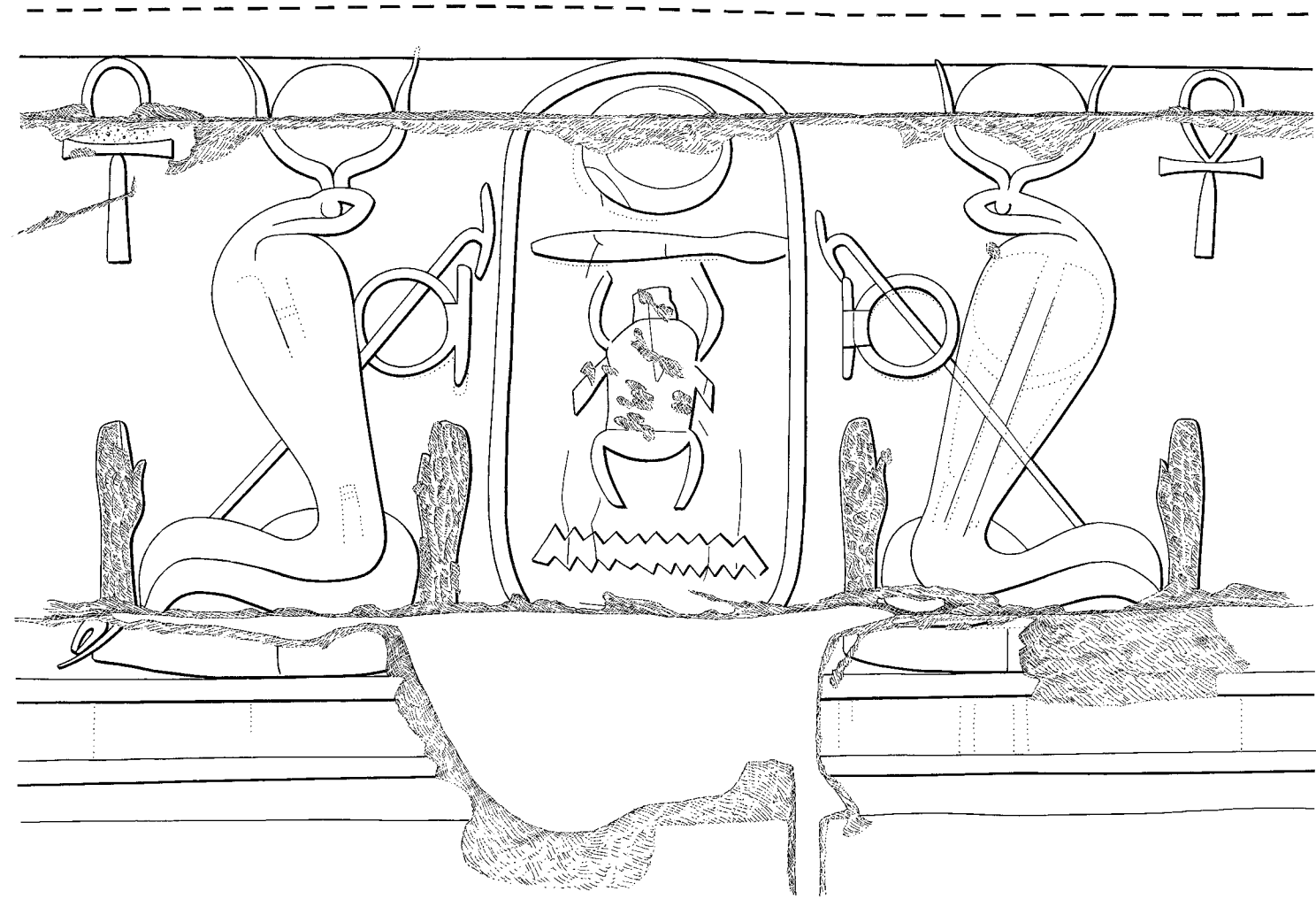
A



C



B



D

Photographs by Kobylecky
Drawings by Johnson and Osgood

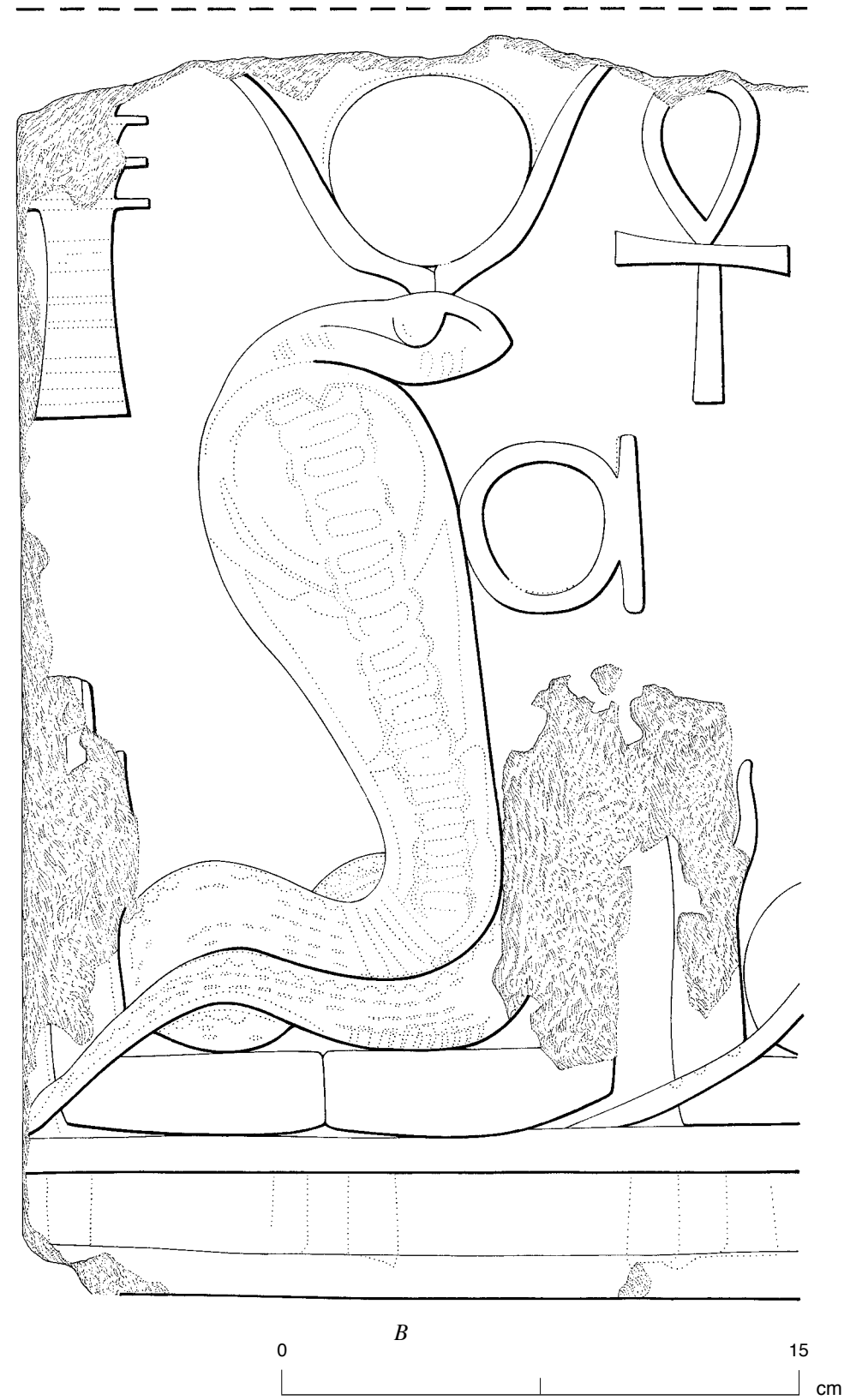
0 50 cm

0 50 cm

A. AND B. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE DYAD CHAMBER, WEST END
C. AND D. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON THE WEST WALL OF THE DYAD CHAMBER, ABOVE DOORWAY



A

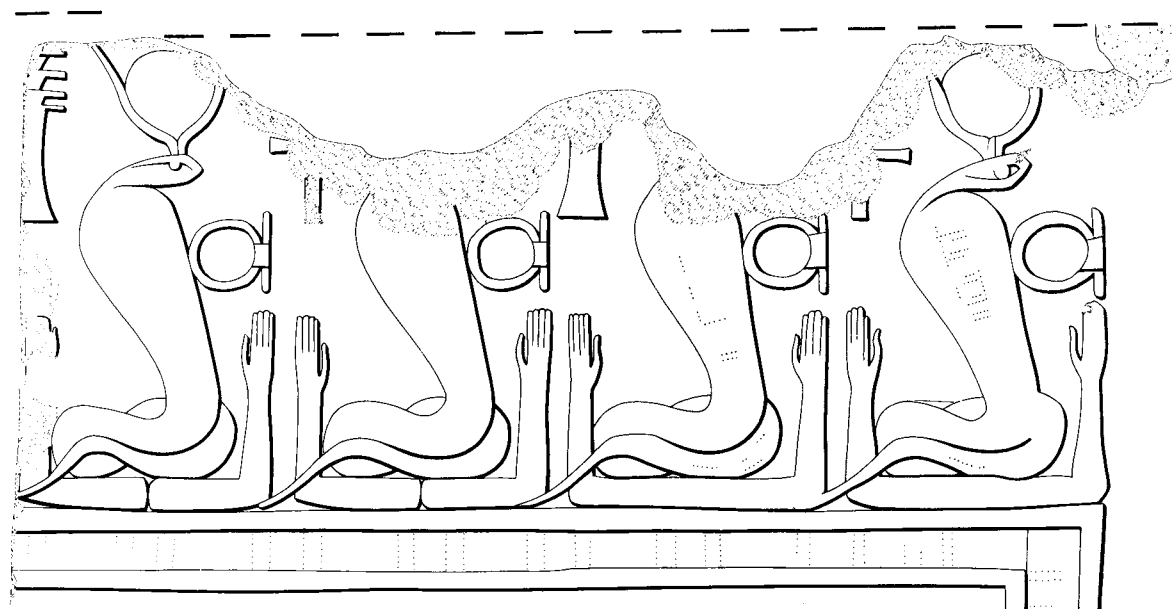


B

0 15 cm



C



D

0 15 cm

Photographs by Kobylecky and Lezon
 Drawings by Heidel, Johnson, and Schenck

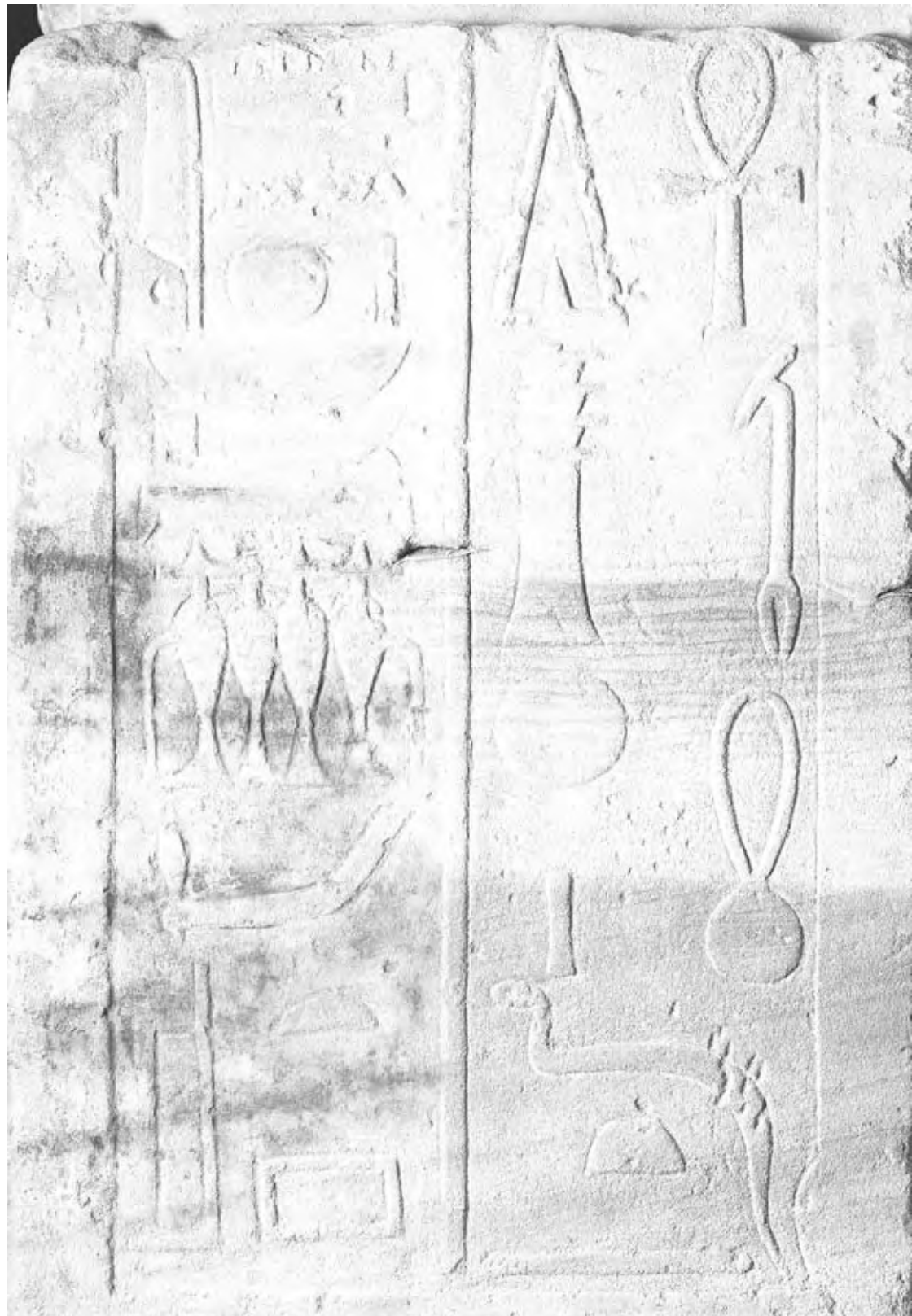
A. AND B. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE VESTIBULE, EAST SECTION
 C. AND D. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE VESTIBULE, WEST END



A



B



C



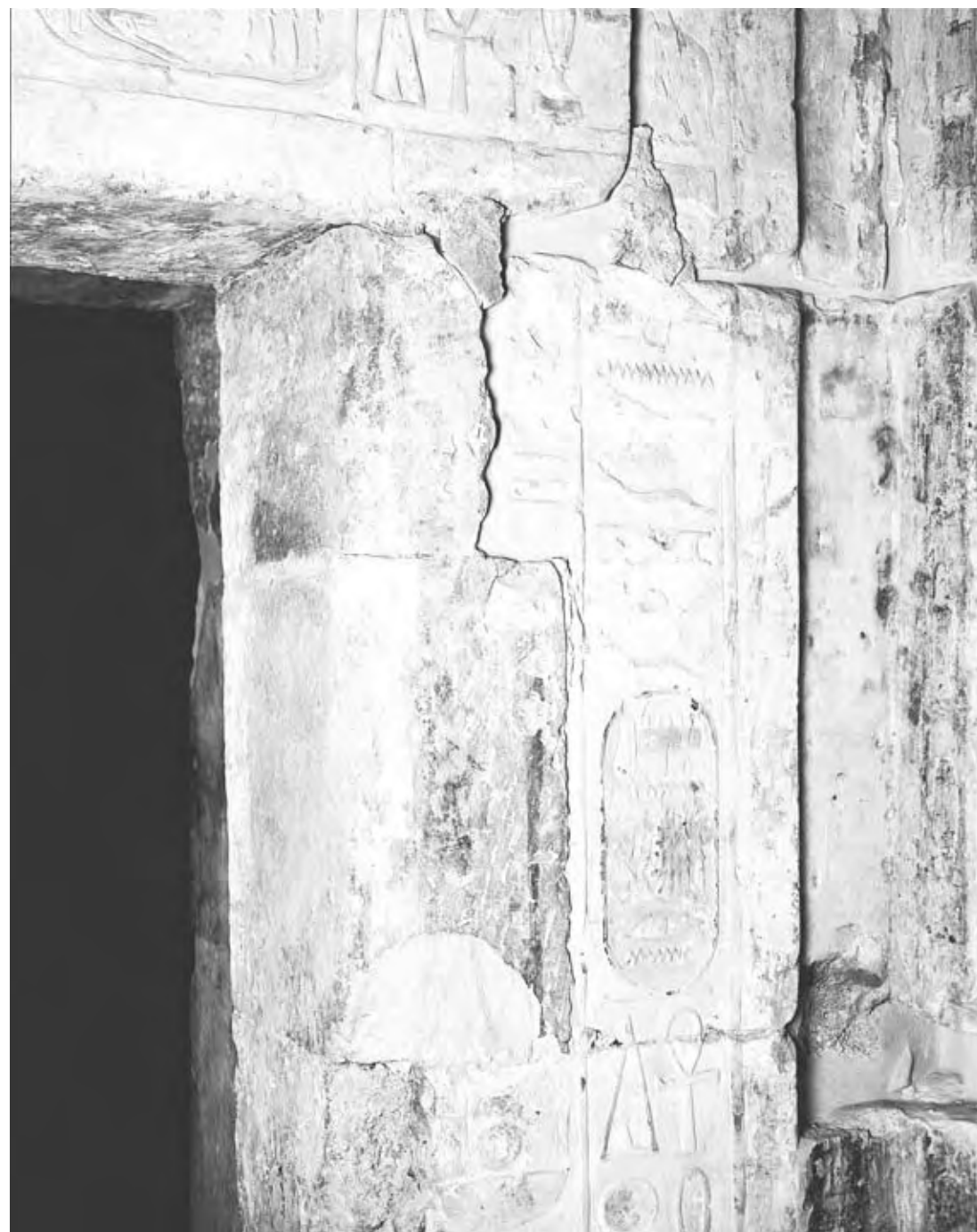
D



E



F



G

DETAILS OF THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE INNER SANCTUARIES

- A. THE NAME *QSR-S.T* IN PLATE 17, LINE 11
B. THE RESTORED AREA OF THE LEFT DOORJAMB IN PLATES 16–17
C. THE NAME *QSR-S.T* IN PLATE 57, LINE 15
D. LATE-PERIOD PLASTER REPAIR IN THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
E. DETAIL OF THE ROYAL TITULARY ON THE LEFT DOORJAMB IN PLATES 44–45
F. THE CARTOUCHE OF THUTMOSE I FROM THE DOOR LINTEL IN PLATES 44–45
G. LATE-PERIOD REPAIR TO THE RIGHT DOORJAMB IN PLATES 42–43



A



C



B



D

Photographs by Kobylecky and Lezon

DETAILS OF THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE INNER SANCTUARIES

A. THE ERASED NAME OF HATSHEPSUT IN THE REBUS FRIEZE

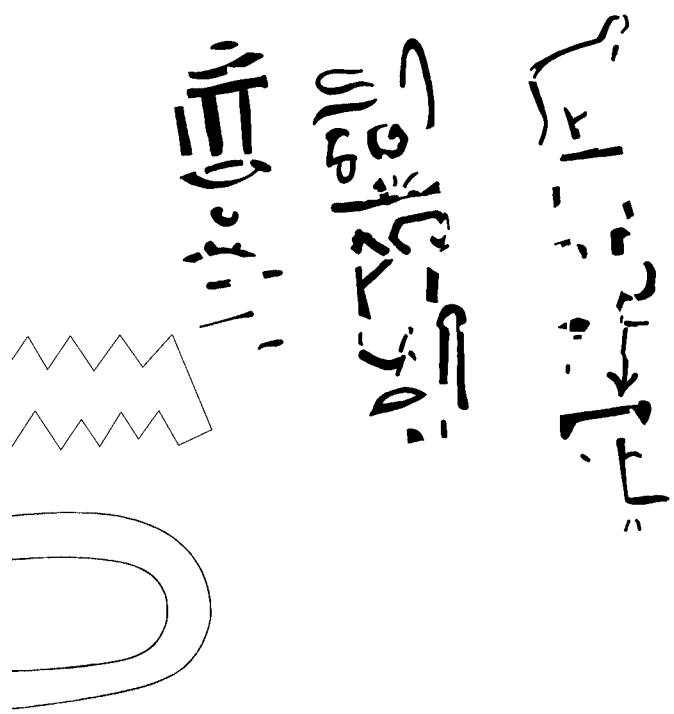
VESTIBULE, EAST WALL

B. AND C. FRAGMENTS REPLACED IN THE REBUS FRIEZE OF HATSHEPSUT

VESTIBULE, NORTH WALL, AND SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NORTH WALL

D. THE ERASED NAME OF HATSHEPSUT IN THE REBUS FRIEZE

SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, WEST WALL



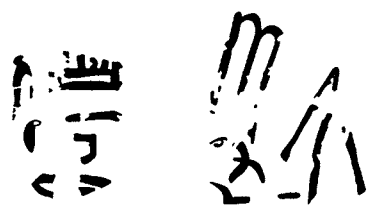
GR. 411



GR. 412



GR. 414



GR. 413



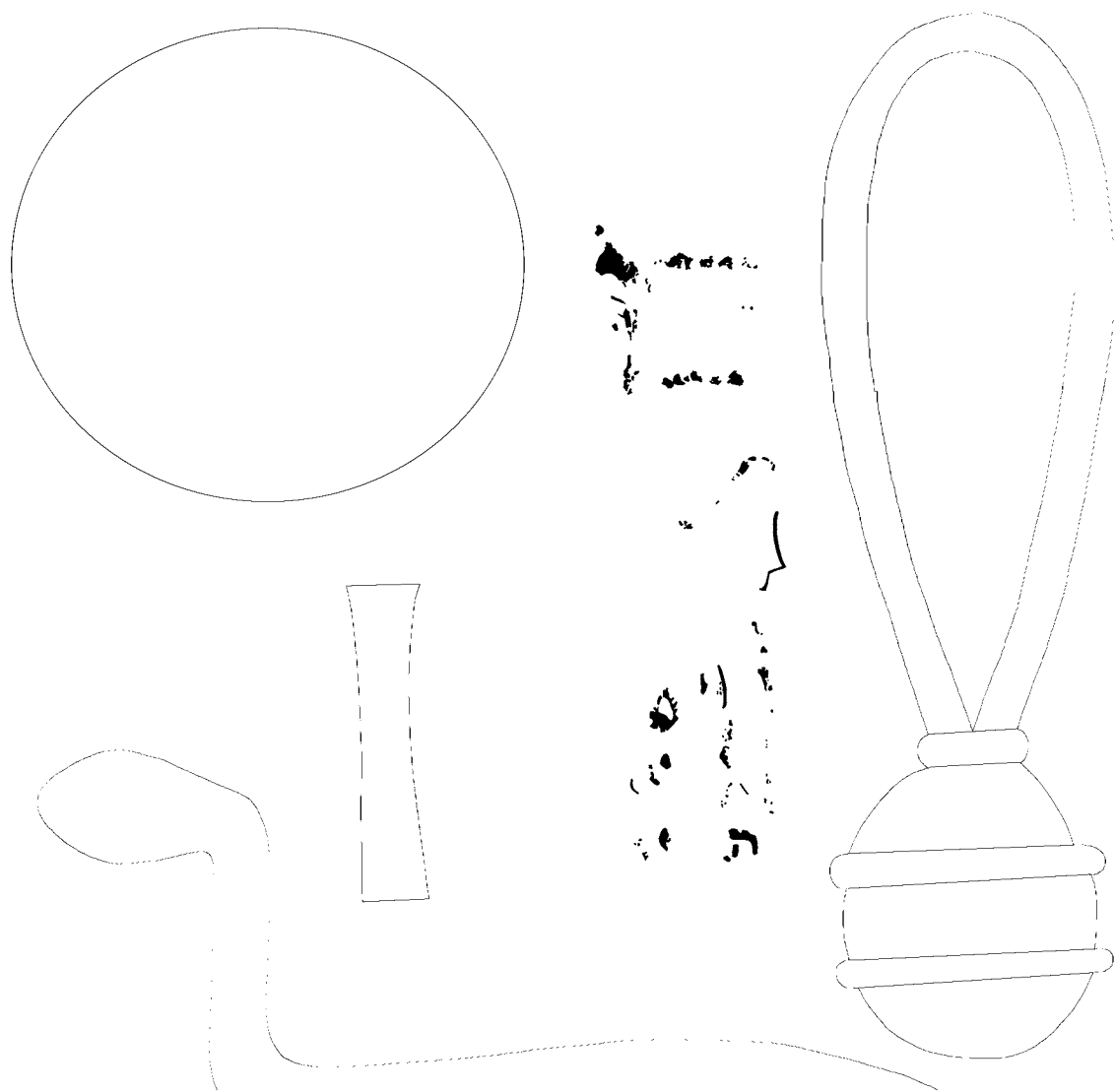
GR. 425



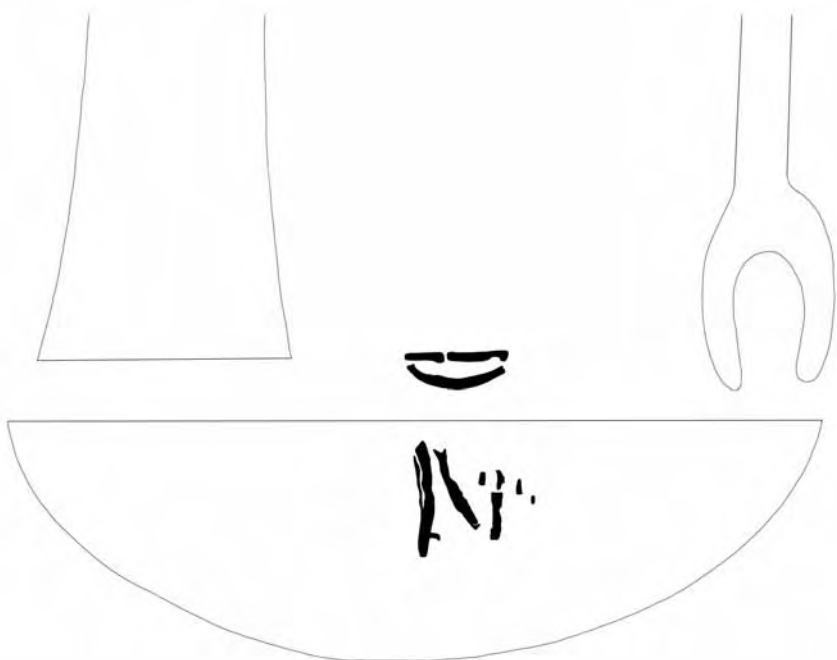
Drawings by Di Cerbo



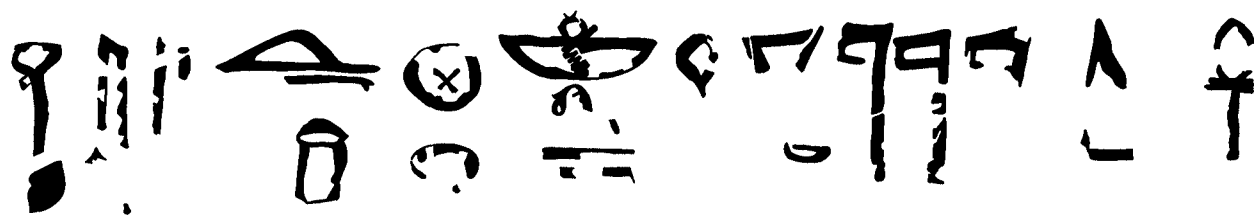
GR. 417



GR. 415



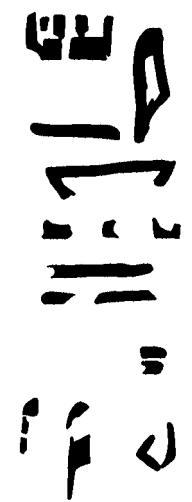
GR. 419



GR. 418

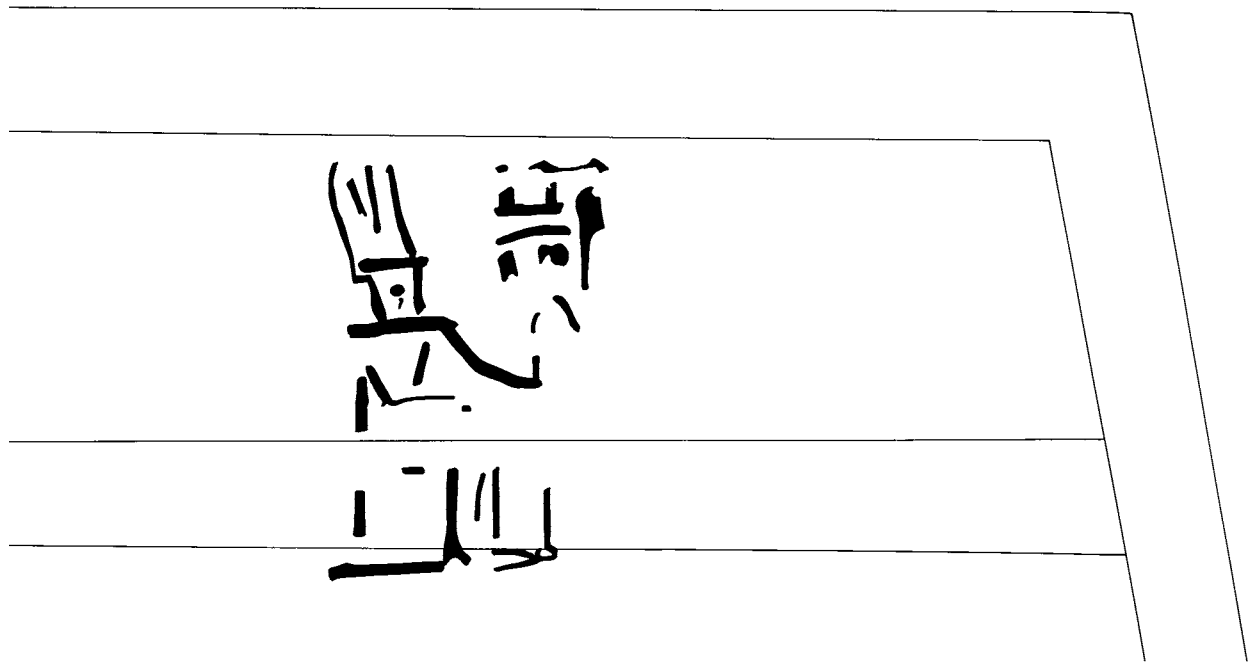


GR. 416

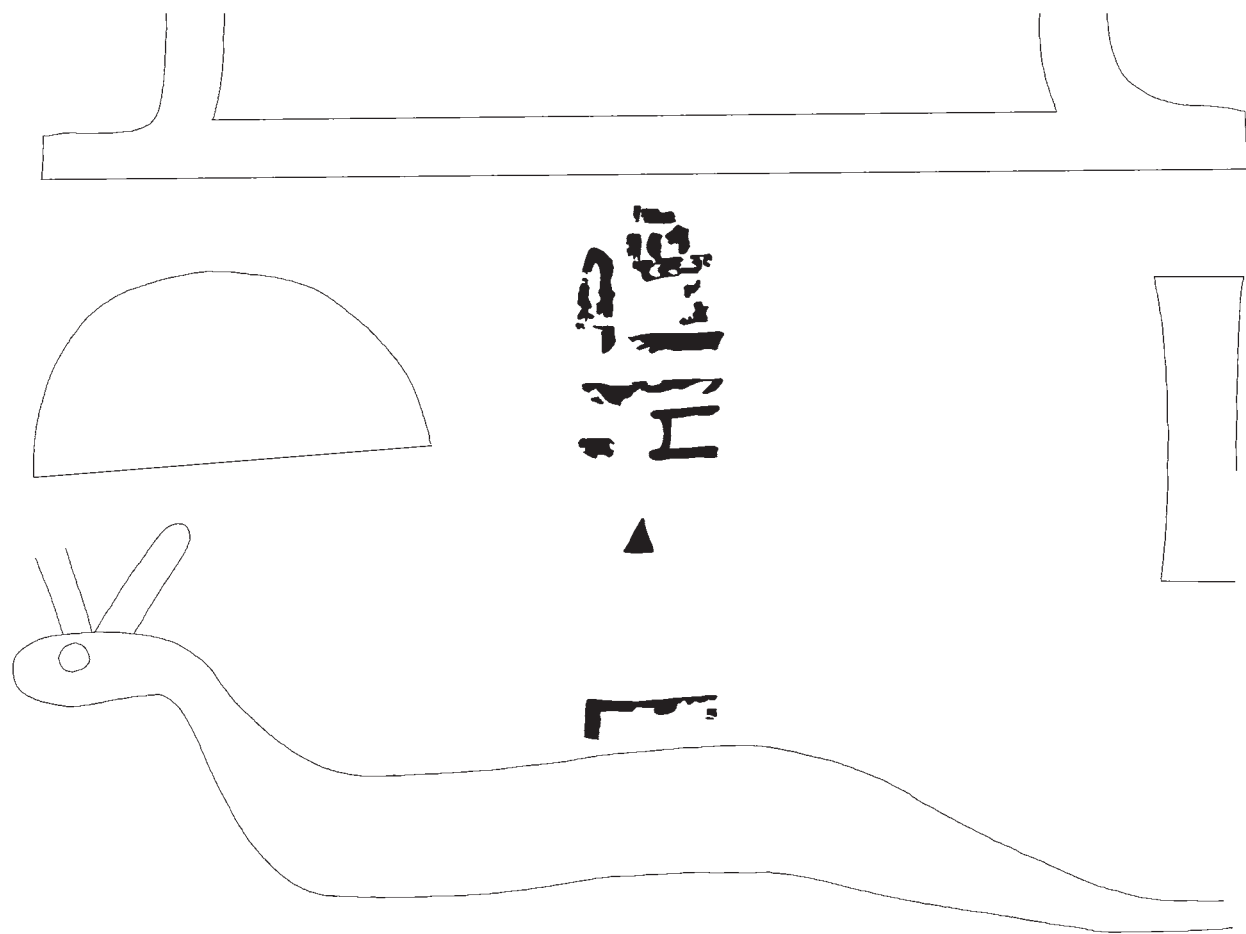


GR. 420

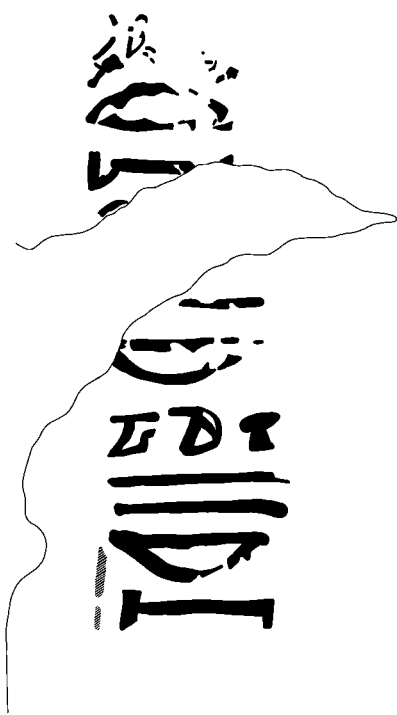




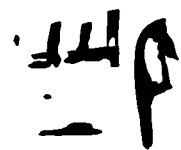
GR. 423



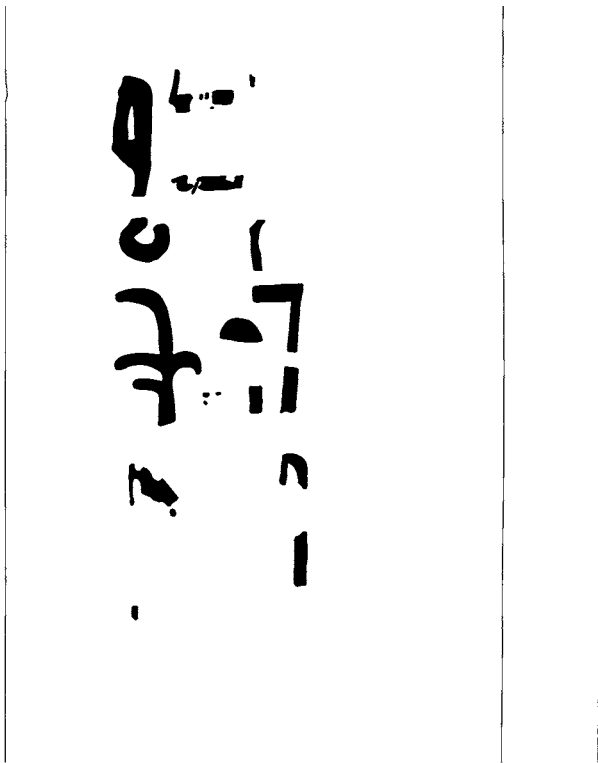
GR. 422B



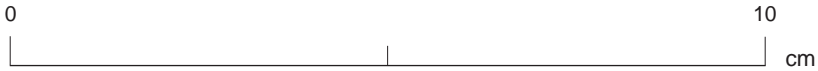
GR. 424



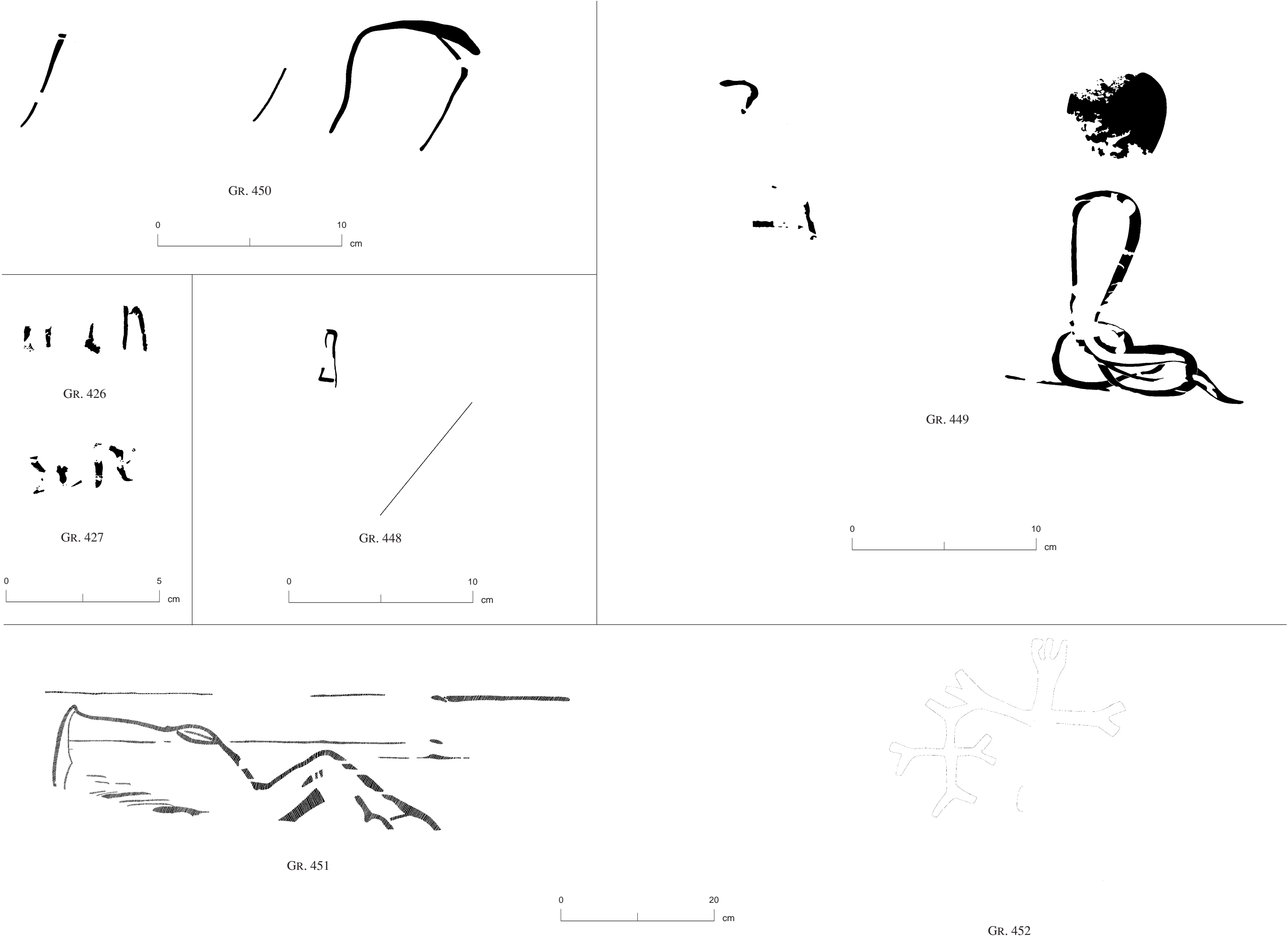
GR. 421



GR. 422A

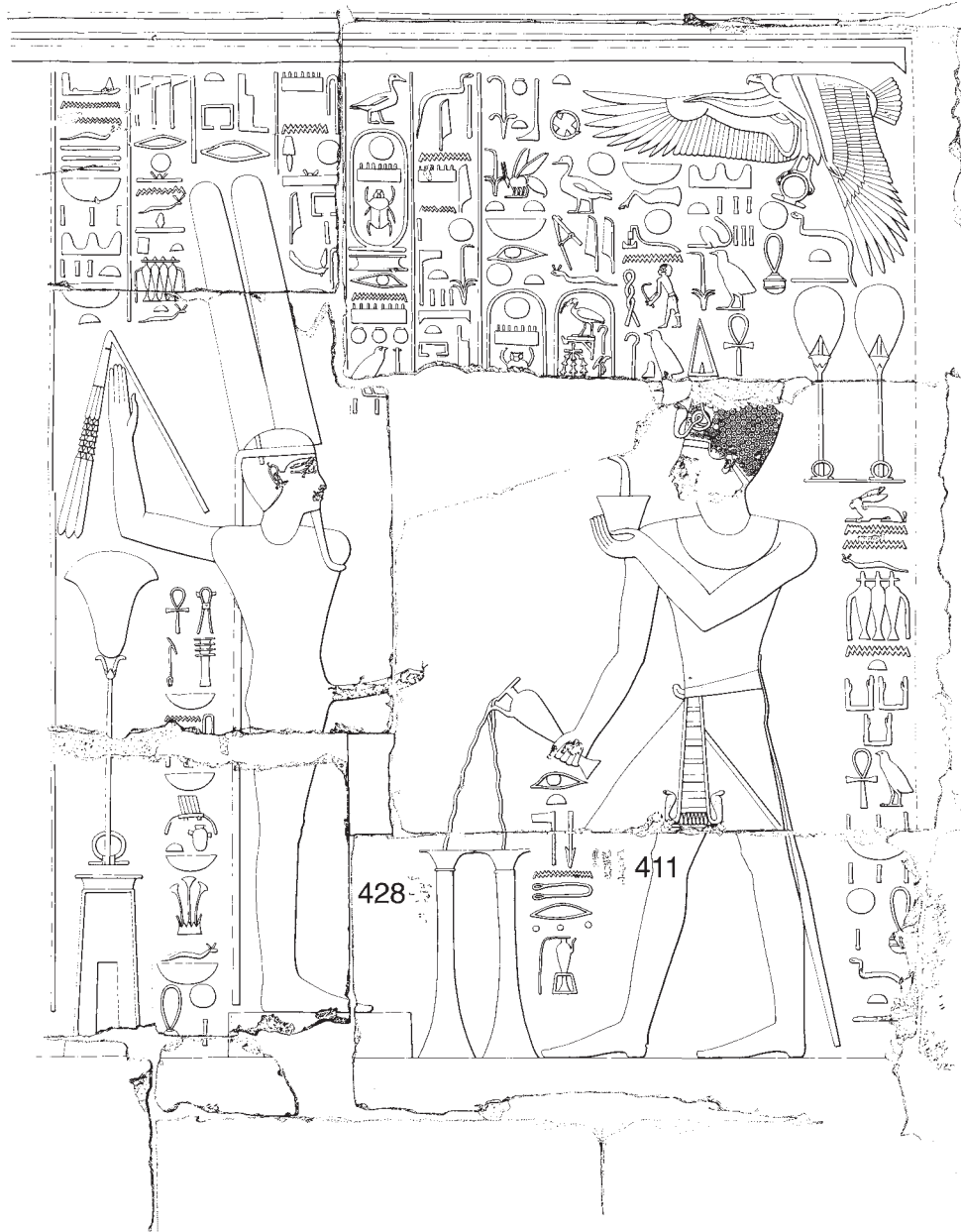


Drawings by Di Cerbo

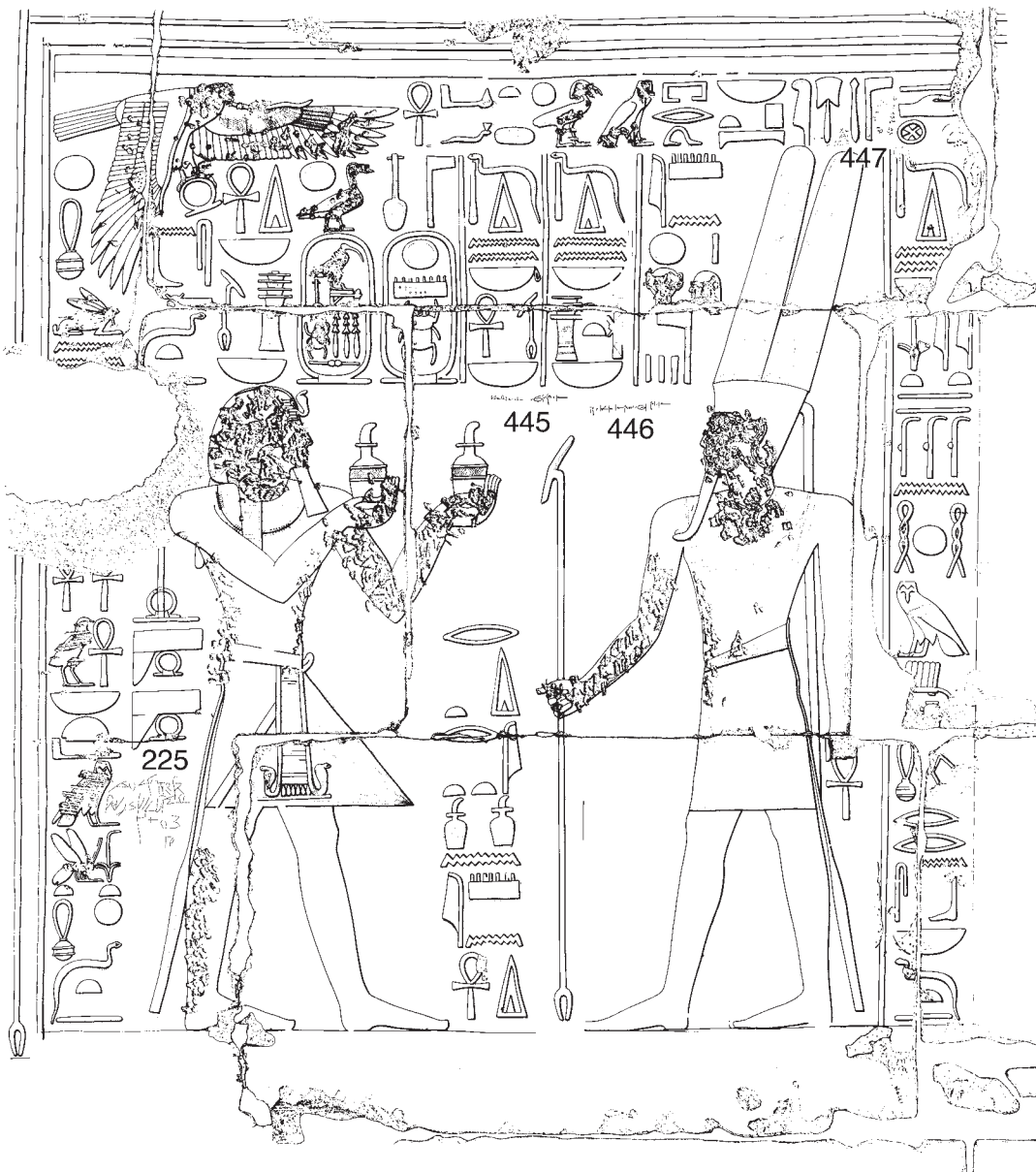


Drawings by Di Cerbo

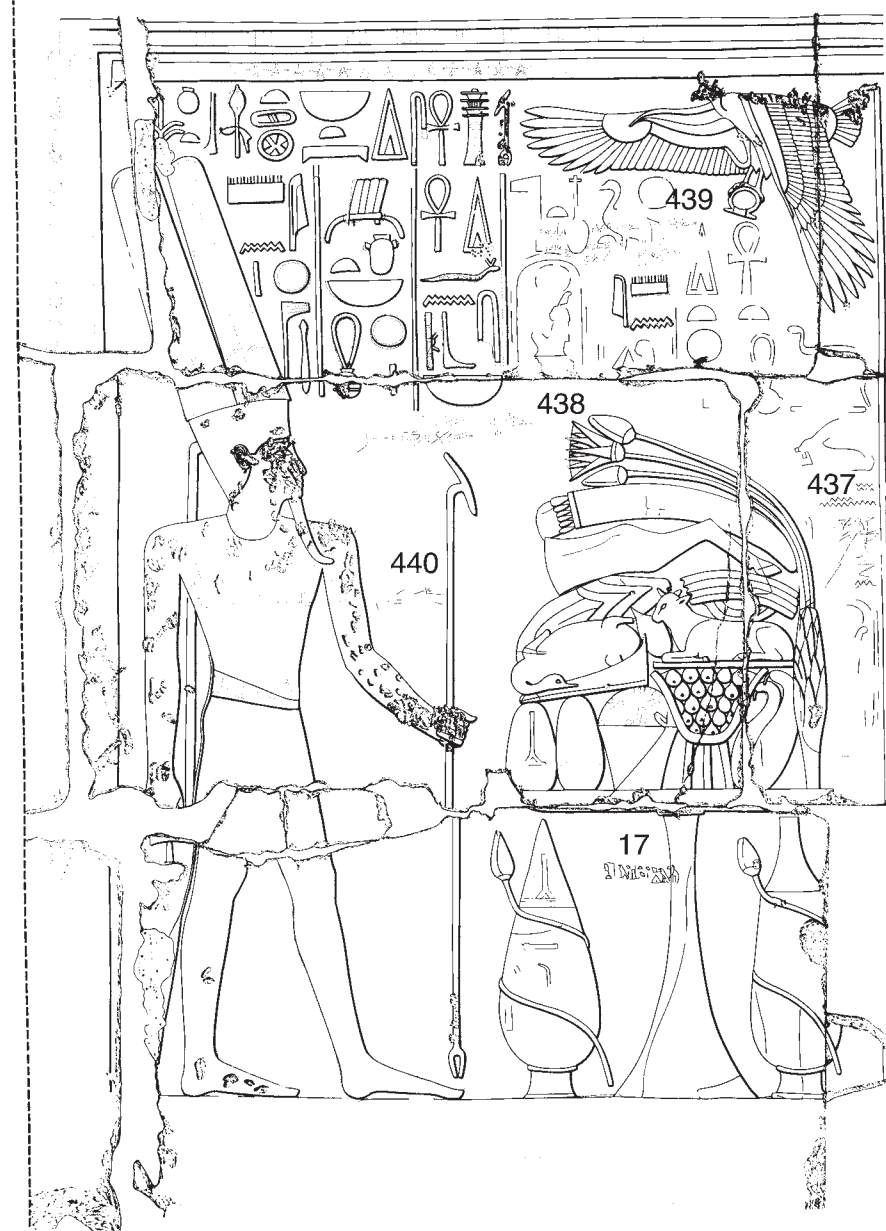
MISCELLANEOUS GRAFFITI (GR. 426, 427, 448-452)



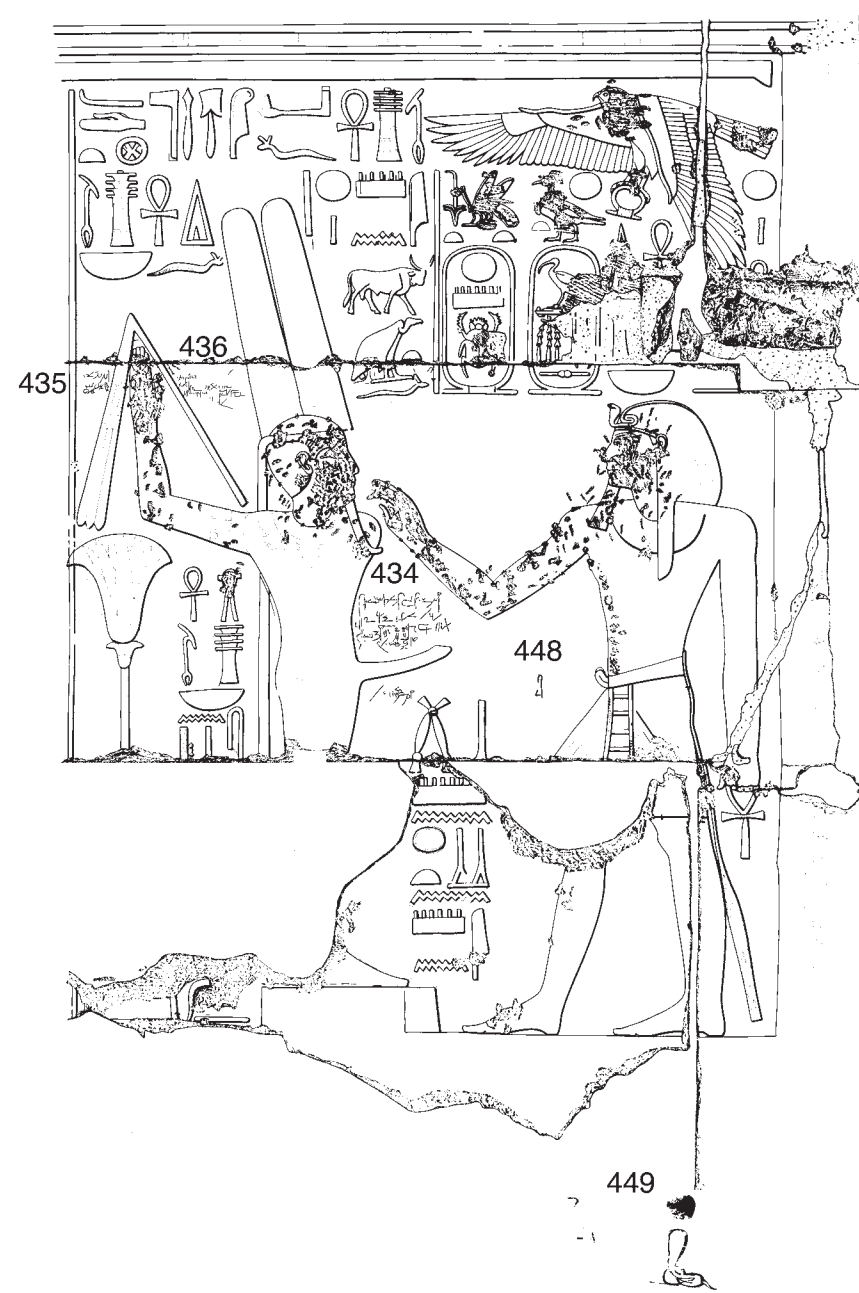
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 23
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL



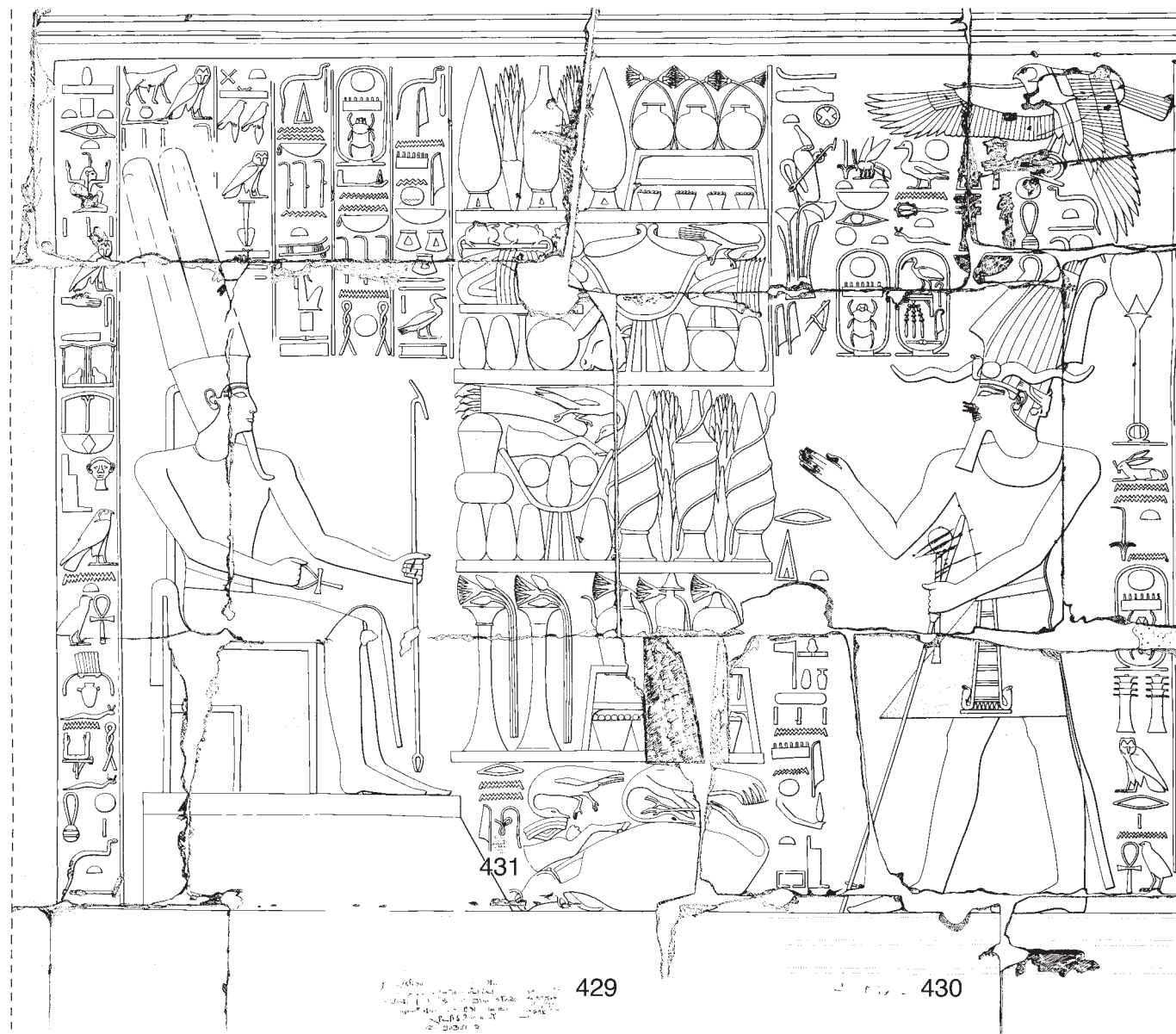
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 47
NAOS CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL



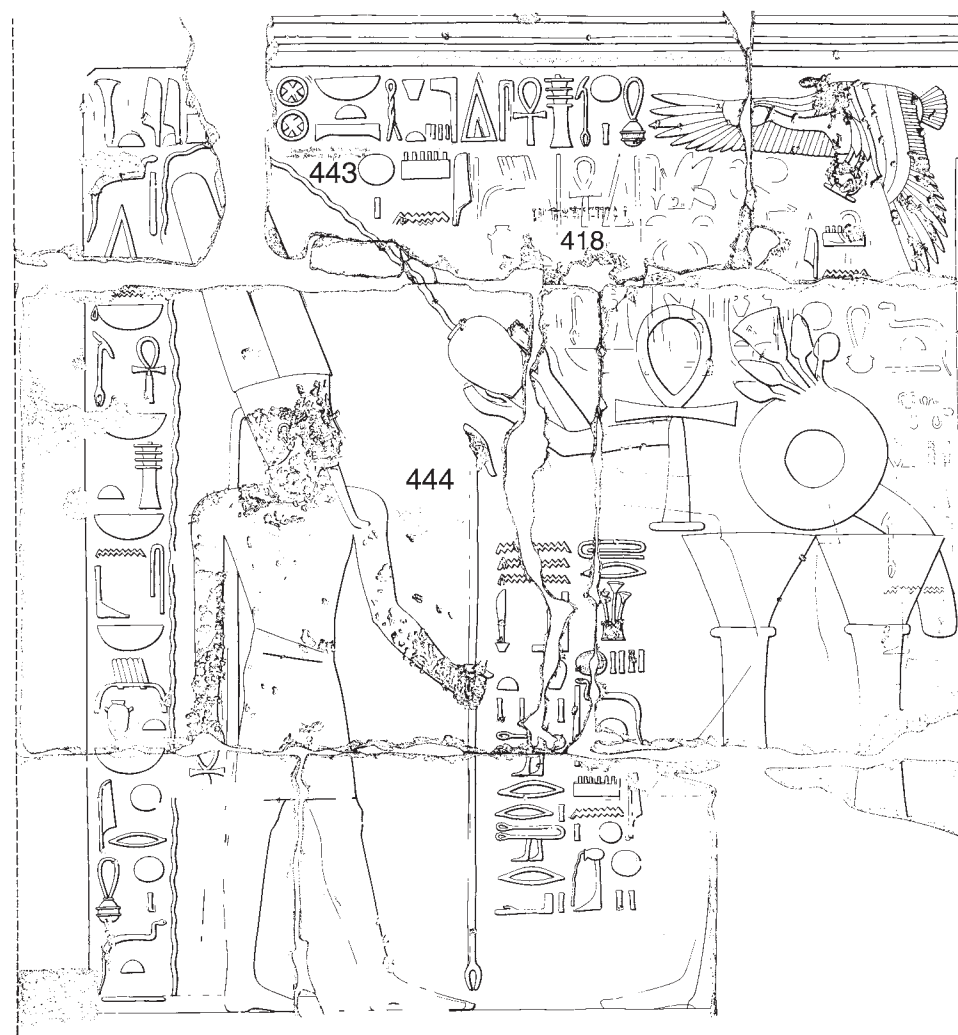
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 51.B
NAOS CHAMBER, EAST WALL



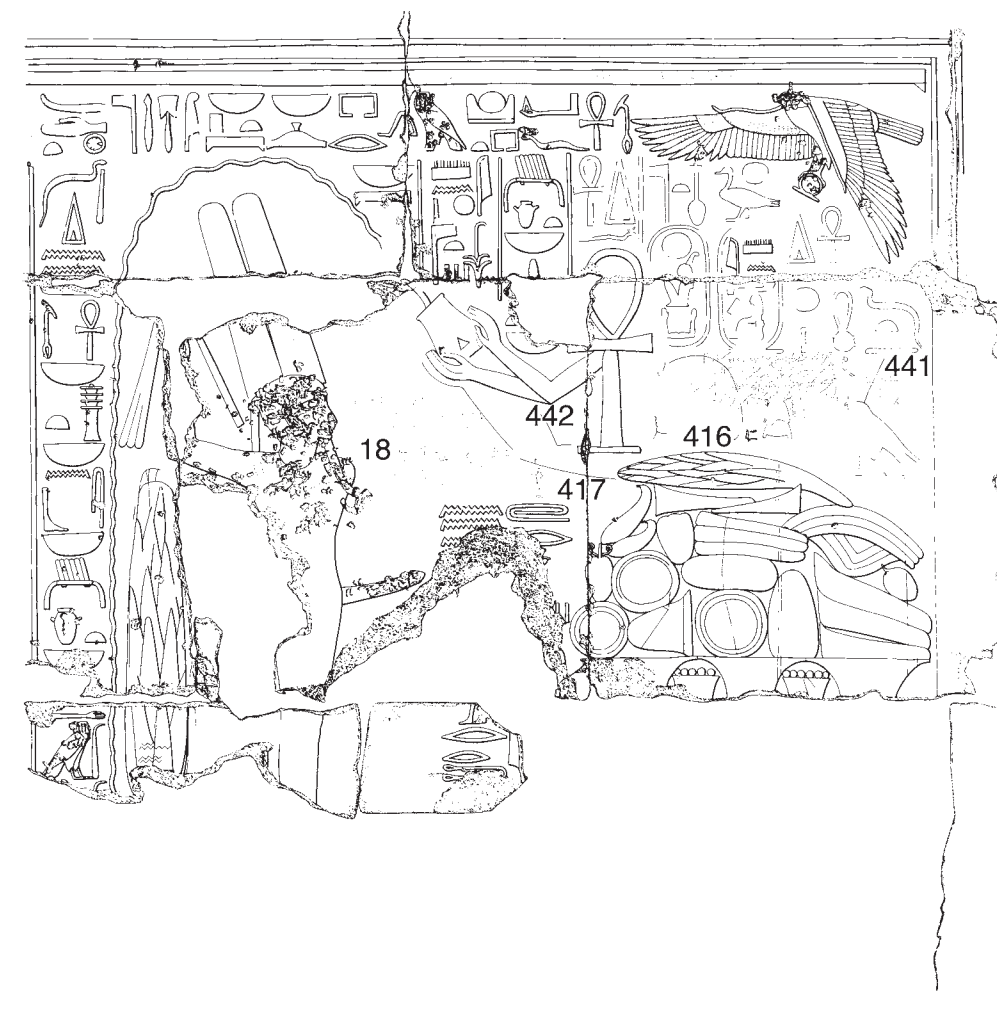
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 51.A
NAOS CHAMBER, EAST WALL



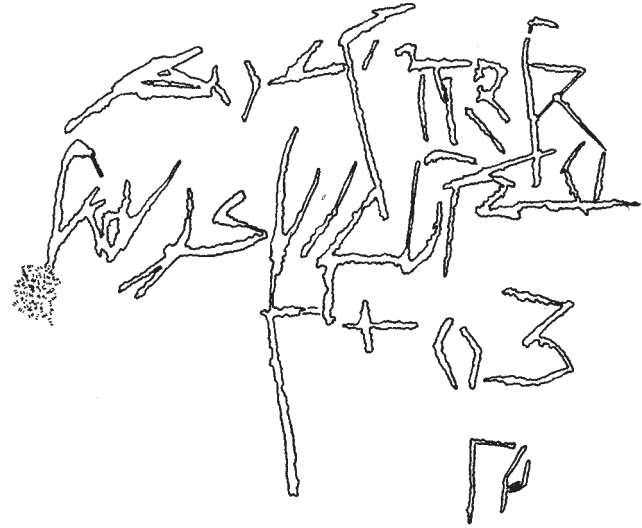
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 25
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL



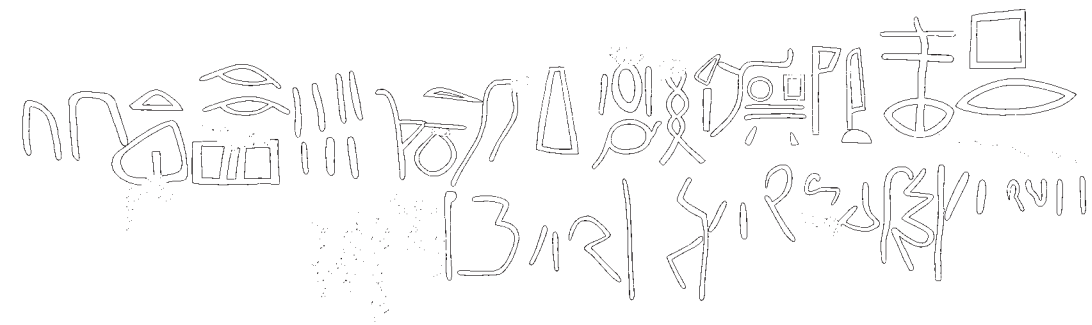
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 55
NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL



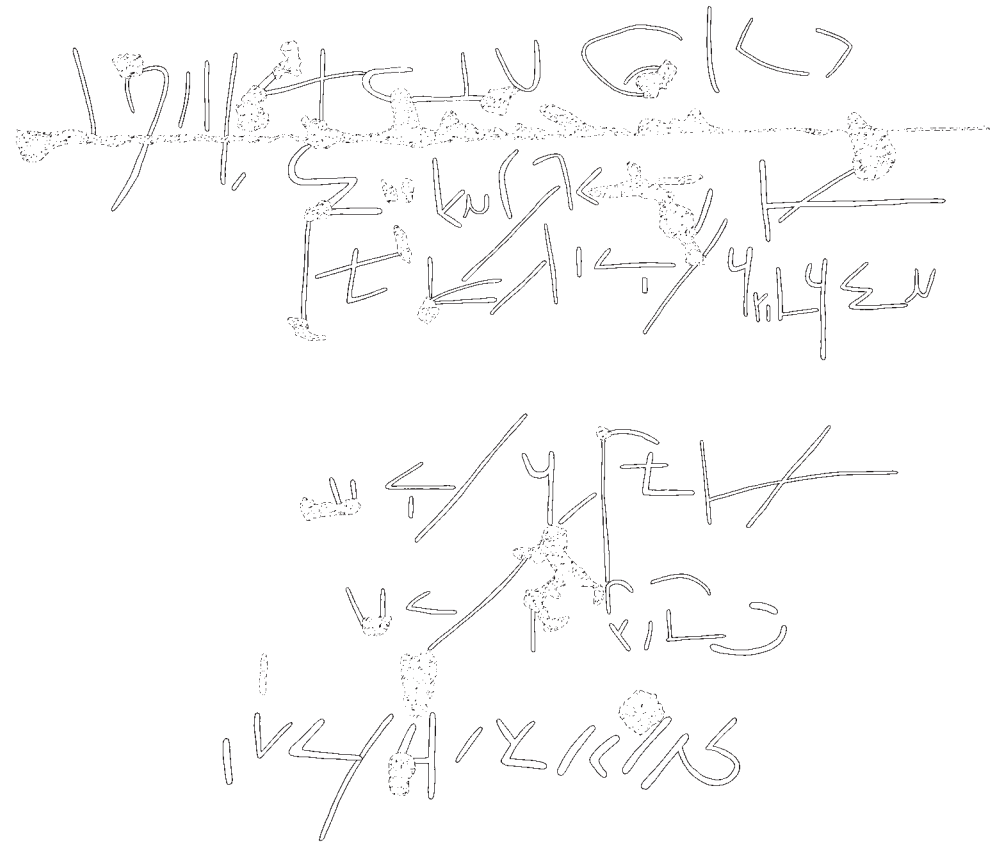
GRAFFITI IN PLATE 53
NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL



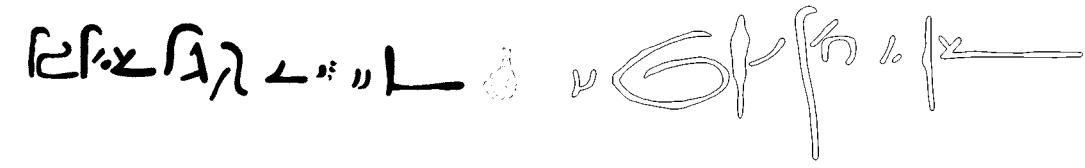
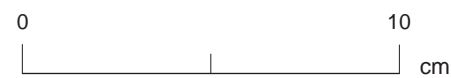
GR. 225



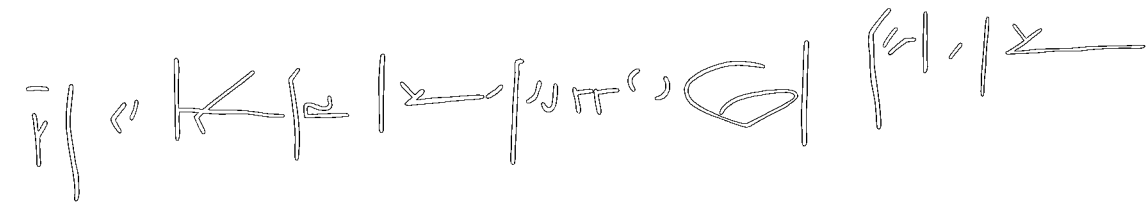
GR. 432



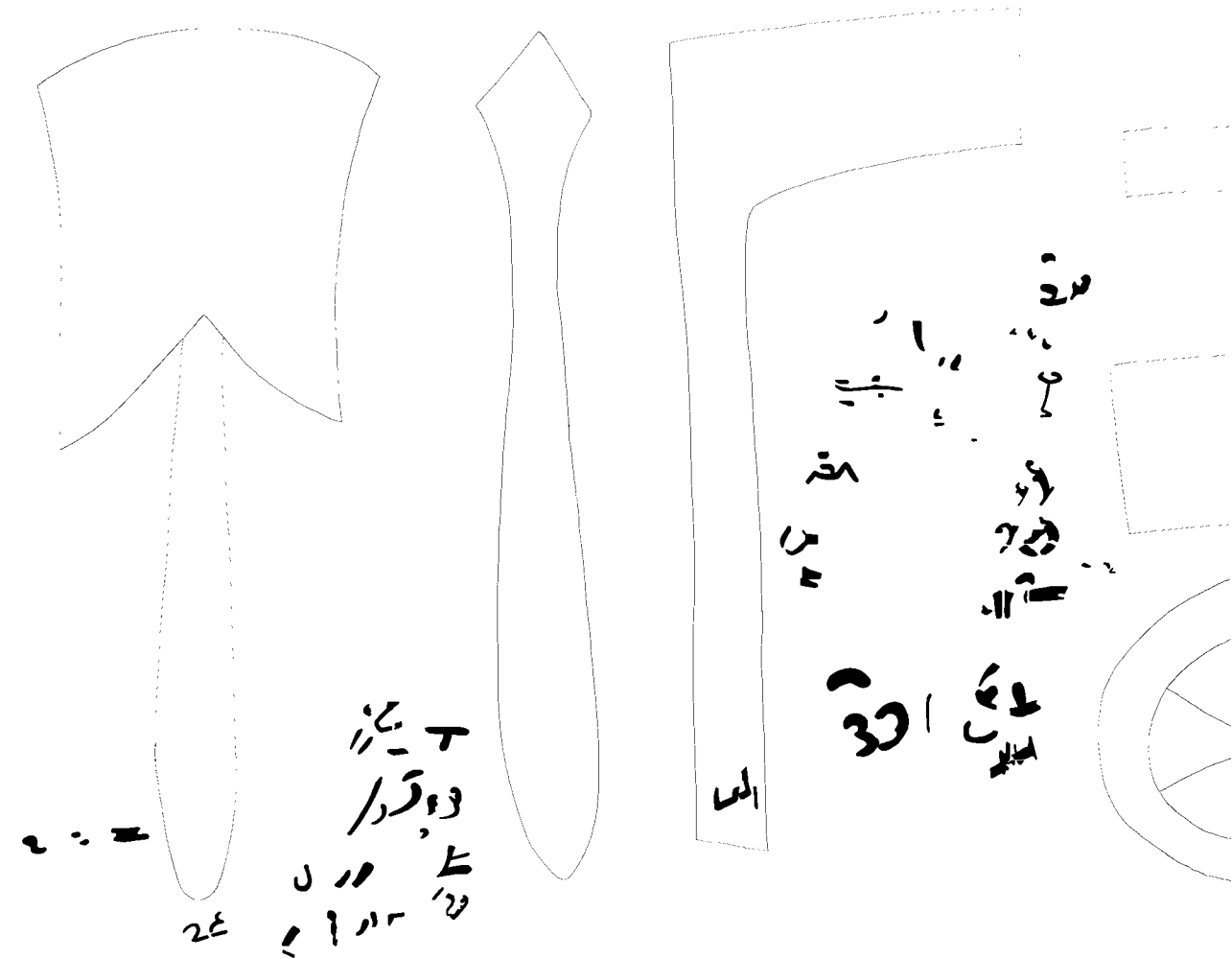
GR. 433



GR. 445



GR. 446

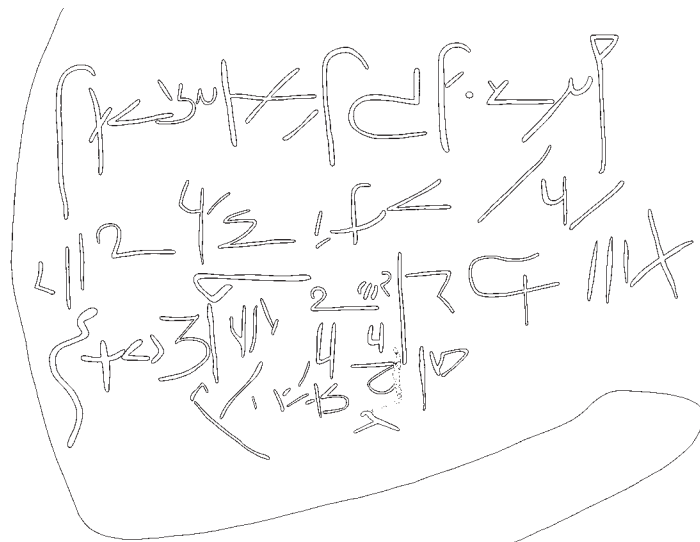


GR. 447

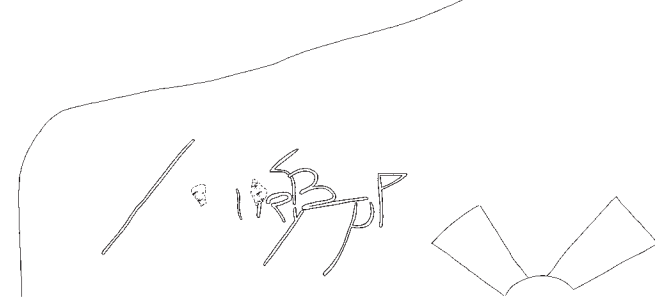


Drawings by Di Cerbo and Edgerton

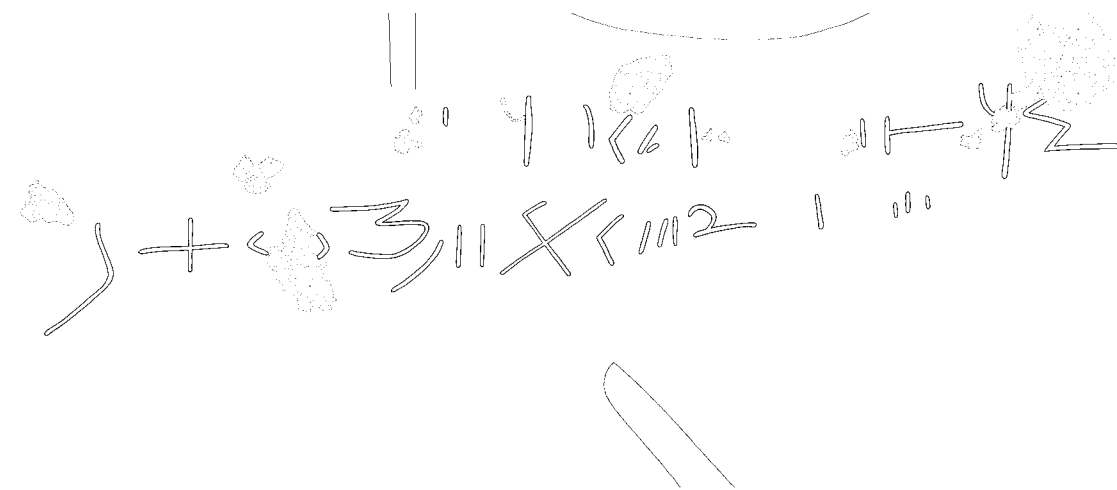
DEMOTIC GRAFFITI ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE NAOS CHAMBER (GR. 225, 432, 433, 445–447)



GR. 434



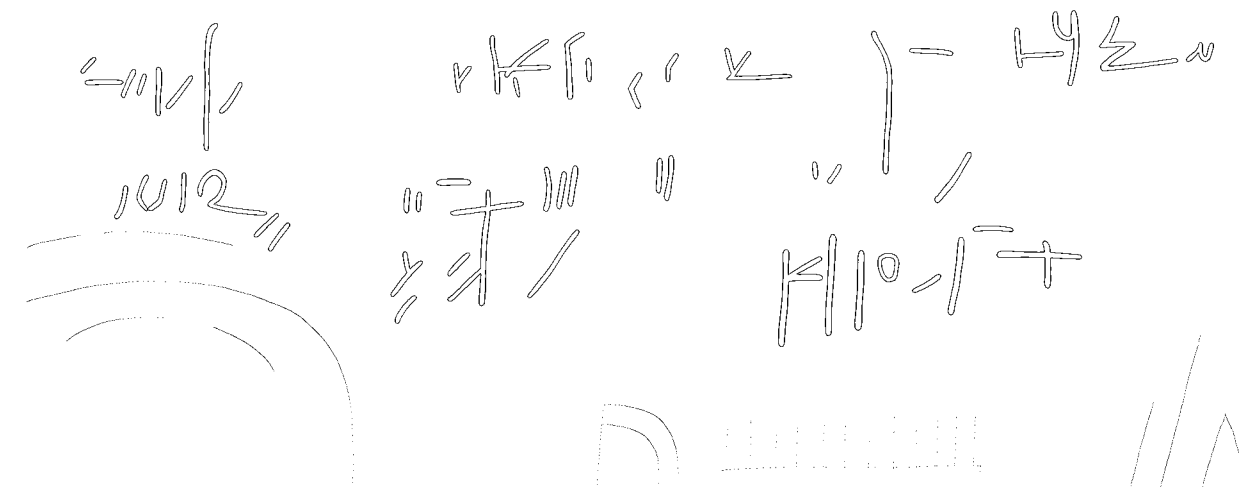
GR. 436



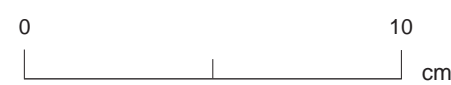
GR. 438



GR. 437



GR. 439



Drawings by Di Cerbo

50311X012 50311X012
 503 X012 C 503 X012 C

GR. 443

Hand-drawn sketches of various symbols and shapes, including an 'X', a less-than sign, a vertical line, a horizontal line, a right angle, a squiggle, and a checkmark.

GR. 444

A complex line drawing of a stylized, abstract figure or structure. The drawing is composed of various geometric shapes and lines, including a large, irregular, somewhat triangular shape at the top, a central vertical column with a circular element, and a series of horizontal lines at the bottom. The overall impression is that of a technical or architectural sketch, possibly representing a piece of machinery or a biological form. The drawing is executed in a simple, hand-drawn style with black lines on a white background.

GR. 18, 417, 442

החל

1. כלי
2. כלי
3. כלי
4. כלי
5. כלי
6. כלי
7. כלי
8. כלי
9. כלי
10. כלי

X

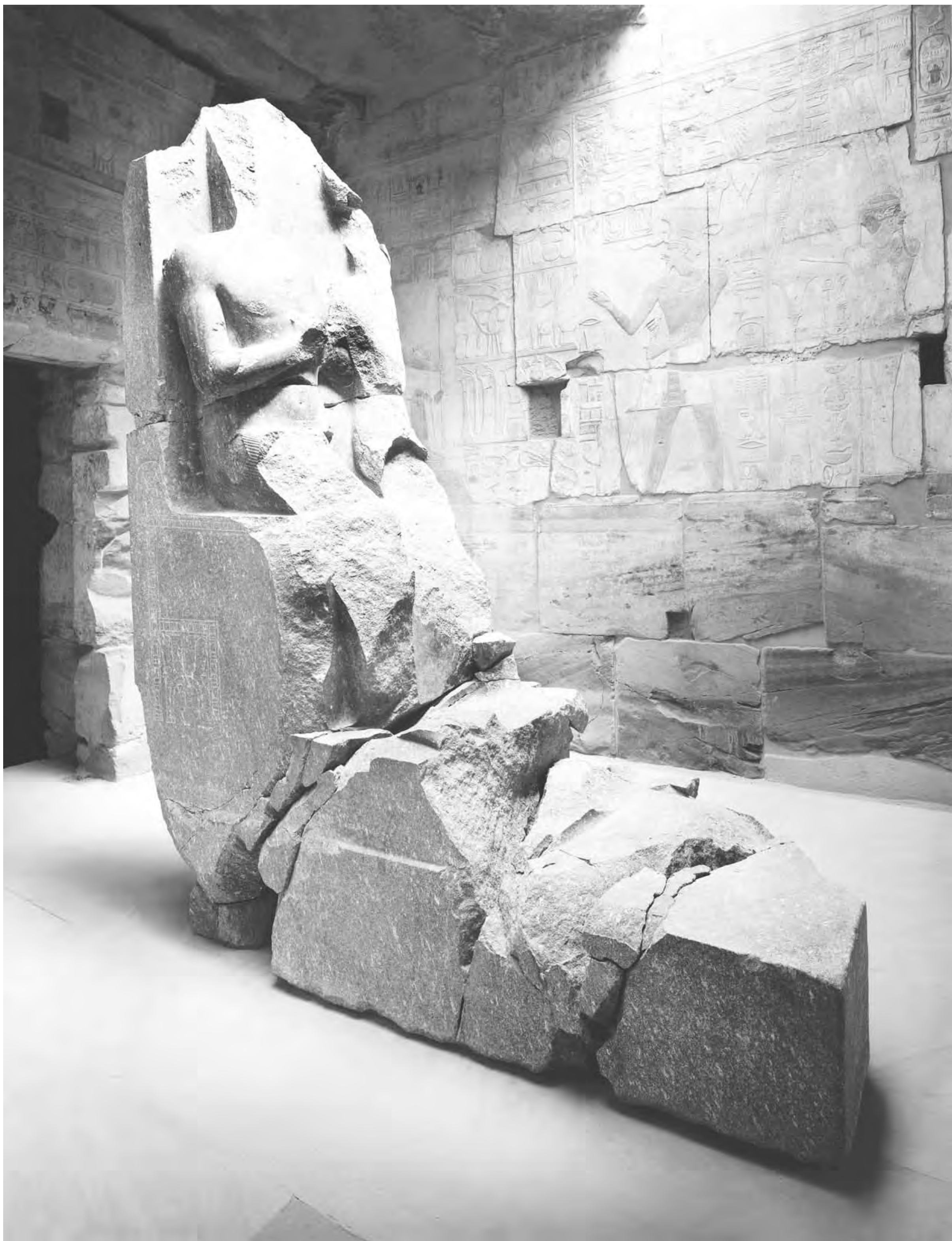
GR. 416, 441

A horizontal line segment is shown with endpoints labeled 0 and 10. The unit 'cm' is written at the right end of the segment.



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN
VIEW FROM THE EAST



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN
VIEW FROM THE SOUTHEAST



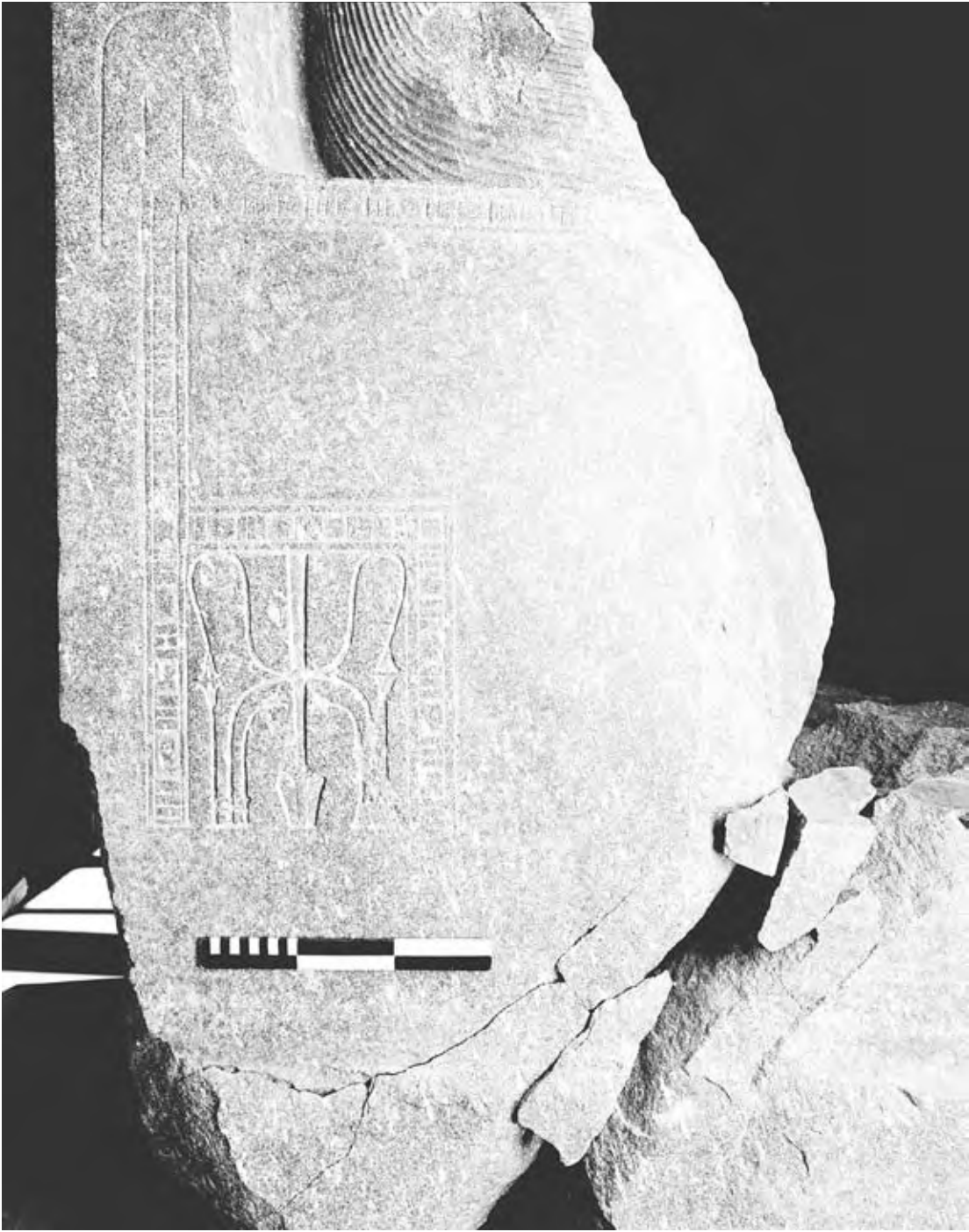
Photograph by Kobylecky

THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN
VIEW FROM THE NORTHEAST

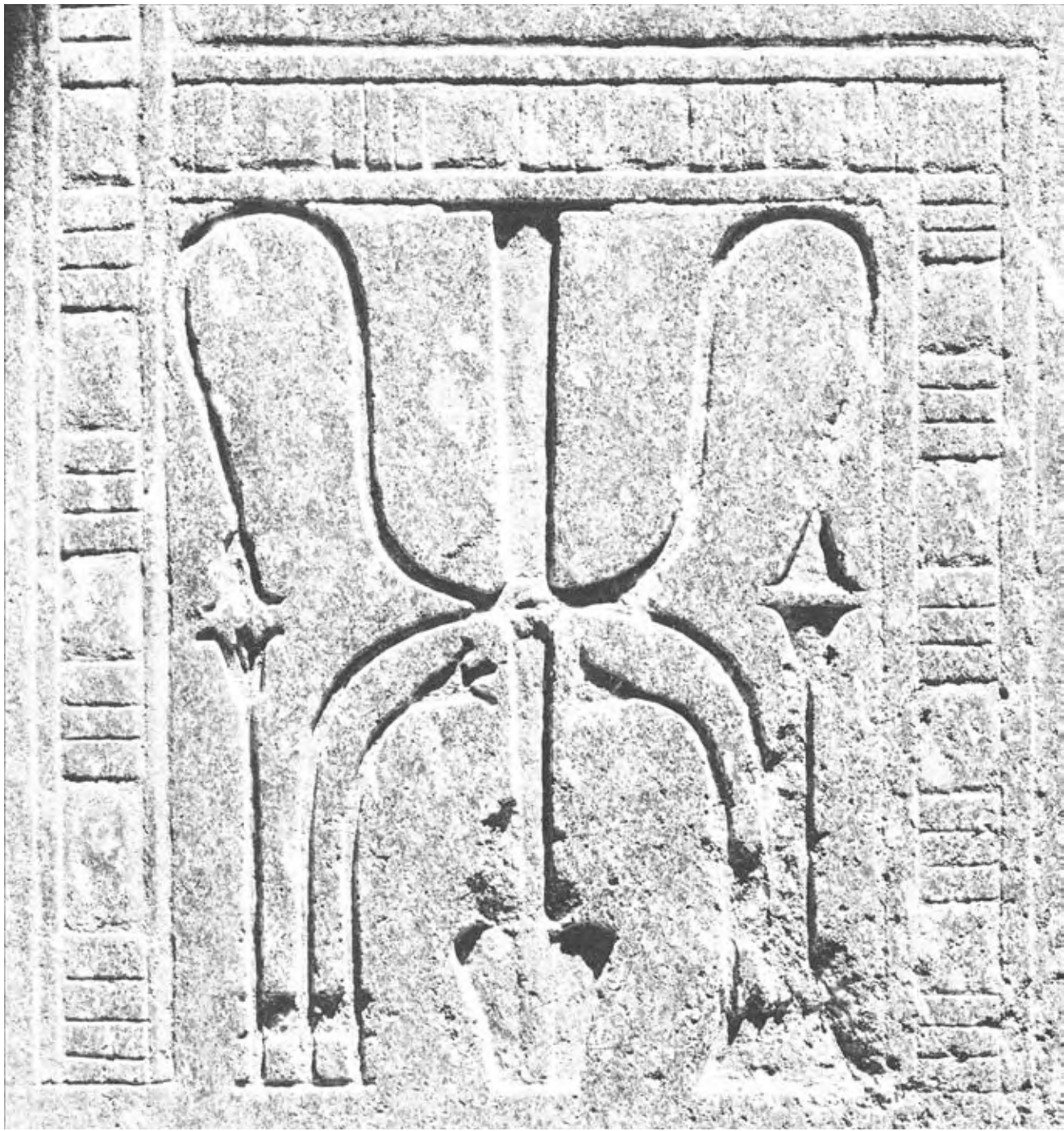


Photograph by Kobylecky

THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN
BACK VIEW



A



B



C



D



E

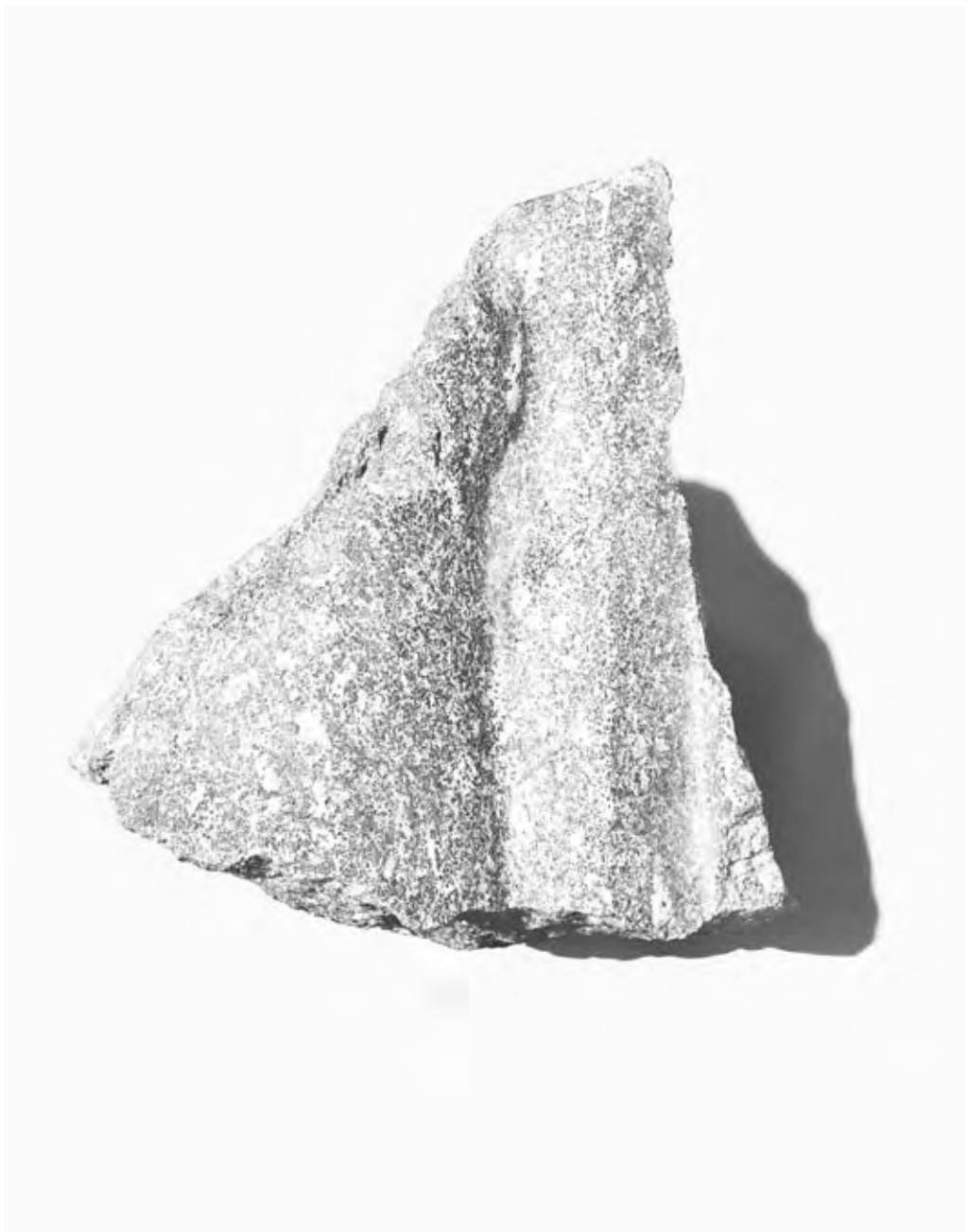


F

DETAILS OF THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN
A. THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE THRONE
B. THE SM3-T3.WY DEVICE ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE THRONE
C. THE NORTH SIDE OF THE THRONE
D. THE BELT-BUCKLE OF THUTMOSE III INSCRIBED WITH HIS TITULARY
E. THE KING'S RIGHT HAND CROSSED OVER HIS CHEST
F. THE RIGHT HAND AND COLLAR OF THUTMOSE III



A



B



C



D



E



F

Photographs by Kobylecky

A.–F. FRAGMENTS OF THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN



Photographs by Kobylecky



THE GRANITE NAOS IN THE NORTHWEST CHAMBER
(See Plate 112)



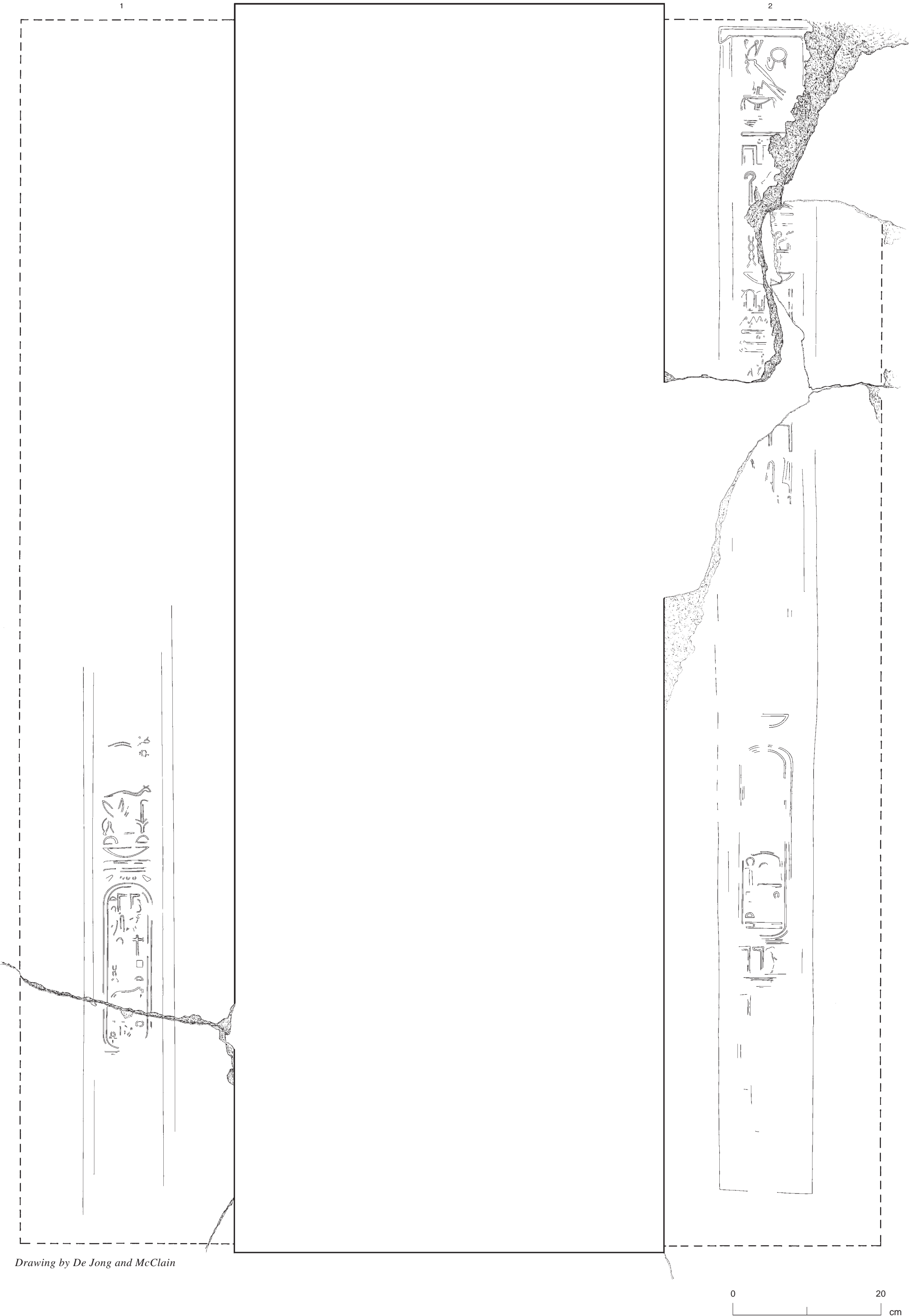


Photographs by Kobylecky



THE GRANITE NAOS IN THE NORTHWEST CHAMBER
(See Plate 112)





Drawing by De Jong and McClain

PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS OF PTOLEMY IX PHILOMETOR SOTER ON THE GRANITE NAOS



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING LED INTO THE TEMPLE BY MONTU-RE AND ATUM
 FAÇADE, SOUTH END
 (Compare Plates 10 and 11)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plates 20 and 21)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING CENSING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE ITHYPHALIC AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plates 22 and 23)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plates 24 and 25)



Photographs by Kobylecky and Lezon

A



B

A. AND B. THE KING GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE
DYAD CHAMBER, WEST WALL, SOUTH AND NORTH OF DOORWAY
(Compare Plates 26 and 27)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE EAST WALL OF THE SANCTUARY OF AMUN
(Compare Plates 30, 31, 32, and 33)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING OFFERING *BD-NATRON* TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF AMUN, SOUTH WALL
 (Compare Plates 34 and 35)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS) OFFERING *NTRW*-NATRON TO AMUN-RE
SANCTUARY OF AMUN, SOUTH WALL

(Compare Plates 36 and 37)



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING OFFERING MILK TO AMUN-RE
 NAOS CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL
 (Compare Plates 46 and 47)



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING CLOTHING ITHYPHALIC AMUN-RE KAMUTEF
 NAOS CHAMBER, EAST WALL
 (Compare Plates 50 and 51)



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING (REPLACED BY AN OFFERING TABLE WITH OFFERINGS) BEFORE AMUN-RE

NAOS CHAMBER, EAST WALL

(Compare Plates 50 and 51)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING, ACCOMPANIED BY THE ROYAL KA (REPLACED BY A PILE OF OFFERINGS AND
THE PERSONIFIED ANKH), POURING WATER OVER ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plates 52 and 53)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING (REPLACED BY OFFERING STANDS AND THE PERSONIFIED ANKH)
POURING WATER OVER AMUN-RE
NAOS CHAMBER, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plates 54 and 55)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE EAST WALL OF THE VESTIBULE
(Compare Plates 60 and 61)



Photograph by Kobylecky

A

B

THE KING (A) OFFERING JARS OF WATER TO AMUN-RE AND (B) PRESENTING A *NMS.T*-JAR TO ITHYPHALIC AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plates 62 and 63)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

A

B

THE KING (A) OFFERING LOAVES TO AMUN AND (B) PRESENTING LETTUCE TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plates 64 and 65)

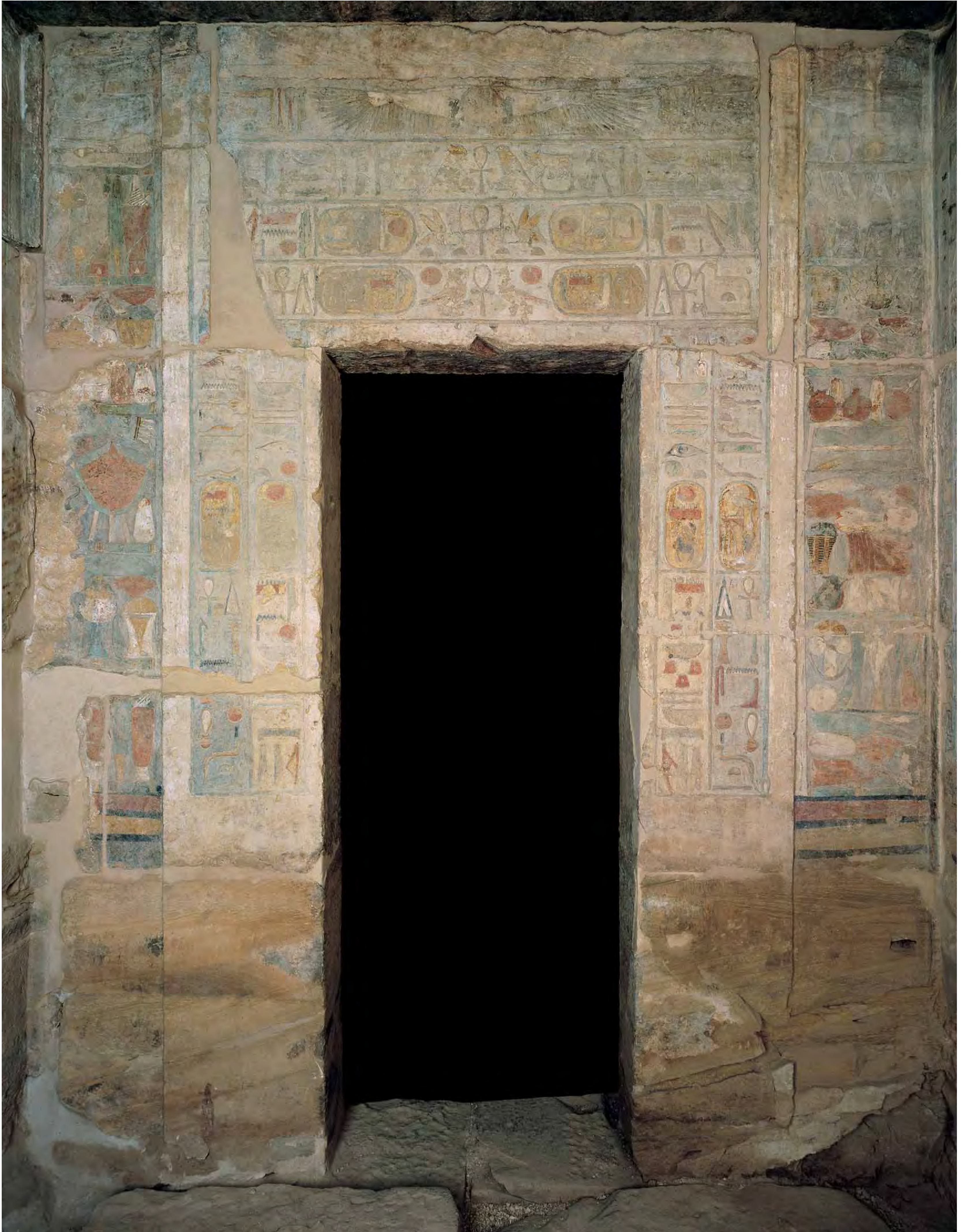


Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

B

A

THE KING (A) OFFERING MILK TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE
VESTIBULE, NORTH WALL
(Compare Plates 66 and 67)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE WEST WALL OF THE VESTIBULE
(Compare Plates 68 and 69)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE EAST WALL OF THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
(Compare Plates 70 and 71)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING OFFERING CLOTHING TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plates 72 and 73)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING (EFFACED) WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN
SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, SOUTH WALL
(Compare Plates 74 and 75)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING OFFERING *DSR.T*-BEER TO ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NORTH WALL
 (Compare Plates 76 and 77)



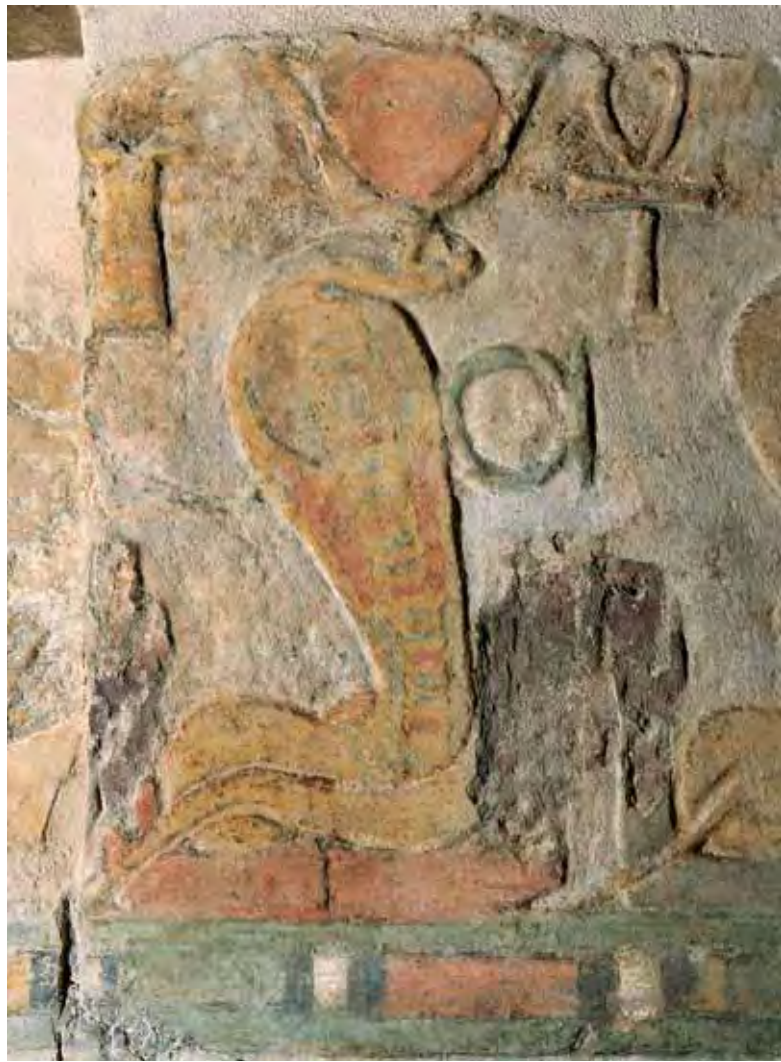
Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE KING WITH A PILE OF OFFERINGS IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE
 SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALIC AMUN, NORTH WALL
 (Compare Plates 78 and 79)



Photograph by Kobylecky and Lezon

THE WEST WALL OF THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALIC AMUN
(Compare Plates 80 and 81)



A



B



C



D



E



F



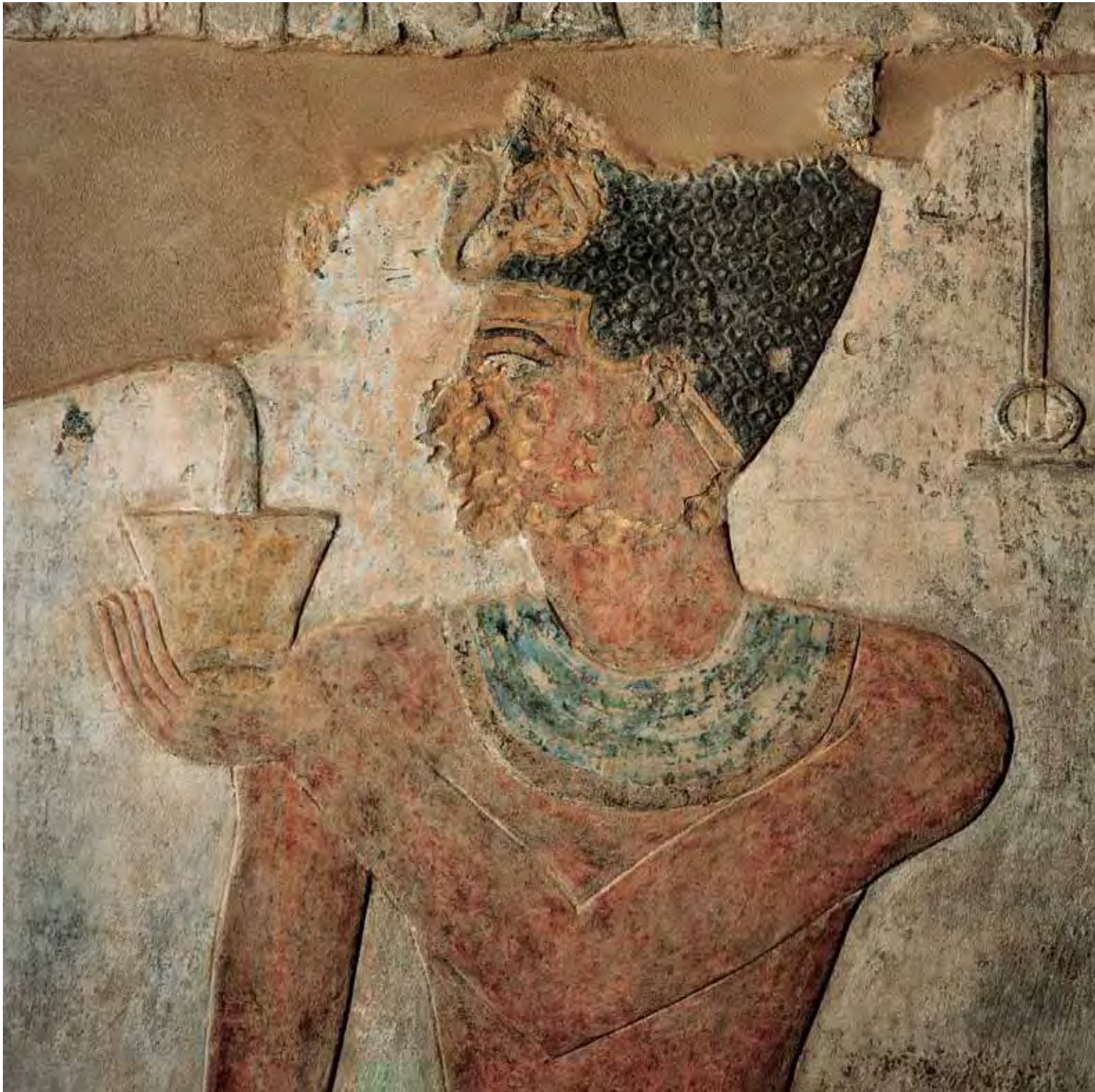
G



H



I



J

PAINTED DETAILS FROM THE INNER SANCTUARIES

- A. THE REBUS FRIEZE OF MAATKARE IN THE VESTIBULE (*Compare Plate 127*)
B. DETAIL OF THE ROYAL TITULARY IN THE NAOS CHAMBER (*Compare Plates 44 and 45*)
C. THE CARTOUCHE OF THUTMOSE I IN THE NAOS CHAMBER (*Compare Plates 44 and 45*)
D. THE REBUS FRIEZE OF MAATKARE IN THE NAOS CHAMBER (*Compare Plate 125*)
E. THE ERASED CARTOUCHE OF HATSHEPSUT IN THE NAOS CHAMBER (*Compare Plates 54, 55, and 125*)
F–I. PAINTED DETAILS IN THE VESTIBULE (*Compare Plates 66–69, 129, and 130*)
J. THUTMOSE III WEARING THE “BLUE CROWN” IN THE DYAD CHAMBER (*Compare Plates 22, 23, and 115*)



A



C



E



G



B



D



F



H

PAINTED DETAILS FROM THE VESTIBULE AND THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
A. HIEROGLYPHIC DETAIL FROM THE DOORWAY IN THE SANCTUARY (Compare Plates 70, 71, and 131)
B. FEMININE SUFFIX PRONOUNS ALTERED TO MASCULINE FORMS IN THE SANCTUARY (Compare Plate 71, Line 8)
C.-F. OFFERINGS ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SANCTUARY (Compare Plates 74, 75, and 133)
G. HIEROGLYPHIC DETAIL IN THE VESTIBULE (Compare Plate 67.B, Line 9)
H. THE CARTOUCHE OF THUTMOSE I IN THE VESTIBULE (Compare Plates 66, 67, and 129)



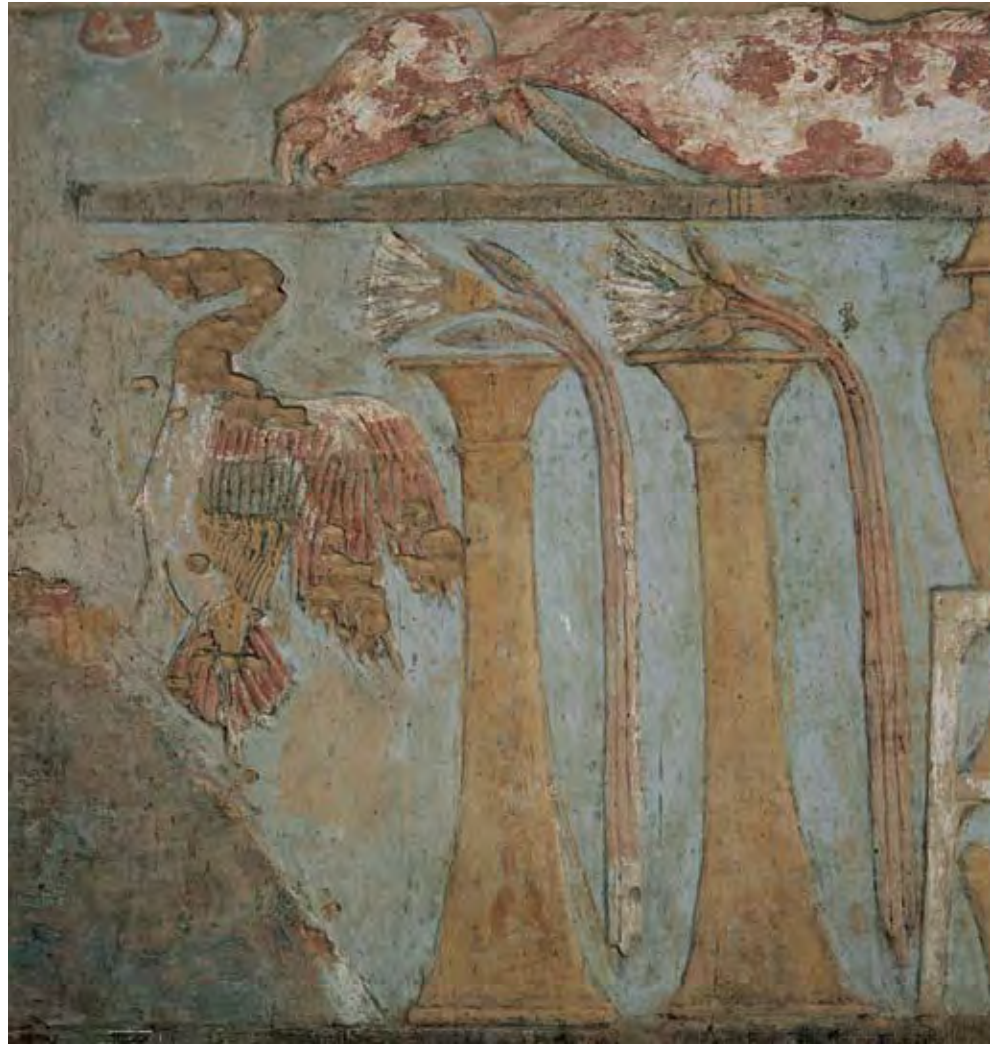
A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I

PAINTED DETAILS FROM THE INNER SANCTUARIES AND THE FAÇADE

- A. THE CARTOUCHES OF THUTMOSE III IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (Compare Plates 80, 81, and 136)
B. THE WINGED SOLAR DISK IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (Compare Plates 80, 81, and 136)
C. AND D. OFFERINGS ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (Compare Plates 78, 79, and 135)
E. THE CARTOUCHES OF THUTMOSE II IN THE DYAD CHAMBER (Compare Plate 57, Lines 8–9)
F. DETAIL OF THE COSTUME OF THUTMOSE III ON THE FAÇADE (Compare Figure 3 and Plate 11.A)
G. DETAIL OF THE CEILING IN THE VESTIBULE
H. THE CARTOUCHES OF THUTMOSE II IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (Compare Plates 78, 79, and 135)
I. DETAIL OF THE ROYAL COSTUME IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (Compare Plates 78, 79, and 135)



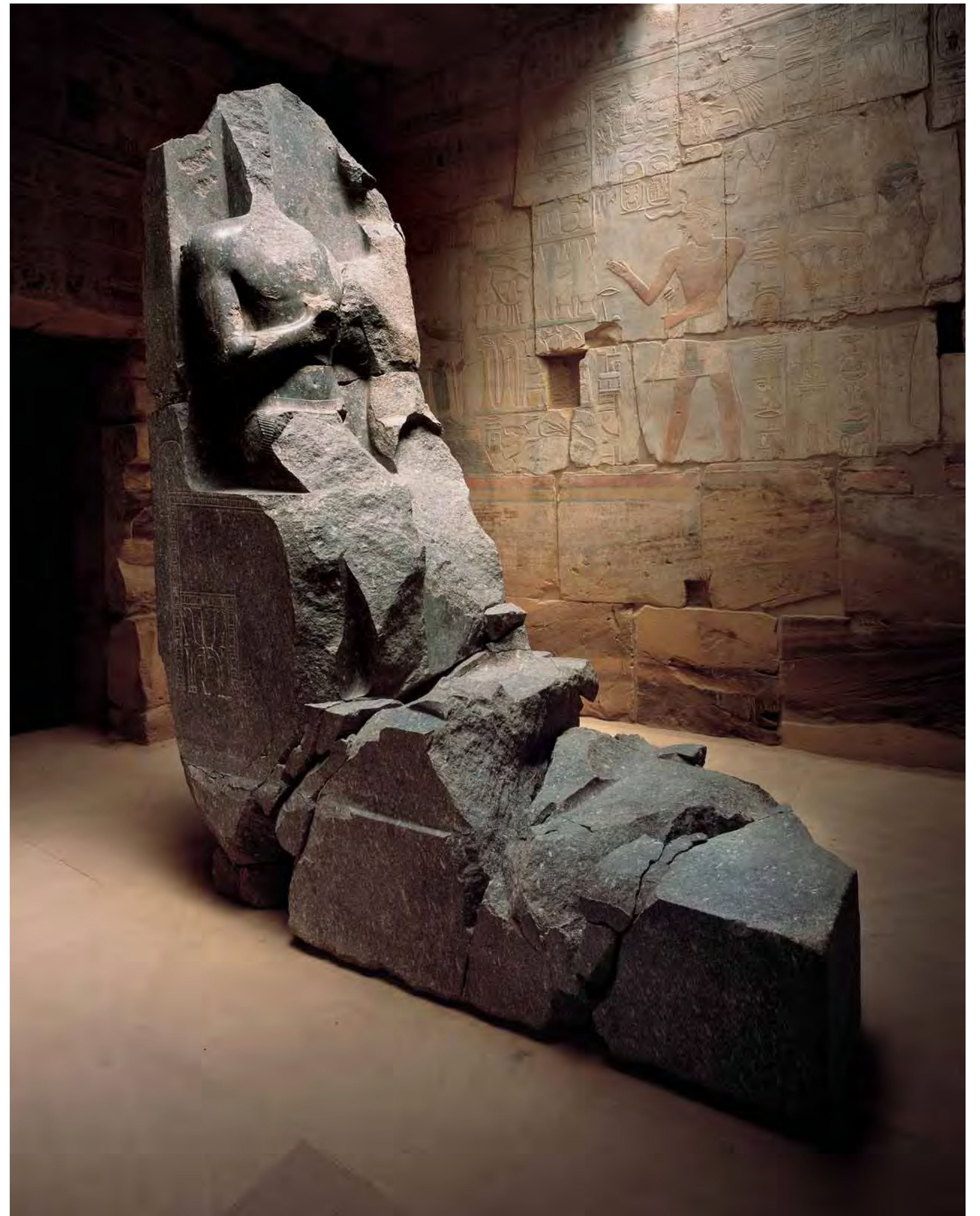
Photographs by Kobylecky

A

THE COLOSSAL DYAD OF THUTMOSE III AND AMUN

A. VIEW FROM THE EAST

B. VIEW FROM THE SOUTHEAST

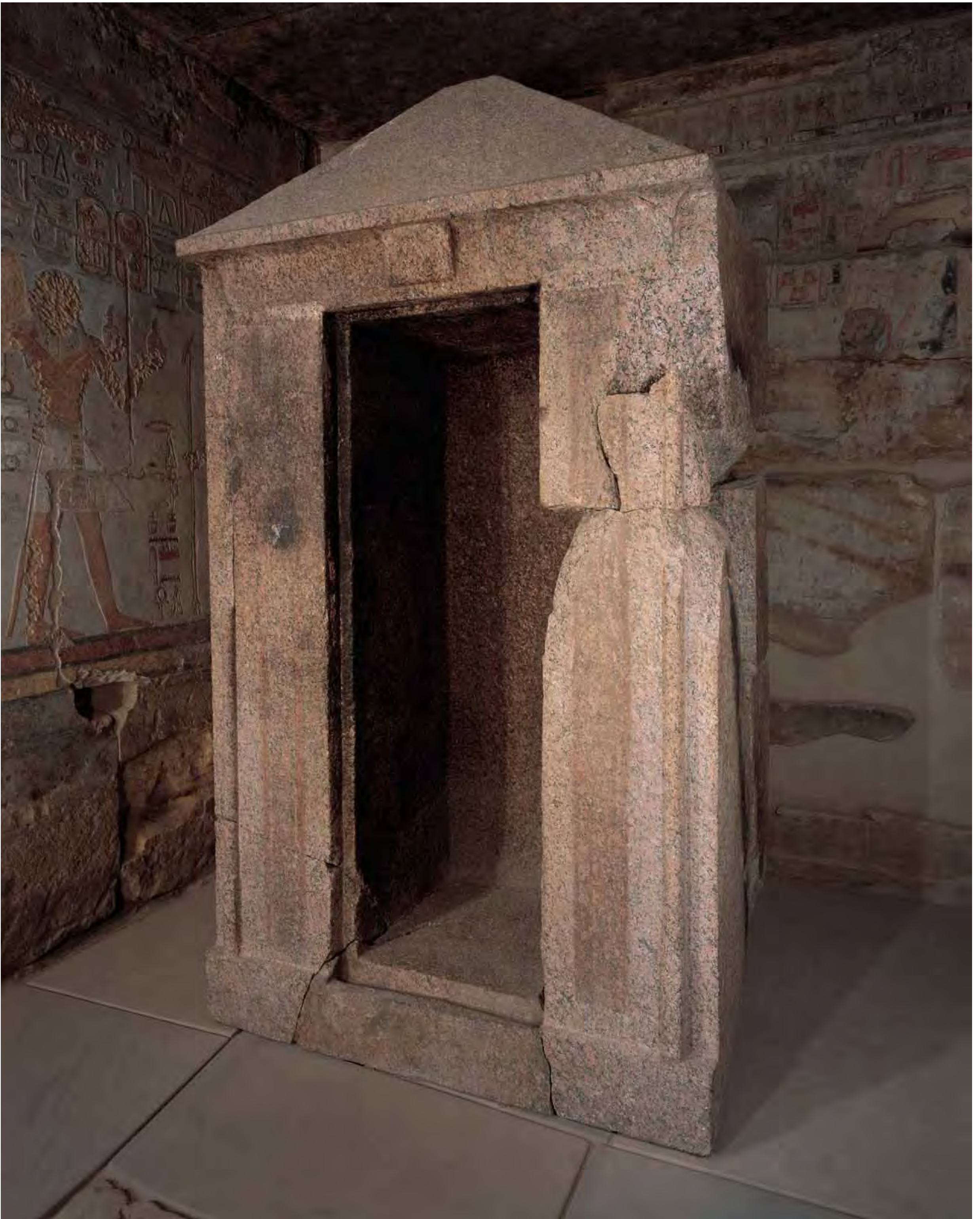


B



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE ERASED NAME OF MAATKARE
VESTIBULE, EAST WALL, REBUS FRIEZE



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE GRANITE NAOS IN THE NORTHWEST CHAMBER
(Compare Plate 111)