

THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

IN THE TEMPLE OF AMUN AT KARNAK



Ramesses II offering incense and libation to Sety I with ka. A. Chéné/© CNRS-CFEETK (B 86). South wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* ("second"), first scene from the west

THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

IN THE TEMPLE OF AMUN AT KARNAK

VOLUME 1, PART 2
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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Frontispiece

Ramesses II offering incense
and libation to Sety I with *ka*.

(B 86). South wall, west wing, uppermost register
in situ (“second”), first scene from the west
(after plate 42, A. Chéné/© CNRS-CFEETK)

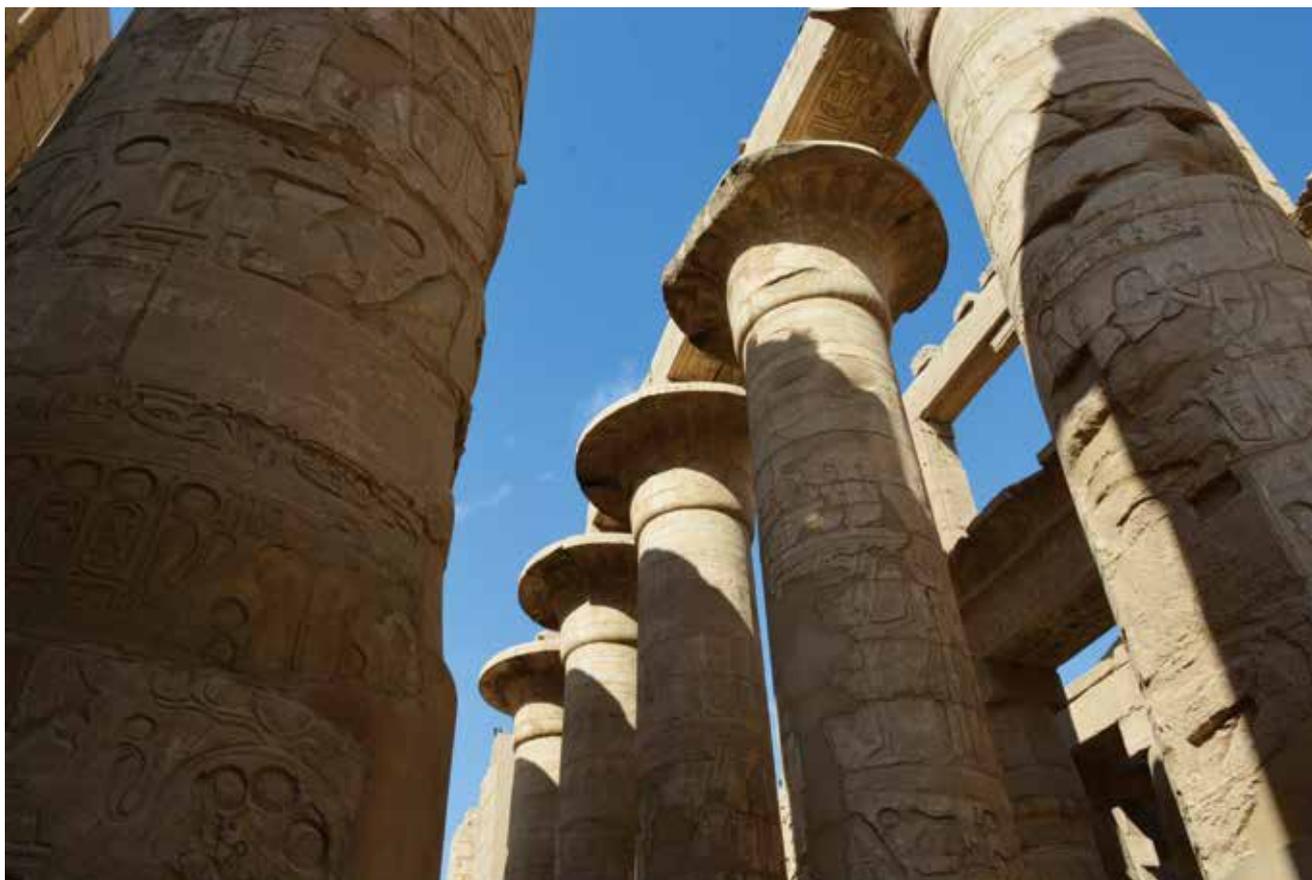
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Views of the Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

[]	encloses material which does not exist today either on the wall or in earlier modern copies, but which is believed to have been present originally. Lacunae in the texts are indicated with [...] in the translations.	lit.	literally
()	encloses words not written in the original text, but understood to have been present (as with the frequently unwritten suffix pronoun <i>=i</i>) or added as necessary in translation.	loc.	locality
< >	encloses material believed to have been mistakenly omitted by the ancient scribe.	m.	masculine
ad loc.	<i>ad locum</i> , at the place	n.	noun
adj.	adjective	n.d.	no date
adj.vb.	adjective-verb	n.n.	not numbered
adv.	adverb	n(n).	note(s)
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare	no(s).	number(s)
def.	definite	non-encl.	non-enclitic
demonstr.	demonstrative	part.	participle, particle
dep.	dependent	perf.	perfective
div.	divinity	pers.	person
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example	pl.	plural
ed(s).	editor(s)	pl(s).	plate(s)
encl.	enclitic	prep.	preposition
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others	pron.	pronoun
etc.	<i>etcetera</i> ,	QV	Queens' Valley
f.	feminine	R I ²	sunk relief of Ramesses I
f(f).	and following pages	R ¹	relief of Ramesses II: raised relief, short prenomem
fig(s).	figure(s)	R ²	relief of Ramesses II: sunk relief, short prenomem
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is	R ³	relief of Ramesses II: sunk relief, long prenomem
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place	s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the heading of
imperf.	imperfective	S ¹	raised relief of Sety I
indep.	independent	S ²	sunk relief of Sety I
KV	Kings' Valley	sing.	singular
		trans.	translated by
		var.	variant
		vb.	verb
		viz.	<i>videlicet</i> , namely

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- ASAE* *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo.
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- BIFAO* *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*. Cairo.
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- Faulkner, CDME* Raymond O. Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1972.
- FIFAO* *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*. Cairo.
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- Gauthier, LdR* Henri Gauthier. *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique*. 5 volumes. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907–1917.
- GHHK I.1* Harold H. Nelson, edited by William J. Murnane. *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Vol. I, Part 1: The Wall Reliefs*. OIP 106. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981.
- GM* *Göttinger Miscellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologische Diskussion*. Göttingen.
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- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London.
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- Junge, Late Egyptian* Friedrich Junge. *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2001.
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- Khonsu* Epigraphic Survey. *The Temple of Khonsu*. 2 volumes. OIP 100 and 103. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1979–1981.
- KRI* Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. Volumes I–VII. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969–1990.
- LÄ* Wolfgang Helck et al. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 7 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.

- LD Karl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Parts I–VI in 12 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–1858; reprint Geneva, 1975.
- LDT Karl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Text I–V. Berlin and Leipzig: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897–1913; reprint Geneva, 1975.
- Legrain, *Karnak* Georges Legrain. *Les temples de Karnak*. Paris: Vromant & Co., 1929.
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- OIP Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven.
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- RdÉ *Revue d'Égyptologie*. Paris.
- RIK I–III Epigraphic Survey. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. Volumes 1–3. OIP 25, 35, and 74. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936–1954.
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- RITANC I–II Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Rameside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. 2 volumes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993–1999.
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago.
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- VA *Varia Aegyptiaca*. San Antonio.
- Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 volumes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926–1963.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig and Berlin.

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PREFACE

This monograph is the second volume in a series whose aim is to document the scenes and texts of the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak Temple, Luxor, commissioned by the Nineteenth Dynasty pharaohs Sety I and Ramesses II. The project owes a debt to the pioneering work of two Egyptologists closely associated with the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey: Harold H. Nelson (1878–1954), the founding director of the Epigraphic Survey from 1924 until 1947, and William J. Murnane (1945–2000) who worked as epigrapher from 1972 to 1981 and as assistant director from 1981 to 1986.

Although the Epigraphic Survey's efforts were focused primarily on monuments of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak during his tenure, Nelson had a keen interest in the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak and took on the task of recording the reliefs on its walls and columns as a personal project, and he completed preliminary sketches of all the interior wall scenes of the Hypostyle Hall. He also compiled translations of the caption texts that accompany these scenes in addition to several pages of commentary before his death in 1954. Nelson's drawings remained buried in the archives of the Oriental Institute in Chicago until William Murnane edited these sketches for publication in 1981.¹ Murnane appears to have been unaware of Nelson's manuscript of translations and commentary, and we only rediscovered them in 2009 among Nelson's papers at the Oriental Institute.

William Murnane's own work in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall grew out of his doctoral research on Egyptian coregencies² and his participation in the Epigraphic Survey's effort to record the war scenes of Sety I on the north exterior wall of the Hall during the 1970s and 1980s.³ Realizing that no one else would soon take up further epigraphic work in the Hypostyle Hall, Murnane began to collate and edit Nelson's sketches of the interior wall scenes during the late 1970s. He carefully checked all of these drawings and made extensive notations of the surviving polychrome paint that remained on many of the reliefs, and detailed epigraphic notes on phenomena such as recutting, iconoclasm, patch-stones, and the like.

After publishing Nelson's drawings in 1981, and being unaware of Harold Nelson's manuscript of translations that lay in the Oriental Institute's archives, Murnane began the much more daunting task of drafting a full translation and commentary to the more than 300 individual wall scenes inside the Hypostyle Hall, but other commitments distracted him from the manuscript, especially his effort to publish the boundary stelae of Akhenaten at Amarna.⁴ In 1986 he joined the faculty of the History Department at the University of Memphis, then known as Memphis State University. Eventually, his progress on the translation and commentary to Nelson's volume was aided by the fieldwork of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, which he founded at the University of Memphis in 1992. The Project was initially funded by the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology of the University of Memphis, and later by two prestigious grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, in 1993 and 1999.⁵ The need to record many unpublished reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall took priority in the Project's early years, but the unfinished translations and commentary weighed on Murnane's mind. He resumed work on that aspect of the project in the late 1990s but, tragically, died in November 2000. He left behind a first draft of roughly one-third of the volume along with an initial version of the glossary.

It was my honor to study with William Murnane as a Master's student in history at the University of Memphis. He was a distinguished scholar, teacher, and my cherished mentor, who imparted to me the enthusiasm and commitment to see this project through to completion. My own career with the Hypostyle Hall Project began as a doctoral student at the University of Toronto in the 1990s, when I participated in several field seasons and learned the craft of epigraphy under Murnane's tutelage. The epigraphic chronology of the Great Hypostyle Hall provided the framework for my own doctoral work on the reign of Sety I, which I completed in 1998.⁶ In 2001, I returned to the University of Memphis as an assistant professor in the History Department and considered it a privilege to assume the directorship of the Hypostyle Hall Project.

The ability to conduct further research on the Karnak Hypostyle Hall was assured by additional grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 2004, 2010, and 2013. The work of the Project over the past decade has entailed the careful and painstaking checking of photographs and drawings against the preserved wall reliefs. As a result, we have come to a more nuanced understanding of the chronology and technical details of the complex wall reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall, many of which are palimp-

¹ Harold H. Nelson and William J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Vol. 1, Part 1: *The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981).

² William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977).

³ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 4: The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, OIP 107 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1986).

⁴ William J. Murnane and Charles C. Van Siclen, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*, Studies in Egyptology (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993).

⁵ Under Murnane's direction, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project undertook seven field seasons between 1992 and 2000. William J. Murnane, "Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory: New Light on the Ancients' 'Uses of the Past' from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 5 (1994), pp. 15–24, 88; idem†, "A Forest of Columns: The Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project." *KMT* 12/3 (2001), pp. 50–59; William J. Murnane† et al., "The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project (1992–2002)," *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 79–127.

⁶ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*.

sests. During the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II, the wall reliefs experienced numerous alterations and additions by many hands, the complexity of which is not always apparent in Nelson's sketches. Exhaustive rechecking of the hieroglyphic texts revealed numerous minor errata and omissions in Nelson's copies of the texts, including erased and palimpsest inscriptions he was unable to detect. The goal of the current volume, by providing descriptions of the epigraphic details in each scene supported by numerous photographs as well as translations of texts and commentary, is to guide the reader through the historical narrative revealed through our work. The contribution of the Hypostyle Hall Project is, therefore, not only a careful documentation of the inscriptions and decoration of this monument, but a more nuanced understanding of its artistic, religious, and political significance.

The photographic plates and figures in this volume derive from multiple sources. The main photographic plates stem from the brilliant work of Antoine Chéné and his team at the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (CFEETK) in the late 1990s, who created photographic montages of all the walls in the Great Hypostyle Hall based on a series of orthogonal photographs that were stitched together to create individual scenes and whole wall sections. Ideally, we would have published a full set of the Epigraphic Survey's archival photos taken in the early twentieth century, but these are of highly uneven quality so we have decided to supplement the CFEETK photographs with a selection of the best images from the Chicago House archives. Finally, most of the figure images are drawn from my own collection of photos except where otherwise noted. Most of these were not taken orthogonally; indeed many required the use of a telephoto lens.

Peter J. Brand
Memphis, Tennessee
January 2013

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The activities of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project have been generously supported by five separate grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. This funding has allowed the Project to carry out our fieldwork at Karnak and research back at home. Over the years, the Hypostyle Hall Project has received the support of the American Philosophical Association, the American Research Center in Egypt and its Antiquity Endowment Fund program, the History Department and the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, both of the University of Memphis, and from a number of private donors including our friends at the Metroplex Egyptian Society of Arlington, Texas, especially Rollin Phipps.

Thanks also go to the current and former directors of the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak, François Larché, Emmanuel Laroze, and Christophe Thiers, and to the CFTEEK archivist Sébastien Biston-Moulin. I am also grateful for the assistance of the photographic department at the CFTEEK and especially to Antoine Chéné.

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I am very grateful to my current and former graduate assistants over the years, especially Louise Cooper, Heather Pennel, Robert Griffin, Mark Janzen, and my co-author Erika Feleg. Erika in particular went above and beyond the call of duty in editing the glossary and manuscript, contributing to Chapter 1, and assisting me with final field checks of the inscriptions at Karnak. She is also responsible for many of the custom hieroglyphic signs and sign groups in the texts which she produced with Adobe Illustrator and the JSesh open source hieroglyphs editor. Without her tireless assistance, I would never have completed the project.

Peter J. Brand
Memphis, Tennessee

Chapter 1

CONSTRUCTING AND DECORATING THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

1.1. Construction Procedure

There is every reason to believe that Sety I's architects built the Great Hypostyle Hall using the same techniques for constructing stone buildings employed throughout pharaonic history, which is to say, they built a system of mudbrick ramps, retaining walls, and earthen embankments to raise the masonry.¹ As argued elsewhere, the entire Hall was built simultaneously as a unit during the reign of Sety I in the open space between the existing Second and Third Pylons. Each of its 134 columns — including the twelve great columns of the nave — along with the lateral walls on the north and south sides and the entire roof structure with its architraves, ceiling slabs, and the clerestory roof system, were erected during Sety I's reign.

Accordingly, then, once the subterranean foundations of the walls and columns had been laid down,² the lowermost course of blocks for the lateral walls and all 134 column-base sections were set in place. Next, the builders filled the spaces between all these blocks with earth fill flush with the top of the first course of masonry, and they then extended mudbrick ramps outward from the north and south sides of the Hall. While no remains of these construction embankments have survived from the Hypostyle Hall, remnants of another ramp used in the construction of the south tower of the First Pylon do.³ At the dawn of the twentieth century, Georges Legrain used earthwork ramps and fill to reconstruct much of the northern part of the Hall after the collapse of eleven of its columns on October 3, 1899.⁴ Egyptian construction ramps could be made of a variety of materials, including field stones, masonry rubble, and waste stone from the cutting and dressing of blocks — loose alluvial earth and desert sand that filled caissons in a structure of mudbrick.⁵ It is likely that the Hall was built with whatever material was most convenient and closest to hand. Given its location in the alluvial floodplain, the construction embankments were probably composed mostly of loose soil — which Legrain seems to have relied on in the early twentieth century. The builders may have used mudbrick as well for any retaining walls or revetments needed to shore up the

¹ Somers Clarke and Reginald Englebach, *Ancient Egyptian Construction and Architecture* (New York: Dover, 1990), pp. 91–93; Jean-Claude Goyon, *La construction pharaonique du Moyen Empire à l'époque gréco-romaine* (Paris: Picard, 2004), pp. 204–11, 213–17; Jean-Claude Golvin and Jean-Claude Goyon, *Les bâtisseurs de Karnak* (Paris: CNRS, 1987), pp. 99–107, 109–10.

² These were composed largely of talatat blocks from dismantled monuments of the Amarna period. Georges Legrain et al., “Note présenté par la sous-commission sur l'état des fondations dans la salle hypostyle de Karnak,” *ASAE* 2 (1901), pp. 173–76; Legrain, *Karnak*, pp. 164–67; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pp. 159–60, vol. 2, pp. 71–72, figs. 4–3/114–/117, /119.

³ Legrain, *Karnak*, pp. 35–38; Dieter Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 95–97; Golvin and Goyon, *Les bâtisseurs de Karnak*, pp. 105–07; Goyon, *La construction pharaonique*, pp. 213–17.

⁴ Georges Legrain et al., “Rapports sur l'écroulement de onze colonnes dans la salle hypostyle du grand temple d'Amon à Karnak,” *ASAE* 1 (1900), pp. 121–29; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 168 and figs. 102–07; and see Legrain's reports on his work at Karnak: *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 36–38; *ASAE* 5 (1904): pp. 3–9; *ASAE* 5 (1904), pp. 268–70. See also Georges Legrain, F. Ehrlich, and G. Maspero, “Rapport de M. Legrain sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak pour le démontage des colonnes de la Salle Hypostyle (10 décembre 1899–23 mai 1900),” *ASAE* 1 (1900), pp. 193–210; G. Legrain et al., “Documents relatifs à la Salle Hypostyle de Karnak (1899–1901),” *ASAE* 2 (1901), pp. 164–84; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pp. 132–34, 143, fig. 10, 153; vol. 2, figs. 4–3/48, /49, /50, /52, /53, /89, /90, /91, /97, /101, /102, /135, /137, /138, /139, /140, /148, /149, /150, /152.

⁵ Goyon, *La construction pharaonique*, pp. 204–09, figs. 223–24.

earth fill and construction ramps.⁶ It is less likely that desert sand or limestone chippings and rubble would have been hauled in from the eastern or western deserts for just this purpose.⁷

Whatever the precise composition of the construction ramps and earth embankments, the building process is well understood. Each successive layer of masonry — all the blocks for each level of the walls and all the columns — was set in place at one time, and the voids between them were then filled with earth while the access ramps on either side of the building were extended as needed so that the next layer of masonry could be brought up and set in place, and the process repeated until the entire building was complete, but buried under the construction embankments. It is likely that the entire north and south sides of the building between the Second and Third Pylons each consisted of one large ramp.⁸ In this way, the largest number of teams of stone haulers could work simultaneously in dragging the hundreds of blocks required to complete each layer of masonry. The pharaohs often seem to have been in a hurry to complete their large building projects in the shortest amount of time possible. We also believe that Sety I constructed the Great Hypostyle Hall in less than a decade in a hurried fashion. Wide ramps on the northern and southern sides of the building would have facilitated this and could have also functioned in lieu of specially built retaining walls to secure the earth fill inside.

1.2. Quarrying and Dressing the Masonry

1.2.1. Chisel Marks and Quarrying Techniques

Chisel marks in the Hypostyle Hall closely resemble quarry marks dated to the Ramesside period on the quarry faces at Gebel es-Silsila. Due to the extensive use of the quarries at Gebel es-Silsila for several centuries, Rosemarie and Dietrich D. Klemm were able to delimit and date various chisel marks on the quarry walls in terms of their characteristic tracks and their association with adjacent dated inscriptions.⁹ Chisel marks from the early New Kingdom display somewhat irregular tracks, but the individual traces are longer than those attributed to the Middle Kingdom. Klemm and Klemm ascribe the characteristic herringbone pattern of chisel marks in most tracks to the use of harder and slightly longer bronze chisels.¹⁰ In the Ramesside period, continuous straight tracks replace the herringbone pattern. Individual marks are now frequently interrupted, but remain in a parallel alignment. This might indicate that slightly longer bronze chisels were used, with the horizontal sections marking the length of the chisel.¹¹ This pattern is retained down to the Late Period, so a secure attribution can only be made based on adjacent dated inscriptions.¹²

Based on the tool marks, R. Klemm concludes that New Kingdom quarrymen employed harder and slightly longer bronze chisels as opposed to the softer copper chisels used previously,¹³ although Dieter Arnold argues that there are indications of the introduction of differently shaped tools, namely, pointed chisels driven by mallets.¹⁴ Arnold points out that the quarry marks seem to belong to a pointed tool even though the only known metal chisel suitable for working in stone for that period is the round bar chisel, which has a flat cutting edge.¹⁵ It is also argued

⁶ The construction ramp attached to the First Pylon seems to have had caisson chambers of mudbrick with their voids filled in with loose earth.

⁷ Clean desert sand was also used in the subterranean foundations of the Hall, as with other Egyptian buildings. Moreover, while the earth fill and construction ramps would have probably been composed largely of alluvial soil — loose or formed into mudbrick — a certain volume of sandstone and limestone rubble that doubtless lay around the site of Karnak left over from various construction projects, including this one, must have found its way into the embankments simply because it was readily at hand. Stone rubble probably represented a small fraction of the total volume of the construction works.

⁸ Legrain used a single ramp for his work on the north side of the Hall. See Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, p. 143, fig. 10.

⁹ Rosemarie Klemm and Dietrich D. Klemm, *Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2008), pp. 194–201. A stela from the reign of Ramesses II was found recently at Gebel es-Silsila picturing ships transporting blocks from a nearby quarry site. See Phillipe Martinez, “Une commande royale pour le Ramesseum: une stèle inédite de Ramsès II au Gebel es-Silsileh,” *Memnonia* 20 (2000), p. 160, fig. 3; p. 163, fig. 5; and pls. 41, 43B, 44A.

¹⁰ Klemm and Klemm, *Stones and Quarries*, p. 196; Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, p. 34.

¹¹ Klemm and Klemm, *Stones and Quarries*, p. 197; Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, p. 34.

¹² Klemm and Klemm, *Stones and Quarries*, p. 197.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹⁴ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

that a pickax with a metal blade could have created the quarry marks. However, the only known pickax that has been found in the archaeological record is from Tell el-Amarna and is not datable with certainty.¹⁶

Even though the specific type of tool used for extracting the stone cannot be identified with certainty, the tools preferred for dressing the stones are known from examples found at Deir el-Bahri dating from the New Kingdom.¹⁷ The two main tools were the round bar chisel and the flat mortise or crosscut chisel, the first having a cutting edge 1–2 cm wide while the latter was pointed and was used for cutting into the surface.¹⁸ The flat chisel was ideal for removing large areas of soft stone, where an evenly flat surface was not initially important.¹⁹ Experimental archaeology has shown that leaded bronze chisels would have been able to cut sandstone with ease.²⁰

1.2.2. Preliminary Dressing of Sandstone Blocks in the Quarry

After extraction from the quarry face, rough cut sandstone blocks were set into place and then dressed smooth at the construction site.²¹ Although undressed blocks in the foundations of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu might argue against this idea, it appears that the quarrymen partially dressed the blocks at the quarry site.²² However, it is likely that the extent of trimming the stone blocks received at the quarry varied over time. During the Middle Kingdom, the use of stone picks and chisels would have made secondary adjusting and dressing of the blocks necessary. In the New Kingdom, this process would have been bypassed after the adoption of bronze tools, which made the cutting of a roughly rectangular block easier, and thus roughly dressed de facto.²³ The hieratic ostraca from the Ramesseum also seem to confirm this, which give the sizes of the blocks transported in cubits, and which have been compared by Kenneth A. Kitchen to measurements of the blocks at the Ramesseum taken by D. Lowle.²⁴ Kitchen notes that three of the measurements given by the ostraca match the sizes of the blocks found at the temple. Three of the other four sizes observable at the site are larger than the ones indicated in the ostraca, while one is almost the same size as the largest blocks listed in the texts.²⁵ However, he does indicate that some of the blocks at the site are slightly smaller in size than the ones mentioned in the ostraca, which might be the result of dressing carried out at the construction site.²⁶ Even so, the amount of excess stone left on the face of the blocks that would later receive relief decoration could not have been too great. This might be one of the reasons for the frequency of quarry damage in the case of Ramesside temple walls,²⁷ especially when compared to earlier Thutmose monuments²⁸ or the ones created in the Late Period and Ptolemaic era.²⁹ Moreover, the unfinished blocks of these later-period monuments³⁰ show a significant amount of excess stone left on the face of the block that would have received the relief decoration and could have been quarried and removed with greater ease due to the use of steel tools known to have been available in the Greco-Roman period.³¹

¹⁶ The method of manufacture of this tool seems to indicate a post-Twentieth Dynasty date. See Goyon, *La construction pharaonique*, p. 154.

¹⁷ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 258–60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁹ Denys A. Stocks, *Experiments in Egyptian Archaeology: Stoneworking Technology in Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²¹ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 43–46.

²² Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu 4: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III*, Part 2, OIP 55 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 31.

²³ Goyon, *La construction pharaonique*, p. 285.

²⁴ Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Building the Ramesseum,” *Cahier de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 13 (1991), p. 86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86 n. 14.

²⁷ Peter J. Brand, “Methods Used in Restoring Reliefs Vandalized During the Amarna Period,” *GM* 170 (1999), p. 42 n. 15.

²⁸ E.g., the Karnak Enclosure Wall built by Thutmose III but decorated by Ramesses II; see Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses’ II. in Karnak*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968).

²⁹ E.g., the Temples at Philae, Kom Ombo, Edfu, Esna, and Dendera for which sandstone from Gebel es-Silsila was used. See Stocks, *Experiments in Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 64; Golvin and Goyon, *Les bâtisseurs de Karnak*, p. 97.

³⁰ E.g., the unfinished blocks at the Temple of Hathor at Dendera; Goyon, *La construction pharaonique*, p. 294, fig. 358; or the blocks used for building the First Pylon at Karnak.

³¹ Steel was a well-known alloy in the Roman period. Stocks, *Experiments in Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 64.

1.3. Quarry Damage

When examining the present condition of the walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, besides the marks of the iconoclast's hand, one often sees chisel marks scarring the surface of the reliefs (figs. 1–4). Stray chisel marks often have diagonal tracks and occur randomly on the surface of the sandstone blocks. Unlike iconoclastic vandalism, such chisel marks do not specifically target iconographically significant parts of the relief but are situated in discrete areas of individual blocks and seem to predate the decoration itself (fig. 5). They appear to be the result of incomplete smoothing of the blocks by the stonemasons. However, it is not always clear whether these defects originate in the quarry at Gebel es-Silsilah or at Karnak during the final dressing of the walls after the blocks were set into place. Some might even have had keying deliberately added to affix plaster to the wall.

The standard procedure used in pharaonic masonry from the Old Kingdom through Roman times was to construct buildings from roughly dressed masonry and then to smooth the monument's surfaces only after construction was completed. The masons seem to have dressed the walls as the construction ramps and embankments were removed. Both the regularity of the rough-hewn blocks and the amount of "waste material" incorporated into them seems to have varied over the course of Egyptian civilization (fig. 6).³² Ramesside quarrymen were among the least careful or consistent in the evenness of the undressed blocks they supplied to the architects. This lack of care and finesse can be observed when examining Ramesside masonry, including the undressed inner faces of blocks exposed through dismantling of ancient buildings (fig. 7). Even the dressed surfaces of sandstone buildings of the Ramesside era are typically not as carefully finished as those of Eighteenth Dynasty examples. There was a heavy reliance on plaster and veneer stones to mend cavities and defects in the stone that the masons did not eliminate when dressing the blocks.

These defects stem from a number of practices, including careless hewing of the blocks that left depressions and quarry marks on the exposed surface of the block not easily removed by chiseling them smooth. Another common practice was the sloppy and incomplete dressing of the surface whereby plaster was resorted to as an expedient to curtail the further time and labor required to smooth away defects and cavities in the stone more completely (fig. 10). Both these tendencies were exacerbated by the practices of not allowing for a larger amount of "waste material" in the blocks to be trimmed away and of setting them in place unevenly so that the surface of some blocks was lower than others around it, thus resulting in unsightly depressions filled with quarry marks when the wall was dressed.

The relatively poor hewing and dressing of Ramesside masonry exhibits itself in several ways, all of which are commonly seen on the walls, columns, and roof elements of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Most typical among these defects are shallow cavities that speckle the surface of the walls, usually in fairly low density (fig. 14). These are most frequently on portions of the southern wing that were initially cut in sunk relief by Ramesses II, since there was no further cutting back of the surface after it was initially dressed to receive the draughtsman's cartoons. By contrast, in areas cut in raised relief by Ramesses or by Sety I, the wall surface was further cut away to create the bas-relief decoration, thereby eliminating more such defects. In many instances, stucco patching material, which has often swollen out, still fills these holes. Cavities in the stone might result from areas of weaker sandstone matrix that easily decayed or inclusions of foreign stone matter embedded in the sandstone matrix that fell out or had to be removed in the course of dressing the blocks. Often, however, it is clear that defects are chisel marks. These too can be scattered and isolated, but are more often found in loose clusters or even large and deep zones of intense chisel marks (figs. 1–4). These larger areas of quarry damage could result from either overly zealous dressing of the block by the masons or deliberate keying for the plaster that was frequently used to mask larger defects where they occurred. It is likely, however, that most of what we call quarry damage resulted from sloppy and hurried quarrying of the blocks, often compounded by imperfect placement of them during the construction stage.

³² In Greco-Roman times, undressed masonry nevertheless often has regular, planar surfaces and squared-off corners. At other times, the outer surfaces of rough blocks are rounded or bulbous. The finely cut and dressed walls of sandstone buildings

from the earlier and mid-Eighteenth Dynasty were composed of blocks that were highly regular and uniform even in their rough-hewn state.

When these deeper depressions in the stone blocks were created is, however, a matter of debate. In some cases, the quarrymen created the depressions during the extraction process at the quarry before the block was set into the wall and received its final dressing. This is indicated by instances of such chisel-scarred depressions occurring along the corners and edges of blocks that are otherwise largely even and unblemished (fig. 5). When neighboring blocks are free of similar zones of deep hacking, it seems unlikely that masons created this damage during the smoothing process after they had set the block in place, for surely such chisel marks would have frequently spilled over onto adjacent blocks without regard to joints between them. Rather, they could be a result of the carelessness in extracting and placing the blocks. Indeed, there are cases where such quarry damage is confined to the interior of a single block and does not affect its edges, but this still does not exclude the assumption that the defects could have arisen before the builders placed the block into its final position. Cases where such quarry damage occurs at the edges of the blocks are much more frequent.

1.4. Chisel Tracks and Dressing Procedures

It was probably during the final dressing stage that the masons used plaster to fill in the scoring left by the stone cutters' chisels.³³ Flat chisels could be the cause of the rectangular incisions that often mar the surface of many reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. The tracks of these chisel marks decline at an angle of about 45 degrees in the majority of the cases and the workmen must have produced them during the final dressing of the walls.

In areas of quarry damage, one often sees two sets of chisel tracks running in different directions. The fact that the chisel marks in these depressions intersect each other in a crosshatched pattern could be due to different phases of chiseling. The first set of tool marks that run at an angle of 145 degrees are parallel and resemble the Ramesside quarry marks found at Gebel es-Silsila, which were produced by the same sharp chisel and have the same length. What is different is the angle of the chisel marks, since the Ramesside chisel tracks at Gebel es-Silsila run at a 45-degree angle while the first set of those still visible on the Hypostyle Hall blocks run in the opposite direction. An explanation for this feature could be the fact that the blocks were turned around, which seems plausible if one considers the different stages of handling that the blocks underwent: from being taken out of the quarry, loaded onto barges, moved around after arriving at the construction site, and finally set into place. This first set of chisel marks is intersected by others with tracks running in the opposite direction, and this could be the result of dressing. The stone would be cut in the opposite direction compared to the cutting received during quarrying, which seems a logical choice. During the dressing process, the new chisel cuts created would have made the previous ones even deeper if running at the same angle, while the choice of having the subsequent chisel cuts intersect with the previous one would help in evening out the surface. The fact that the later chisel tracks run at a 45-degree angle, intersect the ones running in the opposite direction, and at the same time share the same angle with the shallower chisel tracks visible on more finely finished wall sections, seems to indicate that these were created during the last cutting stage. This kind of quarry damage is most commonly encountered in the southern part of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, especially on the walls and columns decorated by Ramesses II. It is still visible due to his choice to employ sunk relief decoration, which would have been less time consuming and would not obliterate the chisel marks that survived the dressing process by further cutting back the surface, as in the case of raised relief decoration employed under Sety I in the northern part of the Hall.³⁴

³³ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, p. 45; Dieter Arnold, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 178.

³⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 243–46.

1.5. Surface Improvements to the Dressed Walls

Typically, in dressing the walls of the Hypostyle Hall, the masons reached a point where the larger percentage of the wall's surface was even and smooth, but with isolated patches of deep and stubborn cavities and stray chisel marks. To remove these last defects would have required them to cut back further all the smoothed surfaces too until a uniformly even plane could be reached. To avoid this extra labor on such a huge monument, they instead sought after expedients to ameliorate the residual tool marks and quarry damage by mending such defects with patch stones and plaster infill (figs. 360–61).

1.5.1. Patch Stones

A technique used sporadically in all periods to mend defects in wall surfaces, but with greater frequency in the north wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, is the use of patch stones.³⁵ These veneers are most commonly found on other monuments as relatively small masonry plaques, often of irregular shape, fitted into shallow incisions cut into a block or in the joints between blocks where damage to the original surface or irregular joints between blocks called for them. Although smaller patch stones do occur throughout the Great Hypostyle Hall, on the north wall these veneers were often larger, and replaced the whole exposed surface of individual blocks (fig. 8). Several of these have fallen away throughout the Hall, revealing their existence, which is impossible to detect while they are still *in situ*. It is possible that others remain *in situ*, still unrecognized. These large patch stones consist of slabs 15 to 20 cm thick. They were set into niches created by cutting back the entire surface of the original block that they were to replace.

There are also instances of the use of smaller patch stones for correcting flaws in the stone, including quarry damage. Several of these were used in places where the face of the king or of a deity was carved.³⁶ A recess was carved into the original block for the insertion of the patch stone, with the keying for plaster still visible in the places where the patch stone has fallen away.³⁷ It has been suggested that the use of patch stones in crucial points of the decorative program was motivated by the friable quality of the sandstone³⁸ and not necessarily by quarry damage. Patch stones were often used for the walls within the Hypostyle Hall decorated by Sety I, but several were also used to mend walls decorated by Ramesses II.³⁹ In other instances, veneer slabs would have been employed — especially in Sety I's reliefs on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall (fig. 8). Several large fenestrations cut into the wall, 15 to 20 cm deep for the insertion of such slabs, are still visible across the north wall (pl. 263).⁴⁰

1.5.2. Plaster

Whatever their initial cause, stray chisel gouges and denser zones of quarry hacking were often masked with plaster infill wherever possible, even when the damaged area required great quantities of stucco. The joints between blocks tend to be larger in Ramesside monuments such as the Great Hypostyle Hall and also required much plaster to fill them. The result of all this is that elements of the reliefs in these wider joints — even important facial details — and in large areas of stucco infill had to be carved in this medium. The plaster has often fallen away, obliterating these portions of the relief.

Plaster was also important in the case of the alteration of existing reliefs, termed recutting.⁴¹ It was also employed for cosmetic adjustments aimed at refining the proportions of the figure, such as the profile, size of the headdress, and proportions of the limbs (fig. 9), and for major alterations such as the replacement of individual elements or usurpation.⁴² Keying for plaster (roughening of the surface in order to make plaster adhere) is not

³⁵ Also called *Flicksteine*; cf. *Battle Reliefs of King Seti I*, p. 6.

³⁶ *Battle Reliefs of King Seti I*, p. 6 n. 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105, pl. 34.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105, pl. 34.

³⁹ Ramesses II: *GHHK I.1*, pls. 7, 35, 43, 44, 46, 57, 93; Sety I: *ibid.*, pls. 138, 160, 163, 171, 179, 183, 189, 196, 211, 218, 219, 221, 222, 226, 227, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 255.

⁴⁰ *GHHK I.1*, e.g., pls. 176, 177, 180, 191, 194, 197.

⁴¹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, p. 26.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

often present in the case of cosmetic or other types of adjustment and was probably not deemed necessary, possibly due to the smaller amount of plaster employed,⁴³ although there are cases where sporadic keying is found in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (fig. 11).⁴⁴

Traces of the quarry damage and the alteration the reliefs underwent would not have been visible once the reliefs were plastered over and painted. Coarse plaster would have been used as a preliminary coating to fill in the damage in the stone, followed by a layer of fine stucco wash that would have acted as a sealant for the porous sandstone and the background for the final paint (fig. 361).⁴⁵

1.5.3. Polishing the Masonry

In addition to dressing the stone with chisels and masking defects in the stone with plaster, an integral step in preparing the surfaces of sandstone monuments was polishing them with sandstone buffers. After the application of plaster to fill in the marks left by quarry damage that were too deep to remove during the dressing process, the stonemasons would use buffer stones to smooth and even out the surface that would later be carved.⁴⁶ The walls would have been polished with coarse and smooth sandstone buffers.⁴⁷

As with polishing hard-stone monuments like granite obelisks and statuary, the quality of the finished surface depended on the effort the masons invested in this procedure. Because plaster whitewash and polychrome paint were used to finish sandstone monuments, Ramesside masons often took shortcuts in the polishing process. Typically, the stucco, whitewash, and pigments have long since disappeared, exposing the less-than-thorough polishing work, but where these are still intact, such as the inner rooms of the Derr and Wadi es-Sebua temples, the effectiveness of this practice as an expedient is obvious. It is also clear that plaster infill could be applied to incompletely dressed masonry before polishing began, as can be seen on the pedestals of sphinxes from the esplanade of Ramesses II's Wadi es-Sebua temple in Nubia.

1.6. Procedures Used to Carve the Relief Decoration

1.6.1. Seele's Theory

Keith Seele assumed that the relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall was carved from the top of the walls to the bottom at the same time that they were dressed: as the earth fill and ramps used in the building's construction were taken down.⁴⁸ Seele believed he found confirmation for this theory in the northern part of the Hall due to the fact that several reliefs naming Ramesses I appeared at the top of the west wall and because he mistook a scene at the bottom of the north wall as showing both Sety I and Ramesses II as coregents when in fact only the former appears there, twice.⁴⁹ Although Seele's findings seemed to be confirmed by the stratigraphy of the relief decoration in the northern part of the Hall, he was baffled to find a different sequence in the southern part of the building, where the three stages of Ramesses II's reliefs proceeded laterally along the walls and not from top to bottom as he expected. His solution was to devise an elaborate theory positing that the Egyptians raised earth ramps and even dug shafts and tunnels into the construction embankment to gain access to various levels of the wall surface at given stages in Ramesses II's relief decoration.⁵⁰ Finally, Seele had to admit that his cumbersome theory could not explain how much of Ramesses II's decoration could have ever been sculpted.⁵¹

⁴³ See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 191.

⁴⁴ *GHHK* I.1, e.g., pl. 220.

⁴⁵ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 291–94; Goyon, *La construction pharaonique*, pp. 364–65. For a discussion of the use of two layers of plaster wash for the decoration of the sandstone columns of the Hall of Barques in Sety I's temple at Abydos, see John Baines, "Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos," *JEA* 75 (1989), p. 16.

⁴⁶ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 44–45.

⁴⁷ Stocks, *Experiments in Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 65.

⁴⁸ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 21–22.

⁴⁹ William J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 156–58.

⁵⁰ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 85–88.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

1.6.2. The Use of Scaffolding in Decorating Tall Monuments

Although Seele's theory concerning the method used by the sculptors to access the upper reaches of the walls in the Hypostyle Hall remained the most commonly expressed view, other scholars, including Georges Legrain at the beginning of the twentieth century, held that wooden scaffolding was used by the draftsmen and sculptors.⁵² More recently, study of the relief decoration in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple and parts of Sety I's temple at Abydos decorated by Ramesses II has shown that scaffolding was used in these venues.⁵³ Finally, a new appraisal of the relief decoration in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall has confirmed that wooden scaffolding was used there, and these findings are adopted in the present work.⁵⁴

It seems most likely that after the walls had been fully dressed, patched, and smoothed, wooden scaffolding was erected. As depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire, the scaffolding would have been composed of wooden beams tied together with rope.⁵⁵ We have called these "portable" wooden scaffolds,⁵⁶ but it is not clear how wide or large such constructions were, although they were certainly tall enough to reach the highest levels of the building.⁵⁷ The scaffolding would have been used for all stages of the decorative process, from laying out the cartoons of the scenes through carving and painting the relief decoration. Any subsequent decoration or alterations to the reliefs of Sety I and Ramesses II, including the latter's usurpations or the addition of new decoration on the columns by Ramesses IV, would likewise have necessitated the use of wooden scaffolding. The only alternative would have been the unattractive solution of flooding the Hall with earth fill or erecting cumbersome brick ramps every time some new addition to its decoration was made.

1.6.3. Draftsmen's Sketches and Polychrome Cartoons

As was standard practice in the New Kingdom, the relief decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall was first composed as a series of painted cartoons. In royal tombs of the period, the draftsmen laid out these designs first in red ink sketches and then as more precise and finely detailed ones in black paint.⁵⁸ These drawings served as a guide for the sculptors who converted them into relief. In Sety I's Abydos temple, however, polychrome cartoons were employed in the south wing and probably throughout the temple — not merely as a guide to the sculptors but as a temporary substitute for relief decoration prior to its achievement. The elaborate bas-relief decoration favored by Sety I must have contributed to the decision to employ polychrome cartoons. Direct evidence for the cartoons used in the Great Hall at Karnak is lost, but there is reason to believe that polychrome designs were laid out on many of the columns, particularly those lying along the two processional axes.⁵⁹

⁵² Legrain, *Karnak*, pp. 181–82.

⁵³ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 112 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994), pp. xvii, xix; Baines, *JEA* 75 (1989), pp. 24–28.

⁵⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 209–11.

⁵⁵ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes* (New York: Arno, 1943), pl. 60.

⁵⁶ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, p. 209.

⁵⁷ Clearly, the Egyptians must have been able to raise scaffolding high enough to decorate standing obelisks and very tall buildings like the central nave of the Great Hypostyle Hall and the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple.

⁵⁸ So in the contemporary royal tombs of Horemheb (KV 57) and Sety I (KV 17); cf. Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity* (New York: Timken, 1990), pp. 41–42, pls. 15–20.

⁵⁹ A variety of epigraphic phenomena support this conclusion: (1) in scenes along the processional axes in the south wing, Ramesses II is shown bowing in contrast to others that have upright royal figures. In conjunction with this iconography, the fact that (2) these axial columns were carved by Ramesses II at

the very beginning of his reign in raised relief with his short prenomens. On the walls, this bowing iconography quickly gives way to upright figures, even while Ramesses II continued to employ bas relief. (3) The suspiciously neat division between the 61 columns in the north wing decorated by Sety I and the 12 great columns first inscribed by Ramesses II is best explained if Sety had laid the great columns out in painted cartoons. (4) A common feature of Sety I's caption texts in the north wing on the walls and columns is the expansion of royal epithets coming after the cartouches. These epithets are not generally found in Ramesses II's column scenes, except for those on the axial columns. For polychrome cartoons in Sety I's reliefs see Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 161, 169–79, 214–16. On changes to the design of ritual scenes in the Hypostyle Hall in the transition from the reigns of Sety I to Ramesses II see Benoît Lurson, "La conception du décor d'un temple au début du règne de Ramsès II: analyse du deuxième registre de la moitié sud du mur ouest de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *JEA* 91 (2005), 107–24. See also, J. Revez and P. J. Brand, "The Notion of Prime Space in the Layout of the Column Decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* 15 (2015), 253–310.

The reliefs on the twelve great columns of the central nave and all those in the southern wing of the Hall were carved for Ramesses II. Examples of all three phases of his relief decoration (R¹, R², R³) are found on the columns. The central nave and the north-south axis were the first to be decorated after his accession. Reliefs on the south gateway were also carved at the very outset of his reign, indicating that these processional aisles were a priority. It is strange, then, that Sety I never carved the scenes on even the great columns, although he did inscribe the abaci, architraves, and clerestory surmounting them. With the Abydos cartoons in mind, the most likely explanation is that most of the column scenes had been laid out as polychrome designs prior to Sety's death while the sculptors focused their attention on carving the wall decoration. Given the vast size of the project, and the fact that Sety's relief decoration on the columns breaks off evenly along the southernmost row of the smaller columns in the north wing without "spilling over" into the all-important central nave, the use of polychrome cartoons best explains the demarcation between Sety I's and Ramesses II's reliefs on the columns. It also explains why most of the column scenes carved for Ramesses show him in the bowing posture employed by his father, but this was quickly abandoned at the beginning of his own reign. As in the southern wing of Sety I's Abydos temple, Ramesses' sculptors followed this obsolete iconography when they converted polychrome cartoons of Sety I into relief for his successor even long after it had been abandoned by their master. By the end of his own reign, Sety's draftsmen had laid out cartoons on all but the two southernmost rows of columns (except for those which lay directly on the north-south aisle) and in two other clusters that lay adjacent to zones where the latest relief decoration carved for Sety was underway at his death, namely, the southwest corner of the Third Pylon's vestibule and just to the south of the west gateway of the Hypostyle Hall.

Chapter 2

THE CHARACTER AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE RELIEF DECORATION OF SETY I AND RAMESSES II IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

2.1. Character of Sety I's Relief Decoration in the Hypostyle Hall

2.1.1. Method of Relief

Sety I's craftsmen sculpted all of his decoration inside the Great Hypostyle Hall in fine bas-relief, including the walls, columns and their abaci, architraves, and interior elements of the clerestory roof (fig. 15).⁶⁰ They also cut the exterior jambs of the north gateway in raised relief, but Ramesses II later converted them to sunk relief when he usurped the gateway.⁶¹ Of Sety's original decoration, only the war scenes on the north exterior wall and the soffits of the architraves were originally executed as sunk relief.

Sety I's carved decorations inside the Hall are typically of the highest quality. His bas-relief is characterized by subtle modeling of the figures and even of inanimate objects and hieroglyphic signs (fig. 16). The edges of raised figures are rounded naturalistically. Interior features and details are modeled sensitively and layered so that, for example, when Sety's arm or Amun's beard crosses his chest, that element is raised higher than the body and is not merely indicated with an engraved line (fig. 18). In general, his sculptors often embellished Sety's reliefs with finely carved details in varying degree throughout those portions of the Hypostyle Hall that he decorated. This ranges from highly modeled and intricate carved reliefs on the north gateway and east wing of the north wall to rather plain carvings on the west wing of the north wall and upper levels of the west wall (fig. 18).

2.1.2. Ornamentation of the Relief⁶²

Due to the heavier grain of sandstone, which is much coarser than limestone, most of Sety I's interior wall decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall lacks the intricately carved ornamentation found in his Abydos temple, which was built primarily of limestone. In fact, reliefs situated on those architectural elements of his Abydos monument — principally the doorways and columns — that are composed of sandstone also lack such fretwork.⁶³ This tendency toward simpler ornamentation of sandstone reliefs holds true of most New Kingdom temple decoration — in both raised and sunk relief — with a few notable exceptions (figs. 12–13).⁶⁴ Generally speaking, fine embellishment of

⁶⁰ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 193–96.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 202–03; *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 47, 66–69, and pl. 19.

⁶² On the iconography of Sety I's reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall see now: Benoît Lurson, *A Perfect King: Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Royal Ideology of the New Kingdom* (forthcoming, 2016).

⁶³ E.g., in reliefs on the sandstone doorways leading into the seven main chapels from the inner hypostyle hall. See *Abydos IV*, pls. 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 28A, 32. In the column scenes from this same hypostyle hall, the artists made sporadic attempts to carve more ornamentation on the wigs and costumes of the figures; *ibid.*, pls. 67–78.

⁶⁴ Amenhotep III's late "baroque" reliefs created at the time of his jubilees are intricately carved. See W. Raymond Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III at Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The*

Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis, edited by Lawrence Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), pp. 26–46; *idem*, "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution of Meaning," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, by Eric Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 63–94. In addition, some Rameside temple decoration at Karnak is also unusually intricate, viz., Ramesses II's late decoration on the enclosure wall of Thutmose III surrounding the main sanctuary and Akh-menu shrine of Karnak Temple (Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses II. in Karnak*, *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 18 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968]) and Ramesses IV's reliefs in the ambulatory passageway around the bark sanctuary of Khonsu temple (PM II², pp. 235–36 [37–41]; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 17, figs. 15–18; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 260–65).

Theban sandstone reliefs is limited to the facial features and occasionally the plaited wigs of the figures. Elements like bracelets and beaded collars, *rishi*-feather designs on royal and divine costumes, pleated garments, and the like are normally rendered only in paint.

2.1.3. Clusters of Elaborately Ornamented Relief in the North Wing of the Hypostyle Hall

In the Great Hypostyle Hall, more elaborately sculpted ornamentation tends to be highly selective and localized. The artisans often carved the echelons of tight ringlets on Sety's *ibes*-wig (fig. 19).⁶⁵ Less frequently, and seemingly at random, they engraved the long striations on divine tripartite wigs (fig. 21).⁶⁶ Pleating on the king's long gown or on royal and divine kilts is sporadically carved, being especially common on the lowest register of the north and west walls (fig. 20).

There are two significant clusters of more intricate carving on the surfaces of the north gateway and on the adjoining east wing of the north wall. Here, on both the upper and lower registers still *in situ*, the sculptors experimented with a degree of carved ornamentation not found elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall. Due to the coarse grain of the sandstone, or even time constraints, they soon abandoned these efforts as they moved eastward along the north wall away from the central gateway.

2.1.4. Ornamentation of Reliefs on the North Gateway

In a scene depicting Re-Horakhty offering life to pharaoh on the upper register of the outer thickness of the north gateway, the artist carved striations on the god's wig lappets, striping on Sety's *atef*-crown, several rows of beads on both of their broad collars, and pleating on the king's short kilt (fig. 22). Such costume embellishments appear again on other scenes from the outer thickness.⁶⁷ On the exterior jambs of the gateway, much of this ornamentation was lost when Ramesses II converted his father's bas-relief into sunk, but traces remain as with strands on Isis' wig on the middle west jamb, residually on the goddess behind Amun on the middle east jamb, and vestiges of pleating on the king's kilt in the upper east and upper west jambs. In addition, Sety I's artists had carved a pectoral necklace on Ptah's torso on the lower west jamb, although Ramesses II's workmen have largely erased it.⁶⁸

On the east thickness of the ruined passageway of the north gateway, there are reliefs on the eastern inner door reveal that remain unpublished (figs. 23–25, 27).⁶⁹ The main scene is highly unusual due to its iconography, the fact that Sety I's image was later recut, and because of the manner in which the sculptors carved it. Although large portions of the upper half of the scene are now destroyed, it is clear that the subject was Sety I offering incense and libation to Amun-Re, who sits enthroned in a kiosk-shrine. Below the scene, just above the dado pattern at the base of the wall, is a frieze of kneeling fecundity figures, or "Nile gods," much like those found in the hypostyle halls of Sety I's Abydos temple⁷⁰ and in portions of Ramesses II's nearby shrine at that site (fig. 25).⁷¹ Yet, such Nile gods are found nowhere else in the Great Hypostyle Hall. They seem to be part of a discontinued experiment by the draftsman who designed the wall decoration.⁷²

⁶⁵ *GHHK* I.1., pls. 160, 164, 168, 172, 177, 179, 191–92, 196, 198, 205, 208, 211, 217, 222, 231, 236, 245, 252.

⁶⁶ E.g., *GHHK* I.1., pls. 137, 152 (*Userhet* barge front aegis only), 163, 165, 179, 180 (bark aegises), 184, 186, 191–92, 197 (Amun bark aegises), 198–200, 208, 213, 215, 224–25, 226 (Amun bark forward aegis).

⁶⁷ See *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 20.

⁶⁸ *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 19F.

⁶⁹ This decoration is not noted in PM II², p. 49 (162), or Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 10, fig. 5.

⁷⁰ *Abydos* IV, pls. 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 31, 42, 44, 46–48, 50–51.

⁷¹ PM VI, pp. 36–37 (38–40).

⁷² A similar experiment occurs in the Amun-Re bark sanctuary of Sety I's Gurnah temple, where several fecundity figures were partially carved and then suppressed. These and other palimpsests in the chapels of Amun-Re and Khonsu are surely the result of Sety I's modifications to his own reliefs and not evidence of pre-Amarna reliefs of Amenhotep III as Phillippe Martinez has recently claimed. So contra Phillippe Martinez, "Par des portails anépigraphes: un réexamen des développements architecturaux du début de l'époque ramesside à Thèbes Ouest," *Chronique d'Égypte* 83 (2008), pp. 41–74; idem, "Seti I and the Ghosts of What Had Been," *KMT* 18/1 (2007), pp. 36–46.

This relief is also the most intricately embellished of any carvings in the entire Hypostyle Hall. Among the details engraved here that are rarely so indicated elsewhere are the following: (1) the artist has chased the inlaid bracelets and armbands on Amun-Re's arms, and the inner and outer square framework of Amun's throne is embellished with a ribbon border; (2) the high plinth that the god's throne rests on also has engraved decoration along its outer frame with a frieze of  groups rendered in delicate raised relief inside;⁷³ (3) carved in low relief inside the small square in the lower corner of Amun's throne, two Nile gods perform the *sm³-t³wy* rite (fig. 28); (4) on Sety's rear foot, the craftsman has represented all the toes of the king's foot and depicted in high relief the sandal strap arching up from between his first and second toes and above his instep; (5) the Nile gods below the scene have elaborately carved wigs and broad collars, the latter consisting of at least three thin rings in low relief to delineate the echelons of tube beads and an outer row of precisely carved teardrop beads.

As we have argued elsewhere,⁷⁴ the fact that Sety I's images on the north gateway were often recut to modify their posture indicates that this was the first part of the Great Hall to be decorated after the builders had removed the construction embankments and dressed the walls. The presence of the Nile gods and the high degree of ornamentation in this and other scenes on the north gateway — two features that were discontinued elsewhere in Sety I's decoration in the north wing — tends to confirm this finding. It is likely that the kiosk scene and Nile god frieze were the prototype reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall, but the sculptors quickly abandoned any further efforts toward indicating this degree of ornamentation in the adjoining reliefs.

By the time they had reached the interior jambs of the north gateway, the artisans' enthusiasm for engraving such fretwork had already declined. So on the lower west jamb, they carved plaiting on Isis' wig, and someone attempted to engrave the openwork feather design on Amun's tall plumes but never completed the motif (or perhaps he subsequently erased most of it).⁷⁵ At the base of the east jamb, the craftsmen engraved pleats on Sety I's long kilt and on Amun's short kilt along with a latticework pattern on the god's belt. On the middle register, they carved plaiting on Isis' wig, and bracelets on Amun-Kamutef's wrist and bicep muscle (figs. 28–29).⁷⁶ Otherwise, they largely abandoned such flourishes.

2.1.5. Ornamentation of Reliefs Elsewhere in the North Wing

All along the bottom register of both wings of the north wall, we find similar amounts of carved ornamentation on royal and divine kilts, which are apt to be represented with elaborate pleating, and on the tripartite wigs of male and female deities, which often have engraved strands of hair. Surely due to their proximity to ground-level observers, however, the ancient craftsmen embellished these reliefs with further details not found on the registers above. Especially ornate are three scenes representing the sacred barks of the Theban Triad. Not only do their priestly bearers have elaborately carved pleated linen garments, but the bark of Amun-Re has its bejeweled cabin-shrine, veil, and aegis collars all sculpted in ornate bas-relief (figs. 26, 30–33). To the east of the central gateway, the artists even carved miniature decoration on the hubs of the large open fans held aloft by priests over the god's bark (fig. 36).⁷⁷

On the second (upper *in situ*) register, the quantities of engraved details on the east and west wings are starkly different. Just to the east of the central gateway, Sety I's artists continued their experimentation with greater levels of ornamentation of wigs and kilts, but their interest in this technique waned as they moved eastward toward the far end of the wall (fig. 43). Most unusual is the scene adjacent to the north gateway, where a craftsman carved the stripes on Sety I's *nemes*-headcloth in bold relief (fig. 34). By contrast, on the western wing's second register, the reliefs seem plain, being largely devoid of such embellishments except for ringlets on the king's *ibes*-wig in two instances (figs. 35, 38–39, 47).⁷⁸ Kilts lack pleating, or even their lower hems, in the case of the kneeling king.

⁷³ The only parallels in the Hypostyle Hall are the two huge scenes on the west wall, *GHHK* I.1., pls. 7 and 137.

⁷⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 202–06.

⁷⁵ *GHHK* I.1., pl. 184.

⁷⁶ *GHHK* I.1., pl. 186.

⁷⁷ *GHHK* I.1., pl. 197.

⁷⁸ *GHHK* I.1., pls. 172, 177.

In most scenes across the north wing of the east wall, the sculptors have engraved detailing on the kilts and wigs of most of the figures.⁷⁹ Here and there, further carved ornaments appear, including stripes on the king's *nemes*-headcloth (fig. 37),⁸⁰ latticework patterns on belts (fig. 37),⁸¹ and designs on the large triangular flap of some royal kilts (fig. 42).⁸² The high frequency of such ornamentation on the east wall by contrast with its absence on the west wing of the north wall might indicate that the former were sculpted first or that two different teams of craftsmen labored on these wall sections. Regardless, the frequency of embellishment again declines precipitously on the north wing of the Third Pylon's vestibule, where the royal kilt is pleated only sporadically and those of the gods not at all.⁸³ Finally, on the north wing of the west wall, reliefs on the lowest register are once again more elaborately carved than those on the three levels above which are mostly devoid of these embellishments (fig. 286).

2.1.6. Recutting of Sety I's Reliefs

It is frequently the case that Sety I's artisans modified their work after completing it. These subsequent alterations may be termed recutting. Reliefs were not always recut for the same reasons. Minor tinkering with the proportions of figures for purely aesthetic reasons may be described as "cosmetic" recutting (figs. 34, 40–41, 43, 46).⁸⁴ On different occasions, however, the objective was to change significantly the iconographic content of the decoration (figs. 44–45). Although these two purposes of recutting must be distinguished, this is not to say that both cannot occur in the same relief.

In the Great Hypostyle Hall, recutting usually targets one of three elements in the scenes: the royal figure, or those of the gods, and the processional bark of Amun-Re. Alterations to Sety I's effigies are by far the most common and the most profound in terms of both the degree of cosmetic modification and the frequency and significance of iconographic changes. Cosmetic adjustments were most commonly made to the king's limbs, facial profile, torso, and sometimes crown or headdress (figs. 9, 32, 34, 40–41, 43, 46). In many cases the artists recut the proportions of their master's effigy to make them slightly larger or thicker. Iconographically, the most significant changes occur on the north gateway, where upright figures of Sety were recarved to make them bow toward the deity (figs. 49–51). Elsewhere in the Hall the stooped pose is nearly universal. On the third (uppermost *in situ*) register of the north wall's eastern wing, several kneeling representations of the pharaoh had their kilts modified through the addition of a large triangular flap (figs. 9, 43).⁸⁵ Beyond the north wall, iconographic changes are rare, although Sety's headdress was changed from a cap-crown to a *khat*-wig in an isolated example on the east wall (fig. 13).⁸⁶

Recutting of the gods' images is wholly cosmetic and is both less frequent and less intense than modifications to the king's. It is characterized by the occasional light retouching of the limbs, bodies, and heads of various divine figures (figs. 28–29, 47–48). They are often more subtle, and Nelson usually overlooked them. More significant are the changes wrought to Amun-Re's processional bark, especially to the structure and iconography of its cabin-shrine and enveloping veil in two examples from the north wall (figs. 26, 30, 49).⁸⁷

2.1.7. Iconography of Sety I's Image in the Great Hypostyle Hall

A characteristic feature shared by nearly every representation of Sety I in ritual scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall is that both standing and kneeling figures of the king have their torsos inclined forward so that he appears to bow to the gods (figs. 52, 363).⁸⁸ Normally in New Kingdom art, the king stands with his torso fully erect. Only rarely do other pharaohs exhibit this bowing posture, usually for a functional purpose so that they may complete their ritual task.⁸⁹ Kneeling kings also usually have upright torsos, although occasionally they may appear with stooped torsos as a gesture of humility.

⁷⁹ GHHK I.1, pls. 202–32, *passim*.

⁸⁰ GHHK I.1, pls. 216, 218.

⁸¹ GHHK I.1, pls. 216–18.

⁸² GHHK I.1, pl. 227 center and right. Note that there is a tiny fox-head motif at the corner of this flap in the central scene. Compare, e.g., Abydos IV, pls. 7, 17, 19, 22, 35.

⁸³ GHHK I.1, pls. 236–37, 240.

⁸⁴ *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, p. xviii and *passim*; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, p. 23.

⁸⁵ GHHK I.1, pls. 189, 191–93, 195.

⁸⁶ GHHK I.1, pl. 220.

⁸⁷ See our commentary to GHHK I.1, pls. 180 and 197.

⁸⁸ See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 8–19.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–12, 15–16.

During the second half of Sety I's reign, it is frequently the case that his figure appears in a bowing posture almost to the exclusion of the conventional upright stance. This pattern can be observed in his reliefs from Abydos, Gurnah, and the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (fig. 51). All three monuments were left incomplete at his death, and it is likely that none of them received decoration until the last years of his reign. At Karnak, however, Sety originally intended to have a mix of bowing and upright figures before he changed his mind and decided to have only inclined figures. This earlier program of mixed figures is evident on the piers of the clerestory roof that separate the huge window grilles (figs. 50, 53–55). On the northern piers, the king stands erect before the gods Amun-Re and Mut, while on the south range he always bows. As we have argued elsewhere, the clerestory roof was probably the first part of the Great Hypostyle Hall to receive decoration.⁹⁰ In the earliest decoration on the north gateway, a similar blend of upright and bowing royal effigies seems to have prevailed.⁹¹ However, the king next ordered his sculptors to recarve all the erect figures as bowing ones and proclaimed that all future royal representations should also have inclined torsos, both standing and kneeling figures (figs. 44–45). Thereafter on the interior wall and columns of the Hypostyle Hall, Sety almost universally adopts this humble posture except in two episodes of the so-called baptism of pharaoh.⁹²

This humble stance disappears quickly during the earliest part of Ramesses II's reign, being present in only a few reliefs from his Beit el-Wali temple.⁹³ Thereafter, we see it again mostly in scenes carved by Ramesses II that had been laid out as painted cartoons in the reign of Sety I at Sety's Abydos temple and on many of the columns in the southern wing and central nave of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (fig. 56).⁹⁴ By contrast, even Sety I may appear standing upright in posthumous scenes created during the reign of his son in the hall⁹⁵ and at Gurnah temple (fig. 57, pl. 27).⁹⁶ Because Sety I used this humble iconography until the end of his reign while Ramesses II quickly abandoned it, we may be sure that scenes featuring images of Sety standing fully upright in the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall and in parts of the Gurnah temple decorated by Ramesses II were not carved while Sety was still alive during an alleged co-regency. Instead, they are posthumous representations that Ramesses carved in his father's name only after Sety had died.⁹⁷

2.2. Chronology of Sety I's Relief Work in the Great Hypostyle Hall

Upon finishing its construction, and while most of the structure still lay buried under the earthen embankments and ramps used to build it, the first parts of the Great Hypostyle Hall to receive Sety I's relief decoration were the clerestory roof and the abaci of the twelve great columns in the central nave.⁹⁸ On the interior faces of the piers that secured the clerestory's huge window grilles, Sety's artists represented him standing before Amun-Re and Mut to receive life. On the south aisle, the king adopts a stooped posture familiar from most of his decoration in the Hall and from other temple reliefs of his reign at Gurnah and Abydos. On the northern piers, however, Sety stands fully upright, a posture that is highly exceptional among his reliefs in this edifice. As we have argued elsewhere, it appears that the pharaoh originally intended to have his image alternate between the upright and stooped pose.⁹⁹

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 201–02, 212–13. See below, §2.2.

⁹¹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 202–05.

⁹² *GHHK* 1.1, pls. 148, 198.

⁹³ Herbert Ricke, George R. Hughes, and Edward F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 1 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967), pls. 19c, 19d, 31–33, 44.

⁹⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 164–67, 214–16.

⁹⁵ *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 27.

⁹⁶ See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 246–48 and figs. 120, 124, 126, 129.

⁹⁷ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 323–26.

⁹⁸ The thirty-six facets of the great column abaci display a number of peculiarities that set them apart from Sety I's abaci decoration in the northern wing of the Hypostyle Hall. Among these are use of a -glyph wearing the Red Crown in his *nomen* cartouches on the northern row of columns (nos. 1–6) and the occurrence of epithets attached to his *prenomen* cartouche like *ḥkꜣ-Wꜣs.t* “ruler of Thebes,” *ḥkꜣ-Iwnw* “ruler of Heliopolis,” and *ḥkꜣ-Mꜣt* “ruler of Ma‘at,” which do not appear elsewhere in Sety I's abaci decoration or that of Ramesses II in the Hall.

⁹⁹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 201–02, 204–05, 217.

Before his masons removed the construction fill and dressed the rough-hewn blocks composing the walls and columns, Sety's craftsmen inscribed the exterior faces of the clerestory as well as the architraves in and adjacent to the central nave.¹⁰⁰ Once the builders had cleared away these embankments, dressed the walls smooth, and mended surface defects with patch stones and plaster infill, draftsmen and sculptors proceeded to compose and carve decoration on the northern gateway. There are a number of reasons for dating Sety I's reliefs on this gateway before all others inside the Hall, excepting only the clerestory piers and the abaci of the twelve large columns.¹⁰¹ As the Epigraphic Survey first noted and our own study later confirmed, a number of Sety I's effigies in scenes on the jambs and thicknesses of the north gateway initially stood in an upright posture before the artisans transformed them into bowing ones.¹⁰² Closer investigation of these scenes revealed that in at least two cases pharaoh's initial stance was a bowing one.¹⁰³ Thus it is clear that Sety initially planned to include a mix of both upright and stooped figures on the north gateway before deciding to show all of them bowing here and elsewhere throughout the hall, with very few exceptions.¹⁰⁴ This decision came early because the artists recut most of the king's images on the gateway, subjecting those that stood upright to the most extensive modifications to make them into bowing figures. Beyond this iconographic transformation, all the bowing and upright royal effigies as well as the images of the gods — but to a lesser extent — were further retouched in a "cosmetic" fashion to refine the proportions of their limbs, heads, and torsos.¹⁰⁵ While these lesser cosmetic adjustments are common on the east wing of the north wall, it is only on the north gateway that we find images of the king transformed from the upright into the bowing pose, which leads us to conclude that both iterations of the north gateway reliefs are earlier than those on the adjoining north wall proper.

Further confirmation of this early date for the north gateway reliefs stems from their high degree of carved ornamentation, especially when compared to most of Sety I's decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall. These localized embellishments share all the hallmarks of a failed experiment that was quickly abandoned. Perhaps the coarse grain of the sandstone made them harder to produce than similar carved detail in Sety's limestone reliefs at Abydos. Likewise, time pressures may have come into play; given the vast numbers of reliefs waiting to be created, the sculptors would have faced time constraints that prevented them from spending too much effort engraving such ornamentation.

Even as they applied the finishing touches to the north gateway reliefs, the sculptors may have begun carving reliefs adjacent to them on the west end of the north wall's eastern wing. Here, on the two lower *in situ* registers, we find the same mix of cosmetic recutting and sporadic attempts at carved ornamentation as the gateway, but without the radical transformation of Sety I's posture. In several episodes on the upper register *in situ*, sculptors inserted a large, triangular flap at the front of the kneeling Sety's kilt.¹⁰⁶ On both registers, they also frequently modified the proportions of his limbs, head, and body,¹⁰⁷ and they occasionally reworked those of the gods as

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 202. See Jean Revez, Peter J. Brand, et al., "The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, Report on the 2011 Field Season for the University of Memphis and the Université du Québec à Montréal," *Cahiers de Karnak* 14 (2013), pp. 193–229.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 201–06.

¹⁰² *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 73–75; Brand, *Monuments of Sety I*, pp. 202–05.

¹⁰³ So on the bottom register of the west interior jamb (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 184).

¹⁰⁴ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pl. 148, where Horus and Seth purify the king. Here the bowing posture would have disrupted the basic symmetry of this episode. Nor does he stoop while supporting Amun-Kamutef's cult image in procession, *ibid.*, pl. 159. Likewise, while Ramesses I's posthumous images do bow like his son in most reliefs Sety I created in his father's memory, he does not incline in two ritual running scenes, *ibid.*, pls. 141–42.

¹⁰⁵ Recently, Jean-François Carlotti and Philippe Martinez have called attention to the recut proportions of the gods, claiming that these were wholly ignored by the Epigraphic Survey and

me. They make the highly dubious claim that this recutting is evidence for pre-Amarna decoration of the north wall belonging to a structure supposedly built prior to Akhenaten's vendetta against the Theban gods: Jean-François Carlotti, Philippe Martinez, "Nouvelles observations architecturales et épigraphiques sur la grande salle hypostyle du temple d'Amon-Rê a Karnak," *Cahiers de Karnak* 14 (2013), pp. 231–77. If this were the case, one would expect clear signs of iconoclastic defacement of said images, including hacking of the wall surface and depressions. Moreover, it is clear from valid examples of Amarna-period iconoclasm that Akhenaten's surrogates were so thorough as to leave almost no trace of the original Eighteenth Dynasty images they had methodically effaced at Karnak. See Peter J. Brand, "Methods Used in Restoring Reliefs Vandalized During the Amarna Period," *GM* 170 (1999), pp. 37–48; *idem*, "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period," *JARCE* 36 (1999), pp. 113–34.

¹⁰⁶ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 189, 191–93, 195.

¹⁰⁷ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 189–200, *passim*. See our commentary to these scenes.

well,¹⁰⁸ although less frequently and to a lesser extent. Among the carved embellishments they applied to the figures are pleating on Sety I's kilt,¹⁰⁹ and those of some male deities,¹¹⁰ individual strands of hair on the tripartite wigs of the divines,¹¹¹ decoration on the floral offerings in one scene,¹¹² and the spectacular ornamentation of the bark processional scene on the bottom register.¹¹³ These embellishments start to wane toward the east end of the wall, especially on the upper register, further suggesting that the sculptors moved from west to east starting at the central gateway. It is unclear how many teams of sculptors were working in the Great Hypostyle Hall during the last years of Sety I's reign or where they turned their efforts upon completing the east wing of the north wall.

By the time Sety I died, his craftsmen had completed their work on all the wall surface in the northern wing of the hall, and their efforts had begun at the north end of the west wall in the south wing and on the south wing of the vestibule of the Third Pylon. There is a neat division between Sety I's reliefs on the sixty-one smaller columns in the north wing and those of Ramesses II on the twelve great columns of the central nave, suggesting that Sety's workmen paused upon completing the northern columns and turned their attentions to the wall reliefs until the king's death left further work to be done in the name of his successor.

2.3. Character of Reliefs of Ramesses II

2.3.1. Raised Reliefs of Ramesses II

Upon his accession and for much of the first year of his rule, Ramesses II's artisans continued to employ bas-relief to decorate the Hypostyle Hall's interior surfaces just as Sety I had done. Sculptural work in this mode occupied the northern part of the south wing of the west wall (i.e., the south tower of the Second Pylon), the west wing of the south wall and all surfaces of the south gateway, including the exterior ones.¹¹⁴ During this phase, Ramesses inscribed the twelve great columns in the nave along with the smaller ones in the southern part of the building lying along the north-south axis (figs. 56, 73).¹¹⁵ On these columns along both axes, it is likely that Ramesses' sculptors carved his earliest reliefs using cartoon designs laid out under Sety I. Many of these show the king bowing, an iconographic phenomenon that Ramesses II otherwise quickly discontinued in his own temple art. Realizing that it would be some time before his sculptors could engrave the column decoration while they labored on the walls, Sety I had ordered his draftsmen to create painted designs on the columns lying along the main east-west and the southern half of the secondary north-south axes as a temporary substitute for relief. These may have been polychrome cartoons, a phenomenon also seen in the southern wing of Sety's Abydos temple.¹¹⁶ Once Ramesses II became king after Sety I's death, immortalizing these designs in relief carved in his own name was among the new ruler's first priorities in completing the decoration of the Great Hypostyle Hall. For aside from these axial columns, he ignored the rest until his artisans had completed the wall decoration. The absence of any palimpsest traces of Sety I's names carved on these columns further undermines the theory of a regency or co-regency between the two kings. Although Ramesses later converted this decoration into sunk relief, all the palimpsest traces we have found to date of the suppressed raised relief decoration on these twenty-four columns name Ramesses II alone, to wit, the early, short form of his *prenomen*, with evidence of Sety I's cartouches being entirely absent.¹¹⁷

On the western wall's south wing, Sety I's designers may have drafted a few scenes — later carved for Ramesses II — as cartoons before Sety's death. Benoît Lurson has identified further iconographic criteria that

¹⁰⁸ GHHK I.1, pls. 191, 193, 199.

¹⁰⁹ GHHK I.1, pls. 187, 191–92, 195, 197–200

¹¹⁰ GHHK I.1, pls. 187, 198–99.

¹¹¹ GHHK I.1, pls. 186, 191–92, 198–200.

¹¹² GHHK I.1, pl. 191.

¹¹³ GHHK I.1, pl. 197.

¹¹⁴ William J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 171–72.

¹¹⁵ Columns 1–12, 16–17, 25–26, 34–35, 43–44, 52–53, 61–62, 67–73.

¹¹⁶ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 161, 169–70, 214–16.

¹¹⁷ Repeated examination of the palimpsest reliefs on these axial columns over several years, most recently during the Hypostyle Hall Project's 2013 and 2014–15 field seasons, has revealed only traces of Ramesses II's early cartouches underneath his later sunk relief decoration. On the twelve great columns in particular, the absence of any palimpsest traces of Sety I's cartouches stands in bold contrast to their presence on the usurped surfaces of the adjacent architraves and interior surfaces of the clerestory piers where Sety's name is clearly detectable. See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, figs. 95–99, 111.

indicate that designs for some of these early reliefs on the west wall had been sketched by Sety I's draftsmen.¹¹⁸ However, it is equally possible that the draftsmen were working just ahead of the sculptors on the west wall and that some iconographic features common under Sety I continued in use during the transition to his son's reign before Ramesses II's image designers began to distinguish his work from the earlier style.

It is difficult to fully appreciate Ramesses II's bas-relief decoration in the Hall because he later ordered his workmen to transform all of it into sunk relief (fig. 60).¹¹⁹ However, since interior portions of sunk relief designs were traditionally carved as raised, a few examples of Ramesses' original bas-relief have survived from the initial phase of his work in the Hypostyle Hall. Among the most elaborate are a large clapnet filled with trapped waterfowl at the top of the west wall (fig. 59), the bark of Amun-Re transported on his great river barge at the base of the west wall (fig. 58), the Theban Triad within a shrine on the west wall (fig. 61), and the recut decoration on the canopy of Amun's sacred bark on the south wall (fig. 62).¹²⁰ Enough survives to place the quality and level of detail of Ramesses II's earliest carvings on par with much of Sety I's raised work in the north wing of the Hall.

When compared to bas-relief created at the outset of his reign at Gurnah, Abydos, and Beit el-Wali, Ramesses II's decoration at Karnak falls toward the upper range in quality. It is perhaps closest to his initial decoration in Sety I's Gurnah temple, although this question might be answered with further research (fig. 63).¹²¹ Certainly, reliefs in both venues were carved in sandstone. At Abydos, limestone prevailed as the general building material for both Sety I's and Ramesses II's temples. Ramesses' carvings from staircase Y' of his father's temple, like Sety's reliefs at Abydos, are more elaborately ornamented than most of either king's work in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall due to the superior fine grain of limestone as a sculpting medium. In his small Abydos temple, however, Ramesses' bas-relief decoration lacks the carved fretwork of the Sety temple. Here paint was substituted for incised detail, thereby speeding up the process of finishing the work (fig. 362). Raised reliefs at Beit el-Wali are the poorest of all Ramesses II's earliest decoration, especially those from the inner rooms of the speos proper, while the battle scenes in the court show greater finesse. Here again, elaborate polychrome substituted for all but the most requisite carved details such as facial features.¹²²

2.3.2. Sunk Reliefs of Ramesses II

Ramesses II's use of raised relief continued apace during much of his first regnal year, but at some point later in that year or perhaps early in the second regnal year — we are not sure when¹²³ — the king ordered his sculptors henceforth to employ sunk relief alone, to the exclusion of bas-relief, on the interiors of buildings like the Great Hypostyle Hall, where raised decoration had been traditional since the Old Kingdom (figs. 64–66). Thereafter, Ramesses continued to use sunk relief, with almost no exceptions, for the duration of his reign, as did his successors throughout the Ramesside era.

Over the course of his long rule, the quality of Ramesses II's sunk-relief decoration varied widely. Unfortunately, he is better known today for his shoddiest work than for that of the highest quality. Moreover, negative modern appraisals of the pharaoh's sunk relief are often grounded in an aesthetic preference for raised carving and the suspicion that the king adopted sunk relief merely as an expedient to produce wall decoration quickly with little regard for their quality.¹²⁴

As Claude Vandersleyen has argued, an important consideration in Ramesses II's adoption of sunk relief was that it is simply more visible in low-light conditions.¹²⁵ For centuries, the ancient Egyptians valued sunk-relief

¹¹⁸ Benoît Lurson, "La conception du décor d'un temple au début du règne de Ramsès II: analyse du deuxième registre de la moitié sud du mur ouest de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *JEA* 91 (2005), pp. 107–24.

¹¹⁹ See below, §2.5.

¹²⁰ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 36, 38, 44, 53.

¹²¹ See now Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 236–39.

¹²² Ricke, Hughes, and Wentz, *Beit el-Wali Temple*, pls. 1, 48–49.

¹²³ All we know for certain is that the king had begun to use the long form of his *prenomen* with sunk relief (R³) by III šmw 26

toward the end of his second regnal year. If, as Kitchen avers, the long *prenomen* was adopted early in the second year, then the period of R² would be pushed back into the second half of the first year.

¹²⁴ E.g., W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 209.

¹²⁵ Claude Vandersleyen, "De l'usage du relief dans le creux à l'époque Ramesside," *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 86 (1979), pp. 16–38.

decoration on exterior monumental surfaces because it was plainly visible both in strong sunlight and in shadow. This was no less true under porticos or inside buildings, but there they preferred raised relief despite its poorer visibility in low-light conditions. Instead, they relied on polychrome paint to distinguish elements of bas-relief and show them distinctly against the background surface. The ongoing use of sunk-relief decoration throughout the Ramesside age — almost to the exclusion of raised relief — suggests that an aesthetic preference was a contributing factor. Moreover, the use of very deeply carved sunk relief, especially under Ramesses III, tends to confirm that visibility of relief under different lighting conditions was important. Finally, the highly intricate reliefs of Ramesses II on Thutmose III's enclosure wall around the main sanctuary of Karnak¹²⁶ and Ramesses IV's elaborately ornamented decoration in the ambulatory passage around the bark shrine of the Khonsu temple at Karnak¹²⁷ militate against the argument that sunk relief was used in place of bas-relief merely as a time-saving expedient (figs. 12–13).

Ramesses II's sunken decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall is on par with much of his Theban temple relief created during the early decades of his reign at Gurnah, the Ramesseum, and Luxor Temple. Figures have crisply defined outer beveled cut lines and naturally rounded modeling along their inner edges. Interior features are carved in fine bas-relief, and the sculptors took pains to render the faces of their subjects with care. Hieroglyphic texts are crisply carved, but due to the medium of sunk relief, they lack the modeling and interior details of Sety I's finest bas-relief glyphs. Yet, leaving aside the lack of carved embellishments found in Sety's finest work and the modern aesthetic preference for raised relief over sunk relief, most of Ramesses' sunk-relief decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall need not be judged inferior to Sety I's bas-reliefs in terms of quality. This is especially true on the lower registers, which were more readily visible to observers on the ground. On the tops of the walls, the work is often of a poorer, more hurried workmanship.

2.4. The Three Phases of Ramesses II's Wall Reliefs in the Hall

Scholars have long established the fact that during approximately the first two years of Ramesses II's reign, the style of his wall decoration and both the forms and orthography of his cartouche names evolved.¹²⁸ In the several Upper Egyptian and Nubian temples where his earliest relief carvings appear, Seele and others have identified three distinct phases of the king's work based on how the style of relief — raised or sunk — and the form of his *prenomen* cartouche *Wsr-M'ṯ-R'* (with or without the epithet *stp-n-R'*) coincided. Earlier works have labeled these phases R¹, R², and R³, and this nomenclature is adopted here.

2.4.1. First Stage: Raised Relief, Early Prenomen (R¹)

Ramesses II's sculptors executed his earliest decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall in raised relief, as Sety I's had. Ramesses' *prenomen* is invariably the simple form *Wsr-M'ṯ-R'*.¹²⁹ The orthography of this shorter *prenomen* — that is, the selection and arrangement of the individual hieroglyphs — is normally . His *nomen* fluctuates between

¹²⁶ Helck, *Umfassungsmauer*, vol. 2, passim.

¹²⁷ PM II², pp. 235–36 (37–41); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 260–67.

¹²⁸ Kurt Sethe, “Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramesses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 110–14; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 27–30; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 158–61; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 34–36; Anthony Spalinger, “Early Writings of Ramesses II's Names,” *Chronique d'Égypte* 83 (2008), pp. 75–89.

¹²⁹ At Gurnah temple, inscriptions dated to phases R¹ and R² occasionally have Ramesses II's *prenomen* with various epithets attached to it. These epithets include *stp-n-R'*, *ti.t-R'*, *iw'.t-R'* and *iri-n-R'* (Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 27–30, §45; Murnane, *JNES* 34 [1975], p. 159). Much has been made of these variant epithets in discussions of the alleged coregency between Sety I and Ramesses II. In our experience, however, the early variants of the *prenomen* cartouche — before the definitive adoption of *stp-n-R'* around

the end of his year two — usually bear these epithets in horizontally arranged cartouches found largely on door lintels, architraves, and the abaci blocks of columns, but are rare among the vertically arranged ones from wall scenes and doorjambs. This distribution of horizontal *prenomen* cartouches with these several epithets holds true both for the king's raised and sunk relief decoration prior to the permanent adoption of the epithet *stp-n-R'*. For this reason, none of the *prenomen* cartouches in wall reliefs from the Hypostyle Hall datable to phases R¹ and R² has epithets except for a couple of isolated examples on the *Ished-tree* scene on the south wall (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 79). An exception to this general rule are small cartouches with *Wsr-M'ṯ-R'-ti.t-R'* on the six papyriform columns of the main Hypostyle Hall in Sety I's Gurnah temple carved in raised relief (R¹) during Ramesses II's first regnal year (Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37, fig. 1, nos. 11–16; PM II², p. 410).

the R^c -*ms-s* and R^c -*ms-sw* forms, in no discernible pattern from scene to scene. The *nomen* epithet *mr-Imn* is invariably present; however, its orthography also fluctuates. Subsequently, Ramesses converted all this R^1 decoration into sunk relief (R^3), where he always used the R^c -*ms-s* form of his *nomen* and the long form of his *prenomen* *Wsr-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ-stp-n-Rꜥ*. We can frequently detect palimpsests of the king's earlier *nomen* and *prenomen* variants amid these "updated" cartouches (figs. 336, 340, 342, 345–46). Reliefs in R^1 encompassed part of the south wing of the west wall and the west wing of the south wall inclusive of the south gateway (plans 2–3). During this period, Ramesses II also decorated the twelve great columns of the central nave and fourteen smaller ones lying along the secondary north-south axis in the southern part of the building while leaving the remaining columns in the south wing uncarved.

2.4.2. Second Stage: Sunk Relief, Early Prenomen (R^2)

Decorative phase R^2 began when Ramesses ordered all new relief carving on the interior surfaces of his monuments – traditionally rendered in bas-relief – to be sculpted henceforth only in sunk relief. This directive coincided with his ongoing use of the shorter version of his *prenomen* and both the R^c -*ms-s* and R^c -*ms-sw* forms of his *nomen*, with multiple orthographies of both cartouches (figs. 337–38, 341, 344, 347, 355). In fact, his artists greatly increased their experimentation with numerous, and sometimes weird, variant writings of both cartouches during the R^2 phase in the Great Hypostyle Hall and at Gurnah and Abydos (figs. 71, 357–58).

At Karnak, the R^2 phase encompasses roughly the southern third of the south wing of the west wall, all of the south wall east of the south gateway, the south end of the east wall, and a handful of tableaux on the south wing of the Third Pylon vestibule (plans 3, 7, 15). It is clear from the arrangement of stages R^1 and R^2 on the west and south walls that at least two gangs of sculptors labored simultaneously during these two phases.¹³⁰ Their work must have proceeded from north to south and west to east, respectively. From the neat division between the first two phases on the south wall, it seems likely that the sculptors were ordered to finish the entire west wing and central gateway in raised relief (R^1) before switching to sunk relief (R^2) along the east wing of this wall. Less elegant is the division between the two styles on the west wall's south wing, which follows a ragged diagonal line (plan 2).¹³¹ In two cases, the division between styles of relief bisects the scene (figs. 68, 72).¹³²

2.4.3. Third Stage: Sunk Relief, Final Prenomen (R^3)

In the final stage of Ramesses II's relief decoration from his early years, the king continued to employ sunk-relief decoration exclusively. By III šmw 26 in his second regnal year, Ramesses had adopted the long *prenomen* *Wsr-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ-stp-n-Rꜥ*.¹³³ This coincided with the standardization of the form of his *nomen* as R^c -*ms-s-mr-Imn* in southern Upper Egypt from Thebes southward into Nubia.¹³⁴ While the orthography of both cartouches still varied in terms of glyph choice and arrangement, their epithets and vocalization did not.¹³⁵ Few blank wall surfaces inside the Great Hypostyle Hall remained by the time Ramesses II had adopted the definitive long form of his *prenomen* (plans 2, 7, 15).¹³⁶ Aside from marginal decoration on the wall extension connecting the south wall to the Second Pylon,¹³⁷ only the spaces between the flag-mast niches on the south range of the east wall and part of the south face of the

¹³⁰ Seele, *Coregency*, p. 88, §127.

¹³¹ See our introduction to the south wing of the west wall for the division between the R^1 and R^2 phases on this wall.

¹³² *GHHK* I.1, pls. 17, 26. See also our commentary to the same.

¹³³ So on his year-two stela from the Aswan region: *KRI* II, p. 344:10. See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 161.

¹³⁴ Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Aspects of Ramesside Egypt," in *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology*, edited by Walter F. Reinecke. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 14 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1979), pp. 383–89. An exception is the period between years 42 and 54, when the form R^c -*ms-s-nꜥtr-ḥꜣꜣ-Imnw* was commonly used. It is evident that the R^c -*ms-s* form was spatially more economical in conjunction with the epithet

nꜥtr-ḥꜣꜣ-Imnw. Furthermore, these elaborated *nomen* cartouches are usually arranged horizontally like the early *prenomen* variants with epithets. Cf. their use in horizontal bandeau texts from the girdle wall of Thutmose III at Karnak below ritual scenes where the vertical cartouches are all the standard R^c -*ms-sw-mr-Imn*. Helck, *Umfassungsmauer*, vol. 2, pls. 23, 29, 37, 38, 43, 54–55, 75, 76a, 79.

¹³⁵ On the vocalization of Ramesses II's *nomen*, see Kenneth A. Kitchen, Review of *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, by Peter J. Brand, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11 (2001), p. 382.

¹³⁶ Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 179.

¹³⁷ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 41.

Third Pylon's vestibule were still uncarved when phase R³ began.¹³⁸ Here again, there is a neat boundary between the R² and R³ reliefs, on either side of the southernmost flag-mast niche, indicating that the sculptors completed the south end of the wall in R² before beginning to decorate in the later style farther to the north.¹³⁹

Upon sculpting the last remaining wall sections, the craftsmen turned their attention to carving decoration on the remaining unfinished columns in the south wing.¹⁴⁰ In a strange exception to the usual pattern of R³ reliefs, they had inscribed the abaci blocks in the south wing of the hall in sunk relief, but here the *nomen* R^c-ms-sw coincides with the long form of the *prenomen*. R^c-ms-sw is consistently spelled , just as it had appeared in the raised relief abaci along the north-south axis that were later changed to R^c-ms-s when Ramesses converted his raised decoration on these columns to sunk (fig. 359). We may conclude that the sculptors were following a pattern established during phase R¹ or R², although it is not at all clear whether these abaci inscriptions had been sketched as cartoons prior to R³.¹⁴¹ Why his sculptors continued to use the seemingly obsolete form R^c-ms-sw during the R³ phase on the remaining abaci once he adopted the long form of his *prenomen* is unclear, but in a few cases the *nomen* was later changed to R^c-ms-s in paint.¹⁴² Loss of this pigment on most of the abaci makes it unclear whether such corrections were isolated or widespread.¹⁴³

2.5. Ramesses II's Conversion of His Own Bas-relief into Sunk Relief (R¹-R³)

At some point after he adopted his final *prenomen* cartouche, Ramesses II commanded his sculptors to transform all the raised-relief decoration on the walls and columns in the south wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall into sunk relief, along with his decoration on the twelve great columns in the nave and on the closed-bud papyrus columns along the north-south processional axis in the south wing that he had previously executed in raised relief (fig. 56). A *terminus post quem* for these conversions in the south wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall lies somewhere during his second regnal year, by which time Ramesses II had adopted the definitive form of his *prenomen* Wsr-M³t-R^c-stp-n-R^c, presumably after the sculptors had completed the remaining decoration of the walls and columns during phase R³. They cannot have finished the conversions of R¹ to R³ later than year 21 based on the form of Ramesses II's *prenomen*, R^c-ms-s, which thereafter became obsolete in Upper Egypt and Nubia. It is likely they did so much earlier.

According to Seele and Murnane, Ramesses' transformation of his early raised relief work into sunk arose from a desire to homogenize the style of decoration in the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall, and to appropriate the few wall reliefs of Sety I carved there so that credit for the south wing would appear to be entirely his own.¹⁴⁴ The fact that none of his R² cartouches were retouched, especially the short *prenomen* variants with their many eclectic and highly unorthodox orthographies, demonstrates that Ramesses' revisions to his own early bas-relief decoration was not motivated by a desire simply to standardize his cartouches.¹⁴⁵ In fact, the only sunk relief decoration his craftsmen "updated" were some of Ramesses II's early cartouche variants on the soffits of architraves lying near the central nave.¹⁴⁶ Elsewhere in the south wing, a few examples of corrections made in paint survive, but most of the polychrome has long ago disappeared making it impossible to determine how often his *nomen* was revised in paint.

¹³⁸ GHHK I.1, pls. 88–89, 94–95, 101–04, 106–13.

¹³⁹ The division between R² and R³ is more complex at the south corner of the Third Pylon vestibule, where R² also collides with the last wall reliefs carved under Sety I.

¹⁴⁰ Columns 13–15, 18–24, 27–33, 36–42, 45–51, 54–60, 63–66.

¹⁴¹ It is equally possible that the draftsmen and sculptors deliberately used the seemingly "obsolete" form of the *nomen* during the R³ phase. Abaci may have been an exceptional case, for we find a mix of R^c-ms-s and R^c-ms-sw cartouches alternating on the abaci of Ramesses II's peristyle forecourt at Luxor Temple in decoration of the R³ period, which must predate year 21.

¹⁴² Columns 45 (north), 55 (south), 63 (south).

¹⁴³ See Brand, Revez et al., *Cahiers de Karnak* 14, pp. 193–229.

¹⁴⁴ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 90–91, §§130–31; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 179–80.

¹⁴⁵ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 90–91, §131; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 179. In one case (GHHK I.1, pl. 34:14), a *prenomen* cartouche in raised relief was accidentally rendered in sunk relief in its original form without *stp-n-R^c*, and then revised to include the epithet. Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 53–56, §§83–84; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 180. None of the cartouches in R² was ever recut.

¹⁴⁶ Vincent Rondot, *La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: les architraves* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1997), pls. 41–42.

2.5.1. Character of the Converted Relief

In transforming raised relief into sunk, Ramesses II's workmen used the following procedure. They cut a trough around the main figures in such a way that the outer beveled cut line of the sunk relief lay on or sometimes just inside the outer edge of the previous raised relief (figs. 60, 67). As a result, the inner edge of the sunk relief lay inside the bounds of the former relief, effectively shrinking the size of the figures. This process often left palimpsests traces of the obliterated bas-relief in the form of raised lips from the edges of raised elements or as finely incised lines (figs. 74–78, 86–87). Such engraved lines are an artifact of the process for carving bas-reliefs whereby the craftsman first cut a shallow incised line around the elements of raised decoration.¹⁴⁷ Vestiges of the suppressed bas-relief are most apparent as ghostly outlines circumvallating the sunken hieroglyphs and the bodies of the figures.

Faced with a large corpus of raised-relief decoration they needed to convert into sunk, the artisans often accomplished their task in a hasty fashion. They frequently overlooked or deliberately ignored minor elements in the scenes, leaving them as raised relief. These are noted in the commentary on individual scenes, but include such things as the king's artificial tail, text dividers, and the like. As was normal practice for sunken relief decoration, interior portions of figures and other elements of tableaux were left as raised (figs. 58–59, 61).

Because the originals were raised, the interior surfaces of the converted relief figures were often higher than the negative space around them so they appear to project against the background. There is evidence, too, however, that the height of these figures was sometimes shaved down, especially their torsos and limbs. More often, however, workmen shaved back only the outer edges of the raised elements where they carved the outer contours as sunk-relief troughs. Elements inside a converted relief might be preserved from the original raised figure, such as an ear, arms where they cross the chest, or wig lappets.

One artifact of this process was a tendency to partly obliterate carved interior details of the raised version at the outer edges of figures (figs. 75, 262). Even the retained portions were often shaved back so that they did not protrude too far against the negative space of the new sunk relief. Thus, for example, segments of the king's belt or a raptor's plumage might be missing at these points. Rarely did the workmen bother to carve replacements to such partially erased ornamentation, relying on the painters instead to reproduce them when they repainted the altered reliefs.

2.6. Ramesses II's Usurpation of Sety I's Reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall

Ramesses II usurped some of Sety I's decoration in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall in at least two distinct campaigns. These may be distinguished by the form of Ramesses' *nomen*, while the *prenomen* used in all his usurpations is invariably the long form *Wsr-M3't-Rc-stp-n-Rc*.

2.6.1. Usurped Reliefs with the Earlier Nomen, R^c-ms-s

2.6.1.1. Wall Surfaces in the South Wing of the Hall

Ramesses II transformed the handful of reliefs naming Sety I on the south wing of the west wall to sunk at the same time he converted his own early raised relief there from R¹ to R³.¹⁴⁸ During this process, his workmen sometimes experienced some confusion. In one scene, a sculptor altered Sety's cartouches in sunk relief for Ramesses, but in a speech by Amun-Re from the same episode, he accidentally reproduced Sety's *nomen* in sunk relief before

¹⁴⁷ See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 97:15–16, where the sculptors had only just begun to carve the relief. Often these incised lines are all that can be detected when raised-relief cartouches or other inscriptions were usurped or erased. See our commentary to raised reliefs of Sety I and Ramesses II that the latter converted to sunk relief in *ibid.*, pls. 1–7, 14–17, 22–25, 31–38, 42–61, *passim*.

¹⁴⁸ These are clustered on the north end of the west wall, including the south jamb of the Second Pylon east gateway (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 1–6, 31–33) and the northern corner of the Third Pylon vestibule's south wing (*ibid.*, pls. 117, 120–29, 261).

realizing his error and recutting it once again for Ramesses II (fig. 60).¹⁴⁹ Although both the conversions of R¹-R³ and the expropriation of Sety's wall reliefs in the south wing could have occurred any time after the adoption of the final *prenomen* down to regnal year 21 when the nomen became R^c-ms-sw in Upper Egypt, it is more likely that the sculptors acted shortly after they had completed the last of the new reliefs carved in R³ from the south wing of the east wall and the vestibule of the Third Pylon, especially if their chief purpose was to homogenize the style of relief. Two exceptional cases were honorific figures of the deified Sety I on the jambs of the south gateway that were converted from raised to sunk relief while keeping Sety's titulary intact (fig. 74, 78). Later, but before year 21, these cartouches were recut again to name Ramesses II, with the *nomen* R^c-ms-s.¹⁵⁰

2.6.1.2. The South Aisle of the Main Axis and the North Wing of the Hypostyle Hall

Whereas Ramesses II authored the earliest relief decoration on the twelve great columns, probably following cartoons laid out by his father,¹⁵¹ Sety I himself was responsible for much of the initial decoration in the central aisle (figs. 54–55, 80A–C). This included the interior and exterior surfaces of the clerestory, including their architraves and the piers between the window grilles on the south side,¹⁵² the architraves surmounting the twelve great columns; both sides of the architraves over columns 74–80 on the north side of the nave,¹⁵³ the north face of the architraves over columns 67–74 on the southern edge of the nave,¹⁵⁴ the cornices surmounting the latter two ranges of architraves, and the abaci of columns 1–12 (figs. 79). Almost all of these reliefs were eventually usurped by Ramesses II, except for the abaci of the great columns, which at ground level were masked by the huge open papyrus-blossom capitals.

Ramesses II reinscribed the architraves naming Sety I on the south side of the central aisle including the sides of architraves over the first row of smaller columns on the northern and southern wings, which face the central axis. Ramesses also usurped the soffits inscribed by his father¹⁵⁵ and revised the form of his own *prenomen* on some others (fig. 364).¹⁵⁶ The earliest usurpations of Sety I's reliefs in the central nave were doubtless part of Ramesses II's program of homogenizing the relief style in the south wing. Along with transforming his own bas-relief decoration on the great columns, he converted the interior tableaux on the piers between the window grilles on the south aisle into sunk relief while replacing Sety's name with his own (fig. 50, 53). In every case the usurpations of the architraves above the great columns and all of the reliefs in the south aisle of the clerestory employ the R^c-ms-s *nomen* in conjunction with the long *prenomen*, indicating that they date to the earlier part of his reign.

2.6.2. Usurped Reliefs with the Later Nomen R^c-ms-sw

The usurpations on the north side of the central nave must date later than those on the south aisle since here we encounter the R^c-ms-sw *nomen*. On the clerestory piers¹⁵⁷ and the architraves¹⁵⁸ surmounting the window grilles on the clerestory's north aisle, Ramesses II only usurped the cartouches and distinctive elements of Sety's titulary in sunk relief (figs. 58–59). On the south face of the architraves over columns 74–80, Ramesses suppressed Sety I's raised relief inscriptions *in toto* and replaced them with a new composition in sunk relief.¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁹ Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 33, lines 3, 17–18; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 53–56, §§83–84; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 180. In the text column separating this scene from the one to its left, a similar mistake occurred when the R¹ *prenomen* cartouche was changed to R³.

¹⁵⁰ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 57 and 61. It is unlikely that we have two accidental conversions of Sety's name into sunk relief as with an isolated instance on the west wall (*ibid.*, pl. 33). Other figures of the deified Sety I on the south wall were never usurped by Ramesses (*cf. ibid.*, pls. 42, 48, 53, 65, 72, 76). Moreover, in recording the thicknesses and exterior jambs of this same gateway, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project found a small group of scenes where Sety appears, honorifically and *post mortem*, conducting the ritual. These had been carved in sunk relief in his name and

were later usurped for Ramesses II. So on the middle registers of the reveals and jambs of the south exterior gateway: PM II², pp. 49–50 (164 c, e, f, g); Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 14, fig. 3, nos. 29–39, 45.

¹⁵¹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 214–16.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13.

¹⁵³ Rondot, *Les architraves*, pls. 5, 8.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. 20 (b, d), 21 (b).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 41 (a, c–d).

¹⁵⁷ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 195–96 and figs. 95–96.

¹⁵⁸ *KRI* I, p. 201:14–15.

¹⁵⁹ Rondot, *Les architraves*, pp. 26–32 and pls. 5–6, 5*–8*.

It is likely that Ramesses II usurped his father's decoration on the first row of columns north of the central nave (74–80) on the same occasion that he modified the architraves and clerestory piers above them. Here, however, the sculptors used a different procedure. At the top of the columns, they merely erased distinctive elements of Sety's cartouches on the abaci and on a frieze of cartouches flanked by cobras on the capitals. Below, they recarved stereotyped decoration with friezes of *rekhyet*-birds adoring two royal cartouches in sunk relief (fig. 83). Most dramatically, Ramesses ordered that scenes depicting his father adoring the gods be entirely recut in sunk relief in a manner largely identical to his earlier conversions of raised relief in the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall. On columns 74 through 80, however, the craftsmen sculpted Ramesses II's cartouches on a larger scale than Sety I's had been (figs. 81–82). To make room for these enlarged cartouches, it was necessary to eliminate portions of the original texts on either side of the cartouches, and sometimes even the iconography of the scene itself was altered.¹⁶⁰

2.7. Chronology of Ramesses II's Relief Decoration in the Hypostyle Hall

It is clear that Ramesses II created the bulk of his reliefs inside the Hypostyle Hall during approximately the first two years of his reign. During this time his artisans embellished all the wall spaces, columns, and architraves left unfinished when Sety I died. Less certain are the precise intervals of time during which each of the three phases of his early relief work — R¹, R², and R³ — occurred. Phase R³ was not necessarily the shortest. Although only a fraction of Ramesses II's wall reliefs inside the Hall initially bore his long *prenomen*, the bulk of his column, abaci, and architrave decoration did. Evidently, the wall reliefs were a priority for the king. It may well have been late in his second year or even his third year by the time his sculptors completed their initial work inside the Hall. Soon thereafter, they were called back to convert all of Ramesses' early raised-relief decoration in the southern wing, and that of his father Sety I lying south of the main axis, into sunk relief. This was only the first of several later interventions in the Hall's decorative program during Ramesses' long reign, but the chronological markers for dating these interventions are less precise than for the three phases we may detect in his earliest years.

In most respects, the phase R³ continued for the rest of Ramesses II's reign since he continued to employ sunk relief in all his surface decoration in conjunction with the final *prenomen*. After year 2, we have mainly the difference between his two *nomen* orthographies to date his relief decoration in the hall as being either before (R^c-*ms*-s) or after (R^c-*ms*-sw) his twenty-first regnal year. Even this is not a perfect indicator as we have anomalous cases of R^c-*ms*-sw apparently occurring before year 21 on the abaci of many of the columns. Ambiguous, too, is the strange blend of both *nomen* orthographies in the king's usurpations of reliefs on the western gateway.

After year 21, probably in anticipation of one of his jubilee festivals, Ramesses II ordered his workmen to surcharge the relief decoration lying along the main east–west processional axis of Karnak between the Second and Third Pylons, including the central nave of the Great Hypostyle Hall. He also recarved Sety I's decoration on the first row of smaller columns north of the central aisle (74–80) along with the south face of their architraves. Further interventions in the north wing may be dated to after year 21 but not more precisely than this. These include usurpation of scenes and inscriptions on the north gateway and Ramesses' addition of large bandeau texts below the scenes on each of the 122 closed-bud papyrus columns. These bandeaux are carved very deeply in a paleography that is strikingly different from the king's other reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall, indicating, perhaps, that they were carved on a different occasion or campaign of work than the usurpations.

¹⁶⁰ On column 80, scene A, Sety I was depicted offering an ointment jar in the form of a kneeling king. To accommodate Ramesses II's larger cartouches, which interfered with the jar's

head, his sculptors substituted a crouching royal sphinx. See Brand, Revez et al., *Cahiers de Karnak* 14 (2013), pp. 199–200 and figs. 24–25.

Chapter 3

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NELSON'S DRAWINGS

3.1. General Character of Nelson's Drawings

Harold Nelson never intended that his sketches would stand as the definitive record of wall reliefs inside the Great Hypostyle Hall, and certainly, they are not as fine or complete as drawings of the reliefs at Medinet Habu that the Epigraphic Survey produced under his directorship. Instead, he made them in his spare time as a personal study tool to aid his own research into the iconography of Theban temple decoration,¹⁶¹ along with other projects.¹⁶² Given their simplified nature and the difficult conditions under which he made them, Nelson's drawings inevitably introduced numerous minor errors, and he frequently omitted finer details of the reliefs. Indeed, the limitations of his sketches were often forced upon him.¹⁶³ He worked with small, 10 × 12-inch photographic prints made from the Epigraphic Survey's archival collection of glass plates, images far smaller than the typical photographic enlargements the professional artists of Chicago House employed to make drawings of Ramesses III's reliefs at Medinet Habu during his tenure as director. Many of the images he used were far from ideal in the quality of their scale, exposure and resolution. Moreover, Nelson undertook this project in his spare time, working alone on a huge corpus of reliefs.

In editing Nelson's sketches for publication, William J. Murnane corrected the most glaring inaccuracies, but the sheer volume and complexity of the Hypostyle Hall's wall decoration meant that others slipped through. Murnane also did not attempt to include the more subtle features Nelson had left out, and so much of the finest relief work remains unrecorded or schematically and crudely rendered. Noting every such omission and describing each of the details not faithfully rendered in these drawings would make our present commentary unwieldy. We therefore offer a summary of the most frequently encountered inaccuracies and omissions.

3.2. Omission and Abbreviation of Carved Details in Nelson's Drawings

Given the minor size of the drawings — a fraction the scale of those in the Epigraphic Survey's folios — and the huge number of scenes he recorded, Nelson typically passed over or abbreviated the following elements. He rendered the faces of the king and anthropomorphic deities schematically. In shape, their eyes lack the subtlety of the reliefs, and Nelson usually did not record cosmetic bands behind them. Almost universally, he left out carved eyebrows with their cosmetic bands so it is impossible to distinguish reliefs having this feature from others in which the eye is modeled naturalistically. While the ancient sculptors carefully defined the anatomy of the human ear — including the helix, antihelix, lobe, and tragus — in the reliefs of both Sety I and Ramesses II, Nelson rendered the ear as a simple “kidney bean”-shaped outline devoid of interior details. In Sety I's reliefs, artists carved interior hollows in the upper half of the ear with almost scientific precision. In Nelson's sketches, noses and mouths are also greatly simplified. Nostrils are rudimentary where they are indicated at all, and these sketches also do not capture the human mouth, drafting only the partition of the lips as a short line. Nelson made no attempt to record artistic style in his drawings — not even the distinct Ramesside profile with its prominent aquiline nose.

¹⁶¹ He also left a large corpus of drawings illustrating various iconographic details of temple relief decoration in the archives of Chicago House in Luxor.

¹⁶² E.g., his study on the ritual of Amenhotep I: Harold H. Nelson, “Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu, and the Ritual of Amenophis I,” *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 201–32 and 310–45.

¹⁶³ *GHHK* 1.1, pp. x–xi.

Nelson usually left out other features of human anatomy from his drawings, including the navel, toenails, and fingernails, or copied them in a highly sporadic fashion. Occasionally, he indicates the crease inside the crook of a sharply bent arm, especially where a king presents an offering. Marks of Venus on the throats of figures are sometimes carved in the reliefs but rarely appear in the drawings. Anatomical features the ancient craftsmen represented with modeling, such as the knee and ankle bones or the groove in the palm of clenched fists, are omitted, especially from drawings of Sety I's reliefs.

Elements of the costumes and regalia of Pharaoh and the gods are inconsistently recorded in Nelson's copies, so he commonly omits the top line of the visor of headcloths, wigs, and crowns. This is especially true of the *kheprsh*- and *nemes*-crowns, while the curving fold of the *nemes* just above the ear is frequently absent. The curving inner hem of divine kilts may also go unrecorded.

Nelson abbreviated some details of zoomorphic figures, including the facial markings of animal-headed deities and of falcons and vultures hovering over the king. Sometimes he left out the faces of raptors altogether, but in the reliefs, the heads of protective raptors above the royal figures are often quite intricate, especially in Sety I's decoration. In the drawings, their eyes appear as mere dots, and the sharp scalloped partition of the vultures' beak may be roughly indicated. Frequently, Nelson omitted the mouth altogether. Many of the larger figures of hawk-headed deities such as Re-Horakhty, Khonsu, and Monthu lack the elaborate eye and cheek markings present in the actual reliefs. Other features such as the beaks and nostrils of falcon-headed gods, the eyes and muzzles of leonine goddesses like Weret-hekau, or the beaks and eyes of ibis-headed Thoth are abbreviated or left out.

The sculptors' renditions of hieroglyphs in the reliefs vary; Ramesses II's sunk reliefs tend generally to be devoid of interior details. Typical examples of this phenomenon include the facial details of human and animal signs. Hieroglyphs in Sety I's bas-relief decoration, however, often have elaborately carved internal features, yet Nelson captured little of this in his drawings due to their small scale. He thus leaves out the facial details of  and , both representative of a larger pattern in his drawings, and he usually draws narrow and thin elements of hieroglyphs as single lines, with few exceptions.¹⁶⁴

3.3. Indication of Recutting, Usurpation, and Palimpsests

As our commentary on the wall reliefs demonstrates, a large proportion of both Sety I's and Ramesses II's decoration bears evidence of a second hand. Palimpsests abound for a variety of reasons. On both wings of the west wall, traces of erased sunk relief left from the erasure of Horemheb's Second Pylon decoration shines through the later programs of Sety I and Ramesses II on this wall. Sety I's artists often retouched their reliefs to modify their proportions and, especially on the north gateway and east wing of the north wall, to alter significantly their iconography. Ramesses converted large swaths of bas-relief decoration on the western and southern walls into sunk relief. He also modified dozens of cartouches, both his own and through usurpation some of his father's royal names. All across the Great Hypostyle Hall, these alterations have left telltale signs of usurpation and palimpsests; sometimes this is very obvious, but often traces of the original versions are faint indeed.

It comes as no surprise, then, that Nelson represented palimpsests and recutting only sporadically in his drawings. It seems likely that Nelson recorded only those palimpsests that he observed and considered epigraphically significant, and so he carefully noted most traces of erased Second Pylon relief on the west wall.¹⁶⁵ On the north wall and gateway, he records the most obvious recutting of Sety I's figures, especially where this involves changes to the king's costume,¹⁶⁶ proportions¹⁶⁷ or posture.¹⁶⁸ Less frequently does he note recutting to divine figures, but he does record changes to Amun-Re's sacred bark.¹⁶⁹ The conventions Nelson uses to indicate recutting or dotted

¹⁶⁴ A rare exception is *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197:15–16, where he renders incompletely carved thin signs with double lines.

¹⁶⁵ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12, 20–21, 138–39, 141–43, 146, 150–57.

¹⁶⁶ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 189, 191–93, 195.

¹⁶⁷ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 180, 190–95, 197.

¹⁶⁸ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 187, 197.

¹⁶⁹ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197.

or dashed lines are ambiguous, since he employs the same method to indicate traces of painted decoration¹⁷⁰ and sometimes even to restore broken or destroyed relief.¹⁷¹

Nelson rarely recorded palimpsests amid Ramesses II's decoration converted from raised to sunk relief in the south wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall.¹⁷² Traces of the original versions of usurped or recut cartouches appear in a handful of examples, with most documented palimpsests corresponding to Sety I's cartouches rather than earlier editions of Ramesses II's own names.¹⁷³

3.4. Treatment of Hacking and Damage

Nelson was not consistent in representing fortuitous and intentional damage in his drawings. In some cases, he represents either or both with a shading convention, but it often remains unclear whether shading indicates deliberate hacking or natural erosion of carved surfaces. In many instances, however, Nelson represented eroded but otherwise intact masonry as a gap by drawing the contours of decorated blocks so that they exclude damaged surfaces. Often, however, these gaps correspond to existing masonry subject to erosion or even quarry hacking or iconoclasm. Thus without reference to photographs or the original wall, Nelson's drawings are not to be taken at face value as evidence of the actual condition of the wall surfaces. Moreover, they exclude many minor points of damage.

3.5. Indication of Painted Decoration

In cases where substantial traces of painted decoration have survived to reveal the pattern of costume elements of the king and gods in certain scenes or other distinctive objects within a scene, Nelson often indicates these elements with a convention of dotted lines showing them in outline form. He makes no notation as to the color of these features, but delineates the pattern such as: broad collars, bracelets, and other jewelry; hemlines, sashes, pleating, and belts on the dress of male and female figures; petals and leaves on flora such as papyrus and lotus stalks; and colored details on architectural elements such as the frames and cavetto cornices of shrines and the cornices of throne podiums.¹⁷⁴ Otherwise, much polychrome is absent from the drawings including the flesh tones of human and divine figures, along with color on their wigs, costumes, and objects in the scenes and on the hieroglyphs.

¹⁷⁰ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 171–72, 180, 192 (king's armband) and 193 (striping on his *nemes*-headcloth).

¹⁷¹ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, the king's knee in *ibid.*, pl. 188.

¹⁷² E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pl. 42 (Sety I's nose and sash; Ramesses II's legs).

¹⁷³ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 5–7, 33–35, 41, 57, 61. Except for pls. 34–35, all of these are cases of Ramesses II usurping his father's cartouches.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 67–70, 72–75.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

In this volume, we will treat the reliefs copied by Nelson in an order somewhat different from that adopted in his volume of plates,¹⁷⁵ which divided the Hall into southern and northern sectors and treated all elements in each area in a generally counter-clockwise sequence. In this work, scenes that lie on related architectural elements — specifically, the western gateway (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 1–4, 131–34) and the eastern vestibule (*ibid.*, pls. 110–18, 233–57) — will be grouped together, even when the different parts were decorated during separate periods.

A few notes on translation: the reader will notice that we have translated some commonly occurring words and phrases differently from how they are traditionally rendered in English. Thus we translate *nsw-bi.ty* as “dual king” rather than “king of Upper and Lower Egypt” because these terms are frequently used independently of each other in a manner that does not suggest that they were geographically restrictive. Thus kings may be referred to collectively as *bit.yw* with the connotation of “ancestral kings” or “kings of old.” Likewise, the term *nsw* used independently to refer to the king is so common as a designation of the general office of kingship that it seems unlikely that it is to be restricted to Upper Egypt alone. Instead, *nsw* and *bi.ty* connote two different aspects of kingship, hence the translation “dual king.” Another common term referring to the king is *hm=f*, traditionally translated as “his majesty.” We firmly believe, however, that *hm* indicates the bodily form or incarnation of a divine being (including the king).¹⁷⁶ As a result, the admittedly awkward “his person” is preferred, while *hm* used by itself becomes “incarnation.”

West Wall, Gateway (Plates 1–4, 41 left, 131–34, 262)

Scenes inscribed on the facade of this doorway were recarved over the original sunk-relief decoration on the eastern gateway of the Second Pylon, a structure built by Horemheb and decorated under him and his successor, Ramesses I. Horemheb, who inscribed the facade and interior of the Second Pylon’s vestibule, may also have carved the earliest sunk-relief decoration on the east face of the pylon, including the east-facing jambs of the gateway.¹⁷⁷ This is not entirely certain, as Ramesses I inscribed a decorative frieze of his cartouche names on the now missing top of the pylon towers (just below the torus molding).¹⁷⁸ We now know that Ramesses I also decorated the eastern end of the passageway leading through the Second Pylon,¹⁷⁹ and it is no doubt for this reason that Sety I chose to recognize his father when he reinscribed the doorway of his new columned hall.¹⁸⁰ As first carved under Sety, the doorjambs featured both kings, officiating in alternating scenes.¹⁸¹ Ramesses II would later usurp the cartouches in all these tableaux, and he would also convert Sety I’s raised work on the southern jamb to sunk relief (plan 2).

¹⁷⁵ Harold H. Nelson, edited by William J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Vol. I, Part 1: *The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106 (Chicago; The Oriental Institute, 1981). Hereafter *GHHK* I.1.

¹⁷⁶ More work remains to be done with the term *hm*, but see now J. Spiegel, “Die Grundbedeutung des Stammes *hm*,” *ZÄS* 75 (1939), pp. 112–21.

¹⁷⁷ See Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 12–22; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 4–5.

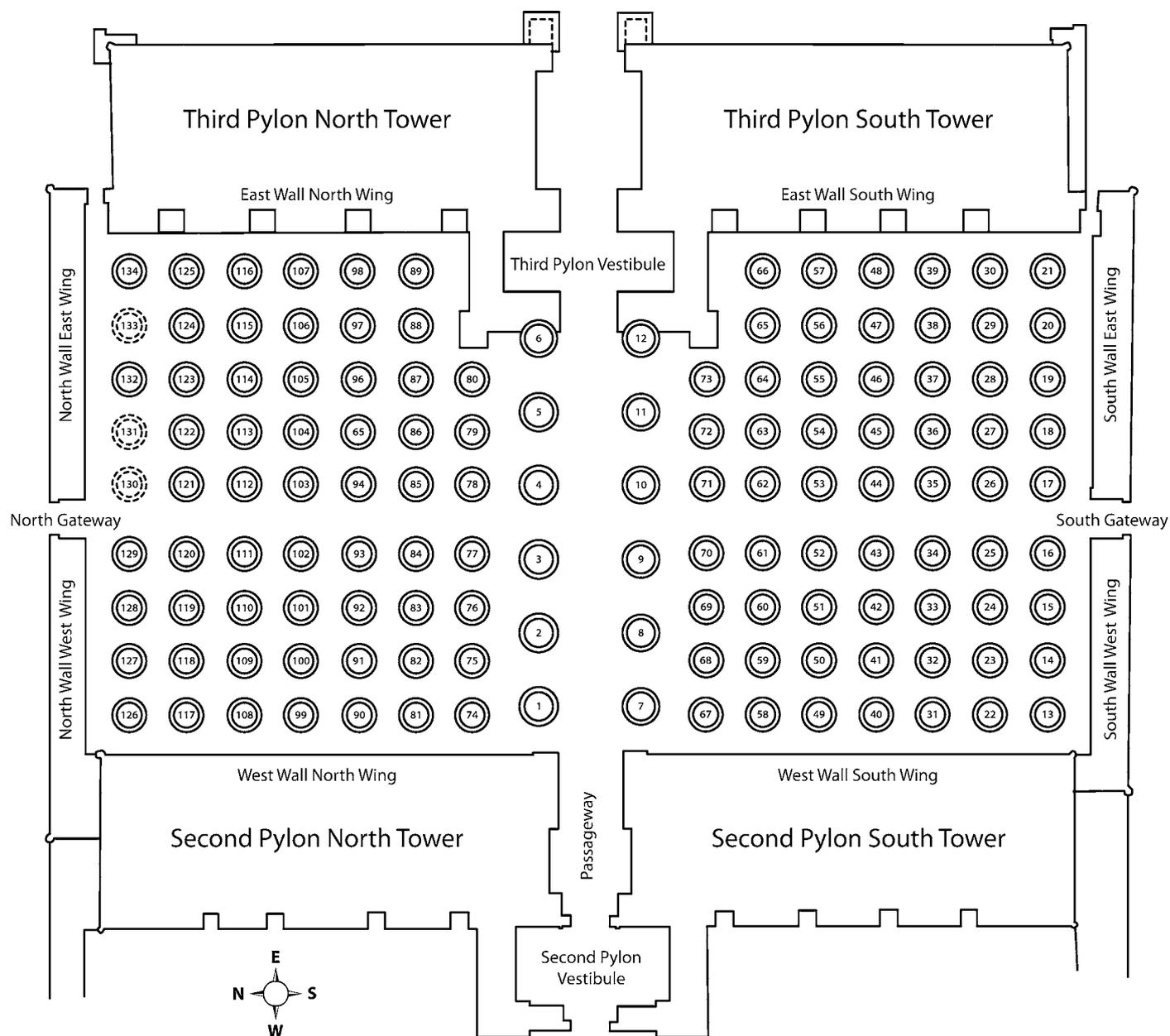
¹⁷⁸ Dozens of unpublished blocks from this frieze — later suppressed and reinscribed by Ramesses II — remain in the blockyards between the main temple and that of Khonsu to the south.

¹⁷⁹ To be published by the expedition of the University of Memphis’ Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology. For a preliminary report, see William J. Murnane, “Egyptian Monuments and

Historical Memory: New Light on the Ancients’ ‘Uses of the Past’ from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak,” *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 5 (1994), pp. 15–24, 88; William J. Murnane, Peter J. Brand, Janusz Karkowski, and Richard Jaeschke, “The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project: (1992–2002),” *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 98–102 and figs. 7–10, 46–55.

¹⁸⁰ As well as several scenes on the top register of the north wing of the west wall proper. See below, commentary to pls. 138, 140–42.

¹⁸¹ William J. Murnane, “Ramesses I and the Building of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Revisited,” in *Iubilare Conlegae: Studies in Memory of Abdel Aziz Sadek, Part I*, edited by Charles C. Van Siclen, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), pp. 163–68; Murnane et al., *ASAE* 78 (2004), p. 101 and fig. 17.



Plan 1. Hypostyle Hall showing the main architectural divisions containing wall scenes

This was in keeping with his practice elsewhere in the Hall's southern half, where he sought to homogenize his earlier work with the incised carvings of his later periods.¹⁸²

Today, the gateway is preserved to a level slightly below its missing lintel that had bridged not only both sides of the door, but also the towers of the Second Pylon. The top of each jamb survives, although only part of a frieze that once surmounted them remains (north: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 262; south: *ibid.*, pl. 41 left). This frieze's design is a standard one, with cartouches arranged in pairs — the king's *prenomen* and *nomen* alternating — each crowned by a solar disk and resting on a .¹⁸³ Cobras flank the *prenomen* cartouches on either side, facing away from the cartouche between them. Each serpent wears a sun disk on its head, and its tail flows through .

¹⁸² Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 53–60. See above, *Chapter 2*, §§2.3.1 and 2.5.

¹⁸³ Similar friezes are found in various contemporary Theban temples. So in the Gurnah temple hypostyle hall and at the top of the piers in the Ramesseum's second court, both with the *pre-*

nomen flanked by uraei. In the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite at Gurnah, however, the *nomen* is flanked by the uraei. Moreover, in all these examples, the cartouches sit atop -signs, not on -basket as on the western gateway.

Sety I inscribed this face of the doorway in raised relief, and on the jambs he alternated scenes in his own name (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 2, 4, 132, 134) with others carved in the name of his deceased father Ramesses I (*ibid.*, pls. 1, 3, 131, 133).¹⁸⁴ Ultimately, Ramesses II usurped the royal names of his father and grandfather in sunk relief. On the north jamb (*ibid.*, pls. 131–34), he only recarved hieroglyphic signs within the royal cartouche rings and Horus-name *serekh* (*ibid.*, pl. 133) as sunken relief. Otherwise, Ramesses II left Sety's raised relief decoration on this jamb intact. However, on the south jamb (*ibid.*, pls. 1–4) of the doorway, Ramesses II also converted Sety's raised relief into a sunk one, as he did with the rest of Sety's decoration carved in that medium south of the central axis along with his own early bas-reliefs there.

When Ramesses II replaced the names of his forbearers with his own on the jambs of this gateway, he used the *nomen* *R^c-ms-s* everywhere except in the two uppermost scenes from the north jamb and in the top frieze just above them (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 131–32), where *R^c-ms-sw* occurs. *R^c-ms-sw*, as can be observed in the southern part of the Great Hall, was occasionally Ramesses' spelling of his personal name prior to his second regnal year when it coexisted with *R^c-ms-s*. But when he changed his *prenomen* to its final form, *Wsr-M³.t-R^c-Stp.n.R^c*, he altered the spelling of his *nomen* to *R^c-ms-s* and continued to write it thus until after the twenty-first year of his reign, from which point the *nomen* was always written *R^c-ms-sw*.¹⁸⁵ The situation is puzzling,¹⁸⁶ but there are rare instances elsewhere in which the two *nomen* orthographies appear to coexist after year 2 and before year 21 in the Luxor temple forecourt.¹⁸⁷

Sety I left a space corresponding to the height of a full register uncarved beneath the lowest scene on each jamb. This emptiness is most striking on the north side of the door, where now stands a limestone dyad dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty and portraying Amun and a king.¹⁸⁸ On the south side of the gateway, however, stands an element of the Second Pylon's earlier decoration that was retained within Sety I's Great Hypostyle Hall — namely, a small shrine that had, at its core, a niche-shaped sandstone shrine or throne platform with an alabaster floor slab inscribed with prostrate captive enemies of the “Nine Bows.”¹⁸⁹ Incised texts on what remain of this edicule's jambs and lintel show that Ramesses I had dedicated it before his grandson Ramesses II usurped it.¹⁹⁰

At some unknown time following the end of paganism in Egypt, iconoclasts attacked the human and divine figures on this gateway. On both sides of the doorway, they defaced those on the third register (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 3, 133) and the face of a goddess in the lowest register of the north jamb (*ibid.*, pl. 134). Since these reliefs are otherwise untouched by malicious damage, this exceptional pattern could indicate that a mound of earth that had partially buried the Hall, prior to modern excavation, sloped down into the central aisle at about this level on either side of the door, giving easy access to these reliefs while still covering those that lay below.

¹⁸⁴ See Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), pp. 166–68; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 208, 215.

¹⁸⁵ Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Aspects of Ramesside Egypt,” in *Actes du premier congrès international d'égyptologie, 2–10 octobre 1976*, edited by Walter F. Reineke, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kulture des Alten Orients* 14 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1979), pp. 383–87.

¹⁸⁶ One might expect that Ramesses made all these usurpations at the same time rather than at widely separated intervals. His conversions of raised relief on the south jamb would have been done fairly early in the reign while his *nomen* was still *R^c-ms-s*, as with replacements of Sety's raised relief on the south wing of the west wall (see our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 31–33, below). Ramesses II's usurpations and additions of new decoration in the northern half of the building were done sometime after his year 21 when the *nomen* was *R^c-ms-sw*.

What then of the northern jamb of the western gateway, where both *R^c-ms-sw* (on the upper half) and *R^c-ms-s* (in the lower two scenes) occurs? Unless only the lower two scenes were usurped prior to year 21, it seems most likely that the north jamb was surcharged after year 21 but that the obsolete spelling *R^c-ms-s* was mistakenly employed in the lower scenes. A third possibility, that the jamb was usurped prior to year 21, seems less likely. As Ramesses' other usurpations on the north side of the Hypostyle Hall all feature the *nomen* *R^c-ms-sw*, usually written



— including decoration on the clerestory and architraves on the north side of the central nave — the two anomalous examples on the north jamb of the western gateway do not admit of an easy solution.

¹⁸⁷ *PM* II², p. 307 (26). On the east interior wall south of the central doorway, Ramesses II's *nomen* cartouches are written *R^c-ms-s* in vertically arranged inscriptions and *R^c-ms-sw* in horizontal ones.

¹⁸⁸ Usurped by Ramesses II from Horemheb. See *PM* II², p. 43 (150); Matthias Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, Vol. 1: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 42 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1996), Dok. 89, pp. 228–31, and pl. 55a–b.

¹⁸⁹ *PM* II², p. 43 (149). To be published by the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project. Various suggestions have been offered as to precisely what function these edicules served, ranging as emplacements for stelae to statue platforms. Set up in the brief reign of Ramesses I and with a north–south orientation, they most likely were used to reenact coronation rituals. Access to these edicules was later blocked by the great columns of the central nave, indicating that they were built prior to the Hypostyle Hall itself. See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, p. 200 and plan 3.

¹⁹⁰ The northern jamb and lintel are inscribed with texts in sunk relief including palimpsest cartouches giving the names of both Ramesses I and II, the southern sides being destroyed.

Plate 41 Left

Bibliography: *PM II*², p. 42 (148i); William J. Murnane, “The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I,” *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 180–81, fig. 20.

Location: B 32: Western gateway, south jamb and frieze above top register.

Subject: Cartouche frieze of Sety I usurped by Ramesses II (fig. 84).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. The raised edges of suppressed bas-relief are detectable on the solar disks. Aside from the hieroglyphs comprising Sety I’s name, most other traces of the raised original were destroyed when Ramesses II converted the frieze into sunk relief, although the sun disks and the bodies of the cobras project slightly from the background surface. Their contours are crudely beveled to give the impression of sunk relief.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Inside the cartouches, the raised version of Sety I’s titulary was first sliced off. Inside the *nomen* cartouche, this procedure left only engraved lines of  and . In the *prenomen*, the erasure was less thorough, leaving behind most of the , especially her , and the top of  as raised relief, along with part of the engraved rim of the original  of the *prenomen*.

The upper block has shifted leftward since Nelson’s day so that the cartouches now incorrectly surmount  and the cobras’ . The drawing omits the facial details of the left cobra and the partial edge of a missing sun disk at the far right.

Translations:

Prenomen Cartouche (left): USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE replacing [MENMA‘ATRE]

Nomen Cartouche (right): RAMESSES MERAMUN replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN]

Plate 1

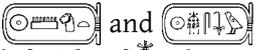
Bibliography: *PM II*², p. 43 (148i) I; William J. Murnane, “Ramesses I and the Building of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Revisited,” *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 1-south.

Location: B 32: Western gateway, south jamb, top register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Ramesses I) stands before an offering table and presents a drink in two round jars to Amun-Re, who is followed by Mut.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved in raised relief (fig. 85). This is most obvious with the offering table, which had only its outline incised, leaving all its contents raised. Elsewhere, the sunken versions were cut along the contours of the originals, making the figures slightly thinner. Traces of raised relief can be detected at the leading edges of Amun’s plumes, on the sky-sign above; on Amun’s rear leg and foot, the front of his rear arm, Mut’s hand, and the back of the king’s advancing leg. Extending from Mut’s Double Crown, the inner loops of its coil were left in bas-relief, as was the upper part of the king’s tail. Due no doubt to its height off of the ground, the workmanship of those who recarved Sety’s decoration to sunken relief is rather crude and incomplete. The bodies are flat but are sometimes higher than the background, and their leading edges are beveled and angular, even rough. It is clear that sculptors shaved them down. While they retained some raised elements, the workmen cut others back severely: two -jars in the king’s hand were deeply incised at their rims and circumference, but their centers and the king’s thumbs remain raised, giving the jars a globular appearance.

Raised lips and engraved lines around many of the hieroglyphs attest to the primal state of the texts, especially in col. 1. In cols. 4 and 5, the handles of  were left raised. Of Ramesses I’s original names, written

 and , one can see parts of the left corner of  over the final  and  (*prenomen*) and the left side of , along with the beak of  at the top of the final *R^c-ms-s* group (*nomen*).¹⁹¹

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The eyes and eyebrows of both the king and Amun have cosmetic bands. Ramesses' wig has a visor, and the interior of the vulture's head (its beak lines and eye) is indicated in modeling, but none of these details appears in the drawing. Stems of lotus plants entwined about the wine jars are less complete than Nelson drew them, having been partially erased along the edges of the jars when the sculptors converted them into sunk relief. Unrecorded, too, is the partly erased tail of the king's uraeus, which intertwined with his diadem left from the raised version.

Patterns of light hacking appear on the surface above the vulture's front wing and below its tail, along and behind the king's back, and through the bottom of his streamer. Since these irregularities do not significantly disrupt any of the carved lines, some may reflect erasure of Horemheb's original sunk relief on the Second Pylon, vestiges of which include a long trace of Amun-Re's back shoulder and the streamer dangling behind his crown (now embedded inside the contours of the final version), an incised segment inside Mut's calf, and another vertical cut bisecting the round bread loaf on the offering table's left side.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering libation to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun-Re: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you^b all valor. ⁴(I) have given to you all victory. ⁵(I) have given to you the years of Atum. ⁶(I) have given to you my office, my seat, and my [thron]e."^c

By Mut: ⁷Mut [...]: ⁸"(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. ⁹(I) have placed myself as your uraeus^d forever."

By the Vulture: ¹⁰Nekhbet.

By the King: The good god who performs benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^e the lord of appearances RAMESSES MERAMUN.^f

Notes:

^a This formula is repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 5 and will not be translated there.

^b The handle was left off  in a frequent carving mistake: see glossary s.v. *nb* miswritten for *=k*.

^c So reading *di.n=(i) n=k i3.t=i, s.t=i, [ns].t=i*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 190:6; 193:8.

^d Referring to the goddess' role as one of the protective goddesses on the king's brow (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 7:28): for *hrt-tp*, lit., "she who is upon the brow," see *Wb.* III, p. 141:10–11. So misinterpreted by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 21, nn. 3–4.

^e Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].

^f Replacing [RAMESSU].

Plate 2

Bibliography: *PM* II², p. 43 (148i) II; Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 2-south.

Location: B 33: Western gateway, south jamb, second register from the top.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers a cup of incense to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Amunet. A falcon hovers above the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved in raised relief (fig. 88). Remnants of the older version persist along some of the outer edges of the final incised cuts (e.g., along the front of Amun's body). Of Sety's suppressed

¹⁹¹ Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 1-south.

cartouches,  and , one can see  and the base of , as well parts of  between  and the  (*prenomen*), parts of  under the *R'-ms* group (*nomen*), and the left side of the  of *'Imn* (*nomen*).¹⁹²

Here, as in the scene above (GHHK I.1, pl. 1), Ramesses' sculptors did not recarve the individual food offerings on the altar table but merely cut a trough around the outer contours of the pile. They also left the top of Ramesses II's tail in raised relief and partly suppressed Amun's beard inside his forward shoulder in the transformation into sunken relief.

As is typical of converted reliefs, the larger elements of the scene often project out farther than the background, including the sky-sign at the top of the scene, except at its right edge where some attempt was made to cut it back farther to simulate true sunk relief. This area is rougher than the rest and ends at the tip of the falcon's wing above the king's *prenomen* cartouche.

Paint: Patches of red survive on Ramesses II's chest and belly.

Observations: The following elements have disappeared since Nelson's time: Amunet's belly and part of her breast, the right edge of col. 12, parts of col. 3 (including the bottoms of  and , as well as the top of the flame issuing from the king's incense cup); and behind Amun,  and most of . A diagonal gash above the king's head might belong to Horemheb's carving on the Second Pylon, but is too short and ill-defined to be restored with any certainty. It is partially filled with plaster.

Stone in the area of Amun's head has also sheared off, but there is no evidence of deliberate hacking, and there remain faint outlines of the top of his helmet-crown, the tip of his nose, the front of his beard, and his neckline. Although damage to his penis is consistent with the sort of defacement that occurs frequently in other scenes in the Hall, modern cement now obscures it, making a firm judgment impossible.¹⁹³

As frequently happens, the drawing ignores cosmetic bands on the eyes and eyebrows of figures and the interior features of the raptor's head, including its eye. Plumage on the falcon's downswep wing is also missing. Workmen partly erased incised lines delineating long feathers near the tips of both wings as they shaved back the raised surface to make it appear more like true sunk relief. They also cut back the upper left edge of Ramesses II's belt apron, which is not as complete as Nelson indicates. Further missing elements include the terminals of Amun's flail, directly above the flabellum behind him; the lappet of Ramesses' *nemes*-headdress; and portions of his rear arm where it crosses his chest.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you the victories of my sword. ⁴(I) have given to you your name, very enduring! ⁵(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands."

Behind Amun-Re: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By Amunet: ⁶Amunet, lady [of heaven],^b ⁷residing in Karn[nak]: ⁸"(I) [have] given [to you] food. ⁹(I) have given [to] you provisions. ¹⁰(I) have given to you valor and ¹¹all victory in [my] presence. ¹²(I) [have] given [to you]^c eternity, with life and dominion."

By the King: ¹³The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE SETEPENRE,^d ¹⁴the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^e ¹⁵whom Amun has caused to appear^f as king.

Notes:

^a This formula is repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4, 8, 9, and 10 and will not be translated there.

^b There is scarcely room for any other restoration, and these epithets are often associated with Amunet (for which see *'Imn.t* in the glossary).

^c There seems to be more room than the restoration *di.[n=(i) n=k] nḥḥ* would require.

^d Replacing [MENMA'ATRE].

¹⁹² Murnane, VA 10.2-3 (1995), p. 168, 2-south.

¹⁹³ But compare GHHK I.1, pl. 4.

^e Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

^f The scribe has mistakenly written *sh^c.n 'Imn* for either a geminating imperfective relative form (*sh^c 'Imn*) or a past relative (*sh^c.n 'Imn*). The same error was frequently made in the Hypostyle Hall. See *GHHK* I.1, e.g., pls. 12 left:18; 19:9; 24:15; 25:9. See glossary s.v. *sh^ci*.

Plate 3

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (148i) III; Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 3-south.

Location: B 34: Western gateway, south jamb, third register from the top.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Ramesses I) stands before an offering table and presents a conical loaf of bread to Amun-Re, who is followed by Khonsu. A vulture flies over the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved as raised relief (fig. 90). As in the two previous scenes, sculptors incised the outer contours of the offerings on their table, while leaving the items within in bas-relief. The top of Ramesses' tail was also left raised. Other vestiges of Sety I's work abide along the cuts of the final sunken edition: at the front of Amun's belt and the back of his rear arm, the stalk of a bouquet on the offering stand in front of Khonsu, the inner peak of  in col. 1, and the top of the "flag" of  in col. 15. Here again, the main figures project slightly from the background. Of Ramesses I's original cartouches,  and , parts of , and the forehead of  remain around the final  (*prenomen*), as does the top of  to the right of  of R^c-ms-sw, situated over the final  (*nomen*).¹⁹⁴

Paint: Discolored pigment indicates an armband on the king's rear arm. Above this, faint concentric lines of his broad collar persist, but no colors are distinguishable.

Observations: Iconoclasts thoroughly mutilated the heads, legs, and feet of all the figures by hacking, but spared the toe of Ramesses' advancing foot.¹⁹⁵ As a further measure to deprive his effigy of any magical potency, they partly gouged the king's wrists and fingers. Hacking also extends to Amun's shoulders. Since this copy was made, the top of Khonsu's head and the bottom edge of his lunar crescent have decayed, as has the back of the king's head and the front of his belt.

Nelson did not record markings on the vulture's head and the upper tier of feathers on her descending wing (which craftsmen partly erased in the change to sunken relief). Absent too are scant vestiges of Horemheb's erased decoration, including two incised vertical lines inside the flaring top of the offering stand and another within Amun's lower kilt just above his forward knee. Lotus stems wrapped around the two wine jars are not complete at their edges, where they were erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you valor and victory. ⁴(I) have given to you millions of years. ⁵(I) have given to you eternity as king. ⁶(I) have given to you my kingship [as king].^b"

By Khonsu: ⁷Khonsu-[in-Thebes],^c ⁸lord of joy, Neferhotep-⁹in-Karnak: ¹⁰"(I) have given to you the kingship [of Re].^d ¹¹(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees."

By the King: ¹²The good god, who makes monuments for his father Amun-Re, ¹³the lord of the Two Lands USERMA^cATRE-SETEPENRE,^e ¹⁴the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^f ¹⁵<true-of-voice before> the great god.^g

¹⁹⁴ Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 3-south.

¹⁹⁵ A distinctive pattern of vandalism, encompassing the legs and feet below the knees and extending outside contours of the head and face into the god's shoulders, is consistent with similar defacement of reliefs in the eastern passageway of the Second

Pylon, just around the corner. PM II², p. 42 (148g–h); Murnane et al., *ASAE* 78 (2004), figs. 48, 50–51. So too on the Ptolemaic gateway of the Second Pylon. PM II², p. 42 (148a–b), and in reliefs on some columns inside the Hypostyle Hall.

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 4–5 and 10–11.
- ^b Traces suggest *nsy.t=i m [nsw]* + , rather than *nsy.t (i)tm[w]* “the kingship of Atum”: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 98:3.
- ^c Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 43:12–14; 133:6–8.
- ^d There is hardly room for any alternative to *nsy.t [R']*, a common phrase in the Hall. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k*.
- ^e Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].
- ^f Replacing [RAMESSU].
- ^g Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 22, n. 13) rightly doubts the cogency of this epithet in connection with a vulture-goddess, especially since in that case it would be situated more unambiguously beside the figure (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 1, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 30, 32, 39, 44, 45, among many others), and because  is more appropriate for Horus the Behdetite (e.g., *ibid.*, pl. 46) than for either Nekhbet or Wadjet. He is wrong, however, in hazarding that this might be a modern copyist’s mistake (the signs are definitely there), or that it reflects confusion on the ancient sculptor’s part. Rather, the short interval that separates *ntr 3* from the cartouches would have held the signs [*m3'-hrw hr*] that are fully rendered in a corresponding scene on the north jamb (*ibid.*, pl. 133), where the original celebrant, as here, was the deceased Ramesses I.

Plate 4

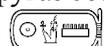
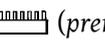
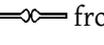
Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (148i) IV; Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 4-south.

Location: B 35: Western gateway, south jamb, lowest register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers flowers to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Hathor. A falcon soars over Sety’s head. Amun’s planter box of lettuces stands behind him.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved in raised relief. As in previous scenes on this doorjamb, sculptors left the offerings on the table as bas-relief within an incised outline they carved around them. The king’s tail is also raised. Further traces of the raised version survive outside the incised cuts of the final one, namely the ends of Ramesses’ streamers; the tail of Hathor’s vulture crown; the falcon’s head and beak; Amun’s knee, shins, and upper arm; and the bottom of  in col. 4. Elements of the relief tend to project farther than the negative space.

In recarving this episode as sunk relief, workmen partially erased details of Sety I’s raised version where they cut back the figures; specifically, they trimmed off the front of a cobra on the left side of Ramesses II’s belt apron and the outer edges of roast ducks and bowls of food on either side of the offering table. Nelson omits partly suppressed engraved lines on the long stems of Ramesses’ papyrus bouquet where they crossed his arm.

Of the deleted names of Sety I in the cartouches (cols. 13–14),  and , one can see the top of , the , front knee and base of , the center (top and bottom) and right side of  (*prenomen*), and the front foot of , below which  was only partially obliterated by  from Ramesses II’s *nomen*.¹⁹⁶

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: One notable peculiarity of Nelson’s drawing is the back of Ramesses II’s wig, which he sketched much higher than it appears on the wall. Moreover, streamers issuing from the back of his head are illusory above his shoulder (they only appear below it). Nelson drew a crack in the stone, which, in turn, threw off his diagram of the back of the wig. Note that horizontal “lashings” on Ramesses’ papyrus bouquet above his fist are merely light pitting of the stone.

Later occupants of the Hall carefully hollowed out Amun’s penis within its outlines. They also despoiled some of the hieroglyphs and the falcon’s lower wing. However, there is less abrasion to the offering pile than

¹⁹⁶ Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 4-south.

Nelson suggests, and traces of figs and grapes in raised relief persist on its top right side. Some of the block joints have now widened, the most significant losses being to the faces of Amun-Re and Mut.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Words spoken^a by Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³[residing in the] tem[ple “Effective is] ^bRAM[ESS]ES-MERAMUN^c ⁴in the Estate of Amun.” “(I) have given to you [...].^d ⁵(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified, like Re.”

By Hathor: ⁶Hathor, [lady of] ⁷Dendera,^e lady of heaven, ⁸residing in Deir el-Bahari.^f ⁹“(I) have [given] to you all provisions, ¹⁰(I) have given to you food, ¹¹(I) have given to you all joy. ¹²(I) have given to you^g all flat lands and all hill countries [...].”^h

By the Falcon: ¹³As he gives life and dominion on his part.

By the King: ¹⁴The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,ⁱ ¹⁵the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^c ¹⁶whom Re-Atum^j has chosen ¹⁷in the Mansion of the Phoenix.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the tops of all the columns containing gods’ speeches along the top of the scene.

^b Restoring [hry-ib] ḥ[w.t-ntr ꜥh] above the cartouche: So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 123:3–4; 154:4–5.

^c Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

^d Either the object was not carved or it was small enough to fit at the top of the broken space between this column and Amun’s plumes.

^e Restoring Ḥw.t-Ḥr [nb.t] Ḥwn.t: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 67:1; 106:10; 144:6.

^f For *Dsr.t*, Deir el-Bahari, see Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 16 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952), pp. 61–62; Rainer Hanning, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), p. 1016.

^g Here  has been miswritten for .

^h The small broken space at the bottom of the column would accommodate  (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 115:8; 159:6) or ḥr tb.ty=k (ibid., pls. 82 middle:4; 166:4), if anything more is needed beneath the lower nb(w).

ⁱ Replacing [MENMA‘ATRE].

^j With  in honorary transposition above : cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 153:17, for a similar but more coherent grouping – doubtless the origin of the arrangement here – where  is fitted (as it is so often) above the “back” of the .

Plate 262 (Frieze at Top of the Gateway)

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (149j).

Location: B 201: Western gateway, north jamb, frieze above top register.

Subject: Cartouche frieze of Sety I, usurped by Ramesses II.

Type of Relief: Raised relief, except the names of Ramesses II usurping those of Sety I inside the cartouches, which are sunk. Ramesses’ *nomen* is R^c-ms-sw (so *GHHK* I.1, pls. 131–32). Of Sety’s names, only  and part of  in the *nomen* and a larger  surrounding the final one in the *prenomen* are discernible.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The preserved relief is not quite as Nelson’s schematic indicates. At left, most of the top half of the *nomen* and its crowning sun disk have vanished. Someone inserted a pair of tall, deep slots on either side of the *prenomen* cartouche. To the right of this cartouche, the cobra’s face, chest, and the lower right quadrant of its solar disk are lost in the gap. Of the cobra on the left side, only the top of its solar disk and  dangling from its body remain. The lower half of the *prenomen* cartouche is also missing, except for its flat base.

Translations:

Prenomen Cartouche (right): USERMA‘ATRE-[SETEPENRE].^a

Nomen Cartouche (left): RAMESSU-MER[AMUN].^b

Notes:

^a Replacing [MENMA‘ATRE].

^b Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

Plate 131

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (148j) I; Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 1-north; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 105.

Location: B 202: Western gateway, north jamb, top register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Ramesses I) offers jars of wine to Amun-Re, accompanied by Mut while a vulture floats above the king.

Type of Relief: Raised work of Sety I, but Ramesses II’s workmen recut his names inside the cartouches as sunk. Of Ramesses I’s suppressed names,  and , there remains the snout of  and the front of its neck between final , , and  (*prenomen*). Fragments of  of R^c-ms-sw below final  (*nomen*) also survive.¹⁹⁷

Paint: Amun’s collar (most clearly on his left side) and those of Mut and the king, along with an armband on Amun’s left bicep and Ramesses’ right bicep, were only painted. Nelson mistook a softly modeled contour just inside the front of Mut’s lower torso and legs (representing the division of her legs within her garment) along with traces of recutting behind her knee, as parts of a spurious cloth belt with streamers. In fact, the genuine remains of her painted belt lie farther to the right and are confined to streamers below the block edge at her waist, which cease at the level of her fist grasping an . These consist of a series of short, horizontal lines delineating crimped streamers.¹⁹⁸ Although probably once red, these and other pigments have faded beyond recognition.

Observations: A series of engraved lines is embedded in the main figures. This residue of Horemheb’s expunged sunk-relief decoration on the gateway occurs inside Amun’s forward shoulder, bicep, and armpit; at the front of his kilt above his forward knee; the heel of his rear foot (which is also higher than the final one); and the outer edge of his rear plume. Sety I’s artists shifted Mut’s body to the right of Horemheb’s version, with traces of the precursor apparent in the elbow of her forward arm, inside her buttocks, and at the back of her knee. All these traces are to be distinguished from lighter, shallower instances of recutting on the front of Amun’s kilt above his knee and the upper end of his beard, which are surely cosmetic retouching of Sety I’s raised relief that one frequently encounters in the northern wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

Innumerable small cavities pockmark the surface between the faces of Ramesses and Amun and just above the offering table. If not simply natural defects in the stone, they might be due to Sety I’s workmen. Nelson left out traces of a  that the raptor grasps in its talons. Also missing are the toenail of the king’s advancing foot and the bottom side of Amun’s belt. On Ramesses’ diadem, the cobra’s looped tail is longer than drawn, and the wingtip feathers of the raptor’s forward wing are not quite as recorded. Since Nelson documented them, the top of  in col. 11 and a block containing the uppermost right corner of the scene (the tops of cols. 8–9) have all sheared away. Other blocks have shifted so that Amun’s rear shoulder is now oddly lower than his forward one.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting wine to Amun-Re, that [he] might achieve “given [life].”

¹⁹⁷ Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 1-north.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. similar examples in tomb paintings such as those worn by Ramesses II’s wife, Queen Nefertari, in her famous tomb. Gertrud Thausing and Hans Goedicke, *Nofretari: Eine Dokumentation der*

Wandgemälde ihres Grabes; Einleitung [und] Kommentar (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971), pls. 5, 11, 15, 20, 30, 32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 46, 53, 73, 95, 131, 137, 139, 144, 152.

By *Amun*: ²Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: ³Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. ⁴(I) have given to you valor and victory. ⁵(I) have given to you years of eternity. ⁶(I) have given to you your monument, very enduring.”^b

By *Mut*: ⁷Mut, mistress of the gods: ⁸“(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees. ⁹(I) have given to you the years of Atum. ¹⁰[(I) have given to you south and north,]^c east and west gathered together.”

By *the King*: ¹¹The good god, who makes benefactions for his father, Amun-Re, ¹²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d ¹³[the lord of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN.^e

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4–5, 8–9.

^b Taking *mn.(w)* as a stative. Since Nelson made his drawing,  and the top of  have broken away.

^c Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 145 right:9.

^d Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].

^e Replacing [RAMESSU].

Plate 132

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (148j) II; Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 2-north.

Location: B 203: Western gateway, north jamb, second register from the top.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers jugs of milk to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by a goddess wearing the Red Crown. Her name and titles, once written in two columns of text above her head, have disappeared. A falcon soars over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised, but the royal names inside the cartouches were altered to sunk. Of Sety I’s names,  and , one can see traces of the right “arm” of  held by , the left side and bottom of  (*prenomen*), and the second  of Sty, with the  below it (*nomen*).¹⁹⁹

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few remnants of Horemheb’s erased sunk-relief decoration abide as faint incised lines: inside the king’s rump and the calf of his forward leg, two segments between Amun’s calf and shin, and inside the goddess’ calf. Note that a dashed line supposedly indicating the lower hem of her dress is illusory. A fragment containing Amun’s cheek has now disappeared. Much of the goddess’  has worn down, although a faint impression remains. Several elements are absent from this drawing: a fold in Ramesses’ *nemes*-headdress above his ear and the tip of its lappet below his arm, three separate pendants of Amun’s flail, a curved line distinguishing his rear shoulder from his upraised arm, subtle modeling of the goddess’ inner thigh and the division between her legs, and a groove in the vertical shaft of her Red Crown. Behind Amun, his flabellum pole does not continue inside  as shown.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting milk to Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By *Amun*: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god ³who is upon his great seat: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁵(I) have given to you my lifetime as king.”

Behind *Amun*: Every protection — all life, stabi[lity, and dominion], all heal[th] (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By *Goddess (name missing)*:^a ⁶“(I) have given to you all life, stability, [and dominion]. ⁷(I) have given to you all health. ⁸(I) have given to you all joy. ⁹(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries.”

By *the King*: ¹⁰The good god, who makes monuments for Amun-Re, ¹¹the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ¹²the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^c ¹³whom Amun has chosen as king.

¹⁹⁹ Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 2-north.

Notes:

- ^a In the corresponding scene on the south jamb, a goddess wearing the Red Crown is Amunet (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:6–7) who appears, similarly coiffed, elsewhere in the company of both the striding and ithyphallic forms of Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pls. 23, 47, 56, 102, 106, 115, 159, 209, 246). Isis, who is also a regular companion to ithyphallic Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pls. 18, 24, 60, 88, 116, 183, 186, 214, 215), generally wears a solar disk with horns. Iconographically, the goddess might even be Neith (*ibid.*, pls. 70, 77) or Wadjet (*ibid.*, pl. 62 — with Nekhbet), but these seem unlikely candidates. Other goddesses who accompany Amun-Re-Kamutef include Hathor (*ibid.*, pls. 4, 141, 143, 145, 146, 153, 155, 157) and Mut (*ibid.*, pls. 14, 134, 247).
- ^b Replacing [MENMA‘ATRE].
- ^c Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

Plate 133

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (148j) III; Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 3-north.

Location: B 204: Western gateway, north jamb, third register from the top.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Ramesses I) offers a tall, conical loaf of bread to Amun-Re, who is followed by Khonsu. A vulture flies over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised, but Ramesses II carved hieroglyphs for his own names inside both cartouche rings and the rectangular *serekh* in sunk relief. Of Ramesses I’s names,  and , one sees the forehead of , the top and bottom of , and most of  (*prenomen*), along with the , , and  (*nomen*).²⁰⁰ Traces of “” that Nelson drew between final  and  of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* are actually some of the game pieces of . In the *serekh*, vestiges of Ramesses I’s Horus name,    (*kꜣ-nḥt wꜣd-nsy.t*), persist amid his grandson’s sunk relief version, including elements of , one of two -signs, and .

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few stray cuts attest to suppressed Eighteenth Dynasty sunken relief, although they do not appear in the drawing. We see a diagonal gash through the right side of Khonsu’s lunar disk and an angled trace in the midpoint of his pedestal. Two undulating lines inside his waist have an “hourglass” pattern typical of a goddess’ midriff and upper thighs, perhaps belonging to Mut wearing a Double Crown.

In this register, as at the corresponding level of the south jamb, religious zealots of a later age desecrated the heads and legs of all the main figures, but never finished their work, so they attacked Amun’s elbow joints, but not those of Ramesses or Khonsu. By analogy with scenes in the nearby passageway of the Second Pylon, one might expect all of their forearms and hands to be defaced.²⁰¹ Such vandalism extends to the head and feet of  on the *serekh* in col. 11 and  inside it, to the heads of -cobras in cols. 4 and 5, that of  in col. 6, Ramesses II’s uraeus, and to the head, tail, and lower wingtip of the vulture above him. Both -serpents in col. 1 were thoroughly effaced. Nelson misread traces of the epithet following Ramesses I’s cartouches (see below), and he omitted a curving fold within Amun’s kilt.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life like Re.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ³[the great]^a god: ⁴Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all valor. ⁵(I) have given to you all victory.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all [h]ealth (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

²⁰⁰ Murnane, VA 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 3-north.

²⁰¹ PM II², p. 42 (148g–h); Murnane et al., *ASAE* 78 (2004), figs. 50–51. Here too the pattern of defacement was not entirely consistent.

By *Khonsu*: ⁶Khonsu-in-Thebes, ⁷lord of joy, Neferhotep ⁸in Karnak: ⁹“(I) have given to you the throne of Geb.
¹⁰(I) have given to you the office of Atum.”

By *the King*: ¹¹Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma^cat,”^c ¹²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA^c ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d
¹³the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^e ¹⁴true-of-voice before the great god.^f

Notes:

- ^a For the epithet *ntr* 𓂏 attached to Amun-Re. See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 1:2, 12 left:3, 80:2–3, 126:2, 157:2.
^b Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 5, 9–10.
^c Replacing [mighty bull, “flourishing of kingship”].
^d Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].
^e Replacing [RAMESSU].
^f So reading *m³-ḥrw ḥr ntr* 𓂏. To the left of col. 14, the surface of the wall is damaged, but one can make out  above the gap and  below, rather than the traces recorded by Nelson: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 3 above, where *ntr* 𓂏 is grouped differently, but there 𓂏 is also written . The epithet to which these signs belong was appropriate for the deceased Ramesses I, who shared the jambs of this doorway with his son Sety I (as the latter’s homage to his father: see Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 [1995], p. 168).

Plate 134

Bibliography: *PM* II², p. 43 (148j) IV; Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 4-north.

Location: B 205: Western gateway, north jamb, lowest register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers a bouquet to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Mut. A falcon hovers above.

Type of Relief: Raised, but Ramesses II altered the glyphs inside both cartouches to sunk when he usurped them from his father. Of Sety I’s names,  and , nothing is left in the poorly preserved *prenomen*, but in the *nomen* cartouche, one sees the snout of  and the tops of  under the final group *R^c-ms-s*. Sety’s *nomen* also had  for which Ramesses substituted .²⁰² Note, however, that a rebus of Sety’s *prenomen*, , remains intact amid the food offerings on the altar table before Amun.²⁰³

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Numerous incised traces persist from Horemheb’s erased carvings on the Second Pylon gateway, most obviously inside the legs of Amun and Ramesses II. The crown of the former king’s head is now lost where a block joint has widened, while his rear leg stands on substantial remains of a ground line — largely absent from the drawing — extending under most of the final Ramesside one. Nelson confused part of this baseline and a vertical crack as an illusory “ankle and heel” of the earlier Amun. A long vertical trace inside final Amun’s legs must belong to the ankle, calf, and rump at the back of his predecessor’s leg. Farther to the left, moreover, is an angular cut inside the final deity’s foot (just above his pedestal) corresponding to the joint of the first god’s instep and the front of his ankle, although this too does not appear in the drawing. Horizontal elements recorded as the former god’s alleged planter box are, in fact, part of the original baseline, while vertical segments are actually deep hacking (see below).

Nelson disregarded a few smaller vestiges: two irregular shapes in Ramesses’ rear shoulder, a diagonal cut behind Amun’s neckline, and part of a goddess’ instep and ankle below Mut’s rear heel. A few vertical and horizontal segments embedded in the lower part of col. 6 behind Amun might be vestiges of a -table that once held the god’s lettuce and flabellum fetishes.

As in the scene above, iconoclasts attacked the figures, but here too they never finished their work. They thoroughly defaced Mut’s head and shoulders, but otherwise the figures largely escaped such methodical

²⁰² Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), p. 168, 4-north, is in error here.

²⁰³ Similarly in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 33, 154, 194.

treatment. Lighter pecking mars Amun's thumbs and fingers, as well as Ramesses II's thumbs, nose, and mouth. Although worn down and thereby lacking carved details for his mouth and nostril, Amun's profile is complete and unmolested. Some hieroglyphs were also effaced by pecking at them.²⁰⁴ However, deep gouging around the bottom of Amun's lettuce planter resulted from Sety I's deletion of the Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers^a to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ³lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you all health. ⁷(I) have given to you my seat and my throne forever."

Behind Amun: ⁸[Every protection] — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By Mut: ⁹Mut the great, lady of ¹⁰Isheru, ¹¹as she gives all [life].^c ¹²"(I) have given to you all valor. ¹³(I) have given to you all victory. ¹⁴(I) have given to you the years of [etern]ity [with life and dominion]."^d

By the King: ¹⁵The good god who performs benefactions, ¹⁶the lord of the Two Lands USER[MA'AT]RE-SETEPEN[RE],^e ¹⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^f ¹⁸given life like Re.

Notes:

^a It seems likely that the block inscribed with the lower part of the text, below *rdi.t*, has shifted downward, creating the impression of a longer gap than is actually the case.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 6.

^c Scarcely anything else could fit or would be expected in the broken space: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 33:15, 35:9, 105:14, 111:13.

^d Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:12. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k rnp.wt ḥḥ m 'nh w3s*.

^e Replacing [MENMA'ATRE].

^f Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

West Wall, South Wing (Plan 2, Plates 5–41)

The reliefs in this area mostly cover the eastern face of what was previously the southern wing of Horemheb's Second Pylon. The only part of this wall that belonged solely to the Great Hypostyle Hall from its inception is the connecting wall at the south end (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 41 right), which forms the corner between the pylon's south wing and the Hall's southern wall. Horemheb and Ramesses I were the first to decorate the Pylon before Sety I and Ramesses II added their reliefs. Seemingly random patterns of deep chiseling that disfigure this wall's surface attest to the erasure of these earlier sculptures, traces of which are still visible at the upper south corner of the pylon.²⁰⁵ The decoration of the western wall's south wing began as a continuation of the work completed by Sety I in the northern half of the Hall (plan 2). In addition to inscribing the scenes on the gateway (see above), he also executed several scenes to the south²⁰⁶ and began the cobra-and-cartouche frieze at the top of the wall preserved above part of the large scene at the north end.²⁰⁷ Sety I's son Ramesses II, however, inscribed the remainder of this wing. Even so, there are sporadic indications that a number, if not all, of the scenes on this wing could have been laid out as painted cartoons under Sety I. Some of the evidence is ambiguous. Although he appears as the celebrant in one scene in the third register,²⁰⁸ Sety does not bow, as is usual for his images in the Hypostyle Hall, suggesting that this relief is a posthumous one created at the behest of his son Ramesses II. In the lowest register,

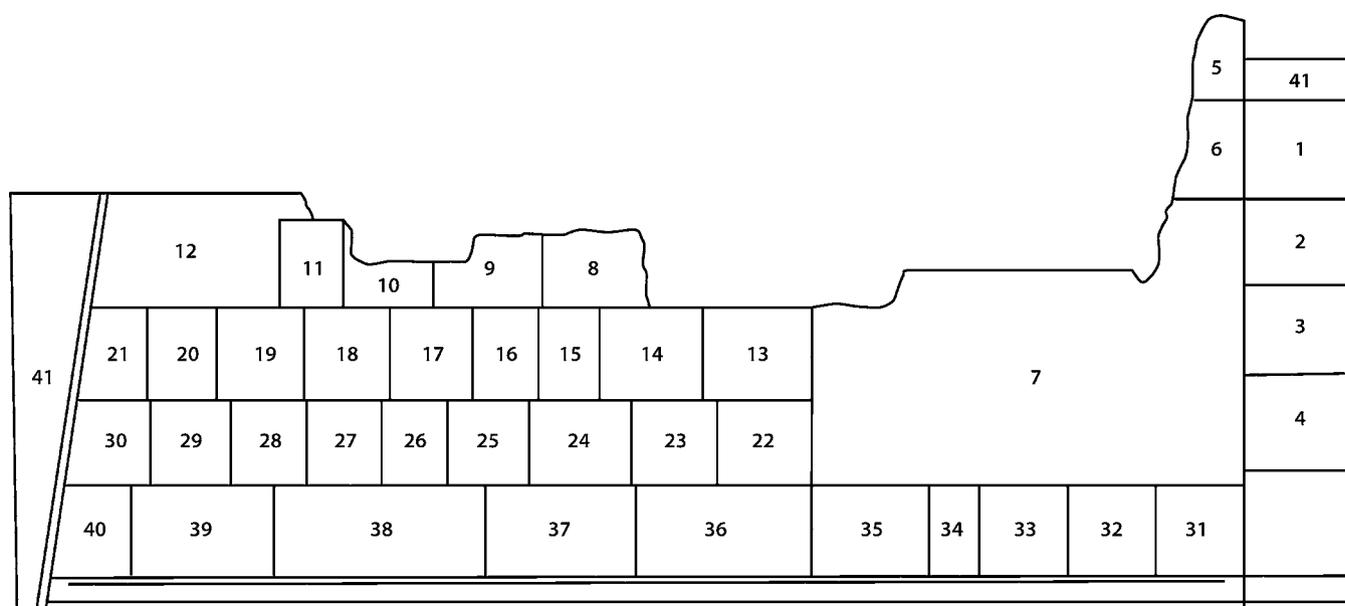
²⁰⁴ There is light hacking to the zoomorphic hieroglyphs in cols. 9–10 above Mut's head, to  in col. 11, and  in col. 13.  and  in col. 4 were thoroughly pecked out. Lighter damage affects  and  in col. 2, but neither  there. The heads of  in col. 15 and  in col. 7 were also incompletely hacked.

²⁰⁵ See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12, 20–21; cf. *ibid.*, pls. 258, 266, and our commentary to the same.

²⁰⁶ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 5–6, 31–33.

²⁰⁷ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 7. For a more detailed drawing, see *ibid.*, pl. 136, bottom.

²⁰⁸ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 27.



Plan 2. Diagram of the west wall showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

Amun-Re's processional bark is equipped with a veil that bears a rebus writing of Sety's name.²⁰⁹ Yet elements of Sety I's titulary remained on the iconography of Amun-Re's sacred bark in two more reliefs on the south wall²¹⁰ and in the Triple Bark Shrine of Ramesses II in the forecourt of Luxor temple.²¹¹

It seems more likely, however, that the draftsmen who laid out the decoration on the west wall labored just ahead of the sculptors who transformed these cartoons into finished relief. In support of this conclusion is the pattern of scenes in which the king's torso is inclined forward in the bowing posture that is a hallmark of Sety I's decoration in the Hall. The aforementioned exception aside, all of Sety I's images show this iconography. Most of Ramesses II's effigies, however, appear with a fully upright posture. In three cases where Ramesses does bow, it is by necessity.²¹² In the remaining three episodes on the west wall wherein Ramesses bows, two are located adjacent to reliefs completed by his father, including the huge scene at the north end.²¹³ These examples may be explained either as reliefs drafted by Sety I's scribes before his death or perhaps as the earliest decoration planned by Ramesses II once he took the throne but before he abandoned his father's iconography.

The reliefs that Ramesses II first executed on the west wall when he took over his father's program of decoration continued to be executed in the fine bas-relief style with which Sety I had begun his work in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Ramesses soon abandoned this mode of decoration, however, in favor of a faster technique, whereby all designs were incised in sunk relief. All of these early sunk reliefs date to the phase of decoration in which the king continued to employ the shorter early form of his *prenomen* *Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ* instead of the longer version (*Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ Stp.n.Rꜥ*). The orthography of the early throne name was usually .

For a period of time, the two styles, in raised and sunken relief, coexisted on this and the adjoining west wing of the south wall, but a forced homogeneity eventually prevailed when Ramesses ordered that all scenes formerly carved in raised relief were to be given the appearance of sunken relief. The sculptors carved incised outlines around every hieroglyph and virtually every figure, thus concealing *grosso modo* their original bas-relief character. At the same time, since Ramesses II had adopted his final *prenomen* by this time, the recarved scenes were also updated, not only with the current *prenomen*, but also with a slightly emended form of his personal name, which

²⁰⁹ GHHK I.1, pl. 38

²¹⁰ GHHK I.1, pls. 53, 76.

²¹¹ PM II², p. 310 (39).

²¹² GHHK I.1, pls. 24–25, 28. These are examples of “functional bowing,” where the king's posture is stooped by the nature of the ritual act he completes. See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 10–13.

²¹³ GHHK I.1, pls. 7, 34, 38.

was now consistently spelled “Ramesses” (*R^c-ms-s*) in place of the earlier variant “Ramessu” (*R^c-ms-sw*). Thus, even though the greatest inconsistencies in appearance had been eliminated, the earlier and later reliefs still form two distinct units: the original sunken scenes (all with the earlier, short *prenomen*) near the south end of the wall, and the larger number of scenes at the north end, mostly converted into sunken relief but displaying the later forms of Ramesses II’s cartouches.

The dividing line between the two styles has a curiously irregular profile (plan 1). Above the scenes at the west wall’s south end, the frieze is still preserved (see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 12), and since it was originally carved here in raised relief, it seems likely that it merely continued in this manner from the far northern end of the west wing. Below this element, however, the dividing line moves far to the right, plates 10 and 11 (on the upper register). Then it moves still farther right, apparently moving down the left side of plate 17 (second register). Next, it moves to the right again, through the middle of plate 26 (third register). Only in the bottom register (where much of plate 38 was formerly carved in raised relief) does it veer sharply to the left once more.

Seele attempted to explain this irregular boundary between the two styles by postulating that a ramp was employed to carve these scenes and was also being used by the sculptors who were working simultaneously on the west wing of the south wall (which was also carved initially in raised relief). Since the workmen on the south wall would have had less space to cover in each register than did their colleagues to the north, their end of the ramp could have been reduced more quickly as they moved to the lower registers of the wall. As a result, sections of the upper west wall at the south end would have become progressively more difficult to reach.

Of some significance for this model of events is that the change in style took place *within* the scene on plate 26, and that the sculptors were prevented from executing the king’s figure there completely in either type of relief. The suddenness of this transition suggests the force of circumstances, rather than a deliberate plan to operate in this fashion.

The reconstruction noted above assumes, however, that the decorators were moving from the top to the bottom, and also that they were using a solid approach at each level (a ramp or filling of earth) that would block access to the registers below. If, as we have suggested, the scenes were all laid out in paint after the surface of the west wall had been smoothed, then one is forced to posit two ramps in sequence: one (probably the earth fill that was used in the construction of the Hall) that was removed as the walls were smoothed and, perhaps, painted; and a second, constructed almost immediately after the first, to permit the carving of the scenes. Such a procedure would be so cumbersome that it is tempting to imagine that the builders of the Great Hypostyle Hall avoided it in favor of a simpler expedient, that is, using scaffolds to carve the reliefs. This method would not destabilize the approach at the southern end as the sculptors at the south wall moved lower, since workmen could be deployed at different levels of adjoining scaffolds. Yet another difficulty with the ramp theory is the distribution of reliefs originally carved by Sety I near the middle of the Hall, that is, the south jamb of the gateway (pls. 1–4), the adjoining two scenes to the south (pls. 5–6), and three scenes (pls. 31–33) in the lowest register. The latter all extend *beneath* the large scene at the north end (pl. 7, three registers in height), which Ramesses II carved in his earliest style. If all the scenes belonging to Sety were executed before Ramesses II took charge of finishing the west wall, they must have been carved with the aid of scaffolding instead of a ramp, since they lie both above *and* below the putatively later scenes of his son. Barring the possibility that Ramesses II was indiscriminate in allowing reliefs in his father’s name to appear, even after he had taken over the project of completing the Hall, it would seem that a ramp is the least attractive of the options that may explain the sequence of decoration in this section of the building.

A few indications of the later history of the Great Hypostyle Hall survive on the south wing of the west wall. First, at some point during the pharaonic age, the figure of Amun, on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 36, was singled out as an icon. Its eye was deepened and filled with an inlay, and it was covered with a veil (drill holes for which are present on the wall). It is impossible to determine when this development took place, although it may have been as early as the later New Kingdom.²¹⁴ A few traces of a marginal inscription belonging to “King” Herihor are also found at the

²¹⁴ Marc Gabolde, “L’inondation sous les pieds d’Amon,” *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp. 235–58; Peter J. Brand, “Veils, Votives and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor,” in *Sacred Space*

and *Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, SAOC 61 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), pp. 51–83.

base of the wall, most conspicuously beneath the scene on *ibid.*, pl. 38. The rest of this text is lost, either to the severe deterioration of the blocks that form lower parts of the wall or to the replacement of these blocks during later antiquity.²¹⁵

Post-pharaonic occupation throughout the Hall is reflected in two ways: first, from the holes sunk into the walls to accommodate roofing beams, and second, from the way later inhabitants hacked away parts of the decoration that they found offensive. Evidence of both actions is found above the lowest register on this wall's south wing, suggesting that a considerable amount of debris had accumulated before these later structures were built. The lowest marks that are consistent with occupation lie, moreover, in the second register, below the level of most deliberate damage, which suggests that this could have been perpetrated from the roofs of those houses. To the north (where the mound may have sloped down into the central aisle or where access to the higher reliefs might be had from the roof of Ramesses I's shrine), the hacking begins in the third register from the ground and does not rise any higher than the fourth. Similarly, the greatest concentration of beam holes lies in the third and fourth registers from the ground. The structures that left these traces were clustered at the southern end of the wall and stood on a mound of rubbish that covered most of the two lowest registers. This elevation, and the attendant damage to the reliefs, would be consistent with a relatively late date for these structures, perhaps the seventh century C.E. or later, although an earlier date would be conceivable if the mound accumulated inside the Hall quickly, during an intensive period of occupation. So scanty are the material remains, however, that one can only speculate on the dates for these houses that once stood inside this area of the Great Hypostyle Hall. The presence of several Coptic crosses amid the reliefs near the top of the west wall at its southern end does, however, suggest the resident iconoclasts were active during the Christian era.²¹⁶

Plate 5

Bibliography: This scene is not noted either in PM II², p. 46, or in Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

Location: B 36: West wall, south wing, upper register of the extension at the northern end (inside the central nave).

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and presents a cup of incense to Amun-Re.²¹⁷ A falcon soars over the king's head. This scene and the one below it (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 6) represent all that is left of four small vignettes that filled the space framed by the doorway (north) and the western end-wall of the row of clerestory windows (south): cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 135 and 262, for the corresponding (and better preserved) area on the north wing of the west wall. By analogy with the latter, each scene portrayed the king kneeling before a single divinity, leaving no room for a companion deity behind either one of them.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief, of which a few traces have withstood the conversion process outside the final cuts — for example, along the falcon's back, head, and the end of its tail; on the upper neck of the king's uraeus; and the front of his *nemes*-headcloth. Raised lips follow the contours of the knee and shin of the male deity's leg. Similar remnants persist around many hieroglyphs. Substantial traces of Sety I's deleted cartouches are evident:  and the loop of  held by  (*pre-nomen*), and all the signs for . Above, the sky-sign was left raised, as were game pieces of  in Amun's name in col. 2. Below the *nomen*, workmen shaved back raised  in *d.t.*, but they never recut it as sunk. Abrasion along the final cut lines of Ramesses' back, buttocks, and heel attest to the crudity of the conversion.

Paint: None preserved.

²¹⁵ Peter J. Brand, "Repairs Ancient and Modern in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 180 (2001), pp. 1, 3–6.

²¹⁶ See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 12, below.

²¹⁷ Nelson records a trace of the customary incense cup, which is now lost. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 2, 12 left, 40, 57, 60, 81 left, 84 left, 94, 175 left, 205 right, 217. It is possible the king offered a cup with a conical loaf of bread, so *ibid.*, pls. 3, 133, 139, 163, 175 left, 236 right.

Observations: Shade in the drawing indicates where chisel marks pit the surface below the king's face and hands. Some still contain plaster infill. Inaccuracies in the drawing include Ramesses' belt, which is straighter and carved as a double line; his wrist and forearm, still visible amid chisel gouges and longer and more horizontal; and streamers flanking his apron that merge with his belt. A block with the front of his kilt has now fallen away.

Translations:

Label: ¹[Censing to] ²Amun.^a

By Amun: ³Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ⁴"[How bea]utiful [are]^b the monume[nts] which [you] have made [for me...]."

By the King: ⁵The good god, who makes monuments [for his father Amun]^c in Karnak, ⁶the dual king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d ⁷the son of Re RAMESSES-MERENAMUN,^e given life forever.

Notes:

^a Restoring something like [*ir.t sntr n*] 'Imn. See glossary s.v. *ir.t sntr*.

^b This column would have begun at the same level as the preceding one, since the falcon's upper wing must have extended over it as well; thus restore *nfr* [*wy*] *mnw iri.n=[k n=i]*: see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 27:6–7; 169:3; and cf. *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 388:F; *Khonsu* II, pls. 113:3, 176:9–10.

^c Restoring *iri mnw* [*n it=f'Imn*]: so *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:42, 21:6, 33:6.

^d Replacing [MENMA'ATRE].

^e Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

Plate 6

Bibliography: Noted neither in *PM* II², p. 46 (156) nor in Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

Location: B 37: West wall, south wing, lower register of the extension at the northern end (inside the central nave).

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and presents a conical loaf to ithyphallic Amun-Re. For the context of this and the preceding scene, see pl. 5, above.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Numerous traces of the original raised version remain, including the front of the god's thighs below his penis, his lettuces, and Ramesses' arms and the top of his kilt. Both of Sety I's raised-relief cartouches were incompletely erased and are legible amid Ramesses II's names in sunken carving.

Much of the vulture's wing plumage was erased when Ramesses' sculptors recarved her. Her upper wing is smooth, indicating that they used a buffer stone to polish it. Amun's image projects farther than the negative space around him, and his face retains the finesse of Sety I's original carving. Ramesses' workmen shaved back his effigy, partially erasing the diadem inside his wig and his belt apron streamers in this operation. They also deleted carved lines of separation between his fingers.

From the frequent roughness of the recarved surfaces, it is apparent that Ramesses II's craftsmen never finished transforming this scene. Carved surfaces along the bottom of the king's leg, the platform he kneels on, Amun's pedestal, and his toe all remain rough, as they were not smoothed down after the workmen cut them back.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Portions of the relief destroyed after Nelson copied them include a weathered section at the top of col. 2 and most of  in col. 4; a rectangular patch at the bottom of cols. 1 and 4 (extending below the bottom of the *skr* determinative [] and the middle of the -determinative's face); in col. 3 (to the left of the  in *rsy.t* and all of the final  in *nht*); to the latter's left, a small fragment of Amun's leg; the piece bearing the center of his pedestal; and a segment of the ground line behind the king. Shade in the drawing above the god's

head indicates chisel marks that also obscure the lower half of col. 3. Nelson has not fully captured surviving details of the king's belt apron with its flanking uraei and streamers and is inaccurate.²¹⁸

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting a conical loaf of white [bread].

By Amun: ²[Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamut]ef:^a [...“(I) have given to you]^b ³valor against the south and [vic]tory against the north.”

By the King: ⁴⁴The good god, who per[forms benefactions] in the estate of his father Amun, ⁵the dual king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^c ⁶the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^d given life forever.

Notes:

- ^a There is room for this name, perhaps preceded by *dd mdw in*, in this short column. Above , the already damaged surface that Nelson recorded has now fallen away.
- ^b The god's titles would have continued at least into the next column, and the *di.n=(i) n=k* formula that concludes below must have begun at the bottom of this column.
- ^c Replacing [MENMA‘ATRE].
- ^d Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

Plate 7

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (156); Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 87.

Location: B 38: West wall, south wing, huge scene between the south jamb of the western gateway and the top three registers of scenes farther south.

Subject: Ramesses II receives life and years of jubilees from an enthroned Amun-Re, behind whom stands Khonsu. Mut²¹⁹ appears behind Ramesses, cobras coiling around her papyrus staff as it protects the king's back with life and dominion. At the left end of the scene, Thoth inscribes the king's titulary on a field defined by four -staves. The right end of the scene (Amun's plumes, as well as the texts above them and Khonsu) extends up into the clerestory of the central nave (see pls. 5–6, above). A frieze in raised relief with Sety I's titulary (preserved between cols. 1 and 26) stands above the rest of the scene just below the ceiling of the Hall's southern wing.²²⁰

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief, of which many traces remain. These are especially noticeable on the king (shoulders, feet, back of flail, top of wig), Amun (upper arm, back of head, back of legs and feet, sides of both plumes), Mut (back of feet), Thoth (tail and front foot), and Khonsu (arm, beard, crook, and top of lunar disk), but remnants also cleave to many hieroglyphs (especially those in the columns above Khonsu's head). Ramesses II never usurped a raised-relief frieze that Sety I's artisans had carved above the scene just before his death. Inside Amun's throne podium, the -frieze was also left raised. Although there are reliefs naming Sety I above and below it, Ramesses II was the sole author of this huge tableau as attested by traces of his original raised cartouches that persist amid the final sunk ones. His early *prenomen*, , remains legible at cols. 21, 38, and 43, while in col. 44 his *nomen* was , where the jackal pelt motif of  was particularly elaborate in the first version. It became *R^c-ms-s-mr-'Imn* in the final edition. In converting the scene to sunk relief, the sculptors left areas of roughened surface they had incompletely smoothed down, most obviously at the tops of cols. 6–8. Striations on Ramesses' wig were incised on a coating of plaster. Where this has fallen away, keying for plaster is evident.

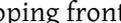
²¹⁸ For more accurate, and better preserved, representations of this apron worn over a kilt with triangular fold by a kneeling king, cf. *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 124.

²¹⁹ Erroneously identified as Hathor in PM II², p. 46 (156); Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

²²⁰ *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 136 bottom.

All the figures project from the background, especially Amun-Re's. Occasionally, recutting stemming from minor adjustments to the raised edition is still apparent: Amun's lower arm, division of his legs and feet, his ankle and heel, his lower arm between his elbow and wrist and again on his bicep; two -signs in the frieze inside his podium; the butts of Pharaoh's crook and flail; and the inner curve of Khonsu's *menat*-necklace. Where it crosses the inside of his throne, Amun's year-staff is fainter and less complete than the drawing suggests, having been partially erased in the conversion to sunk relief, as was the raised molding on the outer edges of most of his throne. At the lower right corner of his throne, this molding is better preserved but was partially erased to the right of Amun's year-staff and is not as complete as Nelson drew it.

Paint: Mut's Double Crown had a red upright at the back, and (to judge from contiguous patches of red and blue paint along her back, below the fifth block line from the bottom of the scene) she wore a blue dress tied above the waist with a red belt-sash. Several horizontal bands of now colorless paint are visible near the top of Amun's throne. Faint traces of his broad collar also endure.

Observations: Amun's throne podium was altered in antiquity. In the earliest raised-relief version, its front was rectangular; however, the suddenness with which its -motif breaks off at the podium's right end indicates that the sculptors reworked it to have a sloping front like a -plinth. A ribbon border consisting of a wide band between two narrow ones frames the outer edge of the podium, and -signs inside do not "float" as in the drawing. At the front of the podium, its original vertical frame was erased incompletely when a sloping front was added farther to the right. When the sculptors converted the scene to sunk relief, they created a new sloping front to the left, touching Ramesses' instep below the bottom corner of his kilt. This line is not indicated in the drawing, perhaps due to the confusing nature of these successive modifications.

A diagonal gash running through the back of Mut's face is a vestige of Eighteenth Dynasty sunk-relief decoration on the east facade of the Second Pylon suppressed when Sety I built the Hypostyle Hall. It may belong to a goddess' vulture-cap crown from a scene that was very much like the Ramesside version.²²¹ Otherwise, all that is left of Horemheb's work is a sunken trace inside Khonsu's pedestal resembling the loop of . Patches of roughness in and around Ramesses II's head may be due to erasure of this obsolete decoration. His face was carved onto a missing patch-stone.

Nelson drew Mut's face incorrectly. Iconoclasts defaced her profile from her forehead to her chin with light pecking, leaving only the ends of her cosmetic eye bands visible. They also attacked her earlobe, Ramesses II's clenched fist, and some of the bird hieroglyphs in cols. 37–40.

Nelson omitted or misconstrued several elements of the relief: he left out the toes of Amun's near foot (complete with toenails); the back of Thoth's wig below his rear shoulder, which, along with his front wig lappet, had vertical striations to represent plaiting; the triangular corner of the sky-sign above col. 23; and the vertical border element at the extreme right edge of the scene.²²² Thoth's beak was modeled to show the natural grooves and partition of an ibis' beak.

Additionally, Nelson did not record portions of the -frieze inside Amun's podium. This lacuna does not reflect the actual condition of the relief, but the former presence of a later wall built between the Second Pylon and an adjoining column in the early twentieth century.²²³ The prior existence of this structure may also account for the inaccurate rendering of the top of col. 20, where there is room on the wall for , now broken away.

The following elements have now vanished: all of Khonsu's face, most of his back and calves and feet, and portions of his staff; the middle of Amun's right plume, his face and ear, parts of his chest and lower arm, his lower belly and lap (to the right of his year-staff), a section of the right side of the staff (above the fourth

²²¹ Cf. similar vestiges in the corresponding gigantic scene on the north wing of the west wall: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 137; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 42.

²²² This element was lightly incised. Cf. a comparable example where the west wing of the south wall meets the central gateway (Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 45, 51).

²²³ See Chicago Oriental Institute photographs nos. 5990 and 5998.

block line from the bottom), and the right end of his throne and its podium; a small block containing the top of Amun's  and the base of Ramesses' uraeus; and the top of col. 26 (*ḏd mdw nb tꜥ.wy*), along with the coil of Mut's Double Crown.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing in ²the temple “Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN ³in the Estate of Amun.” “(O) my son, whom I love, the lord of the Two Lands ⁴USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, welcome in peace! ⁵(O) good god, I am pleased with the monuments ⁶which you have made^b for me. Receive unto yourself millions of years ⁷(and) myriads of jubilees. ⁸Life belongs to you, to your nose, for you have grasped^c ⁹its entirety! ¹⁰⁻¹²[...] ¹³[... des]troyed ¹⁴because your power is great.^d I have caused your war cry to encircle every foreign country. ¹⁵Dread of you, like (that of) the Ombite, is in their bellies. (I) know the benefactions that you have performed for (me).^e ¹⁶I double for you our^f lifetime in [life] and dominion, [forever] and ever!”^g

Second Speech of Amun: ¹⁷“Receive unto yourself [...] jubilee[s] ¹⁸like Ta<tj>enen [...] enduring is ¹⁹heaven. You have gathered together the reed and the papyrus^h (precisely) as a legal testamentary documentⁱ in^j your grasp. ²⁰Re continually rises^k and sets while you are lord of Egypt.”

By *Khonsu*: ²¹Words spoken^a by Khonsu-Neferhotep: “Welcome, welcome (O) good god, the lord of the Two Lands, [USER]MA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ²²[to the house of] your [father]^l Amun that he might do^m what pleases your heart as he gives to you ²³his office of dual king. His lifetime is your lifetime as king! Thoth has established your titulary as Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma‘at.’ Your [...] is [li]ke (that of?) his all-surrounding serpent.ⁿ How stable is your-name-of-throughout-eternity^o like Re forever.”

By *Mut*: ²⁴[Words] spoken^a by Mut, lady of heaven: “(O)^p my son of ²⁵my womb, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-[SETEPENRE], [I endow] ²⁶your [body] with [life and] dominion.^q (O) Horus, “beloved of Ma‘at,” ²⁷I am your mother, the lady of the Two Lands!^r My arms are a protection around you: ²⁸For you (I) have brought the uraeus serpent to your head (and) life and dominion to your nose.”

By *Thoth*: ²⁹[Words spoken by Thoth, master] of the god’s words,^s to Amun-Re: ³⁰“[...] inasmuch as like what you have ordained^t ³⁰⁻³⁶[...] ³⁷[...] him — ^uthere being none who can oppose his two arms — as a reward for^v the great monuments which he has made for you, the like never having been done since the time of the god.”

On Thoth’s Palette: ³⁸[Horus]: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,” he of the Two Ladies: “protector of Egypt, subduer of foreign countries,” the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^v given life like Re forever.^w ³⁹[Horus]: mighty bull, “great of strength,” Horus-of-Gold “rich in years, great of victories,” the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re forever. ⁴⁰[Horus]: mighty bull, “elevated of the White Crown,” the good god who performs benefactions for his father, the king of the gods, and establishes Ma‘at throughout the Two Banks, the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPEN[RE], given life like Re forever.

By *the Vulture*: ⁴¹Nekhbet.

By *the King*: ⁴²The good god who makes monuments for his father Amun, ⁴³the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴⁴the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁴⁵image of Re before the Two Lands, great of appearances ⁴⁶in Thebes.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of several columns of the gods’ speeches.

^b For *sdm=f* relative instead of *sdm.n=f* relative, see Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §2.1.4. *sdm=f* and *sdm.n=f* can function interchangeably in the past tense.

^c This phrase may be taken as a *sdm.n=f* in a subordinate clause, without the necessity of supplying the parts of speech required by Sharkawy’s translation (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 25, n. 59).

^d Restore [ssw]nw n wr bꜥw=k. Although we know of no exact parallel, *sswn* occurs in monumental texts of the New Kingdom (e.g., *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 15–C:16), and it seems to be the only word that combines the desired phonetic ending (...nw at the bottom of col. 13) with the  determinative (at the top of col. 14: see *Wb*. IV, p. 273).

Plate 8

Bibliography: The fragment on the right is not noted by PM II², p. 46 (157) I. Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64, overlooked both scenes.

Location: B 40–41: West wall, south wing, first two scenes *in situ*²²⁴ in the upper register, south of the large scene at the north end of the wall.

Subject: Parts of two episodes remain: (*right*) a goddess [accompanying a male deity and receiving offerings from the king (*both destroyed*)]; (*left*) the king stands before a male deity (perhaps Amun-Re²²⁵) raising his hand to receive -amulets.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. A trace of the original carving persists along the back of the king's front leg; the final sunk lines are roughly executed. Nelson missed traces of the king's belt apron flanked by cobras at its base that were partially erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Along with having lost their upper portions, the scenes in this part of the top register have suffered due to fracturing and exfoliation, which caused large patches of stone to fall away. Religious zealots hacked the figures' feet and lower legs. An irregular hole has also been chiseled out between Amun's advancing leg and the block line to its right. Nelson did not copy the top of a divider between the scenes, the left arm and shaft, an  in the king's fist, or the goddess' right arm where it crosses her body. The god's beard is thicker and does not curve as shown in the drawing.

Translations: All the texts in the upper parts of the scenes are lost. In front of the goddess in the right-hand scene is the bottom of a single column of text, consisting of the hieroglyphs  and  — possibly [*di.n=(i) n=k ... hr*] *rn=(i)* “[*(I) have given to you [... in] (my) name.*” Traces of the left side of additional flat sign(s) above them are obscure and tend to contradict a reading of *hr* above *rn*. They might be the tail end of .

Plate 9

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) I.2; omitted by Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

Location: B 42: West wall, south wing, third scene *in situ* in upper register to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: The king, holding an ‘*aba*-scepter, consecrates four sub-registers of meat and floral offerings before an ithyphallic form of Amun-Re, who is followed by a goddess.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved as raised relief. Several remnants of the earlier version survive outside the final cuts (on the animal carcasses, the base of the god's penis, and a number of the hieroglyphs; for example, the top of  in col. 1, the tail of  in the column behind the god, the back of the  of ‘*h'.w* in col. 3, and the neck of  in col. 4). Some details, like the hind leg of  and the tail of  in col. 4, were left raised. Sculptors carved the final version with a roughness that calls attention to the change — especially in Amun's torso — and that virtually eliminated projection of the figures against the background, except for the offerings. As a result, they erased nearly all the interior details from the raised version, including the king's belt, Nelson's drawing of which is erroneous.

²²⁴ For an episode that once stood between this scene and the large one to the north, see William J. Murnane, “Reconstructing Scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak,” in *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska*, edited

by Joanna Aksamit, *Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1* (Warsaw: National Museum in Warsaw, 1997), pp. 107–17.

²²⁵ A vertical line close behind the figure, surely the god's dangling streamer, supports this conclusion.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Loss of masonry that afflicts other scenes on this register is present here. Iconoclasts hacked the figures' feet, and they gouged out Amun's penis much more deeply. The upper left side of a tall lettuce stalk on the right-hand side of Amun's shrine was not recorded, nor was Amun's neckline. A thin vertical line descending from Pharaoh's outstretched arm just above col. 2 may be a trace of the original Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of the Second Pylon.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering [a great hecatomb to his father] ²Amun-Re [Kamutef that he might achieve "given life"].^a

Behind Amun: Every <protection>^b — all life, stability, and dominion, [all health, all] joy — surrounds him like Re.

By Goddess: ³"[(I) have given to you the life]time^c of Re, you appearing^d on the throne of Atum." ⁴[The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually appear as] ruler of the living like Re forever.^e

Notes:

^a A shorter variant of the label appears at *GHHK* I.1, pl. 13:1–2.

^b No ~~ꜥꜣꜣꜣ~~ was carved at the top of the column, but there is room for it, and, since this formula often begins just under the god's upraised arm (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 15, 19 below), the sign may well have been left in paint.

^c A vertical trace recorded by Nelson is not apparent, only the horizontal element.

^d Here and elsewhere, *ḥ'ī.t* is to be understood as a writing of the stative *ḥ'ī.ti* as a kind of false archaism through confusion, perhaps, with the archaic and later forms of the 2nd pers. f. sing. suffix pronoun *≠t*. See glossary s.v. *ḥ'ī* (as stative).

^e For approximate parallels, see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12 right:12, 39:21, 47:14, 71:12. No closer analogues are found in the New Kingdom temples published by the Chicago Epigraphic Survey, wherein the only parallel for *ḥkꜣ'nh.w* occurs in a different type of text, which dates to the Ptolemaic period (*Khonsu* II, pl. 115B:8).

Plate 10

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) I.3; Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

Location: B 43: West wall, south wing, fourth scene *in situ* in the upper register, south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: The king stands before a god (presumably Amun) and a goddess (Mut, to judge from her vulture head-dress). An offering stand with flowers is set between the king and Amun, but the precise nature of the rite cannot be determined.

Type of Relief: Sunk. The far right end of the scene marks the original transition from raised to sunk relief at the top of the west wall (see our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 11 and 17, below). Pharaoh's tail was carved as raised (which the sculptors never converted to sunk), but all other elements of this scene were cut only as sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Scattered chisel marks are plentiful, being most dense through the goddess' shins and the bottom of cols. 3 and 4. These are surely residue from erasure of Horemheb's decoration on the Second Pylon. There is no evidence of malicious damage to the relief.

Translations:

Label: ¹[...] to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By God: ²"[(I) have given to you va]lor and all victory."

By Mut: ³"[(I) have given to you] the flat lands (and) the Nine Bows gathered together. ⁴"[(I) have given to you] eternity as king of the Two Lands, Southern and Northern Egypt being enclosed in your grasp."

Plate 11

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) I.4; Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

Location: B 44: West wall, south wing, fifth scene *in situ* in the upper register, south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: The king presents two tall cake²²⁶ to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk. There is no evidence that an original version in raised relief antedated the present carving of the scene.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Damage to the scene is confined almost entirely to natural fracturing of the stone. As in the preceding scene, iconoclasts generally spared these images malicious damage, but they deliberately gouged out Amun's penis, perhaps to obtain stone for fertility magic. Although a portion of the cartouche frieze above at the left end of the scene is preserved (as in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 12), Nelson did not record it.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving *sha*'t-cakes to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life like Re."

By Amun: ²[Amun-Re]-Kamutef, the lord [of heaven], ³[king] of the gods, ^a [who is upon]^b ⁴his great seat: ⁴"(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified."

Behind the King: Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

Notes:

^a Reading either [nsw].t [ntr].w, or perhaps [ḥkꜣ psd].t, "ruler of the Ennead," both of which are epithets of ithyphallic Amun-Re: see glossary s.v. 'Imn-R' Kꜣ-mw.t=f.

^b So reading [ḥry]. Part of its -determinative remains along the edge of the gap Nelson drew.

Plate 12

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) I.5–6; Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64; right: Wolfgang Decker and Michael Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten, Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel Jagd, Tanz and verwandten Themen*, Vol. 2: *Abbildungen*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 14/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pl. XXVIII A 170.

Location: B 45–46: West wall, south wing, sixth and seventh scenes *in situ* in the upper register, south of the large scene at the northern end.

Subject: (*Right*) Ramesses II, holding a crested ibis in one hand and a bundle of staves in the other, runs in the presence of lioness-headed Weret-hekau, while a vulture flies above.²²⁷ (*Left*) Ramesses II offers incense and libation before members of the Theban Triad. A vulture flies over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk. Part of the frieze above the fourth register was originally carved in raised relief (the second cartouche from the left and its two adjoining serpents, above the figure and texts of Amun in the scene on the left) (fig. 91). To the right and left of these, sculptors carved the rest of this frieze only in sunken relief. Its pattern — which alternates rebus-writings of Ramesses II's *prenomen* with cartouches containing his *nomen* — was in no case recarved from another version that belonged to Sety I. Sety's artists only carved part of the top frieze at the north end of this wall (see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 7).

²²⁶ Erroneously described as lettuces in PM II², p. 46 (157) I.4.

²²⁷ Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 103 right, below, and *Khonsu* I, pl. 46. On the motif, see Hermann Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), pp. 4–21; idem, "Nachlese zum Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs," *ZÄS* 52

(1914), pp. 61–64; Erich Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griekisch-römanischen Zeit*, Denkschriften, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 98 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1968), pp. 94–97. For a better-preserved version of this type of staff, see *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 226 upper right.

Also in this upper frieze, as well as in the scene below, are the strongest traces of erased sunk relief that Horemheb had carved on the east face of the Second Pylon. These once showed a procession of a god's processional bark (with its hull and cabin-shrine with its veil billowing in front) borne on a sledge-shaped palanquin with carrying-poles held by at least two rows of priests.²²⁸ Nelson overlooked further traces of this obsolete sunk-relief decoration, although few of them increase our understanding of its decorative scheme.²²⁹ More of the aft portion of the hull and upper deck of the bark abides behind the cabin-shrine than indicated by the drawing.

Paint: Some yellow paint has withstood the elements in a column of text behind Khonsu (in  and ) , thanks to the protection of the adjoining torus molding at the south end of the wall.

Observations: Seemingly random patterns of chisel marks that pit the wall surface are residue from erasure of scenes Horemheb has previously carved onto the Second Pylon. This is particularly severe below col. 1 in the left-hand scene where the top of Ramesses' -vase was carved in plaster, now lost. Although the Hypostyle Hall's later occupants never defaced these images, signs of their presence abound: they cut two deep holes into the uppermost course of blocks in the scene on the right, one to the left of Ramesses' crown, another beneath the vulture's lower wing, and another above the texts of Mut and Khonsu, just under the block line, in the scene on the left. They engraved three Coptic crosses in the left-hand scene, one directly below col. 18, above the king's head, another below  in col. 13, and a smaller one behind the upper tip of Mut's crown. The drawing omits the lower part of Mut's vulture cap, which along with the lappet of her wig was faintly carved in an area of light hacking, once mended with plaster.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹Taking a run for the la[dy] of heaven that he might achieve "given life like Re."

By Weret-hekau: ²Words spoken by Weret-hekau, ³la[dy] of the palace: "(I) have given to you years of eternity as king of the Two Lands, you being risen as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt^a like Re forever."

⁴Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you myriads of years. ⁵(I) have given to you the jubilee(s)^c of Re. ⁶(I) have given to you that which the sun disk illuminates forever and ever!"

By the Vulture: ⁷Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis,^d mistress of the Two Lands, ⁸as [she] gives life.

By the King: ⁹The dual king USERMA'ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re,^e ¹¹whom Amun has chosen as king.

Behind the King: ¹²The king, the lord of the Two Lands, the master of the ritual^f USERMA'ATRE shall continually appear as king upon the throne of Horus of the living, like Re.

Left:

Label: ¹Censing and libating, ²that he might achieve "given life like Re."

By Amun: ³Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god: ⁴Words Spoken:^a "(I) have given to you all food. ⁵(I) have given to you all provisions. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy. ⁷(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries."

By Mut: ⁸Mut, lady of ⁹Isheru: ¹⁰"(I) have given to you all life and dominion. ¹¹(I) have given to you all health. ¹²(I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land."

By Khonsu: ¹³[Kho]nsu-Neferhotep-¹⁴[in]-Karnak [...].

Behind Khonsu: Every [protection — all life, stability, and dominion], all [joy] (and) all health — surrounds him like Re.

²²⁸ The only similar rendering of this theme that is known to me is the near-contemporary one located at the southwest corner of the court north of the Tenth Pylon at Karnak, where the processional bark is carried by several overlapping rows of priests: PM II², p. 184 (559); Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 8 (G 308); Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pl. 9.

²²⁹ E.g., a vertical line to the left of the king's arm in the left-hand scene corresponds to the arm of one of the priests. Note the curious box-like element overlapping the offering stand in the left-hand scene, which must correspond to the elaborate belt-apron pendant worn by the king in his role as "King's son of the Starboard Side" in a bark procession scene of Sety I on the north wall (*GHHK* 1.1, pls. 180–81) and by priests escorting Khonsu's bark on the east side of the north wall (*ibid.*, pl. 197).

By the Vulture: ¹⁵Wadjet.

By the King: ¹⁶The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁸whom Amun has caused to appear⁸ ¹⁹as king.

Notes:

- ^a So reading *nsw-bity Šm‘w Tꜣ-mḥw*.
^b Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 5 (left) and 5–6, 10–11 (right).
^c The  are also omitted on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 147:7, but an indefinite number of jubilees must be meant: see glossary s.v. *dī.n=(i) n=k ḥbw-sd*.
^d On the epithet *ḥd.t Nḥn*, see Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 112 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994), p. 16, n. b.
^e This formula, which runs beneath the cartouches, applies to both of the king’s names.
^f For this meaning of *nb ir.t ḥ.t*, see Jean Leclant, “Quelques données nouvelles sur ‘l’édifice dit de Taharqa’ près du lac sacré à Karnak,” *BIFAO* 49 (1950), p. 185, n. 2; Gustav Lefebvre, “Sur l’obélisque du Latran,” in *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l’occasion de son 65^e anniversaire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1949), vol. 2, p. 588. Most recently, see Carolyn Routledge, “The Royal Title *nb ir.t-ḥ.t*,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 43 (2007), pp. 193–220.
⁸ See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:15, note f, above.

Plate 13

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.1.

Location: B 47: West wall, south wing, second register, first scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: The king, holding the crook and flail in his left hand, extends an ‘*aba*-scepter toward five sub-registers of meat offerings piled before Amun-Re and a goddess — most likely Mut.²³⁰

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Many cut lines of suppressed raised relief persist at the edges of the more slender sunk versions, on both the figures (the top of the king’s tail, the haunches in the top two sub-registers of meat offerings, and the goddess’ rear leg) and the hieroglyphs (especially in col. 1).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Later occupants of the Hall defaced Pharaoh’s lower arm, legs, and feet; Amun’s legs and advancing foot; and some of the animal hieroglyphs, mostly within the outlines of the outer cuts. They may have removed a lost block from the middle of the scene (bearing the heads and bodies of both divinities), since others above it (while damaged) are substantially intact. Today, cement blankets this entire area. Otherwise, damage to this scene results from fracturing and spalling due to weathering of the stone.

Translations:

Label: ¹The king [him]self presents a great hecatomb to his father Amun-Re, ²consisting of long-horned cattle, [c]alves (and) short-horned cattle,^a that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ³[Amun-Re...]: ⁴“(I) have given to] you all joy. ⁵“(I) have given to you] all [...].”

By Mut: ⁶[Mut...], lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: ⁷“(I) have given to you all] [flat lands] and all hill countries gathered together under your sandals.”^b

Notes:

- ^a The two lower -glyphs along with  were hacked out.
^b See glossary s.v. *dī.n=(i) n=k tꜣ.w nb.w, ḥꜣs.wt nb.w(t)*.

²³⁰ Based on her Double Crown (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7 and 12-B above, and pl. 14 below).

Plate 14

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.2.

Location: B 48: West wall, south wing, second register, second scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II, holding a long staff and a mace in his lower hand and wearing a *khepreš*-crown, consecrates three racks of libation vessels with an ‘*aba*-scepter held in his outstretched hand, before ithyphallic Amun and Mut. A vulture soars over the king’s head, and Amun’s planter box of lettuces is set behind him.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Vestiges of the raised version are found alongside the sunken one: along Ramesses’ legs, and Amun’s lettuces and hieroglyphs in cols. 1 (*hrp* and ) , 2 ( and ) , 4 () , 5 () , 7 ( of *nb.t*), 10 ( of *Fnh*), and 14 (top of ). Clear traces of the earlier *prenomen*  remain in col. 10. Some interior details, such as plumage on the raptor’s wings and the king’s belt and apron, were thoroughly erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Iconoclasts effaced the head and arms of both Ramesses and Amun and even his mace-head. An irregular patch of hacking along Mut’s front shoulder and down her arm is surely their work, although they never attacked her face. Amun’s penis was also gouged. Erosion accounts for most of the remaining damage to this scene, but two deep holes in the joints of the lowest block line (between cols. 1 and 2, and within the lettuces behind Amun) may have once secured roof beams for a domestic structure.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering racks of offering vessels^a [to his father]^b Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, ²king of the gods that he might achieve “given life, stability, [and dominion] like Re.”

By Amun: ³[Amun ...: ⁴“(I) have given to you (my) office] (my) seat and (my) throne.^c ⁵[(I) have given to you] the lifetime of Re. ⁶[(I) have given to you the years of] Atum.”^d

By Mut: ⁷Mut, the lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: ⁸[Words] spoken: “(I) have given to you all life and dominion. ⁹(I) have given to you all health. ¹⁰(I) have given to you the Fenkhu-lands gathered together under your sandals.”

By the King: ¹⁰[The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, ¹¹[the lord of appearanc]es, [RA]MESSES-MER[A]MUN, ¹²whom Amun himself chose ¹³to be ruler of every land, ¹⁴given life like Re.

Notes:

^a So reading *hrp hnt.w*. The ideogram  is a variant of , Gardiner, S-L., R 3 (for which there are many), that is normally read as *wdh.w* “offering table” (see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, p. 501, Gardiner, S-L., R 3, n. 1). Both the form the ideogram takes here and those of the offering stands in the scene favor a reading of *hnt.w* (*Wb.* III, p. 301:12.), although a similar determinative, , is given for *wdh.w* in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 91:1.

^b There is scarcely room for any other restoration, and *n it=f* appears to be invariable when *hrp* is used in labels to scenes: so *Medinet Habu* VII, pl. 561:1; *Khonsu* II, pl. 121A:1–2. Pace Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 29, n. 117, ‘š’ occurs only in isolated instances that are not applicable to this case.

^c See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k i3.t=i, s.t=i, ns.t=i*.

^d Among the possible restorations of [...] *Itmw*, one might read [*rnp.wt*] *Itmw* “[the years] of Atum,” [*nsy.t*] *Itmw* “[the kingship of] Atum,” or [*i3.t*] *Itmw* “[the office] of Atum. Of these, the first variant is the most frequent; see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k*.

Plate 15

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.3.

Location: B 49: West wall, south wing, second register, third scene south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II offers flowers (of which only the bottom of a small bouquet in his right hand survives) to Amun-Re. A disk with pendant cobras is set above the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Raised edges and engraved lines surround some of the hieroglyphs, while parts of the figures, such as Ramesses' crown, project against the background. Nothing of his raised cartouche names is evident. From the original sunk-relief decoration of the Second Pylon, one sees only the upper part of the rear leg of a striding male figure. Nelson did not record this, but it occurs just to the right of the block line in front of the upper part of Pharaoh's crown.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few chisel marks in the area around Amun's nose (below the block line) are probably not iconoclasm, and his mouth is intact.  in col. 6 was defaced. Most other damage is natural, but note two holes — one above col. 3, in the sky-sign, the other just above the king's hand — either of which could have held the support beam for a light roof. The builders inserted a pair of small patch-stones between Ramesses' legs at the lower right corner of the scene. A shallow, smooth oval depression adjacent to the coil of his crown is a pilgrim's groove of a type commonly found on temple walls.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all joy. ³(I) have given to you all provisions. ⁴[(I) have given to you [...]] you [appear]ing^b as dual king on the throne of Horus.”

By the King: ⁵The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,⁷ “[given life] like [Re].”^c

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's speech.
- ^b Since some form of *h'i* seems to be invariable in this context (see glossary s.v. *s.t Hr*), it seems likely that the trace in Nelson's copy is an erroneous rendering of the lower loop of , used as the stative ending in *h'ti*: see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 216:8, 232 right:7.
- ^c Weathering has claimed the top of the column, presumably with [*di'nh*]. Below this, the group  was obliterated by a shallow pilgrim's groove carved here, including the stroke Nelson drew. Next to it,  is complete except for the upper left side of its rope loop.

Plate 16

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.4.

Location: B 50: West wall, south wing, second register, fourth scene south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II, holding a mace and an  in one hand, stands before an offering stand as he adores falcon-headed Khonsu.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but recarved from raised relief. Traces of the earlier version persist at the edges of some of the main elements (Khonsu's front shoulder and the top of his tail, the bottom of the offering stand, and the  held by Pharaoh) and the hieroglyphs (e.g.,  and  in col. 4,  and the top of the middle  in col. 5). Khonsu's effigy projects out farther than the background, especially his disk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Natural wear and tear accounts for some of the damage, although it is possible that one or more large blocks were deliberately extracted from the wall. Cement, which now fills these gaps, makes this difficult to verify. Nelson has not captured the overlapping stacks of circular bread loaves on either side of the offering stand, although these were crudely incised by the sculptor in the conversion to sunk relief.

Translations:

Label: ¹Dedicating offerings,^a that he might achieve “given life.”

By Khonsu: ²Khonsu Neferhotep. ³Words [spoken]:^b “(I) have given to [you...]. ⁴(I) have [given] to you all health. ⁵(I) have given to you millions of years and myriads of jubilees [...].”^c

By the King: ⁶The dual king, lord of the Two Lands, [USER]MA‘ATRE-[SETEPENRE], ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances, [RAMESSES-MERAMUN...].

Notes:

^a Reading *wdn ḥ.t*.

^b Repeated mechanically above each column of the god’s speech.

^c The short space at the bottom of the column is probably to be completed with a variant of *ḥ‘.ti m nsw mi R‘* “you appearing as king like Re,” or similar: cf. glossary s.v. *di.n=i n=k ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt* or *ḥḥ.w m ḥb.w-sd*.

Plate 17

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.5.

Location: B 51: West wall, south wing, second register, fifth scene south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II presents incense and libation to Amun-Re, who is followed by Ra‘yet-tawy. A vulture hovers over the king (fig. 68).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but substantially recarved from raised relief. In fact, this episode marks the original boundary between raised and sunken relief on this register. Craftsmen initially fashioned the right half of this scene as bas-relief. They later transformed this into sunk, but only after they had sculpted the left part — along with all the scenes farther west on this level — as sunk relief. The division between these modes of decoration runs vertically through the right side of col. 5 and continues below, across the middle of Amun’s forward arm just below its elbow joint and the front half of his foot. A slight ridge marks the point at which the background surface was shaved back on the right half of the scene to create raised relief.

Along this boundary, some elements were left in raised relief, namely, Amun’s fist and scepter and the front of his advancing foot. His forearm was oddly recut on its lower side by means of incised lines engraved outside the earlier raised surfaces, these two versions being connected by a wide trough. Strangely, the first three “waves” on the right side of  in col. 5 are raised while the rest of this glyph is sunk. All other elements first carved as raised relief were subsequently recut as sunk, including the rightmost portions of the hieroglyphs in col. 5, and vestiges of the reworked version lie, as usual, outside the final cuts (notably, everything to the right of the god’s scepter and the texts between Ramesses II and Amun). His sculptors also cut back the triangular flap of Ramesses’ kilt, but the higher original surface of his belt apron was not shaved back as in neighboring scenes.

Paint: Faded paint delineates Amun’s broad collar; otherwise, no color adheres.

Observations: Apart from hacking of the vulture’s head, back, and tail, there is no further vandalism. Scattered chisel marks, especially around the goddess’ , along with remnants of plaster used to mask these defects, are probably left over from removal of otiose Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs on the Second Pylon.

Translations:

Label: ¹[Making]^a incense and libation, ²that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ³Amun-Re, the king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: ⁴Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified. ⁵(I) have given to you all hill countries.”

By Ra‘yet-tawy: ⁶Words spoken by Ra‘yet-tawy: ⁷“(I) have given to you the Fenkhu-lands, dread of you being in the hearts of their chiefs (and) all foreign countries being under your sandals like Re forever.”

By the King: ⁸The lord of the Two Lands [USER]MA‘AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, ⁹the lord of appearances [RAMES]SES-[MER]AMUN, ¹⁰whom Amun has chosen^c as ¹¹king of the Two Lands in order to exercise ¹²[his] kingship.^d

Notes:

^a Restoring [ir.t] sntr kbh.w: cf. glossary s.v. *ir.t sntr, kbh.w*, but see also *GHHK* I.1, pl. 12 left:1 above.

^b Repeated mechanically above the other columns of the god’s speech.

^c Here  for the *sdm(w).n=f* relative was miscarved as two flat signs resembling  in both the raised and sunken versions of the text. This is surely a miscarving of . For this writing of *stp* in a relative construction, see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 18:12, 163:11, 169:12, 172:11, 173:10, 195:12, 196:10.

^d Restoring *r ir.t nsy.t=f*: so *GHHK* I.1, pls. 19:10–11, 40:9–10.

Plate 18

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.6.

Location: B 52: West wall, south wing, second register, sixth scene south of the large one at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II lays a hand on the shoulder of ithyphallic Amun-Re, behind whom stands Isis. A falcon flies over the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Later occupants of the Hall drilled two deep holes into the scene, one at the bottom right corner at Ramesses’ rear ankle and another near the bottom of col. 6, possibly as lodgments for small beams that supported houses built against the wall. Otherwise, there is no malicious damage to the relief.

Translations:

Label: ¹Laying a hand^a upon the god that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all health. ⁶(I) have given [to] you all joy.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By Isis: ⁷Words spoken by Isis the great: ⁸“(I) have given to you valor against the south (and) victory against the north, every foreign country being under your sandals (and) the Nine Bows [being un]derlings^c of your incarnation. ⁹(I) have given to you all food and all provisions.”

By the King: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ¹²whom Re-Atum has chosen, ¹³given life.

Notes:

^a Literally, “Placing an arm,” etc.

^b Repeated mechanically above each column of the divinities’ speeches.

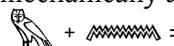
^c Restoring  = [m n]dwt: so *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 101:12 (*pḏw m nḏw* ‘h=k). While there is neither room nor sense for another restoration, the -determinative is odd: perhaps it was written here through confusion with one of the verbs *nd* (see *Wb.* II, pp. 369 bottom, 374). The relevance of the reference to *GHHK* I.1 pl. 151:32 by Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 31, n. 140) escapes me.

Plate 19

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.7.

Location: B 53: West wall, south wing, second register, seventh scene south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II presents a royal offering to Amun-Re while a vulture soars over the king (fig. 65).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Aside from decayed residue of Amun's broad collar, none is preserved.

Observations: Sculptors carved the vulture's image without inner detail except for the division between its body and tail. Note that the lowest three round bread loaves on the offering stand are not quite as Nelson drew them. Only the center one has a complete inner rim; the right one is has none at all, and the left one is carved incompletely. Amun's belt buckle is also present in the relief.

An odd, curved mark above Pharaoh's outstretched hand might be a trace of suppressed Eighteenth Dynasty decoration on the Second Pylon, but its significance is obscure. Later occupants of the Hall left two pilgrim's grooves along the contour of Ramesses' back (partly erasing his belt, which is not as complete as drawn) and to the right of his lower arm. They also engraved a small pattée cross inside Amun's lower torso. In cols. 3-4, they chiseled out heads of both -serpents and all of  in col. 6. Otherwise, all damage appears fortuitous.

Translations:

Label: ¹Performing an "offering which the king gives."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, king of the gods: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁴(I) have given to you all joy."

By the Vulture: ⁵Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: ⁶The good god, who performs benefactions for his father Amun, ⁷the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ⁸the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ⁹⁻¹⁰whom Amun himself has caused to appear in order to exercise ¹¹his kingship.

Note:

^a Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's speech.

Plate 20

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.8.

Location: B 54: West wall, south wing, second register, eighth scene south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II (his body mostly lost) extends an *ʿaba*-scepter toward the frame of an unfinished *shnt*-shrine that is being erected before ithyphallic Amun-Re.²³¹ A falcon hovers over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 312).

Paint: Amun's flesh is blue (traces persist on his arm), and his helmet-crown and flail are yellow, as is a bracelet on his wrist. Behind him, the flabellum of his fetish is red. Faded bands of paint on his broad collar are apparent, but the colors are indistinct.

Observations: Most of the damage results from decay or removal of masonry on the right side, now masked with cement. Although there are patches of deliberate chiseling at the top and to the left of col. 2 (at *ʿImn-Rʿ*) and in col. 8 (left side of *ʿhʿ.w*), these are remnants of Horemheb's suppressed decoration on the Second Pylon, not iconoclasm. Vestiges of these earlier reliefs are particularly strong here. Note the hull of a processional bark with part of its veil, the upper left corner of its cabin-shrine, and (in the adjoining scene, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 21) the heads of two of its priestly bearers. Additional traces not recorded in the drawing include a deep semicircular element between Amun's plumes and col. 2 (misrepresented as a block line). This must belong to the solar disk of a winged Behdetite.²³² A diagonal gash extending from the knee of  in Atum's name in col. 8 was one of the oars of this earlier bark. It runs parallel to further traces in the next scene (see below).

Translations:

Label: ¹Erecting the *sh<n.t>*-shrine of the bull^a for Amun-Re that he might achieve “given [life].”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the [great] god^b ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: ^c“(I) have given to you all life and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you all health. ⁷(I) [have] given to you^d my strength as king. ⁸(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, the flat lands and the hill countries being en[clos]ed^e in your grasp while your arm is not opposed.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By the King: ^{8f}The good god USERMAʿATRE, ⁹the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ¹⁰great of appearances in ¹¹the Mansion of the Phoenix, ¹²whom Amun-[Re] [has] chosen.⁸

Notes:

^a This spelling (*sh<n.t> k3*) severely abbreviates the fuller *shn.t n k3*, for which see Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est*, pl. xix (main text) — although  is transposed “honorifically” before *shn.t*, fully spelled, in the same scene (in the column of text behind the queen). This same word order seems to be observed in an Eighteenth Dynasty example of the ritual elsewhere inside Luxor temple (Albert Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 15 [Paris: Leroux, 1894], pl. X, fig. 49 [59]). Alternatively, *k3* could be read as “pole,” rendering “Erecting the pole of the *sh<n.t>*-shrine for Amun-Re....”

^b Restoring *ntr* [ʿ]: so *GHHK* I.1, pl. 18:2–4.

^c Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's utterance.

^d Here  has been miswritten for .

^e Reading *ʿr[f]*: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 10:4.

^f Note that column number “8” is here mistakenly reduplicated, throwing off the numbering of the remaining columns.

⁸ There is no room for the continuation of this formula (as in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 17, 19 above) in front of the falcon's wing.

²³¹ For a more elaborate contemporary example, see Charles Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramsès II à Louxor* (Cairo: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Égypte, 1971), pl. xix.

²³² Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 197.

Plate 21

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) II.9.

Location: B 55: West wall, south wing, second register, ninth (last) scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II pours a libation over food offerings piled on an altar in the presence of Amun-Re while a vulture flies above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Protected by its proximity to the southwest corner of the wall, more color survives in this scene than in others on this register. A blue sky-sign extends over the scene. Red clings to the upper left end of the vulture's lower wing and to Ramesses' flesh — his chest, shoulders, and skin between the strands of his collar — which can be made out as a negative image left by exfoliation of paint from the wall. Amun's flesh is blue (at his back shoulder), while his corselet, helmet-crown, and the leading edge of his rear plume are yellow. Ramesses' *khat*-wig is also yellow. Streamers beside Pharaoh's apron and the concentric bands of Amun's broad collar are composed of pigment too faded to identify. On the biceps of his arms, Ramesses wears armlets with two darker bands framing a lighter one.

Observations: Losses to the scene are minimal, and there is no deliberate mutilation of the figures or texts. Abundant vestiges of the Second Pylon's former sunk-relief decoration occur in this area (see commentary to the previous scene), many of which Nelson did not record. Behind the king, elements of a suppressed processional bark include a falcon-headed rudder post; two steering oars from which issue tillers in the form of serpents' bodies; the head, chest, and legs of a divine helmsman who grasped its tiller; and a portion of the bark's deck upon which he stands.²³³ Further traces include a section of the vessel's sloping rear hull embedded in Ramesses' kilt and two segments of the curved skull of a priestly bearer to either side of a tiny royal figure on the left side of the offering table.

Nelson overlooked or misconstrued a few elements in the drawing. He confused the curving necks of the roast ducks with their lower wings. Ramesses' nipple on his breast is carved in relief. As in plate 19, the vulture lacks interior details, and her curving neck is erroneous, as is the separation between her talons and .

Translations:

Label: ¹Making a libation to Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: ³Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁴(I) have given to you the years of Atum.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

By the Vulture: ⁵Wadjet.

By the King: ⁶The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ⁸given life, stability, and dominion ⁹like Re forever ¹⁰(and) eternally.

Note:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of each column of Amun's speech.

²³³ See Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 177–81, pls. 12, 13, 23a, 29.

Plate 22

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.1.

Location: B 56: West wall, south wing, third register, first scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II performs the “stretching of the cord” ceremony with the goddess Sefkhet-‘abwy in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re. A vulture soars above the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Of the earlier version, traces appear infrequently alongside the final cuts, including the bottom of  and part of  from Ramesses II’s early *premenen*, *Wsr-M3’.t-R’* (col. 7). In addition, a tie and the round terminal in front of the goddess’ shoulder, and her pendant necklace with teardrop-shaped beads²³⁴ (none of which appears in the drawing) were left in raised relief. All three figures project slightly from the background, although some interior details were partially erased when they were shaved down, including the tip of the king’s beard and part of his belt apron.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Blade-like projections in the goddess’ headdress are abraded, especially on the left. Later occupants of the Hall left ten pilgrim’s grooves in the upper part of the scene, in and around the god’s plumes; in cols. 2 and 5, beside the goddess’ headdress; and behind the coil of Ramesses’ Red Crown. Otherwise, all damage to the relief appears natural. Plumage along the lower tier of the vulture’s outstretched wing (indicated with vertical dotted lines by Nelson) is illusory except for feathers near the wingtip.

Translations:

Label: ¹Stretching^a the cord in the house of Amun; presenting offerings,^b that he might achieve “given life.”

By Sefkhet-‘abwy: ²Words spoken by Sefkhet-‘abwy,^c lady of writing, ³pre-eminent in the scroll-house: “(I) have given to you ⁴your monuments enduring ⁵like heaven.”

By Amun: ⁶Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamut[ef]: ⁷“(O my) beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁸(I) have given to you all valor. ⁹(I) have given to you all victory.”

By the King: ¹⁰The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESES-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a Note the similarity between the hieratic ligatures of the signs  and : Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909; reprint Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), vol. 1: *Alt-und Mittelhieratisch*, p. 29 (300) vs. p. 41 (436); vol. 2: *Neuhieratisch*, p. 27 (300) vs. p. 39 (436); vol. 3: *Späthieratisch*, p. 28 (300) vs. p. 42 (436).

^b For this formula, see Friedrich W. von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 32* (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922), vol. 1, p. 6; Sanaa Abd el-Aziz El-Adly, *Das Gründungs- und Weihritual des ägyptischen Tempels von der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Tübingen, 1971), pp. 40, 103, 181; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 33, n. 149.

^c For this name of Seshet, goddess of writing, see Gerald A. Wainwright, “Seshat and the Pharaoh,” *JEA* 26 (1940), pp. 33–34. For Seshet, see Dagmar Budde, *Die Göttin Seschat*, *Kanobos 2* (Leipzig: H. Wodtke & K. Stegbauer, 2000).

²³⁴ For a similar contemporary example, see the figure of Seshet on the back of the western seated colossus inside the first court at Luxor temple: PM II², p. 313 (71). For the earlier form of this element, see Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-rea*, Vol. 2: *Die Wandbilder*, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 26.1* (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1981),

pl. 1. The pendant necklace appears in a scene from Hatshepsut’s *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak. See Nicolas Grimal, Jean-François Larché, and Franck Burgos, *La Chapelle Rouge: le sanctuaire de barque d’Hatshepsout*, Vol. 1: *Fac-similes et photographies des scènes* (Paris: Culturesfrance, éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 2006), pl. 424, bloc 311.

Plate 23

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.2; William J. Murnane, “Reconstructing Scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak,” in *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska*, edited by Joanna Aksamit, Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1 (Warsaw: National Museum in Warsaw, 1997), p. 113, fig. 2, p. 80.

Location: B 57: West wall, south wing, third register, second scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II stands before Amun-Re and Amunet as he scatters a stream of powdered gypsum into the oval foundation trenches of the temple while a vulture hovers above him.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Vestiges of the earlier carvings are sporadically preserved outside the final cuts (e.g., at the front of Amun’s crown). Almost nothing of Ramesses’ earlier *prenomen* remains detectable inside his first cartouche. In col. 5, the handle of  was left raised, as was the top of the king’s tail. Carved details inside the main figures were erased when they were cut back, although traces persist, namely, some of the vulture’s plumage, although it is not shown in the drawing.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Damage to Amun’s face may be the work of iconoclasts who otherwise left the scene unmolested. A vertical trace from erased decoration on the Second Pylon exists behind Amunet’s legs. Several shallow pilgrim’s gouges occur across the upper part of the scene, namely: to either side of Amunet’s crown, behind Amun’s plumes, and below cols. 10 and 13.

Translation:

Label: ¹Strewing gypsum;^a going around three^b times and scattering^c gypsum.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the Two Lands:^d ³Words spoken:^e “(I) have given to you my lifetime as king. ⁴(I) have given to you years of eternity. ⁵(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified.”

By Amunet: ⁶Amunet, residing in ⁷Karnak, ⁸lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: ⁹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all that the solar disk illuminates (and) the lifetime of the sky, that your monuments may endure (O) lord of the Two Lands.”

By the Vulture: ¹⁰Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: ¹¹The dual king USERMA‘AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, ¹²the son of Re RA[MES]SES-MER[AMUN], ¹³great of appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix, given life like [Re].

Notes:

^a The original meaning of *bsn* may have encompassed several crystalline substances found in nature, justifying translation as either “gypsum” or “natron” according to the context: see John R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 54 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 190–91.

^b Only  are carved, thus the error is ancient (*pace* Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 33, n. 155).

^c Reading (w)d(i) *bsn*, *pace* Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 33, n. 156.

^d The only parallel — a dubious one — is on a column of Ramesses XI: *mr[y] ’Imn-R’ nsw-ntr.w, nb.t t3.wy* (*sic*) in *Khonsu II*, pl. 204 (col. 29 north); see Vittmann, “Zwei missverständene Schreibungen,” p. 77, for this exceptional spelling of the masculine *nb*. In the scene under discussion, though, it is tempting to suppose that  (for *’Imn-R’ nb <ns.wt> t3.wy*) were omitted, perhaps accidentally, when the signs were laid out in this confined space.

^e Repeated mechanically at the top of each column of the god’s speech.

Plate 24

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.3.

Location: B 58: West wall, south wing, third register, third scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II hacks the ground with a mattock in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re and Isis. A vulture flies above the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (fig. 262). Evidence of the primary version appears intermittently outside the final cuts (especially in col. 9). A few lines of the early simple form of Ramesses II's *prenomen* are still to be found inside the first cartouche. Workmen polished away internal raised details in the figures with buffer stones when they converted the relief, but traces persist, especially feathering on the vulture's downswept wing. Others are fainter than Nelson's copy suggests, including Amun's eye and the rim of his crown, the tip of his beard, and Ramesses' neckline. Cosmetic bands on Pharaoh's eye and eyebrow were incompletely erased.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: An obscure trace beneath the last  in the protection formula behind Amun may stem from Horemheb's decoration on the Second Pylon. Post-pharaonic occupants scraped a row of smooth gouges in the middle of the scene, between Ramesses and Amun along with a couple of fainter grooves, behind Isis' ankle and behind Amun's head. They also attacked Amun's phallus, but only lightly with small gashes in a herringbone pattern. Other defects are minor and result from natural causes.

Translations:

Label: ¹Hacking the earth for Amun-[Re] that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ³the great god who is upon ⁴his great seat: ⁵Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you^b life, stability, and dominion, and all health. ⁶(I) have given to you^b years of eternity. ⁷(I) have given to you^b the lifetime of Re."

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him.

By Isis: ⁸Words spoken by Isis, the mother [of the god]:^c ⁹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all joy on my^d part."

Behind Isis: ¹⁰So long as Re exists, so shall your name exist. So long as heaven exists, so shall your monuments exist (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^e given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

By the Vulture: ¹¹Wadjet.

By the King: ¹²The good god USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^f ¹³the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^g ¹⁴whom Amun has caused to appear^h as ¹⁵king in order to exercise ¹⁶the kingship which he made.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's utterance.

^b In cols. 5–7 the sculptor neglected to carve the handle of .

^c Restoring *mw.t-[ntr]*: see glossary s.v. *ʒs.t* and *ʒs.t wr.t*.

^d For *≠t* as feminine 1st pers. sing. suffix, see Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §2.1.2.

^e Replacing USERMA'ATRE. One sees traces of the ears of  and the base of .

^f Replacing USERMA'ATRE. Traces include the second ear of  and 's wig and feather.

^g Traces of  and  of the raised version remain.

^h See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:15, and note f to our commentary on the same.

Plate 25

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.4.

Location: B 59: West wall, south wing, third register, fourth scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II fashions a mudbrick in a wooden mold, before Amun. A falcon soars over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. In col. 3, traces of a larger ☉ are all that survives of Ramesses II's earlier cartouches. Other raised traces appear sporadically throughout the scene: the king's up-turned fingertip resting on his brick mold; Amun's back, rump, and forward shoulder; the upper right end of the table supporting the brick mold; the falcon's upper neck; and around some of the hieroglyphs, for example, the handle and top of  in col. 6. The workmen who recarved the scene never shaved back the raised interior elements of the figures as they did in nearby scenes, and they left some minor elements raised (e.g., the upper part of Ramesses' tail and the horns of the second  in col. 1).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Someone intentionally hollowed out a small rectangular space below Amun's waist, perhaps to accommodate an inset roofing beam. Otherwise, all damage appears natural.

Translation:

Label: ¹Molding^a a brick for his father Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life like Re."

By Amun: ²[Words] spoken^b [by A]mun-[Re], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³"(O my) beloved son USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴who was nurtured in [(my) body]^c ⁵in order to perform benefactions for my temple, ⁶one whom (I) begot^d as the creation of my limbs in order to do what pleases my Ka. (I) have given to you my seat and my throne forever and ever!"

By the King: ⁷[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands] USER[MA'ATRE]-SETEPENRE, ⁸[the son] of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁹whom Amun has caused to appear^e ¹⁰as king.

Notes:

^a I do not understand Sharkawy's observation (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 34, n. 166) that  is oriented incorrectly here.

^b Repeated mechanically at the tops of columns 3–6.

^c Only a low, flat group like [h.t=(i)] can fit under the very full writing of *rnn m* in this column: compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 38:4.

^d Interpreting *sw* as a resumptive pronoun following participial (or relative) *wtt*. See Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §377.2; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §§23.13, 24.5; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §§120, 157–62; Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §§2.1.4(5), 5.1.2(2).

^e See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:15, note f, above.

Plate 26

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.5.

Location: B 60: West wall, south wing, third register, fifth scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II, standing before a model of the temple, presents the building to Amun-Re. A vulture with the head of a serpent soars over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sculptors carved the rightmost portions of this scene (all of Ramesses II's image except his outstretched arm, the vulture, and the texts in cols. 9–10) as raised relief and later converted them to sunk; all the rest they executed in sunk initially (fig. 72). Taking the form of a slight ridge, the line separating these styles falls between the vulture's wingtip and her name (col. 7). It next moves down between Ramesses' cartouches (the *prenomen*, in original sunken relief, appearing in its earlier short form), through his elbow, and along the

point of his kilt and front of his staff and toe. The differing levels of the background surface, which is distinctly higher on the left, further accentuate this difference. During its conversion to sunk relief, the vulture's wing plumage was largely erased through shaving it back. However, the artisans did not cut Ramesses' figure back except along its outer contours. As a result, his belt and apron are in their original condition. Traces of raised carving persist along the edges of some hieroglyphs (e.g., \cup in *W3dy.t* and the head of  in col. 9), the edges of the vulture's wings and back, and Ramesses' crown, mace, kilt, forward heel, and lower tail.

Paint: Aside from decayed pigment on Amun's broad collar, none is preserved.

Observations: All damage to the scene appears fortuitous. In the portions formerly executed as sunk relief, the background surface is flat and even, although here chisel marks left over from the erasure of Horemheb's decoration on the Second Pylon appear more frequently. Thin vertical traces that appear between Amun's shoulder and his scepter, and inside his torso might belong to these erased reliefs. There is a faint pilgrim's groove in front of the god's plumes.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving the house [to] its lord that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you millions of jubilees. ⁴(I) have given to you eternity as king. ⁵(I) have given to you the kingship which I have exercised. ⁶(I) have given to you valor against the south, victory against the north, the flat lands and the hill countries being enclosed [in] your [gra]sp, while your arm is not opposed."

By the Vulture: ⁷[Wadj]et.^b

By the King: ⁸The dual king USERMA'ATRE, ⁹the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's speech.

^b The reading [W3d]y.t is borne out not only by numerous parallels (see glossary) but also by the vulture's serpent head.

Plate 27

Bibliography: The bibliography given in PM II², p. 46–47 (157) III.6, is incorrect: see below, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 39; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 110.

Location: B 61: West wall, south wing, third register, sixth scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Sety I gestures with an 'aba-scepter as he consecrates five ox carcasses and four jars of fat before Ptah while a falcon hovers above (figs. 89, 256).

Type of Relief: Sunk. The anomalous presence of Sety I's name here seems odd, since evidence of his original work on the south wing is limited to areas adjoining the western gateway. Yet it is most likely Ramesses II's deliberate homage to his father's memory and less likely to derive from an original painted design that had been laid out by Sety I and carved by Ramesses in his father's name because the king does not bow.²³⁵ Elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, Ramesses II occasionally represented his deceased father either as the passive recipient of

²³⁵ See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 8–15 (on bowing figures of Sety I); pp. 201–06 (on the near universal instance of bowing figures of Sety I in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall); pp. 206–08 (on honorific figures of Ramesses I carved by Sety in the Hall); pp. 235–38 (on the distinction of bowing and erect figures of Sety I in his Gurnah temple carved, respectively, while he was alive [bowing] and posthumously by Ramesses II [erect]). The design

of the present scene, set off from the ones on either side by long vertical text columns, conforms to the decorative parameters of Ramesses II's own decoration in the Hypostyle Hall, which differs from designs inherited from Sety. See Benoît Lurson, "La conception du décor d'un temple au début du règne de Ramsès II: analyse du deuxième registre de la moitié sud du mur ouest de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *JEA* 91 (2005), p. 107.

Ramesses' own cultic acts on the south interior wall and the interior jambs of the south gateway²³⁶ or as the posthumous actor in offering scenes on the exterior jambs and thicknesses of the south gateway.²³⁷

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Scattered chisel marks attest to the removal of Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs on the Second Pylon. There is no iconoclasm, and all losses appear random unless the Hall's later occupants were responsible for the wide gap in cols. 13–14. On the offering stand before Ptah's shrine, the *nemset-jar*'s spout more closely resembles a β -feather.

Translations:

Label: ¹Causing a great hecatomb to be presented, of long-horned^a and short-horned cattle, ²to his father Ptah, lord of Ma'at that he might achieve "given life like Re forever."

By Ptah: ³Words spoken^b by Ptah, the lord of Ma'at, king of the Two Lands: ⁴"Ptah praises you, and Ptah loves you, ⁵(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands, ⁶MENMA'ATRE. How beautiful are ⁷the monuments you have made for your father ⁸Amun. Your name shall endure just ⁹like them,^c forever and ever! ¹⁰(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees, you appearing as king on the Horus-throne of the living."

By the Falcon: ¹¹The Behdetite.

By the King: ¹²The good god, son of Amun, ¹³lord of the Two Lands [MENMA'ATRE], ¹⁴the lord of appearances SETY-MEREN[A]MUN, ¹⁵given all life, and all stability and dominion ¹⁶like Re forever.

Notes:

- ^a Note the  determinative with its elaborate feathered headdress. See Jean Leclant, "La 'mascarade' des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Égypte," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 14 (1956), pp. 128–45; Bernadette Letellier, "La 'mascarade des boeufs gras' de Thoutmosis IV: une désignation originale des animaux," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, edited by Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 471–77. As in full-size wall reliefs, this ox has bowed legs with curved, upturned hooves.
- ^b Elements of this formula are repeated mechanically above each column of the god's speech.
- ^c Literally, *r mit.t=sn* "to the likeness of them."

²³⁶ E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 42, 48, 53, 57, 61, 65, 72, 76.

²³⁷ During our recording work in 1995, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project discovered that Sety I was originally named as the officiant in ritual scenes on the middle registers of the east and west exterior jambs and thicknesses of the south gateway (PM II², pp. 49–50 [164c–f]; Nelson, *Key Plans*, KO 29–30, 45), although his cartouches were subsequently changed to those of Ramesses

II, who acts in the rest of these scenes. The painted cartoons for this decoration were probably laid out for Sety I, but were left uncarved at his death. See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 214–16. Similar posthumous scenes executed by Ramesses II in his dead father's name are more common in the latter's memorial temple in Gurnah. *Ibid.*, pp. 236–48, figs. 120, 124, 126, 129.

Plate 28

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.7; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 275c.

Location: B 62: West wall, south wing, third register, seventh scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II cuts a sheaf of emmer wheat in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re while a vulture flies over him (figs. 261, 274, 304, 354).

Type of Relief: Sunk. The interior features of the vulture's wings are executed in particularly fine raised relief in contrast to other examples on this wall.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A concentrated pattern of chiseled gouges afflicts the lower portions of Ramesses' figure, especially his rear leg, and many still contain plaster. Such defects stem from removal of Horemheb's reliefs on the Second Pylon, vestiges of which include several small incised marks in and around the lower portions of the god's figure and in col. 9 (interfering with  of *hf*). Their meaning is obscure.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ³the great god ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁶(I) have given to you the years of Atum. ⁷(I) have given to you all joy. ⁸(I) have given to you a million^b years. ⁹(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, the flat lands and the hill countries being bundled in your grasp forever and ever!"

Behind *Amun*: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By *the King*: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ¹¹the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's speech.

^b Usually "millions of years": see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt*.

Plate 29

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.8, wrongly labeled as "king offering flowers."

Location: B 63: West wall, south wing, third register, eighth scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II, equipped with a *mekes* in his right hand (now lost) and a flail in his left,²³⁸ stands before Amun-Re and Mut. A falcon soars over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 275).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Isolated patches of diffuse chiseling are due to erasure of Horemheb's reliefs on the Second Pylon, traces of which are particularly numerous here because the wall surface was not as thoroughly cut back as elsewhere. However, these vestiges are small and enigmatic, and Nelson overlooked them. Clearest among them are carved lines between Amun's plumes and Mut's crown forming the shoulders, neck, chin, ear, and eye of a priest with a shaved head. Such traces are consistent with a priest escorting a sacred bark like those preserved in the registers above (see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12, 20–21). Curving traces through cols. 2–3 might be the forehead and front shoulder of another priest. More obscure is a horizontal line bisecting the coil of Ramesses II's Red Crown.

²³⁸ Cf. below, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 35 and 51.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god. ²Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ³(I) have given to you all health. ⁴(I) have given to you the kingship of Re.”

By *Mut*: ⁵Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven, ⁶mistress of the gods: “(I) have given to you years of eternity with life and dominion, that you may celebrate jubilees like Atum.”

By *the King*: ⁷The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

Note:

^a Repeated mechanically above col. 3.

Plate 30

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (157) III.9.

Location: B 64: West wall, south wing, third register, ninth and final scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

Subject: Ramesses II anoints the brow of ithyphallic Amun-Re, followed by Khonsu. A vulture hovers over Ramesses’ head, while behind Amun stands his characteristic tent-shrine.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Ramesses’ face and armpit have flecks of red, as do the vulture’s neck and rump. Light-colored paint (yellow or white) cleaves in the deeper cuts of Pharaoh’s crown, and the pattern of his broad collar is apparent.

Observations: Widening of the block joints and fracture lines account for the only significant damage to this scene. In Nelson’s drawing, cross hatching between the blocks at the upper left reflects the presence of a thick crust of salt and mud.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving ointment to Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By *Amun*: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god who is upon ⁴his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy. ⁶(I) [have] given to you the throne of Geb and the office of Atum.”

By *Khonsu*: ⁷Khonsu-⁸in-Thebes ⁹Neferhotep.

Behind Khonsu: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health — surrounds him like Re.

By *the Vulture*: ¹⁰Wadjet.

By *the King*: ¹¹The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹²the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ¹³given life.

Behind the King: The protection of life and dominion surrounds <him>.^a

Note:

^a The scribe omitted the suffix  from this already abbreviated formula.

Plate 31

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.1.

Location: B 65: West wall, south wing, lowest register, first scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers incense and libation to an ithyphallic Amun-Re.²³⁹

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (fig. 253). Traces of earlier raised lines are visible outside the final cuts at the back of Pharaoh's rump and the upper back of his crown. His figure projects higher than the negative space, with the high modeling and detailed carving of interior elements typical of Sety I's reliefs, such as his thumbnail and modeling on his *kheprsh*-crown (not recorded). In converting the relief, Ramesses II's sculptors partly deleted plumage on the vulture's wing, which is not as complete as the drawing suggests.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In addition to the loss of masonry in its lower left quadrant, this scene has now decayed further. Missing elements include Ramesses' face below his eye, most of his neck, a small stone bearing the front of his thigh and his robe, and his feet. Parts of cols. 1 (tail of ) , 2 () , and 3 (bottom of ) are also lost. The "hand" and bowl of the incense wand have worn down, and there is a curious area of shallow pecking above them. Natural fissures in the sandstone severely affect the upper parts of the relief.

The border on the right of the scene is formed by a small edicule that Ramesses I built here before Sety I added this relief.²⁴⁰ The surface is rougher at this edge, and the wall surface is higher. The vulture's tail was carved onto this sloping surface. Residual hacking along the far right edge and inside the king's torso stems from erasure of obsolete Eighteenth Dynasty sunk-relief decoration.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, ²the great god, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ³who is upon his great seat: ⁴Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you all valor. ⁵(I) have given to you all health. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy."

By *the King*: ⁷(Long) live the good god, who performs benefaction(s) for his father Amun-Re, ⁸USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ^b RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ^c ¹⁰given life like Re ¹¹forever.

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically above each column of the god's speech.
- ^b Replacing MENMA'ATRE. A trace of the knee and  of  is discernible.
- ^c Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN. Only the crook held by  remains.

Plate 32

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.2.

Location: B 66: West wall, south wing, lowest register, second scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers an unguent vessel, its jar held by a kneeling statuette of the king,²⁴¹ to a falcon-headed avatar of Amun-Re (figs. 86–87, 92).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. As is often the case, Ramesses II's workmen left some minor elements raised: the upper part of the god's tail, the tail of the serpent issuing from his solar disk, Ramesses'

²³⁹ Correctly described by Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64; but the goddess Isis is erroneously placed in this scene according to PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.1, perhaps due to a misinterpretation of the text in col. 3.

²⁴⁰ PM II², p. 43 (149); Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 94, pp. 149–52; Georges Legrain, "Le logement et transport des barques sacrées et des statues des dieux dans quelques temples égyptiens," *BIFAO* 13

(1917), pp. 26–27; Gerhard Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der Ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 40–41; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 200, 208.

²⁴¹ Wrongly described in PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.2 as a "sphinx ointment jar."

sash, and the antennae of  in col. 11. In col. 5, elements of Sety's nomen persist amid Ramesses' sunken one, including the knee, head, and ears of  and parts of  for Sty; and , , and  of *mr-'Imn*. Many other vestiges of raised relief survive beside the final incised cuts (especially in cols. 1–3). A frieze of cartouches on the offering table all name Sety I, but while solar disks crowning them were reworked, the hieroglyphs inside these cartouches are incised in Sety's name and bear no evidence of alteration (fig. 92). Thus Ramesses II's artists must have ignored them.²⁴²

Paint: A painted armband on the king's bicep, though much faded, can be identified as having thin strips of yellow (top and bottom) flanking a wide band of red.²⁴³

Observations: Masonry on which most of the king's figure was carved is lost (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 31). Random hacking at the tops of cols. 2–3 and 7–9 does not completely efface the hieroglyphs and is an artifact of the removal of Horemheb's Second Pylon decoration. Elsewhere (e.g., in cols. 16–17), damage results from natural causes. Note that the interior features of the raptor's head (his eye and beak) are preserved even though they do not appear in the drawing. Recutting of the Amun's rear shoulder and wig lappets results from cosmetic adjustments to Sety I's original raised relief. The bottom left corner of col. 9 (comprising the handle of  and the back of the -throne) has now broken away.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering pure ointment of ²the double workshop^a of his father Amun-Re, ³that he might achieve “given life, stability, and dominion like Re.”

By Amun: ⁴Words spoken:^b by Amun-Re-[Atum-in-Thebes]^c ⁵residing in the temple “Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN^d [in the Estate of] ⁶Amun”: “My heart is pleased with [your] monu[ment] ⁷(O) ‘arisen-in-[Thebes],’^e and I am satisfied ⁸with what you have done. My heart is joyful. I am^f ⁹your august father, ¹⁰the lord of the gods, Amun-Atum-Re-in-Thebes. (I) have given to you an enduring kingship on earth, you appearing as dual king upon the throne of Horus like Re forever.^g ¹¹(I) have given to you my office of dual king (and) my lifetime of when (I) was on earth.”

By the Falcon: ¹²The Behdetite.

By the King: ¹³(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun-Re, ¹⁴the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-[SETEPENRE],^h ¹⁵the son of Re RAMES[S]ES-[MERAMUN],^d ¹⁶rich-in-monuments, great of wonders ¹⁷in [the estate of Amun].ⁱ

Behind the King: ¹⁸The king, [the lord of the Two Lands], master of the ri[tu]al,^j [USERMA‘AT]RE-[SETEPENRE] ^h shall continue to exist [...].

Notes:

^a Thus, *ḥnk m md.t* “offering ointment” rather than “bringing pure ointment from the workshops,” etc. (*contra* Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 37): for *iswy*, see *Wb.* I, p. 127:3–5.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of each column of the god's speech.

^c The simplest restoration, following the parallel in col. 10 of this scene, would be *'Imn-R' [Itmw m W's.t]*, but other representations of this god at Karnak tend to show him as fully anthropomorphic, with a curved beard and wearing a wig surmounted by a disk (*RIK* I, pl. 35 C–D top; *RIK* II, pl. 107 J; *LD* III, pl. 207b). Alternatively, *'Imn-R' Ḥr-ḥ.ty* is often shown with the head of a solar falcon (*Medinet Habu* VII, pl. 539; *Medinet Habu* VIII, pls. 597, 603), although he also appears ram headed (*Medinet Habu* VI, pls. 446, 468A) or simply as the usual anthropomorphic Amun (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 179; *RIK* III, pl. 20 B). Compare the solar shrine from Abu Simbel, now in the Nubian Museum at Aswan, where the god is identified as “Re-Horakhty” on the right side but as “Atum” on the corresponding jamb (older bibliography in *PM* VII, p. 99; see I. Badawy, Jeroslav Černý et al.,

²⁴² Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 194. Likewise, Ramesses II's sculptors left Sety I's titulary intact on the pedestal of a small shrine of Wepwawet originally carved in a bas-relief of Sety I, which Ramesses II later usurped and converted to sunk relief on the west wall of the outer Hypostyle Hall of Sety's Abydos temple: *PM* VI, p. 6 (58);

A. Rosalie David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1981), p. 26, pl. VI.

²⁴³ The central band is usually blue: see *Abydos* II, pls. 6, 7, 11; but cf. the statue of Sety I just behind the bark socle (in *ibid.*, pl. 11), where the red undercoat may not have been overpainted in blue.

Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel VI: la chapelle de Rê-Horakhty, Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Antienne Egypte, Collection Scientifique 34 [Cairo: Organisation Égyptienne des Antiquités, 1989]).

^d Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN.

^e At the top of this column, the signs are both crudely carved and ill preserved due to hacking left from erasure of obsolete Second Pylon reliefs. Since there is barely room for  at the bottom of the preceding column, the following phrase should be dependent, standing either in apposition or as a relative clause. The problem with following the antecedent *mnw*=[*k*] with “in [which] (I) appear” (*ḥ*^ʿ*i*=(*i*) (*i*)*m*=[*f*]) is not the infrequency with which gods appear in their temples (see, among other examples, *RIK* II, pl. 90:3–4; *RIK* III, pl.12; *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 181-C; *Khonsu* I, pl. 21:17–18), but the uncharacteristically elliptical spelling used here (with  acting for  when the latter would fit perfectly into the same space). Thus it seems more likely (as Sharkawy suggests, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 37, with n. 197 on p. 38) that the phrase is a vocative, consisting of Sety I's primary Horus name, *ḥ*^ʿ*i*-*m*-[*W*3s.t]: compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 137:11; and cf. Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique* (Cairo: Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907–1917), vol. 3, pls. 13–19; Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 20 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984), p. 234. Note that Ramesses II's workmen did not always “update” Sety I's Horus name to reflect that of their master: cf., e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 123, 129.

^f Reading *ink* (the rim of  is all but entirely worn away).

^g This is surely the end of this column, even though it is well short of the baseline. Note that the right-hand column divider does not continue below the block line, probably because the tails of the god in this scene and the king in the next one (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 33) intrude into this space: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 34, col. 14.

^h Replacing MENMA'ATRE.

ⁱ Restoring *m* [*pr*-*Imn*]: cf. *Khonsu* I, pl. 51:12 (*wr bi*3.wt *m pr n it*=*f* *Ḥnsw*); and *Khonsu*. II, pl. 117B:4 (*mnwy, wr bi*3.wt *m pr-Ḥnsw*)

^j Reading *wnn nsw*, [*nb t*3.wy], *nb ir*.[*t*] [*ḥ*].*t*, etc.: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12 right:12, 34:14.

Plate 33

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.3; Marc Albouy, Henri Boccon-Gibod, Jean-Claude Golvin, Jean-Claude Goyon, and Philippe Martinez, *Karnak: le temple d'Amon restitué par l'ordinateur* (Paris: Solar, 1991), p. 137 (king with offering tray); Seele, *Coregency*, p. 54, fig. 15; Peter J. Brand, “Rescue Epigraphy in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (2001), pp. 11–13; *ibid.*, “Rescue Epigraphy in the Hypostyle Hall,” *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 12 (2001), p. 59.

Location: B 67: West wall, south wing, lowest register, third scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) presents a laden tray of food to Amun-Re and Mut. A vulture flies over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Artisans left the interior of the food tray, the cobra at the right end of the king's apron, and the tails of both Amun-Re and Pharaoh in their original raised versions (figs. 60, 257, 334). Note the rebus of Sety's *prenomen*, , which remains untouched as raised relief among the food offerings on the king's tray. Traces of Sety I's deleted names appear in both cartouches. In col. 18, sculptors accidentally recarved the group  in sunk relief. Realizing their error, they next suppressed the unwanted signs with plaster, now largely missing, and recarved *R*^ʿ-*m*-*s* instead. A rebus writing of Sety's *prenomen*, *Mn*-*M*3^ʿ.*t*-*R*^ʿ, escaped similar treatment, since it appears inside Pharaoh's offering tray, at the upper left corner.²⁴⁴ Many other raised edges of reworked bas-relief persist along the outer contours of the sunk relief figures and hieroglyphs, especially in cols. 1, 6, and 12, and the figures themselves often stand out against the background surface.

²⁴⁴ As noted by Seele, *Coregency*, p. 54 (caption to fig. 15).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Several elements have vanished since the drawing was made: most of Ramesses' streamers below his shoulder; the triangular patch-stone containing Amun's face, beard, and front chest; the lower front hem of Amun's kilt and his forward knee; and the upper left-hand corner of  in col. 12. Sety I's effacement of Horemheb's otiose Second Pylon decoration left scattered chisel marks in col. 6 that obscure this text. Similar hacking mars Mut's upper torso and face. All other gaps arise from natural causes. Note that the unusually shaped tail of Mut's vulture crown is caused by swollen plaster that foreshortens it unnaturally. It was this (and not the actual, still extant cut) that Nelson drew. Ancient plaster clings to the block joints and some minor cavities.

Translations:

Label: ¹Elevating offerings^a to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve "[given] life like [Re] forever."

By Amun: ²Words spoken^b by Amun-Re king of the god[s], residing in the temple ³"Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN^c in the Estate of Amun": ⁴"(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, you appearing ⁵like Re. ⁶(I) have given to you the victories of my sword,^d [as (I) subdue]^e for you the Nine Bows beneath your sandals."

By Mut: ⁷Mut, lady of heaven, ⁸mistress of all the gods, ⁹as she gives life, stability, and dominion, ¹⁰and all health forever and ever: ¹¹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. ¹²(I) have given to you million(s) of jubilee(s)^f like Re forever."

Inside the Tray of Offerings: ¹³MENMA'ATRE.

By the Vulture: ¹⁴Nekhbet, ¹⁵as she gives all life and dominion, and [all] health like [Re].

By the King: ¹⁶The good god, who makes monuments for [his] father Amun, ¹⁷the dual king USERMA'ATRE-[SETEPENRE],^g ¹⁸the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^c ¹⁹whom Amun himself has caused to appear ²⁰in order to exercise kingship [for]ever.^h

Notes:

^a Reading *f*i* h.t*, literally, "elevating things." Since food bulks large in the items presented in scenes such as this, *h.t* has sometimes been rendered "food," but given the small number of inedible items present here the more generic "offerings" has been preferred: cf. *Khonsu II*, pls. 123B:2, 157B:1.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of each column of the god's speech.

^c Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN.

^d The blade of  is clear, thus not "die Kraft [meines Armes]:" Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 39 with n. 215.

^e More probably [*w'f=(i)*] *n=k p*d*.t-ps*d*.t* (so *GHHK* I.1, pls. 76:15–16, 97:7) than [*dr*], etc. (*ibid.*, pl. 38:21–22). The signs immediately above  are carved lightly or not at all because they were executed in a blob of plaster infill made necessary by deep hacking in the block above containing the phrase *h*p*s=i*.

^f Indication of the plural was omitted in both cases. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k h*h*.w m h*b*.w-s*d**.

^g Replacing MENMA'ATRE. Vestiges of the larger  and the  of  remain.

^h Interpreting the traces under the vulture's back wing as the tail of  (*right*) above a flat , thus reading [*d.t*].

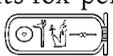
Plate 34

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.4; Seele, *Coregency*, p. 54, fig. 15.

Location: B 68: West wall, south wing, lowest register, fourth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II (his names changed from their early forms) offers two lengths of cloth to ithyphallic Amun-Re. A falcon soars above the king's head.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (figs. 93, 342). Vestiges of the raised originals are plentiful along the outer edges of many hieroglyphs (e.g., the three -glyphs in col. 9 and most of the glyphs in col. 2) and of the figures, that is, the back of Ramesses' streamer, the front and base of his kilt, his lower profile

and beard, both strips of cloth, the upper right corner of the offering table, the front of Amun's leg, the rear "shoulder" of his tent-shrine behind him, and the bottom of the rope linking it to the -standard in front. As in other examples cited earlier, the artisans merely incised the outer contours of the offerings, leaving the foodstuffs themselves as raised relief. Some elements were not recarved at all, including the top of Pharaoh's tail and the antennae of  in col. 11. Residuum of his original *prenomen* include the larger , the head of , , and part of  in col. 10. Of the earlier *nomen*, , , and  of 'Imn, and a more elaborate  with its fox-pelt motif also survive. In col. 14, moreover, they accidentally recut all of the original short *prenomen*  before they suppressed it with plaster and carved the longer form *Wsr-M3* 't-R'-stp-n-R' in its stead.²⁴⁵

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Since Nelson copied this relief, a small rectangular block has disappeared upon which appeared the cornice of the vestibule of Amun's tent-shrine fetish and segments of its standard and of Amun's dangling ribbon. In recent years, decay caused by infiltration of salts has progressed along the base of the scene, destroying the middle of col. 1 and the lower back of Ramesses II's advancing leg.²⁴⁶ A frieze of cartouches on the offering table — unlike those in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 32, incised with Sety I's names — was deliberately left blank.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving cloth,^a that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Words spoken^b by Amun-Re-Kamutef: ³"(I) have given to you^c all life and dominion on my part. ⁴(I) have given to you all health on my part. ⁵(I) have given to you all joy on my part. ⁶(I) have given to you my lifetime as king,^d you appearing like Re. ⁷(I) have given to you millions of jubilees, you appearing as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt, that your^c heart may be joyful (and) that you^c may rule the Two Lands, you being enduring like Re.^e ⁸You shall exist^f (as) foremost of the *Kas* ⁹of all the living, like Re."

By the King: ¹⁰The dual king USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹¹the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹²whom [Re]-Atum⁸ has caused to appear ¹³in order to exercise his kingship.

Behind the King: The king, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of the ritual USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually appear on the throne of Horus of the Living.^h

Notes:

^a Reading *mnh.[t]*: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 160:1.

^b Repeated mechanically above each column of Amun's speech.

^c The handle of  has not been carved.

^d Restoring 'h'(w)=i m nsw (): cf. other instances of this formula in the glossary s.v. *di.n=i n=k*.

^e The length of the wish desired here seems to have required the artists to lay it out in the long column behind the god, perhaps forcing them to abbreviate the customary formula (*wnn nsw, nb t3.wy*, etc.) and place it in two shorter columns (8–9), thus including it in the god's speech: cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 39, n. 224.

^f On gemination in the verb *wni* as a prospective form, see Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §21.7; Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §§107, 118, 440.3.

^g Parts of  endure: cf. glossary s.v. *R'-Itmw*.

^h Compare the text between *GHHK* I.1, pls. 31–32, for a similar instance in which a long column of text ends prematurely because the space was cut off by Pharaoh's bull's tail.

²⁴⁵ Cf. the adjacent scene, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 33, col. 3, where the *nomen* of Sety I was accidentally converted to sunk relief before Ramesses II's *nomen* replaced it.

²⁴⁶ Brand, *Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (2001), pp. 11–13; idem, *KMT* 12 (2001), p. 59.

Plate 35

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46–47 (157) IV.1; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 87; Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten*, vol. 2, pl. XXVIII A 171.

Location: B 69: West wall, south wing, lowest register, fifth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II, holding the flail in his left hand and the *mekes* in his right, performs a ceremonial run before Monthu.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Remains of the earlier version abound, and the upper parts of the bulls' tails worn by Monthu and the king were never recarved. Raised edges and incised lines circumvallate many hieroglyphs and the main figures. Traces of Ramesses II's shorter *prenom* include its larger , the snout of  below that of the final version, and the knee of  (to the left of final  of *Stp. nR'*), and . From his earlier *nomen* cartouche one sees , part of  with its elaborate fox-pelt motif, the first , , and .

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Beneath the vulture, all but the last two signs in col. 9 have now fallen away. A square patch-stone set in plaster contains the top right corner of Monthu's disk, the middle of his left plume, and the corresponding portion of the text divider to the left (opposite  and the head of ). Blobs of swollen plaster spill out of block joints and small cavities at the center of the scene and cover the relief at a number of points: for example, Ramesses II's torso, kilt, and rear arm; the word *sh*t in col. 1; and Monthu's forward arm and lower torso. In keeping with her identity as Wadjet, the vulture has a serpent's head. Note the presence of two square postholes (below the three course markers behind Ramesses' thigh and above the baseline of the scene in the gap in front of his rear foot), although they are not reflected in the drawing. These holes were doubtless connected with a later building constructed inside the Hall. In recent years, the sandstone has deteriorated rapidly along the lower half of the scene.

Translations:

Label: ¹Traversing the field four times for his father Monthu, lord of Thebes, that he might achieve “given life.”

By Monthu: ²Monthu, lord of Thebes: ³Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. ⁴(I) have given to you the years of Atum. ⁵(I) have given to you my strength against all foreign countries. ⁶(I) have given to you the victories of my sword, my strength and my power. ⁷(I) have given to you the victories of my sword in order to trample the rebellious foreign countries, the Black Land and the Red Land being gathered in your grasp forever and ever!”^b

By the Vulture: ⁸Wadjet, ⁹as she gives all life [on] her part.^c

By the King: ¹⁰The dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹¹the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above each column of Amun's speech.

^b Restoring *sp* [2], for which see the glossary ad loc.

^c Restoring [*h*]*r*=s, for which see the glossary s.v. the preposition *hr* (b).

Plate 36

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46–47 (157) IV.2; Marc Gabolde, “L’inondation sous les pieds d’Amon,” *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp. 235–58, figs. 1–2; Barguet, *Karnak*, pl. VII B; Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 88; Albouy et al., *Karnak*, pp. 150–51 (detail of Theban Triad inside shrine).

Location: B 70: West wall, south wing, lowest register, sixth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels and, accompanied by fifteen members of the Theban Ennead, adores Amun-Re (enthroned), followed by Mut and Khonsu (standing). A falcon — doubtless Horus — hovers over the king’s head while beneath the front of its wing the serpent goddess Wadjet (perched on a basket mounted on a tall papyrus stalk) offers dominion (𓆎) to 𓆎 atop Ramesses’ *serekh*. Members of the Theban Triad are ensconced within a kiosk, their feet resting on a body of water.²⁴⁷ In Amun’s forward hand are the staves of life (𓆎) and dominion (𓆎), from which rivulets of water stream into the pool that gathers directly under his feet. Also notable, Amun wears a double-stranded *shebyu*-collar, and on his head (along with his customary double-plumed headdress) a *hemhem*-crown. By contrast, there is nothing exceptional about the costumes of Mut and Khonsu.²⁴⁸ The other deities all appear without their distinctive attributes (e.g., for Seth or Sobek), being distinguished merely as human males and females with tripartite wigs and generic divine costumes.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 61, 336). Many traces of the earlier version linger at the edges of the final sunk lines, and in some cases (e.g., the coils of 𓆎-crowns in cols. 43–44) raised lines were never recut as sunk. The most striking example of this last expedient, in fact, is the interior of the Theban Triad’s shrine. Although the supports and roof of the shrine itself were recarved in sunk relief, most of its contents (except for hieroglyphs along the top, with their dividers) remain raised in keeping with the sculptors’ convention that treats as raised parts of sunken figures superimposed on others.²⁴⁹ Traces of Ramesses II’s earlier names abound in the several versions of his cartouches.²⁵⁰ His figure is higher than the negative space around him.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: As on the preceding plate, clumps of excess plaster spill out between the block joints and partly obscure the figures, especially the Theban Triad. At several points, the sculptors made cosmetic adjustments to Amun’s figure: they reworked his rear arm (traces remain inside his chest) and rear shoulder, lengthened his beard, and shifted the back of his crown to the right, allowing his plumes to project slightly at either side, as they normally do. Amun’s figure also became the object of special devotional attention as the demiurge of the yearly Nile inundation that was believed to arise in western Thebes.²⁵¹ Note that it is surrounded by drill holes, presumably to hold a veil over his image.²⁵² Devotees also hollowed out his eye to receive an inlay.

²⁴⁷ This may represent the water that appears to rise out of the soil at the beginning of the annual inundation, a phenomenon that formerly occurred at the edges of the alluvial valley and was associated in antiquity with the influence of the Ogdoad, who were buried at Medinet Habu: see M. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp. 245–55. For the local ennead worshiped at Medinet Habu, see *Medinet Habu IX*, p. xxx.

²⁴⁸ Except, perhaps, the double-forehead ornament of Mut’s vulture crown with both a vulture and cobra head, each crowned with a sun disk and tall horns. These details are not fully captured in Nelson’s drawing.

²⁴⁹ Cf. the similar treatment of smaller, but still extensive sections of original relief on *GHHK I.1*, pls. 2–4, 33–34, 38. It is also the method by which decoration on the veils and cabins of sacred barks was represented both within the Hall (*ibid.*, pls. 38, 53, 76, 152, 178, 180, 197, 226) and elsewhere.

²⁵⁰ Traces of simple *Wsr-M3’t-R’* remain in cols. 16, 20, 32, and (most extensively) 27 and 45. His nomen, written 𓆎, is legible in cols. 18, 23, 29, and 46. Incrustations of salt on the lowermost subregisters of the Ennead have obliterated any traces of the raised version.

²⁵¹ M. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp. 235–58. Amun is named as the source of the inundation in some magical texts: Serge Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1970), pl. IV, I.4–5; Jan Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van papyrus Leiden I 350*, Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 28 (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1948), pl. V:17–20; *RIK I*, p. IX; Étienne Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926)*, Vol. 2: *Les inscriptions*, Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire IV/2 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1927), pp. 38–39, no. 343, I.3. Medinet Habu, ancient Djeme, was viewed as the source of the inundation; see Jean-Claude Goyon, Jean Leclant, and Richard A. Parker, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), pl. 23 and pp. 53–54; *Urk VIII*, p. 57, no. 69b; Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu V, Post-Ramesside Remains*, OIP 66 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pl. 23A–B.

²⁵² Cf. *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 8, 36–37, with pp. 129–32; Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia,” pp. 51–83.

The relief suffers from a few areas of deep hacking due to the removal of Horemheb's decoration on the Second Pylon: amid Ramesses II's titulary and the hovering falcon's legs, in Amun's plumes and the top of his *hemhem*-crown; and at the top of col. 34. In recent years, decay of the sandstone caused by infiltration of saline groundwater has progressed along the lower part of the scene, afflicting the figure of Hathor and cols. 34 and 36, along with col. 1, and the king's knee and the base of his kilt. Patches of salt encrust large portions of the base of the scene.

A variety of finer elements of the relief do not appear in the drawing: creases at the roots of Amun's horizontal ram's horns and the undulating corrugations on his curved horn above his ear, the faces of Mut's vulture and cobra ornaments and the former's horned sun disk, the modeled ridge and molded rims of Ramesses II's *kheprsh*-crown, Amun's belt buckle, and the ear piercings of the larger figures. Note that while members of the Theban Triad have cosmetic bands on their eyes and eyebrows, the gods of the Ennead and Ramesses II do not.

Translations:

Label: ¹Adoring Amun-[Re, chi]ef of the Ennead,^a by the king himself.

By Amun: ²Words spoken^b by Amun-Re king of the gods, ³chieftain of the Great Ennead: "(I) have given [to]^c you ⁴the Nile flood as ⁵a great thing, and I double for you ⁶provisions."

By Mut: ⁷Mut, lady of heaven, ⁸mistress of all the gods, ⁹as she gives all life and dominion.

By Khonsu: ¹⁰Khonsu-in-Thebes Nefer-¹¹hotep in Karnak, ¹²as he gives all life, stability, and dominion: ¹³"(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy."

By Gods Facing the Theban Triad: ¹⁴Words spoken by the Great Ennead: "We have come before you that we might adore your beauty (O) Amun king of the gods! Life and dominion are gathered in your fist, and water issues forth beneath your feet, while you give food and provisions^d to your son RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life."

By Individual Gods: ¹⁵Monthu, as he gives life and dominion: ¹⁶"Beautifully you dawn,^e (O) Amun-Re, that you might give life and dominion to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE."

¹⁷Atum, as he gives life and dominion: ¹⁸"Beautifully you appear (O) lord of the gods, that you might give health [to the lord of] appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN."

¹⁹Shu, as he gives life and dominion: ²⁰"Beautifully you dawn (O) Amun-Re, that you might give valor [to] the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE."

²¹Tefnut, as she gives life and dominion: ²³"Beautifully you [ap]pear, [(O) ki]ng of the gods, that you might give victories [to the lord of appearanc]es RAMESSES-MERAMUN."

²²Geb, as he gives life and dominion.

²⁴Nut, as she gives life and dominion: ²⁵"Beautifully you appear (O) lord of the gods, that [you] might give the kingship of the Two Lands to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN."

²⁶Osiris, as he gives life and dominion: ²⁷"Beautifully you dawn (O) Amun-Re, that you might give the lifetime of Re to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE."

²⁸Isis, as she gives life and dominion: ²⁹"Beautifully you appear (O) ruler of the Ennead, that you might give the years of Atum to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN."

³⁰The Ombite, as he gives life and dominion: ³¹"Beautifully you dawn (O) Amun-[Re], that you [might give] your throne to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE." ³²Nephthys, as she gives life and dominion. ³³Horus, as he gives life and dominion: ³⁴"[Beautifully] you dawn (O) Amun-Re, that you might give eternity to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE."

³⁵Hathor, as she gives life and dominion: ³⁶"Beautifully you appear (O) lord of the gods, that you might give all (sorts of) offerings to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN." ³⁷Sobek-Re, lord of "Island-of-Amun,"^f ³⁸as he gives life and dominion: ³⁹"[Beautifully] you dawn, [(O) Amun-Re], that you might give all provisions to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE."

⁴⁰Tjenedet, as she gives jo[y]: ⁴²"[Beautifully] you appear (O) king of the gods, that you might give all catches of fowl and fish to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN."

⁴¹Yunyt, as she gives life and dominion.

By Wadjet: ⁴³Belov[ed] of^g Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁴⁴Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,” ⁴⁵the dual king, [son of]Amun, [lord of] the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴⁶the son [of Re] of [his body, lord of appearanc]es RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re, ⁴⁷great of appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix, ⁴⁸who is loved in Karnak.

Notes:

- ^a Restoring *ʾImn*-[Rʿ hr(y)]-tp psd.t: so col. 3 below.
- ^b Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 3–5.
- ^c Reading *di.=(i) [n]=k*. There is not enough room for another  in the gap above .
- ^d Reading *ḥw kʾ (n sʾ=k, etc.)* rather than *ḥw [n] kʾ n sʾ=k* as suggested by M. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), p. 236, who also reads the presumed  before  as unbroken. But while there is room for this sign in the gap, there is no trace of it, nor indeed any need to assume its existence from the condition of the word below. While *kʾ* “food” is normally spelled with the -determinative, there are not a few cases in which  is accompanied only by a single  (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 136:23; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 229:44; *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 306 B:1; *Medinet Habu* VI, pls. 417 A:8, 475:6; *Medinet Habu* VII, pl. 585 B:6) or  (so *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 391 B). While we found no exact parallel to the formulation here, *ḥw* is often paired with another word meaning “provisions” or the like: cf. *RIK* I, pl. 20:29 ([Hʿpy] wr hr kʾ, dfʾw, ḥw, rsf); *RIK* II, pl. 90:32–33 (ḥʿpy wr hr ḥw, rsf); cf. *RIK* II, pl. 105:15 (*ḥnm=k tʾ m wsrw, ḥw, kʾw*).
- ^e By analogy with the unambiguously nominal emphatic form (second tense) *ḥʿ=k* in cols. 18, 25, 29, 36, and 47, the *sdm=f* of *wbn* can be interpreted as a second tense with the emphasis on the qualifying adverb, in this case *nfr(w)* as a stative.
- ^f The epithet  was apparently added in later antiquity: not only does the paleography of the signs differ from neighboring texts in this section, but they were carved initially in sunk relief, with no trace of an initial raised version common to the remainder of these inscriptions. Per Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 42, n. 246: this is no mistake, ancient or modern, but the name is undeniably different from the expected Upper Egyptian locality Sumenu, that is, Crocodilopolis (Mahamid el-Qibli, near Gebelein), whose ancient name was *iw-m-itrw* or *iw-mi-itr* (Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947], vol. 2, p. 21*; Gauthier, *DG* I, pp. 42–43; W. Helck, “Sumenu,” *LÄ* VI, p. 110. *Nb-ḥw-ʾImn* is equated with Crocodilopolis in Leitz, *Lexikon* III, pp. 573c–74). See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 140 right:3, below. For Sobek at Thebes and Sumenu, see H. Kockelmann, “*Sebek Neb Waset*. On the Crocodile Cults of Thebes and its Neighbourhood,” in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, November 5, 2009*, edited by Zahi Hawass and G. Schreiber (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 2011), pp. 83–93.
- In itself, *iw <n> ʾImn* should refer to Sma-Behdet (El Balamoun) in Lower Egypt (Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 44; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, pp. 180*–81*), but since Sobek-Re is a member of the Theban Ennead here, it seems likelier that this toponym lies in its vicinity, perhaps as a later variant of *iw-m-itrw* — along the same lines of *iw Sbk* (which may refer to the same locality: Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 48), but with stronger ties to Karnak and its resident god, whose assimilation to the local crocodile-god may have grown stronger in later antiquity (see Edward Brovarski, “Sobek,” *LÄ* V, pp. 1010–14). An Upper Egyptian *ʾIw-m-itrw* was located at el-Madamid/er-Rizeiqat near Armant: Leitz, *Lexikon* III, p. 574.
- ^g By Restoring  for *mr[y]* to the left of the tall -stalk (which, except for its blossom, is entirely lost in the block joint): cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178:19.

Plate 37

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46–47 (157) IV.3; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 213, fig. 128; Paul Barguet, “Un groupe d’enseignes en rapport avec les noms du roi,” *RdÉ* 8 (1951), pp. 9–13; *KRI* II, pp. 570–71; *RITA* II, p. 371 (219).

Location: B 71: West wall, south wing, lowest register, seventh scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II, together with Wepwawet, Khnum, and two forms of Horus, stand in a large papyrus skiff as they tow the river barge of Amun-Re (shown on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 38) in the presence of the Upper Egyptian *Meret*-goddess.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in, they are more intact reliefs (many traces of which persist outside the later incised lines, for example, Khnum’s profile and beard). In some cases this raised version was never recarved (e.g., the coil of the Red Crown worn by the serpent to the left of the cartouche-standard near the prow). Evidence for the earlier form of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* (inside the cartouche in col. 4) is confined to traces of a larger raised . Elements of simple *Wsr-M3’.t-R’* remain at the bottom of the cartouche-standard near the prow. In the Nile, the waves of the water were partly erased where the surface was cut back in the conversion to sunk relief. They are more intact at the right end of the scene, and here the vessel’s hull projects higher than the background indicating that the raised relief was not shaved back here as thoroughly as in the rest of the scene.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: As in scenes to the right, swollen plaster extrudes onto the wall surfaces from block joints at the right end and from patches to small cavities. Along the base of the wall, where the carved surfaces have become encrusted with insoluble salt, erosion has accelerated in recent years. Above, the deck of the bark was lowered from a higher original version (between the steering column and the standard behind the last of the gods). The sculptors recut Wepwawet’s wig lappets and those of Ramesses II and Horus next to him.

Translations:

By the Jackal-standard: ¹Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands.

By the Meret-goddess: ²The *Meret* of Southern Egypt.

By the King: ³The good god ⁴USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE.

By Horus (middle): ⁵Horus, foremost of the cataract.^a

By Khnum: ⁶Khnum, lord of the cataract.

By Horus (left): ⁷Horus, lord of the cataract.

Above the Scene: ⁸Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at”; ⁹he of the Two Ladies “protector of Egypt, ¹⁰subduer of foreign lands”; ¹¹Horus-of-Gold, “rich in years, ¹²great of victories”; ¹³the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE — ¹⁴the good god, effective for the one who is effective for him; ^{15–16}a sovereign whose like has not (previously) come into being; ¹⁶divine seed ¹⁷who issued from the god’s [lim]b[s];^b ¹⁸whom the king of the gods created and caused to be established^c ¹⁹while he (*king*) was in the eg[g] ²⁰in order to exercise his (*god’s*) kingship [on earth].^d ²¹He has [...]e for him the flat lands and hill countr[ies], ²²every land being in a submissive posture ²³because of his divine power. His person appears, ²⁴his [heart] glad, in the [barge]-²⁵of-(being)-on-the-river, in order to row ²⁶his father Amun and the gods in his company. ²⁷He has placed himself at the towrope^f of the ^{27–28}*Userhat* barge, like Re in the Night-²⁹Bark. All the gods rejoice, ³⁰bearing Amun ³¹to Thebes: he has made a good ³²journey, like Re at his rising,^g ³³in order to come to rest in Karnak, ³⁴the district of eternity, which the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN — given life like Re — has made for him.

Notes:

^a The three *kbhw* connected with the gods in cols. 5–7 may be identical, but the issue is clouded by their abbreviated spellings. Of the three, only Khnum is regularly connected with the First Cataract region. One of the remaining two deities may be associated with the mysterious *kbh(w)* of Horus that is said to be at the northern end of Nubia (*Urk*. IV, p. 808:2). On *kbhw* “cataract region,” see *Wb*. IV, pp. 29–30; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1: *Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, p. 1333; vol. 2, *Mittleres Reich und Zweite*

- Zwischenzeit, p. 2515; Leonard H. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2nd edition, revised (Fall River: Modern Printing, 2002), vol. 2, p. 149. Citing this example, C. Leitz (*Lexikon III*, pp. 758–59) translates this epithet for both Khnum and Horus as “lords of the water offering.”
- ^b Read *pri m [h]ʿ[ʷ]-ntr*, with  placed to the left of  and  (of which the one on the right, now lost, appears on the drawing) above . Kitchen’s restoration (*KRI II*, p. 571:1) is generally correct, except for the placement of the -determinatives under . We find no direct parallels for this spelling, although *hʿw* can be spelled without  (*Khonsu II*, pl. 171:14; *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 26:21) and without  (*Medinet Habu II*, pl. 86:47; *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 286 B:11).
- ^c Although the sign on the right side of this group is worn, it is definitely , not  as shown on the drawing; thus read *smn* (and compare *GHHK I.1*, pls. 7:40 and 111:2, where a phrase built on *kmʷ* is balanced by another using *smn*) rather than *s[hʿi]* (as Kitchen proposed, *KRI II*, p. 571:1). In any case, it is grammatically unfeasible to read “Amun-[Re]” following *nsw-ntr.w* in apposition, for in that case the sentence should properly be **kmʷ.n sw nsw-ntr.w*, with the dependent pronoun preceding the subject (see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §66, p. 383).
- ^d For *nsw.t* followed by *tp-tʷ*, see *GHHK I.1*, pls. 40:10, 76:9, and 97:12–13.
- ^e The initial sign in this column was probably , as indicated on the plate, thus *s[...]. n=f n=f* with lands and countries as direct objects. The verb that fits the traces best would be *sswn* “to destroy” (cf. *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 15 C:16, *sswn.n=(i) n=k tʷ.w Tḥn.w*), although the implied absence of a determinative is troubling. Assuming an incorrect doubling of the *.n* of the *sdm.n=f* would eliminate this difficulty and also permit other restorations — for example, *stʷ* “to lead in” (*Medinet Habu IV*, pl. 231:6, *stʷ=i n=<k> tʷ.w Fnḥ.w*) or *smʷ* “to kill” (cf. *Medinet Habu I*, pls. 43:13–14, 44:13; *Medinet Habu II*, pls. 101:2–3, 102:20, in all of which the god “kills” flat lands and/or hill countries for the king).
- ^f With Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 44 (n. 263), reading *di.n=f s(w) r nḥ m wsr-ḥʷ.t*: for *nwh* “tow-rope”; see *Wb. II*, p. 223:10 (where this abbreviated spelling is unattested).
- ^g So taking *ḥʿ=f* as a nominal emphatic (second tense) functioning as the object of the preposition *m*. Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §150; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §25.3.1.

Plate 38

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46–47 (157) IV.3; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 17, fig. 17; Seele, *Coregency*, p. 55, fig. 16; Albouy et al., *Karnak*, pp. 130–31 (detail of prow of *Userhet* river barge).

Location: B 72: West wall, south wing, lowest register, eighth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II faces the central cabin on board the *Userhet* river barge of Amun-Re as he censures the portable bark shrine (inside) and those of Mut and Khonsu (behind the cabin) (figs. 58, 94–95, 244).²⁵³

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief — indeed, sculptors left the interior of the cabin of Amun’s barge entirely in raised relief. They only recarved the hieroglyphs above the portable bark, the two large fans above the deck, and the plumed standard just behind its figurehead in sunk, leaving the bark itself raised. No reliable traces of Ramesses II’s earlier names (which must have stood inside the original cartouches) are legible. The iconography of the processional bark’s cabin-shrine reflects Sety I’s titulary, although this is true of other representations of the bark dating to Ramesses II’s reign on the south wall.²⁵⁴ We need not conclude that Sety’s artists laid the scene out in paint or take this as evidence of a coregency between the two kings.

²⁵³ On the *Userhet* barge, see George Foucart, *Une temple flottant: le vaisseau d’or d’Amon-Râ*, *Monuments et memoires* 25 (Paris: Fondation Piot, 1922). For the iconography of the portable bark of Amun, see now Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*.

²⁵⁴ The presence of Sety I’s titulary was first noted by Seele, *Coregency*, p. 55 (fig. 16); on the retention of elements of Sety I’s titulary on the bark of Amun-Re during Ramesses II’s reign, see Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, appendix B; Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, p. 213, pl. 20.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: As in the preceding scene, sculptors never renewed the waves of water inside the band representing the Nile River when they recarved the scene. More of the offering table between the king and the sphinx-standard is intact than the drawing suggests. These offerings rest on a table and are surmounted by an incense pot from which wisps of smoke issue.²⁵⁵ Excess plaster overflows from block joints and chisel gouges, especially inside the cabin of the river barge. Removal of Eighteenth Dynasty decoration left deep hacking in various parts of the scene, which Nelson rendered as shading in his drawing (below Mut's bark and the prow of Khonsu's), or as gaps in the relief (in and around Khonsu's bark). Shade that obscures part of the long row of uraei-serpents below Amun's portable bark, and the  frieze above it, corresponds to swollen plaster.

Many finer details (especially on the sacred barks) are missing or abbreviated in the drawing: individual lentoid beads on *shebyu*-collars on the fore and aft figureheads of Amun's portable bark were carved;²⁵⁶ on the billow of its veil, there are two -pillars beneath the kneeling goddesses' wings; on the veil itself, both goddesses (in their upper fists) and  hold -signs; below the veil, a king kneeling before three jackal-headed statuettes wears a *nemes*-headcloth. Two *Meret*-goddesses to either side sport tiny -glyphs on their heads, although the latter are abbreviated, and the right goddess' sign is partly erased. On the exposed upper half of the cabin-shrine, the squatting Amun-figure has long ram's horns surmounted by an *atef*-crown as in other contemporary examples.²⁵⁷ Two kneeling kings to either side rest on their own ground lines, not on the sloping wings of the two goddesses behind them. Each goddess holds  in her higher arm and rests on , although due to the tiny scale, these lack their customary game pieces. They are not -plinths, as Nelson's drawing implies. The lower wing of the goddess on the left was enlarged. Further omissions include cow's horns flanking tall plumes worn by large uraei of the forward figurehead of the *Userhet* barge (cf. the stern aegis), two ribbons attached to a -standard supporting the sphinx behind the king, and carved lines that distinguish the main shaft of the barge's nearest steering oar from its blade-like paddles.

Translations:

Above the Prow of Amun's Barge: ¹Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, to the Ennead ²which is in the primordial waters: "(As for) my beloved son ³of my body, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴I have reared <h>im^b with my body in order to ⁵perform benefactions for my temple. I have chosen ⁶him ahead of millions ⁷in order to do what pleases my Ka. I said ⁸concerning him^c while he was (still) in the egg: 'He belongs ⁹to you, to be a protector, and to establish ¹⁰your offerings on earth, to do as you ¹¹desire.' Look (I) am^d giving to [hi]m^e my office, ¹²my kingship,^f (and) my years^g as sovereign. ¹³I have joined together for him the reed with^h the papyrus (and) the testamentary document is in^h ¹⁴his grasp,ⁱ inasmuch as he has acted to row me from the (Southern) Sanctuary to [the shr]ine."^j

Above the Stern of Amun's Barge: ¹⁵Words spoken^a by the Great Ennead ¹⁶which is in Karnak, ¹⁷as they answer ¹⁸before their god, ¹⁹Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: "Look, ²⁰we^k are the protection of ²¹his limbs, while subduing ²²for him the Nine Bows, inasmuch as [you]^l selected ²³him ahead of millions ²⁴to do what pleases ²⁵our Ka(s). We have given to^m him ²⁶the lifetime of Re (and) the years of Atum, ²⁷all foreign countries being under your (*sic*) sandals forever and ever!"

Above the Prow of Amun's Processional Bark: ²⁸A[mu]n-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²⁹pre-eminent in Karnak.

Above the Prow of Khonsu's Processional Bark: ³⁰Khonsu-³¹in-Thebes Neferhotep.

By the King: ³²The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³³the lord of appearances RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN.

²⁵⁵ For this table, cf. the *Userhet* barge in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 152.

²⁵⁶ For representations of *shebyu*-collars in relief, see Peter J. Brand, "The *Shebyu*-collar in the New Kingdom, Part 1," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 33 (2006), pp. 17–28.

²⁵⁷ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 76, 178, 180, 197, 226. Karlshausen, *L'icographie*, pp. 203–04, pls. 11, 12, 13.

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically at the top of each column.
- ^b The  is omitted, although its phonetic complement  is present. The parallel cited by Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 44, n. 266) in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 25:4 is not strictly germane, since it employs another grammatical construction.
- ^c Reading $\underline{d}d.n=(i) r=f$; and see *Wb.* V, p. 620:6 for the sense. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 44 (with n. 267) reads, less plausibly, $\underline{d}d.n= r(i)=f$, citing *KRI* II, p. 571:9. But in *RITA* II, p. 372, Kitchen translates much as we do.
- ^d Read $mk <wi> hr rdi.t$: for the omission of the 1st pers. dep. pronoun, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 44:35, 52:16, 53:11.
- ^e The tail of  remains just below the gap.
- ^f The term $bi.tyt$, corresponding to $nsyt$, is no more to be associated with Northern Egyptian kingship than is the root $bi.ty$ from which it comes: Eberhard Otto, “Der Gebrauch des Königstitels $bjtj$,” *ZÄS* 85 (1960), pp. 143–52. At times, $bi.ty$ refers to former kings as a group and may be translated “ancestral kings,” or “kings of old.”
- ^g The form of this sign is ambiguous, and it could be interpreted as . Even so, it is most likely to be , thus $mp.wt=i$ (Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 44–45 with n. 270, citing *KRI* II, p. 571:12 and assuming an error by either an ancient sculptor or the modern copyist). The sunk relief version is more like , while a raised-relief trace resembles .
- ^h So writing n for m cf. Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §1.1.3(2).
- ⁱ Literally, “hand” or “grasp”: $m hf'=f$ = “in his grasp,” *Wb.* III, pp. 272–73.
- ^j Something like “Karnak” would be expected, but the traces (of which the clearest is still ) do not support that reading. Examination of the wall indicates that there is room for a short, flat sign (now lost) between the top of the tall final group (with the presumed ) and  above. There are also two short horizontal traces, one over the other and now very eroded, over the bird’s back. Assuming these are to be taken seriously, the shapes might be either curved or more or less straight. In any case, the shape Nelson drew on the plate above the bird’s back cannot be discerned with any certainty. There is no easy restoration to be suggested here, but two might bear consideration: either the “Min emblem” , over  for hm “shrine”; or , followed by  over the back of  = $[pr] (i)m(y)-h3.t$ “[the house of] the one-who-is-in-front” (i.e., Amun). We do not have much confidence in either of these alternatives, and we advance them only to provide a basis for discussion.
- ^k The spelling $m=tn.w$ used here is an extended form of the 2nd pers. pl. form (originally “look you!” by analogy with the singular $m=k$) that appears to be invariable in plural contexts (see *Wb.* II, p. 5): the 1st pers. pl. dep. pronoun is either understood in this “conventional” writing or (by analogy with $m=k <wi>$) omitted altogether.
- ^l There is enough room for the suffix  at the bottom of this column.
- ^m Reading $di=n n=f$. One could emend the text to $*di.(n)=(n) n=f$ by assuming the sculptor omitted an n . However, there was no shortage of space at the end of the column, so it seems best to interpret the phrase as an indicative (perfective) $sdm=f$.

Plate 39

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46–47 (157) IV.4. Note that the article by Louis-A. Christophe, “A propos de deux épithètes de Ramsès IV,” *ASAE* 52 (1954), pp. 201–14, cited in PM II², pp. 46–47 III.6, refers to this scene, and not that published on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 27.

Location: B 73: West wall, south wing, lowest register, ninth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II extends an ‘*aba*-scepter as he consecrates six piles of slaughtered cattle and offerings before Amun-Re and Mut enclosed by a kiosk. His other hand dangles beside him holding an incense wand while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture.

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 244).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Diverse areas of rough chiseling on the surface (e.g., in col. 2, in front of Amun’s face) doubtless stem from erasure of Horemheb’s reliefs on the back of the Second Pylon. As with the scenes to its right, plaster spills out of block joints in the middle of this scene, although without obscuring any of the carving. Nelson did not record the inner features of Nekhbet’s upper wing, and the area where her long feathers converge should be round.²⁵⁸ He also left out interior features of Ramesses II’s *khepresh*-crown. The torus molding and the top of the cornice of the lower dais on which the deities sit is actually double lines in raised relief.²⁵⁹

Translations:

Label: ¹The king himself presents a great hecatomb to his father, [Amu]n-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, chieftain of the Great Ennead, ²consisting of long-horned cattle and calves, short-horned cattle — everything good and pure — and offerings of ³all (sorts of) fresh flowers for his father Amun-Re that he might give life, stability, and dominion to [his] son RAMESSU-[MERAMUN].

By Amun: ⁴Words spoken by Amun-Re,^a pre-eminent in ⁵[his] sanctuary:^b “Welcome, welcome, ⁶(O) good god! (I) have given to you ⁷myriads of jubilee(s).”

By Mut: ⁸Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands, ⁹residing in Southern Opet, as she gives life and dominion: ¹⁰Words spoken: “(I) have given to you millions of [years],^c you [appe]aring as dual king on the throne of Horus, all foreign countries being under [your] sandals.”^d

By the Vulture: ¹¹Nekhbet, the bright one.

Above Scene: ¹²Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at”; ¹³he of the Two Ladies: “protector of Egypt, subduer of the foreign countries,” ¹⁴Horus-of-Gold: “rich in years, great of victories,” ¹⁵the good god who appears in the White Crown; handsome of face, beautiful ¹⁶in the Blue Crown;^e who has made twice-great monuments for his father Amun.

By the King: ¹⁷The dual king USERMA‘ATRE, ¹⁸the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ¹⁹whom Atum himself established ²⁰to exercise his kingship.

Behind the King: ²¹The king who makes benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA‘ATRE, shall continually appear in the house of his father Amun-Re and present a hecatomb [to] his *Ka*.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of each column of Amun’s speech.

^b See glossary s.v. *ʿImn-Rʿ ḥn.ty ʿIp.t=f*.

^c Or “millions of [jubilees]”? See glossary s.v. *ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt*, and *ḥḥ.w m ḥb.w-sd*.

^d There is deep hacking here, but we see the upper half of the left .

^e See Louis-A. Christophe, *ASAE* 52 (1954), p. 205 [12].

²⁵⁸ Cf. other examples on this wall, e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 28, 30, 31, 33, 35.

²⁵⁹ Cf. the dais of the bark shrine in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 76.

Plate 40

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46–47 (157) IV.5. Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/156; vol. 2, pl. 4-3/156.

Location: B 74: West wall, south wing, lowest register, tenth (last) scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a cup of incense and pours a libation onto a table laden with offerings in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: A few specks of paint survive, protected by the corner of the Hall. Ramesses II's face and arms, as well as the ribbon behind Amun and the straps across his chest, are red.²⁶⁰ In addition, red pigment that runs along the top of Amun's helmet-crown seems to be an outline of that feature, rather than a solid coloring of either the crown itself or the plumes above it.²⁶¹ His enveloping garment was probably white (from the few off-white traces that remain). Traces of blue pigment linger in some of the grape clusters on the ceiling of the shrine. The pattern of stripes on Ramesses' *nemes*-headdress as drawn by Nelson is clear, including additional traces not recorded, but only the white undercoat remains.

Observations: Iconoclasts never damaged this scene. Hacking inside Ramesses II's kilt and at the bottom right-hand corner of the scene (not drawn) is connected, no doubt, with erasure of Horemheb's Second Pylon's reliefs. Plaster clings to the block joints and in some minor defects in the surface.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ²the great god [who is upon] ³the great seat: ⁴“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁵(I) have given to you all [he]alth. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By the King: ⁷The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁸the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ⁹whom Amun has selected to exercise ¹⁰his kingship on earth.

²⁶⁰ Cf. *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 202.

²⁶¹ *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 208.

Plate 41 Right

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46–47 (157) IV.5.

Location: B 75: West wall, south wing, cross-wall between the west end of the south wall and the south tower of the Second Pylon.

Subject: On this plate are marginalia from the south wing of the west wall. We have discussed the fragmentary frieze on the left, above, with the rest of the western doorway. On the right is decoration carved on a short cross-wall connecting the south wall with the south corner of the Second Pylon, forming the southwest corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Here a winged serpent goddess, mounted on a clump of Southern Egyptian lilies, spreads her wings to protect Ramesses II's titulary, which occupies the vertical band to her left.²⁶²

Type of Relief: At the south end (*right*) the decoration is all in sunk relief, employing the final form of Ramesses II's *prenomen*.

Paint: At the south end (*right*) some pigment remains: yellow inside the serpent, blue-green in the lily stems, and red on the floral gynoecium.

Observations: The top of the cross-wall is lost. At the bottom, the breakage represents not merely damage but the insertion of unsmoothed repair blocks, between one-half and two-thirds the size of the smaller Ramesside blocks still present in the west wall.²⁶³ Nelson is somewhat more exact than usual with respect to the signs, but he did not draw all the horizontal lines between the two vertical margins on either side. Other details left out include the wing of  and the face of . In the crux of the cobra's wing,  actually has its distinctive pronged base inside .

Translations:

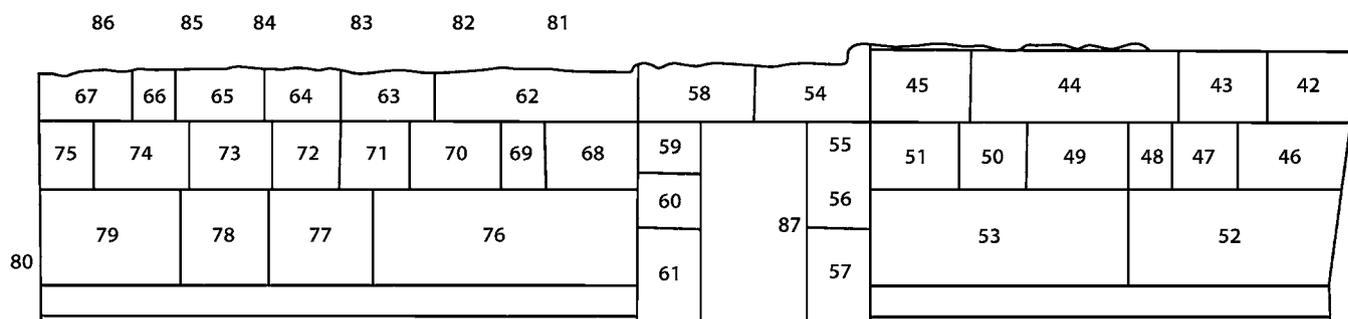
Left Column: [Horus: mighty bull], “beloved of Ma‘at”; he of the Two Ladies “protector of Egypt, subduer of the foreign countries”; Horus-of-Gold “rich in years, great of victories”; the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE; the son of Re RAMES[SES]-MERAMUN [...].^a

Note:

^a There is enough room for  “given life like Re” or similar at the bottom of the column.

²⁶² For similar parallels, cf. *Medinet Habu* II, pls. 107, 108, 117, 130; *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 178; *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 319, 321, 338C–D, 349, 351; *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 447; *Medinet Habu* VII, pl. 511A; *Medinet Habu* VIII, pls. 596, 597, 657, 658.

²⁶³ On these repairs, possibly of Roman date, see Brand, “Repairs Ancient and Modern,” pp. 1, 3–6.



Plan 3. Diagram of the south wall showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

South Wall (Plan 3, Plates 42–87)

The reliefs in this section are, for the most part, still preserved on the inner surface of the Hall's south wall, including scenes on the central doorway (lintel, jambs, and thicknesses) and on the southern thickness of the passage at the building's southeastern corner. In addition, Nelson reconstructed a number of scenes that once stood in the uppermost register at the eastern end of the wall, along with the tops of adjacent scenes in the register below. Parts of similar scenes from the fourth register remain *in situ* at the top of the west wing of the wall, but since only a few insubstantial fragments of these are left (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 44 top), we will reserve any further attempt at reconstruction for a future volume dedicated to fragments from the Great Hypostyle Hall.

On the south wall we find the same division between originally raised and sunken relief that occurs on the adjoining part of the west wall (plan 3). The borderline between these two styles, however, is far more regular. Instead of zigzagging through individual scenes as on the west wall, the transition occurs cleanly at the east wing of the wall. Ramesses II recarved all scenes on the west wing and on the south doorway's lintel and jambs in raised relief, but later changed them to sunk. Reliefs on the east wing of the wall and in the thicknesses of the doorways were all carved in original sunk relief, but the thicknesses were clearly carved last, for they alone were sculpted initially with the final form of Ramesses II's *prenomen*, usually written . In one instance (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:37) the orthography is . All of the earliest versions on the rest of the south wall (east of the south gateway) employed the short form of his *prenomen* *Wsr-M3't-Rc*. However, while traces of raised-relief decoration on the west wing and south gateway invariably show the *prenomen* orthography as , it appears in an eclectic variety of different orthographies on the east wing.²⁶⁴ Also variable is the earlier form of the *nomen*, which is occasionally spelled *R^c-ms-sw* (*ibid.*, pls. 68, 70, 71:12, 76:5, 77) but more regularly *R^c-ms-s* (even within scenes in which *R^c-ms-sw* also appears, e.g., *ibid.*, pls. 71:11 and 76:42). Moreover, *R^c-ms-s* alone, in various hieroglyphic "spellings," always occurred in both the raised and sunk editions on the west wing and south gateway.

Later, Ramesses II would begin spelling his *nomen* consistently as *R^c-ms-sw*; but since that transition did not occur until his twenty-first regnal year,²⁶⁵ it seems clear that he was using this spelling already at the beginning of his reign — no doubt in imitation of his grandfather, the first Ramesses. He continued to use it, simultaneously with *R^c-ms-s*, during the first years of his reign, after which the latter spelling came to be preferred. In any case, Ramesses never altered his earliest sunk reliefs containing the short *prenomen*, but when the scenes in raised relief were recut as sunk, both names were updated throughout to the forms that had become current by that time.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ We find a similar richness of orthographic variety of Ramesses II's cartouches in earliest sunk-relief decoration in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Sety I's Gurnah temple.

²⁶⁵ Kitchen, "Aspects of Ramesside Egypt," pp. 384–85.

²⁶⁶ See in general Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 90–91; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 179–80.

Determining the precise dates for these stages of carving on the south wall is difficult, but a number of suggestive indications do emerge from the reliefs here. First, and as noted below, the form of the *prenomen* inscribed on the *Ished*-tree's leaves on plate 79 is rarely found elsewhere.²⁶⁷ At the latest, the carving of this scene would thus fall in the king's second regnal year — but more probably in his first — and it would also be later than all of the material initially carved in raised relief on the west wing of the south wall.²⁶⁸ The change from raised to sunk relief also included cartouches of Sety I, which Ramesses II's artisans initially recut without alteration (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 42, 48, 53, 57, and 61). Only subsequently did they surcharge two of these scenes, on the jambs of south gateway, with Ramesses II's own cartouches, so that he is now depicted offering to Amun and to a deified figure of himself (*ibid.*, pls. 57 and 61). Notably, Sety I also acts as celebrant in a few scenes on the outer jambs and thicknesses of this gateway. Ramesses II officiates in most of them, and he alone was responsible for their creation, including these posthumous homages to his father.²⁶⁹ Since Ramesses later usurped Sety's figures here as well, it is not inconceivable that he took over his father's effigies on the inner jambs at the same time.

In contrast with the west wall, the reliefs on the south wall feature Sety I in several instances, albeit only as a passive recipient of cult. He is represented in one scene within each of the registers east and west of the doorway, and he appears prominently in the lowest registers on the doorjambs. While this has been interpreted as evidence of a coregency,²⁷⁰ it should be noted that Sety's role is entirely consistent with Ramesses II's program of decoration, for in each case Sety I features as a royal ancestor who receives worship from his successor. As shown below, the overriding theme of the reliefs on the south wall is Ramesses II's kingship and its legitimation. In this respect, these scenes echo similar sequences of reliefs on the north wall, where Sety I acts as the celebrant. Since the cult of the royal ancestor plays no part in the latter scenes, nor in any other reliefs Sety I carved in the Great Hypostyle Hall,²⁷¹ Ramesses II could well have introduced this theme for his own ends. Much of Sety I's "influence" may thus be deliberate on Ramesses II's part, reflecting his wish to be seen worshiping his father, rather than merely a mechanical retention of decorative patterns from an earlier reign. Although only Sety's name appeared in the rebus decoration on the canopy of the Amun-bark, it is not necessarily the case that his artists had laid out cartoons of this decoration on the south wall in paint before he died.²⁷²

Throughout the Great Hypostyle Hall, blocks in the lowest courses of walls had been so weakened by salt infiltration that many of them were replaced in later antiquity.²⁷³ This process is particularly apparent on the south wall, where the repairs extended even into the lowest levels of the scenes. When the new masonry was inserted, the restorers made sporadic attempts to recarve the missing parts of the Ramesside reliefs. They executed these additions in a style characteristic of the Greco-Roman period, and their coordination with the original material is quite variable (see commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 52, 53, 57, and 77). Below the level of the scenes, they made no attempt to reproduce the original dado motif that ran along the bases of the walls, which by tradition consisted of two broad bands framed by three narrow ones. More unfortunate is the loss of the High Priest Herihor's marginal inscriptions, parts of which still exist on the east wing of the south wall and, more completely, on the southern end of the east wall.

²⁶⁷ So in the first corridor of Ramesses II's royal tomb (PM I.22, p. 505 (1–3); William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 78–80; and on abaci of the columns in the Hypostyle Hall of Sety I's Gurnah temple (Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37, fig. 1, nos. 11–16), both of which were inscribed very early in the king's reign.

²⁶⁸ See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 171–83.

²⁶⁹ PM II², pp. 49–50 (164c–f); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KO 29–30, 45.

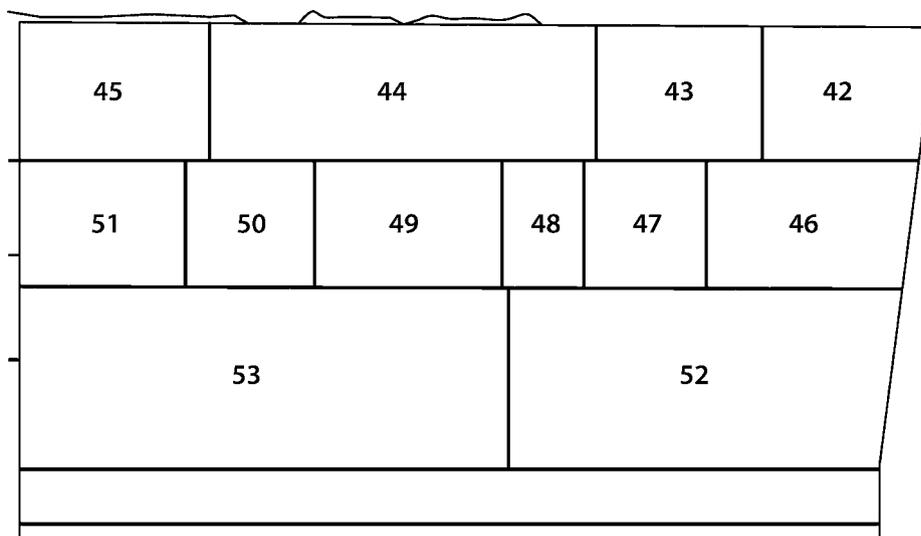
²⁷⁰ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 61–75; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 172–79.

²⁷¹ For the scenes carved in the name of Ramesses I on the north wing of the west wall (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 138, 140–42), see below, and in Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), pp. 163–68. While these scenes are clearly an act of homage to Sety's predecessor, Ramesses I

is just as clearly the celebrant in these rites and is not *per se* the royal ancestor in any of these scenes. Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 206–08. This is all the more telling because we know that Sety I *did* promote the ancestor cult elsewhere, through his Abydos kinglist and specifically for his father in cult chapels at Abydos (*Abydos* II, pl. 36, small statue next to bark of Seti I, both Ramesses I and Satre) and within his own memorial temple at Gurnah (Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 230–32). So contra Ted Ling, "Ramesside Filial Piety," *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 3 (1992), pp. 59–66.

²⁷² On the iconography of the Amun bark during this period, see Karlshausen, *L'Iconographie*, pp. 67–88.

²⁷³ For general discussion of this question, see Legrain, *Karnak*, pp. 249–55; Brand, "Repairs Ancient and Modern," pp. 1, 3–6.



Plan 4. Diagram of the west wing of the south wall showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

Numerous traces of later building activity are apparent on the surface of the south wall. As with the west wall, though, there is no coherent pattern to reveal much about the structures that left such marks. Malicious hacking of Amun's phallus is found in the third register (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 45, 64) and even higher (*ibid.* pl. 86), but not on the lowest registers, except at one side of the central doorway (*ibid.*, pl. 60). This defacement is, perhaps, the result of fertility magic practiced by the Hall's later occupants and differs from the wholesale iconoclasm they visited on figures elsewhere in the building.

On the lowest register at the east wing (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 52), Seth's figure and epithet were effaced in later antiquity, but this is an isolated instance. Similar treatment was not meted out to Seth in another representation of the Theban Ennead on the west wall (above, *ibid.*, pl. 36).²⁷⁴

South Wall, West Wing (Plan 4, Plates 42–53)

Note that the ritual sequence of episodes on this wing is generally the reverse of that used to number the plates – to wit, in the two highest registers *in situ*, the narrative sequence unfolds from left to right (plan 3):

Uppermost *in situ* (“second”) register: Ramesses II first appears before Amun in the marsh (pl. 45), participates in trapping waterfowl with the clapnet (pl. 44), presents captured birds to the Theban Triad (pl. 43), and offers to his father, Sety I (pl. 42).

Middle (“third”) register: Ramesses II leaves the palace and is purified by Khnum (pl. 51), is led into the temple by Monthu and Atum (pl. 50), is acknowledged by Amun (pl. 49), purifies a statue of Sety I (pl. 48), embraces ithyphallic Amun (pl. 47), and sacrifices an oryx in the presence of the Theban Triad (pl. 46).

In the bottom (“fourth”) register, the sequence is less apparent, with the focus of each scene appearing to be at the opposite end of the wall. In plate 52, for example, the composition is oriented primarily toward the west, where Pharaoh appears before his divine father, Amun. To the east, however, on plate 53, the procession of sacred barks moves toward the east, although the officiating king (Ramesses II, at the east end of the scene) faces west. In several vignettes on the west wing, one finds stray traces of incised lines that may stem from some earlier version of the reliefs that was abandoned in favor of the final design.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Seth's figure was largely respected inside many of Sety I's cartouches in the northern half of the Hall except for a cluster on the north wing of the east wall. See below.

²⁷⁵ Cf. observations to pls. 43–44 and 48–49.

Plate 42

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) I.4; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 62–64 (fig. 18: photograph); Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 178, fig. 17a (hand copy of cols. 2–7).

Location: B 86: South wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II offers incense and libation to his father, Sety I, who is accompanied by his Ka.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief, of which numerous traces linger along the edges of the final cuts, in both the hieroglyphs (e.g., the left side of  in col. 8) and the figures (e.g., the front of Ramesses II’s advancing leg and Sety I’s facial profile). In col. 8  under  of *mi R^c* was mistakenly recarved as . It is possible that the  itself was carved in error, perhaps for , but no trace of the original sign (if there was one) is now preserved. The lower half of the diagonal ribbon pattern along the right edge of the scene was left in raised relief. Elements of Ramesses II’s original cartouches include the larger  of his *prenomen* (col. 5) and  in his *nomen*.

The main figures were mostly cut back so that they do not project from the negative space around them. An exception is the lappet of Ramesses’ *nemes*-headdress and the lower part of his beard, where they overlap his body. In converting them to sunk relief, the sculptors largely erased the belt aprons of both kings, and here the drawing is inaccurate. Traces of Ramesses’ apron are fainter and more incomplete than Nelson’s drawing suggests, for this area was cut back and resurfaced with plaster (now largely gone). Only the middle diagonal line of his belt is particularly clear. On Sety’s apron, only the head of a cobra on the left side of the base (not drawn) is apparent, but traces Nelson indicated as dotted lines are vestiges of plaster. In general, the recut surfaces often exhibit a porous consistency of dense but shallow pitting that was sealed with a plaster wash that occasionally still clings to areas of the relief (e.g., between Ramesses’ legs and between Sety and his *ka*-figure).

Paint:²⁷⁶ A considerable amount of color persists in this scene. Flesh tones of the two kings, the *ka*-figure (including the *ka*-arms), and the sledge underneath the *serekh* are red. Note that the translucent effect of Sety I’s long kilt is conveyed by a lighter tone of red in the parts of his legs it covers.²⁷⁷ The ritual vessels — censer, libation jar, and offering stand — are yellow, as are Ramesses’ kilt, Sety’s tail, the *ka*-figure’s staff, and the spaces between hieroglyphs inside the *serekh*. Between the kings, the offering table is also yellow, with vertical red stripes painted along the length of its cornice. Yellow is also present in the *ka*-figure’s kilt and bull’s tail. Sety’s belt, the *ka*-figure’s wig and beard, and margin lines at the right end of the scene are blue, which was also employed (along with another faded color, probably green) in the chessboard pattern near the base of his *serekh*. Below this, between the -arms, are blue and yellow or white alternating vertical stripes flanking the door of the *serekh*. Horizontal crossbars on the door are also blue. A bracelet on the wrist of Sety’s rear arm has faded, but the armband above consists of alternating blue and yellow vertical stripes between two blue horizontal bands.²⁷⁸ The deified king’s streamer is red, rectangles of the same color being detectable in his bull’s tail. The pattern of Sety’s painted apron is evident, but its colors have faded. The loaves of wedge-shaped bread on the offering table are also red.

²⁷⁶ Some of these colors, yellow in particular, have faded since Murnane noted them in the 1970s and 1980s.

²⁷⁷ Cf. *Abydos* I, pls. 7, 14.

²⁷⁸ Armbands of this sort appear to be worn by divinities in *Abydos* I, pls. 12, 30; cf. in *GHHK* I.1 pls. 43, 59, 68, 69, 70, 74. Pharaoh’s bracelets are similar in these examples (*ibid.*, pls. 59, 73; cf. *Abydos* I, pls. 5, 11), but his armbands are simpler, consisting of three horizontal bands (generally yellow between two bands of blue). This distinction is generally observed throughout the Abydos temple, and it is also found in royal tombs (see MMA photo-

graphs T-887, 895, 913; and cf. Erik Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* [Bern: Francke, 1971], pls. 7, 8, 14 right, 15b). Occasionally, though, the king appears in his tomb wearing the more elaborate “divine” armbands (MMA photos T-915, 919, 147; cf. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, pls. 2–6), just as sometimes the gods wear the simpler “royal” armbands (*ibid.*, pls. 13a, 14 left, 15a, 18 right; MMA photos T-911, 916). This distinction is regular enough, however, to suggest that Sety I is represented here as a god.

Observations: Some block joints have now widened. Note in particular that no trace of any sign exists above  at the bottom of col. 4. Nelson left out some details and introduces a few inaccuracies: the back of the Horus falcon's Double Crown above Sety's *serekh* was left out; the division between the scepters in Sety's grasp is illusory, but his thumb was recut; and in col. 13, one sees part of the cobra goddess' coils above the upper left corner of the basket upon which she rests.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing and libating [to]^a the good god.

By Ramesses II: ²Words spoken:^b “O incense! ³O scent of god!^c Its scent ⁴belongs to you;^d the scent of the Eye of Horus [belongs to] you. ⁵The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re forever.”

Behind Ramesses II: ⁸The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually appear in <the house of>^e his father Amun, like Re,^f while offering things to his father, the good god MENMA‘ATRE.

By Sety I: ⁹The good god MENMA‘ATRE, ¹⁰the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, true of voice before the great god.

By the Vulture: ¹¹Nekhet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the Ka: ¹²The living royal *ka* of the lord of the Two Lands, Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live.”

By Serpent behind Ka: ¹³<Wadjet>^g as she gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

Notes:

^a Reading *irt sntr kbh [n] ntr nfr*. There is room for dative  in the gap below the determinative  of *kbh*.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

^c Here is a rare instance of the vocative written out in the Hypostyle Hall, marked by .

^d Reading *r=k* not *n=k*. Clear traces of  are visible at the top of col. 4; Nelson's  is erroneous.

^e This is surely an ellipsis of the more usual *h'w m pr it=f'Imn*. So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 39:21, 64:4, 72:7, 91:10, 99:11, 130:8.

^f The erroneous , changed to the  of “Re” in the final version, does not cohere well with any epithet of Amun's that might follow, and it may be a scribal error. It is also possible that the original version was *mit.t* (for the prepositional use of which cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 51:1, 53:28) instead of *mi R'*. The sculptor carved  in both the raised and sunk relief versions, while  is outlined with engraved lines but not rendered as sunk.

^g Her identity is suggested by the papyrus stalk that supports her.

Plate 43

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) I.3; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 84.

Location: B 87: South wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II offers captured marsh fowl to Amun-Re in the presence of Mut and Khonsu.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief, vestiges of which are particularly strong in Ramesses II's figure (his tail, knee, and neck) and in that of Amun (fig. 96). Note that Amun's front forearm was recarved in sunk relief outside the original cut, and craftsmen filled the interval with blue paint in the final version (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 42, at Sety I's belly). Recutting occurs along the front of Mut's body from her armpit to her foot and on Khonsu's leg. Ramesses' tail was left in raised relief behind his kilt, and his belt apron and streamers were not shaved back. Only the larger  of Ramesses II's raised *prenomen*  is legible.

Paint:²⁷⁹ Amun's flesh tones are blue, those of Mut are yellow. At least part of the breast of each marsh fowl is blue as well, but the remainder of their coloring is gone. Amun's cap-crown, bracelets, garment, and bull's tail are

²⁷⁹ As in the previous scene, some of these colors have faded beyond recognition since they were noted by Murnane in the 1970s.

yellow. A red Isis-knot clasp hangs below his belt. Two rows of blue vertical bands were picked out on bracelets encircling his biceps. Amun's tail is red, and the braces holding up his corselet were painted in alternating bands of blue-green and yellow. Mut's dress is red, with two slender hems of blue trim below her breast. A cloth belt with streamers tied around her garment is distinct, but is too faded for its color to be identified. A curious patch of red wash to the left of Amun's scepter (opposite  in col. 1) probably does not reflect the scepter's original color.²⁸⁰

Observations: Masons inserted a small rhomboidal patch-stone into the wall between Mut and Khonsu. Scratches running inside Ramesses II's body may stem from an earlier version of his figure that was placed farther to the right, along with similar traces, not recorded by Nelson, in his upper right arm, his advancing leg, and Khonsu's body. Scratches behind his back and below col. 17 are less definite and may well be random. Damage to the relief between cols. 13 and 14, along with a gap between the heads of Mut and Khonsu, represent zones of quarry hacking. Nelson omitted a curved fold in Amun's kilt, and he did not render faithfully the feet of overlapping ducks Pharaoh grasps in his hands, in part because light hacking inside their bodies confuses the image.

Translations:

By the King: ¹Words spoken:^a "(I) have come before you (O) my father, Amun (I) having crossed the marshes for you.^b ²(I) have brought to you myriads of geese and thousands of green-chested birds, ³which I caught for you in the Delta marshes at its (proper) season, and which (I) offer to your Ka."

By Amun: ⁴Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ⁵"(I) have given to you all life and [dominion] on my part. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy on my part."

By Mut: ⁷Mut, lady of heaven, ⁸Bastet residing in ⁹Karnak, ¹⁰as she gives all life: ¹¹"(I) have given to you all life and dominion, all health and all joy like Re."

By Khonsu: ¹²Khonsu-in-Thebes,^c ¹³lord of joy, Neferho[tep] in ¹⁴Karnak.

By the King: ¹⁵Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," ¹⁶the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-[SETEP]EN[RE], ¹⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2, 4–6.

^b Reading *s3b=(i) n=k sš*. For the phrase *s3b sš* "to cross the marshes," see *Wb.* III, pp. 420:15–421:1–5, and cf. below *GHHK* I.1, pl. 44:45.

^c Note that the sculptor has carved  for .

Plate 44

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) I.2; Jean F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (Paris: Didot, 1835–1845), vol. 3, pl. cclxxxvii; James Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica, or Exact Copies of Various Hieroglyphical Inscriptions and Sculptured Monuments Still Existing in Egypt and Nubia, and at Mount Sinai* (Cairo: n.p., 1825–1828), pl. xlvii; and the published photographs cited in PM II², p. 47 (158) I.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 82–83, Horus and clapnet, pl. 78; left side, Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/162, and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/162; copies of the texts include Jean F. Champollion, *Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux par Champollion le Jeune* (Paris: Didot, 1844–1889), vol. 2, pp. 41–42, 44 (A); *LDT* III, p. 15 [a]; and Maurice Alliot, "Les rites de la chasse au filet, aux temples de Karnak, d'Edfou et d'Esneh," *RdÉ* 5 (1946), pp. 110–12 (upper part).

Location: B 88: South wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* ("second"), third scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II, in the company of Khnum and Horus, pulls shut a clapnet trapping a mass of marsh fowl, in the presence of Thoth (who gives the signal by silently stretching a cloth), while Seshet stands by holding a strip of cloth around her neck.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Which is normally blue or blue-green: cf. pl. 59 below, and *Abydos* I, pls. 5, 12, 14, 15; *Abydos* II, pls. 6, 7.

²⁸¹ See Pierre Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 24 (Paris: Istra, 1925), pp. 42–66.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 59, 97–98). Traces of raised relief linger, particularly along the edges of the figures. In recarving the large elements, there was a tendency to set the final cut outside the raised version. By contrast, the artists cut sunk versions of hieroglyphs inside the original raised signs, and, consequently, they are more slender. They left the marsh below the clapnet, as well as the clapnet itself and its contents, as raised relief. A few vestiges of Ramesses II's raised cartouches are legible: of *Wsr-M3'.t-R'*,  (cols. 24, 27),  (cols. 27, 46),  (col. 46),  (cols. 27, 48), and the larger  in his *nomen* (col. 10).

Paint: Little remains, although Ramesses II and the male divinities have red flesh. There are faded patterns of paint below the clapnet (representing lashings) and on the epicalyxes of the two largest papyrus blooms at the left end of the marsh. Horus' face is white, with the falcon facial markings in black. The rope he holds shows traces of yellow. The same color is also present in the ribbons of the king's diadem and Khnum's kilt. Traces of red are detectable in the sashes of Seshet. Green is present on the stems of the papyrus flowers over the clapnet.

Observations: With the exception of the group leader on the right, all the water fowl above the clapnet were defaced by hacking — a fate shared by the avian hieroglyphs in cols. 18 and 21, and by  in col 16. All other damage to the relief is unremarkable, including residual quarry marks, especially in the body of Khnum and between him and col. 37. Above Seshet, the gap may result from missing patch-stones or else derive from a beam hole for a structure built against the wall in later ages. Traces of engraved lines on Seshet's head, inside her body, and a gash (not recorded) behind her are related to other stray marks in the adjacent scene (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 43) and probably resulted from a redesign of the original raised relief program of decoration. A single pilgrim's gouge was excavated just to the right of Khnum's forward knee.

It should be noted that the fragment from the base of the largely missing top register, above this scene, includes portions of five small tableaux. In each episode, the king (facing right) kneels before an enthroned divinity. These vignettes resemble reconstructed scenes from the top register on the east wing of this wall (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 81–86), where the king faces left, and those reliefs, along with the rest of the carving at that end of the wall, were originally sunk. In the top register on the west wing, the reliefs were initially raised and changed subsequently to sunken relief like the rest of the decoration west of the central doorway. They were similar to those on the top of the east wing, but for lack of evidence there is little more that can be said about them.²⁸²

Translations:

By *Khnum*: ¹Words spoken^a by Khnum, lord of the cataract: ² “King USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE has come^b ³before you (O) Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. ⁴He has brought to you everything^c that flies; ⁵a pure offering to your *Ka*.”

By *Horus*: ⁶Words spoken by Horus, foremost of ⁷the marsh fowl: “(I) have brought to you ⁸myriads of everything that alights.”

By *the King*: ⁹The good god USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹⁰the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

By *the Vulture*: ¹¹Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By *Clapnet*: ¹²⁻¹³The brave fowler, the ruler ¹⁴aggressive-of-arm, who knows ¹⁵(how to use) his hand(s), ¹⁵⁻¹⁶for whom were created the ¹⁶millions of birds ¹⁷which he has snared.^d ¹⁸⁻¹⁹The Fen-goddess has come to him ¹⁹through a desire that ²⁰the marsh fowl might swarm^e for him ²¹and (so that) they may be offered ²²to his august father, ²³Amun, king of the gods — ²⁴(namely) the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE.

By *Thoth*: ²⁵Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, pre-eminent in ²⁶Hesret,^f residing in the Mansion of the Clapnet:^g “Welcome, welcome, ²⁷(O) <son>^h of Amun-Re, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE! ²⁷⁻²⁸You have snared the water fowl in your trap. ²⁹⁻³⁰For you the Fen-goddess has caused that the marsh fowl might flutter^e ³⁰as you draw (shut) ³¹your clapnet, and your two arms are on the draw-rope together with ³²your two brothers — Khnum (being) in front of you ³³(and) Horus behind you — driving ³⁴awayⁱ the evil ones from your path. ³⁵Look (I) am your father, the lord of Hermopolis: ³⁶my two arms are stretching the cloth for you.”

²⁸² To date, we have discovered no blocks from the west wing of the south wall's top register in the yards around Karnak.

Beside Thoth: ³⁷The lord of Hermopolis — closing the net: Words spoken: “My two arms are ³⁸outstretched. You have come, that (I) may spread out the cloth for you. I have come ³⁹to you in the marsh, after you have crossed the marshes, and after you have sprung ⁴⁰your traps. You have brought away tens-of-thousands of geese, and thousands ⁴¹of green-chested birds, lying inertly on the offering table of the gods forever and ever!”

By Seshet: ⁴²Words spoken by Seshet, [la]dy-[who-is-in-front, she of] the double-fringed sc[arf],^j ⁴³Neith, lady of Meter,^k [who is in] ⁴⁴Sais, mistress of Pe and Dep^l [pre-eminent in Island]-⁴⁵in-the-Marsh:^m “[You have] crossed the watersⁿ ⁴⁶to the place where your father is, his heart being glad when he sees your strength like (that of) Monthu (O) aggressive-of-arm, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEP[EN]RE, given life like Re.”

Beside Seshet: ⁴⁷Words spoken by Seshet, She of Dep and Pe, lady of Netjeret,^o who is in ⁴⁸Sais, mistress of Meter, to her son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life: ⁴⁹“I am your mother, who bore you by means of my beauty,^p you being suckled upon ⁵⁰my two breasts, when I acted for you (as) nurse and brought up ⁵¹your incarnation to be king on the throne of Horus like Re.”

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 1–8.
- ^b Reading *ii.n* rather than *in*: see Alliot, *RdÉ* 5 (1946), p. 72; and thus also Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 48, n. 16.
- ^c Under  in col. 5,  was erroneously carved for : see glossary ad loc. for this common error.
- ^d There is room only for a resumptive pronoun (=sn or =w) at the bottom of the column.
- ^e The root meaning of *nhp/snhp* seems to have the connotation of rapid, repetitive movement or the initiation of such motion or action. See *Wb.* II, p. 283; IV, pp. 167–68. Here it seems to refer to the fluttering movement of the waterfowl as they swarm over the clapnet, which had doubtless been strewn with grain to bait them.
- ^f The necropolis of Hermopolis (Ashmunein), perhaps near Tuna el-Gebel: see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 81*; Leitz, *Lexikon* V, pp. 843–44.
- ^g For *Hwt-ibt.t* the “Mansion of the Clapnet,” see Gauthier, *DG* IV, p. 48; Patrick Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt: A Study of Some Aspects of Theological Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: H. Milford, 1922), pp. 152–54; Leitz, *Lexikon* V, p. 336.
- ^h Although only *Imn-R* is actually carved here, the context requires *s3’Imn*. If so (pace Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 49, n. 23) this error is ancient, not modern: perhaps  was substituted for the similarly shaped  in the hieratic text from which the present version was derived.
- ⁱ The determinative at the top of the column holds a cudgel in his upraised rear arm (similar to , but with its forward arm held upright).
- ^j Alliot inferred this restoration (*RdÉ* 5 [1946], pp. 111–12) after a possible parallel at Esna (*ibid.*, pp. 76 [D] and 78, n. 1). At Karnak, the traces at the left side of col. 42 could suggest *S3t, [h3t].t si3.ty*: arguably the left ends of two -signs): cf. Gardiner, *Gr.*³, p. 507 (signlist S 32); *Wb.* IV, p. 29:3–5; and note that the goddess in this scene wears such a scarf around her neck.
- ^k For *Mtr* (determined with , here missing), see Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne* I (Paris: Impr. Nationaux, 1957), p. 79, where it is identified as the canal linking the Sebennyitic and Canopic arms of the Nile.
- ^l Pe (Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 188*) and Dep (Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne* I, p. 91) were twin cities located at the site later known as Buto: see Hartwig Altenmüller, “Buto,” *LÄ* I, pp. 887–88.
- ^m So reading [*hn.t iw*] *m šs*.
- ⁿ So *s3b s3* (*Wb.* III, pp. 420:15–421:1–5). See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 43:1.
- ^o Ancient *N3rt*, modern Behbeit el-Hagar, was a cult center of Isis. See Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 107; L. Habachi, “Behbeit el-Hagar,” *LÄ* I, pp. 682–83; Christine Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Beiheft 6 (Hamburg: H. Buske, 1991), pp. 369–400; Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, p. 85.
- ^p Compare the sun who “illuminates every land by means of his beauty” (*Medinet Habu* V, pl. 283 D), and see *RIK* III, pl. 13:4, in which *nfr(w)* is written with bare  (albeit in a cramped context, behind the goddess’ back). The Berlin dictionary lists two entries for *nfr* alone as “beauty, goodness” (*Wb.* II, pp. 257:12–15; 258:11–12) along with *nfr.w* (*ibid.*, p. 260:1, often abbreviated as *nfr*). The alternative interpretation of *nfr* as a noun (translating “as a beautiful woman.” Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 50, s.v., pl. 44) seems less likely, since it requires omission of the feminine .t that normally accompanies this word (*Wb.* II, p. 258:4–5).

Plate 45

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) I.1; Johanna Dittmar, “Zu den Darstellungen des rituellen Papyrusausreissens in Tempeln des Neuen Reichs und der Spätzeit,” *Welt des Orients* 14 (1983), pp. 69, 71 (Nr. 3).

Location: B 89: South wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II (his figure lost) stands on a papyrus skiff in the marshes with the goose of Amun riding on board, near the prow, in the presence of ithyphallic Amun.²⁸³ Wadjet and Nekhbet hover as vultures over the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Raised lips and incised lines from the earlier version linger alongside various elements: for example, a number of the papyrus stalks and blossoms, Wadjet’s rear wing and tail, pendant uraei on the solar disk, and Amun’s arm. Similar traces surround many hieroglyphs as well. For the most part, the sculptors recut the marsh plants into sunk relief (more thoroughly than in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 44), but they left the skiff and goose raised. They also incompletely shaved down both vultures, erasing some of their plumage. At the scene’s left edge, vertical bands of the ribbon border were converted to sunk relief only in the upper half, but were left raised below.

Paint: Alternating bands of paint define Amun’s necklace, but the colors are too faded to distinguish. Behind him, his tall lettuces are green, and the flabellum between them is green (bottom of the plumes) and yellow (top).

Observations: Damage to Amun’s body seems unconnected to any malice directed against it, being instead natural weathering of the stone that never interrupts the cut lines. An exception, perhaps, is his penis, which was intentionally gouged, although subsequent erosion clouds the issue. Breakage in cols. 1 and 7 results from erosion and is localized for the most part around the animal hieroglyphs. A pattern of hacking inside and to the right of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* cartouche is quarry damage, since remnants of plaster infill cling to it.²⁸⁴ Later occupants of the Hall carved two pilgrim’s gouges between col. 8 and Amun’s lower body.

A notable feature of Wadjet’s figure is the serpent’s head issuing from her vulture’s body (cf. pls. 26 and 35, above). Its head, and that of the vulture Nekhbet, were lightly hacked. Above this scene are fragments of three smaller episodes from the missing top register, each one showing Pharaoh (*left*) kneeling before a divinity (*right*).²⁸⁵

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god, ²pre-eminent in^a his sanctuary, ³who is upon his great seat: ⁴Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁵(I) have given to you all health. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy. ⁷(I) have given to you all provisions. ⁸(I) have given to you my lifetime as king forever.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By the Vulture (right): ⁹Nekhbet.

By the Vulture (left): ¹⁰Wadjet, ¹¹as she gives all life, stability, and dominion, [all] health, ¹²all joy and all valor like Re.

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands [USER]MA‘ATRE-[SETEPENRE], the lord of appearances [RAMESSES-MER]MUN.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ The closest parallel in a temple relief is from the Luxor temple, a scene that shows Amenhotep III standing in a skiff while plucking reeds from a swamp (unpublished); see PM II², p. 328 (156) III; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. xxiii (E 257); cf. also PM II², pp. 92–93 (267–68) I; Barguet, *Karnak*, pl. xxi B (top right). Royal fowling scenes in the New Kingdom are otherwise rare, being confined to a scene in the tomb of Ay, where the king’s figure was vandalized (PM I², part 2, p. 550, 23 [2]), and a scene on the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun (Marianne Eaton-Krauss and Erhart Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985], pp. 15–16, pls. XIV, XXIA, XXVI).

²⁸⁴ An alternate theory is that it may be connected with the prising of the two blocks beneath, bearing the king’s figure, out of the wall (doubtless for some householder’s purposes). Note that the edge of the doorway on the left is also damaged at this point (showing marks of a lever?), although the surface above and below is well preserved.

²⁸⁵ See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 44 for more of this sequence; and cf. pls. 81–86 for comparanda from the east end of this wall.

²⁸⁶ Note that the top of  and  of *mr-Imn* can still be made out in the remains of his *nomen* cartouche. A trace of the larger disk of his original raised *prenomen* is also legible.

Notes:

- ^a The sign under  actually resembles a malformed , but it is probably to be understood as a botched rendering of a complement to the sign above — perhaps , which infrequently determines *hn.ty* (e.g., *GHHK*, pl. 33:10). Still, it was definitely carved as .
- ^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–7.

Plate 46

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.1; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 86.

Location: B 90: South wall, west wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II, in the presence of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, slits the throat of an oryx that rests on a table.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but recarved from raised relief (figs. 75, 100, 263). Traces of the earlier version are especially plentiful inside the cartouches, by the other hieroglyphs, and along the edges of the figures (both in- and outside the later cuts). There was a -ideogram in the former *nomen* cartouche. In the *prenomen* (cols. 2 and 20), parts of  and  are discernible, along with  (col. 2). In converting the scene to sunk relief, craftsmen erased the falcon's plumage and face without recarving them. They also left a marginal frame at the far right of the scene as raised relief.

Paint: A considerable amount of pigment remains. Amun's flesh tones are blue. Ramesses II's skin is red, and his broad collar has concentric rings of green alternating with blue separated by white lines, and with a single outer one of red above an outer fringe of blue and green floral petals. The king's *khat*-headdress is yellow. Amun's plumes are outlined in red, with the grillwork pattern of quills and filaments in yellow against a white background.²⁸⁷ Parts of Mut's Double Crown — its coil, back rib, and front projection — are red, as was the basic coloring of her dress (which is preserved along the edges of her body). Khonsu's wig is black. A narrow strip of red cleaves along the bottom of Khonsu's *menat*-necklace and just to its right. The falcon's tail and the outer tiers of its wings are green, with the inner parts being red (forward wing) and blue (downswept wing).²⁸⁸ Yellow remains within the offering table while blue is present in the *pt* sign above the scene. Patches of blue, yellow, green, and red cling to many of the hieroglyphs (see *Appendix A*).

Observations: Until it was cleaned in the 1990s, a thick incrustation of salt and mud (rendered on the plate as shade) cut across the middle of the scene. Removal of this detritus revealed Amun's rear hand, grasping , and the top of his lap to be intact. Salt clinging to the midsections of Mut and Khonsu was not removed, perhaps because it had comingled with ancient plaster used to patch defects in the stone. Hacking at the upper right corner of the offering table is typical of quarry damage, which also affects the lower back of Amun's throne and the extreme lower left corner of the scene behind Khonsu. Due to the salt incrustation when Nelson recorded the relief, a few inaccuracies crept into his drawing, to wit: Khonsu's lower arm and hand are not visible, nor is the outer loop of his *menat*-necklace; the tops of the group  in col. 11 are also obscured. Note that the pendant ends of Khonsu's flail are much longer — more than is usual — and complete at the end (with three rounded points), while the butt end of his crook is visible just to the left of his staff.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²“(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE! ³(I) have given to you years of eternity, ⁴you appearing as ruler of joy, inasmuch as you have done ⁵what pleases my heart, by means of ⁵⁻⁶beautiful monuments.”

²⁸⁷ E.g., *Abydos II*, pls. 6–7.

²⁸⁸ Some of this polychrome cannot be confirmed since these observations were first made by Murnane in the 1970s and 1980s. The clearest traces are those of the king's collar, his red flesh tone, and Amun's blue skin.

By *Mut*: ⁷Mut, lady of ⁸Isheru, ⁹as she gives all life, ¹⁰as she gives all dominion, ¹¹as she causes every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — to surround him like Re.

By *Khonsu*: ¹²Words spoken by^a Khonsu-¹³in-Thebes, Neferhotep in ¹⁴Karnak, ¹⁵lord of joy, lord of heaven, ¹⁶given^c all life, stability, and dominion:^b ¹⁷“(I have) given to you the crook and the flail, you appearing like Re.”

Behind *Khonsu*: Every protection — [life, stability, and] dominion — surrounds him like Re.

By *the Falcon*: ¹⁸The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, as he gives all life, stability, and dominion.

By *the King*: ¹⁹Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma’at,” ²⁰the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, ²¹the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ²²given life like Re.

By *Wadjet*: ²³Wadjet, as she gives all life and dominion.

Notes:

^a The sculptor carved  here instead of the customary  (for *in*).

^b Perhaps due to lack of space, the suffix  was omitted, restoration of which would yield the more usual “... as he gives ...” etc.

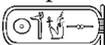
^c One would expect *di=f ‘nh* etc. “as he gives life ...” Perhaps the scribe omitted  for lack of space.

Plate 47

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.1.

Location: B 91: South wall, west wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II embraces ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Amunet. Amun’s characteristic tent-shrine stands behind him, and a vulture with a serpent’s head²⁸⁹ soars over the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (fig. 297). Numerous traces of the initial version persist along edges of the figures (e.g., at Amun’s rump, profile, arm, and rear leg, and Amunet’s front hip and arm). The top of Pharaoh’s tail was left in raised relief. Traces of his raised *prenomen* cartouches include all the signs of  (col. 11), along with , , and  (col. 14). His *nomen* orthography remained largely identical except  was used in *mr-’Imn*. Inside his wig, Ramesses II’s diadem is partially erased, a result of the conversion to sunk relief. Otherwise, the figures often protrude higher than the surrounding negative space.

Paint: A considerable amount of paint is intact on the hieroglyphs and somewhat less in the figures. Ramesses II’s flesh is red and that of Amun blue, while the god’s dangling ribbon and the belt streamers of Amunet’s dress are also red.

Observations: As on pl. 46, a thick deposit of gray-brown salt crystals and mud obscures the chests and shoulders of Amun and the king. Otherwise, with the exception of a small rectangular hole that straddles cols. 6–7 (a beam hole?), and a larger one at the bottom of col. 10 (perhaps a missing patch-stone), the scene is wholly intact.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²the great god, ³king of the gods, ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵“(I) have given to you valor, victory, and power for your strong arm.”

By *Amunet*: ⁶Amunet residing [in] ⁷Karnak, ⁸lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands, ⁹as she gives all life: ¹⁰Words spoken: “(I) have given to you a million^a years, you appearing as the dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt, the flat lands and hill countries being under [your] sandals, and your arm being [unop]posed.”^b

By *the King*: ¹¹The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹²the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

By *the Vulture*: ¹³<Wadjet>^c as she gives all life.

Behind *the King*: ¹⁴The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE shall continually appear as king on the throne of Horus, foremost of all the living *kas*, like Re.

²⁸⁹ The drawing inaccurately shows a conventional vulture’s head.

Notes:

- ^a One normally expects “millions of years.” See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt*.
^b Restoring $[n(n) ḥ]sf' =k$: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:37 and 52:25.
^c Her identity is suggested by the fact that the vulture actually has a serpent’s head although Nelson mistakenly drew it as a raptor’s beak.

Plate 48

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.3; This drawing was first published by Harold H. Nelson in his article, “Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu, and the Ritual of Amenophis I,” *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 219, fig. 15.

Location: B 92: South wall, west wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), third scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II pours water from four jars over a statue of Sety I, which he is described as going around four times. A vulture flies over Ramesses.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (fig. 298). Sculptors never recarved the tails of either king, and numerous raised edges and engraved lines from the raised antecedent skirt the outer edges of both actors and many of the hieroglyphs. As in the previous scene, the figures protrude from the background, and their interior surfaces were not shaved back in the conversion to sunk relief.

Paint: Both pharaohs have red flesh. On Sety’s rear arm, one sees the pattern of his two bracelets, but their colors have faded.

Observations: Note the small patch-stones used to mend gaps caused by defective or irregularly sized blocks (at Sety’s shoulder and rear leg). Apart from natural deterioration — such as the widening of gaps between blocks and some erosion at the tops of cols. 5 and 6 — the relief is in excellent condition. A number of vertical gashes belong to an earlier, abandoned, design for the reliefs in this section of the south wall. These occur in Ramesses’ waist, extend from the tip of the vulture’s outstretched wing, and continue through Ramesses’ *prenomen* cartouche to in front of his uraeus.²⁹⁰ These last traces may correspond to streamers dangling from royal standards that proceed the king in scenes where he is led into the temple by Monthu and Atum.²⁹¹ Note that Sety I’s *nemes*-wig lappet continues below the gap.

Translations:

Label: ¹Going round-about^a four times on behalf of his father, the good god MENMA‘ATRE, with four *nemset*-jars of water.

By Ramesses II: ²Going round-about four times. Words spoken: “Be pure, be pure, ³(O) Osiris King MENMA‘ATRE!
⁴May you live, may you be made new, may you be rejuvenated!” ⁵The dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,
⁶the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re.

By Sety I: ⁸The good god MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN,^b true-of-voice in the presence of^c ¹⁰the great god (*namely*) Osiris, foremost of the westerners.

Notes:

- ^a Nelson’s copy suggests *pḥr* is written with  rather than the more customary  (F 46, var. F 47–49), for which see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, p. 480 (). However, what he takes as a smaller-than-usual flower is, in fact, merely a random chip in the stone.
^b In the raised-relief edition, Sety’s *nomen* was written with , but the -ideogram has replaced it in the sunk version.
^c Reading *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw ḥr nṯr-ꜣ*. See glossary s.v. *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*.

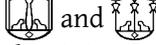
²⁹⁰ Cf. observations to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 43–44, above.

²⁹¹ So *ibid.*, pl. 50.

Plate 49

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.4; Albouy et al., *Karnak*, p. 142 (Amun-Re and king in kiosk-shrine).

Location: B 93: South wall, west wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels within a shrine under the protection of Amun-Re while Thoth writes down the length of his reign on three year-staves and the “Mistress of Writing” brings two more year-staves laden with jubilees. All these year-staves terminate at their bottoms with -signs (symbolizing continuity, thus complementing the references to linear time in the texts). Attached to the bottom of Thoth’s staves are the hieroglyphs  (for *hh.w* “millions”) and  (*hfn.w* “hundreds-of-thousands”), while each of the goddess’ staves has only  (“a hundred-thousand” or “myriad”).  jubilee-signs between these two fronds are interspersed twice with  for “all life, stability, and dominion,” and once with  (*db'.w*) denoting “tens-of-thousands.”

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 99, 101–02, 299). Residue from the earlier version abounds as raised edges and incised lines along the outer contours of the figures: for example, Amun’s plumes and his front shoulder, the king’s back and the terminals of his flail, the goddess’ forward shoulder, and around many of the hieroglyphs. Some elements were left as raised relief, including the upper part of Thoth’s tail and some notches on the year-staves. The craftsmen partially shaved back the figures, occasionally erasing or softening interior features, for example, the leopard’s legs at the bottom of the goddess’ dress. Ramesses II’s head and crown, however, were untouched, and here the modeling is particularly fine.

Paint:²⁹² Thoth and the king have red flesh. Amun’s skin is blue, while the seat cushion on his throne and his dangling ribbon are red. His cap-crown and corselet are yellow, the garment having a thick band of red along its upper border, below his nipple, and a *rishi*-feather pattern — also red on yellow — below this). Amun’s kilt and a bracelet on Thoth’s upper arm are also indicated, but the colors are faded. A trace of blue survives inside the right lappet of Thoth’s wig, while his neck is painted green. Ramesses’ crown is also blue. The star of Seshet emblem above her head is red, covered by two green horns. A series of narrow horizontal bands embellish Amun’s throne, but their colors are not evident.

Observations: Masons inserted two small patch blocks near the bottom of the scene (inside Amun’s throne and in front of Ramesses II’s lap). A cluster of deep hack marks inside Amun’s throne along with lighter, more scattered pitting on the king and inside the shrine are probably quarry damage. Nelson did not copy some finer ornamentation such as the flap that emerges diagonally above Thoth’s belt to the left of his navel²⁹³ or high modeling inside Pharaoh’s *khepresh*-crown extending above his ear and a deep crease behind it. Thoth’s ibis-head features are more elaborate than indicated, including a tiny ear, nostril, and grooves on his beak. Various incised lines in and around the king’s figure may stem from an earlier design of the reliefs on this part of the wall.²⁹⁴

Translations:

By *Thoth*: ¹Words spoken by Thoth: ²“(I) have given to you millions of ³years and myriads of jubilees, ⁴⁻⁵inasmuch as your father, the lord of the gods, has ordained (that) ⁵the flat lands and the hill countries ⁶be under your sandals forever and ever!”

Between *Thoth and the King*: ⁷Words spoken by the lord of Hermopolis: “I write down for you myriads of jubilees. ⁸(I) cause your annals to be established^a as ‘Horus: mighty bull,’ ‘beloved of Ma‘at,’ that you may exist^b forever.”

By *the Lady of Writing*: ⁹Words spoken by the Lady ¹⁰of Writing, she who is pre-eminent in the house of documents:^c ¹¹“(I) foretell for you^d ¹²the jubilees of Re ¹³and the years of Atum.”

By *Amun-Re*: ¹⁴Words spoken^e by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in ¹⁵Karnak: ¹⁵⁻¹⁶“(O my) beloved^f son of my^g body, ¹⁶the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life: ¹⁷My heart is glad for love of you, ¹⁸while I exult at seeing your^d monument. ¹⁹(I) have given [to] you the

²⁹² Here again, the presence of some of this pigment could no longer be confirmed since Murnane’s observations were first made.

²⁹³ Cf. the figure of Monthu in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 50.

²⁹⁴ Cf. our observations to *ibid.*, pls. 43–44 and 48, above.

crook and the flail, my office, ²⁰my throne and my s[ea]t, while (I) cause your annals to be established ²¹for millions of years forever and ever!”

By the King: ²²The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPEN RE, ²³the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Notes:

- ^a Note that the scribe has neglected to include the -sign of *dd* (*mdw*) at the top of the column, perhaps because the group *smn* to accommodate it.
- ^b So taking *wnn=k* as a prospective *sdm=f*.
- ^c For *pr-mdj.t*, see Leitz, *Lexikon* V, pp. 904–05; Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals, and Day-books* (Mississauga: Benben, 1986), pp. 70, 73–75.
- ^d Here  has been miswritten for .
- ^e Repeated mechanically above cols. 14–21.
- ^f The upright  of *mri* has crowded out the mechanically written *mdw* (of *dd-mdw*) here.
- ^g As Nelson’s *sic* indicates, the sculptor forgot to carve the -glyph’s beard.

Plate 50

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.5; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 135; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 78.

Location: B 94: South wall, west wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), fifth scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II is led into the presence of Amun (shown in pl. 49) by Monthu and Atum, preceded by the jackal and placenta standards.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 103–04, 300). Traces of the earlier version persevere along the outer edges of the figures and some hieroglyphs (e.g., the base of  in col. 1 and the top of  in col. 2). In general, the sculptors left interior adornments intact when they converted the figures to sunk relief, although Atum’s belt was partly erased at its front and back where it meets the outline of his body. Ramesses and both deities are well modeled and are often higher than the background wall surface. Weathering in the cartouches has obliterated most vestiges of their raised forms, but  and  of Ramesses II’s shorter *pre-nomen* are visible.

Paint: Almost none has withstood the elements, but  in col. 16 has alternating bands of dark pigments, perhaps red and blue.

Observations: Note the narrow slot carved into the relief, from near the top of col. 8 down into Atum’s crown, and a larger oval cavity above cols. 14 and 15, both made, perhaps, in connection with a later structure inside the Great Hypostyle Hall. Swollen plaster fills some of the joints between blocks, for example, above Atum’s knees. Monthu’s facial markings are more intricate than the drawing conveys, and his belt buckle was not indicated.

Translations:

Label: ¹Coming in and going out: inducting the king into the temple of Amun-Re.

By Monthu: ²Words spoken by Mon[thu] residing in Thebes, ³the great god, lord of heaven, ⁴⁻⁵king of all the gods.

By Atum: ⁶Words spoken by Atum: ⁷“Proceed ye^a ⁸to the temple ⁹of your father, Amun-Re.”

By the King: ¹⁰The good god, lord of the Two Lands ¹¹[USERMA‘AT]RE-SETEPEN[RE], ¹²[RAMES]SES-[MER]AMUN, ¹³given life like Re.

By the Jackal-standard: ¹⁴Wepwawet ¹⁵of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life, ¹⁶stability and dominion like Re; ¹⁷as he gives all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy (and) as he^b leads the way in front of his person like Re.

Notes:

- ^a The  of *dd-mdw* is repeated mechanically above this column, and the reflexive (*i*)*r=k* that accompanies the imperative spills over into the next column.
- ^b *Pace* Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 53, n. 56, part of  is preserved below the  of *sšm*.

Plate 51

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.6 (left) II.7 (right); Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 134; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/163, and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/163.

Location: B 95–96: South wall, west wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), sixth, and seventh (last) scenes from the west.

Subject: (*Left*) Ramesses II stands within the portico of his palace as he leaves to make an appearance in the temple of Amun. He wears the White Crown and carries the flail and the *mekes*. (*Right*) Ramesses II, wearing a *khat*-wig, stands in front of the palace as Khnum purifies him with streams of water poured from a $\overline{\text{X}}$ -jar in the presence of the jackal- and placenta-standards.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (figs. 67, 105, 301, 340). Traces of the suppressed raised version are prolific along the edges of the figures and hieroglyphs (particularly behind Ramesses on the left). Although the craftsmen shaved the figures back, they generally did so without obliterating the interior features of the raised originals. Still, a few elements were partly erased: for example, streamers to the right of Ramesses II’s apron (*left*), and the outer ends of horizontal lashings at the base of the giant $\overline{\text{H}}$ -glyph. Elements of the king’s original cartouches are apparent in both instances: (*left*) all the signs of $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{E}}$ are clear, while his *nomen* cartouche employed $\overline{\text{R}}$; (*right*) abrasion obscures these traces, but O , $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{M}}$, and $\overline{\text{R}}$ of the *prenomen*, and $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{M}}$, and $\overline{\text{R}}$ of the *nomen* are distinguishable. At the far left, a marginal ribbon design was left raised.

Paint: On the right, Ramesses’ flesh is red; Khnum’s rear wig lappet is blue.

Observations: Clusters of hack marks appear on the palace facade on the left (below the upper two block lines) and around personified $\overline{\text{P}}$ - and $\overline{\text{I}}$ -glyphs that support the royal standards. These, along with a horizontal gash through Ramesses’ rear ankle (*left*), are not connected to any discernible pattern of vandalism and must be residual chisel marks left by the masons. Later occupants did leave three shallow pilgrim’s grooves above the jackal-standard (at both ends of col. 12) and between its legs. A flap extending above Khnum’s belt and the fold in Ramesses II’s headcloth above his ear (*right*) are not drawn.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹It is (as) the likeness of Re that the king appears^a at the temple of his father, Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By the King: ²The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁴the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

Behind the King: The protection of all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, surrounds him like Re.^b

Right:

By Khnum: ⁵Words spoken^c by Khnum: ⁶“(I) have purified you with life and dominion, ⁷that your limbs may be rejuvenated ⁸unto millions ⁹of millions,^d ¹⁰you being stable like Re.” ¹¹Words spoken, three times:^e “Be pure, be pure (O) king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life!”

By the Jackal-standard: ¹² Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands.

By the King: ¹³The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹⁴the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a So taking the geminating form $\overline{\text{h}}^{\text{c}}$ as a nominal emphatic (second tense) with nominal subject: Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §147; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §25.9. The alternative is to interpret the verb as a defective writing of the infinitive. For the prepositional use of *mit.t*, see glossary ad loc.

^b The customary $\overline{\text{C}}$ was omitted beneath $\overline{\text{h}}^{\text{c}}=f$.

^c Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 6–10.

^d At the top of col. 9, $\overline{\text{I}}$ is a dittography from the preceding column even though the necessary part of speech has already been supplied at the bottom of col. 8.

- ^e One would normally expect “four times,” for each of the four deities normally associated with this rite, but clearly the sculptor could not fit four strokes in the confined space. See Alan H. Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh,” *JEA* 36 (1950), pp. 3–12. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 105:9–11.

Plate 52

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) III.1; for earlier published photographs, see Legrain, *Karnak*, figs. 129–30; Maurice Pillet, *Thèbes: Karnak et Louxor* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1928), fig. 7 (king and Mut); Charles F. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs: Pattern for Every City* (London: Stein & Day, 1965), pl. 34 (scene inside kiosk); right side, Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/164, and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/164; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak, Mut and king*, pl. 85, king and Theban Triad, pl. 86; Albouy et al., *Karnak*, p. 81 (king only), p. 136 (Iunmutef-priest). The text of Thoth is published by Wolfgang Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak. I. Eine Inschrift Ramses’ IV,” *ZÄS* 82 (1958), p. 134, n. 4.

Location: B 97–98: South wall, west wing, bottom (“fourth”) register, first scene from the western end.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels before Amun in the presence of Mut and Khonsu to receive the royal insignia, as well as “many years” and “myriads of jubilees.” To the left of this shrine, Thoth inscribes the years of Ramesses’ reign while the Iunmutef-priest announces Amun’s decree in the king’s favor to fifteen members of the Theban Ennead.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 106, 108–09, 302). Hallmarks of the earlier figures and hieroglyphs are profuse along the outer contours of the final ones, being too numerous to catalog here. Ramesses’ sculptors did not shave down the larger figures drastically, and they tend to stand out against the negative space with their original features intact as bas-relief. As elsewhere, the vertical ribbon border at the far right end was left in raised relief, as were the legs and thrones of all but Monthu in the upper three registers of Ennead deities. During the Greco-Roman era, restorers re-created those of the lowest group in sunk relief on new masonry (see observations below). Elements of suppressed bas-relief of  appear in the recarved *prenomen* cartouches (cols. 2, 43, 45), while strong traces indicate that the orthographies of Ramesses II’s *nomen* *R^c-ms-s-mr-’Imn* (col. 46) and his Horus name (cols. 43, 44) were identical in both editions. In col. 44, the  held by  was left as raised relief, and her feather was larger. At the base of col. 43, the paleography of the signs in Ramesses II’s *nomen* cartouche peg it as a Greco-Roman creation on a replacement stone, with no Ramesside traces (fig. 108).

Paint: Flecks of red paint cling to the Iunmutef’s upraised arm, and some blue persists inside the sky-sign. There are horizontal bands of faded pigment on the thrones of Atum and Nephthys, but the colors are unclear. Paint scarring has left a negative impression of Amun’s broad collar and that of Atum. Mut’s crown preserves traces of white and red paint corresponding to her crowns.

Observations: At the very bottom, the scene is not preserved as its Ramesside authors carved it. By late antiquity, salt-laden groundwater had infiltrated the base of the south wall and caused severe decay of the sandstone, obliterating much of the relief decoration here, including the dado motif and the lowest reaches of the present scene. Damaged blocks were replaced and carved with newer versions of the same material, in a contemporary Greco-Roman style. This is clearly evident in the paleography of the lowest cartouche in col. 43 and in the sinuousness of Ramesses’ forward foot (his original foot had been covered by the bottom of his then longer belt apron; figs. 143–44). Likewise, portrayal of highly modeled ankle bones of the main figures — uncharacteristic of Ramesside art — is another hallmark of their later date. The Greco-Roman restorers missed recarving Thoth’s bull’s tail within the restoration block. The king’s rear leg was originally raised, traces of which are now filled with modern cement. The traces of the original raised relief are only visible on the top edge of the calf muscle. The uraeus freeze on the bottom of the king’s belt apron was not remodeled on the Greco-Roman restoration

block, only the tops of their disks are visible. Amun was originally seated on a *ma'at* plinth, while the king was kneeling on a mat at a lower level, none of which had been restored. For parallels, see plates 70 and 192.

Faint tool marks on this newer masonry differ from those on Ramesside blocks above, clearly indicating the line of demarcation between the original and later carvings. It begins at the joint across Khonsu's ankle, then moves up, proceeding through the upper half of Amun's throne (along a seam not indicated on the drawing), then down again through Ramesses' thigh to the front edge of his apron. This line then moves lower, passing below a frieze of solar disks once belonging to a row of uraei along the bottom of his apron (the serpents were never recarved on the new masonry) and through his forward heel. This heel was reworked twice (the earlier versions having been carved either too high or too low) before a satisfactory compromise was achieved. Next, the boundary slopes up (as a seam between the king's rear leg and Mut's year-staff) and then moves in a prevailingly straight line through the knees of Mut, Thoth, and the Iunmutef and, finally, through the upper bodies of the lower row of Ennead figures on the left end. Below the scene itself, the restorers did not re-create the lost dado or a bandeau text (presumably of Herihor), but left the masonry rough and undressed.

Other anomalies may be noted. Curious shapes observed between the figures of Hathor and Sobek (Ennead) are due to bungled modern attempts at restoration in cement. At the right end, blocks have shifted, resulting in misalignment of the staff above Khonsu's knee with what lies below. Hacking to Seth's head and his name, "The Ombite," in col. 36 aside, no malicious damage was inflicted on this scene (fig. 109). Copious amounts of plaster extrude from block joints, especially those running through the heads of the Theban Triad. Discreet areas of quarry hacking afflict some regions: several of the cobras on the left end of the kiosk-shrine, at the tops of cols. 9–10, the base of cols. 11–12, and part of the sky-sign above cols. 26–27. Otherwise, except for the loss of color and some widening of the block joints, the relief is in good condition.

Much of the finer ornamentation of the relief was omitted or misconstrued by Nelson, including the partition of Thoth's beak and the precise shape of his eye; cavetto cornices and torus moldings on the podiums supporting members of the Ennead; the double line of the Iunmutef's brow denoting his natural hairline and that of his wig; the priest's nipple (in the raised version); vertical lines delineating the shafts of Mut's three year-staves; modeling on Ramesses' *khefresh*-crown; toenails on his forward foot; recutting on the lower side of his belt and on Amun's neckline; the raised relief version of the top of Amun's rear plume (higher than the final one), which touches the grape clusters hanging from the kiosk's roof; and recutting on the back support of his throne.

Translations:

By Amun-Re: ¹Words spoken^a by Amun-[Re], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: "(O) my beloved son, ²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ^b ³receive for yourself the crook and the flail, years and myriads ⁴of jubilees, you appearing ⁵as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt."

By Khonsu: ⁶Khonsu Neferhotep ⁷in Karnak, ⁸as he gives all life and all joy.

By Mut: ⁹Words spoken by Mut, lady of Isheru: ¹⁰"(I) have [made] your heart endure in the great place, ^c ¹¹in the presence of your father, the lord of the gods, ¹²his heart being joyful through love of you, [as he endows]^d ¹³your limbs ¹⁴with life and dominion ¹⁵like Re forever."

By Thoth: ¹⁶Words spoken^a by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis: "See (I) am acting in accordance with what has been ordained of ¹⁷your father, ^e the lord of the gods. (I) have caused your annals to be established, consisting of millions <of>^f ¹⁸years and myriads of jubilees (and) I have caused^g your lifetime to be (as) a likeness to (that of) heaven. ¹⁹So long as Re exists, so shall you exist. I have given to you the south(erners), gathered in submission; ²⁰the northerners being subdued by^h your divine power. I have placed the fear of you in ²¹all foreign countries, and the dread of you in the hearts of their chiefs."ⁱ

By Iunmutef-priest: ²²Words spoken^a by the Iunmutef-priest, purifier of the Per-wer shrine,^j to the Great Ennead which is in Karnak: "Amun-Re, king of the gods, has ordained the establishing of the son whom he loves, [the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE],^k ²³as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt. [He has] bequeathed to [him] south, north, ²⁴west, and east, gathered together; the flat lands and hill countries being under his sandals, ²⁵and his arm not being opposed — what is spoken in Heliopolis, is done in Thebes, and endures in the Mansion-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah."^l

By the Ennead: ²⁶Words spoken^a by the Great Ennead residing in Karnak: “One acts in accordance with all you have ordained for your son who came forth in front of you. As for him, one acts for a doer (therefore) be beneficent for the one who has performed benefactions [...]”^m [We have given] to [you millions of years and]ⁿ ²⁷myriads of jubilees, as for a son who is as beneficent as he.”^o

By Individual Ennead Gods: ²⁸Monthu, as he gives life. ²⁹Atum. ³⁰Shu. ³¹Tefnut. ³²Geb. ³³Nut. ³⁴Osiris. ³⁵Isis. ³⁶The Ombite.^p ³⁷Nephthys. ³⁸Horus. ³⁹Hathor, lady of heaven. ⁴⁰Sobek. ⁴¹Tjene<ne>t.^q ⁴²Yunyt.

Beside Thoth’s Year-staves: ⁴³Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma’at,” the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life.

By the King: ⁴⁴Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma’at,” ⁴⁵the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴⁶the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–5, 10–12, 17–21, and 23–25.

^b Of the original “short” *prenomen*, strong traces survive: a larger , the snout and back ear of , and a trace of  under  at the bottom of this cartouche.

^c So reading [s]mn.n=(i) ib=k m s.t-wr.t. There is a trace of  so reading the verb as smn “to cause to endure.” On the s.t-wr.t “great seat/shrine” (Wb. IV, p. 7), see Luc Gabolde, “Un lindeau tentyrite de Thoutmosis III dédié à Amon,” BIFAO 99 (1999), pp. 195–200; Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1984), pp. 108–14.

^d Reading [hnm=f] h’w=k. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 53:51, 106:13, 109:2, 111:8, 149:9. Although the left text divider is intact here, the rest is lost in deep hacking.

^e Note the strange writing for it “father,” abbreviated to just , a ligature perhaps influenced by the phrase *in* at the top of the adjacent column.

^f Abbreviating by omission of the customary  (in *hh.w m rnp.wt*).

^g So taking , *di=i* in cols. 18–20 as indicative (perfective) *sdm=f*.

^h Reading *mht.tiw hm n b3.w=k*: the posture of the -determinative (which is actually garbed like a Canaanite) implies a nuance like “subdued” or similar, comparable in meaning to *ks(w)* in the first clause. We could have an abbreviation of *ihm*, which has a wider range of meanings: cf. Wb. I, pp. 118:20–21 “trauern”; 119:1, “Jubel.” More appropriate, perhaps, to this context, Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 28, has “to restrain.”

ⁱ The wall surface around *ibw wrw=sn* is roughened, but there is no trace of  superimposed on the legs and tail of  as Nelson indicated with dashed lines.

^j For the title *’b pr-wr*, see Wb. I, p. 175:12. A curving trace below must represent the bottom of the sledge-like platform on which the *pr-wr* shrine rests: a number of parallels for this feature of  can be found in the paleography file of the Epigraphic Survey at Chicago House (Luxor, Egypt).

^k Traces of the top of a flat sign, perhaps , suit the restoration *n[b t3.wy]*, which was presumably followed by Ramesses II’s *prenomen* cartouche.

^l That is, the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

^m Reading *sw.t ir=t(w) n irw, 3h n ir 3h.wt n=[k]*. The phrase is introduced by the archaic independent pronoun *sw.t*. Gardiner, *Gr.*³, p. 53, §64.

ⁿ Restoring [*di.n=n*] *n=[k]* or similar at the bottom of the column. A “” Nelson indicates under  is erroneous. Below this, any additional phrase that may have existed in the Ramesside edition was carved on a block that was replaced in late antiquity and not recarved in all its original detail. However, there is enough space to restore [*hh.w m rnp.wt*] “millions of years,” which fits the phraseology at the top of col. 27. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k hh.w m rnp.wt*.

^o Literally, “like a son who is beneficent just like his type.”

^p Hacked, but not completely obliterated.

^q Instead of two -signs, the sculptor has carved a single  in sunk relief here. Cf. the more orthodox writing of the goddess’ name in GHHK I.1, pl. 140:8.

Plate 53

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) III.2; For earlier photographs of this scene, see Legrain, *Karnak*, figs. 131–33; idem, “Le logement et transport des barques sacrées et des statues des dieux dans quelques temples égyptiens,” *BIFAO* 13 (1917), pls. III (2, 3, 4) and VI (2); S. Giedion, *The Eternal Present: A Contribution on Constancy and Change*, Vol. 2: *The Beginnings of Architecture*, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 6/2 (New York: Pantheon, 1964), figs. 227, 229; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 141, canopy-shrine; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/161, 165–66, and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/161, 165–66; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, bark and jackal-headed bearers, pl. 78; high priest, bark, and falcon-headed bearers, pl. 79; Ramesses censing, pl. 80; high priest and jackal-headed bearers, pl. 81; Albouy et al., *Karnak*, p. 129 (bark of Mut), p. 133 (king censing). Claude Traunecker, Françoise Le Saout, and Oliver Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak* (Paris: Editions A.D.P.F., 1981), vol. 2, pl. D1.

Location: B 99–100: South wall, west wing, bottom (“fourth”) register, second (last) scene from the west end.

Subject: Ramesses II (*left*) censes the procession of barks of the Theban Triad in which he also marches (*center*), acting as High Priest of Amun. Ranks of priests bearing Amun’s bark are masked, as falcons (the “souls of Pe,” in front) and jackals (the “souls of Nekhen,” in back). Sety I, whose image is perhaps to be interpreted as a statue, follows the procession “accompanying his father Amun-Re in his beautiful Feast of the Valley.”²⁹⁵

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 62, 77, 107, 110–126, 303, 345–46). Raised edges and incised lines from suppressed bas-relief are ubiquitous along the outer contours of the final sunken relief of both the hieroglyphs and the main figures, most strikingly, at Ramesses II’s chin at the left end (fig. 303). Initially, Ramesses’ *prenomen* cartouches were , later amended to *Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ-stp-n-Rꜥ* (figs. 345–46). His initial *nomen*, like the final one, was *Rꜥ-ms-s-mr-’Imn*. Note that the format of Ramesses’ titulary (cols. 32–34) was changed in the final edition (see observations below).

As in other scenes converted from raised relief, the workmen shaved back some of the main elements, yet the figures often project against the background (fig. 107, 110–11, 114–16, 125). They overlooked a few minor components, leaving them raised: some of the round incense nuggets Ramesses (*left*) places in his censer were shaved down, but only some were carved sunken (fig. 77); the upper tails of several priests shouldering Amun’s processional bark; a sandal strap on the king’s (*center*) advancing foot, and the curved front of his other sandal. Portions of a vertical ribbon border adjacent to the left end of the scene (a continuation of the one shown on *GHHK* I.1, pls. 45 and 51, but not reproduced in this drawing) were also left raised.

Worthy of special commentary is the iconography of the cabin-shrine of Amun’s processional bark and the embroidered veil enveloping its lower half (figs. 62, 117–24).²⁹⁶ In keeping with standard artistic practice for representing interior and overlapping portions of sunk relief compositions, the artisans left all elements within the cabin-shrine and veil as bas-relief.²⁹⁷ This decoration takes the form of a complex array of hieroglyphs and divine figures originally arranged as cryptograms of Sety I’s *prenomen* *Mn-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ*,²⁹⁸ as noted by Seele and Murnane.²⁹⁹ Subsequent to its creation, Ramesses II added new elements, chiefly -signs and -glyphs, which herald his *prenomen*. Most of these insignia are in raised relief, and Seele believed that Ramesses had left

²⁹⁵ Cf. similar figures of Amenhotep III in Tutankhamun’s Opet festival reliefs in the Colonnade Hall in Luxor temple. W. Raymond Johnson, “Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall,” in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, SAOC 55 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1998), pp. 133–44.

²⁹⁶ On Sety I’s alterations to the design of Amun’s bark upon which Ramesses II’s version was modeled, see our commentary to pl. 197, below.

²⁹⁷ Cf. the cabin-shrine of the bark in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 76.

²⁹⁸ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 38, 76, 178, 180, 197, 226, and our commentary to the same. See also Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 201, 213. Such cryptograms first appear during the reign of Tutankha-

mun. Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, p. 212; Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 5–7, 35, 55–56, 58, 100, 108–11; William J. Murnane, “Tutankhamun on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak,” *VA* 1 (1985), pp. 59–68.

²⁹⁹ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 66–75; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 173; Kurt Sethe, “Die Jahresrechnung unter Rameses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 110–14. Since Ramesses II is the main actor, whose name appears in the earliest versions of all the cartouches save those above the image of Sety at the extreme right, debate over the significance of the bark’s iconography has often turned on the question of whether Sety was alive and reigning jointly as pharaoh with Ramesses II when the relief was carved.

the rebus decoration unaltered when he ordered his sculptors to convert the tableau to sunk relief, arguing that the presence of -glyphs in the initial composition reflected a coregency between Sety I and Ramesses II.³⁰⁰

Murnane, however, subsequently established that Ramesses II had indeed made additions to the iconography of the cabin-shrine and veil after it was first carved.³⁰¹ In Murnane's view, the earlier composition was skillfully altered by the king, whose workmen adapted siglia reflecting Sety I's *prenomen* and added new ones by recarving the surface in some places to create an ersatz "raised relief" strongly resembling the original version, but seeming to blend Ramesses II's *prenomen* with that of his father to reflect their alleged period of joint rule. According to Murnane, these alterations were as follows:  was added to the right side of  held by  at the center of the veil (figs. 118, 121), three out of the four winged goddesses at the sides of the canopy (excluding the figure at the lower left) each had -signs in her hands erased and recarved as  (fig. 122), Nelson's drawing fails to record this substitution on the lower right side.³⁰² In this way, Murnane believed, the final edition harmonized the royal *prenomens* of Ramesses II and Sety I in one composition. He also concluded that the appearance of only Sety's titulary in the original design reinforced the notion that Sety was alive and involved in a coregency when the scene was first carved.³⁰³

Ramesses II's modifications to these cryptograms were, however, more extensive than Murnane realized.³⁰⁴ In its pristine state, the rebus decoration indeed named Sety I alone as *Mn-Mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* and was identical to a corresponding bark scene on the east wing of the south wall (GHHK I.1, pl. 76). However, closer examination now reveals that Ramesses II, in adding elements of his own *prenomen*, actively suppressed -glyphs distinctive of his father's.³⁰⁵ In addition to the changes noted by earlier scholars, several more have now been discovered here:

- (1) On the billow of the veil, the winged goddess kneels on a -plinth and clutches , thus spelling Ramesses' *prenomen* (fig. 123). While her body persists in its original raised-relief configuration, the  and  have been added as sunk relief, and her wings were recut. She previously knelt on , which was suppressed in favor of , but vestiges of the game pieces abide. Above her, a frieze of uraei and flower petals in raised relief along the top of the veil was largely erased where it crosses the billow, and Nelson did not record the surviving traces.
- (2) At the center of the pall, we now know that the original -feather held by  was suppressed and replaced by , along with a new, smaller  tucked under the jackal's chin (figs. 118, 121). While the old feather's curved tip had pointed back toward the sun-god, as on all the other bark scenes in the Hypostyle Hall,³⁰⁶ the new feather's bulge points away from him. Ramesses II's craftsmen also transformed the  on which Re squats into a  by engraving a sloping line at the left end of the sign and by shaving down some of the game pieces of . Likewise, -signs supporting a pair of winged goddesses flanking Re were converted to -plinths, although here their game pieces were not erased. However, all three -signs were masked with plaster so that in the final edition only -plinths were evident (figs. 119–21). Vestiges of an erased  held in the right-hand goddess' upraised fist remains legible amid final  that replaced it (Nelson's drawing is erroneous here; fig. 160). However, her companion on the left still has an , and there is nothing to indicate it was ever altered.
- (3) Rebus decoration on the exposed upper panel of the cabin-shrine initially resembled that of Sety I's barks, with two goddesses — doubtless Ma'at — holding -signs in their upraised fists and wearing solar disks on their heads while standing on -signs (fig. 117). They stretch out their wings protectively over a ram-headed figure of Amun in the center of the panel who squats on a lotus flower emerging from a -canal, while on either side two small kings offer -eyes to him.³⁰⁷ As below,

³⁰⁰ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 71–73.

³⁰¹ William J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II: Two Addenda," *GM* 19 (1976), pp. 42–43.

³⁰² Changes noted by Murnane in *ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 43. This despite the fact that Sety's role here and elsewhere on the south wall is essentially a passive one as a statue and/or recipient of cult offerings.

³⁰⁴ The following observations were first noted by Brand, "Monuments of Seti I" (Ph.D. dissertation), pp. 409–11.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 409–11.

³⁰⁶ The same is true of *prenomen* rebuses of Sety I at the top of the west wall. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 138–43.

³⁰⁷ See Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, p. 204.

these goddesses form a cryptogram of Sety I's prenomen *Mn-M'ṯ.t-R'*, while the squatting Amun reflects the epithet *mr-Imn* usually attached to Sety's nomen in the Great Hypostyle Hall.

Here again, however, Ramesses' artists later altered these cryptograms in his favor. Below the left-hand goddess' wing, there is a curious triangular shape in raised relief adjacent to the  on which ram-headed Amun squats (not shown in the drawing). Embedded in this object, which resembles a "ramp," are traces of a suppressed  that initially touched the bottom of the goddess' wing (fig. 117). Doubtless this "ramp" is an artifact of the re-sculpting process. To the right of Amun, the corresponding area below the right-hand goddess' wing was shaved back more evenly, but here traces of an erased  are fainter. The purpose of these modifications was to allow -signs on which both goddesses stand to be converted to  through the addition of distinctive slanted lines on their front sides (i.e., those that face the same direction as each goddess). On the left side, an incised line marks this sloping front and the flat top of , while the original game pieces of  remain intact. On the right side, the slanted front of the plinth is in low raised relief, and the game pieces of  were partially erased (fig. 120, 122). Doubtless plaster was used in both cases to complete these revisions, again with the result that all three -signs marking Sety I's prenomen were suppressed in favor of -plinths. Finally, an  held in each goddess' upraised fist was erased and replaced by a . On the right, faint traces of the "arms" of  are still discernible.

- (4) Above the cornice surmounting the cabin-shrine is a rebus frieze nestled beneath the roof of an outer baldachin. This frieze was converted into sunk relief and now consists of falcon-headed Re figures holding -staves while squatting on -plinths. In the primary raised edition, however, -figures clutched -feathers and squatted on -signs, of which traces remain.

As these observations make abundantly clear, far from harmonizing Sety I's *prenomen* with his own in rebus decoration on the cabin and veil of Amun's processional bark, Ramesses II ordered his craftsmen to suppress his father's titulary in favor of his own when he decided to modify its earliest design. It cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence of joint rule between the kings. These alterations surely coincided with the transformation of the raised-relief scenes on the west part of the south wall to sunken relief. Moreover, the final edition must date later than the episodes originally carved in sunk relief (with the shorter form of Ramesses II's *prenomen*) on the east wing of the south wall, including a scene (GHHK I.1, pl. 76) where only Sety I's name appears in the rebus decoration on the Amun-bark (see below). Neither does the suppression of -signs distinctive of Sety I's *prenomen* in the current scene necessarily reflect actual changes to the iconography of Amun's processional bark itself. In the chapel of Amun within Ramesses II's Triple Shrine at Luxor temple,³⁰⁸ the divine figures in rebus decoration in a relief depicting Amun's bark also rest on -signs and continue to do so as late as the reign of Sety II in a scene from his bark shrine in the First Court at Karnak.³⁰⁹ At Luxor, the only "update" to the cryptograms is that the squatting Re on the veil now grasps a  instead of a -feather.³¹⁰

Paint:³¹¹ The flesh of Ramesses II and of the priests conveying the barks of Mut and Khonsu is red, as is the Behdetite disk above Khonsu's bark. Blue is noticeable within the sky-sign above the scene, on Ramesses II's *khepresh*-crown, and in the wig of the soul of Pe in the front row. Large open fans held aloft beside the two smaller barks were painted in alternating stripes of red and blue, as concentric "rings" running parallel to the curve of the plumes (Mut/front, Khonsu/rear), or radiating vertically from the hub, with the blue bands thinner than the red ones (Khonsu/front).³¹² Paint scarring delineates the pattern of the king's (*center*) broad collar. Dotted lines on the forward aegis of Mut's bark may indicate that Nelson saw pigment here, but if so, it is now lost.

³⁰⁸ Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. XXI, B34; PM II², p. 310 (39).

³⁰⁹ Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 15, 24; PM II², p. 26 (32) 1 (33) 1; Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, p. 213.

³¹⁰ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, p. 213.

³¹¹ As in some of the other scenes on this wall, Murnane's observations of some of this pigment (made in the 1970s and 1980s) could not be verified in recent years.

³¹² Compare *Abydos* I, pls. 7, 11; *Abydos* II, pl. 11; *Medinet Habu* II, pls. 64, 65; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 202.

Observations: As in the scene to the right (GHHK I.1, pl. 52), decay of the masonry along the base of the wall, where salt-laden moisture had infiltrated the sandstone, necessitated repairs in late antiquity. Only the sandaled feet belonging to the king and priests (immediately in front of and behind him) marching beside Amun's bark are original. Otherwise, the lowest reaches of the scene were re-created in sunk relief on new blocks that replaced the decayed originals (fig. 111). As in the preceding scene, the line of demarcation between the Ramesside and Greco-Roman masonry runs through the lower legs of the figures. Below the ground line, a segment of the horizontal dado motif (five horizontal bands of varying thickness) survives under Ramesses II's figure (*center*). Beneath them are the tops of two large hieroglyphs carved in sunk relief — evidently all that persists of Herihor's marginal inscription here.³¹³ Ground lines carved on the new masonry are inconsistently rendered, namely, as a single line over most of the distance, as a double line under the king at the left, and with no base-line at all under the feet of the souls of Pe in front of the bark. The censing king's rear (near) foot is flat, with its four smaller toes delineated.³¹⁴

A number of small stones were employed as veneers to mend defects or complete uneven joints between larger blocks. Note, in particular, patches behind the stern of Amun's bark in the bellies of the middle group of jackal-headed priests, and to the left of the disk above the cabin of Amun's bark (this last veneer being especially noticeable because it has weathered more severely than the masonry around it).

Due to the small format of Nelson's drawings and the intricacy of this large scene, he has omitted or misconstrued some minutia of the carvings: (1) Tiny cartouches on the censing king's belt apron are engraved with his *nomen* (*R^c-ms-s mr-'Imn*) and longer *prenomen* (*Wsr-M³.t-R^c-stp-n-R^c*; fig. 112). His belt has a double line (bottom) and was recut (top). His ear was recut, and he has a high, arched eyebrow without a thick cosmetic band. (2) Both wig lappets on the first jackal-headed priest have carved striations, like his fellows, but none of the falcon-headed priests has such plaiting (figs. 114, 116). (3) Subtleties of the facial markings on these jackal and falcon masks are not fully conveyed by the drawing. (4) Individual beads of the *shebyu*-collars of the king (*left*; figs. 115, 125, 303) and on the forward aegis of Khonsu's bark are carefully delineated as on Amun's bark, and those on Khonsu's rear aegis are not fully carved (or were partly erased in the conversion to sunk relief), while Mut's are unadorned.³¹⁵ (5) The kneeling king supporting the forward pole of the baldachin over Mut's bark was hacked out by iconoclasts, but his companion grasping the rear pole, although damaged by erosion, was not. There is no other sign of vandalism in the scene. (6) Sashes worn by the priests escorting Khonsu's bark are longer and more complete than indicated. (7) Nelson's renderings of the faces of the Khonsu and Mut aegises are rudimentary. (8) A falcon's head on the deck of Mut's bark behind its steering columns faces right, not left as indicated. (9) The sculptors have occasionally carved the fingernails on the hands of priests where they grip the carrying pole of Amun's bark. (10) The nearest falcon-headed priest of the leading rank escorting Amun's bark has a flap extending above his belt. (11) A horizontal frame separating the upper panel of Amun's cabin-shrine from the lower one (just above the veil) has a ribbon pattern with groups of narrow vertical stripes separated by wider squares. A similar motif, this time in a vertical configuration, occurs on the frames immediately behind the winged goddesses on the veil. (12) The goddess on the upper left side of the cabin-shrine and on the lower right of the veil both have headbands like their companion on the left side of the veil, while the fourth goddess does not. (13) A uraeus on the rear figurehead of Amun's bark has a horned solar disk like the forward one. (14) Above the censing king (*left*), plumage on the middle tier of the vulture's downswept wing was incompletely erased. Partitions on her forward wing are not quite as Nelson drew them. (15) Above Sety I, the long feathers on the vulture's upper wing are more complete, like those on the lower wing.

³¹³ Herihor inserted bandeau texts below the dado elsewhere in the hall (see commentary to pl. 76, below), but the only well-preserved example occurs at the south end of the east wall (see commentary to pl. 106).

³¹⁴ On the convention of the "near foot," see Edna R. Russmann, "The Anatomy of an Artistic Convention: Representation of the

Near Foot in Two Dimensions through the New Kingdom," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980), pp. 57–81; Eleni Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 34 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), p. 129.

³¹⁵ Brand, "Shebyu-collar," pp. 17–28.

Also worthy of note are changes made to the arrangement of the censuring king's titulary in the distinctive "box" surmounted by a sky-sign over his head (cols. 32–34; figs. 151–52).³¹⁶ In its original edition, his cartouches and Horus name were preceded (to their right) by the cobra-goddess Wadjet, , perched atop a tall -column with the formula *dī=ṣ ḥ* [...] "as she gives life, dominion [...]."³¹⁷ This now lies under the final Horus name, while vestiges of its predecessor overlap both it and the final *prenomen*. Below the two cartouches, the earlier formula, having less room, was more abbreviated, being simply  "given life like Re," of which clear traces persist. Traces of a raised relief  can be detected in the column of text in front of the king who accompanies Amun's bark, at the bottom of the column, between the final  and . The raised-relief  was slightly higher than the final sunk version, as were the signs at the bottom of the *prenomen* cartouche.

Translations:

Label: ¹The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re [RAMESSES]^a-MERAMUN shall continually ²perform a censuring in front of his father, Amun-Re king of the gods, together with the [Great]^a Ennead.

By the Falcon-headed Priests: ³The Great Ennead (*namely*) the Souls of Pe, their arms bearing all life [and dominion for the lord of the Two Lands].^b

By the King beside Amun's Bark: ⁴The first prophet of Amun, the dual king USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMES[ES]-MERAMUN, given life.^c

By the Jackal-headed Priests: ⁵The Small Ennead (*namely*) the Souls of Nekhen, their arms bearing life and dominion <for> the lord of the Two Lands.

By Amun's Bark: ⁶Words spoken^d by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: "(O my) beloved son, ⁷the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, my heart is glad with ⁸joy^e for love of you. I have endowed your beauty with life and dominion. ⁹The wonders (*i.e., oracles*) of my double-figurehead^f belongs to your handsome face, for the two uraeus-serpents ⁹⁻¹⁰have become attached to your diadem.^g ¹⁰I fortell for you ¹¹victories against all foreign countries.^h See, ¹²(I) give^h to you the south as well as the north, the west and the east ¹³(being) under your supervision. I have causedⁱ ¹⁴⁻¹⁵that the chiefs of distant foreign countries might come to you, ¹⁵all of whom have not known ¹⁶Egypt since the time ¹⁷of the god (all) bearing every goodly offering ¹⁸of their foreign countries, laden ¹⁹on their backs through fear of you. ²⁰I have caused that your war cry might circulate through ²¹all foreign countries; the dread of you being in ²²their hearts, as if of the one-who-is-in-Ombos (*i.e., Seth*). ²³I have caused that your name might be greater and ²⁴that your victories might be grander ²⁵than (those of) the kings, ²⁶the ancestral rulers,^k and the masters of strength. ²⁷I have caused that your name might endure ²⁸(in) the likeness of the sky. ²⁹You shall exist so long as ³⁰heaven exists, forever. For you are my beloved son who is on my throne, who does what pleases my heart."

By the Vulture: ³¹Nekhbet.

By the King Censuring Amun's Bark: ³²Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," ³³the dual king USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³⁴the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re,¹ ³⁵whose appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix are great, the lord of the Two Lands, ³⁶who one beloved of Re.

By the King's Ka: ³⁷Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," the dual king USERMA'ATRE-SETEPEN[RE].^m

By Khonsu's Bark: ³⁸Khonsu-Neferhotep ³⁹in Karnak, the lord of heaven.

By the Winged Disk above Khonsu's Bark: ⁴⁰The Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage.

By Mut's Bark: ⁴¹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion." ⁴²Mut the great, lady of Isheru, ⁴³⁻⁴⁴mistress of all the gods.

³¹⁶ On the significance of this arrangement of royal titularies, see Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 174 (Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

³¹⁷ Cf. the titularies of both Ramesses II and Sety I in *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 76 (although neither has the Horus name). See also *ibid.*, pl. 179, where all three names are accompanied by Wadjet, but without the box-like enclosure surmounted by a sky-sign.

By the Winged Disk above Mut's Bark: ⁴⁵The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, who issues from the horizon, as he gives life and dominion. ⁴⁶The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life and dominion.

Above Sety I: ⁴⁷Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes," ⁴⁸the good god MENMA'ATRE, ⁴⁹the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, true-of-voice in the presence of ⁵⁰the great god, lord of the sacred land.

Behind Sety I: ⁵¹The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENMA'ATRE shall continually follow his father Amun-Re in his Beautiful Festival of the Valley, as he endows his limbs with sweet breeze [...].ⁿ

Notes:

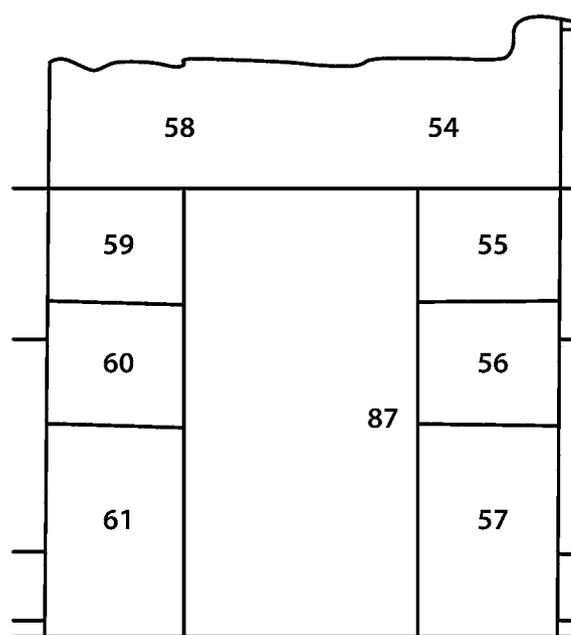
- ^a Inscribed on the lowest original blocks, now lost and replaced by new masonry left uninscribed. Given the spacing implicit in the adjoining columns of text, there is no need to add ["given life"] at the bottom of col. 1, as does Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 55, n. 77 (based on a restoration hazarded by Kitchen in *KRI* II, p. 573:6). One would expect *psd.t* [ʔ.t] at the bottom of col. 2 by analogy with the text of col. 3, and this missing group of signs would match the height of the bottom half of the *nomen* cartouche in col. 1.
- ^b Read *nh* [wʔs] *nb* [n nb tʔ.wy]: [𓏏] is lost in the gap to the right of the lower part of col. 3; for the rest, which was on the original block, now lost (see note a, above), cf. col. 5.
- ^c The signs  were initially carved in raised relief slightly to the left, traces of which Nelson indicated as dotted lines.
- ^d Repeated mechanically above cols. 7–30.
- ^e For the spelling *rwšw* instead of *ršw.t*, see *Wb.* II, p. 454.
- ^f For *hʔ.wty* as "countenance, figurehead" (lit., "front"), see *Wb.* III, p. 29:1–3: the dual here probably refers to the double aegis-figurehead fixed to the prow and stern of the processional bark (cf. *Wb.* III, p. 29:4, the bark called "whose double-countenance is broad-striding"); but cf. *RIK* I, pl. 35 A:23, and *RIK* II, pl. 99 D:5–6, where it simply means "countenance" or "forehead." See also *Khonsu* I, pl. 21:5, but note that here, the word is written as a plural (*hʔ.wt*). Compare the name of Amun's river barge, *Imn-wsr-hʔ.t* "Amun-is-Mighty-of-Prow." The *biʔ.wt* refers to oracles of Amun performed through the medium of the bark's aegises. See Georges Posener, "Aménémopé 21,13 et *bjjt.t* au sens d'oracle," *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pp. 98–102; Jaroslav Černý, "Egyptian Oracles," in Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* [*Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3*], *Brown Egyptological Studies* 4 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1962), pp. 35–49; on oracles in general, see László Kákosy, "Orakel," in *LÄ* IV, pp. 600–06; more recently, Tahia Shehab El-Din, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt," in *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, edited by Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel, and Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami, *Bibliothèque d'étude* 138 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2003), pp. 259–66.
- ^g Literally, "the two uraeus-serpents are associated ...". This sentence is also attested (albeit broken) in *Khonsu* I, pl. 21:5–6. As noted by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 56, n. 82, the 2nd pers. sing. suffix is written with  instead of : cf. glossary s.v. *nb*. Note, too, the two additional uraei on the king's *khepreš*-crown (themselves wearing Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns) in the scene.
- ^h Here *sr* and *rdi.t* occur in two pseudo verbal constructions with *hr* + infinitive. The first employs the Late Egyptian First Present construction with the pronominal compound *tw=i*. In the second, *mk (wi) hr rdi.t*, the scribe has omitted the dependent pronoun .
- ⁱ So taking *dī=i* in cols. 13, 20, 23, and 27 as indicative (perfective) *sdm=f*.
- ^j Literally, "like" (*mi*).
- ^k That is, *bi.tyw*, contrasted with the preceding *nsw.wt*. E. Otto, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), pp. 143–52; *Wb.* I, p. 435:10.
- ^l In the raised-relief edition, the text below the king's cartouches was configured somewhat differently. See observations above.
- ^m Note that here the *prenomén* is written .
- ⁿ Reading *m tʔ.w n[dm...]*, perhaps "the sweet breath [...]." Traces suit . The bottom of this column was carved on a block that was later replaced by another, which was left blank.

South Wall, Gateway (Plan 5, Plates 54–61, 87)

The gateway is preserved almost to its full height, missing only the very top of the lintel, along with its cornice and any short section of wall that may have stood above it.³¹⁸ By contrast with the treatment of the doorway on the outer south wall, where the jambs project several centimeters above the surface of the adjoining walls on each side, the gateway inside the Hall is barely differentiated from the side walls, the surface of the gateway being only a few centimeters higher than that of the walls to either side. Otherwise, the only boundaries between decoration on the gateway and the walls to either side are vertical dividers on the outer edges of the scenes on each jamb and the vertical ribbon border carved on the main walls where they meet the jambs (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 45, 51). Between these is a narrow gap in the decoration on the extreme outer edges of each jamb.

The decorative program of the south gateway consists of matching scenes on each side of the lintel and the jambs. One disadvantage of Nelson's publication is that each side of the lintel is drawn, and published, as a distinctly separate scene (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 54, 58) rather than as the closely related entities they are. On the face of the gateway, as noted previously,

the original decoration in raised relief was recarved as sunk, and examples of the earlier "short" *prnomen*, invariably written , were updated to show Ramesses II's definitive one, *Wsr-Mꜛ.t-Rꜥ Stp.n.Rꜥ*. The final orthography was usually , but occasionally . His nomen was almost always the *Rꜥ-ms-s* form in both versions, with the orthography coinciding, except for a unique instance on the lowest register of the west jamb (see commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 57, below). Scenes on the western thickness of the door (*ibid.*, pl. 87) were probably added later since they are carved in deep (if very eroded) sunk relief, with no sign of any earlier version. The eastern thickness was left uninscribed, partly because the entrance to the staircase leading to the roof was placed here, but also because the single door leaf of this gateway rested against this surface when the door stood open.³¹⁹



Plan 5. Diagram of the south gateway, interior face, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

Plate 54

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164b); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, vol. 2, pp. 40, 41 (B) (some texts).

Location: B 101a: South gateway, lintel, western side.

Subject: Ramesses II runs a ceremonial race, carrying the oar and  (*hpt*) in the presence of Amun-Re, Khonsu, and the Upper Egyptian *Meret*-goddess.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in bas-relief. Vestiges of raised carvings abound along the edges of the figures (e.g., the back of Amun's crown, the king's front shoulder) and the hieroglyphs (especially in cols. 1, 10, and 11). In cutting back the original surface, the workmen sometimes left the new one slightly rough, with numerous small cavities, for example, on parts of Amun's body and in the negative space in front of his face. They did not recarve a vertical margin line at the far right end. Portions of preexisting relief that they

³¹⁸ Cf. *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 302; *RIK* I, pl. 41 B.

³¹⁹ The socket for the doorpost can still be seen (albeit in cement) in the roof of the passage, at the south end of the eastern thickness.

“recycled” are higher and smoother than recut elements: for example, the top of Amun’s helmet-crown and ear (but not his plumes), the center of his torso and inner line of his rear arm, and Khonsu’s sidelock and headband. A further artifact of this process is evident on Ramesses II’s *shendyt*-kilt. Its curving hemlines were partly erased where they touch the outer contours of his body, while a pendant flap between his legs was cut back *grosso modo*, with an abrupt transition from raised to sunk relief where it projects below his inner thighs.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A block at the upper right-hand corner of the scene has shifted a bit to the left, and it is thus misaligned, as shown on the drawing. Loss of masonry at the top of the doorway has deprived us of the very top of the scene (except on the right side) and also its lower left corner. Left out of the drawing, and lying between the falcon of the Horus-name standard and the vulture, is a partially erased group of hieroglyphs in raised relief giving the phrase *k3-nsw nḥ* “living royal *Ka*,” which was never converted to sunk. Further omissions are the internal division of Ramesses’  and the face of  in col. 16.

Translations:

Label: ¹Taking possession of the oar^a for Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²[Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the t]hrones of the Two Lands, ³[lord of heaven, ...: “(O) my] beloved [son], of my [bod]y,^b ⁴[the lord of the Two Lands^c [USERMA‘ATRE]-SETEPENRE: my heart ⁵[is glad at seeing] your monument,^d ⁶[(O) good god,^e and I am satisfied wi]th^f what you have done. ⁷[I have given to you] the lifetime of Re ⁸[and the years of Atum].”^g

Behind Amun: [Every] protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, [...] — [surrounds him like Re].

By Meret-goddess: ⁹The Southern Egyptian *Meret*. ¹⁰Words spoken by the Southern Egyptian *Meret*: “Welcome in peace (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom (I) love!^h ¹¹May your father Amun receive you that he might give to you all life and dominion.”

By Khonsu: ¹²[Khonsu-in-Thebes ¹³Neferhotep]: ¹⁴“(I) have given to you] all life, stability, and dominion on my part. ¹⁵[(I) have given to you] all joy on my part. ¹⁶[(I) have given to] you millions of jubilees [...]”

Above the Vulture: ¹⁷The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage who [iss]ues [from the horizon...].ⁱ

By the King:^j ¹⁹[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands] USERMA‘AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, ²⁰[the son of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Inside Ka-standard behind the King: Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at.”

Behind the Vulture: The living royal *ka*.^k

Notes:

^a For *ḥp.t*, which can be translated as both “oar” and “rudder,” see Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), p. 200; *Wb.* III, p. 68:4 (“rudder”); Lilian Postel, “‘Rame’ ou ‘course’? Enquete lexicographique sur le terme [hepet],” *BIFAO* 103 (2003), pp. 377–420.

^b Restore [*nb p.t...s3=i n ḥ.t*]=*i mry*. Alternatively, one might restore another epithet of Amun after [*nb p.t*] such as [*nṯr ʿ*] or [*ḥk3 W3s.t*]: see glossary s.v. *ʿImn-Rʿ nb ns.wt t3.wy*.

^c The title *nb t3.wy* normally follows “my beloved bodily son” (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:3–4, 38:2–3, 49:15–16), and there is no room for an additional epithet at the top of this column.

^d Restoring *3w* (in the very full spelling, which the spacing requires) followed by *n m33*: two traces at the right side of the column are probably the tips of . Given the spacing, it also seems likely that *ḏd-mdw* was repeated mechanically at the tops of all these columns. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 55:3–4, 57:3–4, 59:2–3, 61:2–4. So too on the east gateway of the Ramesside forecourt at Luxor temple (PM II², p. 306 [19f–g]) and on the lintel of the triple shrine of Ramesses II inside the court (PM II², p. 310 [38a–b]).

^e Restoring *nṯr nfr* (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 101:5–7); or alternatively, *m W3s.t* “in Thebes” (ibid., pl. 152:3–4).

^f Restoring [*ḥtp.kwi*] *ḥr* (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 101:5–7, 107 right:4–5, 152:3–4, 137:19–20): the traces above *iri.n=k* in this column probably belong to  + . The beard and left ear of the first sign can be made out, and the top of the  is preserved with blank space above it.

^g See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k ḥʿ.w n Rʿ* etc. The  determinative of *ʿItmw* survives at the bottom of col. 8.

- ^h So an imperfective passive participle, literally, “who is a beloved one of me.” Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:36: *mrr n R* “who is a beloved one of Re.”
- ⁱ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:45, and other examples in the glossary s.v. *Bhd.ty*.
- ^j “18” has been omitted from the numbering of the text columns.
- ^k Between the vulture’s tail and the Horus-falcon’s crown, the raised group  was shaved down but never recarved as sunk relief. *K3-nsw* ‘*nh* is a common label associated with royal *ka*-standards. Cf. *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 15A–B, 17A, 17C; *RITL* II, pls. 180–93; *Medinet Habu* II, pls. 101–02, 114, 120–22; *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 144.

Plate 55

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164b) I; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/160, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/160.

Location: B 101b: South gateway, top register of western jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers two jugs of milk to Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Mut.

Type of Relief: Initially carved in raised relief, but later converted to sunk. Glimmers of the former persist at the edges of the cuts: for example, Mut’s front thigh, her lips and chin, the right edges of the bouquet and *nemset*-vessel on the offering stand (the jar’s spout was left raised), and some hieroglyphs. Text in col. 7 was maladroitly erased but never recarved. Rough surfaces left by incomplete smoothing of the wall after conversion are most acute in the upper left quadrant.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Most of Ramesses’ figure was lost when the entire left edge of the scene (adjacent to the doorway) sheared off. Deep gouges between the legs of Amun and Mut are residuum of the quarrying process that the masons could not smooth away. Abrasion to the king’s right milk jug is probably fortuitous. Later occupants hollowed two faint pilgrim’s grooves on either side of Amun’s lower plumes and a third between his shoulder and scepter.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving milk to his father, Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: ³Words spoken:^a “(I) have [given] to you all life and dominion. ⁴(I) have given to you all health.”

By Mut: ⁵⁻⁶Mut, lady of Isheru, as she gives life.

Behind Amun: ⁷[Every] protection — all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health — sur[rounds him].^b

By the King: ⁸The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^c ⁹the master of strength RAMESES-[MER]AMUN,^d ¹⁰given [life like Re].

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.

^b One sees the flowers of  above the gap. A faint curve before Mut’s face might be a  or . If genuine, perhaps this column was originally meant to be a *di.n=(i) n=k* formula.

^c From Ramesses II’s shorter *prenomen* in the raised version, one sees traces of a larger .

Plate 56

Bibliography: PM II², p. 50 (164b) II; Earlier photographs in Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 137; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 64–66, fig. 20; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/161, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/161.

Location: B 101c: South gateway, middle register of western jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a greeting with a *nemset*-jar to ithyphallic Amun-Re, accompanied by Amunet.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Traces of bas-relief abound on the contours of the final cuts of both the larger figures and hieroglyphs and are so ubiquitous as to preclude a full listing. As elsewhere, interior surfaces of the main elements were not shaved back except along the edges, so that some features — Amun’s beard, Ramesses II’s belt apron³²⁰ and wig lappet, and the ears of all three figures — protrude markedly. A raised trace of the snout of  from Ramesses’ shorter *prenomen* is legible below that of the final sunken glyph of *Wsr*-[*M3˙t*]-*R˙*-[*stp-n-R˙*]. His *nomen* had the same orthography in both editions.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The sandstone block on which Ramesses’ head and torso were carved suffers from erosion that has grown worse since the drawing was made. As a result, it is no longer possible to determine what Nelson meant by dotted lines he indicates behind the king’s head and below the vulture’s wing. Elsewhere, one finds residual quarry damage in and behind Ramesses’ torso and the goddess’ midriff. Light hacking on the tip of the god’s penis is surely malicious. Note that the “snout” of Amunet’s *w3s*-scepter is more complete where it overlaps Amun’s flail than the drawing suggests. On the offering stand, the *nemset*-jar’s spout more closely resembles a -feather.

Translations:

Label: ¹Greeting with^a a *nemset*-jar [for]^b Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life like Re.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of heaven, ³the great god ⁴who is upon the great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my seat and my throne.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, [all] health and all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By Amunet: ⁶Amunet, residing in ⁷Karnak, ⁸lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: ⁹“(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries.”

By the King: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands USER[MA˙AT]RE-SETEPENRE, ¹¹the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹²given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The back of  and the bottom of its tail are preserved above the gap.

^b The dative  is lost in the void between blocks.

³²⁰ Nelson overlooked a diagonal segment that descends from the lower corner of the apron’s leftmost streamer before fading out. It would have continued to the bottom hem of the kilt and

formed the left side of its triangular flap but was erased when the surface was recarved. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 26, 43, 73 (painted), 77, 82, 96, 99, inter alia, where the flap is more complete.

Plate 57

Bibliography: PM II², p. 50 (164b) III; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 137; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 64–66, fig. 20; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 106; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/161, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/161.

Location: B 101d: South gateway, lowest register of western jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers incense to Amun-Re, followed by Sety I (whose name was later changed to Ramesses II; figs. 76, 78).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but converted from raised relief. Abundant *dissecta membra* of suppressed bas-relief huddle along the outlines of the final work. In cols. 6–7, Ramesses II surcharged Sety I’s cartouches with his own, but only after the former had first been recarved in sunk relief. Upon inspection, one sees that the three figures are higher than negative space around them, a hallmark of such alteration to sunk relief. Minor elements were, however, occasionally left as bas-relief, including the upper curve of Sety’s *ḥkꜣ*-scepter, and a segment of his tail above his mace. On both royal effigies, the upper front corners of their belt aprons are complete, indicating that these were recarved after the kings were recut in sunk relief. However, the sculptors largely erased the left side of Ramesses’ (*left*) triangular kilt flap and did not recarve it. Sety’s fist was also shaved back, and there are traces of recutting on his knuckles and the butt of his *ḥkꜣ*-scepter. In the final sunken carving, the format of Ramesses II’s titulary and accompanying epithets (cols. 8–10) differs from the raised relief version (see below).

Paint: Both kings have red flesh, and there are flecks of red on Sety I’s apron. Otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: This scene, and its mate on the lower east jamb (pl. 61), have long been noted for the fact that Ramesses altered Sety I’s cartouches to his own, so that he now, in fact, worships his own divine alter ego.³²¹ Leaving aside the issue of Ramesses II’s self-deification during his lifetime, this scene presents a number of epigraphic oddities, some of which have generally escaped comment.³²² As noted above, Sety I’s cartouches were reinscribed in sunk relief when the whole episode was converted to sunk. Ramesses II’s subsequent “usurpation” of his father’s names was accomplished in sunk relief by filling them in with plaster and carving his own in their stead. *Prima facie*, Ramesses II would seem to have surcharged them no earlier than his twenty-first regnal year, given the coincidence of his long *prenomen* with the *nomen* orthography *Rꜥ-ms-sw*.³²³ Yet on the bottom of the east jamb, in a nearly identical scene, Sety I’s *nomen* was replaced by *Rꜥ-ms-s*, a form that held sway before year 21! A similar farrago of contradictory writings of Ramesses’ *nomen* occurs in reliefs he usurped on the north jamb of the western gateway,³²⁴ and here again, it remains possible that this change was effected at the temporal boundary between the two *nomen* orthographies.

At the left side of the scene, the sculptors enlarged Ramesses II cartouches in the sunk relief version (cols. 8–9), but they eliminated some of his titles and epithets to accomplish this. His raised cartouches were smaller and were preceded by the epithets *nb tꜣ.wy* “lord of the Two Lands” (*prenomen*) and *nb ḥꜣ.w* “lord of appearances” (*nomen*). To the left of his *nomen* cartouche, they abridged the phrase *di ḥnh mi Rꜥ* “given life like Re.” Traces of the suppressed glyphs remain legible amid the final texts. These alterations are all the more puzzling for being unique among Ramesses II’s early bas-reliefs that were converted to sunken ones on the south and west walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Similar enlarged cartouches, also made at the expense of adjacent texts, appear in Ramesses II’s usurpation of scenes of Sety I on the first row of columns (nos. 74–80) north of the central nave of the Hall, once he became *Rꜥ-ms-sw*. Later in his reign, the king’s cartouches and other texts that gloss

³²¹ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 64–66.

³²² See Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*, Ägyptologische Reihe 5 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1969); Colette J.

Manouvrier, “Ramsès le dieu et les dieux our la théologie politique de Ramsès II,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Paris-Sorbonne, 1996).

³²³ See *Chapter 2*, §2.4.3, above.

³²⁴ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 131–34. See above, commentary to the same.

ritual scenes were often carved in a larger format vis à vis the figures, but at the expense of having shorter texts. This trend continued under Ramesses III, whose cartouches are often much larger than other texts.³²⁵

Here, as elsewhere along the base of the south wall, new blocks were inserted where the originals had decayed. The line of demarcation with the original Ramesside masonry occurs just below Sety's knees and cuts through his legs, then runs down his advancing leg and ends below the level of the scene. Sety's rear foot stands on a baseline that is slightly higher than the main ground line behind him, as if he were standing on a low podium, albeit one much shorter than is normally the case for images of cult statues.³²⁶

The rest of the scene is still preserved as it was before this repair. Below it, but not shown in the drawing, are three sets of double plumes (decorating a missing frieze of large vertical cartouches that belonged probably to Ramesses III or IV),³²⁷ although the cartouches themselves were lost when the blocks on which they were carved were replaced by uninscribed stones. Several pilgrim's grooves were dug in the replacement masonry below these plumes.

Amun's face was carved onto a patch-stone that has sheared off, although his nose is largely intact. A large crack that opens up in front of Sety's face and runs through his crown is surely ancient, since it is filled with plaster. Of possible significance is the fact that Ramesses II's eye was carved with cosmetic bands, while Sety I's figure was not. An extension to the streamer of Sety's diadem, rendered by Nelson with dotted lines, is illusory.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing to A[mun-Re] that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, king of the gods: ³Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees. ⁴(I) have given to you all joy. ⁵(I) have given to you all flat lands being pacified.”

By Sety I: ⁶The good god MENMA‘ATRE,^b ⁷[the son of]^c Re SETY-[MER]EN[A]MUN.^d

By Ramesses II: ⁸ USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁹RAMESESSES-MERAMUN,^e ¹⁰given life^f forever.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.

^b Usurped in sunk relief by Ramesses II, as USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE. Imprints of Sety's *pre-nomen*  in both the raised *edito princeps* (the “box” of  and ) and sunk (all the signs) are clear despite Ramesses' superimposed .

^c Despite weathering of the surface, strong traces of the -glyph's body and rear foot survive, which Nelson overlooked.

^d Usurped in sunk relief by Ramesses II as RAMESSU-[MERENA]MUN. Note, too, that impressions of all the signs in the group  are visible in sunk relief amid erosion — it would have applied to both kings. From the raised version only the back of the -glyph's wig is certain.

^e Traces of  underlie the upper part of the final *pre-nomen*. Plural strokes of  are evident in the final *nomen*.

^f Of the erased original text,  overlaps final , while  underlies final .

³²⁵ Ramesses II's decoration on the main curtain wall surrounding the heart of Karnak temple features these large-format texts. Cf. Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramesses' II. in Karnak* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), pls. passim. Ramesses III's large cartouches are often found in ritual scenes in his temple at Medinet Habu.

³²⁶ In the corresponding scene from the bottom of the east jamb (GHHK I.1, pl. 61), the original ground line is preserved, and there is no podium. Sety's effigy stands on a higher plinth in a scene on the east wing of the wall (ibid., pl. 72), but here he is enclosed within a kiosk-shrine.

³²⁷ A similar frieze of plumes in the thicknesses of the south gateway lies beneath a marginal inscription of Ramesses III. By comparison, below a similar Ramesses III text on the thicknesses

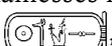
of the north gateway (*Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 20D–E) are other marginal bandeaux belonging to Ramesses IV (usurped by Ramesses VI). Most germane, however, is an identical frieze of Ramesses IV's cartouches (also crowned with ostrich plumes and sun disks) carved below the lowest scene on the west interior jamb of the north gateway. There is a frieze of such plumes at the bases of the east interior jambs of both gateways (cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 61 and 187, although they are recorded by Nelson only in the latter case), but the actual cartouches are only preserved below the west jamb of the north interior gateway. See below, commentary to plate 184. On marginalia of the later Ramesside kings in the Hypostyle Hall, see Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia,” pp. 52–59.

Plate 58

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164a); For an early copy of some of the texts, see Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, vol. 2, pp. 40, 41 (A).

Location: B 101f: South gateway, lintel, eastern side.

Subject: Ramesses II runs a ceremonial race, carrying two -vases, in the presence of Amun-Re, Mut, and the Upper Egyptian Meret-goddess.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but changed from raised relief. Residuum of the primary edition (raised lips and engraved outlines) frequently abide at the margins of the sunken cuts. As on the west side of this lintel (see above, pl. 54), the recarved surface is often rougher than the smoother ones of elements carried over from the raised version. A vertical margin line at the right end, left raised, connects with the scene's ground line, which was shaved back, but not recarved as sunk. Streamers issuing from the collar of a figurehead held by the royal ka-standard behind Ramesses are not true sunk relief, but only engraved. Faint signs of the earlier  (farther to the right than in the final version) are seen inside Ramesses II's *serekh*. Traces consistent with the shorter form of Ramesses II's prenomen, with the orthography , are evident in all three examples herein. His nomen was written identically in both versions.

Paint: The goddess' shoulder is painted red. A curving area of rough surface mimics the pattern of Amun's collar, but this is probably an artifact of the recarving process. Any traces of color on Mut's vulture cap that Nelson indicated with dotted lines have now vanished.

Observations: Except for the loss of blocks that formed the top of the scene, as well as damage to the lintel that affects its lower left side, the relief is in good condition. A long block containing the heads of the three main figures has shifted outward by a few centimeters.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting libation to his father, Amun, that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²[Words spoken^a by Amun-Re], king of the gods, lord of heaven: ³“(O my) beloved [son of] my body, ⁴[the lord of the Two Lands] USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁵[my heart is glad for] love of you,^b and [I] rejoice ⁶[at seeing] your [monuments]. (I) have given to you [...].”^c

By Meret-goddess in Front of Amun: ⁷Words spoken^d by the Southern Egyptian Meret: “Welcome in peace (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE! ⁸May your fa[ther] Amun receive you that he might give to you all^e life and dominion ⁹like Re every day.”

By Mut: ¹⁰[Words spoken by]^a Mut, lady of heaven [...]:^f ¹¹“(I) have given to you millions of jubilees [...].^g ¹²I have given to you the kingship [...].”^h

By the King: ¹³[The lord of the Two Lands]ⁱ USERMA‘AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, ¹⁴[the lord of appearances]ⁱ RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁵given all life, stability, and dominion ¹⁶like [Re] forever.

By Royal Ka behind King: Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at.”

Notes:

^a Given the spacing of what follows, this formula was probably repeated mechanically above the rest of the columns of Amun's speech along with those of Mut.

^b Nelson's alleged  (*sšm*) on the plate is a mistake for the bottom of  (top) over two strokes of  (for *mrwt*), yielding the common sequence [*ib=i šw n*] *mr.wt=k*, *h'w.[kwi n m3] nfr.w=k* (var. *mnw=k*): see *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 32:9–10; *Khonsu II*, pl. 171:8–9; *RIK I*, pl. 58:5; and cf. *tw=i rš.kwi n mrwt=k* etc. (*RIK I*, pls. 19:5–6, 57:4–7).

^c The balance of this sentence, now completely lost, was inscribed to the left of Amun's plumes.

^d Repeated mechanically above cols. 8–9.

^e Nelson's supposed handle of “” is just a stray chisel mark; the sign is clearly .

^f There is room for as many as three short columns for Mut's titles above her head.

^g For possible endings, see the glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k hḥ.w m ḥb.w-sd*.

^h For possible endings, see the glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nsy.t*.

ⁱ Given the spacing implied by the phrase  in col. 15, and of  in col. 16, there was not enough room for the epithets *nsw-bi.ty* and *s' R'* above the cartouches.

Plate 59

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164a) I.

Location: B 101g: South gateway, top register of eastern jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers two jugs of milk to Amun-Re, who is followed by Mut.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Traces of the earlier version are found at the edges of the later cuts, although these are fewer than in most other scenes converted from raised relief (fig. 127). Nelson omitted a long segment of the curved fold inside Amun's kilt, which was partly erased in the conversion to sunken relief. Strong traces of Ramesses II's erased short *prenomen* (*Wsr-Mꜣ.t-R'*) in suppressed raised relief are legible amid the sunken version of the longer form. Raised text in col. 5 was partially shaved down but was never recut into sunk relief.

Paint: Ramesses II's flesh is red, Amun's is blue, and Mut's is yellow. Two bracelets on the king's wrist are blue, while on his upper right arm, his armband had three bands (one red, originally yellow, between two blue). His left milk jug is red, and Amun's *wꜣs*-scepter is green. Mut's dress is red, supported by polychrome straps (alternating bands of red and blue separated by a lighter color), and bound by a long belt-sash (of which the colors have faded). A bracelet on her upper right arm had alternating vertical bands of green and yellow, and her collar had three rings of blue alternating with two bands of green (top) and red (bottom, penultimate). Her vulture crown had a green wing and tail, while her Double Crown had its traditional colors of red and white. Additional pigments (e.g., on some of the hieroglyphs and concentric bands on Amun's collar) are too faded to identify.

Observations: Much of the carved surface is unusually smooth because substantial residue of a plaster wash that coated is intact, especially in the block joints around Mut's head. This surface plaster is a very smooth and fine-grained wash, contrasted with coarser stucco used as infill between the block joints. Except for damage to the left part of the scene where the masonry has sheared away, the scene is well preserved. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall carved several pilgrim's grooves behind the heads of Amun and Mut and inside the god's upper left shoulder. Shallow pecking to the facial features of Ramesses and Amun and the king's hands are surely their work. Nelson omitted the fingers on Mut's upraised hand.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting milk to Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³"(I) have given to you valor and victory ⁴on my part. ⁵(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands."^b

By Mut: ⁶Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: ⁷"(I) have given to you life and dominion like Re."

By the King: ⁸The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁹the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above col. 3.

^b Additional traces of this erased text not recorded in the drawing are  next to  and  below them. See the glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nhḥ m nsw tꜣ.wy*.

Plate 60

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164a) II; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 64–65, fig. 19.

Location: B 101h: South gateway, middle register of eastern jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers incense to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Isis.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Elements of expunged bas-relief circumvellate the final sunk cuts and are particularly strong on Ramesses' legs and Isis' feet. The sculptors were more thorough in shaving back the raised surfaces so they do not protrude against the background. An exception is Isis' solar disk. Ramesses' belt apron was partly erased in this operation, which also left dense but shallow pitting where the surfaces were cut back. A few minor elements were left raised, for example, the point of  in col. 6. In the *prenomen* cartouche, only the larger  and snout of  are legible amid the sunk version, along with  and  in his *nomen*.

Paint:³²⁸ The king has red flesh, and on his upper arms he wears bracelets with horizontal bands of blue (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 59, 70). A bouquet on the offering stand has red stems. Otherwise, none of the colors has withstood the elements with any distinctness.

Observations: Iconoclasts hacked Amun's phallus, but only lightly. Sandstone, of which this scene is composed, is highly porous and has begun to erode or exfoliate in several places, including the region of Mut's upper body; between the heads of Amun and the king, and at the top of col. 1 below Ramesses' elbow. Large parts of the relief are coated with a fine plaster wash, which is peeling off in the region between the torsos of the king and Amun. Coarse white plaster employed as gap filler is evident in horizontal joints in the lower part of the scene. Cobras at the base of Ramesses' apron are not as complete as Nelson indicates.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing his father Amun that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef: ³"(I) have given to you my lifetime as king."^a

By Isis: ⁴Words spoken by Isis ⁵the great, mother of the god: ⁶"(I) have given to you the throne of ⁷Atum."

By the King: ⁸The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁹master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re ¹¹forever.

Note:

^a The last two words,  , persist as incompletely erased raised relief.

³²⁸ Most of this color can no longer be confirmed since the observations were made by Murnane in the 1970s and 1980s.

Plate 61

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 49–50 (164a) III. Photograph in Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 64–65, fig. 19.

Location: B 101i: South gateway, lowest register of eastern jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers libation with a *nemset-jar* before Amun-Re and Sety I (whose cartouche names were later changed to those of Ramesses II).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 74, 128–29). Raised edges and incised outlines of the expunged version are ubiquitous, and the main figures are at a higher level than the empty space around them. In col. 11, the raised-relief edition of Ramesses II's *nomen* was written , as traces of  remain beneath final . Traces of  are clear.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Note that, as on plate 57, Sety I's cartouches (cols. 1, 8–9) were first recut from raised to sunk relief and were later replaced with those of Ramesses II in sunk relief. Nelson only records the final versions of Ramesses II. Clear traces of both versions of Sety's name persist: col. 1 (*prenomen*), the larger , the bottom of  (raised and sunk), and the feather of  (sunk); col. 7 (*prenomen*)  and  (sunk only); col. 8 (*nomen*)  and . Note, also, that in contrast to the episode on the corresponding west jamb, Ramesses' *nomen* is written R^c-ms-s where it has replaced Sety's (see commentary to pl. 57, above).

As in the previous episode, the sandstone here is often porous and there has been further erosion since Nelson's drawing was made, for example, in the middle of the vulture's downswept wing. There are some minor inaccuracies and omissions in the drawing: Sety's fist clasping the scepters was recut, but the separation between the two scepters is illusory, and the top of the cartouche ring in col. 1 is incomplete. Below this scene, as in the corresponding place on the west jamb (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 57) and north gateway (*ibid.*, pls. 184, 187), are the tops of several of the plumes that crowned a frieze of vertical cartouches. The cartouches were lost in later antiquity when fresh, uncarved blocks were inserted to replace decayed Ramesside masonry at the base of the jamb.³²⁹

Translations:

Label: ¹Making a libation to his father Amun-Re on behalf of king MENMA'ATRE,^a true-of-voice.

By Amun-Re: ²Words spoken^b by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re ⁴(and) his years as ruler of Heliopolis. ⁵(I) have given to you the kingship of Geb.”

By Sety I: ⁶The good god, who makes monuments for his father Amun-Re, ⁷the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^a ⁸the son of Re, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^c ⁹true-of-voice in the presence of the great god.

By Ramesses II: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹¹master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹²given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Recarved, first as MENMA'ATRE into sunk relief, then (also in sunk relief) as USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–4.

^c Recarved, first as SETY-MERENAMUN into sunk relief, then (also in sunk relief) as RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

³²⁹ See commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 57.

Plate 87

Bibliography: PM II², p. 50 (164d).

Location: B 125–26: South gateway, western thickness.

Subject: Two scenes, one above the other, in which Ramesses II (his figure now destroyed) presents offerings to Amun-Re — ithyphallic (top) and enthroned (bottom).

Type of Relief: Both scenes were carved initially as sunk relief, although the marginal ribbon pattern at the right edge of both scenes is raised. Groups of horizontal stripes between the two vertical bands on this element are incomplete in the upper segment (as shown on the plate), but are consistently carved below (where Nelson did not record them).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Below the lower scene are segments of three raised horizontal bands that served as a dado pattern at the base of the wall, as inside the Hall itself. Although the upper doorpost sockets are extant (in cement) on both sides of the passage, it seems most likely that there was originally a single door leaf that rested against the eastern thickness when open, since this space was left undecorated.

Translations:

Top:

In Front of the God: ¹“(I) have given to] you my [...forever] and ever!”^a

Behind the God: Every [protection — all life ...] (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

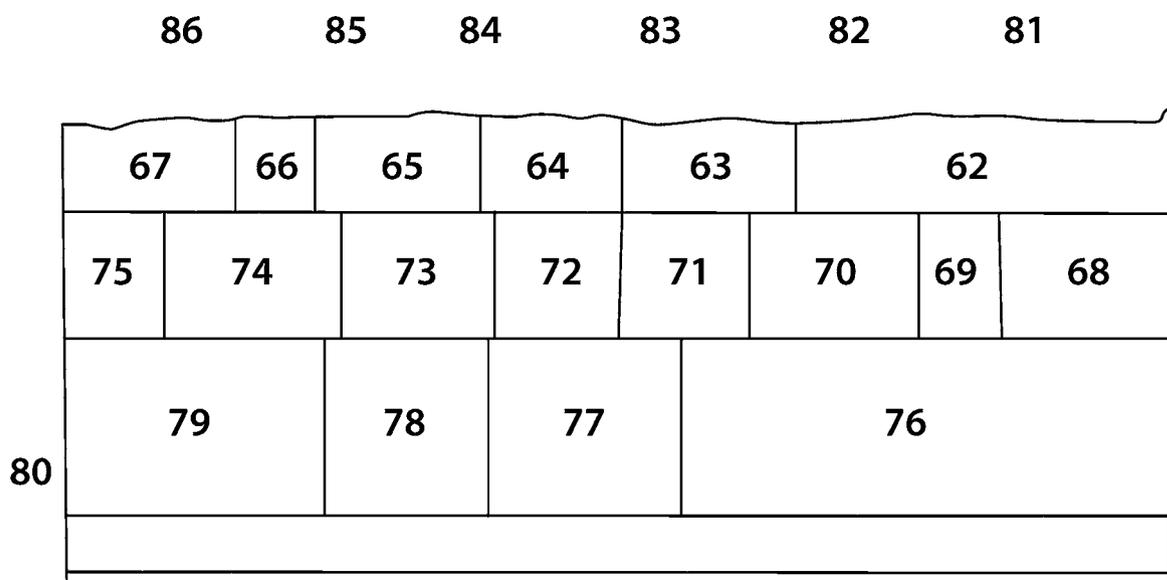
Bottom:

By Amun: [Words spoken by Amun-Re...: “(I) give to you] ¹[...the office]^b ²of dual king (my) kingship ³being the reward for what you have done.”

Notes:

^a A survey of $di.n=(i) n=k$ formulae in the glossary shows that the phrase $sp\ 2$ “two times” generally follows $d.t$ as an extension of the core phrase (e.g., $i3.t=i\ n\ nsw$ etc.). Exceptions include: $mnw=k\ mn\ sp\ 2$ (GHHK I.1, pl. 131:6) and $rn=k\ mn\ sp\ 2$ (ibid., pl. 2:4). Part of a sign on the right side of the column below  may be . The rest of the sentence cannot be restored because traces are too few and the range of parallels too wide.

^b Much more of the god’s speech was carved to the left of the column labeled as the first, but too little is preserved to make sense of it. The restorations are simply what is required by the context.



Plan 6. Diagram of the south wall, east wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

South Wall, East Wing (Plan 6, Plates 62–79, 80–86)

The east wing of the south wall, like its western counterpart, now consists of three registers of scenes; originally there were four, but the top one has been removed (plan 3). In composition, both wings are mirror images of each other, in that the progression of scenes moves away from the central doorway. Invariably, the king faces right on the west wing, and left on the east wing. Thus the sequence of episodes in each register on this east wing follows the numbering of the plates better than it does on the west:

- (1) Bottom (fourth) register: the king offers to the barks of the Theban Triad (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 76), dedicates offerings to Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 77), is led by Monthu and Atum (*ibid.*, pl. 78), and appears beside the *Ished*-tree (*ibid.*, pl. 79).
- (2) Middle (third) register: the king drives four calves (*ibid.*, pl. 68), receives the unification of the Two Lands from Horus and Thoth (*ibid.*, pl. 69), receives jubilees (*ibid.*, pl. 70), runs a ceremonial race before Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 71), greets his deified father (Sety I; *ibid.*, pl. 72), dedicates four chests of cloth to Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 73), has his crowns steadied (*ibid.*, pl. 74), and offers Ma'at to Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 75).
- (3) Second (uppermost extant) register: the king is led in by two goddesses and the souls of Pe and Nekhen (*ibid.*, pl. 62), receives the regalia from Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 63), offers flowers to ithyphallic Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 64), presents offerings to the deified Sety I in his sacred bark (*ibid.*, pl. 65), is modeled by Khnum on the potter's wheel (*ibid.*, pl. 66), is suckled by a goddess, and appears before Amun-Re (*ibid.*, pl. 67).
- (4) What remains of this missing (top) register comprises a series of loose blocks that had fallen from the top of this wall and (when reassembled by Nelson) produced yet another register of scenes that stood above (*ibid.*, pls. 81–86).³³⁰ This first register is a “space filler.” Not only are the figures smaller than in the scenes below, but its overall height is reduced by the composition, in which the king invariably kneels before the divinities who are all enthroned. Here as well the scenes are composed as mirror images of those on the other wing of the south wall; Ramesses II always faces left in these scenes, whereas on the west wing (based on the scant remains at the top of *GHHK* I.1, pl. 44) he invariably faces right.

³³⁰ These blocks are now stored on platforms that lie in the open space to the south of the Great Hypostyle Hall, between the first court of the temple of Amun and the temple of Khonsu.

Another salient characteristic of the south wall's east wing is the large amount of polychrome still preserved here, especially in the southeast corner. Finally, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 80, is a scene carved on the southern thickness of the passage that runs through the southern corner of the east wall. A complementary scene on the northern thickness was not recorded by Nelson.³³¹ Both scenes (including a facsimile of the southern thickness) will be included in a forthcoming volume dedicated to the gateways of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

By contrast with the west wing and central gateway, all the decoration on the east wing of the south wall was initially carved in sunk relief during the second phase of Ramesses II's work in the Hypostyle Hall, where the king universally employed the original, shorter form of his *prenomen*, inscribed with a wide variety of orthographies.³³² His *nomen* fluctuates between *R^c-ms-s* and *R^c-ms-sw*, with the majority being the former, and with a wider range of orthographies than are found elsewhere in the Hall.³³³ This second phase of his relief work, in which sunk relief coincides with the short *prenomen*, marks the point at which Ramesses began to experiment more heavily with the hieroglyphic "spelling" of both cartouches, a phenomenon that can also be observed at Gurnah temple.³³⁴

Plate 62

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.1; for an earlier photograph, omitting the goddess at the left end, see *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 236 A; and cf. *ibid.*, pl. 235.

Location: B 102: South wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* ("second"), first scene from the west.

Subject: Nekhbet, Wadjet, and the souls of Pe and Nekhen lead Ramesses II to a goddess who performs the *nyny*-ritual.³³⁵

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 130).

Paint:³³⁶ The flesh of the king and the souls is red, while that of all three goddesses is yellow. The middle Soul of Nekhen (jackal-headed) wears a blue corselet, and his wig lappets are also blue. Wadjet, on the king's right, and the anonymous goddess at the far left, wear dresses bound with red streamers (parts of which endure), and all three goddesses have anklets in which vertical yellow bands alternate with others in red, blue, and green, framed by horizontal blue bands at the top and bottom.³³⁷ Decoration on the king's apron includes two parallel columns of small painted rectangles, but only two yellow squares can still be identified with certainty.³³⁸ Decayed pigment of indeterminate color survives at various points: a latticework pattern on the belt of the leftmost Soul of Pe, a painted sash falling to the right of the royal apron, bracelets of the king and Wadjet where they clasp hands, and concentric bands of Nekhbet's broad collar. Note at the bottom of Wadjet's dress an elaborate fringe of alternating rectangles of blue, red, and green, separated by narrow blue vertical stripes set against a yellow ground.

³³¹ PM II², p. 50 (165b-c); Nelson, *Key Plans*, B 122, 129.

³³² See *Chapter 2*, §2.4.2.

³³³ *R^c-ms-s* occurs in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 63–65, 68, 72–76, 78–79, 81 (all three), 82 middle and right, 83 middle, 84 right, 85 right. *R^c-ms-sw* occurs in *ibid.*, pls. 69–70, 77, 82 left, 83 left, 84 left. The *nomen* is incomplete or lacking in *ibid.*, pls. 62, 66–67, 80–81, 83 right, 84 middle, 85 left, 86–87. Both orthographies coexist only in *ibid.*, pl. 71.

³³⁴ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 40–44; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 167–68; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 234–45; Anthony Spalinger, "Early Writing of Ramesses II's Names," *Chronique d'Égypte* 83 (2008), pp. 75–89.

³³⁵ Her name is not preserved. Elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, goddesses who perform the *nyny*-ritual include Amunet (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 111) and Hathor (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 199). A clue to her identity here may be the crown she wears. Lack of a tripartite wig tends

to eliminate Hathor. It must be a Red or White Crown, headgear that is appropriate for a limited number of goddesses. Amunet and Neith generally don the red, while goddesses with the white are rarer. Nekhbet may sport a White Crown with feathers, technically an *atef*-crown, but that does not seem to be the case here. Amunet: *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 284; *Khonsu* I, pls. 48, 67, 95 (the latter with a "hathoric" headdress); Hathor: *Khonsu* II, pl. 172. On the *nyny*-ritual, see Wolfhart Westendorf, "Die Nini-Begrüßung," in *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*, edited by Ursula Verhoeven and Erhart Graefe, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 39 (Leuven: Peeters, 1991), pp. 351–62; Alan H. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 19.

³³⁶ Only some of this polychrome can now be confirmed since Murnane's observations were made in the 1970s and 1980s.

³³⁷ Cf. commentary to pl. 42, above.

³³⁸ Cf. *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 213; *Abydos* I, pl. 7.

Observations: Two blocks with hieroglyphic texts were restored to their positions by Nelson and do not form part of the standing wall. Currently kept among the blocks stacked to the north of the temple of Khonsu, they have been collated for this commentary. On the wall itself, the king's face is seriously abraded. Fissures and striations due to natural decay of the stone mar the upper bodies of the Souls of Pe (falcon-headed), the king, and the goddesses flanking him. A pattern of chisel gouges on the upper part of the goddess at the far left of the scene are left from the quarrying process. Along with isolated defects across the scene and the joints between blocks, they were filled with plaster, much of which still remains on the wall along with a finer plaster surface wash. Nelson failed to capture the subtleties of the jackals' heads: their nostrils, cosmetic bands on their eyes and eyebrows, and interior cavities of their closest ears. He also did not record traces of the beaks of the two rightmost Souls of Pe.

Translations:³³⁹

By *Nekhbet*: ¹Words spoken by Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakon[polis]: ²“(O my) son who is in my heart [...] ⁸[...]s [for]ever.”^a

By *Falcon-headed Gods*: ⁹[Words spoken by the Souls of Pe: “C]ome ¹⁰[to the mansion of your father^b as we give to] you praises ¹¹[...]. We [come]^c to you like ¹²[... (Divine Name) when] he [...]s himself, so then ¹³[...] in^d the palace, [where he] fashioned you^e ¹⁴[for the] great [moment]^f of receiving ¹⁵[the great name]s.^g Mingling with you are those-who-are-in^h ¹⁶[the district of] Thebes. Exulting for you ¹⁷is the entire [Ennead]ⁱ when they see you ¹⁸[assuming the fo]rms^j of Re (O) image ¹⁹[of (Divine Name), ...],^k the master of strength RAMES[SES]-MERAMUN!”

By *the King*: ²⁰The dual king [USERMA‘AT]RE-[SETEPENRE], ²¹the son of Re [RAMESES-MERAMUN], ²²given [all] life, [stability, and dominion like Re].

Notes:

- ^a The tail of  and the right end of the  of *d*[t] are visible. Above is a single stroke, possibly from .
- ^b This expression or a variant seems constant in the parallels, for which see the glossary s.v. the verb *ii* (e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 78:2-3, 111:5-6). No ready parallels could be found, however, for most of the speech that follows.
- ^c To the right of the single  at the lower left end of the group above, there is a sign that terminates  (unrecorded by Nelson), perhaps .
- ^d The curving trace recorded by Nelson is incorrect; instead, the bottom of  is clearly present.
- ^e Restoring something like *ms tw* [(Divine Name) *im=s*], but *ms.wt* “birth” is also possible here, or even the beginning of a new sentence.
- ^f Given the feminine endings, expressions such as *R'* or *sp* cannot fit, thus restore [*ʒ.t*] or something similar. “Crowns” (*h'w*) are among the items that can be the object of *sšp* (see, inter alia, *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 313 A:7), but here again, no direct parallel was found.
- ^g A curving trace (unrecorded by Nelson) that is preserved above  is perhaps to be identified as the bottom of , thus perhaps restore [*rn.w w*]r.w?
- ^h Restoring something like *imy.w* [*spʒ.t*] *Wʒs.t*. The bottom of a , not copied by Nelson, is preserved at the left side of the group above, possibly positioned to the left of the terminal .*t*, which is often the phonetic complement of *spʒ.t* (Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 222 bottom).
- ⁱ Reading *tḥḥ n=k* [*psd.t*] *tmm.ti*: cf. glossary s.v. *psd.t*.
- ^j Nelson's  are incorrect: instead (from right to left) there are the bottoms of , , and  – thus restore [*k*]i “form, shape” (Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 276).
- ^k No obvious restoration can be inferred from the oblong trace (similar to the bottom of , but somewhat narrower) at the bottom right of the group above.

³³⁹ The speech is quite different in the parallel scene in the Second Court of Ramesses III's mortuary temple (*Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 235:23-33).

Plate 63

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.2; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, vol. 2, p. 40 A (col. 1).

Location: B 103: South wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II is ushered into the presence of Amun-Re by Mut and receives from him, in the presence of Khonsu, the crook and the flail, while Thoth inscribes the king’s titulary on a year-staff.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Amun’s flesh is blue, that of Thoth red. Amun and Khonsu rest on blue podiums; Khonsu’s is solid, while Amun’s is fringed in a lighter color.³⁴⁰ Indistinct traces of horizontal painted lines remain on the side of Amun’s throne.

Observations: A combination of deep natural fissures, spalling, and residual tool marks disfigures the upper half of the relief, with quarry damage being most severe around Thoth’s upper body. It is unlikely, however, that any of this damage, for example, to king’s mouth, is vandalism. Most of the texts that glossed the scene are lost. Twin cobras flanking Ramesses II’s belt apron are rendered with particular finesse.

Translation:

By *Thoth*: ¹[...] ^a the dual king, ruler of joy, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘AT[RE], the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life.

Note:

^a It is unclear how this lacuna is to be restored. Parallels of Thoth’s year-staves in the Hypostyle Hall usually begin with the king’s Horus name, but this seems unlikely unless the staves were considerably taller than the god himself (compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7, 52, 96, 118, 150). One might restore *[sš.n=(i) gn.wt=k m] “I have inscribed your annals as], etc.” (by analogy with *ibid.*, pl. 49, where there are two columns of texts beginning with a *ḏd-mdw* in formula, but without royal titles, before the palm frond). For other parallels see Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals, and Day-books*, pp. 69–73.

Plate 64

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.3.

Location: B 104: South wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), third scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II presents flower bouquets to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is accompanied by a goddess wearing a horned disk.³⁴¹

Type of Relief: Sunk (figs. 347–48).

Paint: Ramesses II’s flesh is red, that of the goddess (as well as the king’s tail) yellow. The taller bouquet has green paint on the stems underneath the king’s fist. Green paint is also present on the second lettuce behind Kamutef.

Observations: Apart from malicious gouging inside Amun’s phallus, damage to the scene results from quarrymen’s marks, removal of blocks from the upper courses, or deep fissures caused by natural weathering. The rear part of the goddess’ horns and her associated text are preserved on the right corner of a block that now lies in the blockyard south of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

³⁴⁰ Doubtless gold. Cf. *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 322.

³⁴¹ Probably to be identified with Isis, who often accompanies ithyphallic Amun: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 18, 24, 60, 88, 116; it could also be Hathor (*ibid.*, pl. 4).

Translations:

By Goddess: ¹“(I) have given to you ²all life, stability, and dominion. ³(I) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords, you being rejuvenated forever.”

Behind the King: ⁴The dual king USERMA‘ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN [shall continually]^a appear in the house of his father Amun like Re forever.

Note:

^a Restore [wnn + one or more titles such as *nb t3.wy* and *nb ir.t h.t*] at the top of the column (for which see the glossary s.v. *wnn*). The hieroglyphic orthography of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* here, , is among the most novel ones in the Hall. See also *GHHK* I.1, pl. 65:10.

Plate 65

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.4.

Location: B 105: South wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II offers incense and libation, along with a laden table of offerings and an offering list, to a statue of Sety I inside the cabin-shrine of a sacred bark mounted on a sledge.³⁴²

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 245).

Paint: The hull of Sety I’s bark is painted green, with an upper border in a different (now faded) color. Within its cabin-shrine, Sety’s effigy stands on a blue plinth. On the offering table, the epicalyxes of the uppermost lotus flower were also green. Red paint survives on Ramesses II’s foot. The offering table preserves traces of yellow paint, while the first and third cup (from left to right) at the bottom of the table show green paint still present within their carved oval contents. No further color is preserved.

Observations: Two blocks containing the upper portions of the scene are no longer *in situ*, but now rest in the yards between the Great Hypostyle Hall and the temple of Khonsu. To the left of the bark’s steering column, a large hole may be fortuitous, or could have been a beam hole for one of the later dwellings built inside the Hall. Residual tool marks in some parts of the scene were patched with plaster. Ramesses’ upper body suffers from the same erosion found in the previous scene. Behind Sety, the “face” inside the personified  holding  is erroneous. It is actually a human eye and eyebrow similar to , but pockmarks in the stone must have suggested a “face” to Nelson, who relied on small-scale photographs to make his drawings.

Translations:

By Sety I: ¹The good god MENMA‘ATRE, ²the son of Re SETY-MERNEAMUN, ³true-of-voice.

Behind Sety I: Every protection — life — surrounds him eternally.

By the Winged Disk: ⁴The Behdetite, the great god, ⁵as he gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, the bright one of [Hierakon]polis, ⁷as she gives life.

By the King: ⁸The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁹the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Behind the King: ¹⁰The King, the lord of the Two Lands [...] ^aUSERMA‘ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, shall continually appear on the throne of the Horus of the living like Re.

Offering List (in four registers, numbered 11–19, A–D): ^{11A}Wine, 2 bowls. ^{12A}Water, 2 bowls. ^{13A}Shenes-loaf, 1 bowl. ^{14A}Hetcha-loaf, 1 bowl. ^{15A}Pesen-loaf, 1 bowl. ^{16A}Depet-joint of meat, 1 bowl. ^{17A}Sha‘t-cake, 1 bowl. ^{18A}Honey, [...] bowls]^b ^{19A}Onions, 5 bowls. ^{11B}Ritual meals, 2. ^{12B}Figs, 2 [bowls]. ^{13B}Grapes, 2 [bowls]. ^{14B}Carob-beans, 2 bowls.

³⁴² For this type of sacred bark, see Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 61–62; Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde, “Les temples ‘mémoires’ de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques),” *BIFAO* 89 (1989), pp. 127–78. Iconographi-

cally, Sety’s bark is similar to that of the craft towing Amun-Re’s river barge (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 37, 151), a similarity also discussed by Karlshausen (*L’iconographie*, p. 62).

^{15B}Zizyphus-fruit, 2 bowls. ^{16B}Beer, 2 bowls. ^{17B}Large bread, 1 [bowl]. ^{18B}Flank of meat, 1 [bowl]. ^{19B}Sewet-cut of meat, 1 bowl. ^{11C}Kidney-fat, 1 bowl. ^{12C}Ma^ck-cut of meat, 1 bowl. ^c ^{13C}Roast meat joint, 1 bowl. ^{14C}Liver, 1 bowl. ^{15C}Spleen, 1 bowl. ^{16C}Breast cut of meat, 1 bowl. ^{17C}Shin, 1 bowl. ^{18C}Foreleg (of beef), 1 bowl. ^{19C}R(?)-goose, 1 bowl. ^{14D}Trp-goose, 1 bowl. ^{15D}Pigeon, 1 bowl. ^{16D}White *seshet*-fruit, 2 bowls. ^{17D}Green *seshet*-fruit, 2 bowls. ^{18D}B³t-fruit, 2 bowls. ^{19D}Persea-fruit, 2 bowls.

Notes:

- ^a Given the spacing, restore *nb t3.wy*, [*nb ir.t h.t, nb hpš*]: cf. *RIK* I, pl. 38-D, which is the only parallel to show three such titles preceding the *prenomen* (although examples with two elements are not uncommon: see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 39:21, 99:11, 105:11–12).
- ^b Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 63, n. 143) restores “[white] honey,” citing Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien 3 (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1963), p. 137.
- ^c *Wb.* II, p. 50; translated in Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 138 as “Bratspies.”

Plate 66

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.5.

Location: B 106: South wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), fifth scene from the west.

Subject: Khnum models the infant Ramesses II on his potter’s wheel in the presence of a goddess.³⁴³

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Khnum’s throne dais, with its cavetto cornice and ramp, is painted white. Between its moldings, the cornice has vertical stripes of blue alternating with one or two other colors (now faded), with white gaps between them. Surmounting this dais, Khnum’s -pedestal is blue, with its outer trim in a lighter, now faded, color (probably gold).³⁴⁴ This pedestal, in turn, supports a green mat on which Khnum’s throne and feet rest. Horizontal stripes on the side of his throne are visible, but their colors (except for a pale blue or blue-green) have largely faded. At the bottom left of the throne is a red square. Green paint survives on the hem of the goddess’ dress. No other pigment has escaped time and the elements.

Observations: Residual quarry damage, even some deep cavities in the stone, dapple the relief, although coarse stucco infill and a fine plaster wash are often still well preserved, especially behind Khnum and along his dais where the joint between two blocks is still largely masked. This serves as a reminder that the unsightly gaps between blocks that are all too evident today were largely invisible in antiquity. In recording this scene, Nelson overlooked the infant king’s navel and below it three curved folds of belly fat above his groin.

Translations:

By the King: ¹[Words spoken by the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE to K]hnum,^a master of the potter’s wheel: “How beautiful is this which you have done, as you construct me, the lord of Egypt!”

By Khnum: ²“[I have placed you on the throne of H]orus as king,^b that you might celebrate jubilees like Atum, and that you may become youthful like Yah (*the moon*).”

Notes:

- ^a Something along these lines is indicated, since the speech that follows is spoken by the king.
- ^b This or something similar must precede here, at the end of Khnum’s speech to the king.

³⁴³ Nelson identifies the goddess as [Mut]-Bastet, although neither name appears in the preserved text. Perhaps the serpent coiled around her staff above her fist suggested this identity. Mut

appears with similar serpent-entwined staves in two scenes from the Hypostyle Hall: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7, 213.

³⁴⁴ See commentary on pl. 65, above.

Plate 67

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.6–7.

Location: B 107–08: South wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), sixth and seventh (last) scenes from the west.

Subject: The youthful Ramesses II (holding a *rekhyet*-bird in his right hand) is suckled by Hathor (*right*); then, as a young adult, he appears before Amun-Re and Khonsu, enclosed within a kiosk on a dais (*left*) (fig. 131).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: As in the preceding episode, Amun’s throne is elevated on a tripartite arrangement consisting of a white dais (shared with Khonsu and the king), with alternating vertical stripes of red, blue, and green against a white background inside its cornice. Amun’s own pedestal is solid blue, with an outer frame in a lighter color, doubtless gold. Above this pedestal is a green mat. His throne was painted in alternating horizontal stripes of red, green, and blue, with the box in its lower left corner painted solid red. Khonsu’s staff is green, and so is the scene frame behind his kiosk. His pedestal is blue, while the kiosk supports are yellow. Note that the king’s tail (a pattern in blue on gold) crosses the right-hand support in paint. Both kings have red flesh; Hathor’s flesh is yellow, and her dress has a lower hem in blue. The nursing king’s belt had a long sash executed in paint (now faded but probably red) that falls to the left of the streamers on his belt apron.³⁴⁵

Observations: In the scene on the right, the royal child’s legs were widened, as paint is found in a narrow space between each version (at the front of both legs). A block with Hathor’s head now lies in the yard south of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Illusory are the legs of the *rekhyet*-bird held by young Ramesses on the right, as is any suggestion that cobras once flanked the base of his belt apron. While there is some damage to the bottom of his apron, the intersection of its left side with his front leg is intact. A number of subtle features of the relief are misconstrued or absent in the drawing: Hathor’s hand is not so curving on the king’s waist (*right*); her nipple and breast are more clearly defined; in her eye, the iris is not carved; while she has her characteristic lock of hair behind her face, it does not curve above her forehead as indicated;³⁴⁶ the cobra’s head of young Ramesses’ (*right*) uraeus is angled more vertically; the artist has defined Amun’s toenails and cuticles in relief and partly carved the outer frame of Amun’s -plinth as well, but only on its sloping front and its top just below his feet; and the narrow part of the king’s tail above his calf muscle (*left*) was never carved.

Translations:

By Hathor: ¹Words [spoken] by Hathor, lady of Dendera: “I am your mother who created ²your [beauty]^{a 3-5}[...] ⁶[...] to you consisting of life [and dominion like] Re every day.”

By the King: ⁷⁻⁸[...] ⁹like [Re] forever.

Note:

^a For *km3 nfrw*, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 76:22, 163 right:2–3, 166:12. It is hard to decide if the curving trace below the feet of the flying duck is a round sign or merely a suggestive chink in the stone.

³⁴⁵ For a discussion of the significance of the red-looped sash, see Amy Calvert, “The Red Looped Sash: An Enigmatic Element of Royal Regalia in Ancient Egypt,” accessed July 13, 2011, <http://artofcounting.com/2010/08/11/the-red-looped-sash-an-enigmatic-element-of-royal-regalia-in-ancient-egypt-part-1/>.

³⁴⁶ For parallels for this type of wig worn by Hathor, see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 106, 144–45, 157.

Plate 68

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.1; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 144.

Location: B 109: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II drives four calves into the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re (figs. 66, 258, 296, 355).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Here, as in the adjoining scenes on this register, substantial vestiges of polychrome have survived on the main figures and some hieroglyphs.³⁴⁷

- (1) Ramesses II’s flesh is red, his kilt and corselet are blue (originally green?),³⁴⁸ and the lowest band of his collar is also blue (as is his ceremonial beard). His crown and feathers have vertical stripes of blue alternating with others of red and green.³⁴⁹
- (2) Amun’s flesh is blue, his garment white, and his crown gold. Feather patterns on his plumes are yellow, outlined in red, on a white ground.³⁵⁰ His broad collar has concentric rings of blue alternating with others of green and red. It was wider than Nelson indicated, the outermost rings consisting of a thick penultimate band of red and a final one in blue.³⁵¹ Amun also wears a gold pectoral (now much faded) that hangs from two straps, each painted with a double row of dark rectangles against a gold background.³⁵² Behind his body, a dangling ribbon is red; his armband and bracelet are gold, with alternating stripes of blue and red inlay. The basic color of his flail is gold, with three rows of green circular beads (top) and four rows of triangular beads (two green rows, one red, the last green) below. His tent-shrine is painted red, with four bands of yellow around it, and it rests on a blue pedestal. At the top of the tent, its protruding shaft also seems to have been yellow, but this may be decayed red. Vertical stripes of some darker color against a light background adhere to the cornice of its facade, while the doorway is red. Its -standard is blue, but the lily’s gynoecium (at the root of ) is red.
- (3) All but the lowest calf have red bellies. Otherwise, the second calf from the top is solid red, and the uppermost calf piebald (with large patches of blue/black on a white ground). A *nemset*-jar on the offering stand is gold. Above it, the green leaves of the epicalyx are outlined on the upper lotus flower, and the lily pad is also green. Finally, cords that tether the calves are yellow (coil) and red (lowest strand).

Observations: Apart from light hacking inside the tip of the god’s phallus (if not fortuitous), there is no malicious damage to this relief. Note that the king’s cattle prod was originally carved too high (angled up in front of his body) and was subsequently lowered to its present position. Its original lines were filled with plaster, much of which still adheres. In general, the plaster infill and finer surface wash that masked joints between the blocks and various minor cavities in the stone are remarkably well preserved. Faint horizontal gashes between the white calf and the lotus bouquet are of uncertain origin.

³⁴⁷ Many of the colors observed by Murnane in the 1970s and 1980s are no longer readily apparent, with the most durable polychrome being confined to Amun’s figure.

³⁴⁸ Cf. *Medinet Habu* IX, pp. 16–18.

³⁴⁹ For color parallels, see, e.g., “Osiris in Tomb of Nefertari” (Thausing and Goedicke, *Nofretari*, pls. 20, 39, 135, 142); Thutmose III with Atef Crown (Luxor Museum J. 140) (James F. Romano, Bernard V. Bothmer, K. Parlasca, and J. M. Rogers, *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue* [Cairo: n.p., 1979], pp. 43, 52–53).

³⁵⁰ For color parallels, see Romano et al., *Luxor Museum*, pp. 42, 57; *Abydos* II, pls. 6, 7.

³⁵¹ The ithyphallic Amun seems to have worn floral *w’h*-collars in post-Amarna and Ramesside iconography. Luxor Museum J. 139, a polychrome block from the temple of Thutmose III with a relief of the ithyphallic Amun restored in the post-Amarna period, offers a clear parallel (Romano et al., *Luxor Museum*, pp. 42, 57.

³⁵² Cf. *Abydos* II, pls. 6, 11; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 208.

Translations:

Label: ¹Driving the calves for Amun.^a

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef: ³“Welcome in peace (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom Re has loved! ⁴(I) have given to you eternity as king forever, ⁵(and) as ruler of joy, ⁶all foreign countries being under your sandals.”

By the King: ⁷Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,” ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re.

Beside the Calves: Dappled (*top*), Red (*second*), White (*third*), Black (*bottom*).

Note:

^a On this rite, see Arno Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meretchefts and Driving the Calves*, 2 volumes. Egyptologische Uitgaven 8 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1993).

Plate 69

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.2; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 145; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 75–76.

Location: B 110: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels on a table formed by the top of a large -hieroglyph, as Horus and Thoth perform for him the rite of *smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* “uniting of the Two Lands” (fig. 360).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint:³⁵³ Both the signs and the figures are elaborately painted. Flesh tones are red, and the kilts of all three actors are yellow. Both gods had blue wigs, with a gold clasp at the bottoms of Thoth’s lappets. His ibis’ head is green. Wrist bracelets on the figures are blue, with additional detail added in another color. On his biceps, Ramesses II’s armllets have three horizontal bands (one blue between two yellow), while the gods have alternating blue and gold vertical bands within the horizontal borders.³⁵⁴ Both Horus and the king wear similar broad collars with alternating rings of blue and green near the neck and a band of red followed by a final row of blue-tipped white floral petals at the bottom.³⁵⁵ All three actors have different patterns on their belts. Thoth’s belt was apparently solid blue, Ramesses II has a lattice pattern in green (with a rounding buckle also indicated in a lighter color), and Horus has a latticework pattern in a lighter color, with interiors painted in alternating fields of blue, green, and red. Ramesses’ head is encircled by a diadem (not indicated by Nelson) consisting of a broad strip of red framed by narrow bands of green on the top and bottom and divided into small rectangles by vertical green stripes. At the back of the circlet is a blue knot from which descends rigid streamers divided into rectangular compartments having green borders and interiors painted red, blue, green, and gold.³⁵⁶ His forehead uraeus is yellow, with details of the hood shown in mirror-image fields of blue, red, and green paint.³⁵⁷ Ramesses’ beard and wig are blue (although the wig now appears green above the diadem), and his crook has its typical alternating bands of blue and gold.

The “table” of  supporting the king is painted with alternating rectangles of red, blue, and green, divided by gold stripes. Its windpipe has the same color motif, but arranged vertically, with the upper third of the lungs in blue and the bottom parts red. Adjacent to the lungs, both the papyrus marsh (*right*) and canal

³⁵³ While much of the polychrome still exists and is particularly intense in this scene, some of the colors have faded since Murnane’s observations were made in the 1970s and 1980s.

³⁵⁴ Cf. above, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 42.

³⁵⁵ This pattern has greater affinities with what is employed in the tomb of Horemheb (Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemheb*, pls. 2–8)

than in Sety I’s temple at Abydos, but it is not an exact parallel. In this scene note that the blue bead pattern occurs above the red band on Horus’ necklace, the lowest band being a solid blue.

³⁵⁶ *Abydos* IV, pl. 22.

³⁵⁷ *Abydos* III, pl. 11.

network (*left*) are also red. Papyrus stalks and flowers on the right are green, as are the lily petals (*left*), but the latter have blue stems and red gynoecium. Horus' tail is distinctively patterned with groups of colored bands: four blue over two in red are still preserved. His falcon's eye markings are blue. The design on the upper hem and braces of Thoth's corselet is apparent, but its colors have faded. By contrast, Horus' clothing is solid blue. Hovering above Ramesses II, the vulture's body is red, its serpent's head yellow. On its back wing, the upper row of feathers is blue and the lower tier green. Green paint seems to have been applied first to both rows, with blue added later. On her forward wing, long wingtip feathers in the lower tier are green, while the shorter ones nearest her body are red.

Observations: Apart from widening of the block joint in cols. 6–9 (perhaps due to natural forces), the relief is in excellent condition. Along with so much paint, plaster caulking and surface wash in this scene are remarkably well preserved, giving us an impression of how other, more damaged and timeworn reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall must have appeared in their original states. Between Horus' legs, the gap is actually filled with crumbling plaster. Another seam running horizontally through the shoulders of the figures is so well disguised that it is only a hairline crack not recorded in the drawing. More obvious is a vertical juncture inside Thoth's wig (*left*) and another hairline crack running vertically through Horus' head (*right*).

Translations:

By *Horus*: ¹Words spoken by Horus, the great god, lord of Mese(n):^a ²“We unite for you the Two Lands under your feet, ³⁻⁴(O) this good god. The kingship of the Two Lords shall continually belong to you — (namely) my share (and) ⁵the share of my brother. The dual possessions^b belong to you, consisting of life and dominion. The land of Southern Egypt and the land of Northern Egypt are in your presence, you being like A[mun]^c as ruler of the Nine Bows.”

By *Thoth*: ⁶Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis: ⁷“We have united for you Southern Egypt and Northern Egypt: ⁸they are assembled for you (for) you are their dual lord. ⁹(As for) all the shares of the Two Lords, ¹⁰their dual possession on earth, they shall continually offer to your *Ka*. I have given to you Southern Egypt under your sandals, and Horus has given to you the land of Northern Egypt: we have gathered the Two Lands for you, under your feet.”^d

By *the King*: ¹¹The dual king USERMA‘ATRE, ¹²the son of Re RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN, ¹³given life forever.

Notes:

^a For this title of Horus, see Leitz, *Lexikon* III, pp. 650–51; *Wb.* II, p. 145:2

^b Dual, referring to the two shares that are divided between the “Two Lords,” Horus and Seth, and corresponding to the two halves of Egypt.

^c A very weathered trace suggests *ʾl[mn]* here, but parallels (e.g., *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 379, 4a; *Medinet Habu* VIII, pl. 655 right) more often associate the king with Re when he is described as “ruler of the Nine Bows.” If “[Re]” is to be restored here (as suggested in Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 65), the spacing suggests an “alphabetic” spelling: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 84 middle:4.

^d Taking *di=i* as indicative (perfective) or preterite *sdm=f*: Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §3.5; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §§20.1–20.4. The phrase *iw Hr hr rdi.t* expresses a concomitant event that in the Late Egyptian non-initial main sentence usually expresses events in a narrative sequence; Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §5.2.

Plate 70

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.3.

Location: B 111: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), third scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels in the presence of Amun-Re, Neith, and Mut-Weret-hekau, and receives years and jubilees from them (fig. 64).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint:³⁵⁸ Mut and Neith have yellow flesh, and both goddesses wear similar dresses, although Mut’s is better preserved, being hemmed at the top with a green horizontal band, the shoulder straps being green with alternating red and green squares. The bottom of the dress, above her ankles, has a fringe of horizontal polychrome stripes (the top is blue, followed by red and then green with lighter-colored squares at the bottom, all three separated by narrow white bands). The dress itself is white with a red sash tied around her chest above her arm and reaching down to her knees, having a green hem. Mut’s collar has concentric rings of blue, gold, and green. She wears two bracelets on her forward arm: the one on her wrist is solid blue, the other on her bicep has alternating stripes of blue and gold. Mut’s wig is blue with a yellow clasp at the bottom of each lappet. Her lioness face is green, separated by a yellow mane from her wig. Her solar disk is red, and the jubilee emblems on her year-staff have green baskets and red thrones. The third jubilee sign from the bottom has a cartouche crowned by ☉ inside the pavilion on the right, but only its white underpainting remains intact, and no royal name is now legible. Neith’s dress is white, a red sash is tied around her waist while the streamers of her sash are also red with blue-green tips, and the lower hem of her dress has bands of blue, red, and green with lighter-colored rectangles, the three bands being separated with white narrow bands.

Ramesses II’s flesh is red. His *nemes*-headdress has alternating blue and yellow stripes, and the elaborate *atef*-crown above has vertical blue strokes alternating with another, faded color (probably green).³⁵⁹ Large uraei on the king’s horns are gold, with two semicircular blue patterns on the rear cobra’s hood. Ostrich plumes flanking the crown have a vertical stripe of blue running up their centers between some lighter color, now lost, to either side. Ramesses’ crook is painted with blue and gold stripes, as on plate 69, and the upper part of his flail (above the whip terminals) is gold. Armlets on his biceps have a central band of yellow between two of blue; pigment on his wrist bracelets is too faded to identify with certainty. His beard is blue. He sports a belt with a gold buckle and blue stripes at the top, bottom, and middle with a different color between them that is now unclear. A broad apron hangs from this belt, divided into small painted rectangles, one row of which is also blue against a yellow background. The others are faded, but were surely painted differently.³⁶⁰ One streamer adjacent to the apron is blue, the exterior one being red. His kilt was some light color, either white or yellow. Traces of pigment on the wings of the falcon hovering above Ramesses is now indistinct, but was surely a combination of blue and green as elsewhere.

Amun’s flesh is blue (on his legs, feet, and forward hand). His throne is painted with horizontal stripes of red, blue, and green, but the rectangle in its lower left corner is red, as is its seat-back cushion. The frame of his throne is yellow interspersed with small rectangles, which are probably blue. Both the ribbon dangling behind his crown and his corselet are also red; his cap-crown, plumes, and kilt are yellow. In front of his legs, the broad end of Amun’s tail had yellow underpainting with details picked out in another darker pigment — of which only misshapen flakes remain — but the color and pattern of this design are now unclear. Amun’s belt has a much faded latticework pattern. He grasps a green year-staff with blue  and  at its butt end. Amun and the king share a low dais, which is white with vertical stripes of red, blue, and green against a white background

³⁵⁸ Although most of the polychrome is still evident, some color has been lost since Murnane’s observations were made in the 1970s and 1980s.

³⁵⁹ Cf. similar crowns with this pattern: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 68, 73, 108, 194.

³⁶⁰ For similar patterns, see Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, pls. 14a, 15a, 16a, 18b, 19b, 20a; *Abydos* I, pls. 7, 11; *Abydos* II, pl. 11.

on its cornice, as in plate 67. Resting on this dais, the interior of Amun's -pedestal is blue, with an outer framework in a lighter, now faded color. Between this pedestal and his throne is a green mat, bound at each end and its middle with bands of yellow lashings.³⁶¹ Here the green paint is particularly well preserved. The supports of Amun's kiosk-shrine are divided into two parallel bands running up each side. Against a yellow ground, each band has of a column of alternating small rectangles (colored blue) and taller ones, alternating red, blue, and green. Four of the cobras on the kiosk's roof, just in front of Amun's plumes, still have twin blue semicircles at the tops of their hoods. Above the scene, the long sky-sign is blue.

Observations: Stucco infill and plaster wash that masked block joints and other defects in the stone are generally well preserved in this scene, except in the region of Amun's chest and face, where underlying quarry damage to the stone mars his features. Nelson's drawing fails to convey the subtle carving of Mut's leonine face. Note, too, that the notches on her palm-frond staff are longer than indicated. Amun's staff has a double carved line where it overlaps his throne. The sculptors recut the bottom of Neith's arm where it crosses her torso.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re: ²"Receive unto yourself millions of ³years and myriads of jubilees."

By Neith: ⁴Neith, mother of the god, lady of heaven.

By Mut: ⁵Words spoken by Mut-Wer[et]-hekau: "Your son belongs to you (O) king of the gods. It is he ⁷who issued from your body.^a ⁸May you give to him life, stability, and dominion, ⁹(and) myriads of jubilees."

By the King: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ¹¹master of strength RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

By the Falcon: ¹²As he gives life and dominion ¹³like Re.^b

Notes:

^a Read *n[t]f pw wpi.n h.t=k*. The trace above *pw* is now lost.

^b One normally expects *di'nh* etc. to follow the cartouches. However,  doubtless refers to the Horus falcon, whose name was omitted for lack of space. Similar ellipses with a bare initial *di=f* or *di=s* with the raptor as an unnamed antecedent sometimes occur in the Great Hypostyle Hall (cf., e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 4:13, 47:13) and elsewhere (e.g., Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions from Luxor Temple 2: The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 116 [Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1998], pls. 144:14, 161:12, 167:12, 168:8; and *Medinet Habu* IX, pls. 11A:18, 11B:3, 13:8, 37:8, 39:8, 41A:5, 41B:6, 47:6, 49A:5, 49B:6).

³⁶¹ Cf. *Abydos* I, pls. 5, 12, 14, 16; *Abydos* II, pl. 11; *Abydos* III, pls. 7, 44; *Medinet Habu* IV, pls. 219, 222.

Plate 71

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.4; LD III, pl. 143d; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 74; Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten*, vol. 2, pl. XXIX A 172.

Location: B 112: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), fourth scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II, carrying two -vases, runs alongside the young Apis bull³⁶² in a ceremonial race before ithyphallic Amun-Re (fig. 337).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint:³⁶³ Ramesses II’s flesh and his crown are red and his kilt and tail are yellow. The bull’s rear legs and tail are black, its rear hooves are blue, as are the pedestals supporting Amun and the base of his shrine behind him. Beads on his flail (opposite his upraised hand) are green. Colors are indistinct on Amun’s collar and also on his arm, although faded pigment is visible. The god’s crown and flail show traces of yellow paint. Above the scene, the sky-sign is blue. Behind the king, a personified -pillar has several horizontal stripes on its shaft, but the colors are indistinct.

Observations: Less of the plaster caulking and surface wash are preserved here than in the previous two scenes. Minor defects in the wall surface abound, with the most severe chisel marks occurring behind the king’s head and shoulders.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting libation to ²Amun that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ³Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamut[ef]: ⁴“Welcome, welcome (O) my bodily son, ⁵the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE! (I) have given to you the lifetime ⁶of Re ⁷and the kingship of Horus in Pe ⁸and Dep. ⁹(I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion, like <what is done for>^a a son who is as effective as you are.”

By the King: ¹⁰The good [go]d, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Behind the King: Every protection — life, stability, and dominion. ¹²The king, who performs benefactions [for] his father Amun, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSU, shall continually appear as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt like Re.

Note:

^a An ellipsis of *mi <ir.n> sꜣ ꜥḥ* etc. due to lack of space.

³⁶² Cf. Amin A. M. A. Amer, *The Gateway of Ramesses IX in the Temple of Amun at Karnak* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999), pl. 3 (lintel) and p. 43 (at LW, and LE.1), where the race is identified (col. 6) as “the running of the Apis” (*phrr Ḥp*).

³⁶³ Little of the color recorded by Murnane in the 1970s and 1980s is now apparent.

Plate 72

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.5; Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. 3, pl. cclxxxviii (4); Ippolito Rosellini. *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, Vol. 1: *Monumenti storici* (Pisa: Capurro, 1832), pl. lxii (2); Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, pl. ix (1); Orlando Felix, *Notes on Hieroglyphics* (Cairo: n.p., 1830), pl. 3 (middle); LD III, pl. 143c; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 146.

Location: B 113: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), fifth scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II, dressed as the Iunmutef-priest, presents a royal offering to a statue of Sety I, which stands inside a shrine (fig. 349).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint:³⁶⁴ Both kings have red flesh. Little paint survives otherwise on Ramesses' figure, but he wears a blue bracelet on his advancing arm. Traces of Sety's pleated gown consist of white threads running across the red underpainting on his chest. Sety's crown is blue, with a yellow vizor and a red streamer hanging down the back. His collar has the familiar pattern of alternating bands of blue and green, with a red one above the final row of green beads on the bottom, denoting a floral *w'ḥ*-collar.³⁶⁵ Streamers beside the apron that hangs from his belt are red (outer) and blue (inner), while the apron itself is divided into two vertical columns of tall and short rectangles painted onto a lighter field, but the colors are indistinct. Sety's crook has the usual alternating blue and gold stripes, and his flail terminals are gold, with four rows of green beads above them. The supports of his kiosk have two columns of tall and short rectangles in pairs of red and blue against a gold background. The cornice at the top of the kiosk is a lighter color, possibly yellow, with alternating vertical stripes of blue and green. The uraeus snakes above the kiosk show traces of blue in the upper half of the hood, while the lower half is green. Stylized grape clusters hanging from its ceiling are blue. On the offering table, slabs of meat and the cavities of the ducks are red; two eggplants and the epicalyxes of the lotus flowers are green; the stems of the flowers are red, the pomegranates display traces of yellow. Above Ramesses II, the upper row of feathers on the falcon's rear wing is blue, the bottom tiers on both wings are green, as is the tip of its tail. Finally, the sky above the scene is blue.

Observations: Apart from some widening of block lines at the bottom of the scene, the relief is in good condition, although decay to the sandstone from salt infiltration has begun to progress along the bottom of the scene, specifically on Sety's advancing foot, in the space behind Ramesses' rear foot, and at the bottom of col. 7. As with the adjoining reliefs, the plaster coating on this scene is remarkably well preserved.

Translations:

By *Ramesses II*: ¹A royal offering of Geb, the hereditary prince of the Great Ennead (and) of the Small Ennead, ²that they might give bread, beer, beef, fowl, cool water, wine, (and) milk — pure, pure — ³to the Osiris King MENMA'ATRE, true-of-voice, ⁴of what his son, whom he loves, gives to him, ⁵(namely) the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Behind *Ramesses*: ⁷The king, the image of Amun, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, shall continually appear in the house of his father Amun [like Re]^a forever.

By *Sety I*: ⁸The good god MENMA'ATRE, ⁹the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, true of voice: ¹⁰the king's appearance^b ¹¹in the house ¹²of Amun.

Notes:

^a Champollion, *Monuments*, vol. 3, pl. cclxxxviii (4).

^b So presumably a defective writing of the infinitive *ḥ't*.

³⁶⁴ Some of the color has faded since Murnane made his observations in the 1970s and 1980s.

³⁶⁵ Cf. color notes to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 68.

Plate 73

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.6; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 147.

Location: B 114: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), sixth scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II consecrates four *meret*-boxes in the presence of Amun-Re (fig. 361).³⁶⁶

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Amun’s flesh is blue,³⁶⁷ and he sports a yellow kilt with a latticework-patterned belt, parts of which are red, although other colors have faded. A strip of decayed paint indicates the lower hem of his kilt. Emerging from the back of his crown, a red streamer dangles behind him. On his rear arm, Amun wore a gold bracelet; other armbands are indicated on his forward arm (bicep and wrist), but their colors are indistinct. Only the pattern of his broad collar remains. Its colors are gone, but his scepter is green. The quill-and-feather pattern on Amun’s plumes is yellow — outlined in red — against a white background.

Ramesses II’s beard shows traces of green paint, and his kilt is yellow at the back but with a large triangular flap that is white. A series of red lines radiating across the flap converge at its lower front corner, and the sloping right side of this flap is also painted with red lines. His belt has a latticework design, parts of which are blue, while his belt apron consists of groups of colored rectangles (only blue survives) against a gold background with a frieze of teardrop pendants at the base between the uraei and two side ribbons, which are blue. Ramesses’ bull’s tail is red. He wears a floral *w’h*-collar similar to those in other scenes on the south wall, with alternating rings of blue and green, and wider, now faded, outer bands. On his biceps, Ramesses wears simple armlets (yellow between two blue bands, top and bottom), but on his wrists are more intricate bracelets with vertical blue inlays on a gold background. His *atef*-crown is painted with alternating vertical stripes of blue, green, and gold, with a golden disk at its summit. The visor and uraeus are yellow. Ostrich feathers on either side also have blue and green vertical stripes while their quills are gold. These plumes were embellished with slightly curved white lines running horizontally across each plume. The horns of the crown display traces of green and white paint.³⁶⁸

All four *meret*-boxes are white with red bindings and a red border around their rectangular lids. A diagonal strap crosses this rectangular border on the two upper boxes. Both the topmost and third boxes have blue plumes and are mounted on red sledges. Several red straps criss-cross the lower parts of the first, second, and third box, but Nelson only indicated those on the latter. On a gold offering stand stands a *nemset*-jar with traces of yellow, the epicalyxes of the lotus flowers have alternating green and blue bands, and their stems red. Three lilies below the vulture-goddess (col. 7) are green with red gynoecium, while her wing is blue, and she rests on a green basket. Above Ramesses’ head, the large sunk disk is red, as are the *ka*-arms below his *serekh* and the neck of the king’s head on the pole held by the *ka*-standard. Cobras flanking the sun disk are yellow with the ornamentation of their hoods consisting of blue semicircles and red rectangles above green wedges. Atop the *serekh*, the wing and back of the Horus-falcon are green while his crow is red. The cobra in front of the falcon wears a White Crown painted yellow. Green paint survives in the feathers of the crown worn by the king’s aegis at the top of the staff carried by the *ka*-arms, while its streamers are red. Both sky-signs, over the *serekh* and the main scene, are blue.

Observations: Abrasion indicated in the drawing at the base of the plumes just above Amun’s platform crown is illusory. Apart from the usual sort of damage around the block edges, the relief is in good condition. The plaster coating over the surface is largely intact except for an exposed region of quarry damage beside the plumes above the lowermost *meret*-chest.

³⁶⁶ For an extensive study of this ritual, see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 3.

³⁶⁷ A particularly intense patch of blue pigment survives on the god’s face and neck, a clear indication of how spectacular the colors must have been in their original condition.

³⁶⁸ Cf., e.g., *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 220; Luxor Museum catalog no. 64, in Romano et al., *Luxor Museum*, pp. 43, 52–53.

Translations:

Label: ¹Striking against the four *meret*-boxes four times that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the throne[s] of the Two Lands: ³“(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE: ⁴how beautiful are these (things) which you have done for me. ⁵(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries,^a the Nine Bows^b being gathered under your sandals. I have caused that their chiefs might come to you as^c one (being) fearful because of your awesomeness.”

By the Vulture: ⁷<Nekhbet>,^d as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁸The dual king USERMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

By the King’s Ka: ¹⁰⁻¹¹The living royal *ka* ¹¹of the lord of the Two Lands.

Serekh: Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at.”

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 6.

^b Note that the middle -sign of “foreign lands” and the second group of  of “Nine Bows” were never carved and are indicated only in paint.

^c Literally, “I cause that their chiefs come to you like one who is fearful,” etc.

^d The Southern Egyptian lilies that support the basket on which the vulture stands suggest this identity.

Plate 74

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.7; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 148; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 73.

Location: B 115: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), seventh scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II sits enthroned with the regalia between Nekhbet and Wadjet, as Horus and Thoth steady the crowns on his head (figs. 366–68).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Large amounts of polychrome remain intact, especially in the middle and upper parts of the scene.³⁶⁹ All three male figures have red flesh, while that of both goddesses is yellow. Ramesses II and the goddesses have white eyes with black pupils. The king’s Double Crown is yellow except for those features at its front and back associated with the Red Crown, which are red. The uraeus on his brow is yellow with two blue semi-circles in its hood on top of green wedges. His flail is yellow, with rows of triangular green and blue spacer beads between the pendants (above Wadjet’s arm). Ramesses’ necklace has rings of blue alternating with others of green and red, with pale blue flower petals against a darker blue background as the outermost row. Bracelets on the king’s upper arms are in three thick horizontal bands (one yellow between two blue), while those on his wrists consist of vertical blue bands alternating with stripes in a lighter color (probably yellow). Ramesses’ false beard is blue, as is the chin strap attaching it to his crown. His belt has a lattice pattern in which green dominates, and the wide apron hanging from it is yellow with other colors superimposed in rectangles (for which pattern see the commentary to pl. 73), but only a trace of red survives. Two streamers to either side are red (outer) and blue (inner), the upper blue one being rendered only in paint above the carved line defining the top of his lap.

All three thrones have yellow frames, with red cushions at their backs, and on the sides of all three, the rectangle at the lower rear corner is red. The interior of Ramesses II’s throne is solid blue, but those of the goddesses are painted with red, blue, and green horizontal stripes. All three rest on a green mat, placed on a podium with an outer frame in yellow and interior in solid blue.

³⁶⁹ Most of the polychrome Murnane recorded in the 1970s and 1980s remains visible.

Both goddesses wear vulture crowns (with yellow bodies, but the wings are blue on top and green on the bottom, and the tail feathers are green). On Wadjet's head (*right*) the vulture's rear is red. Wadjet's wig is blue, while Nekhbet's is a dark color, either blue or black, and both have yellow clasps at the ends of their lappets. Each goddess wears a similar dress and necklace: Wadjet's collar (better preserved than her counterpart's) has a pattern similar to the king's, formed by rows of green, blue, green, blue, and red, with an outer row of white lotus petals outlined in darker blue. Wadjet's dress is supported by braces with alternating rectangles of red, yellow, and blue against a green background with the same pattern arranged horizontally on the upper hem of her dress to which the shoulder straps are attached. The dress itself is in an indistinguishable light color, perhaps white, but has a series of four stripes of blue and red between its upper hem and her arm. Nekhbet's dress and shoulder braces have a similar pattern but are more faded. At the bottom, Nekhbet's dress has alternating blue and green stripes, while Wadjet's is more elaborately hemmed, with blue and red bands above a blue lattice pattern. Both goddesses wore similar armbands, with blue or green inlays set against a light background.

Horus' corselet and shoulder braces are blue-green, while Thoth's have faded. Both gods sport red belts, Thoth's with a gold buckle, and their kilts are painted to suggest a fold of yellow (rear) over white (front), separated by a red line.³⁷⁰ Their wigs are solid blue and (like those of both goddesses) have gold clasps at the bottoms of their lappets. Thoth's head is green with a solid black eye and a black bill, while Horus' face is white. His eye is yellow with a black iris, and his falcon's facial markings are blue. The broad collars worn by the gods repeat the same pattern as observed in the case of the goddesses. The armbands and bracelets of Horus and Thoth have closely set alternating horizontal stripes of blue and green, while their edges are rendered in two vertical white stripes. Horus wears a yellow bull's tail.

Other traces of color remain: note the gold background inside the cartouches, as well as the Red Crown, on a green basket, held by Thoth and the White Crown by Horus. Above Ramesses' head, the vulture's tail feathers are blue, its head green, and other fleshy parts of its body red. Its wings are colored blue and red (front), and blue and green (back), but in each case the feathers of the wingtips seem to have been painted in a different color. The  held in its talons is green. The sky-border above the scene is blue. Aside from those in col. 8, nearly all of the hieroglyphs in this scene retain substantial traces of color.³⁷¹ Text dividers separating the columns are also blue.

Observations: A considerable amount of the plaster wash is preserved in the scene. Some of the plaster infill that masked quarry damage has fallen out below the king's knee, inside Nekhbet's throne, and around the lower kilt and the knee of Horus' advancing leg. Apart from such defects, and some widening of the block joints, this relief is in excellent condition.

Translations:

By *Wadjet*: ¹Words spoken by Wadjet: "My two arms ²surround you, with life and dominion, ³(O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, beloved of Amun!"

By *Thoth*: ⁴Words spoken by Thoth, master of the god's words: ⁵"(O) my bodily son whom I love, ⁶the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, I establish ⁷for you the Double Crown on^a your head ⁸in order (for you) to take possession of the Two Lands by rightful claim,^b like your father Horus son-of-Isis, every foreign country being gathered in your grasp (and) you being rejuvenated like Re."

By *Nekhbet*: ⁹Words spoken by Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis: "My two arms ¹⁰are your protection and are enclosing your limbs, that you may be rejuvenated¹¹ like the solar disk in the sky (O) master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN!"

By *Horus*: ¹²Words spoken by Horus the Behdetite: "I establish ¹³for you the Southern Egyptian crown and the Northern Egyptian crown, they being established on your brow — ¹⁴you appearing as Horus, lord of

³⁷⁰ Compare kilts divinities wear in the royal tomb of Horemheb (KV 57): Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, pls. 14a, 15a, 18b, 19b.

³⁷¹ See Appendix A.

the palace, after you have gone forth^c with the White Crown^d on^a your head (and) you having come into existence [a]^s^e one who takes possession of the Double Crown (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE!’
By the King: ¹⁵The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹⁶the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Notes:

- ^a Literally, “in” (*m*).
- ^b Literally, “as one true of voice.”
- ^c Alternatively, read *pri n=k* and translate as an imperative, as in Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 68, n. 185: “Go you forth, with the White Crown on your head” etc.
- ^d Reading *ḥk3.t*, a name for the White Crown. *Wb.* III, p. 177:14.
- ^e Reading .

Plate 75

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.8.

Location: B 116: South wall, east wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), eighth (last) scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II presents a hieroglyphic rebus of his *prenomen* to ithyphallic Amun-Re while a falcon hovers above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Ramesses II’s flesh is red, while Amun’s is black.³⁷² Note that the color of the king’s skin beneath the diaphanous kilt below his waist is rendered in pink, lighter than the normal red of his exposed flesh. Ramesses’ necklace, armbands, apron, and streamers are painted as on plate 74. His *khat*-wig, including the lappet behind his back, is yellow, while the uraeus on his brow is yellow with two blue semicircles on its hood. He holds a green basket on which  rests, her dress is white, her wig is blue and her face is yellow. The feather she holds is black with a white spine, the sun disk above her head is red, while the  in front of her is also black. Here, as on plate 74, Ramesses’ iris is indicated in black paint but was not carved. Above the king’s head, the falcon has mostly green feathers, but with narrow bands of red feathers at the back of both wings, while the inner tier of its downswep wing is blue. Blue paint is present in the rear part of its body, while its tail feathers are green. Its belly and hocks are white, and its legs yellow and hold a green . Its head is green at the top and back with a white face and faded check markings.

Below Amun’s collar (painted conventionally with alternating bands of blue and green above a penultimate band of red and a final band of blue), he wears a white garment, with a gold pectoral and red streamers across his chest; all these elements are defined only in paint. The design on his pectoral (now indistinguishable) is further colored with red, blue, and green, and it hangs from straps painted in alternating bands of red, blue, green, and yellow. His beard and chin strap are black, and his crown is yellow, as is the openwork design of his plumes, outlined in red, against a white background. Amun’s wrist bracelet is gold, with vertical green and blue bands. He also has an armband on his upper arm with the same design as his wrist bracelet. Behind his crown hangs a long red ribbon. His flail is yellow with green and red spacer beads above the whip terminals.

³⁷² Murnane’s notes describe the god’s flesh tones as blue, and they are clearly some much-faded patches of a darker color. However, given the large amount of well-preserved blue paint elsewhere in this scene, which is mostly protected from the sun and elements by its position at the corner of the wall, and the fact that this scene contains among the best preserved pigment of any in the Hall, one would expect the god’s flesh tones to be better preserved if they were blue. Black ithyphallic representations of Amun are known from the post-Amarna age, e.g., Luxor

Museum J. 139, a relief from Thutmose III’s Deir el-Bahari temple restored in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (Romano et al., *Luxor Museum*, pp. 42, 57); and from several examples in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (*Medinet Habu IX*, pls. 119, 122, 124, 126, 132, 134, 136). Black is perhaps the most fragile pigment used in Egyptian temple reliefs. See John Baines, “Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos,” *JEA* 75 (1989), pp. 21, 29–30.

An offering table in front of Amun is painted yellow with green vegetable offerings, while the bread and meat offerings are red. Behind Amun, his tent-shrine is red with a thick horizontal yellow stripe near the top (opposite his rump). The horns of its -standard are blue with a yellow cord, mounted on a pole shaped like a Southern Egyptian lily (green with a red gynoeceum).

The sky-sign above this scene and the column dividers separating the texts are blue. Behind Amun, the marginal decoration at the eastern edge of the south wall is painted with blue vertical bands, between which are rectangles of green, red, and blue painted on a lighter background.³⁷³ The interiors of the cartouches are yellow with blue rings. Extensive traces of color remain on the hieroglyphs, for which see *Appendix A*.

Observations: There are patches of chisel gouges where plaster infill has fallen away: between the king's arms, at the upper left side of Amun's tent-shrine and at its base, at the bottom of cols. 1–2, between cols. 6–7, and below the falcon's feet. Otherwise, the scene is well preserved, with its plaster coating largely intact.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, pre-eminent in his sanctuary: “(O) my son whom I love, ²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, may your name exist, ³being firm, permanent and stable ⁴in Karnak.”

By the King: ⁵The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁶the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re forever.

Plate 76

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) III.1; Legrain, *Karnak*, figs. 138–40; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, Sety I and offering table, pl. 74, bark, pl. 76; center, Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/158–59, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/158–59.

Location: B 117–18: South wall, east wing, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II offers incense and libation in front of a shrine. Inside, the processional bark of Amun rests on a pedestal decorated with four kings holding up the sky. Behind Amun's shrine, the barks of Mut and Khonsu rest on socles of their own. Behind them, in turn, a processional statue of Sety I rests on a pedestal mounted on a sledge (figs. 132–40).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint:³⁷⁴ Extensive traces of blue remain in the sky-sign above the scene. Both kings have red flesh, and some blue paint clings to the back of Ramesses II's *kheprsh*-crown. Among other isolated bits of color, note the red disks behind Ramesses II's *serekh* and on the head of a cobra on the front of the Amun bark's canopy roof. Above Khonsu's bark, the lower right wing of the Behdetite has flecks of blue. Green and white vertical stripes remain of the traces of paint recorded by Nelson on the plumes of Sety's headdress. The shrine in which Amun's bark rest shows traces of yellow paint, as does the shrine of his bark cabin. The fans at either end of Khonsu's bark also display traces of color. The one at the bark's stern has traces of a darker color running in a semicircle close to the outer edge of the fan, while that at the prow has a band of dark color running radially from the center toward the exterior at the lower right part of the fan.

Observations: Although this relief was executed by Ramesses II (using the short form of his *prenomen*), decoration on the cabin-shrine and enveloping veil of the bark of Amun reflects only the *prenomen* of Sety I, *Mn-M3'.t-R'*, with none of the added elements for Ramesses II own throne name *Wsr-M3'.t-R'* found on the other bark canopy from the western side of the doorway (figs. 132, 134–35).³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Compare, e.g., *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 208; *Abydos* II, pl. 6.

³⁷⁴ Much of this color has faded since Murnane's observations were made in the 1970s and 1980s.

³⁷⁵ Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 141. Although this fact has been cited as evidence for a period of joint

rule between these rulers (Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 70–71; Murnane, *JNES* 34 [1975], p. 173), it now seems likely Ramesses II carved this scene and a similar one west of the south gateway (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 53) only after Sety I had died. On Sety I's alterations to the design of Amun's bark upon which Ramesses II's version was modeled, see our commentary to pl. 197, below.

Nelson did not mark the distinction between Sety I's image, which has cosmetic bands on the eye and eyebrow, and that of Ramesses II, which does not, nor the fact that the sculptors enlarged Ramesses' eye. Elsewhere, there is no recutting. The bottom of the pectoral that hangs from the collar of the stern aegis of Amun's bark has been neatly filled with plaster, perhaps in an attempt to reduce its size or otherwise alter it. Of iconographic significance, perhaps, on the forward aegis of Khonsu's bark, the individual beads of its *shebyu*-collar are carved (incompletely) in relief (fig. 140).³⁷⁶

Seemingly random patterns of chisel marks scattered throughout the relief are due to quarrymen's tool marks that were repaired with coarse plaster infill and a finer plaster wash. Loss of much of this stucco gives the relief an appearance of having been deliberately vandalized in some areas (e.g., in cols. 19–20) but resulted from imperfect smoothing of the surface by the masons. Elsewhere, blobs of white plaster extrude from the joints and from small cavities on the surface. In the upper left side of the scene, however, swollen gray encrustations of salt and mud disfigure the vulture over Sety I and the rear aegis of Khonsu's bark. Iconoclasm is limited to defacement of  in Sety I's *nomen* cartouche in col. 32.

Here, as on the east wing of the south wall, much of the base of this wall consists of newer blocks inserted during the Greco-Roman era to replace original masonry that had decayed. A dado motif consisting of horizontal bands is intact only at the right end (up to the aegis of Amun). Below this, and under Ramesses II's figure, are three hieroglyphs from a marginal inscription that Herihor carved at the base of this wall:  — perhaps to be restored [*smꜣwy*]-*mn*[*w*] *ir*.*[n]* *nsw*-[*bity*...] “[Restoration] of monument[s] which the [dual] king [...] made.”³⁷⁷ Note that Ramesses II's craftsmen have indicated all the toes on Sety I's near foot and the straps of his sandals. While this might seem typical of a Greco-Roman style, other examples of this treatment of the near foot are sometimes encountered in Ramesside art.³⁷⁸

Nelson omitted from his copy numerous minute details that were too small to capture at the scale of his drawing; others he simply overlooked. Also missing from the drawing, the following may be noted: (1) two clasps attaching the hulls of the Khonsu and Mut barks to their carrying platforms;³⁷⁹ (2) on the billow of Amun's veil, there is a -pillar beneath the forward wing of the kneeling goddess; (3) facial details of the row of *mdw-šps* poles beneath Amun's bark, and the tiny statuettes of the king they protect, are intricately carved, in particular, the mouth of the -scepter; (4) the sandal strap on Sety I's advancing foot has a “lotus stem” motif; (5) both falcon-head aegises on Khonsu's bark have uraei-serpents on their foreheads.

Translations:

Before Amun's Bark: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “Welcome in peace (O) good god, ²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE. I am your father and you are my son. ²⁻³I brought you into being as (my) excellent heir in order to perform benefactions in my presence.”

Above Amun's Bark (front): ⁴Words spoken by Amun-Re: ⁵“(O my) son whom I love, ⁶the master of strength RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ⁷protector who is upon my throne, ⁸I have chosen you to be sole lord ⁹on earth, in order to exercise the kingship^a ¹⁰of Re. You shall continue to exist ¹⁰⁻¹¹and your monument shall continue to endure^b in ¹²Karnak.”

Above Amun's Bark (back): ¹³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the Two Lands ¹⁴being pacified.^c ¹⁵I subdue for you ¹⁶the Nine Bows. I join ¹⁷for you the reed ¹⁸to the papyrus ¹⁹[...] ²⁰[...]d like ²¹an effective son of just your type.”

By Khonsu's Bark: ²²Words spoken by [Khon]su-in-Thebes Neferhotep: “(O) my bodily son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, I am your father who created your beauty. ²³[I] ele[vate your name] ²⁴throughout millio[ns of] years.^e ²⁵[...] ²⁶(I) have given to you ²⁷the lifetime [of Re].”^f

³⁷⁶ The *shebyu*-collar on the rear aegis was left blank. The same pattern is found on the bark of Mut, and similar examples occur elsewhere. See Brand, “*Shebyu*-collar,” pp. 17–28 and figs. 13–20A–C.

³⁷⁷ See a more complete bandeau text of Herhor, which we translate in our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 106.

³⁷⁸ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 77, where Ramesses II's near foot, restored in the Greco-Roman era, lacks an arch and has tiny, stubby toes.

³⁷⁹ These clasps do not often appear in the more complex iconography of Amun's bark during the Ramesside period, but are found in Eighteenth Dynasty examples. See Karlshausen, *L'icographie*, p. 158.

By *Mut's Bark*: ²⁸Words spoken by Mut Weret-hekau, lady of the Two Lands: "(O) my beloved son, the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, my heart is glad for love [of yo]u. ²⁹(I) have received your great hecatomb. ³⁰(I) have given to you eternity ³¹as king, you appearing on the throne of Atum."

By *Sety I*: ³²The king, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, true-of-voice, [shall continually]^g follow his father Amun in the temple (called) "Effective is SETY-MERENPTAH in the Estate of Amun," and [shall continually]^g receive (offering) loaves [that issue from the (divine) presence] dai[ly in] the course of [every day].^h ³³The good god MENMA'ATRE, ³⁴the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given like Re.ⁱ

By *Serpent*: ³⁵<Wadjet>^j as she gives stability and dominion.

Above *Khonsu's Bark*: (*Right*) ³⁶The Behdetite, the great god, as [he] gives [...]. (*Left*): ²⁵[The Behdetite]^k ³⁷as he gives life.

Above *Mut's Bark*: ³⁸The Behdetite, the great god.

By *the Vulture*: ³⁹Nekhbet, ⁴³as she gives all valor, all victory ⁴⁴(and) all joy on her part.

By *the King*: ⁴⁰<Nekhbet>^l as she gives life and dominion like Re. ⁴¹The dual king USERMA'ATRE, ⁴²the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.ⁱ

In *the Serekh behind the King*: Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," the dual king USERMA'ATRE.

Notes:

- ^a Clear traces of the first \mathcal{Q} of *nsy.t* are visible on the edges of the gap between blocks.
- ^b Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 69) translates, "So long as you exist, so long shall your monument exist, which is firm" etc.
- ^c Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 69, n. 190) suggests that, since the plural *h̄tp.w* does not agree with the dual *t̄3.wy*, the latter is a mistake for *t̄3.w* (plural), for which there are parallels in the Hypostyle Hall. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k t̄3.w m h̄tp.w*. Lack of space probably caused this ellipsis.
- ^d Signs in cols. 19 and 20 are mostly illegible due to chisel gouges left by the masons. Beside the tall narrow sign Nelson records in col. 19, the lower right corner of a square or rectangular glyph to its left is also present. Near the bottom of col. 20, a \cup above the group *mi* may be merely a deep gash. However, above this, at the left side of the column, is another tall, narrow trace at the same level as the group *mi* in col. 21. No other definite traces are evident, and the meaning of what subsists is obscure.
- ^e Restoring *w̄t[s rn=k] m h̄h.[w m] rnp.wt* (*Wb.* I, pp. 383:17–384:1), which fits far better than *w̄ts nfr.w* (which generally refers to the sacred bark of a god: cf. *Wb.* I, p. 383:9; Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 263–68).
- ^f The surface is very decayed and masked by a concretion of salt-laden mud. While traces of *di.n=(i) n=k* are reliable, those of *h̄'* are less certain.
- ^g Restoring [*wnn*] at the top of the column: see glossary s.v. *wnn nsw*.
- ^h Restoring *hr šsp sn.w [pri m b̄h m] h̄rt-hrw nt [R' nb]*: "cakes, loaves" (*Wb.* III, p. 453 bottom). On *pri m b̄h* (for which there is just enough room after *sn.w*), see Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 70, n. 199.
- ⁱ Arranged under both cartouches.
- ^j This identity is suggested by the Northern Egyptian papyrus around which the serpent is coiled.
- ^k Here, as elsewhere on this plate, the columns are incorrectly numbered.
- ^l This identity is suggested by the Southern Egyptian lily around which the serpent is coiled as well as its crown.

Plate 77

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) III.2; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 141; King presenting offering, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 74.

Location: B 119: South wall, east wing, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II, holding a mace and a staff in his left hand, presents an offering of meat to Amun-Re and Neith (figs. 141–42, 259, 313, 338, 341).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Neith’s crown and the animal offerings in the lowest four piles are red. The goddess’ dress is white, and the lower part of her collar shows traces of blue paint. Her sash is red, while the hem of her dress displays traces of three rows of now faded color. Amun’s flesh and the innermost tier of feathers on the falcon’s lower wing are blue. The god’s kilt and belt show traces of gold, as does the king’s kilt. The king’s bull’s tail is gold with alternating horizontal bands of blue and red. The *nemset*-jar and stand are yellow, while the lotus stems above the jar are red. Paint on the offerings must have been applied in late antiquity as the coloring extends over both the original and later reliefs (see below).

Observations: In the course of Greco-Roman repairs to this scene, new masonry was inserted at the base of the wall, and parts of the missing Ramesside decoration was re-created. The blocks containing the right half of the lowest two piles of offering, the king’s advancing leg (below his kilt), and both his legs (below the shins)³⁸⁰ are different in their surface treatment from the Nineteenth Dynasty reliefs that surround them. These two phases of decoration do not quite match (e.g., the hooves of the decapitated ox that dominates the third pile are misaligned). Recarving of some elements was never completed: the lowest offering pile, Ramesses II’s staff where it should have continued below his kilt, and the end of col. 1.

On the left side of the relief, the base of the offering stand and Amun’s feet are original blocks, but Neith’s are on replacement masonry. The original dado, consisting of alternating thick and thin horizontal bands, is preserved beneath Amun and the offering stand, where it was rendered with incised lines. It was re-created in raised relief on new masonry beneath Neith, but not under Ramesses or the meat offerings. Below this, the lowermost blocks on the wall — the originals of which once bore a long bandeau text of Herihor (traces of which appear at the far right end of the preceding scene) — still have rough surfaces and project farther than the older smoothed masonry above them.

A gap in Neith’s head is an area of deep quarry damage, which also afflicts the midriff of both deities, that is, Amun’s upper torso and the space around Neith’s shoulder. Large amounts of plaster caulking, some of it swollen, endures in these damaged areas, in the joints between blocks, and in minor cavities scattered across the surface of the relief. Nelson did not distinguish a slight separation of the ends of the two streamers falling beneath the king’s shoulder.

Translations:

Label: ¹Causing that a great hecatomb might be presented to his father [Amun-Re...].^a

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re king of the gods: “(O) my son of my body whom I [lov]e,^b ³the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, my heart is glad for love of you, ⁴and I rejoice at seeing your beauty. You [have]^c doubled for me ⁵a divine offering consisting of millions and myriads of things — large and small cattle, ⁶wine, incense (and) good things^d — in my temple. (I) have given to you the throne ⁷of Geb and the office ⁸of Wenennefer, all foreign countries ⁹being under your sandals, without (there being) your opponent ¹⁰(I) have given to you the lifetime of the sky and the kingship of the one who is in it.”^e

³⁸⁰ The block containing the upper part of the king’s advancing leg was cut so that its upper side runs along the base of his kilt while its right side follows the front of his rear leg from the kneecap to the shins.

By *Neith*: ¹¹Words spoken by Neith, mother of the god: “Welcome in peace (O) good [go]d, to the house of your father ¹²Amun. You have provisioned his offering tables on earth, ¹³(and) he has received your hecatomb that he might give to you all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

By *the Falcon*: ¹⁴The Beh[de]tite: ¹⁵“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion ¹⁶like Re forever.”

By *Nekhbet*: ¹⁷<Nekhbet>, ^f as <she> gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

By *the King*: ¹⁸Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,” ¹⁹the dual king USERMA‘ATRE, ²⁰the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Behind the King: ²¹King’s appearance,^g his heart being pleased with the temple of Amun in Karnak, and^h causing that a great hecatomb might be presented to him, consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (and) every good and pure thing, in excess of what had existed previ[ously].ⁱ

Notes:

- ^a The bottom of the original label is cut off by newer blocks inserted as replacements for the originals which had decayed. The usual ending (*Imn-R‘, iri=f di ‘nh*) is likely, but neither its full extent nor the orientation of its elements — crucial to any translation — is apparent.
- ^b Traces of the top and bottom of  are still visible in the gap, but the sign was largely executed in plaster, now swollen and decayed.
- ^c There is space for  in the gap between the blocks.
- ^d Reading *b(w) nfr*.
- ^e That is, the sun-god Re.
- ^f This identity is suggested by the Southern Egyptian lily on which the vulture sits.
- ^g *Pace* Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 70, n. 206). It is not clear that the unusual *h‘.t nsw=f* must be an abbreviated form of *h‘.t nsw <ds>=f*, since that expression does not occur with *h‘i* in this Hall (see glossary s.v. *ds*). Still, although *h‘.t hm=f* is attested (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 37:23), *h‘.(t) nsw* is far more frequent (cf. *Medinet Habu* IV, pls.197:5–6, 28; 200:8; 201:1; 237A:1; *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 451:1), and this is probably what was meant here, with the otiose  probably included by confusion with *hm=f*.
- ^h Read *hr rdi.t*.
- ⁱ Reading *wn m-[b]h*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 151:24. A trace of  with seminal fluid issuing from its tip is discernable, although Nelson overlooked it.

Plate 78

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) III.3; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 142.

Location: B 120: South wall, east wing, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), third scene from the west.

Subject: Preceded by the Wepwawet- and royal placenta-standards, Ramesses II is led by Monthu and Atum into the temple. The king, wearing the Blue Crown, receives the sign of life extended to his nostrils by Monthu. A vulture hovers above the king (fig. 305).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Ramesses II’s *kheprsh*-crown is blue. Traces of red have withstood the ages inside his ear and in the hands of the two deities. Elements of the Red Crown in Atum’s Double Crown are red, as is the disk on Monthu’s head. Traces of black are present in Atum’s beard. Monthu’s tall plumes contained colored sections, of which only some blue survives, against a light (probably yellow) background.³⁸¹ His wig is blue, and the markings of his face are black. Above Ramesses II’s head, fleshy parts of the vulture are red, its head and tail blue. Its

³⁸¹ Cf. a similar color scheme on the king’s plumes in pl. 96. This is in contrast to Amun’s plumes, which generally have all white compartments between a yellow framework.

wing plumage is mostly blue, but those closest to the hocks in the lower half of its forward wing are red. The sky-sign above the scene is blue.

Observations: Shallow pitting that disfigures the carved surface is quarry damage. A number of these cavities, as well as cracks through Monthu's plumes, are filled with plaster. Most severe is gouging around Atum's face, which, except for his eye, was carved in stucco, now lost.

Here, as in adjoining scenes, new masonry was inserted by Greco-Roman restorers to replace original blocks that had crumbled. They re-created the feet and ankles of all three figures with arched soles and highly modeled ankle bones.³⁸² Five wide and narrow horizontal bands of the dado were also duplicated in raised relief on portions of new masonry that was smoothed down for this purpose. Below it, the blocks were left rough hewn.

Among details overlooked or misconstrued in Nelson's drawing are the following: a modeled ridge runs diagonally through the back of Ramesses' crown, while the coils of his uraeus serpent inside it are more complete than indicated; deep surface pitting affects the space behind his uraeus' head; and Ramesses' chin is also more complete above the gap. There is only one streamer on the right side of the king's belt apron, and Atum's eye is intact except for the right end and its cosmetic band, which are missing. His eyebrow with its cosmetic band is complete. On Monthu's brow where he normally has two overlapping cobras, there is only the hood and tail of one, but Nelson omitted a second serpent's head.

Translations:

Label: ¹Coming in and going out: inducting the king into the great mansion of Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

"May your father Amun receive you that he might cause y[ou] to be rejuvenated [forever]."^a

By Monthu: ²Words spoken by Monthu, lord of Thebes: "Come ³ye to the great mansion of your father ⁴Amun that he might protect your person ⁵with millions of years and myriads of jubilees."

By Atum: ⁶Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: "Proceed ⁷in peace to the temple, that you might see your august father, ⁸the lord of the gods, his two arms nourish <you>^b with life, dominion, ⁹(and) eternity with years of eternity (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE!"

By the Jackal-standard: ¹⁰Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he guides upon a good road in front of his son USERMA'ATRE, in order to rest in the temple of his father Amun in K[arnak].

By the King: ¹¹Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," ¹²the dual king USERMA'ATRE, ¹³the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁴whom Amun has loved, more than any (other) king, ¹⁵like Re every day. Given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Reading *di=f rnp i=k [d.t]*. There is scarcely room for more than a single group below .

^b *Wb.* IV, p. 564:17ff. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 71) reads "Seine Hände sind mit Leben und Herrschaft genährt." Although the object is missing, this is surely a reference to how Amun's arms provide for the king.

³⁸² Note that in the preceding scene, they made the king's feet flat.

Plate 79

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) III.4; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 143. For the text of Thoth, see Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1958), pp. 119–20 (7); Thoth, king, and *Ished*-tree, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 72–73.

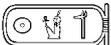
Location: B 121: South wall, east wing, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), fourth (last) scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels beside the *Ished*-tree as he receives years and jubilees from Amun-Re in the presence of Mut and Khonsu, while Thoth inscribes the king’s name and epithets on the leaves of the tree.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Thoth’s wig, Amun’s flesh, and the feathers on the right end of the winged disk above the king still have flecks of blue paint. Thoth’s flesh is red. Faded vertical stripes are visible on the cornice of Amun’s shrine. The grape clusters at the top of the shrine are blue. Amun’s crown is yellow, while the cloth at the back of his throne is red. Otherwise, no paint remains except in the sky-sign (omitted on this drawing), which is blue.

Observations: Quarry gouges, concentrated along the edges of some blocks, afflict portions of cols. 7–9 and 12; Khonsu’s lower body; Mut’s head, neck, and shoulders; and Amun’s neck. Some of this hacking still contains the plaster used to mask it. The base of the wall was rebuilt in late antiquity with new masonry. On the uppermost course of replacement blocks, the feet and ankles of Thoth and Mut, the lower part of the long podium supporting Amun and Ramesses (but not its upper surface), and Khonsu’s -pedestal were all carved anew. Beneath them, the dado was also recarved in bas-relief with thick and thin horizontal bands, as in the previous scenes. Underneath the dado, these blocks were left unsmoothed, in the same condition as when they arrived from the quarry.

On the leaves of the *Ished*-tree, Thoth inscribes Ramesses II’s shorter, early *prenomen*, *Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ*, along with an epithet, “master of strength” (*nb ḥꜣš*) on a separate leaf. This combination (in one cartouche) is also found on two statues of Ramesses II from Karnak, now in the Cairo Museum.³⁸³ His *prenomen*, moreover, is inscribed with a curious reversal, , a rare variant orthography that is attested elsewhere only rarely during the earliest part of his reign.³⁸⁴ A pair of leaves inscribed with these same writings dangle from the tips of Amun’s year-staves.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re king of the gods: ²“(O) this true son of my [bod]y,^a the protector ³who is upon my throne, the lord of the Two Lands USERMAꜥATRE, ⁴(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, and all health on my part.”

By Mut: ⁵Words spoken by Mut, lady of the papyrus-columns: “(I) have given to you ⁶⁻⁷very many jubilees.”

By Khonsu: ⁸Words spoken by Khonsu-Neferhotep: “(I) have given to you ⁹the crook and the flail, and life and dominion to your nose. ¹⁰I have given to you eternity as ¹¹a legal possession in the presence of the lord of the gods. ¹²I have caused that your name [might endure]^b in Thebes just like the name of Atum endures in Heliopolis.”

By Thoth: ¹³Words spoken by Thoth, ¹⁴lord of Hermopolis:^c “I inscribe for you^d ¹⁵millions of jubilees, ¹⁶your years (being) ¹⁷like sands of a sand ¹⁸bank, all flat lands ¹⁹and all hill countries being gathered under your^e sandals. ²⁰I have inscribed your titulary as Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Maꜥat,” which endures upon the august *Ished*-tree in the “Mansion of the Ka of Ptah,” and which is established in the Southern City.”

³⁸³ Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1909), vol. 2, pp. 7–8, catalog nos. 42142 and 42143, with pls. iv–v.

³⁸⁴ So  occurs in a scene where Ramesses II greets Re-Horakhty in the first corridor of Ramesses II’s tomb in the Valley of the Kings, carved in raised relief. See PM I.1², p. 505 (2); Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, pp. 79–80; Christian Leblanc, “La tombe de Ramsès II (KV.7): de la fouille archéologique à l’identification du programme iconographique,” *Memnonia* 20 (2009), p. 63, fig.

3. Here all the hieroglyphs of the *prenomen* except the sun disk were later sliced off with a chisel (Cf. *LD* III, pl. 172g). Presumably this cartouche was then emended to a more correct orthography in plaster, which has now fallen away. Elsewhere in the first corridor, a more conventional writing of the short *prenomen* occurs in several instances. Equally novel writings of Ramesses II’s *prenomen*, , , and even , were used to decorate some of the columns and abaci in the Hypostyle Hall of Sety I’s Gurnah temple. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37, fig. 1, nos. 11–16.

By *Winged Disk*: ²¹The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, as he gives life.

By *the King*: ²²The good god, son of Amun, protector of the one-who-is-in-Thebes, ²³the dual king USERMA‘ATRE, ²⁴the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ²⁵given life like Re forever.

Notes:

- ^a If a curving trace below the left corner of  is part of , the only possible restoration is *sꜣ pn mꜣꜥ n ḥ.[t]y=i*. See *Beit el-Wali*, pl. 12:6 (*sꜣ=f mꜣꜥ*) for the phonetic enhancement of what is normally spelled *ḥ.t=i*, unless this mistake reflects the ending of *nd.ty* below.
- ^b Restore *di=i [rwd] rn=k m Wꜣs.t*: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53:127–8, 137:18; *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 280 B, lower scene; 291:12–13.
- ^c So omitting the -determinative. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 150:1.
- ^d Note the curious reduplication of  here. While one could take this as a writing of *di.n=i n=k*, the 1st pers. suffix pronoun is normally omitted in that formula (but see col. 20), while it is often written in the *sdm=f* (so, e.g., cols. 10 and 12).
- ^e Written  instead of .

Plate 80

Bibliography: PM II², p. 50 (165c).

Location: B 122: South wall of passageway through east wall at the southeast corner.

Subject: Ramesses II offers incense and libation before Amun-Re and Mut.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: This relief was carved on the south wall of a short passage through the southeast corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Here, Ramesses II approaches the deities from the outside. Directly across from this scene is another on the north wall, not copied by Nelson, showing the king before Khonsu.³⁸⁵ It is much shorter than the present scene, suggesting that originally a single door leaf at the east end of the passage opened against the undecorated part of the north wall. A second door at the west end of the passage may be a later addition, while a deep hole at col. 5 above Mut is all that remains of this door’s emplacement.

This relief is later than adjoining scenes on the south wall and the southernmost end of the east wall as it was carved in sunk relief with the longer form of Ramesses II’s *pre-nomen* cartouche.³⁸⁶ It is not clear whether it is contemporary with other scenes’ having this writing on parts of the eastern wall and south wing of the Third Pylon’s vestibule.³⁸⁷ It might be contemporary with other decoration added to the exterior region of the southeast gateway, which dates after Ramesses II adopted his final *pre-nomen* but prior to his year 21, when his nomen was still *Rꜥ-ms-s*.³⁸⁸

Translations:³⁸⁹

Label: ¹Censing and libating to his father.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak, ³the great god, lord of heaven:

⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all flat lands,^a (and) all^b hill countries.”

By Mut: ⁵[Mut] the great,^c [lady of] Isheru, ⁶lady [of heaven],^d mistress of the Two Lands.

³⁸⁵ Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 129; PM II², p. 50 (165b). The Hypostyle Hall Project made facsimile copies of both scenes during the 1990s, and these will be published in a future volume dedicated to reliefs from the gateways of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

³⁸⁶ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 42–79, 81–86.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 89, 94–95, 101–02, 104, 107–08, 110–13.

³⁸⁸ Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 8, KG 70–76; PM II², p. 59 (175). These scenes will also be published by the Hypostyle Hall Project in a volume on the gateways.

³⁸⁹ Collation of the scene in the 1990s turned up several traces that Nelson had missed, for which see the notes to our commentary.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god who makes monuments for his father, Amun-[Re], ⁸the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁹the son of Re^e RAME[SSES-MERAMUN, ...].^f

Behind the King: [Every protection – all life, stability, and dominion], all [h]ea[lth] and] all joy – surrounds [him like Re].^g

Notes:

^a The dual *t3.wy* is presumably an error for the plural *t3.w*.

^b Clear traces of  remain above the gap.

^c Our collation of this damaged inscription revealed traces of the body of  of *wr.t*, and farther below  of *[nb].t ʿšrw*.

^d Nelson overlooked a  to the left of *ḥnw.t t3.wy*. See glossary s.v. *Mw.t* for this sequence of her titles.

^e One sees the right side of .

^f As Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 73, n. 229) notes, “given life like Re (forever)” would be expected to follow the king’s cartouches.

^g Portions of  and  of *snb nb* are visible above *3w.t-ib*.

South Wall, East Wing: Reconstructed Scenes

Blocks from the scenes to be discussed in this section are now located south of the Great Hypostyle Hall, in the open space defined by the two main axes of the main temple and the southeast corner of its enclosure wall. Here, the Centre Franco-Égyptien d’Étude des Temples de Karnak has built waterproofed platforms on which to store fragments that previously lay scattered around Karnak’s precincts. Nelson reconstructed fragments of the south wall’s fourth register (east wing), now stored on these platforms, along with a few from the top of the third register (see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 62, 65, and 67). All these blocks share similar features; Ramesses’ sculptors executed them in sunk relief using the earlier “short” form of his *prenomen*. None of them can, therefore, have come from the west wing of the south wall, as they would have signs of transformation from raised to sunk relief and display the king’s long *prenomen*. Episodes on this topmost register were designed on a smaller scale than those in the registers below. These scaled-down scenes were adapted to the restricted space by having Ramesses II kneel before enthroned deities. Nelson’s reconstructed scenes proceed from the west (starting with *ibid.*, pl. 81) to the east (*ibid.*, pl. 86), ending at the southeast corner of the Hall. Our treatment will follow Nelson’s arrangement of the blocks, diverging only to call attention to different readings that emerged from our collation of these materials *in situ*.

Plate 81

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson’s publication.

Location: B 122a–c: Fourth (“upper”) register, not *in situ*, west end of east wing of the south wall.

Subject: Three scenes: Ramesses II kneels and offers (*right*) Ma‘at to Amun-Re (*middle*) wine to Mut, and (*left*) a cup of incense to Khonsu.

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 352).

Paint: (*Right*) Amun’s flesh is blue, and his crown and plumes are colored yellow. (*Middle*) Mut’s flesh is yellow, as is the main part of her Double Crown, while its back is upright, and front projection and coil are red. Mut wears a green dress, and her vulture-crown is green, with a red rump and a red uraeus. Her papyrus-scepter has a blue shaft and a green capital. Her throne has a yellow frame, with a red cushion hanging down its back. Its interior is colored with alternating blue, green, and red stripes, and the square in the throne’s lower rear quarter is red. The throne rests on a mat, which is green except for the lashings at both ends and in the middle that are painted with red vertical strands against a yellow background. Below this is a blue -plinth. (*Left*) Ramesses II’s flesh is red, and he wears – in addition to a gold armlet (right arm) and a collar in several bands

(colors faded) — a yellow kilt. Streamers hanging from his wig are painted with green stripes alternating with another, faded color. His diadem is blue and yellow, and he kneels on a green pedestal. Khonsu's throne also rests on a green mat. The god's flesh is green, and he wears a golden bracelet on his lower wrist. His throne as a red frame, while both the prongs of his w³-scepter and alternating stripes on the side of his throne are painted green. Above Ramesses' head, the vulture's fleshy parts are red, its hocks yellow, and its wings red and blue (front) and blue and green (lower). It grasps a green  in its talons.³⁹⁰

Observations: Damage visible around Amun's crown (*right*) may represent quarry marks, as it was repaired in plaster, while losses to cols. 2–3 (*left*) are due to erosion of the stone.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹Offering Ma^cat to her^a father Amun-[Re].

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods: ³“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion on my part.” ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you your^b monument enduring like heaven, your lifetime (being) like the solar disk [in it].”^c

By the King: ⁵The lord of the Two Lands USERMA^cATRE, ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re.

(Middle)

Label: ¹Offering wine to Mut, lady of heaven.

By Mut: ²Words spoken b[y] Mut, lady of heaven: ³“(I) have given to you all health on my part.” ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all^c life and dominion, that you^b may be reju[vena]ted like your^b father Re.”

By the Disk: ⁵The Behdetite, lord of heaven.

By the King: ⁶The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA^cATRE, ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

(Left)

Label: ¹Censing to his father Khonsu.

By Khonsu: ²Words spoken by Khonsu [...]:^d ³“(I) have given to you all joy on my part, ⁴all valor, ⁵(and) all victory.” ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to you eternity as king [of the Two Lands],^e (and) eternity as ruler of joy.”

By the King: ⁷The lord of the Two Lands USERMA^cATRE, ⁸the lord of appearances RAMES[ES]-MERAMUN, ⁹given life like Re ¹⁰forever.

Notes:

^a The female suffix pronoun is clear and presumably refers to Ma^cat.

^b Miscarved:  for , or  for .

^c Restoring ḥ^c.w=k mi itn [im=s]: cf. *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 136:13; *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 317:9; *Khonsu* I, pl. 53 (paint); *Khonsu* II, pl. 198 A:10.

^d There is room for either  or a short epithet such as “Neferhotep” or “in Thebes” (*m W3s.t*). See glossary s.v. *Hnsw*.

^e Restoring nhḥ m nsw [t3.wy] d.t etc.: see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nhḥ m nsw t3.wy*. Pace Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 73, n. 237, the gap is too wide for the restoration he proposes from pl. 68:4–5.

³⁹⁰ If the pigments observed by Murnane are indeed accurate, it seems that some of the colors have shifted since antiquity. One would expect  to be blue and the frame of Khonsu's throne to be yellow.

Plate 82

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson's publication.

Location: B 122d–f: Fourth (“upper”) register, not *in situ*, east wing of the south wall (continued).

Subject: Three scenes: Ramesses II kneels and (*right*) presents white bread to an enthroned figure of Min (without his normal ithyphallic attribute) (*middle*) gives flowers to Amunet, and (*left*) offers wine to Monthu (whose figure is mostly destroyed).

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 351).

Paint: In all three scenes, the king's flesh is red, and all three kilts are yellow. At *left*, his triangular kilt has narrow lines in red paint, and at *right* and *left*, the apron hanging below his belt is flanked by streamers in blue (inner pair) and red (outer pair). Ramesses in *middle* wears a gold bracelet on his wrist, along with armlets having vertical inlaid bands of blue (on yellow?). In *left* and *right*, his belt has a lattice pattern (in blue) with a gold buckle.

In *right*, Min's scepter is green with a blue head, and his kilt is yellow. In *middle*, Amunet's face is yellow, her crown red, and her scepter (along with her dress) green. Her throne rests on a green mat bound in the middle and at both ends by yellow lashings. As before, the side of her throne is painted with alternating blue, green, and red stripes, and a cushion on the back is red. *Left*, Monthu's legs are red, his tail yellow, and the mat his feet rest on green with traces of yellow lashings preserved over the green at its front end. A faint speck of blue under this mat is all that remains of the -plinth that supported Monthu's throne (see below). Traces of blue cleave to the sky-border below the scenes that crowned the top of the second register of scenes on the wall.

Observations: In *right*, the  held by Min (and drawn by Nelson) is not, in fact, fully carved. Only the upper left corner of its loop was incised, resembling (from its proximity to the hand) a long, slender “thumb.” A mat supporting Monthu's feet does not reach to the ground line but is more like those of the other deities and “floats” in mid air (presumably because the slanted line representing the front of the -plinth that supports it was never carved in this case). All the damage indicated by Nelson is abrasion due to centuries of natural wear and tear on the blocks.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹Presenting white bread to his father Amun.

By Min: ²Words spoken by Min who is in his house: ³“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.” ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my office, my seat, my throne, (and) my lifetime as lord of every land.”^a

By the King: ⁵The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USER[MA'AT]RE, ⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES.^b

Middle:

Label: ¹Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers to Amunet.

By Amunet: ²Words spoken b[y] Amunet, residing in ³[Karnak, lady of] heaven, lady of the Two Lands.^c ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries gathered under your^c sandals.”

By the King: ⁵The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re ⁸for[ever].

Left:

Label: ¹Presenting wine to Monthu.

By Monthu: ²Words spoken by Month[u ...]^e ³[...] ⁴[...].

By the King: ⁵The dual king USERMA'ATRE, ⁶the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a Here  was miscarved as , a mistake no doubt influenced from the hieratic script in which these texts were initially composed. Sharkawy's translation, “Herr des ganzen <Landes>” (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 75 and n. 258), is misleading, suggesting *t' r-dr=f* instead of *t' nb*.

^b A rare example of Ramesses II's nomen written without the epithet *mr-'Imn* “beloved of Amun.”

- ^c Unless this is a vocative, “(O) lord of the Two Lands,” the epithet *nb.(t) t3.wy* would be a variant of the more usual *ḥnw.t t3.wy* (for which see the glossary s.v. *ʾImn.t*).
- ^d With  for .
- ^e Under *Mnt(w)*, the upright trace does not correspond to any of Monthu’s usual epithets, such as *ḥry-ib W3s.t*, *ḥry-ib Twnw*, *nb W3s.t*, *ity nṯr.w*, *ḥry-tp mšʿw* attested in the Hypostyle Hall or elsewhere, nor is it positioned properly to be the top of one of the tall plumes worn by Monthu’s determinative (). As of our collation in spring 2000, it no longer exists, and, given the occasional lapses in observation seen in other such fragments he copied, Nelson’s interpretation of it may be questioned.

Plate 83

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson’s publication.

Location: B 122g-i: Fourth (“upper”) register, not *in situ*, east wing of the south wall (continued).

Subject: Three scenes: Ramesses II kneels and (*right*) offers to a deity with a solar disk on his/her head (*middle*) offers flowers to Shu, and (*left*) offers four cups to Tefnut.

Type of Relief: Sunk (figs. 344, 353).

Paint: Both large disks in *right* and *middle* are red, and uraei dangling from the sides of the disk in *middle* are yellow, with the serpent on the right having a red crown. Flowers in this scene are green, and Ramesses II’s *khepresh*-crown is blue. Shu wears a headdress with alternating yellow and red plumes. In *left*, the fleshy parts of the vulture are red. Some of the yellow underpainting survives in *middle* and *left*.

Observations: Here as on other blocks from this register, the workmanship of the relief decoration is often crude. Damage to Ramesses II’s hands in *left* appears to result from decay to the bottom of the block. Nelson did not record the coils of Ramesses’ uraeus serpent inside his wig in *left*.

Translations:

Right:

By Divinity: ¹“My [belov]ed [son (I)] place [every foreign country in]^a ²fear of ³your awesomeness.” ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you [all] flat land[s ...].”

Middle:

By Shu: ¹Words spoken by Shu, the son of Re: ²“(I) have given to you all^b health.” ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you your monuments be enduring and fi[rm ...].”^c

By the Disk: ⁴The Behdetite.

By the King: ⁵The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Left:

By Tefnut: ¹Words spoken by Tefnut. ²[...] ³[...].

By the King: ⁴The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁵the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a From surviving traces, one may assume that the god’s speech began at the bottom of the column preceding this one, under his name and titles. The traces at the top of col. 1 may be interpreted as parts of [*mr*]y=i, di.[n=(i) n=k].

^b With  written for .

^c The  of *rd*, which seems to be oriented backward on the drawing, is not visible on the block; instead, someone deliberately scored the surface with a chisel just above the block joint, which, along with erosion, might have been suggestive of a sign. For possible continuations of this formula, see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k mnw=k...*

Plate 84

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson's publication.

Location: B 122j–m: Fourth (“upper”) register, not *in situ*, east wing of the south wall (continued).

Subject: Four episodes: Ramesses II kneels and (*right*) offers to Geb, (*middle right*) presents ointment to a divinity who wears the Double Crown (Mut?), (*middle left*) offers to another divinity, and (*left*) offers a cup of incense to Isis. Under this last scene, several fragmentary columns of text are preserved, belonging to the top of the third register.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Above the scenes, the sky-sign is blue throughout. In *right*, Geb's flesh is red, while his wig and collar are blue. Ramesses II, in *middle right*, wears a *nemes*-headcloth with blue and yellow stripes. Above him, the fleshy parts of the vulture are red, and her back wing is blue (top) and green (bottom). In *middle left*, the Behdetite disk, Ramesses' crown and flesh are red. In *right*, Isis wears a green dress hemmed at her ankles with a yellow fringe. Her throne has a yellow frame with stripes in different colors (now faded) on its side, and the border of the interior molding at the lower left was painted green. Isis' throne rests on a blue plinth.

Observations: Chisel marks that occasionally disfigure the relief are quarry damage. In *left*, the front of Ramesses' headdress below his ear is more bulging, suggesting that it has no lappet and is a *khat*-wig rather than a *nemes*-crown.

Translations:

Right:

By *Geb*: ¹Words spoken by Geb, ²father of the gods: ³“(I) have] giv[en to you] all [heal]th.”^a ⁴Words spoken: “I have given to you eternity as king [...].”^b

Middle Right:

By *the King*: ¹[The lord of the Two Lands USERMA^cATRE, ²the lord of appearances] RAMESSES-MER[AMU]N ³given life like Re.

By *Divinity*: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you millions of years (and) myriads [of jubilees ...].”^c

Middle Left:

Behind *Divinity*: ¹[Words] spoken: “(I) have given to [you the lifeti]me [of R]e [...].”^d

Left:

Label: ¹Cen[sing] to the god's mother.

By *Isis*: ²[Words spoken by] Isis ³“(I) have given to you” ⁴[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the victories of] my [sword],^e all foreign lands being under yo[ur] sandals.”

By *the King*: ⁵[...]USERMA^cAT[RE], ⁶master of strength RAMESSU-MERA[MUN], ⁷given life like Re.

Below *Left*: [...] M[ehen...] enter [...] upon [...].^f

Notes:

^a Omitted by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 77.

^b For possible endings, see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nhh m nsw*.

^c See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k hh.w m rnp.wt*.

^d See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k 'h'.w n R^c*.

^e See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nht.w hps=i*.

^f Only the tops of four columns are shown. The first column on the left is not separated from the second by a text divider, and the fourth (starting with ) is shown, correctly, at more of a distance from the third than seems consistent with a continuous text. Nelson's drawing accurately shows  and  as part of a single group, left of the divider, but a trace under  looks like fortuitous damage. At the top of the first column, on the left, only the top and right side of the sign are visible; what is drawn as the bottom is an accidental fracturing of the stone. On Mehen, see our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 7, note n.

Plate 85

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson's publication.

Location: B 122n–o: Fourth (“upper”) register, not *in situ*, east wing of the south wall (continued).

Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses II kneels and (*right*) offers wine to a male god, and (*left*) gives bouquets to three deities. The falcon-headed divinity is probably a form of Horus. A second god wearing a uraeus and a disk above his head might be a royal ancestor (perhaps the deceased Sety I) or might instead be a form of Atum. The third is a goddess wearing a solar disk and horns, probably a form of Hathor or Isis.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: In *right*, the king's flesh is red (as it also is in *left*). He wears a yellow kilt, and a patch of blue is preserved at the back of his belt (doubtless from a lattice pattern: cf. pl. 82). The god's skin is red, and he has a yellow tail and a green *w3s*-scepter (features shared with the falcon-headed god in *left*). Flowers held by the king in *left* are green. The goddess' face is yellow, and her sun disk is red. Fleishy parts of her vulture crown (including the tail-feathers) are red, and its wing green. Above these vignettes, the sky-sign is blue, as are the text dividers.

Observations: The upper part of *right* (upper block) is now split into two parts. In *left*, damage to the goddess' upper body is also due to exfoliation of the carved surface, not to malicious destruction or tool marks.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹Offering wine to the great god.

By God: ²[...] ³[...] ⁴[...] ⁵“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you all heal[th].”

By the King: ⁷[The lord of the Two] Land[s] USERMA‘ATRE, ⁸[the lord of appearances] RAMESSES-[MER]A[MUN].

Left:

Label: ¹[Giving] all (sorts of) fresh flowers.

By Falcon-god: ²[...].

By Royal God: ³“(I) have given to you that your name is enduring in Heli]opolis.”^a

By Goddess: ⁴[...]: ⁵“(I) have given to you all health.” ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the kingship of Atum [...].”^b

Notes:

^a So restoring something like [*di.n=(i) n=k rn=k mn* (or *rwd) m 'Iw*]nw. These traces are omitted in Sharkawy's translation (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 77 and n. 278).

^b See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nsy.t 'Itmw*.

Plate 86

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson's publication.

Location: B 122p: Fourth ("upper") register, not *in situ*, east wing of the south wall (east end).

Subject: Ramesses II kneels and makes an offering to two enthroned divinities.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: A serpent hanging from the solar disk above Ramesses' head is yellow. The disk itself, as well as the king's crown and flesh, are red, as is the skin of the god on the left. Both thrones have yellow frames with red cushions hanging down their backs, while their sides are painted with alternating blue, green, and red stripes.

Observations: Someone deliberately cut through the feet of the god on the left with a chisel. If such iconoclasm was not visited on the other figures, one cannot help wondering if the god thus vandalized was Seth.

Translations:

Behind Divinities: ¹[Words spoken: "(I) have given to you eternity as] king of the Two Lands (and) eternity^a as ruler of the Nine Bows."

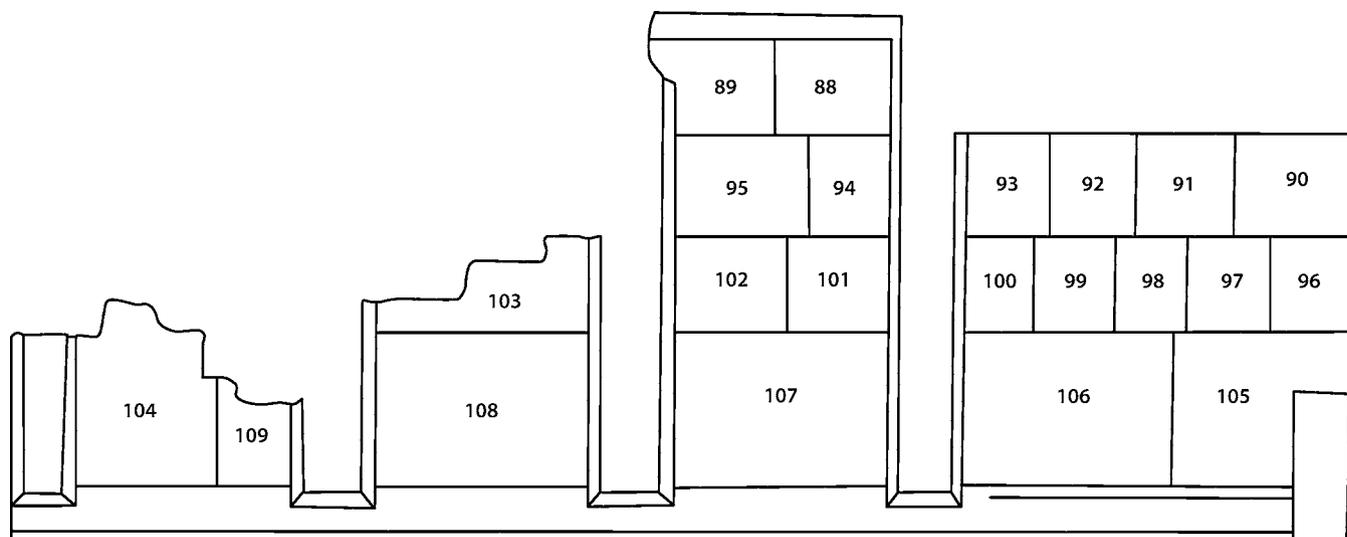
Notes:

^a The -determinative of *d.t* was miscarved as  — another mistake arising from incorrect transcription of a hieratic original of these texts (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 82 right:4).

East Wall, South Wing (Plan 7, Plates 88–109 + 130)

Sety I erected the east wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall to abut directly the facade of Amenhotep III's Third Pylon. Because Sety's architects chose to leave future generations access to the pylon's wooden flag masts, this wall is divided into four sections by niches designed for that purpose. At the south end, the first of these wall sections was evidently decorated around the same time as the south wall's east wing, as its reliefs exhibit the same characteristics of original sunk relief and use of Ramesses II's early "short" *prenomen*. The other three sections were all carved later when he was already "Userma'atre-setepenre." This peculiarity is overlooked in Nelson's publication, however, which numbers the scenes from the top register downward (plan 7). By late antiquity, infiltration of salt-laden groundwater had caused the lowest courses of the wall to decay, so Greco-Roman-era restorations were carried out to replace damaged blocks with new ones. Unlike the south wall, however, much of the dado motif of five narrow and thick horizontal bands and, in the southernmost section of the wall, large portions of a bandeau text of the High Priest of Amun and "King" Herihor remain intact.³⁹¹

³⁹¹ The original masonry is well preserved beneath the scenes at the north end of the wall (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 104, 109), but here there was no inscription beneath the dado.



Plan 7. Diagram of the east wall, south wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

Plate 88

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) I.1.

Location: B 130: East wall, south wing, upper register (“first”), first scene extant from south.

Subject: Ramesses II plays a sistrum before the face of ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Isis.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: At least two blocks containing the extreme right side of this episode have shorn away, taking much of Ramesses II’s image and titulary with them. Otherwise, the most conspicuous damage to this scene lies in iconoclastic vandalism to which the divine figures were subjected. Their arms and faces are uniformly defaced, but neither Amun’s phallus nor his forearm and hand were attacked. In addition, quarry damage taking the form of innumerable shallow chisel marks are scattered across the entire scene but are most dense behind Isis’ torso, beneath Ramesses’ feet, and between col. 5 and his sistrum. The pattern of these pharaonic chisel gouges differs markedly from the iconoclasts’ tool marks. In this drawing, as well as the one to its left (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 89) and the schematic drawing of the wall (*ibid.*, pl. 260), a kind of ledge that projects at the top of the wall, crudely engraved with a -frieze, is omitted.³⁹²

Translations:

Label: ¹Playing music [for] his [father], Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he may achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re king of the gods, Kamutef, ³lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵[Words] spoken: “(I) have given to you years of eternity.”

By Isis: ⁶Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of heaven, ⁷Weret-hekau, ⁸as she gives all life and dominion, ⁹and all health on her part, ¹⁰(and) all joy on her part.

³⁹² This feature can be seen, however, on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 130 (a reconstructed scene from this wall).

Plate 89

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) I.2.

Location: B 131–32: East wall, south wing, upper register (“first”), second scene extant from south.

Subject: Ramesses II worships Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Mut while a vulture soars above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The faces, hands, forearms, and lower legs of all the figures and Amun’s advancing foot were deliberately hacked out by later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall. Other defects seem most consistent with quarrymen’s tool marks, some of them quite deep, that were smoothed over with plaster (now missing) prior to carving. Most severe is a patch in the middle of col. 10 and in and below Mut’s rear foot. Pitting inside the contours of some animal hieroglyphs, namely,  and  (col. 6),  (col. 5), and the head of  (col. 2), may be iconoclasm, but this is much lighter than chiseling inflicted on the main figures, and there are numerous stray quarry marks in these areas too. As in the adjoining scene (pl. 88), Nelson did not record the -frieze on the molding above the scene, but he indicated marginal decoration along the opening for the flag-mast niche to the left and a fragment of the lintel that spanned it. Large raptor’s wingtips here presumably belonged to a winged disk surmounting a formulaic text below. Missing from Nelson’s drawing are the curving fold of Amun’s kilt and the right side of Ramesses’ triangular kilt flap.

Translations:

Label: ¹Adoring the god fo[ur times]^a by the king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE to his father, Amun-Re, that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven: ³“(O) my son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, ⁵(and) eternity as ruler of the Nine Bows.”

By Mut: ⁶Mut the great, mistress of the gods.

By the King: ⁷The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁸the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁹given life like Re.

Behind the King: ¹⁰The king who performs benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE shall continually appear [on the throne of]^b Horus of the Living like Re, forever and eternally.

Notes:

^a Cf. glossary s.v. *dw*ʔ.

^b *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12 right:12, 34:14, 65:10, 153:14.

Plate 90

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) II.1.

Location: B 133: East wall, south wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), first scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II, followed by his *Ka*, gestures with an ‘*aba*-scepter as he consecrates a hecatomb to ithyphallic Amun-Re (fig. 143).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Although traces of plaster wash are plentiful (e.g., on the god’s body), no colors remain. Amun’s pedestal shows traces of blue paint. Red survives scattered within the king’s body and that of the *ka*, while also present in the sledge underneath the *serekh*. The king wears an armband on his rear arm, comprising three horizontal bands, two of darker color with a lighter band in between.

Observations: A block containing most of cols. 2 and 8–9 and all of cols. 3–4 is no longer *in situ*, but lies on a platform in the yard south of the Great Hypostyle Hall (fig. 143). Extensive traces of residual quarry hacking mottle the relief, most severely in the lower right corner behind Ramesses’ *ka*-figure. Fainter chisel marks abound across this scene, but there is no sign of intentional defacement. Significant amounts of plaster infill cling to the wall at the bottom of col. 1 and behind the *ka*-figure. Nelson omitted or misconstrued a number of minor features in his drawing: a small flap in front of Ramesses’ belt buckle and the sloping right side of the larger triangular flap of his kilt, cosmetic lines on the eyes and eyebrows of both figure, a small projection on the lower front of the standard supporting Ramesses II’s Horus name, and the curving tip of Amun’s false beard; the pommel of Amun’s flabellum is not scalloped, but rather the curved base of the plumes is cut more deeply over it.

Translations:³⁹³

Label: ¹Causing a [gr]eat hecatomb to be presented to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, [lord of hea]ven,^a pre-eminent in ³his sanctuary, who is upon his great seat, ⁴chieftain of the Great Ennead. ⁵“[Words spoken:^b (I) have given to you...]”^c like Re. ⁶[(I) have given to you ...] and all joy. ⁷[(I) have given to you...] eternally. ⁸(I) have given to you my [sea]t and my [throne].^d ⁹(I) have given to you my lifetime, of when (I) was on earth.^e ¹⁰(I) have given to you my kingship on earth, you appearing like Re.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, [all] health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By the King: ¹¹[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands]^f USERMA‘AT[RE], ¹²[the son of Re, lord of appearances]^f RAMESSES-MER[AMU]N, given life, stability and dominion like Re.^f

Serekh of Royal Ka: Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at.”

Notes:

^a Nelson’s drawing can be augmented with the right corner of  below the block line: thus restore [nb] p.t (cf. the glossary for this epithet s.v. ‘Imn-R‘ K3-mw.t=f). Pace Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 80, n. 10), there is no room for ntr ‘3 in this gap.

^b The tops of cols. 5–7 are preserved on a loose block illustrated in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 130. Each column begins with the formula *ḏd-mdw di.[n=(i) n=k]*. The phrase *ḏd-mdw* was repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 6–7 as it was in cols. 8–9.

^c Any number of boons might be granted. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k*.

^d See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k s.t=i, ns.t=i*.

^e Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 80) translates “Ich gebe dir meine Lebenszeit für (dein) Erdendasein.”

^f These texts are preserved on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 130.

³⁹³ For the tops of columns 5–7 and 11–12, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 130 lower right.

Plate 91

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) II.2.

Location: B 134: East wall, south wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), second scene from south.

Subject: Ramesses II dedicates three racks laden with offering vessels to an unusual form of Amun-Re, who is coiffed with the royal headdress surmounted with the god’s characteristic plumes (fig. 10).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: A coat of plaster can be seen on the best-preserved surfaces of the relief, but no color remains. The pattern of a bracelet Nelson recorded on the wrist of Ramesses II’s lower arm is only faintly visible.

Observations: Although no malicious intent is evident in the disfigurement to this relief, there are large areas of deep quarry hacking at several points along with a residuum of stucco used to mend them. Natural abrasion of the upper edge of the block containing Ramesses II’s head has rendered his *prenomen* cartouche illegible. A block containing the top of col. 10 is no longer *in situ*, but is now stored in the yards south of the Hall.

Iconographically, the object of Ramesses’ worship is unusual, and it is unfortunate that the deity’s titulary is lost in the main text. While the label text names him merely as Amun-Re, his identity seems more complex. His tall feathers, secured to his headdress by a long ribbon that dangles behind him, is particular to Amun. But the headdress itself, either a *nemes*-wig (as Nelson’s drawing implies) or more likely an Osiris-wig with a square lappet (since the lappet is in fact longer and lacks the curved end, which Nelson drew),³⁹⁴ suggests that Amun was here syncretized to another deity. A uraeus on his forehead could mean he was a deified royal ancestor, most likely Sety I, as a hypostasis of Amun. He could even be an amalgam of Amun, Osiris, and the deified Sety I.³⁹⁵

Translations:

Label: ¹Purifying offering-rack(s)^a for his father Amun-Re, that he may achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²[Amun-Re ...]: ³“(I) have given to you] my [...].^b ⁴“(I) have given to you millions of] jubilees.^c ⁵“(I) have given to you] all joy. ⁶“(I) have given to you millions] of years.”^d

By the King: ⁷[Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at”], ⁸[... USERMA‘ATRE], ⁹[... RA]MESSES-[MERAMUN].

Behind the King: ¹⁰The king, who performs [benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands].^e USERMA‘ATRE, shall continually appear in the house of his father Amun-Re, king of the gods, and have given^f to him all foreign countries under his sandals.

Notes:

^a Reading *wḏh.w*, perhaps with the unorthodox writing , unless a bird-like shape to the left of  is erroneous. See *Wb.* I, p. 393. Usually translated as “offering table,” they here take the form of racks for holding libation vessels.

^b Omitted by Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 80).

^c See glossary s.v. *di.n=i n=k ḥḥ.w m ḥbw-sd*.

^d See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt*.

^e Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 89:10.

^f See Gardiner, *Gr.*³, p. 222, §298, for the passive voice after a preposition. For the sense of continuative *ḥr* + infinitive, see Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, pp. 92–94; Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §228; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, pp. 165–66; Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §2.2.3.

³⁹⁴ The wig is similar to examples worn by the deified Ramesses I in his chapel within Sety I’s Gurnah temple (PM II², p. 418 [106–07]; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 119).

³⁹⁵ Parallels for these combinations can be found in the inner chapel of Osiris in Sety I’s temple at Abydos (*Abydos* III, pls. 35, 40).

Plate 92

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) II.3.

Location: B 135: East wall, south wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), third scene from south end.

Subject: Ramesses II presents an offering of food to Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Discolored pigment defines the pattern of Amun’s broad collar. Traces of blue remain on his arms, and yellow in his bull’s tail. Otherwise, none remains.

Observations: Erosion running through Amun’s face and down into col. 2 results from a natural fault in the stone. Otherwise, areas of shade in this drawing reflects deep scoring with a chisel, unusually deep remains of quarry work that was repaired with plaster (now mostly lost). Fainter tool marks speckle the large block in the middle. Ramesses II’s belt apron is partly visible on its right side, but Nelson did not record it. Only the bottom of the tabletop supporting the offerings remains above the flaring summit of its stand, the rest being lost in quarry hacking along the block’s edge.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering every thing [good and pure to his father] Amun-Re.^a

Behind Amun: ²[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you] all [flat lands]^b and all hill countries (they) being subdued under your sandals, as their chiefs come to you as one, laden on their backs.”

Behind the King: ³“(I) have given to you] my^c [...], and my true kingship that [your name] might flourish (as) the likeness of the sky, your [y]ears being like the solar disk in it.”^d

Notes:

^a Given the size of the gap (as noted by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 82 and n. 22), restore *wdn ḥ.t nb.[t nfr.t wʿb.t n it=f] ʿImn-Rʿ*: roughly analogous are *GHHK* I.1, pls. 25:1, 27:1–2, 33:1, 35:1.

^b Cf. glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k tʿ.w nb.w ḥs.wt nb.wt*.

^c The sign copied as  at the upper right side of the column was inspected repeatedly in different lights, and it is more consistent with the lower back corner of , used as a 1st pers. sing. suffix.

^d Restoring [*di.n=(i) n=k ...]=i, nsy.t=i n wn-[mʿ], rwd [rn=k] mit.t ḥry.t, rnp.wt=k mi itn im=s*. Cf. *di=i nḥb.t=k mit.t ḥrt* (*Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 366:15–16).

Plate 93

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) II.4.

Location: B 136: East wall, south wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), fourth scene from the south end.

Subject: Ramesses II presents two bouquets of flowers to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Concentric rings of faded pigment define Ramesses II’s collar; otherwise, none remains.

Observations: As in the previous two scenes, deep scoring with a chisel indicates quarry damage left from imperfect dressing of the masonry, especially in and above Ramesses’ head, around Amun’s head, in front of his torso, and below the text between them. Plaster used to ameliorate these gouges is best preserved behind Ramesses’ torso. A large hole that extends to either side of the king’s feet may be due to a missing patch-stone. Note that

only the wide, lower part of the king's tail was carved, and Nelson's dashed lines indicate where the rest should have been. Fingernails on Ramesses II's upper fist were indicated by the sculptor in relief. Nelson misconstrued the juncture of Amun's long ribbon where it merges into his skull below his rear plume. The absence of Amun's customary helmet-crown occurs in two other reliefs in the Hall and in Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty temple art, where it is clear that the purpose of the long ribbon was to secure the quills of his plumes to his skull.³⁹⁶

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers that he might achieve “given life.”

By the King: ²[(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for]^a Amun-Re, ³[the dual king U]SE[RMA‘ATRE, ⁴the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN].

By Amun: ⁵[Amun-Re-Kamutef], chieftain of the [Enne]ad.^b ⁶[Words spoken:^c “(I) have given to you] all flat lan[ds]. ⁷(I) have given to you] all [hill co]untries. ⁸(I) have given to you (my) kingship on earth, forever and ever!”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

Notes:

^a Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 95:5 right.

^b There is scarcely room for [ʔ.t] under this group (as assumed, without explanation, by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 80); and cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 214:4, where Amun-Re-Kamutef is merely *hry-tp psd.t*.

^c Presumably this column was headed by the formula *dd-mdw* that would have been repeated mechanically at the top of col. 7.

Plate 94

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) II.5.

Location: B 137: East wall, south wing, second register, fifth scene from south end.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a cup of incense to Amun-Re while a raptor hovers above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of green paint can be seen in Amun's scepter. Plaster wash is noticeable within the incense cup. Otherwise, none preserved.

Observations: As elsewhere on this wall, zones of concentrated tool marks were left by the masons behind Amun's head, over Ramesses II's incense cup, and on the offering stand. In the upper right corner, the entire surface of a rectangular block is covered by such deep quarry hacking. All these defects were coated with liberal amounts of plaster onto which missing portions of decoration were carved.

Later occupants of the Great Hypostyle Hall defaced Amun's head, as well as his and the king's feet, but here their gouges differ from ancient chisel marks, being smaller and shallower. They also inserted a beam hole above Ramesses' head — evidence of the ill-documented post-pharaonic occupation of the building. Nelson excluded some finer details: the sloping right side of Ramesses' kilt flap, modeling on his *khepre*-crown, and the lower right side of the offering stand.

³⁹⁶ See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 95, 193. Middle Kingdom examples include reliefs from Senwosret I's White Chapel at Karnak: Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostris I^{er} à Karnak* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1969), pls. 17, 20–36, 38–41. Numerous examples, in which Amun sometimes lacks his plumes, are found in Hatshepsut's *Chapelle Rouge*: Grimal, Larché, and Burgos, *La Chapelle Rouge* I, pp. 56–57, 68–70, 104–05, 120, 133–35, 143, 153, 164, 168, 172, 174, 176, 178, 181–82, 187–89,

194, 202, 204, 212, 215, 225–26; with the ribbon, but without his plumes, *ibid.*, pp. 166, 217–21, 237–38. Although it is usually ithyphallic Amun that appears without a crown, his bipedal form occasionally does as well: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 82 right; Grimal, Larché, and Burgos, *La Chapelle Rouge* I, pp. 229, 255–58; *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 363; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostris I^{er} à Karnak*, pls. 15–16, 24, 28, 37.

Translations:

Label: ¹[G]iving incense.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of Karnak, lord of heaven, ³ruler of Thebes: ⁴Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all valor and victory. ⁵(I) have given to you all food. ⁶(I) have given to you all provisions.”

By the King: ⁷The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁸the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–6.

Plate 95

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 48–49 (160) II.6–7.

Location: B 138–39: East wall, south wing, second register, sixth and seventh (last extant) scenes on this level.

Subject: Two scenes: (*right*) Ramesses II offers two jars of wine to ithyphallic Amun-Re, whose tall plumes are tied directly to his head (without the crown that normally supports them), and (*left*) the king lifts his right hand to touch the shoulder of falcon-headed Khonsu while a vulture flies above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In most cases, the figures’ hands and feet were vandalized, a fate that also befell the shaft of Amun’s phallus (but not its tip) and the vulture’s head (*left*). Exceptions are Ramesses II’s rear foot (*left*) and his upraised hand. It may be that the iconoclasts never finished their work, since only the heel of Khonsu’s rear foot was attacked, and gouging to his features is not as methodical as to the heads of the other figures.

Dense, seemingly random patterns of deeper chisel marks left by the Ramesside quarry workers occurs at several points: in the sky-sign above Khonsu’s plumes (*left*); in and behind the upright of Ramesses’ Red Crown (*right*); and in the middle of the scene, from Amun’s chest and shoulders and below his arm (*right*) to the king’s front shoulder (*left*), as well as through the top of Amun’s tent-shrine. Khonsu’s rear arm is carved amid a dense region of hacking extending to the left of his rump.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹Giving [w]i[ne] to Amun-Re, that he may achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god, ³pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon ⁴his great seat.

By the King: ⁵(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions [for] Amun-Re, ⁶the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN.

Left:

By Khonsu: ¹Khonsu-Neferhotep: ²Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you myriad[s] of jubilees. ³(I) have given to you years of eternity.”

By the King: ⁴The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁵the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁶given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

Plate 96

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.1.

Location: B 140: East wall, south wing, third register, first scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II receives his titulary, along with years and jubilees, from Thoth (fig. 144).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Protected by the corner of the wall, much pigment has withstood the elements on Ramesses II's figure. His flesh is red, preserved on most of his body, as is the disk of his crown. His tall plumes are each subdivided into pairs of chevron-shaped compartments; the upper pair is red, with alternating sets of blue and green below, all against a latticework design in a lighter color, presumably yellow. Flanking these plumes are two shorter blue-green feathers. The large uraeus in front is gold, with the semicircles of its hood added in blue. Ramesses' wig is blue, as were portions of his collar, although no pattern of this element survives. Armbands on his biceps consist of two wide blue bands separated by another in gold. The belt of his kilt is green. His triangular kilt projection is white, with horizontal red pleating on the right side; the kilt itself is yellow. Ramesses' belt apron is gold embellished with two vertical columns of larger squares alternating with smaller rectangles of blue and red. Streamers beside this apron are red (outer) and blue (inner). On the right side of the apron, a uraeus was added in paint at its base. This serpent is yellow with blue markings on its head and blue, green, and red ones on its hood. Finally, the lower part of the king's tail is decorated with alternating blue and red rectangles against a yellow field. The *pt* sign above the scene is blue.

Observations: Damage to the relief is confined to natural wear, especially along the block lines, and residuum of tool marks. One sees no evidence of the activities of later occupants, although the gap between blocks above Thoth's head has widened into an irregularly shaped hole. The original plastered surface is well preserved on the right part of the scene.

Translations:

By *Thoth*: ¹Words spoken^a by^b Thoth, lord of ²the god's word[s]: "Receive unto yourself ³peaceful years ⁴united with life and dominion. ⁵I join for you ⁶the reed to the papyrus as a legal possession for you, I having caused your titulary as king to be established in my writing, with my very own fingers."

By *the King*: ⁷The good god USERMA'ATRE, ⁸the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁹given life, stability, dominion, (and) health ¹⁰like Re.

Between *Year-staves*: ¹¹Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master [of the ritu]al USERMA'ATRE, given life like Re. ¹²He of the Two Ladies: "protector of Egypt, subduer of the foreign countries," the son of Re, his [belo]ved RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re. ¹³Horus-of-Gold: "rich in years, great of victories," the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE, given life like Re.^c

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–6.

^b For , a very flat sign (thinner than ) was substituted. Presumably this error was derived from a hieratic original.

^c This last phrase is arranged under all three columns, with "given life" (*di 'nh*) repeated under cols. 11 and 13, the whole phrase, *di 'nh mi R'*, being understood as applying to each column. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:38–40, 118:8–10.

Plate 97

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.1.

Location: B 141: East wall, south wing, third register, second scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II presents a royal offering (not shown) to Amun-Re while a falcon soars above (figs. 145, 306–07).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint:³⁹⁷ Ramesses II's flesh is red, his *khat*-headdress yellow. Concentric rings of his collar are visible, but their colors have faded except for the band closest to the edge, which is red. Patches of blue persist in the sky-sign at the top and on the falcon's wings. The king's kilt, uraeus, and bull's tail are yellow. Amun's skin is blue, and his crown, armbands, shoulder braces, and the upper hem of his corselet are painted yellow. The ribbon descending from his crown is red. Vertical strips of blue, representing inlays, were added to the armbands. Amun's collar had one band of red (nearest his neck) with a blue flower-petal fringe along the bottom. On his chest, the interior of his pectoral is painted blue, but the other colors have faded. His beard shows traces of a darker color, while his scepter is green.

Observations: A faint incised line, which Nelson did not record, defines the sloping right side of Ramesses' triangular kilt flap. A patch-stone straddling cols. 2–3 is missing, while between cols. 4 and 6 and above Amun's plumes, a zone of deep quarry marks was patched with liberal amounts of coarse plaster, and large chunks of this still cling to the wall; the top of the text divider between cols. 5 and 6 and traces of *mi R*^c are rendered entirely in this medium. A layer of fine plaster wash used as a sealant is well preserved across much of this scene.

Translations:

Label: ¹Making a royal offering to Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Words spoken^a by A[mun-Re], lo[rd of the] thr[ones of] the Two [Lands], residing in ³the temple “[...] Great [...].”^b ⁴“(I) have [given] to you [all] flat lands and all [hill] countries. ⁵(I) have given to you years of eternity, you <appearing>^c ⁶like Re. ⁷(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries, as I subdue for you the Nine Bows; I have caused that you might be powerful;^d (and) I create your awesomeness with a lo[ving] heart.^e ⁸(I) have given to you all life and dominion, and all health.”

By the King: ⁹The dual king USERMA^c ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re [RA]MESSES-MER[A]MUN, ¹¹whom Amun has chosen as king ¹²in order to exercise his kingship ¹³on earth.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–7.

^b The name of a locality determined with  is likeliest here, but no clear parallels suggest themselves. *Km-wr* designates not only the Bitter Lakes but also a body of water at Thebes (*Wb.* V, p. 126:5), but this usage seems not to be attested before Ptolemaic times. *Mr-wr* “Moeris” is documented in the New Kingdom (*Wb.* II, p. 97.13), as is *wꜥd-wr* “sea” (*Wb.* I, p. 269), but both are remote from the Theban area. It is also possible that a place name completely different from those noted above was present here. Another possibility is that the unknown temple was associated with Amun as a bringer of the Nile (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 36), perhaps [*hꜥpy*] *wr* (“High [Nile]”: *Wb.* III, p. 43:1). Other “watery” forms of Amun, such as *nw-wr* (*Wb.* II, p. 231:17) or Nun (*Khonsu* II, pl. 163:5–6), are not generally determined with .

^c There is no damage to the wall where Nelson indicates shade in his drawing; instead, the sculptor never carved the sign .

^d Taking *bꜥw=k* as a prospective *sꜥm=f* after causative *rdi*. If this passage is an ellipsis with the dative *n=f* omitted for lack of space, then translate “I give (to you) your power,” and so on. On *bꜥ* used as a verb, see Dimitry Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I, 77.1153; idem, *Année lexicographique* II, 78.1187; Serge Sauneron, “Remarques de philologie et d’etymologie,” *RdÉ* 15 (1963), pp. 49–51.

^e Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 83) translates “in [their] hearts,” but the trace is absolutely flat and thus cannot be  required for *=s[n]*; it thus seems preferable to see it as the top of  (or possibly even , reading *m ib mr[r]*.

³⁹⁷ Much of this color has faded since Murnane recorded it in the 1970s and 1980s.

Plate 98

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.3.

Location: B 142: East wall, south wing, third register, third scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a pectoral collar to ithyphallic Amun-Re while a vulture hovers above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Patterns for bracelets on the king's forward arm, his collar, and the latticework design of his belt are visible, but their colors have faded. Ramesses' flesh is red, but no other colors are apparent. The outer edge of the king's collar is blue, which is also present in the outer ribbon flanking his belt apron and in Amun's pedestal. His kilt and the bottom of his bull's tail are yellow. Yellow is also present in the triangular beads hanging from the pectoral the king is offering. The fan behind Amun preserves traces of color in its mount, a top blue band, followed by yellow and ending in red at the bottom of the mount. The stalks of the lettuce plants are yellow, while the rightmost lettuce preserves traces of green.

Observations: Amun's phallus is interrupted in the middle by a fortuitous chisel gouge, but the rest is intact. No sign of iconoclasm is discernible, but there are extensive regions of quarry hacking in various parts of the scene. This is most severe behind the god's plumes, at the base of Amun's fetish stand, and along the top of the scene and was ameliorated with liberal amounts of plaster now mostly lost. A gap between the vulture's upper wing and the tops of cols. 8–9 is not surface damage, as shading in Nelson's drawing suggests, but a deep rectangular hole, perhaps due to a missing patch-stone or else to the activities of the Hall's later occupants.

Translations:

Label: ¹Givi[ng] a pectoral-collar to his father Amun-Re, that he may achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Words spoken^a by Amun-Re [Ka]mutef: ³“(I) have given to you my rei[g]n as king.^b ⁴(I) have given to you life and dominion. ⁵[(I) have given to you all ...]. ⁶[(and) all [...] on my part.”^c

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By the King: ⁷The dual king USERMA^cAT[RE], ⁸[the son of Re] RAMESSES-[MERAMUN], ⁹whom Re-Atum^d has [chosen] in order to ¹⁰[be ruler] of every land.^e

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–4.

^b Literally, “my kingship as king.”

^c There is not enough room for *di.n=(i) n=k* at the top of col. 6, which must instead have the continuation of this formula from col. 5.

^d For *stp.n R^c* (with *R^c* under the verb, without honorific transposition), cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 251 right:8; but cf. *ibid.*, pl. 147:12 (*stp.n 'Imn-R^c*, with the *R^c* forming a group under *'Imn*). The sign , a malformed glyph resembling  or , might be a corrupted : perhaps read [*stp*].*n R^c-(I)tm(w)*? Usually, however, the god's name is followed in such formulae by *ds=f* (for which see *ibid.*, pls. 172:11–12, 175 right:9, 238:10–11, 248:8–9). Although the epithet *stp.n R^c-Itm* is attested elsewhere in the Hall in a similar context (*ibid.*, pl. 153:17), the writing differs. One also finds [*stp*] *n 'Itmw ds=f* (*ibid.*, pl. 160:12–13) and [*stp*] *n 'Itm* (*ibid.*, pl. 164 right:10).

^e Perhaps restore *r [hk] n t nb* (compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 160:12–13, 163 right:11–12, 175 right:10).

Plate 99

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.4.

Location: B 143: East wall, south wing, third register, fourth scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II presents a broad collar to Amun-Re (fig. 146).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Faint vestiges of the latticework pattern on Ramesses II's belt are discernible, consisting of blue and green paint on a lighter colored background. Red paint remains on the torso and advancing foot of the king. Traces of yellow are noticeable in Amun's bull's tail. The wings of the vulture still preserve remnants of blue paint.

Observations: The two small block fragments that preserved the rear midsection of the king's kilt have disappeared since Nelson made this drawing. While no malicious damage is apparent, sporadic tool marks, especially along the block edges and below Ramesses' feet, are left from the quarry.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving a broad collar to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health. ⁴(I) have given to you all valor and victory. ⁵(I) have given to you all food and all provisions. ⁶(I) have given to you the victories of my sword, my strength (and) my power; all flat lands and all hill countries being bowed down to the divine power of your person forever and ever!"

By the King: ⁷The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ⁸the lord of appearances RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN, ⁹given life, stability and do[minion] like Re ¹⁰forever.

Behind the King: ¹¹The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE shall continually appear in the house of his father, Amun-Re king of the gods, and have given^b to him the South and the North gathered under his sandals.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4–6.

^b A similar construction, with *ḥr rdi.t n=f*, is GHHK I.1, pl. 91:10. Here \frown has been omitted.

Plate 100

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.5.

Location: B 144: East wall, south wing, third register, fifth scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II stands in adoration of Khonsu. Behind the god's figure, note part of a decorative border that ran along the side of the niche that opened onto one of the flag masts of the Third Pylon.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: The king's chest and arms preserve traces of red paint. Yellow is still noticeable in the *nemset*-jar. Otherwise, no paint remains.

Observations: Although the relief was not defaced maliciously, deep holes above cols. 9–10 and below Khonsu's feet indicate missing patch-stones, or perhaps the presence of later structures built against this wall. Khonsu's hands and parts of his scepters are lost to erosion. Later occupants carved four pilgrim's grooves in cols. 2 and 6 above Khonsu's lunar disk.

Translations:

Label: ¹Adoring the god four times for his father Khonsu-in-Thebes, that he might achieve "given life like Re."

By *Khonsu*: ²Khonsu-in-Thebes ³Neferhotep-in-Kar[nak]. ⁴Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all victory on my part. ⁵(I) have given to you all joy on [my] part. ⁶(I) have given to you years of et[ern]ity.”

By *the King*: ⁷The dual king USERMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁹given life, stability, and dominion like [R]e ¹⁰forever.

Note:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–6.

Plate 101

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.6.

Location: B 145: East wall, south wing, third register, sixth scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II gestures with an ‘*aba*-scepter as he dedicates five piles of offerings (in which meat products predominate) to falcon-headed Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum. A falcon hovers above the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Some plaster wash remains on the surface of the relief (especially on the offerings). The king’s rear leg shows traces of red. Blue is still present on the tail feathers of the vulture, while yellow is discernible within the ‘*aba*-scepter. Otherwise, no paint remains.

Observations: Medieval iconoclasts defaced the god’s head along with the heads and feet of the bird glyphs in cols. 2–3, the head of  in col. 4, and (unaccountably)  of ꜥw in col. 5. Someone excavated a pilgrim’s groove behind the falcon’s rear wingtip. Chiseling to the right of col. 9 below the god’s arm reflects residual quarry damage. Much of Ramesses’ figure is lost where the masonry sheared away. Otherwise, the relief has smooth surfaces and remains in excellent condition.

Translations:

Label: ¹Causing a hecatomb to be presented to his father, Amun-Re-Horakhty, that he might achieve “given life.”

By *Amun*: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum, ³lord of Karnak: “(O my) beloved son of (my) body, ⁴the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁵my heart is pleased with your^a monument; ⁶(O) good god, I am content^b ⁷with what you have done. (I) have given to you ⁸my lifetime as king forever and ever!” ⁹Words spoken by Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum, lord of Karnak: “(I) have given to you the victories of my strong arm, my strength, (and) my power; all foreign countries being under your sandals forever and ever! ¹⁰(I) have given to you years of eternity with life and dominion.”^c

By *the King*: ¹¹(Long) live the good god, image of Re, protector of the one-who-is-in-Thebes, ¹²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹³the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁴given life like Re ¹⁵forever.

Notes:

^a  was miscarved for : read *mnw=k*.

^b  was miscarved for : read *hṭp.k(wi)*.

^c Nelson has reversed the numbering of cols. 9–10.

Plate 102

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.7.

Location: B 146: East wall, south wing, third register, seventh scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II pours a liquid offering from an -jar into a -shaped offering basin, supported by an -figure with two upraised arms, before Amun-Re and Amunet. A vulture soars above the king (fig. 147).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: The relief still preserves numerous traces of paint. The vulture above the king has traces of red on the lower interior part of its outstretched wing and blue on the outer edges of the wings. Faint traces of patterning can be discerned within the belt apron of the king, but the colors are not identifiable. Red is present on the legs of the king and on the coil of Amunet's Red Crown. Yellow remains on Amun's bull's tail.

Observations: Iconoclasts hacked out the heads of both divinities and the king, along with the vulture's head and that of the falcon perched atop the *serekh* in col. 10. Nonetheless, Ramesses' eye, nose, mouth, and ear remain largely intact, while damage to the king's rear foot is fortuitous weathering. Dense quarry marks afflict the zone between Amun and the king, and a large square hole may indicate the position of a missing patch-stone inserted so that the sculptors could carve Amun's lower arm and fist on an even surface. Although the iconoclast's chisel and an unfortunate gap between blocks obfuscates the matter, it may be the case that Amun lacked his customary helmet-crown and that he appears here with his plumes secured to his bald pate with a ribbon. Most parallels, including three examples in the Hall, generally show Amun's ithyphallic avatar in this fashion; however, bipedal exemplars are known from this building and from Hatshepsut's *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak.³⁹⁸

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²“(O) my son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³(I) have given to you my office of ancestral king, ⁴(and) my kingship from when (I) was on earth. ⁵(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, forever and ever!”

By Amunet: ⁶Amunet, residing in Karnak: ⁷“(I) have given to you years of eternity. ⁸(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁹(I) have given to you all food and all provisions.”

By the King: ¹⁰Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,” ¹¹lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹²the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹³given life ¹⁴like Re.

Note:

^a Mechanically repeating *dd-mdw* at the tops of cols. 7–8.

³⁹⁸ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 93, 95, 193. For bipedal Amun without his crown, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 82 right; Grimal, Larché, and Brugos, *La Chapelle Rouge* I, pp. 229, 255–58.

Plate 103

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) III.8–9; Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten*, vol. 2, pl. XXIX A 173.

Location: B 147–48: East wall, south wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), eighth and ninth (last extant) scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: (*Right*) Ramesses II, wearing the *atef*-crown and carrying a crested ibis (mostly lost) in his right hand and a group of staves in his left, performs a ritual race in the presence of a goddess (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 12). (*Left*) The fragment of this scene preserves only Ramesses II’s tail, feet, and lower legs (facing left).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of yellow are present on the goddess’ legs and at the bottom of the offering stand. Red is still discernible on the lower edges of the striding king’s legs. Otherwise, no paint remains.

Observations: Iconoclasts vandalized the king’s advancing foot and both of the goddess’ feet. Apart from this, all other damage appears to be of natural origin. Portions of the right edge of this scene have sheared away, depriving us of the main texts and most other elements to the left of the offering stand (*right*). Note that engraved lines indicating the bundle of rods carried by the king were left uncarved below his waist.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹[Taki]ng the run^a for the lady of heaven, that he may achieve “[given] life.”

By the King: ²[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE], ³the son [of Re], lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Behind the King: Every [protection] — all [life], stability, and dominion, [all] hea[lth] (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By the Goddess: ⁴“(I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land. ⁵[(I) have given to you..., all foreign countries being] under your sandals.”

Left:

By the King: [... that he might achieve “given] life.”^b

Notes:

^a Restoring [i*t*i]-gs: compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 12 right:1.

^b Traces of  are visible before the king’s advancing foot.

Plate 104

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.9.

Location: B 149–50, 160: East wall, south wing, area between first and second flag-mast niches from the north: uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), eleventh scene from south (*top*); fourth (lowest) register ninth (and final) scene from south (*bottom*).

Subject: (*Top*) Ramesses II appears before Amun-Re. (*Bottom*) Ramesses II receives life and jubilees from Amun-Re in the presence of Mut (behind Amun) and the goddess of Thebes (behind the king) while a vulture flies above (fig. 148).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: A pattern of alternating bands of blue and yellow remains on the king’s collar under the back of his *nemes*-headdress.

Observations: Residual tool marks from the quarry afflict the inside of Ramesses’ kilt and the space between his legs (*bottom*). Shade on Nelson’s drawing (at *top*, Ramesses II’s legs; at *bottom*, Amun’s face, the falcon’s head, and assorted hieroglyphs in the text) represents iconoclasm by later occupants of the Hall. Targeted hieroglyphs include the heads and feet of many zoomorphic and anthropomorphic signs, but also the thrones of  in col. 3. They also pecked at the goddess of Thebes’ nose, mouth, and ear. A square hole in col. 1 (*bottom*) may have secured a beam for a domestic structure from the roof of which this vandalism was accomplished. All other damage to the relief is from natural wear. Below the scene, much of the original masonry remains intact and was not replaced in the Greco-Roman era when other parts of the east wall’s base were rebuilt with new blocks. Below the dado pattern, the surface is undecorated, with no sign of a bandeau text of Herihor as found farther to the south.

Translations:

Top:

Label: ¹[giving...to] his [father] Amun-Re.

Bottom:

By Amun: ¹Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord [of the Thrones of the Two Lands], pre-eminent in Karnak: ²“(O) my beloved son of my body USER[MA’AT]RE-SETEPEN[RE], ³receive for yourself myriads of jubilees, ⁴(and) eternity with life and dominion, in order to exercise ⁵the kingship which I exercised, forever and ever!”

By Mut: ⁶Words [spoken b]y Mut, [lad]y of Isheru, ⁷[mistress of all the gods], lady of ^{7A}[...].^b

By the Goddess of Thebes: ⁸Words spoken^a by Victorious Thebes, lady of the scimitar, mistress of every land:^c ⁹“(I) have [come] to you,^d bearing your son whom you love, Horus, ¹⁰“beloved of Ma’at,”^e that you might give to] him eternity as king of the Two Lands.”

By the King: ¹¹The good god, lord [of the Two Lands] USERMA’ATRE-SETEPEN[RE], ¹²the son [of Re], lord of [appearances] RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹³[ima]ge of Re in front of the Two Lands, ¹⁴whom Amun has chosen as king, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–5 and 9–[10].

^b Restore the determinatives of *ʾšrw* at top of col. 7 + [*ḥnw.t nṯr.w nb.w*] (in the long space above *nb.t* at the bottom of the column). This belonged to another title, either *nb.t [wḏ.w]* “lady of the papyrus columns,” or *nb.t [p.t]* “lady of heaven,” that continued to the left of col. 7: see glossary s.v. *Mw.t*.

^c One would normally expect *ḥnw.t spḏ.t nb* “mistress of every nome.” *Spḏ.t* can be written with  or  (cf. *Wb.* IV, pp. 97–99), but unless we have here a carving mistake for the first, one is forced to read the sign as , since its paleography is identical to  elsewhere in this text. Nor can this be a graphic error caused by faulty transcription from a hieratic text, as neither ideogram for *spḏ.t* resembles a flat line. Cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I–III, nos. 325 and 604.

^d The traces of $n=k$ are too low for $di.n=i n=k$, even assuming that Δ would have stood at the top (under $\underline{dd}-mdw$); thus restore instead $[ii.n=i] n=k$, as written in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 106:11–12.

^e Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 106:12.

^f Arranged under cols. 10–11.

Plate 105

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.1.

Location: B 151–52: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, first scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II is purified with signs of life and dominion issuing from two jars held, respectively, by Horsiese and Thoth. A vulture with outstretched wings flies over the king. To the right of the scene is the doorway through the southeast corner of the Hall (see pl. 80, above), with a decorative pattern formed by the king's *serekh*, cartouches, and other symbols above the lintel (figs. 149, 308).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of blue remain inside the sky-sign at the top of the scene. The vulture's tail and the king's wig and beard are also blue, as is Horsiese's wig. The king's beard ends in a white or light-colored band, probably to indicate a clasp. Horsiese's face is white while his bull's tail is yellow. Both Ramesses II and Horsiese have red flesh, as do the *ka*-arms embracing the king's *nomen* above the doorway. The king's collar shows alternating lines of green, blue, green, red, and white petals on a blue background. At the top of col. 4, an erroneous, and reversed, \mathcal{Q} was corrected into \mathcal{P} with red paint.

Observations: Areas of shade in the drawing represent tool marks made during quarrying, later ameliorated with copious amounts of plaster, some of which still clings to the wall, especially on the hovering vulture. In the lower part of the scene, swollen plaster spills out of the block joints and from minor cavities in the wall surface. No sign of vandalism is apparent. The bottoms of Thoth's feet are lost where original masonry along the base of this wall was replaced in late antiquity after it had decayed. Beneath Horsiese and the king, the original dado and part of a long bandeau text of Herihor remains intact, with newer stone below it. All these new blocks were left rough and undressed. In recent years, erosion due to salt damage has progressed around Thoth's head and on the vulture's right wing, and the gaps between blocks have sometimes widened. Nelson did not record the curving hem inside Thoth's kilt. Due to salt infiltration and the decay it wrought to the lowest courses of the wall, new masonry was inserted here by Greco-Roman-era restorers, obliterating much of the dado and a bandeau text of Herihor.³⁹⁹

Translations:

Beside Horsiese: ¹“Your purity is my purity (and) vice versa (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, given life!”

By Horsiese: ²Words spoken^a by Horus son of Isis: “(I) have purified you with ³life and dominion, that your limbs may be rejuvenated forever, ⁴that you might become a child^b (again) like the incarnation of Yah (*the moon*).

⁵Power and victory belong to your strong arm. ⁶May your name endure like (those of) Shu and Tefnut. ⁷May you be young like Khepri, <just as>^c Re endures in rising and setting — for your person is lord of [Egy]pt,^d (namely,) the lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves.”

Beside Thoth: ⁸“Your purity is my purity (and) vice versa (O) lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^e given life!”

By Thoth: ⁹Words spoken by Thoth: “[Your purity is] the purity of Horus (and) vice versa. ¹⁰Your purity is the purity of Seth (and) vice versa. Your purity is the purity of Thoth (and) vice versa. Your purity is ¹¹the purity of Dewen-‘anwy (and) vice versa. Be pure be pure (O) king,^f the lord of the Two Lands, master of

³⁹⁹ See commentary to the next plate.

strength ¹²USERMA‘ATRE! You shall continually be foremost of the *Kas* of the all the ¹³living,^g you appearing on the throne of Horus like Re forever.”

By the Vulture: ¹⁴As she gives life.

By the King: ¹⁵The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE.

On the Doorway Lintel:^h ¹⁶Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at.”ⁱ ¹⁷(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, [beloved of] Amun-[Re],^j ¹⁸RAMESSU-MERAMUN.^k

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–7.
- ^b Reading *shrd*, with  miscarved as a reversed .
- ^c One would expect some kind of conjunction, perhaps *mi*, before *rwḏ R'*, thereby connecting this phrase to the previous clause semantically. It may have been omitted for lack of space.
- ^d Reading *nb [n K]m.t*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 200:4 (though with ) and *ibid.*, pls. 7:20, 66:1 (both written without *m*). Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 87, n. 93) rightly discounts the reading *nb [‘nh] m(w).t* “lord of [life] and death” proposed by Brigitte Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult” (Ph.D. dissertation, Hamburg, 1968), p. 108, for there is too little room for this restoration.
- ^e The orthography of this cartouche, , is different from how Nelson copied it. A  must have appeared at the bottom of the cartouche, the closest parallels for which — but employing the writing *R‘ms-s* — are *GHHK* I.1, pls. 81 right:6, center:7; 82 center:6.
- ^f Or “Very pure <is> the king” etc. (Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 87).
- ^g At the top of col. 13, *nb.w* is carved correctly; the supposed  was thus wrongly interpreted by Nelson owing to a patch of discolored stone at the sign’s right corner.
- ^h Cols. 16–17 are mirrored in cols. 16’–17’. Note the differing orthographies of the *premen* cartouches.
- ⁱ The bottoms of cols. 16 and 16’ would have been filled by the decorative square at the base of the king’s *serekh*.
- ^j Thus on the left side: perhaps the king was “beloved of” another deity on the right.
- ^k Ramesses II’s *nomen* is embraced by , in turn supported by  carrying -staves in his two hands, which frame the sides of the cartouche. On the significance of such arrangements of royal titulary, see Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 174 (Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

Plate 106

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.2–3.

Location: B 153–54: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, second and third scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: (*Right*) Ramesses II is crowned with the Double Crown by falcon-headed Khonsu (fig. 309). (*Left*) Hathor, wearing tall plumes and carrying a sistrum, leads Ramesses II into the presence of Amun-Re and Amunet (figs. 150, 310).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Only a few traces survive. Khonsu’s wig is blue, his flesh red. Amun’s flesh is blue. The rear upright of Ramesses’ Double Crown (*right*) is red, and the separation between the body of the crown and its projection in front (which is, unaccountably, painted blue) was outlined in red. Also visible is the pattern of the king’s broad collar (*left*), but its colors have faded. The king’s bull’s tail shows traces of yellow and red. Hathor’s flesh is yellow, as is the base of her crown and her uraei with their horns and disks; her rear plume is painted in stripes of blue and another lighter color, following the contours of the plume, while the disk resting on her crown is red. Traces of a lighter color are present within her dress, while the hem is formed of blue and green bands. Yellow can be detected in Amun’s crown and plumes, streamer, and bull’s tail. Khonsu has yellow plumes and a red disk. Red is also present in the lower part of the vulture’s horizontal wing.

Observations: Shade in Nelson's copy mostly represents quarry hacking, and sometimes natural wear. Swollen plaster used to fill these tool marks, joints between the blocks, and minor cavities in the stone abounds. Hathor and the king (*left*) have naturalistically modeled eyes and eyebrows, while Amun, Amunet, and Ramesses (*right*) have cosmetic bands. On the right, the coiled tail of Ramesses' uraeus was first carved on the front of his *nemes*-headcloth and then erased. Its head above the hood is lost in chisel marks and must have been rendered in plaster. Damage to the head of  in col. 5 is fortuitous, and there is no other sign of any malicious damage to either scene. Note that the sculptor has distinguished two overlapping sets of horned disks on the heads of Hathor's double uraeus. Nelson did not indicate a few minor elements: (*right*) Ramesses' belt buckle, the fold in his *nemes*-headcloth above his ear, and the partition of Khonsu's beak. The Ramesside dado motif and parts of a bandeau text of Herihor are substantially intact beneath the scene, but the lowest courses of blocks on the wall are rough-hewn replacement masonry inserted by Greco-Roman restorers (fig. 153A-B).

Translations:

Right:

By *Khonsu*: ¹Words spoken^a by Khonsu-in-Thebes, Horus lord of joy:^b ²"I have established for you the Double Crown on your head (namely) the crowns, that <you> might take possession of ³the two shares, in order to act (as) ⁴dual king in my place."^c

By *the King*: ⁵The good god, son of Amun, ⁶the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, ⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re, ⁸great of love in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

Left:

Label: ⁹"I shall play the sistrum to your beautiful face, causing the beauty of your incarnate form to be content."

By *Hathor*: ¹⁰Words spoken^a by Hathor, lady^d of Dendera: "I propitiate <y>ou,^e ¹¹(O) lord of the gods, as I play the sistra to your face. (I) have come ¹²to you, bearing your son whom you love, Horus "beloved of Ma'at," ¹³that [you] might endue his [fle]s[h]^f with life and dominion forever and ever!"

By *the Vulture*: ¹⁴Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By *Amun*: ¹⁵Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: ¹⁶"Welcome^g in peace (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom I love: ¹⁷I have granted your lifetime:^h ¹⁸the existence of heaven ¹⁹being lik[e] that you shall [continually] exist.ⁱ ²⁰(I) have given to you my lifetime [as] king^j like Re every day."

By *Amunet*: ²¹Words spoken^a by A[mun]et residing in Karnak: "Welcome ²²[in peace] (O) my son of (my) body whom I love, ²³⁻²⁴the Horus "rich in years," that your father Amun may receive you. ²⁴(I) [have]^k given to you million[s] ²⁵of jubilees. ²⁶(I) have given to you years of eternity united with life and dominion."

By *the King*: ²⁷Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," ²⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, [USERMA'AT]RE, ²⁹the lord of appearances [RAMESSES-MER]AMUN.

Behind the King: ³⁰The king, "beloved of Ma'at," the lord [of the Two Lands, master of the ritual]^l USERMA'AT[RE], shall continually appear as king on the throne of Horus, foremost of the *kas* of all the living, like Re.

Bandeau Text of Herihor: [Renewal of monuments which the dual king, lord of the Two Lands]^m HIGH PR[IEST] OF AMUN, the son of Re, lord of appearances SIAMUN-HERIHOR in the house of his father Amun-Re, king of the gods that [he] might give life, stability, dominion and health to the dual king [HIGH] PRI[EST OF AMUN ...].

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–4, 16–19, and 22–25.

^b Pace Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 89), this epithet refers to Khonsu and not the king.

^c Or, somewhat more literally, "on my seat."

^d So written without a feminine ending.

^e Reading <t>w (the  was not carved).

^f Reading *iwf*, written with ; Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 13), of which only part of one sign remains.

^g Perhaps due to lack of space, the sculptor carved  in place of .

- ^h Sharkawy's translation (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 88, n. 99) assumes a missing part of speech, that is, $di=i <m> 'h'.w=k$. This is not impossible, but the readings in this section are so uncertain that a translation that is grammatically simpler, and more literal, seems safest.
- ⁱ Reading $wnt hr.t mi w[n]n=k$: the oval sign is low enough, relative to the top of the column, to be interpreted as the jug of , and inspection of the trace (in April 2000) shows it to extend slightly higher on the left than the right, which would be incompatible for the circular disk of R^c but normal for . The absence of "lugs" on the side of the jug, while infrequent, is not unattested in Ramesside carvings. Moreover, the position of this trace is compatible with , the stem of which persists amid damage to the left.
- ^j So reading $'h'=i [m] nsw$ and restoring  in the gap.
- ^k So reading $di.[n]=(i) n=k$. There is just enough room for the first  in the gap. Alternatively, one could read $di=(i) n=k$ as an indicative (perfective) $sdm=f$.
- ^l It must be admitted that the presumed  cannot be made out, and the one trace of the second  is faint indeed. Hacking is so severe here that the signs below the first  (of $nb [t].wy$) must have been carved wholly in plaster, almost none of which now endures.
- ^m This text was first published in Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 60. See also *Khonsu I*, p. x. Given the phrase $m pr it=f 'Imn-R^c$ "in the house of his father Amun-Re" which follows, one might restore the beginning of this text as $sm^3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity nb t.wy$. In favor of this reading, fragments of the critical $sm^3wy-mnw$ formula appear in another bandeau text below the bark scene on the east wing of the south wall. See our observations to *GHHK I.1*, pl. 76. Roth published traces of $sm^3wy-mnw$ texts on several column bases in the Hall as well: Ann Macy Roth, "Some New Texts of Herihor and Ramesses IV in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *JNES* 42 (1983), pp. 44, 49. On the $sm^3wy-mnw$ restoration formula, see Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, chapter 2; J. Brett McClain, "Restoration Inscriptions and the Tradition of Monumental Restoration" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007).

Plate 107

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.4–5; Tohfa Handoussa, "The Rebirth of Ramses II in the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak," in *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, edited by Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel, and Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami, Bibliothèque d'étude 138 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2003), pp. 107–10; Peter J. Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: the Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, SAOC 61 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), p. 75, fig. 5.22; Mariam F. Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c. 740–525 B.C.)* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 136, 138, figs. 3.10, 3.11.

Location: B 155–56: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, fourth and fifth scenes from south.

Subject: Two scenes: (*Right*) Ramesses II dedicates five piles of offerings with an 'aba-scepter before an ithyphallic figure of Amun-Re. (*Left*) The king offers a cup of incense and pours a libation in front of a kiosk, inside which Amun-Re is embraced by Mut (fig. 151–52, 311).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: (*Left*) There are traces of red paint within the king's Red Crown and his body (in both scenes). Otherwise, no traces of paint survive.

Observations: Most shade that Nelson indicates in his drawing reflects erosion wrought by infiltration of salt-laden ground moisture. In the upper part of the left-hand scene, the gap is not as wide as he indicated, and Ramesses II's cartouches are more complete, although the sandstone is swollen and decayed here. All the figures have cosmetic bands on their eyes and eyebrows. Although someone removed the tip of Amun's phallus, there is no other deliberate hacking and little quarry damage in either scene. Several small rectangular holes were inserted

around the figures of Amun and Mut that once secured a veil or perhaps a wooden shrine with doors.⁴⁰⁰ Nelson overlooked: (*left*) a curving fold inside Amun's kilt and (*right*) recutting on Ramesses II's belt and two streamers on the left side of his belt apron. Nor did he fully capture the intricacy of the forward wings of both vultures. Under both scenes, the original dado motif is well preserved. Beneath it, in turn, Greco-Roman restorers inserted rough-hewn blocks, thus eliminating any part of the bandeau text Herihor may have carved here.⁴⁰¹

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹Caus[ing] that a great hecatomb might be offered to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of Karnak: ³"(O my) son whom I love, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁴my heart is glad at seeing your^a monument. I am^b content ⁵with what you have done. I have caused that the south come <to> you, ⁶gathered in submission, ⁷(and) the north in a crawling posture ⁸because your divine power is great; ⁹(they) bearing [all] their products [of]^c ¹⁰their foreign countries laden upon [their backs].^d ¹¹(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified forever and ever!"

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, [and dominion], all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By the King: ¹²Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Ma'at," ¹³the good god USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹⁴the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁵image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen ¹⁶as king.

Left:

In front of the Shrine: ¹Amun-Re, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands], pre-eminent^e in Karnak.

By Amun inside the Shrine: ²Amun-Re, king of the gods.

By Mut: ³Mut the great, ⁴lady of Isheru, ⁵mistress of all the gods.

By the King: ⁶The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-[SET]EPEN[RE],^f ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances [RA]MESSES-M[ER]AMUN,^g given life like Re forever.

Notes:

^a Miscarving  for : read *mnw=k*.

^b Miscarving  for : read *h̄tp.k(wi)*.

^c Restoring  followed by *nb.(w)* and the plural genitive *n.w*: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:18. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 89, n. 111) assumes that something like "[die Kostbarkeiten (*nfr.w*, *g̃w.t*, or *b̃i.w*)] ihrer Fremdländer" is required — a possible option, but not one that is demonstrated convincingly.

^d Restoring [*psd=sn*]: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53:19, 92:2.

^e All of  is preserved below the gap.

^f Both  and the back of  are can be made out.

^g Parts of  and  are preserved below the gap along with the top of  above it.

⁴⁰⁰ Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia," pp. 62, 75, fig. 5.22.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. commentary to plate 106, above.

Plate 108

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.6–7.

Location: B 157–58: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, sixth and seventh scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: (*Right*) Ramesses II consecrates four *meret*-chests with his ‘*aba*-scepter in the presence of Amun-Re; (*left*) Ramesses II drives four calves before Khonsu. Above the king hover a falcon (*right*) and a vulture (*left*) (fig. 339).⁴⁰²

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: No paint remains in the scene to the right. On the left, Ramesses II’s *atef*-crown was painted with green, red, and blue vertical stripes, with red and blue stripes on its plumes and green horns.⁴⁰³

Observations: In both scenes, the lower portions are severely eroded and are encrusted with insoluble salts, and it is this factor that may explain differences between Nelson’s copy and our observations. There is little deliberate damage to either scene; the heads of two -serpents in cols. 5 and 6 were deliberately effaced, however, loss of the lower half of Ramesses II’s *nomen* cartouche on the right, col. 10, is due entirely to natural weathering. On the left, a round hole in front of Ramesses’ crown (just above the level of his horns), along with another round hole above  in col. 4, may be the work of the Hall’s later occupants. Nelson has misconstrued the raptor in the right-hand scene: it is actually a falcon, not a vulture as his record implies. As a result, he also mistook details of its wing plumage and the shape of its body, while his vulture’s “head” is merely decay of the stone. Beneath the king’s feet (*left*), but not copied by Nelson, a segment of the original dado motif remains.

Translations:

Right:

Label: ¹[Str]king against the *meret*-box(es), [four] times.^a

By Amun: ²Words spoken^b by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-[eminent in Kar]nak: ³“(O) my bodily son, the lord [of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE- SETEP]EN[RE], ⁴my heart is glad for [lo]v[e] of you,^c (and) I rejoice^d ⁵at all y[ou] have done.^e (I) have given to you^f valor and victory, ⁶stoutheartedness and the power ⁷of your strong arm.”

By the King: ⁸Horus: mighty bull, “beloved [of Ma‘at],” ⁹the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹⁰the son of Re [RAMESSES]-MERAMUN, ¹¹given life like Re.

Left:

By Khonsu: ¹²[Words spoken by Khonsu]-in-Thebes, Neferhotep-in-¹³[Karnak: “Welcome]^g in peace (O) my son ¹⁴[... USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPEN]EN[RE], that your father may receive you [...].^h ¹⁵[(I) have given to you] millions of jubilee[s].”

By the King: ¹⁶[Live (O) good god who makes monum]entsⁱ for his father Amun, ¹⁷the dual king USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹⁸the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁹given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Severe decay makes it difficult to confirm the traces Nelson recorded with any confidence. Below  of *mrt*, the -determinative may be illusory. Its “plumes” seem to consist of furrows of worn stone, and of the “box” itself, only its rectangular bottom is visible, below which is an oval sign — probably  (*sp*). Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 73:1.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–7.

^c Restoring *n* [m]r.w[t=k]: for parallels, see glossary s.v. *mr.wt*.

^d Reading *h‘.k(wi)*, with  miscarved for .

⁴⁰² For an extensive study of these two rituals, see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*.

⁴⁰³ Some of these colors have faded since Murnane recorded them in the 1970s and 1980s. See color observations to pls. 68, 70, and 73, above.

- ^e Traces of the flat top and down-curved right end of a sign along the edge of the gap are consistent with , so read *iri.n=[k] nb.*” Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 90), reads “<Ich> jubilier über das, was <du> gemacht hast.”
- ^f Reading *di.n=(i) n=k*, with  miscarved for .
- ^g Restoring *Nfr-ḥtp-m* [*ʿIp.t-sw.t: iwy*] *m ḥtp* etc. See glossary s.v. *Ḥnsw*. For the greeting formula, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 7:4.
- ^h The rest of the speech, in columns missing above the god’s head, is now lost.
- ⁱ So restoring a conventional formula, perhaps [*ʿnh ntr nfr, iri mn*] *w n it=f ʿImn*. Above the right end of , Nelson did not record firm traces of . For parallels under Ramesses II in the Great Hypostyle Hall, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:41, 21:6, 111:14. See glossary s.v. *ʿnh ntr nfr* etc.

Plate 109

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.8.

Location: B 159: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, eighth scene from the south.⁴⁰⁴

Subject: Ramesses II is led into the temple by a goddess who holds (probably) the sign of life to his nose.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Much of the scene is entirely lost where several blocks have disappeared, yet the original masonry along the base of this part of the wall is largely intact, and the wide and narrow horizontal bands of the dado are preserved below the scene and the one to its left (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 104). Herihor’s bandeau text, which begins near the southeast gateway, did not extend this far.

Translations:

By the Goddess: ¹“[Come to the templ]e,^a that you may see your father, the lord of the gods, ²[his heart being glad for] love of you, as he endows your limbs ³[with life and dominion],^b (and) as he gives to you the jubilee(s) of Re and the years of Atum.”

Behind the King: Every protection — [all] li[fe] and domi[nion], and all [he]alth — surrounds [him] like Re.

Notes:

^a Restoring [*mi ir=k r ḥw.t-ntr*], with  used as a determinative: See glossary s.v. the imperative form of *ii* “to come.” So with *ḥw.t-ntr*, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 149:6, 199:4. Alternatively, one might read *mi ir=k r ḥw.t ʿt* “come to the great mansion” (cf. *ibid.*, pls. 78:3; 111:6; 179:2).

^b Or “life, stability, and dominion”: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53:8; 106:13; 111:4, 7–8; 137:11; 149:9.

⁴⁰⁴ The scene illustrated on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 104, follows immediately to the left.

Plate 130

Bibliography: None aside from Nelson's publication.

Location: B 171a: South end of the east wall, top register.

Subject: Portions of two scenes are preserved, along with part of the decorative frame around a window once situated at the top of the southernmost end of the east wall. (*Upper left*) Ramesses II presents a conical loaf of white bread to a male deity. Behind the king (*upper right*) are the left and bottom sides of a window with a ribbon border and below it a frieze of large  hieroglyphs. Below this frieze (*lower right*) are only the tops of several columns of text from another scene.⁴⁰⁵

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Nelson recorded horizontal bands of pigment on the leftmost large -pillar glyph from the decorative frieze, but the colors are now unknown.

Observations: This scene and the adjoining window once stood at the extreme south end of the east wall. Only the lower and left sides of the fenestration are preserved here. They stood directly above the two scenes at the south end of the third (uppermost *in situ*) register.⁴⁰⁶ This window would have admitted additional light into the southern part of the Hypostyle Hall.⁴⁰⁷

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting [white bread to] his [father] Amun-Re.^a

By Deity: ²Words [spoken:^b "(I) have given to] you all valor. ³[(I) haven given to] you all victory. ⁴[(I) have given to you] all joy."

By the King: ⁵Horus: mighty [bull], "beloved of the Two Lands," ⁶the good god, [lord of the Two Lands] USERMA'ATRE, ⁷the s[on of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Behind the King: ⁸[The king], the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE shall [appe]ar in the house of his father Amun-Re that he might [give] to him all life and dominion on his part like Re.^c

Notes:

^a Reading *skr t hd*. Cf., e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pl. 82 right:1, 133:1; and see glossary s.v. *skr*.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 3–4.

^c Reconstructing the opening phrase as  based on numerous parallels: see glossary s.v. *wnn nsw*. The gap after 'Imn-R' is less certain, especially given the traces Nelson records. One would expect *[rdi]=f n=f ...* "that he might give to him ...," but this does not agree with the traces which better suit something like  or  "... that he might make ..." Semantically, the missing phrase should be a prospective form.

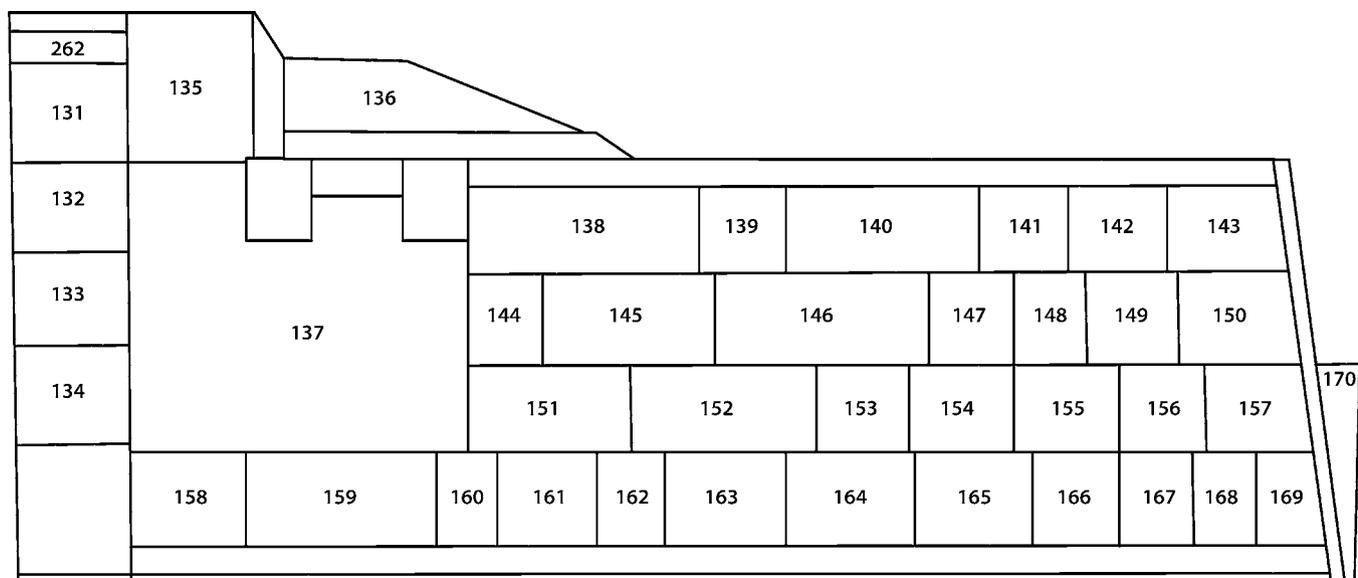
^d Repeated mechanically at the top of the two adjacent columns.

⁴⁰⁵ The texts preserved here belong to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 90.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. 90–91.

⁴⁰⁷ A fragment of the corresponding window in the north end of the eastern wall has been identified by Janusz Karkowski. See Peter J. Brand, Jean Revez, Janusz Karkowski, Emmanuel Laroze,

and Cédric Gobeil, "Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project: Report on the 2011 Field Season for the University of Memphis and the Université de Montréal à Québec," *Cahier de Karnak* XIV (forthcoming), fig. 39.



Plan 8. Diagram of the west wall, north wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

West Wall, North Wing (Plan 8, Plates 135–70)

Unlike the reliefs carved on the south wing, those on the north wing of the west wall are homogenous in style (being cut in raised relief of excellent quality) and originate in the reign of Sety I, although the carving is often abbreviated or incomplete in the frieze at the top (plan 8). A few scenes near the doorway that now exhibit his son's name inside their cartouches⁴⁰⁸ were usurped when Ramesses II took possession of all materials, on both walls and columns, that adjoined the central aisle inside the Hall.⁴⁰⁹ Sety I's original "ownership" is patent not only from his cartouches, but also from a continuous frieze that runs along the top of the west wall, above the upper register of scenes.⁴¹⁰ Here, Sety I's *nomen* cartouches alternate with a rebus of his *prenomen* — . Each cartouche is flanked by two serpents, both of which have a  hanging from its belly and face away from the cartouche (as if to protect it). These serpents' tails issue from a solar disk that surmounts each cartouche, and they both wear solar disks themselves (as do the -rebuses between these groups).⁴¹¹ This frieze, which establishes Sety I's initiative as the prime mover in the decoration of this wall, is especially significant because it runs above a number of scenes in the upper register in which Ramesses I is the celebrant.⁴¹² Given the overwhelming evidence of Sety I's primary responsibility for decorating this wall, it seems safest to view these images of Sety's father as an act of homage rather than as indicating that Ramesses I began to decorate inside the Great Hypostyle Hall during his brief reign.⁴¹³

This north wing of the west wall is laid out as a mirror image of its southern counterpart (see plan 2; cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 262). Immediately adjoining the doorjamb, there is a colossal scene (*ibid.*, pl. 137) spanning three registers in height that rests upon the left end of lowest register of scenes below (*ibid.*, pls. 158–60). Since the roof of the Hall's central nave stood above the south end of that large scene, this space on the west wall is filled with two registers of offering scenes, whereas the building's roof lay directly above the frieze that runs along the top of the

⁴⁰⁸ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 135, 158–59. The scenes on pl. 136 top do not belong to this series, even though they now seem to be contiguous to it; belonging instead to a roof terrace, they were separated from the scenes below by the roof slabs (now missing) and were decorated after year 21 of Ramesses II's reign (for which see the commentary to pl. 136).

⁴⁰⁹ Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 180ff.

⁴¹⁰ Shown on *GHHK* I.1, pls. 138–43.

⁴¹¹ The fragmentary frieze published on pl. 136 bottom is misattributed there to the north wing of the west wall. In fact, it is preserved in situ at the north end of the south wing (cf. pl. 7).

⁴¹² See pls. 138, 140–42. Sety I is the celebrant in two scenes of this series (pls. 139 and 143).

⁴¹³ See Murnane, *VA* 10.2–3 (1995), pp. 163–68; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 206–08. So contra Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 13–22; Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, pp. 43–44, 50–51.

rest of the northern wing (cf. *ibid.*, pl. 262). To the right of the huge scene are three registers of episodes, with the lowest register continuing below these.

On the lowermost register, the sculptors carved additional details to the reliefs generally not found on those in the registers above where — if present at all — they were rendered only in paint. This additional fretwork is commonly found on the wigs of the king and various deities, the pleating of Sety I's kilt, and the latticework design of his belt. One also encounters this higher level of embellishment of Sety I's reliefs on the lowest registers of the north and east walls of the Hypostyle Hall.

Substantial traces of Horemheb's erased sunk-relief decoration on the north tower of the Second Pylon remains on this wall despite Sety I's methodical attempt to erase it. Yet Sety also re-created much of Horemheb's decorative program.⁴¹⁴ In both versions, there were scenes at the top of the wall in which several members of the Great Ennead of Thebes appeared.⁴¹⁵ At the south end of the wall, Horemheb carved a huge scene, probably very much along the lines of its successor under Sety I in which the king is led by a goddess before enthroned Amun-Re.⁴¹⁶ Narratively, the Eighteenth Dynasty scene was more closely linked to the water-borne procession of the royal barge towing the great *Userhet* bark of Amun-Re during one of the great religious festivals, Opet or the Feast of the Valley. Horemheb's barges were much larger in scale than Sety I's with the tow ship being an actual royal barge manned by banks of rowers with long oars. It was doubtless modeled closely on Amenhotep III's decoration on the north tower of the Third Pylon's east face.⁴¹⁷ By drastically reducing the size of these vessels, Sety I's artists were able to accommodate four registers of scenes in the zone north of the huge scene at the south end.⁴¹⁸

Plate 135

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) I and II.1–2.

Location: B 206–09: West wall, north wing, two upper registers of the extension at the southern end (inside the clerestory of the central nave).

Subject: Four scenes: Ramesses II kneels and (*top left*) offers a bouquet to Amun-Re; (*top right*) officiates before Khonsu; (*bottom left*) adores ithyphallic Min-Amun-Re; and (*bottom right*) offers a jar of ointment to Mut.

Type of Relief: Raised, but the cartouches (originally belonging to Sety I) were recut in sunk relief for Ramesses II. In the two lower scenes, raised traces of , and  of Sety I's *nomen* cartouches, and , , and  of his *prenomen*, are visible.

Paint: (*Bottom left*) Faded pigment on Sety I's collar is discernible just under the back of his wig, but its colors have faded. No other paint survives.

Observations: Patches of hacking that occur throughout this area, indicated by shade on the drawing, is unconnected with any intent to vandalize the figures and must stem from the quarry or from removal of Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs. (*Top left*) Parts of the god's staff remain at the edge of the gap (above and below his hand and to the right of Sety's bouquet). Stray chisel marks speckle Sety's upper body, his arms, and the bottom of his bouquet. There is, however, no recutting on his bouquet. Instead, the thin stems of two lettuce stalks flank the wider butt end of his bouquet. Most of the surface inside the god's kilt has now sheared off. (*Top right*) Dense hacking left by the masons, not iconoclasts, disfigures Khonsu's arms and thighs, as well as the areas shaded on Nelson's drawing, where portions of Sety's image were partly cut in plaster, now gone. Although the tie of his diadem is carved in relief behind his wig, the two lines inside it are illusory. (*Bottom left*) The sculptors recut both figures: Sety's *khat*-wig below his ear, the front of Min's leg below his knee, the tip of his penis, and

⁴¹⁴ Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 566, fig. 25.

⁴¹⁵ Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 138 and 267.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 137.

⁴¹⁷ PM II², p. 61 (183); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 101–04; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 596, fig. 55, and pls. 96–97.

⁴¹⁸ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 151–52.

the leading edge of his front plume. Nelson's drawing omits the vulture's eye, the bottom of Sety's wig lappet inside his armpit, his royal beard, the front of Min's eye, and the circumcision on his phallus. (*Bottom right*) In addition to quarry hacking reflected by shade on the drawing, there is similar damage under the falcon's tail and through his wing and in pitting on Mut's upper body. Sety I's torso was recut at his back and chest, as was the back corner of his wig. A small block that bore Mut's lower back and the middle of her rear arm is no longer extant. Her rear foot, at its heel and sole, was never carved in stone and must have been indicated in plaster. Mut's eye is more complete than Nelson indicates, and her uraeus, except for its head, is visible amid tool marks.

Translations:

Top Left: No texts remain.

Top Right: The bottoms of three signs (grouped together, but distinctly separate) are evident above and to the left of Khonsu's hands. The sign on the left resembles the shaft of  or a similar tall, slightly ovoid glyph. It appears that the sign in the middle is , although its shaft is longer and thinner and its "arms" more narrow than Nelson's copy suggests, while the sign at left resembles , with its tie on the right).

Bottom Left:

By Min: ¹Min-Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes, ²lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary.

By the Vulture: ³Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By the King: ⁴(Long) live the good god, <lord of> joy;^a ⁵the dual king, lord [of the Two] Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ⁶the son of Re, lord [of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^c given life like Re.

Bottom Right:

By Mut: ¹[Mut, lady of Ishe]ru,^d ²[mistress of] all the g[ods]:^e ³"(I) have given to you the Nine Bows ga[thered together ...]."^f

By the Falcon: ⁴The Behdetite, [gr]eat god, [varie]gated of plumage, ⁵[as he gives all ...] like [Re].

By the King: ⁵[The du]al [ki]ng, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^c given [life] like Re every day.

Notes:

^a This use of *ꜥw.t-ib*, isolated at the bottom of this column, is unusual and thus far unparalleled. It is most likely an ellipsis of *nb ꜥw.t-ib*.

^b Replacing MENMA'ATRE.

^c Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN.

^d The front leg, chest, and chin of  are legible.

^e The lower right side of  is preserved (albeit unrecorded) above . There is only one vertical element in front of Mut's face, which is the base of a text divider, not the shaft of . For parallels to this epithet, see glossary s.v. *Mw.t*.

^f the top left "peak" of  is preserved above the gap.

Plate 136 Top

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) III.3.

Location: B 210–12: West wall, north wing, above the roof line immediately north of the clerestory (adjacent to pl. 135 and above pl. 137).

Subject: Ramesses II presents Maʿat (in the form of a rebus of his *prenomen*) to enthroned Amun-Re who is accompanied by falcon-headed Khonsu. To either side of the scene are large cartouches of Ramesses II.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None.

Observations: This scene does not belong with the rest of Sety I's decoration on the west wall. It was located on a rooftop terrace above the ceiling of the north wing of the Hypostyle Hall, adjacent to the northern windows of the clerestory nave, and is the chief remnant of a program of decoration Ramesses II added to the east face of the Second Pylon at some point after his twenty-first regnal year, when his *nomen* had become *Rʿ-ms-sw*. At one time, there must have been several scenes, interspersed with large cartouches, all along the west face of the Second Pylon above the roof of the Hypostyle Hall. These reliefs are probably coeval with huge cartouches and other titularies that Ramesses II carved on the north face of the north tower and south face of the south tower of the Second Pylon, and with ritual and triumphal scenes on the exterior sides of the vestibule and on the facade of the Pylon's towers and vestibule.⁴¹⁹ It may also be contemporary with Ramesses II's usurpations of reliefs by Horemheb and Ramesses I on the Pylon.⁴²⁰ All this decoration bears the later form of Ramesses II's *nomen*, *Rʿ-ms-sw*, made, perhaps, in connection with one of his jubilee festivals.⁴²¹

In the present scene, Nelson did not record details of Khonsu's beak, nostril, and the upper part of his wig where it meets his face. Hacking in the upper part of the large *prenomen* cartouche to the left of the scene are quarry marks. Immediately to the left of this is a smooth area of wall space devoid of inscriptions against which the westernmost pier of the north clerestory windows once rested. Beyond the large cartouches at the right end of the scene are vestiges of another episode, not recorded by Nelson. All that survives here is the rump and throne of a male divinity behind whom are the legs and lower torso of a goddess who stood behind him. Between them is part of a column of text containing the phrase [...] *ḥb.w-sd n Rʿ* [...] “[I] have given to you...] the jubilees of Re [...]” The rest is lost.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting Maʿat to the lord of Maʿat.

By Amun: ²[Amun-Re...] ^alord of Karnak. ³[Words spoken:] “(I) [have given] to you all valor.^b ⁴[(I) have given to you] all [victory].”^c

Behind Amun: Every [protection] — all life — surrounds him like Re.^d

By Khonsu: ⁵⁻⁶[Khonsu]-[in-Thebes-Nefer]-hotep. ⁷“(I) have [given] to you all health. ⁸(I) have [given] to you all joy. ⁹(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.” ¹⁰[Wor]ds [spoken]: “(I) have [given] to you eternity as king of the Two Lands and eternity as ruler of joy.”

By the King: ¹¹[The lord of the Two Lands] USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹²[the lord of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^e ¹³[given life like Re] forever.

⁴¹⁹ All of Ramesses II's original decoration on the Second Pylon is sunk relief, and his *nomen* is *Rʿ-ms-sw*: Aside from Kitchen's hand copies of the triumphal scenes on the side walls of the vestibule (*KRI* II, pp. 168–69; *RITA* II, pp. 42–43; *RITANC* II, pp. 78–79), most of it remains unpublished. The locations are as follows: on the facade (Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 140–41, 164–69; PM II², p. 39 [146–47]) and outer sides (loc. KB 77, 257) of the pylon towers, and on the exterior side walls (loc. KA 142–44, 159–61;

PM II², p. 38 [139, 141]), facade (loc. KA 148–50, 154; PM II², p. 38 [138]), and interior reveals (loc. KA 175–76, 203–05; PM II², p. 38 [142–43]) of its vestibule.

⁴²⁰ Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 7–11; Murnane, “Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory,” pp. 15–24; Murnane et al., *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 98–102 and figs. 8–10, 52–54.

⁴²¹ Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia,” pp. 55–56.

Behind the King: ^{13A}Every [protection — all life and dominion — surrounds him] like Re forever. ^{13B}[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN, [beloved of Amun].^f

Large Cartouches on Right: The lord of the Two Lands [USER]MA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

Large Cartouches on Left: [The lord of the Two Lands US]ERMA‘AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, [the lord of appearances RA]MESSU-MER[AMUN].

Notes:

- ^a Unless col. 4 was misnumbered on the plate, there is room only for a bare *ʿImn-R* above *nb ʿIp.t-sw.t* in col. 2.
- ^b By analogy with col. 10, it seems likely that the *di.n=(i) n=k* formulae assigned to Amun and Khonsu were each preceded by *ḏd-mdw*, repeated mechanically at the top of each column.
- ^c For the frequent pairing of *nḥt* with *kn.t*, see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k*.
- ^d In protection formulae, *nḥ* is normally preceded only by *sʿ*.
- ^e By analogy with the large cartouche at right and consistent with wall decoration from the later part of his reign at Karnak and in Sety I’s Gurnah temple, it is likely that Ramesses II’s cartouches were here preceded only by the titles *nb tʿwy* and *nb ḥʿw*. Cf. Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses II. in Karnak*, Vol. 2: *Abbildungen*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), passim; Jürgen Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos’ I. in Gurna: Die Reliefs und Inschriften I*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 20 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pls. 1–44, passim.
- ^f Again by comparison with Ramesses II’s later reliefs in Thebes, one would expect a text with both cartouches, each preceded by two titles, and concluding with the phrase “beloved of god N,” in which the deity named is the same as his object of worship. See Helck, *Ritualszenen*, pls. 20–46, 48–57, 59–61, 63–69, 82–83, 90–92.

Plate 137

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) III; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 189, fig. 121.

Location: B 216: West wall, north wing: huge scene between the north jamb of the western gateway and the top three registers of scenes farther north.

Subject: Sety I is led into the presence of Amun-Re by Isis, who presents the god with a bouquet and a sistrum. Behind her enthroned husband stands Mut, while Khonsu stands behind the king, inscribing his titulary on a year-staff (from which hang jubilee kiosks, one of which has the cartouches of Sety I inside it) (figs. 154–58, 287, 292).

Type of Relief: Raised, although Ramesses II substituted his *prenomen* cartouche in sunk relief for that of his father in cols. 19 and 30. However, traces of Sety’s erased name are readily apparent.

Paint: Faint stripes remain on Sety I’s *nemes*-headcloth and concentric bands on his broad collar and on Khonsu’s collar. A darker shade of pigment clings to the irises of Isis, Sety I, and Khonsu, and there are horizontal bands of decayed paint on the upper part of Khonsu’s staff, but all these colors have faded beyond recognition, and there is no other pigment.

Observations: Small cosmetic adjustments to the major figures are plentiful:

- (1) Sety I’s craftsmen recut his profile and beard three times and reworked both sides of his *nemes*-headcloth lappet. In addition, they readjusted both of his shoulders, his arms and upper torso at the armpits, his rear elbow, and the shafts of his crook and flail, each as many as three times. They also reworked his earlobe and made two separate ear piercings at different times. Both sides of Sety’s advancing leg and the back of his rear leg were recut along their entire lengths. Remnants of plaster clinging to the calf and ankle of his rear leg indicate that the craftsmen’s intention was to make it wider on that side. Its position may have been shifted to the right as well.

- (2) Khonsu's sidelock was thickened at the back, and his thumb was enlarged on his lower fist. The front of his body was recut from the top of his leg to the instep and toe of his foot. Here, the sculptors made his body wider, and this effect was completed in plaster, which they molded to build up the space between the original and final cut lines. In places where this stucco has fallen away, one sees both versions.
- (3) Minor recutting occurs on Isis' chin, the front of her back leg beneath the hem of her dress, her front leg from below her knee to her ankle, her back just below her armpit, and her belly. Reworking to her extended arm was more extensive; it may have been shifted up, and the top of her arm from the bicep to the wrist was made thicker. Plaster used to complete this effect is intact on her bicep, but has fallen away from her forearm and wrist. Stucco also clings to the concave portion of her rear leg above her calf, which the sculptors also made thicker.
- (4) Amun's image was also modified at several points. The sculptors adjusted the leading edge of his plumes and the front of his crown, along with the back and tip of his beard. They also reworked his rear shoulder, the back of his rear arm and the top of his hand, both sides of his advancing forearm, and the front of his throne's seat cushion. Finally, they widened his advancing upper arm along its bottom and the back of his rear leg from its calf to its ankle, using plaster to build it up and mask obsolete cut lines.
- (5) Sety's artisans shifted Mut's body to the right and then adjusted it on both sides to make her thicker. Engraved lines to the left of her lower back and buttocks — vestiges of the suppressed version — indicate where these once were. Initially, the final version of her body was too slender, and they had to widen it on its front from where her right arm crosses her torso to the instep of her foot. Plaster used to complete this effect has fallen out in some places. Recutting and plaster infill are also found on the front and back of her dangling arm, on the thumb of her upraised arm, and along the back of her torso. In addition, the craftsmen modified her wig at the back, her vulture cap at its top, her throat, and the upper parts of her Double Crown.
- (6) Carved lines embedded in some of the uraei and solar disks in Sety I's cartouche frieze between the architraves may indicate that it had been laid out in paint and partially carved in relief on a smaller scale before the larger final version was made.

In making these “cosmetic” adjustments to the figures, Sety's craftsmen employed a common method. First, they sculpted a new outer cut line for the element to be adjusted. Next, they shaved back the negative space adjacent to it so that newly recut features appeared as raised relief. Since, however, the level of new elements was not as high as the original ones (with the upper surface of recarved relief being at the same height or lower than the original negative space surrounding the primary version), plaster was applied to build up recut features, and it was shaped to complete the process of extending the raised relief into previously empty space. Where this plaster has fallen away, recut relief appears to be “terraced,” for example, on Sety's recarved profile.

Several traces of Horemheb's original sunk-relief decoration on the Second Pylon also survive, most notably, a large, deeply cut solar disk over Sety I's head belonging to an earlier deity who once stood here and who led Horemheb before Amun (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 267). Below this disk, and now embedded inside Sety's *nemes*-headdress, is a sloping gash that was surely the back of the divinity's wig. Also visible are part of its rear shoulder and the slope of its back amid Sety's torso, and, perhaps too, the calf of its rear leg inside Sety's advancing one. Inside Sety's rear leg are traces of the advancing leg and ankle of his Eighteenth Dynasty royal predecessor. A curving gash, filled with ancient plaster, runs parallel to Isis' calf inside her leg and presumably also stems from Horemheb's suppressed decoration. Thus, Sety's design appears to have been similar to Horemheb's original decorative program, but it is unclear whether the king was led directly by a goddess before Amun or whether a male deity, perhaps falcon-headed Khonsu with a lunar disk on his head, intervened between them.

A frieze of cobras wearing sun disks carved in sunk relief is preserved above the emplacement for the left-hand architrave (above cols. 4–9) along with another fragment with the lower hoods of several uraei situated above Sety I's larger frieze between the two architraves. Both fragments must also belong to Horemheb's decoration of the pylon, for they would have been covered by the roofing slabs that rested on the architraves just below. Perhaps this frieze surmounted the roof of a shrine that enclosed the figures. Also part of the Second Pylon's original decoration is an isolated group of hieroglyphs, seemingly at the top of col. 18. These are, however, above the Hypostyle Hall's roofline, and the traces are actually $\underline{d}d\text{-}mdw\text{ }di.n=(i)\text{ }n=[k]$. Moreover, they are in sunk relief and cannot be part of Sety I's work, but must belong to Horemheb's scheme. Doubtless the phrase was part of the speech by the first divinity in a row of Ennead gods of whom only his forward shoulder and upper torso remain.⁴²²

Among the fine details omitted from the drawing are the eye and mouth on the "head" of Amun's *w3s*-scepter; the eye of Khonsu's uraeus; much of the plaiting on his beard; the thumbnails and fingernails of Amun, Mut, Sety I, and Khonsu; the eyes of some large uraei on the cartouche frieze above the scene; creases on Amun's neck; and a chin strap that secures his beard to his crown. Nor is a sloping double line engraved on the front of Isis' vulture crown above her eyebrow noted in the drawing. As is typical of Sety I's craftsmanship, many of the hieroglyphs are intricately carved. Late Period iconoclasts erased the head of  in Sety I's nomen cartouche in col. 1. Shallow pitting that disfigures Mut's face may be fortuitous, and aside from an isolated case where  was thoroughly pecked out near the bottom of col. 30, there is no further evidence of iconoclasm or other forms of vandalism.

Translations:

Label: ¹King's induction^a into the temple (called) "Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of ²Amun," that [you] might see your father, the lord of the gods (and) that he might give to you eternity with life and dominion.

By Isis: ³[Words spoken] by [Is]is the great, mother of the god, to her father ⁴[Amun-Re]: "[I play] the two sistr^a for love of you (with) ⁵all (sorts of) fresh flowers to your nose, as [I] charm ⁶your handsome face.^c I am ⁷⁻⁹your august daugh[ter...].^d ¹⁰Behold^e ¹¹your son, Horus 'appearing in Thebes,' that you might endow him ¹²with life, stability, and do[minion],^f like (what is done) for a son who is effective like him."

By Khonsu: ¹³Words [spoken] by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: ¹⁴"[(I) have given to you millions] of years, ¹⁵[(and) myriads of jubilees] ¹⁶in/as [...] ¹⁷[... as I gi]ve to you ¹⁸the Nine Bows.^h I have inscribed your titularly as Horus: mighty bull, 'appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live' — it being fixed on the august *Ished*-tree in the mansion of the prince,ⁱ beside the lords of Heliopolis: your name endures like heaven endures (and) is stable unto eternity."

By Amun: ¹⁹[Words sp]oken^j b[y Amun-Re, ... lord of the thr]ones of the Two Lands:^k "Welcome, welcome (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE:^l my heart is glad, ²⁰I being satisfied [with what you have done for me],^m (and) I [ex]ult at seeing your beauty! (I) have given to you ²¹my office of dual king, my kingship (and) my li[fe]time as king, inasmuch as you have made ²²for me a great monument directly in front ofⁿ ²³my temple, which has ²⁴endured^o as the broad-²⁵[hal]l of Shu^p since ²⁶the time of the ancestral ²⁷kings:^q I had not inspired (any of) them^r ²⁸to embellish my monuments, except for my son, ²⁹the one who is effective for the one who fashioned him.^s May you do what pleases ³⁰my Ka, I having said [to] you,^t when you were in the egg, that you belong to me to be (my) protector. Your name shall continually exist, being established and enduring, as (is done) for a son who is as effective as you are,^u inasmuch as [you have made]^v for me monuments in Thebes, the district of eternity^w — (namely) the dual king USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^l given life."

By Mut:^x Mut the great, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the Vulture: ³¹Nekhbet.

By the King: ³¹The dual king who performs benefactions for his father Amun, ³²the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ³³the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ³⁴whom Amun has magnified as ³⁵king.

⁴²² See *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 267, and compare *ibid.*, pl. 138.

Notes:

- ^a Note that *bs-nsw* is written without  following .
- ^b Reading [*iri=i*] *sš.ty* (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 106:9, 11).
- ^c Reading *swnwnw*=[*i*] *pzy=k hr nfr*. Pace Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 105, n. 40), this is an entirely correct formulation in Late Egyptian, and it need not be “corrected” to its Middle Egyptian equivalent. The range of meanings of *swnwnw* includes “to coax,” “to cajole,” and “to flatter.” *Wb.* IV, p. 69; Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 2, p. 20.
- ^d Or “I am your daughter, the noble-woman”? Nelson has confused a  behind the  (*šps*) ideogram in col. 8 with a text divider, with the result that his col. 9 is too wide. There are actually three vertical segments, for  and the text divider. Nor are any traces of  in col. 9 that Nelson might have seen visible today or apparent in Chicago Oriental Institute photographs 6048, 6049, and 8477. This part of the wall was already quite eroded in Nelson’s day, and the sign is probably erroneous. Yet it is unclear what text filled this gap.
- ^e Reading *mʔ* as an imperative, with a reflexive dative (Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §337.2).
- ^f Part of the head of  is discernible here.
- ^g For parallels to this reconstruction of cols. 14–15, see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k hḥ.w m rnp.wt*, etc. Traces of  that Nelson records in col. 16 are now gone.
- ^h Interpreting the signs at the bottom of col. 17 as the back of  or , followed by  at right side of column, then  — thus probably read *di=[i] n=k pd.t-psd.t*. The  may have been omitted altogether, but if present at all, it is incomplete and squeezed in below the architrave. The phrase *di.n=(i) n=k* that Nelson recorded at the extreme top of col. 18 is not a mistake, but neither does it belong to this text; rather, it is a remnant of an older text in sunk relief from the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of the Second Pylon. It stands immediately to the left of the sunk relief cobra-frieze (which, although not drawn, extends all the way across the top of the emplacement for the architrave). See observations above.
- ⁱ On *ḥw.t-sr* (*Wb.* III, p. 2), see Dietrich Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: Eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 16 (Berlin: Achet-Verlag, 1999), pp. 12, 15–16; Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, pp. 103–99, 345–47; Mark Smith, *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005), p. 218.
- ^j Repeated mechanically above cols. 20–30.
- ^k The length of the gap above [*nb n*]s.wt *tʔ.wy* seems to require another epithet following the god’s name, but absence of a parallel from this building makes it unclear which one it might be: *nb ns.wt tʔ.wy* generally initiates a string of epithets. However, clear traces of  below  at the top of col. 19 — an unusual writing of *in* — occupies a considerable amount of space, and if the name Amun-Re were followed by , it might fill the whole gap without an additional epithet.
- ^l Usurped, in sunk relief, by Ramesses II from the original *prenomen* of Sety I.
- ^m So restoring *ḥtp.kwi m [ir.t.n=k n=i]*.
- ⁿ So *m ḥf.t-ḥr r-pr=i*. See C. Wallet-Lebrun, “*Ḥft-ḥr* dans les textes de construction,” *GM* 58 (1982), pp. 75–86.
- ^o So taking *wn* as an auxiliary verb, as suggested by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 106, n. 51. See Junge, *Late Egyptian*, pp. 159–61, on *wn* as a “preterite converter.”
- ^p The meaning of *wšḥ.t šw* is open to various interpretations. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 106, n. 52) suggests that *wšḥ.t šw* “Halle des Lichtes,” might be a name for the Hypostyle Hall: it is not found in *Wb.* I, pp. 366–67, but cf. *Wb.* IV, p. 430, “light”; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 431, “high” — thus it might be an ornate descriptive term, meaning something like “lofty” or “illuminated broad-hall.” An entirely different interpretation is given by Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals, and Day-books*, p. 265, who reads, “... which had been left an undecorated court from the reigns (*hʔ.w*) of the kings of Lower Egypt,” referring to a forecourt that previously existed between the Second and Third Pylons before the Hall was built. According to Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, pp. 71–80 and 87–89, a *wšḥ.t* could denote both an open court and a hypostyle hall of an Egyptian temple.
- ^q Reading *n* (for *m*) *ḏr h(ʔ).w bi.tyw* (with  above the determinative  at the top of col. 27).

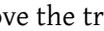
- ^r Literally, “I did not cause (*nn rdi.n=i*) an acting (*ir.t*) in their heart(s).” The grammar of the negative form is troubling. While we could have *nn* for *n* in an *n sdm.n=f* construction, that form does not negate the past as the context (earlier kings) demands.
- ^s There seems to be no room for [*iri*] at the top of col. 29, as Sharkawy admits (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 106, n. 54) even while including it in his translation.
- ^t There is room for  above the trace of , thus read *dd.n=i [n]=k*.
- ^u Literally, “a son effective like your type.”
- ^v Restoring *mi [irr=k] n=i* (cf. cols. 21–22).
- ^w Unless *sp3.t* (with its own phonetic complement and determinative) was meant as an exaggerated additive to *W3s.t*, it seems best to translate it separately as here, qualifying *W3s.t*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 37:34.
- ^x This column is not numbered on the drawing.

Plate 138

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (152) I.1; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 14, King and Monthu.

Location: B 217: West wall, north wing, top register, first scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Ramesses I offers incense and libation to a procession of eight divinities. A vulture-goddess soars over the king’s head (figs. 161, 328).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Tefnut has horizontal bands across her chest and a shoulder strap behind her wig lappet. Geb wears a corslet with two shoulder straps; traces of his broad collar also survive. Both straps of Nut’s dress, her collar, and three horizontal bands across her chest are visible, as is the upper hem of Osiris’s corslet, and the armband on the bicep of his forward arm. Isis’ dress has several horizontal bands spanning her upper torso, and the concentric rings of her broad collar are evident, but while these patterns are discernible, all the colors have faded.

Observations: Numerous vestiges of Horemheb’s program of sunk-relief decoration on the Second Pylon survive, most notably at the upper left corner of the scene where Sety I’s craftsmen left part of their master’s titulary frieze uncarved. Here one sees a procession of ten incompletely erased divinities. A broad swath of dense chisel gouges extending across the three most complete gods at the left end is residue from their removal. It is not clear whether Sety’s workmen carved his titulary frieze in plaster used to mask this residue or if they simply left it incomplete. Sparse traces of the arms, waists, and torsos of several additional gods are embedded in the decorative border separating the final scene from the titulary frieze, along with another above the vulture at the far left end. In addition, under Nut, there is preserved the top of a short column of text in sunk relief. Here one sees only three signs , *n p3 iri* “... for the one who makes”⁴²³ A gap extending across Osiris’ feet and into Isis’ advancing leg is marred by dense hacking and missing patch-stones. Vertical gashes in Nut’s legs and feet amid hacking at the base of col. 29 and extending into the scenes below (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 145) belong to another row of deities from the obsolete decoration. Dense tool marks also obscure the peaks of Monthu’s plumes and Isis’ solar disk.

In completing the new decorative program, Sety I’s artists retouched the reliefs cosmetically at some points: the king’s forward shoulder and the bottom of his lower arm from its elbow to its wrist, and the front of Atum’s rear arm from his armpit to his thumb. Nelson did not capture some finer details, including light modeling on the bodies of the goddesses, which defines their inner thighs and the division of their legs or facial markings on Monthu’s falcon’s head. Plumage on the vulture’s lower wing is also less complete and is absent from its tail.

⁴²³ Traces extend into the scenes below: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 145.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing and libating to his father(s): the Great Ennead.

By Monthu: ²Monthu, lord of Thebes, residing in Iuny,^a ³as he gives life: ⁴Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all valor. ⁵(I) have given to you all victory.”

By Atum: ⁶Atum, lord of the Two Lands, ⁷the Heliopolitan, the great god, ⁸as he gives all^c life: ⁹“(I) have given to you all health.”

By Shu: ¹⁰Shu, the great god, lord of heaven, ¹¹as he gives all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health: ¹²“(I) have given to you all food. ¹³(I) have given to you all provisions.”

By Tefnut: ¹⁴Tefnut, lady^c of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: ¹⁵“(I) have given to you years of eternity. ¹⁶(I) have given to you the throne of Geb.”

By Geb: ¹⁷Geb, father of all the gods: ¹⁸“(I) have given to you all flat lands. ¹⁹(I) have given to you a great jubilee.^d ²⁰(I) have given to you offerings of loaves.”^e

By Nut: ²¹Nut the great, who bore the gods: ²²“(I) have given to you myriads of years.^f ²³(I) have given to you the kingship of Re.”

By Osiris: ²⁴Osiris, Formost of ²⁵the Westerners,^g ²⁶the great god, lord of the sacred land: ²⁷“(I) have given to you my seat and my throne. ²⁸(I) have given to you my office of dual king. ²⁹(I) have given to you your lifetime as long as [heaven] exists.”^h

By Isis: ³⁰Isis the great, ³¹mother of the god, lady of heaven, ³²Weret-hekau: ³³“(I) have given to you all flat lands and every foreign country. ³⁴(I) have given to you the kingship of Horus [on earth].”ⁱ

By the King:^j The good god,^k lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENPEHTYRE RAMESSU, give life like Re.

Notes:

^a Unless this epithet is meant to associate Monthu with Atum by giving him an affiliation with Northern Egypt, this should perhaps be interpreted as *ḥry-ib 'Iwn(y)*, referring not to Heliopolis, but to ancient Iuny, modern Armant, a major cult center of Monthu 20 km south of Thebes. See Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne* I, p. 72. Monthu is called *nb 'Iwn[y]* as early as the Sixth Dynasty in the tomb of Ihy at Thebes: Percy E. Newberry, “A Sixth Dynasty Tomb at Thebes,” *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 97–100.

An alternative solution might be to read the title as a reference to Heliopolis or even an ellipsis of *nb 'Iwnw <šm'w>* “lord of <Southern Egyptian> Heliopolis,” but note the absence of , which militates against a reading of *'Iwnw* “Heliopolis” in either case. However, this sign occurs in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 111:5, although this also refers to Iuny [Armant] and not Heliopolis. The same writing of Iuny with  appears in the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak: Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostris I^{er} à Karnak* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1969), p. 78, §186 and n. a; p. 89, §235 (20). Luc Gabolde suggests that these apparent miswritings of Iuny perhaps resulted both through deliberate association with the name of Heliopolis and also by the fact that the ending .y was weak (Luc Gabolde, personal communication).

Nevertheless, there is an undoubted link between Monthu and Atum, who follows close behind him in the present scene. Monthu is usually paired with Atum in royal induction scenes. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 50, 78, 111, 179, 199. On the association between these deities, see Luc Gabolde, *Le “grand château d’Amon” de Sesostris I^{er} à Karnak: la décoration du temple d’Amon-Rê au Moyen Empire*, *Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 17 (Paris: De Boccard, 1998), pp. 143–55; Hermann Keys, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, Part 1, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 28/1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923), pp. 30–34; Edward K. Werner, “The God Montu: From the Earliest Attestations to the End of the New Kingdom” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1985), pp. 235–64. Again, I am grateful to Luc Gabolde for all these references.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 5, 9, 12–13, 15–16, 18–20, 22–23, 27–28, 33.

^c Miscarved as  instead of .

^d This may be a contracted writing of *ḥb.w-sd 'š' wr.t* “a great many jubilees,” dictated by lack of space. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 79:6–7.

^e Reading *ḥtpw 'ḳw* “offerings of loaves.” Or, if  is to be understood as *df'w*, then read “food-offerings and provisions,” *Wb.* V, p. 569.

- ^f On all three signs, the sculptor failed to carve the “bump” that regularly occurs on the side of , but one was later added to the first sign as an engraved line.
- ^g Note the  determinative of *ʾImn.tyw*.
- ^h Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 145 left:11: *di.n=(i) n=k ḥ˙w=k r wnn ḥr.t*.
- ⁱ By analogy with col. 29, there is room for [*tp tʾ*] at the bottom of this column: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 90:10, 93:8.
- ^j These four short columns were left unnumbered on the drawing.
- ^k Nelson has erroneously misoriented . It actually faces right as it normally would, not left as indicated in the drawing.

Plate 139

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (152) I.2.

Location: B 218: West wall, north wing, top register, second scene north of the large one at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels under the vulture-goddess Nekhbet and offers a conical loaf of bread to Seth, who is followed by his consort, Nephthys.

Type of Relief: Raised (figs. 247, 252).

Paint: Sety I's belt has three narrow horizontal bands on either side and through its middle, probably of some lighter color, but only the pattern is evident. Decayed pigment remains on his collar.

Observations: Numerous traces of the arms and bodies of a procession of divinities carved by Horemheb in sunk relief onto his Second Pylon are embedded in the frieze above this scene. There is, additionally, part of an erased *di.[n]=(i) n=k* formula inside the solar disk of the first uraeus on the left. A few small veneer stones were used to patch Seth's advancing foot and the front of Sety I's body (the latter being mended with three small blocks), and two were employed on Nephthys' wig and the back of her torso. Hacking left over from removal of Horemheb's reliefs is concentrated in a few spots, including the bottom of Sety's *nomen* (which was completed in plaster) and Seth's head and chest. Large gaps in the top frieze and a hole at the bottom of col. 11 seem to be fortuitous rather than deliberate. Neither Seth's figure nor the text containing his name were attacked by iconoclasts. As a whole, the relief is in good condition, although a block containing the vulture's lower wing has buckled and threatens to fall away. A few subtle details not shown in the drawing are a vertical rib inside the upright of Sety's Red Crown and the lightly modeled ankle bones of Sety I and Seth. Nelson has misconstrued the shape of Seth's wig and lappet, which more closely resemble those of Shu, Geb, and Osiris in the previous scene (pl. 138).

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to his father Seth, that he might achieve “given life.”

By Seth: ²Words spoken^a by Seth, great of strength, ³residing in the temple (called) “Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN ⁴in the Estate of Amun”: “(I) have given to^b you ⁵all life and dominion, all health, ⁶(and) all joy on my part.”

By Nephthys: ⁷[Words] spoken by Nephthys, [the god's] sister,^c ⁸as she gives all life, ⁹(and) all joy ¹⁰like Re: ¹¹“(I) have given to you myriads of years, [you appearing] like Re.”^d

By Large Vulture: ¹²Nekhbet.^e

By Small Vulture: <Nekhbet>,^f as she gives life.

By the King: ¹³The lord of the Two Lands MENMA^g ATRE, ¹⁴the lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, ¹⁵given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–6 and 8–9.

^b  in the *di.n=(i) n=k* formula were mistakenly carved as  through confusion with a hieratic original.

^c Cf. *RIK* I, pl. 42-C:7 (*nb.t-ḥw.t, sn.t-nṯr, ḥnw.t tʾ.wy*).

- ^d Given the size of the lacuna above *mi* [R'] (of which  are lost in the gap), restore [+]: *h'.ti*.
- ^e The sculptor miscarved  instead of .
- ^f This identity is suggested by the Southern Egyptian lily on which this vulture rests, as she extends  “dominion” toward the king’s names at the left.

Plate 140

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 43–44 (152) I.3–4.

Location: B 219–20: West wall, north wing, top register, third and fourth scenes north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: (*Left*) Two scenes: Ramesses I kneels beneath a vulture-goddess, offering wine to Horsiese and Hathor of Dendera, and (*right*) presenting a *nemset*-jar to Sobek, who is followed by the goddesses Tjenedet and Yunyt (figs. 159–60, 164, 326).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Patterns of stripes on Ramesses I’s *nemset*-jar (*right*) are merely natural strata in the bedding of the sandstone and continue in the negative space around and above this vessel. Faint vestiges of concentric bands on the broad collars of Horsiese, Hathor, the king (*right*), and Sobek remain, but their colors have decayed beyond recognition.

Observations: Cosmetic reworking is limited to Horsiese’s front shoulder and Tjenedet’s belly and the small of her back. No remnants of Horemheb’s suppressed decoration are visible in this scene. Diagonal striations inside Sobek’s wig are, in fact, natural layers in the sandstone’s bedding. Dense tool marks from erasure of obsolete decoration is most concentrated inside Horus’ wig, Hathor’s sun disk, and Yunyt’s head and midriff. Post-pharaonic occupants of the Hypostyle Hall introduced small beam holes in Horus’ rear leg, and at the left sides of cols. 7 and 12 (*right*). Larger gaps resulted where portions of carved surface sheared off through natural decay. Vertical bands in the ribbon border under the cartouche frieze are more complete than drawn. Nelson overlooked or abbreviated other features in his record, including the vultures’ wing plumage, Horus’ belly, Sobek’s snout and his tail, and the fold in Ramesses I’s (*right*) *nemes*-headcloth above his ear.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Off[ering wine to his father Ho]rus, [that he might achieve “given] life [like Re]”^a

By Horus: ²Horus-Son-of-Isis, ³the great god, ⁴residing in Karnak: ⁵Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees. ⁶(I) have given to you the years of Atum.”

By Hathor: ⁷Hathor, lady ⁸of Dendera, lady of heaven, ⁹Weret-hekau: ¹⁰“(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries. ¹¹(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, forever and ever!”

By the Vulture: ¹²Wadjet.

By the King: ¹³The good god who performs benefactions, ¹⁴the lord of the Two Lands MENPEHTYRE, ¹⁵the lord of appearances RAMESSU, ¹⁶given life like Re.

Right:

Label: ¹Greeting with a *nemset*-jar for his father Sobek,^c ²that he might achieve “given life like Re.”

By Sobek: ³Sobek, lord of Sumenu:^d ⁴“(I) have given to you all life and dominion. ⁵(I) have given to you all health. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy. ⁷(I) have given to you food and every catch of fowl and fish.”

By Tjenedet: ⁸Tjenedet, ⁹lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: ¹⁰“(I) have given to you the years of Re. ¹¹(I) have given to you all flat lands. ¹²(I) have given to you your monument, enduring like heaven.”

By Yunyt: ¹³Yunyt, the daughter of Re, ¹⁴lady of heaven, Weret-¹⁵hekau: ¹⁶“(I) have given to you the Nine Bows gathered together. ¹⁷(I) have given to you food and provisions.^e ¹⁸(I) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords with life and dominion.”

By the King: ¹⁹The lord of the Two Lands MENPEHTYRE, ²⁰the lord of appearances RAMESSU, ²¹given life like Re.

Notes:

- ^a Restoring *hnk* [*m irp n it=f*] *Hrw*, [*iri=f di*] *nh* [*mi R*].
- ^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 6, 10 (left), and cols. 4–6, 10–11, and 16–17 (right).
- ^c Here  should be read as .
- ^d Direct examination of the wall and of high-resolution photographs reveals that the sign that Nelson records as  more closely resembles  (variant of Gardiner, S-L., T 11), with its distinctive notch and bulbous fletching at the left end. This is surely a miswriting of the mace hieroglyph , which has the value *mnw*. These signs are nearly identical in the hieratic from which the draftsman worked (cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, nos. 439 and 448). We must have here, then, a highly abbreviated writing of Sumenu (Mahamid el-Qibli, near Gebelein), a cult center of Sobek in Upper Egypt. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, *22; E. Otto, *Topographie des Thebanischen Gauces*, p. 93; E. Brovarski, “Sobek,” *LÄ* V, pp. 1002–04; W. Helck, “Sumenu,” *LÄ* VI, p. 110. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 108) mistakenly reads this as “Sobek, der Herr von Krokodilopolis.” Cf. our note f to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 36:37.
- ^e Reading *hw df*^w.

Plate 141

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) I.5; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 102.

Location: B 221: West wall, north wing, top register, fifth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Ramesses I, with the Horus falcon hovering above his head, runs a ritual race with two -vases in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re and Hathor, lady of the Southern Egyptian sycamore.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Ramesses I's belt has a latticework design, but its colors are not apparent. Otherwise, no paint remains.

Observations: Traces of Horemheb's sunk-relief decoration on the Second Pylon consist of some obscure vertical gashes inside the king's body, and the center of a large winged disk, , of the Behdetite embedded at the right end of the cartouche frieze (traces of its epithets occur in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 142–43). No malicious hacking is apparent, and dense scoring by a chisel on and around Amun's chest and arm and on Hathor's chest and wig resulted from the removal of the otiose decoration. The same must be true for random gouges on the king's legs and kilt. Ramesses' advancing forearm was recut below his wrist.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering libation^a to Amun-Re, lord of heaven.

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of heaven, pre-eminent (in) ³his sanctuary, ⁴the great [go]ld who is on ⁵his great seat, ⁶as he gives all life, stability, and dominion: ⁷“(I) have given to you my years as king.”

By Hathor: ⁸Words spoken by Hathor, lady of the Southern Egyptian sycamore: ⁹“(I) have given to you life and dominion. ¹⁰(I) have given to you health. ¹¹(I) have given to you joy. ¹²(I) have given to you love of you, it being great like Re.”

By the King: ¹³The dual king MENPEHTYRE, ¹⁴the son of Re RAMESSU, given life like Re, ¹⁵whom Amun has caused to appear ¹⁶in Karnak.

By the Falcon: ¹⁷<The Behdetite>, as <he> gives life and dominion.

Note:

- ^a The  determinative of *kbhw* is unusual; perhaps it reflects the influence of a related word (*Wb*, V, p. 29, “watery region”; cf. *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138:47). The spelling of this formula with *hrp* is common in the New Kingdom (cf. *Khonsu* II, pl. 121-A:1).

Plate 142

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) I.6.

Location: B 222: West wall, north wing, top register, sixth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Ramesses I runs a ritual race, carrying ship's gear — an oar and  — before Amun-Re and Hathor, lady of Byblos.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In the upper right corner of this plate, Nelson records traces of suppressed Eighteenth Dynasty decoration embedded in the cartouche frieze, namely,  of the Behdetite's epithet *ntr* [ꜥ]. In addition, there are further vestiges: a long, horizontal sign, probably , just to the right of the “flag” of  that overlaps a solar disk surmounting the first cartouche on the right;⁴²⁴ a long, mostly horizontal gash just below  of *Imn* in Sety I's *nomen* that continues into the hood of a large uraeus at its right, surely part of ; and a curving trace near the base of this same cobra's hood, which is either  or . Another curving gash is situated beneath the left uraeus' hood and  of Sety's *prenomen* rebus, but it aligns with neither the shaft of  nor the left end of  above. If not simply fortuitous, then it must be a disk, perhaps for . Taken as a group (and conscious of vestiges of a winged disk in the previous scene), these elements may be reconstructed as , or perhaps , part of a longer text that undoubtedly — based on numerous parallels — read *Bḥdty ntr ꜥ sbi šw.t* “the Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage.”

Patches of residual chisel gouges stemming from removal of these Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs afflict the vulture's forward wing, surviving portions of Amun's torso, Hathor's shoulders, and her legs at the knee and calf. A few patching stones employed to ameliorate the most severe of such tool marks are missing, notably a large, deep hole in Ramesses I's body, along with smaller gaps inside Amun's torso, in the space between the two divinities, and over Hathor's ankles. Otherwise, damage to this scene reflects natural wear and tear. Since Nelson recorded it, the second *nomen* cartouche in the top frieze and the uraeus to its right have fallen away.

Nelson misinterpreted, or simply failed to record, a number of subtle details. There is a groove inside the upright of Ramesses I's Red Crown, and unusually, the head of Amun's *w3s*-scepter has a distinct mouth, slanted eye, an ear, and even a pointed nostril (cf. observations to pl. 137). Vertical stripes in the ribbon border above the scene are more complete than indicated, and two of Amun's fingers on his forward hand are intact. In addition to the ribbon in the middle of Hathor's wig, she wears another fillet tied around the crown of her head, but this lacks a knot at the back. In contemporary reliefs from the Hall, Hathor's wig does not have a tripartite design with lappets, but covers her rear shoulder, thus Nelson's *sic*.⁴²⁵ Note that a *ka*-standard behind Hathor is part of the adjacent scene (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 143).

Translations:

Label: ¹Taking possession of the oar for Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By the King: ²The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENPEHTYRE, ³the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU, true-of-voice for[ever].

By the Vulture: ⁴Nekhbet, ⁵as she gives all life, stability, and dominion.

By Amun: ⁶Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of [he]aven, king of the gods: ⁷Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all valor and victory. ⁸(I) have given to you all food (and) provisions. ⁹(I) have given to you the Black Land, the Red Land (and) every foreign country g[athered together].”^b

⁴²⁴ The disk and horizontal traces are recorded in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 143 and 267.

⁴²⁵ There is some variety in the precise shape of Hathor's wig and the number and situation of the ribbons that secure it. In some cases, too, she has a plaited lock separated from the main

body of the wig at the side of her face. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 67, 106, 140 left, 144, 145, 157, and 165. In none of these cases, however, does her wig have a tripartite design, nor is her ear uncovered (except in pl. 165).

By *Hathor*: ¹⁰Hathor, lady of Byblos,^c ¹¹as she gives all life and dominion, ¹²as she gives all health, ¹³as [she] gives all joy.

Notes:

- ^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 8.
^b Traces of the left flail and flat bottom of , *dmḡ*, remain above Amun's foot.
^c For Hathor, lady of Biblos, *Kꜣp(ny)*, see Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, p. 150.

Plate 143

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) I.7.

Location: B 223: West wall, north wing, top register, seventh (last) scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Hathor, lady of turquoise. A vulture hovers above the king, while behind him stands a *ka*-standard with his Horus name (fig. 163).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded traces abound, including horizontal bands and a belt with long streamers on Hathor's dress, stripes on Sety I's *nemes*-headcloth, including its "tail" behind his shoulder, a latticework motif on his belt, and a pattern of rectangles on his belt apron, but no colors are discernible. An armlet on the bicep of Sety's rear arm has a lighter band (yellow?) between two darker ones (blue?). Concentric rings of faded pigment define Amun's broad collar, the outermost one being wider than the rest.

Observations: Deep chisel gouges disfigure this relief in several areas, most concentrated on Sety I's face, the bicep of his forward arm, the elbow joint of his other arm, parts of the sky-sign above the scene, and Amun's fetish stand. Hathor's figure is also dappled with tool marks. Aside, perhaps, from Sety's face — unless this too is simply unfortunate — all this damage appears to be random and likely originated with the erasure of Horemheb's reliefs on the Second Pylon.

Extensive traces of this suppressed decoration survive, entangled as sunk relief palimpsests in Sety I's titulary frieze at the top of the wall. Although Nelson recorded some of this residuum, his copy is not without errors, and we can now identify more palimpsests. In the top right corner, one sees the oval body and short tail of a huge vulture, but its head is that of a cobra mounted on a curving, serpentine neck. Its large, round eye is intact amid hacking. None of these elements is fully captured in Nelson's drawing, nor are portions of its wing. Its forward wing is angled up more on the bottom, while its downswept wing is longer and wider, extending as far as the tops of cols. 10–12. Nelson's wingtip feathers are too short and appear to point in the wrong direction, nor did he indicate the rounded hindquarters of the raptor's body, its tail, or two long wingtip feathers of its advancing wing inside the solar disk of Sety's third *prenomen* rebus from the right. Sculptors' chisel marks amid the vulture's image betray their efforts to remove it, but these were not thorough, and they must have resorted to smearing plaster to cover the rest.

This vulture's cobra head suggests that she represents Wadjet. Confirmation may be found in a suppressed  hieroglyph embedded in the solar disk of the second cartouche from the left end of the frieze, but this sign is not quite as Nelson copied it. Its fingers and thumb do not point to the right, but in the opposite direction. No further traces immediately below or to either side of this glyph attest to the missing text, but it likely belonged to the group , part of Wadjet's titulary, which may be reconstructed as [*Wꜣdy.t*, *D[p(y).t* *P(y).t*] "[Wadjet], she of D[ep and Pe]."⁴²⁶ Additional traces on this part of the wall are discussed elsewhere.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Cf. *Medinet Habu* IX, pls. 13:8, 39:8, 55:7, 61A:5.

⁴²⁷ Part of the first sun disk is discussed in the commentary to the preceding plate. On traces of the *atef*-crown of Amun's barge embedded in Hathor's feet, see notes to plate 150, below.

A number of veneer blocks were inserted into the wall, notably at the bottom of Sety's *ka*-standard (this stone is now missing) and at the lower part of the offering table. Nelson omitted or distorted a number of elements in his copy. Above Sety I, the architecture of his vulture's forward wing is more elaborate, Sety's belt has a buckle, and there is a looped sash next to the leftmost streamer of his belt apron (indicated by an engraved line), his navel is teardrop shaped with modeling for his belly fat, Amun's phallus is circumcised, the top of Amun's eye and eyebrow are preserved, as is his lower lip, while the front of his beard juts out slightly from the tip of his chin. Nelson did not draw two long streamers with rounded edges that dangle from Hathor's wig and reach almost to her elbow (figs. 163, 243).⁴²⁸ The vertical ribbon border at the right edge of the scene lacks the double lines that Nelson drew on each side. Some details of the food offerings on both the altar and Sety's tray are also mischaracterized, especially the roast ducks.

Translations:

By the King: ¹The good god who makes monuments for his father Amun, ²the dual king MENMA'ATRE, ³the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁴given life like Re.

By Ka-standard: ⁵The living royal *ka* of the lord of the Two Lands, master <of the ritual>, ^a pre-eminent in the robing room, pre-eminent in the house of the morning.

Serekh: Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live."

By Amun: ⁶Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, king of the gods, ⁷the great god ⁸who is upon his great seat: ⁹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all life [and dominion] (and) health."

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, al[l] heal[th] (and) [all joy — is behind]^b him [like] Re.^c

By Hathor: ¹⁰Hathor, lady of ¹¹turquoise,^d ¹²as she gives all life and dominion: ¹³"(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands."

Notes:

^a So restoring *nb* <*ir.t h.t*>, which is doubtless an ellipsis due to lack of space. See glossary s.v. *k*.

^b Traces of the left end of  and the left artery of  persist along the left edge of the gap, leaving just enough room for  below.

^c Most of  remains below , so reading *mi R*^c.

^d For Hathor, lady of turquoise, or perhaps lady of Wadi Maghara, see Leitz, *Lexikon IV*, p. 62.

Plate 144

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.1.

Location: B 224: West wall, north wing, second register, first scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels on a mat gesturing with an 'aba-scepter in one hand and censer with the other before Amun-Re and Hathor, lady of Dendera. A vulture hovers above the king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Concentric bands of faded paint show the design of Amun's broad collar, but the colors are indistinguishable. No other paint remains.

Observations: In a cosmetic change, the sculptors recut Hathor's neckline. A deep hole in the lower part of col. 7 may be due to later occupation of the Great Hypostyle Hall or to a missing patch-stone. Otherwise, the relief is well preserved, and other damage appears to be fortuitous. Plaster infill used to mend a number of small

⁴²⁸ Hathor appears with identical streamers hanging below her enveloping wig on a lintel block of Sety I found in his Gurnah memorial temple. It remains unpublished and does not resemble

descriptions of lintel blocks from the outer pylon of the temple noted in PM II², p. 408 (1–2).

cavities adheres in several instances. Note that the block with the peaks of Hathor's plumes has shifted to the right and is no longer in alignment with the base of her crown.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, king of the gods:^a ³Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you all [j]oy." ⁴(I) have given to you all food. ⁵(I) have given to you my seat and my throne forever and ever!"

By Hathor: ⁶Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Dendera:^c ⁷"(I) have given to you the [kingship of H]orus^d ⁸[like] Re.^e ⁹(I) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords, with life and dominion."

By the King: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹¹the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹²great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.^f

Notes:

^a Due to a miscalculation that caused Amun's forward plume to intrude at the bottom of this column, the sculptor was forced to shorten the shaft of  radically. It ends at the level of the base of . Not realizing this, Nelson has confused the shaft of  with the text divider on the right. Again, due to the rake of Amun's plumes, this divider actually terminates at the level of  in the epithet *nb p.t.*

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 4 and 7.

^c So reading *'Iwn.t* "Dendera," Hathor's well-known cult center. So contra Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 111, n. 97, who wrongly interprets this toponym as "Armant."

^d Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 138:34.

^e Below the round sign, surely , nothing can be made out on the wall, but to its right a curving trace corresponds to the right side of the cord of .

^f So contra Sharkawy's (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 110, n. 94) erroneous reading, "der großartig erscheint in Hermonthis," i.e., *'Iwn.t(y)* (modern Armant). The epithet *ʕ h'w m 'Iwnw šm'w* is well attested in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Cf. glossary s.v. *ʕ*.

Plate 145

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.2–3; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 11, king and Amun (*right*).

Location: B 225–26: West wall, north wing, second register, second and third scenes north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Two scenes: (*left*) Sety I kneels on a mat and elevates a broad collar and a pair of bracelets to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by the Theban avatar of Hathor; (*right*) Sety I lays his hands on an offering table laden with food for Amun-Re, who is followed by Hathor of Hut-sekhem.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: (*Left*) Concentric bands of paint cleave to the broad collar Sety offers to Kamutef while (*right*) the pattern of Sety's collar and that of Amun are visible, but all these colors are unrecognizable, and there is no other pigment.

Observations: Minor cosmetic adjustments to the figures abound in both episodes. On the left, the artists enlarged Sety I's cap-crown at its summit. They also reworked the top of his rear upper arm, and they shifted the upper part of his forward arm lower. It is recut from armpit to elbow, and plaster used to mold its lower side still clings to the wall. Nelson indicated this latter operation as a dotted line. On the right, the sculptors retouched Sety's belt, his breast, and the inside of his forward arm just below his armpit. They also augmented the front

shoulders of both Amun and Hathor. Amun's profile, chin, throat, and beard were modified, while Hathor's eye was reworked maladroitly.

Later occupants of the Hall gouged out Kamutef's penis. Dense hacking in Sety's forehead (*right*) and to the vulture above him, however, resulted from the king's erasure of Horemheb's sunk-relief decoration on the Second Pylon. Hieroglyphic traces of these carvings are discernible behind the vulture (*right*), for which see our commentary to plate 138, above. Note that a dangling "uraeus" behind Hathor's crown (*right*) is merely two gouges. Damage at the top of cols. 5 and 8 (*right*), and to Sety's titulary (*left*), is natural erosion. Nelson did not record a curved line inside the root of Amun's arm indicating his rear shoulder.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Giving a broad collar to his father.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, the <great> god^a ³who is upon his great seat: ⁴Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. ⁵(I) have given to you (my) power as a god."

Behind Amun: ⁶Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By Hathor: ⁷Hathor, chieftain<ess> of Thebes,^c ⁸as she gives all life, ⁹as she gives all dominion: ¹⁰Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all flat lands. ¹¹(I) have given to you your lifetime so long as heaven exists."

By the King: ^{11d}The lord of the Two Lands MEN[MA'AT]RE,^e ¹²the lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹³whom Amu]n [has magnified ¹⁴a]s [king],^f given life.

Right:

Label: ¹Placing things upon the altar.^g

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: ³Words spoken: "(I) have given to you valor and victory. ⁴(I) have given to you the diadems of Re, forever and ever!"

By Hathor: ⁵[Hathor], lady of ⁶Hu[t]-sekhem,^h as she [gives] ⁷all life and dominion on her part: ⁸Words [spoken]: "(I) have given to you years of eternity. ⁹(I) have given to you south, north, west, and east gathered together."

By the Vulture: ¹⁰Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: ¹¹The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹²[the son of Re],ⁱ lord of appearances SETY-[MER]ENAMUN.

Notes:

^a Nelson's copy is erroneous here, only  is actually inscribed here, and the space at the bottom of this column is more crowded by the slope of Amun's plumes than his drawing suggests. Moreover, the right-hand text divider adjacent to 'Imn-R' k3-mw.t=f is illusory.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 5 (*left*) and 8 (*right*).

^c For parallels to hr.<t>-tp W3s.t, cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 165 right:1, 232 left: 9.

^d The column number 11 was mistakenly reduplicated here.

^e Nelson omitted traces of the right side of .

^f Reading [s'3.n=Im]n m [nsw]. The  was either never carved or has worn away.

^g Reading rdi.t h.t hr h3.t. See Wb. III, p. 224. The artist has lavished his efforts on depicting the facial features of .

^h Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, pp. 103–04.

ⁱ One sees a trace of the duck's bill of . For this epithet before nb h'w, and parallel to ntr nfr, see (inter alia) GHHK I.1, pls. 20:9, 24:13, 53:49, 65:2, 71:11, 104:12, 142:3.

Plate 146

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.4–5; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 24, A.a-XIX.2-Ka.1, pp. 88–89, A.a-XIX.2-Ka.1 and pl. 25; *ibid.*, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 225, B.a-XIX.2-Ka.1, p. 272, B.a-XIX.2-Ka.1 and pl. 25.

Location: B 227–28: West wall, north wing, second register, fourth and fifth scenes north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Two episodes: (*Left*) Sety I waves an ‘aba-scepter with one hand while reaching toward four *meret*-boxes with his other in front of ithyphallic Amun-Re, and one of the Hathors worshiped in Southern Egypt. A vulture soars over the king. (*Right*) Sety I drives four calves toward Amun-Re and another local Southern Egyptian form of Hathor. The Behdetite floats over Sety in the guise of a solar disk with two pendant uraei (figs. 162, 167).⁴²⁹

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Concentric bands of discolored paint define Sety’s broad collar (*left*), but no other pigment remains.

Observations: Deletion of Eighteenth Dynasty sunken reliefs on the Second Pylon has left patterns of shallow cavities on the later figures, many of them still filled with plaster. Nevertheless, a deeply carved silhouette of the ram’s-head prow of Amun’s *Userhet* barge remains as a palimpsest where Sety I’s two scenes meet.⁴³⁰ Its *atef*-crown, capped with a solar disk, is embedded in Sety’s head and torso (*right*), along with residue of plaster used to hide these elements. Traces of ostrich plumes that flanked the main shaft of this *atef*-crown are visible inside the king’s arms.

Sety I’s craftsmen reworked the top of his upraised rear forearm (*left*), but they made no other modifications to their initial carvings. Nelson omitted, or failed to accurately convey, some finer points of these reliefs in his drawing (*left*). He did not capture the full intricacy of the vulture’s inner wing. He also missed one side of a triangular flap on Sety’s kilt to the left of his belt apron and its streamers. On the uppermost *meret*-chest, the sculptors engraved individual filaments on both feathers, and the quills on all eight plumes. Only the top *meret*-chest has its distinctive pattern of horizontal and diagonal bands, and it appears that Sety’s craftsmen discontinued carving such embellishments on the others. (*Right*) One sees a rib in the upright of Sety’s Red Crown, along with his belt buckle and a curving hem between the front of his kilt and his belt apron.⁴³¹ There is modeling on the throats and chests of all four calves. Vandalism in these scenes is limited to Amun-Kamutef’s penis, which later squatters in the Hall partially hacked. Although large sections of masonry have shorn away at the left end of the relief, it generally remains in excellent condition.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Stri[cking against the *meret*-boxes four times for] Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²[that he might achieve “given life, stability, and] dominion like Re forever.”^a

By Amun: ³Amun-Re-Kamut[ef], lord of heaven, ⁴the great god, pre-eminent in [his] sanctuary, ⁵who is upon his great seat: ⁶Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you the throne of Geb. ⁷(I) have given to you what the solar disk illuminates. ⁸(I) have given to you what the solar disk encircles. ⁹(I) have given to you my lifetime as king of the Two Lands.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By Hathor: ¹⁰Hathor, lady of Wadj<et>, ^c ¹¹as she gives joy, ¹²as she gives life and dominion: ¹³“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. ¹⁴(I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land.”

By the Vulture: ¹⁵Nekhbet as she gives all life, stability, and dominion.

By the King: ¹⁶The dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ¹⁷the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

Behind the King: Every protection — life and dominion — surrounds him [like Re].

Right:

Label: ¹Driving the calve(s) four times for Amun-Re.

⁴²⁹ For an extensive study of these rituals, see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*.

⁴³⁰ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 267.

⁴³¹ On the iconography of this kilt, see Diana Craig Patch, “A ‘Lower Egyptian’ Costume, Its Origin, Development, and Meaning,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39 (1995), pp. 93–117.

By *Amun*: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: ³Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁴(I) have given to you all health. ⁵(I) have given to you all joy. ⁶(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands.”

By *Hathor*: ⁷Hathor, lady of ⁸Medjedet,^d ⁹lady of heaven. ¹⁰[Words] spoken: “[I] have given] to you south and north. ¹¹(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries gathered together.”

By *the Behdetite*: ¹²The Behdetite, the great god, as he gives all life.

By *the King*: ¹³The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹⁴the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-[MER]ENAMUN, ¹⁵given all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

Notes:

^a Restoring [iri=f di ‘nh dd] w3s mi R‘ d.t.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 7–8 (left) and 4–5 (right).

^c For Wadjet (Aphroditopolis), modern Kom Ishkaw, in the 10th nome of Upper Egypt, see Gauthier, *DG I*, p. 181; Farouk Gomaa, “Kom Ischqau,” *LÄ III*, pp. 674–45; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, pp. *59–60; Gauthier, *DG I*, p. 180–81; Gauthier, *DG II*, p. 65.

^d There is hacking on the wall below  in col. 7, but no trace of the feminine marker  remains. If not simply omitted, it was, perhaps, carved in plaster. On the toponym *Mddt*, a cult place of Hathor in the 13th Upper Egyptian nome, see Horst Beinlich, “Medjedni,” in *LÄ III*, p. 1276; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 68*; Gauthier, *DG III*, p. 26; Horst Beinlich, *Studien zu den “Geographischen Inschriften” (10.-14. O. äg. Gau)*, Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge 2 (Bonn: Habelt, 1976), pp. 150–56.

Plate 147

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.6; Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten*, vol. 2, p. 127, pl. LVII (B. 12); Frank Feder, “Das Ritual s‘h‘ k3 shn.t als Tempelfest des Gottes Min,” in *Feste im Temple: 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln, 10.-12. Oktober 1996*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz, *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 33/2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 49, fig. 5.

Location: B 229: West wall, north wing, second register, sixth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I holds a staff and mace in his left hand and with his right hand extends an ‘aba-scepter toward Amun-Re’s *shnt*-shrine while four men wearing plumes in their hair climb up the shrine’s support poles as they erect it before him. Nekhbet flies above Sety in her vulture form.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Aside from faded pigment defining the pattern of the god’s broad collar, none is preserved.

Observations: Residual tool marks on the surfaces of the figures stem from erasure of obsolete decoration on the Second Pylon, of which only two obscure traces in the flabellum and  behind the god are still evident. Amun’s facial features are partly carved in plaster used to mask such cavities, while similar defects account for shade in Nelson’s drawings amid some of the hieroglyphs. Sety’s artisans recarved their master’s rear leg at his calf along with the lower left side of his tail. Amun’s upper arm appears too thin, and blobs of plaster along its lower side indicate that the craftsmen attempted to thicken it to more normal proportions in that medium. Nelson failed to record a segment of the lappet of Sety’s *nemes*-headcloth extending below his arm and a double line that bisects the head of his mace. Note, too, that Sety’s *nemes* has its normal “tail,” although its rounded end is missing; Nelson’s suggestion of two “streamers” below the king’s shoulder is erroneous.

Translations:

Label: ¹Erecting the [pole of the *shn.t*-shrine for Amun-Re that he might achieve “giv]en [li]fe like Re.”^a

By *Amun*: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ³king of all the gods, the great god ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you my [po]wer and my strength. ⁶(I) have given to you my [li]fetime as king. ⁷(I) have given to you^c the jubilee(s) of Re. ⁸(I) have given to you myriads of years.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By the Vulture: ⁹Nekhbet.

By the King: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the lo[rd of] appea[rances] SETY-MERENA[MUN], ¹²whom Amun-Re has chosen, ¹³given life.

Notes:

^a Restoring s‘h‘ [k’ shn.t n ‘Imn-R‘, ir=f d]i [‘n]h mi R‘. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 20:1.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 6–8.

^c The sculptor has miscarved  for .

Plate 148

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.7; Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh,” pp. 3–12; LD III, pl. 124d.

Location: B 230: West wall, north wing, second register, seventh scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I stands between Horus and Seth, who pour over him streams of water represented as signs of life (fig. 168).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Concentric rings lightly etched in the surface around the king’s neck may have guided the artists’ hands in painting Sety’s broad collar, but no pigment remains here or elsewhere.

Observations: Later occupants of the Hall deliberately cut away the bottom of col. 9, perhaps to excavate a beam hole that they never completed. Above Sety’s head, the gap is due to natural erosion. Low-density patterns of shallow tool marks abound on all three actors, a hallmark of Sety I’s removal of Horemheb’s decoration on the Second Pylon. A concentrated line of such damage extends from Sety’s head through Horus’ head. Much of the plaster infill the Ramesside workmen used to cover such defects coheres. They applied stucco to the legs of both Seth and the king, not merely to patch holes, but to mold the finished surface. Where stucco has fallen away, the carved surface is severely pockmarked and too flat. Nelson did not capture the subtleties of Seth’s face, creases at the corner of his mouth, modeling along the top of his snout, or his nostril. The Behdetite’s right-hand wingtip and its titles were partly carved in plaster, now decayed.

Translations:

By Seth: ¹Words spoken^a by the Ombite, lord of the land of ²Southern Egypt: “(O) my son, whom I love,^b ³the <king>,^c the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁴(I) have purified you with life and dominion, that you may become young again like your father Re, and that you may celebrate jubilee(s) like Atum, and that you might appear as ruler of joy. ⁵Your purity (is) my purity; my purity (is) your purity (O) lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN!”

By Horus: ⁶Words spoken^a by Horus: “(I) have purified you ⁷with life and dominion; your lifetime (is) ^{8–9}the lifetime of Re: may you celebrate very many jubilees, ⁹that [you] might appear [like Re].^d ¹⁰Your purity (is) my purity; my purity (is) your purity (O) lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE!”

By the Winged Disk: The Behdetite.

By the King: The good god MENMA‘ATRE, given li[fe].

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–4 and 7–9.

^b Reading *mry=i*. One would expect   , but the second  was omitted for lack of space.

^c So restoring <nsw>. See Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 114, n. 126, citing LD III, pl. 124d. But the sign that stood in the gap in Lepsius’ time was , thus it seems the ancient sculptor omitted , unless  is merely a dittography of the bottom of the previous column or if the latter is meant somehow to stand as an ideogram for nsw “king.” One would expect  .

^d So perhaps restoring something like h‘.[t mi R‘]. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 33:4–5, 34:6, 46:17, 90:10, 97:5–6.

Plate 149

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.8; LD III, pl. 124d.

Location: B 231: West wall, north wing, second register, eighth scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Falcon-headed Khonsu⁴³² and Atum lead Sety I by the hand into the temple of Amun. A falcon hovers over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Traces of decayed paint cling to Atum's wig and collar, and the king's collar, but no colors are distinguishable.

Observations: No deliberate vandalism is apparent, and chisel marks scattered throughout the relief are spoor from removal of the original carvings on the pylon. One sees shallow pitting on the main figures. Khonsu's legs, the lower part of his kilt, Sety's legs, and the base of his apron are all peculiarly flat and were partly built up in stucco. Swollen plaster still clings to some parts of the wall.

There is evidence that the sculptors were hurried in finishing their work. They initially miscarved the bottom of Khonsu's belt, then corrected it. In addition, they defined the lappets of his wig with an engraved outline, not true relief, and they made its left lappet longer than its right. Recutting is limited to enlargement of the thumb of Khonsu's left arm grasping his *w3s*-scepter. Note that the front of Khonsu's wig (by his cheek) and Atum's belt buckle are absent from the drawing. A short gap separates the text divider to the right of col. 4 with the scene divider to the right of Khonsu's *w3s*-scepter, which is also thicker. At the bottom of col. 1, Nelson drew a , which is illusory.

Translations:

Label: ¹Coming in and going out: inducting the king into the temple of his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve "given life."^a

By Khonsu: ²Words spoken^b by Khonsu-in-Thebes: ³"Proceed ye^c to the temple, ⁴that you may see your father, the lord of the gods."

By Atum: ⁵Words spoken^b by Atum, the lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: ⁶"Come [to] the temple ⁷of your father,^d Amun-Re, that he may give to you ⁸eternity as king of the Two Lands, ⁹(and) that he may endow your limbs with life and dominion."

By the King: ¹⁰The good god, son of Amun, ¹¹the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹²the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹³given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The sculptor apparently carved  below *di 'nh* and then erased it.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–4 and 6–8.

^c The group  was carved this way deliberately, with  of *wd3* and the seemingly otiose upper  of *ir=k* being part of one design. If the latter was ever suppressed, it was done so only in paint.

^d The  usually found in the writing of *it* "father" is omitted.

⁴³² Normally, Monthu accompanies Atum in the act of leading the king into the temple. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 50, 78, 111, 179, 199. There seems to be a close iconographic link between the two gods as

when falcon-headed Khonsu wears the same solar disk with tall plumes as Monthu. *Ibid.*, pl. 95.

Plate 150

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.9; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pp. 566–67, with figs. 25 and 26b, pl. 42; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 100, Amun and Mut; LD III, pl. 124d.

Location: B 232: West wall, north wing, second register, ninth (last) scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels in front of Amun, who steadies his *khepresh*-crown. Hathor, lady of the Red Land, stands behind Amun. In front of Amun and the king, Thoth records Sety I's titulary on a year-staff, while a vulture-goddess soars over the king (fig. 166).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Due to the relative protection afforded by its proximity to the northeast corner of the Hypostyle Hall, traces of paint in this scene are richer than elsewhere on this wall; however, only the patterns of these designs can be detected as all the colors have faded beyond recognition. Horizontal stripes embellish the interior of Amun's throne. Alternating bands of lighter and darker pigments define the broad collars of Amun, Sety, and Thoth. A latticework motif on Sety's belt, as well as armllets on his biceps and bracelets on his wrists, are also visible. These armllets consist of a band of lighter pigment framed by two darker ones.

Observations: As in the scene above (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 143), a deeply carved palimpsest of Horemheb's erased sunk-relief decoration on the Second Pylon is well preserved at the extreme right edge of the scene adjacent to the pylon's massive torus molding, because here Sety I's workmen were less thorough in shaving back the Eighteenth Dynasty surface before they laid out and carved his new decorative program for the Hypostyle Hall.⁴³³ Hence, extensive traces of the massive ram's-head stern piece of Amun-Re's huge *Userhet* river barge with its elaborate *atef*-crown remain embedded in the figures of Amun and Hathor and continue into the scene above.⁴³⁴ Here one sees the ram's curved horn and ear, its forehead and the bridge of its nose, the rear curve of its wig (with traces of the individual plaits of hair in the deep groove adjacent to the horn), and the top of the wig where it merges with the horns. Its *atef*-crown has a conical body that flares out at the top between a pair of tall ostrich plumes. Horizontal ram's horns extend to either side at its base, and on these rest two large uraei with solar disks that flank the crown's feathers. Chisel marks inside the deep sunk-relief cuts of the ram's head and wig attest to efforts directed at their removal or are, perhaps, keying to secure plaster infill inside the deeper crevices left from their incomplete erasure. Stucco was employed to mask these traces and to carve portions of Amun and Mut that are now missing where it has fallen away. Finally, plaster once filled innumerable shallow gouges along the base of the scene and inside Thoth's body.

Sety I's craftsmen recut the lower bicep of Thoth's rear arm, but no further cosmetic adjustments are evident. Small patch-stones, now lost, were inserted in the front of Amun's throne and at Hathor's rump. Nelson did not record some minor details, including modeling on Sety's *khepresh*-crown and its double rim behind his ear, lines separating three individual terminals of his flail, part of the division between Amun's plumes, and the lower hem of his kilt extending from where his tail meets his lap to the front corner of his throne. Along the right edge of the scene, the inner lines of the vertical ribbon border were never carved, and Nelson's drawing is erroneous on this point.

Translations:

By *Thoth*: ¹Words spoken^a by the lord of Hermopolis:^b "(I) have established your name for you ²as king which I inscribe with my fingers^c ³myself, as (I) unite for you the reed ⁴to the papyrus as a document of le[gal possession i]n^d your grasp."

⁴³³ Compare the situation on the extreme south end of the south tower of the Second Pylon, the only portion of that structure where extensive traces of suppressed decoration remain. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 266, and see our commentary to pls. 12, 20–21, above.

⁴³⁴ See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 143. For photographs and a reconstruction of these traces, see Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 567, fig. 26b.

Beside Year-staff: ⁵Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, given life.^e

By Amun-Re: ⁶Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing in the temple (called) ⁷“Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun:” ⁸“(I) establish for you the crowns on your head, when you appear as dual king.”

By Hathor: ⁹Words spoken by Hathor, lady of the Red Land: “May your heart be glad^f ¹⁰in the presence of your father, who has ordained ¹¹for you the kingship of Atum. ¹²So long as Re exists, so shall your name exist; (and) so long as heaven exists (so shall) your deeds (exist) likewise.”

By the King: ¹³The dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ¹⁴the son of Re SETY-[MER]EN[AMUN], given life like Re, ¹⁵whom his father Amun has caused to appear ¹⁶in order to exercise his kingship.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–4 and 7–8.

^b The scribe has omitted the -determinative.

^c So reading *m db'.w=(i)* “my fingers,” not *sš=(i)*. Portions of two -signs are visible, which Nelson mistook as . I am grateful to Benoît Lurson for pointing this out to me.

^d Reading *imy.t-pr n hf'=k*. The tall sign is ; its left cross-bar is preserved next to the lower right part of .

^e Below *di 'nh* (and perhaps not to be read with the text above) are signs signifying “million(s) of jubilees.”

^f Only the left end of  is carved in relief while the rest was cut in plaster, now lost.

Plate 151

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.1; KRI I, pp. 206:11–207:11; RITA I, pp. 179–80; RITANC I, pp. 135–36; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 566, figs. 24–25.

Location: B 233: West wall, north wing, third register, first scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I, assisted by Wepwawet, Khnum, and Horus, and accompanied by the Southern Egyptian *Meret*-goddess, crew a royal ship that tows the river barge of Amun (shown in the next plate).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Horemheb’s program of decoration on this part of his Second Pylon also featured a scene of a royal vessel towing Amun-Re’s great *Userhet* river barge, but his iteration differed from Sety I’s relief in a number of ways, not the least of which was its vastly larger scale.⁴³⁵ The nearest parallel — after which Horemheb modeled his own scene — is a representation of Amenhotep III’s royal ship towing Amun’s river barge on the north wing of the Third Pylon.⁴³⁶ Unlike Sety I’s papyrus skiff, manned by a crew of divinities, both Eighteenth Dynasty tow vessels resembled an actual royal barge of a type common during the New Kingdom, and they were manned by human oarsmen.⁴³⁷ In the present scene, remnants of its hull are embedded in Sety’s craft starting from the legs of Khnum and Horus and continuing through the rear of its hull and steering oars into the adjacent scene of Amun’s *Userhet* barge (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 152).

Among the traces of the hull of Horemheb’s tow ship, one sees a number of rectangular “slots” separated by narrow raised partitions, and these are even more pronounced in the adjoining scene. Comparison with Amenhotep III’s royal barge is instructive since it was also carved in sunk relief. As was customary for superimposed elements in sunk-relief compositions, this ship’s long oars are treated in raised relief where they overlap

⁴³⁵ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 267. See also reconstruction in Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 566, fig. 25.

⁴³⁶ PM II², p. 61 (183); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 101–04; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 596, fig. 55, and pls. 96–97.

⁴³⁷ A similar royal barge tows the *Userhet* on the west exterior wall of Ramesses III’s temple in the First Court of Karnak (*RIK* II, pls. 87–88).

its hull, being highest at their juncture with lower edge of the hull. Here similar “cells” appear as the gaps between the oars. It is also here that Amenhotep’s sunk relief is most profound where the sculptors indicated the incurving bottom of the hull. By this analogy, when Sety I’s masons shaved back Horemheb’s composition on the Second Pylon, these deeper cuts could not easily be eliminated, so they filled them with plaster, some of which still adheres in a long groove below the aft hull of the later skiff.

On the right half of the scene, at the very bottom of the watercourse, only a few engraved segments are left from an erased pattern of zigzag lines that indicated ripples of water on the Nile. Moreover, this watercourse is carved as sunk relief at its bottom, but in raised relief at its top. Similar traces of waves appear below Amun’s barge in the next scene, where the river is also carved as sunk at the base and raised on top. In Horemheb’s version, the Nile’s surface was located higher up on the wall as the horizontal line of “cells” representing the level at which his suppressed barge rode in the water attests. In keeping with the smaller scale of Sety’s new edition, his artisans shifted the Nile’s top surface lower, and they carved it in bas-relief. As a result, they erased nearly all of the incised waves from Horemheb’s composition, except in a few places at the base of the watercourse, but never carved them anew.

Deep erosion from natural causes has obliterated much of the carved surface in the left part of the scene, most of which Nelson records as large gaps in his drawing, but human agency accounts for some of the damage. Zealots brutally hacked the hands and faces of Sety I, *Meret*, and the other two male divinities. They also cut deep gashes through the wrists of Khnum and Horus as if to sever them from their arms, and they pecked out their -signs. This pattern of defacement is at once deeper, but less methodical than post-pharaonic iconoclasm usually seen in the Hypostyle Hall or on the adjoining gateway of the Second Pylon.⁴³⁸ They also vandalized the falcon-head finials on the steering posts, and selected hieroglyphs (human figures and birds’ heads) in cols. 1, 2, 22, 25, 26, 29, and 30. Note that the head of the -standard, behind  near the prow, is intact, however its tall plumes are destroyed except for their summits. Finally, a number of round holes at the front of the barge (between the divine standards, at the middle of the *Meret*-goddess’ body, and in the hull below her figure) must date to after the pharaonic age, but they are otherwise hard to explain, as is the rectangular slot near the front of the vessel’s hull. Visible losses to Wepwawet’s figure are due to weathering.⁴³⁹ Nelson did not copy some parts of the *Meret*-goddess’ rump and legs.

Translations:

By Horus: ¹Horus, foremost of the cataract.

By Khnum: ²Khnum, lord of the cataract, as he gives all health.

By the King: ³The lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE.

By Wepwawet: ⁴Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands.

By *Meret*-goddess at the Prow: [...] Southern Egyptian *Meret*.^a

Above the Barge: ⁵Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” ⁶he of the Two Ladies: “repeater of births, mighty of the *khepesh*-sword, subduer of the Nine Bows,” ⁷Horus-of-Gold: “repeater of appearances, powerful of bowwws in all lands,” ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life, ⁹the good god who performs benefactions for his father the king of the gods (and) enlarges ¹⁰[his] ri[ver barge] as the likeness ¹¹to th[at which is] in heaven^b — it being worked with ¹²the

⁴³⁸ Normally in the Hypostyle Hall, the iconoclasts thoroughly destroyed the limbs and heads of the figures, even beyond the outer cuts of the original relief, but they did so with shallow pecking that has not left deep gouges such as we see here. Cf., inter alia, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 3, 13–14, 113–15, 118, 124–25, 128–29, 133. Other examples of this methodical defacement are found on various columns in the Hall and on the gateway and inner passage of the Second Pylon (PM II², pp. 42–43 [148a–b, g–h]). Ptolemaic reliefs on the facade of the gateway are to be published by a Belgian mission under the direction of Michèle Broze and René Preys. Reliefs in the eastern passageway, originally sculpted

by Ramesses I and recarved under Ptolemy VI, will appear in a future volume devoted to the gateways of the Great Hypostyle Hall. See now Murnane, “Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory,” pp. 15–24; Murnane et al., *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 98–102.

⁴³⁹ Shading on Wepwawet’s arms and the rope in his hands (as indicated in Nelson’s drawing) is not hacking, but exfoliation of the carved surface, which has left a ghostly outline of the figure below the level of his shoulders. Presumably the iconoclasts attacked Wepwawet’s face and wrists if, indeed, those elements remained intact when they desecrated the other figures.

gold of the mountain-tops (and) made dazzling ¹³with every (sort of) august [precious stone],^c the “faces” (being) of [gold],^d ¹⁴the “head[s]” of lapis lazuli.^e The ornament of ¹⁵Re is on its figurehead; his processional cult statue^f ¹⁶is in/on [...] ^gelevating ¹⁷his cult image^h in its interior. ¹⁸It has ill[uminated] the primordial oceanⁱ with its beauty, ¹⁹like Re at his rising in the horizon. ²⁰It is the king himself who gives instructions^j for seeking out ²¹benefactions for his father: its like has not been seen ²²since the time^k of the ancestors, except for ²³his person, the son of Amun whom Re-Atum loves — ²⁴to whom was given an increase over what existed previously, ²⁵he has surpassed what the ancients have done. The gods ²⁶jubilate in front of him while rowing him^l to the <Southern> Sanctuary.^m ²⁷His august s[on] SETY-[MER]ENA[MUN] is pleased very ²⁸greatly as they tow,ⁿ with a loving heart, what belongs to ²⁹Amun. [The g]ods say with one voice to the king of the gods: ³⁰“How brilliant^p is what your son does for you. Be beneficial to him, inasmuch as ³¹he is beneficial to you. May you give to him the south gathered in submission, ³²(and) the north fallen to his divine power. May you reward him ³³with millions of years (and) myriads of jubilees, inasmuch as he has ³⁴ornamented your august barge (named) ‘Amun-is-Mighty-of-Prow!’”

Notes:

- ^a Nelson has misinterpreted *Meret*’s title. What he takes as  in the unnumbered column in front of her is actually part of . For a parallel, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 37:2.
- ^b Reading *sꜣ wiꜣ=[f] tp itrw m sny r n.[ty] m p.t.* Our translation differs from that of Kitchen (*RITA* I, p. 179): “... who enlarges [his] river-[barge] in conformity with his status (‘name’) in heaven.” A third possible translation would be “... who enlarges his river barge as something which surpasses that (one) which is in heaven.” Traces of  are not as Nelson drew them. Just one vertical trace remains, presumably representing the flag masts in front of its cabin-shrine. Cf. the same hieroglyph at col. 34, where only one flag mast appears (not two as Nelson indicates), and unlike *GHHK* I.1, pl. 152, cols. 9 and 18, which each do have two flag masts. Otherwise, only the flat base upon which the vessel rests is preserved. The presumed  is lost in the gap, and a supposed trace of  indicated by the drawing is erroneous.
- ^c Restoring *stḥn.(w) m [ꜣ.t] nb.(t)*.
- ^d No vestige of  survives. The reference to *ḥr.w* “faces” is probably to the ram’s-head prow and stern aegis figureheads.
- ^e Kitchen translated *tp.w* as “head(gear)” (*RITA* I, p. 181). It presumably refers to the wigs of the prow and stern figureheads, in contrast to their ram’s “faces,” *ḥr.w*. See previous note.
- ^f A *ḥn.ty* refers to a processional statue, in this case probably the king’s. *Wb.* III, p. 385.
- ^g No obvious solutions to restoring this gap present themselves. However, the text does not give a concrete description of the *Userhet* barge itself, so the missing phrase is probably not a term for some part of its structure (i.e., its podium, cabin-shrine, etc.). Rather, the context is mythical, emphasizing the king’s role in assisting the solar deity in the guise of the air god Shu, who raises the sky to support Amun. Decoration on the pedestals of sacred barks may show four royal figures supporting a -sign (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 76; *Abydos* II, pls. 5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 23; Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 248–49). Likewise, small royal figures on the sledge of Amun’s portable bark steadying its four canopy poles, and another that supports the forward hull, also represent the king as Shu (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 76, 178, 180, 226; Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 196–97, 225). See Herman Te Velde, “The Theme of the Separation of Heaven and Earth in Egyptian Mythology,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977), pp. 161–69. Sety I is compared to Shu in a text glossing the adjoining scene (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 152: 19–20; *KRI* I, p. 209:3–4). In this context, the term *shy*, with its -determinative, has more cosmological overtones (*Wb.* IV, p. 236). By contrast, words like *twꜣy* “support,” *ḥꜣi* “to lift up,” and *rmn* “to shoulder/carry” are employed in texts that refer to the king physically carrying the god’s processional bark or cult image (e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 152:15; 180:5, 12, 20). I am grateful to Christina Karlshausen for her observations on this passage.
- ^h Here, *šsm(w)* could refer either to the cult statue of the god or to his portable bark that encloses it (and is, in turn, enclosed within the cabin-shrine of the *Userhet* barge). Karlshausen, inter alia, distinguishes the terms *ššmw* “cult image,” and *ššm(n) ḥwi* “processional bark” (Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 268–71). Eaton, however, argues that Egyptian texts are too vague to make such a neat distinction and that, moreover, *šsmw*

may refer both to the gods in a mythological context and to the king himself. Catherine Eaton, “Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the New Kingdom,” *ZÄS* 134 (2007), pp. 18–19.

ⁱ Reading *s[h]d.n=fNnw* etc.

^j This appears to be a imperfective active participle in a participial statement in which the prefix  has been omitted: so reading *<in> nsw ds=f dd tp-rd*.

^k Reading *dr rk* (with  miscarved as ).

^l For parallels to *hr hn.t*, cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 20:3 (with note b); 69:10, 83:15, 91:2.

^m This is surely an abbreviated writing of *ʿIp.t-rsy.t* “the Southern Sanctuary,” i.e., Luxor temple.

ⁿ Reading *Sty-mr-n-ʿImn hrw.(w) [r] ʿ.t [w]r.[t] ʿItḥ=sn*. This is one of a number of possible reconstructions of this broken passage. For additional interpretations, see *RITANC I*, p. 136.

^o Literally, “those (things) which carry (or belong to)” Amun — in any case, referring to the river barge of Amun.

^p Either a defective form of *wbn* or, as suggested by Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 117, n. 160), perhaps *wb[h]* “to be bright, radiant”: *Wb. I*, p. 295:12–20. In either case, we have an abbreviated and unorthodox writing. Kitchen (*RITANC I*, p. 136) suggests [*ʿ*]b.wy “how pleasant.”

Plate 152

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.1; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 123; *KRI I*, pp. 207:12–208:3; *RITA I*, p. 180; *RITANC I*, pp. 135–36; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 107, fig. 26.

Location: B 234: West wall, north wing, third register, second scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I stands on the deck of the *Userhet* river barge of Amun and censes the god’s processional bark resting inside its cabin-shrine. On deck, in front of Sety, the bark of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari rests on a pedestal, while behind the cabin are those of (top) Khonsu, and (bottom) Mut (figs. 165, 169, 246, 249).⁴⁴⁰

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: As in the previous scene, remnants of the aft hull of a royal barge from suppressed Eighteenth Dynasty decoration on the Second Pylon persist amid the forward hull of Sety I’s depiction of Amun-Re’s *Userhet* barge. Plaster still adheres in several of the rectangular “cells” where the hull and rowing oars of Horemheb’s royal tow-barge intersected (see commentary to previous plate). Inside col. 23 at the far right end, Nelson recorded the upper right corner of the prow aegis collar of Horemheb’s *Userhet* barge.⁴⁴¹ Horizontal lines running through the ram’s snout on the stern figurehead of the Ramesside *Userhet* barge correspond to towropes from Horemheb’s expunged version. In the watercourse below, a few segments of erased waves from the old relief are visible, but as in the last scene, Sety I’s artists never carved new ones. A zone of random gouging with some intact plaster caulking resulted from removal of the old decoration.

Several cosmetic modifications were affected by the sculptors to Sety I’s relief, to wit: they recut his breast, feet, and the top of his rear leg; the solar disk on the prow aegis of Amun’s portable bark; and the paddles of its steering oars. They even adjusted the leg of a small royal figure kneeling before three jackal-headed souls of Nekhen below the bark of Ahmose-Nefertari. A solar disk at the base of the *atef*-crown on the prow aegis of Amun’s barge was completed in plaster, while on its stern piece, the artist modified its curving ram’s horn, completing the final version in plaster, now fallen away, but which also clings to its wig. Anciently,

⁴⁴⁰ Mostly destroyed, but (by analogy with other examples, e.g., pl. 38) virtually certain.

⁴⁴¹ This continues in the next scene, although Nelson does not indicate them there (pl. 153), but cf. pl. 267.

someone hollowed out the eye of the forward ram's-head aegis, perhaps to secure an inlay in connection with a cult of the *Userhet* barge practiced in the later New Kingdom.⁴⁴²

Malicious damage in this relief is sporadic. Most vandalism was directed against Amun's processional bark inside the cabin of his river barge. Iconoclasts hacked the smaller vessel's cabin-shrine, prow aegis, and tiny figures on its forward deck. At the same time, perhaps, two rectangular holes were excavated above the bark's forward carrying pole. Defacement of individual hieroglyphs is confined to text above the vessel's stern (viz.,

 and  in col. 15).

Translations:

Above Barge: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands]: ²“(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA‘ATRE, ³my heart is pleased with your monuments ⁴in Thebes, and I am content with what you have done. ⁵My heart is in joy, since you have made ⁶great monuments in my temple (and) you have illuminated ⁷Karnak with the workmanship of eternity, ⁸like the sun disk when it rises ⁹at dawn. You have hewn^a for me (my) ¹⁰⁻¹¹august river barge, ‘Amun-is-[Mighty-of-Prow],^b ¹¹with ge[nuine] conifer-wood [of] the ridge-tops.^c ¹²[The ‘faces’]^d thereof are of gold, worked with ¹³lapis-lazuli. Never^e ¹³⁻¹⁴has the like been done ¹⁴since the primeval age of the land. ¹⁵You have [placed]^f your processional statue,^g carrying^h ¹⁶my cult imageⁱ ¹⁷[in/on]^j the great and august podium^k ¹⁸which is in my bark, ¹⁹just as Shu acted^l ²⁰for his father Re. I know ²¹the beneficent deeds that you have done. ²²I have caused your lifetime ²³as king (to be) like the permanence of heaven.”

By Vulture-goddess:^m Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: MENMA‘AT[RE SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, given life.

By Ahmose-Nefertari's Bark (in front of shrine): AHMOSE-NEFERTARI.

By Khonsu's Bark (behind shrine, top): Khonsu-Neferhotep.

By Mut's Bark (behind shrine, bottom): [Mut...].

Notes:

^a Reading  as *mdh* “to hew.”

^b Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 151:34. Collation at the wall of a trace at the top of col. 11 confirms that it is the forehead, eye, and ear of .

^c Reading ‘š *m[? n] tp-h.tyw*. The top of a long, flat sign is preserved below the -determinative for conifer-wood. This could be either  or conceivably . The gap, however, is large enough to accommodate two flat signs, namely,  and , although no trace of the latter remains (contra *KRI* I, p. 208:1).

^d There is scarcely room for anything larger than  *hr.w* (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 151:13).

^e Reading *n(n) zp*:  has in fact been carved instead of the correct . So contra *KRI* I, 208:1.

^f Reading *[di].n=k hn.ty=k hr t<w>zy sšm(w)=i*. So contra Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 118, n. 175, who reads *[ir].n=k* etc. The trace preserved here, if reliable, does not suit the paleography of  elsewhere in the relief (e.g., cols. 13 and 19), but does match the hand of .

^g See commentary to pl. 151, note f, above.

^h So reading *tzy* as a writing of *tw?* “to support, carry,” with the determinative . *Wb.* V, pp. 248–50, offers no clear parallels to this orthography.

ⁱ See commentary to pl. 151, note h, above.

^j The top of a long, flat sign, probably , is visible at the top of col. 17.

^k Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 153, lists various suggestions for *isp.t/ip.ts* without further comment. The term is a variant of *ibs(w)/ibsy.t*: *Wb.* I, pp. 64:13 and 69:15. In the Coffin Texts (Spell 681), it seems to refer

⁴⁴² A ram-headed avatar called Amun-Re-Userhet appears in a relief of Ramesses IV on column 28 of the Great Hypostyle Hall: Louis A. Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie

Oriente, 1955), p. 51. In the south wing, an anthropomorphic form of Amun as the source of the Nile inundation also had an inlaid eye. See commentary to plate 36, above.

to a catafalque (Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 162) and here may refer to the podium inside the cabin-shrine of the *Userhet* barge on which the processional bark rested during transport.

^l This is a reference to Shu raising the sun-god into heaven in his role as a god of the atmosphere as a metaphor for the podium in the barge's shrine. See our commentary to pl. 152, note g, above.

^m The following lines are not numbered on the plate.

Plate 153

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.2; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 19.

Location: B 235: West wall, north wing, third register, third scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels on a mat and presents to ithyphallic Amun-Re (who is followed by Hathor of Cusae) a silver statuette of himself, shown kneeling and presenting ointment. Between Amun and Hathor stands the god's distinctive tent-shrine. A falcon hovers over the king's head (figs. 170, 248, 320).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A diagonal gash that cuts through Amun's crown and Hathor's shoulders is a vestige of the hull of Amun's river barge from erased decoration of Horemheb on the back of the Second Pylon.⁴⁴³ Shallow cavities scattered throughout the relief, especially on Hathor's body, are residual tool marks left over from Sety's removal of these obsolete reliefs. His craftsmen recut Sety's wig (at its bottom and lower front), his breast, and the front of his beard. Entwined coils of the uraeus serpent on his diadem are not as complete as Nelson's drawing suggests. Although someone has thoroughly gouged out Amun's phallus, the carving was spared any further malicious hacking, and other damage is mild and appears fortuitous. A modern visitor engraved the name "Nicolina" in cursive Latin characters just below the lower arm of the king's statuette.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering ointment in a statue of silver, which ²MENMA'ATRE made ³for his father Amun-Re.

By Amun: ⁴Amun-Re-Kamutef, ⁵the great god who is upon ⁶his great seat: ⁷Words spoken: "(I) have given to you my lifetime as king. ⁸(I) have given to you^a my office of king forever and ever!"

By Hathor: ⁹Hathor, lady of ¹⁰Cusae, ¹¹[lady of heaven],^b mistress of the Two Lands: ¹²Words spoken: "(I) have given to you your monument, enduring like heaven. ¹³[(I) have] given to you the years of Re (and) the power of Shu and Tefnut."

Behind the King: ¹⁴The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENMA'ATRE shall continually [appear]^c on the throne of Horus of the living like his father Re every day.

By the King: ¹⁵The good god MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁶the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁷whom Re-Atum^d has chosen, ¹⁸given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The sculptor carved  instead of , probably due to scribal confusion of a original hieratic.

^b This seems to be the most likely epithet that could fit the space. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 146: right 7–9, 231 right 1–2.

^c Restore [h^c]w.

^d Note the very full spelling of (T)tmw. The name could be taken as Atum-Re or Re-Atum. Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 118.

⁴⁴³ Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 154–57, 267; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 566, fig. 25. Note that Nelson recorded traces of its prow aegis collar that overlap the upper part of col. 14 at the right margin of his drawing of the previous scene (GHHK I.1, pl. 152).

Plate 154

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.3.

Location: B 236: West wall, north wing, third register, fourth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and Hathor of Hetephemu and offers a silver statuette of himself, shown carrying a basket of food on his head. Among these miniature offerings is a rebus of his *prenomen* (figs. 171, 251).⁴⁴⁴

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded outlines on the collars of both Amun and Hathor are visible, along with the pattern of Hathor's armbands, her shoulder straps, and the decorative hem at the top of her dress, but the colors are indistinguishable.⁴⁴⁵

Observations: The bottom of the forward and central hull of Amun's *Userhet* river barge carved in the late Eighteenth Dynasty on the rear of the Second Pylon cuts across Sety I's relief as a deep gash. Chevron patterns that Nelson recorded inside the diagonal crevice (at Sety's forward wrist and the front of Amun's kilt) are not an error on his part.⁴⁴⁶ Resembling fragments of the zigzag pattern shown in the watercourse under the original royal barge,⁴⁴⁷ their presence on the hull of Horemheb's representation of the *Userhet* is, however, difficult to explain, as I know of no artistic parallels. Perhaps they are a visual representation of the dazzling reflections that would have danced on the gold-plated hull of the actual barge as it floated on the Nile in bright sunlight.⁴⁴⁸ Residual chisel marks from the removal of this relief are most concentrated on the plinth beneath Sety, on his shoulder, and inside Amun's kilt just above the diagonal gash.

No malicious defacement is apparent, and all damage appears to be fortuitous. Sety's rear arm is flat, having been built up with now-missing plaster used to mask tool marks. A tall rectangular patch-stone has disappeared from the region of cols. 5–6, along with a smaller one in Amun's chest. Sety I's craftsmen recut Hathor's chin, but made no further modifications to their work. Nelson has misconstrued a number of minor details. On the vulture's rear wing, the blade-like feathers of its inner tier are longer and are not separated from the outer row by a curved line; The door at the base of the large *serekh* consists of three single lines, not two double lines, and the left jar on the basket of offerings is not a milk jug like that to its right () but more closely resembles .

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering (food)stuff(s) upon the statue of silver ²which the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE made for his father ³Amun, that he might achieve "given life."

By Amun: ⁴Words spoken^a by Amun-Re, residing in the temple (called) ⁵"Effective is [SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun]": ⁶"(I) have given to you [life] and dominion to your [nose],^b (O) lord of the Two Lands. ⁷(I) have [given] to you years of eternity with life and dominion."

By Hathor: ⁸Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Hetephemu,^c ⁹[resi]ding in the temple (called) "Effective is [SETY-MEREN]A[MUN i]n [the Estate of] ¹⁰Amun": "(I) have given to you ¹¹years of eternity with ¹²life and dominion. ¹³(I) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords (and) their victories."

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 33, 194.

⁴⁴⁵ See the notes on paint in our commentary to pl. 74 for descriptions of these patterns.

⁴⁴⁶ One occasionally finds parallel line segments at the base of chisel cuts that are purely fortuitous artifacts of the sculpting process. These marks, however, are definitely chevrons. Moreover, they are located on the sloping forward hull of the barge, not on its flat, horizontal bottom that was in direct contact with the water below.

⁴⁴⁷ See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 151–52, with our observations, above.

⁴⁴⁸ One immediately calls to mind the description of Amenhotep III's royal barge *itn thn* "the dazzling sun disk." Embossed gold sheets that plated the *Userhet*'s hull are represented visually in Amenhotep III's reliefs on the Third Pylon (PM II², p. 61 [183]; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 287–91; Peter J. Brand, "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36 [1999], p. 122, fig. 7), in decoration of Tutankhamun from the Colonnade Hall at Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 76–78, 80); and in a scene from the outer court of the Khonsu temple at Karnak (*Khonsu* I, pls. 12, 21).

By the Vulture: ¹⁴Nekhbet.

By the Serpent: Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ¹⁵The dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ¹⁶the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN,^d ¹⁷great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

By the Ka-standard: ¹⁸Living royal Ka of the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, pre-eminent in the robing room, pre[eminent in]^e the house of the morning.

Serekh: Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” the dual king MENMA‘AT[RE].

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–6.

^b A trace of the right “arm” of  remains. For ‘nh w3s r fnd=k, cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 7:28.

^c Gauthier, DG III, p. 145, considers htp-hm(w) to be a place name for an agricultural territory in the Heliopolitan nome, or a cult center for Hathor-Sekhmet near Heliopolis. For alternate translations, see Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, p. 111.

^d The  of ‘Imn and  have largely worn away. Damage to the face of  seems fortuitous.

^e There is a trace of  above the gap.

Plate 155

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.4.

Location: B 237: West wall, north wing, third register, fifth scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I offers the milk of four cows to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by a form of Hathor native to the western Delta. A vulture-goddess flies over the king's head (fig. 172).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded pigment of uncertain color defines stripes on Sety's *nemes*-headcloth, a lattice pattern on his belt, broad collars worn by Sety, Amun, and Hathor, and long streamers dangling from Hathor's belt.

Observations: A gash bisecting Sety I's midriff is a vestige of the erased hull of Amun's river barge, but the vertical trace Nelson indicates on the right side of col. 12 is shallow. Here, the hieroglyphs are incompletely carved. Sety's artisans recut the lappet of his *nemes*-headcloth below his arm, the elbow of his right arm, and Hathor's chin. Plaster coats much of Amun's torso. Apart from hacking to the god's phallus, there is no sign of vandalism, although there are large gaps due to loss of the masonry.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering milk of the cows^a of the estates of Tcheni^b ²to Amun-Re, that he may achieve "given life."

By Amun: ³Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven,^c king of the gods, ⁴the great god who is upon ⁵his great seat:
⁶Words spoken:^d "(I) have given to you my lifetime as king. ⁷(I) have given to you years of eternity [with lif]e [and domi]nion.^e ⁸(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified. ⁹(I) have given to you my seat and my throne, forever and ever!"

Behind Amun: [Every] pro[tection —] a[ll] lif[e, stability, and dominion, all] hea[lth (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever].

By Hathor: ¹⁰Hathor, lady of Pe and Dep, the charming one,^f ¹¹as [she] gives all life, stability [and dominion].

By the King: ¹²Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes, [who causes] the Two Lands to live," ¹³the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁴the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹⁵whom Re- [Atum]^g has magnified ¹⁶in order to exercise the kingship.

Notes:

^a For the meaning and reading *id.t*, see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, pp. 258*-62*; Ph. Collombert, "Quelques précisions sur la lecture et la signification du mot *id.t*," *RdÉ* 46 (1995), pp. 205-08.

^b The sign beside  has been erased, or has worn away, leaving only incised outlines. Murnane tentatively read this round-topped trace as either  or a tall form of , with the phonetic value *md.(t)* "cattle stall" (*Wb*. II, p. 185:1). He suggested that the scribe wrote it here with a terminal  through contamination from *kni* "palanquin," which is determined with the same sign.

Nelson understood the sign to be  and read *hw.wt Tny* "estates of Tcheni," a deity associated with cattle. See A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Significance of the Ceremony *HWT BHSW* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu," *JEA* 36 (1950), p. 81. I am grateful to Benoît Lurson for bringing this to my attention.

With either solution, the preceding *hw.wt* is surely to be understood in its older (and broader) meaning, "estates" or "foundations" (*Wb*. III, p. 1:A-1).

^c Miscarved as  instead of . Nelson omitted three bands across , and a chevron pattern at the back of the "flag" of .

^d Repeated mechanically over cols. 7-8.

^e Restoring *nhh [m] 'nh w's*: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 2:12, 183:6

^f Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, pp. 48-49. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 120, n. 204) reads "Herrin von Pe und Dep und Kom el Hisn" (*nb.t P Dp 'Bmw*). *'Im* — not *'Bmw* — stands for Kom el-Hisn, Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, pp. 15-16. However, in *Wb* I, p. 80, the writing corresponds more to "sweet" since it is missing the plural strokes or the -sign designating a place name.

^g There is room in the gap for [*Itmw*]. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 34:12, 98:9.

Plate 156

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.5.

Location: B 238: West wall, north wing, third register, sixth scene north of the giant scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers Ma'at before Amun-Re, who was followed by another divinity (destroyed). Behind the king, Hathor, lady of Punt, holds a year-staff from which hang signs for jubilees.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Hathor's collar has discolored bands of pigment.

Observations: An incised rut that angles up from Sety I's belly into Amun's torso was the bottom hull of the god's river barge that Horemheb had carved on the Second Pylon. Sety's workmen could not eliminate the deepest remnants of sunk relief,⁴⁴⁹ but hacking from their attempt to do so pockmarks the figures, especially the king's lower body. Some parts of the relief were executed in stucco. Where this has fallen away, as with Hathor's ear, the carving sometimes appears unfinished. Sety's belt, apron, and streamers are also not as complete as Nelson records. Plaster still clings to Hathor's body, Amun's forward leg, and Sety's rear leg. His craftsmen also recut the right side of Hathor's wig lappet.

Fracturing and erosion of the stone through natural decay have caused large gaps in the middle and right end of the scene where masonry has fallen away, and this process is ongoing at its left end. Carved details absent from the drawing include modeling on Sety I's crown, its lower rim behind his ear, the division of his streamers at their wide end, and two ribbons extending below the knot at the back of Hathor's wig, which Nelson does not record. Note that while Hathor's rear foot is broken at the ankle, her front foot is sufficiently well preserved to show that it continued below the surface of the king's platform.⁴⁵⁰

Translations:

Label: ¹[Presenting] Ma'at to his father.

By Amun: ²[A]mun-[Re], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁴[(I) have given to you ...]."

By the Divinity behind Amun: ⁵[...], ⁶as [...] gives [...]. ⁷[Words] spoken: "[I] have given to you ...]"

By Hathor: ⁸Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Punt:^b ⁹"(I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land^c ¹⁰gathered together ¹¹[under] your^d sandals."

By the King: ¹²The good god who performs benefactions for his father, ¹³lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁴the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁵given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 4 and 9.

^b For Hathor, lady of Punt, see Leitz, *Lexikon IV*, pp. 52–53.

^c , normally the determinative of *t'ḏsr.t*, may be restored at the top of col. 10: cf. *GHHK I.1*, pls. 35:7 and 193:8.

^d Miscarved as  instead of .

⁴⁴⁹ Fragments of a chevron pattern remain inside this gash where it overlaps the king's body. See *GHHK I.1*, pl. 154, and our commentary, above.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. the position of the goddess' feet on pls. 70 and 79.

Plate 157

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.6.

Location: B 239: West wall, north wing, third register, seventh (final) scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I anoints the forehead of ithyphallic Amun-Re with ointment. Hathor, lady of the Delta, stands behind Amun, while a vulture soars over the king (fig. 173).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Residual tool marks from Sety I's removal of Horemheb's Second Pylon decoration scar the relief, especially at the tops of cols. 2–5. As a result, Hathor's name is damaged, but remains fully legible. Likewise, the summit of Amun's leading plume is also largely intact. In addition to a diagonal segment of the suppressed *Userhet* barge's hull indicated above cols. 1 and 4, four diagonal gashes descend from the top of these text columns into the base of Amun's plumes. Nelson records one as a crack, but all are vestiges of the *Userhet*'s massive steering oars. Iconoclasts gouged out the god's penis, but no other malicious damage is apparent. Spalling has claimed much of Amun's face and that of the king, but the tip of Sety's chin survives.

Nelson overlooked or misconstrued a larger-than-usual number of elements in his copy: details of the vulture's beak and inner wing are missing; the coiled body of Sety's uraeus serpent is present inside his cap-crown; his ointment jar does not flare out at the top, and no trace of its cone of unguent remains; the base of Sety's belt apron continues through his long sash; Amun's beard remains largely intact inside his shoulder; the pommel of the god's flabellum fetish is more elaborate; and Hathor's breast, although damaged, is also more complete. Nelson omitted, too, the upper right corner of the offering stand and part of a jar resting on it. Moreover, the front of Amun's pedestal does not cover the lower right base of the stand, but rather the opposite is true, and a bouquet draped over the stand has three stems with rounded ends.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Words spoken^a b[y Am]un-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²the great god who is upon ³his great seat: ⁴“(I) have given to you all health.”^b

Behind *Amun*: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By *Hathor*: ⁵⁻⁶Hathor,^c lady of the two shores,^d ⁷as [she] gives all life: ⁸“(I) have given to you [the flat lands being] pacified,^e all hill countries being under your feet.”^f

By *King*: [The lord of the Two Lands] MEN[MA'ATRE, the lord of appearances SE]T[Y-MER]EN[AMUN].

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above col. 4.

^b The placement of this *di.n=(i) n=k* formula between the columns devoted to Amun's titulary is highly unusual, but may have been dictated by concerns over the layout of the text in a more confined space.

^c Most of  is legible, and the sign has not been deliberately erased or tampered with as Nelson's drawing suggests.

^d On *rwḏ.tyw* “the two banks (of the Delta),” see *Wb.* II, p. 413. Lesko (*Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 1, p. 268) translates *rwḏ* as “shore.” Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 121, n. 213) compares this term with the dual form of *ḏn* “boundary marker” (*Wb.* V, p. 372), which often occurs in the dual.

^e Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 155:8 and 160:5 (*di.n=(i) n=k t3.w m ḥtp.w*).

^f So reading *ḥr rd.wy=k*.

Plate 158

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) IV.3; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 212 (left).

Location: B 240: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, first scene from the south.

Subject: The king (initially Sety I but usurped by Ramesses II) offers flowers to a processional cult image of ithyphallic Amun-Re resting within his kiosk-shrine with a planter box of lettuce and a kneeling statuette of the king offering wine. A vulture-goddess hovers over Sety's head.

Type of Relief: Raised, except for Ramesses II's cartouche, which is sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Hacking that mars the carved surface at the left end of the frieze of uraei at the top of Amun's shrine is residuum left from the erasure of Horemheb's obsolete decoration on the Second Pylon. Sety I's artisans recut his chest and belly three times to make it broader. They also modified his lower back and rump, the streamers dangling behind him, and the top of his belt. Note that Nelson did not record the back of Sety's kilt where it projects behind his rear leg.⁴⁵¹ Diagonal markings on his torso probably indicated a priestly sash, which the craftsmen suppressed or never fully carved. If so, parallels elsewhere in the Hall hint that Sety also wore a cap-crown.⁴⁵² Nelson overlooked a short ramp that descends sharply from the dais supporting the god's shrine at its front.⁴⁵³

At some point in antiquity, Amun's image was covered by a veil secured by drill holes that remain visible at several points around Amun. These are located in the lower part of the rear support of his shrine, inside the cartouche- and rosette-spangled pall upon which his effigy rests, and in an eroded patch under col. 4. There is also a vertical slot above and to the left of the top of the god's plumes, and there is a square hole just above the sky-sign over col. 4.

Several of the cartouche-shaped studs on the pall contain, alternately, *prenomen* and *nomen* cartouches of Sety I (their hieroglyphs are incised and, due to their small scale, rather crudely executed), interspersed with round studs containing stars in raised relief, some of which have circular hubs at their centers. Damage to this scene, although extreme, appears to be from natural causes. Several blocks have eroded significantly, including those containing Sety's head, cols. 2–4, and the ribbon dangling behind Amun, and isolated traces of the god's offerings above the table have now disappeared. Modern restorers have inserted new masonry below the scene and on the upper left side to shore up the wall. An ancient patch-stone has vanished from the region of Sety's rump.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Words [spoken] by Amun-Re-Ka-²mutef: “(O) my beloved son, ³[the lord of] the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEP[EN]RE,^a ⁴[(I) have given to you my] life[time ...].”^b

Behind the King: ⁵The king, [the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE]^a shall continually c[ause to appea]r^c his father, Amun-Re-[Ka]mutef,^d in order to rest upon the dais, inasmuch as he (*Amun*) has [gi]ven to him valor and victory against every foreign country.

Above the King's Shoulder: Every [protection — all life — surrounds him] like Re.^e

By the Vulture: [...], as [she] gives life.

Notes:

^a Usurped from Sety I in sunk relief by Ramesses II, although no reliable traces remain.

^b The trace next to  is not  but the  of ‘h‘w.

^c Read s[h‘].

^d The hindquarters of  are visible on *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 212 (left).

^e Restoring [s‘ nḥ nb ḥʒ=f] nb mi R‘.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 31, 76.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, pls. 157, 197, and 210.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, pl. 70.

Plate 159

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) IV.1–2; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 212 (left); priest carrying standard: Legrain, *Karnak*, pl. 191, fig. 122; lower left side: Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/157, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/157.

Location: B 241–42: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, second scene from the south.

Subject: Preceded by three subregisters of priests carrying standards, Sety I escorts the statue of ithyphallic Amun-Re as it is borne aloft on the shoulders of the priests. Behind the procession, a larger image of Amun (followed by that of Amunet) stands before a laden table of offerings (figs. 174–75).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The sculptors retouched their work at several points: Sety I's forward arm on both sides; the larger Amun's front shoulder, phallus, and the back of his leg and heel; and Amunet's crown at its front and back. This larger Amun served as recipient of cultic devotion as square holes for securing a veil attest. They are evident just below col. 6, above Amun's foot, and in front of Amunet's thigh. Iconoclasts completely gouged the smaller Amun's phallus, but were less thorough with the larger's member. Parts of the relief have disappeared since Nelson recorded them, including⁴⁵⁴ the pommels of two large fans held aloft before the god, a text in front of him, and the bottom of col. 8. Nelson overlooked the larger Amun's beard, and he did not copy the dado pattern composed of two thick bands framed by three narrow ones that remains mostly intact below the scene.

Translations:

In Front of Amun in Procession: [Amun-Re-Kamut]ef, lord of heaven [...].

By the King: The good god, lord of the [Two L]ands [...]; the son of Re, lord [of appearances ...],^a [given life] like [Re].

By the Larger Figure of Amun: ¹[Amun-Re]-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²the great god, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ³who is upon [his gre]at seat: ⁴Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you [all] life, stability, and dominion [...]. ⁵(I) have given to you [all] valor and all victory. ⁶(I) have [given] to you all flat lands and every hill country gathered together.”

Behind Amun: Every [protection] — all [life],^c stability, and dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, (and) all victory — surrounds him.

By Amunet: ⁷Amunet, lad[y of] Kar⁸[nak], [mistress of] the god[s].^d ⁹Words spoken: “(I) [have] given [to you] all food.”

Notes:

^a It is not clear whether Ramesses II usurped Sety I's cartouches in this relief as he did in the adjoining scene to the south.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–6.

^c So restoring  at the top of this column where incrustation of salts and decay of the sandstone had rendered this portion of the wall illegible.

^d Read *ʾImn.t nb.[t] ʾIp].t-[sw.t]* (determined by ) , [*hnw.t*]-*ntr*[w].

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3171.

Plate 160

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (152) IV.1.

Location: B 243: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, third scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers two lengths of cloth to Khonsu while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Here, as in other scenes on this lowest register of the west wall, Sety I's craftsmen applied more carved embellishments to his reliefs. Note that they indicated plaiting on the king's wig, not merely as horizontal lines, but with individual ringlets carved as numerous vertical lines inside each row.

Large gaps in the middle of this scene are due to both a missing patch-stone (below cols. 7, 9–10) and later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall who cut a large square opening above Sety I's hands.⁴⁵⁵ Iconoclasts are responsible for pecking some bird and snake hieroglyphs and for defacing Khonsu's uraeus, but other cavities and fissures resulted from natural decay of the sandstone. While the lower half of the scene is relatively free of such defects, concretions of insoluble salts encrust much of it.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving cloth.^a

By Khonsu: ²Khonsu-in-³Thebes Neferhotep, lord of joy. ⁴Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you^c all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health. ⁵(I) have given to you^c all flat lands being pacified."

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion like Re.

By Serpent: ⁷Wadjet, ⁸as she gives valor and victory [...].

By the King: ⁹Horus: mighty bull, ["appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live"], ¹⁰the dual king, lord of the Two Lands [MENMA'AT]RE, ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-[MEREN]AMUN, [given life like Re],^d ¹²image of Re in front of the Two Lands, ¹²⁻¹³[whom] Atum himself [created]^e to be ruler of every land.

Notes:

^a Note the unusual second  of *rdi.t*. The determinative of *mnḥ.t* is written , probably for . Although a trace of  that Nelson records is erroneous, and here the wall is encrusted by salt deposits, this unusual grouping of determinatives is an ancient "mistake," not simply faulty copying by Nelson. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 123, n. 233) is mistaken. Cf. *Wb.* II, p. 87.

^b Repeated mechanically above col. 5.

^c Carved mistakenly as  instead of .

^d Given the spacing, this should have been arranged beneath the cartouches.

^e Traces along the bottom left edge of col. 12 in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 7171 clearly suit  followed by , so reading [k]m³.n 'Itmw, etc., which Nelson mistook for and two more inscrutable traces. For a parallels to this writing of k m³, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 163 right:2, 166:12. So contra Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 123, n. 237.

⁴⁵⁵ This second void is visible in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 7332 but is now obscured by cement.

Plate 161

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.1.

Location: B 244: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fourth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I, kneeling, presents an offering to Amun-Re, followed by Mut. A vulture soars over the king's head (fig. 176).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Sety's artisans recut the back of his headcloth and widened his beard on its left side. Plaster still clings between these versions where it joins his chin. Two large holes (just above Sety's head and between the two divinities) contributed to the destruction of the middle of this relief, but again, this is connected with post-pharaonic reuse of the building.⁴⁵⁶ Hacking inside the vulture's tail is not matched by any further sign of vandalism. Salt deposits encrust the bottom of the relief, but pleating on Sety's kilt is fully carved.

Translations:

By Mut: ¹Words spoken b[y Mut the great], lady of Isheru: ²“(O my)^a bodily son, the lord of appear[ances] SETY-[MER]ENAMUN, ³⁻⁴(I) have given to you^b all flat lands, ⁴the Nine Bows ⁵being subdued beneath your sandals (and) [your arm] not being opposed.” ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to [you va]lor [against] the south (and) victory [against the north, the flat lands (and)] hill countries being bowed down,^c their products [on their] backs.”

By Amun: [...] ^d“(I) have given to you] every foreign country under [your] sandals.”

By the King: ⁸[...whom Amun himself chose to be so]le [lord] on earth for[ever],^e ⁹[the dua]l [king], lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA'ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re, lord of appearances [SETY]-MER[EN]AMUN, ¹¹image of Re in front of the Two Lands [...].

Notes:

- ^a A trace resembling the top of  is the head of  for the 1st pers. f. sing. suffix pronoun =i. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 163:3.
- ^b Carved mistakenly as  instead of .
- ^c Note the deformed spelling *m ksmw* (for *m ksw*) and its determinative of a bowing Canaanite ruler. See fig. 250.
- ^d Nelson did not record vestiges of the upper right corner of a column of text in front of Amun's plumes. But while its text divider is clear, traces of a pair of hieroglyphs are illegible.
- ^e Cf. *stp.n 'Imn ds=f rdi n=f r nb-w' tp-t3 d.[t]*. A trace at the bottom of the column seems to be  (GHHK I.1, pl. 169:12–13).

⁴⁵⁶ See Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 7332. These holes are now filled with cement, as other large gaps already were in Nelson's time.

Plate 162

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.3.

Location: B 245: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fifth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents flowers to a divinity (destroyed). A vulture flies over the king's head.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Remnants of the king's broad collar are visible in archival photographs.⁴⁵⁷

Observations: Although there is no apparent sign of recutting, Sety I's craftsmen must have adjusted his *nemes*-headcloth, for its lappet is oddly narrow. Moreover, there is a hollow space between the top of his rear shoulder and the bottom of his wig which Nelson misjudged in his copy. It is hard to imagine that the complete loss of the right half of this relief is due only to natural causes.

Translations:

By the King: 1[...] 2[...]^a 3enduring eternally, [like] a son who is effective for [the one who fashioned him,^b 4the dual king, master of the ri]tual,^c lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, 5[the son of Re, master of str]ength,^d lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re,^e 6the son of Amun, who is upon [his throne].^f

Behind the Deity: (I) [have] given to you [...].^g

Notes:

^a No conclusive restoration can be proposed. At the top of the column is a standing human glyph — perhaps  (a verb of adoration) or  (a verb of building) — probably followed by . The last recognizable sign is , following either a missing [], or associated with something like *r(?)*-[*pr*] (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178:7). The right-facing orientation of these signs indicates that this text contained epithets describing the king. Instead of the pattern of two box-like “hieroglyphs” shown at the bottom of the column in Nelson's drawing, only the text divider along with part of a single tall, narrow sign is visible.

^b Restoring *rwd.t n nhh [mi] s3 3h n [ms sw]*: the word preceding the adjective *rwd.t* should be a feminine substantive.

^c Given the spacing and remaining traces, restore [*nsw-bity nb ir*].*t-h.t*.

^d Restoring [*s3 R' nb h*]pš: There are definite traces of .

^e Arranged under the two cartouches.

^f Restoring *hry [ns.t=f]* with a full writing like that in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 166:16.

^g For traces of this column, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 163 left, behind the vulture's tail. The final sign is a tall, narrow one, but it is not clear which.

Plate 163

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.4–5.

Location: B 246–47: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, sixth and seventh scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: Sety I kneels (*left*) offers wine to Amun-Re, and (*right*) offers a conical loaf of bread to lioness-headed Mut. Wadjet (*left*) (fig. 264) and Nekhbet (*right*) hover above the king as vultures.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The masons inserted small patch-stones between cols. 3 and 4 (*left*). Sety I's sculptors modified their work at several points (*left*) shifting Amun's forward shoulder higher and recutting the other. They also

⁴⁵⁷ Chicago Oriental Institute photographs 3590 and 7174.

retouched the top of his belt, along with (*right*) Mut's belly and thigh, and Sety's bicep. On the left, a hovering vulture has a serpent's head as befits her identity as Wadjet. Her name appears partly erased in col. 7 as does  of Amun's in col. 2. Note that  (col. 1, left) has lashings across both its jars. The flaring curve at the base of the offering stand is more subtle and not angular as drawn.

Areas of shade on the drawing denote different things. Sety's conical loaf (*right*) is merely worn, but the tip of Amun's beard is lost in hacking, which further afflicts his upper torso, the zone between his shoulder and the top of his *w*s-scepter, and the tops of his plumes. None of this is malicious, however, as neither the faces nor extremities of any of the figures were attacked. Instead, we see residue from erasure of the Second Pylon's Eighteenth Dynasty decoration. Other damage resulted from erosion, as with deep striations in the sandstone visible in the upper half of both scenes. Mut's leonine head is discernible in outline, but her carved features are very worn. Plaiting on her wig is, however, more intact than Nelson indicates, nor did he fully capture the latticework design of Sety's belt. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall may have removed masonry on the left side, and they also inserted a rectangular hole above the king's offering (*right*).

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹[Giving] wine.

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: "(O) my beloved son, ³the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, my heart [is gla]d at seeing^a ⁴your monument, and I am content with what you have done. (I) have given [to you] valor ⁵and victory like Re. ⁶(I) have given to you [your] mon[ument] endur[ing like] heaven."^b

By Hovering Vulture: ⁷Wadjet of Pe-Dep, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the Vulture below: ⁸Nekhbet, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁹Horus, [mighty] bull, "beloved of Re," ¹⁰the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN], [image of] Re [...].^c

Right:

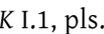
By Mut: ¹Words spoken^d by Mut, lady of Ishe[ru]: ²"I am your mother who created ³your beauty. My two arms ⁴surround you with life and dominion (O) lo[rd of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE]. ⁵(I) have given to you all life and stability,^e all heal[th] (and) all joy on her part.^f ⁶(I) have given to you the Black Land and the R]ed [Land ...]."^g

By the Vulture: ⁷Nekhbet,^h the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion <like> Re.

By [Serpent] under the Vulture: Beloved of [Wadjet, as she gives] life.

By the King: ⁸The good god [who makes monu]ments in the house of his father Amun-Re king of the gods, ⁹the dual king, lord of [the Two Lands] MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁰the image of Re — [lord of appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN — ¹¹in front of the Two Lands, ⁱ ¹¹⁻¹²whom [Amu]n himself has chosen ¹²to be ruler^j of every land, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Restoring *ib=i* [ʒw].w n [mʒ]. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 107 right:4, 200:2-3, 226:4-5. Below  the surface here is very eroded. Although one expects , two curving traces that Nelson records are unreliable.

^b Restoring *di.n=(i) n=k mnw=[k mn.(w) mi] p.[t]*. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 22:3-5, 140:right 12, 153:12.

^c A trace below the disk is consistent with  of *ti.t R'*, an epithet that occurs after Sety's cartouches in several instances on this register: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 160:12, 161:11, 163 right:10, which is arranged in the same manner as here in pl. 165 right:11.

^d Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-5.

^e One would expect  "dominion" here, but the sculptor has carved  instead.

^f One would expect *hr=i* "on my part."

^g Reading the sole hieroglyph preserved in this column as  for *Dšr.[t]*: see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k Km.t Dšr.t*.

^h The sculptor miscarved  instead of .

ⁱ The substitution of *ti.t-R'* for *s'R'*, unusual in itself, has also occasioned its separation from the prepositional phrase *hn.ty tʒ.wy* that customarily qualifies it. For *ti.t-R'* used independently before the cartouche, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 168:12.

^j So reading *r h[kʔ] n tʒ nb*. The curving trace adjacent to  is more circular than Nelson's copy suggests, in keeping with the top of , not of . For parallels, see glossary s.v. *hkʔ n tʒ nb*.

Plate 164

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) 6–7.

Location: B 248–49: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, eighth and ninth scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: Sety I kneels to offer (*left*) a bouquet to ithyphallic Min-Amun-Kamutef, whose planter box of lettuces stands behind him, and (*right*) a tall vase of ointment to Amun-Re. Wadjet (*left*) (fig. 265) and Nekhbet (*right*) hover above the king as vultures.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Recutting occurs on both royal figures, at (*left*) the bicep of Sety's rear arm, his neckline, and the top of his leg from waist to knee, and (*right*) on both sides of each arm above his elbows. Iconoclasts gouged out Min's phallus. Other chisel marks, namely, on Min's upraised arm and shoulder and on Amun-Re's face and shoulders, are, however, fortuitous. Weathering is most severe at the level of both gods' heads, while deposits of salt encrust the relief's lower half. Nelson did not capture the subtleties of individual ringlets on Sety's wig (*left*) or Wadjet's face and neck markings. Someone may have attempted to excise the hieroglyphs at the top of col. 2 (*left*), perhaps for sale on the antiquities market.

Translations:

Left:

By Min: ¹Min-Amun-²Kamut[ef], ²⁻³whose beaut[ies are extolled]:^a ⁴Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all valor and all health. ⁵(I) have given to you all joy.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god who makes mon[uments for his father Kamu]tef in order to [...],^c ⁸the son of Amun [...],^d ⁹the dual king, [lord of the Two Lands] MENMA'AT[RE], ¹⁰the son of Re, [lord of appearances] SETY-[MER]EN[AMUN], given life like Re, ¹¹[...] whom Amun himself has [cho]sen.^e

Right:

By Amun-Re: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Kar[nak]: ²Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you valor against the south (and) v[ictory against the north].^f ³(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all [joy]. ⁴(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years [of Atum]. ⁵(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakon[polis].

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god, lord of [...], ... cro]wns,^g who takes possession of the White Crown, ⁸[the dual king, lord of the Two Lands] MEN[MA'ATRE], ⁹[the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN], given life like [Re], ¹⁰[whom] Atum has [chosen].^h

Notes:

^a Restoring [^b m] nfr[w=f]. Given the limited space available above the god's flail, there is not enough room for this to be prefaced by [^f3'-] “elevated of arm” as in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 186 bottom:3, 193:4, and 216:2. See glossary s.v. *f3i*.

^b Repeated mechanically above col. 5 (*left*) and above cols. 3–4 (*right*).

^c Above , there is what looks like the head and neck of , along with the front part of an indistinct sign above it: we restore, tentatively, *iri mn[w n it=f K3-mw].t=f r [...]*, etc.

^d The sign at the bottom of this column does not appear to be  as the drawing suggests. Rather it is part of a tall, narrow sign.

^e Restoring [...st]p.n 'Imn ds=f. There should be room for another epithet above this one.

^f Given parallels and the vestige of  below *rsy*, the formula should continue *n[ht r mht.t]* (see glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k kn.t r rsy* etc.), but traces Nelson drew at the bottom of the column ( with a  under it) are doubtful. Of this, only the stroke is clear. Instead of a flat sign above, we see two fragments that are compatible with  and the bottom right “tail” of  and to the left of the stroke, a possible , so reading .

^g Possibly reading *h'w* at the bottom of the gap.

^h See glossary s.v. *stp* for parallels to *stp.n* + divine name.

Plate 165

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.8–9.

Location: B 250–51: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, tenth and eleventh scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: Sety I kneels and (*left*) offers bouquets to a falcon-headed avatar of Amun-Re-Horakhty and (*right*) makes an unidentifiable offering to Theban Hathor. A vulture-goddess (*left*) and a divine falcon (*right*) (fig. 266) hover over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised (fig. 178).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few cosmetic alterations to the reliefs are evident. On the left, Sety I's artists reworked both sides of his belt and his chest. They also enlarged the back of Amun-Re-Horakhty's wig and his beak. In the process, they may have partially erased his eye and cheek markings. At right, the artists widened the back of Sety's wig slightly, and they also recut the bottom of Hathor's headband and shifted her eye.

The masons prepared the wall for carving with at least four veneer blocks located at (*left*) Sety's chest (half of it still *in situ*) and the falcon-god's rear shoulder and (*right*) within Hathor's horned sun disk and inside her chest. Plaster bedding for these patches remains, especially at the falcon-god's shoulder. Modern iconoclasts hacked the vulture's tail and some hieroglyphs —  in col. 5 (*left*) and the heads of -serpents in cols. 4–6 (*left*) — but otherwise they largely spared the relief of their attentions. Isolated defacement to  in Sety's *nomen* cartouche (*right*) betrays lighter tool marks and must date to Late Period animus toward Seth.

Other damage to carved surfaces results from natural defects in the bedding of the sandstone (notably, the masons filled some larger cracks with plaster in antiquity). Ancient chisel marks obscure parts of the falcon's wing and titulary (*right*), but since they contain stucco infill, they are best explained as residue from Sety I's erasure of Horemheb's Second Pylon decoration, not vandalism. Large gaps in the upper left and lower right corners may be due to medieval squatters deliberately removing masonry. Details of the falcon-god's eye markings, nostril, and beak are more intricate than Nelson's drawing conveys, and his uraeus lacks a tail.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Giving all (sorts of) good and pure fresh flowers.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Horakhty, ³pre-eminent in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis, lord of heaven: ⁴Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all flat lands [(and) all hill countries gathered together].^b ⁵(I) have given to you a million year[s] forever <in> [j]oy.^c ⁶(I) have given to you all food. ⁷(I) have given to you my seat and my throne like Re forever.”

Right:

By Hathor: ¹Words spoken by Hathor, chieftain(ess) of Thebes: “(O my) beloved bodily son, ²the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, my heart ³is satisfied with this monument which you^d have made. ⁴I have given <to you>^e the throne of Geb and the office of Atum. ⁵(I) have given to you [...].”

By the Falcon: ⁶The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, as he gives life.

By Serpent: ⁷<Wadjet>,^f as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁸The good god [who performs bene]factions in the house of his father Amun, ⁹the dual king, [lord of] the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re, [lord of] appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹¹image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whose strength Re has magnified, ¹²who makes his border at the “Horn(s)-of-the-Earth” (and) at the marshlands of Naharin.⁸

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–6.

^b Assuming that this column was as long as its neighbor, there is space for [*h*is.wt nb.(wt) dmd]. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 146 right:11, 159:6.

- ^c If one follows the tracings on the drawing, this reconstruction requires an oddly compressed spelling of *d.t*. What Nelson saw is still recognizable on the wall, but with only  below the tail of  (top). Traces of , , and  (of *ḥw.t-ib*, bottom) are clear. Even with compression, a more conventional writing of *d.t m ḥw.t-ib* seems impossible.
- ^d Miscarved  instead of .
- ^e So taking *di=i* as an indicative (perfective) *sdm=f*. The dative *n=k* has been omitted for lack of space.
- ^f Although the cobra goddess' identity is uncertain because she lacks a crown, and since the flower blossom she rests upon is lost, a serpent is more in keeping with Wadjet than for Nekhbet, who generally appears as a vulture.
- ^g *Wp.t tʿ* (*Wb.* I, p. 298:3; Gauthier, *DG I*, pp. 194–95) refers to the distant south of Nubia. The *phw Nhrny* (Gauthier, *DG I*, p. 147) denotes the Upper Euphrates River valley in Syria.

Plate 166

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.10.

Location: B 252: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, twelfth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers two jars of wine to Amun, who is followed by Khonsu. Nekhbet hovers above the king as a vulture.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Random patterns of hacking (e.g., inside the sky-sign above the vulture's head, in Amun's torso, and to Khonsu's name in col. 7) are residue from deletion of Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs on the pylon. In preparing this wall for carving, Sety I's masons inserted patch-stones below his cartouches and in Amun's front shoulder and chest. His artisans also recut the figures to make small cosmetic modifications to their work: Amun's belt and forward plume, Sety's rear arm along its bicep, the back of his wig, and Khonsu's crescent moon. Evidence of later settlement activity inside the Hall includes several "hitching rings" for tethering domestic animals that medieval occupants opened in and below Khonsu's hands and at Sety's rear shoulder. They also mutilated the noses and eyes of all three figures, along with Amun's ear and the head of Khonsu's uraeus, but with only light gouges.

In his drawing, Nelson neglected or misinterpreted some finer details. The top and bottom of Sety I's belt are represented as double lines,⁴⁵⁸ he wears a *shendyt*-kilt as in the next scene, beads on Khonsu's *menat*-necklace and braids of his sidelock differ from Nelson's interpretation, and the root of Amun's beard is preserved in outline, although it has eroded.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving wine to Amun.

By Amun: ²A[mu]n-Re, lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler of] Thebes:^a ³Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum. ⁴(I) have given to you [all flat lands and all hill countries] under your sandals. ⁵(I) have given to you [... in] your [gra]sp.^c ⁶(I) have given to you eternity [... for]ever and ever!"^d

By Khonsu: ⁷Khonsu-in-Thebes ⁸Neferhotep, the [great] god. ⁹Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you [all] joy [...]^e like Re. ¹⁰(I) have given to you [all] valor."

By the Vulture: ¹¹Nekhbet,^f the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By the King: ¹²(Long) live the good god [who makes] monuments for his father who created [his] beauty, ¹³who has magnified his [house],^g like the horizon of heaven, with goo[d] hard sandstone, ¹⁴the dual king, [ruler of] joy,^h lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁵the son of Re who propitiates the gods, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life [like R]e, ¹⁶son of Amun, who is upon [his] throne.

⁴⁵⁸ This is not recutting; cf. the more elaborate belts in the following two scenes, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 167–68.

Notes:

- ^a See glossary s.v. 'Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t hk3 W3s.t.
^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 4–5 and 10.
^c Among the disparate elements that might be gathered in the king's grasp are t3.w h3s.wt, pd.t psd.t, Šm'w Mhw, and Km.t Dšr.t: see glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k.
^d See glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k nhh.
^e There is room either for another substantive “all ...” (... nb) or “on my part” (hr=i) in the gap.
^f The sculptor miscarved  instead of .
^g There are clear traces of  above the gap.
^h There is room for  [hk3] at the right side of the column.

Plate 167

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.11.

Location: B 253: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, thirteenth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels as he offers incense and libation to ithyphallic Amun-Re. A falcon soars above the king's head.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Cosmetic recutting is as follows: the top of Sety's forward arm, and his shoulder between his beard and neck; the top of the ribbon dangling behind Amun (Nelson's line being the lower, original version); and the god's leg from below his penis to his knee. Iconoclastic denizens of the Hypostyle Hall in a later age partially scratched out Sety's eye and mouth and thoroughly hacked Amun's penis, but not as deeply as elsewhere in the Hall. In Sety's *nomen* cartouche,  is partially damaged, but so is  in 'Imn, and it is not clear that this was intentional.⁴⁵⁹ Squatters also inserted four small beam holes across the middle of the relief (behind Sety's head, in front of his face, on Amun's penis, and in the lettuce plant closest to him). Veneer blocks are missing at the king's *prenomen* cartouche and the bottom of col. 5. Larger gaps in the scene are due to deliberate removal of masonry or, in col. 1 and at Amun's face, to natural wear. Salt crystals have effloresced on the offering table and Sety's legs. The rest is in good condition.

Given the density of hieroglyphic texts in scenes along the base of the north wing of the west wall, a few columns of hieroglyphs must be lost from the upper half of this relief. A horizontal inscription below the falcon's wing would have identified him as the Behdetite.⁴⁶⁰ Considering the space needed to accommodate his upper wing, there was at least one additional column of text to the right of col. 1. One of these probably had a Wadjet-serpent or Nekhbet-vulture on a heraldic column flanked by *di=s nh w3s mry*.⁴⁶¹ If there was another, it would have been an additional speech of Amun headed by *dd-mdw*. Harder to explain are two -scepters flanking  above cols. 2–3. Raptors hovering over the king sometimes grasp signs for  and  in their talons in Ramesside iconography, but there are no exact parallels for this in early Nineteenth Dynasty wall scenes in the Hall, and the spacing is odd.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁹ The Late Period iconoclasm against Seth is attested — sporadically — on this wall and elsewhere in the Hall. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 165:10.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 165 right, and (by analogy with the vulture-goddess' titles) 160–69.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 160:7, 163:8, 168:10, 178:19.

⁴⁶² In *GHHK* I.1, pls. 39, 45, and -signs, but without flanking -scepters, are clutched in the talons of Nekhbet-vultures. In *ibid.*, pl. 42, a vulture holds a single -pillar. The closest parallel is in pl. 128, where the falcon grasps  with a  below. Note that these are held diagonally.

Translations:

By the King: ¹[(Long) live] the good [god who perfor]ms [bene]fac[tions in the house of his father Amun],^a ²the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master of strength MEN[MA'ATRE], ³the son of Re whom he loves, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁴given all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health like Re.

By Amun: ⁵Amun-Re-Kamut[ef], ⁶the great god, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ⁷who is upon his great seat: ⁸Words [spoken:^b "(I) have given to you ...]. ⁹(I) have given to you all food."

Behind Amun: Every <protection>^c — all <life>^c, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

Notes:

^a So restoring [‘nh ntr] nfr [iri ʒ]h[.wt m pr it=f’Imn], cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 165:8 right. The phrase  — where it occurs in the Great Hypostyle Hall — always comes at the beginning of Sety I's titulary. Note that a trace of  is farther to the left than Nelson indicates.

^b Repeated mechanically above col. 9.

^c There is not enough room for . Perhaps a craftsman added  in paint. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 171:8, 172:6.

Plate 168

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.12.

Location: B 254: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fourteenth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers a clepsydra to Mut (figs. 177, 286).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: There are faint bands of paint or paint scaring on the king's broad collar, but no color is preserved.

Observations: Scattered patterns of chisel marks in several zones across the relief (e.g., inside the vulture's wing tip; at the top of cols. 6, 7, and 9; and the bottom of col. 10) are spoor from the removal of Horemheb's decoration on the Second Pylon. Sety I's artists recut Mut's belly, the back of her rear leg, her eye, and her chin. A tool mark on Sety's cheek is fortuitous (since his features are intact), but light gashes on Mut's nose and mouth are iconoclastic. A small beam hole inside the king's head aligns with others in the previous scene. Mut wears a uraeus crowned with a horned disk that, although faint, is preserved in outline.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving a clepsydra to Mut, lady [of heaven], ²that he might achieve "given life [like] Re."

By Mut: ²Mut^a the great, lady of heaven, ³mistress of the papyrus columns: ⁴Words spoken:^b "(I) have given to you the [thron]e of Geb and the office of Atum.^c ⁵(I) have [given] to you all food and all provisions. ⁶(I) have given to you valor against the south (and) victory against the north. ⁷(I) have given to you all life and dominion like Re. ⁸<(I) have given to>^d you the lifetime of Re and the [pow]er^e of Shu and Tefnut."

By Hovering Vulture: ⁹Nekhbet, lady of heaven, as she gives all life, stability, dominion, (and) health on her part, like Re.

By Small Vulture below: ¹⁰[Bel]oved^f of <Nekhbet>, as she gives life and stability like Re.

By the King: ¹¹Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes,^g [who causes] the [Two L]ands to live," ¹²the dual king, image of Re, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹³the son of Re, whom he loves, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re, ¹⁴who has made for himself a valiant name in every foreign country.

Notes:

^a The ideogram is  (as in col. 1), but here her flail is lightly engraved and may have been added later.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 5–7.

^c See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k ns.t Gb i:t 'Itmw*.

- ^d Per Sharkawy, curving trace above [ḥʿw] is probably  of an incompletely carved *di.n=(i) n=k* formula. The rest may have been laid out in paint at the top of the column.
- ^e Restore [wsr], there is a trace of the second ear of , + : see glossary s.v. *Šw, Tfnw.t*.
- ^f At the bottom of the column, there are clear traces (more than Nelson records) of  on the right side, for which we restore [mr]y, but there is no trace of the presumed  at left.
- ^g So written with  instead of .

Plate 169

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.13; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 8, king's head only.

Location: B 255: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fifteenth (and final) scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents Ma'at to Amun-Re (figs. 267, 290).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In preparing the wall for carving, the masons inserted a number of small patch-stones into irregular block joints within and to the right of Amun's chest. Note that Sety's beard and wig lappet appear too thin, and the sculptors may have recarved them, just as they retouched Amun's forward arm and leg on their right sides, and the left side of his beard. Apart from defacement of  in Sety's *nomen*, there is no sign of vandalism. Erosion has left gaps in Amun's body and his forward hand. Nelson omitted features of the vulture's head, the fold in the king's *nemes*-headcloth above his ear, and strands of the -glyph's necklace in col. 1. Part of the Ramesside dado motif survives beneath Amun's rear leg.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting Ma'at to her lord.

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: "(O) my beloved son of my body, ³the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, how beautiful is the monument that you have made within ⁴my temple. (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of ⁵Atum. ⁶(I) have given to you all life and dominion^a and all joy and health like Re."

By the Vulture: ⁷Wadjet of Dep, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father [Amun],^b who makes [great]^c his house ⁹with the workmanship of eternity, who embellishes the temples [...],^d ¹⁰the dual king, master of [str]ength, lord of the Two Lands MEN[MA'AT]RE, ¹¹the son of Re, lord of the foreign countries, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MEREN[A]MUN, given life like Re, ¹²[image of] Amun-[Re]^e in front of the Two Lands, ¹²⁻¹³whom Amun himself has chosen — (namely) ¹³the one (*King*) whom he (*Amun*) appointed to be sole lord on earth.

Notes:

^a Note that the supposed reversal of the "head" of  is a mistake by Nelson; traces show it to be oriented correctly.

^b Nelson overlooked traces of the body of , and below, fragments of  and  of *Imn*.

^c We see the right end of  above the group *pr=f*.

^d Reading *ḥw.wt-ntr* as a plural on the assumption (quite uncertain) that a  below is one of a three plural strokes that qualify this word. Leftover vestiges are difficult to interpret into a coherent restoration of this column.

^e Restoring [*ti.t*] *Imn*-[*R'*] at the top of the column seems to be required by what follows. Nelson did not record a curving trace immediately below the  of *Imn*, which could be part of .

Plate 170

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152).

Location: B 256: West wall, cross-wall between the west end of the north wall and the north wing of the Second Pylon.

Subject: Sety I added stereotyped decoration to this marginal space formed by a short cross-wall connecting the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall to the Second Pylon. Although not as well preserved as Ramesses II's decoration on the corresponding southwest corner (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 41 right), we may reconstruct the present relief along much the same lines. Here, two ribbon borders frame a single column of large hieroglyphs giving Sety I's five-fold titulary. On the left side, where the batter of the Second Pylon afforded a tall, narrow, triangular space, his sculptors indicated three huge stems of what must have been giant papyrus stalks (as befits the northern location of this wall). A winged serpent goddess, now missing, probably surmounted open papyrus blooms. These papyrus stalks are not a perfect mirror of Ramesses' design in the southwest corner. Here, the main text is wider, leaving less room for the papyrus plant, which has only three stems.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Masons charged with smoothing the wall left deep quarry hacking that they mended with liberal amounts of now-missing plaster in gaps near the base of the inscription and in areas Nelson indicated with shade in his drawing. Likewise, Sety I's artisans sculpted the large hieroglyphs of his titulary crudely. Below the inscription, later restorers inserted new blocks at the base of the wall. Nelson has left out some details, for example, facial features of  in Sety I's *premen* and a fox-pelt motif on .

Translations:

[Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live," he of the Two Ladies: "repeater of birt[hs], powerful of strength, who subdues the [Nine]^a Bows," Horus-of-Gold: "repeater of appearances, [power]ful of bow[s] in all lands," the dual king [MEN]MA'ATRE, [the son of Re SET]Y-[MER]EN[AMUN], [given] life.

Note:

^a Just one of the nine  survives; the rest were carved in plaster that masked the block joint and quarry hacking.

North Wall (Plan 9, Plates 171–201)

Sety I's craftsmen sculpted decoration on this wall in fine bas-relief typical of his reign. Only the two lowest registers (originally the third and fourth) remain *in situ*, but dozens of blocks from the two upper registers lie in yards around Karnak.⁴⁶³ The first (top) register was shorter than those below; its figures are on a smaller scale, and all of the gods are seated. This smaller format mirrors the top of the south wall.⁴⁶⁴ Although figures on the fourth (lowest) register are at the same scale as those on the middle levels, the register itself is taller (plan 9). This left more space for longer hieroglyphic texts. In keeping with other interior walls in the Hall — excluding the south wall's west wing — scenes on the north wall are oriented with deities facing out of the temple (i.e., to the west [left]), while the king faces east toward the interior of Karnak.

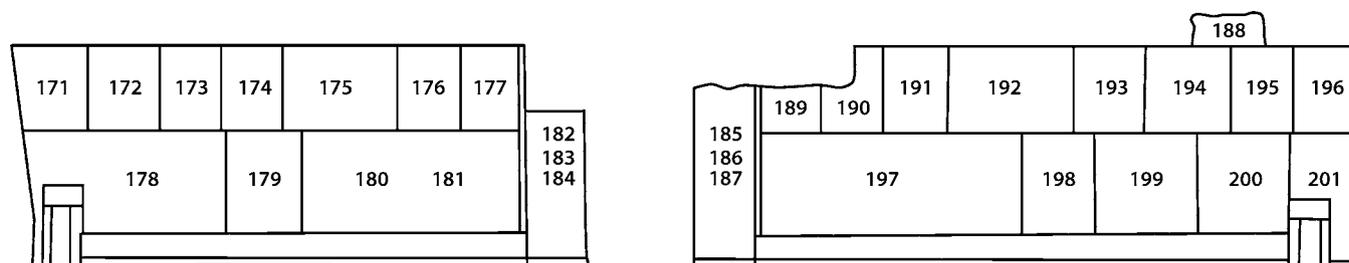
On the north wall (exclusive of its central gateway), Sety I stands in only five episodes on the fourth (lowest) register, three of which feature Amun's processional bark⁴⁶⁵ and two where Atum and Monthu lead Sety into the

⁴⁶³ Most of these blocks have now been transferred to waterproof platforms by the Franco-Egyptian Center at Karnak. We will publish them in a separate volume dedicated to fragments from the Great Hypostyle Hall.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 81–86, the commentary to the same, and our introductory remarks to the south wall, east wing, above. A

similar format obtained in ritual vignettes placed above battle scenes of Sety I on the north exterior wall (*Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, p. 128) and those of Ramesses II on the south exterior wall (*ibid.*, pl. 47C).

⁴⁶⁵ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 178, 180, 197.



Plan 9. Diagram of the north wall showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

sanctuary.⁴⁶⁶ In every scene on the three upper registers, and in two more on the lowest,⁴⁶⁷ Sety I kneels before the gods. In the second⁴⁶⁸ and third⁴⁶⁹ registers, the deities generally stand.⁴⁷⁰

Sety I's sculptors embellished reliefs on the bottom register of the north wall with finely carved ornamentation that is often absent from scenes above them. Here, carved flourishes include pleating on royal and divine kilts, priestly garments, plaited wigs, latticework patterns on belts, even beads on their broad collars. They also created magnificent layered effects that give these carvings a three-dimensional appearance, the most striking of which are overlapping ranks of priests wearing pleated gowns and leopard-skin pelts who are escorting the barks and the elaborate decoration on the barks themselves.⁴⁷¹ On the third (top *in situ*) register of the east wing, Sety's craftsmen occasionally applied such ornamentation as pleating on his kilt⁴⁷² and striations on the wigs of Thoth and Weret-hekau.⁴⁷³ By contrast, on the upper register of the west wing, the scenes are largely devoid of fine embellishments, except for plaiting on Sety's wig in two instances.⁴⁷⁴

Such finely carved embellishment often coincides with extensive recutting of Sety I's figure in reliefs from the central gateway.⁴⁷⁵ Except for decoration on the clerestory roof,⁴⁷⁶ his sculptors carved scenes on the north gateway before completing any other reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Here, they modified the pose of his effigies from an upright to a bowing stance in a number of scenes on the gateway's exterior and interior jambs and in its passage. A similar nexus of elaborate detailing and recutting occurs on the north wall's east wing. Here, Sety's artists retouched his figure in each scene, mainly to refine the proportions and attitude of his limbs, face, and headdress. In several instances, they added a large triangular flap and belt apron to his kilt.

In contrast to their extensive modification of Sety's images, his artists made fewer and more subtle amendments to divinities on the central gateway and east wing to adjust the proportions of their limbs, faces, and torsos. More significantly, they altered three representations of Amun-Re's processional bark extensively, concentrating their efforts on reworking its cabin-shrine and the embroidered veil that enveloped it. Here, their main intention was to perfect rebus decoration representing elements of Sety I's *prenomen*.⁴⁷⁷

Upon completing their revisions to decoration on the north gateway, Sety's workmen proceeded to carve scenes on the east wing of the north wall before turning to the west wing.⁴⁷⁸ A relative paucity of cosmetic recutting, especially to the king's proportions, distinguishes reliefs on the third (upper *in situ*) register of the west wing from those on the east wing and north gateway. Even when the craftsmen made iconographically significant changes, eschewing recarving, they accomplished them in paint.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁶⁶ GHHK I.1, pls. 179 and 199.

⁴⁶⁷ GHHK I.1, pls. 198 and 200.

⁴⁶⁸ Only traces of one scene (GHHK I.1, pl. 188) remain in place on the wall.

⁴⁶⁹ Now the highest register preserved *in situ*: GHHK I.1, pls. 171–77, 189–96.

⁴⁷⁰ An exception is Re-Horakhty enthroned within a kiosk in a scene from the third register on the east wing of the north wall: GHHK I.1, pl. 192.

⁴⁷¹ GHHK I.1, pls. 178, 180, 197.

⁴⁷² GHHK I.1, pls. 191–92, 194.

⁴⁷³ GHHK I.1, pls. 191–92.

⁴⁷⁴ GHHK I.1, pls. 172, 177.

⁴⁷⁵ *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 77–78; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 202–06. See our commentary to pl. 187, below.

⁴⁷⁶ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 202, 212.

⁴⁷⁷ See our commentary to GHHK I.1, pls. 178, 180, and 197. Cf. Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, p. 74.

⁴⁷⁸ See above, Chapter 2, §2.1.5.

⁴⁷⁹ E.g., the addition of a triangular flap to the king's kilt: GHHK I.1, pl. 171.

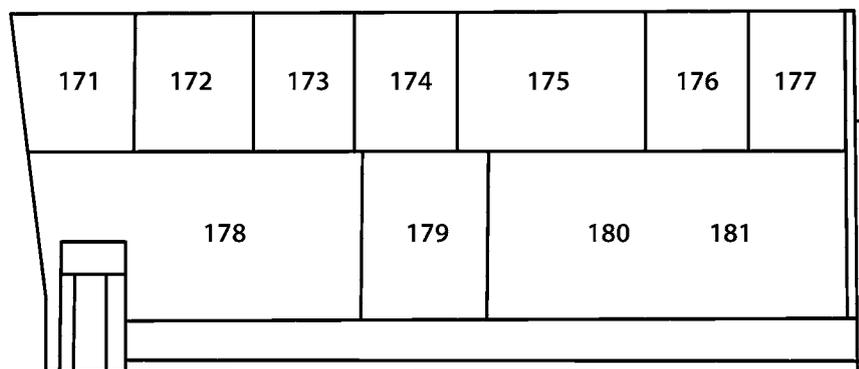
In dressing the rough-hewn blocks to prepare the north wall for decoration, Sety I's masons frequently encountered areas of severe chisel marks left from quarrying that persisted stubbornly when they had smoothed down the rest of the wall surface. Some areas of these unsightly gouges they mended with plaster infill, even in large quantities.⁴⁸⁰ Often, however, the builders preferred to cut out large square or rectangular fenestrations and insert veneer slabs. More than a dozen such fenestrations between 15 and 20 cm deep are visible across the north wall where patch-slabs have disappeared. Such large patch-slabs are more common here on the north wall than in any other part of the building, where the masons preferred smaller veneers as a rule to mend odd joints between blocks. Otherwise, they more often resorted to copious amounts of plaster rather than large veneer slabs to ameliorate even large zones of dense quarry hacking.

In general, reliefs on the upper *in situ* (third) register have survived in good condition despite the loss of patch-blocks. Sadly, the lowest register has fared much worse over the millennia due to infiltration of groundwater, which has mobilized salts that severely disfigured Sety I's exquisite reliefs on this level. Yet this damage is highly uneven: while some portions are in excellent condition, large areas of decorated wall surface have eroded completely. Others have concretions of insoluble salts that obscure or deform the relief. All the more surprising, then, is the frequency with which traces of ancient painted decoration have survived until today. One miraculous example is a patch of colored decoration in a bark procession scene.⁴⁸¹ Happily, too, later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall infrequently subjected images on the north wall to iconoclastic vandalism, the most notable exception being where they gouged out ithyphallic Amun's penis.⁴⁸² This is always much deeper than normal iconoclastic hacking, which suggests that their intent was to obtain bits of stone for fertility magic. Otherwise, malicious damage is highly sporadic and less methodical than iconoclasm elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall.⁴⁸³

North Wall, West Wing (Plan 10, Plates 171–81)

Sety I's decoration on the west wing of the wall forms a generally homogenous corpus of high, well-modeled raised relief of excellent quality. In contrast to the east wing and north gateway, there is much less recarving of the figures, with extensive modifications to the cabin-shrine and veil of Amun's processional bark being the most notable exception. Otherwise, Sety's craftsmen retouched the proportions of the figures infrequently and less drastically than on the central gateway and east wing of the north wall.

On the third (uppermost *in situ*) register, and on blocks from the missing upper registers now lying in the yards north of the Hypostyle Hall, Sety's artisans kept ornamentation to a minimum in striking contrast to the scenes below. Here, too, the reliefs are slightly flatter. Substantial vestiges of paint in some episodes reveals that all these reliefs



Plan 10. Diagram of the north wall, west wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. the barks of Mut and Khonsu in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178.

⁴⁸¹ See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180.

⁴⁸² *GHHK* I.1, pls. 173, 177, 193, 195.

⁴⁸³ Vandals scratched gashes across the noses, mouths, eyes, ears, and sometimes the hands of the king and gods: e.g., Sety's face (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 173–77, 191, 195–96), the hands of Sety and Amun (*ibid.*, pl. 175), Atum's face (*ibid.*, pl. 175).

were embellished with elaborate polychrome including a few elements that the sculptors never carved in relief: for example, a triangular flap and belt apron on Sety I's kilt and vine leaves twisted about the papyrus stalk he offers,⁴⁸⁴ Amun's ankle bracelet,⁴⁸⁵ and a papyrus bloom and tricolor fan extended toward the cabin-shrine of Amun's bark.⁴⁸⁶

Plate 171

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.1; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 43.

Location: B 266: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* ("third"), first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath the Behdetite falcon and offers lotus and papyrus stalks to Monthu (fig. 363).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Protection from the elements afforded by its location in a corner has conserved substantial amounts of paint in this scene. Sety I's flesh is red, his crown is blue, the pupil of his eye is black, his streamers are red, and his broad collar has alternating bands of blue and a lighter color, probably green. He wears bracelets and an armband with blue stripes and yellow rims. Sety's triangular kilt flap is executed wholly in paint consisting of a white background with pleating and trim in red. The belt apron has red and green rectangles against a light background, while streamers flanking it are blue and red. Circular wedges on the hood of the apron's lower uraeus are blue, while a solar disk on the upper uraeus' head is red. Sety offers two bouquets, of which the papyrus stalks have reddish brown stems and green blooms with their filaments picked out in a darker shade of green or blue.⁴⁸⁷ Vine leaves entwined with the papyrus are green. The king's lotus bouquet and a single bloom on the offering stand have reddish brown stems with epicalyxes and petals on their florets detailed in green and blue against a white ground.

Monthu's flesh is red, his kilt and corslet are green, and his wig is blue, as is his . He also wears a yellow belt with traces of a latticework pattern in blue. His bracelets have alternating inlays of blue and a lighter color, and his armband is also blue. Faint traces of blue stripes are visible on his tail, especially where it widens behind his calf. Patterns of decayed paint, some of it blue, define parts of his broad collar, including a frieze of lotus petals along its outer row. A single chevron of red paint survives near the top of Monthu's rear plume, along with flecks of blue at the top of both plumes, all that remains of their feather patterns.⁴⁸⁸ The offering stand is yellow, and scattered bits of color persist on individual hieroglyphs.⁴⁸⁹ Note that a scribe inserted col. 8 in paint after the sculptors had finished their work. A few blue and red squares from the ribbon border behind the scene (not shown in Nelson's drawing) persist to the right of col. 17.

Observations: The sculptors reworked the figures to make slight, cosmetic modifications as follows: both of Monthu's wig lappets, his throat, his rear shoulder, the heel of his rear leg, Sety I's knee and his foot at its instep and toe. Streamers falling over his shoulder are lightly incised, the craftsman having added them as an afterthought.

Concentrated zones of chisel marks blemish the relief at several points, residue from quarrying operations that Sety's masons did not fully eliminate when they smoothed the wall surface, although plaster still clings to some of them. These occur above the falcon's tail, near the end of its lower wing and at the top of col. 16 below the gap, inside Sety's rear shoulder, and on the offering table at its base. Damage in the middle of both the falcon's wings, head, and feet is natural erosion, and its legs are more complete than Nelson indicated. A thin layer of plaster coats Monthu's kilt, and where it has fallen out reveals faint tool marks. Here, the artisans shaped the interior of Monthu's advancing leg and the top of his rear leg in plaster. Most of this has now

⁴⁸⁴ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 171.

⁴⁸⁵ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 172.

⁴⁸⁶ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180. See C. Loeben, "Thebanische Tempelma-
lerei Spuren religiöser Ikonographie," in *La peinture égyptienne
ancienne: un monde de signes à préserver* (actes du colloque inter-

national de Bruxelles, Avril 1994) (Brussels: Fondation égyptolo-
gique reine Elisabeth, 1997), pp. 111–20 and pls. 32–33.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. the painted papyrus blossom in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 96 for the closest parallel.

⁴⁸⁹ See *Appendix A*.

disappeared, exposing oddly flat surfaces and shallow pecking. It is unclear whether these cavities are keying for plaster or residual quarry damage.

Only the front of Monthu's eye is carved in stone. The rest, along with his -cheek markings, must have been indicated in plaster the sculptors used to hide stray chisel marks on his face and solar disk. Note that the head of  in col. 14 is carved on a small patch-stone. Since Nelson made his drawing, a crack beneath the top of the offering stand has widened, and the left edges of the top two -signs in col. 17 have decayed. Recently, new decay has progressed through the king's belt and buttocks, extending into the top of his kilt.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving fresh flowers to ²Monthu residing in Thebes.

Monthu: ³Monthu residing in ⁴Thebes, the great god, ruler of the Ennead: ⁵Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you (my)^b kingship and the years of Atum.^b ⁶(I) have given to you the south and the north like Re every day. ⁷(I) have given to you the crook and the flail, every land being under your feet. ⁸(I) [have]given [to you] all valor and all victory, your strength being like (that of) the son [of Nut]."^c

By the Falcon: ⁹The Behdetite, ¹⁰the great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives [...].

By the King: ¹¹(Long) live the good god, great of monu[ments] in the estate of his father Amun, ¹²the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹³the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹⁴image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen to rule ¹⁵all that the sun disk encircles, like Re, ¹⁶he having assumed^d the diadems,^e ¹⁶⁻¹⁷all flat lands ¹⁷being under his^f supervision — the Two Banks of Horus^g being under your counsels.^h

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 6–7.

^b One would normally expect Re here. The traces below , however, are in keeping with , although only the left stroke is certain. *Wb.* II, pp. 332–33, give examples of *nsy.t* written with plural strokes. Below, Atum's name is written only with .

^c The reference to *ph.ty* "strength," in particular, suggests that Seth is being invoked. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 133) reads "[Geb]." Note, this column is executed in paint.

^d Reading *hnm* "unite/assume." The trace at the top of col. 16 does not belong to a square sign like  as Nelson's drawing suggests. Rather, it slants down slightly to the left and should instead be read as the top of .

^e Determined with .

^f Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 133, n. 4, needlessly emends  to .

^g Reading *idb.wy* [*n*] *Hr*, i.e., Egypt. See *Wb.* I, p. 153:7.

^h The 2nd pers. sing. suffix refers to Amun.

Plate 172

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 44.

Location: B 267: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* ("third"), second scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a Nekhbet-vulture and elevates a tray of food and flowers to Amun-Re (fig. 19).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Substantial vestiges of color persist only in the lower part of this scene. Red paint clings to Sety I's torso, arms, shoulders, and face. His beard, the bracelets on his right arm, and the armband of his left bicep are each blue. Concentric rings of blue and red highlight his broad collar except for the outermost two bands, which are yellow (inner) and blue with a flower-petal motif (outer). Although a layer of gesso and red paint coats his rear arm, much of it has flaked away, and the armband Nelson indicated below his rear shoulder is not actually present.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ This damage was already evident in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3417 that Nelson used as the basis for his sketch.

Long, rigid streamers falling behind Sety's diadem retain their detailed ribbon pattern of large squares and narrow rectangles in paint, but the only identifiable pigment is again blue. In painting them, the artist shifted both streamers marginally to the left of the carved version, so that the right half of the longer carved ribbon was left unpainted. Faded squares of blue also remain on Sety's circlet and on the latticework pattern of his belt. Note that a supposed "bull's tail" Nelson indicated above his knee is illusory, nor is the wall damaged here.

Some green, blue, and yellow pigment clings to lotus blossoms on Sety's tray of food offerings and again at the top of the standing bouquet next to the altar table. The base of a closed flower bud at the top of this bouquet is yellow. Meat offerings on the altar are red. Amun's flesh, in particular his advancing leg and both feet, are blue. He also wears a yellow ankle bracelet on his advancing leg, although the rear anklet has faded. A scribe wrote a brief inscription in front of Amun's legs only in paint, which, though faded, retains traces of blue and red.

Observations: Minor cosmetic recutting abounds in this scene, most obviously Amun's plumes, which the sculptors reworked to make them slope at a more acute angle to the right. Nelson indicated the final version as dotted lines representing their engraved outlines. Keying inside these lines once secured plaster — now fallen away — that the sculptor used to build up the right sides of both recut plumes. Sety's craftsmen made less drastic alterations to his royal figure by enlarging his toe and instep slightly and recutting the top portions of his Double Crown and the shorter streamer and uraeus of his circlet where these overlap his wig. They also further retouched Amun's figure at the crook of his forward arm, his nose, his belly, the top of his belt, the front side of both legs, and the wrist and fist of his rear arm. Dense zones of shallow pitting left by the quarrymen disfigure Amun's face and shoulders, although a residue of plaster caulking still adheres. The offering table and standing bouquet are speckled with chisel gouges. Since Nelson recorded it, the head of Sety's forehead uraeus has eroded.

Nelson introduced several inaccuracies into his drawing of the altar table and Sety's tray of food offerings. There is no basket of figs at the left end of the table, only a set of four overlapping *nemset*-jars, the leftmost one of which is damaged by hacking. Each jar is equal in size, whereas Nelson's seem to become progressively smaller toward the left. An oval loaf next to these jars has a lenticular slit in its center. By contrast, two oval marks on the leftmost round loaf on Sety's tray are fortuitous pits in the stone much like several others (which Nelson did not record) above and to the right of Sety's Double Crown, all of which must be the work of the building's later occupants). Inside Sety's wig, the uraeus dangling from his diadem is not as clearly delineated as Nelson's copy suggests. Rather, there is a smooth depression in place of this cobra's head and hood. Like the streamer to which it is attached, the sculptors must have reworked this serpent, but they completed it in paint and stucco. The craftsmen delicately carved Amun's thumb- and fingernails in relief, but Nelson did not record these.

Translations:

Label: ¹Elevating offerings.^a

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ruler of Thebes, ⁶lord of benefactions:^b ³Words spoken:^c "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion (and) all joy like Re. ⁴(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. ⁵(I) have given to you all food like Re."

By the Vulture: ⁷Nekhbet.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god, who makes monuments [for] his father Amun, ⁹the dual king MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹¹image of Re before the Two Lands, ¹¹⁻¹²whom Amun himself has chosen.

Notes:

^a Literally, "elevating things."

^b Traces of  in paint above the block edge are more substantial than Nelson records. Below this gap, the -determinative of *ḥ.wt* may be a scribal quirk influenced by the writing of Re-Horakhty, especially since the preceding word *nb* is here determined with . For a different interpretation, see Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 134 and n. 10.

^c Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 5.

Plate 173

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.3; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 44.

Location: B 268: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), third scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a hovering Behdetite falcon and presents two pots of incense to ithyphallic Amun-Kamutef (fig. 35).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Only traces of decayed underpainting remain, as the original colors having faded beyond recognition. These include striping on the king’s *nemes*-headcloth, bands of his collar, a faded latticework pattern on his belt, and two individual feathers on the flabellum behind Amun.

Observations: The sculptors retouched their work lightly at several points. Using plaster to augment the final versions, they enlarged Sety’s forward arm from elbow to armpit, and they recut the instep of his foot (this is what Nelson drew), the earlier instep being too narrow. Further recutting appears on Amun’s buttock, the tip of his beard, the top of his upper arm, on the bottom of  and the right lettuce plant behind the god, and inside the falcon’s upper wing. Sety’s artisans even modified some of the hieroglyphs:  in col. 10,  in col. 5, and  below it.

A zone of shallow pecking affects the falcon’s lower wingtip, the block containing it and col. 11 being generally rougher than the others and coated with plaster residue. Here, as careful inspection reveals, the leading edge of the Behdetite’s lower wing was carved in stone, while Sety’s artists built up the rest of the wing in plaster. Likewise, they cut  at the top of col. 11 in sandstone, but aside from portions of the right edge of this text sculpted on the adjacent block, no further traces remain below . Here, too, they must have molded the missing hieroglyphs in plaster as a kind of appliqué.

Concentrated zones of deep chisel marks left from quarry work disrupt the relief at various points, namely through Amun’s chin and lower back, between the end of col. 1 and the king’s left incense pot, and in the *dī ‘nh mi R’* formula below Sety’s cartouches. Later dwellers in the Hall deeply gouged Amun’s phallus and the area surrounding it, presumably to obtain fragments of stone for fertility magic. Lighter gashes to Sety’s face, too, are surely their work. Note that even in Nelson’s time, defects in the sandstone bedding had left multiple fissures in the long block that stretches across the top of the scene.⁴⁹¹ Nelson omitted the chin strap that secures Amun’s false beard.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing to Amun.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³lord of heaven, who is upon ⁴his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all health and all valor.”

By the Falcon: ⁶The Behdetite.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god, who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ⁸the dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ^a given life like Re, ¹⁰image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom ¹¹Amun himself^b has chosen.

Notes:

^a Note that the face and wig, but not the ears and snout, of  are damaged.

^b Only traces of the head of  and  are there. The head of  that Nelson records is erroneous.

⁴⁹¹ See Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3416.

Plate 174

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.4.

Location: B 269: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a vulture and presents lotus and papyrus stalks to Amun-Re (fig. 38).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Although the colors have mostly faded beyond recognition, decayed paint indicates the design of Sety’s bracelets, armbands, and broad collar, and of Amun’s collar. A bit of green adheres to one of the papyrus flowers, while calyxes and petals on the middle lotus blossom are evident.

Observations: Sety I’s craftsmen retouched the king’s beard, his instep, his forward arm, and the top of Amun’s helmet-crown. They also shifted the god’s ear to the right and enlarged ☉ in Sety’s *prenomen* cartouche. Iconoclasts gouged Sety’s eye and lacerated his mouth and nose. Someone thoroughly erased his ear, although a depression for the inner ear is apparent, with light scarring of the stone surrounding it. In general, the wall is smooth and even, although masons used plaster to fill quarry marks in Amun’s forward arm and shoulder. A large patch-block has disappeared at the top of the scene along with a smaller one in front of Amun’s advancing leg. Nelson did not record the fingernails on either figure or Sety’s chin strap.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving fresh flowers to the lord of the gods, ²he having achieved “given life.”^a

By Amun: ³Amun-Re, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead: ⁴[Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you] an eternity of jubilees. ⁵(I) have given to [you] all health and all joy. ⁶(I) have given to you my lifetime as lord [of the Two Lands]^c like [Re] every day.”

By the King: ⁷[(Long) live the good god],^d effective of monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ⁸the [dual ki]ng, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son [of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁰image of Re in front of the Two Lands, his beauty being in (one’s) face ¹¹like the solar disk.

Behind the King’s Crown (in paint, not recorded by Nelson): [... as she giv]es all life and dominion, [all] hea[lth] and all joy [like] Re.^e

Behind the King: Protection and life surround him like Re.

Notes:

^a Taking this as a circumstantial *sdm.n=f* construction in a subordinate clause. For alternative translations and grammatical analysis of this form, see Henry G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1: *Reversals*, Egyptian Studies 2 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), p. 103, n. 281; Emily Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1997), p. 66, variant 3. In any case, we have here a rare variant of the typical *ir=f di ‘nh* formula.

^b Restored from and repeated mechanically in col. 5.

^c Restoring *n[b t3.wy]*.

^d Restoring  from parallels in the previous three scenes. The shaft of a small  remains.

^e Nelson overlooked this faint column of text in decayed paint that a scribe added behind the top of Sety’s crown after the sculptors had finished their work. This text belongs neither with that of cols. 10–11 nor with the protection formula below. Rather, it continues the vulture-goddess’ name and epithets. So reading



Plate 175

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.5–6.

Location: B 270–71: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), fifth and sixth scenes from the west.

Subject: Two scenes: Sety I kneels and (*left*) presents a conical loaf of bread to Atum (figs. 47, 179) and (*right*) offers a pot of incense to Amun-Re (fig. 39). A divine falcon (*left*) and Nekhbet as a vulture (*right*) hover over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Decayed paint of uncertain color defines Sety I’s broad collar, an armband on the bicep of his rear arm, and Atum’s collar in the scene at left. To the right, one sees faint traces of a shoulder brace supporting Amun’s corslet and part of his broad collar, both on his rear shoulder.

Observations: (*Right*) The sculptors lightly recut both figures at several points: Sety’s belt, the bottom of his rear arm from wrist to elbow, and his forward arm from elbow to armpit; Atum’s belly, tail, wig lappet, rear arm just below the elbow joint, forward arm from his fist to the elbow joint, and the instep of his advancing foot. In addition, the craftsmen also modified Atum’s wig. A faint engraved line slopes down behind his wig and falls over his shoulder in the fashion of a tripartite wig. It remains unclear, however, which of these coiffures was the primary version. If the tripartite wig was the final one, the sculptors must have built it up in stucco, but none remains, and there is no roughening of the surface. A line at the lower back of the final headdress — which, perhaps, Nelson mistook as its “tail” — is illusory. Iconoclasts defaced Sety’s eye, nose, and mouth along with Atum’s nose and ear by pecking them with a sharp instrument, but resorted to a scratching motion to attack Sety’s ear and uraeus. None of this vandalism is severe, and other damage is light and fortuitous. At the top of the scene, a large veneer block has disappeared, although two smaller ones running through Sety’s midriff and below his arms remain intact.

(*Left*) Other than recutting Amun’s profile from his nose to the top of his helmet-crown, the sculptors did not amend their work. Here again, vandalism is mild, being confined to Sety’s nose, mouth, and the fingers and thumb of his left hand supporting his incense cup, Amun’s fist holding the *wꜣs*-scepter, and the head of the scepter itself. Amun’s ear is, however, unscathed, and Nelson’s drawing is erroneous on this point. Deep gouging from quarry work obscures the bottom edge of the block in the upper right corner, and  in col. 3 is incompletely carved, evidence the masons employed plaster to fill in the large gap below. A patch-block is missing from the bottom right corner of the scene.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Presenting white bread to Atum that he might achieve <“given life”>. ^a

By Atum: ²[Atum ... lord] of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: ³[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the] crook and the flail forever and ever! ⁴(I) have given to you all health like Re.”

Behind Atum (not numbered in Nelson): [Protection and li]fe surround him.

By the King: ⁵[(Long) live the go]od [go]d, image of Re, protector of the lord of the gods, ⁶the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷the son [of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁸image of Re in front of the Two Lands, ⁸⁻⁹whom Amun himself has chosen ¹⁰to be ruler of every land.

Right:

Label: ¹Censing to the lord of the gods, ²Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes.

By Amun: ³Amun-Re, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands], lord of heaven, sweet of love: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you kingship of ^b the Two Lands like Re.”

By the Vulture: ⁵Nekhbet.

By the King: ⁶The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁸<given> all life and dominion, all health and all joy ⁹ like Re every day.

Notes:

^a The phrase *di ‘nh* was omitted.

^b Traces correspond to , so reading *nsyt nw tꜣ.wy*. This faulty ligature, with  after the genitive , probably derives from a hieratic miswriting of the standard spelling.

Plate 176

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.7.

Location: B 272: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), seventh scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a hovering falcon and presents a jar of ointment to the falcon-headed Khonsu.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Two faded bands indicate Khonsu’s broad collar, but their color is not apparent.

Observations: Sety I’s artists recut his beard, rear shoulder, and *nemes*-headcloth’s lappet on its left side. They also retouched Khonsu’s forward shin, rear kneecap, advancing instep (three times), rear instep (twice), and rear heel. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall mutilated the relief, but in a desultory fashion, by pecking at Sety’s facial features and his uraeus, Khonsu’s fist holding his *w3s*-scepter, and the scepter’s upper shaft and head. In the bottom left corner, someone removed a large veneer slab, and one or two more are absent from the top of the relief. Otherwise, the scene is in excellent condition. Among the finer details that Nelson overlooked are the tail of Sety’s uraeus serpent arching over the top of his *nemes*-headcloth, the root of the headcloth’s tail above his shoulder (immediately right of a crack), and details of Khonsu’s beak and horns.

Translations:

By Khonsu: ¹[Khonsu]-in-Thebes-Neferhotep: ²[Words spoken: “(I) have given] to you all valor. ³(I) have given to you all food and provisions in my presence. ⁴[(I) have given to you millions]^a of jubilees, while you arise on the throne of Horus of the living like Re every day.”

By the Falcon: [...].^b

By the King: ⁵The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, ⁶the son [of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁷great of monuments in the estate of Amun.

Notes:

^a Restoration based on similar parallels, for example, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 34:7 and 35:7.

^b Only part of a tall, diagonal sign survives, perhaps . However, this does not match any parallel in the Hypostyle Hall reliefs, including known variants of the Behdetite’s protocol. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 136, n. 35) erroneously claims that the space was left blank by comparison with *GHHK* I.1, pl. 175B.

Plate 177

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.8.

Location: B 273: North wall, west wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), eighth (and final) scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers wine to ithyphallic Amun-Re and a goddess while a raptor hovers above him (fig. 180).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: No pigment remains, but faintly engraved diagonal lines sloping behind Sety’s wig diadem and continuing below his shoulder may be paint scars left from rigid streamers the craftsmen added in polychrome subsequent to carving this relief.⁴⁹²

Observations: By comparison with other scenes on this register, the sculptors made more extensive revisions to Sety I’s image, recutting it as follows: his rear shoulder and the bottom of his upper arm, the palms of both hands, the crook of his forward arm, the left side of his neckline and his throat, his belt along its bottom, his toe, and the calf and heel of his leg. They also enlarged his forward arm near his armpit, and most of the plaster infill they used to augment it remains *in situ*. Although deep natural erosion mars Amun’s midriff, iconoclasts may have gouged out his penis. Much of the scene is missing, including a veneer slab at the bottom and several blocks from its upper and right quadrants. Damage to Sety’s face is a combination of vandalism and decay, while a small hole in the king’s wig may also be deliberate. There is a curious scattering of tiny round holes in and around the texts above the king, as if someone had fired lead shot at the wall with a rifle.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹[Words spoken: “(I) have given to] you my seat and my throne forever and ever! ²[I have given to yo] u the king[ship]^a of Re.”

By *Goddess*: ³[“(I) have given to you eternity as ki]ng of the Two Lands like [Re].”^b

By *King*: ⁴The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁵the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁶whom Re has chosen in the Mansion <of the Phoenix>.^c

Notes:

^a The horizontal sign above ☉ is the left end of  and above it is the left side of .

^b See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k nhh m nsw t3.wy*.

^c The sign has been left blank inside. See glossary s.v. *hw.t-bnw*.

Plate 178

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) III.1; *KRI* I, pp. 210:5–211; *RITA* I, pp. 182–83; *RITANC* I, p. 136; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, bark of Khonsu and edge of frieze, pl. 43; frieze and text, pl. 44; Sety I offering flowers, pl. 46; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 199; A. Carlier, *Thèbes, capitale de la Haute-Égypte: 70 photographies inédites* (Paris: Fréal, 1948), pl. 13; Kazimierz Michalowski and Andrzej Dziewanowski, *Karnak* (London: Pall Mall, 1970), pl. 26:4.

Location: B 274–75, 279: North wall, west wing, bottom register, first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I offers two large bouquets of flowers in front of a shrine (figs. 181–82, 294, 317). Inside, the processional bark of Amun-Re rests on a pedestal decorated with four kings holding up the sky. Two tables laden with offerings stand beneath the bark’s forepart, and a series of *mdw-šps* standards are arrayed beneath its aft hull. Behind the shrine, the barks of Khonsu and Mut rest on their pedestals surrounded by tables of offerings, tall

⁴⁹² Cf., inter alia, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 140, 153, 160, 168, 172, 179. Elsewhere, a nearly identical wig with diadem lacks these streamers: *ibid.*, pls. 148, 164, 192.

bouquets, and large open fans. Below them, a small doorway leads via a short tunnel to a stairway inside the north tower of the Second Pylon.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Surviving pigment is most apparent on the rear “tent pole” supporting the baldachin nested over the heavier frame of the inner shrine that encloses Amun’s bark. On upper part of this pole, adjacent to the offering table and bouquet in front of Khonsu’s bark, alternating squares of red and blue are interspersed with faded patches that were once yellow.⁴⁹³ Inside the wider vertical frame of the inner shrine, decayed pigment indicates its geometric design. Atop the cornice of the inner shrine above Amun’s bark, faded paint indicates the design on the hoods of the six leftmost cobras of the frieze of large uraei. Each has two blue semicircles at the top of its hood flanking a column of colored segments running down its center. Faint rectangular shapes at the bases of these hoods were probably once red, although this color has faded beyond certain identification. One would expect truncated right triangle patterns at either side of the midriff of each cobra’s hood, but these have completely faded.

In front of Khonsu’s bark, a tall bouquet has patches of green paint with details picked out as blue stripes, and a faded motif of floral petals remains near the top of this bouquet. Blue paint clings to the sky-sign above the missing prow of Mut’s bark and in several patches all along the large sky-border above the barks of Amun-Re and Khonsu. Pigment also adheres to a few individual hieroglyphs (see *Appendix A*).

Observations: There is relatively little recutting in this scene, especially by comparison with two other representations of Amun’s bark on the north wall, where sculptors extensively modified the design of its cabin-shrine and enveloping veil. Here, the artists did not modify the canopy and veil because they carved this scene later, after finalizing Sety’s redesign of Amun’s bark elsewhere.⁴⁹⁴

They did retouch some other elements, including the solar disk crowning its forward aegis, the bottom of its hull where the stern curves up below its rear aegis, a tiny sun disk crowning the uraeus on its rear aegis, and the second and third $\overline{\text{Y}}$ -vases on an altar table adjacent to the pedestal that supports the bark. Above the bark itself, on the corniced roof of the kiosk-shrine in which it rests, Sety’s craftsmen recut the hoods of the second, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh large cobras from the left end of the shrine at their bases to make them more recurving, like others in this frieze. Finally, Sety’s artisans adjusted his royal figure at several points: both of his shoulders, the front of his torso just below his breast, his facial profile from chin to brow, his eye and eyebrow; and the hood of his uraeus at its base.

Extensive damage to this scene derives from a number of causes. Large portions of Khonsu’s bark and the space above Mut’s were carved on blocks with severe quarry damage, and the masons used large quantities of plaster to mend these areas of chisel marks into which sculptors then carved much of the relief.⁴⁹⁵ Little of this plaster remains on these hacked surfaces. Similar tool marks, although not as dense, occur along the frieze of rebus figures atop the cabin of Amun’s bark, in the cornice of the shrine above cols. 13–14, and where the heads of several cobras are missing above cols. 4–5. Residual chisel gouges also mar the Behdetite falcon hovering over Sety I. Dotted lines in Nelson’s drawing below the Amun bark’s rear aegis, which he mistook for an erased pendant necklace and for recutting of its steering oars, are, in fact, merely cracks.

⁴⁹³ Compare the paint on similar shrines, e.g., *Medinet Habu* IV, pls. 208, 235; *Abydos* IV, pl. 30.

⁴⁹⁴ On Sety I’s alterations to the design of Amun’s bark, see our commentary to pls. 180 and 197, below. Similarly, the craftsmen never modified four representations of Amun’s bark in Sety I’s Gurnah temple, located in the god’s chapel and that of Ramesses I: Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37, fig. 1, loc. 219, 230, 346, 350; PM II², pp. 414 (68–69), 418 (106–07); Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 139.

⁴⁹⁵ This hacking is not the result of Amarna-period mutilations of supposed Eighteenth Dynasty relief decoration as Jean-François

Carlotti and Philippe Martinez wrongly assert: “Un ‘château de millions d’années’ d’époque ramesside: la grande salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak. Nouvelles observations architecturales et épigraphiques, essai d’interprétation,” in *Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: Sciences et nouvelles technologies appliquées à l’archéologie*, edited by Christian Leblanc and Gihane Zaki, *Memnonia cahier supplémentaire 2* (Cairo: Conseil suprême des antiquités de l’Égypte, 2010), p. 125 and n. 11.

Elsewhere, besides large areas where the relief is wholly destroyed, much of the carved surface has suffered from erosion and salt damage (e.g., the door lintel, rear portions of the Amun bark's hull, figures holding the tillers of its steering oars, its pedestal, the billow and bottom of its veil, a winged goddess figure inside the *shebyu*-collar on its forward aegis, and an offering table below its prow). Incrustations of salt coat large portions of the lower half of the relief that have escaped this destruction, obscuring details such as personified - and -figures supporting the *mdw-šps* standards below the aft carrying pole, and *menat*-counterpoises attached to them. Nelson omitted several of these along with Sety I's front foot, which remains visible.

Nelson did not record individual beads of the *shebyu*-collars on the aegises of Amun's bark, which the ancient sculptors had carved in detail. However, Sety's artisans left those on Khonsu's rear aegis blank, and they only partly carved beads on Mut's rear aegis *shebyu* (the rest they may have rendered in plaster).⁴⁹⁶ In general, much fine ornamentation, which was impossible for Nelson to record at the small scale of his drawing, abounds in this scene: for example, the braided ends of each strand of Sety's wig, faces of the small figures on the deck of Amun's bark, the uraeus-serpents' eyes in the frieze atop the cornice of the shrine, the face of a -standard below Amun's rear aegis, and the goddess Bat's face on a sistrum behind the last divine standard. Relief carving in this scene is particularly fine and intricate, especially on Sety's figure, where his artisans subtly indicated pleating on his kilt and crimped streamers attached to his belt apron and wig — all of which they exquisitely modeled in raised relief. Individual hieroglyphs are often more elaborate than Nelson could indicate, for example, the faces of anthropomorphic hieroglyphs and of -owls. Nelson also misconstrued some finer details, for example, the leopard pelt and sash worn by the first priest-king supporting the sky on Amun's pedestal, where he mistook the forward sash's fringed end as a leopard's-head terminal.

Segments of the original dado pattern of two thick horizontal bands between three narrower ones remain below the aft portion of Amun's bark (at the level of the *prenomen* cartouches on the right jamb of the small doorway), but Nelson only recorded the uppermost of these five lines as the baseline upon which the king stands. Note that two narrow lines between a wider one upon which Amun's bark pedestal rests (being higher than the main baseline) represents the cornice and torus molding of a low dais that supports the shrine enclosing the bark.⁴⁹⁷

In late antiquity, restorers shored up the base of the wall with new masonry where much of the original stone had decayed. One block inserted below the pedestal of Amun's bark was reused from some post-New Kingdom monument and bears part of a small offering scene with a king wearing an *atef*-crown adoring a god with a Double Crown carved in raised relief. His cartouches were intentionally defaced. The left jamb of the small doorway below Mut's bark is composed of undecorated replacement masonry of uncertain date.

Translations:

On the Shrine's Support: ¹[...the dual ki]ng MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re^b [SETY-MERENAMUN] [beloved of] Amun-Re [...].^a

Above Amun's Bark: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³"O my son of my body whom I love, ⁴the lord of the [Two Lands],^c master of the ritual MENMA'ATRE, ⁵my he[art]^d is joyful through love of you. ⁶I rejoice^e at seeing all the monuments ⁷which you build for me. My temple is ⁸a new thing; how joyful (it) is ⁸⁻⁹when (I) am lifted very high^f ⁹and my heart is joyful when (I) rest ¹⁰inside ¹¹like Re after he has united with ¹²the horizon. (I) have given to you ¹³the reward thereof, consisting^g of life, dominion, ¹⁵the lifetime of Re and ¹⁶the years of Atum. So (long as) Re exists, ¹⁷so shall your name exist; so (long as) heaven exists, so shall your deeds exist (O) lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE [...]."

By the Falcon: ¹⁸The Behdetite, great god of variegated plumage, as he gives life.

By the Vulture: ¹⁹Beloved of Nekhbet, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ²⁰Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live," ²¹the dual king, lord [of the Two Lands]^h MENMA'ATRE, ²²the son of Re, lord [of appearances]^h SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ²³the image of Re before the Two Lands. ²⁴(number omitted)

By Khonsu's Bark: ²⁵Khonsu-²⁶in-Thebes, Neferhotep, ²⁷[Horus lord of joy...].ⁱ

⁴⁹⁶ Brand, "Shebyu-collar," pp. 20–21, figs. 13–20A–C.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 76.

By Mut's Bark: ²⁸Mut, [lady of ²⁹Ish]eru, [mistress of] ³⁰[all] the gods[...].^j

On the Doorway:

To Either Side of the Winged Disk: The Behdetite

Parallel Inscriptions on the Lintel: ³¹[(Long) live]^k the dual king MENMA'ATRE-IW'ARE, beloved of Horakhty (right); beloved of Atum (left). ³²[(Long) live] the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, beloved of Amun-Re (right); beloved of Mut (left).

Right Doorjamb: ³³(Long) live the good god, great of monuments, the dual king MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re [SET] Y-MERENAMUN, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.^l ³⁴[(Long) live the good god who performs^m benefactions, the dual king [MENMA'AT]RE, the son of Re [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.ⁿ

Notes:

^a Note that the  below Sety's *nomen* cartouche is erroneous. This is almost certainly not a label text. One would expect *rdi.t rnp.wt n 'Imn-R'* "giving fresh flowers to Amun-Re" or similar. Instead, it is probably an attempt to carve part of the kind of extended royal titles often inscribed on the frames of similar shrines. These are often rendered only in paint (e.g., *Medinet Habu* IV, pls. 197, 208, 218, 219, 222; *Abydos* III, pls. 39, 44), but were sometimes carved, generally in sunk relief (e.g., *Abydos* I, pls. 6, 7, 10, 11, 19, 22, 27, 30, 31; *Abydos* II, pls. 5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 23, 35; *Abydos* III, pls. 16, 31, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43, 46; *Abydos* IV, pl. 38B).

^b Here *s3* "son" is written .

^c The surface is smooth and even here. If the sculptor ever carved , he must have subsequently erased it. Or, he may have overlooked it initially and then rendered it in plaster or paint as an afterthought.

^d There are definite traces of . Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 137, n. 52.

^e Abbreviating  for the stative 1st pers. sing. ending *.kwi*. Note that while *h'i* appears to geminate here, the phrase cannot be taken as either an emphatic (second tense) *sdm=f* or an imperfective *sdmw=f* relative form, with a 2nd pers. sing. suffix pronoun, as neither option results in a meaningful translation. Elsewhere in the Hall, *h'i* is sometimes written *h'w* (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 58:5, 77:4, 200:3, 226:5). Note that Nelson (*ibid.*, pl. 226:15) reads *h'c*, but this is entirely restored. Thus it would seem that the reduplication of  is purely a graphic phenomenon that is not grammatically significant. Cf. *Wb.* III, p. 40. Compare the gemination of *sh'c* *'n 'Imn* (e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:15 and our commentary to the same, note f).

^f Reading *h'i=(i) sk3=(i) wr*. The term *sk3* can refer to a pedestal for a processional bark or cult statue (Maurice Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923–1924)," *ASAE* 24 [1924], pp. 65–68; *Urk.* IV, p. 663; Charles F. Nims, "An Oracle Dated in 'The Repeating of Births,'" *JNES* 7 [1948], p. 159, n. h). Thus Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 137, n. 55) translates "Ich jubele <über> den großen Untersatz," but he is forced to interpolate the preposition *m*, making *sk3* the object of *h'i* (*Wb.* III, p. 40). Moreover, *sk3* is here determined with . It seems best, then, to read *sk3* as a verb, "to make high" (*Wb.* IV, pp. 302–03) in a passive *sdm=f* construction (see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §§419–20; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, pp. 290–93), with the 1st pers. suffix pronoun unwritten as is common.

Semantically, this passage expresses the god's delight when his image is carried aloft by his bearer priests and his resulting joy once the bark is laid within the new temple (*r-pr*) Sety has just built for him. I am grateful to Luc Gabolde and Christina Karlshausen for these references and for offering useful insights into this text.

^g For this use of *m*, see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §162.5.

^h Restoring *nb t3.wy* with the *prenomen* and *nb h'w* with the *nomen*.

ⁱ Nelson records a , from which one might restore the epithet *Hr [nb 3.w.t-ib]* of Khonsu. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 106:1. However, quarry hacking is particularly deep here, and the only clear traces are of a text divider between cols. 26 and 27, making this restoration hazardous.

^j Restoring *Mw.t [nb.t] 'Isrw [h'nw.t] ntr.w [nb.w]*.

^k Based on contemporary parallels, one would expect  at the center of cols. 31 and 32. Severely eroded traces of this sign remain on the upper line.

^l Reading *s3 R' Sty-mr-n-Pth 'Imn nsw-ntr.w mry* below the *prenomen* which, although clearly visible, Nelson did not record. Here and again in col. 34, iconoclasts mostly erased , except for its base.

^m There is only enough room to fit  between *ntr nfr* and *3h.wt*.

ⁿ Reading *s3 R' Sty-mr-n-Pth Mw.t nb.t p.t mry*, which Nelson omitted. Cf. col. 33.

Plate 179

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) III.2; KRI I, pp. 209:13–210:4; RITA I, pp. 181–82; RITANC I, p. 136.

Location: B 276: North wall, west side, bottom register, second scene from the west.

Subject: Monthu and Atum lead Sety I into the temple while Nekhbet flies above him as a vulture (fig. 8, 183, 185).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Very little adheres. Monthu's plumes each has a series of darker-colored chevrons separated by a grillwork of lighter frames, although their colors are uncertain.⁴⁹⁸ Two patches of green pigment cling to the vulture-goddess' downswep wing.

Observations: Sculptors recut the relief to make several cosmetic adjustments to the figures as follows: all of Atum's White Crown and the front corner, vertical projection, and lower end of the coil of his Red Crown; Atum's belly; the bottom of his belt; Sety I's forward shoulder, neckline, facial profile, and the front of his wig; the bicep of Monthu's arm grasping Sety's, and his beak and chin. In col. 13, an artist recut the head and neck of .

Sety's workmen carved the main figures with much fine ornamentation to their wigs, clothing, and broad collars. Nelson's drawing omits some of these details including an Isis-knot and some vertical elements of a latticework pattern on Monthu's belt, teardrop-shaped beads along the outer rims of his broad collar and of Sety, the left and right shoulder straps of Monthu's corslet at his shoulders, navel, eye, the inner corner of his beak, and the bottom tip of his right wig lappet below his arm. A craftsman either partly carved Monthu's falcon's cheek marks in plaster or incompletely erased them. Nelson also left out the head of Sety's uraeus, Atum's navel, and a flap projecting above Atum's belt buckle. A blank area inside Atum's kilt is due to the sculptor carving some of its pleating in plaster, which he used to ameliorate defects in the stone. Monthu's kilt is encrusted with a light coating of salt, but there was no pleating. The drawing does not capture the finesse with which the ancient sculptor depicted the vulture's head.

Much of the lower half of this scene is destroyed, and what remains has a concretion of insoluble salts, especially the feet of Monthu and Sety. A large patch-stone has disappeared from the upper left corner of the scene. Since Nelson recorded them, some elements have fallen away: the top half of the loop of Monthu's ,  at the top of col. 2, the head of  in col. 3, and the left side of  in col. 3. Unless damage to the head of the rearing cobra in col. 10 is deliberate, there is no evidence of vandalism to this relief.

Translations:

By Monthu: ¹Words spoken by Monthu, lord of Thebes: “Come ²to the great mansion that you might see your father, the lord of the gods [...wide/joy...]”^a ³[...you...]”^b

By Atum: ⁴Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: “Proceed in ⁵peace to the temple of your father Amun-[Re], his two arms ⁶being in *nyny*-greeting to your beautiful face as he lengthens^c your lifetime ⁷as king. May he give to you eternity with life and dominion and ⁸eternity as ruler of joy, you being Horus, chieftain of the Two Lands and the Nine Bows [...]”^d all foreign countries being gathered [under your sandals].”

By the Vulture: ⁹Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

By the Cobra: ¹⁰Wadjet^e as she gives all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

By the King: ¹¹Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” ¹²the dual king, lord of the Two Lands,^f MENMA‘ATRE, ¹³the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹⁴the one whose strength Re has magnified.^g

By the Royal Standards: [Wepwawet] of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life, stability, dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, [all] victory as you [appear]^h upon the throne of Atum-Re.ⁱ

Notes:

^a Followed by *ꜥw*[...]. Perhaps restoring something like *ꜥw [ib=f...]* “[His heart] is joyful [...]” at the top of col. 3?

^b Only  (not ) at the base of the column is preserved. Nelson did not record clear traces of its handle.

⁴⁹⁸ For a similar design, see GHHK I.1, pl. 96.

- ^c Following Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 138, n. 66, in restoring $sw^3h=f$. The middle trace at the bottom of the group — interpreted by Nelson as the bottom of 𓏏 (w^3h) — is not entirely certain, although the bases of 𓏏 and 𓏏 are definite.
- ^d A number of restorations is possible based on contemporary parallels: $pd.t-psd.t [m ksw n hmhm.t=k]$ “in submission to your war cry” (*Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 14:12–13) or $[m d.wt r pr-hd=k wr]$ “as serfs of your great treasury” (*RIK I*, pl. 34-A:4) or $[m hf n b^3w=k]$ “as the plunder of your power” (*Medinet Habu V*, pl. 287:4–5); or $[imm m hf^c=k]$ “held in your grasp” (*Medinet Habu VI*, pl. 482:4), inter alia.
- ^e This identity is suggested by the Northern Egyptian papyrus stalk upon which the serpent rests.
- ^f Traces of 𓏏 are visible.
- ^g Literally, “the one whom Re has magnified his strength.”
- ^h Restoring $h^i.t$ Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 139, n. 70) takes this as a “Pseudo-Partizips,” that is, stative for $h^i.ti$. If so, it may be a kind of false archaism by analogy with the archaic and later forms of the 2nd pers. f. sing. suffix pronoun.
- ⁱ The 𓏏 after 𓏏 suggests a compound form of the sun-god is meant.

Plate 180

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) III.3; *KRI I*, pp. 208:12–209:12; *RITA I*, pp. 180–81; *RITANC I*, p. 136; Legrain, *Karnak*, pp. 201–03, figs. 124–26; Sety I and bark, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 45; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, center: vol. 1, pl. 4-3/167–68, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/167–68; left side: vol. 1, pl. 4-3/169, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/169; top left: vol. 1, pl. 4-3/170, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/170; Michalowski and Dziewanowski, *Karnak*, pl. 28.

Location: B 277–78: North wall, west wing, bottom register, third (and last) scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I leads a procession of barks of the Theban Triad in his priestly role of “king’s son of the starboard side.” He is again shown marching beside the bark of Amun-Re “on behalf of the second prophet of Amun.” The barks of Mut and Khonsu follow Amun’s, each with a cortege of bearer-priests and others holding aloft fans and elaborate floral bouquets to shade the vessels (fig. 16, 26, 30–32, 184, 186–93, 195, 365).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: For the most part, little pigment has withstood the ravages of time, most of it blue. Above the scene, patches of blue survive on the sky-sign above col. 15 and over the forward half of Amun’s cabin-shrine. More blue clings to the sky-sign above Mut’s bark. There are several concentric rings of blue on the right side of the fan before Khonsu’s aegis. Pigment of uncertain hue on the fan in front of Mut’s aegis defines plumes radiating from its hub. Artists rendered two papyrus blooms — probably green — in paint above the oar locks and steering oars of Mut’s bark. Decayed paint has etched a scar on the upper left side of Mut’s rear aegis collar. Faded polychrome clings to the fan and to one of the papyrus blooms behind her bark. One also sees flecks of blue on Amun’s bark canopy, on the wig of 𓏏 inside its veil, along the horizontal base of the cabin-shrine’s roof, on the sloping roof of the baldachin above, and on the text divider to the right of col. 16.

Exceptionally, paint on one block is largely intact — all the more surprising given damage to the sandstone relief nearby. Just above the billow of Amun’s bark, an uncarved zone of negative space retains its coat of whitewash. Here, craftsmen painted the single, tricolor feather of a 𓏏 -fan and a delicate papyrus blossom. The feather has a blue tip with alternating chevrons of white and red below. Individual filaments of the red sections are indicated in dark red against a lighter wash, while the papyrus bloom has a pale blue-green hue with its filaments picked out in a darker shade of the same color. This small patch indicates the richness and brilliance of polychrome that has vanished elsewhere.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁹ Loeben, “Thebanische Tempelmalerei,” pp. 111–20 and pls. 32–33.

Observations: Sety I's craftsmen made numerous modifications to their initial carving of Amun's bark and its priestly escorts, including the king's effigies. Here, their aim was to augment the proportions of human figures. More significantly, they also reworked elements of Amun's bark, especially its cabin-shrine and veil. In the process, they sometimes altered its iconography.⁵⁰⁰

Sculptors recut the heads, hands, and shoulders of both kings and of several priests escorting Amun, generally to enlarge them slightly, as follows: (1) on the king leading the procession, his skullcap, uraeus, profile (twice) and his rear leg below the knee; (2) the rear shoulder of the nearest priest in the first rank behind the king; (3) the facial profile (from forehead to chin), eye, rear shoulder, and thumb of the group leader in the second rank; (4) the priestly sash, shaved skull, nose, lips, and the right side of the hand of the nearest bearer in the third rank; (5) the bottom of the wrist and fist of the leader of the fourth rank. Workmen carved his mouth and nostril in plaster, which is now missing — here, the surface is lower and is speckled with residual tool marks; (6) sculptors also modified the second king's forward shoulder, nose, forehead, and his cap-crown at its front and top. They also shifted his eye higher and to the right. Its "iris" is illusory, being merely the intersection of the two versions of his eye. Finally, they modified the fringe and lower hem of his leopard pelt above and behind its clawed foot. Nelson did not record the coiled body of Sety's uraeus cobra, which the sculptors either partly erased or carved in plaster; (7) although no recutting is evident on the heads and upper bodies of the four ranks of bearer-priests behind the second king, the overlapping rear feet of those in the final rank were recut at their insteps.

Sculptors also adjusted components of Amun's bark extensively. They enlarged the solar disk crowning its prow aegis. On the stern figurehead, they shifted the top of its ram's head and solar disk higher and to the right, and moved the two outermost strands of its *shebyu*-collars between the ram's throat and its wig lappet farther to the right. They also retouched the ram's chin and goatee. Note that a winged Ma'at-goddess rebus of Sety I's *prenomen* inside the *shebyu*-collars of the rear aegis was shaved back and recarved with lightly incised lines. Recutting is visible on her solar disk and rear arm. Craftsmen retouched the deck and base of the Amun bark's aft hull and the bottom of its forward hull.

In recutting Amun's bark, Sety's craftsmen directed most of their efforts toward modifying its cabin-shrine and veil by enlarging and repositioning individual elements. In doing so, their primary objective was to make visible elements of the inner naos and baldachin normally hidden by the outer ones that Sety had added to the bark's canopy-shrine.⁵⁰¹ Alterations were as follow. (1) They shifted a garland of Sety's cartouches and *prenomen* rebuses at the bottom of the veil slightly lower. Note that these cartouches have Sety's *nomen* in sunk relief at a scale that was too small for Nelson to record. (2) Above, two winged goddesses on the veil, who kneel on -signs and wear solar disks on their heads, were made smaller and were shifted closer to the center. In front of Re, traces of the earlier goddess' breast, arm, and upper wing are embedded in her successor's wig. Behind Re, the sculptors recarved the second repositioned goddess' back. (3) By shifting these goddesses, sculptors opened up marginal zones behind them at the veil's outer edges, where they inserted hieroglyphic motifs. Palimpsests of the earlier goddess' backs remain amid the -groups on each side. (4) At first,  was taller since the crown of his original head and the bottom of his solar disk are now embedded in his final disk. Below Re, the sculptors widened  on both sides. (5) They also moved the veil's upper hem higher by inserting an undecorated swathe above the frieze of uraei.⁵⁰² (6) In raising the veil, they also shifted rebus figures resting on a horizontal cross-beam on the upper panel of the outer naos to a higher level. Rebus decoration on this upper panel consists of two winged Ma'at-goddesses standing on  with sun disks on their heads, again forming rebuses of Sety I's *prenomen*. Between them, a ram-headed Amun squats on a lotus bloom emerging from . Below, the earlier crosspiece is embedded in the left half of the frieze of uraei near the veil's upper hem. The wings of the earlier goddess on the left side, along with Amun's lotus bloom and , were

⁵⁰⁰ On Sety I's changes to Amun's processional bark, see our commentary to pl. 197, below.

⁵⁰¹ See Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 70–72.

⁵⁰² Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 226. The veil did not rise above the level of a horizontal crosspiece separating the upper and lower halves of the cabin-shrine.

all suppressed. In their place, sculptors carved part of a frieze of winged Ma'at-goddesses interspersed with elaborately crowned uraei and  that embellished the normally concealed inner naos.⁵⁰³ (7) Above this, they shifted final versions of the two winged goddesses and squatting Amun higher, but made them shorter than their predecessors. Portions of the face, breast, and upraised arm of the original goddess on the left are visible inside her successor's downswep wing. A palimpsest of Amun's earlier body is embedded in the final lotus on which he now squats, and traces of his original *atef*-crown persist inside his final wig and shoulder. In front of Amun, the kilt of a small king kneeling along with his ground line were also retouched. (8) A palimpsest of the original ceiling of the cabin-shrine cuts through Amun's crown and the upper wings and sun disks of both goddesses. (9) In their original configurations, the vertical supports of the outer naos — nested between the "tent pole" colonnettes of the inner and outer baldachins — were narrower. By widening them, the sculptors were forced to decrease the arched profile of the roof's cavetto cornice at its front and back. The inner colonnettes were absent in the first iteration.⁵⁰⁴ (10) Sculptors also increased the height of this cornice by shifting the molding at its top higher. A horizontal line now bisects a row of - and -signs in the  rebus frieze.⁵⁰⁵ (11) To accommodate the wider frame of the inner shrine, craftsmen also shifted the two outer "tent pole" colonnettes supporting the baldachin nested over it away from the inner cabin. Traces of the rounded capital of the forward colonnette and the back of a short cavetto cornice above it are embedded in the rightmost , which the sculptors had inserted to fill a space created when they extended the inner shrine's cavetto cornice. In other bark scenes in the Hall, this rebus frieze always begins with .⁵⁰⁶ Further evidence that these taller colonnettes were moved outward is confirmed by an odd gap between the final *prenomen* rebus on the inner cornice and the rear colonnette's capital. Parallels in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall — in which the cornice friezes have not been reworked — lack such a gap. (12) On the runners of the sledge-shaped carrying platform at the base of the cabin, workmen recut the rightmost Soul of Pe's upper knee. (13) Finally, the sculptors reworked the billow of the veil and figures inside it by shifting them toward the prow. A statuette of a kneeling king wearing the White Crown that they had positioned outside the initial billow is now inside the final one. They suppressed him with plaster and carved a new king outside the final billow. Farther to the right, there is recutting on the chest and kilt of a standing king proffering a *nemset*-jar. Plaster residue used to complete these alterations remains on the billow.

Craftsmen lightly retouched the barks of Khonsu, Mut, and their escorts as follow: both sides of a fan behind Khonsu's bark; the sashes, leopard pelts, and kilts of two priests beside Khonsu's cabin-shrine along with the rear shoulder of the first of these; the insteps of the rear feet of the first two rows of priests supporting Mut's bark; the hand of the priest robed in a panther skin; and Mut's stern hull. Note that a pectoral necklace on the rear aegis of Khonsu's bark was carved with shallow incised lines, but it remains uncertain whether the sculptors erased it or inserted it later.

Due to the small scale of his drawing, Nelson overlooked a number of fine details, including (1) the sandal straps on the near feet of the second and third ranks of priests behind the leading king at prow of Amun's bark; (2) partially erased details at the upper left corner of the billow of the veil where a  (facing right) and two -signs remain apparent along with the bottom of a third; (3) on the belt apron of the second king escorting Amun's bark, a small cartouche has Sety I's *nomen* in delicate raised relief, although its tiny  resembles a -glyph; (4) on Amun's veil, facial features of ; (5) those of a winged Ma'at-goddess inside the *shebyu*-collar of his rear aegis; (6) nor did Nelson record individual beads of *shebyu*-collars on the Mut and Khonsu barks' aegises.

⁵⁰³ For this iconography, see Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 71 and 74, and pls. 12–13. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197. Here the inner "tent pole" colonnettes are absent. This reflects an earlier stage in the evolution of Amun's sacred bark under Sety I.

⁵⁰⁵ Note that the -motif does not signify that the reliefs on this wall have anything to do with Amenhotep III as Carlotti and Martinez erroneously contend in "Un 'château de millions d'années,'" p. 122 and pl. 18A.

⁵⁰⁶ So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 76, 178, 197, 226.

Aside from some widening of gaps between blocks, the relief remains in largely the same condition as Nelson documented. Infiltration of salt-laden moisture has disintegrated the stone, creating huge gaps in the relief. These losses are now filled with modern cement. A large veneer slab has fallen out behind Amun's rear aegis. Dense quarry hacking obscures the  frieze above the cornice of Amun's cabin-shrine at its front. At the base of the wall, much of the original dado motif persists, but as usual, Nelson did not record it.

Translations:

By *Amun's Bark*:^a ¹The king's son of the starboard side,^b [... the dual king, lord of the Two Lan]ds, [MENMA'AT]RE, ²the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN: "[...] ³my limbs being pure and clean [...] through being established^c [...] ^d [...] ⁴to the sanctuary, Re being in heaven, [his] heart^e joyful [with] the deed of truth^f which occurred when he has seen^g [his] son ⁵shouldering him, the king lifting up^h the one who begat him,ⁱ (being) one who [causes]^j (things) to be done out of excellence,^k ⁶and one who is beneficial for those who are beneficial.^l See (I)^m am acting in accordance with [...], his councilsⁿ[...] ⁷being fixed in my heart, as he gives to me ⁸his office, his seat, his throne, and his kingship ⁹as ruler of the Two Lands. He has bequeathed to me ¹⁰those things that are his before the entire land.^o ¹¹The army and the courtiers have seen^p me, the sovereign ¹²shouldering (my) father, I being very, very pure. ¹³I have given in excess of what is customarily done,^q for I know ¹⁴that he is satisfied with purity; that he lives on truth. How fortunate ¹⁵is the king who does what (I) have done for him; for he shall achieve eternity." ¹⁶The king himself, his limbs being pure ¹⁷when he dons the panther^r skin — ¹⁸the dual king MENMA'ATRE, given life, ¹⁹the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN — he says: ²⁰"my two arms are carrying ²⁰⁻²¹my august father ²¹Amun-the-Light,^s ²²just like the incarnation^t of ²³Shu has done for his father Re^u ²⁴who is in heaven ²⁴⁺¹[...] ²⁴⁺²[...] ²⁶[...] ^v upon my head^w [...] ^x ²⁷[...] of/for pure children^y ²⁸[...] his beauty, a god great of awesomeness, who perceives ²⁹[...] all [...] as he gives eternity in life and dominion for the Horus 'repeating appearances.'"

By *Khonsu's Bark*: ³⁰[Khon]su-³¹[in-Thebes Nefer-³²hot]ep in [Kar]nak ³³as he gives all life, stability, dominion, ³⁴and all health on his part.^z

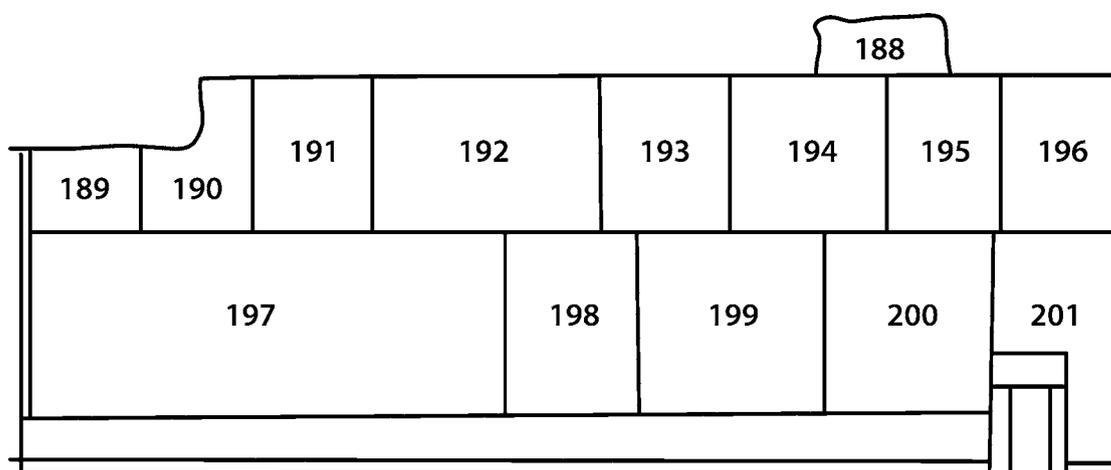
By *Mut's Bark*: ³⁵Mut, lady of Isheru, ³⁶[lady of hea]ven, mistress of the gods, ³⁷as s[he] gi[ves] life and dominion, ³⁸as [she] gives joy.

Behind the Second King: ²⁵[...go]ing forth [...] ^{aa} the incarnation of ^{bb} the dual king MENMA'ATRE, acting as one who is praised of the king, on behalf of the Second Prophet of Amun-Re.

Notes:

- ^a Translation and commentary for lines 1 through 24 is based on Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 154–58.
- ^b Reading *s3-nsw n imy.t-wr.t*: for this title and its variants, see Hermann Kees, "Wébpriester der 18. Dynastie im Trägerdienst bei Prozessionen," *ZÄS* 85 (1960), pp. 45–46.
- ^c Traces fit *hr mn*. For the causative use of *hr* + infinitive, see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §166.3.
- ^d Traces of *iw* visible here probably were followed by the subject and verb. Something like "one proceeded" would suit the context.
- ^e Traces suit  + .
- ^f Traces indicate : so reading *ib=[f] iw [m s]p n m3^c.t*.
- ^g Reading *m3.n.n=f s3=[f hr] rmn.t=f* (or *rmn.t it=f*). The proposed spelling of *m3(3)* as *m3n* is well attested for the *s3m=f* form (see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §§439, 448), but seems otherwise unattested for the *s3m.n=f* form. Other alternatives are *m3n=[f] n=f s3=[f]*, "when (he) sees for himself his son," presupposing the omission of the subject (ibid., §§486–87); or, less probably, *m3.n n=f s3=[f...?] rmn it=f* "for his son has seen for himself [...] carrying his father." Considering the aberrant writings of what is supposed to be Classical Egyptian in the temple inscriptions of the New Kingdom, it seems that either of the first two solutions is preferable to the third.
- ^h Restore *f3[t]*;  is represented with a tuft of feathers projecting from the back of its head, as is common in the Hypostyle Hall. A trace Nelson saw to its left, if it was reliable, was probably the upraised arm of the determinative , but it is now too eroded to confirm.
- ⁱ Reading, perhaps, *ms s*, for *ms sw* (*Wb.* IV, p. 59). No certain remnant of a second  as recorded by Nelson and Murnane remains.

- j Restoring  and reading *dīw*: only the feet of the quail chick are left, but not its tail or hocks.
- k A not uncommon phrase in Ramesside temple inscriptions, but one that has apparently escaped the compilers of the Berlin Dictionary (*Wb.* II, p. 86:14 lists only *r mnḥ*). Usually the phrase occurs with direct objects, that is, *ir.t mnw ḥr mnḥ* (*RIK* I, pl. 16, B-4; E. Otto, “Eine Bauinschrift Ramses’ III. in Luxor,” *ZÄS* 90 [1963], p. 97:4; Otto’s translation, *ibid.*, p. 94; and cf. several occurrences on the architraves in the forecourt of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, at Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 15, nos. 706, 1. 2; 707, 1. 1; and 710, 1. 2; *Khonsu* II, pls. 142–44).
- l Cf. Otto, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), p. 94:4, *ḥ n ḥ n=f* “beneficial for those who are beneficial to him.” Note the curious *ḥ n ḥ sw* (Khonsu temple: Nelson, *Key Plans*, pls. 17, 304). This phrase clearly states the *quid pro quo* nature of the actions of king and gods: Peter J. Brand, “Use of the Term *ḥ* in the Reign of Seti I,” *GM* 168 (1999), pp. 23–33.
- m *Mk (wy) ḥr ir.t*; for similar examples with the 1st pers. dep. pronoun omitted, see *RIK* I, pl. 37F:4; *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 114:12; also on the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, just west of the doorway, in the speech before the bark of Amun, *mk (wy) ḥr rdi.t n=k rsy mi mh.ty, imnt.t, iḥt.t ḥr s.t-ḥr=k* “See (I) have given to you the south and the north, the west and the east under your authority”: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 54:11–13.
- n Restore  of *shrw=f*.
- o For *m ḥft-ḥr n*, see *Wb.* III, p. 275, at C. This is the normal writing of this compound in the Hypostyle Hall. At the bottom of the column, nothing remains below . So contra Murnane’s observations in *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 156, note q.
- p Reading *mḥn wy mš’* (see above, note g), or if the *sdm.n=f* form is preferred, render as a second tense, “it is while I am very, very pure that the army and the courtiers have seen me (etc.).”
- q Probably, with the writing of auxiliary *r* denoting gemination, an imperfective passive participle, *irrw.t*. See Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §358. Cf. Below, *ir ir.n=i* (line 15), a king “who does what I did,” speaking of any king, in a general sense.
- r Nelson’s maladroitly rendered  is perhaps due to a layer of dirt that obscures this part of the relief in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5252, which served as the basis of his sketch.
- s For *Imn-pḥ-šw* “Amun Das Licht,” an epithet of Amun from the New Kingdom onward, see Leitz, *Lexikon* VII, p. 40.
- t *ḥm* refers to the bodily form of the god; see Spiegel, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), pp. 112–21.
- u Distinct traces of  to the left of the sun sign and of  below the disk remain despite a small cavity in the stone. Mythologically, the passage compares the king carrying Amun’s bark to Shu lifting up the solar god in the sky. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 152:19–20.
- v The first word appears to read , but its meaning escapes me. The bird cannot be  since there would be no room for its beak, thus it cannot be *iḥt* “standard.” So contra Kitchen, *RITA* I, p. 181; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 140 and n. 86: “die Tragegestange, die auf mir liegt, für A[mun].”
- w Reading *ḥr tp=i* or, perhaps, *ḥr.[t]-tp=i* “my uraeus.”
- x Perhaps *ni[s]* “to summon.”
- y Reading *n msw w’b*. So Kitchen, *RITA* I, p. 181; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 104, n. 87.
- z See glossary s.v. *Ḥnsw m Wḥs.t Nfr-ḥtp m Ḳp.t-sw.t*. Since Nelson recorded them, all of cols. 32 and 33 and most of col. 34 have fallen away.
- aa Restoring [...p]r.t. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 140, reads “[Ausziehen im Gefolge] des Königs [...]” Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:4, where Ramesses II acts in the capacity of High Priest of Amun.
- bb So reading *ḥm n nsw-bi.ty*. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 152, fig. 2. See above, note t.



Plan 11. Diagram of the north wall, east wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

North Wall, East Wing (Plan 11, Plates 188–201)

As with all of Sety I's wall decoration inside the Hypostyle Hall, this section of the north wall consists of fine raised relief. It is high relief, often with stunning effects where diverse elements are layered one atop the other. Striking examples include the king kneeling beneath the entwined branches of the *Ished*-tree (pl. 192) and the processional bark of Amun with its majestic figurehead, its deck crowded with statuettes (pl. 197). Sety I's figure censuring the bark is executed in particularly high relief.⁵⁰⁷

As discussed above, scenes on the east wing share a number of features that distinguish them from those on the west wing. Unlike reliefs on the third (uppermost *in situ*) register in the west, the eastern carvings were frequently embellished with the same attention to fine details like the pleating on kilts and plaiting on wigs that are commonly found on the lowest register across the entire wall. Most notable in this regard is an aborted initiative to carve the bands on Sety's *nemes*-headdress in high relief (pl. 189).

Frequent modifications to the reliefs are common to every scene on the east wing except the gods of the Ennead at the lower east end (pl. 201). Minor adjustments to the proportions of royal and divine effigies are common. More exceptional were changes made to the king's image. As is usual in the Hypostyle Hall, Sety's torso is inclined forward even when he kneels.⁵⁰⁸ Unlike the north gateway, where some figures were shifted from an upright to a bowing stance,⁵⁰⁹ the most significant changes the artisans made to their royal master's effigy were to alter his plain kilt into a more elaborate one with a large triangular flap and belt apron with pendant uraei and flanked by streamers (cf., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 189, 191–93, 195). In the first three instances, they carved the belt apron with streamers in true relief, but delineated the triangular flap with an incised line. At the same time, they frequently enlarged Sety's knee, also usually as an engraved line, but this was modeled as relief through the addition of plaster.

Plaster was employed in a similar fashion to enlarge other recarved elements when they could not be fully rendered in stone without cutting back the negative space around them severely, as this would have left them in odd-looking troughs. Because these recarved elements were not keyed for plaster by scoring them, most of the stucco infill has long since fallen away, but enough remains to verify the method of work.

A further anomaly distinguishing these scenes from the rest of Sety I's decoration in the Hypostyle Hall is the appearance of a "long form" of his *prenomen*  with the epithet *ḥkꜣ-Wꜣs.t* added to either side of *Mꜣt* in several instances.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ So too in the bark sanctuary of Amun-Re in Sety I's Gurnah temple in western Thebes where the modeling of the king's figures before the bark is higher than the surrounding reliefs. PM II², p. 414 (68–69); Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 113.

⁵⁰⁸ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 16–18.

⁵⁰⁹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 202–06. See commentary to pl. 187.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 190–93, 195 (eroded traces not recorded by Nelson), 197, 199–200.

Plate 188

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) I.

Location: B 281: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), only preserved scene on this register.

Subject: In this largely destroyed scene, the king (Sety I) kneels before a male divinity.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Sculptors recut the king’s belt, belt apron, and the top of his advancing knee. A patch-block has vanished between his knee and the god’s legs.

Translations:

Behind the Deity: ¹[...] Shu and Tefnut,^a every foreign land being under your sandals.

Note:

^a A number of restorations are possible based on contemporary parallels, for example, *rwḏ rn=k mi Šw Tfnw.t* “... your name flourishes like Shu and Tefnut” (GHHK I.1, pl. 105:6); or *ḏi.n=(i) n=k ḥ‘w n R‘ wsr n Šw Tfnw.t* “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the power of Shu and Tefnut” (ibid., pls. 153:13, 168:8).

Plate 189

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.1.

Location: B 282: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels⁵¹¹ before ithyphallic Amun and presents two jars of wine (fig. 34).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Three bands of paint on Sety I’s collar persist, although their color is not apparent.

Observations: Extensive cosmetic recutting occurs on every part of Sety’s figure as follows: (1) the top, back, lappet (both sides), and root of the “tail” of his *nemes*-headcloth; (2) his profile from brow to chin, beard (both sides), eye (shifted higher), and neckline; (3) his arms, at the back of his rear shoulder, top of the forward shoulder, underside of both arms above the elbow, crook of the forward arm; (4) his breast and belly; and (5) his lower body, including his rump, belt, knee, the sole of his foot, and his instep (twice) and toe. In modifying his lower body, Sety’s craftsmen enlarged his knee considerably, and they added a large triangular flap with a belt apron to his kilt as they did in several other episodes on this register. They defined elements of the belt apron in low relief, but they built up the bottom point of the kilt flap and the enlarged knee in plaster. Otherwise, recutting is limited to the upper right tier of the bouquet next to Sety’s knee. Unusually, the artists carved stripes on the king’s *nemes*-headcloth in high relief which is particularly deep on its lappet. This — along with pleating on his kilt — reflects a sporadic attempt to render fine details in relief instead of paint on the north wall’s east wing. A large patch-stone is missing to the right of Sety’s hands, and quarry marks afflict the lower right corner of Amun’s podium. Otherwise the surviving relief is in excellent condition.

Translations:

Label: ¹[giving] wine to Amun-Re.

By Amun: ²[(I) have given to you] all victory like Re.

Behind Amun: Every [protection...] surrounds him like Re every day.

Behind the King: ³[...given life] like Re. ⁴[The king...] MENMA‘ATRE, [shall] continually appear like Re [...].^a

Note:

^a So restoring [wnn nsw...] Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 193:15.

⁵¹¹ For Sety’s rump, waist, and foot, see GHHK I.1, pls. 185–86.

Plate 190

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.2.

Location: B 283: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a vulture-goddess and offers a broad collar and bracelets to Amun-Re (fig. 277).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Traces of paint define four concentric bands of indistinguishable color on the right side of the broad collar Sety proffers, and there are several bands on Amun’s own collar below his neckline. Amun wears a corslet of which the design of its upper hem and twin shoulder straps is evident, although the colors have also faded. Blue pigment remains inside Amun’s rear plume near the top.⁵¹² Faint traces of the petals and epicalyxes of the lotus bloom are also visible.

Observations: Artisans recut Sety’s waist, belt, the solar disk at the top of his crown and the upper right side of the crown itself, and the hood of its forward uraeus. They also enlarged his lap and knee significantly. Modifications to Amun’s figure are more subtle and include the back of his forward arm above its elbow, the front of his rear arm from the armpit to the crook of the arm, the back of his rear arm from shoulder to fist, his forehead, the front of his crown, and the back and tip of his beard.

Sety’s upper torso and head were carved on a large patch-block, which has disappeared. Elsewhere in the scene, quarry hacking, once filled with plaster, obscures part of texts in cols. 3 and 4, Sety’s legs, and a few deep pits in Amun’s plumes. Although a hole in the deity’s rear shoulder may be intentional, there is no further sign of vandalism, and the relief is in good condition. Nelson did not record some finer details, including the toenails of both figures, a chin strap securing Amun’s false beard, and the eye and mouth on the head of his *w3s*-scepter (otherwise rarely indicated in relief), Amun’s fingernails, markings on the vulture’s hocks, and her facial features.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving a broad collar to Amun-Re.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, [ruler] of Thebes: ³Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁴[(I) have] gi[ven to you] all health forever. ⁵(I) have given to you valor against the South and victory against the North forever. ⁶(I) have given to you my office, my seat, my throne (and) my lifetime when (I)^b was on earth like Re.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — life — surrounds him.

By the Vulture: ⁷Nekhbet.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god who makes benefactions, ⁹the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE-HEKAWASET,^c ¹⁰the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹¹given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 6.

^b Reading ‘*hʿ.w=i wn=(i) tp t3 mi Rʿ*’.

^c The epithet *hʿk3-W3s.t* “ruler of Thebes” occurs in several, but not all, of the *prenomen* cartouches in scenes east of the central doorway on the north wall.

⁵¹² See our commentary on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 96.

Plate 191

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.3; Weret-hekau: Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 207, fig. 127.

Location: B 284: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), third scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers a clepsydra to Weret-hekau. Above him, Wadjet soars in the form of a serpent-headed vulture (figs. 14, 21, 40, 43).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Weret-hekau’s dress has a folded wing pattern consisting of overlapping bands of diagonal stripes, with narrow borders in a lighter color that frame wide swathes of darker pigment.⁵¹³ Her dress is supported by two shoulder straps that have wide, dark bands with lighter strips on their edges. Between the lappets of her wig, her broad collar has alternating bands of light and dark paint, but all these pigments have faded beyond recognition. Weret-hekau’s leonine face is pale blue-green while the forward lappet of her wig is blue. One of the lotus buds of the bouquet on the offering stand is green, and Sety’s kilt is yellow.

Observations: Here again the sculptors extensively modified Sety I’s image. Most significantly, they added a triangular flap to his kilt along with an elaborate belt apron flanked by uraei and streamers, and they enlarged his knee. Otherwise, they recut various parts of his body to enlarge their proportions or change their position: (1) his belly, the top of his forward shoulders and the rounded end of the rear one were thickened; (2) his throat and neckline were shifted to the left; (3) on his rear arm, they shifted the forearm higher and made the upper arm wider; (4) they also moved his forward arm lower above its elbow; (5) Sety’s craftsmen enlarged his wig at its top, back, and front, both sides of his beard, and his profile; (6) they shifted his eye higher and thickened his eyebrow; (7) his uraeus was made taller; and (8) sculptors enlarged his diadem and transferred it upward slightly. The clasp at its back is larger and farther to the left than the original version. A pair of rigid streamers issuing from the back of the diadem was shaved down, and longer ones that slope farther to the left were carved in shallow relief. Craftsmen carved all these enlarged proportions in shallow bas-relief, often as little more than incised outlines, and they used plaster to build up the augmented elements. Most of this has now fallen away since they did not key the recut surfaces to secure the plaster, but enough remains on Sety’s forward arm below his armpit and at the bottom of his triangular kilt flap where it overlaps the bottom of his leg to illustrate their method. The sculptors made fewer adjustments to Weret-hekau’s figure: they enlarged her forward wig lappet; the right side of her lioness’ mane, her knee, throat, and neckline, and the bottom of the large solar disk on her head.

Masons inserted two large veneer slabs in the upper and lower right corners of the scene, presumably to eliminate quarry damage. Weret-hekau’s rear arm was carved on another tall, narrow patch-stone, but the left side of this block interfered with the front of her arm, so the sculptors partially modeled this limb in plaster. Quarry hacking with vestiges of stucco patching — Nelson indicated this with shade in his drawing — mars the center of the scene. Note that the surface of a block containing Sety I’s *prenomen*, cols. 1–2, and parts of 3, 6, and 8, is cut back farther than those around it. Here the sandstone is highly porous and has remnants of a decayed plaster coating. As a result, texts in cols. 3 and 6 are damaged. Iconoclasts attacked Sety’s toe, but left the rest of this scene unharmed. A fragment of the scene from the missing register above preserves a fragment of the kneeling king’s leg. Here again, the artists subsequently added a triangular flap to his kilt.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹³ For parallels, see *Abydos* IV, pls. 1, 7, 13, 20, 23, 26, 30.

⁵¹⁴ This and other fragmentary scenes will be reconstructed from loose blocks found mostly in the yards to the north of the Hypo-

style Hall and will appear in a future volume on fragments from the Hypostyle Hall.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving a clepsydra to ²Weret-hekau.

By Weret-hekau: ³Words spoken by Weret-hekau, lady of the palace: “(O) my son ⁴the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE-HEKAWASET, ⁵(I) have placed the fear of you in the flat lands[...].^a ⁶(I) have given to you all flat lands and the Nine Bows gathered under your sandals forever and ever!”

Behind Weret-hekau: [Every] protection — life — surrounds her [...].

By the Vulture: ⁷Wadjet.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god, image of Re, sacred egg of Atum,^b ⁹the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE-HEKAWASET, ¹⁰the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹¹given life like Re.^c

Notes:

- ^a The right side of this column and the entire column to its right were carved on a missing patch-block. One might restore *nb.w* “all” at the top of the missing column thereby reading “all the flat lands” and so on.
- ^b So *swḥ.t dsr.t n.t ’tmw*. The -sign evidently confused Nelson, who wrote *sic* inside it. This is a perfectly clear, although highly abbreviated, writing for *swḥ.t*. Perhaps he mistook it for an abbreviation of *sḥ*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178:1.
- ^c The column of text behind the vulture is drawn and translated in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 190:6, and in our commentary above. Two erased traces (perhaps the upper loops of , or of ) remain above the top of the king’s crown, but were not recorded by Nelson. This probably represents an aborted protection formula deleted for lack of space. The bottom of the sign(s) would have interfered with the top of the king’s Double Crown, and the surface around the bulb of its White Crown was cut back farther than elsewhere.

Plate 192

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.4; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 207, fig. 127; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, p. 571, fig. 30, Thoth, king and *Ished*-tree, pl. 49, Re-Horakhty, king and Weret-hekau, pl. 50; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/171, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/171; Beate George and Bengt Peterson, *Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836-1837*, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 3 (Stockholm: Medelhavsmuseet, 1979), p. 21.

Location: B 285–86: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), fourth and fifth scenes from the west.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I kneels beside the *Ished*-tree while Thoth inscribes individual leaves with his *prenomen*. Above the tree hovers a sun disk with pendant uraei, between which is a rebus of the king’s *prenomen*. (*Right*) Sety I kneels on a podium receiving jubilees, life, and dominion from Re-Horakhty enthroned in a shrine (fig. 41, 46). Weret-hekau stands behind Sety extending one arm protectively behind his crown while the other clutches a year-staff with jubilee, life, and protection emblems.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: The most extensive traces persist on Sety’s figure in the right-hand scene.⁵¹⁵ His *atef*-crown and its ostrich plumes have alternating vertical stripes of blue and pale blue-green, and its ram’s horns are pale blue-green. Sety’s wig is blue. A nineteenth-century visitor to Karnak, Baltzar Cronstrand, records these same colors on the king’s falcon corslet, but aside from a few specks of blue, only the pattern of its design is still legible. Two falcon’s wings folded across Sety’s upper chest are blue and green. Less apparent today, but visible in Cronstrand’s day, is an embroidered cloth shirt with distinctive overlapping strips of fabric crossing his belly, which according to Cronstrand is red.⁵¹⁶ The pattern on his collar and on an armband encircling the bicep of his forward arm (alternating vertical bands of lighter and darker pigment) also survives, but again its colors

⁵¹⁵ George and Peterson, *Die Karnak-Zeichnungen*, p. 21.

⁵¹⁶ For the iconography of this “falcon shirt” commonly worn with a “royal red fabric” shirt, see Amy Calvert, “Quantifying Regalia,” in *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigra-*

phy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane, edited by Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 52–54; L. P. Brock, “The Amarna ‘Royal Red Fabric,’” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 25 (1995), pp. 7–14.

have faded. A pattern of discolored squares set against a lighter background (probably yellow) decorates the king's belt apron. In addition to the three carved streamers flanking the left side of the apron, there are traces of a longer sash in decayed pigment overlapping the two outermost ribbons.⁵¹⁷ Alternating squares of darker and lighter paint remain on the shaft of his crook. On his flail, there are three columns of six small circles near the top of the pendants and three columns of triangular shapes just above the horizontal line at the top of its three long terminals. Again, their colors are unclear. Elsewhere in the right-hand scene, Re-Horakhty's forward wig lappet is blue. The - and -signs in col. 18 have blue and green squares arranged in a chessboard pattern. Weret-hekau's face is pale blue-green.

On the left-hand scene, Thoth's broad collar has bands of alternating light and dark pigment of uncertain hue, and his wig is blue. Blue-green pigment clings to some of the *Ished*-tree's leaves, namely, on the bottom row of leaves just above Thoth's forward arm, in the second and in the third rows below this arm, just above the back of Sety's crown, and between the first two branches above Sety's knee and to the right of the triangular flap of his kilt. Sety's *khepresh*-crown is blue, and his belt has a latticework design, but its colors are uncertain.

Observations: (*Left*) Here again, Sety I's sculptors extensively reworked his royal figure. They added a triangular flap with a belt apron and streamers to his kilt, which they rendered in a combination of very low relief and incised lines. Some of the plaster they used to suppress leaves and branches of the *Ished*-tree beneath this flap remains *in situ*. They also enlarged Sety's *khepresh*-crown at its front and back, along with his uraeus. Other revisions include his neckline; the instep, heel, and toe of his foot; and his mouth and chin. They also shifted his eye higher and tilted its axis so that it is more horizontal than in the original downturned eye. Finally they recut each of Sety's shoulders and arms. Traces of the initial forearm, incompletely erased, survive above the final version, which was recut twice. Modification of Thoth's image is limited to his belt below his sash, the top of his tail, and the shoulder and bicep of his forward arm.

(*Right*) Here the sculptors' cosmetic adjustments to Sety's effigy were even more pervasive, including the bottom and back of his wig, his profile and the front and tip of his false beard (which they lengthened and widened), the heads of both uraei on his *atef*-crown and the sun disk of the left serpent, Sety's belly and belt, and his forward knee. Here again, they shifted his eye higher and widened and shifted both arms slightly. His advancing forearm receiving jubilee emblems was thickened along both sides below his elbow, the top of his thumb was raised, and his palm and fingers were recut. Sculptors moved his rear arm grasping his crook and flail downward and to the right. Nelson's drawing indicates recutting to the bottom of his earlier forearm, elbow, and the bicep of his original upper arm as dotted lines, but incompletely; the underside of his forearm was, in fact, recut twice, and a palimpsest of the top of the earlier forearm consists of erased lines above the final version. They also reworked his flail twice. The leftmost pendant of its flabellum was shifted to the right. Some of the plaster used to build up these enlarged proportions and to suppress earlier versions still adheres to various parts of the king's figure, namely, on his rear arm just below the dotted line in Nelson's drawing between his elbow and back, at his throat, belly, the elbow of his forward arm, and the front of his rear thigh just above the instep of his advancing foot. Elsewhere, most of this stucco has fallen away.

The sculptors made less drastic adjustments to Re-Horakhty's effigy, including his throat, the right side of his tail, the underside of his extended arm, his breast, the top of his rear arm holding a year-staff from its wrist to its bicep, the bottom of this arm from the shoulder to the elbow, its thumb, and the back of his leg above the calf muscle. Nelson omits the bottom jaw of Re-Horakhty's beak and the heel of his forward foot. Alterations to Weret-hekau's figure are confined to her head. Here, the workmen slightly enlarged her profile from the peak of her wig at her forehead to her chin, along with her mane, ear, and the triangular tuft of hair that envelops her ear, and finally, her neckline.

Both scenes are in good condition, with no obvious deterioration since Nelson's day. At least two large veneer blocks are missing from the space above Thoth's head and where his legs were. A gap in Nelson's copy

⁵¹⁷ This is probably a remnant of a red looped sash sometimes found in later Ramesside iconography. See Calvert, "The Red Looped Sash."

above the solar-disk rebus over the *Ished*-tree indicates erosion. A few zones of quarry damage, once filled with plaster, occur in the space above cols. 11–14, the bottom front corner of Re-Horakhty's throne, at the top of his throne where his year-staff overlaps, in his belt and rump, and finally in the dais he shares with the king just below the forward support pole of his kiosk-shrine.

Translations:⁵¹⁸

By *Thoth*: ¹[Words spoken by Thoth], ²[lord of Hermopolis, master of the god's words: "(I) have re]corded ³your [titulary]^a as ⁴[Horus: mighty bull, 'appearing in Thebes], who causes the Two Lands to live,^b ⁵[enduring on the august *Ished*-tree of Heli]opolis^c in the presence of Atum."

By the *Behdetite*: ⁶[The Behdetite], the great god, lord of heaven,^d ⁷as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

Below the *Behdetite*: MENMA'ATRE.

By *Weret-hekau*: ⁸Words spoken by Weret-hekau, lady of the palace: "(O) my beloved son, ⁹the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE-HEKAWASET, [(I) give] to you^e ¹⁰millions of jubilees and myriads of ¹¹years <in>^f peace, ¹²as (I) establish^g for you the diadems of ¹³Re, the ornament being established ¹⁴upon your forehead." ¹⁵As she gives all life surrounding him.

By *Re-Horakhty*: ¹⁶Words spoken by ¹⁷Re-Horakhty, the great god: ¹⁸(I) have established for you the diadems upon your head, every foreign country being under your sandals."

Behind *Re-Horakhty*: Every protection — all life, stability, dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re forever.

By the *King (Right)*: ¹⁹The good god MENMA'ATRE-HEKAWASET, ²⁰the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a So restoring something like [(1) *dd mdw in Dḥwty* (2) *nb Ḥmnw nb mdw-ntr w]dn*. [(3) *n=i nḥb.t=k...*]. There is probably just enough room in cols. 1 and 2 for the proposed restorations, but not enough to fill col. 3. Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 145, nn. 131–32. For another restoration, see W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1958), p. 118.

^b There is space in col. 4 for Sety I's Horus name surmounted by .

^c Restoring col. 5 as [*mn ḥr 'Išd šps 'Iwn]w m-b'ḥ 'Itmw*. So Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 145, n. 133, citing *GHHK* I.1, pls. 79:20 and 137:18. The restored verb *mn* could be a stative or a participle.

^d Here the Behdetite takes the form of a disk with pendant uraei, which frames a rebus of Sety's *prenomen*.

^e It is unclear whether the text read [*di=i*] *n=k* or [*di.n=(i)*] *n=k*.

^f One might expect <*m*> *ḥtp*. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 145) takes *ḥtp* as an adjective.

^g Reading *smn=(i) n=k ḥ'w n R'*.

Plate 193

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.5; Amun-Kamutef, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 48; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/171, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/171.

Location: B 287: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* ("third"), sixth scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a falcon while offering two -jars to Amun-Kamutef while the Behdetite falcon flies above (figs. 9, 48, 196).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Decayed paint indicates a pattern of alternating light and dark stripes on Sety's *nemes*-headdress, concentric bands on his collar, and two streamers on his triangular kilt flap that flanked a belt apron (which itself has disappeared). Kamutef wears an armband with a latticework pattern on his bicep and a broad collar with concentric rings of pigment, but these colors have also faded. His headband and a streamer dangling behind

⁵¹⁸ Nelson numbered the columns of these texts as if they belonged to one large scene.

him are red, while his skullcap is blue. On the fetish table behind him, a bit of green paint adheres to one of the lettuce plants.

Observations: Sety I's figure underwent numerous minor changes at the hands of his sculptors, who recarved its proportions as follows: the upright of his Red Crown; his *nemes*-headdresses' tail and lappet, the visor of his *nemes*-headdress (Nelson largely omitted an arched fold above the visor, which was also recut), his ear, his eye and eyebrow, the back of his beard, his rear shoulder, his rear forearm along its top (twice) and its underside, both sides of his advancing arm above its elbow (the effect of which was to shift the final arm lower), the top of this arm from its joint to the wrist, the top of his belt (twice), his belly, and the heel (twice), instep, sole (twice), and toe of his foot. Finally, sculptors inserted a triangular flap on his kilt by engraving its outline and then painting in details of a belt apron flanked by streamers. Plaster they used to augment this flap clings to its bottom corner below Sety's leg. Elsewhere, stucco used to fill out the recarved portions of his figure remains on Sety's heel, the bottom of his rear forearm, the bottom of his upper arm just above its elbow, and his throat. His ear is very flat and appears partly erased — its final version may have been largely executed in plaster. Stucco employed to patch defects in the stone also clings to Sety's hands, his forward wrist, and his throat.

Less extensive were changes the artists made to Kamutef's figure. His belly was made wider and less curving above and below the base of his phallus, and some of the plaster used to complete the effect still adheres. Recutting is evident on his front shoulder, the left side of his arm from his shoulder to his hand, the bottom of his arm from armpit to elbow, and the rim of his skullcap below the ear. His fingers were widened on both sides of the hand. His flail's handle was lengthened by extending its shaft toward his shoulder, and its butt was recut twice. The sculptors retouched his facial profile from above his forehead to his chin and along the front of his beard. All these adjustments thickened his proportions.

Practitioners of fertility magic deeply gouged Amun's penis to obtain stone for their rituals. Nevertheless, traces of its outline endure, and it is clear that Sety's men had recut the top of its shaft. Light gashes on the faces of both figures are also deliberate, but there is no other sign of iconoclasm, although two round holes at the bottom of col. 8 (which march with others in the adjoining scene) are surely the result of human intervention. The relief is still in excellent condition with no apparent change since Nelson's day. Numerous thin horizontal fissures running diagonally through the block containing the falcon and hieroglyphic text in front of Amun's plumes resulted from natural defects in the bedding of the sandstone. Deep cavities in the falcon's tail, however, are ancient tool marks left from the quarry.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving libation to Amun-Re, lord of heaven.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ruler of the ²⁻³Ennead, ⁴upraised of arm, whose ⁵beauty is vaunted:

⁶Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you all flat lands in fear of you. ⁷(I) have given to you life and dominion.

⁸(I) have given to you my office, my seat, my throne, and my lifetime of when (I) was on earth; the Black Land and the Red Land being under your authority, and the Nine Bows being under your two sandals."^b

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, dominion, and health, all joy and all valor — surrounds him like Re.

By the Falcon: ⁹The Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven, ¹⁰as he gives all life and dominion like Re.

By the King: ¹¹(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, ¹²the dual king MENMA'ATRE, ¹³the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁴given life, stability, and dominion like Re. ¹⁵The king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE-HEKAWASET, shall continually appear like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 8.

^b As Nelson's *sic* indicates, the handle of  is reversed.

Plate 194

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.6.

Location: B 288: North wall, east wing, third register, seventh scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels before Amun with a basket of food offerings perched on his head. A royal *ka*-standard inscribed with his Horus name stands behind him (figs. 197–99).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded paint indicates the pattern of Sety I's broad collar and on the bouquet atop the basket of food offerings. Four vertical stripes persist on the "niched facade" decoration at the base of the *serekh* containing his Horus-name between the -arms. There is also a faint trace of a curving sash on the king's forward knee to the right of carved ribbons of his belt apron. All of these pigments have faded beyond recognition.

Observations: His craftsmen reworked Sety's figure at several points, including the top and back of his cap-crown, the bottom of his eye, his ear, neckline, rear shoulder, wrist, both sides of his belt, a sash to the left of his belt apron, and his advancing knee and calf muscle. Two lightly incised versions of a priestly sash cross his chest diagonally from the forward shoulder to the back of his belt, but Nelson did not record either. His uraeus cobra's hood has now worn away. Note that a curved line on the lower left side of the pile of food offerings in Sety's basket is lightly incised. Nelson omitted a sloping carved line above the top of the bouquet suggesting another offering, probably a lettuce plant.⁵¹⁹ Except for his forward shoulder, the craftsmen did not recarve Amun's icon, but they adjusted the left prong at the base of his *w3s*-scepter, resulting in its asymmetry with the right one. The  in col. 4 was also recut and shifted to the left.

A large patching slab has vanished from the center of this tableau, and the block above it, which is inscribed with the head and shoulders of Amun and the right side of Sety's basket of food, retains shallow pitting associated with quarry damage. This is most severe in the region of the food offerings and below the top of the deity's *w3s*-scepter where some plaster infill remains. Nelson misinterpreted some details of these offerings as a result. In particular, a rebus of Sety I's *prenomen* contains only  and ,⁵²⁰ but a small "disk" Nelson drew is actually the curved neck and head of a roast duck. Perhaps the large oval bread loaf with two small holes adjacent to the rebus group is to be understood as .

Quarry marks disfigure Amun's rear shoulder, upper arm, and the middle of col. 6. A second veneer slab, missing above Sety's basket, contained his titulary and Amun's speech. However, this gap is too large for just the king's titulary, and it is likely that a solar disk flanked by uraei representing the Behdetite hovered over him as well.⁵²¹ Nelson omitted some finer details of this relief, including the lower rim and earflap of Sety's cap-crown (which was recut) and the deity's toenails. Although there is no sign of iconoclasm, someone drilled two round holes above Sety's rear ankle.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, the lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler ²of Thebes: ³[Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you] all [pro]visions.^b ⁴(I) have given to you all life and dominion and all health. ⁵[(I) have placed]^c your awesomeness in the hearts of the *p't*-nobility and the *rhyt*-commoners. ⁶(I) have given to you valor against all the hill countries; dread of you being in the hearts of the Nine Bows, as their chiefs come to you as one."^d

Behind Amun: Protection — life — surrounds him like Re.

⁵¹⁹ Lettuce plants sometimes flank similar bouquets proffered by the king. So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 240, 247, 254.

⁵²⁰ For parallels, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 33 and 154. In the latter episode, a miniature statuette of the king offering a food basket containing the rebus is offered by Sety. In this case, however, the disk must have been elsewhere.

⁵²¹ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 146, 192. The space to be filled is roughly square, and there does not seem to be enough room for a vulture or a falcon.

By the Protective Deity: ^aAs [he] give all victory, all health and all joy like Re.^e

By the King: ⁷[The dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN],^f given life like Re.^g

Behind the King: Every protection — life — surrounds him like [Re].

The King's Serekh: Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live.”

Notes:

^a Surely at the top of this column, and repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 6.

^b Restoring [*dd mdw di.n=(i) n=k df*]‘w nb.

^c Restoring [*di.n=(i)*] šfy.t=k. The phrase might still be longer.

^d Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 147, “ihre Fürsten zu dir kommen (geschlossen) wie ein (Mann).”

^e One could restore either  or  in this space. Given the limited room, the protective deity would have been smaller than usual if it was a falcon or vulture. More likely, there was a sun disk with pendant uraei once labeled as the Behdetite in a vertical column to the left of col. 8. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 146 right, where the sun disk is called the Behdetite. For the Behdetite as a disk, see Spieser, *Les noms du pharaon*, pp. 64–65 and figs. 250, 258, 260–62. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 15, 45, 50, 68, 73, 81 middle, 82 right, 82 left, 83 middle, 84 middle, 86, 95 right, 146 right, 187, 192, 200, 249.

^f There is room for cartouches preceded by one set of titles.

^g Arranged horizontally under cols. 7 and 8 as in numerous other examples in the Hall.

Plate 195

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.7.

Location: B 289: North wall, east wing, third register, eighth scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers two jars of wine to Min-Amun-Kamutef (figs. 200, 260). Nekhbet soars above the king in her vulture form.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Three dark rings of faded pigment remain on the god's collar near his neckline, while a fourth band lies outside the carved outer edge of this collar. Traces of Sety's broad collar persist as well, but all these colors have faded beyond recognition.

Observations: Sculptors recut the king to enlarge his proportions as follows: all of his *khat*-wig except for its visor and uraeus; on his rear arm, the top of the forearm and the bottom of the upper arm; his rear shoulder; on his forward arm, the top of his shoulder and bicep along with the elbow and underside of his forearm; the bottom of his hands; both -jars; his belly, rump, and instep at the ankle; both sides of his belt; and the bottom of his knee. Sety's craftsmen also shifted his eye upward and extended the tip of his nose. Faint traces of an earlobe to the right of the earlier, more complete ear indicate that it was also shifted rightward. Sculptors must have built up the king's enlarged *khat*-wig and final ear with stucco and covered the earlier ear. Sety's belly and the top of his original lap were both enlarged once before the artist greatly enlarged his knee and added a large triangular flap to his kilt in a third, final revision. They carved these last alterations only as engraved lines and presumably modeled them in plaster. Subsequently, craftsmen indicated details of Sety's belt apron and flanking ribbons in paint. At the same time, they incompletely suppressed pleating and the distinctive flap of his original *shendyt*-kilt. Plaster caulking adheres to the underside of his hands, the lower edge of his rear upper arm, and the end of the enlarged lappet of his *khat*-headdress below his shoulder. They also inserted the root of a false beard (which Nelson did not record) as two engraved lines between his chin and the top of his shoulder and probably formed it in plaster.

The sculptors' adjustments to Min-Amun-Kamutef's proportions were fewer. They thickened his chest just below his shoulder, his back, his rump, and the back of his leg from its thigh to its heel. Scattered traces of plaster infill survive on the leg.

Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall thoroughly and deeply gouged out Min's phallus. Elsewhere, malicious damage is restricted to shallow scratches on the god's nose and mouth and to Sety I's nose and upper lip. Defects to  at the top of col. 3 may simply be fortuitous. Quarry hacking is most severe at the bottom of the scene between Sety's knee and Min's pedestal and extends into the offering stand and floral bouquet between them, but the masons left fainter tool marks elsewhere, especially on the bottom of the king's wig, through his hands and -jars, and on the ribbon dangling behind Amun. Note that the block inscribed with Sety's cartouches and cols. 7 and 12 is more abraded than the others with residue of stucco patching.⁵²² As a result, Nelson missed traces of the epithet  *hk3-W3s.t* in Sety's *prenomen* also found in nearby scenes. Losses to the top of col. 2 result from natural decay of the sandstone, which extends into Min's plumes.

Nelson passed over a few minor elements such as the top of Sety's visor, his navel, and the fold in his *khat*-wig above his ear. His neckline, although partially erased on its left side, is complete and touches the base of his wig, nor has the drawing conveyed the intricacy of Nekhbet's facial markings. Also missing is a curving line carved inside Min's upper arm depicting his rear shoulder. Someone lightly engraved a curious rectangular shape between Min's front shoulder and col. 6, but this appears to be a later graffito of uncertain significance.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving wine.^a

By Min: ²Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, ³⁻⁴who is upon his great seat, ⁴the great god: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re^b and the years of Atum.”

Behind Min: Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, mistress of the Two Lands ⁷as she gives all life like Re.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god, image of Re, protector of Kamutef, ⁸⁻⁹the divine seed ⁹which issues forth from the god's flesh in order to perform the kingship of Re, ¹⁰the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA^c ATRE-HEKAWASET,^c ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹²the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen.

Behind the King: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds [him].^d

Notes:

^a This whole phrase was erased — or incompletely carved and then abandoned — with only faint engraved lines left behind. Evidently, the scribe encountered some confusion in writing the formula. He interposed  and  below  and to the left of  in *rdi.t*. Below , the sign that Nelson drew in double lines as a squashed  is in fact merely a single line denoting the curve of , but with no base, leaving only the  and , to spell *irp* “wine.” For correct spellings of this formula, see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 122:1, 166:1, 253:1 (so Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 147, n. 144). This was, perhaps, a copyist's error resulting from a misreading of the original hieratic ligature. Perhaps the draftsman mistook it for a writing of *rdi.t pr* “giving the house <to its lord>” (as in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 187:1). Any final correction may have been rendered in paint or was simply omitted.

^b Here  serves both as determinative of *h^c.w* and the ideogram of *R^c*.

^c Nelson omitted the epithet *hk3-W3s.t*.

^d No trace of  is visible in the gap after . At the end of the column,  was either erased or incompletely carved, and its flat top is not preserved as Nelson's copy suggests.

⁵²² As noted in the commentary to pl. 195, where it affects Amun's head and shoulders and the king's basket of offerings.

Plate 196

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.8.

Location: B 290: North wall, east wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), ninth (and final) scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I offers two jars of ointment to Amun-Re while Wadjet hovers above the king as a vulture (figs. 5, 202).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Three bands of faded paint delineate the king’s broad collar.

Observations: Unlike other scenes on this register, the sculptors made fewer alterations to Sety I’s figure. They recut his belt on each side, his heel and the bottom of his instep where it curves into his toe, and the fingers of both hands. In addition, they enlarged the lower half of the king’s wig at its front and back and engraved horizontal lines on its rear extension. Amun’s belt was also recut. Light scratches inside the tops of Amun’s plumes, as recorded by Nelson, are not recutting, but seem to be fortuitous. Palimpsests of a suppressed version of the main text above the figures are evident in several of the final hieroglyphs and are described in notes to the translation.

In smoothing the wall, quarrymen left residual chisel marks, which are concentrated at various points through the offering stand; inside Sety I’s rear shoulder; in Amun’s head, shoulders, and kilt; and in the middle reaches of the decorative ribbon margin behind him. Plaster caulking adheres in places, especially in the offering stand and bouquet. Much of Amun’s face was carved in stucco and is now lost. Iconoclasts confined their depredations to light pecking of Sety’s facial features, the hood of his uraeus, and the hand closest to his face. Of Amun’s neck and beard, almost nothing remains, and Nelson’s copy is inaccurate on this point. Behind the god’s plumes, a small patch-stone has vanished. Nelson overlooked some minutia such as the navels of both figures, their belt buckles, and the coils of Sety’s uraeus meandering across the front of his diadem, although the latter were partly erased.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ruler of Thebes: ²Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all health^b on my part. ³(I) have given to you^c all joy on my part. ⁴(I) have given to^d you eternity as^e king of the Two Lands and eternity as^f the ruler of joy.”

By the Vulture: ⁵Wadjet,^g ⁶as she gives all life and dominion like Re.

By the King: ⁷The good god^h who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ⁸the dual king,ⁱ lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of [appearances]^j SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re, ¹⁰the image of Re <before>^k the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen, ¹¹whom he (*Amun*) has appointed to be the sole lord upon earth.

Behind the King: Protection, life, stability, and dominion.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3. Traces of earlier glyphs are imbedded in  and perhaps the signs of *snb*, but they are not readily identifiable. Here and in col. 3, palimpsests of earlier -serpents overlap the final ones.

^b Nelson’s *sic* notes that  is absent from *snb* “health.”

^c The bottom right half of an earlier  is implanted within final  of *di.n=(i) n=k*. Below this is a narrow diagonal element of another, unidentified hieroglyph.

^d There are definite traces of a second  above and below the gap.

^e The artist did not carve the bottom of  at its right end above the head of .

^f Here the sculptor apparently miscarved  for , which Nelson did not notice.

^g Traces of at least three long, narrow signs persist inside the three final tall ones of Wadjet’s name. The uppermost palimpsest is a flat glyph, but its identity is unclear. Below are two glyphs resembling -signs. A rounding trace in the final  may be part of an earlier .

- ^h Inside the “flag” of  are palimpsest traces of the flat bottom of a sign, and below this the top of  and game pieces of , with segments of its “box” embedded in the shafts of the final signs. Inside the heart of , there are three “waves” of  with the top of a wide, flat sign below. The earlier group must have been *ʾImn* “Amun.”
- ⁱ A palimpsest  bisects the thorax and abdomen of . A short vertical sign (a  perhaps?) cuts through the middle of the left , but slants to one side. A taller vertical trace runs through the insect’s abdomen just to the right of its stinger and continues into the left corner of .
- ^j Only the leftmost  of *hʿw* is substantially intact, but faint remnants of the top and base of  also survive.
- ^k A rounding trace below  cannot be the top of  since there is not enough room for that sign to fit in the narrow space available, nor is there any evidence of it above *tʿwy*, so the sculptor must have omitted . This trace is, instead, the top of , the phonetic complement of *ti.t*.

Plate 197

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) III.1; *KRI* I, p. 211:1–14; *RITA* I, p. 183; *RITANC* I, p. 136.

Location: B 291–92: North wall, east wing, bottom register, first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I censures the procession of barks of the Theban Triad, each borne by a cortege of priests, while Nekhbet hovers over him as a vulture (figs. 33, 36, 49, 201, 203–08).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: It is likely that this episode was among the first reliefs the craftsmen sculpted after completing their work on the adjoining north gateway. As on that gateway, modeling of this relief is higher than elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall. Intricately carved ornamentations abound, for example, Sety I’s pleated robes, on the hubs of large open fans surrounding Amun’s bark, the fine ram figurehead, and decorative roundel on its prow aegis.

Modeling on Sety’s figure is particularly high, and the sculptors made several cosmetic adjustments to refine its proportions. In small increments, they enlarged the top and back of his cap-crown five times and his uraeus once. They also recut his chest, belly, and the top of both shoulders three times, and they modified his back, the rounded end of his rear shoulder, the top of his rear arm along its whole length, his belly, his neckline, and the nape of his neck each one time. Finally, they shifted his forward arm lower and recut its lower side from armpit to wrist three times.

Sety’s artists made extensive cosmetic adjustments to Amun’s processional bark, retouching the vessel’s hull at its stern, enlarging the sun disk crowning its stern aegis along its left side, and reworking a bell-shaped flabellum above the veil’s billowing front, and the hub of another fan just behind the rear aegis, but they directed most of their efforts toward modifying the proportions and iconography of the bark’s cabin-shrine and veil.

In the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak and in his Gurnah temple, Sety I introduced new elements to the design of Amun’s processional bark in Thebes that aggrandized its splendor and iconographic complexity, thereby distinguishing it from the portable barks of all other gods and even from Amun’s own bark in Sety’s Abydos temple. Amun’s Theban bark would retain Sety’s innovations to its design throughout the centuries down into Ptolemaic times.⁵²³ Sety’s enhancements date to the later part of his reign and mark a departure from older representations of Amun’s bark, including examples carved early in his reign in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor temple.⁵²⁴ During the Eighteenth Dynasty, the cabin-shrine of Amun’s processional bark — like those of other deities — took the form of a closed naos sheltered under a baldachin, the latter having an arched roof supported by “tent pole” colonnettes.⁵²⁵ Under this baldachin, the naos itself possessed a roof with a cavetto cornice. From the reign of

⁵²³ Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris*, vol. 1, pp. 77–85; vol. 2, pls. X, XI, D2, E2.

⁵²⁴ Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 70–74.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 195–96.

Horemheb onward, a frieze of rebus designs forming elements of the ruling king's titulary sat atop the cornice just under the baldachin's arched roof. Both naos and baldachin rested on the bark's upper deck.

In the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Sety I now enclosed the bark's existing naos and baldachin within an elaborate new double canopy structure consisting of a larger outer naos enclosed, in turn, by a second external baldachin.⁵²⁶ Sety's outer baldachin is identical to the older, inner one in having an arched roof fronted by a cornice facade and supported by four colonnettes. Directly beneath it, however, his outer naos, Karlshausen's "*naos externe*," is not a closed chapel like the innermost one. Rather, it is an open kiosk structure identical to pavilions sheltering kings and gods in wall scenes.⁵²⁷ Its closest archeological parallel is surely the outer canopy of Tutankhamun's gilded canopic shrine, which, like Sety's eternal naos, served as a kind of ciborium over the closed internal naos housing Tutankhamun's canopic vessels and the god's cult statue, respectively.⁵²⁸ Unlike other kiosks, however, the lateral faces of Sety's new external naos were subdivided by a horizontal cross-beam upon which rested a veritable rood screen of carved openwork figures that obscured the upper half of the inner naos from view. These openwork panels were arrayed as elaborate hieroglyphic rebus decoration incorporating elements of the king's *prenomen* in a configuration having two winged *Mꜛ.t*-goddesses and a squatting figure of ram-headed Amun inspired by late Eighteenth Dynasty rebus decoration on the veil below.⁵²⁹

Both of Sety's new external structures emerge from the runners of the sledge-shaped palanquin on which the vessel's hull itself rested. In reliefs from his temple at Gurnah, these new structures hid the inner naos and baldachin from view, but in the Great Hypostyle Hall, his sculptors altered their earliest design of this scene to make both partially visible.⁵³⁰ Sety also modified rebus decoration on the veil that partly enshrouds the lower half of the canopy. In the present scene, then, his sculptors made their first attempt at portraying Sety's renovations to the canopy-shrine of Amun's bark, which they subsequently reworked as follows:

- (1) In its initial configuration, rebus decoration on the veil was simpler. Its upper hem was lower, but lacked the double frieze of uraei and lotus petals. Two winged goddesses on the veil were taller, and each was situated closer to its outer edges. Nelson recorded vestiges of their larger sun disks, but missed traces of the left-hand goddess' upraised wing. In the second iteration, artists shifted each goddess closer to the center to permit the insertion of marginal decoration with hieroglyphic motifs behind them. They also recut , shifting him lower and slightly to the left. Palimpsests of his head, chest, knee, and solar disk remain embedded in the final version. He originally possessed a uraeus suspended from his solar disk, but there was no room for it in the compressed space of the final carving.⁵³¹
- (2) Sculptors enlarged the outer contours of the veil's billowing front. Inside, they suppressed a larger rebus of Sety I's *prenomen* consisting of a winged *Mꜛ.t*-goddess kneeling on  and replaced her with a smaller one positioned farther to the left. Her final wingspan was narrower and lower, permitting them to insert a kneeling king wearing the White Crown offering  in the space to her right. Above these figures is a partially carved bandeau of lotus petals. Nelson omitted traces of signs  between the final goddess and kneeling king,⁵³² and he did not record palimpsests of the original goddess that overlap the final design, namely, her curving wings, head, and torso. Her sun disk was twice as large as her successor's disk, but lacked pendant uraei. The kneeling king's forearm is largely missing; presumably the artist carved it in stucco. At its base, a frieze of -rebuses of Sety I's *prenomen* alternating

⁵²⁶ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 70–71 and pl. 12; Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d'Achôris*, p. 83, fig. 5.

⁵²⁷ Cf. e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 39, 40, 49, 52, 70, 72, 79, 158, 192, 200, 220, 227.

⁵²⁸ PM I², pp. 573–74; T. G. H. James, *Tutankhamun* (Vercelli: Friedman/Fairfax, 2000), pp. 100–03. Presumably, this outer naos-canopy was supported by vertical frames having two flat, narrow stanchions joined at the corners in an L-shape as Traunecker's reconstruction suggests. Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d'Achôris*, p. 83, fig. 5; Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pl. 28.

⁵²⁹ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 212–13.

⁵³⁰ None of the seven representations of Amun's bark dating to the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II is identical in the design and iconography of their canopy-shrines, but each has slight differences from the others: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 38, 53, 76, 153, 178, 180, 226. See Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 70–74.

⁵³¹ This uraeus is not indicated in Nelson's sketch, nor by Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pl. 16.

⁵³² Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180.

with nomen cartouches flanked by uraeus-serpents decorates the billow. A row of sun disks crowns each of them. In one of the tiny cartouches, a sculptor attempted to incise Sety I's nomen at this tiny scale; the others are damaged. Note that modeling of the raised relief in this frieze, which was never altered, is higher than reworked elements just above it.

- (3) By raising the veil's upper hem, Sety I's craftsmen had to shift rebus designs on the external naos's exposed upper panel higher. Although they also raised the naos ceiling, figures on this panel are vertically more compressed than the originals. Iconographically, both winged goddesses, squatting Amun, and two kneeling kings are identical to their predecessors. Of the earlier winged goddesses, who stood lower and slightly behind their successors, outlines of each of their solar disks, lower wings, and -sign remain visible, along with the lower fist and -sign of the one facing Amun. Evident, too, are Amun's earlier chest, knee, lotus bloom, and -canal. Finally, an earlier kneeling king's legs and waist are embedded in the lower wing of the goddess on the left. Nelson did not record all of these elements.
- (4) By shifting these elements higher, craftsmen now exposed a portion of the inner naos to view in a narrow triangular space framed by the sloping hem of the veil below with the horizontal crosspiece of the outer naos above. Here, they inserted a frieze of winged goddesses alternating with uraeus-serpents and -scepters.⁵³³
- (5) In its first iteration, only the external naos' wide stanchions framed rebus decoration on the canopy and veil. Later, sculptors inserted two plain colonnettes between these piers and the rebus decoration, representing the poles of the otherwise hidden inner baldachin nested under the external naos. On the canopy's right (aft) side, they left the outer naos' support unaltered, but they inserted a new colonnette in a gap created by shifting the winged goddess on this side farther to the center. A more complex situation arises on the left side. Here, artists made the external naos stanchion thinner to permit insertion of a second colonnette. However, the left side of this new colonnette falls slightly to the left of the original right side of the outer naos support. Because there was a narrow strip of negative space between this naos stanchion and rebus decoration on the canopy and veil, there now appears to be a thin "column," resembling a text divider, to the left of the final naos support. In reality, the workmen filled this void with plaster to give the new colonnette solidity, but this has now fallen away. Sculptors also thickened the left edge of the left outer naos support by building it up in plaster.
- (6) By transferring rebus decoration on the outer naos' upper panel higher, Sety's artisans were forced to compress its ceiling below the cavetto cornice of its roof. They also shifted a torus molding between this ceiling and the cornice and reworked the latter's arched ends, augmenting the right (aft) edge with stucco. While they did not alter the frieze of  rebuses above the cornice, they did rework the outer baldachin's "tent pole" colonnettes and arched roof enclosing the external naos by enlarging them and shifting them higher. First, they made the two supports wider while moving the "tent pole" capital of the forward one higher. As a result, they moved a small cornice and uraeus-cobra wearing a sun disk resting on this capital upward, enlarging them in the process.⁵³⁴ Finally, they raised the forward hump of the baldachin's arched roof slightly. While most of the relief work in this episode is fully carved, the sculptors left hieroglyphic texts in cols. 15–16 and a tall floral bouquet immediately to their left unfinished. Although they defined the upper part of this bouquet in shallow raised relief, its carved outlines fade away below. Likewise, they completed little more than the incised outlines of the hieroglyphs, the first stage in carving bas-relief. Here and there in col. 15, an artist had just begun

⁵³³ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180. See Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, pp. 71, 74, pls. 12–13 and 16. This motif is similar to examples from the late Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly Horemheb's rendition of Amun's bark at Deir el-Bahari: H. Gorski, "La barque d'Amon dans la décoration du temple de Thoutmosis III à Deir el-Bahari," *Mit-*

teilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 46 (1990), pp. 99–112.

⁵³⁴ The original of the Behdetite's name is embedded in the solar disk of this enlarged cobra.

to cut away negative space around some of the signs including the , , and . This process was further advanced at the tops of cols. 15–16, where there is some modeling to the hieroglyphs, although here the bas-relief carving is much shallower than elsewhere in the scene.⁵³⁵

Sadly, large portions of this magnificent scene have long since disappeared, through the loss of veneer slabs, but mostly through destruction wrought by the infiltration of salt-laden moisture, which caused much of the inscribed surface to disintegrate. Thick layers of modern cement already covered the missing relief in Nelson's day.⁵³⁶ Since he made his drawing, more of the relief has gradually worn away, including all of Sety I's profile between his chin and uraeus. Elsewhere, what remains is sometimes marred by quarry damage, namely, at the tops of cols. 7–9, the base of col. 8, Sety's forward arm; on two fans held above Amun's prow, the Behdetite's left wingtip; the central hulls of the barks of both Khonsu and Mut, and the midribs of two priests wearing leopard pelts who escort Amun's bark, including the panther head on the second priest's robe.

Vandals did little malicious damage to the figures, except to the hands of two priests escorting Khonsu's bark and to the heads of their leopard skins. Scratches through the eye of the fan-bearer behind Mut's bark are also malicious. However, damage to the heads of these priests and to others carrying her bark is quarry hacking.

In his drawing, Nelson overlooked some finer ornamentation in this complex scene, namely, double cartouches crowned with solar disks and ostrich plumes on the leopard pelts of two priests escorting Khonsu's bark near their shoulders, pendants on their sashes enclose identical cartouches (which Nelson recorded as plain rectangular boxes), and these attach to the sashes with three clasps taking the form of tiny leopards' heads with intricately carved facial details. On all three barks, individual beads of the *shebyu*-collars on their aegis collars are carved in relief. A minutely incised text runs down the center of Sety's belt apron (see translations, below), and in each of the three versions of his breast, the sculptor carefully indicated his nipple. Markings on the face and hood of a cobra on Amun's prow aegis were also intricately carved along with undulating ridges on its curved ram's horn. In some cases, the sculptor carved the hieroglyphs more ornately than elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, for example, solar rays on  in col. 13.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censing [to his father...] ²Amun-Re [... who makes] ³benefactions,^a the lord of the Two Lands, [MENMA'ATRE...].

Before Amun's Bark: ⁴Wo[rds spoken by Amun...]: "[...] ⁵[...] all for/of ⁶[...] the estate of [A]mun ⁷[...] who does its likeness^d [...] long/joyful ⁸[...] hearts inside it [...] ⁹[...wi]th^f all life, stability, and dominion, and valor against every foreign country without [...]"⁸

By the Vulture: ¹⁰Nek[hbet ...]^h ¹¹[as she gives...] all [...] and all victory against every foreign land, ¹²as she gives all [li]fe, stability, and dominion and [all] health, ¹³as she <gives>ⁱ [li]fe and all joy like Re.

Below the Winged Disk: ¹⁴The Behdetite, great god of variegated plumage as he gives life, stability, dominion, health, valor, and victory like Re.

Before Khonsu's Bark: ¹⁵May the incarnate form of this august god, Khonsu-lord-of-joy,^j proceed in order to rest in the monument of his son, the lord of the Two Lands MENM[A'A]TRE, ¹⁶as he (*Khonsu*) gives to him the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.

Above Khonsu's Bark: ¹⁷Words spoken by ¹⁸Khonsu-¹⁹in-Thebes Neferhotep: "(O) my son ²⁰the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ²¹(I) have given to you life [...]"

Above Mut's Bark: ²²"[...] I/my [...] ^k ²³[(I) have] give[en to you] life and dominion [...]"

Behind the Barks of Khonsu and Mut: ²⁴"[in order to rule]^l all that the sun disk encircles, bequeathing for y[ou] Northern and Southern Egypt, and every foreign land en[closed in your grasp]."

By the King: [...] ^m given [lif]e like Re.

⁵³⁵ In his drawing, Nelson attempted to distinguish these incompletely carved hieroglyphs in these columns by drawing the narrower elements of these signs with double lines, whereas he normally rendered such glyphs with a single line.

⁵³⁶ Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5255.

Behind the King:^a The king, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE-HEKAWASET shall continually appear before his father Amun while giving^o to him [every] foreign country.

On the King’s Belt Apron: [...] all/you to the mansion [...] coming [...] the lord of the Two Lands [...].^p

Notes:

- ^a *ꜥh.wt* likely belonged to a phrase like [*iri*] *ꜥh.wt* “who makes benefactions,” or a similar epithet describing the king.
- ^b Only the head of  remains at the top of col. 4. At its base, Nelson has conflated two separate elements into one “sign.” Instead, there is the bottom of the right text divider and the right end of a flat glyph, perhaps  or .
- ^c So reading [...] *pr* [T]mn.
- ^d Reading [...] *iri mit.t=s* [...]. A rounded trace below the group  is perhaps .
- ^e A trace below  of *hnw=s* is the top of a human arm glyph, perhaps  or . At the bottom of col. 8 we see the tail end and back leg of . This part of the text is afflicted with quarry damage.
- ^f At the top of col. 9 are traces of a flat sign, perhaps . Among the parallels that suggest themselves for restoring the missing text that preceded *m ‘nh dd w’s*, etc., the closest parallel is *GHHK* I.1, pl. 111:4, where the verb *hnm* “endow” is used to describe Amun’s actions on the king’s behalf. The same verb is commonly found in similar divine speeches elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, usually with the phrase *m ‘nh w’s*: cf. *ibid.*, pls. 52:12–15, 53:8, 106:13, 109:2–3, 137:12, 149:9. Alternatively, there could have been a *di.n-(i) n=k* formula, which is attested in Amun’s speech in another bark scene on the north wall: *ibid.*, pl. 178:12–14.
- ^g The sculptor carved the negative particle  at the end of the column but then erased it. His original intent may have been to make a longer text, but lack of space prevented this. After the draftsman laid out  in paint, a sculptor mistakenly carved it before suppressing this otiose phrase. Below, the wall surface is smooth and even, and no further traces remain.
- ^h One sees the top of  and rim of  for *Nhb.t*.
- ⁱ Nelson’s “” in col. 13 was never carved (although one would certainly expect it). Only the base of a tall narrow sign, likely , remains above .
- ^j Nelson’s drawing suggests that there is an erased  between  and  of Khonsu’s name, but it is only a small vertical gash. Neither is there any trace of a suppressed  over , and here the surface is otherwise unblemished.
- ^k For feasible parallels to this text, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53:41–44, 76:28–31, and 180:35–38, of which the first example is closest. Only the top of  is apparent at the top of col. 22. By analogy with the speech of Khonsu above, we might reconstruct this text as [*dd mdw in Mw.t nb.t ‘srw: s’=i [nb t’w Mn-M’c.t-R’...*] “Words spoken by Mut, lady of Isheru: ‘(O) my [beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE,’” etc.
- ^l The sign above *šn* appears to be a seated figure, perhaps  as the determinative for *hk’* “ruler.” So restoring [*r hk’ šn(t) nb itn*, etc. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 171:14–17.
- ^m A box surmounted by a sky-sign enclosed Sety I’s cartouches, which were preceded by either his Horus name or serpent entwined on a pole with a *di ‘nh mi R’* formula below the cartouches. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 76. On the format and significance of such arrangements of royal names, see Speiser, *Les noms du pharaon*, pp. 23–29.
- ⁿ Mistaken by Nelson as a continuation of col. 13.
- ^o Using the progressive tense *hr* + infinitive.
- ^p Although not recorded by Nelson because of its tiny scale, there is an eroded inscription on Sety’s belt apron of which a few legible traces remain: at the top is  followed by  and a tall rectangular sign, perhaps . After this comes  with  tucked behind its head. The next sign is hard to decipher, and there follows a damaged patch. The final legible signs are .

Plate 198

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) III.2.

Location: B 293: North wall, east wing, bottom register, second scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels on a platform composed of a *smꜣ-Tꜣwy* motif while Horus the Behdetite and Thoth purify him with streams of water in the form of hieroglyphic signs for “life.” A vulture shown *en face* soars above (fig. 268).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Flecks of discolored paint adhere to Sety’s broad collar near his neckline. A few small deposits of blue cleave to the large sky-sign above. Thoth’s kilt has bits of yellow while his belt has a painted latticework design, but here the colors have faded beyond recognition.

Observations: Sculptors made minor corrections to all three figures, recutting them as follows: Sety I’s beard, his rear arm at its bicep and the top of its wrist, his belly and lap; and his belt along its top, Thoth’s rear leg at his knee and shin, and the knee, buttocks, and upper thigh of Horus’s rear leg. They also enlarged the base and left side of Horus’ -vase below his fist and reworked his beak, cheek markings, and concave hairline behind his face.

In addition to large gaps in this scene resulting from natural decay of the sandstone caused by the infiltration of salt-laden groundwater along its base, other losses are due to human agency. Later occupants of the Hall may have deliberately removed masonry from the upper left quadrant. They are surely responsible for a round hole in col. 5 adjacent to the vulture’s right wingtip. Iconoclastic vandalism is more desultory, being largely confined to several hieroglyphs, namely, the heads of -cobras in cols. 2 and 10, the head and feet of  (*Gb*) in col. 5, and, oddly,  in col. 14. Smaller holes above Horus’ head and inside his wig seem to be fortuitous, or at least random, for his face is unspoiled. Someone attacked the hovering vulture’s head. Directly above Sety I, gouging to his cartouche may also be malicious

Tool marks left by the masons disfigure the kilts of both deities, and the craftsmen rendered much of their pleating in stucco, although Nelson overlooked some carved pleats on Horus’ garment, nor did he fully capture elaborate latticework patterns on the belts of Horus and Sety. One or more nineteenth-century visitors left graffiti on the body and wings of the hovering vulture: “RD” on its chest, and below this “DIII” and “1857” on the raptor’s abdomen. Further scratchings on both wings are obscure except for the digits “28” on its lower left wing.

Translations:

Ritual Act of Horus: ¹[Words spoken:]^a “King MENMA‘ATRE is twice pure, four times!”

Above Horus: ²Words spoken by the Behdetite: ³⁻⁴“May the king, the lord of the Two Lands, ⁴MENMA‘ATRE, be very pure! He shall continually ⁵appear [upon the throne]^b of Geb, I having purified you, expelling⁶ your impurity,^c and establishing your annals as millions of years.^d Your kingship ⁷is like (that of) Horakhty. Your body is pure, you being very purified before the Great Ennead! ⁸May they set their protection over you^e with all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever!”

Ritual Act of Thoth: ⁹[Words spoken:]^f “The son of [Re], [SETY-MER[EN]AMUN is twice pure, four times!”

Above Thoth: ¹⁰Words spoken by the lord of Hermopolis: ¹¹“May the son of [Re], lord of ap[pearances ¹²SETY-MERENAMUN, be very pure! He [shall continually]^g ¹³appear as dual king [...] ¹⁴the uraeus which is upon your brow^h [...] ¹⁵the Nine Bows. May they cause that [you] might a[pppear ...]ⁱ ¹⁶[...]”

By the Vulture: ¹⁷Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, ¹⁸as she gives all life like Re.

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands [MENMA‘AT]RE [...].^j

Notes:

- ^a Once the position of Horus' extended arm is taken into account, there is only enough room above the gap for one group of tall signs. Traces recorded by Nelson above the group *nsw* in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3169 do not inspire confidence, and the gap has widened since Nelson's day. The formula used here does not correspond to other purification scenes in the Hall (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 48:1; 51:11; 105:1, 8; 148:5, 10). Among the more plausible restorations might be *ḏd mdw* "words spoken" (cf. *ibid.*, pl. 51:11, *ḏd mdw sp 4* "words spoken four times," where it was not necessary to name the speaker). Note that the phrase *sp 4* "four times" occurs at the bottom of this column. Alternatively, one might restore a royal title like *nb t3.wy* "lord of the Two Lands," or similar.
- ^b So restoring *wnn=f ḥ'w [ḥr ns.t] Gb* or similar. Above the gap we see the head of . So compare col. 13 and, inter alia, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 189:4, 193:15, and 197: text behind the king.
- ^c Reading *dr sḏb.w*. See *Wb.* IV, p. 382:13. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 149, has "Ich vertreibe dienen Schmutz." For the meaning of the phrase *dr sḏb.w* in a similar context, see Pascal Vernus "Un décret de Thoutmosis III relatif à la santé publique (P. Berlin 3049, v° XVIII-XIX)," *Orientalia* 48 (1979), pp. 179–80, with note g, where it means "to remove impurities" in the contexts of the king's actions to improve the health at all levels of society. I am grateful to Ronald Leprohon for this reference.
- ^d Both *dr* and *smn* are circumstantial *sḏm=f* forms after *sḏm.n=f* (i.e., the verb *sw'b*) expressing prior action in the past with a 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun.
- ^e Cf. a similar locution from Luxor temple, *stp=sn n=k s3=sn* "they set for you their protection." Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 18 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 63:14. Again, thanks go to Ronald Leprohon for this reference. Note also that  is only lightly engraved, and the sculptors appears to have partly erased it.
- ^f See note a, above.
- ^g Reading *[wn]n=f*. See cols. 4–5.
- ^h Literally, "the uraeus which is in [your] brow." Above the gap, a definite trace of the upper right corner of  remains.
- ⁱ The broad curve below *di=sn* is too wide for a round sign such as the top of  or  but is consistent with the expansive arch of  in col. 13. This passage certainly does not refer to the Nine Bows, but rather to the gods — perhaps the Ennead as in col. 7.
- ^j There was probably a *nomen* cartouche preceded by the title *nb ḥ'w* to the left of the *prenom* over the king's head.

Plate 199

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) III.3. Falcon and text, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 48.

Location: B 294: North wall, east wing, bottom register, third scene from the west.

Subject: Monthu and Atum lead Sety I into the temple while Hathor stands before them performing the *nyny*-ritual. The Behdetite flies above the king as a falcon (figs. 209, 332, 254, 276).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Bands of light and dark paint indicate Atum's collar. A bracelet on Hathor's upper arm, next to her breast, consists of alternating stripes of light and dark pigment with horizontal borders at its top and bottom. None of these colors is now discernible.

Observations: Sculptors retouched much of Atum's head, namely, his profile; eye and eyebrow; nostril; the visor, front, and top of his White Crown; and the upright of his Red Crown. They shifted his eye higher and to the right slightly, but Nelson misinterpreted this adjustment and erroneously recorded an "iris." Further modifications to this deity abound: his beard, the front of his rear leg from the knee to the ankle, his tail, his rear arm on the left side from his elbow to his bicep, his right forearm above the wrist, the left side of his torso from his armpit to the small of his back, and his artificial tail.

Cosmetic adjustments to the king's effigy include the underside of his forward arm from his armpit to his wrist and his profile from the brow to the tip of his nose. Like Atum, the engraver shifted Sety's eye upward and to the right. A pair of streamers dangling behind his shoulder and two sashes that emerge from his belt buckle and fall to the right of his apron are only lightly engraved. It is likely the craftsmen inserted them as afterthoughts. They also enlarged Monthu's beak, and they moved his shoulder and his right wig lappet slightly to the left. Finally, they enlarged the jackal on the tall standard.⁵³⁷ Engraved remnants of its undulating body persist below the final iteration. The top of its platform and the lower back of the left uraeus were also recut.

Erosion caused by infiltration of salt-laden moisture has destroyed much of the lowest sections of this relief. An undecorated replacement block, perhaps dating to Greco-Roman repairs, attests to the severity of this problem, even in antiquity. Similar decay, albeit less severe, afflicts Hathor's image and her accompanying text.

Later occupants of the building excavated a number of holes: in the falcon's advancing wing, through Hathor's sun disk, and in cols. 2 (through Monthu's name) and 4 (the right half of  below ). Larger, but more shallow hollows — above Monthu's left plume and in cols. 10–12 — seem intentional, but are not deep enough for the insertion of roof beams or poles.⁵³⁸ Iconoclasts defaced some of the avian hieroglyphs: the head and neck of  (*Gb*) in col. 8, the neck of  (*sʿ*) in col. 5, and the upper body of  in col. 4. Otherwise, spalling, fracturing, and other wear and tear, especially at the right end of the scene, appear to be natural.

Translations:

Label: ¹[Coming in and going out]: inducting [the king]^a into the temple of hi[s] father [Amun-Re].^b

By Monthu: ²Words spoken by Monthu lord of The[bes]: "[³(O) my son]^c ³my beloved, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, come ⁴ye to the temple to see your august father the lo[rd of the g[od]s Amun-Re who caus[es that you...] appear."^d

By Atum: ⁵Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: "[⁶(O) my son, my beloved, the lord of the Two Lands ⁶MENMA'ATRE-HEKAWASET, proceed with (me)^e to the great mansion^f that <you>^g might see ⁷your father, the lord of the gods that he might give to you eternity as^h king of the Two Lands; eternity ⁸as ruler of joy; the throne of Geb; the office of Khepri; and the lifetime of Re in heaven."ⁱ

⁵³⁷ Carlotti and Martinez insist that the alteration of Wepwawet's image cannot have been made for aesthetic reasons; instead they take it as evidence of their dubious theory that the earliest reliefs on this wall date to the late Eighteenth Dynasty: "Un 'château de millions d'années,'" p. 122.

⁵³⁸ See Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3169. These are now filled with cement.

By the Jackal-standard: ⁹Wepwawet, [of Southern Egypt], the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all l[ife], st[ability] and dominion, all he[al]th, all valor and [... every foreign country]^j gathered under your sandals (and) [your arm] not being opposed [...]^k

By Hathor: ¹⁰Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Dend[era residing in Deir el-Bah]ari:^l “Come in peace (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom Re has loved, lord of appearances [SETY]-MERENAMUN, [...] ye^m Amun [...my two arms are in] ¹¹nyny-greetingⁿ through love of you, as (I) rejoice^o at seeing your perfection. Come ye^p to the great place that y[ou] might see your father [A]mun [...], ¹²the ornament being established upon your forehead (and) so that he might give to you his office, his seat, his throne and a lifetime existing [...] ¹³you having gone forth before him in order to do what pleases ¹⁴his ka as a reward for this durable monument.”^q

By the Falcon: ¹⁵The Behdetite, the <great> god of variegated plumage,^r ¹⁶as he gives life and dominion, [all]^s health and all joy like Re.

By the King: ¹⁷(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ¹⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE-HEKAWASET,¹⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ²⁰the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen.

Notes:

- ^a Elsewhere in the Hall, the formula is usually *ḳ prt bs nsw*, written  or similar. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 50:1, 78:1, and 149:1; although it can be abbreviated to *bs-nsw*, cf. *ibid.*, pl. 137:1. Unless the draftsmen left a deliberate gap between the beginning of this column and the end of col. 4, above, there is probably just enough room to squeeze the complete formula into the available space.
- ^b Restoring *it=f[’Imn-R’]*.
- ^c Restoring [*s’=i*] by analogy with Atum’s speech in col. 5.
- ^d So restoring *di=f tw ...*. The grammar of *di* is ambiguous, although a relative form seems the best solution. Alternatively, it could be taken as a circumstantial “as he causes,” an indicative (perfective) “he has caused,” or even a prospective “that he might cause.” A 2nd pers. sing. dep. pronoun seems to be demanded by the context and by the size of the gap which is too large for *di=f* alone. The next phrase is probably to be restored as *h’i=[k]* as a prospective *sḏm=f* after causative *rdi*. Nelson’s reading of two -signs, however, does not inspire confidence. His sign on the right does not suit the actual traces and would, moreover, be a highly unorthodox writing of *h’i*. It more closely resembles , although it is worn, especially on the bottom. Below this group, one would expect , and this would fit the available space.
- ^e Reading *ḥn’=(i)*. The bottom of  is preserved, but the 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun is omitted.
- ^f Reading *ḥw.t-’t* “great mansion.” Bisecting  is an , but its hand is on the left side and its upper arm is absent.
- ^g Here the text is certainly elliptical. One might restore *m’=<k>* “that you might see,” or perhaps *<r> m’=<’>* “in order to see.” However, there is no room at the top of col. 7 to accommodate .
- ^h Nearly all traces of  that Nelson observed are now lost due to widening of the gap.
- ⁱ Reading *ḥ’w n R’ m p.t*.
- ^j There is enough room for two or two and a half tall groups here. A small trace midway in the broken area between *ḳn.t nb* and *[d]md* was not round on the bottom as Nelson drew it, although it might have been the middle peak of , presumably modified by , thus *h’i.s.t nb* “every foreign country.” Unfortunately, this fragment has now vanished. Given the length of the gap, there may have been another word or phrase before *h’i.s.t nb dmd*, perhaps *nḥt nb* “all victory,” but with a highly abbreviated writing. There is insufficient space for anything longer.
- ^k So restoring *n ḥsf[’=k]*. See glossary s.v. *ḥsf*.
- ^l So reading *nb.t ’w[nt ḥr.t-ib ḏs]rt*. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 4:8. A trace of  persists below the gap.
- ^m Traces on the wall do not support Nelson’s reading, which seems to have been *’p.t-sw.t* “Karnak.” What is left appears, instead, to be the right side of an arm determinative,  or . Directly above it is a small eroded glyph, which might be or . After a short gap, traces might suggest the particle *ir=k* by analogy with cols. 3–4 (*my ir=k r ḥw.t-nṯr*), 6 (*wḏ’ r=k ḥn’=(i)*); and 11 (*my [r]k*). Nelson’s small round trace just above

the gap is dubious, as is Sharkawy's restoration (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 151, nn. 192–93): [...] *ʾIp.t-sw.t* [...] *n it=k*. “[...] Karnak [...] to your father.”

- ⁿ Perhaps restoring [ʿwy=(i) m] at the bottom of col. 10. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 111:9–10, 179:6. Alternatively, one might restore [*ir*=(i) *nyny*] “I make *nyny*-greeting,” *ibid.*, pl. 111:12. The *nyny*-ritual may be a divine enactment of the practice of aspersing water on the ground to suppress dust. In Egypt today, this is done by splashing water with a rapid movement of the arms to distribute a spray evenly on the ground. Bespattering the ground with water to settle dust would have been a suitable act of greeting ahead of the king's entry into the temple. Gardiner, however, rejected the notion that *nyny* refers to sprinkling of water, instead regarding it as a graphic pun of the determinative for *iʿi* “to wash.” See Alan H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Haremhab,” *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 19, n. mm; rejecting *Wb.* II, p. 203, “Begrüßung durch Wassersprengung.”
- ^o So reading *hʿ=(i)* as a circumstantial *sdm=f* with an unwritten 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun (=i). See glossary s.v. *hʿi*. I am grateful to Brett McClain for examining the wall and confirming this reading.
- ^p Reading *my* [r]k.
- ^q So *m ḥsw mnw pn rwd*: *Wb.* III, p. 158:2. Nelson's *sic* indicates that he thought should be read as an incomplete ligature of *hn.t* “in front of.”
- ^r Due to a lack of space or through confusion of a hieratic original, the scribe has made an ellipsis of *ntr* “the great god,” and compounded his error by writing in place of .
- ^s A bare trace of remains.

Plate 200

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) III.4.

Location: B 295: North wall, east wing, bottom register, fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Inside a canopy-shrine, Sety I kneels to receive jubilees, life, and dominion from Amun-Re. Mut stands behind him extending one arm protectively toward his crown while the other clutches a year-staff. Khonsu stands behind Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Whitewash persists sporadically in the upper half of the scene. Otherwise, what little color survives is limited to the right end of the scene and to a few hieroglyphs.⁵³⁹ On the shrine's cavetto cornice — immediately below a cobra frieze — narrow vertical stripes of decayed pigment remain from above col. 3 to the right end. Behind Khonsu, the outer baldachin's rear support pole (absent from Nelson's drawing) has alternating squares of lighter and darker pigment (see observations below).⁵⁴⁰

Observations: Seams between the blocks are mostly even and narrow — except for the horizontal joint above the deities' heads — and the wall surface is generally well dressed and free of blemishes. In the frieze of uraei atop the shrine, however, ancient masons were careless in placing and dressing two rough-hewn blocks from the quarry, leaving gaps in their upper left corners, which they plugged with copious amounts of plaster. Ancient sculptors made a few cosmetic modifications to their initial work, retouching Sety I's figure at his belly, lower back, the bicep of his arm holding a scepter, and the top of his belt. Elsewhere, they retouched Khonsu's crescent moon and the rump of Mut's vulture cap. Note that they carved Mut's shoulder strap, upper hem of her dress, and front of her vulture crown's wing, although Nelson's records them as dotted lines wrongly implying that they are only painted. He also failed to draw the rear “tent pole” colonnette supporting the baldachin roof.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ For color in the hieroglyphs, see *Appendix A*.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. the canopy pole enclosing Amun-Re's processional bark in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178, with our commentary above. In this example, alternating squares of red and blue occur framed by a lighter color. For color parallels, see *Medinet Habu* IV, pls. 208, 235.

⁵⁴¹ Compare similar double canopy-shrines elsewhere in the Great Hypostyle Hall housing deities or Amun's sacred bark. These have an inner kiosk nested within an outer baldachin: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 39–40, 52, 76, 178.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “(O) my son [of] (my) body ²my beloved, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, my heart is joyful ³at seeing your monument, and I rejoice through love of [you],^a (I) having appointed ⁴you^b to be lord of Egypt in order to be king and chieftain of the Nine Bows even as (I) establish ⁵[for] you^c the diadems upon your head and the ornament of Re^d upon [your] brow.”

By *Khonsu*: ⁶Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: ⁷“(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries. ⁸(I) have [given] to you joy and health.”

By *Mut*: ⁹Words spoken by Mut, lady of Isheru: ¹⁰“(O) (my) beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE (I) establish for you ¹¹the diadems upon your head in the likeness of [your] father [R]e. ¹²(I) have established for you the flat lands ¹³being pacified and every hill country ¹⁴under your sandals.”

Behind Mut: Protection, life, stability, dominion, and health.

By *the King*:⁵⁴² ¹⁵The lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁹the dual king MENMA‘ATRE-HEKAWASET, [given life] like Re.

Notes:

^a So *n mr[w.t=k]*. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178:5.

^b Definite traces of  remain: *rdi.n=(i) tw r nb Km.t*.

^c Reading *smn=(i) [n]=k ḥ‘w ḥr tp=k*. There is room for  in the gap at the top of col. 5.

^d So *ḥkr n R‘ ḥr wp.t=[k]*. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 152, has only “und den Schmuck an [deinen] Scheitel.”

Plate 201

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) III.5.

Location: B 296–97: North wall, east wing, bottom register, fifth (and final) scene from the west.

Subject: Fifteen members of the Great Ennead of Thebes sit enthroned witnessing the coronation of the king depicted in the previous scene. Below them, a doorway leads via a staircase to the top of the north wall.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint:⁵⁴³ Sheltered in a corner where the north and east walls meet, much ancient paint survives, especially in the upper register of gods. Likewise, gesso wash on which the colors were applied is also well preserved. At the extreme right, a vertical ribbon border has green frames with alternating blue, pale yellow, green, and red sections between. Elsewhere, blue is the best preserved color, especially on the large sky-sign in the upper right corner over cols. 11–14 and on a smaller one above cols. 18–30. Although no tincture remains on Monthu’s figure, polychrome on Atum, Shu, and Tefnut is largely intact. All three have blue wigs and bracelets, white garments, and broad collars with alternating rings of blue and green. Shu and Atum’s necklaces have an outer fringe of blue teardrop-shaped beads. Their flesh is red, while Tefnut’s is yellow. All three sit on thrones painted with horizontal stripes of red and green interspersed with blue ones, while the squares in their lower rear corners are red. They rest on a green rushwork mat bound with yellow lashings under Shu’s feet and Tefnut’s throne. Below the lower sky-sign, little more than faded whitewash remains, although Geb and Osiris have faint stripes on their thrones, while flecks of green adhere to the mat beneath Osiris’ feet.

Observations: Scattered remnants of quarry marks and the joints between blocks necessitated plaster caulking, being most apparent in vertical and horizontal block joints on the upper register, including a blob in the sky-sign above Tefnut’s head. Most severe are large patches of dense tool marks obscuring the heads and torsos

⁵⁴² Nelson has reversed the usual numbering sequence of the cartouches.

⁵⁴³ For color in the hieroglyphs, see *Appendix A*.

of Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys, while lighter hacking mars those of Geb and Nut. The gaps between blocks are in reality much narrower than Nelson records, since he traced the edges of the quarry damage. Except for minor corrections to Hathor's back and wig, recutting is absent. Ancient iconoclasts effaced  in col. 24 by slicing the raised relief off, yet they left a faint outline of the sign. Similar treatment was meted out to  in Sety I's *nomen* cartouches in col. 27 and on the lower register of the door lintel. Relief on the bottom register and adjacent doorway has quite eroded, although the masonry remains mostly intact, except the bottom of the lintel. In late antiquity the left doorjamb was replaced with new, undecorated masonry. Erosion and a crust of decayed plaster impregnated with insoluble salts obscure these deities and right jamb of the gateway, however, Nelson recorded most such damage as if the stonework was lost. Below these gods is a typical dado motif.

Translations:

By Members of the Ennead: ¹Monthu, ²lord of Thebes, ³lord of heaven ⁴as he gives all life and all valor to the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, given life like Re.^a ⁵Atum, ⁶lord of the Two Lands, ⁷the Heliopolitan, ⁸as he gives all life and all joy to the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.^a ⁹Shu, ¹⁰the son of Re, ¹¹lord of heaven ¹²as he gives all life and all health to the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, given life like Re.^a ¹³Tefnut, ¹⁴lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands ¹⁵as she gives all life and all joy to the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.^a ¹⁶Geb, ¹⁷the lord of heaven, and ¹⁸Nut ¹⁹as they give all life and dominion [to the son of Re] Lor[d of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN] ²⁰Osiris, ²¹the lord of heaven, and ²²Isis ²³as they give all he[al]th to^b the good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE. ²⁴Seth, ²⁵the great god, ²⁶and Nephthys ²⁷as they give [...] to the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUN. ²⁸Horus ²⁹and Hathor, ³⁰mistress of the Two Lands, ³¹as they give all [...] to the good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE. ³²S[obek...], ³³[Tjenedet], and ³⁴[Yunyt...]^c ³⁵as they give [all] life and domin[ion to ...] MENMA'ATRE.

On the Doorway:

By the Winged Disk: ³⁶The Behdetite.

Parallel Inscriptions on the Door Lintel: ³⁷(Upper left) (Long) live the dual king MENMA'ATRE-[IW'A]RE beloved of [Mut]. (Upper right) (Long) live the dual king MENMA'ATRE-IW'ARE [beloved] of Amun-Re. ³⁸(Lower left) [(Long) live the the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN beloved of Month]u. (Lower right) [(Long) live the son of Re] SETY-[MERENA]MUN beloved of Atum.

Western Jamb: [...].

Eastern Jamb: (Left) [... the dual] king [MENMA'ATRE the son of Re SET]Y-[MER]EN[AMU]N [...].^d ³⁹(Right) The son of A[mu]n, the dual king MENMA'ATRE, [the son of Re] [SET]Y-[MERENAMUN...]^e

Notes:

- ^a The phrase *mi R'* at the base of cols. 8 and 15 is obviously carried over from *di 'nh* in cols. 4 and 12. The entire phrase should be read at the base of each column.
- ^b Nelson copied a rectangular shape before *ntr nfr* consisting of two lightly incised lines, but he overlooked raised traces of . The sculptors carved this part of the text in plaster they had used to ameliorate a large zone of quarry marks farther to the right. These lines sometimes appear above and below the waves of -signs (at the top of this column and elsewhere in the Great Hypostyle Hall) and seem to be incidental artifacts of the procedure for carving this glyph in raised relief.
- ^c There are three deities on this register, and one would expect Tjenedet and Yunyt to accompany Sobek as they do elsewhere in the Hall, both in the Theban Ennead (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 36, cols. 37 and 40–41; pl. 52, cols. 40–42) and as a triad (*ibid.*, pl. 140). Less certain is the arrangement of their names and epithets as there is room for four or five columns to the right of col. 35.
- ^d Nelson overlooked several traces in this column, including  of *nsw-bi.ty*, adjacent to the same title in col. 39, and  of *Imn* and  from Sety's *nomen*. Ancient iconoclasts defaced .
- ^e Below the *prenomen*, only  of Sety's *nomen* survive.

North Wall, Gateway (Plan 12, Plates 182–87)

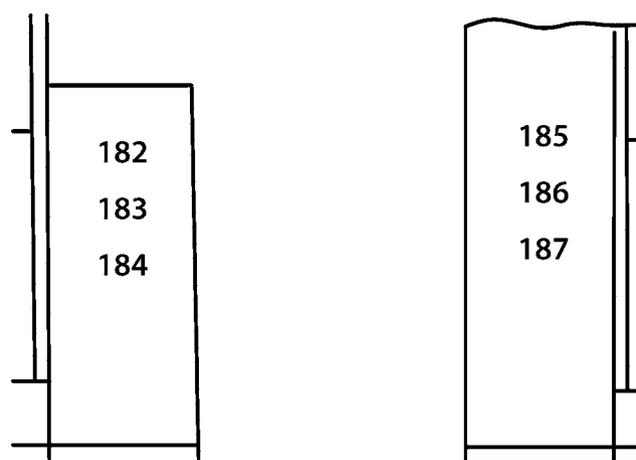
Scenes from the interior, exterior, and passageway of the north gateway formed a single decorative unit. Sety I carved all of them in bas-relief, including those on its exterior facade.⁵⁴⁴ In their original state, the interior surfaces closely resembled those on the south gateway in having three levels of cultic scenes on the jambs surmounted by a lintel with twin episodes showing the king running a ritual course before Amun and a second deity.⁵⁴⁵ At its top this lintel was flush with the second register (from the top) of scenes on the main wings of the north wall, all of which were crowned by a shorter register of scenes in which Sety I knelt before enthroned gods.⁵⁴⁶

Only the two lowest registers of the interior jambs, along with a fragment of the highest one on the east side, now remain *in situ*. Unfortunately we have not identified further blocks from the jambs among dozens from the north wall lying in the yards near the Hall. Our colleague Janusz Karkowski has reconstructed a pair of scenes on the lintel from nine fragments.⁵⁴⁷ As on the south gateway's lintel (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 54, 58), these scenes are mirror images in which Sety runs with $\bar{\text{V}}$ -vases before enthroned Amun-Re behind whom stands Mut (west) and Khonsu (east). On the west side, Sety dons the Red Crown and runs with a bull calf. Both scenes have minor cosmetic recutting to (west) Sety's legs, rear foot, and crown, and Amun's crown, as well as (east) to Amun's crown and Khonsu's leg, forehead, sidelock, and uraeus.

Sety I inserted marginal texts beneath the lowest scenes on the interior and exterior jambs and on the outer thicknesses, all giving the name of the gateway and with it that of the Hypostyle Hall itself.⁵⁴⁸ In all of these, Sety's *nomen* has the epithet *mr-n 'Imn* "Beloved of Amun," as it does in most of his *nomen* cartouches inside the Hypostyle Hall and in his war scenes on the north exterior wall.⁵⁴⁹

In scenes from the interior jambs, however, Sety I's *nomen* epithet is *mr-n-Pth* "Beloved of Ptah," the standard one he used throughout Egypt, but which rarely appears in the Great Hypostyle Hall.⁵⁵⁰ Its inclusion here might be explained by the north gateway's situation on a processional route leading to the small temple of Ptah, which lies to the north of the Hall at the northern edge of the main precinct wall of Karnak. On the exterior jambs, the situation is less clear, in part because Ramesses II's conversion of this decoration into sunken relief and his usurpation of the cartouches left few readable traces of Sety's originals. It appears, however, that both forms of the *nomen* alternated.⁵⁵¹ Perhaps Sety originally intended them to alternate here and elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall before he abandoned the idea.⁵⁵²

Much of the original masonry from the passageway through the north gateway has vanished, but in addition to scenes on the outer door reveals copied by the Epigraphic Survey, decoration on the interior east door reveals has escaped destruction, but was not recorded by Nelson.⁵⁵³ These fragmentary scenes are nevertheless interesting



Plan 12. Diagram of the north gateway showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

⁵⁴⁴ Ramesses later usurped Sety's cartouches on the exterior facade and door reveals, converting Sety's bas-relief on the outer jambs and lintel to sunk relief in the process. See *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 66–76, and pls. 19–21.

⁵⁴⁵ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 54–61, 259.

⁵⁴⁶ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 81–86, 259.

⁵⁴⁷ Brand et al., *Cahier de Karnak* XIV, fig. 39.

⁵⁴⁸ Interior jambs: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 184 and 187; exterior jambs: *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 19; outer thickness: *ibid.*, pl. 20.

⁵⁴⁹ Although Ramesses II later usurped his cartouches on the exterior jambs and thicknesses, traces of Sety's names often shine through.

⁵⁵⁰ So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 184, 187, and in a few isolated cases on the east wall, pls. 203, 206, 209, 217, 221.

⁵⁵¹ So *mr-n-Pth* on the middle west jamb (*Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 19E) and *mr-n-Imn* on the lower west jamb (*ibid.*, pl. 19F) and middle west thickness (*ibid.*, pl. 20D). On the rest, no trace of Sety's *nomen* epithet remains.

⁵⁵² I am grateful to my doctoral student Erika Feleg for making this suggestion.

⁵⁵³ Nor was its existence noted in Nelson's *Key Plans*, pl. X, or *PM II*², p. 49 (162). These reliefs will be published in a future volume dedicated to the gateways of the Hypostyle Hall.

in their own right for the light they shed on Sety I's earliest relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall. At the base of the east thickness, the dado begins 140 cm above ground level and consists of three thin and two thick horizontal bands in raised relief. Above this are traces of three registers of scenes in raised relief:

Bottom: A frieze of Nile gods bearing trays of offerings face south toward the inside of the Hall. Ramesses II usurped the cartouches in formulaic texts accompanying the figures.

Middle: The king censens with an incense wand and pours a libation from an -shaped vessel onto an offering stand before Amun-Re, who is enthroned within a shrine. A vulture hovers above the king. Much of the upper part of the scene is lost, including all distinctive traces of the king's titulary except for his Horus name. The epithet *mry-M3'.t* in sunk relief indicates that Ramesses II also usurped this scene.

Top: All that remains is a king's rear leg, his triangular kilt, his belly, and an isolated fragment with a male deity's fist holding an  and beside it part of his thigh and tail.

As pitiful as these vestiges might seem, they do contribute further to our understanding of how the draftsmen and sculptors who designed and executed the earliest decoration in the Hypostyle Hall worked. Here, they sculpted it in high relief and applied a level of carved embellishment that is more characteristic of Sety I's work in his Abydos temple than of most of his other reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall. In the best-preserved scene, they laboriously carved pleating on Sety's long gown, and they portrayed his sandaled rear foot with all his toes. More unusually, they carved Amun's wrist bracelets and armband with horizontal and vertical stripes to show their inlays.⁵⁵⁴

As with a few scenes on the interior and exterior jambs, the artists have recut Sety's effigy to change the king's posture from an erect to a bowing stance.⁵⁵⁵ In the lower rear corner of the throne, the usual square has two miniature Nile gods performing the *sm3-t3.wy*-ritual in fine bas-relief while the platform supporting the shrine has a minutely carved border with an interior frieze of -hieroglyphs. No less exquisite are the frieze of Nile gods at the base of the wall. Their wigs have individual striations, and their broad collars have concentric bands carved in relief with an outer band of teardrop-shaped beads framed at the bottom with an additional thin band.

It is clear that Sety I's craftsmen intended for the reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall to be as ornate as those in his Abydos temple. The effort required to achieve this goal and the relatively coarse grain of the sandstone medium they had to work with soon convinced them to scale back their ambitions. Although they continued to embellish the scenes at ground level on the north, east, and west walls with a greater amount of carved ornamentation, this was less than what they achieved on the east interior door reveal. A further indication that this reveal was perhaps the first decoration to be carved for Sety after the clerestory is the anomalous presence of Nile gods at the base of the walls. These are quite common on the dados in the inner and outer hypostyles of Sety I's Abydos temple, but are not found elsewhere in the Karnak Hypostyle. The presence of erased Nile god figures at the base of the walls in the Amun chapel of Sety I's Gurnah temple was recently discovered by Philippe Martinez.⁵⁵⁶ Although he claims they are evidence of an Eighteenth Dynasty origin for the temple, it is more likely that they, too, reflect an early design change in Sety's earliest decoration in his Gurnah temple.⁵⁵⁷

A further indication that Sety I's artisans began their decoration of the north part of the Hypostyle Hall on this gateway is the fact that they often recut the king to shift his pose from an upright one to a bowing stance. As discussed elsewhere, the piers between the window grilles on the clerestory have a mix of upright (north) and bowing (south) figures of the king.⁵⁵⁸ A similar dichotomy seems to have prevailed in the earliest decoration of

⁵⁵⁴ So too with Amun-Kamutef's figure just around the corner on the east interior doorjamb: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 186.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 77–78; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 201–06; commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 187, below.

⁵⁵⁶ Philippe Martinez, "Par des portails anépigraques: un réexamen des développements architecturaux du début de l'époque ramesside à Thèbes Ouest," *Chronique d'Égypte* 83 (2008), pp. 41–74; idem, "Seti I and the Ghosts of What Had Been," *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 18 (2007), pp. 36–46.

⁵⁵⁷ My own examination of the erased reliefs in the main chapels of Gurnah temple suggests that they were never completed, and not merely erased. Other palimpsest reliefs he notes in the cha-

pels of Amun and Khonsu also reflect early revisions of Sety I's decorative program and not erased Eighteenth Dynasty. Most definitively, I found traces of Sety's *nomen* and Horus name on the frames of the gateway leading from the Amun chapel into the four-pillared hall behind it: PM II², p. 414 (74a–b); Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 224 and 226. Finally, I also observed numerous examples of cosmetic recutting of the figures, especially the kings, in some of the reliefs in the main chapels and the suite of rooms behind them, which had escaped my notice when I wrote my doctoral work on Sety's monuments (see Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 235–36).

⁵⁵⁸ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 201–02. See above, *Chapter 2*, §2.1.7.

the north gateway.⁵⁵⁹ Certainly, the sculptors reworked the king's pose in a high proportion of the scenes on the gateway to make the king's posture more stooped. All this suggests that Sety I's original intention was to have a mix of upright and bowing figures of himself in ritual scenes on the walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall as there was, indeed, on the piers of the clerestory roof inside the central nave.⁵⁶⁰

Plate 183

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162a) I.

Location: B 280a: North wall, central gateway, west jamb, uppermost *in situ* ("middle") register.

Subject: Sety I, his figure now largely destroyed, offers bunches of lettuce to Amun-Kamutef and Isis while a raptor soars above him.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Isis has flecks of blue on her wig, bands of discolored pigment on her broad collar, and indistinct traces on her dress that appear to be green. On the flabellum behind Amun-Re, faint lines arranged in a herringbone pattern define some of its individual feathers.

Observations: Masonry that bore the entire right side of the scene has vanished, taking most of Sety I's figure with it. Of the raptor hovering above him — apparently a vulture — one sees merely the blade-like tips of its wing feathers⁵⁶¹ and its hooked beak (which Nelson omitted). A rounded shape in front of Amun's crown is the tip of a lettuce plant that Sety offers to him.⁵⁶² A large gap in front of Amun-Re's chest stems from a lost patchstone. Shade in Nelson's drawing along the god's shoulder, upper arm, and the terminals of his flail denotes hacking left from the quarry that masons had covered with plaster.

As in other scenes on the north gateway, Sety I's craftsmen recut his image, cosmetically modifying the arch, heel, and ankle of his foot and his calf muscle. It is likely that Sety once stood more erect, but he now has more stooped posture. Less radical were a few adjustments the sculptors made to both divine figures. They enlarged Mut's wig and extending its lappet (twice) and the back (once). Additionally, they recut her ear, her hairline above her eyebrows, the armpit and bicep of her rear arm, her breast, the lower hem of her dress, both of her ankles, and the heel and arch of her rear foot. Changes to Amun-Re's figure occur at his wrist, forearm, thumb, the top of his helmet-crown, and the division between his plumes at their root. Behind him, artists made the doorway of the shrine holding his fetishes wider on both sides, and they adjusted its cavetto cornice and torus molding on the left side.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, ²who is upon ³the^a great seat.

By Isis: ⁴Isis the great, ⁵lady of heaven: ⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you eternity with life and dominion."

By the King: ⁷The good god MENMA'ATRE, ⁸the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH,^b given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The suffix  was presumably omitted because of lack of space.

^b The *nomen* epithet *mr-n-Pth* in scenes on this gateway occurs in place of *mr-n-Imn* because the gateway lies on a processional route leading to Ptah's Karnak sanctuary situated to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

⁵⁵⁹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 202–05.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, figs. 95–97.

⁵⁶¹ Nelson did not record the vulture's beak. It was posed with scissored wings: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 42, 44, 45, 128, 203, 205, 255.

⁵⁶² Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 237.

Plate 184

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162a) II.

Location: B 280b–d: North wall, central gateway, west jamb, bottom register.

Subject: Sety I (figure largely destroyed) offers a bouquet to Amun-Re and Mut. A damaged bandeau text underneath the scene bears the name of the gateway and of the Hypostyle Hall itself compounded with Sety's royal names. Below this, Ramesses IV added a frieze of large vertical cartouches topped by ostrich plumes and sun disks.

Type of Relief: Raised, except for Ramesses IV's cartouche frieze, which is sunken.

Paint: None is preserved, although paint scars indicate the design of both deities' broad collars.

Observations: This episode bears witness to Sety I's ambitious plans to decorate the Great Hypostyle Hall in a style of bold raised relief that was to be embellished with finely carved ornamentations akin to decoration in his Abydos temple. His sculptors quickly abandoned this second goal before completing their work on the north gateway, but not before they had carved the plaiting on Mut's wig and feathering on her vulture crown. They had also partially engraved the openwork design on Amun's rear plume,⁵⁶³ although Nelson overlooked this and did not capture modeling on Sety's *khepresh*-crown.

In contrast to other scenes on the north gateway, here there is little recutting to Sety I's figure except for the top of his crown. Thus it is likely his effigy was always shown bowing in this scene. Cosmetic reworking of the divine figures is limited to Mut's ankles and heel, which were recut twice, as well as the earflap of her vulture cap, the front of Amun's helmet-crown, the ribbon dangling behind it, and his earlobe.

Chisel gouges from quarry work afflict Amun-Re's kilt and Sety's face and crown. Small cavities that pockmark the surface between Amun's torso and his advancing arm may be related to natural decay of the sandstone. Abrasion that obscures parts of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, especially in cols. 6 and 9, is mostly fortuitous, but iconoclasts deliberately hacked out  in both of Sety I's *nomen* cartouches.

Although the entire right edge of the scene is now missing, much of the gap below and to the left of the king's head in Nelson's drawing is occupied by undecorated replacement masonry with which restorers have shored up the wall. These blocks are partially smoothed, and one has a pilgrim's groove indicating that these repairs are not recent, but no attempt was made to re-create any part of the original decoration.⁵⁶⁴ Other gaps in the scene resulted from erosion of carved surfaces (e.g., at the level of Mut's thigh and wrist) and from some widening of the gaps between blocks where their edges have worn away.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re [lord] of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²Words spoken: "(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands. ³(I) have given to you^a victory [...]."

By Mut: ⁴[M]ut, [lad]y of heaven: ⁵[Wor]ds [spok]en: "(I) have given to you all joy like Re. ⁶[(I) have given to] you^a the Black Land and the Red Lan[d gathered together under] your [san]dals."^b

Behind Mut: Protection, life, stability, and dominion [surrounds her like Re].^c

By the King: ⁷The good god MENMA'ATRE, ⁸the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH,^d given life like Re.

Below the Main Scene:

Name of the Gateway: ⁹[The great gateway (called): "the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re], lord of appearances [SET]Y-[M]ERENAMUN is beneficial in the estate of Amun,"^e given life like Re.

Cartouche Frieze of Ramesses IV: (*nomen* cartouches) RA[MESSES]-MERAMUN-[HEKAMAAT]. (*Prenomen* cartouches) USERMAATRE-[SETEPEN]AMUN.^f

⁵⁶³ In sandstone reliefs, artisans normally completed this detail on Amun's tall plumes in paint, whereas they frequently carved it in Sety I's limestone bas-reliefs at Abydos.

⁵⁶⁴ Replacement masonry was inserted along the base of the walls throughout much of the Hypostyle Hall in Roman times. See Brand, "Repairs Ancient and Modern," pp. 1, 3–6.

Notes:

- ^a The handle of  has now worn away or was omitted.
- ^b So perhaps restoring *dmd hr tb.ty=k*.
- ^c Due to the position of Mut's dangling arm, there is not enough room for the complete formula. Perhaps restore [*h3=s mi R'*] behind her legs. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 186–87.
- ^d  was partially removed with a chisel.
- ^e In the present inscription and in the corresponding text at the bottom of the east jamb (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 187:15), there is room for two titles before each of Sety's cartouches. Parallel texts with the name of the gateway are shorter but better preserved on the outer jambs and door reveals of this gateway: *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 70–71, 76, and pls. 19–20. Late Period iconoclasts have effaced  in Sety's *nomen* (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 187). His *nomen* epithet is Merenamun, the proper one for the name of the Hypostyle Hall, usually written . On the name of this building and its connection to Sety I's Gurnah temple, see Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 59; Rainer Stadelmann, "Tempel und Tempelnamen in Theben-Ost und West," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 34 (1978), pp. 171–80. The term *3h* means "beneficial/effective," not "glorious." See Florence Friedman, review of *Akh: une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, by Gertie Englund, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 19 (1982), pp. 145–47; idem, "The Root Meaning of *3h*: Effectiveness or Luminosity," *Serapis* 8 (1984–1985), pp. 39–46; Brand, *GM* 168 (1999), pp. 23–33.
- ^f Traces best suit the earlier form of Ramesses IV's cartouches: *Wsr-M3'.t-R'[-stp-n-'Imn]* and *R'[-ms-s]-mr-'Imn-[hk3-M3'.t]*. On the east jamb of the north gateway and west jamb of the south gateway, similar friezes once existed, but there only the ostrich plumes surmounting these cartouches now remain intact, which Nelson recorded incompletely: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 57, 61, and 187. In general, all these marginal inscriptions have suffered from natural decay and the insertion of uninscribed replacement masonry to shore up the walls in late antiquity. Elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, the later forms of Ramesses IV's cartouches appear in ritual scenes and stereotyped decoration he added to the columns. Large cartouches he inscribed on the lower shafts of the columns are palimpsests having two separate orthographies of his later *nomen* and *prenomén*, which Ramesses VI subsequently usurped. See Murnane et al., *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 106–07. On Ramesses IV's earlier and later cartouches, see Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Titularies of the Ramesside Kings as Expression of their Ideal Kingship," *ASAE* 71 (1987), pp. 137–38; A. J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1994), p. 15. On marginalia of Ramesside kings in the Hypostyle Hall, see Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia," pp. 52–59.

Plate 186

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162b) I.

Location: B 280e–f: North wall, central gateway, east jamb, upper and middle registers.

Subject: (*Upper register*) Sety I (figure entirely missing) offers to a male deity and a goddess. (*Lower register*) Sety I (figure largely destroyed) offers two ointment jars to Amun-Kamutef and Isis (figs. 28–29).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations:⁵⁶⁵ In both episodes, sculptors immaculately dressed the wall surface, and there is no sign of quarry damage aside from a few stray chisel gouges. Fragments of the upper scene are unremarkable, with no sign of recutting or vandalism. In the lower register, a block restored to the wall after Nelson made his drawing

⁵⁶⁵ A fragment of a kneeling royal figure at the extreme right of this drawing completes missing portions of the king on pl. 189. A sky-sign border under it corresponds to the extreme top left of the sacred bark procession illustrated on pl. 197.

preserves Sety I's head, forward shoulder, hands, part of his titulary, and two ointment jars that he offers to Amun.⁵⁶⁶ He wears a short wig with elaborately carved plaiting and a uraeus. Sety's craftsmen extensively modified his figure, recutting his foot and leg twice (with one version of his toe extending into the base of the offering stand), as well as the top and front of his wig, and his profile, beard, and shoulder. His face is inclined so that he appears to look up slightly.⁵⁶⁷

Sculptors also retouched the proportions of both divinities as follows: Isis' profile from her hairline to her chin, and Amun-Kamutef's profile from the front of his helmet-crown to the point where his beard meets his shoulder, his eye, forward shoulder, throat and neckline, the nape of his neck, and the lower rim of his crown behind his ear. Here, as elsewhere on the north gateway and on adjacent walls, the craftsmen sporadically attempted to carve ornamentation on the figures that they normally rendered only in paint elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall. Nelson recorded striations on Isis' wig, beadwork on Amun's flail terminals, and inlays on his armband and bracelet. It is clear, too, that the sculptors discontinued carving further embellishments of this type *in medias res*. So, they had carved the left side of Isis' collar and her forward shoulder strap in outline before aborting the process.

Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall partially hacked Isis' face, ear, and uraeus serpent, and Sety I's hands. Other damage, for example, to some of the hieroglyphs, appears to be fortuitous. Note that the handle of Amun's flail is missing below the level of his thumb, but the wall surface it should occupy above his shoulder and bicep is smooth, and even Nelson's drawing is misleading. If it has not simply worn away, the sculptors may have erased the handle and added a new one in paint or plaster.

Translations:

Upper Register:

Before the Goddess: As she gives all life and dominion.^a

Behind the Goddess: [Protection, life, dominion, and hea]lth surrounds her like Re.^b

Lower Register:

By Amun: ¹A[m]un-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, ²ruler of Thebes, ³elevated of arm, who rests ⁴[upon] the dais.^c ⁵“(I) have given to you ... li]ke [R]e.”

By Isis: ⁶Isis the great, ⁷lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands. ⁸“(I) have given to you life and dominion. ⁹[(I) have given to you...] like Re.”

Behind Isis: Protection, life and dominion [surround her] like [R]e.^d

Label: ¹⁰[Giving ointment ... that he might achieve “given] life.”^e

By the King (not recorded by Nelson): ¹¹[The lord] of the Two Lands MENMA¹²ATRE-HEKAWASET, ¹²[the lord] of appearances SETY-MERENPTAH, given life like Re, [...] ^f¹³the image of R[e] in front of the Two Lands, whom A[mun]^g loves [...].

Notes:

^a This text is doubtless a continuation of the goddess' speech, employing a circumstantial *sdm=f*.

^b Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 184, 186 bottom, 187.

^c Reading *htp [hr] h.tyw*. See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 158:5. Only a trace of the lower front branch of  is reliable, and most of what Nelson drew for this sign is actually a deep gash in the stone.

^d Restoring *s³ 'nh w3s [h3=s] mi [R]^c*. See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 187, and *pace* Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 142, n. 106. Since the goddess' arm hangs down behind her holding an , there is probably insufficient room for any further signs, including the group *snb* averred by Sharkawy. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 184, where the butt of Mut's  is at the level of her knees.

^e So restoring something like *[hnk m md.t ... ir=f di] 'nh*.

^f Above *ti.t R^c* is the right side of .

^g Definite traces of  remain.

⁵⁶⁶ For this type of jar, compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 196, 238, 249 top.

⁵⁶⁷ See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 187, below.

Plate 187

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162b) II; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pp. 568–69 with fig. 28 and pl. 47; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 204–05 and fig. 101; Michalowski and Dziewanowski, *Karnak*, pl. 25.

Location: B 280g–i: North wall, central gateway, east jamb, bottom register.

Subject: Sety I presents a model of the temple to Amun-Re and Mut (figs. 44–45). A damaged bandeau text underneath the scene bears the name of the gateway and of the Hypostyle Hall itself compounded with Sety's royal names. At the base of the wall, Ramesses IV added a frieze of large cartouches, of which only some of the ostrich plumes surmounting them remain intact.⁵⁶⁸

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None remains, but paint scars indicate the broad collars of all three figures.

Observations: This scene has proved vital to understanding the chronological sequence of Sety I's decoration on the north gateway and within the Hypostyle Hall as a whole.⁵⁶⁹ Schwaller de Lubicz demonstrated that sculptors had dramatically altered the king's posture and costume. Sety originally stood erect with his face turned up, and he wore a *nemes*-headcloth and false beard. Next, the sculptors modified his pose so that he now bows to the gods, and they altered his costume as well.⁵⁷⁰ He now sports a long wig that first appeared in royal iconography at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁵⁷¹ They also removed his beard, as it never appears with the long wig. Sety's right arm, extended toward the god, is now slightly lower and is more bent. His forward leg and foot were shifted twice. Of his initial, upright pose, several palimpsests are apparent: embedded inside his final wig behind his visage are his ear, the earflap and lappet of his *nemes*-headcloth, the top of his profile from the bridge of his nose to his brow, and the bottom curve of the rearing uraeus on his forehead. A curious hole in Sety's final wig lappet is a negative space framed by the intersection of earlier versions of his throat, the base of his false beard and the top of his shoulder. Below this, a curved line denotes his neckline. The bottom of his original right arm, including its elbow joint, persists just below the bend of his final arm where it crosses his chest. Also embedded in final upraised arm are the top of his initial chest and the root of his dangling arm. Of the three versions of his buttocks, right thigh, and the back of his leg — extending down to the middle of his calf — the innermost cutline, which is also in higher relief than the others, is doubtless that of the primary, erect version of his figure.

After the craftsmen had altered Sety's posture so dramatically, they made further cosmetic adjustments to his bowing effigy. They retouched his nose, lips, and chin twice and his throat once. His final uraeus, the front of his wig lappet, and his neckline were enlarged. Both of his repositioned arms underwent further modifications. Recutting along the bottom of his upraised right arm from its elbow joint to his rear shoulder indicates that it was twice shifted down. Nelson overlooked reworking along the left side of his dangling arm from wrist to armpit where the sculptors had thickened it. Sety's chest was recut once while long streamers falling over his shoulder, back, buttocks, and the back of his right thigh were each modified twice. Craftsmen shifted his advancing leg back to the left twice after their initial alterations to its position. Sety's belt apron may have largely been "recycled" from the initial carving, since it is at the highest level of the relief's surface. His elaborately pleated kilt is certainly not original, since it is at a lower level, but it remains unclear what garment he initially wore. However, Schwaller de Lubicz's reconstruction of a short kilt is misleading as there are no traces to confirm it.⁵⁷² Recutting on the belt apron is limited to its left side and to three streamers flanking it on the right. Note that the bottom of this apron has a single cartouche in the middle flanked on each side by three uraei who face away from it, all capped with solar disks.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁸ See the translations and commentary to pl. 184.

⁵⁶⁹ See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 204–05.

⁵⁷⁰ Schwaller de Lubicz (*Karnak*, pp. 568–69 and fig. 28) reconstructed the primary figure as wearing a short kilt as well. Except for his belt apron, no trace of his original kilt survives.

⁵⁷¹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 19–22 and fig. 25.

⁵⁷² Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pp. 568–69, fig. 28.

⁵⁷³ Compare a quartzite statue of Amenhotep III from Luxor temple, now in the Luxor Museum: Mohammed El-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), figs. 46, 51.

By contrast with Sety I's image, the sculptors made far less radical cosmetic modifications to those of Amun-Re and Mut. Amun's fist grasping his scepter was shifted down slightly. At first, his dangling arm was closer to his torso, and a palimpsest of its left side is embedded in the final arm. His armpit was also slightly higher. His eye is now higher than before, while his final belt is lower. They also recut his beard on its right side and rear kneecap. Finally the artists recut the ankle, toe, heel, and arch of his rear foot.

Mut's dangling arm was moved closer to her body, and traces of the back of her original arm are embedded in the final one. Her belly and the small of her back were thickened slightly. Her right shoulder is higher, and the right side of her wig lappet was recut. The ankles of both her feet show three distinct versions, while the heel and instep of her left foot were retouched along with the toe of her right foot. Her eye was also adjusted slightly. Her extended left arm was shifted and recut, and the upper arm now looks unnaturally slender where it crosses her torso.

It is apparent that the sculptors were in the process of adding fine detailing to this relief in the final stage before this more elaborate technique of carving was abandoned. The pleating on Sety's kilt is particularly ornate. Striations on his wig were also carved, with the odd smooth portion in its middle due to the fact that portions of the surface were cut in plaster, which masked the earlier version of the figure. Pleats were also carved on Amun's kilt, and his belt is engraved with a latticework pattern. At this point, the addition of such fretwork was abandoned, and there is no such detailing on Mut; her wig and vulture cap lack the decoration found on other examples from the north gateway.

The scene is well preserved, and there is little quarry hacking or other defects in the stone. Vestiges of plaster infill adhere in some places, especially in front of the king's uraeus. There are losses to the masonry on the upper and lower left corners of the scene, and the marginal inscriptions below the scene are mostly lost. At the base of the wall, Ramesses IV carved a frieze of his cartouches, but only traces of the ostrich plumes and solar disks that crowned them are left.⁵⁷⁴

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving the house to its lord.

By Amun-Re: ²⁻³Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the [Two] Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: ⁴Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion like Re. ⁵(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum like Re."

Behind Amun: Protection and life surround him.

By Mut: ⁶Mut, lady of heaven, ⁷mistress of the Two Lands as she gives life like Re: ⁸Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all [va]lor like Re. ⁹(I) have given to you^a all life, stability, and dominion."

Behind Mut: Protection, life, stability, and dominion surround her like [Re].^b

By the Solar Disk: ¹²The Behdetite, the [gr]eat god^c ¹³as he gives life, ¹⁴as he gives life, stability, dominion, and health like [R]e.

By the King: ¹⁰The dual king MENMA'ATRE-[HEK]A[WASET],^d ¹¹the son of Re S[ET]Y-MER[EN]PTAH, given life like Re.^e

Name of the Gateway: ¹⁵[The great gateway (called): "The [dual] ki[ng, lord of the Two Lands] MEN[MA'AT]RE, [the son of Re], lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUN^f is beneficial in the estate of Amun," given life [like] Re.

Notes:

^a Nelson overlooked the handle of .

^b The group  is entirely missing in the gap, including any trace of the  Nelson records above .

^c Traces of  are clear, but there is no room for additional epithets like *sbi šw.t* since one must account for the now missing uraeus with pendant  on the left half of the Behdetite's solar disk. So contra Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 142-43 and n. 107.

⁵⁷⁴ Ramesses IV added the same marginal decoration to the base of both interior jambs of the north and south gateway. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 57, 61, and 184, and the commentary to these plates.

Aside from the west jamb of the north gateway, only the plumes remain, and Nelson's drawings omit those from the south gateway.

- ^d There is a trace of a tall narrow sign in front of the lower front of which probably corresponds to the handle of 𓏏 in the epithet $\text{hk}^3\text{-W}^3\text{s.t}$, an epithet that occurs in Sety I's *prenomen* in the scene above and in several episodes from the north wall's east wing. See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 190–93, 197, 199–200, and our observations to pls. 186 and 195.
- ^e Arranged horizontally below the cartouches.
- ^f 𓏏 was defaced in the Late Period. Sety's *nomen* epithet is Merenamun, the usual one for the name of the Hypostyle Hall, and not Merenptah as in the scenes on the jambs. See our commentary to pl. 184.

East Wall, North Wing (Plan 13, Plates 202–32)

As he did on the south tower of the Third Pylon, Sety I installed a kind of thick veneer of large blocks against the north tower of the pylon, leaving four gaps in this wall to expose the niches for the great flag masts (plan 13). Only at the top of the wall, preserved in one instance in the north wing, did this veneer wall partly cover the niches. At the very top, the surface of the wall projected out slightly as a kind of ledge, just above the level of the highest register of scenes.⁵⁷⁵ This ledge was decorated with a 𓏏𓏏𓏏 -frieze. They are preserved above plates 202–06, but Nelson did not record them. Most of these hkr -signs were not carved in true relief, but merely engraved, often rather crudely. The ledge was flush with tops of the architraves that ran parallel to it (north to south).⁵⁷⁶ The ledge functioned to rest the east end of a series of ceiling slabs that spanned the gap between the pylon and the architraves.

The four wall sections each consist of five registers of ritual scenes executed in bas-relief for Sety I. Loss of the masonry on the upper registers and decay of the relief from salt infiltration have robbed us of a large percentage of these scenes. The top two registers are missing from the north and south ends along with most of the third on the north from loss of the masonry. Most of the bottom register in the three southern sections are gone, and that of the northern partition is quite affected by salt efflorescence. Some of the missing upper registers may be recoverable among the blocks from the Hypostyle Hall now lying in the yards around Karnak. Nelson numbered the surviving episodes moving from the first (top) register proceeding from north to south across each level.

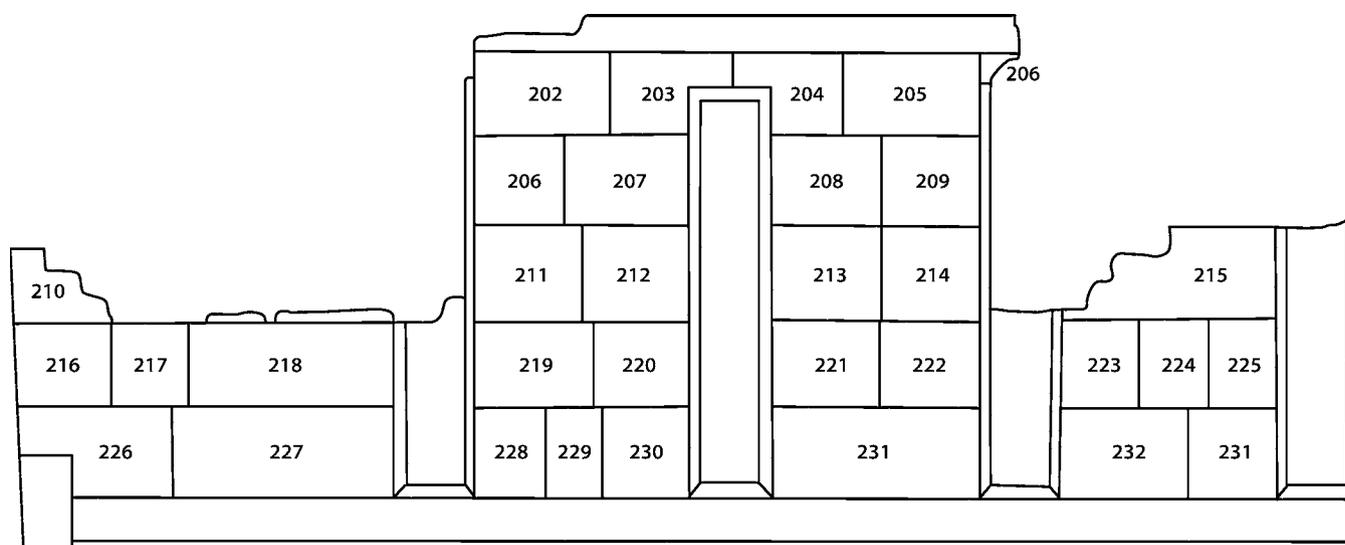
Much of the decorative program of this wall features episodes from the daily cult ritual, often called the “Ritual of Amenhotep I.”⁵⁷⁷ While most offering scenes have only brief “label texts” identifying the ritual act preformed, the Karnak episodes of the daily ritual are glossed with longer texts, that is, the full incantations spoken by the priests during the liturgy. These denser texts crowd around the figures — sometimes even to the exclusion of typical elements of ritual scenes such as an offering table, raptor hovering above the king, or his royal titulary — making them readily distinguishable from “normal” ritual scenes in the Hypostyle Hall.

These tableaux have an affinity with Sety I's decoration on the north and west walls. As on the north wall, the king always kneels in the presence of the gods except for three (preserved) episodes on the bottom register when he breaks the seal and opens Amun's shrine (pl. 227) and once in the third register where he performs the rite of “bringing the foot” (pl. 210). As elsewhere in the Hall, the craftsmen sometimes retouched their work to modify the proportions of the royal and divine effigies. Carved ornamentation of the reliefs is more intricate on the lower registers. Such engraved details include the pleating on royal and divine kilts, latticework patterns on their belts, the plaiting of wigs, plumage on vultures wings and Amun's flabellum fetish, the leaves of his lettuce plants, and

⁵⁷⁵ There is no evidence that the east wall ever had decoration predating the reign of Sety I, and this overhanging projection at the top of the wall is not evidence that masons cut back alleged reliefs on the wall below it. It is more likely that this projection was meant to provide more room for the roof slabs that rested on it. One must ask, too, why Sety I's masons would not have used the same procedure for removing alleged Eighteenth Dynasty decoration on the north wall that the used on the east. So contra Carlotti and Martinez, “Un ‘château de millions d'années,’” p. 123 and pl. 19B.

⁵⁷⁶ Vincent Rondot, *La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: les architraves* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1997), pl. 1: architrave nos. 43–45.

⁵⁷⁷ Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, third series (London: British Museum, 1935), vol. 1, pp. 78–106, vol. 2, pls. 50–61; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 201–29, 310–45. Most recently, see the detailed analysis of Harold Hays in *Medinet Habu* IX, pp. 7–14.



Plan 13. Diagram of the east wall, north wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

even the stripes on Sety's *nemes*-headcloth, to name the most frequently encountered fretwork. Sometimes this detailing is encountered higher up on the wall.

One frequently encounters areas of quarry damage on the north wing of the east wall due to imperfect smoothing of the rough-cut blocks by the masons. Patch-stones were employed sparingly and tend to be smaller than the large veneer slabs on the north wall. Rather, even large areas of quarry marks were filled in with copious amounts of plaster and carved as if they were stone, but only traces of this material survives. Although the -ideogram in Sety I's *nomen* cartouche was often effaced by Late Period iconoclasts,⁵⁷⁸ there is little sign of vandalism on the wall. A few holes excavated for the insertion of roof beams attest to the Hall's later occupants, who left no other sign of their activity here except for gouging of ithyphallic Amun's phallus on the lower registers, doubtless for fertility magic (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 218–19, 221).

Plate 202

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) I.1; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 324–25, 327; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 155–56.

Location: B 301: East wall, north wing, top register, first extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels with his arms upraised in adoration to Amun-Re. A long ritual text occupies most of the space around the figures (fig. 210).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Two blocks above the king's head have disappeared, and Nelson has restored texts missing in cols. 15–18 from parallels.⁵⁷⁹ Otherwise, the scene is almost completely intact, except for the ribbon border behind the king. On a long block at the top of the scene, the negative space around hieroglyphs at the tops of cols. 1–15 is rough and the hieroglyphs less crisply carved than others below, although they remain fully legible, because the sculptors did not finish smoothing the carved surface here as thoroughly as they did elsewhere in

⁵⁷⁸ Targeting only its head (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 207, 208 left, 218 middle, 225) or the entire glyph (*ibid.*, pls. 208 right, 209, 213–14, 221–22, 227 middle and right).

⁵⁷⁹ Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 325; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* II, pls. 53, 17–20; W. S. Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, Catalogue général

des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 58001–58035 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1927), p. 150; Ernesta Bacchi, *Il Rituale di Amenhotpe I*, Pubblicazioni Egittologiche del R. Museo di Torino 3 (Turin: R. Museo di Torino, 1942), p. 50.

this scene. Near the top of col. 4, the lower part of  is lost in a cavity. Stonecutters' tool marks left from imperfect dressing of the wall appear in Amun's plumes, Sety's legs and the empty space above them, and on  at the bottom of col. 8. Nelson overlooked a few minor elements: the coiled tail of Sety's uraeus serpent, the top of his headcloth visor, his navel, eyebrow, a flap on his *shendyt*-kilt, Amun's eyebrow, and the Isis-knot suspended from his belt.

Translations:

By *Amun-Re*: ¹Amun-Re lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands], pre-eminent in ²Karnak.

Litany of the King: ³Spell for perpetuating the divine offerings: ⁴"Greetings to you (O) Atum. Greetings to you (O) Khepri. You have come into existence on the high ground and you shine in the pyramidion^a ⁵in the Mansion of the Phoenix in Heliopolis, ejaculating Shu and Tefnut. May you place your two arms around king MENMA'ATRE, given life forever. ⁶May the name of Atum, lord of the Two Lands endure in Heliopolis, like this divine offering consisting of what the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN gives to Amun together with ⁷his Ennead which is perpetuated forever.^b May the name of Shu endure in 'Upper Lasting-of-Place' in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever.^c ⁸May the name of Tefnut endure in 'Lower Lasting-of-Place'^d in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Geb endure ⁹in 'Hacking-the-Earth' in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Nut endure in Hutshen(yt)^e ¹⁰in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Osiris-¹¹Foremost-of-the-Westerners endure in Abydos which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Isis <endure>^f ¹²in Netjeret^g which is perpetuated forever. May the name of ¹³Seth lord of Ombos endure which is perpetuated forever. May the name of ¹⁴Nephtys endure in the Mansion^h in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of ¹⁵the Ram-Lord-of-Mendesⁱ endure which is [perpetuated] forever. May the name [of] Thoth endure ¹⁶[in Hermopolis which is perpetuated forever. A royal offering (for) Geb (consisting of) ch]oice cuts (of meat) ¹⁷[for the gods which (they) have selected.]^j To them belongs their power; to them belongs their] honor; ¹⁸[to them belongs their effectiveness. What is given to them:^k a royal offering] consisting of divine offerings; ¹⁹consisting of what king MENMA'ATRE – given life forever – gives."

Notes:

- ^a Reading *btb.t* for *bnbn.t* "pyramidion."
- ^b Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 326) calls for the insertion of  after  here and in the rest of the text by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pl. 211. However, this would alter the translation considerably, and we have chosen to interpret the text as it is written here, yielding a result different from that in pl. 211.
- ^c In this formula, which repeatedly follows as *rwḏ rn n* + divine name and epithets, the prospective *sdm=f* is employed. In the concluding phrase, *rwḏ n ḏ.t*, the verb *rwḏ* is a participle. *Mn-s.t ḥry*. was a cult center of Shu in Heliopolis. *Wb*, II, p. 88:11.
- ^d Emending *ḥr.t* to *ḥr.t*. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 326; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 53, recto 8, 8; *Wb*, II, p. 88. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 211:6. *Mn-s.t ḥr.t*. was a cult center of Tefnut in Heliopolis. *Wb*, II, p. 88:12.
- ^e *Ḥw.t-šn.(y)t* was the name of the sanctuary of Nut in Heliopolis. *Wb*, IV, p. 503:6; Leitz, *Lexikon* V, p. 89; Gauthier, *DG* IV, p. 134, translated as "le château de l'acacia." Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 211:7. Nelson (*ibid.*, p. 326) emends the preposition *m* to *n*. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 155, n. 8) sees it as an error for .
- ^f *Rwḏ* has been omitted, perhaps due to a lack of space. So Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 326.
- ^g *Nṯr.t*, modern Behbeit el-Hagar, was a cult center of Isis. See Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 107; L. Habachi, *LÄ* I, pp. 682–83; Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, pp. 368–400.
- ^h Alternatively, this may refer to ancient Hu (Diospolis Parva): K. Zibelius, "Hu," *LÄ* III, p. 64. So Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 156, n. 11. *Ḥw.t-m-Iwnw* was the sanctuary in Heliopolis where Nephtys was worshiped. Gauthier, *DG* IV, p. 71.
- ⁱ So reading *Ḍḏ.t* "Mendes," not *Ḍḏw* "Busiris." See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 327, n. 122.
- ^j So restoring *Ip.t.n=<sn>*. Nelson omitted the 3rd pers. pl. suffix pronoun in his reconstruction for lack of space or perhaps through ancient scribal confusion with the independent pronoun *ntsn*, which follows it.
- ^k Discarding Nelson's otiose  and reading *ḏi n=<sn>*. So Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 156, n. 13.

Plate 203

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) I.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 40; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 322–23, 325; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 156–57.

Location: B 302–03: East wall, north wing, top register, second and third extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and grasps a wick of twisted cord while a vulture hovers above. A litany text occupies much of the space between them (fig. 211). (Right) Sety I (figure destroyed) kneels before Mut (figure largely destroyed). Only the tops of five columns of text and of Mut’s Double Crown survive.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In the left-hand scene, residual tool marks with bits of stucco patching afflict the vulture’s wings. Much deeper quarry hacking obliterates Amun’s plumes and text in col. 1, which the sculptors have carved largely in now missing plaster. While the pockmarked surface remains largely intact, Nelson drew it as a gap. Below, masonry containing the right side of Amun’s figure, including his face, has sheared away. At the top of col. 2,  has now disappeared. Sety’s craftsmen recut the right edge of his wig lappet, but made no further modifications to this relief. They carved his eye in a *sfumato* manner. Nelson left out some minor details including the faces of -glyphs and Amun’s eyebrow, nor did he fully capture the intricacy of the vulture’s inner wing.

Translations:

Left:

By Amun: ¹[Amun-Re k]ing of all [the gods], pre-eminent in [Karnak].^a

Litany of the King: ²Spell for extinguishing it (*the torch*): Words spoken: ³“This is that eye of Horus through which you became great.^b ⁴May you live^c by means of it. May you become strong by means of it (O) Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands! ⁵This is that eye of Horus which you have eaten by which your body has been enclosed.^d ⁶Now what is [it] to you — the spell for twisting the wick^e — (so that) the *Udjat*-eye has entered the western Mountain?^f ⁷The divine offerings are in his possession.^g Come, come (O) Eye of Horus <in> peace!”

Below Vulture: As she gives life.

By the King: The dual king MENMA‘ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH.

Right:

By Mut: ¹M[ut ...].

By the King: ²The good god [... ³MEN]MA‘ATRE [...] ⁴SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, ⁵given li[fe] like Re.

Notes:

^a So restoring [‘Imn-R’] nsw [ntr.w] nb.w hn.ty [‘Ip.t-sw.t]. Sufficient room for “Karnak” exists between col. 1 and the god’s plumes. So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 202:2, 212:2.

^b Emending the bottom of col. 3 to hr=s. See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 322.

^c So writing ‘hh for ‘nh. See glossary s.v. ‘hh “to be consumed.” So Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* II, pl. 53, recto 8, 1; followed by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 156 and n. 18. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 322, prefers to read nhh=k “thou dost flourish,” and he notes that nhh and ‘nh are used in parallel in Pyramid Texts nos. 764 and 1477.

^d Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 323–25, reads “with which your body has been enchanted.” Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 156, translates “und das der Umkreis deines Leibes trägt.”

^e For sht h‘t “twisting the wick,” using the verb sht “to weave,” see Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 325 and n. 116; followed by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 156, n. 19. So not “striking (shī) the wick,” with the meaning of extinguishing the flame.

^f A reference to the sun setting behind the western mountains. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 325 and n. 117.

^g Literally, “the divine offerings are his thing.”

Plate 204

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) I.3; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 329–33; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 157.

Location: B 304–05: East wall, north wing, top register, fourth and fifth extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I (figure destroyed) kneels before Khonsu (figure largely destroyed); (*right*) Sety I kneels before Amun-Re as he elevates a tray of food offerings to the god. A litany text occupies much of the space above them (figs. 212, 269, 283).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Vertical bands of discolored pigment adhere to some -signs in the frieze above the scene.

Observations: Situated over a large fenestration that gave access to one of the flag-mast niches on the Third Pylon's facade, the small episode at left portrayed Sety I kneeling before an enthroned figure of Khonsu, but only the deity's lunar disk and crescent remain, along with some of the text.⁵⁸⁰ In the larger scene at right, light cavities on a block containing Amun's legs and the offering stand are tool marks resulting from imperfect smoothing of the masonry. Fainter pockmarks in the background around cols. 1–4, and the “blocky,” unrefined character of some of these hieroglyphs (e.g.  in col. 3), further attest to the sculptors' haste in their work, since they never completed the laborious task of cutting back and smoothing negative space around the bas-relief glyphs. Cosmetic recutting of the figures is limited to Sety's belly and the elbow of Amun's forward arm. Since Nelson recorded this scene, cracks have propagated in the block above Sety's head, while two small patch-stones in his midriff have fallen away. Numerous fissures caused by decay of the sandstone around Sety's hands, arms, and shoulders, and in Amun's forward arm, existed in Nelson's time.⁵⁸¹

Translations:

Left:

By Khonsu: ¹Khonsu-²in-Thebes Neferhotep.

By the King: ³The good god, lord of [the Two Lands ⁴MEN]MA⁵ATRE, [...] ⁵SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, ⁶given life like Re. Every protection — all life — surrounds him [lik]e [Re].

Right:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re ruler of Thebes.

Behind Amun: Every protection — life — surrounds him.

Litany of the King: ²Spell for elevating offerings: “Come ³(O) king and elevate offerings before his face. ⁴Elevate offerings to Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. ⁵All life is with him; all health is with him; ⁵⁻⁶all stability ⁶is with him; all dominion is with him^a like Re forever!”

By the King: ⁷The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA⁸ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

Note:

^a Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 329, translates *hr=f* in each instances as “emanates from him.”

⁵⁸⁰ Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 206 top.

⁵⁸¹ Cf. Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5893.

Plate 205

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) I.4–5; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 341–43; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 158–59.

Location: B 306–07: East wall, north wing, top register, sixth and seventh extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I kneels before Ptah who is enclosed in a shrine. The king holds a jar of ointment in one hand and extends the small finger of his other to anoint Ptah while Nekhbet flies above as a vulture. (*Right*) Sety I kneels before lion-headed Mut and Khonsu, offering them a cup of incense. Above him is a litany text for the incense ritual.

Type of Relief: Raised (figs. 213, 250, 278–79, 282).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few vestigial chisel marks from quarry work appear in the right-hand scene as deep gouges on Mut's sun disk and her upper body and as lighter marks disrupting hieroglyphs at the bottom of cols. 12 and 15–17. Craftsmen made a few cosmetic shifts to the figures, namely (*left*) at the top of Sety's forward arm at his wrist and shoulder; Ptah's instep and toe; and (*right*) Sety's buttocks, his wig behind his uraeus, and the decorative clasp and streamers at the back of his diadem; Mut's curving leonine mane and the back of her long wig below her sun disk; and finally, Khonsu's skullcap behind his sidelock and the left tip of his lunar crescent.

Nelson misconstrued or overlooked several minor features including Khonsu's modeled ankle bone; vertical lines on his flagellum terminals do not extend so high. Instead, they resemble those in plate 208. Nelson has not rendered the interior of Nekhbet's forward wing accurately, and he omitted her jawline and round nostril. As elsewhere, this sketch does not capture the paleography of the hieroglyphs. Of particular note is  (variant of Gardiner, S-L., N 4) at the base of col. 13, which Nelson confused with  (Gardiner, S-L., S 15). Small wedges above the sky-element are as Nelson indicated them, but three verticals below it are rivulets of water like . Since Nelson recorded them, erosion has destroyed the upper half of Khonsu's diadem including the tail of his uraeus serpent coiled around it and parts of col. 8 above. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall introduced a deep square hole into the space above cols. 6–8 on the right.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Anointing.

By Ptah: ²Words spoken by Ptah great of strength, ³who is over the great place:^a “(O) my beloved son ⁴the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, as he gives ⁵life, stability, and dominion.”^b

By Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet.

By the King: ⁷The good god, son of the handsome-of-face,^c ⁸the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

Right:

Label: ¹Censing to Mut, to the lady of heaven, ²that he might achieve “given life like Re every day.”

By Mut: ⁴Mut, lady of Isheru, ⁵lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands:³ “(I) have given to you all life, stability, dominion, and all health.”^d

By Khonsu: ⁶[Words] spoken by Kh[ons]u: ⁷“(I) have given^e to you all life, stability, and dominion, ⁸all health and all joy ⁹like Re forever^f and eternally.”

Litany of the King: ¹⁰Spell for censing to Mut: “Arise ¹¹effectively (O) she-who-appears,^g (O) Wadjet, being satisfied ¹²with going forth from therein on high. The Greater Ennead ¹³and the Lesser Ennead^h are satisfied on account of the scent of her fragrance, ¹⁴being content with what the white eye of Horusⁱ does (by) coming forth from the gods ¹⁵from her tears, and vivifying Atum by means of her flesh^j ¹⁶consisting^k of what the king — MENMA‘ATRE, the son of Re SETYMER[EN]AMUN ¹⁷given life, stability, and dominion like Re — gives.”

Notes:

- ^a On Ptah *ḥry s.t wr.t*, see Leitz, *Lexikon* V, pp. 375–76.
- ^b The usual *di.n=(i) n=k* formula was omitted and replaced by a *di=f nḥ* text due to lack of space. The present locution, which employs a circumstantial *sdm=f*, is normally found after the titulary and epithets of protective or attendant deities.
- ^c For *nfr-ḥr* as epithet of Ptah, see Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, pp. 214–17; cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 117:2.
- ^d Nelson has misnumbered the columns. Mut’s protocol should precede the formula in col. 3.
- ^e Nelson miscopied the top of col. 7. His  is erroneous, and the verb *di* is written with .
- ^f The sculptor has miscarved  in place of . Although this could be interpreted as a more complete writing of *d.t nḥḥ*, the second term is usually rendered simply as  in the wall scenes: see glossary s.v. *nḥḥ*.
- ^g For *ḥy.t* as an epithet of Mut and Hathor, see *Wb.* III, p. 242; Leitz, *Lexikon* V, p. 651.
- ^h The draftsman has rendered the  of *nḥs* as a simple flat line, due perhaps to a copying error in transcribing from a hieratic original. The left side of this glyph, along with  above it, suffers from chisel marks left by the masons. Below, only the head of  has escaped destruction.
- ⁱ Reading *irr.t ir.t Ḥr*. For *ir.t Ḥr ḥd.t* “white eye of Horus,” meaning frankincense, see *Wb.* I, p. 107:19.
- ^j Reading *ḥpr m nṯr.w m rm.t=s*. My translation differs from that of Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 341), who reads, “the gods came into being from her tears (and) Atum is vivified in [her fl]esh.” Traces of *iwf=s* are not quite as Nelson recorded them. The -glyph lies between  and  and is largely preserved. In fact, the wall surface is more intact than Nelson indicates, but the chick’s lower body is lost in a dense pattern of chisel marks. Below this, no trace of  or  endures.
- ^k Nelson supplies the phrase “this incense is for Mut” (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 341, n. 177) before *m dd nsw*, etc., by analogy with the conclusion of the torch ritual (*ibid.*, p. 337 and fig. 37; *GHHK* I.1, pl. 212:14), so presumably restoring *<iw snṯr pn n Mw.t>*.

Plate 206

Bibliography: Only the lower scene is noted at PM II², p. 45 (155) II.1.

Location: B 307a (*upper scene*): East wall, north wing, top register, eighth and final extant scene from the north; B 308 (*lower scene*): East wall, north wing, second register, first extant scene from the north.

Subject: (*Top*) Sety I kneels and presents -jars to Khonsu. Only the god’s name and a portion of his lunar disk are intact (figs. 1, 315). (*Bottom*) Sety I kneels while offering a bouquet to ithyphallic Amun. A litany text occupies much of the space between them.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: (*Upper scene*) Sety I’s architects spanned the tops each of the eight great fenestrations they had opened in the north and south wings of the east wall with a short cross-wall like the lintel of a doorway.⁵⁸² On the north wing, Sety decorated these spans with a pair of ritual episodes much like those on lintels of small doorways. Each bore a pair of symmetrical tableaux of offering scenes in which Sety knelt at the outer sides facing toward the center offering to back-to-back images of two deities at the center.⁵⁸³ Situated on the left side of a niche, the present scene is the best preserved of all these episodes.⁵⁸⁴ Sety’s craftsmen appear to have redesigned it shortly after they began their work. At the upper left corner, they had partially carved a sky-sign

⁵⁸² These fenestrations exposed the eight niches of Amenhotep III’s Third Pylon enconcing its great flag masts to view. Sety I covered the rest of the pylon’s facade below the roof level of the Hypostyle Hall with the eastern wall of his new construction.

⁵⁸³ Scenes on the right (south) sides of these “lintels” will have been the only cases on the east wall’s north wing in which the orientation of Sety’s images and those of the gods were reversed, with Sety facing north, i.e., away from the central axis of Karnak.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 203 right, 204 left.

just below the longer one that runs across the whole breadth of the east wall at the top, but they quickly abandoned it.⁵⁸⁵ Engraved traces of this unfinished sky-sign are on a slightly higher level, but they vanish at the left side of col. 7 where the surface becomes lower. Had it continued, this lower sky-sign would have overlapped the texts above the figures at the height of the group  in col. 7. Note that a thin vertical frame at the far left edge is only incised, and it does not reach the longer sky-sign at the top.

Below Sety's waist, craftsmen must have executed his now missing rump and foot in plaster, since the wall surface is actually preserved here but suffers from light quarry damage. Elsewhere, they carved the hieroglyphs in Khonsu's name and epithets incompletely, leaving the surface around the glyphs rough. Above the scene, a portion of the -frieze disappears in a region of severe quarry damage.

(Lower scene) Masonry along the entire left edge and bottom left corner of this scene has broken away, and severe quarry damage afflicts large portions of the rest of this relief.⁵⁸⁶ In the upper right corner of the block containing Sety I's torso, masons had cut its surface back so far that they resorted to a large triangular patch of plaster to make its surface flush with the blocks around it. As a result, sculptors carved the king's arms, hands, floral bouquet, and the offering stand in front of him in stucco. Just above this, the corners of two more blocks also have severe quarry hacking on their lower portions, although the raised edge of Sety's wig and one of the bouquet's flowers are distinct. Higher still, the right side of a fourth block is deeply pitted, and the sculptors had to carve most of cols. 6–8 in a coating of plaster, but little of this now remains. Finally, lighter chisel gouges mar Amun's hand and the shaft of his flail. Craftsmen recut Amun's curving rear shoulder inside his arm, and they adjusted the slope of his forward plume to make it raking more toward the right.

Translations:

Top:

By Khonsu: ¹Konsu-[in]-²Thebes: ³Words spoken: "(I) have given to you ⁴the lifetime of Re."^a

By the King: ⁵ MENMA'ATRE, ⁶SETY-MERENPTAH^b ⁷given life, stability, and dominion like Re. Every protection — life — surrounds him like Re forever.

Bottom:⁵⁸⁷

By Amun: ¹"(I) have given to you all joy and all health like Re."^c ²Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²⁻³the great god ⁴who is upon ⁵the great seat.

Behind Amun: Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

Litany of the King: ⁶"Spell [for presenting the bouquet (on) the day of the sixth (day) (of the lunar month) festival]. May a bouquet be given^d to ⁷the kin[g, the king's children, and the king's companions in the house] who cause^e ⁸that Amun much alight as all your protection, that you might [liv]^e eternally.⁸ ⁹May Amun <do>^h what you love through love of you in Karnak,¹⁰(O) MENMA'ATRE; may you do what is praised (as) one whom Amun has praised. ¹¹(As for) all that you do,ⁱ may he praise you, may he cause you to endure, may he overthrow ¹²[your enemies whether] de[ad or alive]."

Notes:

^a Line 3–4 are entirely absent in Sharkawy's translation (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 159).

^b So not *Sty-mr-n-'Imn*.

^c This *di.n=(i) n=k* formula has been misnumbered by Nelson as if it were a label text.

^d Elsewhere, the same incantation is written with the imperative *imi*: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 228:4. Nelson's translation implies that *rdi* is an imperative in the present example too, although it is certainly not a writing of *imi*. So too Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 159. Short of admitting that we have a corruption of the text, perhaps the best solution is to take *di* as a passive form of the prospective *sdm=f* "may a bouquet be given."

⁵⁸⁵ Nelson only recorded the higher sky-sign, inside of which he placed the column numbers of the text. Elsewhere, Nelson sporadically recorded shorter sky-signs at the tops of sections of the east wall's south wing and on the vestibule of the Second Pylon. See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 117 bottom, 122, 253 bottom.

⁵⁸⁶ Here again Nelson drew areas of quarry hacking as if they were gaps in the wall, yet the underlying masonry remains largely intact except along the left edge.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 333–35.

- ^e The group  calls for some analysis. It may be understood as a prospective passive *sdm=f*, with *hni* 'Imn being a nominal phrase acting as its subject, although the ending *w* is rarely attested, and the prospective passive is generally *rdi* not *di*. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §21.2; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §71; Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §387.1. Alternatively, it could be understood as a participle, viz., either a perfective passive participle, “which is given so that Amun might alight,” and referring to the bouquet; or as a perfective active participle, “who cause that Amun might alight,” referring to the king, his children, and officials, thus with *w* being a plural ending. The last is probably the best alternative. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §23.6; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §121.2; Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §359.
- ^f There are clear traces of the  and of  below it. Of the group 'nh, only  is present, but not .
- ^g No trace of  remains above the gap.
- ^h Restoring <iri> 'Imn *mrwt* as found in the papyrus edition. See Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri II*, pl. 56, recto 14:10–11. So Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 334–35 with fig. 36, notes; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 159.
- ⁱ The indirect object (a perfective relative form, *irwt=k*) is placed in extra position for emphasis. Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §§146–48.

Plate 207

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) II.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 40; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 327; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 160–61.

Location: B 309: East wall, north wing, second register, second extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and recites a litany which takes the form of a menu of offerings (figs. 214–15).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Light pitting in Amun’s torso and plumes and in Sety’s torso and legs aside, masons carefully smoothed this section of wall. The artists did not fully carve striations on the king’s wig. Note that odd gaps in cols. 6, 7, 9, 15, 16, and 21 are indeed present and are not an oversight by Nelson, the stone being unblemished in each case. Cosmetic recutting occurs on the shoulder and bicep of Amun’s forward arm. Masons inserted a few small patch-stones, two of which have vanished below col. 1 and at the base of Sety I’s *prenomen* cartouche in col. 23. Although the scene remains in good condition, masonry along its right edge has fallen away. A gap in the middle of cols. 12 and 13 has widened since Nelson’s day, and Sety’s nose and eye have also sheared away.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²pre-eminent in Karnak, ³the great god.

Litany of the King: ⁴“(O) Amun, take for yourself^a the Eye of Horus by which your mouth is opened: wine, 2 bowls.

⁵(O) Amun, take for yourself the protective water^b from the breasts of your mother Isis: water, 2 bowls. ⁶(O)

Amun, receive for yourself your head: *shenes*-bread, 1 bowl. ⁷(O) Amun, take possession for yourself (and bring) to your face:^c *heta*-bread, 1 bowl. ⁸(O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus (but) preventing him

from suffering on account of it: *pesen*-bread, 1 bowl.^d ⁹(O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus which

he has tasted, *depet*-bread, 1 bowl.^e ¹⁰(O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, it has not been cut off from you: *sha*’t-cakes, 20 bowls.^f ¹¹(O) Amun, [take] for yourself the Eye of Horus which is sweet upon your

heart: white honey, 1 bowl. ¹²(O) Amun, take for yourself the healthy teeth <of Horus>^g with which your mouth is provided:^h onions, 4 bowls. ¹³(O) Amun, take for yourself the breast of Horusⁱ of which the gods

have tasted: figs, 2 bowls. ¹⁴(O) Amun, take for yourself <the Eye>^j of Horus (namely) your words: *mida*-cuts of meat, 2 bowls.^k ¹⁵(O) Amun, [take]^l for yourself the Eye of Horus, their blue ones:^m grapes, [...] bowls.

¹⁶(O) Amun, [take] for yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out:^o carob beans,^p [...] bowls. ¹⁷(O) Amun,

take for yourself <the Eye of Horus> which they have licked up^q for him: zizyphus fruit, [2]^r bowls. ¹⁸(O)

Amun, [take] for yourself the *henek*-liquid which goes forth from Osiris: beer, 2 jars. ¹⁹(O) Amun, take for

yourself the two eyes of that great one: large loaf of bread, 1 bowl. ²⁰(O) Amun, take for yourself those complainers^s who are against you, whom you have grasped:^t flank (of meat), 1 bowl. ²¹(O) Amun, take for yourself the pupil of the Eye of Horus: *sewet*-cut of meat,^u 1 bowl. ²²(O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus which he has sought out: *hēnes*-cut of meat,^v 1 bowl.

Above the king: ²³The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA^cATRE, ²⁴the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given all life, stability, and dominion and all health like Re every day.

Notes:

- ^a An obscure writing of the imperative *m* “take” written with . See Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §336 and p. 510; *Wb.* II, p. 60.
- ^b For *mw bsʹ* “schützendes Wasser, Muttermilch,” see *Wb.* I, p. 475:5. Gardiner (*Hieratic Papyri* I, p. 93; and *Hieratic Papyri* II, pl. 54, recto, 9, 10) reads “take to thyself the water which flows (*mw bsi*) from the breast of thy mother Isis.” Both Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 327) and Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 160, n. 46) doubt that the writing stems from *bsi* “to flow” (*Wb.* I, p. 474). It may, in any case, be a pun on *bsʹ* “to protect” and *bsi* “to flow.”
- ^c So *itt n=k r hr=k* probably means literally, “take possession for yourself, toward your face...”
- ^d Written *prns*, most likely because final *r* in *pr* was not pronounced in the Late Egyptian spoken dialect and through transposition of *n* and *s*. Regardless, the correct writing is *psn* (*Wb.* I, p. 549; cf. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* II, pl. 54, recto 9, 13).
- ^e A pun on *dp.t* “taste” and “*dp.t*-bread.”
- ^f Another pun on *šʹ* “to be cut off” and *šʹ.t*-cake. The final *.t* would not have been pronounced in the latter word. The writing *šʹy.t* here is exceptional. See glossary s.v. *šʹ.t*.
- ^g Restored from Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* II, pl. 54, recto 9, 17.
- ^h So the passive participle of *htm* “to provide,” *Wb.* III, p. 196. Cf. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 328; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 160.
- ⁱ Unlike col. 5, here the -hieroglyph lacks a nipple. Other versions of this text have “breast of Isis.” See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 328, n. 130.
- ^j So restored by Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 328.
- ^k So reading *midʹ* “cut of meat,” here spelled *mrd*. The final *r* in  would not have been pronounced. This is another pun, on *mdw* “words” and *midʹ*.
- ^l An unfortunate joint between blocks has all but destroyed the -glyphs in cols. 15–18, although small traces are discernible in most cases.
- ^m Reading *ir.tyw* “blue ones.” See *Wb.* I, p. 116. Perhaps this is a comparison of the Eye of Horus to grapes. It is surely a pun on *i(ʹ)rr.wt* “grapes.”
- ⁿ Nelson restores “2” in both instances.
- ^o A reference to Seth’s destruction of Horus’ eye.
- ^p Writing  *spr.w(t)* for *wʹh* “carob bean.” Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 226:5B where *spr.wt* is written . Cf. *Wb.* I, p. 289; *Wb.* IV, p. 105:1. Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 328) reads: “(O) Amun, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he ensnared (*ʹh*), *wʹh*-fruit, [2] ‘-vessels.”
- ^q Reading *nsbt.n=s(n) n=f*. Here *nsb* “to lick up” (*Wb.* II, p. 334) is a pun on *nbs* “zizyphus fruit.”
- ^r Traces of the numeral “2” which Nelson recorded at the bottom of this column are now lost.
- ^s So taking *tswy* as nominal form derived from either *tsi* “to rise up” (*Wb.* IV, pp. 405–07) or perhaps more likely *tsi* “to be angry/to complain” (*Wb.* IV, p. 408:4; Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 308). It therefore means something like “those who complain” or “those who are angry.” This presumably refers to the god’s opponents as the prepositional phrase *r=k* “against you” indicates. Thinking along the same lines, Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 328 and critical annotation to line 20 of fig. 33) reads, “(O) Amun, take to yourself those who rebel (*sby*) against thee...,” however the text does not support his interpretation.
- ^t So *ndr.n=k sn* is a past relative with direct object. So a pun on *ndr* “to grasp” and *drww* “flank of meat.”
- ^u A pun on *sw(i).t* “pupil” and *sw.t* “cut of meat.”
- ^v Another pun, on *shn* “to seek out” and *hns* “cut of meat.”

Plate 208

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) II.3–4.

Location: B 310–11: East wall, north wing, second register, third and fourth extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I kneels and offers a *nemset*-jar to Khonsu; (*right*) Sety I kneels and presents a jar of ointment to Sekhmet. Two vultures, Nekhbet (*left*) and Wadjet (*right*), hover over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised (figs. 277, 281, 324).

Paint: Traces of decayed paint define concentric bands of Sety's broad collar (*right*); otherwise, no pigment survives.

Observations: In the left-hand scene, masonry containing the left edge of the relief has fallen away. Losses to the king's face and the bottom of col. 10 resulted from deep quarry hacking. Apart from this, lighter tool marks afflict (*right*) Sekhmet's midriff and her rear arm, Sety's ointment jar with its cone of unguent, and (*left*) Khonsu's head and moon disk, with plaster adhering to the latter. A sculptor retouched Sekhmet's forward arm where it bends. In both scenes, Late Period iconoclasts effaced  in the king's *nomen* cartouches. Medieval inhabitants of the building inserted a rectangular beam hole in Sety's knee (*left*). While the relief is still in good condition, a fragment of Sekhmet's forward arm has fallen out just above her wrist. Nelson overlooked the visor of Sety's wig on the right.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Greeting with the *nemset*-jar to Khonsu that he might achieve ²“given life.”

By Khonsu: ³Khonsu-in-⁴[T]hebes Neferhotep: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ⁸the dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re forever and eternally.

Right:

Label: ¹Offering ointment to Sekhmet ²that she might achieve “given life.”^a

By Sekhmet: ³Sekhmet the great, ³⁻⁴whom Ptah loves, ⁴mistress of ⁵all the gods: ⁶Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion. ⁷(I) have given to you joy. ⁸(I) have given to you^c all valor, all victory, and all health like Re.”

By the Vulture: ⁹Wadjet.

By the King: ¹⁰(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father who placed him upon his throne, ¹¹the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹²the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹³image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum chose, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a This is the only example in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall wall scenes where *ir=s di 'nh* appears, with *di* clearly referring to the goddess and not the king. However, for lack of parallels in the Hypostyle Hall, it seems best to take this example as an aberration from the usual formula, which refers to the king.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of the next column.

^c The handle of  is present in the relief, but Nelson omitted it in his drawing.

Plate 209

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) II.5.

Location: B 312: East wall, north wing, second register, fifth and final extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents two -jars to Amun-Re and Amunet while Nekhbet soars over the king as a vulture (fig. 316).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faint traces of Sety's broad collar persist although its colors have faded.

Observations: Severe quarry damage at the conjunction of three blocks mars the center of the scene, obliterating Amun's chest, head, and plumes, and portions of the text in front of him, all of which Nelson indicates as a huge gap. Masons repaired this hacking with a large stucco patch in which the sculptors carved these elements, but this plaster is now lost. Lighter quarry marks affect texts above Sety's head, especially in cols. 13 and 14. Although there is no sign of recutting, a sculptor added the ribbon dangling between the Amun's torso and rear arm as an afterthought, since it consists merely of two lightly incised lines. Late Period iconoclasts defaced  in the king's *nomen* by slicing it off with a chisel. Masonry has fallen away on the lower right side of the scene, destroying parts of Amunet's lower body. Nelson omitted some minutia such as the goddess' ankle bone.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering wine to his father Amun-Re king of the gods.

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-[Re...]:^a ³[Words spoken: "(I) have given to you ...].^b ⁴[(I) have given to you ...].⁵ (I) have given to you the throne of Geb and the office of Atum."

By Amunet: ⁶Amunet residing in ⁷Karnak, ⁸[mistress of the Go]ds. ⁹[Words] spoken: "(I) have given to you the kingship of the Two Lands ¹⁰and the Nine Bows gathered under your sandals forever and ever! ¹¹(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion and all health forever."

By the Vulture: ¹²Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ¹³<Wadjet>^c as she gives [life] and dominion like Re. ¹⁴Horus: mighty bull, "beloved of Re," ¹⁵the dual king MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁶the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH,^d ¹⁷the image of Re in front of the Two Lands, given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

Notes:

^a It is unclear what combination of Amun's numerous epithets accompanied his name here. See glossary s.v. 'Imn-R'.

^b Restoring something like *ḏd mdw di.n=(i) n=k [...]* by analogy with col. 9. Cols. 2–3 would have each contained approximately four tall groups of signs, while col. 4 could have had one. Allowing two groups at the top of col. 3 for the formula, there were probably a total of three groups devoted to Amun's benefactions.

^c So by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pl. 76:40, where the cobra goddess entwined around a lotus stem is Nekhbet and wears the White Crown. The blossom is missing in the present scene, but here the cobra goddess wore the Red Crown as indicated by a coiled wire extending from it.

^d This is one of the few instances in the Hall where Sety's *nomen* contains the standard epithet *mr-n-Pth* instead of *mr-n-'Imn*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 183, 184, 187.

Plate 210

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 45–46 (155) III.1; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 51; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 310–11; idem, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 82–86; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 162–63.

Location: B 313: East wall, north wing, uppermost *in situ* register (“third”), first scene from the north.

Subject: With an exaggeratedly stooped posture and holding an -shaped libation vessel and a reed broom, Sety I performs the “rite of bringing the foot” by sweeping away his footprints from the floor of the sanctuary as he departs after concluding the daily offering rite.⁵⁸⁸ Much of the scene is lost, and only the advancing foot of a male god, presumably Amun, remains intact behind the king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Sety’s broad collar is preserved as a group of concentric bands of lighter and darker discolored paint. Nelson drew these as if they were carved lines.

Observations: Quarry damage mars the upper part of a decorative border at the left edge of the scene. A master sculptor modeled the king’s figure in high raised relief, giving Sety an elaborately pleated garment. Apparent dissatisfaction with the proportions of his extremely stooped figure required subsequent adjustments to the original carving. As Nelson’s drawing indicates, craftsmen enlarged the back of the king’s cap-crown twice to make it more bulging. Stray “marks” inside the crown in Nelson’s drawing must have been a slip of his pen, since there are no carved details here aside from the coils of Sety’s uraeus serpent above his brow. The drawing omits further adjustments to the royal figure, namely, recutting at the back of his forward arm from his elbow to his armpit, to both the top and bottom of this forearm, the top of his rear shoulder, and on his rear arm, the left side of his wrist above the handle of his broom. Sculptors also modified his -shaped libation vessel. Initially, it took the form of a conventional -vase, the right side of which is embedded inside the final vase. The entire right side of the final vessel consists merely of engraved lines, indicating that they had built it up in plaster. Craftsmen also retouched the upper left side of the final vase just above its spout. Nelson’s drawings misconstrue some finer points of this relief: the “arms” of Sety’s -vessel are more elaborate, and its spout takes the form of a -feather; lashings binding his broom together actually run perpendicular to the shaft of the broom itself, and there are more of them above and below the two that Nelson records.

Translations:

By the King: [...] Amun himself.

⁵⁸⁸ Harold H. Nelson, “The Rite of ‘Bringing the Foot’ as Portrayed in Temple Reliefs,” *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 82–86.

Plate 211

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 45–46 (155) III.2; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 337–39; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 162–63.

Location: B 314: East wall, north wing, third register, second extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents a taper to Amun Re. Between them, most of the scene is occupied by a long ritual text (fig. 216).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Along with traces of plaster undercoat in the vicinity of Amun’s upper body and head, flecks of blue cling to his forward arm and face.

Observations: Gaps in the scene result from different causes, and Nelson has restored missing portions of the litany text from parallels. The entire left edge of the scene has shorn away, taking much of the king’s face, rump, and *nomen cartouche* with it. Deep quarry hacking afflicts two blocks along the bottom of the scene. Here, sculptors carved reliefs on them in plaster, which has now mostly disappeared. Fainter chisel marks persist in Amun’s rear shoulder, neck, and plumes. Elsewhere, masons inserted a few small patch-stones, at least two of which have vanished, leaving gaps in the upper half of cols. 10–12. Another patch-stone remains *in situ* in Amun’s shins. A pattern of faint cavities exist on a long block in the lower middle part of the scene containing Sety’s arms, Amun’s lower body, and the lower portions of cols. 5–8. Such pockmarks attest either to the natural porousness of the stone or to imperfect smoothing by the artists. Hieroglyphic texts carved here lack the crispness found elsewhere on this relief, and vestiges of stucco caulking are plentiful. Similar abrasion occurs in Amun’s plumes and near the top of col. 9, where the first  has completely worn away. The drawing indicates this sign with dashed lines. In a cosmetic adjustment, craftsmen retouched Sety I’s belly and lengthened his beard, making it wider on its left side. Nelson did not record a curved fold inside Amun’s kilt or Sety’s belt buckle.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ¹Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in ²Karnak, the great god, lord of heaven: ³“(I) have given to you all life, dominion, and valor and all victory [lik]e Re.”^a

Litany of the King: ⁴“May this taper endure for Amun-Re, ⁵lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, just as the name of Atum, lord of the Two Lands endures <in>^b Heliopolis; just as the name of Shu endures in Up[per] ‘Lasting-of-Place’ [in Heliopolis]; ⁶just as the name of Tefnut endures in Lower ‘Lasting-of-Place’ in Heliopolis; just as the name of Geb endures <in> ‘Hacking-the-Earth’^c [in Heliopolis; just as] ⁷the name of Nut endures in Hutshen(yt)^d in Heliopolis; just as the name of Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners endures in Abydos; [just as ⁸the name] of Isis endures in Netjerety; just as the name of Seth the Ombite endures in Ombos; just as the name of Nephthys endures in the [Mansion in Heliopolis];^e ⁹just as the name of Horus endures in Pe;^f just as the name of ¹⁰[Wadjet endures in Dep; just as the na]me of the Ram^g [endures] in Mendes; ¹¹[just as the name of Thoth endures] in Hermopolis; (and) ¹²[...] name [sailing]^h in the bark. It has not been destroyed: ¹³[consisting of what the ki]ng — MENMA^cATRE, ¹⁴[the son of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, [dominion], joy, [and health] like Re [forever] — gives.”ⁱ

Notes:

^a There is not enough room for another phrase such as *d.t* or *nḥḥ* above Amun’s foot.

^b See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 338, n. 162.

^c Reading *B3-t3* for the more usual *B3-t3*. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 338, n. 163. Leitz, *Lexikon* II, p. 707, renders this term not as a place name but as an epithet: *B3-t3y* “the male Ba.”

^d See above, our note e to the commentary for *GHHK* I.1, pl. 202:9.

^e See above, our note h to the commentary for *GHHK* I.1, pl. 202:14.

^f Nelson omits  inserted between  and .

^g Note that “Ram” is here written with .

^h So reading *skd m wi3*. It is not clear if the traces of a divine bark hieroglyph, perhaps similar to the more complete  below, are part of a noun or a verb.

ⁱ Perhaps restoring [*m dd nsw*] *Mn-M3c.t-Rc* by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pls. 202:19, 205:16, 212:14, and 219:13.

Plate 212

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 45–46 (115) III.3; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 336–37; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 40; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 163–64.

Location: B 315: East wall, north wing, third register, third extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents the New Year's taper to ithyphallic Amun-Re. A long ritual text occupies most of the space around them (fig. 217).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Two zones of dense hacking from quarry work obscure some of the text from cols. 6 to 13. Sety's artists recut his figure to effect minor cosmetic adjustments, namely, the bicep of his rear arm below the lap-pet of his headdress, knuckles on his fist grasping the taper, his belly and chest, the top of his belt, and the instep of his foot.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in ²Karnak, ³lord of heaven, pre-eminent in ⁴his sanctuary.

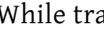
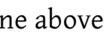
Litany of the King: ⁵Spell for the taper of New Year's Day: "Greetings to you (O) this perfect taper for Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands! Greetings to you (O) Eye of Horus ⁶which guides [on the road of] total darkness, which leads Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands in every place in which your *ka* desires to be, ⁷living forever. [...] ^ataper for Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands consisting of new fat and cloth of the washers^b as what is given to you. ⁸Your father Geb, your mother Nut, Osiris, Isis, [Seth,]^c and Nephthys: may [th]ey (all) wash your face, may they wipe away your tears, ⁹may they open your mouth with these their clean fingers. May the sky be given to you, ⁹⁻¹⁰may the earth be given to you; ¹⁰to you belongs the Field of Reeds on ¹⁰⁻¹¹this [good] night of [New Year's Day].^d ¹¹(O) establisher of the month (O) lord of the sun (O) rejuvenated seed ¹²of the gods, [...] gods (O) rejuvenated seed ¹³just like the pure ones,^e the Indestructible Ones,^f ¹⁴so^g this taper is for Amun, lo[rd of the th]rones of the Two Lands, consisting of what king MENMA 'ATRE gives."

Notes:

^a As Nelson notes (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 336, notes to fig. 37), the sign above *tk* is a wide glyph like  or . It is impossible to say which, since no trace remains above its flat upper surface. Regardless, this sign is certainly taller than the  determinative of *d.t* above, which Nelson drew as being thicker than it actually is.

^b So according to Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* I, pl. 22; followed by Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 336, n. 155, this phrase is to be read *ḥbs rḥ.tiw*.

^c The -hieroglyph was carefully effaced, leaving only light abrasion to the surface.

^d The hieroglyphs that follow *pn* at the top of col. 11 are obscure due to the chisel gouges that afflict this part of the relief. A round trace above  of *smn* is not the bottom of , rather it more closely resembles the bottom of . While traces of the left side of a second  below *pn* are definite, it must have been narrower than the one above. Moreover, traces below this second  do not suit the phonetic compliment , so this is not a full writing of *nfr*. A diagonal trace that Nelson records is present, but it is shorter and more curving than he suggests. It may be the left horn of  or even of the ideogram , albeit more vertically compressed than elsewhere in this text (cf. col. 5). The solution might be to read *grḥ pn n nfr w[p.t-rnp.t]* "this good night of Ne[w Years]," although these traces do not inspire full confidence.

^e Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 336, notes to fig. 37, restores the determinative  in this gap.

^f The circumpolar stars.

^g The particle *iw* suggests that this phrase is a continuation of the same sentence. See Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §15.10.2; Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §3.0.2; Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §117.

Plate 213

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 45–46 (155) III.4–5.

Location: B 316–17: East wall, north wing, third register, fourth and fifth extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I kneels before Mut, who extends a pair of papyrus stalks to him entwined with two cobras (figs. 218–19). One serpent wears the Red Crown, the other the White. A Behdetite falcon hovers over the king. (*Right*) Sety I kneels and offers Ma‘at to Amun-Re, while Wadjet flies above as a vulture (figs. 220, 270–71, 323).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: (*Left*) Ancient sculptors made various cosmetic shifts to Mut’s figure, namely, her rear shoulder, the upright at the back of her Red Crown, her neckline, and the leading edge of her vulture cap’s wing at its top. The whole left edge of this vignette — contiguous with a flag-mast niche on the Third Pylon — has shorn away. Later inhabitants of the Hall sunk a large square hole at the bottom, obliterating Sety’s knee and Mut’s toes in the process. Since Nelson recorded them, part of Sety’s torso, his forward arm above the elbow joint, and much of  in col. 3 have broken away. Holes in Sety’s nomen cartouche and in Mut’s vulture cap and Red Crown appear fortuitous, although  in the former was also deliberately effaced.

(*Right*) Deep pitting left from quarry work, some containing remnants of plaster infill, bespeckle Amun’s neck, torso, and kilt. Craftsmen recut Sety’s calf muscle, the vulture’s rump, and the blade-like tips of her outer wing feathers. Markings on her head are finely carved, as are the fox-pelt design of  in col. 7. During the Late Period, iconoclasts deliberately scraped away the -glyph in Sety’s nomen cartouche.

Translations:

Left:

By Mut: ¹Mut, the lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: ²“Receive for yourself the *Sed*-festival like Re ³that [he] might achieve “given life.”^a

By the Falcon: ⁴The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage.

By the King: ⁵(Long) live the good god, lord of the [Two] Lands, master of the ritual ⁶MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷[SET]Y-[MER]EN[AMUN],^b ⁸given life.

Right:

Label: ¹Presenting Ma‘at to her lord.

By Amun: ³Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all flat lands.^c ⁴(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.”

By the Vulture: ⁵Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the King: ⁶(Long) live the good god who makes monuments ⁷in the estate of his father Amun, who magnifies the estate of^d the one who bore him, ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances S[ET]Y-MERENAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re forever.

Notes:

^a Nelson numbered the label text as if it were part of Mut’s speech.

^b The -ideogram in Sety’s nomen cartouche is more complete than the drawing indicates. In defacing it, Late Period iconoclasts were less thorough than in the adjoining episode, although they did chisel out its head. The most severe damage (i.e., to its torso), however, results from a round, seemingly fortuitous, hole.

^c Nelson has reversed the numbering of cols. 2–3 from their normal sequence.

^d So writing  for the sing. masc. genitive .

Plate 214

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 45–46 (155) III.6.

Location: B 318: East wall, north wing, third register, sixth extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers a lettuce stalk to Amun-Kamutef and Isis while a falcon soars over him.

Type of Relief: Raised (fig. 314).

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Aside from slight recutting of the biceps of Sety I's arms, the artisans made no alteration to their initial design. Here again, Late Period zealots effaced  in the king's *nomen* by slicing it away, although its outlines remain clear. Masonry has disappeared along the scene's right edge, from Amun's plumes and col. 1, and by Sety's knees. Someone inserted two closely spaced rectangular beam holes just below Amun's pedestal.

Translations:

Label: ¹G[iving le]ttuce to Amun-Re ²that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ³Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god, ⁴chieftain of the Ennead, lord of heaven, ⁵king of the gods, who is upon ⁶his great seat: ⁷“(I) have given to you your name enduring like heaven^a forever and ever!”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion and all health — surrounds him like Re.

By Isis: ⁸Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of heaven, ⁹mistress of all the gods [...]: ¹⁰“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re^b and the years of Atum.”

By the Falcon: ¹¹The Behditite, the great god, the lord of heaven.

By the King: ¹²(Long) live the good god, son of Amun, master of strength, ¹³lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁴the son of Re [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, ¹⁵image of Re, pre-eminent before the Two Lands, ¹⁵⁻¹⁶whose strength Re magnified, given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The sculptor initially carved an  in raised relief, but he then added the engraved outline of , which he probably built up in plaster as well. The confusion may have stemmed from a draftsman's error due to the similarity of both signs in hieratic.

^b While the reading seems certain, no trace of  remains amid a small zone of quarry marks.

Plate 215

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 45–46 (155) III.7–8.

Location: B 319–20: East wall, north wing, uppermost *in situ* register (“third”), seventh and eighth (and final) extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I (figure largely destroyed) kneels and offers a libation in two -jars to Amun and the goddess of Thebes. (*Right*) Sety I kneels and presents a bouquet to Amun-Kamutef and Isis while a vulture hovers over the king (fig. 20). A royal *ka*-standard inscribed with Sety's Horus name stands behind him. In a fragmentary scene above, Sety I kneels and presents Ma'at to a pair of deities (see commentary below).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faint traces of white undercoat define the patterns of several elements of lost polychrome, namely (*left*) the Goddess of Thebes wears a dress embellished with a folded wing pattern⁵⁸⁹ and supported by shoulder

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 192.

braces; and (*right*) one sees the broad collars of Isis and Amun and a latticework design on Sety I's belt. All of the original colors have faded.

Observations: (*Left*) Although the craftsmen recut neither Amun's effigy nor what remains of Sety I's, they did retouch the Goddess of Thebes' headband, the lappet of her wig, her lower back and buttocks, and the back of her leg at the calf. Large gaps in the upper and left zones of this scene resulted from deliberate removal of several blocks.

(*Right*) Residual chisel gouges disfigure the lower edge of a block containing the base of Kamutef's plumes and the tops of cols 8 and 9. Lighter tool marks obscure part of Sety I's Horus name emblem (amid the epithet *s'nh t3.wy*), Isis' body, and the flabellum behind Kamutef. Plaster infill clings to Sety's right arm where it crosses his chest. Sety's artisans retouched the proportions of his figure along the top of his rear shoulder, his eye, and the top of his rear leg from the calf muscle to his ankle. They also modified both deities, namely, the back of Isis' leg, her lower back, and the right side of her rear arm below her wig, Amun-Kamutef's calf, the front of his leg from his knee to the base of his penis, and the curved tip of his beard.

Parts of this relief have suffered from exfoliation of the raised relief along the edges of larger elements, including much of the table behind Amun, the pole of his flabellum, and on much of Isis' figures, namely, her scepter, chin, fist, the front of her body below her waist, and the four plumes of her headdress. Several of the hieroglyphs have worn away in cols. 3, 5, and 6, leaving ghostly negative impressions of their shapes. Damage to Sety I's *nomen* cartouche in col. 11 is entirely fortuitous and not the result of iconoclasm directed toward Seth.

Above the right-hand scene, portions of another fragmentary episode survive. Nelson only recorded the feet of the king and a striding male deity, but another block *in situ* bears part of a kneeling king and the legs of a male deity. Artisans recut Sety's right arm above his elbow and the striding male deity's calf muscle on his forward leg. Between them is an offering stand upon which rests a bouquet of lotus flowers. Fragments of a label text indicate that the king presents  in this scene; it reads *rdi.t M3'.t n* [...] "giving Ma'at t[o Amun]. The pronged butt of a -scepter behind the god indicates that another divinity stood there. Behind the king are parts of two tall hieroglyphs; the left one may have been an .

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Making libation for Amun.

By Amun: ²[...] ³[...] ^a[...]

By the Goddess of Thebes: ⁵["(I) have given to you ...] every foreign land. ⁶[...] ⁷[...] he/his."

Right:

Label: ¹Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god, who is upon the great seat: ⁴“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion and all health.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him.

By Isis: ⁵Isis the great, mother of the god, ⁶lady of heaven.

By the Vulture: ⁷Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion like Re.

By the King: ⁸Wadjet^b as she gives life and dominion. ⁹Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes,” ¹⁰the dual king, [lor]d of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹¹the son of Re, [lord of] appearances [S]ETY-MERENAMUN,^c ¹²given life, ¹³the image of Re in front of the Two Lands.

Ka-standard behind the King: The Royal Ka. Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, causing the Two Lands to live.”

Notes:

^a Only  remains.

^b This identity is suggested by the Northern Egyptian papyrus around which the serpent is coiled. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 179:10.

^c Damage to  is entirely fortuitous.

Plate 216

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.1; god's head and text: Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 51; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 321, 323; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 166.

Location: B 321: East wall, north wing, fourth register, first scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents two tapers to Amun-Kamutef while a vulture hovers overhead. A long ritual text occupies most of the space above the king (figs. 221, 370).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Substantial amounts of paint cling to the lower part of this scene. Red flesh tones cover most of Sety I's body. He wears yellow bracelets with alternating blue and yellow inlays while armbands on his biceps each consist of two blue bands with a gold one in the center. Yellow and blue stripes alternate on his *nemes*-headcloth. His beard and chin strap are entirely blue, and his broad collar has alternating rings of green and blue with an outer fringe of blue lotus petals. The king sports a yellow kilt and a belt with a latticework pattern of blue and gold. His uraeus is also gold with blue and red markings on its hood and head.

Sety grasps two yellow tapers. In front of him, both offering stands are gold. To their right, a lettuce plant has green foliage and a yellow stalk upon which the artist has painted red dots. Two upright bouquets have green trunks with a yellow band near the top and horizontal lines picked out in red to indicate where the stems were lashed together. This is particularly clear on the bouquet between the offering stands. Above the trunk of each standing bouquet are three tiers of floral petal motifs in blue and green flanked by small red buds on the lowest tier. Above the highest echelon, two closed lotus buds flank a single open blossom. Forked spikes of faded blue-green paint on these blooms define their epicalyxes with petals in light blue pigment against a white ground between them. Draped over the offering stand, a lotus bouquet has red stems, a green lily pad, and white blossoms with green epicalyxes and blue petals. Craftsmen applied a darker shade of blue-green paint between the lotus stalks on the offering stand and to either side of the closed buds on the standing bouquets.

Amun wears a floral *w'ḥ*-collar in which faded bands of lighter and darker pigment alternate, all hedged round by an outer rim of light blue floral petals against a darker blue ground. Amun's flesh tones are blue, as flecks of pigment near the root of his upraised arm indicate. A red streamer dangles behind his body. His pedestal and the ground line on which the whole scene rests are blue. On the table behind Amun, the flabellum has tall red feathers interspersed with blue ones,⁵⁹⁰ and with horizontal bands of blue and red at the base of these plumes. Blue clings to a triangular wedge at the center of the lily-shaped pommel at the top of the flabellum's staff and to the pedestal and doorway of the -table. Both lettuce plants are green, and the left one has a yellow stalk at its base.

Behind the king, a ribbon border framing the north end of the wall has alternating rectangles of blue and red. Traces of blue adhere to the vulture's downswapt wing. Although no other colors are visible, much of the plaster undercoat survives in the lower half of the scene.

Observations: Deep quarry hacking disfigures the vulture's lower wing, her feet, and the tip of her forward wing. Lighter chisel marks appear on Amun's lower legs and his front shoulder, the latter having stucco infill. A large blob of plaster clings to pitting in the middle of col. 5. More stucco was used to patch a triangular region of quarry damage in front of Sety's face. Although the craftsmen never recut Sety's image, they ornately engraved stripes on his *nemes*-headcloth, the latticework decoration on his belt, and pleating on his kilt.

Translations:

By *Amun*: ²A[mun-Re]^a-Kamutef, elevated [of arm],^b ³whose beauty is vaunted, ⁴the lo[rd] of hea[ven], ruler of [Thebes]: ¹“(I) have given to you all life and dominion and all joy like Re.”

Litany of the King: ⁵Spell for making the taper of every day: “May the taper come ⁶to your *ka* (O) Amun-Re! May that which predicts the night after the day come! ⁷The Eye of Re appears^c in Karnak. (I)^d come to you ⁸as I cause that it might come (namely) the Eye of Horus appearing^e on <your>^f forehead, ⁹it being established^e

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. *Medinet Habu* IV, pls. 202 and 208.

on your brow. For your *ka* (O) Amun-Re, the Eye of ¹⁰Horus is your protection. The dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹²given life, stability, and dominion like Re.”

Notes:

- ^a The god is called Amun-Re in the main litany, line 5.
- ^b Reading *ḫi*-^c. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 186:3 and 193:4. The word  “arm” is probably missing from a short column of text between col. 2 and the top of Amun’s plumes.
- ^c Here a pseudo-verbal construction with a stative form employs an archaic *.t* for the 3rd pers. f. sing. ending *.ti*.
- ^d The 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun was omitted here, unless it appeared in the missing top of the next column.
- ^e These are further pseudo-verbal constructions with the 3rd pers. f. sing. stative ending.
- ^f So reading *m ḫ3.t=<k>*. See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 321.

Plate 217

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.2; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 319–21; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 166–67.

Location: B 322: East wall, north wing, fourth register, second scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents a cup of incense to Amun-Re while a raptor soars above (fig. 222).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: There are scattered remnants of polychrome, and much of the plaster undercoat remains intact, the latter being most apparent on Sety I’s midriff, where it partially hides the latticework design sculptors had carved on his belt. Blue pigment clings to the king’s wig and beard and to Amun’s legs and forward arm. Sety’s dons a yellow kilt, and his flesh is red. Although they have faded beyond recognition, markings on the hood of Sety’s uraeus serpent are discernible.

Observations: Deep quarry hacking afflicts the upper right corner of a block containing Sety’s cartouches and the base of col. 5. Immediately to its right, losses to the middle of cols. 3–5 are due to erosion along the top of another block. Otherwise, except for removal of masonry along the top of the scene, the relief remains largely unblemished. Sculptors recut both Sety and Amun cosmetically, shifting the king’s eye higher and modifying his nose, beard, the top of his rear arm near his shoulder, and the wrist of his forward limb. They also thickened Amun’s beard and extended its tip, and they enlarged his forward shoulder.

Translations:⁵⁹¹

Behind Amun: Every protection — life — surrounds him.

Litany of the King: ¹[Spell for^a censuring after] the reversion of ²[offerings]: “[This^b is th]at [White Crown ³of Re].

This [is incense] that purifies ⁴[you, the abundance which places] itself upon^c your head that it might purify ⁵[you. Greetings to you (O) Ptah! Greetings to you (O) Thoth! (O) succes]sors of Re!”

By the King: ⁶[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands]^d MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷[the son of Re, lord of appearances]^e SETY-MERENPTAH, ⁸given life, stability, and dominion like Re.”

Notes:

- ^a Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 167, n. 116) restores  by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pl. 230:1. Such a restoration is only possible if the spacing of the hieroglyphs was more compressed, especially the orthography of *sntr* “incense.” In favor of Sharkawy’s restoration is the fact that the ancient scribe omitted the rubric *r(?) n* in just one of twenty-one surviving litany texts on the east wall (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 211:4).
- ^b A trace above  is not curving like , instead is vertical.
- ^c So *n* not *ḫr*.

⁵⁹¹ The text of the litany is heavily restored from parallels. See Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* II, B, II, 53 rt. 7, 2–5 and C, IX, 1–3; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 319–21.

- ^d There is probably enough room for the epithets *nsw-bi.ty* and *nb t3.wy*. Compare traces above the *nomen* cartouche (see following note).
- ^e At the left edge of the area of deep quarry hacking, the tail of , the left corner of , and one stroke of  of *s3 [R'] nb [h']w* remain.

Plate 218

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.3–5; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 312–15, 317–19; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 167–68.

Location: B 323–25: East wall, north wing, fourth register, third, fourth, and fifth scenes from the north.⁵⁹²

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun-Re and pours a libation from a *nemset*-jar onto a bouquet of lotus flowers as Wadjet in her vulture form flies above (fig. 223–24). (*Middle*) Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and pours a libation from a -vase onto a bouquet of flowers while the Behdetite falcon hovers above (figs. 225–26, 330). (*Right*) Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun and pours a libation from a *nemset*-jar into a -basin resting on an offering stand while a vulture soars above (figs. 37, 327). (*Top*) Fragments of three scenes survive, all of which depicted the king kneeling in close proximity to a male deity, but only the king's legs and hands remain (*top, center and right*). Amun appears in both his ithyphallic (*center*) and bipedal forms.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Little pigment endures. Blue paint clings to Amun-Kamutef's pedestal (*left*), and Sety's flesh is red (*left*). Lightly engraved lines served to guide the craftsmen, who painted broad collars on figures of Sety I (*left*), Amun-Kamutef (*left and right*), and Amun-Re (*center*), but no pigment remains.

Observations: Masonry along the right edge of the rightmost scene, which abuts a flag-mast niche on the Third Pylon, has shorn away. The ancient builders inserted a few small patch-stones in these reliefs, at least one of which has disappeared from the lower part of Sety's image (*center*). Some gaps along block edges and cracks have grown wider since Nelson's time, for example, in the middle of col. 1 (*left*). Most disfiguring, however, are two large zones of dense chisel gouges masons left in the uppermost portions of the scenes (*left and right*), which extend into the fragmentary episodes above. Rather than insert veneer blocks, they smeared copious amounts of plaster here onto which sculptors then carved portions of the decoration, but this stucco wore away. Elsewhere, residual quarry hacking is less acute, but interrupts Sety's torso and arms (*right*), the falcon's upper wing (*center*), and portions of all three Amun figures. Sculptors also carved the upper corner of the -basin and part of the left stream of water issuing from Sety's *nemset*-jar (*right*) in plaster, which is also now gone.

Sety's craftsmen reworked the figures in all three episodes to refine their proportions. (*Left*) They recut Sety's nose, the instep of his foot (twice), and his heel. Plaster they used to augment his instep still adheres. Streamers issuing from the back of his crown are lightly carved and may be an afterthought. Sculptors also thickened Kamutef's leg from just below his penis to the instep of his foot, along with his ankle and heel. (*Center*) Originally, Sety's upraised arm grasping his -vase was much higher. His thumb and the left side of the earlier vase are embedded inside the final vessel — Nelson records them as dashed lines — and the right stream of water displays evidence of recutting. Sculptors adjusted the lower right side of Amun-Re's rear arm and fist. Finally (*right*), they recut the king's thumb and wrist of his hand supporting the *nemset*-jar, and they widened the left side of his dangling arm from his armpit to his elbow. Despite such retouching, some proportions still appear oddly narrow, especially Amun's advancing leg (*center*), Sety's upper rear arm, and Kamutef's leg (*right*).

In all three episodes, artists completed the reliefs with finely engraved ornamentation they usually rendered only in paint elsewhere. Yet these efforts were inconsistent. Note how they carved petals and epicalyxes on just two of three lotus blooms (*left*). They engraved latticework patterns on the belts of Amun (*center*) and

⁵⁹² Nelson did not assign separate location numbers to fragments of three scenes from the missing third register above: Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 323–25; GHHK 1.1, pl. 218.

Sety (*right*), tall feathers on Kamutef's flabellum fetish (*left and right*), and bands on Sety's *nemes*-headcloth (*right*). Most unusually, they subtly modeled the lily pad on the offering bouquet (*left*), and the ankle bones and calf muscles on Sety's legs (*center and right*) and Amun's (*center*).

Later dwellers in the Hypostyle Hall deeply hacked out most of Kamutef's penis (*left*), which they accomplished more thoroughly than Nelson's drawing indicates, although the base of its shaft is partly intact. A similar fate likely befell Kamutef's other image (*right*), but here his phallus is entirely lost in a gap between blocks. Iconoclasts who disfigured Amun's face (*center*) with numerous gashes surely acted in post-pharaonic times, while those who gouged out the head of  in Sety's *nomen* cartouche (*center*) acted in the Late Period.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Making^a libation to Amun-Re that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, who is upon ³⁻⁴the great seat, ^bthe lord of heaven, ⁵ruler of Thebes.

Litany of the King: ⁶[Spell]^c for libation after the reversion of offerings: “(O) Amun, take for yourself this your libation ⁷which is in this land, and which begets every living thing. ⁷⁻⁸Indeed, everything proceeds ⁸from it, by means of which you live; by means of which you are restored.”

By the Vulture: ⁹Wadjet.

By the King: ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN,^d ¹²given life like Re.

Middle:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing in Karnak, ²the great god.

Behind Amun: Every [pro]tection — life — surrounds him.

Litany of the King: ³Spell for entering for the reversion of offerings:^e “(O) Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ⁴your enemy is removed for you. ⁵Horus has turned himself on account of^f his Eye in its name of “reversion-of-offerings.’ Your fragrance belongs to you (O) all (you) gods.”

By the Falcon: ⁶The Behdetite.

By the King: ⁷The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

Right:

By Amun: ¹[Amun-Re, [...],^g the great god.

Litany of the King: ²[Spell for^h what is performedⁱ upon] the altar of kingship for Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and for ³[his *ka*; for] Amun-Re-Kamutef, and for his *ka*; for the ³⁻⁴Great Ennead ⁴which resides in Karnak, and for their *kas*; and for the *ka* of ⁵the king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of strength MENMA‘ATRE,^j ⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.”

Notes:

^a A “” Nelson records above  is illusory.

^b The sculptor omitted the suffix , presumably due to lack of space. Cf., inter alia, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 183:2–3.

^c There is room for  at the top of this column.

^d Because of a defect in the stone, the snout of  is uncarved and was probably rendered in plaster.

^e The artist has carved  instead of .

^f The semantic nuance of the preposition *hr* is uncertain here. Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 315) translates “Horus turns himself to his Eye...”

^g Nelson's records a trace of a tall, narrow sign above . High-resolution photographs of the wall surface indicate that it is disrupted by quarry hacking and that no trace of any hieroglyph is present. For variants of the god's epithets in the Hypostyle Hall, see glossary s.v. *ʾImn*.

^h There is certainly enough room at the top of the column to restore .

ⁱ Restoring [*irrw*], an imperfective passive participle.

^j The sculptor initially carved a text divider between cols. 5–6 by mistake and then carefully erased it, leaving faint traces behind.

Plate 219

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.6; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 216–18, 221; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 169.

Location: B 326: East wall, north wing, fourth register, sixth scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I presents a *nemset-jar* to Amun-Re-Kamutef. A litany text occupies most of the space around them (figs. 4, 227).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The entire left edge of this scene has broken away, especially the left side of the king's figure. Two large regions of quarry hacking obliterate text at the summits of cols. 6–9; the lower portions of cols. 8–13; Sety I's face, hands, and his missing *nemset-jar*; and most of the sky-sign above the scene. What remains of Sety's neck and chin is very worn, and, to a lesser extent, so is the upper part of his beard, although its outlines remain clear. The builders repaired this quarry damage with plaster, which has mostly worn away, destroying portions of the relief sculptors had carved in this medium. Masons also inserted two small patch-stones in Amun's upper torso. Another may have vanished near the base of col. 9. In a few cosmetic adjustments, sculptors recarved the upper side of the king's forward forearm, and they enlarged the toe and instep of Amun's foot and lengthened his penis. Later iconoclasts vandalized his phallus, although not as thoroughly as elsewhere in the Hall.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef who is upon ²his great seat, the lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, ³the great god, pre-eminent^a in ⁴Karnak: ⁵“(I) have given to you all victory and all health like Re.”^b

Litany of the King: ⁶Sp[ell] f[or] greeting with the *nemset-jar* on the New Year's Day festival: “(O) Amun, take for yourself your head; unite with yourself your two eyes. (I) have brought to you that which issues forth from the Primordial Waters, the best^c which issues forth from ⁷[Atum] in this its name of *nemset-jar*.^d (O) Amun,^e unite with yourself your bones; set [for] yourself your eye in its place. (O) Amun, take for yourself <your heart>;^f unite for ⁸[yourself your head] so that what pertains to you is [comp]lete. (O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, [which supplicates^g to you in this its^h na]me of *nemset-jar* which is in it. (O) Amun, ⁹[lord of the thr]ones of the Two Lands in allⁱ his names: Greetings to you (O) Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands in the sky, in the land and in [your place] which is in the land of Southern Egypt (and) which is in [North]ern Egypt (and) in every place of ¹⁰what your *ka* desires, which lives [for]ever. May the august one come, two times! May the *nemset-jar* come, tw[o times]!^j ¹¹May the White Crown come, two times! May the Eye of Horus come (namely) the White Crown. May the scent^k come ¹²to your nostrils which is in Heliopolis (and) which is in the Mansion-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah, which is [very] pure, ¹³consisting of what the [king – the lord] of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, given life [like] Re – gives!”

Notes:

^a The glyph that the sculptor carved for  more closely resembles .

^b Despite wide gaps above and below Amun's penis, there is no indication that the sculptor erased or omitted any part of this text. Note that  is reversed, as Nelson's *sic* indicates.

^c Following Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 216, and Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 169. The term *h3.t*, literally, “the foremost (thing),” is possibly a comparison of the act of pouring libation with Atum's act of procreation by ejaculation. Gardiner (*Hieratic Papyri* I, pl. 82) translates *h3.t* as “the beginning.”

^d The scribe inserted  in place of the expected . See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 217, fig. 13.

^e The phrase “receive for yourself your head” was omitted from this edition of the text. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 216.

^f Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 216.

^g So reading *s[nm n=k]*. Nelson reads *smn.n=k* “of which you have eaten.” Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 216, followed by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 169.

- ^h Reading  for . Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 217, fig. 13, note to line 8. Note the pun between *snm* “to supplicate” and *nms.t* “nemset-jar”? Both written with .
- ⁱ The gap between the blocks has widen, destroying most traces of the plural except for the upper curve of .
- ^j So taking  as a phonetic complement of *nms.t*, not a dative.
- ^k These are further puns on *hnm* “scent,” *hnm.t* “nostrils,” and *nms.t* “nemset-jar.”
- ^l All but the base of the two signs of *imy* *’twnw* have now disappeared.

Plate 220

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.7; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 40; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 339–41; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 169–70.

Location: B 327: East wall, north wing, fourth register, seventh scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels within a shrine, presenting two tapers to Amun-Re. A long ritual text occupies most of the space around them. Behind the king, the door of the shrine is open (figs. 11, 295).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Some blue clings to Amun’s face, but all other pigments have disappeared.

Observations: Except for the upper right corner of Amun’s shrine, the entire right edge of the relief has broken away. Otherwise, beyond some quarry hacking on Amun’s leg and Sety I’s torso and lap, the scene remains largely intact, although part of the king’s waist has eroded, and some gaps between blocks have widened. Artists made several cosmetic alterations to their royal master’s image. They converted Sety’s cap-crown into a *khat*-wig by incising its outline and keying the surface behind his neck so that the plaster with which they built up his new headcloth could adhere. Additionally, they enlarged the front of his wig just behind his uraeus serpent and reworked a pair of ribbons dangling behind his shoulders into an appropriate lappet for the *khat*-wig.⁵⁹³ Craftsmen also retouched his chest, the bicep on his rear arm, and the bottom of his forearm. Modifications to Amun’s icon are limited to the heel, ankle, and calf muscle of his advancing leg, the left side of a ribbon behind his head, his breast, and the “snout” of his *w3s*-scepter’s head, which they elongated. Finally, they shifted the scene’s ground line slightly lower from below the shrine’s door pivot at left to col. 4 at right. An engraved line above the final ground line indicates its previously higher level. Nelson left some details unrecorded, including a fold in Sety’s *khat*-wig above his ear and a fragment of the back of his belt, which has an engraved latticework design.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in ²Kanak.

Litany of the King: ³Spell for illuminating^a the house: ⁴“May this house be illuminated by Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands when he^b [op]ens a good year^c together with Re, when he^b passes the night together with Thoth and ⁵a taper consisting of white (fat)^d and cleaned cloth.^e May this house be illuminated by Amun-Re-Kamutef when he opens a good year; ⁶and by Re-Horakhty when he opens a good year; and likewise by Pta[h] the lo[rd] of Ankh-Tawy^f when he opens a good year, ⁷and likewise <by>^g Thoth, lord of Hermopolis when he opens a good year, ⁸and <likewise by>^g Mut, lady of Isheru, mistress of the gods residing in Karnak <when she opens a good year>,^h ⁹and likewise <by>^g the ‘goodly lifetime’ serpentⁱ of his house when he opens a good year, ¹⁰<and likewise by>^g Renenwetet of this house when she^j opens a good year. ¹¹The belly of king MENMA⁴ ATRE is filled and rich with food belonging to your festival.”^k

⁵⁹³ For parallels to the ribbons behind the cap-crown, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197, but omitted in some examples (e.g., *ibid.*, pl. 194, 210). For the *khat*-wig lappet, cf. *ibid.*, pls. 202, 214, 221.

Notes:

- ^a According to Nelson, *ḥf̓.t* seems to mean “to fill (with light).” See *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 339–40 and n. 166 with references cited therein. Although it does not appear in the Berlin Dictionary, *ḥf̓.t* might simply be a fuller writing of *ḥf* “illuminate”; *Wb.* III, p. 271.
- ^b Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 339, n. 167) is mistaken in taking the subject of *wp=f* and *swḥ=f* as “it” referring to the taper/torch. Unless one supplies it as an unnamed antecedent here, the word *th̓* “taper” does not occur until col. 5. Moreover, “he/it” is said to pass the night together with Thoth and the taper. Surely the subjects are in the first case Amun himself, who is compared to a taper as the source of illumination for the shrine, and in the second case Re. Possible support for Nelson’s translation might lie the fact that the masculine suffix pronoun *=f* appears in the same phrase after the name of the goddess Renenwetet (col. 10), although this could simply be a scribal error.
- ^c So reading  as *wp=f rnp.t nfr.t*, a circumstantial *sdm=f*. See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 339 and n. 167. Note the odd spacing of the group *nfr*, as Nelson’s *sic* indicates.
- ^d Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 212:7, *tk̓ ... m ʿd m̓w* “taper ... of new fat.” Fresh fat would be white by comparison with old fat, which would have discolored through heating and become darkened with soot.
- ^e So *ḥbs m rḥ.t* “cloth of washing.” Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 212:7, *ḥbs rḥ.tiw* “cloth of the washers.”
- ^f On Ptah *nb ʿnh-t̓.wy* “lord of Ankh-Tawy (Memphis),” see Leitz, *Lexikon* II, p. 161; Leitz, *Lexikon* III, pp. 601–02.
- ^g So portions of the phrase *mit.t nn in* were omitted several times in the text for lack of space. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 138–40 and fig. 39, notes.
- ^h Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 340, notes to fig. 39.
- ⁱ Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 339, n. 170. See Hermann Kees, “Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümer,” *ZÄS* 62 (1922), pp. 120–36.
- ^j So emending the text to *wp=s rnp.t nfr.t*. See above, note b.
- ^k There is no reason for Nelson’s *sic* if one reads . So Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 170, n. 143.

Plate 221

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.8–9.

Location: B 328–29: East wall, north wing, fourth register, eighth and ninth scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I (figure mostly destroyed) kneels before Wenennefer (figs. 15, 322). (*Right*) Sety I kneels and presents a cup of incense to ithyphallic Amun-Re while the Behdetite falcon hovers above (figs. 15, 280, 321).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Gaps in these scenes result from multiple causes. (*Left*) Masonry has sheared away along the left edge of the scene, destroying most of Sety I’s image. A combination of erosion and quarry damage accounts for losses above his cartouches and to a raptor that once hovered above him. At the bottom of col. 1, the surface has worn away, obliterating part of Wenennefer’s epithets. (*Right*) Loss of a patch-stone deprived Amun-Re of his face. Natural weathering affects Sety’s midriff, forward arm, and the top of Amun’s flabellum on the table behind him. By imperfectly smoothing blocks from the quarry, the masons left tool marks at (*left*) the base of col. 1, and (*right*) Sety’s hand, his incense cup, and the tip of Amun’s phallus (although here some of plaster infill remains), and in parts of cols. 1, 3–4. Craftsmen thickened Wenennefer’s back at the top, thereby making his counterpoise thinner. On the right, they reworked Sety’s *khat*-wig below his ear, the left side of his beard, and the bottom of his arm above the elbow where it crosses his torso. Plaster still clings to the latter modification. Finally, they extended Amun’s plumes and the butt of his flail, doubtless molding the augmented portions in stucco, now lost. In both vignettes, Late Period iconoclasts defaced  in Sety I’s *nomen* cartouches by slicing them away with a chisel, although their outlines remain legible. At some point, a long, rectangular beam hole was inserted at the level of the sky-sign adjacent to col. 1 (*left*).

Translations:

Left:

By *Wenennofer*: ¹Wenen[nofer ...] ²of the living:^a ³Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you^c valor. ⁴(I) have given to you^c victory.”

By *the King*: ⁵[The dual king]^d MENMA‘ATRE, ⁶[the son of Re]^d [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

Right:

By *Amun*: ¹Amun-Re, ²who is upon his great seat, ³the [great] g[od], lord of heaven: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you life and dominion.”

By *the Falcon*: ⁵The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage.

By *the King*: ⁶(Long) live the good god, great of monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ⁷the dual king, master of strength, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENPTAH, ⁹given life like Re.

Notes:

- ^a Assuming the presence of a raptor above cols. 3–6 — by analogy with the right-hand scene — we may safely conclude that this god was not named *Wsir* “Osiris” in the gap to the left of col. 1, but that *Wenennofer* was his chief name here. For reference to Osiris in the wall scenes, where he appears as part of the Ennead or is named in ritual text, see glossary s.v. *Wsir*.
- ^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.
- ^c The sculptor inserted the handles of  in cols. 3–4 as an afterthought.
- ^d There is probably enough room to restore a vulture, perhaps with a horizontal line of titulary below its leading wing. This would account for the relatively low placement of the *dd-mdw* formulae in cols. 3–4, especially by analogy with the format of the texts in the adjoining scenes (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 221–25). If so, there may have only been enough room for one tall group before Sety’s cartouches, *nsw-bi.ty* above his *prenomen* and *s’R’* over his *nomen*.

Plate 222

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.10.

Location: B 330: East wall, north wing, fourth register, tenth scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels to present an ointment jar before Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu, while a raptor flies above (figs. 288, 317).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded bands of discolored pigment represent the broad collars of Amun and Mut.

Observations: Several blocks have vanished from the lower right quadrant of this scene. Higher up, someone removed a veneer slab behind Mut’s head. At the very top, to the left of Amun’s plumes, medieval squatters introduced three large beam holes and were probably responsible for prying out masonry below as well. Above Sety I’s titulary, dense quarry hacking obliterates most of the raptor, and its surviving wingtip is riddled with chisel marks. Similar gouging disrupts carved surfaces in the middle of Amun’s plumes and between Mut’s face and Khonsu’s scepters.

The sculptors recut Sety’s figure cosmetically along the top of his rear arm, on his chest, and along the top of his leg from the calf muscle to his ankle. They also retouched Mut’s hand. In the scenes directly above this one, only two divinities appear.⁵⁹⁴ By squeezing a figure of Khonsu in behind Mut, the draftsman was forced to compress the god’s flail; double lines that Nelson records as the flail’s terminals are not as he drew them. Instead, the left side of the flail pendant disappears behind Mut’s rear shoulder and dangling upper arm.

⁵⁹⁴ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 205, 209, and 214.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering^a ointment to his father ²Amun-Re.

By Amun: ⁴[Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands],^b the lord of heaven: ³[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the life]time^c of Re, forever and ever!”

By Mut: ⁵Mut, lady ⁶of Isheru: ⁷Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all^d valor.”

By Khonsu: ⁸[Khonsu ...]:^e ⁹“(I) have given to [you ...].”

By the King: ¹⁰(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun, ¹¹the dual king, lord of the Two lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹²the son of Re, lord of appearances S[ET]Y-MERENAMUN,^f ¹³the image of [Re]^g before the Two Lands, whom Atum himself has chosen, ¹⁴given life like Re.

Notes:

^a So reading *hnk m md.t*. No trace of the bottom of  remains below the gap, which is slightly wider than Nelson’s drawing suggests.

^b There is room for approximately two and a half tall groups here, space enough for *’Imn-R‘ nb ns.wt t3.wy*. Cf., e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 202:1, 207:1, 211:1, 213:3, 218 middle:1, 220:1.

^c Reading the tall sign at left as . Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 223:3.

^d Nelson has mistaken a gash on the right side of  as the handle of .

^e For possible restorations of Khonsu’s epithets, see glossary s.v. *Hnsw*.

^f Late Period iconoclasts defaced  in Sety I’s *nomen*.

^g Restoring  above *ti.t*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 163:10 right, 165:11 right, 214:15.

Plate 223

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.11.

Location: B 331: East wall, north wing, fourth register, eleventh scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels with a bouquet before the ithyphallic Amun while the Behdetite falcon soars above.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Along with vestiges of the plaster undercoat throughout the scene, traces of blue-green pigment cling to Amun’s broad collar and to the leftmost lotus blossom on the offering stand.

Observations: Like others scenes contiguous with flag-mast niches on this wall, masonry along the left edge of this relief has broken away. Erosion and fracturing of the stone have left gaps in Amun’s face, to his upraised arm, and along the edges of blocks. Chisel gouges in the god’s lower back and parts of his lettuce and flabellum are quarry damage. Sculptors recut Amun’s rear shoulder, carving an extra curved line where his shoulder meets the root of his arm, along with the tops of individual plumes on the flabellum behind him. Ancient iconoclasts erased the head of  in Sety’s *nomen* cartouche, but left its body intact. Later occupants lightly scratched the tip of Amun’s phallus and carved shallow pilgrim’s grooves to the left of col. 9, one of which has partly effaced .

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun, ¹⁻²whose perfection is vaunted, ²the lord of heaven: ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.”

By the Falcon: ⁴The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

By the King: ⁵The good god, lord of joy, lord of appearances ⁶like his father Min-Kamutef^a ⁷the [dual ki]ng, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁹given life like Re.

Note:

^a So reading  *Mnw*, for which writing see *Wb*. II, pl. 72:11. Note, too, the simplified paleography of .

Plate 224

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.12.

Location: B 332: East wall, north wing, fourth register, twelfth scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels to present ointment to Re-Horakhty while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture (figs. 228, 293).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faint traces of blue pigment cling to Sety I's *khepre*-crown and Re's broad collar. Finely engraved lines guided the artist who colored the royal broad collar.

Observations: An unsightly zone of deep chisel marks from the quarry disrupts Re-Horakhty's solar disk and tops of several columns of text in the upper half of the relief. Smaller clusters of hacking obscure Sety's forward hand and wrist and the god's kilt, but, aside from some cracking and exfoliation of carved surfaces at its base, this scene remains in excellent condition. While they never altered Sety's effigy, his craftsmen retouched the sun-god's lower torso, the front of his kilt, and his lower back just above his rump. They inserted the -knot hanging from Re's belt and streamers falling behind Sety's shoulders with maladroitly incised outlines, perhaps as afterthoughts. In stark contrast, they lavished their talents elsewhere, especially in carving Re-Horakhty's wig and his magnificent falcon's head. Nelson has not captured the full intricacy of his finely modeled beak, nostril, and -eye markings. Unusually, too, the deity's fingernails on his fist grasping his scepter were intricately carved.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting ointment to Re-[Hor]akhty.

By Re-Horakhty: ²Words spoken by Re-Hor[akh]ty, [the great god], ^a lord of heaven: ³“(O) my son of (my) b[ody], ⁴the lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA‘ATRE, ⁵(I) have given to you my lifetime [as] ^b ⁶king of the Two Lands forever.”

By the Vulture: ⁷Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By the King: ⁸[(Long) live the go]od [god] who makes monuments in the estate of his father ⁹[Amun^c as] he gives eternity as king of the Two Lands to ¹⁰[the dual king], lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

Notes:

^a Restoring [ntr ?] by comparison with *GHHK* I.1, pls. 251 left:1-2 and 242:2-3.

^b There is just enough room for  at the bottom of col. 5.

^c Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 171:11, 199:17, and 208:7, where similar phrases name Amun although in each case another deity appears in the scene.

Plate 225

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.13.

Location: B 333: East wall, north wing, fourth register, thirteenth (and final) scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and elevates a tray of food offerings to Khepri while the Behdetite-falcon hovers above (figs. 229–30, 331).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Decayed pigment has etched the pattern of Sety I's broad collar and, just below it, that of an armband on his bicep.

Observations: Quarry hacking accounts for a gap between col. 2 and the tip of the falcon's upper wing. Large chunks of masonry have sheared away along the scene's right edge and from the king's legs. Some elements of raised relief have experienced spalling, including Khepri's *w3s*-scepter, the edges of Sety's forward arm and hand, and a few hieroglyphs in cols. 1–3. Sety's artisans recarved the front of his torso, both sides of his rear arm, and the bicep of his forward arm. Upon completing their initial work, they realized that they had overlooked the hieroglyphic formula in col. 5, but they only began to cut four hieroglyphs between the papyrus column and the king's *serekh*, and these incompletely, by incising them in outline without fully defining these glyphs in raised relief. Thus  consists of just a single engraved line, as does the loop of , while an internal peak Nelson records for  is absent. To the left of , they trimmed back the papyrus column supporting the cobra goddess at its base. A few carved details do not appear in Nelson's sketch, including petals on a single lotus blossom in the upper left corner of Sety's tray and two horizontal lines inside his belt.

Translations:

By Khepri: ¹Khepri who resides [in Karnak...]:^a ²Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ³(I) have given to you all flat lands.”

By the Falcon: ⁴The Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven.

By the Cobra: ⁵<Wadjet>^c as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁶Horus: mighty bull, “Causing the Two Lands to live,” ⁷the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA⁶ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁹given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

Notes:

^a This phrase would have appeared in one or two missing columns to the right of col. 1, and we may restore Khepri's full titles as something like ¹Hprī hry-ib ^{1A}Ip.t-sw.t ^{1B}ntr-ꜣ nb p.t, “Khepri who resides in Karnak, the great god,” or similar.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

^c The goddess is identified by the papyrus stalk on which the cobra is entwined.

Plate 226

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.1; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 212–14; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 172–73.

Location: B 334: East wall, north wing, bottom register, first scene from the north.

Subject: Amun-Re's processional bark rests on a pedestal within a shrine surrounded by offerings and cultic paraphernalia (figs. 232–33). Originally, a figure of Sety I knelt below a short offering list, a hovering Nekhbet-vulture, and his cartouches until temple authorities of a later generation inserted a small doorway here as a convenient northeast exit from the Hypostyle Hall. Unlike gateways in the southeast corner or those at the east and west ends of the adjoining north wall, this gateway lacks any sort of decorative frame.⁵⁹⁵

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Considerable vestiges of polychrome and plaster undercoat survive along the very top of this scene, especially in its upper left corner. Blue paint clings to the sky-sign above, and to vulture's tail, wingtips, legs, and the  she clutches in her talons. Her rump and inner wings are red. Enclosing Amun's bark, the corniced roof of his shrine has vertical stripes in red and blue against a lighter background that was probably once yellow. In a frieze of cobras above, their hoods contain a design of twin semicircles of a darker hue (originally blue) just below their heads, and of lighter wedges near their bases. Occasional traces of blue remain on their heads too, but all these colors have faded. There are more definite colors on some hieroglyphs.⁵⁹⁶ Finally, horizontal sections in blue and red define a marginal design at the scene's far left end.

Observations: Sadly, this relief has decayed further since Nelson recorded it. A number of small patch-stones and fragments have broken away, including a tall veneer block inscribed with col. 13, a triangular fragment in the shrine's roof just above and to the right of col. 7, a chunk of stone comprising the tops of cols. 4 and 5, and another patch-stone from the lower offering table in front of Amun's pedestal portraying two Nile gods standing back to back. Salt-laden moisture has infiltrated the sandstone, progressively disintegrating various parts of the relief, but most dramatically a single block containing rows B and C of the tabular offering list where spalling has effaced most of its carved surface.⁵⁹⁷

Sety I's craftsmen never made extensive iconographic modifications to this representation of Amun's processional bark as they had to images of this vessel on the north wall,⁵⁹⁸ although here they did retouch large sun disks on its fore and aft ram's-head aegises. Working at a reduced scale, Nelson was not able to capture some minute details of the complex iconography on the bark's cabin-shrine and its enveloping veil in his drawing. A decorative garland at the bottom of the veil has tiny cartouches etched with Sety I's *nomen* flanked by cobras, each with sun disks above them. These alternate with rebuses of Sety I's *prenomen* in the form of . At the center of the veil, two winged images of Ma'at wearing sun disks on their heads kneel on -signs, extending their wings protectively toward a larger -rebus. Each goddess holds  in her upper fist and a sequence of , , and  signs in her lower fist, which she extends in a line toward the solar deity, but Nelson overlooked these tiny glyphs along with traces of  on which Re squats.⁵⁹⁹ Behind each goddess, vertical border elements frame a marginal space containing hieroglyphic rebus designs. At the bottom are sprays of floral stocks of lotus blooms on the left (north) side and papyrus on the right (south) in reverse of the expected orientation. Resting above them, the group  in turn supports a  with uraeus-cobras wearing crowns — these Nelson did not record — issuing from their inner canthi. As with the plant motifs below them, here the artists have reversed the correct geographical orientation of these serpents by placing the Red Crown on the left (south) serpent's head and the White Crown on its mate.⁶⁰⁰ Aside from decorative borders of uraei and flower petals, all that is left of the veil's billow is a kneeling king offering .

⁵⁹⁵ Above the southeast gateway, Ramesses II placed his royal titles in a decorative frieze, while Sety I's names embellish the jambs and lintels of two small doors in the north wall. See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 105, 178, 201.

⁵⁹⁶ See *Appendix A*.

⁵⁹⁷ Brand, *Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (2001), p. 11.

⁵⁹⁸ See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 178, 180, 197.

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 178, 180, 197, where he did record them.

⁶⁰⁰ The artists depicted the bark itself facing to the north, but arranged these symbols as if it were facing south.

Between the veil's sloping upper hem and a horizontal crossbeam at the base of the outer naos' decorative panel, a narrow triangular gap exposes decoration on the side of the bark's inner naos, showing a frieze of winged Ma'at figures alternating with -signs.⁶⁰¹ Here, the upper winged arm and head (wearing a ) of the first goddess protrudes above the veil's sloping hem. Behind her follows a second upraised wing with a malformed curving "arm" on its upper edge and farther to its left the crown of her head. Perhaps this confined, oddly shaped space confused or limited the sculptor, as from parallels on the north wall one expects these goddesses to alternate with cobras wearing *atef*-crowns with -signs between them.⁶⁰² Decoration on the upper panel of the external naos and its corniced roof largely mimics three examples on the north wall with standing Ma'at goddesses resting on  who spread their wings protectively toward , a rebus design rendering Sety's *nomen* epithet in the Hypostyle Hall, "beloved of Amun." But in contrast to other examples dating to Sety I's reign in the Hypostyle Hall, these goddesses do not hold  in their upper hands but -signs instead.

Translations:

By Amun's Bark: ¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²"(O my) son of my body, my beloved, ³the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ⁴my heart is joyful at seeing ⁵your monument and I rejoice^a through love of you, ⁶you having built^b (my) temple^c as a new thing ⁷from fine sandstone. ⁸My [he]art is at rest within ⁹your [mo]nument, I having received^b ¹⁰your hecatomb. (I) have given to you the lifetime ¹¹of R[e], the years ¹²of [Atu]m, ¹³the throne of Geb and my off[ice]^d on my part and the [kingship]^e ¹⁴of Horus^f in joy, and every hill country under your sandals."

Litany of the King: ¹⁵Spell for presenting^g wine that the field might flourish: "[This god rejoices (at)^h the abundance of] ¹⁶what he has eaten. I have [filled]ⁱ for you the Eye of Horus [with very pure wine]! ¹⁷The dual king, ruler of the Nine Bows, lord of the Two Lands [MENMA'ATRE], ¹⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances [SETY-MEREN]AMUN."

By the Vulture: ¹⁹ Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

Offering List (in four lines numbered 1-7, A-D): ^{1A}Wine, [... bowl(s)]. ^{2A}Water, [... bowl(s)]. ^{3A}shenes-bread, [... bowl(s)].^k ^{4A}hetcha-bread, [...] bowl(s). ^{5A}pesen-bread, [...] bowl(s). ^{6A}[...]. ^{7A}[...]. ^{1B}White honey, 2 bowls. ^{2B}Onion pieces, 5 bowls. ^{3B}Ritual meal, 1. ^{4B}Grapes, 2 bowls. ^{5B}Carob beans, 2 bowls. ^{6B}Zizyphus fruit, 1 bowl. ^{7B}Beer, 2 bowls. ^{1C}Large bread loaf, 1 bowl. ^{2C}Flank (of meat), 1 bowl. ^{3C}sewet-cuts of meat, [...] bowls. ^{4C}Kidney fat, [...] bowl(s). ^{5C}ma'-cut(s) of meat,ⁿ [...] ¹ ^{6C}Roast meat joint(s), [...] bo[wls]. ^{7C}Liver(s),^o [...] b[owls].¹ ^{1D}[...]. ^{2D}[...]. ^{3D}[...]. ^{4D}[...]. ^{5D}[...]. ^{6D}[...]. ^{7D}[...].

Notes:

- ^a Writing  for .kwi.
- ^b Both are *sdm.n=f* forms in a dependent clause expressing prior action.
- ^c Note the peculiar orthography of the determinative of *hw.t*, written .
- ^d Reading *ḥ.t=i*.
- ^e The traces following *hr=i* are obscure, and this part of the relief has vanished. In Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5253, however, one sees traces of a tall sign curving to the left at top that are consistent with , perhaps followed by the tops of . Thus, as Nelson's drawing suggests, we may read *nsy.[t]* "kingship," with  lost in the gap below.
- ^f Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 173) translates "... den Thron des Geb und mein Amt, das ich an (bei) mir habe, [...]," but this is dubious. In Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5253, the bird's body and head are consistent with , not .
- ^g So reading *hnk m irp*.
- ^h One expects the preposition *m* or *n* here: *Wb.* III, p. 40. Cf. col. 5.
- ⁱ Restoring  for [*mḥ*].*n=i n=k*.  of the *sdm.n=f* form was transposed with , the suffix pronoun *=i* referring to the king. See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 213, fig. 10; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 172, n. 161.

⁶⁰¹ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie*, p. 204.

⁶⁰² See our commentary to pls. 180 and 197.

^j Offering list type D. See Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 136ff.

^k Just above the gap is the top of a wide, flat glyph that slopes up to the right. It is probably a trace of the -determinative, representing a wedge-shaped loaf of bread resting on a bowl, for which see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 65 at col. 13A; *Abydos* II, pl. 32. The top of this loaf is slightly undulating, like piles of these wedge-like loaves often shown in ritual scenes, e.g., *Abydos* II, pls. 194, 202, 204, 217, 225. In painted reliefs, they are usually colored red: cf. *Abydos* II, pl. 11; *Abydos* III, pls. 10, 44.

^l So *dbḥ.t-ḥtp* with the derminative .

^m Writing *spr.t* for *wḥ* “carob beans.” Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 207:16. So *Wb.* IV, p. 105:1.

ⁿ Writing *mʿ* for *mīd*; “cut (of meat).”

^o Writing *mr.t* for *mīs.t* “liver.”

Plate 227

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.2–4; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 205; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 173; Albouy et al., *Karnak*, p. 147 (king [right] drawing door bolt).

Location: B 335–37: East wall, north wing, bottom register, second, third, and fourth scenes from the north.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I greets the god Amun-Re, who stands in his shrine (fig. 291). (*Middle*) Sety I breaks the seal on the door of Amun-Re’s shrine (figs. 42, 231). (*Right*) Sety I draws the bolt on the on the door of Amun-Re’s shrine.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Aside from portions of gesso undercoating and some blue in the sky-element above, no paint survives. At the base of the wall, deposits of insoluble salt have impregnated the plaster wash.

Observations: In each scene, Sety I’s craftsmen retouched their work to effect minor corrections to his three effigies and also Amun’s. (*Left*) They amplified the top of Sety’s *nemes*-headcloth, his facial profile, and his beard, shaving back the wall surface below cols. 3–5 to allow the modified head to stand out against negative space around it. They also recut his rear leg from its shin to the instep of his foot. In their initial configuration, Amun’s plumes rose more vertically, but the craftsmen reduced their acclivity by shifting their tops rightward, thereby making them slope more acutely. Since the drawing records their original right edges, both plumes appear too thin at their summits, but incised lines show the final versions, which were built up in plaster, now gone. Further adjustments include the deity’s forward shoulder and a streamer dangling behind his crown; however, the double line recorded above his brow is erroneous.

(*Middle*) Here, craftsmen enlarged the top of Sety’s *khat*-wig, profile, uraeus, and the bicep of his upraised arm. As a result of further modifications they made to his belt apron, two iterations of ribbons flanking its right side and of a uraeus cobra at its base now overlap. Amun’s neckline, the top of his forward arm, and his rear shoulder were also recut. (*Right*) Sculptors enlarged the top and back of Sety’s *nemes*-headcloth twice. Once again, the wall surface dips lower around his head to maintain the appearance of raised relief. They also retouched the king’s profile and the back of Amun’s forward arm below his armpit.

Ancient iconoclasts effaced  in Sety’s nomen cartouches and  twice in col. 1 (*middle*). Vandals of a more recent era scratched at the king’s eye and nose (*left*). No other malicious damage appears, but later occupants of the building hollowed out more than two dozen pilgrim’s grooves clustered in the lower parts of these scenes, although they do not appear in the drawing. Since Nelson recorded it, a patch-stone containing Sety’s upper arm (*left*) has fallen out. Another in the same position (*right*) had already vanished by his day. Salt infiltration had long since destroyed several blocks along the base of this scene and left many of the rest very weathered and scarred by concretions of insoluble salts. Nelson’s copy documents such erosion and salt deposits only sporadically with shade, and he did not discriminate between them.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹[Breaking the se]al by the king.^a

By the King: ²The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, given life.

Litany of the King: ³Spell for breaking the seal: “May the heavenly waters be open, ⁴may the semen of Osiris be drawn out. I have not come^b in order to ⁵drive the god away from his throne (but) I have come^c in order to place^d ⁶the god upon his throne! You are established upon the great throne of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.”

By Amun: ⁷Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in ⁸Karnak: ⁹Words spoken: “(I) [have gi]ven to you the lifetime of Re. ¹⁰(I) have given to y[ou the Ni]ne [Bows],^e [you being] establish[ed upon] the throne of Horus.”^f

Middle:

Litany of the King: ¹Spell for pulling out the door-bolt:^g “Pull out^h the finger of [Seth] from the Eye of Horus. Removing the finger of [Seth] from the Eye of Horus is pleasant! ²Removing^h sickness from the god is pleasant.ⁱ (O) Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, receive for yourself your double-plumes and your mace. (O) naked one, ³you are clothed! (O) one-who-is-dressed, ⁴you are skilled!^j I am the god’s servant! ⁵It is the king who has ordained that (I) might see the god!”^k

By the King: ⁶The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

Behind the King: Every protection — life — surrounds him like Re.

By Amun: ⁸Amun-[Re-Ka]mutef: ⁹Words spoken:^l “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum. ¹⁰(I) [have] given [to] you millions of jubilees. ¹¹(I) [have] given [to] you all flat lands gathered under your sandals.”

Right:

Litany of the King: ¹Spell for [opening the double door-leaves]:^m “May the double door-leaves of heaven open. [May the double] door-leavesⁿ of ea[rth open]. Greetings to Geb [father of the gods, saying to him: ‘the gods are established upon]^o ²their [thr]one(s).^p May the double door-leaves [open]^q that the Ennead might [sh]ine.^r May Amun-Re, lord of the thr[ones of the Two Lands], who is upon [his great seat],^s be exalted [...] ³the west [... and ea]st^t [...] ⁴two times! Your perfe[ction belongs to you]^u (O) Amun-Re lord of heaven! ⁵(O) naked one, <you> are clothed!”^v

By the King: ⁶The dual king, [lord of the Two] Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUN.

By Amun: ⁸Amun-Re, [lord of the thrones of the Two Lands...]:^w ⁹[Words] spoken:^l “[(I) have] gi]ven [to you...]. ¹⁰[(I) have] given [to you...].”

Notes:

^a Restoring [sd si]n.[t] in nsw. Cf. col. 3; Abydos I, pl. 17; Abydos II, pls. 4, 13, 21.

^b So writing nn imn for  n ï.n=(i). See Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 173, n. 167, following Alexandre Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d’études 14 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), p. 37; Auguste Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l’enlacement e cette ville*, Vol. 1: *Ville antique, temple de Sêti* (Paris: A. Franck, 1869), pl. 33; Günther Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten*, Ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern 2 (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1960), p. 90. For nn ï.n=(i): Abydos I, pl. 17; Abydos II, pl. 4 (nn ï.n=i).

^c Reading ï.n=(i). See previous note.

^d So reading  as r rdi.t.

^e Restoring pđ.wt psđ.t. There is room for another tall group between the bottom of Amun’s fist and the top of . A single extant trace seems to be the flat base of a sign, perhaps , but it does not suit *hr tb.t=k or similar. Cf. col. 11 (middle).

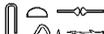
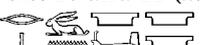
- ^f Reading something like *mn.[ti hr] s.t Hr*. Traces beneath the eroded  have weathered beyond reliable interpretation, and Sharkawy's restoration (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 173, n. 169) of [...] *sš hr s.t Hr* "[... unter] dem Thron des Horus [liegen]" appears doubtful.
- ^g Reading  as *stʒ s*.
- ^h The scribe wrote *sd* "to break" in place of *stʒ* "to pull out" in col. 1; and *sḥ* "to remove" in col. 2. This "misunderstanding" between the two words *sd/stʒ* due to homonymy is also attested in Ptolemaic texts for the epithet *sd ib* "the one who breaks the heart": dog-sign *stʒ* instead of *sd* (Sylvie Cauville, *Le Temple de Dendara 12* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2007), pp. 331,17–332,2).
- ⁱ Writing *dḥri* for *dḥr.t* "bitterness, sickness." *Wb.* V, p. 483. See also David, *Guide to Religious Ritual*, p. 63. Sharkawy's reading (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 174), "Gelöst ist das Leder für den Gott," is not convincing. Following it is a compound preposition *hr-sʒ* written *hr-is*.
- ^j This is a pun on *ʿrk* "to don (a garment)" and *ʿrk* "to be wise, skilled." The phrases *ḥʒ ḥbs tw*, *ʿrk ʿrk t(w)* — both are puns — imply that by being dressed in the course of the ritual, Amun became skilled. Both phrases with *tw* are *nfr sw* constructions with the 2nd pers. dep. pronoun.
- ^k Reading *in nsw wḏ mʒn=(i) nṯr*. This is a participial statement introduced by the enclitic particle *in* and writing  (*wḏ*) for  (*wḏ.*). The verb *mʒ* can be written *mʒn* in the subjunctive, cf. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §19.2; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §71.
- ^l Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 10 and 11 (*middle*) and 10 (*right*).
- ^m So restoring *rʒ n [wn ʒ.wy]*. One expects  or similar based on parallels Cf. *Abydos I*, pl. 4; *Abydos II*, pls. 4, 14, 22. See also Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 174–75 and n. 182.
- ⁿ Below the -determinative is part of a -sign.
- ^o So reading *nd-ḥr n Gb [it nṯr.w m ḏḏ n=f nṯr.w mn.(w) hr] s.t=sn*. See parallel texts from Sety I's Abydos temple, cited above.
- ^p Restoring *[s].t sn*. The rightmost stroke of  below  remains intact.
- ^q So reading *[wn ʒ.wy]*. Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 175, n. 185; *Abydos II*, pls. 14, 22.
- ^r Reading *[p]sḏ.t*. Here *psd* was written for *psḏ*. Note the pun with *psḏ.t* "Ennead."
- ^s See Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, p. 49; Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung*, p. 93; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 175 and n. 187.
- ^t Clear traces of  and  remain. Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 175, n. 189.
- ^u The most likely reading is for *nfr.w=k ny=k*, perhaps with a writing of something like . Compare *Abydos II*, pl. 4, where  occurs. There is insufficient room to accommodate Sharkawy's (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 175, n. 190) expansive restored writing of the same phrase.
- ^v Restoring *ḥbs <tw>*.
- ^w So by comparison with the deity's epithet in the incantation. It remains unclear whether another epithet could fit after this, although Nelson's drawing indicates a vertical trace at the bottom of col. 8 beside the left text divider. Perhaps this was an element of the phrase *ḥn.ty ʿp.t-sw.t* "pre-eminent in Karnak," which might have continued on an additional column behind Amun's plumes. Assuming the presence of the rear wall of his shrine, however, there may not be enough room for an additional column of text behind Amun. So *GHHK I.1*, pl. 220.

Plate 228

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.5; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 332–35; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 175.

Location: B 338: East wall, north wing, bottom register, fifth scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I (figure largely destroyed) kneels before Amun-Kamutef and presents a bouquet (fig. 234).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: Infiltration of salt-laden ground moisture has largely obliterated the present scene and those farther to its right in this lowest register of the east wall's northern wing. Sety I's knee has disappeared since Nelson recorded it. Otherwise, except for minor abrasion that has, for example, destroyed Amun's thumb, most of what he recorded remains intact. Note that his drawing omits the separation between Amun's plumes at their bases.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹[A]mun-[Re]-²Kam[utef who is upon his great]^a ³seat.

Litany of the King: ⁴[Spell for offering a bouquet on the day]^b of the first day of the lunar month^c festival: "Give ⁵a bouquet to the king, to the royal children,^d and the king's companions in the house who cause^e ⁶Amun to alight as your protection, that you might live like Re every day ⁷that you might live^f eternally [...]."

By the King: ⁸The lord of the Two Lands [MEN]M[A'AT]RE [...].

Notes:

^a The tail of  remains below s.t "place."

^b For parallels, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 206 bottom:6. So Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 333–35.

^c Reading  *psdn.tiw*.

^d A contracted writing of 'nh n nsw, ms.w-nsw, etc. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 332, fig. 35.

^e This is probably pl. perf. active participle. See above, note e in our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 206:7.

^f So reading 'nh.[ti] nhh. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 206 bottom:8.

Plate 229

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.6; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 211–12; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 175–76.

Location: B 339: East wall, north wing, bottom register, sixth scene from the north.

Subject: [Sety I] offers to Amun-Re, who is enclosed within a shrine.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Some plaster undercoat clings to Amun's face and within his shrine, but no color remains.

Observations: Progressive erosion has degraded this relief further. Only the very tops of cols. 1–4 and a frieze of cobras resting atop Amun's shrine remain in good condition, although his visage is relatively unscathed.

Translations:

Litany of the King: ¹Spell for brin[ging] a gift^a of beer: "May the Ey[e of Horus] be refreshed f[or him]. ¹⁻²May the testicles of [Seth be refreshed for him]. ²May Hor[us be satis]fied [with his Two Eyes. May Seth be satisfied] with [his testicles]. ³May Amun-[Re, pre-eminent in] Karnak, be content with [these choice cuts (of meat) consisting of] ³⁻⁴what [the king], ⁴the lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA'ATRE, [the son of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN gives [to you — ⁴given life], stability, and dominion like Re [forever]."

By Amun: ⁵Amun-[Re, lord of the] thrones of the Two Lands: ⁶[Words spoken:^b "(I) have given] to you valor. ⁷[(I) have given to] you victory."

Notes:

^a For *hnw*, see *Wb.* III, p. 286; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 211, n. 25.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of the next column.

Plate 230

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.7; Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 208–09; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 176.

Location: B 340: East wall, north wing, bottom register, seventh scene from the north.

Subject: [Sety I offers incense to Amun-Re] who is enclosed within his shrine.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: As in scenes neighboring it, most of this relief has vanished or is very weathered. As a result, Nelson restored its texts from parallel sources. Since then, further decay has expunged several hieroglyphs apparently legible in his day, although the block containing middle sections of cols. 1–4 appears more eroded in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5892 than his copy implies.

Translations:

Litany of the King: ¹Spell for placing incense [on] the flame [for Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands]:
²“(O) Amun-Re-Kamu[tef,^a take] for yourself the Eye of [Horus which comes (with) its fragrance to you]
³consisting of what the king, the lord [of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN
— given life —] gives to you.” ⁴Spell [for pl]acing fat [upon the flame: “May provisions come united with]
⁵pr[ovisions]. May Hor[us] stand up [that he might make his two eyes healthy in this his name of] ⁶fat.^b May
[Thoth] come to you [that he might turn him(self)^c back in ⁷this] his^d name [of ‘the praised one’ consis]
ting of what the ki[ng, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE] gives to you.”^e

By Amun: ⁸[Words spoken by Amun...]^f ⁹[“(O)] my [son ...] ¹⁰[the lord of the Two Lands ME[NMA‘ATRE ...].”

Notes:

^a Amun-Re-Kamutef’s name is used as a vocative and is part of the spell proper, not the rubric. Cf. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 176. Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 208) takes it as part of the rubric.

^b A pun on ‘ḏ “fat” and s‘ḏ “to make healthy.” Traces of  that Nelson records at the top of col. 6 do not inspire confidence. What subsists more closely resembles .

^c This phrase is obscure. Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 209) translates, “He has approached (ḥsy sw) in this his name of the praised one.” Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 176) reads, “Er hat sich genährt in diesem <sienen> Namen des Gelobten.”

^d So emending *rn=s* to *rn=f*. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 176, n. 199.

^e Aside from part of one , none of the traces Nelson saw in the lower range of col. 7 now survive.

^f So restoring something like [*ḏḏ mdw in ḥmn...s*]=i [nb-t3.wy] Mn-[m?‘t-R‘...]. For similar parallels, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 46:1–2, 49:14–16, 52:1–2, 77:2–3, 79:1–3, 200:1–2. In each case, *nb t3.wy* precedes the king’s *prenomen*.

Plate 231

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.8.

Location: B 341–42: East wall, north wing, bottom register, eighth and ninth scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I with regalia stands between Horus and [another deity]. (Right) Sety I kneels between two [goddesses].

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: The pitiful traces of these scenes have eroded even further since the drawings were made. Nelson's copy omits vertical striations on Sety's long wing in the scene on the right. Nor does it fully capture the vulture's facial features and the pattern of its wing feathers on the left.

The meaning of the episodes is not entirely clear. On the left, certainly, the two gods are not purifying the king with water.⁶⁰³ Nelson's label for the scene describes it as "Sety I with regalia being escorted into the temple." However, in scenes of the *bs nsw* "induction of the king," it is normal for Atum and Monthu to accompany him.⁶⁰⁴ The closest parallels are scenes in which Horus and Thoth confirm the king's rule in some fashion.⁶⁰⁵

The scene on the right is even more obscure. It is not clear that Sety is kneeling, as Nelson's description implies. The vulture above the king is certainly Nekhbet. Her titulary occurs in a horizontal text above her head, although the column numbers Nelson assigned, namely, 5–6, imply that it is part of a series of vertical text like that in col. 4. The orientation of col. 4 is vertical, and the hieroglyphs face to the left, while Nekhbet's protocol faces to the right. The texts in cols. 1–3 behind the vulture, which names Wadjet, is vertically arranged and faces to the right, the mirror image of col. 4.

One might reconstruct the scene as showing the king between two goddesses, anthropomorphic Wadjet on his left, and probably Nekhbet to his right and Nekhbet again as a vulture above his head.⁶⁰⁶ It is unclear whether the king is sitting or standing. Against such an interpretation, perhaps, is the text in col. 4, which seems to refer to Onuris-Shu.

Translations:

Left:

By Horus: ¹Words spoken by Horus the Behdetite: "[...]^a ²lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE: (I) have given to you the life[time] ³of Re and the years of Atum [...]."

Above Deity on Left (name lost): ⁴Words spoken by [...]:^b "[...] ⁵the lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN...]."

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, the bright one [of Hierakonpolis,] ⁷lady [of heaven...].

By the King: ⁸The lord [of the Two Lands MEN]MA'ATRE, ⁹the lord of appearances [SETY-MEREN]AMUN.

Right:

Behind the Vulture: ¹[...] Thebes [...], ²lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, ³Wadjet [...]

By the King: ⁴[On]uris-Shu, the son of Re,^c lord [...].

By the Vulture:^d ⁶Nekhbet, ⁵the bright one of [Hierakonpolis], lady of [heaven].

⁶⁰³ Neither the texts nor what remains of the king's figure compares with other purification scenes in the Hall. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 48, 51, 105, 148, 198.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 50, 78, 111, 149, 179, 199. So too in Sety I's Abydos temple: *Abydos* II, pl. 30. In one scene on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, two goddesses and six souls of Nekhen and Pe escort Ramesses II. In some cases, a lone goddess leads Ramesses II (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 106 [Hathor], 109 [name lost]), or Sety I (*ibid.*, pl. 137 [Isis]).

⁶⁰⁵ E.g., two reliefs from the south wall where these gods act on behalf of Ramesses II by performing the *smꜣ-tꜣ* ritual on his

behalf (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 69), or steadying his crowns while he sits enthroned between Wadjet and Nekhbet (*ibid.*, pl. 74). A scene reconstructed from loose blocks that originally stood at the top of the west wall of the Hall shows Horus and Seth crowning Ramesses II. See Murnane, "Reconstructing Scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall, pp. 107–18. Similar iconography is found in scenes from Sety I's Abydos temple: *Abydos* II, pls. 30, 32; *Abydos* IV, pl. 42.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 62, 74. In the royal chapel of Sety I's Abydos temple, the king appears twice flanked by these goddesses, but in each case the Behdetite hovers above: *Abydos* II, pls. 30, 36.

Notes:

- ^a One would expect something like [sʒ=i mr=i] nb tʒ.wy Mn-Mʒ'.t-R' "(O) my son whom I love], the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE," or similar. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 148:2–3 (Sety I purified by Seth: sʒ=i mr=i nb tʒ.wy Mn-Mʒ'.t-R').
- ^b Based on similar parallels, the deity was either Thoth (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 69, 74, 105, 198) or Seth (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 148).
- ^c Leitz, *Lexikon* I, pp. 380–81.
- ^d Incorrectly numbered by Nelson.

Plate 232

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) V.9.

Location: B 343–44: East wall, north wing, bottom register, tenth and eleventh (and final) scenes from the north.⁶⁰⁷

Subject: (*Left*) Litany of the goddesses of Thebes before [divinities] in a shrine. (*Right*) Fragmentary scene with vulture-goddess above the [king].

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: Only the masonry at the top of the scenes is still *in situ*. The rest, including the lower portions of cols. 8 and 9 from the left-hand scene, have disappeared. The group *dwʒ.t tw* at the top of col. 9 (*left*) is inscribed on a small patch-stone. A single obscure trace that Nelson did not record occurs in col. 11 (*left*). His drawing indicates the upper part of a small cobra in his col. 12, which may correspond to the name of Tefnut as in col. 10. Two deep pilgrim's grooves have obliterated the wall surface at the top of Nelson's cols. 12–14.

Also in the left scene, modern graffiti, omitted by Nelson, were inscribed in the sky-sign bandeaux above the scene between the first six uraei of the shrine and col. 9. From left to right, these are (1) "B. FA" deeply incised in block capital letters directly above col. 8; (2) "B FACHINELI" inscribed in block capital letters between the tops of cols. 4–6; and (3) "*Fotographo il 3 del 3 [...] 1879*" inscribed in cursive with only the "F" capitalized. This graffito begins above col. 2 and is interrupted by a break. "1879" is inscribed below the sky-sign and interrupts the solar disks of the first two uraei on the shrine's canopy.⁶⁰⁸ The first graffito is apparently an aborted attempt to give the name presented in the second. Another graffito, the Arabic name "IBRAHIM," has been inscribed in block Latin characters enclosed in a crudely etched rectangle in the sky above col. 4 of the right-hand scene, perhaps in imitation of the Fachinelli graffiti. Some of the hieroglyphs and text dividers in cols. 1–6 (*left*) and the frieze of uraei with solar disks adjacent to col. 1 have flaked off, leaving behind negative impressions of their shapes. This damage predates the Fachinelli graffiti as his "1879" is carved into the eroded surface of the two leftmost disks. The heads of the -glyphs in cols. 9 and 10 were vandalized.

Translations:

Left:⁶⁰⁹

Litany of the Goddess of Thebes: ¹Words spoken by [Victorious] Thebes, [lady of the scimitar, mistress of every Nome]:^a "[I have come before you] ²(O) lord of the gods, Amun lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands. The entire Ennead propitiates you,] their two [arms (raised)]^b ³in adorat[ion at your appearing. They play the sistra to your beautiful face while every city comes] ⁴to you in prai[se]^c [in order to propitiate the perfection of your incarnation, that you might protect your son MENMA'ATRE with all life, stability, and

⁶⁰⁷ Note that Nelson's numbered diagram in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 264, is in error as the two scenes in his pl. 32 occupy all the wall space between the two southernmost flagmast niches.

⁶⁰⁸ Beniamino Fachinelli was an early Italian photographer from Mirandola who lived and worked in Egypt from 1875 to 1895. He left similar graffiti at Beni Hassan, Dendera, and Philae. See Roger O. De Keersmaecker, *Travellers' Graffiti from Egypt and the*

Sudan, Vol. 7: *Karnak-Great Temple of Amun* (Mortsel [Antwerp]: privately published by R. O. De Keersmaecker, 2010), record RDK 102. See also Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839–1885* (New York: Abrams, 1988), pp. 161–62.

⁶⁰⁹ For Ramesside parallels to this text, see Kitchen's edition (*KRI* II, pp. 592–96) with his translations (*RITA* II, pp. 388–39), commentary, and bibliography (*RITANC* II, pp. 401–04).

dominion], ⁵and that you might give to him [your] victor[ies, your scimitar, your strength, and your power. Your august daughter Mut, lady] ⁶of Isheru, [propitiates you, Satet and Anuket] adore [you. Nekhbet propitiates you, the lady of Ra-Inty adores you.] ⁷An[uket, residing in Per-meru] propitiates you, [Menhyt, lady of Khent, adores you. The Daughter of Re, lady of] ⁸Agy, [propitiates you, Hathor, lady of] Inerty, adores you. [Ra'yet-tawy] propitiates [you, Tjenenet-Yunyt adores you. Amunet who resides in Karnak propitiates you], ⁹Hathor, chieftain[ess] of Thebes, adores you. [Hathor,] lady of Djeseru, [propitiates you, the Lords of the West adore you ... Isis of Abydos propitiates you],^d ¹⁰Tefnut [in the Thinite Nome] adores you. [Hathor, lady of Hemu, propitiates you, Isis] ¹¹[...] ¹²[...] ¹³[...] ¹⁴[...].

Right:

By Deity (name lost) on Right: ¹[Words] spoken [by ...] ²stong arm^e [...] ³[...].^e

By Deity (name lost) on Left: ⁴Words spoken by [...]: ⁵“[...] establishing [...] ⁶millions of [...] ⁷you appearing [...]”

By the Vulture: ⁸Nekhbet.

Notes:

- ^a So restoring *W3s.t- [nh.t.ti, nb.t hps, hnw.t sp3.t nb]*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 104:8. She also appears several times in scenes of Ramesses IV from the columns: Louis-A. Christophe, *Temple d'Amon à Karnak: les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leur épithètes* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955), p. 52.
- ^b For a visual representation of the Great Ennead adoring Amun-Re, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 36.
- ^c Restoring [*niw.t nb ii.(w)*] *n=k m sm[sm]*. For *smsm*, see *Wb.* IV, p. 143:11; *KRI* I, p. 74:14. Here, the parallel texts have *niw.t nb ii.(w) m ksw* “every city having come to you bowing down.” Cf. *KRI* II, p. 592:11–12. So Wolfgang Helck, “Ritualszenen in Karnak,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 23 (1968), p. 121; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 177, n. 209.
- ^d Based on the reconstructed length of neighboring columns, there does not seem to be room for the couplets that refer to Hekayet; Isis of Coptos; Hathor, lady of Dendera; and Hathor, lady of Hut-Sekhemu. Cf. parallels in *KRI* II, pp. 593:15–594:4. Presumably, the present edition resumed with Isis of Abydos.
- ^e Nelson records traces of  but they have now disappeared, as have  of Amun at the top of col. 3.

Vestibule of the Third Pylon (Plates 110–30 + 261, 233–57 + 265)

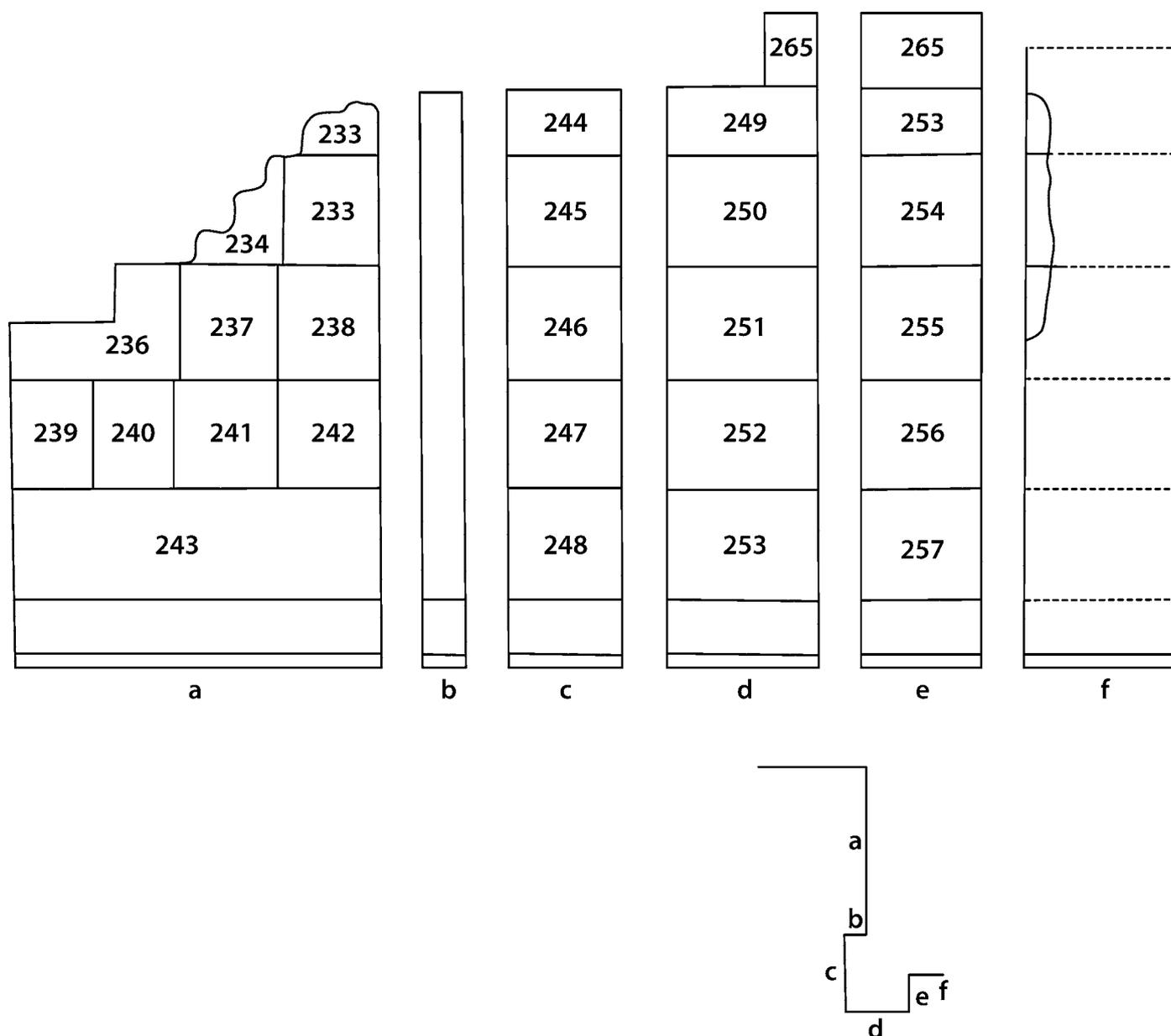
When he built the Great Hypostyle Hall, Sety I clad the outer faces of the Third Pylon vestibule with new masonry similar to the veneers on the facade of the Pylon's north and south towers. In doing so, he shrouded from view two unfinished triumphal scenes of Amenhotep IV on the vestibule's exterior side walls.⁶¹⁰ Pilasters at the exterior corners of the vestibule were part of Sety I's design and did not exist in Amenhotep IV's underlying structure. On the exterior of the original vestibule, only the sections of the facade between the pilasters at the inner corners and the central axis were left exposed and were decorated by Sety I and Ramesses II.⁶¹¹

Although the Ramesside masonry abutting the north and south wings of the vestibule was built, like the entire Great Hypostyle Hall, by Sety I alone, the decoration on the two wings of this vestibule are a hodgepodge epigraphically (plans 14–15). This is due both to their location flanking the main processional axis of the Hall, and the fact that, temporally, their creation spans the end of Sety's reign and the beginning of Ramesses II's.

Before his death, Sety I's artisans had completed decoration of the north wing of the vestibule (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 233–57, 265:a–e), and they had begun work on the southern side, where they decorated the northmost faces of the south wing (*ibid.*, pls. 122–29, 261:e–f). As elsewhere inside the Hall, Sety's artisans carved the decoration in raised

⁶¹⁰ PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) and (180). The northern smiting scene was removed and re-erected in the open-air museum at Karnak, while the southern example is partly visible behind the south exterior wall of the vestibule. Ramadan Sa'ad, “Les travaux d'Amenophis IV au III^e pylône du temple d'Amon Re à Karnak,” *Kémi* 20 (= Karnak 3) (1970), pp. 187–93, figs. 1, 3.

⁶¹¹ *GHHK* I.1, pls. 127–29, 261f, 265f; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 4, KB loc.: (south wing) 180, 186, 193; (north wing) 360, 367, 376; PM II², p. 60 (178) I–III. Only the decoration on the south wing (Sety I usurped by Ramesses II) remains substantially intact, while that on the north wing is entirely destroyed.



Plan 14. Diagram of the vestibule of the Third Pylon, north wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

relief, although it tends to be flatter and less subtly carved and embellished than on the walls farther north. The precise boundary between Sety's decoration and that of his son is slightly ambiguous due to conditions on the west face of the pilaster (ibid., pl. 261:d), where royal cartouches survive in only two of the six scenes (ibid., pls. 118–19), but as both these were initially completed by Ramesses II, he may plausibly be credited for all of them.⁶¹² The presence of bowing figures of the king in most of these scenes suggests that Sety I's draftsmen had laid out painted cartoons for more of the decoration on the vestibule than his sculptors were able to carve in relief before the king's death (ibid., pls. 113–29, 261:b–f). As on the west wall and west wing of the south wall, Ramesses' artisans carved their new monarch's earliest reliefs on the western pilaster of the vestibule in raised relief much like his father's, featuring the shorter form of his *pre-nomen*, *Wsr-M3't-R'* (ibid., pls. 117–21, 261:d). Later, they continued their work

⁶¹² Most ambiguous is the third scene from the top, where Nelson recorded traces of the  of Sety I's *nomen* epithet *mr-n-Pth*, but our own collation differs: see our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 119:11.

on the southern pilaster in sunk relief while continuing to employ the shorter *prenomen* (ibid., pls. 112–16, 261:c). Exceptionally, at the very top of the south pilaster, both the short and long *prenomen* forms coincide in one relief (ibid., pl. 112 top). By the time his sculptors reached the main south wall of the vestibule, Ramesses had adopted the longer *prenomen* *Wsr-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ-stp-n-Rꜥ* (ibid., pls. 110–12, 261:a).

Adding further complexity is the fact that Ramesses II later converted his earliest reliefs on the west face of the south wing's pilaster to sunken relief (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 117–21, 261:d; plan 15). He did the same to Sety I's decoration on the south and west pilaster facets in the north wing (ibid., pls. 249–57, 265:d–e), but here he usurped his father's cartouches as well. These later operations on the north and south wings did not coincide — for on the south aisle, the *nomen* form is *Rꜥ-ms-s* occurs,⁶¹³ while *Rꜥ-ms-sw* occurs on the north wing in reliefs usurped from Sety I, indicating that the usurpations and conversion of the reliefs on the north wing were done at some point no earlier than year 21.⁶¹⁴ Even more unusually, the short *prenomen* was simply recut in sunk relief, whereas elsewhere (on the west wall and west wing of the south wall), when raised relief was converted, the king's longer *prenomen* was substituted for the now obsolete short one.⁶¹⁵ This suggests, perhaps, that raised-relief decoration on the south wing, especially on the west facet of the pilaster, was converted earlier than similar work on the west and south walls.

Nelson's record omitted decoration on the east-facing facets of both wings of the vestibule (ibid., pls. 261:b and 265:b). In both cases, these narrow surfaces were embellished with vertical columns of large hieroglyphic text giving the extended titularies of Sety I (north) and Ramesses (south).⁶¹⁶

Eastern Vestibule, North Wing (Plates 233–57 + 265)

In sharp contrast to the several phases of Ramesside wall decoration on the southern wing of the Third Pylon's vestibule, those on the north wing were largely homogenous, at least under Sety I (plan 14). This king completed all the decoration here in raised relief toward the very end of his reign. In each scene, Sety kneels to make an offering before one or a pair of divinities. As a group these reliefs are flatter and “blocky,” with less subtle modeling than we have come to expect with Sety I's best relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall. Overlapping elements are indicated with engraved lines and without the layered modeling seen elsewhere.⁶¹⁷ As on the adjoining east wall, the craftsmen sometimes indicated the pleating on Sety's kilt and the plaiting of his wig in the scenes on the lower three registers.

⁶¹³ This is true of both reliefs usurped from Sety I (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 122–29) and scenes carved for Ramesses in raised relief (ibid., pls. 117–18).

⁶¹⁴ Such a later date for the conversion and/or usurpation of reliefs on the north side of the main axis is consistent for the north wing of the vestibule, the first row of smaller columns north of the great ones (cols. 74–80; cartouches only), and scenes on the piers between the window grilles on the northern clerestory. The situation on the north jamb of the western gateway and on the

architraves over the central aisle is more complex. See above, *Chapter 2*, §2.6.

⁶¹⁵ See introductions to the west wall, south wing, and south wall, west side, above.

⁶¹⁶ The southern example is largely destroyed but seems to have been carved in sunk relief with Ramesses II's titulary.

⁶¹⁷ So the king's arm where it crosses his chest or the lappets on a goddess' wig are frequently rendered as a mere engraved line rather than modeled in true relief. E.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 233–35, 242.

Plate 233

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) I.

Location: B 354: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” first register, first extant scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels while offering to an enthroned [divinity].

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: One sees faint traces of red pigment on the king’s belly.

Observations: The remains of this scene are marred by severe weathering of its surface. There are some quarry marks below the king’s belt. The nape of the king’s neck is damaged, and Nelson’s drawing is erroneous here, making it impossible to determine the precise nature of his headdress.⁶¹⁸ The drawing also omits the vertical ribbon bandeau at the edge of the wall behind the king.⁶¹⁹

Translations: No texts are preserved in this scene.

Plate 234

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) II.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 52.

Location: B 361: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” uppermost *in situ* register (“second”), first extant scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I presents ointment to a male divinity⁶²⁰ accompanied by a goddess.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: The goddess’ advancing leg was recut just above her foot. This scene is largely in the same condition as in Nelson’s day. A number of blocks are entirely missing, and portions of the carved surface of those that remain have eroded. Small patch-stones are missing in front of the god’s advancing leg, and, since Nelson’s time, the one bearing the wrist of Sety’s upraised arm has vanished. The drawing omits the buckle of Sety I’s belt, and parts of the stem of the lotus bouquet on the offering stand.

Translations: No texts remain.

⁶¹⁸ It would have been either a cap-crown without streamers (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 145, 157, 180, 194, 210) or a round wig without a diadem (cf. *ibid.*, pls. 208, 211, 217, 222, 231, 236, 245). Examples of the latter always have engraved lines indicating the echelons of curls, so this is probably the cap-crown.

⁶¹⁹ See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 235.

⁶²⁰ The presence of a lettuce plant among the offerings suggests that the god was Amun.

Plate 235

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) II.1.

Location: B 362: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a” second register, second extant scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels to offer Ma‘at to Ptah and Sekhmet (fig. 18).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: The scene is in good condition, although there is some quarry damage, principally along the upper wing of the vulture and the king’s upper body. The masonry is preserved where cols. 5–7 were, but its surface is very eroded. The gap along the right edge of the scene beside col. 10 in Nelson’s drawing is erroneous, and, although damaged, the vertical border pattern is legible here except for a patch-stone missing behind the king’s head. A number of other small patch-stones are also lost, including some still present in Nelson’s time, such as in Ptah’s upper torso and Sekhmet’s elbow joint, before the god’s shins, in Sety’s waist, and behind his foot. The relief carving is crisp, flat, and only lightly modeled. Nelson’s drawing misinterprets a number of details. It fails to capture the beauty and intricacy of Sekhmet’s leonine face. The hem of the king’s kilt above the knee is erroneous, and the lower back of his foot is uncarved, having been partly rendered in plaster due to quarry damage at this spot.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting [Ma‘at to] the lord of heaven^a that he might achieve “given life.”

By Ptah: ²Ptah, lord of Ma‘at, king of the Two Lands, lord of eternity: ³Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. ⁴(I) have given to you all health and all joy.”

By Sekhmet: ⁵[Sekhmet...] ⁶[...]: ⁷W[ords spoken:^c “(I) have given to you] all provisions.”

By the Vulture: ⁸Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis: ⁹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion and all health, ¹⁰all valor and all victory.”

By the King: ¹¹(Long) live the good god, great of monuments in the estate of Amun, ¹²the dual king, lord of [the Two Lands] MENMA‘ATRE, ¹³the son of Re, lord of appearances, SETY-MERENAMUN.

Notes:

^a One would expect *ḥnk (m) mꜣꜥt [n nb mꜣꜥt]* “presenting Ma‘at [to the lord of Ma‘at],” or similar. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 81 right:1 (*ḥnk m mꜣꜥt n itꜣs ꜥmn*), 169:1 (*ḥnk m mꜣꜥt n nbꜣs*). The *m* of predication can be omitted (*ibid.*, pls. 126:1, 213:1). Only part of the flat base of  remains. The reversed orientation of *p.t* is, perhaps, identical to occasional reversals of divine names in label texts. Otherwise, it might just be a hopeless corruption of *ḥnk m mꜣꜥt n nb mꜣꜥt*. These uncertainties are compounded by the unfortunate presence of a block joint. Finally, the lower right corner of  is atypically flat. These oddities may all arise from the draftsman’s imperfect transcription of a hieratic original.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.

^c At the top of col. 7, there is a trace of the head of , which Nelson did not record.

Plate 236

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) III.3–4.

Location: B 368–69: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” uppermost *in situ* register (“third”), first and second scenes from the east.

Subject: (*Left*) Sety I kneels while pouring libation and [offering incense] to a male divinity. (*Right*) Sety I kneels and offers a cup of incense to a goddess.⁶²¹

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: Both scenes are in much the same condition as they were when Nelson drew them, but weathering of the stone along the edges of the raised relief has worsened in several places. On the left, the king’s shin, sole of his foot, back, and shoulder have degraded. On the right, spalling has damaged the goddess’ facial profile, forward shoulder, and the fist and thumb of her rear arm clasping the . The edges of Sety’s wrist and inner forearm holding the incense cup and the thumb of his rear hand have also deteriorated on the right, along with the top of his thigh, his knee, and his heel. The horizontal signs in col. 1 on the right side have also significantly spalled, although leaving behind negative impressions allowing the signs to be read. The same is true of the lower half of the goddess’ scepter. There is also some minor erosion in the text above the king at the bottom of the cartouche rings, on some of the hieroglyphs inside them, and two -baskets in col. 6, although the outlines are clear.

Sety’s figure on the right seems to have been adjusted. There is recutting inside and to the left of his up-raised hand holding the incense cup. There is a marked depression of the surface and some faint lines in front of his profile, indicating that it too was probably adjusted. On the left, his forward arm was recut on its left side just above the elbow joint.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹[Censing and liba]ting.^a

Right:

Label: ¹[Cen]sing to the lady of heaven.^b

By the King: ²[The dual king] MENMA‘ATRE, ³the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN.

By the Vulture: ⁴[Nekhbet as she gives life]^c ⁵like [Re]: “(I) have given to you all valor and all health ⁷like Re forever.”

Notes:

^a So restoring [*ir.t sntr kb*]hw. See glossary s.v. *ir.t sntr kb*hw. Although there are examples of *rdi.t sntr* (GHHK I.1, pls. 2:1, 94:1, 173:1, 230:1), no cases of **rdi.t sntr kb*hw are attested in the Hypostyle Hall wall scenes.

^b The feminine ending *.t* was omitted due to lack of space.

^c The name of the vulture-goddess was probably placed before her leading wingtip with the phrase [*di=s* ‘nh...] *mi* [R’] arranged below the wing. Compare similar examples where the goddess’ name appears before the leading wing or in front of the *di=s ... mi* R’ formula below it: GHHK I.1, pls. 160:6, 163 right:7, 168, 179:9, 209:12, 215 right:7, 240:4, 245:10, 246:5, 247:10, 248:4 (?), and 250 right:6.

⁶²¹ Her apparent lack of a tripartite divine wig might suggest that she is Amunet wearing the Red Crown.

Plate 237

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) III.2.

Location: B 370: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” third register, third scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels to offer lettuce plants to the ithyphallic Amun-Re while Wadjet soars above as a vulture.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: The ancient builders repaired defects in this portion of the wall with several patch-stones, including four behind Amun’s head and shoulders (not three, as the drawing implies). Four smaller ones have since fallen away: a long block under the vulture’s outstretched wing, another that contained Sety’s forehead uraeus, and two more in the region of his torso. The two -glyphs of *nsw-bl.ty* in col. 8 and those of *mḥt.t* in col. 5 have exfoliated, leaving a negative impression of the signs in outline. Otherwise, the scene is well preserved and is largely in the same condition as it was in Nelson’s day, although some of the gaps in the stone have widened. There is some scattered and minor quarry hacking, especially in the king’s forearms and on the block containing Amun’s hand and the handle of his flail. Nelson’s copy left out vertical striations on the king’s wig.

Translations:

By *Amun-Kamutef*: ¹Amun-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²lord of heaven,^a who is upon ³the great seat: ⁴[Words sp]oken:^b “[I] have [gi]ven to you my office and my throne. ⁵(I) have given to y[ou] valor against the south and victory against the north; all flat lands, every foreign hill country, and the Nine Bows being subdu[ed] under your sandals.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

By the Vulture: ⁶Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god who is pleased with Ma‘at, ⁸the dual king MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁰<son> of Amun,^c who issued from his limbs, ¹¹lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves.^d

Notes:

^a So a dittography of *nb p.t.*

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 5.

^c The emendation <*s*> *‘Imn* seems required to make sense of this passage. The term *s*’ was doubtless omitted for lack of space.

^d Definite traces of  are visible.

Plate 238

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) III.1.

Location: B 371: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” third register, fourth scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels before a heavily laden offering table to present two ointment jars to Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: The masonry in this scene has fractured in many places, and this damage has progressed through erosion and sheering away much of the stone since Nelson’s day. The king’s head and upper torso, carved on patch-stones, are now completely gone, as is another containing the bottom front corner of the god’s kilt and the top of his knee. Portions of Sety’s legs, of ointment jars, and of the offering table have decayed. Gone, too, is the tail end of the vulture. Although the king’s head is now entirely gone, traces unrecorded by Nelson are

apparent: namely, the leading edge of his beard where it intersects with his wrist and the snout of his uraeus-serpent's head.⁶²²

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting ointment to Amun.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³Words spoken:^a "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁴(I) have given to you all joy. ⁵(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, you appearing on the dais^b of the *Sed*-festival like Re each day."

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, mistress of the Two Lands.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father who placed him upon his [throne],^c ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁰image of Re before the Two Lands, whom ¹¹Amun himself has chosen.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 5.

^b So reading *tj.t* as *tj.t* "dais." See Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 303.

^c A trace of the upper left corner of  survives below the lower right leaf of . So reading *di sw hr [ns.t]=f*.

Plate 239

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) IV.4.

Location: B 377: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment "a," fourth register, first scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels before Khonsu while the Behdetite falcon flies above.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: Damage to this already much-destroyed scene has progressed markedly since the drawing was made. What remained of the king's head and face and Khonsu's headdress has now worn away. The relief defining most of the hieroglyphs in the texts has also largely exfoliated, leaving only partially legible negative impressions of their outlines. Only the Behdetite falcon remains in good condition, although the lower edge of its upper wing has vanished. The shaded area in the drawing below the king's chin denotes quarry hacking. Streamers behind Sety's neck and shoulders were recut in antiquity.

Translations:

By Khonsu: ¹Khonsu [...]:^a ²Words spoken:^b "(I) [have] given to^c you all valor and victory. ³(I) have given [to] you all life, [and dominion]^d and all health."

By the Falcon: ⁴[The Behdetite], the great god of [variegated] plumage, as [h]e gives life.

By the King: ⁵Wadjet^e as she [gives life, dominion...]^f ⁶Horus: mighty bull, "appearing [in] Thebes," ⁷[the dual king, lord] of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, ⁹given li[fe like Re...].

Notes:

^a The god's epithets would have continued on two more columns before and behind his plumes.

^b Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

^c All the -signs in the two *di.n=(i) n=k* formulae have now disappeared.

^d Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 238:3.

^e Identified by the papyrus stalk she is perched on.

^f Cf. similar examples with Wadjet or Nekhbet: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 36:43, 76:35 and 40, 154:14, 163 left:8, 165 right:7, 168:10, 178:19, 179:10, 209:13, 215 right:6, 225:5, 240:5, 246:5, 251 right:5.

⁶²² The king's Double Crown should have both a uraeus and the coiled wire of the Red Crown. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 15, 74, 77, 130.

Plate 240

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) IV.3.

Location: B 378: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” fourth register, second scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels with a bouquet with lettuce stalks before ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Traces of decayed paint define the broad collars of Amun and Sety I, but their colors have faded.

Observations: Some gaps between blocks have widened since the drawing was made, but most of the new damage takes the form of exfoliation of the carved surface. Spalling along the faces of both figures has progressed, obscuring their profiles. Much of the god’s flail, the outlines of his plumes, and many of the hieroglyphs have also decayed, leaving negative outlines.

Recutting is limited to the back of the god’s helmet-crown and to his beard. The drawing omits some details like the fold in the king’s *khat*-wig above his ear and the buckle of his belt. Unusually, the bracelet on his upper arm was indicated with carved lines, albeit crudely. The lotus blooms on the offering stand are not fully defined in bas-relief because the background matrix of stone was not fully carved back around them. Lashings at the bottom of the cartouche ring of Sety’s *prenomen* are narrower than on his *nomen*. Further oddities are two misshapen “buds” flanking the large blooms of the king’s bouquet adjacent to the lettuce plants.⁶²³

Translations:

By Amun: ¹A[mun]-Re pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ²who is upon his seat, ³lord of heaven, king of all the gods.

By the Vulture: ⁴Nekhbet,^a the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives life and dominion like Re.

By the King: ⁵Beloved of Nekhbet,^b as she gives life and dominion. ⁶(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun, ⁷the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

Notes:

^a Although the sign is quite eroded, the preserved traces suit , not  as Nelson records.

^b The vulture suggests that this goddess is meant. The flower on the plant stock is now too eroded to identify with certainty.

Plate 241

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) IV.2.

Location: B 379: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall “a,” fourth register, third scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels with bouquets before Amun-Re and Mut.

Type of Relief: Raised (figs. 255, 284).

Paint: There are extensive traces of discolored paint revealing the pattern of the original polychrome, although not always its tint. The stripes on the king’s *nemes*-headdress are discernible, as is the rear shoulder strap of Amun’s corslet. There is whitewash on some of the blossoms of the tall bouquet and traces of blue-green pigment on the bloom directly above his fist and the second large blossom two places above it. The pattern of filaments on the two largest papyrus blooms near the top of this bouquet is also visible.⁶²⁴ Amun’s broad collar and the left shoulder strap and upper hem of his corslet are visible. The collar has narrow concentric bands of alternating colors (probably once blue and green) and a wider outermost band with a floral petal motif. Faint

⁶²³ For examples of the king offering a bouquet with two lettuce plants, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 116, 134, 247, 254.

⁶²⁴ Cf. commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 171 and 180.

bits of blue pigment adhere to his corslet. The bands of Mut's broad collar are there, but the color is lost. Long ribbons fashioned as a belt around Mut's midriff are fainter than Nelson's drawing suggests.

Observations: The scene is in much the same condition as when the drawing was made, although decay around the king's lower body has progressed. Sety's uraeus is entirely hacked out. The damage does not appear recent, and one wonders if inclusion of the uraeus was a slip of the pen by Nelson. Erosion has destroyed the back of Amun's head and neck behind and below his ear along with Mut's chin. Spalling of the relief along Mut's lower torso and legs mars her outline. The vulture's head has also disappeared along with the middle of col. 11. The ribbon behind Amun's head is not misaligned, as Nelson's drawing suggests. In cols. 4–6, many of the hieroglyphic signs have exfoliated, leaving ghostly outlines.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: ²Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all valor like Re."

Behind Amun: Protection and life surround him.

By Mut: ³Mut, lady ⁴⁻⁵of heaven, mistress of all flat lands:^a ⁶Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: "(I) have given to you all valor."

By the Vulture: ⁷Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god who makes monuments, ⁹the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MEREN[A]MUN, ¹¹who performs benefactions for the one who bore him,^b who makes content^c the house ¹²of his father like the horizon of heaven.

Notes:

^a The plural ending of *nb.w* implies that *t3w nb.w* was meant, although only *t3.wy* is present. One would expect Mut's usual epithet *ḥnw.t t3.wy* "mistress of the Two Lands," unless the scribe has confused this phrase with another title, *ḥnw.t nṯr.w nb.w* "mistress of all the gods." Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 244:2.

^b Here *ms s* has been written for *ms sw*.

^c The scribe has apparently written  for the determinative .

Plate 242

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) IV.1.

Location: B 380: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment "a," fourth register, fourth scene from the east.

Subject: [Sety I kneels and presents ointment] before Re-Horakhty and the goddess She-Comes-and-Is-Great. A vulture hovers above the now missing king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faint scarring indicates the pattern of the goddess' broad collar, but no pigment remains.

Observations: Damage to the lower portions of the scene has progressed since Nelson recorded it. Fragmentary hieroglyphs below the vulture's downswep wing have vanished, and the stone has further broken up around Re-Horakhty's legs. The back of the goddess' head and the tail of her vulture crown are now lost. Nelson omitted the upper edge of Re-Horakhty's sun disk, which is preserved at the bottom of cols. 2 and 3. Damage at the tops of cols. 6 and 7 has progressed, and the sculptor recut the goddess' wig lappet and the wing of her vulture cap.

Translations:

Label: ¹[Censing]^a to [Re]-Horakhty.

By Re-Horakhty: ²Re-Horakhty the great god, ³lord of heaven, ruler of [Heliopol]lis: ⁴Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re."^b

By the Goddess: ⁵She-[Co]mes-and-Is-Great,^c lady of heaven ⁶as she gives life, dominion, ⁷valor, victory, ⁸health, and joy.

By the Vulture: [...] heart [...] dominion [...].

Notes:

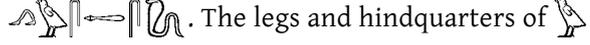
- ^a A slight trace of the lower left side of a hieroglyph may be reconstructed a number of ways. Perhaps the most likely is to read , a ceramic cup from which issues a wisp of incense smoke, a variant of Gardiner, S-L., W 10: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 17, 60, 81 left, 84 left, 94, 138, 175, 250. In favor of this reading is a small vertical line above the cup. We may restore the label as something like *[ir.t sntr] n R^c-Hr-ḫ.ty* “[censing] to Re-Horakhty.”
- ^b Nelson’s numbering system has omitted 4.
- ^c Reading . The legs and hindquarters of  are clear.

Plate 243

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59–60 (177) V.

Location: B 385a, 385–86: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “a,” bottom register, first, second, and third scenes from the east.

Subject: (Left) Fragmentary scene. (Middle) Sety I before Amunet. (Right) [Sety I] before Amun-Re and Khonsu.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: All three scenes are in much the same condition as they were in Nelson’s day. In some cases, the hieroglyphs have suffered from weathering, although their outlines are legible. In the middle scene, the drawing omits the king’s eyebrow, the visor and fold of his *nemes*- or *khat*-headdress, and the coiled body of his uraeus. The hood of the uraeus has disintegrated. The top of his head is recut, as are his forehead and the bridge of his nose. On the right, the top of Khonsu’s sidelock was left out of the drawing. The upper left side of his lunar disk was also reworked.

Translations:

Left:

By the Deity: ¹“[...in years]^a ²[...] Horus, that you might achieve millions ³[of jubilees...]^b and millions of myriads of yea[rs]^c [...], and the flat lands and hill countries (being) under your sandals,^d without [op]osing [your arm...].”^e

Middle:

By Amunet: ¹Amunet who resides in ²Karnak: ⁴Words spoken:^f “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. ⁵(I) have given to you all health and [all] joy.”

By the King: ⁶The dual king, [...lord of the Two Lands]^g MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷the son of Re, image of Atum, lord of [appearan]ces [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, ⁸who makes monuments with a loving heart for [...], given life like Re.

Right:

By Khonsu: ¹Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep [...].

Notes:

- ^a Restoring something like *m rnp.wt*. One sees definite traces of the feet and tail of  followed, perhaps, by a badly eroded .
- ^b So one would expect *ir=k ḫḫ.w [m ḫb.w-sd]*.
- ^c So reading *ḫḫ.w n ḫfn.w m rnp.[wt]*. The traces of a kneeling figure has one knee upraised, the other down, which suits another  rather than  or similar
- ^d This column belongs to the right-hand scene, but was numbered with the middle scene as col. 3 by Nelson.
- ^e The last sign is perhaps  or . The trace above it is more obscure, but might be . The horizontal is not flat, as Nelson records, but undulates slightly, more in keeping with the body of . We may therefore restore something like *n[n ḫs]f[^c=k]...* For parallels, see glossary s.v. *ḫsf*.
- ^f Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 5.
- ^g By analogy with col. 7, there should have been another unusual epithet between *nsw-bi.ty* and *[nb ḫ^cw]*, but it is impossible to know what it was.

Plate 265B

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Location: B 355: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “b.”

Subject: In this tall, narrow space, two columns of large-scale hieroglyphic texts face each other. On the right (facing left) is a string of Sety I’s fivefold titulary beginning with his Horus name. On the left is the speech of Amun-Re, identified by an enthroned figure of the god holding a -scepter in one hand while with the other he proffers an  to the beak of Sety’s Horus falcon in the adjacent column. Below this enlarged ideogram of Amun-Re is his speech beginning with the *dd mdw in* formula. The format of this inscription closely matches those of texts on the architraves in the Hall, some of which begin with enthroned Amun-Re ideograms extending life to the Horus falcon.⁶²⁵ As with the double inscriptions on the east–west–running architraves in the central nave and its vicinity, one text begins with the royal titulary, and the other has the speech of the god represented by the ideogram. Such texts also serve as a kind of “scene” in that the king’s protocol functions as a manifestation of the ruler himself.⁶²⁶ A chief difference here is the fact that this text is arranged vertically, whereas architrave texts are horizontal. The texts on the pilaster are enclosed by a kind of box with a  at the top.⁶²⁷ A vertical text divider separates the columns below the level of the Amun figure and Horus falcon at the top. Even closer parallels are the pilasters on the south wall of the first court of the Khonsu temple at Karnak.⁶²⁸

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Apparently overlooked by Nelson, the relief is very damaged in spots, and the entire lower half is gone. In terms of its quality, the relief work is inconsistent; while some hieroglyphs are well carved, others are incompletely defined in relief.⁶²⁹ Sporadic quarry damage and imperfect smoothing of the walls, which is often worse in corners, and the depredations of the millennia have further conspired to rob this relief of its original grandeur.

Translations:

By *Amun-ideogram*: Amun-Re: “Life and dominion belong to your [nose].”^a

Speech of Amun (left column): Words spoken by the lord of the th[rones] of the Two Lands:^b “O my son of my body^c [my beloved]^d the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, my heart is glad [through love of you,]^e (and) [I]^f rejoice at [seeing] yo[ur] monuments.^g

Sety I’s Titulary (right column): Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” Two Ladies: “[repeater] of births, powerful of strength,^h who subdues the Nine Bows,” Horus-of-Gold: “repeater of appearances, [powerful of bows in all lands,]” the dual king MENMA‘ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN.ⁱ

Notes:

^a Reading ‘nh w3s r [fnd]=k. The tiny scale of the text and its separation from the main column below militates in favor of it being taken as separate from the latter. The absence of a verb, that is, *di.n=(i) n=k, is due to the lack of space, although one could read the figure of Amun as di=i, resulting in “I give life and dominion to your [nose].”

^b Reading nb ns.[wt] t3.wy. Of ns.wt, only the top rim of a single  on the left remains.

⁶²⁵ Rondot, *Les architraves*, pls. 3 (no. 4), 8 (nos. 13–14), 10 (nos. 18 and 31).

⁶²⁶ Spieser, *Les noms du pharaon*, pp. 32–41, and cf. catalog nos. 149–51, 163–64, 168, 172–73.

⁶²⁷ Cf. similar enclosures around royal titulary in some of the wall scenes: *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 76–77, 197. Such arrangements of

royal titulary with sky-signs are identified by Speiser as the *cadre cosmique* (ibid., pls. 23–29), and serve to reinforce the sense of pharaoh’s universal rule.

⁶²⁸ *Khonsu II*, pls. 135B–138B.

⁶²⁹ In this respect, it is much like the marginal decoration at the northwest and southwest corners. Cf. pls. 41 right and 170.

- ^c This phrase and much of what follows have numerous parallels in the Hypostyle Hall. Cf. inter alia *GHHK* I.1, pls. 49:15–18, 76:28, 77:2–4, 101:3–5, 107 right:3–4, 163 left:2–4, 178:3–7, 200:1–3, 226:2–5. None of the parallels is exact.
- ^d The gap is roughly one tall group of signs high. Based on parallels cited above, the most likely phrase is *mry=i*.
- ^e One would expect [*n mr.wt=k*]. Traces of  and, farther below,  are visible.
- ^f One would expect *h'i.k(wi)*. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 49:18, 77:4, 178:6, 200:3, 226:5. The latter three examples, all dating under Sety I, have the  determinative. The verb is here written . Below it is the top of .
- ^g So restoring *n [mꜣꜣ m]nw=k*. One sees traces of . Below this, all is destroyed except for a small trace of a tilted  like that held by a squatting deity.
- ^h Due to imperfect smoothing of the surface, the  was partly cut in plaster.
- ⁱ Nothing below *whm h'w* remains, but we may restore something like [*wsr pd.wt m tꜣ.w nb.w, nsw-bi.ty Mn-Mꜣꜣ.t-R' sꜣ R' Sty-mr-n-'Imn...*]. Cf. pl. 170. It is unclear what additional titles or phrases might have preceded or followed either cartouche.

Plate 244

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) I.

Location: B 356: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “c,” top register *in situ* (“first”).

Subject: Sety I kneels to offer -jars to Mut.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Mut’s flesh is yellow, her wig is blue, and her dress green. Her broad collar has concentric bands of blue and green. The side of her throne is painted with alternating blue, green, and red stripes. There is yellow paint on the offering stand and bread offering.

Observations: There is light quarry damage in the region of Mut’s legs and below the horizontal gap that bisects the scene. Scattered chisel gouges mar the upper part of the scene around the king’s head and hands. Two square holes at the top of the scene are missing either patch-stones or beam holes.

Nelson’s drawing is inaccurate at several points. He exaggerates the size of the king’s knee, the middle part of Mut’s scepter is not as complete as drawn, and he does not capture the offerings on the table between the figures, which are undamaged. These consist of a tall, narrow cone of incense in the center flanked by parallel arrangements of round bread loaves, each surmounted by a basket of fruit and an eggplant. Finally, the lower corners of the sky-border at the top of the scene merge with the narrow vertical borders that frame the scene. On the left, the gap between col. 3 and this frame is considerably wider than Nelson indicated. Note that Mut’s headdress has a uraeus although its head is damaged.

Translations:

By Mut: ¹Mut, lady^a of heaven, ²mistress of all the gods: ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy — surrounds her^b like Re.”

By the King: ⁴The good god, [the son]^c of Amun, ⁵lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA‘ATRE, ⁶[the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁷given life like Re] forever.

Behind the King: All protection, life, stability, and dominion.^d

Notes:

^a Written without the feminine marker *.t*.

^b The end of the protection formula *hꜣꜣs mi R'* has been mixed in with the goddess’ speech.

^c  has disappeared in the gap or the scribe omitted it.

^d The end of the protection formula was omitted.

Plate 245

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) II; Isis and body of Amun-Re, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 52.

Location: B 363: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “c,” second register.

Subject: Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun-Re and Isis, while Nekhbet soars as a vulture (fig. 289).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint:⁶³⁰ Sety’s flesh is red, his kilt yellow, and his wig and beard blue. The concentric bands of his broad collar are mostly blue with a wider band of yellow and a final blue band at the outer edge. His armbands and wrist bracelets are blue and yellow. His belt has a latticework pattern in faded pigment. Blue also remains on the king’s cartouche rings and the scene divider behind him. Amun’s broad collar contains concentric bands with a wide outer rim of floral petals, the color of which has faded. Yellow sticks to his helmet-crown, and his beard is blue. Also discernible are the goddess’ broad collar, the shoulder straps and upper hem of her dress, and the belt with streamers tied around her waist, all of which Murnane recorded as blue. Above her ankles, the lower hem of the dress had three narrow horizontal bands framing wider spaces with short vertical stripes in a latticework pattern, the color of which seems to be blue.⁶³¹ Her wig is a darker color, probably blue, with a yellow diadem. The vulture’s inner wing and the sky-sign above the scene are blue. The small podiums on which Amun and his fetish stand are both a darker color, perhaps blue. His lettuce stalks appeared green to Murnane.

Observations: The scene is in good condition. There is quarry damage along the edges of some blocks, especially in the king’s chest and the god’s upraised arm and flail, but much of the plaster infill used to patch these cavities coheres. The vertical crosshatching at the base of Sety’s wig as drawn by Nelson is erroneous; instead, the sculptors carved only horizontal lines inside the wig.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re who is pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ²the great god, ³lord of heaven, ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵“(I) have given to you my seat, my throne and my lifetime existing upon earth.”

Above Isis: ⁶Isis the great, ⁷[mother of the gods],^a lady of heaven, ⁸mistress of [the gods (and) the Two Lan]ds.^b

By the Vulture: ⁹Nekhbet ¹⁰as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

By the King: ¹¹[(Long) live] the good [god],^c image of Re, whom Amun himself has chosen, ¹²the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ¹³the son of Re, lord of appearances, SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁴given life like Re forever.

Notes:

^a So restoring *mw.t ntr* in the gap.

^b While the  is clear, traces of  are more ambiguous. Moreover, there is a definite trace of  above the tip of Isis’ rear cow’s horn that Nelson missed. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 183, n. 276) reads, “die Gebieterin (aller Götter)” by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pl. 214:8–9. The presumed spacing of the glyphs seems too wide for a reading of simply *hnw.t [t̄.w]y*. Perhaps restoring something like    *hnw.t [nt̄.rw t̄.w]y* “mistress of the gods (and) of the Two Lands,” with *hnw.t* doing “double duty.”

^c Nelson failed to record the lower part of  above the solar disk. For nearby parallels to the ‘*nh ntr nfr*’ formula, cf., inter alia, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 237:7, 238:7, 240:6, 241:8, 248:5, 251 left:6, 254:9, 256:6.

⁶³⁰ Although most of the paint is still evident, some of the colors Murnane observed in the 1970s and 1980s are no longer clear.

⁶³¹ On this lower hem, cf. our color notes to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 70 and 74.

Plate 246

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) III; Amun and Amunet: Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 52.

Location: B 372: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “c,” third register.

Subject: Sety I kneels to present -jars to Amun-Re and Amunet (fig. 369).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint:⁶³² Amun’s face, arms, legs, and chest are blue, while his corslet, the chin strap securing his false beard, his kilt, corslet, and helmet-crown are yellow. His broad collar has bands of blue alternating with a lighter color. His armlets, one of them omitted in the drawing, consist of two tiers of alternating yellow and blue vertical blue stripes separated by yellow horizontal bands. His ankle bracelets have the same design. The upper hem and shoulder straps of his corslet and the lower hem of his kilt are decorated with blue rectangles against a yellow background. His broad collar has narrow bands of blue separated by narrower bands in lighter color (yellow?), with a wider outer band of a floral petal design in blue. The latticework pattern on his belt is partly intact, but the color has faded. It had an Isis-knot below the belt buckle in blue and a lighter color.

Sety I’s flesh is red, his beard blue, and his *shendyt*-kilt yellow, although its lower hem is carved, not painted, as Nelson’s drawing suggests. Sety’s *nemes*-headdress has alternating stripes in yellow and blue. His belt has a latticework pattern in blue against a yellow background. Amunet’s crown is red. The colors on her limbs and body have largely faded beyond recognition, but the lattice pattern of the bracelet and armlet on her forward arm, the upper hem and forward shoulder strap of her dress, and portions of the folded-wing design of her dress (parts of which are blue) are visible.⁶³³

Some color abides on other parts of the scene. The two baskets of fruit have an alternating pattern of darker (blue) and lighter (yellow) squares like a chessboard. The “domes” at the top are blue, representing grapes. The vulture above Sety has red on its neck, hocks, and rump, with blue on its tail and the interior of the rear wing. The most elaborate polychrome is found in the square at the base of the king’s *serekh* in col. 7. It is embellished with red and blue vertical (lower part) and horizontal (upper part) stripes against a white background with a green horizontal stripe at the top of the square. There are also dark marks against a light (yellow?) background defining the ribbing on and separation between the door leaves at the center of the square.

Observations: The scene is well preserved, although some masonry along the left edge and lower right corner has sheared away. Quarry hacking, which contains some of the original plaster patching remaining, occurs around the king’s shoulders and his upper torso and in cols. 6–7. The plaster inside the *serekh* has swollen, obliterating . Plaster also adheres in two horizontal swathes in the gaps between blocks along the shoulders of the two divinities and in the upper left side of the scene.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.”

By Amunet: ³Amunet who resides in Kar[nak]: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all^a food and all provisions.”

By the Vulture: ⁵Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁶Wadjet^b as she gives life and dominion. ⁷Horus: mighty bull, “[who causes] the Two Lands [to live],”

⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁰given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Here  was miscarved for .

^b Her identity is suggested by the papyrus stalk upon which  rests. Note the -scepter extending diagonally to the Horus falcon of the king’s Horus name in col. 7.

⁶³² The colors were more apparent when Murnane observed them in the 1970s and 1980s, although substantial polychrome is still visible today.

⁶³³ For the folded wing design, cf. our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 191; *Abydos* IV, pls. 1, 7, 13, 20, 23, 26, 30.

Plate 247

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) IV; Amun-Re and Mut: Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 52.

Location: B 381: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “c,” fourth register.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents a bouquet and lettuce stalks to ithyphallic Amun-Re and Mut while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture (fig. 285).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: There are traces of blue in the following elements: on the sky-sign above the figures, the vulture’s forward wing by her body, the king’s wig, some of the feathers on Amun’s flabellum, and the pedestals supporting Amun and his fetish. The lettuce stalks behind Amun are green, while the flabellum between them has red and blue plumes. Other colors are less certain. Fainter traces of discolored pigment in narrow concentric bands define the broad collars of Amun and Mut. The outermost band of the god’s collar is wider than the others and would have had a floral petal design, now faded. Amun has a bracelet on his wrist and an armband around his bicep with a latticework pattern. The chin strap of his false beard is visible. Two long sashes, and above them a faint horizontal band, define the pattern of Mut’s belt-sash.⁶³⁴ Her flesh is yellow. The calyxes on the right lotus at the top of Sety’s bouquet are barely discernible.

Observations: Masonry along both the left and right edges of the scene has sheared away, destroying portions of Mut’s figure and Sety’s. Quarry marks are most severe along the edges of the blocks and were mended with plaster that remains partly intact. Most of the god’s phallus and Sety’s forearms were carved in this medium and are damaged as a result.

The sculptors made cosmetic modifications to the proportions of Amun’s lower leg from the calf to the heel, extended his toe, and recut the left side of the offering stand. A few minor inaccuracies and omissions have crept into Nelson’s drawing, so there are vertical striations on the king’s wig, and his neckline are intact. The artist delicately rendered Sety’s thumbnails and Mut’s. The bottom of her wig lappet is not flat, but actually slopes down slightly to the left. The tips of lettuce stalks are also not quite as Nelson drew them.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²the great god, king of the gods, ³lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given [to] you all valor.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By Mut: ⁵Mut the great, lady of heaven, ⁶mistress of all the gods, ⁷as she gives life and all valor, ⁸and all health on her part.

By the Vulture: ⁹Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, ¹⁰as she gives life, stability, dominion, and all health on her part like Re.

By the King: ¹¹The dual king, lord of [the Two Lands] MENMA‘ATRE, ¹²the son of Re, lord of [appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹³given [life like] Re each day.

⁶³⁴ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 70, 241, 245.

Plate 248

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) V.

Location: B 387: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “c,” bottom register.

Subject: Sety I (figure largely destroyed) kneels and presents a *nemset-jar* to Amun Re and a [goddess]. Nekhbet in her vulture form hovers above the king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Aside from traces of blue in the sky-sign above the figures, no pigment has weathered the elements.

Observations: Much of what remains of this scene is seriously affected by natural decay of the sandstone taking the form of innumerable small cavities and striations. Large portions of the scene, including most of the king and all but the staff of the goddess behind Amun, are missing. The artists retouched their work at several locations on Amun’s figure, including the back of the ribbon behind his crown, his rear arm near the armpit, and his forward shoulder. Recutting of Sety’s image occurs on his forehead, uraeus, front of his *nemes*-headcloth, and the crook of his arm below his neck. The “flag” of  in col. 5 was also enlarged. Nelson omitted the fold in Sety’s headcloth above the ear.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, king of the gods: ²Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all valor and victory. ³(I) have given to you all health^b and joy.”

By Goddess: [...] all [...].^c

By the Vulture: ⁴Nekhbet, the bright one [of Hierakonpolis...].

By the King: ⁵(Long) li[ve] the good god who performs benefactions in the estate of his [father] Amun, ⁶[the dual king] MENMA‘ATRE, ⁷[the son of Re] SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁸[im]age of [Re] before the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen ⁹him[self] to be sole lord upon earth [...], given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

^b So omitting the  of *snb* “health.”

^c It is not clear if the tall narrow sign above  is  or the shaft of a larger sign like . Here, the relief is obscured by natural fissures from the decay of the stone.

Plate 249 (+ 265 “D”)

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176b) I and II.1-2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 58.

Location: B 352 + 357-58: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “d,” first and second registers.

Subject: At the very top, adjoining the architrave, a seated figure of Amun-Re (pl. 265:d) faces out from the temple, symbolically greeting the king whose dedicatory texts he faces. In the register below, there are two scenes. Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels below a sun disk flanked by cobras in both scenes and (*left*) offers two jars of ointment to enthroned Khonsu (pl. 249 top), and (*right*) offers *Mꜣꜥ.t* to Ptah, seated within a shrine (pl. 249 bottom).

Type of Relief: The top vignette (Amun) is raised. Sety I initially carved the scenes below as raised, but Ramesses II changed them to sunk relief when he took possession of the Hall’s central aisle. Traces of the original raised version are apparent (*left*) at the lower edge of the half-moon on Khonsu’s head, above his forehead, and (*right*) at the upper lintel of the shrine and at Ptah’s forehead. The right end of the sky-sign above Ptah and the vertical border behind his shrine (*right*) and the frame behind the king (*left*) were also left in raised relief. The

quality of the reworked relief was often crude, especially on the support poles of Ptah's shrine. A few traces of the original *prenomens* of Sety I also survive in both scenes.

Paint: In the upper vignette, Amun has blue skin. His bracelets, ankle bands, tail, and garment are yellow, while his plumes are white.⁶³⁵ The side of his throne is painted with alternating horizontal blue, green, and red bands (much faded). Below (*left*) Khonsu's flesh is blue, the king's collar is also blue, as is his wig (with the fillet in a lighter, faded color), and his flesh is red. Here and in the scene to the right, horizontal stripes can be made out on the sides of the thrones, but the colors have faded.

Observations: The Amun at the top occupies wall space adjacent to an architrave. The relief is in excellent condition, although there is a large patch of quarry damage mended with now much decayed plaster in front of him, which Nelson drew as if the masonry was lost. There is insufficient room for a king here, but the space could have accommodated an offering stand.⁶³⁶

Below the architrave, the top of the scene (*left*) has suffered from the settling of the heavy architrave blocks above. At the base of the scene, there is quarry damage along the edge of the block under the king's knee and at the back of the base of the god's throne. In the adjoining scene (*right*), there are chisel marks coated with decaying plaster on Ptah's body and throne. Severe gouging mars the figure of Ma'at, which the king offers, and the space between the top of her head and the cartouches. A large blob of plaster into which the goddess' feather was sculpted is intact. Most of her head and body were lost when the rest of the stucco onto which she was carved fell away. The top of Ptah's scepter was partly cut in plaster as well. Since the relief was not subjected otherwise to malicious damage, it seems best to interpret this chisel gouging as the result of imperfect smoothing of the blocks from the quarry, not the iconoclastic depredations of later occupants of the Hall, who did, however, introduce a beam hole at the upper left corner. Nelson's drawing misinterprets the merging of the vertical frames at either end of the scene with the sky-sign above it. Moreover, the frame on the left consists of a single narrow line more like that on the right.

Translations:

Top:

By Amun: Amun-Re, king of the gods.

Bottom Left:

Label: ¹Presenting ointment, ²that he might achieve "given life."

By Khonsu: ³Khonsu-in-⁴Thebes Neferhotep.

By the King: ⁵The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^a ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.^b

Bottom Right:

Label (erased, not recorded by Nelson): Presenting Ma'at to her lord.^c

By Ptah: ¹Ptah, lord of Ma'at: ²"(I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion."

By Sun Disk: ³<The Behdetite>, as he gives all life like Re.

By the King: ⁴The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d ⁵the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.^e

Notes:

^a The lap of the original  of Sety I's *premen* can be seen between the final R' and .

^b This curious "mirror image" of the *nomen* (which reverses the normal positions of "Re," "Amun," and "ms-sw") could be more than a simple mistake: it may reflect the primacy in this temple of Amun, whose figure is represented as facing out from the building's interior (as is seen regularly on the columns and abaci). Notably, this reversal occurs only when "Re" and "Amun" are written with their divine images (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 250–51), rather than alphabetically, when the normal arrangement is used (*ibid.*, pls. 252, 255–57). Note,

⁶³⁵ The background was white, but the openwork design on them would have been yellow, now faded.

⁶³⁶ The corresponding scene on the south wing of the vestibule (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 117), is narrower than the present episode.

moreover, that the “Amun” hieroglyph is also found reversed on *ibid.*, pl. 254, where [ms]-s is grouped in the proper order. In pl. 251, *ms-sw* is arranged in the conventional order on the left, but not on the right.

^c So reading . The raised relief signs have been sliced away but were never recarved in sunk relief. Roughened surfaces and faint engraved outlines preserve largely complete traces of the original signs.

^d Of the original *prenomen*, the left side of the original  (a trace of the somewhat larger *R'* of Sety I's *prenomen*) is evident; and part of the top horizontal of  remains between the final  and *R'*.

^e In this cartouche,  appears to be holding a -feather instead of his usual -scepter.

Plate 250

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176b) III.1–2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 58.

Location: B 364–65: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “d,” third register.

Subject: Two scenes: in each one, Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath the vulture-goddess Nekhbet and (*left*) offers a cup of incense to Mut and (*right*) proffers a finger to anoint the brow of the ibis-headed god Thoth.

Type of Relief: Initially carved as raised for Sety I, Ramesses II converted it to sunk relief and replaced his fathers' names with his own. Traces of the original raised version can be seen inside the cartouches in both scenes and in the *serekh* (*right*), at the bottom of the *nomen* cartouche (*left*). Raised edges along the backs of the king and Thoth, as well as at the front of Thoth's leg and the back of the king's head (*right*), are also visible. Behind the king (*left*), the vertical frame was left in raised relief, while that behind Thoth (*left*) was only partly recut in sunk relief. The raised-relief ground line upon which the figures stand was incompletely erased but not recut as sunken. The main figures sometimes project out farther than the negative space around them, a further artifact of the conversion of the relief. Above the head of Thoth's *w3s*-scepter (*left*), there are distinct traces of an erased raised-relief cobra-goddess resting on a basket and extending a small *w3s*-scepter toward the falcon in the king's Horus name at right.⁶³⁷ Behind the cobra's body, the sculptor began to carve a -glyph that identifies the cobra as Wadjet.

Paint: Above, the sky-sign is blue. (*Left*) Mut's wig is blue, as is the wing of her vulture-headdress. The king's *khat*-headcloth is gold, his collar blue, and the skin of his belly and chest (below his arm) red. (*Right*) The figures have red flesh, and Thoth's wig is blue.

Observations: On the left, Nelson failed to draw the bottom of the king's right (i.e., upper) arm, which is visible amid the damage above the block line, to the left of the figure's (lost) elbow. He also omitted the interior of the vulture's rear wing, but here the carved details are not as elaborate as on the other wing, nor are their proportions like the corresponding wing on the other vulture. The feathers along the bottom of the left vulture's forward wing were partly erased when the relief was transformed into sunk relief. Also left out is the separation between the vulture's feathery hocks.

There is no malicious damage to the figures, and hacking at the upper right corner behind the -hieroglyph is due to the block's rough treatment at the quarry. The flap on Ramesses' *shendyt*-kilt (*right*) is not as complete as Nelson drew it, having been partly erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹Censing to the lady of heaven.

By Mut: ²Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods: ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor. ⁴(I) have given to you every offering, all provisions, all health (and) all joy like Re.”

Behind Mut: ⁵Protection and life surround her.

⁶³⁷ Compare, e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pl. 251 right.

By the Vulture: ⁵Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven, ⁶as she gives life.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ^a
⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ^b ⁹given life like Re, ¹⁰the image of Re before the
Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

Right:

By Thoth: ¹Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, the great god: ²Words spoken: ^c“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.
³(I) have given to you the years of Atum. ⁴(I) have given to you eternity as king. ⁵(I) have given to you all
life, stability, and dominion (and) all health.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁷Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,” ^d ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual
USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ^e ⁹the son of Re, whom he loves, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ^f
¹⁰great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

Notes:

- ^a A trace of the lower chest of  from Sety I's *prenomen* can be made out to the right of the final goddess' knee, and a trace of the original  is discernible to the left of the final *Stp.n*
- ^b The knee of , the back of the second , and  below are visible under the final *ms-sw*.
- ^c Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–4.
- ^d Traces of Sety I's erased Horus name, *h^c-m-W3s.t*, are clearly visible under Ramesses II's final version.
- ^e The front of the original goddess' plume and most of her  are detectable.
- ^f Part of the back of the first  (of “Sety”) can be seen between the bottom of the final  and the top of .

Plate 251

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176b) IV.1–2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 58.

Location: B 373–74: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “d,” fourth register.

Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath a vulture-goddess and (*left*) offers a figure of *M3^c.t* to falcon-headed Re-Horakhty, and (*right*) presents a *nemset*-jar and a censer to Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Here again Ramesses II converted the raised relief of his father Sety I into sunk relief. Traces of Sety's names are detectable inside the cartouche rings in both scenes. The main figures often project out against the negative space around them. Other hallmarks of these transformations include (*left*) raised edges along the left side of the god's tail and (*right*) at Amun's back shoulder, front knee, and the top of his back plume. Behind the king on the left, a vertical border is still in raised relief. The proportions of the figures are sometimes odd due to this process, for example (*left*) the short wingtip feathers on the vulture's downswep wing and (*right*) the king's forward arm is overly slender, especially when compared to his rear upper arm where it crosses his chest (still raised from the original edition). The ground line under both scenes was left as raised. Finally, raised versions of a label text and a *di.n=(i) n=k* formula between the king and Re-Horakhty (*left*) were erased but never recut in sunk relief (see translations below).

Paint: (*Left*) The sun disk on the god's head is red. (*Right*) The king's flesh is red (at his chin and upper hand), as is the fleshy part of the vulture's rear end and the lower tier of its front wing. The top and back of this wing is green, as is most of the vulture's rear wing (but the lower front feathers here may be of a different color). Decayed pigment shows the pattern of the Ramesses II's broad collar, the stripes on his *nemes*-headcloth, and Amun's broad collar, but the colors are uncertain.

Plate 252

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176b) V.1–2.

Location: B 382–83: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “d,” fifth register.

Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath a vulture-goddess and (*left*) offers a bouquet to Amun-Re, and (*right*) presents a conical loaf to an ithyphallic image of Min-Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Initially carved for Sety I in raised relief, Ramesses II changed it to sunken relief. There are many traces of the earlier raised version along the edges of the present carvings. This process resulted in certain peculiarities: the bouquet was left raised within the sunken trough cut around it, and some interior details of the relief were partly erased and never recarved, namely, the bottom of the both vultures’ forward wings and the back of Ramesses II’s wig and diadem (*right*). The rigid streamers behind his wig were erased and never converted, while the flower-shaped terminal at the back of the diadem was left raised.

Paint: (*Right*) The king’s face, arms, and legs (including his thigh) are red, and the Min-Amun’s pedestal and the sky-sign are blue.

Observations: Large portions of the masonry on which both scenes were carved have sheared away. (*Left*) Nelson omitted the vertical striations on the king’s wig. The battered condition of the relief makes it difficult to identify the erased names of Sety I inside the usurped cartouches. (*Right*) Traces of “Sety” can be seen inside the *nomen* cartouche, but nothing of his *prenomen* or Horus name is evident.

Translations:

Left:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: ²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy like Re. ³(I) [have] given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, all foreign countries being under your sandals.”

By the Vulture: ⁴Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By the King: ⁵[(Long) live] the good [god, lord of] joy,^a ⁶the dual king, great of strength, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ⁷the son of Re, whom Atum loves, lord of appearances, [RAMESSU-MER]AMUN,^c ⁸given [lif]e,^d stability, [dominion], (and) jo[y like Re].

Right:

By Min: ¹Min-Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes, ²⁻³lord [of heaven, pre-eminent in Karnak]:^e ⁴“(I) have given to you all valor like Re. ⁵(I) have given to you all flat lands and every hill country under your sandals.”

Behind Min: [Every protection ... surrounds him] like Re.

By the Vulture: ⁶Wadjet, lady of heaven.

By the King: ⁷Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,”^c ⁸good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^c ⁹the son of Re, whom Amun loves, the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^f ¹⁰given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

Notes:

^a Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 187, n. 308) suggests a restoration of [ḥkꜣ] ꜣw.t-ib, by analogy with GHHK I.1, pl. 256:7 — but here one sees neither trace of the ḥkꜣ nor apparent room for it next to ꜣw.t-ib. A closer analogy would be *ibid.*, pl. 135 bottom left:4, but in both cases, the likelier restoration is the common epithet [nb] ꜣw.t-ib. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 223:5.

^b Nelson failed to record definite traces of a disk above the back of . The original *prenomen* was Sety I’s, but no sign of it can be made out.

^c No vestiges of Sety I’s erased names are apparent.

^d The edge of the gap is not as Nelson drew it; its shape is actually suggestive of , and a trace of the sign’s right arm persists.

^e Restoring nb [p.t ḥn.ty ꜣp.t-s]w.[t].

^f Nelson recorded traces of , , and  of Sety’s *nomen*, of which the latter are the most obvious.

Plate 253 Top

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176b) VI.

Location: B 388: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “d,” bottom register.

Subject: Two scenes: (*left*) falcon-headed Khonsu leads Ramesses II (figure missing) while handing him the kingly regalia (the [crook and] flail). (*Right*) The goddess Mut embraces her husband, Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: The scene was raised relief under Sety I, but Ramesses II transformed it into sunk relief. Many traces of the earlier raised edition are seen at the edges of the later sunk versions. The ground line preserved below the scene (*right*) was left in raised relief.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Amun’s face is very eroded, although the outline of his profile is clear. Other damage to the rest of the relief is also due to natural wear and tear. Given the large amount of wall space available to the left of Khonsu and by analogy with related scenes in the Hall, it is likely that the god was accompanied by Atum as he led the king before Amun-Re and Mut.⁶³⁸

Translations:

By *Khonsu*: ¹Words spoken by Khonsu: ²“Receive unto your[self the crook and the flail (and) the crowns] ³established [on your head.^a (I) have given] ⁴to you [...].”

By *Mut*: ⁵Mut, lady^b of the papyrus-columns, mistress of the gods.

By *Amun*: ⁶Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the [Two] Lands.

By *the King*: [The dual ki]ng^c USER[MA‘ATRE]-SETEPEN[RE]

Notes:

^a The columns are so short that it is tempting to restore something along the lines of šsp n=k [ḥkꜛ, nḥꜛḥꜛ, ḥꜛw] mn.(w) [ḥr tp=k].

^b For the masculine form *nb* as an abbreviation of *nb.t*, see glossary s.v. *nb.t*.

^c Although unrecorded by Nelson, the first ◡ of *nsw-bi.ty* is evident above the cartouche.

Plates 253 Bottom + 265 (“E” Top)

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176a) I–II.

Location: B 353 + 359: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “e,” first and second registers.

Subject: At the very top are two horizontal lines of large hieroglyphs. Below this, the scene in the highest register shows Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneeling as he offers wine to Geb, who sits enthroned.

Type of Relief: (*Top*) This scene is still mostly in raised relief, although the left part of the second line was converted into sunk relief. (*Bottom*) Previously raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II recut the scene into sunken relief. Numerous traces of the earlier version remain as raised lips and/or engraved lines along the edges of the final carvings. The main figures often project out farther than the negative space around them. The vertical frames behind the king and Geb, along with the right half of the sky-sign, were left raised. The coiled body of Ramesses II’s uraeus serpent inside his crown was mostly erased during the conversion to sunk relief, but what remains, namely its left side, was omitted by Nelson.

Paint: A few stripes of faded paint survive on the side of the throne, but otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: The drawing misinterprets the damaged traces of the decorative border to the right of Geb (see pls. 254–55): here, as below, the two vertical bands are raised, but the horizontal bars between them (where preserved) are merely incised. Decaying plaster used to fill numerous shallow cavities left over from imperfect smoothing of the masonry coats the middle portions of the relief. The lower half of Ramesses II’s *nomen* cartouche is more complete than Nelson indicated. Since his time, however, natural erosion has obliterated Geb’s facial features.

Translations:

Above the Scene: (*upper*) Beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak;
(*lower*) Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods,^a lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

Label: ¹Giving wine.

By Geb: ²Geb, ³the great god, lord of heaven: ⁴“(I) have given to you all valor.”

By the King: ⁵The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^c ⁷given life like Re, ⁸image of Re ⁹before the Two Lands.

Behind the King: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

Notes:

^a All but  of the phrase *’Imn-R‘ nsw-ntr.w* has been converted into sunk relief, the rest of the text is in raised relief.

^b A trace of the erased  of the original  is preserved under the neck of .

^c The  and  of the Ramesses II’s *nomen* are still largely intact. At the top of the cartouche, the engraved outlines of  from Sety I’s *nomen* are clearly visible.

⁶³⁸ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 50, 78, 111, 149, 179, 199.

Plate 254

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176a) III.

Location: B 366: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “e,” third register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath Wadjet in her vulture form and offers a bouquet and lettuce plants to ithyphallic Amun-Re (figs. 235–38).

Type of Relief: Initially raised relief of Sety I, but Ramesses II changed the scene to sunk relief. Of the fetish behind the god, only the feathers of the flabellum were converted to sunk; the rest, including the two lettuce plants, temple-shaped stand, and the flabellum’s pole, were left raised, as was the vertical border along the right edge of the scene. Numerous other traces of the original raised version persist outside the edges of the final cuts as raised lips and engraved lines. The feathers along the edges of Wadjet’s wings and tail were partly erased when the relief was converted, and Nelson’s drawing is inaccurate on this point. The sculptors did not follow the original lines of the lettuce plants flanking the bouquet offered by the king when they recarved them, but they never fully erased the originals either. As a result, there are two overlapping versions of the tops, which led to some confusion in Nelson’s drawing. Directly behind the god, a protection formula text was erased but never recarved in sunk relief. The spout of the *nemset*-jar on the stand was also left raised. Finally, the ground line upon which the figures rest was never recut.

Paint: The king’s flesh is red. Traces of green paint cling to the bouquet and on the flowers draped over the jar on the offering stand. A great deal of plaster wash remains on the surface of the relief (especially on the god and the offering stand), and the striped pattern on the king’s headcloth is clear, but the colors have faded.

Observations: The figures have not been deliberately vandalized, and all damage to the relief appears to be fortuitous. Nelson misinterpreted the proportions of the vulture’s rear wing; its middle tier is wider, and there is no gap between its outer edge and the feathers of the outermost tier. As usual, he has omitted the fold in the king’s *nemes*-headcloth above his ear. Recutting on the king’s belt — apparently not related to the conversion to sunk relief — occurs along its top and bottom. Also left out are the two closed-bud lotus stems flanking the open blossom on the offering stand.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving lettuce.

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god ⁴⁻⁵who is upon his great seat, ⁵chieftain of the Ennead: ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor like Re. ⁷(I) have given to you my seat^a and my throne like Re forever.”

Behind Amun (not recorded by Nelson): <Every> protection — all life, stability, and [dominion], all health, all heal[th], and all joy — <surrounds him> like Re forever.^b

By the Vulture: ⁸Wadjet.

By the King: ⁹(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun, ¹⁰the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^c ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^d given life like Re, ¹²image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

Notes:

^a As Nelson’s *sic* indicates, the sculptor has carved  for .

^b Reading  based on clear traces of the erased text. Curiously, *snb nb* “all health” is a dittography, while the expected phrase *h3=f nb* “all ... surrounds him” is omitted. No trace of  remains. Perhaps these defective writings led to the text’s suppression when Ramesses II’s sculptors converted the rest of the scene to sunken relief. The text is arranged vertically between the god and his fetish. For close parallels to this particular format for the protection formula behind ithyphallic Amun, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 167, 193, 214, 215.

^c No definite traces of Sety I’s *prenomen* are apparent.

^d Parts of the first  of “Sety” and the  of *mr-n-’Imn* are visible amid the sunk-relief hieroglyphs of Ramesses II’s *nomen*.

Plate 255

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176a) IV.

Location: B 375: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “e,” fourth register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels under the hovering vulture-goddess Nekhbet and offers a tall bouquet to Amun-Re and Mut (fig. 272).

Type of Relief: Initially raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II converted the scene to sunk relief. The main figures project against the negative space around them. The sky-sign above the scene and the vertical ribbon border along the right edge were not converted to sunk. As a result of the conversion, the king’s eye and eyebrow were partly erased, as were the front and back of his belt.

Paint:⁶³⁹ The king’s flesh is red, that of Amun blue. The underpainting of Amun’s collar also seems to have been blue, although the outline of the last (or perhaps penultimate) band in another, faded lighter color can be made out. Traces of the armlets around the god’s upper arms are visible, but a patch of yellow survives only on his left arm. There is some yellow on his kilt and corslet and Mut’s flesh as well. Two buds on the bouquet (left side, opposite the king’s face) are rendered only in green. Blue paint adheres to the leading edge of the vulture’s forward wing.

Observations: Most of the king’s foot and his lower leg were carved on a patch-stone. Another veneer may have stood at the lower right corner of the relief, but this gap might also be connected with the later occupation of the Hall or natural degradation of the masonry. The drawing does not fully capture interior details of the vulture’s wings. Iconographically, the unusual manner in which Amun extends his *w3s*-scepter may be dictated in part by the fact that the tall bouquet dominates the narrow space between the god and Pharaoh.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in ²Karnak.

By Mut: ³Mut the great, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, ⁴as she gives life and dominion.

By the Vulture: ⁵Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: ⁶The dual king, lord of the [Two] Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^a ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,^b ⁸given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

Notes:

^a The loop of  held by the original  remains above the snout of . The face, neck, and feather on her head persists between the final goddess and .

^b No traces of the earlier version with Sety I’s *nomen* are apparent.

⁶³⁹ Much of the color Murnane recorded in the 1970s and 1980s has now faded beyond recognition.

Plate 256

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176a) V.

Location: B 384: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “e,” fifth register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels under the vulture-goddess Nekhbet and offers two jars of wine to Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef (fig. 273).

Type of Relief: Initially carved in raised relief for Sety I, Ramesses II changed the scene to sunk relief. Traces of the earlier version remain outside the final carved outlines of the final version (e.g., along the right text divider of col. 1). Certain sections of the relief (e.g., the ground line and the right side of Amun’s podium behind his heel) were left as raised relief. The main figures often project slightly against the negative space around them.

Paint:⁶⁴⁰ The god’s crown (below his plumes) and the offering stand are yellow, while the flower stems and the top of the pole behind Amun are red. Otherwise, no color survives, although the pattern of concentric bands on the god’s broad collar is still apparent.

Observations: Hacking inside the contours of the god’s penis is surely deliberate, but the random chiseling seen in other sections (inside the god’s lower body, on his forearm, on the fetish behind him, inside the vulture’s advancing wing, and in cols. 2–3 and 4–5) is quarry damage due to imperfect smoothing of the wall surface.

A few details escaped Nelson’s pen, and he misconstrued others: (1) The front of Ramesses’ wig behind his ear is preserved, as is his diadem entwined with the coils of his uraeus serpent’s body. His wig has a second uraeus inside the lower front. The wig itself has horizontal bands, with the upper tiers just below the diadem decorated by rows of numerous vertical segments carved in relief. (2) Ramesses’ belt apron inside his triangular kilt had streamers flanking it just above the two uraei. (3) The bottom of his leg and the lower corner of his triangular kilt are not accurately drawn. (4) Although damaged, more of the wrist and hand of the king’s rear arm is preserved than indicated. (5) The lettuce plants and flabellum behind Amun are more complete than drawn. (6) Finally, the drawing also oversimplifies the vertical ribbon border along the right edge of the scene. As elsewhere, the vertical lines are carved in raised relief (and were not converted to sunk), while the horizontal lines were merely incised.

Translations:

By *Min*: ¹Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²⁻³who is upon his [great] seat, ³the great god: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory like Re.”

By *the Vulture*: ⁵Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By *the King*: ⁶(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun-Re, ⁷the dual king, ruler of joy, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^a ⁸the son of Re, whom the Ennead loves,^b [the lord of] appearan[ces]^c RAMESSU-MERAMUN.^d

Notes:

^a The top of the plume belonging to the original , as well as the right loop of her , can be made out just under the final .

^b The traces suggest  *mr psd.t* “whom the Ennead loves.” In particular, Nelson’s “” is erroneous. Instead we have the top of . He also omitted the right side of  below the disk of ; the latter also being more complete. Where space allowed, similarly unorthodox epithets were occasionally inserted between the more standard ones of the *nomen* (*s3 R’* and *nb h’w*) and *prenomen* (*nsw-bi.ty* and *nb t3.wy*): cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 168:12–13, 169:10–11, 252:6–7. Sharkawy’s reading (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 190, n. 326) of *ntr nfr* does not match the clear traces on the wall.

^c The right side of  is preserved.

^d The original  (of *Sty-mr-n-’Imn*) survives at the bottom of the cartouche.

⁶⁴⁰ The color Murnane observed in the 1970s and 1980s is no longer visible.

Plate 257

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176a) VI.

Location: B 390: Eastern vestibule, north wing, wall segment “e,” bottom register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) [kneels and offers] to an enthroned figure of Amun-Re (fig. 239).

Type of Relief: Formerly raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II changed the scene to sunk. Numerous traces of the raised version persist as incised lines and raised edges around the final sunk relief hieroglyphs and Amun’s figure. The  at the top of col. 9 is sunk relief, while the text below it was shaved down raised relief that was never converted to sunk. Sculptors left the beard of  in col. 6 in raised relief. The vertical ribbon border along the right edge of the scene was left in raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Although the scene has suffered severe destruction from natural causes, there is no evidence of deliberate mistreatment of the figures. The drawing omits the decorative border at the right of the scene, which is the same here as on other scenes on this wall (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 254–56).

Translations:

By the Vulture: ¹Wadjet, lady of Per-[...].^a

By the King: ²[(Long) live the good god],^b great of monuments in the house of his father [Amun-Re], ³[the dual king], lord of [the Two Lands] USERMA‘ATRE-SETEP[EN]RE,^c ⁴[the son of Re], lord of [appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN].

By Amun: ⁵Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ⁶“My beloved son of my body, the lord of the Two Lands ⁷USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d my heart is glad ⁸for love of you, and I am content with what all that [you] ⁹have done [for me].^e (I) have given to you [the life]time of Re and the years of Atum.”

Notes:

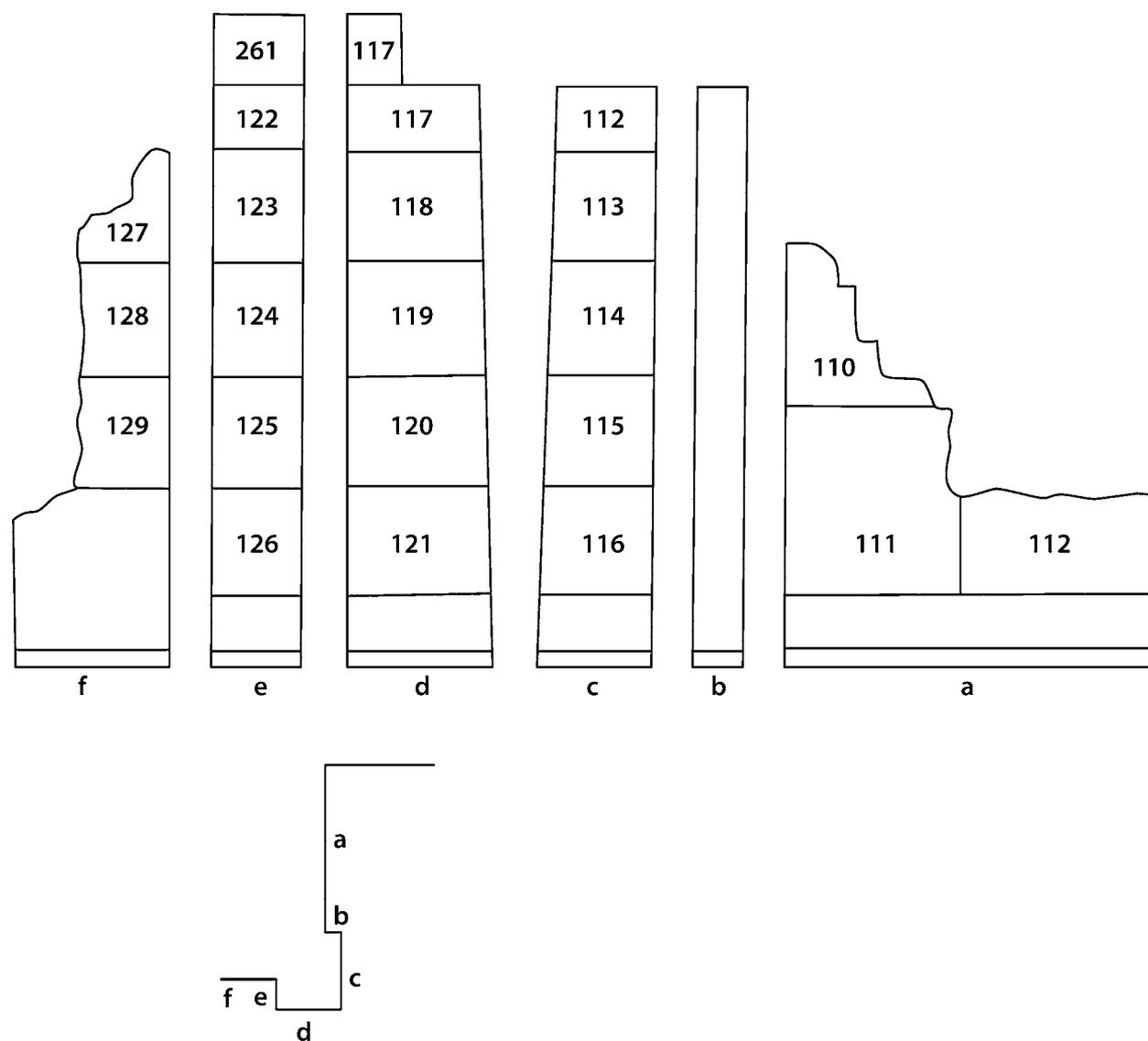
^a So clearly written *W3dy.t nb.t pr* [...], as Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 190, n. 332, suggests emending the text to *nb.t p.t* “lady of heaven.” The epithet may have been *nbt pr-wr* “lady of the Southern Egyptian shrine.” Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, p. 53.

^b Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 241, 254, 256, among others, for this approximate sequence.

^c No traces of Sety I’s original *prenomen* remain.

^d The left side of a raised  along with much of  and the upper right corner of  attest to Sety I’s *prenomen*.

^e Above  the surface is damaged, but no other traces remain. Given the spacing, we are inclined to restore *ḥtp.k(wi) ḥr ir<t>.n=[k n=(i)] nb.*



Plan 15. Diagram of the vestibule of the Third Pylon, south wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number

Eastern Vestibule, South Wing (Plan 15, Plates 110–30 + 261)

The Ramesside decoration in this southern wing of the vestibule of the Third Pylon may be divided into four distinct stages (plan 15): (1) Sety I's reliefs on the main facade and north facet of the pilaster (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 122–29), (2) Ramesses II's earliest decoration originally in raised relief and having the shorter form of his *prenomen* on the west pilaster (*ibid.*, pls. 117–21), (3) scenes of Ramesses in sunk relief with the short *prenomen* on the south pilaster (*ibid.*, pls. 112–16), and (4) the latest stage, in sunk relief, but with the long *prenomen* (*ibid.*, pls. 110–12).

Some ambiguity remains as to the question of when these scenes were laid out and where precisely Sety I's work broke off and Ramesses II's began. Unlike the north wing of the vestibule and main east wall where the king almost always bows, Sety I bows in some episodes and kneels in others on the main facade of the vestibule and north pilaster. Ramesses usually stands, but he may also kneel in episodes from the west and south pilasters (*ibid.*, pls. 112–21). Moreover, on all but one of these scenes, the king bows with his torso inclined forward, even while kneeling.⁶⁴¹ This posture is more typical of Sety I's work but does occur in some of Ramesses II's earliest reliefs beyond Karnak.⁶⁴² On the main south wall of the vestibule, carved in sunk relief with Ramesses' long *prenomen*, his

⁶⁴¹ His figure remains erect in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 113.

⁶⁴² So in a handful of scenes at Beit el-Wali: Herbert Ricke, George R. Hughes, and Edward F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple*

of Ramesses II, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 1 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967), pls. 1, 31–33, 44.

figure stands upright.⁶⁴³ It is possible that Sety I's draftsmen had laid out the decoration on the west and south pilasters before his death, but that the sculptors only carved them after Ramesses II's accession. Whether any of the scenes on the west facet were carved before Sety's death is now impossible to tell, as only Ramesses II's name is preserved in two episodes (*ibid.*, pls. 117–18).

Plate 110

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (180) III–IV.

Location: B 181, 187–88: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “a,” uppermost *in situ* registers (“second” and “third”).

Subject: Two scenes: the one on top, in which the king appeared before a divinity, is mostly destroyed. Below, Ramesses II presents four cups of water to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Aside from some blue on the vulture's downswep wing, no pigment survives.

Observations: Chisel gouges from imperfect smoothing of the quarried blocks are most concentrated behind the king's torso in the upper scene and the area around and behind his head in the lower scene. As a result, some elements were partly carved in plaster, including the lappet of his *nemes*-headdress. While the quality of the sculptor's work in the main scenes is competent, the vertical ribbon border along the left edge of the scene is crude. Its vertical lines are lightly etched and are far less straight and even than Nelson's drawing implies.

Iconoclasts are responsible for a different pattern of hacking inflicted on the limbs of the figures in both scenes. They also attacked Amun's, penis, face, the root of his beard, and the face of  in col 1. Other damage to both scenes is due to natural wear. All texts in the upper scene are missing. Nelson's drawing is inaccurate at a number of points. Only the wide lower portion of the king's tail (*top*) is actually carved, there is an unfinished uraeus on the right side of the king's belt apron (*bottom*), and the feathers on the vulture's lower wing are more complete.

Translations:

Label: ¹Going round-about four times with four red pots of water,^a that he might achieve “given life.”

By Amun: ²[Amun-Re ...]: ³Words spoken:^b “(I) have given to you all valor. ⁴(I) have given to you all victory.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re.

By the Vulture: ⁵Nekhbet.

By the King: ⁶The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁸given life like Re ⁹forever.

Behind the King: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever and eter[n]ally.

Notes:

^a So reading *m dšr.t 4 n.t mw*.

^b Repeated mechanically above col. 4.

⁶⁴³ So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 110–11. In pl. 112 bottom, he knelt to be crowned by divinities, a posture that he adopts in other reliefs initially carved for him inside the Hypostyle Hall only in the

short offering scenes from the missing top register of the south wall (*ibid.*, pls. 81–86) or in a handful of “coronation” scenes on the registers below (cf. *ibid.*, pls. 49, 52, 69–70, 79).

Plate 111

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (180) V.1.

Location: B 195: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “a,” bottom register, first scene from the west.

Subject: Monthu and Atum lead Ramesses II into the sanctuary, while Amunet stands before them making *nyny* (fig. 240).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of blue abide near the king’s necklace and inside Monthu’s wig. The flesh of both figures is red.

Observations: Damage to parts of cols. 5–10 is the same kind of random abrasion associated elsewhere with chisel gouging from the quarrying process. Damage in the lower part of the scene and along its right side is due to erosion of the surface and removal of some of the blocks. The upper part of Atum’s tail, indicated as a dashed line in the drawing, is actually lost to weathering. Malicious defacement is more limited here than in the scene above. The noses and mouths of the king and Atum were deliberately gouged, but those of Monthu and Amunet are untouched. Iconoclastic vandalism to heads and bodies of several hieroglyphs in the main text, along with the vulture’s head, are indicated by shade in Nelson’s drawing. As in the scene above, the vertical border element on the left end is crude while the work in the main scene is of a higher standard. Below the feet of Atum and the king, but not recorded by Nelson, portions of a dado composed of four evenly spaced horizontal bands are preserved. Monthu’s facial markings are more intricate than the drawing conveys, and his beak was recut in antiquity.

Translations:

Label (in front of Monthu, not numbered): [Inducting the king into the temple of]^a Amun-Re.

By Atum: ¹Words spoken^b by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: “Proceed to ²the temple of your father, the king of the gods that he might establish for you the crowns on ³your head — (namely) the ornaments of your father Re; ³⁻⁴that he might cause your years to endure ⁴for millions and millions; (and) that he might endow you^c with life, stability, and dominion.”

By Monthu: ⁵Words spoken^b by Monthu, lord^d of Thebes, residing in Iuny:^e “Come ⁶ye to the great mansion of your father, ⁷Amun-Re — [his hear]t being glad [for] ⁸love of you, as he endows your limbs [with life and dominion].”^f

By Amunet: ⁹[Words spoken]^b b[y] Amunet, residing in Karnak: “(My) two arms ¹⁰are in *nyny*-greeting to your handsome face (O) Horus ‘beloved of Ma’at!’ ¹⁰⁻¹¹May the Ennead of the great mansion receive you, ¹¹their hearts being glad with [...].⁸ ¹²I shall make *nyny*-greeting^h [to] your face (O) lord of the Two Lands (my) [son].”ⁱ

By the Vulture: ¹³Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ¹⁴The good god who makes monuments for his father Amun-Re, ¹⁵the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁷great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis, ¹⁸given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Reading something like [bs nsw r ḥw.t n] ’Imn-R^c. There are traces suggestive of  just below Monthu’s fist and possibly  just above the group ’Imn-R^c. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 50:1, 149:1.

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 2–4, 6–8, and 10–11.

^c So reading ḥnm=f tw as a prospective sdm=f, not as a passive ḥnm.tw=f “that you might be endowed.”

^d Written with only the royal determinative , which may be read as nb “lord.”

^e So reading ḥr(y)-ib ’Iwn(y). Iuny is modern Armant. See our commentary to plate 138:2, note a.

^f For parallels, see note b to the translations for plate 109.

⁸ The speech concluded in the missing column to the right of col. 11, probably continuing with *iri.n=k n=i* “what you have done for me.”

^h Given the size of the gap, perhaps restore a -determinative of *nyny*.

ⁱ This column is omitted by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 92. At the bottom, although the sequence is unusual, perhaps restore  (for s) beside  (which is certain) preserved at the bottom of the column. There is hardly room for anything else below this group.

Plate 112 Bottom

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (180) V.2.

Location: B 194: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “a,” bottom register, second (and last) scene from the west.

Subject: The king, accompanied by a goddess, kneels before a divinity and receives jubilees from a male deity.⁶⁴⁴ In the upper right-hand fragment, the traces above the god’s arm probably represent his scepter.

Type of Relief: Sunk. The carving in the scene to the right is particularly crude, with virtually no modeling on the flat relief.

Paint: Traces of green cleave inside the goddess’ dress (at her right shoulder) and inside the god’s scepter. Possible traces of red are detected inside the cobra (upper right) and inside the goddess’ wig.

Observations: The scene is very damaged, the blocks being held together only by cement. No texts survive.

Plate 261B

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Location: B 172: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “b.”

Subject: In this tall, narrow space, a single column of large-scale hieroglyphic text faces right (north) giving a string of Ramesses II’s fivefold titulary beginning with his Horus name.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Overlooked by Nelson, the relief is very damaged in spots. Carved in sunk relief and containing the longer form of Ramesses II’s *prenomen*, it must date to his third decorative period in the Hypostyle Hall. The very top of the relief is attended by severe quarry damage, and here it was partly carved in plaster, which remains substantially intact and illustrates well the technique elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall whereby relief was carved in stucco in areas afflicted with such tool marks. Below, additional quarry damage and losses to the masonry account for several gaps in the text.

Translation:

Horus: mighty [bu]ll, “beloved of Ma’at,” he of the Two Ladies: [“protector of Egypt, sub]duer of for[eign countries],” Horus-of-Gold: “rich in years, gre[at] of victories,” the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of [Re RAMESSES-MER]AMUN, given life.

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 316.

Plate 112 Top

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) II.

Location: B 173: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “c,” first (top) register.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels before a seated deity, as he receives jubilees, life, stability, and dominion.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Iconoclasts’ hacking obscures the king’s face, his hands, and knees. The  in col. 1 and the  on the right have also been hacked, but the god’s feet are undamaged. Both the longer and shorter forms of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* are used here, and in neither case has there been any reworking of the signs inside the cartouche. Above the deity’s foot is a curved trace with a slightly bobbed and upturned end. Could this be the tail of the leopard pelt worn by Seshet? This detail was omitted by Nelson, who also misrepresented the front of the pedestal, which has a sloping front like .

Translations:

By the King: ¹“Receive unto yourself eternity.”

Between the King and the God: ²The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life.

Behind the King: ³[...] USERMA‘AT[RE], ⁴[... RAMESESSES-MERAMUN], given [life].

Plate 113

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) III.

Location: B 177: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “c,” second register.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a cup of incense to a ram-headed figure of Khnum.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Aside from light pitting on the long block with the figure’s legs, the ancient masons carefully smoothed the wall surface. Quarry damage is most severe in the region around the king’s rear foot. The area at the bottom of col. 1, which Nelson erroneously indicates with shade, is actually so smooth and even that it was certainly never carved. Below Ramesses II’s cartouches, the later occupants of the Hall inserted a beam hole; they may also be responsible for deep hacking inside the *nomen*. Iconoclasts attacked the faces, legs, and feet of the figures, and the king’s hands as well. Those of Khnum, however, were left unmolested.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censi[ng].^a

By the King: ²The good^b god USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³the son of Re RAMESESSES-MERAMUN, given [life like Re].^c

By Khnum: ⁴Khnum, [lord of] Bigg[a].^d ⁵“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion.”

Notes:

^a No signs were ever carved in the unblemished space that Nelson erroneously depicts with shade in his drawing.

^b The crossbars at the top of  are uncarved.

^c Restore *di* [‘*nḥ mi R*’] arranged under cols. 2–3 (cf., among many examples, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 104:11–12, 106 right:6–7).

^d Reading [nb] *šnm[t]*: see Gauthier, *DG* V, p. 40; Erich Winter, “Bigeḥ,” *LÄ* I, p. 792. Nelson missed a trace of .

Plate 114

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) IV.

Location: B 182: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “c,” third register.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a conical loaf of white bread to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None.

Observations: A different pattern of chiseling in the sky-sign above the disk at the upper left is quarry damage; otherwise, the wall surface was carefully dressed. The early “short” form of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* occurs, with no trace of reworking. Vandals defaced the figures’ hands and feet, the god’s phallus, and various animal hieroglyphs in the text, but the king’s rear foot was spared.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting white bread to Amun-Re, that he may achieve “given life like Re.”

By Amun: ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ³the great god who is upon ⁴his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you my years as king of the Two Lands.”

Behind Amun: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion (and) all health — surrounds him like Re forever.

By the Solar Disk: ⁷[The Behde]tite.

By the King: ⁸The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESS[ES]-MERAMUN.

Plate 115

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) V.

Location: B 189: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “c,” fourth register.

Subject: Amun-Re, followed by Amunet, grasps Ramesses II by the hand as he extends  (now broken away) to the king’s nose.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Amun’s flesh is characteristically blue, with traces of this pigment in his legs and at his left shoulder. Otherwise, none of the colors is preserved.

Observations: Cosmetic recutting is limited to the bottom of Amun’s belt. Quarry gouging, with some plaster infill remaining, mars the lower right corner of the block containing the top of Ramesses II’s head. Hacking with malicious intent afflicts the upper bodies of the divinities, but apparently not the king, Amun’s face and his elbow joint (not indicated by Nelson), or Amunet’s head, shoulders, and arms. Despite this vandalism, the outlines of both Amun and Amunet’s profile are still visible. Note also the hacking of  in col. 4. Nelson omitted some details, including the tip of Amun’s beard below his arm, the lower rim of his helmet-crown, the top of Ramesses’ ear, and above it the fold in his *nemes*-headcloth.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²Words spoken: “(I) have [given] to you all joy, ³to your nose (O) lord of the Two Lands (my) [so]n.”^a

By Amunet: ⁴Amunet residing in ⁵Karnak, ⁶lady of [heaven]:^b ⁷Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion (and) health. ⁸(I) have given [to] you all flat lands and all hill countries gathered together.”

By the King: ⁹The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹⁰[lord of] ap[pearances] RAMESESSES-MERAMUN.^c

Notes:

- ^a As at *GHHK* I.1, pl. 111:12, there is scarcely room for anything else under the final group, and the most logical restoration that suggests itself is [sꜣ=i]. Note the reversed orientation of the hieroglyphs in col. 3, as if it were a label text.
- ^b This is by far her most frequent epithet of this nature: see glossary s.v. *ʾImn.t*
- ^c The  is rendered as a flat line, without the customary bulge in the center.

Plate 116

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) VI.

Location: B 196: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “C,” bottom register.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a bouquet and lettuce plants to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Isis (fig. 241).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The absence of deliberate hacking suggests that this lowest register was substantially covered by debris when scenes in the upper levels were attacked. Larger gaps in the scene are due to losses of the masonry, perhaps including some patch-stones. The condition of the king’s upper body and bouquet is due to natural erosion of the sandstone. Residual abrasion in the region of Ramesses’ kilt and legs resulted from imperfect smoothing of the blocks. Nelson’s drawing fails to convey the refined facial features of the king and Amun or the precise shape of Isis’ wꜣs-scepter where it overlaps the god’s flail.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving [fresh flower]s^a to [his father Amun-Re ...].^b

By Amun: ²[Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god,^c Lor]d of [heave]n,^d ⁴who is on his great seat: ⁵[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the flat lands] being pacified.”^e

Behind the God: [Every] protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all [he]alth (and) all joy — surrounds him [like Re].

By Isis: ⁶Isis, mistress of the Two Lands, ⁷lady of heaven, great [of magic]:^f ⁸“(I) have given to you the south and the north, every foreign country being under your sandals.”

By the King: ⁹[The lord of the Two Lands] USERMA‘AT[RE], ¹⁰the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹¹whom Amun has caused [to appear]^g as ¹²king.

Notes:

- ^a Restoring *rnp.wt* (or similar), with its -determinative, above the king’s kilt, with  and  below: cf. label texts where the king offers a bouquet, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 125:1, 134:1 (with lettuce), 215:1. In one instance (*ibid.*, pl. 254:1), *rdi.t* ‘bw “giving lettuce” occurs while the king presents a similar bouquet flanked by lettuce.
- ^b There is room for the customary *n* [*it=f* ‘*Imn*, *ir=f di* ‘*nh*] below the *n*, but it is too uncertain how much of this formula was included here for a confident restoration.
- ^c The  not infrequently determines *ntr* ‘: see glossary s.v. *ntr* ‘.
- ^d Interpreting the tips of these two signs as .
- ^e Cf. glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k tꜣ.w m htp.w*.
- ^f Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 138:30–32.
- ^g More probably [*sh*‘], which occurs fairly frequently in this phrase (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 2:15, 24:14, 25:9, 33:19), than [*s*‘] “magnify,” which (although not unattested: see *ibid.*, pl. 137:34–35) is most frequently used in other expressions.

Plate 117

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) I–II.

Location: B 170, 174–75: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “d,” first and second registers.

Subject: On the bottom, a kneeling figure of the king (mostly lost) offers Ma‘at to an enthroned Ptah. Above this divinity, an enthroned figure of Amun-Re faces right, toward the architrave set into the wall to the right.

Type of Relief: Everything above line 2 of the lower scene (inclusive) is still in raised relief. Below, all the figures and the text of col. 1 were originally cut in raised relief and then changed to sunk.

Paint: A pattern of horizontal stripes decorates Amun’s throne (*top*), but the colors have faded.

Observations: It is not clear whether this relief was initially carved for Sety I at the very end of his reign or for Ramesses II at the beginning of his, although the latter is perhaps more likely. Except for quarry marks at the end of line 2, the relief is well preserved, with no malicious defacement of the figures. Nelson omitted a curved swath that forms part of the hanging cloth screen of Ptah’s tent-like shrine, which is carved in raised relief.⁶⁴⁵ Also left out is a narrow vertical frame behind Amun. The -plinth on which Amun rests has a sloping front (like Ptah’s), and its end extends farther than the back of his throne.

Translations:

Bottom:

Label: ¹Presenting Ma‘at to her lord.^a

By Ptah: ²P[t]ah of the handsome face [...].^b

Top:

By Amun: ³Amun-Re.

Notes:

^a So reading *ḥnk Mꜣꜥt n nbꜥs*. The final sign is , not .

^b It is uncertain which of Ptah’s other epithets (if any) were carved in the broken area above his head: see glossary s.v. *Ptḥ*.

Plate 118

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) III.

Location: B 178: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “d,” third register.

Subject: Ramesses II receives jubilees and years from Thoth, who writes the king’s titulary on the year-staves in front of him.

Type of Relief: Originally carved in raised relief by Ramesses II, then changed to sunk. Many traces of the earlier version endure along the edges of the hieroglyphs and along the back of Thoth’s body. The vertical frames on both sides of the scene were only partly converted to sunk relief, namely (*right*) only below Ramesses’ knees and (*left*) everything below the level of the  in col. 5.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Iconoclasts hacked faces and feet of the figures, although the deity’s rear foot and both figures’ hands were spared. Still, the distinctive outlines of the god’s ibis head and long, curved bill make his identification as Thoth certain. The king’s outline from his forehead to the tip of his nose is also visible. The royal titulary was

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. painted examples of this embroidered cloth that screens the sides of Ptah’s kiosk-shrine in polychrome examples from the Theban necropolis, e.g., the tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11) (PM I.2², p. 523 [22]; Kent Weeks, ed., *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and*

the Funerary Temples of Thebes West [Vercelli: White Star, 2001], p. 234), in the tomb of prince Amunhirkhopeshef (QV 55) (PM I.2², p. 759 [2–4], no. 2; Weeks, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 318), and in Sety I’s Abydos temple (*Abydos IV*, pls. 25, 30).

recut from an earlier version of the same text in raised relief. Traces of the raised relief version of Ramesses II's cartouches indicate that this scene was initially carved for him, although it is conceivable that the draftsman laid it out in paint under Sety I. Here, as in the scene immediately below, the sculptors maintained the shorter form of Ramesses' *prenomen*, including the unorthodox phonetical spelling in col. 10.

Nelson has mischaracterized or left out some details: Thoth's kilt has a curved interior hem. His belt has a buckle and a flap that projects diagonally above it. The king does not hold a -basket cupped in his hand. Instead, there are two  and above them traces of the lower left side of .

Translations:

By Thoth: ¹[Words spoken^a by ...]^b in Thebes: ²[...:^c "(I) have given to you] ³the years of Atum, [(and) the office] of [...],^d ⁴(being) what is spoken^e with his mouth (namely) Amun, king of the gods ⁵in the presence of the entire Ennead."

By the King: "Receive for yourself the jubilees ⁷of Re and the years of your father Atum, that you may spend eternity as king."

Between the Year-staves: ⁸Horus: [mighty] bull, "beloved of Ma'at," the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, given life, stability, and dominion like Re. ⁹[He of the Two Ladies]: "protector [of Egypt, su]bduer^f of the foreign countries," the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^g given life, stability, and dominion like Re. ¹⁰Horus-of-Gold: "rich in y[ears, great of]^f victories," the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE,^h given life, stability, and dominion like Re.ⁱ

Beside Divinity: ¹¹First occasion of very many jubilees.^j

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–5.

^b Although the god was unhesitatingly identified with Thoth in the plate volume (an attribution accepted "ohne Zweifel" by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 95, n. 173), his identity is problematic. It is true that Thoth regularly inscribes the king's titulary in comparable scenes (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 49, 52, 79, 96, 150, 192). Moreover, it is now clear from our collation of the relief that he has an ibis head and beak. On the other hand, the epithet *m W3s.t* is unattested for Thoth and seems to be the exclusive preserve of Khonsu. In one case, however, Khonsu does inscribe Sety I's titulary: *GHHK* I.1, pl. 137.

^c If the god named is Khonsu, one would expect [Neferhotep in Karnak]. See glossary s.v. *Hnsw*. If he was Thoth, the restoration is unclear.

^d Assuming  is an indirect genitive, perhaps another object of *di.n=(i) n=k* is to be restored here: the spacing could suggest *i3.t* "the office" belonging to a god — perhaps "Wenennofer" (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 77:6–8) or "Khepry" (ibid., pl. 199:7–8), although "the office of Atum" (*i3.t 'Itmw*) is most common, albeit unlikely here (since one would not expect this to be associated with "the years of Atum").

^e Possibly  is the last consonant of a word at the bottom of the preceding column, but if most of that space was filled with the name of a divinity, possibilities are limited: perhaps *r(w)d* (cf. *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 108:11 + *RIK* II, pl. 85:11, *imy t3.w rwd m r(3)=f r' nb* "Let breath flourish in my (his) mouth every day"); but more probable is *dd*, which would require the  of *dd-mdw* to do double duty at the top of col. 4. With any restoration remaining so conjectural, this translation is necessarily speculative.

^f For a well-preserved parallel, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 96.

^g Note the odd orthography of the *nomen* *R'-ms-s-s* with an extra *s*.

^h A horizontal trace to the left of  below the final  cannot be taken for a hypothetical  (of Sety I's *prenomen*), but must be a raised version of . Other traces of the original raised *Wsr-M3'.t-R'* (spelled identically to the final version) are clear.

ⁱ This last phrase is arranged under all three columns, the whole phrase, *di 'nh dd w3s mi R'*, being understood as applying to each column. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:38–40, 96:11–13.

^j Nelson omits clear traces of  below  along the edge of the gap. Certainly this statement is not to be taken as a historical fact, since Ramesses did not in fact celebrate his first jubilee until his year 30, whereas this inscription may be dated to his first regnal year based on the orthography of his *prenomen* cartouche.

Plate 119

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) IV.

Location: B 183–84: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “d,” fourth register.

Subject: Ramesses II is led in by Mut and [kneels] before Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: The scene was initially raised relief carved for Ramesses II that he later changed to sunk. Traces of the earlier version abound among the hieroglyphs and are especially prominent on Amun’s plumes and his chest.

Paint: The most abundant traces are of Amun’s collar — blue bands alternating with those of another color, with a penultimate band of red and a final (bottom) band of blue. A fleck of red survives at the center of Amun’s kilt, just below the belt, and the ribbon behind the god’s head is also red.

Observations: The major figures in the scene have not been hacked, but the hieroglyphs of seated gods in the text were vandalized, as was  in col. 4, the outline of which remains clear. The cartouches were converted to sunk relief, like the rest of the scene, but it is not precisely clear if Sety I was named previously. At the left, inside the nomen at col. 11, Nelson saw , which would necessarily belong to [Sty mr].n=[’Imn], but our collation indicates that this is fortuitous damage. Moreover, a raised trace of the rounded top of  is clear. The other nomen, at col. 4, shows vestiges of the original raised  and  (of Ramesses) beside the later, sunken versions. The prenomen on the left (col. 10) is odd, having an aberrant  above the  (bottom) that is normally the phonetic complement of  (above). It can hardly reflect an earlier mr.n ’Imn (or similar), since that epithet is exclusive to Sety I’s nomen, but it might hypothetically be a deformed reworking of the original  at the bottom of Sety’s prenomen or, more likely, a unique early variant of Ramesses II’s prenomen. Among the details omitted or misinterpreted by Nelson are the wing and cobra-uraeus of Mut’s vulture cap and the plumage along the edges of the vulture’s wings, which was partly erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

Translations:

Right:

By Mut: ¹Mut, [lady of] heaven: ²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all health.”

By the King: ³The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, ⁴the son^a of Re, lord of appearances [RA]MESSES-MERAMUN, ⁵given all life, stability, and dominion like Re every day.

Left:

Label: ⁶[Greeting] with [the *nemset-jar*],^b that he might achieve “given [life].”

By Amun: ⁷Words spoken^c by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ⁸“(I) have given to you years of eternity.”

By the King: ⁹The good god, who performs benefactions for his father, ¹⁰the dual king USERMA’ATRE,^d ¹¹the son of Re [RA]MESSES-MERAMUN.

Notes:

^a Despite hacking, the outline of the  is clear.

^b The trace above  is a tall narrow sign. The most likely restoration is   [nd-ḥr] m [nms.t]. See glossary s.v. *nms.t*.

^c Repeated mechanically above col. 8.

^d The  under  and , if it is not purely decorative (or a misinterpretation of one of the signs in the original cartouche), is inexplicable. Sharkawy’s note on this crux (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 95, n. 177) is unilluminating.

Plate 120

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) V.

Location: B 190–91: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “d,” fifth register.

Subject: Ramesses II (presumably) kneels before a divinity who wore a large solar disk.

Type of Relief: Originally carved in raised relief, the scene was later transformed into sunk. Traces of the raised version persist around some of the hieroglyphs, along the bottom of the king’s leg, and the sole of his foot.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: No signs of deliberate damage are apparent, although most of the scene is destroyed through loss of the masonry. Pitting once discernible above the king’s arm may well be the result of quarry damage, although this is now covered by modern cement, along with most of the destroyed scene. Nelson’s drawing suggests that the deity’s large sun disk had a pendant uraeus, but only natural erosion of the surface is now visible here. Nelson omits clear traces of the lower hem of the king’s shendyt-kilt.

Translations:

By the God:^a 1“(I) [have given] to you the lifetime of Re forever [and eternally].”^b

By the King: 2The good god, great of kingship [in the estate of Amun],^c 3the du[al] ki[ng], lord of the Two Lands [USERMA‘AT]RE [...].^d

Notes:

^a Gods in the Great Hypostyle Hall whose heads are surmounted by a disk with a uraeus are, in the order of frequency, Monthu (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 35, 50, 78, 111, 138, 171, 179, 199), followed by (Amun)-Re-Horakhty (*ibid.*, pls. 32, 165, 224, 251 left) and Khonsu (*ibid.*, pl. 95, 106 right). If the god was Monthu, one would expect the leading edge of his forward plume to be preserved. Khonsu should have the tip of his lunar crescent. Therefore, the deity is probably some form of Re.

^b The space left in the column below the gap requires another tall group, most probably *nḥḥ*.

^c Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 171:11, 176:7.

^d It is not clear whether the *prenomen* was the longer or shorter form.

Plate 121

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) VI.

Location: B 197–98: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “d,” bottom register.

Subject: Probably two scenes: On the left, the scene is totally destroyed. On the right, Ramesses II receives the [crook] and the flail of kingship from [one or more divinities].

Type of Relief: Originally carved in raised relief, the scene was converted to sunk. Traces of the raised version are evident around the hieroglyphs, along the bottom of the sky-sign above, and at the back of Ramesses’ wig.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Only the extreme right side of the right scene is preserved. There is room for at least two, and perhaps three, divinities in the remaining space to the left and/or possibly a second episode. No deliberate vandalism to the scene can be detected, although there is natural wear in front of Ramesses’ face. The streamers behind his head are very lightly carved, as if they were an afterthought.

Translations:

By the King: 1[The lord of the Two Lands]^a [USER]MA‘ATRE, 2[the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN], 3[given life] like Re 4forever.

Note:

^a There is hardly room for anything taller above the cartouche.

Plate 122 + 261 (“E,” Top)

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179a) I–II.

Location: B 171 + 176: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “e,” first and second registers.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and offers wine to an enthroned figure of Nut.

Type of Relief: Formerly raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II recarved it into sunk relief. The most obvious raised traces persist at the edges of some hieroglyphs near the top of the scene (e.g., the  behind the king, and the phrase *di 'nh* in front of him) and in the margins of the lines above. A few traces of Sety I’s original names can be detected inside the cartouches. The lowermost horizontal text divider at the top was left partly raised.

Paint: The king’s flesh is red (traces along the front of his chest and the front of his right arm). Otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: No deliberate damage to the scene can be observed. Nelson omitted some details, including the spout of the nemset-jar, the lappet of Nut’s tripartite wig, the framework along the upper part of her throne, and the vertical ribbon border that encloses the scene behind her. This last feature was left in raised relief.⁶⁴⁶ Uraei on the king’s belt apron that Nelson drew are erroneous.

Translations:

Above the Scene: (Top) Beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak. (Bottom) Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

Label: ¹Giving wine, that he may achieve “given life.”

By Nut: ²Nut the great, ³as she gives all life.

By the King: ⁴The good god, great of monuments, ⁵the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^a ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^b given life like Re.

Behind King: Every protection — life — surrounds him.

Notes:

a A trace of the knee of the original  in Sety I’s *prenomen* is preserved between  and the top of .

b The knee of  is preserved over the sun-god’s knee; and the tops of  (of “Sety”) appear above the final . Nelson’s drawing is erroneous in that there is only one  at the bottom of Ramesses’ *nomen*.

Plate 123

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179a) III.

Location: B 179: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “e,” third register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and offers a bunch of onions to Amun-Re (fig. 242).

Type of Relief: Formerly raised work under Sety I, Ramesses II recut it as sunk relief. The recutting is generally neat, but some elements were left in raised, namely, the god’s facial profile and the vertical border along the left edge of the scene. Traces of Sety I’s cartouche names persist amid the final version. Numerous other vestiges of the raised original circumvallate the hieroglyphs and main figures.

Paint: Traces of red indicate the king’s flesh tones in his neck and jaw and at the top of his chest (under the arm). Amun’s blue flesh is best preserved on his legs, directly under his kilt.

Observations: The drawing omits the border decoration that runs down the left-hand side of the relief, for which see drawings of the other episodes on this face of the pilaster.⁶⁴⁷ Its two vertical lines are raised along the wall’s full length, but the horizontal lines between them are merely incised. Nelson did not fully capture plumage on the vulture’s forward wing and omitted it entirely from the other wing.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 124–26.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 124–26.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving white onions to Amun-Re.

By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re residing in the temple “Effective is ³RAMESSES-MERAMUN^a in the Estate of Amun”: “(I) have given to you ⁴all life and dominion on my part.”

By the King: ⁵Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes,”^b ⁶the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^c ⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^d ⁸given life like Re.

Notes:

^a Traces of Sety I’s original raised *nomen* remain visible: the tip of the snout of  to the right of the sun-god’s beak, the tops of  above the final , and the waves of  below the second . Two  are in fact present, although Nelson records only one.

^b The sculptors recut Sety I’s Horus name in sunk relief.

^c Surviving vestiges of Sety I’s *prenomen* amid the final sunk version of Ramesses II include: part of the top of  to the right of ; the knee, , face, and feather of ; and the larger  of R^c.

^d Here, just as in col. 3, original traces of “Sety” remain outside the final signs, namely, the snout of , the tops of , and most of  above final . The  of the final version is not quite as Nelson drew it but more closely resembles the sign  turned on its side.

Plate 124

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179a) IV.

Location: B 185: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “e,” fourth register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and elevates a *nemset-jar* to Atum.

Type of Relief: Initially raised work of Sety I, Ramesses II then recarved it into sunk relief. Various traces of the raised version persist along the edges of many of the final hieroglyphs; in particular, one sees elements of Sety I’s cartouches and Horus name. The border at the far left side was left raised, and the main figures tend to be higher than the negative space around them.

Paint: Only a few traces abide in the hieroglyphs. At the bottom of the *serekh*, the interior of the door is blue and the area outside (to its left) is red. A great deal of paint is preserved, however, on the figures. The king’s flesh is red and that of Atum yellow. The god’s kilt is also yellow, as is the coil of his crown, but the other elements belonging to the “red” parts of the Double Crown are red. Ramesses’ kilt is yellow with flecks of blue on his belt apron.

Observations: Iconoclasts deliberately attacked the figures, including Atum’s face, lower arms, and hands, and lower legs and feet, and Ramesses II’s face and hands, as well as his front elbow. Among the hieroglyphs, only  in col. 1 was hacked.

Translations:

By Atum: ¹Words spoken by Atum, lord of Karnak, residing in ²the temple “Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN^a in the Estate of ³Amun”: “(I) have given to you all joy on my part, ⁴(and) all health ⁵on my part ⁶like Re forever.”

By the King: ⁷Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma‘at,”^b ⁸the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^c ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^d given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The  of Sety I’s original raised *prenomen* can be detected here.

^b Extensive traces of Sety I’s full Horus name, , persist amid the sunk relief version of Ramesses II’s. The palace facade box at the bottom was not as tall in the original version.

^c The bottom of , along with the original knee of  and the loop of her , remain to the left of the final goddess. The top of  is visible amid *stp-n-R^c*.

^d The snout of  and outlines of  of Sety’s *nomen* are apparent.

Plate 125

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179a) V.

Location: B 192: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “e,” fifth register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety) offers a bouquet to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Carved in raised relief by Sety I, the scene was converted into sunk relief by Ramesses II. Traces of the earlier version are especially noticeable along the front of the god’s body, along the king’s back, the back of his head, and around the bottom of the bouquet. They also persist on some hieroglyphs, especially the bottom of the -glyphs in cols. 5–6.

Paint: A fleck of red remains on Amun’s torso, corresponding to the crossed ribbons hanging from his neck. A pattern of concentric rings of his broad collar is discernible, some of them are green with the wide outermost band having blue floral petals. Lettuce plants behind the god are green with yellow at the base of their stocks. The king’s flesh is red.

Observations: There is light quarry damage in the king’s midsection, on the vertical border beside the god’s fetish, and in col. 1. Iconoclasts attacked the faces, hands, and feet of the figures, but they spared the king’s back foot and Amun’s upraised arm. The god’s phallus was presumably treated in the same way, completing the damage that it suffered from being in the gap between blocks. Nelson left out the following details carved in the relief: the cylixes and petals of the lotus blossoms in Pharaoh’s bouquet and on the offering stand and the feathers on the flabellum of Amun’s fetish, some of which the craftsmen erased when they converted the scene to sunk relief.

Translations:

Label: Giving fresh flowers to his father, Amun-Re.

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, king of the gods, Kamutef, ³the great god who is upon his great ⁴seat, lord of heaven, lord of the earth: ⁵Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you all health.”

Behind the God: Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re.

By the King: ⁷The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.^c

Notes:

^a Repeated mechanically above col. 6.

^b A possible trace of the original  may be seen at the left end of the final .

^c Traces of  of Sety I’s original *nomen* are apparent, especially its snout.

Plate 126

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179a) VI.

Location: B 199: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “e,” bottom register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers *Mꜣ.t* to an enthroned figure of Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Initially raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II recarved it as sunken. Remnants of the earlier version are profuse along the figures’ bodies, as well as around some of the hieroglyphs — for example, the bottom of  (col. 4) and the chest of  (col. 5). The vertical border along the left edge of the scene was not converted to sunk relief.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: There is no deliberate hacking of the relief, although the god’s right forearm was shaved down, removing the modeling and leaving a flat surface. Recutting to the king’s chin and Amun’s heel may have

resulted from cosmetic shifts by Sety I's craftsmen rather than the scene's transformation into sunk relief under Ramesses II. Nelson omitted some details including the lower hem of the king's long kilt between his legs, the inner and outer rim of his khepresh-crown, and the modeled ridge in the crown above his ear.

Translations:

Label: ¹Presenting Ma'at to his father Amun-Re that he may achieve "[given] life."

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god: ³Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all joy."

By the King: ⁴The good god USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^a ⁵the son of Re [RAMES]SES-[MERAMUN],^b ⁶[whom Re has chosen]^c as king, ⁷given life like Re.

Notes:

^a The  held by the original raised  is discernible under the snout of . One sees the larger  too.

^b No traces of Sety I's *nomen* survive, except for a trace of the wig of .

^c Reading [stp.n R'] m nsw. cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 4:16 (*Stp.nR'* [short group]), 97:11, and 12 right:11 (*stp.n 'Imn m nsw*).

Plate 127

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (178) I.

Location: B 180: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment "f," uppermost register *in situ*.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and presents ointment to Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Initially raised work of Sety I, the scene was recarved in sunk relief by Ramesses II in a relatively crude fashion. Signs of the raised version are most clearly visible at the back of the king's head and in some of the hieroglyphs — for example, the  and  in col. 2.

Paint: Traces of red adhere inside the king's back shoulder and along the edges of his legs. Otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: The profile and workmanship of the king's face resembles those of other scenes recarved from Sety I on the west wall's south wing. The king's streamers are very lightly cut and were perhaps added to his figure as an afterthought. His remaining cartouche exhibits signs that are thick and obviously reworked in sunk relief, but no traces of the original *nomen* of Sety I are apparent. Note that the decorative border that runs along the right side of all the scenes on this wall was only lightly engraved — not true raised relief — and was never converted to sunk. Nelson's drawing has misconstrued the king's offering. He is, in fact, presenting a bouquet of flowers flanked by lettuce (only the right stalk is preserved) and not an ointment jar, as the drawing implies. The horizontal bands on the border element are more complete than the drawing indicates.

Translation

Label: ¹[Giving] lettuce^a to his father Amun-Re, ²that he might achieve "given life like Re forever."

By the King: [...USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE], [...RAMES]SES-MERAMUN [...].

Note:

^a So reading *rdi.t 'bw*. The sign at the top of col. 1 that Nelson takes as something like a misshapen , an ointment jar turned oddly on its side, is in fact , a lettuce stalk hieroglyph similar to that shown (vertically) in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 254:1.

Plate 128

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (178) II.

Location: B 186: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “f,” second register *in situ*.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) censures Amun-Re over a laden offering table.

Type of Relief: Formerly carved as raised work of Sety I and later recarved as sunk by Ramesses II. Traces of the earlier version abound as raised edges or engraved lines outside the cut lines of the final sunk version, for example, at the king’s tail, right side of the offering table, and the bottom of the vulture’s forward wing, and along the edges of many hieroglyphs. The offering table and its contents were outlined in sunk relief, but the inner details have all been left raised. Maladroit workmanship by Ramesses II’s sculptors may account for the falcon’s oddly shortened rear wing. The decorative border behind the king was left raised.

Paint: Red paint survives inside the king’s shoulder and down his back, on his chest, and on his belly. The falcon’s rear wing is green.

Observations: The king’s head, hands, forearms, legs, and feet have all been hacked by iconoclasts.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censuring to Amun-Re, that he might achieve “given life like Re.”

By Amun: ²[Words spoken:^a “(I) have given to] you all life, stability, and dominion. ³[(I) have given to yo]u all health.”

By the Falcon: ⁴The Behdetite, lord of heaven, ⁵as he gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁶The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE,^b ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESESSES-MERAMUN.^c

Notes:

^a Probably repeated mechanically over col. 3.

^b The back and feather of the original  is preserved behind the final sign; and the loop of her  persists under the head of . The larger  and most of the “box” of  of Mn-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ is apparent.

^c The top of at least one original  (in “Sety”) can be seen in and to the upper left of  in “Ramesses.”

Plate 129

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (178) III.

Location: B 193: Eastern vestibule, south wing, wall segment “f,” bottom register *in situ*.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers ointment to an enthroned figure of Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Initially raised relief of Sety I, recarved as sunk by Ramesses II. The earlier version is especially noticeable along the king’s back, his tail, on the bottom of his robe between his legs, and along the bottom of the sky-sign. The decorative frame behind him, only lightly engraved, was never converted to sunk.

Paint: Some red clings to the king’s shoulder, chest, and the back of his advancing leg. Otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: The baseline of the scene is incompletely carved (with the lower line emerging from beneath Amun’s platform but stopping short under the king’s foot). More of the masonry survives than the drawing indicates, but this suffers from deep erosion that has obliterated large portions of both figures and the text of cols. 1–4. A patch-stone is missing in the region of the king’s thigh. Ramesses’ head and back foot were hacked, but his front foot was spared. Amun’s foot and lower legs, the only vestiges of his figure, were also attacked. Some of the hieroglyphs in cols. 5–6 and the vulture’s head were also defaced.

The decorative border to the scene's right has been drawn incompletely, omitting the horizontal bars that lie between the two vertical frames. These are preserved all the way to the baseline of the scene, and even beyond, although the raised vertical lines become fainter as they descend from the top of the scene, being merely incised as they approach the bottom of this scene. The entire border extends 4 cm below the baseline of the scene before disappearing for a distance of 68 cm, and then resumes for another 74 cm before disappearing completely. This final disappearance occurs 184 cm below the baseline of the scene, just above a horizontal line in red paint that arguably was part of the original cartoon layout of another, uncarved scene that would have been intended to stand below this one. This painted line (184 cm below the baseline of this scene) runs parallel to another, incompletely preserved, red line 1.5 cm below the first. The position of these lines correspond to the level of the lower legs of the figures in the adjoining scene on the pilaster (GHK I.1, pl. 126), so they are unlikely to have been the baseline of the uncarved scene, unless it was intended to be uncharacteristically small.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving^a ointment to Amun-Re.

*By Amun:w*²Words spoken^b by A[mun-Re], king [of the gods], lord of heaven: ³"[(I) have given to you ...]. ⁴[(I) have given to you ...]."

By the King: ⁵Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes,"^c ⁶lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d ⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^e ⁸given life like Re ⁹forever.

Notes:

^a So reading [rdi]t m md.t. The sign above  is clearly , not the upper arm of .

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–4.

^c Sety I's Horus name was simply converted to sunk relief. Traces of the original raised  remain visible.

^d Of Sety I's *prenomen* one sees traces of the larger , part of the "box" of  and the knee of .

^e No trace of Sety I's original *nomen* include the body of , the tops of , and .

The decorative border to the scene's right has been drawn incompletely, omitting the horizontal bars that lie between the two vertical frames. These are preserved all the way to the baseline of the scene, and even beyond, although the raised vertical lines become fainter as they descend from the top of the scene, being merely incised as they approach the bottom of this scene. The entire border extends 4 cm below the baseline of the scene before disappearing for a distance of 68 cm, and then resumes for another 74 cm before disappearing completely. This final disappearance occurs 184 cm below the baseline of the scene, just above a horizontal line in red paint that arguably was part of the original cartoon layout of another, uncarved scene that would have been intended to stand below this one. This painted line (184 cm below the baseline of this scene) runs parallel to another, incompletely preserved, red line 1.5 cm below the first. The position of these lines correspond to the level of the lower legs of the figures in the adjoining scene on the pilaster (GHK I.1, pl. 126), so they are unlikely to have been the baseline of the uncarved scene, unless it was intended to be uncharacteristically small.

Translations:

Label: ¹Giving^a ointment to Amun-Re.

*By Amun:w*²Words spoken^b by A[mun-Re], king [of the gods], lord of heaven: ³"[(I) have given to you ...]. ⁴[(I) have given to you ...]."

By the King: ⁵Horus: mighty bull, "appearing in Thebes,"^c ⁶lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE,^d ⁷the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,^e ⁸given life like Re ⁹forever.

Notes:

^a So reading [rdi]t m md.t. The sign above  is clearly , not the upper arm of .

^b Repeated mechanically above cols. 3–4.

^c Sety I's Horus name was simply converted to sunk relief. Traces of the original raised  remain visible.

^d Of Sety I's *prenomen* one sees traces of the larger , part of the "box" of  and the knee of .

^e No trace of Sety I's original *nomen* include the body of , the tops of , and .

GLOSSARY

References are usually to a plate followed by a colon, then the line or column number, e.g., 77:1 corresponds to plate 77, text column 1. Offering lists are numbered first vertically (by a number) then by the horizontal register (A, B, etc., from top to bottom): e.g., (pl. 226:1A.

If the entry states “see under *di.n=(i) n=k*,” the word referred to is the first element of the formula, all words after it have separate entries, this refers to titles as well.

}

- ꜥw (adj.vb.) “to be glad” 32:6; 34:7; 37:24; 44:46; 49:17; 52:12; 53:7; 76:28; 77:3, 21; 101:5; 107 right:4; 108:4; 111:7, 11; 137:19; 150:9; 152:3; 163 left:[3]; 178:5, 9; 179:2; 180:[4]; 197:7; 200:2; 226:4; 257:7
- ꜥw (n.) “entirety” 7:9; 197:7
- ꜥw.t-ib (n.) “joy” 135 bottom left:4; 165 left:5; 205 right:8; 226:14; 242:8; 243 middle:5; 252 left:5
in the following compounds:
ꜥw.t-ib nb “all joy” 45:12; 54:15; 76:44; 88:10; 90:6; 139:6, 9; 194:9; 197:13; 199:16; 235:4; 244:3; 248:3; 250 left:4
ḥkꜥ ꜥw.t-ib “ruler of joy” 46:4; 63:1; 68:5; 81 left:6; 136 top:10; 148:4; 166:14; 179:8; 196:4; 199:8; 256:7
see *di.n=(i) n=k ...*; *di=f/s/sn...*; *di ‘nh ...*; *nb ꜥw.t-ib*
in protective formula behind king/god, see Appendix C
- ꜥbdw (loc.) “Abydos” 202:11; 211:7
- ꜥbw (n.) “panther” 180:17
- ꜥbd (n.) “month” 212:11
- ꜥpd (n.) “bird, fowl” 44:16; 72:2; 77:21
- ꜥmm (vb.) “to grasp” 7:8
- ꜥh
(adj.) “effective, beneficial” 52:27; 71:9; 76:21; 137:12, 30; 162:3
(adj.vb.) “to be effective” 137:29; 151:30, 31; 205 right:11
and in the following compounds:
ꜥh n ꜥhw “one who is beneficial for those who are beneficial” 180:6
ꜥh n ꜥh n=f “effective for the one who is effective for him” 37:14
ꜥh n ir ꜥh.wt n=k “be beneficent for the one who has performed benefactions” 52:26
ꜥh mnw (epithet) “effective of monuments” 174:7
ꜥh m pr ‘Imn “(is) beneficial in the estate of Amun” 184:9; 187:15; see under *sbꜥ* (n.)
ꜥh Sty mr.n ‘Imn m pr ‘Imn “Effective is SETY I in the Estate of Amun” (name of Great Hypostyle Hall) 137:1-2; 139:3-4; 150:6-7; 154:[5], [9]-10
- ꜥh Sty mr.n Pth m pr ‘Imn “Effective is SETY I in the Estate of Amun” (name of Great Hypostyle Hall) 76:32
- ꜥh R^c-ms-s mry ‘Imn m pr ‘Imn “Effective is RAMESSES II in the Estate of Amun” (name of Great Hypostyle Hall) 4:3-4; 7:2-3; 32:5-6; 33:3; 123:2-3; 124:2-3
- ꜥh.wt (n.) “benefactions” 1:10; 6:4; 7:15, 40; 19:6; 25:5; 31:7; 32:13; 38:5; 39:21; 52:26; 71:12; 76:3; 89:10; 91:[10]; 95 right:5; 119:9; 131:11; 134:15; 137:31; 140 left:13; 151:9, 21; 152:21; 156:12; 165 right:8; 167:[1]; 172:6; 178:34; 190:8; 197:3; 208 right:10; 222:10; 238:7; 240:6; 241:11; 248:5; 251 left:6
see under *iri ꜥh.wt*; *ntr nfr*; *‘nh ntr nfr*
- ꜥht (n.) “horizon” 53:45; 151:19; 166:13; 178:12; 241:12
- ꜥst (div.) “Isis” 36:28; 52:35; 74:8; 84 left:2; 105:2; 140 left:2; 201:22; 202:12; 207:5; 211:8; 212:8
and with the following epithets
mw.t [ntr] “mother [of the god]” 24:8
ḥnw.t tꜥ.wy, *nb.t p.t*, *Wrt-[ḥkꜥ.w]* “Isis, mistress of the Two Lands, lady of heaven, Great-of-[Magic]” 116:6-7
ꜥst wrt “great Isis” 18:7; and with the following epithets:
mw.t ntr “great Isis, mother of the god” 60:4-5; 137:3
+ *Wrt-ḥkꜥw* “Great-of-Magic” 138:30-32
+ *nb.t p.t* “lady of heaven” 215 right:5-6
+ *nb.t p.t*, *Wrt-ḥkꜥw* “lady of heaven, Great-of-Magic” 88:6-7
+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w [...]* “mistress of all the gods [...]” 214:8-9
[*mw.t-ntr*] *nb.t p.t*, *ḥnw.t [ntr.w tꜥ.wy]* “[mother of the god], lady of heaven, mistress [of the gods (and) of the Two Lan]ds” 245:6-8
nb.t p.t “lady of heaven” 183:4-5
+ *ḥnw.t tꜥ.wy* “mistress of the Two Lands” 186 bottom:6-7
- ꜥst (n.) “roast meat joint” 65:13C; 226:6C (abbreviated ꜥst)
- ꜥtp (vb.) “to be laden” 53:18; 92:2; 107 right:10

i

- =i* (1st pers. suffix pron.) “1/my” passim
- i* (part.) “O” (vocative marker) 42:2–3; see under *nd-ḥr* (verbal phrase) “greeting”
- ī.t* (n.) “office, function” 1:6; 7:23; 14:[4]; 38:11; 49:19; 77:7; 137:21; 180:8; 199:8, 12; 226:13
ī.t *ʾtmw* “office of Atum” 30:6; 165 right:4; 168:4
ī.t n ʾtmw “office of Atum” 209:5
 see under *di.n=(i) n=k ī.t*
- ī.w* (n.) “adoration” 232 left:3
- ībt.t* (n.) “east” 52:24; 53:12; 131:10; 145 right:9; 227 right:3
- īm* (adj.), see under *imʕ(t)* (adj.) “charming one”
- īrw* (n.) “rushes” (in *šḥ.t īrw* “field of rushes”) 212:10
- i(š)rrt* (n.) “grapes” 63:13B; 207:15; 226:4B
- ii* (vb.) “to come” 36:14; 43:1; 44:2 (spelled *in*), 38; 73:6; 104 bottom:[9]; 106:11; 203 left:7; 216:5, 6, 7; 219:10, 11; 227 left:5; 227 left:4 (wrongly spelled *imn* for *ii.n.i*); 230:[2], [4], [6]
 and in verbal expression
ii.wy “welcome!” 7:21; 39:5; 44:26; 71:4; 137:19
in ii.wy m ḥtp “welcome in peace” 7:4; 54:10; 58:7; 68:3; 76:1; 77:11; 78:6–7; 106:16, 21–22; 108:[13]
 stative *ii.ti m ḥtp* “welcome in peace!” 199:10
 imperative form *mi* 62:9; 78:2; 111:5; 149:6; 179:1; 199:3, 11; 204 right:2
- iʿi* (vb.) “to wash” 212:8
- iʿb* (n.) “bowl” 65:11–19; 207:4–22; 226:[1A]-1B-4C-[7C]
- iʿrt* (n.) “uraeus” 198:14 (spelled *ʿr.t*)
- Tḥ* (div.) “Moon” 66:2; 105:4
- Tḥ-ms Nfr.t-iry* (f. div.) “Ahmose-Nefertari” 152: above bark next to king
- iw* (part.) 7:20; 37:19; 38:8; 52:22; 69:5, 10; 105:7; 137:30; 179:8; 180:3, 12, 13, 15; 211:11; 212:10, 14; 216:7, 9; 220:10
- ʾw=s ʕ=s* (f. div.) “She-comes-and-is-great” + *nb.t p.t* “lady of heaven” 242:5
- iw* (vb.) “to come” 44:18; 53:14; 73:6; 92:2; 107 right:5; 194:6; 197: king’s belt apron; 216:8
- ʾw-ʾmn* “Island-of-Amun” (loc.) 36:37; see *Sbk* (div.)
- ʾw-m-sš* (loc.) “Island-in-the-Marsh” 44:44–45; see *N.t* (f. div.) “Neith”
- iwʕ* (n.) “long-horned cattle” 13:2; 27:1; 39:2; 77:5
- iwʿ* (n.) “heir” 76:3
- iwf* (n.) “flesh” 106:13; 205 right:15
- iwfn ḥi.t* (n.) “breast cut of meat” 65:16C
- ʾwn-mw.t=f* (div.) “Pillar-of-his-Mother” 52:22
- ʾwn(y)* (loc.) “Iuny (Armant)” 111:5; 138:2
- ʾwnw* (loc.) “Heliopolis” 52:25; 61:4; 79:12; 85 left:3; 111:5; 137:18; 192:5; 202:5–10, 14; 211:5–[8]; 219:12; 242:[3]
- ʾwnw šmʿw* “Southern Egyptian Heliopolis” 78:1; 106:8; 111:17; 144:12; 154:17; 165 left:3; 250 right:10
- ʾwnw(y)* (*nisbe*) “the Heliopolitan” 78:6; 111:1; 138:7; 149:5; 175 left:2; 179:4; 199:5; 201:7
 see *ʾtmw* (div.)
- ʾwn.t* (loc.) “Dendera” in *nb.t ʾwnt* 4:6–7; 67:1; 106:10; 140 left:8–9; 144:6; 199:[10]
 see under *Ḥw.t-Ḥr* (f. div.)
- ʾwny.t* (f. div.) “Yunyt” 36:41; 52:42; 201:[34]:
 + *sʕ.t Rʿ, nb.t p.t, Wrt-ḥkʕ.w* “daughter of Re, lady of heaven, Great-of-Magic” 140 right:13–15
- ib* (n.)
 (1) “heart” 7:22; 17:7; 32:6, 8; 34:7; 37:[24]; 44:46; 46:5; 49:17; 52:10, 12, 21; 53:7, 22, 30; 54:4; 62:2; 76:28; 77:3, 21; 97:7; 101:5; 107 right:4; 108:4; 137:19, 27; 150:9; 151:28; 152:3, 5; 163 left:3; 165 right:2; 178:5, 9; 180:[4], 7; 194:5, 6; 200:2; 207:11; 226:4, 8; 242 below vulture; 243 middle:8; 257:7
 in *wsr-ib* “stout-heartedness” 108:6
 see under *ʕw.t-ib, ḥr(y).(t)-ib*
- (2) “wish” 38:10
- ibḥ* (n.) “tooth” 207:12 (pl.)
- ibt.t*, in *ḥw.t-ibt.t* (loc.) “Mansion of the Clapnet” 44:26; see *Dḥwty* (div.)
- ip* (vb.) “to select” 202:[17]
- ipw* (demonstr. pron.) “these” 212:9; 229:3
- ipn* (demonstr. pron.) “this” 218 left:6
- ips.t* see *isp.t*
- ip.t* (n.) “sanctuary” 28:2; 31:2; 39:5; 40:1; 45:2; 75:1; 88:3; 90:2–3; 95 right:3; 134:2; 135 bottom left:2; 141:3; 146 left:4; 159:2; 167:6; 180:4; 212:4; 240:1; 245:1; 247:3
 see also *ḥn.ty ip.t=f*
- ip.t* (referring to Luxor Temple) 38:14
- ip.t rsy.t* “Southern sanctuary” (referring to Luxor Temple) 39:9
- ip.t <rsy.t>* “<Southern> sanctuary” (referring to Luxor Temple) 151:26
- ʾip.t-s.wt* (name of Karnak Temple of Amun) 2:7; 3:9; 5:5; 12 left:14; 23:7; 36:11, 48; 37:33; 38:16, 29; 43:9, 14; 46:14; 47:7; 49:15; 52:7, 22, 26; 53:6, 39; 56:7; 75:4; 76:12; 77:21; 78:[10]; 80:2; 82 middle:[3]; 94:2; 100:3; 101:3, 9; 102:6; 104 bottom:1; 106:15, 21; 107 right:2; 107 left:1; 108:2; 111:9; 115:5; 124:1; 133:8; 136 top:2; 140 left:4; 141:16; 152:7; 159:7–8; 164 right:1; 180:[32]; 187:2–3; 199:10; 202:2; 203 left:[1]; 206 bottom:9; 207:2; 209:7; 211:2; 212:2; 216:7; 218 middle:1, right:4; 219:4; 220:2, 8; 227 left:8; 229:3; 243 middle:2; 246:3; 251 right:2; 252 left:1; 252 right:[2]–3; 255:2; 261e top; 265e top
 see also *ʾmn* (div.); *ʾmn-Rʿ* (div.); *ʾmn.t* (f. div.); *Ḥnsw* (div.); *ḥn.ty ʾip.t-s.wt; ḥr(y).t-ib; ʾip.t-s.wt*
- im* (adv.) “there” 44:46

im (prep.) “by means of (which)” 203 left:4; 212:6; 219:9; and see *m*.

Imʒ(.t) (adj.) “charming one” 155:10

imi (vb., imperative) “give, place” see under *rdi*

imy(t) (*nisbe*, m., f., or pl.) “which is/are in” 38:2, 16; 52:22; 62:2, 15; 77:10; 152:18; 180:24; 198:14; 218 left:7; 219:9, 12

and in expressions

imy-ib (n.) “favorite” 62:2

imy Wʒs.t “he who is in Thebes (Amun)” 79:22; 101:11

imy-wr.t “starboard side” 180:1

imy.t-pr “legal possession” 7:19; 38:13; 79:11; 96:6; 150:4

imy pr=f “who is in his house” 82 right:2; see under *Mnw* (div.)

imy-Nb.t “he who is in Ombos (Seth)” 53:22

imy.w-ḥʒ.t “ancestors” 151:22

[*imy.t*] *Sʒw* “who is in Sais” 44:[43]–44, 47–48; see *N.t* (f. div.), *Sʒ.t* (f. div.)

im.t (n.?), unknown word 180:26

’Imn

’Imn (div.) “Amun” 2:15; 4:4; 5:2, [5]; 6:4; 7:3, 22, 41; 12 right:11; 12 left:18; 14:[3], 12; 17:10; 19:6, 9; 20:12?; 21:6; 24:14; 25:9; 27:8, 11; 33:16, 19; 37:26, 30; 39:16; 42:8; 43:1; 44:27; 53:4; 54:11; 58:1, 8; 60:1; 64:4; 68:1; 69:[5]; 71:2, 12; 72:7; 74:3; 76:32; 77:12, 21; 78:1, 4, 10, 14; 79:22; 82 right:1; 97:11; 104 bottom:14; 106:24; 108:16; 116:11; 123:3; 124:3; 132:13; 137:2, 31, 34; 141:15; 143:1; 145 left:[13]; 149:10; 150:15; 151:23, 29; 154:3; 162:6; 163 right:[12]; 164 left:8, 11; 165 right:8; 166:1, 16; 167:[1]; 169:[8], 12; 171:11, 14; 172:8, 12; 173:1, 7, 11; 174:7; 175 left:9; 176:7; 184:9; 186 bottom:[13]; 187:15; 195:12; 196:7, 10; 197:[4], [6], 13; 199:10, [11], 17, 20; 201:[39]; 202:6; 206 bottom:8, 9, 10; 207:4–22; 208 left:7; 210; 213 right:7; 214:12; 215 left:1; 218 left:6; 219:6, 7, 8; 221 right:6; 222:10; 224:[9]; 228:6; 230:[8]; 232 right:[3]; 237:10; 238:1, 11; 240:6; 244:4; 245:11; 248:5, 8; 252 right:9; 254:9

in the following compounds

’Imn-’Itmw-R^c m Wʒs.t “Amun-Atum-Re in Thebes” 32:[4], 10

’Imn b m nfrw=f, nb p.t “Amun, whose perfection is vaunted, lord of heaven” 223:1–2

’Imn wsr-ḥʒ.t “Amun, mighty-of-prow (river barge of Amun)” 151:34; 152:10–[11]

’Imn pʒ Šw “Amun-the-Light” 180:21

’Imn nb-ns.wt-tʒ.wy “Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands” 5:3; 38:19; 44:3; 203 left:4; 212:6, 7, 14; 219:8–9; 220:4; 227 middle:2; 232 left:2; 246:1

’Imn nsw-nṯr.w “Amun, King of the Gods” 36:14; 44:23; 118:4

’Imn R^c Ḥr-ʒh.ty, ḥn.ty ’Iwnw Šm^cw, nb p.t “Amun-Re-Horakhty, pre-eminent in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis, lord of heaven” 165 left:2–3

’Imn nb-ns.wt-tʒ.wy, nṯr ʒ, ḥry s.t wr.t “Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, Great God, who is upon the great seat” 206 bottom:2–5

in *’Iw-’Imn* “Island-of-Amun” (loc.) 36:37; see *Sbk* (div.) see also under *pr-’Imn*; *Mnw* (div.)

’Imn-R^c

’Imn-R^c (div.) “Amun-Re” 1:1; 2:1; 3:1, 12; 7:29; 9:2; 10:1; 11:1; 13:1, 12; 20:1, 11; 21:1; 24:1; 25:1; 30:1; 31:7; 32:2, 13; ≈33:1; 36:16, 20, 27, 32, 34, [39]; 39:3, 21; 40:9; 50:1, 9; 51:1; 53:51; 54:1; 55:1; 56:1; 57:[1]; 59:1; 61:1, 6; 69:5; 70:1; 76:4; 80:7; 81 right:[1]; 89:1; 90:1; 91:1; 92:1; 93:2; 95 right:1, 5; 98:1; 99:1; 104 top:1; 105:17; 107 right:1; 111: in front of Monthu, 7, 14; 114:1; 116:[1]; 117:3; 123:1; 125:1; 126:1; 127:1; 128:1; 129:1; 130:1, 8; 131:1, 11; 132:1, 10; 133:1; 134:1; 142:1; 146 right:1; 147:[1], 12; 149:1, 7; 153:3; 155:2; 169:[12]; 178:1, 32; 179:5; 180:25; 189:1; 190:1; 197:2; 199:[1], 4; 201:37 right; 209:[2]; 214:1; 216:6, 9; 218 left:1; 222:2; 231 right:7; 256:6; 257:[2]; 261d top; see also *Mnw* (div.)

and with the following epithets

nb ’Ip.t-sw.t “lord of Karnak” 107 right:2; 136 top:2

nb ’Ip.t-sw.t, nb p.t, ḥkʒ Wʒs.t “lord of Karnak, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes” 94:2–3

nb p.t “lord of heaven” 141:1; 193:1; 227 right:4

nb p.t, nṯr ʒ, ḥry s.t wr.t “lord of heaven, great god, who is upon the great seat” 56:2–4

nb p.t, ḥkʒ psd.t “lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead” 174:3

nb p.t, ḥn.ty ip.t=f, nṯr ʒ, ḥry s.t=f wr.t “lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, great god, who is upon his great seat” 141:2–5

nb ns.wt tʒ.wy “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands” 5:3; 15:1; 25:2; 38:1; 43:4; 46:1; 52:1; 54:2; 59:2; 61:2; 73:2; 76:1; 102:1; 115:1; 119:7; 137:[19]; 146 left:1; 152:1; 156:2; 163 left:2; 169:2; 178:2; 184:1; 200:1; 204 right:4;

Imn-R^c (cont.)

- 211:4-5; 212:5; 213 right:3; 218 middle:3; 218 right:2;
226:1; 227 left:6; 227 right:[8]; 229:5; 230:[1]; 238:2; 253
top:6; 257:5
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, nb p.t* “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,
lord of heaven” 21:2; 55:2; 146 right:2; 222:[4]; 241:1
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, nb p.t, bnr mrt* “lord of the thrones of the
Two Lands, lord of heaven, sweet of love” 175
right:3
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, nb p.t, nsw ntr.w* “lord of the thrones of the
Two Lands, lord of heaven, king of the gods” 19:2;
142:6; 144:2
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, nb p.t, ntr* [?] “lord of the thrones of the Two
Lands, lord of heaven, [great] god” 133:2-3
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, nb p.t, hk3 W3s.t* “lord of the thrones of the
Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes” 99:2;
166:2; 194:1-2
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, nsw ntr.w* “lord of the thrones of the Two
Lands, king of the gods” 57:2
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, ntr* ? “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,
great god” 1:2; 12 left:3; 29:1; 126:2
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, ntr* ?, *nsw ntr.w, nb p.t, hn.ty ip.t=f* “lord of
the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god, king
of the gods, lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his
sanctuary” 247:1-3
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, ntr* ?, *hry s.t=f wr.t* “lord of the thrones of
the Two Lands, great god, who is upon his great
seat” 157:1-3
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, hr(y)-ib ip.t-sw.t, ntr* ? “Lord of the thrones
of the Two Lands, residing in Karnak, the great
god” 218 middle:1-2
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr 3h R^c-ms-s mry-Imn m pr
Imn* “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing
in the temple Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in
the Estate of Amun” 7:1-3
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr 3h Sty mr.n-Imn m pr
Imn* “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing
in the temple Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the
Estate of Amun” 150:6-7
- nb ns.wt t3.wy, hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr [...]-wr [...]* “lord of the
thrones of the Two Lands, residing in the temple ‘[...]
Great [...]’” 97:2-3
- nb nsw.t t3.wy, hr(y)-tp psd.t 3.t* “lord of the thrones of the
Two Lands, chieftain of the Great Ennead” 39:1
- nb ns[.wt t3.wy], hry [s.t=f wr.t]* “lord of the thr[ones of
the Two Lands], who is upon [his great seat]” 227
right:2
- nb nsw.t t3.wy, hk3 W3s.t* “lord of the thrones of the Two
Lands, ruler of Thebes” 196:1
- nb nsw.t t3.wy, hk3 W3s.t, nb 3h.wt* “lord of the thrones
of the Two Lands, ruler of Thebes, lord of
benefactions” 172:2-6
- nb nsw.t t3.wy, hn.ty ip.t-sw.t* “lord of the thrones of the
Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak” 38:28-29;
49:14-15; 53:6; 104 bottom:1; 106:15; 107 left:1; 108:2;
164 right:1; 187:2-3; 202:1-2; 220:1-2; 227 left:7-8; 251
right:1-2; 252 left:1; 255:1-2; 261e top; 265e top
+ *nb p.t, hn.ty ip.t=f* “lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his
sanctuary” 212:1-4
- + *ntr* ? “the great god” 207:1-3
- + *ntr* ?, *nb p.t* “great god, lord of heaven” 80:2-3;
211:1-2
- nb t3.wy* “lord of the Two Lands” 23:2
- nsw ntr.w* “king of the gods” 52:22; 53:2; 77:2; 79:1; 81
right:2; 88:1; 91:10; 97:1; 99:11; 107 left:2; 163 right:8;
178:33; 209:1; 248:1; 265d top
- nsw ntr.w, nb p.t* “king of the gods, lord of heaven” 58:2;
89:2; 129:2
- nsw ntr.w, nb p.t, hk3 W3s.t* “king of the gods, lord of heaven,
ruler of Thebes” 3:2; 17:3; 26:2; 131:2; 145 right:2;
261e top; 265e top
- [...], *ntr* ? “[...], great god” 218 right:1
- nsw ntr.w, hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr 3h R^c-ms-s mry-Imn m pr-
Imn* “king of the gods, residing in the temple
‘Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the Estate of
Amun’” 33:2-3
- nsw ntr.w, hr(y)-tp psd.t 3.t* “king of the gods, chieftain of
the Great Ennead” 36:2-3
- nsw ntr.w, K3-mw.t=f, ntr* ?, *hry s.t=f wr.t, nb p.t, nb t3* “king
of the gods, Kamutef, the great god, who is upon his
great seat, lord of heaven, lord of earth” 125:2-4
- nsw ntr.w, K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, hn.ty ip.t=f, hry s.t=f wr.t* “king of
the gods, Kamutef, lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his
sanctuary, who is upon his great seat” 88:2-4
- nsw [ntr.w] nb.w, hn.ty [Ip.t-sw.t]* “king of all [the gods],
pre-eminent in [Karnak]” 203 left:1
- hry s.t=f wr.t, ntr* ?, *nb p.t* “who is on his great seat, the
great god, lord of heaven” 221 right:1-3
- hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr 3h R^c-ms-s mry-Imn m pr-Imn* “residing in
the temple ‘Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the
Estate of Amun’” 123:2-3
- hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr 3h [Sty mr.n-Imn m pr-Imn]* “residing in the
temple ‘Effective is [SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate
of Amun]’” 154:4-5
- hr(y)-tp psd.t* “chieftain of the Ennead” 36:1; 93:[5]
- Hr-3h.ty* “Horakhty” 101:1
- Hr-3h.ty Itmw, nb ip.t-sw.t* “Horakhty-Atum, lord of
Karnak” 101:2-3, 9
- Hr-3h.ty, hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr 3h R^c-ms-s mry-Imn m pr-
Imn* “Horakhty, residing in the temple ‘Effective
is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the Estate of
Amun’” 32:4-6
- hk3 W3s.t* “ruler of Thebes” 175 right:2; 190:2; 204 right:1
- hn.ty ip.t=f* “pre-eminent in his sanctuary” 39:4-5; 75:1
- hn.ty ip.t=f, ntr* ?, *nb p.t, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “pre-eminent in his
sanctuary, the great god, lord of heaven, who is upon
his great seat” 245:1-4
- hn.ty ip.t=f, ntr* ?, *[hr(y)] s.t wr.t* “pre-eminent in his
sanctuary, the great god, [who is upon] the great
seat” 40:1-3
- hn.ty ip.t=f, hr(y) s.t=f, nb p.t, nsw ntr.w nbw* “pre-eminent in
his sanctuary, who is upon his seat, lord of heaven,
king of all the gods” 240:1-3
- [*hn.ty*] *ip.t-sw.t* “[pre-eminent in] Karnak” 229:3
- K3-mw.t=f* “Kamutef” 2:2; 6:[2]; 22:6; 34:2; 60:2; 68:2; 71:3;
98:2; 158:1-2, 5; 218 right:3; 220:5; 227 middle:8; 230:2

Imn-R' (cont.)

- K3-mw.t=f, f3i-[?], 'b m nfrw=f, nb p.t, hk3 [W3s.t]* “Kamutef, elevated [of arm], whose beauty is vaunted, lord of heaven, ruler of [Thebes]” 216:2-4
- [K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, ... “[Kamut]ef, lord of heaven, ...”* 159: in front of Amun in procession
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, nb p.t, hry s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, lord of heaven [sic], who is upon the great seat” 237:1-3
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, nsw ntr.w* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, king of the gods” 14:1-2
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, nsw-ntr.w, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, king of the gods, who is upon his great seat” 11:2
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, ntr 3, nsw-ntr.w, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, the great god, who is upon his great seat” 47:1-4
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, nsw-ntr.w, ntr 3, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, king of the gods, the great god, who is upon his great seat” 143:6-8; 155:3-5
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, nsw-ntr.w nb.w, ntr 3, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, king of all the gods, the great god, who is upon his great seat” 147:2-4
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, ntr 3, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, the great god, who is upon his great seat” 24:2-4; 114:2-4
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, ntr 3, hn.ty ip.t=f, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon his great seat” 146 left:3-5; 159:1-3
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, who is upon his great seat” 173:2-4
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, hr(y) s.t wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, who is upon the great seat” 183:1-3
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, hk3 W3s.t, f3i-3, htp [hr] htyw* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, elevated of arm, who rests [upon] the dais” 186 bottom:1-4
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, hk3 psd.t, f3i.t-3, 'b m nfrw=f* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, upraised of arm, whose perfection is vaunted” 193:2-5
- K3-mw.t=f, nb p.t, hn.ty ip.t=f, ntr 3, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, the great god, who is upon his great seat” 28:1-4
- K3-mw.t=f, [nb p].t, hn.ty ip.t=f, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t, hr(y)-tp psd.t 3.t* “Kamutef, [lord of heav]en, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon his great seat, chieftain of the Great Ennead” 90:2-4
- K3-mw.t=f, ntr 3, hr(y) s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, the great god, who is upon his great seat” 18:2-4; 20:2-4; 30:2-4; 132:2-3; 145 left:2-3; 153:4-6
- K3-mw.t=f, ntr 3, hr(y) s.t wr.t* “Kamutef, the great god, who is upon the great seat” 215 right:2-3
- [K3-mw.t=f ...] hry-tp psd.t* “[Kamutef ...] chieftain of the Ennead” 93:5
- K3-mw.t=f, ntr 3, hr(y)-tp psd.t, nb p.t, nsw-ntr.w, hry s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, the great god, chieftain of the Ennead, lord of heaven, king of the gods, who is upon his great seat” 214:3-6
- K3-mw.t=f, ntr 3, hn.ty ip.t=f, hry s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, the great god, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon his great seat” 31:1-3; 45:1-3; 95 right:2-4; 167:5-7
- [K3-mw.t=f, ntr 3], [n]b [p].t, hry s.t=f wr.t* “[Kamutef, the gr]eat [god], [lo]rd of [hea]ven, who is upon his great seat” 116:2-4
- K3-mw.t=f, ntr 3, hry s.t=f wr.t, hr(y)-tp psd.t* “Kamutef, the great god who is upon his great seat, chieftain of the Ennead” 254:2-5
- K3-[mw.t=f, hr(y)] s.t=f wr.t* “Kam[utef who is upon his great] seat” 228:1-3
- K3-mw.t=f, hr(y) s.t wr.t, nb p.t, hk3 W3s.t* “Kamutef, who is upon the great seat, the lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes” 218 left:2-5
- K3-mw.t=f, hry s.t=f wr.t, nb p.t, hk3 W3s.t, ntr 3, hn.ty 'Ip.t-sw.t* “Kamutef, who is upon his great seat, the lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, the great god, pre-eminent in Karnak” 219:1-4
- K3-mw.t=f, [hr(y)]-ib [hw.t-ntr 3h] R'-ms-s mry-Imn m pr-Imn* “Kamutef, [residing] in [the temple 'Effective is] RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the Estate of Amun” 4:2-4
- K3-mw.t=f, hn.ty ip.t=f, nb p.t, hk3 psd.t, hry s.t=f wr.t* “Kamutef, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, who is upon his great seat” 134:2-4
- Imn-R' [Itmw m W3s.t]* “Amun-Re-[Atum-in-Thebes]”:
+ *hry-ib hw.t-ntr 3h R'-ms-s mry-Imn [m pr] Imn* “residing in the temple 'Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN [in the Estate of] Amun” 32:4-6
- Imn.t* (f. div.) “Amunet” 82 middle:1; with the following epithets
- nb.t [p.t], hr.t-ib 'Ip.t-s.wt* “lady of [heaven], residing in Karnak” 2:6-7
- nb[t 'Ip].t-[s.wt], [hnw.t] ntr[w]* “lady of Karnak, [mistress] of the god[s]” 159:7-8
- hr.t-ib 'Ip.t-s.wt* “residing in Karnak” 102:6; 106:21; 111:9; 243 middle:1-2; 246:3
- hr.t-ib 'Ip.t-s.wt, nb.t [p.t]* “residing in Karnak, lady of [heaven]” 115:4-6
- hr.t-ib 'Ip.t-s.wt, [hnw.t] ntr.w* “residing in Karnak, [mistress] of the gods” 209:6-8
- hr.t-ib ['Ip.t-s.wt, nb.t] p.t, nb.(t) t3.wy* “residing in [Karnak, lady of] heaven, lady of the Two Lands” 82 middle:2-3
- hr.t-ib 'Ip.t-s.wt, nb.t p.t, hnw.t t3.wy* “residing in Karnak, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands” 23:6-8; 47:6-8; 56:6-8
- imnt.t* (n.) “the west” 48:10; 52:24; 53:12; 131:10; 145 right:9; 227 right:3; see also *hn.ty imnt.t*
- imn.tyw* (n.) “westerners” 48:10; 138:25; 202:11; 211:7
- in* (prep.) “by” (king) 36:1; 89:1; 227 left:1; “by” (div.) 220:4, 5, 6; and “by” a divinity (in formula *dd md.w in*) passim
- in* (non-encl. part.) 227 middle:5
- ini* (vb.) “to bring” 7:28; 43:2; 44:4, 7, 40; 219:6
- inw* (n.) “products” 107 right:9; 161:6
- In-hr.t šw* (div.) “Onuris-Shu” with the following epithet:

s3-R', nb [...] “the son of Re, lord of [...]” 231 right:4
inm (n.) “skin” (of panther) 180:17
inr (n.) “stone” in *inr nfr n rwd.(t)* “fine sandstone” 166:13; 226:7
Inr.ty (loc.) “Gebelein” 232 left:8
ink (1st pers. sing. indep. pron.) “I (am) ...” 7:27; 32:9; 44:49; 67:1; 76:2, 22; 137:6; 163 right:2; 227 middle:4
int (n.) “valley” (in “beautiful feast of the valley”) 53:51
(i)r (prep.) “regarding” 38:8; reflexive use 50:8; 62:9; 111:1, 6; 149:3, 6; 179:1; 199:4, 6, 11
ir(y) (prep.) “thereof” 152:12; 178:13

iry (n.) “who/what relates to” 219:8 (spelled *iryt*)
iry-p'.t (title) “hereditary prince” 72:1
(i)r=k (encl. part.) “ye” 78:3; 111:1, 6; 149:3, 6; 179:1; 199:4, 6, [10], 11
irt (n.) “eye” 219:7
in irt Hr “eye of Horus” 42:4; 203 left:7; 207:4, 8–11, [14]–16, 21–22; 212:5; 216:8, 9–10; 218 middle:5; 219:8, 11; 226:16; 227 middle:1; 229:1; 230:2
in irt R' “eye of Re” 216:7
ir.ty “two eyes” 219:6; 229:[2]; 230:[5]
ir.ty wr pf “the two eyes of that great one” 207:19
irt twy nn n.t Hr “this is that eye of Horus” 203 left:3, 5
irt Hr hd.t “the white eye of Horus” 205 right:14

iri

iri (vb.) “to do, make, act” in the following forms
iri in nominal emphatic *sḏm=f* 137:21
iri in nominal emphatic *sḏm.n=f* 38:14; 46:4; 152:19; 180:22
iri in circumstantial *sḏm.n=f* 152:5; 174:2
iri in circumstantial *sḏm=f* 106:11; 44:50
iri as perf. active part. 52:26; 53:30; 165 right:12; 197:7; see also *iri ḫ.wt*; *iri mnw*; *iri n=f rm kn hr ḫs.t nb.(t)* “who has made for himself a valiant name in every foreign country” 168:14
iri as perf. passive part. 52:25
iri in relative *sḏm=f* 7:6; 151:30
iri in *sḏm.n=f* relative 5:4; 7:15, 37; 24:16; 26:5; 27:7; 32:8; 37:34; 54:6; 66:1; 73:4; 87 bottom:3; 101:7; 104 bottom:5; 107 right:5; 108:5; 151:25; 152:4, 21; 153:1; 154:2; 163 left:4; 165 right:3; 169:3; 180:15; 257:8–9
iri [sic] as infinitive 97:12; 113:1
irr as imperf. active part. 180:15; 205 right:14 (*irrt*); 206 bottom:11 (*irrw=k*)
irrw as imperf. passive part. 180:13 (*irrw*); 218 right:[2]
irt as infinitive 7:37; 17:11; 19:10; 24:15; 25:5, 6; 33:20; 34:13; 37:20; 38:5, 7, 10, 24; 39:20, 40:[9]; 52:16; 76:3, 9; 104 bottom:4; 106:3; 137:27; 150:16; 152:13; 155:16; 180:5, 6; 195:9; 199:13; 216:5; see also *nb irt ḫ.t*
iry in prospective *sḏm=f* 7:22; 29:6; 52:26; 66:2; 106:9; 111:12; 118:7; 137:29; 148:4, 8; 206 bottom:10; 243 left:2
ir(w) stative 180:25
and in the following expressions:
iri ḫ.wt “who performs benefactions” 1:10; 6:[4]; 7:40; 19:6; 31:7; 32:13; 39:21; 52:26; 71:12; 89:10; 91:[10]; 95 right:5; 119:9; 131:11; 134:15; 137:31; 140 left:13; 151:9; 156:12; 165 right:[8]; 167:[1]; 178:[34]; 190:8; 197:[2]–3; 208 right:10; 222:10; 238:7; 240:6; 241:11; 248:5; 251 left:6; see also *ntr nfr*
iri ḫ.wt n ms s<w> shr pr it=f mi ḫ.t n.t p.t “who performs benefactions for the one who bore him, who makes

content the house of his father like the horizon of heaven” 241:11–12
irt ḫ(y) “playing music” 88:1
iri mnw “who makes monuments” 5:5; 7:42; 21:6; 33:16; 39:16 (*iri mnw wrw sp sn*); 61:6; 80:7; 111:14; 132:10; 143:1; 163 right:[8]; 164 left:[7]; 166:[12]; 169:8; 172:8; 173:7; 196:7; 199:17; 208 left:7; 213 right:6; 224:8; 241:8; 243 middle:8; 254:9; 256:6; see also *ntr nfr*
iri mnw m ib mrr n [...] “who makes monuments with a loving heart for [...]” 243 middle:8
irt md.t “anointing” 205 left:1
irt ḫtp-di-nsw “performing an offering-that-the-king-gives” 19:1; 97:1
irt ḫ.t, see under *nb irt ḫ.t*
irt sntr “censing” 5:[1]; 53:2; 57:1; 60:1; 81 left:1; 84 left:1; 113:1; 128:1; 144:1; 175 right:1; 197:1; 205 right:1, 10; 217:[1]; 236 right:[1]; 242:[1]; 250 left:1
irt sntr kbh.w “censing and libating” 12 left:1; 17:[1]; 42:1; 80:1; 138:1; 236 left:[1]
irt kbh.w “making libation” 21:1; 61:1; 215 left:1; 218 left:1
ir=f di 'nh “that he might achieve (the state of) ‘given life’” 1:1; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1; 10:1; 13:2; 16:1; 17:2; 18:1; 20:1; 21:1; 22:1; 24:1; 26:1; 30:1; 34:1; 35:1; 51:1; 54:1; 55:1; 57:1; 58:1; 59:1; 60:1; 71:2; 73:1; 88:1; 89:1; 90:1; 91:1; 93:1; 95 right:1; 97:1; 98:1; 99:1; 101:1; 103:1; [103 left]; 107 right:1; 110:1; 119:6; 122:1; 126:1; 131:1; 132:1; 134:1; 139:1; 142:1; 149:1; 154:3; 155:2; 186 bottom:[10]; 207 left:1–2; 213 left:[3]; 214:2; 218 left:1; 235:1; 251 left not recorded
+ *mi R'* “like Re” 11:1; 12 left:2; 12 right:1; 25:1; 56:1; 100:1; 114:1; 126:1; 128:1; 133:1; 140 right:2; 140 left:[1]; 147:[1]; 168:1; 249 bottom left:2
+ *mi R' r' nb* “like Re every day” 205 right:2
+ *mi R' d.t* “like Re forever” 27:2; 33:1; 127:2
ir=f di 'nh dd w3s mi R' “... that he might achieve given life, stability and dominion like Re” 14:2; 32:3

- iri* (cont.)
- ir=f di 'nh dd w3s mi R' d.t* "... that he might achieve given life, stability, and dominion like Re, forever" 146 left:[2]
- ir=f <di 'nh>* 175 left:1
- iri.n=f di 'nh* "he having achieved given life" 174:2
- ir=s di 'nh* "that she might achieve 'given life'" 208 right:2
- ir.wt* (n.) "deeds" 150:12; 178:17; 180:13
- irp* (n.) "wine" 65:11A; 72:2; 77:6; 81 middle:1; 82 left:1; 85 right:1; 89:1; 95 right:[1]; 122:1; 131:1; 140 left:[1]; 163 left:1; 166:1; 189:1; 195:1; 207:4; 209:1; 226:15, [16], 1A; 253 bottom:1
- irr*.(t) see *i(3)rr.t*
- ir.ty(w)* (n.) "blue ones" 207:15
- irt.t* (n.) "milk" 55:1; 59:1; 72:2; 132:1; 155:1
- ihm* (vb.) "to jubilate" 52:20 (written *hm*)
- ih.w* (n.) "bulls" 72:2; 77:21
- ih(y)* (n.) "music" 88:1
- ih* (interrogative part.) "what?" 203 left:6
- ihm.w-sk.w* (n.) "indestructible ones (circumpolar stars)" 212:13
- is.wy* (n.) "double-workshop" 32:2
- isw* (n.) "reward" 87 bottom:3; 178:13
- isp.t* (n.) "podium" 152:17
- ʾšrw* (loc.) "Isheru" in 12 left:9; 46:8; 52:9; 53:42–43; 55:5; 80:5; 104 bottom:6; 107 left:4–5; 134:10; 135 bottom right:1; 161:1; 163 right:1; 178:[28]–29; 180:35; 200:9; 205 right:4; 220:8; 222:6; 232 left:6
- see also *nb.t ʾšrw*, *Mw.t* (f. div.)
- išš* (vb.) "to ejaculate" 202:5 (*išš=k m*)
- išd* (n.)
- (1) "(sacred) persea tree" 79:20; 137:18; 192:[5]
- (2) "persea fruit" 65:19D
- it* (n.) "father"
- (1) a god passim, e.g. (odd spellings or meanings) 107 right:1; 138:1; 166:12; 196:7; (singular, but referring to the Ennead); 180:5, 23
- (2) a king 42:8; 48:1
- ity* (n.) "sovereign" 37:15; 38:12; 180:11
- ʾItmw* (div.) "Atum" 9:3; 14:6; 29:6; 30:6; 36:17; 39:19; 49:13; 50:6; 51:4; 52:29; 54:[8]; 60:7; 66:2; 76:31; 79:12; 85 left:6; 101:2, 9; 107 right:15; 109:3; 118:3, 7; 131:9; 133:10; 140 left:6; 148:4; 150:11; 160:13; 164 right:[4], 10; 165 right:4; 166:3; 168:4; 169:5; 171:5; 175 left:1; 178:16, 31; 187:5; 191:8; 192:5; 195:5; 197:16; 201:38; 202:4, 6; 205 right:15; 208 right:13; 209:5; 213 right:4; 214:10; 219:[7]; 222:13; 226:12; 227 middle:9; 231 left:3; 238:5; 243 middle:7; 250 left:10; 250 right:3; 252 left:3, 7; 254:12; 257:9
- see under *R' ʾItmw*; in *rnp.wt ʾItmw* see *rnp.wt*; and *di.n=(i) n=k rnp.wt*
- and with the following epithets:
- m W3s.t* "in Thebes" 32:[4], 10
- nb ʾp.t-sw.t, hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr ʾh R'-ms-s mry-ʾImn m pr-ʾImn* "lord of Karnak, residing in the temple 'Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the estate of Amun'" 124:1–3
- nb t3.wy* "lord of the Two Lands" 202:6; 211:5
- nb t3.wy, ʾtwnw(y)* "lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan" 78:6; 111:1; 149:5; 175 left:2; 179:4; 199:5; 201:5–7
- nb t3.wy, ʾtwnw(y), ntr ʾ3* "lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, great god" 138:6–7
- ʾItmw-R'* (div.) "Atum-Re" 179:15
- itn*, var. *itn** (n.) "solar disk" 12 right:6*; 23:9*; 74:11; 81 right:4; 92:3; 146 left:7*, 8*; 152:8*; 171:15; 174:11; 197:24
- itrw* (n.) "river" 37:25; 151:10
- itr* (n.) "time" in *r itr=f* "at its (proper) time" 43:3
- itḥ* (vb.)
- (1) "draw (shut)" 44:30
- (2) "tow" 151:28
- (3) "pull out" (eye) 207:16
- (4) "draw out" (semen) 227 left:4
- itḥi* (vb.) "to take possession (of)" 54:1; 74:8, 14; 106:2; 142:1; 164 right:7; 207:7 and in *itḥi gs* "take the run" 12 right:1; 103:1
- idb.wy* (n.) "the Two Banks (Egypt)" 7:40; 50:40
- in *idb.wy [n] Hr* "the Two Banks [of] Horus" 171:17
- idḥ* (n.) "delta marsh" 43:3
- id.t* (n.) "fragrance" 205 right:13
- id.t* (n.) "clapnet" 44:30–31
- id.t* (n.) "cow" 155:1

C

- ‘or ‘wy* (n.) “arm(s) 7:27*, 37; 18:1; 20:8; 26:6; 44:31*, 36*, 37*; 47:10; 52:25; 53:3*, 5*; 74:1*, 9*; 78:8*; 111:9*; 161:[5]; 163 right:3*; 179:5*; 180:20*; 193:4; 199:[10]*; 202:5*; 232 left:[2]-3*
in epithet *pri*-“outgoing-of-arm” see *pri* (vb.)
ḥi-“elevated of arm” 186 bottom:3; 216:2; see *ʾImn-Rʿ K3-mw.t=f* (div.)
- ḥ
- (1) (adj.vb.) “to be great” 53:23; 180:28
- (2) (adj.) “great” 13:1; 27:1; 39:1; 76:29; 77:1, 21; 78:1, 3; 90:1; 107 right:1; 184:[9]; 187:[15]; 208 right:3; see also *nṯr ḥ, psd.t ḥ.t, ḥw.t ḥ.t*
and in the following combinations:
ḥ bi.w “great of marvels” 32:16
ḥ ph.ty “great of strength” 139:2; 205 left:2; see *St* (div.), *Pth* (div.)
in ḥ n ḥt.w “great of victories” 7:39; 37:12; 39:14; 41 right; 96:13; 118:10; see *Ḥr nbw*
ḥ ḥ.w “great of appearances” 7:45
ḥ ḥ.w m ʾwnw šm.w “great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis” 111:17; 144:12; 154:17; 250 right:10
ḥ ḥ.w m W3.t “great of appearances in Thebes” 7:45-46
ḥ ḥ.w m ḥw.t-bnw “great of manifestations in the House of the Phoenix” 23:13
+ *mryty m ʾlp.t-sw.t* “beloved one in Karnak” 36:47-48
+ *nb t3.wy mrr:n Rʿ* “whom Re has continuously loved” 53:35-36
+ *stp.[n] ʾImn-[Rʿ]* “whom Amun [-Re] [has] chosen”: 20:10-12
ḥ ḥpš “great of strength” 252 left:6
- ḥ.t (n.) “great thing” in *[r] ḥ.t [w]r[t]* “very greatly” 151:27
- ḥ.wy (n.) “double door-leaves” 227 right:1, 2
- ḥ.t (n.) “precious stone” 151:[13]
- ḥb.t (n.) “hecatomb” 13:1; 27:1; 39:1, 21; 76:29; 77:1, 13, 21; 90:1; 101:1; 107 right:1; 226:10
- ḥb (vb.) “to unite” 219:6, 7
- ḥb (vb.) “to vaunt, boast of, extoll”
in *ḥb m nfrw=f* “whose beauty is vaunted” 164 left:[2]; 193:4-5; 216:3; 223:1-2
see under *ʾImn-Rʿ K3-mw.t=f* (div.); *Mnw* (div.)
- ḥ
- (adj.vb.) “to be pure” 52:22; 198:3, 7, 11; 212:13
(n.) “purity” 148:5, 10; 105:1, 8, 9, 10, 11
- ḥb (n.) “horn” see *Sḥ.t-ḥ.wy* (f. div.) “She of the sharp horns”
- ḥb(w) (n.) “lettuce” 127:1; 214:1; 254:1
- ḥn (adj.vb.) “to be beautiful” 39:15
- ḥnḥ
- (1) (vb.) “to live” 31:7; 32:13; 48:4; 80:7; 95 right:5; 143:5; 154:18; 169:8; 178:[31], [32]; 180:14; 201:37, [38]; 203 left:4 (written *ḥḥ* (vb.)); 206 bottom:[8], [12]; 212:7; 218 left:7, 8; 219:10; 228:6, 7
- (2) (adj.) “living” 42:12; 73:11; 143:5; 154:18
- (3) (n.) “life” 7:8; 67:6; 122:3; 163 right: bellow 7; 186 bottom:10; 201:19 (+ *nb*); 204 right:5; 221 right:6
see also *ir=f di ḥnḥ; di(w) ḥnḥ; di=f/s/sn ḥnḥ; di.n=(i) n=k*; in protective formula behind king/deity, see *Appendix C* and in the following combinations
ḥnḥ w3s “life and dominion” 2:12; 4:13; 7:16, 26, 28; 29:6; 36:14, 16; 51:6; 52:14; 53:5, 8; 54:11; 58:8; 69:5; 74:2; 78:8; 79:9; 96:4; 101:10; 104 bottom:4; 105:3; 106:13, 26; 137:2; 140 right:18; 144:9; 148:4, 7; 149:9; 154:7, 12; 155:[7]; 163 right:4; 178:14; 179:7; 180:29; 183:6; 201:35
see also *di.n=(i) n=k ḥnḥ; di ḥnḥ; di=f/s/sn ḥnḥ*
ḥnḥ w3s mi Rʿ rʿ nb “life and dominion like Re every day” 67:6
ḥnḥ w3s nb “all life and dominion” 53:3; 54:11; 130:8; 201:19; see *di.n=(i) n=k; di=f/s/sn*
ḥnḥ dd w3s snb nb see *di.n=(i) n=k ḥnḥ dd w3s snb nb*
ḥnḥ dd w3s snb nb d.t sp-sn “all life, stability, dominion, and health, forever, two times” 33:9-10
ḥnḥ w3s nb snb [nb] mi Rʿ “all life and dominion, [all] health like Re” 33:15
ḥnḥ dd w3s “life, stability, and dominion” 45:11; 46:11; 70:8; 77:13; 111:4; 137:12
ḥnḥ dd w3s nb “all life, stability, and dominion” 36:12; 54:14; 138:11; 179:15; 197:9; see *di.n=(i) n=k*
ḥnḥ dd w3s nb mi Rʿ d.t “all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever” 198:8
ḥnḥ nṯr nfr “(Long) live the good god” 105:17; 250 left:7
[ḥnḥ nṯr nfr] 3ḥ mnw m pr it=f ʾImn “[Long] live the good god who is effective of monuments in the house of his father Amun” 174:7
ḥnḥ nṯr nfr <nb> 3w.t-ib “(Long) live the good god, <lord of> joy” 135 bottom left:4
ḥnḥ nṯr nfr iri 3ḥ.wt “(Long) live the good god who makes benefactions” 190:8; 251 left:6
[ḥnḥ nṯr nfr iri] 3ḥ.wt “[Long] live the good god who performs benefactions” 178:34
[ḥnḥ] nṯr nfr iri 3ḥ.wt m pr [it]=f ʾImn “[Long] li[ve] the good god who performs benefactions in the estate of his father Amun” 248:5
[ḥnḥ nṯr] nfr [i]ri [3]ḥ[.wt m pr it=f ʾImn] “[Long] live] the good [god who perfor]ms [bene]fac[tions in the house of his father Amun]” 167:1
ḥnḥ nṯr nfr iri 3ḥ.wt n it.f ʾImn “(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun” 222:10; 240:6
ḥnḥ nṯr nfr iri 3ḥ.(w)t n it.f ʾImn-Rʿ “(Long) live the good god, who performs benefaction(s) for his father Amun-Re” 31:7
ḥnḥ nṯr nfr iri 3ḥ.wt n it.f ʾImn-Rʿ “(Long) live the good god, who performs benefactions for his father Amun-Re” 32:13

nh (cont.)

- nh ntr nfr iri ih.wt [n] 'Imn-R'* “(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions [for] Amun-Re” 95 right:5
- nh ntr nfr iri ih.wt n it=f di(w) sw hr ns.t=f* “(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father who placed him upon his throne” 208 right:10; 238:7
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments” 241:8
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw m pr it=f 'Imn* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun” 173:7; 199:17; 208 left:7; 254:9
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw m pr it=f 'Imn-R'* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun-Re” 256:6
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw m pr it=f 'Imn s' pr n.w ms(w) sw* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amen, who magnifies the estate of the one who bore him” 213 right:6–7
- [nh ntr] nfr iri mnw m pr it=f [Imn] di=f nhh m nsw t3.wy n nsw-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-M3'.t-R' s' R' nb h'w Sty Mr.n-'Imn* “[(Long) live the go]od [god] who makes monuments in the estate of his father [Amun as] he gives eternity as king of the Two Lands to [the dual king], lord of the Two Lands, MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances, SETY-MERENAMUN” 224:8–11
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw m pr it=f [Imn] s['] pr=f m kit nhh smnh hw.t-ntr [...]* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father [Amun], who makes [grea]t his house with the workmanship of continuity, who embellishes the temples [...]
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw n it=f 'Imn* “(Long) live the good god, who makes monuments [for] his father Amun” 108:[16]; 172:8
- nh ntr nfr iri mnw n it=f 'Imn[-R']* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments for his [fa]ther, Amun-[Re]” 80:7
- nh ntr nfr iri mn[w n it=f K3-mw]t=f r [...]* “(Long) live the good god who makes monuments [for his father Kamu]tef in order to [...]
- nh ntr nfr [iri] mnw n it km3 nfrw[=f] s' [pr]=f mi ih.t n p.t m inr nfr n rwd.(t)* “(Long) live the good god [who makes] monuments for the father who created [his] beauty, who has magnified his [house], like the horizon of heaven, with goo[d] hard sandstone” 166:12–13
- nh ntr nfr wr mnw* “(Long) live the good god, great of monuments” 178:33
- nh ntr nfr wr mnw m pr 'Imn* “(Long) live the good god, great of monuments in the Domain of Amun” 235:11
- nh ntr nfr wr mnw m pr it=f 'Imn* “(Long) live the good god, great of monu[ments] in the house of his father Amun” 171:11; 221 right:6
- [nh ntr nfr] wr mnw m pr it=f [Imn-R']* “(Long) live the good god, great of monuments in the house of his father [Amun-Re]” 257:2
- nh ntr nfr nb ... [h]w iti nfr.t* “(Long) live the good god, lord of [..., ... cro]wns , who takes possession of the White Crown” 164 right:7
- [nh ntr] nfr [nb] ih.wt-ib* “[(Long) live] the good [god, lord of] joy” 252 left:5
- nh ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb ir.t ht* “(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual” 193:11; 213 left:5
- nh ntr nfr hr(r)y hr M3'.t* “(Long) live the good god who is pleased with Ma'at” 237:7
- nh ntr nfr s' 'Imn nb hpš* “(Long) live the good god, son of Amun, master of strength” 214:12
- nh ntr nfr swht dsr.t n.t 'Itmw* “(Long) live the good god, image of Re, holy egg of Atum” 191:8
- nh ntr nfr ti.t R' ndwt n imy W3.t* “(Long) live the good god, image of Re, protector of the One-who-is-in-Thebes” 101:11
- [nh ntr nfr] ti.t R' ndty n nb ntr.w* “[(Long) live the Go]od [Go]d, image of Re, protector of the lord of the gods” 175 left:5
- nh ntr nfr ti.t R' ndty n K3-mw.t=f mw ntry pr(w) m h'w ntr r ir.t nsy.t R'* “(Long) live the good god, image of Re, protector of Kamutef, the divine seed which issues forth from the god's flesh in order to perform the kingship of Re” 195:8–9
- nh ntr nfr ti.t R' swht dsr.t n.(t) 'Itmw* “(Long) live the good god, image of Re, sacred egg of Atum” 191:8
- [nh ntr] nfr ti.t R' stp.n 'Imn ds=f* “[Long live] the good [god], Image of Re, whom Amun himself has chosen” 245:11
- nh* (n.) “bouquet” 206 bottom:6; 228:[4], 5
- nh-t3.wy* (loc.) “Ankh-Tawy (Memphis)” 220:6
- nh.w* (n.) “the living” 9:4; 12 right:12; 27:10, 34:9; 47:14; 65:10; 89:10; 105:12; 106:30; 153:14; 176:4; 221 left:2
- nk.t* (div.) “Anuket” 232 left:7
- rf* (vb.) “to be enclosed” 10:4; 20:8; 26:6; 28:9; 197:24 ([rf...])
- rk* (vb.) “to be wise, skilled” 227 middle:3–4
- rk* (vb.) “to don (a garment)” 227 middle:3
- rt* (n.), see *ir.t*
- h* (n.) “palace” 12 right:3; 62:13; 74:14; 191:3; 192:8; see also *nb h, nb.t h; Hr* (div.)
- h'* (vb.) “to stand” 230:5
- h'.w* (n.) “lifetime” 7:16, 23; 32:11; 52:18; 81 right:4; 82 right:4 (*h'.wy=i*); 106:17; 137:21; 148:7, 8; 152:22; 158:4; 179:6; 190:6; 193:8; 199:12; 245:5; see also *di.n=(i) n=k h'.w* and in the expressions *h'.w n R'* “lifetime of Re” 9:3; 14:5; 36:27; 38:26; 54:7; 178:15; 197:16; 199:8; see also *di.n=(i) n=k h'.w n R'* *h'.w n p.t* “lifetime of the sky” 23:9; see also *di.n=(i) n=k h'.w*
- h'.(w)-nfr* (div.) “the ‘goodly lifetime’ serpent” 220:9
- hm* (vb.) “to extinguish” 203 left:2
- hh* (vb.) “to be consumed” 203 left:4 (for *nh* “to live”)

š (n.) “cedar wood” 152:11
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 ḳ (vb.) “to enter” 84 bottom left; 203 left:6; 218 middle:3
 and in the expression
 ḳ pr.(t) “coming in and going out” 50:1; 78:1; 149:1;

ḳ pr.t bs-nsw “coming in and going out: king’s
 induction” 50:1; 78:1; 149:1; 199:[1]
 ḳ.w (n.) “loaves” 138:20
 ḳny (loc.) “Agy” (Mata’na) 232 left:8
 ḳd (n.) “fat” 212:7; 230:4, 6

W

≠w (3rd pers. pl. suffix pron.) “they/them/their” passim
 wšw (adj.) “distant” 53:15
 wšri (n.) “draw rope (of clapnet)” 44:31
 wšs (n.) “dominion” 204 right:6; 242: below vulture;
 see also ḥḥ ...; di ḥḥ ...; di=f/s ḥḥ ...; di.n=(i) n=k ḥḥ ...
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 36:10; 37:31; 38:31; 43:12; 46:13; 50:2; 52:25; 62:16; 78:2;
 79:12, 22; 94:3; 99:2; 100:1, 2, 11; 106:1; 108:12; 111:5;
 118:1; 131:2; 133:6; 135 bottom left:1; 136 top:[6];
 137:13; 138:2; 145 left:7; 145 right:2; 149:2; 152:4;
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 252 right:1; 261e top; 265e top
 + spš.t ḳd.t “the district of eternity” 137:30
 see under ḥḳš; ḥr(y)-ib Wšs.t; Ḥnsw (div.); Mntw (div.)
 Wšs.t (f. div.) “Goddess of Thebes” 232 left:1; with epithets
 + nḥt.ti, nb.t ḥpš, ḥnw.t tš nb “victorious, lady of the
 scimitar, mistress of every land”: 104 bottom:8
 wšš (n.) “honor” 202:17–[18]
 wšḥ (vb.) “endure” 32:10; 137:24
 wš.t (n.) “road” 50:17; 78:10; 212:6; in tp-wš.t
 “journey” 37:31; see also r(š)-wš.t
 wšd (n.) “green” 65:17D
 wšd (vb.) “to flourish” 180:14 (wšd.wy “how fortunate”)
 wšd (n.) “papyrus plant” 7:19; 38:13; 76:18; 96:6; 150:4
 wšd.w (n.) “papyrus columns” 79:5; 168:3; 253 top:5
 see also nb.t wšd.w; ḥnw.t n wšd.w; Mw.t (f. div.)
 Wšdt (loc.) “Wadjet (Aphroditopolis, modern Kom
 Ishkaw)” 146 left:10
 wšd-ḥš.t (n.) “green-chested bird” (type of goose) 43:2; 44:41
 Wšdy.t (f. div.) “Wadjet” 12 left:15; 21:5; 24:11; 26:7; 30:10;
 35:8; 36:43; 45:10; 46:23; 74:1; 140 left:12; 154:14; 160:7;
 191:7; 196:5; 205 right:11; 208 right:9; 211:[10]; 218
 left:9; 231 right:3; 246:6; 251 left:5; 254:8
 and with the following epithets:
 Dp.t, nb p.t, ḥnw.t tš.wy “She of Dep, lady of heaven,
 mistress of the Two Lands” 169:7

Dp P, nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t nḥr.w “(She of) Dep (and) Pe, lady of
 heaven, mistress of the gods”: 163 left:7
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 nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t nḥr.w “lady of heaven, mistress of the
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 Wšd.ty (f. div.) “the two serpent goddesses” 53:10
 .wi (1st pers. dep. pron.) “me” 1:9; 53:10; 66:1; 180:11;
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 .wy (part.) “how ...” 5:[4]; 7:23; 27:6; 66:1; 73:4; 151:30; 169:3;
 178:8; 180:12, 14
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 and in the following compounds:
 wiš n tp-itrw “river barge” 37:24–25; 151:10
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 wḥ (n.) “one”: in mi wḥ “as one” 73:6; 92:2; 194:6
 m rš wḥ “with one voice” 151:29
 in nb wḥ “sole lord” 76:8; 161:[8]; 169:13; 196:11; 248:9
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 (1) (adj.vb.) “to be pure” 48:2; 51:11; 72:2; 105:11; 180:3, 12,
 14, 16, 27; 198:1, 4, 7, 9; 219:12; 226:[16]
 (2) (adj.) “pure” 32:1; 39:2; 44:5; 77:21; 165 left:1
 wḥf (vb.) “to subdue” 33:[6]; 76:15; 92:2; 97:7; 161:5; 237:5;
 in wḥfw ḥš.wt “subduer of foreign countries” 7:38; 37:10;
 39:13; 41 right; 96:12; 118:9
 wḥh (n.) “carob bean” 65:14B (spelled wiḥ); 207:16 (spelled
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 wbš (vb.) “to open” 227 left:3
 wbn (vb.) “to rise (of sun), to shine” 7:20; 36:16, 20, 27, 32, 34,
 39; 105:7; 151:19; 151:30 (see under wb(ḥ) (vb.)); 152:8;
 202:4; 205 right:10
 wb(ḥ) (vb.) “to be bright” 151:30; see under wbn (vb.)
 wpi (vb.) “to open, separate, issue” 70:7; 207:4; 212:9
 in wp=f/s rnp.t nfr.t “(when) he/she opens a good
 year” 220:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10
 wp.t (n.)
 (1) “figurehead” (on prow of ship) 151:15
 (2) “forehead, brow” of king 74:13; 192:14; 198:14; 199:12;
 200:5; 216:9

- wp.t* (cont.)
- wpw-ḥr* (compound prep.) “except for” 137:28; 151:22
- Wp-wṣ.wt* (div.) “Opener-of-the-Ways” with epithets *Šm’w*, *šḥm tṣ.wy* “of Southern Egypt, power of the Two Lands” 37:1; 50:14–15; 51:12; 78:10; 151:4; 179:15; 199:9
- wp-rnp.t* (n.) “new year’s day festival” 212:5, [11]; 219:6
- wp-t* (n.) “horn(s) of earth” 165 left:12
- wpš* (vb.) “to strew” (gypsum powder) 23:1
- wn* (vb.) “to open” 227 right:1, [2]
- wnm* (vb.) “to eat” 203 left:5 (spelled *imy*); 226:16 (spelled *imy*)
- wn* (vb.) “to be” 69:10; 77:21; 151:24; 199:12
 nominal emphatic *wnn* 12 right:12; 32:18; 34:8, 14; 39:21; 42:8; 47:14; 53:1, 51; 65:10; 69:3, 10; 71:12; 72:7; 76:[32]; 89:10; 91:10; 99:11; 106:30; 130:[8]; 153:14; 158:5; 189:[4]; 193:15; 197:13; 198:4, [12]–13
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- wnt* (n.) “existence” 106:18
- wn-m’* (adj.) “true” 92:3
- wnnw.t* (n.) “that which exists” 180:10
- Wnn-nfr* (div.) “Wennefer” 77:8
 + [...] *’nh.w* “[...] of the living” 221 left:1–2
- wnd.w* (n.) “short-horned cattle” 13:2; 27:1; 39:2; 77:5
- wr*
- (1) (adj.vb.) “to be great” 7:14; 53:23; 106:8; 120:2; 141:12; 203 left:3 (*wry*)
 and in *wr mnw* “great of monuments” 122:4; 171:11; 176:7; 178:33; 221 right:6; 235:11; 257:2
- (2) (adj.) 7:37; 11:4; 18:4; 20:4; 24:4; 28:4; 30:4; 31:3; 39:16; 40:1; 45:3; 62:14; 116:7; 122:2, 4; 137:22; 138:19, 21; 152:6, 17
 see also *ṣ.t wr.t* (f. div.); *Mw.t wr.t* (f. div.); *ḥry s.t=f wr.t*; *s.t wr.t*; *t wr*; *wr mrwt [m] ’Iwnw Šm’w* “great of love in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis” 106:8
wr mnw m pr Imn “great of monuments in the estate of Amun” 176:7
- (3) (n.) “a great thing” 36:5
- (4) (adv.) “very” 178:9 (*sḳṣ=(i) wr* “(I) am lifted very high”); 180:12
- wr.t* (adv.), in *ṣṣ wr.t* “very many” 79:7; 118:11; 148:9
- wr* (n.)
- (1) “chief” 17:7; 52:21; 53:14; 73:6; 92:2; 194:6
- (2) “greatness” 107 right:8
- (3) “great one” 207:19
- Wrt-ḥḳṣ.w* (f. div.) “Great-of-Magic” 116:[7]; 191:2
 + *nb.t ’h* “lady of the palace” 12 right:2–3; 191:3; 192:8
- see also *Mw.t Wrt-ḥḳṣ.w* (f. div.); *ṣ.t* (f. div.); *Ḥw.t-Ḥr* (f. div.); *Iwnyt* (f. div.)
- wḥm* (vb.) “repeat” 151:6, 7; 170; 180:29; see also *nb.ty*, *Ḥr nbw*
- Wsr* (div.) “Osiris” 36:26; 52:34; 207:18; 212:8; 227 left:4; of king 48:3; 72:3; and with the following epithets:
nb p.t “lord of heaven” 201:20–21
ḥn.ty imn.tyw “foremost of the westerners” 48:10; 202:10–11; 211:7
ḥn.ty Imn.tyw, nṯr ʿ, nb tṣ ḏsr “foremost of the westerners, the great god, lord of the holy land” 137:24–26
- wsr* (n.) “power” 35:6; 47:5; 168:8
wsrw(.t) 99:6; 101:9; 105:5; 147:5; 153:13; see *di.n=(i) n=k wsrw(.t)*
in wsr-ib “stout-heartedness” 108:6
- wsr* (adj.vb.) “to be rich, powerful” 220:11; and in the following combinations
wsr rnp.wt “rich in years” 7:39; 37:11; 39:14; 41 right; 96:13; 106:23; 118:10
wsr pḏ.wt “powerful of bows” 151:7; 170
- wsr-ḥṣ.t* “mighty-of-prow” (river barge of Amun) 37:27–28; 151:34; 152:[11]; see *Imn wsr-ḥṣ.t wšḥ* (n.) “broad collar” 99:1; 145 left:1; 190:1
- wšḥ.t* (n.) “broad hall (of Shu)” 137:24–25
- wšb* (vb.) “to answer” 38:17
- wṯ* (vb.) “to beget, create” 25:6; 218 left:7
- wṯs* (vb.) “to raise, lift up” 76:[23]
- (*w*)*di* (vb.)
- (1) “to traverse” a field (*wdi šḥ.t*) 35:1
- (2) “to scatter” gypsum (*wdi bsn*) 23:1
- wdn* (vb.)
- (1) “to offer, dedicate” 16:1; 42:8; 92:1
- (2) “to inscribe” 79:20; 137:18; 192:2
- wḏ* (vb.) “to ordain” 7:30 (*wḏt*); 49:4; 52:16, 22, 26; 150:10; 227 middle:5
- wḏṣ* (vb.) “to proceed” 50:7; 78:6; 111:1; 149:3; 179:4; 197:15; 199:6
- wḏṣ* (n.) “pectoral collar” 98:1
- wḏṣ* (vb.) “to be healthy” 207:12
- wḏṣ.t* (n.) “the healthy eye (of Horus)” 203 left:6
- wḏb* (n.) “sandbank” 79:17–18
- wḏb* (vb.) “to turn back” 218 middle:4–5; in *wḏb-ḥ.t* “reversion of offerings” 217:1–[2]; 218 left:6; 218 middle:3, 6
- wḏhw* (n.) “offering-rack” 91:1

b

bꜣw (n.) “power” 7:14; 37:23; 52:20; 97:7; 99:6; 107 right:8; 151:32; 202:[17] (written *bꜣ*)
and in *bꜣw P* “spirits of Pe” 53:3
bꜣw Nḥn “spirits of Nekhen” 53:5

Bꜣ (div.) “the Ram” + *m Dd.t* “in Mendes” 211:10

Bꜣ-nb-Dd.t (div.) “the Ram, Lord of Mendes” 202:15

Bꜣ-tꜣ (loc.) “Hacking-the-Earth (in Heliopolis)” 202:9; 211:6 (written *Bꜣ-tꜣ*)

bꜣbꜣ (vb.) “to hack (earth)” 24:1

bꜣbꜣ.t (n.), some kind of “fruit” 65:18D

m-bꜣḥ

(1) (compound prep.) “in the presence of” 52:11; 79:11

(2) (adv.) “previously” 77:21; 151:24

(3) *m-bꜣḥ-ꜣ* (compound prep.) “in the presence of” 118:5; 192:5

Bꜣs.t (f. div.) “Bastet” 43:8; see *Mw.t* (f. div.)

bꜣky (adj.) “clean” 212:9

bꜣk (vb.) “to be worked (with)” (*m*) 151:11; 152:12

bꜣꜣ.t (n.) “wonder” 32:16; 53:9

bꜣ.t ḥd.t (n.) “white honey” 65:18[A]; 207:11; 226:1B

bꜣ.ty (n.) “ancestral king” or similar, when not used in titular 53:26; 102:3; 137:26–27

bꜣ.tyt (n.) “kingship” 38:12

bꜣḥ (n.) “abundance, overflow” 217:[4]; 226:[15]

b(w) (n.) “place” 44:46; 212:6; 219:9; in *bw nfr* “good things” 77:6

bnbn.t (n.) “pyramidion” (written *btb.t*) 202:4

bnr (adj.vb.) “to be sweet, pleasant” 175 right:3; 207:11

bḥs (n.) “calf” 13:2; 68:1; 146 right:1

Bḥdty (div.) “The Behdetite” 27:11; 32:12; 77:14; 83 middle:4; 114:7; 148 (n.n.); 173:6; 178 (n.n.); 198:2; 201:36; 218 middle:6; 231 left:1
and with the following epithets

nb p.t “lord of heaven” 81 middle:5; 128:4

nṯr ꜣ “great god” 65:4; 76:36, 38; 146 right:12; 187:12

nṯr ꜣ, *nb p.t* “great god, lord of heaven” 46:18; 192:6; 214:11

nṯr ꜣ, *sꜣb šw* “great god, of variegated plumage” 53:40; 79:21; 135 bottom right:4; 165 right:6; 178:18; 197:14; 199:15 (miswritten); 213 left:4; 221 right:5; 223:4; 239:4

nṯr ꜣ, *sꜣb šw, pri m ḥ.t* “great god, of variegated plumage, who issues from the horizon” 53:45; 54:17

nṯr ꜣ, *sꜣb šw, nb p.t* “great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven” 53:46; 171:9–10; 193:9; 225:4
as epithet of *Ḥr*, Horus (div.) 74:12

bsꜣ (v.) “to protect” 207:5

bs-nsw (n.) “king’s induction” (to the temple) 111: in front of Monthu; 137:1; 149:1; 199:1; in *ꜣ pr.t bs-nsw.t* “coming in and going out: king’s induction” 50:1; 78:1; 149:1; 199:[1]

bsn (n.) “gypsum” 23:1

bš.t (adj.) “rebellious” 35:7

btb.t (n.) “pyramidion” see *bnbn.t*

p

P (loc.) “Pe” 44:44; 71:7; 155:10; 163 left:7; 211:9; see *Wꜣdy.t* (f. div.)
in *bꜣw P* “spirits of Pe” 53:3
in *P.t* “she of Pe” 44:47; see *Sš.t* (f. div.)

p.t (n.) “heaven” 2:[6]; 7:19; 22:5; 23:9; 24:10; 53:30; 74:11; 77:10; 81 right:4; 137:18; 140 right:12; 150:12; 151:11; 152:23; 153:12; 166:13; 178:17; 180:24; 199:8; 212:9; 214:7; 219:9; 227 right:1; 241:12
see also *nb p.t, nb.t p.t, Ḳmn.t, mi p.t*

pꜣ (m. sing. def. article) “the” 44:13; 154:1; 180:21; 220:9

pꜣ (auxiliary vb.) “to have done in the past” 151:21

pꜣy= + suffix pron. (possessive pron. construction) 137:6; 220:9 (written *pꜣy=f*)

pꜣy.t (n.) “flying thing” 44:4

pꜣw.t (n.) “offerings” 38:10

pꜣw.ty-tꜣ (n.) “earliest condition of the land” 152:14

pꜣs (vb.) “to suffer” 207:8

pꜣ.t (n.) “pꜣ.t-nobility” 194:5

pw (demonstr. pron.) “this” 70:6; 219:7; (vocative) “O ...” 7:24

pwꜣ (demonstr. pron.) “this” 217:3; 219:8; 230:[5], [7]

Pwn.t (loc.) “Punt” 156:8

pf (demonstr. pron.) “that” 207:19

pn (demonstr. pron.) “this” 69:3; 79:2; 165 right:3; 197:15; 199:14; 202:6; 211:4; 212:5, 11, 14; 218 left:7; 219:7; 220:4, 5, 10; 226:[15]

pr (n.) “house, estate” (temple or domain) of a god 6:4; 26:1; 39:21; 42:[8]; 64:4; 72:7; 77:11; 91:10; 99:11; 130:8; 163 right:8; 165 right:8; 166:[13]; 167:[1]; 169:8; 171:11; 173:7; 174:7; 187:1; 196:7; 206 bottom:7; 208 left:7;

pr (cont.)

213 right:7; 220:3, 4, 5, 9, 10; 221 right:6; 224:8; 228:5; 241:11; 248:5; 254:9; 256:6; 257:1, 2

and in the following compounds

pr-ʿImn “estate, house of Amun” 4:4; 7:3; 22:1; 32:[5]–6; 33:3; 72:11–12; 76:32; 120:[2]; 123:3; 124:2–3; 137:1–2; 139:4; 150:7; 176:7; 184:9; 187:15; 197:6; 199:17; 235:11

pr wr “shrine of Southern Egypt” 52:22; 257:[1]

pr mdʿ.t “library” 22:3; 49:10; see *Sfht-ʿbwy* (f. div.)

pr dwʿ.t “House of the Morning” 143:5; 154:18

pr dbʿ.t “Robing Room” 143:5; 154:18

ʿimyt-pr “legal possession” 7:19; 38:13; 79:11; 96:6; 150:4

ʿimy pr=f “who is in his house” 82 right:2; see under *Mnw* (div.)

pri (vb.) “to go forth” 36:14; 52:26; 74:14; 180:25; 199:13; 218 left:7

pri m “to issue from” 37:17; 53:45; 54:[17]; 195:9; 205 right:12; 207:18; 219:6; 237:10

in epithet *pri-ʿ* “out-going of arm” (“brave, violent, effective”) 44:14, 46

in *ʿk pr.t bs-nsw* “coming in and going out: king’s induction” 50:1; 78:1; 149:1; 199:[1]

prsn (n.) “pesen-loaf” 65:15A; 207:8; 226:5A

pḥw.w (n.) “marshlands” 165 right:12

pḥ.ty (n.) “strength” 7:39; 20:7; 35:6; 44:46; 99:6; 101:9; 139:2; 147:5; 165 right:11; 171:8; 179:14; 214:16; see also *di.n=(i) n=k pḥ.ty*

in *ʿ-pḥ.ty* “great of strength” 139:2; 205 left:2; see *Pth* (div.); *St* (div.)

pḥr (vb.) “to circulate” 7:14; 53:20

in *pḥr ḥʿ* “to go around” 23:1; 48:1,2; 110:1

see also *ʿs-pḥr* (verbal phrase) “vice versa”

psš (n.) “portion” 69:9; spelled *psš.t* 69:4–5; 106:3 (dual *psšw.ty*)

psd (n.) “back” 53:19; 92:2; 107 right:[10]; 161:6

psd (vb.) “to shine” 227 right:2 (written [*p*]sd)

psdn.tiw (n.) “first day of the lunar month” 228:4

psd.t (n.) “nine” see *pḏ.t psd.t* (n.) “Nine Bows”

psd.t (n.) “Ennead” 36:1; 53:2; 93:5; 134:3; 171:4; 174:3; 193:2–3; 202:7; 214:4; 227 right:2; 254:5; and in the following compounds:

psd.t ʿimy.t Nnw “Ennead that is in Nun” 38:1–2

psd.t ʿt “great Ennead” 36:3, 14; 39:1; 53:3; 72:1; 90:4; 138:1; 198:7; 205 right:12

+ *ʿimy.t ʿIp.t-s.wt* “that is in Karnak” 38:15–16; 52:22

+ *ḥr.t-ib ʿIp.t-s.wt* “that is residing in Karnak” 52:26; 218 right:3–4

see also *ḥḥr(y)-tp*

psd.t nds.t “small Ennead” 53:5; 72:1; 205 right:13

psd.t ḥw.t-ʿt “Ennead of the Great Mansion” 111:11

psd.t tmm.ti “the entire Ennead” 62:17 ([*psd.t*] *tmm.t*); 118:5

mr psd.t “whom the Ennead loves” 256:8

see also *ḥr(y)-tp psd.t* “chieftain of the Ennead”

ptpt (vb.) “to trample” 35:7

Pth (div.) “Ptah” 27:4, 5; 208 right:4; 217:[5]

with the following epithets

ʿ-pḥ.ty, ḥry s.t wr.t “great of strength, who is over the great place” 205 left:2

nb ʿnh-tʿ.wy “lord of Ankh-Tawy” 220:6

nb mʿ.t “lord of Maʿat” 27:2; 249 bottom right:1

+ *nsw-tʿ.wy* “king of the Two Lands” 27:3

+ *nsw-tʿ.wy, nb nḥḥ* “king of the Two Lands, lord of eternity” 235:2

nfr-ḥr “of the handsome face” 117:2

pḏ (vb.) “to stretch” 22:1; written *pḏ* 44:36, 38

pḏ.t (n.) “bow” in *wsr pḏ.wt* “powerful of bows” 151:7; 170

pḏ.t psd.t (n.) “Nine Bows” 10:3; 18:8; 33:6; 38:22; 69:5; 73:6; 76:16; 86:1; 89:5; 97:7; 137:18; 151:6; 161:4; 170; 179:8; 191:6; 193:8; 194:6; 198:15; 200:4; 209:10; 226:17; 237:5; see also under *di.n=(i) n=k pḏ.t psd.t; ḥkʿ pḏ.t psd.t*

f

=f (3rd pers. m. sing. suffix pron.) “he/his” passim

fʿi (vb.) “to elevate” 180:5

and in *fʿi ḥ.t* “elevating offerings” 33:1; 172:1; 204 right:2, 3, 4

fʿi-ʿ “elevated of arm” 186 bottom:3; 193:4; 216:2; see *ʿImn-Rʿ K3-mw.t=f* (div.)

fnd (n.) “nose” 7:8, 28; 79:9; 115:3; 137:5; 154:[6]

Fnhw (n.) “Fenkhu” in *tʿ.w fnhw* “Fenkhu-lands” 14:10; 17:7; see also *di.n=(i) n=k tʿ.w fnhw*

fdw (number) “four” 48:1 (spelled numerically); see under *sp*

m

m (prep.)

- (1) “in” (loc.) 4:4, 17; 5:5; 6:4; 10:4; 20:8, 10; 22:1; 17:7; 23:13; 25:4; 28:9; 32:10; 33:3; 35:7; 36:14, 47, 48; 37:19, 24, 27, 28, 33; 38:4, 8; 39:21; 42:8; 43:12, 13; 44:28, 39, 45; 46:13; 52:7, 10, 20, 21, 25; 53:21, 35; 62:13; 64:4; 71:7; 72:7, 11; 74:8, 11; 75:4; 76:11, 32; 77:6, 21; 78:10; 79:12, 20; 91:10; 99:11; 106:4, 8; 108:12; 111:17; 118:1; 123:3; 124:2; 130:8; 133:6, 8; 137:1, 13, 18, 22, 27, 30; 139:4; 141:16; 144:12; 150:4, 7; 151:7, 11, 17, 19; 152:4, 6, [17]; 153:1; 154:17; 160:2; 163 right:8; 165 right:8; 166:7; 169:3, 8; 170; 171:11; 173:7; 174:7, 10; 176:1, 7; 177:6; 178:26; 180:7, [31], [32]; 184:9; 191:5; 194:5, 6; 196:7; 197:15, 19; 199:8, 17; 202:4–12, 14, 16; 206 bottom:[7], 9; 208 left:7; 211:5–12; 212:6, 10; 213 right:7; 216:7; 219:7, 9; 221 right:6; 224:8; 226:8; 228:5; 235:11; 243 right:1; 248:5; 250 right:10; 251 right:8; 254:9; 256:6; 257:2
- (2) “in” (state, form, or situation) 2:12; 4:5; 7:4; 32:7, 8; 37:22, 29; 52:19; 53:51; 54:10; 68:3; 76:1; 77:11; 99:6; 106:16; 107 right:6, 7; 108:13; 150:2; 151:11, 31; 152:5; 161:6; 174:4; 179:4, 6; 180:4, 29; 199:10; 218 middle:5; 219:7, [8], 9; 226:14; 228:5, 7; 230:[5], [6]; 232 left:3, 4
- (3) “in” = wearing (crown) 39:15, 16
- (4) “in” (doing something) 44:37; 105:7; 111:10
- (5) “as” 1:9; 2:5, 15; 3:5, 6; 7:19, 23, 27; 10:4; 12 right:3, 11, 12; 12 left:19; 15:4; 17:10; 20:7; 23:3, 5; 24:14; 25:6, 10; 26:4; 27:10; 34:6, 7; 36:37:26; 38:12, 20; 39:10; 44:28; 45:8; 46:4; 47:10, 14; 49:8; 52:5, 23, 26; 57:5; 60:3; 66:2; 69:5; 71:12; 74:8, 10, 14; 76:3, 14, 30; 79:10, 20; 81 left:6; 82 right:4; 84 right:4; 86:1; 87 bottom:3; 89:4, 5; 96:6; 97:11; 98:3; 101:8; 102:5; 104 bottom:10, 14; 105:7; 106:30; 107 right:11, 16; 114:6; 116:5, 11; 118:7; 126:6; 132:5, 13; 136 top:10; 137:18, 21, 24, 35; 140 left:11; 141:7; 143:13; 145 left:5, [14]; 146 left:9; 146 right:6; 147:6; 148:4; 149:8; 150:2, 4, 8; 151:10; 152:23; 153:7; 155:6, 8; 157:8; 160:5; 164 right:5; 174:6; 177:[3]; 178:7; 179:7, 8; 180:9, 25; 184:2; 192:3; 196:4; 198:6, 13; 199:7, 8, 14; 200:13; 203 left:7; 206 bottom:8; 212:7, 10; 216:10; 219:13; 224:[5], 9; 226:6; 228:6; 229:3; 250 right:4
- (6) *m ... m...* “whether ... or ...” 206 bottom:[12]
- (7) “of, consisting of” 3:4, 11; 7:6, 7, 16; 13:2; 33:12; 36:4; 39:2; 43:2; 44:8, 16, 40, 41; 47:10; 48:1; 49:2, 3, 7, 21; 51:6; 52:4, 14, 17; 53:8; 57:3; 67:6; 69:5; 70:2–3; 77:5, 21; 78:5, 9; 104 bottom:3; 106:25; 137:2, 14; 138:22; 139:11; 140 left:5; 147:8; 151:14, 32; 152:11, 12; 163 right:4; 176:4; 178:14; 192:10; 202:6, 18, 19; 205 right:16; 207:13 (*im*); 211:[13]; 212:7, 14; 219:13; 220:5; 226:7; 227 middle:10; 229:[3]; 230:3, [7]; 243 left:[1], 3
- (8) “at” (occasion) 37:32; 108:5; 151:19
- (9) “by means of” 44:49; 96:6; 101:5; 105:2; 118:4; 140 right:1; 150:2; 151:29; 169:9; 180:14; 203 left:4 (*im*); 205 right:15; 206 bottom:9 (i.e., “through”); 207:4 (*im*); 212:9; 218 left:8 (*im*)
- (10) “on” 74:7, 14; 212:[6], 10; 216:8, 9

- (11) “with” 1:1; 29:6; 32:6; 46:5; 48:1; 51:6; 52:14; 53:7, 8, 51; 56:1; 59:1; 74:2, 8, 14; 78:5, 8; 96:4; 97:7; 101:10; 104 bottom:2; 105:2; 106:13, 26; 110:1; 111:4, 11; 119:6; 137:12; 140 right:1, 18; 144:9; 148:4, 7; 149:9; 151:11, 13, 16, 18, 28, 32; 152:3, 7, 11, 12; 154:7, 11; 155:[7]; 163 right:4; 166:13; 169:9; 183:6; 197:[9]; 198:8; 208 left:1; 212:9; 219:6; 220:11; 226:[16]; 230:[4]; 243 middle:8
- (12) “from” (place) 38:14; 44:34, 39; 152:11; 195:9; 205 right:15; 207:5; 218 left:8 (*im*); 219:6; 227 middle:1; 237:10
- (13) “for” 49:21; 151:20
- (14) *im* = “in, therein” 92:3; 205 right:12; 212:6; 219:8
- (15) “though out” 76:24

m miscarved as *t3.wy* 196:4m (imperf.) “take,” spelled *m n=k* “take to yourself” 207:4, 5, 8–22; 218 left:6; 219:6, 7, 8; 230:[2]*m*^c (n.), see *m'k**m* + suffix pron. (interjection) “look, see!”*m=k* 38:11; 44:35; 52:16; 53:11; 180:6*m=tn* 38:19–20*m3* (vb.) “to see” 44:46; 49:18; 62:17; 77:4; 78:7; 107 right:4; 109:1; 137:2 (*m3n*), 10 (*m3*), 20; 149:4; 151:21; 163 left:[3]; 178:6; 179:2; 180:4 (*m3n*), 11 (*m3n*); 199:4, 6, 11; 200:3; 226:4; 227 middle:5 (*m3n*)*m3'* (vb.) “to offer, present” 27:1; 69:10; 77:1, 21; 107 right:1*m3'* (n.) “offering” 44:5; 53:17*m3'* (adj.) “true” 79:2; 152:[11]; see also *wn-m3'**m3't* (n.) “Ma'at, truth” 7:40; 81 right:1; 117:1; 126:1; 136 top:1; 156:1; 169:1; 180:4, 14; 213 right:1; 235:[1]; 237:7; 249 bottom right: not recorded; 251 left: not recordedin *nb m3't* “lord of Ma'at” 27:2, 3; 249 bottom right:1; see *Pth* (div.)see also *hnk m3't*; *hnk m m3't**m3'-hrw*

(1) (n.) “rightful claim” 74:8

(2) (epithet) “true of voice” 61:1; 65:3; 72:3, 8–9; 76:32 + *hr ntr 3* “in the presence of the great god” 42:9; 61:9; 133:13+ *Wsir hn.ty imnt.t* “Osiris foremost of the westerners” 48:8–10+ *nb t3 dsr* “lord of the holy ground” 53:48–50+ *d.t* “forever” 142:2*m3w* (adj.) “new” 212:7; (adj.vb.) 48:4*m3w(t)* (n.) “new thing” 178:8; 226:6*M3nw* (loc.) “the western mountain” 203 left:6*mi* (vb.), imperative form of *ii* (vb.) “to come” see under *ii* (vb.)

mi (prep.) “like,” passim; and

- (1) before verbs “inasmuch as” 7:30; 38:14, 22; 46:4; 49:4; 52:16; 137:18, 21, 30; 151:30, 33; 152:19; 158:5; 180:22; 211:5–[10], [11]; “in accordance with” 180:6
- (2) as conjunction “as well as” 53:12
- (3) in the following expressions
 - mi ʾltmw* “like Atum” 29:6; 66:2
 - mi itn* “like the solar disk” 174:11
 - mi wʿ* “as one” 73:6; 92:2; 194:6
 - mi Mntw* “like Monthu” 44:46
 - mi kd* (compound prep.) “just like” 52:27; 71:9; 76:21; 137:12, 30
 - mi Rʿ* “like Re” passim
 - mi p.t* “like heaven” 22:5; 140 right:12; 153:12; 163 left:6; 214:7

mitt

- (1) (n.) “the like” 7:37; 37:16; 52:18; 53:28; 92:3; 151:21; 152:14; 180:6; 197:7; and in *mitt Rʿ* “likeness of Re” 51:1
- (2) (adv.) “likewise” 150:12
- (3) *r-mitt* (compound prep.) “like” 27:8–9
- (4) *m-mitt-m* “just like” 212:13
- (5) *mitt nn* (adv.) “and likewise” 220:6, 7, 9

mis.t (n.) “liver” 65:14C (spelled *mrs.t*); 226:7C (spelled *mr.t*)

midʒ (n.), cut of meat 207:14 (spelled *mrd*); and cf. *mʿ*

mik (n.), abbreviation of *midʒ* “cut of meat” 65:12C; 226:5C (spelled *mʿ*)

mw (n.)

- (1) “water” 36:14; 44:45; 48:1; 65:12A; 110:1; 226:2A; 207:5
- (2) “seed” 212:11, 12 (*mw rnpī* “rejuvenated seed”) in *mw ntry* “divine seed” 37:16; 195:8–9

mw.t (n.) “mother” 7:27; 44:49; 67:1; 163 right:2; 207:5; 212:8

in *mw.t ntr* “god’s mother” 60:5; 70:4; 77:11; 84 left:1; 88:6; 137:3; 138:31; 214:8; 215 right:5; 245:[7]

see *ʒs.t* (f. div.), *N.t* (f. div.)

Mw.t (f. div.) “Mut” 1:7; 178:32; 203 right:1; 205 right:10

and with the following additions:

Wr.t-ḥkī.w “Great-of-Magic” 70:5

+ *nb.t tʒ.wy* “mistress of the Two Lands” 76:28

nb.t ʾšrw “lady of Isheru” 12 left:8–9; 46:7–8; 52:9; 55:5; 104 bottom:6; 163 right:1; 200:9; 222:5–6; 232 left:[5]–6

+ *nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t tʒ.wy* “lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands” 205 right:4–5

+ *nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t ntr.w* “lady of heaven, mistress of the gods” 180:35–36

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w* “mistress of all the gods” 135 bottom right:[1–2]; 178:28–30

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w ḥr.(t)-ib ʾp.t-s.wt* “mistress of the gods residing in Karnak” 220:8

nb.t wḏ.w “lady of the papyrus columns” 79:5

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w* “mistress of the gods” 253 top:5

nb.t p.t “lady of heaven” 7:24; 58:10; 59:6; 81 middle:1, 2; 119:1; 168:1; 178:34; 184:4; 205 right:1; 241:6

+ *Bʒs.t, ḥr.t-ib ʾp.t-s.wt* “Bastet, residing in Karnak” 43:7–9

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w* “mistress of the gods” 13:6; 14:7; 29:5–6; 213 left:1

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w* “mistress of all the gods” 33:7–8; 36:7–8; 244:1–2; 250 left:2

+ *ḥnw.t tʒ.wy* “mistress of the Two Lands” 187:6–7

+ *ḥnw.t tʒ.wy [sic] nb.w* “mistress of all flat lands” 241:3–5

+ *ḥnw.t tʒ.wy, ḥr.t-ib ʾp.t-rsy.t* “mistress of the Two Lands, residing in the Southern Sanctuary (Luxor)” 39:8–9

ḥnw.t ntr.w “mistress of the gods” 131:7

Mw.t wr.t “Mut the Great”

+ *nb.t ʾšrw* “lady of Isheru” 134:9–10; 161:1

+ *nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t tʒ.wy* “lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands” 80:5–6

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w* “mistress of the gods” 89:6

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w* “mistress of all the gods” 53:42–44; 107 left:3–5

Mw.t wr.t, nb.t p.t “Mut the Great, lady of heaven”

+ *ḥnw.t n wḏ.w* “mistress of the papyrus columns” 168:2–3

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w* “mistress of the gods” 137 left in front of Mut; 255:3

+ *ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w* “mistress of all the gods” 247:5–6

mfk.t (n.) “turquoise” 143:11

mn-s.t ḥr.t (loc.) “Upper Lasting-of-Place” 202:7, 8 (written for *mn-s.t ḥr.t* [loc.]); 211:5

mn-s.t ḥr.t (loc.) “Lower Lasting-of-Place” 202:[8]; 211:6

mnī (vb.) “to be established, enduring” 2:4; 22:4; 49:8; 52:10, 25; 75:3; 76:11; 79:20; 81 right:4; 83 middle:3; 131:6; 137:18, 30; 140 right:12; 153:12; 163 left:[6]; 180:3, 7; 192:[5], 13–14; 199:12; 214:7; 216:9; 219:7; 227 left:6, 10, right:[1]; 253 top:3

mnʿ.t (n.) “nurse” 44:50

Mnw (div.) “Min”

+ *imy pr=f* “who is in his house” 82 right:2

+ *ʾImn, Kʒ-mw.t=f, [ʿb m] nfr[w=f]* “Amun Kamutef, [whose] beaut[ies are extolled]” 164 left:1–3

+ *ʾImn-Rʿ, ḥkʒ Wʒs.t, nb p.t, ḥn.ty ip.t=f* “-Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes, lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary” 135 bottom left:1–2

+ *ʾImn-Rʿ, ḥkʒ Wʒs.t, nb [p.t, ḥn.ty ʾp.t-s]w.t* “Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes, lord [of heaven, pre-eminent in Karnak]” 252 right:1–3

+ *ʾImn-Rʿ Kʒ-mw.t=f, nb p.t, ḥry s.t=f wr.(t), ntr ʔ* “Amun-Re Kamutef, lord of heaven, who is on his great seat, great god” 195:2–4; 256:1–3

+ *Kʒ-mw.t=f* “Kamutef” 223:6

mnw (n.) “monument(s)” 5:4; 7:5, 37, 42; 21:6; 23:9; 24:10; 27:7; 32:6; 33:16; 39:16; 46:5; 49:18; 54:5; 61:6; 76:11; 80:7; 101:5; 107 right:4; 111:14; 122:4; 132:10; 137:22, 28, 30; 143:1; 152:3, 6; 163 left:4; 163 right:8; 164

- mnw* (cont.)
left:7; 165 right:3; 166:12; 169:3, 8; 171:11; 172:8;
173:7; 174:7; 176:7; 178:6, 33; 196:7; 197:15; 199:14;
200:3; 221 right:6; 224:8; 226:5, 9; 235:11; 241:8; 243
middle:8; 254:9; 256:6; 257:2
see also *wr mnw*; *iri mnw*; *di.n=(i) n=k mnw*
- mnwy* (adj.) “rich-in-monuments” 32:16
mnwy, ʒ *bi:wt m [pr-ʾImn]* “rich-in-monuments, great of
wonders in [the house of Amun]” 32:16–17
- mnḥ* (adj.) “excellent” 76:3; (adverbial phrase) *ḥr mnḥ* “out
of excellence” 180:5
- mnḥ.t* (n.), “cloth (vestments)” 34:1; 44:36, 38; 160:1
- mn.t* (n.) “pigeon” 65:15D
- Mnṯw* (div.) “Monthu” 36:15; 44:46; 52:28; 82 left:1, 2; 201:[38]
and with the following epithets:
+ *nb W3s.t* “lord of Thebes” 35:1, 2; 78:2; 179:1; 199:2
+ *nb p.t* “lord of heaven” 201:1–3
+ *nb W3s.t, ḥr(y)-ib ʾwn(y)* “lord of Thebes, residing in Iuny
(Armant)” 111:5; 138:2
+ *ḥr(y)-ib W3s.t* “residing in Thebes” 171:2
+ *ḥr(y)-ib W3s.t, nṯr ʒ, ḥk3 psd.t* “residing in Thebes, great
god, ruler of the Ennead” 171:3–4
+ *ḥr(y)-ib W3s.t, nṯr ʒ, nb p.t, nsw nṯr.w nb.w* “residing in
Thebes, great god, lord of heaven, king of all the
gods” 50:2–5
- mnd.t* (n.) “breast” 44:50; 207:5, 13
- mri* (vb.) “to love,” in the following forms
- (1) *mr*
(a) as a *sdm=f* relative 52:22; 72:4; 96:[12]; 104
bottom:9; 106:12; 167:3; 168:13; 208 right:3; 250
right:9; 251 right:7; 252 left:7; 252 right:9; 256:[8]
(b) as a *sdm.n=f* relative 68:3; 186 bottom:13; 199:10;
237:10: *mr.n ʾImn r nsw nb mi Rʿ r nb* “whom Amun
has loved, more than any (other) king, like Re
every day” 78:14–15
(c) as perf. passive part. 22:7; 36:48 (*mry.ty*); 38:3; 46:2;
58:3; 73:3; 76:28; 152:2; 169:2; 192:9; 199:3 (*mrt=i*),
5 (*mrt=i*); 200:2 (*mrt=i*), 10; 205 left:3; 226:2
(*mrt=i*)
(d) as prospective *sdm=f* 27:4
- (2) *mry*
(a) as a relative *sdm=f* 7:3; 74:5; 75:1; 76:5; 77:2; 83
right:[1]; 106:16, 22; 107 right:3; 148:2; 168:[10];
178:3; 261e top; 265e top
(b) as a perf. passive part. 25:3; 27:5; 36:43; 49:16; 52:2;
53:7, 30; 54:3; 74:3; 78:28; 101:4; 104 bottom:2;
158:2; 163 left:2; 163 right: bellow 7; 165 right:1;
178:[1], 19, 31, 32, 33, 34; 201:37, 38; 240:5; 257:6
for *Mry M3:t* “beloved of Maʿat”; see Appendix B
- (3) *mrr*
(a) as an imperf. active part. 97:[7]; 151:28; 243
middle:8
(b) as an imperf. passive part. 53:36; 54:10
- (c) as an imperf. relative *sdm=f* 105:7; 151:23; 212:6;
219:10
- mrwt* (n.) “love” 53:8; 58:5; 77:3; 106:8; 108:4; 109:2; 111:8; 175
right:3; see *di.n=(i) n=k mrwt=k*
and in *n-mrwt* (compound prep.) “on account of, through
love of” 44:19; 49:17; 52:12; 137:4; 178:5; 199:11;
200:3; 206 bottom:9 (*m-mrwt*); 226:5; 257:8
- mrs.t* (n.) “liver” see *mis.t*
- mrt* (n.) “liver” see *mis.t*
- mrt* (n.) “Meret-box(es)” 73:1; 108:1; 146 left:[1]
- Mrt Šm3.(t)* (f. div.) “Southern Egyptian Meret” 37:2; 54:9,10;
58:7; 151 lower left
- mrd* (n.) “cut of meat” see *mid3*
- mḥ* (vb.) “to fill” 220:11; 226:[16]
- Mḥw* (loc.) “Northern Egypt (Delta)” 10:4; 12 right:3; 47:10;
52:5, 23; 69:5, 7, 10; 71:12; 197:24; 219:9; see under *T3*
Mḥw and *Šmʿw*
- Mḥws* (n.) “Northern Egyptian crown” 74:13
- Mḥn* (div.) “Mehen” 7:23; 84 bottom left
- mḥt.t* (n.) “north” 6:3; 18:8; 34:7; 52:23; 53:12; 99:11; 107
right:7; 116:8; 145 right:9; 146 right:10; 151:32;
161:[6]; 164 right:[2]; 168:6; 171:6; 190:5; 237:5; in *kn.t*
r rsy.t, nḥt r mḥt.t “valor against the south and victory
against the north”
see under *di.n=(i) n=k rsy.t mḥt.t*; *di.n=(i) n=k kn.t r rsy.t, nḥt*
r mḥt.t
- mḥt.tiw* (n.) “northerners” 52:20
- (*m*)*skt.t* (n.) “night bark (of the sun)” 37:28–29
- ms* (vb.) “to present, offer” 206 bottom:[6]; 228:[4]
- msi* (vb.) “to give birth to, fashion” 44:49; 62:13; 137:29;
138:21; 180:5; 213 right:7; 241:11
- ms.w* (n.) “children” 180:27
- ms.t* (n.) “birth” 151:6; 170; see also *nb.ty*
- ms.w-nsw* (n.) “king’s children” 206 bottom:[7]; 228:5
- Msn* (loc.) “Mesen” 69:1; see *Ḥr* (div.)
- mšʿ* (n.) “army” 180:11
- m=k* see *m* + suffix pron. (interjection)
- mk* (n.) “protector” in *mk Km.t* “protector of Egypt” 7:38;
37:9; 39:13; 41 right; 96:12; 118:9; see also *nb.ty*
- mt* (vb.) “to die” 206 bottom:[12]
- mtw.t* (n.) “semen” 227 left:4 (written *mt*)
- mtn* (vb.) “to reward” 151:32
- Mtr* (loc.) “Meter” 44:43, 48; see *N.t* (f. div.), *S3.t* (f. div.)
- m=ṯn* see *m* + suffix pron. (interjection)
- md.w* (n.) “word(s)” 207:14; and in *ḡḡ md.w* “words spoken,”
see *ḡḡ*;
in *md.w nṯr* “god’s word(s)” 7:29; 74:4; 96:1–2; see *Dḥwy*
(div.)
- mḡ3.t* (n.) “scroll” in *pr mḡ3.t* “library” 22:3; 49:10; see *ḥn.ty pr*
mḡ3.t, Sḥ.t-ʿb.wy (f. div.)

md.t (n.) “ointment” in *rdi.t md.t* “giving ointment” 30:1; 129:1
hnk m md.t “offering ointment” 32:1; 153:1; 186
 bottom:[10]; 208 right:1; 222:1; 224:1; 238:1; 249
 bottom left:1

irt md.t “anointing” 205 left:1
mdh (vb.) “to hew” 152:9
Mdd.t (loc.) “Medjedet” 146:8–9; see under *Hwt-Hr* (f. div.)

n

n miscarved for *t* 82 right:4; 86:1; 205 right:9

n (prep.)

- (1) “for” passim; in *di.n=(i) n=k*; and in expressions “for” periods of time 7:23 (*n m-h.t*); 51:8 (*n hhw*); 53:30 (*n d.t*); 105:3 (*n d.t*); 111:4 (*n hhw*); 162:3 (*n nhh*); 202:7–15 (*n d.t*)
- (2) “because of” 7:14; 49:17, 18; 52:12, 20; 53:8, 19; 73:6; 76:28; 77:3, 4; 83 right:2; 99:6; 107 right:4, 8; 108:4; 137:4, 20; 151:32; 163 left:3; 178:5, 6; 180:[4]; 199:11; 200:3; 226:4, 15; 229:1, 2
- (3) “to,” passim; often in possessives 7:8; 38:9; 42:4; 53:9; 69:5; 70:6; 105:5; 137:30; 212:10
- (4) “according to” 38:10
- (5) “with” 38:13; 62:15; 150:4
- (6) “in” 38:13; 150:4
- (7) “on behalf of” 61:1
- (8) “from” 70:7
- (9) “on” 217:4; 219:6

n (m. indirect genitive) “of” 1:8; 7:20, 24; 14:13; 23:9, 28:9; 32:1,11; 37:34; 38:3, 13; 44:41; 49:12, 13, 15; 50:1, 9; 51:1, 8; 53:4, 9, 10, 51; 66:1; 78:1, 3, 10; 79:12, 22; 82 right:4; 87 bottom:2; 98:10; 101:3, 11; 102:3, 4; 105:4; 106:22; 108:3; 109:3; 111:2, 3, 4; 118:3, 7, 11; 131:3; 137:21, 23; 138:28; 145 left:4; 145 right:4; 146 left:13; 147:7; 148:8; 149:1; 151:12; 152:10, [11], 21; 153:1, 8, 13; 154:1; 160:13; 161:2; 163 right:12; 164 right:4; 166:3, 13; 168:3, 8; 169:2; 171:5; 175 left:5, 10; 178:3, 15; 179:5; 180:1, 4, 10, 22, 25, 27; 187:5; 191:1; 192:12; 195:5, 8; 197:15, 16, 24; 199:8; 200:4, 5; 202:6–15; 203 left:5, 6; 206 bottom:[6]; 207:13; 209:5; 211:5–10; 212:5, 12; 213 right:4; 214:10; 216:5; 217:[3]; 218 middle:5, right:4; 219:6, 7, 9; 220:9, 10, 11; 223:3; 224:3; 226:2, 11, [15]; 227 left:3, 4; 227 middle:1, 9; 227 right:1; 228:4; 229:1, 2; 230:1, [4], [5], [7]; 231 left:3; 238:5; 246:2; 250 right:2; 251 right:8; 252 left:3; 257:9

ny (adj.) “belonging” 227 right:[4]

n.t (f. indirect genitive) 12 right:12; 27:10; 48:1; 62:14; 65:10; 69:5; 76:32; 77:21; 89:10; 110:1; 153:[14]; 166:13; 176:4; 191:8; 197:16; 203 left:3, 5; 238:5; 241:12

n.w (pl. indirect genitive) 53:18; 79:17; 107:[9]; 175 right:4; 200:5; 213 right:7 (for singular)

n.w miscarved for *h* 218 middle:3

=n (1st pers. suffix pron. pl.) “we/our” 36:14; 38:25; 69:2, 7, 10; 212:8

n (negative) 20:8; 26:6; 37:15; 52:25; 151:21; 161:5; 199:9; 207:10; 211:12; 243 middle:3

N.t (f. div.) “Neith”, with the following epithets

nb.t Mtr [*imy.t*] *S3w, hnw.t P Dp* [*hn.ty i*] *w-m-sš* “lady of Meter [who is in] Sais, mistress of Pe and Dep [pre-eminent in Island]-in-the-Marsh:” 44:43–45

mw.t ntr “mother of the god” 77:11

mw.t ntr, nb.t p.t “mother of the god, lady of heaven” 70:4

niw.t rsy.t (loc.) “Southern City (Thebes)” 79:20

ni[s] (vb.) “to summon” 180:26

nyny (n.) “greeting” 111:10, 12; 179:6; 199:11

n(y)-sw.t see under *nsw*

nwh/nh (n.) “tow-rope” 37:27

Nw.t (f. div.) “Nut” 36:24; 52:33; 171:[8]; 201:18; 202:9; 211:7; 212:8

and with the following epithets:

+ *wrt* “the great” 122:2

+ *wrt, mst ntr.w* “the great, who bore the gods” 138:21

nb miswritten for *=k* (suffix pron.) 1:3; 7:8; 20:5; 24:6, 7; 34:3, 7; 49:11; 53:10; 79:19; 81 right:4; 81 middle:4; 82 middle:4; 101:5; 107 right:4; 108:5; 109:1; 147:7; 156:11; 160:4, 5; 161:3; 165 right:3; 184:3, 6; 208 right:8; 254:7

nb miswritten for *k* 140 left:1; 151:22

nb miswritten for *.k(wi)* 101:6; 107 right:4; 108:4

nb (adj.) “every, all (sorts of)” passim

nb (n.) “lord” 26:1; 164 right:7; 169:1; 187:1; 213 right:1; and in the following epithets:

nb 3w.t-ib “lord of joy” 3:8; 43:13; 46:15; 106:1; 133:7; 135 bottom left:<4>; 160:3; 197:15; 223:5; 252 left:[5]; see under *Hnsw* (div.)

nb ih.wt “lord of benefactions” 172:6

nb Ip.t-s.wt “lord of Karnak” 94:2; 101:3, 9; 107 right:2; 124:1; 136 top:2

see *Imn-R'* (div.), *Itmw* (div.)

nb.w Itnw “lords of Heliopolis” 137:18

nb irt h.t “master of the ritual” 12 right:12; 32:18; 34:14; 39:21; 53:51; 89:10; 96:11,13; 99:11; 106:[30]; 130:8; 138:n.n.; 153:14; 154:18; 158:[5]; 162:[4]; 178:4; 193:11; 213 left:5; 250 left:7; 250 right:8; 251 left:7; 251 right:6; 252 right:8

nb 'nh-t3.wy “lord of Ankh-Tawy” 220:6; see *Pth* (div.)

nb 'h “Lord of the Palace” 74:14; see *Hr* (div.)

- nb W3s.t* “lord of Thebes” 35:1, 2; 78:2; 111:5; 138:2; 179:1; 199:2; 201:2
 see *Mntw* (div.)
- nb w^c* “sole lord” 76:8; 161:[8]; 196:11; 248:9
nb-w^c tp-t3 “sole lord on earth” 169:13
 [... *nb*]-w^c *tp-t3 d[.t]* “sole [lord] on earth ever[lastingly]” 161:8
- nb p.t* “lord of heaven” 3:2; 11:2; 14:1; 17:3; 19:2; 21:2; 26:2; 46:15, 18; 47:1; 50:3; 53:39, 46; 54:2; 58:2; 80:3; 81 middle:5; 88:3; 89:2; 94:2; 99:2; 116:[3]; 125:4; 129:2; 131:2; 133:2; 134:3; 135 bottom left:2; 138:10; 141:1, 2; 142:6; 143:6; 144:2; 145 right:2; 146 left:3; 146 right:2; 147:2; 155:3; 159 in front of Amun in procession, 1; 165 left:3; 166:[2]; 171:10; 173:3; 174:3; 175 right:3; 183:1; 186 bottom:1; 192:6; 193:2, 9; 194:1; 195:2; 201:3, 11, 17, 21; 205 right:1; 211:2; 212:3; 214:4, 11; 216:4; 218 left:4; 219:2; 221 right:3; 222:4; 223:2; 224:2; 225:4; 235:1; 237:1, 2; 240:3; 241:1; 242:3; 245:3; 247:3; 251 left:2; 252 right:[2]; 253 bottom:3; 256:1; 261e top; 265e top
 see also *Imn-R^c* (div.), *Imn-R^c K3-mw.t=f* (div.), *Bhdy* (div.), *Hnsw* (div.), *Mntw* (div.), *Wsr* (div.), *R^c-Hr-3h.ty* (div.)
- nb m3.t* “lord of Ma^cat” 27:2, 3; 117:1; 136 top:1; 235:2; 249 bottom right:1;
 see *Pth* (div.)
- nb Msn* “lord of Mesen” 69:1; see *Hr* (div.)
- nb md.w-ntr* “master of the god’s word(s)” 7:29; 74:4; 96:1–2; see under *Dhwty* (div.)
- nb Nb.t* “lord of Ombos” 202:13; see under *St* (div.)
- nb nhb* “master of the potter’s wheel” 66:1; see *Hnmw* (div.)
- nb nhh* “lord of eternity” 235:2; see *Pth* (div.)
- nb ntr.w* “lord of the gods” 32:10; 174:1; of Amun 36:18, 25, 36; 49:4–5; 52:11, 17; 78:8; 79:11; 106:11; 109:1; 137:2; 149:4; 174:1; 175 left:5; 175 right:1; 179:2; 199:4, 7; 232 left:2
- nb ns.wt t3.wy* “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands” see under *Imn-R^c* (div.)
- nb r^c* “lord of the sun” 212:11
- nb h3s.wt* “lord of (foreign) hill countries” 169:11
- nb h^cw* “lord of appearances” 1 above king n.n.; 2:14; 3:14; 4:15; 7:44; 12 left:17; 14:[11]; 15:6; 16:7; 17:9; 18:11; 19:8; 21 (n.n.); 22 (n.n.); 25:[8]; 27:14; 28:11; 29:8; 30:12; 36:18, 23, 25, 29, 36, 42, [46]; 37:34; 38:33; 40:8; 42:6, 10; 43:17; 45 (n.n.); 46:21; 47:12; 48:9; 51:3, 14; 53:1; 56:11; 61:8; 65:9; 72:6; 81 right:6; 81 middle:7; 81 left:8; 82 right:6; 82 middle:6; 83 middle:6; 83 left:5; 89:8; 94:8; 95 right:7; 95 left:5; 99:8; 101:13; 102:12; 103:3; 104 bottom:[12]; 105:8; 106:7, 29; 107 left:7; 110:7; 111:16; 114:9; 115:[10]; 116:10; 118:9; 119:4; 121:[2]; 122:6; 123:7; 124:9; 125:8; 128:7; 129:7; 130:[7]; 131:[13]; 132:12; 133:13; 134:17; 135 bottom left:6; 135 bottom right:6; 136 top: [12], left n.n.; 137:33; 139:14; 140 left:15; 140 right:20; 142:3; 144:11; 145 left:12; 145 right:12; 146 right:14; 147:11; 148:5; 149:12; 155:14; 156:14; 159: above king n.n.; 160:11; 161:2, 10; 162:5; 163 left:11; 163 right:[10]; 164 left:[10]; 164 right:[9]; 165 right:10; 166:15; 167:3; 168:13; 169:11; 171:13; 174:9; 175 left:7; 175 right:7; 176:6; 177:5; 178:22; 179:13; 180:2; 184:9; 186 bottom:12; 187:15; 190:10; 191:10; 195:11; 196:9; 198:11; 199:3, 10, 19; 200:15; 201:8, 15, [19], 27; 204 right:8; 205 left:9; 207:24; 208 right:12; 211:14; 213 right:9; 214:14; 215 right:11; 217:[7]; 218 left:11; 218 middle:8; 218 right:6; 221 left:[6]; 221 right:8; 222:12; 223:5, 8; 224:11; 225:8; 226:18; 227 middle:7; 227 right:7; 229:4; 231 left:5, 9; 235:13; 238:9; 239:8; 240:8; 241:10; 243 middle:7; 244:[6]; 245:13; 246:9; 247:[12]; 249 bottom left:6; 249 bottom right:5; 250 left:8; 250 right:9; 251 left:8; 251 right:7; 252 left:7; 252 right:9; 253 bottom:6; 254:11; 255:7; 256:[8]; 257:4; 262:top
- nb hps^s* “master of strength” 49:23; 53:26 (*nb.w hps^s*); 55:9; 59:9; 60:9; 61:11; 62:19; 68:9; 70:11; 71:11; 72:7; 74:6, 11, 16; 75:6; 76:6, 28; 84 left:6; 105:11; 162:[5]; 167:2; 169:10; 214:12; 218 right:5; 221 right:7
- nb Hnmw* (div.) “lord of Hermopolis” 44:25, 35, 37; 49:7; 52:16; 69:6; 79:14; 150:1; 198:10; 220:7; 250 right:1; see *Dhwty* (div.)
- nb Swmnw* “lord of Sumenu”; 140 right:3; see *Sbk* (div.)
- [*nb*] *šnm.[t]* “[lord of] Bigg[a]” 113:4; see *Hnmw* (div.)
- nb n Km.t* “lord of Egypt” 7:20; 66:1; 105:[7]; 200:4
- nb n t3 nb* “lord of every land” 82 right:4
- nb kbh(w)* “lord of the cataract” 37:6, 7; 44:1; 151:2; see *Hr* (div.), *Hnmw* (div.)
- nb t3* “lord of earth” 125:4; see *Imn-R^c* (div.)
- nb t3 šm^c* “lord of the Southern Egyptian land” 148:1–2; see *Nbwty* (div.)
- nb t3 dsr* “lord of the sacred land” 53:50; 138:26
- nb t3.wy* “lord of the Two Lands (Egypt)”; of predecessor 42:12
- nb t3.wy* “lord of the Two Lands” 1 above king n.n.; 2:13; 3:13; 4:14; 5:6; 6:5; 7:3, 21, 25, 43; 12 left:16; 12 right:12; 14:10; 15:5; 16:6; 17:8; 18:10; 19:7; 21:7; 22:7, n.n.; 23:2, 9; 24:10; 25:[7]; 27:5, 13; 28:10; 29:7; 30:11; 34:14; 36:16, 20, 27, 32, 34, 39, 45; 37:13; 38:3, 32; 39:21; 40:7; 42:5, 8, 12; 43:16; 44:27, 46, 48; 45 (n.n.); 46:2, 20; 47:11, 14; 49:16, 22; 50:10; 51:2, 11, 13; 52:2, 43; 53:1, 5, 7, 35, 51; 54:10; 55:8; 56:10; 58:7; 59:8; 60:8; 61:7, 10; 63:1; 65:8, 10; 68:3, 8; 70:10; 71:5, 10, 12; 72:5, 7; 73:3, 11; 74:3, 14, 15; 75:2, 5; 76:2, 22, 32; 77:3; 78:6, 9; 79:3; 81 right:5; 81 middle:6; 81 left:7; 82 right:5; 82 middle:5; 83 middle:5; 83 left:4; 85 left:[7]; 89:1, 3, 7, 10; 94:7; 95 left:4; 95 right:6; 96:11, 13; 99:7, 11; 101:12; 101:4, 12; 102:2, 11; 104 bottom:[11]; 105:1, 7, 11, 15, [17], 171 ; 106:6, 16, 28, [30]; 107 right:3; 107 left:6; 108:[3]; 110:6; 111:1, 12, 15; 112:2; 114:8; 115:3, 9; 116:[9]; 118:8, 10; 119:3; 120:3; 121:[1]; 122:5; 123:6; 124:8; 125:7; 128:6; 129:6; 130:[6], 8; 131:12; 132:11; 133:12; 134:16; 135 bottom left:5; 135 bottom right:5; 136 top:[11], left n.n.; 137:19, 32; 138:6, n.n.; 139:13; 140 left:14; 140 right:19; 142:2; 143:5; 144:10; 145 left:11; 145 right:11; 146 right:13; 147:10; 148:3, 10; 149:5, 11; 150:5; 151:3, 8; 152:2; 153:14; 154:2, 6, 18; 155:13; 156:13; 158:3, [5]; 159: above king n.n.; 160:10; 161:9; 162:4; 163 left:3, 10; 163 right:4, [9]; 164 left:[9]; 164 right:[8]; 165 right:2, 9; 166:14; 167:2; 168:12; 169:3, 10; 171:12; 174:[6], 8; 175 left:2, 6; 175

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nb.wy (n.) “two lords” (divinities of Northern and Southern Egypt) 64:3; 69:4, 9; 140 right:18; 144:9; 154:13

nb.w ʿwnw (n.) “lords of Heliopolis” 137:18

nb.ty (n.) “dual lord” 69:8

nb.t (n.) “lady” 104 bottom:7; and in the following combinations

nb.t ʿwnt “lady of Dendera” 4:6–7; 67:1; 106:10; 140 left:7–8; 144:6; 199:10; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.[t] ʿp.t-[sw.t] “lad[y of] Kar[nak]” 159:7–8; see *ʿImn.t* (f. div.)

nb.t ʿšrw “lady of Isheru” 12 left:8–9; 46:7–8; 52:9; 53:42–43; 55:5; 80:5; 104 bottom:6; 107 left:4–5; 134:9–10; 135 bottom right:[1]; 161:1; 163 right:1; 178:[28]–29; 180:35; 200:9; 205 right:4; 220:8; 222:5–6; 232 left:[5]–6; see also *Mw.t* (f. div.)

nb.t ʿh “lady of the palace” 12 right:2–3; 191:3; 192:8; see *Wrt-ḥk3.w*

nb.t w3d.w “lady of the papyrus columns” 79:5; 253 top:5; see *Mw.t* (f. div.)

nb.t w3d.t “lady of Wadjet” 146 left:10; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t p.t “lady of heaven” 2:6; 4:7; 7:24; 12 right:1; 13:6; 14:7; 23:8; 33:7; 36:7; 39:8; 43:7; 47:8; 56:8; 70:4; 80:[6]; 81 middle:1, 2; 82 middle:3; 88:6; 103:1; 106:14; 115:[6]; 116:7; 119:1; 135 bottom left:3; 137 left in front of Mut; 138:14, 31; 140 right:9, 14; 146 right:9; 153:[11]; 163 left:7; 164 left:6; 166:11; 168:[1], 2, 9; 169:7; 178:34; 180:[36]; 183:5; 184:4; 186 bottom:7; 187:6; 201:14; 205 right:5; 213 left:1; 213 right:5; 214:8; 215 right:5; 224:7; 231 left:7; 231 right:2; 236 right:1 (written *nb.(t) p.t*); 237:6; 241:3–4, 6, 7; 242:5; 244:1; 245:7; 247:5; 250 left:1, 2, 5; 252 left:4; 252 right:6; 255:3

see also *3s.t* (f. div.), *ʿImn.t* (f. div.), *W3d.t* (f. div.), *Mw.t* (f. div.), *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.); *N.t* (f. div.); *Tfnw.t* (f. div.)

nb.t Pwn.t “lady of Punt” 156:8; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t pr “lady of Per-[...]” 257:1; see *W3dy.t* (f. div.)

nb.t mfk.t “lady of turquoise” 143:10–11; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t Mtr “lady of Meter” 44:43; see *N.t* (f. div.) “Neith”

nb.t M3dd.t “lady of Medjedet” 146 right:7–9; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t nh.t 3m3.t “lady of the Southern Egyptian sycamore” 141:8; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t rwd.tyw “lady of the two shores” 157:5–6; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t Hwt-s3m “lady of Hut-sekhem” 145 right:5–6; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t Htp-ḥmw “lady of Hetephemu” 154:8–9; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t N3tr.t “lady of Netjeret” 44:47; see *S3.t* (f. div.)

nb.t ḥp3 “lady of the scimitar” 104 bottom:8; see *W3s.t* (f. div.)

nb.t s3.w “lady of writing” 22:2–3; 49:9–10; see *Sf3t-3byw* (f. div.)

nb.t K3s “lady of Cusae” 153:9–10; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t K3p<n> “lady of Gub<la> (Byblos)” 142:10; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t t3.wy “lady of the Two Lands” 7:27; 76:28; 82 middle:3

see *Mw.t* (f. div.), *ʿImn.t* (f. div.)

nb.t t3 d3r “lady of the Red Land” 150:9; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

nb.t D3rw “lady of Djeseru” (Deir el-Bahari) 232 left:9; see *Hwt-Ḥr* (f. div.)

Nb.t-ḥwt (f. div.) “Nephtys” 36:31; 52:37; 201:26; 202:14; 211:8; 212:8; and with the following epithets

sn.t n3tr “sister of the god” 139:7

nb.t s3, ḥn.ty pr-m3d3.t “lady of writing, pre-eminent in the library” 49:9–10

nb.t t3.wy “lady of the Two Lands” 7:27

nb.ty (title) “he of the Two Goddesses” 7:38; 37:9; 151:6; 170

nb.ty ḥm ms.wt 3m ḥp3 dr pd.t psd.t “He-of-the-Two-Goddesses ‘Repeater of Births, Mighty of the Khepesh-sword, Subduer of the Nine Bows’” 151:6; 170

Nb.ty mk km.t w3fw ḥ3s.wt “He-of-the-Two-Goddesses ‘Protector of Egypt, Subduer of Foreign Countries’” 7:38; 37:9–10; 39:13; 41 right; 96:12; 118:9

nbw (n.) “gold” 151:12, 13; 152:12; see also *Ḥr nbw*

Nb.t (loc.) “Ombos” 211:8; and in *imy-Nb.t* “he who is in Ombos (Seth)” 53:22

Nb.ty (div.) “the Ombite (Seth)” 7:15; 36:30; 52:36; 211:8

+ *nb t3 3m3* “lord of the Southern Egyptian land” 148:1–2

nbs (n.) “zizyphus fruit” 65:15B; 207:17; 226:6B

nfr

(adj.vb.) “good, beautiful, perfect” 5:4; 27:6; 37:32; 39:15; 46:6; 66:1; 73:4; 169:3

(adj.) 39:2; 53:9, 17, 51; 77:21; 78:10; 106:9; 111:10; 117:2; 137:6; 165 left:1; 166:13; 179:6; 212:5; 220:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; 226:7; see also *n3tr nfr*; *ḥn n3tr nfr*

*nfr, nfrw** (n.) “beauty, perfection” 36:14*; 44:49; 53:8*; 76:22; 77:4*; 106:9*; 137:20*; 151:18*; 163 right:3*; 164 left:3; 166:12*; 174:10*; 180:28*; 193:5*; 199:11*; 216:3; 223:2*; 227 right:4*

nfr (adv.) “well, beautifully” 36:16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32, [34], 36, [39, 42]

- nfr-ḥr* (epithet) “handsome-of-face” 39:15 (of king); 205 left:7 (of Ptah)
- Nfr-ḥtp* “Neferhotep” see under *Hnsw* (div.)
- nfr.t* (n.), synonym for “White Crown” 164 right:7
- nms.t* (n.), type of “jar” 48:1; 219:6, 7, 8, 10
in *nd-ḥr m nms.t* “greeting the face with the *nemset*-jar” 56:1; 119 left:[6]; 140 right:1; 208 left:1
- nn* (demonstr. pron.)
“this, these” 66:1; 73:4
“this is” 203 left:3, 5; 217:2
mitt nn (adv.) “and likewise” 220:6, 7, 9
- nn* (negation) “not” 7:37; 77:9; 137:27; 197:9; 227 left:4; 243 middle:[3]
- nn sp* “never” 7:37; 152:13 (written *n sp*)
- nww* (n.) “Primordial Waters” 38:2; 151:18; 219:6
- nnšm* (n.) “spleen” 65:15C
- nhp* (vb.) “to swarm, flutter (of birds)” 44:20
- nhm* (vb.) “to jubilate” 151:26
- Nhrn* (loc.) “Naharin” 165 right:12
- nh.t* (n.), “sycamore” 141:8
- nḥb* (n.) “potter’s wheel” 66:1
- nḥm* (vb.) “to remove” 218 middle:4
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- ntr nfr iri ʒh.wt n it.f ʿImn-Rʿ* “the good god, who makes benefactions for his father Amun-Re” 131:11
- ntr nfr iri ʒh.wt n it=f nsw ntr.w* “the good god who performs benefactions for his father the king of the gods” 151:9
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- ntr nfr wr nsy.t [m pr 'Imn]* “the good god, great of kingship [in the House of Amun]” 120:2
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- ntr nfr h' m h3.t nfr hr 'n m hprš iri mnw wr sp sn n it=f 'Imn* “the good god who appears in the White Crown;

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 [11], 12; 218 middle:5; 219:7, 8, 9; 230:[5], 7; see also
di.n=(i) n=k rn
- rnpi* (vb.) “to be young, rejuvenated” 48:4; 51:7; 64:3; 74:8, 10;
 78:1; 81 middle:4; 105:3, 7; 148:4; 212:11, 12
- rnp.t* (n.) “year” 38:12; 52:3; 61:4; 62:18; 79:16; 91:6; 92:3; 96:3;
 111:4; 118:7; 137:14; 151:33; 198:6; 220:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10;
 243 left:[1]; see also *wp-rnp.t* (n.)
 and in the following compounds:
rnp.wt ṯtmw “years of Atum” 14:[6]; 36:29; 109:3; 164
 right:4; 169:4–5; 178:16
 see also *di.n=(i) n=k rnp.wt*
rnp.wt n ṯtmw “years of Atum” 20:8; 28:9; 38:26; 49:13;
 118:3; 166:3; 171:5; 187:5; 195:5; 197:16; 213 right:4;
 214:10; 226:11–12; 227 middle:9; 231 left:3; 238:5; 252
 left:3; 257:9
 see also *di.n=(i) n=k rnp.wt*
 in *wsr rnp.wt* “rich in years” see under *wsr*
ḥḥ.w rnp.wt “millions <of> years” 52:17; 198:6
ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt “millions of years” 7:6; 16:5; 49:21; 70:2–3;
 76:24; 78:5; 84 middle right:4
 and see under *di.n=(i) n=k ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt*
ḥfn.w m rnp.wt “myriads of years” 12 right:4; 138:22;
 139:11; 147:8; 192:11; 243 left:3
 see under *di.n=(i) n=k ḥfn.w*
rnp.wt nḥḥ “years of eternity” 78:9
 see under *di.n=(i) n=k rnp.wt*
rnp.wt (n.) “fresh flowers” 4:1; 39:3; 82 middle:1; 85 left:1;
 93:1; 116:[1]; 125:1; 134:1; 137:5; 165 left:1; 171:1;
 174:1; 215 right:1; see also (*r*)*di.t rnp.wt*
rnn (vb.) “to rear (child)” 25:4; 38:4; 44:50
rnn (n.) “calf” 13:2; 39:2
Rnn-wt.t (n.) “Renenwetet” 220:10
rḥ (vb.) “to know” 7:15; 44:14; 152:20; 180:13
rḥyt (n.) “commoners” 194:5
rḥti (vb.) “to (be) wash(ed), clean(ed)” 220:5
rḥ.tyw (n.) “washers” 212:7
rsy
 (n.) “south” 6:3; 18:8; 52:19, 23; 53:12; 99:11; 116:8; 107
 right:5; 151:31; 161:6; 164 right:2; 168:6; 190:5; 237:5
 in *ḳn.t r rsy.t, nḥt r mḥt.t* “valor against the south and
 victory against the north”
 see under *di.n=(i) n=k ḳn.t*
 (adj.) “southern” 39:9; 79:20
rsf (n.) “catch of fowl (and fish)” 36:42; 140 right:7
ršw.t (n., spelled *rwšw*) “joy” 32:9; 53:8; 152:5
rk (n.) “reign, period (of time)” 7:37; 53:16; 151:22
r=k (encl. part.) “ye” see *ir=k* (encl. part.)
rd (n.) “foot” in *tp-rd* “instructions” 151:20
rd.wy (n. dual) “feet” 36:14; 69:2, 10; in *ḥr rd.wy=k* “under
 your feet” 157:8; 171:7

rdi

(r)di (vb.) “to give, cause, permit”

in the following forms

(1) nn sdm.n=f 137:27

(2) rdy, as prospective passive sdm=f 212:9

(3) di, in (a) indicative (perfective) sdm=f 7:14; 36:3; 38:25; 52:18, 19, 20; 53:13, 20, 23, 27; 69:10; 73:6; 79:10, 12; 83 right:[1]; 97:7; 106:17, 24; 107 right:5; 137:20; 152:[15], 22; 158:5; 180:13

di=i <n=k> ns.t Gb i:t Itmw “I have given <to you> the throne of Geb and the office of Atum” 165 right:4

di=i [rwd] rn=k m W3s.t mi rwd rn n Itmw m Iwnw “I have caused that your name [might endure] in Thebes just like the name of Atum endures in Heliopolis” 79:12

di=f n=f kn.t nht r h3s.wt nb.(wt) “he has [gi]ven to him valor and victory against every foreign country” 158:5

(b) prospective (subjunctive) sdm=f 36:16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39, 42; 39:3; 54:11; 58:8; 70:8; 72:2; 78:1; 130:[8]; 151:31; 198:15; 199:7, 12; 206 bottom:6 (passive); 232 left:5

in “to lay, place (hands)” 202:5

and in the following compounds:

di=f n=k nht dd w3s nb mi R’ “that he might give to you all life, stability, and dominion like Re” 77:13

di=f n=k nht w3s nb “that he may give to you all life and dominion” 54:11

di=f n=k nht w3s nb mi R’ r’ nb “that he may give to you all life and dominion like Re every day” 58:8

di=f n=k i:t=f s.t=f ns.t=f h’w wn [...] “so that he might give to you his office, his seat, his throne, and a lifetime existing [...]” 199:12

di=f n=k nhh m nht w3s “that he might give to you eternity in life and dominion” 137:2

di=f n=k nhh m nht w3s d.t m hk3 3w.t-ib “May he give to you continuity with life and dominion and forever as ruler of joy” 179:7–8

di=f n=k nhh m nsw t3.wy d.t m hk3 3w.t-ib ns.t Gb i:t Hpri h’w R’ m p.t “... that he might give to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, forever as ruler of joy, the throne of Geb, the office of Khepri, and the lifetime of Re in heaven” 199:7–8

di=f n=k nhh m nsw t3.wy hnm=f h’w=k m nht w3s “that he may give to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, (and) that he may endow your limbs with life and dominion” 149:7–9

di=k n=f nht dd w3s hfn.w m hb.w-sd “May you give to him life, stability, and dominion, (and) myriads of jubilees” 70:8–9

(c) relative sdm=f 217:[4]; see also htp-di-nsw

(d) circumstantial sdm=f 7:22; 36:14; 76:36; 156:6; 160:8; 198:18; 199:9; 216:8; 224:9

in the following compounds:

di[=i] n=k pd.t psd.t “[as I gi]ve to you the Nine Bows” 137:17–18

di=f “(as) he gives” 156:6; 171:10

di=f nht “(as) he gives life” 52:28; 76:37; 79:21; 138:3; 165 right:6; 178:18; 187:13; 239:4

di=f nht w3s “(as) he gives life and dominion” 36:15, 17, 19, 22, 26, 30, 33, 38; 53:45, 46; 128:5; 141:17

di=f nht w3s mi R’ “(as) he gives life and dominion like Re” 70:12–13

di=f nht w3s nb mi R’ “(as) he gives all life and dominion like Re” 193:10

di=f nht w3s hr=f “he gives life and dominion on his part” 4:13

di=f nht w3s sn[b nb] 3w.t-ib nb mi R’ “as he gives life, dominion, [all] health and all joy like Re” 199:16

[di=f nht] mi R’ “[as he gives life] like Re” 135 bottom right:5

di=f nht nb “(as) he gives all life” 138:8; 146 right:12; 251 left:3

di=f nht nb 3w.t-ib nb “(as) he gives all life and all joy” 52:8

di=f nht nb 3w.t-ib nb n nb h’w Sty mr.n-Imn (di nht) mi R’ “as he gives all life and all joy to the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, (given life) like Re” 201:8

di=f nht nb mi R’ “(as) he gives all life like Re” 249 bottom right:3

di=f nht nb kn.t nb n nb t3.wy Mn-M3’.t-R’ di nht (mi R’) “as he gives all life and all valor to the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life (like Re)” 201:4

di=f nht nb snb nb n nb t3.wy Mn-M3’.t-R’ di nht (mi R’) “as he gives all life and all health to the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life (like Re)” 201:12

di=f nht dd w3s “(as) he gives life, stability, and dominion” 192:7; 205 left:4–5

di=f nht dd w3s mi R’ “(as) he gives life, stability, and dominion like Re” 65:5

di=f nht dd w3s n s[=f] R’-ms-sw [mry-Imn] “that he might give life, stability, and dominion to his son, RAMESSU-[MERAMUN]” 39:3

di=f nht dd w3s nb “(as) he gives all life, stability, and dominion” 36:12; 46:18; 141:6

di=f nht dd w3s nb mi R’ “(as) he gives all life, stability, and dominion like Re” 50:15–16

di=f nht dd w3s nb snb nb “(as) he gives all life, stability, dominion, and all health” 138:11

di=f nht dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb ssm=f w3t hr-h’t hm=f mi R’ “he gives all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy, (and) as

(r)di (cont.)

- he leads the way in front of his person like Re” 50:17
- di=f* ‘nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3wt[-ib] nb kn.t nb nht [nb h‘i]=t hr ns.t Itmw-R^c “as he gives all life, stability, dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, [all] victory as you [appear] upon the throne of Atum-Re” 179:15
- di=f* ‘nh dd w3s nb snb nb hr=f “he gives all life, stability, dominion, and all health on his part” 180:33-34
- di=f* ‘nh dd w3s [nb] snb nb kn.t nb [... h3s.t nb] dmd hr tb.ty=k n hsf[‘=k...] “as he gives a[ll life], st[ability], domin[ion], all he[al]th, all valor and [... every foreign country] gathered under your sandals, (and) [your arm] not being opposed [...]” 199:9
- di=f* ‘nh dd w3s snb mi R^c “(as) he gives life, stability, dominion, and health like Re” 187:14
- di=f* ‘nh dd w3s snb kn.t nht mi R^c “as he gives life, stability, dominion, health, valor, and victory like Re” 197:14
- di=f* n=i i3.t=f s.t=f ns.t=f nsy.t=f m hk3 t3.wy “as he gives to me his office, his seat, his throne, and his kingship as ruler of the Two Lands” 180:7-9
- di=f* n=k i3.t=f n nsw-bl.ty “(as) he gives to you his office of dual king” 7:22-23
- di=f* n=k hb(w)-sd n R^c rnp.wt Itmw “(as) he gives to you the jubilee(s) of Re and the years of Atum” 109:3
- di=f* n=f ‘h3.w n R^c rnp.wt n Itmw “as he gives to him the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum” 197:16
- di=f* nhh m nsw t3.wy “[as] he gives eternity as king of the Two Lands” 224:8
- di=f* nhh m ‘nh w3s n hr whm h3w “as he gives continuity in life and dominion for the Horus ‘repeating appearances” 180:29
- di=f* [f] nht nb snb nb 3t-ib nb mi R^c “as [he] gives all victory, all health and all joy like Re” 194:9
- di=f* snb nb “as he gives all health” 151:2
- di=s* 3w.t-ib “(as) she gives joy” 36:40; 146 left:11; 180:38
- di=s* 3w.t-ib nb “(as) she gives all joy” 142:13
- di=s* ‘nh “(as) she gives life” 12 right:8; 55:6; 65:7; 105:14; 139:12; 158 in front of vulture, n.n.; 203 left below vulture, n.n.; 250 left:6
- di=s* ‘nh w3s “(as) she gives life and dominion” 36:21, 24, 28, 31, 35, 41, 43; 39:9; 73:7; 111:13; 146 left:12; 154:14; 163 left:8; 163 right:8; 165 right:7; 178:19; 180:37; 209:12; 215 right:8; 225:5; 240:5; 246:5, 6; 250 right:6; 251 right:5; 255:4
- [di]=s [‘nh w3s ...] “as she [gives life, dominion ...]” 239:5
- di=s* ‘nh w3s mi R^c “(as) she gives life and dominion like Re” 76:40; 160:6; 163 right:7 (omitting mi); 209:13; 215 right:7; 240:4
- di=s* ‘nh w3s nb “(as) she gives all life and dominion” 36:9; 46:23; 142:11; 143:12; 186 top n.n.
- di=s* ‘nh w3s nb mi R^c “(as) she gives all life and dominion like Re” 196:6
- di=s* ‘nh w3s nb hr=s “(as) she gives all life and dominion on her part”: 145 right:7
- di=s* ‘nh w3s nb snb [nb] mi [R^c] “she gives all life and dominion, [all] health like [Re]” 33:15
- di=s* [s] ‘nh w3s nb s[nb nb] 3w.t-ib nb [mi] R^c “[... as she giv]es all life and dominion, [all] hea[lth] and all joy [like] Re” 174 not recorded
- di=s* ‘nh w3s nb snb nb hr=s 3w.t-ib hr=s “(a)s she gives all life and dominion, (and) all health on her part, (and) all joy on her part” 88:8-10
- di=s* ‘nh w3s kn.t nht snb 3w.t-ib “(as) she gives life, dominion, valor, victory, health and joy” 242:6-8
- di=s* ‘nh mi R^c “(as) she gives life like Re” 187:7; 236 right:[4]-5
- di=s* ‘nh nb “(as) she gives all life” 43:10; 46:9; 47:9, 13; 122:3; 134:11; 145 left:8; 157:7
- di=s* ‘nh nb 3w.t-ib nb n nb h3w Sty mr.n-Imn (di ‘nh) mi R^c “as she gives all life and all joy to the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, (given life) like Re” 201:15
- di=s* ‘nh nb 3w.t-ib nb mi R^c “(as) she gives all life (and) all joy like Re” 139:8-10
- di=s* ‘nh nb mi R^c “(as) she gives all life like Re” 195:7; 198:18
- di=s* ‘nh nb [h]r.s “she gives all life [on] her part” 35:9
- di=s* ‘nh h3=f nb “(as) she gives life all surrounding him” 192:15
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s “(as) she gives life, stability, and dominion” 179:9; 245:10
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s mi R^c “(as) she gives life, stability, and dominion like Re” 42:13
- di<=s>* ‘nh dd w3s mi R^c “(as) <she> gives life, stability, and dominion like Re” 77:17
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s nb “(as) she gives all life, stability, and dominion” 142:5; 146 left:15; 155:11
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s nb mi R^c “(as) she gives all life, stability, and dominion like Re” 179:10
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s nb snb [nb] 3w.t-ib nb kn.t nb mi R^c “she gives all life, stability, and dominion, [all] health, all joy, and all valor like Re”: 45:11-12
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s snb nb hr=s mi R^c “as she gives all life, stability, dominion, (and) health on her part, like Re” 168:9; 247:10
- di=s* ‘nh dd w3s snb nb d.t sp 2 “she gives life, stability and dominion, and all health forever and ever” 33:9-10
- di=s* ‘nh kn.t nb snb nb hr=s “(as) she gives life and all valor, and all health on her part” 247:7-8
- di=s* ‘nh dd mi R^c “(as) she gives life (and) stability like Re” 168:10

(r)di (cont.)

- dī=s wīs nb* “(as) she gives all dominion” 46:10; 145 left:9
- dī=s sʾ ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb ḥʾ=f nb mi Rʿ* “she causes every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — to surround him like Re” 46:11
- dī=s snb nb* “(as) she gives all health” 142:12
- dī=s kn.t nb nḥt nb ʾw.t-ib nb ḥrʾs* “she gives all valor, all victory, (and) all joy on her part” 76:43–44
- dī=s kn.t nb nḥt ...* “she gives all valor, victory ...” 160:8
- dī=s ḏd wīs* “she gives stability and dominion” 76:35
- [... *dī=s ...*] *nb nḥt nb r ḏs.t nb ...dī=s [ʿn]ḥ ḏd wīs nb snb [nb] <dī>=s [ʿn]ḥ ʾw.t-ib nb mi Rʿ* “[... as she gives ...] all [...] and all victory against every foreign land, as she gives all [li]fe, stability, and dominion and [all] health, as she <gives> [li]fe and all joy like Re” 197:11–13
- dī=sn ḥḥ wīs nb [n sʾ Rʿ] nb [ḥʿw Sty mr.n-ʾImn]* “as they give all life and dominion [to the son of Re] Lor[d of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN]” 201:19
- dī=sn ḥḥ wīs [nb...n...] Mn-Mʾ.t-Rʿ* “as they give [all] life and domin[ion to ...] MENMAʾATR[E]” 201:35
- dī=sn s[n]b nb n nṯr nfr nb tʿ.wy Mn-Mʾ.t-Rʿ* “as they give all he[al]th to the good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMAʾATRE” 201:23
- dī=sn [...] n sʾ Rʿ nb ḥʿw Sty mr.n-ʾImn* “as they give [...] to the son of Re, lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN]” 201:27
- dī=sn [...] nb n nṯr nfr nb tʿ.wy Mn-Mʾ.t-Rʿ* “as they give all [...] to the good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMAʾATRE” 201:31
- dī=k ḥw kʿ.w n sʾ=k Rʿ-ms-s mry-ʾImn dī ḥḥ* “while you give food and provisions to your son RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life” 36:14
- (e) *dīw* perf. active part. 180:[5]; 199:4; 206 bottom:7; 208 right:10; 228:5; 238:7
- (f) perf. passive part. 151:24; 202:[18]
in the following compounds
- dī ḥḥ* “given life” 18:13; 30:13; 36:14; 44:48; 49:16; 51:11; 52:43; 53:4; 62:22; 63:1; 105:1, 8; 112:2, [3]; 137:30; 145 left:14; 147:13; 148 above king, n.n.; 150:5; 151:8; 152 above king; 170: n.n.; 180:18; 213 left:8; 215 right:12; 227 left:2; 230:[3]; 236 right:2; see also *ir=f dī ḥḥ*
- dī ḥḥ mi Rʿ* “given life like Re” 12 right:9–10; 14:14; 23:11–12; 26:10; 35:10–11; 36:45–46; 37:34; 43:16–17, 46; 44:9–10, 46; 46:22; 48:7; 50:13; 52:45–46; 55:[10]; 56:12; 59:10; 61:12; 68:10; 71:10–11; 73:8–9; 74:15–16; 76:33–34, 41–42; 77:19–20; 78:12–13; 81 right:7; 84 middle right:3; 84 left:7; 89:9; 95 left:6; 96:11–13; 102:13; 104 bottom:11–12; 105:15; 106:6–7; 108:11, 19; 111:18; 113:2–3; 122:7; 123:8; 124:8–9; 126:7; 134:18; 135 bottom left: n.n.; 138: n.n.;
- 139:15; 140 left:16; 140 right:21; 141:13–14; 143:4; 146 left:16–17; 149:13; 150:13–14; 153:16; 155:13–14; 156:15; 159: above king n.n.; 163 right:9–10; 164 left:9–10; 164 right:8–9; 165 right:9–10; 166:14–15; 169:10–11; 171:12–13; 172:9–10; 173:8–9; 178:21–22; 179:12–13; 183:7–8; 184:7–8, 9; 186 bottom:11–12; 187:10–11, 15; 189:[3]; 190:11; 191:11; 192:19–20; 194:7–8; 195:10–11; 197 above king; 199:18–19; 200:15–[16]; 201:4–8, 12–15; 203 right:5; 204 left:6; 208 right:11–12; 214:13–14; 218 left:12; 219:13; 221 left:5–6; 221 right:9; 222:14; 223:9; 227 middle:6–7; 239:9; 243 middle:6–7; 246:10; 248:6–7; 250 left:9; 253 bottom:7; 254:10–11
- dī ḥḥ mi Rʿ rʿ nb* “given life like Re each day” 135 bottom right: n.n.; 247:13
- dī ḥḥ mi Rʿ ḏ.t* “given life like Re forever” 7:38–40; 31:10–11; 42:7; 60:10–11; 75:7; 79:25; 81 left:9–10; 82 middle:7–8; 101:14–15; 107 left:6–7; 110:8–9; 121:3–4; 129:8–9; 136 top:[13]; 213 right:10; 244:[7]; 245:14
- dī ḥḥ mi Rʿ ḏ.t nḥḥ* “given life like Re forever and eternally” 208 left:10
- dī ḥḥ ḏ.t* “given life forever” 5:6–7; 6:5–6; 57:10; 69:13; 202:5, 19
- dī ḥḥ nb ḏd wīs nb mi Rʿ ḏ.t* “given all life, all stability, and dominion like Re forever” 27:15–16
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb* “given all life, all stability, and dominion” 46:16
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs snb mi Rʿ* “given life, stability, dominion, (and) health like Re” 96:9–10
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs mi Rʿ* “given life, stability, dominion like Re” 24:10; 53:33–34; 76:40; 118:8–10; 130:bottom; 146 right:15; 162:4–5; 168:12–13; 193:14; 196:8–9; 205 right:17; 206 top:7; 209:15–16; 216:12; 217:8; 225:9; 251 left:9; 252 right:10; 255:8
- dī [ḥḥ] ḏd [wīs] ʾw.t-ib [mi Rʿ]* “given [lif]e, stability, [dominion], (and) jo[y like Re]” 252 left:8
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs mi Rʿ ḏ.t* “given life, stability, dominion like Re forever” 99:9–10; 100:9–10; 204 right:7–8; 229:4
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs mi Rʿ ḏ.t nḥḥ* “given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever (and) eternally” 21:8–10
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb mi Rʿ* “given all life, stability, dominion like Re” 146 right:15
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb mi Rʿ rʿ nb* “given all life, stability, and dominion like Re every day” 119:5
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb mi Rʿ ḏ.t* “given all life, stability, dominion like Re forever” 58:15–16
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb snb nb mi Rʿ* “given all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health like Re” 167:4
- dī ḥḥ ḏd wīs nb snb nb mi Rʿ rʿ nb* “given all life and health, all stability and dominion like Re every day” 207:23–24
- [*dī*] *ḥḥ wīs nb s[nb nb] ʾw.t-ib [nb mi] Rʿ* “[Giv]en all life and dominion, [all] hea[lth] and [all] joy [like] Re” 174 (in paint behind king)

(r)di (cont.)

-di> *nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb mi R' r' nb* “<Given>
all life and dominion, all health, and all joy
like Re every day” 175 right:8–9

di *nh dd [w3s] 3w.t-ib [snb] mi R' [d.t]* “given life,
stability, [dominion], joy, [and health] like Re
[forever]” 211:13–14

(4) dd

(imperf. active part.) 151:20

(imperf. passive part.) 212:7

(5) perf. relative *sdm.n=f* in *rdi r* “appoint (someone) to be (something)” 169:13; 196:11

(6) dd imperf. relative 72:4; 202:6, 19; 205 right:16; 211:[13]; 212:14; 219:13; 229:3; 230:3, [7]

(7) *rdi* circumstantial *sdm.n=f* 200:3–4(8) *rdi.t* (infinitive) 2:1; 4:1; 11:1; 26:1; 27:1; 34:1; 38:11; 44:37; 53:12; 55:1; 69:10; 77:1, 21; 91:10; 93:1; 99:11 (written *rdi<t>*); 107 right:1; 116:1; 134:1; 145 right:1; 197:13; 227 left:5; 230:4

and in the following formulas:

rdi.t irp “giving wine” 95 right:[1]; 122:1; 163 left:[1]; 166:1; 189:[1]; 195:1; 253 bottom:1

rdi.t irt.t “giving milk” 55:1

rdi.t' (hr ntr) “laying a hand (upon the god)” 18:1

rdi.t' bw “giving lettuce” 127:[1]; 214:1; 254:1

rdi.t wsh “giving a broad collar” 99:1; 145 left:1; 190:1

rdi.t wd3 “giving a pectoral collar” 98:1

rdi.t pr “giving the house” 26:1; 187:1

rdi.t mnht “giving cloth” 34:1; 160:1

rdi.t md.t “giving ointment” 30:1; 129:[1]

rdi.t rnp.wt “giving fresh flowers” 116:[1]; 125:1; 171:1; 174:1

rdi.t rnp.wt nb.(w)t “giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers” 4:1; 82 middle:1; 85 left:[1]; 93:1; 134:1; 215 right:1

+ *nfr.(w)t w'b.(t)* “good and pure” 165 left:1

rdi.t hq.w “giving onions” 123:1

rdi.t sntr “giving incense” 2:1; 94:1; 173:1; 230:1; 236 right:[1]

rdi.t š't “giving a sha't cake” 11:1

rdi.t šb.t “giving a clepsydra” 168:1; 191:1

rdi.t kbh “giving libation” 193:1

(9) *imi* (imperative) “give, place,” etc. 228:4(10) *di* as nominal emphatic (second tense) *sdm.n=f*

di.n=(i) wi m hr.t-tp=k d.t “(I) have placed myself as your uraeus forever” 1:9

di.n=f s(w) r nh “He has placed himself at the tow-rope” 37:27

di.n=(i) snd=k m t3.w [...] “(I) have placed the fear of you in the flat lands [...]" 191:5

[*di.n=(i) šfy.t=k m ib.w p't rhy.t*] “[I have placed] your awesomeness in the hearts of the p't-nobility and the rhy.t-commoners” 194:5

*di.n=(i) n=k*nominal emphatic (second tense) *sdm.n=f*

di.n=(i) n=k “I have given to you ...” 4:4; 16:3; 58:6; 163:left, behind vulture's tail; 165 right:5; 167:[8]; 209:[3–4]; 222:9; 227 right:9, 10; 253 top:[3]–4

and with the following objects

3w.t-ib “joy” 141:11; 208 right:7

3w.t-ib [...] *mi R'* “all joy [...] like Re” 166:9

3w.t-ib nb “all joy” 4:11; 12 left:6; 13:4; 15:2; 18:6; 19:4; 28:7; 30:5; 31:6; 40:6; 45:6; 57:4; 90:[6]; 91:5; 126:3; 130:4; 132:8; 136 top:8; 140 right:6; 144:3; 146 right:5; 164 left:5; 208 left:5; 238:4

+ *mi R'* “like Re” 184:5; 252 left:2

+ *r frd=k nb t3.wy [s3=(i)]* “to your nose, (O) lord of the Two Lands, (my) [so]n” 115:2–3

3w.t-ib nb hr=i “all joy on my part” 24:9 (*hr=t*); 34:5; 43:6; 54:15; 100:5; 196:3

+ *snb nb hr=i mi R' d.t* “all health on my part like Re forever” 124:3–6

+ *kn.t nb, nht nb* “all valor, all victory” 81 left:3–5

3w.t-ib nb, snb nb mi R' “all joy, all health like Re” 206 bottom:1

3w.t-ib, snb “joy and health” 200:8

i3.t=i, s.t=i “my office and my seat” 237:4

i3.t=i, s.t=i, ns.t=i “my office, my seat, and my throne” 1:6; 14:4 + *h'.w=i wn=(i) tp t3 mi R'* “(and) my lifetime when (I) was on earth like Re” 190:6

+ *h'.w=i wn tp-t3, Km.t Dšr.t hr s.t-hr=k, pd.t psd.t hr tb.ty=k* “(and) my lifetime existing on earth, the Black Land and Red Land being under your supervision, (and) the Nine Bows being under your sandals” 193:8

+ *h'.w=i m nb n t3 nb* “(and) my lifetime as lord of every land” 82 right:4

i3.t=i n bi.ty, nsy.t=i n wn=(i) tp t3 “my office of ancestral king, and my kingship of when (I) was on earth” 102:3–4

i3.t=i n nsw d.t sp 2 “my office of king forever and ever” 153:8

i3.t=i n nsw-bl.ty “my office of dual king” 138:28

+ *h'.w=i n wn=(i) tp t3* “(and) my lifetime of when (I) was on earth” 32:11

i3.t Itmw “the office of Atum” 133:10

isw iry m nh w3s, h'.w n R', rnp.wt Itmw “the reward thereof consisting of life and dominion, the lifetime of Re, the years of Atum” 178:12–16

- nḥ* [...] “life [...]” 197:21
nḥ wṯs “life and dominion” 98:4; 141:9; 186 bottom:8; 193:7; 197:23; 221 right:4
 + *mī Rʿ* “like Re” 59:7
 + *ḳn.t nb, nḥt nb [m]i Rʿ* “all valor, all victory [lik]e Re” 211:3
 + *r [fnd]=k nb tṣ.wy* “to your [nose], (O) Lord of the Two Lands” 154:6
 + *snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb mī Rʿ* “all health and all joy like Re” 251 left, beneath Re’s fist, not recorded by Nelson
nḥ wṯs nb “all life and dominion” 12 left:10; 14:8; 20:5; 55:3; 140 right:4
 + *ḥr=i* “on my part” 34:3; 43:5; 123:3–4
 + *mī Rʿ* “like Re” 168:7
nḥ wṯs nb, rn[p]=k mī it=k Rʿ “all life and dominion, that you may be reju[vena]ted like your father Re” 81 middle:4
nḥ wṯs nb, ṣw.t-ib nb, mī Rʿ “all life and dominion, all joy, like Re” 216:1
nḥ wṯs nb, ṣw.t-ib snb nb mī Rʿ “all life and dominion, and all joy and health like Re” 169:6
nḥ [wṯs] nb, snb “all life and [dominion] and health” 143:9
nḥ wṯs nb, snb nb “all life and dominion, all health” 97:8; 194:4; 239:3
nḥ wṯs nb, snb nb, ṣw.t-ib nb mī Rʿ “all life and dominion, all health, all joy like Re” 43:11
nḥ wṯs nb, snb nb, ṣw.t-ib nb ḥr=i “all life and dominion, all health, all joy on my part” 139:4–6
nḥ ḏd wṯs “life, stability, and dominion” 208 right:6; 249 bottom right:2
 + *mī sṣ ḥm mī ḳd=k* “like (what is done for) an effective son of your type” 71:9
nḥ ḏd wṯs [...] “all life, stability, dominion [...]” 159:4
nḥ ḏd wṯs, snb nb “all life, stability, dominion, and health” 24:5
nḥ ḏd wṯs nb “all life, stability, and dominion” 19:3; 29:2; 40:4; 45:4; 53:41; 64:1–2; 73:5; 85 left:5; 113:5; 114:5; 125:5; 128:2; 132:6; 134:5; 146 right:3; 187:9; 225:2; 238:3
 + *ḥr=i* “on my part” 54:14; 81 right:3
 + *mī Rʿ* “like Re” 187:4
 + *mī Rʿ ḏ.t* “like Re forever” 77:15–16;
 + *ṣw.t-ib nb mī Rʿ* “(and) all joy like Re” 172:3
 + *snb* “(and) health” 115:7
 + *snb nb* “(and) all health” 99:3; 160:4; 205 right:3; 215 right:4; 250 right:5; 251 right:3
 + *ḳn.t nb, nḥt nb* “all valor and all victory” 235:9–10
 + *ḥr=i* “on my part” 79:4
 + *ḏ.t* “forever” 209:11
 + *snb nb, ṣw.t-ib nb* “all health and all joy” 36:13; 164 right:3
 + *mī Rʿ ḏ.t nḥḥ* “like Re forever and eternally” 205 right:7–9
 + *ḥṣ=s mī Rʿ* “surrounds her like Re” 244:3
 + *ḥr=s* “on her part” 163 right:5
ḥʿ.w[=i] ... “[my] lifetime ...” 158:4
ḥʿ.w=i m nb [tṣ.wy] mī [Rʿ] rʿ nb “my lifetime as lord [of the Two Lands] like [Re] every day” 174:6
ḥʿ.w=i m nsw “my lifetime as king” 23:3; 60:3; 132:5; 147:6; 153:7; 155:6
 + *mī Rʿ rʿ nb* “like Re every day” 106:20
 + *ḥʿ.ti mī Rʿ* “you being risen like Re” 34:6
 + *tṣ.wy* “of the Two Lands” 146 left:9
 + *ḏ.t* “forever” 45:8; 224:5–6
 + *ḏ.t sp sn* “forever and ever” 101:7–8
ḥʿ.w=i n wn=(i) tp tṣ “of my being on earth” 90:9
ḥʿ.w=k r wnn ḥr.t “your lifetime as long as heaven exists” 138:29; 145 left:11
ḥʿ n p.t, nsy.t n imy sy “the lifetime of heaven and the kingship of the one who is in it” 77:10
ḥʿ.w n Rʿ “the lifetime of Re” 1:8; 14:5; 24:7; 35:3; 54:7; 76:26–27; 82 right:3; 84 middle left:[1]; 131:3; 136 top:9; 145 left:4; 146 left:13; 206 top:3–4; 223:3; 227 left:9; 242:[4]; 246:2; 250 right:2
 + *ḏ.t* “forever” 120:1
 + *nḥḥ* “(and) eternally” 120:[1]
 + *sp 2* “two times” 222:3
 + *wsr n Ṣw Tfnw.t* “(and) the power of Shu and Tefnut” 168:8
 + *nsy.t ḥr m P Dp* “(and) the kingship of Horus in Pe and Dep” 71:5–8
 + *rnp.wt Itmw* “(and) the years of Atum” 169:4–5
 + *rnp.wt n Itmw* “(and) the years of Atum” 54:[7–8]; 164 right:4; 166:3; 195:5; 213 right:4; 214:10; 227 middle:9; 231 left:2–3; 257:9
 + *mī Rʿ* “like Re” 187:5
 + *ns.t Gb, [i]ṣ:t=i ḥr=i [nsy.t] ḥr m ṣw.t-ib, ḥṣ.t nb ḥr tḅ.ty=k* “the throne of Geb and my off[ice] on my part and the [kingship] of Horus in joy, and every hill country under your sandals” 226:10–14
 + *ḥṣ.t nb ḥr tḅ.ty=k* “all foreign countries being under your sandals”: 252 left:3
 + *ḥʿ.t ḥr tṣ.t n.t ḥbw-sd mī Rʿ rʿ nb* “you being risen on the dais of jubilees like Re every day” 238:5
 + *tṣ.w ḥṣ.wt ʿrf m ḥf=k* “the flat lands and hill countries being enclosed in your grasp”
 + *n ḥsf=k* “while your arm is not opposed” 20:8
 + *ḏ.t sp sn* “forever and ever” 28:9
 + *rnp.wt=f m ḥḳṣ Iwnw* “(and) his years as ruler of Heliopolis” 61:3–4
 + *ḥʿ.t ḥr ns.t Itmw* “you being manifest on the throne of Atum” 9:3
wsrw m nṯr “power as a god” 145 left:5
wsr=i, pḥ.ty=i “my power and my strength” 147:5
pḥ.ty=i m nsw “my strength as king” 20:7
pḥ.ty=i r ḥṣ.wt nb.(wt) “my strength against all hill countries” 35:5
pḥ.ty nb.wy “the strength of the Two Lords”

- + *m nḥ wṯs* “with life and dominion” 140 right:18; 144:9
 + *nḥt.w=sn* “(and) their victories” 154:13
 + *rnp.ti ḏ.t* “you being made young forever” 64:3
[pḏ.t] pṣ[ḏ.t], mn.[ti] ḥr s.t-Ḥr “the [Ni]ne [Bows], [you] being
 establish[ed upon] the throne of Horus” 227 left:10
pḏ.t pṣḏ.t dmd “the Nine Bows gathered together” 135
 bottom right:[3]; 140 right:16
mnw=k mn.(w) “your monument, enduring”
 + *sp 2* “two times” 131:6
 + *mi p.t* “like heaven” 22:3-5; 140 right:12; 153:12; 163
 left:[6]
 + *ḥ'.w=k mi itn [im=]* “your lifetime (being) like (that
 of) the solar disk [in it]” 81 right:4
 + *rd [...]* “(and) being firm [...]” 83 middle:3
mrwt=k wr.ti mi R' “your love, it being great like Re” 141:12
nḥḥ m nḥ wṯs “continuity in life and dominion” 2:12; 183:6
nḥḥ m nsw “continuity as king” 3:5; 26:4; 84 right:4; 250
 right:4
 + *ḥ'.t ḥr ns.t 'Itmw* “you being risen on the throne of Atum”
 76:30-31
 + *ḏ.t m ḥkḥ ḥw.t-ib, ḥṯ.wt nb.(w)t ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “(and) forever as
 joyful ruler, all foreign countries (being) under your
 sandals” 68:4-6
 + [...] 84 right:4
nḥḥ m nsw tṯ.wy “eternity as king of the Two Lands” 2:5; 59:5;
 143:13; 146 right:6; 164 right:5; 184:2
 + *ḏ.t sp 2* “forever and ever” 102:5; 140 left:11
 + *mi R'* “like Re” 177:3
 + *ḥ'.ti mi R'* “you being manifest like Re” 33:4-5
 + *Šm'w Mḥw 'rf m ḥf=k* “Southern and Northern Egypt
 being enclosed in your grasp” 10:4
 + *ḏ.t m ḥkḥ ḥw.t-ib* “(and) forever as ruler of joy” 81 left:6;
 136 top:10; 196:4
 + *ḏ.t m ḥkḥ pḏ.t pṣḏ.t* “(and) forever as ruler of the Nine
 Bows” 86:1; 89:4-5
nḥḥ m ḥbw-sd “an eternity of jubilees” 174:4
nḥḥ [... ḏ].t sp 2 “eternity [... ev]erlastingly, two times” 166:6
nḥt “victory” 221 left:4; 229:7
nḥt [...] “victory [...]” 184:3
nḥt nb “all victory” 1:4; 22:9; 110:4; 130:3; 133:5; 134:13; 136
 top:[4]; 138:5
 + *ḥr=i* “on my part” 100:4
 + *mi R'* “like Re” 189:2
nḥt nb, snb nb mi R' “all victory and all health like Re” 219:5
nḥt.w ḥpš=i “the victories of my sword” 2:3
 + *pḥ.ty=i, wsr=i* “my strength and my power” 35:6
 + *tṯ.w nb.w, ḥṯ.wt nbwt m ksw n bḥw ḥm=k ḏ.t sp 2* “all lands
 (and) all foreign countries being in obeisance to
 the power of your person forever and ever” 99:6
 + *ḥṯ.wt nb.t ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “all foreign countries being under
 your sandals” 84 left:[4]
 + *r ptp.t ḥṯ.wt bšt.w(t), Km.t ḏšr.t dmd m ḥf=k ḏ.t sp [2]* “in
 order to trample the rebellious foreign countries, the
 Black Land and the Red Land being gathered in your
 grasp forever and ever” 35:7
 + *[w'f=(i)] n=k pḏ.t pṣḏ.t ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “[as (I) subdue] for you
 the Nine Bows beneath your sandals” 33:6
nḥt.w ḥpš=i, pḥ.ty=i, wsr=i, ḥṯ.wt nb.wt ḥr ṯb.ty=k ḏ.t sp 2 “the
 victories of my strong arm, my strength and my
 power, all foreign countries being under your sandals
 forever and ever” 101:9
ns.t 'Itmw “the throne of Atum” 60:6-7
ns.t Gb “the throne of Geb” 133:9; 138:16; 146 left:6
 + *iṯ.t 'Itmw* “(and) the office of Atum” 30:6; 168:4
 + *iṯ.t n 'Itmw* “(and) the office of Atum” 209:5
 + *iṯ.t Wnn-nfr ḥṯ.wt nb ḥr ṯb.ty=k n ḥsf.ty=k* “(and) the
 office of Wenennefer, all foreign countries being
 under your sandals, without (there being) your
 opponent” 77:6-9
nsy.t [...] “kingship [...]” 58:12
nsy.t iri.n=i “the kingship which I exercised” 26:5
nsy.t 'Itmw ... “the kingship of Atum ...” 85 left:6
nsy.t=i m nsw “my reign as king” 3:6; 98:3
nsy.t=(i) rnp.wt n 'Itmw “(my) kingship and the years of Atum”
 171:5
nsy.t=i tp-tṯ “my kingship/reign on earth”
 + *ḥ'.ti mi R'* “you appearing like Re” 90:10
 + *ḏ.t sp 2* “forever and ever” 93:8
nsy.t wḥ tp-tṯ, ḥ'.ti m nsw-bi.ty ḥr s.t Ḥr mi R' ḏ.t “an enduring
 kingship on earth, you arising as dual king upon the
 throne of Horus like Re forever” 32:10
nsy.t R' “the kingship of Re” 3:10; 21:3; 28:5; 29:4; 102:8;
 132:4; 138:23; 156:3; 177:2; 190:3
nsy.t Ḥr “the kingship of Horus” 138:34
 + *tp tṯ* “on earth” 138:[34]
 + *[mi] R'* “[like] Re” 144:7-8
nsy.t Gb “the kingship of Geb” 61:5
nsy.t n.w tṯ.wy mi R' “the kingship of the Two Lands like
 Re” 175 right:4
nsy.t tṯ.wy, pḏ.t pṣḏ.t dmd ḥr ṯb.ty=k ḏ.t sp 2 “the kingship of the
 Two Lands, the Nine Bows being gathered under your
 sandals, two times” 209:9-10
rn=k mn, sp 2 “your name enduring, two times” 2:4
rn=k mn mi p.t ḏ.t sp sn “your name enduring like heaven
 forever and ever” 214:7
rnp.wt=i m nsw “my years as king” 141:7
 + *tṯ.wy* “(of) the Two Lands” 114:6
rnp.wt 'Itmw “the years of Atum” 1:5; 14:[6]; 21:4; 28:6; 35:4;
 131:9; 140 left:6; 250 right:3
rnp.wt n 'Itmw “the years of Atum”
 + *[iṯ.t] n [...]* “(and) [the office] of” 118:3
rnp.wt nḥḥ “years of eternity” 23:4; 24:6; 88:5; 95 left:3; 100:6;
 102:7; 119:8; 131:5; 134:14; 138:15; 145 right:8
 + *m nḥ wṯs* “in life and dominion” 101:10; 154:7, 10-12;
 155:7

- + *ir=k ḥbw-sd mi ʾItmw* “that you may celebrate jubilees like Atum” 29:6
- + *ḥʿ.ti mi Rʿ* “you being arisen like Re” 97:5–6
- + *ḥʿ.ti m ḥkꜣ ʒw.t-ib mi iri.n=k hrr.t ib=i m mnw nfrw* “you being arisen as joyful ruler inasmuch as you have made what delights my heart, consisting of goodly monuments” 46:3–6
- + *m nsw-tꜣ.wy, ḥʿ.t m nsw-bi.ty Šmʿw Mḥw mi Rʿ d.t* “as king of the Two Lands, you being arisen as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt like Re forever” 12 right:3
- + *smꜣ m ʿnh wꜣs* “united with life and dominion” 106:26
- rnp.wt Rʿ* “the years of Re” 140 right:10
- + *wsrw n Šw Tfnw.t* “(and) the power of Shu and Tefnut” 153:13
- rnp.wt ḥtp.w* “peaceful years” 96:3
- rsyt mḥt.t* “the south and the north” 146 right:10
- + *imnt.t iꜣbt.t dmd* “(and) the west and east together” 131:[10]; 145 right:9
- + *mi Rʿ rʿ nb* “like Re every day” 171:6
- + *ḥꜣs.t nb.(t) ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “every foreign country being under your sandals” 116:8
- ḥw* (n.) “provisions, food” 2:8; 4:10
- + *rsf nb* “(and) all catch (of fish and fowl)” 140 right:7
- + *dfꜣw* “(and) food” 140 right:17
- + *dfꜣw nb* “(and) all food” 142:8
- + *ḥr=i* “in my presence” 176:3
- ḥw nb* “all food” 12 left:4; 94:5; 138:12; 144:4; 159:9; 165 left:6; 167:9
- + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 172:5
- + *dfꜣw nb* “(and) all food” 18:9; 99:5; 102:9; 168:5; 246:4
- ḥb-sd wr.t* “great jubilee” 138:19
- ḥb.w-sd* “jubilees”
- + *sꜣ wr.t* “very many” 79:5–7
- + *n Rʿ* “of Re” 12 right:5; 147:7
- ḥfn.w m rnp.wt* “myriads of years” 12 right:4; 138:22; 147:8
- + [*ḥʿ.ti mi Rʿ*] “[you being arisen] like [Re]” 139:11
- ḥfn.w m ḥb.w-sd* “myriads of jubilees” 3:11; 39:6–7; 57:3; 91:[4]; 95 left:2; 131:8; 140 left:5
- + *ḥʿ.ti m nsw ḥr s.t-Ḥr n.t ʿnh.w* “you being arisen on the throne of Horus of the Living” 27:10
- ḥḥ m rnp.wt ḥʿ.ti m nsw-bi.ty Šmʿw Mḥw, tꜣ.w, ḥꜣs.wt ḥr ṯb.ty[=k nn] ḥsf ʿ=k* “a million years, you being arisen as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt, flat lands and hill countries being under [your] sandals, your arm being [unop]posed” 47:10
- ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt* “millions of years” 3:4; 28:8; 91:[6]
- + *ḥʿ.ti m nsw-bi.ty ḥr s.t Ḥr, ḥꜣs.wt nb.(wt) ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “you appearing as dual king on the throne of Horus, all foreign countries (being) under your sandals” 39:10
- + *ḥfn.w m ḥb.w-sd [...]* “(and) myriads of jubilees [...]” 16:5; 84 middle right:4; 137:[14–15]
- + *ḥfn.w m ḥb.w-sd* “(and) myriads of jubilees”
- + *mi wd.n it=k, nb nṯr.w, tꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt ḥr ṯb.ty=k d.t sp 2* “inasmuch as your father, the lord of the gods, has ordained that the flatlands and hill countries be under your sandals forever and ever” 49:2–6
- + *d.t <m> ʒw.t-ib* “forever <in> joy” 165 left:5
- ḥḥ.w m ḥb.(w)-sd [...]* “millions of jubilees [...]” 54:16; 91:4; 58:11
- ḥḥ.w m ḥb.(w)-sd* “millions of jubilees” 26:3; 106:24–25; 108:15; 227 middle:10
- + *mi Rʿ d.t* “like Re forever” 33:12
- + *ḥfnw m rnp.wt ḥtp.w* “(and) myriads of years <in> peace” 192:9–11
- + *ḥʿ.ti m nsw-bi.ty Šmʿw Mḥw, ʒw ib=k, ḥkꜣ=k tꜣ.wy, dd.ti mi Rʿ* “you being arisen as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt, that your heart might be joyful and that you might rule over the Two Lands, you being stable like Re” 34:7
- + *ḥʿ.ti ḥr s.t Ḥr n.t ʿnh.w mi Rʿ rʿ nb* “you being arisen on the throne of Horus of the living like Re every day” 176:4
- ḥkꜣ nhꜣḥꜣ* “the crook and the flail”
- + *iꜣ.t=i, s.t=i, ns.t=i* “my office, my seat, and my throne” 49:19–20
- + *ʿnh wꜣs r fnd=k* “(and) life and dominion to your nose” 79:8–9
- + *ḥʿ.ti mi Rʿ* “you being arisen like Re” 46:17
- + *tꜣ nb ḥr rd.wy=k* “every land (being) under your feet” 171:7
- + *d.t sp sn* “forever and ever” 175 left:3
- ḥtp nb, dfꜣw nb, snb nb, ʒw.t-ib nb mi Rʿ* “every offering, all provisions, all health, (and) all joy like Re” 250 left:4
- ḥtp.w ʿk.w* “offerings of loaves” 138:20
- ḥꜣs.wt nb.w(t)* “all foreign countries” 17:5; 93:7
- ḥꜣs.t nb ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “every foreign country under your sandals” 161:7
- ḥʿw n Rʿ d.t sp sn* “the diadems of Re forever and ever” 145 right:4
- s.t=i, ns.t=i* “my seat and my throne” 56:5; 90:8; 138:27
- + *ḥʿ.w=i wn tp-tꜣ* “and my lifetime upon earth” 245:5
- + *mi Rʿ d.t* “like Re forever” 165 left:7; 254:7
- + *d.t* “forever” 134:7
- + *d.t sp sn* “forever and ever” 25:6; 144:5; 155:9; 177:1
- snb* “health” 141:10
- snb, ʒw.t-ib nb* “health and all joy” 248:3
- snb nb* “all health” 12 left:11; 14:9; 16:4; 18:5; 20:6; 29:3; 31:5; 40:5; 45:5; 55:4; 83 middle:2; 84 right:3; 85 left:5; 85 right:5; 119:2; 125:6; 128:3; 132:7; 134:6; 136 top:7; 138:9; 140 right:5; 146 right:4; 157:4
- + *ʒw.t-ib nb* “(and) all joy” 174:5; 235:4; 243 middle:5
- + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 175 left:4
- + *ḥr=i* “in my presence, on my part” 34:4; 81 middle:3; 196:2 (*s<n>b*)
- + *kn.t nb* “(and) all valor” 173:5
- + *d.t* “forever” 190:4
- shꜣ itn* “what the solar disk illuminates” 146 left:7

- snb nb* (cont.)
 + *d.t sp sn* “forever and ever” 12 left:6
- šd nb itn*, *ḥʿ.w n p.t, rwd mnw=k, nb t3.wy* “all that the solar disk illuminates, (and) the lifetime of the sky, that your monuments may endure, (O) Lord of the Two Lands” 23:9
- šnm itn* “what the solar disk encircles” 146 left:8
- ḳn.t* “valor” 221 left:3; 229:6
- ḳn.t nb* “all valor” 1:3; 22:8; 31:4; 110:3; 130:2; 133:4; 134:12; 136 top:3; 138:4; 166:10; 176:2; 222:7; 241:6; 247:4; 250 left:3; 253 bottom:4
 + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 187:8; 241:2; 254:6
 + *nḥt nb* “(and) all victory” 33:11; 159:5; 172:4; 235:3; 243 middle:4; 251 right:4
 + *ph.ty=k mi sʿ [Nw.t]* “your strength being like (that of) the son of [Nut] (= Seth)” 171:8
 + *snb nb mi Rʿ* “all health like Re” 208 right:8
 + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 256:4
 + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 252 right:4
 + *snb nb* “(and) all health” 164 left:4
 + *snb nb mi Rʿ d.t* “all health like Re forever” 236 right:6-7
- ḳn.t, nḥt* “valor and victory” 3:3; 131:4; 145 right:3
 + *wsr n ḥpš=k* “(and) might to your strong arm” 47:5
 + *wsr-ib, šḥmw ḥpš=k* “stoutheartedness and the power of your strong arm” 108:5-7
 + *ḥr=i* “on my part” 59:3-4
- ḳn.t, nḥt nb* “all valor and victory” 10:2; 94:4; 99:4; 142:7; 239:2; 248:2
 + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 163 right:4-5
 + *ḥr=i* “on my part” 2:10-11
- ḳn.t r rsy.t, nḥt r mḥt.t* “valor against the south and victory against the north” 6:3; 164 right:[2]; 168:6
 + *ḥ3.s.t nb.t ḥr ḥb.ty=k, pd.t psd.t [m n]d.wt ḥm=k* “all hill countries being under your sandals, (and) the Nine Bows [being un]derlings of your incarnation” 18:8
 + *t3.w ḥ3.s.wt ʿrfm ḥfʿ=k, n ḥsfʿ=k* “flat lands and hill countries being enclosed in your grasp, your arm not being opposed” 26:6
 + *t3.w nb.w, ḥ3.s.t nb.(t), pd.t psd.t wʿ[f] ḥr ḥb.ty=k* “all flat lands, every foreign hill country, and the Nine Bows being subdue[ed] under your sandals” 237:5
 + *[t3.w] ḥ3.s.wt m ksw, inw=sn ḥr psd=sn* “[flat lands and] hill countries being in submission, their products on their backs” 161:6
 + *d.t* “forever” 190:5
- ḳn.t r ḥ3.s.t nb* “valor against every foreign country” 251 left:4
- ḳn.t r ḥ3.s.wt nb.(wt), ḥry.t=k m ib pd.t psd.t, iw n=k wr.(w)=sn mi wʿ* “valor against all the hill countries, dread of you being in the hearts of the Nine Bows, as their chiefs come to you as one” 194:6
- Km.t Dšr.t* “Black Land and Red Land” 12 left:12; 103:4; 146 left:14; 163 right:[6]
 + *ḥ3.s.t nb d[mḍ]* “(and) every foreign country g[athered together]” 142:9
- + *dmd [ḥr] ḥb.ty=k* “gathered [under] your sandals” 156:9-11; 184:6
- t3.wy m ḥtp.w* “the Two Lands as peaceful ones” 76:13-14
- t3.w m ḥtp.w* “the flat lands as peaceful ones” 11:5; 17:4; 23:5; 57:5; 116:[5]; 155:8; 160:5
 + *mi Rʿ* “like Re” 4:5
 + *ḥ3.s.wt nb.(wt) ḥr rd.wy=k* “all hill countries being under your feet” 157:8
 + *d.t sp sn* “forever and ever” 107 right:11
- t3.w nb.w* “all flat lands” 83 right:[4]; 93:6; 138:18; 140 right:11; 145 left:10; 165 left:4; 213 right:2; 225:3
 + *ḥr snd=k* “under the fear of you” 193:6
 + *pd.t psd.t dmd ḥr ḥb.ty=k d.t sp sn* “the Nine Bows gathered under your sandals forever and ever” 191:6
 + *pd.t psd.t wʿf ḥr ḥb.ty=k, n ḥsfʿ=k* “the Nine Bows being subdued under your sandals, [your arm] not being opposed” 161:3-5
 + *ḥ3.s.t nb.t ḥr ḥb.ty=k* “and every hill country under your sandals” 252 right:5
 + *ḥ3.s.t nb.(t)* “every foreign land” 138:33; 200:7
 + *dmd* “gathered together” 159:6
 + *ḥ3.s.wt nb.wt* “(and) all foreign lands/hill countries” 4:12; 12 left:7; 56:9; 80:4 (written *t3.wy*); 97:4; 132:9; 140 left:10
 + *wʿf ḥr ḥb.ty=k iw n=k wr=sn mi wʿ 3tp.(w) ḥr psd.w=sn* “subdued under your sandals, as their chiefs come to you as one, laden on their backs” 92:2
 + *wʿf=i n=k pd.t psd.t di=i b3w=k ḳm3=i ššf.t=k m ib [mr(r)]* “as I subdue for you the Nine Bows; I have caused that you might be powerful; (and) I create your awesomeness with a lo[ving] heart” 97:7
 + *pd.t psd.t dmd ḥr ḥb.ty=k di=i iwt n=k wrw=sn mi wʿ snd.(w) n šfy.t=k* “the Nine Bows being gathered under your sandals, I cause their chiefs to come to you as one, (being) fearful because of your awesomeness” 73:6
 + *ḥr ḥb.ty=k* “under your sandals” 166:[4]
 + *dmd* “gathered” 115:8; 146 right:11; 165 left:[4]
 + *dmd ḥr ḥb.ty=k* “gathered under your sandals” 13:7; 82 middle:4
 + *dmd ḥr ḥb.ty=k* “gathered under your sandals” 227 middle:11
- t3.w pd.t psd.t dmd* “the flat lands and the Nine Bows gathered” 10:3
- t3.w Fnḥw, ḥry.t=k m ib wr.w=sn, ḥ3.s.wt nb.w(t) ḥr ḥb.ty=k mi Rʿ d.t* “the Fenkhu-lands, dread of you being in the hearts of their chiefs, (and) all foreign countries being under your sandals like Re forever” 17:7
- t3.w Fnḥw dmd ḥr ḥb.ty=k* “the Fenkhu-lands gathered under your sandals” 14:10
- dḥw* “provisions” 2:9
- dḥw nb* “all provisions” 4:9; 12 left:5; 15:3; 45:7; 94:6; 138:13; 194:3; 235:7
- [...]=*i nsy.t=i n wn-[mʿ], rwd [rn=k] mitt ḥry.t, mp.wt=k mi itn im=š* “my [...], and my true kingship, that [your name]

- might flourish (as) the likeness of the sky, your years
being like the solar disk in it” 92:3
- [...] *mi R* “[...] like Re” 90:5
- [...] *nḥḥ* “[...] eternally” 90:7
- [...] *m rnp.wt* “[...] of years” 91:6
- [...] *nb* “all ...” 13:5
- [...] *ḥʿs.t nb* “every foreign country” 215 left:5
- [...] *ḥʿi* = *t m nsw-bi.ty ḥr s.t Ḥr* “[...] you [appear]ing as dual king
on the throne of Horus” 15:4
- [...] *ḥʿf=k* “[...] in] your [gra]sp” 166:5
- [...] *snḏ n šfy.t=k* “[...] being fearful due to the respect of
you” 83 right:1-3
- [...] *Šw Tfḥw.t ḥʿs.t nb ḥr tḥ.ty=k* “[...] Shu and Tefnut, every
foreign land being under your sandals” 188

h

- hʿw* (n.) “period (of time)” 137:26 (spelled *hw*)
- hm* (adj.vb.) “to be subdued” 52:20
- hmhm.t* (n.) “war cry” 7:14; 53:20
- hnw* (n.) “praises” 62:10
- hr(r)* (adj.vb.) “to be pleased” 7:22; 25:6; 38:7, 24; 46:5 (*hrr.t*);
53:30 (participle *hrr.wt* spelled *hrr.ty*); 137:29; 151:27;
199:13 (*hr(r).wt*) with *hr* + object “to be pleased with”
7:5; 237:7
- hrw* (n.) “day” 216:6

ḥ

- ḥʿ* (prep.) “around/surround” 7:27; 23:1; 46:11; 48:1, 2; 74:2;
110:1; 163 right:4; 192:15; 202:5; 244:3
see also *pḥr ḥʿ* “to go round-about”
see Appendix C
- ḥʿ* (vb.) “to be naked” 227 middle:2-3; 227 right:5
- (*m*) *ḥʿw-ḥr* (compound prep.) “in excess of” 77:21; 151:24;
180:13
- ḥʿ.t* (n.) “forehead” 216:8
- ḥʿ.t* (n.) “best (thing)” 219:6
- ḥʿ.t* (n.)
(1) “breast” in *iwf n ḥʿ.t* (n.) “breast cut of meat” 65:16C
(2) “prow” in *wsr-ḥʿ.t* “mighty-of-prow” (river barge of
Amun) 37:27-28; 151:34; 152:[11]; see *ʿmn wsr-ḥʿ.t*
- (*hr*) *ḥʿ.t* (compound prep.) “in front of” 44:32; 50:17; 53:2;
78:10; 151:26; 197:13
and in *imy.w-ḥʿ.t* “ancestors” 151:22
- ḥʿw.ty* (n.) “double-figurehead” 53:9
- ḥʿ.t* (n.) “lady-who-is-in-front” 44:[42]
- ḥʿ.ty* (n.) “heart” 197:8
- ḥʿ.t* (n.) “wick” 203 left:6
- ḥʿ.i* (vb.) “to rejoice” 49:18 (*ḥʿ.k(wi)*); 58:5 (*ḥʿ.w*); 77:4 (*ḥʿ.w.kwi*); 108:4 (*ḥʿ.k(wi)*); 137:20; 178:6 (*ḥʿ.k(wi)*), 8 (*ḥʿ.wy*);
199:11; 200:3 (*ḥʿ.kw(i)*); 226:5 (*ḥʿ.k(wi)*), [15]
- ḥʿ.wt* (n.) “rejoicing” 37:29-30
- ḥʿ.w* (n.) “limbs, flesh” 25:6; 37:17; 38:21; 51:7; 52:13; 53:51;
74:10; 105:3; 109:2; 111:8; 149:9; 180:3, 16; 195:9; 237:10
- ḥʿ.py* (n.) “inundation” 36:4
- ḥw* (n.) “provisions, food” 36:14; 220:11; see also *di.n=(i) n=k ḥw*
- ḥwi* (vb.)
(1) “to strike at (*r*) (*mrt*-boxes)” 73:1; 108:[1]; 146 left:1
(2) “to drive (calves)” 68:1; 146 right:1
- ḥw.t* (n.) “mansion, temple” 111 in front of Monthu; 197
king’s belt apron
- ḥw.wt Tḥy* (n.) “estates of Tcheny” 155:1
- ḥw.t m ʿwnw* (loc.) “the Mansion in Heliopolis” 202:14; 211:[8]
- ḥw.t-ʿbt.t* (loc.) “Mansion of the Clapnet” 44:26; see *Dḥwtw*
(div.) “Thoth”
- ḥw.t-ʿt* (n.) “great mansion” 78:1, 3; 109:[1]; 111:6, 11; 179:2;
199:6
- Ḥw.t-bnw* (loc.) “Mansion of the Phoenix” 4:17; 20:11; 23:13;
36:47; 53:35; 177:6; 202:5
see under *stp; ʿḥw*
- ḥw.t-ntr* (n.) “temple” 4:[3]; 7:2; 32:5; 33:2; 50:1, 8; 51:1; 76:32;
77:21; 78:7, 10; 97:3; 109:[1]; 111:2; 123:2; 124:2; 137:1;
139:3; 149:1, 3, 6; 150:6; 154:4, 9; 169:9; 179:5; 199:1, 4;
226:6
- Ḥw.t-Ḥr* (f. div.) “Hathor” 36:35; and with the following
epithets:
nb.t ʿwnw.t “lady of Dendera” 67:1; 106:10; 144:6
+ *nb.t p.t, Wr.t-ḥkʿw* “lady of heaven, Great-of-
Magic” 140 left:7-9
+ *nb.t p.t, ḥr.t-ib Dsrt* “lady of heaven, residing in Deir el-
Bahari” 4:6-8
+ *ḥr.t-ib Dsrt* “residing in Deir el-Bahari” 199:[10]

- nb.t P Dp imʕ(t)* “lady of Pe and Dep, the charming one” 155:10
- nb.t wɔd.t* “lady of Wadjet” 146 left:10
- nb.t p.t* “lady of heaven” 52:39
- nb.t Pwn.t* “lady of Punt” 156:8
- nb.t mfk.t* “lady of turquoise” 143:10–11
- nb.t Mɔd.t, nb.t p.t* “lady of Medjedet, lady of heaven” 146 right:7–9
- nb.t nh.t Šmʕ.t* “lady of the Southern Egyptian sycamore” 141:8
- nb.t rwd.tyw* “lady of the two shores” 157:5–6
- nb.t hwt-sħm* “lady of Hut-sekhem” 145 right:5–6
- nb.t Htp-hmw, hr.t-ib hwt-ntr ʔh [Sty mr.n.-ʔmn] m pr ʔmn* “lady of Hetephemu, residing in the temple (called) ‘Effective is [SETY-MEREN]A[MUN i]n [the Estate of] Amun” 154:8–9
- nb.t Kʔp<n>* “lady of Gub-la> (Byblos)” 142:10
- nb.t Kɔs, [nb.t p.t] hnwt tɔ.wy* “lady of Cusae, [lady of heaven], mistress of the Two Lands” 153:9–11
- nb.t tʔ dšr* “lady of the Red Land” 150:9
- nb.t Dsrw* “lady of Djoseru” (Deir el-Bahari) 232 left:9
- hnwt-tɔ.wy* “mistress of the Two Lands” 201:29–30
- hr.t-tp Wɔs.t* “chieftainess of Thebes” 145 left:7; 165 right:1; 232 left:9
- [*hr.t-tp*] *Wɔs.t, nb.t p.t, hnwt ntr.w* “chieftainess of Thebes, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods” 231 right:1–2
- Hwt-kʔ-Pth* (loc.) “Mansion-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah (at Memphis)” 52:25; 79:20; 219:12
- hwt-sr* (loc.) “Mansion of the Prince” 137:18
- Hwt-sħm* (loc.) “Hut-sekhem” 145 right:6
- Hwt-šn(y.t)* (loc.) “Hutshen(yt) (in Heliopolis)” written *Hwt-šnw* 202:9; 211:7
- hb* (n.) “festival” 206 bottom:[6]; 220:11
in *hb=fnfr n in.t* “his Beautiful Festival of the Valley” 53:51
- hb-sd* (n.) “jubilee” 7:17; 29:6; 66:2; 90:4; 148:4; 174:4; 213 left:2; 238:5
see also *hfn.w, hħ.w, di.n=(i) n=k hb-sd*
+ *ʕʔ wr.t* “very many” 118:11; 148:8–9
+ *n Rʕ rnp.wt ʔtmw* “of Re (and) the years of Atum” 109:3;
see *di=f n=k hb-sd*
+ *n Rʕ rnp.wt n ʔtmw* “of Re (and) the years of Atum” 49:12
+ *n Rʕ rnp.wt it=k ʔtmw* “of Re (and) the years of your father Atum” 118:6–7
in the following compounds:
hfn.w m hb.w-sd “myriads of jubilees” 7:7; 16:5; 49:3, 7; 52:3–4, 18, 27; 70:3, 9; 78:5; 95 left:2; 104 bottom:3; 131:8; 151:33
and see under *di.n=(i) n=k hfn.w m hb.w-sd*
hħ.w m hb.w-sd “millions of jubilees” 54:16; 79:15–16; 106:24–25; 108:15; 140 left:5; 192:10; 227 middle:10;
see under *hħ.w; di.n=(i) n=k hħ.w m hb-sd*
- hbs* (n.) “cloth” 212:7; 220:5
- hbs* (vb.) “to be clothed” 227 middle:3; 227 right:5
- hp.t* (n.) “oar” 54:1; 142:1
- hʔ.w* (n.) “a crawling posture” 107 right:7
- hfn.w* (n.) “myriad(s)” (m “of”) 43:2; 44:8; 77:5; 84 middle right:4
hfn.w m rnp.wt “myriads of years” 243 left:3
hfn.w m rnp.wt <m> htp.w “myriads of years <in> peace” 192:10–11
hfn.w m hb.w-sd “myriads of jubilees” 7:7; 16:5; 49:3, 7; 52:3–4, 18, 27; 70:3, 9; 78:5; 95 left:2; 104 bottom:3; 131:8; 151:33
see also *di.n=i n=k hfn.w; hħ.w*
- hm* (encl. part.) “indeed” 218 left:7
- hm* (n.) “incarnation, bodily form, person”
(1) of king 18:8; 37:23; 44:51; 50:17; 78:4; 99:6; 105:7; 151:23; 180:[25]
(2) of god 105:4; 106:9; 180:22; 197:15
- hm-ntr* (n.) “god’s servant, priest” 227 middle:4
- hm-ntr tpy n ʔmn* (n.) “First Prophet of Amun” 53:4
- hm-ntr snw n ʔmn-Rʕ* (title) “Second Prophet of Amun-Re” 180:25
- hmʕ* (prep.) “together with” 44:31; 53:2; 199:6; 202:6; 220:4
- hnwt* (n.) “mistress” in the following compounds:
hnwt P Dp “mistress of Pe and Dep” 44:44; see *N.t* (f. div.)
hnwt Mtr “mistress of Meter” 44:48; see *Sš.t* (f. div.)
hnwt n wɔd.w “mistress of the papyrus columns” 168:3;
see *Mw.t* (f. div.)
hnwt ntr.w “mistress of the gods” 13:6; 14:7; 29:6; 89:6; 137 left; in front of Mut; 159:8; 163 left:7; 164 left:6; 180:36; 209:[8]; 213 left:1; 213 right:5; 220:8; 231 right:2; 237:6; 241:7; 255:3
see also *Mw.t* (f. div.); *ʔmn.t* (f. div.); *Wɔd.t* (f. div.)
hnwt ntr.w nb.w “mistress of all the gods” 33:8; 36:8; 53:43–44; 107 left:5; 135 bottom right:[2]; 178:[29]–30; 208 right:4–5; 214:9; 244:2; 247:6; 250 left:2; 253 top:5
see also *Mw.t* (f. div.); *Shm.t* (f. div.); *ʔs.t* (f. div.)
hnwt [ntr.w tɔ.wy] “mistress of [the gods (and) the Two Lands]” 245:8
see *ʔs.t wr.t* (f. div.)
hnwt tɔ.wy “mistress of the Two Lands” 12 right:7; 23:8; 39:8; 47:8; 56:8; 80:6; 116:6; 138:14; 140 right:9; 153:11; 169:7; 186 bottom:7; 187:7; 195:6; 201:14, 30; 205 right:5; 238:6
see also *Nhb.t* (f. div.); *ʔmn.t* (f. div.); *Mw.t* (f. div.); *ʔs.t* (f. div.); *Tfnw.t* (f. div.); *Hwt-Hr* (f. div.)
hnwt tɔ.wy [sic] nb.w “mistress of all the flat lands” 241:4–5; see *Mw.t* (f. div.)
hnwt tɔ nb “mistress of every land” 104 bottom:8; see *Wɔs.t* (f. div.)
- hnk* (n.) some sort of liquid 207:18
- hnk.t* (n.) “beer” 65:16B; 72:2; 77:21; 207:18; 226:7B; 229:1
- hnk* (vb.) “to offer, present” 140 left:1; 235:1
in the following compounds:
hnk m kbhw “offering a libation” 1:1

hnw.t (cont.)

hnk m md.t “offering ointment” 32:1; 153:1; 186
bottom:[10]; 208 right:1; 222:1; 224:1; 238:1; 249
bottom left:1

hnk m irp “offering wine” 81 middle:1; 82 left:1; 85
right:1; 131:1; 140 left:[1]; 163 left:[1]; 209:1; 226:15

hnk m irt.t “offering milk” 59:1; 132:1; 155:1

hnk m mʿ.t “presenting Maʿat” 81 right:1; 156:[1]; 169:1;
235:[1]

hnk mʿ.t “presenting Maʿat” 117:1; 126:1; 136 top:1; 213
right:1; 249 bottom right not recorded; 251 left not
recorded

hnk ht “offering things” 154:1

hnk.t (n.) “offerings” 22:1; 39:2

Hr (div.) “Horus” 36:33; 42:4; 44:33; 52:38; 65:10; 66:2; 69:10;
71:7; 89:10; 105:9, 13; 106:1, 12, 30; 138:34; 140 left:1;
144:7; 148:6; 153:14; 171:17; 176:4; 201:28; 203 left:3,
5, 7; 205 right:14; 207:4, 8–11, 13–16, 21–22; 211:9; 218
middle:5; 226:14; 229:2; 230:5; 243 left:2

in *Hr whm hʿw* “Horus ‘repeating appearances’” 180:29

Hr wsr rnp.wt “Horus ‘rich in years’” 106:23

see also *Hnsw* (div.); *irt Hr*, *s.t Hr*

for royal Horus names, see Appendix B

Hr-ḥ.ty (div.) “Horakhty” 101:1–2, 9; 178:31; 198:7

see also *ʿImn-Rʿ-Hr-ḥ.ty* (div.); *Rʿ-Hr-ḥ.ty* (div.)

Hr Bhd.ty (div.) “Horus the Behdetite” 74:12; 231 left:1

Hr nb ʿh (div.) “Horus, Lord of the Palace” 74:14

Hr nb kbh (div.) “Horus, lord of the cataract” 37:7

Hr nbw “Horus-of-Gold” in king’s titulary 7:39; 37:11

Hr nbw whm hʿw wsr pd.wt m tʿ.w nb.w “Horus-of-Gold
‘Repeater of Crowns, Powerful of Bows in All Lands’”
151:7; 170

Hr nbw wsr rnpwt ʿ nhtw “Horus-of-Gold ‘Rich in Years,
Great of Victories’” 7:39; 37:11–12; 39:14; 41 right;
96:13; 118:10

Hr, ntr ʿ, nb Msn (div.) “Horus, the great god, Lord of Mesen”
69:1

Hr hry-tp tʿ.wy pd.t psd.t (div.) “Horus, chief of the Two Lands
and the Nine Bows” 179:8

Hr hn.ty kbh.(w) (div.) “Horus, foremost of the cataract” 37:5;
151:1

Hr hn.ty kbh.w (div.) “Horus, foremost of the marsh fowl”
44:6–7

Hr sʿ ʿs.t (div.) “Horus son of Isis” 74:8; 105:2

+ *ntr ʿ, hr(y)-ib ʿp.t-sw.t* “great god, residing in
Karnak” 140 left:2–4

hr (n.) “face” 39:15; 53:9; 106:9, 11; 111:10, 12; 117:2; 137:6;
151:13 (*hrw* pl.); 152:[12]; 174:10; 179:6; 207:7; 212:8

in *s.t-hr* “supervision” 53:13; 171:17; 193:8

see also *hft-hr* (compound prep.); *nfr-hr* (epithet)

hr (prep.)

- (1) + n. or pron. “on” 9:3; 12 right:12; 15:4; 18:1; 27:10;
32:10; 34:14; 39:10; 44:31, 41, 49, 51; 47:14; 53:19,
30; 65:10; 74:13; 76:7, 31; 79:3, 20; 84 bottom left;

92:2; 105:13; 106:2, 30; 107 right:10; 111:2; 137:18;
145 right:1; 150:8; 151:15; 152:15; 153:14; 154:1;
158:5; 161:[6]; 176:4; 179:15; 180:26; 186 bottom:[4];
192:[5], 14, 18; 198:[5], 8; 199:12; 200:5, 11; 207:11;
208 right:10; 218 right:[2]; 227 left:6, [10], right:[1];
230:[1], [4]; 238:5, 7; 253 top:[3]

(2) “on account of” 180:5; 207:8; 218 middle:5

(3) following verb 7:5 (*hry hr* “pleased with”); 32:7–8 (*htp hr* “satisfied with”); 101:6–7 (*htp hr*); 107 right:4–5 (*htp hr*); 152:4 (*htp hr*); 163 left:4 (*htp hr*); 165 right:3 (*htp hr*); 180:14 (*htp hr*); 205 right:12, 13 (*htp hr*); 227 left:5 (*dr ... hr*); 229:2, 3 (*htp hr*); 237:7 (*hr(r).y hr*); 257:8 (*htp.k(wi) hr*)

(4) in pseudo-verbal or first present 7:20, 23; 38:11, 21;
39:21; 42:8; 44 21, 33, 36, 50; 52:16; 53:2, 10, 12, 51;
69:10; 74:10; 76:32; 77:21; 91:10; 99:11; 151:16, 26;
180:5, 6, 12, 20; 197:13

(5) prep. “in” 168:14

hr-s(ʿ) (compound prep.), 227 middle:2 (written *hr-is*)

hry (adj. *nisbe* form of prep.) “who is on” 162:6; 166:16; 227
right:2; 240:2

in *hry s.t wrt* “who is upon the great seat” 40:2–3; 56:4;
183:2–3; 205 left:3; 206 bottom:4–5; 215 right:3; 218
left:2–3; 237:2–3

see *ʿImn-Rʿ K3-mw.t=f* (div.), *Pth* (div.)

hry s.t=f wrt “who is upon his great seat” 11:4; 18:4;
20:4; 24:3–4; 28:4; 30:3–4; 31:3; 45:3; 47:4; 88:4; 90:3; 95
right:3–4; 114:3–4; 116:4; 125:3–4; 132:3; 134:4; 141:4–
5; 143:8; 145 left:3; 146 left:5; 147:4; 153:5–6; 155:4–5;
157:2–3; 159:3; 167:7; 173:3–4; 195:3–4; 214:5–6; 219:1–
2; 221 right:2–3; 228:[2]–3; 245:4; 254:4–5; 256:2–[3]

hr(y).(t)-ib (compound prep.) “who resides in” 4:[3]; 7:1;
97:2; 225:1

in the following compounds:

hr(y)-ib ʿwn(y) “who resides in Iuny (Armant)” 111:5;
138:2; see *Mntw* (div.)

hr(y)-ib ʿp.t-s.wt “who resides in Karnak” 140 left:4; 218
middle:1; see under *ʿImn-Rʿ*

hr(y).t-ib ʿp.t-s.wt “who resides in Karnak” 2:7; 47:6–7;
52:26; 82 middle:2–[3]; 102:6; 106:21; 111:9; 115:4–5;
209:6–7; 218 right:4; 220:8; 243 middle:1–2; 246:3; see
under *ʿImn.t* (f. div.); *psd.t ʿt*; *Mw.t* (f. div.)

hr(y).t-ib ʿp.t rsy.t 39:9; 43:8–9; see also *Mw.t* (f. div.)

hr(y)-ib Wʿs.t “residing in Thebes” 50:2; 171:2, 3–4; see
also *Mntw* (div.)

hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr ʿh Sty mr.n-ʿImn m pr ʿImn “residing in the
temple Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate
of Amun” 139:3–4; 150:6–7; 154:4–[5], [9]–10

hr(y)-ib hw.t-ntr ʿh Rʿ-ms-s mry-ʿImn m pr ʿImn “residing
in the temple Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in
the Estate of Amun” 4:3–4; 7:1–3; 32:5–6; 33:2–3;
123:2–3; 124:1–3

hr(y)-ib hw.t- ʿbt.t “residing in the Mansion of the
Clapnet” 44:26; see *Dhwty* (div.)

hr.t-ib Dsrt “residing in Deir el-Bahari” 4:8; 199:[10]; see
under *Hw.t-Hr* (f. div.)

- hr(y).(t)-ib (cont.)*
 see also *ʾImn* (div.), *ʾImn-Rʿ* (div.)
- hry-tp* (n.) “chieftain” in the following compounds:
hr.t-tp Wʾs.t “chieftainness of Thebes” 145 left:7; 165 right:1; 232 left:9
 see *Hw.t-Hr* (f. div.)
hr(y)-tp p̄d.t p̄sd.t “chieftain of the Nine Bows” 200:4
hr(y)-tp p̄sd.t “chieftain of the Ennead” 36:1; 214:4; 254:5; see *ʾImn-Rʿ* (div.)
hr(y)-tp p̄sd.t ʿt “chieftain of the Great Ennead” 36:3; 39:1; 90:4; 93:5
 see *ʾImn-Rʿ* (div.)
hr(y)-tp tʿ.wy p̄d.t p̄sd.t “chieftain of the Two Lands and the Nine Bows” 179:8
 see *Hr* (div.)
- hr.t-tp* (n.) “uraeus, diadem” 1:9; 7:28; 53:10; 180:26
- hr.t* (n.) “sky” 52:18; 53:28; 92:3; 106:18; 138:[29]; 145 left:11; 180:4
- hr.t* (adj.) “upper” 202:7, 8 (written for *hr.t*); 211:5
- hry.t* (n.) “dread” 7:15; 17:7; 52:21; 53:21; 194:6
- hḥi* (vb.) “to seek” 151:20
- hḥ.w* (n.) “million(s)” 38:6, 23; 44:16; 232 right:6
 in *hḥ.w n hḥ.w* “millions of millions” 51:8–9; 111:4
hḥ.w hfn.w m “millions and myriads” 77:5
hḥ.w rnp.wt “millions <of> years” 198:6
 + *hfn.w m hb.w-sd* “(and) myriads of jubilees” 52:17–18
hḥ.w m rnp.wt “millions of years” 49:21; 76:24; see *di.n=i n=k hḥ.w m rnp.wt*
 + *hfn.w m hb.w-sd* “myriads of jubilees” 7:6–7; 16:5; 70:2–3; 78:5; 151:33
hḥ.w m hb.w-sd “millions of jubilees” 54:16; 79:15–16; 106:24–25; 108:15
 + *hḥ.w n hfn.w m rnp.[wt]* “and millions of myriads of yea[rs]” 243 left:2–3
 see *di.n=i n=k hḥ.w m hb.w-sd*
- hṣi* (vb.) “to praise” 27:4; 180:25; 206 bottom:10, 11; 230:[7]
- hṣi* (vb.) “to turn back” 230:[6]
- hsw.t* (n.) “praises” in *m hsw.t* “as a reward for” 7:[37]; 199:14
- Ḥsrt* (loc.) “Hesret” 44:26; see *Dḥwty* (div.)
- ḥkʿ* (n.) “the crook” 46:17; 52:3; 79:9; 253 top:[2]; see also *di.n=i n=k ḥkʿ nḥḥi*
- ḥkʿ* (vb.) “to rule” 34:7; 197:[24]
 in *r ḥkʿ šnn nb itn mi Rʿ* “to rule all that the sun disk encircles, like Re” 171:14–15
- ḥkʿ* (n.) “ruler” 44:13; 197:[24]
 + *ʿwt-ib* “ruler of joy” 46:4; 63:1; 68:5; 81 left:6; 136 top:10; 148:4; 166:14; 179:8; 196:4; 199:8; 256:7; see also *di.n=i n=k ʿwt-ib*
 + *ʾTwn.w* “ruler of Heliopolis” 61:4; 242:3
 + *ʿnh.w* “ruler of the living” 9:4
 + *Wʾs.t* “ruler of Thebes” 3:2; 17:3; 26:2; 94:3; 99:2; 131:2; 135 bottom left:1; 145 right:2; 166:[2]; 172:2; 175 right:2; 186 bottom:2; 190:2; 194:1–2; 196:1; 204 right:1; 216:4; 218 left:5; 219:2; 252 right:1; 261e top; 265e top; see under *ʾImn-Rʿ* (div.)
 + *p̄sd.t* “ruler of the Ennead” 36:29; 134:3; 171:4; 174:3; 193:2
 see *Mntw* (div.), *ʾImn-Rʿ* (div.)
 + *p̄d.t p̄sd.t* “ruler of the Nine Bows” 69:5; 86:1; 89:5; 226:17
 + *n tʿ nb* “ruler of all lands” 14:13; 98:[10]; 160:13; 163 right:12; 175 left:10
 + *tʿ.wy* “(ruler of) the Two Lands” 180:9
- ḥkʿt* synonym for “White Crown” 74:14
- ḥkʿ.w* (n.) “magic” see *Wrt-ḥkʿ.w* (f. div.); *Mw.t Wrt-ḥkʿ.w* (f. div.)
- ḥtp* (vb.)
 (1) “to be satisfied, content” 205 right:14
 (with *hr*) 32:7; 101:6; 107 right:4; 137:20; 152:4; 163 left:4; 165 right:3; 180:14; 205 right:11–12, 13; 229:2, 3; 257:8
 (2) “to rest” 37:33; 78:10; 158:5; 178:9; 186 bottom:3; 197:15; 226:8
 (3) “to set (of sun)” 7:20; 105:7
- ḥtp.w* (adj.) “peaceful” 96:3; 200:13
- ḥtp.w* (n.) “peaceful ones” 4:5; 11:5; 17:4; 23:5; 57:5; 107 right:11; 116:5; 155:8; 157:8; 160:5; in *tʿ.w m ḥtp.w* “the flat lands in peace” 116:[5]; 200:12–13
 see under *di.n=i n=k tʿ.w m ḥtp.w* etc.
- ḥtp* (n.) “peace” 205 right:14
 and in phrase *m ḥtp* “in peace” 108:13; 179:4–5; 192:11; 99:11; 203 left:7 (<*m*> *ḥtp*)
 in *ii.wy m ḥtp* “welcome in peace” 7:4; 54:10; 58:7; 68:3; 76:1; 77:11; 78:6–7; 106:16, 21–22; 108:13
ii ti m ḥtp “welcome in peace!” 199:10
- ḥtp* (n.) “offering” in the following combinations:
ḥtp di nsw “royal offering” 19:1; 72:1; 97:1; 202:[16], [18]; see also *ir.t ḥtp-di-nsw*
ḥtp.(w)-ntr “divine offering(s)” 77:5; 202:3, 6, 18; 203 left:7
 see also *di.n=i n=k ḥtp.w*
- ḥtp.t* (n.) “offerings” 36:36
- Ḥtp-ḥmw* (loc.) “Hetepemu” 154:8–9
- ḥtm* (vb.) “to be destroyed” 211:12
- htm* (vb.) “to provide” 207:12
- ḥtʿ* (n.), type of bread 65:14A; 207:7; 226:4A
- ḥd* (n.) “mace” 227 middle:2
- ḥd* (n.) “silver” 153:1; 154:1
- ḥd* (adj.) “white” 3:1; 6:1; 65:16D; 68 third calf; 82 right:1; 114:1; 130:[1]; 133:1; 139:1; 175 left:1; 205 right:14; 207:11; see also *t ḥd*
- ḥd* (n.) “white (fat)” 220:5
- ḥd.w* (n.) “onions” 65:19A; 123:1; 207:12; 226:2B
- ḥd.t* (n.) “White Crown” 39:15; 217:[2]; 219:11
- ḥd.t* (n.) “the bright one” (epithet of Nekhbet), see under *Nḥb.t* (f. div.)

h

- h.t* (n.) “thing(s),” usually referring to offerings 16:1; 33:1; 39:2; 42:8; 77:5, 21; 92:1; 145 right:1; 154:1; 172:1; 203 left:7 (“possession”); 204 right:2–4; 217:[2]; 218 left:6, 7, 8; 218 middle:3, 6; see also *nb ir.t h.t*
- h.t* (n.) “flame” 230:1, [4]
- h³.w* (n.) “thousands” 43:2; 44:40
- h³.t* (n.) “altar, offering table” 44:41; 77:12; 145 right:1; 218 right:2
- h³.s.t* (n.) “(foreign) hill country” 7:38; 20:8; 26:6; 28:9; 35:7; 37:21; 38:27; 47:10; 49:5; 52:24; 53:14, 18; 107 right:10; 161:6; 197:13; 243 middle:3
- h³.s.t nb* “every foreign country” 7:14; 18:8; 74:8; 138:33; 142:9; 159:6; 168:14; 197:9, 11, 24; 199:[9]; 200:7; 215 left:5; 237:5; 251 left:4
- h³.s.wt nb.w(t)* “all foreign countries” 4:12; 12 left:7; 17:5; 35:5; 52:21; 53:11, 21; 56:9; 73:6; 80:4; 82 middle:4; 92:2; 93:7; 97:[4], 7; 99:6; 115:8; 132:9; 140 left:10; 146 right:11; 158:5; 165 left:[4]; 166:[4]; 194:6
- see also *di.n=(i) n=k h³.s.wt nb.wt*
 + *hr t^b.ty=f* “under his sandals” 91:10
 + *hr rd.wy=k* “under your feet” 157:8
- h³.s.t nb hr t^b.ty=k* “every foreign country under your sandals” 88 right; 116:8; 188; 192:18; 200:13–14; 226:14; 252 left:3; 252 right:5
- + *n hsf=k* “you not being opposed” 77:8
- h³.s.wt nb.(wt) hr t^b.ty=k* “all foreign countries being under your sandals” 39:10; 68:6; 77:8–9; 84 left:4
- + *mi R^c d.t* “like Re forever” 17:7
- h³.s.wt nb.(wt) hr t^b.ty=k d.t sp 2* “all foreign countries being under your sandals forever and ever” 38:27; 101:9
- h³.s.wt nb.(wt) dm d hr t^b.ty=k* “every foreign country gathered under your sandals” 13:7
- h³.s.wt nb.(wt) dm d hr t^b.ty=k* “every foreign country gathered under your sandals” 79:19; 179:[8]; see also *di.n=i n=k t³.w nb.w ...*
- in *wfw h³.s.wt* “subduer of foreign countries” see *wf* (vb.)
 in *tp-h³.s.t* “mountain-tops” 151:12
- h^c.i* (vb.) “to appear”
- (1) as circumstantial *sdm=f* 37:23
- (2) as stative
- h^c.t* (written for *h^c.ti*) 9:3; 12 right:3; 27:10; 33:4; 34:6, 7; 39:[10]; 46:4, 17; 47:10; 52:4; 74:14; 76:31; 90:10; 97:5; 105:13; 139:[11]; 148:4, 9; 150:8; 176:4; 179:[15]; 216:7, 8; 232 right:7; 238:5
- h^c.w* 12 right:12; 34:14; 39:21; 42:8; 47:14; 64:4; 65:10 (*h^c*); 71:12; 72:7; 89:10; 91:10; 99:11; 106:30; 130:8; 153:14; 189:4; 193:15; 197:13; 198:5, 13
- (3) as perf. active part. 205 right:11 (*h^c.yt*) “she-who-appears”
- (4) prospective 198:[15]; 199:4
- (5) nominal emphatic *sdm=f* 36:18, 23, 25, 29, 36, 42; 37:32; 51:1
- (6) perf. active part. 39:15
 in *h^c m W³.s.t* 32:7; 137:11; see Appendix B
 in *h^c.i.t-nsw* “king’s appearance” 72:10 (written *h^c*); 77:21
- h^c.w* (n.)
- (1) “appearances” 7:45; 20:10; 23:13; 36:47; 53:35; 111:17; 144:12; 154:17; 180:29; 250 right:10; see also *h^c.w* in *nb h^c.w* “lord of appearances”; see under *nb h^c.w*
- (2) “diadem(s), crown(s)” 106:2; 111:2; 145 right:4; 150:8; 151:7; 164 right:[7]; 170; 171:16; 192:12, 18; 200:5, 11; 253 top:[2]; see also *di.n=(i) n=k h^c.w*
- hwi* (vb.)
- (1) “to protect” 78:4
- (2) “to prevent” + vb. 207:8
- hpr* (vb.) “to come into being” 37:15; 74:14; 180:4; 202:4
 + *m* “to proceed from, come into being with” 205 right:14
- Hpri* (div.) “Khepri” 105:7; 199:8; 202:4
 + *hr(y)-ib ...* “residing in ...” 225:1
- hprš* (n.) “Blue Crown” 39:16
- hps* (n.)
- (1) “strong arm” 105:5; 232 right:2
- (2) “foreleg (of beef)” 65:18C
- (3) in *di.n=(i) n=k* formulas “strong arm” 47:5; 101:9; 108:7 or “sword” 2:3; 99:6
 in *nh.t.w hps=i* “the victories of my sword” see *di.n=(i) n=k nh.t.w*
- (4) “scimitar” 104 bottom:8; 151:6; 170
 see also *hps, W³.s.t* (f. div.), *nb hps, nb.ty*
- hf* (vb.) written *hf.t* “to illuminate” 220:3–4, 5
- hf.t* (vb.), see under *hf* (vb.)
- hfc* (n.) “grasp” 7:19; 10:4; 20:8; 26:6; 28:9; 35:7; 36:14; 38:14; 74:8; 150:4; 166:5
- hft-hr* (compound prep.), in:
- (m) *hft-hr* (n) (compound prep.) “directly in front of” 137:22–23; 180:10
- (r) *hft-hr* “(come) (to) directly in front of” 204 right:3
- hfty* (n.) “enemy” 206 bottom:[12]; 218 middle:4
- hm* (vb.) “not to know” 53:15
- hm* (n.) “shrine” 38:14
- Hmnw* (loc.) “Hermopolis (Ashmunein)” 69:6; 44:25, 35; 49:7; 52:16; 79:14; 150:1; 198:10; 202:[16]; 211:11; 220:7; 250 right:1
 see also *nb Hmnw; Dhwti* (div.)
- hni* (vb.) “to alight, stop” 206 bottom:8; 228:6
- hnw* (vb.) “to bring a gift” 229:1
- hnp* (vb.) “to bring, present (liquid offerings)” 58:1; 71:1

- hnm* (n.) “scent” 219:11
- hnm.ty* (n.) “nostrils” (spelled *hnm.t*) 219:12
- hnn* (n.) “alighting birds” 44:8; 206 bottom:8
- hns* (n.) “a cut of meat” 207:22
- Hnsw* (div.) “Khonsu” 81 left:1, 2; 205 right:6; 208 left:1; 222:[8]; 239:1; 253 top:1
- + *m-Ws.t* “(Khonsu)-in-Thebes” 100:1; 149:2; 206 top:1-2 and with the following epithets:
- + *nb 3w.t-ib, Nfr-htp m Ip.t-sw.t* “lord of joy, Neferhotep in Karnak” 3:7-9; 43:12-14; 133:6-8
- + *Nfr-htp* “Neferhotep” 30:7-9; 38:30-31; 76:22; 136 top:[5-6]; 137:13; 176:1; 197:18-19; 200:6; 204 left:1-2; 208 left:3-4; 243 right:1; 249 bottom left:3-4
- + *m Ip.t-sw.t* “in Karnak” 36:10-11; 100:2-3; 108:12-13; 180:[30-32]
- + *nb 3w.t-ib, nb p.t* “lord of joy, lord of heaven” 46:12-15
- + *nb 3w.t-ib* “lord of joy” 160:2-3
- + *nfr 3* “great god” 166:7-8
- + [*Hr nb 3w.t-ib*] “[Horus, lord of joy]” 178:25-[27]
- + *Hr nb 3w.t-ib* “Horus, lord of joy” 106:1
- + *Nfr-htp* “Neferhotep” 7:21; 16:2; 79:8; 95 left:1; 152 under line 13, behind cabin
- + *m Ip.t-sw.t* “in Karnak” 12 left:13-14; 52:6-7
- + *nb p.t* “lord of heaven” 53:38-39
- + *nb 3w.t-ib* “lord of joy” 197:15
- hn.ty* (prep.)
- (1) “before” 52:26; 199:13; see also *ti.t R'*
- hn.ty t3.wy* “before the Two Lands” 7:45; 51:4; 104 bottom:13; 107 right:15; 160:12; 161:11; 163 right:11; 165 right:11; 169:12; 171:14; 172:11; 173:10; 174:10; 175 left:8; 178:23; 186 bottom:13; 195:12; 196:<10>; 199:20; 208 right:13; 209:17; 214:15; 215 right:13; 222:13; 238:10; 248:8; 251 left:10; 253 bottom:9; 254:12
- (2) “pre-eminent in/among” 47:14; 49:14; 105:12; 106:30; 143:5; 154:18; 203 left:1
- [*hn.ty i*] *w-m-sš* “pre-eminent in Island]-in-the-Marsh” 44:44-45; see *N.t* (f. div.)
- hn.ty Twnw Šm'w* “pre-eminent in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis” 165 left:3
- see *Imn R' Hr-3h.ty* (div.)
- hn.ty ip.t=f* “pre-eminent in his sanctuary” 28:2; 31:2; 39:4-5; 40:1; 45:2; 75:1; 88:3; 90:2-3; 95 right:3; 134:2; 135 bottom left:2; 141:1-2; 146 left:4; 159:2; 167:6; 212:3-4; 240:1; 245:1; 247:3
- see *Imn-R'* (div.), *Imn-R' K3-mw.t=f* (div.)
- hn.ty Ip.t-sw.t* “pre-eminent in Karnak” 49:14-15; 53:6; 80:2; 104 bottom:1; 106:15; 107 left:1; 108:2; 164 right:1; 187:2-3; 202:1-2; 203 left:[1]; 207:2; 211:1-2; 212:1-2; 219:3-4; 220:1-2; 227 left:7-8; 229:3; 251 right:1-2; 252 left:1; 252 right:2-3; 255:1-2; 261e top; 265e top
- see *Imn* (div.), *Imn-R'* (div.)
- hn.ty imn.tyw* “foremost of the westerners” 48:10; 138:24-25; 202:11; 211:7
- see also *Wsir* (div.)
- hn.ty pr-md3.t* “pre-eminent in the book-house” 22:3; 49:10
- see *Sfh.t-3b.wy* (f. div.)
- hn.ty pr dw3.t* “pre-eminent in the House of the Morning” 143:5; 154:18; see *k3-nsw*
- hn.ty pr db3.t* “pre-eminent in the Robing Room” 143:5; 154:18; see *k3-nsw*
- hn.ty Hsr.t* “pre-eminent in Hesret” 44:25-26; see *D3hwtw* (div.)
- hn.ty k3.w n3h.w nb.w* “foremost of the *kas* of all the living” 105:12-13
- hn.ty k3.w n3h.w nb.w mi R'* “foremost of the *kas* of all the living like Re” 34:8-9; 47:14; 106:30
- hn.ty kbh.w* “foremost of the marsh fowl” 44:6-7; see under *Hr* (div.)
- hn.ty kbh(w)* (div.) “foremost of the cataract” 37:5; 151:1; see *Hr* (div.)
- (3) *m-hn.ty* (prep.) 38:6, 23; 199:14
- hnt.w* (n.) “racks of offering vessels” 14:1
- hnd* (n.) “shin” 65:17C
- hr* (vb.) “to fall” 151:32
- hr* (prep.)
- (1) “in(to) the presence of” 2:11; 36:14; 38:18; 42:9; 43:1; 44:3; 48:9; 53:49; 61:9; 69:5; 76:3; 133:14; 137:18; 150:10; 176:3; 180:10, 25; 198:7; see also *m3'-hrw*
- (2) “on his/her/my part” 4:13; 24:9; 34:3, 4, 5; 35:9; 43:5, 6; 54:14, 15; 59:4; 76:44; 79:4; 81 right:3; 81 middle:3; 81 left:3; 88:9, 10; 98:6; 100:4, 5; 123:4; 124:3, 5; 130:8; 139:6; 145 right:7; 163 right:5; 168:9; 180:34; 196:2, 3; 226:13; 247:8, 10
- (3) “with” 203 left:3; 204 right:5, 6
- (4) “on behalf of” 180:25
- hrw* (n.) “voice”; see under *m3'-hrw*
- hrp* (vb.) “to offer” 14:1; 44:21
- in *hrp kbh.w* “offering libation” 141:1
- ht* (prep.) “throughout” 7:23, 40; 50:40
- m-h.t* (prep.) “after” 216:6; 217:[1]; 218 left:6
- m-h.t* (prep.) “throughout” 7:23 (*rn=k n m-h.t nh3* “your-name-of-throughout-continuity”)
- hsbd* (n.) “lapis lazuli” 151:14; 152:13
- hsf* (vb.) “to repel, oppose” 7:37; 52:25; 199:9
- in *n hsf 3k* “(while) your arm is not opposed” 20:8; 26:6; 161:5; 199:[9]; 243 middle:3
- nn hsf 3f* 7:37; 47:10 (*n for nn*)
- hsf.ty* (n.) “opponent” 77:9
- htyw* (n.)
- “dais” 158:5; 186 bottom:4
- “hillside, ridge” in *tp-htyw* “ridgetops” 152:11

hh.t (n.)

- (1) “belly” 7:15; 220:11
 (2) “womb” 7:25
 (3) “body” 25:[4]; 38:4; 70:7; 203 left:5
 in *n h.t* “bodily” son, etc. 38:3; 49:15; 58:3; 71:4; 74:5;
 76:22; 77:2; 79:[2]; 101:3; 104 bottom:2; 106:22; 108:3;
 161:2; 165 right:1; 169:2; 178:3; 200:1; 224:[3]; 226:2;
 257:6

hn(w) (n.) “interior” 151:17

(*m*)-hnw (prep.) “within, inside” 169:3–4; 178:10; 197:8;
 226:8

hni (vb.) “to row” 37:25; 38:14; 151:26hnm (vb.)

- (1) “to endow” with (*m*) 7:[26]; 53:8, 51; 106:13; 109:2;
 111:4, 8; 137:11; 149:9
 (2) “to enclose” 74:10
 (3) “to assume, don” (crowns, garments, etc.) 171:16;
 180:17
 (4) “to be united with” 178:11

Hnmw (div.) “Khnum” 44:32; 51:5; and with the following
 epithets:

- nb nhb* “master of the potter’s wheel” 66:1
nb kbh(w) “lord of the cataract” 37:6; 44:1; 151:2

[*nb*] *šnm.[t]* “[lord of] Bigg[a]” 113:4

hn.t(y) (n.) “processional cult statue” 151:15; 152:15

hr (prep.):

- (1) “under” 13:7; 14:10; 17:7; 18:8; 33:6; 36:14; 38:27; 39:10;
 49:6; 52:24; 53:13; 68:6; 69:2, 10; 73:6; 77:9; 79:19; 82
 middle:4; 84 left:4; 91:10; 92:2; 99:11; 101:9; 103:5;
 116:8; 156:11; 157:8; 161:5, 7; 166:4; 171:7, 17; 179:[8];
 184:[6]; 188; 191:6; 192:18; 193:6, 8; 199:9; 200:14;
 209:10; 226:14; 227 middle:11; 237:5; 243 middle:[3];
 252 left:3; 252 right:5; see also *hr tb.ty*
 (2) “carrying” 37:30; 53:3, 5, 17; 104 bottom:9; 106:12; 107
 right:9
 (3) + verb 180:3
 (4) *hr.w* (n.) “those (things) which carry (or belong to)”
 151:28

hr-h̄.t see s.v. *h̄.t*

hry (n.) “double share” 69:10

hrt (n.) “share” 69:5

hrt (adj.) “lower” 202:8 (written *hrt*); 211:6

(*m*) hrt hrw (*n.t r' nb*) (adv.) “daily (in the course of every
 day)” 76:32

hr.wy (dual n.) “testicles” 229:2

hkr(w) (n.) “ornament(s)” 111:3; 151:14; 192:13; 199:12;
 200:5

S

=s

- (1) as suffix pron. “she/her” passim
 (2) written for dep. pron. *sw* “him”; see under *sw* (dep.
 pron.)

s (n.) “door-bolt” 227 middle:1

st (dep. pron.) “it” 69:8

s.t (n.)

- (1) “throne, seat” 1:6; 14:4; 49:20; 82 right:4; 180:8; 190:6;
 193:8; 199:12; 227 left:5, 6; 227 right:2; 237:4; 240:2; see
 also *di.n=i n=k s.t*
 (2) “place” 106:4; 219:7, [9]; 227 right:[1]–2
 and in the following compounds:
s.t wr.t “great seat, great place (shrine)” 52:10; 199:11;
 227 left:6; see also *ʾImn* (div.), *ʾImn-R'* (div.)
 in *hry s.t=f wr.t* “who is upon his great seat” 11:4; 18:4;
 20:4; 24:3–4; 28:4; 30:3–4; 31:3; 45:3; 47:4; 88:4; 90:3;
 95 right:3–4; 114:3–4; 116:4; 125:3–4; 132:3; 134:4;

141:4–5; 143:8; 145 left:3; 146 left:5; 147:4; 153:4–5;
 157:2–3; 159:3; 167:7; 173:3–4; 195:3–4; 214:5–6;
 219:1–2; 221 right:2–3; 228:[2]–3; 245:4; 254:4–5;
 256:2–[3]

see also *ʾImn-R'* (div.); *ʾImn-R' K3-mw.t=f* (div.); *Mnw*
 (div.)

hry s.t wr.t “who is upon the great seat” 40:2–3; 56:4;
 183:3; 205 left:3; 206 bottom:4–5; 215 right:3; 218
 left:2–3; 237:2–3; see *ʾImn-R' K3-mw.t=f* (div.); *Pth*
 (div.)

s.t-hr “supervision” 53:13; 171:17; 193:8

s.t Hr “throne of Horus” 15:4; 32:10; 39:10; 44:51; 105:13;
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+ *nh.w* “(of) the living” 34:14

+ *n.t nh.w* “of the living” 12 right:12; 27:10; 65:10;
 89:10; 153:14; 176:4

+ *hn.ty k3.w nh.w nb.w mi R'* “foremost of the *kas* of all
 the living, like Re” 47:14; 106:30

- s.t* (cont.)
 see also *Mn-s.t ḥr.t* (loc.); *Mn-s.t ḥr.t* (loc.)
- sty* (n.) “successor” 217:5
- sʕ* (n.) “protection” 7:27; 38:20; 46:11; 74:10; 198:8; 206 bottom:8; 216:10; 228:6
 see *Appendix C*
- sʕ* (n.) “company” 37:26
- (*ḥr*)-*sʕ* (compound prep.) “behind” 44:33
- sʕ* (n.) “son” 7:3, 24; 22:7; 25:3; 27:5; 36:14; 38:2; 39:3; 44:48; 46:2; 49:15; 52:1, 22, 26, 27; 53:6, 30; 54:[3]; 58:[3]; 62:2; 70:6; 71:4, 9; 72:4; 73:3; 74:5; 75:1; 76:2, 5, 21, 22, 28; 77:2; 78:10; 79:2; 89:3; 101:3; 102:2; 104 bottom:2, 9; 105:2; 106:12, 22; 107 right:3; 108:3, 13; 111:[12]; 115:[3]; 137:11, 12, 28, 30; 140 left:2; 148:2; 151:27, 30; 152:2; 158:2; 161:2; 162:3; 163 left:2; 165 right:1; 169:2; 171:8; 178:3; 180:4; 191:3; 192:8; 197:15, 19; 198:11; 199:[2], 5; 200:1, 10; 205 left:3; 224:3; 226:2; 230:[9]; 257:6
- and in the following combinations:
- sʕ-ʿImn* “son of Amun” 27:12; 36:[45]; 44:27 (written *ʿImn-Rʕ*); 79:22; 106:5; 149:10; 151:23; 162:6; 164 left:8; 166:16; 201:[39]; 214:12; 237:10
 <*sʕ*> *ʿImn pr(w) m ḥʿw=fnb tʕ.wy mr.n Rʕ* “<son> of Amun, who issued from his limbs, lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves” 237:10
- sʕ-ʿImn ḥry* [*ns.t=f*] “son of Amun, who is on [his throne]” 162:6
- sʕ-ʿImn Hry ns.t=f*] “son of Amun, who is on [his] throne” 166:16
- sʕ nfr-ḥr* “son of the handsome-of-face (i.e., Ptah)” 205 left:7
- sʕ-nsw* “king’s son”
 + *n imy-wr.t* “of the starboard side” 180:1
- sʕ Rʕ* “the son of Re” 5:7; 6:6; 7:39; 12 right:10; 15:6; 16:7; 20:9; 22; 23:12; 24:13; 25:[8]; 26:9; 29:8; 32:15; 33:18; 34:11; 35:11; 36:46; 37:34; 39:18; 41 right; 43:17; 44:10; 48:6; 52:43, 46; 53:1, 4, 34, 49; 57:[7]; 61:8; 62:21; 63:1; 64:4; 65:2, 10; 68:9; 69:12; 71:11, 12; 72:7, 9; 73:9; 74:16; 76:34, 42; 77:20; 78:13; 79:24; 80:9; 81 middle:7; 82 right:6; 82 left:6; 83 middle:1, 6; 95 right:7; 96:8, 12; 97:10; 100:8; 103:3; 104 bottom:[12]; 107 right:14; 107 left:7; 108:10, 18; 111:16; 113:3; 114:9; 118:9; 119:4, 11; 124:9; 125:8; 126:5; 128:7; 130:7; 130 bottom; 135 bottom left:6; 135 bottom right:6; 141:14; 142:3; 143:3; 145 right:[12]; 146 left:17; 146 right:14; 150:14; 153:16; 154:16; 159 above king n.n.; 160:11; 161:10; 162:[5]; 163 left:11; 164 left:10; 164 right:[9]; 165 right:10; 166:15; 169:11; 170:[n.n.]; 172:10; 173:9; 174:9; 175 left:7; 175 right:7; 176:6; 177:5; 178:1, 22, 32, 33, 34; 179:13; 180:2, 19; 183:8; 184:8, [9]; 187:11, [15]; 191:10; 192:20; 193:13; 194:[8]; 195:11; 196:9; 198:9, 11; 199:19; 201:10, [19], 27, [38], [39]; 202:6; 203 left: below vulture, n.n.; 204 right:8; 205 right:16; 207:24; 208 left:9; 208 right:12; 209:16; 211:[14]; 213 right:9; 215 right:11; 216:11; 217:[7]; 218 middle:8, right:6; 221 left:[6]; 221 right:8; 222:12; 223:8; 224:11; 225:8; 226:18; 227 middle:7; 227 right:7; 229:4; 230:[3]; 231 right:4; 235:13; 236 right:3; 237:9; 238:9; 239:8; 240:8; 241:10; 243 middle:7; 245:13; 246:9; 247:12; 248:[7]; 250 left:8; 251 left:8; 253 bottom:6; 254:11; 255:7; 256:8; 257:[4]
 + *mr=f* “his beloved” 167:3; 168:13; 250 right:9; 251 right:7
 + *mry ʿImw* “beloved of Atum” 252 left:7
 + *mry ʿImn* “beloved of Amun” 252 right:9
 + *mr psd.t* “whom the Ennead loves” 256:8
- sʕ.t* (n.) “daughter” 137:7; 140 right:13
- Sʕw* (loc.) “Sais” 44:44, 48
- sʕb* (vb.) “to cross (marsh or watery area)” 43:1; 44:39, 45
- sʕb* (adj.) “dappled” 68 top calf; see also under *Bḥdty* (div.)
- sʕʕ* (vb.) “to perceive” 180:28
- sʕʕ.t* (n.) “fringed cloth” 44:42; see *Sš.t* (f. div.)
- sin.t* (n.) “seal” 227 left:[1], 3
- sy* (dep. pron. 3rd f. sing.) “she, her, it” 77:10; 203 left:[6]
- sʕʕ* (vb.) “to magnify, increase” 137:34; 151:9; 155:15; 165 right:11; 166:13; 169:8; 179:14; 213 right:7; 214:15
sʕʕ wiʕ.[f] tp itrw m sny r n[ty] m p.t “(and) enlarges [his] ri[ver barge] as the likeness to th[at which is] in heaven” 151:10–11
sʕʕ.n ʿImn m nsw whom Amun has magnified as king” 137:34–35; 145 left:[13–14]
sʕʕ.n Rʕ pḥ.ty=f “whose strength Re has magnified” 179:14
sʕʕ.n Rʕ-ʿImw r ir.t nsy.t “whom Re-Atum has magnified in order to exercise the kingship” 155:15–16
- sʕnḥ* (vb.) “to cause to live” 205 right:15
- sʕḥ* (vb.) “to erect” 20:1; 147:1
- sʕd* (vb.) “to make healthy” 230:[5]
- sw* (dep. pron.) “he, him, it”
 (1) 25:6; 37:19, 27; 38:4, 6, 23; 62:12; 137:11, 29; 151:32; 208 right:10; 213 right:7; 217:4; 218 middle:5; 230:[6]; 238:7
 (2) written *s* 180:5; 241:11
- sw* miscarved for *nn* (in Nekhbet’s name) 139:12; 163 right:7; 166:11
- swḥ* (vb.)
 (1) “to cause to endure” 111:3; 206 bottom:11
 (2) “to lengthen” 179:[6]
- swb* (vb.) “to purify” 51:6; 91:1; 105:2; 148:4, 6; 198:[1], 5; 217:3, 4
- Swmnw* (loc.) “Sumenu” 140 right:3
- swnwn* (vb.) “to charm” 137:5–6
- swḥ.t* (n.) “egg” 37:19; 38:8; 137:30
 + *dsr.t n.(t) ʿImw* “holy egg of Atum” 191:8
- swḥʕ* (vb.) “to pass the night” 220:4
- swt* (indep. pron., 3rd pers. sing.) 52:26
- sw.t* (n.) “a cut of meat” 65:19B; 207:21; 226:3C
- sw.t* (n.) “reed” 7:19; 38:13; 76:17; 96:6; 150:3
- swt(i).t* (n.) “pupil” of eye 207:21

- swd* (vb.) “to bequeath” 52:23; 180:9; 197:24
- sb3* (n.) “gateway” in [*sb3* ʿ *nsw-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ s3 Rʿ*] *nb ḥʿw Sty mr.n-ʿImn 3ḥ m pr*
ʿImn di ʿnh mi Rʿ “[The great gateway (called): ‘the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE, the son of Re], lord of appearances [SET]Y-[M]ERENAMUN is beneficial in the estate of Amun, given life like Re” 184:9; 187:15
- sbi* (vb.) “to reach, achieve” 180:15
- Sbk* (div.) “Sobek” 52:40; 140 right:1; 201:[32]
Sbk-Rʿ (div.) “Sobek-Re”
 + *nb <n> ʿIw-ʿImn* “lord of Island-of-Amun” 36:37
 + *nb Swmnw* “lord of Sumenu” 140 right:3
- sp* (n.) “instance, deed” 152:21; 180:4
 and in the following compounds:
sp tpy “first occasion” 118:11
sp sn “two times, very” 2:4; 7:16, 21; 12 right:6; 25:6; 27:9; 33:10; 35:7; 38:27; 39:5, 16; 44:26, 41; 48:2; 49:6, 21; 51:11; 71:4; 72:2; 87 top:1; 93:8; 99:6; 101:8, 9; 102:5; 104 bottom:5; 105:11; 106:13; 107 right:11; 131:6; 137:19; 140 left:11; 144:5; 145 right:4; 153:8; 155:9; 166:6; 175 left:3; 177:1; 191:6; 198:1, 4, 7, 9, [12]; 203 left:7; 209:10; 214:7; 219:10–12; 222:3; 226:[16]; 227 right:4; 243 middle:2
sp 3 “three times” 23:1; 51:11
sp 4 “four times” 35:1; 48:1, 2; 73:1; 89:1; 100:1; 108:[1]; 110:1; 146 left:[1]; 146 right:1; 198:1, 9
- sp3.t* (n.) “district”
 in *sp3.t d.t* “district of eternity” (of Thebes) 37:34; 137:30
- sprw.(t)* (n.) “carob bean” see *wḥ*
- spd* (n.) “effectiveness” 202:[18]
- Sfh.t-ʿbwy* (f. div.) “She of the sharp horns,” with epithets *nb.t s3w, ḥn.ty pr-md3.t* “lady of writing, pre-eminent in the book-house” 22:2–3
- sfh* (vb.) “to remove” 227 middle:1
- sm3* (vb.) “to unite” 69:2, 7; 150:3
 + “with” (m) 96:4; 106:26; 230:[4]
- sm3ʿ* (vb.) “to offer, present” 9:1; 13:1; 39:1, 21; 43:3; 90:1; 101:1
- smsm* (vb.) “give praise”; *m smsm* “in praise of” 232 left:4
- smni* (vb.)
 (1) “to establish” 7:23, 40; 37:18; 38:9 (*smnt*); 39:19; 49:8, 20; 52:17, 22; 74:6, 12, 13; 79:20; 96:6; 106:2 (*smn.ti*); 111:2; 150:1, 8; 192:12, 18; 198:6; 200:4, 10, 12; 212:11; 232 right:5
 (2) “to set in place (parts of the body)” 219:7
smn.n ʿItmw ds.fr ir.t nsy.t=f “whom Atum himself established to exercise his kingship” 39:19–20
- smnh* (vb.) “to embellish” 137:28; 169:9
- smrw-nsw* (n.) “king’s companions” 206 bottom:[7]; 228:5
- sn* (3rd pers. pl. suffix) “they/their” passim
- snw.t* (n.) “sixth day (of the lunar month)” 206 bottom:[6] (*rʿ n snw.t*)
- sny* (3rd pers. dual suffix) 69:8
- sn* (n.) “brother” 44:32; 69:5
- sn.t* (n.) “sister” 139:7
- (*m*)-*sny* (*r*) (compound prep.) “(as) something with a resemblance (to)” 151:10–11; 200:11
- sni* (vb.) “to surpass” 151:25
- snw* (n.) “cakes, loaves, offerings” 76:[32]
- snb* (n.) “health” 204 right:5; passim
 see under *di.n=(i) n=k ʿnh...; di=f/s/sn ʿnh...; di.n=(i) n=k snb*
- snm* (vb.) “to supplicate” 219:[8]
- snnw* (n.) “image” 62:18
- snhp* (vb.) “to cause to swarm, flutter” 44:29
- snsn* (vb.) “to associate, mingle” 53:9; 62:15
- sntr* (n.) “incense” 2:1; 5:[1]; 12 left:1; 17:1; 42:1, 2; 53:2; 57:1; 60:1; 77:6; 80:1; 81 left:1; 84 left:1; 94:1; 113:1; 128:1; 138:1; 144:1; 173:1; 175 right:1; 197:1; 205 right:1, 10; 217:[1], [3]; 236 left:1; 236 right:1; 250 left:1
 see also *ir.t sntr, ir.t sntr kbhw; rdi.t sntr kbhw*
- snd* (vb.) “to fear” 73:6; 83 right:2; 191:5; 193:6
- snd* (n.) “fearsomeness” 52:20; 53:19
- sr* (n.) “prince” see *ḥw.t-sr* (loc.) “Mansion of the Prince”
- sr* (vb.) “to predict” 49:11; 53:10; 216:6
- sr* (n.) “goose” 43:2; 44:40
- srwd* (vb.) “to perpetuate” (divine offerings) 202:3
- shr* (vb.) “to make content” 241:11
- shn.t* (n.) “the *shn.t*-shrine” 20:1; 147:[1]
- shr* (vb.) “to drive off” 44:33–34
- shtp* (vb.) “to propitiate, cause to be content” 106:9, 10; 166:15; 232 left:7, 8
- shd* (vb.) “to illuminate” 146 left:7; 151:18; 152:6; see also *di.n=(i) n=k shd*
- shy* (vb.) “to raise up” 151:16–17
- sh.t* (n.) “field” 35:1
- sh.t i3rw* (loc.) “The Field of Reeds” 212:10
- sh.ty* (n.) “fowler” 44:12
- Sh.tyt* (f. div.) “Fen-goddess” 44:18–19, 29
- shʿi* (vb.) “to cause to appear” 2:15; 12 left:18; 19:9; 24:14; 25:9; 33:19; 34:12; 141:15; 150:15; 158:5
shʿ.n ʿImn m ʿIp.t-sw.t “whom Amun has caused to be manifest in Karnak” 141:15–16
s[hʿ.n] ʿImn m nsw “whom Amun has caused [to appear] as king” 116:11–12
shʿ.n ʿImn m nsw “whom Amun has caused to appear as king” 2:15; 12 left:18–19; 25:9–10
shʿ.n ʿImn m nsw r ir.t nsy.t ir.n=f “whom Amun has caused to be manifest as king in order to exercise the kingship which he made” 24:14–16
shʿ.n ʿImn ds=f r ir.t nsy.t=f “whom Amun himself has caused to be manifest, in order to exercise his kingship” 19:9–11

- sh'.n* 'Imn *ds=fr ir.t nsy.t* [d.t] “whom Amun himself has caused to appear in order to exercise kingship [everlas]tingly” 33:19–20
- sh'.n it=f* 'Imn *r ir.t nsy.t=f* “whose father Amun has caused him to appear in order to exercise his kingship” 150:15–16
- sh'.n* [R']-*Itmw r ir.t nsy.t=f* “whom [Re]-Atum has caused to appear in order to exercise his kingship” 34:12–13
- shpr* (vb.) “to bring into being” 76:2
- sh̄m*
- (adj.vb.) “to be strong” 151:6; 170; 203 left:4
- (n.) “power” 108:6
- in *sh̄m t̄.wy* “power of the Two Lands” 50:15; 51:12; 78:10; 151:4; 179:15; 199:9; see *Wp-w̄.wt* (div.)
- Sh̄m.t* (f. div.) “Sekhmet” 208 right:1; 235:[5]; and with the following epithets:
- ꜣ.t, *mrt Pth̄, h̄nw.t n̄tr.w nb.w* “the great, beloved of Ptah, mistress of all the gods” 208 right:3–5
- sh̄m.ty* (n.) “Double Crown” 74:7, 14; 106:2
- sh̄n* (vb.) “to seek out” 207:22
- sh̄n* (n.) “kidney fat” 65:11C; 226:4C
- sh̄r* (vb.) “to overthrow” 206 bottom:11
- sh̄r* (n.) “counsel” 171:17; 180:6
- sh̄.t* (vb.)
- (1) “to snare” 43:3; 44:17, 27–28
- (2) “to spring (a trap)” 44:39
- (3) “to mold” 25:1
- (4) “to twist” 203 left:6 (in *sh̄t h̄'.t* “twisting the wick”)
- sh̄.t* (n.) “net” 44:37
- sh̄kr* (vb.) “to ornament” 151:33
- sh̄rd* (vb.) “to be made young” 66:2; 105:4
- sswnw* (vb.) “to destroy” 7:13
- sš* (vb.) “to write, inscribe” 49:7; 79:14; 96:6; 150:2
- sšw* (n.) “writing” 22:2; 150:2; see *nb.t sšw* and *Sfht-'bwy* (f. div.)
- sš* (vb.) “to spread” 44:38
- sš* (n.) “marsh” 43:1; 44:39, 45 (in *iw-m-sš* “Island in the Marsh”)
- sš* (n.) “waterfowl” 44:28
- sšm* (vb.) “to guide” 50:17; 78:10; 212:6 (+ m “on/in” place)
- sšmw* (n.) “cult image” 151:17; 152:16
- sš.t w̄id* (n.) “green *Seshet*-fruit” 65:17D
- sš.t h̄d* (n.) “white *Seshet*-fruit” 65:16D
- Sš.t* (f. div.), marsh goddess
- + [*h̄t̄.t sī.ty*] “[la]dy [who is in front, she of] the double-fringed sc[arf]” 44:42
- + *Dp.t, Pt, nb.t N̄tr.t, imy.t S̄w, h̄nw.t Mtr* “she of Dep, she of Pe, lady of Neteret, she who is in Sais, mistress of Meter” 44:47–48
- sš.t* (n.) “sistrum” 106:9, 11; 137:4
- sḳ* (vb.) “to be elevated” 7:40; 178:8
- sḳb* (vb.) “to refresh” 229:1
- sḳr* (vb.) “to present, offer” 130:1
- in *sḳr t h̄d* “presenting white bread” 3:1; 6:1; 82 right:1; 114:1; 130:[1]; 133:1; 139:1; 175 left:1
- sḳd* (vb.) “to sail” 211:[12]
- sk* (vb.) “to wipe away” 212:8
- St* (div.) “Seth” 105:10; 139:1 (spelled *Swt*); 212:8; 227 middle:1; 229:[2]
- and with the following epithets
- ꜣ *ph.ty, hr(y)-ib ḳh Sty mr.n.-'Imn m pr-'Imn* “great of strength, residing in ‘Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun” 139:2–4
- Nb Nb.t* “lord of Ombos” 202:13
- Nb.t(y)* “the Ombite” 211:8
- n̄tr* ꜣ “great god” 201:24–25
- sty* (n.) “(pleasant) scent, fragrance” 42:3, 4; 205 right:13; 218 middle:6; 230:[2]
- stp* (vb.) “to select, choose” 4:16; 12 right:11; 14:12; 17:10; 18:12; 20:12; 38:5, 22; 40:9; 51:4; 76:8; 97:11; 104 bottom:13; 107 right:15; 132:13; 153:17; 160:[12]; 163 right:11; 164 left:11; 169:12; 171:14; 172:11; 173:10; 175 left:8; 177:6; 195:12; 196:10; 199:20; 208 right:13; 222:13; 238:10; 245:11; 248:8; 250 left:10; 251 right:8; 254:12
- stp.n* 'Imn *m nsw* “whom Amun has chosen as king” 12 right:11; 132:13
- stp.n* 'Imn *m nsw r ir.(t) nsy.t=f tp t̄* “whom Amun has chosen as king in order to exercise his kingship on earth” 97:11–13
- stp.n* 'Imn *m nsw t̄.wy r ir.t nsy.t=f* “whom Amun has chosen as king of the Two Lands in order to exercise [his] kingship” 17:10–12
- stp.n* 'Imn-R' “whom Amun-Re has chosen” 20:11–12; 147:12
- stp.n* 'Imn-R' *r ir.[t] nsy.t=f tp t̄* “whom Amun has selected to exercise his kingship on earth” 40:9–10
- [...*s.t*] *p.n* 'Imn *ds=f* “... whom Amun himself has [cho]sen” 164 left:11
- [... *stp.n* 'Imn *ds=f r nb*]-*w' tp-t̄ d̄.[t]* [... whom Amun himself chose to be so]le [lord] on earth ever[lastingly] 161:8
- stp.n* 'Imn *ds.fr h̄k; n t; nb* “whom Amun himself chose to be ruler of every land” 14:12–14
- [*stp.n*] *Itmw* “[whom] Atum [chose]”: 164 right:10
- stp.n* R'-*Itmw m h̄w.t-bnw* “whom Re-Atum has chosen in the Mansion of the Phoenix” 4:16–17
- stp.n* R'-*Itmw di 'nh̄* “whom Re-Atum has chosen, given life” 18:12–13
- stp.n* R'-*Itmw di 'nh̄ mi R'* “whom Re-Atum has chosen, given life like Re” 153:17–18
- stp.n* R' *m wi' n R'* “whom Re-in-the-bark of Re has chosen” 251 right:8
- [*stp.n* R'] *m nsw* “[whom Re has chosen] as king” 126:6
- stp.n* R' *m h̄w.t (bnw)* “whom Re has chosen in the Mansion (of the Phoenix)” 177:6

stp (cont.)

[*stp*].n R^c-*Itmw r* [*hkꜣ*] n tꜣ nb “whom Re-Atum has [chosen] in order to (be) [ruler] of every land” 98:9–10

stpw (n.) “choice cuts (of meat)” 202:16; 229:3

stp sꜣ (vb.) “to effect protection” 198:8

stꜣ (vb.) “to pull out” 227 middle:1

stḥn (vb.) “to make dazzling” 151:12

sd (vb.) “to break” 227 left:[1], 3; 227 middle:1 (in place of *stꜣ* (vb.) “to pull out”), 2 (in place of *sfḥ* (vb.) “to remove”)

sdḅ (vb.) “to be restored (to life)” 218 left:8

sdḅw (n.) “impurity” 198:6

sdḅꜣ (vb.) “to provision” 77:12

š

šꜣ (n.) “field” 226:15

šꜣ (n.) “sand” 79:17

šꜣ (vb.) “to cut off from (r)” 207:10

šꜣ.t (n.) “sh^{at}-cake” 11:1; 65:17A; 207:10 (written šꜣ.y.t); see also *rdi.t*

šw (div.) “Shu” 36:19; 52:30; 105:6; 137:25; 152:19; 153:13; 168:8; 180:23; 188; 202:5, 7; 211:5; 231 right:4; see also *Imn-pꜣ-šw*

and with the following epithets

ntr ꜣ, nb p.t “great god, lord of heaven” 138:10

sꜣ R^c “son of Re” 83 middle:1

+ *nb p.t* “lord of heaven” 201:9–11

Imn pꜣ šw “Amun the (god) Shu” 180:21

šw.t (n.) “feather, plumage” in *sḅ šw.t* “variegated of plumage”; see *Bḥdty* (div.)

šw.ty (n.) “double-plumes” 227 middle:2

šb.t (n.) “clepsydra” 168:1; 191:1

šps (adj.) “august” 32:9; 44:22; 78:7; 79:20; 137:8, 18; 151:13, 27, 34; 152:10, 17; 180:21; 192:[5]; 197:15; 199:4

šps (n.) “August One” 219:10

šfy.t (n.) “awesomeness” 73:6; 83 right:3; 180:28; 194:5

šfšf.t (n.) “awesomeness” 97:7

šm^ꜣw (loc.) “Southern Egypt” 37:1; 50:15; 51:12; 69:5, 10; 78:1, 10; 106:8; 111:17; 141:8; 144:12; 148:2 (šm^ꜣt); 151:4; 165 left:3; 179:15; 199:9; 219:9

see also *Wp-wꜣw.t* (div.); *Mrt šm^ꜣ(t)* (f. div.); *Iwnw šm^ꜣw* (loc.)

in *šm^ꜣw Mḥw* “Southern and Northern Egypt” 10:4; 12 right:3; 34:7; 47:10; 52:5, 23; 69:7; 71:12; 197:24; and see also *tꜣ šm^ꜣw*

šm^ꜣs (n.) “Southern Egyptian crown” 74:13

šms (vb.) “to follow” 53:51; 76:32

šni (vb.) “to encircle” 146 left:8; 171:15; 197:24; 203 left:5; see also *di.n=i n=k šnn*

šny.(t) (n.) “entourage, courtiers” 180:11

šnm.t (loc.) “Bigga” 113:4

šns (n.), type of loaf 65:13A; 207:6; 226:3A

šrt (n.) “nose” see *fnḍ*

šs (n.) “cord” 22:1

šsp (vb.) “to receive” 7:6, 17; 52:3; 54:11; 58:8; 62:14; 70:2; 76:29, 32; 77:13; 78:1; 96:2; 104 bottom:3; 106:23; 108:14; 111:10; 112 top:1; 118:6; 207:6; 213 left:2; 226:9; 227 middle:2; 253 top:2

and in *šsp tp-wꜣt nfr.t* “to make a good journey” 37:31–32

šd (vb.) “to nourish, suckle” 44:49; 78:8

k

kꜣ (n.) “high ground” 202:4

kꜣi (vb.) “to be high” 205 right:12; 227 right:2

k(ꜣ)b (vb.) “to double” 7:16; 36:5; 77:4

Kꜣs (loc.) “Cusae” 153:10

kḅḥ (n.) “libation, cool water” 1:1; 17:1; 42:1; 58:1; 61:1; 71:1; 72:2; 80:1; 138:1; 141:1; 193:1; 218 left:1, 6; 236 left:1; see under *ḥnk, irt kḅḥ.w; irt sntr kḅḥ.w; rdi.t*

kḅḥ (n.) “cataract” 37:5–7; 44:1; 151:1, 2; see also *Ḥr* (div.), *Ḥnmw* (div.)

kḅḥ.w (n.) “marsh fowl” 44:7, 20–21, 30

kḅḥ.w (n.) “heavenly waters” 227 left:3

kḥmꜣ (vb.) “to create” 25:6; 37:18; 44:15; 67:1; 76:22; 97:7; 160:12; 163 right:2; 166:12

kḥn (adj.) “bold, valiant” 44:13; 168:14

kḥn.t (n.) “valor” 36:20; 45:12 (spelled *kḥn*); 76:43; 81 left:4; 158:5; 160:8; 173:5; 179:15; 197:9, 14; 199:9; 201:4; 211:3; 235:10; 242:7; 247:7; see under *di.n=(i) n=k kḥn.t*

kḥsn.w (n.) “bones” 219:7

kḍ (vb.) “to build, fashion” 66:1; 178:7; 226:6

kḍ (n.) “form” in *mi kḍ* (compound prep.) “just like” 52:27; 71:9; 76:21; 137:12, 30

k

- =k (2nd pers. sing. suffix pron.) “you, your” passim
 =ky (2nd pers. dual suffix pron.) 219:6
 written as *nb*, see s.v. *nb*
 written for *k(wi)* 49:18; 101:6 (written *nb*); 107 right:4 (written
nb); 108:4 (written *nb*); 163 left:4; 178:6; 180:12; 226:5; 257:8;
 265b
 =k miswritten for =s 203 left:3
- k* miswritten for *nb* 44:5; 58:8; 81 middle:4; 83 middle:2;
 138:8, 14; 155:3; 246:4
- k3* (non-encl. part.) “so, then” 62:12
- k3* (n.) “Ka” 25:6; 38:7, 25; 39:21; 43:3; 44:5; 69:10; 137:30;
 199:14; 212:6; 216:6, 9; 218 right:3, 4; 219:10; and in:
k3-nsw “royal Ka” 215 right (behind king)
k3-nsw nḥ nb t3.wy “living royal Ka (of) the lord of the Two
 Lands” 42:12; 73:10–11
 + *nb iri ḥ.t ḥn.ty pr ḏb3.t [ḥn.ty] pr dw3.t* “master of the
 ritual, pre-eminent in the Robing Room, [pre-
 eminent] in the House of the Morning” 154:18
 + *nb <ir.t ḥ.t> ḥn.ty pr ḏb3.t ḥn.ty pr dw3.t* “master <of the
 ritual> pre-eminent in the Robing Room, pre-
 eminent in the House of the Morning” 143:5
- ḥn.ty k3.w nḥ.w nb.w* “foremost of the Kas of all the
 living” 105:12–13
ḥn.ty k3.w nḥ.w nb.w mi rʿ “foremost of the Kas of all the
 living, like Re” 34:8–9; 47:14; 106:30
- k3* (n.) “food, provisions” 36:14
- k3* (n.) “bull” 20:1
- k3* (n.) “beef” 72:2; 77:21
- K3p<n>* (loc.) “Gub<la> (Byblos)” 142:10
- K3-mw.t=f* (div.) “Kamutef” 164 left:[7]; 195:8; 223:6; and cf.
ʿImn-Rʿ (div.)
- k3.t* (n.) “works, workmanship” 152:7; 169:9
- ki* (n.) “form” 62:18
- .kwi* (stative 1st pers. sing.) 7:5; 32:7; 77:4; 137:20; 152:4, 20;
 180:13; 200:3 *.(kw[i])*
- km* (n.) “black one” 68 bottom calf
- Km.t* (loc.) “Black Land, Egypt” 7:20, 38; 35:7; 37:9; 39:13; 41
 right; 53:16; 66:1; 96:12; 105:7; 118:9; 193:8; 200:4; see
 also *nb*, *nb.ty*, *di.n=(i) n=k Km.t*, *mk Km.t*
- ksw* “submission”; (*m*) *ksw* “(in) submission” 37:22; 52:19;
 99:6; 107 right:6; 151:31; 161:6
- kkw* (n.) “total darkness” 212:6

g

- Gb* (div.) “Geb” 30:6; 36:22; 52:32; 61:5; 77:7; 133:9; 138:16; 146
 left:6; 165 right:4; 168:4; 198:5; 199:8; 202:9, [16]; 209:5;
 211:6; 212:8; 227 right:1; 226:13
 and with the following epithets:
iry-pʿ.t psd.t ʿ3.t, psd.t nds.t “hereditary prince of the Great
 Ennead and the Little Ennead” 72:1
it nṯr.w “father of the gods” 84 right:1–2; 227 right:[1]
it nṯr.w nb.w “father of all the gods” 138:17
- nb p.t* “lord of heaven” 201:16–17
nṯr ʿ3, nb p.t “great god, lord of heaven” 253 bottom:2–3
- gn.wt* (n.) “annals” 49:8, 20; 52:17; 198:6
- grḥ* (n.) “night” 212:10; 216:6
- grg* (n.) “trap” 44:28, 40
- grs* (encl. part.) “now” 203 left:6
- gs* (n.) “side” in (r) *gs* (compound prep.) “beside” 137:18
- gs* (vb.) “to run” 12 right:1; 103:1

t

- t (n.) “bread” 72:2; 77:21; and in the following compounds:
 t wr “large bread” 65:17B; 207:19; 226:1C
 t ḥd “white bread” 3:1; 6:1; 82 right:1; 114:1; 130:[1];
 133:1; 139:1; 175 left:1; see under skr
- =t (1st pers. f. suffix) “I, my” 24:9
- tȝy see under t<w>ȝy (vb.) “to support, carry”
- tʔ (n.)
- (1) “ground, earth” 14:13; 24:1; 32:10, 11; 38:10; 40:10; 69:10;
 76:9; 77:12; 90:9, 10; 97:13; 102:4; 125:4; 138:[34]; 161:8;
 169:13; 190:6; 193:8; 196:11; 212:10; 227 right:1; 245:5;
 see also Bʔ-tʔ (loc.), tp tʔ; wp-tʔ
- (2) “land” 37:22; 82 right:4; 98:10; 104 bottom:8; 152:14;
 160:13; 163 right:12; 171:7; 175 left:10; 180:10; 218
 left:7; 219:9
 see also ḥkʔ “ruler”
 see n miscarved for tʔ
 and in the following compounds
 tʔ Mḥw (loc.) “the land of Northern Egypt” 69:5, 10
 tʔ Šmʿw (loc.) “the land of Southern Egypt” 69:5; 148:1–2
 (written šmʿt); 219:9
 tʔ Dšr (loc.) “the Red Land” 150:9
 tʔ ḏsr (loc.) “the sacred land (cemetery)” 53:50; 138:26
- tʔ.wy “The Two Lands (Egypt)” 34:7; 50:15; 51:12; 54:2; 69:2,
 10; 74:8; 78:10; 86:1; 102:5; 136 top:10; 175 right:4;
 179:8; 180:9; 196:10; 209:9
 and cf. di.n=i n=k tʔ.wy; nsw tʔ.wy; nb nsw tʔ.wy; nb tʔ.wy;
 ḥn.ty tʔ.wy; šḥm tʔ.wy; ḥnw.t tʔ.wy
- tʔ.wy miscarved for n n 17:10; 139:4; 153:8
- tʔ.wy miscarved for m 196:4
- tʔ.wy miscarved for tʔ.w 241:4
- tʔ.w (n.) “flat lands” 20:8; 26:6; 28:9; 37:21; 47:10; 49:5; 52:24;
 161:[6]; 191:5
 + ḥʔs.wt ḥr tʔ.ty=k n[ḥs]f[ʔ=k] “the foreign lands under
 your sandals, your arm not being opposed”: 243
 middle:3; see also di.n=(i) n=k tʔ.w
 tʔ.w nb.w “all flat lands” 93:6; 99:6; 151:7; 170; 171:16–17;
 191:6; 237:5
 see also di.n=(i) n=k tʔ.w
 in tʔ.w nb.w ḥʔs.wt nb.(w)t dmd ḥhr tʔ.ty=k “all flat lands
 and all hill-countries being gathered under your
 sandals” 79:18–19
 in tʔ.w Fnḥ.w “Fenkhu-lands” 14:10; 17:7; see also di.n=(i)
 n=k tʔ.w Fnḥ.w
 in tʔ.w m ḥtp.w “flat lands in piece” 116:[5]; 200:12–13;
 see under di.n=(i) n=k tʔ.w
- tʔš (n.) “border” 165 right:12
- Tʔ-<t>nn (div.) “Ta<tje>nen” 7:18
- .ti (2nd pers. m. ending for stative)
- (1) 44:49; 48:4; 206 bottom:8; 228:[7]; 220:11
- (2) spelled .tw 51:10
- (3) spelled t 9:3; 12 right:3; 27:10; 33:4; 34:6, 7; 39:[10];
 46:4, 17; 47:10; 52:4; 74:14; 76:31; 90:10; 97:5; 105:13;
 139:[11]; 148:4, 9; 150:8; 176:4; 179:15; 216:7, 8; 220:11;
 227 left:6, [10]; 228:6; 232 right:7; 238:5
- .ti (3rd f. ending for stative) 205 right:11, 13
- ti (n.) “season”; see under tr
- ti.t (n.) “image,” in the following compounds
 ti.t ʔmn “image of Amun” 72:7
 ti.t ʔtmw “image of Atum” 243 middle:7
 ti.t Rʿ “image of Re” 101:11; 163 left:12; 163 right:10;
 168:12; 175 left:5; 191:8; 195:8; 245:11
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy “image of Re in front of the Two Lands”
 7:45; 51:4; 107 right:15; 160:12; 161:11; 165 right:11;
 171:14; 172:11; 173:10; 174:10; 175 left:5, 8; 178:23;
 195:12; 199:20; 209:17; 214:15; 215 right:13; 222:13;
 238:10; 248:8; 250 left:10; 251 left:10; 253 bottom:8–9
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy... “image of Re in front of the Two
 Lands...” 161:11
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy ʔ ḥʿw m Wʔs.t “image of Re before the Two
 Lands, great of appearances in Thebes” 7:45–46
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy mr.n ʔ[ḥn]... “image of R[e] in front of the
 Two Lands, whom A[mun] loves [...]” 186 bottom:13
 (by the king, not recorded by Nelson)
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy nfrw=fm ḥr mi itn “image of Re in front of
 the Two Lands, his beauty is in (one’s) face like the
 solar disk” 174:10–11
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy sʔ.n Rʿ ph.ty=f “image of Re, pre-
 eminent before the Two Lands, whose strength Re
 magnified” 214:15–16
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy sʔ.n Rʿ ph.ty=f iri tʔš=f r Wp-tʔ r ph.w
 Nhrn “image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whose
 strength Re has magnified, who makes his border
 at the ‘Horn(s) of Earth,’ (and) at the marshlands of
 Naharin” 165 right:11–12
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy stp.n ʔmn “Image of Re before the Two
 Lands, whom Amun has chosen” 195:12; 199:20
 [ti].t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy stp.n ʔmn m nsw “[ima]ge of Re in
 front of the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen as
 king” 104 bottom:13–14
 ti.t Rʿ <ḥn.ty> tʔ.wy stp.n ʔmn rdi.n=f r nb wʿ tp tʔ “image of
 Re <before> the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen,
 whom he (Amun) has appointed to be the sole lord
 upon earth” 196:10–11
 ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty tʔ.wy stp.n ʔmn ḏs=f “image of Re before the Two
 Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen” 172:11–12;
 173:10–11; 238:10–11
 [ti].t [Rʿ] ḥn.ty tʔ.wy stp.n ʔmn [ḏs]=f r nb wʿ tp tʔ[...] “[im]
 age of [Re], pre-eminent before the Two Lands, whom
 Amun has chosen him[self] to be sole lord upon earth
 [...]” 248:8–9
 ti.t Rʿ [nb ḥʿw] Sty mr.n-ʔmn ḥn.ty tʔ.wy stp.n [ʔm]n ḏs=f r nsw
 n tʔ nb “image of Re — [lord of appearances] SETY-
 MERENAMUN — in front of the Two Lands, whom
 [Amu]n himself has chosen to be king of every land”
 163 right:10–12

ti.t (cont.)

[*ti.t*] *ʾImn* [-R^c] *ḥn.ty t3.wy stp.n ʾImn ds=f rdi.n=f r nb wʿ tp t3* “[image of] Amun-[Re] in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself – (namely) one (the King) whom he (Amun) appointed to be sole lord on earth – has chosen” 169:12–13

ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty t3.wy stp.n ʾImn ds=f r ḥk3 n t3 nb “image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen to be ruler of every land” 175 left:8–10

ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty t3.wy stp.n ʾImn ds=f r ḥk3 šnn nb itn mi Rʿ ḥnm ḥʿ.wy t3.w nb.w ḥr s.t-ḥr=f idb.wy [n] Ḥr ḥr šḥr.w=k “image of Re, who is in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen to rule all that the sun disk encircles, like Re, he having assumed the two crowns, all the flat lands being under his supervision – the Two Banks [of] Horus being under your counsels” 171:14–17

ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty t3.wy stp.n ʾItmw “image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen” 51:4; 208 right:13; 250 left:10; 254:12

ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty t3.wy stp.n ʾItmw m nsw “image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen as king” 107 right:15–16

ti.t [Rʿ] ḥn.ty t3.wy stp.n ʾItmw ds=f “the Image of [Re] before the Two Lands, whom Atum himself has chosen” 222:13

ti.t Rʿ ḥn.ty t3.wy [k]m3.n ʾItmw ds=f r ḥk3 n t3 nb “image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum [cr]eated himself to be ruler of every land” 160:12–13

.tw (impersonal suffix) “one” 52:26; 151:21

tw=i (pronominal compound in 1st pers. present) 53:10

tw (dep. pron. 2nd pers. sing.) “you” see under *ṯw*

t<w>3y (vb.) “to support, carry” 152:15–16

twy (demonstr. pron.) “this, that” 203 left:3, 5; 217:[2]

twr (vb.) “to be cleansed” 180:3

tw.t (n.) “statue” 153:1; 154:1

tw.t (vb.) “to assemble” 69:8

tp (prep.)

(1) *tp dw3y.t* “at dawn” 152:9

(2) in *tp t3* “on earth” 32:10, 11; 38:10; 40:10; 69:10; 76:9; 77:12; 90:9, 10; 93:8; 97:13; 102:4; 138:[34]; 161:8; 169:13; 190:6; 193:8; 196:11; 245:5; 248:9

(3) *tp itrw* “riverine” 37:25; 151:10; 152:10
in *nbw n tp-ḥ3s.t* “gold of the mountain-tops” 151:12

tp (n.) “head” 7:28; 74:7, 14; 106:2; 111:3; 150:8; 151:14; 180:26; 192:18; 200:5, 11; 207:6; 217:4; 219:6, [8]; 253 top:[3]

and in the following compounds

tp-w3t “journey” 37:31; 78:10 (“upon the road”)

tp-rd “instructions” 151:20

tp-ḥtyw “ridgetops” 152:11

tpy (*nisbe* adj.) “first” 53:4; 118:11

Tfnw.t (f. div.) “Tefnut” 36:21; 52:31; 83 left:1; 105:6; 153:13; 168:8; 188; 202:5, 8; 211:6; 232 left:10

and with the epithets

nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t t3.wy “lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands” 138:14; 201:13–14

tm (vb.) “to be complete” 62:17 ([*psd.t*] *tmm.ti*); 118:5 (*psd.t tmm.t*); 219:8

=tn (2nd pl. suffix pron.) “you, your” 38:10, 11; 218 middle:6

tn (dep. pron. 2nd pl.) “you” 38:9; 218 middle:6

tr (n.) “season” 43:3 (spelled *ti*)

trp (n.) an edible bird 65:14D

tk3 (n.) “taper” 211:4; 212:5, 7, 14; 216:5; 220:5

t

ṯ (2nd pers. f. sing. suffix pron.) 212:5; 216:9

ṯw (2nd pers. sing. dep. pron., spelled *tw*) “you” 27:4; 51:6, 10; 54:11; 58:8; 62:13, 15, 17; 76:3, 8; 78:1; 105:2; 106:10, 23; 108:14; 111:4, 10; 148:4, 6; 198:5; 200:4; 206 bottom:11; 217:[4],[5]; 227 middle:3, 4; 232 left:7, [8], 9, 10

ṯ3 (n.) “piece” of something 65:19A; 226:2B

ṯ3w (n.) “breath” 53:51

ṯ3.t (n.) “dais” see under *ṯi.t*

ṯi.t (n.) “dais” 238:5 (written *ṯ3.t*)

ṯb.ty (dual n.) “sandals” 226:14; 243 middle:3

in *ḥr ṯb.ty=k* “under your sandals” 13:7; 14:10; 17:7; 18:8; 33:6; 38:27; 39:10; 47:10; 49:6; 68:6; 69:10; 73:6; 77:9;

79:19; 82 middle:4; 84 left:4; 92:2; 101:9; 116:8; 156:11; 161:5, 7; 166:4; 179:[8]; 184:6; 188; 191:6; 192:18; 193:8; 199:9; 200:14; 209:10; 226:14; 227 middle:11; 237:5; 243 middle:3; 252 left:3; 252 right:5

ḥr ṯb.ty=f “under his sandals” 52:24; 91:10; 99:11; 103:5

Tnn.t (f. div.) “Tjenenet” 36:40; 52:41; 201:[33]

+ *nb.t p.t, ḥnw.t t3.wy* “lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands” 140 right:8–9

ṯḥḥ (vb.) “to exult” 62:16

ṯswy (n.) “complainers” 207:20

ṯs-phr (verbal phrase) “vice versa” 105:1, 8, 9, 10, 11

d

- dw* (vb.) “to adore” 36:1, 14; 232 left:6, 8, 9, 10
and in *dw* *ntr* *sp* 4 “adoring the god four times” 89:1; 100:1
- dw*.*t* (n.) “morning” in *pr dw*.*t* “House of the Morning” 143:5; 154:18
in *tp dw*.*yt* “at dawn” 152:9
- Dwn*-*n.wy* (div.) “Dewen-‘anwy” 105:11
- db*.*(w)* (n.) “fig(s)” 65:12B; 207:13
- db*.*h.t-htp* (n.) “ritual meal” 65:11B; 226:3B
- dp* (vb.) “to taste” 207:9, 13
- Dp* (loc.) “Dep” 44:44; 71:8; 155:10; 163 left:7; 211:[10]; see *W*.*dy.t* (f. div.)
in *Dp.t* “(she) of Dep” 44:47; 169:7; see *S*.*t* (f. div.); *W*.*dy.t* (f. div.)
- dp.t* (n.), type of bread 207:9
- dp.t* (n.) “loins (joint of meat)” 65:16A
- dmd* (vb.) “to (be) join(ed)/gathered” (1) with no prep. 7:19; 10:3; 13:7; 14:10; 35:7; 36:14; 38:13; 52:19, 24; 69:10; 73:6; 74:8; 79:19; 82 middle:4; 99:11; 107 right:6; 115:8; 131:10; 135 bottom right:[3]; 140 right:16; 142:[9]; 145 right:9; 146 right:11; 151:31; 156:10; 159:6; 165 left:[4]; 179:8; 184:[6]; 191:6; 199:9; 209:10; 227 middle:11
- (2) *dmd* X n Y “to join X to Y” 38:13; 76:16–18; 96:5–6
- dhr*.*(t)* (n.) “sickness” 227 middle:2 (written *dhr*)
- dr* (vb.) (1) “to subdue” 38:21; 151:6; 170
- (2) “to drive away, expel” 198:5; 227 left:5 (+ *hr* “from”)
- dšr* (adj.) “red” 68 second calf
in *t*’ *dšr* “the Red Land” 150:9
- Dšr.t* (n.) “Red Land” 12 left:12; 35:7; 103:4; 142:9; 146 left:14; 156:9–[10]; 163 right:6; 184:6; 193:8; see also *di.n*=(*i*) *n=k* *Km.t Dšr.t*
- dšr.t* (n.) “red pot” (W 13) 110:1

d

- d.t* (n.) “body” 198:7
- dw.wt* (pl. n.) “evil ones” 44:34
- db.t* (n.) “brick” 25:1
- db*.*t* (n.), in *pr db*.*t* “Robing Room” 143:5; 154:18
- db*’ (n.) “finger” 96:6; 212:9; 227 middle:1
- db*’.*w* (n., construed with *m*) “tens of thousands (of things)” 44:40
- df*.*w* (n.) “provisions” 18:9; 36:6, 39; 99:5; 102:9; 138:20; 140 right:17; 142:8; 168:5; 176:3; 230:[4], [5]; 246:4; 250 left:4
see also *di.n*=(*i*) *n=k* *df*.*w*; *di.n*=(*i*) *n=k* *hw nb*
- dr* (simple prep.) “since (time)” 7:37; 53:16; 151:22; 152:14
n-dr “since” 137:25–26
- dr* (n.) “limit, end” in *r-dr* “entire” 180:10
- drw.w* (n.) “flank (of meat)” 65:18B; 207:20; 226:2C
- dr.t* (n.) “hand” in sense “strength” (in *rh dr.t*≠*f*) 44:14–15
- drty.w* (n.) “ancestors” 151:25
- Dhwt*y (div.) “Thoth” 7:23; 49:1; 105:9, 10; 202:15; 211:[11]; 217:[5]; 220:4; 230:[6]
with the following epithets
nb md.w-ntr “master of the god’s word(s)” 7:29; 74:4; 96:1–2; 192:[2]
nb Hmnw “lord of Hermopolis” 52:16; 69:6; 79:13–14; 192:[1–2]; 220:7
+ *ntr* ʒ “great god” 250 right:1
+ *hn.ty Hsr.t, hr(y)-ib hw.t-’ibt.t* “pre-eminent in Hesret, residing in the Mansion of the Clapnet” 44:25–26
- ds*’ (n.) “—self” 13:1; 14:12; 19:10; 33:19; 36:1; 39:1, 19; 96:6; 150:3; 151:20; 160:13; 163 right:12; 164 left:11; 169:13; 171:14; 172:12; 173:11; 175 left:9; 180:16; 210; 222:13; 238:11; 245:11; 248:[9]
- dsr* (adj.) “holy” 53:50; 138:26; 191:8
- Dsr.t* (loc.) “Deir el-Bahari” 4:8; 199:[10]; 232 left:9; see also *Hw.t-Hr* (f. div.) “Hathor”
- d.t* (n.) “forever, eternity” 81 left:6; 86:1; 89:5; 136 top:10; 137:30; 179:8; 196:4; 199:7; in *n d.t* “unto eternity” 53:30; 105:3; 202:7–[16]
- d.t* (adv.) “forever” (excluding *mi R’ d.t* “like Re forever,” passim; and passim in *di(w) ’nh d.t, di ’nh, di=f/s/sn ’nh* 1:9; 7:16, 23; 27:9; 33:10; 38:27; 44:41; 49:8, 21; 62:8; 64:3; 68:4; 78:9; 81 left:6; 99:6; 101:8, 9; 102:5; 104 bottom:5; 106:13; 107 right:11; 134:7; 140 left:11; 142:3; 144:5; 145 right:4; 153:8; 155:9; 161:[8]; 165 left:5; 166:6; 175 left:3; 177:1; 179:8; 190:4, 5; 191:6; 209:10, 11; 212:7; 214:7; 219:10; 222:3; 224:6; 236 right:7; 254:7; see also *spit d.t*
- dd* (vb.) “to say” 38:7; 52:25; 118:4; 137:30; 151:29; 180:19; 227 right:[1]
dd md.w in “words spoken by” passim
dd md.w “words spoken” (excluding initial and mechanically repetitive uses, passim) 203 left:2
- dd* (adj.vb.) “to be stable, enduring” 7:23; 34:7; 51:10; 75:3; 137:18
- dd* (n.) “stability” 204 right:5; passim in *’nh, dd, wis*
see under *’nh* ..., *di.n*=(*i*) *n=k* *’nh*..., *di=f/s/sn ’nh* [...], *di ’nh* [...]
- Dd.t* (loc.) “Mendes” 202:15; 211:10; see also *B*’ (div.)

Appendix A

COLOR ON THE HIEROGLYPHS

Gardiner No.	Glyph	Color (Location)
A 17var.		Wig blue, throne blue (74:10)
A 28		Red (200:3)
A 40		Wig blue, face red (46:5; 49:19; 60:7; 69:4; 73:4); wig blue, face red, body yellow (46:5; 69:5; 74:5,12; 75:1; 247:2); wig blue (79:20; 173:1; 178:16; 179:14); body yellow (74:5, 6; 105:6, 7); red face, body yellow (245:5); wig blue, body yellow (74:5)
A 40E		Wig blue, face red (201:5, 9); yellow body (180:11); face red, beard black, body outlined in red (226:17); face red, beard black (226:16)
A 41		Body yellow (106:30)
A 42		Wig yellow, face red, neck blue (69:5); knee white (180:11); face red, beard black (226:16); face red, beard black, outline red (226:17); wig blue, body yellow (43:1)
A 42B		Wig blue, face red, crook and flail yellow (43:3)
A 53		Yellow (69:8)
B 1		Wig blue, face red, body yellow (70:4; 74:12)
B 1E		Body red (49 right:8)
C 2A		Disk red (74:6; 106:7); disk red, head and wig blue (69:12); disk red, wig blue (74:16); body yellow/white (75:6); disk red, wig blue, body yellow/white (74:11)
C 7		Wig blue (76:34; 201:15); wig blue, body yellow (245:13)
C 10		Body red (49:8)
C 10A		Body yellow (106:6, 12, 30); face red, wig blue (74:3; 76:33); wig blue (201:12); face red/yellow (246:8)
C 11		Red (70:2)
C 17		Wig blue, face white (171:2)
C 177		Throne blue (75:5)
C 178A		Feather and face red, wig/shoulder blue (73:3; 74:15); holding wsr-staff, blue feather (75:2)
D 1		Face red (200:4; 245:5); face red, wig blue (74:2, 14)
D 2		Yellow (47:6; 74:10, 13; 76:32; 106:2)
D 4		Iris red (46:4; 71:12; 226:16); iris black, pupil red (226:16)
D 21		Red (43:1, 2, 3; 46:5, 8; 69:2, 5; 74:14; 78:1; 105:7; 171:1, 226:15)
D 28		Red (69:10)

Gardiner No.	Glyph	Color (Location)
D 36		Red (46:4, 17; 47:10; 69:11; 74:1, 9, 10, 14; 105:7; 106:8; 226:15)
D 37		Red (43:11; 46:18)
D 40		Red (43:3; 46:19; 49:8; 73:11; 74:14; 105:5; 171:8; 247:7)
D 46		Red (43:3; 44:38; 46:18; 71:8; 74:12; 79:20)
D 55		Red (43:1; 73:6; 74:14)
D 56		Red (69:2, 10)
D 58		Red (43:11; 50:17; 74:9; 226:19)
E 1		Red (46:19; 53:37; 71:3; 73:11)
E 17		Red (43:1)
E 23		Yellow (46:8)
E 34		Yellow (69:3, 10; 75:2; 106:30; 245:5)
F 9		Red (171:8)
F 13		Blue (70:7; 74:13)
F 23		Red (75:6); yellow (74:16)
F 24		Red (59:9; 105:5)
F 28		Yellow (53:40)
F 31		Top and center foxtail blue, right foxtail yellow (106:7); blue/green (69:1, 12; 74:16; 75:6); knot red, stalks blue (74:11)
F 34		Red (43:11; 46:5, 15; 50:17; 200:2; 201:15; 216:1; 247:5)
F 35		Windpipe blue, heart red (106:5); heart red (46:6; 68:3; 69:3)
F 36		Yellow (69:2, 7)
F 40		Vertebrae red (43:11; 46:4, 15; 50:17; 201:15; 216:1; 247:5)
F 51		Red (74:10)
G 1		Yellow with green wing (74:2)
G 5		Green (46:19; 69:1, 4; 71:7; 74:14; 105:13; 226:16); body green, feet yellow (74:12)
G 14		Wing green and chest red (60:5); wing green (70:4)
G 15		Green (70:5; 73:7)
G 17		Blue speckling (178:11, 20; 179:8); yellow (43:2; 46:13; 49:7, 8; 64:4; 74:2); yellow with wing outlined in red (69:5)
G 25		Head green (180:6)
G 26		Head green, body yellow, standard red (74:4)
G 39		Yellow (43:2; 46:2; 64:4; 69:12; 71:12); green (74:16; 178:11); red stripe on wing (71:4)

Gardiner No.	Glyph	Color (Location)
G 40		Wings blue (180:21)
G 43		Blue speckling (178:13); yellow (46:12; 64:4; 69:8, 9, 10; 71:12; 73:4, 6; 74:9; 78:6; 216:7, 8); yellow with black wing (69:5); traces of white (180:11); faint traces of yellow with red outline (106:23)
G 106		Green (79:20; 105:16); green with White Crown in white (73:11)
G 122		Falcons green, standard red (69:3, 4, 9)
H 6		Blue (180:23)
H 8		Yellow with red correction line on lower left (245:13)
I 6		Blue (66:1)
I 9		Yellow (46:11, 18; 50:17; 75:1; 179:5; 201:13; 245:1; 247:5)
I 10		Blue (126:2); yellow (43:1,2; 47:10; 74:1,9,12; 75:1)
I 12		Yellow (74:9)
I 64		Tail yellow (201:13)
I 65		Yellow (46:23; 76:35; 251:5)
L 1		Blue (74:14; 105:7)
L 2		Thorax red (245:12); abdomen yellow (245:12; 247:11); wings and abdomen yellow (69:11; 106:28); wings yellow (71:12; 106:4); abdomen green (226:17); wing and thorax yellow, abdomen green/blue (74:15)
M 7		Staff green, base green bands (74:10)
M 13		Red (74:1); yellow (46:23)
M 15		Base red (43:3; 247:5); base red, buds and stalks green (69:5, 10; 71:12)
M 16		Base red, buds and stalks green (47:10; 74:2, 13)
M 17		Blue (78:3, 4, 6; 179:1; 180:22; 200:1, 2; 201:15); green (43:1, 3; 46:1, 8, 14; 47:6, 7; 58:1, 8; 63:4; 64:4; 69:1, 3, 5, 10, 12; 71:3, 4, 7, 12; 72:2, 12; 73:2; 74:1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 16; 75:1, 4, 6; 76:32, 34; 78:6; 105:2, 3; 106:1; 171:14; 179:5; 216:1, 2; 226:16; 245:1, 13); leaf no color, stem red (105:4); stem blue (106:1); stem blue, leaf green (74:1, 3, 4, 5, 12; 75:1, 4)
M 18		Green (43:1; 58:7)
M 22		Green (74:9; 226:19)
M 23		Green (69:3; 71:7, 12; 72:1; 73:10; 74:15; 76:32)
M 26A		Upper bud red (78:1); green (74:13)
M 27		Plant green, arm red (69:5); arm red (106:9)
N 1		Blue (46:18; 47:8; 73:11; 74:11; 76:11; 201:11, 14; 245:3)
N 5		Red (46:2, 3, 11, 17, 22; 49:8; 50:1, 17; 53:7, 37; 63:4; 64:4; 68:4; 69:11; 71:12; 72:9; 73:2, 3, 5; 74:3, 11, 14, 15, 16; 75:1, 2, 5, 7; 78:9, 12, 13, 15; 96:10; 104:10; 105:7; 106:6, 28; 108:10, 17; 119:8, 10; 171:15; 187:4, 11; 200:2; 201:12, 15; 216:1; 217:12; 245:12, 13; 246:8, 10; 247:1, 10, 11, 12; 265: n.n.)

Gardiner No.	Glyph	Color (Location)
N 6		Red (105:16; 200:5; 246:7)
N 6		Red (73:11)
N 16		Red (74:14)
N 17		Blue (69:10; 75:2; 171:16; 245:12)
N 18		Red (172:6); green (74:9)
N 25		Red (47:10; 49:5; 68:6)
N 28		Rays green, hill green, red, and blue bands (74:14; 245:13); alternating bands of blue and red (74:14; 201:15; 246:9); rays blue, hill blue and red (46:4, 17, 21; 245:13); blue (71:12; 171:16); rays green (72:7)
N 29		Green (69:5); yellow (75:1)
N 35		Blue (179:5; 226:15, 16); yellow (74:14)
N 36		Blue and green (72:7); green (46:2; 72:7; 74:6, 11, 16; 75:6)
N 37		Green (69:4, 5; 74:4)
O 1		Blue (74:14; 179:5)
O 4A		Green (46:5)
O 11		Red and blue striping (74:14)
O 28		Upper half red, lower half blue (179:4; 201:7)
O 29		Red (46:18; 53:40; 69:1; 70:7)
O 34		Red (47:9; 69:4, 5, 12; 73:3; 74:13, 15, 16; 75:5, 6)
O 49		Green (46:8, 18; 66:1; 69:7; 71:8, 12; 74:9; 78:6; 106:10; 200:4); blue (78:6; 178:20; 201:7)
Q 1		Blue (47:7; 75:4; 245:5)
Q 3		Yellow horizontal band in center (106:3); alternating yellow and blue bands (47:7, 8); green (59:6; 69:3, 4; 70:7; 71:8; 72:1, 2; 75:4)
R 8		Yellow (46:18; 53:40; 60:5; 69:1, 3; 70:4; 106:5; 245:2; 247:2)
R 9		Red (49 right:20)
R 11		Yellow (46:11, 18; 50:17; 75:3; 217:10); yellow with horizontal striping (247:10)
R 24		Green (70:4)
S 1		Yellow (74:13, 14)
S 3		Red (73:4; 74:9, 12, 13; 75:1)
S 5		Yellow (106:2); red (74:7); White Crown yellow, Red Crown red (74:14)
S 8A		Blue (171:16)
S 29		Red (43:2, 11, 23; 46:23; 50:17; 69:1, 12; 74:6, 12, 13, 14, 16; 105:5; 108:19; 247:10)

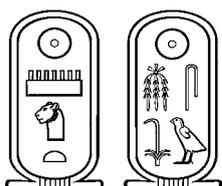
Gardiner No.	Glyph	Color (Location)
S 33		Red and yellow (68:6)
S 34		Blue (43:11; 46:18, 22; 47:9; 69:5, 12; 73:7, 8, 11; 74:2, 15; 75:7; 76:33; 174:2; 179:9, 10; 201:15; 216:1; 247:10)
S 38		Yellow (46:4; 69:5; 74:14)
S 40		Green (43:11; 46:18; 69:5; 71:11; 73:5; 74:2; 76:5; 178:19; 179:9; 216:1)
S 42		Yellow (106:2); green (74:14)
S 43		Red (43:1, 2; 46:1, 12; 47:10; 73:6; 74:1, 4, 9, 12, 14; 75:1; 78:6; 105:2, 3, 4, 5, 7)
S 45		Yellow (46:17)
T 4		Shaft yellow, bindings red (74:9; 226:19)
T 10		Red (69:5; 226:17)
T 12		Green (75:3; 226:15)
T 28		Red (69:10)
U 5		Red and blue (69:11; 74:14); red (43:3)
U 6		Red (46:19; 73:11; 75:1)
V 10		Blue (75:2; 178:17)
V 13		Green (46:4, 17; 74:14)
V 15		Green with red legs (74:14)
V 28		Green (74:10; 226:6)
V 30		Green (43:11; 46:1, 2, 11, 18; 47:8; 50:17; 59:8, 9; 61:3; 66:1, 2; 68:6; 69:1, 3, 8, 9; 70:4; 72:7; 73:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11; 74:3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16; 75:5, 6; 76:2, 5; 106:6, 7; 171:8; 179:1; 192:18; 216:1; 245:3, 12, 13; 246:1, 8; 247:1, 3, 10, 11, 12); blue and/or green chessboard pattern (43:11; 200:2, 16; 201:6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15; 251:2, 3)
V 31		Green (43:2; 46:3; 66:1; 68:6; 69:2, 5, 8, 10; 73:4, 6; 74:2, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14; 75:2; 76:30; 111:2; 171:17; 179:7; 179:5; 246:2); blue (43:2; 69:5; 97:7; 115:3; 171:17; 200:3; 226:16); green chessboard pattern (43:11; 178:17; 192:18)
V 32		Bands green (69:1)
W 11		Red (46:1; 59:2; 73:2; 245:5; 246:1; 247:1)
W 9		Yellow (74:10)
W 10		Yellow (47:8; 201:14)
W 18		Red (245:1; 247:3)
W 19		Jar red (46:11, 22; 50:17; 71:12; 186:7; 201:15; 216:1; 217:10); jar red, loop yellow (46:11, 17, 22; 69:5); loop red (74:11); jar red with blue stripes, loop yellow (247:10)
W 24		Red (46:5; 49:7; 206:19; 226:19) upper half blue, lower half red (201:13)
W 25		Jar blue, legs red (43:2)

Gardiner No.	Glyph	Color (Location)
X 1		Blue (46:4, 5; 47:6, 7, 8; 60:6; 66:1, 2; 68:6; 69:3, 5, 6, 10, 11; 74:9, 12, 13, 14; 75:1, 4, 7; 171:8; 172:6; 179:5, 12, 14; 180:18; 201:13, 15; 216:1; 226:16, 17, 19; 245:12)
X 8		Blue (46:3, 22; 47:10; 73:8; 74:15; 76:33; 174:2; 218 left:1)
Y 4		Base red (49:7)
Y 5		Red (43:1; 46:1, 5; 47:6; 49:18, 20; 61:2; 64:4; 68:1; 69:12; 73:2; 74:3, 6, 11, 12, 16; 75:3; 76:32; 78:4, 14; 79:20; 104:14; 106:2, 5, 7; 108:16, 18; 171:2; 179:5; 200:2, 10, 16; 201:15; 216:10; 245:12, 13; 246:8; 247:1); Board red, men blue (74:13; 75:3, 6; 179:1; 180:7)
Z 1		Blue (71:12; 74:10, 14; 75:3; 226:15, 17; 227 left:6)
Z 2		First stroke yellow (106:7)
Z 4		Blue (226:16)
Z 4A		Blue (75:3)
Z 7		Yellow (75:3); red (46:8)
Z 9		Blue (70:7)
Z 11		Red (226:16)
Aa 1		Green (69:5; 72:1; 74:12, 14; 171:17; 172:6; 218 middle:6); blue (73:11; 171:17)
Aa 15		Red (46:4; 49:21; 50:17; 69:5; 74:10, 14; 75:4; 76:30; 226:16)

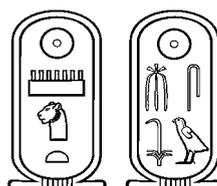
Appendix B

CARTOUCHES AND HORUS NAMES

Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Ramesses I

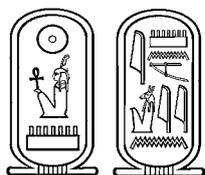


131:[12-13]; 133:[12-13]; 138:
n.n.; 140 right:19-20; 142:2-3

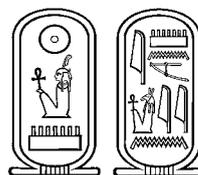


140 left:14-15; 141:13-14

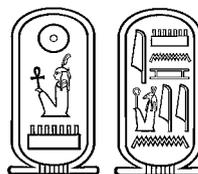
Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Sety I



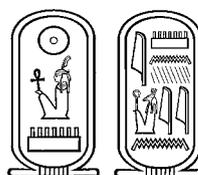
42:9-10; 48:8-9; 53:48-49; 57:6-7
(usurped); 137:32-33; 139:13-
14; 143:2-3; 144:10-11; 145
left:[11-12]; 145 right:11-[12];
146 left:16-17; 146 right:13-14;
147:10-11; 149:11-[12]; 150:13-
[14]; 152:above king (?);
153:15-16; 154:15-16; 155:13-14;
156:13-14; 157: [n.n.]; 161:9-
10; 162:4-5; 163 right:9-10;
168:12-13; 171:12-13; 172:9-10;
175 left:6-7; 176:5-6; 177:4-5;
178:21-22; 179:12-13; 194:[7-8];
218 middle:7-8; 218 right:5-6;
222:11-12; 223:7-8; 224:10-11;
225:7-8; 226:17-18; 229:4; 230:3;
245:12-13; 246:8-9; 247:11-12;
248:6-7



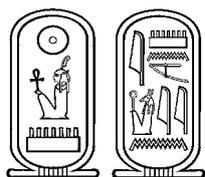
174:8-9



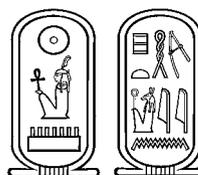
237:8-9



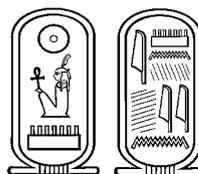
160:10-11; 173:8-9; 241:9-[10]



166:14-15; 167:2-3; 174:8-9; 175
right:6-7; 193:12-13; 195:10-11;
196:8-9; 204 right:7-8; 205
left:8-9; 207:23-24; 208 left:8-9;
208 right:11-12; 213 right:8-9;
216:10-11; 235:12-13; 236:2-3;
237:8-9; 238:8-9



183:7-8; 184:7-8; 187:10-11

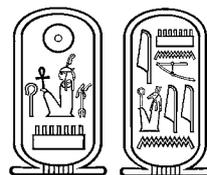


163 left:10-[11]; 164 left:9-10;
164 right:8-9; 170: n.n.; 211:13-
[14]; 231 left:8-9; 231 right:8-9;
244:5-[6]

Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Sety I (cont.)



203 left: n.n.; 206 top:5-6;
217:6-7



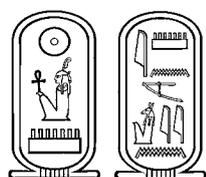
190:9-10; 191:9-10; 192:19-20;
195:10-11; 200:15-16



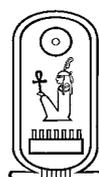
48:8-9



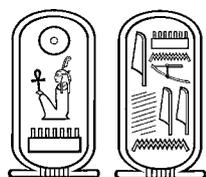
199:18-19



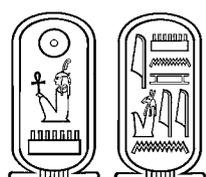
218 left:10-11



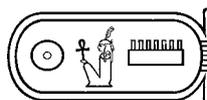
27:6; 42:8; 48:1, 3; 53:51; 61:1;
72:3; 76:32; 148:3, 10; 150:5;
151:3, 8; 152:2; 153:2, 14; 154:2,
ka-standard behind king; 163
left:3; 163 right:4; 165 right:2;
169:3; 170: n.n.; 178:1, 4, 17, 33,
34; 180:[1], 25; 189:4; 197:[3], 15,
20; 198:1, 17; 200:2, 10; 201:4,
12, 23, 31, 35, 39; 202:5, 19; 205
left:4; 206 bottom:10; 212:14;
219:13; 220:11; 224:4; 226:3; 227
left:2; 228:6; 230:10, 7; 231 left:2



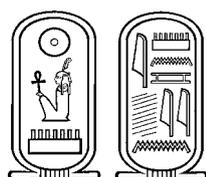
27:13-14; 165 right:9-10;
171:12-13; 203 right:3-4; 204
left:4-5; 205 right:16; 213 left:6-
7; 214:13-14; 215 right:10-11;
221 left:5-6; 227 middle:6-7; 227
right:6-7; 239:7-8; 240:7-8



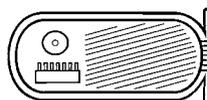
65:1-2; 72:8-9; 76:33-34



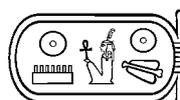
148: n.n



169:10-11; 243:6-7



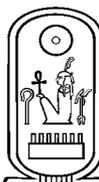
187:15



178:31; 201:37



209:15-16; 221 right:7-8



191:4; 192:9; 193:15; 197:13;
199:6



86:11-12

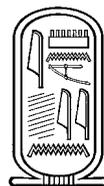


76:32

Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Sety I (cont.)



137:1, frieze of cartouches above king; 138: frieze of cartouches above scene; 139:3, frieze of cartouches above scene; 140: frieze of cartouches above scene; 141: frieze of cartouches above scene; 142: frieze of cartouches above scene; 143: frieze of cartouches above scene; 148:5; 150:7; 151:27; 154:[5], [9]; 201:8, 15, [19], 27, [39]; 202:6



161:2; 180:2; 198:9



199:3



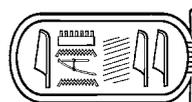
178:1; 198:[12]; 231 left:[5]



178:32



199:10

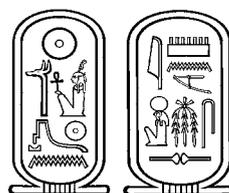


184:9; 187:15; 201:38

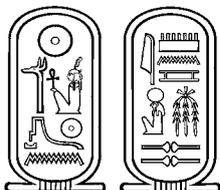
Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Ramesses II



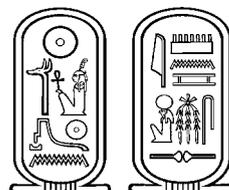
2:13-14; 3:13-14; 33:17-18; 41 left; 124:8-9



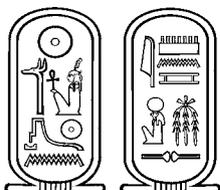
4:14-15; 36:45-46; 38:32-33 (?); 61:7-8; 123:6-7; 125:7-8



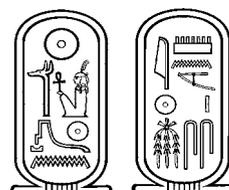
43:16-17; 44:9-10; 47:11-12; 49:22-23; 50:11-12 (?); 51:2-3, 13-14; 52:43; 53:[1], 4, 33-34; 58:13-14; 60: 8-9



41 right; 52:45-46

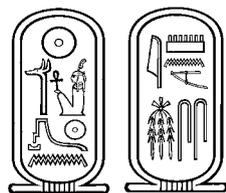


122:5-6

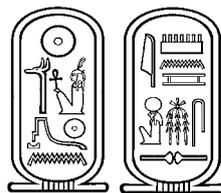
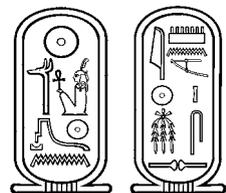


14:10-11; 22: n.n.; 23:11-12; 34:10-11

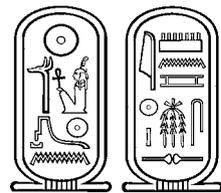
Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Ramesses II (cont.)



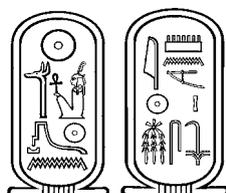
5:6-7

24:12-13; 48:5-6; 89:7-8;
94:7-8; 95 right:6-7;
95 left:4-5; 101:12-13;
102:11-12; 104:11-12; 107
right:13-14; 107 left:6-[7];
108 right:9-[10]; 108 left:17-
18; 110:6-7; 111:15-16;
113:2-3; 128:6-7

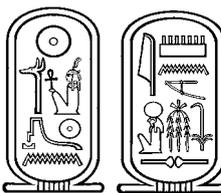
6:5-6



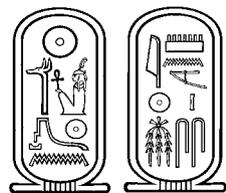
46:20-21



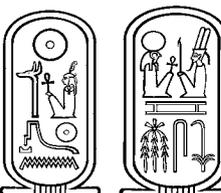
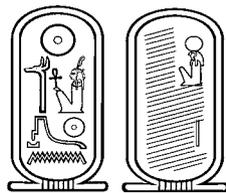
255:6-7; 256:7-8



57:6-7



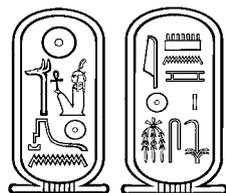
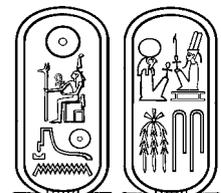
7:43-44

136 top:11-12, n.n., n.n.; 249
bottom left:5-6; 250 left:7-8;
250 right:8-9; 251 right:6-7;
253 bottom:5-6; 262 top

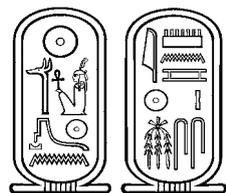
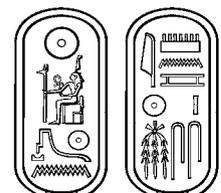
80:8-9



249 bottom right:4-5

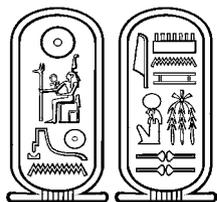
131:12-13; 132:11-12; 135
bottom left:5-6; 135 bottom
right:5-6; 251 left:7-8; 252
left:6-[7]; 252 right:8-9

57:8-9

15:5-6; 17:[8-9]; 25:7-8;
31:8-9; 32:[14-15]; 35:10-11;
42:5-6; 54:19-20; 55:8-[9];
56:10-11; 126:4-[5]; 129:6-7;
133:12-13; 134:16-17;
254:10-11

59:8-9

Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Ramesses II (cont.)



61:10-11



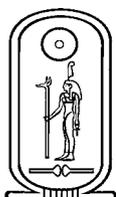
96:13; 118:10

12 right:12; 39:21; 71:5; 74:3;
76:2, in *serekh* of *ka*-standard,
22; 78:10; 79:3; 93:3; 96:11;
105:1, 12, 171; 112:3; 118:8;
120:[3]; 130:8

53:37



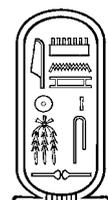
75:2

7:4, 21, 25, 38, 40; 16:[6]; 22:7;
24:10; 25:3; 32:[18]; 34:14;
36:16, 20, 27, 32, 34, 39; 37:4,
13; 38:3; 42:8; 44:2, 24, 27,
46, 48; 45: [n.n.]; 46:2; 47:14;
49:16; 51:11; 52:2; 53:7; 54:4;
58:4; 61:1; 62:[20]; 89:1, 3,
10; 101:4; 102:2; 104:2; 107
right:3; 108 right:[3]; 108
left:[14]; 112:2; 121:1; 137:19,
30; 158:3; 253 top: n.n.; 257:3,
7

73:3



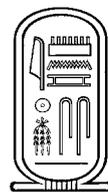
106:30



7:2



74:14; 77:3; 78:9; 99:11



118:9



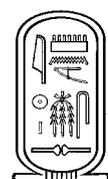
105:17



32:5; 62:[19]; 127: [n.n.]

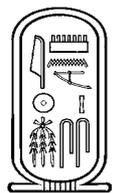


105:15

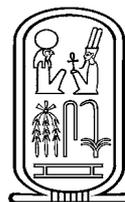


36:25; 91:[9]

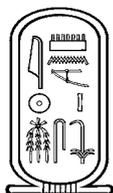
Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Ramesses II (cont.)



7:39; 12: n.n.



105:8



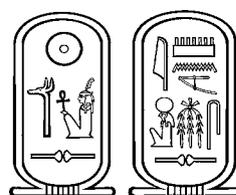
39:[3]



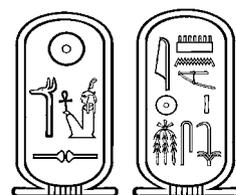
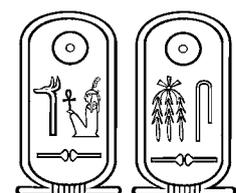
6:6



33:3

12 left:16-17; 12 right:9-10;
26:8-9; 85 right:7-8

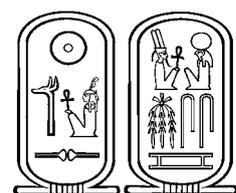
123:3; 124:2

18:10-11; 19:7-8; 20:8-9;
21:7, n.n.; 28:10-11; 29:7-8;
30:11-12; 39:17-18; 40:7-84:3; 36:14, 18, 23, 29, 36, 42;
37:34

82 right:5-6



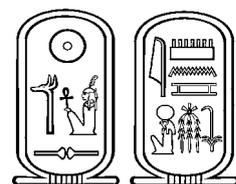
74:6, 11; 76:28; 96:12; 103:3



82 middle:5-6



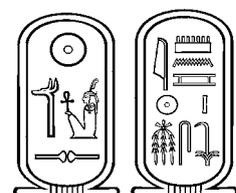
84 middle:2



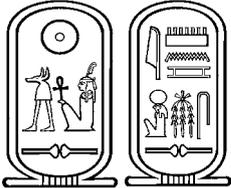
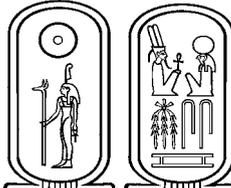
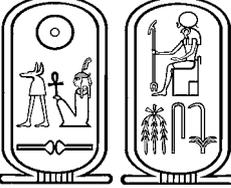
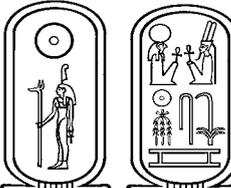
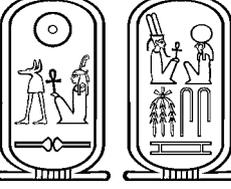
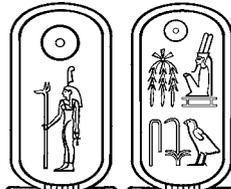
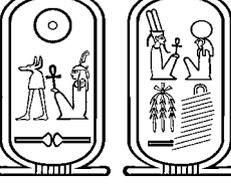
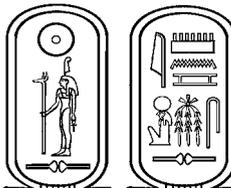
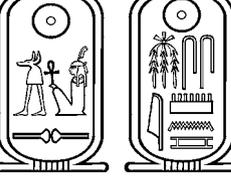
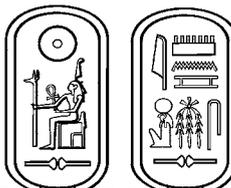
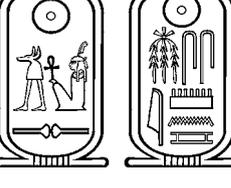
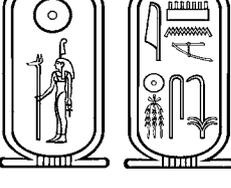
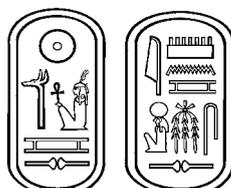
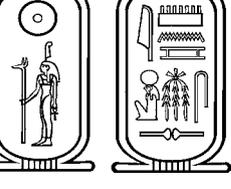
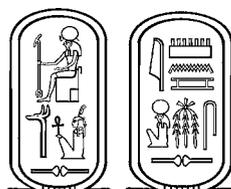
84 left:5-6



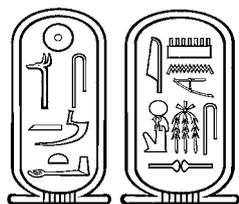
105:18; 136 top: n.n.

65:8-9; 72:7; 73:8-9; 78:12-13;
79:23-24; 90:11-12; 97:9-10;
98:7-[8]; 99:7-[8]; 100:7-8;
106:6-7, [28-29]; 115:9-10;
116:9-10; 119:[3-4]

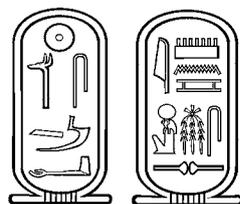
Prenomen and Nomen Cartouches of Ramesses II (cont.)

	114:8-9		81 middle:6-7
	63:1		68:8-9
	71:12		83 left:4-5
	81 right:5-6		72:5-6; 74:15-16
	81 left:7-8		75:5-6
	83 middle:5-6		77:19-20
	70:10-11		119:10-11
	76:41-42; 130:6-7		64:4; 65:10; 71:10-11

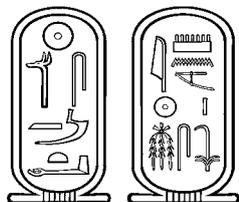
Horus Names of Ramesses II



69:11-12



96:7-8

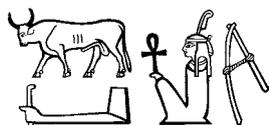


82 left:5-6

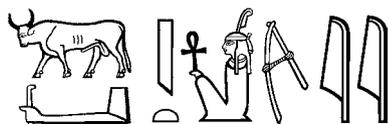
Horus Names of Ramesses II



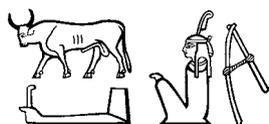
7:26; 104 bottom:[10]; 106:12, 30; 111:10



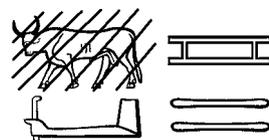
7:23, 38; 37:8; 39:12; 41 right; 43:15; 46:19; 52:43, 44; 53:37; 54: n.n.; 58: n.n.; 68:7; 73: n.n.; 76: n.n.; 77:18; 78:11; 79:20; 90: n.n.; 91:[7]; 96:11; 102:10; 105:16, 16; 106:27; 107 right:12; 108:8; 118:8; 124:7; 133:11; 250 right:7; 252 right:7



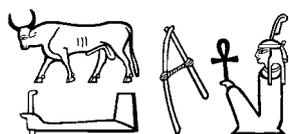
36:44



49:8



130:5



53:32



7:39



7:40

Horus Names of Sety I



42; 150:5; 154: n.n.; 155:12; 160:[9]; 178:20; 179:11; 192:[4]; 239:[6]



137:18; 151:5



142: n.n.; 143: n.n.; 246:[7]



168:11



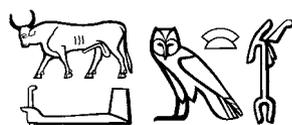
194: n.n.



215 right: n.n.



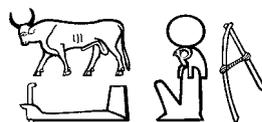
225:6



53:47; 123:5; 129:5; 215 right:9



137:11



163 left:9; 209:14

Appendix C

PROTECTION FORMULAE

Behind King

<i>s3 'nh nb h3=f nb [m]i R'...</i>	“Every protection — all life — surrounds him [lik]e [Re...]”: 204 left:6
<i>'nh s3 dd w3s</i>	“Life, protection, stability, and dominion”: 196
<i>s3 'nh h3=f nb</i>	“Every protection — life — surrounds him”: 122
<i>s3 'nh h3=f mi R'</i>	“Protection and life surround him like Re”: 174
<i>s3 'nh h3=f nb mi [R']</i>	“Every protection — life — surrounds him like [Re]”: 194
<i>s3 'nh h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — life — surrounds him like Re”: 227 middle
<i>[s3 'nh nb h3=f] nb mi R'</i>	“Every [protection — all life — surrounds him] like Re”: 158
<i>s3 'nh w3s h3=f nb [mi R']</i>	“Every protection — life and dominion — surrounds him [like Re]”: 146 left
<i>s3 'nh h3=f nb mi R' d.t</i>	“Every protection — life — surrounds him like Re forever”: 206 top:7
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — [all] life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 11
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 253 bottom
<i>[s3 'nh dd w3s nb sn]b nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“[Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion], all [h]ea[lth] and all joy — surrounds [him like Re]”: 80
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb</i>	“All protection, life, stability, and dominion”: 71; 244
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb h3=<f> nb</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds <him>”: 195
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb h3=f mi R'</i>	“Protection — all life, stability, and dominion, and all health — surrounds him like Re”: 51
<i>s3 'nh w3s h3=<f></i>	“The protection of life and dominion surrounds <him>”: 30
<i>[s3 'nh w3s nb h3=f] nb mi R' d.t</i>	“Every [protection — all [life and dominion — surrounds him] like Re forever”: 136 top
<i>s3 'nh h3=f nb d[.t]</i>	“Every protection — life — surrounds him forever”: 65
<i>[s3 'nh] dd w3s nb sn[b nb] 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R' d.t</i>	“Every [protection] — all [life], stability, and dominion, [all] hea[lth], (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever”: 103
<i>s3 'nh w3s [nb] s[n]b nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — [all] li[fe] and domi[nion], all [he]alth — surrounds [him] like Re”: 109
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R' d.t nhh</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever and eternally”: 110

Behind Amun-Re Kamutef

<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re”: 2; 18; 20; 45; 98; 116; 125; 132; 143; 146 left
<i><s3 'nh> dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every <protection> — all <life>, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re”: 167
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R' d.t</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever”: 28; 90; 145 left:6; 147; [155]
<i>[s3] 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R' d.t</i>	“[Every protection] — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re forever”: 134
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy — surrounds him”: 24; 215 right
<i>'nh dd w3s nb [snb nb] 3w.t-ib [nb] h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every <protection> — all life, stability, and dominion, [all health, all] joy — surrounds him like Re”: 9
<i>[s3 'nh nb ...] 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“[Every protection — all life ...], (and) all joy — surrounds him like Re”: 87 top
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 93
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, dominion, and all health — surrounds him like Re”: 214
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb h3=f nb mi R' d.t</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health — surrounds him like Re forever”: 114
<i>[s3 'nh] dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb kn.t nb nh.t nb h3=f nb</i>	“Every [protection] — all [life], stability, and dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, (and) all victory — surrounds him”: 159
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb kn.t nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, dominion, and health, all joy and all valor — surrounds him like Re”: 193
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 237
<i>s3 'nh dd [w3s] snb nb sn[b] nb 3w.t-ib nb <h3=f nb> mi R' d.t</i>	“Every protection — life, stability, and [dominion], all health, all health, and all joy — <surrounds him> like Re forever”: 254

Behind Khonsu

<i>[s3 'nh dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib] nb snb nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every [protection — all life, stability, and dominion], all [joy] (and) all health — surrounds him like Re”: 12 left
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health — surrounds him like Re”: 30
<i>s3 ['nh dd] w3s h3=f nb mi R'</i>	“Every protection — [life, stability, and] dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 46

Behind Amun-Re

<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R^c d.t,</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re forever”: 133
<i>s3 'nh h3=f</i>	“Protection and life surround him”: 187; 241
<i>s3 'nh h3=f mi R^c</i>	“Protection and life surround him like Re”: 194
<i>s3 'nh h3=f nb</i>	“Every protection — life — surrounds him”: 190; 204 right; 217; 218 middle
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s h3=f nb mi R^c</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 21
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb ... [h3=f nb mi R^c]</i>	“[Every] protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health, [...] — [surrounds him like Re]”: 54
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb [h3=f...]</i>	“[Every] protection — all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health — [surrounds him]”: 55:7
<i>[s3] 'nh nb h3=f nb mi R^c</i>	“Every [protection] — all life — surrounds him like Re”: 136 top

Behind Ithyphallic Amun-Re

<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R^c</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re”: 56; 107 right
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R^c d.t</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re forever”: 40; 157
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R^c</i>	“Every protection — all life, stability, dominion, all health and all joy — surrounds him like Re”: 247
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s h3=f nb mi R^c</i>	“Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 110; 206 bottom
<i>[s3...] h3=f nb mi R^c r^c nb</i>	“Every [protection ...] surrounds him like Re every day”: 189

Behind Min-Amun-Kamutef

<i>s3 'nh dd w3s h3=f nb mi R^c</i>	“Every protection — life, stability, and dominion — surrounds him like Re”: 195
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Behind Atum

<i>[s3 'n]h h3=f</i>	“[Protection and li]fe surrounds him”: 175 left
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Behind Mut

<i>s3 'nh dd w3s [h3=s mi R^c]</i>	“Protection, life, stability, and dominion [surrounds her like Re]”: 184
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s h3=s mi [R^c]</i>	“Protection, life, stability, and dominion surrounds her like [Re]”: 187
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s snb</i>	“Protection, life, stability, dominion, and health”: 200
<i>s3 'nh h3=s</i>	“Protection and life surrounds her”: 250 left

Behind Goddess	
<i>s3 'nh w3s sn)b h3=s mi R'</i>	“[Protection, life, dominion, and hea]lth surrounds her like Re”: 186 top
Behind Isis	
<i>s3 'nh w3s [h3=s] mi [R]'</i>	“Protection, life, and dominion [surrounds her] like [R]e”: 186 bottom
Behind Weret-hekau	
<i>s3 'nh h3=s [nb...]</i>	“[Every] protection – life – surrounds her [...]”: 191
Behind Re-Horakhty	
<i>s3 'nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f nb mi R' d.t</i>	“Every protection – all life, stability, dominion, all health and all joy – surrounds him like Re forever”: 192
Behind Min-Amu-Re	
<i>[s3 ... h3=f nb] mi R'</i>	“[Every protection ... surrounds him] like Re”: 252 right
Label Texts	
<i>hnk m kbh n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Offering a libation to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 1:1
<i>rdi.t sntr n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving incense to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 2:1
<i>skr t hq n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 3:1
<i>[r]di.t rnp.wt nb.(wt) ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving all (sorts of) plants, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 4:1
<i>[ir.t sntr n] 'Imn</i>	“[Presenting incense to] Amun”: 5:1–2
<i>skr [t] hq</i>	“Presenting a conical loaf of white [bread]”: 6:1
<i>sm3' [3b.t 3.t n it=f] 'Imn-R' [K3-mwt=f ir=f di 'nh]</i>	“Offering [a great hecatomb to his father] Amun-Re [Kamutef, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 9:1–2
<i>[...] n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“[...] to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 10:1
<i>rdi.t 3'.[t] n [I]mn-R' ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Giving sha't-cakes to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 11:1
<i>iti gs n nb.[t] p.t ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Taking a run for the la[dy] of Heaven, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 12 right:1
<i>ir.t sntr kbh ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Censing and libating, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 12 left:1
<i>nsw ds=[f] sm3' 3b.t 3.t n it=f 'Imn-R' m iw3 bhs wnd.w ir=f di 'nh</i>	“The king [him]self presents a great hecatomb to his father Amun-Re, consisting of long-horned cattle, [c]alves, (and) short-horned cattle, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 13:1–2

Label Texts (cont.)

<i>hrp hnt.w [n it=f] 'Imn-R^c K3-mw.t=f nb p.t nsw ntr.w ir=f di 'nh dd [w3s] mi R^c</i>	“Offering racks of offering vessels [to his father] Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, king of the gods that he might achieve ‘given life, stability, [and dominion] like Re””: 14:1–2
<i>wdn h.t ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Dedicating offerings, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 16:1
<i>[ir.t] sntr kbh ir=f di 'nh</i>	“[Offering] incense and libation, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 17:1
<i>rđi.t ' hr ntr ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Laying a hand (lit., arm) upon the god, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 18:1
<i>ir.t htp di nsw</i>	“Performing an ‘offering which the king gives””: 19:1
<i>s'h^c sh<n.t> k3 n 'Imn-R^c ir=f di ['nh]</i>	“Erecting the <i>sh<n.t></i> of the bull for Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given [life]””: 20:1
<i>ir.t kbh n 'Imn-R^c ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Making a libation to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 21:1
<i>pđ šs m pr 'Imn hnk.t ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Stretching the cord in the house of Amun; presenting offerings, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 22:1
<i>wpš bsn phr h3 sp 3 (w)d(i) bsn</i>	“Strewing gypsum; going around three times and scattering gypsum””: 23:1
<i>b3b3 t3 n 'Imn-R^c ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Hacking the earth for Amun-[Re], that he might achieve ‘given life””: 24:1
<i>sh^t db.t n it=f 'Imn-R^c ir=f di 'nh mi R^c</i>	“Molding a brick for his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re””: 25:1
<i>rđi.t pr [n] nb=f ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving the house [to] its lord, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 26:1
<i>rđi.t m3^c 3b.t 3.t iw3 wnd.w n it=f Pth nb m3 't ir=f di 'nh mi R^c d.t</i>	“Causing a great hecatomb to be presented, of long- and short-horned cattle, to his father Ptah, lord of Ma‘at, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re forever””: 27:1–2
<i>rđi.t mđ.t n 'Imn-R^c ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving ointment to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 30:1
<i>h^{nk} mđ.t w3b n is.wy n it=f 'Imn-R^c ir=f di 'nh dd w3s mi R^c</i>	“Offering pure ointment of the double-workshop of his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life, stability, and dominion like Re””: 32:1–3
<i>f3i h.t n it.f 'Imn-R^c ir=f di 'nh mi R^c d.t</i>	“Elevating offerings to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘[given] life like [Re] forever””: 33:1
<i>rđi.t mn^h.[t] ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving cloth, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 34:1
<i>(w)di sh.t sp 4 n it.f Mntw nb W3s.t ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Traversing the field four times for his father Monthu, lord of Thebes, that he might achieve ‘given life””: 35:1
<i>dw3 'Imn-[R^c hr(y)]-tp psđ.t n nsw ds.f</i>	“Adoring Amun-[Re, chi]ef of the Ennead, by the king himself””: 36:1
<i>nsw ds.f sm3 3b.t 3.t n it=f ['Im]n-R^c nb nsw t3.wy hry-tp psđ.t 3.t m iw3 rnn wnd.w h.t nb.t nfr.t w3b.t hnk.t rnp.wt nb.(w)t n it=f 'Imn-R^c di=f 'nh dd w3s n s3[=f] R^c-ms- sw [mry-'Imn]</i>	“The king himself presents a great hecatomb to his father, [Amu]n-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, chieftain of the Great Ennead, consisting of long-horned cattle and calves, short-horned cattle — everything good and pure — and offerings of all (sorts of) fresh flowers for his father Amun-Re that he might give life, stability, and dominion to[his] son RAMESSU-[MERAMUN]””: 39:1–3

Label Texts (cont.)	
<i>ir.t sntr kbh [n] ntr nfr</i>	“Censing and libating [to] the good god”: 42:1
<i>pḥr ḥ3 sp 4 n it=f ntr nfr Mn-M3.t-Rc m nms.t sp 4 n mw</i>	“Going round-about four times on behalf of his father, the good god MENMA‘ATRE, with four <i>nemset</i> -jars of water”: 48:1
<i>ḳ pr.t bs-nsw r ḥw.t-ntr n Imn-Rc</i>	“Coming and going: introducing the king into the temple of Amun-Re”: 50:1
<i>ḥc nsw mit.t Rc r ḥw.t-ntr n it=f Imn-Rc ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“It is (as) the likeness of Re that the king appears at the temple of his father, Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 51:1
<i>wnn nsw nb t3.wy Wsr-M3.t-Rc stp.n Rc s3 Rc nb ḥc.w [Rc-ms-s] Mr.n Imn ḥr ir.t sntr ḥr-ḥ3.t it=f Imn-Rc nsw ntr.w ḥnḥ psd.t [3.t]</i>	“The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances [RAMESSES]-MERAMUN shall continually perform a censing in front of his father, Amun-Re king of the gods, together with the [Great] Ennead”: 53:1–2
<i>iti ḥp.t n Imn-Rc ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Taking possession of the oar for Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 54:1
<i>[r]di.t ir.t n it=f Imn-Rc ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Giving milk to his father, Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 55:1
<i>nd-ḥr m nms.t [n] Imn-Rc ir=f di ḥḥ mi Rc</i>	“Greeting with a <i>nemset</i> -jar [for] Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 56:1
<i>ir.t sntr n Imn-Rc ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Censing to A[mun-Re], that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 57:1
<i>ḥnp kbh n it=f Imn ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Presenting cool water to his father, Amun, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 58:1
<i>ḥnk m ir.t n Imn-Rc ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Presenting milk to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 59:1
<i>ir.t sntr n it=f Imn ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Censing his father Amun, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 60:1
<i>ir.t kbh n it=f Imn-Rc n nsw Mn-M3.t-Rc m3 c-ḥrw</i>	“Making a libation to his father Amun-Re on behalf of King MENMA‘ATRE, true-of-voice”: 61:1
<i>ḥwi bḥs.w n Imn</i>	“Driving the calves for Amun”: 68:1
<i>ḥnp kbh n Imn ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Presenting libation to Amun, that he might achieve given life”: 71:1–2
<i>ḥwi r mr.t 4 sp 4 ir=f di ḥḥ</i>	“Striking against the four <i>Meret</i> -boxes four times, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 73:1
<i>rdi.t m3c 3b.t 3.t n it=f Imn-Rc...</i>	“Causing that a great hecatomb might be presented to his father [Amun-Re...]”: 77:1
<i>ḳ pr.t bs-nsw r ḥw.t 3.t n Iwnw šmḥw šsp tw it=k Imn di=f rnpī [=k d.t]</i>	“Coming and going: king’s induction to the great mansion of Southern Egyptian Heliopolis. ‘May your father Amun receive you, that he might cause that y[ou] may be rejuvenated [forever]’”: 78:1
<i>ir.t sntr kbh n it=f</i>	“Censing and making libation to his father”: 80:1
<i>ḥnk m M3.t n it=s Imn[-Rc]</i>	“Offering Ma‘at to her father Amun-[Re]”: 81 right:1
<i>ḥnk m irp n Mw.t nb.t p.t</i>	“Offering wine to Mut, lady of heaven”: 81 middle:1
<i>ir.t sntr n it=f Ḥnsw</i>	“Censing for his father Khonsu”: 81 left:1
<i>skr t ḥd n it=f Imn</i>	“Presenting white bread to his father Amun”: 82 right:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt nb.(w)t n Imn.t</i>	“Giving all sorts of fresh flowers to Amunet”: 82 middle:1
<i>ḥnk m irp n Mnḥw</i>	“Presenting wine to Monthu”: 82 left:1

Label Texts (cont.)

[ir.t] sntr n mw.t ntr	“Cen[sing] to the god’s mother”: 84 left:1
hnk m irp n ntr ʔ	“Offering wine to the Great God”: 85 right:1
[rdi.t] rnp.wt nb.(w)t	“[Giving] all sorts of fresh flowers”: 85 left:1
ir.t ih(y) [n it]=f Imn-R ^c nsw ntr.w ir=f di nh	“Playing the sistrum [for] his [father], Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 88:1
dw ³ ntr [sp] 4 in nsw nb t ³ .wy Wsr-M ³ .t-R ^c stp.n R ^c n it=f Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Adoring the god fo[ur times] by the king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE to his father, Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 89:1
sm ³ ʔb.t ʔ[3.t] n it=f Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Causing a [gr]eat hecatomb to be presented to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 90:1
sw ^b wd ^h .(w) n it=f Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Purifying offering-rack(s) for his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 91:1
wdn h.t nb[.t nfr.t w ^b .t n it=f] Imn-R ^c	“Offering every thing [good and pure to his father] Amun-Re”: 92:1
rdi.t rnp.wt nb.(wt) ir=f di nh	“Giving all sorts of fresh flowers, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 93:1
[r]di.t sntr	“[G]iving incense”: 94:1
rdi.t [i]rp n Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Giving [w]i[ne] to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 95 right:1
ir.t htp di nsw n Imn-R ^c nsw ntr.w ir=f di nh	“Making a royal offering to Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 97:1
r[dit] wd ³ n it=f Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Givi[ng] a pectoral-collar to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 98:1
rdi.t w[s]h n it=f Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Giving a broad collar to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 99:1
dw ³ ntr sp 4 n it=f Hnsw m W ³ s.t ir=f di nh mi R ^c	“Adoring the god four times for his father Khonsu-in-Thebes, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 100:1
sm ³ ʔb.t n it=f Imn-R-Hr-ʔh.ty ir=f di nh	“Causing a hecatomb to be presented to his father, Amun-Re-Horakhty, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 101:1
[it] gs n nb.t p.t ir=f di nh mi R ^c	“Taki[ng] the run for the lady of heaven, that he might achieve ‘[given] life’”: 103:1
[rdi.t...n it]=f Imn-R ^c	“[giving...to] his [father] Amun-Re”: 104 top:1
Ir ⁱ =i sš ³ .t n hr=k nfr shtp nfr.w hm=k	“I play the sistrum to your beautiful face, causing the beauty of your person to be content”: 106:9
Rdi[t] m ³ ʔb.t ʔ.t n it=f Imn-R ^c ir=f di nh	“Caus[ing] a great hecatomb to be offered to his father, Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 107 right:1
[hwi] r mr.t sp [4]	“Stri[cking] against the Meret-box(es), [four] times”: 108 right:1
p ^h hr h ³ sp 4 m dšr.t 4 n mw ir=f di nh	“Going round-about four times with four red pots of water, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 110:1
[bs nsw r hw.t n] Imn-R ^c	“[Induction of the king into the temple of] Amun-Re”: 111:n.n.
Ir[t] sntr	“Censi[ng]”: 113:1
s ^k rt h ^q n Imn-R ^c ir=f di n mi R ^c	“Presenting white bread to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 114:1

Label Texts (cont.)	
<i>rdi.t [rnp].w[t] n [it=f]Imn-R'...</i>	“Giving [fresh flower]s to [his father Amun-Re ...]”: 116:1
<i>hnk M3'.t n nb M3'.t</i>	“Offering Ma'at to the lord of Ma'at”: 117:1, 136 top:1
<i>[nd-hr] m [nms.t] ir=f di ['nh]</i>	“[Greeting] with [the <i>nemset</i> -jar], that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 119:6
<i>rdi.t irp ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving wine, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 122:1
<i>rdi.t hḏ.w n 'Imn-R'</i>	“Giving onions to Amun-Re”: 123:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt n it=f Imn-R'</i>	“Giving fresh flowers to his father, Amun-Re”: 125:1
<i>hnk M3'.t n it=f Imn-R' ir=f [di] 'nh</i>	“Offering Ma'at to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘[given] life’”: 126:1
<i>[rdi.t] 'b.w n it=f Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh mi R' ḏ.t</i>	“[Giving] lettuce to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve given life like Re forever”: 127:1–2
<i>ir.t snṯr n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Censing to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 128:1
<i>[rdi].t mḏ.t n 'Imn-R'</i>	“[Givi]ng ointment to Amun-Re”: 129:1
<i>skr [t hḏ n it]=f Imn-R'</i>	“Presenting [white bread to] his [father] Amun-Re”: 130:1
<i>hnk m irp n 'Imn-R' ir=[f] di ['nh]</i>	“Presenting wine to Amun-Re, that [he] might achieve ‘given [life]’”: 131:1
<i>hnk m irt.t n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Presenting milk to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 132:1
<i>skr t hḏ n it=f Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 133:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt nb.(wt) n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers to Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 134:1
<i>bs-nsw r hḡ.w.t-nṯr 3ḥ Sty mr.n 'Imn m pr 'Imn m3.n[=k] it=k nb nṯr.w di=f n=k nhḥ m 'nh w3s</i>	“King’s induction into the temple (called) “Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the House of Amun, that [you] may see your father, the lord of the gods, (and) that he may give to you continuity in life and dominion”: 137:1–2
<i>ir.t snṯr kbḥ n it=f psḏ.t 3.t</i>	“Censing and libating to his father(s), the Great Ennead”: 138:1
<i>skr t hḏ n it=f St ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to his father Seth, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 139:1
<i>hnk [m irp n it=f] Hr, [ir=f di] 'nh [mi R']</i>	“Off[er]ing wine to his father Ho[rus], [that he might achieve ‘given] life [like Re]’”: 140 left:1
<i>nd-hr m nms.t n it=f Sbk ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Greeting with a <i>nemset</i> -jar for his father Sobek, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re’”: 140 right:1–2
<i>hrp kbḥ n 'Imn-R' nb p.t</i>	“Presenting cool water to Amun-Re, lord of heaven”: 141:1
<i>itṯi hpt n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Taking possession of the oar for Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 142:1
<i>ir.t snṯr</i>	“Censing”: 144:1
<i>rdi.t wsh n it=f</i>	“Giving a broad collar to his father”: 145 left:1
<i>rdi.t ḥ.t hr ḥ3.t</i>	“Placing things on the offering-stand”: 145 right:1
<i>ḥ[wi r mr.t sp 4 n] 'Imn-R' nb nswt t3.wy [ir=f di 'nh ḏḏ] w3s mi R' ḏ.t</i>	“Stri[cking the <i>Meret</i> -boxes four times for] Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, [that he might achieve ‘given life, stability, and] dominion like Re forever’”: 146 left:1–2

Label Texts (cont.)

<i>ḥwi bḥs.w sp 4 n 'Imn-R'</i>	“Driving the calve(s) four times for Amun-Re”: 146 right:1
<i>s'ḥ' s[ḥn.t n 'Imn-R' ir=f] di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Erecting the s[ḥn.t-shrine for Amun-Re, that he might achieve 'giv]en [lif]e like Re””: 147:1
<i>'k prt bs-nsw r ḥw.t-nṯr n it=f 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Coming and going: king's induction into the temple of his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve 'given life””: 149:1
<i>ḥnk mḏ.t m tw.t n ḥḏ ir.n Mn-M' .t-R' n it=f 'Imn-R'</i>	“Offering ointment in an image of silver, which MENMA'ATRE made for his father Amun-Re””: 153:1-3
<i>ḥnk ḥ.t ḥr p' tw.t n ḥḏ ir.n nb t' .wy Mn-M' .t-R' n it=f 'Imn ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Offering (food)stuff(s) upon the statue of silver which the lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE made for his father Amun, that he might achieve 'given life””: 154:1-3
<i>ḥnk m irt.t id.wt ḥw.wt mḏ(t) n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Offering milk of the cows of the cattle-stall estates to Amun-Re, that he may achieve 'given life””: 155:1-2
<i>[ḥnk] M' .t n it=f</i>	“[Presenting] Ma'at to his father””: 156:1
<i>rdi.t mnḥ.t</i>	“Giving cloth””: 160:1
<i>[ḥnk] irp</i>	“[Offering] wine””: 163 left:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt nb(.w)t nfr.(wt) w' b.(wt)</i>	“Giving all (sorts of) good and pure fresh flowers””: 165 left:1
<i>rdi.t irp n 'Imn</i>	“Giving wine to Amun””: 166:1
<i>rdi.t šb.t n Mw.t nb.t p.t ir=f di 'nh mi R'</i>	“Giving a clepsydra to Mut, lady of heaven, that he might achieve 'given life like Re””: 168:1
<i>ḥnk m M' .t n nb=s</i>	“Presenting Ma'at to her lord””: 169:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt n Mnṯw ḥr(y)-ib W' s.t</i>	“Giving fresh flowers to Monthu residing in Thebes””: 171:1
<i>ḥi ḥ.t</i>	“Elevating offerings””: 172:1
<i>rdi.t snṯr n 'Imn</i>	“Giving incense to Amun””: 173:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt n nb nṯr.w ir.n=f di 'nh</i>	“Giving fresh flowers to the lord of the gods, he having achieved 'given life””: 174:1-2
<i>skr t ḥḏ n 'Itmw ir=f <di 'nh></i>	“resenting white bread to Atum that he might achieve <'given life'>””: 175 left:1
<i>ir.t snṯr n nb nṯr.w 'Imn-R' ḥk' W' s.t</i>	“Censing to the lord of the gods, Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes””: 175 right:1-2
<i>[ḥnk m mḏ.t ... ir.f di] 'nh</i>	“[Giving ointment ... that he might achieve 'given] life””: 186:10
<i>rdi.t pr n nb=f</i>	“Giving the house to its lord””: 187:1
<i>[rdi.t] irp n 'Imn-R'</i>	“[Giving] wine to Amun-Re””: 189:1
<i>rdi.t wšḥ n 'Imn-R'</i>	“Giving a broad collar to Amun-Re””: 190:1
<i>rdi.t šb.t n Wr.t-ḥk' .w</i>	“Giving a clepsydra to Weret-hekau””: 191:1-2
<i>rdi.t kbḥ n 'Imn-R' nb p.t</i>	“Giving libation to Amun-Re, lord of heaven””: 193:1
<i>rdi.t irp</i>	“Giving wine””: 195:1
<i>ir.t snṯr [n it=f...] 'Imn-R' [...iri] ḥ.wt nb t' .wy [Mn-M' .t-R' ...]</i>	“Censing [to his father ...]Amun-Re [... who makes] benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands, [MENMA'ATRE...]””: 197:1-3
<i>['k prt] bs [nsw] r ḥw.t-nṯr n it=f ['Imn-R']</i>	“[Coming in and going out]: inducting [the king] into the temple of hi[s] father [Amun-Re]””: 199:1
<i>ir.t mḏ.t</i>	“Anointing.”: 205 left:1

Label Texts (cont.)	
<i>ir.t sntr n Mw.t n nb(.t) p.t ir=f di 'nh mi</i> <i>R' r' nb</i>	“Censing to Mut, to the lady of heaven, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re every day’”: 205 right:1–2
<i>nd-hr m nms.t n Hnsw ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Greeting with the <i>nemset</i> -jar to Khonsu that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 208 left:1–2
<i>hnk md.t n Shmt ir=s di 'nh</i>	“Offering ointment to Sekhmet that she might achieve ‘given life’”: 208 right:1–2
<i>hnk m irp n it=f 'Imn-R' nsw ntr.w</i> <i>ir=[f] di 'nh</i>	“Offering wine to his father Amun-Re king of the gods”: 209:1 “that [he] might achieve ‘given life’”: 213 left:3
<i>hnk M3'.t n nb=s</i>	“Presenting Ma'at to her lord”: 213 right:1
<i>r[dit 'b(.w) n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“G[iving le]ttuce to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 214:1–2
<i>ir.t kbh n 'Imn</i>	“Making libation for Amun”: 215 left:1
<i>rdi.t rnp.wt nb(.wt)</i>	“Giving all (sorts of) fresh plants”: 215 right:1
<i>ir.t kbh n 'Imn-R' ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Making libation to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 218 left:1
<i>hnk md.t n it=f 'Imn-R'</i>	“Offering ointment to his father Amun-Re”: 222:1–2
<i>hnk md.t n R'-[Hr]-3h.ty</i>	“Presenting ointment to Re-[Hor]akhty”: 224:1
<i>[sd si]n.[t] in nsw</i>	“[Breaking the se]al by the king”: 227 left:1
<i>hnk [(m) m3'.t (n)] nb p.t ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Presenting [Ma'at to] the lord of heaven that he might achieve ‘given life’”: 235:1
<i>[ir.t sntr kb]h</i>	“[Censing and liba]ting”: 236 left:1
<i>[ir.t] sntr n nb(.t) p.t</i>	“[Giving] incense to the lady of heaven”: 236 right:1
<i>hnk md.t n 'Imn</i>	“Presenting ointment to Amun”: 238:1
<i>[ir.t sntr] n R'-Hr-3h.ty</i>	“[Censing] to Re-Horakhty”: 242:1
<i>hnk md.t ir=f di 'nh</i>	“Presenting ointment, that might achieve ‘given life’”: 249 bottom left:1–2
<i>hnk M3'.t n nb=s</i>	“Presenting Ma'at to her lord”: 249 bottom right
<i>ir.t sntr n nb.t p.t</i>	“Censing to the lady of heaven”: 250 left:1
Erased label: <i>hnk M3'.t n [R'-hr-3h.ty ir=f]</i> <i>di 'nh</i>	“Presenting Ma'at to [Re-Horakhty that he might achieve] ‘given life’”: 251 left:1A–1B
<i>rdi.t irp</i>	“Giving wine”: 253 bottom:1
<i>rdi.t 'b(.w)</i>	“Giving lettuce”: 254:1
Wnn nsw Texts	
<i>[wnn nsw nb t3.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr-M3'.t-R'</i> <i>stp.n R' h'w m] hk3' 'nh.w mi R' d.t</i>	“[The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE shall continually be manifest as] ruler of the living like Re forever”: 9:4
<i>wnn nsw nb t3.wy nb ir.[t] h.t Wsr-M3'.t-R'</i> <i>h'w m nsw hr s.t Hr n.t 'nh.w mi R'</i>	“The king, the lord of the Two Lands, the master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE shall continually be manifest as king upon the throne of Horus of the living, like Re”: 12 right:12

Wnn nsw Texts (cont.)

<p>wnn nsw nb t3.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c stp.n R^c h^cw hr s.t Hr ^cnh.w</p>	<p>“The king, the lord of the Two Lands, the master of the ritual, USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually be manifest on the throne of Horus of the Living”: 34:14</p>
<p>wnn R^c wnn rn=k wnn p.t wnn mnw=k nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c stp.n R^c di ^cnh dd w3s mi R^c</p>	<p>“So long as Re exists, so shall your name exist. So long as heaven exists, so shall your monuments exist, (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life, stability, and dominion like Re”: 24:10</p>
<p>wnn R^c wnn rn=k wnn p.t wnn ir.wt=k nb t3.wy Mn-M3^c.t-R^c ...</p>	<p>“So (long as) Re exists, so shall your name exist, so (long as) heaven exists, so shall your deeds exist (O) lord of the Two Lands, MENMA‘ATRE [...]”: 178:16–17</p>
<p>wnn R^c wnn rn=k wnn p.t ir.wt=k mit.t</p>	<p>“So long as Re exists, so shall your name exist; (and) so long as heaven exists, so (shall) your deeds (exist) likewise”: 150:12</p>
<p>wnn nsw, [nb-t3.wy], nb ir.[t] [h].t [Wsr-M3^c ‘t-R^c] [stp.n R^c...]</p>	<p>“The king, [the lord of the Two Lands], the master of the ri[tu]al, [USERMA‘AT]RE-[SETEPENRE] shall continue to exist [...]”: 32:18</p>
<p>wnn.k hn.ty k3.w ^cnh.w nb.w mi R^c</p>	<p>“You shall be foremost of the Kas of all the living, like Re”: 34:8–9</p>
<p>wnn nsw iri 3h.wt nb t3.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr- M3^c.t-R^c h^cw m pr it=f Imn-R^c hr sm3 3b.t [n] k3=f</p>	<p>“The King, who makes benefactions, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, USERMA‘ATRE, shall appear in the house of his father Amun-Re and present a hecatomb [to] his Ka”: 39:21</p>
<p>wnn nsw nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c h^cw m <pr> it=f Imn mi R^c hr wdn h.t n it=f ntr nfr Mn-M3^c.t-R^c</p>	<p>“The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually appear in <the house of> his father Amun, like Re, while offering things to his father, the good god MENMA‘ATRE”: 42:8</p>
<p>wnn nsw nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c h^cw m nsw hr s.t Hr hn.ty k3.w ^cnh.w nb.w mi R^c</p>	<p>“The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE shall continually be manifest as king on the throne of Horus, foremost of all the Living Kas, like Re”: 47:14</p>
<p>wnn nsw nb t3.wy nb ir.t h.t Mn-M3^c.t-R^c hr šmsw it=f Imn-R^c m hb=f nfr n in.t hnm=f h^cw=f m t3.w ndm ...</p>	<p>“The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, MENMA‘ATRE shall continually follow his father Amun-Re in his beautiful Feast of the Valley, as he endows his limbs with sweet breeze [...]”: 53:51</p>
<p>[wnn...] nsw-bity Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c s3 R^c R^c-ms-s mry Imn h^cw m pr it=f Imn mi R^c d.t</p>	<p>“Dual king USERMA‘ATRE, Son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN [shall continually] be manifest in the house of his father Amun like Re forever”: 64:4</p>
<p>wnn nsw nb t3.wy ... Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c s3 R^c R^c- ms-s mry Imn h^ci hr s.t Hr n.t ^cnh.w mi R^c</p>	<p>“The King, the Lord of the Two Lands [...] USERMA‘ATRE, son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN shall continually be manifest on the throne of the Horus of the living like Re”: 65:10</p>
<p>wnn nsw iri 3h.wt [n] it=f Imn nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c s3 R^c R^c-ms-sw h^cw m nsw-bity Šm^cw Mhw mi R^c</p>	<p>“The king, who performs benefactions [for] his father Amun, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, son of Re RAMESSU, shall continually be manifest as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt like Re”: 71:12</p>
<p>wnn nsw ti.t Imn nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c s3 R^c nb hpš R^c-ms-s mry Imn h^cw m pr it=f Imn [mi R^c] d.t</p>	<p>“The king, image of Amun, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, shall continually be manifest in the house of his father Amun [like Re] forever”: 72:7</p>
<p>[wnn] nsw nb t3.wy Mn-M3^c.t-R^c m3^c-hrw hr šms it=f Imn m hw.t-ntr 3h Sty mr.n Pth m pr Imn hr šsp sn.w [pri m b3h m] hr.t-hrw n.t [r^c nb]</p>	<p>“The king, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, true-of-voice, [shall continually] follow his father Amun in the temple (called) “Effective is SETY-MERNEAMUN in the Estate of Amun, and [shall continually] receive (offering) loaves [that issue from the (divine) presence] dai[ly in] the course of [every day]”: 76:32</p>

Wnn nsw Texts (cont.)

wnn nsw iri ʒh.wt nb tʒ.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ stp.n Rʰ hʰw [hr s.t] Hr n.t ʰnh.w mi Rʰ d.t nhh

“The king who performs benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMAʰATRE-SETEPENRE shall continually be manifest [on the throne of] Horus of the Living like Re, forever and eternally”: 89:10

wnn nsw iri [ʒh.wt nb tʒ.wy] Wsr-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ hʰw m pr itʰf ʰImn-[Rʰ] nsw ntr.w hr rdi.t nʰf hʒs.wt nb.(wt) hr tb.tyʰf

“The king, who performs [benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands] USERMAʰATRE shall be continually manifest in the house of his father Amun-Re, king of the gods, and have given to him all foreign countries under his sandals”: 91:10

wnn nsw nb tʒ.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ hʰw m pr itʰf ʰImn-Rʰ nsw ntr.w hr rdi.(t) nʰf rsy.t mht.t dmd hr tb.tyʰk

“The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMAʰATRE shall continually be manifest in the house of his father, Amun-Re king of the gods, and have given to him the South and the North gathered under his sandals”: 99:11

wnn nsw mry Mʒʰ.t nb [tʒ.wy nb ir.t h.t] Wsr-Mʒʰ.t-[Rʰ] hʰw m nsw hr s.t Hr hn.ty kʒ.w ʰnh.w nb.w mi Rʰ

“The king, ‘Lover of Maʰat,’ lord [of the Two Lands, master of the ritual] USERMAʰAT[RE] shall continually be manifest as king on the throne of Horus, Foremost of the Kas of all the Living, like Re”: 106:30

[wnn nsw] nb tʒ.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ hʰw m pr itʰf ʰImn-Rʰ [rdi]ʰf nʰf ʰnh wʒs nb hrʰf mi Rʰ

“The king], the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, USERMAʰATRE shall [appe]ar in the house of his father Amun-Re that he might [give] to him all life and dominion on his part like Re”: 130:8

wnn nsw nb tʒ.wy nb ir.t [h.t] Mn-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ [hʰ]w hr s.t Hr ʰnh.w mi itʰf Rʰ rʰ nb

“The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENMAʰATRE shall continually be [manifest] on the throne of Horus of the living like his father Re every day”: 153:14

wnn nsw [nb tʒ.wy nb ir.t h.t Wsr-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ stp.n Rʰ shʰ]ʰ ʰImn-Rʰ Kʒ-mw.tʰf r htp hr ht.yw mi diʰf nʰf kn.t nh.t r hʒs.wt nb.(wt)

“The king, [the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMAʰATRE-SETEPENRE] shall continually c[ause to appea]r his father, Amun-Re Kamutef, in order to rest upon the dais, inasmuch as he (Amun) has [gi]ven to him valor and victory against every foreign country”: 158:5

[wnn nsw] Mn-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ hʰw mi Rʰ [...]

“[The king,] MENMAʰATRE, [shall] continually appear like Re [...]”: 189:4

wnn nsw nb tʒ.wy Mn-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ hkʒ Wʒs.t hʰw mi Rʰ

“The king, lord of the Two Lands, MENMAʰATRE-HEKAWASET shall exist, appearing like Re”: 193:15

wnn nsw nb tʒ.wy Mn-Mʒʰ.t-Rʰ hkʒ-Wʒs.t hʰw hr-hʒ.t itʰf ʰImn hr [r]dit nʰf hʒs.t [nb]

“The king, the lord of the Two Lands, MENMAʰATRE-HEKAWASET shall continually be manifest before his father Amun while giving to him [every] foreign hill country”: 197:13

wnnʰf hʰw [hr ns.t] Gb

“He shall continually appear [upon the throne] of Geb”: 198:4–5

[wnn]ʰf hʰw m nsw-bity...

“He [shall continually] appear as dual king [...]”: 198:12–13