

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION
JOHN ALBERT WILSON & THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN • *EDITORS*
ELIZABETH B. HAUSER & RUTH S. BROOKENS • *ASSISTANT EDITORS*

THE COREGENCY OF RAMSES II
WITH SETI I AND THE DATE
OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE
HALL AT KARNAK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO
THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY, NEW YORK; THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY
PRESS, LONDON; THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA,
KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI; THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED, SHANGHAI

THE COREGENCY OF RAMSES II
WITH SETI I AND THE DATE
OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE
HALL AT KARNAK



BY KEITH C. SEELE

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION · NO. 19

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS · CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

Internet publication of this work was made possible with the
generous support of Misty and Lewis Gruber

COPYRIGHT 1940 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. ALL RIGHTS
RESERVED. PUBLISHED DECEMBER 1940. COMPOSED AND PRINTED
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

To

GEORGE STEINDORFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS	1
II. THE VESTIBULE OF THE SECOND PYLON	7
III. THE SECOND PYLON UNDER HARMHAB AND RAMSES I	12
IV. SETI I AND RAMSES II AS COREGENTS	23
V. THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK	50
Ramses II in the North Aisle	50
Reliefs of Seti I and Ramses II on the Second Pylon	52
The South Wall: Seti I and the Significance of His Epithet <i>m^{3c} hrw</i>	60
The South Wall: The Barque of Amon and the Feast of the Valley	66
The South Wall: A Chronological Observation	75
Problems of the Construction and Decoration of the South Aisle	83
Questions Answered and Unanswered	88
VI. SUMMARY	92

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE	PAGE
1. CARTOUCHE OF HARMHAB USURPED BY RAMSES I AND RAMSES II. KARNAK	8
2. UNUSURPED CARTOUCHES OF HARMHAB. KARNAK	8
3. RAISED CARTOUCHES OF HARMHAB USURPED BY RAMSES II. KARNAK	8
4. RAISED CARTOUCHE OF SETI I USURPED BY RAMSES II. KARNAK	10
5. TRACES OF A SCENE ERASED AND PARTIALLY REPLACED BY RAMSES I. KARNAK	14
6. TRACES OF AN ERASED PROCESSION OF BARQUES, THE FOREMOST EQUIPPED WITH OARS, NOW OVERLAID BY SETI I'S VERSION. KARNAK	16
7. SCULPTURES OF RAMSES II OVER ERASED SCENES. KARNAK	17
8. THE BARQUE OF AMON ATTENDED BY SETI I AND A SON, PRESUMABLY RAMSES II. KARNAK	24
9. THE CORONATION OF RAMSES II IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS FATHER SETI I AND THE THEBAN TRIAD. QURNAH TEMPLE OF SETI I	28
10. DOORWAY BEARING NAMES OF SETI I AND RAMSES II, LATTER WITH BOTH <i>Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c</i> AND <i>Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c-iw^cw-R^c</i> AS FORMS OF PRENOMEN. QURNAH TEMPLE OF SETI I	31
11. RAMSES II, WITH PRENOMEN <i>Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c</i> , BEFORE AMON-RE-KAMUTEF. QURNAH TEMPLE OF SETI I	42
12. SETI I BEFORE AMON-RE. QURNAH TEMPLE OF SETI I	42
13. QURNAH TEMPLE OF SETI I. ENTRANCE TO VESTIBULE BEFORE SANCTUARY OF RAMSES I, INSCRIBED BY RAMSES II IN MEMORY OF RAMSES I, SETI I, AND HIMSELF	43
14. SECOND PYLON AT KARNAK. SOUTH END OF NORTH TOWER. THE LOWER FOUR SCENES WERE USURPED BY RAMSES II FROM HIS FATHER SETI I; THE UPPER TWO AND THE FRIEZE AT TOP ARE RAMSES' OWN WORK	51
15. SETI I OFFERS TO AMON-RE CAKES INCLUDING THREE SHAPED LIKE THE HIEROGLYPHS COMPRISING HIS PRENOMEN. IN THE SECOND SCENE RAMSES II (ORIGINALLY SETI I) PRESENTS CLOTH TO AMON-RE. KARNAK	54
16. THE BARQUE OF AMON IN FESTIVAL PROCESSION. KARNAK	55
17. DIAGRAM OF WALL DECORATION IN SOUTH HALF OF HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK	59
18. RAMSES II OFFERING LIBATION AND INCENSE BEFORE HIS DEIFIED FATHER SETI I. KARNAK	63
19. RAMSES II POURING A LIBATION TO AMON-RE AND THE DEIFIED SETI I (ALTERED TO RAMSES II). KARNAK	65
20. RAMSES II BURNING INCENSE BEFORE AMON-RE AND THE DEIFIED SETI I (ALTERED TO RAMSES II). KARNAK	65
21. RAMSES II CENSING THE BARQUE OF AMON ON ITS PEDESTAL. KARNAK	67
22. RAMSES II CENSING THE BARQUE OF AMON, WHICH IS FOLLOWED IN PROCESSION AT THE FEAST OF THE VALLEY BY THE BARQUES OF MUT AND KHONSU AND BY SETI I OR HIS STATUE. KARNAK	69
23. SKETCH PLAN OF CERTAIN FEATURES IN THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK	84

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄZ* Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863——).
JEA The Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914——).
OIP Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
SAOC Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931——).

I

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

§ 1. While investigating the sources of certain inscriptions employed by Ramses III on the walls of his temple in the precinct of Amon at Karnak, recently published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,¹ I observed that one of those which is located on the front of the temple pylon is virtually identical with a text of Ramses II which stands directly opposite to it on the south wall of the vestibule of the second pylon of the great Karnak temple.² My interest was thus directed to the vestibule; since the latter comprises the entrance to the great Hypostyle Hall, the subject of my study soon became extended beyond its original intent. Starting at the vestibule in the first court at Karnak, first I moved on into the Hypostyle Hall; there I found urgent reason for a trip to the rock temple of Beit el-Wali in Nubia, thence to the temple of Seti I at Qurnah, the temples of Abydos, finally again to the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The problems which unfolded and a few of my thoughts concerning them, many perhaps erroneous, are in consequence set forth in this study, that others may observe what I have found and help to answer questions which remain obscure.

§ 2. In view of the ruinous state of the Karnak group of temples, it is not surprising that Mariette's splendid historical plan³ contains a few errors not only in its architectural details but more especially in its attempt to trace the historical development of the temple. What is more surprising, however, is the fact that, in spite of the excavations which have taken place since Mariette's day, some of his errors are still current.

§ 3. Mariette and most of the scholars who followed him attributed the second pylon at Karnak and one of the columns of the Hypostyle Hall⁴ to Ramses I. Engelbach, however, in discussing the date of the Hypostyle Hall,⁵ states

¹ *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I-II* (OIP XXV and XXXV [Chicago, 1936]).

² I intend to discuss in another place the origin of this and other inscriptions, many of which go back at least as far as Seti I and Thutmose III.

³ Auguste Mariette, *Karnak. Étude topographique et archéologique* (Leipzig, 1875).

⁴ No. 81 in the plan given by B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. II. Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1929) p. 10.

⁵ R. Engelbach, "Origin of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, pp. 65-71.

that he "vainly hunted for hours for the cartouche, or other name, of Ramesses I," and he is "convinced that it does not occur" on any of the columns. He suggests that numerous writers subsequent to Mariette slavishly copied his conclusion that it was Ramses I who originally conceived the plan of the great hall and even erected one column before his death.

§ 4. Legrain, too, who knew Karnak so intimately, was not of the same mind as Mariette. He observed more accurately in the Hypostyle Hall than any of his predecessors, and he definitely declares: "Aucune colonne ne porte le cartouche de Ramsès I^{er}."⁶ Legrain's work appeared too late to be available for the correction of the old attribution of one column to Ramses I in the latest edition of Baedeker's *Egypt*.⁷

§ 5. Since the time of Mariette, the similarity of the central two rows of gigantic columns in the Hypostyle Hall to the great colonnade of Amenhotep III in the Luxor temple has tempted various Egyptologists to conclude that the same king might have been responsible for both. But lack of direct evidence, afforded by the presence of royal cartouches, has prevented them, with the exception of Engelbach,⁸ from expressing more than a cautious opinion in that direction.

§ 6. Numerous scholars, on the other hand, have, likewise without direct evidence, attributed the design for the great Hypostyle Hall and the second pylon to Harmhab, and the completion of the two structures to his successors, Ramses I, Seti I, and Ramses II.⁹ Their reason for dating them prior to Ramses I, whose cartouches certainly occur in five scenes on the east face of the north tower of the second pylon and on the east thickness of the north projection of the south portion of the vestibule before the pylon,¹⁰ is that this pharaoh in his reign of a little over one year could scarcely have planned and built such an ambitious structure as the great Hypostyle Hall (but cf. §§ 33-38).

§ 7. It has long been known that Amenhotep III constructed the third pylon, and most scholars have believed that the latter constituted the façade of

⁶ Georges Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Bruxelles, 1929) p. 186.

⁷ Leipzig, 1929.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ Cf. Legrain, *op. cit.* p. 133; Arthur Weigall, *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* (London, 1910) pp. 87 and 97; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 1 (2. Aufl.; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1928) p. 428, n. 2, where Meyer quotes Heinrich Schäfer as at least implying this attribution in his *Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925) p. 99; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt from the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties* (3d ed.; London, 1925) p. 20.

¹⁰ On the narrow wall at the lower left of section D on the plan in R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text, hrsg. von E. Naville, L. Borchardt und K. Sethe, III (Leipzig, 1900) 12; cf. § 20 and o in Fig. 23.

Karnak at the time of his death. Engelbach believes, however,¹¹ that he planned and began the construction of at least the central two rows of columns in the great hall, having first removed a pair of obelisks which he had previously erected in front of his new pylon. There is nevertheless no evidence for the presence of obelisks before the third pylon at any time, in spite of the occurrence of the word for obelisk in the long inscription of Amenhotep III on the east face of the south tower of the pylon.¹² Both Breasted and Engelbach interpret the context in which the word occurs as a description of the pylon on which the inscription is carved. They consequently conclude that the obelisks¹³ were of necessity closely associated with the pylon. To jump at the conclusion that they must have stood in front of the third pylon was thus a natural but by no means inevitable corollary of their logic.

§ 8. There is, on the contrary, ample evidence that one obelisk, and probably a pair of them, once stood where Amenhotep III later built his pylon. In Chevrier's excavation of the foundations of the third pylon, he uncovered the massive foundation blocks of a pair of structures which can scarcely have been anything but obelisks.¹⁴ M. Chevrier showed the second of them to me at the time when he discovered it, and informed me of his discovery of its companion during previous excavations. At the time of our conversation he expressed the opinion that these two platforms had been constructed as foundations for a pair of obelisks. His later published statement¹⁵ that they were more probably intended for the tall flag masts shown on the wall north of the granite sanctuary¹⁶ is unconvincing, as those masts, if made of wood, could scarcely have required such massive foundations. The flagstaves which were erected in front of temple pylons possessed no independent foundations at all, but rested on the socle of the pylon itself and were of necessity fastened to the pylon for support.¹⁷ In consideration of the notoriously poor foundations with which the Egyptians

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 70.

¹² J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (3d impression; Chicago, 1927) § 903.

¹³ Only the alphabetic signs for *thn* are preserved, so that a single obelisk might conceivably have been mentioned, in spite of the fact that these shafts usually occur in pairs.

¹⁴ H. Chevrier in his "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak," *Annales du Service des antiquités* XXX (1930) 160 and XXXIV (1934) 163 and Pl. II. In the latter of these two reports Chevrier expresses the belief that the platform "soit plus probablement à un des mâts décoratifs érigés par Thoutmès III et que l'on voit sur le tableau qui se trouve au nord du sanctuaire de la Barque Sacrée."

¹⁵ See previous note.

¹⁶ J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (Paris, 1835-45) Pl. CCCXVI.

¹⁷ Cf. U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* I (OIP XXI [Chicago, 1934]) Pl. 23.

supplied even their most massive monuments,¹⁸ it may safely be concluded that the foundations discovered by Chevrier were intended for monuments much greater in weight than a pair of wooden flag masts. It is possible that Thutmose III had erected a pair of obelisks on these foundations, for fragments of at least one obelisk of his are still lying on the ground east and north of the Hypostyle Hall. Whether Amenhotep III removed these great granite shafts in accordance with new plans for the façade of the temple or because he found one or both of them already lying broken on the ground is uncertain. The inscription on his pylon in which, as mentioned above, the word for "obelisk" occurs is much too fragmentary to indicate whether he referred to obelisks which he erected or to a pair which he removed. It is indeed surely not inconceivable that the engineering problems to be surmounted in the removal of a pair of obelisks each weighing three or four hundred tons should have been deemed worthy of mention in a monumental inscription.¹⁹ If he found these two shafts standing when he came to the throne, he must have removed them as soon as he planned his pylon. That he ever re-erected them in front of the latter when it had been completed, only to remove them once more at a later time, as Engelbach believes, in order to build a colonnade before the pylon, is most improbable.

§ 9. At any rate, we must picture Karnak at the accession of Amenhotep III with Thutmose I's pylon as the façade, with two pairs of obelisks at least, and perhaps three pairs, flanking the approach from the west. A short distance to the south, built on an axis slightly off a right angle to the main axis, were the two pylons known today as the seventh (of Thutmose III) and, farther on, the eighth (commonly attributed to Queen Hatshepsut but, since, as I myself have discovered, all its original reliefs have been effaced and replaced by new ones dating from Hatshepsut on, possibly earlier). Amenhotep III then built his pylon, either removing the westernmost pair of obelisks or at least covering their foundations with blocks of stone taken from other buildings which he found already in ruins or which he demolished for the sake of their material. Such secondhand blocks, many from magnificent earlier structures, thus became the core of his pylon.²⁰ With his extensive building operations elsewhere

¹⁸ Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (London, 1930) pp. 73-75.

¹⁹ The broken context of the inscription, it must be admitted, favors the erection rather than the removal of obelisks. Nevertheless, the monoliths referred to may have been those which we know Amenhotep III to have set up at the temple of Montu, in the north of Karnak.

²⁰ An entire temple of the 12th dynasty and the greater part of another, dating from Hatshepsut, have been laboriously removed from the pylon, block by block, by the Egyptian Service des Antiquités.

at Karnak we are not concerned. When he died, the present third pylon with its eight niches for flagstaves constituted the façade of the temple.

§ 10. By a happy circumstance a view of this portion of Karnak at the time of Ai, a short generation after the death of Amenhotep III, has survived.²¹ Though, strangely enough, it includes only one of the two pairs of obelisks each of which is still represented by a standing survivor, it depicts the façade of the Karnak temple as a structure which can scarcely be anything but the present third pylon. Immediately in front of this, according to the representation, there is a garden planted with trees, in the midst of which is a T-shaped lake connected with the Nile.²² That the Hypostyle Hall was eventually erected in part on sand used to fill up this lake is demonstrated beyond much doubt by discoveries made by Chevrier at Karnak.²³ If the representation in the tomb of Neferhotep is rightly identified and construed, it must be admitted that no structure stood between the third pylon and the Nile at the time of Ai. Thus the second pylon, as well as the two rows of columns along the axis of the Hypostyle Hall, must be dated to a time later than the reign of Ai. Even if the gigantic colonnade is reminiscent of Amenhotep's similar structure in the temple of Luxor, it can nevertheless not be attributed to that king.

§ 11. As everyone knows, with the death of Amenhotep III, or possibly even in his declining years, there fell over Karnak the shadow of heresy. A prince had risen who knew not Amon. The great temple was neglected, and building operations were transferred to the extreme rear of the temple complex, where walls were erected and supplied with decoration in direct variance with the canon of tradition, both in style and in subject matter. In fact, the figures of the new pharaoh which were now executed were nothing short of the most disgusting caricature of traditional art forms.²⁴ After about five years' activity at Thebes, Akhnaton removed the court to his new capital at 'Amar-nah, while Karnak lay first in silence, then, as the zeal of the royal heretic developed in intensity, resounded with the blows of destroying axes and chisels, until the sacred precinct was reduced to a dismal ruin.

§ 12. The next great builder at Thebes was Tut'ankhamon. He was married to the daughter of Akhnaton and was for some time a follower of Aton. We have not only monuments bearing his name in the form of Tut'ankhaton but

²¹ Cf. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes I* (New York, 1933) 28-31 and Pl. XLI.

²² *Ibid.* Pl. XLII.

²³ Cited by Davies, *ibid.* p. 32, n. 8.

²⁴ *Annales du Service XXVII* (1927) Pls. III-IV accompanying Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak."

even one²⁵ on which, still accompanied by that form of his name, he is represented making an offering to Amon and Mut. He returned the court to Thebes²⁶ and probably conducted some building operations in the Luxor temple, where the walls flanking the great colonnaded hall of Amenhotep III bear his reliefs depicting the Feast of Opet. At Karnak he is known to have supplied new statues of Amon and Mut (which still stand in the temple), possibly also the beautiful statue of Khonsu now in the Cairo Museum.²⁷ His mortuary temple has not been discovered, but two colossal statues which may have come from it were unearthed in the Oriental Institute excavations at the temple of his two successors, Ai and Harmhab, who one after the other usurped both of them.²⁸

²⁵ Adolf Erman, "Geschichtliche Inschriften aus dem Berliner Museum," *ÄZ* XXXVIII (1900) 112.

²⁶ The role played by the pharaoh Smenkhkare in these events is too obscure to be discussed here. That this king reigned, either alone or as coregent with Akhnaton, first at Amarnah and later (probably alone) at Thebes has been concluded from the surviving evidence; cf. S. R. K. Glanville, "Amenophis III and his successors," in W. Brunton, *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1929) pp. 132 f. There is, however, no reason to believe that both Smenkhkare and Tutankhamon, or even Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, did not freely travel back and forth between the new and the old capital. Where Amenhotep III died is unknown. His presence at Akhetaton on at least one occasion is strongly to be inferred from the scene published by N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* III (London, 1905) Pl. XVIII. It is possible that he made numerous visits to the new city; cf. *JEA* XXII (1936) 198; H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* II (London, 1933) 102 and 108, and Pl. XLVII. It must be remembered that Akhnaton's vow, as recorded on the boundary stelae of Akhetaton, was not never to leave Akhetaton but rather never to extend the limits of his new city beyond those which had been defined when it was first laid out. Indeed, Akhnaton expressly provided that his body should be brought to Akhetaton for burial in the event of his death elsewhere (Davies, *op. cit.* V [London, 1908] 20).

²⁷ H. Schäfer, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925) p. 340.

²⁸ One, now in Cairo, is illustrated in U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* II (*OIP* XLI [Chicago, 1939]) Pls. 1 and 44 f.; the other, now restored and installed in the Oriental Institute Museum at Chicago, is reproduced *ibid.* Pls. 46 f.

II

THE VESTIBULE OF THE SECOND PYLON

§ 13. Soon after my attention had first been directed to the vestibule of the second pylon at Karnak, M. Chevrier of the Service des Antiquités decided to undertake extensive repairs on its walls. As he desired to strengthen the foundations, he dismantled a large portion of the south and west walls, laying the blocks out course by course on the ground in the great court before the pylon. Since the structure in its ruinous condition is still more than sixty feet high, and the walls entirely inaccessible, this provided an excellent opportunity for the study that I desired to undertake.

§ 14. The west wall of this half of the vestibule (*m* in Fig. 23) originally contained either five or six registers of offering scenes in incised relief,¹ of which only the second, the third, and the lower part of the fourth from the ground are still preserved.² For the purposes of this study, the registration of all reliefs will be calculated from the ground up, just as the ancient Egyptians apparently reckoned. The subjects of these reliefs are as follows:³ fourth register, king standing before offering table containing bread (and probably other objects); third register, king offering to Amon-Re and Amonet; second register, king offering to Amon-Re-Kamutef and Montu. The scenes in themselves are of small interest, but the cartouches of the king represented in each scene are of great importance, because those in the second and third registers exhibit certain cases of usurpation.

§ 15. The cartouches of the second register show clear traces of the names of Harmhab and Ramses II, as well as less easily distinguishable remains of those of Ramses I (Fig. 1). All of the hieroglyphs here are incised, so that only the known chronological order of the three kings determines Harmhab's responsibility for the decoration of this register.

§ 16. In the third register the cartouches, all of which are likewise incised, contain distinct traces of the names of the same three kings. It is obvious that those of Harmhab were original.

§ 17. It is however the fourth register which offers the most interesting evidence for the date of this wall. Only two blocks of the relief are preserved, but

¹ Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, Figs. 51, 80, 83, 91.

² When all the debris of the structure has been carefully examined, it is possible that other fallen blocks will be discovered.

³ Legrain, *op. cit.* pp. 137 f.



FIG. 1.—Cartouche of Harmhab usurped by Ramses I and Ramses II. Karnak, at *m* in Figure 23. Second register.



FIG. 3.—Raised cartouches of Harmhab usurped by Ramses II. Karnak, at *n* in Figure 23. Third register.



FIG. 2.—Unusurped cartouches of Harmhab. Karnak, at *m* in Figure 23. Fourth register.

fortunately that on which the offering table is carved still shows the decoration of the front of the table, which consisted of a row of cartouches of the king, each surmounted by the sun disk. These cartouches (Fig. 2) inclose the un-usurped names of Harmhab. That they were not later replaced, first by the names of Ramses I and later by those of the latter's grandson, Ramses II, may be explained by the fact that the decoration of the offering table is on such a small scale that the lightly incised hieroglyphs could not be detected at all from the ground, over sixty feet below. Later sculptors in planning their works of usurpation probably never noticed the existence of these small cartouches.

§ 18. If we turn the corner and examine the north end of the original west wall of the vestibule (*n* in Fig. 23), we find another series of scenes with royal names; but all of the representations on this wall are carved in raised relief. In the third register the scene depicts the king offering a bunch of lettuce to Amon. The cartouches were originally carved with raised hieroglyphs, like the scenes themselves, and supplied with the two names of Harmhab. At some later time Ramses II crudely faced off the former signs, with the exception of the sun disk at the top of the prenomen, and then carved his own names in incised hieroglyphs, retaining the original raised disk of Harmhab's first cartouche which was common to his own prenomen (Fig. 3). It is quite evident that Harmhab was the author of this relief.

§ 19. Immediately below this register is one which depicts the king presenting flowers to Amon. Here the cartouches are exceedingly fragmentary, and only the upper part of each of them is preserved. As in the preceding group, the prenomen began with a sun disk which was retained by the usurping king. The top of the nomen, however, was occupied by the group $\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \triangle \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \text{⋈} \\ \text{⋈} \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \text{⋈} \\ \text{⋈} \end{smallmatrix}$ (Fig. 4), in the normal writing of the nomen of Seti I (Seti-*mr-n-Pth*). Upon these raised signs there is a surcharge in incised characters of the seated figures of Re with the sun disk on his head and Amon, who face each other as normally in the nomen of Ramses II. We are thus assured that Seti I originally decorated this section of the wall and that it was later usurped by his own son Ramses II.

§ 20. Around the corner from these scenes, on the inside of the vestibule (*o* in Fig. 23), is a vertical inscription in two columns of enormous slightly raised hieroglyphs. A small portion of a cartouche is preserved, with sufficient of one corner of the *ph* sign to certify the reading of the prenomen of Ramses I, *Mn-ph.ti-R^c*. Another portion of the inscription contains parts of the words "[made] as a monu[ment for] his father." Ramses I thus claimed to have built the vestibule of the pylon (and the pylon itself, as the two are structurally a single unit) for Amon-Re. That the claim is false is at once evident from the presence of Harmhab's names on the north and west faces of this same wall.

§ 21. It may be useful to summarize here our conclusions regarding the wall decoration of the south half of the vestibule: (1) All the preserved scenes of the west face were originally decorated by Harmhab; but with the exception of the fourth register (of which only the cartouches on the offering table, but not the main ones accompanying the royal figure of the scene, are preserved) they were usurped first by Ramses I, then by his grandson Ramses II. (2) The only two scenes still preserved on the north end were originally decorated in different reigns. The third register, like the corresponding one around the corner on the west face, bears the original cartouche of Harmhab; but it was



FIG. 4.—Raised cartouche of Seti I usurped by Ramses II. Karnak, at *n* in Figure 23. Second register.

usurped once only, by Ramses II. The second register was first decorated by Seti I and was also usurped only by Ramses II. (3) Harmhab apparently decorated all of the west face, but only the upper registers of the north end, down to and including the third from the ground. (4) Seti I usurped no scenes of Harmhab on these two walls, but Ramses II usurped scenes containing cartouches of both his father and his grandfather. (5) At the death of Harmhab some of the wall surfaces of the vestibule remained undecorated, including at least the second register from the ground on the north end and the space later filled by the great marginal inscription around the corner on the inside. (6) It appears scarcely possible that Harmhab left the vestibule partially buried by a ramp or covered by scaffolding. Had such been the situation, we should have expected to find similar usurpations of his cartouches in scenes on the same level on both the west and the north face of the vestibule wall. (7) Blank surfaces on the

walls at the accession of Ramses I were to some extent ignored by him (for example, the second register on the north end), while he took the trouble to carve a huge marginal inscription in which he probably claimed to have "made" the building "as a monument for his father" and further to usurp all or most of the scenes on the façade of the vestibule.

§ 22. In Chevrier's reports on work at Karnak his account of his repairs of the south half of the vestibule and the strengthening of its foundation reveals valuable discoveries for determining the date of the structure.⁴ Beneath the surface of the earth the foundations consist of three courses of blocks about a meter each in thickness, under which, loosely laid in a bedding of sand, are two courses of small sandstone blocks containing reliefs and inscriptions of Akhnaton. These were probably taken from his demolished temple at the east end of the Karnak complex; it is therefore clear that the vestibule was erected after the Akhnaton temple had been torn down and was being used as a quarry. To what extent similar blocks extend under the remainder of the pylon has not been precisely determined, though I have been informed by Dr. Charles F. Nims that he observed some in the foundations of the north tower of the pylon in the season of 1938/39, during Chevrier's subsequent excavations in that place. They also occur under the first and second columns (counting from the east) of the three rows just south of the vestibule before the third pylon in the Hypostyle Hall.⁵ It is thus fairly safe to assume that the entire second pylon with its vestibule rests on foundation blocks from Akhnaton's destroyed temple, along with no small number of the columns in both the north and the south side of the great hall as well.⁶

⁴ *Annales du Service* XXXV (1935) 98-103.

⁵ *Ibid.* XXVII (1927) 150.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXXVIII (1938) 605.

III

THE SECOND PYLON UNDER HARMHAB AND RAMSES I

§ 23. Even if it can be shown that not a single column of the Hypostyle Hall was ever inscribed by Ramses I, he certainly had some part in the decoration of the second pylon as well as of the vestibule just described (cf. §§ 20 f.). On the back of the north tower of the pylon, which forms at the same time the front wall of the great hall, five scenes in the fourth register contain his cartouches. They are located immediately below the frieze of Seti I which extends along the wall just under the roof blocks surmounting the north aisle of the Hypostyle Hall. Counting from the north end of the pylon, they are the second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh scenes. The first and sixth representations bear the names of Seti I, as do all the scenes in the other three registers beneath, with the exception of several in the lowest register (mostly on the south end of the north tower) which were usurped from Seti by Ramses II.¹

§ 24. The five scenes of Ramses I have been carefully observed by Legrain and are described in detail in his chapter on the second pylon.² They are certainly the only scenes on the pylon which can be attributed to that king. Two of them, the first and second from the right, depict Ramses in the ritual stride, carrying the oar and the *hp.t* in one of them and the two *kbh*-vases in the other. The former, however, has after the king's names the epithet *m³c hrw* which probably indicates him to be deceased, while in the remaining four reliefs he is depicted as still alive. Legrain interprets the two ritual scenes just mentioned as having a definite association with the founding of a new building. He believes therefore that Ramses I was responsible for the initial stages of the second pylon; dying very soon thereafter, he left it to his son Seti I to continue the building operations. The latter completed the fifth of Ramses I's bas-reliefs by the addition to the royal names of the appropriate epithet which marked his father's death.

§ 25. That Seti I was already intimately associated with his father in the planning and early stages of the structure, Legrain assures us, is shown by the facts not only that the sixth scene in the register bears the names of Seti but that his nomen actually occurs in the name of the Hypostyle Hall itself, *3h*

¹ Cf. § 79. The surcharge of Ramses II is cut in incised characters within the raised cartouche outline.

² *Les temples de Karnak*, chap. iv.

Šthy-mry-n-Imn m pr ʾImn ("Glorious is Seti-Merenamon in the House of Amon"). Since the name of the great hall contains that of Seti I, rather than that of his father Ramses I, Legrain argues that Ramses died so soon after the beginning of building operations that Seti I was able to include his own cartouche in the name of the Hypostyle Hall without the necessity of usurping his father's name. He is undoubtedly right in maintaining that Ramses while still living would scarcely have tolerated any cartouche but his in the name of the mightiest colonnaded hall in Egypt.

§ 26. Legrain thus supposed, on the basis of the five bas-reliefs on the east face of the second pylon which bear the names of Ramses I, that the founder of the Ramessid line was the builder of the pylon as well, or at least that he initiated the work of construction and decoration.³ Perhaps, indeed, Ramses I intended it to be believed that he, either alone or in collaboration with his son, was the actual builder of this gigantic structure. The two reliefs mentioned in § 24 and the big marginal inscription described in § 20 appear to constitute such a claim. The position of the latter, however, on a wall certainly in existence during the reign of Harmhab, is ample proof that Ramses I did not "make" the monument but only decorated a small portion of one which he found already under construction at the beginning of his brief reign.

§ 27. The most significant of all the traces of earlier decoration now surviving on the east face of the north tower are the incised outlines of three or more human figures standing, or perhaps marching, with faces toward the south,⁴ which formed a portion of a scene erased and replaced by Ramses I in the southernmost of his five reliefs (Fig. 5 *a-a*). The registration of the earlier decoration was quite different from that which replaced it, for the waistlines of the figures coincide approximately with the sky carved above Ramses I's representation. The three blocks of stone bearing the most distinct surviving traces of this superseded relief are located between the west ends of the architraves supported by columns 81 and 90 of the plan in Porter and Moss.⁵ To the right of the traces may be distinguished the frieze of Seti I (Fig. 5 *b-b*); at one time this must have been surcharged on the original decoration, which may well have been covered with a layer of plaster in order to conceal it, as was so frequently done to unwanted Egyptian wall reliefs. To the left (south), however, these pre-Ramessid reliefs apparently extended across the space now occupied by the west end of the architrave surmounting the second row of columns (81 ff.) in the north aisle of the Hypostyle Hall.

³ *Ibid.* p. 156.

⁴ That is, in the same direction as the motion of the erased barques below, discussed in § 28.

⁵ *Topographical Bibliography* II 10.

§ 28. In the original scheme of decoration the principal feature was a relief depicting one of the great river festivals, in which the sacred barque *Wsr-h3.t* is towed on the Nile by another gigantic boat propelled by oars. This scene occurred in the second register (*r-s* in Fig. 23). It probably resembled in large measure a relief of Amenhotep III still preserved on the east face of the north



FIG. 5.—Traces of a scene erased and partially replaced by Ramses I. Karnak. Part of fourth register on east face of second pylon, north tower.

tower of the third pylon,⁶ from which, indeed, it may have been copied or at least have derived its inspiration, especially if we are right in associating these reliefs with Harmhab. Legrain appears to have misinterpreted the traces of this scene. He describes them at some length,⁷ but concludes wrongly that all of the erased reliefs faced to the north, as was the case with erased scenes on the south tower (see § 29). He was doubtless led astray by remains of the original

⁶ Cf. George Foucart, "Études thébaines. La belle fête de la vallée," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* XXIV (1924) Pls. I and II.

⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 153 f.

incised frieze above the first scene on the right of the portal (cf. § 30)—a frieze which did of course face to the north, like the present one which is surcharged on it. That the two great barques were traveling in a southerly direction is perfectly certain, however. The shafts of the oars in the foremost of the two boats (Fig. 6 *a-a*) slope downward toward the south. Now as the oarsmen in such Egyptian craft are almost invariably depicted facing the stern, at the instant when they have just dipped the oars for a stroke,⁸ the sloping line of the oars is with few exceptions in the direction of motion. Moreover, of the two barques in the scene, only the southernmost is equipped with oars; it was obviously towing the other in a festal procession moving toward the south. The scale of the representation was so great that it must have occupied two of the later registers which were carved in its place by Seti I. Consequently the original surface of the wall had to be cut away to a considerable depth, in order that the relatively deeply incised lines of the gigantic scene might be obliterated.⁹ Thus only the deepest of them have survived, but they are sufficiently distinct to offer the unmistakable conclusions that I have outlined. Whether the representations above and below this festival scene were related to it in subject matter is uncertain, since the remaining traces are too scanty to offer positive conclusions.

§ 29. It was not only the north tower of the pylon which suffered erasure of its original reliefs. There are equally distinct and significant traces of at least two registers of incised scenes at the extreme south end of the south tower. These traces in both cases are likewise the outlines of sacred barques (Fig. 7). The upper one, in which the hull of the barque (*a*) and the heads of several of the priests who were carrying it in procession are still clearly visible, is at the level of the later frieze of Ramses II; in fact, it extended much higher on the wall than either the frieze or the roof blocks of the south aisle of the great hall. The other barque, of which only the curved line of the hull (*b*) has survived erasure, is below the first one at such a level as to indicate that the original decoration of the pylon may here have been divided into three registers, instead of the present four dating from the reign of Ramses II.¹⁰

⁸ Cf. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* II, Pl. 84.

⁹ So deep was the cutting, indeed, that now virtually a shelf of stone, running along the wall immediately above the present first register, marks the lower limit of the most deeply executed erasure.

¹⁰ The problem is, however, still more complex. For there are surviving traces, slightly below the first ones described above, of two incised human figures (*c*) which belonged to still a third scheme of decoration, with a registration not strictly coinciding with either of the other two. How to fit this stage into the general picture is not apparent to me, and I must leave it for the present. It certainly suggests either a third hand in the decoration of the south tower or a change of design on the part of one of the other two.



FIG. 6.—Traces of an erased procession of barques, the foremost equipped with oars, now overlaid by Seti I's version. Karnak. Part of second register on east face of second pylon, north tower, below scene shown in Figure 5.



FIG. 7.—Sculptures of Ramses II over erased scenes. Karnak. South end of east face of second pylon, south tower.

§ 30. The fact that the erased reliefs on both pylon towers extended above the level of the later frieze and behind the roof slabs of the Hypostyle Hall is conclusive evidence that they were carved by some predecessor of Ramses I (unless one insist that he later erased some of his own earlier work) who had no intention of constructing to the east of the pylon the great columned hall which now stands there. Instead, in his time the two towers of the pylon were plainly visible as an architectural unit from the court to the east of them, and they were covered with a series of incised reliefs which extended from a base line near the floor to a level considerably higher than the later roof of the colonnade which was added east of the pylon.

§ 31. What, then, was the appearance of this part of Karnak while the second pylon still bore its original incised reliefs? It has been discovered by Chevrier and his predecessors in charge of the repair and maintenance of the temples at Karnak that the first row of smaller columns on either side of the main axis of the great hall was set in each case on the foundation blocks of a stone wall which had once extended between the second and third pylons (walls *p* and *q* in Fig. 23).¹¹ These two walls exactly correspond to similar ones which flank the great colonnade in the Luxor temple¹² and which were built by Tutankhamon (if not earlier) and usurped by Harmhab. It thus appears reasonable to conclude that the entire original layout at Karnak was a definite imitation of the one at Luxor. As at Luxor, the second and third pylons of the Karnak temple were connected by two rows of mighty columns, which still flank the axis of the structure, and by a pair of stone walls, one outside each row of columns. This arrangement was the creation of Harmhab, who in this as in other respects sought to carry on the tradition of Amenhotep III (cf. §§ 28 and 36), for we have already pointed out in § 10 that under Harmhab's immediate predecessor the third pylon was still the façade of Karnak (see § 7 for Engelbach's view that Amenhotep III himself was responsible for the similarity of the plan). That this narrow columned hall could not have been the work of Tutankhamon is demonstrated not only by the representation in the

¹¹ That in the north aisle was seen and described to me by Dr. Charles F. Nims, who saw it during the season of 1938/39, when it had been exposed in Chevrier's excavations for repair work. The early wall in the south aisle, according to Chevrier's statement to Dr. Nims, had been discovered and described by one of his predecessors. I have been unable to locate the published notice of it.

¹² Cf. plan in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* II 98. L. Borchardt, "Zur Geschichte des Luqsor-tempels," *ÄZ* XXXIV (1896) 122 ff., believes, without in my opinion wholly conclusive evidence, that the original plan for the Luxor temple likewise involved a hypostyle hall similar to the later one at Karnak.

tomb of Neferhotep (§ 10) but also by the fact that the builder of the second pylon utilized numerous blocks of that king in the core of the pylon.¹³

§ 32. Whatever the character or subject matter of the original decoration of the pylon, it is apparent that the erasure of the reliefs may be explained by a change of plan. The decision to convert the great court between the second and third pylons into a massive hall of columns encountered the difficulty that the second pylon was already covered with a series of reliefs unsuited to the altered plan. In the first place, the successive registers surmounted one another from the lowest to the highest without sufficient space between them at any level to permit the introduction of architrave or roof blocks at the juncture with the pylon without partially covering and thus leaving incompletely visible certain scenes. That this was a matter of abhorrence to the Egyptian temple-builders we know from the fact that they frequently altered scenes when new walls were introduced into old structures, in order that no incomplete scenes or inscriptions might be left exposed to view.¹⁴ Furthermore, while the original reliefs on the wall of the pylon had been incised, the new plan involved the employment of raised relief, which from time immemorial had customarily been employed in the decoration of interior walls. For in the new hall a previously exterior wall with the customary incised relief was to be converted into an interior one, where bas-reliefs alone were in order.¹⁵ In the third place, it is possible that the original decoration was for some historical or other reason unknown to us inappropriate to the altered plan.

§ 33. Since Ramses I was the first king to decorate a wall surface of the pylon in accordance with the new plan, and since his decoration shows unmistakable recognition of the presence of the secondary architrave and roof slabs, it is obviously necessary to consider whether the concept of the Hypostyle Hall as we know it originated with him or whether he inherited it from his predecessors.¹⁶ The answer to the question appears to me to depend somewhat

¹³ Legrain, *op. cit.* Fig. 87. Dr. Nims has also observed unpublished blocks of Tutankhamon near the top of the north tower.

¹⁴ A typical example is shown in *Medinet Habu. I. Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (OIP VIII [Chicago, 1930]) Pl. 54 E.

¹⁵ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Nims, with whom I have very profitably discussed many of the problems treated in this work. It will be shown later (§§ 85, 89, 117 f.) that Ramses II in his part of the Hypostyle Hall ultimately deserted the traditional use of bas-reliefs for interior scenes and that he even erased all of that type which he had carved at Karnak in the early part of his career.

¹⁶ The influence, plans, and purposes of the priesthood of Amon played a role in these matters which may have been underestimated by writers on the subject. It was the priesthood which furnished the uninterrupted tradition in the religious organization of Egypt and which doubtless guided and inspired the kings to undertake building operations in the tem-

on what may be deduced from two principal threads of evidence about both of which our knowledge is exceedingly limited.

§ 34. The first of these is the length of Ramses I's reign, about which we know only that it was probably very short. The only known date, year 2, 20th day of the 2d month of the season *pr.t*,¹⁷ offers only the minimum length of the reign. It may be five years from the maximum, but most scholars are agreed that Ramses could not have reigned much longer than two years. It appears probable that the pharaoh would have directed his major attention to the construction of a mortuary temple, rather than to building operations in Karnak, unless a considerable amount of pressure was brought to bear upon him by the Amon priesthood or other forces which had supported his claim to the throne. Yet he never completed a single surviving temple, and it remained for his son to construct for him the tiny temple at Abydos which was many years ago rescued from destruction by, and is now in part preserved in, the Metropolitan Museum of Art¹⁸ and to share with him his own mortuary temple (which even Seti did not have time to finish in his reign of twelve years and more). This thread of evidence, then, would appear to restrict Ramses I's building activities to somewhat limited proportions, unless they were greatly stimulated by abnormal circumstances (cf. § 37).

§ 35. The second type of evidence involves an understanding of the building methods of the Egyptians. The most competent scholars are agreed that the Hypostyle Hall was erected by the use of exterior embankments for the side walls and filling for the columned hall itself. After the foundations of the columns had been laid and their bases set, the hall was filled with earth to the level of the tops of the bases, then the first column drums for the entire hall were brought in, the building joints dressed, and the drum blocks set into position.¹⁹ This process was repeated until all the columns were standing in the rough and the entire hall was completely filled with earth. Now it is a fact of the utmost significance that the only reliefs of Ramses I in the Hypostyle Hall are located in the top register, just under the frieze beneath the roof slabs. His southernmost scene begins immediately at the right of the lower twelve to twenty inches (more or less) of the architrave block which extends from the

ples. In this particular period, immediately after the restoration of the religion of Amon, it is even probable that the hierarchy was the power behind the throne, in a position to dictate to all the kings from Tut-ankhamon to Ramses II.

¹⁷ H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* III (Le Caire, 1914) 2.

¹⁸ H. E. Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos* (New York, 1921) and *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* (New York, 1937).

¹⁹ Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 91 and 145.

pylon to column 81 (Fig. 5). It is just above this relief that the partially erased incised scene occurs which has already been described (§ 27). Furthermore, just above the hole cut in the pylon to receive the next architrave block to the south, at a position which would be covered by the now vanished roof slab, there is still plainly visible the original pre-Ramessid serpent frieze in incised relief.²⁰ It may have been permitted to remain unerased either because that particular section of the wall was to be concealed behind the roof slabs of the new hall or because the erasure of all the primary decoration took place after the constructional alterations and additions had been completed.

§ 36. It is my opinion that the redecoration of the pylon and the construction of the Hypostyle Hall proceeded somewhat as follows: Once the plan for the great hall was settled, it was apparent that the original incised decoration of Harmhab (cf. §§ 27–31) was for various reasons (see § 32) unsuitable and would have to be eliminated. Workmen were accordingly set to erase the scenes; and throughout the construction of the hall, as it was gradually filled with earth while course after course of stone was laid to build up the column shafts, the erasure of the reliefs continued.²¹ Where the architrave blocks were to be set into the wall of the pylon, holes were hewn into the wall to receive the ends; and just above these holes, reaching across the entire pylon, the labor of erasure was avoided, since the old reliefs were concealed behind the roof slabs which rested upon the architraves against the pylon. These operations were carried out either by Harmhab, if we can be so bold as to suggest that he conceived the change of plan late in his reign and erased all his own earlier reliefs, or, much more probably, by Ramses I, possibly in association with his son Seti I.

§ 37. At the completion of the columned hall the entire structure had been filled with earth; and the newly erected columns, still in the rough, were completely buried,²² the newly erased face of the pylon was entirely covered, and only the roof slabs, perhaps still in the rough, were visible to the eye, where they had been moved into place to rest on the buried architraves supported by the abaci of the columns below. At this stage in the operations the ancient builders were ready to begin dressing the stone surfaces of the columns—abaci, capitals, shafts, and bases in the order named—as they were “excavated” out

²⁰ This frieze surmounted an incised representation which was later replaced by one cut in bas-relief under Seti I but ultimately usurped by Ramses II. It is well illustrated by Legrain, *op. cit.* Fig. 121.

²¹ Alternatively, of course, the erasure may have taken place while the filling was being removed, immediately before the process of carving the new reliefs.

²² Cf. Clarke and Engelbach, *op. cit.* Fig. 162; for a similar use of filling for repair work in modern times at Karnak see Legrain, *op. cit.* Figs. 106–7.

of the mass of earth which had served as scaffolding during the construction of the hall.²³ It was at the beginning of this "excavation" that Ramses I carved his fine bas-reliefs in the top register of the north pylon tower. He was obviously obliged to start with that register because the remainder of the hall was still buried in the fill. The fact that he completed only five scenes, a task which may have consumed no more than a few weeks, suggests that the construction of this side of the great hall may safely be attributed to Ramses I. The estimate of Clarke and Engelbach that six weeks would be ample time to fill up the Hypostyle Hall with earth²⁴ points to the probability that the columns could all have been erected within a space of time as short as the reign of this king, especially if the quarrying of the required stone was well enough organized to keep the masons supplied with material.²⁵

§ 38. In any case, whether or not we can attribute so much as even one aisle of the great hall to Ramses I, he certainly died before progressing very far with the redecoration of the pylon. His son Seti I carried on from the point at which Ramses had laid down his work, even taking the trouble to supply the epithet *m3c hrrw* in an unfinished scene showing Ramses I taking part in a building ritual (cf. § 24). Seti then continued with the decoration of this register and proceeded successively with the remaining ones, as they gradually became uncovered during the final dressing and carving of the column shafts. The latter (in the north aisle of the hall) were all the work of Seti I, and, as Legrain has pointed out, not even one of them bears the cartouches of Ramses I (cf. § 4); the reason for this is plain: at Ramses' death all the columns were still completely buried in the fill employed to elevate the stone blocks into place.

²³ As pointed out later (§§ 119 ff.), there may be reasons to believe that the procedure just described applies only to the north half of the Hypostyle Hall, whereas different methods may have been applied to the south half.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 91.

²⁵ We know that much of the energy of Harmhab, Ramses I's predecessor, who built the vestibule (cf. §§ 15-18) and the second pylon (§ 20) as well as the ninth and tenth pylons at Karnak, was devoted throughout his reign to the reorganization of the state after the Amarna debacle. It is therefore not too much to believe that he brought all branches of public works to a point of efficiency which they had not possessed for several generations at least. The amount of work which could be accomplished in a short time under favorable circumstances is well illustrated by the fact that Amenhotep III's pleasure lake for Queen Tiy, which was 3700 cubits in length and 700 in width, was completed in fifteen days (Breasted, *Ancient Records* II, § 869). If Ramses I owed his throne to the support of the Amon priesthood, as is certainly not impossible, a program of energetic building activity at Karnak, even to the neglect of his own mortuary temple, would without doubt have been designed to pay off the debt and at the same time to consolidate a newly established dynasty which possessed at best only a precarious right to the throne of the pharaohs.

IV

SETI I AND RAMSES II AS COREGENTS

§ 39. The transfer of the throne from Ramses I to his son Seti I was marked in the building operations at Karnak by no noteworthy alterations of policy. Ramses' reign had been too short for his name to be included in that of the Hypostyle Hall (cf. § 25). As the fill in the north aisle was removed, Seti's reliefs were gradually completed, and all of them were in the same beautiful style for which he is properly famous. The bas-reliefs on the north interior wall of the hall, however, exhibit frequent examples of extensive recutting and alteration, especially about the face and figure of the king.¹ This fact alone is not sufficient evidence to prove Seti guilty of usurpation of the reliefs, especially as the raised hieroglyphs in the cartouches are apparently without exception original. It does nevertheless raise problems which have never been answered and which deserve further study.

§ 40. The most interesting and at once the most important to our study of Seti's reliefs is located in the first (lowest) register of the north wall (first scene west of central doorway). If my description of the method by which the bas-reliefs were sculptured (§ 38) is correct, this scene should have been one of the last on the wall to be carved. The scene (Fig. 8, at *t* in Fig. 23) represents one of the frequently depicted religious processions, in which the sacred barque of Amon is carried like a palanquin on the shoulders of priests. But what is of supreme significance in this representation is the fact that Seti I, who marches beside the sacred boat in the role of high priest of Amon, is preceded (Fig. 8, at right) by a second royal figure who, designated "king's son" in the text above his head, can scarcely be other than his son and successor Ramses II, who was, as I shall attempt to prove, already at this period coregent with his father and an active participant in the building of the Hypostyle Hall.²

§ 41. Professor Breasted has somewhat beclouded the way to an understanding of the relationship of Ramses II to his father and of his right to the throne,³ but his contention that Ramses II only shortly before his accession

¹ In fact, similar traces of alteration occur in many other reliefs of Seti in the great hall.

² See the discussion of this relief by Legrain, who only partially caught its significance and did not reach definite conclusions, *Les temples de Karnak*, pp. 200-202.

³ Cf. "Ramses II. and the princes in the Karnak reliefs of Seti I," *ÄZ XXXVII* (1899) 130-39, and *Ancient Records III*, §§ 123-31.

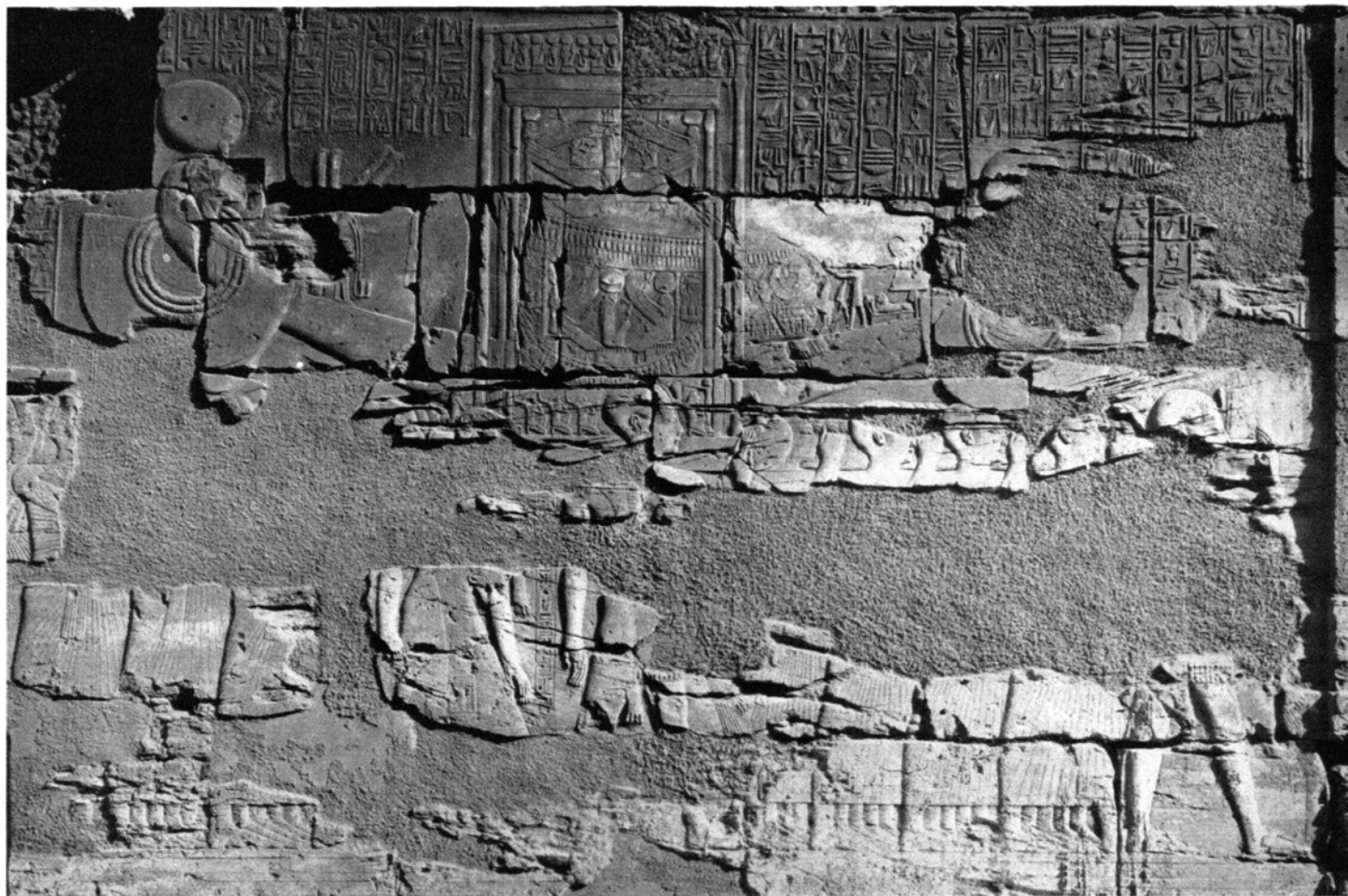


FIG. 8.—The barque of Amon attended by Seti I and a son, presumably Ramses II. Karnak. First register on north wall of Hypostyle Hall, just west of doorway.

removed an elder brother who was the legitimate crown prince, and that Ramses misrepresented the facts by inserting his figure in Seti's war reliefs in order to indicate a participation in those wars which never took place, appears to me to have been properly denied by Eduard Meyer.⁴ Seti's war reliefs contain the figure of only one prince which is original and contemporary. His name is lost except for the one word *nb*. However, Wiedemann's reading *Imn-nfr-nb.f*⁵ is altogether unfounded; it is based on the assumption that the "first king's son of His Majesty" who bears the name in a graffito on the island of Sehel was a son of Seti I. But no paternity of the prince is indicated in the graffito, nor is it accompanied by any scene or figure which substantiates Wiedemann's conclusion. The Karnak prince was not labeled "eldest son," and the epithet *m^{3c} hrw* after his name implies that he was dead when the reliefs were carved.⁶ The name and other portions of the text are now too badly disintegrated to permit checking of the earlier copies, and even the presence of the epithet *m^{3c} hrw* rests upon the evidence of early copyists. The prince's figure itself was either hacked out or cut on a piece of stone inserted into the sandstone wall as a patch which has now disappeared. There is so much doubt concerning the reading of the name of this Karnak prince that it cannot safely be cited as evidence to prove or disprove any aspect of the problem of Ramses' supposed rivals to the throne.⁷ It is obviously not impossible that Ramses II was not

⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums* II 1 (2. Aufl., 1928) p. 456, n. 2.

⁵ *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* XVIII (1896) 121.

⁶ Cf. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II (Leipzig, 1935) Pls. 40 and 43, for the latest reproduction and discussion of the scene and text. According to Wreszinski there was not room enough for such a name as *Imn-nfr-nb.f*.

⁷ The sarcophagus of a certain *s³ nsw.t R-mš-šw-mry-Imn, nb hnmn.t(?)* (read by Engelbach as *nb wbn*), published in Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob* (London, 1927) pp. 19-24, frontispiece, and Pl. XXXII, and believed by Engelbach to have belonged to this same elder brother of Ramses II, scarcely vitiates our argument. The erasures and additions to the inscriptions on the sarcophagus very probably represent its usurpation for a secondary burial. In fact, Egyptian burial equipment with altered names was usurped equipment, never or at least very seldom anything else. Engelbach's argument that the addition of his *nb wbn* over an erasure of *m^{3c} hrw* after the owner's name was Ramses II's effort to convert the inscriptions into laudatory texts descriptive of himself scarcely requires refutation. If Ramses II had desired to eliminate a name similar to his own on a monument, his most natural method would have been to order it to be chiseled out. After all, this sarcophagus was at the bottom of a burial shaft, not on display in a conspicuous position visible to all men, where every passer-by could read the inscriptions. It is indeed my opinion that the only six occurrences of the name *R-mš-šw-mry-Imn* inclosed in cartouches—once on the sarcophagus and five times on the lid—are without exception in secondary columns which have been cut beside the primary inscriptions, for some of the columns of hieroglyphs face in the opposite direction from the others with which they are intended to be read. But this is a matter which can be studied with complete success from the original monument alone.

the first-born son of his father. That he claims to have been destined to occupy the throne while still a child (cf. § 43) does not constitute a claim that from the moment of his birth he was heir to the throne. It would be absurd to claim that he might not have possessed one or even half a dozen elder brothers and sisters. Yet no one who is familiar with conditions in Egypt would deny that any or all of them might have died in infancy, leaving him while still a child as the natural successor of his father. Perhaps, if Professor Edgerton is right in suggesting that claims of a miraculous birth were made only by Egyptian kings who were not born as heirs to the throne,⁸ such a claim on the part of Ramses II may prove him not to have been his father's eldest son. It certainly does not prove him to have been the murderer of an elder brother in order to secure the throne.

§ 42. If Breasted's arguments may be thus dismissed for the present, it is possible to return to the question of Ramses II's right and accession to the throne with an absence of bias which will result in re-evaluation of the Egyptian records themselves. It is well known that in surviving inscriptions various Egyptian kings have made claims which must be condemned as false. Other statements are accepted as trustworthy merely because no definite contemporary evidence has survived to refute them. Now Ramses II's unambiguous claims to a coregency with Seti I have been lightly dismissed as prevarications largely because of Breasted's interpretation of the insertions in the Karnak battle reliefs. These claims, however, are not only exceedingly formidable, but they are beautifully authenticated by contemporary evidence, even though there are no surviving monuments bearing a double date, with the regnal years of both coregents.⁹

§ 43. The first document in which Ramses' coregency is stated is the great dedicatory inscription at Abydos, dated in his first year.¹⁰ In it he claims to have been "installed as eldest son, as hereditary prince . . . , as lord of infantry and chariotry." He continues: "When my father appeared to the public, I being a child between his arms, [he] sa[id] concerning me: 'Crown him as king, that I may see his beauty while I live with him.' [Thereupon ap-

⁸ W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (SAOC No. 8 [Chicago, 1933]) p. 31.

⁹ In the 12th dynasty, when coregencies were the rule rather than the exception, it is not infrequent that the dated monuments name but one of the coregents. See, for example, the stela of Khnumhotep, year 1 of Sesostri I, *ÄZ* XX (1882) 204; that of Amenemhet at Abydos, year 2 of Amenemhet II, Gauthier, *Livre des rois* I 285; Louvre stela C 170, year 2 of Sesostri II, *ibid.* p. 296.

¹⁰ How long after the event it was carved is beside the mark; its general authenticity appears to me to be adequately corroborated by the inscription of the high priest of Amon *Nb-wnn.f*, *ÄZ* XLIV (1907) 30 ff.

proached(?)] the courtiers to set the double diadem upon my head. 'Place for him the crown upon his head,' so spake he concerning me, while he was upon earth."¹¹ A similar claim is made in the Kubbān stela, dated in his 3d year, in which the king is being addressed by the court: "Thou didst make plans while thou wast (still) in the egg, in thy office of child of a prince. The affairs of the Two Lands were told thee, while thou wast a child wearing the curl; no monument was executed which was not under thy authority; there was no commission without thy knowledge. Thou wast chief of the army while thou wast a boy of the tenth year."¹²

§ 44. However much exaggeration these statements may contain, the germ of truth which they express is obvious. Ramses II participated in military affairs beginning with approximately his tenth year,¹³ he was declared crown prince at an early age and actually crowned coregent in the presence of his father, whereupon some of the responsibilities of state, such as the construction of monuments, were delegated to his hand. The precise chronology of the events is obscure, but there is no obscurity in the statement of facts. The actuality of a coregency, then, is expressed in Ramses II's own words. The event has likewise been recorded in a representation of Ramses' coronation¹⁴ by the god Amon in the presence of Seti I, who stands behind the god Khonsu and holds the crook and flail in his left hand and the symbol of life in his right. This scene, in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah, is carved in raised relief and is accompanied by the simple form of Ramses' prenomen, *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ*. This is a combination which occurred only during the coregency (cf. §§ 57, 61, 68). In fact, this short form of Ramses II's prenomen comes so near to being the keystone on which the entire structure of the coregency is supported that any discussion of the problem must begin with it.

§ 45. Sethe has attempted to show¹⁵ that the young Ramses II upon his accession adopted the simple prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ*; that a few months later he added to it, perhaps in imitation of his father and of certain of the great kings of the 18th dynasty, such varying epithets as *tī.t-Rꜥ* ("Image of Re"), *mry-Rꜥ*

¹¹ The translations follow Breasted, *Ancient Records* III, § 267.

¹² *Ibid.* § 288.

¹³ Boys of similar age were not rare in the American war of 1861-65.

¹⁴ Fig. 9; cf. drawing in Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III 150 c. A second representation of the same event, essentially similar to the other both in content and in style of execution, occurs in the Qurnah temple at No. 13 on the plan in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II 142; it is published by I. Rosellini, *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* I (Pisa, 1832) Pl. LXIII 1.

¹⁵ K. Sethe, "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs," *ÄZ* LXII (1927) 110-14.



FIG. 9.—The coronation of Ramses II in the presence of his father Seti I and the Theban triad. Qurnah temple of Seti I. Lower register on north wall of vestibule before sanctuary of Ramses I.

("Beloved of Re"), $\dot{i}w^c w-R^c$ ("Heir of Re"), and the like; but that ultimately, though still within the first year of his reign, he adopted the official prenomen $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-štp-n-R^c$,¹⁶ which he then continued to the end of his life. Ample evidence for the priority of the short over the long prenomens is indeed afforded in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.¹⁷ Sethe was in error, however, in his use of evidence to establish the chronological sequence of the three forms of Ramses' prenomens. He was likewise mistaken in his assumption that all three of the names were employed only after his accession, but before the expiration of the first year of his reign, simply because he did not realize the fact that Ramses II wrote his name in a cartouche and used it in the decoration of monuments while his father Seti I was still alive. In other words, it is of the greatest importance in studying the career of Ramses II to distinguish between his *coronation* and his *accession*, or at least between two different events, separated by several years, which we may arbitrarily designate by these two convenient terms. The *coronation*, as I desire to employ the term in this study, was the first public or ceremonial celebration of Ramses II's elevation to a coregency with his father. Whether it took place at Hermonthis or Thebes I do not know. Of course, it occurred while Seti I was alive. The ceremony is depicted in the bas-relief in the temple of Qurnah described in § 44, which might in good faith be accepted as a vignette illustrating the description of the coronation in the great Abydos inscription (cf. § 43). But Ramses' *accession* as sole ruler took place some time after his coronation. During the interval between the two events Ramses was coregent with his father. The period is marked in general, I believe, on the monuments by Ramses' employment of the short prenomens, $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c$, and of the form with varying epithets, but never by use of the long form, $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-štp-n-R^c$. How long the interval, that is, the coregency, continued, it is impossible to state with certainty. Considering the fact that several hundred reliefs were carved on the walls of various temples and other monuments during this period, I believe it is not incautious to assume that it lasted several years, perhaps even a decade (cf. § 61). At any rate, while the accession must have followed immediately upon the death of Seti I, the short

¹⁶ Seti I had employed several different epithets with his prenomens $Mn-m^3c.t-R^c$, including $štp-n-R^c$, in the earlier reliefs of his reign (cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.* III 11); but he eventually abandoned all of them. Ramses in this practice may have been following the example of his father or of other predecessors, but unlike the others he permanently retained one of the additional epithets to complete the official form of his prenomens.

¹⁷ Six examples of the alteration of the former to the latter on the under side of one of the architraves are recorded by Sethe in Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text* III 16. Both forms occur in various other temples and monuments, from Sinai to Beit el-Wali, mentioned by him in *ÄZ* LXII 111; cf. likewise G. Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* (Le Caire, 1938) pp. 154-56.

prenomen was retained for a few months (cf. § 114), possibly because Ramses was undecided concerning the precise form of the royal protocol which he desired to adopt for his reign.¹⁸ His accession may have taken place at Heliopolis, for we have a monument depicting such an event, usually called a "coronation," in the *pr nw* at Heliopolis in the presence of the god Atum.¹⁹ However this scene may be interpreted, I cannot believe it unreasonable to accept it as the memorial of a different event from the coronation depicted at Qurnah. If, then, so much be granted, perhaps both representations may be accepted as historical documents possessed of an importance not hitherto appreciated.

§ 46. Sethe was right in fixing the chronological order of the short and long forms of Ramses' prenomens, but mistaken in assuming that the employment of such varying epithets as $\bar{t}i.t-R^c$ and the like belonged to an intermediate stage. The fact is that there were only two steps in the development of the prenomens. Ramses was employing the form with varying epithets at the same time as the short form. Since he later altered both of these to the long prenomens, $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c$, it is evident that they are both earlier than this form. That they are contemporary stages of the name, not successive as Sethe believed, is proved by the presence of both of them together on a doorway in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah (Fig. 10).²⁰ The middle inscription on the lintel contains Sethe's so-called intermediate form, $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-îw^c-w-R^c$ (cf. §§ 66 and 69), while on the right doorjamb the cartouche reads merely $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c$. It is thus clear that Ramses II employed on his monuments first a prenomens with $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c$, either alone or with the arbitrary addition of certain epithets. Then, some time later, he fixed upon one of these epithets, perhaps his favorite, and the combination $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c$ became his official prenomens. Not only was it carved on all his later monuments, but it was also surcharged on erasures of the other two styles on numerous earlier ones. In many of the altered examples it is easily possible to read the earlier names which have been erased. Furthermore, it is of great importance to point out that, in every example of an erasure and a recutting of the name, the original stood in raised hieroglyphs (bas-relief), while the secondary cutting was executed in incised relief.

§ 47. I have pointed out (§ 45) that certain errors of Sethe in the early chronology of Ramses' reign were based on his failure to see that this king

¹⁸ Indecision on such a matter is admittedly the last thing one would expect of Ramses III!

¹⁹ A. W. Shorter, "Reliefs showing the coronation of Ramesses II," *JEA* XX (1934) 18-19 and Pl. III.

²⁰ Reproduced from Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III 132 f. No. 49 on plan in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II 142.

wrote his name in a cartouche before the death of his father. This was a very natural mistake to make. In various periods of Egyptian history, as I have suggested above (§ 42), an older king was accustomed to associate with himself on the throne one of his sons, usually the eldest, who consequently became

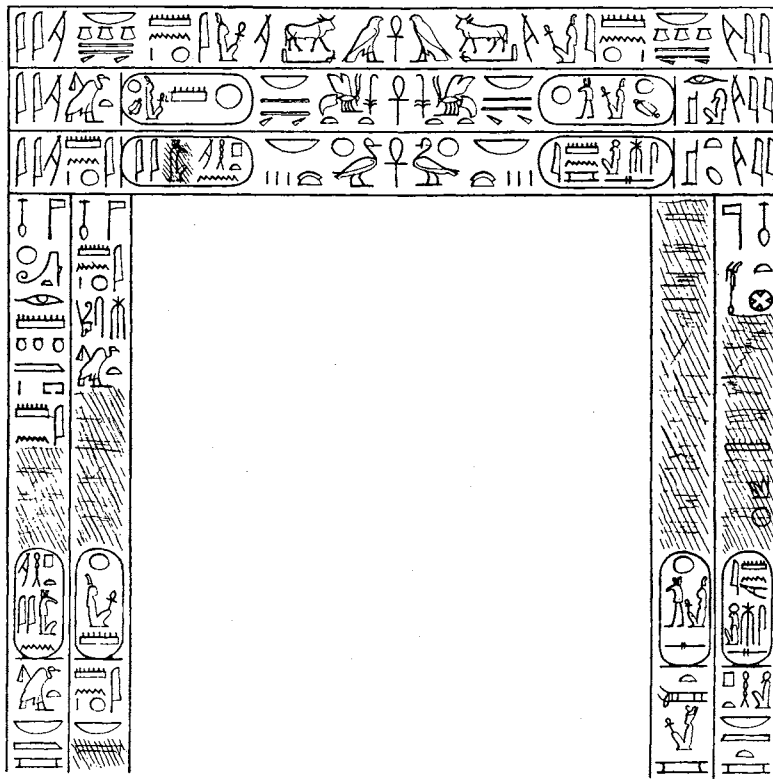


FIG. 10.—Doorway bearing names of Seti I and Ramses II, latter with both *Wsr-m³c.t-Rc* and *Wsr-m³c.t-Rc-ḥw-Rc* as forms of prenomen. Qurnah temple of Seti I. South wall of vestibule before sanctuary of Ramses I.

not merely crown prince but actually coregent. As such he possessed the right to inclose his name in a cartouche and to date documents by regnal years, beginning with the date of his declaration as coregent. Sometimes inscriptions from coregencies bear double dates, that is, the regnal years of both father and son.²¹ Not less often, however, such dated documents mention only one of the two coregents and date according to his regnal year alone. It is thus quite possible that there were coregencies in Egyptian history which have been unrecord-

²¹ E.g. Sesostriis II and Amenemhet II; cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records* I, § 616.

ed simply owing to the lack of documents containing double dates. The fact, therefore, that a king's name is inclosed in a cartouche, even if the latter is accompanied by a date, is no proof that the father of that king has already died and left the throne in his sole possession.

§ 48. Similarly, it was quite possible for young coregents who were already in the habit of employing the cartouche to predecease their fathers.²² In such an event it is obvious that a king could be succeeded by a younger son who had never been permitted the use of the cartouche before his accession.²³ Thus the presence or absence of a cartouche in connection with a royal name (or one which might be royal) is not by itself a safe criterion by which to estimate the exact status of the individual named.

§ 49. If these facts be applied to Ramses II, some light may be thrown on his relations with his father Seti I and his claims to a coregency made in the inscriptions at Abydos and Kubbān and illustrated in the Qurnah coronation reliefs. No double dates appear on the monuments of either of these two kings. Does that fact preclude the possibility of a coregency? Does it point to the inevitable conclusion that year 1 of Ramses II began only with the death of Seti I? Even if Ramses actually began to date his reign from the death of his father, could he not still have been coregent for a considerable period of time? I believe that the answers to these questions may quite easily be found on the monuments.

§ 50. Of the hundreds upon hundreds of occurrences of Ramses' cartouches upon the surviving monuments, it is a striking fact that the short prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* is to be found on but a single monument dating from year 1.²⁴ All the other dated monuments from this and every subsequent year contain either the form with varying epithet (one dated inscription only, that of Silsilah mentioned in § 114) or the final form with fixed epithet *štp-n-Rꜥ*. On the other hand, hundreds of inscriptions or scenes on monuments from Sinai in the north to Beit el-Wali in the south—monuments which must have required years to build and decorate—contain the short prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ*. If these hundreds of examples of the short name really antedate the longer ones, it is evident that they must have been carved during a period when Ramses had not yet begun to reckon his regnal years independently, unless he decorated a large number of monuments in a very short time. It is too much to suppose

²² As did *Wꜣd-mꜣ* of the 18th dynasty, for example; cf. K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* I (Leipzig, 1906) 108-10.

²³ Cf. Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob*, p. 22 and Pl. LI.

²⁴ Even this date is not preserved, but it is shown in § 113 that Sethe's attribution of the monument in question to this year must be accepted as correct.

that accident alone is responsible for the observed facts. It is safe to conclude that Ramses for some reason did not observe the custom of the 12th dynasty coregents who preceded him by some seven hundred years; instead of employing double dates to indicate his coregency, he apparently ignored the period entirely after his accession and began to reckon his reign from that event. From a detailed study of the monuments in question I believe it will become evident that the coregency lasted several years and that Ramses' employment of the short prenomen coincides in general with the period of the coregency, but continued for six or eight months after the death of Seti I. It will be seen furthermore that two periods may be marked in the coregency, depending upon the type of relief employed in temple sculpture.

§ 51. The nobles of Ramses' court are reported on the Kubbān stela of year 3 to have described their young king's early career in part with the words: "No monument was executed which was not under thy authority." If this statement applies to the period of the coregency, it indicates that he was even then engaged in covering the walls of various buildings with his reliefs, all of them accompanied by his cartouches with the short prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* or the contemporary form with varying epithets. In order to inspect the results of these building activities it is necessary to visit several of Ramses' temples. We shall begin far up the Nile, in the region of Nubia midway between the First and Second Cataracts, at Beit el-Wali. The temple, which is almost entirely hewn out of the cliffs on the west bank, has fortunately been completely published within the past two years²⁵ and is consequently now completely available to the scholar for the first time.

§ 52. In his publication Roeder has shown²⁶ that the temple reveals four distinct periods of execution. The first period is marked by the fact that the scenes were carved in bas-relief, while in the second period the reliefs were all incised. In the reliefs of both these periods Ramses' short prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* is characteristic. In the third period, during which two additional doorways were cut through the west wall of the forecourt, only a few inscriptions were executed. They were cut in incised hieroglyphs, and Ramses' prenomen occurs with the additional epithet *stp-n-Rꜥ*.²⁷ These two doorways were subsequently blocked up, and the masonry which was utilized for the purpose was decorated on both the inner and outer faces with crude incised reliefs.²⁸ Since, however, the king's cartouches are not preserved on the surviving traces of this

²⁵ G. Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* (Le Caire, 1938).

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 154-66.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. 30 at right.

²⁸ Traces of the decoration extend over the hewn walls on either side of the opening, so that their character may still be observed.

decoration,²⁹ it is impossible to date the alteration with certainty. Roeder³⁰ places it either in the latter years of Ramses' reign or possibly in that of a subsequent king. Though the sculptured decorations of the temple contain no date, Roeder's somewhat detailed description of the different styles of relief and his consequent assignment of them to successive periods offer a sufficiently sound basis, especially when compared with Ramses' reliefs and inscriptions at other sites, for following the chronological sequence of the different forms of his prenomen and studying their bearing on the question of his coregency with Seti I.

§ 53. In four reliefs at Beit el-Wali,³¹ two on either side of the forecourt of the temple, occur the only surviving mention and representation of Prince *ṢImn-ḥr-wnm.f*, the eldest son of Ramses II. Moreover, in two of the scenes³² to the name of the prince is appended the epithet *mꜣꜥ ḥrw*, which justifies us in believing that he died during the time when the reliefs were being carved. Since the historical importance of these four scenes is much greater than has usually been supposed, it will be profitable to examine them in some detail.

§ 54. The north wall contains in all five scenes, the westernmost three of which³³ are carved in bas-relief (Roeder's first period), while the two toward the east³⁴ are incised (second period); all of them contain the short prenomen *Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ*. All these scenes on the north wall appropriately depict military exploits which took place in the north. At the west end of the wall, next to the rising cliff and the entrance into the rock-hewn temple chambers, Ramses is shown enthroned, while Prince *ṢImn-ḥr-wnm.f* presents to him three Syrian captives in fetters.³⁵ Since the prince's name is here carved without the addition of the epithet *mꜣꜥ ḥrw*, it may possibly be safe to assume that he was still living when the relief was designed. In the adjoining picture, immediately to the right,³⁶ Ramses is depicted in the act of smiting a collapsing Libyan, while Prince *ṢImn-ḥr-wnm.f*, *mꜣꜥ ḥrw*, stands before him praising his father's prowess. If any meaning can be attached to the epithet *mꜣꜥ ḥrw*, it appears reasonable to conclude that the prince has died in the interval between the completions of these two contiguous scenes. There is no likelihood that it was added subsequent to the carving of the original relief.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Pls. 40, 42, 45 at left, 46 at right.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 166.

³¹ *Ibid.* Pl. 22 and p. 18; Pl. 23 and p. 24; Pl. 25 and p. 26; Pl. 31 and p. 33.

³² *Ibid.* Pls. 22 and 31.

³³ *Ibid.* Pls. 19-20 and 22-24.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Pls. 23-24.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Pls. 15-18.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Pl. 22.

§ 55. Opposite, on the south wall of the forecourt, the scenes are devoted to Ramses' military successes in Nubia.³⁷ They are all carved in incised relief (Roeder's second period) and contain the short prenomen. There are two principal scenes, which are arranged in chronological order. The first³⁸ depicts Ramses driving his chariot in battle against the Nubians. Behind the king follow, each in his own chariot, Prince ²*Imn-hr-wnm.f* and his brother *H^c-m-W³š.t*.³⁹ Of the two princes, the former appears still to have been alive when the relief was begun, for his name lacks the epithet *m³ hrw*. On the other hand, the appearance of these words after the name of *H^c-m-W³š.t* points to the probability that his death has occurred between the events depicted and their commemoration on the south wall of Beit el-Wali. The next scene, immediately to the west of the other, depicts a later event.⁴⁰ Ramses is shown on the throne receiving a magnificent array of Nubian tribute which is being presented to him by Prince ²*Imn-hr-wnm.f* and the viceroy of Ethiopia, ²*Imn-m-ḥp.t*. Here the prince is represented as deceased by the employment of the customary *m³ hrw*, and we may suppose that he died between the celebration of the victory over the Nubians and the recording of the triumph on the temple wall.

§ 56. The fact that Prince ²*Imn-hr-wnm.f* is depicted as deceased in one of the two bas-reliefs, which Roeder dates to the first period, but appears as a living person in one of the incised scenes dated to the second, might be construed as a fatal objection to Roeder's theory of different periods of work at Beit el-Wali or to my use of them as evidence for the conclusions of this study. If the incised reliefs were carved later than the raised ones, it must be admitted that one would have expected to find *m³ hrw* after ²*Imn-hr-wnm.f*'s name in both the incised scenes in which he appears. There is ample reason to believe, however, that the Egyptian sculptor was exceedingly careless and haphazard in the employment of the epithet, both here and elsewhere. The Beit el-Wali sculptor undoubtedly intended to indicate that both princes had participated in the events recorded on the walls, but probably that both of them had died before the sculptures were completed.⁴¹ The presence or absence of *m³ hrw* after the princes' names in these scenes has after all no bearing on the important historical conclusions which we intend to draw from them.⁴²

³⁷ *Ibid.* Pls. 25-34.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Pl. 25.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Pls. 25-29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Pls. 30-34.

⁴¹ Admittedly, scenes begun at Beit el-Wali in bas-relief could have been carried to completion in that style even after instructions had arrived to execute all future wall sculpture in incised relief. To such an extent Roeder's choice of the words "first," "second," and the like for his "building periods" is unfortunate and not strictly correct chronologically.

⁴² In §§ 91 ff. I interpret the significance of the epithet *m³ hrw* in a manner quite contrary to my understanding of it with reference to the two sons of Ramses II. I am fully

§ 57. Let us therefore now consider them in connection with the problem of Ramses II's coregency with Seti I and his participation in Seti's wars which has been denied by Professor Breasted (§ 41). It has been pointed out that Prince Imn-hr-wnm.f assisted in the presentation of Nubian tribute along with a certain viceroy of Ethiopia named Imn-m-ip.t . Now Reisner in his study of the viceroys of Ethiopia pointed out that the "king's son of Kush" (the Egyptian designation for "viceroy of Ethiopia") Imn-m-ip.t , son of Paser, held that office for approximately twenty years, mostly in the reign of Seti I, and that he is depicted with his viceregal title in our Beit el-Wali scene showing the presentation of Nubian tribute. Then Reisner goes on to show that a "king's son of Kush" named Yuni is depicted in the temple of Redesiyyah (Wadi ʿAbbād), with an accompanying inscription which mentions Seti I as still alive, and that this same Yuni appears again as viceroy of Ethiopia on a rock stela north of the smaller temple at Abu Simbel under Ramses II. Reisner further states that he has been unable to find a single instance of two viceroys of Ethiopia holding office simultaneously during the entire period of four centuries over which he has been able to trace their history. Thus, Reisner argues, if Imn-m-ip.t was viceroy under both Seti and Ramses, and if Yuni held that office under both Seti and Ramses, it appears quite certain that Yuni succeeded Imn-m-ip.t during a coregency of Seti with his son.⁴³ Since Imn-m-ip.t is depicted in the relief at Beit el-Wali which was carved during the second period, when Ramses was employing the prenomen $Wsr.m\ddot{s}.t-R^c$, it is a matter of certainty that this short form of the prenomen is characteristic of the period of the coregency.

§ 58. Furthermore, if Seti I was still alive at the time when Beit el-Wali was decorated, it is quite evident that the campaigns in Syria, Libya, and Nubia there depicted were conducted during the joint reign of father and son. There is therefore no further reason to doubt that Ramses II participated in some of the wars usually attributed to his father alone. Breasted's interpretation of

aware of the apparent contradiction between these two interpretations; nevertheless I am convinced that every student of the term $m\ddot{s}.hrw$ will admit that there is justification for my position. That Prince Imn-hr-wnm.f appears at Beit el-Wali, but never later in any of the numerous preserved lists of Ramses II's children; that the same may be said of $H^c-m-w\ddot{s}.t$, when it is understood that he is to be distinguished from another prince of the same name (cf. § 59)—these facts are ample basis for my conviction that both of them died in early youth. The employment of the epithet with certain occurrences of the names and its omission from others at Beit el-Wali is a problem which must be carefully distinguished from the problem of its usage with the names of Seti I at Karnak, where a cult of the king may be involved, or that of its general mortuary application in tombs and temples.

⁴³ *JEA* VI (1920) 39–40.

the insertions of the figure of Ramses II in Seti's war reliefs at Karnak may now be relinquished. Ramses introduced his figure because he did participate in some of the campaigns; perhaps, indeed, he was actually, as stated in the Kubbān stela, "chief of the army while . . . a boy of the tenth year" (§ 43).

§ 59. In fact, the evidence of the Beit el-Wali reliefs reaches still further. It indicates not only that Ramses II participated in at least three different campaigns during the lifetime of his father, but also that two of his sons accompanied him. This naturally introduces the question of his age when he became coregent with Seti I. Since the reign of Ramses II is known to have lasted sixty-seven years, it is reasonable to suppose that he was relatively young when it began.⁴⁴ We know from the inscription of his year 1 in the tomb of the high priest *Nb-wnn.f* (cf. §§ 43, 110–11, 114) and the accompanying relief that he was at that time already married to his favorite queen, Nefretiri.⁴⁵ As the Beit el-Wali reliefs containing the representations of the princes *Imn-hr-wnm.f* and *H^c-m-wšš.t* may be considered but at most a few years earlier, it is probably safe to conclude that Queen Nefretiri was married to Ramses in his very early youth, probably before he became coregent, and that she was the mother of his first two sons.⁴⁶ How old, then, would Ramses necessarily have been, to have possessed before his year 1 two sons sufficiently advanced in age to participate in chariots on the field of battle and in the presentation of tribute in the celebration of victory?

§ 60. The answer to such a question, like the answers to so many which are asked about the details of Egyptian history, must be based upon a large amount of speculation and a minimum of evidence. Yet I believe that in this case there

⁴⁴ His mummy clearly indicates him to have been an old man at the time of death, but unfortunately it is impossible to determine precisely how old.

⁴⁵ L. Borchardt in *ÄZ* LXVII (1931) 29.

⁴⁶ It is necessary to distinguish two sons of Ramses II who bore the name *H^c-m-wšš.t* (*contra* Roeder, *op. cit.* p. 162, who erroneously identifies the two princes bearing the name). The first one was probably born of Queen Nefretiri and died even before Ramses succeeded Seti I as sole ruler. The other was born much later in Ramses' career, was perhaps his favorite son, became famous in Egyptian legend, but also predeceased his father. His mother was named *Š.t-nfr.t*; she is several times depicted or mentioned on the monuments (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III 174 e, 175 e, 175 h; Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III 89). *H^c-m-wšš.t* II is likewise depicted on numerous dated monuments: year 30 (Lepsius, *op. cit.* III 175 f); years 30, 34, and 37—Ramses II's first, second, and third jubilee festivals respectively (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, *Text* IV 175); year 40 (Gauthier, *op. cit.* III 85); year 41 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III 174 d). It is scarcely necessary to argue that the mother of this son could not have been married to Ramses II from thirty to forty years earlier, at a time when Nefretiri was shown along with her royal husband as his favorite wife. Furthermore, it is evident from the monuments cited in the above references that *H^c-m-wšš.t* II was yet an immature youth as late as year 30 of Ramses. He was thus born long after the period of the coregency.

is a certain amount of evidence, though it is too ambiguous to be strictly dependable. Each of the princes at Beit el-Wali is depicted wearing the side-lock. This is generally regarded in Egyptian art as a mark of youth; but it may have been retained by princes for a considerable period of years as a badge of royal rank, but rank inferior to that of the reigning king. The two lads are not depicted on a smaller scale than the other figures in the reliefs, but this fact may be the result of Egyptian convention rather than a reflection of their relative age or physical development. In spite of the feeble character of this testimony, it is probably safe to conclude that the two princes were quite young. Eduard Meyer even suggested that they died in infancy and that, if they ever accompanied their father in campaigns, it was as infants in the company of their nurses.⁴⁷ It is however, in my opinion, within the range of possibility that as comparatively young children they may have been given permission to appear in public at their father's triumph, perhaps even to present in a ceremonial manner tribute collected from the vanquished enemy. In our own day mere infants often participate at weddings and on other festive occasions as pages or in similar capacities. That both of them are depicted in chariots on the battlefield may possibly be discounted to some extent as a concession to pharaonic pride or Ramessid exaggeration. It may then be admitted that Ramses' two sons were still in their wee years when they were depicted at Beit el-Wali and that they may even have died in infancy, like so many millions of other Egyptian babies before and after them.

§ 61. When we apply the criterion of scale to the figures of Ramses II himself in those representations which probably depict him during his early career, we find, surprisingly enough, that there exists what we can more or less legitimately cite as evidence. It is true that the evidence is again not without its ambiguous features. The Karnak reliefs of Seti I, for example, which Breasted cited to disprove that Ramses was ever heir to the throne until another prince had been removed, depict him on a much smaller scale than any of the other personages. But since the figures of Ramses are all inserted in spaces much too small for them from any point of view, lack of space, rather than any other consideration, will have dictated their size. At best, these inserted figures cannot be regarded as contemporary with the reliefs in which they appear. They could have been added at Ramses' orders years after the events which he intended them to commemorate. Turning to the coronation scene in the Qurnah temple (Fig. 9), we find that Ramses is depicted on the same scale as his father Seti I and the three divinities in whose presence the ceremony is supposed to occur. If this scene actually represents his coronation as coregent, it implies

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 547, n. 1.

that he had reached maturity, at least in physical development, unless it must be admitted (as is quite possible) that Ramses would not have permitted his figure in this very special scene to be cut on a smaller scale than those of the others. There are, however, three scenes in his father's temple at Abydos (see § 75) in which he is depicted as crown prince on a smaller scale than Seti I. In each of these scenes his nomen occurs without a cartouche at the culmination of a series of titles which name Ramses as "prince, eldest king's son of his body." And in one of them the prince wears his two cartouche names on the front of his garment, with the prenomen in the brief form *Wsr-mꜥ.t-Rꜥ*. Thus, on the basis of the Beit el-Wali evidence, Ramses was already coregent when the Abydos reliefs were carved, and he was yet so young that he was represented in the scenes as a youth or perhaps even as a young lad.

§ 62. Is it then perhaps legitimate to suggest something like the following reconstruction of Ramses II's career? His "year 1," the beginning of his sole reign of sixty-seven years, coincided with his twentieth year, more or less. At about fourteen (possibly even before) he had been married to Nefretiri, and by the time he was sixteen he was already the father of *Imn-hr-wnm.f* and *Hꜥ-m-Wꜥs.t*. These babies, with their mother and nurses, in keeping with similar facts recorded in the Kadesh reliefs,⁴⁸ accompanied him on some of his military ventures. The boys, in a precocity not infrequent among Orientals, took some ceremonial part in Ramses' triumph as depicted in Beit el-Wali. Before reaching the age of six to eight years, both of them had succumbed to some children's ailment prevalent in the conditions and climate in which they lived. Yet, short-lived as they were, their brief existence was immortalized on the walls of the Beit el-Wali temple.

§ 63. If the material in the temple at Beit el-Wali which has just been examined offers support in some measure for Ramses II's claim that even in his youth, presumably during his coregency, no monument was executed which was not under his authority, one should be able to detect in other buildings in the Nile Valley further evidence of his building activities in the same period. If various "building periods," each with its own style of relief or form of Ramses' prenomen, can be distinguished at Beit el-Wali, may not the same phenomena be discovered in Ramses' monuments at other sites? To pursue our researches in this direction may well reveal a detail or two among the very elusive facts which combine to portray the career of an ancient Egyptian king. Beyond that, it may enable us to solve a historical problem of some importance—specifically, in this discussion, the responsibility for the present form of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. That is, after all, the problem at the cen-

⁴⁸ According to Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 457, n. 1.

ter of the present study, and the visitation of other Egyptian sites constitutes no digression but rather a voyage of discovery for facts to be used all in good time.

§ 64. Having exhausted the evidence at Beit el-Wali, it is profitable to return to Thebes and especially to the northernmost of the mortuary temples on the edge of the western desert, the temple of Seti I at Qurnah. It was actually only begun by Seti I, who died before its completion; for that reason it ought to be an ideal place in which to search for reliefs carved in all stages of Ramses II's career.⁴⁹

§ 65. As anyone who is familiar with the temple decoration of Seti I would expect, the scenes and inscriptions which that king executed in the Qurnah temple are almost exclusively carved in bas-relief. All of the exceptions but one (discussed in § 68), in the material available to me in photographic form, are on exterior surfaces, which were as a rule decorated with incised relief in all periods of Egyptian history, including the Old Kingdom.⁵⁰

§ 66. An examination of the wall sculptures of Ramses II reveals at once several different styles of relief. Just as at Beit el-Wali, some of them are bas-reliefs, while others (by far the greater number, in fact) are incised. Furthermore, certain of the Qurnah reliefs contain the short prenomen $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c$; one has the form $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-3w^c-w-R^c$ (Fig. 10; cf. §§ 46 and 69); most of them employ the ultimate form $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c-štp-n-R^c$. At Beit el-Wali there was a definite connection between the types of relief and the forms of the prenomen; they provided the criterion by which Roeder distinguished the different "building periods." *Precisely the same conditions obtain at Qurnah.* In this temple there are two groups of reliefs with $Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c$. Of such representations in bas-relief the most interesting and important are those showing the coronation of Ramses in the presence of his father and the Theban triad, Amon, Mut, and Khonsu (Fig. 9 and §§ 44 f.). Since this combination has been shown at Beit el-Wali to belong to the first period, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the young coregent, in his pride of office and in the exercise of his authority over the monuments (cf. § 43), chose first of all to depict his own coronation. If that should be true, these reliefs may be among the very earliest to have been carved during Ramses II's joint rule with his father.

⁴⁹ In order to carry out the present survey of the temple I have utilized photographs taken by the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute and now in its files in Chicago. At the time of writing (January, 1940) these photographs cover approximately half of the temple; but, since they include most of the scenes in the portion decorated by Ramses II as well as many of the scenes of Seti I, I believe them to be sufficient in number to justify the conclusions which I have drawn from them.

⁵⁰ Cf. the Sakkarah Expedition's *The Mastaba of Mereruka II* (OIP XXXIX [Chicago, 1938]) Pls. 212 ff., also § 32 above.

§ 67. A second scene belonging to this group occurs on the wall between the entrances to rooms IX and X;⁵¹ above this and the adjoining representations, and in the same type of bas-relief, runs a frieze composed of cobras interlinked with the decoratively written prenomen of Seti I and the cartouches of Ramses II with prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ*. Another representation of this group depicts the coregent Ramses offering to the Theban triad and the statue of his grandfather Ramses I.⁵²

§ 68. Pictures in incised relief, corresponding to those of the second period at Beit el-Wali, are frequent in the Qurnah temple. The most interesting and significant of these are four in number, all on the east wall of room XXXIV.⁵³ Three of them depict Ramses *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* performing various cult acts before Amon-Re-Kamutef (in two cases; one shown in Fig. 11) and Re-Harakhti. The remaining one (second from the south; Fig. 12) depicts Seti I⁵⁴ presenting four *mr.t*-chests to "Amon-Re, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands." Above the series of four scenes runs a frieze consisting of groups of three *hkr*-symbols separated by pairs of cartouches in which those of Ramses II *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* alternate with the names of Seti I.⁵⁵ I am inclined to interpret this series of

⁵¹ Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, plan on p. 142.

⁵² Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. CLII 2.

⁵³ Porter and Moss, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ This is the only interior scene in the Qurnah temple showing this king in incised relief, according to my incomplete collection of photographs.

⁵⁵ A similar frieze (Fig. 13), in which however the ultimate form of Ramses' prenomen occurs, is preserved in incised relief over the east face of the entrance to the vestibule (room XXVIII in Porter and Moss, *loc. cit.*) in front of the sanctuary of Ramses I. Style of carving and form of prenomen would in combination correspond to the decoration of Ramses' sole reign. Does this frieze then indicate that the coregency continued after Ramses' adoption of the long prenomen; or does it eliminate the employment of this type of frieze, with alternate cartouches of Ramses and Seti, as evidence for the fact of a coregency? Neither of these alternatives need be accepted. If the evidence for the coregency depended upon the friezes alone, it would be impossible to build up a strong case for one, nor indeed would any attempt be made to establish it. Use is made of the frieze only because it appears to fit in with the entire body of evidence, which together is more easily explained on the theory of a coregency than in any other manner. If the total amount of evidence appears to justify this theory, another explanation of the frieze with Seti's names alternating with those of Ramses containing the long prenomen should not be difficult to locate. Once having begun to employ in the temple decoration a frieze proclaiming a coregency, there is no reason to suppose that Ramses would necessarily discontinue it upon his father's death, especially if there were a special reason for retaining it. The reason is plainly evident in the remaining decoration of this portion of the temple, which, as already stated, is the entrance to the vestibule of the sanctuary of Ramses I. This king constructed for himself no mortuary temple of his own. His son Seti I began the Qurnah temple as a joint memorial for himself and his father, but he too died before it was complete. It remained for Ramses II to finish it. The temple consequently bears the marks of at least two kings' work upon it, each of whom had mixed motives in carrying on his building activities: first, the memorialization of Ramses I, who was the founder of the dynasty and who stood in the relationships of father and grandfather respec-

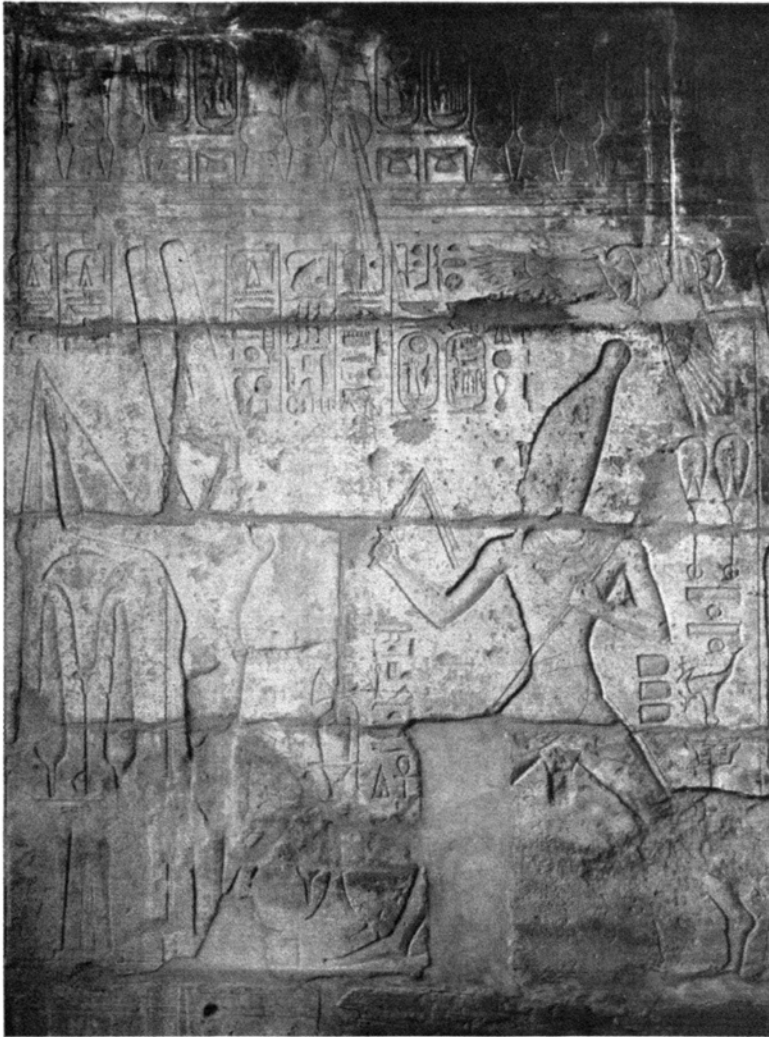


FIG. 11.—Ramses II, with prenomen *Wsr-mꜣt-Rꜥ*, before Amon-Re-Kamutef. Qurnah temple of Seti I. East wall of room XXXIV.

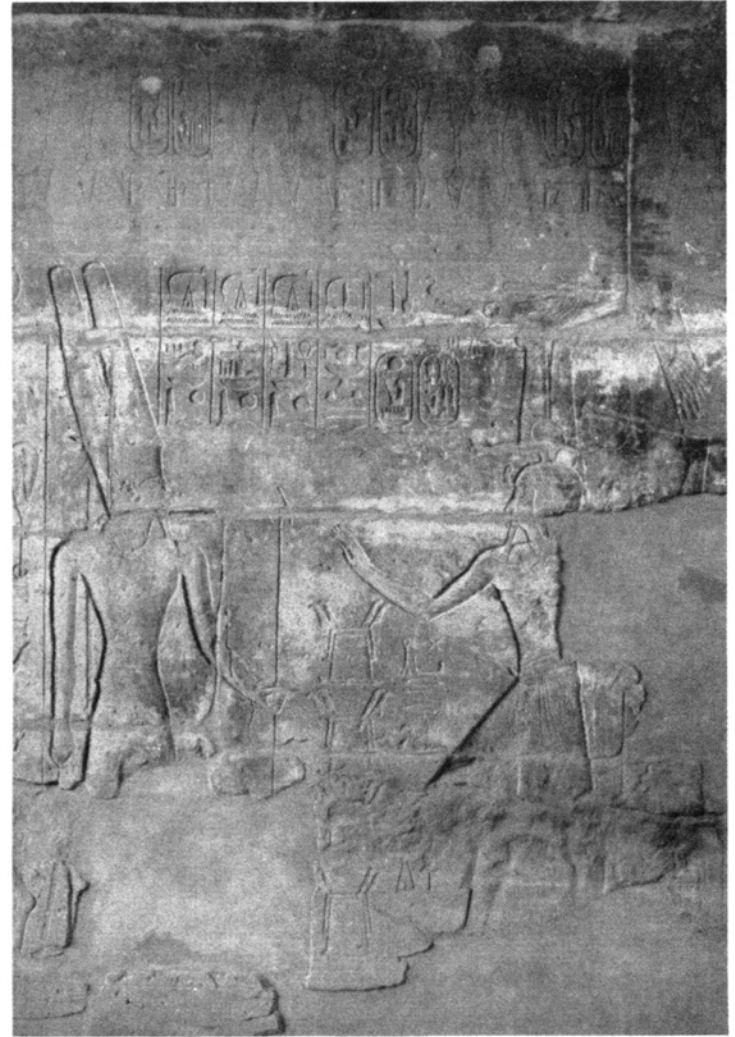


FIG. 12.—Seti I before Amon-Re. Qurnah temple of Seti I. East wall of room XXXIV.

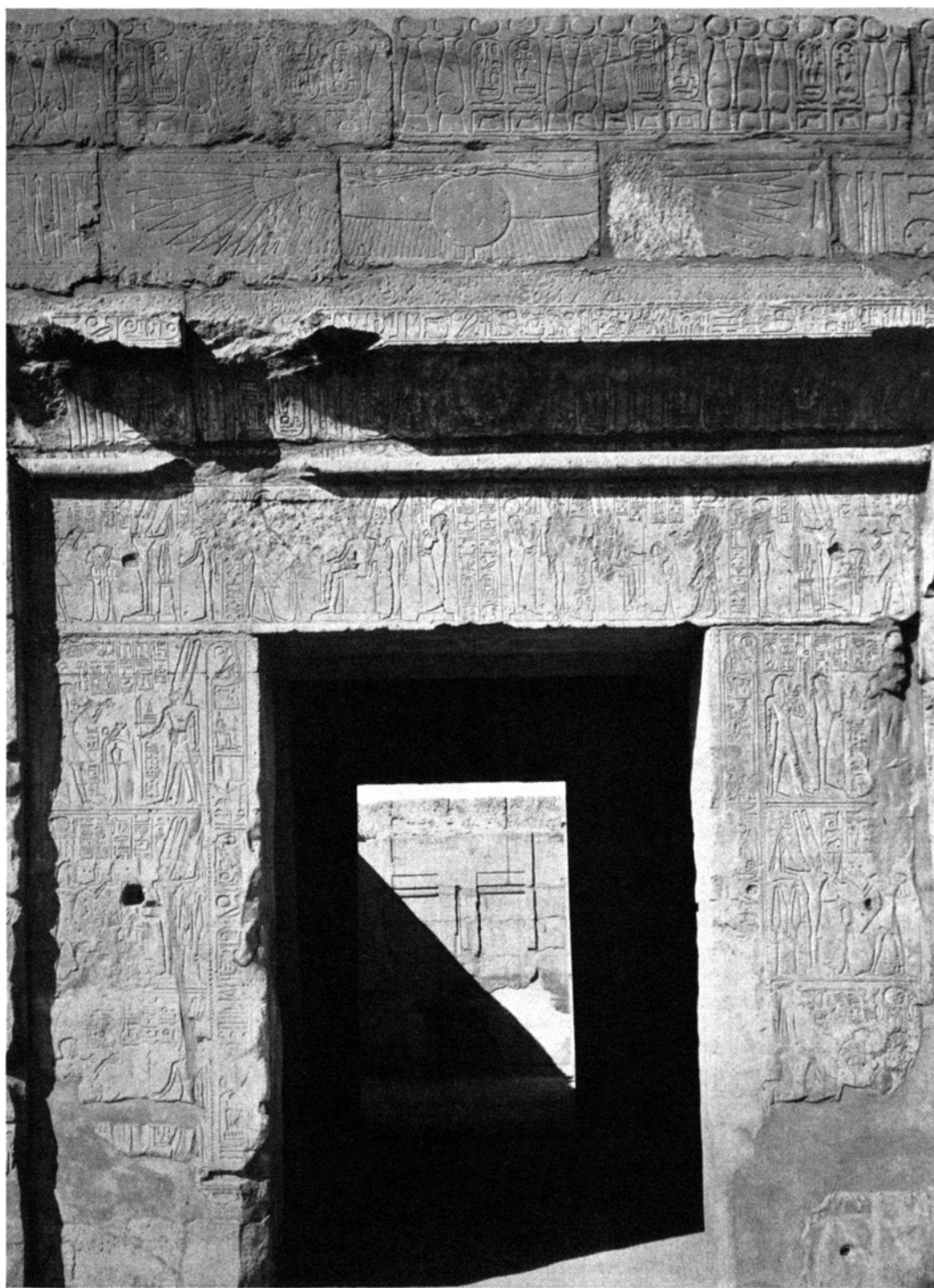


FIG. 13.—Qurnah temple of Seti I. Entrance to vestibule before sanctuary of Ramses I, inscribed by Ramses II in memory of Ramses I, Seti I, and himself.

four reliefs, which depict, beginning at the south, first Ramses II, then Seti I, and finally Ramses in the last two, with the short form of Ramses' prenomen, and the association of the cartouches in the frieze above them as virtually textual evidence for the coregency of the two kings.

§ 69. There is still another set of inscriptions at Qurnah which, when considered along with all the other material, appears to complete the chain of evidence and to place the coregency on a secure foundation. They are located on the lintel and doorjambs of the entrance leading from room XXVIII to room XXXII (see Fig. 10 and § 46). Lepsius erroneously indicated by the convention employed in the preparation of his plates that these inscriptions are cut in incised relief. The hieroglyphic text is however in bas-relief; thus, if the convention followed at Beit el-Wali applies to them, they originated in the first period. It would appear that the right half of this doorway was devoted to Ramses II, the left half to his father Seti I (cf. § 68). In that case it is noteworthy that the two kings employed the same Horus name during the coregency, namely *K3-nḥt-mry-m3̄.t*,⁵⁶ since it is found on both sides of the center in the top line of the lintel.⁵⁷ In a previous reference to these inscriptions (§ 46) I have pointed out that the simple prenomen *Wsr-m3̄.t-Rc* and the form with the varying epithet (in this case *Wsr-m3̄.t-Rc-ḥw-Rc*) occur in an association which can only be interpreted as a proof that they are contemporaneous. Since

tively to his two successors; secondly, the provision of a monument for himself, since no Egyptian was ever very ready to honor another while completely neglecting his own interests. Thus, while the entrance to the sanctuary of Ramses I was primarily dedicated to that king, Ramses II, who decorated it, seized the opportunity to honor his own recently deceased father along with his grandfather and himself. As one might expect of him, he took the lion's share for the living, for the all-important Ramses II. Of the ten scenes on the lintel and jambs of the entrance (Fig. 13), one only was devoted to Ramses I (top register of right jamb); of the nine remaining reliefs, the cartouches are destroyed in one, but the other eight contain the cartouches of Ramses II. Seti I is remembered in four places: (1) the frieze at the top of the wall (the mention of which is the occasion for this note); (2) the right half of the vertical front of the cavetto cornice above the entrance, where Seti's protocol balances that of Ramses II on the left half; (3) the part of the concave portion of the same cornice at right of the central sun disk, where appear cartouches of Seti I balancing those of Ramses II at left; (4) a vertical column of inscription on the left doorjamb, which is most important of all, since it states in part that "*Wsr-m3̄.t-Rc-ṣtp-n-Rc* made (it) as his monument for his father the good [god] *Mn-m3̄.t-Rc*, *m3̄ ḥrw*." Ramses II is here performing the role of a pious son who after his father's death continues the decoration of the monument in his honor. The frieze at the top and the other divisions of the decoration of the portal between father and son are indicative of a coregency that was, but one that has ceased to be, for Seti I is now *m3̄ ḥrw*.

⁵⁶ This was not the situation, however, at the time when Ramses carved the inscription above the cavetto cornice mentioned in § 68; cf. Fig. 13.

⁵⁷ As usual on such lintels, the inscription begins in the middle with an *nḥ* sign, which is read first and repeated with each half, and ends at the outer extremities of the lintel.

the inscriptions on either side of the central point of the doorway are quite similar in character and arrangement, with Ramses named on one side and Seti on the other, and since on both sides there is the complete absence of any word or phrase which distinguishes one of them from the other in rank, I am convinced that father and son are intended to be understood as on precisely the same level. Both are alive, and both are kings with the full titulary designation of reigning kings. The argument, which appeared reasonably solidly founded at Beit el-Wali, is thus further substantiated at Qurnah. But from another lintel at Qurnah—over the entrance to room VII—a photograph of which has become available as I read the proofs of this study, I am able to submit what in my judgment appears the culminating piece of evidence for the coregency. The scene, carved in bas-relief (first period), depicts six pairs and one trio of seated divinities facing left and holding *wšš*-scepters in their hands. Each group is accompanied by four vertical columns of hieroglyphs, the upper ends of which are destroyed with the exception of those belonging to the fifth and sixth. These read, in turn: "Set the Ombite, lord of the Upper Egyptian land—he gives all valor to the lord of the Two Lands: Usermaat; Nephthys—[she gives] eternity to the lord of diadems: Ramses-Meriamon"; and "Horus of Edfu—he gives all life and welfare and all happiness like (that of) Re to the lord of the Two Lands: Menmaat[re]; Hathor, lady [of heaven—she gives] life and welfare [to the lord of] diadem[s: Seti-Mer]en[ptah]." A careful scrutiny of the remaining groups reveals that the texts in each follow the same pattern. The cartouches of Ramses II occur with the first, third, fifth, and probably the seventh group, while the alternating second, fourth, and sixth are accompanied by those of Seti I. It is quite superfluous to argue that the blessings of the Great Ennead are here to be interpreted as flowing out to Seti I and his son *Wšr-mš̄.t-R̄* as sovereigns ruling jointly on an equal basis and with identical royal titles. It now remains to see how these established facts aid in the understanding of some important questions in other temples.

§ 70. With the material available to me it has not been possible to make such a thorough examination of the role of Ramses as coregent in the two temples of Abydos as I have attempted to do at Beit el-Wali and Qurnah. Nevertheless, the results of my study of the publications and a limited number of photographs reveal complete consistency with what I have been able to state in connection with the other sites.

§ 71. In most of the rooms leading off the portico and the two hypostyle halls of the temple of Ramses II, as well as in the two halls themselves, the prenomen of Ramses occurs in the shorter form; furthermore, the walls of

many of these rooms are carved in bas-relief. So far as I was able to determine from publications, many of which reproduce only line drawings and are thus worthless for distinguishing the type of relief, and a few photographs, the material yields the following results:⁵⁸

PRENOMEN *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c*

Bas-relief certain: Rooms VII, X, XI, XIII, XIV

Bas-relief probable: Rooms B, XII

Incised relief certain: Rooms I, II, III, B, VI, XII

Type of relief unknown: Rooms I, IV, VIII, XVII

PRENOMEN *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c*

Bas-relief certain or probable: None

Incised relief certain: Rooms A, I, II, III

Type of relief unknown: 2d pylon; portico; doorways of rooms

A-C; III (secondary scenes), IV, XVI

FORM OF PRENOMEN UNKNOWN

Bas-relief certain: Rooms VI, XII, XV

Incised relief certain: Rooms A, portico, B, I, III, IV, V(?)

Type of relief unknown: Room IX.

In fact, if the material studied at Beit el-Wali and Qurnah may be said to have established criteria from which conclusions may be drawn, their application to our findings at Abydos suggests the following:

§ 72. At least eight (possibly nine) of the seventeen smaller rooms in Ramses II's temple are decorated in whole or in part in bas-relief, and five of these eight are known to have the short prenomen. (The other three, as well as other rooms with bas-relief not determinable, may likewise have it.) These rooms, which more or less completely surround the second hypostyle hall and thus comprise a distinct unit of the temple, may well be attributed to a "first period." Then, in the closest possible proximity to this group of rooms, there is another block, consisting of at least five rooms, which bear the same form of the prenomen in incised relief. These are for the most part arranged about the first hypostyle hall, which contains decoration in both styles and also has the short prenomen. This second block of rooms is in front of the first, and to regard it as the product of a "second period" is quite in order.

§ 73. Coming still farther forward from the sanctuary, one finds that the

⁵⁸ A few rooms are included in more than one group, as the same conditions do not apply to all the walls of each room. A more detailed analysis, especially before the original, would make possible a still longer list. The numbered rooms follow Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography VI* (Oxford, 1939) plan on p. 32; the lettered ones are after Mariette, *Abydos. Description des fouilles II* (Paris, 1880) Pl. 1.

portico, the court ("A" in Mariette), the second pylon, and a few remains of the first pylon all bear the long form of the prenomen in incised relief. They all belong to later periods (Roeder's "third" and "fourth"). The few examples of the long prenomen in the rear rooms of the temple will doubtless have their explanation in the later decoration of a few walls, such as the famous king list in room II (which may have been decorated in year 1 of Ramses' sole reign, after the death of his father, at the very time when Ramses was abandoning the short prenomen in favor of the long, as it contains both of them) and the row of reliefs in room III in the narrow space (80 cm.) between the main decoration (with *Wsr-m^{sc}.t-R^c*) and the floor.

§ 74. The significance of the two forms of the prenomen in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos was noted by Mariette,⁵⁹ who quite correctly regarded the short one as earlier than the other and thus a means of dating in a relative way the rooms in which it occurred. He also believed that Ramses II was coregent with his father, but could see no evidence in this temple as to whether it was built and decorated during the coregency or in Ramses' sole reign, or whether the short prenomen was employed while Seti I was still alive. His conclusions, near to the truth as they were, rested largely on his study of the two Abydos temples. Had he studied in greater detail the material from other sites, he could easily have taken the next step and established without question the coregency in which he believed, as well as other facts presented in this study. It has been sixty years since Mariette suggested that Ramses was coregent with Seti I, and numerous other scholars have reiterated the idea in their publications. Reisner alone appears to have made an effort to prove it; but, beyond his contribution in his study of the viceroys of Ethiopia, no one has taken it up in order to make it a part of accepted historical data. So fully have the historians of Egypt depended on Breasted's interpretation of the inserted figures in the Karnak reliefs of Seti I!

§ 75. Turning to the temple of Seti I at Abydos, we find that the material, so far as it goes, is completely consistent with what we have already discovered elsewhere. Erwin Zippert in his dissertation⁶⁰ has analyzed the wall reliefs and expressed the possibility that Ramses II began the construction of his own temple "während seiner offenbaren Mitregentschaft neben Sethos I."⁶¹ Ramses himself did not, however, decorate any of the walls of his father's temple in the raised relief which we have now become accustomed to accept as a mark of his first period. The reason for this is quite obvious: He was at this time engaged in the erection of his own temple near by (cf. §§ 71-74). He is never-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 7 f.

⁶⁰ *Der Gedächtnistempel Sethos' I zu Abydos* (Berlin, 1931) pp. 19-21.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 20.

theless three times depicted as crown prince along with his father in the tableaux in corridor X,⁶² in each of which his nomen is carved without the inclosing cartouche. But in the bas-relief accompanying the list of gods Ramses is represented wearing a garment adorned with his two cartouches, one of which contains the simple prenomen *Wsr-mꜛ.t-Rꜥ*. The scene must without question be attributed to Seti I, but it appears equally certain that Ramses has already been recognized as coregent, even if by reason of his youth he is still playing a secondary role. Indeed, the two bas-reliefs in this corridor may be among the very earliest of the coregency, carved when Ramses was still the child whom he describes in the dedicatory inscription (cf. §§ 43, 61, and 66).

§ 76. On the right wall of the stairway Y'⁶³ both the coregents are shown together. The relief is incised, and Ramses is *Wsr-mꜛ.t-Rꜥ*; the combination is elsewhere characteristic of Ramses' second period. In the stairway occurs also the statement that Ramses, with prenomen *Wsr-mꜛ.t-Rꜥ-štp-n-Rꜥ*, "renewed the monument for his father, King *Mn-mꜛ.t-Rꜥ* (Seti I), *mꜛ hrw*."⁶⁴ It is thus evident that stairway Y' was actually decorated in part by Ramses while still coregent, in the second period, and completed later, after the death of his father. Like his father in the same scene, to whom along with Isis and the Ennead he is making an offering, Ramses is entitled "king of Upper and Lower Egypt." A companion piece on the opposite wall probably contained the same evidence, but the head and names of Ramses are destroyed. Since in both scenes he is depicted offering to his father in a company of gods, it is clear that Seti has been deified. That he is still alive is suggested but not proved by the occurrence of Ramses' prenomen in the brief form. Mariette himself interpreted these scenes as proof of the coregency and compared them with the doorjambs of the Qurnah temple (Fig. 10), which I have already described (cf. § 69), as the best of evidence that father and son shared the throne. Mariette, however, unduly emphasized the active role of Ramses in the sovereignty at this period, suggesting that Seti was too old to carry the burden of state.⁶⁵ Since the latter's mummy reveals him to have been in the prime of life at death, it is much more probable that Ramses' activity as king sprang from a natural delegation of authority on the part of a senior partner frequently absent from Egypt by military necessity.

§ 77. Immediately upon his father's death Ramses began to date his monuments by his own regnal year, though he continued for a few months to employ the same forms of the prenomen which were characteristic of the coregency. Furthermore, he customarily, but not invariably, named Seti I as deceased

⁶² Mariette, *op. cit.* I (Paris, 1869) Pls. 42-44 and 46.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Pl. 50.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Pl. 49 a.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 26, § 96.

(*m³c hrw*) wherever he had occasion to mention him.⁶⁶ Zippert has carefully distinguished the various types of decoration in Seti's temple,⁶⁷ indicating how Ramses replaced the bas-reliefs of Seti in hall C with incised scenes of his own. All of the latter contain the long prenomen, as would be expected; traces of the original raised outlines and hieroglyphs of Seti I can frequently be detected on good photographs of the walls. I doubt very much that the transition from raised to incised relief marks at Abydos, as contended by Zippert,⁶⁸ the moment of Ramses' accession as sole king any more than it does at Beit el-Wali or Qurnah. On the other hand, where Ramses at Abydos replaced his father's bas-reliefs with incised representations of his own, we may be perfectly assured that Seti is no longer living. At the beginning of his sole reign he unquestionably usurped certain of his predecessor's scenes, possibly some which had not been completed by Seti I and others in rooms the decoration of which had only been begun by that king. The extent to which he appropriated his father's reliefs may easily be determined by an examination of the rooms where it occurred. Most of them are located on the walls of hall C,⁶⁹ that is, in the portion of the temple immediately adjoining the section completed by Seti. Ramses probably usurped them because he regarded his own share in their preparation as more extensive than that of his deceased father. Whether in their present altered state it would be possible to detect how much of the work had been executed by Seti and how much was completed by Ramses is very doubtful. In any event, it could be accomplished only by study of the originals. It is an undeniable fact that he respected his father's finished reliefs and that he honored Seti's names even in reliefs which were completed in his sole reign, though in such representations he rarely failed to indicate the fact of Seti's decease by the addition of the customary epithet.⁷⁰ When finally, after completing (and even converting from original bas-relief into the incised style which he preferred) the last, unfinished scenes of his father, he began to carve new scenes of his own, we have no certain evidence that he was ever responsible for the further usurpation on a large scale of Seti's completed reliefs. There are sporadic examples of his usurpation of Seti's cartouches in various temples, but when or under what circumstances the alterations took place it is impossible to determine.

⁶⁶ In fact, he was singularly careless and haphazard about it. In the great dedicatory inscription at Abydos, for example, Seti is mentioned seven times with *m³c hrw* and six times without it; cf. *ibid.* Pls. 5-9.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 19-21 and Skizze 3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 21 and Skizze 3.

⁷⁰ Best observed in the reliefs accompanying the dedicatory inscription (Mariette, *op. cit.* I, Pl. 5, col. 13, and Pl. 9, at extreme left) and the inscriptions on the square pillars at the rear of court B (Gustave Jéquier, *L'Architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte. Les temples ramessides et saïtes* [Paris, 1922] Pl. 25:2).

V

THE HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK

RAMSES II IN THE NORTH AISLE

§ 78. Ramses II's participation in the decoration of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is in general parallel to what has been discovered in the other temples which have been examined. The earliest evidence of his coregency with Seti I is, without much doubt, in spite of the fact that Ramses' name is either lost or was never carved, the relief showing him in a procession with his father and the sacred *barque* of Amon. He is in fact depicted as the foremost of the priestly porters of the *barque*, one of the carrying poles of which rests on his shoulder, with its forward end in his hand (Fig. 8; cf. § 40). This scene, on the north wall of the great hall, can with considerable confidence be regarded as the first appearance of Ramses II at Karnak. In this *bas-relief*, plainly attributable to Seti I, Ramses appears wearing the *uraeus* on his brow;¹ yet he is referred to in the accompanying inscription as only the "king's son." This relief, then, in my opinion is virtually unimpeachable testimony directly from Seti I that he shared the throne with his son during the later stages of his decoration of the north aisle of the Hypostyle Hall. Plenty of corroborative evidence such as has been pointed out in other temples, from Abydos to Beit el-Wali, reveals itself elsewhere in the building.

§ 79. First of all, it may be remarked that Ramses II engaged for the most part in the decoration of the south half of the hall. In the north half, in addition to the *bas-relief* already mentioned, in which he appears as coregent, he has usurped the scenes on the jamb of the central portal, together with several (probably four) representations to the right of the top register and frieze of this doorjamb, as well as four pictures on the south end of the north tower of the pylon, in the passage (Fig. 14; at *u* in Fig. 23), and at least one scene in the Min procession, in the lowest register.² Later—in his sole reign, I am confident

¹ I can detect no evidence that the relief was ever altered to add the royal insignia at a later time, though it must be pointed out that the shrine and perhaps other parts of the *barque* were at some time extensively recut for a reason not evident to me.

² *Medinet Habu*. IV. *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (*OIP* LI [Chicago, 1940]) Pl. 212. It is my belief that all of these scenes—most of them in the latest, the lowest, register (cf. § 40)—had in some measure been left uncompleted by Seti I, and that Ramses usurped them after Seti's death because he had added sufficiently numerous finishing touches to them to acquire a sense of ownership, just as he had probably done at Abydos (cf. § 77). They were all executed in *bas-relief*, but Ramses replaced the raised hieroglyphs of Seti's cartouches with the incised characters of his own names.



FIG. 14.—Second pylon at Karnak. South end of north tower. The lower four scenes were usurped by Ramses II from his father Seti I; the upper two and the frieze at top are Ramses' own work (all in bas-relief except Ramses' names in the usurped scenes).

—Ramses carved two more scenes (another register) above the usurped four of Figure 14 and capped the wall with a frieze of *hkr* signs and cartouches showing his prenomen in the form *Wsr-m³c.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c*,³ all in bas-relief in order to conform with the type of relief which Seti I had employed for the entire north half of the great hall. On the other hand, above the roof, where they would not be visible from the ground, Ramses added a row of scenes in incised relief in his own name; this is a striking revelation of the extent to which he respected the taste and plans of his father for the decoration of the north side of the Hypostyle Hall.

RELIEFS OF SETI I AND RAMSES II ON THE SECOND PYLON

§ 80. I must admit at the outset that I have not been altogether successful in explaining to my satisfaction the actual order of the construction and decoration of the south half of the great hall. In the north half the theory of Clarke and Engelbach could very well be applied to the building activities of Ramses I and Seti I (cf. § 35). The same is, however, not true of the south half. There does not appear to be unambiguous evidence regarding either the construction or the carving of its walls; but what evidence there is, if I read it aright, may indicate that the circumstances which attended the completion of the south half were such that the ordinary procedure was not followed. It is very possible that the decoration of this portion of the structure was assigned to Ramses from the beginning of his youthful career. Since the great hall appears structurally to represent a definite unity, I believe it quite probable that Ramses' half of it was first constructed, with the use of ramps and fill, but without decoration, while Seti was similarly engaged on the north side. The decoration was then executed at a later stage, at which time it became necessary to provide new scaffolding or ramps for that special operation. Should this theory be tenable, it would explain certain difficulties which will become apparent later on and which are otherwise scarcely less than insuperable.

§ 81. The Hypostyle Hall, like the other temples already described, plainly passed through not less than four distinct periods under Ramses II. It has, however, more in common with the temple of Seti I at Abydos than it has with the rock temple at Beit el-Wali.

§ 82. As at Abydos, the south half of the hall contains bas-reliefs of Seti I which were altered by Ramses II to incised relief. As at the Qurnah temple and the Silsilah quarries, it has cartouches containing *Wsr-m³c.t-R^c* and the varying

³ In one, possibly both, of the occurrences of the prenomen in the two scenes below the frieze, the prenomen was incorrectly cut, with omission of the second sun disk, so that it reads *Wsr-m³c.t-R^c-stp-n*.

epithets, but at Karnak such occurrences of the name, without exception, were later altered to the ultimate form, with epithet *stp-n-R^c*. As at Beit el-Wali, there are a first period with the simple prenomen and bas-reliefs, a second period with the simple prenomen in incised reliefs, and presumably both a third and a fourth period, during both of which the combination of the ultimate prenomen with incised reliefs occurs. As at Abydos, the tendency was away from the employment of bas-relief to its ultimate abandonment and its replacement with incised relief over erased bas-relief containing the very same representations.

§ 83. If it is assumed that Seti I decorated the north half of the Hypostyle Hall first⁴ and that he turned to the south side after finishing the other, it would follow as a matter of course that his decoration in the south half was carved during the coregency with Ramses II (cf. § 40). It would then be at least reasonable to suppose that any reliefs carved by Ramses in close proximity to those of Seti I would be executed in the bas-reliefs of Ramses' first period. But when we set out to locate the reliefs of these two kings in this part of the building, we are disappointed at first to discover that there are absolutely no bas-reliefs at all in the south half of the hall! We remember then that a characteristic feature of the Hypostyle Hall is the fact that the north half, belonging to Seti I, is almost exclusively sculptured in bas-relief, while the south half, dating from Ramses II, contains only incised reliefs. Nevertheless, as one carefully observes the reliefs on the south side, one comes to see without difficulty that certain of them, especially in the lowest register of the second pylon,⁵ resemble in style the bas-reliefs of Seti on the walls of the north aisle. Their outlines are incised, it is true; yet the inner relief of the figures is rounded to a remarkable degree, and sometimes the faces and bodies of the figures extend out from the wall considerably beyond the plane of the background. A still closer scrutiny reveals the fact that the incised outlines of the relief frequently follow closely along, but just fall short of coinciding with, more or less distinctly defined raised outlines, all of which have been rather carelessly reduced by erasure until they are no longer easily noticeable beside the later incised outlines. A painstaking examination of the cartouches in these scenes at once divides them into two classes, which may well be typified by the two representations in Figure 15. The scene on the right is unique among those on the south tower of the pylon, in that all of its cartouches have passed through three different stages. In the first place, all of them (three in number, including one in the name of the Hypostyle Hall itself) originally contained the names of Seti I

⁴ Since it is largely occupied by his reliefs, scholars have universally adopted this view.

⁵ From Fig. 15 southward along the wall to Fig. 16, including the latter and all intervening scenes (*j-k* in Fig. 17 A).



FIG. 15.—Seti I (at right) offers to Amon-Re cakes including three shaped like the hieroglyphs comprising his prenomen. His original bas-relief was converted to incised relief under Ramses II. In the second scene (at left) Ramses II (originally Seti I) presents cloth to Amon-Re. The inscription behind Ramses contains his long prenomen surcharged on his short prenomen, both of them incised. Karnak, at *j* in Figure 17 A.

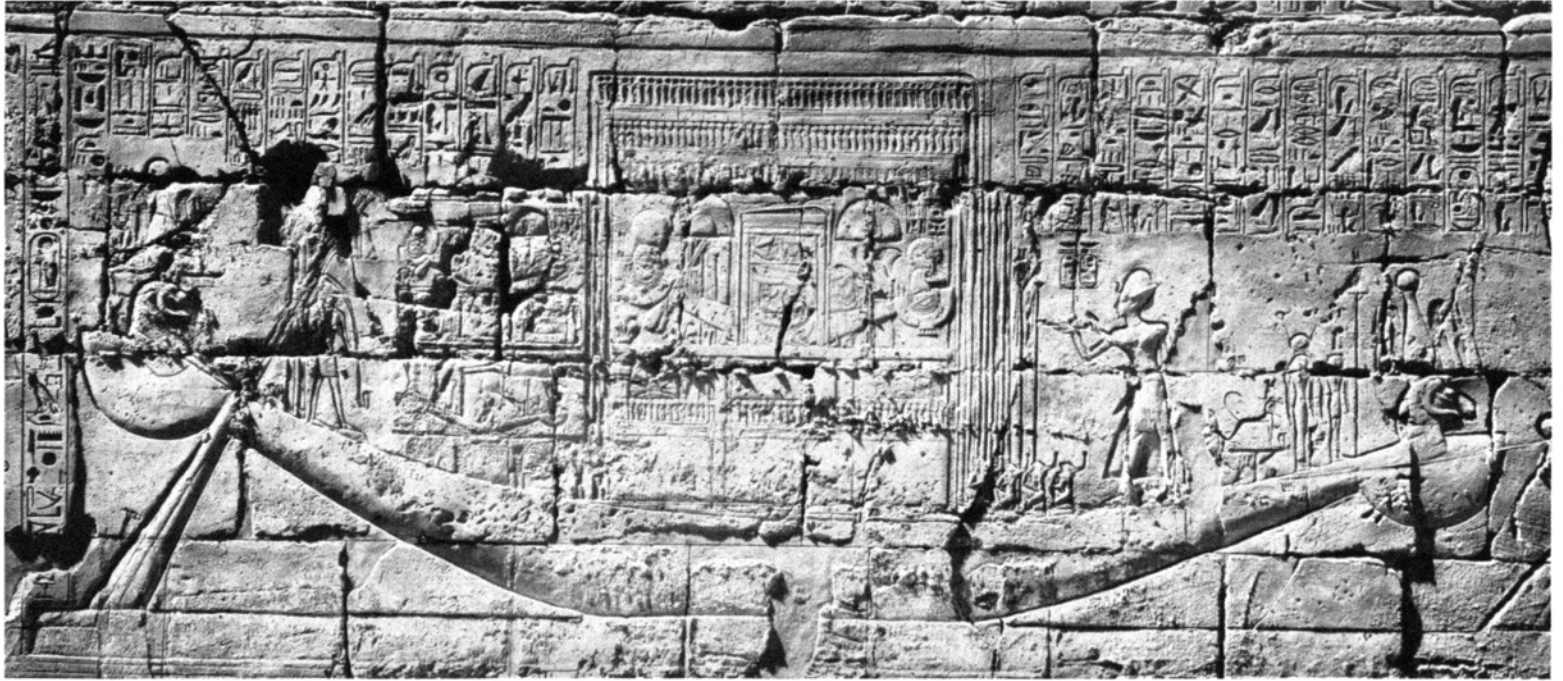


FIG. 16.—The barque of Amon in festival procession, carved originally in bas-relief under Seti I, then converted by Ramses II, probably during his sole reign, to incised relief. The decoration on the shrine still bears the prenomen of Seti I (almost effaced). Karnak, at *k* in Figure 17 A.

in raised hieroglyphs matching the primary style of the relief. The reading of Seti's names is confirmed by the occurrence among the offering cakes on the tray in his hands of three cakes or loaves in the forms of the three unaltered hieroglyphs constituting his prenomen, $Mn-m^{\text{c}}.t-R^{\text{c}}$, which are still plainly visible in the representation.⁶ Secondly, at the time when the bas-relief was converted to the incised type, the three cartouches and the hieroglyphic signs for Seti's names were likewise converted to sunk relief, but with the same reading as before. Finally, in the third stage, Seti I's names were altered to those of Ramses II, with his prenomen in the form $Wsr-m^{\text{c}}.t-R^{\text{c}}-[stp-n-R^{\text{c}}]$.⁷ This bas-relief is ample evidence that Seti I continued on the south tower of the second pylon the same type of decoration with which he covered all the walls of the north aisle of the great hall. Since all the other reliefs on the south tower of the pylon, with one exception, appear never to have contained his cartouches, it is probable that he had scarcely more than begun the decoration of this side of the hall when it was turned over to his son and coregent Ramses II to complete.

§ 84. In the middle of Figure 15 a half-column inscription belonging to the scene at the left likewise contains a cartouche—the prenomen of Ramses II—which passed through three different stages. Owing to the difficulty of interpreting the traces on a photograph, without having access to the original, it is with considerable hesitation that I have concluded that only Ramses' prenomen in this text, not that in the main cartouches of the scene, was represented in each of the three stages: (1) $Wsr-m^{\text{c}}.t-R^{\text{c}}$ in raised hieroglyphs, (2) the same in incised characters, and (3) $Wsr-m^{\text{c}}.t-R^{\text{c}}-stp-n-R^{\text{c}}$ in incised signs. If my reconstruction of the three stages is correct, this cartouche is the only one which I have been able to locate in Karnak or at any other site in which Ramses altered an incised $Wsr-m^{\text{c}}.t-R^{\text{c}}$ to $Wsr-m^{\text{c}}.t-R^{\text{c}}-stp-n-R^{\text{c}}$. The explanation of this striking fact is not easy to reach. One can, however, scarcely avoid the conclusion that this half-column with its three stages of

⁶ Similar cakes appear in the lowest scene on the north jamb of the portal in the original bas-relief of Seti I, in which the cartouches were altered to those of Ramses II as described in § 79.

So far as I am aware, the discovery that this series of bas-reliefs in the lowest register of the south tower of the second pylon was later converted to incised relief was made by Professor Harold H. Nelson, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. What is still more important for this study, however, is my own discovery that not only numerous scenes in the remaining three registers of this structure, but also those in large sections of the south wall as well, were first decorated by Ramses II in bas-relief during the coregency and later converted by him to incised relief, presumably after the beginning of his sole reign.

⁷ The bracketed signs are now lost in a joint, but the spacing of the preserved signs requires the same form of name as in the adjoining scene on the left, which is crossed by the same joint in the wall but in which the signs for $stp-n-R^{\text{c}}$ are preserved.

cutting is in some manner related to Seti I's scene immediately to the right, which exhibits the same phenomena. It appears to me utterly inconceivable that in that representation Ramses II should have retained intentionally his father's name in the name of the Hypostyle Hall ($\text{3h } \textit{\text{Sthy-mr-n-}^{\text{Imn}} m pr }^{\text{Imn}}$) when making the alteration in the style of relief. Indeed, after Seti's death Ramses did actually replace Seti's names with his own, as we have already indicated, and the name of the Hypostyle Hall became $\text{3h } \textit{R}^{\text{c}}\text{-ms-}\textit{\text{sw-mry-}^{\text{Imn}} m pr }^{\text{Imn}}$. I am inclined to the conclusion that the retention of Seti's names in the second stage of that relief was the result of a mistake on the part of the sculptor assigned to the task of converting it into the incised type. Such a mechanical error could easily have been perpetrated by an artisan who suddenly came upon a pair of cartouches which did not contain the familiar raised hieroglyphs of $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}$ and $\textit{R}^{\text{c}}\text{-ms-}\textit{\text{sw-mry-}^{\text{Imn}} m pr }^{\text{Imn}}$ which he had regularly been encountering in his work of alteration. Finding instead the names $\textit{Mn-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}$ and $\textit{\text{Sthy-mr-n-}^{\text{Imn}} m pr }^{\text{Imn}}$, he simply recut them in his new incised characters. After a short interval, perhaps one of days only, a second alteration was made, as soon as the error was detected, in order that the names in this scene, like all the others above and to the south of it, might consistently be those of the living king Ramses II. If the possibility of such an error be admitted, it is perhaps not beyond all reason to suggest that the prenomen in the half-column scene-divider was in a similar manner converted to an incised $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}$ by a sculptor's error and was corrected to $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}\text{-stp-n-R}^{\text{c}}$ as soon as it was noticed.⁸

⁸ Compare the correction of a cartouche at Medinet Habu, also made necessary by a pure blunder, in *Medinet Habu. II. Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (OIP IX [Chicago, 1932]) Pl. 80, col. 7, with comment by John A. Wilson in Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III. The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II* (SAOC No. 12 [Chicago, 1936]) p. 75, n. 7b.

An alternative explanation of the three different stages in these cartouches ought to be mentioned, though it appears unsatisfactory to me as being inconsistent with the evidence reflected in the entire body of material which has been under examination in this study. It would presuppose that Seti I was still alive when his son and coregent assumed the prenomen $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}\text{-stp-n-R}^{\text{c}}$. It would explain how Seti's cartouches could have been converted from raised to sunk relief in the scene at the right in Fig. 15 at the same time when the alteration in the adjoining scene involved the conversion of a raised $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}$ to an incised $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}\text{-stp-n-R}^{\text{c}}$. It might also be regarded as an explanation of the presence of the frieze and upper two scenes on the south end of the north pylon tower, with the name form $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}\text{-stp-n-R}^{\text{c}}$ in bas-relief (see Fig. 14 and § 79), as well as the incised frieze with alternate double cartouches of Seti I and Ramses II $\textit{Wsr-m}^{\text{3c}}\textit{.t-R}^{\text{c}}\text{-stp-n-R}^{\text{c}}$ and the inscription naming both kings over the entrance to room XXVIII at the Qurnah temple (Fig. 13 and § 68). It would not, however, explain why Ramses II employed the short prenomen or that with varying epithets after he began to count his own regnal years, but that with the epithet $\textit{stp-n-R}^{\text{c}}$ only after some eight months from the beginning of his sole reign.

§ 85. If this isolated scene of Seti I represents the work of his latter days,⁹ when Ramses was already actively participating in the decoration of Karnak, we should, as suggested in § 83, expect to find Ramses' earliest reliefs close at hand. A glance at Figure 17A reveals that such is indeed the situation. All the remaining scenes on the south tower of the pylon (including that described in § 87) belong to the first and second periods of the coregency. Those in the lowest register on either side of the Seti relief and a decreasing number of scenes in each of the upper three registers were carved by Ramses in bas-relief with the simple prenomen *Wsr-mꜛ.t-Rꜥ*. But, like Seti's single representation, they were later converted to incised relief, and at the same time the prenomen was recut to contain the additional element *štp-n-Rꜥ*. In many cases it is relatively easy to detect the fact of alteration on a good photograph. On the south doorjamb of the main portal, however, I am unable to determine with certainty from my small-scale photographs whether the scenes were carved in Ramses' first period and later altered (Fig. 17 A, I [III])¹⁰ or were first carved during his sole reign (Fig. 17 A, IV).

§ 86. To the left of this section of the wall there is in each register a series of reliefs which plainly belong to Ramses' second period (Fig. 17 A, II).

⁹ Its position on the lowest register recalls the similar location of the one and only relief on the north side which depicts Ramses II as coregent; cf. § 40. It would of course be later than that scene if, as is most probable, Seti had finished the north half of the Hypostyle Hall before beginning operations on the south side.

¹⁰ The various periods of decoration are designated in Figs. 17 and 23 by Roman numerals intended to convey the facts in each case by a single symbol. Thus "I" applies to the bas-reliefs of Seti I in the north half of the great hall; "I [III]" indicates bas-reliefs of Seti I or of Ramses' first period, later converted to the incised type; "II" represents original incised reliefs of Ramses with prenomen *Wsr-mꜛ.t-Rꜥ*, never later altered in any respect; "IV" is applied to original incised reliefs of Ramses' sole reign which at Karnak bear the long prenomen with *štp-n-Rꜥ*. It is evident that the last group would be indistinguishable from type I [III] if the alterations had been executed with sufficient pains by the ancient sculptor. They were in fact so carelessly made, however, that I am usually relatively certain of the proper classification of each relief. It must be admitted, nevertheless, that I may have erred in spite of my efforts, especially as many of the photographs which I have used in this study are on a very small scale. Chronologically, it is conceivable that the alteration of the bas-reliefs took place simultaneously with the carving of blank walls in the last period; in such an event walls classified as I [III] would have undergone redecoration during the same period as the original decoration of group IV. It has nevertheless seemed convenient to employ the numeral III to designate a distinct operation, especially as I have been unable to determine the chronological relationship of I [III] to IV. While Roeder found evidence for four distinct periods at Beit el-Wali, it will be recalled that his fourth one might have originated later than Ramses II (cf. § 52); thus at Karnak, while the first and second periods may correspond to the same two in the Nubian temple, the third and fourth may denote operations unparalleled at Beit el-Wali but similar to those of the period at Abydos when walls were converted from raised to sunk relief (§ 77).

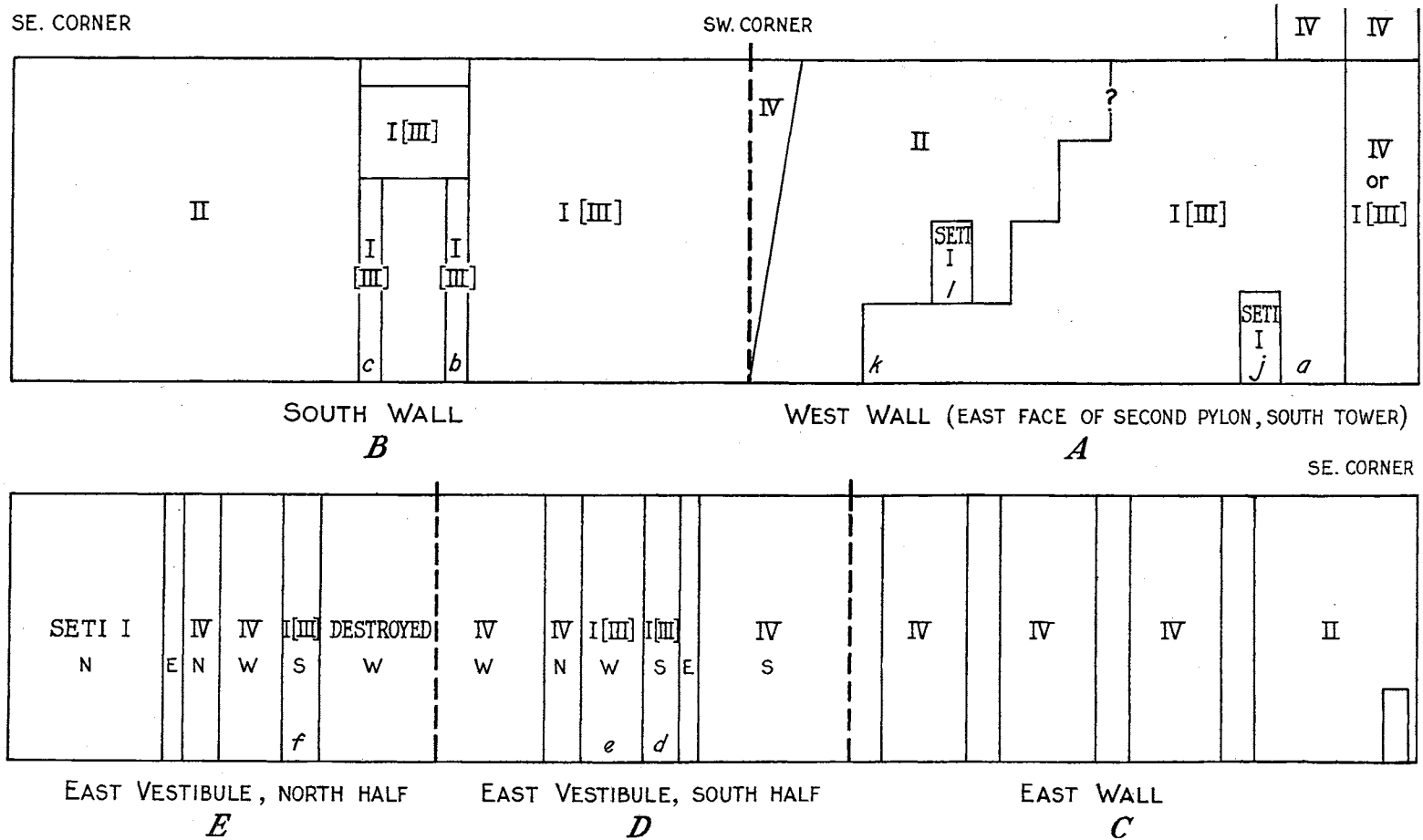


FIG. 17.—Diagram of wall decoration in south half of Hypostyle Hall at Karnak

These were carved to begin with in incised relief, and all the cartouches with prenomen have the original, short form. No alterations were ever made in any of them. The line of demarcation between the scenes of the first and second periods is quite distinct, except in the damaged uppermost register, in which I have been obliged to mark it off arbitrarily. The division line there (marked by an interrogation point) might be a scene or two farther in either direction.

§ 87. Of great interest among the scenes of this second period is one which represents, and bears the cartouches of, Seti I. This is located in the second register (at *l* in Fig. 17 *A*) and is separated from the section belonging to the first period by one relief of Ramses' second period. Since all the evidence which I have gathered from various temples points to the fact that the coregency lasted at least well into the second period, the presence of this scene, with Seti I depicted in incised relief, points to the strong possibility that he was still living when the reliefs of this period were being carved. The absence of the epithet *m^{3c} hrw* after Seti's names, while it cannot in the Hypostyle Hall be accepted as a strictly dependable criterion as to whether Seti is alive or dead (cf. § 92), may here after all reveal that Ramses as a matter of course introduced his father as the living sovereign and senior coregent into the decoration of his own walls of the Hypostyle Hall. This is of course an unprovable hypothesis, owing to the fact that Ramses continued to employ the short prenomen after his accession as sole ruler. Still, the proximity of the scene in question to known reliefs of the first period and to Seti's own bas-relief described in § 83 lends it a reasonable amount of support.

§ 88. Most of the remainder of the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall dates from the coregency or the earliest weeks of Ramses' first regnal year. Greatest in importance and most interesting are the various units which may be distinguished on the south wall, to which we must now give our consideration.

THE SOUTH WALL: SETI I AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS EPITHET *m^{3c} hrw*

§ 89. The south wall falls into two distinct sections (Fig. 17 *B*). The first embraces all the reliefs from the second pylon to and including those on the lintel and both jambs of the central portal in the south wall. Its decoration originated in the first period; all of the scenes were originally carved in raised relief and bore Ramses' simple prenomen *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c*. Later in his reign he converted them into incised relief, and the cartouches were altered to include the additional *stp-n-R^c*. Numerous traces of the original lines are distinctly

preserved, and they are sufficient to prove without doubt that both figures and hieroglyphs were altered.¹¹

§ 90. The remainder of the wall, extending from the east side of the left doorjamb to the southeast corner of the hall, still stands in its original condition. The relief is incised, and the representations are all accompanied by the simple prenomen. According to all the material which has been collected and presented in this study, the coregency of Ramses II with his father during the decoration of this wall, including certain scenes on it which have been cited for years as evidence that Seti I was dead when they were carved, must be accepted as established fact. This alleged evidence must now be considered, in order that we may either justify our thesis or abandon it in spite of the apparent proofs which have been observed on the monuments. If still other proofs turn up in the process of the examination, so much the better for the thesis.

§ 91. In both sections of the south wall, that is, in reliefs from both the first and second periods, the figure of Seti I has repeatedly been introduced into scenes in which his names are accompanied by the epithet *mꜣꜥ hrw*.¹² Now the presence of *mꜣꜥ hrw* after the name of an ancient Egyptian is usually interpreted as a mark that he is no longer living. In the scenes on our wall it must be admitted at once that the epithet was carved in raised hieroglyphs where the other signs in the inscriptions are raised. In other words, the epithet is in every case original, not added after the death of Seti I, as could have been the case if it had been supplied at a later time. Was Seti I then already dead in the first and second periods of Ramses, when we have maintained them to be ruling jointly?

§ 92. The facts are not against us. It is indeed well known that the addition of this epithet to the name of an Egyptian man or woman does not in itself prove that person to have been dead when the inscription was completed. It was regularly employed after the names of the owners of tombs, whether they were royal personages or not; yet it is universally admitted that the ancient Egyptian tombs were customarily prepared for their owners while they were still alive. The epithet in question, then, was applied to individuals in their tombs in anticipation of the long period of time in the future during

¹¹ Note especially the upper register in Fig. 20, where the original raised outlines of the feet and feathered crown of Amon-Re and those of the hieroglyphs above and in front of Amonet are conspicuous.

¹² Only one completely preserved scene with Seti's names lacks the epithet; in another his names and the epithet are not preserved, though it is certain that Seti is represented. These two scenes are located in the lowest register of the west doorjamb of the portal and in the fourth scene from the east in the top register respectively.

which they expected to occupy them in the necropolis subsequent to death. In fact, the words $m^3c \text{ hrw}$ were added not only to the names of the owners of the tombs but to those of all or most of the other individuals who were depicted in banquet, mortuary, or other scenes on the walls. In the tomb of Čanefer at Thebes (No. 158),¹³ during the reign of Ramses II himself, even the *iwn-mwt.f* who is the chief participant in the funeral ritual for Čanefer is labeled $m^3c \text{ hrw}$, though of course, if he had really been dead when the tomb was being decorated, it would have been impossible for him to officiate in that vital role. On the contrary, it was not the practice of the pharaohs to employ the epithet after their names in their own mortuary temples, the principal purpose of which was to carry on their cult after their death. It is thus apparent that the epithet was sometimes added to the names of the living and likewise frequently omitted in the very places where anticipation of death was most likely to come under consideration.

§ 93. How, then, are these facts to be applied to the Karnak reliefs? Since no one has ever attempted to maintain that the temple of Karnak was intended for mortuary purposes, it is unnecessary to refute any argument that the use of the epithet $m^3c \text{ hrw}$ indicates the presence of a strictly mortuary cult of Seti I. I think that he is represented either as a living king who has been deified already in his lifetime or that his figure represents a statue of the king regarded as a god and employed in the temple cult as the statue of a god would be employed. In either case the use of $m^3c \text{ hrw}$ is of indifferent significance. If the cult of the king has been introduced into the temple and if his statue has been placed in its shrine to share the worship and services which are enjoyed by the gods—of whom he is after all one—then it is of no particular consequence to the worshiper or the officiating priest whether the king is living or dead. His ka at least continues to exist, and his ka will receive the benefit of the offerings, the censings, and the lustrations so long as the cult continues to be celebrated. I believe that there are evidences in some of the reliefs in question which point directly to this conclusion. In the first scene at the right, next to the pylon, in the top register (Fig. 18; first period; relief altered from raised to incised style and the prenomen from the simple to the final form), Ramses censes and pours a libation to a standing figure of Seti, who holds crook and flail in one hand and the nh symbol in the other. Seti is accompanied by his ka in human form, bearing on his head the Horus name and holding the human-headed standard, above which are the words, "the living royal ka of the lord of the Two Lands." The emphasis in the scene

¹³ Completely copied by the present writer, but as yet unpublished.

appears thus to be on the ka of Seti I, and it points to the permanence and continuity of the cult, since the "living ka" survives the mortality of the king.¹⁴ Seti's name is mentioned twice in the representation. The double cartouche at the top is followed by *m³c hrw*; this epithet is, however, missing, in spite of the fact that there is ample space for it, after the cartouche at the



FIG. 18.—Ramses II offering libation and incense before his deified father Seti I. Karnak. First scene at right in top register on south wall of Hypostyle Hall.

end of the vertical inscription which constitutes the division between this scene and the next one toward the left.¹⁵ It is clear that the cult of Seti I is

¹⁴ Such scenes are singularly appropriate to the royal mortuary temples and occur there in great frequency.

¹⁵ The inscription, which was also altered from raised to incised hieroglyphs and somewhat corrupted in the process, reads as follows: *wnn nšw.t, nb tš.wy, Wšr-m³c.t-R-štp-n-R^c, h^cw m it.f Imn mī R^c.t(sic) hr wdn ih.t n it.f, ntr nfr, Mn-m³c.t-R^c. In the conversion of the relief the original raised *n* of *Imn* was merely effaced to the level of the background but was never afterward incised. The incorrect *t* below the sun disk is incised over a clearly preserved vertical stroke, also erased, which indicates that the original inscription had *mī R^c*, as would be expected. The first *it.f* coincides with a break in the stone, but there is sufficient of both signs preserved to assure the final reading. I can detect in the photograph no certain traces of the original signs, but it is perfectly clear from parallels on the same wall (e.g. the fourth*

intended, and that the presence or absence of the epithet *mꜣꜥ ḥrw* after his name is immaterial. The cult doubtless began during Seti's lifetime; but it was intended to continue forever, that is, as long as the endowment which provided its income should be available.

§ 94. Two other reliefs of the group converted from the raised to the incised style¹⁶ have a particularly significant bearing on the meaning of the epithet *mꜣꜥ ḥrw* and therefore on the questions whether Seti I was alive or dead when they were carved and in turn whether his cult was initiated before or after that event. The two (Figs. 19-20) are counterparts, located in the lowest register on the left and right doorjambs respectively of the central portal through the south wall. Each depicts Ramses II performing a cult act (pouring a libation and burning incense respectively) to Amon-Re and a king's statue. In each case the statue is identified by a double cartouche, and in each case certain of the cartouches have been twice altered. They originally inclosed the names of Seti I in raised hieroglyphs. Next, when the reliefs were altered, Seti's names also were recut in incised characters. Finally, at some still later time, Seti's two names were replaced by those of Ramses II. Now on the left doorjamb (Fig. 19) Seti's cartouches are accompanied by the words *mꜣꜥ ḥrw ḥr ntr* ^ꜣ, and the epithet obviously applies as definitely to Ramses after his usurpation of the cartouches as it did to his father when it was originally cut in raised hieroglyphs in the first period during Ramses' coregency. On the right jamb, however (Fig. 20), the cartouches were never accompanied by the epithet. If, then, it be granted that Ramses intended to depict himself on the right jamb offering to his own statue, obviously while he was still alive, it may likewise be granted that he intended to represent himself on the left jamb offering to the statue of his living father. The employment of *mꜣꜥ ḥrw* on one side only simply strengthens the conclusion that it occurs in anticipation of eventual death, rather than as evidence that death

scene from the east in the middle register, containing an unaltered incised relief and inscrip-

tions) that the raised inscription read and the stroke were erased and never tor. (Does indeed the careless nature scriptions to be replaced were first If the latter method had been fol- have been able to replace without error each erased hieroglyph with its incised counterpart.) The inscription was, then, intended to read as follows: "The king, lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II, shall appear in [the house of] his father Amon like Re while making offering to his father, the good god Seti I."



and that, like the *n* in *ꜣmn*, the house sign replaced in incised characters by the sculp- of this carving possibly indicate that in- erased as a whole rather than sign by sign? lowed, the sculptor would more probably

¹⁶ They are thus to be assigned to the first period.



FIG. 19.—Ramses II pouring a libation to Amon-Re and the deified Seti I (altered to Ramses II). Karnak, at *c* in Figure 17 *B*.



FIG. 20.—Ramses II burning incense before Amon-Re and the deified Seti I (altered to Ramses II). Karnak, at *b* in Figure 17 *B*.

has already occurred to the king whose statue is depicted.¹⁷ Again, the presence of the unerased and unaltered epithet *m^{3c} hrw* after Prince (or Coregent) Ramses' nomen in one of the raised reliefs in corridor X at Abydos¹⁸ shows him to have been indifferent to its presence or at least to have been content to retain it there throughout his reign.

§ 95. I believe that all the remaining occurrences of Seti I on the south wall fall into the same category as those which I have already mentioned. Most of them depict him standing on the type of platform which is ordinarily reserved for the gods.¹⁹ He is a deified king, and he is *m^{3c} hrw*, because his cult, established before his death, anticipates the event and establishes him in the temple in the role which he is destined to play in the future forever. Since he is usually absent from Thebes even in life—the royal residence had already been removed to Lower Egypt—it is natural that the king should be represented in the cult by a statue which could be transported in all of the periodical festivals of the year.

THE SOUTH WALL: THE BARQUE OF AMON AND THE FEAST OF THE VALLEY

§ 96. Two of these occurrences have such vital bearing on the coregency of Seti I and Ramses II that it is advisable to consider them in some detail. Both are in the lowest register of the south wall. One (Fig. 21), the first scene east of the portal, shows Ramses *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c* in incised relief censuring the sacred barque of Amon, which stands on its pedestal, facing to the right. Behind it are the barques of Mut and Khonsu, each on its pedestal, in sub-registers, with Mut at the bottom. At the left of this scene is a vertical column of hieroglyphs which reads as follows: [*wnn*] *nsw.t nb t3.wy, Mn-m^{3c}.t-R^c, m^{3c} hrw, hr šms itf.f 3Imn m h.t-ntr 3h-Šthy-mr-n-Pth-m-pr-3Imn hr šsp s n w*, "The king, lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatrec, justified of voice, shall follow his father Amon in the temple (named) 'Glorious is Seti-Merenptah in the House of Amon'" Still farther to the left, but facing right and obviously belonging to the scene, is the statue of Seti I, accompanied by his cartouches (cf. § 107).

¹⁷ This conclusion could be vitiated only if it could be shown that Ramses II filled the incised signs of the epithet with plaster when he usurped the cartouches. Unfortunately the state of the wall at this place is exceedingly unfavorable to the preservation of such plaster, if it were ever present. I have not examined the original; thus I cannot testify as to whether any traces of plaster remain in the corners or recesses of the signs.

¹⁸ Cf. § 75; see photograph in G. Steindorff, *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs* (2. Aufl.; Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1926) Abb. 3.

¹⁹ E.g. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, Fig. 146.

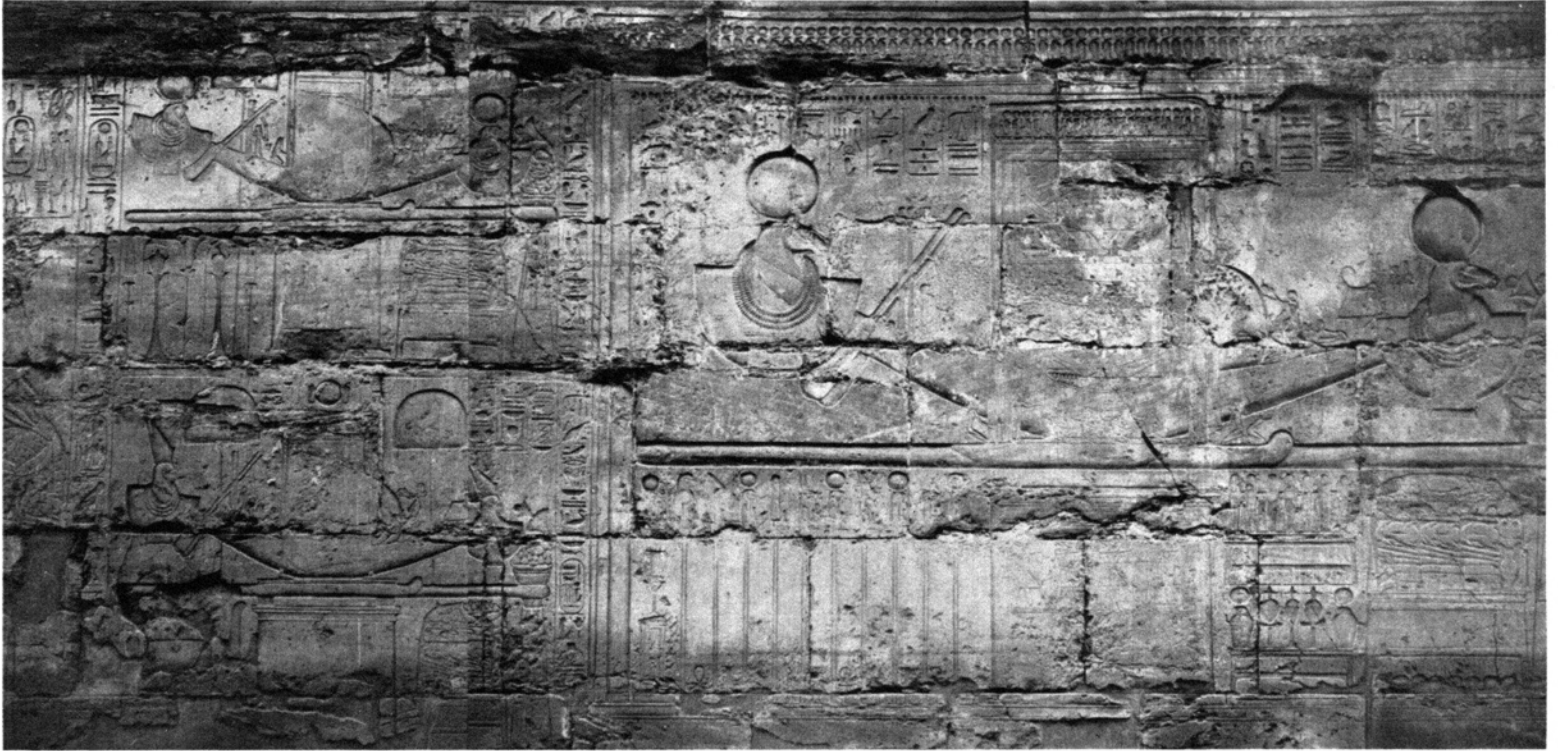


FIG. 21.—Ramses II (out of range at right) censing the barque of Amon on its pedestal, which is followed by the barques of Mut and Khonsu and (out of range at left) by a statue of Seti I. Karnak. Bottom register on south wall of Hypostyle Hall, just east of doorway.

§ 97. The other scene, separated from the last only by the doorjambs and opening of the central portal of the south wall, is located a short distance farther to the right (Fig. 22). It likewise represents the sacred barques of Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, but in this picture they are being carried in procession at the celebration of the Feast of the Valley. The procession is facing left—it is evidently returning to Karnak after the Feast—and the barques are being carried on the shoulders of priests, some of whom are masked to represent the souls of Pe and Nekhen. Both Ramses II and Seti I are represented in the procession. The former appears twice, once as king censuring the barque of Amon (his censer is visible at extreme left), a second time as high priest of Amon, while Seti I marches at the end of the procession, either in person or by proxy and represented by a statue. His figure is accompanied by cartouches and other epithets, to which are appended the words *mꜣꜥ ḥrw ḥr ntr* 𓄎, 𓄎b 𓄎t 𓄎šr. Behind him is a single vertical column of hieroglyphs describing the action and constituting the right margin of the scene: “The king, lord of the Two Lands, lord of making offerings, Menmaatrec (prenomen of Seti I, without *mꜣꜥ ḥrw*), shall follow his father Amon-Re in his beautiful Feast of the Valley, and he (Amon) shall imbue his (Seti’s) body with sweet breath”²⁰ The entire content of this relief, including all figures and inscriptions, was originally carved in bas-relief but later converted to the incised variety, at which time Ramses’ prenomen was expanded to contain the additional epithet *štp-n-R*^c; the relief must accordingly be assigned to the first period.

§ 98. Now, while these two scenes were carved in different styles of relief and consequently at different times or stages in the decoration of the south wall and while the barques are represented in the one scene as standing on their pedestals but in the other as being carried in procession, it is quite certain that both representations depict the same three barques. Since for the purposes of this study we are primarily interested in the barque of Amon, I shall confine my remarks to it. We have in the two reliefs two views of one and the same barque, the sacred barque of Amon of Karnak, which was normally housed in the sanctuary of the barque, located perhaps on the site of the present granite sanctuary of the temple. Owing to the fact that the two scenes face in opposite directions (toward the center of the south wall) we are enabled to see both sides of this most sacred shrine of Karnak. That it is in each case the same barque is evident from the inscription above each, which

²⁰ An ancient repair block was inserted in the wall at this place, and the lower part of Seti’s figure, but not the end of the inscription, was completed.



FIG. 22.—Ramses II (out of range at left) censing the barque of Amon, which is followed in procession at the Feast of the Valley by the barques of Mut and Khonsu and by Seti I or his statue. Ramses appears a second time also, in his capacity of high priest of Amon. Karnak. Bottom register on south wall of Hypostyle Hall, just west of doorway.

consists of a speech placed in the mouth of Amon of Karnak.²¹ As to the barque itself, a comparison of the two representations shows correspondence in every detail, with only those individual differences which one is nearly certain to find in ancient Egyptian drawing. The principal difference, aside from variations in treatment of the shrine, discussed in §§ 102-5, is the presence below this shrine on the left side of the hull of a kneeling figure of the king in front of three jackal-headed figures, also kneeling and like the king with hands in the position of jubilation, symbolic of the souls of Nekhen (Fig. 22),²² while in the corresponding position on the right side of the hull the king is accompanied by three hawk-headed figures, in the same posture, representing the souls of Pe (Fig. 21).²³ These decorative figures are characteristic of the barques of Amon, and each group regularly appears on its respective side of the hull in practically every representation, both at Karnak and at all other temples.

§ 99. If further argument were required to establish these two views as pictures of both sides of one and the same barque, it is necessary only to add that we have no evidence for the existence simultaneously at Karnak of two sacred barques of Amon. Each of the Amon temples possessed its own sanctuary of the god, which consisted of a rectangular room sufficiently large to contain the sacred barque and the small statue of Amon which was housed in its shrine. Other gods were frequently provided with similar sanctuaries, usually easily identifiable by the representation on their walls of the barque upon its pedestal. During religious festivals, when the barque of Amon of Karnak crossed the river to visit the Amon temples on the western margin of the desert, it was either returned at once to its own chapel for protection or housed in temporary quarters unknown to us. In any case, no temple appears to have possessed more than one Amon sanctuary or a sanctuary large enough to house more than one barque.

§ 100. It has been seen that both Seti I and Ramses II are depicted in each of these two scenes and that at least once in each Seti's names are accompanied by the epithet *mꜣ hrw*. Nevertheless the evidence assembled in various temples discussed earlier in this study apparently justifies the conclusion that these two scenes were carved in Ramses' second and first periods respectively, in both of which Seti I was still alive and reigning jointly with his son. Moreover, if the two representations on nearly adjacent wall surfaces really depict both sides of the same barque of Amon, it would be reasonable to suppose

²¹ Inscription cut off at left of Fig. 22: *ḏd mdw in ꜣImn-Rꜥ, nb nꜣw.t ꜥꜣ.wy, ḥnty ꜣIp.t-ꜣw.t*; inscription cut off at right of Fig. 21: *ḏd mdw in ꜣImn-Rꜥ, nb nꜣw.t ꜥꜣ.wy*.

²² Shown in detail in Legrain, *op. cit.* Fig. 133.

²³ *Ibid.* Fig. 139.

that the two scenes are reminiscent of events or episodes in the religious activity of the two coregents not long separated in time. The transition from bas-relief to incised relief in the temple decoration was thus somewhat sudden and does not necessarily imply a long period of inactivity in the temple during which some drastic change of policy occurred.

§ 101. Perhaps some further confirmation of this suggestion may be found by a study of the two sides of the shrine of the barque of Amon (Figs. 21-22) in which the statue of the god was concealed. In accordance with Egyptian custom this shrine was partially enveloped in a sort of curtain or screen embroidered, appliquéed, or otherwise adorned with figures of various divinities and with the hieroglyphic characters which formed the prenomen of the reigning king. The sacred barque itself, as the principal shrine of the god, was richly wrought of gold and precious stones. Owing to its huge value and the deep veneration with which it was regarded, it remained a permanent fixture in the temple sanctuary for a long period of time, extending through the reigns of several kings. But the curtain or drapery with which it was partly decked during festival processions was freshly supplied by each new pharaoh, probably because it was much more quickly and easily fabricated than the barque to which it belonged. Thus in Egyptian temple reliefs it is usually possible to identify the ruling king, even if his names are elsewhere destroyed, by a glance at the divine barque and its decorations.²⁴

§ 102. Turning first to the right side of the shrine (Fig. 21), since, having been originally carved in incised relief, it bears no traces of later alteration, and examining the decoration of the screen (which, as customarily when one relief occurs within another, is carved in bas-relief), we observe the usual two tiers of figures. At the top, on each side and facing the center, is the winged goddess Maat standing on a *mn* hieroglyph and wearing a sun disk (Re) on her head. In each case she is holding in her upraised hand an *nh* sign, while the other is empty (a point which is of no significance here, but of great importance when compared with the decoration of the lower tier and that of the other side of the shrine). In this tier of decoration we thus have two identical occurrences of Seti I's prenomen, *Mn-m³c.t-Rc*; with the other figures of the group we are not concerned. The lower tier likewise contains three groups, and here all of them are highly significant. At either side, facing the center, a

²⁴ That the shrine containing the divine image was an integral part of the barque seems quite probable from study of the temple reliefs; but it is difficult, if not impossible, in view of the lack of actual surviving examples, to determine from the representations just what parts of the whole were permanent and whether others could be easily dismantled and replaced at will. This point has particular significance with reference to the decorative frieze immediately beneath the roof of the shrine in Figs. 21-22.

winged goddess, identified as Maat by the feather on her head, is seated upon her feet, with legs bent at the knee, on top of the *mn* hieroglyph, an *nh* sign in her upraised hand, while the object in the other is destroyed beyond certain recognition. In the center, between these two figures of Maat and facing toward the front of the barque, is a hawk-headed god with the sun disk on his head in the normal form of the hieroglyph denoting the god Re; he too is seated on the *mn* hieroglyph, while in his hand the god holds the symbols for *wšr* and *m³.t*, the former somewhat damaged but plainly recognizable. It is obvious that the central group is a writing of the combined prenomina *Mn-m³.t-R^c* and *Wšr-m³.t-R^c* of Seti I and Ramses II. The destroyed object in the lower hand of Maat on either side was probably a *wšr*, in which case those two groups likewise combined the prenomina of both kings, though the name of Re must be supplied from the central group. The presence of the preserved *wšr* in the central group in a raised detail of bas-relief is of the utmost importance, since the scene as a whole belongs to the incised relief of the second period and there is no evidence that I can find from a careful study of the photograph (unfortunately, not of the original) that there was ever any alteration of any part of the relief, including this *wšr* sign in Maat's hand.

§ 103. There is still another detail of this side of the shrine which must be observed before turning to the other. It is the incised frieze at the very top, just under the roof, which consists of alternate groups of three hieroglyphic signs each of which is repeated ten times. First comes the figure of a god with the head of a hawk, wearing the sun disk on his head and seated on the *mn* hieroglyph, while he holds the *m³.t* sign in his hand. Like the previously described decoration on the side of the shrine, this group forms Seti I's prenomen *Mn-m³.t-R^c*. Alternating with it is the second group, consisting of a cobra on the "channel" sign *mr* and likewise wearing the sun disk on the head, the reading of which is not clear to me.²⁵

§ 104. Turning now to the left side of the shrine of the Amon barque (Fig. 22), we find the frieze at the top particularly significant. Like the other, it is cut in incised relief, though it would originally have been executed as a bas-relief (cf. for example the corresponding detail in Fig. 8), since the entire scene, with the exception of certain details, was converted from one type to the other. Here too there are twenty groups of three signs each, alternating between the hawk-headed god seated on the *mn* sign²⁶ with the sun disk on

²⁵ Could it be *mr m³.t R^c*, "beloved of Maat and Re," after the analogy of Hatshepsut's prenomen in the 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu II* [OIP XLI] p. 12 and Figs. 11-12)?

²⁶ The draughtsmen do not appear to have been cut; unless they were executed in paint, their absence may be presented as an argument that Ramses attempted to suppress his father's prenomen when converting the relief.

his head and a *wšr* in his hand, and a cobra poised on the *mr* sign and wearing the sun disk. The reading of these two groups thus constitutes the combined prenomina *Mn-m³.t-R* and *Wšr-m³.t-R* of the coregents, if one may assume the cobra to signify *m³.t* as at Medinet Habu,²⁷ with perhaps the additional epithet *mr R*, "beloved of Re."

§ 105. The upper tier of decoration on the left side of the shrine is similar to that of the opposite side, already described, with the one exception that the goddess Maat on either side is holding in her upraised hand the *wšr* sign instead of the *nh*. Here, then, the decoration combines the prenomina of both kings, *Mn-m³.t-R* (Maat stands on the *mn*, with the disk of Re on her head) and *Wšr-m³.t-R* (Maat, wearing the disk on her head, holds *wšr* in her hand). The lower band also is very similar to the corresponding one on the right side of the shrine. A winged Maat with feather on her head is seated on the *mn* at each side; the Maat at left holds an *nh* sign in her upraised hand, while the contents of the other are destroyed. The other Maat figure grasps a *wšr* in her upraised hand and a combination of *wšs*, *dd*, and *nh* in the other. Facing forward between the two Maat goddesses is a representation of Re precisely like the counterpart on the other side of the shrine, with well preserved symbols of *wšr* and *m³.t* in his hand. Thus Seti and Ramses share the honors of this side of the shrine in the same manner as before.

§ 106. The facts presented in these two reliefs can scarcely be considered doubtful or ambiguous in their significance. In each relief Seti I's cartouches occur both with and without the epithet *m³ hrw*. This would give rise to some doubt as to whether he was alive or dead when the reliefs were carved, were it not for the fact that the inscription of Ramses' second period quoted in § 96 uses the epithet in the same column with a reference to the name of the Hypostyle Hall which still contains the nomen of Seti as a part of it. It has already been pointed out that this would have been quite impossible if the inscription had been carved after Seti's death, when Ramses was sole ruler; for then he would have substituted, and actually did substitute elsewhere, his own nomen Ramses-Meriamon in the name of the great hall (cf. § 83). It is thus evident that Seti is still alive and able to command recognition of his position as king. At the same time the principal cartouches in the inscriptions of the two reliefs, as well as the figure of the dominating royal personage participating in them, belong to Ramses II. Then, above all, the decoration on the sides of the shrine of the sacred barque of Amon, probably (as stated in § 101) executed on a gorgeously designed screen or drapery used only on festive occasions, and in the frieze above, with the combined prenomina of both kings, is conclusive testimony that they were sharing the royal power when the reliefs

²⁷ Hölscher, *loc. cit.*

were carved. This evidence in the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak is in complete accordance with what has been cited in the other temples.

§ 107. It is in my opinion of some importance that the decoration of the left side of the shrine (Fig. 22), which passed through the conversion from raised to sunk relief, remained quite unchanged in design (unless the *mn* of the frieze was suppressed; cf. § 104) despite the repeated occurrence of Seti's prenomen. Ramses' supposed predilection for the usurpation of others' cartouches on the monuments would have led us to expect the erasure of Seti's decoration and its replacement with his own in reliefs which were undergoing other drastic alterations. The exceedingly shallow nature of this particular decoration would have markedly facilitated such an alteration, had it been considered desirable by Ramses II. It is my opinion, based on years of careful study of Egyptian reliefs in the original, that it could have been accomplished with little possibility of detection. Why, then, was it not done? Seti's name was retained on this and other barques carved during the coregency for the simple reason that they were intended to memorialize the coregency and certain important events which transpired during that period. The celebration of the annual Feast of the Valley as depicted on the south wall of the great hall (Fig. 22) may well have been the first occasion on which the young coregent Ramses accompanied the procession on its tour of the temples of western Thebes while performing the duties of high priest of Amon. His father Seti I participated in the feast either in person, if he "followed his father Amon-Re in his beautiful Feast of the Valley" (cf. § 97) as king, or by proxy, if the figure at the end of the procession is a statue. If the latter interpretation is to be accepted, it is possible that Seti was absent from Thebes or even from Egypt, perhaps on a military campaign, at the time of the feast. I am inclined to believe that the figure in the procession is a statue, owing to the undoubted presence of one²⁸ in the companion scene which shows the three sacred barques on their pedestals. There the statue of Seti I is standing on the customary platform, with a loaded offering table in front of it; both statue and table stand on a typical sledge with up-turned runner. When it is remembered that in the scene of Figure 22 the existing lower details of Seti's figure and of the feet and ends of the garments of the priests in front of him are all carved on much later repair blocks, it cannot be held as impossible that here too Seti had originally been depicted as standing on a platform and sledge, just as in the counterpart east of the doorway. If, as I have suggested, the scene depicts Ramses early in his career as coregent, when for the first time he acted as high priest of Amon at the celebration of a feast, the event could without doubt have been considered sufficiently impor-

²⁸ Too far to the east (left) to be shown in Fig. 21.

tant by him to warrant its inclusion in the reliefs of his side of the great hall. It was perhaps only slightly less important to him than his coronation as co-regent which is depicted in the Qurnah temple (§ 44), for, like the latter, it marked an epoch in his youthful career. It accordingly became the memorial, proudly retained in all its details throughout the coregency and the sixty-seven years of his sole reign, of his first participation in the Feast of the Valley in the dual role of pharaoh and high priest of Amon.

THE SOUTH WALL: A CHRONOLOGICAL OBSERVATION

§ 108. Sethe totally misunderstood this relief (Fig. 22) and therefore mistakenly used it as evidence for his reconstruction of the first year of Ramses' reign, which despite various serious errors is chronologically sound except in so far as it assigns the entire period of the coregency to Ramses' first regnal year. Not only did Sethe not see the implications of the material in relation to the coregency, but he definitely disbelieved in the fact of the coregency.²⁹

§ 109. In order to clear the record, I believe it advisable to discuss at some length Sethe's assumptions and arguments³⁰ and to dispose of the conclusions which he based on his false premises. On the basis of the great Abydos inscription (cf. § 43) it has been supposed that one of Ramses II's first acts after succeeding his father was to proceed up the river to Thebes in order to celebrate in person the Feast of Opet, which occurred at that time in the latter part of the 2d month of *3ḫ.t.*³¹ It was on his return downstream from this trip that he paid a visit to Abydos in order, among other things, to appoint *Nb-wnn.f* to the office of high priest of Amon at Karnak. As evidence for Ramses' participation in this particular celebration of the Feast of Opet—a participation alleged to be necessary because the high priesthood was vacant at the time—Sethe cited the very representation of the Feast of the Valley which we have been discussing (§ 97). This false identification apparently came about because Sethe's material on the Karnak relief was incomplete. He assumed the scene to depict the Feast of Opet because he did not observe, probably through lack of a copy, that the vertical inscription at the right specifically described the event as the Feast of the Valley. This was his first and fundamental error, and unfortunately it became one of the premises which prejudiced his mind against the correct use of other material. Thus Sethe concluded that the Karnak relief

²⁹ K. Sethe, "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs," *ÄZ* LXII (1927) 110–14; see p. 111.

³⁰ Cf. also the same author, "Die Berufung eines Hohenpriesters des Amon unter Ramses II.," *ÄZ* XLIV (1907) 30–35.

³¹ Cf. *ibid.* p. 30; L. Borchardt in *ÄZ* LXVII (1931) 29, n. 5; A. H. Gardiner in *ÄZ* XLIII (1906) 144; Breasted, *Ancient Records* III, § 261, note c.

depicted an event which occurred during the latter part of the second month of 3h.t in year 1 of Ramses II. Actually it depicts a feast which occurred at the full moon of the second month of šmw in an undesignated year during the coregency. The representation must obviously be completely dissociated from the Feast of Opet mentioned in the Abydos inscription and in the tomb of *Nb-wnn.f*.

§ 110. Both of these inscriptions, in fact, were misused by Sethe in his attempt to reconstruct the events. Finding the date of the Abydos inscription to be year 1, 3d month of 3h.t , 23d day,³² he simply emended the text so as to read "2d month of 3h.t ," possibly under the influence of the date in the tomb of *Nb-wnn.f*. Thus he attained a date which fell during the Feast of Opet, which was of course what he desired.³³ Sethe's effort to date the inscription in the tomb of *Nb-wnn.f* to the same festival is not less misdirected. For the date is not, as he read it, year 1, 3d month of 3h.t , first day, but rather an undesignated day of the 3d month of 3h.t . The space for the precise day of the month intended was left blank.³⁴ to be filled in later, and the presence of this space is definitely against Sethe's proposal to read "first day of the month."³⁵ In other words, Sethe's effort to identify the subject of the Karnak relief with the Feast of Opet and to fortify the identification with three dated inscriptions is quite futile. His "Feast of Opet" is really the Feast of the Valley. Of his three dates falling within the period of the Opet Feast, one must be given up altogether, the second may possibly fall out as well, and only one is left. It is the one at Abu Simbel; it may coincidentally have fallen within the limits of that feast, but it certainly has no connection with it. In fact, if the Abu Simbel date should refer to an event at this temple in which Ramses II participated,³⁶ then

³² The date has been recut on the wall, as is clearly shown in Mariette, *Abydos* I, Pl. 6, col. 26; I have verified his reading from a clear photograph. Sethe himself has reproduced the primary and secondary readings correctly in *ÄZ* XLIV 35, n. 1; the alteration apparently corrected an abnormal writing of the date, but it certainly did not change the number of the month from "3" to "2."

³³ *ÄZ* LXII 112.

³⁴ Cf. Borchardt in *ÄZ* LXVII 29, n. 5, also Pls. I and II, esp. the latter, in which the blank for the day is clearly visible.

³⁵ Incidentally, Borchardt for reasons of his own suggests (*ibid.*) that the date must have fallen between the 27th and the 30th of the month; he likewise rejects Sethe's emendation of the Abydos date. While I do not agree with Borchardt's chronological reconstruction of Ramses II's reign (*Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte" II [Kairo, 1935] 43, 76 f., 122), this is a convenient opportunity to point out how ancient records are accepted, rejected, or altered by scholars in accordance with what they wish to believe!

³⁶ It has been considered, entirely without foundation, to indicate the date on which the temple was begun; cf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III 34; Borchardt, *op. cit.* p. 50, but see n. 8.

it would be quite impossible for him to have been present at Thebes five hundred miles down the Nile during the celebration of the Feast of Opet. But it would be absurd to suggest that any dated inscription indicates the presence of the king at the time and place mentioned, unless the text explicitly states him to have been present. The event recorded at Abu Simbel is unknown to us. It fell within the Feast of Opet,³⁷ at which time, according to the inscription in the tomb of *Nb-wnn.f*, Ramses was certainly at Karnak. For in the latter we are informed that "his majesty went north from the Southern City, having(?) celebrated the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, . . . at his beautiful feast of Opet."³⁸

§ 111. But Sethe's application of the Karnak relief and the dated inscriptions from Ramses' first year was wrong not only from a chronological aspect but also in certain other respects. That Ramses should have participated as high priest in the celebration of the Feast of Opet is interpreted by him as an indication that the high priesthood was vacant on the occasion of the young king's visit to Karnak.³⁹ That he appointed *Nb-wnn.f* to that office on his return from Thebes appeared to Sethe to be further proof for his contention. But it is evident that Ramses' participation in the feast was quite independent of whether the high priesthood possessed or lacked an incumbent. Sethe's proof that Ramses had participated at the Opet Feast in the role of high priest was our relief which actually depicts him performing that office in the Feast of the Valley. Was, then, the high priesthood vacant for a considerable period of time, including a portion of the coregency? Or is our evidence to be construed as pointing to several different vacancies? Sethe simply lost sight of the fact that the Egyptian king, by virtue of his pharaonic office, was himself the true high priest of his "father" the King of the Gods and would naturally perform the office whenever he was present at a religious festival and desired to do so. On such an occasion the regular incumbent of the high priesthood merely stepped into the background or possibly participated in the festival in an inferior role.⁴⁰ Ramses' appointment of *Nb-wnn.f* proves only that there was a

³⁷ I cannot feel any justification for Borchardt's confident translation of the words *m ip.[t]*—the restoration is his—as "im Mondmonat Paophi" after the Abu Simbel date (Borchardt, *op. cit.* p. 50); the context is too badly damaged to venture a translation. Besides, it appears inconceivable that the Egyptian would add the words "in the month Paophi" immediately after a date in the normal form, "year 1, 2d month of ³*h.t.*, 25th day." A much more natural reference would have been to an occurrence "in the beautiful Feast of Opet" (*m hb nfr n ip.t*), which could by no means be fitted to the existing traces at Abu Simbel. The same objection may be made to his similar treatment of the broken context of the date in the dedicatory inscription at Abydos (*ibid.*).

³⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records* III, § 256.

³⁹ Sethe, "Ramses II. als 'erster Prophet des Amun,'" *ÄZ* LVIII (1923) 54.

⁴⁰ Cf. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, p. 202.

vacancy when the appointment was made. Reliefs showing the king as high priest have absolutely no bearing on the status of the high priesthood.

§ 112. If Sethe was wrong in the date and significance which he attached to the Karnak relief of the Feast of the Valley, he did at least correctly connect it with the early career of Ramses II. Since we now know that all the reliefs of the first and some at least of the second period at Karnak must be assigned to the coregency with Seti I, it may be useful to review Sethe's chronological data, to put the meager gleanings into proper order, and to add whatever supplementary items we can. It is natural to begin with the earliest dated material of a king's reign when his chronology is being studied. But where may one start with such a king as Ramses II, who is known to have shared the rule with his father for a considerable period before dating monuments in his own reign? No precise chronological results can be obtained, of course, but I believe nevertheless that it is possible to point out at least one more or less exact date which certainly increases the length of Ramses' pharaonic authority beyond the sixty-seven years officially assigned to him. This is found in the now familiar Feast of the Valley at Karnak, which, as I have already stated, occurred on the full moon of the 2d month of *šmw* of the Egyptian calendar. Since the relief in which it occurs was originally carved in Ramses' first period, it is evident that it dates from the earlier period of the coregency, as was clearly demonstrated by the facts in all the temples studied. But these same temples also reveal that there were probably only slightly fewer reliefs carved in the second than in the first period;⁴¹ in the Hypostyle Hall really vast surfaces were decorated in each of them. I feel that it is not unsafe to assume that several years may have been occupied by each of the first two periods of sculpture. Now the scene with the Feast of the Valley occurs in the lowest register of a wall section of the first period. I have offered reason for believing that in the north half of the great hall the lowest register was the latest to be carved (§ 38); on this side the problem is not so easily solved: the lowest register, with the Feast of the Valley, might be one of the earliest. Thus the coregent Ramses may have taken the role of high priest of Amon at the celebration of the Feast of the Valley on the full moon of the 2d month of *šmw* in any one of a number of years before as sole king he began to date his reign with year 1. If my interpretation of the decoration of the Amon barque (§ 107) is correct, the ceremony depicted (Fig. 22) may have occurred only a few months after Ramses' coronation as coregent (cf. § 114), perhaps from five to ten years before his accession (cf. §§ 43 and 61), or in almost any subsequent year. During this time he was doubtless traveling up and down the Nile inspecting building operations at half a dozen

⁴¹ See §§ 68, 71, 127; Beit el-Wali alone of all the temples studied had a preponderant number of bas-reliefs which Roeder could assign to the first period.

temple sites, quite in accordance with the claims of the Kubbān stela (§ 43), or embarking on various military campaigns in Syria, Libya, or Nubia, as suggested in the Beit el-Wali reliefs (§§ 53-60). Somewhere he came in contact with influences which caused him to break with the artistic convention followed by his predecessors and even by his own father, so that suddenly, perhaps on his visit to each of the temple sites, during his career as coregent he ordered the abandonment of bas-relief as a type of wall decoration and the employment of incised relief instead. Then, perhaps a couple of years later, his father Seti I died suddenly in the prime of life, and it was necessary for the coregent to take over the full duties of the pharaonic rank. He began to date his inscriptions on unfinished monuments by his own regnal year. Nevertheless, at this time he had not as yet fully decided upon his official throne name. For years he had been employing in the cartouche of the prenomen the familiar *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ*, and it was carved in hundreds of different reliefs and inscriptions at various sites throughout the valley of the Nile and elsewhere. And now, in the first days after his accession to the "throne of Horus," Ramses was content to continue this form of his name, though the addition of one or the other of several different epithets in the Silsilah inscription indicates him to have been reaching out undecidedly toward some ultimate combination to become his official royal prenomen.

§ 113. Sethe in his refusal to admit the possibility of a coregency had considerable difficulty in explaining the large number of monuments inscribed by Ramses with the early forms of the prenomen in the few months at the beginning of the reign to which that scholar assigned their employment. He was obliged to assume that numerous temples were complete except for their inscriptions at the death of Seti I, and that Ramses consequently had a vast amount of blank wall surface on which to begin the work of decoration. It is an explanation which sounds plausible enough until one considers the building methods of the Egyptians and the probability that the process of decoration was not necessarily distinctly separated from that of building and dressing the walls (cf. §§ 35-37). Nevertheless, certain chronological conclusions reached by Sethe offer a sound basis for the study of Ramses' first year, and they deserve to be reviewed here because of their bearing on the problem of the coregency. For example, he pointed out that the very first dated monument in Ramses' first year has hitherto been a stumbling block to the chronological consideration of Ramses' reign, owing to the fact that the date has generally been assumed to be year 20 instead of year 1. The monument in question,⁴² found at Gizah, bears the simple prenomen *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* in an inscription beginning

⁴² U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 114, Abb. 167; cf. Sethe's discussion in *ÄZ* LXII 112.

with a date and continuing with the official protocol of Ramses II. Both the regnal year and the number of the month are lost, but plainly preserved are two of the signs which spell out the season name *pr.t* and the numeral 20 which indicates the day of the month. Sethe rightly concluded that the only regnal year of Ramses to which a dated inscription with $W\acute{s}r-m^{\mathfrak{Z}c}.t-R^c$ could be assigned is year 1; he was likewise correct in believing that this monument ought to be placed very early in Ramses' first year. In fact, he went on to prove that such was the situation in the following manner. The Silsilah inscription, dated year 1, 3d month of *šmw*, 10th day, contains the prenomen with four different epithets, all of which were anterior to the ultimate *stp-n-R^c* adopted later in the reign (§ 46). The mere fact that season *šmw* follows *pr.t* in the Egyptian calendar was Sethe's reason for concluding that the prenomen with varying epithets was a later development than the simple $W\acute{s}r-m^{\mathfrak{Z}c}.t-R^c$. We have already shown in § 46 that the two forms occur elsewhere in a single inscription and that they are therefore contemporaneous.

§ 114. The next step in Sethe's argument involves the three dates already mentioned (§ 110), in the 2d and 3d months of season $\mathfrak{Z}h.t$. These were misused by him in his effort to connect all of them with the Feast of Opet. The fact, however, that all three of them contain the form of the prenomen with *stp-n-R^c* argued, according to Sethe, that this particular season of $\mathfrak{Z}h.t$, which is really the first of the Egyptian calendar, must have followed the *pr.t* and *šmw* of the other dated inscriptions of year 1, because both of the latter contained forms of the prenomen known to be earlier than $W\acute{s}r-m^{\mathfrak{Z}c}.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c$. This is sound reasoning; but it would collapse if it could be shown that all three of the inscriptions in season $\mathfrak{Z}h.t$ of year 1 were dated after the events, with the employment of the form of the prenomen current at the time of writing. Whether this is true or not,⁴³ Sethe was able to produce further evidence from a later period in the reign to show that the transition from one regnal year to the next did not occur between the 18th day of the 3d month of $\mathfrak{Z}h.t$ (or *šmw*, if the unusual writing $\overline{\Delta O}$ is to be read thus) and the 8th day of the 2d month of *pr.t*.⁴⁴ The beginning of Ramses' reign must, then, have fallen between the 8th day of the 2d month of *pr.t* and the 20th day of the 4th month of *pr.t* (the latest possible date of the Gizah inscription of year 1 with $W\acute{s}r-m^{\mathfrak{Z}c}.t-R^c$); narrowing it down still further, it may have fallen between the 8th day of the 2d month of *pr.t* and

⁴³ While it must be admitted that it could be true in all three of them, the very fact that there are three, each at a different site, may be sufficient reason to take the combinations of dates and prenomen at their face values. How many monuments may we assume to have been dated anachronistically?

⁴⁴ *ÄZ* LXII 113.

the first day of the 3d month, since the calendar on the ceiling of the Ramesseum begins, strangely enough, not with the first month of the calendar year but with the 3d month of *pr.t*—a fact which in connection with all the other chronological data may well indicate that the Ramesseum calendar begins with the first complete month (the 3d of *pr.t*) after Ramses' accession.⁴⁵ The chronology of the first year could then be summarized as follows:

Between 2d month of <i>pr.t</i> , 8th day, and 3d month of <i>pr.t</i> , 1st day	Ramses' accession
2d, 3d, or 4th month of <i>pr.t</i> , 20th day	Gizah monument
3d month of <i>šmw</i> , 10th day	Silsilah inscription
2d month of <i>ḥ.t</i> , 25th day	Abu Simbel text
3d month of <i>ḥ.t</i> , 23rd day	Abydos dedication text
3d month of <i>ḥ.t</i> , ? day	<i>Nb-wnn.f</i> tomb inscription.

Thus from the beginning of Ramses' sole reign, approximately in the 2d month of *pr.t*, there is an interval of but eight months until the first date (Abu Simbel text) on which he is known no longer to have employed the prenomen *Wšr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* but to have abandoned it in favor of *Wšr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ-štp-n-Rꜥ*. During that time how many monuments or wall surfaces in monuments could he have decorated and supplied with the short prenomen or its variant? The question is unanswerable, of course, especially without data on the number of men employed in the preparation of a monument. Yet we know that in his eighth year it required 363 days to convert a mammoth block of stone into a colossus of the king for the temple of Heliopolis;⁴⁶ hence we should be cautious about assuming that too much progress could be made in stone-cutting operations in such a short period.⁴⁷

§ 115. Had Sethe observed that the Karnak festival scene which he identified with the Feast of Opet really depicted the Feast of the Valley, he would doubtless have fitted it into his chronological scheme by placing it in Ramses' second or a still later year, since the date of the Feast of the Valley falls on the new moon of the 2d month of *šmw*, at which time in the first year Ramses was still employing the simple prenomen. For it will be remembered that this scene as it now stands is carved in incised relief and contains the prenomen of Ramses in the long form. But when it is recalled that the relief and the prenomen were both altered, that they date from the first period, in which the characteristic features were bas-relief and the short prenomen, must we grant that the scene really ought to be inserted as the third item in our table of dates

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *ÄZ* LXII 113; Ahmed-Bey Kamal, "Stèle de l'an VIII de Ramsès II," *Rec. de trav. XXX* (1908) 213-18.

⁴⁷ But see §§ 34 and 37.

in the preceding section? That is where Sethe would have placed it on the basis of the prenomen $Wsr-m^3.t-R^c$ alone, had he known that this form of the name had originally been carved on the wall. But to place it there would involve two assumptions: (1) that in Ramses' first year he was still carving bas-reliefs with the short prenomen and (2) that in wall sculptures originating in his sole reign he was depicting the sacred barque of Amon covered with a curtain which had been designed in recognition of the coregency. Of these two propositions, we have not the slightest evidence for the former; the latter is equally improbable, for Ramses II was not the sort to share his pharaonic glory with his father a day longer than the facts required. Even if, for reasons of convenience, he was obliged in an actual religious procession to employ the curtain with both prenomina, there is a strong probability that his predecessor's name would be eliminated when the event was recorded for all time in stone. That the coregency is reflected in the decoration of the curtain, both in the original bas-relief of the first period and in the work of the second period, when the relief was recut and any desirable alterations could have been made in the curtain as well,⁴⁸ surely has no significance unless it points to an event in Ramses' career of which he was proud to boast in later times. Thus in my opinion it must be maintained that this bas-relief can most easily be understood if, like all the others of its type, it was executed in the first period during the lifetime of Seti I, while Ramses was coregent.

§ 116. If such were the case, the presence of the epithet $m^3 hrw$ after one occurrence of Seti's cartouches in the scene and its omission after the other (cf. § 97) demonstrate the indifference with which the epithet was regarded in the Karnak reliefs. The young coregent Ramses was at this period in charge of the building activities in the Hypostyle Hall. When the full moon of the 2d month of $šmw$ occurred and the Feast of the Valley was to be celebrated, Ramses participated in the festival as high priest. At the same time he may have initiated the permanent cult of his father, who as a divine being was represented in the procession by a statue which was intended on this occasion and on every future repetition of the annual feast to "follow his father Amon-Re in his beautiful Feast of the Valley." Ramses thus even before he came to the throne constituted his father one of the gods of the realm. The employment of $m^3 hrw$ after Seti's names was merely anticipatory of the type of participation in the feast by Seti I which must of necessity occur throughout the reign of his son and successor in every future Feast of the Valley, when death should have intervened to prevent his following the sacred barque in person.

⁴⁸ It should not be forgotten that this curtain itself was not altered to incised relief, as it is a detail which was conventionally rendered in bas-relief.

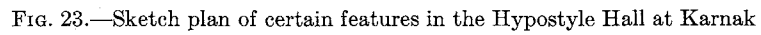
PROBLEMS OF THE CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION
OF THE SOUTH AISLE

§ 117. Further reliefs from both the first and second periods of Ramses II are preserved in the eastern part of the great hall. Here likewise he regularly altered the bas-reliefs of the first period to incised scenes and invariably extended the prenomen $W\dot{s}r-m\dot{s}.t-R^c$ to the longer form with $\dot{s}tp-n-R^c$. Since these scenes represent the earliest type of relief carved by Ramses, one might expect them to occur on wall surfaces relatively close to those which were decorated by his father. Such is indeed the situation. The only ones which I have been able to assign with certainty to the first period⁴⁹ are located on the vestibule wall surface marked *f* in Figures 17 *E* and 23. The north walls of this vestibule bear reliefs either of Seti I or of Ramses II with long prenomen (Fig. 17 *E*); all the other walls, so far as they are preserved, were decorated by Ramses, but my photographs are not large enough to show with certainty whether alterations were made in the reliefs on the west faces. The niches for flagstaves divide the east wall of the south half of the hall (Fig. 17 *C*) into four units, each of which is really a stone mantle erected by Ramses in front of the pylon of Amenhotep III. The largest of these units, extending from the south niche to the south wall, contains incised scenes with $W\dot{s}r-m\dot{s}.t-R^c$; they must therefore be attributed to the second period, during the coregency or, at latest, the early months of year 1. The other three units appear all to have been completed later in the reign, for they bear no traces known to me of having been altered but are incised and bear the long form of the prenomen.

§ 118. So far as I know, there remains yet another group of reliefs in the great hall in which both the type of sculpture and Ramses' prenomen underwent alteration. They occur on the northernmost row of small columns in the south half, next to the big columns, and on the two rows flanking the transverse axis which leads to the south entrance (Fig. 23). All these columns were originally decorated with bas-reliefs on the abaci, the capitals, and the shafts. Those on the shafts comprised a ring of cartouches just below the capitals, a single scene facing one or the other of the axes, and the usual papyrus motive at the base. Later, after the beginning of Ramses' sole reign, the cartouches on the abaci, which had contained the prenomen with varying epithets, and the scenes were altered to incised relief, with the prenomen $W\dot{s}r-m\dot{s}.t-R^c-\dot{s}tp-n-R^c$. The remainder of the column decoration was left unaltered.⁵⁰ It has already

⁴⁹ The photographs of these walls are on a relatively small scale.

⁵⁰ The columns acquired extensive additional decoration in later dynasties, but in the beginning they were much plainer and more dignified. I owe the material on the column decoration to Dr. Nims and Professor Nelson, who together collected it for studies of another character which are being pursued by Professor Nelson.



been demonstrated how the abacus inscriptions, along with similar ones on the under sides of certain architrave blocks, date the prenomen with varying epithets to the same period as the simple form *Wsr-m3̄.t-R̄*, just as in the Qurnah temple (cf. §§ 66 and 69).

§ 119. Clarke and Engelbach have already been quoted (§ 35) as having advanced the theory that the construction of the Hypostyle Hall was accomplished by the aid of earth filling. It was seen that such a method could well have been and probably was employed by Ramses I and Seti I in the north half of the great hall. Whatever "stratification" of decoration is detectable is horizontal, and the reliefs between the roof and the floor of the hall offer ample evidence that the earliest ones (those of Ramses I) were in the topmost register, while the latest (that which shows Seti I and Ramses II together as coregents in a religious procession) was located in the lowest register. I have interpreted these facts as evidence that the bas-reliefs of Ramses I and Seti I were carved while the earth fill was being removed and after the reliefs of some pre-Ramesid king, probably Harmhab, had been erased from the pylon.

§ 120. When we turn to the south half of the great hall, the evidence is of quite a different character, and conclusions are not so easy to achieve. A study of this side of the building (cf. Figs. 17 and 23) reveals that the "stratification" of decoration is in general vertical rather than horizontal; that is, there is no true stratification at all, with the exception of the west wall, where the left ends of the registers from Ramses' first period (Fig. 17A) appear to extend beneath those of the second period.⁵¹ The west wall constitutes a problem of its own, since it is the rear of the second pylon, which has been shown (§§ 22, 29-30) to have predated the Ramessids and even to have been covered with incised reliefs later erased and replaced with new ones. Thus the reliefs which meet at the southwest corner of the Hypostyle Hall (see Fig. 17) date from three distinct periods. Those at the west end of the south wall (marked I [III]) belonged originally to the first period but were altered to incised relief containing the long prenomen. The scenes on the south portion of the pylon must be attributed to the second period (II). A triangular section of wall built to fill the sloping space between the end of the pylon and the subsequently constructed south wall was decorated in the last period (IV).

§ 121. It is not probable that the wall sections on both sides of the southwest corner would have been carved by workmen on one and the same fill or ramp, since they were certainly operating in different periods. It is in turn impossible that the representations of the first period on the south wall (I [III])

⁵¹ Early work is found under later material!

were carved while the fill was being introduced;⁵² that the decision to carve incised instead of bas-reliefs was reached just as the top register was completed; and that the work of the second period, as represented around the corner on the south part of the pylon, was consequently executed from the top downward while this same fill was being removed. Had such a procedure been followed by the ancient Egyptian sculptor, the existing division between the first and second periods of decoration of the pylon (cf. Fig. 17 A) could not possibly have occurred. The fact that each successive register of the pylon, beginning at the bottom, contains a smaller number of scenes from the first period and a larger number from the second, points in my opinion to the fact that the two sections were decorated under entirely different circumstances. Since at least one scene, and possibly more than one, in the lowest register was carved in bas-relief purely in the style of, and containing the names of, Seti I, while those in the three registers immediately above must be attributed to the first period of Ramses II, it appears very probable that the lowest register represents the earliest work of this section of wall. Seti I and his son were working here in very close co-operation. For some reason unknown to us, Seti's part in the reliefs of the south half of the great hall ceased after a few scenes at most, and Ramses carried on in the same style, first in the lowest register, but not all the way to the southwest corner, then in the upper registers, one after another. Possibly the workmen were operating from a ramp which led up from the southwest corner. If this were true, it would explain why each register in the bas-relief of this section contains fewer scenes than the one below it. For the slope of a ramp leading upward from the left would naturally decrease the amount of wall space accessible at the right in proportion to the increase in height. The construction of the ramp would have been started near the north end of the south tower of the pylon, with the slope upward toward the north. As it rose, it would gradually cover the completed reliefs. Thus, though access to the left end of the first register would be denied the sculptors by the lower end of the slope, the right end of the second register would become available. The same situation would arise in the upper registers. Before the sculptors were ready to complete the left end of the pylon, orders were presumably transmitted to them to abandon altogether the use of bas-reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall and in the future to carve only incised relief.

§ 122. It is obviously possible, perhaps even probable, that the correct explanation of the zigzag line of demarcation between the reliefs of the first and second periods on the south tower of the pylon (Fig. 17) may differ from that

⁵² That is, while the column drums and the architrave and roof blocks were being set. For wall decoration was a later process; cf. § 35.

just given. If the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak were to be published with the painstaking care which has been lavished on monuments of lesser importance, there is no doubt that not a few of the problems discussed in this study could be definitely solved, whereas the material now available often permits only tentative conclusions. But the great hall, most imposing of Egyptian monuments though it be, has never been adequately published, not to the extent of a single wall relief, and there seems at present little prospect that it will be in the near future.

§ 123. From what point did the ramp start which gave access to the original bas-reliefs on the south wall (Fig. 17 *B*, I [III])? When it is recalled that the lintel and both doorjambs of the portal through this wall (Fig. 17 *B*), as well as the two rows of columns along the transverse axis leading to it (Fig. 23, *g-c* and *h-b*), belong to the first period, it becomes clear that the ramp may well have been raised from the north along the transverse axis or, less probably, from the south through the open doorway of the portal (the lintel and upper courses of which may not have been laid) and thence along the south wall toward the second pylon. The lowest register, directly west of the right doorjamb, contains the scene of the Feast of the Valley, which by its nature and content could, as explained in §§ 102-7, have been another of the earliest reliefs in the hall. It may have been completed and the ramp removed all the way to the southeast corner of the hall long before the sculptors were ready in the second period to carve the lowest registers of the section at the south end of the pylon.⁵³

§ 124. Since all the reliefs on the two walls adjacent to the southeast corner of the hall belong to the second period, there would have been no difficulty in erecting a ramp from the direction of the portal through the south wall; it could have been accomplished after the completion of the earlier reliefs on and west of the portal.

§ 125. All of the original decoration of the columns in row *a-e* (Fig. 23), also the scenes on walls *e* and *d* of the vestibule before the third pylon and those on the second pylon at *a*, belong to the first period (I[III]); thus a ramp might easily have been carried up to the various levels of all these reliefs. It could have been made accessible from the main axis of the Hypostyle Hall, or it

⁵³ It is of course necessary to consider the possibility that some type of scaffolding was employed in the place of ramps while sculpturing these walls. There is no doubt that scaffolding was known to Egyptian builders; cf. Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 194 f. and Fig. 232. Even if ramps of earth had been erected for constructional purposes, some of the wall reliefs might have been cut from scaffolding, both where for some reason the decoration had to be completed at a later stage and where bas-reliefs were subsequently converted to the incised type.

might have been extended in both directions from the fill utilized for the construction and decoration of the columns leading to the south portal (*g-c* and *h-b*). It is likewise not inconceivable that a large portion of the south half of the Hypostyle Hall lay buried for several years in the fill employed for the erection of the forest of massive columns which so completely occupy it, and that passages were cut down through the fill in order to execute the bas-reliefs of the first period on the columns in rows *g-c*, *h-b*, and *a-e*. The rest of the fill would then have been removed when the remaining forty-two columns (omitted from Fig. 23) were decorated in the incised style, with the long prenomen of Ramses' sole reign (IV). Prior to that period they will have stood without sculptures and, if they were still surrounded by the fill, probably still in the rough.

QUESTIONS ANSWERED AND UNANSWERED

§ 126. A glance at Ramses II's walls in the Hypostyle Hall, with the different types of relief and the alterations in the form of his prenomen, invites the consideration of several other questions before this study is concluded.

§ 127. Why do we find bas-reliefs of the first period on three different walls and three rows of columns of the great hall, while on immediately adjacent wall surfaces there are, in some cases, incised relief of the second period and, in others, the incised relief of the ultimate style, dating from Ramses' sole reign? The answer is really quite evident. Here, as on many other Egyptian monuments of great size, several different groups of artisans were set at work simultaneously. Each gang had a certain amount of wall surface to complete. In the Hypostyle Hall there were three such gangs at work during the first period. These were engaged in the decoration of (1) the north portion of the south tower of the second pylon (Fig. 17 A, I[III]), (2) the west half of the south wall (Fig. 17 B, I[III]), and (3) the double row of columns flanking the transverse axis (Fig. 23, *g-c* and *h-b*) together with the row of columns and related wall surfaces of the second and third pylons immediately to the south of the great axial columns (Fig. 23, *a-e*, *a*, *e*, and *d*). In the same manner at the end of the first period, when bas-relief was abandoned as a style of decoration, the same number of gangs was set to work on the new incised relief sculpture. The three sections of wall executed by these gangs are plainly evident. They are located (1) on the south part of the pylon (Fig. 17 A, II), (2) on the east half of the south wall (Fig. 17 B, II), and (3) immediately around the corner from the latter at the south end of the east wall (Fig. 17 C, II).

§ 128. Whether the same gangs were employed first to carve bas-reliefs and later to execute the incised decoration is probably beyond our power to determine. If they were not, a considerable shift of personnel would have been re-

quired in the working staff at various temple sites. But if one and the same ancient Egyptian sculptor was trained in the carving of both types, it is possible that all the work carried out by Ramses II in the Hypostyle Hall, as well as in other temples, was accomplished by a relatively small number of artisans. It is quite doubtful whether the Egyptians were sufficiently specialized to demand workmen trained in only a limited range of artistic endeavor.

§ 129. Why did Ramses II abandon early in the coregency the bas-reliefs characteristic of the reign of Seti I in favor of the to our taste much less beautiful incised style of his second period? In my opinion any answer to this question must be based on speculation. It is a striking fact that this phenomenon occurs in all the temples of Ramses which we have examined in this study. In like manner, it is certainly of some significance that all the temples appear consistently to reveal that the change took place during the coregency, while Seti I was still alive (cf. §§ 57, 68, 71, 100); thus it is clear that the change of style does not mark the death of Seti. And in the same manner, since Ramses II carved a considerable number of bas-reliefs in the early period of the coregency, it is obvious that the adoption of the incised type did not coincide with his assumption of joint rule with his father. If we seek in the Egyptian source material for explanation, it may be useful to turn once more to Ramses' own statement, already several times quoted, to the effect that "no monument was executed which was not under his (literally 'thy') authority." Ramses so explicitly emphasizes his authority over building operations that I am disposed to believe that he actually exercised a considerable amount of personal control over the planning and execution of such works. It is not impossible that the period of the coregency saw Seti I for the most part absent from Egypt on various military campaigns, while Ramses remained at home to administer affairs of state. Under such circumstances he may have fallen under the influence of a rising school of sculpture which maintained that the old style of bas-relief was a relic of another age—an outmoded archaism which ought to go. After all, the young Ramses was not far removed in time from the 'Amarnah age, in which incised relief had for the first time really come into its own. Whatever outside influence was brought to bear upon his mind, we know that he succumbed to it. He must have adopted the innovation with strong conviction, indeed with growing conviction, since he not only abandoned bas-relief in favor of the incised variety but a little later, at least at Abydos and Karnak, even went so far as to eliminate all his early bas-reliefs by complete erasure and recutting. Other motives may have underlain his decision, of course—for example, incised reliefs could probably be executed much more quickly than bas-relief—but what they were will probably remain forever hidden from modern knowl-

edge. We may admire his zeal more than his taste; it is safe to say, at least, that Ramses found the new more beautiful than the old, and that he perhaps more than any other ancient Egyptian king was fully satisfied with the wisdom of his youth.⁵⁴

§ 130. If we grant that Ramses might have had strong personal reasons for abandoning bas-relief in favor of sunk relief, what reasons could he have had for the extremely drastic operation of converting his own early bas-reliefs to the other type? For it must be admitted that this alteration of style without apparent change in subject matter, so far as we can detect, is a most astonishing phenomenon and one which must have been considered of the most vital importance to its sponsor. Since this operation occurred (so far as I know) only in Abydos and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, I believe that the explanation must be sought in the local situation. I have already pointed out that Ramses was remarkably considerate of his father's taste and judgment in the decoration of the north half of the Hypostyle Hall, even to the point of adding bas-reliefs in his own name to complete in the same style several wall surfaces left blank at Seti's death (cf. § 79 and Fig. 14). But the south half of the great hall belonged to him exclusively, and its decoration had apparently been assigned to his authority (cf. § 83). Convinced as he apparently was that the incised relief of his second period was superior in technique and beauty to the other variety, he decided that his half of the hall should contain nothing else. As his father had provided the north half with bas-reliefs, so he likewise would tolerate nothing but incised relief in the south half. And after his sculptors had completed their alterations according to his instructions and the remaining walls had been decorated in the later years of his reign, he did indeed ultimately leave the south half of the hall adorned exclusively with a new fashion of sculpture never so extensively employed by any of his predecessors.

§ 131. Of the many unanswered questions which must remain at the conclusion of a study of so great a subject as the Hypostyle Hall there is yet one more to which our consideration must be given. When Ramses II altered the bas-reliefs of the first period to the incised type, he meticulously expanded the simple prenomen to include the epithet *stp-n-R^c*. So thoroughgoing was this procedure that I have not been able to locate a single altered relief containing *Wsr-m³.t-R^c* alone. Why, then, did he permit this same short form of the prenomen to remain untouched in hundreds of its occurrences on the monuments of the second period which were carved with sunk relief? In my opinion the reason is almost incredibly simple. The form of the prenomen was an entirely second-

⁵⁴ For a comparison between and a relative evaluation of the two types of relief, cf. Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali*, pp. 159-64.

ary matter to him. He was primarily concerned to have all his reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall consistently executed in the incised relief which he had chosen as the norm for his reign. Wherever it was necessary to convert a representation or an inscription from raised to sunk relief in order to conform with the new standard, that form of the prenomen was included in the cartouche which happened to be in current use at the time of the change. All alterations in type of relief were made not only after the death of Seti I but also so long after his death that Ramses had already adopted the long prenomen.⁵⁵ In altering the reliefs his sculptors merely followed the newly adopted official orthography of the king's name, and thus all the altered cartouches read *Wsr-m3̄.t-R̄c-štp-n-R̄c*. Where the earlier reliefs were of the incised type, there was no occasion for a change. Hence they stand to this day precisely as they were carved after the young coregent had first determined to break with tradition and to employ incised reliefs exclusively on his monuments, regardless of whether they were utilized to adorn interior or exterior walls. In the long reign of sixty-seven years which followed, he added at least a few scenes in his incised style to practically every monument already standing. In fact, no other pharaoh before or after him surpassed him in the extent or variety or impressiveness of his building achievements.

⁵⁵ Thus it may be assumed that the inscription at Gebel Silsilah dated year 1, 3d month of *šmw*, 10th day, was carved before Ramses had embarked upon his wholesale alteration of his early bas-reliefs.

VI

SUMMARY

§ 132. Though Egyptologists have long believed that the second pylon at Karnak was built by Harmhab, the first direct evidence of that fact has now been found in the form of his cartouches in various representations on the vestibule comprising the entrance to the great Hypostyle Hall. Their presence suggests that Harmhab may have been responsible for further building operations in this part of Karnak. Erased scenes in incised relief on the east face of each tower of the second pylon, the central two rows of columns of the great hall, and a flanking wall on either side of the latter whose foundations still exist under the smaller columns nearest the axis may all have been designed and partially executed by Harmhab in imitation of the great colonnade of Amenhotep III at Luxor.

§ 133. A change of plan, probably by Ramses I, provided for the conversion of the open colonnaded court between the second and third pylons into a covered hall, its roof to be supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns. The incised reliefs of Harmhab on the east face of the second pylon were erased, and their replacement with bas-reliefs, more appropriate for interior decoration, was begun by Ramses I and completed on the north tower by Seti I. The decoration of the walls in the north aisle of the Hypostyle Hall started in the top register, where Ramses I completed five scenes before his death, and ended with the lowest register. The latter, on the north wall of the hall, executed in the reign of Seti I, probably contains the earliest representation of Ramses II in Karnak. He appears with his father under circumstances which almost certainly indicate that by this time he had already been recognized as coregent.

§ 134. Ramses II's claims to have assumed the royal dignity while his father was still alive, disbelieved by Breasted and later by other scholars, who interpreted Ramses' insertion of his figure in certain of his father's war reliefs as proof of the fraudulent character of Ramses' documents, are amply substantiated by numerous monuments at various Egyptian sites. A careful analysis of these temple reliefs, both in subject matter and in style of sculpture, yields a picture which in most of its details is quite consistent with Ramses' quotation of his father's words in the great dedicatory inscription at Abydos: "Crown him as king, that I may see his beauty while I live with him."

§ 135. While Seti I was still living, Ramses was proclaimed coregent and wrote his names in cartouches. He adopted as his official prenomen, in imita-

tion of his father's $Mn-m^3.t-R^c$, the simple form $Wsr-m^3.t-R^c$. On certain occasions, also in imitation of his father, he added to this name various other epithets at will: $mry-R^c$, $l.t-R^c$, $iw^c.w-R^c$, $stp-n-R^c$. He continued to employ all these forms for a short period after Seti's death, though the short one predominated over all the others. Eventually, however, he adopted $Wsr-m^3.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c$ as his favorite, whereupon he abandoned all the variants. Thus it may be said that the simple prenomen, $Wsr-m^3.t-R^c$, and to a lesser extent the form with varying epithets (but rarely $stp-n-R^c$) are characteristic of the coregency, but that $Wsr-m^3.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c$ is the form of Ramses II's prenomen which is almost exclusively confined to monuments from his sole reign, after the death of Seti I.

§ 136. A survey of several of the temples which were under construction during the closing years of Seti's reign clearly, though not with perfect consistency, reveals the fact of the coregency. During this time Seti I almost universally employed bas-reliefs as the principal form of decoration on the walls of his temples. For some reason, however, perhaps by military necessity, Seti ultimately delegated the decoration of the temples to his young son and coregent. At first Ramses II continued the tradition of his father, with the use of bas-relief, but after an interval of unknown length he abandoned it entirely and adopted incised relief instead as the standard decorative type. Later, in his sole reign, he erased all his own and a few of Seti's bas-reliefs in certain temples, notably at Karnak, and replaced them with sunk relief. This succession of types of decoration can be traced with considerable facility. The development may be said to have gone through four "periods," as follows: First period: Ramses bears the short prenomen, occasionally with added epithet; bas-relief alone is employed. Second period: The same forms of the prenomen are used; reliefs are exclusively of the incised type. The first and second periods cover the coregency; the second extends somewhat into the sole reign. Third period: Ramses converts bas-relief into incised relief, especially at Abydos and in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak; he expands the short prenomen by the addition of the epithet $stp-n-R^c$. Fourth period: Ramses carves new reliefs, exclusively of the incised variety; he employs the prenomen $Wsr-m^3.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c$. The third and fourth periods must both be assigned to the sole reign; they may have coincided chronologically.

§ 137. Probably one of the most important pieces of evidence for the coregency occurs in the Nubian temple of Beit el-Wali, in an incised relief of the second period. Nubian tribute is being presented to Ramses by various Egyptian dignitaries, including his eldest son, who has already died before the completion of the relief, and the viceroy of Nubia, $Imn-m-ip.t$. Since the latter was

succeeded in office by the viceroy Yuni during the coregency, it is obvious that the relief depicts events of that period. We are therefore assured that Ramses participated in campaigns in Syria, Libya, and Nubia while his father was yet alive, as recorded in various reliefs carved in Beit el-Wali during both the first and the second period.

§ 138. Numerous scenes and inscriptions in the Qurnah temple, carved in both the first and the second period, bear out the historical situation reflected in the Nubian temple. Ramses' coronation as coregent is depicted in reliefs of the first period. In three successive ritual scenes in the style of the second period Ramses and Seti alternate under circumstances best understood if they are coregents of equal pharaonic rank. A *hkr*-frieze above this series of scenes repeats the names of both kings alternately in further testimony to the partnership.

§ 139. At Abydos both the temple of Seti I and that of his son corroborate the material observed at Beit el-Wali and Qurnah. A large part of Ramses' Abydos temple was complete and decorated before his father's death. In Seti's own temple Ramses is shown as crown prince in the presence of his father wearing a garment decorated among other things with a cartouche containing his prenomen in the short form characteristic of the period of the coregency. Ramses completed the temple of Seti I at Abydos after his father's death, whereupon he converted the latter's bas-reliefs in hall C into incised reliefs in his own name, employing, as one would expect at that stage of his career, the final form of the prenomen, *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c*.

§ 140. The Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, originally intended to resemble the great colonnaded court of the Luxor temple, was begun under Harmhab, the plan changed under Ramses I, the decoration of the north aisle completed by Seti I, that of the south aisle by Ramses II, mostly during the coregency. All four periods of Ramses' career are clearly represented in the great hall. More than half of the representations on the east face of the south tower of the pylon and a majority of those on the south wall were carved in bas-relief during the first period. Together with a few scenes of Seti I, also in bas-relief, they were altered to sunk relief in the third period, when the prenomen *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c* was expanded to include the additional *stp-n-R^c*. Incised reliefs of the second period, with prenomen *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c*, remain unaltered to the present time.

§ 141. The sacred barque of Amon, with decoration symbolic of both Seti I and Ramses II on its shrine, is twice depicted on the south wall, once in the altered bas-relief of the first period, a second time in the incised work of the second. Ramses' retention of Seti's decorative prenomen on the altered relief is eloquent evidence of his desire to preserve the memorial of his joint rule with his father. One of these two representations is a record of a celebration of the

annual Feast of the Valley. Mistakenly interpreted by Sethe as the very celebration of the Feast of Opet which is mentioned in several inscriptions of Ramses' first regnal year, it actually depicts him performing the dual role of pharaoh and high priest of Amon while his father Seti is following the sacred barque in the procession, either in person or represented by a statue. The scene may represent Ramses II's first celebration of an important festival after his coronation, that is, early in his coregency, some years before Seti's death. Inconsistent employment or lack of the epithet *m³c hrw* after Seti I's names in this and other reliefs of both the first and the second period points to the existence of a cult of that king in Karnak during the coregency. Seti appeared in person in the temple ritual if he happened to be present in Thebes; otherwise he was represented by a statue. No significance can be attached to the use of *m³c hrw* after his name; it was employed in anticipation of future celebrations of the cult when Seti's physical presence would no longer be possible.

§ 142. The position of each of the different types of relief in the south aisle of the great hall reveals that the walls were divided into sections, each of which was apparently assigned to a gang of workmen. With the exception of the east face of the pylon, the period "stratification" is vertical, contrasting with the horizontal arrangement in the north aisle. This fact points to the probability that the decoration of each wall section was carried out independently of, and subsequent to, the construction of the walls, by the use of several different ramps or sets of scaffolding. Perhaps the same gang which had decorated wall sections of the first period in bas-relief was assigned to adjoining sections in the second and subsequent periods in order first to execute the newly adopted incised style of decoration, later to alter the earliest bas-reliefs to sunk relief, and finally to complete the temple decoration with the style of Ramses' sole reign in newly carved incised reliefs with prenomen *Wsr-m³c.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c*.

§ 143. Ramses II's reasons for abandoning bas-relief in favor of the incised style are unknown. They may have been of a purely personal character. His erasure of his own earlier bas-reliefs in order to replace them with the new type was apparently done to achieve a consistent style throughout his side of the Hypostyle Hall, as his father had done on the north side. Ramses was indifferent to the form of prenomen which occurred in his reliefs. If *Wsr-m³c.t-R^c* alone had occurred in the incised relief of the coregency, he permitted it to remain without alteration. On the other hand, when he set out to convert raised to sunk relief, he required the prenomen to be altered to the current form which he had selected as the official one for his sole reign.

