

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NUBIAN EXPEDITION  
VOLUME I





CAMPAGNE INTERNATIONALE POUR LA SAUVEGARDE  
DES MONUMENTS DE LA NUBIE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NUBIAN EXPEDITION  
VOLUME I

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*Joint Expedition 1960/61 with the  
Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung  
und Altertumskunde in Kairo*

THE BEIT EL-WALI TEMPLE  
OF RAMESSES II

*By HERBERT RICKE, GEORGE R. HUGHES,  
and EDWARD F. WENTE*



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THE JOINT EXPEDITION 1960/61  
*of*  
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
*with the*  
SCHWEIZERISCHES INSTITUT FÜR ÄGYPTISCHE BAUFORSCHUNG  
UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE IN KAIRO  
Keith C. Seele, *Director*

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*Members of the Joint Expedition who participated  
in the preparation of this volume*

THE ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

Herbert Ricke

*assisted by*

Carl Fingerhuth

THE EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

*Egyptologists*

George R. Hughes  
Charles F. Nims  
Edward F. Wente

*Artists*

Reginald H. Coleman  
John F. Foster  
Leslie Greener



*To*

EDMUNDO LASSALLE

*in recognition of his continuing interest  
in the Nubian campaign*



## PREFACE

**I**N MARCH 1960 the United Arab Republic appealed to the world through the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to send archeologists to Nubia in order to save the antiquities—discovered or undiscovered—threatened with destruction by submersion under the great new lake to be created by the High Dam under construction on the Nile south of Assuan. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was one of the first institutions to respond. Before March was ended the writer of these lines was in Cairo arranging for the use of a boat to make a hasty preliminary survey of the Nile Valley in Egyptian Nubia in order to select sites and plan field operations.

While a campaign of at least four years was envisaged—the time remaining before the rise of the water—it would be necessary to start on a small scale, for the suddenness of the appeal found the Institute without ready funds to undertake a new archeological field program. For this reason the writer, who had been appointed Director of the Oriental Institute Egyptian Assuan High Dam Program, decided upon a modest two-pronged initial campaign which could be accomplished with the meagerest resources, with hopes for expansion as the program gained momentum.

Four years to save the doomed monuments of Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia, and not a cent available to start an Oriental Institute expedition! That was the dominating thought which accompanied the writer on his quest for archeological sites for the first campaign. There was not even money to finance the quest; that was generously provided by Mr. William R. Boyd, good friend of the Oriental Institute, who joined the survey in person and bolstered our morale by his enthusiasm and encouragement. Thus through his generosity we visited not only Egyptian Nubia but the Sudan also, traveling together to Khartoum and later to Serra East, as our plans permitted us to contemplate expansion of the program.

In Egyptian Nubia two areas were selected for work, one a ten-mile stretch on both banks of the Nile from Kalabsha north to Khor-Dehmit, the other much farther south. The latter was relinquished before the end of the first season but was “replaced” with a better one, extending from the Sudan border northward to Abu Simbel.

The Kalabsha area represented the ideal site for the “modest two-pronged initial campaign.” First, inspection of the region had indicated that excavation could be conducted by a relatively small scientific staff and a limited number of trained “technical workers”—the indispensable Quftis, Lahunis, etc., who since the days of Flinders Petrie have been the backbone of every excavation project—and a few local laborers. In the second place, this region contained the important and attractive little rock-cut temple of Beit el-Wali, which, the writer believed, deserved to be copied and published in greater detail than had been done so admirably by the late Professor Günther Roeder before the first raising of the Assuan Dam. The fate of this temple was still uncertain. Whether, however, it would eventually be lost under the waters of the projected lake or cut free, with possible damage, and erected elsewhere—it has actually been relocated along with the Kalabsha temple on the west bank not far distant from the new High Dam—we were convinced of the advisability of epigraphic treatment similar to the Oriental Institute’s noteworthy program at Medinet Habu and Karnak. Indeed, the members of the Institute in Chicago, in responding to the appeal for assistance in Nubia, had supported a proposal for the loan of personnel from the Epigraphic Survey at Luxor for the copying of

a Nubian temple. By this method the best of trained epigraphers and artists, already provided for on the Institute budget, could divert their talents to Nubia at the cost of a season's sacrifice of the Medinet Habu program.

Thus early in the summer of 1960 plans were made to transfer most of the Luxor staff members to Beit el-Wali to achieve the epigraphic "prong" of the first year's effort. Professor George R. Hughes would supervise the copying project; he enlisted the services of three Chicago House artists, Reginald Coleman, John Foster, and Leslie Greener. Professor Charles F. Nims would make the photographs for epigraphic purposes and publication. Dr. Edward F. Wente would assist with the epigraphy and, as it turned out, in the study and translation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Beit el-Wali.

Photography is the first step in the Oriental Institute type of copying, as all drawings are made on photographic enlargements. Accordingly, Professor Nims, who happened in 1960/61 to be in Chicago on a sort of "sabbatical" leave from his normal activity at Chicago House in Luxor, made a special trip to photograph Beit el-Wali. It had been decided in advance that special emphasis should be made to obtain the best possible color record of the painted reliefs in the temple. Thus every relief or portion of a relief with surviving color was carefully photographed, often under difficult conditions owing to limitations of both lighting and space. However, the colors on the Beit el-Wali reliefs were not especially well executed in the first place, and they have deteriorated to such a degree that it has not been considered worth the heavy cost of color printing to reproduce in this volume more than a representative sample of the painted scenes. A glance at the color plates (Pls. 1, 48, and 49) will indicate the inferiority of these ancient painted reliefs to corresponding compositions, for example, at Medinet Habu (see especially the numerous color plates in *Medinet Habu. IV. Festival Scenes of Ramses III*). Our three plates are simply photographic renderings of the existing colors, unenhanced and unrestored. All the black-and-white plates have been made on the basis of Professor Nims's photographic enlargements. Nevertheless, it is a tribute to Professor James Henry Breasted and his Nubian expedition of half a century ago that we reproduce several of his expedition photographs as the best we could obtain.

Probably no detail in the Beit el-Wali temple was so much discussed as the surcharged cartouches reproduced on Plates 15 and 47 *B*. They have been studied further by Professor Wente (see pp. 34–37). It would be unfair to represent ourselves as completely comfortable over Professor Wente's proposed solution to this knotty problem, even though an alternative eludes our grasp at the present time. Nevertheless, it is not easy to believe that Ramesses II would carve his cartouche over a portion of his own temple reliefs or, still less, that any later king would take the trouble to commemorate Ramesses II's name in a temple already so clearly claimed by its creator. Worst of all is the necessity to maintain that either Ramesses II or a generous successor would misspell Ramesses' name. Without deciding what later king was responsible for the surcharge, it would appear certain that the change was a usurpation intended to glorify the pharaoh who sponsored it rather than Ramesses II himself, whose cartouches were already spread all over the temple. The riddle is to name the royal culprit, and this writer confesses that he has not solved it. Perhaps Professor Wente's thoughtful discussion and the writer's skeptical comments will stimulate others to the solution.

At the same time that plans were being made in the summer of 1960 for the epigraphic work at the Beit el-Wali temple we were considering every possible means of achieving the successful excavation of our elongated concession. By an extraordinary stroke of good fortune we were able to enlist the collaboration of one of the ablest excavators in Egypt, a scholar who had been trained by the late Professor Uvo Hölscher, one-time director of Oriental Institute excavations at Medinet Habu. Indeed, Professor Hölscher, whose advice we had sought, supplied us with the summer address of this careful and gifted archeologist—Dr. Herbert Rieke,



Director of the Schweizerisches Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo—long-time associate of Ludwig Borchardt, veteran excavator, and author of a distinguished series of books on ancient Egyptian temples and religious architecture. In response to our invitation to direct the excavations in the Kalabsha area of our concession, Dr. Rieke offered much more than ordinary collaboration. He expressed a willingness to bring the Schweizerisches Institut into the program in equal partnership, to supply a Swiss architect to assist in the excavations and preparation of plans and plates, to provide a cook and other servants of his institute to serve in the same capacity on the expedition, to offer the experience and talents of Frau Dr. Rieke to supervise the household in the field, and to make a substantial financial contribution to defray the expenses of the campaign. Thus the archeological section of our Assuan High Dam Program became a joint expedition with the Schweizerisches Institut in Kairo, with Dr. Rieke as supervisor of the excavations. How effectively he bore his responsibilities so generously assumed will be seen in the second volume of the expedition's publication, *Ausgrabungen von Khor-Dehmit bis Bet el-Wali*, now in press. The volume will contain contributions likewise by Carl Fingerhuth, Labib Habachi, and Professor Louis V. Žabkar.

Owing to the isolation and general lack of facilities prevailing in Nubia, it was necessary to provide a floating headquarters for the new expedition as well as much of the equipment and supplies required in the field. As soon as the writer arrived in Cairo at the end of October 1960 he made a search for an expedition boat, which resulted before long in the lease of a former Cook tourist steamer, the "Memnon," with cabin space ample to accommodate the staff. In addition, through the continued generosity of Mr. William R. Boyd, we acquired a splendid 36-foot motor launch, which we named the "Barbara"; she was destined to be our principal link with civilization for the full four years of the campaign in Nubia, including one season in the Sudan.

About the middle of December, when all preparations had been made, Dr. Rieke and his staff from the Schweizerisches Institut steamed up the Nile on the "Memnon," to be followed four days later (and overtaken) by the writer alone on the "Barbara." Christmas was spent in Luxor, where Professor Hughes invited the members of the new expedition to share the annual festivities with those of the Epigraphic Survey. Dr. Rieke and the "Memnon" steamed on toward Assuan on Christmas Day; the writer followed the next morning on the "Barbara"; Hughes and his artists traveled by rail and joined the expedition in Assuan on December 27th. On the morning of the 28th the united staff with the expedition "fleet" started the long day's passage of the torturous cataract and the locks of the Assuan Dam and emerged in stormy waters before the setting of the sun. Strong winds kept the boats overnight in the lee of picturesque Heisa Island, but the expedition succeeded in mooring at its destination close by Kalabsha temple on the afternoon of the 29th. Early on the 30th Hughes with Coleman, Foster, and Greener began the work in the temple of Beit el-Wali which was to result in the present volume. Meanwhile, after a few days of preliminary exploration to search for excavation prospects, the archeological section started digging under the supervision of Dr. Rieke and with the assistance of Labib Habachi.

The reports of both divisions of the expedition have been completed for several years; all too often it is unfortunately easier to copy a temple, to excavate a dozen sites, and to reduce the results to writing than to find the means of publication. That we are able to come to this happy conclusion of our efforts we owe to the generosity of Dr. Edmundo Lassalle, who as vice-chairman of the U.S. National Committee for the Preservation of Nubian Monuments has been most energetic and successful in promoting salvage operations.

As these lines are written the four-year campaign of excavation in Nubia is part of the history of the Oriental Institute. The season of 1961/62 was spent at Serra East in the Republic of the Sudan. For the work of the following two seasons the writer reorganized the expedition,

*PREFACE*

purchased the houseboat "Fostat," the tug "Elda," and extensive equipment to improve general working facilities. In these two seasons our work, first at Qustul and Adindan, on the east bank of the Nile a few miles south of Abu Simbel, then, the next year, at Ballana on the west bank and later in Adindan and Qustul again, and finally at Qasr el-Wizz, the expedition enjoyed astonishing success. Miles of cemeteries were excavated, some known from previous excavation, others newly discovered, dating from the Old Kingdom to the Coptic period (*ca.* 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1000 or later). At Qasr el-Wizz we discovered that Monneret de Villard's "palazzo" was really a monastery, with chapel, monks' cells, and catacombs. Simultaneously, work was resumed in 1964 in the Sudan by a branch of the expedition.

When the final judgment on the four-year program is completed and the results are published, it is safe to say that we shall be able to make a substantial contribution to the study of the whole range of Nubian history and culture and to illustrate not a few of the details by the surprisingly rich collection of finds which have been brought home to the Oriental Institute Museum through the generosity of the two governments from which our expedition obtained its concessions.

KEITH C. SEELE  
*Director*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xvii
THE ARCHITECTURE AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE. <i>Herbert Ricke</i> . . . . .	1
THE EPIGRAPHIC RECORD. <i>George R. Hughes</i> . . . . .	6
THE MAKING OF THE RECORD . . . . .	6
THE CONVENTIONS EMPLOYED IN COPYING THE RELIEFS . . . . .	6
ROEDER'S RECORD OF THE TEMPLE . . . . .	7
THE DECORATION OF THE SIDE DOORWAYS INTO THE TEMPLE PROPER . . . . .	8
TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS. <i>Edward F. Wente</i> . . . . .	10
THE SUPERIMPOSED CARTOUCHES IN THE ENTRANCE HALL. <i>Edward F. Wente</i> . . . . .	34
INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES . . . . .	39



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATES

1. RAMESSES II OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO AMON-RE (Color Photograph). Compare Drawing, Plate 31 *B*
2. THE SITE OF THE BEIT EL-WALI TEMPLE (Photograph)
3. THE PRESENT ENTRANCE TO THE BEIT EL-WALI TEMPLE (Photograph)
4. RAMESSES II WARNING ALL WHO ENTER THE TEMPLE TO BE PURE (Drawing)
5. FRAGMENTARY RELIEFS FROM THE ENTRANCE PORTAL AND PYLON (Drawings)
6. THE ENTRANCE HALL AS IT APPEARED IN 1906 (Photograph)
7. PANORAMA OF THE RELIEFS SHOWING RAMESSES II AND THE NUBIANS (Photographs and Drawing)
8. RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING NUBIANS (Drawing)
9. RAMESSES II RECEIVING NUBIAN TRIBUTE (Drawing)
10. PANORAMA OF THE RELIEFS SHOWING RAMESSES II AND THE NORTHERNERS (Photographs and Drawing)
11. RAMESSES II IN TRIUMPH OVER THE NORTHERN FOES (Drawing)
12. RAMESSES II STORMING A SYRIAN STRONGHOLD (Drawing)
13. RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING BEDOUINS (Drawing)
14. RAMESSES II SLAYING A LIBYAN (Drawing)
15. RAMESSES II RECEIVING HIS OFFICERS AND THE CROWN PRINCE AMENHIWONEMEF WITH ASIATIC PRISONERS (Drawing)
16. *A.* THE FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE PROPER. *B.* THE SOUTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL. *C.* THE NORTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL (Photographs)
17. RAMESSES II OFFERING TO AMON-RE(?) IN DUAL SCENES (Drawing)
18. THE FAÇADES OF THE THREE ENTRANCES TO THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawings)
19. THE REVEALS OF THE THREE DOORWAYS TO THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawings)
20. RAMESSES II ENTERING THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawing)
21. GRAFFITO OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH MESSUY (Photograph and Drawing)
22. RAMESSES II ENTERING THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawing)
23. *A.* VIEW IN THE COLUMNED HALL LOOKING SOUTH. *B.* VIEW THROUGH THE COLUMNED HALL INTO THE SANCTUARY (Photographs)
24. RAMESSES II SMITING A LIBYAN (Drawing)
25. RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY HORUS (Drawing)
26. RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY ATUM (Drawing)
27. RAMESSES II SMITING A NUBIAN (Drawing)
28. *A.* RAMESSES II SMITING A LIBYAN. *B.* RAMESSES II SMITING A NUBIAN (Photographs). Compare Drawings, Plates 24 and 27
29. RAMESSES II, ATTENDED BY HATHOR, CENSING AND LIBATING A FOOD OFFERING BEFORE HORUS AND ISIS (Drawing)
30. RAMESSES II, ATTENDED BY ANUKIS, PRESENTING JARS AND A FOOD OFFERING TO KHNUM AND SATIS (Drawing)
31. *A.* INSCRIPTIONS BORDERING THE SOUTHERN NICHE IN THE COLUMNED HALL. *B.* RAMESSES II OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO AMON-RE (Drawings)
32. RAMESSES II PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO DEITIES (Drawing). *A.* JARS TO AMON-RE. *B.* JARS TO AMON-RE. *C.* MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO AMON-RE (ORIGINALLY ATUM). *D.* BREAD TO SOKAR. *E.* JARS OF LIBATION WATER TO AMON-RE. *F.* JARS TO HORUS
33. *A.* RAMESSES II OFFERING WINE TO AMON-RE. *B.* INSCRIPTIONS BORDERING THE NORTHERN NICHE IN THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawings)

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

34. *A.* TRIAD OF HORUS, RAMESSES II, AND ISIS(?). *B.* TRIAD OF KHNUM, RAMESSES II, AND ANUKIS (Photographs)
35. INSCRIPTIONS ON ABACUS AND SHAFT OF THE SOUTHERN COLUMN IN THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawings)
36. INSCRIPTIONS ON ABACUS AND SHAFT OF THE NORTHERN COLUMN IN THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawings)
37. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ARCHITRAVES IN THE COLUMNED HALL (Drawings)
38. THE PAINTED CEILING BETWEEN THE ARCHITRAVES IN THE COLUMNED HALL (Reinforced Photograph)
39. RAMESSES II RECEIVED (*A*) BY SATIS AND (*B*) BY MIKET (Drawings)
40. RAMESSES II SUCKLED (*A*) BY ANUKIS AND (*B*) BY ISIS (Photographs). Compare Drawings, Plate 41
41. RAMESSES II SUCKLED (*A*) BY ANUKIS AND (*B*) BY ISIS (Drawings)
42. RAMESSES II USHERED INTO THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE BY KHNUM AND SATIS (Drawing)
43. RAMESSES II PRESENTING INCENSE AND A FOOD OFFERING TO AMON-RE (Drawing)
44. *A.* RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS OF LIBATION WATER TO HORUS. *B.* RAMESSES II CENSING AND LIBATING A FOOD OFFERING BEFORE AMON-RE (Drawings)
45. MIN-AMON-KAMUTEF (Drawing)
46. PTAH (Drawing)
47. *A.* THE NICHE AT THE WEST END OF THE SANCTUARY (Photograph). *B.* CARTOUCHES INCISED OVER ORIGINAL DECORATION IN THE ENTRANCE HALL (Photograph). Detail from Scene Shown on Plate 15
48. *A.* HORUS AND ISIS. *B.* RAMESSES II PRESENTING AN OFFERING (Color Photographs). Details from Scenes Shown on Plates 29 and 30
49. RAMESSES II SUCKLED (*A*) BY ANUKIS AND (*B*) BY ISIS (Color Photographs). Details from Scenes Shown on Plate 41

## FIGURES

1. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE TEMPLE
2. GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE
3. CROSS SECTION OF THE REAR OF THE ENTRANCE HALL
4. CROSS SECTION OF THE COLUMNED HALL
5. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE ENTRANCE HALL
6. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE SHOWING LOCATION OF RELIEFS AS REPRODUCED IN THE PLATES

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASAE</i>	Egypt. Service des antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900——).
<i>BIFAO</i>	Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901——).
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914——).
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942——).
<i>LD</i>	LEPSIUS, RICHARD. Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Leipzig, 1849–1913).
<i>MDAIK</i>	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, <i>Abteilung Kairo</i> . Mitteilungen (Augsburg etc., 1930——).
<i>MH</i>	The Epigraphic Survey. Medinet Habu I–IV ( <i>OIP</i> VIII [1930], IX [1932], XXIII [1934], LI [1940]).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
<i>RIK</i>	The Epigraphic Survey. Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak I–II ( <i>OIP</i> XXV and XXXV [1936]).
Roeder, <i>Bet el-Wali</i>	ROEDER, GÜNTHER. Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali (Les temples immergés de la Nubie [Le Caire, 1948]).
<i>SAOC</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931——).
<i>Urk. IV</i>	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Abteilung IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Bände I–IV (Hefte 1–16) bearbeitet von K. SETHE (2d ed.; Berlin, 1927–30); Hefte 17–22 bearbeitet von WOLFGANG HELCK (Berlin, 1955–58).
<i>Wb.</i>	ERMAN, ADOLF, and GRAPOW, HERMANN. Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache (7 vols.; Leipzig, 1926–63).
Wreszinski, <i>Atlas II</i>	WRESZINSKI, WALTER. Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte II (Leipzig, 1935).
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863–1943; Berlin, 1954——).





# THE ARCHITECTURE AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

By HERBERT RICKE<sup>1</sup>

ABOUT 50 kilometers south of Assuan and 300 meters northwest of the big Roman temple of Talmis-Kalabsha at the mouth of Khor Kalabsha lies the rock-cut temple of Beit el-Wali surrounded by the houses of the village of Nag<sup>c</sup> el-Birbe. The temple was cut in the rocky slope of the south bank of the once dry wadi with its front to the northeast (nominal east). In 1962 the entrance lay only a few meters above the high-water level of the reservoir. The question why Ramesses II, or possibly even Seti I, placed a temple just here cannot be answered. No remains of settlements or graves contemporary with, not to say earlier than, the building of the temple have been found in the immediate neighborhood; hence, the temple does not owe its origin to the religious needs of any very large community. Since the approach does not lead from the river bank directly to the entrance of the temple but along a rocky shelf from the south, Roeder assumed that Beit el-Wali was a wayside shrine of the Kalabsha temple to which processions were made. However, that remains pure conjecture, for we know nothing about a temple at Kalabsha in the New Kingdom. It is assumed that there already were a temple and a town on the sites of the Roman temple and Roman town of Talmis early in the New Kingdom because Amenophis II is pictured once in the hypostyle hall of the Roman temple.<sup>2</sup>

The modest dimensions of the Beit el-Wali temple, the destruction of its façade, and its out-of-the-way location account for the fact that eighteenth-century travelers who left descriptions of buildings in Lower Nubia and who even mention the Kalabsha temple did not see Beit el-Wali.<sup>3</sup> It is not mentioned by any traveler until the second decade of the nineteenth century, when it was described by John Lewis Burckhardt, who visited it in March, 1813, on a trip by camel through Nubia.<sup>4</sup> From that time on Beit el-Wali was more and more frequently noted. Generally it was the reliefs of Ramesses II's battles on the walls of the Entrance Hall that attracted attention, but as early as 1819 the architect Franz Christian Gau made a ground plan and sections,<sup>5</sup> which are inexact and schematic, to be sure, but which are nevertheless very valuable because they show the remains of construction inside the Entrance Hall deriving from the church into which the temple was converted. This construction was cleared away at the beginning of the present century without a survey's having been made.

The only detailed study of the temple is that of Roeder based upon his investigations in the years 1907 and 1909. His monograph<sup>6</sup> contains an exhaustive description of the scenes on the walls supplemented by numerous drawings of details with data on the colors, a study of the

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the German by George R. Hughes.

<sup>2</sup> Henri Gauthier, *Le temple de Kalabchah* ("Les temples immergés de la Nubie") I (Le Caire, 1911) xxvii and 217 and II (1914) Pl. LXXXVI B.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick Lewis Norden, *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie* (Copenhagen, 1757), does not mention Beit el-Wali, which he passed by boat on December 27, 1737.

<sup>4</sup> John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London, 1819) pp. 116 ff.

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie* (Paris, 1822) Pls. 12 and 13.

<sup>6</sup> Günther Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* ("Les temples immergés de la Nubie" [Le Caire, 1938]).

construction with ground plans, and sixty well printed plates of exceptionally good photographs of the temple, particularly of the reliefs.

The present volume is a needed supplement to Roeder's work. The rendering of all the reliefs in line drawing on a large scale makes it possible for the first time to show clearly every detail, whereas on photographs the original carving cannot always be distinguished from accidental marks. Roeder's study of the construction of the temple, however, also requires supplementing and even modification, for he erred at various points. The plan and sections published here (Figs. 1-5) are reproduced on a scale of 1:50, large enough to show irregularities and details of the construction.

As is the case with other rock-cut temples in Nubia, the excavation of the chambers in the bedrock at Beit el-Wali was not done with very great care. There is not a straight axis in the sequence of rooms and no true right angle in the corners of the rooms; there is neither a straight wall nor a level floor, no level ceiling, no straight architrave, and no exactly vertical column, but the visitor is scarcely aware of these deviations.

The temple consists of three rooms, one directly behind the other: An Entrance Hall approximately 6 m. wide and 12.75 m. long, a transverse Columned Hall 10.40 m. wide, 4.20 m. deep, and 3 m. in height, and a Sanctuary 2.80 m. wide, 3.70 m. long, and averaging 2.80 m. in height. Only the Columned Hall and the Sanctuary are entirely rock-cut while the side walls of the Entrance Hall consist of the bedrock only to a height of 2.25 m. The question of how the Entrance Hall was inclosed at the front is closely connected with the question of the manner in which it was originally roofed. Lepsius assumed a flat roof: "Über dem Eingange (zum Quersaal), der aus drei Türen bestand, sind neuere Bogen eingeschnitten, um ein Nilziegelgewölbe zu tragen; die alte Form war die gewöhnliche flache."<sup>7</sup> Roeder followed Lepsius in this and, from traces on the rear wall of the Entrance Hall, fixed the height of the supposed roof at 5.11 m.,<sup>8</sup> but he encountered difficulties with the reliefs on this rear wall, which extend to a height greater than 5.11 m., and as a result he had to resort to various dubious explanations.

All this is entirely irrelevant, for it is quite obvious that the Entrance Hall was spanned across its total width by a great brick barrel vault. The outline of the vault can be traced on the rear wall of the Entrance Hall, for the arrangement of the reliefs on this wall was adapted to it. Even though these reliefs are rather badly damaged it is still easy to see that they precisely filled the area formed by the vault (Pl. 17). Furthermore, along the inner edge of the vault large holes were cut in the rock to receive the ends of heavy longitudinal beams (see Fig. 2), which served as supports during the construction of the vault. These beam holes were then filled with stone inserts which have since fallen out. The vault was thus constructed in exactly the same manner as were, for example, the brick barrel vaults of Ramesses III's second palace at Medinet Habu.<sup>9</sup>

The building of a mud-brick barrel vault with a 6 m. span was no mean technical achievement. The shell of the vault rested on the natural rock of the side walls and was of considerable thickness at the springers, where the ledges leveled to support them are 85 cm. wide. The shell was no doubt thinner at the crown, which was about 5.80 m. from the floor. It is very likely that the vault was stylistically separated from the side walls by a torus molding formed from the natural rock. Running along above the reliefs on the lateral walls there is, in fact, a rough strip which protrudes in places beyond the dressed surface of the wall as though some architectural element had been incompletely removed, probably in the later conversion of the temple into a church. A torus molding as an element separating the wall from the barrel vault

<sup>7</sup> LD V 13.

<sup>8</sup> Roeder, *Bet el-Wali*, pp. 141 f., § 504.

<sup>9</sup> Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu. III. The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III. Part I* (OIP LIV [1941]) Pl. 26.

is preserved, for example, in Hatshepsut's cult room in her Deir el-Bahri temple,<sup>10</sup> except that there the torus runs across the end walls as well, whereas it does not at Beit el-Wali. The separation of the side walls from the intrados of the vault could be stylistically achieved in no better way than by introducing a torus molding between them, and in addition the constructional difficulty of raising brickwork flush with the edge of the rock was thereby avoided. Nothing now remains of the original vault. All the brickwork, which today rises to a height of 2.50 m. above the side walls, derives from the Christian period when in the conversion of the temple into a church the Entrance Hall was divided into several rooms and roofed with domes of a characteristic form.

Since the brick vault over the Entrance Hall had to be closed at the front end, the temple façade must have reached a height corresponding to that of the vault, some 7–8 m. in the middle. It must have been a single-tower pylon, the length of which can be determined as having been approximately 11.50 m. on the basis of the cut in the rock at its south end. The thickness of the pylon cannot now be precisely determined because the jambs of the temple entrance had been re-erected and do not stand in their original places. Furthermore, the surface of the rock around them is unfortunately covered with cement and therefore no traces of their original positions, which would have determined the location of the outer edge of the pylon, are now visible. Its inner face is fixed by the ends of the scenes on the side walls of the Entrance Hall. Hence the pylon was approximately 2.60 m. thick. The batter of the outer face is preserved in the slant given the outer faces of the doorjambs. The present front inclosure of the Entrance Hall is modern, extending over as far as the small amount of brickwork of Christian times at both side walls. These latter remains are so slight that one cannot attempt to reconstruct the façade of the church.

Initially there led from the Entrance Hall into the Columned Hall only the middle doorway, which has a projecting frame of the natural rock. However, before the temple was completed the original plan was altered and side doorways were cut through to right and left of the middle one. Roeder, in contrast to Lepsius and Maspero,<sup>11</sup> placed the secondary cutting of these side doorways in what he assumed to have been a late, third building period which, according to Roeder, is characterized by the fact that the king's first cartouche contains the addition of *stp.n-R*.<sup>12</sup> Roeder further assumed that the side doorways were again walled up in a fourth building period and that the surfaces thus restored were provided with reliefs. That this assumption is wrong, however, can be seen with the help of Roeder's own photographs.<sup>13</sup>

On each side of the new doorways columns of incised hieroglyphs were cut as borders (Pl. 18 A and C) and on the south thicknesses of both were carved figures of the king with accompanying texts, also in sunk relief (Pls. 20 and 22), and in all cases the first cartouche of the king is in the early form, that is, it lacks the addition of *stp.n-R*. Why Roeder nevertheless regarded the doorways as late is not clear. Only the columns of hieroglyphs on the reveals of the jambs of the side doorways (Pl. 19 A, B, E, and F) were added later, for in these the name of the king does contain the addition. These columns of hieroglyphs were certainly not placed here to be covered immediately in the walling-up of the doorways.

That the large-scale reliefs over which the outer borders of the side doorways were carved (Pl. 18 A and C) were put on not after a blocking-up of the doorways but simultaneously with

<sup>10</sup> Marcelle Werbrouck, *Le temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari* (Bruxelles, 1949) Pl. XXVI.

<sup>11</sup> LD V 14 and Gaston Maspero, "Notes de voyage, § V," *ASAE* X (1910) 7, and *Bibliothèque égyptologique* XI (1916) 374.

<sup>12</sup> Roeder, *Beit el-Wali*, p. 165, § 546.

<sup>13</sup> Roeder says correctly in the legends to his Plates 40 and 42 that the side doorways supersede earlier figures of deities (Amon and Horus).

the sunk reliefs in the Entrance Hall and thus before the doorways were cut through can be shown on the insides of these side doorways. Here, on the east wall of the Columned Hall, two triumphal scenes were planned in which the king smote a kneeling enemy before a deity (Pls. 24 and 27).<sup>14</sup> Each scene was to extend from the frame of the middle doorway to the corner of the hall. The carving of both scenes was begun at the corners of the hall, but in neither case was the task completed beyond the kneeling enemy. In each case the surface of the wall from this point to the frame of the middle doorway remained untouched; it is higher than the field of the raised relief. The interruption of the execution of both scenes at the same point was a result of the fact that apparently the posture to be given the figures of the deities had not been decided upon initially. The traces on the left edge of the southern scene (Pl. 27) show evidence of having undergone alteration. The hand holding the scimitar was obviously shifted forward secondarily with the result that it then covered up the upper end of the scepter. The scepter and the hand holding it, which had already been preliminarily incised, were roughened somewhat so that they could be filled with plaster. The hand holding the scimitar, as shifted forward to the present position, was only incised in contour whereas the arm belonging to it was never cut even preliminarily. It is just as impossible to interpret these inner faces as showing that the side doorways were later walled up and the triumphal scenes restored as to deduce a similar succession of events from the outer faces.

Why were two side doorways introduced secondarily, particularly when it meant that both triumphal scenes would lack the figures of the deities? There are two plausible reasons. One is of a practical nature: Perhaps more light was desired in the Columned Hall. No opening could be let in the ceiling because the rock rises high above it, and the Entrance Hall may have been fairly well lighted by openings in the crown of the barrel vault. More probable, however, is a religious reason: In the temple there are three niches each containing a statue group of three figures, the king between two deities, sculptured in the half-round in the natural rock. One niche is on the axis of the temple in the rear wall of the Sanctuary and the other two are in the west wall of the Columned Hall. Altars stood in front of all three niches and religious ritual was performed before them, so it is very likely that each of the three doors leading from the Entrance Hall into the Columned Hall served as an entry to the altar of one of the niches. Hence one may conjecture, since two of the three doorways were introduced secondarily, that the two niches in the Columned Hall, where statues of deities and altars are actually out of place, were similarly conceived of secondarily, perhaps for the purpose of incorporating additional deities (Horus, Isis, Khnum, and Anukis) in the cult.

In front of the doorway leading from the Columned Hall into the Sanctuary there was originally a low ramp of natural rock. In Christian times it was removed along with the raised forward edge of the doorsill, probably in order to accommodate some cult object. The outline of the ramp can be discerned in the slight rise which still remains in the rock of the floor, and its original height of 9 cm. can be determined from the sole of the frame of the doorway (Pl. 23 B). This low ramp, which prevented stumbling over the raised sill when one entered the Sanctuary, suggests that during festivals a portable statue was carried in procession into the Sanctuary. The width of the doorway, 1.20 m., was adequate to permit it. The doorjambs of the temple entrance do not now stand in their original places, but the distance between them must also have been 1.20 m. or more.

Briefly summarized, the constructing of the temple appears to have proceeded in the following manner. First the Entrance Hall, the Columned Hall, and the Sanctuary were excavated in the natural rock. The Entrance Hall was then roofed with a brick barrel vault over a wooden frame and closed at the front with a single-tower brick pylon. It is possible that this work was

<sup>14</sup> Roeder, *Bet el-Wali*, Pls. 40 and 42.

begun by Seti I, but that cannot be demonstrated. The scenes with which all the rock walls are covered were begun in raised relief: on the north wall of the Entrance Hall proceeding from west to east, on the west wall in the area formed by the abutting barrel vault proceeding from the top downward, and in the Sanctuary and the Columned Hall probably in several places at once.

For some undeterminable reason the remainder of the scenes on the walls of the Entrance Hall were done in sunk relief, that is, on the east end of the north wall, on the whole of the south wall, and in the lower registers on the west wall on each side of the middle doorway, where the base lines beneath the scenes of Ramesses II before a deity (Pl. 18 *A* and *C*) are at the same height from the floor as are those beneath the scenes on the side walls. The change from raised to sunk relief must have occurred early, for even in the texts to the scenes in sunk relief the first cartouche of the king has the simpler form. Furthermore, in the Entrance Hall the eldest son of Ramesses II, the prince <sup>3</sup>*Imn-hr-wnm.f*, who died young,<sup>15</sup> is shown in both raised and sunk relief, and yet the scenes cannot have been executed any great length of time apart. The scenes on the jambs at the entrance to the temple, although they are in sunk relief, may well belong to the first stage of the decoration since they are on an exterior wall, where sunk relief was customary. The scenes on the inner reveal were executed in raised relief, as the remains show,<sup>16</sup> because they were regarded as on the interior.

Before the lower scenes on the west wall of the Entrance Hall and on the east wall of the Columned Hall had been completed, in a departure from the original plan the two side doorways from the Entrance Hall into the Columned Hall were cut through, framed with columns of inscription, and the scenes put on their southern thicknesses. If the two niches in the west wall of the Columned Hall also belong to this change in plan, then the reliefs on this wall had not yet been completed. Although there are no indications of alterations in the reliefs, these niches appear even so to have been rather casually inserted insofar as the surrounding surface is concerned. The few instances in which the first cartouche of Ramesses II contains the added *stp.n-R<sup>c</sup>* are later additions: on the reveals of the side doorways (Pl. 19 *A*, *B*, *E*, and *F*) and on the abacus of the southern column in the Columned Hall (Pl. 35 *A*).

Since this volume is concerned only with the Pharaonic remains at Beit el-Wali, the conversion of the temple into a Christian church will be discussed elsewhere. Suffice it to say here that Ugo Monneret de Villard has reconstructed the church from the traces in the rock floors of the rooms of the temple, from the brickwork above the side walls of the Entrance Hall, and from Gau's plan.<sup>17</sup> His reconstruction requires only slight revision although it can be supplemented to some extent.

<sup>15</sup> The evidence for this is that he appears nowhere except at Beit el-Wali. Cf. Keith C. Seele, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* (SAOC No. 19 [1940]) pp. 35 f., n. 42.

<sup>16</sup> See Roeder, *Beit el-Wali*, Pl. 5a.

<sup>17</sup> Ugo Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale* I ("Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929-1934" [Le Caire, 1935]) 30 ff.

## THE EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

*By* GEORGE R. HUGHES

### THE MAKING OF THE RECORD

THE process of recording the reliefs of the Beit el-Wali temple followed the routine developed and pursued over the years by the Oriental Institute at Luxor. However, because of the lack of a darkroom and drafting studios at the site of the Nubian temple, the task had to be accomplished in episodes.

Dr. Nims photographed the reliefs completely in mid-November, 1960, and took a number of color photographs in the rock-cut interior of the temple. In Luxor he prepared the enlargements upon which the artists were to draw.

In the first half of January, 1961, the artists (Coleman, Foster, and Greener) went to Nubia to pencil on the enlargements in front of the reliefs. When they had thus covered approximately half of the inscribed surfaces, they returned to Luxor and in their studios applied ink to the penciled enlargements. After these drawings were completed and the collation sheets prepared the artists went back to Beit el-Wali in the latter half of February to do the remainder of their work at the wall, and the Egyptologists (Wente and Hughes) simultaneously began the collating of the first half of the drawings. By the first of March the artists had completed work on the site and returned to Luxor to draw again, and by mid-March the Egyptologists had collated the earlier drawings and also returned to Luxor to await completion of the second group. Finally, to end the 1960/61 season, the Egyptologists returned to Nubia in April with the prints of the second group of drawings and completed the collation against the wall.

During the summer of 1961 the artists revised their drawings in accordance with the collation sheets. Their corrections were checked by the Egyptologists in the autumn after the Epigraphic Survey had returned to Luxor for the 1961/62 season. It then appeared mandatory that one more return be made to the temple for final checking, the answering of questions that had arisen, and the taking of more photographs of details of scenes for possible publication in black and white and in color. These tasks took about a week in mid-November, 1961.

In addition, we have chosen to use from the files of the Oriental Institute some of the photographs of Beit el-Wali made by James H. Breasted's first expedition to Nubia in 1905/6. They were taken between March 30 and April 4, 1906, by Friedrich Koch of Berlin, who was photographer for Breasted.

### THE CONVENTIONS EMPLOYED IN COPYING THE RELIEFS

Since part of the wall decoration at Beit el-Wali is in raised relief and part in sunk relief and the difference is of some historical importance, we have consistently employed the usual convention of a shadow line to distinguish between the two. The raised relief is indicated by a heavier line on the right and lower-right sides, the sunk relief by a heavier line on the left and upper-left sides. Raised relief is to be found on the following plates: 5 *B* and *D*, 13-15, 17, 18 *A* (upper register), 18 *B* (all registers), 18 *C* (upper register), 19 *C* and *D*, 24 (except right

edge), 25, 26, 27 (except left edge), 29–33, 37 *C–F*, 39, 41–46. The sunk relief is shown on these plates: 4, 5 *A*, *C*, and *E*, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15 (only the superimposed cartouches at left end), 18 *A* (lower register), 18 *C* (lower register), 19 *A*, *B*, *E*, and *F*, 20–22, 35, 36, 37 *A* and *B*.

Where there has been recutting of relief, we have drawn both versions insofar as they are preserved. At Beit el-Wali this occurs almost entirely in the case of sunk relief recut as sunk relief, notably on Plate 9 (toward right end of both smaller registers) and Plate 18 *A* and *C* (lower registers). The only significant examples of raised relief recut as raised relief are to be found on Plate 18 *A* and *C* (upper registers) and Plate 32 *C*. In an attempt to distinguish the versions in such cases we have drawn the first, or what we judged to be the first, in a uniformly lighter line and without shadow line. The second version is shown in a line of normal weight and with shadow line on the appropriate side.<sup>1</sup>

Only in a few instances have we attempted to show, as has been done consistently in other Oriental Institute epigraphic publications, painted lines or the margins of different colors painted on the carved reliefs. No color survives in the Entrance Hall, but in the interior of the temple it is still preserved in very large part. To have indicated color lines and margins carefully throughout would have almost doubled the work of the artists and the time required for the task of recording, and the results would not have been wholly satisfactory in any case. Although we photographed extensively whole scenes and details wherever significant color could be captured on film, the value of including numerous color photographs has seemed scarcely commensurate with the cost of printing them and we have limited ourselves to presenting only five of the best.

In those few instances in which we have shown a painted line or paint margin we have done so with a thin dotted line. This has been done only where something that would normally have been carved was omitted in whole or in part by the sculptor and supplied by the painter. This will be found true in the case of the string and part of the bow on Plate 24, the leaves over the food offerings on Plates 29 and 30, and the remains of the hieroglyphic inscription on Plate 46.

In no place on the drawings will there be found restoration either in whole or in part of hieroglyphs or other elements of the reliefs. Suggested restorations of damaged or missing signs in the texts are given by Dr. Wente in the translations and notes.

### ROEDER'S RECORD OF THE TEMPLE

There is no thought whatsoever in our minds that our epigraphic work on the Beit el-Wali temple makes Roeder's volume of no further value.<sup>2</sup> His was the most nearly adequate of the publications of temples in the "Temples immergés de la Nubie" series. The nearly uniform excellence of his photographs can scarcely be improved upon. His detailed discussions of almost every conceivable aspect of the temple and its reliefs are in large part still valid and are a testimony to his careful and acute observation and scholarship. In those instances in which our facsimile drawings differ from Roeder's record, it may be taken for granted that his work has been noted and special consideration given the relief where there seemed any possibility that Roeder may have been right. Most often these divergences will be found between his printed hieroglyphic texts and our drawings where he made a slip in copying. In one instance, however, he gave careful attention to and a detail drawing of a figure of a foreigner on the north wall of the Entrance Hall where he believed that profile, beard, hair, and garment had

<sup>1</sup> The only departure from this convention is in the case of the superimposed cartouches in sunk relief shown on Plate 15, left end, where there are remains of three versions over the ostrich feathers of the original scene in raised relief (see pp. 34–37 and Pl. 47 *B*).

<sup>2</sup> The photographs and small-scale drawings made from photographs in Wreszinski, *Atlas II*, Pls. 163–68, are also useful but are confined to the scenes on the north and south walls of the Entrance Hall.

been altered so as to transform the prisoner from a Syrian into a Libyan,<sup>3</sup> but we could find no evidence of alteration. Our drawing on Plate 11 shows shading carefully indicating eroded spots in the places concerned as well as elsewhere, but there is no trace of recutting.

### THE DECORATION OF THE SIDE DOORWAYS INTO THE TEMPLE PROPER

Dr. Ricke has discussed at length (pp. 3-4) the problem of the two side doorways of the three leading from the Entrance Hall into the Columned Hall. He has shown the untenability of Roeder's elaborate theory involving the four building periods which Roeder deemed necessary to account in large part precisely for the decoration of the various surfaces of these two doorways or the areas occupied by them. Roeder and Ricke have both concluded as a result of careful study, although for somewhat different reasons, that the original building and decoration plans of the temple called for only the middle, large doorway and that the side doorways were cut through after the decoration of the temple walls was fairly well advanced.

We should like to suggest a conclusion to which our detailed scrutiny of the reliefs, as we collated our artists' drawings, has driven us: that the side doorways may well have been in the original plan and initially cut through and decorated as such, that they were subsequently blocked up and the new surfaces supplied with reliefs, and that they were opened again probably in the conversion of the temple into a Christian church. We are inclined also to believe that the blocking-up may not even have been done in Ramesses II's reign, so crude is the carving of what remains of the reliefs required by the blocking-up in comparison with even the worst work to be found elsewhere in the temple. Our conclusion is thus a deduction primarily from the nature and workmanship of the reliefs and not incontrovertibly proven. We could not find on the façades of the side doorways one trace of the plaster fill with which one of the versions of decoration was obliterated in preparation of the surface for the other version. Only this would have given a sure clue to the priority of one over the other.

The reasons for our conclusion may be summarized as follows:<sup>4</sup>

1. On the outer faces the carving of the columns of hieroglyphs on the jambs of both doorways was done with reasonable care. There is no observable difference in workmanship from other sunk relief in the temple, notably that of a similar character on the reveals and thicknesses of the side doorways (Pls. 19 *A*, *B*, *E*, and *F*, 20, and 22) and on the columns of the transverse hall (Pls. 35 and 36).

2. In contrast to this workmanship, what remains of the alternative decoration is crudely carved, particularly the hieroglyphs still visible above the doorways. The large figures of Amon and Horus are roughly cut, yet one cannot say that they were left unfinished as figures, for even the major internal details were carved. However, coarse chisel marks show all along the deep grooves of the silhouettes and no attempt was made to round off or model the interior surfaces of the figures. This is strikingly unlike, for example, the work on the figures of the king in sunk relief on the north and south walls of the Entrance Hall.

3. On the inner faces of the side doorways the hands and arms of the deities holding falchions and scepters (Pls. 24, 27, and 28) are extremely crudely cut. They are little more than hacked or scratched. The lines, if one can call them lines, and the proportions are so crude that one can scarcely take them seriously in relation to the adjacent reliefs.

4. It seems inconceivable to us that the two scenes were originally planned to include a deity before whom the king smote his enemies and that the carving in raised relief was finished

<sup>3</sup> Roeder, *Bet el-Wali*, p. 6, § 14 and p. 7, Abb. 4.

<sup>4</sup> The reliefs relevant to the discussion are to be found on Roeder's Pls. 35-46 and on our Pls. 16, 18 *A* and *C* (lower registers), 19 *A*, *B*, *E*, and *F*, 20, 22, 24-28.



to precisely the same point in both cases when a change was made to sunk relief. Furthermore, the figure of a god need not invariably be present in such triumphal scenes.<sup>5</sup>

5. These two figures of the deities would have been the only sunk relief on the walls of the temple proper, that is, in the Columned Hall and the Sanctuary. The only other sunk relief in this rock-cut portion of the temple is on the two columns and architraves (Pls. 35, 36, and 37 *A* and *B*) where one might expect it quite apart from any change by Ramesses II from raised to sunk relief for his monuments.<sup>6</sup>

6. Most important, even if the carving of the two scenes on the inner faces had progressed to exactly the same point when a general order came to complete the temple in sunk relief, it is inconceivable to us that the scenes would not have been finished in raised relief as they were begun. The change from raised to sunk relief was made in the midst of the north wall of the Entrance Hall, but it was made between scenes (between Pls. 12 and 13), *not in the middle of a scene*.

7. What remains of the figures of the deities on the inner faces is so crudely incised that it would have been very difficult for a sculptor to go over it and produce reasonably good relief. Insofar as we can judge from unfinished reliefs in the Theban area, the ancient workman did not go over a large area, a whole figure, roughly and carelessly first then go over it again with care. He worked carefully as he moved along, finishing relatively small areas. Furthermore, these remains at Beit el-Wali look only like careless hacking, not like good work which was later roughened to hold a plaster fill to obliterate them when the doors were cut through. Nor, for that matter, could we find a trace of plaster in the rough carving although here on an interior wall where even much of the paint survives on adjacent surfaces one might have expected to find a little still clinging if the carving had ever been obliterated with a plaster fill.

8. If the side doorways were not originally planned but were introduced after the two triumphal scenes had been begun and after the order to change to sunk relief had been given, it seems strange that the two scenes on the sides of the middle doorway (Pls. 25 and 26) in *raised* relief should be so well adapted to and so precisely fit the spaces between the middle doorway and the side doorways without a hint of alteration.

It is for these reasons that we have assumed that the side doorways were in the original plan and that they were blocked up later, quite possibly not in Ramesses II's reign, not to be opened again until probably in the conversion of the temple into a church. The language referring to the reliefs involved in the following pages is based on this assumption.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g., Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 184a:8 (right), from Abu Simbel, and *MH* II, Pl. 113.

<sup>6</sup> As Dr. Rieke has pointed out (p. 3 above), Ramesses II's addition of *stp.n-R* to his prenomen has ambiguous significance in the problem of these side doorways because the short prenomen occurs on the south thicknesses of both (Pls. 20 and 22) and the long prenomen on both reveals (Pl. 19 *A*, *B*, *E*, and *F*). The presence of the earlier, short prenomen on a *thickness* would indicate that the doorways were early, as Dr. Rieke has said.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

By EDWARD F. WENTE

### PLATE 4. RAMESSES II WARNING ALL WHO ENTER THE TEMPLE TO BE PURE

*Left jamb*

ABOVE THE KING

Re-Harakhti,<sup>a</sup> Mighty Bull, beloved of Ma<sup>c</sup>at, the good god, [the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare], . . . , Ramesses II, given life.

BEFORE THE KING

All who enter the temple, be pure, be pure!

*Right jamb*

BEFORE THE KING

All who enter the House of Amon-Re, be pure, be pure!

THE NAME OF THE ENTRANCE DOORWAY

The great portal, "Usermare is<sup>b</sup> he through love of whom Re shines."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Alan H. Gardiner in *JEA* XXX (1944) 51.

<sup>b</sup> We follow Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gau*s ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens" XVI [Berlin, 1952]) p. 106, in regarding the names of doorways as nominal sentences.

<sup>c</sup> For the clause see the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* II 103:5 (Theban Tomb No. 6, Zettel 1766) and the Stela of the Year 400, line 4 (Pierre Montet in *Kémi* IV [1933] Pl. XV).

### PLATE 5. FRAGMENTARY RELIEFS FROM THE ENTRANCE PORTAL AND PYLON

*Left reveal (A)*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, may he live forever.

*Left thickness (B)*

Fragment of *ka*-figure supporting the Horus name of Ramesses II.  
[Mighty Bull, beloved of] Ma<sup>c</sup>at.

*Right reveal (C)*

. . . [Usermare], the Son of Re, Ramesses II, may he live forever.

*Loose block (E)*

Remains of the nomen of Ramesses II.

### PLATE 8. RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING NUBIANS

Ramesses II in his chariot, followed by the chariots of the princes Amenhiwonemef and Khaemwase, charges into the Nubian warriors who are fleeing back to their settlement. A

Nubian woman with her two children receives her wounded husband supported by two comrades, while another youngster runs back home to report the bad news of the defeat.

OVER THE KING'S SPAN OF HORSES<sup>1</sup>

[Live the good god], powerful of horns, [smiting] the Southerners [and crushing the Northern]ers, the mighty king, [fighting with<sup>a</sup> his forearm] and putting an end<sup>b</sup> to the violating<sup>c</sup> of his boundaries, Usermare, Ramesses II.

## OVER PRINCE AMENHIWONEMEF'S CHARIOT

Said by the fan-bearer on the King's right, the Crown Prince, the King's bodily son, beloved of him, Amenhiwonemef: "(I) did believe<sup>d</sup> that there was no limit to the<sup>e</sup> sky, (but) the Ruler has caused us to see its limit in the South. I am jubilant, and (my) heart is in joy as (my) father smites his enemies. He has caused his forearm to be powerful against the Nine Bows."

## OVER PRINCE KHAEMWASE'S CHARIOT

The King's bodily son, beloved of him, the divine seed that has issued from the Mighty Bull, Khaemwase, justified.


## OVER THE NUBIAN WOMAN

. . . they are unknown. We have not yet known<sup>f</sup> (such) raging of the Ruler.<sup>g</sup> He is like Seth in the<sup>h</sup> sky.


<sup>a</sup> The use of the preposition *hr* before *hpš* is very common in texts of the New Kingdom. That *hr* in this expression has a meaning close to that of the preposition *m* is evidenced in § 242 of the Kadesh Poem (Charles Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* ["Mémoires . . . de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire" LV (Le Caire, 1934)]), where the Pap. Sallier variant has *m hpš·k* in place of *hr hpš·k* of the monumental versions.

<sup>b</sup> The second Abu Simbel version has *inn*, the imperfective active participle. For the expression *in phwy*, "put an end to," see Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* ("Brown Egyptological Studies" I [London, 1954]) pp. 513-14.

<sup>c</sup> *Tht*, which occurs in all three versions, is a *3ae infirmae* infinitive, followed in the case of the second Abu Simbel version by the genitive *n*.

<sup>d</sup> The expression  here and in Pl. 12 is closely paralleled by Pap. Anastasi I 5:5 and 24:8, where suffix pronouns after *hr* indicate that the suffix *·i* of the first person singular is to be understood after *hr* in the Beit el-Wali examples; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated*. Series I: *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, Part I (Leipzig, 1911) p. 9, n. 9. We regard *ib·hr·(t)* as the *sdm·hr·f* construction, used here as an independent initial clause with past tense, although similar usage is difficult to find; cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.; Oxford, 1957) § 431:3, and Gustave Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* (2d ed.; Le Caire, 1940) § 289. An independent usage in the present is to be found in Erich Lüddeckens, *Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen* (MDAIK XI [1943]) pp. 117-18, where the verb is *3b*. In a number of instances the *sdm·hr·f* construction seems to express continuous action (we might translate "I used to believe"); see Hans Goedicke in MDAIK XVIII (1962) 21 q; in this connection Richard A. Parker's remarks in *Revue d'égyptologie* X (1955) 50-51 with regard to *hr sdm·f* may be relevant. For the verb *ib* followed by a non-verbal clause, see Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* (2d ed.) § 708 b.

<sup>e</sup> *T* for *t3* as also in the inscription over the Nubian woman and frequently at Medinet Habu in the expression *t(3) hwt*, "the Temple."

<sup>f</sup> The probable restoration is . On the *bw sdm·f* construction, see William F. Edgerton in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* XLVIII (1931) 35. An additional Late Egyptian example with independent meaning is *ptr bw dit·k in·tw·f*, "See, you have not sent it yet"; see Georg Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1927-35) III 8, No. 3, line 8.

<sup>g</sup> Or perhaps take *nšn* as a verb: "known the Ruler to rage (so)."

<sup>h</sup> See note *e* above. That the *t* is for *t3* is further substantiated by *hmhmwt·f mī Stḥ m t3 pt*, "His battle-cries are like (those of) Seth in the sky" (MH II, Pl. 87, lines 2-3).

<sup>1</sup> Text paralleled twice in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel; see Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pls. 181 and 184, right. Restorations in translations are based on these parallels.

## PLATE 9. RAMESSES II RECEIVING NUBIAN TRIBUTE

The enthroned Ramesses II receives the Nubian booty arranged in two registers. In the upper one the Crown Prince Amenhiwonemef presents an elaborate Nubian offering table while the Viceroy of Kush Amenemope is decorated by two butlers. Piles of Nubian spoils are next, followed by Nubians bringing live animals and produce of their land. At the left end of the upper register five Nubians with sticks advance accompanied by the beat of a Nubian *darabouka* player. In the lower register officers stand before the throne, followed by the Viceroy Amenemope, who carries a complex arrangement of Nubian spoils. Two fettered Nubian prisoners are ushered in, and the remainder of the scene depicts Nubians bringing live animals and ivory tusks.<sup>2</sup>

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life.

BEHIND THE KING'S SHELTER<sup>3</sup>

Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, beloved of Ma'at, the possessor of Jubilees<sup>a</sup> like Re, great of victories, whose 'annals'<sup>b</sup> are myriads (of years) upon the august<sup>c</sup> *ished*-tree; the Two Ladies, protecting Egypt and subduing the foreign lands, making the boundaries that he has desired in Retenu; Horus of Gold, abounding in years, great of victories, putting Egypt in joy during his reign; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of splendor,<sup>d</sup> great of awe like his father Tatjenen, the possessor of Jubilees, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare; the Son of Re in truth, whose likeness he is,<sup>e</sup> the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, and given life forever.

## ABOVE PRINCE AMENHIWONEMEF AND THE OFFERING TABLE

The fan-bearer on the King's right, the true scribe of the King,<sup>f</sup> beloved of him, the Crown Prince, the first bodily son of the King, Amenhiwonemef, justified, the possessor of reverence.




## ABOVE THE VICEROY

The Viceroy of Kush Amenemope,<sup>g</sup> the son of Paser, justified.<sup>h</sup>

## BEFORE THE VICEROY BEARING OFFERINGS

The Viceroy of Kush Amenemope, the son of Paser, justified.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On this spelling of *hbw-sd*, see Gerhard Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur* ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" XXI [Glückstadt, 1960]) § 202.

<sup>b</sup> *Mnn*, also written  in the Cairo statue inscription, is not recorded in *Wb*. The word must have a meaning similar to *gnwt*, "annals," which also appears in conjunction with the *ished*-tree with myriads of years; see Wolfgang Helck in *ZÄS* LXXXII (1957) 125 (B 2). There is the possibility that the *mnn* of both Beit el-Wali and the Cairo statue is a corruption of *gnwt* from an inaccurate copy of a hieratic text, since hieratic  and  can be practically identical; see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1927-36) II, signs 395 and 540.

<sup>c</sup>  used for *šps* as also on Pl. 20, line 1; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) sign A 52.

<sup>d</sup> As is evident from the parallel on the Cairo statue, the heart-sign is spurious owing to the common expression *šw-ib*; see also Georges Daressy in *ASAE* XVIII (1919) 217.

<sup>2</sup> Parallels for various elements in this scene are found in *MH* I, Pl. 11, Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, *Temples of Amant* (London, 1940) Pl. IX, and certain Theban tombs (see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I [2d ed.; Oxford, 1960], *The Theban Necropolis*, Part I, *Private Tombs*, p. 464 (5a) for references).

<sup>3</sup> For parallel see Cairo statue of the youthful Ramesses II, No. 42142, in Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* II ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire," Nos. 42139-42191 [Le Caire, 1909]) 7 and Pl. IV.

<sup>e</sup> On *mill* used of the king as the likeness of Re, see e.g. *Urk.* IV 1301:7 and 1319:17. We have taken the liberty of treating *mill·f pw* as a virtual relative clause, though to the Egyptian its nuance was probably more explanatory than relative.

<sup>f</sup> Restore  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

<sup>g</sup> On the Viceroy Amenemope, see Seele, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, p. 36; Labib Habachi in *Kush* V (1957) 26–27; Fritz Hintze in *ZÄS* LXXXVII (1962) 40.

<sup>h</sup> There is a superfluous  $\equiv$  sign.

<sup>i</sup> This inscription and probably the similar one in the upper register were added subsequent to the original carving of the scene.

#### PLATE 11. RAMESSES II IN TRIUMPH OVER THE NORTHERN FOES

Ramesses II, standing on a platform supported on the backs of a prostrate Asiatic and a prostrate Libyan, grasps three northern foes by the hair, while a prince conducts bound captives, including a Libyan and a Syrian, into the king's presence.

##### BEHIND THE KING<sup>4</sup>

All valor and all victory! As for all plains and every hill-country, the dread of thee is in their heart(s).

#### PLATE 12. RAMESSES II STORMING A SYRIAN STRONGHOLD

Ramesses II is in the act of smiting a Syrian chief issuing from the top of a fortress, while an Egyptian prince is engaged in breaking through the wall with an ax. Other Syrians on the rampart sue for peace.

##### BETWEEN THE KING AND THE FORTRESS

Said by the vile chief in exalting the Lord of the Two Lands: "(I) did believe<sup>a</sup> that there was no other like Ba'al, (but) the Ruler is his true son forever."<sup>b</sup>

##### ABOVE THE FORTRESS

. . .ing<sup>c</sup> upon his feet, stout of heart [like] the son of Nut,<sup>d</sup> rejoicing '[in experienc]ing'<sup>e</sup> combat.

##### ABOVE THE KING

. . . Usermare, . . . , Ramesses II.

##### BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him, all stability and dominion, all valor and all victory, all joy and all health [like Re for]ever.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See note *d* to Pl. 8.

<sup>b</sup> *N dt*, "forever," appears somewhat strange; could it be an error for *n dt·f*, "his own true son"?

<sup>c</sup> The circular trace is possibly of  $\circ$  or  $\bullet$ . If the latter, the verb possibly was  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *phd*, "overthrowing."

<sup>d</sup> Restore  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (cf. *Urk.* IV 1694:8, 1695:12, and 1704:12). The son of Nut is Seth.

<sup>e</sup> The trace to the left of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  might fit  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , in which case the word could be  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , *dp*, "taste." For the expression *dp h³*, "experience combat," see Stela II of Ramesses II from Tanis (side A, line 4), published by Jean Yoyotte in *Kêmi* X (1949) Pl. VI and p. 64, and Günther Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* ("Les temples immergés de la Nubie") I (Le Caire, 1911) 106, Insc. III, line 20, where the object *h³* is introduced by the partitive preposition *m* after *dp* (cf. *Wb.* V 444:12).

<sup>f</sup> Restore  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

<sup>4</sup> Text paralleled in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel; see Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 182.

## PLATE 13. RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING BEDOUNS

Rameses II, mounted in his chariot, is engaged in slaying two Bedouins, whom he grasps by the hair, as his steeds charge into the panic-stricken enemy.

BEFORE AND ABOVE THE FLEEING BEDOUNS<sup>5</sup>

[The good] god, the son of Amon, valorous, the lord of the falchion, protecting his army, a powerful fighter who knows his dexterity,<sup>a</sup> firmly mounted in the chariot like the Lord of Thebes,<sup>b</sup> the lord<sup>c</sup> of strength, fighting myriads, a mighty bull among the hosts, [breaking up] the confederacy<sup>d</sup> and crushing<sup>e</sup> the rebels [upon] the mountains. [They have entered into the]ir [valley like] locusts. Thou hast put [thy] carnage in their place, and thou [hast annihilated] their seed, O King, mighty of falchion!

## ABOVE THE KING

. . . Usermare . . . .

## BEHIND THE KING

All (protection and life)<sup>g</sup> are behind him like Re. . . 'holding fast his enemies'<sup>h</sup> . . . .



<sup>a</sup> On *st-drt*, see Otto Firchow in *ZÄS* LXXIX (1954) 92-93.

<sup>b</sup> I.e., Montu.

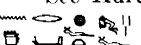
<sup>c</sup> Trace of  $\cup$  below *W<sup>3</sup>st*.

<sup>d</sup> On *sd dmd(wt)*, see *Wb.* V 461:12 and in particular H. R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum* VII (London, 1925) Pl. 47.

<sup>e</sup> For the sequence *sd . . . ptpt*, see, e.g., Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 72, photograph.

<sup>f</sup> At this point the Abu Simbel text gives , "enemies," which does not yield proper sense and is obviously a miswriting of the verb , *hf*, which is used in referring to the destruction of *pri*, "seed"; see Elmar Edel in *ZÄS* LXXXVI (1961) 102, Fig. 2, and *RIK* II, Pl. 82 C, lines 4-5.

<sup>g</sup> These words were never carved in the existing area of the wall surface behind the king.

<sup>h</sup> See Kurt Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* I (Leipzig, 1908) § 579b, for the possible reading of .

## PLATE 14. RAMESSES II SLAYING A LIBYAN

Rameses II wields the falchion at the head of a Libyan captive who implores mercy, while Egyptian officers and the Crown Prince Amenhiwonemef (only his hand preserved) extol the king.

## ABOVE THE KING

[The Lord] of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life like Re forever.

BEHIND THE KING<sup>6</sup>

All protection and life are behind him like Re forever. The good god, great of awe, a mighty lion,<sup>a</sup> a lord of strength enveloping the rebellious lands. The Tjehnu are felled through thy sword, and the Nine Bows are slain under thy sandals like Re every day<sup>b</sup> forever and ever.

## BEFORE AND ABOVE THE OFFICERS

Said by the officers who are in the presence of His Majesty in exalting the Lord of the Two Lands: "[Thy] falchion is powerful<sup>c</sup> in valor and victory. Thou<sup>d</sup> hast prevailed over the rebels.

<sup>5</sup> Text paralleled in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel; see Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 183. Restorations in the translation follow this parallel.

<sup>6</sup> The second text is paralleled in the smaller Abu Simbel temple; see Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 184a: 8, left.

The sun does not shine over (the place) in which thou hast become furious.<sup>e</sup> Thy subjects' shall not be prevailed over. The courage of the land of Khor has failed.<sup>f</sup> Slain<sup>h</sup> is the land of K[ush]<sup>i</sup> . . . .”

## BEFORE THE PRINCE

Said by the fan-bearer on the King's right, the Crown Prince, the true scribe of the King, beloved of him, Prince Amenhiwonemef, justified, in adoring<sup>j</sup> his lord and in exalting his might: "Great is thy power,<sup>k</sup> O King, Horus abounding in years, thy power is mighty. Thou hast [prevai]l<sup>l</sup> over the foreign lands. Thou hast slain their chiefs. [Thy] strength [is like (that of) . . . who is i]n<sup>m</sup> the sky; the rays<sup>n</sup> of the sun above<sup>o</sup> . . . ."

## BELOW THE VULTURE


Nekhbet, the White One of Hieraconpolis.

## OVER THE DOG

"Anath is a defender."<sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On the king as a lion, see Constant de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951) pp. 16-34; Ursula Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im Alten Ägypten* ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" XV [Glückstadt, 1949]) pp. 18-21; Hermann Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924) pp. 69-71.

<sup>b</sup> Omitted in the Abu Simbel version and may be an error through the common expression *mi R<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb dt*, “like Re every day forever.”

<sup>c</sup> Restore .

<sup>d</sup> The handle of the basket was not carved.

\* Lit. "over that in which thou hast become furious." We regard *ḳndt.k* as a masculine relative form because of the masculine gender of the resumptive pronoun in *im.f*. The *t* in *ḳndt.k* is not the feminine ending but a complimentary indicator of the final radical; note Coptic Ⲅⲟⲛⲧ. This use of simple *t* in hieroglyphic writing is analogous to the occasional use of *tw* in Late Egyptian hieratic (occasionally also in hieroglyphic; see e.g. Helck in ZÄS LXXXIII [1958] Pl. II, line 17: *p3 qd.tw* for *p3 qd*; see, further, William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* [SAOC No. 12 (1936)] p. 52, and Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roij et Amenhotep* [Paris, 1929] p. 8) to supplement the final radical of participles and relative forms of verbs ending in *d*; see Adolf Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1933) §§ 376 and 395.

<sup>1</sup> For this abbreviated writing of *mrw*, "subjects," "partisans," see L.-A. Christophe in *BIFAO* XLIX (1950) 168 f. On the word, see Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (Supplément aux *ASAE*, Cahier No. 18 [Le Caire, 1952]) pp. 25-29.


<sup>a</sup> Restore . For the expression *whi ib*, see Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech*, p. 382, legend 58, and Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* V (Leipzig, 1891) 926.

<sup>h</sup> The initial traces suit  $\overline{\text{f}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{z}}$ , although  $\overline{\text{z}}$  is an unusual determinative for the verb *sm*³, “slay.” For *t*³, “land,” as object of this verb, see the Amada stela of Menepthah, line 3, in Henri Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada* (“Les temples immergés de la Nubie” [Le Caire, 1913]) p. 188.


<sup>4</sup> The *k* of *K3š* is certain, and Kush is to be expected here in view of the frequent use (e.g. Pl. 15) of juxtaposed Khor and Kush to indicate the extent of Egyptian dominion; see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947) I 181\*.

<sup>i</sup> Read . For this phrase and the following, see C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" IV [Bruxelles, 1933]) I 5, line 5, and 6, line 10.

<sup>k</sup> See Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen* (1st ed.: Berlin, 1939–43) II 50, on *wr b'w.k.*

<sup>1</sup> Restore .

<sup>m</sup> The two strokes are probably part of the writing of  $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡}$ , *imy*, modifying a god's name, perhaps Seth, or a term for the sun in the lacuna following *phty*·[*k mi*].

<sup>n</sup> Restore probably .

<sup>o</sup> Cf. *r<sup>c</sup> hry* on Pl. 15.

<sup>p</sup> On Egyptian names of dogs, see Jozef M. A. Janssen in *MDAIK* XVI (1958) 176–82 and Henry G. Fischer in *JEA* XLVII (1961) 152–53.

PLATE 15. RAMESSES II RECEIVING HIS OFFICERS AND THE CROWN  
PRINCE AMENHIWONEMEF WITH ASIATIC PRISONERS

The enthroned Ramesses II receives Egyptian officers, who praise him, and Prince Amenhiwonemef, who leads in three fettered Asiatic prisoners. The king's pet lion is crouched at the foot of the throne.

ABOVE THE KING

The good god, the lord of the falchion,<sup>a</sup> the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life.

BEFORE THE OFFICERS


Said by the officers who are in the presence of His Majesty: "Hail to thee, the good ruler, beloved one, the son of Amon, who has issued from his body. Thou camest forth upon earth being like Re above<sup>b</sup> 'illuminating'<sup>c</sup> the double horizon. Thou wast appointed<sup>d</sup> to maintain Egypt in good order,<sup>e</sup> while thou wast in the womb, O thou who wast in thy moment (of action).<sup>f</sup> The crowns were arranged for thee while thou wast seed<sup>g</sup> in the womb of thy mother Isis. The portion(s) of the Two Lords<sup>h</sup> and years like (those of) Atum have been bequeathed to thee, O ruler and divine-king<sup>i</sup> of Upper and Lower Egypt, like Ptah-Tatjenen.<sup>j</sup> Egypt and the Red Land are under thy sandals; Khor and Kush are in thy grasp. Joyful<sup>k</sup> are the Egyptians when the Ruler is among them.<sup>l</sup> Thou hast extended their boundaries forever."

ABOVE THE PRINCE

The fan-bearer on the King's right, the Crown Prince, the true scribe of the King, beloved of him, the divine seed<sup>m</sup> that has issued from the Mighty Bull,<sup>n</sup> the King's bodily son, Amenhiwonemef.

BEFORE THE LION

"He who slays his enemies."<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Trace of the tip of the blade of  in *hps*.

<sup>b</sup> See note *o* to Pl. 14.

<sup>c</sup> *Sšb* seems to be the most likely reading of the signs, but such a word is not included in *Wb*. A speculation is that we should understand *sbš*, to be connected with *Wb*. IV 93:100; see also Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I (Roma, 1955) § 117. This Old Egyptian verb has been taken as intransitive, but the examples could also be taken as passives of a transitive verb. Another possibility is that the verb intended was *shb*, "make festive."






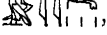
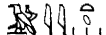

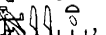
<sup>d</sup> For *htr* construed with *r* + infinitive, see *Wb*. III 201:7.

<sup>e</sup> The plural strokes in *grg* are superfluous; see  in *MH* II, Pl. 106, lines 43-44 (the Medinet Habu version of the "Blessing of Ptah").


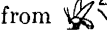

<sup>f</sup> For this passage there are several possible interpretations. The translation given above is supported by such a parallel as *Trk*. IV 887:9 and by the writing of *št* with the disk determinative, which would seem to indicate that *št* here is a designation of time; see Gardiner in *JEA* XXXIV (1948) 13-15 for discussion of this word. A possible minor objection may be that in such a vocative expression *imy št.f* might have been expected instead of *imy št.k*; see Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* I 45, and, for example, the vocative *imy kšr.f* in all preserved versions of spell 1029 of the Coffin Texts (see Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* VII [OIP LXXXVII (1961)] 253 a). However, one cannot insist upon rigid logic in the use of the pronoun in view of the fact that confusion of pronouns is of rather common occurrence in Egyptian, and in this particular text the second person pronoun is so predominant. The other possibilities for this passage involve regarding *imy* as a reversed *nisbe* (see J. Gwyn Griffiths in *JEA* XXVIII [1942] 66-67 and Erman in *ZÄS* LII [1915] 107-8) and taking *št* as meaning "striking power." Thus we might translate either "while thou wast in the womb of the one in whom thy striking power was" or "while thou wast in the womb in which thy striking power was." Both of these alternatives, however, necessitate assuming that *imy* is for the feminine *imyt*, which is certainly a possibility for texts of this period. For the word *št* used in connection with birth, see De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* II (OIP XLIX [1938]) 220 c-d. There is the further consideration that *ht* may refer not to the mother's womb but to the father's body (see *Wb*. III 356:12), in which case *imy* could be taken at face value as masculine: "while thou wast in the body of




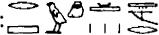
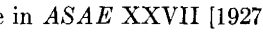
the one in whom thy striking power was." Here, then, we would have an allusion to the king's power as sperm in his father's body at the time of coition, hence possibly the significance of the use of the term *ḥt*, "striking power." Such an interpretation would, in fact, accord nicely with the following passage where there is reference to the king's presence as seed in his mother's womb.


<sup>a</sup> There are two possible restorations:  and . In favor of the former is the manner in which the tail of the bird joins the rear leg. At Beit el-Wali  regularly displays the feathered "pants," whereas , which is of much less frequent occurrence, is attested without the "pants" in the word *H<sup>3</sup>rw*, "Khor," of the same inscription on Pl. 15, although elsewhere it too has the "pants" (see e.g. *sm<sup>3</sup>* in the name of the lion on Pl. 15). Since it appears very unlikely that there were "pants" on the bird under discussion, the comparative paleographic evidence from Beit el-Wali would tend to favor the restoration of . In this case the word bears a close resemblance to , attested only once (Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* [London and Boston, 1903-8] VI, Pl. XXVII 6). Unfortunately it is not quite clear what the exact meaning of this word is. Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962) p. 101, has proposed "foetus," whereas *Wb.* II 12:10 suggests "Samenflüssigkeit"; Davies, *op. cit.* p. 30, suggests "issue," Serge Sauneron in *BIFAO* LX (1960) 25, "le germe," and Aylward M. Blackman in *JEA* X (1924) 194, "Samen" or "the female counterpart of the male ejaculate." This last suggestion would seem to me to be the most probable in view of the fact that the Amarna passage consists of a sequence of clauses whose temporal relationship reflects the course of the reproductive cycle. Thus "foetus" would be grossly out of place at the beginning of the series of clauses. If at Beit el-Wali the word was actually , and identical with the Amarna word, then "seed" would seem to be the probable meaning. However, it is possible that too much stress has been placed upon the absence of the "pants" of the bird. It is conceivable that  may have been carved on the wall without the "pants," in which case the restoration that would fit nicely is , which would be related to, if not identical with (the *ḥ* in the Beit el-Wali text may be spurious) *mj* of *Wb.* II 36:4, a well attested word meaning "seed," "sperm."


<sup>b</sup> On the "portions of the Two Lords," i.e., Horus and Seth, see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* ("Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies" IV [Liverpool, 1960]) pp. 68-74.

<sup>c</sup> *Bity* is used here not in its customary meaning of "Lower Egyptian King" but to designate the king as holder of the divine ancestral office of kingship as distinct from the temporal rule conveyed by the preceding term *ḥk<sup>3</sup>*; see Otto in *ZÄS* LXXXV (1960) 143-52. We have taken  as an unusual determinative of *bity*, perhaps borrowed from , "goddess of Lower Egypt"; see Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 79. Alternatively it is just possible that  has the value *n*, serving as the genitival adjective; see Étienne Drioton in *ASAE* XL (1940) 333, XLI (1941) 116, XLIII (1943) 330 and H. W. Fairman in *ASAE* XLIII 271-72.

<sup>d</sup> Restore  or the like.

<sup>e</sup> From here to the end the text is paralleled by the Assuan stela of Ramesses II (*LD* III 175 g): . From the Assuan text it might appear that *T<sup>3</sup>-mri* perhaps already had feminine gender at this period. *Wb.* V 223:2 gives "spät" as the period during which it was treated as a feminine, but a fairly certain instance of *T<sup>3</sup>-mri* as feminine is found in the Kom el-Ahmar stela of Menepthah, verso line 4 (Lefebvre in *ASAE* XXVII [1927] 23): , "Egypt has begun to rejoice," where *T<sup>3</sup>-mri* in anticipatory emphasis is resumed by the feminine suffix *-s*. However, the presence of *-sn* in *t<sup>3</sup>-sn* of the Beit el-Wali version suggests that *T<sup>3</sup>-mri* in this instance was a denomination of the people of Egypt; see *Wb.* V 224:5 and particularly *MH* III, Pl. 183 E: *ikm sbty nht n T<sup>3</sup>-mri hms.sn n rk.f ib.sn hn*, "a shield and strong wall for the Egyptians, so that they dwell during his time with their hearts confident."

<sup>f</sup> Read .

<sup>g</sup> Restore . For *ntry*, "divine," so written, see Pl. 20, line 2.

<sup>h</sup> Restore .

<sup>i</sup> On pet lions, see De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*, pp. 10-15.

# PLATE 17. RAMESSES II OFFERING TO AMON-RE(?) IN DUAL SCENES

## Left scene

### BEFORE THE KING

[Offering] wine [to his father].

### BEFORE THE GOD

[I have given thee] all health.

## BEHIND THE KING

[Protection] and life are behind him.

*Right scene*

## BEFORE THE KING

. . . [to] his father.

## BEFORE THE GOD

I have given thee all joy.

## BEHIND THE KING

Protection and [life] are behind him every day.

## PLATE 18 A. THE FAÇADE OF THE SOUTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

*Above lintel*

Rameses II offering jars of libation water to a seated god.

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering libation water.

## ABOVE THE KING

[The Lord of the Two] Lands, Userma[re], the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life.

*Right jamb (first version)*

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life forever.

*Left jamb (first version)*

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life like Re every day forever.

*Later blocking of doorway (second version)*

The King (now lost) before Amon-Re. .

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken by [Amon-Re]: "I have given thee all joy."

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, . . . , the Lord of Diadems, . . . , [given] life . . . .

## BEHIND THE KING

The good god, the possessor of joy, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life like Re every day.

## PLATE 18 B. THE FAÇADE OF THE MIDDLE DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

*Lintel, left scene*

Rameses II performing the ritual dance with ship's gear before Amon-Re.

## BEFORE THE KING

Taking the ship's gear and bringing cool water.<sup>a</sup>

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Nubia: "I have given thee all life and dominion, all joy, and all health like Re forever."<sup>b</sup>

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

19

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II.

*Lintel, right scene*

Ramesses II performing the ritual dance with ship's gear before Amon-Re.

## BEFORE THE KING

Taking the ship's gear and bringing cool water.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the great god, Lord of Nubia: "I have given thee all life and dominion, all joy, and all health like Re forever."<sup>b</sup>

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life.

*Left jamb, upper scene*

Ramesses II received by a goddess.

## ABOVE AND BEHIND THE GODDESS

[Words] spoken [b]y . . . : "[I have given thee] . . . all joy."

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, [Userma]re, the Lord [of Diadems, Ramesses II].

*Left jamb, lower scene*

Ramesses II received by Horus.

## BEFORE HORUS

To thy nose.

## BEHIND HORUS

I have given thee all life and dominion like Re forever.

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare.

*Right jamb, upper scene*

Ramesses II received by Mut.

## ABOVE AND BEHIND MUT

Words spoken by Mut, Lady of Heaven: "I have given thee all life and dominion to thy<sup>c</sup> nose.

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, given life.

*Right jamb, lower scene*

Ramesses II received by Khnum.

## ABOVE, BEFORE, AND BEHIND KHNUM

Words spoken by Khnum: "I have given thee life and dominion to thy nose. I have given thee all joy."

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, given life.

## TO RIGHT OF THE SOLAR DISK

The Beḥdetite.

## THE NAME OF THE DOORWAY

The great portal, "Usermare is he who is beneficial to his father."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On the inappropriateness of the second phrase in relation to the scene, see Hermann Kees in *ZÄS* LII 67.

<sup>b</sup> Amon-Re's speech is common to both scenes.

<sup>c</sup> The handle of the basket was not carved.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the name of the north doorway on the terrace of the Ramesseum; see Charles F. Nims in *JNES* XIV (1955) 119 and 123 (36). On *ḫ n ḫt.f*, see note *e* to Pl. 20 below.

## PLATE 18 C. THE FAÇADE OF THE NORTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

*Above lintel*

Rameses II offering jars of libation water to Khnum.

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering libation water.

## ABOVE KHNUM

Khnum . . . .

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life.

## BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him like Re.

## TO RIGHT OF THE SOLAR DISK OF THE FIRST VERSION

The Beḥdetite.

*Left jamb (first version)*

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of [Diadems], Rameses II, given life forever.

*Right jamb (first version)*

. . . like Re every day forever.

*Later blocking of doorway (second version)*

The King (now lost) before hawk-headed god.

## ABOVE THE GOD

Words spoken by . . . .

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the [Two] Lands, . . . , the Lord [of Diadems], . . . , given life like Re.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

21

## BEHIND THE KING

The [good] god . . . like Re every day forever.

## PLATE 19 A-B. THE REVEALS OF THE SOUTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

*Left reveal*

The good god, who makes monuments, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-setepenre, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life.

*Right reveal*

The good god, the possessor of strength, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-setepenre, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life.

## PLATE 19 C-D. THE REVEALS OF THE MIDDLE DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

*Left reveal*

Ramesses II received by Amon-Re.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Nubia.

## ABOVE THE KING

. . . , Usermare, . . . , Ramesses II.

*Right reveal*

Ramesses II received by Mut.

## ABOVE MUT

Mut, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands.

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, . . . , Ramesses II.

## PLATE 19 E-F. THE REVEALS OF THE NORTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

*Left reveal*

The good god, the [Lord of the Two Lan]ds, Usermare-setepenre, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved of Khnum-Re.<sup>a</sup>

*Right reveal*

The good [god, the Lord of the Two] Lands, Usermare-setepenre, the Son [of Re, Ramesses] II, beloved of Amon-Re.

<sup>a</sup> See Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952) p. 138, and *Urk.* IV 1355:1.

## PLATE 20. RAMESSES II ENTERING THE COLUMNED HALL


## BEFORE AND ABOVE THE KING

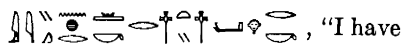
Words spoken by [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands],<sup>a</sup> Usermare: "(I) come unto thee, (my) noble father, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. I am thy son, who has come forth from thee and who protects<sup>b</sup> thee. I work for thee<sup>c</sup>




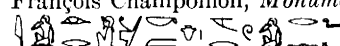
with a willing heart<sup>d</sup> like a son who is beneficial to his father.<sup>e</sup> (I) have built<sup>f</sup> for thee a temple consecrated upon the site that thou hast desired, upon a site of divine,<sup>g</sup> pure,<sup>h</sup> secluded ground. When Re shines forth from his double horizon in front of it,<sup>i</sup> his 'Ennead'<sup>j</sup> is in jubilation at its<sup>k</sup> beauty. Thy heart is content within it daily,<sup>l</sup> food and provisions being in it every day.<sup>m</sup> As for the gods, I have built their temples, which I have refurbished four<sup>n</sup> times that they may let my . . .<sup>o</sup> be in Egypt like their temple(s) forever. I am a truly vigilant ruler, a protector who propitiates the Ennead. (I) offer<sup>p</sup> to thee Ma'at every day. Behold<sup>q</sup> thou shalt live on it. Thou hast given to (me)<sup>r</sup> the lifetime of Re and [year]s<sup>s</sup> like (those of) Atum, I enduring<sup>t</sup> as King of Upper and Lower Egypt<sup>u</sup> [forev]er<sup>v</sup> . . . , I having become the son of Re of [his] body whom [he has] chosen,<sup>w</sup> Ramesses II . . . ."

## BEHIND THE KING


All protection and life are behind [him] like Re.



<sup>a</sup> Restore perhaps .

<sup>b</sup> Although written as *ndty*, the verb *nd*, "protect," is intended; see , "I have come unto thee to protect thee" (unpublished text from the tomb of Prince Khaemwase). On the expression *nd hr*, with the literal meaning "save the face of," see Griffiths in *JEA* XXXVII (1951) 36-37.

<sup>c</sup> The sign is clearly  and not . Our translation, however, has assumed the emendation of the text from *nb* to *.k*; cf. for example , "(I) have worked for thee with a willing heart in that which a son who is beneficial to his father has done in aggrandizing the monument" (Jean François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, Notices descriptives* [Paris, 1835-45] II 83-84), and , "I have worked for thee with a willing heart to provision thy house" (*MH* IV, Pl. 231, lines 28-29). If the emendation is not made, the translation would have to be "All that I have done is with a willing heart."


<sup>d</sup> See *Wb.* II 101:7 and Battiscombe Gunn in *JEA* XXV (1939) 168.

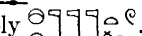
<sup>e</sup> Restore  after *3hw*. The royal determinative following *3hw* suggests that *s3 3hw* was regarded as a compound. On the expression *s3 3h(w) n it*, see Fecht in *ZÄS* LXXXV 114, n. 3, Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (London, 1957) I, Pl. VIII 5, line 9, and *Urk.* IV 1690:10.


<sup>f</sup> After the potter determinative of *kd* restore either  or , the latter of which would produce a *sdm.n.f* form.

<sup>g</sup> For *bkyt* modified by *ntr(yt)*, see *MH* II, Pl. 103, line 3; *MH* III, Pls. 182 A and 183 D; Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah* (Paris, 1870-75) III, Pl. 78 n 2.


<sup>h</sup> For *w-b*, "pure," with the nuance of "unoccupied," see Lefebvre in *JEA* XXV 219.

<sup>i</sup> Reading .


<sup>j</sup> Restore probably . See Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, § 168, for the form with suffix.

<sup>k</sup> No ticks carved, but  is surely intended.

<sup>l</sup> *M hrt-hrw*.

<sup>m</sup> Read ; see *Wb.* II 38:5.


<sup>n</sup> For the position of the numeral before the noun, see Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern* (Strassburg, 1916) pp. 52-53.


<sup>o</sup> The traces of  are too far to the left to enable one to read *wn.i* ("cause me to be in Egypt"). There must have been at least one sign to its right, possibly some such word as *hk3t*, "rule" ("cause my rule to be in Egypt").

<sup>p</sup> Or, taking *hmk* as a participle, "who offers."


<sup>q</sup> For *mk*, "behold," so written in monumental texts of this period, see § 70 of the Kadesh Poem (Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech*) and line 24 of Menepthah's Great Karnak Inscription (W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches* [Washington, D.C., 1906-20] I, Pl. 21). Normally the *sdm.f* following *mk* is future; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) § 234.

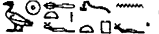
<sup>r</sup> Emending to *di.n.k n.(i)*, the error being caused by confusion with the very common *di.n.(i) n.k* formula of the speech of a deity to the king. In view of the correct reading of *dd.k(wi)* in line 10 as well as the *hpr.k(wi)* of line 11, both old perfectives, first person singular, it is unreasonable to assume with Roeder, *Bet el-Wali*, p. 55, that there was a change in the speaker from the king to Amon-Re, a most unlikely phenomenon in temple texts.

<sup>s</sup> Restore .

<sup>t</sup>  is certain; so read earlier by Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, Notices descriptives* I 148.

<sup>u</sup> See *Wb.* II 330:9 and *Urk.* IV 1669:13 and 2056:5.



<sup>v</sup> Restore .

<sup>w</sup> Perhaps restore . There is no room for the expected genitival *n* between *s³ R<sup>c</sup>* and *ht·f*. *S³ R<sup>c</sup> ht·f* is found at Medinet Habu in an unpublished scene in the south "porter's lodge," south wall of the passageway, fourth horizontal line of inscription of the "shadow of the door"; for location see Harold H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* (OIP LVI [1941]) Pl. XXVIII 13. Note also the Old Kingdom *s³ nswt ht·f* in T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum I* (2d ed.; London, 1961) Pl. II, Nos. 1 and 2. The suggestion that the traces are those of *stp·n·f* is by Professor Nims.

#### PLATE 21. GRAFFITO OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH MESSUY

##### ACCOMPANYING THE VICEROY

The Viceroy of Kush, the bearer of the fan and crook on the King's right, who . . . <sup>s</sup> him on his right, the royal scribe Messuy,<sup>b</sup> chosen of the land of Upper Egypt.

<sup>a</sup> The reading  is confirmed by line 10 of the Meneptah Amada stela: . This reading was obtained by Professors Hughes and Nims by personal inspection in November, 1961, and represents improvements upon the copy made for Le Centre de Documentation and published in *Amada: Stèles historiques* (Le Caire, n.d.). The meaning of the phrase *g³ sw* is obscure. A conjecture is "who positions himself."

<sup>b</sup> For this Viceroy, see George A. Reisner in *JEA* VI (1920) 47 and Gauthier in *Recueil de travaux* XXXIX (1921) 213-14.

#### PLATE 22. RAMESSES II ENTERING THE COLUMNED HALL

##### ABOVE THE KING

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, is<sup>a</sup> like Re every day forever.

##### BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him like Re every day.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps *di nḥ*, "given life," has been omitted in error.

#### PLATE 24. RAMESSES II SMITING A LIBYAN

Ramesses II smites a Libyan of the North in the presence of Re-Harakhti(?), whose figure was only roughly executed at the time the northern doorway to the Columned Hall was blocked up.

##### BEFORE THE KING

Crushing the northern foreign land.

##### ABOVE THE LIBYAN

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, the lord of the falchion, Usermare, the Son of Re, the lord of the ritual, Ramesses II, given life like Re.

##### BEHIND THE KING

The good god, slaying Libya, powerful of strength, great of awe, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, given life forever.

All protection and life are behind him.

##### FLANKING THE SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite, the great god with variegated plumage.

## BEIT EL-WALI TEMPLE OF RAMESSES II

## PLATE 25. RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY HORUS

## ABOVE HORUS

Horus, Lord of Aniba.

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, given life like Re.

## PLATE 26. RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY ATUM

## OVER ATUM AND THE KING

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, given life, beloved of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan.

## PLATE 27. RAMESSES II SMITING A NUBIAN

Rameses II smites a Nubian in the presence of Amon-Re(?), whose figure was only roughly executed at the time the southern doorway to the Columned Hall was blocked up.

## ABOVE THE NUBIAN

The good god, dispelling the Nine Bows and crushing the chiefs of vile Kush, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, given life.

## BEHIND THE KING

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, powerful<sup>a</sup> Horus, the Lord of the Two Lands, the lord of the falchion, Usermare, given life.

All protection and life are behind him like Re.

## FLANKING THE SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite, the great god with variegated plumage.

<sup>a</sup> *Tm3* is usually accompanied by *ꜥ*, "arm," but other instances of the omission of *ꜥ* can be cited, e.g. *Urk.* IV 1694:12, *RIK* I, Pl. 12 *B*, and Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 57a, above king.

PLATE 29. RAMESSES II, ATTENDED BY HATHOR, CENSING AND  
LIBATING A FOOD OFFERING BEFORE HORUS AND ISIS

## OVER THE OFFERINGS

Making censuring and libation with wine and milk,<sup>a</sup> pure from the hands of thy son beloved of thee, the good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Rameses II, given life.

## ABOVE HORUS

Words spoken by Horus, Lord of Buhen: "I have given thee years of peace unto thee."<sup>b</sup>

## ABOVE AND BEHIND ISIS

Words spoken by Isis the Great, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands: "I have given thee the lifetime of Re and thy years like (those of) Atum. Thy name shall be like (my) name<sup>c</sup> enduring throughout eternity, O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare, the Son of [Re], Rameses II, given life.



The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare.

PLATE 31 *B*. RAMESSES II OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering Ma'at. It is done for him (the god) as one given life.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak, the great god resident in Nubia.

## BEHIND AMON-RE

Words spoken: "I have given thee all plains and all hill-countries, to my beloved son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, given life like Re every day."

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II.

## BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him.

## TO LEFT OF THE SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite, the great god.

PLATE 32 *A*. RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS TO AMON-RE

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Nubia, the great god.

## BEHIND AMON-RE

Words spoken: "I have given thee [all] joy like Re . . ."

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life.

## BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are [behind] him like Re forever.

PLATE 32 *B*. RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS TO AMON-RE

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the great god, foremost of Nubia.

## BEHIND AMON-RE

Words spoken: "I have given thee all life and dominion like [R]e forever.

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life.

## BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him like Re every day.

## PLATE 32 C. RAMESSES II PRESENTING MAꜣAT TO AMON-RE (ORIGINALLY ATUM)

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering Maꜣat to his father. It is done for him (the god) as one given life.

## ABOVE ORIGINAL ATUM

(The King) beloved of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak.

## BEFORE AMON-RE

I have given thee all life and dominion.

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life like Re forever.

## PLATE 32 D. RAMESSES II PRESENTING BREAD TO SOKAR

## OVER THE KING AND SOKAR

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life like Re forever, beloved of Sokar residing in Shetit.

## BEFORE SOKAR

I have given thee years of peace.

## PLATE 32 E. RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS OF LIBATION WATER TO AMON-RE

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering libation water.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven.

## BEFORE AMON-RE

O Son of Re!

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, given life like Re.

## BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him.

## PLATE 32 F. RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS TO HORUS

## BEFORE THE KING

It is done for him (the god) as one given life.

## ABOVE HORUS

Words spoken (by)<sup>a</sup> Horus, Lord of Kuban:<sup>b</sup> "I have given thee all valor. I have given thee 'a given'<sup>c</sup> life."

## BEFORE HORUS

I have given thee all valor.

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life like Re every day.

## THE NAME OF THE DOORWAY

The great portal, "Usermare is he who propitiates the gods."

<sup>a</sup> *ꜥIn*, "by," has been omitted as also in Pl. 39 A.

<sup>b</sup> *ꜥ* has been omitted in the writing of *Bꜥk(ꜥ)*, "Kuban."

<sup>c</sup> The trace is possibly that of *ꜥ*, but *dꜥ·n·(i) n·k dꜥ ꜥnh* is otherwise unknown to me.

## PLATE 33 A. RAMESSES II OFFERING WINE TO AMON-RE

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering wine to Amon-Re.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: "I have given <thee><sup>a</sup> all valor."

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life.

## BEHIND THE KING

All protection and life are behind him like [Re].

## TO RIGHT OF THE SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite.

## BEHIND AMON-RE

The King shall be before the *ka*'s of the living, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, forever.

## ON AMON-RE'S BUCKLE

Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

<sup>a</sup> The suffix *·k* has been omitted probably through assimilation with the following *k* of *kꜥn* (so also on Pl. 43).

PLATE 33 B. INSCRIPTIONS BORDERING THE NORTHERN  
NICHE IN THE COLUMNED HALL

## OVER THE NICHE

The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare.

## TO RIGHT OF THE NICHE

The good god, the lord of strength, the Lord of the Two Lands, the lord of the ritual, Usermare, [beloved of] Khnum . . . , the bodily son of Re, beloved of him, the Lord of Diadems, Rameses II, beloved<sup>a</sup> of Anukis . . . .


<sup>a</sup> Traces of  at the bottom of the column.

PLATE 35. INSCRIPTIONS ON ABACUS AND SHAFT OF THE SOUTHERN  
COLUMN IN THE COLUMNED HALL

*Abacus*

- A. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-setepenre.
- B. The Son of Re, Ramesses II.
- C. The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare.
- D. The Son of Re, Ramesses II.

*Shaft*

- A. Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, beloved of Ma'at, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.
- B. The Two Ladies, protecting Egypt and subduing the foreign lands, the bodily son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved of Isis the Great, Lady of Nubia.
- C. The good god, the beloved, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, the lord of the ritual, Usermare, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.
- D. Horus of Gold, abounding in years, great of victories, the bodily son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved of Horus, Lord of Kuban.


PLATE 36. INSCRIPTIONS ON ABACUS AND SHAFT OF THE  
NORTHERN COLUMN IN THE COLUMNED HALL

*Abacus*

- A. The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare.
- B. The Son of Re, Ramesses II.
- C. Live the good god, Usermare.
- D. The Son of Re, Ramesses II.

*Shaft*

- A. Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, beloved of Ma'at, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, beloved of Mut the Great, Lady of Heaven.
- B. The Two Ladies, protecting Egypt and subduing the foreign lands, the bodily son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved of Anukis, Lady of Nubia.
- C. The good god, the son of Amon, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, beloved of Amon-Re, King of the gods.
- D. Horus of Gold, abounding in years, great of victories, the bodily son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved of Isis the Great, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>  to be read here as *t3wy* rather than *idbwy*.

## PLATE 37. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ARCHITRAVES IN THE COLUMNED HALL

*South architrave, north side (A)*

Live the good god in reality, the protector who propitiates the Ennead,<sup>a</sup> who has built mansions for the Father of Fathers<sup>b</sup> in addition to renovating the temples, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life like Re forever.

*North architrave, south side (B)*

Live the good god, the son of Khnum, whom he has fashioned<sup>c</sup> with his own hands and whose body he has made like (that of) Re and whose reign (he has made) like (that of) Horus as king, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life forever.

*South architrave, west (C) and east (D) soffits*

Live the good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II.

*North architrave, west (E) and east (F) soffits*

Live the good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II.

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. 20, lines 6–7.

<sup>b</sup> I have no parallel for this writing of the expression *it itw*, for which see Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin, 1929) p. 56. Since the opposite architrave inscription is concerned with Khnum, it is possible that the “Father of Fathers” here is Khnum; see Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 137.

<sup>c</sup> On *kd·n·f sw* as a virtual relative clause after defined antecedent, see *Urk.* IV 1301:7–8.

PLATE 38. THE PAINTED CEILING BETWEEN THE  
ARCHITRAVES IN THE COLUMNED HALL

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life like Re.

## PLATE 39 A. RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY SATIS

## ABOVE SATIS

Words spoken. Satis, the Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands.

## ABOVE THE KING

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, given life like Re.


## PLATE 39 B. RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY MIKET

## ABOVE MIKET

Words spoken: “I am thy mother Miket,<sup>a</sup> Lady of the ‘Per-wer shrine’,<sup>b</sup> Lady of Heaven, and Mistress of all the gods.”

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life like Re forever.

<sup>a</sup> The goddess Miket is known to me in two other places. She is twice mentioned in the Buhen temple (see David Randall-Maciver and C. Leonard Woolley, *Buhen* [Philadelphia, 1911] pp. 56 and 60) and her name, , in parallel with that of Khnum, is found in the unpublished shrine of Iatu in the Ḥeḳaib temple on Elephantine. Miket occurs also as a theophorous personal name; see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Hamburg, 1935) 146, No. 19.

<sup>b</sup> In the Buhen temple Miket is lady of the Per-nu shrine. Although the earliest evidence (see Gardiner in *JEA* XXX [1944] 27, n. 3) puts the Per-nu shrine at Buto with Edjō as its mistress and the Per-wer shrine at El-Kab with Nekhbet as its mistress, there is later evidence (see Gardiner in *JEA* XXXIX [1953] 25–26) to show that these terms can also refer to rooms in temples elsewhere; and the “Great of Magic,” i.e., Edjō, affixes herself as the uraeus to the king’s forehead in the Per-wer shrine. In Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Il libro dei funerali degli antichi egiziani* (Torino, 1881–90) II 88, in one unrestored version Edjō is lady of the Per-nu shrine, but three variants have her as lady of the Per-wer shrine instead. Thus we suggest for the Beit el-Wali text  $\square\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲙ}$ ; the traces of blue paint would fit  $\square\text{ⲓ}$ .

PLATE 41 A. RAMESSES II SUCKLED BY ANUKIS<sup>7</sup>

## OVER THE KING AND ANUKIS

I am thy mother Anukis, Lady of Elephantine, who nurses ⟨thee⟩<sup>a</sup> in (my) embrace to be King of the Two Lands, O Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare.

<sup>a</sup> We have taken *rnnt* as an imperfective active participle and assumed the omission of the dependent pronoun *tw* after it; see the speech of Khnum on Pl. 42. The only way to avoid assuming this omission would be to construe the form as an imperfective relative form, *rn·i*, used vocatively: “O thou whom I nurse”; but this is not entirely satisfactory. A third alternative is “(I) nurse (thee) in (my) embrace,” assuming the omission of both subject and object pronouns.

## PLATE 41 B. RAMESSES II SUCKLED BY ISIS

## OVER THE KING AND ISIS

I am thy mother<sup>a</sup> Isis, Lady of Nubia. I have given thee jubilees<sup>b</sup> through (my)<sup>c</sup> milk. It<sup>d</sup> penetrates thy body with life and dominion.

<sup>a</sup> Trace of  $\Delta$  over the vulture’s back.

<sup>b</sup> For the spelling, see note *a* to Pl. 9.

<sup>c</sup> The writing of the first person singular feminine suffix has been omitted after *irꜥt*, “milk”; see the similar examples with written suffix given by Pierre Lacau in *BIFAO* LVI (1957) 166–67.

<sup>d</sup> On the treatment of liquids as plural see *ibid.* pp. 161–72; Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (“Acta Orientalia” XXXVII [Roma, 1958]) pp. 32–33; Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958) p. 186, n. 4; Leclant in *Orientalia* XXX (1961) 409–10. Here, as elsewhere, we have translated *dī·n·(i) n·k* as a perfect in agreement with Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, § 539. Such a rendition is confirmed by a comparison of this passage with two others: *tw s³·(i) šd·n·(i) m irꜥt·i*, “Thou art (my) son whom (I) have nourished with my milk” (*Urk.* IV 578:6), and *šd·n·(i) tw m irꜥt·i*, “(I) have nourished thee with my milk” (*Urk.* IV 581:5); both of these passages conclude with *ꜥk·sn n·k m ʿnh (dd) w³s*, similar to the conclusion of the Beit el-Wali text. Since the *sdm·n·f* relative form of *Urk.* IV 578:6 must have perfect meaning, its parallel in the indicative and the Beit el-Wali version are also to be considered as perfect. Hellmut Brunner in *ZÄS* LXXXV 77–78, believing in the interpretation of the *dī·n·(i) n·k* formula as a synchronous present, has adduced Pap. Westcar 9:13 f. as another example of such usage of the *sdm·n·f* form; but I would propose taking *dd·n·i* as a *sdm·n·f* relative form and translating “Is it done because of the three children whom I have mentioned? It is really first your son, then his son, then one of them.” For *dd* with direct object of person, cf. BM 10052, p. 1, line 7, and *passim* (T. Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* [Oxford, 1930] II, Pls. XXV etc.).

PLATE 42. RAMESSES II USHERED INTO THE PRESENCE  
OF AMON-RE BY KHNUM AND SATIS

## BETWEEN KHNUM AND THE KING

Life and dominion to thy nose, O good god, Lord of the Two Lands!

<sup>7</sup> See Jean Leclant, “The suckling of the Pharaoh as a part of the coronation rites in ancient Egypt,” *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions* (Tokyo, 1960) pp. 135–45; Leclant in *JNES* X (1951) 123–27; Jules Baillet, *Le régime pharaonique* (Blois, 1912–13) p. 27.

## ABOVE AND BEHIND KHNUM

Words spoken: "I am thy father Khnum, Lord of the Cataract, who has come in peace to install thee to be King of the Two Lands. I have given thee eternity with jubilees and everlastingness with life and dominion."

## ABOVE THE KING AND SATIS

The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II, beloved<sup>a</sup> of Satis, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands.


<sup>a</sup> Trace of  above the left horn of Satis' crown.

PLATE 43. RAMESSES II PRESENTING INCENSE AND  
A FOOD OFFERING TO AMON-RE

## ABOVE THE OFFERING TABLE

Making censuring to thy *ka*, pure, pure, O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Nubia. Offering with a great hecatomb consisting of bread, beer, cool water, wine, milk, and everything on which a god lives. Pure, four times.

## ABOVE AMON-RE

Words spoken: "I have given thee years of peace and very many jubilees. I have given < thee ><sup>a</sup> all valor."

## BEHIND AMON-RE

I have given thee the lifetime of Re and years like (those of) Atum<sup>b</sup> as Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, [given life]<sup>c</sup> forever.

## ABOVE THE KING

The good god, Usermare, the Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life like Re.





## BEHIND THE KING



All protection and life are behind him like Re forever.

## TO RIGHT OF THE SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite, the great god.

<sup>a</sup> See note *a* to Pl. 33 *A* on the omission of *·k* before *kn*.

<sup>b</sup> Trace of  above . There is sufficient room above  for a small . We have taken the *m* as the preposition rather than the phonetic complement of *ḥtm*, since at Beit el-Wali in four cases (Pls. 15, 20, 26, and 29) the *m* is absent as a phonetic complement in *ḥtm*, whereas it is present in only one case (Pl. 32 *C*, original inscription). If the *m* is to be construed as part of *ḥtm*, then *nb tby* etc. is vocative.

<sup>c</sup> Restore  or perhaps , "like Re."

## PLATE 44 A. RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS OF LIBATION WATER TO HORUS

## BEFORE THE KING

Offering libation water.

## ABOVE HORUS

Words spoken by Horus, Lord of Kuban, residing in Nubia: "I have given thee all valor. I have given thee all victory. I have given thee years of peace."



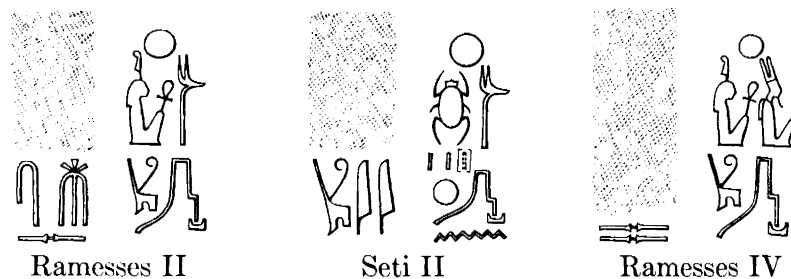
[Ptah], the Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at.

## THE SUPERIMPOSED CARTOUCHES IN THE ENTRANCE HALL









By EDWARD F. WENTE

**B**EHIND the canopy of King Ramesses II and over the stand of victuals there was carved originally in raised relief a tray of five ostrich eggs and three ostrich plumes arranged in a manner similar to the eggs and plumes depicted in the Nubian tribute scene on the south wall of the entrance hall (Pl. 9). Since the left-most egg was completely drawn, it terminated the row of eggs; and the edge of the tray should have extended no farther left than about one-third the breadth of the secondary left-hand cartouche. This tray was part of the original decoration executed under Ramesses II and was contemporary with the scenes in raised relief to its right.

At some later date it was decided to superimpose upon this decoration a pair of cartouches, surmounted by plumed sun-disks, in incised relief. The contents of these cartouches were altered on two subsequent occasions, and the lower right side of the right-hand cartouche was modified slightly at some date. The three kings the traces of whose names we have found in the cartouches are Ramesses II, Seti II, and Ramesses IV.



The only sign that is common to the writing of all three names is the initial sun-disk in the right-hand cartouche, containing the prenomen. With regard to the prenomen of Ramesses II and Ramesses IV the following additional signs are common: the Ma'at figure, the large *stp*-adze, and the crown-*n*. In the writing of the nomens of these two kings, the lower bolt-*s* is common to both.

At this point we must defend our reasons for believing that , not , was used in the writing of Ramesses II's premen. The *stp*-adze of  reached a height level with the top of the sun-disk, and the end of its handle appears on the drawing (Pl. 15) just below the rear bottom flange of the crown-*n* and is spaced a suitable distance above the top of the left-most hump of the  sign, in conjunction with which it was read. The block of wood upon which this *stp*-adze works is the upper one of the two blocks preserved on the wall; its bottom is just about level with the end of the handle of the adze. On the photograph (Pl. 47 *B*) it can be seen clearly that the method of hacking out the  and the handle of the *stp*-adze of  is the same (vertical chisel marks over the  and chisel marks made perpendicularly to the curving line of the adze handle), so that there is no doubt that the smaller *stp*-adze, as we have defined it, goes with the  and the sun-disk.

The *stp*-adze employed in  $\text{𓄏}$  is much larger, its top being almost exactly on the same level as the upper portions of the crown-*n*, while the end of its handle comes below the level of the handle of the other *stp*-adze and crosses over the left end of the  $\text{𓄏}$ . The chopping block upon which this adze works is the lower of the two.

Our assigning the upper chopping block to the *stp*-adze of  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$  and the lower chopping block to the *stp*-adze of  $\text{𓄏}$  is supported by two considerations. First, it will be noticed that there has been an alteration in the bottom half of the right side of the cartouche and that the lower block of wood is positioned slightly to the left of the upper one. Thus it is apparent that the upper chopping block is contemporary with the rim of the cartouche that continues as a straight vertical line from the top and that the lower block of wood, which is shifted to the left, is contemporary with the rim of the cartouche which bears toward the left in proceeding downward. Further support for this interpretation arises from a consideration of the position of  $\text{𓄏}$  with respect to the sides of the cartouche. It is symmetrically positioned only if we construe it with the version of the rim that proceeds vertically downward, not with the one that bears left. Another factor is that the lower block of wood appears to ride the top of the  $\text{𓄏}$  below much too closely to be part of the same group of signs. The upper one is more suitably positioned with respect to the end of the handle of the adze of  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$ , for the block of wood should normally not be any lower than the end of the handle of the adze.<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious from the drawing that  $\text{𓄏}$  could not possibly have been part of the prenomen of Seti II, for the two existing plural strokes of *hprw* interfere with the crown-*n*, and the stem of the *wsr*-sign of his prenomen practically touches the top of the tall *stp*-adze of  $\text{𓄏}$ . On the other hand,  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$  fits nicely with the *Wsr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup>* of Seti II's prenomen and indeed is found elsewhere so written.<sup>2</sup> The problem is whether  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$  could have accompanied the *Wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*, clearly preserved in the upper half of the cartouche. It is our firm conviction that the space between the bottom of the Ma<sup>c</sup>at-figure and the tops of the sun-disk and the *stp*-adze of  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$  is too great to warrant their being construed together, especially if the prenomen of Ramesses II was the first to be carved here. On the other hand, the tops of  $\text{𓄏}$  are properly distanced from *Wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*, so that *Wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>* was read with the following  $\text{𓄏}$ , not  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$ .

Although *Wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp·n-R<sup>c</sup>* was the throne name that Ramesses II finally adopted after the coregency with his father, Seti I,<sup>3</sup> from monumental inscriptions of the time of Ramesses II we know of no instance in which *stp·n-R<sup>c</sup>* was written with the crown-*n* and without an additional sun-disk. The normal writing was  $\text{𓄏}^{\odot}$ , but it appears impossible that the *stp·n-R<sup>c</sup>* used in the prenomen of Seti II was also common to the prenomen of Ramesses II. With  $\text{𓄏}$  employed in the prenomen of Ramesses II, the single sun-disk in the prenomen must serve double duty, first as part of *Wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>* and then in *stp·n-R<sup>c</sup>*.

With regard to Seti II's prenomen, it should be stated that the *wsr*-sign employed is located to the right of the clear *wsr*-sign of Ramesses II's prenomen and extended considerably lower than the latter. Although we know of no exact parallel for such a writing of the conclusion of Seti II's nomen, the only king's nomen that can be suitably read with the traces of the signs which we have found is the desired one of Seti II. None of the other traces in the left-hand

<sup>1</sup> See the *stp*-adzes in the expanded form of Ramesses II's prenomen on Pls. 19 A, B, E and 35 A.

<sup>2</sup> See Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* (Le Caire, 1907-17) III 130 ff.

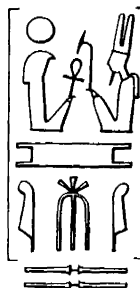
<sup>3</sup> Seele, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, pp. 29-30.

cartouche can be construed as elements that would coincide with any known form of Seti II's nomen. We suggest that perhaps his nomen was written





The traces of the third pair of names in the cartouches, which we take to be of Ramesses IV, present more serious difficulties. In the right-hand cartouche appear what seem to be a knee and hand of a seated figure holding a staff, of which only the bottom is preserved. These are the only elements of a third name that were apparent to us in this cartouche, and we suggest that all the elements used in writing the prenomen of Ramesses II also were used in the prenomen of Ramesses IV with the exception of the *wsr*-sign, in place of which there was a seated figure of Amon holding either  $\text{𓂏}$  or  $\text{𓂐}$ . However, it must be pointed out that if the traces are those of a seated figure of Amon (we have been unable to suggest any more reasonable explanation), Amon does face in a direction opposite that which we should expect in the prenomen of Ramesses IV, for generally Amon in this king's prenomen faces the figure of Ma'at and not the edge of the cartouche. Depending upon the nature of the staff held by Amon,  $\text{𓂏}$  or  $\text{𓂐}$ , the prenomen of Ramesses IV would be read either  $Hk3-m3t-R^c stp \cdot n \rightarrow Imn$  or  $Wsr-m3t-R^c stp \cdot n \rightarrow Imn$ .

In the left half of the bottom of the left-hand cartouche there are traces of a low flat sign on a level with the top edge of the tray of the original carving but not possibly part of the tray, which, as we have mentioned, could not have extended over into the left half of the cartouche. The most plausible interpretation of the trace is bolt-s to be read in conjunction with the bolt-s preserved below, common also to the nomen of Ramesses II. We presume that the nomen of Ramesses IV was written something like




but we discovered no traces of any signs above the upper bolt-s.

So far we have avoided reference to the problem of the temporal sequence of the carving of the three pairs of royal names. One would most naturally assume that the names were executed during the reigns of the kings named and suppose the order to be Ramesses II, Seti II, and Ramesses IV. However, against the interpretation that Ramesses II had his names carved here during his lifetime is the writing of the  $stp \cdot n \cdot R^c$  element of his prenomen, which, as we have mentioned above, is not attested on monuments from his reign. Furthermore, the  $stp \cdot n$ , written with the large  $stp$ -adze and the crown- $n$ , is the very same group that formed part of the prenomen of Ramesses IV, so that it is virtually impossible for Ramesses II to have ordered

his name carved here, unless it is assumed that the names of Seti II were the last to be added after those of Ramesses IV, a most unlikely assumption, for it is quite evident from an examination of the signs of the bottom half of the right-hand cartouche that the *stp·n-R<sup>c</sup>* that was used in the prenomen of Seti II was chiseled away before being replaced by the large *stp-adze* and the crown-*n*, which belong to the prenomens of Ramesses II and IV. Furthermore, it is apparent that the right side of the cartouche which runs vertically and which, as we have shown above, is contemporary with  is earlier than the altered version of the rim of the cartouche which bears left and is contemporary with .

The interpretation is also supported by the improbability of Ramesses II's having crudely surcharged his fine raised-relief ostrich eggs and plumes with later versions of his names in incised relief. Where the expanded form of his prenomen appears at Beit el-Wali (the north face of the abacus of the south column in the Columned Hall [Pl. 35 A] and the reveals of the southern and northern entrances to the Columned Hall [Pl. 19 A, B, E, F]) the *stp·n-R<sup>c</sup>* is written normally, and there is no evidence of the surcharging of decoration carved earlier.<sup>4</sup> One might also question why, if these two cartouches had been executed under Ramesses II himself, the prenomen under the canopy sheltering the king to the right was not also altered from its shorter form.

The next problem is which of the two Ramesses' names were carved first over Seti II's names. In favor of the priority in time of the names of Ramesses IV is the unlikelihood that this ruler would have surcharged the name of Ramesses II, whom he regarded with some respect.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, if it was Ramesses IV who surcharged the names of Seti II with his own, this accounts nicely for the appearance of the unusual  in the prenomen of Ramesses II since all that had to be done to convert the prenomen of Ramesses IV to that of Ramesses II was to erase the Amon-figure and its staff and substitute the *wsr*-sign. More drastic revision of Ramesses IV's nomen, however, had to be made to convert it into Ramesses II's, since the former's nomen contained elements not present in the latter's.

The only factor that would seem to weigh slightly in favor of the priority of Ramesses II's names over Ramesses IV's is the direction in which the Amon-figure faces in the prenomen of Ramesses IV. Amon's facing right could perhaps be more easily explained as a careless error effected when Amon was substituted for the *wsr*-sign of Ramesses II's prenomen, but this argument bears less cogency than the reasons offered above for the surcharging of Ramesses IV's names by those of Ramesses II. It seems, then, that the succession in the decoration of this section of the wall at Beit el-Wali was (1) tray of ostrich eggs and plumes executed in raised relief at the time of Ramesses II's coregency with his father, Seti I, (2) the incised cartouches containing the names of Seti II, (3) the names of Seti II surcharged by those of Ramesses IV, and (4) the names of Ramesses IV surcharged by those of Ramesses II. Here, then, we seem to have another example of the phenomenon of surcharging royal names with those of an earlier king.<sup>6</sup>

Of what value these observations may be for the complex problem of the transition between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasty had perhaps best be left for a more thorough investigation and interpretation of the documentation of the period. Why Ramesses IV should elect to surcharge the names of Seti II with his own may somehow be connected with his un-

<sup>4</sup> See Roeder, *Beit el-Wali*, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> Ramesses IV hoped to have a reign like the "good" one of Ramesses II (Mariette, *Abydos II* [Paris, 1880] Pl. 35, line 21).

<sup>6</sup> See Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (SAOC No. 8 [1933]) and Gardiner in *JEA* XLIV (1958) 16.

certain ancestry<sup>7</sup> and perhaps be vaguely related to the usurpation of the tomb of Tausert by Setnakht, the very monument that has provided evidence for the surcharging of the cartouches of Siptah with those of Seti II, Siptah's predecessor. That the cartouches of Ramesses IV should have in turn been surcharged is not surprising, for there is abundant evidence for the replacing of his names with those of Ramesses VI, who may have been responsible for the surcharging at Beit el-Wali, howbeit in this case not with his own names but with those of Ramesses II, the builder of the temple.

<sup>7</sup> See Seele in *JNES* XIX (1960) 198.

# INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

This list is not complete but includes most of the words and phrases discussed in the notes to the translations of the texts (pp. 10–33). Reference is by plate and note.

$\mathfrak{z}t$ , 15 f	$m\mathfrak{z}tt$ , 9 e	$st\text{-}\mathfrak{d}rt$ , 13 a
$\mathfrak{i}b\cdot\mathfrak{h}r\cdot(\mathfrak{i})$ , 8 d	$mnn$ , 9 b	$S\mathfrak{z}t$ , 30 c
$\mathfrak{i}n\ p\mathfrak{h}wy$ , 8 b	$mrw$ , 14 f	$sd\ dmd(wt)$ , 13 d
$\mathfrak{i}t\ \mathfrak{i}tw$ , 37 b	$mk$ , 20 q	$\mathfrak{k}ndt\cdot k$ , 14 c
$b\mathfrak{i}ty$ , 15 i	$n\mathfrak{d}\ \mathfrak{h}r$ , 20 b	$t$ for $t\mathfrak{z}$ , 8 c, h
$bw$ , 8 f	$n\mathfrak{d}ty$ , 20 b	$T\mathfrak{z}\text{-}mr\mathfrak{i}$ , 15 k
$\mathfrak{c}g\mathfrak{z}\ sw$ , 21 a	$\mathfrak{h}bw\text{-}sd$ , 9 a	$\mathfrak{t}m\mathfrak{z}$ , 27 a
$w\mathfrak{c}b$ , 20 h	$\mathfrak{h}r\ \mathfrak{h}p\mathfrak{s}$ , 8 a	$di\cdot n\cdot(\mathfrak{i})\ n\cdot k$ , 41 B d
$wr\ b\mathfrak{z}w\cdot k$ , 14 k	$\mathfrak{h}tr$ , 15 d	$dp\ \mathfrak{c}h\mathfrak{z}$ , 12 c
$whi\ \mathfrak{i}b$ , 14 g	$s\mathfrak{z}\ \mathfrak{z}h(w)\ n\ \mathfrak{i}t$ , 20 c	
	$s\mathfrak{s}b$ , 15 c	







*Color Photograph by Nims*

RAMESES II OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE  
COMPARE DRAWING, PLATE 31 B





*Photograph by Nims*

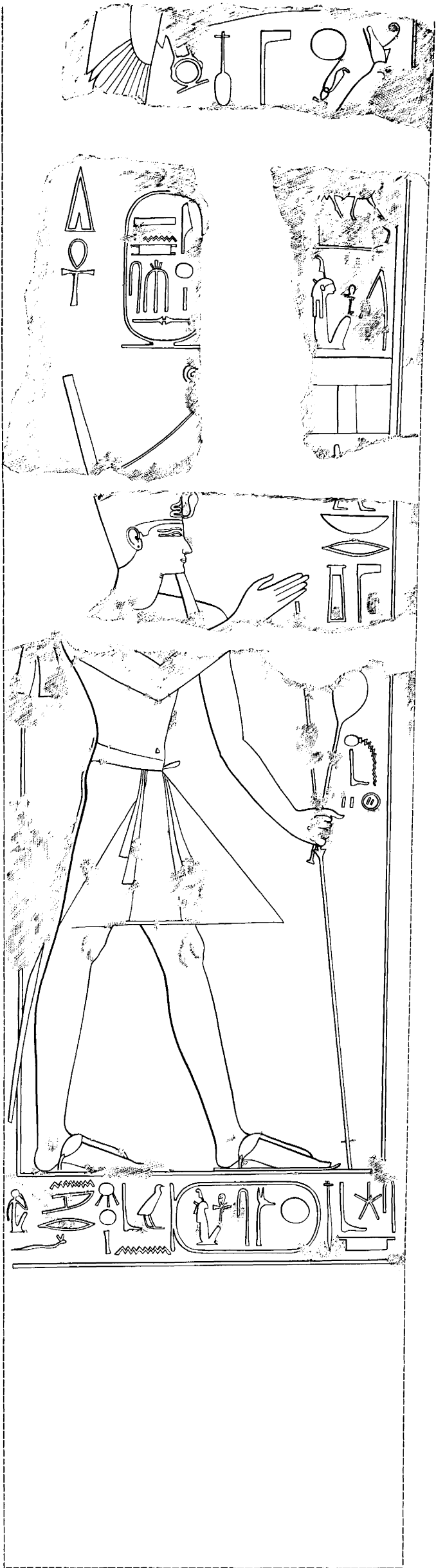
THE SITE OF THE BEIT EL-WALI TEMPLE



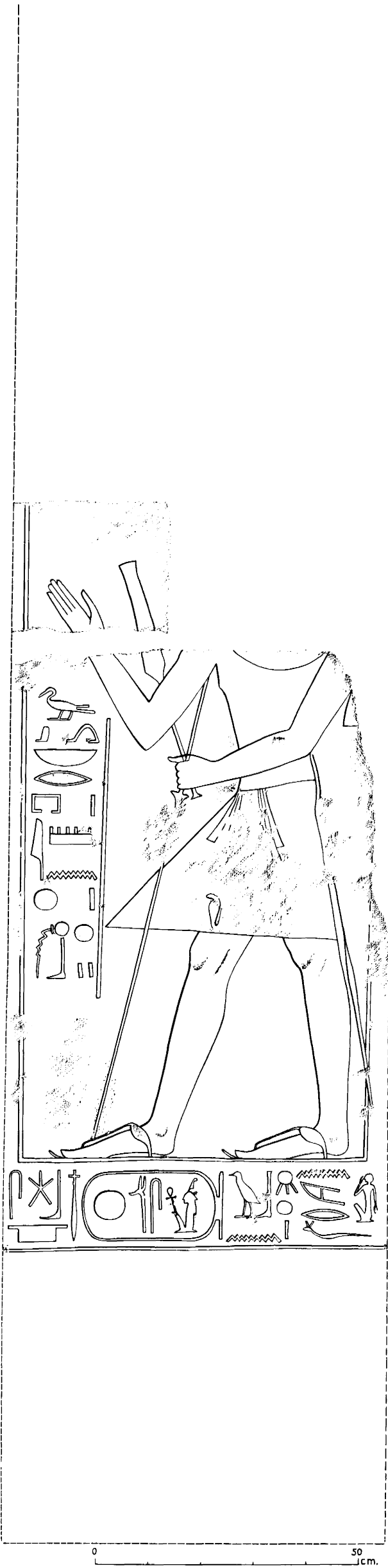


*Photograph by Nims*

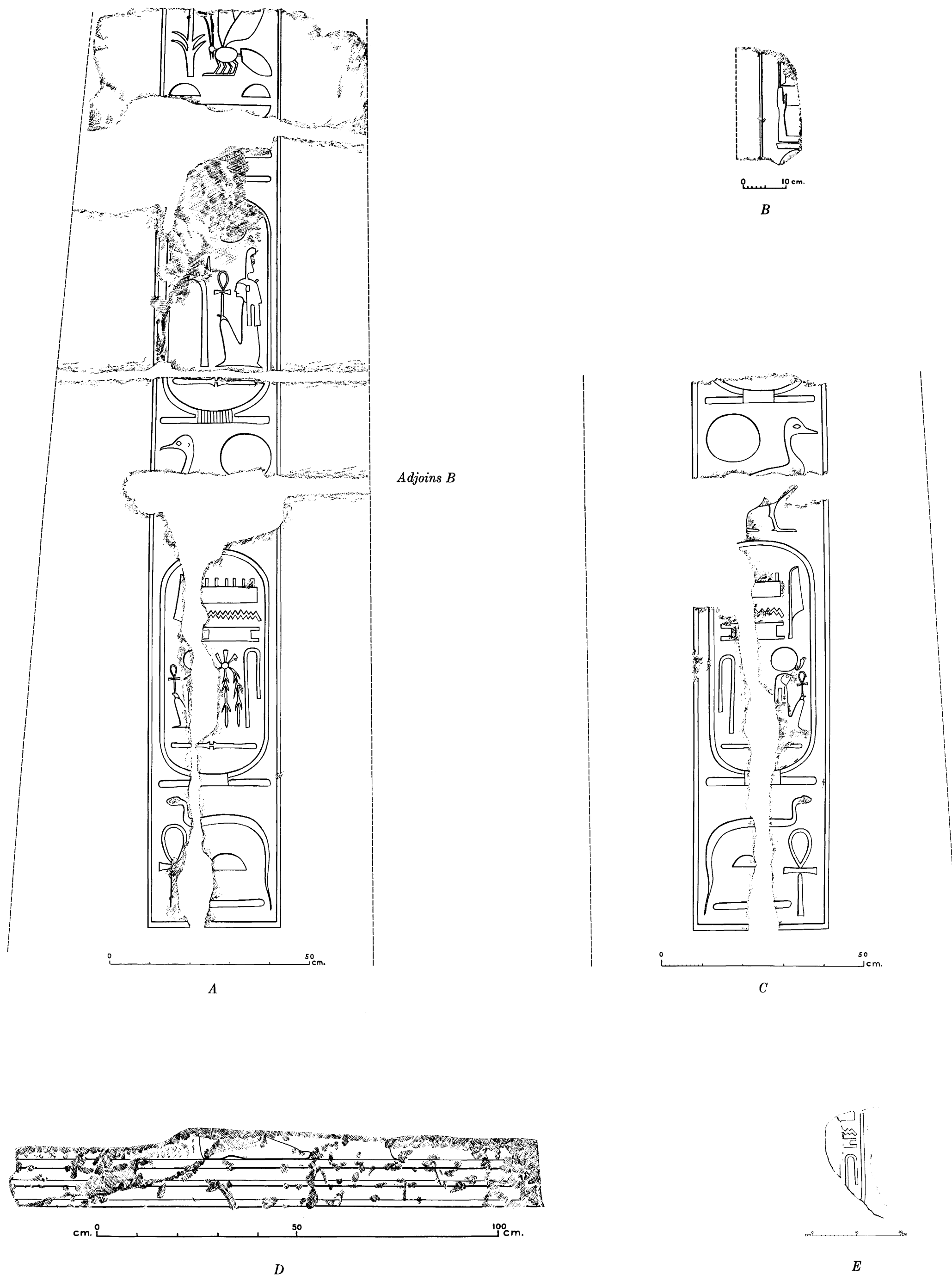
THE PRESENT ENTRANCE TO THE BEIT EL-WALI TEMPLE



Drawing by Greener



RAMESSES II WARNING ALL WHO ENTER THE TEMPLE TO BE PURE  
 JAMBS OF THE ENTRANCE DOORWAY



*Drawings by Greener (A, C) and Foster (B, D, E)*

## FRAGMENTARY RELIEFS FROM THE ENTRANCE PORTAL AND PYLON

LEFT REVEAL ( $A$ ), LEFT THICKNESS ( $B$ ), AND RIGHT REVEAL ( $C$ ) OF THE DOORWAY

LOOSE BLOCK, PROBABLY FROM INSIDE FACE OF ORIGINAL PYLON (D), AND LOOSE BLOCK OF UNDETERMINED LOCATION (E)

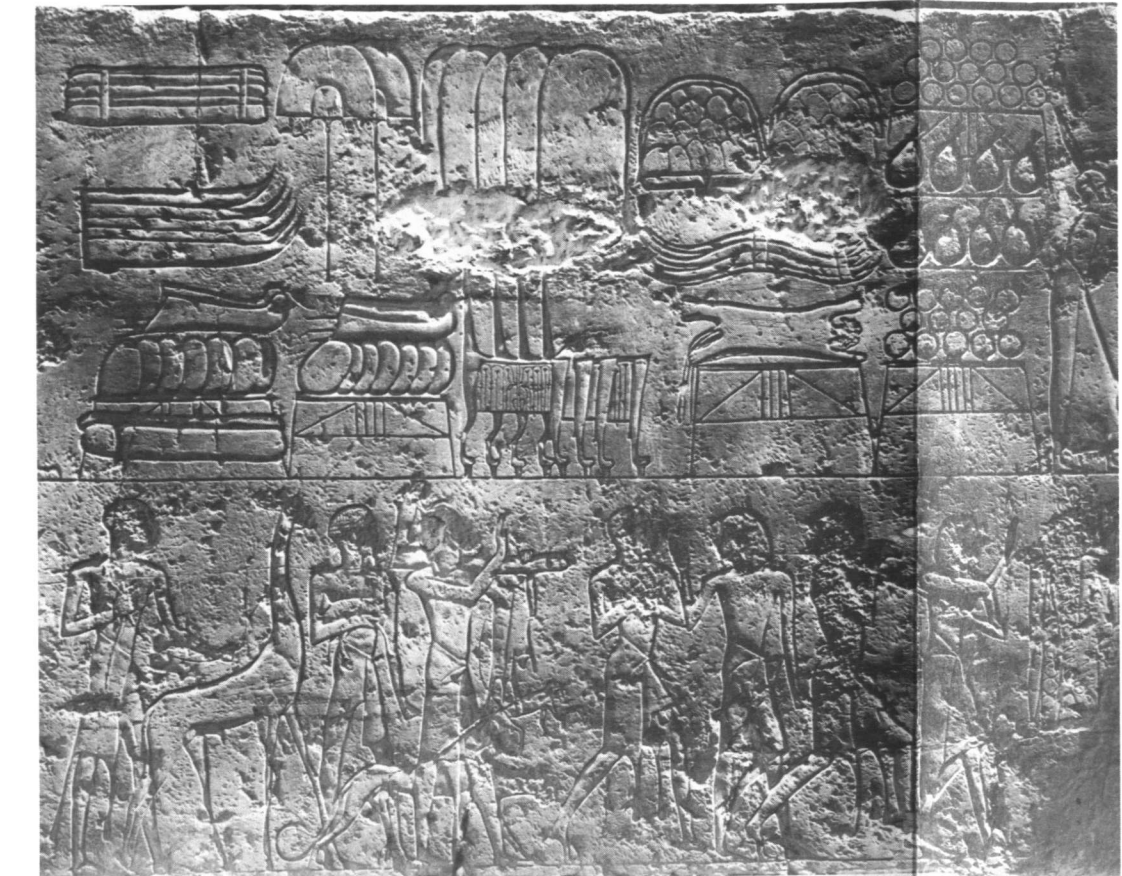
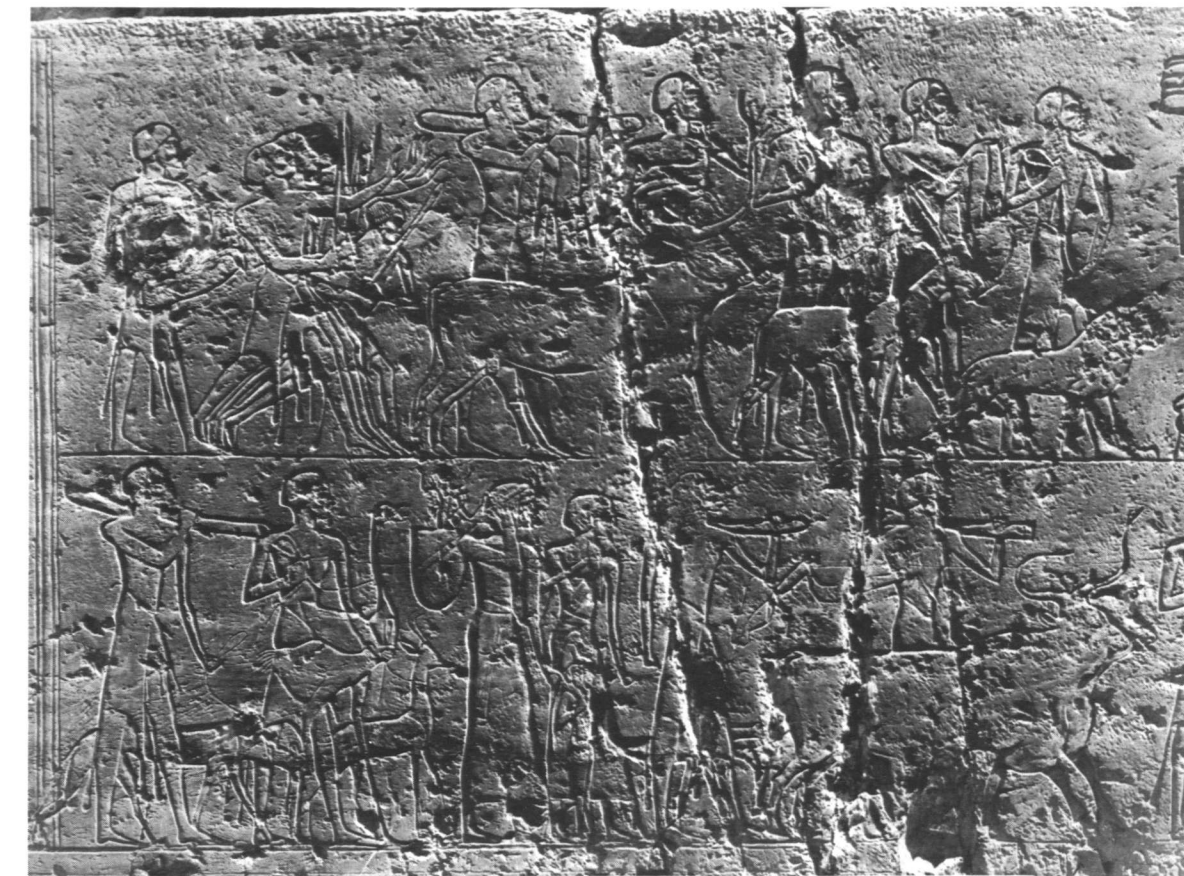
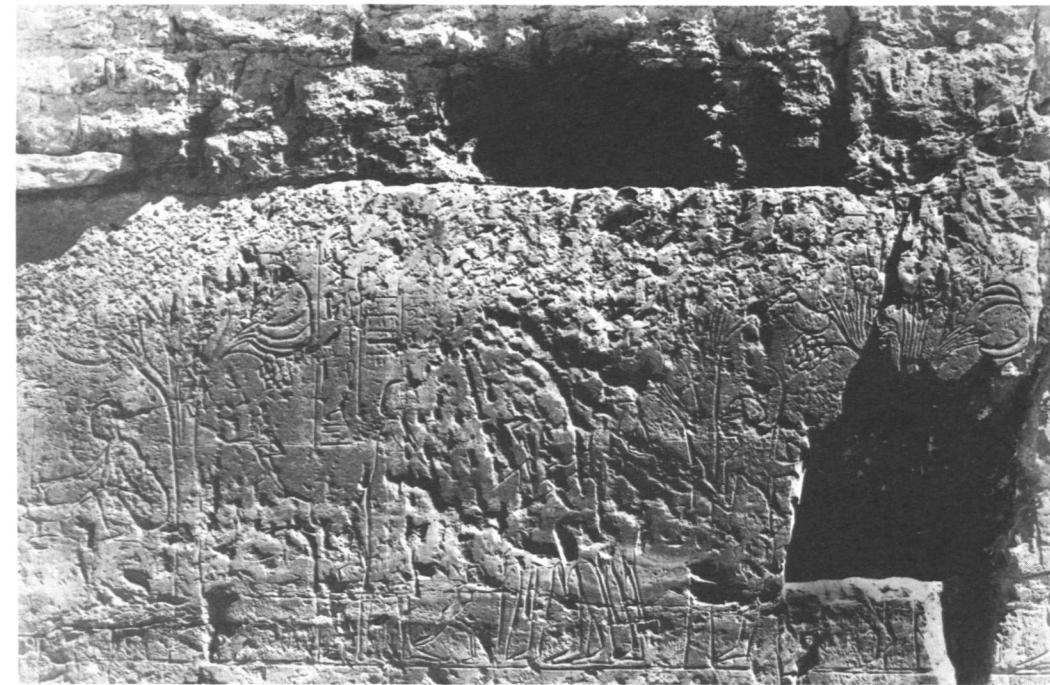




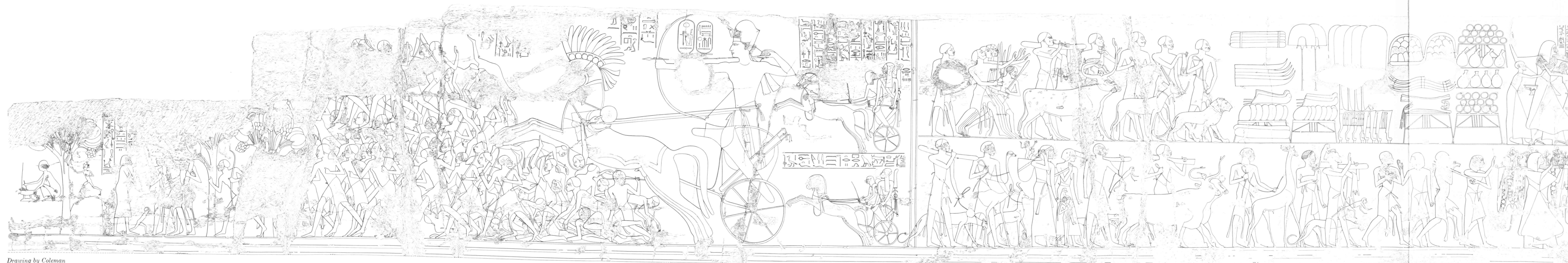
*Photograph by Koch, Breasted Expedition*

THE ENTRANCE HALL AS IT APPEARED IN 1906





Photographs by Koch, 1906



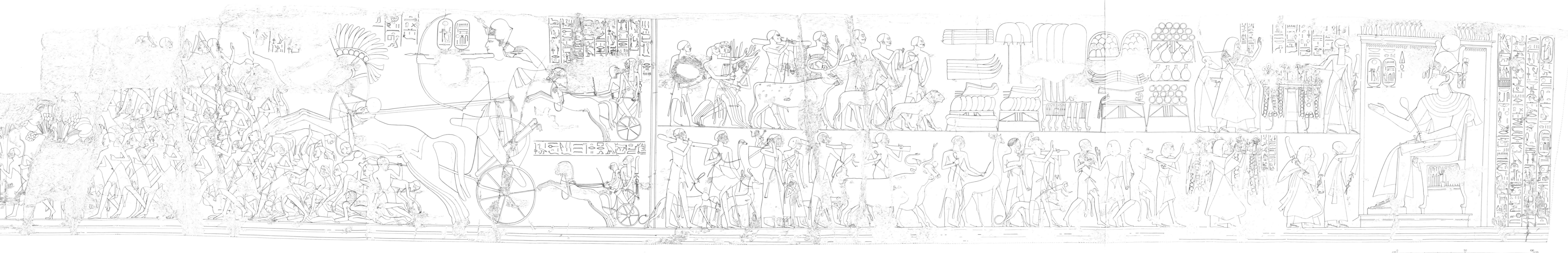
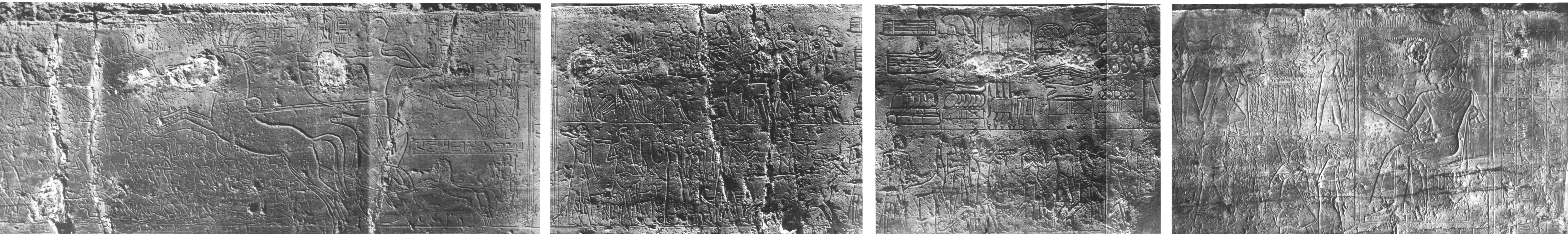
Drawing by Coleman

# PANORAMA OF THE RELIEFS SHOWING RAMESSES II AND THE NUBIANS

ENTRANCE HALL, ENTIRE SOUTH WALL

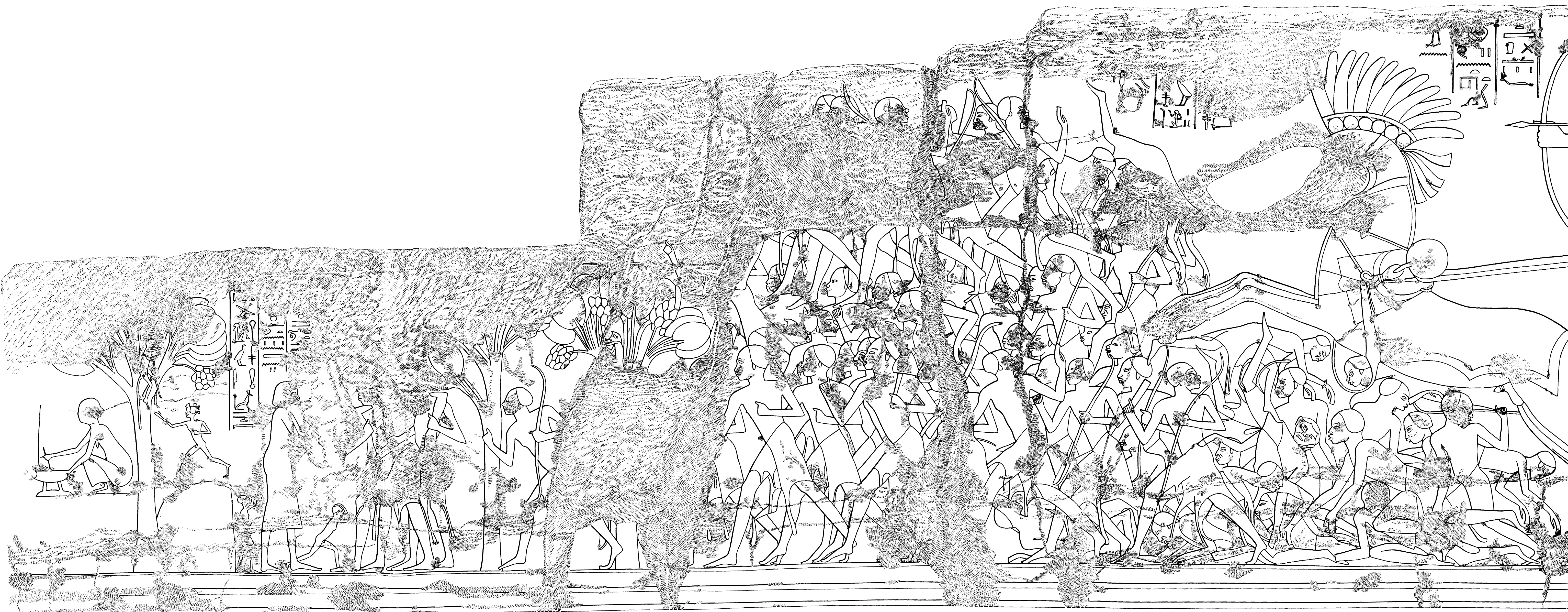
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATE 8 AND 9





PANORAMA OF THE RELIEFS SHOWING RAMESSES II AND THE NUBIANS  
ENTRANCE HALL, ENTIRE SOUTH WALL  
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATE 8 AND 9





*Drawing by Coleman*

RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING NUBIANS  
ENTRANCE HALL, SOUTH WALL, EAST HALF



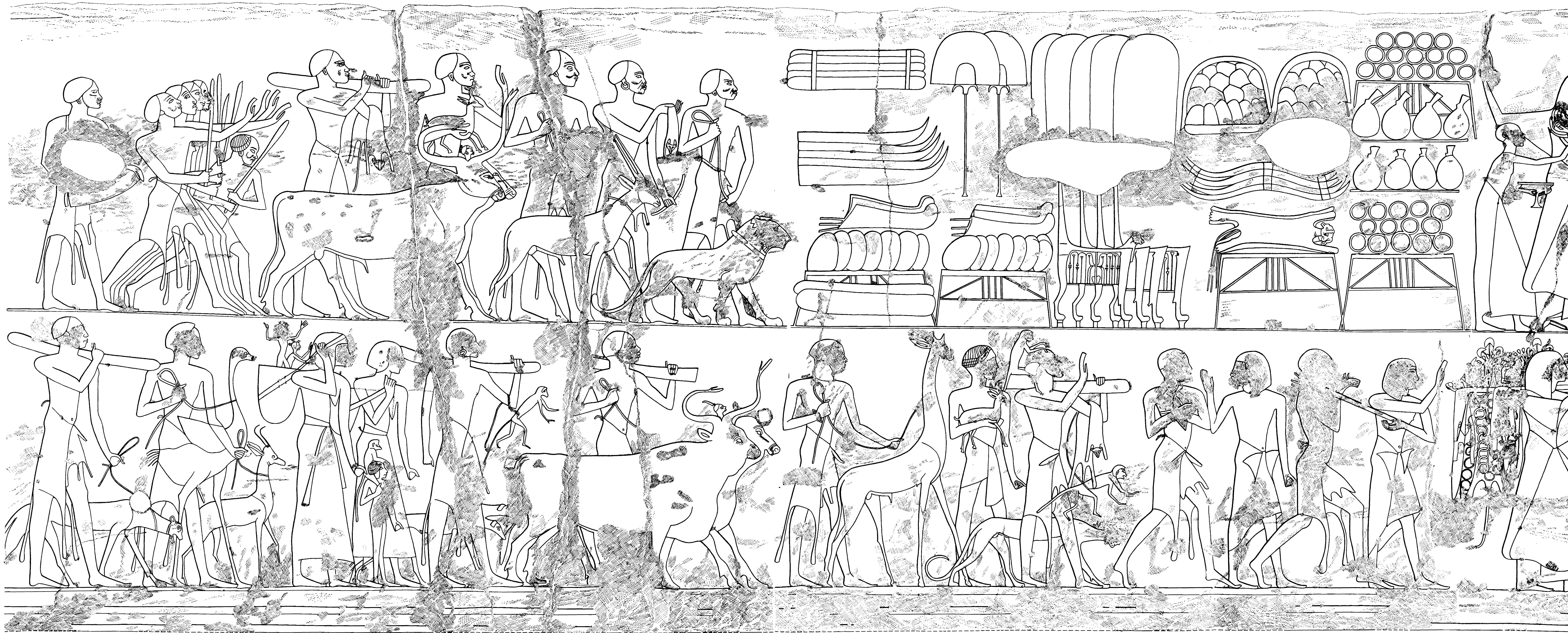


Adjoins  
Plate 9

RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING NUBIANS  
ENTRANCE HALL, SOUTH WALL, EAST HALF

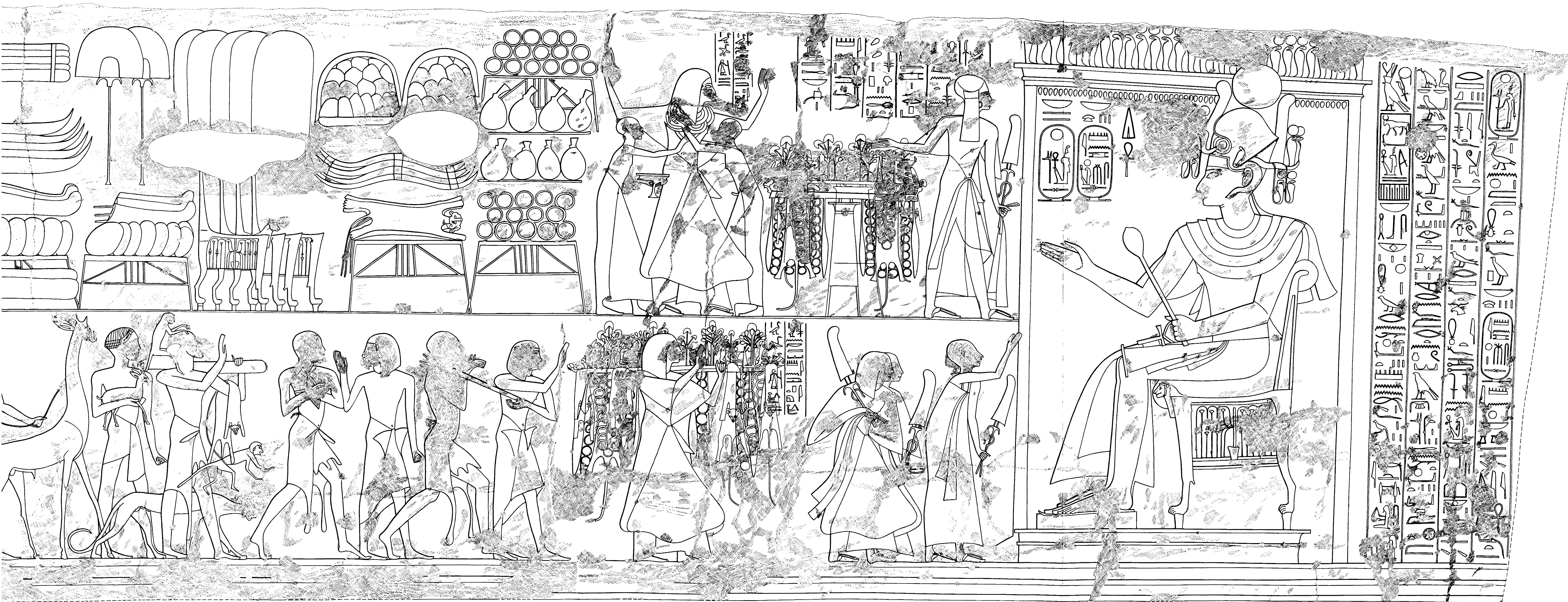
cm. 0 50 100 cm.





RAMESSES II RECEIVING NUBIAN TRIBUTE  
ENTRANCE HALL, SOUTH WALL, WEST HALF

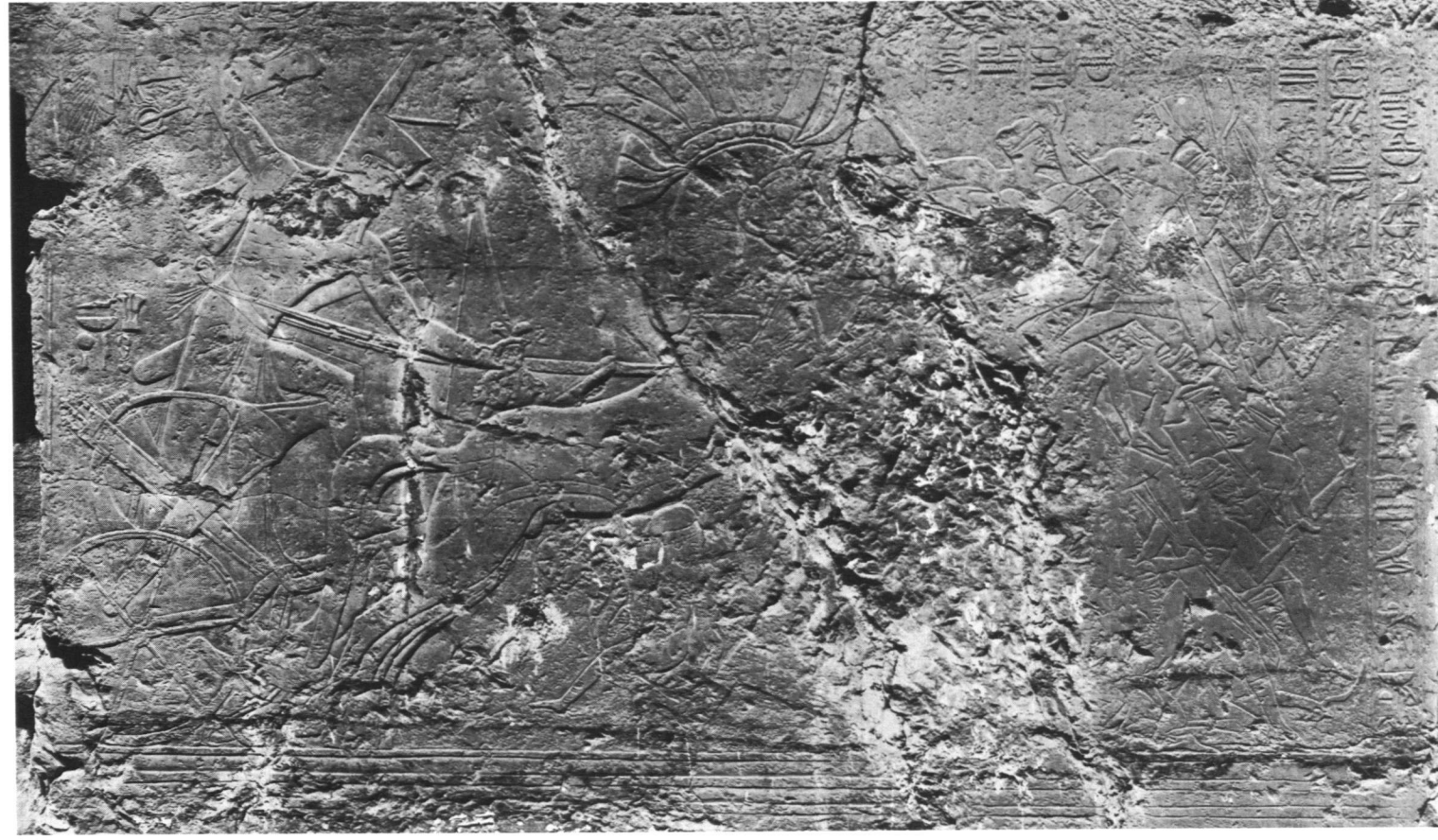
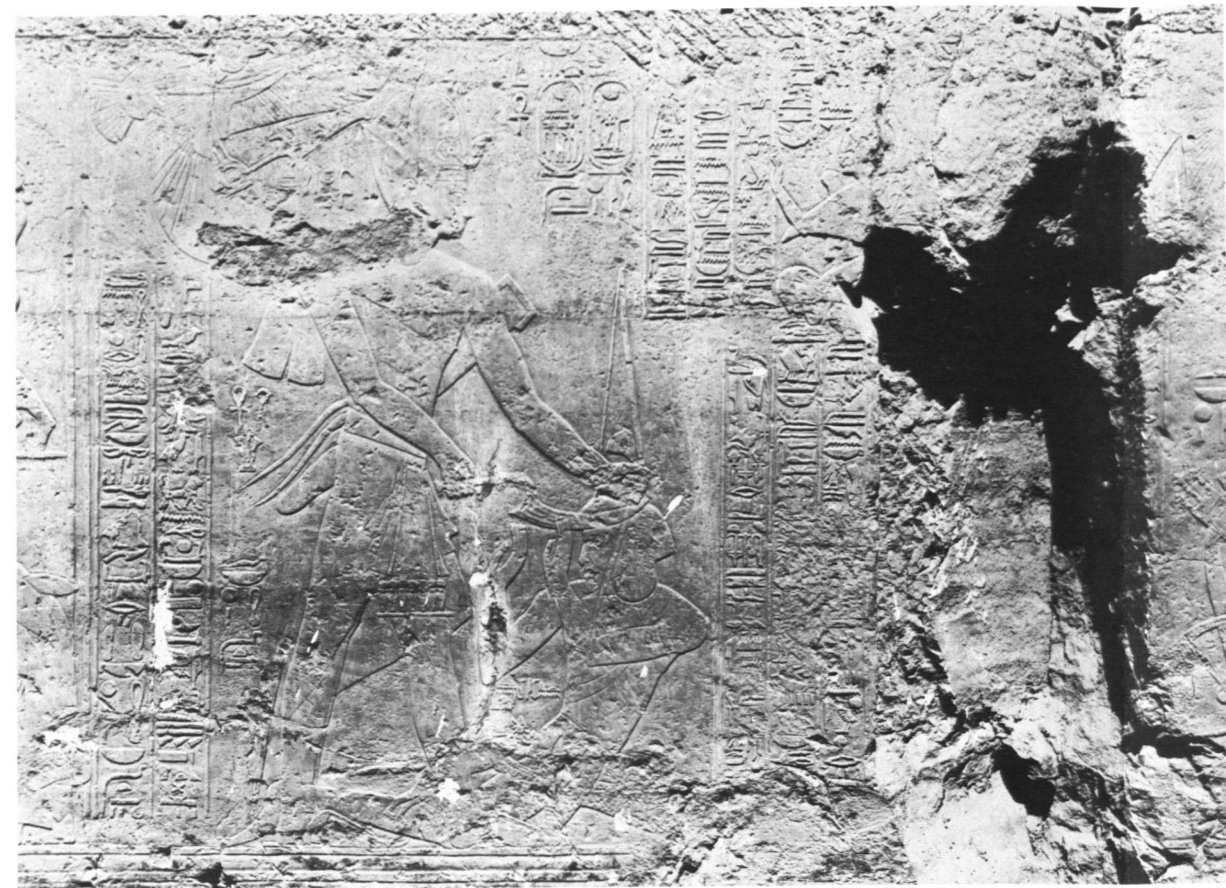




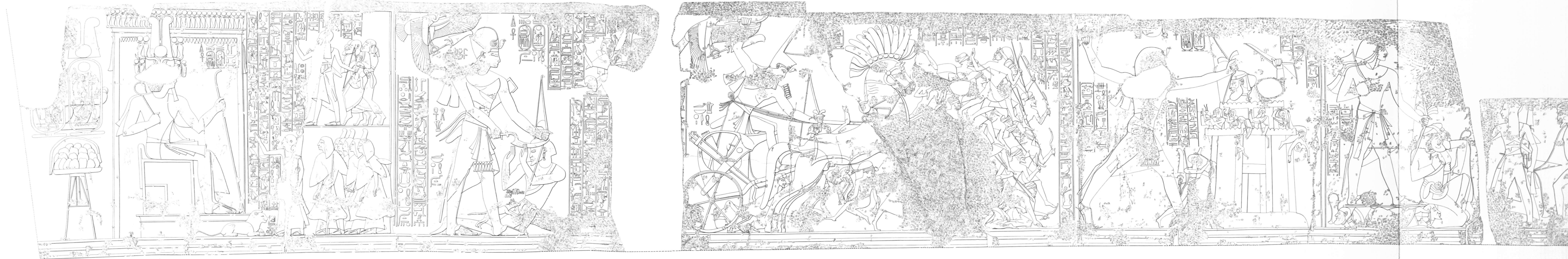
RAMESSES II RECEIVING NUBIAN TRIBUTE  
ENTRANCE HALL, SOUTH WALL, WEST HALF

cm. 0 50 100 cm.





Photographs by Koch, 1906

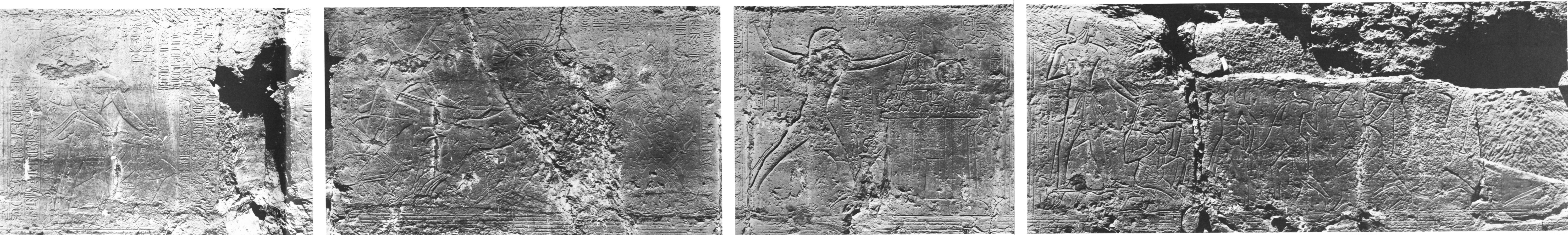


Drawing by Foster

PANORAMA OF THE RELIEFS SHOWING RAMESES II AND THE NORTHERNERS

ENTRANCE HALL, ENTIRE NORTH WALL  
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATES 11-15



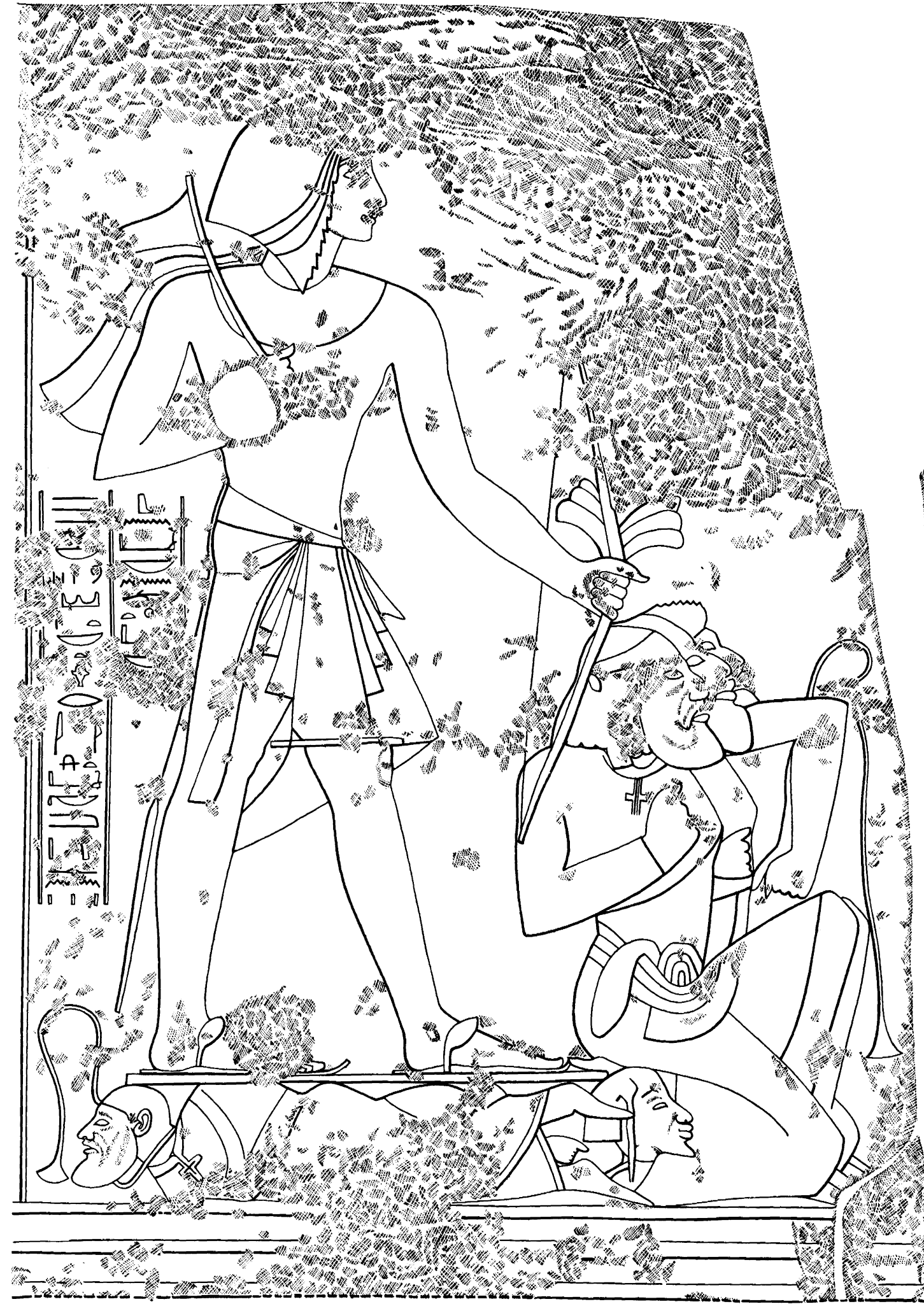


PANORAMA OF THE RELIEFS SHOWING RAMESSES II AND THE NORTHERNERS

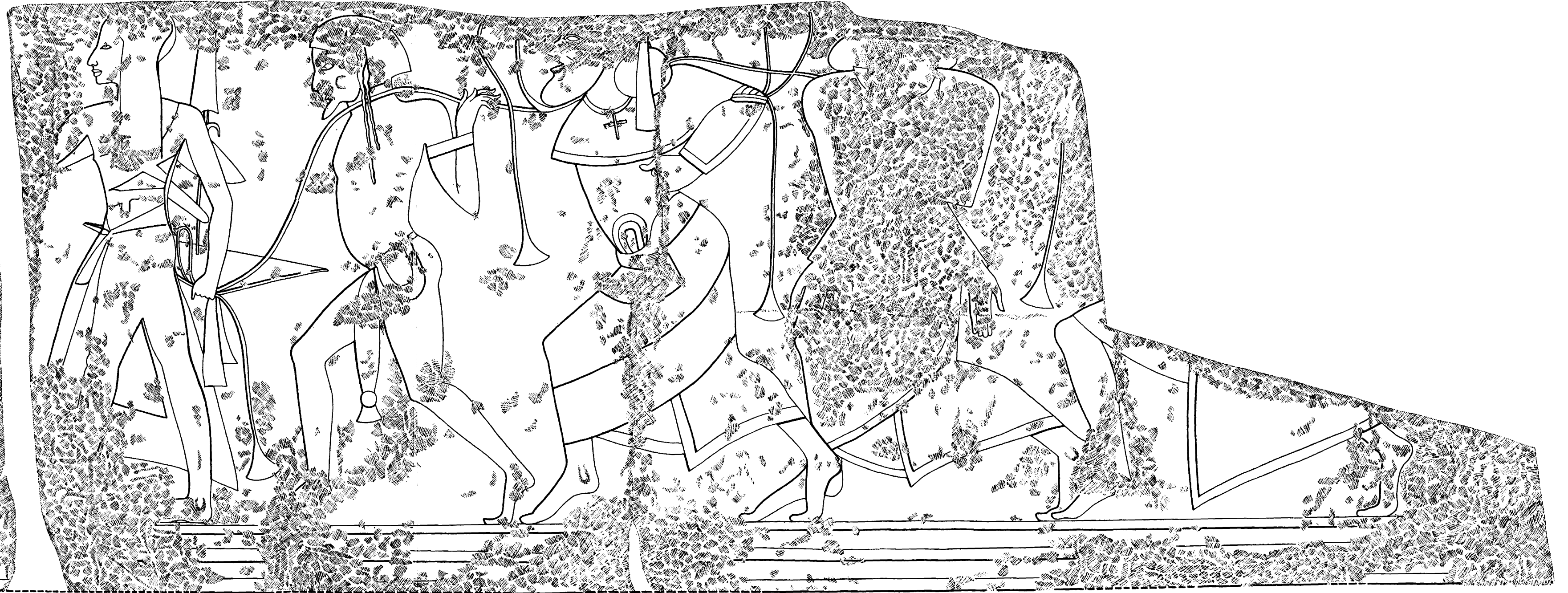
ENTRANCE HALL, ENTIRE NORTH WALL  
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATES 11-15



Adjoins Plate 12

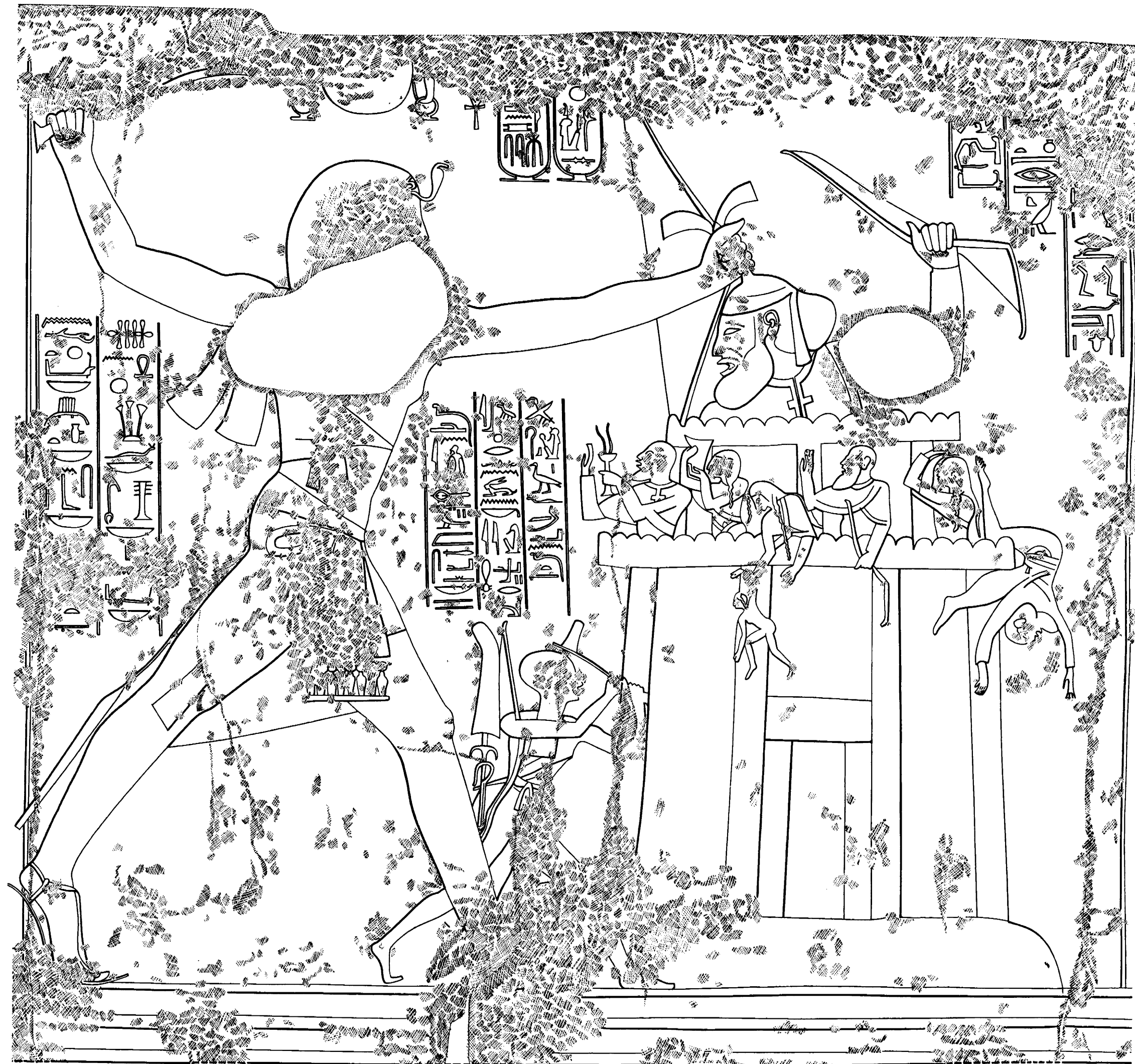


Drawing by Foster



RAMESSES II IN TRIUMPH OVER THE NORTHERN FOES  
ENTRANCE HALL, NORTH WALL, EAST END

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

*Adjoins Plate 13**Adjoins Plate 11**Drawing by Foster*

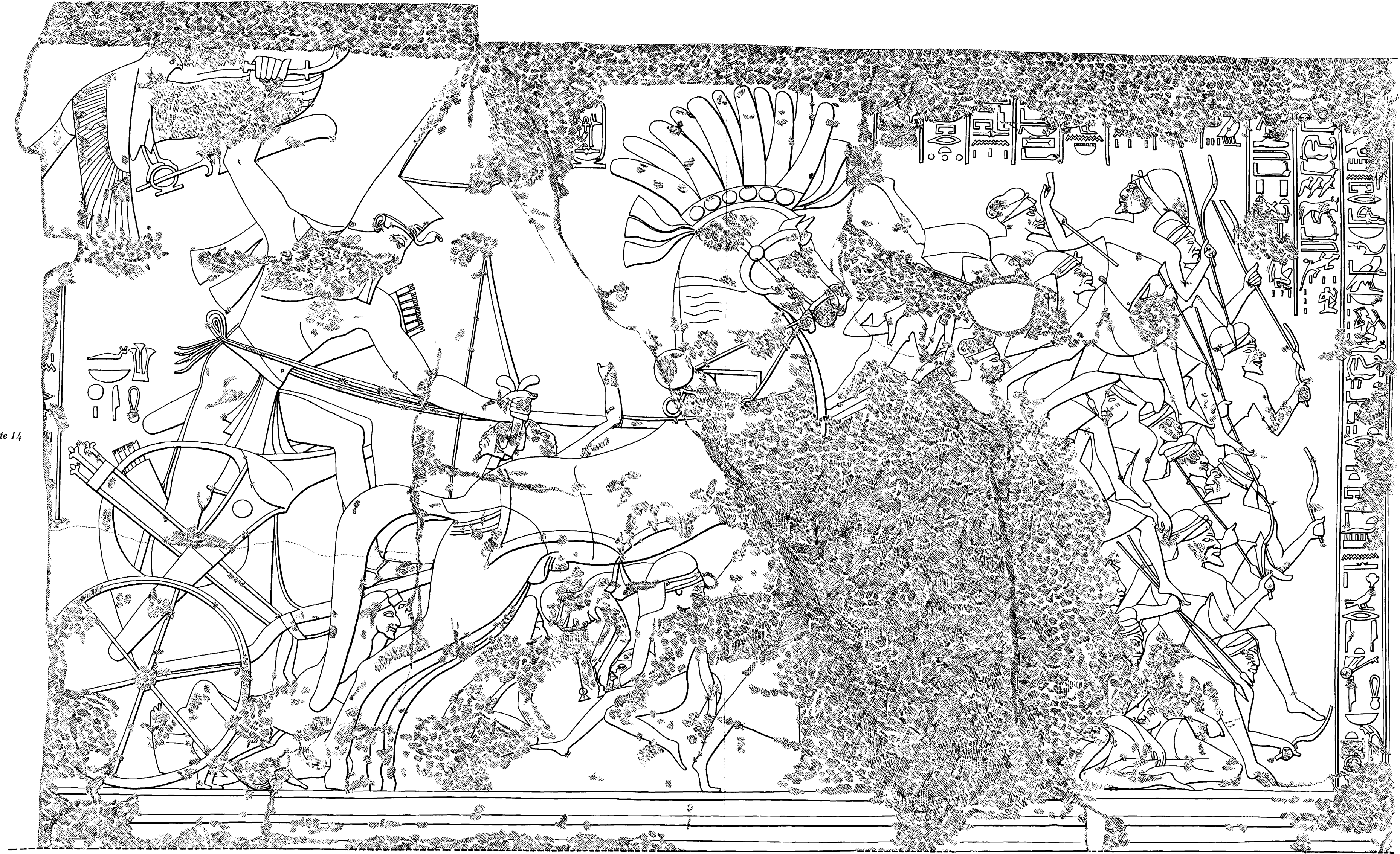
cm. 0 50 cm.

RAMESSES II STORMING A SYRIAN STRONGHOLD  
ENTRANCE HALL, NORTH WALL, SECOND SCENE FROM EAST



Adjoins Plate 14

Adjoins Plate 12



Drawing by Foster

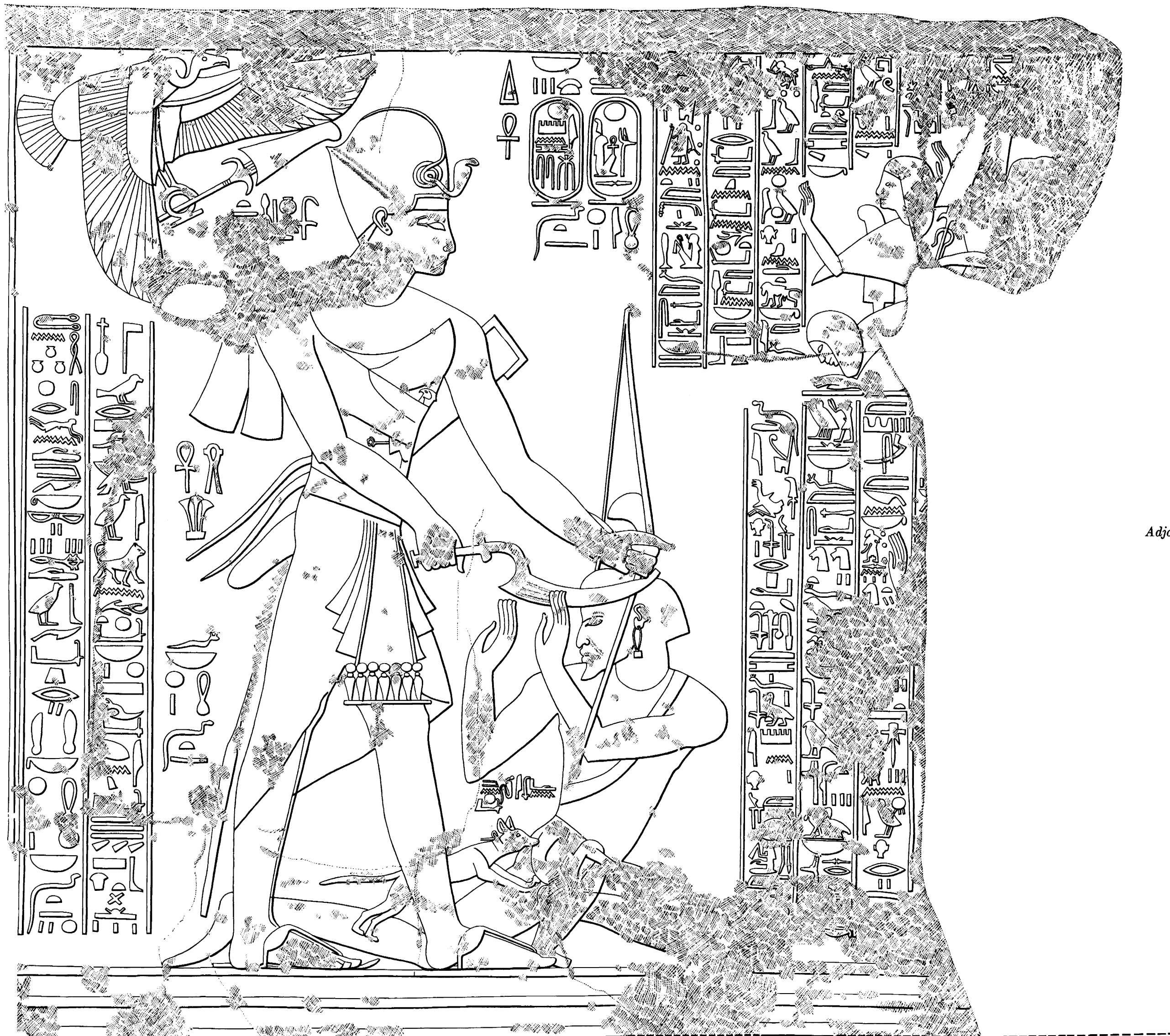
0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

RAMESSES II PURSUING THE FLEEING BEDOUINS  
ENTRANCE HALL, NORTH WALL, THIRD SCENE FROM EAST



Adjoins Plate 15

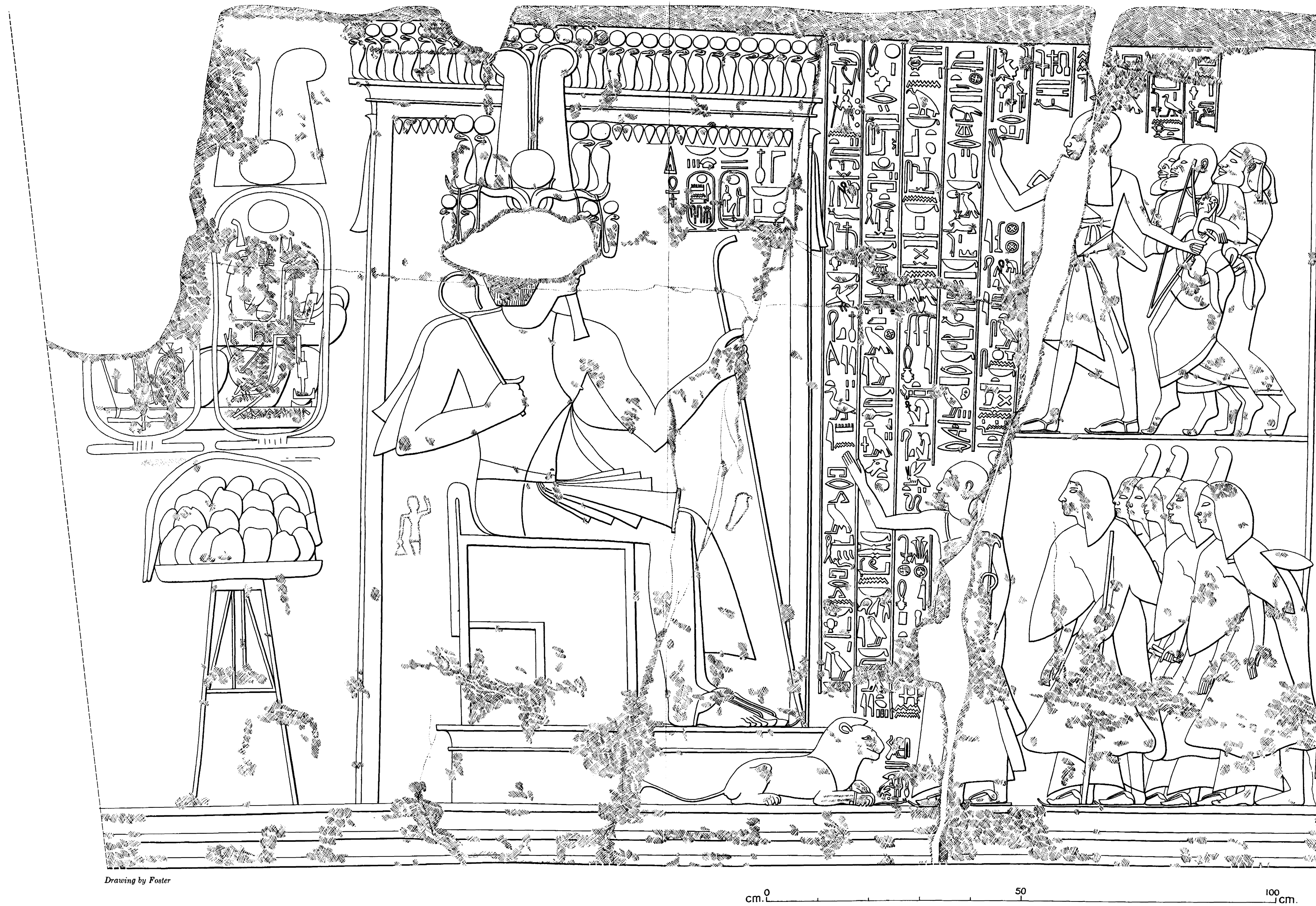
Adjoins Plate 13



Drawing by Foster

cm. 0 50 cm.

RAMESES II SLAYING A LIBYAN  
ENTRANCE HALL, NORTH WALL, FOURTH SCENE FROM EAST



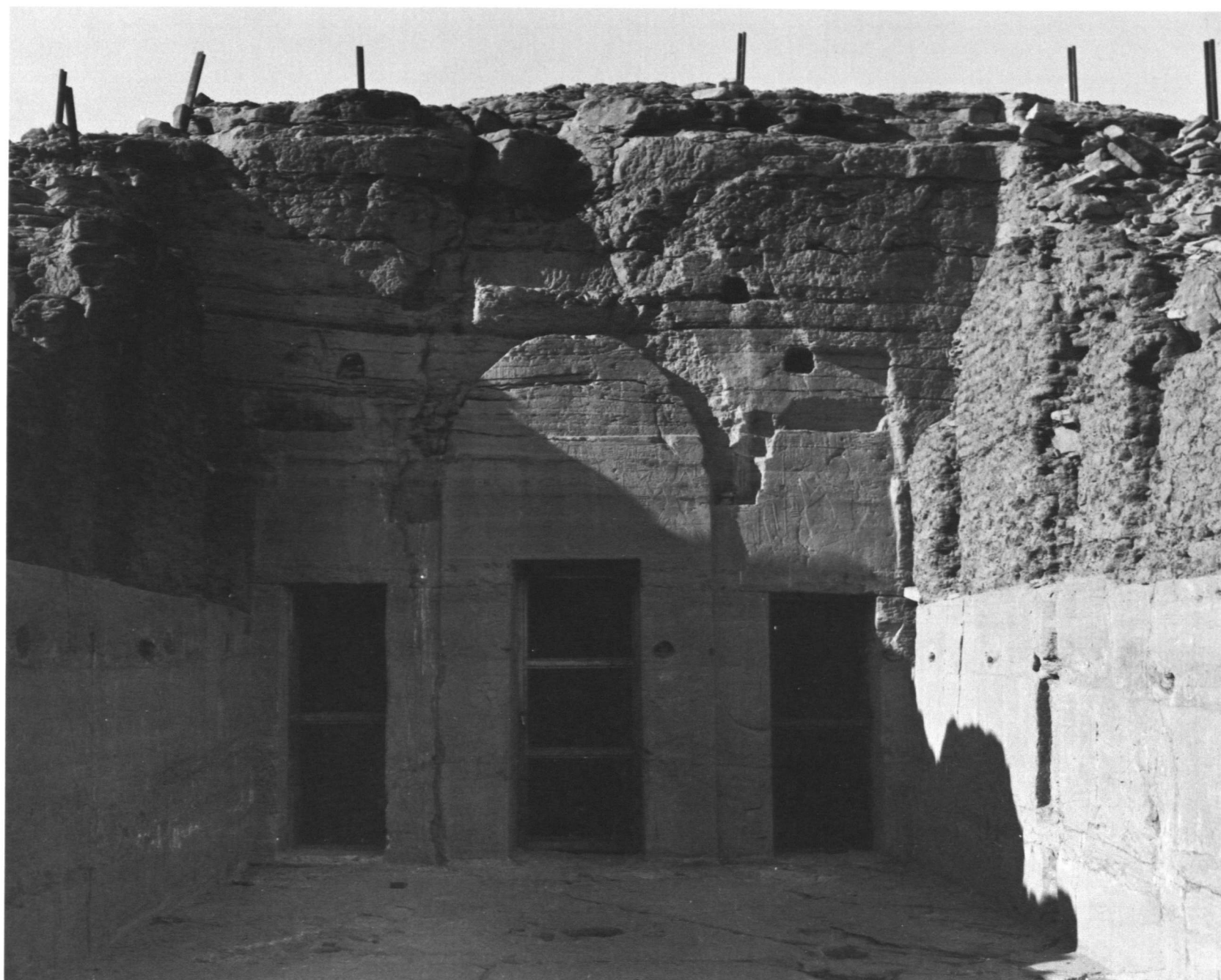
Adjoins Plate 14

RAMESSES II RECEIVING HIS OFFICERS AND THE CROWN PRINCE AMENHIWONEMEF WITH ASIATIC PRISONERS

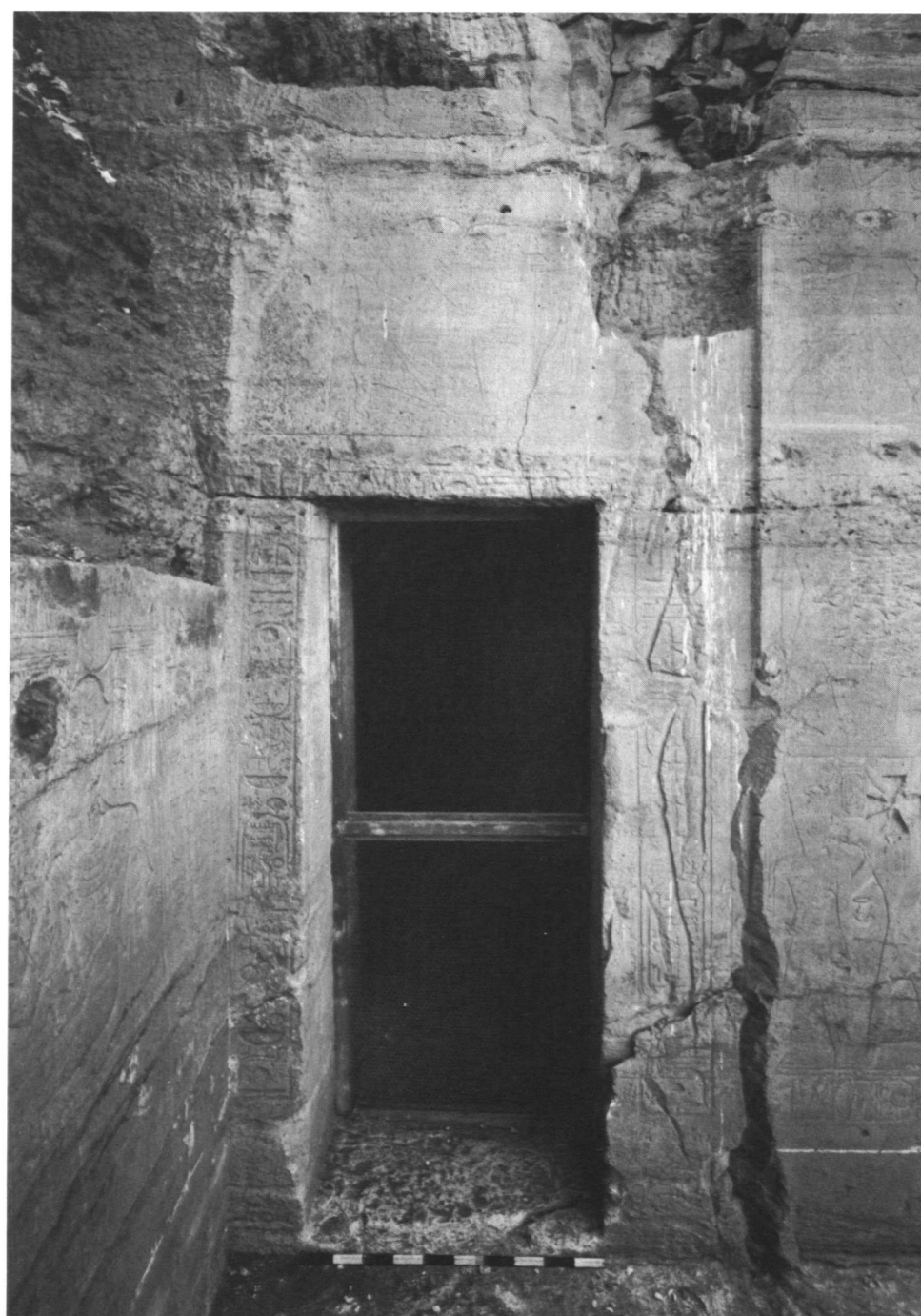
ENTRANCE HALL, NORTH WALL, WEST END

FOR DETAIL OF SUPERIMPOSED CARTOUCHES AT LEFT, COMPARE PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 47 B



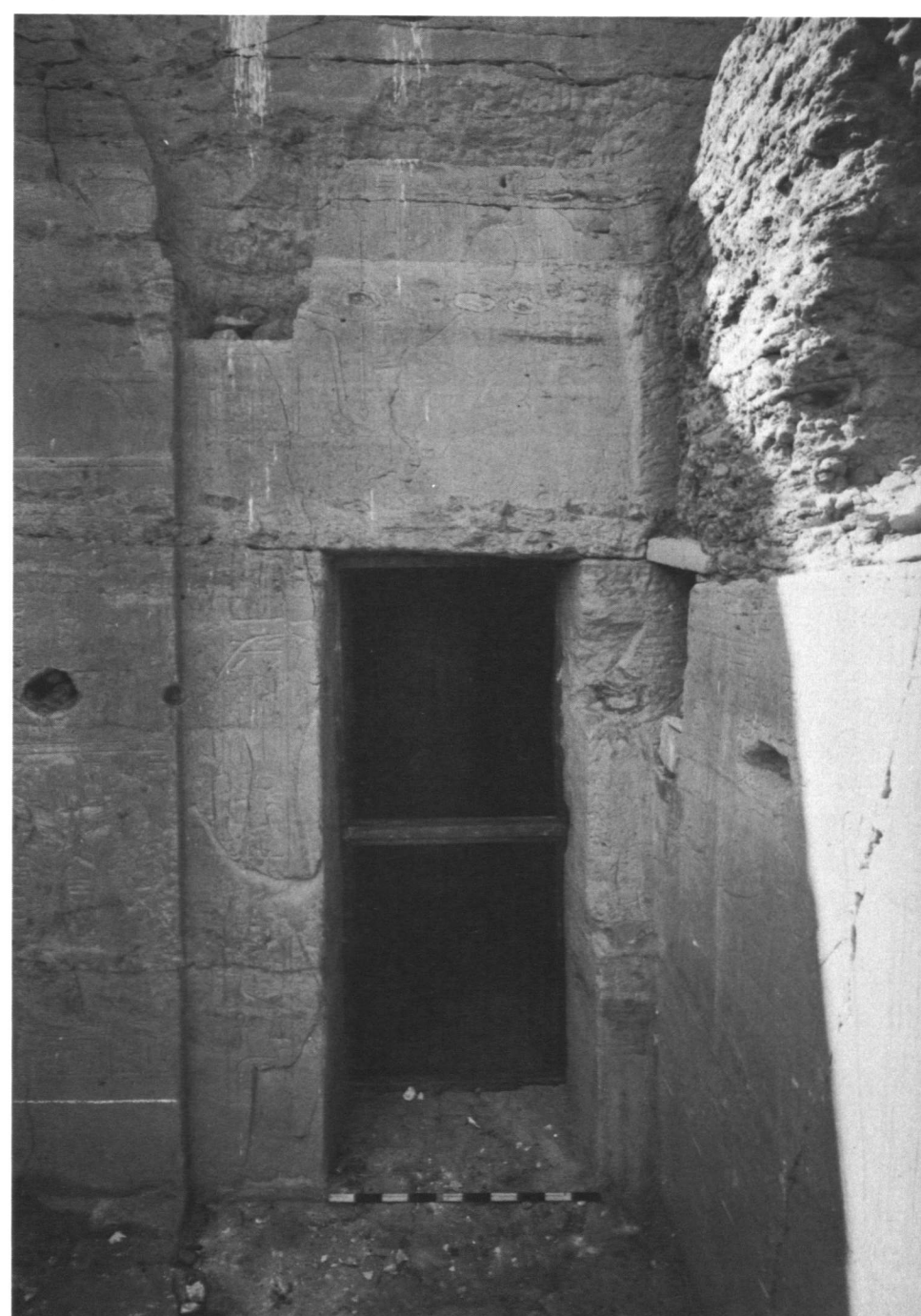


A



*Photographs by Nims*

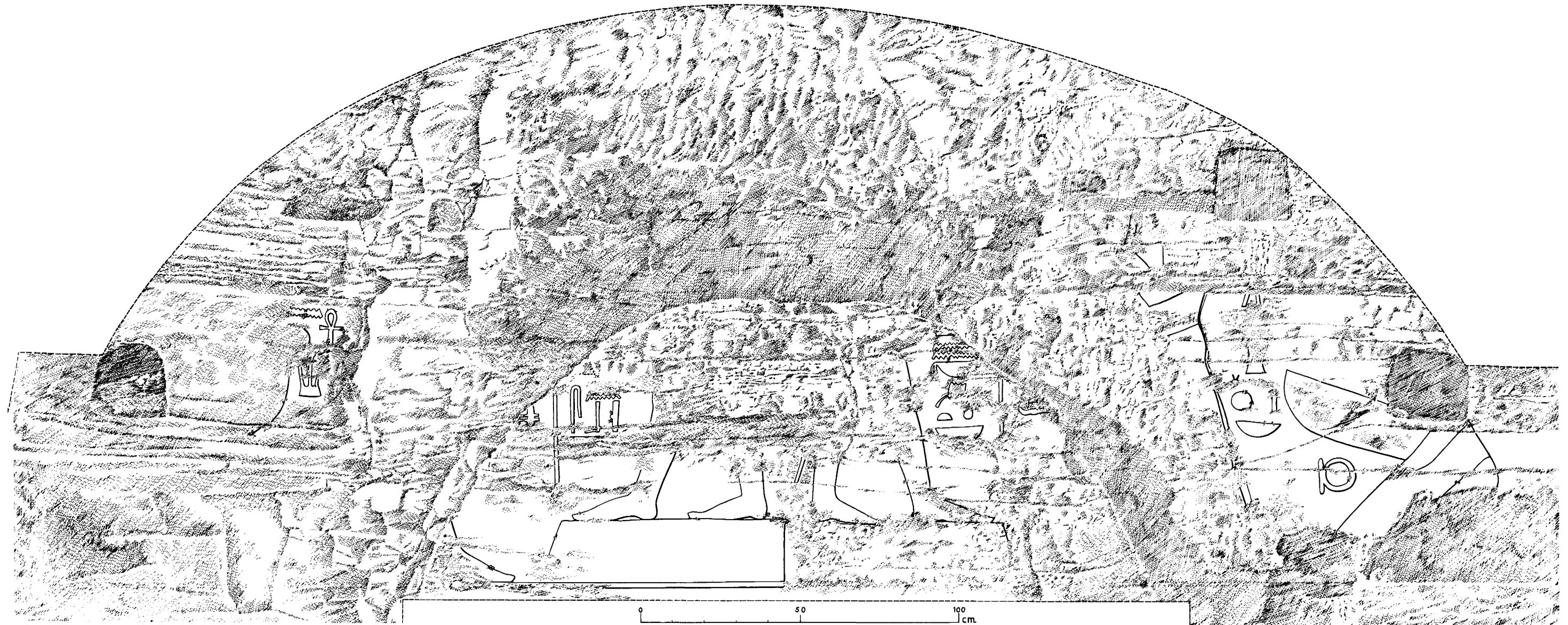
B



C

- A. THE FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE PROPER
- B. THE SOUTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL
- C. THE NORTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL

ENTRANCE HALL, WEST WALL  
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATES 17 AND 18



*Drawing by Greener*

*Adjoins Plate 18 A*

*Adjoins Plate 18 B*

*Adjoins Plate 18 C*

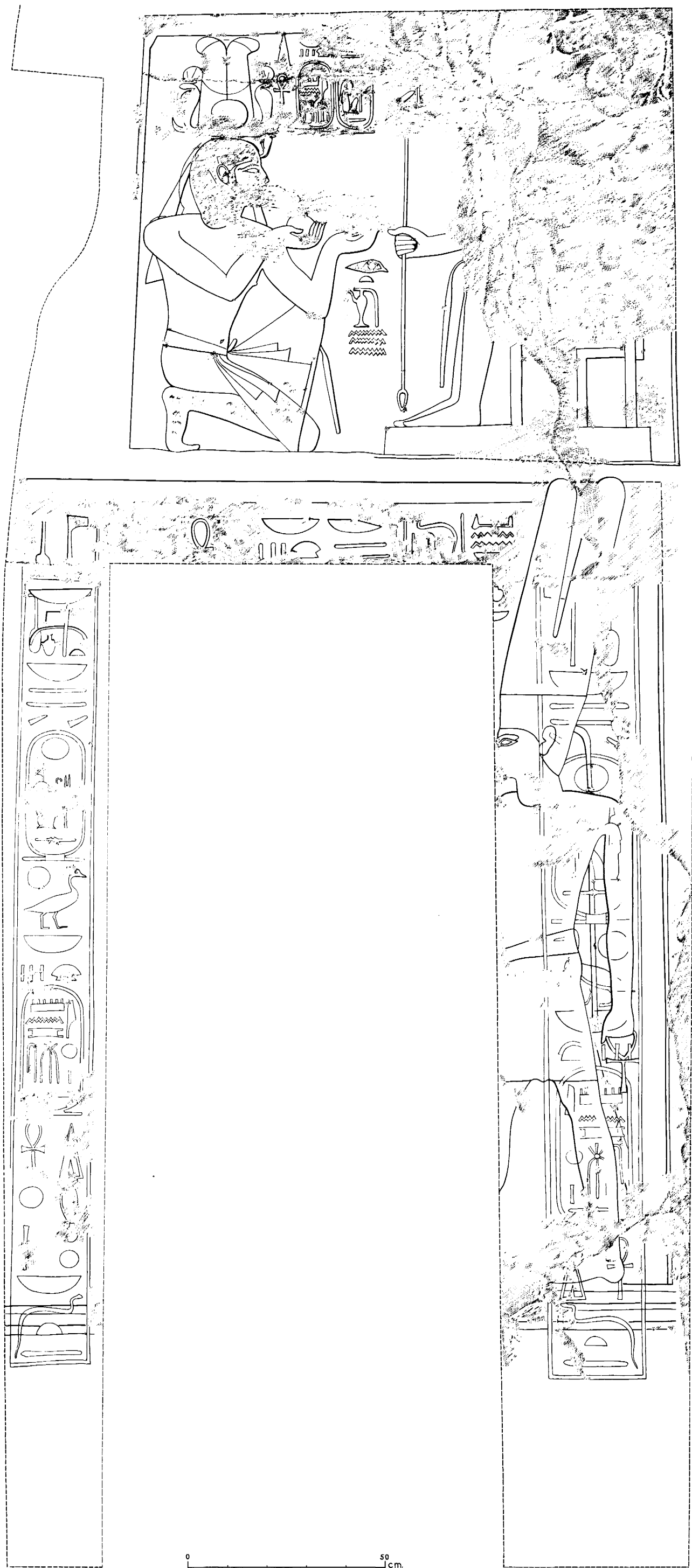
RAMESSES II OFFERING TO AMON-RE(?) IN DUAL SCENES  
ENTRANCE HALL, WEST WALL, UPPER PORTION OF THE FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE PROPER



Adjoins Plate 17, Left Side

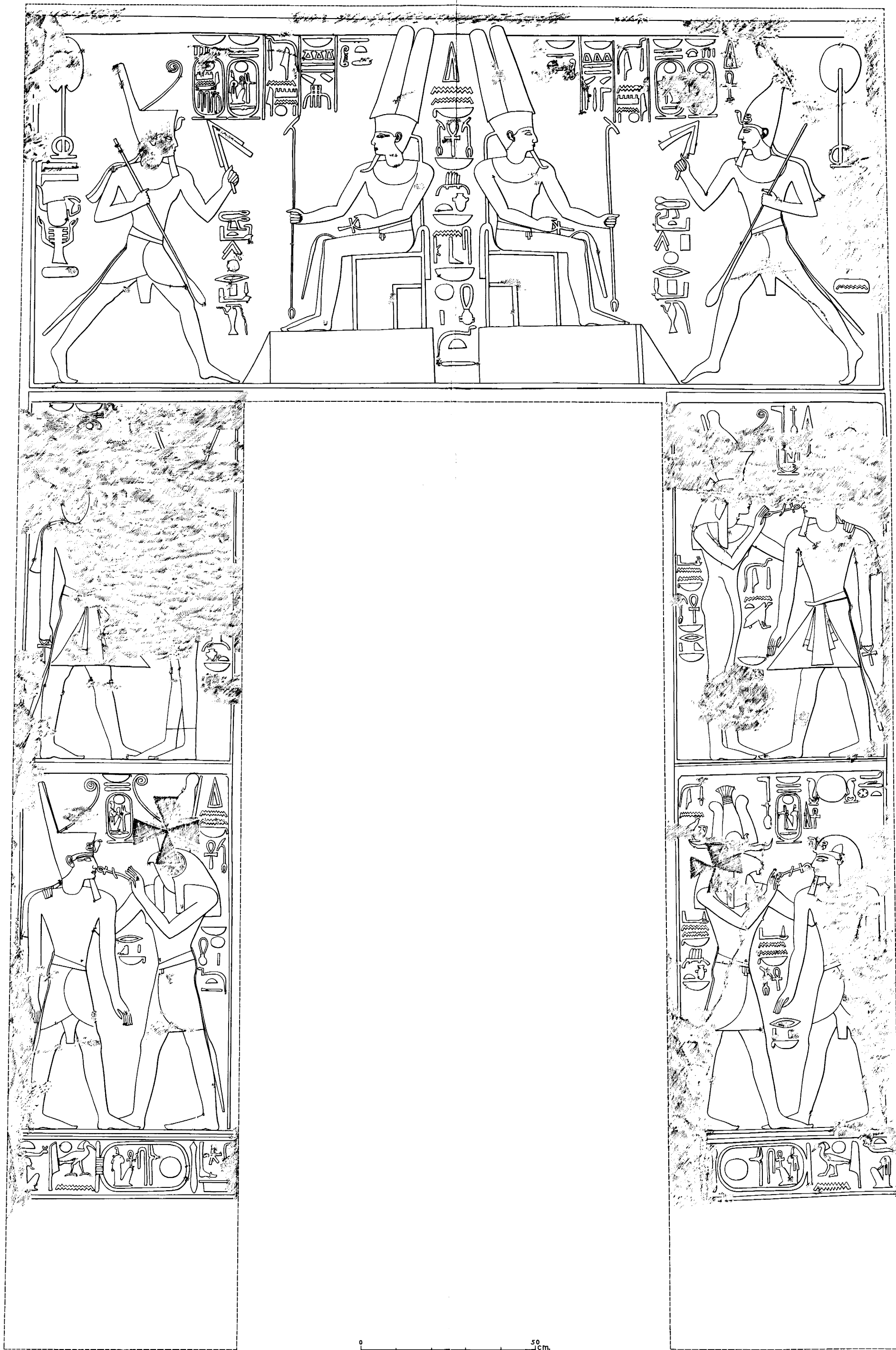
Adjoins Plate 17, Middle

Adjoins Plate 17, Right Side

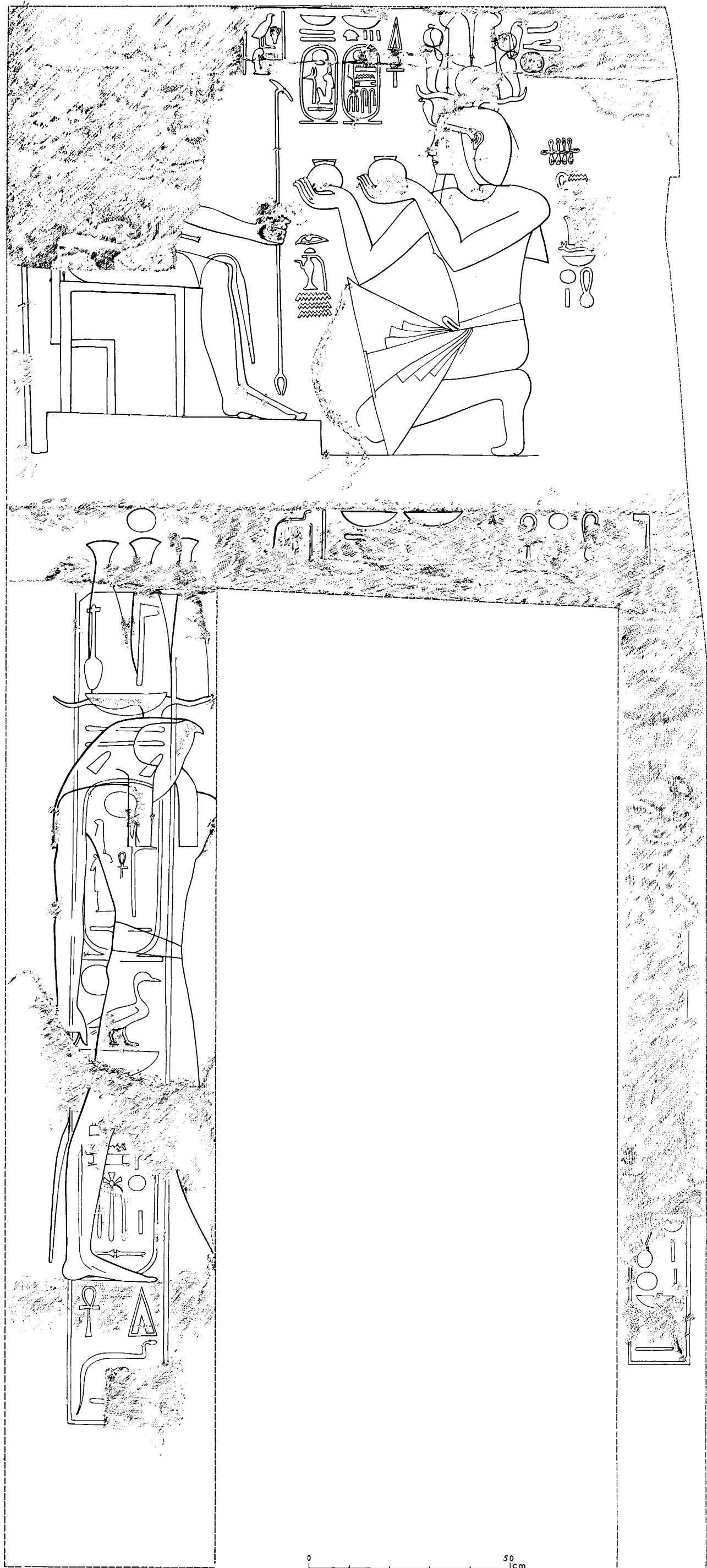


Drawings by Greener

A

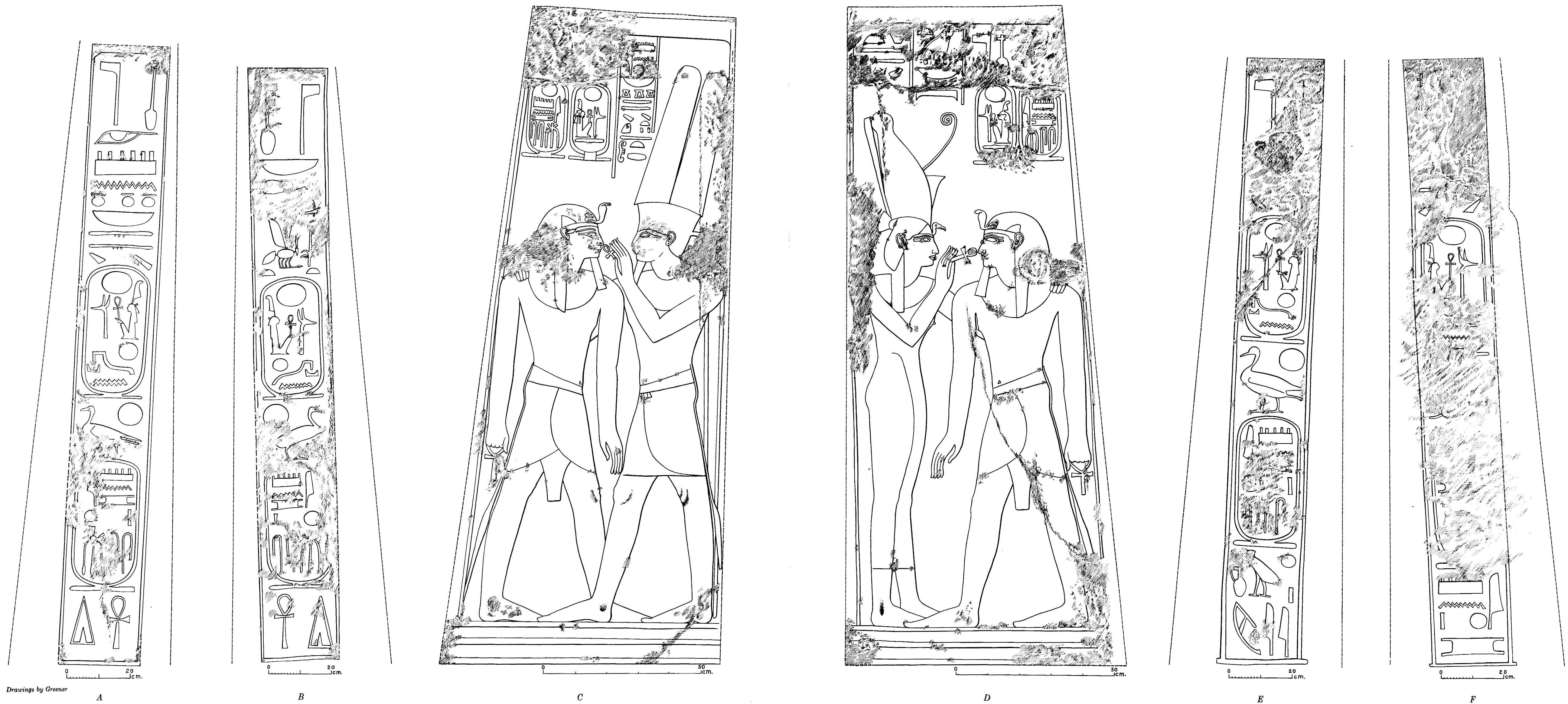


B



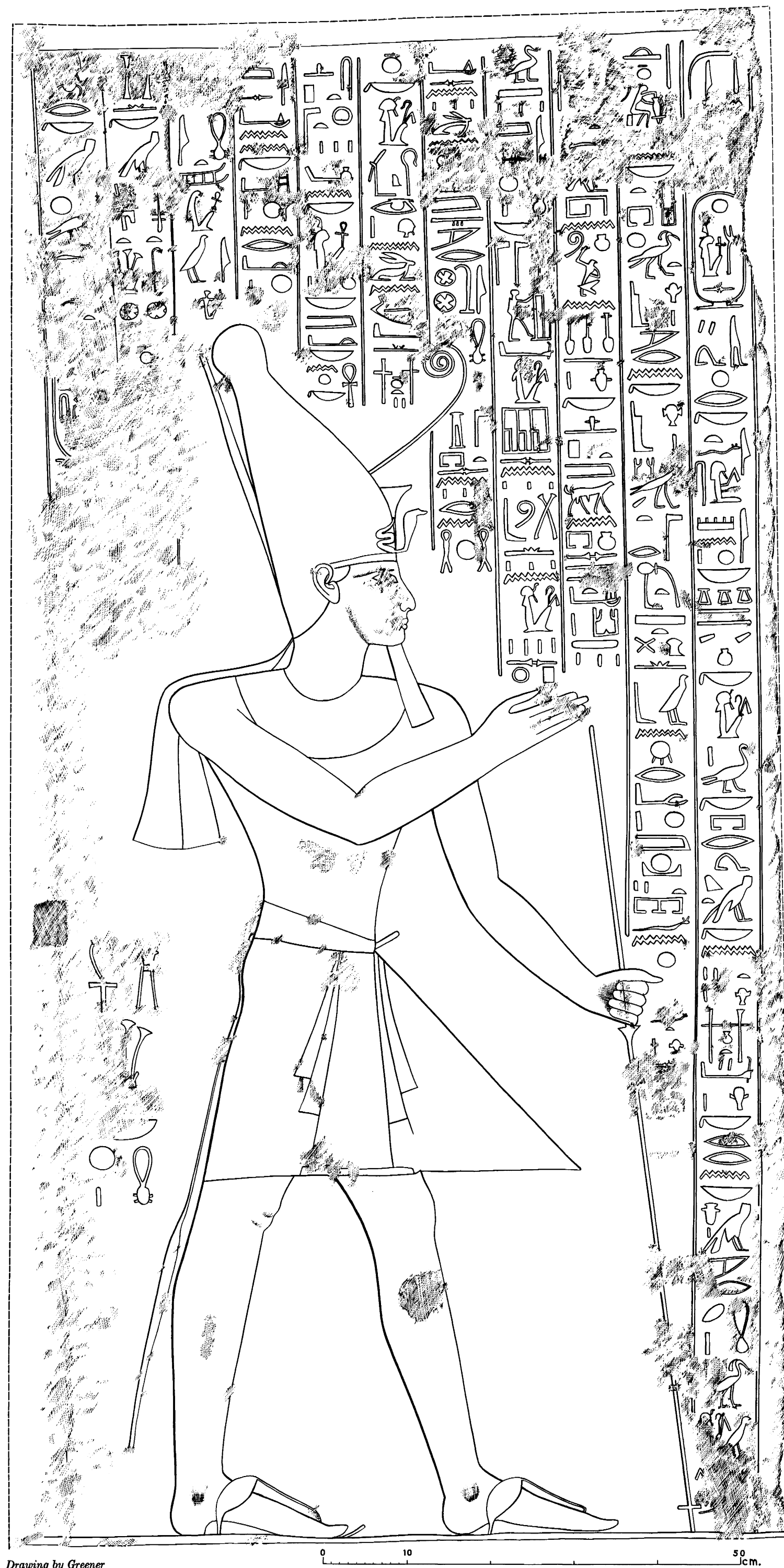
C

THE FAÇADES OF THE THREE ENTRANCES TO THE COLUMNED HALL  
ENTRANCE HALL, WEST WALL, SOUTH (A), MIDDLE (B), AND NORTH (C) DOORWAYS



THE REVEALS OF THE THREE DOORWAYS TO THE COLUMNED HALL  
SOUTH DOORWAY, LEFT (A) AND RIGHT (B) REVEALS; MIDDLE DOORWAY, LEFT (C) AND RIGHT (D) REVEALS; NORTH DOORWAY, LEFT (E) AND RIGHT (F) REVEALS





*Drawing by Greener*

RAMESSES II ENTERING THE COLUMNED HALL  
 SOUTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL, LEFT THICKNESS  
 (The right thickness is not decorated.)



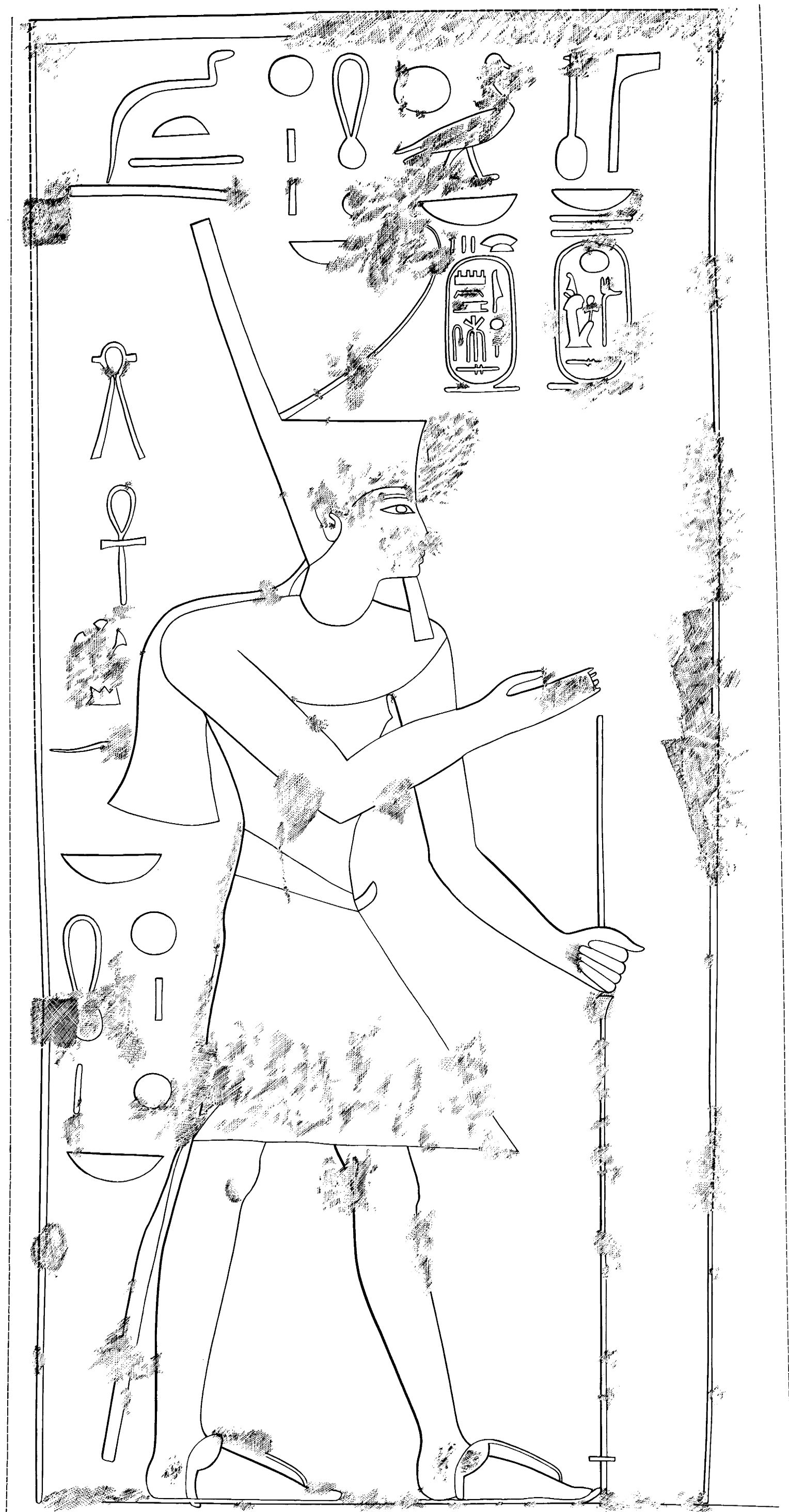


Photograph by Nims



Drawing by Greener

GRAFFITO OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH MESSUY  
MIDDLE DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL, LEFT THICKNESS, BOTTOM  
(Neither thickness of the middle doorway bears decoration of Ramesses II.)



*Drawing by Greener*

0 10 50  
cm. L cm.

RAMESSES II ENTERING THE COLUMNED HALL  
NORTH DOORWAY TO THE COLUMNED HALL, LEFT THICKNESS  
(The right thickness is not decorated.)





*Photograph by Nims*

A



*Photograph by Koch, 1906*

B

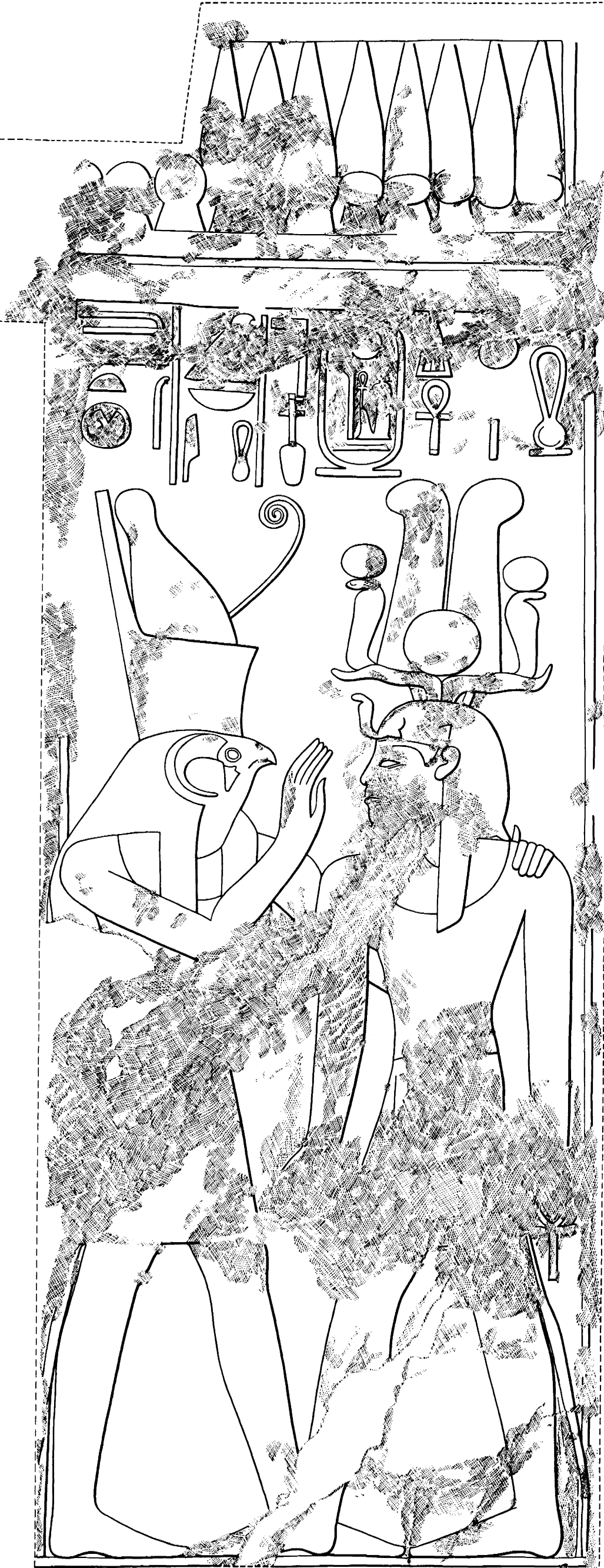
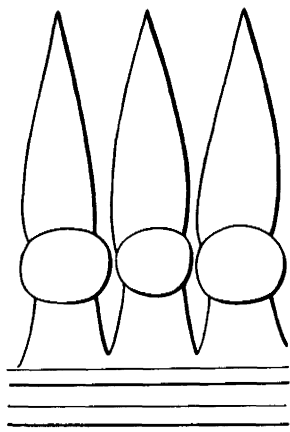
- A. VIEW IN THE COLUMNED HALL LOOKING SOUTH  
B. VIEW THROUGH THE COLUMNED HALL INTO THE SANCTUARY



*Adjoins Plate 25*

RAMESSES II SMITING A LIBYAN  
 COLUMNED HALL, EAST WALL, NORTH END  
 COMPARE PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 28 A



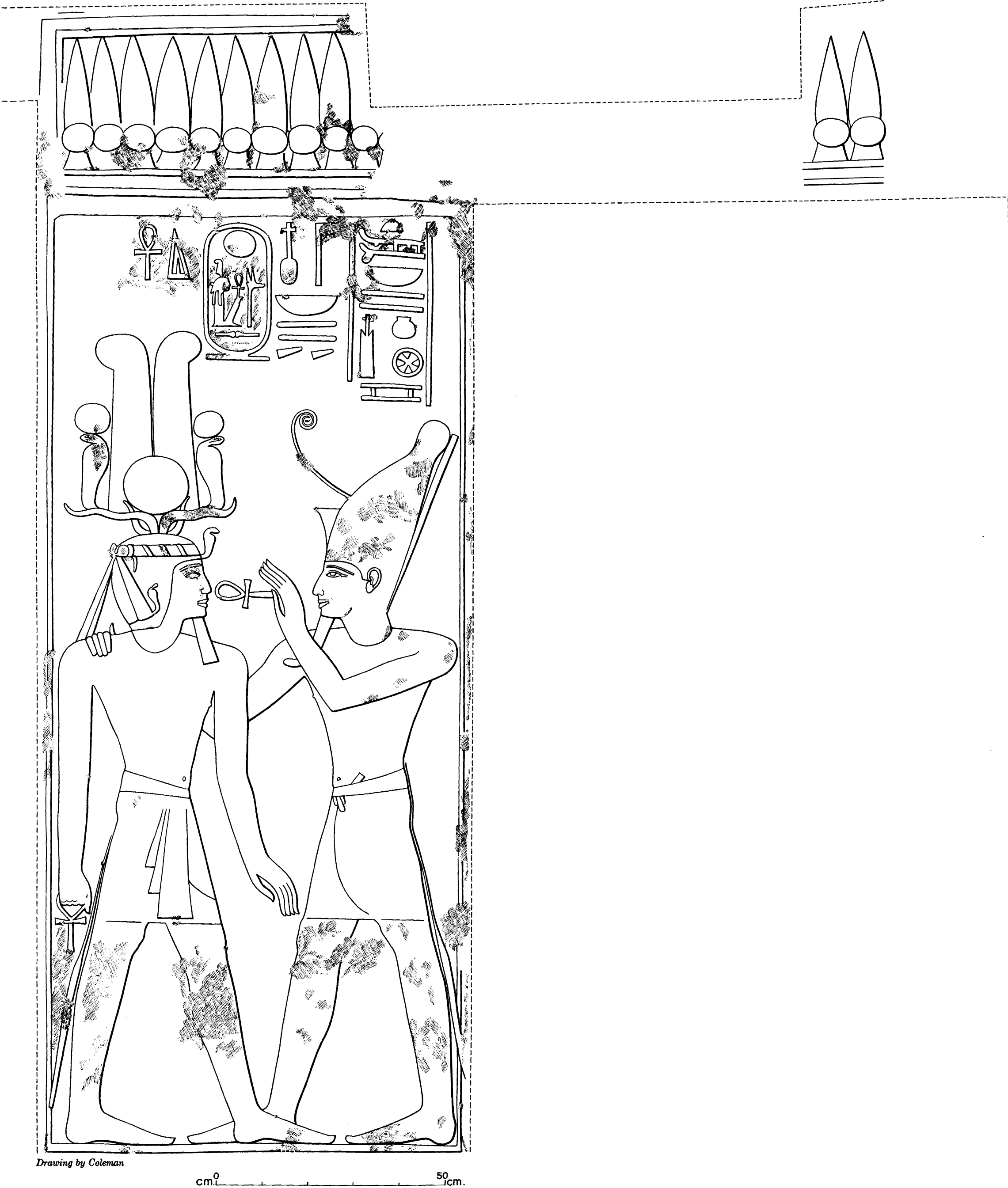


Adjoins Plate 24

Drawing by Coleman

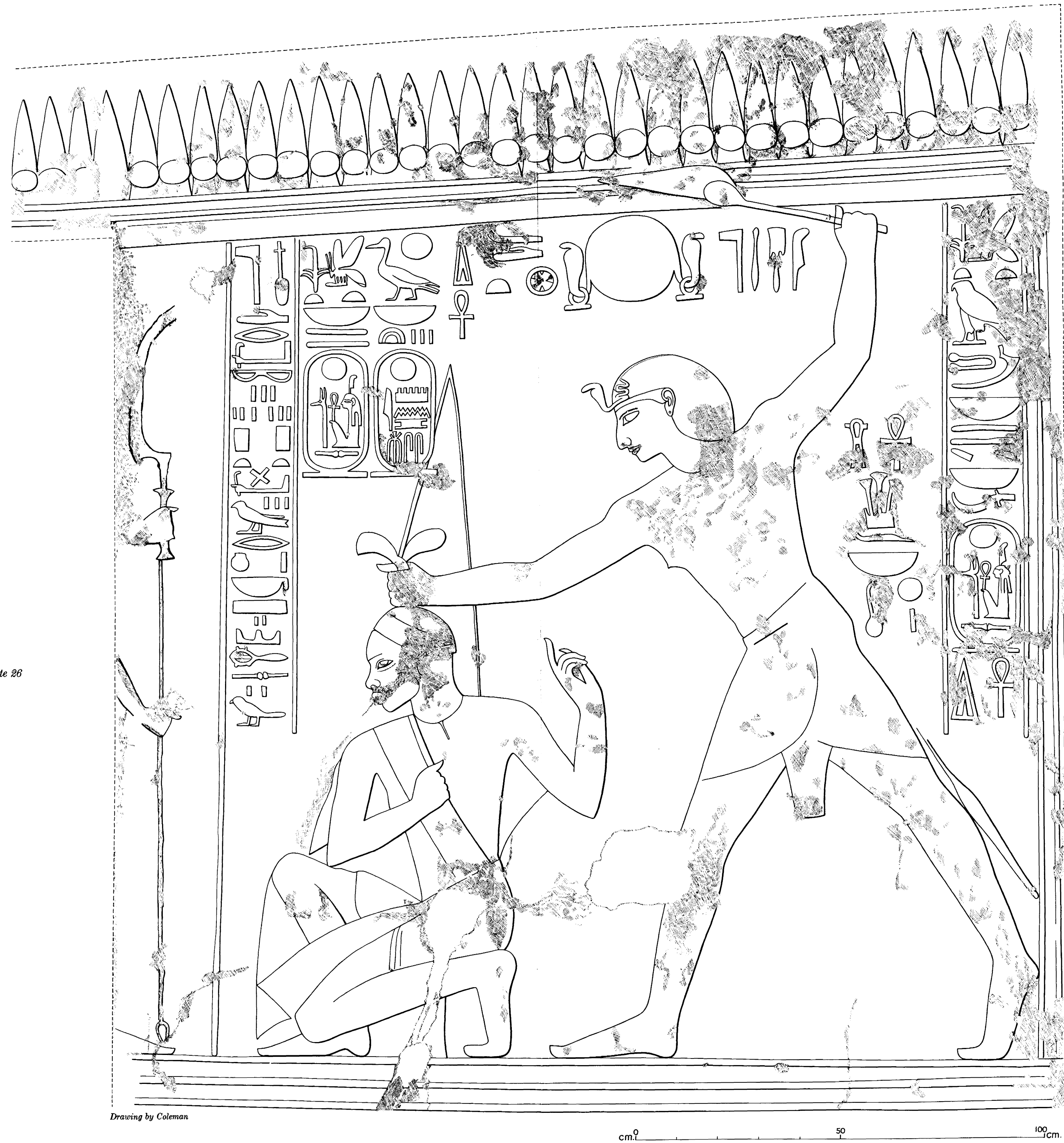
0 50  
cm. cm.

RAMESES II RECEIVED BY HORUS  
COLUMNED HALL, EAST WALL, BETWEEN NORTH AND MIDDLE DOORWAYS



Adjoins Plate 27

RAMESSES II RECEIVED BY ATUM  
COLUMNED HALL, EAST WALL, BETWEEN MIDDLE AND SOUTH DOORWAYS

*Adjoins Plate 26*

RAMESSES II SMITING A NUBIAN  
 COLUMNED HALL, EAST WALL, SOUTH END  
 COMPARE PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 28 *B*





A



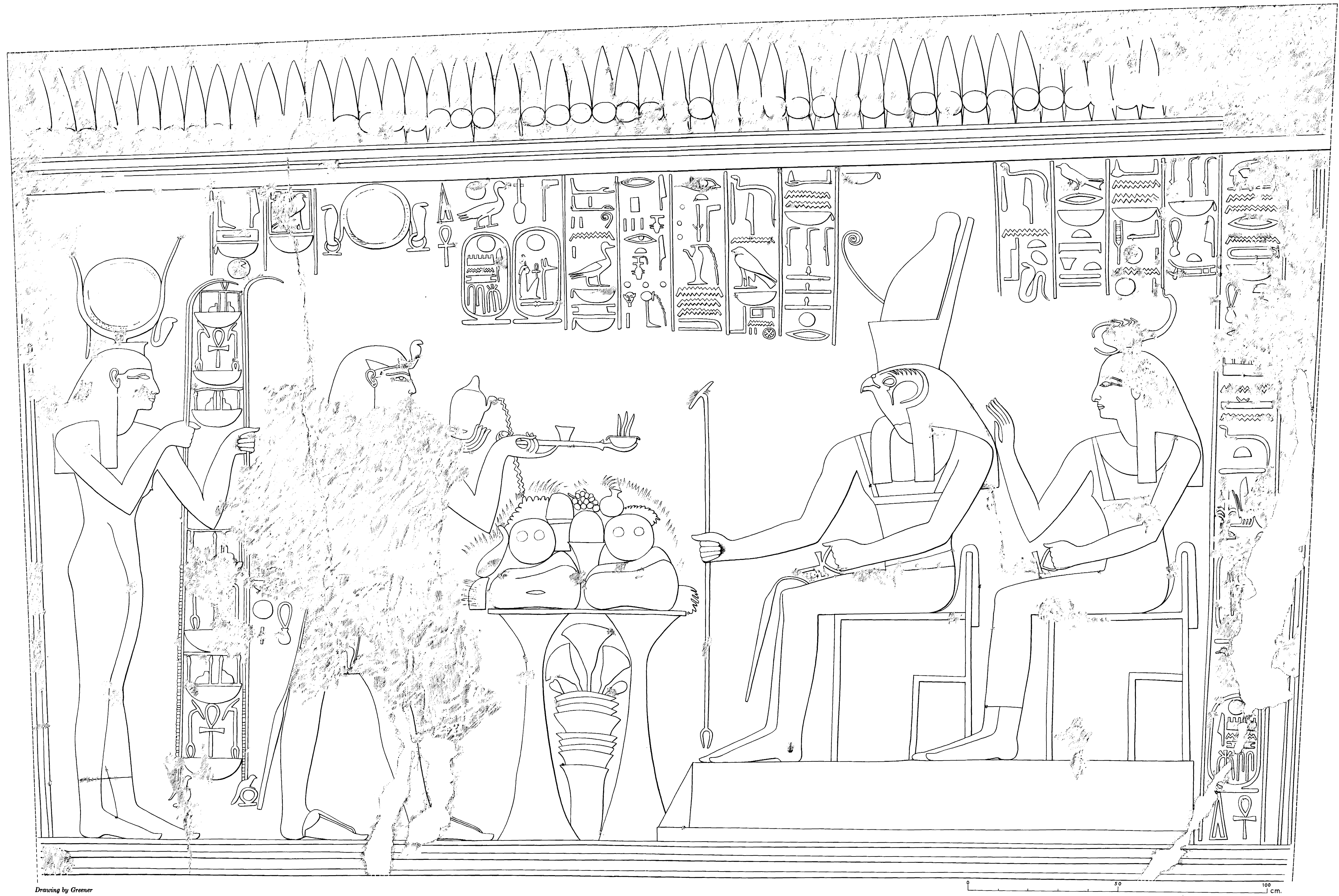
B

*Photographs by Nims*

A. RAMESSES II SMITING A LIBYAN  
B. RAMESSES II SMITING A NUBIAN

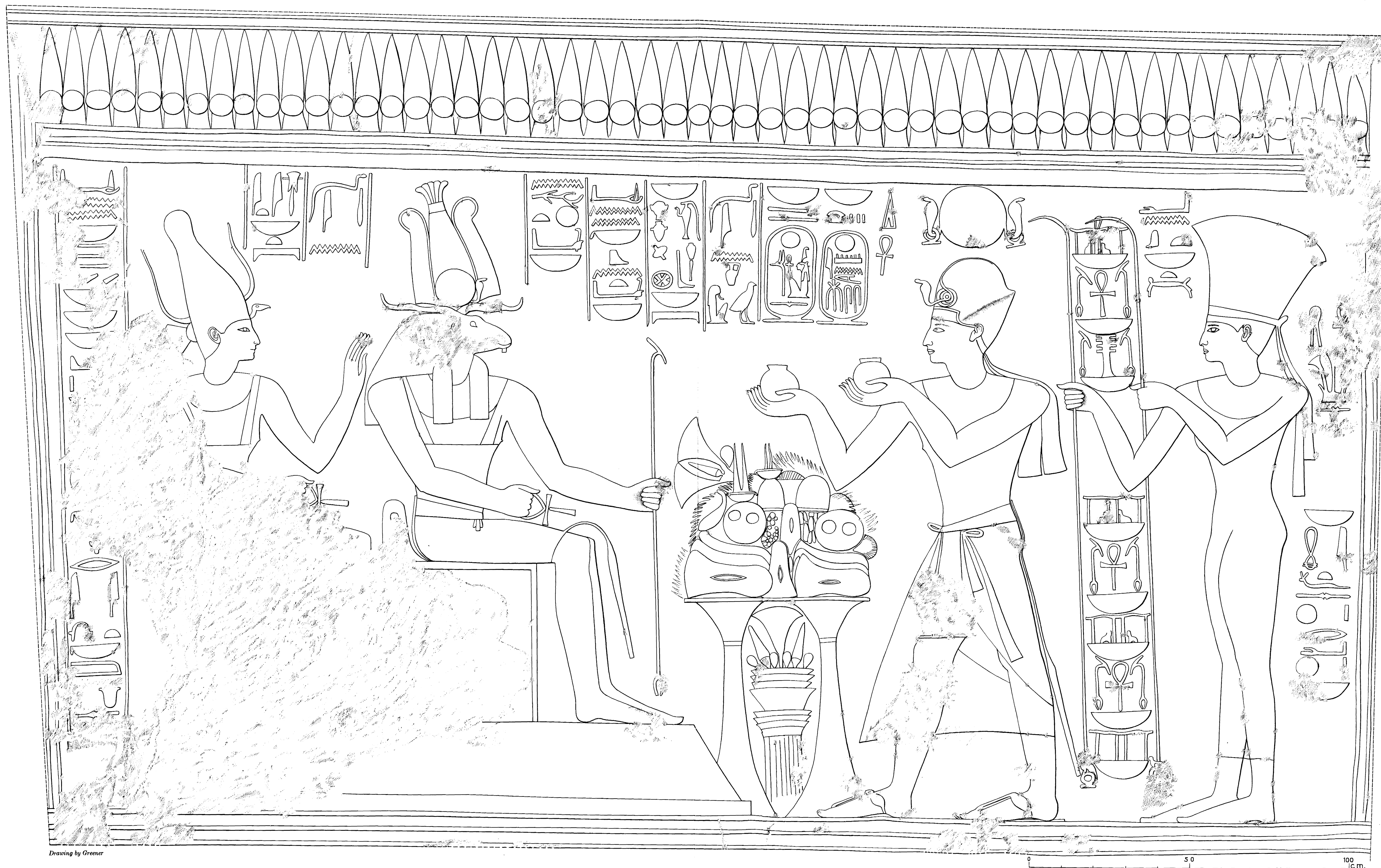
COLUMNED HALL, EAST SIDE, NORTH (A) AND SOUTH (B) ENDS INCLUDING NORTH AND SOUTH DOORWAYS  
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATES 24 AND 27





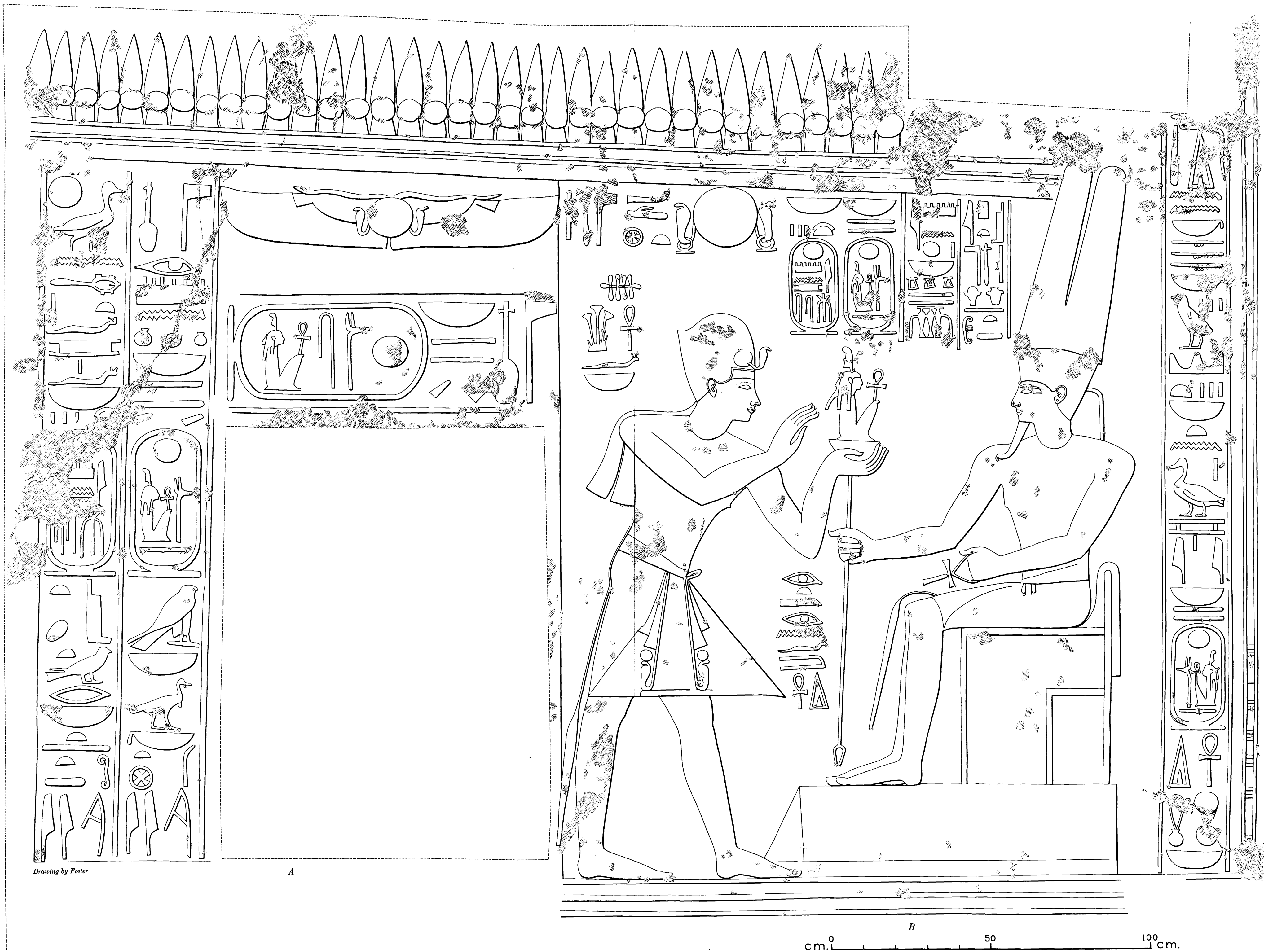
*Drawing by Greener*

RAMESSES II, ATTENDED BY HATHOR, CENSING AND LIBATING A FOOD OFFERING BEFORE HORUS AND ISIS  
COLUMNED HALL, ENTIRE SOUTH WALL  
COMPARE DETAIL IN COLOR PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 48 A



RAMESSES II, ATTENDED BY ANUKIS, PRESENTING JARS AND A FOOD OFFERING TO KHNUM AND SATIS  
COLUMNED HALL, ENTIRE NORTH WALL  
COMPARE DETAILS IN COLOR PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 48 B





Adjoins Plate 32

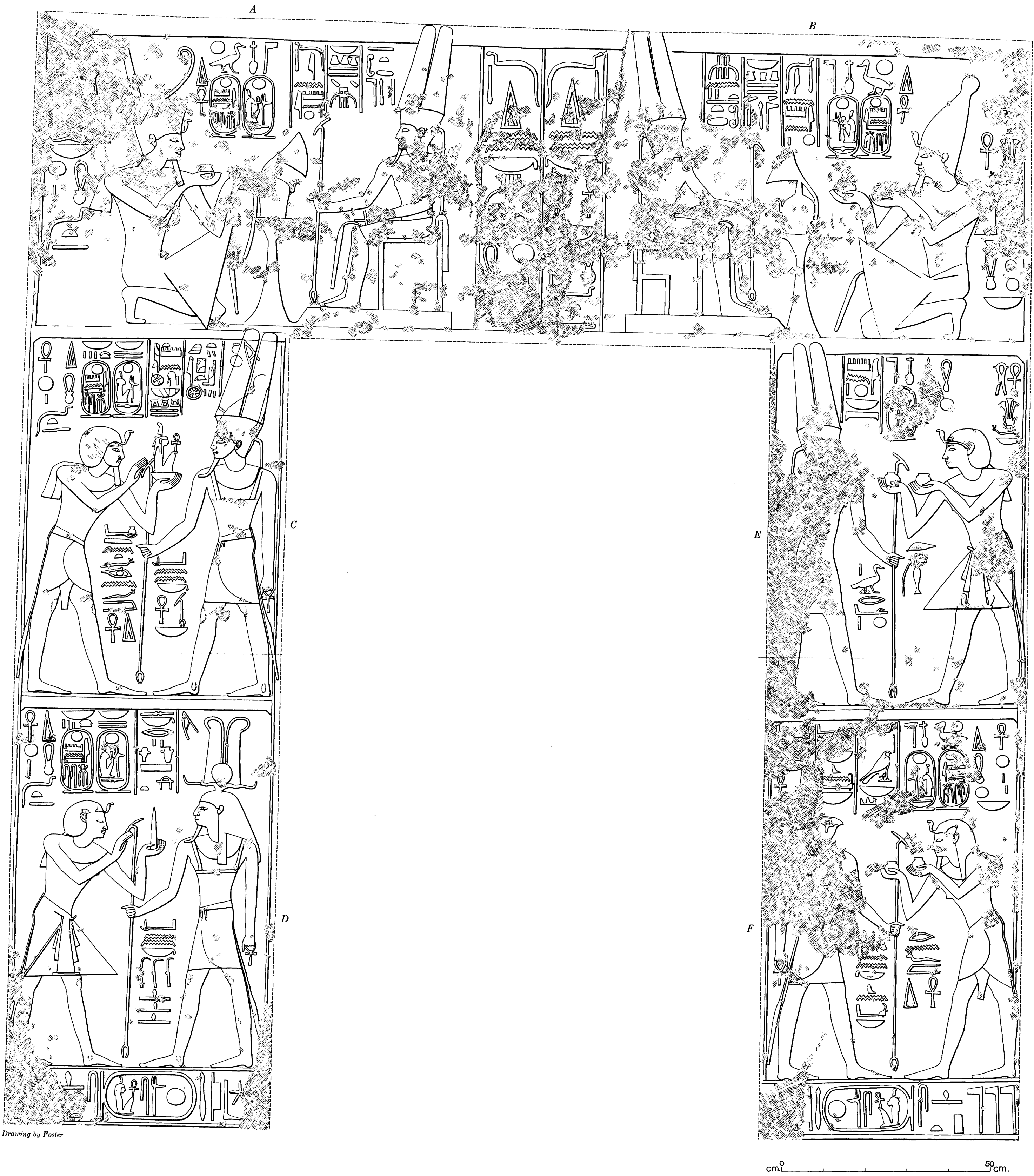
A. INSCRIPTIONS BORDERING THE SOUTHERN NICHE IN THE COLUMNS HALL

FOR CONTENTS OF NICHE, SEE PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 34 A

B. RAMESSES II OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE

COMPARE COLOR PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 1

COLUMNS HALL, WEST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY TO SANCTUARY



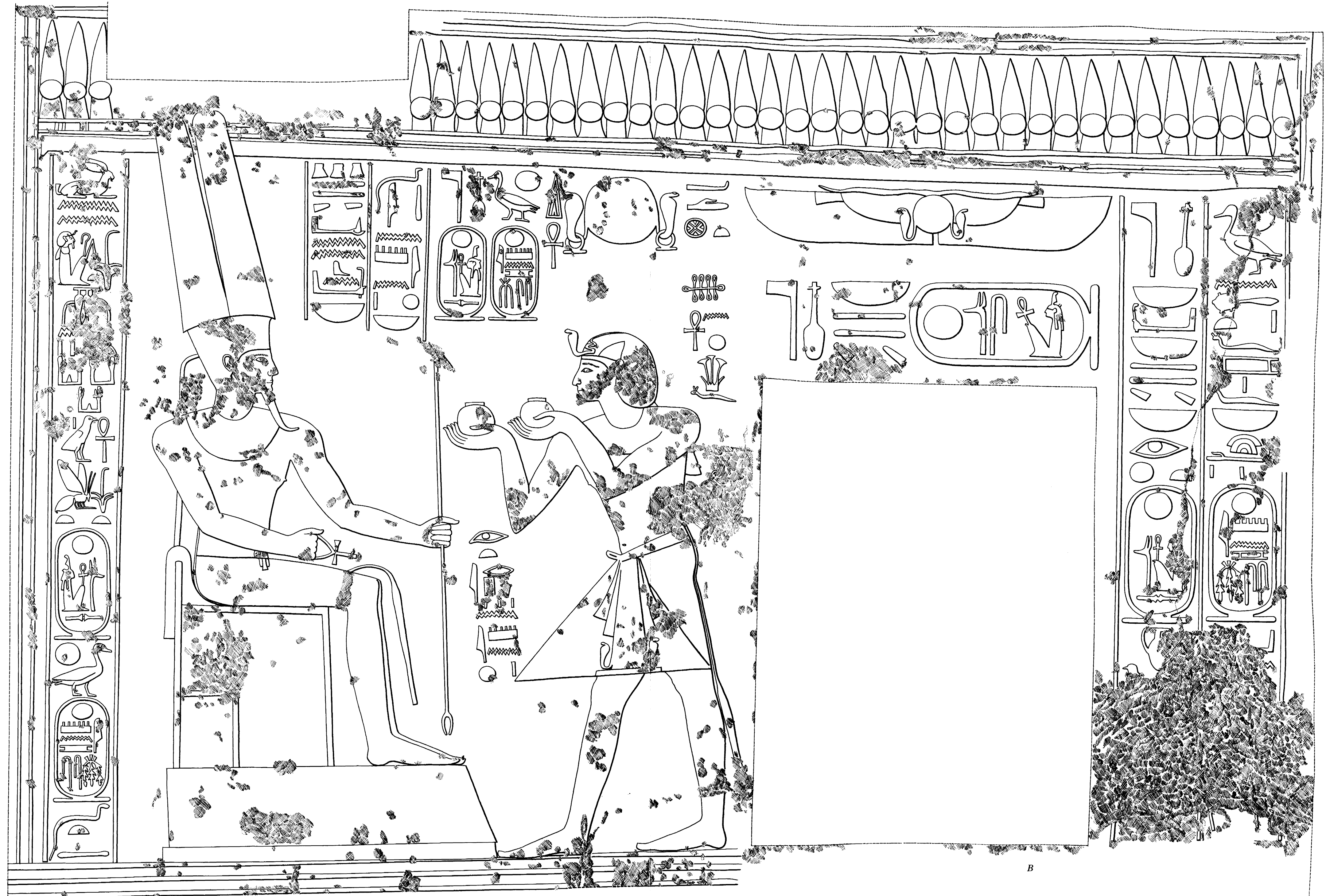
RAMESSES II PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO DEITIES

- |                                       |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A. JARS TO AMON-RE                    | D. BREAD TO SOKAR                    |
| B. JARS TO AMON-RE                    | E. JARS OF LIBATION WATER TO AMON-RE |
| C. MA'AT TO AMON-RE (ORIGINALLY ATUM) | F. JARS TO HORUS                     |

COLUMNED HALL, WEST WALL, FRAME OF DOORWAY TO SANCTUARY



Adjoins Plate 32



Drawing by Foster

A

B

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

A. RAMESSES II OFFERING WINE TO AMON-RE  
B. INSCRIPTIONS BORDERING THE NORTHERN NICHE IN THE COLUMNED HALL  
FOR CONTENTS OF NICHE, SEE PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 34 B  
COLUMNED HALL, WEST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY TO SANCTUARY





*Photographs by Nims*

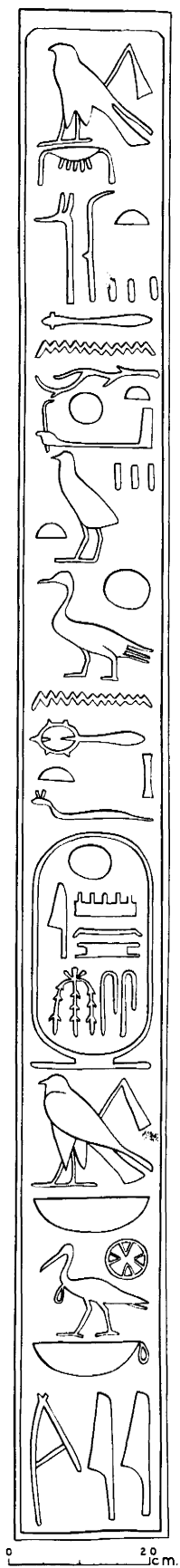
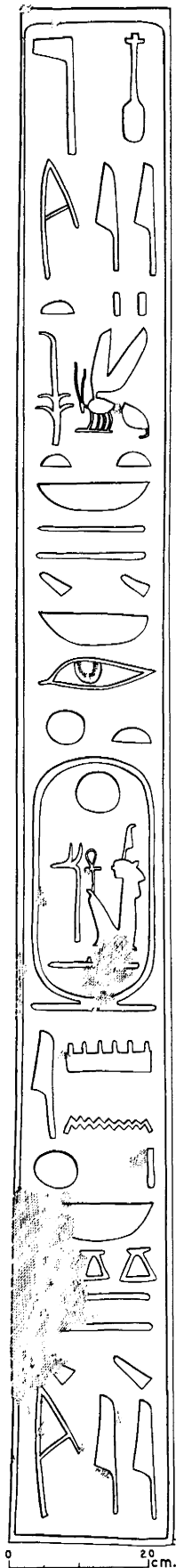
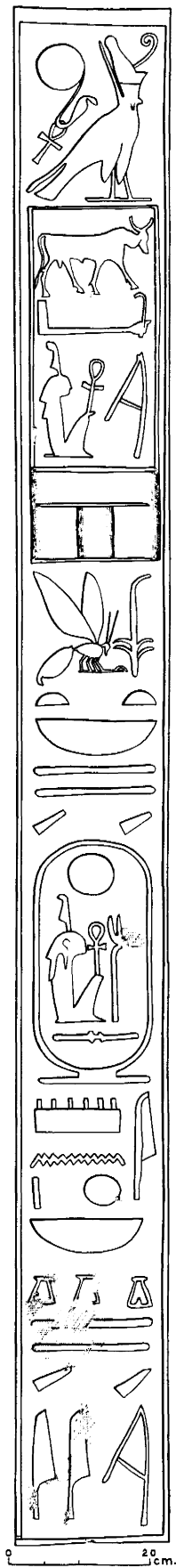
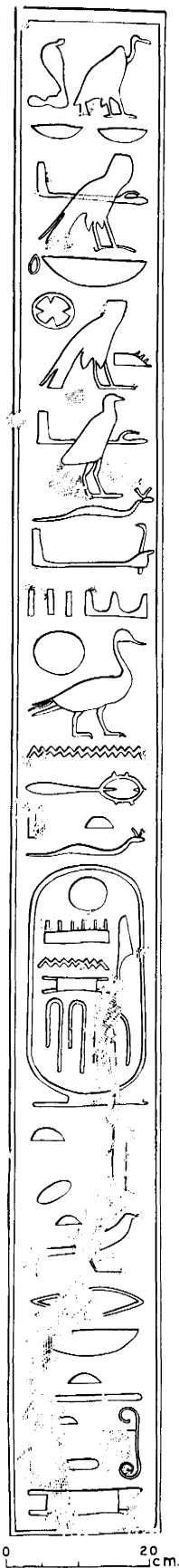
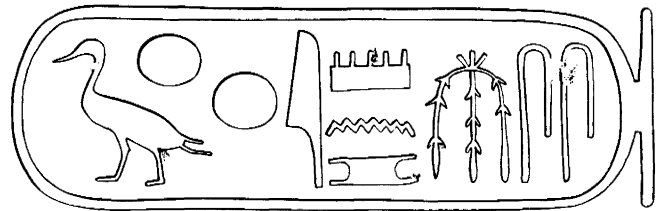
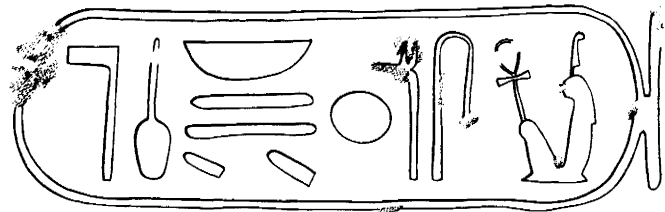
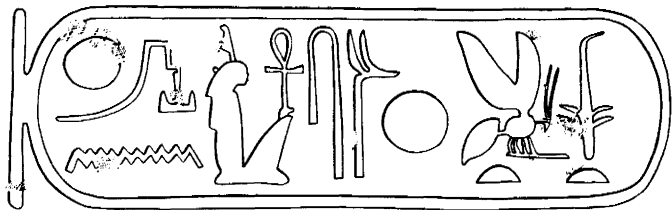
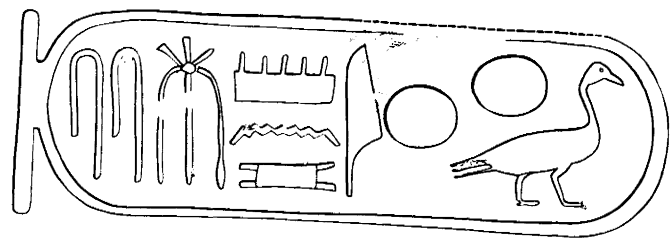
*A*



*B*

A. TRIAD OF HORUS, RAMESSES II, AND ISIS(?)  
 B. TRIAD OF KHNUM, RAMESSES II, AND ANUKIS  
 COLUMNED HALL, WEST WALL, SOUTH (A) AND NORTH (B) NICHES  
 COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATES 31 AND 33, FOR SURROUNDING RELIEFS





Drawings by Greener

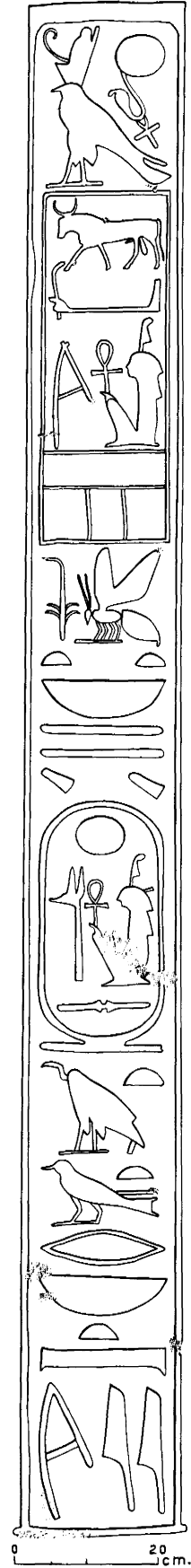
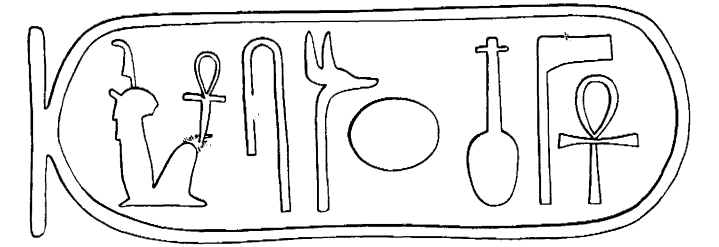
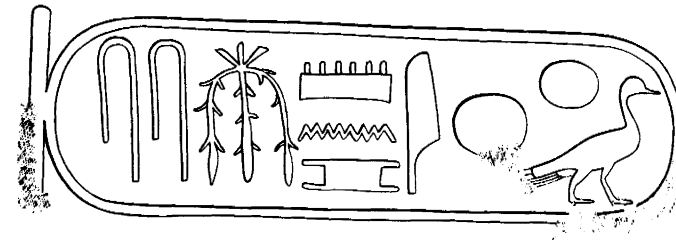
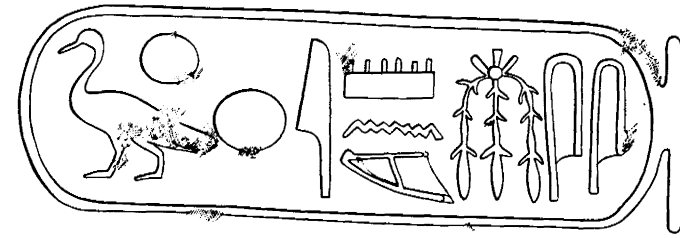
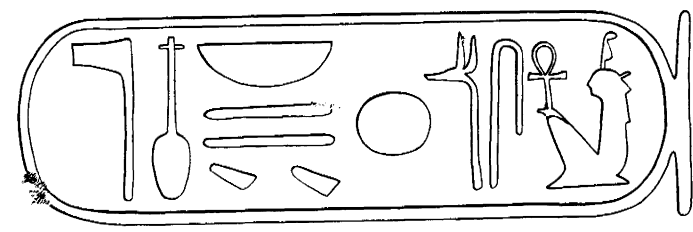
B

A

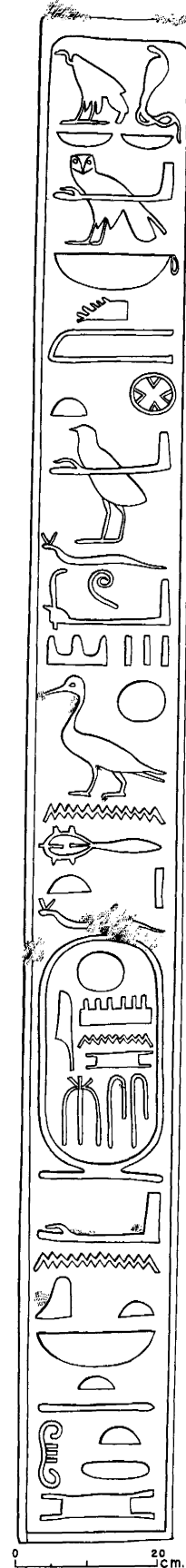
C

D

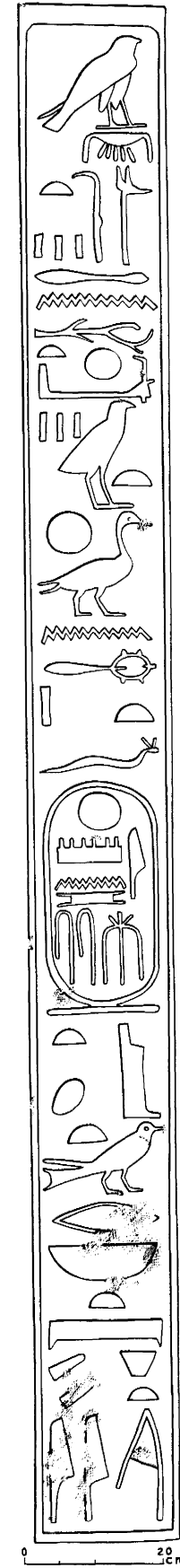
INSCRIPTIONS ON ABACUS AND SHAFT OF THE SOUTHERN COLUMN IN THE COLUMNED HALL  
NORTH (A), EAST (B), SOUTH (C), AND WEST (D) FACES



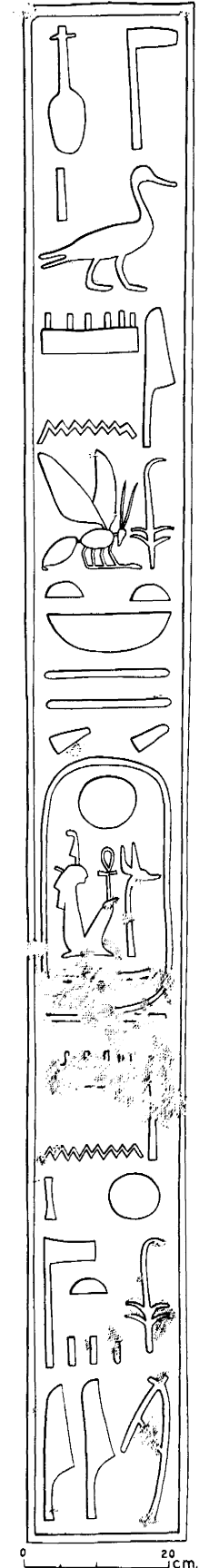
A



B



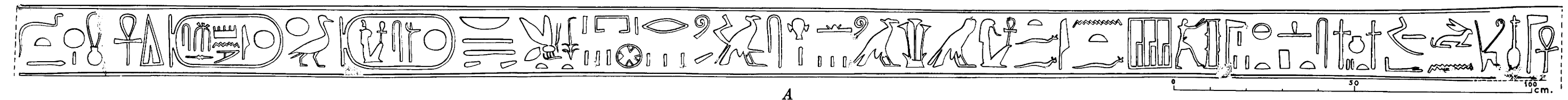
C



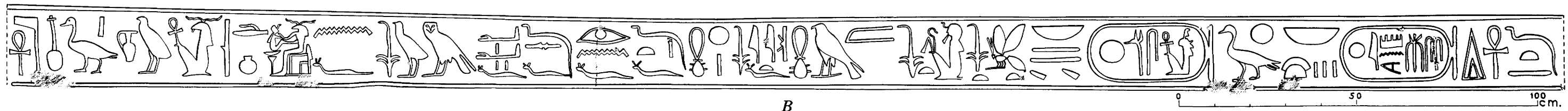
D

Drawings by Greener

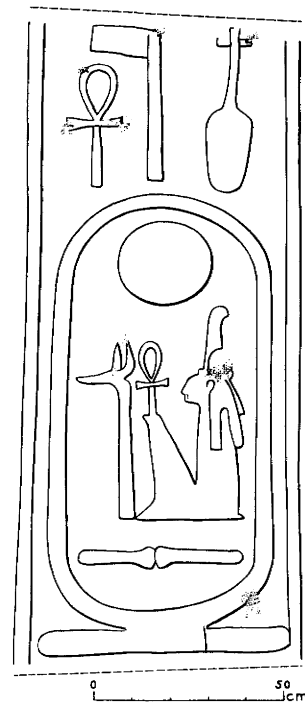
INSCRIPTIONS ON ABACUS AND SHAFT OF THE NORTHERN COLUMN IN THE COLUMNED HALL  
SOUTH (A), EAST (B), NORTH (C), AND WEST (D) FACES



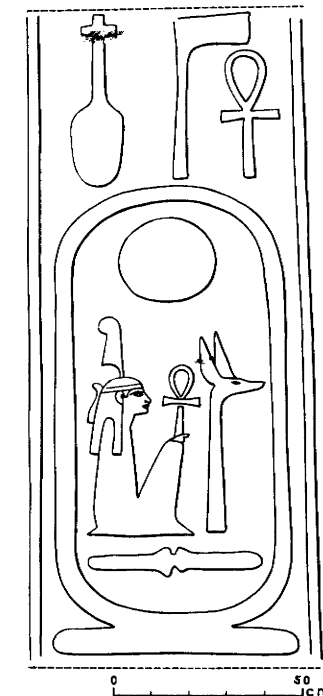
A



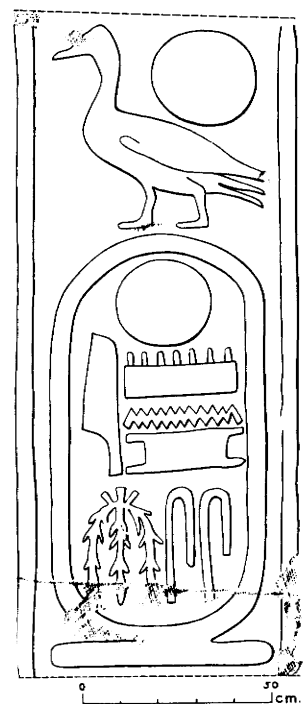
B



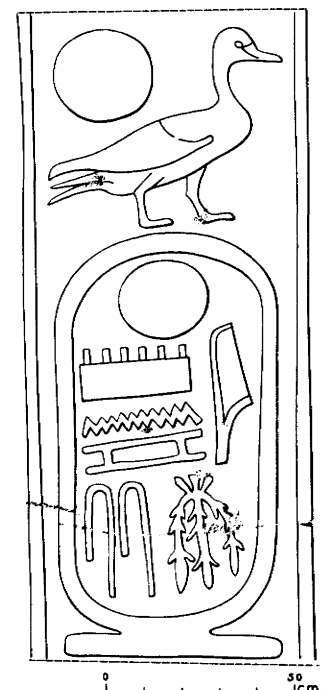
C



E



D



F

Drawings by Greener

# INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ARCHITRAVES IN THE COLUMNED HALL

SOUTH ARCHITRAVE, NORTH SIDE (A) AND WEST (C) AND EAST (D) SOFFITS

NORTH ARCHITRAVE, SOUTH SIDE (B) AND WEST (E) AND EAST (F) SOFFITS

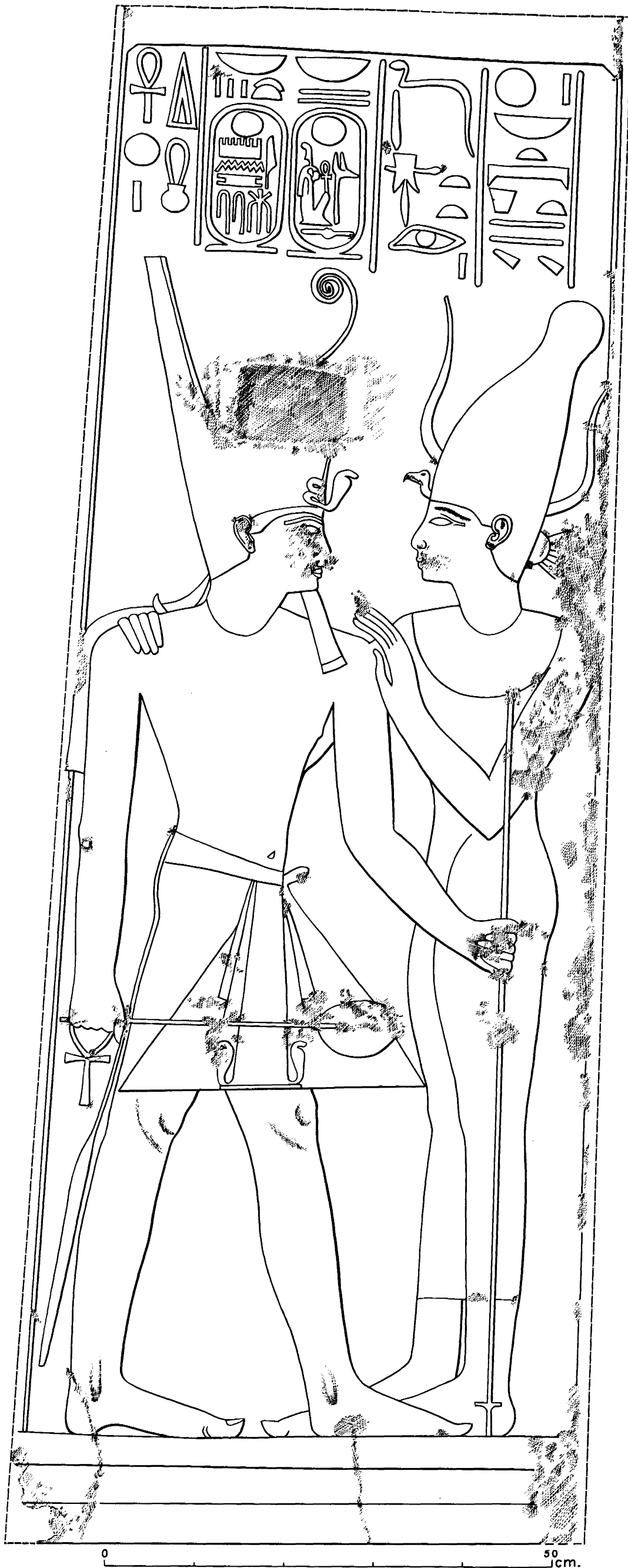




Photograph Reinforced by Coleman

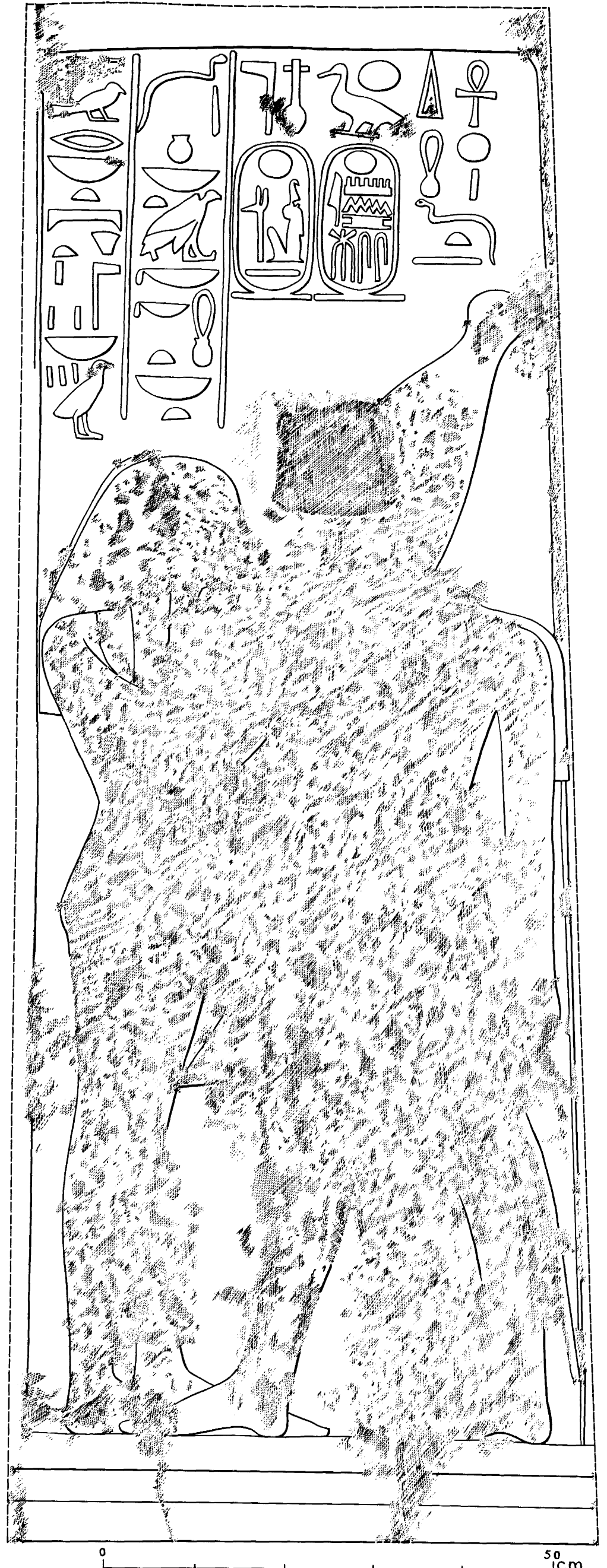
THE PAINTED CEILING BETWEEN THE ARCHITRAVES IN THE COLUMNED HALL  
LOWER END TO EAST





Drawings by Greener

A



B

RAMESSES II RECEIVED (A) BY SATIS AND (B) BY MIKET  
DOORWAY TO THE SANCTUARY, LEFT (A) AND RIGHT (B) REVEALS





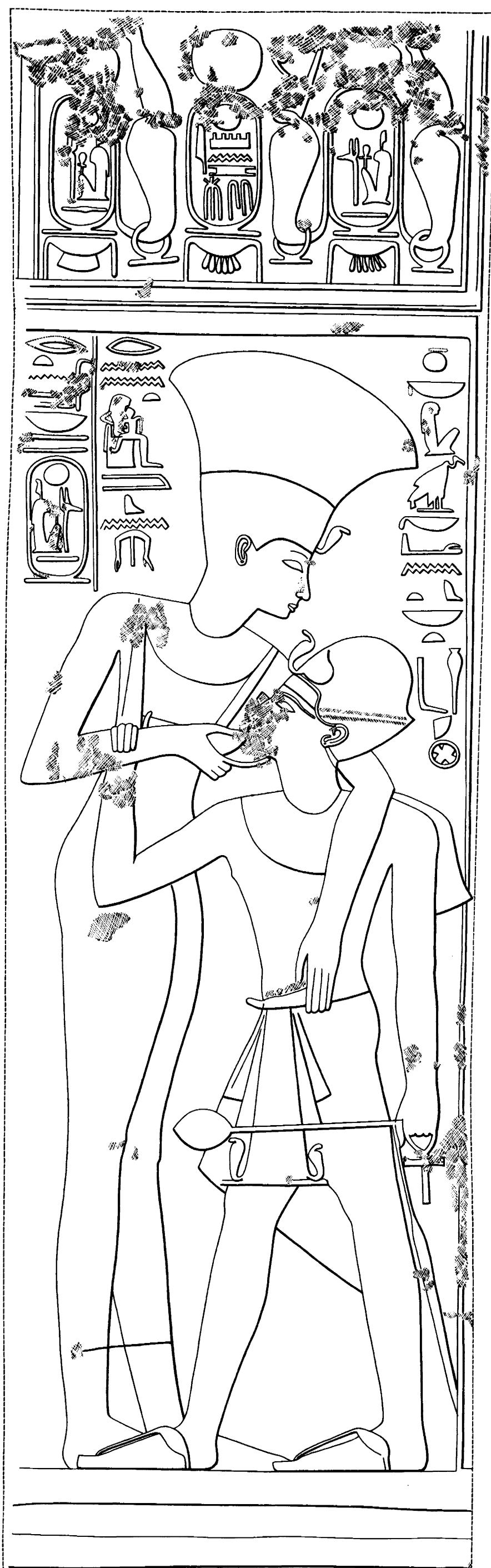
*Photographs by Nims*

*A*

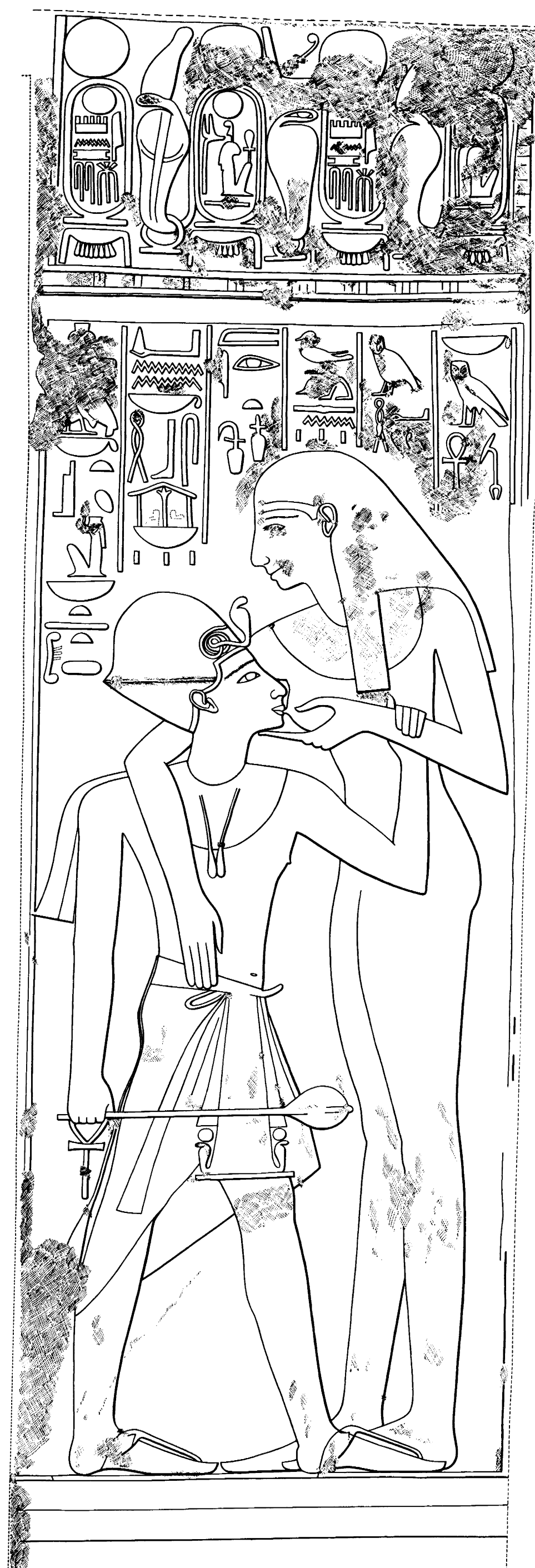


*B*

RAMESSES II SUCKLED (*A*) BY ANUKIS AND (*B*) BY ISIS  
COMPARE DRAWINGS, PLATE 41



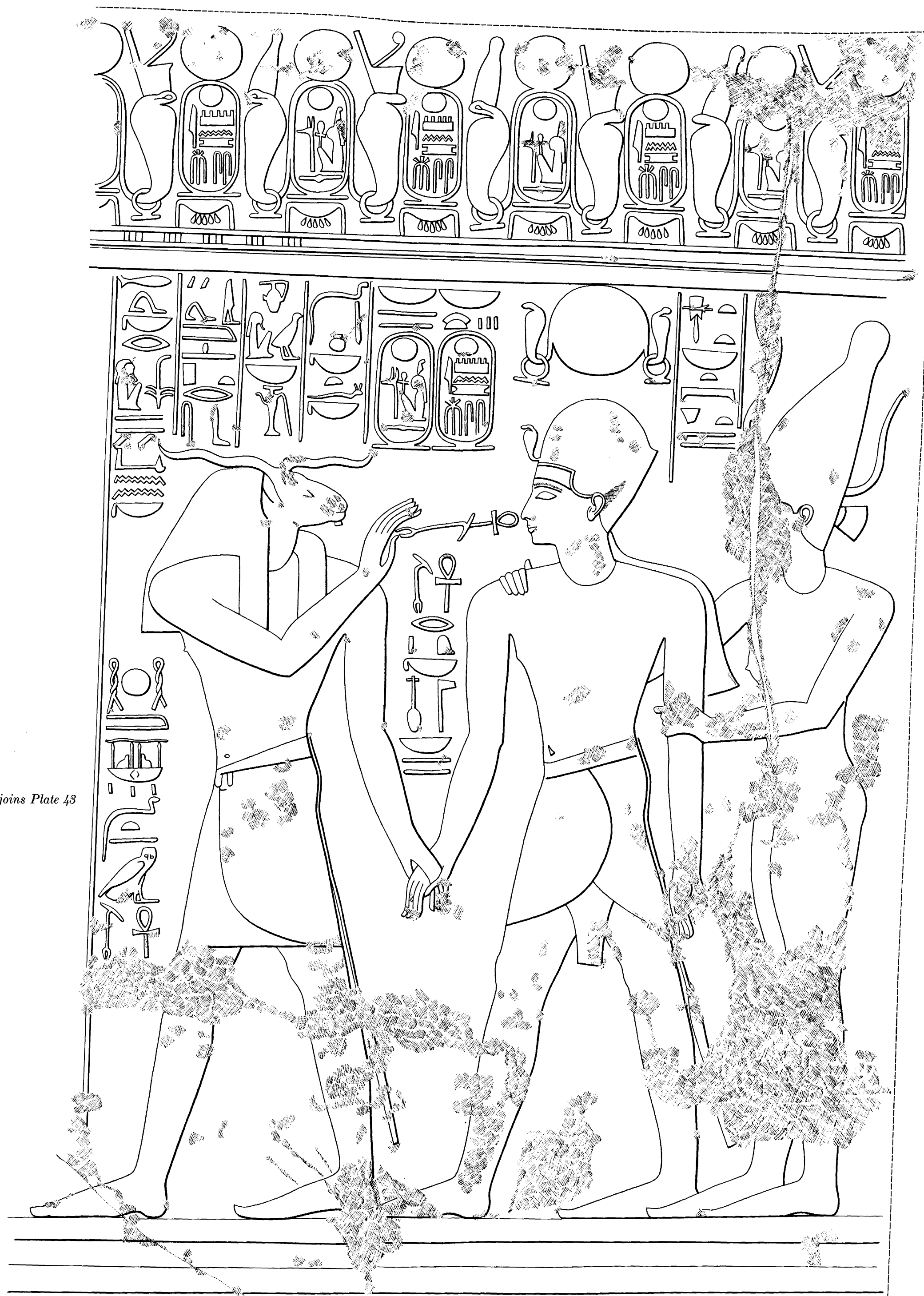
cm. 0 50 cm.  
Drawing by Foster A



cm. 0 50 cm.  
Drawing by Coleman B

RAMESES II SUCKLED (A) BY ANUKIS AND (B) BY ISIS  
SANCTUARY, EAST WALL, NORTH (A) AND SOUTH (B) OF DOORWAY  
COMPARE PHOTOGRAPHS, PLATE 40, AND COLOR DETAILS, PLATE 49





Adjoins Plate 43

Drawing by Foster

cm. 0 50 cm.

RAMESSES II USHERED INTO THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE BY KHNUM AND SATIS  
SANCTUARY, NORTH WALL, EAST END





*Adjoins Plate 42*

*Drawing by Foster and Coleman*

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

RAMESSES II PRESENTING INCENSE AND A FOOD OFFERING TO AMON-RE

SANCTUARY, NORTH WALL, WEST END





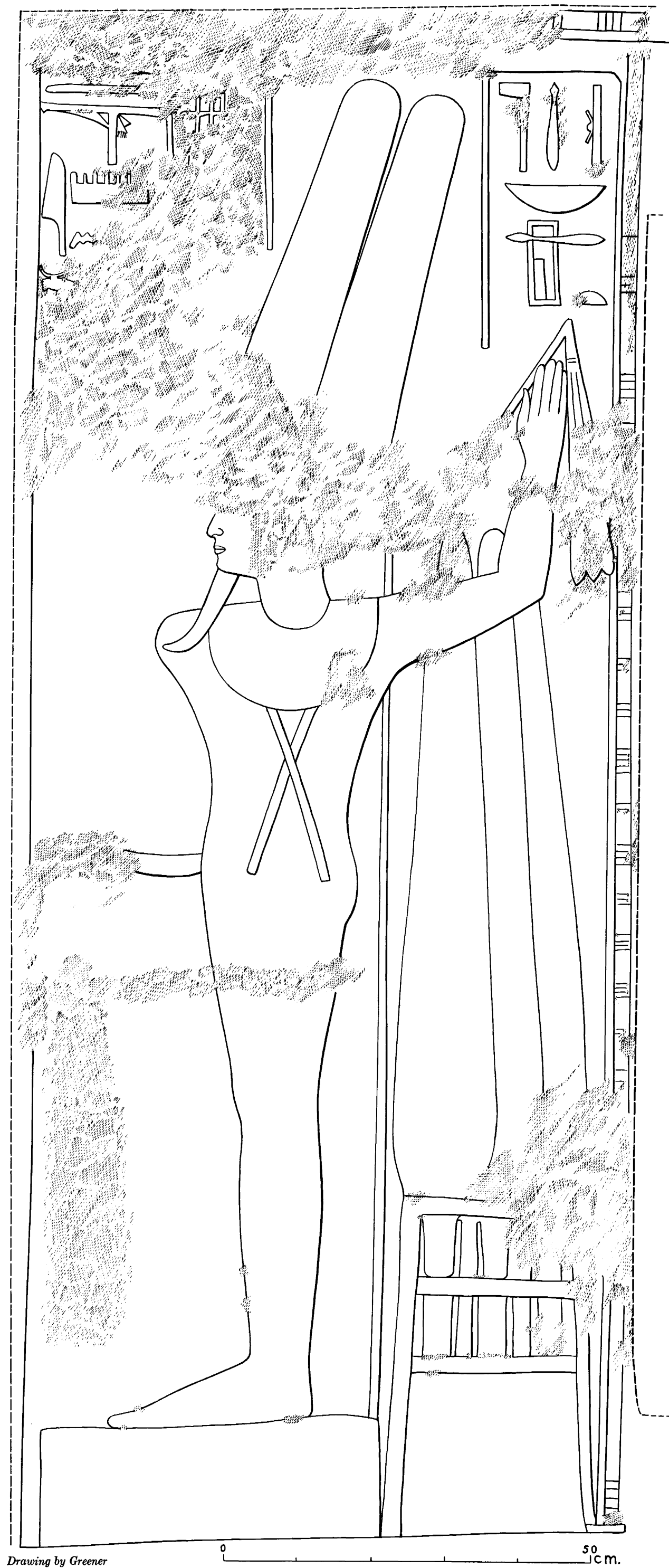
Drawing by Coleman

A

B

cm. 0 50 cm.

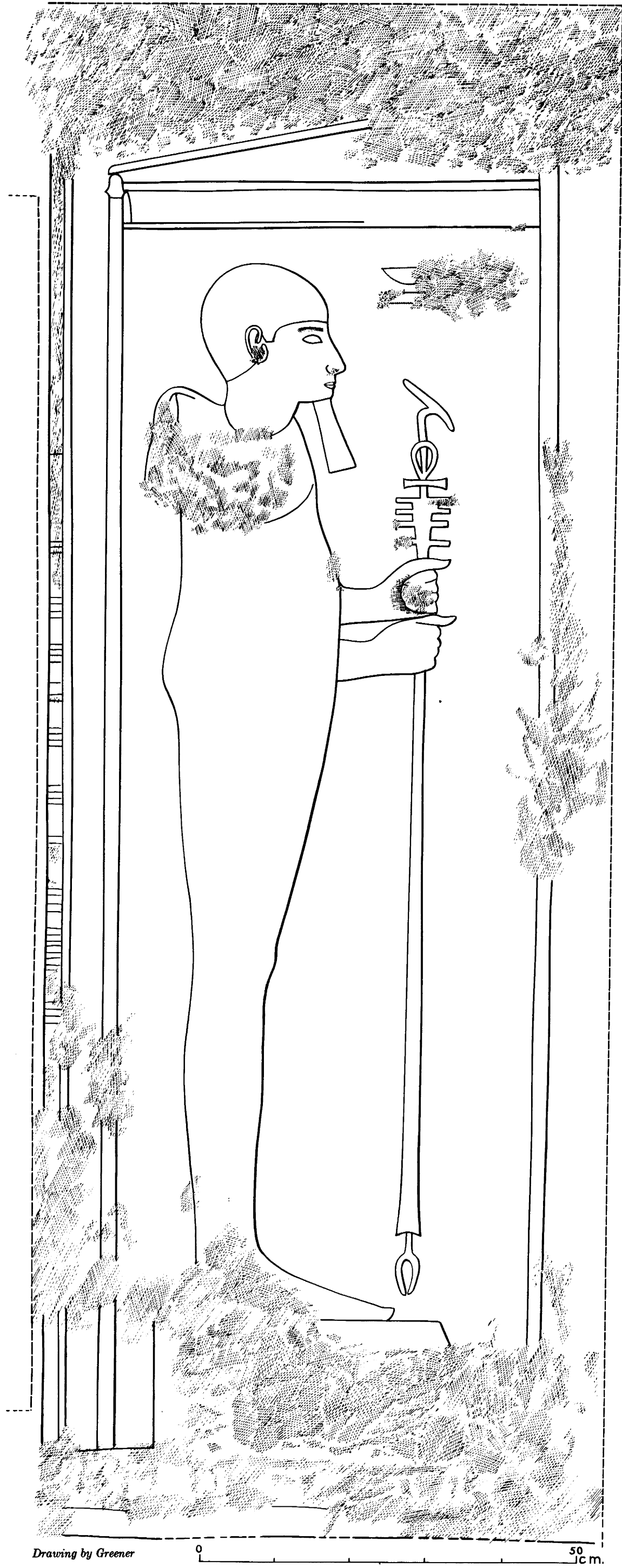
A. RAMESSES II PRESENTING JARS OF LIBATION WATER TO HORUS  
 B. RAMESSES II CENSING AND LIBATING A FOOD OFFERING BEFORE AMON-RE  
 SANCTUARY, ENTIRE SOUTH WALL



MIN-AMON-KAMUTEF

SANCTUARY, WEST WALL, LEFT OF NICHE SHOWN IN PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 47 A





PTAH

SANCTUARY, WEST WALL, RIGHT OF NICHE SHOWN IN PHOTOGRAPH, PLATE 47 A



*Photographs by Nims*

A



B

A. THE NICHE AT THE WEST END OF THE SANCTUARY  
B. CARTOUCHES INCISED OVER ORIGINAL DECORATION IN THE ENTRANCE HALL  
DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 15, LEFT END





*Color Photographs by Nims*

A



B

A. HORUS AND ISIS

DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 29

B. RAMESSES II PRESENTING AN OFFERING

DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 30





Color Photographs by Nims

A



B

RAMESES II SUCKLED (A) BY ANUKIS AND (B) BY ISIS  
DETAILS FROM SCENES SHOWN ON PLATE 41



## PLANS AND SECTIONS

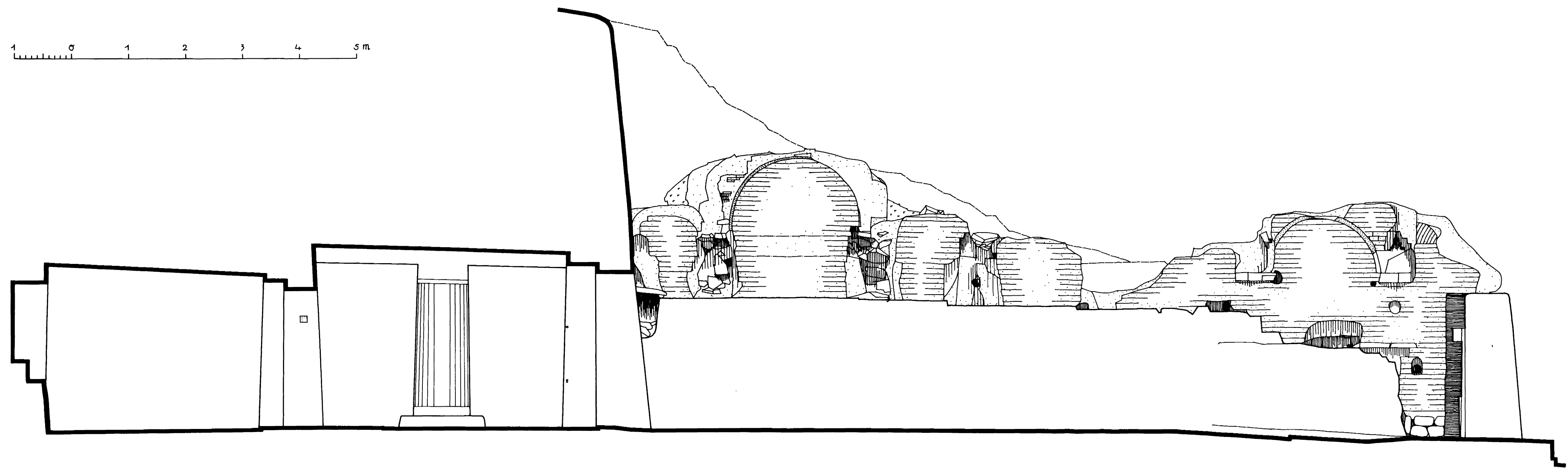


FIG. 1. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE TEMPLE

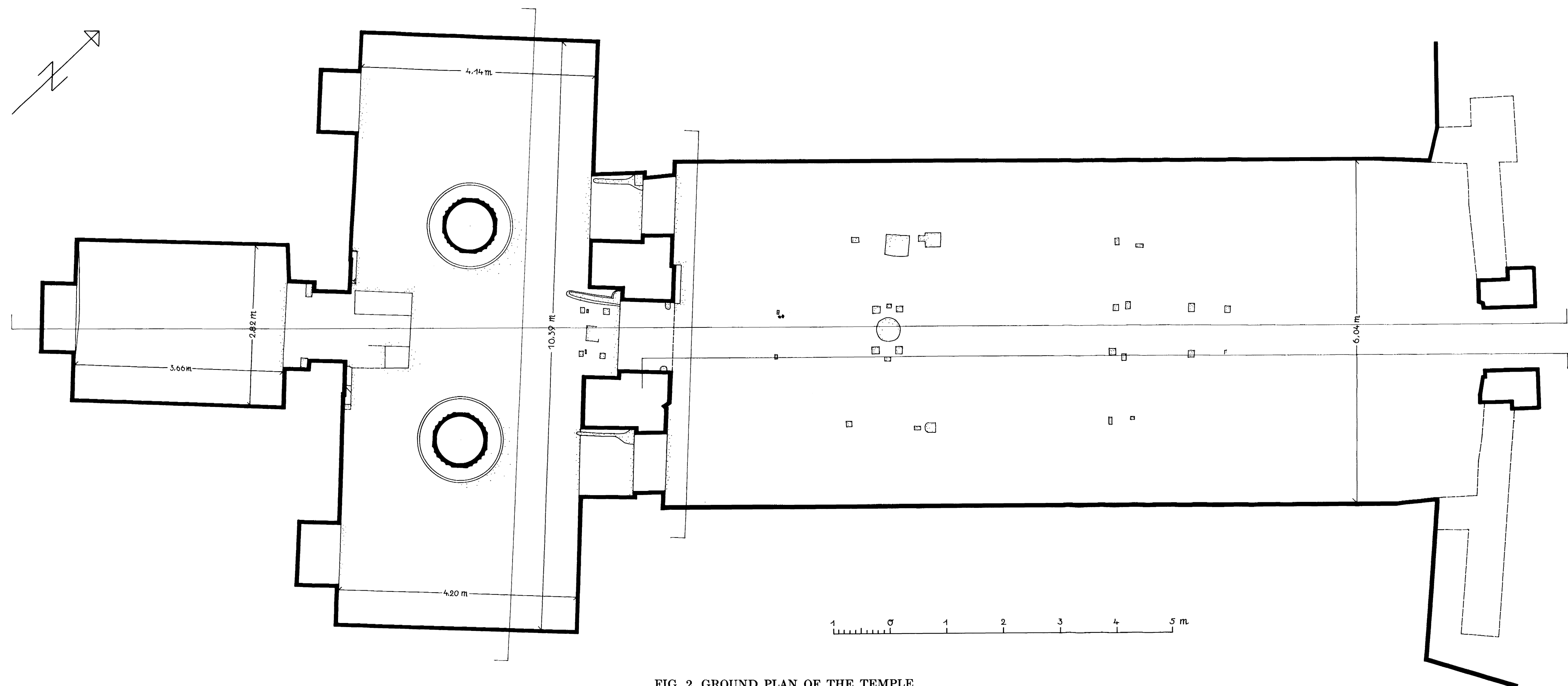


FIG. 2. GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE



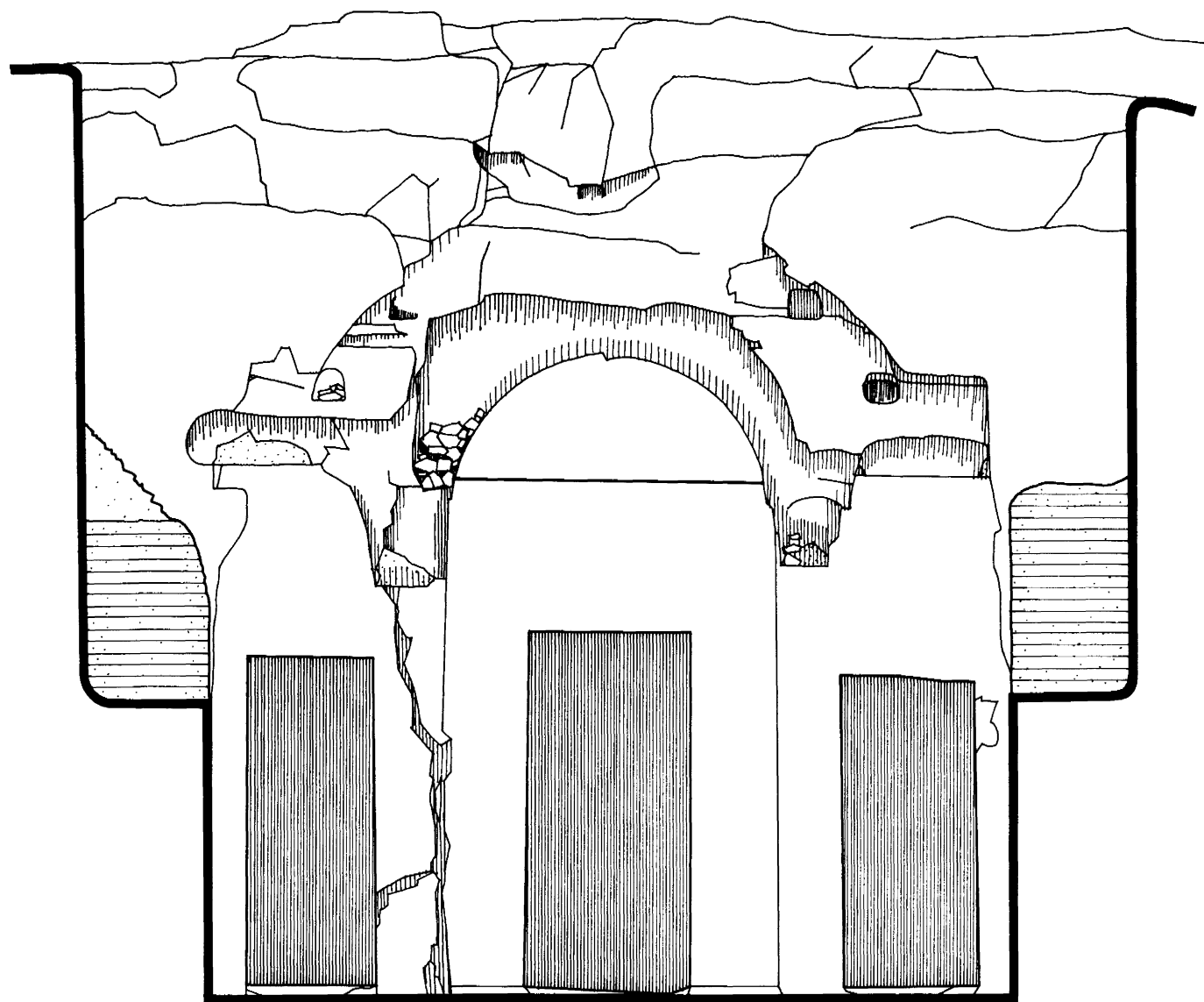


FIG. 3. CROSS SECTION OF THE REAR OF THE ENTRANCE HALL

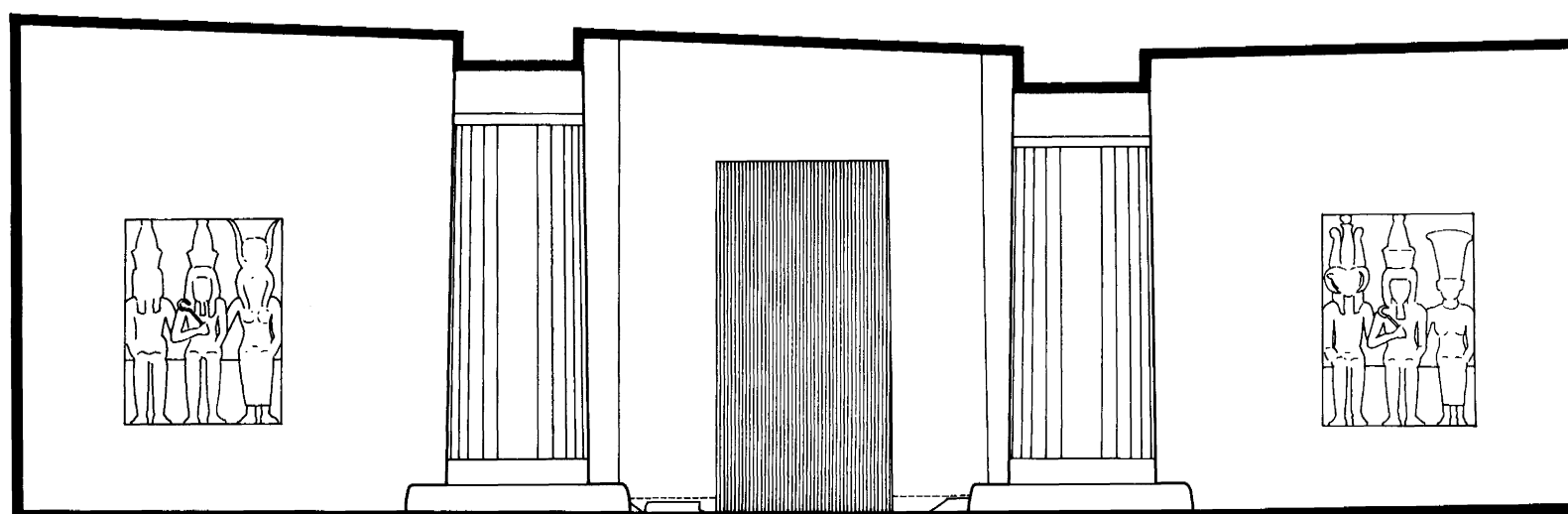


FIG. 4. CROSS SECTION OF THE COLUMNED HALL

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 m.

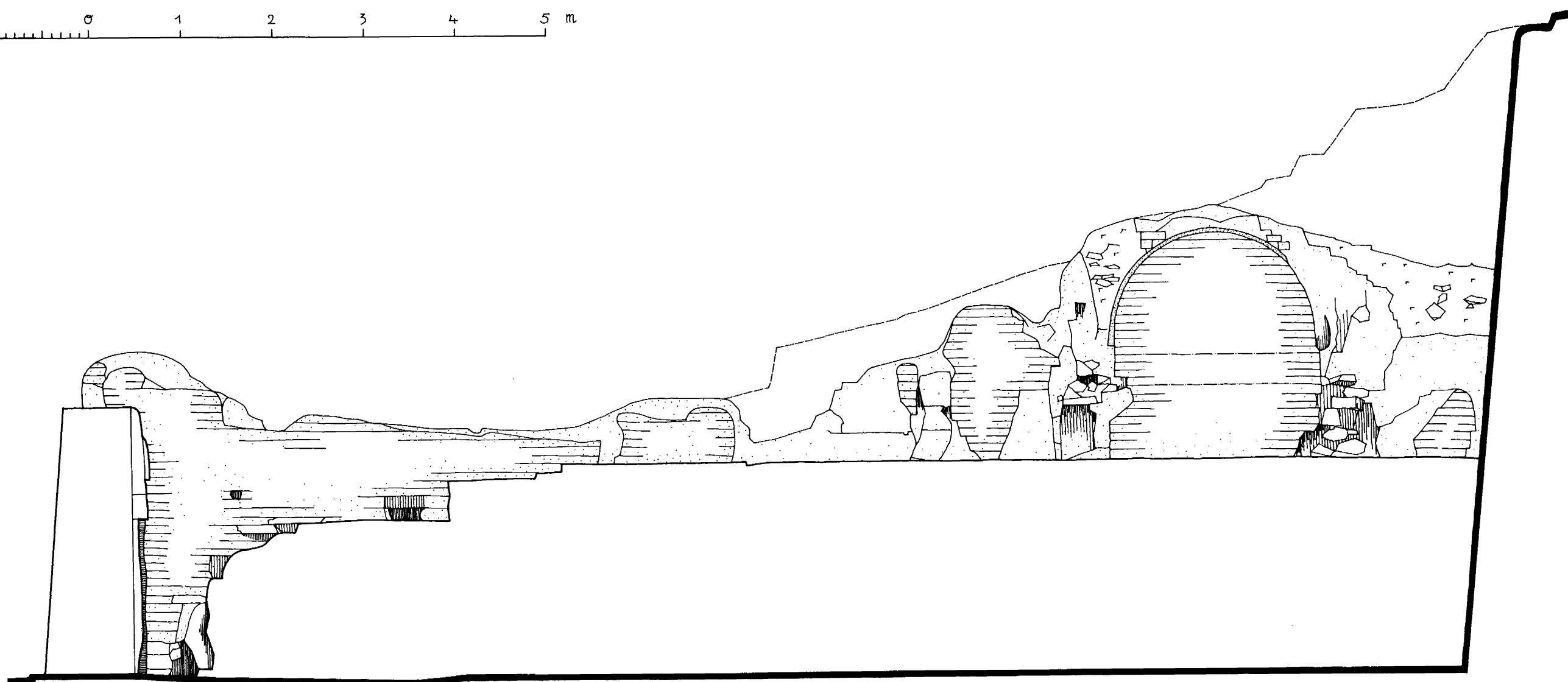


FIG. 5. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE ENTRANCE HALL

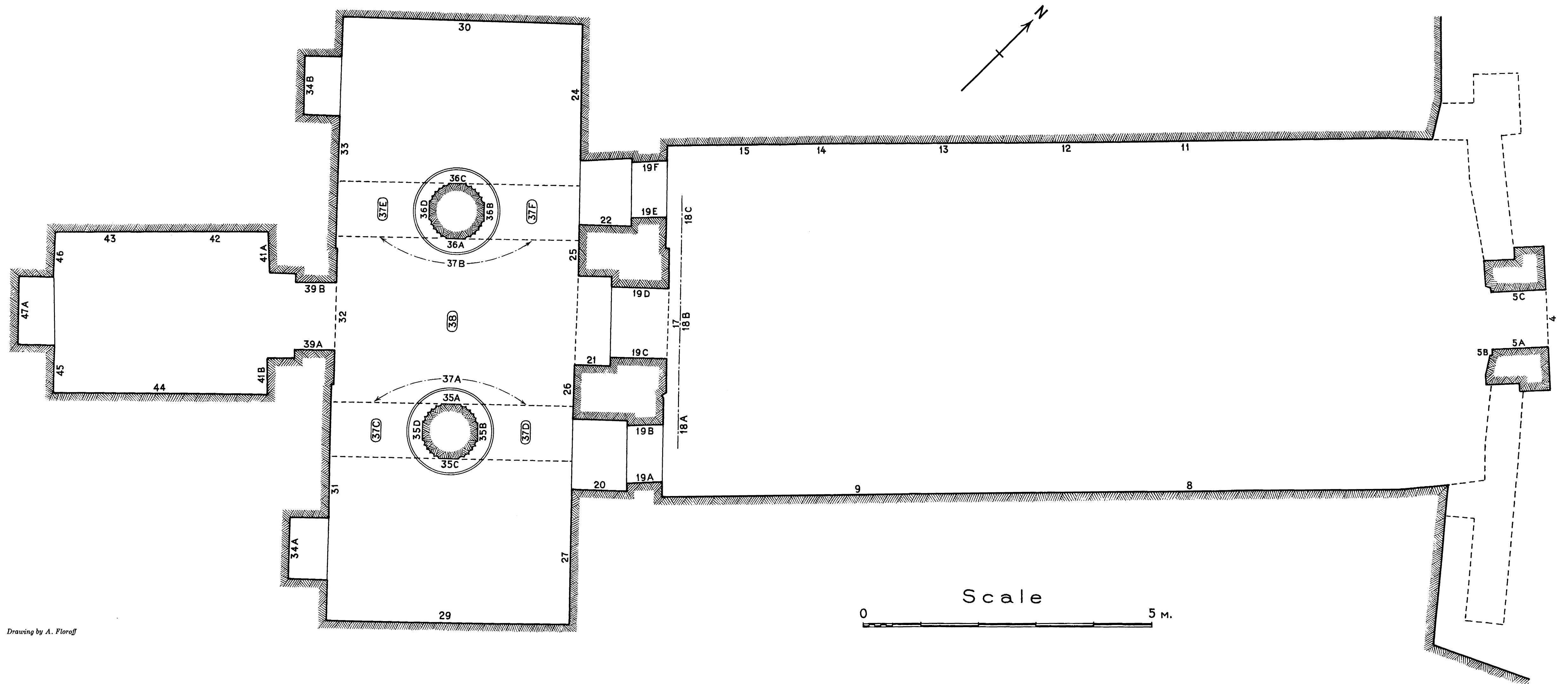


FIG. 6. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE SHOWING LOCATION OF THE RELIEFS AS REPRODUCED IN THE PLATES

