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RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS AT KARNAK—VOLUME 4

THE BATTLE RELIEFS OF KING SETY I

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THE BATTLE RELIEFS OF KING SETY I

By

THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY

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In memory of
LABIB HABACHI
1906–1984

Is there anyone here like Hordedef?
Is there another like Imhotep?
None have appeared among our contemporaries
 like Neferti or Akhtoy, their chief.
Let me remind you of the names of Ptahemdjehuty,
 or Khakheper(re)seneb.
Is there another like Ptahhotep,
 or Kaires as well?

Papyrus Chester Beatty IV
(Verso 3, lines 5–7)

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FIELD DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

THE PUBLICATION of the battle reliefs of Sety I marks one of the few times that the Epigraphic Survey has chosen to deal with only one part of an ancient building rather than with the scenes and texts of an entire monument. During more than half a century's work in Egypt, the Survey generally has set out to record completely an entire structure, a goal that sometimes required decades to complete and many volumes to publish. The Survey's work at Medinet Habu is the most dramatic example of this approach, the on-going publication of the Temple of Khonsu the most recent. Such comprehensive projects are extremely valuable, of course, but they do pose serious problems of time, money and staffing. And some monuments, which contain texts and scenes of great historical value, simply are too large to be treated as a single epigraphic unit. Such is the case with the Temple of Amon at Karnak, which contains groups of historically important scenes, each one of which offers a discrete epigraphic unit. One of these is the outer face of the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall, on which Sety I had carved a major series of battle scenes.

There exist several major publications of the Sety wall or parts of it,¹ but none of these offers the kind of facsimile drawings that permit tracing the history of the ancient work on the wall, and none has observed fully the extent of the alterations to which its scenes and texts have been subjected. Nor, unfortunately, have earlier copyists satisfactorily reproduced the high quality of the wall's finely sculpted details. For these and several other compelling reasons, the Epigraphic Survey selected the Sety wall for further, more meticulous study.

The techniques used by the Epigraphic Survey to record such reliefs have remained largely unchanged since they were so successfully applied over half a century ago; no other method has yet proved better.² The "Chicago House Method," as it has come to be called, has consistently produced among the most complete and accurate copies of Egyptian relief ever published: it combines the advantages of the large-format camera, the trained eyes and hands of artists, and the skill and knowledge of epigraphically trained Egyptologists.³ As might be expected, however, such meticulous techniques are costly both in time and money, and their use can be justified only if a monument meets several criteria.

Of primary importance is the state of preservation of a wall. Priority must be given to walls that are deteriorating, to walls so poorly preserved that no photograph can capture all the traces of carving on their surface, to walls which might possibly be reconstructed on paper. The Sety wall scores high marks in all these categories.

Thirty-four fragments of the wall's now-destroyed upper registers were located lying about the Karnak enclosure (see chap. 2), and from them the subject-matter of those registers has

¹These include the publications of the *Descr. Ant.*, for example, and those of Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, Wreszinsky, and the hand-copies of Guieysse, Sander-Hansen, Giv'eon and Kitchen. Full references to these works may be found in the bibliographies to each one of the scenes discussed in chap. 1.

²See, e.g., Ricardo A. Caminos, "The Recording of Inscriptions and Scenes in Tombs and Temples," in Caminos and Henry G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), especially pp. 10–11 and 16–19.

³Frequently described, the "Chicago House Method" was first set out in detail by James Henry Breasted, in *Med. Habu* I, pp. x–xi, and in idem, *The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago Survey* 12 (Chicago, 1933), pp. 198–212. The more recent discussions are by Charles F. Nims, "The Publication of Ramesside Temples in Thebes by the Oriental Institute," in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* II, BdE-IFAO 64/2 (1972), pp. 91–94; and by Lanny Bell, William Murnane and Bernard Fishman, "The Epigraphic Survey (Chicago House)," *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 118 (Summer 1982): 3–8.

been reconstructed. A hitherto unknown western wall shows an extension of scenes dealing with the campaign against Kadesh (or another battle; pl. 22), and helps complete the sequence of events traced in the wall's several registers.

Of particular complexity were problems posed by the frequent recutting of scenes by ancient craftsmen. So heavy was this recutting that the confused traces of figures and texts that remain produced many discrepancies in earlier copies and made their readings at best tentative. Recutting, by which here we mean the ancient alteration of a carved line or surface for aesthetic or palaeographic reasons, or because of historical, political or religious motives, occurs in every extant register on the Sety wall, although it is especially common in the lowest register on the eastern wing. The most frequent changes were those to the limbs or costumes of the king.⁴ Other, largely cosmetic alterations were made to the form of the king's chariot,⁵ or to a throne;⁶ to the gods Amon or Khonsu;⁷ to horses;⁸ to offerings;⁹ and to a charioteer.¹⁰ Changes in the figures of foreign soldiers and dependents may be seen in pls. 3, 5, 23, 29 and 34; an additional figure was perhaps added to the scene in pl. 11. Alterations to the figures of prisoners occur in pls. 6, 8, 15, 17, 35 and 36; in pl. 8, prisoners originally and erroneously depicted as Syrians were changed to Shasu Bedouins. Minor alterations in texts occur in pls. 4, 8, 17, 23, 35 and 36; changes in the names of forts and lakes in pl. 4. Other alterations of greater importance are found on pls. 6, 10, 11 and 31. Plates 15 and 17 show the replacement of Nubian names in name-rings with Asiatic ones, an order the reverse of that suggested by Müller.¹¹ In pl. 15, a number of Asiatic heads on name-rings (nos. 1*-14* and 21*) were changed to those of Nubians.

While much of the recutting on the Sety wall is "cosmetic" or of minor importance, there are cases where this is not so. The scenes on the central doorjambs (pl. 19), for instance, were all converted from raised to sunk relief when Ramesses II usurped them from his father. In the thicknesses of the doorway (pl. 20), only the king's cartouches were thus recut, in Ramesses' name; but although the figures were allowed to remain in raised relief, those of the king underwent a number of changes (perhaps already dating to the time of Sety I) that appear to have altered their posture before the gods pictured in these scenes. On this last point, see the excursus on pp. 77-78.

The most substantial interest, however, attaches to the insertion of the figures of one Mehy, a "group-marshaller" and fan-bearer of the king, and his effacement by the son of Sety I, the future Ramesses II. The sequence and, indeed, the exact nature of these alterations were misunderstood by most earlier scholars, who, solely on the basis of this recutting, postulated the existence of an older son of Sety I who was superseded by Ramesses II.¹² The importance of this recutting demanded that substantial time be spent on its study. While its precise historical

⁴Pls. 3-6, 8, 10-12, 14-15, 17, 28-29, 31 and 35-36.

⁵Pls. 3-4, 6, 11, 31 and 35.

⁶Pl. 8.

⁷Pls. 8, 14, 17, 32 and 36.

⁸Pls. 3-4, 6, 11 and 34-35.

⁹Pls. 19E, 19F and 36.

¹⁰Pl. 11.

¹¹Müller, *Eg. Res.* I 43-45.

¹²The first serious discussion was by Breasted, "Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I," *ZÄS* 37 (1899): 130-39; cf. idem, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III 59-67. A summation of Breasted's observations, noting divergent views, is found in E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, *Clio: Les peuples de l'orient Méditerranéen* 2 (Paris, 1962), pp. 387-88. The first discussion to make use of the Epigraphic Survey's findings was by William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (1977), pp. 60-61.

significance remains elusive, the surviving evidence is here presented in its entirety for the first time.¹³

Evidence that screens were attached to the wall to hide the figures of the god Amon from public view may be seen in pls. 8, 15, 32, 36 and 37.¹⁴

Along with preservation and historical importance, the Survey often uses artistic merit as a criterion for project selection, for its drawings can record not only historical content but something of the wall's aesthetic quality as well. By means of differing line weights and techniques of shading, these drawings can show, often better than photographs, those nuances of light and shade, of modelling, proportion and composition that once gave the original scene its visual impact and aesthetic appeal. We believe that the Sety wall, long regarded as one of the finest examples of monumental narrative art,¹⁵ benefits from such treatment.

Because of its artistic importance, special care was taken to carefully note and describe the minute traces of paint still to be found on the Sety wall. These colors and their distribution are described in chapter 4. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Frank Asaro, Senior Staff Member at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, several pigment samples from the wall were subjected to physical and chemical analyses. These showed the composition of pigments to be generally uniform across both wings of the wall, suggesting that a single "palette" was used in their manufacture and that the entire wall was painted at one time. The composition of the pigments tested is well within the range of those samples recorded by Lucas.¹⁶ It is hoped that further study of the chemical nature of these pigments can be conducted in the near future.

A study of the various graffiti carved on the Sety wall may be found in chapter 3.

This volume continues the practice established in the 1981 publication of the Temple of Khonsu of including lexical indices of the texts: this volume has three such indices, one of main lexical entries, one of names, and one of royal titulary, prepared by Dr. William Murnane. Dr. Murnane, who was largely responsible for the preparation of this volume, has also prepared a study of the historical aspects of the Sety reliefs which outlines a number of the conclusions drawn from this reexamination of the wall. Following the long-standing practice of the Epigraphic Survey, this contribution has been published separately (see n. 13), while the contents of this volume stand on their own to present all the evidence that pertains to the documentation of Sety I's battle reliefs.

The fine quality of the carving to be seen on the Sety wall, together with its often poor preservation, made this a particularly challenging project for the Survey's artists and epigraphers. Special thanks must be given to the staff for having so thoroughly dealt with the problems of recutting and for having shown it so clearly in the finished drawings. Particular note should be made of the drawings of the late H. Martyn Lack, and those of Grace Huxtable and Reginald H. Coleman, now retired. Thanks are also due to Rais Hagg Ibrahim, whose last completed project this was, and to the Survey's housekeeper, Susan H. Weeks, for having made the operation of Chicago House a seemingly simple task.

Finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the support granted to the Epigraphic Survey by the Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution, which paid all expenses incurred in

¹³These results are outlined by Dr. Murnane in *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Kamak*, SAOC 42 (1985).

¹⁴See especially chap. 2 (pp. 129–31) for a discussion of this feature.

¹⁵E.g., Gaballa, *Narrative*, pp. 100–106; H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement* (London, 1951), pp. 121–28. Cf. W. Stevenson Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven and London, 1965), pp. 168–71.

¹⁶Harris, *Minerals*, especially pp. 141–62.

FIELD DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

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KENT R. WEEKS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄA
Adm.
 ÄF
AfO
 ASAE
 BÄBA
 Baikie, *Eg. Antiq.*
 Barguet, *Temple*
 Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*
 BdE-IFAO
Beit el-Wali
 BES
B.H.
*Bibl., Bibl.*²
 BiOr
 von Bissing, *Denkmäler*
 von Bissing, *Einführung*
 . . . *äg. Kunst*
 Blackman, *MES*
 Boeser, *Beschreibung*
 Borchardt, *Allerhand*
Kleinigkeiten
 Breasted, *Ancient Records of*
Egypt
 Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.*
 Brugsch, *Recueil*
Bull. Soc. fr. ég.
 Burton, *Excerpta*
 Calverley and Broome,
Abydos
 Caminos, *LEM*
 Capart, *Propos*
 Capart, *Thèbes*
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Champ., *Mon.*
 Champ., *Not. descr.*
 Chicago, *Reliefs*
 Crum, *Coptic Dict.*
 Davies, *El Amarna*
 Denon, *Voyage*
Descr. Ant.
 Ebers, *Aegypten*
 Edgerton and Wilson,
 M.H. Texts
 Erman, *Die Welt am Nil*
 Firchow, *Studien*
 Frith, *Lower Egypt, Thebes*
 [&c.]
 Frith, *Egypt, Sinai and*
 Palestine
 Gaballa, *Narrative*
 Gardiner, *AEO*
 Gardiner, *E.H.T.*
 Gardiner, *Gr.*³
 Gardiner, *LEM*
 Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*
 Gauthier, *Livre des rois*
 Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*
 GM
 Gressman, *Altor. Bilder*
 Gunn, *Stud.*
 Harris, *Minerals*
 Helck, *Beziehungen*²
 Hölscher, *Excav.*
 JAOS
 JEA
 JNES
 Khonsu
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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- Kor., Gr.
KRI
Kuentz, *Bataille*
LÄ
Lacau, *Stèles*
Lange, *Äg. Kunst*
L.D.
Leclant, *Empire*
Leclant and Raccach, *Dans les pas des pharaons*
Lef., Gr.²
Mariette, *Karnak*
MÄS
Maspero, *L'arch. ég.*
Maspero, *Hist. anc.*
MDAIK
Med. Habu
Mém. Inst. d'Eg.
Meyer, *Fremdvölker*
MIFAO
Mill.
Möll., *Pal.*
Müller, *Eg. Res.*
Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*
Nelson, *Key Plans*
OIP
Pier, *Inscr. Nile Mon.*
Prisse, *L'art ég.*
RAPH-IFAO
RdE
Rec. de trav.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Robichon and Varille,
En Egypte
Ros., *Mon. stor.*
- RSO
SAK
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr. 19. Dyn.*
SAOC
Seele, *Coregency*
- Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.*
- Simons, *Handbook*
- Sitzungsb. Berlin*
- SSEA *Journal*
Steindorff, *Kunst*
Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*
- Tarchi, *L'architettura*
Teynard, *Egypte et Nubie*
Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.
Urk. IV
- Vercoutter, *L'Egypte [&c.]*
- Wb., Wb. Beleg.*
- Wilkinson, *M. and C.*
- Wilkinson, *Mat. Hiero.*
Wresz., Atlas
- ZÄS
- Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*
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1

RELIEFS PRESERVED IN SITU

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

SETY I CARVED his battle reliefs on the northern exterior walls of the hypostyle hall he had helped to build in front of Amon's temple at Karnak.¹ The available area included the north wall proper and also the two short walls that ran south from either end of it to join the northern wings of the Second and Third Pylons.² The battle reliefs occupy three out of the four registers of scenes originally carved on the wall³ and are arranged in six groups that flank the central doorway through the north wall. The lowest two registers at either side appear to culminate in the huge triumphal scenes (pls. 15, 17) that immediately adjoin the doorjambs. Only the sequences shown in the third register (pls. 22–26 on the west side, lost on the east) occupy the full space allowed for them on the north and side walls.

In all six registers of battle scenes the sequence of events proceeds towards the center of the north wall. The episodes of fighting occupy the outer extremities, and the king returns to Egypt to present his spoils and captives to the gods of Karnak in scenes that are progressively closer to the doorway. But this pattern, though roughly accurate, is by no means regular. In the bottom register on the east side, for instance, there are two battle scenes (pls. 3 and 5), interrupted by an anomalous episode wherein the king receives presents from the "chieftains of Khor" (pl. 4). The outermost scene in the register above (pl. 10) shows, not a battle, but the submissive felling of trees by the chieftains of Lebanon. The greater regularity observable on the west side may be illusory, for the north wall of the first court (built early in the Twenty-second Dynasty) abuts the western side wall and obscures all but the very top of the reliefs: all that we can tell is that the main battle scene of the third register (pl. 23) was supplemented by another (pl. 22); but the limited accessibility of the latter makes it impossible to define the relationship of these episodes.

Given these uncertainties, we have chosen to present the reliefs in the sequence in which they appear on the wall, without imposing a hypothetical order of our own. Suggestions as to the proper sequence of the scenes will be advanced in the general discussions that will precede the presentation of individual scenes from each register, but it has seemed best to favor a neutral arrangement. The same "geographical" considerations have prompted our arrangement of the units themselves: we will present first the battle scenes on the east side (beginning with the bottom register); the two triumphal scenes and the material from the doorway will follow; and

¹It is generally believed that the hypostyle hall was begun by Ramesses I, carried forward by Sety I and completed by Ramesses II: see Georges Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Brussels, 1929), pp. 156–57; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 19–22; Gerhard Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, BÄBA 9 (1970), pp. 29–61. For a different view, see Barguet, *Temple*, pp. 59–60; on which see, however, W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975): 170–83.

²For the western cross wall, see pl. 22. On the east, a change in modern times is the shifting of the Third Pylon's northern façade to the east, exposing the flagpole niches, so that it no longer joins the eastern wall of the Nineteenth Dynasty structure: see H. S. K. Bakry, "Reconstruction of the Third Pylon at Karnak," *ASAE* 60 (1968): 7–14.

³See chap. 2, pp. 128–29.

the three western registers (from top to bottom) will be dealt with last. This arrangement of the battle scenes does not reflect the Epigraphic Survey's conviction that they are to be read in this order (although a good case can be made for this opinion⁴); rather, it is adopted as the simplest and clearest way of presenting the material for study.

"Reading" the plates may be facilitated by a restatement of conventions used by the Epigraphic Survey. In all cases, the source of light is seen as coming from the upper left-hand corner. The differing impact of light against raised or sunk surfaces will be somewhat arbitrarily rendered by contrasting lighter ("sun") and darker ("shadow") lines: thus, in sunk relief the top and left sides of the figure are "shadow" lines, the bottom and right sides are "sun"; and the reverse applies to raised relief. Extreme variations in the depth of cuts (e.g., in the triumphal scenes) will be shown by means of progressively weighted "sun" and "shadow" lines. The battle reliefs are uniformly carved in sunk relief, although figures that cross other figures in the background are carved in raised relief to the extent that they overlap. The doorway was originally carved in raised relief by Sety I, but Ramesses II replaced his father's cartouches with his own (sunk relief) in the thicknesses, and the jambs were eventually all recut into sunk relief. Traces of original, suppressed elements will be shown by means of a line lighter than the usual "sun" line. It should not be difficult for the reader to disentangle several overlapping versions (e.g., pl. 29) when these occur. The borders of adjoining fields of different colors of paint will be shown by means of a dotted line, with verbal descriptions found in the commentaries on individual scenes and in chapter 4. Blocklines, damaged areas, gouges and holes have been delineated by means of a hatched "shading"; but the nature of the various interruptions of the relief is best understood by studying a photograph alongside the drawings published here.⁵ Deliberate hacking of figures is rendered by a slightly darker and less homogeneous type of shading. Finally, architectural lines framing the scenes are shown by means of a dark dashed line.

The descriptions of the plates are arranged as follows. Each one will first be given a bibliography listing (I) complete earlier copies, (II) copies of details, and (III) synthetic copies (e.g., Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*). Photographs are included under the first two categories only if they have special value, e.g., age or important details. Unpublished materials, wherever used, will be noted at the appropriate spot in the commentary; otherwise, the reader is referred to the *Bibl.* Following the bibliography, there will be a brief description of the scene in question and discussions of (i) differences between earlier copies and the relief as it is now; (ii) deliberate changes in the relief—alterations for cosmetic purposes, usurpations, additions, graffiti, hacking and *Flicksteine*; and (iii) paint, particularly on the larger figures. The paint on hieroglyphs, along with Munsell Color Chart readings, will be dealt with comprehensively in chapter 4. A translation of the texts with philological commentary concludes each section. Detailed consideration of the reliefs' historic significance will be reserved for a separate study.⁶

⁴See R. O. Faulkner, "The Wars of Sethos I," *JEA* 33 (1947): 34–39.

⁵The most easily accessible photographs are published in Wresz., *Atlas* II 34–53a; but other, unpublished sources (e.g., the private Gaddis and Seif photographs and those in the archives of the Oriental Institute, Chicago) are also useful. The older photographs are especially valuable in that they were made before the damaged areas on the wall, including holes for *Flicksteine*, were filled with modern cement, so the nature of the damage can be seen more clearly on these photographs than it can at the wall today.

⁶W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, SAOC 42 (1985).

THE EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER:
THE SHASU CAMPAIGN
(PLATES 2–8)

Of the five campaigns preserved, this is the only one to be given a date; and since it is placed in Sety's first regnal year (pls. 3:1, 6:1), it is likely to have been the first of those fought during his reign.¹ The reliefs themselves vividly depict the king's battles against the Shasu Bedouin in south Palestine, and additional interest derives from the series of forts and wells that runs continuously through the second, third and fourth scenes along the bottom of the north wall: these place names, though badly damaged today, can be generally identified with the installations named in Papyrus Anastasi I's account of the Egyptian military road to Palestine and are hence of inestimable value to students of ancient topography.²

Further study of these scenes throws into relief a number of problems, the first being the sequence in which they are to be read. The texts, for instance, appear to move in a direction contrary to that of the scenes they accompany: Sety hears of disturbances among the Shasu above the scene illustrating his triumphant return to Egypt (pl. 6:3–9), and the full extent of the campaign is only revealed at what is spatially the outermost point of the series, on the eastern side wall (pl. 3:1–5). To be sure, the scenes themselves are laid out in a roughly sequential order: the battle scenes proper are furthest from the central doorway through the north wall, and successive stages in the campaign proceed in order towards this latter point. Between the two battle scenes, however, we find a curious episode in which the king receives presents from the "chieftains of Khor" (pl. 4). Since the campaign is described in terms of "the devastation which the energetic forearm of Pharaoh . . . made (against) the Shasu enemies, from the fortress of Tcharu to the Canaan" (pl. 3:1–5), the two battles could reflect a series of skirmishes along the "Ways of Horus." The tribute scene may be interpreted either as an event that occurred between these two battles³ or as an interpolation, representing the logical outcome of the war in Palestine and placed between the battle scenes to avoid monotony in the composition.⁴

In any event, there are at least two sequences to be discerned in the reliefs, each with a logic of its own. The texts, for instance, move away from Egypt towards Palestine as the campaign unfolds. The scenes fall into two complementary groups—the aftermath of the fighting nearest the central doorway of the north wall; and the battle scenes, moving in an opposite direction.⁵ A modern historian might be tempted to read the texts in one order (pls. 6, 5, 3, 4, 8) and the scenes in another (pls. 5, 3, 4, 6, 8),⁶ but it is very unlikely that the Egyptians did so. Text and pictures form a single tableau in which, for most observers, the picture dominates. Each episode as a whole can thus present complementary aspects of its rhetorical point, which is the king's role as defender of Egypt. Given this perspective, the coexistence of accounts

¹See W. J. Murnane, "The Accession Date of Sethos I," *Serapis* 3 (1975–76): 23–33.

²A. H. Gardiner, "The Ancient Egyptian Military Road between Egypt and Palestine," *JEA* 6 (1920): 99–116.

³Thus, for example, Gaballa, *Narrative*, pp. 100–101.

⁴Scenes are disordered for essentially graphic reasons in representations of the Min Feast at the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu: see *Med. Habu* IV 205, 213–14; and W. J. Murnane, *United with Eternity: A Concise Guide to the Monuments at Medinet Habu* (Cairo, 1981), pp. 37–38.

⁵This reversed sequence (noted by Gaballa, *Narrative*, pp. 101–102, 121) is explained by the ritual necessity to show the enemies of Egypt as repelled from the sacred building, in this case from the hypostyle hall itself: see H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II, The Orientation of the Hieroglyphs, Part 2: Reversals* (New York, 1977), p. 46, n. 119.

⁶The place names on the military road form a minor sequence, to be read from right to left (pls. 6, 5, 4) or vice versa.

dealing with the campaign's beginning and its end in one unit conflicts neither with the overall purpose of the scene nor with its placement on the wall. So thoroughly do various sequences clash in this register, however, that we are inclined to view the campaigning scenes as a unit, with only the final thanksgiving at Karnak (pl. 8) standing apart.⁷ Any division into sequential episodes reflects, at best, the exigencies of modern study rather than the integrity of the original composition.

Other problems in this register concern the nature of the Shasu campaign and its precise date, particularly in relation with the other wars of Sety's earlier reign. In order not to mix the epigraphic record with matters of a more speculative nature, we have confined our discussion of these questions to a separate study.⁸

⁷Despite its episodic arrangement, then, this account of the campaign would have fewer affinities with the more straightforward narratives of the other Sety battle reliefs or with the wars of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu; and somewhat more with the more freely constructed reliefs that depict the Battle of Kadesh (as described by Gaballa, *Narrative*, pp. 116–19).

⁸Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, SAOC 42 (1985).

PLATE 3

KING SETY I ATTACKING SHASU BEDOUIN
NEAR A TOWN IN CANAAN

- I. *Descr. Ant.* III 40 [6].
 Champ., *Not. descr.* II 86–87.
 Idem, *Mon.* ccxc 1.
 Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlviii 2.
 L. D. III 126 a.
 Wresz., *Atlas* II 34, 39.
- II. *Descr. Ant.* III 40 [1] (fan), [4] (fort).
 Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 189, 191–93, 320.
 Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:16, 33–44 (name of fort and text of year 1).
 Müller, *Eg. Res.* II 20, fig. 3 (Shasu woman and child).
 Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* 48 [4] (fort).
 Burton, *Excerpta*, pl. xvii [2, i] (name of fort).
 Wilkinson, *Mat. Hiero.* II, pl. vii [8] (name of fort).
 Brugsch, *Geog. Inscr.* I, pl. xlvii [1265] (names in main text).
- III. Guicysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 54–55.
 Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. *Dyn.*, pp. 3–4.
KRI I 8.
 Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 57–59, pls. V G–H.

Sety I, dressed in a lappet wig, stands in his chariot and shoots arrows as he charges into a mass of Shasu Bedouin in the hills of Canaan. Over the king's head is a sun-disk with irradiating cobras and ankh-signs. Additional protection for the royal figure is supplied by a small ankh holding a flabellum (behind king) and, above his head, by the vulture Nekhbet (right) and the falcon Horus of Edfu (left). The Shasu are characteristically garbed in kilts that end above the knee, some of them having also cuirasses (represented by horizontal strips across the chest and belly). Most of the warriors have their hair bound simply with a headband, but others wear headcloths that cover the hair and hang down shapelessly behind the neck.¹ One man (on the hill at the top left, pulling his companion up by the arms) is notable in having his long hair unbound and streaming below his ears. The Shasu are armed with spears and axes, the blades of the latter having two circular perforations, presumably to admit the thongs by which they were attached to the handle.² Most of the warriors have been overcome by the king's arrows, lying trampled under his chariot, or have turned to flee. One of the men on the hill holds out his arms in supplication, while another breaks his spear in token of submission. Behind them we see a fortress with adjacent trees and a moat. Two vignettes stand out from the bottom left corner. Near the base of the hill two veterans commiserate with one another over the loss of their right hands. Below we see a Shasu woman with her daughter,³ the former raising her arms (lost) in terror at the Egyptians' approach.⁴

¹See in general Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 241–58.

²See Eva Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*, MÄS 15 (1969), pp. 39, 43, 46, 130 ("Katalog R," no. 86).

³The child's sex seems not to be in doubt from the rendering of the figure. Müller, *Eg. Res.* II 20 came to the same conclusion.

⁴Cf. the Nubian battle scene at the Temple of Beit el-Wali (*Beit el-Wali*, pl. 8), in which a child is seen running to report the defeat to women in the Nubian camp.

The very bottom of the scene was presumably covered by debris when it was copied in the nineteenth century, for these drawings omit both the Shasu warriors trampled under the horses' back hooves (bottom right) and the vignette of mother and daughter (left) first noted by Müller. The head of the king and part of the horse's harness, although carved on *Flicksteine* that are now missing, are shown complete in Champollion's and Rosellini's copies. Conceivably they were still in situ in 1829, but it is just as possible that the draughtsmen added these details to enhance the drawing.⁵ The scene as a whole has suffered little since the last century: there has been some loss in the main text (see below), but even here most of the damage antedates the Franco-Tuscan expedition.

The scene underwent a number of cosmetic changes before it was finished. Remains of the king's wig, neck and uraeus have been shifted up and forward; thus, the head was enlarged. The interior lines of the horses' lower front legs were adjusted downward, presumably to make all four legs the same width. The upper edge of the javelin case on the chariot was raised in order to give this feature more definition and to compensate for the bending lines of the original javelins (especially the upper of the two): the whole area was finally painted green. Tassels were added below the horse's body, suppressing the original Shasu figures where the lines crossed, and the harness strap between these tassels was lengthened: the original bottom of this strap is still intact on the horse's body, however, so this correction must have been made in plaster to avoid the problems connected with recarving over the deepening surface of the horse's belly as it approaches the very deep inner edge of the cut. Finally, at the bottom left corner, the child's left hand (i.e., viewer's right) was erased, with a stump carved in its place, like those of the two warriors above.

As indicated earlier in this discussion, part of the harness inside the horse's body and most of the king's head were carved on *Flicksteine* that were inserted into the wall with plaster. This device is frequently employed elsewhere in these reliefs where an important feature (e.g., a face) is cut across by blocklines.⁶

The falcon with its associated texts above the horses may not have been part of the scene as it was originally conceived: these elements are carved with a noticeably lighter touch than the rest of the scene, and it is possible they represent later additions, inserted to balance the vulture behind the king and to fill an unacceptably empty space.

The only deliberate vandalism in this scene occurs in line 13 of the text, where the third-*h* and the quailchick of *nhwt* were partly hacked out.

The four graffiti that were placed around the king's figure (two of them names and titles in hieratic) will be dealt with in chapter 3.

Many traces of paint survive in the deep outer cuts of the figures and hieroglyphs.⁷ Flesh tones (on king, Shasu and horses) are invariably rendered in red. The figures of the Shasu seem to have been given a uniform coating of red, with the costumes (in different colors) painted on afterwards. The kilt appears to have been painted green or (in at least one example) blue, perhaps with a red fringe. The cuirass was painted blue, green or yellow (each represented by one example). Their hair was apparently red, but the cap of the figure who stands on the hill, breaking his spear, is blue. The shaft of the king's arrow is painted red; the feathers are yellow. Part of the javelin case on the chariot is painted green, but the chariot is otherwise denuded of

⁵Cf. Champ., *Mon.* ccxc (head completed) and the contemporary Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlvii 2 (head broken, as it is today).

⁶Cf. pls. 6 (king's head, with the *Flickstein* still in place), 11 (enemies under horses' front legs), 15 (head of Amon), 17C (head of Amon), 20D (head of king), 29 (king's face), 32 (same) and 34 (same).

⁷In the descriptions of the scenes that follow, paint will be noted only in the figures. Painted hieroglyphs will be dealt with systematically in chap. 4. The color tones found in the battle reliefs as a whole were consistently the same, with variations due to fading or the presence of soil on the wall. General terms such as "red," "green," "blue" and "yellow" will be employed in these discussions, but correlations with the color tones of the Munsell Color Chart will also be found in the fourth chapter.

paint. The interior of the king's cartouche (nomen) inside the "box" was painted yellow, as was the fort on the hill. The vulture's feathers were blue, while its back (adjoining the neck) was red.

A layer of plaster covered the relief at a number of places in this scene—notably, over the owl-*m* in col. 7, over the words *dl.s* associated with the vulture goddess behind the king, and inside the king's head, above the cavity for the *Flickstein* and running down into it. This last example may thus represent the plaster in which the new stone was lodged, and some effort to make this element a homogeneous part of the whole with paint on plaster could be expected. The hieroglyphs would hardly need this treatment, however, nor were they suppressed in the final version. As an alternative, it seems more likely that this plaster was applied when the wall was used to support later dwellings built against it (see below, pp. 131–33).

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

MAIN TEXT

¹Regnal year one (of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menma'atre: the devas[tation]^a
²which the energetic forearm of Pharaoh—may he live, prosper and be healthy!—made (of)^b
 [th]e ³Shasu enemies, from ⁴the fortress of Tcharu to the ⁵Canaan. His Majesty ⁶[prev]ailed
 over^c them like a fierce ⁷lion, (being) one who made them into heaps of corpses throughout
⁸their valleys, overthrown in their blood as though ⁹(they) had not come into being.^d All who
 escaped from the tips of his fingers ¹⁰[t]ell of^e his strength to distant foreign lands, ¹¹(this)
 being the strength of his father Amon "who has decreed [for] you^f ¹²valor and victory over
 every foreign land."

ABOVE HORSES

¹³The first great span of His Majesty, (called) "Great of Victories in Thebes."

ON FORTRESS

¹⁴A (or The) town of Canaan.^g

BY HORUS

The Behdetite, the Lord of Heaven, as he gives life, stability, dominion and health like Re.

BY NEKHBT

Nekhbet the White of Hieraconpolis, as she gives life.

BY KING

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menma'atre, the Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, given life
 like Re, beloved of Montu (and) Ast[ar]te.^h

^aReading *p*³ [b]f, following Wresz., *Atlas* II 39. The wall was already damaged here when Champollion made his copy (Champ., *Mon.* III ccxc 1; idem, *Not. descr.* II 86).

^bThis break also antedates Champollion's time. There seems to be no room for the preposition *r*, seeing that the initial *n* and the top of the aleph for *n*³.*n* must be fitted in as well. For a similar construction, in which a direct object follows the defined infinitive + relative form, see Jaroslav Černý and Sarah Israelit-Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Studia Pohl, Series Maior 4 (Rome, 1975), pp. 492–93 (= examples 1396–97).

^cReading *lw hm.f hr [sh]m* *r.sn*, as suggested by Wresz., *Atlas* II 39. The text was scarcely any better preserved when Champollion copied it.

^dThis is probably a contraction of *mł ntyw n hpr* (*Urk.* IV 7, 6), where the desired subject is also omitted: see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, § 201).

^eRead [s]dd: there is room for a bolt-*s* at the bottom of col. 9, but the sign was already lost when Champollion made his copy.

^fThe signs *n.k* were seen by Rosellini (*Mon. stor.* xlviii b) and by Champollion (see references in n. *a* above).

^gSee Gardiner, *JEA* 6 (1920): 100; but cf. pl. 10:31.

^hReading *Mnt(w)* [ʕʔst[r]t]. Wreszinsky's proposed *Mn[hy]t* (*Atlas* II 39, followed by *KRI* I 8:14) is ruled out by the traces. In Egypt, Astarte is frequently associated with Reshep, who, at Thebes, is identified with Montu: see Rainer Stadelmann, *Syrish-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 5 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 56–58, 101–10.

PLATE 4

KING SETY I IN HIS CHARIOT, RECEIVING TRIBUTE
FROM ASIATIC PRINCES

- I. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 90.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 1.
L. D. III 126 b.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 40, 41.
- II. Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 39 [lower].
Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 194, 197–98, 321.
Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:17–19a (forts and wells), 20 (col. 8).
Gardiner in *JEA* 6 (1920): pl. xii [N–T] (forts and wells).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 57–58.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. *Dyn.*, p. 4.
KRI I 7–8.
Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 52–53, pl. V C.

The king, standing in his chariot, receives presents from the Syrian dignitaries ranged at the left side of the scene. Unlike the scrawny Shasu of the preceding scene, these men are sleek and are clothed in flowing robes.¹ The long hair worn by most of these figures is nicely contrasted to the baldness of the man at the lower left, but all wear luxuriant beards and have fillets binding their foreheads. One man (now lost) lay prostrate before the king: one of his hands, upraised in adoration, can be seen to the left of the chariot wheel. An array of elaborate metal vessels,² symbolizing the Syrians' tribute, is placed in front of the fortress on the hill (top left).³ Other forts and wells located on the Egyptian road to Asia are seen above and below the horses on the right. The king, outfitted in the Blue Crown with long streamers attached to the back, grips with his left hand the horses' reins, his bow and his scimitar, while turning to face the Syrians to his right (i.e., viewer's left). Above his head there is a sun-disk, from either side of which issues a cobra having an ankh looped around its tail. The chariot and the horses are equipped in the same manner as they are elsewhere in these reliefs: although the chariot is at rest, note that the horses' forward legs, front and back, are raised above the others (resting on the baseline), as if the animals were pawing the ground in impatience.

The scene was already much damaged when the earliest copies were made. Both Rosellini and Lepsius saw more of the king's figure (i.e., his backside) and of his chariot, as well as the horses' rumps. Lepsius also recorded the king's foot (omitted by Rosellini) and the bottom of his sandal (lost today). The kneeling figures at the bottom left were also extant, but their position in the two copies is so contradictory in detail that they must have been difficult to see. Two fragmentary columns of the Syrians' speech (located below the ornamental vessels to the king's left) are preserved in Rosellini's copy. On the other hand, no early copyist saw the fortress and the well between the horses' back legs and their tails: the spacing of Rosellini's copy is at least correct (although he omits the chariot pole and the bottoms of the tails, both

¹Cf. the Asiatics in the register above (pls. 11–14).

²For similar vessels, see below, pls. 8, 14, 26, 32, 36.

³The name of this town was broken in the earliest copies: for a suggested identification, see below, n. m of translation.

recorded by Lepsius and preserved today), but the German draughtsman eliminated the empty space by shortening the distance between the tails and the back legs.

The alterations to the scene affect both its form and content. The chariot wheel, having been carved too far to the right, was adjusted: the most drastic correction lay over the chariot itself at the top right, where the original curve (in raised relief) was shaved and moved down. The bottom right edge (sunk) received only a slight plaster fill to align it with the new version above. The reins, too, had been carved too low, perhaps to avoid crossing the line of text above: this problem was solved in the second version (more lightly carved than the first) by causing the reins to bend upwards, just skirting the bottom left corner of the text, then bending them even more sharply to join the hand at the proper place. Traces of red paint survive in this final version. A minor adjustment was made to the hinder thighs of the horses, that of the second horse (background) being made wider: this change, made on raised relief, was simply accomplished by shaving the surface down to the required width.

The most drastic cosmetic change was to the king's head, which was both enlarged and made higher. These changes most obviously affect outer cuts of the neck and profile on the left: a good deal of the original face (lips, chin, brow, ear) survives inside, no doubt because much of the final revision was done in plaster. At the same time, the crown was raised in several stages: traces of two versions (visor, back bottom) can be seen inside the head, as is also true of the uraeus's coils. The serpent's body was raised and thrust further left (like the entire head), with the head of the original version being reused as the final snake's chest. The proportions of the Blue Crown were evidently a problem for the sculptors, since the upper part of the helm was manifestly raised twice. The streamer also shows signs of two upward alterations to join the recut head. These changes can barely be followed today, and much of the damage to the head can be interpreted as keying for a final version cut mostly in plaster.

Other changes affect the content of the relief. One of these, in col. 2, is purely mechanical: the "shoulder" of the 'ayin was adapted from the second of two erroneous dual strokes. More significant, however, are the changes in the names of the forts and wells, some of which were either altered or suppressed altogether. Under the horses, for instance, the hieroglyphs inside the lakes (lines 17, 19) were filled with plaster, while the legends above (lines 18, 20)—presumably relating to the forts—were either retained or carved freshly at this time. The most complicated set of changes occurred at the top, above the horses' backs. The inscription inside the fortress on the hill (col. 14) was filled with plaster, a window being carved over it inside the upper tower. The baseline of the hill on which the fort rests was next keyed for plaster—part of the fill still survives—and the entire group brought into closer relationship with what is below. This latter element consists of an irregularly shaped body of water, partly enclosed at its upper left corner by two concentric rings, presumably some kind of fortification:⁴ both units were originally painted blue. The text inside the lake (line 15) and also the rings were then filled with plaster, and a coat of red paint was added over this: traces survive along the top and innermost edges of the rings, although it is possible that the lake was meant to retain its blue color and that the invading traces of red were fortuitous. The inscription over the lake is clearly secondary, being carved through the rings: note that □ is 5 mm deeper than the surrounding surface of the wall, yet carved at the same depth as 𓂏 outside. The lost parts were carved directly onto the plaster fill and did not penetrate the stone beneath. In the final version, then, line 16 designated the region encompassed by the fort and the lake, the separate names of these

⁴The defenses surrounding the city of Kadesh are similarly rendered, appearing to be both earthworks and moats (see Kuentz, *Bataille*, pls. xxxv, xl–xlii, for the contrasting renderings at Luxor, the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel). The blue color employed here suggests a pair of moats, fed by the lake and defending the sensitive area nearest the fort at the upper left corner.

THE SHASU CAMPAIGN

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elements being suppressed. The lake seems to have been shown lying at the foot of the hill (which was uniformly painted red). The sides of the hill (below the king's scimitar on the left, below the original hillside on the right) must have been added in paint, for there are no traces of carved lines. Notably, the three final names of the fortified wells in this scene (lines 16, 18, 20) all incorporate the throne name of Sety I. This change in the topographical names would doubtless commemorate his victories in the area, and the relief was conceivably reworked at the same time as the palimpsest name-rings in the triumph scenes (pls. 15 and 17: see below, pp. 49–50, 59).

Very little color survives within the figures of this scene. The lakes (and the original rings under line 16) were blue, and—as stated above—the final versions of the hill and the reins were painted red. Traces of yellow (representing gold) were found in the deep outlines of the ornamental vessels at the upper left. The bags were red (left) and blue (right). One of the Asiatics below had a red beard. The king wore a blue shirt, and the struts of his chariot were painted green (to represent leather?). The horses' skins were red, and the manes apparently dyed into contrasting sections of red and blue. The ovals and plumes on the headdresses were also in alternating blue and red, the two elements contrasting as much as their unequal number permitted them to do.

The only malicious damage to which the scene was subjected was the hacking of the Seth-animal in Sety's nomen during later antiquity.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY KING

¹The Good God, who achieves with his (own) two arms, a bowman^a like Montu residing in Thebes, [a mighty bull, sharp-horned and firm-hearted, has] pounded^b ²Asia and has made his borders according to his heart's desire: his arm is not opposed ³in any lands. The victorious king, who protects ⁴Egypt and breaches ⁵fortifications ⁶in the rebellious coun⁷tries, ⁸he causes the chieftains of Khor to cease ⁹all the boasting of their mouths, his arm being mighty in ¹⁰valor and victory,^c his strength being like (that of) the Son of Nut.

BY CHIEFTAINS

¹¹[Words] spoken b[y the chieftains of . . . , ^{11a}"Every country is beneath your sandals. . . ."]^d

ABOVE HORSES

¹²The first great span of His Majesty (called) "Amon decrees Valor for him," ¹³(also) ca[ll]ed "Anath is content."

FORTS AND WELLS

¹⁴The town which His Majesty built anew at the well (called) *Hwtwti*.^e

¹⁵[The "Seja" (?)^f (of) Rabat.^g

¹⁶The stronghold [of] Menma'atre-Iua're.^h

¹⁷The well (called) "Sweet."ⁱ

¹⁸The well (called) "Menma'atre, great of victories."^j

¹⁹"Nekhes of the Prince."^k

²⁰The Well (of) Menma'atre.^l

²¹The town of. . . .^m

^aThe completeness of this passage in Champ., *Not. descr.* II 90 is misleading, since Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 1 shows damage that is just about as extensive as what is seen today.

^bThe *lb* above *lilil* was seen by Rosellini and also by Lepsius (L. D. III 126 b); both groups are omitted in Champollion's copy. Possible restorations include "mighty bull, sharp-horned and stout-hearted (*k³ nht, spd-hnty, shm-lb*: cf. below, pl. 34:14 = *KRI* I 18:1) or "mighty bull, sharp-horned and firm-hearted (*mn-lb*: see below, pl. 35:3-6 = *KRI* I 18:8). The latter appears to be far more likely, based on the parallel for the entire passage on the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall (see *KRI* II 166:6-9).

^cFor this abbreviated writing of *nht* see below, pl. 31:22, and n. i.

^dWords restored in italics correspond to traces seen by Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 1, but which are now lost.

^eInterpreting the feet as belonging to a quailchick-*w*. The *t* is in none of the early copies. Gardiner's proposed reading, *Hbrt* (*JEA* 6 [1920]: 112), seems unlikely.

^fReading, tentatively, *[y]m*. The earlier reading in this space of *hw-* (Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* IV 21) appears to be unfounded.

^g*R-b³-il*, an unknown locality in northern Sinai; not to be confused with Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* III 117, "Rabatou."

This inscription was suppressed with plaster.

^hThis inscription, the probable replacement for line 15, was partly carved in plaster that has now disappeared.

ⁱInscription suppressed in plaster.

^jReplacing line 17; serving to designate both the fort and the well?

^kOr possibly *n³ hs(.w)* = *Wb.* III 332:4-5, "The Springs (?) of the Prince" (cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I 9*, where it is translated as "runnel"). This is probably the same location as the *N³-h³-s³* of Pap. Anastasi I's itinerary between Egypt and Palestine (Gardiner, *JEA* 6 [1920]: 112-13). This inscription seems to have been suppressed with plaster.

^lReplacing line 19.

^mProbably "Raphia" (see Gardiner, *JEA* 6 [1920]: 113).

PLATE 5

KING SETY I DEFEATING SHASU BEDOUIN ON THE ROAD TO GAZA

- I. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 90–91.
 Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 2.
 L. D. III 127 a.
 Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III 44, fig. 2.
 Wresz., *Atlas* II 40, 42.
- II. Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 39.
 Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 195, 199, 200.
 L. D. Text III 19 (part of main text).
 Wilkinson in *JEA* 2 (1915): 142 (fort).
 Gardiner in *JEA* 6 (1920): pl. xii [I–M] (forts).
 Maspero, *L'arch. ég.* (1887 ed.), pl. 34; (1907 ed.), pl. 35 (fort).
 Brugsch, *Recueil* xlviii c (main text).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 58–59.
 Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. Dyn., p. 4.
 KRI I 6–7.
 Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 44–45, 50–52, pl. V B.

The king stands in his war chariot and shoots volleys of arrows as he charges into the mass of fleeing Shasu. He is garbed simply, wearing a lappet wig and having the horses' reins lashed around his waist to leave his hands free for combat. Above his head is a sun-disk with irradiating *ḥb*- and *wš*-signs as well as two uraei both wearing plumed crowns and having *šn*-signs looped around their tails. To the right of this the vulture goddess Nekhbet extends her protection over the king: from her talons hangs a hieroglyphic rebus with the general sense of "encompassing (*šn*) myriads of years and jubilees." A wide fan held by a humanoid ankh-figure (this mostly lost) protects the king's rear.¹ The desert hills on which the encounter takes place are suggested by the background, in particular the scrubby bushes seen at the left side. Forts and wells associated with the Egyptian military road to Asia are seen in the lower part of the scene.

Of the two early drawings, Rosellini's is the more scrupulous in showing the condition of the wall, but Lepsius made more of the traces, particularly of the figures, forts and wells in the lower part of the scene. The topographical legends for the most part omitted by the Italian are given in Lepsius's copy, and the main text is much improved. The upper part of the wall has not suffered much over the last century and a half. Rosellini showed the space for the *Flickstein* behind the chariot (a feature ignored by Lepsius), but neither copyist saw the traces of the topographical name just to the right of this cavity. It is difficult to tell whether the area below this was destroyed as it is today or whether the chariot wheel was actually complete as recorded in both versions. Notably, though, Rosellini is the only copyist to have recorded the body of water under col. 15 of the adjoining scene to the right and which possibly is to be connected to the fragmentary place name just noted. Overall, the bottom of the scene was much better preserved even in Lepsius's day, but the differences in detail between the German and Italian copies suggest that the relief was difficult to interpret even then.

¹Cf. pls. 28, 29, 31, 34.

The carving of the scene is straightforward, employing sunk relief for the outlines of the figures and raised relief to denote interior detail or the crossing of one element over another. An interesting variant of this method may perhaps be found in the king's arrows, which are rendered as eight slender shafts projecting from his quiver. Perhaps some of the arrows (raised surfaces) are lying over the others (sunk), although it would be more common to find this more subtly done within the outline of the mass rendered in deep sunk relief. Alternatively, the arrows may be schematically shown here as eight individual shafts.

Cosmetic alterations to the figures are fewer than in the adjoining scene to the left. The king's head, once again, has been widened to the left and made higher (the top of the head being raised twice to achieve a more satisfactory proportion). The facial features were only minimally adjusted, however, the lips merely being extended to meet the new profile. Two of the Shasu—the figure emerging from behind the fortress under the horse's belly (col. 18) and the falling man transfixed by an arrow just to the left of this—have also been raised. The final lines in all cases are shallower than those of the original versions.

Color survives only in the very deep cuts of the horses' bodies (which are red) and at the upper left corner of the scene: here, the figures' cuirasses and kilts are green; their flesh and the side of the hill are red. Malicious damage, again, is confined to the late-Pharaonic hacking of the Seth-figure in the king's second cartouche.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

ABOVE THE SCENE

¹The Good God, a sun for Egypt, ²a moon for all flat lands, ³a Montu upon the hill countries—⁴he is not overcome! ⁵Stout-hearted like Ba'al—there is none ⁶who can turn against him (on) the day of joining ⁷combat.^a He has ⁸expanded the boundaries of ⁹Egypt ¹⁰to the limit of the sky ¹¹on every side. (As for) the hills^b of ¹²the rebels, they could not be passed because of^c ¹³the Shasu enemies ¹⁴who were attacking [him].^d His Majesty ¹⁵cap[tur]ed [th]em^e entirely, [down to] the very last ¹⁶one.^f

BY NEKHBT

Nekhet the White of Hierakonpolis.

FORTS AND WELLS

¹⁷. . . math.^g

¹⁸The Castle of Menma'atre. . . .^h

¹⁹The [Stronghold] of Sety-[Mer]ne[ptah].ⁱ

²⁰[The town which] His Majesty [built] a[ne]w.^j

²¹The well (called) Yeksekhe.^k

²²The Well of Sety-Merneptah.

^aReading *ts n sky* (see Champ., *Not. descr.* II 91, top, and L. D. III 127 a; but Lepsius and Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 2 interpreted the traces at the top of col. 7 as *mn*). One must distinguish here between two meanings, "marshall troops" and "join combat" (*Adm.*, p. 20; *Wb.* V 398, 9 and 404, 5–6); and, owing to inconsistent spellings and frequent omission of precise determinatives, this is not easy to do. In Kuentz, *Bataille*, pp. 304, § 277 and 305, § 280, *skww* (spelled *skyw* in the papyrus copy) clearly means "troops," and *skw* seems to be the more usual spelling when this sense is meant (*Adm.*, p. 20; cf. *Mill.* 2, 7). The other meaning, "combat," is spelled *sky* in Gardiner, *E.H.T.*, p. 27, 17, and in *Med. Habu* II 79, 7–8 and 80, 10–11, and for that reason it is preferred here. The use of the genitive *n* (?) after *ts* is odd. It might be explained as part of a *sdm.n.f* relative = *hrw ts.n.(i) sky*, "the day (on which) (I) joined battle" (see in particular Gardiner, *Gr.*³, p. 307, bottom), but to do so would



involve accepting the omission both of the suffix pronoun and of the desired resumptive pronoun (although see *ibid.*, § 385).

^bThe signs under the horses' plumes were missed by the nineteenth century copyists, though Wresz., *Atlas* II 42 saw *n3* . . . , and *KRI* I 7:1 reads *n3 ts*. . . . The translation "hills" presumes that we have the same word as in pl. 6:6 below, restoring a wedge to the right of the *t* (*Wb.* V 401).

^cReading *lw n rh*. [*tw*] ¹*sw3*.*sn m-*, etc. The space under *rh* permits restoring *t* + curl-*w* or even a quailchick on the scale of the example in *wnw*, col. 14. The abbreviated spelling of *sw3* is common (*Wb.* IV 60, bottom): there seems not to be room for the restoration *n rh*. [*tw smt*].*sn* proposed by Helck in his review of *KRI* in *BiOr* 28 (1971): 323. For a similar use of the rare *lw n sm.f* see *Urk.* IV 38, 11; cf. Gardiner, *Gr.*³, § 468.

^dRead *wnw hr t(k)n lm*. [*f*]; for a more frequent abbreviation of *tkn* see pl. 15:26.

^eReading tentatively *h3[k s]n*. Neither the strong arm nor the *n* were seen by earlier copyists. Helck's restoration in *BiOr* 28 (1971): 323 (*t(k)n* [*t3 m*]-*h3 hm.f*) again requires too much space and does not fit the traces.

^fReading [*r*] *spyt n lwty*: see *Wb.* III 439, 18, and Mahmoud-Hamza, *La lecture de l'adjectif relatif négatif*  *et sa syntaxe comparée avec celle de l'adjectif relatif*  (Cairo, 1929), pp. 28–29.

^gReading [. . .]*m*^c*t* + determinatives as in pl. 5:21; only the front (= right) half of the column is preserved. (Cf., for example, "Hamath" in Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* IV 11.) These traces were not seen by any earlier copyist, though Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 2 was the only one who noticed the fort and well (now gone) behind the chariot. The rest of this name was cut onto the *Flickstein* to the left.

^hEarlier copyists saw *t3 i3* [...] *s3.f*, "The . . . his protection," although a reading of *s3-ntr* by Wilkinson is recorded in "Letters to Sir William Gell from Henry Salt, [Sir] J. G. Wilkinson, and Baron Von Bunsen," *JEA* 2 (1915): 142. For the other variants see Gardiner, "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine," *JEA* 6 (1920): 111, n. 1.

ⁱReading *p3 [nht] n Sty [Mr]n[pth]*, seen complete by most early copyists. Perhaps it is the same installation as that which was known in the reign of Ramesses II as "In his Stronghold (is) Userma'atre" (Gardiner, *JEA* 6 [1920]: 111).

^jReading [*dmi kd.n*].*hm.f m* [*m3*]*w*, of which everything but the final *w* was seen (collectively) by earlier copyists.

^kThis place is also mentioned in the itinerary of Pap. Anastasi I, where it is coupled with a place called *Sbr* or *Sbl* (Gardiner, *JEA* 6 [1920]: 111).

PLATES 6-7

KING SETY I RETURNING TO EGYPT WITH SHASU PRISONERS
AND BEING WELCOMED AT THE BORDER BY PRIESTS
AND HIGH OFFICIALS

- I. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 91-94.
Idem, *Mon.* ccxcii (omitting "reception committee").
Ros., *Mon. stor.* 1-li.
L. D. III 128.
Burton, *Excerpta*, pl. xxxvi.
Ebers, *Ägypten* II 26 (omitting prisoners on left).
Wresz., *Atlas* II 40, 43, 150b.
Von Bissing, *Einführung . . . äg. Kunst*, pl. xvii [left].
- II. Mallon in *Orientalia* 3 (1921): 154, fig. 41 (captives, canal, men acclaiming).
Erman, *Die Welt am Nil*, pl. 37 (captives, canal, men acclaiming).
Gressmann, *Altor. Bilder* (1927 ed.), pl. xxxix [89] (first two rows of captives).
Maspero, *Hist. anc.* II 123 (canal).
Idem, *L'arch. ég.* (1887 ed.), fig. 39; (1907 ed.), fig. 40 (bridge).
Breasted in *ZÄS* 37 (1899): 131, fig. 5 = idem, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III 66, fig. 5 (prince).
L. D. *Text* III 19 (prince).
Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:25, 26 (cols. 4, 16).
Gardiner in *JEA* 6 (1920): 100-101 and pl. xi [A-H] (forts and canal).
Wilkinson in *JEA* 2 (1915): 141-42 (forts).
Brugsch, *Geog. Inscr.* I xlviii [1266] (forts).
Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 196, 201, 202, 322, 323.
- III. Guicysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 59-61.
Brugsch, *Recueil* xlviii d, xlix a, b.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. *Dyn.*, pp. 5-6.
KRI I 9-10.
Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 41-43, 47-50, pl. V A.

Sety I proceeds in triumph towards the Egyptian border. Clad simply (as in most of his scenes of combat) and wearing a lappet wig, he stands erect in his chariot, his scimitar gripped in his right hand, while holding his bow, the prisoners' lead ropes and the horses' reins in his left. His quiver, appropriately enough, contains no arrows. Shasu prisoners lie on the chariot's floor, their heads protruding from the back, while three other men follow. Nekhbet the vulture goddess hovers over the king, a *šn*-sign held in her talons, as she extends "life, stability and dominion." A place of honor in the royal following belongs to a prince (bottom left) who marches behind the chariot, his fan slung across his right shoulder (see below, pp. 19-20 for more on this figure). A series of fortified wells (now mostly lost) extended along the lower edge of the scene. Three rows of Shasu march in front of the chariot towards the border, marked by a canal: crocodiles lurk in its waters, and the marshes surrounding it are suggested by reeds lining its edge. A compound on the Asiatic side is apparently a parade ground, having

a gate at either end (east and west) and also a reviewing stand.¹ More extensive buildings can be seen on the Egyptian side across the bridge. The triumphal procession is met on the western side by "the priests, officials and commanders of Upper and Lower Egypt." The clergy in the top row, set off by their shaven heads and the severe cut of their robes, present bouquets to the monarch, some of them bowing low as they do so. The lay officials ranged underneath (all—with one exception—bewigged and wearing flowing garments) raise their arms in adoration at the sovereign's approach.

The last one hundred and fifty years have not dealt kindly with this part of the wall. Virtually all of the lowest parts of the scene are now missing, and the areas around the blocklines have suffered as well. It is clear from the earlier copies that the lower row of officials at the right end was substantially complete, but the disintegration of the wall had probably begun already: Champollion, notably, failed to record the group 'š3w at the bottom of col. 16, although it survives in Burton's and Rosellini's (and, still later, in Lepsius's) copies. Moreover, the slight differences in all three renderings of the officials' lower extremities and also the erosion already perceptible in Lepsius's record of this section both suggest that the material was less than perfectly preserved. To the left of the canal's bottom (preserved in all copies) was an irregularly shaped body of water in which fish were seen swimming. The forts and wells along the bottom edge of the scene have all but vanished, as have the very bottom of the chariot and the feet of the prince following the procession.

Given the extreme loss to the scene, it is a pity that the earlier copies disagree as much as they do. Burton, for instance, disagrees with all other copyists regarding both the shape of the lower body of water and the arrangement of the fish inside it. Gardiner has already discussed the inconsistency with which hieroglyphic labels were attached to the forts and wells in these copies,² and only Rosellini seems to have recorded the installations located below col. 15 (left end of the scene): Burton, Lepsius and Champollion made up for this omission by artificially lengthening the text of the column down to the baseline. The most serious discrepancy is found in the figure of the prince following the chariot (see pl. 7). Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius all agree that the figure was shifted, showing the tops of two heads and two left arms to the right of the break. Only Burton, however, recorded the two sets of legs and feet (neither wearing sandals), even though the members of the Franco-Tuscan expedition—if not Lepsius some fifteen years later—must have seen the wall under similar conditions. A trace of the lower (secondary) left arm survives today and is recorded on our drawing, but the lower part of the figure is entirely gone.

The relief, like the others in this sequence, underwent numerous changes before it was finished. These alterations can best be described by tabulating the areas affected.

1. Prisoners in front of the king's chariot.

- A. *Top row*: A fold of cloth in front of the leg of the fourth figure from the left indicates that a long undergarment (like that worn by the first figure in this row) was originally intended for him, but that this feature was never completely carved. The trace in question was suppressed with plaster (clearly visible on Wresz., *Atlas* II 43, left). A similar confusion is found with the last two figures of the row, in that the leg of the next-to-last man passes over the hem of the undergarment worn by the man behind him: this could mean that the penultimate figure overlapped the last, and indeed the latter's left hand crosses over the kilt of his partner; the last man's kilt, however,

¹Cf. *Med. Habu* I 22, 29, 42; II 75, 96. The relief here represents a kind of enclosed reviewing stand similar to the royal window of appearances: see Davies, *El Amarna* I vi, xviii, xxvi; II xiv; VI xvii. A close parallel to the scene published in this plate, but without the canal and fortifications, is seen in *Med. Habu* II 98.

²Alan H. Gardiner, "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine," *JEA* 6 (1920):99–116.

clearly cuts off the penultimate figure's body, so the last figure could in fact be the closer of the two from the viewer's standpoint. If so, the leg of the penultimate man was originally seen coming from behind the final figure's knee and would thus have been cut off by the hem of that man's undergarment: the shaving down of the original version above the ankle, however, must not have been complete. This interpretation is adopted on our drawing, although the exact relationship of the figures is admittedly not clear. Earlier copies are no help, for the area was already damaged when the scene was first recorded. Erosion around the blocklines accounts for some of this loss; and the *Flickstein* that held the legs of the three figures before the last has disappeared (see, again, Wreszinsky's photograph of this section).

- B. *Middle row*: The back legs of the two men before the last were partly suppressed when a low undergarment was added between the last figure's legs: the shaving down of the original version above the ankles is clear, and the question of priority is solved by the regular overlapping of each figure by its partner to the right. The front foot of the last figure is partly carved in plaster, and his back was partly lost with the *Flickstein* that has fallen out behind him (see, again, Wreszinsky's photograph).
 - C. *Bottom row*: The prisoners in this row are more eroded than those above. Changes appear to be confined to the first figure on the right: his outer elbow was narrowed (perhaps to avoid too sudden contact with the reeds of the canal to the right), the original trace being covered by plaster; and the figure's front leg, originally too narrow, was slightly widened towards the left. Note the presence of a *Flickstein* (now lost) extending in front of the figure's knee and into the waters of the canal (see Wreszinsky's photograph).
2. Prisoners behind the king's chariot: the belly and front leg of the last figure have been widened slightly towards the right.
 3. The horses' bodies appear to have been made smaller, for there is plaster between the inner and outer cuts at the rump, belly and front legs. The chests were cut onto a *Flickstein* (lost) that adjoined another patch behind the middle row of prisoners (see above, at 1B). Inside the closer of the horses' heads (i.e., left), the jawline and harness were shifted slightly to the right.
 4. The chariot was significantly altered. In the original version the larger javelin case at the back of the car passed through an opening near the top of the frame and into the chariot's interior.³ A smaller javelin case projected from the back of the chariot, it too being contained within the car. Subsequently, both javelin cases were represented as crossing one another outside the chariot's frame: the larger now extends down, below the body of the car,⁴ while the smaller now crosses the larger and ends across the body of the large javelin case at the front of the chariot.⁵ In conjunction with these changes, the inner lines of the oval chariot frame were shifted slightly to the right. Note also that the prisoners' heads that project from the back of the chariot are carved very shallowly in comparison with the rest of the relief here: since this shallowness is elsewhere the hallmark of a secondary version, it is possible that the heads were added when the final alteration of the chariot was made.

³Cf. pl. 10.

⁴Cf. pls. 13, 28.

⁵There is no parallel in these reliefs for two javelin cases protruding from the back of the chariot; on pls. 4, 10 and 13, however, two cases are seen projecting above the front of the car.

5. The shoulder of the royal figure was raised slightly, perhaps to match the head carved on the *Flickstein* above. Unlike most such patches across the wall, this one is still in place, although its bottom quarter (containing most of the king's face) has broken away. Early copyists recorded the king's head as being complete, but this could be a mechanical enhancing of the drawing.⁶ The adjoining *Flickstein* to the left (now lost) held the bottom of the vulture's lower wing and the hands of the first prisoner following the chariot: a substantial amount of the plaster in which this stone was embedded can be seen on Wreszinsky's photograph (*Atlas* II 40).
6. The traces of the prince's figure behind the chariot (see pl. 7) are very faint, particularly to the left of the cavity in which the *Flickstein* was located: the keying for the plaster "bed" in this area can be seen on Wreszinsky's photograph (*Atlas* II 40). To the right, we see that the figure's arm, shoulder, bow and quiver were similarly keyed for plaster: from this clear evidence of suppression or alteration we may infer that these elements and the head that goes with them (still partly visible in its upper right corner) belonged to the original version. The lower arm to the right of the *Flickstein* (barely preserved today) belongs by default to the secondary figure, which was shifted to the left of the original version. For this reason we may doubt the interpretation of the curving trace (recorded inside the head of the original figure by Champollion and Rosellini) as a prince's sidelock of youth. In Lepsius's copy we find this trace together with a horizontal hairline, so the curve might well be a gash if it does not belong to some later version prior to the definitive shifting of the figure.

The fan (very lightly cut), arm and elbow belonging to the secondary prince are found to the left of the *Flickstein*. A fold of cloth coming from behind the arm has also been assigned to this version although (like the bottom of the original quiver seen below the arm) it is quite deeply cut: cf., however, the princes' figures at Beit el-Wali, whose costumes also include a fold of material proceeding from behind the arm.⁷ If this attribution is correct, the otherwise inexplicable trace near the shoulder must be part of the costume worn by the original figure.⁸

The identity of the original figure is difficult to establish. Clearly, though, the space it occupies was meant for it from the start: in this it differs from the officials' figures on the west wing, which were added later over columns of hieroglyphs (see pls. 23, 29); and it resembles the fan-bearer's figure in the second register, at the east end of the east wing (pl. 10). In all of the copies, however, the figures' feet in this relief are unshod, whereas both the fan-bearer (pl. 10) and the usurped official in the scene directly above this one (see pl. 12) wore sandals. It is possible, of course, that the sandals were simply missed by all the copyists. Their difficulties in recording this section are apparent in the discrepancies in their copies: Burton, for instance, saw both sets of feet, but he omits the streamer below the figure's waist (left of the *Flickstein*) which other copyists saw; and neither Burton nor Rosellini copied the hem of the figure's robe between his legs, although this is recorded complete by Champollion and Lepsius. The secondary figure must have been grasping something in his clenched fist (right of the *Flickstein*), but—again—no one recorded anything. The loss of the *Flickstein* and of the secondary plaster has, no doubt, robbed us of many details, and the loss of the figure's legs now makes it impossible to establish precisely what the early copyists saw. Even so, the record may not be lightly set

⁶Cf. above, pl. 3 and p. 6, with n. 5.

⁷See *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 9, 11; cf. *Med. Habu* II 62.

⁸*Beit el-Wali*, pl. 9; but cf. pls. 14, 15, 21; *Med. Habu* I 29, bottom.

aside, and we must confess uncertainty as to the original figure's status. Note, however, that some of the fan-bearer's characteristics (fan, bow and quiver) are shared by the figure of the original official on the west wing; unlike the fan-bearer, however, he was barefoot. We may thus not discount the possibility that our figure was usurped not once (i.e., official → prince), but twice (official → official → prince).⁹

Other peculiarities of the relief can be dealt with quickly. On the west side of the canal, the small block inserted between the two larger blocks (at cols. 22–23) has partly fallen out. In col. 14, the lower extension of the *mr*-hoe runs through a flint and was left uncarved at this point. Traces of later plaster are found across the bodies of the officials at the right end of the scene and also across the hieroglyphs of cols. 1–9 and the cartouches over the king. As with other reliefs in this sequence, the Seth-animal in the king's second cartouche was hacked out in later antiquity, but there is otherwise no malicious damage to the figures or the hieroglyphs. At some point in modern times, however, a traveler carved his initials—"KE"—in the center of the horse's neck.

Quite a bit of color remains in the surviving portion of the scene. Patches of red paint cover the priests' figures (heads, arms and bodies) on the right side of the canal; their bouquets were painted green. The waters of the canal were (predictably) blue, but the crocodiles were painted yellow. The bodies of the Shasu prisoners in front of the chariot were uniformly painted red: this applies not only to their flesh tones, but to their kilts as well, additional color evidently being added in subsequent layers.¹⁰ The same pattern holds for the Shasu behind the chariot, except that their cloaks and long undergarments are yellow. The horses' flesh tones were shown, as usual, in red, but the harness and headgear were brightly painted. The first two plumes were, respectively, red and blue, no doubt alternating regularly, as did the large studs below them (last one on the left: red). The streamers issuing from the back of the headdresses were red (two outer) and blue (inner). The straps of the harnesses were blue, and the animals' manes were colored in alternating bands of red and blue, as were the areas of the horses' temples and necks (no doubt some sort of protective covering): in both these areas, the bands of paint are arranged to contrast with one another. The traces of yellow paint in the studs, mane, neck and harness derive from a layer of paint that was uniformly slathered over the whole area at a later date.

Little paint remains within the royal figure, although it appears he was wearing a red shirt (his right shoulder). The broad border of his quiver was painted blue. The considerable traces of paint in the hieroglyphs will be dealt with systematically in chapter 4.

⁹For comments on the recutting of the inscriptions above the figure, see below, p. 22, n. *n*. The only reason there is to doubt that the initial part of the titulary (*lry-p't*, *h3ty-'*) is original would be the presence of the suppressed flat-*m* in col. 30. If this is part of an earlier version of the text, instead of a mere error, it is the only trace, for no other marks or differences in the level of the background surface betray its presence throughout cols. 28–32. Note, however, that another recut figure—that of the fan-bearer in pl. 10—may have gone through three versions (see below, pp. 29–32).

¹⁰For similar painting and overpainting, see above, pl. 3 (p. 6).

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

MAIN TEXT

¹Regnal year one of the "Repeater of Births" ²(namely) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menma'atre, given life: ³one came to tell His Majesty, ⁴"The Shasu enemies are plotting ⁵sedition. Their tribal leaders ⁶are gathered in one place, standing on the foothills of Khor, ⁷and they are engaged in turmoil and uproar; one of them ⁸is (always) killing his fellow. They do

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not consider the laws ⁹of the palace.” His Majesty—may he live, prosper and be healthy!—was happy at this. ¹⁰For, as for the Good God, he rejoices ¹¹at engaging in battle, and he enjoys ¹²a transgression against him. His heart is satisfied with ¹³seeing blood when he chops off ¹⁴the heads of disaffected persons. He loves ¹⁵a moment of pounding more than a day of celebrating! His Majesty killed them all at once, he did not leave heirs^a among them. The one who escaped from his hand^b is a living captive, carried off to Egypt.^c

BY PRIESTS AND OFFICIALS

¹⁶The priests, officials and commanders of Upper and Lower Egypt who came to applaud^d the Good God when he returned from the hill country of Retchenu bearing a great [and plentiful] plunder,^e ¹⁷no one having seen the like of it since ¹⁸the time of God. They said,^f in^g ¹⁹adoring His Majesty and in magnifying ²⁰his strength: “Welcome back from ²¹the foreign lands, your attack having succeeded, ²²your claim being justified, and your opponents ²³being beneath you. Your [life]span as [ki]ng^h ²⁴is like (that of) Re in the sky, while your feelings are vented ²⁵(on) the Nine Bows.ⁱ Re has created your frontiers, his two arms ²⁶being the protection behind you. Your mace is over the head^j ²⁷of every foreign land, and their chiefs are fallen to your knife.”

BY PRINCE^k

²⁸Following the king according to his movements ²⁹on the hill countries of Retchenu ³⁰by the hereditary prince^l and count, ³¹an officer (worthy) of the extolling ³²(of) his [na]me,^m true king’s scribe, his beloved,ⁿ ³³[the general (?)],^o king’s bodily son, his beloved, ³⁴[Ramesses, triumphant (?)].^p

ABOVE HORSES

³⁵The first great span of His Majesty—may he live, prosper and be healthy!—(called) “Amon is giving strength.”

BY NEKHBET

Nekhbet the White of Hieraconpolis, as she gives life, stability and dominion like Re.

FORTS AND WELLS

³⁶The Dividing Canal.

³⁷The For[tress of Tcharu].^q

³⁸The Abode of the [Lion].^r

³⁹Edjo [of Sety-Merneptah].^s

OTHER FORTS AND WELLS (NOW LOST)

The *Migdol* of Menma‘atre.^t

The Well of Hepen.^u

The Well of the Region of Imia (?).^v

^aFor this writing of *lw‘w*, “heirs,” see Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, p. 49, n. 2a.

^bSee *ibid.*, p. 22, n. 14b.

^cThis column did not continue to the bottom of the scene, as shown in most early copies; rather, the space below was occupied by a small fortress over a body of water (see Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlix 2). The name of the installation is perhaps preserved on pl. 5:17 (see p. 15, n. g).

^dFor *sw3š n* + obj., see *Wb.* IV 63:26.

^eThe complete phrase was recorded by Burton, *Excerpta* xxxvi, thereafter by Ros., *Mon. stor.* li; L. D. III 128 b; and Brugsch, *Recueil* xlix b. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 93, bottom, omits the final group (*‘š3w*).

¹Sculptor's error: three *n*'s carved for *dd.n.sn*.

²The preposition *m* is duplicated at the top of col. 19.

³This column was recorded completely by Burton, *Excerpta* xxxvi. The copy in Ros., *Mon. stor.* li already shows damage of about the modern dimensions.

⁴Prepositional *n* has been omitted. For the expression *i' lb n*, see R. O. Faulkner, "Ptahhotpe and the Disputants" in Firchow, *Studien*, p. 84 (r).

⁵The phrase is usually *hd hr tp*, etc. (see below, pl. 8:9 = *KRI* I 11:6), and is so interpreted by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 94, top; but L. D. III 128 b and Wresz., *Atlas* II 150b read *lb* at the bottom of the column. The shape of the sign is indefinite, but we think it should be interpreted conservatively as an intended *tp*.

⁶The final prince's figure, like those on pls. 12 and 29, was cut over the original figure of an official.

⁷Traces of a flat-*m* can be discerned in the area of the word *p't*: this is the only apparent correction in this section of the text (see below, n. n).

⁸I.e., worthy of having his name extolled. For this phrase, see Chicago, *Reliefs* II 88:9.

⁹The final two columns of this text (33 and 34) have clearly been reworked, for the surface shows a marked increase in depth when compared with the preceding cols. 28–32. That this initial section is itself secondary is indicated by the presence of the original flat-*m* (see above, n. l); but the erasure of this earliest version was done with care, avoiding any sudden drop in the level of the surface from that of the relief to its left.

¹⁰Only one group is missing from the top of the column, with [*imy-r mš'c*] suggested by a parallel sequence (*imy-r mš'c wr, sš-nswt*, etc.) in Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III 80–83, 125. The title of "general" is thus far unattested for Prince Ramesses, although he does claim to have acted as supervisor of the infantry and chariotry while he was crown prince (*KRI* II 327:14–15). The original text of this column is wholly lost: could it have been *išl-hw hr wnm n nswt*, followed by his name and/or something to the effect of "who travels upon all foreign countries for his lord"?

¹¹The striated, badly weathered condition of the wall in this column makes it difficult to distinguish possible traces of signs from natural streaks and scratches. The only traces that we can regard as definite, then, apparently belong to the original version: *nb*, followed (after a gap of one and a half groups) by the determinative. The original margin line can be seen to the right of the long vertical margin to the left. Earlier copyists saw *h³st* approximately one group's distance above the *nb*, but this may be illusory: the most reliable of these copies (Champ., *Not. descr.* II 92) shows both these signs in a dotted line, implying some doubt. Only questionable traces of *h³st* (not accepted by all who studied them) are now found at the top of the preserved area of the column. If it is accepted, the original text could be something like "[who travels in (?)] foreign countr[ies for (?)] his lord": traces of a possible *f* were seen under *nb*, but (again) there was no unanimity in favor of accepting it. Given these uncertainties, and also the presence of the determinative, an alternative would be to interpret *nb* as a writing of *hb*, being part of the name ending in *m-hb* that yields the hypochoristic name "Meḥy" of the original official on pls. 23 and 29: see Gerhard Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, *ÄF* 21 (1960), pp. 75–78, for the abbreviation. Speculative traces of the final "[Rame]sses" (see L. D. III 131 b for similar writings) were made out as well, but they were not considered strong enough to be included in the final copy. A guide to the position of all these traces is supplied in fig. 1 (see p. 46). To the left of the determinative are unclear traces that were interpreted by the early copyists as a vertically upended *m³'c* (for *m³'c-hrw*), but the traces and their interpretation were regarded as so dubious that they have been excluded from the copy altogether.

¹²For the complete name see Champ., *Not. descr.* II 94, followed by Brugsch, *Recueil* xlviii, 1266, and Wresz., *Atlas* II 43.

¹³For the complete name see Champ., *Not. descr.* II 93 A.

¹⁴Ibid. II 92.

¹⁵Fortress between the horses' rear hooves and tails: see Gardiner in *JEA* 6 (1920): 107 and pl. XI, E.

¹⁶Well at same location as in note above, below the fortress. It was misplaced on some early copies, on which see Gardiner, *JEA* 6 (1920): 103 and 107, pl. XI, F. The identity of this place with the locality *Htn* mentioned in the itinerary of Pap. Anastasi I (discussed by *ibid.*, p. 107) is tempting.

¹⁷Located below the installation named in col. 39. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 110 and pl. XI, H. The readings of the final signs as given, with slight variations, in the early copies (cf. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 92; Champ., *Mon. ccxcii*) are not clear.

PLATE 8

KING SETY I PRESENTING PRISONERS AND SPOIL OF
THE SHASU CAMPAIGN TO AMON-RE

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccxciii.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 94–95.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* lii.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 44.
Capart, *Thèbes*, p. 116, fig. 66 (lower).
- II. Von Bissing, *Einführung . . . äg. Kunst*, pl. xvii [left].
Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 203–206.
Mallon in *Orientalia* 3 (1921): 155 and fig. 42 (king with captives and vases).
Brugsch, *Recueil* xlix e and l a (texts above captives).
Vercoutter, *L’Égypte [&c.]*, pl. lxi [460] (bull on vase lid).
Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 55–56, pl. V-F, 2 (illustration of Shasu, description and translation of texts).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 61–63.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. *Dyn.*, pp. 6–7.
KRI I 10–11.

Sety I appears before Amon, leading in two rows of Shasu prisoners and presenting booty won during the campaign. The king wears the Blue Crown, and his usual kilt is supplemented by a long overgarment that falls below his knees. Holding his bow in his left hand, he extends his right towards the four rows of bags and ornamental vessels that represent the spoils of victory. The vulture goddess Edjo hovers above his head, a *šn*-sign in her talons. At the right of the scene is enthroned Amon, wearing his characteristic plumed cap and holding in his hands the *wꜣs*-scepter (right) and an ankh (left). The god is seated on a block throne upon a pedestal, the side of the throne being decorated with four images of the king in the act of holding up the sky.¹

The unsatisfactory quality of the early copies can be best understood with reference to the special veneration attached to this scene in later antiquity. The particular object of this attention was the figure of Amon, which was enclosed within a shrine rather like the more elaborate example found to the west of the doorway (see below, pls. 36–37). The supports for this structure rested inside holes sunk into the relief itself: these can be seen inside the pedestal for Amon’s throne (under his feet and under the back support for his throne, respectively) and on top, between cols. 1 and 2 of the text (middle) and over the decorative band framing the massacre scene to the right (see for this pl. 15). Peg-holes for a veil or plate covering the god’s figure may also be discerned on the wall: under the bottom row of offerings; inside the pedestal, between the two holes for the supports; behind the god’s left shoulder; behind the join of his cap and plumes; to either side of the plumes (two); and directly beneath col. 8, level with the god’s neck. The god’s body and also the offerings in front of him are conspicuously avoided by the gouges² that disfigure the vulture, the king’s head, and much of the text be-

¹On the symbolism of this motif, see D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen: Die ‘Twꜣ pt’-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *Rites égyptiens* 2, ed. Philippe Derchain (Brussels, 1975), pp. 136–46.

²F. Daumas, *Dendara et le temple de Hathor: Notice sommaire*, *RAPH-IFAO* 29 (1969), pp. 71–72, makes similar suggestions with regard to the gouges found on the exterior wall of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera. The antiquity of at least some gouges is guaranteed by the presence of demotic graffiti inside them (verbal communication from M. Claude Traunecker).

tween the king and the god. This gouging extends into the next scene to the right, affecting the king's *serekh*, kilt and legs, as well as the kneeling prisoners and their texts (see pl. 15). The god's plumes also suffered deep gouging, and there is evidence of this activity inside the pedestal and (more lightly) in the lower half of the throne.³ The pious authors of this defacement refrained, however, from attacking the god's body or the offerings piled in front of him. It is this gouging which discouraged early copyists from attempting a complete record of the traces to be seen of the main text. On the other hand, the central portion of the relief was more-or-less intact when Champollion and Rosellini copied it, so the vases (second row), the king's body, the bottom row of prisoners and the text between the two rows of Shasu were recorded completely: these elements are now missing.

The scene in its pristine condition was rather well made, being spared the extensive patching seen on other reliefs of this sequence. The figures were still subjected, however, to the sort of shifting and emendation seen on the other scenes. These changes lie mostly in the figure of the god, that of the king and those of the Shasu prisoners.

1. The god's eye was most noticeably changed, the interior having been hollowed out to receive inlay when the figure was raised to the status of a local icon:⁴ traces of plaster remain within this hole, which does not exactly follow the outlines of the original eye. The left arm of the figure (on the viewer's right) was also enlarged to the left, and the original line was covered with plaster: note that the interval between the blocks bearing the upper and lower parts of the god's body was filled by a small *Flickstein*. In later antiquity the blockline that runs across Amon's legs was plugged with plaster, and the damaged relief was recarved in that medium. The throne, too, was altered: it was originally narrower and was decorated only with the rectangular moulding at the lower right corner (cf. pl. 14 below); but at some point—perhaps when this Amon became a special object of devotion?—the whole throne was widened, the moulding lowered, and four figures of the king "holding up the sky" were inserted in its upper half. This motif is commonly found on the sides of bark pedestals, but its employment in this context is highly unusual.⁵
2. The king's legs show traces of having been shifted to the right, and his arm was also raised around the elbow. It is conceivable that the front of the long undergarment, if not the whole, was added as an afterthought, for the king's bow can be seen across it before it disappears behind the figure's knee. The major changes, however, affect the figure's head, which was shifted to the left. The final lines of the neck all lie inside the seemingly wider original version, since the angle of the neck was made more slanting to join with the shifted head. Plaster is still visible over the back of the original uraeus and, in particular, in the space between the original and final versions at the back of the head (see Wreszinsky's photograph); for a few centimeters above the neck, however, the interval is plugged with a small stone patch. More plaster in the figure's neck, chin and forehead (front, all final version) may represent the medium in which the new relief was carved.

³See the photograph published by Wresz., *Atlas* II 44 for details of the wall's condition which are not apparent on the drawings.

⁴Cf. the figure of "Ptah who hears prayer" in the thickness of the eastern high gate at Medinet Habu (*Med. Habu* VIII 608).

⁵E.g., Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* II, pls. 5, 10; cf. the pedestals preserved in the round in Vienna (time of Sety I: see Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen*, p. 121, fig. 15) and in the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak (time of Ramesses III: *Bibl.*² II 240 [81]). The earliest example known to us of a scene in which a king is shown holding up the sky dates from the time of Ramesses II: W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungswand Ramses' II. in Karnak*, AA 18 (1968), I 22 (Bild 27), II 31. In layout it is similar to the other, much later scenes discussed by Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen*, *passim*, and we know of no close parallel to the representation on the side of Amon's throne in this scene.

3. The Shasu prisoners have been adapted from original versions in which they possessed fuller beards, longer hair and more elaborate garments. These features, characteristic of the Syrians who appear in the Yenoam campaign (east side, second register: see pls. 11–14) and in the “tribute” scene near the left end of this first register (pl. 4), were most probably carved by mistake rather than as a fully planned design: the Shasu Bedouin are quite clearly seen as the enemy in the two battle scenes of this register, and the Syrians on pl. 4 are seen merely as deliverers of tribute, not as foes. The master sculptor who laid out the scene might have “misread” the sequence and assumed that the prisoners on pls. 6 and 8 were in fact the Syrians pictured on pl. 4; or Syrians might have been drawn on analogy with those occupying the same position on pl. 14. In any case, they were all changed into Shasu, with their pointed beards and distinctive headgear. A number of these figures (on both pls. 6 and 8) still seem to retain their long “Syrian” robes from the original version, even though they are not characteristic for most Shasu (see especially pls. 3 and 5); on pl. 3, only one figure among the group standing on the hill is dressed in this fashion, all others wearing the usual short kilt. To be sure, a few examples for the longer dress can be found elsewhere, although it is less typical than the other.⁶ On pl. 6, however, the long robe seems in some cases to have been added to the Shasu costume, and the heads suffered no alteration such as we find in this scene. Conceivably, then, the long robe may be part of the Shasu iconography regardless of whether the figures were originally intended to be Syrians.

An inconsequential alteration is seen in col. 14, in that the plural strokes of *.sn* were originally grouped too far to the left, as if the grouping “x + plural strokes” were intended. The sculptor, realizing his mistake, left the erroneous stroke half-carved and inserted the desired third stroke at the right end of the group. Other than the usual hacking of the Seth-animal in Sety’s second cartouche, no other malicious damage was done to the relief: the gouging, as mentioned above, was piously motivated and is to be distinguished from mere vandalism.

Given the damage to the relief, the sparsity of paint is not surprising. Traces of the usual red wash are seen at various points over the Shasu prisoners, and yellow paint (= gold?) is still found in the deep cuts of some of the presentation vessels (top and bottom rows): two traces of blue paint over the yellow inside the harp (bottom row) may suggest a representation of gold with lapis lazuli or turquoise inlay on this instrument.

⁶Giveon, *Bédouins Shosou*, pls. vii [3], xv, xvi-B [2].

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY KING

¹[Presen]ting^a spoils by His Majesty [to his father] Amon ²when he returned from the foreign land of Retchenu the vile, ³the chiefs of foreign countries being living captives, their tribute ⁴on their backs, consisting of every (sort of) precious vase ⁵of their countries, (and of) silver, gold and genu[ine] ⁶lapis lazuli, “by the [va]llo[r] that you gave me upon every foreign land.”^b

BY AMON-RE

⁷[Words] spo[ken by] Amon-Re, Lord of the Th[ro]nes of the Two Lands: “My bodily son, ⁸my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Menma‘atre: I set the fear ⁹of you over every foreign country, your mace being over the head(s) of their chiefs, ¹⁰and they come to you, together as one, lad¹¹en on their backs because of your fame.”

ABOVE PRISONERS

¹²The chiefs of the foreign countries who know not Egypt, whom His Majesty ¹³brought away from his victory in the foreign land of Retchenu ¹⁴the vile. They said, in magnifying His Majesty and in ¹⁵applauding his victories: "Hail to you! How ¹⁶great is your name, how powerful your strength! ¹⁷The foreign land who acts loyally towards you rejoices, and that which attacks ¹⁸your frontiers is wretched. As your Ka endures, ¹⁹we did not know Egypt, nor had our fathers ²⁰trodden it.^c Give to us the breath that is yours to give!"^d

BETWEEN ROWS OF PRISONERS

²¹[The booty which His Majesty brought away, consisting of the Shasu whom His Majesty] himself [destroyed] in regnal year one of the "Repeater of Births."^e

BY VULTURE

Edjo.

^aReading [m]s *lnw*; cf. below, pls. 14:1 and 32:1, 4 (= KRI I 15:8, 23:3, 5).

^bReading *hsbd m³*, *m kent n dd.k*.

^cReading *n hnd.n s(y) itw.n*.

^dReading *imy (n).n*.

^eRecorded complete by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 94 (cf. idem, *Mon.* ccxciii) and Ros., *Mon. stor.* lii, and thereafter by Brugsch, *Recueil* I a. The reference is, of course, to the king: cf. pls. 6:1 and 10:8, and the discussion in W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, SAOC 42 (1985), pp. 56–58.

THE EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER:
THE YENOAM CAMPAIGN
(PLATES 9–14)

In this sequence of reliefs, Sety's opponents are the sleek Asiatics of the towns who were seen in the earlier campaign against the Shasu (see above, pl. 4) as Egyptian tributaries. The uppermost course of masonry is preserved only in the final scene in the sequence, the presentation of spoil (pl. 14). Its loss in the other scenes deprives us of the description for the campaign which, on analogy with the lower register, might have been found in the rhetorical texts carved above the figures and which are mostly gone here. Dating of the campaign is nonetheless possible due to the identification of one of the forts shown in the battle scene (pl. 11) as "Yenoam." It is thus virtually certain that the events behind these reliefs are those described in the first Beth Shan stela.¹

The scenes on the north face proceed, from the east corner towards the door, in a logical order: Sety is seen charging into the fleeing mass of enemy cavalry, towards the Asiatic towns (pl. 11); he then binds his prisoners (pl. 12), bundles them into his chariot (pl. 13) and leads them, together with the spoil of the campaign, into the presence of the Theban Triad (pl. 14). The scene carved on the eastern face, showing the chiefs of the Lebanon chopping down trees for the barge of Amon (pl. 10), has been interpreted as a further episode of the campaign, involving the submission of the town of Qader represented in this relief; and the entire "Yenoam campaign" has been regarded, together with the war against the Shasu, as part of a single, many-faceted campaign aimed at the consolidation of Egyptian power in Palestine.² The validity of these interpretations will be discussed in a separate monograph dealing with the historical content of these scenes. Close study of the reliefs themselves, to which we now turn, may yield details relevant to this debate.

¹KRI I 11–12; cf. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, SAOC 42 (1985), pp. 59–60.

²See R. O. Faulkner, "The Wars of Sethos I," *JEA* 33 (1947): 35–37; Anthony J. Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," *JNES* 38 (1979): 277.

PLATE 10

PRINCES OF THE LEBANON FELLING TREES AND
BEING PRESENTED TO KING SETY I
BY FAN-BEARER (CF. PLATE 25B)

- I. *Descr. Ant.* III 40 [5].
Champ., *Not. descr.* II 87–88.
Idem, *Mon.* ccxc 2.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlv 1.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 34, 35.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 189–90, 319.
Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:1–15 (texts in front of king).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 56–57.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. Dyn., p. 5.
KRI I 13–14.

The scene is dominated by the figure of Sety I in the center: wearing the Blue Crown, a long cloak and sandals, the king stands behind his chariot, which faces the opposite (= northern) direction. His bow, along with the horses' reins, is grasped in his left hand, but the quiver contains no arrows (cf. above, pl. 6)—appropriately, for the victory has been won. The “town of Qader in the land of Henem,” pictured under the horses' bellies, symbolizes the king's triumphs in this area: the skewed doorposts and lintel testify to its defeat and capture.¹

The submission of the Lebanese princes is shown in front of the king: Sety's right arm is outstretched towards the “fan-bearer on the king's right,” who ushers four bowing Asiatics into the royal presence.² Behind them, two other Asiatics are felling trees with axes, while two others tug on ropes connected to a falling tree, guiding it slowly to the ground. (Note that one of these ropes is looped around the trunk of a standing tree to allow greater control over this process. This detail is missing for the other rope, although it was clearly intended: perhaps the missing loop was supplied in paint; or it may be that the rope looped around the tree in the opposite direction in the area of the blockline and is now lost.) The Lebanese shown here resemble the other Asiatic enemies who appear in other scenes in this register, and also those represented in the Shasu campaign (see above, pl. 4). The pair shown grasping the ropes, however, wear close-fitting skullcaps instead of the flowing hair of the other men—perhaps an indication of their lower status, in line with the heavier labor they perform in this scene.³ Beside the forest, above the fan-bearer's text, is the bottom of another fortified town: the text inscribed thereon is plausibly restored (by analogy with the town represented in the scene below: cf. pl. 3:14) as “[a town of Leba]non.”

Comparison with earlier copies shows that no significant detail has been lost since the scene was first recorded. The relief was altered, however, in antiquity. The least serious changes involved some cosmetic adjustments to the king's figure. The front of his head and neck was

¹For a comparable scene of devastation, see Wresz., *Atlas* II 65.

²Cf. *Med. Habu* I 22, 23, 29, 42; *ibid.* II 74, 75, 91, 96. The disproportionate relation between the shaft of the fan and its plume (which appears to be off-center) was apparently required by the placement of the top of the plume within the space for col. 27 of the text: see *Med. Habu* II 96 for a similarly lopsided example (attendants behind king).

³Similar caps are worn by Asiatics in a victory procession of Horemheb (Wresz., *Atlas* II 62), so perhaps the contrast—closely shaved vs. long hair—implies greater age or different functions.

pushed further left, with corresponding adjustments to the crown: few details are preserved because of the hacking in the area of the king's head and upper right arm.⁴ The top of the king's chest was also made smaller, the cut being filled with plaster and the new line cut in that medium. Below, the figure's front leg, originally too wide at the shin, was cut down on both sides, and the heel of the back foot was also cut down from an overly large original version. The front foot was shifted forward to compensate for the reduction of the leg above it, the original lines being filled with plaster.

The fan-bearer's figure was also altered, but the extent and purpose of these changes are not easily established. A number of elements have been keyed for plaster—the plume of the fan, the top of the figure's head and his back, his left shoulder and the cloak in front of his left arm, the front of his “apron,” the long handkerchief held in his left hand, and the bottom of the quiver strapped to his back. Plaster is found, moreover, inside the deep cuts of the figure's outer lines, where it might be held easily without keying. The extent of these changes might suggest that the entire figure was suppressed, but this is unlikely: comparable scenes always show an intermediary between the king and the foreigners before him (see note 2 above), and to eliminate the fan-bearer in this scene would leave a gaping hole in the composition. It seems more probable that individual features were changed or removed, but determining which ones (and why) is not as easy as it might seem. The plume of the fan, for instance, would seem to have been an obvious target: clearly part of the original relief (since room was allowed for it in the arrangement of cols. 26–28 of the text), its interior was filled with the small chiselled gouges that elsewhere characterize relief that has been covered by a layer of plaster. One would thus expect the figure's title in col. 21, “fan-bearer on the king's right,” to have been suppressed as well. But, although most of this column has been reworked, both the title and the verb that follows (*wšb*) are clearly secondary: everything below *dd in* is carved onto a surface lower than that of the unchanged text cols. 22–24, but the signs in col. 21 are stylistically identical to those in adjoining columns, being cut to the same depth and showing none of the loss in detail that one would expect in relief that has been shaved down. The solution to this paradox (i.e., the figure's identity as a fan-bearer was suppressed, but his title of “fan-bearer” was added subsequently) is not immediately apparent.

A survey of fan-bearers' figures, from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty down to the later New Kingdom, may supply an answer, at least to the question of what was changed. The fan itself is sometimes found as it is here, strapped to the official's back,⁵ but it is often held in his right hand, either outstretched towards the king⁶ or at “parade rest” against his right shoulder.⁷ The left hand may grasp a variety of objects, or none at all:⁸ usually, however, it holds only the long handkerchief,⁹ to which a crook and an ax are most frequently added.¹⁰ The bow,

⁴This feature is not fully shown on this drawing, particularly in the upper arm: cf. Wresz., *Atlas* II 34. No other hacking—apart from that noted in the fan-bearer's figure (see below)—is found in this relief.

⁵Cf. Davies, *El Amarna* I xxx; *ibid.* II x; *ibid.* III xxviii, xxix.

⁶T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Private Tombs at Thebes 1* (Oxford, 1957), pl. xxxvi; Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV*, Theban Tomb Series 3 (London, 1923), pl. xxviii; Davies, *El Amarna* VI iv; Nina Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, Theban Tomb Series 4 (London, 1926), pls. xx, xxii.

⁷Davies, *El Amarna* II v (left), viii, xi, xxxiv, xxxv, xli (left); *ibid.* III v, vii, viii, xiii, xviii (top); *ibid.* VI xvi.

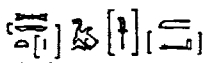




⁸*Ibid.* II x, xxv; *ibid.* III vii (right side: hands clenched but holding nothing), xiii (top row), xxviii, xxix.

⁹*Ibid.* II v (left), viii, xi, xxxiv, xli (left); *ibid.* III v, vii (left), viii, xiii, xviii (top); *ibid.* VI xvi. In the tomb of the vizier Paser, a contemporary of Sety I, officials are shown carrying a fan, a crook and a handkerchief in one hand: see M.M.A. Photo no. 2908 (= Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens* [Paris, 1847], pl. xxx), and no. 2937.

¹⁰Davies, *El Amarna* I xxx; *ibid.* VI iv, xxxi (with fan); Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, pls. xx, xxii; Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes 1*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 9 (New York, 1933), pl. ix (with fan); *Beit el-Wali*, pls. 7 (right), 10 (left); *Med. Habu* I 29, 42 (fan with handkerchief); *ibid.* II 74, 75, 96 (all three: fan and handkerchief).

grasped in this relief, is usually nowhere in evidence; and when it does occur in scenes of this nature, the figure holding it seems not to be a fan-bearer.¹¹ Since the bowman's accoutrements are the abnormal element in this representation, we suggest that it was the bow and quiver that were added to the figure when the fan and other parts of his costume were suppressed or changed.

Some features of the relief itself tend to support this hypothesis. The part of the bow in front of the fan-bearer's body is shorter than it should be, both with relation to the other half and to the comparable portion of the king's bow. It is forced, moreover, to touch the divider beside col. 24, whereas none of the other figures are squeezed to this extent. The bowstring is not completely carved, either over the official's "apron" or below the end of his sash (which itself is incomplete). The shallow relief in which the lower part of the bow is carved where it crosses the body contrasts markedly with the deep outer line of the apron (i.e., at the transition between raised and sunk relief), although it is otherwise not possible to prove that the apron was widened in order to allow this element to be carved. An oblong gouge above the fingers of the left hand may also have something to do with an earlier version, but it may also be fortuitous. Finally, the upper line of the quiver between the handle of the fan and the blockline (left) was never carved, although the bottom of the quiver was duly finished on the adjoining block. The sum of the evidence is tenuous, but it is consistent with the assumption that both bow and quiver were added to a figure that originally possessed neither. Given that the figure in its original state was apparently viewed as a fan-bearer, and that this official normally carries a long handkerchief but not a bow, this hypothesis seems reasonable. It also accords well with the treatment of other figures to be encountered in these reliefs.¹²

The shaving of the surface in col. 21 has almost completely removed the original text, but patient examination of the stone yielded a few illuminating traces (see fig. 2).¹³ At the top of the secondary group *wšb* there is a clear *m*³-sickle with its phonetic 'ayin. The grouping of these signs leaves room on the left for a tall upright (obliterated by the secondary *b*), and this arrangement suggests *m*³-*h**rw*. At the bottom of the group there are traces of an original bolt-*s* running through the feet of the secondary signs. These traces tell us that (1) the upper part of the column consisted of a name, presumably accompanied by a title, concluded with *m*³-*h**rw*; and (2) *wšb* was not the verb that originally stood at the bottom of the column: all that is now clear is the causative *s*-, but the accord between columns 21 and 22 (*s* [. . .]. *tw.f n ntr nfr*) seems better here than in the final version. Unfortunately, the traces in the upper half of the column are not so easily explained. The clearest are the rectangular shape (book-roll? *š?*), the two upright strokes, and the strong-arm determinative (?) at the bottom of the secondary group *wnmy n nswt*. The others are a sequence of unreadable horizontals, an equally recalcitrant group of lines between *t*³ and *hr*, and a low, curving sign running through the top of the secondary *t*³-*h**w*—possibly *ts*. Taken as a whole, the traces do not fit a variant of the erased official's titles found on pls. 23 and 29 (e.g., ): only some of the traces lend themselves to such a reconstruction, and the use of  at the end of this name would be odd—the group  actually suggests , *kny*. The angle of the trace that runs through the head of the quailchick in *wšb* is also too sharp for a convincing , such as might occur in a full spelling of *m*³-*h**rw*. These anomalies suggest the possibility that not one, but two, ver-

¹¹*Beit el-Wali*, pl. 11 (middle: prince returning from battle); *Med. Habu* I 22 (described as "officials and companions," not carrying fans); *ibid.* II 91 (prince, not carrying fan).

¹²Cf. pls. 6, 23 and 29, where one version of the figure in each case is outfitted with bowman's equipment that was later hacked out.

¹³Fig. 2 is on p. 46. We would like to acknowledge the contribution of Professor Lanny Bell, whose observations—along with those of earlier members of the staff—helped in the development of these conclusions.

sions overlap in these traces. So little stone has been removed from the surface in col. 21, however, that one of these versions would have to have been carved into a plaster filling, leaving only a few scratches on the stone itself. This hypothesis can be neither proved nor excluded. In any event, scrutiny of this reworked area has yielded another paradox: the original traces seem not to describe the figure as a fan-bearer, even though he was portrayed as such when the relief was first laid out.

This was not the only change of this nature in Sety I's battle reliefs: similar examples can be found on pls. 6, 12, 23 and 29, in the clearest of which (pls. 6, 29) the "group-marshaller and fan-bearer, Mehy," equipped as a bowman and carrying a fan, was replaced by a fan-bearing prince. This last detail accords ill with the apparent suppression of the fan here. On the west wing of the wall, moreover, Mehy's figure was inserted into the composition (pls. 23, 29), but on the east side the official's figure is an integral part of the original scene. This original figure was probably not identified as Mehy in the relief under discussion, for the latter's characteristic bow and quiver seem to have been added later. The figure itself underwent other changes. The bottom of the wig was adjusted: in the drawing it is assumed that it was narrowed and made blunter, but the change could also have gone the other way, with the join to the upper part of the wig made up in plaster. The hacking inside the top of the head may well have accommodated plaster—perhaps corresponding to the alteration at the bottom of the wig, but as easily to some other version. Inside the right shoulder (viewer's left), a slightly raised ridge of stone—rendered in the drawing as a light line—does not join the outer edge of the shoulder above it but corresponds better to the faint line that can be seen intermittently running along the inner edge of the hacking down the back: this alternative version was thus narrower and more stooped than that which is seen now. The very presence of hacking along the back and front of the figure is curious. It need not be connected with the recutting itself (which in sunk relief can be accomplished cleanly by removal of stone along the edges of the figure). More probably it has to do with the adding of plaster—perhaps the plaster that simultaneously erased undesirable carved elements and provided a base for the final painting of the figure. Based on the accumulated evidence, we suggest the following sequence of events:

1. The original figure was a narrower, more stooped version of the official as he appears now, equipped with a fan and a handkerchief (see pl. 25C). The traces preserved in col. 21 do not tell us his title, but it may not have been "fan-bearer" (the accoutrements need not be confined to holders of the title¹⁴). If it was, however, the groups may have been arranged differently than in the present version, since the verb at the bottom of the column was certainly not *wšb*.
2. The figure was next adapted for the "group-marshaller and fan-bearer, Mehy" (see pl. 25D). A number of traces in col. 21 are in accord with this hypothesis although, as we have noted, other elements may not belong to this version. The figure was changed by the addition of the bow and quiver, and by the suppression of the handkerchief (which Mehy does not carry in his other appearances in these reliefs). The fan may also have been removed at this time, although—given Mehy's title of "fan-bearer"—this seems unlikely. In other reliefs, however, the fan does not appear strapped to his back where both of Mehy's hands are otherwise occupied, and Mehy may not have wished to emphasize his secondary title to this extent.¹⁵ The apron was probably widened in order to allow the

¹⁴*Beit el-Wali*, pl. 11 (middle: prince with fan); *Med. Habu* I 42 ("king's children, officials and companions"); *ibid.* II 74, 75, 96 (princes); Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, pls. xx, xxii (Viceroy of Nubia).

¹⁵Cf. the fan-bearer Ahmose (Davies, *El Amarna* III xxviii, xxix), with fan and hand ax strapped to his back; and cf. similar examples in n. 10 above. For Mehy without his fan, see pls. 6 and 29 (right).

bowstring to be carved into the space occupied by the figure (as suggested above). Both the wig and the back may also have been adjusted at this time (although it is possible that this took place during a subsequent stage).

3. When Mehy's figure was expunged from the reliefs, the figure's status became that of a titular fan-bearer. The fan and handkerchief were resurrected from the plaster that covered them, and both the bow and the quiver perhaps obliterated.¹⁶ The keying along the back and front of the figure may have been connected with this operation, as suggested above. Only a small amount of keying was required for the quiver, and none at all for the bow, since the plaster could easily lodge inside its narrow confines. Col. 21 was recarved into the present, final version, with the figure "answering" the king.¹⁷ The poor coordination with the following column may have been ignored, although the superfluous *.tw* could easily have been covered in plaster. There is no evidence, however, that this was done.

The explanation just offered, while by no means certain, is in accord with the evidence and requires, we believe, the least in terms of special pleading. A simpler solution for the text (i.e., only two versions, with the "fan-bearer" inscription as the final version) would require that the figure have been carved in its original state before the text of the first version (Mehy's name and titles) was added. The addition of the bowman's equipment and the suppression of the fan and handkerchief would have taken place at this time, and the figure would have been restored to its pristine state when Mehy's text was removed and the final col. 21 was surcharged over it. A simpler solution for the figure (i.e., all keying for plaster and removal of carved features at one time) requires a more complicated history for the inscription, for it presupposes that the fan-bearer's title (also secondary) would no longer be in accord with the figure's visible status—something that is in fact paralleled for Mehy, but which would be less accountable for an anonymous "fan-bearer." Such a solution would require four versions of the text: fan-bearing official → Mehy → titular fan-bearer → something else. The assumption that this hypothetical final version was a prince is consistent with some features in the relief (e.g., the keying inside the head, for a supposed sidelock of youth in plaster), and it is strengthened by the other cases on the north wall in which Mehy's figure was replaced by that of Prince Rameses: note that on pl. 29 the prince's figure is the third version, while on pl. 6 it is apparently the second.¹⁸ Since the case falls short of definitive proof, however, it seems best to present the simpler solution outlined earlier (i.e., the three stages) as an alternative.

Numerous traces of paint attest to the original coloring of the relief. The hieroglyphs, by and large, will be dealt with separately (see chap. 4), but a few important details may be noted here. In cols. 21–24 (the fan-bearer's text) the signs were set apart from the another, more conventionally painted texts by being painted in one uniform color. Three overlapping versions can be made out. In col. 21, a layer of blue paint overlies another faded color (head of *wšb* determinative); in col. 23, the blue layer is overpainted with yellow (cord of *mī*, left side); and there are a few adjoining patches of blue and yellow paint in a few signs of cols. 23 (cord of *mī*, right side; right hill of *h³st*) and 24 (inside *h* of *h'w*). The earliest version of this inscription was probably painted "normally," with the hieroglyphs individually colored: note the traces

¹⁶Note, however, that the bowman's panoply, together with a fan and handkerchief, is carried by a prince in *Beit el-Wali*, pl. 11. Similar figures are found either without the bow (*ibid.*, pls. 8, 9; *Med. Habu* I 42; *ibid.* II 74, 75, 96) or with it, but lacking the fan (*Beit el-Wali*, pl. 15; *Med. Habu* I 22; *ibid.* II 91), making it impossible to prove by analogy that the bow and quiver would have been kept by the prince in a hypothetical final version.

¹⁷Cf. *Med. Habu* I 22:13–14, 42:14, both employing *hr* + object (*Wb.* I 372:8, s.v. *wšb*).

¹⁸Or the third? See above, p. 20, n. 9.

of red in col. 24 (pupil of eye in *m³³*, left hill of *h³st*). There are a few anomalies in the main text: the sun-disk in col. 15 was originally colored green (for *h*), then corrected to red; and in col. 18 the city determinative of *Kmt* was incorrectly carved, without wedges, and then painted green (for *h*) before being corrected in blue.

Moving from the left end of the scene, the tree trunks, leaves and ropes were painted a uniform green. Flesh tones of all the figures were rendered in red. From the few remaining traces, the Asiatics' robes were painted with different colors—red at the belly and shoulders, green at the back and bottom. The king wore a blue corselet, and there is a trace of blue for the bracelet on his right wrist and traces of the golden armlets on his upper arms. The frame of the chariot was painted in alternating blue, red, yellow and green stripes, and the front javelin case in a pattern of blue and yellow. The javelin shafts were yellow, the pommels blue (although one of the ovals is painted green). The inner part of the wheel is painted yellow, the outer red, and the shaft joining the chariot to the team is yellow. All that remains of the horses' blanket are traces predominantly in green, but with spots of yellow and red. The oval behind the harness is yellow, and the horses' bodies are red.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY KING

¹[Inspecting the chiefs of]^a Lebanon [as they] cut down ²[pine for] the great river barge, ³“[Amon]–U[ser-ha]t,” and also for the ⁴big flagstaves of Amon.

ABOVE HORSES AND CHARIOT

⁵[Nekhbet (?)], as she endows^b ⁶[him] with life and dominion ⁷[like] Re every day.

⁸[Live the Horus, “Mighty Bull, arising in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live”];^c Two Ladies, “Repeater of Birth(s), ⁹[mighty in strength, who subdues the Nine Bows”]; Horus of Gold], “Repeater of [accession]s, powerful of bows ¹⁰[in all lands”]; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menma‘atre; the So]n [of Re], Sety–Merneptah, given life. ¹¹[The Good God (?)]^d . . . a sovereign]^e satisfied with victory, great^f ¹²[of strength like the Son of Nut,^g . . . strong-armed] one^h who achieves ¹³[with his two arms (?),ⁱ . . . a fighter for millions who protects]^j his army, ¹⁴[a rampart unto myriads (?),^k . . .], one breathes^l ¹⁵[the breath that is his to give.^m Mighty king, one who loves a moment of poun]dingⁿ more than a day ¹⁶[of celebrating, . . . a Montu]^o when he sees battle ¹⁷[. . .]^p his heart satisfied with making ¹⁸[. . . the bor]ders of Egypt ¹⁹[. . . Asia]tics^r in order to fill the magazine ²⁰[of Amon^s . . .] pine. . . .^t

BY FAN-BEARER

²¹Words spoken by the Fan-Bearer on the King's Right,^u (as) his ²²response^v to the Good God: “One acts in accordance with all that you say, ²³O Horus who causes the Two Lands to live! You^w are like Montu over every land. ²⁴When the chieftains of Retchenu see you, the awe of you is in their bodies.”

BY CHIEFS OF LEBANON

²⁵The great chiefs of Leban(on), ²⁶they say in praising the Lord of the Two Lands ²⁷(and) in magnifying ²⁸his strength: “You are seen like your [fa]ther ²⁹Re. One lives because of seeing you.”

FORTS

³⁰The town of Qader in the land of Henem.^x

³¹[A town of Leba]non.^y

^aOr perhaps simply "the great chiefs of Lebanon, (as they) cut," etc. (cf. below, col. 25). About two and a half groups are lost from the tops of the columns here. In the main this translation follows the restorations proposed by Helck in *BiOr* 28 (1971): 323, with the exception of this first column and in col. 3, where he has [³ ³*Imn* *w*]-*sr*-[*h*]*t*. The ³ seems superfluous, as it is not normally part of the river barge's name (see *Urk.* IV 186, 13; Chicago, *Reliefs* II 88:10, 90:15–16). More probably, then, restore ³*Imn* + seated-god determinative (two groups) above *w* [*sr*-*h*]*t*.

^bAssuming this text was placed under the vulture hovering over the king's head, one group is lost: restore [*Nhbt*], *hw.s* [*sw*] . . . [*ml*] *R*^c, etc.

^cFor Sety I's fivefold titulary, see Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III 10–20. About six groups are lost from the tops of the columns.

^dCf. below, pl. 34:2–4 (= *KRI* I 17:12). This and most other restorations proposed below are offered tentatively.

^eCf. Chicago, *Reliefs* II 110B, 111F.

^fAlthough Champ., *Not. descr.* II 88 records plural strokes above the tail of *wr*, they are drawn in a shaded area and are missing from his later published copy (*Mon.* ccxc 2): perhaps he was unsure of the traces. At present the signs would fall in the middle of a crack, and there is no trace of a stroke under the right end of the strong arm, where the original surface is preserved. It seems most probable that these strokes are illusory.

^gRestoring *wr* [*pty ml s* *Nwt*]; cf. below, pl. 34:6 (= *KRI* I 17:13), and also *Med. Habu* I 19:1.

^hReading [*hps*]*y* with full spelling and determinatives: see *Wb.* III 270:6.

ⁱPerhaps restore *lr* [*m* ^c*wy.fy*]; cf. above, pl. 4:1 (= *KRI* I 7:10). Champ., *Mon.* ccxc 2, followed by other copyists, misread *lr* as suffix *f*.

^jSee pl. 23:5–6 (= *KRI* I 24:11).

^kCf. pl. 23:6 (= *KRI* I 24:11).

^lReading [*s*]*sn.tw*, or possibly its variant form *snsn* (*Wb.* IV 172, using this determinative). A similarly written word is *snsy*, "to praise, honor" (*ibid.*, p. 171, var. *snsn* at p. 172), but this seems never to be spelled with the *sn* biliteral.

^mCf. pl. 8:20 (= *KRI* I 11:2–3).

ⁿCf. pl. 6:14–15 (= *KRI* I 9:7).

^oRestoring *Mnt* + quailchick beside the determinative.

^pAmong several possible restorations, *m*³*n.f skw ml ht wnm* (?) *r-hst*. [*f*], "when he sees the fray like the devouring flame before [him]" (*Med. Habu* I 19:2; Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, p. 11); *bw hsb.f wmt hhw*, "he does not reckon the mass of double millions" (*Med. Habu* VI 392A:4–5); *m*³*f sky n hr.f ml wnf-lb*, "he sees the fray before him like one joyful" (*ibid.* II 94:14–16); *m*³*f wmt skyw ml s*³*-nhmw*, "he regards the thick of battle like grasshoppers" (*ibid.* VI 392C:1–2).

^qAgain, there are several possibilities, involving either the king's expansion of Egypt's borders (*Med. Habu* II 79:6, 80:3–4) or the fate of those who violate his frontiers (*ibid.* 83:47, 86:23).

^rThe determinative, despite its aberrant uraeus, is probably a variant of Gardiner, *Gr.*³, Sign List, A–49. The traces of the sign preserved above suggest the talons of a bird, either the *m* of ³*mw* (cf. *KRI* I 19:10; II 151:1) or *.tw* of *Sttw*.

^sCf. *KRI* II 161:8–9, 163:11–12.

^tPerhaps the aleph is the particle ³, used in a quoted speech by the Asiatics in col. 19? It would seem that the inscription continued above the horses' heads, for on analogy with other stationary groups (pls. 4, 35) the heads with their plumes would account for four of the six groups now missing: see Helck, *BiOr* 28 (1971): 323 for a similar suggestion. It is unlikely that the aleph formed part of a word in the next short column, since words tend not to be broken up between columns in these inscriptions. For the term ³, generally translated "cedar" but now believed to be a fir tree, see B. Couroyer, "Sapin vrai et sapin nouveau," *Orientalia* 42 (1973): 339–56.

^uFor the alterations and traces in this column, see pp. 30–32 and fig. 2.

^vReading *wšbt* (see *Wb.* I 372); but cf. pp. 30–32, with n. 17 above. It is likely that the *.tw* at the top of col. 22 was suppressed when the texts were recarved, thus belonging only to the original version: for the latter, perhaps restore *s* [^r]*.tw.f*, "as he is in[roduced]" to the Good God, etc. (*Wb.* IV 32:9–10, s.v. *sl'r*; the abbreviated writing noted there as being current since the Nineteenth Dynasty might fit the otherwise incomprehensible trace below *s*).

^wErroneously carved as *nb*.

^xSee Helck, *Beziehungen*², pp. 192–93; cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* IV 5–6.

^yCf. pl. 3:14 (= *KRI* I 8:16, *dm* *n p*³ *K*³*n*^c*n*).

PLATE 11

KING SETY I ATTACKING THE TOWN OF YENOAM

- I. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 88.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlvii 2.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 36, 36a.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 207, 207a, 208.
Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 39, lower.
Descr. Ant. III 40 [2] (man on horseback).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 57.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. Dyn., p. 5.
KRI I 13.

In this scene, Sety pursues fleeing Asiatic chariotry towards two fortresses. The king (drawn on a scale far larger than his enemies) stands in his chariot, the reins lashed around his waist, and directs volleys of arrows into the mass of his foes. This melee is notable both for the economy of its composition¹ and for its wealth of felicitous detail. Most of the Syrians are garbed in the long robes encountered in previous plates, the younger men being distinguished by their long thick hair as opposed to the bald pates of their elders. A number of figures in both these groups have fillets wrapped around their foreheads—nearly all of the young men, in fact, have this feature—but it is not clear that the fillet's absence from certain of the elders has any significance. Notably, the two Asiatic charioteers nearest the king wear tight-fitting caps that end in a slender tassel.² The enemy's discomfiture is rendered with some variety: in one famous vignette, a man is riding bareback a horse he may have cut loose from a disabled chariot. Other men are hiding behind trees or in crevices in the hilly country below the forts. A number of Asiatics have fallen in postures suggesting broken necks, and one man (only partly visible at the king's hand) is seen in midair, falling headlong and covering with his body the head of the second charioteer nearest the king.³

The Asiatic towns lie in hilly, wooded country, in which the fleeing enemy attempt to hide themselves: one man at the far left is seen trying, in effect, to crawl out of the scene. The towns themselves are conventionally rendered fortresses, surrounded by moats. On the ramparts of the lower fort, "the town of Yenoam," we see the city elders raising their hands in supplication while the leader of the procession—the city's prince?—holds up a brazier.⁴ The town above this, for the most part now lost, was probably Hamath or (less believably on purely historical grounds) Beth Shan.

Rosellini's copy, the only "facsimile" made prior to the twentieth century, shows the scene essentially as it appears today, with one difference: under the front legs of the king's horses

¹Contrast the earliest known precursor of this melee, on the sides of Thutmose IV's wooden chariot (Wresz., *Atlas* II 1, 2), with the far denser composition in later examples (e.g., *Med. Habu* I 18, 19, 32).

²Cf. Wresz., *Atlas* II 1, 2.

³Much less likely, in our opinion, is Gaballa's interpretation of this damaged relief (in *Narrative*, p. 101), in which the king is said to be grasping the two foemen by the necks.

⁴This detail (for which cf. pl. 23 below) is plausibly interpreted as part of a sacrificial rite designed to secure the gods' protection for the besieged town: see Ph. Derchain, "Les plus anciens témoignages de sacrifices d'enfants chez les Sémites occidentaux," *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970): 351–55; Othmar Keel, "Kanaanäische Sühnenriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs," *ibid.* 25 (1975): 413–69; and A. J. Spalinger, "A Canaanite Ritual Found in Egyptian Military Reliefs," *SSEA Journal* 8 (1978): 47–60.

there are two *Flicksteine*—the larger a rectangle that straddles the blockline, and another that occupies a semicircular wedge to the left. The plaster bedding for the latter can still be seen in Wreszinsky's photograph, but the piece was still in its place when Rosellini made his copy, preserving the lowest of the horses' hooves and the rear end of the Asiatic in front, pierced by a javelin. A number of other *Flicksteine* can be pointed out, most prominently the rectangular gap in the fort of Yenoam. Smaller patches affect the face of the Asiatic on the far lower left, under the front hooves of the leftmost enemy horses (one stone fallen out), and a small wedge in and under the bellies of the king's team.

Cosmetic changes were generally confined to the king and his chariot. Sety's figure was thrust further forward in the original version, and it took more than one attempt to get the final proportions in their proper relation, particularly the thickness of the king's front leg. The ribbons of the king's helmet were also moved to the right, suggesting that the head (now lost) was included in the overall shifting of the figure. Earlier traces were keyed for plaster, some of which still remains. Outside this main area, the front leg of the king's first horse seems also to have been widened, and the body of the stricken charioteer under the king's right hand was also changed—the outer line of his right arm was recarved further to the right; and an erroneously placed line for his back was continued to form the lower fold of his robe, the correction of the top having been done in plaster (now mostly lost). Hacking in the other charioteer's face and in the king's right arm may reflect keying for plaster (cf. the arm of the second charioteer) rather than later vandalism, which this sequence of reliefs was spared. Inside the fort, the man on the far left may be a later addition, for the line of the building passes through his body, and the surface of the body itself is uneven (being lower on the right, inside the fort).

Fragments of paint are widely dispersed over the surface of the relief, the most concrete traces being the red pom-poms attached to the mane of the falling enemy horse in the middle. Flesh tones throughout are red, and the trees (as expected; cf. pl. 10) are green. The Asiatics were garbed in robes of blue and green stripes and with red belts (one example overpainted with green). A trace of green was found on one of the charioteers' caps, but comparison with an earlier example in relief (see note 1 above) suggests they also were striped. The horse blankets, as well, were probably painted with a blue and green pattern. A trace of blue survives on the harness of the king's horses, and part (at least) of the chariot's wheel was painted red. The javelins lodged in the chariot's rear case have (respectively) blue and green balls resting on yellow "lotus" attachments.

The large gap on the right of the scene, once containing the king's legs and lower chariot, is part of an extensive lacuna that cuts through the two scenes at the right. It belongs to the post-Pharaonic reuse of the temple for dwellings and will be discussed in chapter 2.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

ABOVE HORSES

¹The first great span of His Majesty, "Amon [who . . .]s^a the Nine [Bo]ws."

ON FORT

²The town of Yenoam.

^aThe name of the span has been partly recarved, the original being "Amon [sub]dues the Nine [Bo]ws [for] him" (**Imn hr [d]r [n.]f [pḏ]t-psḏt*). The secondary version is more difficult to restore, although the -w ending before the determinative suggests a participial form (Gardiner, *Gr.*³, §§ 357, 359): perhaps read [sg]rw, "who silences."

PLATE 12

KING SETY I BINDING ASIATIC PRISONERS

- I. Champ., *Not. descr.* II 88.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlvii 1.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 36a.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 209.
Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 39, lower.
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 57.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr. 19. Dyn.*, p. 5 (incomplete).
KRI I 14.

This small scene depicts the military king in his moment of victory. Bestriding the battlefield in full panoply of war, armed with his bow and sickle sword, he grasps the ropes binding his prisoners as they kneel in submission at his feet. The top and most of the bottom of the scene are gone, but it appears that the Asiatic just in front of the king is kneeling with his body facing to the right, with his head and shoulders twisted around so that they face the king: his two feet and the curving bottom of his robe can be seen at the very bottom of the scene.

There is cosmetic recutting on the king's face, which has been widened to the right: traces of the original chin and mouth remain. The most important change, however, concerns a badly preserved figure on the right end of the scene. This individual originally marched behind the lower row of prisoners in the next scene to the right (pl. 13): above the break are preserved traces of his head and of an upraised hand, while his feet and the hem of his robe are seen along the bottom. A secondary version, facing in the opposite direction (i.e., left, into this scene) was cut over him. This final version shows two upraised arms above the break (the right arm perhaps recut from a fan slung over the original figure's shoulder? [cf. pl. 6]) and two feet at the bottom, with the hem of the earlier figure's garment perhaps reused in this final version. The figure is larger than the prisoners in pl. 13, smaller than those in this scene. In both versions, moreover, it wore sandals, which none of the foreign enemies do. It is thus virtually certain that the figure originally represented the official who appears elsewhere along the wall (cf. pls. 6, 23, 29), and that it was recut for a royal prince, the future Ramesses II. Note that the earlier figure occupied a space set aside for it, and that, like the figure below in pl. 6, it followed the king's triumphal return to Egypt. A similar figure on the west wing (pl. 29) also suffered the same sort of reversal when it was changed into a prince.

A few traces of paint still cling to the figures in this scene, which, despite its damaged state,¹ is unchanged since the first modern copy was made. Flesh tones are red throughout. The king wore a blue shirt and a blue (= leather?) band on his wrist. The prisoners no doubt wore their customary striped robes, on which a bare trace of red now remains.

¹The blocks that run along the bottom of the scene were prised out during the post-Pharaonic occupation of Karnak (see chap. 2 for discussion). A number of marks along the lower edges of the blocks above the gap (particularly in the prisoners' chests) show how the wedges were introduced from above.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BEHIND KING

¹Horus, strong of arm, the master ²[of ac]tion, who strikes down ³his [ene]mies.^a

ABOVE PRISONERS

⁴[The spoils] which His [Majesty brought back [on] his own two feet, consisting of ⁵the great chiefs of] every foreign country: he has carried them off as living captive(s).^b

^aThe spacing suggests *nb* [ir]t-*bt*, *sbr* [rk]yw.f. Kitchen's proposed [hft]yw.f (*KRI* I 14:11) seems too large to fit the space.

^bFor the restoration, cf. pl. 8:21. The trace of the strong-arm determinative rules out the notion that the text is complete as it stands (*KRI* I 14:10).

PLATE 13

KING SETY I BUNDLING ASIATIC PRISONERS INTO HIS CHARIOT

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccxci.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 88–89.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlvii 2.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 36a.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 210, 211.
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 57.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. *Dyn.*, p. 5 (incomplete).
KRI I 14.

This scene is a variation of the conventional return to Egypt. Instead of the usual procession (cf. pls. 6, 31, 35), Sety is seen striding towards his chariot, a group of prisoners bundled under each arm. From the streamers behind his neck we may infer that he wore the Blue Crown (cf. pls. 4, 8, 10, 31, 36); otherwise he is simply garbed, as in other scenes on the wall. In his left hand are his bow and the reins of the chariot, while his right hand grasps the sickle sword and (perhaps) a club: the curved projection coming off the bottom (beneath the king's hand) could be a shorter rendering of a common feature.¹ Also in the king's right hand are ropes leading two rows of bound prisoners. These Asiatics are portrayed in more detail here than elsewhere in these reliefs: note the fringed hems on some of the robes (top row) and the elaborately carved "handcuffs."²

Of the two earliest copies Rosellini's is much the better in showing both the extant relief and the breaks. Champollion's drawing (in the *Monuments*) is not only more careless in these respects, but it restores the king's head and front leg as if they were preserved. Only the contemporaneity of Rosellini's copy assures us that the scene was already damaged in 1829 as it is today. The loss of the upper course of blocks deprives us of most of the main texts, of which only the bottoms of ten columns remain. The long break at the bottom of pls. 11 and 12 (see chap. 2) also cuts into the lower row of prisoners here. In addition, the blocks at the right end of the scene (with the left end of pl. 14) have been removed, and the edges have weathered severely, with the resulting loss of the horses' faces and front legs. A deep semicircular hole in the middle of the scene lies where the king's front leg and the back of the chariot would have been. Further damage is caused by striations in the defective sandstone blocks in the upper course.³

These conditions explain why so little paint is preserved (only a trace of red remains in one of the horses' bodies). There is no revision of the relief, but the sculptor has done less than his customary justice to the harness of the king's team. In the clearest examples (pls. 31, 35) the yoke is fitted across the back of each horse under a leather saddle: the rounding knob at the top of the yoke emerges from an opening through the top of the saddle, and the two ends of the

¹See Walther Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 79–80; cf. p. 63, fig. 41. Its use is suggested by other occurrences in relief, e.g., *Med. Habu* I 17 bottom, 18, 19, 23 (cf. Wresz., *Atlas* II 67, 103), 24, 31 bottom, 37, 41; *ibid.* II 62, 68 (cf. Wresz., *Atlas* II 20), 72, 77, 94, 116, 117.

²The "figured" handcuff (cf. *Med. Habu* I 11, 41–43) is clearly a development of the simpler variety (*ibid.* 44) that is illustrated elsewhere in these reliefs (cf. pl. 6).

³These conditions are illustrated in Wreszinsky's photograph (see bibliography above, and cf. discussion in chapter 2).

yoke protrude from the bottom.⁴ The reins consist of two parallel straps: one of them passes freely through a loop at the top of the cincture running under the belly; the other is sometimes shown passing over the saddle (pls. 3, 10), but more often it passes through the opening in the top of the saddle, emerging from under it to join, along with the first strap, the head harness. The blunt pommel that is seen attached to the saddle above the knob of the yoke is a mounting for a disk, this unit seeming to have merely a decorative function.⁵ In this scene, a second pommel takes the place of the knob, and the saddle is incompletely drawn in comparison with parallel examples. The upper strap of the reins passes over the saddle, as in other examples, but ends at the neck in a protuberance instead of lying flat against it.

⁴Cf. the yoke on the chariot in Florence, best illustrated by H. Schäfer in "Armenisches Holz in altägyptischen Wagnereien: Die ägyptische Königsstandarte in Kadesch am Orontes," *Sitzungsb. Berlin* (1931): pl. vii, opposite p. 742; cf. Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands I* (New York-Toronto-London, 1963), pp. 190–91.

⁵For this element see Wresz., *Atlas* II 1, 2; *Med. Habu* I 24–25. Examples from the royal chariots of Tutankhamon are preserved in the Cairo Museum (unpublished): see Helen Murray and Mary Nutall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamun's Tomb*, Tut'ankhamun Tomb Series I (Oxford, 1963), p. 7 (122 m–p); see also *Bibl.* ² I.2 575.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

ABOVE CHARIOT

1. . . 2. . . [val]or,^a 3[a sovereign mighty of strength, who subdue]s^b the Nine Bows, 4[who carries off their chieftains] after he has [trapped 5them in his grasp like a falcon when he has] se[iz]ed 6[small birds.^c He is like Mont]u,^d . . . 7. . . 8. . . 9. . . 10. . . him (?).

BETWEEN ROWS OF PRISONERS

¹¹The great chiefs of Retchenu whom His Majesty carried off as living captives [from the foreign countr]ies^e. . . .

ABOVE HORSES

¹²The first great span of His Majesty, "Great of Victories."

^aReading [kn]t. Approximately six and a half groups are lost from the top of each column.

^bRestoring [lty šhm-phity, dr] pdt-psdt. This and other suggested restorations of this passage are taken from Wresz., *Atlas* II 56a, left side.

^cReading [ln.f wrw.sn 'rf].n.f [sn m hf' f ml bik] h[p]t. [n.f šfw].

^dRestoring [sw ml Mnt]w; cf. pl. 4:1 (= KRI I 22:3).

^eRestoring [hr h's]wt; cf. KRI I 19:14.

PLATE 14

KING SETY I PRESENTING ASIATIC PRISONERS AND SPOIL
TO MEMBERS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD

- I. *Descr. Ant.* III 32 [4].
Denon, *Voyage*, pl. 133 [4].
Champ., *Not. descr.* II 89.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* xlviii 1.
L. D. III 127 b.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 37, 38.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 212, 213, 324.
Von Bissing, *Einführung . . . äg. Kunst*, pl. xvii, top.
Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:45 (col. 2).
Capart, *Thèbes*, p. 116, fig. 66, upper (omitting captives).
Idem, *Propos*, fig. 78 (same).
Erman, *Die Welt am Nil*, pl. 37 (king and captives).
Prisse, *L'art ég.* II 97 (4, 5: two vases).
Vercoutter, *L'Égypte [&c.]*, pl. xlii (295, 298: bull and griffin on vase lid).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 63.
Brugsch, *Recueil* xlix (c-d: texts of king and Amon).
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. Dyn., p. 7, middle.
KRI I 15.

In this scene Sety presents the spoils of victory to his divine patrons, Amon, Mut and Khonsu. The king stands, facing the Theban Triad, in the middle of the scene: garbed simply, wearing a wig with the fillet headdress, and with an empty quiver strapped to his back, he gestures with his right hand towards three subregisters of ornamental vessels that represent tribute from the campaign.¹ His left grasps his bow and also the draw-ropes leading the two rows of Asiatic prisoners behind him.

The earliest reliable copy (Rosellini's) shows little difference from the modern preservation of the scene. Details such as hacking, which are inconsistently shown in early drawings, can be inferred from the damage he shows to the Bes jar in the upper subregister: at present all the figured jars, the faces of the gods and of the prisoners have been defaced, and this had presumably happened before Rosellini made his copy. A *Flickstein* bearing the heads of several prisoners in the bottom register had also fallen out before 1829, and there was already a rectangular gash extending from the second row of vessels across Amon's legs. Rosellini's copy shows more of the bottom of the *w3s*-scepter and of the god's tail below the break, and the god's lap is rendered completely; but these details could have been exaggerated or filled in from imagination on what is, already, an idealized drawing. Certainly the amount of damage suffered by this relief since Rosellini's day has been minimal.

The most considerable changes done to the relief in antiquity affect the figure of Khonsu and the king's head. The latter was made wider, as in other examples seen earlier, and higher: traces of the original fillet headdress, profile and top of the head survive within the final version. The interior of the head was keyed for plaster, some of which still survives at the top and

¹For descriptions of these vessels and parallels with other reliefs see Wresz., *Atlas* II 38.

inside the front shoulder. The upper right arm was also thickened slightly. Khonsu's figure has been altered in two places. First, the weight behind his neck was made larger—the original version was too small;² a trace of plaster at the bottom of the final version no doubt stems from the cosmetic masking of this change. The god's two hands were originally lower: they were raised by the addition of a new fist at the top, the original lower fist being suppressed. In related changes, the top of the robe was adjusted upwards; the crook and flail were changed so that they could be grasped at the proper angle by the new hand on top; fingers were added to the lower hand of the final version (originally it was the upper hand, with fingers hidden from the viewer); and the bottoms of the crook and flail were carved anew, partly in plaster. The very deep cutting of the original version prevented its total erasure, so the earlier traces had to be masked with plaster. In both versions, then, Khonsu's hands were contiguous—as they were not in the “mirror image” of this scene on the west wing of the wall (see pl. 32).

In the upper row of prisoners, note that the double-lined hem on two of the robes was not fully carved. At the bottom of col. 25 the front leg of the owl-*m* was not carved through owing to an intervening piece of flint in the stone.

A considerable amount of color remains in this scene. Disregarding the hieroglyphs (to be dealt with in chap. 4), the traces are distributed as follows. Khonsu's head, hands and the upper part of his robe (nearest the weight) are blue; the disk on his head was yellow. The feathers on Mut's wig are green; her hair and part of her robe (at the knee) are blue. Amon's characteristic blue skin is sporadically preserved, but no other color remains in his figure. The ground on which the top row of vases rests is blue. The rounding top of the ankh jar and its two arms are green; the bottom and attached decorations are yellow (= gold). The body of the Bes jar is blue; its rim and attached decorations are yellow. The bowl of the adjoining “marsh” vessel is green over yellow; the flowers on top and the two dogs crouching at the sides are yellow. In the second row, only the tops of the harp (left end) and the adjoining vessel are preserved in color, both yellow.³ The king's flesh tones are red; his wig is blue. A trace of yellow paint over blue is found in the back of the uraeus on his brow. The shirt adjoining his neck is predominantly blue, with flecks of yellow near the back shoulder; below the arm there is a swatch of red paint near the back shoulder, with a trace of superimposed blue paint inside. These traces perhaps formed part of an elaborate corselet.⁴

The prisoners have red flesh tones, and the headdress of the second prisoner from the right in the upper row was also red. The garments' pattern is not preserved in any connected fashion, but it probably consisted of blue, green, red and yellow stripes. The prisoners' bonds were red, as were their sashes and belts (though a trace of blue is found on one belt).⁵

²Cf. *Med. Habu* V 309, 316–17, 325.

³For parallels see Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (Chicago, 1936) I xxxiii, xlii–xliii. These painted examples are more complexly patterned than the painted reliefs and (one suspects) closer to the originals.

⁴Cf. *Med. Habu* I 25B.

⁵Cf. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* II lx; Hölscher, *Excav.* IV, pl. 30B. The relief version, again, is probably simpler than these elaborately patterned examples.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

ABOVE TRIBUTE

¹Presenting tribute by His Majesty to his father ²Amon, when he had returned from the foreign country of Retchenu ³the vile, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, tur⁴quoise, jasper,^a (and) every costly gemstone, the chiefs ⁵of foreign lands being enclosed in his grasp, to fill ⁶the magazine of his Father Amon “through the valor you have given to me.”

BY AMON

⁷Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: “Welcome in ⁸peace, (O) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menma‘atre! ⁹I set your victories over every hill country, the dread^b ¹⁰of you being in the heart(s) of the Nine Bows, and their chiefs come to you ¹¹as one, their backs laden. ¹²I have given you the lowlands in dread of you, and the Nine Bows ¹³in submission to your renown.

BY MUT

¹⁴Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru, ¹⁵Lady of Heaven, ¹⁶Mistress ¹⁷of all the gods, as she gives all life like Re.

BY KHONSU

¹⁸Khonsu-in-Thebes ¹⁹Neférhotep, the Great ²⁰God, Lord of Heaven.

ABOVE PRISONERS

²¹His Majesty return[ed]^c from Upper Retchenu after^d ²²expan[ding] the borders ²³of Egypt, [having] ²⁴destro[yed]^e the land of the Bedouins, ²⁵[their chieftains] being ²⁶[livin]g [cap-ti]ve(s),^f [their] tribute. . . .^g

BETWEEN ROWS OF PRISONERS

²⁷The chiefs of foreign lands who know not Egypt, whom His Majesty brought away as living captives, [their tribute . . .].^g

BY VULTURE

Nekhet.

^aReading *mḥn(m)t*: see Harris, *Minerals*, pp. 111–13.

^bThe tail and two bottom legs of *snḏ* are visible: cf. col. 12 below.

^cReading *līl.[n].ḥm.f*: the *n* of the *sdm.n.f* form was recorded by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 89.

^dFor this sense of *hr* see Gardiner, *Gr.*³, § 165.10.

^ePerhaps restoring *sk[sk.n.f]*, i.e., *sk [sp-2 n.f]*: cf. pls. 35:24–25, 36:3 (= *KRI* I 18:14, 19:9). The spacing would also fit the simpler form, *sk* (as in *Urk.* IV 87:11). Alternatively, restore *sksk t3 Mntlw*, “(after expanding the borders of Egypt) and destroying the lands of the Bedouins.”

^fRestoring [*wrw.sn*] *m [skr-‘nb]*: cf. pl. 12:5 for the spelling.

^gOne would expect *lṇw.[sn hr psd.sn]*, “[their] tribute [on their backs]” in both places: cf. pls. 8:3–4, 32:5, 35:34 (= *KRI* I 10:11–12, 19:6, 23:6).

THE EAST WING, THIRD REGISTER

(PLATE 14, TOP)

While the battle scenes in this register have been completely lost, a fragment remains at the west end, above the scene showing the presentation of spoil in the register below. Of this we see only the very bottom of the relief, stretching over the figures of the gods and the tribute on pl. 14: the traces seem to be those of small feet¹ facing east (= left) and of a number of vertical lines. The placement of these traces suggests that they belong to the gods who receive spoil from the king, but their small scale rules out any of the gods who appear in corresponding scenes in these reliefs. The “mirror image” of this scene on the west wing (pl. 26) shows Sety entering Karnak Temple, in which are Amon and a goddess, and then kneeling before another divine figure (lost). Since the deities portrayed on the west wall appear to be the “great gods” of Thebes, it could be that they were balanced on the east side by figures of the Theban Ennead, who are always shown on a smaller scale as a group than the gods of the Theban Triad. The traces would thus be of their feet and their thrones. The scene as a whole no doubt showed Sety in the act of presenting treasure and captives to these gods, either by themselves² or led by one of the “great gods,”³ in this case Amon. The Theban Ennead is not often represented so prominently, but it may be significant that these gods were associated with Amon on the walls of Thutmose III’s bark sanctuary,⁴ which was still in use during Sety I’s reign.

¹It is altogether less likely that they represent articulated toes, since even the larger figures of the gods are not rendered in so much detail: see pls. 8, 14 (bottom), 15, 17, 19–21, 26, 32, 36.

²E.g., *Bibl.* ² II 103 (305), 119 (392), 123 (429), 238 (53)–(54), 245 (10).1.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 45 (154).III 4–5; 498 (93)–(95).I 7.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

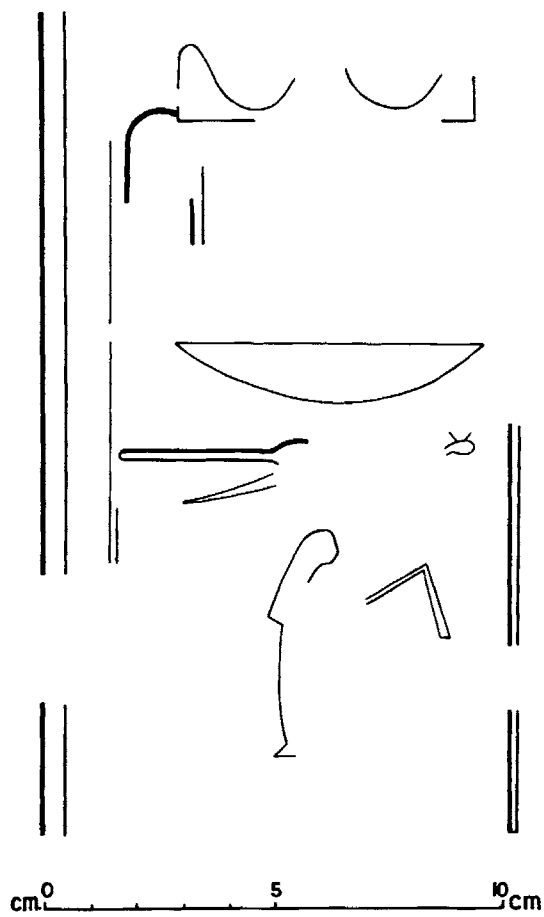


Figure 1

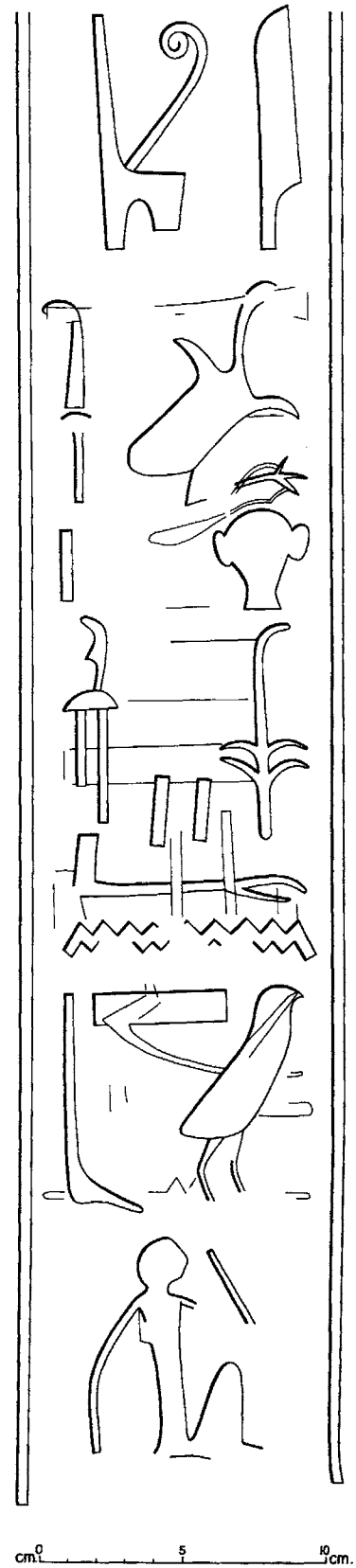


Figure 2

THE CENTRAL DOORWAY AND ADJOINING SCENES

(PLATES 15–21)

The doorway leading into the main passage that runs south through the hypostyle hall was originally carved by Sety I in raised relief. The technique of its decoration is paralleled in earlier buildings, particularly those of the later Eighteenth Dynasty at Luxor, in which both exterior portals and their adjoining façades were decorated with raised reliefs.¹ Perhaps it was the prominence of these entrances that excepted them from the generally observed rule that confined raised relief to interior surfaces and sunk relief to all outside walls.² In any case, when Ramesses II usurped the doorway for himself, he recut the scenes on the outer face—i.e., the lintel (now lost) and the jambs—in sunk relief. The reliefs on the thicknesses, arguably “interior” surfaces, were left in their original form except that Sety’s cartouches were recut for Ramesses in sunk relief. Marginal texts of Sety II, Ramesses III and Ramesses IV were added later, beneath the scenes of the lower register.

The two triumphal scenes flanking the doorway can be seen as formal, generalized summations of the battle reliefs on each wing. Each scene stands a full two registers in height, and both represent the king in the act of smiting a group of prisoners with his mace. The god Amon-Re watches the proceedings while extending towards the king the sickle sword, emblem of the king’s force (*ḥpš*) towards foreign lands. Rows of name-rings, symbolizing countries under Egyptian domination, are led towards the king by Amon and another, smaller deity—the goddess Thebes on the east (pl. 15) and Dedwen of Nubia on the west side (pl. 17): the identity of these figures is confirmed by reference to the triumph scenes of Thutmose III on the south face of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak,³ which are the closest stylistic antecedents to the scenes published here. Sety’s reliefs, however, are not slavish copies of their models. Amon’s pose is different in the earlier scenes, and the texts are not the same: notably, Sety does not maintain the exclusively Nubian or Asiatic orientation in each of Thutmose III’s scenes, for on pls. 15 and 17 the groups of prisoners and name-rings are a mixture of Libyan, Nubian and Asiatic elements that differ from one another only in detail. As a type, the scene is itself devoid of specific historical reference,⁴ and the list of names is a stereotyped collection of places that ought, by rights, to be under Egypt’s control. What redeems these reliefs from utter banality is a timely alteration of the lowest row of name-rings in each scene: originally containing Nubian names, the hieroglyphs were filled with plaster and recut with Asiatic toponyms reflecting the king’s recent triumphs in that area. Used in conjunction with the battle scenes, the name-rings thus supply additional evidence for the extent of Sety I’s campaigning in the Middle East.

¹The jambs of the south gate leading from the processional colonnade into Amenhotep III’s courtyard were carved in raised relief (located at *Bibl.* ² II 316–17 [a], [b]). At the north entrance to the colonnade the doorjambs and their adjoining scenes on the façade were originally carved in raised relief; the latter scenes were mostly usurped by Ramesses II and recut in sunk relief (located at *ibid.*, pp. 307 [27] I 1–2; II 3; 309 [31]; 313 [72], a–b). Both of these portals originally stood alone, serving as the formal entrance to Luxor Temple. A later exception is supplied by the high gate at Medinet Habu, the exterior walls of which are carved in raised relief (see *ibid.*, pp. 483–88 for references).

²Seele, *Coregency*, p. 40 (§ 65).

³See *Bibl.* ² II 170 (499)–(500) for references.

⁴Cf. the examples collected by Wresz., *Atlas* II, particularly pl. 184a.

PLATES 15–16

EASTERN TRIUMPH SCENE: SETY I TRIUMPHING OVER
FOREIGN ENEMIES IN THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE
AND THE GODDESS THEBES

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccxciv–ccxciv a; cclxxxix, nos. 42, 66–90.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 95–97, 111–12.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* lx–lxi.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a, fig. 1.
- II. *Descr. Ant.* III 40 [3] (*serekh* with Ka-standard [reversed]).
Syro. Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:50–91 (name-rings).
Pier, *Inscr. Nile Mon.*, fig. 66 (omitting name-rings).
Brugsch, *Recueil* lvi, 1 (Ka); 1, c–d (texts above and behind Amon).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 64–67.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. *Dyn.*, pp. 7–9 (omitting name-rings).
Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58, pp. 43–45 (palimpsest name-rings).
Simons, *Handbook*, pp. 53–59 [xiv]; cf. p. 141 (name-rings).
KRI I 25–29.

This large scene occupies the height of two full registers and is placed between the east jamb of the central doorway and the two registers of battle scenes on the east wing (see above, pls. 3–14). It is dominated by an immense figure of Sety I, who grasps with his left hand a stake to which an assemblage of Libyan, Nubian and Asiatic prisoners is bound: a mace is held in his upraised right hand, as he shifts his weight onto his left leg before striking the prisoners at his feet.¹ He wears the Red Crown, with a false beard attached to his chin; a broad collar bordered by teardrop-shaped beads; and a *shendyt*-kilt, to which the customary bull's tail is attached. The belt and buckle are shown in some detail, the latter being inscribed for “the Good God, Lord of Joy, [Men]ma‘atre, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, given life.” The falcon god, “Horus of Edfu” (*Bḥdty*), hovers above his head, while behind him is a Ka-standard surmounted by the king's Horus name within the usual palace façade.

The prisoners are a mixed group: a Libyan (left, eyes raised towards the king) and a Nubian (right, eyes downcast) occupy the forefront, while assorted foreigners (mostly Asiatics) are shown behind, either in profile or full-face. Those on the left side of the stake raise their hands beseechingly towards the king, while on the right side they show an attitude of worship towards Amon-Re, who stands on this side. The god is drawn on a somewhat smaller scale than the king: he dominates the prisoners' figures only because he stands on a ground line higher than theirs. His figure, with his right arm outstretched, extending the sickle sword (*ḥpš*) towards the king, was at some point shrouded with a veil, for there are rectangular drill holes adjoining his right fist and above his right arm. His face, lying on the corner joint of three blocks, was carved on a separate stone patch that has been lost. Beneath him, on a far smaller scale, is a figure of the goddess of the Theban nome: the hieroglyphic nome-sign is mounted on her head; in her right hand she grasps a bow and a sheaf of arrows, and a compound mace² in her left. Both divinities hold with their left hands the ropes that bind each member in the

¹For earlier parallels, see most conveniently Wresz., *Atlas* II 184a.

²For this “Beilkeule” see Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, pp. 68–69.

rows of name-rings behind them (cf. pl. 17): the rings, a characteristic part of such triumph scenes from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, consist of small ovals with a crenellated border—in effect, a fortification. The name of the country is placed inside this oval, with the torso, arms and head of a foreigner issuing from the top. The arms of each figure are bound behind its back, and a rope is looped around the neck of each man: the loose end is grasped by the god who stands nearest each row. Some effort has been made to endow these figures with racial characteristics of the names inside the rings: thus, the heads in the first southern list (nos. 1–14) were originally carved for Asiatics, but were altered to the Nubians' customary short wig. This nicety was not consistently followed, though, for the heads in the third southern list (nos. 54–70) were left in their original Asiatic forms—a useful oversight, as it turned out, since these names were later changed to those of the king's recent conquests in Asia.

When the first modern copy was made, the text in line 40 and the relief above it (i.e., the king's foot and leg, and the prisoner's hand and leg) were preserved more fully: the restored part of line 40 indicates the extent of the loss. A number of signs have been lost from the middle of cols. 25–29, above the blockline: although damaged, they were at least partly visible when Rosellini made his garbled, but still usable, copy of the texts. The most serious loss, however, is due to erosion along the bottom of the scene. In row five, the bottoms of name-rings nos. 34–38 and all of nos. 39–41 have disappeared. In the bottom rows, erosion has destroyed much of nos. 42–53 and 54–61, seen complete by earlier copyists; however, nos. 62–70 and the east end of line 40 were completely missed, even though they are relatively well preserved today. Luckily, the copies of Champollion and Rosellini seem to be reliable in the latter portion of the list (i.e., from no. 22 onwards).³ The first three rows (nos. 1–21) were apparently filled in from similar names in the corresponding triumph scene on the west side (pl. 17), with unfortunate results. Since each row in that list contains only six names (as opposed to seven on pl. 15), the discrepancy had to be made up by leaving the seventh ring in each row blank or by adjusting the placement of the names. Comparison of pl. 15 with early drawings shows the confusion that resulted, as well as other inconsistencies: for example, the spelling of “vile Kush” (no. 2) follows that of pl. 17, without the hill-country determinative used in pl. 15.

The few alterations to the figures in this scene affect the upper parts of the name-rings and the figure of the king. The changes to the heads of name-rings nos. 1–14 have already been discussed, and no. 21 (“Tribes[men] of Nubia”) was also changed in this way, from an Asiatic to a southerner. The heads of figures in the second southern list have all been lost. In the third southern list, as we have said above, there is no demonstrable change, but alteration of the Nubian wig to the more generous Asiatic headdress would eliminate the traces of any earlier version in sunk relief. Cosmetic retouching of the king involved shifting the crown slightly higher and to the right, and moving the king's belly to the left.

A greater number of changes took place within the texts of this scene. In col. 9 it is clear that two versions of substantially the same text were carved, but an exact restoration is impeded by the loss of the column's right half.⁴ The most significant alterations were to name-rings nos. 54–70, in which two versions (respectively, African and Asiatic names) can be distinguished. The superimposed hieroglyphs had already been noticed by Champollion and Rosellini, but the first thoroughgoing examination of the traces was by W. Max Müller (see Bibliography, III). His conclusions, which made the African names into the secondary (later) version, have been generally accepted by later authorities.⁵ In our reexamination of the signs, however, we

³See the commentary in the notes to the translation for individual details.

⁴See below, p. 52, n. b.

⁵By Simons and (by implication) *KRI*, ad loc.: see Bibliography, III. Wreszinsky leaves unclear the direction of the change, but

came to the conclusion that Müller's interpretation had to be reversed: that the original Nubian names had been filled with a layer of plaster and the later, Asiatic toponyms cut into this medium. Since the later version would be cut into the stone only where the tip of the chisel penetrated through the plaster, the traces of this version are fainter than those of the earlier, which had not been erased before it was changed. It is perhaps the feebleness of these later traces that led Müller to believe that they belonged to an earlier, effaced version. The evidence for our new interpretation can be found in the affected name-rings, although these are not as well preserved as they were when the earlier copies were made:

No. 56: The quailchick-*w*, *t* and the hill-country determinative of the African name are more deeply cut than the signs over them; the head of aleph, however, is exceptionally deep, and the waves of the *n* are obliterated in this section. Plaster remains in the central peak of the African hill-country sign.

No. 57: The African signs, again, are deeper, although the *n* has obliterated the feet of the *b*³-bird. Plaster remains inside the owl-*m*.

No. 60: The *h* is deeper than the overlying hill-country sign, and it is filled with plaster.

No. 61: There is plaster in the *t* of the African name over the *f*³-bird's back.

No. 62: There is plaster in the left end of the *d* in the African name.

No. 63: The *sh* of the African name is filled with plaster, which also covers the right side of the stroke below.

No. 65: The reed-leaf and the lower of the two hill-country signs are cut more deeply than the signs over them.

No. 67: The aleph of the Nubian name is more deeply cut than the superimposed signs.

No. 69: The hill-country determinative of *Hḏr* is unusually low and clearly reuses the more normally proportioned sign in the same space.

No. 70: The *p* of the Asiatic name is cut more deeply than the *š* of the Nubian name.

With some exceptions (nos. 56, 57, 70) the African signs are more deeply cut than the Asiatic; and they are filled with plaster, whereas the Asiatic signs are not. This evidence suggests that the African names were in fact carved first and were filled with plaster, and the Asiatic toponyms carved (for the most part less deeply) over them.

Very little paint survives on this relief. At the upper left end, the tail of the falcon and the vertical borders were green. The prisoners' arms (right side) were red, and red paint also survives inside the neck of the Nubian captive.

his statement that the original versions were hacked out ("mehrere ausgetilgt") is not correct. In a work that was written in the 1970s but only recently published (K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt* [Warminster, 1982], p. 31), the presumed change of Canaanite to Nubian names is seen as a reflection of Sety's later Nubian campaigning.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

TITLE (ABOVE PRISONERS, LEFT)

¹Smiting the chiefs of the nomadic Bedouins ²(of) all remote foreign countries, (of) all Fenkhu-lands^a ³of the furthest reaches of Asia (and of) the great circuit of the sea.

THE CENTRAL DOORWAY AND ADJOINING SCENES

51

BY AMON-RE

⁴[Words spo]ken by [A]mon-Re, Lord of the Thro[ne]s [of the Two] Lands: "My bodily son, ⁵(my) beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Menma'atre, possessor of strength over every foreign country! ⁶I am your father. I set the awe of you in Upper and ⁷Lower Retchenu. The tribesmen of Nubia are slain under your sandals. I cause the chiefs of the southern foreign countries ⁸to come to you, and they cause you to receive tribute consisting of ⁹the[ir] chi[ldren] and every [good] pro[duct of] their foreign country, ^b to seek ^c ¹⁰[that you may give to them the breath of life]. ^d I se[t] my face to the north, and (I) work a wonder ¹¹[for you. . . .^e] ¹²[. . .^f] rebellious tendencies^g in the marshes [by]^h the might of your forearm. I cause [foreign countries who know not ¹³Egypt]ⁱ to come to you [bearing] their tribute, laden with silver, gold, lapis lazuli (and) every sort of costly gemstone of God's Land.^j ¹⁴[I set my face to the east, and I work a wonder for you],^k so that it is trussed up for you entirely (and) assembled in your grasp. I collect [all] the foreign countries ¹⁵[of Punt, the]ir [tribute]^l consisting of gum, myrrh, 'cinnamon^m and every fragrant plant of God's Land. ¹⁶[. . .] I set my face to the west, and (I) work a wonder for you. (I) destroyⁿ for you the Tchehenu-lands^o ¹⁷[. . .]^p in humility, fallen on the[ir] knees because of your renown. The chiefs ¹⁸[. . .] to give praise to you. I set my face towards the sky, and (I) work a wonder for you. The gods [of the horizon of heaven] ¹⁹shout for you, '[Born]^q like Re at dawn, may you be rejuvenated like the moon when it is brough[t] ba[ck] regularly.' I set my face towards the earth, ²⁰[and I work a wonder for you. I predict victories for you over]^r every foreign country.^s The gods in their temples rejoice for you: 'May you spend an eternity as king on the throne of Geb!'"

BY AMON (ABOVE PRISONERS, RIGHT)

²¹"Receive unto yourself the scimitar, (O) mighty king, as your mace has smitten the Nine Bows! ²²I cause them to see Your Majesty as a possessor of sunshine as you gleam^u in their faces like my image. ²³I cause them to see Your Majesty equipped in the panoply when you take up weapons of battle on the chariot. ²⁴I cause them to see Your Majesty like a shooting star, scattering its fire in flames when it emits its 'tail'.^v ²⁵I cause them to see Your Majesty as a [yo]u[ng]^w bull, stout-hearted and sharp-horned, who cannot be subdued.^x ²⁶I cause them to see Your Majesty as a cro[codile, lord of]^y fearsomeness in the shallows, who cannot be approached.^z ²⁷I cause them to see Your Majesty like a bl[as]t [of fire, li]ke^{aa} the manifestations of Sekhmet in her pestilence. ²⁸I cause them to see Your Majesty as [a fierce lion],^{bb} when you [make] them into heaps of corpses throughout their valleys. ²⁹I cause them to see [Your] Majesty [as a div]ine [griffin],^{cc} great of strength, who cannot be subdued in heaven or earth."

ABOVE GODDESS THEBES

³⁰"Thebes is [Victor]ious," Lady of ³¹the Strong Arm, Mistress of every [District].^{dd}

BY ROYAL KA (BEHIND KING)

³²The living King's Ka of the Lord of the Two Lands, preeminent in the ro[bing] room and preeminent in the house of the morning.^{ee}

ABOVE KING

(Sety I), ³³the image of Re before the Two Lands,^{ff} ³⁴who smites the tribesmen ³⁵and tramples the Bedouin, ³⁶who makes his border at the "Horns of Earth,"^{gg} at ³⁷the furthest reaches of Naharin. ³⁸Horus the strong-armed, the master of ac[tion], ³⁹who smites the chiefs of every foreign country.^{hh}

BEHIND KING

The protection of all life, stability and dominion is behind him like Re.

BELOW KING

⁴⁰Assemblage of these southern and northern foreign countries which His Majesty has smitten, a gre[at] slaughter being made among [them, the number not being known. Their inhabitants are carried off as living captives to fill the magazine of his father, Amon-Re . . .],^{hh} being chattels of [His] Majesty—may he live, prosper and be healthy.ⁱⁱ

BY HORUS

The Behdeti[te] . . . , as he gives all life, stability and dominion, all health, all valor and all victory.

^aOn the generality of this term for Syria-Palestine, see Claude Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e Dynastie*, Monographies Reine Elisabeth I (Brussels, 1971), pp. 173–74.

^bThis broken column was recut entirely, in an apparent attempt to reposition the elements of the same text. Exact restoration is impeded by the lacuna, although Kitchen's reconstruction (*KRI* I 26:10: *msw.sn m³c nb nfr*) seems to be warranted by available parallels. In our copy we explain the low flat sign under the original .*sn* as part of the flat *m³c* trilateral inside the *m³*-sickle.

^cThe more correct spelling, *sb*, has been filled with plaster, suggesting that the alternative *sy* was carved later, perhaps for aesthetic reasons.

^dRestored following *KRI* I 26:10 and the other parallels cited there.

^eThe curving trace at the bottom of the column, while identifiable as .*k* or *nb*, cannot be the end of the preceding *bl³.(i)* *n.k*, which should have appeared higher.

^fSomething like "suppressing (those with)" no doubt preceded.

^gSee *Wb.* IV 495:14–15.

^hPart of the low-*m* was seen by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a, and would have been on the blockline. The absence of this sign in any earlier copy suggests that it was largely missing when the relief was first copied.

ⁱRestoration following *KRI* I 26:11–12.

^jThe two references to *T³-nfr* (cols. 13, 15) contrast the products of the north and south. "God's Land" embraces both areas, being frequently used of Punt (*Urk.* IV 323:14), but also of the Lebanon (*ibid.* 1652:12–15) and more generally, as here, of Syria-Palestine as a whole.

^kFollowing *KRI* I 26:12–13. On *bl³l*, here and elsewhere in this passage, see Erhart Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj³-* (Cologne, 1971), pp. 122–24.

^lFollowing *KRI* I 26:13.

^mThe figure's flail was repositioned when the *tl* was added later. On the identity of this substance, see Jac. J. Janssen, "A Twentieth Dynasty Account Papyrus," *JEA* 52 (1966): 86–87.

ⁿFor a more correct spelling of *sswn*, see *Med. Habu* II 102:16.

^oGardiner, *AEO* I 116*–120* identifies *Thnw* as the area west of the northwest Delta.

^pSomething like *lw wrw.sn n.k*, "their chiefs come to you," would fit the lacuna.

^qRestored after *Med. Habu* II 102:18.

^rThere seems to be no room for the two *n*'s proposed by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a (all other copies have only one). On *mt(t)*, cf. Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 87:2, *l^ch lw n mt(t)* = Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 324–25, 556.

^sFollowing *KRI* I 27:3–4.

^tThe traces of *h³st* at the top of the column are found in no other copy: cf., however, *Med. Habu* II 102:19.

^uThe determinative of *shd* was seen by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 96; cf. Champ., *Mon.* III ccxciv. For parallels, see Chicago, *Reliefs* I 4 and Lacau, *Stèles* I 20–21.

^vSee *Urk.* IV 615:13–15 for a fuller writing of this passage. The exact translation is in dispute. For *ssd*, "shooting star," see Alexandre Piankoff, *The Litany of Rē*, Bollingen Series XL.4 (New York, 1964), p. 32, n. 104; Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, pp. 49–50, n. 3d; and most recently (with references to opposing views), R. O. Faulkner, "The Pregnancy of Isis, a Rejoinder," *JEA* 59 (1973): 218–19. *Idt*, "smoke," is treated by *Wb.* I 152, and might by extension refer to the tail of a comet or shooting star.

^wChamp., *Not. descr.* II 96 (cf. *idem.*, *Mon.* III ccxciv) saw *m*[] . Pace *KRI* I 27:7, there seems to be no room (or need) for a *p* (see *Wb.* II 432 for the spelling *m(p)*).

^xThe phrase *n hn.tw.f* (cf. pl. 5:4) is here probably a virtual relative with the sense of "cannot" (Gardiner, *Gr.* ³, §§ 196.2, 455.4).

^yThe text is garbled in all earlier copies. All saw *dpy* but disagree as to what parts were visible, and all missed *nb*.

²For another, less usual abbreviation of *tkn* in these reliefs, see pl. 5:14.

^{aa}The signs were garbled here also by the earlier copyists: the most accurate is Ros., *Mon. stor.* lxi, who saw *hh* virtually complete, followed by the *n* and part of *sd*; but he too has compressed the traces in a confusing manner.

^{bb}Lacau, *Stèles* I 20, line 19, has *m3l-hs(3)* followed by the lion determinative. The other parallel (Chicago, *Reliefs* I 4) is restored here, but there is room for only an abbreviated writing.

^{cc}The most valuable earlier copy, once again, is Rosellini's (*Mon. stor.* lxi), who saw the letters *hh*. The determinative is restored from Chicago, *Reliefs* I 4. (Neither the parallel nor the traces seen earlier are recorded in *KRI* I 27:9.) The presence of the book-roll determinative below suggests the restoration of [*ntr*]y: see H. S. Smith and A. Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103 (1976): 63, n. n. For the spelling, see *Wb. Beleg.* II at 363:11.

^{dd}Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a saw part of this text, which was otherwise ignored by earlier copyists (cf. *KRI* I 28:4). For restorations, see W. Helck, "Ritualszenen in Karnak," *MDAIK* 23 (1968): 121.

^{ee}Ignored by all copyists except Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a.

^{ff}The traces (*ilt-R^c hnty t3wy*) were missed or garbled by all earlier copyists except for Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. *Dyn.*, p. 9:1 (but see *KRI* I 26:2).

^{gg}Omitted by the nineteenth century copyists. Cols. 38–39 are in Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a, and all these minor epigraphs are recorded in *KRI* I 26:4–5.

^{hh}Champ., *Mon.* ccxiv and Ros., *Mon. stor.* lx saw *lr h3yt 3t lm.sn, n rh tnw, ln. . . .* The rest is restored from the parallel scene (pl. 17:25) and other sources (*Urk.* IV 795:7–13; J. H. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh* [Chicago, 1903], pl. vii).

ⁱⁱSeen only in part by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a.

THE NAME-RINGS

FIRST SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 1–14)^a

¹Upper Egypt (*T3-sm^cw*).

²Kush the Vile (*K3 hst*).

³*Itr*.

⁴*Irm3w*.

⁵*M3w^b*

⁶[*3I*]rk^c.

⁷[*B*]k^c(*k*).

⁸*Srnyk*.

⁹*Brbrt*.

¹⁰*Tk3rw*.

¹¹*Irm*.

¹²*Gw*[*rss*].^d

¹³*3rk^e*.

¹⁴*Trrk^f*.

^aFor the African names in the southern lists see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*. Nos. 2–14 of the present list occur in the same order in the earlier lists of Thutmose III on the Sixth and Seventh Pylons at Karnak (*Urk.* IV 796–97).

^bThis name is omitted by Champ., *Mon.* III ccxiv and by Ros., *Mon. stor.* lxi, leaving them one short of the correct total of names in this line. The bottom of the name was seen by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a.

^cBoth nos. 6 and 7 were seen complete by Champollion and Rosellini. Pace *KRI* I 27 (bottom), the first sign of no. 7 is not *b*, but Gardiner, *Gr.*³, Sign List, H-7.

^dSeen complete by Champollion and Rosellini; but the lower signs had flaked off by the time Wreszinsky made his copy.

^eA variant writing of *Trk* (see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 177–78).

^fThis name was improperly positioned by Champollion and Rosellini, being inserted at the start of the third row. The copy given by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a is inexact.

FIRST NORTHERN LIST (Nos. 15–39)^a

- ¹⁵Lower Egypt (*T³-mhw*).
¹⁶The Asiatic Littoral (*H³w nbw*).
¹⁷*Š³(t)*.
¹⁸The Seven Libyan Oases (*Šht 3m*).
¹⁹*Pdttw-šw*.
²⁰*Thnw*.
²¹Tribes[men] of Nubia (*ʿIwn[tw] < T³ >-sty*).^b
²²[Be]douin of Asia (*[Mn]tw nw Sft*).^c
²³[Ha]tti (*[H]t³*).
²⁴Northern Mesopotamia (*[N]hm*).
²⁵Upper [Re]tchenu (*[R]tnw hrt*).
²⁶Lower [Retch]enu (*[Rt]nw hrt*).
²⁷Babylonia (*[S]ngr*).
²⁸Tunip (? = *[Wn]wm*).^d
²⁹[Kad]e[sh] (*[Kdš]w*).^e
³⁰*[P³]bh*.^f
³¹Qatna (*Kdn³*).
³²*Isy*.^g
³³*Mnws*.
³⁴*Ik[pt]*.^h
³⁵*Br[n]*.ⁱ
³⁶*I[rt . . .]*.
³⁷*Irt[h]*.^j
³⁸Sha[su] Bedouin (*Š³[sw]*).^k
³⁹[Arzawa] (*ʿIrtw*).

^aFor the locations of these places consult the standard reference works (Gardiner, *AEO*; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*) and also W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (Leipzig, 1893); Vercoutter, *L’Égypte [&c.]*; and E. Edel, “Neue Identifikationen topographischer Namen in den konventionellen Namenszusammenstellungen des Neuen Reiches,” *SAK* 3 (1975): 49–73. Most of these names occur frequently in collections of name-rings, but their arrangement is variable: see Simons, *Handbook*, passim.

^bNos. 20–21 were omitted by Champ., *Mon.* III ccxciv and Ros., *Mon. stor.* lxi, but are included by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a.

^cNos. 22–27 were seen complete by Champollion and Rosellini.

^dThe top of the ring was seen by earlier copyists, who, however, interpreted the sign on the bottom as Gardiner, *Gr.*³, Sign List, N-18. (Thus also *KRI* I 28, no. 28.) The flat-*m* in our copy is also the writing employed in the parallel copy of the scene (pl. 17, no. 27). Edel, *SAK* 3 (1975): 61–62 suggests that the name is a miswriting of *Ww* = “Tunip.”

^eChampollion and Rosellini probably saw *[Kd]šw*: cf. pl. 17, no. 28.

^fSeen complete by Champollion and Rosellini.

^gVercoutter, *L’Égypte [&c.]*, pp. 179–82, argued for the identification of this toponym with Cyprus, a position which has most recently been espoused by J. Osing, “Zum ägyptischen Namen für Zypern,” *GM* 40 (1980): 45–51. For an alternative identification with the Ishuwa lands on the upper Euphrates, see J. Sturm, “Hieroglyphisch ʿIsy = keilschriftlich Isuwa?,” *AfO* 7 (1932): 187–92, with other references on the location in Anthony J. Spalinger, “Egyptian-Hittite Relations at the Close of the Amarna Period and Some Notes on Hittite Military Strategy in North Syria,” *BES* 1 (1979): 71, n. 51. Favoring the latter position is the inexact phonetic equivalence of ʿIsy with the toponym Alasia (which is almost certainly to be identified as Cyprus: see Y. Lynn Holmes, “The Location of Alashiya,” *JAOS* 91 [1971]: 426–29), and for which an alternative hieroglyphic toponym, ʿIrs, exists (see Gardiner, *AEO* I 131*, II 324). The debate is likely to go on for some time: see Holmes, “The *Isy/Ars* Controversy,” in Sarah Israelit-Groll, ed., *Egyptological Studies, Scripta Hierosolymitana* 28 (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 317–34, who moots Azzi or Usu as further possibilities for ʿIsy. References to ʿIsy in Egyptian texts imply that

copper was among the products it sent as tribute to Egypt, not that it was a major producer of the metal. On the sources for copper used in North Syria at this time, see James D. Muhly, *Copper and Tin*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 43 (March, 1973), pp. 208–14.

^aThe exact restoration is uncertain: it could be ³*Ikpt* (cf. pl. 17, no. 33 and Simons, *Handbook*, p. 160, no. 18), which in these examples follows *Mnws*; but an abbreviated spelling of the name cannot be ruled out.

ⁱSeen complete by Champollion and Rosellini. Edel, SAK 3 (1975): 66 suggests that *Bm* is a miswriting for *Brg*, “Barga.”

^jFor nos. 36–37, Champ., *Mon.* III ccxciv saw ³*Ir*[. . .] (?) and ³*Inw* (?). The restorations follow the parallel copy (pl. 17, nos. 35–36).

^kNos. 38–39 were seen complete by Champollion and Rosellini.

SECOND SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 40–53)^a

40[Punt] ([*Pwnt*]).^b

41[Nh³w].

42³*ms*.

43[Mn]s³w.^c

44[^c3]h.

45[N^ch].^d

46[M]h³dm.

47[^c]hwr.

48³I[^cd]m.

49[Mmt].

50[Mtw].^e

51[W³drt].^f

52[Sthb].

53[Hrdtm].^g

^aFor locations of southern names, see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, ad loc. Nos. 40–53 occur in the same sequence in the lists of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 798–99) and in the southern list of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (*Med. Habu* II 102); cf. for other parallels E. Edel, “Die afrikanischen Namen in der Völkerliste Rameses’ II.,” SAK 4 (1976): 81–82, 98–101.

^bNos. 40–41 were seen complete by Champollion and Rosellini.

^cNos. 43–53 were seen complete by Champollion and Rosellini.

^dMiswritten thus for G^ch (Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, p. 169).

^eThis is a variant writing of a name usually written *Mbt* or *Mbn* (ibid., p. 123).

^fA miswriting of *Hmrt* (ibid., p. 146).

^gWritten thus for *Šdtm* (ibid., p. 158).

THIRD SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 54–70)^a

54[Nh³tm].^b

55[Hk³ht].^c

56W³nt.

57B³im.

58[M]s[t].^d

59[³Ib].^e

60[³I³]h.^f

61[Kk]t.^g

62Sd.^h

63Msh³t.ⁱ

64[K]3m.^j

65[³I]3[3].^k

⁶⁶[M]šw.ⁱ

⁶⁷[Tm]š.^m

⁶⁸[H]bw.

⁶⁹Mdš.

⁷⁰Iwšš.

^aThe following southern names do not form an independent list but continue from the foregoing section (see above ad loc., n. a). They are treated separately here because they were later filled with plaster and had Asiatic names carved over them (see next section and epigraphic commentary on the scene). Earlier copyists (especially Müller, *Eg. Res.* I 43–45, pls. 57–58, followed by Simons, *Handbook*, pp. 55–56) had already untangled a number of these palimpsests but concluded (incorrectly, as it turns out) that the Asiatic names had been carved first.

^bChamp., *Mon.* III ccxciv, followed by Ros., *Mon. stor.* lx, saw [.]htm.

^cH[. .] was seen by the copyists cited above.

^dNothing of this name was recorded by Champollion or Rosellini, but Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58 seems to have part of the s, along with other, more dubious traces.

^eTraces of all the signs were seen by Rosellini.

^fChampollion perhaps saw the aleph. The bottom of h was made out by Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58.

^gChampollion and Rosellini noted K[. .]. A quailchick-w is recorded (probably in error) by Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58 under the final -š of the secondary version.

^hMost of the name (with the s partially preserved) was seen by Müller, *ibid.*

ⁱSeen complete by Müller, *ibid.*

^j[Kš]šm is a variant of Kššw (Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 160–61).

^kMüller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58 records a final r, which, if it was ever there at all, has since disappeared.

^lThis is a variant of Mš(w)t (Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, p. 118).

^mOnly the final aleph survives (as seen by Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58). The name is restored from parallels in the lists of Thutmose III (see previous section, n. a).

SECOND NORTHERN LIST (Nos. 54–70)^a

⁵⁴[Pella] ([Phr]).^b

⁵⁵[Hammath] ([Hmt]).^c

⁵⁶Beth Shan (Bt-ššr).

⁵⁷Yenoam (Ynwšm).^d

⁵⁸[. .].^e

⁵⁹[Acco] ([škš]).^f

⁶⁰[Ku]me[di] ([K]m[d]).^g

⁶¹[Ulla]za ([šIwnr]t).^h

⁶²Tyre (Dšwr).ⁱ

⁶³Uzu (šIwšw).

⁶⁴[Be]th Ana[th] ([B]t-šn[t]).^j

⁶⁵[. .].^k

⁶⁶[. .].^l

⁶⁷[Qa]der ([K]dr).^m

⁶⁸[. .].ⁿ

⁶⁹Hazor (Hšr).

⁷⁰Raphia (Rph).

^aThe Asiatic names that follow were inscribed over the original African names in rings nos. 54–70, as noted in n. a to the previous section and in the epigraphic commentary on this scene. For the locations, see the first northern list above, n. a. Several of the names in this section (nos. 60, 63, 64) occur in the lists of name-rings for the first time under Sety I, no doubt reflecting his activity in these areas: note that in the account of Sety I's early wars in the first Beth Shan Stela (*KRI* I 11–12), mention is made of Pella (no. 54, attested since the mid-Eighteenth

Dynasty: see Simons, *Handbook*, p. 205), Hamath (no. 55), Beth Shan (no. 56), and Yenoam (no. 57: cf. the "town of Yenoam" as depicted in these reliefs [pl. 11:2]).

^bThe signs copied by Champ., *Mon.* ccxciv and Ros., *Mon. stor.* lx suggest that []³hr was preserved then.

^cChampollion and Rosellini saw H³[. . .].

^dYnw[. . .] was seen by Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58 and by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a.

^eNo traces of the Asiatic name are preserved in any copy. Simons, *Handbook*, p. 143, 55 (5), suggests K^mhm.

^fChampollion and (more completely) Rosellini saw remains of the full name.

^gThe letters K^md are preserved in Champollion's and Rosellini's copies, but the surviving traces suggest rather that the spelling was [K³]md (with a low-m).

^hMüller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 58 saw []rt³. Some of the strokes to the left of []lwn are suggested by Champollion's and Rosellini's copies.

ⁱThe final r is shown under the w in Müller's copy, whereas Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a omits it altogether.

^jMüller saw Bt-[]nt.

^kOf the final name, a quailchick-w is preserved on top, with the trace of n below, just above the determinative. Perhaps, then, read [K]w[. . .]¹mw¹ (K^mhm? = Simons, *Handbook*, p. 215) or (by analogy with pl. 17, no. 60 below) [T]w[. . .]¹mw¹.

^lOf the final version there is the head of an aleph on top and part of a bird with a long tail on the bottom. Could the name be something like [K]³[r]m? See *ibid.*, pp. 215–16, s.v. q-r-m-(n).

^mSee *ibid.*, p. 216, s.v. q-d-w-r.

ⁿTraces of an aleph appear at the top of the ring, with a short horizontal trace in the lower half. Contrary to *ibid.*, p. 143, 65 (15), the relationship of the two traces seems to rule out Krt-nb, although a name such as [K]³[rt]^c[s] (*ibid.*, p. 152, no. 25) would fit.

PLATES 17-18

WESTERN TRIUMPH SCENE:
KING SETY I TRIUMPHING OVER FOREIGN ENEMIES IN THE
PRESENCE OF AMON-RE AND THE GOD DEDWEN

- I. L. D. III 129.
 Champ., *Not. descr.* II 106-12.
 Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a, fig. 2.
- II. Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 87.
 Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 124, fig. 20 (one captive).
- III. Champ., *Mon.* cclxxxix 1-41, 43-65 (name-rings).
 Wilkinson, *Mat. Hiero.* II, pl. viii, top left (name-rings 1-6).
 Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:49 (small god).
 A. Cullimore, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 2 (1834): at "Osiree I" (some name-rings behind Amon).
 Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, p. 44, pl. 57 (palimpsest name-rings).
 Simons, *Handbook*, pp. 53-59 [xiii]; cf. p. 137 (name-rings).
 Brugsch, *Recueil*, pl. I, b; cf. xlviii, b (text behind Amon).
 Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889):75-77.
 Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. *Dyn.*, p. 12 (incomplete).
 KRI I 29-32.

This triumphal scene, located on the west wing between the west jamb of the central doorway and the lower two registers of battle scenes further west, is virtually a mirror image of its eastern counterpart (pl. 15). Like the other scene, its composition reflects the influence of Thutmose III's reliefs on the south face of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak, and it displays the same features as the balancing scene to the east. The king's costume is rendered in the same manner as before, down to the belt buckle (inscribed for "The Good God . . . , Menma'atre"), and the prisoners are, once again, a mixed group, although they are less strikingly portrayed than in pl. 15. Amon's pose is somewhat more dynamic here than in the other triumph scene, but he still extends the sickle-sword with his right hand and grasps the leader-ropes for the name-rings behind him with his left. The small god below¹ performs the same function here as the goddess Thebes in pl. 15.

No drawing of this scene was made by the Franco-Tuscan expedition under Champollion, so the first complete record comes from the time of Lepsius. The pattern of damage seen today was established but less extensive then. The patch holding Amon's face was missing, and already there was serious erosion between the god's belly and the figure of the king (although the bottom sign in col. 2 was still preserved in part). The prisoners and the king's body were drawn complete, but these details could be supplied easily from imagination or by reference to the other triumphal scene; the same is true of the group *hr tb.ty.k* in col. 24, which is fully drawn by Lepsius. The most important damage is to line 25, which was preserved almost completely in the 1840s, and to the name-rings in the bottom row, particularly nos. 37-41, 49-53 and 57. Curiously, nos. 60 and 64 were treated as lost, even though the signs can be clearly made out today.

¹See below, p. 62, n. aa, where he is identified as Dedwen of Nubia.

The sculptors who worked on this scene had to deal with patches of unsatisfactory stone which, as usual, were removed and *Flicksteine* put in their place: in addition to the patch in Amon's head, there are others between the king's legs and just in front of his back leg, below the blockline. As in the other scene, the first two rows of name-rings (nos. 1–12) had their original Asiatic headdresses changed to Nubian wigs; and their chins were shifted upwards and altered as well. As in pl. 15, these niceties were not always observed (e.g., in the Asiatic headdresses of the second southern list, particularly at no. 44, "Punt"), and there is no evidence that the headdresses of the palimpsest name-rings were changed, as well they might have been. The names inside these last (nos. 49–65) were altered from their African originals to Asiatic toponyms associated with Sety's victories in Western Asia. Evidence for these changes is as follows:

No. 54: The African name is more deeply cut than the Asiatic, and there is plaster in the *m* and *nw*.

No. 55: The African signs are deeper, with the original *b* and *m* filled with plaster.

No. 61: Parts of *t* and *n* belonging to the African name are filled with plaster (see pl. 18A).

No. 62: The signs of the Asiatic name were not carved to any consistent depth but appear and disappear with no corresponding variation in the level of the surface. Carving of the Asiatic name on plaster could help to explain this anomaly.

No. 65: The *p* of *Rph* is incompletely carved inside the *š* of the African name; and the latter sign is also keyed for plaster.

Although less extensive than on the east side, the evidence of the recutting points to the same conclusion; namely, that the African names (generally carved more deeply than the Asiatic, and filled with plaster) were the original versions.

Cosmetic alterations are more frequent in this relief than in the corresponding triumph scene to the east. The figure of the king has been changed in a number of ways—most strikingly, the curl of the Red Crown was lengthened, the original version and also the signs *ptpt hfnw* in col. 2 being filled with plaster. His face (including the uraeus on his brow) and left fist have also been moved to the right, the overall impression being of greater weight and solidity. Minor adjustments to the front leg (which was widened at the back), the kilt (lowered in front), and the front foot (top raised, heel lowered) can also be noted. Some confusion is apparent in the positioning of the bull's tail. Earlier examples under Thutmose III² and Amenhotep II³ show the tail disappearing behind the calf and emerging below from the other side, evoking the whiplash effect of violent effort. This model was followed by one of the large figures of Ramesses II on the south wall of the hypostyle hall,⁴ but in the later Ramesside period it became customary to show the tail following the back of the leg, abandoning the realistic convention of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵ In this scene there are two tails, one following the back leg, the other twisted behind it; the latter, lower tail was widened after it was first carved. On epigraphic grounds alone it is impossible to tell which version came before the other, since no plaster remains in either one, and no keying would be needed for the plaster filling of the original version. The calf of the leg, moreover, could have been widened to suppress an original continuous tail along the back, or it could have been filled with plaster and carved with this

²Bibl. 2 II 170 (499)–(500).

³Ibid., pp. 175–76 (521)–(522).

⁴Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh*, pl. vii (right); the tail on the other side of the doorway is destroyed.

⁵*Med. Habu* II 101, 102; *ibid.* VIII, 622.

tail as a secondary version. Since the corresponding scenes of Ramesses II show the earlier whiplash effect in at least one instance, however, we have assumed that this convention was used in the final version on pl. 17 to balance the later, less natural style in the opposite relief (pl. 15).

Other adjustments can be enumerated quickly. The back of the rear hock of the hawk on the *serekh* was carved in an inset of plaster. The foremost prisoner's figure was thinned slightly on both sides, and the lappet of his wig was widened (the earlier line being covered with plaster). On the left of the group of foreigners, a prisoner's armpit was erroneously carved into the chest of the figure in front of him; and the foot below the first prisoner's penis-sheath was carved too narrowly and had to be widened at the toe. Amon's right arm was lowered slightly, and the sword blade was shifted to the right, as shown by the plaster found inside the left cut. An ancient fault straddling cols. 3-4 was patched with plaster, and the signs were partly carved in that medium; and in col. 15, the thorn of *Hnsw-Hr-Spd* was adapted from the original *dl* (Gardiner, *Gr.*³, Sign List, X-8) by cutting out the middle.

Most of these changes no doubt occurred before the carving was finished—in fact, no paint was found under the plaster of the suppressed coil and of the earlier hieroglyphs beside it. Considerably later, no doubt, the name of the small god beneath the figure of Amon was erased with such thoroughness that only the determinative of the presumed “[Dedwen, preeminent in Nubja] survives in part.⁶ The reason for this persecution is not readily apparent, since other figures of this god (notably in Thutmose III's scenes) were spared. Hacking occurs in the face of the king, in his right hand and in the right hand of Amon; in the head of the vulture above the king; and inside the bodies of some—not all—owl-*m* and Horus falcon figures in the text. Still later are the graffiti of Coptic saints around the king's legs, and also the smiling face drawn inside the loop of the ankh-sign in col. 22.

A considerable amount of paint survives in the hieroglyphs of this scene, but rather less inside the figures. The vulture's feathers were blue (front, top) and green (back), the top of her head and her tail feathers were blue. The hawk on the *serekh* had a green back and a red crown; red paint was also found inside the disk above its back; the uraeus's body was yellow. A fleck of red survives in the prisoners' legs. Amon's flesh was blue, the pommel of his sword yellow.

⁶See below, p. 62, n. *aa*.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY KING

¹The Good God, great in power, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Master of Action, Menma'atre, who acts by means of his power . . . , ²the Son of Re, who tramples on myriads,^a the Lord of Diadems, Sety-Merenamon—given life like Re!^b—[whose mac]e has smitten [every] foreign country.^c

BY AMON-RE

³[Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lan]ds:^d “My bodily son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Menma'atre, holy of diadems,^e ⁴[powerful in strength and strong of arm, who overthrows]^f his enemies! You have carried off every foreign country that used to violate [your] frontiers, [being one who seizes ⁵every land on its south and seals] it^g on its north. Your effective divine power has surrounded every land, and the terror of you has broken open [the foreign countries, you being ⁶as Horus, Chief of the Two Lands, a Re for the Bows] when your victories are seen.^h I set the fear of you in their hearts, your murderousnessⁱ

THE CENTRAL DOORWAY AND ADJOINING SCENES

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being directed against the ill-natured countries,^j [your two hands ⁷being clasped on the heads of] your [enemies].^k I have made you the master of their headmen, the Sand-dwellers [being in subjection ⁸to your name^l^m] My mace is in ⁹[your right hand, my club is in] yo[ur lef]t.ⁿ You have restrained the ill-¹⁰[disposed among the Asiati]cs (?).^o ¹¹[I have caused] their chiefs [to come] to you, bearing all their [go]od products of their countries. I have given you Egypt ¹²[with good things, (and) the Nine Bows as chattel]s^p to your treasury. I cause the Southland to come to you organized in submission, the Northland groveling ¹³[at your divine power, while what the oce]an [encompasses]^q is under your supervision. I [have] given you a lasting kingship on earth. I cause your renown to circulate through ¹⁴[the Eastern highland;^r (and as for) the Se]a,^s you have reached its fringe.^t I have opened for you the roads of Pun¹⁵[t (and the) . . .]^u which are there. I give to you the 'Pillar-of-[his]-Mother' to guide you, (and) Khonsu-Hor-Soped^v ¹⁶[as the protection of your limbs, all powerful gods]^w being organized as your followers. The Behdetite makes his two arms into a cool place for you. [(As for) every ¹⁷distant] foreign country [of the Fenchu that kn]ows not Egypt,^x I cause Your Majesty to tread upon it like one who enjoys himself, like a jackal ¹⁸[or a *Sha*-beast of the Delta marshes.]^y I give to you the property of the Two Lands and their victories, the shares of the Two Lords being made into your shares."

ABOVE KING

¹⁹Horus, the strong-⟨armed⟩,^z the master of action, ²⁰who smites the foreign land and fells ²¹his opponent.

BEHIND KING

²²The protection of all life, stability and dominion, and all health, is behind him like Re.

BEFORE STANDARD

²³The living king's Ka of the Lord of the Two Lands, preeminent in the robing room, preeminent in the house of the morning, as he giv[es] all li[fe].

BY VULTURE, TOP RIGHT

Edjo, as she gives victory like Re, as she gives all life and dominion like Re.

TITULARY BEHIND STANDARD

Horus, Mighty Bull arising in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live.

BY [DEDWEN]

²⁴[Words spoken by Dedwen, preeminent in Nub]ia:^{aa} "I have given you all plains and all hill countries under your sandals."

BELOW KING AND PRISONERS

²⁵Assemblage of these [southern and northern] foreign countrie[s that His Majest]y [slew, a great] slaughter being made among [them, the number not being known], the[ir sub]jects being car[ried off as living captives to fill the magazine of his father, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, all foreign countries being chattels of] His [Majest]y—may he live, prosper and be healthy!^{bb}

^aThe words *ptpt hfnw* were suppressed in plaster when the coil of the Red Crown was expanded.

^bThe phrase *dl 'nh ml R^c* stands to the right of col. 2, but it is clearly meant to be read with the cartouches.

^cRestoring the full phrase, *hwl.n. [hd.f] b³st [nb]*, after Chicago, *Reliefs* I 5:13 and *Khonsu* I 65:7–8. The *nb* at the bottom of the column was seen by L. D. III 129.

^dAbout four groups are lost from the tops of the columns in Amon's speech.

^eThe margin line ends with *ḡsr-ḥ^cw*, and the trace interpreted by KRI I 30:6 as the top of *sh̄m* is more probably the top of the stake to which the prisoners are bound: cf. pl. 15.

^fThere is room above the break in col. 4 for [*sh̄m-pḥty*, *tm̄³-^c*, *sh̄r*] *ḥfīl^w.f*, following KRI I 30:6, with references cited.

^gRestoring *t̄š[w.k]*, *l̄t t̄š nb ḥr ḥnty.f*, *ḥtm*] *sw* following KRI I 30:7. A maximum of two and a half groups is lost from the bottoms of cols. 4–7, making a total lacuna of about six and a half groups for these lines.

^hRestoring *sd.n*. [*s ḥ̄šwt*, *l̄w.k m Ḥr ḥry-tp t̄šwy*, *R^c n p̄ḏwt*], following *Med. Habu* II 101:6. It is also possible to restore, instead of *R^c n p̄ḏwt*, something like [*l̄b.ḏ 3̄w* (or *ndm*) *n*] *m̄š̄ḏ ḥwt.k*, "[My heart is glad at] seeing your victories": see KRI II 160:12 and Chicago, *Reliefs* III 3:8, 11.

ⁱSee *Wb.* IV 416–17.

^j*Ibid.* II 247:5, here written with the foreign country determinative.

^kSee *Med. Habu* II 101:8 (*^cwy.k dm̄ m tp ḥrwy.k*).

^lSee *ibid.* 101:9 (*ḥryw-š^c m ksy n rn.k*).

^mThe Medinet Habu version (*ibid.* 101:9–10, *sh̄m 3̄ht.k l̄m.sn*, "your uraeus has power over them") would fit the lacuna, but accords ill with the sign preserved at the top of the column, i.e., probably the first person sing. suffix, referring to Amon himself.

ⁿSee *ibid.* 101:10 (*ḥḏ.ḏ m wnmy.k*, *3̄ms.ḏ m 3̄by.k*). While *3̄ms* is conventionally translated as "club," it could (following Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, p. 106, n. 10a) represent the stake which the king grasps in his left hand, both here and in pl. 15. The shorter lacuna in this scene would also require spellings that are more concise than those of the Medinet Habu version.

^oSee *Med. Habu* II 101:10–11 for this passage; but the Sety version has an additional element at the top of col. 10. Its restoration is uncertain, but we propose tentatively [*³m*]*w*: see *Wb.* I 167, bottom, where the throwstick is used either as a phonetic sign or as a determinative.

^pFor the parallels see *Med. Habu* II 101:12 and Chicago, *Reliefs* I 34:4 (*p̄ḏt-ps̄ḏt m ḏt r pr-ḥḏ.k*).

^qSee *Med. Habu* II 101:13 and Chicago, *Reliefs* I 4:6–8 and 34:4 (*šnn šn-wr ḥr st-ḥr.k*). The final *r* of *šn-wr* is visible both in Champ., *Not. descr.* II 107 (top) and L. D. III 129.

^rSee Chicago, *Reliefs* I 34:5 (*hm̄mt.k p̄hr m-ḥt B̄ḥw*).

^sChamp., *Not. descr.* II 107 (top) saw most of *w̄ḏ-wr*. The upper group had disappeared by Lepsius's day.

^tFor *snb*, "fringe," see *Wb.* IV 160:7.

^uBoth Champollion and Lepsius recorded walking legs in the upper right corner of the column, above *wnn*. No trace of this sign can be made out today, and no plausible restoration is offered by the parallel texts, which are rather more condensed at this point.

^vThe hieroglyph *spd* was recut from an erroneous *d̄l*.

^wSee *Med. Habu* II 101:15–16 (*Ḥnsw-Ḥr-Spd m s̄ḏ ḥ^cw.k*, *n̄tr nb sh̄m gr̄g m šms.k*).

^xSee Chicago, *Reliefs* I 34:5 (*ḥ̄st nbt w̄ḏw Fn̄ḥw ḥmw Kmt*).

^y*Ibid.*, 34:6 (*m̄l s̄ḏb*, *š̄ḏw m ḥ̄st ḏḏḥ*).

^zReading *tm̄³-(<)*, cf. pl. 15:38 = KRI I 30:1.

^{aa}The small god is probably Dedwen, his appearance here probably reflecting the influence of Thutmose III's triumphal reliefs on the southern faces of the Seventh Pylon, where the goddess Thebes is shown on the west side and Dedwen on the east: see *Bibl.*² II 170 (499)–(500); and, for the figure of the god and his text, see Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 23. There is no trace of the label *ḏḏ-mḏw l̄n 3̄lwn-mwt.f* that Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a recorded here.

^{bb}Restored following the more complete text seen by L. D. III 129; and cf. above, pl. 15, n. *hh*.

THE NAME-RINGS

FIRST SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 1–13)^a

¹Upper Egypt (*T̄š-šm^cw*).

²Kush the Vile (*K̄š ḥst*).

³*Itr*.

⁴*Irm̄l̄w*.

⁵*Irk̄rk*.

⁶*Bk* (<*k*>).

⁷*Srny* (<*k*>).^b

⁸*Brbrt*.

⁹*T[kʒ]rw.*^c

¹⁰*ʔrm.*

¹¹*Gwrss.*^d

¹²*ʒrk.*^e

¹³*Trrk.*

^aThe sequence followed here is that of the first southern list on pl. 15, nos. 1–4, 6–14 (see above, p. 53, n. *a* for that copy's genealogy and for locations).

^bFor other writings of this name without the final *k*, see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 150–51.

^cSeen complete by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 108, no. 9, and also more accurately than by L. D. III 129 (*ʒrw*).

^dChampollion's copy is again better than that of Lepsius (who read *Pwrss*). Note that the initial *g* has been re-carved from an erroneous *t*.

^eThere is no trace of an initial reed-leaf, as suggested by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53*a*.

FIRST NORTHERN LIST (Nos. 14–36)^a

¹⁴Lower Egypt (*Tʒ-mḥw*).

¹⁵The Asiatic Littoral (*Ḥʒw-nbw*).

¹⁶*Šʒ(t)*.

¹⁷The seven Libyan oases (*Šḥt ʒm*).

¹⁸*Pḡtḥw-šw*.

¹⁹*Ṭḥnw*.

²⁰Tribesmen of Nubia (*ʔIwntḥw Sty*).

²¹Bedouin of Asia (*Mntḥw nw Št*).

²²Hatti (*Ḥtʒ*).

²³Northern Mesopotamia (*[Nh]r[n]*).^b

²⁴Upper [Re]tchenu (*[R]ṭnw ḥrt*).^b

²⁵Lower [Re]tchenu (*[R]ṭnw ḥrt*).^b

²⁶[Babylo]nia (*[Sn]gr*).^b

²⁷Tunip (? = *Wnwum*).

²⁸Kadesh (*Kdš*).

²⁹*Pʒbh*.

³⁰Qatna (*Kdnʒ*).

³¹*Isy.*^c

³²*Mnw[s]*.^b

³³*ʔkḫp[t]*.^b

³⁴*Bm.*

³⁵*ʔrm[. . .]*.

³⁶*ʔrt[n]*.^b

^aFollows the first northern list on pl. 15: see p. 54, n. *a* for the genealogy of this copy and for locations.

^bThese names were seen complete by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 108–109; cf. L. D. III 129.

^cSee n. *g* on p. 54 (to pl. 15).

SECOND SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 37–41)^a

³⁷*[ʕʒh]*.^b

³⁸*[ʔIʕḡm]*.^c

³⁹*[ʕḥwr]*.^d

⁴⁰*[Gʕh]*.^e

⁴¹*[Mḥḡm]*.^f

^aThese names, corresponding to the second southern list of pl. 15, nos. 44, 46–48, are preserved in copies by Champollion and Lepsius.

^bThe best copy is L. D. III 129, all earlier copies interpreting the top of ʒw (all that was visible under the initial ʿayin) as p. For the reading, see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, p. 98.

^cThe best early copy is Champ., *Not. descr.* II 109, no. 37.

^dSee *ibid.*, no. 38, where the top left corner of the h can be seen. The name seems to have been written here without the final r (see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, p. 100).

^eL. D. III 129 read Nwʿw, to which Champ., *Not. descr.* II 109, no. 39, adds hb or similar. For the writing, see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 169–70.

^fWritten Mhdtm (Champ., *Not. descr.* II 109, no. 40): the aberrant t was seen by all the early copyists. See Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, p. 127, for this name.

SECOND NORTHERN LIST (Nos. 42–43)^a

⁴²[Sh]a[s]u Bedouin ([š]ʒ[s]w).^b

⁴³[Arza]wa ([ʾIrʔ]w).^b

^aCorresponds to the first northern list of pl. 15, nos. 38–39.

^bSeen complete by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 109, nos. 41–42.

THIRD SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 44–48)^a

⁴⁴[P]unt ([P]wnt).

⁴⁵Nhʒw.

⁴⁶Mbn.

⁴⁷Sthb.

⁴⁸[š]dtm.^b

^aCorresponds to the second southern list on pl. 15, nos. 40–41, 50, 52–53.

^bThe uppermost sign (now missing) was read hry by L. D. III, and as š by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 110, no. 47. Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a has Nstm, which is probably wrong: see Zibelius, *Ortsnamen*, p. 158.

FOURTH SOUTHERN LIST (Nos. 49–65)^a

⁴⁹[Mnsʔw].^b

⁵⁰[ʒms].^c

⁵¹[Nhṭm].^d

⁵²[Hkʒhṭ].^e

⁵³[Wtn]w.^e

⁵⁴Msṭ.

⁵⁵Bʒ̣m.

⁵⁶Mqʒ̣.

⁵⁷[Kkn]w.^e

⁵⁸ʔIḅ.

⁵⁹ʔIʒ̣.

⁶⁰Hbẉ.

⁶¹Tṃʒ̣.

⁶²ʔIf̣.

⁶³Kʒ̣ṃ.

⁶⁴Mʒ̣ẉ.

⁶⁵ʔIẉʒ̣.

^aFollows pl. 15, second southern list (nos. 42–43) and third southern list (nos. 54–59, 61, 64–65, 67–70). One of the names in this scene (no. 62) is not found on pl. 15. These southern names were suppressed with plaster, and a second version, consisting of northern names, was carved over them: see above, pp. 50, 59 for discussion and parallels.

^bSeen complete by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 110, no. 48, and in part by L. D. III 129.

^cSeen most clearly by L. D. III 129.

^dOf this name, *Nw-* was seen by *ibid.* (and partially by Champ., *Not. descr.* II 110, no. 50, together with *htm*; *tm* was also seen by Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 57).

^eSeen complete by earlier copyists.

THIRD NORTHERN LIST (Nos. 49–65)^a

⁴⁹[Pella] ([*Pḥr*]).^b

⁵⁰[Hammath] ([*Hmṯ*]).^c

⁵¹[Beth Shan] ([*Bṯ-šr*]).^d

⁵²[Yenoa]m ([*Ynw^{c3}m*]).^e

⁵³[*Kmhm* (?)].^f

⁵⁴Acco (*3k3*).

⁵⁵Kumedi (*Kmd*).

⁵⁶Ullaza (*ʿIwnrṯ*).

⁵⁷[Tyr]e ([*D3*]*w[r]*).^g

⁵⁸Uzu (*ʿIwṯw*).

⁵⁹Beth Anath (*Bṯ-^cnṯ*).

⁶⁰*Tw*[...]*r^m*.^h

⁶¹*K[rm]m*.ⁱ

⁶²Qader (*Kdr*).

⁶³*Krts*.

⁶⁴Hazor (*Hḏr*).

⁶⁵Raphia (*Rph*).

^aCorresponds to the second northern list of pl. 15 above, with some dubious names (nos. 53, 60, 61). See above, pp. 50, 59 for discussion.

^bChamp., *Not. descr.* II 110, no. 48, saw dual strokes for [*P3h*]*y[r]*.

^c*Ibid.*, no. 49 saw the upper part of *H3m[ṯ]*.

^dSeen complete by *ibid.*, no. 50.

^eBoth Champollion (*ibid.*, no. 51) and L. D. III 129 saw the top of *Y[nw^{c3}m]*.

^fThe traces of *Km-* at the top of the ring (Champ., *Not. descr.* II 110, no. 52) would fit the name *Kmhm* attested on other lists (see Simons, *Handbook*, p. 215, for references).

^gChamp., *Not. descr.* II 110, no. 56, saw the final *r* of [*D3*]*wr*.

^hChampollion (*ibid.*, no. 59) read the *hb* biliteral of the African name as *k*, a reading adopted also by Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a (= two basket signs superimposed), but no evidence of these traces remains today. The final *-mw* is fully preserved in Champollion's copy, and we may doubt the authenticity of the final *r* recorded (in varying positions) by Wreszinsky and by Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 57. The signs in our copy (*Tw*[...]*[mw]*) are beyond question, perhaps yielding a form of the name *Tmm* in the Asiatic lists of Thutmose III (Simons, *Handbook*, pp. 111, 116 [36]).

ⁱSee Simons, *Handbook*, p. 140 (61).

PLATE 19

SCENES ON THE OUTER FACE OF THE CENTRAL DOORWAY

- I. Barguet, *Temple*, pl. viii.
E. Drioton, *Visite à Thebes* (Cairo, 1939), pl. ix.
Frith, *Egypt, Sinai and Palestine II*, pl. 21.
Idem, *Lower Egypt, Thebes [&c.]*, pl. 31.
Robichon and Varille, *En Egypte*, pl. 66.
Steindorff, *Kunst*, pl. 137.
- II. Maspero, *Hist. anc.* I 98 (west jamb).
Leclant, *Empire*, p. 28, fig. 16 (east jamb).
- III. Barguet, *Temple*, p. 61, bottom (name of doorway).

The façade of the northern gateway into the hypostyle hall was originally decorated in raised relief by Sety I. When Ramesses II usurped these scenes, he not only changed the cartouches but completely recut the figures and texts into sunk relief. His doing so was consistent with the program he had already adopted inside the hypostyle hall, where the most conspicuous elements of Sety's earlier decoration had been usurped and where Ramesses' own work in raised relief had been changed to sunk relief.¹ The reliefs inside the hypostyle hall were revised and added to on several occasions during Ramesses II's reign; and by analogy with this material it would seem that the scenes on the northern gateway were changed toward the end of this process, at some time after the king's twenty-first regnal year.²

In its present state each jamb preserves the remnants of three scenes, with marginal inscriptions at the bottom of each side.

EAST JAMB, TOP (*Pl. 19A*)

The king appears before a god, doubtless Amon, and a goddess (by analogy with the corresponding scene on the west jamb [pl. 19D]: her figure is completely lost here). The king wears the triangular kilt, with a sporran and streamers falling down the front (cf. pls. 19D and E). His figure is not preserved above the waist: in the corresponding scene he is offering wine. In front of the king is a tall offering stand bearing a *nemset*-jar. The slender group of stalks to the left belongs to a bouquet resting on top of this vessel (cf. pls. 19B, D). Beyond this point the scene deteriorates rapidly, but Amon's feet and *wꜥs*-scepter (cf. pls. 19C, D) can be seen.

When the scene was changed from raised to sunk relief, the king's kilt was altered from a pleated version to a simpler style, and the sporran was moved to the right: traces of the original may be seen inside and to the left of the present sporran. No trace of paint remains.

EAST JAMB, MIDDLE (*Pl. 19B*)

The king, his body inclined towards the right, presents a bouquet to ithyphallic Amon-Re. The royal falcon hovers above, bearing Jubilees and "life, stability and dominion" in his tal-

¹See Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 50–91; and W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975): 170–83.

²See K. A. Kitchen, "Aspects of Ramesside Egypt" in W. F. Reinecke, ed., *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology*, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients* 14 (Berlin, 1979), pp. 384–85; the application of these criteria to the hypostyle hall will be discussed by W. J. Murnane in a forthcoming volume of translations and commentary relating to reliefs on the walls of this monument (for the plate volume, see n. 4 below).

ons. The king is wearing a *nemes*-headdress and a triangular kilt: a bare trace of the sporran survives (cf. pls. 19D, E). Between the king and the god is a tall offering stand flanked by the god's usual lettuce emblems (cf. pl. 19E) and bearing a *nemset*-jar with a bouquet. Behind Amon is his characteristic shrine and floral emblem, again flanked by two lettuces (cf. pl. 19E).³ Following him is a goddess, her name lost with the block above her head. She wore, however, a horned disk poised upon her wig, and she holds a *wꜣs*-scepter in her right hand. In the corresponding scene (pl. 19E) there is a goddess with the same characteristics identified as Isis. Given the avoidance of strict symmetry in these reliefs, however, it is possible that the goddess shown in this scene might have been Hathor, who often appears wearing this costume.⁴

Both figures and hieroglyphs bear many traces of the earlier raised relief in which this scene was cut. Traces of Sety's names remain in the cartouches, and the original lines of the figures can be seen most strongly around the lettuce in front of Amon's foot and in the shrine behind him. The block containing the king's head was cut down considerably, and traces of the original version suggest that his arm and head were somewhat higher than in the present version. The strands of hair in the goddess's wig are incompletely carved: it is uncertain whether they had been left unfinished in the earlier version. A number of textual elements that appeared in the original raised relief were not recarved by Ramesses II. These include the title of the scene (col. 1), perhaps suppressed because the king was not seen to be "offering lettuce"; the brief text (col. 4) in front of Amon; the lower part of the text in front of the goddess (col. 5, below her arm); and the stereotyped inscriptions behind the king and the goddess.

A bit of green paint survives in the falcon's right wing; otherwise, nothing remains of the color. Most of the head and body of Amon is now lost; and the regularity of this gap suggests that it lay on a *Flickstein*, now lost, which was used to avoid any awkwardness that might result from the figure's position at the vertical joint of two blocks. The blocks holding most of the king's middle (middle, left) and the goddess's text and headdress (top, right) have fallen out. Otherwise, damage can be attributed to wear along the blocklines, particularly on the right (goddess's lower body) and middle/left (at the king's foot, extending down to the right, into the scene below).

EAST JAMB, BOTTOM (Pl. 19C)

In this scene the king presents two bouquets to Amon-Re and to Sekhmet.⁵ As above, the king's body is bent towards the gods on the right. Most of his head is missing, but the few traces (especially beneath his ear) suggest that he wore the bag wig. The bottom of a pair of streamers can be seen hanging behind his back. Of his costume we see a belt and an elaborate sporran, but instead of the triangular kilt he wears a long overgarment (cf. pl. 19F). Behind the figure of Amon (which is conventionally drawn in every way), the goddess Sekhmet is seen placing her left hand on Amon's shoulder. Her lioness head is surmounted by a large disk with a uraeus attached. The name of the door is inscribed horizontally below the scene (line 8), and remains of a later marginal text added by Sety II can be seen below this.

A rectangular patch, now lost, contained the bottoms of the king's bouquets and the title of the scene. Otherwise, erosion has destroyed much of the king's head (left side) and most of the gods' headdresses (top right). No trace of Sety's names appears inside the cartouches, but the king's front leg, at least, has been pushed considerably to the right. Both Amon and the king originally had pleated kilts, as the traces show. The name of the door, like the rest of the east jamb, was recut from raised into sunk relief. Below this, the inscription of Sety II appears to be

³Discussion in C. J. Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 51–52.

⁴See Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 141–43, 145–46, 150, 153–54, 156.

⁵Not "cow-headed Mut," as in *Bibl.* ² II 49 (162) d, III.

one of this king's original dedications, with no trace of an earlier version. By analogy with the west side, one would expect dedications of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV to have been carved beneath col. 9; but the blocks, though heavily gouged by later visitors to the temple, were never inscribed. The same is true of the block at the left end of the marginal texts, embracing both cols. 8 and 9. The original carved blocks were no doubt removed in late antiquity, when they were no longer able to bear the weight of the courses above them, and fresh blocks were inserted in their place.⁶

More color remains on this relief than in those above it. The king's flesh is red; his tail is yellow. The stems of the bouquet on the left are red, and the broad flowers on the right are painted with green and red tones. Amon's flesh is blue, and his corselet is yellow, as are Sekhmet's feet and the border of the scene.

WEST JAMB, TOP (Pl. 19D)

In this scene (somewhat better preserved than its counterpart on the east jamb) the king offers wine to Amon and a goddess (unidentified: she is preserved only below the knee). The king is dressed in the triangular kilt and the sporran. As in other scenes on the doorway (cf. pls. 19B, E) he wears a false beard. His headdress is the *nemes* (note the lappet beside his neck and the weight below the back shoulder). An offering stand bearing a *nemset*-jar and a bouquet is set between the king and Amon.

Traces of the king's original headdress, back shoulder, kilt, sporran, legs and tail indicate that the figure was shifted slightly forward (= left) when it was changed from raised to sunk relief. The earlier kilt was pleated, with the streamers beside the sporran a bit thicker than in the final version.⁷ To compensate for the shifting of the king the right side of the offering table was made less curving (i.e., narrower) at the bottom, and the stems of the flowers were also reduced on this side. Traces of the earlier raised version are seen around the figure of the goddess and at the bottoms of the uprights in col. 1. The few traces of paint that cling to the relief are found in the hieroglyphs, not on the figures.

WEST JAMB, MIDDLE (Pl. 19E)

The king offers lettuces to ithyphallic Amon-Re and to Isis. As usual the king wears the triangular kilt and sporran, together with a false beard. His short wig is bound with a fillet from which two long streamers hang down his back. The signs for life and dominion dangle from the talons of the royal falcon above his head. Between the king and Amon are two offering stands bearing *nemset*-jars, a bouquet balanced between them. The lettuces that flank the stands, and also those on the small shrine behind Amon, are shown in greater detail than is usual, although the effort to depict individual leaves is not as successful as on the lettuces which the king holds. Behind Amon, Isis wears a horned disk upon her wig, like the goddess in the corresponding scene (pl. 19B).⁸

Many traces of the original raised version can be seen in this relief. Sety's names can be made out inside the cartouches, and in the king's figure we see part of the original back foot and the earlier sporran (wider than in the final version). Conspicuous earlier traces are found at the right-hand border of the scene (behind the king's back), inside the lettuces he holds, in the falcon above his head (the head and shoulder more detailed, and the front wing longer), and in the goddess (down her back). The title of the scene (col. 1) was incompletely erased without being recarved in sunk relief—an inexplicable fact, given that the king is indeed "offering lettuce." Also suppressed was the large standing bouquet between the two offering stands:

⁶For a general discussion of this feature, which still requires more study, see Georges Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Brussels, 1929), pp. 249–51.

⁷Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos I*, pl. 3.

⁸Cf. Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 88, 245.

only the smaller bunch of flowers remains, floating at the top of the group; and it too was simplified, having now only five stems to go with the five central flowers instead of the original seven.

A bit of blue paint survives at the top of the falcon's back; otherwise, only a few of the hieroglyphs retain any trace of their color.

WEST JAMB, BOTTOM (Pl. 19F)

The king appears as in the corresponding scene (pl. 19C) extending two bouquets toward Amon and, behind him, the god Ptah⁹ within a shrine. The king's head, carved onto a square *Flickstein*, is lost, but otherwise he wears the same costume as on the east side. Between the king and Amon is an offering stand on which rests a small bouquet. As on the opposite side, the name of the doorway is inscribed horizontally beneath the scene, with marginal texts of Sety II, Ramesses III and Ramesses IV (recut by Ramesses VI: cf. pl. 20) added below.

This scene, originally carved by Sety I in raised relief, underwent many more changes than its companions before assuming its final form. The complexity of these alterations can best be seen in the king's figure, where the front leg was originally thrust closer to the offering stand to the left: traces of the original version, as well as of two cosmetic shifts in raised relief, can be seen inside the leg. When the leg was moved to its present position, the surface to the right was shaved down so that the new version would appear to be raised, even though it necessarily occupied the same level as the original background. It was this version that was transformed into sunk relief by Ramesses II: even so, the sculptors had to widen their version of the leg, for traces can be seen inside the final cut, well below the original background of the block. In all, there were two major shifts of the leg, but with cosmetic retouching we reach six distinct versions. The sporran was changed from raised to sunk relief with only a minor adjustment, and it appears to have been adapted to all the several versions of the king's figure.¹⁰

The figure of Ptah was also adjusted after it was changed to sunk relief (an earlier sunk line can be seen inside the final cut of his back). The square pectoral below his collar¹¹ was incompletely erased in the sunk version, in keeping with the overall simplification of the relief. The same considerations no doubt influenced the erasure of the details of Amon's original belt, and also the elimination of the small bouquet that was originally wedged between Amon's *wꜥs*-scepter and the offering stand to the right.¹²

For the rest, traces of the earlier raised version are plentiful. Amon's tail was thicker and his kilt lower. Many traces remain along the edges of signs (e.g., the flowers of the bouquet held in the king's right hand). Sety's names are particularly clear inside the cartouches, and there are many traces of raised relief among the hieroglyphs. Curiously, though, when the signs in col. 4 were lightly erased, the sculptors began to carve the top *dꜣ* in sunk relief, but never completed work on this sign nor in the rest of this column.

The best preserved traces of paint cling to the large hieroglyphs of the marginal inscriptions. Within the scene, the disk above the king's head was red, as was his flesh. Amon's flesh was blue, his kilt and corselet were yellow, and the upper part of his tail (opposite his rear) was green. A trace of yellow paint remains in Ptah's heel.

The shoring up of the base of the wall, noted in our discussion of the east jamb, was less extensive here, claiming only the lower part of the Ramesses IV/VI inscription at the bottom. Note that the vertical gouges seen on both sides here cross from the replacement blocks into the older reliefs: they are thus hardly earlier than the Ptolemaic period.

⁹Not Khonsu, as in *Bibl.* 2 II 49 (162) e, III: on the iconography of the god Ptah see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 205, 235 (with the goddess Sekhmet); and Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* II, pl. 22. For Khonsu's appearance see above, pl. 14.

¹⁰The position of the sporran goes with the original placement of the front leg; see Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* III, pls. 4, 34.

¹¹For the pectoral see *ibid.* II, pl. 26.

¹²A parallel (with two bouquets, flanking the stand) is found below on pl. 36.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

PLATE 19A

BY AMON

¹“[I have given you all] health, all life and dominion like Re.”

PLATE 19B

BY KING

¹Giving lettuce.^a

BY AMON-RE

²Amon-Re, Ruler of Thebes. ³Words spoken: “I have given you the lifespan of Re.” ⁴“I have given you all valor like Re.”^b

BY GODDESS

⁵“I have given you life,^c all hea[lth] and all jo[y] like Re.”^aAs in the other examples above, this label was never recut from raised into sunk relief. Note, however, that the figure of the king is offering a bouquet of flowers rather than the lettuces specified by the text.^bAs above, never recut into sunk relief.^cThis much of the original raised text was recut into sunk relief. The remainder of the column, under the goddess's arm, was lightly erased.

PLATE 19C

BY AMON-RE

¹A[mon]-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Ruler of The[bes].^a ²Words spoken: “I have given you all valor every day.” ³Words spoken: “I have given you [all] health [every] day.”^b

BY SEKHMET

⁴Sekhmet the Gr[ea]t, [the Be]l[oved of ⁵Ptah], the Handsome One,^c ⁶[as she gives] life and dominion: ⁷“I have given you eternity as King of the Two Lands, and everlastingness as Ruler of Joy.”

MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS

⁸The great portal (of) “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userma‘atre-Setepenre, the Son of Re, Ramessu-Meramon is Glorious” in the Es[tate of Amon].^d ⁹The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userkheprure-Meramon, the Son of Re, Sety (II)-Merneptah, given life, [stability and dominion like Re].^e

BELOW DISK

The Behdetite, the Great God, as he gives life.

^aCf. above, pls. 19B:2 and 19E:2.^bCf. col. 2; but [mi] R^c, “[like] Re,” is also possible.^cRead (in visual, not grammatical sequence) *Shmt* ^{c3t} [Pth]/nfr-hr mr[yt].^dCf. below, pl. 19F:8, and n. c.^eCf. below, pl. 19F:9.

THE CENTRAL DOORWAY AND ADJOINING SCENES

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PLATE 19D

BY KING

¹Presenting wi[ne]s.^aBY 'AMON¹²"I have given you [pe]aceful years."^b

BY GODDESS

³"[I have given you] all [foreign countries] under your sandals."^aFor a similar spelling with plural strokes, cf. *Khonsu* I 14:1.^bReading *mpwt ḥtpw*: see *Med. Habu* IV 231:14.

PLATE 19E

BY KING

¹Offering lettuce.^a

BY AMON-RE

²Amon-Re, Ruler of Thebes, ³Chief of the Ennead. ⁴Words spoken: "I have given you all lands."

BY ISIS

⁵Isis the Great, ⁶Lady of Heaven, ⁷Mistress of the Gods.^aThe text of this column, originally carved in raised relief and lightly erased, was not recarved in sunk relief along with the rest of the scene: see p. 68.

PLATE 19F

BY AMON-RE

¹Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. ²Words spoken: "I have given you valor and victory." ³Words spoken: "I have given you all plains and hill countries." ⁴"I have given you all lands."^a

BY PTAH

⁵[Ptah . . .], King of the Two Lands.^b ⁶Words spoken: "I have given you the throne of Geb."⁷Words spoken: "I have given you the office of Atum."

BY DISK

The Behdetite, the Great God.

MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS

⁸The great portal (of) "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userma'atre-Setepenre, the Son of Re, Ramessu-Meramon^c is Glorious"^d in the Estate of Amon.⁹The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userkheprure-Meramon, the Son of Re, Sety (II)-Merneptah,^e given life, stability and dominion like Re.¹⁰The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userma'atre-Meramon, the Son of Re, Rames[ses (III)]-Hekon].¹¹The King of Upp[er] and Low[er] Egypt, the Lord of [the Two Lands, Nebma'at]re. . . .^f

^aOnly the first sign was recut into sunk relief; traces of the original raised version remain for the rest of the column.

^bCf. *Khonsu* I 103:1–2.

^cUsurped by Ramesses II from Sety I: the original cartouches are Menma‘atre-Iua‘re and Sety-Meramon.

^dThe name of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: see Barguet, *Temple*, p. 59.

^eThe cartouches appear to be original, not usurped from one of Sety II’s predecessors.

^fOriginally Ramesses IV, usurped by Ramesses VI: cf. pls. 20B:8, E:5.

PLATES 20–21

SCENES ON THE THICKNESSES OF THE CENTRAL DOORWAY

Champ., *Not. descr.* II 57, top (pl. 20D only).

The thicknesses of the north doorway into the hypostyle hall, like their adjoining jambs, were also usurped by Ramesses II from Sety I, their original dedicator. Here, however, only the cartouches were changed from raised to sunk relief, the rest of the scene being left in the definitive form it had reached already. Once again, the name of the temple was carved beneath the scene on the bottom of each thickness, and below this are the marginal inscriptions added later by Ramesses III and Ramesses IV (usurped by Ramesses VI).

But while Ramesses II did not tamper with the figures in these scenes, some of them had already undergone drastic revision during the previous reign. These changes affect the king's figures most heavily (cf. above, pl. 19F) and are inseparable from similar alterations found in the hypostyle hall and in other monuments of Sety I.

EAST THICKNESS, TOP (*Pl. 20A*)

The king stands facing Amon, who extends the sign of life to the king's nose with his right hand while grasping the king's left hand with his own. In his right hand, the king holds the crook of his office. His short wig, with individual strands of hair clearly delineated, is bound with a fillet around which coils the body of the uraeus on his brow. A missing block on the left (cf. pl. 19B) took with it the bottom of the king's kilt and part of the god's as well: what remains is shown in some detail, including the pleating on the cloth, the interior structure of the belts, and the buckles. The upper part of the scene, encompassing all the texts and much of Amon's head, is also lost.

Both the king and the god have been shifted, the king's body especially: traces of the original arms, chest, legs and feet show that it was considerably to the right of the present version; and since the head was shifted in only a minor way (the uraeus and the fillet have been slightly raised and moved from the left), the king's original stance would have been askew, as if the figure were leaning back. The net result was to bring the head into a truer alignment with the body; and even so, the revised version underwent a series of small corrections which we see in the figure's back, tail and back foot. By comparison, Amon's figure was changed in small ways: the right arm was lowered, the face shifted to the left, the arms and legs moved slightly to the right. Again, "cosmetic" retouching of the final version can be seen in the god's arms and legs.

No trace of color remains on the relief. Note, however, the horizontal cuts across the later carvings of the king's arm and back: such keying for plaster was probably required due to the wide area which the revision covered, and it seems likely that paint would have been applied once the final version had been finished.

EAST THICKNESS, BOTTOM (*Pl. 20B*)

Ramesses II is seen here offering Ma'at—a small statue of the goddess, seated in a basket—to the hawk-headed Re-Harakhti. The king is clad in a flowing, pleated kilt with the usual belt and elaborate sporran. On his head is a striped *nemes*-headdress, with a streamer falling behind his rear shoulder. The god's kilt is also pleated, but it is more traditional in length than the king's costume,¹ and it is bound by an elaborate belt with an Isis-knot clasp.²

Both the king and the god were changed in much the same ways seen in the scene above. The king's legs and torso were much further to the right in the original version, the head somewhat to the left of its present limits: the back of the head has not been greatly shifted, but the brow and nose are well to the left even though the chin was of the same length, suggesting that the head was cocked upwards. This overerect posture was judged to be inappropriate and changed, although the belly, chest, belt and front leg of the final version had to be further altered before the sculptors were satisfied. The god, too, has been brought into closer relation with the king: his head was shifted left, as was his arm, but the front of his body and front leg were moved slightly to the right. Compared to the earlier version the figure is now more upright, with no suggestion of an inclination to the back.

Although the texts are seriously eroded, Sety I's original names can be clearly seen inside the cartouches. A trace of the original red paint can be seen on the king's rear leg. At some point in antiquity the entire scene appears to have been covered by a veil, to judge from the two square holes cut, respectively, into the lower border below the king's rear heel and into the flat-*m* of col. 4 (top right). Below the scene, the reconstruction of the wall's foundations (see above at pls. 19C, F) resulted in the partial removal of Ramesses IV's marginal inscription.

WEST THICKNESS, TOP (Pl. 20C)

Only the king's feet remain of this scene, and it is clear that the figure was shifted in the same way as those on the east thickness: the original back foot and tail were well to the left of their present position, and some cosmetic recutting—it cannot be part of the earliest version—can be detected in the heel of the front foot. Since the new raised relief of the final version was prepared by cutting down the background adjoining the figure, the new surface lay at a lower level than the parts of the original version salvaged for reuse: the difference was made up with plaster.

WEST THICKNESS, MIDDLE (Pl. 20D)

This is the only scene in the doorway noted by an earlier copyist, in this instance Champollion. The remnant above was obviously ignored as not worth recording, and we can only speculate that the other reliefs, on both the east and west sides, must have been covered by debris.

The disposal of the figures is the same as in the corresponding scene on the east thickness (pl. 20A): the god holds the sign of life up to the king's nose with his right hand, while holding the king's left hand with his own; in his own right hand the king holds the crook of his office. Otherwise, the two scenes differ in detail. The divinity shown here is probably the god Montu—his figure identical to that in the scene on the bottom of the east thickness (pl. 20B), except that two uraei issue from the front of the disk on his head. Both the god and the king wear broad collars; and in addition to the pleated kilt with sporran (cf. pls. 20A, B), the king wears the *atef*-crown on his head, and also a false beard. A disk with two serpents issuing from its sides (identified as the “Behdetite” Horus of Edfu) floats above the king's head.

Champollion had already observed the usurpation of the cartouches, pointing out that Ramesses II's incised names stood out in the prevailing raised relief of the scene. Traces of Sety I's original names can be clearly seen in the background of the revised cartouches. Even before this surcharge, however, the figures had undergone the same changes as those in other scenes

¹For this kilt cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* I 26 (bottom row, two at right); *ibid.* II 10 (bottom right).

²This Isis-knot, generally part of the gods' costumes in the thicknesses of this doorway (cf. pls. 20A, B, E), is not found on the outside walls even on the large-scale figures of Amon in pls. 15 and 17. It occurs frequently, although not universally, on Amon's costume inside the hypostyle hall (see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, *passim*). On the object itself see W. Westendorff, “Isis-knoten” in *LÄ* III 204.

on the thicknesses. All of the king's body (except for his left arm, the angle of which was adjusted) was moved back to the right, and his head was widened to the left: shifting of the back of the crown and of the bottom of the beard was minor, but it is clear that the king's ear, profile and the front of his crown were moved far to the left of their original position. As in other scenes on the thicknesses, the final version itself received "cosmetic" adjustments (e.g., in the king's tail). Much of the god's figure is lost in the damage to the left side of the scene, but adjustments seem to have been minimal: his right arm was raised and his front leg widened. Otherwise, there were only a few slight corrections to his chest, wig and back foot. No color survives on the relief.

WEST THICKNESS, BOTTOM (*Pl. 20E*)

Once again, the scene corresponds in a general way to its counterpart on the east thickness. The king gestures with his right hand, presenting the temple to a conventionally garbed Amon-Re on the left. The king wears the Blue Crown, together with the same flowing, pleated kilt and sporran seen in other scenes on the thicknesses. Damage on the left side has taken part of Amon's crown, and part of the vulture above the king's head is also lost (cf. *pl. 19F*, top left). Note also the cavity that once held a small patch inside the king's head (at his ear).

As in the adjoining scenes, the king's figure was shifted into a less upright position vis-à-vis the god. His crown was moved up and to the left very slightly, and his profile shifted down and to the left: the sum of these small changes is that the head is now set at a less jaunty angle. The correction of the body is unusual in that no fewer than three major shifts, as well as several purely cosmetic adjustments, can be made out—some of these so slight that they cannot be shown on this drawing. The net result, as in the other scenes, is that the body has been moved to the right and that the king's stance is less rigid. Other refinements were added to the final version, notably the wider, more gracefully curving belt. Note that the pleats of the king's kilt had to be completed in plaster on the final version, since the new back was cut into the original background and thus lay at a lower level than the rest of the figure. Amon, too, was corrected more thoroughly than usual: traces of his original face, arms, belly, legs and feet indicate that he was shifted to the right, closer to the king. The final version, as usual, was subjected to various cosmetic adjustments.

Few traces of Sety I's names survive in the cartouches inside the scene, although they are clear enough in the cartouche that forms part of the name of the temple carved below. Rameses VI was customarily cavalier in erasing Ramesses IV's name before carving his own, so that the earlier traces emerge with clarity. The greatest amount of paint survives inside the marginal text hieroglyphs of Ramesses III and Ramesses VI, with a bare trace preserved in the name of Amon in the scene above.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

PLATE 20B

BY KING

¹Presenting Ma'at to her Lord, (namely) Re, the Lord of Ma'at.

BY RE-HARAKHTI

²Re-Harakhti, the Great God, ³[as he] gives^a all life and dominion, all valor, ⁴[. . .] eve[ry] [vic]to[ry]^b in your grasp.^b ⁵"I have given you the lifespan of Re and the years of Atum."

UNDER DISK

The Behdeti[te], the Gre[at] God. . . .


MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS

⁶The temple “Ramessu (II)-Meramon, given life [like Re], is Glorious” in the Estate of Amon.^c

⁷The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userma‘atre-Mera[mo]n.

⁸[The King of Upper and Lower Egypt], the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebma‘atre-Mery-amon.^d

^aBoth the spacing of the traces and the placement of the column in which they occur suggest *dī.[f] ‘nh wʒs*, etc.

^bThe traces at the bottom of the column suit *m-[h]f‘.k*; and there is room for a possible .*t* under the basket above this. The rounding sign preserved at the left side of the column above the basket could be the *h* of [n]h[t], in a spelling without the strong-arm determinative: cf. *Urk.* IV 740:17, 741:3; H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches I*, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (Berlin, 1902), p. 108 (= Cat. no. 20089), line 4; W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet*, Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition in Ägypten (Leipzig, 1931), p. 64 top (= no. 34 [b]); and cf. text of Amon at *Bibl.*² II 314 (76).1: *dī.n.(i) n.k ‘nh dd wʒs nb, snb nb, ʒwt-ib nb, kent nb*, , to be published by the Epigraphic Survey. Such a restoration would suit the phraseology of attested accompaniments to *m-hf‘.(k)* (for which see *Wb.* III 273:1–6, with references), but there seems to be too much room for such an abbreviated writing, since nothing else would intervene between it and the preceding *kent* in a single phrase. Perhaps restore *[dī.f n]h[t] nb*, etc., in this column?

^cUsurped from Sety I; cf. below, pl. 20E:3.

^dUsurped from Ramesses IV ([Userma‘at]re-Setep[enamon]).

PLATE 20D

CARTOUCHES

The Good [God, User]ma‘atre-[Setepen]re, the Son of Re, Ramessu-Meramon.^a

BELOW DISK

The Behdetite.

^aTraces of [Men]ma‘atre and Sety-Merenamon remain inside the usurped cartouches.

PLATE 20E

BY KING

¹Giving the house to its lord.

BY AMON-RE

²Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven.

MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS

³The temple “Ramessu (II)-Meramon, given life like Re, is Glorious” in the Estate of Amon.^a

⁴The Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramessu (III)-Hek[on].

⁵The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebma‘atre-Mer[y]amon.^b

^aUsurped from Sety I.

^bUsurped from Ramesses IV (Userma‘atre-Setep[en]amon).

EXCURSUS:

THE RECUT FIGURES ON THE NORTH GATEWAY
INTO THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

In the foregoing pages we noted major changes in all the king's figures on the reveals of the north gateway into the Great Hypostyle Hall (pl. 20). At least two royal figures on the jambs (pls. 19D, F) have also been shifted in a major way. The final version in all these examples places the king in a bowing posture with respect to the gods: the inclination may be slight (pls. 19D; 20A, B, D, E), but it is nonetheless definite, particularly when compared to the upright, even rigid stance that preceded it. This bowing attitude is also found, and to a very pronounced degree, in those figures that seem not to have been changed in a significant way (pls. 19B, C, E). It is thus a feature held in common by all the king's figures on the north doorway.¹

This inclination of Sety's figures has never been adequately explained. In his discussion of the ritual of "bringing the foot," Nelson suggested that the king portrayed both the priest and the adversary in these scenes, thus adopting a more cringing attitude.² The prevalence of the bowing posture in other ritual scenes, however, cannot be explained in this way. A purely stylistic, "cosmetic" reason is not satisfactory either—the changes are far too extensive. The likeliest explanation will be one that connects the alteration in the relief to a change in the relationship between the king and the gods.

Comparison of these scenes with other monuments of Sety I is instructive. In the king's mortuary temple in West Thebes, most of the king's figures stand upright, i.e., in the original stance of the Karnak figures.³ A few, however, show him in the slightly bowing stance characteristic for most of Sety I's work in the hypostyle hall at Karnak.⁴ The situation is reversed at Abydos, where in the vast majority of cases the king's figure is definitely inclined forward.⁵ Only in a number of scenes in the chapel of Isis⁶ and in a few isolated instances elsewhere⁷ does the upright pose come to the fore. An absolute date for the carving of the reliefs in these temples is not to be had: Ramesses II took an active role in the decoration of both buildings when he was coregent, and he finished them later, during his sole reign.⁸ Since the changes at Karnak were clearly toward the more inclined posture, however, and since most of the reliefs at Karnak and Abydos (where this attitude is seen) were not revised in a significant way, we suggest that the manner shown in the mortuary temple represents the earlier style. If so, the changes in the Karnak reliefs seem to document the beginning of a concession of dignity by the king to the gods.⁹ Why Sety should have agreed to assume a humbler stance in the gods'

¹A number of the king's figures inside the hypostyle hall have also been drastically recut, especially on the interior doorjambs and on the east side of the north wall: see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 182–200, and the forthcoming commentary in the text volume.

²H. H. Nelson, "The Rite of 'Bringing the Foot' as Portrayed in Temple Reliefs," *JEA* 35 (1949): 86, n. 1. Notably, the example from the hypostyle hall (time of Sety I) was recut to an even more bowing position: see *ibid.*, p. 83; cf. *ibid.*, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 210.

³By personal observation. The locations of these reliefs (as yet unpublished) are given in Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. xxxvii, fig. 1, 112–48, 168, 174, 180–214, 230–50, 299, 307, 310, 347, 349.

⁴See scenes at *ibid.* 175–76, 216, 219, 221, 228, 251, 257–65, 298, 344 b, 346, 350.

⁵See Calverley and Broome, *Abydos I–IV*, *passim*.

⁶*Ibid.* I 17–19, 22, 23. This posture is not confined to female divinities at Abydos: see, for example, *ibid.* II 16 (bottom).

⁷*Ibid.* I 30; *ibid.* II 30.

⁸W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975): 162–170.

⁹The smaller stature of Amon with relation to the king in the triumph scenes (pls. 15, 17) is not germane to this issue, since the disposition of these scenes goes back to an Eighteenth Dynasty prototype: cf., for example, the relative sizes of Thutmose III and Amon on the Seventh Pylon at Karnak (*Bibl.* II 167–70; e.g., Leclant, *Empire*, p. 72, fig. 57).

presence is unknown: nothing tells us anything about the origins, precise significance or duration of this situation. Its reality seems hard to deny, however, given the effort required to adapt the Karnak reliefs and the generality of the new posture both in Sety's later reliefs and during the reign of his son. Conceivably, it represents one of the maneuvers of the royal house in the face of the waxing power of the priesthoods following the reestablishment of religious orthodoxy at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁰

¹⁰See J. Yoyotte, "Les grands dieux et la religion officielle sous Sêti I^{er} et Ramsès II," *Bull. Soc. fr. ég.* 3 (February 1950): 17–22.

THE WEST WING, THIRD REGISTER:
THE KADESH CAMPAIGN
(*PLATES 22–26*)

The battle scenes in this register conform, in general, to the arrangement of other such sequences. Episodes of warfare are placed at the far end of the wall, preceding the tribute scenes at Karnak which are located near the central doorway, the entrance to the temple proper. A variation of the usual theme is seen in the fourth tableau of the sequence, where—instead of the customary return to Egypt—we see the king leading his prisoners into Karnak Temple, before Amon and a goddess (pl. 26). The position of this episode on the wall, however, shows that it did not take the place of the offering scene that normally concludes the sequence. Part of this final scene remains at the far left of pl. 26, where we see a fragment of the king's figure, shown kneeling in the presence of the gods (whose figures are completely lost).

While engaged in copying this section of the north wall, we discovered that the west face of the building—the short wall joining the north face to the side of the Second Pylon—was decorated with reliefs that are thematically connected to the main sequences of battle scenes. Given the similar use of the east face (pls. 3 and 10) this fact was to be expected, but it had not been previously noted. Little beyond the existence of these scenes can be established, for access to them was blocked by the construction of the north wall to the First Court during the Twenty-second Dynasty. This construction, which in effect extends the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall farther west, completely covered the western side wall, and the latter is only visible where the top of the later wall has been worn down. All that can be seen now (pl. 22) is part of the king's head and upper body: Sety wears the Blue Crown and is in the act of shooting an arrow. No doubt the entire scene is similar to other battle reliefs in which the king in his chariot is seen charging into a fleeing mass of enemies (cf. above, pls. 3 and 5). The role of the scene in this sequence of reliefs is not clear. Since the adjoining scene on the north wall is specifically the attack on Kadesh, however, it is possible that the episode on the western approach wall showed the complementary campaign against Amurru.

PLATES 23–24

SETY I ATTACKS THE TOWN OF KADESH, WITH FRAGMENT
OF ADJOINING SCENE TO THE LEFT
(AND CF. PLATES 25A–B)

- I. Denon, *Voyage*, p. 133 [2].
 Champ., *Mon.* ccxcv.
 Idem, *Not. descr.* II 97–98.
 Ros., *Mon. stor.* liii.
 Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 86.
 Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 41.
 Wresz., *Atlas* II 53.
- II. *Descr. Ant.* III 39 [1] (horse).
 Breasted, *ZÄS* 37 (1889): 131, fig. 4 = idem, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III 66, fig. 6 (erased official).
 Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne: Les éléments d'architecture* (Paris, 1924), p. 81 (Béato photograph).
 Meyer, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 28 (1913): 73–74, fig. 1 (fort of Kadesh).
 Idem, *Fremdvölker* 230–32.
 Leclant, *Empire*, pp. 118–19, fig. 108 (central part of scene).
 Brugsch, *Recueil* xlv a (texts between horse and fort).
 Burton, *Excerpta*, pl. xvii, 2, k–l (texts of fort).
 Wilkinson, *Mat. Hiero.* II, pl. vii, 1 (texts of fort).
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 67.
 Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. Dyn., p. 10 middle.
KRI I 24.

This extraordinarily vivid tableau depicts Sety I in battle against the Amorites around Kadesh. The king, his figure entirely lost above his feet, stands in his chariot and directs volleys of arrows into the fleeing mass of Asiatics before him.¹ The Amorite warriors are utterly in disarray. Most are armed with bows and arrows, rectangular shields,² and betasseled helmets like those worn by the charioteers on pl. 11. Of exceptional interest are the occupants of the enemy chariot in the middle of the scene. The driver has the horses' reins lashed around his waist, like the king of Egypt, using his free hands to fire arrows at the foe. The shield-bearer at his side is not otherwise armed, but in a pinch he may have wielded a javelin, since the chariot was equipped to carry them. The defeated warriors, pierced by the king's javelins and arrows, flee in disorder towards the fortified town of Kadesh³ on the right side of the scene. The fort stands in hilly country: the crossing lines at the upper right side of this mound may represent the moat that is so characteristic of the city's defenses in its later representations under Ramesses II.⁴ Crouched in the doorway on the left side of the fort are two Asiatics, both devoid of military attire, who raise their hands in vain supplication towards the oncoming

¹Cf. pls. 3, 5. The curved trace at the left, above the reins and the horses' rumps, is the king's bow.

²Cf. the equipment of the Hittite chariot warriors on pl. 34.

³For the location of Amurru vis-à-vis Kadesh, see Gardiner, *AEO* I 140*–41*, 187*–90*; and cf. the map in Helck, *Beziehungen*², p. 188.

⁴For references, see *Bibl.*² II 304 (13) I; *ibid.* VII 103, bottom.

might of Egypt. The defenders above, on the lower ramparts, fare no better than their comrades on the battlefield: most of them have daggers tucked into their belts, as well as the customary bows and arrows; and a round medallion is seen on the chest of the second man from the left, under the strap of the quiver. Meanwhile, a sacrifice is held on the upper rampart: the man on the left side extends a brazier, while behind him are women (distinguished by their braids and flat "tails") and traces of small children.⁵ The pole at the center of the rampart may be the support for the standard often found in such scenes.⁶

The hill country on which the fortress rests is the background for a composition that, being set off by itself, manages nonetheless to give balance to the whole. Protected by trees and vegetation⁷ on the foothills, a terrified herdsman⁸ drives his cattle into the brush, his arrows spent and his bow apparently dropped in flight (see pl. 24). The thrust of these figures is irresistibly to the right, away from the battle, but the herdsman's body is still halfway turned in the opposite direction and—following the convention of Egyptian triumphal art, like the stricken warriors on the field—he raises his right hand in obeisance to the victorious king. This tension in the implied movement of the figure gives this vignette a vibrancy that emphasizes its contents and yet relates it to the composition as a whole.

The figures that appear behind the king's chariot, at the left end of the scene, belong to another scene that is mostly destroyed. Like pl. 12 on the east wing, it probably showed the king in the act of seizing his bound prisoners after the end of the fighting: one trussed Amorite is seen on the left, the string of the king's bow passing across his body.⁹ The border between the scenes was originally to the right of this, the two episodes being separated by a vertical column of hieroglyphs (col. 14) that belonged to the tableau on the right. The bottom half of this text (at least) was erased during Sety's lifetime, however, and a small figure was inserted, facing to the left. The hieroglyphs, and also the trampled figure below, were filled with plaster, suppressing them altogether even though part of the fallen man could have been retained without incongruity. Comparison of the secondary figure and the text that goes with it (col. 17) with similar insertions in the second register (pl. 29 below) shows that we are dealing with "the gr[oup-marshall]er and fa[n-bear]er [M]e[hy]," an otherwise unknown official of Sety I who was allowed to add his figure to a number of these reliefs (see pl. 25B, and cf. pls. 6, 12 above).¹⁰ Mehy's surcharges were themselves erased at a later date and filled with plaster, with no further recarving of the relief.¹¹ There is no evidence that the original version (the hieroglyphs and the fallen warrior) was resurrected at this time, so the suppressed area must have been left a blank interval between the scenes—a vacuum tolerable by virtue of its small size and the busy nature of the scenes at either side.

⁵For this ritual, see p. 35, n. 4.

⁶Cf. *Med. Habu* II 94–95; Wresz., *Atlas* II 78–79, 108, 170, 183.

⁷The vines on the upper left side are drawn as distinct species, with smooth and notched leaves, respectively (cf. Wresz., *Atlas* II 30, no. 4 [top and bottom, left end]), although both types of leaves appear on the same vine elsewhere (ibid., pls. 31, no. 48; 33, no. 1). Wreszinsky identified them all as *Vitis vinifera*, but they may represent two species—*Vitis vinifera* and *Vitis orientalis*: see J. Thiébaud, *Flore libano-syrienne* I, *Mém. Inst. d'Ég.* 31 (1936), p. 167. The large trees at the bottom and the more willowy examples at the right are too schematically drawn to yield their identities with certainty, but the latter type could be *Genista acanthoclada* (ibid. II, *Mém. Inst. d'Ég.* 40 [1940], pl. V, 40) or a member of the genus *Astragalus*, perhaps *Astragalus pinetorum* or *Astragalus drusorum* (ibid., pl. VII, 55–56). Similar plants are shown in Wresz., *Atlas* II 27, no. 16, and 31, nos. 4, 11; but they are not identified there.

⁸Later adaptations of this scene, including the vignette of the herdsman, were carved on the west exterior wall of the First Court at Luxor (reign of Ramesses II: see Wresz., *Atlas* II 71), and at Abu Simbel (ibid., pl. 183).

⁹Cf. below, pl. 35; and Wresz., *Atlas* II 58b, left; 62b, middle; 164a, right.

¹⁰For a full discussion of this figure, see Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, pp. 163–75.

¹¹These facts are at odds with the description, "[King] in chariot, followed by prince, attacking fort of Kadesh," in *Bibl.*² II 56 (169) I, 1.

The relief has not suffered significant damage since it was first copied in modern times. A few minor corrections were made in the carving, although (except for the insertion behind the king's chariot) the scene underwent no major revision. The Amorite warrior just in front of the hooves of the king's horses had the upper line of his arm corrected before the lower line was carved; and another warrior (holding a bow, above the bald-headed man on the ground between the hills and the Amorite horse team) had his belt adjusted. In col. 11 the top of the initial *s* of *sk* was raised after having been carved too low. On the lower rampart of the fort the sculptor misunderstood the distinction between the tie of the belt and the dagger of the third man from the left, carving the tie (which should lie behind the weapon in this instance) as if it were projecting from the knife's handle. A small *Flickstein* encompasses the shield of the man on the hill and the plants to the right. Also noteworthy are the inexplicable patches of hacking that disfigure some, but not all, of the figures in the scene.¹²

A great deal of paint is found on the relief, though not all of it follows the carved lines, e.g., the belt of the man who has fallen under the rear hooves of the Amorite horse team. This man's costume is particularly well preserved, showing a red overshirt covering a yellow undershirt (the latter with a full sleeve over the right arm only), and a green "skirt." Stripes (in blue) have been carefully indicated on the man's left sleeve and on his belt, but such details were more often painted over the solid base color of the garment. Traces of clothing patterns occur sporadically across the wall, displaying some variability: the warrior with the shield who sits on the side of the hill, for instance, wears an "overcoat" that is blue on his right side and green on his left; a yellow "stomacher"; and a red overgarment over his green "skirt." Most of the warriors' caps were red, but in one case (the man above the Amorite horses' heads) it was colored with blue paint. Shields were blue and quivers green. The javelins have yellow shafts with blue terminals and red tassels. All the horses' flesh tones were red, but the belly of the Amorite horse was overpainted with yellow, giving the end result an orange tinge. The same horse sports a green blanket on his back. The fort was yellow and the side of the hill red except in the area of the trees, where an indiscriminate green wash has been applied. A trace of yellow is found on one of the fleeing bees at the lower right side. The borders of the scene were painted green, and the hieroglyphs on the fortress blue. The signs of the main text have their usual coloration (see chap. 4). Some of the hacking may be keying for a final version in plaster, since green paint is found over the damaged surface on which the sash of the man falling to the left of the Amorite chariot wheel is carved.

¹²This hacking is specific to a few areas within the relief: the face of the second man from the left of the king's horses' rear hooves; the wheel of the Amorite chariot; the face of the man sitting near the top of the hill and the faces of the two men issuing from the doorway of the fort; and the face of the man falling out of the lower rampart (right side) of the fort. The majority of the figures are undamaged, and hacking is confined only to the areas mentioned.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

ON FORTRESS

¹The ascent^a which Pharaoh—may he live, prosper and be healthy!—made in order to destroy the land of Kadesh (and) the land of Amurru.

MAIN TEXT

²[The Good God, who slays]^b tens of thousands, raging ³[like the Son of] Nut,^c (with) Montu on ⁴[his right and Seth on] his left,^d a man of action, ⁵[without his equal],^e a fighter for millions, ⁶[who protects]^f his army, a rampart for hundreds of thousands, ⁷[strong-hearted] when he sees a multitude,^g un⁸[concerned with] the myriads assembled together,^h who enters into

THE KADESH CAMPAIGN

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⁹[the thic]k of the Asiatics and makes them ¹⁰[as prostrate on]es,ⁱ who tramples towns ¹¹[of theirs and devas]tates [their] villages ¹²[along] his [pat]hs,^j ¹³[a mighty bull, sharp-horned],^k who pounds. . . .

BEHIND CHARIOT

¹⁴[The King, the Lord of the Two Lands (?), the possessor of a strong arm (?), Menma'atre continually arises on] the throne of Horus [and destroys] the rebellious foreign countr[ies].^l

ABOVE HORSES

¹⁵The great span of His Majesty^m (called) “. . . 'you'.”

TO RIGHT OF FORTRESS

¹⁶The town of Kadesh.

ABOVE ERASED OFFICIAL

¹⁷[The Gr]oup-[Mar]shaller and Fan-Bearer [M]e[h]y.ⁿ

^aSee Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, p. 10, n. 16 d; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 109–10.

^bAbout two and a half groups are missing from the top of the inscription, enough for [ntr nfr, sm³] db^cw in col. 2.

^cCf. *Med. Habu* VIII 657.

^dCf. *ibid.* I 28:69; *ibid.* II 80B:10; 101:15.

^eSee below, pl. 28:3 = *KRI* I 21:2–3.

^fCf. *ibid.* II 181:7.

^gCf. *Sinuhe* B 58–59 (*wmt-ib pw m³3.f 'š3t* = Blackman, *MES*, p. 20).

^hCf. below, pl. 35:33 = *KRI* I 19:2–3 (*n hmt.f hfnw dmdw*).

ⁱCf. *KRI* I 12:3–4 (*'k m wmt n Stflw, ir sn m hdbyt*); also *ibid.* II 150:16; *Urk.* IV 1230:1.

^jReading *ptpt dmlw.sn, sksk whwt.sn hr mtnw.f* (cf. *KRI* I 12:4–5; *Med. Habu* I 11:7–8; *ibid.* III 181 D; *ibid.* VIII 604:2). The writing of *whwt* with the wedge determinative is unusual, perhaps influenced by the spelling of *dmlw* in col. 10.

^kCf. pls. 34:14, 35:3–6 (= *KRI* I 18, 1, 8).

^lSomething like [*wnn nswt, nb t3wy* (?), *nb hps* (?), *Mnm³tr^c b^c hr*] *st Hr 'hr sksk¹ b3s[w]t b3t3[w]* would suit the traces: cf. below, pl. 29:8.

^mThe *tpy* that is normally written with this phrase has apparently been omitted here: it seems unlikely that it would have been placed horizontally above *n hm.f* (cf. the grouping on pl. 28:14). Could the tail of the horse determinative have been carved as it is here from an original *tpy* in paint?

ⁿCf. below, pl. 29:9 (figure erased and text covered with plaster).

PLATE 26

KING SETY I PRESENTING PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO AMON-RE
AND MUT (?) IN FRONT OF SECOND PYLON OF
KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH FRAGMENTARY
SCENES TO EITHER SIDE

Leclant and Raccah, *Dans les pas des pharaons*, pl. 16 (view).

Prisse, *L'art ég.* II 97, 1 [reversed], 2, 9, 11 (vases).

Wresz., *Atlas* II 52, inset at right (vases).

Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 327 (vases).

Guéysson, *Rec. de Trav.* 11 (1889): 67 (part of text).

Only the lowest course of masonry is preserved here, leaving nothing above the waist of any full-size standing figure. The remnant illustrated on this plate incorporates parts of three scenes. At the extreme right we see the front of a row of Amorite prisoners, separated from the scene at the left by a vertical column of text (col. 1).¹ The scene as a whole probably showed the king standing behind his chariot and seizing a group of bound captives (a fragment of this part is preserved on pl. 23, left), while two rows of already trussed prisoners march in front of the horse team (the lower row being seen here).² At the extreme left end are two curving traces, all that remains of the king's foot and rear as he kneels in the presence of the gods inside the temple.³ This was the culminating scene of thanksgiving with which each register of battle reliefs normally ends. This is the only surviving scene of this type to extend all the way over to the doorway, however, for the others in the two bottom registers were cut off by the great triumphal scene on each wing.

Between these extremes is the bottom of a single scene: the king, wearing a flowing kilt and an ankle-length overgarment (cf. pl. 32), leads in the lower of two rows of prisoners (by analogy with other such scenes: cf. pls. 8, 14, 32, 36). The tribute, as symbolized in the decorative vessels seen in the parallel scenes, is piled between the king and a representation of the Second Pylon of Karnak, at that time the entrance to the temple.⁴ Four flagstaves appear in front of each wing, corresponding to the number of niches preserved on the monument itself, but in the main this is a standardized rendering that displays, at least in the part that survives, no distinctive features.⁵ To the left of the pylon, inside the temple proper, we see the god Amon seated on a throne, behind whom stands an unidentified goddess.⁶

To the right of the pylon, a narrow *Flickstein* (now lost) was inserted just left of the blockline before the relief was carved. Part of another patch is still in place at the bottom of the scene, encompassing most of the king's rear foot and the stone below it.⁷ The arms of the two prisoners at the back of the first row (left of col. 1) were damaged, perhaps intentionally, and

¹Cf. the similar separation of two scenes between pls. 31 and 32 below (Wresz., *Atlas* II 51–52).

²Cf. pl. 35 below for a similar composition; and *Med. Habu* II 73–74 for an even closer prototype of this scene. Of course, it is possible that what we have here is part of one scene (king escorting prisoners to Egypt [cf. pl. 31]), and that the left end of pl. 23 preserves part of another scene (king seizing enemies [cf. pl. 12]).

³Cf. Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 189–96.

⁴Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 13–22.

⁵For a later representation, see *Khonsu* I 52. A similar sequence was carved above the triumph scene of Shoshenq I at Karnak: see Chicago, *Reliefs* III, pl. 4 top.

⁶*Bibl.* ² II 56 (169) I, 3, erroneously identifies the standing figure behind Amon as Khonsu.

⁷The gaps in the stone under the king's instep, across his ankle, and under the baseline to the right are filled with plaster. Fragments of this patch seem to have become dislodged under the king's rear heel and under his front foot.

the feet of Amon were certainly hacked in antiquity. Otherwise, the figures have not been defaced. No paint survives in any part of the scene.

It would seem, both from their contents and from the required orientation of the figures, that Fragments 1 + 2 (pl. 39A) belong in this register. The destruction of the wall's upper courses prevents certainty as to their exact placement; but they could belong to the scene of the king's presentation of spoil, illustrated on this plate (cf. pls. 32, 36), or to that of the king's return to Egypt, farther right (cf. pl. 35).

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

By KING

1. . . inasmuch as he gives to him valor against every foreign land.

By AMON

2“ . . . to see me.”^a

By MUT

3“[I have given you eternity as King of the Two Lands and] everlastingness as Ruler of Joy.”^b

^aOne expects something like “Welcome in peace (*Med. Habu* I 44:1; *ibid.* II 78:1, 99:3; *ibid.* V 285:1, 317:2, 328:2–3; *ibid.* VI 409:4), O mighty king who is come to see me” (although this last phrase is usually given to one of the subsidiary gods that usher the king into Amon's presence: cf. *ibid.* VI 409:11–12; *ibid.* VIII 604:1, 610:2, 612:10; Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 199:3–4).

^bCf. *Khonsu* I 73:4.

THE WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER:
THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN
(PLATES 27–32)

The reliefs in this register follow the regular pattern observed in other campaigns. The two battle scenes are farthest from the central doorway, with Sety I charging in his chariot into a rout of fleeing Libyans (pl. 28) and then triumphant in single combat against a Libyan chief (pl. 29). He next returns to Egypt, driving two rows of captives before his chariot (pl. 31). Since these very prisoners must form part of the triumphal presentation to the gods that follows, the two scenes are divided by two vertical columns of text (pl. 31, left end), after which Sety offers up the captives and spoil to the Theban Triad inside a kiosk (pl. 32).

The flowing continuity of most other sequences, one episode following another with scarcely a formal break, was originally not observed in this register: each scene was separated from its neighbor by at least one vertical column of text. Those between the two battle scenes and the return were erased, however, when an otherwise obscure official named Mehy was allowed to insert his figures into the reliefs (see below, pl. 29). Mehy's presence intruded into two episodes, for he appears to the right of the speared Libyan, facing the king in the second battle scene; and next, he follows his master's chariot in the scene to the left (pl. 31). Mehy's usurpation did not remain unchallenged, for Sety's eldest son (the future Ramesses II) expunged his figures from the scenes and substituted his own: not content with adapting the earlier figures, however, Ramesses had his revisions carved on radically different lines, and he changed the orientation of the figure behind the chariot so that it now faces right, into the second battle scene. For all that it is obvious at a glance that two figures of the same prince now occupy the same tableau, this anomaly remained as it stands down to the present day.

While the sequence as a whole has not suffered badly from erosion, there are a number of gaps caused by the loss of several large *Flicksteine* placed into the wall before the relief was carved.¹ This register, along with the sequence above it, is also exceptional in that it was exposed to malicious hacking of the figures: most affected are the king and the gods, although the captives were sporadically attacked when their figures were not too high off the ground (pls. 31, 32). Since Christian graffiti occur in other sections of the wall that, in the main, are free of this sort of vandalism,² the damage to these reliefs would seem to date to a more recent period, after the other reliefs on the lower level had been covered by debris.

¹See Wresz., *Atlas* II 50, 51 and 52, for photographs made before these gaps had been covered by cement.

²See above, pl. 17.

PLATE 28

KING SETY I ATTACKING THE LIBYANS

- I. *Descr. Ant.* III 38 [32].
 Champ., *Mon.* ccxcvii 1.
 Idem, *Not. descr.* II 98.
 Ros., *Mon. stor.* liv 1.
 Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 86.
 Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 41.
 Wresz., *Atlas* II 50, 50a (right).
- II. Hamilton, *Aegyptiaca* [1809], pl. viii, 3 (king in chariot and Libyans).
 Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 229.
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 68.
 Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. *Dyn.*, p. 9.
KRI I 20–21.

Sety I is seen in battle with the Libyans: the king stands against the outer frame of his chariot, his left foot on the pole connecting the wagon to the horse team, and the horses' reins tied around his waist. He wears the Blue Crown and a pleated kilt, with the sickle sword in his upraised right hand being further secured by a strap around his wrist. The quiver on his back being empty (although there are plenty of arrows in the chariot's rear javelin case), he uses his bow to seize a Libyan chieftain around the neck while preparing to strike him with his sword. The chariot is shown in exceptional detail, down to the figured pin through the axle; and note the unstrung bow in the chariot's front javelin case.¹ The solar disk with two flanking uraei above his head and also the vulture goddess to the right both extend their protection over him; while behind his back is a humanoid ankh-figure holding a broad fan, as well as the customary "Protection of all life, stability and dominion behind him" text.

Below and to the right are the routed Libyans, broken under the force of the king's charge. Nearly all of them wear the long cloak, knotted around the neck, and a plume in their hair. Each man wears the sidelock, however, and a penis sheath. In addition to bows and arrows, the Libyans are armed with short swords: note what could be a scabbard in the left hand of the man at the upper right end.²

The sandstone in which these reliefs were carved sometimes contained flint or some other impurity that made carving difficult. Thus, the *n* of "Amon" in Sety's nomen could not be carved to its full length due to a fault in the stone at the left. Sometimes, also, the difficulties were of a more practical nature: the extension of the Libyan's bowstring across the neck of the king's horse, for instance, was too delicate to be carved in relief as the convention demanded, so it was left out altogether (perhaps to be supplied in paint). A number of customary features

¹Cf. *Med. Habu* II 68, 73, 116, 117.

²Proof of its identity, however, is difficult. The Libyans are sometimes armed with swords (e.g., *Med. Habu* II 70, 73), but no parallel for this "scabbard" can be found in the mass of battle scenes from the New Kingdom. The closest parallel for this feature is found at the Ramesseum, in the scene of the siege of Dapur (Wresz., *Atlas* II 108, cf. 109): the man on the hill, at bottom left, carries a short sword in his right hand and what looks like a short baton in his left. He is not conspicuously a Libyan, however, and his long robe could mark him as an officer. In the procession of the foreign guard in the tomb of Ahmose at El Amarna (Davies, *El Amarna* III xxxi) a Libyan in the upper row, right side, carries a bow and what could be a bundle of arrows or a club.

were omitted in the preliminary carving, remaining incomplete (e.g., the central rib of the chariot wheel) or being added later, partly (it seems) in plaster: an example of this sort of afterthought would be the cloak and ties of the Libyan at the lower right corner. More substantially, the proportions of the king's right leg were altered (being made thinner above the knee, thicker below); and both the left armpit and the profile were shifted right, apparently to correct an excessively elongated original. The epithets of the king in col. 1 were changed as well, but the original version cannot be conclusively deciphered on the half-column that remains: the rest of this line, along with the beginning of the inscription, was carved on a large *Flickstein* at the upper right corner that has now fallen out.³

A notable feature of this relief is the presence of hard white plaster over a considerable area of the scene: this is visible on Wreszinsky's photograph,⁴ particularly as it fills blocklines that had widened before the plaster was applied. Since this sort of wear would not occur soon after the scene had been finished, the repair would doubtless have occurred in late antiquity or even in medieval times (in connection with the private dwellings built against the wall). This latest dating seems improbable, however, for the fine, grainy texture of the fill is quite unlike the coarse plaster, filled with impurities, that is typical of modern rebuilding in the temples of the Luxor area. Sometimes, moreover, the plaster was used to patch or repair hieroglyphs that had been hacked out—these mostly of birds (cols. 2, 3, 5, 6), but also the Seth animal in the main text (col. 6) and the foreleg (col. 9) that came to be associated with the weapon Seth used against Osiris.⁵ (It must be admitted that this vandalism is not consistent either in this scene or across the wall: note the preservation of the two aleph-birds of *mꜣꜣ* [col. 4] and of the Seth animal in Sety's nomen.) The evidence of Wreszinsky's photograph must be used with some caution: there is no evidence today of the plaster modeling of the king's left hand, and the suggestion of this on the photograph may be an illusion; nor does there seem to be plaster in the head of the vulture or in the king's head, both of them hacked out after the fall of paganism. For all that the plastering seems to precede this late vandalism, it was done long after the reign of Sety I: in the horses' front legs, for instance, plaster lies over mud which, in turn, lies over the paint at the top and bottom of the legs; and a plaster patch lies over a gouge elsewhere in the scene. Most probably, the plaster was applied as part of the program of consolidation and repair inside and outside the hypostyle hall (see above, pl. 19, n. 6) during the Ptolemaic or Roman period. Further evidence for this dating can be sought in the demotic graffito carved onto the offering table in the presentation scene to the left (pl. 32): the presence of other demotic graffiti at ground level below⁶ suggests that the wall was not yet encumbered by mounds of debris, and that someone would have had to trouble with a ladder in order to carve the insignificant text above.

The hacking of the king's head and right hand, and also of the vulture's head, is similar to other post-Pharaonic hacking across the wall. The graffito of the horned animal that was lightly scratched inside the chariot wheel may also date to this time, if it was not the work of one of the workmen engaged in the late repair of the scene.

A good deal of paint survives sporadically in this scene. As above, the right-hand border is painted green, and the sky is blue. The flesh tones are all red, and the horses' hooves are red also. The Libyans' yellow hair is fitfully in evidence, in the deep cuts at the tops of their heads. One man (top middle) wears a robe with blue and yellow stripes and a penis sheath with a green shaft, blue terminal and red fringe. The horses' blanket was blue (over the back) and

³See translation below, n. b.

⁴Wresz., *Atlas* II 50.

⁵Hermann Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 6 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 86–89.

⁶See below, chap. 3, p. 136 (nos. 3 and 4).

green (at the neck). The king wore a red shirt in the first version (traces in the deep cut of the chest), but this was repainted green. Traces of bracelets, armlets and a collar (all blue) can be seen. Some of the crown's characteristic blue color survives at the edges, where it has not been hacked. The quiver was green, with a blue border, and the bow (yellow) was sheathed with leather (? green) in the middle and at the ends. The bowstring was red, as were the reins. The sword blade and the base of the handle were yellow, and the pommel was blue, attached to the king's wrist by a green cord. The javelins had blue terminals with red tassels. Both the yoke and the chariot wheel were painted red. The fan behind the king was painted with red, blue (?) and green (?) stripes; the loop of the ankh was blue, its body red. The body and lower front wing of the vulture were red, its lower back wing was green and the rest was blue. The dividers between the text columns were blue.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

MAIN TEXT

[. . . , strong-armed]^a ¹one (?), a possessor of [str]length, [bo]ld [li]ke Montu,^b ²who fights and makes captures^c in every foreign country, ³a man of action, without his equal, who acts with his strong ⁴arm so that the Two Lands will know,^d (and) the entire country ⁵will see. He is like Ba'al ⁶when he treads the mountains. ⁷Terror of him has broken up the foreign countries, his ⁸name being victorious, and his strong ⁹arm being ¹⁰power¹¹ful. There is none ¹²who can stand before him.

BEHIND KING

¹³Horus, the strong-armed, the master of action.

ABOVE HORSES

¹⁴The first great span of His Majesty, "Trampler of Foreign Countries."

^aPace *KRI* I 21, n. 2a, only one and a half columns appear to be missing before the extant traces.

^bThe words preceding *nb* [*pht*]y, [*k*]n[*t m*]l *Mntw* are not clear, the text being a palimpsest, with *nb* being cut over an original 'h³, "warrior" or similar. The top of the column, particularly the sign below the initial reed leaf, is especially difficult. Since in this inscription the words can be divided between columns, we might see above *nb* the -y ending and determinative of [*hps*]y, the three initial consonants being lost at the bottom of the first column: cf. cols. 5–6, 8–9, 10–11. As an alternative, one might consider the rare expression *šn'y* 'h³ . . . (cf. *Urk.* IV 1682:7; we are indebted for this suggestion to Richard Jasnow).

^cCf. Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, p. 91, n. 19b; *Urk.* IV 32:9, 1343:20–1344:1.

^dThe expression *r rh.t(i)* X is common enough (Gunn, *Stud.*, pp. 14–15; Lef., *Gr.* ² 486; Gardiner, *Gr.* ³, p. 304, n. 1; *Wb.* II 445:5); but it is here written abnormally without the final .*t(i)*, so we have translated it as a simple *sdm.f* even though the parallelism with the following clause is obvious.

PLATES 29–30

KING SETY I SUBDUING A LIBYAN FOEMAN, WITH FIGURES OF
PRINCE RAMESSES (ORIGINALLY AN OFFICIAL NAMED MEHY)
INSERTED AT THE SIDES OF THE SCENE

- I. *Descr. Ant.* III 39 [2].
Denon, *Voyage*, pl. 133 [1].
Champ., *Mon.* ccxcvii 2.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 98–99.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* liv 2.
Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 86.
Tarchi, *L'architettura*, pl. 41.
Prisse, *L'art ég.* II, pl. 41; *Texte*, pp. 415–16.
G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne: Les éléments d'architecture* (Paris, 1924), p. 81 (Béato photograph).
Wresz., *Atlas* II 50, 50a (left).
- II. Breasted, *ZÄS* 37 (1899): 130–31, figs. 1–3 (princes) = idem, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III 61, figs. 3, 4 (same).
Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 228.
- III. Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 68–69.
KRI I 21.

This episode can be logically interpreted as a continuation of the mass battle scene to its right.¹ Having exhausted the arrows in his quiver, the king has dismounted from his chariot and now engages in single combat on the battlefield. One Libyan, pierced by a javelin, already lies prostrate and writhing as the king tramples him underfoot. A second Libyan, already wounded by an arrow in his chest, lowers his bow and raises his right arm in submission, only to have it rudely seized as the king prepares to run him through with his spear. As befits his active role, Sety is simply dressed in a shirt, a short kilt and sporran and, on his head, a simple wig with two streamers issuing from the back. The quiver (empty, as said above) is tied to the rest of the costume by the two ties seen in front of the king's chest. The Libyans are garbed as in the mass battle scene, with the addition of two crossing pieces of cloth covering their chests: note that the belt is secured by looping the loose end under the cincture, the remainder serving to form the penis sheath as on the figures in pl. 28. Above the king's head is the falcon "[Horus of Edfu], as he gives life and dominion." The humanoid ankh of the mass battle scene also appears here, holding up the broad fan behind the king's back and providing "the protection of all life, stability and dominion behind him like Re."²

As we observed briefly above (see p. 87) the scene was originally closed at each end by a vertical column of text (cols. 2 and 8, respectively). The bottoms of these columns were suppressed, however, when two figures were added—one of them following the chariot in the scene at the left (pl. 31 below), the other applauding the victorious king in this scene from behind the stricken Libyan at the right end. The identity of these figures has long been a matter of dispute. The most thorough previous examination was made (under disadvantageous condi-

¹The two episodes are treated as one by Wreszinsky and in the entry of *Bibl.*² II 56 (169) II, 1.

²Written here with an otiose *nb.* On this formula, see J. J. Clère in *RdE* 17 (1965): 206.

tions) by Breasted,³ who showed that both figures were later additions to the scene, and that both, moreover, had been changed and taken over on behalf of "Prince Ramessu," the future Ramesses II. Who the earlier figures were was not so clear: Breasted argued that they represented an obscure elder son of Sety I who was superseded by his younger brother Ramesses. This explanation was generally favored by scholars,⁴ although some were inclined to see the initial figures as also belonging to Ramesses II, having been changed later for artistic reasons.⁵ While recording this scene we were able to subject both sets of figures to a close and searching study. Our conclusions, which are substantially different from any of those previously advanced regarding the earlier pair of figures, must be supported in detail.

The figure on the right (west) side originally stood with both arms upraised, saluting the king (see pls. 30*B*, *D*). In his right hand he held a bow, and a quiver was strapped to his back; there is no evidence to show that he held anything in his left hand, which was presumably raised up in adoration. The figure was garbed as a high official, with a billowing outer robe falling below the knee over a less voluminous undergarment ending above the ankles. A cloak falling from his shoulders behind his arms was secured at the waist by a belt, the sash of which hung loosely down the front of his body.⁶ A clear trace of his shoulder-length hair (or wig) survived, but all internal details were lost. Nevertheless, the figure's status was made clear—in the negative and positive senses—by two features. First, the inscription in front of his chest, "hereditary prince, first king's son of his body . . ." (col. 10), was cut over the top of the earlier figure's bow case and over his sash, showing that it could not belong to this earlier figure as had been previously maintained.⁷ Second, above the figure's head we recovered a short horizontal inscription that had been filled with plaster and then cut over by the secondary figure's upraised fan. This text (col. 9) leaves us in no doubt as to the original figure's identity, describing him as "the group-marshaller and fan-bearer Mehy."⁸

When the western figure was usurped, the top of his head, his upraised arm on the right, and the sides of his cloak (top and bottom) were keyed for plaster, and the secondary figure was carved over him (see pls. 30*B*, *F*). It too stood with arms upraised, but the placement of the various parts of the body was quite different. In this version the prince's sidelock of youth is clearly seen. The top of his cloak falls from the shoulders to be caught up at the waist, as in the official's figure, but the garment then falls without interruption to end just above the ankles, leaving the shape of the prince's body to be discerned through it. The prince wears sandals (unlike Mehy, who went barefoot), and in his left hand he grasps a slender fan and a long handkerchief that falls down to his waist, being cut off at bottom right by the chariot wheel in the adjoining scene.⁹

³"Ramesses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I," *ZÄS* 37 (1899): 130–39.

⁴E. A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Egypt V, Egypt under Rameses the Great* (London, 1902), pp. 18–19; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt from the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*, 3rd ed. (London, 1925), p. 27; Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III 30–31, LXXXIV; W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession*, *SAOC* 8 (1933), p. 31.

⁵Edouard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* III/1, 2nd ed. rev. (Leipzig, 1928), p. 456, n. 2; followed by Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 23–26, and by E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Egypte*, 4th ed. rev., *Clio: Les peuples de l'orient méditerranéen* 2 (Paris, 1962), p. 387; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant* (Warminster, 1982), p. 24.

⁶Compare the costumes worn by the officials in the "reception committee" on pl. 6 above (right end) and also the costume and pose of the erased official in the register above this Libyan campaign (pl. 23; cf. pl. 25*B*).

⁷For references, see above, nn. 3–4. That Ramesses II was not only "eldest king's son" (*s3-nswt smsw*) but also "first(-born) king's son" (*s3-nswt tpy*) is, moreover, independently demonstrated by his titles on another monument: see L. Speelers, "La stèle de Maï du Musée de Bruxelles (E 5300)," *Rec. de trav.* 39 (1921): 113–16, with pl. IV facing p. 232.

⁸This name appears to be the hypocoristic of one composed of the elements "Divine name + *m-hb*": see G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, *ÄF* 21 (1960), pp. 75–79 and chart following pl. 136; see also K. Sethe, "Über einige Kurznamen des Neuen Reiches," *ZÄS* 44 (1907): 89–90.

⁹For the prince's costume, compare *Med. Habu* I 41 (bottom left) with *ibid.*, pl. 42 (right); in other examples the prince wears a long translucent robe; and a handkerchief is a frequent adjunct to the prince's costume: see *ibid.* II 62 (right), 74 (bottom) and 75 (top).

The earlier figure on the left (east) side followed behind the chariot in the adjoining scene (pl. 31) and was garbed identically to that on the right. The characteristic bow (carried in his right hand) and quiver can be made out, but a fan is now slung over his left shoulder, in keeping with Mehy's second title. All the significant features of the official's garb can be seen (i.e., the upper robe falling over his arms, his belt, and both over- and undergarments below), and the figure's feet survive intact. Of the head, only the top and back survive (see pls. 30A, C). When it was usurped, the figure was turned completely around, now facing into the scene of single combat on this plate (see pls. 30A, E). The prince's left hand is held at his side, grasping the fan and handkerchief also borne by the prince on the right side. In addition, however, this figure carries a crook (behind the fan, below the pommel). The sidelock and long robe are clear, as on the other figure, but here the prince wears a kilt that is wrapped behind his rear to cover the sides of his legs, with a short flap covering the crotch.¹⁰ Probably because of the change in orientation, the front of the original figure's garment was shaved back before the final figure was added, so that the latter now lies in a distinct depression on the wall. The earlier fan, head, robe and back leg were keyed for plaster, as was the plume of the fallen Libyan (perhaps owing to its proximity to the new hand and handkerchief). There is no evidence that any text accompanied the earlier figure, but the final version was identified in three short columns distributed in front of its fan and behind its head (cols. 11–13).

A few minor changes can be found in other figures of the scene. The tassels from the quiver, at the king's chest, were initially carved too low and were substantially raised and lengthened, in keeping with the figure's vigorous stance. The outermost of the streamers issuing from the king's wig was also widened. Much of the upper third of the scene was unfortunately lost with the large *Flickstein* on which it was carved; and the king's face, since it fell on the join of two blocks, was also carved onto a patch that has now disappeared. Felicitous details of individual hieroglyphs (e.g., the Libyan costume worn by the falling man at the top of col. 4) can still be noted, however, and the whole composition has an unusually vivid sense of suspended motion.¹¹ The plaster which was used (presumably in Graeco-Roman times) to repair the scene on the right is not much in evidence here, having been slopped over the signs of *rkyw.f* in col. 2. Significantly, no plaster lies over the king's arms or over the upraised arm of the Libyan at the right, both of which were hacked by vandals in post-Pharaonic times.

The most vivid color in the relief is on the king's spear, which has a green point and a yellow shaft wrapped, one presumes, with a blue ribbon. Flesh tones are red both in the king's and the Libyans' figures. The king wore a blue bracelet on his right wrist, while the Libyans' cloaks seem to have been blue (for the fallen man) and green (man at the right). The hair of the prince on the left side was blue, and the tail of the falcon green. Mehy's hieroglyphic text was painted uniformly in blue, unlike the signs of the main text, which have their usual variegated coloring (see chap. 4).

¹⁰An exact replica of this costume, including the kilt, fan, crook and handkerchief, is found in the Medinet Habu procession of princes: see *Med. Habu* V 299 (top three princes on right); cf. *ibid.* 301 (top three princes on left).

¹¹For a later copy of this scene see Wresz., *Atlas* II 182.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

IN FRONT OF KING

¹Striking down the chiefs of Lib[ya].

ABOVE LIBYAN CHIEF

²[. . . , who over]throws^a his enemies, smites the tribesmen and tram[ple]s the Be[do]uin (and) [the re]mo[te foreign countries of L]ibya,^b ³[making a great slaughter am]ong them,^c ⁴[. . .] fallen (?), their chiefs ⁵[. . . under (?)] the feet of Horus—(namely), [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands], Men[ma'atre], [the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, S]ety-[Mer]en[amon], given life and dominion like Re.^d

ABOVE STANDARD

⁶Horus, the strong-armed, the Lord of the Two Lands, ⁷the master of action who smites every foreign country, the possessor of a strong arm who tramples on the Nine Bows.

ABOVE PRINCE AT LEFT

⁸The king, the Lord of the Two Lands, the possessor of a strong arm, Menma'atre, continually tramples the chiefs of the foreign countries of Li[bya] like Re [forever and ever].^e

ABOVE PRINCE AT RIGHT

⁹The Group-Marshaller and Fan-Bearer, Meh-y.^f

IN FRONT OF PRINCE AT RIGHT

¹⁰The hereditary prince, the first king's son of his body. . . .^g

BY PRINCE AT LEFT

¹¹The hereditary prince, the el[de]st king's son ¹²of his body, his [belov]ed, ¹³Ramessu.^h

BY HORUS

[The Behdetite . . .], as he gives life and dominion.

^aSlightly more than five groups are missing from the tops of cols. 2–5.

^bThe text *hwl ʿIwntlw, p[t]p[t] Mntlw, [hʿswt š]t[ʿw (?) nw Th]nw* was erased and covered, first by the official identified in col. 9, then by the figure of the prince: see above, pp. 91–92.

^cTentatively restoring *[irt hʿyt ʿʿt m]-im.sn* (cf. above, pl. 15:40 = *KRI* I 28:14).

^dThe king's names and titles appear to the left, as a logical continuation of the main text. Following the regular convention of the Epigraphic Survey, however, they have not been assigned numbers.

^eThe words *hʿswt nw Tm[hy] ml Rʿ* were covered by the superimposed figures added later: see above, pp. 92–93.

^fThis text, cut across the original lower extension of col. 2, was filled with plaster, and the fan of the later prince's figure was carved over it: see above, p. 92.

^gThe inscription is cut over the bow case and sash of the original official's figure.

^hFinal version, going with the prince's figure.

PLATE 31

KING SETY I IN HIS CHARIOT, ESCORTING LIBYAN PRISONERS
BACK TO EGYPT

- I. Denon, *Voyage*, pl. 133 [3].
 Champ., *Mon.* ccxcvii.
 Idem, *Not. descr.* II 99–100.
 Ros., *Mon. stor.* lv.
 Pier, *Inscr. Nile Mon.*, fig. 60.
 Wresz., *Atlas* II 51.
- II. Teynard, *Egypte et Nubie*, pl. 49 (king in chariot).
 Prisse, *L'art ég.* II 44 [2] (king in chariot).
 Leclant, *Empire*, p. 120, fig. 109 (right half of scene).
 Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 227.
- III. Brugsch, *Recueil* xlv d, e (texts above captives).
 Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 69.
 Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. *Dyn.*, p. 9.
KRI I 22.

Sety I rides back to Egypt in his chariot, driving two rows of Libyan captives before him. The king wears the Blue Crown, with two streamers issuing from the back of the helm, along with his usual kilt and sporran. The quiver (still full of arrows in this scene)¹ is strapped to his body by means of a cloth tie that floats down in front of his belly.² Sety manages the reins of the horse team with both hands, grasping also his bow in his left hand and the scimitar and a whip in his right. A number of disabled Libyans have been stuffed into the chariot, their heads being visible over the rim and at the back of the car. As in the two scenes to the right, an anthropoid ankh-sign holds up a broad fan behind the king's back. Above Sety's head are the two protecting vultures, "Nekhbet" on the right and Edjo, presumably, on the left, guarding "the Lord of the Two Lands Menma'atre, the Lord of Diadems Sety-Merenamon, given life."

Due perhaps to the uneven quality of stone employed in the masonry, a number of stone patches had to be inserted in the area of this scene before the relief could be carved. The loss of these *Flicksteine*, added to the later deliberate removal of other blocks from the wall and natural wear, has resulted in serious gaps within the scene, particularly at the left end. One small *Flickstein* still remains in place, at the top of the horses' front legs; but more substantial patches (the middle section of cols. 1–2, extending into the scene on the left; the gap at the top of cols. 21–22, the sides of which were cut back 5 cm and keyed for plaster) are missing. The deep hole between the two registers of prisoners (front end, and cutting into col. 2) may have been made during the course of later building operations against the side of the wall; and the upper course of masonry at the left end of the scene was quarried away, along with most of the register above it. Perhaps also at this time the figures were subjected to a systematic hacking that damaged the vultures' heads, the head and right forearm of the king, the horses' heads and front hooves, and the heads, feet and some arms belonging to the bottom row of Libyans.

¹Cf. pls. 6, 14, where the quiver is empty.

²Cf. pl. 29.

Failure to extend this vandalism into the upper row of captives was probably due to the irregular height of the mound: notably, the hieroglyphs have been consistently spared, something that is not the case in the scenes to the right (see especially pl. 28).

A few minor peculiarities in the relief can be mentioned: in col. 2, the notches of the arrow determinative are off-center; and both the streamer at the king's front and the curl of hair belonging to the third Libyan from the right end (top row) were later additions to the finished relief, being carved more lightly than similar features around them. More important is the recutting that affects the king's figure and his chariot. As with other scenes on this wall,³ the king's profile has been moved forward, giving the head a broader, less elongated appearance: traces of the original helm and forehead can be seen inside the final cuts, as can the original (lower) uraeus. The king's thigh (rear, beneath his left arm) seems also to have been thinned, for a layer of plaster (now lost) is clearly seen in Wreszinsky's photograph, shifting the edge of the cut slightly to the left. The car of the chariot was lowered and widened, front and back, with a further cosmetic adjustment to the top border: the original lines were presumably masked with plaster, since they can be easily seen today. Where the chariot crossed the king's body in raised relief, the newer version was created by shaving down the original and building up the subsequent raised surface with plaster: some keying can be detected in this area, but the plaster itself has disappeared. Yet another alteration can be seen where the strap running under the horse's belly (originally misaligned) was corrected. Since the deep cutting of the horse's body did not permit this delicate change to be made completely in relief, the interval was no doubt filled with plaster or by a version in paint.

Surprisingly many paint traces occur across this mangled relief. The king's helmet is blue, with a yellow (= gold) visor and a yellow uraeus. The bands of the necklace were painted blue and green, and the banded armlets and the bracelet were also blue. The king's belt was yellow and the streamer to the left of his sporran red. The quiver was painted green, with the bottom yellow (tipped in metal?). Flesh colors were red throughout. A trace of a yellow blanket can be seen in the horse's belly, behind the corrected strap, and the belt of one of the Libyans in the upper row was blue. Blue paint occurs on the front bow case and within the car of the chariot (this clearly belonging to the final version). The javelins are yellow, with blue terminals and red tassels. The feathers that make up the broad fan were red with intermittent thin bands of blue, with green stems as they joined the metal holder. The vultures' tails and most of their feathers were blue, although the lower row of small feathers on each vulture was painted green (back wings) and red (front wings), respectively. The rings held in their talons are green.

³Cf. pls. 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 28 above; and pl. 36 below.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

MAIN TEXT

¹[The Good God has returned after triumphing over the chieftains of every foreign country, when he had trampled the rebellious foreign lands]^a who were violating his borders. He is like Montu ²[when he has taken up the mace, like Horus in] his [pano]ply,^b his bow in [his] hand^c [like Bastet], (and) his [ar]row, like the Son of Nut. No foreign country can stand be³[fore him, for the dread of ⁴him is in their ⁵hearts. All foreign lands ⁶have become ⁷pea]ceful on[es],^d ⁸for he causes them to cease ⁹standing on ¹⁰the battlefield, ¹¹and they forget^e ¹²to take ¹³up bows, spending ¹⁴time in the ¹⁵ca¹⁶verns,^f hid¹⁷den like fo¹⁸xes.^g ¹⁹The terror ²⁰of His Majesty ²¹[is in all lands, pervad]ing their hearts,^h ²²[inasmuch as his father Amon has given him va]llor and victory.ⁱ

BETWEEN ROWS OF PRISONERS

²³[The chiefs of the foreign countries that know not Egypt, whom His Majesty brought away]^j as living captives from the foreign country^k of Libya^l through the strength of his father, Amon.

ABOVE HORSES

²⁴The first great span of His Majesty, "Bold is Amon."

BY VULTURE ON THE RIGHT

Nekhbet the White of Hieraconpolis.

^aRestored from parallels on the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall: see Wresz., *Atlas* II 56a; and G. A. Gaballa, "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak," *JEA* 55 (1969): 86–88, fig. 6A.

^bReading [m] Hr m h[k]r.f, although the parallel (cited above) seems to have h[k]rw.f.

^cReading m-^c. [f]; for a similar spelling with the stroke, see *Med. Habu* IV 207, top.

^dBoth this text and the parallel (see n. a above) are broken at this point, but the spacing suggests only plural strokes are lost at the bottom on the right.

^eThe parallel, again, is broken, but the spacing suggests shm.[sn]; thus, a similar sdm.f construction (shm.w) is wanted here.

^fOn m[gr]t, see Helck, *Beziehungen*², p. 515 (130), and cf. b[gr]t (*KRI* IV 15:12 [also with reference to Libya] = *Wb.* I 482:15).

^gCoptic ouōnsh = "wolf" (Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, p. 485). The determinatives used with wns̄ in the Pharaonic sources are not altogether consistent (see *B.H.* II, pl. 13; *Med. Habu* II 117; *JEA* 55 [1969]: pl. xx), leaving the identification to be settled amongst the several wild Canidae native to the area (John Anderson, *Zoology of Egypt: Mammalia* [London, 1902], pp. 203–34). Intermittently, however, the animal is represented as having a bushy tail (e.g., this example; also *B.H.* II, pl. 4), which accords well with the foxes still to be found in Egypt.

^hAmong the parallels, cf. *Khonsu* I 57B:5 (hryt.k phr m i[ḥ].sn); *ibid.* II 142C:1 (hryt.f m t[ḥ]w nbw); *Med. Habu* II 99:25–26 (hryt.k, šfyt.k... k m h[w].sn). A combination of such elements is required to fill the space.

ⁱCf. above, pl. 26:1, although this is only one of several possible reconstructions. For the abbreviated writing of n[ḥ]t in a similar context, see *Med. Habu* VI 420:22 (bottom).

^jCf. below, pl. 35:34 (= *KRI* I 19:6) for a parallel.

^kThis inexplicable miswriting of h[3]st perhaps stems from an overly cursive writing of the sign in hieratic: see Möll., *Pal.* II 10 (111) and 29 (322).

^lProbably (as Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* VI 45 already suspected) a variant spelling of Th(n)y: cf. the spellings of the related verbs t[ḥ]i (*Wb.* V 389:4) and t[ḥ]n (*ibid.* 390:1).

PLATE 32

KING SETY I PRESENTING LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL
TO MEMBERS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccxcix.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 100–101.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* lvi.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 52.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 225–26.
Prisse, *L'art ég.* II 97 [10] (vase).
- III. Brugsch, *Recueil* xlvii a–d, xlviii a (omitting Mut and Khonsu).
Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 72–74.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. Dyn., pp. 9–10.
KRI I 23–24.

Sety I leads two rows of Libyan captives, with their spoil, into the presence of the Theban Triad. The king wears a pleated kilt with a sporran that is somewhat more elaborate than usual in these scenes (cf. above, pl. 28) and an ankle-length overgarment. On his head is a simple hair wig (cf. pl. 29) with a pair of streamers floating down behind. An empty quiver is strapped to his back, and in his left hand he holds not only the ropes that secure the files of prisoners behind him but also his bow. His right hand is extended, a gesture at once of greetings towards the gods and of display referring to the three subregisters of vessels and bags of ore in the center of the scene.¹ Above the king's head floats a solar disk with a uraeus serpent issuing from each side and signs for "life" and "dominion" hanging from the bottom. At either side are the two vulture goddesses—" [Nekh]bet the White of Hieraconpolis, as she gives all valor" on the right and "[Edjo], as she gives all life, stability and dominion like Re" on the left.

The gods are seen inside a kiosk decorated with a frieze of uraeus serpents at the top.² Amon of Karnak occupies the forefront, as usual, seated upon a block throne. Behind him stand Mut (wearing her customary vulture headdress and double crown) and Khonsu, behind whom are the words of the familiar formula "the protection of all life, stability and dominion is behind him like Re." At the front of the kiosk, before the gods, we see an offering table piled high with meat, bread, fruits and vegetables, with a censer and five cups of incense stored underneath. Below this are two offering stands, each bearing a *nemset*-jar; two bouquets; and an ankh-vessel and a *hes*-vessel, each garnished with an accompanying bloom.

The condition of this scene appears to have remained stable since the earliest copies were made. Champollion and Rosellini, it is true, show both vultures and the sun's disk complete, and their rendering of the king's and Khonsu's faces suggest that these were not yet hacked or otherwise damaged. Note, however, that Edjo's name is missing from Rosellini's drawing, and that Nekhbet's name is shown faintly, in keeping with its damaged condition on the wall,³

¹For this gesture cf. pls. 8, 14 and (especially) 20E, where the king is seen "presenting the house to his lord."

²Cf. pl. 36 below. A virtually identical kiosk symbolically represents the sanctuary inside Karnak, as in Wresz., *Atlas* II 201–202 (the king offering to the barks of the Theban Triad on their return to Karnak [processional colonnade at Luxor, north end of east wall, bottom register: see *Bibl.* ² II 315 (86) 5]).

³Note, moreover, that the name is fragmentary in Rosellini's copy, as it is today. Nekhbet's text is omitted altogether from the derivative drawing in Champ., *Mon.*, although a completed version (presumably restored) is found in idem, *Not. descr.* II 101 (4°).

and that the Libyan captives are shown with their faces hacked, as they are today. These indications suggest that the two *Flicksteine* in and above the king's head had already fallen out when the earlier copies were made, and that the figures had already been defaced by hacking. This last type of damage affects the register as a whole, as we have seen, and occurs at the faces, hands and feet of the king's and the gods' figures. The lower row of prisoners was also defaced in this way; and it would appear that the mound was high enough to allow the attackers access to the first two figures at the left end of the upper row, although the others were beyond their reach. The bottom halves of these last figures and most of the heads in the lower row were carved onto two large stone patches that have since disappeared. Two smaller patches discussed above, encompassing the king's face, the right half of the disk and Nekhbet's head, have also vanished. A small *Flickstein* was inserted at the bottom of the lowest row of vessels in front of the king: this too is "restored" in the early copies, although probably missing at that time. Finally, a large *Flickstein* has taken with it the faces and upper bodies of Amon and Mut.

Traces within the right leg and rear of Amon indicate that these features were widened in the final version. The top of his *wꜥs*-scepter was also shifted and made longer.⁴ Khonsu's lower hand appears to have been lowered: the bottom line, where it cuts across the staff and handles, is lower than it is to the left, an effect produced by shaving down the original relief (seen above, inside the hand) and joining it to the new line of the arm that cuts through unused stone. It is possible, also, that the small disk of the uraeus that disappears behind the front plume of Amon's crown was added as an afterthought, for it is more lightly cut than any of its companions.

At some later point in antiquity, perhaps when the figures at the far end of this register were restored (see above, on p. 89), a graffito in demotic was lightly carved onto one of the circular loaves of bread on the offering table in front of Amon (bottom, right side): this text will be discussed in chapter 3. The hacking of the figures' faces, arms and legs is certainly a later (Christian or Islamic) phenomenon.

While a great deal of paint survives on this relief, it is more in evidence in the hieroglyphs (which have been spared any malicious hacking) than on the ravaged figures.⁵ The flesh tones of the king and his captives are red. The first two Libyans on the left end of the top row had red hair and yellow plumes; but traces of red are seen in the plumes of the sixth and seventh figures at the right end of this file. The top of the king's bow case was green with blue trimming. The string of his bow was red. The rear ends of the vultures were red; the tops of their backs blue. In their lower wings, the top row of feathers was blue with red tipping, and the bottom row was green: this coloring applied only to the undifferentiated feathers at the back of the wing, however, for the larger feathers in front were all blue.

Of the gods' figures, Amon wore a gold crown with gold plumes; and his tail was also golden in color. His flesh was blue, and he held a green scepter, while the border of his throne was painted green. Mut wore a red dress (perhaps with a pattern superimposed in another color?) and held a blue ankh-sign. Her vulture wig was blue, and the appropriate parts of her double crown (the rear support, coil and frontal projection) were red. The uraeus was yellow. The scepters held by Khonsu were yellow, the *wꜥs*-pole was green and the ankh blue. The disk and uraeus were both yellow, Khonsu's flesh was green; his hair and beard were blue. The inner curve of the counterweight behind his head, closest to the neck, was red. The front of the necklace was yellow, and the robe adjoining it was green. The bottom level of the kiosk (top) was green. Traces of red stripes could be seen in the upper level, which had a blue border on

⁴Both versions were painted green.

⁵For the hieroglyphs, see chap. 4.

top. All the uraei and disks were painted yellow, with some traces of blue paint superimposed to show inner detail.

All of the offerings were once elaborately painted, but only a few sporadic traces now survive. The offering table before Amon is painted yellow, as is the small kneeling figure on the left; the cup to his left was red. The loaves on the table were yellow, and the melons at the top of the pile green with blue flecks painted over this background. The small fruits at the top are painted yellow. Beneath the table, the censer is yellow, and the contents of the cups are red (first and fourth from left), blue (second and fifth) and green (middle). The baseline is green. Beneath this, the flowers are all green, with red buds on the bouquets, and the vessels on the stands are yellow. Outside the canopy, in the upper row of tribute vessels, the two bags are red (left) and blue (right). The mouth of the jar and the gazelle heads at the base are yellow; the body of the jar and the oval ornaments above it are blue. The body of the krater in the center is blue; the "marsh" elements above it are yellow. The body of the Bes-jar on the right is green, as is the headdress of the lid. Bes's face appears to be yellow (right side of the break), and the circular ornament at the upper right, originally painted blue, was repainted in yellow. In the second row, the bags are painted blue (left) and red (middle). The tops of the marsh elements below are yellow. The body of the ankh-jar at the right is green, although the central "neck" on top is blue, and there are traces of yellow at left and right of the outer border, suggesting bands of gold. The stopper at the top is blue, terminating in red buds with blue leaves; and the four oval decorations are yellow. The baseline of this second row is painted green. Little remains of the paint in the third (bottom) row of vessels, but the bottom of the jar at the right was blue, and the oval decorations were green.

Finally, the low rectangular holes at the bottom of the gods' kiosk do not represent *Flicksteine*, but were made to insert the supports for the shrine that Ramesses III built against the left half of the scene below this one (see pl. 37 below, and chap. 2).

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

OUTSIDE KIOSK, ABOVE OFFERINGS

¹Presenting spoil by His Majesty ²to his father, Amon-Re, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise³ (and) every precious gemstone, "by means of the valor that you gave to me over every foreign country."

IN FRONT OF KING

⁴Presenting spoil by the Good God to his father, Amon, consisting of the rebellious chieftains of the foreign countries that know n[ot] ⁵Egypt, their tribute being on their backs "in order to fill your magazine with male and female slaves ⁶by means of the victories that you gave to me over every foreign country."^a

BY AMON

⁷Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: ⁸"My bodily son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, ⁹Menma'atre: I am glad ¹⁰for love^b of you, and I rejoice at seeing ¹¹your beauty. I set the renown ¹²of Your Majesty over every foreign land. [Your mace] is ¹³on the head(s) of their chiefs, and [they] come^c ¹⁴to you as one, to Eg¹⁵ypt, bearing all their products l[ad]e¹⁶n on their backs."

BY MUT

¹⁷Mut, Lady of Isheru, ¹⁸Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods: ¹⁹"[I have given you] eternity as King of the Two Lands, you having arisen like Re."

By KHONSU

²⁰Khonsu-in-Thebes ²¹Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of Joy, ²²Thoth, Lord of Karnak: ²³"I have given you valor against the south and victory against the north."

ABOVE PRISONERS

²⁴His Majesty returned from the foreign countries, his at[tac]k^d having succeeded, when he had ²⁵destroyed Retchenu (*sic*) and kill[ed] their [ch]iefs.^e He causes the Barbarians^f ²⁶to say,^g ²⁷"Who is ²⁸this?" He is ²⁹like a fire ³⁰when it breaks out and no ³¹water is brought. He causes ³²all^h rebels ³³to cease all the bo³⁴asting of their mo³⁵uth(s), for he has ³⁶taken away the breath of their nose(s).

BETWEEN FILES OF PRISONERS

³⁷The chiefs of the foreign countries of Libya. . . .

By EDJO

[Edjo], as she gives life, stability and dominion like Re.

By NEKHBET

Nekhet the White of Hieraconpolis, as she gives all valor.

^aNo doubt read *nb* for the .*k* in the text; cf. above, col. 3.

^bThe omission of the final .*t* in *n mr(w)t.k*, as well as the substitution of the ending in -*y*, occurs in Late Egyptian (see *Wb.* II 103, near top), perhaps suggesting the contemporary pronunciation.

^cReading [*hd.k*] *hr tp wrw.sn*, *lw.[sn]*, etc.: cf. *Med. Habu* II 106:33, 122A:8; and above, pl. 8:9 = *KRI* I 11:6–7.

^dRestoring *h[d].f bpr* (cf. *Wb.* II 505:14) as opposed to [*m kn*].*f bpr* (in *KRI* I 23:8).

^eRestoring *sm̃.[n.f w]rw.sn*. The signs *n.f* are given as part of the text by Brugsch, *Recueil* xlvii b, but their absence from earlier copies (Champ., *Mon.* ccxcix; idem, *Not. descr.* II 101; Ros., *Mon. stor.* lvi a) makes it doubtful that Brugsch saw them. On the other hand, the photograph in Wresz., *Atlas* II 52 shows what could be waves of an *n* below the strong arm, and Rosellini's copy at least indicates that traces were visible, although he did not try to make anything of them. For a parallel, see below, pl. 34:16 = *KRI* I 18:1–2.

^fThe conventional translation of ^c*mw*, "Asiatics," could go with the mistaken allusion to Retchenu in col. 25, but it could also be employed in the wider sense to embrace people living in the deserts east of the Nile Valley: see William C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1955), p. 92, n. 347; and Hans Goedicke, "The Alleged Military Campaigns in Southern Palestine in the Reign of Pepi I (VIth Dynasty)," *RSO* 38 (1963): 189–91.

^gThe -*w* ending of the *sdm.f* occurs often in Late Egyptian. For use in the subjunctive, see Kor., *Gr.*, p. 250 (3)–(4).

^hEmending .*k* to *nb*, as above (see n. a).

THE WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER:
THE HITTITE CAMPAIGN
(PLATES 33–36)

The three large scenes that make up this register are arranged in a manner already familiar from other sequences. At the far end of the wall, farthest from the doorway, the king charges into battle with the Hittites (pl. 34); he then marshalls his prisoners for the return trip to Egypt (pl. 35) and presents the captives and booty to the Theban Triad, accompanied in this instance by the goddess Ma'at (pl. 36).

The campaign described in these reliefs is notable for its lack of specific detail: no date is given, nor is the fighting localized beyond a vague reference to “the vile land of the Hittites” (pl. 34:1). In this respect it differs from the Shasu, Yenoam and Kadesh campaigns, two of which are independently attested from other contemporary sources.¹ Lack of detail in the Hittite sequence, as in the Libyan campaign in the register above, might lead to the assumption that these sequences are unhistorical, serving as rhetorical glorifications of the king's prowess—against the Libyans as a traditional enemy, and against the Hittites because they were Egypt's principal foe in western Asia at the time.² As a criterion for historicity, however, lack of detail in these war reliefs must be used with caution: the Nubian campaign described on the rear exterior wall of Ramesses III's Temple of Medinet Habu³ might be dismissed on similar grounds, but there is evidence to show that Ramesses III did in fact make war in that area.⁴

Barring the loss of the *Flicksteine* from the battle scene, the relief is in excellent condition: the mound of debris that allowed vandals to deface the second register covered the scenes at the base of the wall, sparing them both from attack and from erosion. Prior to being covered, however, the scenes were subjected to a process of gouging, which left rows of deep oval pits across the wall. This damage is no doubt connected to the veneration of the divine figures at the east end (pl. 36) which received official recognition when Ramesses III built a kiosk against the wall as a shrine to the gods represented there.⁵ The building of this kiosk protected the gods' figures from most pilgrims' acquisitive zeal, for only a few gouges are found inside the area that the shrine would have covered. Otherwise, they are abundantly in evidence across the rest of the relief, confined mostly to the lower portions of the scenes.⁶

¹See above, pp. 27–43, 79–85, and Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, pp. 90–99.

²Historians have tended to believe in the historicity of all these campaigns despite the absence of supporting detail: see J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1964 reprint), pp. 343–47; R. O. Faulkner, “The Wars of Sethos I,” *JEA* 33 (1947): 34–39; Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (London, 1961), pp. 252–54; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, pp. 419–21.

³*Med. Habu* I 8–11.

⁴*KRI* V 91:8–10. But doubts have been registered about the historicity of other reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, notably the campaign against “the town of Arzawa” (*Med. Habu* II 87: see Edgerton and Wilson, *M.H. Texts*, p. 94; W. S. Smith, *Interconnections*, p. 176).

⁵See chap. 2, pp. 129–31, for this.

⁶This gouging also extends across pls. 8 and 15 on the east side of the wall.

PLATE 34

KING SETY I ATTACKING THE HITTITES

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccc.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 102–103.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* lvii.
L. D. III 130 a.
Wilkinson, *M. and C.* I, pl. iv facing p. 43.
Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 86.
Maspero, *Hist. anc.* II 371.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 45–46.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 221–24, 326.
- III. Brugsch, *Recueil* xlv b, c (text above battle).
Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 70–71.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inschr.* 19. Dyn., p. 10.
KRI I 17–18.

The warrior king is seen standing erect within his chariot as he charges into the masses of Hittite foemen. The reins fastened around his waist, he fires volleys of arrows into the fleeing army. Simply garbed as is his wont, he wears the simple hair wig that he also used in the scene of single combat with the Libyans (pl. 29), a quiver being secured to his back by a pair of straps that hang down in front of his body. Above his head is a sun-disk with the usual accoutrements (cf. above, pl. 32), while at either side the falcon Horus (right) and the vulture goddess Nekhbet (left) hover, extending their protection. A humanoid ankh-figure (for the most part destroyed) holds up a broad fan behind the king's back, accompanied by the formulaic "Protection of life, stability and dominion . . .". A curious feature not previously seen in these reliefs is the elongated triangular shape above the backs of the king's horses—perhaps a rendering of the horses' blanket, come loose during the heat of battle.¹

The main focus of the king's charge is a Hittite chieftain in his chariot, just in front of the king's horse team. Though smaller than the king, this figure is much larger than the other Hittites shown here and may be taken, if not precisely as the Hittite king—since the text refers only to "their chiefs" (col. 16) in this battle—then at least as the characteristic exponent of enemy power. The shield-bearer has already fallen, pierced by a javelin, and other missiles have apparently maddened the horses, who plunge forward uncontrolled. The Hittite chief was apparently engaged in fighting in the same manner as the king in the Libyan melee (pl. 28), with one foot on the chariot pole: he is seen now in the process of retracting it into the chariot, and despite the arrows that fly past, he turns to face the king, lifting up both arms in a salute to the victor. Like the other Hittite warriors, he is dressed in a long robe bound with a sash at the waist. His long, thick hair spills out from under a tight cap with a tassel projecting from the top. Other warriors are bald (e.g., under the rear belly of the king's horses) or have long

¹Parallels are found in reliefs of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple (Wresz., *Atlas* II 65, 67, 77). In earlier drawings of this scene the feature was omitted by Lepsius and Wreszinsky (ibid., pl. 46). It appears only when the king's horses are charging at full gallop and where the blanket is not otherwise shown.

pigtails hanging below their shoulders.² The enemy's chariotry is much more in evidence here than in other battle scenes on this wall:³ all are shown in headlong flight, with several warriors riding bareback the horses they have cut loose from their chariots.

The blocks on which the scene was carved consist of poor, friable sandstone that has eroded more than that of other reliefs in this sequence. A large number of patches had to be inserted to make the surface fit for carving: the most noticeable of these is the large *Flickstein* (now fallen out) over the backs of the king's horse team. Other, smaller patches encompass the king's face, his right hand and the Hittites at the upper right-hand corner. Given the early copyists' penchant for completing obvious lacunae in the scene, it is difficult to determine precisely how much has been lost in the last century and a half. It is clear, however, that the largest *Flickstein* was already gone, since the texts above the king's arm and below the falcon are incomplete: notably, no copyist prior to Wreszinsky noted the traces beneath the blockline of col. 24, although the *n* of *hnty* was still preserved when Wreszinsky took his photograph; the *n* of *kn* (col. 21) has also been lost recently. On the other hand, while plaster for patching can be clearly seen in the large gap (on Wreszinsky's photograph), it appears that other pieces were deliberately removed after the stone was carved. This is especially true at the bottom of the scene, notably at the back legs of the Hittite horse team underneath the front legs of the king's horses: the stone at either side has been removed, and although the horses' legs are preserved in between, there are chisel marks extending from the top right corner of the gap on the left across into the horses' legs, then down to the bottom of the scene—as if the piece extracted were originally meant to be larger. Simple theft could be the reason for this damage, but it may also have been due to a later effort to patch the damaged relief.

A few minor revisions to the relief can be seen. The sky sign originally ended flush with the beginning of line 1 on the right end of the scene and was extended to the border: traces of plaster can be seen in the original cuts. The front legs of the Hittite horses on the upper right were shifted up and to the right: a new upper leg was added and the original lower leg suppressed. Just above the lowest Hittite horse team on the right, the lower garment of the bowman was shifted to the right, and a new foot was added, the original foot in front being suppressed. To this man's left, another bowman is pierced by an arrow that is carved more lightly than others in this scene, but there is no other reason to suspect that it was carved later than the rest.

A few flecks of paint managed to survive the deterioration of the relief. The bellies of the Hittite horses were red; no trace of color remains on the king's horses. Flesh tones of the Hittites are red. A trace of red is also found in the deep cutting of the king's belly, with blue above in his chest and yellow at the middle of his back and in his belt: no doubt he was wearing a corselet shown (as in pl. 14) entirely in paint.⁴ Above the king, the falcon's tail is green, his

²On the Hittites' costume see Wresz., *Atlas* II 46 (commentary) and also Helck, *Beziehungen*², pp. 328–30. To the examples quoted there we would add a figure in the triumphal reliefs of King Horemheb in the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons at Karnak (Wresz., *Atlas* II 62, top row, no. 5): the figure has been identified as a woman, but this seems unlikely, for it is bound and occurs among other figures who are plainly identified as "vile chieftains of *H3w-nbw*." The captive woman represented in the Leiden fragment of Horemheb's tomb (Boeser, *Beschreibung* 4, pl. xxi) carries a child and is, for the rest, quite different in dress and appearance. The figure from Karnak differs from other Hittites only in the long, slender sidelock of hair that accompanies his full coiffure, and in the pigtail that hangs down his back. Since this would be one of the earliest attempts to reproduce the Hittite character with any fidelity, however, the portrait could well have details missing from later, more standardized renderings. The pigtail down the back is well-attested, both in the Sety reliefs and later (see *Med. Habu* VIII 600 B, left), while the sidelock can be compared with that of the balding Hittite in the bottom row of prisoners on the Leiden fragment from Horemheb's tomb.

³Compare the role played by Hittite chariots in the various versions of the Kadesh battle reliefs.

⁴Cf. the example in *Med. Habu* I 25B.

back blue. Green paint is also seen in the vulture's tail, in the small feathers in the lower row of its back wing and in the front of the upper row of feathers as well. The smaller feathers of this upper row are blue, as is its back.⁵

⁵The elaborately painted plumes of the king's horse team on Lepsius's drawing may be the modern artist's fantasy, since nothing of the sort is found in the earlier copies of Champollion and Rosellini.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

MAIN TEXT

¹The vile land^a of the Hittites, among whom His Majesty—may he live, prosper and be healthy—made a great heap of corpses. ²The Horus, Mighty Bull “Arising in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,” ³the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menma‘atre, the Son of Re, Sety-Merenamon. ⁴The Good God, powerful in strength, a man of action, [va]liant^b like Montu; ⁵a power, powerful like the one who begat him, who illuminates the Two Lands like the Horizon Dweller; ⁶great of strength like the Son of Nut, the victoriousness of the Two Lords ⁷(being) in his actions, treading the battlefield like the One Who Is in Ombos, ⁸great of terror like Ba‘al on the foreign countries; one who united the Two Lands ⁹while he was in the nest, whose strength has protected Egypt, and for whom Re has ¹⁰made his borders at the limits of what the sun's disk illuminates; ¹¹a divine falcon, variegated of plumage, who crosses the sky ¹²like the Majesty of Re; an Upper Egyptian jackal, swift-running, who encompasses this land ¹³in an hour;^c a fierce lion, who traverses the remote paths of every ¹⁴foreign country; a mighty bull, sharp-horned and stout-hearted, who smashes the Asiatics ¹⁵and tramples on the Hittites, who slays ¹⁶their chiefs so that they lie prostrate in their ¹⁷blood, who enters among ¹⁸them like a blast of ¹⁹fire and makes them ²⁰into something that does not exist.

BELOW FALCON

The Behdetite, the Great God, ²¹as he gives [all] va[lor], ²²as he gives [all] life, stability and dominion.

BY VULTURE

Nekhbet the White of Hieraconpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

BY KING

²³The Good God, strong and endu[ring],^d the Lord of the Two Lands, [Menma‘]atre, the Lord of Diadems, [Set]y-[Meren]amon, ²⁴the image of Re before the Two Lands.

^a*KRI* I 17:10, following Wresz., *Atlas* II 46, reads $p^3 \text{ } ^c \text{ } h_s$, etc. The earlier copyists (excepting L. D. III 130 a, where the sign is not recorded) agree on t^3 , however, although Wilkinson's copy of the sign shows a bulge at the right end. The reading t^3 is nonetheless certain: cf. Wresz., *Atlas* II 45 (photograph).

^bRestoring *pr-*^c [k]n, etc.

^cFor a fuller writing of this passage, see below, pl. 35:11–12 = *KRI* I 18:9–10.

^dThe spacing might also permit *mn-[ib]*; otherwise, restore only the bottom of *mn*, *n* and book-roll determinative.

PLATE 35

KING SETY I ESCORTING HITTITE PRISONERS TO EGYPT

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccci.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 103–104.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* lviii.
L. D. III 130 b.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 47.
- II. Lange, *Äg. Kunst*, pl. 88 (king mounting chariot).
Baikie, *Eg. Antiq.*, pl. x [lower] (king mounting chariot).
Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 218–20, 325.
- III. Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:96–99 (cols. 19, 27–28, 32).
Brugsch, *Recueil* xlv i a–e.
Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 71–72.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr. 19. Dyn.*, p. 11.
KRI I 18–19.

Following the battle illustrated in the adjoining scene (pl. 34), Sety I marshalls his prisoners for the return trip to Egypt. The king stands with one foot already mounted on the floor of the chariot before him. With his right hand he holds the horses' reins together with his scimitar and riding whip, while with his left hand he grasps three captive Hittites by their long hair, pulling them towards himself, trapped within the confines of his bow. Two pairs of bound foemen stand behind in their chariots, both sets of reins and draw-ropes also held in the king's left hand. The entire composition is a study in the balance of opposing elements: the large horse team and the king's body are oriented to the left, but the king himself faces back, towards his straining captives and the two chariots behind, so that the tableau achieves its ultimate repose in the figure of Sety himself.¹ Two vultures—presumably Nekhbet and Edjo, although they are not named—hover above the king, at either side of the now familiar disk with its customary appendages. In front of the horse team are two rows of Hittite prisoners, marching into captivity in Egypt.

Sety I is dressed simply, wearing the same hair wig that was seen in the adjoining battle scene. The chariot into which he steps is open at the sides, unlike other examples in these reliefs, with only leather straps to cover the frame. The artist was presumably trying to show both sides of the car, but he became confused by the relationship of the straps to the king's leg (see below, pp. 108–109 for a discussion of this problem and its resolution). Among other details, note the central pin of the wheel, with its top shaped into the head of a Syrian. The Hittites are dressed in their usual costume, but some of them have lost the tight-fitting caps they wore into battle and appear disheveled, their long hair streaming down their shoulders. In some cases (e.g., third captive held by the king) the position of their bound arms is distorted, perhaps to suggest the extremity of their confinement or even, in this case, broken bones.

Most of the damage now visible in this relief had already occurred when the first modern copies were made: the erosion of the block just to the right of the king's chariot wheel has worsened, however, for in 1829 the arm of the prisoner in the center could still be seen com-

¹For a maladroit rendering of the same idea see Wresz., *Atlas* II 56a, left end (from the battle reliefs of Ramesses II on the south wall of the hypostyle hall).

pletely as it hung in front of his body. Rosellini's drawing is one of the more faithful in the series, showing as it does not only the space for the *Flickstein* in front of the lower Hittite chariot, but also the most severe breaks and even, to a degree, the hacking in the faces of the first four prisoners at the left end of the top row, where the level of the mound evidently dipped sufficiently to expose them to the vandals' zeal. Champollion's record in the *Monuments* is copied from Rosellini's and is less reliable as an indicator of the extent of relief preserved; and Lepsius's drawing—while more accurate in the shaping and placement of the figures—is even less to be trusted in its account of the damage.

Changes in the relief can be detected at several points. The sixth prisoner from the left in the upper row of captives at the left end of the scene, for instance, is shown with far too many arms: two are hanging down in front of his body, while two more are bound together across the top of his head and a fifth appears just below the blockline, incompletely rendered, next to the chin. The upper pair of arms might be rationalized as belonging, in the end, to the figure on the left, leaving the two lower arms to the sixth prisoner and the fifth hand as a mistake: perhaps, in an earlier version one of the arms was cut across the man's wig to end in the fingers visible today. No plaster or randomly preserved cuttings survive to tell us which version was ultimately used, so the problem has been passed on to the reader, all three versions being drawn in weighted line.

Other corrections can be more precisely defined. The king's bow, originally passing behind his arm, was recarved to pass in front of it: this correction was done, for the most part, in plaster, leaving only the diagonal marks where the chisel cut through into the stone. The toe of the king's left foot (on the ground) was made shorter, and the heads of one of the Hittite horse teams (upper subregister) were altered as well: in the original version, the ears of the horse in the foreground were set back, as if the animal were terrified;² the neck and part of the harness (across his forehead) were larger; and the ear of the other horse was placed further forward. The final version represents a "normalization" of both heads: the manes were widened by lowering the necks, and both sets of ears were made to point in the same direction, i.e., forward.

We have already referred (above, p. 107) to the confusion posed by the relationship of the chariot frame, its straps, the javelin case and the king's leg. A trace of the javelin case is to be seen running over the king's right leg, in keeping with the convention by which this case passes along the exterior of the chariot frame when the sides of the chariot are covered. It might be assumed that the javelin case, like the bow above, was recarved across the king's body, and that what we see of it represents a correction made for the most part in plaster. This alteration, however, would only compound the tangle of relationships noted in the description of the scene. The confusion might be resolved by another solution, however, by which the javelin case and straps were seen as belonging to the opposite side of the chariot, covered by the king's leg which, in turn, would be covered by the chariot frame. That this was the way in which all these elements were finally understood is indicated by a number of facts. Note, in the first place, that the king's right foot inside the chariot was carved in sunk relief. It would thus appear that the sun line of the chariot frame just above it is secondary, since the foot would surely have been carved in raised relief had it been originally meant to pass across this portion of the frame. Since, moreover, this upper line stops at the king's leg, i.e., goes under it, it should represent the far side of the chariot frame, not an expansion of the side which faces the

²For this feature (which occurs infrequently) see *ibid.*, pls. 22 (to the right of the river, middle horse team, from Ramesses II's temple at Abydos) and 69 (bottom left, from the Kadesh reliefs on the west wall enclosing the courts of the transverse axis, Karnak).

viewer. The javelin case was also shifted to the far side of the chariot since, as we shall see, the plaster in the deep cutting of the king's calf was added later to correct the figure's proportions, and in this version the king's leg lies over the javelin case. The straps that run across the frame on the other side of the javelin case are connected at the bottom to the far side of the chariot frame: they may originally have joined the viewer's side, since two of them project below the frame's upper line and may have been shaved down. The inconsistency with which the tops of these lashings join the chariot frame on the viewer's side was tolerated because these details lent vividness to the relief and could not be easily altered. It may have been at this time also that the chariot was made wider on the left and the yoke recarved in its present position.

The only change to the text is found in cols. 11–12: in col. 11 the words *phr t³ pn* were incised (more lightly than the signs of the original inscription) underneath the earlier text, and the continuation of the phrase (*n unwt hr . . .*) was carved over the original *phr t³ pn* at the top of col. 12 (see below, p. 110, n. b).

A great deal of plaster is preserved in this relief. Not only is it lodged in the deep cuts along the bodies of the king, the Hittites and the horses, but it is also found filling gaps in the stone (e.g., the break in the king's chest and the upper of the two small *Flicksteine* adjoining his right leg) and in later gouges as well: the distribution is well shown in Wreszinsky's photograph. Closer examination reveals, however, that the plaster is of two different types. That which appears at the edges of figures is, for the most part, a finely textured plaster with a hard patina. The plaster that fills cracks, blocklines and gouges, on the other hand, is much coarser and softer than the other. Where it lies over some part of the relief, it also overlies the paint of the original version: thus, in the headdresses of the king's horse team, some red paint was found underneath the plaster covering the fourth plume. Given its location on the relief, we suggest that the softer plaster belongs either to a very late repair of the wall in antiquity or to a more modern project, perhaps connected with one of the dwellings built against the north wall.³ The harder plaster was evidently employed to adjust the dimensions of the figures. This type of change affected the upper Hittite chariot, prisoners and horse team; the top of the king's head, his shoulders, arms, back, and front leg, together with the left side of the scimitar blade; the muzzles of the horses, the tops of their front legs, their backs, rumps, and the tops of their tails, as well as the disk attached to their harness; the sun-disk above the king and also the outlines of the vultures; and, finally, the tops of the Hittite prisoners (i.e., their heads and upraised arms). Given its function, it seems probable that this harder plaster was applied during the reign of Sety I, but it could also stem from some later refurbishing of the reliefs.

While flecks of color are found across the entire relief, they appear more plentifully at its left end. The Hittite horses were reddish brown; the king's horse team was red: the manes of the latter were colored in alternating bands of red and blue, and the plumes of the headdresses were colored alternately in this fashion as well (the fourth plume was red, and third and fifth were blue). Some traces of red still remain in the deeper cuts of the king's wig. Most of the vultures' feathers were blue, but the smaller feathers of the back wing, bottom row, were green, and those in the lower row of the front wing were red (vulture on right). A trace of green is preserved in the outer rim of the wheel to the king's chariot. The flesh tones of the prisoners in front of the horses are red, and their garments were colored with blue, yellow and red stripes (not placed identically in each figure).

³The plaster in the king's chest is of this variety, showing the antiquity of this break. The apparent line of the chest that can be seen in this plaster fill on some photographs appears, after our examination, to be illusory, so there is no evidence that any features were moulded entirely in later plaster.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

OVER ROWS OF PRISONERS AND KING'S CHARIOT

¹The Good God, powerful of aspects, ²great of strength like Montu ³residing in Thebes; a bull, youth⁴ful, sharp-horned ⁵and firm-hearted, who smash⁶es myriads; a victorious ⁷lion ⁸who travels ⁹the remote ¹⁰paths of every foreign country;^a ¹¹an Upper Egyptian jackal, swift-running, who encompasses this land ¹²in an hour^b and seeks out his enemies ¹³in every foreign country; a valiant ¹⁴fighter without his ¹⁵equal, a bowman who knows ¹⁶his (own) capacity, who sends forth ¹⁷his divine power like a mountain of copper.^c When he is peaceful, they breathe ¹⁸his air. Retchenu comes to him in submission ¹⁹and Tchehe(nu)-land is on its knees. He puts down ²⁰seed according to his desire in this vile ²¹Hittite land.^d Its chiefs are fallen to his ²²knife, having become something nonexistent. How great^e is his divine power ²³among them, ²⁴(it being) like fire when he des²⁵troys their towns.

OVER HITTITE CHARIOTS

²⁶The mighty king—great of strength, his renown (being) like (that of) the Son ²⁷of Nut—returned after he had triumphed, when he had destroyed the foreign countries and trampled ²⁸the land of Hatti. He causes the rebellious to cease ²⁹rebellling, and all lands are become peaceful ones. ³⁰The terror of His Majesty has entered in³¹ to them, his aura has invaded their ³²heart(s). The chiefs of the foreign countries are bound in ³³front of him: he does not consider the myriads assembled together.

BETWEEN ROWS OF PRISONERS

³⁴The chiefs of the foreign countries that know not Egypt, whom His Majesty brought away as living captives, their products on their backs, consisting of every [cho]ice thing^f of their foreign countries.

OVER HORSES OF KING

³⁵The first great span of His Majesty, (called) “Amon ³⁶has given power to him.”

^aCorrected, with *nb* superimposed over *t* + stroke under *h*³*st*.

^bThe words *phr t³ pn* were added (in lighter cutting) at the bottom of col. 11, while *phr t³ pn n* was altered to *n wnw t hr* at the top of col. 12.

^cSee Harris, *Minerals*, pp. 50–62, for the reading and interpretation of this group; and cf. a similar expression, *dw n b¹?* (ibid., p. 55).

^dIt is perhaps of chronological significance that the sequence of Retchenu, Libya and Hatti in this passage mirrors the top-to-bottom arrangement of battle scenes on this wall.

^eThus interpreting the dual strokes above the back of *wr*.

^fThe preserved *p* + book-roll both assure the reading [*st*]*p*: see *Wb.* IV 339 (top) for the spelling, and ibid. 339:2–6 for the expression.

PLATE 36

KING SETY I PRESENTING HITTITE PRISONERS AND SPOIL
TO MEMBERS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND TO
THE GODDESS MA'AT

- I. Champ., *Mon.* ccii.
Idem, *Not. descr.* II 104–105.
Ros., *Mon. stor.* lix.
Wresz., *Atlas* II 48–49.
- II. Meyer, *Fremdvölker* 214–17.
Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, p. 4, fig. 11 (divinities).
A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Licht des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 203, fig. 71; (1906), p. 312, fig. 110 (king and captives).
Roeder, *Der alte Orient* 20 (1919): 7, fig. 6 (upper row of captives).
Prisse, *L'art ég.* II 35 [5], 97 [8] (vase with winged sphinx).
Vercoutter, *L'Égypte [Éc.]*, pl. lxi [459] (vase with bull on lid).
- III. Syro-Eg. Soc., *Hiero. Inscr.*, pl. 5:92–94 (cols. 2, 5, 26).
Brugsch, *Recueil* xlvii e–g (texts of king and captives).
Guieysse, *Rec. de trav.* 11 (1889): 74–75.
Sander-Hansen, *Hist. Inscr.* 19. Dyn., pp. 11–12.
KRI I 19–20.

As in other registers, Sety I is seen leading his captives into the presence of the gods and presenting the spoils of victory. The king wears the Blue Crown (with the usual two streamers hanging down his back)¹ and has a long translucent skirt over his customary kilt and sporran. An empty quiver is strapped to his back by means of two straps that hang in front of his chest (cf. pls. 14, 29, 34), and in his left hand he grasps his bow and also the lead ropes of the two rows of Hittite prisoners behind him. With his right hand he gestures towards the three rows of sacks and ornamental vessels that represent the Hittites' "tribute" (cf. pl. 32),² while above his head hovers the guarding vulture goddess, "as she gives life and dominion." To the left, inside a kiosk surmounted by a frieze of cobras, Amon is seated upon a block throne. An offering stand with a *nemset*-jar, as well as several bouquets, is set before him; while behind, instead of the other members of the Theban Triad, we see the lioness Sekhmet; the moon god Khonsu, with the crescent disk upon his head; and Ma'at, with her characteristic headdress of a single plume.

Cut into the base of the gods' kiosk on this plate are the tops of three pairs of large cartouches, each pair flanked by *mpt*-staves and each ring surmounted by a plumed disk. Within the kiosk, it may be noticed that the divine figures are surrounded, at intervals, by small peg-holes, presumably to support the covering that normally hid the figures from common view. Surrounding the kiosk itself, moreover, there are large, regularly shaped holes (see especially the notched holes on the top, at each end of the kiosk). These were cut into the wall

¹Note the two uraei, crowned, respectively, with the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt, that appear in the flap adjoining the ear. To our knowledge, this is the earliest example of this feature in Egyptian relief. For a later example (attributed to Ramesses II) see Karol Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences 18 (Warsaw, 1976), pl. cvi, fig. 236 (N.B., only one uraeus).

²In the upper row, the top of the ankh-vase at the left end exhibits two griffins in profile, not in full face (as suggested by Wreszinsky's drawing): cf. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte [Éc.]*, pl. xxxviii, nos. 259, 261.

to provide support for the light walls of a shrine that was built against this scene during the reign of Ramesses III, about one hundred and fifty years after these reliefs were carved. This building, its construction and some local parallels for it will be discussed in chapter 2.

The two earliest copies, by Champollion and Rosellini, were made at about the same time and show that the major damage now seen on the right side of the scene had occurred by 1829. At the left end, however, the block of inferior sandstone above the heads of Sekhmet and Khonsu has deteriorated severely, not only since the early nineteenth century but also since Wreszinsky's day: see his photograph, cited in the bibliography above, and the notes to our translation (p. 114, below). Poor quality of stone has caused the decay of the relief at several points, a factor that was anticipated in ancient times: three small patches were inserted into the king's chest, and two others (still in place) are found just behind him, in the midribs of the captives of the upper row. For the rest, however, the preservation of the scene is excellent, due (no doubt) to the mound of debris that covered it in medieval times and spared it the vandalism rampant in the registers above.³

While a number of the figures underwent alteration during the carving of this scene, none was more extensively changed than the king's. Only his head and right hand are affected. The fingers were made longer and shifted slightly lower: the sequence of versions is revealed by the variability in depth of cut, which is deeper where the larger hand coincides with the smaller version and quite shallow where it extends onto previously uncarved stone: as we have seen, other revisions on the north wall are also characterized by cutting that is shallower than that of the original relief. Sety's head was also lowered and widened very slightly to the left. Most notably, the plaster that fills the top of the Blue Crown lies over the blue paint of the earlier version. Plaster was used otherwise to fill in the small gap between the earlier and later versions of the face, and it is probably for this reason that the king's lips were lightly scored with a chisel. The most complex alteration is that of the eye and eyebrow, parts of which were recut from the earlier versions. Most of the newer version in this area was executed in plaster and paint, however, and it is the faint traces of the latter that permit the direction of the change to emerge. As elsewhere, the carving of the newer lines is shallower than the old.⁴

Other changes are less significant. Behind the king, the body of the last Hittite in the lower row was widened, with plaster added to mask the interval between the two cuts. Inside the kiosk, the bouquet adjoining the *nemset*-jar (i.e., above and to its right) was simplified, its lower stem disappearing behind the bouquet just below it and the long stems and buds on top being replaced by a larger flower: in neither case did the lines of the final version cut through those of the original. Amon's collar line was shifted down, and the back of his neck and crown moved to the right; and the back upright line of his throne, misaligned in the original version, was lightly recarved and corrected with plaster. Khonsu's curl of hair was widened to the right (the braids being presumably extended in paint or plaster onto the shallower surface), and the right side of his body was enlarged, leaving traces of his original arms inside his body. The lappet of Ma'at's wig, also misaligned in the earlier version, was shifted slightly on the right; and beside col. 26, the original phrase *stp.n.R^c m wî³* was changed by adding *n* (more lightly carved than the rest) below the barge, then by recutting the cabin of the barge into a disk, so that the text now reads *stp.n.R^c m wî³ n R^c* (see below, p. 114, n. g).

The most conspicuous traces of paint are found on the king's face, which is painted red except for the final version of the eye: this was painted in a color that has completely disappeared. Some red paint is also found in the king's belly, leaving it uncertain whether or not he

³Despite the extensive damage to the heads of the cobras in the frieze above the kiosk, this seems not to be due to any malicious hacking. Perhaps the abrasion caused by the later shrine built against the wall was to blame.

⁴Cf. pl. 4 for an illustration of the opposite process, where the Blue Crown was enlarged.

wore a corselet on his upper body. The Hittites' flesh tones are also red, and the few remaining traces of paint indicate that their robes had yellow, blue and red stripes. The interior of Amon's plumes was painted with the usual stylized pattern, in alternating fields of blue and red. Khonsu's necklace was colored red and the counterweight yellow, with the garment below having green, yellow and red stripes. A trace of green above Ma'at's right arm (left of the lappet) is all that remains of her dress; and a fleck of green, similarly, is all the color left in the cobra frieze above the kiosk. Yellow formed part of the decoration of the plumes of the large cartouches beneath the kiosk, but too little remains to determine whether it formed part of a pattern or was an overall wash of color.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY KING

¹[Present]ing^a spoils by the Good God ²to his father, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thro[n]es of the Two Lands, when]^b he returned from the foreign country of Hatti, ³having destroyed the [re]bel[liou]s^c foreign countries and having trampled the Barbarians ⁴in their places: (spoils) consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, ⁵and every sort of precious gemstone, inasmuch as he (= Amon-Re) has decreed for him valor and victory against all foreign countries.

BY AMON

⁶[A]mon-[Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lan]ds, preeminent in Karnak. ⁷[Words spoken:^d "(I) have given you] all valor and all victory. ⁸(I) have given [you] all plains and all hill countries under your sandals. ⁹(I) have given you the lifespan of Re and the years of Atum. ¹⁰(I) have given you eternity, with jubilees like Re. ¹¹(I) have given you all food and all provisions. ¹²(I) have given you all life, stability and dominion, all health."

BY MUT

¹³Mut [the Great,^e Lady of] Isheru,^f ¹⁴Bast, [Mistress of]^e ¹⁵Karn¹⁶ak,^f possessor of graciousness, ¹⁷sweet of love: ¹⁸"(I) have given you [the thr]one of Geb and the lifespan of Re in heaven."

BY KHONSU

¹⁹Khonsu-[in]-²⁰Thebes [Nefer]hotep, ²¹Horus, Lord of J[oy].^e

BY MA'AT

²²Words [spoken by Ma]'^at,^e the daughter of Re: ²³"My bodily son, ²⁴my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, possessor of a strong arm, Menma'atre! ²⁵(I) have given [to] you eternity, with jubilees like Re."

ABOVE KING

The Good God, great of victories, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menma'atre, the Son of Re, Sety-[Mer]en[a]mon, whom Re in the solar bark^g has chosen.

ABOVE PRISONERS

²⁶The great chiefs of Retchenu the vile, whom His Majesty ²⁷brought away by his [victo]ries over the foreign country of Hatti ²⁸in order to fill the magazine [of] his noble [father],^e Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, ²⁹inasmuch as he has given^h [va]lor^e against the south and victory against the north. ³⁰The chiefs of the foreign countries, [they]^e say in glorifying His Majesty—may he live, prosper and be healthy—³¹and in magnifying his

strength: “Hail to you, (O) King of Egypt, a Re for ³²the Nine Bows! Great is your divine power, (O) Lord of the Gods.ⁱ You have reached the limit of the foreign countries ³³and subdued [th]em under the feet of your son, the Horus ‘who causes the Two Lands to live.’”

BETWEEN ROWS OF PRISONERS

³⁴“Great is your divine power, (O) victorious king! How great is your strength! You are like Montu on every foreign country, your might is utterly like his own.”

^aCf. above, pl. 32:1, 4 = *KRI* I 23:3, 5.

^bRestoring [hft] above lw.f, etc.: cf. above, pl. 14:2 = *KRI* I 10:11.

^cRestoring [b]š[tš]w: cf. the spelling on pl. 32:4 = *KRI* I 23:5.

^dThe group dd-mdw is repeated mechanically above cols. 8–12 and is not translated here.

^eSeen complete by Champollion and Rosellini.

^fChampollion, *Mon.* cciii omits the t and city determinative of ³Ipt-swt at the top of col. 16. Both early copies omit the bottom of col. 13 and all of cols. 18 and 25. In col. 18, restore [ns]t Gb (cf. *Med. Habu* V 311A:6).

^gA sun-disk was cut over the original cabin of the barge, apparently to avoid having to extend the text below the bottoms of the other columns.

^hCf. *Med. Habu* IV 212:16; Chicago, *Reliefs* II 108:7.

ⁱHaving greeted the king, the prisoners now seem to be addressing Amon-Re in col. 33.

2

FRAGMENTS AND ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

THE SHEER MASS of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is emphasized, for many visitors, by the partial destruction of its side walls. This loss is particularly heavy at the north end, where Sety I's battle scenes are inscribed outside. The battle reliefs themselves have suffered, as we have seen: a good part of the third register on the west side is gone,¹ and the corresponding group of scenes east of the central doorway is so reduced that the composition even of its most stereotyped episode is in question.² The program of decoration in these registers (if not the contents) can be restored with some confidence. The completion of these sequences, however, would hardly restore the wall to its full height. Fortunately, a small number of fragments have been preserved, and it is possible, at least on paper, to reconstruct the north wall to its top. Some of the blocks in question form part of a large cornice, while others contain horizontally arranged marginal texts, a frieze of decorative elements and parts of scenes carved on the registers below. It will be seen that these elements coalesce into a plausible reconstruction of that part of the north wall which no longer remains in situ.

FRAGMENTS 1 + 2 (PL. 39A)

These two fragments, now located a short distance from one another, seem to have belonged originally to one block that split: the sandstone in both is friable and cracks easily. On the right side of the stone are two columns of text and a portion of a third, broken at the top and the bottom. To the left are preserved the wings of a vulture,³ with the crossbar of the *šn*-sign in its talons still remaining between the wings, at the top of the upper fragment. Below the *šn*-sign, as if hanging from it, are the signs "life, stability, dominion" (top, center), "health" (bottom, center); this central group is flanked by two smaller groups arranged vertically—"given life" (left) and "life, dominion" (right). The figure of the king stood below, as in other reliefs preserved on the hypostyle hall's outer walls (e.g., the scenes published here) and inside as well; but no part of his figure survives.

¹See pls. 23, 26 and pp. 80–82, 84–85.

²See pl. 14, top, and p. 45.

³As there is no room for the falcon's characteristically long tail, the figure must be identified as one of the vulture goddesses: cf. pls. 3, 35, 36.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

¹[The gre]at [chiefs]^a whom His Majesty—may he live, prosper and be healthy!—brought away ²[through] his [victories]^b over the foreign countries of Retchenu ³[the vile: they say,]^c while adoring the Lord of the Two Lands^d (and) [while^e. . .]

^aCf. pl. 36, cols. 26–27 for a very close parallel. The height of the vulture defines the amount of space lost at the tops of the columns, and from the parallel it can be seen that the proposed restoration fits well. Only about one-half of a group appears to be lost from the bottoms of the columns.

^bRestoring [*m nhwt*].*f*: cf. pl. 36, col. 27.

^cRestoring *hs*, *dd.sn* at the top of the column; cf. the phraseology on pl. 36, cited above, and also the groupings of *dd.sn* on pls. 8, col. 14, and 10, col. 26.

^dCf. pl. 10, cols. 25–28 (*wrw ʿw nw Rmn, ḡd.sn m dwʿ nb tʿwy, m sʿʿ phty.f*).

^eBelow the traces of *nb tʿwy* there is room for another half of a group: the space would suit a flat *m*, and this would also suit the context: cf. pls. 10, cols. 26–28 (quoted in n. *d*, above) and 8, cols. 12–15 for similar passages that contain two paired phrases employing *m* + infinitive.

Proposed original location: The phraseology of the text identifies it as belonging to one of the rows of prisoners whom the king brings back to Egypt at the close of each campaign. The orientation of the figures (facing left) and the mention of “Retchenu [the vile]” further suggest that the fragments belong to the one sequence of battle scenes that is substantially missing, i.e., the Kadesh campaign in the third register on the west side (pls. 23–26). The exact placement of the fragments, however, is problematical, since such rows of prisoners are found both in scenes of presenting spoil before the gods⁴ and in those showing the king’s return to Egypt.⁵ Fragments 1 + 2 could belong either to the scene in which Sety I appears before the gods of Karnak (pl. 26) or to the preceding episode, now mostly gone,⁶ which depicted his return from the battlefield. Given the meagerness of these fragments, however, and the extent of damage to the wall, it is impossible to determine precisely where these elements belong.

Present location: * Immediately north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah. The two fragments are now separated, with no. 2 lying opposite the north wall of the First Court and no. 1 opposite the scene of the king’s return from Hatti (pl. 35).

FRAGMENT 3 (PL. 39B)

On the left side of this block are three fragmentary columns of text, which contain the stereotyped *ḡl.n.(i) n.k* formulas of the god (presumably Amon), who was seated further left. A cobra goddess, mounted on a clump of papyrus, stands in front of these texts and faces the king’s titulary, which fills the right half of the stone. No traces survive of the king, who stood below, but above and to the right of the royal names are the remains of the customary vulture,⁷ hovering in protection over the king and grasping a *šn*-sign in its talons. The name of this divinity, now lost, no doubt stood in its customary position above the cobra goddess, between the tip of the bird’s upper wing and the right margin line of the god’s texts: the words “as she gives life [and dominion (?)],” to the right of the lower wing, must belong to her.

Fragment 3 is unique among the loose blocks from the north exterior wall of the hypostyle hall in that it retains a good deal of its painted decoration. The hieroglyphs will be discussed in chapter 4. For the rest, the cobra goddess is painted yellow, and the basket on which she sits green; the base of the papyrus clump is red, with green stalks and flowers.

*These observations reflect conditions in the spring of 1982.

⁴See pls. 8, 14, 26, 32, 36.

⁵See pls. 6, 13, 31, 35.

⁶A fragment of its right end is preserved on pl. 23, left.

⁷Although there is room for the falcon’s tail, the remains of the text *ḡl.ʿsʿ ʿnh* on the right suggest, again, the vulture goddess: cf. pl. 15, where Horus of Edfu’s text occurs in this position.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY THE GOD

¹“[I have given you an] eternity of Jubilees (and) hundreds of thousands of years. ²[I have given you the lifespan] of Re (and) the years of Atum. ³[I have given you] all [fo]od (and) [all] provisions.”

ABOVE KING

⁴Live the Good God “Arising in Thebes” whom Amon has chosen, the King of Upper and

Lower Egypt, Menma'atre, the Son of [Re], Sety-Merenamon, ⁵the image of Re before the Two Lands.

BY VULTURE

[Nekhet (or Edjo) . . .], as she gives life (and) [dominion (?)].

Proposed original location: Although none of the figures is preserved, the orientation of texts on this fragment indicates that the king stood on the right, facing a god who was seated to the left of the three preserved columns of texts. This arrangement is consistent with the disposition of figures on the west side of the wall, but, once again, precise placement of the fragment is difficult. The amount of verbiage allotted to the god effectively excludes it from being part of a doorjamb or a thickness: comparison with what is left of the central doorway shows the occurrence of as many as two columns devoted to *dī.n.(i) n.k* formulas there, but never three.⁸ An alternative placement in the third register, west side, might seem to be ruled out by the fact that it clearly does not belong to the scene of the king's appearance before Karnak Temple (pl. 26, middle). It might, however, be part of that further, barely preserved scene of thanksgiving to its left, in which Sety was shown kneeling inside the sanctuary.⁹ It can be objected that the cobra goddess does not appear in any of the parallel presentation scenes on the outer face of the north wall, and that in only one of these (pl. 36) does a series of *dī.n.(i) n.k* formulas precede the divine name: all others of this type begin with "Words spoken by" the god. Reliance on these parallels may not be justified, however, because the final thanksgiving in the third register forms part of an unusual sequence, i.e., two scenes in place of the single episode that concludes each campaign in the lower two registers. In the first of these scenes (pl. 26, col. 2), Amon's speech appears to be a formal greeting to the king, as in most of the other presentation scenes. The texts of the second scene might thus be more stereotyped. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say more than this in support of the placement of Fragment 3 at the left end of the third register.

Placement of Fragment 3 is further complicated by the possibility that it might belong to the fourth register, now missing from the top of the north wall. It will be proposed below that a number of our fragments, being parts of small offering scenes that do not fit into any sequence of battle reliefs, must therefore have come from a fourth register devoted almost exclusively to them. Confirmation of this hypothesis is found on the outer southwest corner of the hypostyle hall where, above three registers of Ramesses II's battle reliefs, there is a hitherto unrecognized fragment¹⁰ of a fourth register in which Ramesses II is shown kneeling before divinities.¹¹ Fragment 3 could belong to a comparable scene on the north wall although, once again, a smaller amount of text is devoted to the god in other scenes from this register.¹² In other localities, moreover, small scenes of this type show an overall consistency in their composition, even though the number of participants may vary.¹³ The contents of Fragment 3 are more elaborate than those of any other fragment we can confidently attribute to the fourth register. Placement in the final thanksgiving scene in the third register seems more probable.

⁸See pls. 19 and 20.

⁹Pl. 26, left, with p. 84.

¹⁰Bibl. 2 II 57 (71), for instance, counts only three registers here.

¹¹For this fragment, see pls. 47B–C. The king's figure is better preserved on the western approach wall than on the south face, but his kneeling figure can be detected in the latter place as well.

¹²Cf. Fragments 5 + 6 (pls. 41B–C).

¹³Cf. Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 81–86 (interior, south wall, fourth register: Ramesses II kneels before one or more divinities); *Med. Habu* VII, pls. 571–86 (mortuary temple of Ramesses III, scenes above battle reliefs and calendar. The amount of text in these scenes varies, though few have as many as three *dī.n.(i) n.k* formulas, e.g., pls. 572A–B, 582A, all beginning *dd-mdw* in a god).

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, on the slope formed by the remains of the New Kingdom enclosure wall, west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENT 4 (PL. 41A)

The composition of elements on this stone is similar to that of Fragment 3, although it is less elaborate. The right half contains three *dl.n.(i) n.k* formulas spoken by the god, who was seated further to the right. On the left side, the vulture goddess (part of her left wing and part of her *šn*-sign are visible) protects the cartouches of Sety I. As on Fragment 3, the figure of neither the god nor the king is preserved.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY THE GOD

¹Words spoken: "I have given you [all] health." ²Words spoken: "I have given you [all] joy."

³Words spoken: "I have given y[ou . . .]."

BY KING

¹The Lord of the Two Lands, Menma'atre, ²the Lord of Diadems, Sety-Mer[en]amon. . . .

BY VULTURE

Edjo,

Proposed original location: The orientation of the texts indicates that the king faced right, towards the god, proof that the fragment comes from the eastern wing of the north wall. Once again, it is unlikely that the piece derived from a doorjamb or a thickness (see above, p. 117 and n. 8). It is both less elaborate in its composition than Fragment 3, which we place on the west side in the third register, and different from the fragments we assign to the fourth register (pls. 41A–B). Neither the quantity of text nor the arrangement of the elements involved excludes this fragment from the fourth register (see above, p. 117 with n. 13, and below, p. 119 with n. 15), but it might also have come from a thanksgiving scene at the right end of the third register, balancing the similar scene on the west side (pl. 26, left).

Present location: South of the Temple of Ptah, about 20 meters east of the path leading to the gateway of the precinct of Montu.

FRAGMENTS 5 + 6 (PLS. 41B–C)

Portions of two scenes are preserved on Fragment 5. At the right side we see the plumes of Amon, with the god's figure facing right. Most of the stone is taken up by the scene to the left of this, of which only the vulture goddess,¹⁴ the king's cartouches and part of the god's text remain. The arrangement of elements is unusual in that the wing and name of the vulture are carved, not only above the cartouches (which is normal), but above the texts belonging to the god as well. Part of the name "Edj[o]" can be made out to the right of Amon's plumes, above the divider for the column that contained the god's name; and at the left, "Nekhbet, Mistress of Heaven" extends over the *dl.n.(i) n.k* formula of the god. This type of arrangement is exceedingly rare, but it is found inside the hypostyle hall in a few scenes wherein the king is

¹⁴The wings are carved more summarily than is usual in the battle reliefs, although one exception (pl. 3) can be cited as a parallel.

shown kneeling before a divinity.¹⁵ Both the king's and the god's figures (on the left) are missing.

Fragment 6 also contains parts of two scenes. That on the right is represented by only a few hieroglyphs, of which more will be said below. On the left, as in the previous block, we see the lower part of the vulture and of her text, "[Nekhbet, Lady of Hea]ven," above the cartouches and the god's text further left. Here too the actors' figures are missing, but a close examination of both blocks reveals something more of their contents. The god's text at the left end of Fragment 5, though barely preserved, can be reconstructed as *Hnsw* []-*m*, or "Khonsu-in-[Thebes]."¹⁶ The signs for *W3st* are not visible below the flat *m*, nor does the divider for the god's name extend to the bottom of the other texts to the right. Instead, there is a rounding contour that suggests the block might have fractured along the edge of the lunar disk on the god's head—and with the eye of faith, part of this element can be made out.¹⁷ Turning to Fragment 6, there are a few hieroglyphs at its right end, of which *r* alone is immediately intelligible. These signs, forming part of the adjoining scene, should face to the right; and since the *r*, though complete, does not occupy the full width of a group, a tall, narrow sign must be lost at the right end of the group: this is required both to complete the group and to account for the unusual amount of space between the *r* and the sign above it. The most logical restoration is *nfr*, interpreting the sign at the top of the column as the tail of the phonetic complement *f*. The signs might thus be restored as Khonsu's familiar epithet "[Ne]ferho[tep]": this assumption would also explain the unusually wide space between the *r* and the sign below; and the eye of faith, once more, might detect the top of *hṯp* in the otherwise worn area beneath the right end of *r*. Even if correct, however, this restoration would not complete the column, which still has one group missing from the top. This space would be filled admirably by the [*W3st*] needed to complete the divine name on Fragment 5 where, as we have seen, this element cannot go at the bottom of the column. From the foregoing it seems highly probable that Fragment 6 is to be placed immediately to the left of Fragment 5. The presence of Khonsu with a lunar disk on his head beneath these texts might help to explain the nature of the breaks in the stones as they remain today.

¹⁵E.g., Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 135, 245, 247, and possibly pl. 5. This is not invariable, however, as most of the similar scenes in the sequences from which these examples come are arranged "normally"; i.e., the participants' texts are contiguous, but do not overlap. It should be noted that the exceptional arrangement cited here is also found at Sety I's temple at Abydos, in a few scenes wherein the king is standing (Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* IV, pls. 14, left; 17, top right; 18; 73N). At Karnak, however, the texts and figures are arranged in this fashion only when the king is kneeling.

¹⁶Restoring a quailchick to the left of *sw*, and the divine determinative in the space below: cf. *Med. Habu* VII, pl. 571A:7–8.

¹⁷For the same arrangement, in which the margin is foreshortened to accommodate the disk, see *Khonsu* II, pls. 116A, 124A, 141B, 175A, 183, 186, 188A.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY VULTURE (*Fragment 5, right*)

Edj[o],

BEHIND AMON

The protection [of all life, . . . is behind him. . . .]^a

BY VULTURE (*Fragment 5, left*)

Nekhbet, Mistress of Heaven.

ABOVE KING (*Fragment 5*)

The Good God, who has made monuments for his father Amon, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menma'atre, the Lord of Diadems, Sety-Merneptah,^b given life like Re.

BY KHONSU (*Fragments 5 + 6*)

¹Khonsu-in-²[Thebes Ne]ferho[tep].^c ³Words spoken: "I have given you valor."

ABOVE KING (*Fragment 6*)

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Men]ma'atre, the Son of Re, Sety-Mer[ne]ptah, given life li[ke] Re.

BY VULTURE (*Fragment 6*)

[Nekhet, Mistress of Heaven]ven.

BY THE GOD (*Fragment 6*)

Words spoken: "I have given y[ou. . . .]"

^aCf. pls. 17:22 and 29.

^bCf. pls. 3:epigraph; 5:19, 22; 6:[39]; 10:10. All other scenes employ the local variant, "Sety-Merenamon."

^cIf, as proposed above, the name of Khonsu stood above a lunar disk on the god's head, there would be nothing missing except the phonetic complements of *hnp*.

Proposed original location: The orientation of the figures (king on the left, gods on the right of each scene) suggests that these fragments belong on the west wing of the north wall. Since the composition of these scenes excludes them from any of the registers of battle reliefs, and since it further appears that the king is kneeling, they can only belong to the fourth register, which, from the available evidence, was preeminently filled with scenes of this type. In support of this contention, it is surely pertinent to note that the three registers of Ramesses II's battle reliefs on the south outer wall of the hypostyle hall, while not laid out in the same fashion as those of Sety I, are surmounted by a fourth register of offering scenes in which the attitudes and orientation of the figures are identical to those on the fragments we are assigning here to the fourth register (see pl. 47B).

Present location: Both of these blocks are located in the area immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Fragment 5 is to the east of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah, facing south. Fragment 6 is west of the path, facing east.

FRAGMENT 7 (PL. 40A)

The upper part of this badly striated sandstone block contains the lower halves of large hieroglyphic signs, arranged from left to right in a horizontal inscription. Below the margin line for this text there is another, wider margin that represents the sky sign for the scenes below. Of the scene on the right there remain only the tops of Amon's two plumes, with the text of the vulture goddess Nekhet and the tip of her wing to the right. The trace to the left of Amon, by analogy with similar compositions (pls. 41B–C), must belong to the vulture's body and tail in the adjoining scene on the left.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

HORIZONTAL TEXT

. . . [great of wonde]rs (?)^a like [. . .],^b [lord] of heaven, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men[ma'atre . . .].

BY VULTURE

[Ne]khet the White of [Hieraconpolis], as [she] gives life. . . .

^aThe thin horizontal trace could suit *bī* (Gardiner, *Gr.*³, Sign List, U-16), with [t] and a third plural stroke below; thus, perhaps [*wr bī*]₃*w*[t]?

^bAlthough the figure of the seated god has been hacked, it would be rash to claim that it must have been Seth's since his figure was not attacked in the scenes below or in the cartouches on the cornice. The trace of a wig running down the figure's back seems to exclude an identification as Amon, leaving Atum, Montu or even Seth as possibilities. The two upright signs to the right are difficult to interpret. One might imagine an epithet such as [*ḥ* *ḥ* *ḥ*], but it must be admitted that the signs are not generally arranged in this fashion.

Proposed original location: The orientation of the signs and of Amon's figure indicates that this fragment belongs to the western half of the wall. The resemblance of the scene on the lower part of the stone to those on Fragments 5 + 6, in addition to the horizontal text carved above it, identifies it further as belonging to the fourth register and to the wall above it, below the cornice.

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall (opposite the north wall of the First Court) and west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENTS 8 + 16 (PL. 42C)*

The block is dominated by a large figure of the vulture goddess Edjo, wearing a tall feathered crown¹⁸ and with a flail projecting from her upper back: her name is preserved at the upper right end (on Fragment 16). Between her wings, which she extends in protection towards the names of Sety I on the right, are a large *šn*-sign and a *wʿs*-scepter. The cartouches, as with everything else in this part of the relief, are conceived on a large scale, and they are each surmounted by a plumed disk, bringing them up to the full height of the register: a good example, containing the king's praenomen, is seen at the left end of the stone. Only part of a cartouche remains at the right end, but the few traces inside the ring suggest that it is the king's nomen, "[Sety-Meren]amon," that stood here. Doubtless another cartouche, with the praenomen, stood to its right. Above this, and separated from it by a wide margin, is another inscription, arranged horizontally and carved with large hieroglyphs. The text is written from right to left, and in this it differs from the inscription on Fragment 7, which it otherwise resembles. Of this horizontal text only the bottom of a cartouche with the king's praenomen and the flat *m* of the next group survive.

Proposed original location: The orientation of the signs and of the vulture marks this fragment as the first so far that belongs to the eastern half of the wall. The preservation of the horizontal marginal inscription on top indicates that the block must come from the same level as Fragment 7, but its stereotyped decoration, in the manner of a frieze, is strikingly different from anything hitherto encountered. Motifs of this sort, however, are elsewhere found above doorways,¹⁹ so it is reasonable to suppose that this fragment comes from the span above the portal on the north wall which, when complete, no doubt showed at least two vultures protecting the names of Sety I. For further evidence in support of this suggestion, see Fragment 15 below (pl. 42A).

Present location: Immediately north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, west of the path to the Temple of Ptah.

*Note that pl. 42C was assembled from two photographs taken at different times and at different angles, resulting in some distortion.

¹⁸See *LÄ* II, s.v. "Federn und Federkrone" (col. 143) and s.v. "Krone" (col. 814 top).

¹⁹See, for example, *Med. Habu* II 111, 113, 114; Chicago, *Reliefs* I 56.

FRAGMENT 9 (PL. 40B)

At the bottom of this block are a few signs from the same large horizontal text, written from right to left, found on Fragment 8. Directly above the upper margin there is a rounding torus moulding, above which are the bottoms of cartouches of Sety I (also written from the right) inscribed on the cornice.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

. . . good la[w]s. . . .^a

^aThis phrase occurs infrequently among Sety I's epithets, e.g., as a variant of his *nbty*-name in his temple at Abydos (KRI I 155:15: [*smn* (?) *hp*]w *nfrw* *ht* *t3-mrī*; cf. the titulary of Merneptah at Abydos, *smn* *hpw* *nfrw* *ht* *īdbwy*, in G. Lefebvre, "Fouilles à Abydos," ASAE 13 [1914]: 204); or possibly *nb* *hpw* [*nfrw* (?)], as in the stela from West Silsila (KRI I 80:15; cf. Khonsu I 54:6, left: *nb* *hpw* *nfrw* *m-ht* *īdbwy*). For spellings of *hpw* without a determinative see *Wb. Beleg.* II 741 (at 488, 13), 742 (at 488, 19 and 488, 24).

Proposed original location: The orientation of the texts and the nature of the fragment itself show it to have belonged at the very top of the north wall, on the side east of the central doorway.²⁰

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

²⁰See pl. 38B for a reconstruction of one corner. It seems unlikely that this fragment should belong at the top of the western approach wall since the bandeau text must come from an extended titulary of Sety I, and on the approach wall there would scarcely be room for anything so elaborate. A shorter text—abbreviated titles and two cartouches of Sety I, "beloved of" a god—would seem more likely there.

FRAGMENT 10 (PL. 40C)

Same as Fragment 9, except that the texts run from left to right.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

. . . Lord [of the Two Lands (?)]^a [Men]ma'atre-[. . .] of Re^b. . . .

^aOr perhaps part of a series of epithets, such as [*nb* *t3wy*, *nb* *hps*], *nb* [*īrt* *ht*]?

^bPossibly [*īw*']-R', "[heir] of Re," as in pl. 19F, line 8 (original version); cf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III, pp. 15, XX C; 16–17, XXV A, B, G. Also possible are [*īrt*]-R', "[image] of Re" (ibid., pp. 15, XVII; 17, XXV F; 18, XXVIII B); or [*īr.n*]-R', "[whom] Re [created]" (ibid., p. 17, XXV C); or [*mrī*]-R', "[beloved] of Re" (ibid., p. 22, XLIII).

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, on the side west of the central doorway or over the eastern approach wall joining with the Third Pylon (see n. 20, above).

Present location: Immediately north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, east of the path to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENT 11 (PL. 40D)

Upper part of a cornice block, with tops of three plumed cartouches of Sety I, written from the left.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

PRAENOMEN: [Men]ma'atre-[Ruler of] Thebes.^a

NOMEN: Sety-Mer[ne]ptah.

^aCf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III, pp. 19, XXXII D; 23, LIII.

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, on the side west of the central doorway or over the eastern approach wall joining with the Third Pylon (see n. 20, above).

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENTS 12 + 13 (PL. 38A) + FRAGMENTS 17 + 18 (PLS. 43C–D)

The first two blocks, when joined, form part of a corner from the very top of the north wall. All the elements found separately on Fragments 9–11 are completed here, with the addition of the goddesses Edjo and Nekhbet at the corners of each side: as serpent deities, they confer protection on the plumed cartouches that fill the rest of the cornice, while themselves occupying a space so awkwardly shaped that it would be otherwise difficult to fill.

Fragments 17 + 18 were found after Fragments 12 + 13 had been drawn. Measurements of both blocks, in relation to one another and to the right side of Fragment 13 (on pl. 38A), demonstrate that they joined the bottom of that fragment, completing the hieroglyphs “beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods” in the bandeau, and also supplying part of the king’s nomen that preceded it. Notably, the space under the bandeau is occupied by the frieze of cartouches, protected by vultures and falcons, that is otherwise found above the doorway at the center of the north wall of the hypostyle hall (see Fragments 8 and 15).

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

BY NEKHBET

[Nekhb]et, [as sh]e [gives] life.

BY EDJO

Edjo, as she gives dominion.

HORIZONTAL TEXTS BENEATH THE TORUS MOULDING

Left: . . . beloved of [Amon-Re], Lord of [the Thrones of the Two Lands].

Right: . . . Sety-[Merenamon (?)], beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

BENEATH BANDEAU (*Fragment 18*)

Edjo.

Proposed original location: Before the discovery of Fragments 17 + 18, it was uncertain whether this corner was to be placed at the east or the west end of the north wall. The appearance of the frieze under the right-hand side of the corner (as shown on pl. 38A) now permits the suggestion that it occupied the space in the fourth register between the corner and the wall of the Second Pylon, rather than the façade of the north wall itself (which, as we have seen from Fragments 4–6, was filled with offering scenes). This frieze otherwise occupies the space over the central doorway of the north wall (see above, Fragment 8, and Fragment 15 below); but such an element might also fill the short space of the eastern and western side walls. In this respect, Sety’s decoration of the fourth register would differ from what was later adopted by Ramesses II for the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, where remains of an offering scene occupy the fourth register on the eastern side wall (see pls. 47B–C).

Present location: All four fragments are found immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall: Fragment 13 lies west of the path to the Temple of Ptah, while the others lie to the east (with Fragment 12 itself being broken into two parts).

FRAGMENTS 14A + B (PLS. 44A–B)

These two small fragments both belong to the frieze in the fourth register. Fragment 14A shows two cartouches of Sety I, both facing left, with the back of a hawk or a vulture seen at the left end. Fragment 14B shows the top of one cartouche (doubtless the praenomen: cf. pls. 42C, 43B) with the back of a hawk or a vulture, with its flail, to the right.

Proposed original location: Fourth register, either above the doorway at the center of the north wall or on the side walls.

Present location: Both fragments lie west of the path to the Temple of Ptah. Fragment 14A is near Fragment 7, at the northwest corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall; Fragment 14B is located just to the west of the path.

FRAGMENT 15 (PL. 42A)

On the upper half of this block we see the lower part of the same frieze found on Fragment 8: the bottoms of the two cartouches of Sety I, mounted on *nbw*-signs, protected by the vulture's wing on the left. At the right end we see the tail and feet (also resting on a *nbw*-sign) of the falcon god, who extended his wings around the next group of cartouches further right. Below this frieze, and divided from it by a broad band, are hieroglyphs from a large-scale inscription, carved horizontally from the left, "who has made monuments for the one who fashioned him, the King of Upp[er] and Low[er] Egypt, [Menma'at]re."

Proposed original location: The elements on this block accord perfectly with the position proposed above for Fragment 8, i.e., above the lintel of the central doorway in the north wall of the hypostyle hall (see n. 19 above).

Present location: West of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah, north of the Great Hypostyle Hall (opposite the king's horse on pl. 34).

FRAGMENT 16 (PL. 42C)

See above, Fragment 8.

FRAGMENTS 17 + 18 (PLS. 43C–D)

See above, Fragments 12 + 13.

FRAGMENT 19 (PL. 42B)

Frieze below the bandeau text, with signs facing right (cf. Fragment 8). On the left we see remains of two plumed cartouches of Sety I (containing his praenomen and nomen) mounted on *nbw*-signs. On the right, wings outstretched in protection of the two cartouches beyond (now missing), is a falcon, also standing on a *nbw*-sign: a *šn*-symbol and a *wꜣs*-scepter issue from between his wings, while at the far right edge of the block is part of the ring for the first cartouche (that containing the king's nomen) that lay to the right.

Proposed original location: Fourth register, above the lintel of the central doorway in the north wall, or (below the bandeau text) on the side walls (see Fragments 8, 15 and 17 + 18 above).

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, east of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENTS 20A + B (PLS. 44C–D)

From the frieze below the bandeau text. On *A* there is preserved only the tip of an upper wing (facing right, as on Fragments 8, 15, 16 and 19) and the plumes of the adjoining cartouche. Plumes of two other cartouches are seen on *B*. The attribution of these two fragments to the hypostyle hall's north wall is uncertain, for on both the workmanship is somewhat rougher than on other examples. They could belong to the similar frieze, dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty, that ran along the tops of the side walls to the First Court at Karnak: parts of this frieze are still preserved in situ, while others were noted among the blocks stored in the open-air magazine to the north. The features carved on the blocks published here are about the same size as those on other fragments which must be attributed to Sety I, however; and given the varieties of workmanship exhibited by the Nineteenth Dynasty reliefs, it seemed safest to include these fragments in the collection.

Proposed original location: Fourth register, above the lintel of the central doorway in the north wall, or on the side walls.

Present location: Fragment 20A is in the First Court of the Temple of Amon-Re, resting on a large block from one of the clerestory windows of the Great Hypostyle Hall, now lying in front of the northern wing of the Second Pylon. Fragment 20B is west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah, near Fragments 7 and 14.

FRAGMENT 21 (PL. 43A)

The fragment contains part of the bandeau text, with a section of the fourth register frieze below: the signs face towards the right. Of the frieze we see the tops of the plumes on the cartouches, with the wing tip of the protecting deity on the left: most of the wing on the left side has been damaged by hacking, doubtless during some stage of the modern reuse of this material.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

. . . Thebes,^a whom Mut, [Lady of] Heaven,^b brought into being [in]^c. . .

^aThe clear, undamaged space to the right of *W3st* extends for about half a group and might have accommodated *imy* (𓂏), perhaps in an expression such as [*ndty n imy*] *W3st*: see Chicago, *Reliefs* II 88:5 (*ndty n imy W3st, ms.n. Mwt, nbt pt [m] ḥ n ʿIpt-swt*).

^bSpace for *nbt* is found above the preserved *pt* to the left of *Mwt*; and cf. Chicago, *Reliefs* II 88:5.

^cSufficient space for a flat *m* is preserved under the *pt*-sign; and cf. the passage cited in the two previous notes.

Proposed original location: The preserved portion of the bandeau text belongs to an extended sequence of epithets that would probably not fit into the short space between the corners of the hypostyle hall and the edges of the Second or Third Pylons. For this reason we prefer to place this block in the fourth register, above the lintel of the central doorway through the north wall, on the east side.

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, just west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah and north of Fragment 6.

FRAGMENT 22 (PL. 43B)

This block shows part of the frieze from the fourth register, but with the figures facing left: at the left one sees the back of a falcon, with a disk on its head and a flail projecting from its back. On the right end are the remains of the vulture goddess “Nekhbet,” with the *sn*-sign and *wꜥs*-scepter between her extended wings. The two plumed cartouches of Sety I are positioned between the two deities.

Proposed original location: Given the orientation of the figures, this block could have come from above the lintel on the right side of the north doorway’s center, or from the top of the eastern side wall (cf. above, Fragments 12 + 13, 17 + 18).

Present location: On the hill northeast of the Great Hypostyle Hall and south of the Temple of Ptah, east of the path leading to the latter.

FRAGMENT 23 (PL. 44E)

A fragment from the upper part of the fourth register frieze, with the bottom of the bandeau text above it. On the bottom we see the upper wing tip of the vulture goddess “Nekhbet” with the top of a plume from the king’s cartouche to the left; and on top the remains of “[King of Upper and] Lower Egypt, [Lord of the Two La]n[ds].” As in the previously described fragment (no. 22), the signs face towards the left.

Proposed original location: Same as Fragment 22.

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall, west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah and on the slope of the hill, next to Fragment 3.

FRAGMENT 24 (PL. 44F)

On the bottom, the vulture goddess’s crown from the fourth register frieze; above it, from the bandeau text, part of the king’s praenomen, “Menma‘atre”—probably written here with an added epithet, since the ring does not curve upwards following *Mꜥt*. The figures face towards the left, and it seems likely that this fragment and Fragment 23 once adjoined one another.

Proposed original location: Same as Fragment 22.

Present location: Immediately north of the Great Hypostyle Hall and east of the path to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENT 25 (PL. 44G)

This small fragment contains a few large signs which, on the basis of their style and proportions, probably formed part of the bandeau text, “. . . Mut, La[d]y of Hea[ven]. . . .”

Proposed original location: Since the signs face towards the left, the fragment must have come either from the western half of the north wall or from the eastern side wall.

Present location: North of the northeast corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

FRAGMENT 26 (PL. 45A)

On the bottom, part of the bandeau text is seen, with a trace of a horizontal cartouche indicating that the texts faced towards the right. Above, there are the torus moulding separating the bandeau from the cornice and the bottom of the cornice, with the bases of four cartouches.

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, east of the doorway.

Present location: Immediately to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall and east of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENT 27 (PL. 46B)

Top of a cornice block, with parts of three plumed cartouches of Sety I preserved (facing towards the left).

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, west side.

Present location: Northeast of the Great Hypostyle Hall, on the hill between it and the Temple of Ptah, east of the path leading to the latter.

FRAGMENT 28 (PL. 46A)

A fragment from the top of the cornice, with parts of three plumed cartouches of Sety I (signs facing towards the left).

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, west side.

Present location: Immediately north of the Great Hypostyle Hall and east of the path to the Temple of Ptah (east of Fragment 10).

FRAGMENT 29 (PL. 45B)

At the bottom of the block we see the upper border of the bandeau text, with the torus moulding above it. At the top, there are remains of four cartouches of Sety I (signs facing towards the left).

Proposed original location: Same as Fragment 28.

Present location: On the hill east of the path leading to the Ptah Temple, southwest of Fragment 22.

FRAGMENT 30 (PL. 45C)

Above, the upper margin of the bandeau text and the torus moulding; remains of three cartouches of Sety I (signs facing towards the right).

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, east side.

Present location: North of the Great Hypostyle Hall and west of the path to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENT 31 (PL. 45D)

From the cornice, remains of three cartouches of Sety I (signs facing towards the left).

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, west side.

Present location: North of the Great Hypostyle Hall and west of the path leading to the Temple of Ptah.

FRAGMENT 32 (PL. 46E)

From the cornice, the bottoms of two cartouches of Sety I (signs facing left).

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, west side.

Present location: North of the Great Hypostyle Hall and east of the path to the Ptah Temple.

FRAGMENT 33 (PL. 46D)

From the cornice, the bottom of a praenomen of Sety I.

Proposed original location: Top of the north wall, but placement on the east or west side is uncertain.

Present location: North of the Great Hypostyle Hall and east of the path to the Ptah Temple.

FRAGMENT 34 (PL. 46C)

From the cornice, plumes from three cartouches of Sety I.

Proposed original location: Same as Fragment 33.

Present location: Same as Fragment 33.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE DECORATIVE PROGRAM
OF THE NORTH WALL

The blocks listed above, when supplemented by fragments of lost scenes left in situ, suggest the following reconstruction for the north wall in its entirety.

1. Most of the available surface was covered by the battle scenes, which were arranged in three registers to either side of the central doorway.²¹ Only the uppermost of these registers (i.e., the third) extended all the way over to the doorway, the others being cut off by the large triumph scenes that occupy the height of two full registers flanking this gateway. The additional space granted to the third register was filled, not by a prolongation of the battle scenes themselves, but by supplying further scenes that showed the king offering to the gods within the temple at the campaign's close: this arrangement is seen on the west side (pl. 26) and is suggested on the east by the remains of the presentation scene in the third register (see n. 2). Fragments 1 + 2 belong to the third register, west side, while Fragments 3 and 4 are tentatively assigned to the final scenes of thanksgiving on the west and east sides of this register, respectively.
2. The fourth register is no longer in situ, but we now know that it was devoted almost entirely to offering scenes. These were apparently small stereotyped affairs in which the king knelt before a procession of divinities (see above, Fragments 5–7, with nn. 11–15). We have suggested that these fragments, with the gods on the left, belonged to the western half of the wall and follow the orientation of the scenes below them. That the scenes in the fourth register on the east side did the same is suggested not only by analogy (since no certain fragment of them survives), but by the “mirror image” arrangement of the horizontal bandeau texts and the orientation of what is left of the decorative panel over the central doorway (Fragment 8). This panel doubtlessly stood above the lintel, which must have spanned the central doorway at the level of the third register (see the parallels cited in n. 19, and also pls. 15 and 48B). Similar decoration filled the space allotted to the fourth register on the eastern and western cross walls (see Fragments 17 + 18 = pls. 43C–D).
3. The space above the fourth register was occupied by a horizontal bandeau text which ran along the full length of the north wall and its projections at both ends. Directly above it

²¹As noted above, the scenes in each register on the north wall were supplemented by tableaux carved on the approach walls joining the Second and Third Pylons: see pls. 3, 10 and 22, with pl. 47B.

were the torus moulding and cavetto cornice at the very top of the wall: the relationships are demonstrated by Fragments 7–10 and 13. The bandeau texts and the cartouches on the cornice were arranged symmetrically, moving from the center of the wall.²² This orientation is reversed at each corner, on the short approach walls, where there was room only for an evocation of the king as “beloved of” a god (see pl. 38 and n. 20).

Traces of the western approach wall can be seen on the north side of the Second Pylon, against which it abuts. The vertical inscription that Ramesses II added to this side of the pylon, moreover, could not have been carved on any surface already covered by the approach wall, and its presence is thus useful in estimating the height that this wall finally achieved. These factors will no doubt be considered, and the observations drawn from the fragments of the north wall refined, once a definitive architectural reconstruction of the hypostyle hall is accomplished.

LATER SHRINES CONSTRUCTED AGAINST THE NORTH WALL

It has already been noted that, in two places on the lowest register of the north wall, the gods’ figures were set apart as objects of special veneration.²³ The nature and date of these cult places will now be considered in detail.

THE SHRINE WEST OF THE CENTRAL DOORWAY (PLATES 36–37)²⁴

The peg- and beam-holes associated with this structure are found in and around the kiosk of the gods who receive booty from the Hittite campaign. The largest and deepest of these, i.e., the beam-holes, are today partly obscured by cement or by loss of stone from the wall. It is evident that they were cut into the already existing relief, and several types can be distinguished. Above the scene we find two T-shaped holes aligned with each corner of the kiosk. Between these are two square holes at the same level—the first being directly over col. 6, to the right of Amon’s plumes, and the other (obscured by the loss of the adjoining *Flickstein* and now covered with cement) between cols. 20 and 21. Both the depth of these four holes and their roughly equidistant position suggest that they helped to support the roof of the shrine. A third set of holes is found beneath the T-shaped holes at each end. That on the west side is mostly gone with the *Flickstein* that once filled the upper right corner of the kiosk, but its top can be made out between the first two cobras at the right end of the roof. Its counterpart on the east side is preserved, being cut into the left support of the kiosk beside col. 24, and consists of a narrow slot. The two smaller holes cut into the support below this are not paralleled on the west side.²⁵ The position of these lateral holes and in particular the depth of the slot (similar to that of the holes at the top of the kiosk) suggest that they served to anchor the screen walls at the sides of the shrine.²⁶ Even so, this enclosure did not entirely spare the gods from visitors’

²²Cf. *Med. Habu* III 181A–B, and *Khonsu* II 146 top.

²³See pp. 23–24, 111–12.

²⁴Conditions prior to the addition of cement can be seen in the photograph of Wresz., *Atlas* II 48.

²⁵Compare all these holes to the similar traces left by the balcony of royal appearances on the south wall of the First Court at Medinet Habu: see Hölscher, *Excav.* III 42–44, and especially figs. 20 and 21. The presence of an added structure here had already been proposed by Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pp. 4–5 and n. 5, although he seems to imply that the construction would have been mostly of metal.

²⁶For other “Gegenkapellen” see Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pp. 4–5 and n. 5, and especially pp. 9–10, and with the addition of yet another example from Karnak, on the back wall of the Temple of Ptah (*Bibl.* ² II 201 [35]). Such structures would have supplemented the popular shrine at Karnak par excellence, namely, the “temple of the hearing ear” behind Thutmose III’s festival temple (*ibid.*, pp. 208–19; see Barguet, *Temple*, pp. 303–304; and Charles F. Nims, “The Eastern Temple at Karnak,”

pious gougings, for these can be seen at the bottom of the scene (in the supports, under Amon's feet and beside the other deities, one gouge even cutting into Ma'at's heel). A date for the structure is supplied by the three pairs of plumed cartouches of Ramesses III which, with their framing year-staves, were added to the wall beneath the scene in order to fill the area thus enclosed.²⁷

The peg-holes are somewhat more difficult to interpret. Three types can be observed here. The largest are the three holes that run in a row along the base of the scene: the evenness with which they are arranged recalls other places in which sheets of metal appear to have been affixed to walls,²⁸ and it may be that such a plate overlay the cartouches of Ramesses III. Slightly smaller holes are disposed around, but do not interfere with, the figures of the four divinities above; and the smallest holes are the three that surround the hand of Mut-Bastet, as well as the single hole found beside Amon's left shoulder. Peg-holes of various sizes are often seen surrounding the figures of gods on temple walls. In addition to those discussed by Borchardt (see n. 26) and to the well-known examples from Medinet Habu,²⁹ numerous icons of this sort are found on the enclosure wall of Amon's temple³⁰ and in other parts of Karnak as well.³¹ The holes that surround these figures were assumed by Borchardt to provide the means for equipping them with a metal overlay, but some lighter covering—perhaps a drapery?—is also possible.³² The smaller holes are more difficult to explain convincingly. Their arrangement around the goddess's hand might suggest that they held an additional ornament,³³ but the isolated hole near Amon's hand cannot be accounted for in this way. It is possible that these four holes stem from nothing further than a secondary change in the position of the covering.³⁴

THE SHRINE EAST OF THE CENTRAL DOORWAY (PLATE 8)³⁵

The eastern shrine had as its sole focus the figure of Amon-Re at the west end of the lowest register. This structure was smaller and, it appears, lighter than its companion. The ceiling

in *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Rieke*, BÄA 12 [1971], pp. 107–11). Frank J. Yurco has pointed out a possible resemblance of the plan of this shrine to that of the "hearing ear" temple, in that the central approach to the inner hall seems to have been "opened" only in the time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and that prior to this a false door or niche stood in its place, with access to the inner room gained only through two doorways at the sides (Barguet, *Temple*, pp. 233–37, 299). It could be that the popular shrine built here, against the north wall of the hypostyle hall, had an "indirect" entrance in imitation of the larger structure consecrated to this purpose. It must be admitted, though, that it would be impossible to demonstrate this from the traces that survive.

²⁷Thus already Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, p. 4, n. 5.

²⁸See *ibid.*, pp. 1–3 with the illustrations cited, and Hölscher, *Excav.* IV 41–42.

²⁹Discussed by H. G. Fischer in a review of *Med. Habu V*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959): 196–98.

³⁰W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak*, AÄ 18 (1968), Plate Volume, pp. 22 (fig. 26), 26 (fig. 35), 34 (fig. 48), 35 (fig. 49), 50 (fig. 72?), 53 (fig. 75), 58 (fig. 80), 64 (fig. 86), 67 (fig. 89).

³¹E.g., Chicago, *Reliefs I 7B* (drawing) and 9E (photograph). The Epigraphic Survey was fortunate in being able to discuss this matter with Professor Charles F. Nims, who also pointed out this reference to us.

³²Fischer, *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959): 197–98 speaks cautiously of a "covering" without specifying its material. Since the Egyptians swathed statues of their gods in linen (e.g., Calverley and Broome, *Abydos I* 19, lower left), this practice might have been extended to two-dimensional icons as well. The installation of a drapery covering an entire doorway is suggested by the peg-holes over a portal in the tomb of Kheruef: Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, OIP 102 (1980), pp. 4–5, with n. 25 and fig. 1. Cf., however, the reservations of E. Graefe in his review of this volume in *BiOr* 39 (1982): 65.

³³A discovery that might support this view was made recently at the site of the treasury in North Karnak, where a figure in relief of the deified Amenhotep I (dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty) was found, with a hole at each side of the king's face. Lying on the ground in front of it, where it had fallen in antiquity, was a beadwork necklace or veil. We are grateful to Jean Jacquet and to Helen Jacquet-Gordon for permission to mention this discovery (No. A.B. 223), which was not published at the time of this writing.

³⁴Cf. Fischer, *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959): 197 (10).

³⁵See the photograph in Wresz., *Atlas II* 44 for the overall placement of the peg- and beam-holes, and also for some of the gouging that is not included in the drawing.

supports (see col. 1 of the text [left], and the margin separating this relief from the triumph scene to its right) were set in above the level of the god's cap, with the tips of his plumes being allowed to project above the roof. The same holes seem also to have helped in anchoring the screen walls, for directly below them there are two similar holes set just beneath the ground line for the scene.³⁶ Two other holes, apparently unrelated to the outer four, are cut into the pedestal below the god's throne and may have supported an altar.³⁷

As on the western side, the covering placed over the figure was secured by a number of peg-holes. Of these, the most interesting is the single hole, larger than any of the others, cut into the throne pedestal between the two post-holes mentioned above. If the latter served to anchor a semidetached altar, as we have suggested, it is curious that this smaller hole should have been placed so awkwardly, where access to it might be blocked. Its position could suggest, however, that the covering was not meant to be removed, a consideration that would suit a metal overlay better than a lighter cloth or beadwork veil.

It has already been suggested that the four kings' figures "holding up the sky" were added to the side of the throne when the popular cult of this Amon was officially sanctioned. At the same time, the god's original carved eye was removed and an inlay, probably faience, put in its place.³⁸ This icon seems to have been immensely popular in antiquity, for pilgrims' gouges are found, not only around the base of the figure (where they occur on the west side and, indeed, all along the bottom of the north wall), but above as well—all but obliterating the king's face, the vulture goddess, and much of the text, including Amon's name and his plumes as well. Some of the latter, and also the few gouges that come perilously close to the god's head, fall in areas that should have been protected by the shrine; but neither Amon's body nor the offerings in front of him have been touched. As a speculation, we suggest that some of this icon's popularity might have lain in the fact that it was more accessible than the other to the west, which had come under official supervision during the reign of Ramesses III, and that the authorities finally enclosed it only when it was threatened with imminent destruction at its worshipers' hands. This suggestion cannot be proved, for there is no solid evidence for the priority of either shrine. The points of dissimilarity between the eastern and western shrines, however, seem to exclude the likelihood that they were built at the same time.³⁹

THE EASTERN TRIUMPH SCENE (PLATE 15)⁴⁰

Very little can be said about this icon, except that the large figure of Amon opposite the king seems to have been protected by a covering secured by the large peg-holes cut into the wall around him. With the exception of a small gouge that cuts into the god's front foot, the image is free of deliberate mutilation, although extensive gouging is seen across the bodies of the

³⁶The two holes on the west (right) side are not on pl. 8 owing to the inclusion of the margin with pl. 15, but can be seen on the left side of the latter. See previous note.

³⁷For an example of a semidetached altar in stone, see Helmut Brunner, *Die südliche Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/DAIK 18 (Mainz, 1977), pp. 30–31, pls. 24 (elevation), 26 (ground plan), 185 d (partial photograph).

³⁸For this feature in connection with other figures that "hear prayer" see Nims in *Med. Habu* VIII, p. xi and n. 9, and idem, "Popular Religion in Ancient Egyptian Temples," *Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists*, ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 79–80; and cf. Hölscher, *Excav.* IV 5. Note also the inlaid false door adjoining the granite sanctuary at Karnak (*Bibl.* 2 II 95 [276], with references).

³⁹The possibility raised by Fischer, *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959): 197–98 regarding the Medinet Habu examples, that all might be of Graeco-Roman date, seems to be answered by the firm dating of the western shrine to Ramesses III (see above, p. 130 with n. 27). It is still not certain that the drill-holes are contemporary with this building, although as a practical hypothesis one may assume that they are.

⁴⁰See also Wresz., *Atlas* II 53a, fig. I.

prisoners to the left and between the king's legs, with a few scattered cases cut into the name-rings below and to the right of Amon.

LATER DWELLINGS BUILT AGAINST THE NORTH WALL

In chapter 1 we noted the frequent use of patches (*Flicksteine*) to facilitate carving in areas where bad stone or awkward blocklines made this process difficult. In a number of places, though, it is clear that the surface was deliberately removed over an area too wide and too regularly shaped to admit this explanation.⁴¹ These excisions, which all predate the first modern copies of the reliefs, are as follows:

1. In the second register of the east wing, a shallow "shelf" was created by removing the surface to a depth of about 10 cm. The area affected is approximately 3.6 m in length and 0.7 m in height, extending across the second tier of blocks from the top of the wall as it is preserved today (pls. 11–13). Above the right end of this "shelf" there is another excision, about 0.85 m wide and approximately as deep as the rest.⁴²
2. To the right of the main cavity noted above there is a deeper, dome-shaped cavity, now filled with cement.⁴³
3. To the right of the above there is yet another cavity, about 1 m wide and extending to the full height of the register (between pls. 13 and 14). This area lies on the edge of Wreszinsky's photograph and is cemented up today, but the evidence on the old photograph suggests that the cavity was originally a "shelf" like that in (1), and that the area above it wore away naturally before the entire area was covered with cement.⁴⁴
4. At the top of the eastern triumph scene (pl. 15) there remain the rectangular holes cut for at least two architraves. Below, at the bottom of the scene, there is a rectangular excision, about 1.7 m wide by 0.8 m high, depth unknown.⁴⁵
5. A low shelf, about 2 m wide by 0.5 m high, depth unknown, is cut through the middle of the western triumph scene (pl. 17). Another cavity, about 0.85 × 0.85 m, is found below the right end of this shelf, while at the top of the scene are remains of at least one rectangular architrave hole, like those on the opposite side.⁴⁶
6. Three rectangular shelves, located at angles above one another, occur at the west end of the west wing, one in each of the three registers: their measurements are approximately 1.6 × 0.7 m (pl. 23), 1.4 × 0.7 m (pl. 29) and 1.7 × 0.9 m (pl. 34), all about 10 cm in depth. In the top register, beneath the cavity mentioned above (pl. 23), there are two smaller rectangular excisions, one larger than the other, and leading to yet another large "shelf" similar in size and shape to the others noted above.⁴⁷

⁴¹For an overview of most of the east wing see Leclant, *Empire*, p. 28, fig. 16; for most of the west wing see Leclant and Raccach, *Dans les pas des pharaons*, pl. 16; overall, see now pl. 1 of this volume.

⁴²See Wresz., *Atlas II* 36 and 36a.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pl. 36a.

⁴⁴See Leclant, *Empire*, p. 28; and Wresz., *Atlas II* 36a.

⁴⁵Wresz., *Atlas II* 53a, fig. I (in part already filled with cement). This area was shown as if complete by Champollion and Rosellini, but the loss to the inscription carved beneath the prisoners shows that damage to this area, and hence the cavity, doubtlessly predated their visit.

⁴⁶See *ibid.*, pl. 53a, fig. II. The lower excision is ignored in Lepsius's copy, but the cavity itself interferes with none of the text, and the lost lines of the figure might well have been restored mechanically by the draftsman.

⁴⁷See Leclant and Raccach, *Dans les pas des pharaons*, pl. 16, for the placement of these shelves; cf. Wresz., *Atlas II* 45, 50, 53; and see also our pl. 1.

7. At the top of the second register on the west side there are deep rectangular holes of varying width,⁴⁸ as if for architraves. These holes are at the same level as those noted at the tops of the triumph scenes—(4) and (5) above—and like them, they cut through important parts of the relief.
8. In the middle of the second register on the west side, and at the same level with relation to one another,⁴⁹ there are two large shelves like those noted in (6) above. Although now filled with cement, their depths, as inferred from Wreszinsky's photographs, seem to be the same as those of similar shelves across the wall. The other measurements are: ca. 1.95 × 0.8 m (pls. 31–32, middle) and ca. 1.5 × 0.8 m (pl. 32, left end at middle).⁵⁰

Since all of these holes cut through the original relief, interrupting the decoration, they cannot have been part of the original design; nor does their placement in relation to the later shrines suggest that they formed part of any building set against the north wall in later Pharaonic times. Most of the cavities are so shallow, moreover, that it is hard to imagine that they were made simply for the purpose of extracting stone (which could easily have been done by removing whole blocks from the top of the wall). The only likely explanation is that they served as inset supports for architectural elements, being parts of buildings that were constructed against the north wall. In three of the locations noted above—(4), (5) and (7)—the remains are similar to other post-holes found on the wall, although they are larger; and we suggest that they were cut to admit architraves. Another cavity (no. 2) has the unmistakable domed shape of a domestic or ecclesiastical building of modest size.⁵¹ The other cavities must also have been cut for other buildings that abutted the north wall, even though the remains cannot be integrated into convincing restorations of the original buildings themselves. Given this evidence for later occupation here, it seems likely that the plaster which obscures the carvings in a number of areas⁵² also derived from these post-Pharaonic buildings, and has nothing to do with any late “renewal” of the battle reliefs of Sety I.

⁴⁸See pls. 31 and 32, with Leclant and Raccach, *Dans les pas des pharaons*, pl. 16, for placement.

⁴⁹See *ibid.*, pl. 16, for placement.

⁵⁰Wresz., *Atlas II* 51, 52. Note that these cavities, worked with long vertical strokes of the chisel, are quite different from the holes prepared for the patches around them.

⁵¹Cf. the much larger archway cut into the western face of the western architrave in the processional colonnade at Luxor, to be published by the Epigraphic Survey.

⁵²See above, pp. 7 (= pl. 3), 20 (= pl. 6), 109 and n. 3 (= pl. 35).

3

GRAFFITI

IN THE LATER New Kingdom, when the Second Pylon stood at the front of the Temple of Amon, the hypostyle hall's northern wall faced a great deal of traffic going into and around the temple. It is thus not surprising that several of the gods' figures that appeared in this place gained some local importance by "hearing prayer" from people too lowly to be admitted inside. One such icon was enclosed in a shrine during the reign of Ramesses III,¹ and still others were objects of popular veneration as well.² The zeal of these petitions can be measured in the gouging that disfigures some sections of the reliefs, as visitors sought to use the temple's magical powers by carrying tiny fragments of the building away with them.³ Personal piety could also be expressed in the carving of graffiti—images of holy objects and, sometimes, the names of devotees. It seems likely that some pious motive underlay the carving of most of the graffiti listed in this chapter, although a frivolous reason cannot always be ruled out.⁴ None of these memorials can be dated with any precision: the graffiti written in the hieratic and demotic scripts are too short and too crudely done to be assigned to any but the most general period during which these scripts were in use;⁵ and the single group of figures that shows Coptic inspiration⁶ is not datable except in terms of a Christian frame of reference. The first nine graffiti listed below (nos. 1–2, 5–9 = pl. 50; nos. 3–4 = pls. 49A–B) are found below the bottom register of battle reliefs (moving west to east); the others are carved into the battle scenes themselves.

GRAFFITO NO. 1

Ram-headed god, standing on a ground line and holding in its left hand (itself not completely carved) a *wꜥs*-scepter. The ankh-sign that the figure no doubt grasped in its right hand has been destroyed: a group of four vertical gouges has obliterated much of the figure's lower left side, and the bottom of the scepter is lost in a similar gouge. There is no trace of any crown.

Location: Beneath the Hittite battle scene (pl. 34), underneath the first Hittite to the right of the horses' rear hooves.

¹See chap. 1, pp. 111–12, and chap. 2, pp. 129–30.

²See pls. 8 (figure of Amon: cf. chap. 1, pp. 23–24, and chap. 2, pp. 130–31) and 15 (figure of Amon: cf. chap. 1, p. 48, and chap. 2, p. 131).

³On this practice see chap. 1, pp. 23–24, n. 2. Gouging can be found along most of the base of the east and west wings of the north wall, including the central doorway (where, however, most of the damage is confined to blocks that replaced the original stones; this suggests that the bulk of these attacks took place in later antiquity). The lowest groups of Hittites on the west wing seem also to have been singled out for gouging (see pls. 34–36), as were the prisoners in the eastern triumph scene (pl. 15). A few gouge marks are seen on and around the throne of Amon on the west wing, bottom register (pl. 36), but the most popular icon (to judge from the severe damage around it) was the image of Amon on the opposite side (pl. 8).

⁴See, for example, the scratches noted with nos. 10 and 14 and the face carved inside the loop of an ankh-sign (no. 16).

⁵Hieratic texts: nos. 10 and 11; demotic texts: nos. 3, 4, 18 and 20 (this last not certainly identified as demotic).

⁶See nos. 14 and 15.

GRAFFITI

GRAFFITO NO. 2

Portable bark-shrine of Amon, mounted on its carrying poles and resting on a pedestal. The ram-headed aegis of the god, both at the prow and the stern, is clearly shown. Note that the cabin at the center of the bark, while crudely drawn, shows the characteristically swelling veil that appears on more detailed renderings of the portable shrine.⁷ The interior curve at the lower left (= rear) corner of the cabin might be fortuitous, but it could also have been carved as an allusion to the god “preeminent in his private sanctuary” (*hnty lpt.f*).⁸ Apart from the two holes that interfere with the rear carrying pole and with the lower line of the hull at the rear of the vessel, the figure is in good condition.

Location: Beneath the scene showing the king leading his Hittite prisoners and stepping into his chariot (pl. 35), at the right end of the scene, under the three standing prisoners (directly under the left side of the *Flickstein*).

GRAFFITO NO. 3

Demotic text,⁹ carved by a light pecking and badly weathered, with some signs obscured by plaster and the overall weathering of the stone (see pl. 49A). The inscription does not lend itself to any certain reading: *nh p³ . . . m-b³h . . .* was suggested for the body of the text, and a determinative employed in the writing of foreign names was tentatively recognized in the final sign (on the left).

Location: Beneath the western triumph scene (pl. 17), under name-ring no. 65.

GRAFFITO NO. 4

Demotic text, carved with the same technique as no. 3, but better preserved. The sense of most of the inscription, however, cannot be made out any more successfully, although it is clearly a personal name: *Ns . . . s³ . . .*, “Es . . . , son of. . .” (See pl. 49B.)

Location: Beneath the western triumph scene (pl. 17), to the left of no. 3, under the kneeling prisoners.

GRAFFITO NO. 5

A bird, probably the goose of Amon, facing right.

Location: Beneath the triumph scene to the west of the central doorway (pl. 17), between name-rings nos. 62 and 63.

GRAFFITO NO. 6

A standing figure of Osiris, facing right. The god wears his characteristic plumed crown, and his hands, folded against his chest, grasp the crook and flail. Four square drill-holes are placed around the figure, showing that it was once covered by a veil. The face of the figure has been erased, but the remainder is in good condition.

⁷Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* II 11.

⁸For this common expression, see *Wb.* I 68:4.

⁹The uncertainties in the reading of nos. 3 and 4 have prompted us to present the evidence in as unprejudiced a medium as possible, i.e., in photograph only. The Epigraphic Survey would like to thank Professors Janet H. Johnson and George R. Hughes, along with the rest of the staff of the University of Chicago's Demotic Dictionary project (especially Richard Jasnow, Robert Rittner and Eugene Cruz-Urbe) for their advice on reading all the Demotic inscriptions published here.

Location: Beneath the triumph scene on the east side of the central doorway (pl. 15), under the figure of the goddess Thebes.

GRAFFITO NO. 7

Another, slightly larger image of Osiris, having the same characteristics as the previous figure (though more damaged than the other) and also once covered by a veil held by pegs. Traces of red paint are still lodged inside the figure's elbows, with a few traces of blue inside the left arm.

Location: Beneath the triumph scene on the east side of the doorway, slightly above and to the east of no. 6, under the bow held by the goddess Thebes.

GRAFFITO NO. 8

On the left is a standing figure (its head lost), grasping a staff. The scratches to its right are difficult to interpret but may constitute an offering table.

Location: East wing, under the wheel of the king's chariot on his return from the Shasu campaign (pl. 6).

GRAFFITO NO. 9

A figure of ithyphallic Amon: the upper part of the god's headdress is missing, but the rest of this crudely drawn figure—down to the grotesquely enlarged member—is intact.

Location: Beneath the Shasu battle scene on the east wing of the northern wall (pl. 5), under lines 2–3.

GRAFFITO NO. 10

Hieratic text, "the scribe Amen(y)."

Location: East end wall, lower register (pl. 3), inside the king's bow, between its upper end and the "boxed" inscriptions below. Also in this vicinity, though apparently unrelated, are two hook-shaped scratches located between the king's uraeus and the "box" with his titles. While clearly deliberate, these marks may be nothing more than crude efforts to imitate the serpent on the ruler's brow.

GRAFFITO NO. 11

Hieratic text, "the scribe Mose (?)." ¹⁰

Location: Same as no. 10, but lower, between the king's right arm and the reins of his horse team (see pl. 3).

GRAFFITO NO. 12

King's head wearing the Blue Crown, facing right.

Location: To the right of no. 11 (pl. 3).

¹⁰Only the top of the left stroke of *ms* is missing here: see Möll., *Pal.* II, no. 408.

GRAFFITO NO. 13

Figure of a king, facing left and grasping a staff. He wears a long robe and an indeterminate headdress (probably a wig) with uraeus.

Location: To the right of no. 12 (pl. 3).

GRAFFITO NO. 14

Coptic saint (?): the figure is shown from the front and wears a short, hemmed tunic. Both feet point towards the right. A palm branch is in his right hand and a slender object (unidentified) is in his left. A few scratches, undoubtedly deliberate but meaningless nonetheless, lie below.

Location: In the western triumph scene (pl. 17), between the king's front thigh and the group of prisoners.

GRAFFITO NO. 15

Two Coptic saints, similar in style to no. 14, but holding the palm branch in their left hands. The figure on the right appears to be unfinished.

Location: Same as no. 14, but between the king's legs (see pl. 17).

GRAFFITO NO. 16

Smiling face (eyes, nose, mouth).

Location: Carved inside the loop of the ankh-sign at the top of col. 22 (pl. 17).

GRAFFITO NO. 17

Horned animal, probably a gazelle.

Location: In Libyan battle scene (pl. 28), inside the lower left quarter of the king's chariot wheel.

GRAFFITO NO. 18

Demotic text, tentatively read as *p³ III rmt*, "the three men." Since the consolidation of the hypostyle hall's lower courses took place during the Graeco-Roman period¹¹ and extended to the outer face of the north central doorway, it is possible that the four demotic texts published here were carved by workmen engaged in these repairs.

Location: Carved on the face of a round loaf on the offering table in the scene of presentation of Libyan booty (see pls. 32 and 49C).

GRAFFITO NO. 19

A crude but unmistakable owl-*m*, facing right but missing the bottom of its tail (probably not finished). Modern imitations of hieroglyphic signs are sometimes carved in the immediate vicinity of their models, so it is curious that the closest model for this *m* should be fairly far

¹¹See Georges Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Brussels, 1929), pp. 251–52.

removed, at the top of col. 7. Alternatively, it could be a later scribe's "correction" of a misunderstood original.¹²

Location: At the bottom of col. 12 (pl. 34).

GRAFFITO NO. 20

This short text is written in a script that is not recognizable, either as demotic Egyptian or Arabic. Its position, however, suggests that it was inscribed before the modern clearance of the hypostyle hall's north wall; and for that reason it is reproduced here (pls. 49D–E).¹³

Location: Eastern face, lowest register, on the east (= left) side of the canal in pl. 6, above the parade ground.

GRAFFITO NO. 21

Two short graffiti, written in Greek (pl. 49G): *patre* and *pa*. The latter is perhaps an initial version of the first, abandoned for lack of the proper space.

Location: Western thickness of the central doorway, near the bottom (between and beneath the hieroglyphs of the marginal text published on pl. 20:4).

GRAFFITO NO. 22

Another graffito in Greek, written in one line (pl. 49F). The text is virtually illegible, being interrupted by the gouges which occur frequently in this area, and also by other local damage to the stone. Several signs, moreover, are difficult to interpret. The first on the left could be a convincing pi but for its position beneath the line and the sharp definition of the trace above the crossbar. At the center, the clearest sign could be kappa or upsilon, depending on whether there was a trace in the damaged area on the lower left. In the final sign, the downward stroke on the lower right is more lightly cut than the rest, leaving its reading also in doubt between kappa and upsilon.

Location: Beneath the western triumph scene, below the area corresponding to pl. 17:43*–45* (name-rings).

The ancient graffiti listed above range in date from Pharaonic antiquity down into the Christian era. Modern graffiti, by contrast, are few: two are inscribed in a western European script, and another is an Arabic personal name. This last, being at some distance from the ground and in company with the nineteenth century European graffiti, we have recorded. Other Arabic names, found at the base of the north wall, have been excluded from this publication, since we have reason to believe that they are of very recent date.

GRAFFITO NO. 23

Graffito in two lines, written in capital Roman letters: PICCININI 1819 (see pl. 49H). An agent for Giovanni d'Athanasī, Piccinini (Christian name unknown) was active in Upper

¹²The passage in its full form should read *phr t3 pn n wnw* (cf. p. 110:11–12); but the *wnw* is not fully spelled in this passage, so a later visitor might have believed that the preposition *m* of time (Gardiner, *Gr.*³, § 162.2) was more appropriate than *n* (ibid., § 164.8). While this fanciful hypothesis cannot be proved, it is offered as a reasonable alternative to the idea of any less purposeful motive for the carving of this sign.

¹³The scratches of this graffito are dimly visible in Wreszinsky's photographs of the scene: see bibliography to pl. 6.

Egypt until about 1830.¹⁴ This graffito contains the earliest known reference to him.

Location: In the scene of the return to Egypt from the Shasu campaign (pl. 6), between the name of the horse team (line 35) and the reins. The letters are deeply cut and can be seen on earlier photographs of the scene (e.g., Wresz., *Atlas* II 40, 43).

GRAFFITO NO. 24

Arabic graffito, the personal name of one "Mohammed 'Asar."¹⁵

Location: Immediately to the right of no. 23. Since this graffito is quite lightly cut, it is not to be seen on any of the previously published photographs: see now pl. 49H.

GRAFFITO NO. 25

Graffito consisting of two capital letters in western European script: KE.

Location: Center of the horse's neck on pl. 6, to the right of nos. 23 and 24 (see pl. 49H).

¹⁴See Warren R. Dawson and Eric Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd ed. rev. (London, 1972), p. 232.

¹⁵The Epigraphic Survey is indebted to Professor Carolyn Killean, Juan Campo and Farouk Mustafa for advice on reading this and other Arabic graffiti on the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

4

DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS OF
THE PAINT ON HIEROGLYPHS

TIME AND EXPOSURE have robbed the once vivid coloring from the outer walls of most ancient Egyptian monuments standing today. The north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall is no exception to this rule, and at first glance the reliefs appear to have been stripped of all paint. A closer examination, however, reveals that considerable amounts of paint remain, lodged in the deep cuts that outline the figures and within them, on the surface, obscured by layers of dirt. We believe these to be the original colors in all but a few areas, noted below, where subsequent overpainting with one or more layers was easily detected. The coloring of the larger figures has already been described in chapters 1 and 2, within the context of the scenes in which they occur. A survey of the painted hieroglyphs follows here, both as a guide to current usage during the early Nineteenth Dynasty and as a contribution to the yet unrealized goal of making better known the development of the signs themselves, in all their variations of shape and color, during the millennia when the system flourished.¹ In addition, samples of paint taken at various points along the wall were subjected to chemical analysis. The results are to be published at a later date (see Field Director's Preface, p. xix).

Before beginning the survey, however, a few words on terminology are in order. The description of paint in earlier chapters employed generic terms (e.g., red, blue, green) which, it has been pointed out,² are inadequate for accurate color description. A more precise definition was therefore attempted, with the aid of the edition of the Munsell Color Charts in the Chicago House library; but problems soon made themselves apparent. Even in examples that seemed to be well preserved, we often found small but distinct variations in hue, value and chroma³ that became even more pronounced in faded or contaminated samples. In all too many cases, a reading of what was left of the color would reflect more of the sample's present condition than of its original appearance. Since, moreover, most samples can still be perceived in terms of the usual color distinctions, we have decided to retain these terms in all descriptions. The terms thus employed are: yellow, orange, red, green and blue. In a later section of this report, we will define the meaning of each of these terms by presenting the range of Munsell readings that we recorded in each category.













¹A few publications that record the distribution of color are noted by R. A. Caminos in "The Recording of Inscriptions and Scenes in Tombs and Temples," *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), p. 23, nn. 62, 64. Painted hieroglyphs are discussed and reproduced by Hilda Petrie, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties* (London, 1927) and by Nina M. Davies, *Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1958); for verbal descriptions, see Caroline Ransom Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Nēb* (New York, 1932), especially pp. 91–93, and William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (London, 1949), pp. 257–63 and 366–82. The publications of R. A. Caminos, in particular *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen I–II*, EES Archaeological Survey of Egypt 33–34 (London, 1974), are exemplary in their detailed and accurate notation of all preserved colors. Numerous color facsimiles of Egyptian monuments have been published, but the information thus recorded is usually not tabulated in any systematic fashion.

²Caminos, in *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, p. 23 and n. 63.

³Following the system of A. H. Munsell, *A Color Notation* (Boston, 1907), pp. 18–31, supplemented by charts issued in various editions by the Munsell Company. The availability of these charts in Luxor was the factor that determined their use in preference to the Ostwald system employed by Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen I and II*, passim, but especially I 8; see also Wolfgang Schenkel, "Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache," *ZÄS* 88 (1963): 133–39.

DISTRIBUTION OF COLORS ON HIEROGLYPHS
















Hieroglyphs referred to in the list that follows will be described by means of the composite numbers given to them in the Gardiner Sign List.⁴ The location of each example will be given in terms of the plate and column numbers of this volume: the addition of an asterisk to one of these location numbers indicates that a Munsell color reading was made of this sign. In complex signs painted with more than one color, the description will sometimes be a composite of several examples in which different parts are preserved: a norm can be established in most cases, but all exceptions and variations will be duly noted. Where no line number is given, an unnumbered minor epigraph is meant. The descriptions of signs given here follow those of Gardiner for the sake of convenience.


















- A-1  Flesh tones red, hair blue (6:16; 32:5).
- A-2  Flesh tones red, hair and kilt yellow (10:14); face yellow (3:10).
- A-7  (*var.*) Figure painted in red (35:29).
- A-9  Flesh tones red, kilt and basket yellow (14:11; 32:16*).
- A-13  (*var.*: Asiatic) Face red, cloak over chest green (31:23).
- A-14  Flesh tones red, hair blue (6:22; 17:21; 29:2); with yellow shirt (32:4).
- A-15  Flesh tones red, kilt yellow (3:3; 17:20).
- A-15*  (*var.*: Asiatic falling on his back) Head and kilt yellow (3:8) (*var.*: Asiatic falling face downward, with arms at sides); bottom of cloak red (34:16).
- A-16*  (*var.*: Asiatic, standing upright) Pointed beard yellow, cloak at shoulder blue (14:13; 17:12); with red in cloak (32:4; 35:18); (*var.*: Asiatic bowing, with hands touching ground) upper body red, cloak below waist blue (17:12).
- A-24  Flesh tones red, kilt yellow (17:20; 29:7).
- A-28  Entire figure painted red (32:10).
- A-30  Arms and legs red, hair blue (10:26).

⁴Gardiner, *Gr.*³, pp. 544–48. Variations in shape from the published font will be indicated by the abbreviation *var.* or by the addition of an asterisk to the composite sign number.

DISTRIBUTION OF PAINT




















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- A-40  Face red, wig blue, body yellow (6:18; 10:7, 29; 14:9, 18; 17:17; 19F:8; 23:3; 32:3, 8*, 11*; 39B:2); with green collar (?) at neck (15:14); with red wig (36:31).
- A-41  Face red, wig and body yellow (6:35); with red neck (32:6).
- A-42  Sign painted entirely in yellow (3:5; 14:1; 32:1); with face red (28:14; 32:12, 19; 36:30); with neck green (32:19); with chest blue (6:19); with wig red (6:9); with neck red (14:6); with wig blue and body red (35:30).
- A-51  Neck green (15:13); flesh tones red, hair blue, flail red, kilt yellow; throne blue, but with lower back quarter and back red (32:3).
- C-2  Disk and body red; head, wig and ankh-sign blue (19F:8, 9, 10; 20E:4); with ankh-sign blue and yellow—overpainted? (20E:4).
- C-7  Body red, head green (10:10; 28); same, with yellow snout (32); red body, blue head (14); same, with ears green (39B).
- C-10  Sign painted red (6:2; 8); with ankh-sign red (15:5); body red with green wig (28; 31); same with blue wig (14:8); same with blue plume (19C:8; 19F:8); same with plume blue and yellow (19F:10); with head red (17:3; 32:9); with headband red and ankh-sign blue (17:1); wig and knee blue, headband yellow, overcoat of red (39B); wig blue, body yellow (3:1).
- C-11  Flesh tones red, kilt yellow, hair blue (23:5).
- C-12  (*var.*) Plumes and body red, face blue (19F:8; 20E:5).
- D-1  Face red, hair yellow (3:9; 10:2); sign painted red (6:26; 32:13).
- D-2  Yellow (3:8, 9; 6:20; 8:17; 10:11, 17; 14:2, 9*, 11; 17:4, 5, 16; 23:3; 32:5*, 12, 13, 16*).
- D-4  Rim and pupil red (3:2, 7; 6:25; 10:12, 16; 17:19; 23:9); rim blue (28:3).
- D-6  Rim, brow and pupil red (10:29).
- D-17  Blue (39B:5).
- D-19  Yellow (39B:5*); blue: shaped like, and thus confused with, N-29? (32:36).

- D-21  Red (3:3, 9; 4:2; 8:16; 10:3, 9, 19, 25; 15:10, 37; 17:12, 20; 23:4; 28:4, 5; 32:13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 37).
- D-29  Standard red (8:18).
- D-33  “Body” red (6:7).
- D-34  Arms red, shaft of mace yellow (23:5).
- D-35  Red (3:9).
- D-36  Red (3:5, 6; 4:3; 6:5, 6, 15, 25; 8:14; 10:1, 2, 4, 19, 25, 27; 14:5, 6; 17:6, 14; 28:3, 12, 13*; 32:2, 5, 10, 14; 34:7, 8; 36:29, 31, 32, 33).
- D-37  Arm red (6:35; 8:20; 14:6, 12; 17:11; 32:3, 6, 25, 31; 35:36).
- D-38  Rounded loaf yellow (14:4).
- D-39*  (*var.*: D-36 + M-36 in palm of hand) Bundle yellow (14:3).
- D-40  Red (3:2, 11, 12; 4:10; 6:7, 8, 13, 21; 8:17; 10:9, 11, 12, 16; 14:5, 6; 15:35; 17:18; 23:2, 10, 11; 28:1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 14; 29:2, 7; 31:22; 32:3, 6, 25, 35; 35:16, 36).
- D-41  Red (23:4).
- D-43  Arm red, flail yellow (10:5).
- D-46  Red (3:8, 10; 6:3, 5, 18, 21; 8:14; 10:1, 26; 14:11; 17:6, 17; 23:10; 28:7*; 32:2, 5, 16, 25; 35:16, 21, 31).
- D-50  Red (3:9).
- D-52  Red (34:5).
- D-54  Red (3:1; 6:20; 8:19; 14:10; 17:13, 17; 23:8; 28:6; 32:13, 24, 30); blue (6:28).
- D-56  Red (8:19; 17:17).

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




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








D-58		Red (3; 4:6; 6:6, 15; 8:10, 17; 17:17; 19C:8; 31; 32:2, 4, 14*; 35:28); with blue heel (28:6).
D-59		Arm red (32:33).
E-2		Horns green (17).
E-6		Red (6:35; 28:14).
E-17		Blue (17:17).
E-21		Yellow (23:2).
E-23		Yellow (10:19; 32:5, 17*); with red mane and back (14:14).
E-34		Yellow (17:4).
F-4		Mane red (6:16); head yellow (28:12).
F-9		Red (8:16; 10:28); mane red (35:26; 36:31); mane and neck red, face and ears blue (3:10, 11).
F-12		Blue (19F:10; 28:10); red (19F:8).
F-16		Blue (32:34).
F-23		Red (3:2; 6:35; 10:12; 28:4; 29:7, 8; 35:36).
F-25		Red (6:1).
F-27		Green (34:11).
F-31		Central vertical above knot red, lowest foxtail blue (6:1; 10:8; 19F:8; 20E:4).
F-32		Blue (15:4; 17:3; 32:8*).
F-34		Red (6:9; 10:17; 14:10; 17:6; 32:9*, 21*; 34:14).
F-35		Windpipe blue, heart red (14:8; 17:1; 39B:4*); with windpipe green (32:11, 21).

- F-38  Red (32:16★).
- F-40  Ribs red, bone blue (15:14); with bone green (32:9★, 21★).
- G-1  Yellow (6:5, 6; 14:11); with wing blue-green (3:3, 5, 7; 10:3, 20; 23:5; 28:4; 31:10).
- G-3  Wing and sickle green (6:8; 32:25).
- G-4  Head yellow, wing green (3:10; 23:9).
- G-5  Green (28:13; 29:6; 32:21★).
- G-6  Bird green (29:5; 34:11).
- G-15  Flail yellow, top of wing green, bottom of wing blue (14:14; 32:17).
- G-16  Baskets green, serpent yellow (10:8).
- G-17  Yellow (3:4, 6, 7; 6:7; 10:8, 18, 26; 32:14★, 20★; 39B:1, 4).
- G-20  Arm red (34:9).
- G-25  Red (19C:8; 19F:8).
- G-26  Standard red (32:22★).
- G-35  Wing red (23:8; 35:30).
- G-36  Green (4:8; 10:11, 25; 14:3, 4, 10, 14; 15:1, 8; 17:11; 29:4, 8; 31:13; 32:13★, 37); wing yellow (3:9).
- G-37  Head blue (28:3).
- G-38  Head red, wing blue (17:3; 19C:8; 19F:8); with feet blue (20E:4).
- G-39  Head and tail feathers red, wing yellow, breast blue (19F:10; 32:8★).
- G-40  Red, with back near tail blue (3:2, 4; 6:35; 35:36).

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















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








- G-42  Head red, body yellow (39B:3★).
- G-43  Yellow body (3:3, 5, 6, 9, 10; 6:1, 3, 20; 8:13, 15; 10:5; 14:10, 13, 14, 17; 17:12, 18; 23:3, 11; 32:1★, 4, 5, 9, 13★, 20, 25, 37); with feet red (10:8).
- G-49  Marsh green (15:12; 34:9).
- G-54  Yellow (14:12; 17:6).
- H-6  Feather green (34:11).
- I-1  Green (23:7).
- I-6  Blue (8:19; 10:18; 17:17; 32:5).
- I-8  Blue (39B:1★); back and head green—all? (23:6).
- I-9  Yellow (3:10; 6:12, 13, 14, 35; 8:1, 13; 10:13, 16, 17; 14:1, 2, 5; 17:5; 23:4, 6, 12; 28:7★; 32:2, 24, 25, 36).
- I-10  Yellow (3:10; 6:18; 8:14; 10:26; 32:7, 25).
- K-1  Dorsal fin red (3:8).
- K-4  Dorsal fin red (3:7).
- L-2  Yellow (3:1; 14; 19F:8, 9, 10; 20E:5; 32).
- M-1  Green (36:16).
- M-3  Red (3:12; 8:13, 15; 10:11; 28:8).
- M-7  Staff red, base green (10:29; 32:15).
- M-8  Marsh green, buds blue (3:3).
- M-12  Bud green (4:8).
- M-13  Green (17).

M-15		Base red (6:16).
M-16		Base red, buds green (6:26; 32*).
M-17		Stem blue, leaf green (3:5, 6, 8, 11; 6:7, 10, 20; 8:15, 20; 10:2, 29; 15:4, 5, 17; 17:2, 3, 21; 19F:10; 23:10, 13; 28:1, 5, 7*; 29:2; 31:16, 17, 19, 23; 32:1, 2, 4*, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15*, 17, 22, 24, 29; 34:5, 8, 11, 14; 35:30, 31, 35; 36:1, 2*, 5, 15, 16, 23, 24; 39B:4).
M-18		Stem blue, leaf green (6:20; 32:24).
M-22		Blue (3; 14; 31).
M-23		Green (3:1; 14:18; 17:15, 23; 19F:8; 28:5*; 32:19*, 20*).
M-29		Green (6:9; 15:15).
M-36		Green (28:5).
M-41		Red (10:20).
N-1		Blue (23:3; 31:2; 32:18*).
N-5		Red (3:1*; 6:1; 8:8; 10:7, 15, 29; 14:7; 17:3; 19C:8; 19F:8, 9, 10; 20E:4; 28; 29:8; 32:2, 7, 9*, 19; 39B:2*, 5).
N-6		Disk red (6:25).
N-17		Blue (14:12*; 19F:10; 28:4*, 5; 29:6; 32:7, 8*); green (17:3).
N-18		Yellow (39B:3).
N-21		Blue (14:8, 12*; 19F:10; 23:10, 11; 28:4, 5, 7*; 31:1; 32:7); green (17:3).
N-25		Red (3:4, 5, 8, 10, 12; 4:6, 8; 6:27; 8:6, 13, 17; 10:1, 25; 14:2, 5, 9*; 15:37; 17:4, 16, 20; 28:2, 14; 32:6*, 12*, 24; 35:18; 36:32).
N-26		Red (28:6).
N-27		Disk red (34:5).

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







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















- N-28  "Rays" blue (17:2; 31; 39B:4); "rays" green (17); "rays" green and hill green with upper rim red (32).
- N-29  Blue (3:12; 8:4; 14:6; 17:21; 23:8; 32:3, 23★).
- N-31  Upper half blue, lower half green (23:12); all blue? (3:10); all green (34:10).
- N-33  Yellow (32:2, 3).
- N-34  Red (35:17).
- N-35  Blue (19F:10); red (3:5); yellow (14:13).
- N-36  Interior green (10:2); with blue border (19F:10; 32:8★).
- N-37  Green (3:2; 4:6); with blue border (6:25; 17:18; 29:8; 31:1, 18; 32:4); all blue (4:2).
- N-38  All green (10:1, 20; 34:10); blue-green interior with blue borders (14:14; 15:2, 36; 17:18; 23:2; 28:1, 3, 8; 31:1, 18; 32:17); green border (6:11).
- N-41  Green (15:3, 37; 32:35).
- O-1  Blue (10:19; 23:4; 28:3★; 32:5, 30).
- O-4  Blue (3:9; 6:21; 10:15; 28:6; 32:11★, 24).
- O-23  (*var.*: bottom is W-3) Two thrones red, remainder yellow (39B:1★).
- O-29  Red (6:35; 8:14; 10:2, 4, 25, 27; 32:3).
- O-34  Red (3:7, 8; 8:14, 19; 10:26; 17:6, 11, 12, 18; 23:9; 32:2, 13, 16).
- O-35  Red (32:1).
- O-36  Blue (23:6).
- O-39  Yellow (15:13; 28:6; 32:3).

- O-46★  (*var.?* Lacks interior carving; determinative of *btm*) Yellow (3:4).
- O-47  Blue rim (3).
- O-48  Blue rim (3).
- O-49  Blue (8:19; 10:18; 14:14, 18; 31; 32:5★, 15, 17★, 20★, 22); green (17:17).
- P-3  Water green (10:2).
- P-5  Sail yellow (32:36).
- Q-1  Blue (32:22★; 35:16).
- Q-3  Green (3:2; 6:12; 10:10, 11, 17; 14:11, 19, 20; 15:35; 23:10; 28:3, 14; 29:7, 8; 31:16; 32:5, 16★, 18, 21, 22★; 39B:4★); with yellow horizontal band in center, outlined on top and bottom with red (14:8); with alternating horizontal stripes of yellow, green and red, only preserved in top half (32:27).
- Q-7  Red (32:29).
- R-4  Green (10:17; 14:8; 31:7); yellow (32:21).
- R-8  Yellow (6:18; 14:8, 17; 17:18; 32:4, 18).
- R-11  Yellow (32).
- R-12  See D-29 and G-26.
- R-19  Scepter green, plume and streamers red (14:18; 17; 32:20★; 39B:4).
- S-3  Red (6:4; 14:6; 32:1, 3, 4, 5, 6★).
- S-12  Upper half of pectoral green, bottom half red (14:3; 15:13); pectoral yellow with two narrow horizontal bands of red (bottom) and blue (top) in center (32:2).
- S-14  Pectoral blue (14:3).
- S-22  Center yellow, side-ropes red (15:3); with central border red (23:9).

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



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




S-23		Knot green (23:8).
S-29		Red (3; 6:1, 9, 35; 10:9; 14:11; 17:17, 20; 19F:8; 20E:4; 28:7, 10; 32:3; 36:30, 33).
S-34		Blue (3; 6:9, 35; 10:10, 29; 29; 32).
S-38		Yellow (20E:4).
S-40		Green (10:6).
S-43		Red (32:7).
T-3		Macehead yellow (15:13; 32:2).
T-4		Macehead blue, shaft yellow (3; 32).
T-8		Blue (6:35; 28:14; 35:35).
T-10		Bow yellow, string red (10:9).
T-14		Red (32:25, 37).
T-21		Shaft and loop red, handle yellow (6:7); and with tip green (32:14*).
T-23		Shaft red, bottom yellow (10:4).
T-28		Red, with top blue (14:12; 32:15).
T-30		Red (6:8, 13; 10:1; 17:6; 23:11); handle red, blade yellow (15:21).
U-1		Green (17:19; 23:7; 28:13*; 29:6).
U-3		Sickle green; rim and pupil of eye red (10:16, 28); rim of eye blue (28:4).
U-6		Red (10:10; 17:3; 19F:8, 9; 20E:5; 39B).
U-15		Red (39B:2).

- U-16  Sledge red, ingot blue (15:10).
- U-17  Red (17:12).
- U-21  Red (19F:8; 20E:5; 39B:4).
- U-22  Handle blue, blade red (17:5).
- U-28  Top red (6:9, 35).
- U-30  Top red (4:2, 6; 15:2; 31:1; 34:15; 35:28); same, with blue bottom (32:4); sign green (15:36).
- U-33  Red (32:37).
- U-36  Blue (6:3, 9, 15, 19; 8:1; 14:1; 28:14; 32:1, 5, 12*; 35:30, 35).
- V-1  Red (10:14, 28, 29; 32:28).
- V-10  Blue (8:16; 10:10; 14:8; 19F:8, 9, 10; 28:7*; 29; 32:9*).
- V-13  Green (14:2; 15:6; 17:19; 23:3; 28:1, 13).
- V-17  Green, with yellow crossbands (32*).
- V-22  Green (10:19; 14:5; 17:5, 12; 32:23); with handle red, whip green (32:5; 36:28, 29).
- V-25  Oval yellow, rest red (3:11).
- V-28  Green (8:18; 10:10; 17:12, 20; 23:11; 29:7; 32:10, 19*, 37).
- V-29  (Employed as biliteral in *sk*) Top blue (10:16).
- V-30  Green (3:9; 4:3, 9; 5:11; 6:2, 27; 10:7, 26; 14:7, 8, 9, 14, 17, 20; 15:2, 5, 6, 13, 15; 17:2, 3, 4, 5, 18, 22, 23; 28:13*; 29:7, 8; 32:3, 7*, 8, 12, 15, 17*, 18*; 34:14; 36:2, 24; 39B:3*).
- V-31  Green (3:5; 4:3; 6:14, 22; 8:16, 20; 10:28, 29; 14:4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13*; 15:14; 17:4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 15, 18; 23:11; 32:2*, 3, 5, 6*, 10, 11, 12, 14*, 23*; 36:3*, 32).

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V-33		Yellow (14:5).
W-3		See O-23.
W-10		Red (32:18*).
W-11		Top red (17:12?).
W-13		(Employed in <i>nst</i>) Red (14:7); same, with blue top (32:7).
W-18		Jars red (17:23).
W-19		Cord yellow, jar red with blue rim (6:17; 14:11; 32:29; 35:17); and with blue crossbars? (29).
W-23		Red (14:1); upper half blue, bottom red (8:4; 32:1, 4, 5).
W-24		Upper half blue, lower half red (4:8; 8:4; 10:25; 14:2; 15:6; 23:12; 28:3; 29:8; 31:2); top red, bottom blue (3; 6:8; 32:37); all blue? (32:1).
W-25		Jar blue, legs red (8:1; 14:1; 32:1); jar red (17:4); jar red with blue rim (32:5); upper half of jar red, lower half blue (32:31).
X-1		Blue (3:4, 8, 12; 4:2, 6, 10; 6:1, 3, 17, 19; 8:13, 15, 17, 19; 10:10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 28, 29; 14:1, 5, 6, 8, 9*, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19; 15:1, 2, 3, 13, 35, 36; 17:3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20; 19F:10; 23:6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13; 28:2, 7, 12, 13*, 14; 29:7; 31:1, 2; 32:3, 4, 5*, 6, 8, 17*, 18*, 20, 21*, 22, 23*; 36:32; 39B:2).
X-8		Outer edges blue, wedge green (10:10; 14:9; 15:6; 17:18; 29; 32:11).
Y-1		All red? (10:25, 27); all yellow? (10:5; 32:15); two ends red, center yellow (6:17, 19; 8:18); ends yellow (17:18; 32:10).
Y-5		Board red (3:1*; 6:2, 35; 8:1*; 10:1, 4, 25; 14:2, 6, 7, 8*; 15:1, 35; 17:2, 5; 19F:10; 28:1; 31:23; 32:2, 4*, 7, 9*; 36:2); with men yellow (19F:9); with men blue (17:16; 28; 32:4*); with men alternately blue and green (39B:4*).
Z-1		Blue (3:1; 28:3, 5); yellow (14:9).
Z-2		Blue (3:3).

Z-8		Green (31).
Z-9	×	Red (23:10; 31:1).
Aa-1		Green (3:2, 3, 4; 6:8; 8:13; 10:5, 11, 29; 14:2, 3, 5, 9, 18; 17:5, 15, 17, 18; 28:3, 4, 8, 13; 32:2, 6, 20*, 23; 35:15).
Aa-3		Yellow (3:7).
Aa-7		Red (15:1).
Aa-8		Blue (32:31).
Aa-11		Blue (6:22?).
Aa-15		Red (6:26; 8:13, 14, 19; 14:6, 13; 17:6; 32:3, 4, 5, 11; 39B:1).
Aa-18		(<i>N.B.</i> Shaped like truncated quiver) Loop and upper border yellow (3:7).
Aa-19		Blue (28:7).

Some of the variants noted above occur in multicolored signs and might have resulted from the addition of details onto an undercoat of paint that defined a sign's basic color.⁵ More significant variations⁶ are less easily understood, although in one or two cases they might be explained as outright errors⁷ or by assimilation to a neighboring sign.⁸ The uniform coloring given to some texts that refer to individuals or to localities⁹ provides yet another deviation from a norm that is, nonetheless, quite consistent in its prevalence in all the reliefs.

DEFINITION OF THE COLORS

While the recording of paint on a relief is a normal step of the Epigraphic Survey's collation process, the Munsell Color Chart readings listed below were all taken together, as the project was drawing to a close. The areas sampled were those on which the color was best preserved, but readings were taken on both the east¹⁰ and the west¹¹ sides, and also on one of the frag-

⁵E.g., A-40, 42; C-2, 7, 10; E-23; F-3; G-36; N-31, 36, 37, 38; Q-3; S-12; U-30; V-22; W-13, 19, 23, 24, 25.

⁶E.g., D-4, 58; F-35; R-4; U-3; W-24, 25; Y-1, 5.

⁷See above at D-19 (32:36), and p. 101.

⁸See the atypically colored examples listed at N-35 and Z-1.

⁹See pls. 6:28–34 (text of official/prince: the blue color in sign D-54—normally painted red—is all that remains of the color in this section); 10:21–24 (the fan-bearer's text, originally painted in the same manner as the other texts, first redone in blue and then in yellow: see above, pp. 32–33); 10:30 (name of town, painted blue); 23:1 (name of town, painted blue); 29:9 (text of official, painted blue).

¹⁰Pls. 3, 8, 14.

¹¹Pls. 28, 32, 36.

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ments.¹² The slight variations in hue, value and chroma that were noted in each color category can best be explained by the unequal effects of weathering on the paint, particularly where divergences occur in adjoining but similarly painted signs.

RED

The readings ranged from 4/8 to 6/8 in 7.5 Red (7.5 R), and from 5/10 to 6/10 in Red-Yellow-Red (RYR). The lists that follow will note the occurrence of examples in each category by means of plate and column number, with the appropriate sign listed in parentheses by its Gardiner Sign List number.

- 7.5 R 4/8: 32:9 (F-40), 20 (R-19), and behind the figure of Khonsu (M-16). All these samples seemed fresh, with no obvious trace of weathering.
- 7.5 R 4/8–5/8: 32:9 (Y-5, weathered).
- 7.5 R 5/8: 28:7 (D-46); 32:8 (A-40), 9 (F-34, weathered; N-5, weathered), 11 (A-40, weathered), 12 (N-25, weathered), 16 (F-38), 22 (G-26), behind Khonsu (N-5, weathered), and tail of vulture on left.
- 7.5 R 5/8–6/8: 32:8 (G-39), 16 (A-9).
- RYR 5/10: 3:1 (N-5, Y-5); 8:1 (Y-5); 14:8 (Y-5), 9 (N-25); 28:13 (D-36), king's chest and chariot wheel; 32:4 (Y-5), 14 (D-58, T-21), 18 (W-10), 21 (F-34), 21 (F-40), cartouches (N-5), and also Mut's crown and dress; 39B:2 (N-5), 4 (F-35, Y-5), 5 (D-19).
- RYR 5/10–6/10: 3: Shasu bodies; 32:6 (N-25).
- RYR 6/10: 28: on left, Libyans' hair, cloaks, legs, and on right, elbows and legs*; 29: flesh of Libyan*; 32:6 (S-3); 34: flesh of Hittites.

The high incidence of weathered signs in some categories (e.g., 7.5 R) might explain some of these variants, but this is not always an obvious factor: note that, in two identical signs within the same scene (F-40, in 32:9, 21), different readings were obtained from samples that appeared to be fresh. Flesh tones range between RYR 5/10 and 6/10, with two samples in the last category (marked *) subtly tending towards an orange tint. Since these occur in adjoining scenes from the Libyan campaign, the variation may stem from an attempt to differentiate this from other ethnic groups—if, that is, it is not the fortuitous result of weathering in this area.

YELLOW

Readings ranged, in the main, from 10 YR 7/8 to 8/8, with one isolated reading of 10 YR 5/8. No obvious weathering was noted.

- 10 YR 5/8: 29: plume of Libyan.
- 10 YR 7/8: 8: Bes-jar and other vases; 14:9 (D-2); 28: king's uraeus; 32:8 (A-40), 11 (A-40), 14 (G-17, T-21), 16 (A-9, D-2), 17 (E-23), 20 (G-17), and in Khonsu's disk and front shoulder; 39B:1 (O-23), 3 (G-42).
- 10 YR 7/8–8/8: 28:7 (I-9); 32:5 (D-2), 13 (G-43), and offering table.
- 10 YR 8/8: 32:1 (G-43), 8 (G-39), and censer.

¹²Pl. 39B.

BLUE

Most of the readings for the color blue (which, of all the colors, survives most freshly and in greatest quantity) were Purple-Blue (PB) 5/8. A few isolated readings ranged between PB 4/8 and 5/8, and between PB 5/8 and 5/10. No clearly weathered samples were recorded.

- PB 5/8: 14:9 (X-1), 12 (N-17, 21), and shoulder of Amon; 28:3 (O-1), 4 (N-17), 7 (N-21, V-10); 32:4 (M-17, Y-5), 5 (O-49, X-1), 8 (A-40, F-32, N-17, 36), 11 (A-40, O-4), 12 (U-36), 15 (M-17), 18 (N-1, X-1), 20 (O-49), 21 (X-1), 22 (Q-1), 23 (N-29, X-1), behind cartouches (V-10), and also lower feathers of vulture on left, spots on melon, Mut's hair and feathers, and head of Khonsu; 39B:1 (I-8).
- PB 5/8-5/10: 32:17 (O-49, X-1).
- PB 4/8-5/8: 28:13 (X-1).

GREEN

Although variations in tints of green seem high, most readings are either Blue-Green (BG) 7/4 or closely related: most variants lie in the area of BG 7/4-BGB 7/4, with a few samples at either end of the range (BG 7/2-7/4 and BGB 7/4). More substantial variations (e.g., BG 7/8, G 7/4) are rare and may represent the effect of dampness or some other factor on isolated sections of the wall.

- BG 7/2-7/4: 3: garment of Shasu warriors.
- BG 7/4: 14:13 (V-31) and broad vase; 28:5 (M-23), 7 (M-17), 13 (V-30), and along the king's back; 32:2 (V-31), 4 (M-17), 6 (V-31), 7 (V-30), 8 (A-40), 20 (M-23, R-19, Aa-1), 21 (F-40, G-5), 22 (Q-3), 23 (V-31), behind Khonsu (M-16, V-17), and also back of the vulture at the left, neck of Khonsu, ankh-vase, bouquets, rind of melon, flowers, and cloak at shoulder of a Libyan; 39B:3 (V-30), 4 (Q-3).
- BG 7/4-BGB 7/4: 28:13 (U-1); 32:13 (G-36), 14 (T-21, V-31), 15 (M-17), 16 (Q-3), 17 (V-30), 18 (V-30), 19 (M-23, V-28).
- BGB 7/4: 28: bow case of king.
- BG 7/8: 29: cloak of Libyan.
- G 7/4: 36:2 (M-17), 3 (V-31).

As has been said above, these variations do not necessarily represent different values for the colors as they appeared when first painted. They are presented, rather, as raw data, to be used in studies on the effects of weathering on the various batches of paint employed on the same composition. Such a project, incorporating these results along with those from many other sources, will have to be undertaken by other hands, for it is a subject too vast to be dealt with in these pages.

GLOSSARIES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

★	name-ring	nom.	nomen
adj.	adjective	non-encl.	non-enclitic
adv.	adverb	part.	participle
Afr.	African	pass.	passive
art.	article	perf.	perfective
As.	Asiatic	pers.	person
aux.	auxiliary	pl.	plural
caus.	causative	pn.	praenomen
comp.	compound	prep.	preposition
def.	definite	pres.	present
dem.	demonstrative	pron.	pronoun
dep.	dependent	ps.-vbal.	pseudoverbal construction
div.	divinity	reflex.	used reflexively
fem.	feminine	rel.	relative
foll.	following	sing.	singular
gen.	genitive	s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> = see under the heading of
gent.	gentilic	trans.	transitive
imper.	imperative	ult. inf.	<i>ultimae infirmae</i> (class of verbs having a weak final radical)
imperf.	imperfective	vb.	verb
indep.	independent	vbal.	verbal
indir.	indirect	wr.	written
infin.	infinitive	2. gem.	second geminating (class of verbs having reduplication of second radical)
interrog.	interrogative	3. inf.	class of verbs having a weak third radical
intrans.	intransitive	4. inf.	class of verbs having a weak fourth radical
loc.	locality		
masc.	masculine		
n.	noun		
neg.	negative		

MAIN LEXICAL ENTRIES

- ʔt n. "moment" (6:15; 10:[15])
 ʔw (1.) n. "limit," in r ʔw "entirely" (15:14), var. r ʔw . [sn] (5:15); (2.) adj. vb. "to be long," in $\text{ʔb}()$ ʔw "to be glad" (32:9)
 ʔwt-ʔb n. "joy" (19B:5; 19C:7; 36:21)
 ʔbl vb. 3. inf. "to desire" (35:20: r ʔbb.f)
 ʔh adj. vb. "to be glorious" (19C:8; 19F:8; 20B:6; 20E:3)
 ʔtp vb. "to be laden," with prep. hr "upon" backs (8:10–11; 14:11; 32:15–16); with prep. m "with" something (15:13)
 ʔʔw n. "praise" (15:18)
 ʔʔbl see ʔbl
 ʔʔb(t) n. "left (side)" (23:4)
 ʔʔd n. "aura" (35:31)
 ʔl vb. ult. inf. (1.) "to come" (6:16); (2.) "to return" (31:[1]; 35:27); with prep. hr "from" place (6:16; 32:24), "from" doing something (14:21–22); with prep. m "from" place (14:21); (3.) old perf. ʔl.tl "to welcome": ʔlwy.tw hr hʔswt "Welcome back from foreign lands" (6:20); ʔl.tl m htp "Welcome in peace" (14:7)
 ʔl vb. 3. inf. "to wash," in $\text{ʔl-ʔb}()$ "to vent feelings" on enemy (6:24–25)
 ʔlh n. "moon" (5:2; cf. 15:19)
 ʔlw particle, in ʔlw n sdm.f (5:12); in ps.-vbal. (3:5–6)
 ʔlw vb. ult. inf. (1.) "to come" (6:3; 8:10; 14:10; 15:7 [ʔwt], 12; 17:12; 32:13; 35:18); (2.) with prep. hr "to return from" someplace (8:2; 14:2; 36:2)
 ʔlw'w n. "heirs" (6:15)

- lwt* rel. adj. "which/who . . . not" (23:5; 28:3; 35:14); in *spyt n lwt* (5:16)
- lb* n. "heart" (4:2; 14:10; 17:6; 31:21; 35:31), and in compounds: *3w-lb* "to be glad" (32:9); *l-lb* "to vent feelings" (6:24); *mn-lb* "stout-hearted" (4:1; 35:5); *ndm-lb* "to be happy" (6:9); *htp-lb hr* "to be satisfied with" doing something (6:12-13; 10:17); *shn-lb* "stout-hearted" (5:5; 34:14)
- lm* adv. "there" (17:15); in *w^c lm* "one of them" (6:7)
- lm* form of prep. *m* before suffix: (1.) "among" (15:40; 17:25; 29:3; 35:23), and with verbs: *hsy.sw lm.f* (5:6), *t(k)n lm.f* (5:14); (2.) wr. *m-lm* (6:15; 34:1), and with verb *'k m-lm* "to enter into" something (34:17-18; 35:30-31)
- lmy* rel. adj. "who is in," in *lmy-Nbw* "the Ombite" (34:7)
- lmy-r mš^c* title "general" (6:[33])
- lmy* see s.v. *rā*
- lmst* n. "graciousness," in *nbt lmst* (36:16)
- lmnt* n. "West" (15:16)
- ln* prep. "by" (4:11; 6:30; 8:1, [7]; 10:21; 14:1; 15:4; 32:1, 4, 7; 36:1, [22])
- lnl* vb. 3. inf. "to carry off" as captive, etc.: (1.) wr. *ln* (6:15; 12:5; 13:11; 15:[40]; 17:25; 32:31); (2.) wr. *lnn* (8:12, [21]; 12:4; 14:27; 17:4; 31:[23]; 35:34; 36:26, 32; 39A:1); (3.) in *ln mtr* "to occur regularly" (15:19)
- lnw* n. "spoils, tribute" (8:1; 14:1, 26, 27; 15:8, 13; 17:11; 32:1, 4, 5; 35:34; 36:1)
- lnk* indep. pron. "I (am) . . ." (15:6)
- lnt* n. "valley" (3:8; 15:28)
- lnd-hr.k* "Hail to you" (8:15; 36:31)
- lr* full form of prep. *r*, "as for" (6:10)
- lry*, *lr.w* adv. "thereof" (15:17; 35:19)
- lry-p^t* title "hereditary prince" (6:30; 29:10, 11)
- lrl* vb. 3. inf. (1.) "to do, make" (3:2; 6:25; 10:12, 17, 22; 12:2; 15:36; 17:16; 23:1; 29:[3]; 34:1, 9); (2.) "to spend" time (15:20); (3.) in *lr hr mw* "to act loyally towards" someone (8:17); (4.) *lr m* "to act with" (4:1; 17:1; 28:3), "to make into" (3:7; 15:28; 17:18; 23:9-10; 34:19-20); (5.) wr. *lr* except as noted; wr. *lrw* (17:18; 23:1); wr. *lry* (15:40; 17:25); wr. *lrr* (34:19)
- lrp* n. "wine" (19D:1)
- lhyw* n. "celebrating" (6:15; 10:[16])
- lst* non-encl. particle "For . . ." (6:10)
- lt* n. "father" (1.) a god (3:11; 8:[1]; 10:28; 14:1; 15:6; 31:23; 32:2, 4; 36:2, '28'); (2.) pl. "ancestors" (8:20)
- ltu* n. "solar-disk" (34:10)
- ym* (?) n. "sea," an inland body of water (4:15)
- ^c n. (1.) "arm" (4:2); in *lm³-^c* (12:1); in *m-^c* prep. (31:2); (2.) dual "arms" (4:1; 6:25; 17:16)
- ^t n. "abode" (6:38)
- ³ (1.) adj. "great": masc. sing. (3:13; 4:12; 6:16, 35; 10:2; 11:1; 13:12; 19C:8; 19F:8; 23:15; 28:14; 31:24; 35:35); fem. sing. (19C:4; 15:40; 17:25; 34:1); masc. pl. (10:4, 25; 13:11; 36:26); fem. pl. (29:[3]); (2.) adj. vb. "to be great" (4:18; 8:15-16; 13:12; 17:1; 34:8; 36:34)
- ³ n. "leader," pl. in *3 n mhw* "tribal leaders" (6:5)
- ^{3mw} n. "Asiatic Barbarians" (17:10¹; 32:26; 36:3)
- ^{3t} n. "precious mineral" (14:4; 15:13; 32:3; 36:5)
- ^{b^c} vb. "to boast" (4:9)
- ^{b^b} n. "boasting" (32:33-34)
- ^{bw} n. "lettuce" (19B:1; 19E:1)
- ^{pr} vb. "to be equipped" with (*m*) something (15:23)
- ^{nh} (1.) vb. "to live" (10:29); in *nh wq³ snb* "may he live, prosper and be healthy" (3:2; 6:9; 15:40; 17:25; 36:30); (2.) adj. "living" (15:32; 17:23); (3.) n. "life" (10:6; 14:17; 17:22; 19A:1; 19B:5; 19C:6, 9; 19F:9; 20B:3, 6; 20E:3; 34:22)
- ^{nllw} n. "myrrh" (15:15)
- ^{rf} vb. "to be enclosed" (14:5)
- ^h n. "palace" (6:9)
- ^{h³} n. "fighting" (6:11; 15:23); "fighter" (23:5; 28:1; 35:13-14)
- ^{h^c} vb. (1.) "to stand" (6:6; 28:12; 31:2, 9); (2.) in constr. *'h^c.n.tw sdm* (6:3)
- ^{h^cw} n. "lifespan" (6:23)
- ^{hb} n. "griffin" (15:[29])
- ³ n. "pine" (10:[2], 20)
- ³³ adj. "much" (6:[16])
- ^{33t} n. "multitude" (23:7)
- ^{k m} vb. "to enter into" (23:8; 34:17; 35:30)
- w³w* adj. "distant" (3:10)
- w³h* vb. (1.) trans. "to leave" (6:15; 35:19); (2.) intrans. "to endure" (8:18)
- w³s* n. "dominion" (10:6; 19A:1; 19C:6; 19F:9; 20B:3)
- 'w³d¹-wr* n. "the Sea" (17:14)
- w¹3* n. "sacred bark" (10:2; 36:epigraph)
- w^c* n. "one" (6:7; 14:11), and as numeral (3:1; 6:1; 8:21); in *bw w^c* "one place" (6:6; 8:10; 32:14) and in *sp w^c* (6:15)
- w^cf* vb. "to subdue" (36:33)
- wmt* n. "fortifications" (4:5); "thick" of battle (23:[8-9])
- wmn* vb. 2. gem. (1.) "to be, exist" (5:5; 17:15; 29:8); (2.) aux. vb. *wn(w) hr* + infin. "used to" do something (5:14; 17:4; 31:1); (3.) in *tm-wn* "(something) nonexistent" (34:20)
- wnl* vb. 3. inf. "to hasten" (34:12; 35:11)
- wnwt* n. "hour" (34:13; 35:12)
- wnmt* n. "right side" (23:[4])
- wnš* n. "fox (or wolf?)" (31:17-18)
- wr* (1.) adj. vb. "to be great" (10:11), and in *wr-b³w* (36:32) and *wr-phty* (15:29; 34:6; 35:2, 26); (2.)

adj., fem. (14:14; 36:[13]); (3.) n. "chief" (4:8, [11]; 6:27; 8:3, 9, 12; 10:[1], 24, 25; 13:11; 14:4, 10, 27; 15:1, 8, 17, 39; 17:11; 29:1, 4, 8; 31:[1], [23]; 32:4, 13, 25, 37; 34:16; 35:21, 32, 34; 36:26, 30)
wrrt n. "chariot" (15:23)
wrs vb. "to spend time" (31:13–14)
whi vb. 3. inf. "to escape" (3:9)
wh̄t n. "village" (23:11)
wsr (1.) adj. vb. "to be powerful" (4:9; 8:16; 28:10–11); (2.) n. "power" (15:12; 36:34)
wšbt (?) n. "response (?)" (10:21–22)
wtt vb. "to beget" (34:5)
wdi vb. 3. inf. "to send forth" (35:16)
wđ vb. "to command, decree" (3:11; 4:12; 36:5)
wđš vb. "to prosper," in *nh-wđš-snb* (3:2; 6:9; 15:40; 17:25; 36:30)

bšw n. "divine power" (17:5; 35:17, 22; 36:32)
bīš vb. "to work a wonder" (15:16, 18)
bīk n. "falcon" (34:11)
bīty see s.v. *nswt-bīty*
bw n. "place," in *bw w* "together" (6:6; 8:10; 32:14)
bw neg. in *bw šdm.f* (6:8, 15)
bnr adj. vb. "to be sweet" (36:17)
bnd adj. vb. "to be wretched" (8:17)
bhn n. "castle" (5:18)
bs n. "fire" (15:24)
bšt (1.) adj. "rebellious" (4:6–7; 23:14; 31:[1]; 32:4; 36:[3]); (2.) n. "rebel" (5:12; 32:32; 35:28); "rebellion" (15:12)
bšd vb. "to rebel" (35:29)
bdš n. "sedition" (6:5)

pt n. "heaven, sky" (5:10; 6:24; 15:29; 32:18)
pš masc. def. art. (3:1, 2, 4, 14; 4:12, 16, 19; 5:18, 19; 35:36)
pš(w?) aux. vb. 3. inf. "to have done in the past" + infin. (6:17)
pn masc. sing. dem. pron. (34:12; 35:11, 20)
pr n. "house" (20E:1), and in compounds: *pr-Imn* "the Estate of Amon" (19C:8; 19F:8; 20B:6; 20E:3); *pr-š* "Pharaoh" (3:2; 23:1); *pr-hđ* "treasury" (17:12); *pr-dwšt* "house of the morning" (15:32; 17:23)
prī vb. 3. inf. "to break out" of fire (32:30); in compound *pr-š* "man of action" (23:4; 28:3; 34:4)
prt n. "seed" (35:20)
ph vb. "to reach" place (17:14)
phww n. "furthest reaches" of Asia (15:3, 37)
ph̄ty (1.) n. "strength" (3:10, 11; 4:10; 6:20; 8:16; 10:28; 15:29; 28:1; 31:23; 34:4, 6, 9; 35:2, 26; 36:31, 34); (2.) adj. "strong" (34:23)
phr vb. "to encircle" (17:13; 34:12; 35:11)
psš n. "share" (17:18)
psd n. "back" (8:4, 11; 14:11; 32:5, 16; 35:34)

pgš n. "battlefield" (31:10)
ptpt vb. "to trample" (15:35; 17:2; 23:10; 29:2, 7, 8; 31:[1]; 34:15; 35:27; 36:3)
ptr vb. "to behold" (10:29)
ptr interrog. "Who is . . . ?" (32:27)
ptr n. "battlefield" (34:7)
pd n. "knee" (15:17; 35:19)
pdt n. "bow" (10:9; 31:2, 13)
pđty n. "bowman" (4:1; 35:15)
pđt-psđt n. "the Nine Bows" (14:10, 12; 15:21; 29:7; 36:32)

fnđ (? read *šrt*?) n. "nose" (32:36)
fb vb. "to destroy" (23:1)

m prep. (1.) of equivalence (3:7, 11; 4:9, 14; 5:20; 12:4, 5; 13:11; 14:3, 27; 15:8, 15, 20, 22, 25, 26, 28, 40; 17:7, 16, 18; 19C:7; 19D:1; 32:2, 3, 14; 35:22, 29, 34; 36:4, 25); (2.) "in" (3:13; 4:3, 6, 14; 14:5, 7, 10, 13; 15:6, 14, 17, 26, 27, 29; 17:6, 8, 12; 19C:8; 19F:8; 20B:4, 6; 20E:3; 31:[2]; 35:18, 20; 36:[19], epigraph; (3.) "from" (14:21; 32:3, 6; 36:27); (4.) "by means of" (4:1; 17:1; 31:23); (5.) + vb., "in doing something" (36:30, 31; 39A:3); (6.) in compounds: *m-š* "in (his) hand" (31:2); *m-šš-š-m . . . r* "from (place) to (place)" (3:3)
mš(?) vb. "to see" (6:13, 17; 10:16, 24, 28; 15:22–29; 17:6; 23:7; 28:4); infin. *mšn* (26:2; 32:10)
mšl n. "lion" (6:[38]; 35:6–7); *mšl-ḥšš* "(fierce) lion" (3:6–7; 34:13)
mšc adj. "genuine" (6:32; 8:6); "justified" in *hrw.k mšc* (6:22)
mšc vb. "to offer" (15:9)
mšwt n. in *m mšwt* "as a new thing = anew" (4:14; 5:20)
mšst n. "shallows" (15:26)
mī prep. (1.) "like" (3:6; 4:1, 10; 5:5; 6:24; 10:[7], 23, 28; 14:11, 17; 15:19, 22, 24, 27; 17:17, 22; 19A:1; 19B:4, 5; 19C:[9]; 19F:9; 20E:3; 23:[3]; 28:11, 5; 29:8; 31:1, 2, 17; 32:29; 34:4–8, 12, 18; 35:2, 17, 26; 36:34); (2.) + vb.: *šdm.f* (26:1; 36:5); *šdm.n.f* (36:29); rel. (10:22); *n šdm.(f)* ? (3:8)
mī-kd comp. prep. "completely like" (36:34)
mītt n. "the like" (6:17; 35:24); *m mītt* "and also" (10:3)
mw n. "water" (32:31); *īrl hr mw* "to act loyally to" someone (8:17)
mfkšt n. "turquoise" (14:3–4; 32:2–3; 36:4)
mn vb. in *mn-lb* "stout-hearted" (15:25; 34:[23]; 35:5)
mn̄b adj. "effective" (17:5)
mn̄kb n. "cool place" (17:16)
mrl vb. 3. inf. "to love" (1.) *šdm.f* (10:[15]; *mrr*: 6:14); (2.) part. *mr(y)* "beloved of . . ." (6:32, 33; 8:8; 15:5, 17:3; 19C:[5]; 29:12; 32:8; 36:24); (3.) infin. wr. *mry* (32:10), *mrt* (36:17)

- mht* n. in ³*w n mhw(t)* "tribal elders" (6:5)
mḥ vb. "to fill" (14:5; 36:28); + prep. *m*, "with" (10:19; 32:5)
mḥt (1.) n. "the North" (15:10; 17:5, 12; 36:29); (2.) adj. "northern" (15:40; 17:25)
mḥnmt n. "jasper" (14:4)
ms vb. "to present" spoils, etc. (8:1; 14:1; 32:1, 4; 36:11)
msw n. "child" (15:9)
msc n. "army" (10:13; 23:6)
mkḥ vb. 3. inf. "to protect" (4:3; 23:6; 34:9)
mktr n. "migdol" (6:now lost)
mgrt n. "cave" (31:15–16)
mtr vb. in *ln mtr* "to come regularly" (15:19)
mfn n. "path" (17:14; 23:12; 34:13; 35:9)
- n* prep. (1.) "to" (3:10; 4:13; 14:1, 6, 10; 17:11, 12, 15; 20B:1; 20E:1; 32:14; 35:36; 36:2); (2.) "for" (4:12; 5:1, 2; 11:11; 17:14, 16; 23:5, 6; 36:5, 31); (3.) "because" (6:11; 15:17; 32:10; 35:21); (4.) of duration, "in" a period (34:13; 35:12)
n indir. gen. "of" (1.) masc. sing. (3:2, 13; 4:9, 12, 16; 5:7, 11, 15, 18, 19; 6:35; 11:1, 2; 13:12; 19B:3; 23:1; 28:14; 31:23; 32:3, 6; 34:1, 12, 13, 18; 35:17, 28, 35); (2.) fem. *nt* (15:40); wr. *nty* (23:9); (3.) pl. *nw* (4:8; 13:11; 15:3, 13, 15; 17:11, 14; 29:1; 31:11; 32:37; 35:10; 36:26)
n neg. in *n sdm.f* (3:9 [?]; 4:2; 5:5; 35:33); *n sdm.tw.f* (5:4; 15:25, 29); *n* + pass. *sdm.f* (15:40; 17:25; 32:30–31); miswriting of *h³st* (31:23)
n³ pl. def. art. (5:11)
nw dem. pron. "this" (32:28)
nwh vb. "to bind" (15:14)
nb n. "lord" (17:7; 20B:1; 20E:1); and in compounds: *nb ḥr ht* "master of action" (15:38; 17:1, 19; 28:13; 29:7); *nb pt* "lord of heaven" (14:20); *nb ntrw* "lord of the gods" (36:32); *nb h³w* "lord of diadems" (17:2; 20E:4); *nb ḥpš* "possessor of a strong arm" (15:5; 29:7, 8; 36:24); *nb snd* "lord of fearsomeness" (15:26); *nb stwt* "possessor of sunshine" (15:22); *nb t³wy* "Lord of the Two Lands" (6:2; 8:8; 10:26; 14:8; 15:32; 17:3, 23; 19C:8, 9; 19F:8–11; 20B:7, 8; 20E:5; 29:6, 8; 34:3; 36:24)
nbwy dual n. "the Two Lords," i.e., Horus and Seth (17:18; 34:6)
nbt n. "lady" in compounds: *nbt Ḥpt-swt* "Lady of Karnak" (36:14–15); *nbt ḥm³t* "possessor of graciousness" (36:16); *nbt Ḥsrw* "Lady of Isheru" (32:17); *nbt pt* "Lady of Heaven" (14:15; 19E:6; 32:18); *nbt ḥpš* "Lady of the strong arm" (15:30–31)
nb adj. "every, all": (1.) masc. sing. (3:9; 4:9; 5:11; 6:27; 8:4, 6, 9; 10:7, 22; 12:5; 14:4, 9, 17; 15:5, 9, 13, 20, 39; 17:5, 22; 19A:1; 19B:4, 5; 19C:2, [3]; 20B:3, 4; 26:1; 28:2; 29:7; 31:11; 32:3, 6, 12, 34; 34:14, [21], [22]; 35:10, 13, 29, 34; 36:34); same, with pl. subjects (17:11; 31:5; 32:15, 33; 36:5); (2.) fem. sing. *nbt* (17:4); (3.) pl. *nbw* (4:3; 5:2; 15:2; 32:18)
nbw n. "gold" (8:5; 14:3; 15:13; 32:2; 36:4)
<n>bd-kd n. "ill-natured (peoples)" (17:6)
nfr adj. "good" (15:9; 17:11; 34:23)
nfrw n. "beauty" (32:11)
nmtt n. "movements" (6:28)
nn dem. pron. "these" (15:40; 17:25)
nn neg., + part. (28:11–12); + *sdm.n.f* (31:2)
nḥm vb. "to shout" (15:18)
nḥm vb. "to take away" (32:35)
nḥh n. "eternity" (15:20)
nḥt (1.) adj. vb. "to be victorious" (28:8); (2.) adj. "victorious, mighty" (4:3; 23:13; 34:14; 35:7, 26; 36:34); (3.) n. "victory" (3:12, 13; 4:10, 18 [?]; 8:13, 15; 10:11; 13:12; 14:9; 17:6, 18; 32:6; 34:6; 36:5, 27, 29)
nḥt n. "stronghold" (4:16; 5:19)
nst n. "throne" (15:20)
nsw n. "king" (6:23, 28; 15:20; 29:8); and in compounds: *nsw-bḥty* "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (3:1; 6:2; 19C:8, 9; 19F:8–10; 20B:7; 32: epigraph; 34:3); *nsw n Kmt* "king of Egypt" (36:31); *nsw nḥt* "mighty king" (4:3; 15:21; 35:26; 36:34); *nsw t³wy* "king of the Two Lands" (19C:7)
nsrt n. "fire" (34:18)
nšnl vb. 4. inf. "to rage," in *nšnty* "raging [like the Son] of Nut," i.e., Seth (23:2)
ntr n. (1.) "god" (6:18); (2.) pl. (15:18, 20; 32:18; 36:32); (3.) in title, *ntr nfr* "Good God" (4:1; 5:1; 6:10, 16; 10:22; 14:8; 17:1; 23:2; 31:11; 32:4; 34:4, 23; 35:1; 36:1)
ntry adj. "divine" (15:29; 34:11)
nd-ḥr vbal. comp. "to greet," s.v. *ḥnd-ḥr.k*
ndm adj. vb. "to be fragrant" (4:17; 15:15); in *ndm-lb*. "to be happy" (6:9)
- r* prep. (1.) "to" place (5:10; 15:10, 16, 18, 19; 17:12; 32:14); (2.) "at" place (15:36); (3.) "to" limit, etc. (5:15); (4.) "against" (3:2); 17:6; 26:1; 36:5, 29); (5.) + infin. "in order to" do something (14:5; 15:9, 18; 17:15; 23:1; 26:2; 28:4; 32:5; 36:28); (6.) + *sdm.f* "according to" the manner of doing something (4:2; 35:20)
r n. "mouth" (4:9; 32:34); and in compounds: *r-c* "limit" (5:10; 36:32); *r-cwy* "actions" (34:7); *r-pr* "temple" (15:20)
r^c n. (1.) "sun" (5:1); (2.) "day" (10:7; 19C:2, 3)
rn n. "name" (6:32; 8:16; 28:7)
rnpt (1.) vb. 4. inf. "to be rejuvenated" (15:19); (2.) adj. "youthful" (15:25; 35:3–4)
rnpt-ḥsbt n. "regal year" (3:1; 6:1; 8:21)
rh vb. "to know" (5:12; 8:19; 15:40; 17:25; 28:4; 35:15)
rsy (1.) n. "South" (17:12; 36:29); (2.) adj. "southern" (15:8, 40; 17:25)
rš adj. vb. "to be joyful" (8:17)

GLOSSARIES

rky n. "opponent" (12:13; 17:21; 29:2)

rk n. "time (period)" (6:18)

rth vb. "to restrain" (17:9)

rd n. in dual *rdwy* "feet" (12:4; 29:5; 36:33)

rdl vb. A. Morphological index

(1.) *rdl* in *sdm.f* (26:1), *sdm.n.f* (17:7; 36:29); (2.) *rdlt* infin. (19B:1; 19E:1; 20E:1); *dlt* (15:18); (3.) *dl* in *sdm.f* (4:8; 8:8; 14:9; 17; 15:6–8, [10], 12, 16, 19, 22–29; 17:6, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 23; 20B:3, 5; 31:8; 32:11, 25; 34:21, 22; 35:28); part. (6:2; 10:10; 19C:9; 19E:9; 20B:6; 20E:3); *sdm.n.f* (17:11, 13); infin. in ps.-vbal. construction (35:36); (4.) *dd* in *sdm.f* (4:2; 8:6, 20; 14:6; 32:3, 6); (5.) *lmy* imper. (8:20)

B. Meanings

(1.) "to give" (6:2; 8:6, 20; 10:10; 14:6, 9, 17; 15:18, 24; 17:11, 13, 15, 18, 23; 19B:1; 19C:9; 19E:1; 19F:9; 20E:1, 3; 26:1; 32:3, 6; 34:21, 22; 35:36; 36:29); (2.) "to place" (4:2; 8:8; 15:6, 10, 16, 18, 19; 17:6, 7; 32:11); (3.) + vb. "to cause" (4:8; 15:7, 8, 12, 22–29; 17:12, 13, 17; 31:8; 32:25, 31)

C. *Dl.n.(i)* n.k formulas

lbt *lmtw* (19F:7); *nh s[nb] nb*, *lwt[lb] nb ml R^c* (19B:5); *nh dd w³s nb*, *snb nb* (36:12); *h^cw n R^c* (19B:3); *h^cw n R^c*, *mpwt n lmtw* (20B:5; 36:9; 39B:2); *nhh m nsw-t³wy*, *h^ctl ml R^c* (32:19); *nhh m nsw-t³wy*, *dt m h^kl³ lwt-lb* (19C:7; 26:3); *nhh m hbw-sd ml R^c* (36:10, 25); *nhh m hbw-sd*, *hfnw m mpwt* (39B:1); *nsyt w³h tp-t³* (17:13); *nst Gb* (19F:6); *nst Gb*, *h^cw n R^c m pt* (36:18); *mpwt [h]tpw* (19D:2); *hw*, *df³w nb* (36:11; 39B:3); *[h³st] nb hr lbt³.k* (19D:3); *snb [nb] r^c nb* (19C:3); *snb [nb]*, *nh w³s nb ml R^c* (19A:1); *knt nb r^c nb* (19C:2); *knt nb ml R^c* (19B:4); *knt nb*, *nht nb* (36:7); *knt nht* (19F:2); *kny r rsy*, *nht r mht³* (32:23); *t³w nb(w)* (19E:4; 19F:4); *t³w nb(w)*, *h³st nb* (19F:3); *t³w hr snd.k*, *pdwt-psdt m ksw n hmhmt.k* (14:12–13); *t³w nb(w)*, *h³st nbt hr lbt³.k* (17:24; 36:8); *T³-mry* . . . (17:11)

h³b see s.v. *hb*

hw³ vb. 3. inf. "to drop" (15:17)

hb vb. trans. "to travel, tread" (28:6; 34:7; 35:8)

hbhb vb. "to traverse" countries (34:13)

hpw n. "laws" (6:8)

h(i)ms n. "humility" (15:17)

hmhmt n. "renown" (8:11; 14:13; 15:17; 17:13; 32:11; 35:26)

hm vb. trans. "to stop" someone (5:4; 15:25, 29)

hrw adj. vb. "to be content" (4:13)

hrw n. "day" (5:6; 6:15; 10:15)

hh n. "blast" of fire (15:27)

hd n. "attack" (6:21; 32:24)

h³ prep. "behind" (6:26; 17:22)

h³t n. in comp. prep. *r-h³t* "before" (28:12; 35:32–33); *hr-h³t* "before" (31:12–13)

h³wty title "leader" (6:16)

h³ty-^c title "count" (6:30)

h³t-sp see s.v. *mpwt-hsbt*

h³k vb. "to capture" (5:14; 6:16)

h^cw n. "limbs" (10:24)

h^ci vb. 3. inf. "to rejoice" (32:10); wr. *h^c* (6:10; 15:20)

hwi vb. 3. inf. "to smite" (15:21, 34, 39; 17:2, 20; 29:2, 7)

hwt-ntr n. "temple" (20B:6; 20E:3)

hb vb. "to triumph" (35:27); + *m* "to triumph over" someone (31:11)

hpt vb. "to bundle" prisoners (13:5)

hfw n. in *m hfw* "groveling" (17:12)

hfnw n. "myriads" (17:2; 23:8; 35:6, 33)

hm n. "male slave" (32:5)

hmt n. "female slave" (32:5)

hm-ntr title "prophet" (6:16)

hm n. "Majesty" of king (3:5, 13; 4:12; 5:20; 6:3, 9, 19, 35; 8:1, 13, 14; 11:1; 12:4; 13:11, 12; 14:1, 21, 27; 15:22–29, 40; 17:17, 25; 23:15; 28:14; 31:20, [23], 24; 32:1, 12, 24; 34:1; 35:30, 34, 35; 36:27, 30; 39A:1)

hmt (?) n. "copper" (35:17)

hnw n. "vase" (8:4)

hnwt n. "mistress" in compounds: *hnwt ntrw* "mistress of the gods" (19E:7); *hnwt ntrw nbw* "mistress of all the gods" (14:16–17; 32:18); *hnwt sp³t nb* "mistress of every district" (15:31)

hnty dual n. "horns" in *spd hnty* "sharp-horned" (15:25; 23:13; 34:14; 35:4)

hnk vb. "to present" (19D:1; 20B:1)

hr n. "face" (8:15; 15:10, 16, 18, 19, 22; 19C:5)

hr prep. (1.) "upon, over" (3:12; 5:3; 12:14; 14:9, 11; 15:5, 20, 23; 17:5; 23:3, 4, [12], [14]; 28:2; 32:3, 5, 6, 12, 16; 35:19, 34; 36:27, 34); (2.) "from" foll. vbs. *lilw hr* "to return from" someplace (14:2; 32:24; 36:2; 39A:2); *[l³nn] hr* "[to bring away] from" someplace (31:23); *wh hr* "to escape from" something (3:9); (3.) in *hdb hr snfw.sn* "overthrown in their blood" (3:8); (4.) in ps.-vbal. (3:5, 9; 4:12; 5:14; 11:1; 17:16; 35:36); (5.) as coordinator, *hr* + vb. (14:23; 35:12; 36:3)

hr-lb comp. prep. "residing in" (4:1; 35:3)

hryw-š^c n. "sand-dwellers" (17:7)

hrt n. "heaven, sky" (15:18; 34:11)

hryt n. "terror" of king (17:5; 31:3–4, 19–20; 34:8; 35:30)

hhy vb. 3. inf. "to seek" (35:12)

hh n. as pl. "millions" (10:13; 23:5)

hs³ adj. "fierce" in *m³l-hs³* (3:6–7; 34:13)

hsl vb. 3. inf. reflex. in *hsl sw lm.f* "to turn against" king (5:6)

hsk vb. "to cut off" (6:13)

hk³ n. "ruler" (19B:2; 19C:1)

hpt n. (1.) "peace" (14:8); (2.) pl. "peaceful (countries)" (31:7; 35:29)

htp adj. vb. "to be pleased" (35:17); + *hr* "with" something (6:12; 10:11, 17)
htr n. "span" of horses (3:13; 4:12; 6:35; 11:1; 13:12; 23:15; 28:14; 31:24; 35:35)
hdb vb. "to be prostrate" (3:8; 23:10¹; 29:4¹; 34:16)
hd n. "mace" (6:26; 8:9; 15:21; 17:[2], 8)
hd n. "silver" (8:[5]; 14:3; 15:13; 32:2; 36:4)

ht n. "fire" (15:24, 27; 32:29; 35:24)
ht n. "products" (17:18; 32:15)
h³ n. "flower" (15:15)
h³yt n. "slaughter" (15:40; 17:25)
h³st n. "hill country, foreign land" (3:10, 12; 4:6; 6:16, 21, 27, 29; 8:2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 17; 12:5; 14:2, 5, 9, 27; 15:2, 5, 8, 9, 14, 20, 39, 40; 17:2, 4, 11, 16, 20, 24, 25; 23:14; 26:1; 28:2, 7, 14; 29:[2], 7; 31:[1], 2, [5], [23]; 32:3, 4, 6, 12, 24, 37; 34:8, 13; 35:10, 13, 27, 29, 34; 36:2, 3, 5, 27, 30, 34; 39A:2)
h^cw n. "diadems" (17:2; 20E:4)
h^cw n. "weapons" (15:23)
hwl vb. 3. inf. "to protect" (10:5)
hpr vb. "to come into existence" (3:9); "to succeed" of attack (6:21; 32:24); + *m* "to become" something (35:22, 29)
hprw n. "forms" (15:27; 35:1)
hps n. "(strong) forearm" (3:2; 4:9; 15:12; 17:1; 28:3-4, 8-9; 35:36); "scimitar" (15:21)
hf vb. "to destroy" (3:1; 32:24)
hf^c n. "grasp" (14:5; 15:14; 20B:4)
hft prep. + vb. "when" (6:16; 8:2; 14:2; 36:[2])
hft n. "opponent" (6:22; 17:4)
hm vb. "not to know" (8:12; 14:27; 17:17; 31:[23]; 32:4; 35:34)
hmt vb. "to heed" (6:8; 35:33)
hnty prep. "preeminent in" (15:32; 17:23); "before" (15:33; 34:24)
hntš vb. "to enjoy" (6:11)
hnd vb. "to tread" (8:19)
hr vb. "to fall" (6:27; 35:21)
hrw n. "enemy" (3:3; 6:4, 22; 35:12)
hrw n. "voice" (6:22)
hsbd n. "lapis lazuli" (8:5; 14:3; 15:13; 32:2; 36:4)
hsf vb. "to repel" (4:2)
ht prep. "throughout" (3:7; 15:28; 17:13)
htm n. "fortress" (3:4; 6:[37])

h³yt n. "pile(s) of corpses" (3:7; 15:28; 29:[3]; 34:1)
h³k-ib n. "ill-disposed (persons)" (6:14; 17:19-10¹)
hmt n. "well" (4:14, 17, 18, 20; 5:21, 22; 6:lost)
hnn n. "turmoil" (6:7)
hr prep. "bearing" products (6:16; 17:11; 32:15); "beneath" (6:23; 15:7; 17:13; 36:33)
hryw n. "subjects" (17:25)
hs(y) adj. "vile" (8:2, 14; 14:3; 15:2*, 17:2*; 34:1; 35:20; 36:26)

hkrw n. "panoply" (15:23; 31:2¹)
ht n. in *n ht* "bodily" son (6:33; 8:7; 15:4; 17:3; 29:10, 12; 32:8; 36:23)
htb vb. "to overthrow" (15:7)

sw 3rd pers. pl. suffix, for *.sn* (15:22-29; 35:25)
st n. "throne" (23:14); "place" (36:4); and in compounds: *st-hr* "supervision" (17:13); *st-drt* "capacity" (35:16)
s³ n. "protection" (6:26; 17:22)
s³ n. "son" (8:7; 15:4; 17:3; 32:8; 36:23); and in compounds: *s³ Nwt* "Son of Nut," i.e., Seth (4:10; 23:3¹; 31:2; 34:6; 35:26-27); *s³-nsw* "king's son" (6:33); *s³-nsw smsw* "king's eldest son" (29:11); *s³-nsw tpy* "king's first(-born) son" (29:10); *s³ R^c* "son of Re" (17:2; 19C:8, 9; 19F:8-10; 20E:4; 34:3)
s³b n. "jackal" (17:17); in *s³b šm^cw* "Upper Egyptian jackal" (34:12; 35:11)
s³b adj. in *s³b-šw* "variegated of plumage" (34:11)
šlp caus. vb. "to inspect" (10:[1])
s^c caus. adj. vb. "to magnify" (6:19; 8:14; 10:27; 36:31)
sw 3rd pers. masc. sing. dep. pron. (5:6; 17:5, 17; 28:5; 31:1; 32:28; 34:5, 9)
sw³ vb. "to pass" (5:12)
swšš vb. "to glorify" (36:30¹); + *n* "to pay honor to" (6:16)
swhl m vb. 4 inf. "to boast about" (6:31)
swšh caus. vb. "to expand" (5:7; 14:22)
swdš-hr vbal. comp. "to take recreation" (17:17)
sbl vb. 3. inf. "to seek" (15:9)
sb³ n. "doorway" (19C:8; 19F:8)
sbk adj. "precious" (8:4)
sbt n. "rampart" (23:6)
sp n. in *m sp w^c* "at once" (6:15)
sp¹ vb. 3. inf. "to remain over" (6:15); in *spyt n lwty* "the very last one" (5:15-16)
spd adj. vb. "to be sharp" of horns (15:25; 23:[13]; 34:14; 35:4)
sm³ vb. "to kill" (6:8, 15; 32:25; 34:15)
sm³ vb. "to unite" (34:8)
smh vb. "to forget" (31:11)
sn 3rd pers. pl. suffix (4:9; 5:12, [14], 15; 12:5; 17:6, 7, 25; 35:21, 23, 31, 32, 34)
snw n. "equal" (23:[5]; 28:3; 35:14)
snwt n. "companion" (6:8)
sn(t) n. "flagstaff" (10:4)
snb (1.) adj. vb. "to be healthy" (3:2); (2.) n. "health" (17:22; 19A:1; 19B:5; 19C:3)
snb n. "fringe" (17:14)
snfw n. "blood" (3:8; 6:13; 34:16)
snn n. "image" (15:22)
snh vb. "to bind" (35:32)
snsn (?) vb. "to breathe" (10:14)
snd n. "fearsomeness" (8:8; 14:9, 12; 15:26; 17:6)

- sr* n. "official" (6:16, 31)
sh(?) n. "uproar" (6:7)
shwī vb. 4. inf. "to gather" (15:14); and n. "gathering" (15:40; 17:25)
shd caus. vb. "to illuminate" (15:22; 34:5, 10)
shm (1.) adj. vb. "to be powerful" (3:6; 34:5); and in compounds: *shm-lb* "powerful of heart" (5:5; 34:14); *shm-phṭy* "powerful in strength" (34:4); *shm-hprw* "powerful of forms" (35:1); (2.) n. "powerful being" (34:5)
shr caus. vb. "to overthrow" (12:2; 17:20; 29:[2])
sswn vb. "to destroy" (15:16)
ss-nsu title "king's scribe" (6:32)
ss n. "nest" (34:9); pl. "marshes" (15:12)
ss vb. "to open" (17:14)
ssm vb. "to guide" (17:15)
ssd n. "shooting star" (15:24)
sker vb. "to strike down" (15:1, 40; 17:25; 29:1); in *skr-nh* "living captive" (6:15; 8:3; 12:5; 14:27; 31:23; 35:34); wr. *skb* (13:11)
skl vb. 3. inf. "to destroy" (14:23)
sky n. "combat" (5:7)
skw n. "battle" (10:16)
sksk vb. "to devastate" (23:[11]; 35:24–25; 36:3)
stwt n. "sunshine" (15:22)
stp vb. "to choose" (36:epigraph); n. "choice things" (35:34)
stl vb. 3. inf. "to scatter" (15:24)
sd vb. "to break open" (17:5; 28:7; 35:31)
sdt n. "fire" (34:19)
sdd vb. trans. "to tell about" something (3:9–10)

š'd (1.) vb. "to cut down" trees (10:1); (2.) n. "murderousness" of king (17:6)
šw n. in *sšb-šw* "(variegated of) plumage" (34:11)
špss adj. "noble" of god (36:28); "precious" of gems (15:13; 32:3; 36:5)
šfyt n. "awesomeness" of king (10:24; 15:6)
šf vb. "to fight" (28:2)
šmsw n. "follower" (17:16)
šnī vb. 3. inf. "to encircle" (17:5)
šnī vb. 3. inf. "to plot" rebellion (6:4; 15:12)
šnī n. "pestilence" (15:27)
šnīt n. "tail" of shooting star? (15:24)
šn' n. "magazine" (10:19; 14:6; 32:5; 36:28)
šrt (? read *fnđ*?) n. "nostrils" (32:36)
šsp vb. (1.) "to receive" (15:8, 21); (2.) "to take up" weapons (15:23; 31:[2]); "to instigate" rebellion (6:7, 11)
šsr n. "arrow" (31:2)
št adj. "remote" countries (15:2; 29:2; 34:13; 35:10)

kmy n. "gum" (15:15)
kn adj. "valiant" (28:11; 31:24; 34:4; 35:14)
knt n. "valor" (3:12; 4:10; 8:6; 14:6; 19B:4; 19C:2; 20B:3; 26:1; 31:22; 32:3; 34:21; 36:5, 29)

kn vb. + infin. "to cease" doing something (4:8; 31:8; 32:31; 35:28)
kd vb. "to build" (4:14; 5:[20])

k n. "bull" (15:25; 23:[13]; 34:14; 35:3)
k n. "Ka" (8:18); in *k³-nsu-nh* "living king's Ka" (15:32; 17:23)
k³p vb. "to hide" (31:16–17)
kf vb. "to plunder" (28:2)
ksw n. in *m ksw* "in submission" (17:12)

grg vb. "to be organized" (17:12, 16)
gsī vb. 3. inf. "to run" (34:12; 35:11)

i fem. def. art. (4:14, 17, 18, 20; 5:20, 21, 22)
i n. (1.) "earth" (15:29); (2.) "land, country" (10:30; 23:1; 28:5; 34:1, 12; 35:11, 20, 28); (3.) dual *iwy* "the Two Lands," i.e., Egypt (15:33; 28:4; 34:5, 8, 24); (4.) pl. *iwy* "lands" (4:3; 5:2; 15:2, 16)
iš n. "border" (4:2; 5:8; 6:25; 10:18; 14:22; 15:36; 17:4; 31:1; 34:10)
ī non-encl. particle "while" (34:9)
ī-špss n. "cinnamon" (15:15)
īlt n. in *īlt-R* "image of Re" (15:33; 34:24)
īlti vb. "to pound" enemies (4:1; 6:15; 10:15; 23:13; 34:14; 35:5–6)
tw impersonal suffix in *sdm.f* (4:13; 5:4; 10:22)
tw pronominal comp. in 2nd pers. (36:34)
tp n. "head" (6:14, 26; 8:9; 17:7; 32:13)
tp prep. "on" in compounds: (*wī* n) *tp-ītrw* "river (barge)" (10:2); *tp-dw* "dawn" (15:19); *tp-db* "fingertip" (3:9)
tpy adj. "first" (3:13; 4:12; 6:35; 11:1; 13:12; 28:14; 29:10; 31:24; 35:35)
tpī vb. 3. inf. "to breathe" (35:17)
tm-un n. "something nonexistent" (34:20; 35:22)
th n. "transgression" (6:12)
tkn wr. *tk*, *tn* vb. (1.) "to approach" (15:26); "to violate" frontiers (17:4; 31:1); (2.) *tkn m* "to attack" someone (5:14)
tktk vb. "to attack" frontiers (8:18)

išī vb. 3. inf. "to take up" weapons (31:12)
išī-hw title "fan-bearer" (23:17; 29:9); + *hr wnm nsu* "on the king's right" (10:21)
išw n. "breath" (8:20; 32:36; 35:18)
ībty dual n. "sandals" (15:7)
īm³- epithet "strong armed" of Horus (12:1; 15:38; 17:19; 28:13; 29:6)
tnr adj. "energetic" (3:2)
tnw n. "number" (15:40; 17:25)
ts vb. in *ts n sky* "to join (combat)" (5:6)
ts-pdwt title "group-marshaller" (23:17; 29:9)

tsl vb. 3. inf. "to ascend" (23:1)

ts n. "hill(s)" (5:11; 6:6)

dw vb. "to adore" king (6:19; 10:26; 39A:3)

dpy n. "crocodile" (15:26)

dmt n. "knife" (6:27; 35:21–22)

dml n. "town" (3:14; 4:14, 21; 5:[20]; 10:30, [31]; 11:2; 23:10, 16; 35:25)

dmq vb. "to be assembled" (6:6; 8:10; 15:14; 23:8; 35:33)

dr vb. "to smite" (11:1)

dʒl vb. 3. inf. "to cross" sky (34:11)

dw n. "mountain" (28:6; 35:17)

dbʒt n. "robing room" (15:32; 17:23)

dbw n. "tens of thousands" (23:2)

db n. in *tp-db* "fingertip" (3:9)

dr prep. "since" (6:17)

drw n. "limit" (34:10); in *r dr* "to the limit of" something, i.e., "entire" (28:5)

drt n. "hand" (6:15), and in *st-drt* "capacity" (35:16)

ds n. "self" (8:21; 12:4)

dsr adj. vb. "to be holy" (17:3)

dt adv. "forever" (19C:7)

dt n. "chattel(s)" (15:40)

dd vb. (1.) "to say, speak" (4:13; 6:3, 18; 8:14; 10:21, 22; 36:30); (2.) in *dd-mdw* "words spoken (by)" (4:11; 14:7; 15:4; 19B:3; 19C:2, 3; 19E:4; 19F:2, 3, 5, 6, 7; 32:7; 36:7–12, 22)

NAMES

ʒms Afr. loc. (15:42*; 17:[50]*)

ʒrk Afr. loc., var. of *ʒrk* (15:13*; 17:12*)

ʒh (*Sety I* or *Ramesses II*) *m pr-ʒImn* loc., name of Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (19C:8; 19F:8; 20B:6; 20E:3)

ʒhty div. "the horizon dweller" (34:5)

ʒst div. "Isis" (19E:5)

ʒIʒ Afr. loc. (15:65*; 17:59*)

ʒIh Afr. loc. (15:60*)

ʒIh div. "the moon" (15:19)

ʒIdm Afr. loc. (15:48*; 17:[38]*)

ʒIwn-mwt.f div. "Iunmutf" (17:15)

ʒIwnrt As. loc. "Ullaza" (15:61*; 17:56*)

ʒwnilw gent. "tribesmen" (15:1, 34; 29:2); + *tʒ sty* "tribesmen of Nubia" (15:7, 21*; 17:20*)

ʒwʒl Afr. loc. (15:70*; 17:65*)

ʒwʒw As. loc. "Uzu" (15:63*; 17:58*)

ʒIb Afr. loc. (15:[59]*; 17:58*)

ʒIbskb As. loc., well on Gaza road (5:21)

ʒIpt-swt loc. "Karnak" (32:22; 36:6)

ʒIfi Afr. loc. (17:62*)

ʒImr As. loc. "Amurru" (23:1)

ʒImn div. "Amon" (1.) of god (8:1; 10:4; 14:2, 6; 31:23; 32:4); (2.) in *pr-ʒImn* "estate of Amon" (19C:[8]; 19F:8; 20B:6; 20E:3); (3.) in names: *ʒImn wsr-hʒt* river barge of Amon (10:3); *ʒImn hr wd n.f pʒ knt* name of horse team "Amon decrees valor for him" (4:12); *ʒImn hr dl n.f pʒ hpʒ* name of horse team "Amon is giving him strength" (35:35–36); *ʒImn dl.f pʒ hpʒ* name of horse team "Amon gives strength" (6:35); *ʒImn hr dr n.f pʒt-psdt* name of horse team "Amon smites the Nine Bows for him" (11:1)

ʒImn-R div. "Amon-Re" (32:2); and in compounds: + *nb nswt tʒwy* "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands" (8:7; 14:7; 15:4; 17:3; 19F:1; 32:7; 36:2,

28); + *nb nswt tʒwy*, *nb pt* "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven" (20E:2); *nb nswt tʒwy*, *hkʒ* [*Wʒst*] "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Ruler of [Thebes]" (19C:1); + [*nb nswt tʒwy*, *hnty* *ʒIpt-swt*] "Lord of the Thrones of the Two [Lands], preeminent in Karnak" (36:6); *hkʒ Wʒst* "Ruler of Thebes (19B:2); *hkʒ Wʒst*, *hry-tp psdt* "Ruler of Thebes at the head of the Ennead" (19E:2–3)

ʒIrm Afr. loc. (15:11*; 17:10*)

ʒIrm . . . Afr. loc. (17:35*)

ʒIrmw Afr. loc. (15:4*; 17:4*)

ʒIrkrk Afr. loc. (15:6*; 17:5*)

ʒIrt As. loc. var. *ʒIrtg?* (15:37*; 17:36*)

ʒIrt . . . As. loc. (15:36)

ʒIrtw As. loc. "Arzawa" (15:[39]*; 17:43*)

ʒIsy As. loc. "Ishuwa" (?) (15:32*; 17:31*)

ʒIsrw loc. Mut precinct at Karnak (14:14; 32:17; 36:13)

ʒIkpt As. loc. (15:34*; 17:33*)

ʒItr Afr. loc. (15:3*; 17:3*)

[*Y*]*m-Rbt* loc. "the "Sea" (?) of Rabat" on Gaza road (4:15)

Ynwʿm As. loc. "Yenoam" (11:2; 15:57*; 17:52*)

ʿʒh Afr. loc. (15:44*; 17:[37]*)

ʿʒstr div. "Astarte" (3:epigraph)

ʿnt div. "Anath" (4:13)

ʿhwr Afr. loc. (15:47*; 17:39*)

ʿkʒ As. loc. "Acco" (15:[59]*; 17:54*)

Wʒst (1.) loc. "Thebes" (3:13; 4:1; 19B:2; 35:3; 36:20); (2.) as goddess (15:30)

w3d wr loc. "the sea" (15:3; 17:14)
W3dyt div. "Edjo" (6:39)
Wp-t3 loc. "the 'Horns of the Earth'" (15:36)
Wnum As. loc. "Tunip (?)" (15:28*; 17:27*)
Wlm-msw see below under Royal Titulary
Wint Afr. loc. (15:56*; 17:[53]*)
Wdrt Afr. loc. var. *Hmrtt* (15:[51]*)

B3im Afr. loc. (15:57*; 17:55*)
B3stt div. "Baster" (31:[2]; 36:14)
B'c div. "Ba'al" (5:5; 28:5-6; 34:8)
Brbrt Afr. loc. (15:9*; 17:8*)
Brn As. loc. var. *Brg?* (15:35*; 17:34*)
Bhdy div. "the Behdetite," i.e., Horus of Edfu (17:16)
Bk(k) Afr. loc. (15:7*; 17:6*)
Bt-nt As. loc. "Beth Anath" (15:64*; 17:59*)
Bt-33r As. loc. "Beth Shan" (15:56*; 17:[51]*)

P3bh As. loc. (15:30*; 17:29*)
Pwnt Afr. loc. "Punt" (15:[40]*; 17:14, 44*)
Pbr As. loc. (15:[54]*; 17:[49]*)
Pbr-wr loc. "the 'great circuit' of the sea" (15:3)
Ptpt b3swt name of horse team "Trampler of foreign lands" (28:14)
Pth div. "Ptah" (19C:4); [*Pth* . . .] *nsu-t3wy* "[Ptah . . .], king of the Two Lands" (19F:5)
Pdt-psdt gent. "the Nine Bows" (6:25; 11:1; 13:3)
Pdtl-w-3w gent. of Bedouin (15:19*; 17:18*)

Fnhw As. loc. (15:2-3)

M3't div. "Ma'at" (20B:1); + *s3t R'* "daughter of Re" (36:22)
M3w Afr. loc. (15:66*; 17:64*)
Mlw Afr. loc. (15:5*)
Mwt div. "Mut," with epithets: *wrt, nbt 3Isrw, nbt pt, hnwt ngrw nbw* (14:14-17; 32:17-18); [*wrt, nbt 3Isrw, B3stt, [hnwt] 3Ipt-sw*] (36:13-17)
Mbn Afr. loc. (15:[50]*; 17:46*)
Mmt Afr. loc. (15:49*)
Mnws As. loc. (15:33*; 17:32*)
Mns3w As. loc. (15:43*; 17:[49]*)
Mnt3w gent. "Bedouin" (14:24; 15:1, 35; 29:2); + *nw Stt* "Asiatic Bedouin" (15:22*; 17:21*)
Mntw div. "Montu" (3:epigraph; 4:1; 5:3; 10:23; 13:[6]; 23:3; 28:1; 31:1; 34:4; 35:2; 36:34)
Mhy military officer "Mehy" (23:17; 29:9)
Mhdm Afr. loc. (15:46*; 17:[41]*)
Msh Afr. loc. (15:63*)
Mst Afr. loc. (15:[58]*; 17:54*)
Mtw see s.v. *Mbn*
Md3 gent. "Medjay tribesmen" (15:69*; 17:56*)

N'h Afr. loc. var. *G'h* (15:[45]*)
Nwt div. in *s3 Nwt* "Son of Nut," i.e., Seth (4:10; 23:3; 31:2; 34:6; 35:27)
Nbwt loc. "Ombos" (34:7)
Nh3w Afr. loc. (15:[41]*; 17:45*)
Nhm As. loc. "Naharin" (15:37; 24*; 17:23*)
Nht Afr. loc. (15:[54]*; 17:[51]*)
Nhbt div. "Nekhet" (10:[5])
Nhs in *Nhs n p3 wr* "Nekhes of the Prince" on Gaza road (4:19)

R' div. "Re" (5:1; 6:24, 25; 10:7, 29; 14:17; 15:19; 17:22; 19A:1; 19B:3, 4; 19F:9; 20E:3; 29:8; 34:10, 12, 24; 36:31, epigraph); with epithet *nb m3't* "Lord of Ma'at" (20B:1); as *R'-Hr-3hty, ntr 3* "Re-Harakhti, the great god" (20B:2)
R'-ms-sw crown prince "Ramessu" (29:13)
Rbt see s.v. [*Y*]*m-Rbt*
Rph As. loc. "Raphia" (15:70*; 17:65*)
Rmn As. loc. "the Lebanon" (10:1, 25, 31)
Rntw As. loc. "Syria-Palestine" (6:29; 8:2, 13; 10:24; 13:11; 14:2; 32:25; 35:18; 36:26; 39A:2); -*hrt* "Upper Retchenu" (14:21; 15:6, 25*; 17:24*); -*hrt* "Lower Retchenu" (15:7, 26*; 17:25*)

Hnm As. loc. (10:30)

H3w-nbw As. loc. "the Asiatic littoral" (15:16*; 17:15*)
Hwtwl well on Gaza road (4:14)
Hbw Afr. loc. (15:68*; 17:60*)
Hpn well on Gaza road, var. *Hpn?* (6:lost)
H[m] As. loc. "Hammath" (15:[55]*; 17:[50]*)
Hmrtt see s.v. *Wdrt*
Hr div. "Horus" (1.) of god (23:14; 31:[2]; 32:21; 36:21); (2.) of king (10:23; 12:1; 15:38; 17:19; 28:13; 29:5, 6; 34:2; 36:33)
Hrdtm Afr. loc. var. *3dtm* (15:[53]*; 17:48*)
H[k3ht] Afr. loc. (15:[55]*; 17:[52]*)
Hdr As. loc. "Hazor" (15:69*; 17:64*)

H3rw As. loc. "Syria" (4:8; 6:6)
H'-m-W3st see below under Royal Titulary
Hnsu div. (1.) in compound *Hnsu-Hr-Spd* "Khonsu-Hor-Soped" (17:15); (2.) as *Hnsu-m-W3st Nfr-htp* "Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep" with epithets: *ntr 3, nb pt* "great god, lord of heaven" (14:18-20); *Hr nb 3wt-ib* "Horus, lord of joy" (36:19-21); *Hr nb 3wt-ib, Dhwt nb 3Ipt-sw* "Horus, lord of joy, Thoth, lord of Karnak" (32:20-22)
Ht3 As. loc. "Hittite-land" (15:23*; 17:22*; 34:1, 15; 35:21, 28; 36:2, 27)

S'nh-t3wy see below under Royal Titulary
Swrrk see s.v. *Trrk*
Sngr As. loc. "Babylonia" (15:27*; 17:26*)
Smyk Afr. loc. (15:8*; 17:7*)
Sht 3m Afr. loc. "the seven Libyan oases" (15:18*; 17:17*)
Sḥmt div. "Sekhmet" (15:27; 19C:4)
St div. "Seth" (23:[4])
Sthb Afr. loc. (15:[52]*; 17:47*)
Sst loc. "Asia" (4:2; 15:3, 22*; 17:21*)
Sstlw gent. "Asiatics" (10:[19]; 23:9; 34:14)
Sd Afr. loc. (15:62*)

Š3t As. loc. (15:17*; 17:16*)
Š3sw gent. "Asiatic Bedouin" (3:3; 5:13; 6:4; 8:[21]; 15:38*; 17:42*)
Šm'w loc. "Upper Egypt" (34:12; 35:11); in *Šm'w T3-mḥw* "Upper and Lower Egypt" (6:16); see s.v. *T3-šm'w*
Šdtm see s.v. *Ḥrdtm*

Kw . . . As. loc. (15:[66]*)
Kmhm As. loc. (15:[58]* or [65]*?; 17:[53]*)
Kmd As. loc. "Kumedi" (15:60*; 17:55*)
Krmm As. loc. (15:[66]*; 17:61*)
Krt3 As. loc. (15:[68]*?; 17:63*)
Kdn3 As. loc. "Qatna" (15:31*; 17:30*)
Kdr As. loc. (10:30; 15:67*; 17:62*)
Kdš As. loc. "Kadesh" (15:29*; 17:28*; 23:1, 16)

K3m Afr. loc. (15:64*; 17:63*)
K3n'n3 As. loc. "Canaan" (3:5, 14)

Kmt loc. "Egypt" (4:4; 5:1; 8:19; 10:18; 14:23; 17:17; 31:[23]; 32:5; 34:9; 35:34; 36:31)
Kš Afr. loc. "Kush" (15:2*; 17:2*)
[Kkn]w Afr. loc. (17:57*)
Kkt Afr. loc. (15:61*)

G'h Afr. loc. (17:40*)
Gb div. "Geb" (15:20)
Grss Afr. loc. (15:12*; 17:11*)

T3-mrī loc. "Egypt" (6:15; 17:11; 32:14–15)
T3-mḥw loc. "Lower Egypt" (15:15*; 17:14*)
T3-nṯr loc. "God's Land" (15:13, 15)
⟨T3⟩-sty Afr. loc. "Nubia" (15:7, 21*; 17:20*)
T3-šm'w loc. "Upper Egypt" (15:1*; 17:1*)
Trrk Afr. loc. (15:14*; 17:13*)
Tk3rw Afr. loc. (15:10*; 17:9*)
Tw [. . .] *mw*(?) As. loc. (17:60*)

T3rw loc. "Tcharu" (3:4; 6:[37])
Tmh Afr. loc. "Tchemeh-land" in Libya (29:8)
Trk see s.v. *3rk*
Tḥnw Afr. loc. "Tchehenu-land" in Libya (15:16, 20*; 17:19*; 29:1, 2; 31:[23]; 32:37; 35:19)
Ttn3 Afr. loc. (15:67*; 17:61*)

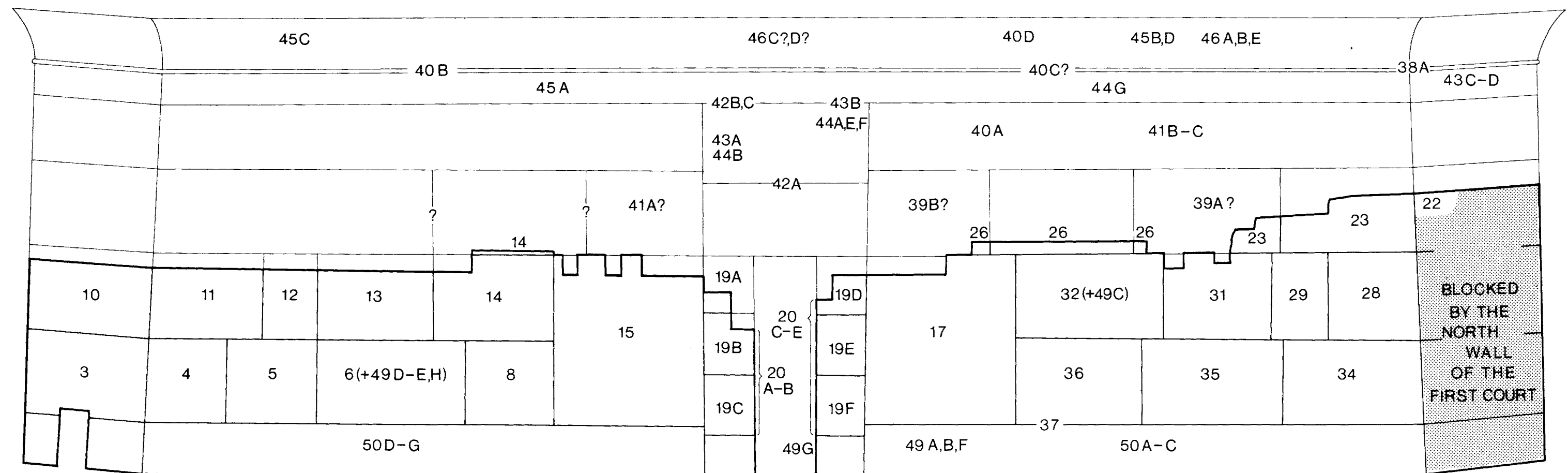
dnyt loc. "the dividing canal" at Tcharu (6:36)

D3wr As. loc. "Tyre" (15:62*; 17:57*)
Dḥwtv div. "Thoth" (32:22)

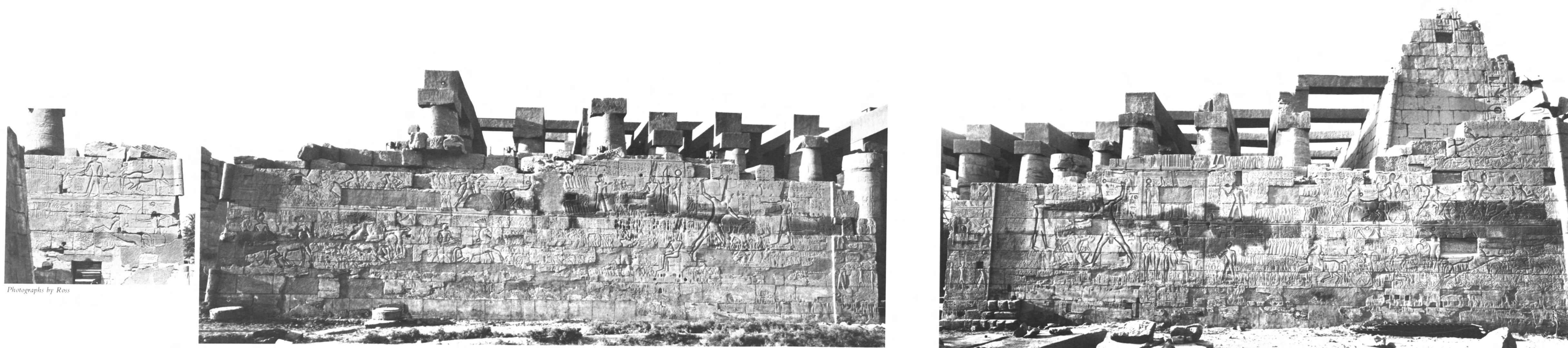
ROYAL TITULARY

Sety I, pn. *Mn-m3't-r'* (passim); + *3w'-R'* (4:16; 19F:8); nom. *Sty mr.n.3Imn* (passim); var. *Sty mr.n.Pth* (3:epigraph; 5:19, 22; 6:[39]; 10:10; and fragments from registers above the battle scenes)
 Ramesses II (19–20: passim)
 Ramesses III (19F:10; 20B:7; 20E:4; 37)
 Ramesses IV (19F:11; 20B:8; 20E:5)
 Ramesses VI (19F:11; 20B:8; 20E:5)

Sety II (19C:9; 19F:9)
Wḥm-msw as *nbty*-name of Sety I (10:8); without title (6:1; 8:21)
H'-m-W3st main Horus name of Sety I (15:epigraph; 17:epigraph; 34:2)
S'nh-t3wy in Horus name of Sety I (10:23; 15:epigraph; 17:epigraph; 34:2; 36:33)

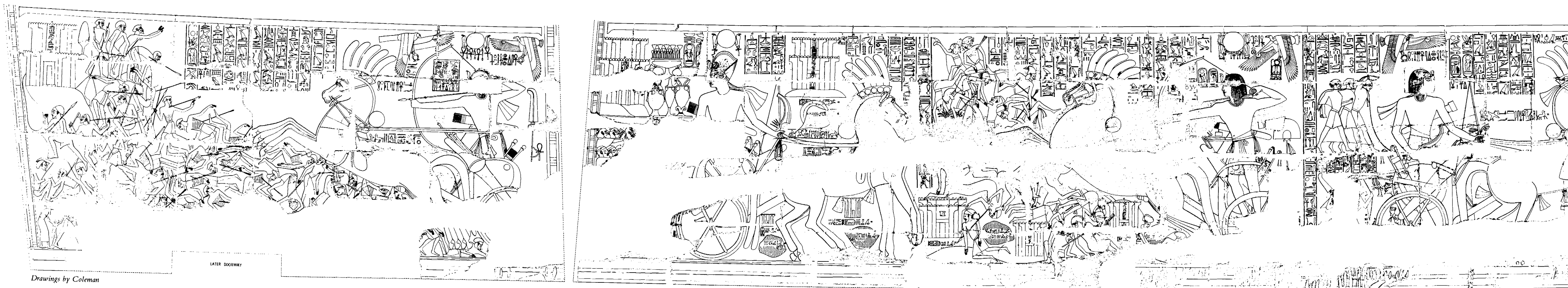


KEY PLAN SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE RELIEFS PRESERVED IN SITU
AND THE HYPOTHETICAL PLACEMENT OF THE FRAGMENTS

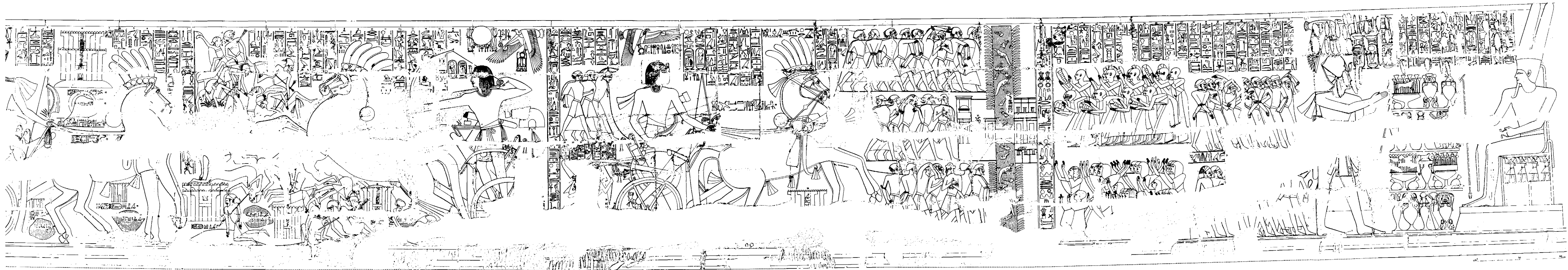


Photographs by Ross

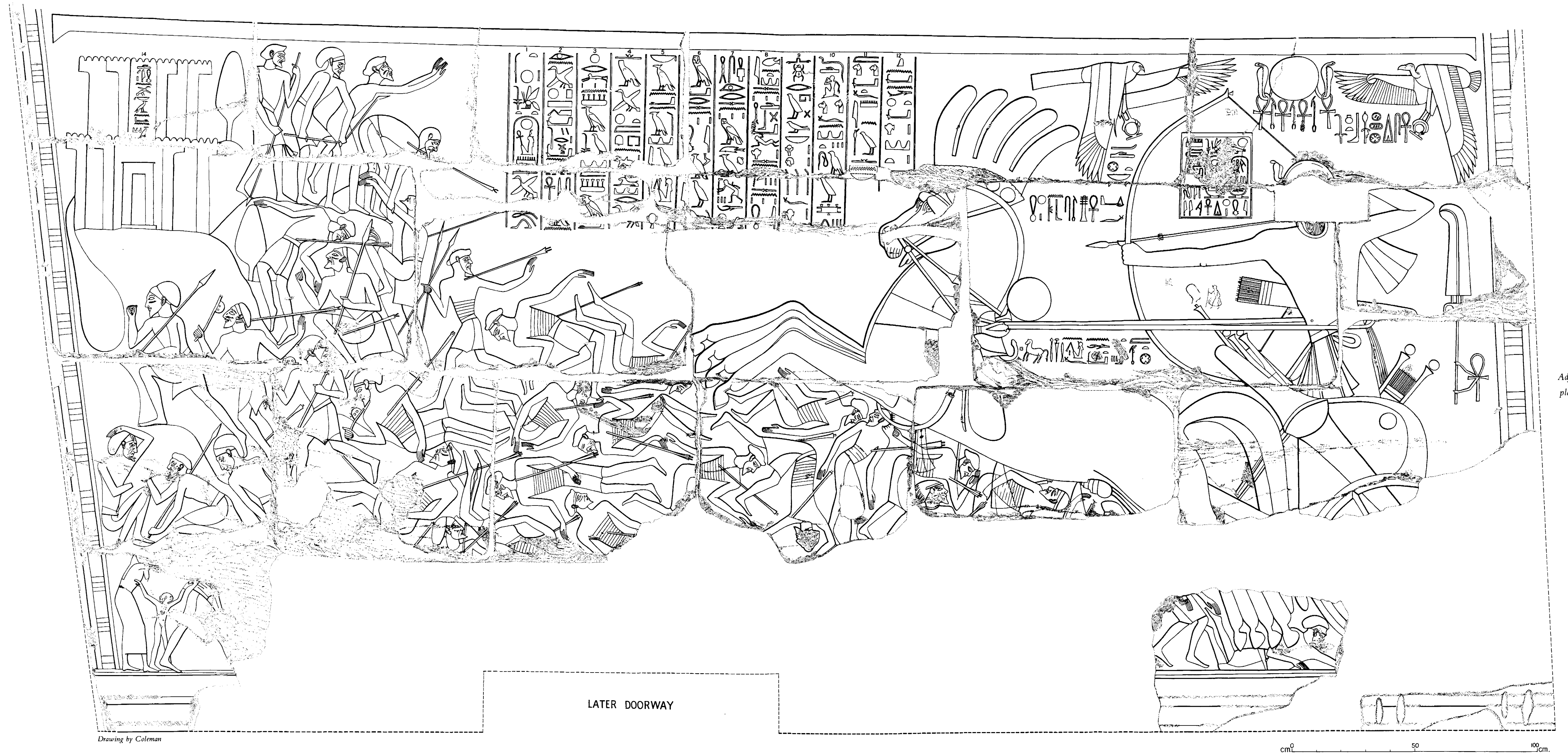
THE NORTH EXTERIOR WALL OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL



THE SHASU CAMPAIGN
EASTERN APPROACH WALL AND NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER

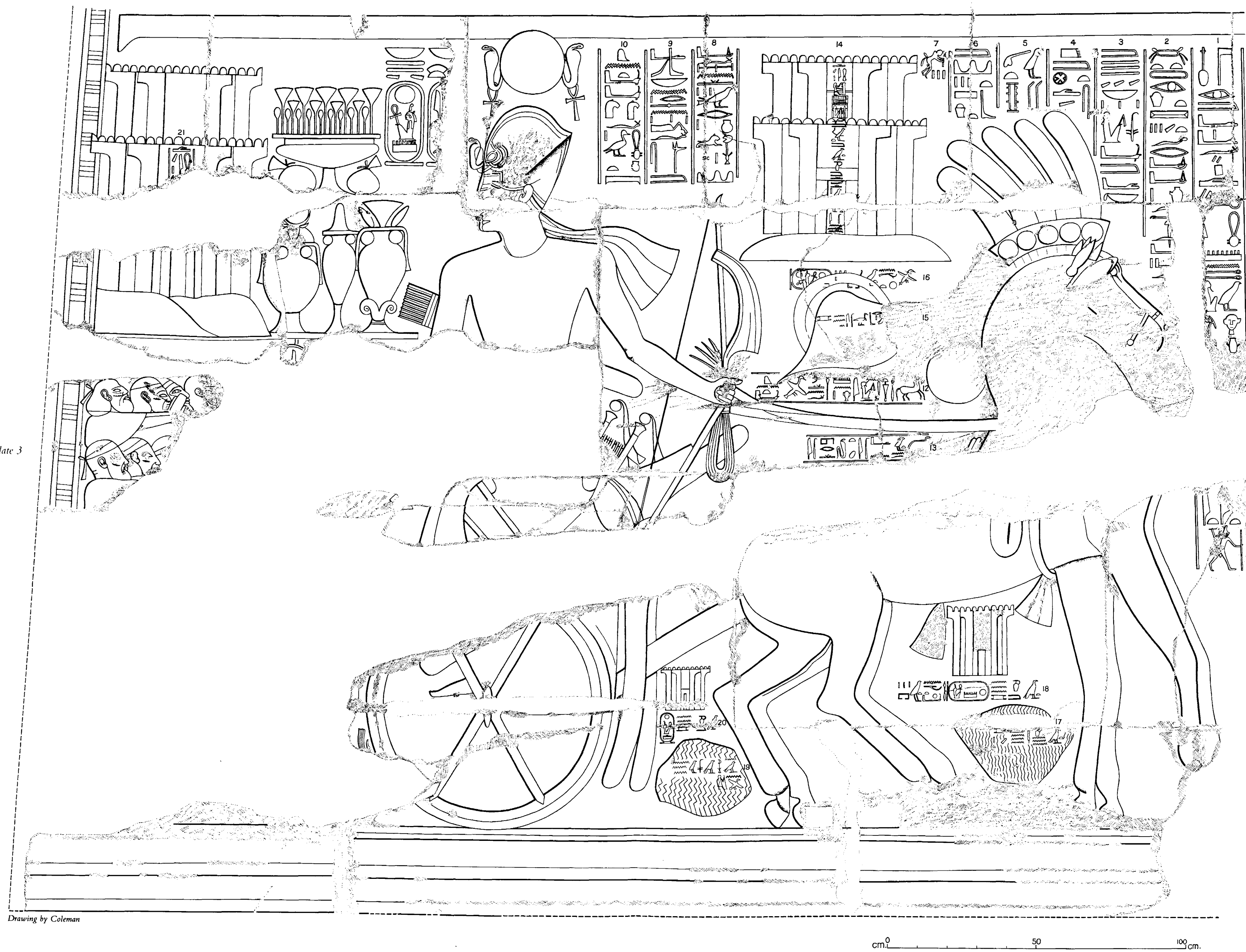


THE SHASU CAMPAIGN
EASTERN APPROACH WALL AND NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER

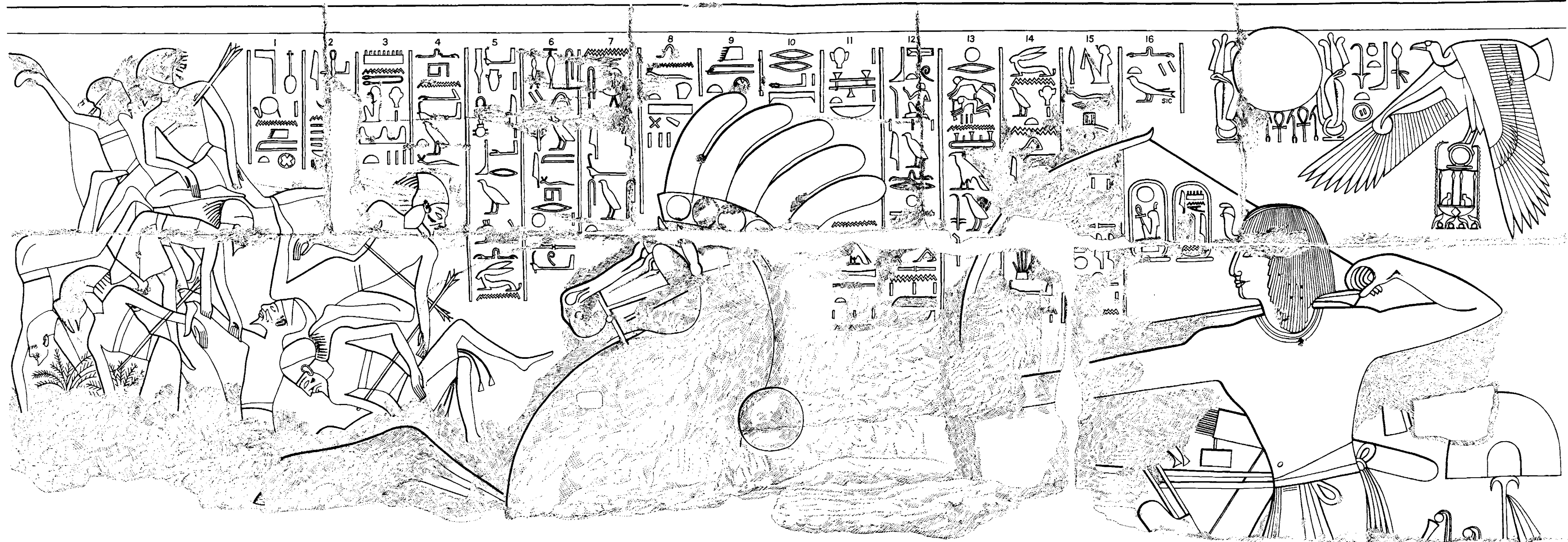


KING SETY I ATTACKING SHASU BEDOUIN NEAR A TOWN IN CANAAN
EASTERN APPROACH WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER

Adjoins
plate 4

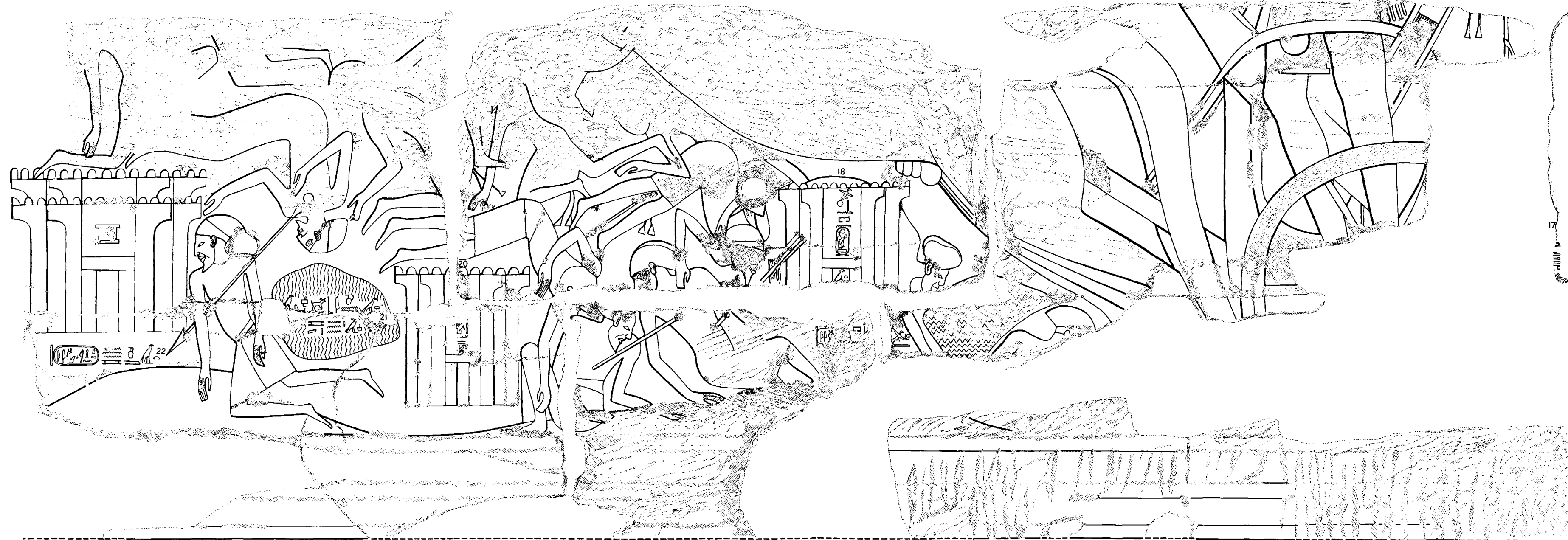


KING SETY I IN HIS CHARIOT, RECEIVING TRIBUTE FROM ASIATIC PRINCES
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



Adjoins plate 4

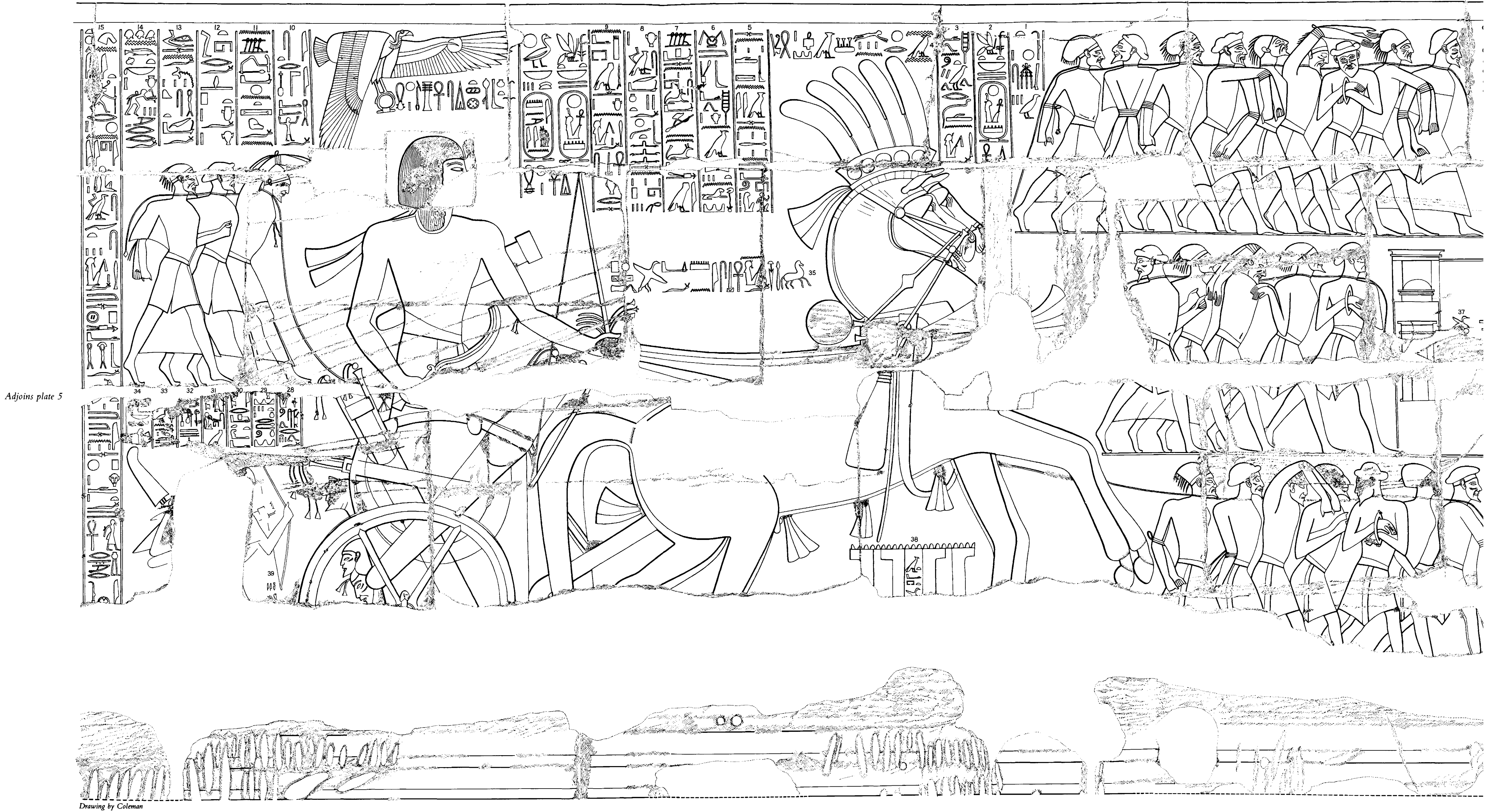
Adjoins plate 6



Drawing by Coleman

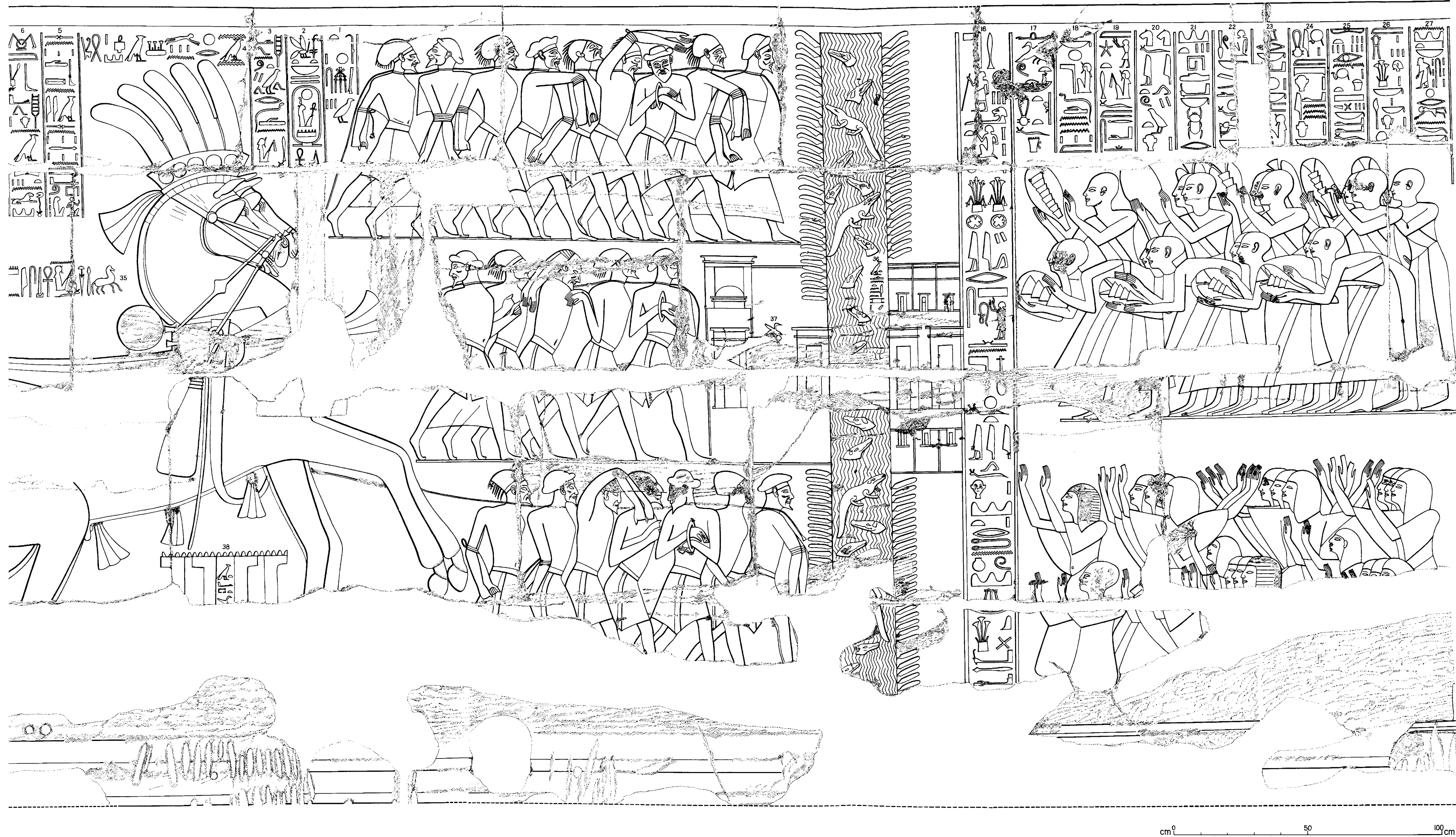
0 50 100 cm.

KING SETY I DEFEATING SHASU BEDOUIN ON THE ROAD TO GAZA
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



KING SETY I IN HIS CHARIOT, FOLLOWED BY AN OFFICIAL (LATER USURPED BY A PRINCE, PROBABLY RAMESSES),
RETURNING WITH SHASU PRISONERS TO THE EGYPTIAN FRONTIER AT TCHARU
AND BEING WELCOMED BY PRIESTS AND HIGH OFFICIALS

NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



Adjoins plate 8

KING SETY I IN HIS CHARIOT, FOLLOWED BY AN OFFICIAL (LATER USURPED BY A PRINCE, PROBABLY RAMESSES),
RETURNING WITH SHASU PRISONERS TO THE EGYPTIAN FRONTIER AT TCHARU
AND BEING WELCOMED BY PRIESTS AND HIGH OFFICIALS

NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



Photographs by Olson

A



Drawing by Johnson

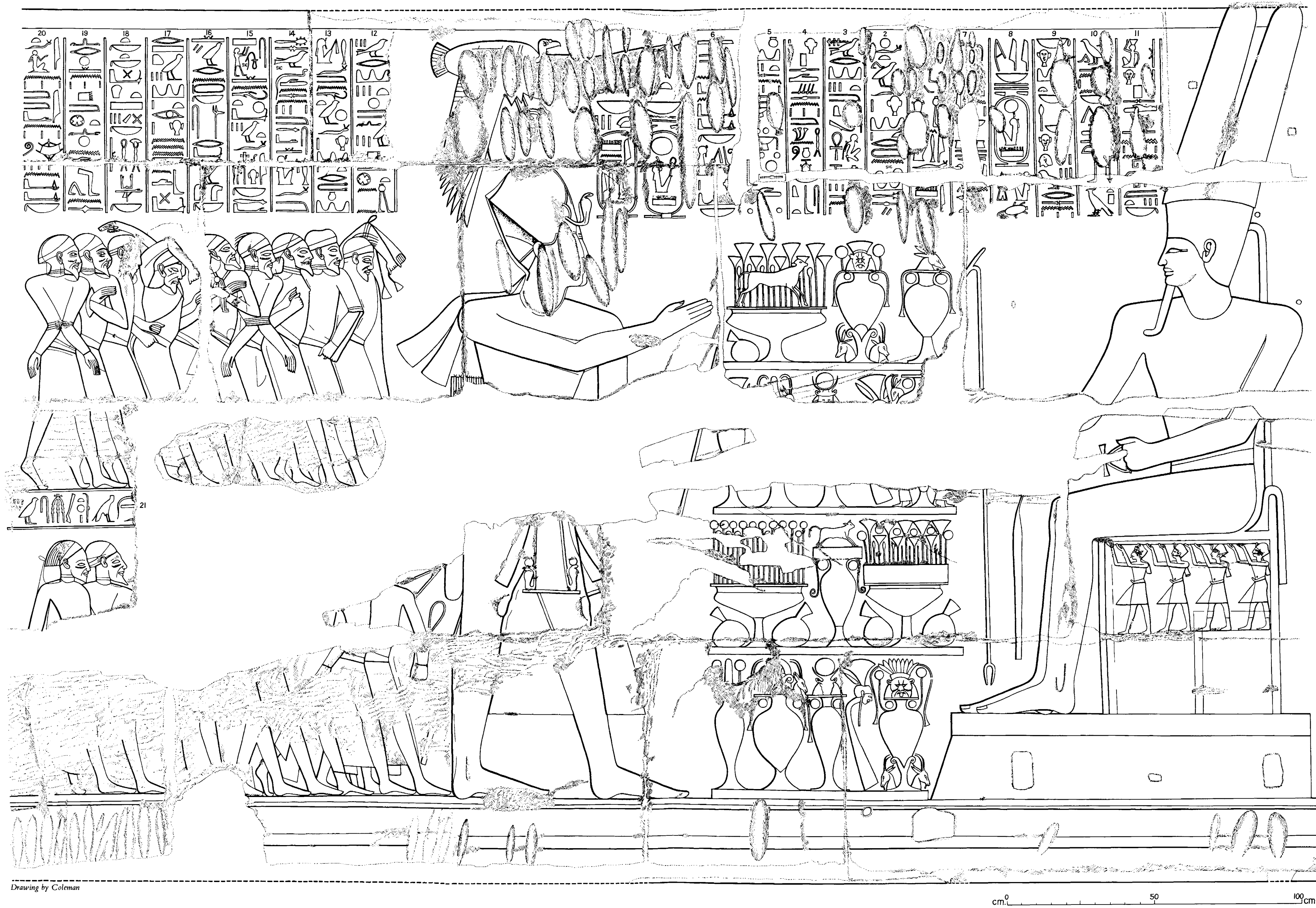
B



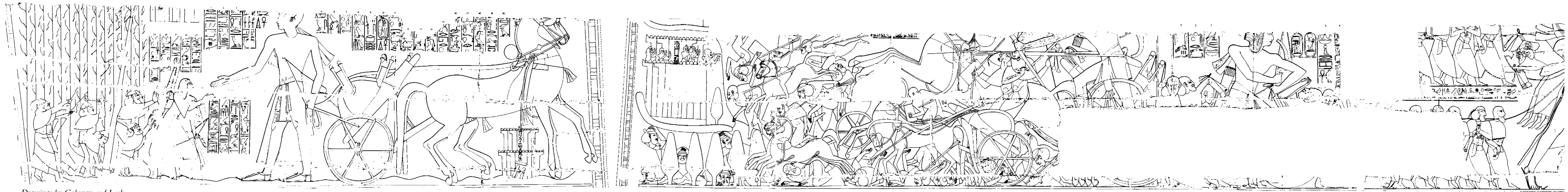
C

A-B. THE OFFICIAL RECUT INTO A PRINCE (SEE PLATE 6): PHOTOGRAPH OF THE EXTANT TRACES
AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIGURES

C. THE FORTRESS OF TCHARU AND THE DIVIDING CANAL (SEE PLATE 6)

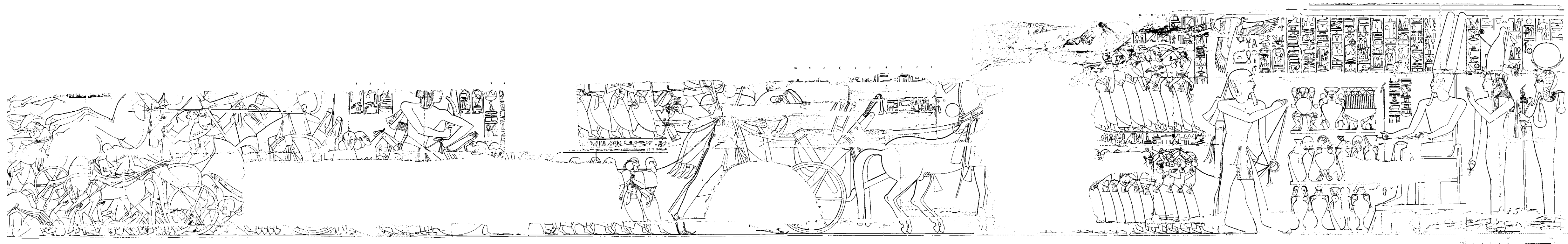


KING SETY I PRESENTING PRISONERS AND SPOIL OF THE SHASU CAMPAIGN TO AMON-RE
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



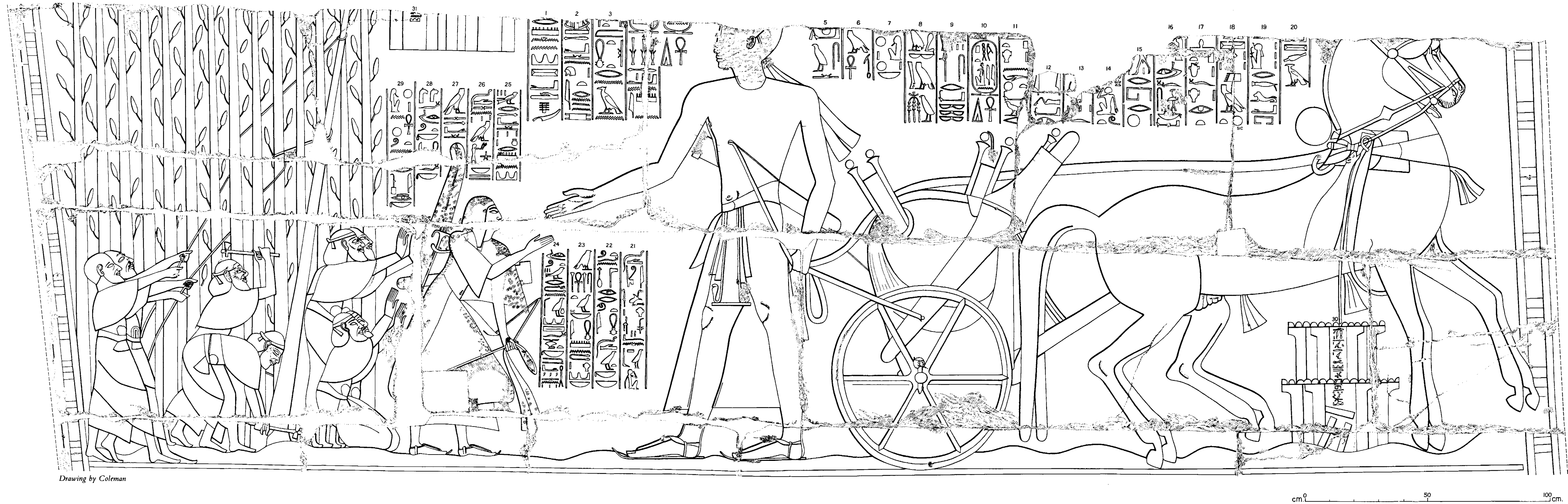
Drawings by Coleman and Lack

THE YENOAM CAMPAIGN
EASTERN APPROACH WALL AND NORTH WALL, EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER



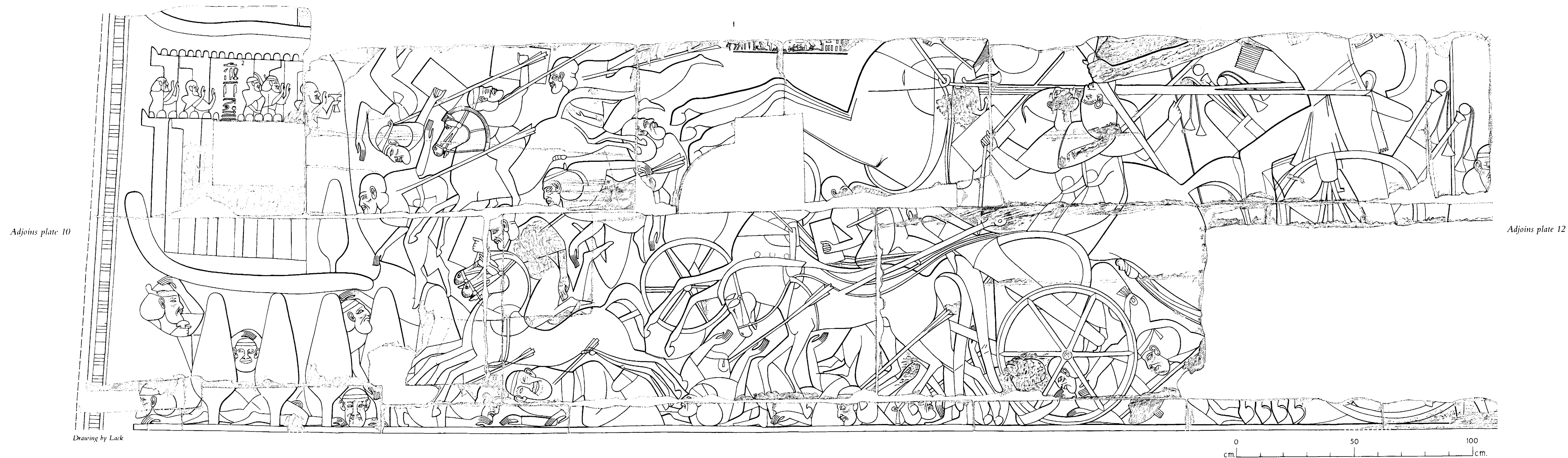
THE YENOAM CAMPAIGN

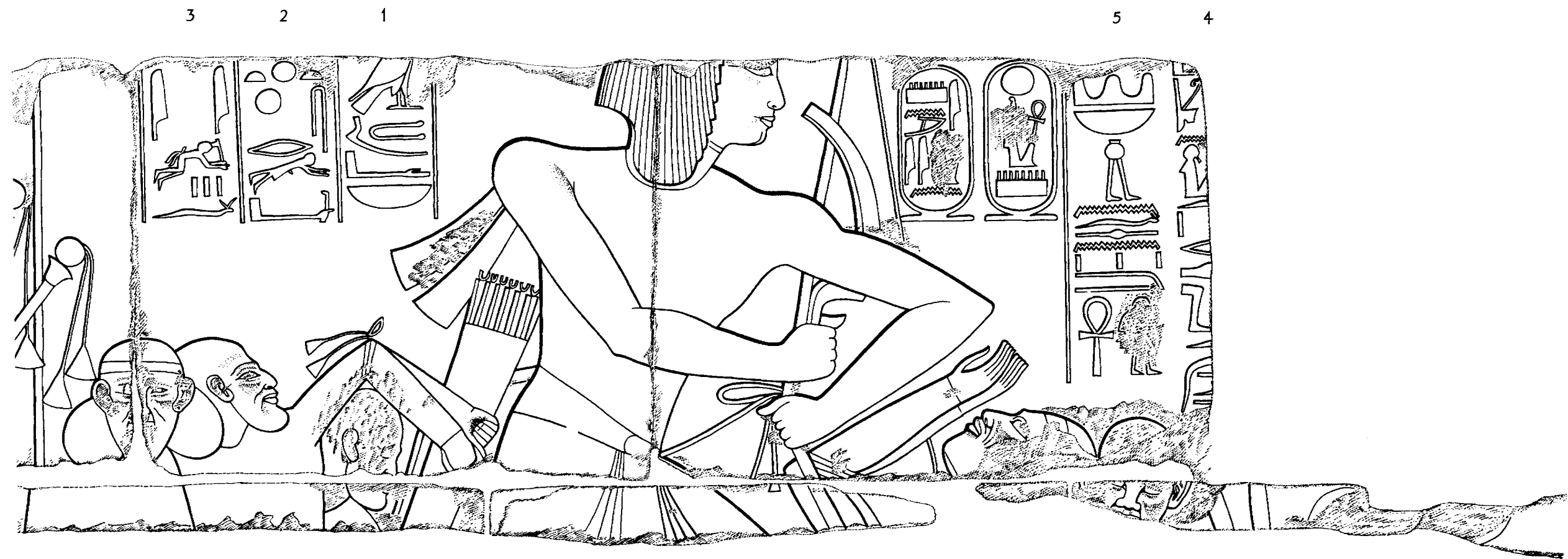
EASTERN APPROACH WALL AND NORTH WALL, EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER



Adjoins plate 11

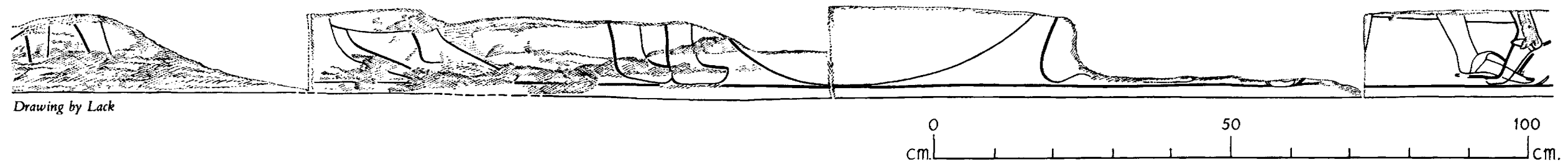
PRINCES OF THE LEBANON FELLING TREES AND BEING PRESENTED TO
KING SETY I BY FAN-BEARER (CF. PLATE 25C-D)
EASTERN APPROACH WALL, SECOND REGISTER





Adjoins plate 11

Adjoins plate 13

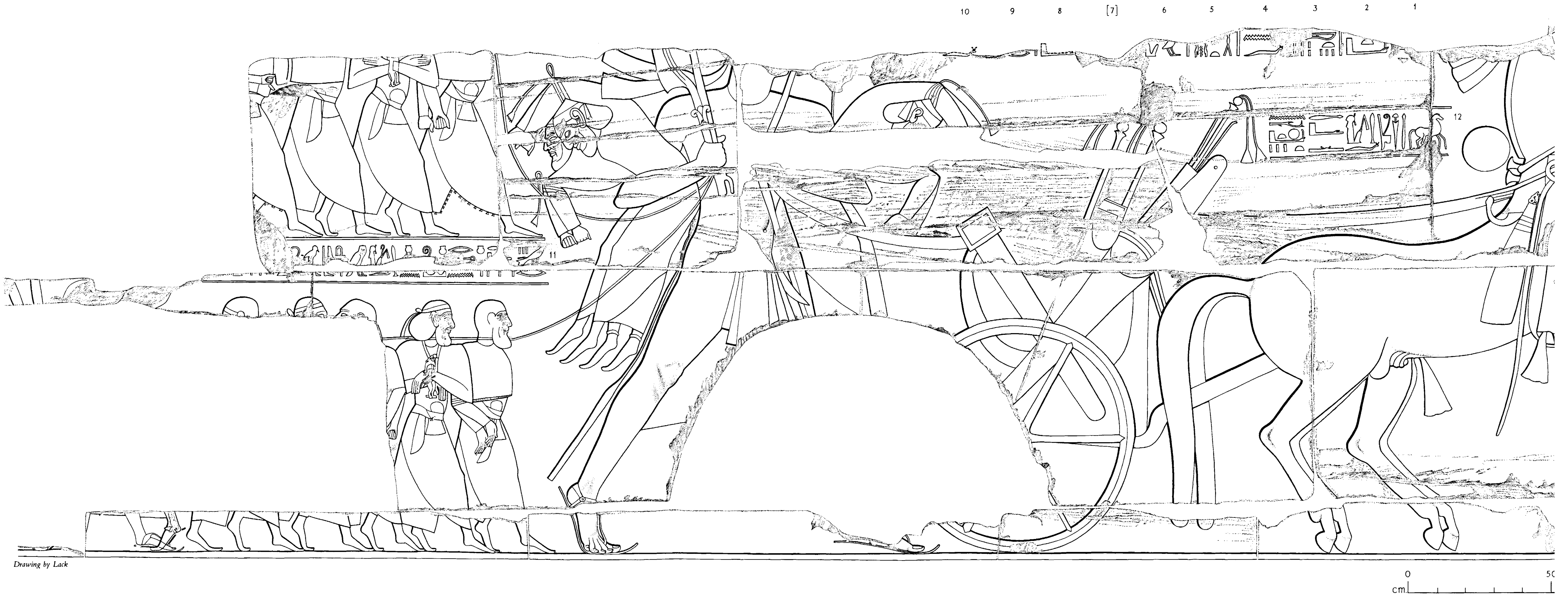


Drawing by Lack

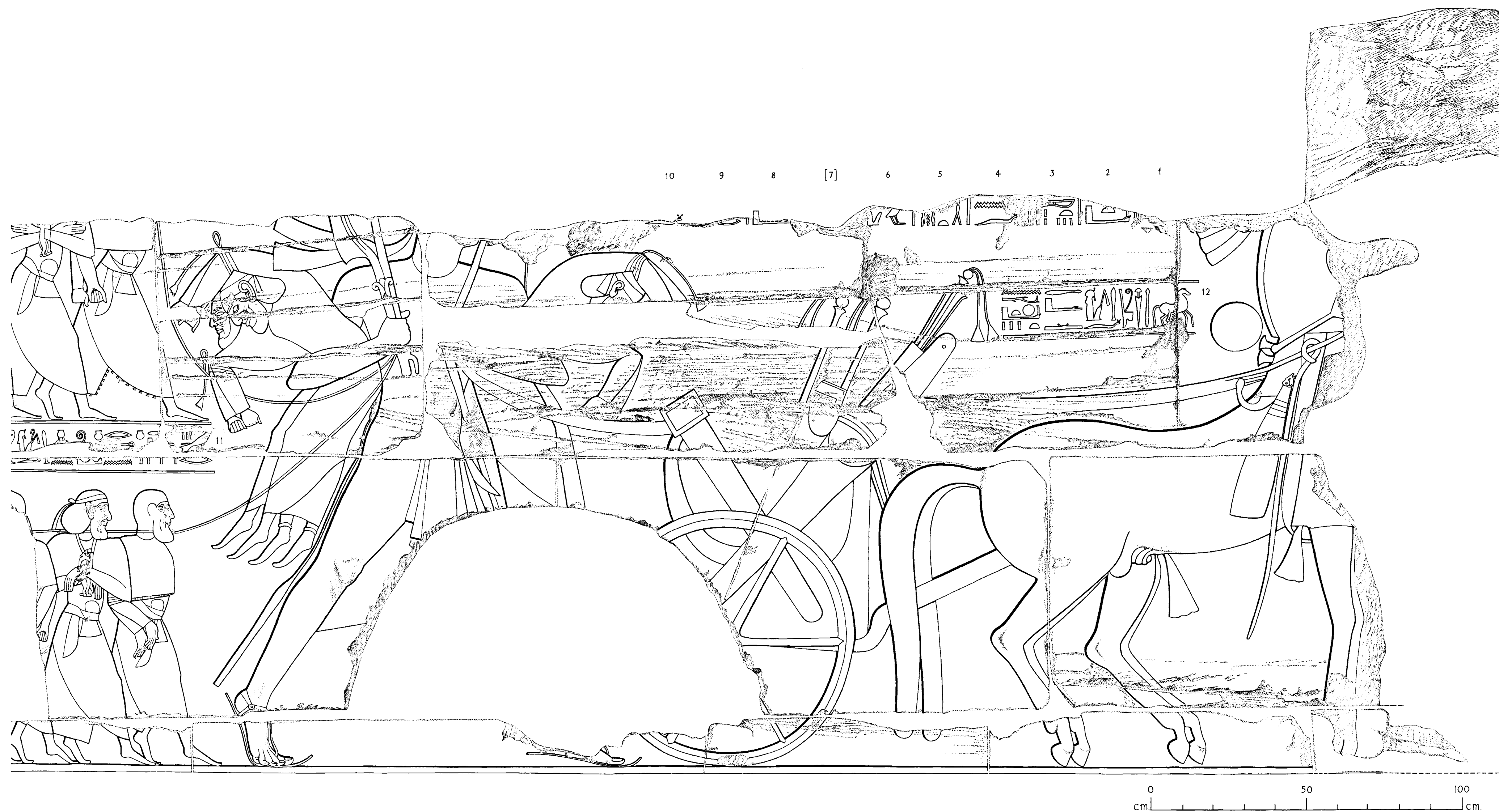
0 50 100
cm. cm.

KING SETY I BINDING ASIATIC PRISONERS
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER

Adjoins plate 12

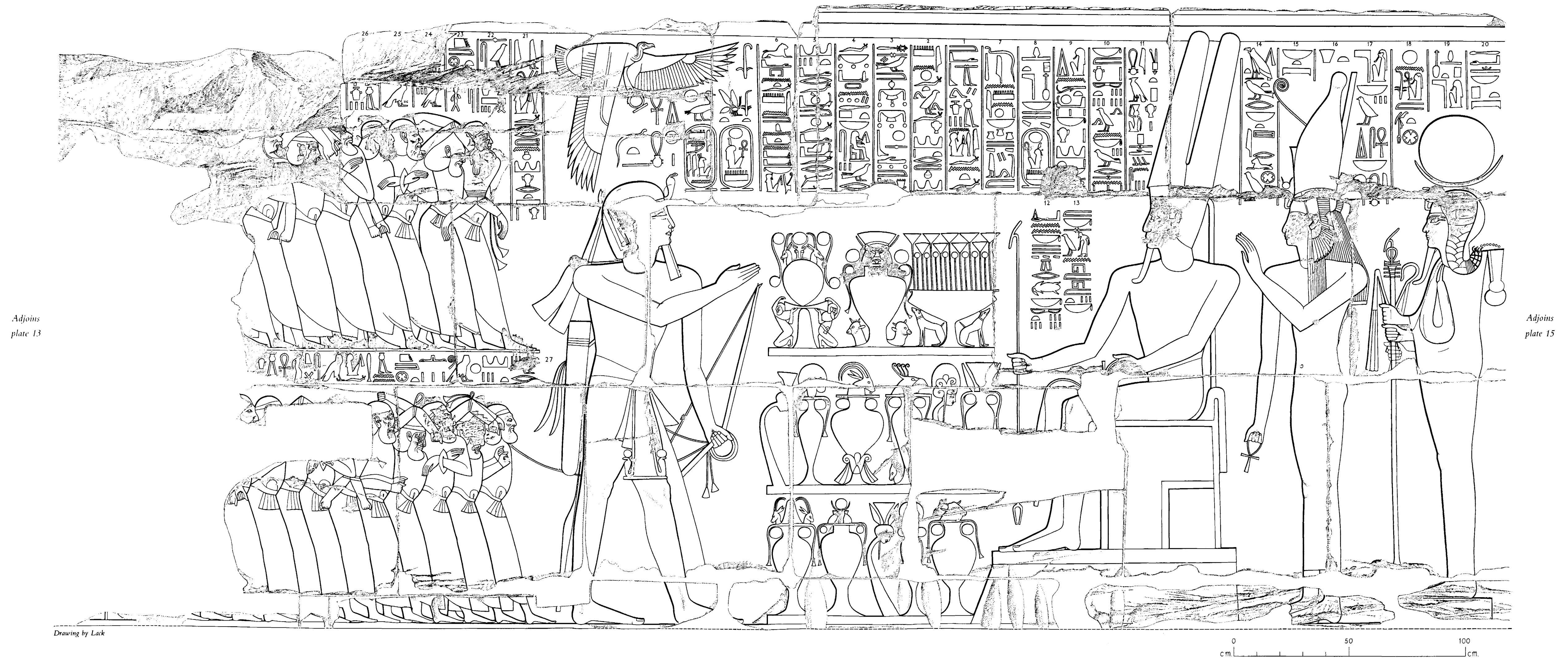


KING SETY I BUNDLING ASIATIC PRISONERS INTO HIS CHARIOT
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER

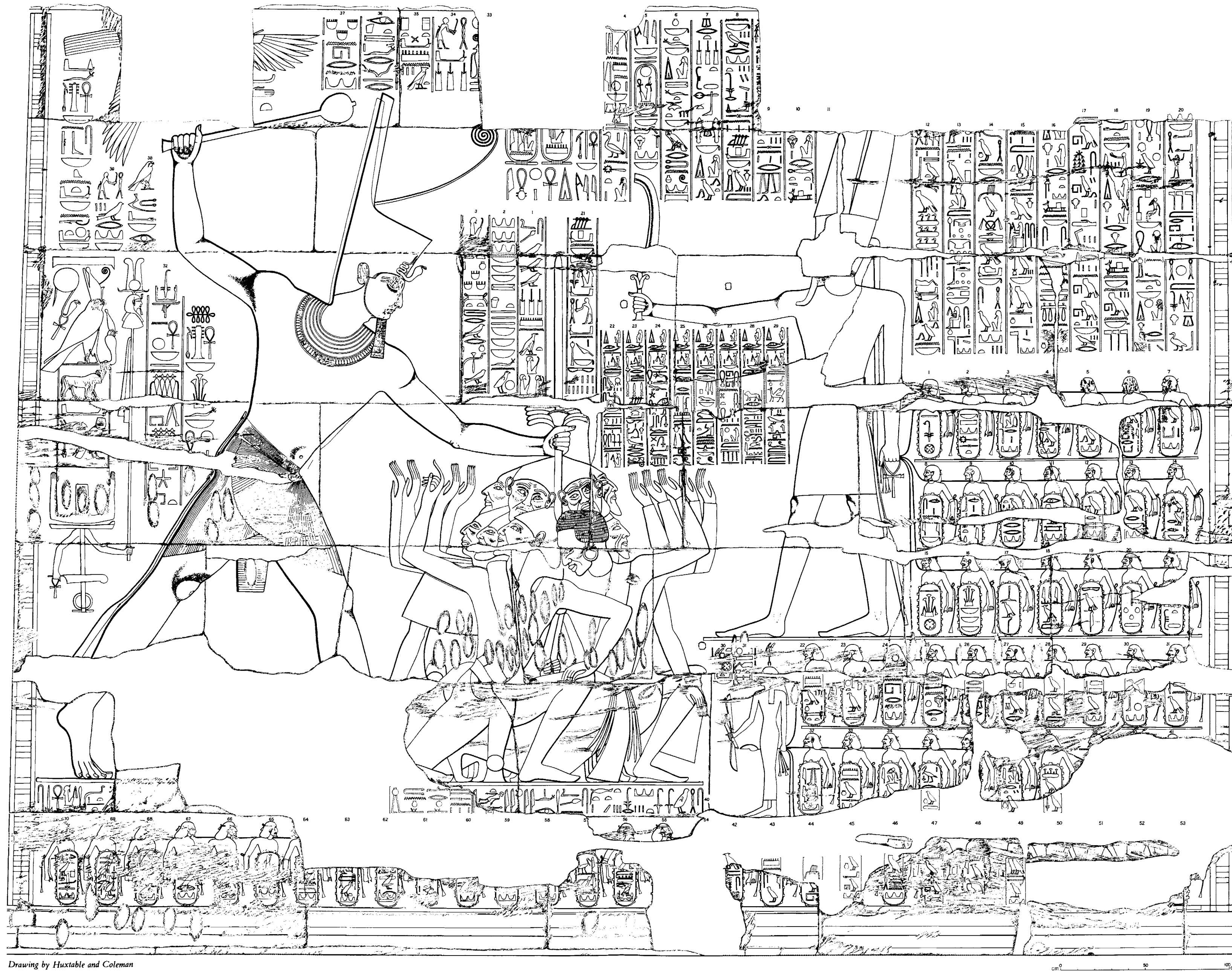


Adjoins plate 14

KING SETY I BUNDLING ASIATIC PRISONERS INTO HIS CHARIOT
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER



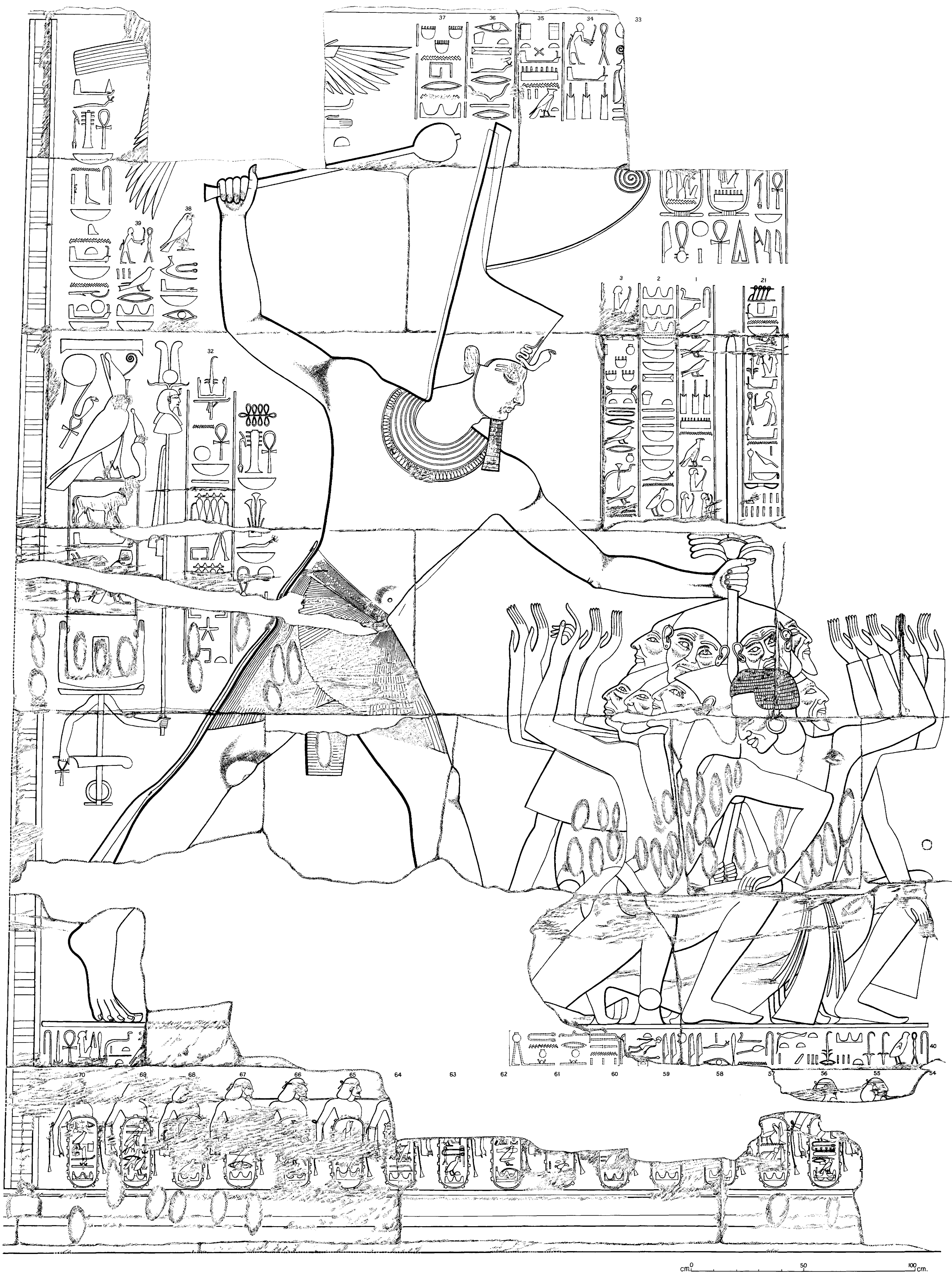
KING SETY I PRESENTING ASIATIC PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO MEMBERS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, SECOND REGISTER



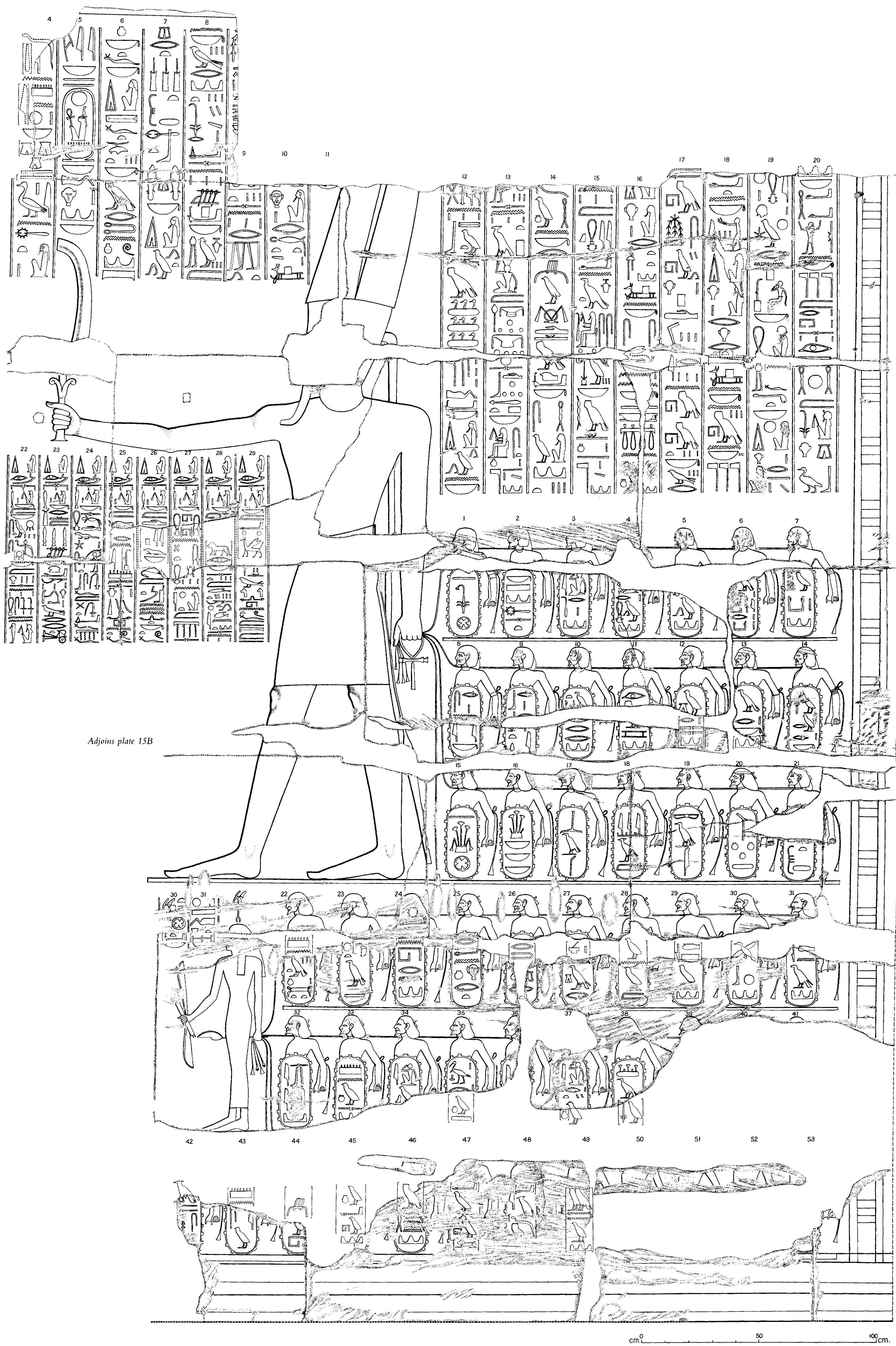
Adjoins central doorway

Drawing by Huxtable and Coleman

KING SETY I TRIUMPHING OVER FOREIGN ENEMIES IN THE PRESENCE
OF AMON-RE AND THE GODDESS THEBES
NORTH WALL, EAST WING, BOTTOM REGISTERS



EASTERN TRIUMPH SCENE, LEFT SIDE

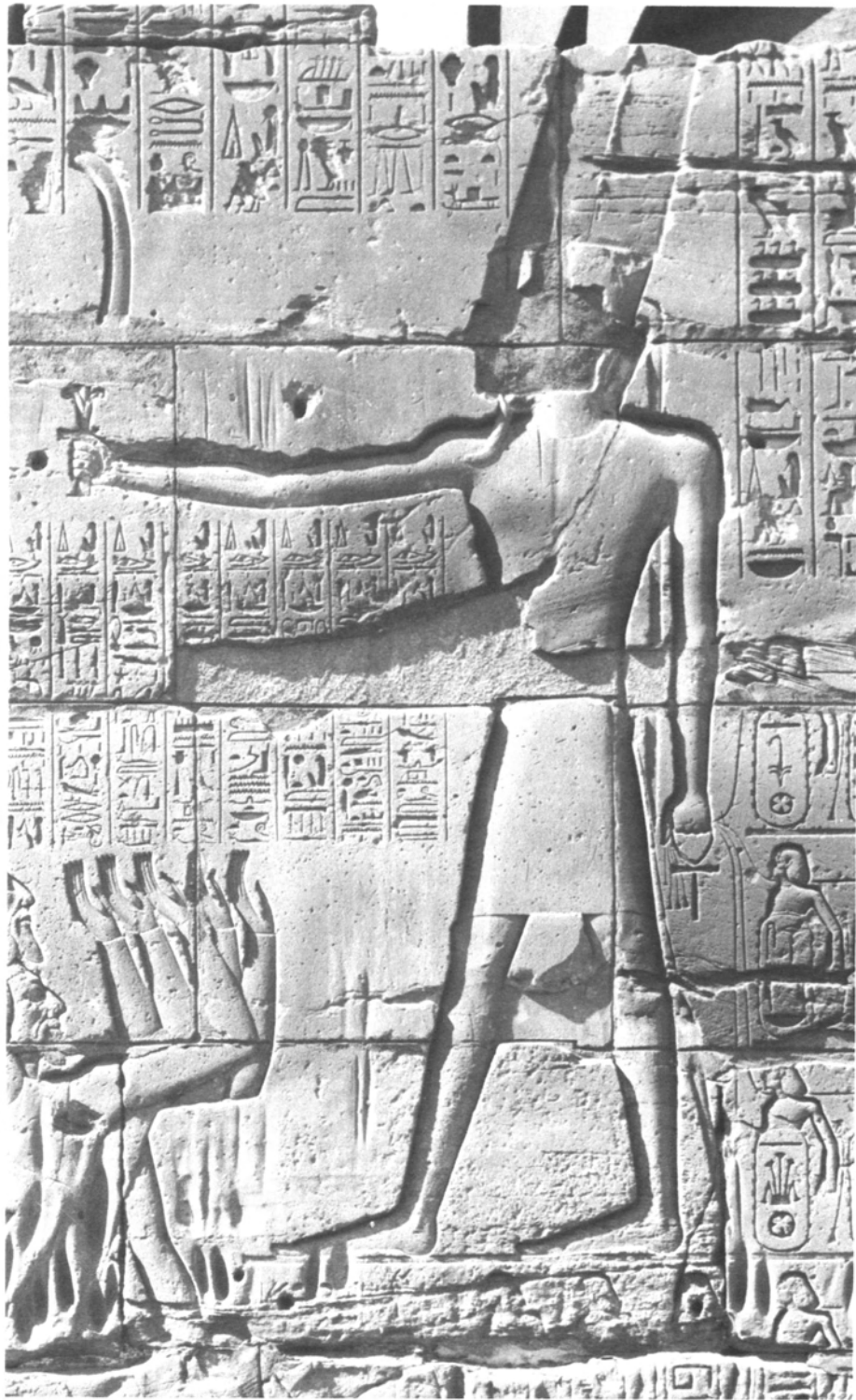


EASTERN TRIUMPH SCENE, RIGHT SIDE



Photographs from Oriental Institute Negative No. 33786

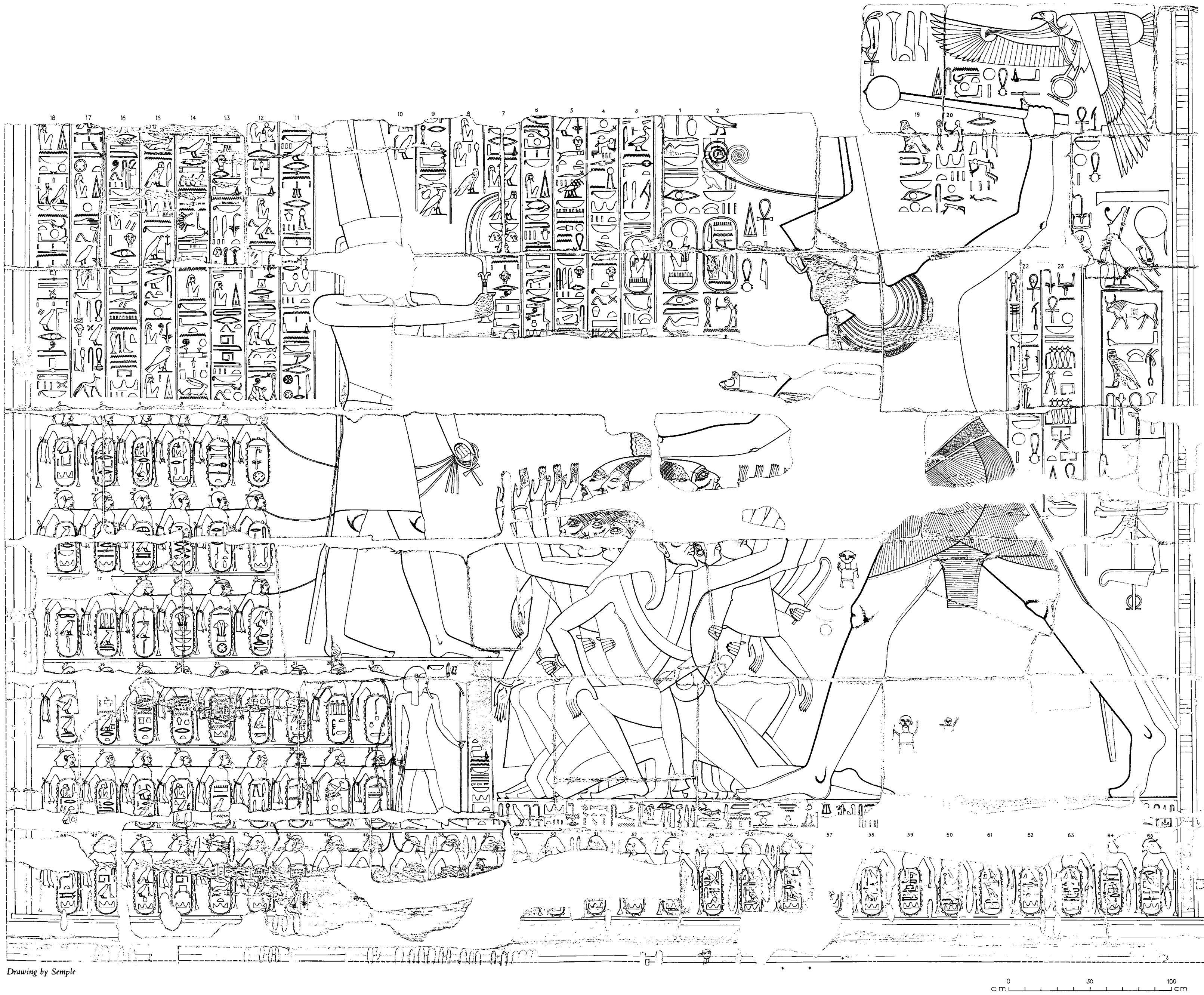
A



B

A. DETAIL OF FOREIGN PRISONERS IN PLATE 15
B. FIGURE OF AMON-RE IN PLATE 15, WITH DRILL-HOLES FOR VEIL

Adjoins central doorway



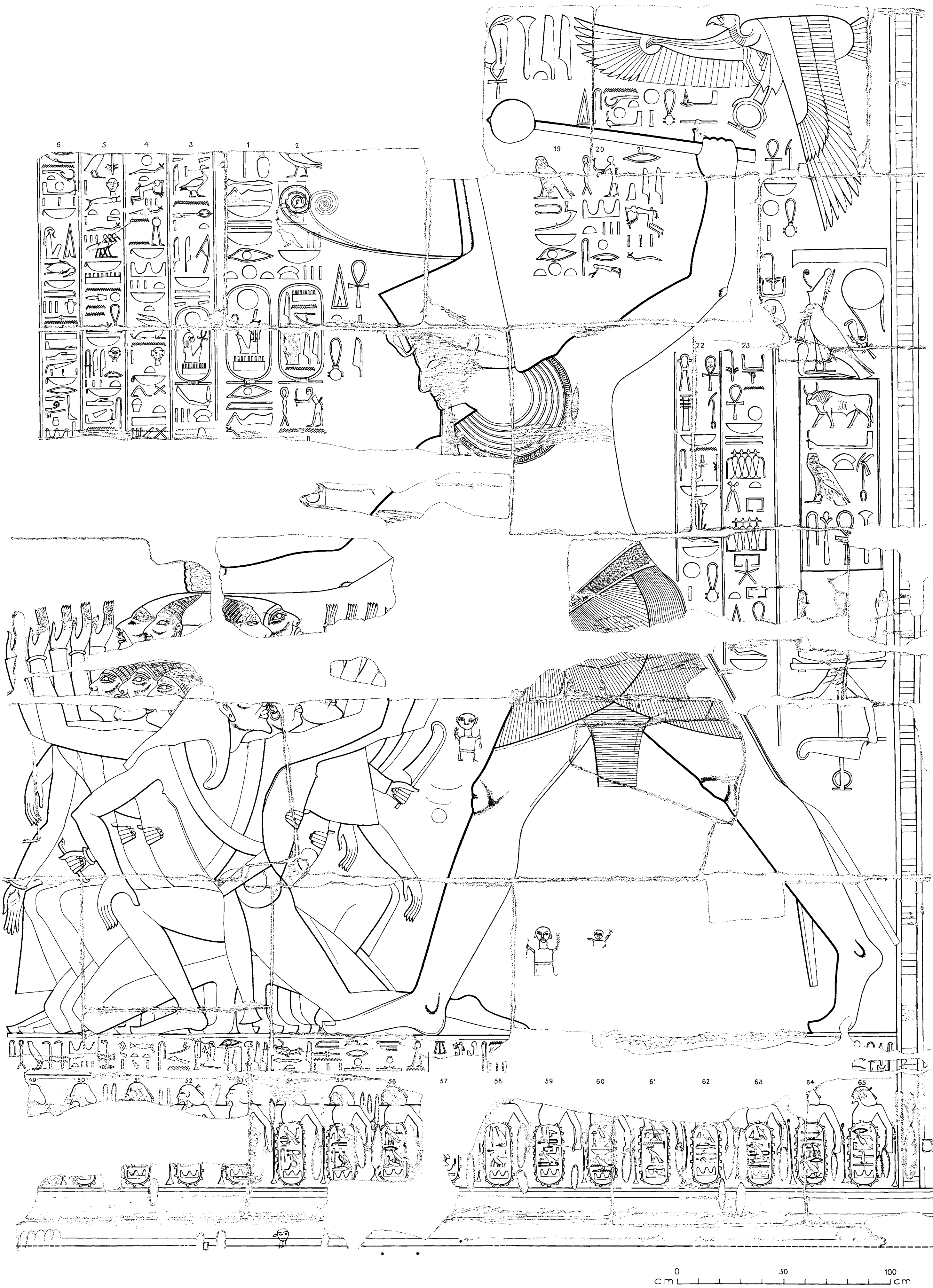
KING SETY I TRIUMPHING OVER FOREIGN ENEMIES IN THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE AND DEDWEN
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTERS



Adjoins
central doorway

Adjoins
plate 17C

WESTERN TRIUMPH SCENE, LEFT SIDE



WESTERN TRIUMPH SCENE, RIGHT SIDE



Photograph by Olson

A

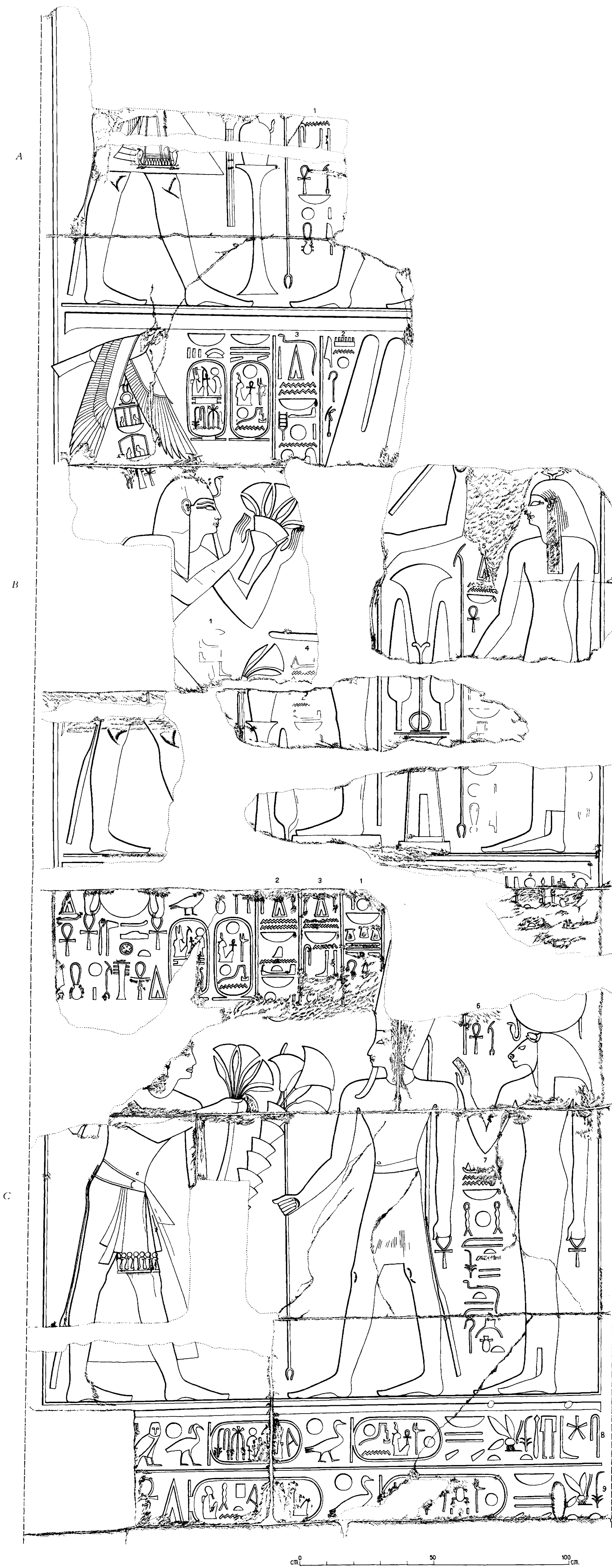


Photograph by Krause

B

A. FIGURE OF DEDWEN IN PLATE 17

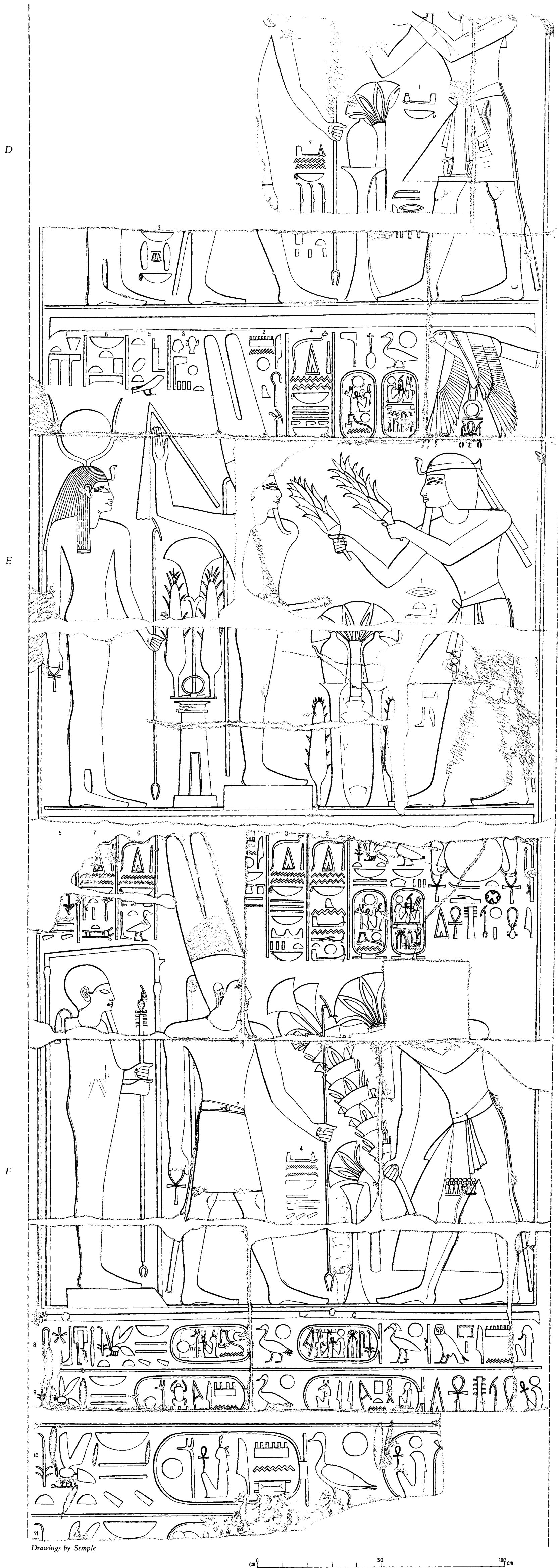
B. RECUT NAME-RING (PLATE 17:61★), WITH PLASTER INSIDE CUTS OF THE ORIGINAL VERSION



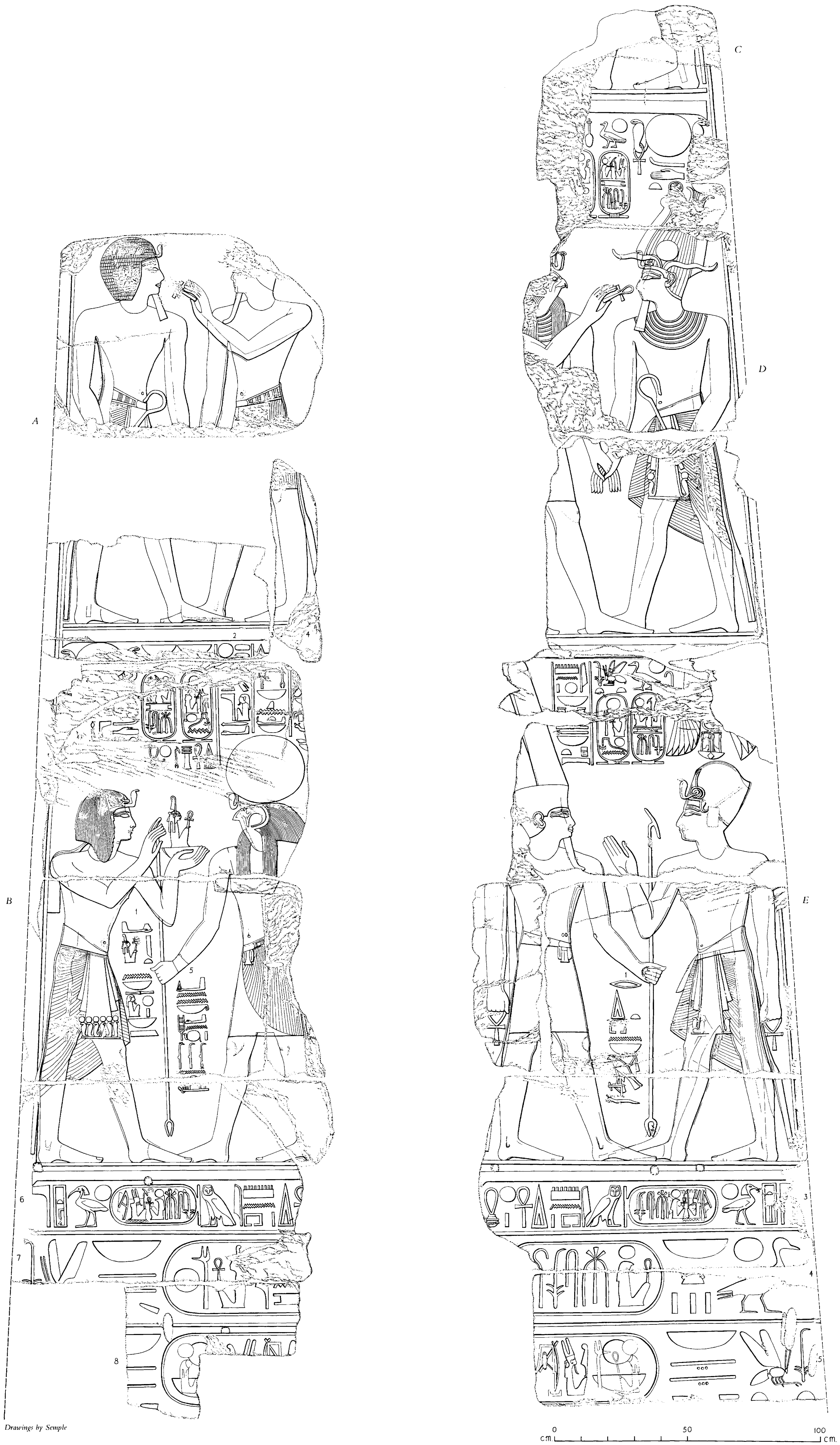
A. KING BEFORE AMON-RE AND [GODDESS]

B. KING OFFERING FLOWERS TO ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE AND GODDESS

C. KING OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE AND SEKHMET, WITH MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS BELOW
NORTH WALL, CENTRAL DOORWAY, EAST JAMB



D. KING OFFERING WINE TO AMON-RE AND GODDESS
E. KING OFFERING LETTUCES TO ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE AND ISIS
F. KING OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE AND PTAH, WITH MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS BELOW
NORTH WALL, CENTRAL DOORWAY, WEST JAMB



A. KING RECEIVING LIFE FROM AMON-RE
B. KING OFFERING MA'AT TO RE-HARAKHTI, WITH MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS BELOW
C. BEFORE DIVINITY (DESTROYED)
D. KING RECEIVING LIFE FROM HAWK-HEADED DIVINITY
E. KING PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMON-RE, WITH MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS BELOW
NORTH WALL, CENTRAL DOORWAY, EAST AND WEST THICKNESSES



Photographs by Ross

A

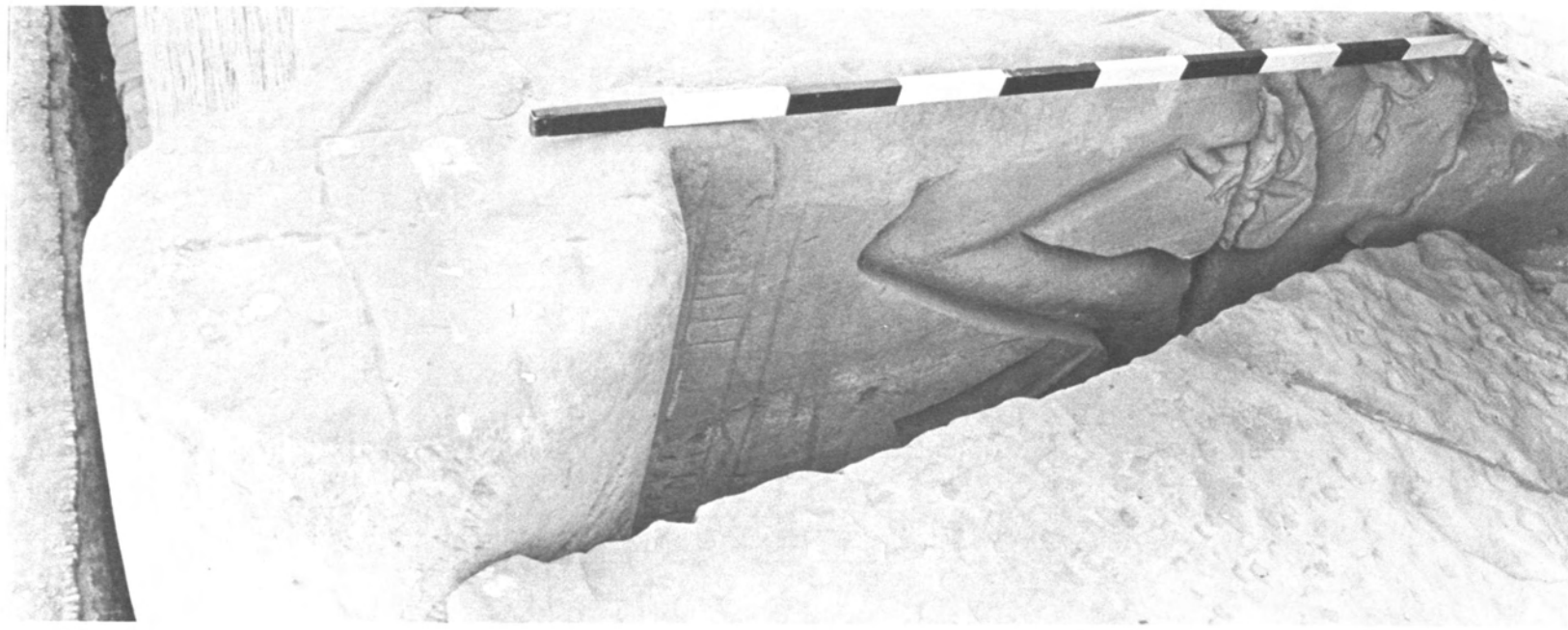


B

RECUTTING OF THE FIGURES IN PLATE 20

A. KING IN PLATE 20A

B. KING IN PLATE 20E



A



B



Photographs by Krause (cf. Pl. 47A)

C

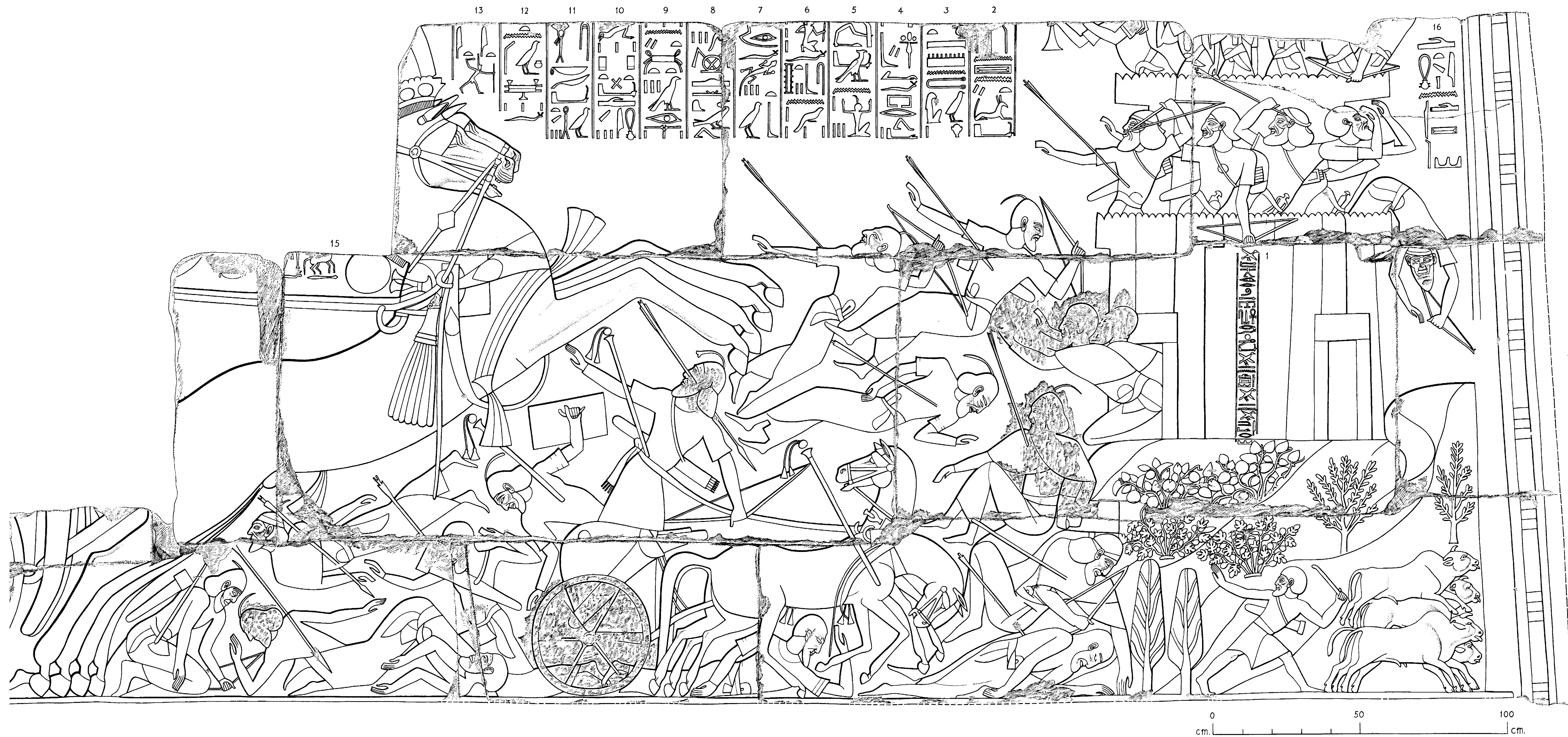
KING SETY I IN BATTLE: TRACES VISIBLE ABOVE THE NORTH WALL OF THE FIRST COURT
WESTERN APPROACH WALL, THIRD REGISTER

Resumed on plate 26



SETI I ATTACKS THE TOWN OF KADESH, WITH FRAGMENT FROM ADJOINING SCENE
(ON LEFT, MOSTLY DESTROYED) SHOWING PRISONERS BEING ESCORTED TO EGYPT

NORTH WALL, WEST WING, THIRD REGISTER



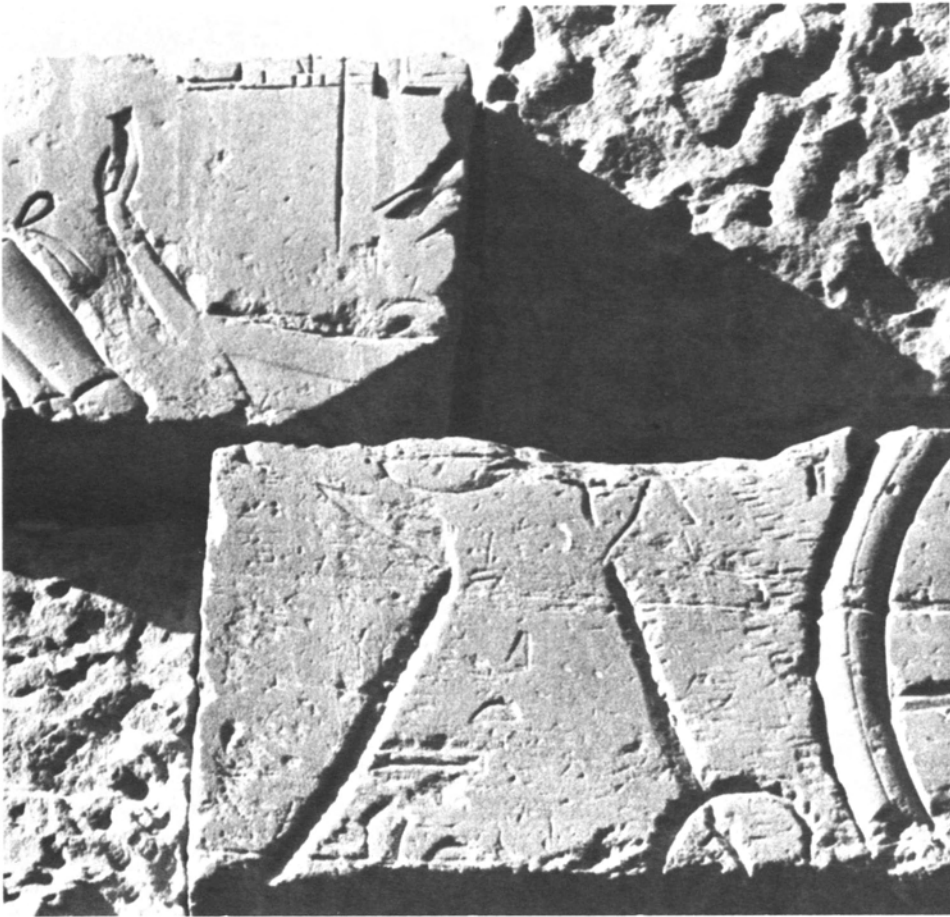
Adjoins plate 22

SETY I ATTACKS THE TOWN OF KADESH, WITH FRAGMENT FROM ADJOINING SCENE
(ON LEFT, MOSTLY DESTROYED) SHOWING PRISONERS BEING ESCORTED TO EGYPT
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, THIRD REGISTER



Photograph from Oriental Institute Negative No. 38462

DETAIL OF THE HERDSMAN ON PLATE 23

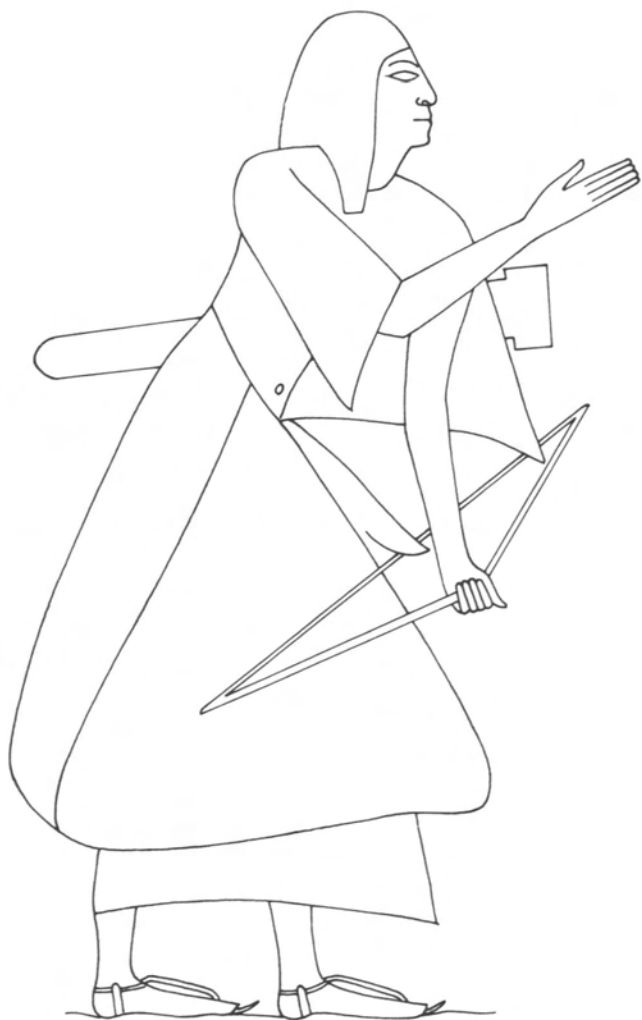


Photograph by Olson

A

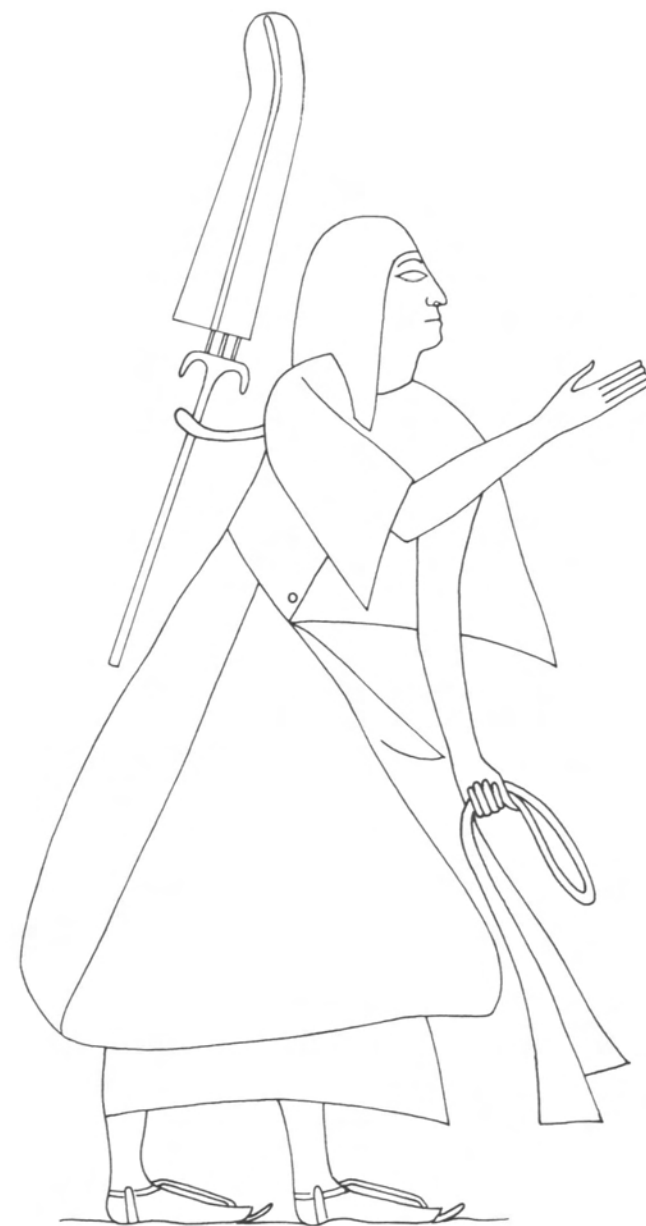


B



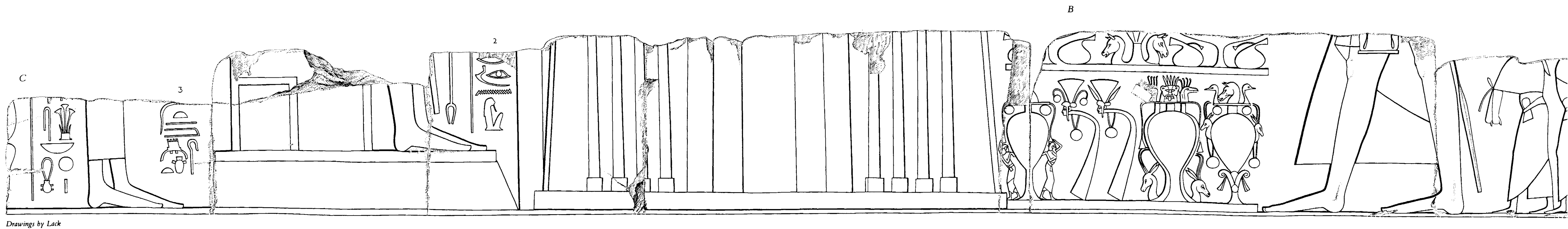
Drawings by Johnson

C



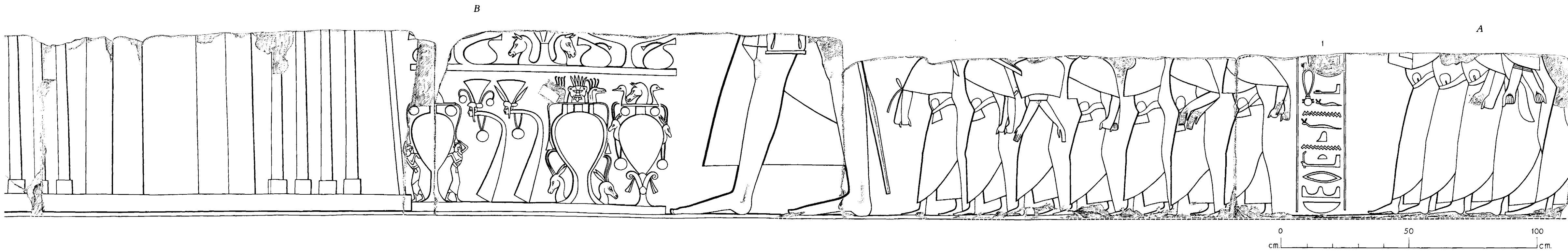
D

A. THE ERASED OFFICIAL IN PLATE 23
B. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ERASED OFFICIAL IN PLATE 23
C-D. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SEPARATE VERSIONS OF THE OFFICIAL IN PLATE 10



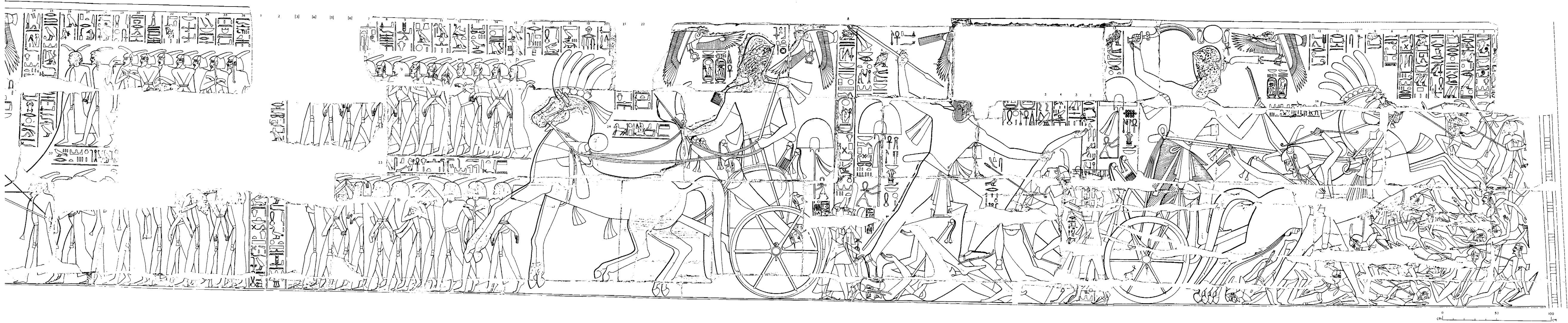
Drawings by Lack

A. FRAGMENTARY SCENE: [KING SETY I ESCORTING] ASIATIC PRISONERS TO EGYPT
B. KING SETY I PRESENTING PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT (?) BEFORE SECOND PYLON
OF KARNAK TEMPLE
C. FRAGMENTARY SCENE: KING SETY I KNEELING (BEFORE AMON INSIDE THE SANCTUARY AT KARNAK)
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, THIRD REGISTER



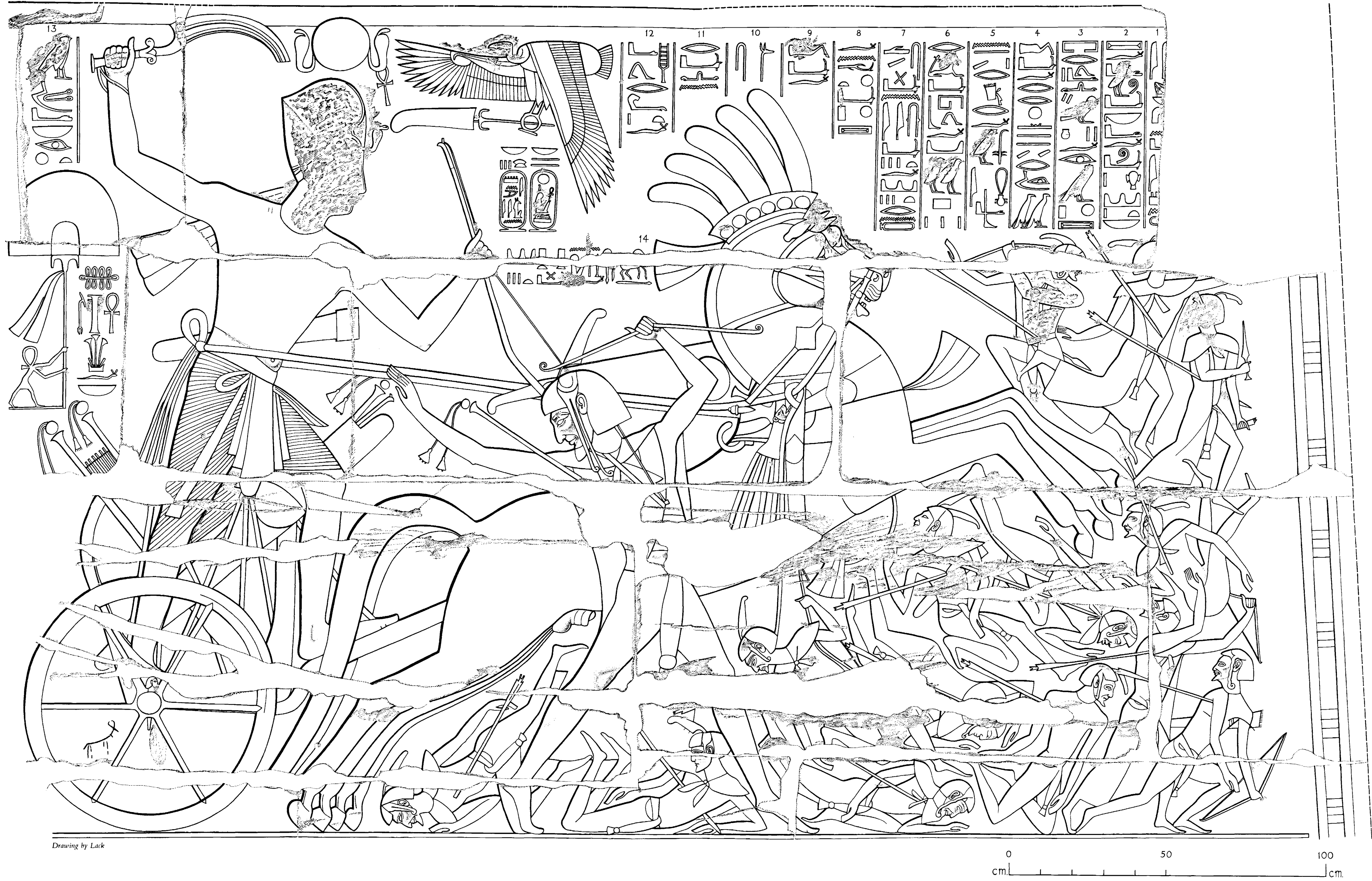
A. FRAGMENTARY SCENE: [KING SETY I ESCORTING] ASIATIC PRISONERS TO EGYPT
B. KING SETY I PRESENTING PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT (?) BEFORE SECOND PYLON
OF KARNAK TEMPLE
C. FRAGMENTARY SCENE: KING SETY I KNEELING [BEFORE AMON INSIDE THE SANCTUARY AT KARNAK]
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, THIRD REGISTER

THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER

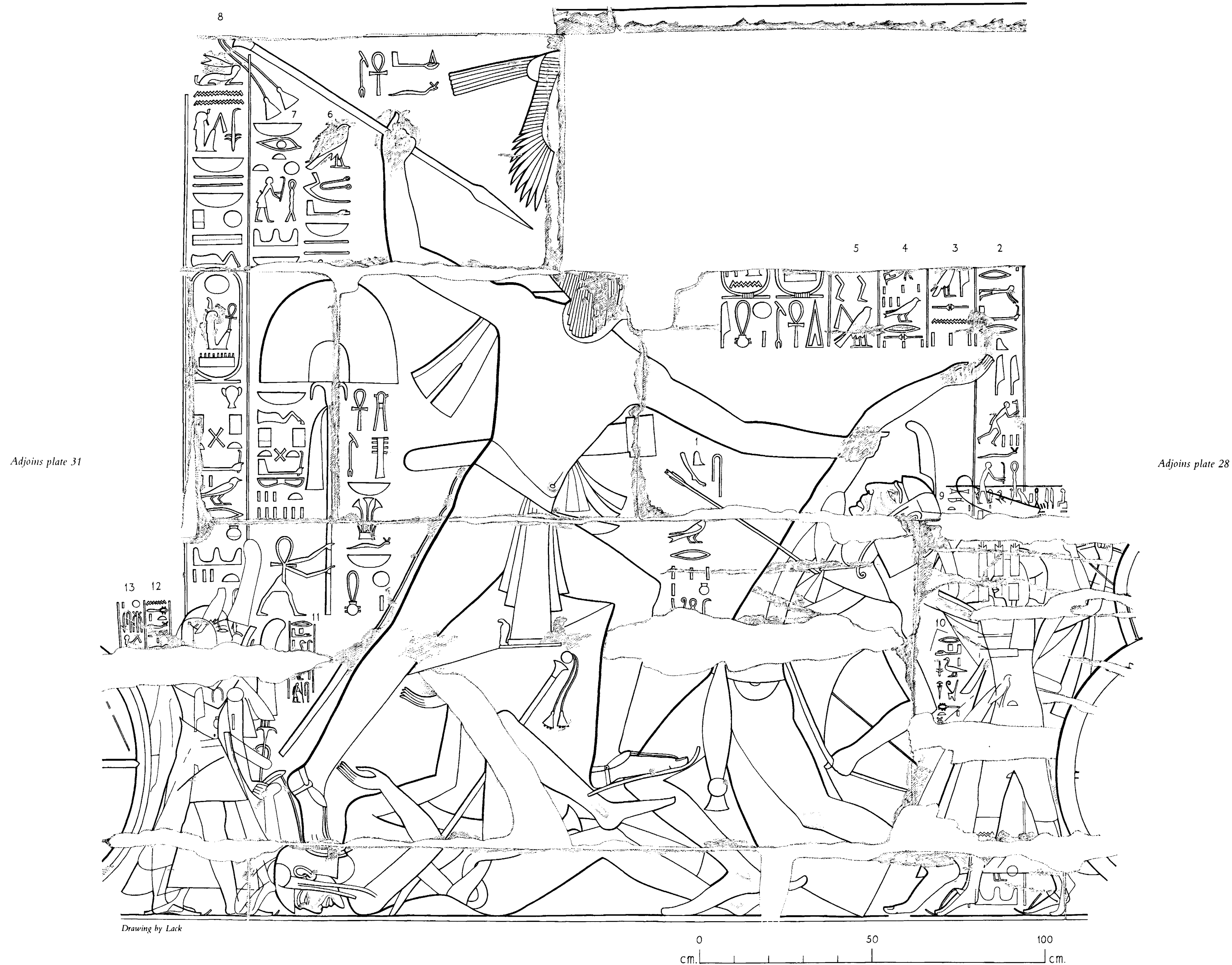


THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER

Adjoins plate 29



KING SETY I ATTACKING THE LIBYANS
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER



KING SETY I SUBDUING A LIBYAN FOEMAN, WITH FIGURES OF PRINCE RAMESSES
(ORIGINALLY AN OFFICIAL NAMED MEHY) AT THE SIDES OF THE SCENE
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER



Photographs by Olson

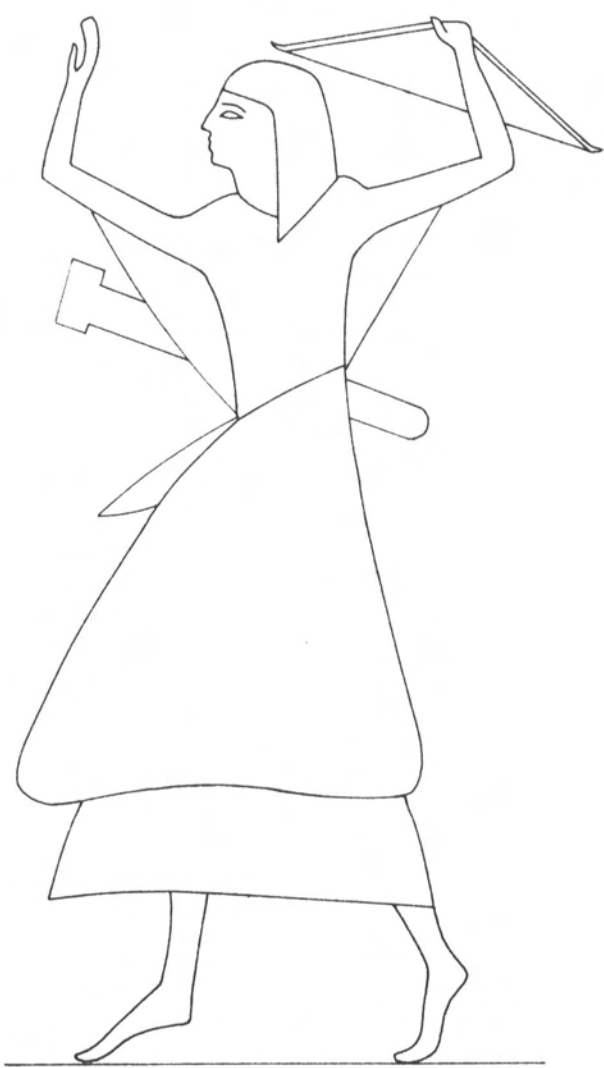
A



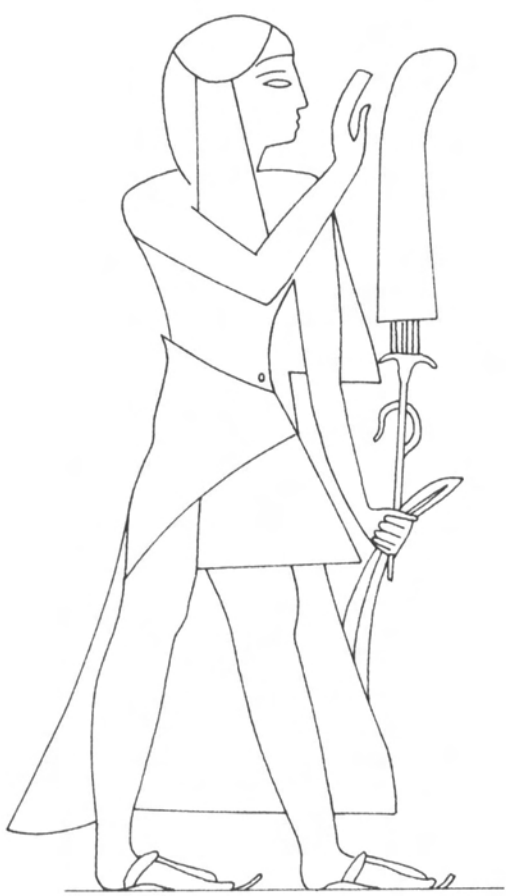
B



C



D



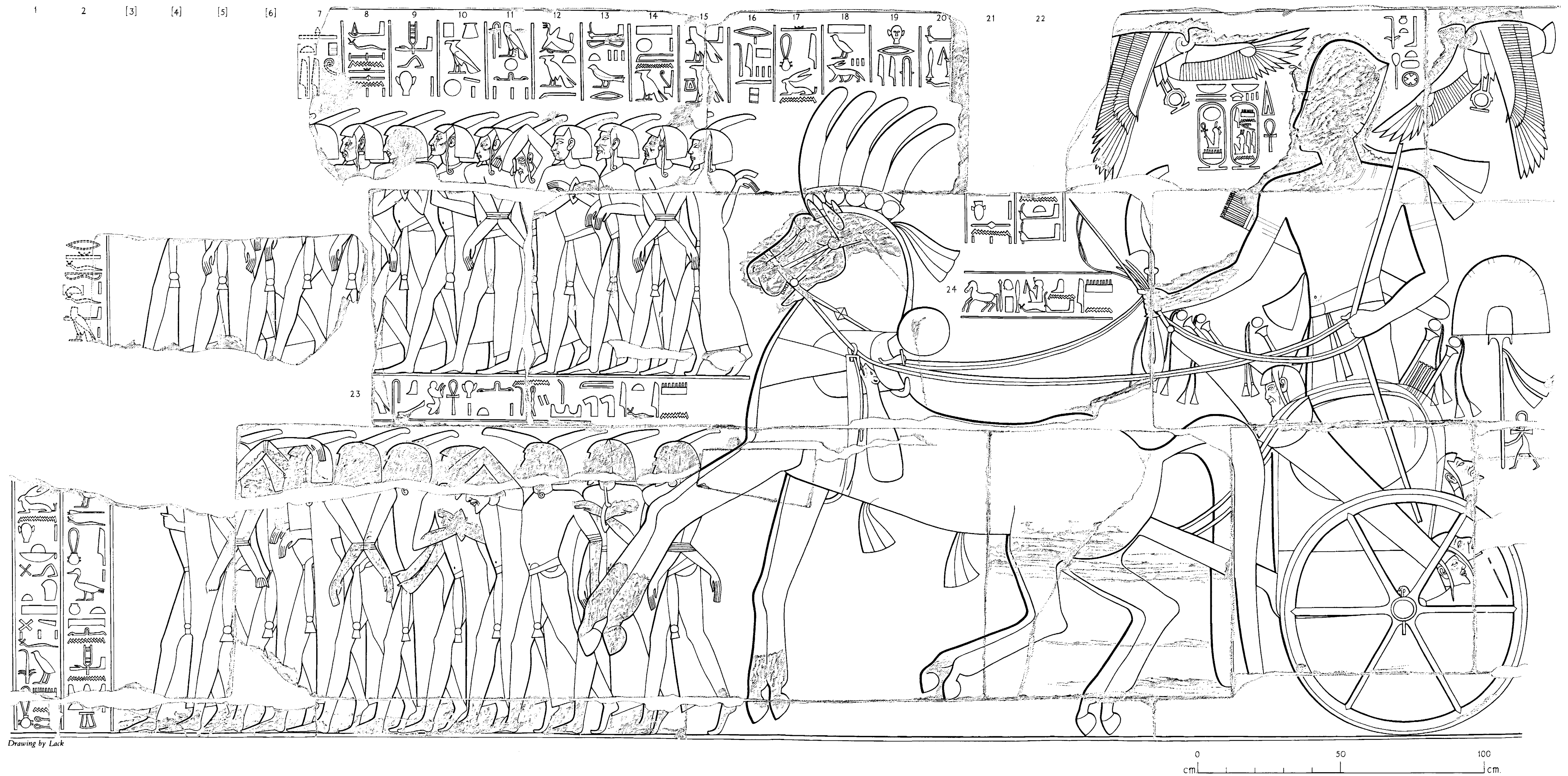
Drawings by Johnson

E



F

A–B. EXTANT TRACES OF THE RECUT FIGURES IN PLATE 29
C–F. RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE SEPARATE VERSIONS OF THESE FIGURES

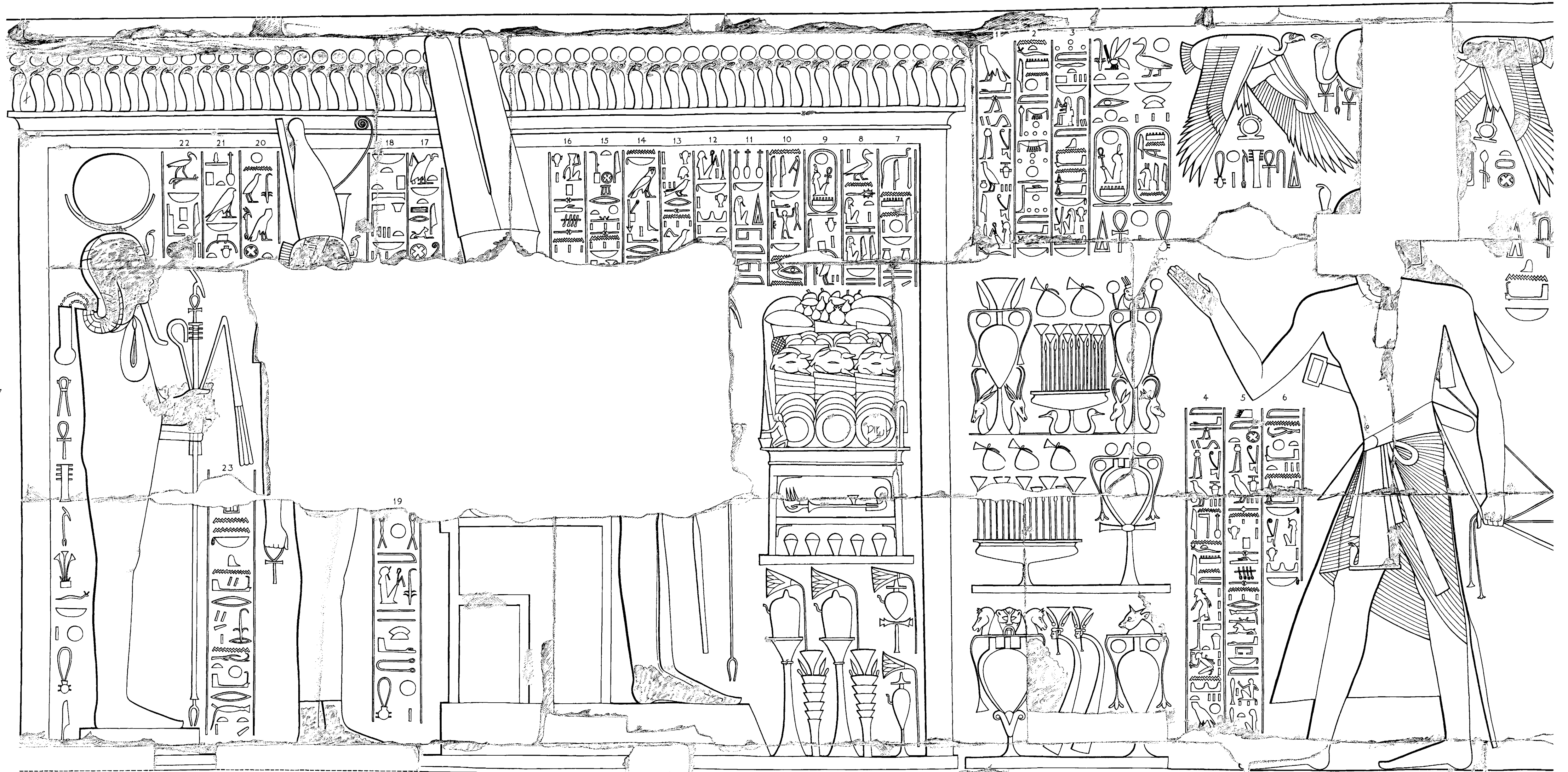


Adjoins plate 32

Adjoins plate 29

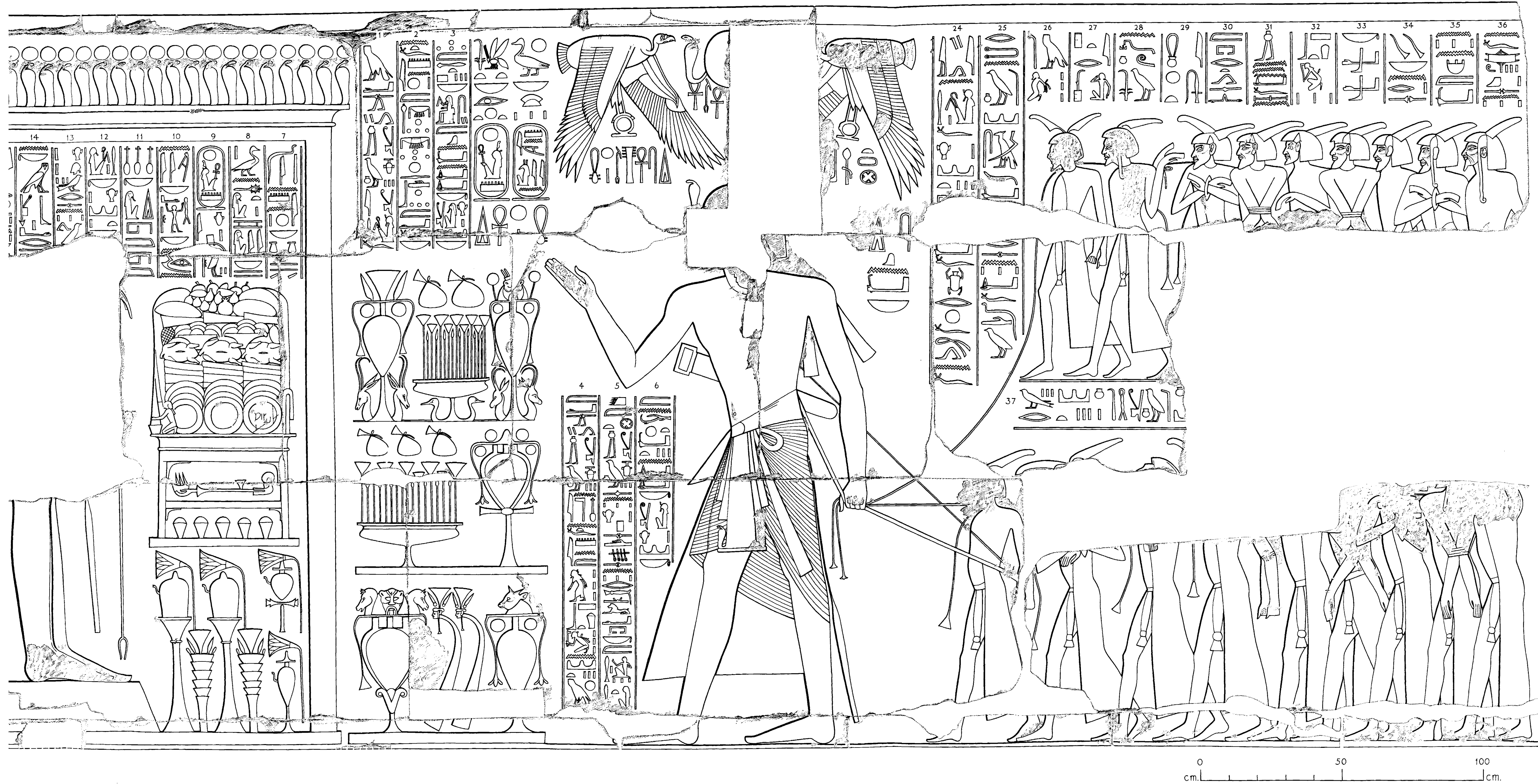
KING SETY I IN HIS CHARIOT, ESCORTING LIBYAN PRISONERS TO EGYPT
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER

Adjoins plate 17



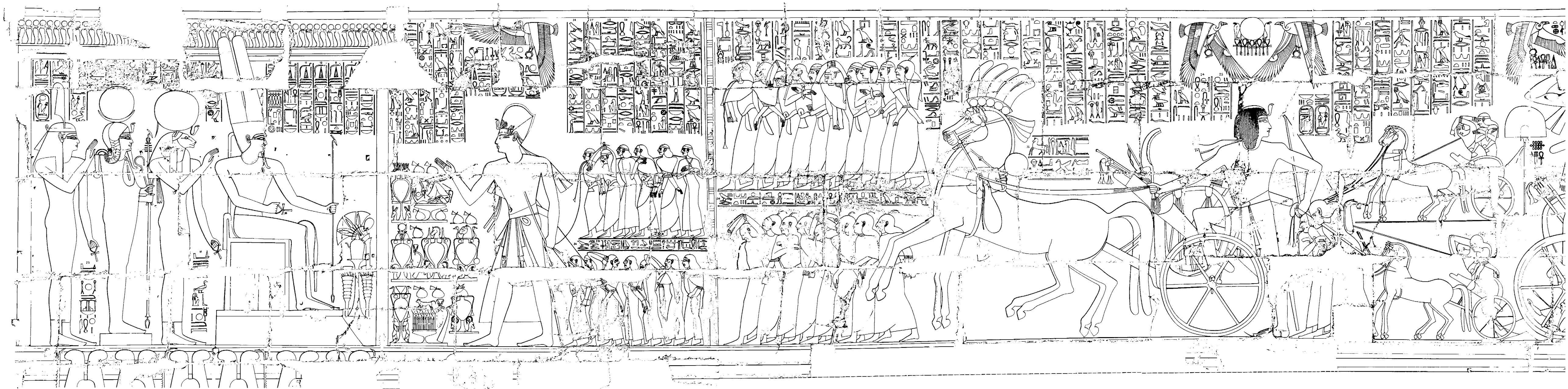
Drawing by Lack

KING SETY I PRESENTING LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO MEMBERS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER



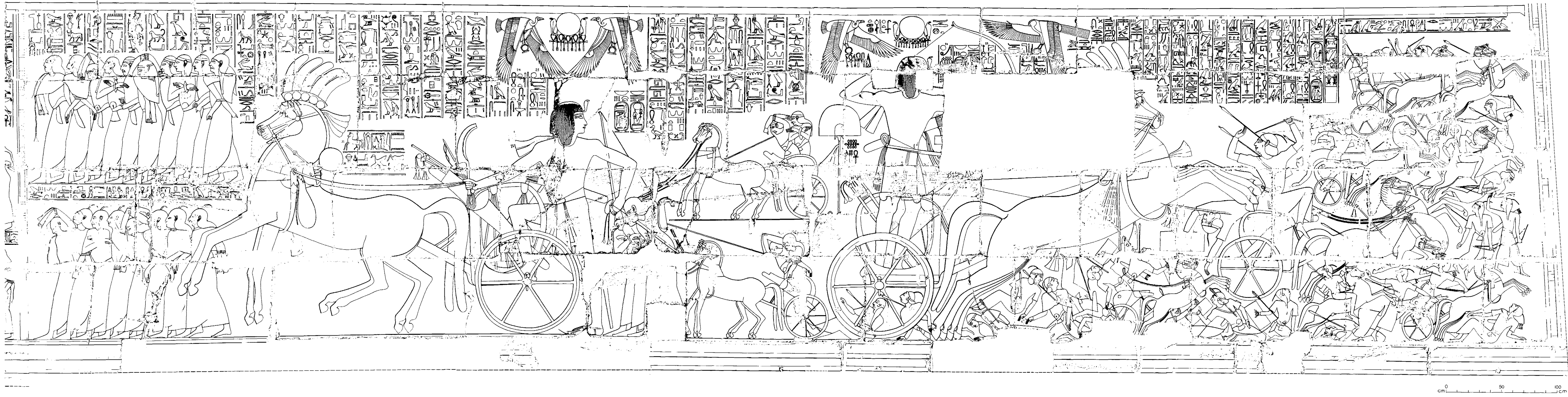
Adjoins plate 31

KING SETY I PRESENTING LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO MEMBERS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, SECOND REGISTER



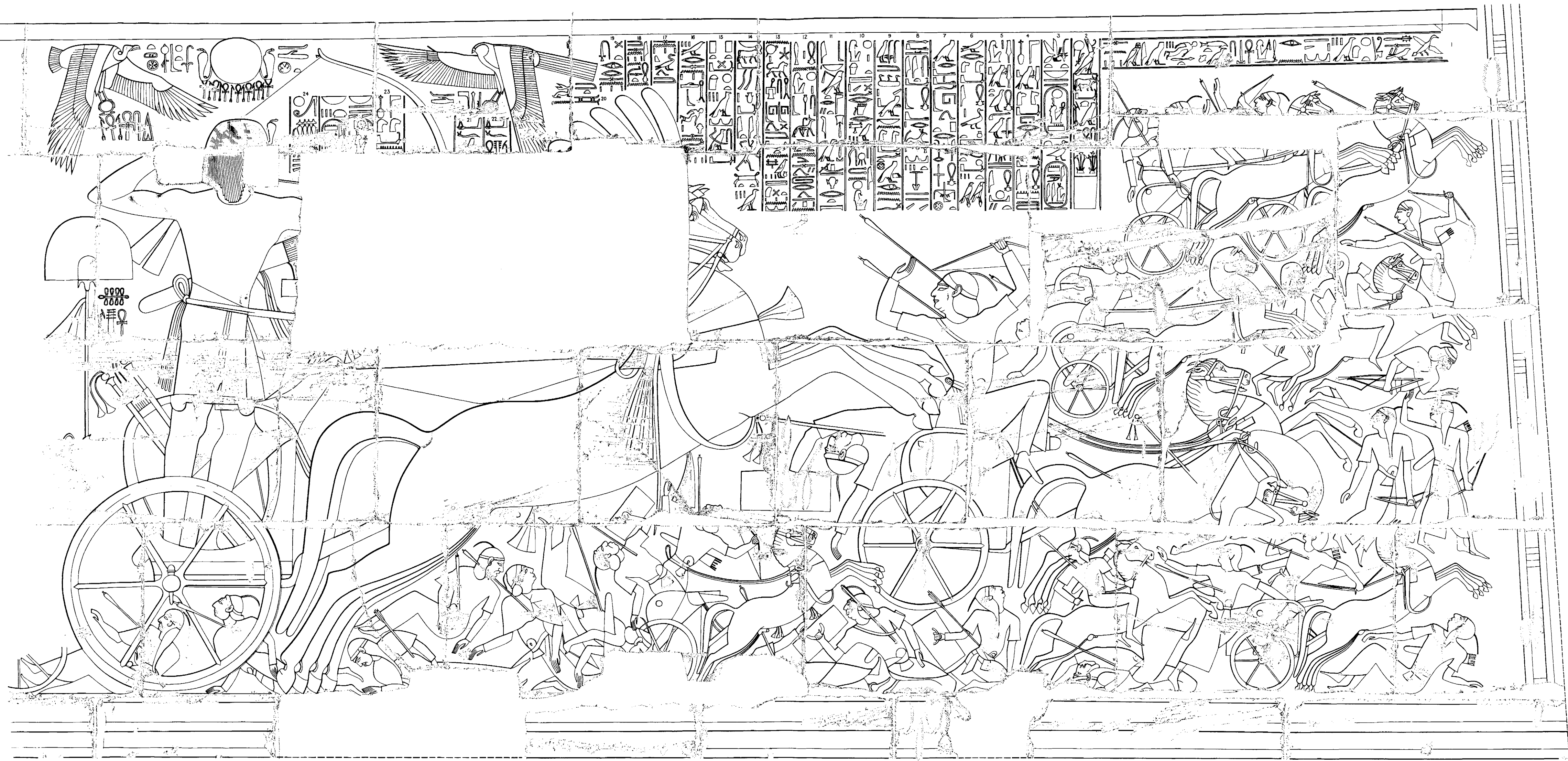
Drawings by Romer

THE HITTITE CAMPAIGN
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



THE HITTITE CAMPAIGN
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER

Adjoins plate 35

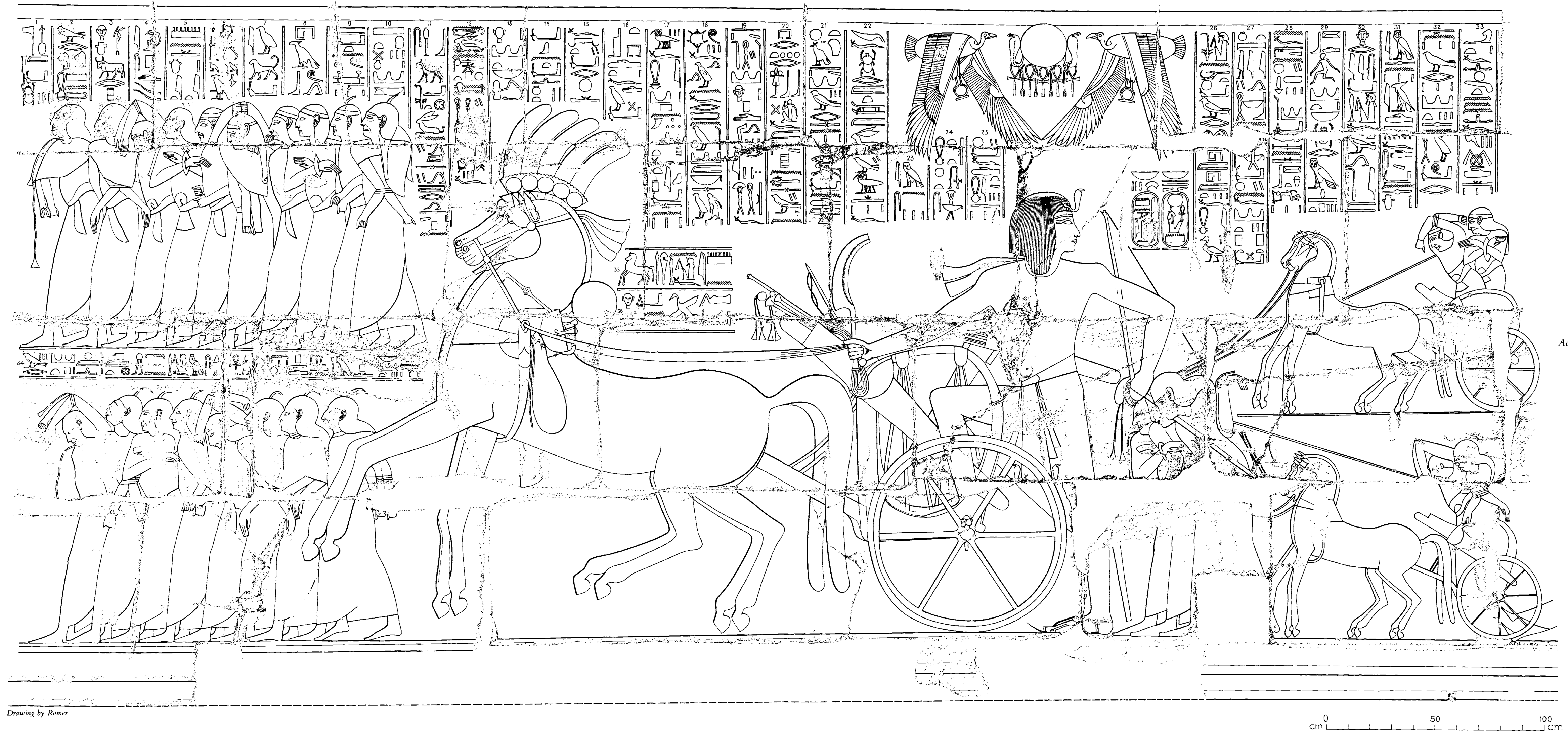


Drawing by Romer

KING SETY I ATTACKING THE HITTITES
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER

Adjoins plate 36

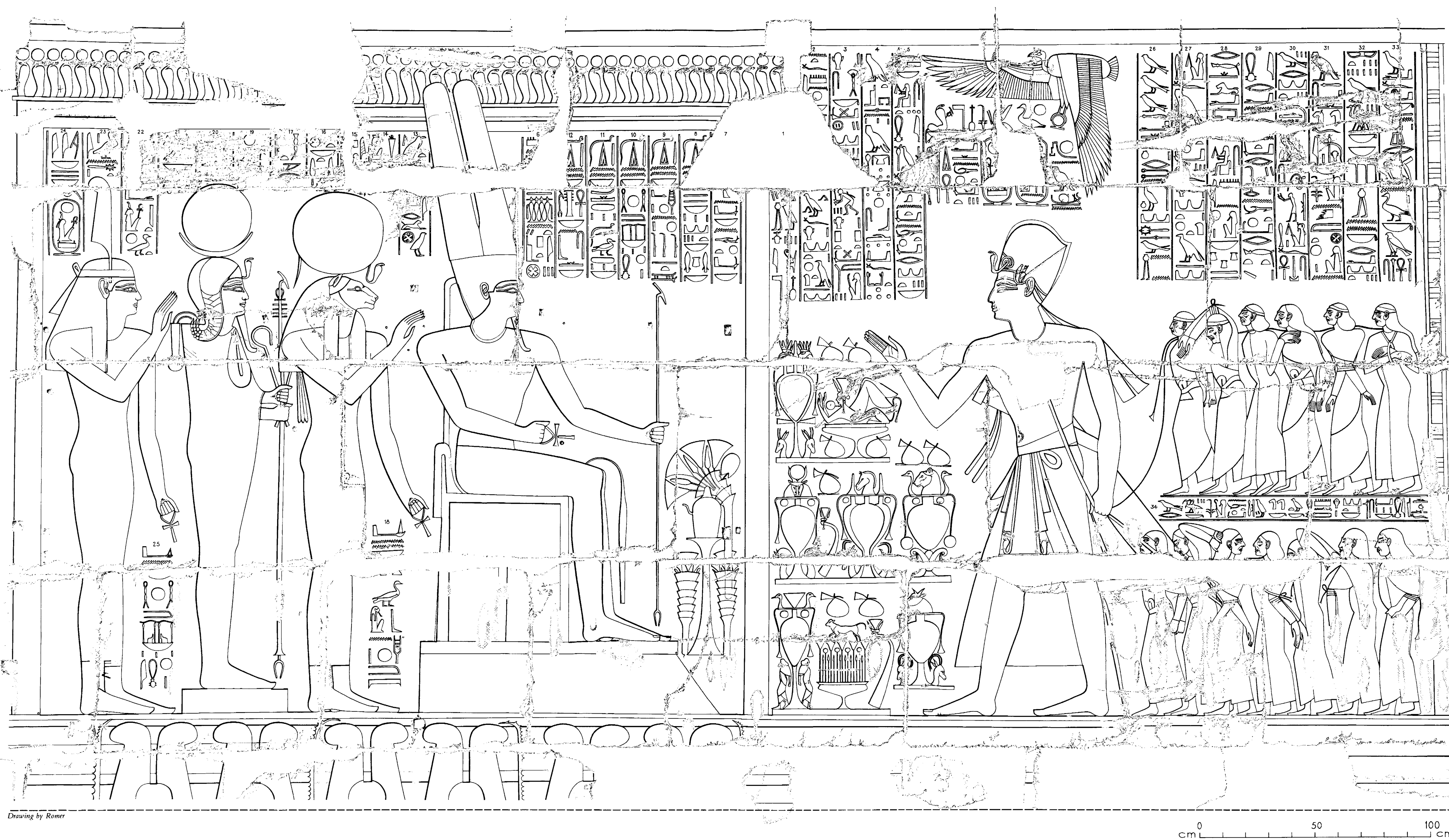
Adjoins plate 34



KING SETY I ESCORTING HITTITE PRISONERS TO EGYPT
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER

Adjoins plate 17

Adjoins plate 35

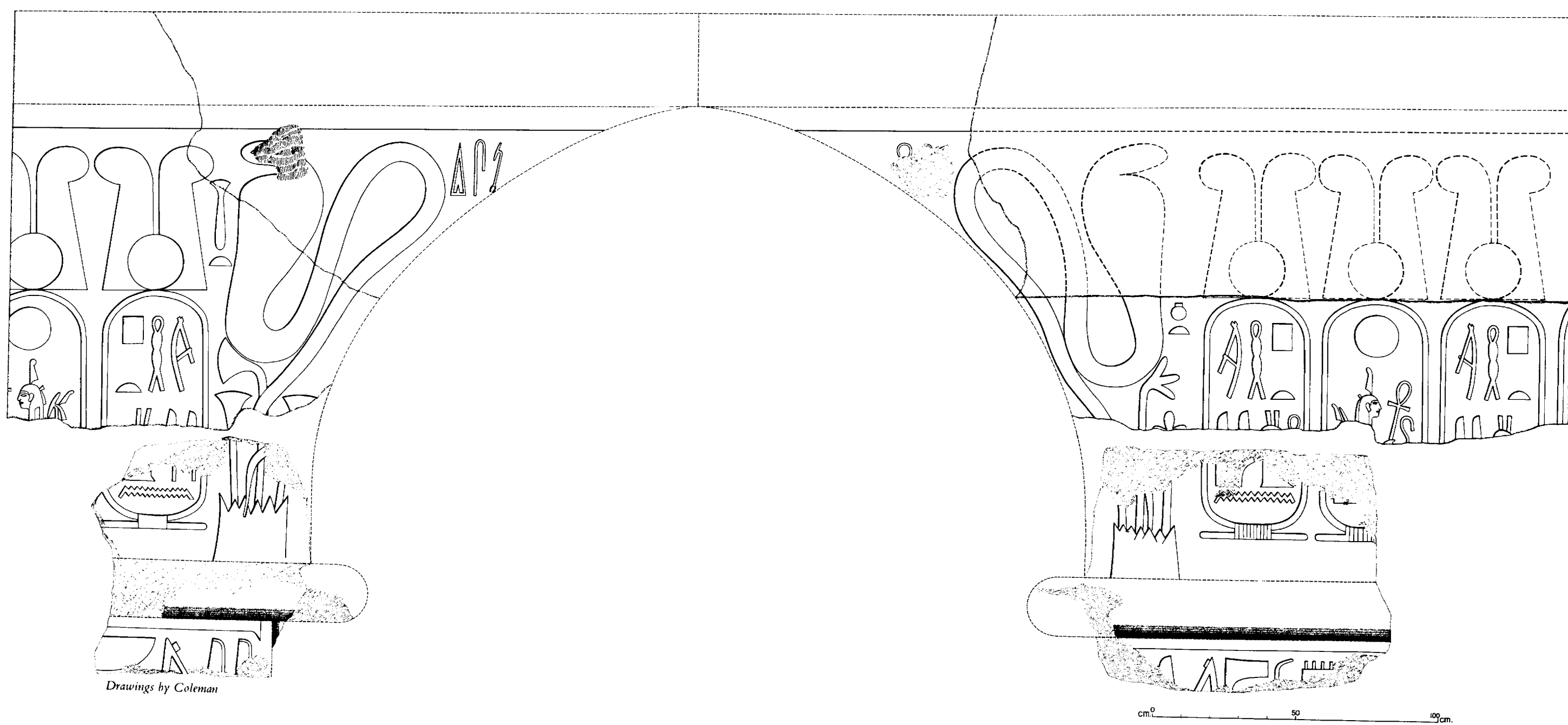


KING SETY I PRESENTING HITTITE PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO MEMBERS
OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE GODDESS MA'AT
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER

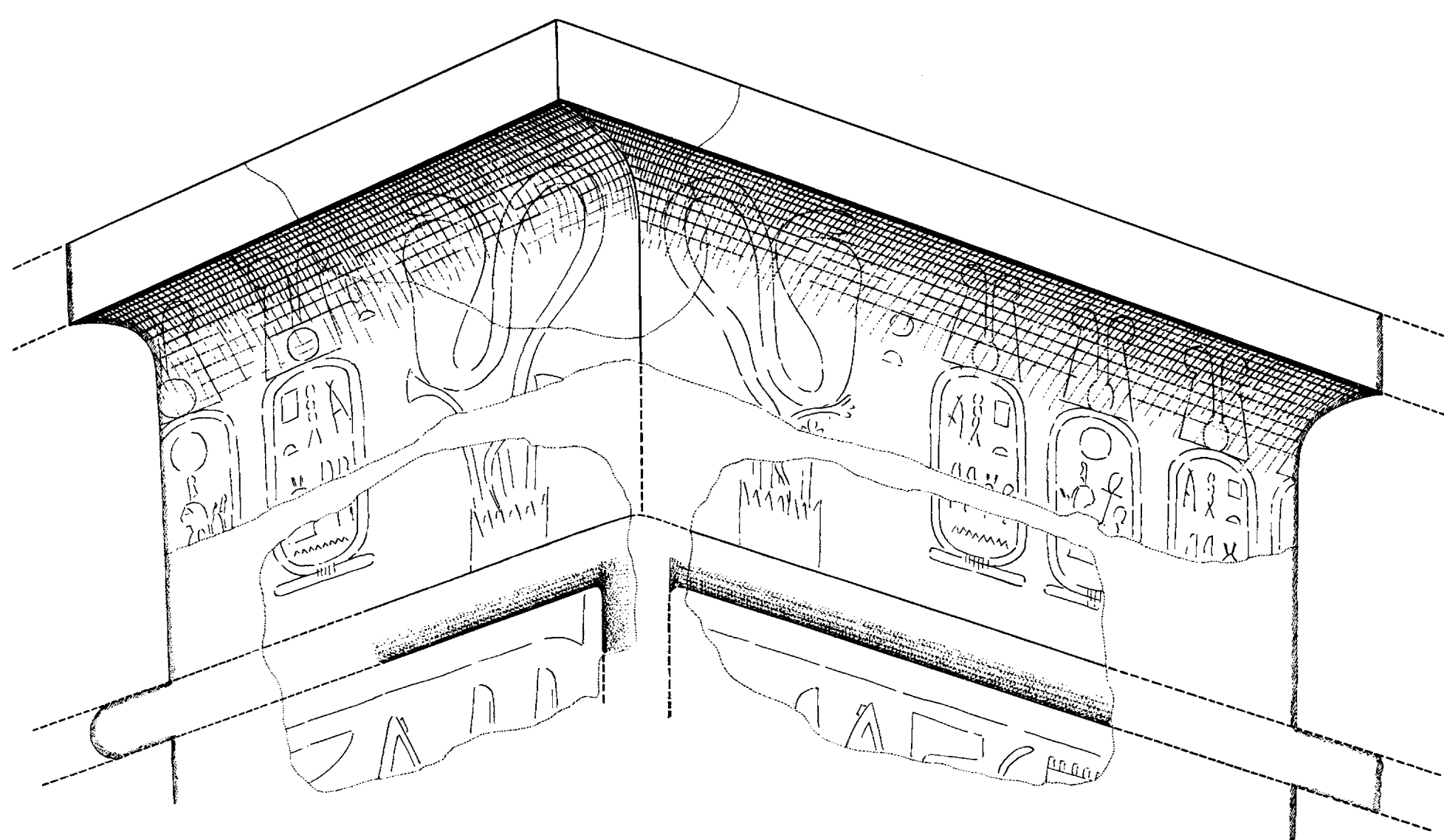


Photograph by Olson

TRACES OF THE SHRINE OF RAMESSES III
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BOTTOM REGISTER



A

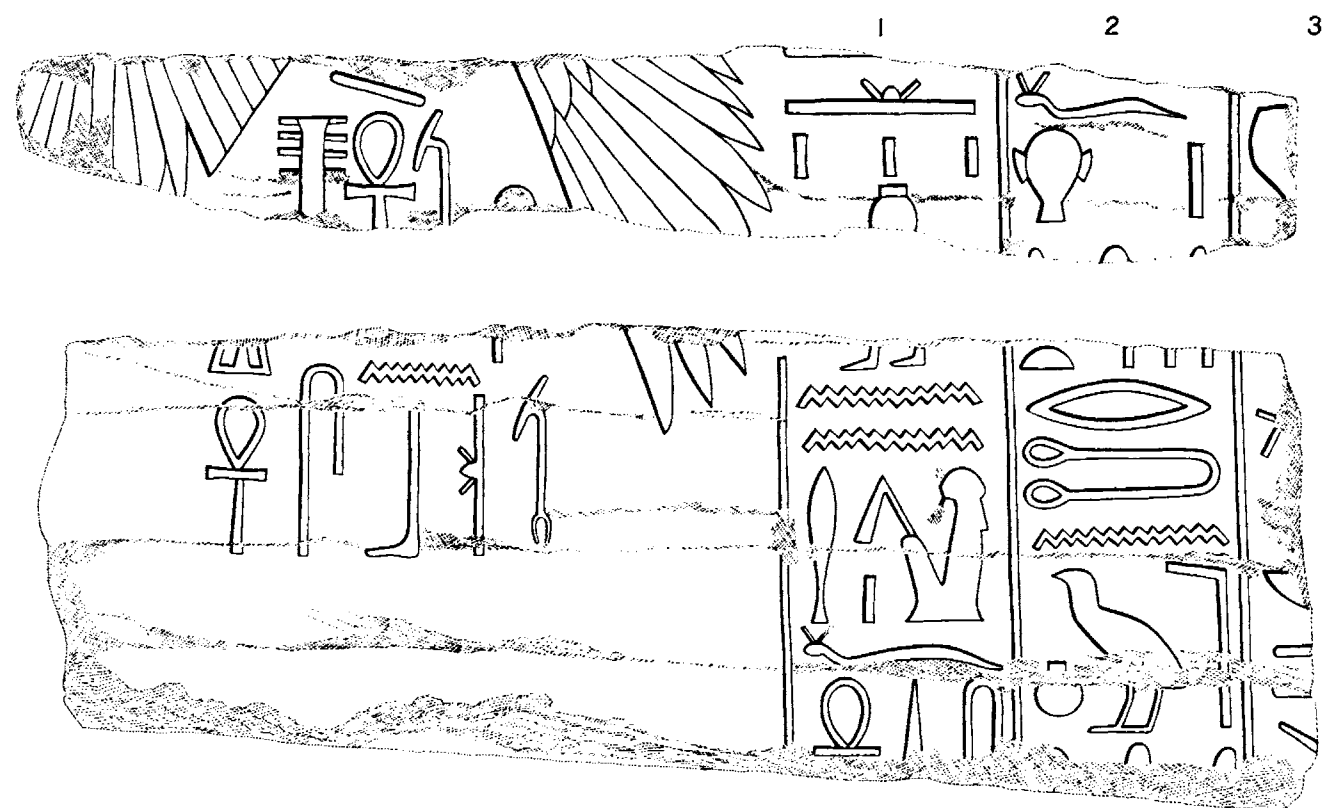


B

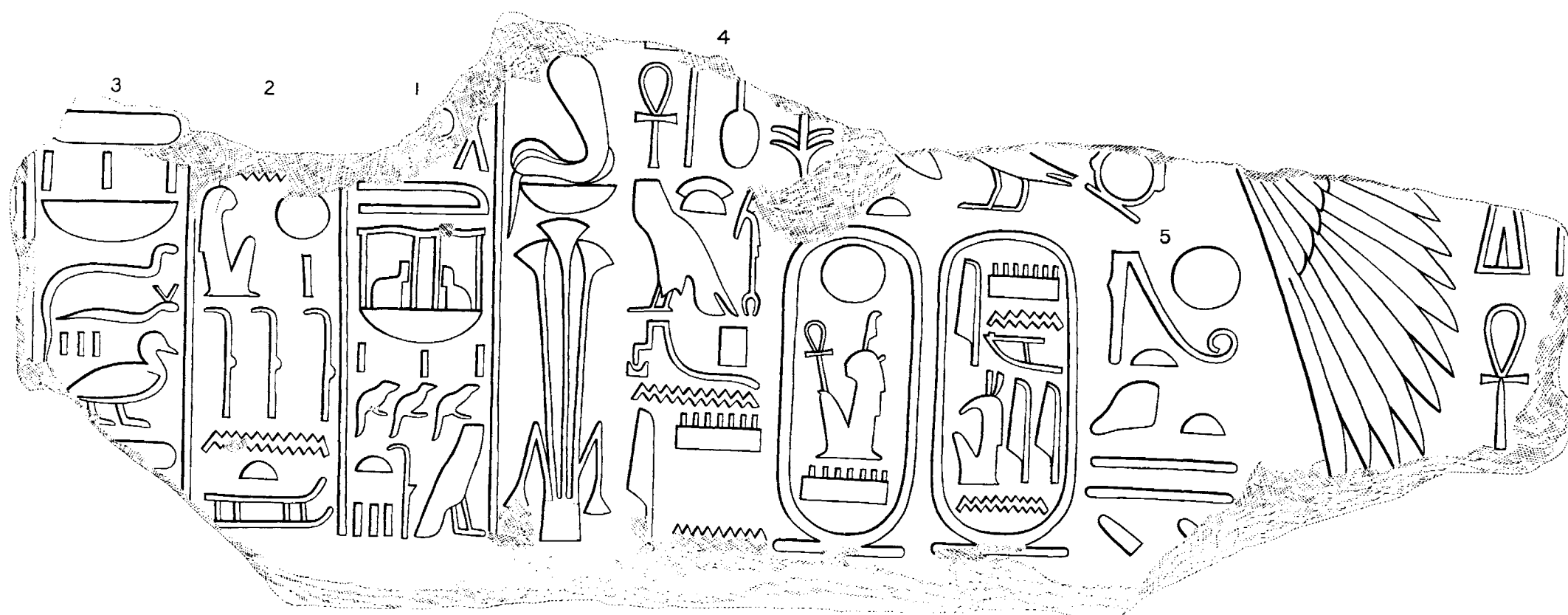
A. FRAGMENTS OF THE CORNICE (NOS. 12 AND 13)

B. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CORNICE

NORTH WALL, WEST CORNER



A



Drawings by Coleman

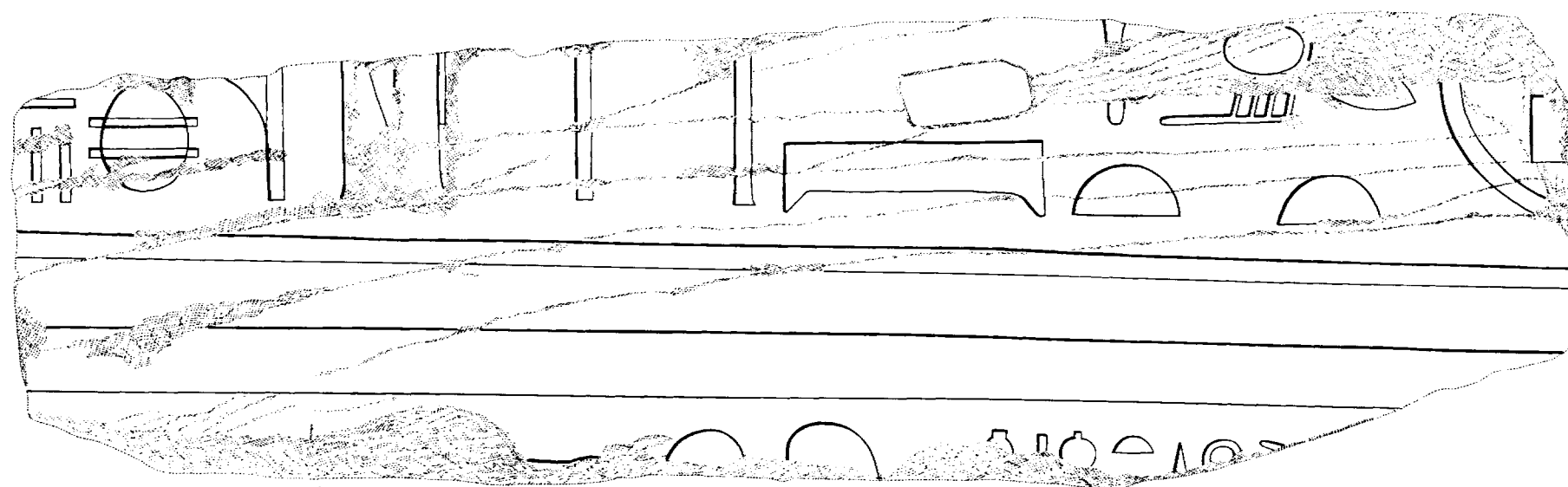
0 50
cm. cm.

B

A. FRAGMENT OF SCENE [KING SETY I WITH ASIATIC PRISONERS] (NOS. 1 AND 2)

B. FRAGMENT OF SCENE [KING SETY I BEFORE AMON] (NO. 3)

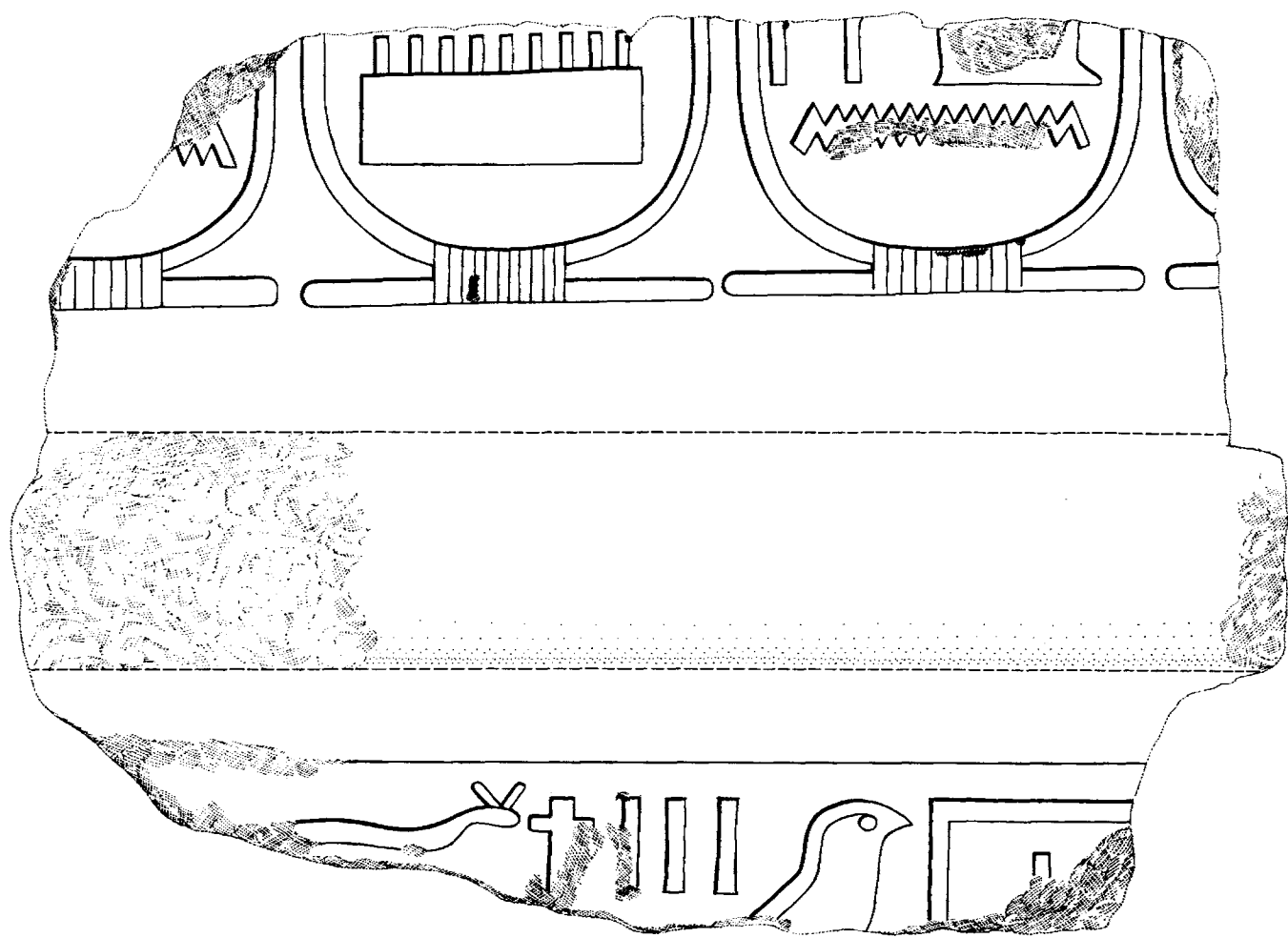
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, THIRD (?) REGISTER



Drawings by Coleman

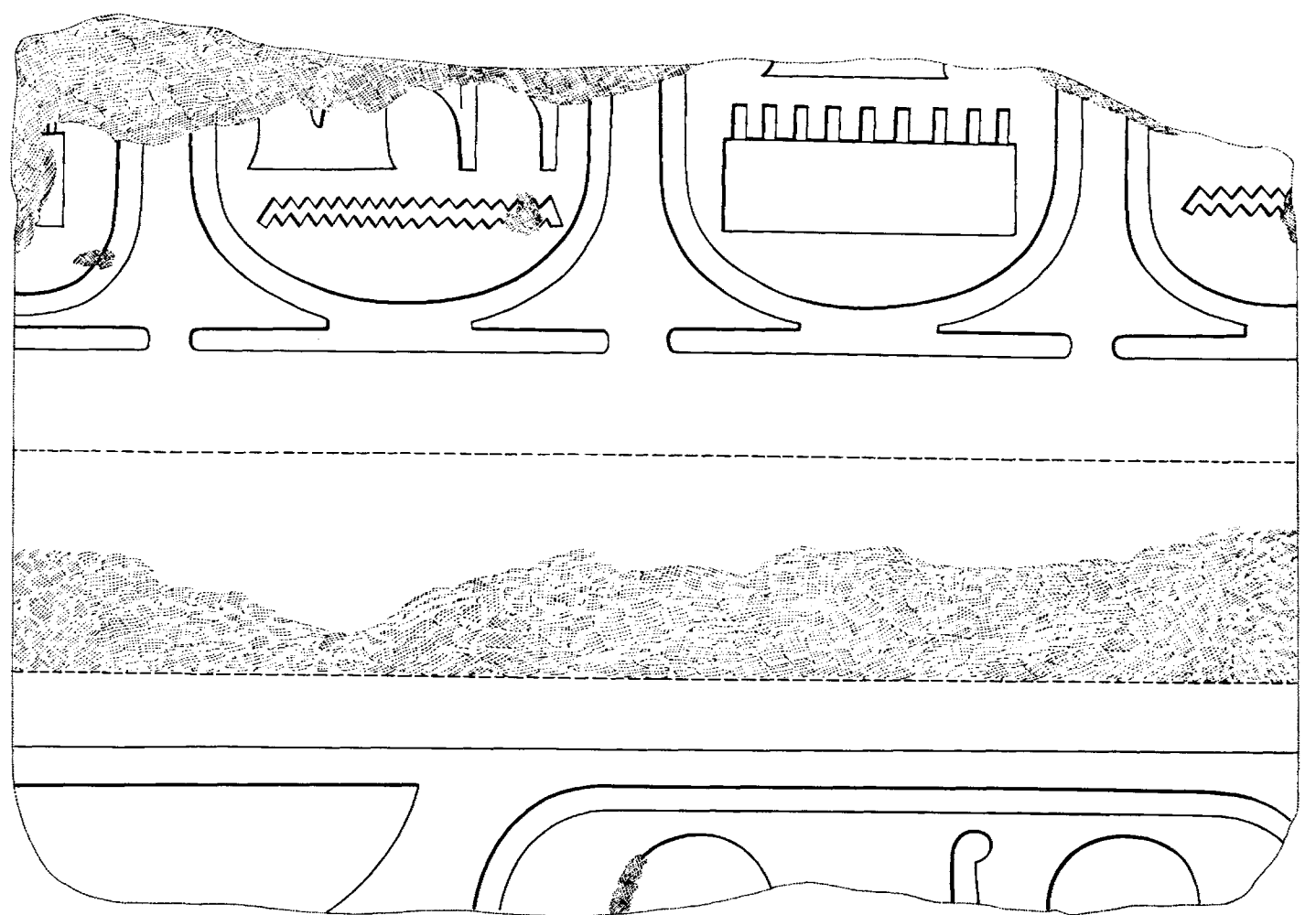
cm. 0 50 cm.

A



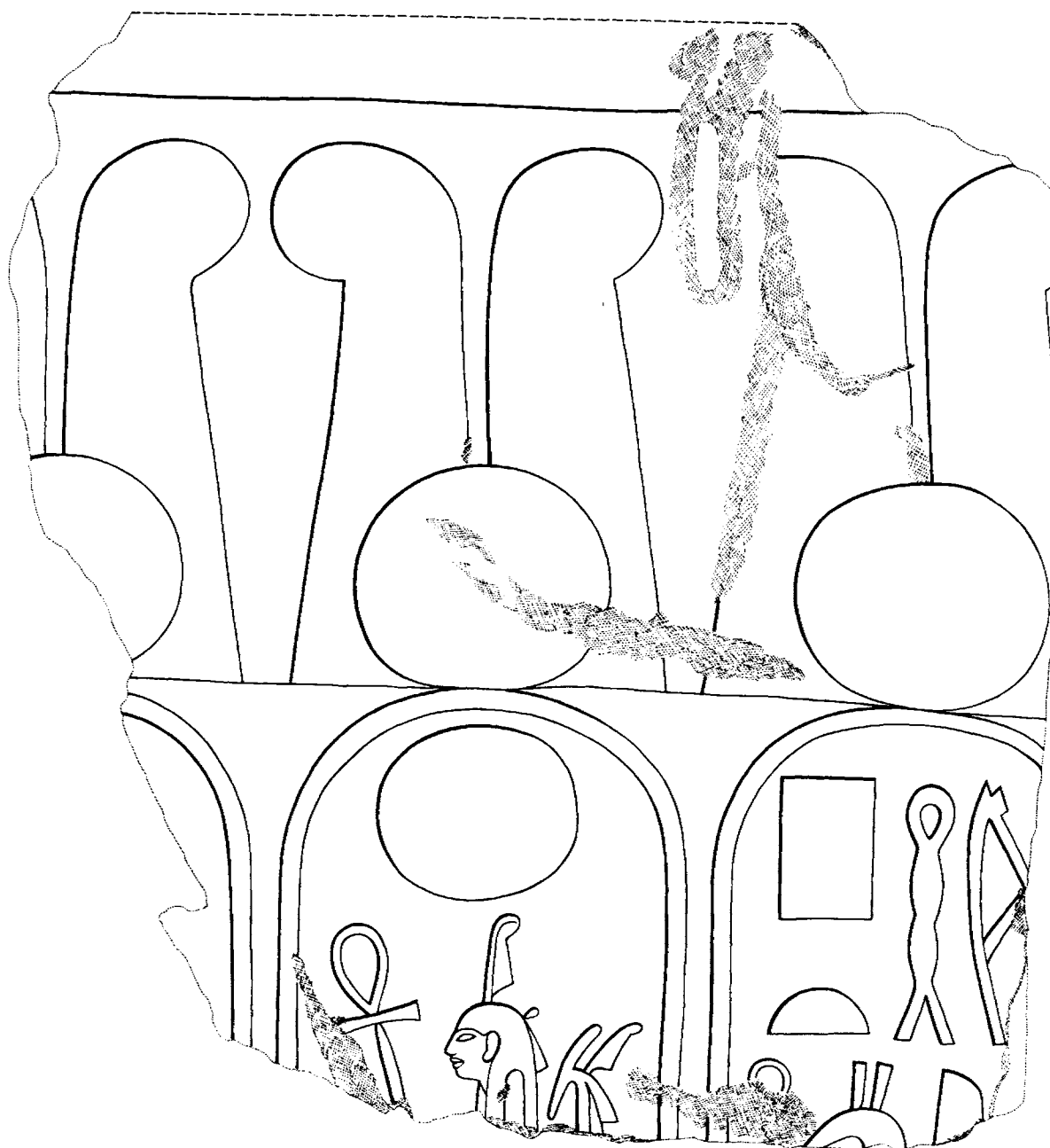
cm. 0 50 cm.

B



cm. 0 50 cm.

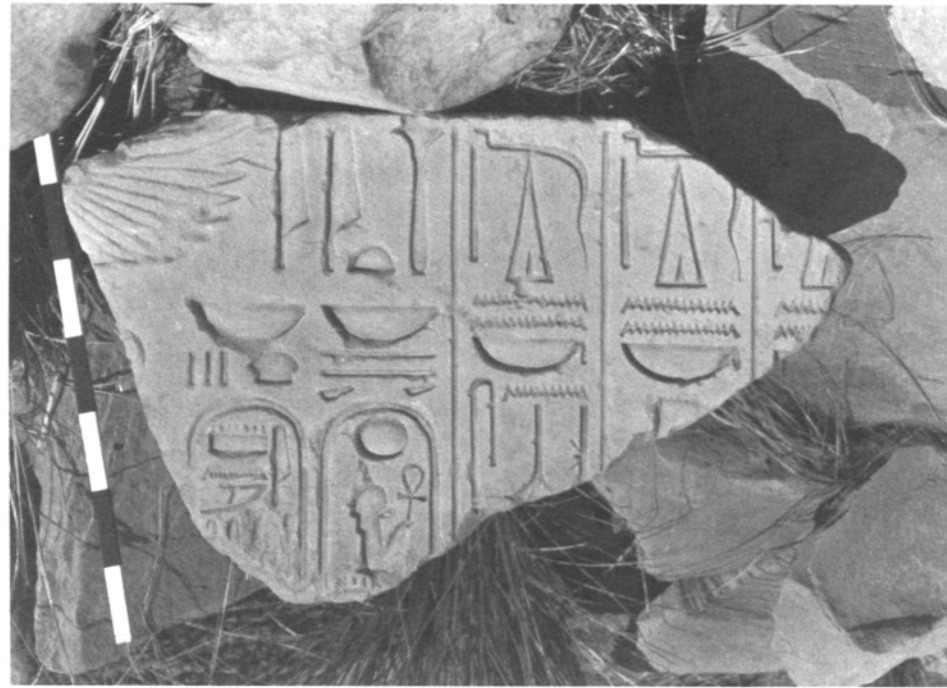
C



cm. 0 50 cm.

D

A. FRAGMENT OF FOURTH REGISTER AND BANDEAU TEXT (NO. 7)
B-C. FRAGMENTS OF BANDEAU TEXT, TORUS MOULDING AND CORNICE (NOS. 9 AND 10)
D. FRAGMENT OF CORNICE (NO. 11)
NORTH WALL, EAST (B) AND WEST WINGS (A, C, D)



A



B



Photographs by Krause

C

A. FRAGMENT OF SCENE [KING SETY I BEFORE AMON] (NO. 4)
 B–C. FRAGMENTARY SCENES (RIGHT TO LEFT): [KING SETY I BEFORE] AMON,
 BEFORE [KHONSU] AND BEFORE [ANOTHER DIVINITY] (NOS. 5 AND 6)
 NORTH WALL, EAST WING, THIRD (?) REGISTER (A); FOURTH REGISTER, WEST WING (B–C)



A



B



C

Photographs by Krause (C/8) and Olson (A–B, C/16)

- A. FRAGMENT OF DECORATION ABOVE CENTRAL DOORWAY, WITH FRIEZE ABOVE (NO. 15)
 B. FRAGMENT OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE (NO. 19)
 C. FRAGMENT OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE, WITH BANDEAU TEXT ABOVE (NOS. 8 AND 16)
 NORTH WALL, EAST WING, FOURTH REGISTER



A



B



Photographs by Olson

C



D

A. FRAGMENT OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE, WITH BANDEAU TEXT ABOVE (NO. 21)

B. FRAGMENT OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE (NO. 22)

C-D. FRAGMENT OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE, WITH BANDEAU TEXT ABOVE (NOS. 18 AND 17)

NORTH WALL, FOURTH REGISTER, EAST WING (A); WEST WING (B); WEST WING, WESTERN SIDE WALL (C-D)



A



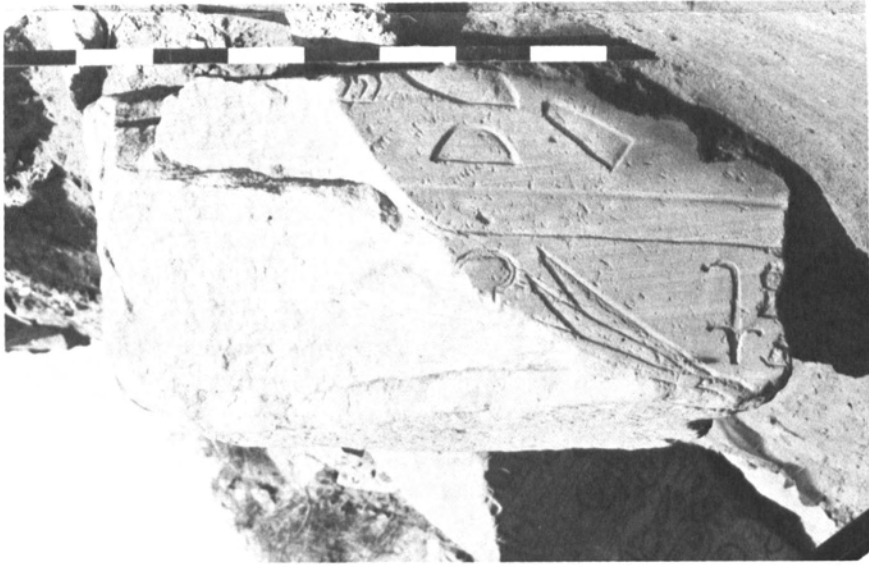
B



C



D



E



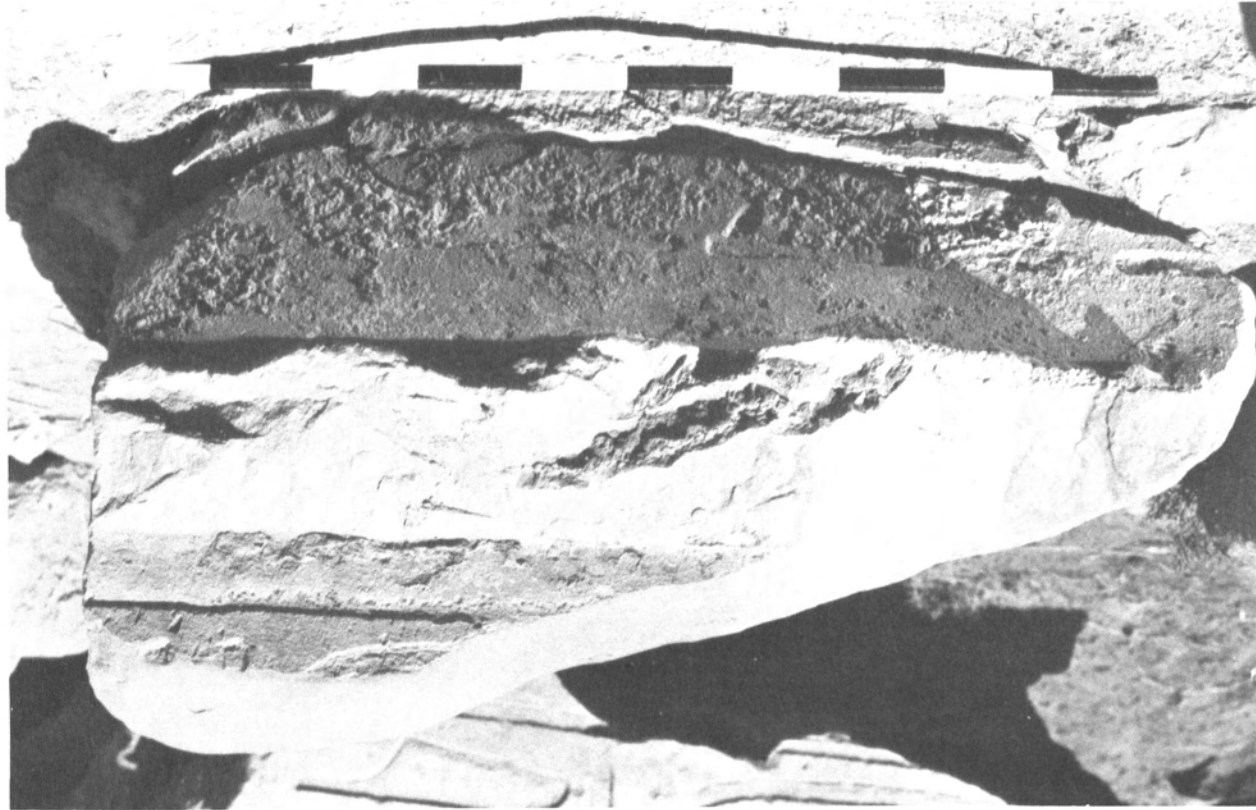
Photographs by Olson

F

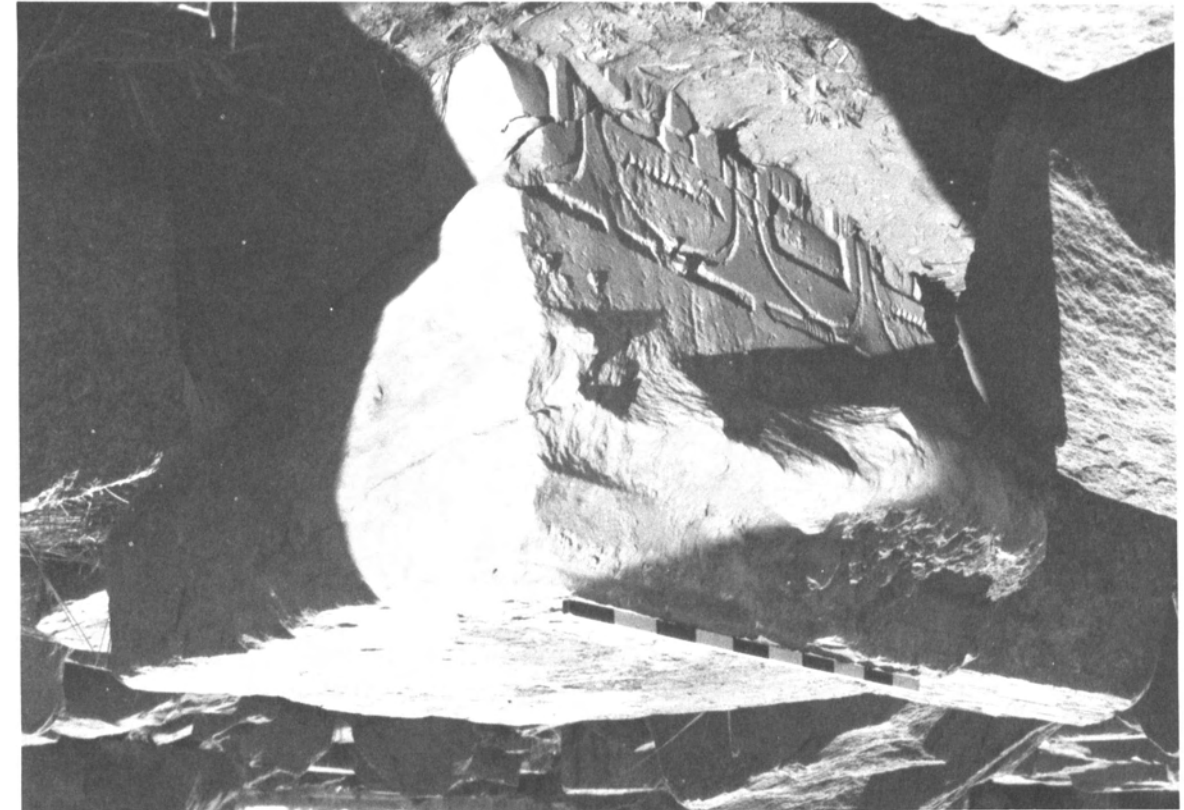


G

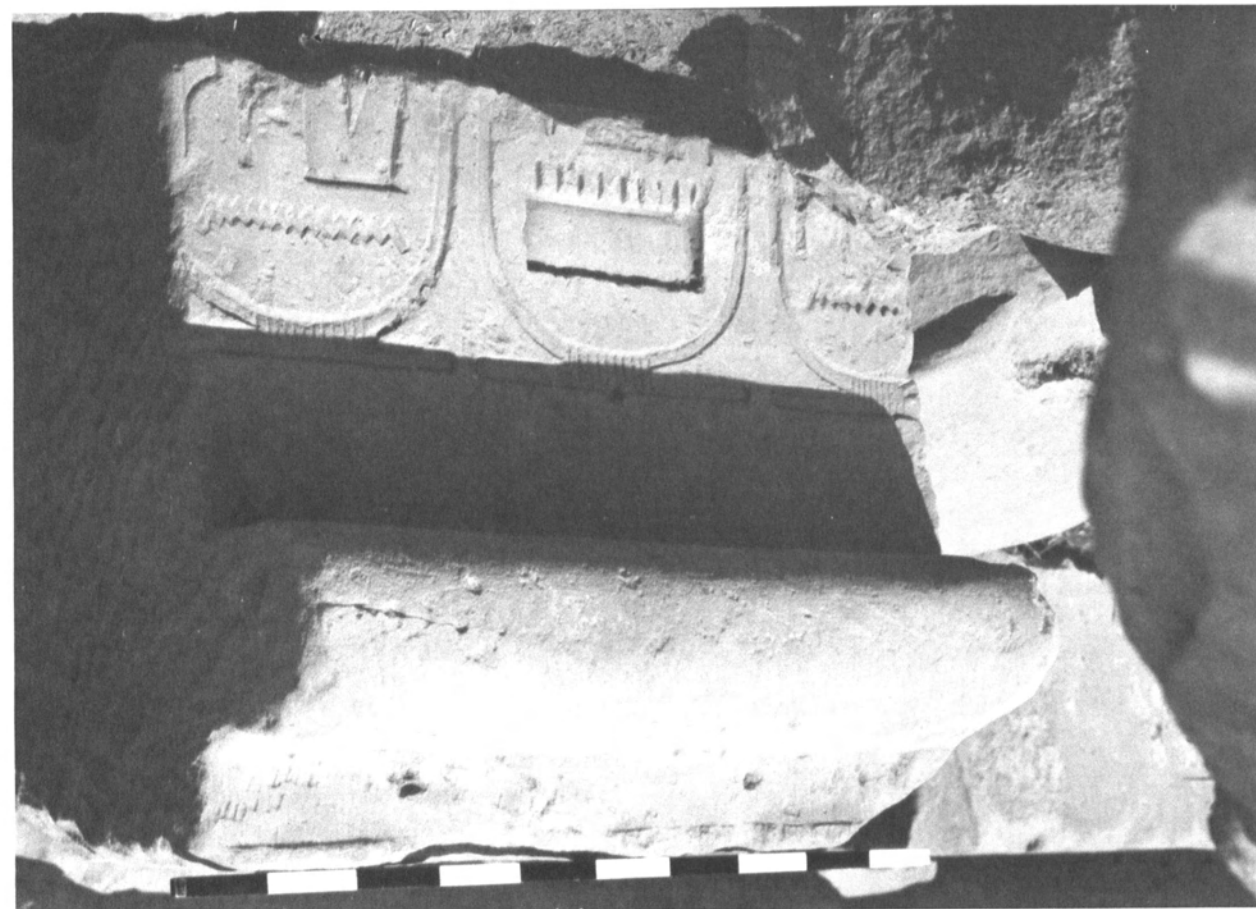
A–D. FRAGMENTS OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE (NOS. 14A–B AND 20A–B)
E–F. FRAGMENTS OF FOURTH REGISTER FRIEZE, WITH BANDEAU TEXT ABOVE (NOS. 23 AND 24)
G. FRAGMENT OF BANDEAU TEXT (NO. 25)
NORTH WALL, FOURTH REGISTER, EAST WING (B–D); WEST WING (A, E–G)



A



B



Photographs by Olson

C



D

A. FRAGMENT OF THE BANDEAU TEXT, WITH TORUS MOULDING AND BOTTOM OF CORNICE ABOVE (NO. 26)

B-D. FRAGMENTS WITH TORUS MOULDING AND BOTTOM OF CORNICE (NOS. 29-31)

TOP OF NORTH WALL, EAST WING (A, C); WEST WING (B, D)



A



B



C



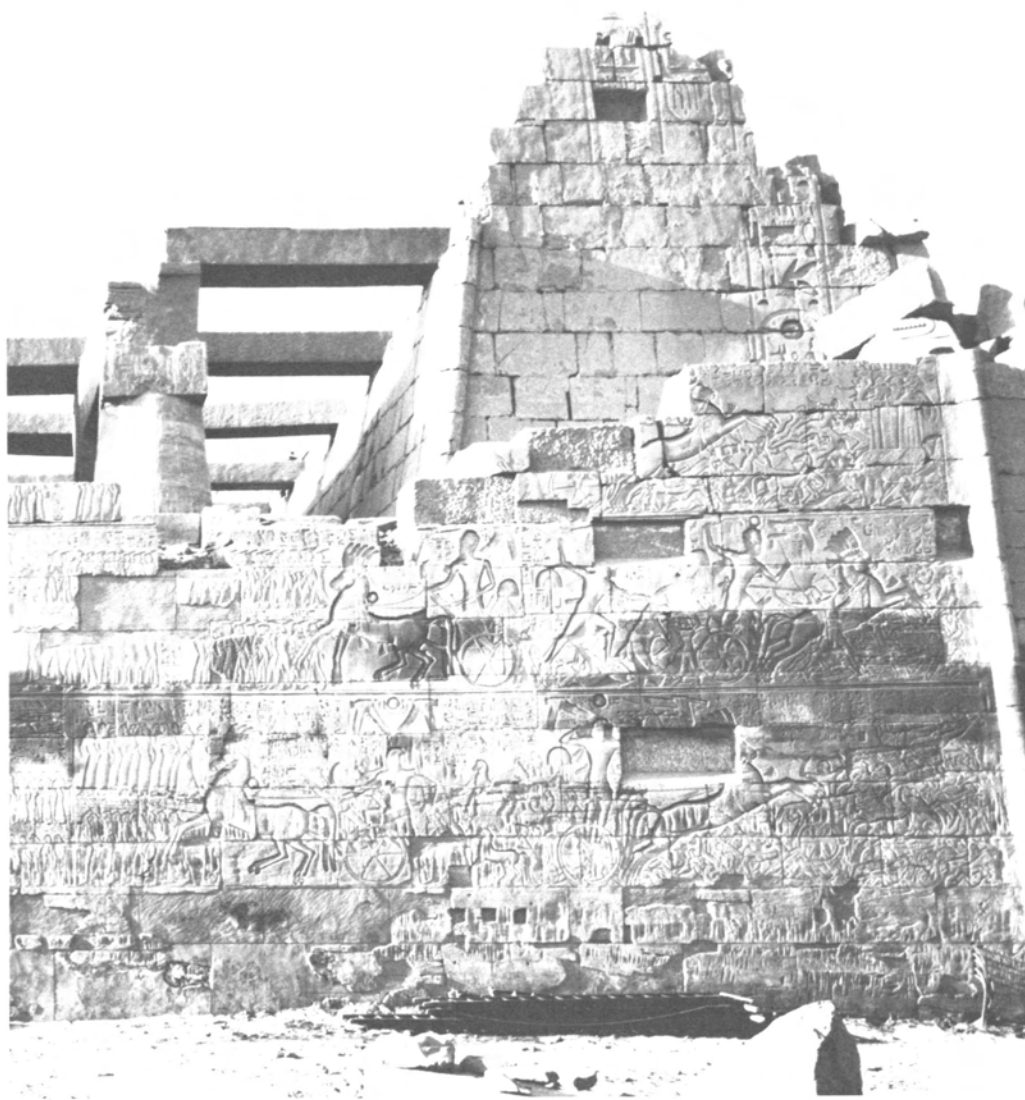
Photographs by Olson

D

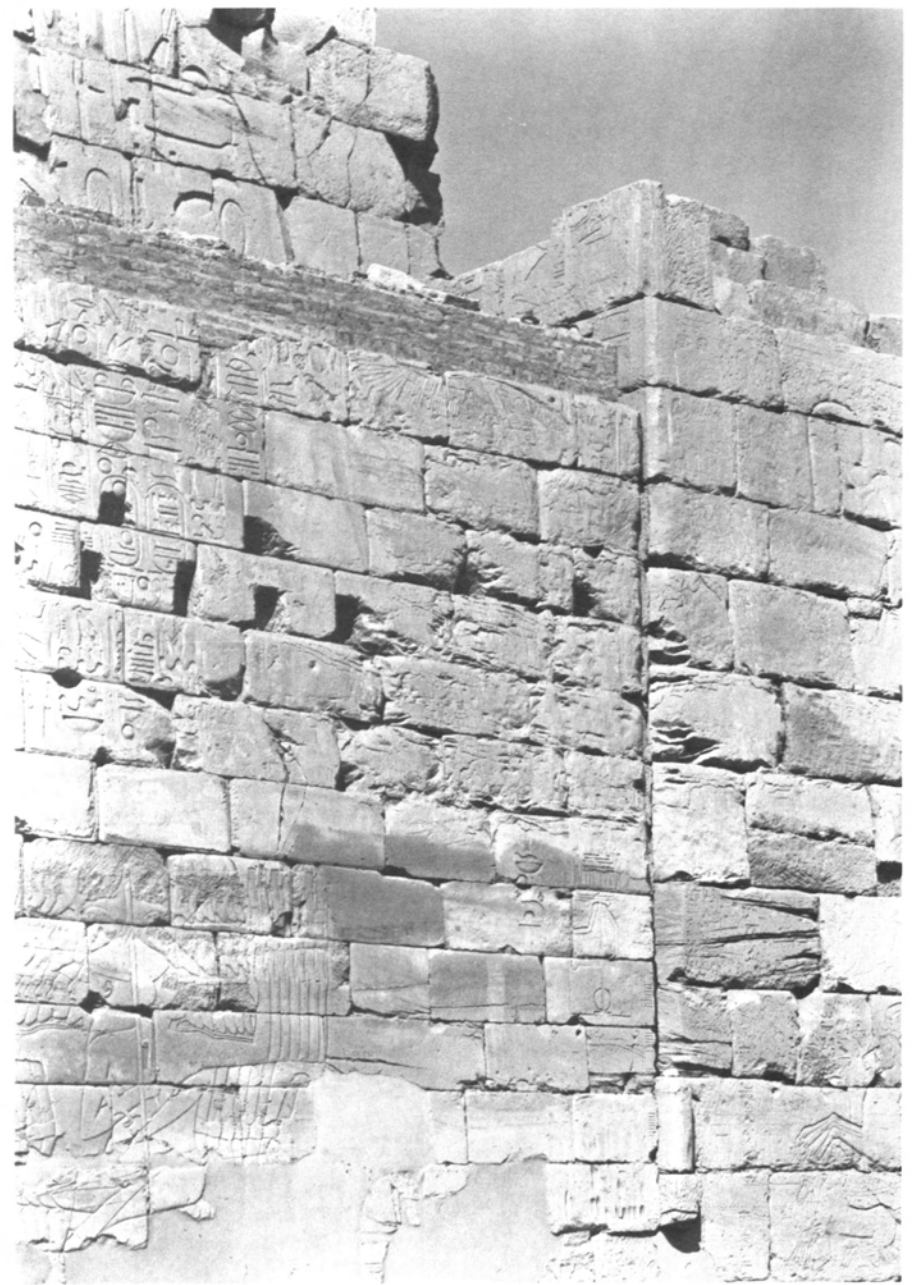


E

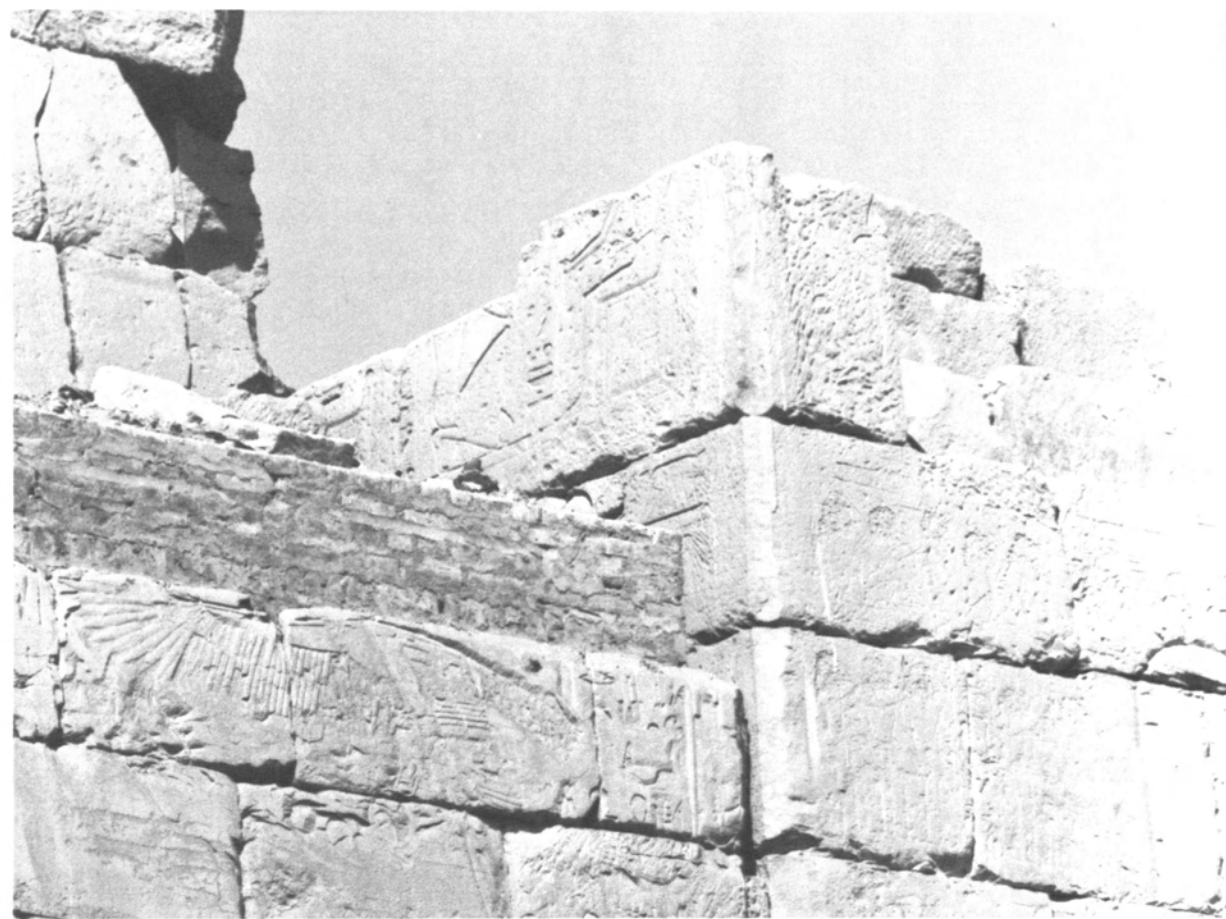
A-C. FRAGMENTS FROM TOP OF CORNICE (NOS. 28, 27, 34)
D-E. FRAGMENTS FROM BOTTOM OF CORNICE (NOS. 33 AND 32)
TOP OF NORTH WALL, WEST SIDE (A-B, E); POSITION UNKNOWN (C-D)



A



B



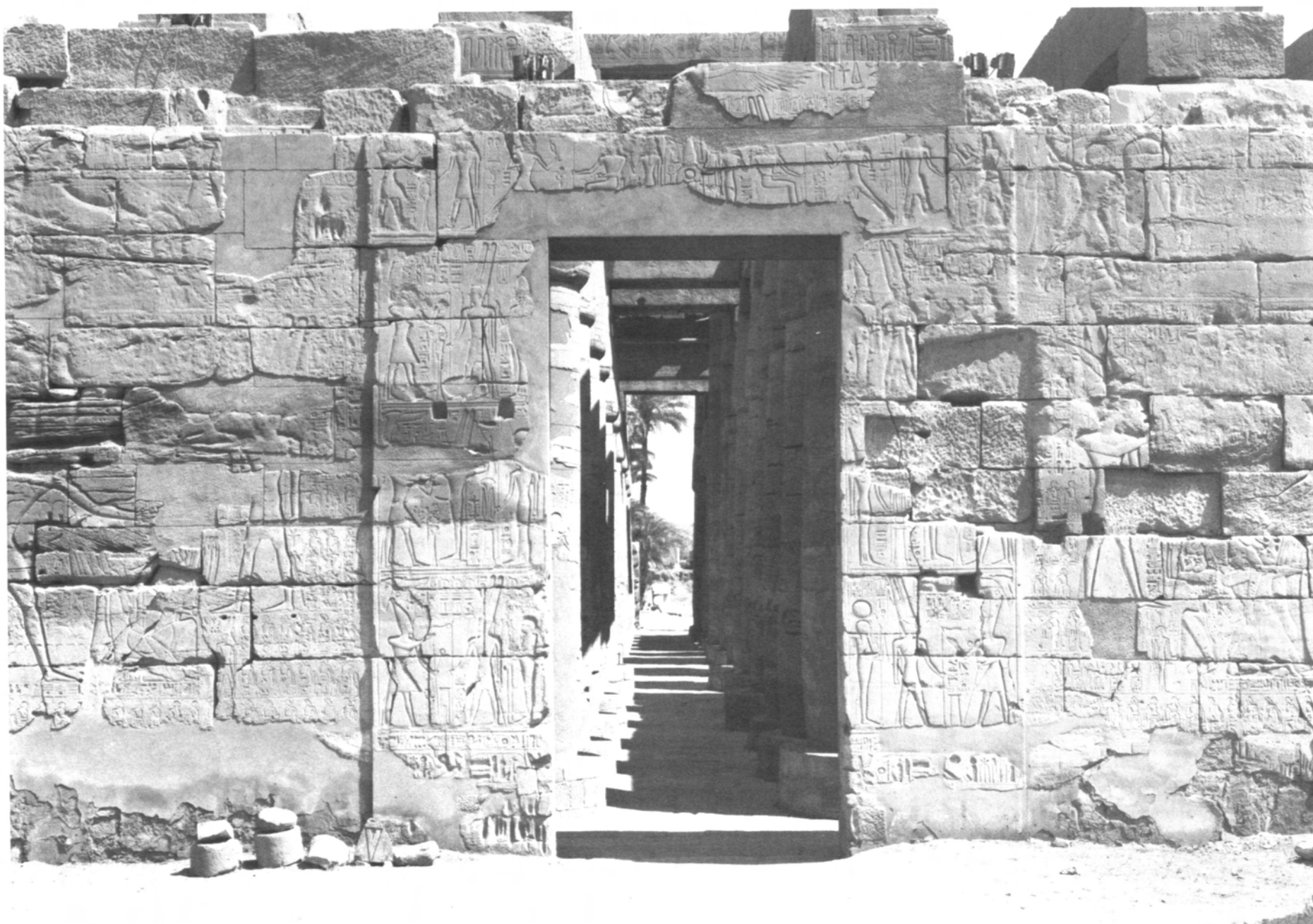
Photographs by Krause

C

A. NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL, JOINING THE SECOND PYLON
 B-C. SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL, JOINING THE SECOND PYLON,
 WITH REMAINS OF SCENES IN THE FOURTH REGISTER



A



Photographs by Olson

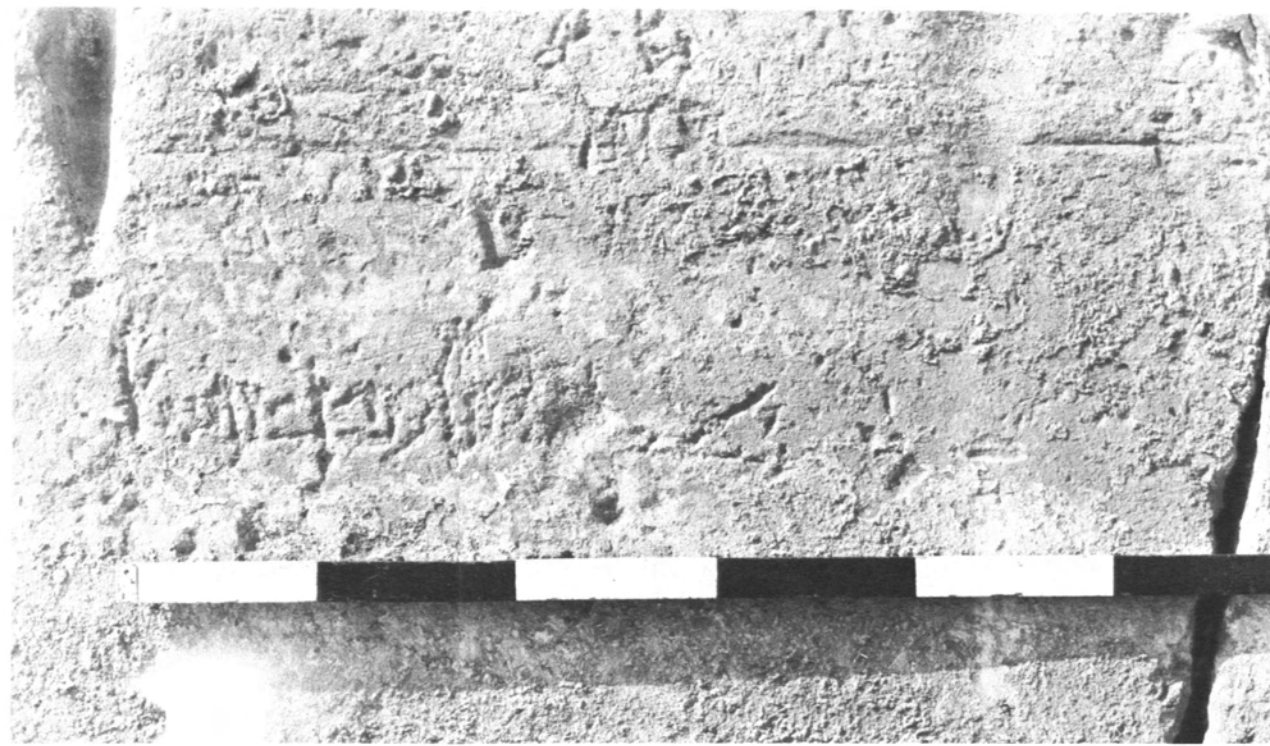
B

A. NORTH FACE OF GATEWAY THROUGH NORTH WALL OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL
B. SOUTH FACE OF GATEWAY THROUGH THE SOUTH WALL OF THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

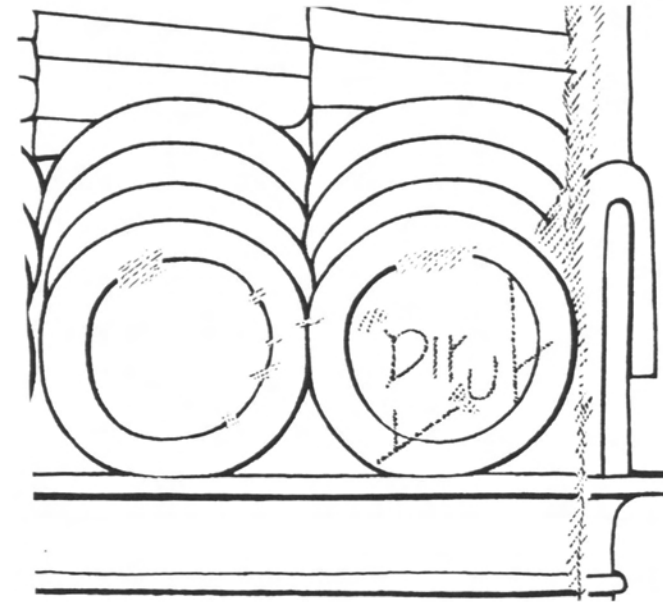


Photographs by Krause (A–B) and Olson (D, H)

A



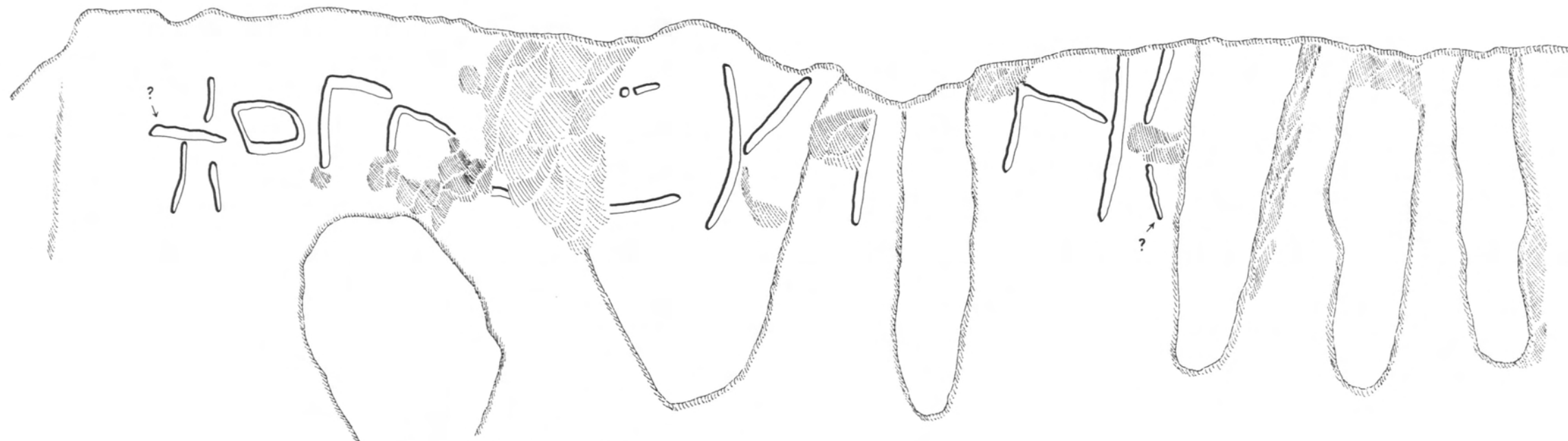
B



C



D



Drawings by Lack (C) and Johnson (E–G)

F



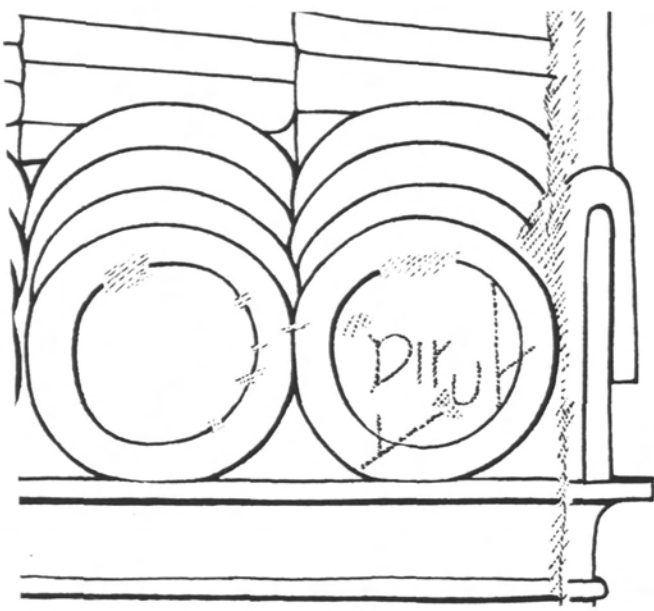
G



A–B. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI (NOS. 3 AND 4)
C. DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (NO. 18)
D–E. GRAFFITO IN UNIDENTIFIED SCRIPT (NO. 20)
F–G. GREEK GRAFFITI (NOS. 22 AND 21)
H. GRAFFITI NOS. 23–25
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BASE (A–B, G) AND SECOND REGISTER (C);
WEST THICKNESS (F); EAST WING, LOWER REGISTER (D–E, H)



B



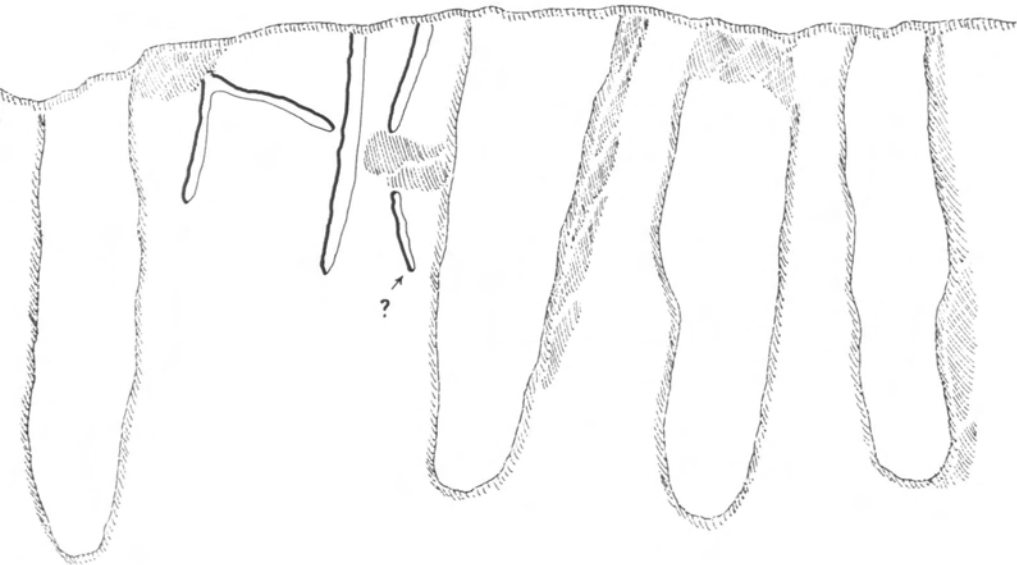
C



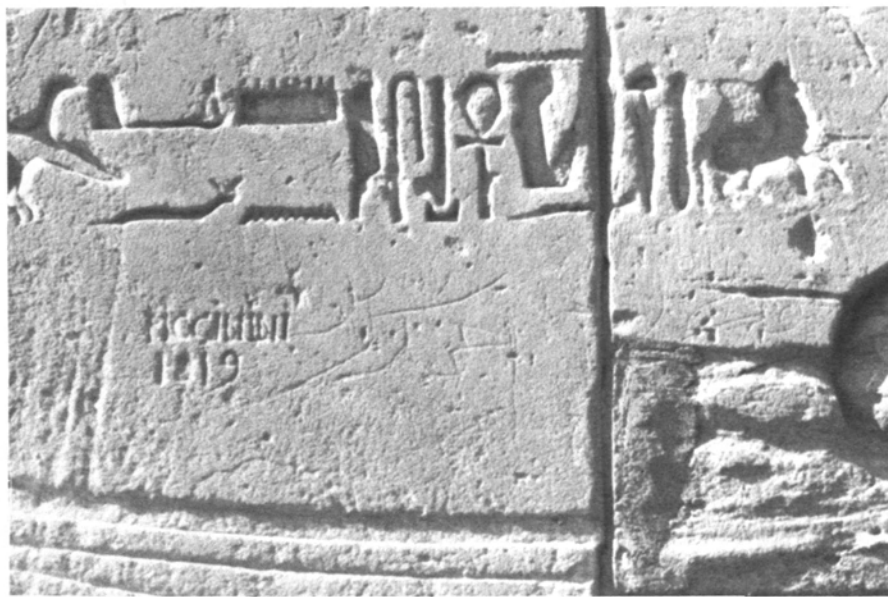
D



E

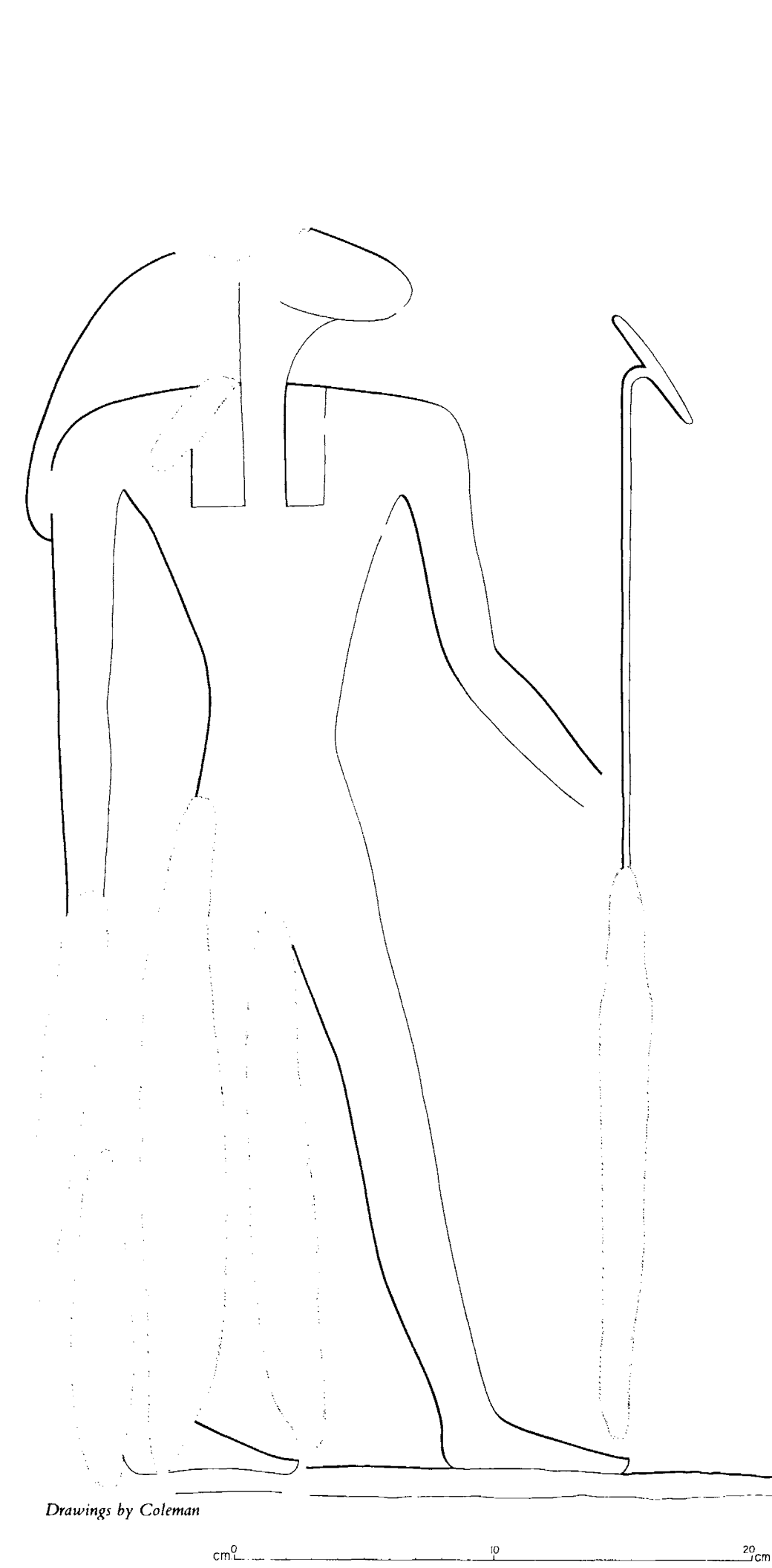


G

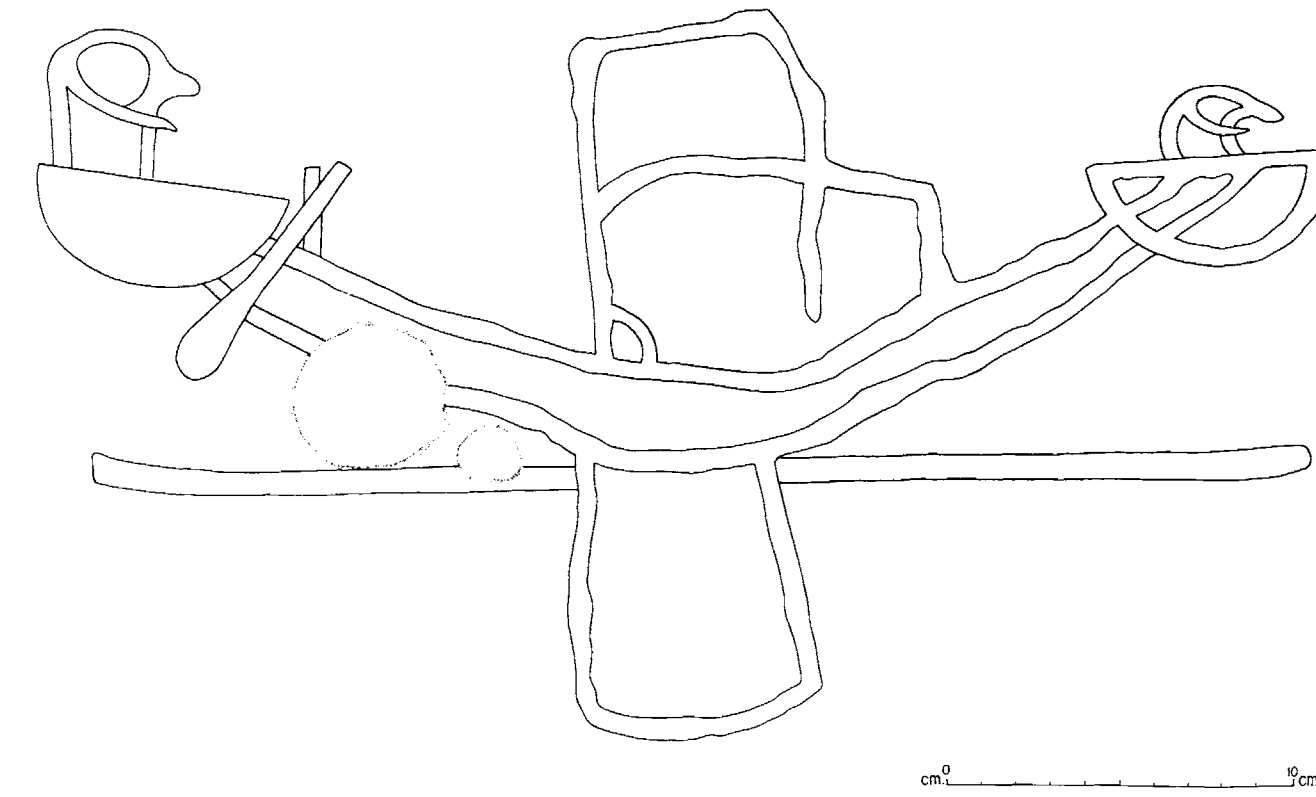


H

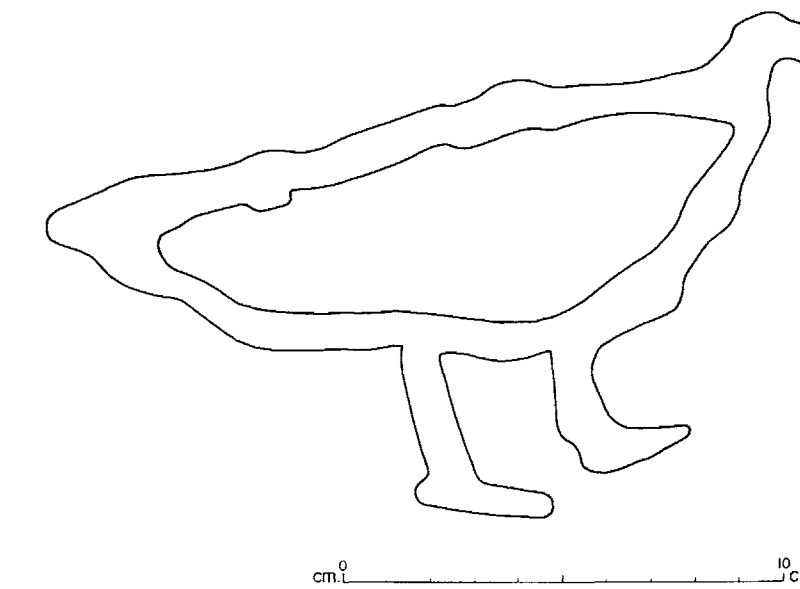
A-B. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI (NOS. 3 AND 4)
C. DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (NO. 18)
D-E. GRAFFITO IN UNIDENTIFIED SCRIPT (NO. 20)
F-G. GREEK GRAFFITI (NOS. 22 AND 21)
H. GRAFFITI NOS. 23-25
NORTH WALL, WEST WING, BASE (A-B, G) AND SECOND REGISTER (C);
WEST THICKNESS (F); EAST WING, LOWER REGISTER (D-E, H)



A



B



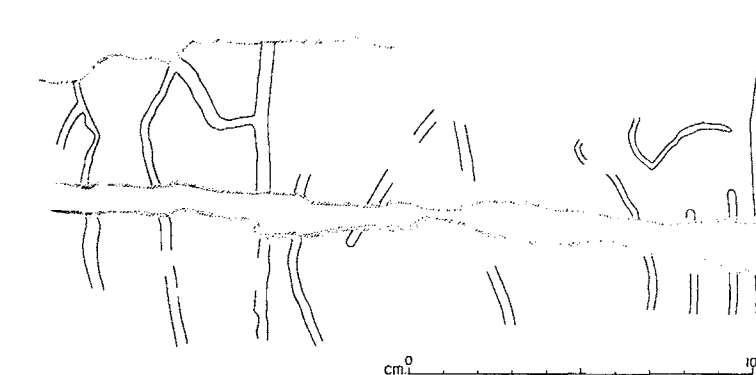
C



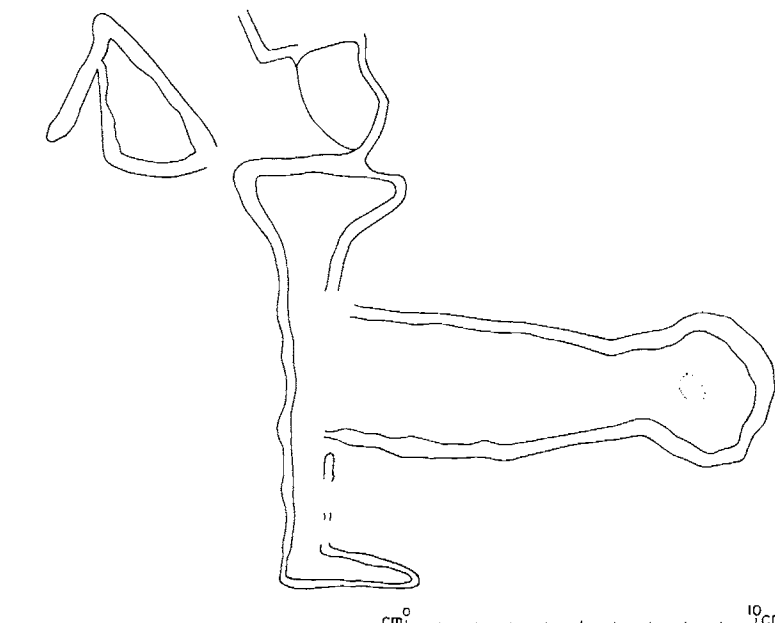
D



E



F



G

- A. RAM-HEADED DIVINITY (GRAFFITO NO. 1)
 B. PORTABLE BARK-SHRINE OF AMON (GRAFFITO NO. 2)
 C. GOOSE OF AMON? (GRAFFITO NO. 5)
 D. FIGURE OF OSIRIS (GRAFFITO NO. 6)
 E. FIGURE OF OSIRIS (GRAFFITO NO. 7)
 F. FIGURE BEFORE OFFERING TABLE? (GRAFFITO NO. 8)
 G. ITHYPHALLIC AMON (GRAFFITO NO. 9)
 BASE OF NORTH WALL, WEST (A-C) AND EAST (D-G) WINGS