THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL IN THE TEMPLE OF AMUN AT KARNAK

Volume I, Part 2: TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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INTRODUCTION

In this volume, we will treat the reliefs copied by Nelson in an order somewhat different from that adopted in his volume of plates,¹ which divided the Hall into southern and northern sectors and treated all elements in each area in a generally counter-clockwise sequence. In this work, scenes that lie on related architectural elements—specifically, the western portal (GHHK I.1, pls. 1-4, 131-134) and the eastern vestibule (ibid., pls. 110-118, 233-257)—will be grouped together, even when the different parts were decorated at separate periods.

A few notes on translation: the reader will notice that we have translated some commonly occurring words and phrases differently from how they are traditionally rendered in English. Thus we translate nsw-bi.ty as “dual king” rather than “king of Upper and Lower Egypt” because these terms are frequently used independently of each other in a manner that does not suggest that they were geographically restrictive. Thus kings may be referred collectively as bit.yw with the connotation of “ancestral kings” or “kings of old.” Likewise, the term nsw used independently to refer to the king is so common as a designation of the general office of kingship that it seems unlikely that it is to be restricted to Upper Egypt alone. Instead, nsw and bi.ty connote two different aspects of kingship, hence the translation “dual king.” Another common term referring to the king is hms=f, traditionally translated as “his majesty.” We firmly believe, however, that hms indicates the bodily form or incarnation of a divine being (including the king).² As a result, the admittedly awkward “his person” is preferred while hms used by itself becomes “incarnation.”

² More work remains to be done with the term hms, but see now J. Spiegel, “Die Grundbedeutung des Stammes hms,” ZAS 75 (1939), pp. 112-121.
Plan of the Hypostyle Hall showing the main architectural divisions containing wall scenes.
Scenes inscribed on the façade of this doorway were recarved over the original sunk relief decoration on the eastern gateway of the Second Pylon, a structure built by Horemheb and decorated under him and his successor, Ramesses I. Horemheb, who inscribed the façade and interior of the Second Pylon’s vestibule, may also have carved the earliest sunk relief decoration on the east face of the pylon, including the east facing jambs of the gate. This is not entirely certain, as Ramesses I inscribed a decorative frieze of his cartouche names on the now missing top of the pylon towers (just below the torus molding). We now know that Ramesses I also decorated the eastern end of the passage leading through the Second Pylon, and it is no doubt for this reason that Sety I chose to recognize his father when he reinscribed the doorway of his new columned hall. As first carved under Sety, the doorjambs featured both kings, officiating in alternating scenes. Ramesses II would later usurp the cartouches in all these tableaux, and he would also convert Sety I’s raised work on the southern jamb to sunk relief (plan 1). This was in keeping with his practice elsewhere in the Hall’s southern half, where he sought to homogenize his earlier work with the incised carvings of his later periods.

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

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


6 As well as several scenes on the top register of the north wing of the west wall proper. See below commentary to pls. 138, 140-142.


8 Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 53-60. See above, chapter 2.3.1 and 2.5.

9 Similar friezes are found in various contemporary Theban temples. So in the Gurnah temple hypostyle hall and at the top of the piers in the Ramessean’s second court, both with the prenomen flanked by uraei. In the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite at Gurnah, however, the nomen is flanked by the uraei. Moreover, in all these examples, the cartouches sit atop -signs, not on -basket as on the West gateway.
Sety I inscribed this face of the doorway in raised relief, and on the jambs, he alternated scenes in his own name (GHHK I.1, pls. 2, 4, 132, 134) with others carved in the name of his deceased father Ramesses I (ibid., pls. 1, 3, 131, 133). Ultimately, Ramesses II usurped the royal names of his father and grandfather in sunk relief. On the north jamb (ibid., pls. 131-134), he only recarved hieroglyphic signs within the royal cartouche rings and Horus-name serekh (ibid., pl. 133) as sunken relief. Otherwise, Ramesses II left Sety’s raised relief decoration on this jamb intact. However, on the south jamb (ibid., pls. 1-4) of the doorway, Ramesses II also converted Sety’s raised relief into sunk, as he did with the rest of Sety’s decoration carved in that medium south of the central axis along with his own early bas reliefs there.

When Ramesses II replaced the names of his forbearers with his own on the jambs of this gateway, he used the nomen RŘ-ms-s everywhere except in the upper two uppermost scenes from the north jamb and in the top frieze just above them (GHHK I.1, pls. 131-132), where RŘ-ms-sw occurs. RŘ-ms-sw, as can be observed in the southern part of the Great Hall, was occasionally Ramesses’ spelling of his personal name prior to his second regnal year when it coexisted with RŘ-ms-s. But when he changed his prenomen to its final form, Wsr-mỉf. t-RŘ-stp.n.RŘ, he altered the spelling of his nomen to RŘ-ms-s and continued to write it thus until after the twenty-first year of his reign, from which point the nomen was always written RŘ-ms-sw. The situation is puzzling, however there are rare instances elsewhere in which the two nomen orthographies appear to coexist after year two and before year 21 in the Luxor Temple forecourt.

Sety I left a space corresponding to the height of a full register uncarved beneath the lowest scene on each jamb. This emptiness is most striking on the north side of the door, where a limestone dyad, dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty and portraying Amun and a king, now stands. On the south side of the portal, including decoration on the clerestory and architraves on the north side of the central nave— the two anomalous examples on the north jamb of the west gate does not admit of an easy solution.

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

12 One might expect that Ramesses made all these usurpations at the same time rather than at widely separated intervals. His conversions of raised relief on the south jamb would have been done fairly early in the reign while his nomen was still RŘ-ms-s, as with replacements of Sety’s raised relief on the south half of the west wall (see our commentary to GHHK I.1, pls. 31-33 below). Ramesses II’s usurpations and additions of new decoration in the northern half of the building were done sometime after his year 21 when the nomen was RŘ-ms-sw.
13 PM II, p. 307 (26). On the east interior wall south of the central doorway, Ramesses II’s nomen cartouches are written RŘ-ms-s in vertically arranged inscriptions and RŘ-ms-sw in horizontal ones.
however, stands an element of the Second Pylon’s earlier decoration that was retained within Sety I’s Great Hypostyle Hall—namely, a small shrine that had, at its core, a niche-shaped sandstone shrine or throne platform with an alabaster floor slab inscribed with prostrate captive enemies of the “Nine Bows.” Incised texts on what remain of this edicule’s jambs and lintel show that Ramesses I had dedicated it before his grandson Ramesses II usurped it.

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

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

16 The northern jamb and lintel are inscribed with texts in sunk relief including palimpsest cartouches giving the names of both Ramesses I and II, the southern sides being destroyed.
PLATE 41 LEFT

Bibliography: PM II², p. 42 (148i); W. J. Murnane, JNES 34 (1975), pp. 180-181, fig. 20.

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

Subject: Cartouche frieze of Sety I usurped by Ramesses II (fig. 107).

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

Paint: None preserved.

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

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

Translations:

Prenomen cartouche (Left): USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE replacing [MENMA’ATRE]

Nomen cartouche (Right): RAMESSES MERAMUN replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN]

PLATE 1


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

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

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved in raised relief (fig. 108). This is most obvious with the offering table, which only had its outline incised, leaving all its contents raised. Elsewhere, the sunken versions were cut along the contours of the originals, making the figures slightly thinner. Traces of raised relief can be detected at the leading edges of Amun’s plumes, on the sky sign above; on Amun’s rear leg, foot, and the front of his rear arm, Mut’s hand, and the back of the king’s advancing leg. Extending from Mut’s Double Crown, the inner loops of its coil were left in bas-relief, as was the upper part of the king’s tail. Due no doubt to its height off of the ground, the workmanship of those who recarved Sety’s decoration to sunken relief is rather crude and
incomplete. The bodies are flat but are sometimes higher than the background, and their leading edges are beveled and angular, even rough. It is clear that sculptors shaved them down. While they retained some raised elements, the workmen cut others back severely: two \(O\)-jars in the king’s hand were deeply incised at their rims and circumference, but their centers and the king’s thumbs remain raised, giving the jars a globular appearance.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\hat{\mathfrak{g}} \quad \text{and} \quad \hat{\mathfrak{g}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

one can see parts of the left corner of \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) over the final \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) and \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) (prenomen) and the left side of \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\), along with the beak of \(\hat{\mathfrak{g}}\) at the top of the final \(\mathfrak{R}^e\)-ms-s group (nomen).\(^{17}\)

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

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

**Translations:**

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

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

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

By the Vulture: 10Nekhbet.

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

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

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

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

d. Referring to the goddess’ role as one of the protective goddesses on the king’s brow (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 7:28): for hr.t-tp, lit. “she who is upon the brow” see Wb. III, p. 141:10-11. So misinterpreted by Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 21, nn. 3-4.

e. Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].

f. Replacing [RAMESSU].

PLATE 2


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

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

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved in raised relief (fig. 109). Remnants of the older version persist along some of the outer edges of the final incised cuts (e.g., along the front of Amun’s body). Of Sety’s suppressed cartouches, one can see and the base of , as well parts of between and the (prenomen), parts of under the R<sup>-ms</sup> group (nomen), and the left side of the of Imn (nomen). 18

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

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

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

Observations: The following elements have disappeared since Nelson’s time: Amunet’s belly and part of her breast; the right edge of col. 12; parts of col. 3 (including the bottoms of and , as well as the top of the flame issuing from 18 Murnane, V A 10 (1995), p. 168, 2-south.
the king’s incense cup); and behind Amun, and most of Amun-Re. A diagonal gash above the king’s head might belong to Horemheb’s carving on the Second Pylon, but is too short and ill defined to be restored with any certainty. It is partially filled with plaster.

Stone in the area of Amun’s head has also sheared off, but there is no evidence of deliberate hacking, and there remain faint outlines of the top of his helmet crown, the tip of his nose, the front of his beard and his neckline. Although damage to his penis is consistent with the sort of defacement that occurs frequently in other scenes in the Hall, modern cement now obscures it, making a firm judgment impossible.19

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* (I) have given to you the victories of my sword.

*By Amun-Re:*

1. Words spoken: a

2. Amun-Re-Kamutef: (I) have given to you your name, very enduring!

3. Eternity as king of the Two Lands.”

*Behind Amun-Re:*

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

5. Words spoken: b

6. Amunet, lady [of heaven]: c (I) have given to you provisions. d (I) have given [to you] food. e (I) have given [to you] provisions.

7. Residing in Karn[nak]: f “(I) have given [to you] food. (I) have given [to you] provisions.”

*By Amunet:*

8. “(I) have given [to you] provisions.

9. (I) have given [to you] food.

10. (I) have given [to you] valor and all victory in [my] presence.

11. (I) have given [to you] eternity, with life and dominion.”

*By the King:*

12. The lord of the Two Lands

13. USERMA’ATRE SETEPENRE, d the lord of appearances

14. RAMESSES-MERAMUN, e whom Amun has caused to appear as king.

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

16. b. There is scarcely room for any other restoration, and these epithets are often associated with Amunet (for which see Imn.t in the glossary).

17. c. There seems to be more room than the restoration $\text{di.}[n= (i) n=k] \text{nhh}$ would require.

18. d. Replacing [MENMA’ATRE].

19. e. Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

20. f. The scribe has mistakenly written $\text{sh}^{\text{c}}.n \text{Imn}$ for either a geminating imperfective relative form ($\text{sh}^{\text{c}}.\text{Imn}$) or a past relative

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19 But compare GHHK I.1, pl. 4.
The same error was frequently made in the Hypostyle Hall. See GHKK I, e.g., pls. 12 left:18; 19:9; 24:15; 25:9. See glossary s.v. shfr.

PLATE 3


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

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

Type of Relief: Sunk, but formerly carved as raised relief (figs. 110-111). As in the two previous scenes, sculptors incised the outer contours of the offerings on their table, while leaving the items within in bas relief. The top of Ramesses’ tail was also left raised. Other vestiges of Sety I’s work abide along the cuts of the final sunken edition: at the front of Amun’s belt and the back of his rear arm; the stalk of a bouquet on the offering stand in front of Khonsu; the inner peak of in col. 1; and the top of the “flag” of in col. 15.

Here again, the main figures project slightly from the background. Of Ramesses I’s original cartouches, and parts of and the forehead of remain around the final (prenomen), as does the top of to the right of of R²-ms-sw, situated over the final (nomen).

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

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

Nelson did not record markings on the vulture’s head and the upper tier of feathers on her descending wing (which craftsmen partly

21 A distinctive pattern of vandalism, encompassing the legs and feet below the knees and extending outside contours of the head and face into the god’s shoulders, is consistent with similar defacement of reliefs in the eastern passageway of the Second Pylon, just around the corner. PM II2, p. 42 (148g-h); Murnane et al., ASAE 78 (2004), figs. 48, 50-51. So too on the Ptolemaic gate of the Second Pylon. PM II2, p. 42 (148a-b) and in reliefs on some columns inside the Hypostyle Hall.
erased in the change to sunken relief). Absent too are scant vestiges of Horemheb’s erased decoration, including two incised vertical lines inside the flaring top of the offering stand and another within Amun’s lower kilt just above his forward knee. Lotus stems wrapped around the two wine jars are not complete at their edges, where they were erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

**Translations:**

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

**By Amun:** Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you valor and victory. (I) have given to you millions of years. (I) have given to you eternity as king. (I) have given to you my kingship [as king].”

**By Khonsu:** Khonsu-[in-Thebes], lord of joy, Neferhotep-[in-Karnak]: “(I) have given to you the kingship [of Re]. (I) have given to you my myriads of jubilees.”

**By the King:** The good god, who makes monuments for his father Amun-Re, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, the great god.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 4-5 and 10-11.

b. Traces suggest nsw.t= i m [nsw] + , rather than nsw.t (I)tm[w], “the kingship of Atum”: GHHK I.1, pl. 98:3.

c. Cf. ibid., pls. 43:12-14; 133:6-8.

d. There is hardly room for any alternative to nsw.t [R'], a common phrase in the Hall. See glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k.

e. Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].

f. Replacing [RAMESSU].

g. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 22, n. 13) rightly doubts the cogency of this epithet in connection with a vulture goddess, especially since in that case it would be situated more unambiguously beside the figure (cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 1, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 30, 32, 39, 44, 45, among many others) and because is more appropriate for Horus the Behdetite (e.g., ibid., pl. 46) than for either Nekhbet or Wadjet. He is wrong, however, in hazarding that this might be a modern copyist’s mistake (the signs are definitely there), or that it reflects confusion on the ancient sculptor’s part. Rather, the short interval that separates ntr from the cartouches would have held the signs that are fully rendered in a corresponding scene on the north jamb (ibid., pl. 133) where the original celebrant, as here, was the deceased Ramesses I.
PLATE 4


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

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

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

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

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

Paint: None preserved.

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

Later occupants of the Hall carefully hollowed out Amun’s penis within its outlines. They also despoiled some of the hieroglyphs and the falcon’s lower wing. However, there is less abrasion to the offering pile than Nelson suggests, and traces of figs and grapes in raised relief persist on its top right side. Some of the blocks’ joints have now widened, the most significant losses being to the faces of Amun-Re and Mut.

Translations:

Label: ‘Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers that he might achieve ‘given life.’

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By Amun: 2 Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef, residing in the Temple ‘Effective is’
RAM(ESS)ES-MERAMUN in the Estate of Amun. ‘I have given to you […]’ d 5 ‘I have given to you the flat lands being pacified, like Re.’
By Hathor: 6 Hathor, lady of Dendera, lady of heaven, residing in Deir el-Bahari. ‘I have given to you all provisions, I have given to you food, I have given to you all joy.’
By the Falcon: 11 As he gives life and dominion on his part.
By the King: 14 The lord of the Two Lands USERMA\ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, whom Re-Atum has chosen in the Mansion of the Phoenix.

a. Repeated mechanically at the tops of all the columns containing gods’ speeches along the top of the scene.
b. Restoring [hry-ib] h[w.t-ntr] 3h] above the cartouche: So GHHK I.1, pls. 123:3-4; 154:4-5.
c. Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].
d. Either the object was not carved or it was small enough to fit at the top of the broken space between this column and Amun’s plumes.
e. Restoring Hw.t-Hr [nb.t] Tw.t: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 67:1; 106:10; 144:6.
f. For ḫrs, Deir el-Bahari, see Eberhard Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gastes, (Berlin, 1952), pp. 61-2; Rainer Hanning, Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (Mainz, 1995), p. 1016.
g. Here \(\text{\textbullet\textcircled{b}}\) has been miswritten for \(\text{\textbullet\textcircled{b}}\).
h. The small broken space at the bottom of the column would accommodate \(\text{\textbullet\textcircled{b}}\) (cf. GHHK I.1, pls.115:8; 159:6) or hr ḫb.ty=k (ibid., pls. 82 middle:4; 166:4), if anything more is needed beneath the lower nb(w).
i. Replacing [MENMA\ATRE].
j. With \(\text{\textbullet\textcircled{b}}\) in honorary transposition above \(\text{\textbullet\textcircled{b}}\); cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 153:17 for a similar but more coherent grouping—doubtless the origin of the arrangement here—where \(\text{\textbullet\textcircled{b}}\) is fitted (as it is so often) above the “back” of the

PLATE 262
(Frieze at Top of the Gateway)

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 43 (149i).
Location: B 201: Western gateway, north jamb, frieze above top register.
Subject: Cartouche frieze of Sety I, usurped by Ramesses II.
Type of Relief: Raised relief, except the names of Ramesses II usurping those of Sety I inside the cartouches, which are sunk. Ramesses’ nomen is R\textsuperscript{R}-ms-sw (so GHHK I.1, pls. 131-132). Of Sety’s
names, only \( \text{and part of } \) in the nomen
and a larger \( \) surrounding the final one in the
prenomen are discernable.

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

Prenomen cartouche (Right): USERMA\(^{a}\)ATRE-
[SETEPENRE].

Nomen cartouche (Left): RAMESSU-
MER[AMUN].

a. Replacing [MENMA\(^{a}\)ATRE].
b. Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

**PLATE 131**

**Bibliography:** PM II\(^{2}\), p. 43 (148) I; W. J.
Murnane, \( \text{VA} \) 10 (1995), p. 168, 1-north; Brand,
Monuments of Seti I, fig. 105.

**Location:** B 202: Western gateway, northern
jamb, top register.

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

**Type of Relief:** Raised work of Sety I, but
Ramesses II’s workmen recut his names inside the
cartouches as sunk. Of Ramesses I’s suppressed
names,
and \( \) there remains the snout
of \( \) and the front of its neck between final
\( \), \( \), and \( \) (prenomen). Fragments
of \( \) of \( ^{e}\)-ms-sw below final \( \)
(nomen) also survive.\(^{23}\)

**Paint:** Amun’s collar (most clearly on his left side)
and those of Mut and the king, along with an arm
band on Amun’s left biceps and Ramesses’ right
biceps, were only painted. Nelson mistook a softly
modeled contour just inside the front of Mut’s
lower torso and legs (representing the division of
her legs within her garment) along with traces of
recutting behind her knee, as parts of a suprious
cloth belt with streamers. In fact, the genuine
remains of her painted belt lie further to the right
and are confined to streamers below the block
edge at her waist, which cease at the level of her
fist grasping an \( \). These consist of a series of
short, horizontal lines delineating crimped
streamers.\(^{24}\) Although probably once red, these


\(^{24}\) Cf. similar examples in tomb paintings such as those
worn by Ramesses II’s wife, Queen Nefertari in her
famous tomb. Gertrude Thausing and Hans Goedicke,
and other pigments have faded beyond recognition.

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

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* ¹Presenting wine to Amun-Re, that [he] might achieve ‘given [life].’

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

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

*By the King:* ¹¹The good god, who makes benefactions for his father, Amun-Re, ¹²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETÉPINEN, ¹³[c] the lord of appearances] RAMESŠU-MERAMUN.

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d. Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].
e. Replacing [RAMESSU].

PLATE 132


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

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

Type of Relief: Raised, but the royal names inside the cartouches were altered to sunk. Of Sety I’s names, one can see traces of the right “arm” of held by , the left side and bottom of (prenomen), and the second of Sty, with the below it (nomen).25

Paint: None preserved.

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

Translations:

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Replacing [MENMAATRE].

c. Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

PLATE 133


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

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

Type of Relief: Raised, but Ramesses II carved hieroglyphs for his own names inside both cartouche rings and the rectangular serekh in sunk relief. Of Ramesses I’s names, and , one sees the forehead of , the top and bottom of , and most of (prenomen), along with the , , and (name).26 Traces of “ ” that Nelson drew between final and of Ramesses II’s prenomen are actually some of the game pieces of . In the serekh, vestiges of Ramesses I’s Horus name, (ki-nht wtd-nsy.t), persist amid his grandson’s sunk relief version, including elements of , one of two signs, and .

Paint: None preserved.

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

In this register, as at the corresponding

level of the south jamb, religious zealots of a later age desecrated the heads and legs of all the main figures, but never finished their work, so they attacked Amun’s elbow joints, but not those of Ramesses or Khonsu. By analogy with scenes in the nearby passageway of the Second Pylon, one might expect all of their forearms and hands to be defaced. Such vandalism extends: to the head and feet of Neferhotep in Karnak: “(I) have given to you the throne of Geb. (I) have given to you the office of Atum.”

By the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the lord of the Two Lands

USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, true-of-voice before the great god.

Translations:

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

By Amun: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, [the great] god:

Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor. (I) have given to you all victory.”

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

By Khonsu: Khonsu-in-Thebes, ‘lord of joy,

Neferhotep in Karnak: “(I) have given to you the throne of Geb. (I) have given to you the office of Atum.”

By the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the lord of the Two Lands

USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, true-of-voice before the great god.

a. For the epithet ntr attached to Amun-Re. See GHHK I.1, pls. 1:2, 12 left:3, 80:2-3, 126:2, 157:2.

b. Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 5, 9-10.

c. Replacing [mighty bull, ‘flourishing of kingship’].

d. Replacing [MENPEHTYRE].

e. Replacing [RAMESSU].

f. So reading m3-hrw hr ntr. To the left of col. 14, the surface of the wall is damaged, but one can make out above the gap and below, rather than the traces recorded by Nelson: cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 3 above, where ntr is grouped differently, but there is also written  . The epithet to which these signs belong was appropriate for the deceased Ramesses I, who shared the jambs of this doorway with his son Sety I (as the latter’s homage to his father: see Murnane, VA 10 [1995], p. 168).

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27 PM II, p. 42 (148g-h); Murnane et al., ASAE 78 (2004), figs. 50-51. Here too, the pattern of defacement was not entirely consistent.
PLATE 134

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 43 (148j) IV; W. J. Murnane, V/A 10 (1995), p. 168, 4-north.

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

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

**Type of Relief:** Raised, but Ramesses II altered the glyphs inside both cartouches to sunk when he usurped them from his father. Of Sety I’s names, and nothing is left in the badly preserved *prenomen*, but in the *nomen* cartouche one sees the snout of and the tops of under the final group Ra-ms-s.

Sety’s *nomen* also had for which Ramesses substituted. Note, however, that a rebus of Sety’s *prenomen*, remains intact amid the food offerings on the altar table before Amun.

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

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

As in the scene above, iconoclasts attacked the figures, but here too they never finished their work. They thoroughly defaced Mut’s head and shoulders, but otherwise the figures largely escaped such methodical treatment. Lighter pecking mars Amun’s thumbs and fingers, as well as Ramesses II’s thumbs, nose, and mouth. Although worn down and thereby lacking carved details for his mouth and nostril, Amun’s profile is

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29 Similarly in GHHK I.1, pls. 33, 154, 194.
complete and unmolested. Some hieroglyphs were also effaced by pecking at them. However, deep gouging around the bottom of Amun’s lettuce planter resulted from Sety I’s deletion of the Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs.

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1 Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

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

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

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

**By the King:** 15 The good god who performs benefactions, 16 the lord of the Two Lands USER[MARE]RE-SETEPEN[RE], 17 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 18 given

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

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

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

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

d. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 2:12. See glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k rnp.wt hh m ’nh wʾs.

e. Replacing [MENMAARE].

f. Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].
WEST WALL, SOUTH SIDE (Plates 5-41)

The reliefs in this area mostly cover the eastern face of what was previously the southern wing of Horemheb's Second Pylon. The only part of this wall that belonged solely to the Great Hypostyle Hall from its inception is the connecting wall at the south end (GHHK I.1, pl. 41, right), which forms the corner between the pylon's south wing and the Hall's southern wall. Horemheb and Ramesses I were the first to decorate the Pylon before Sety I and Ramesses II added their reliefs. Seemingly random patterns of deep chiseling that disfigure this wall’s surface attest to the erasure of these earlier sculptures, traces of which are still visible at the upper south corner of the pylon.31 The decoration of the western wall’s south wing began as a continuation of the work completed by Sety I in the northern half of the Hall (plan 1). In addition to inscribing the scenes on the portal (see above), he also executed several scenes to the south32 and began the cobra-and-cartouche frieze at the top of the wall preserved above part of the large scene at the north end.33 Sety I’s son Ramesses II, however, inscribed the remainder of this wing. Even so, there are sporadic indications that a number, if not all, of the scenes on this wing could have been laid out as painted cartoons under Sety I. Some of the evidence is ambiguous. Although he appears as the celebrant in one scene in the third register,34 Sety does not bow as is usual for his images in the Hypostyle Hall, suggesting that this relief is a posthumous one created at the behest of his son Ramesses II. In the lowest register, Amun-Re’s processional bark is equipped with a veil that bears a rebus writing of Sety’s name.35 Yet elements of Sety I’s titulary remained on the iconography of Amun-Re’s sacred bark in two more reliefs on the south wall36 and in the Triple Bark Shrine of Ramesses II in the forecourt of Luxor Temple.37

31 See GHHK I.1 pls. 12, 20-21; cf. ibid., pls. 258, 266 and our commentary to the same.
32 Ibid., pls. 5-6, 31-33.
33 Ibid., pl. 7. For a more detailed drawing, see ibid., pl. 136 bottom.
34 Ibid., pl. 27.
35 Ibid., pl. 38
36 Ibid., pls. 53, 76.
37 PM II, p. 310 (39).
It seems more likely, however, that the draftsmen who laid out the decoration on the west wall labored just ahead of the sculptors who transformed these cartoons into finished relief. In support of this conclusion is the pattern of scenes in which the king's torso is inclined forward in the bowing posture that is a hallmark of Sety I's decoration in the Hall. The aforementioned exception aside, all of Sety I’s images show this iconography. Most of Ramesses II’s effigies, however, appear with a fully upright posture. In three cases where Ramesses does bow, it is by necessity. In the remaining three episodes on the west wall wherein Ramesses bows, two are located adjacent to reliefs completed by his father, including the huge scene at the north end. These examples may be explained either as reliefs drafted by Sety I’s scribes before his death or perhaps as the earliest decoration planned by Ramesses II once he took the throne but before he abandoned his father’s iconography.

The reliefs that Ramesses II first executed on the west wall when he took over his father’s program of decoration continued to be executed in the fine bas relief style with which Sety I had begun his work in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Ramesses soon abandoned this mode of decoration, however, in favor of a faster technique, whereby all designs were incised in sunk relief. All of these early sunk reliefs date to the phase of decoration in which the king continued to employ the shorter early form of his prenomen $Wsr\text{-}M35\text{-}t\text{-}R^s$ instead of the longer version ($Wsr\text{-}m35\text{-}t\text{-}R^s$ $Stp.\text{n.}R^s$). The orthography of the early throne name was usually.

For a period of time the two styles, in raised and sunken relief, coexisted on this and the adjoining

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

39 *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7, 34, 38
western half of the south wall, but a forced homogeneity eventually prevailed when Ramesses ordered that all scenes formerly carved in raised relief were to be given the appearance of sunken relief. The sculptors carved incised outlines around every hieroglyph and virtually every figure, thus concealing *grosso modo* their original bas relief character. At the same time, since Ramesses II had adopted his final *prenomen* by this time, the recarved scenes were also updated, not only with the current *prenomen*, but also with a slightly emended form of his personal name, which was now consistently spelled “Ramesses” (\(R^*-ms-s\)) in place of the earlier variant “Ramessu” (\(R^*-ms-sw\)). Thus, even though the greatest inconsistencies in appearance had been eliminated, the earlier and later reliefs still form two distinct units: the original sunken scenes (all with the earlier, short *prenomen*) near the south end of the wall; and the larger number of scenes at the north end, mostly converted into sunken relief but displaying the later forms of Ramesses II’s cartouches.

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

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

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

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

A few indications of the later history of the Great Hypostyle Hall survive on the south wing of the west wall. First, at some point during the pharaonic age, the figure of Amun on GHHK I.1, pl. 36 was singled out as an icon. Its eye was deepened and filled with an inlay, and it was covered with a veil (drill holes for which are present on the wall). It is impossible to determine when this development took place, although it may have been as early as the later New Kingdom. A few traces of a marginal inscription belonging to “King” Herihor are also found at the base of the wall, most conspicuously beneath the scene on ibid. pl. 38. The rest of this text is lost, either to the severe deterioration of the blocks that form lower parts of the wall or to the replacement of these blocks during later antiquity.

Post-pharaonic occupation throughout the Hall is reflected in two ways: first, from the holes sunk into the walls to accommodate roofing beams; and second, from the way later inhabitants hacked away parts of the decoration which they found offensive. Evidence of both actions is found above the lowest register on this wall’s south side, suggesting that a considerable amount of debris had accumulated before these later structures were built. The lowest marks that are consistent with occupation lie, moreover, in the second register, below the level of most deliberate damage, which suggests this could have been perpetrated from the roofs of those houses. To the north (where the mound may have sloped down into the central aisle or where access to the higher reliefs might be had from the roof of Ramesses I’s shrine), the hacking begins in the third register from the ground and does not rise any higher than the fourth. Similarly, the greatest concentration of beam-holes lies in the third and fourth registers from the ground. The structures that left these traces were clustered at the southern end of the wall and stood on a mound of rubbish that covered most of the two

lowest registers. This elevation, and the attendant damage to the reliefs, would be consistent with a relatively late date for these structures, perhaps the seventh century C.E. or later, although an earlier date would be conceivable if the mound accumulated inside the Hall quickly, during an intensive period of occupation. So scanty are the material remains, however, that one can only speculate on the dates for these houses that once stood inside this area of the Great Hypostyle Hall. The presence of several Coptic crosses amid the reliefs near the top of the west wall at its southern end does, however, suggest the resident iconoclasts were active during the Christian era.42

42 See our commentary to GHHK L1, pl. 12, below.
PLATE 5

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

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

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

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief, of which a few traces have withstood the conversion process outside the final cuts—e.g., along the falcon’s back, head, and the end of its tail; on the upper neck of the king’s uraeus; and the front of his nemes-headcloth. Raised lips follow the contours of the knee and shin of the male deity’s leg. Similar remnants persist around many hieroglyphs. Substantial traces of Sety I’s deleted cartouches are evident: and the loop of

hand by (prenomen), and all the signs for

Above, the sky-sign was left raised, as were game pieces of in Amun’s name in col. 2. Below the nomen, workmen shaved back raised in d.t, but they never recut it as sunk. Abrasion along the final cut lines of Ramesses’ back, buttocks, and heel attest to the crudity of the conversion.

Paint: None preserved.

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

Translations:

Label: 1[Censing to] 2Amun.

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

By the King: 5The good god, who makes monuments [for his father Amun] in Karnak, 6the dual king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 7the son of Re RAMESSES-MERENAMUN, 8given life forever.

43 Nelson records a trace of the customary incense cup which is now lost. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 2; 12 (Left); 40; 57; 60; 81 (Left); 84 (Left); 94; 175 (Left); 205 (Right); 217. It is possible the king offered a cup with a conical loaf of bread, so ibid., pls. 3; 133; 139; 163; 175 (Left); 236 (Right).
a. Restoring something like \([\text{ir.t snfr n}] \text{Imn}\).
   See glossary s.v. \text{ir.t snfr}.

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

c. Restoring \(iri \ mnw \ [n \ it=f \text{Imn}]: \) so \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 7:42, 21:6, 33:6.

d. Replacing \[\text{MENMA*ATRE}\].

e. Replacing \[\text{SETY-MERENAMUN}\].

\begin{center}
\textbf{PLATE 6}
\end{center}

\textit{Bibliography:} Noted neither in \textit{PM} II\textsuperscript{2}, p. 46 (156) nor in Barguet, \textit{Karnak}, p. 64.

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

\textit{Subject:} Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and presents a conical loaf to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

For the context of this and the preceding scene, see pl. 5 above.

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

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

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

\textit{Paint:} None preserved.

\textit{Observations:} Portions of the relief destroyed after Nelson copied them include: a weathered section at the top of col. 2 and most of \(\text{rsy.t}\) in col. 4; a rectangular patch at the bottom of cols. 1 and 4 (extending below the bottom of the \(\text{skr}\) determinative \(\begin{array}{c}
\text{\footnotesize \text{A}}
\end{array}\) and the middle of the \(\text{\footnotesize \text{\text{\footnotesize \text{A}}}}\) determinative’s face); in col. 3 (to the left of the \(\text{\footnotesize \text{\text{\footnotesize \text{A}}}}\) in \textit{rsy.t} and all of the final \(\text{\footnotesize \text{\text{\footnotesize \text{A}}}}\) in \textit{nfr}); to the latter’s left, a small fragment of Amun’s leg; the piece bearing the center of his pedestal; and a segment of the ground line behind the king. Shade in the drawing above the god’s head indicates chisel marks that also obscures the lower half of col. 3. Nelson has not fully captured surviving
details of the king’s belt apron with its flanking uraei and streamers and is inaccurate.44

Translations:
Label: 1 Presenting a conical loaf of white [bread].
By Amun: 2 [Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef]: “… (I) have given to you]b valor against the south and [vic]tory against the north.”
By the King: 3 The good god, who per[forms benefactions] in the estate of his father Amun, 5 the dual king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 6 the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life forever.

a. There is room for this name, perhaps preceded by ḏd mdw in, in this short column. Above the already damaged surface that Nelson recorded has now fallen away.

b. The god’s titles would have continued at least into the next column, and the di.n=(i) n=k formula that concludes below must have begun at the bottom of this column.

c. Replacing [MENMA’ATRE].

d. Replacing [SETY-MERENAMUN].

PLATE 7

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 46 (156); Bargueth, Karnak, p. 64; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, (Rochester, VT, 1999), pl. 87.

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

Subject: Ramesses II receives life and years of jubilees from an enthroned Amun-Re, behind whom stands Khonsu. Mut45 appears behind Ramesses, cobras coiling around her papyrus staff as it protect the king’s back with life and dominion. At the left end of the scene Thoth inscribes the king’s titulary on a field defined by four -staves. The right end of the scene (Amun’s plumes, as well as the texts above them and Khonsu) extends up into the clerestory of the central nave (see pls. 5-6 above). A frieze in raised relief with Sety I’s titulary (preserved between cols. 1 and 26) stands above the rest of the scene just below the ceiling of the Hall’s southern wing.46

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief, of which many traces remain (fig. 112). These are especially noticeable on the king (shoulders, feet, back of flail, top of his wig), Amun (upper arm, back of head, back of legs and feet, sides of both plumes), Mut (back of her feet), Thoth (tail and front foot) and Khonsu (arm, beard, crook and top of his lunar disk), but remnants also cleave to many hieroglyphs (especially those in the columns above Khonsu’s head). Ramesses II never usurped a raised relief frieze that Sety I’s artisans had carved above the scene just before his death. Inside Amun’s throne

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

45 Erroneously identified as Hathor in PM II2, p. 46 (156); Bargueth, Karnak, p. 64.

46 GHHK 1.1, pl. 136, bottom.
podium, the -frieze was also left raised.

Although there are reliefs naming Sety I above and below it, Ramesses II was the sole author of this huge tableau as attested by traces of his original raised cartouches that persist amid the final sunk ones. His early prenomen, remains legible at cols. 21, 38 and 43, while in col. 44 his nomen was where the jackal pelt motif of was particularly elaborate in the first version. It became R³-ms-s-mr-Imn in the final edition. In converting the scene to sunk relief, the sculptors left areas of roughened surface they had incompletely smoothed down, most obviously at the tops of cols. 6-8. Striations on Ramesses' wig were incised on a coating of plaster. Where this has fallen away, keying for plaster is evident.

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

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

**Observations:** Amun's throne podium was altered in antiquity. In the earliest raised relief version, its front was rectangular; however the suddenness with which its -motif breaks off at the podium's right end indicates that the sculptors reworked it to have a sloping front like a -plinth. A ribbon border consisting of a wide band between two narrow ones frames the outer edge of the podium, and -signs inside do not “float” as in the drawing. At the front of the podium, its original vertical frame was erased incompletely when a sloping front was added further to the right. When the sculptors converted the scene to sunk relief, they created a new sloping front to the left, touching Ramesses’ instep below the bottom corner of his kilt. This line is not indicated in the drawing, perhaps due to the confusing nature of these successive
A diagonal gash running through the back of Mut’s face is a vestige of Eighteenth Dynasty sunk relief decoration on the east façade of the Second Pylon suppressed when Sety I built the Hypostyle Hall. It may belong to a goddess’ vulture-cap crown from a scene that was very much like the Ramesside version. Otherwise, all that is left of Horemheb’s work is a sunken trace inside Khonsu’s pedestal resembling the loop of . Patches of roughness in and around Ramesses II’s head may be due to erasure of this obsolete decoration. His face was carved onto a missing patch-stone. Nelson drew Mut’s face incorrectly. Iconoclasts defaced her profile from her forehead to her chin with light pecking, leaving only the ends of her cosmetic eye bands visible. They also attacked her earlobe, Ramesses II’s clenched fist, and some of the bird hieroglyphs in cols. 37-40.

Nelson omitted or misconstrued several elements of the relief: he left out the toes of Amun’s near foot (complete with toenails); the back of Thoth’s wig below his rear shoulder which, along with his front wig lappet, had vertical striations to represent plaiting; the triangular corner of the sky-sign above col. 23; and the vertical border element at the extreme right edge of the scene. Thoth’s beak was modeled to show the natural grooves and partition of an ibis’ beak. Additionally, Nelson did not record portions of the -frieze inside Amun’s podium. This lacuna does not reflect the actual condition of the relief, but the former presence of a later wall built between the Second Pylon and an adjoining column in the early Twentieth Century. The prior existence of this structure may also account for the inaccurate rendering of the top of col. 20, where there is room on the wall for now broken away.

The following elements have now vanished: all of Khonsu’s face, most of his back, calves and feet, and portions of his staff; the middle of Amun’s right plume, his face and ear, parts of his chest and lower arm, his lower belly and lap (to the right of his year-staff), a section of the right side of the staff (above the fourth block line from the bottom), and the right end of his throne and its podium; a small block containing the top of Amun’s and the base of Ramesses’ uraeus; and the top of col. 26 (dd mdw nb t.A.wy), along with the coil of Mut’s Double Crown.

Translations:
By Amun: "Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing in the temple ‘Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the Estate of Amun:’ ‘(O) my son, whom I love, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, welcome in peace! (O) good god,“}

47 Cf. similar vestiges in the corresponding gigantic scene on the north half of the west wall: GHHK I.1, pl. 137; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 42.
48 This element was lightly incised. Cf. a comparable example where the west wing of the south wall meets the central gateway (ibid., pls. 45, 51).
49 See Chicago Oriental Institute photographs nos. 5990 and 5998.
I am pleased with the monuments which you have made for me. Receive unto yourself millions of years and myriads of jubilees. Life belongs to you, to your nose, for you have grasped its entirety! I have caused your war cry to encircle every foreign country. Dread of you, like that of the Ombite, is in their bellies. I know the benefactions that you have performed for me. I double for you our lifetime in life and dominion, forever and ever!"

Second Speech of Amun: "Receive unto yourself jubilees like Ta\text{\textless}ten\text{\textgreater}en. You have gathered together the reed and the papyrus (precisely) as a legal testamentary document in your grasp. Re continually rises and sets while you are lord of Egypt."

By Khonsu: Words spoken by Khonsu-Neferhotep: "Welcome, welcome, (O) good god, the lord of the Two Lands, USERMA\text{\text{\textgreater}ATRE-SETEPENRE,} to the house of your father Amun that he might do what pleases your heart as he gives to you his office of dual king. His lifetime is your lifetime as king! Thoth has established your titulary as Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma\text{\textgreater}at.’ Your [...] is [like] (that of?) his all-surrounding serpent. How stable is your-name-of-throughout-eternity like Re forever."

By Mut: Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: "(O) my son of my womb, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\text{\text{\textgreater}ATRE-[SETEPENRE],} [I endow] your [body] with [life and] dominion. (O) Horus ‘beloved of Ma\text{\textgreater}at,’ I am your mother, the lady of the Two Lands! My arms are a protection around you: For you (I) have brought the uraeus serpent to your head, (and) life and dominion to your nose.”

By Thoth: Words spoken by Thoth, master of the god’s words, to Amun-Re: inasmuch as like what you have ordained him—there being none who can oppose his two arms—as a reward for the great monuments which he has made for you, the like never having been done since the time of the god.”

On Thoth’s Palette: [Horus]: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma\text{\textgreater}at,’ he of the Two Ladies: ‘protector of Egypt, subducer of foreign countries,’ the dual king USERMA\text{\text{\textgreater}ATRE-SETEPENRE,} given life like Re forever. [Horus]: mighty bull, ‘great of strength,’ Horus-of-Gold ‘rich in years, great of victories,’ the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re forever. [Horus]: mighty bull, ‘elevated of the White Crown,’ the good god who performs benefactions for his father, the king of the gods, and establishes Ma\text{\textgreater}at throughout the Two Banks, the dual king USERMA\text{\text{\textgreater}ATRE-SETEPENRE],} given life like Re forever.

By the Vulture: Nekhbet.

By the King: The good god who makes monuments for his father Amun, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\text{\text{\textgreater}ATRE-SETEPENRE,} the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, image of Re before the Two Lands, great of appearances in Thebes.

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

b. For sdm=f relative instead of sdm.n=f
relative, see Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §2.1.4. 

\( Sdm=\text{f} \) and \( sd\text{m.n}=\text{f} \) can function interchangeably in the past tense.

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

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

e. Reading \( rh.n=(i) \text{h.wt ir.n}=n=k n=(i) \). For the omission of the 1\text{st} pers. sing. suffix-pronoun see Gardiner, *Gr*², §34, §486-87; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §5.3, §18.5; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §23.1, §140.

f. As Sharkawy observes (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 25, n. 65) this is an unusual expression. While it may be corrupted from the more usual \( k(i)b=\text{i n}=k \text{ a}h.\text{w}=\text{k} \) (e.g., *RIK* I, pl. 4:10), it could refer to the multiplicity of gods who appear in this scene.

g. Restore \([d.t]\text{ sp } 2\) : cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12 right:6; 25:6; 27:9, among many other examples.

h. Translating the \( sd\text{m.n}=\text{f} \) as a second tense (Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §3.3.1; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §26.31; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §147). Or alternatively “(I) have gathered for you” etc., as suggested by Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 25, n. 69.


j. On the spelling \( \text{̓} \) for \( \text{ʃ} \) in Late Egyptian see Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §1.1.3.

k. Restoring \( \text{̓} \text{d} \text{amn} \) at the top of col. 20, of which a trace of its ear remains. For the construction \( wnn=\text{f} \text{ hr } sd\text{m} \) see Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §5.2.2, §6.2.2.

l. Restoring \([\text{r pr it}]=k \text{ Imn}\) (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 77:11). Alternatively one might restore \([\text{ssp tw it}]=k \text{ Imn}, “[so that] your [father] Amun [may receive you]” (ibid., pls. 54:10-11; 58:7-8).

m. Note the prospective form: Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §3.4.1-3.4.2.

n. Reading \([\ldots]w=k [m]j \text{ mhn}=\text{f} \). There is a trace of a tall narrow sign or a \( \text{̓} \) above the right end of \( \text{m} \). For Mehen (*Wb.* II, p. 128:12) as a protector of the gods, especially Re’s solar barque, see: Erik Hornung *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Ithaca, 1999), p.38, 57, 78-79, 123-124; *LÄ* IV, p. 3; Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, (Berlin, 1971), pp. 683-84; Peter A.

**o.** Reading $rn = k \ n \ m\cdot h. t \ nn\ h$: it seems best to translate the last clause as a noun-phrase linked to the preceding ($rn$) by an indirect genitive, although it is possible that $n \ m\cdot h. t$ is an expanded “Late Egyptian” writing of $m\cdot h. t$. Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §1.1.3(2): cf. Medinet Habu III, pl. 138:37 ($smn = i \ s.t \ hw. t = i \ n \ m\cdot h. t \ hh$). See also *Wb.* III, p. 346.

**p.** On the vocative in the noun + $pw$ construction see Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §2.1.4, p. 56; Gardiner *Gr*, §112; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §142, Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §5.10. The alternative, “he is my bodily son” (cf. Sharkawy, *Ammun-Tempel*, p. 24) seems to be ruled out because the goddess goes on to address the king in the second person.

**q.** Restoring $[hnmm=(i) \ h\cdot w] = k \ m \ ['nh] \ w\ s$ (see *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53:51; 111:8; 149:9).


**s.** Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 74:4; 96:1-2.

**t.** Reading $mi \ w d. t. n = k$. Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §4.3.1.

**u.** The bottom of $\text{\textbullet}$ is preserved above $\text{\textbullet}$.

**v.** Reading $m \ h.s. wt$ (with $\text{\textbullet}$, and hacked) + tall $\text{\textbullet}$: cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 199:14; *RIK* I, pl. 21A:9-10; *RIK* II, pl. 90:29.

**w.** The different parts of this formula are arranged under one of the three columns ($di \ 'nh / mi \ R^c / d. t$), but the whole phrase is to be understood as applying to each of the columns of text inscribed here.

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**PLATE 8**

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

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

**Subject:** Parts of two episodes remain: (Right) a goddess, [accompanying a male deity and receiving offerings from the king ([both destroyed])]; (Left) the king stands before a male deity (perhaps Amun-Re⁵¹) raising his hand to receive $\text{\textbullet}$-amulets.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in

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⁵⁰ For an episode that once stood between this scene and the large one to the north, see William J. Murnane, “Reconstructing Scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak,” in Warsaw University and National Museum in Warsaw, *Essays in the Honor of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipsinska*, Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1, (Warsaw, 1996), pp. 107-117.

⁵¹ A vertical line close behind the figure, surely the god’s dangling streamer, supports this conclusion.
raised relief. A trace of the original carving persists along the back of the king’s front leg; the final sunk lines are roughly executed. Nelson missed traces of the king’s belt apron flanked by cobras at its base that were partially erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

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

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**PLATE 9**

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

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

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

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

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

Translations:

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

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

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

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

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

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

d. Here and elsewhere, $h^t.t$ is to be understood as a writing of the stative $h^t.t$ as a kind of false archaism through confusion, perhaps, with the archaic and later forms of the 2nd pers. fem. sing. suffix pronoun = t. See glossary s.v. $h^t.t$ (as stative).

e. See GHHK I.1, pls. 12 right:12, 39:21; 47:14; 71:12 for approximate parallels. No closer analogues are found in the New Kingdom temples published by the Chicago Epigraphic Survey, wherein the only parallel for $h^t.t.

PLATE 10

Bibliography: PM II, p. 46 (157) 1.3; Barguet, Karnak, p. 64.

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

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

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

Paint: None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* [I...] to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By God:* 2“[I] have given to you valor and all victory.”

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

**PLATE 11**

**Bibliography:** *PM II*², p. 46 (157) I.4; Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64.

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

**Subject:** The king presents two tall cakes⁵² to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

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

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* ‘Giving shep’t-cakes to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life like Re.’

*By Amun:* 2[Amun-Re]-Kamutef, the lord [of heaven], 3[king] of the gods, 4[who is upon] b his great seat: 5“[(I have given to you] the flat lands being pacified.”

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

a. Reading either [nsw].t [ntr].w, or perhaps [hk3 psd].t, “ruler of the Ennead,” both of which are epithets of ithyphallic Amun-Re: see glossary, s.v. *Imn-Ra Ka-mw.t=f*.

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

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**PLATE 12**


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

**Subject:** (Right) Ramesses II, holding a crested ibis in one hand and a bundle of staves in the other, runs in the presence of lioness-headed Weret-

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⁵² Erroneously described as lettuces in *PM II*², p. 46 (157) I.4.
hekau, while a vulture flies above.53 (Left) Ramesses II offers incense and libation before members of the Theban Triad. A vulture flies over the king’s head.

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 113). Part of the frieze above the fourth register was originally carved in raised relief (the second cartouche from the left and its two adjoining serpents, above the figure and texts of Amun in the scene on the left) (fig. 114). To the right and left of these, sculptors carved the rest of this frieze only in sunken relief. Its pattern—which alternates rebus-writings of Ramesses II’s prenomen with cartouches containing his nomen—was in no case recarved from another version that belonged to Sety I. Sety’s artists only carved part of the top frieze at the north end of this wall (see GHHK I.1, pl. 7).

Also in this upper frieze, as well as in the scene below, are the strongest traces of erased sunk relief that Horemheb had carved on the east face of the Second Pylon. These once showed a procession of a god’s processional bark (with its hull and cabin-shrine with its veil billowing in front) borne on a sledge-shaped palanquin with carrying-poles held by at least two rows of priests.54 Nelson overlooked further traces of this obsolete sunk relief decoration, although few of them increase our understanding of its decorative scheme.55 More of the aft portion of the hull and upper deck of the bark abides behind the cabin-shrine than indicated by the drawing.

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

Observations: Seemingly random patterns of chisel marks that pit the wall surface are residue from erasure of scenes Horemheb has previously carved onto the Second Pylon. This is particularly severe below col. 1 in the left hand scene where the top of Ramesses’ vase was carved in plaster, now lost. Although the Hypostyle Hall’s later occupants never defaced these images, signs of their presence abound: they cut two deep holes

53 Compare GHHK I.1, pl. 103 (Right) below, and Khonsu I, pl. 46. On the motif see Hermann Kees, Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs, (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 4-21; idem., “Nachlese zum Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs,” ZAS 52 (1914), pp. 61-64; Erich Winter, Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit, Denkschriften, österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 98 (Vienna, 1968), pp. 94-97; cf. Philippe Derchain, Hierakonpolis I (Brussels, 1971), pp. 71-72, pl. 33. For a better preserved version of this type of staff see Medinet Habu IV, pl. 226 (upper right).

54 The only similar rendering of this theme that is known to me is the near-contemporary one located at the southwest corner of Court north of the Tenth Pylon at Karnak, where the processional bark is carried by several overlapping rows of priests: PM II, p. 184 (559); Nelson, Key Plans, pl. 8 (G 308); Christina Karlshausen, L'iconographie de la Barque Processionnelle Divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire, OLA 182 (Paris, 2009), pl. 9.

55 E.g., a vertical line to the left of the king’s arm in the left hand scene corresponds to the arm of one of the priests. Note the curious box-like element overlapping the offering stand in the left hand scene, which must correspond to the elaborate belt apron pendant worn by the king in his role as “King’s son of the Starboard Side” in a bark procession scene of Sety I on the north wall (GHHK I.1, pls. 180-181) and by priests escorting Khonsu’s bark on the east side of the north wall (ibid., pl. 197).
into the uppermost course of blocks in the scene on the right, one to the left of Ramesses’ crown and another beneath the vulture’s lower wing and another above the texts of Mut and Khonsu, just under the block line, in the scene on the left. They engraved three Coptic crosses in the left hand scene, one directly below col. 18, above the king’s head, another below in col. 13, and a smaller one behind the upper tip of Mut’s crown. The drawing omits the lower part of Mut’s vulture cap, which along with the lappet of her wig, was faintly carved in an area of light hacking, once mended with plaster.

Translations:

(Right) Label: Taking a run for the lady of heaven that he might achieve ‘given life like Re.’

By Weret-hekau: Words spoken by Weret-hekau, lady of the palace: “(I) have given to you years of eternity as king of the Two Lands, you being risen as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt like Re forever.” Words spoken: “(I) have given to you myriads of years. (I) have given to you the jubilee(s) of Re. (I) have given to you that which the sun disk illuminates forever and ever!”

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

By the King: The dual king USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re, whom Amun has chosen as king.

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

By the Vulture: Wadjet.

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, whom Amun has caused to appear as king.

a. So reading nsw-bity $m^5 w T3-mhw.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 5 (Left) and 5-6, 10-11 (Right).

c. The $ in $ are also omitted on GHHK 1.1, pl. 147:7, but an indefinite number of jubilees must be meant: see glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k $bw-sd.

d. On the epithet hd.t Nh$n, see Epigraphic Survey, Opet, p. 16, n. b.

e. This formula, which runs beneath the
cartouches, applies to both of the king’s names.


g. See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pl. 2:15, n. “f” above.

**PLATE 13**

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

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

*Subject:* The king, holding the crook and flail in his left hand, extends an aaba-scepter toward five sub-registers of meat offerings piled before Amun-Re and a goddess—most likely Mut.⁵⁶

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

*Paint:* None preserved.

⁵⁶ Based on her Double Crown (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7 and 12-B above, and pl. 14 below).

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

*Translations:*

**Label:** ¹The king [him]self presents a great hecatomb to his father Amun-Re, ²consisting of long-horned cattle, ³calves, (and) short-horned cattle,⁴that he might achieve ‘given life.’

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

By Mut: ⁶[Mut…], lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: ⁷“[(I) have given to you all] [flat lands] and all hill countries gathered together under your sandals.”⁸

a. The two lower ⁹ glyphs along with ¹⁰ were hacked out.

b. See glossary s.v. *di.n=(i) n=k t3.w nb.w*, ¹¹*h3s.wt nb.w(ī)*.

**PLATE 14**

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

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

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

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

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* *Offering racks of offering vessels* [to his father]*Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, king of the gods that he might achieve ‘given life, stability, [and dominion] like Re.’

*By Amun:* 4[Amun . . .: 4“(I) have given to you (my) office], (my) seat and (my) throne.* 8[(I) have given to you] the lifetime of Re. 6[(I) have given to you the years of] Atum.”

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

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

*a. So reading hray hnt.w. The ideogram is a variant of , which is normal for wdh.w, “offering table” (see Gardiner Gr 8, p. 501, signlist R3, n. 1). Both the form the ideogram takes here and those of the offering stands in the scene favor a reading of hnt.w (Wb. III, p. 301:12.), although a similar determinative, , is given for wdh.w in GHHK I.1, pl. 91:1.

b. There is scarcely room for any other restoration, and *n it=f* appears to be
invariable when hrp is used in labels to scenes: so Medinet Habu VII, pl. 561:1; Khonsu II, pl. 121A:1-2. Pace Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 29, n. 117, ‘S3 occurs only in isolated instances that are not applicable to this case.

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

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

PLATE 15

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

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

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

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

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few chisel marks in the area around Amun’s nose (below the block line) are probably not iconoclasm, and his mouth is intact.

in col. 6 was defaced. Most other damage is natural, but note two holes—one above col. 3, in the sky sign, the other just above the king’s hand—either of which could have held the support beam for a light roof. The builders inserted a pair of small patch-stones between Ramesses’ legs at the lower right corner of the scene. A shallow, smooth oval depression adjacent to the coil of his crown is a pilgrim’s groove of a type commonly found on temple walls.

Translations:

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

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

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

b. Since some form of hfr i seems to be invariable in this context (see glossary, s.v. s.t Hr), it seems likely that the trace in Nelson’s copy is an erroneous rendering of the lower loop of hfr i, used as the stative ending in hfr.i: see GHHK I.1, pls.
Weathering has claimed the top of the column, presumably with [di ‘nh]. Below this, the group was obliterated by a shallow pilgrim’s groove carved here, including the stroke Nelson drew. Next to it, is complete except for the upper left side of its rope loop.

**PLATE 16**

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

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

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

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

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* ¹Dedicating offerings,* that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By Khonsu:* ²Khonsu Neferhotep. ³Words [spoken] ⁴“(I) have given to [you…]. ⁵(I) have [given] to you all health. ⁶(I) have given to you millions of years and myriads of jubilees […].”

*By the King:* ⁷The dual king, lord of the Two Lands, [USER]MA’ATRE-[SETEPENRE], ⁸the son of Re, lord of appearances, [RAMESSES-MERAMUN…].

a. Reading wdn h.t.

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

c. The short space at the bottom of the column is probably to be completed with a variant of h₆.ti m nsw mi R⁵, “you appearing as king like Re;” or similar: cf. glossary, s.v. di.n=i n= k hh.w m rnp.wt or hh.w m hh.w-sd.
**PLATE 17**

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

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

**Subject:** Ramesses II presents incense and libation to Amun-Re, who is followed by Ra-[yet-tawy]. A vulture hovers over the king (fig. 82).

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

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

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

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

**Translations:**

*Label:* 1 [Making] incense and libation, 2 that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By Amun:* 3 Amun-Re, the king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes: 4 Words spoken: 5“[I] have given to you the flat lands being pacified. 6 [I] have given to you all hill countries.”

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

*By the King:* 8 The lord of the Two Lands [USER][MA[-AT][RE]-SETEPE]-RE, 9 the lord of appearances [RAMES][SES-[MER]-AMUN, 10 whom Amun has chosen as 11 king of the Two Lands in order to exercise 12 [his] kingship.
a. Restoring [ir.t] sntr khh.w: cf. glossary s.v ir.t sntr, khh.w; but see also GHHK I.1, pl. 12 left:1 above.

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

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

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

**PLATE 18**

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

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

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

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

**Label:** “Laying a hand” upon the god that he might achieve ‘given life.’

**By Amun:** Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god who is upon his great seat: “(I) have given to you all health. (I) have given to you all joy.”

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

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

**By the King:** The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, whom Re-Atum has chosen, given life.

a. Literally “Placing an arm” etc.

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

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

PLATE 19

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

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

Subject: Ramesses II presents a royal offering to Amun-Re while a vulture soars over the king (fig. 72).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

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

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

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

Otherwise, all damage appears fortuitous.

Translations:

Label: 1Performing an ‘offering which the king gives.’

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

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

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

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

PLATE 20

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

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

Subject: Ramesses II (his body mostly lost) extends an šaba-scepter toward the frame of an unfinished šhnt-shrine that is being erected before ithyphallic Amun-Re. 57 A falcon hovers over the

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57 For a more elaborate contemporary example see Charles Kuentz, La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramesses II à Louxor (Cairo, 1971), pl. xix.
king’s head.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

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

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

**Translations:**

**Label:** Erecting the sh<n.t>-shrine of the bull for Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given [life].’

By Amun: Amun-Re-Kamutef, the [great] god who is upon his great seat: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life and dominion. (I) have given to you all health. (I) have given to you all strength as king. (I) have given you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, the flat lands and the hill countries being enclosed in your grasp while your arm is not opposed.”

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

By the King: The good god USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN, great of appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix, whom Amun-[Re] has chosen.

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58 Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 53, 197.
c. Repeated mechanically above each column of the god’s utterance.

d. Here has been miswritten for .

e. Reading υ[φ]; cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 10:4.

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

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

PLATE 21


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

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

Type of Relief: Sunk.

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

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

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

Translations:

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

By Amun: 2Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: 3Words spoken: “(I)

59 See Karlshausen, L’iconographie, pp. 177-181, pls. 12, 13, 23a, 29.
have given to you the kingship of Re. *(I) have
given to you the years of Atum."

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

**By the Vulture:** ³Wadjet.

**By the King:** ²The lord of the Two Lands
USERMA’ATRE, ²the lord of appearances
RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ²given life, stability, and
dominion ²like Re forever ³(and) eternally.

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

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**PLATE 22**

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

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

**Subject:** Ramses II performs the “stretching
of the cord” ceremony with the goddess Sefkhet-
³abwy in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re. A
vulture soars above the king.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in
raised relief. Of the earlier version, traces appear
infrequently alongside the final cuts, including the
bottom of ² and part of ³ from Ramsesses
II’s early *premenen*, Wsr-m³³.t-R² (col. 7). In
addition, a tie and the round terminal in front of
the goddess’ shoulder, and her pendant necklace
with teardrop shaped beads ⁶⁰ (none of which
appear in the drawing) were left in raised relief. All
three figures project slightly from the background,
although some interior details were partially erased
when they were shaved down, including the tip of
the king’s beard and part of his belt apron.

**Paint:** None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

**Label:** ¹Stretching ¹the cord in the house of Amun;
presenting offerings, ²that he might achieve ‘given
life.’

**By Sefkhet³abwy:** ²Words spoken by Sefkhet-
³abwy, ³lady of writing, ³pre-eminent in the scroll-
house: “(I) have given to you ³your monuments
enduring ⁴like heaven.”

**By Amun:** ⁶Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamut[ef]:
⁷“(O my) beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands
USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³(I) have given

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⁶⁰ For a similar contemporary example, see the figure of
Seshet on the back of the western seated colossus
inside the first court at Luxor Temple: *PM* II², p. 313
(71). For the earlier form of this element see Ludwig
Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re² II,
Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen
Orient-Gesellschaft 26.1, (Osnabrück, 1981), pl. 1. The
pendant necklace appears in a scene from Hatshepsut’s
*Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak. See Nicolas Grimal, Jean-
François Larché, and Franck Burgos, *La Chapelle Rouge:
le sanctuaire de barque d’Hatshepsout*, (Paris, 2006), pl. 424,
bloc 311.
to you all valor. *(I) have given to you all victory.*

By the King: The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

a. Note the similarity between the hieratic ligatures of the signs (Gardiner signlist N1) and (Gardiner signlist T9): Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, (Leipzig, 1909) vol. I Alt-und Mittelhieratisch, p. 29 (300) vs. p. 41 (436); vol. II Neuhieratisch, p. 27 (300) vs. p. 39 (436), vol. III Späthieratisch, p. 28 (300) vs. p. 42 (436).


c. For this name of Seshet, goddess of writing, see Gerald A. Wainwright, “Seshat and the Pharaoh,” *JEA* 26 (1940), pp. 33-34. For Seshet, see Dagmar Budde, *Die Göttin Seschat*, (Leipzig, 2000).

PLATE 23

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

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

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

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

Paint: None preserved.

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

Translation:

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

By Amun: a Amun-Re, lord of the Two Lands:

b Words spoken: *(I) have given to you my lifetime as king. *(I) have given to you years of eternity. *(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified.*

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

By the Vulture: "Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: The dual king USERMA\(\text{AT}[RE]-SETEPENRE, \text{the son of Re RA}[MES]SEMER[AMUN], \text{great of appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix, given life like [Re].}"

a. The original meaning of \textit{bsn} may have encompassed several crystalline substances found in nature, justifying translation as either “gypsum” or “natron” according to the context: see John R. Harris, \textit{Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals}, (Berlin, 1961), pp. 190-191.

b. Only \(\text{\begin{center}\begin{array}{l}
\text{\small A} \\
\text{\small A}
\end{array}\end{center}}\) are carved, thus the error is ancient (pace Sharkawy, \textit{Ammun-Tempel}, p. 33, n. 155).

c. Reading \textit{(w)d(i) bsn}, pace Sharkawy, \textit{Ammun-Tempel}, p. 33, n.156.

d. The only parallel—a dubious one—is on a column of Ramesses XI: \textit{mr[y] Imn-R\(\text{\^e}\) nsw-ntr.w, nb.t \(\text{\^i}\)n.ty (sic) in Khonsu II, pl. 204 (col. 29 north); see Günther Vittmann, “Zwei missverständendes Schreibungen,” \textit{GM} 83 (1984), p. 77 for this exceptional spelling of the masculine \textit{nb}. In the scene under discussion, though, it is tempting to suppose that \(\text{\begin{center}\begin{array}{l}
\text{\small A} \\
\text{\small A}
\end{array}\end{center}}\) for \textit{Imn-R\(\text{\^e}\) nb <ns.wt> \(\text{\^i}\)n.ty} were omitted, perhaps accidentally, when the signs were laid out in this confined space.

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

\textbf{PLATE 24}

\textbf{Bibliography: PM} II, p. 46 (157) III.3.

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

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

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 95, 115). Evidence of the primary version appears intermittently outside the final cuts (especially in col. 9). A few lines of the early simple form of Ramesses II’s \textit{prenomen} are still to be found inside the first cartouche.

Workmen polished away internal raised details in the figures with buffer stones when they converted the relief, but traces persist, especially feathering on the vulture’s downswept wing. Others are fainter than Nelson’s copy suggests, including Amun’s eye and the rim of his crown, the tip of his beard, and Ramesses’ necklace. Cosmetic bands on Pharaoh’s eye and eyebrow were incompletely erased.

\textbf{Paint:} None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

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

*By Amun:* 2. Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, 3. the great god who is upon 4. his great seat: 5. Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you 6. life, stability, and dominion, and all health. 7. (I) have given to you 8. years of eternity. 9. (I) have given to you 10. the lifetime of Re.”

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

*By Isis:* 8. Words spoken by Isis, the mother [of the god]: 9. Words spoken: “(I) have given to you 10. all joy on my 11. part.”

*Behind Isis:* 12. So long as Re exists, so shall your name exist. So long as heaven exists, so shall your monuments exist, (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE- SETEPENRE, 13. given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

*By the Vulture:* 14. Wadjet.

*By the King:* 15. The good god USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 16. the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 17. whom Amun has caused to appear 18. as king in order to exercise 19. the kingship which he made.

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

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

c. Restoring mw.t-[ntr]: see glossary, s.v. 3s.t and 3s.t wr.t.

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

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

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

g. Traces of and of the raised version remain.

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

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**PLATE 25**

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

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

**Subject:** Ramesses II fashions a mud brick in a wooden mold, before Amun. A falcon soars over the king’s head.

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

Paint: None preserved.

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

Translation

Label: Molding a brick for his father Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life like Re.’

By Amun: [Words] spoken [by Amun-Re], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ‘(O my) beloved son USERMA ATRE-SETEPENRE, who was nurtured in [my] body in order to perform benefactions for my temple, one whom (I) begot as the creation of my limbs in order to do what pleases my Ka. (I) have given to you my seat and my throne forever and ever!’

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

PLATE 26

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

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

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

Type of Relief: Sculptors carved the rightmost portions of this scene (all of Ramesses II’s image except his outstretched arm, the vulture, and the texts in cols. 9-10) as raised relief and later converted them to sunk; all the rest they executed in sunk initially (figs. 83, 116). Taking the form of a slight ridge, the line separating these styles falls between the vulture’s wingtip and her name (col. 1).
7). It next moves down between Ramesses’ cartouches (the *prenomen,* in original sunken relief, appearing in its earlier short form), through his elbow, and along the point of his kilt and front of his staff and toe. The differing levels of the background surface, which is distinctly higher on the left, further accentuate this difference. During its conversion to sunk relief, the vulture’s wing plumage was largely erased through shaving it back. However, the artisans did not cut Ramesses’ figure back except along its outer contours. As a result, his belt and apron are in their original condition. Traces of raised carving persist along the edges of some hieroglyphs (e.g., $\bigcirc$ in *Wadjet* and the head of $\bigcirc$ in col. 9), the edges of the vulture’s wings and back, Ramesses’ crown, mace, kilt, forward heel, and lower his tail.

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

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

**Translations:**

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

**By Amun:** 2 Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

**Words spoken:** a “(I) have given to you millions of jubilees. 4(I) have given to you eternity as king. 5(I) have given to you the kingship which I have exercised. 6(I) have given to you valor against the south, victory against the north, the flat lands and the hill countries being enclosed [in] your [gra]sp, while your arm is not opposed.”

**By the Vulture:** 7[Wadi]et.

**By the King:** 8The dual king USERMA$^{a}$ATRE, 9 the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 10 given life like Re.

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

b. The reading [@Wadi]et is borne out not only by numerous parallels (see glossary) but by the vulture’s serpent head.

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**PLATE 27**

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

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

**Subject:** Sety I gestures with an $\bigcirc$aba-scepter as he consecrates five ox carcasses and four jars of fat before Ptah while a falcon hovers above (figs. 63, 117).

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

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Scattered chisel marks attest to the removal of Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs on the

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61 See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 8-15 (on bowing figures of Sety I); pp. 201-206 (on the near universal instance of bowing figures of Sety I in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall); pp. 206-208 (on honorific figures of Ramesses I carved by Sety in the Hall); pp. 235-238 (on the distinction of bowing and erect figures of Sety I in his Gurnah temple carved, respectively, while he was alive [bowing] and posthumously by Ramesses II [erect]).

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

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

63 During our recording work in 1995, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project discovered that Sety I was originally named as the officiant in ritual scenes on the middle registers of the east and west exterior jambs and thicknesses of the south gateway (PM II, pp. 49-50 [164c-f]; Nelson, *Key Plans*, KO 29-30, 45), although his cartouches were subsequently changed to those of Ramesses II who acts in the rest of these scenes. The painted cartoons for this decoration were probably laid out for Sety I, but were left uncarved at his death. See Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 214-216. Similar posthumous scenes executed by Ramesses II in his dead father’s name are more common in the latter’s memorial temple in Gurnah. Ibid., pp. 236-248, figs. 120, 124, 126, 129.

Second Pylon. There is no iconoclasm, and all losses appears random unless the Hall’s later occupants were responsible for the wide gap in cols. 13-14. On the offering stand before Ptah’s shrine, the nemset-jar’s spout more closely resembles a feather.

**Translations:**

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

**By Ptah:** ²Words spoken by Ptah, the lord of Ma’at, king of the Two Lands: ³“Ptah praises you, and Ptah loves you, ⁴(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands, ⁵MENMA’ATRE. How beautiful are the monuments you have made for your father ⁶Amun. Your name shall endure just like them, ⁷forever and ever! ⁸(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees, you appearing as king on the Horus-throne of the living.”

**By the Falcon:** ⁹The Behdetite.

**By the King:** ¹⁰The good god, son of Amun, ¹¹lord of the Two Lands [MENMA’ATRE], ¹²the lord of appearances SETY-MEREN[A]MUN, ¹³given all life, and all stability and dominion ¹⁴like Re forever.

Thoutmosis IV: Une designation originale des animaux,” in Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant* vol. 1, (Cairo, 1994), pp. 471-477. As in full sized wall reliefs, this ox has bowed legs with curved, upturned hooves.

b. Elements of this formula are repeated mechanically above each column of the god’s speech.

c. Literally *r mit.t=sn*, “to the likeness of them.”

**PLATE 28**

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

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

*Subject:* Ramesses II cuts a sheaf of emmer wheat in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re while a vulture flies over him (fig. 76).

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

*Paint:* None preserved.

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

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ³the great god ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁶(I) have given to you the years of Atum. ⁷(I) have given to you all joy. ⁸(I) have given to you a million⁹ years. ⁹(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, the flat lands and the hill countries being bundled in your grasp forever and ever!”

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

*By the King:* ¹⁰The lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, ¹¹the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

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

b. Usually “millions of years”: See glossary, *s.v. di.n=(i) n=k hh.w m rnp.wt*.

**PLATE 29**

*Bibliography:* PM II², p. 46 (157) III.8, wrongly labeled as “king offering flowers.”

*Location:* B 63: West wall, south wing, third register, eighth scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

*Subject:* Ramesses II, equipped with a *mekes* in his right hand (now lost) and a flail in his left, ⁶⁴ stands before Amun-Re and Mut. A falcon soars over the king’s head.

⁶⁴ Cf. below, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 35 and 51.
**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Isolated patches of diffuse chiseling are due to erasure of Horemheb’s reliefs on the Second Pylon, traces of which are particularly numerous here because the wall surface was not as thoroughly cut back as elsewhere. However, these vestiges are small and enigmatic, and Nelson overlooked them. Clearest among them are carved lines between Amun’s plumes and Mut’s crown forming the shoulders, neck, chin, ear, and eye of a priest with a shaved skull. Such traces are consistent with a priest escorting a scared bark like those preserved in the registers above (see GHHK I.1, pls. 12, 20-21). Curving traces through cols. 2-3 might be the forehead and front shoulder of another priest. More obscure is a horizontal line bisecting the coil of Ramesses II’s Red Crown.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god. ²Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ³(I) have given to you all health. ⁴(I) have given to you the kingship of Re.”

*By Mut:* ⁵Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven, ⁶mistress of the gods: “(I) have given to you years of eternity with life and dominion, that you may celebrate jubilees like Atum.”

*By the King:* ⁷The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA⁸ATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMES⁺SU-MERAMUN.

a. Repeated mechanically above col. 3.

**PLATE 30**

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

**Location:** B 64: West wall, south wing, third register, ninth and final scene to the south of the large scene at the north end.

**Subject:** Ramesses II anoints the brow of ithyphallic Amun-Re, followed by Khonsu. A vulture hovers over Ramesses’ head, while behind Amun stands his characteristic tent-shrine.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Ramesses’ face and armpit have flecks of red, as do the vulture’s neck and rump. Light-colored paint (yellow or white) cleaves in the deeper cuts of Pharaoh’s crown, and the pattern of his broad collar is apparent.

**Observations:** Widening of the block joints and fracture-lines account for the only significant damage to this scene. In Nelson’s drawing, cross hatching between the blocks at the upper left reflects the presence of a thick crust of salt and mud.

**Translations:**

*Label:* ¹Giving ointment to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By Amun:* ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god who is upon ⁴his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy. ⁶(I) [have] given to you the throne of Geb and the office of Atum.”

*By Khonsu:* ⁷Khonsu-⁸in-Thebes ⁹Neferhotep.

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

*By the Vulture:* ¹⁰Wadjet.

*By the King:* ¹¹The lord of the Two Lands USERMA¹²ATRE, ¹³the lord of appearances
RAMESSU-MERAMUN, given life.

Behind the King: The protection of life and dominion surrounds <him>.

a. The scribe omitted the suffix from this already abbreviated formula.

**PLATE 31**

**Bibliography:** *PM II*², p. 46 (156) IV.1.

**Location:** B 65: West wall, south wing, lowest register, first scene from the north.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers incense and libation to an ithyphallic Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Traces of earlier raised lines are visible outside the final cuts at the back of Pharaoh’s rump and the upper back of his crown. His figure projects higher than the negative space, with the high modeling and detailed carving of interior elements typical of Sety I’s reliefs, such as his thumbnail and modeling on his khepresh-crown (not recorded). In converting the relief, Ramesses II’s sculptors partly deleted plumage on the vulture’s wing, which is not as complete as the drawing suggests.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** In addition to the loss of masonry in its lower left quadrant, this scene has now decayed further. Missing elements include: Ramesses’ face below his eye; most of his neck; a small stone bearing the front of his thigh and his robe; and his feet. Parts of cols. 1 (tail of

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

b. Replacing MENMA’ATRE. A trace of

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65 Correctly described by Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 64; but the goddess Isis is erroneously placed in this scene according to *PM II*, 46 (156) IV.1, perhaps due to a misinterpretation of the text in col. 3.

the knee and \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) of \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) is discernable.

c. Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN. Only the crook held by \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) remains.

PLATE 32

Bibliography: PM II\(^2\), p. 46 (156) IV.2.

Location: B 66: West wall, south wing, lowest register, second scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers an unguent vessel, its jar held by a kneeling statuette of the king,\(^67\) to a falcon-headed avatar of Amun-Re (figs. 105-106, 118).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. As is often the case, Ramesses II’s workmen left some minor elements raised: the upper part of the god’s tail; the tail of the serpent issuing from his solar disk; Ramesses’ sash; and the antennae of \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) in col. 11. In col. 5, elements of Sety’s nomen persist amid Ramesses’ sunken one, including: the knee, head, and ears of \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) and parts of \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) for \( \text{Sty} \); and \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \), and \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) of \( \text{mr-Imn} \). Many other vestiges of raised relief survive beside the final incised cuts (especially in cols. 1-3). A frieze of cartouches on the offering table all name Sety I, but while solar disks crowning them were reworked, the hieroglyphs inside these cartouches are incised in Sety’s name and bear no evidence of alteration (fig. 118). Thus Ramesses II’s artists must have ignored them.\(^68\)

Paint: A painted armband on the king’s biceps, though much faded, can be identified as having thin strips of yellow (top and bottom) flanking a wide band of red.\(^69\)

Observations: Masonry on which most of the king’s figure was carved is lost (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 31). Random hacking at the tops of cols. 2-3 and 7-9 does not completely efface the hieroglyphs and is an artifact of the removal of Horemheb’s Second Pylon decoration. Elsewhere (e.g., in cols. 16-17), damage results from natural causes. Note that the interior features of the raptor’s head (his eye and beak) are preserved even though they do not appear in the drawing. Recutting of the Amun’s rear shoulder and wig lappets result from cosmetic adjustments to Sety I’s original raised relief. The bottom left corner of col. 9 (comprising the handle of \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \) and the back of the \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{hieroglyph} \\
\text{hieroglyph}
\end{array} \)-throne) has now broken away.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering pure ointment of ²the double-workshop ³of his father Amun-Re, ⁴that he might achieve ‘given life, stability, and dominion like Re.’

\(^{67}\) Wrongly described in PM II\(^2\), 46 (156) IV.2 as a “sphinx ointment jar.”

\(^{68}\) Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 194. Likewise, Ramesses II’s sculptors left Sety I’s titulary intact on the pedestal of a small shrine of Wepwawet originally carved in a bas relief of Sety I which Ramesses II later usurped and converted to sunk relief on the west wall of the outer hypostyle hall of Sety’s Abydos temple: PM VI, p. 6 (58); Rosalie David A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos, (Warminster, 1981), p. 26, pl. VI.

\(^{69}\) The central band is usually blue: see Abydos II, pls. 6, 7, 11; but cf. the statue of Sety I just behind the bark socle (in ibid., pl. 11) where the red undercoat may not have been overpainted in blue.
By Amun: Words spoken, by Amun-Re-[Atum-in-Thebes] residing in the temple ‘Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN in the Estate of Amun’: “My heart is pleased with [your] monument [O] ‘arisen-in-[Thebes],’ and I am satisfied with what you have done. My heart is joyful. I am your august father, the lord of the gods, Amun-Atum-Re-in-Thebes. (I) have given to you an enduring kingship on earth, you appearing as dual king upon the throne of Horus like Re forever. (I) have given to you my office of dual king, (and) my lifetime of when (I) was on earth.”

By the Falcon: The Behdetite.

By the King: (Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun-Re, the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, rich-in-monuments, great of wonders in the estate of Amun.

Behind the King: The king, [the lord of the Two Lands], master of the ritual shall continue to exist […]


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

c. The simplest restoration, following the parallel in col. 10 of this scene, would be  Imn-Rë [lmw m W3k.t], but other representations of this god at Karnak tend to show him as fully anthropomorph, with a curved beard, and wearing a wig surmounted by a disk (RIK I, pl. 35 C-D top; RIK II, pl. 107]; LD III, pl. 207b). Alternatively, Imn-Rë Hr-Ìh.ty is often shown with the head of a solar falcon (Medinet Habu VII, pl. 539; Medinet Habu VIII, pls. 597, 603), although he also appears ram-headed (Medinet Habu VI, pls. 446, 468A) or simply as the usual anthropomorph Amun (Medinet Habu III, pl. 179; RIK III, pl. 20 B. Compare the solar shrine from Abu Simbel, now in the Nubian Museum at Aswan, where the god is identified as “Re-Horakhty” on the right side but as “Atum” on the corresponding jamb (older bibliography in PM VII, p. 99; see I. Badawy, Jeroslav Černý et al., Le grand temple d’Abu Simbel VI, La chapelle de Ré-Horakhty, Centre d’Étude et de Documentation sur l’Ancienne Égypte, Collection Scientifique 34, [Cairo, 1989]).

d. Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN.

e. At the top of this column, the signs are both crudely carved and ill-preserved due to hacking left from erasure of obsolete Second Pylon reliefs. Since there is barely room for at the bottom of the preceding column, the following phrase should be dependent, standing either in apposition or as a relative clause. The problem with following the antecedent mnw=[k] with “in [which] (I) appear” (hfl=(i) mn=[f]) is not the infrequency
with which gods appear in their temples (see, among other examples, RIK II, pl. 90:3-4; RIK III, pl.12; Medinet Habu III, pl. 181-C; Khonsu I, pl. 21:17-18), but the uncharacteristically elliptical spelling used here (with acting for when the latter would fit perfectly into the same space). Thus it seems more likely (as Sharkawy suggests, Amun-Tempel, p. 37, with n. 197 on p. 38) that the phrase is a vocative, consisting of Sety I’s primary Horus name, \[h'i-m-[W3s.\text{t}]\]: compare GHHK I.1, pl. 137:11; and cf. Gauthier, LdR III, pl. 13-19; Jürgen von Beckerath, Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, MÄS 20, (Munich, 1984), p. 234. Note that Ramesses II’s workmen did not always “update” Sety I’s Horus name to reflect that of their master: cf. e.g., GHHK I.1, pls. 123, 129.

f. Reading ink (the rim of \[\text{\(\bigcirc\)}\] is all but entirely worn away).

This is surely the end of this column, even though it is well short of the baseline. Note that the right-hand column-divider does not continue below the block line, probably because the tails of the god in this scene and the king in the next one (GHHK I.1, pl. 33) intrude into this space: cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 34, col. 14.

h. Replacing MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}.

i. Restoring \(m\ [pr-\text{Imn}]:\) cf. Khonsu I, pl. 51:12 (\(wr\ bi\text{3}.\text{wt m pr n it}='f\text{Hnsw}\)); and Khonsu. II, pl. 117B:4 (\(mnwy,\ wr\ bi\text{3}.\text{wt m pr-Hnsw}\))

j. Reading wnn nsw, \([nb t\text{t}.\text{wy}],\ nb ir.[t]\) \([h]\) t etc.: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 12 right:12; 34:14.

PLATE 33

Bibliography: PM II\textsuperscript{2}, p. 46 (156) IV.3; Albouy et al., Karnak, p. 137 (king with offering tray); Seele, Coregency, p. 54, fig. 15; Peter J. Brand, “Rescue Epigraphy in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall,” Egyptian Archaeology 19 (Fall, 2001), pp. 11-13; ibid., “Rescue Epigraphy in the Hypostyle Hall,” KMT 12 (Fall, 2001), pp. 59.

Location: B 67: West wall, south wing, lowest register, third scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) presents a laden tray of food to Amun-Re and Mut. A vulture flies over the king’s head.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Artisans left the interior of the food tray, the cobra at the right end of the king’s apron, and the tails of both Amun-Re and pharaoh in their original raised versions. Note the rebus of Sety’s prenomen, \(\text{\(\bigcirc\)}\), which remains untouched as raised relief among the food offerings on the king’s tray. Traces of Sety I’s deleted names appear in both cartouches. In col. 18, sculptors accidentally recarved the group \(\text{\(\bigcirc\\bigcirc\bigcirc\bigcirc\bigcirc\bigcirc\}\(\bigcirc\)}\) in sunk relief. Realizing their error, they
next suppressed the unwanted signs with plaster, now largely missing, and recarved R°-ms-s instead. A rebus-writing of Sety’s prenomen, Mn-m°.t-R°, escaped similar treatment, since it appears inside Pharaoh’s offering tray, at the upper left corner.70 Many other raised edges of reworked bas relief persist along the outer contours of the sunk relief figures and hieroglyphs, especially in cols. 1, 6 and 12, and the figures themselves often stand out against the background surface.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Several elements have vanished since the drawing was made: most of Ramesses’ streamers below his shoulder; the triangular patch-stone containing Amun’s face, beard, and front chest; the lower front hem of Amun’s kilt and his forward knee; and the upper left-hand corner of Horemheb’s otiose Second Pylon decoration left scattered chisel marks in col. 6 that obscure this text. Similar hacking mars Mut’s upper torso and face. All other gaps arise from natural causes. Note that the unusually shaped tail of Mut’s vulture crown is caused by swollen plaster that foreshortens it unnaturally. It was this (and not the actual, still extant cut) that Nelson drew. Ancient plaster clings to the block joints and some minor cavities.

**Translations:**

*Label:* ¹Elevating offerings² to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘[given] life like [Re] forever.’

*By Amun:* ²Words spoken by Amun-Re king of the god[s], residing in the temple ³Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN⁴ in the Estate of Amun: ⁴“(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, you appearing like Re. ⁵(I) have given to you the victories of my sword, ⁶as (I) subdue for you the Nine Bows beneath your sandals.”

*By Mut:* ⁷Mut, lady of heaven, ⁸mistress of all the gods, ⁹as she gives life, stability, and dominion, ¹⁰and all health forever and ever: ¹¹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. ¹²(I) have given to you million(s) of jubilee(s) like Re forever.”

*Inside the Tray of Offerings:* ¹³MENMA³ATRE.

*By the Vulture:* ¹⁴Nekhbet, ¹⁵as she gives all life and dominion, and [all] health like [Re].

*By the King:* ¹⁶The good god, who makes monuments for [his] father Amun, ¹⁷the dual king USERMA³ATRE-[SETEPENRE], ¹⁸the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ¹⁹whom Amun himself has caused to appear ²⁰in order to exercise kingship [for]ever.²¹

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¹ As noted by Seele, *Coregency*, p. 54 (caption to fig. 15).

e. More probably [wꜤf=(i)] n=k pd.t-psd.t (so *GHHK* I.1, pls. 76:15-16; 97:7) than [dr] etc. (ibid., pl. 38:21-22). The signs immediately above are carved lightly or not at all because they were executed in a blob of plaster infill made necessary by deep hacking in the block above containing the phrase hps=i.

f. Indication of the plural was omitted in both cases. See glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k hh.w m hb.w-sd.

g. Replacing MENMA'ATRE. Vestiges of the larger and the remain.

h. Interpreting the traces under the vulture’s back wing as the tail of (Right) above a flat, thus reading [d.t].

**PLATE 34**

*Bibliography:* PM II², p. 46 (156) IV.4; Seele, *Coregency*, p. 54, fig. 15.

*Location:* B 68: West wall, south wing, lowest register, fourth scene from the north.

*Subject:* Ramesses II (his names changed from their early forms) offers two lengths of cloth to ithyphallic Amun-Re. A falcon soars above the king’s head.

*Type of Relief:* Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (fig. 120). Vestiges of the raised originals are plentiful along the outer edges of many hieroglyphs (e.g., the three -glyphs in col. 9 and most of the glyphs in col. 2) and of the figures, i.e.: the back of Ramesses’ streamer; the front and base of his kilt; his lower profile and beard; both strips of cloth; the upper right corner of the offering table; the front of Amun’s leg; his rear “shoulder” of his tent-shrine behind him; and the bottom of the rope linking it to the standard in front. As in other examples cited earlier, the artisans merely incised the outer contours of the offerings, leaving the foodstuffs themselves as raised relief. Some elements were not recarved at all, including the top of Pharaoh’s tail and the antennae of in col. 11.

Residuum of his original *prenomen* include the larger , the head of , and part of in col. 10. Of the earlier *nomen*, , and of Imn, and a more elaborate with its fox pelt motif also survive.

In col. 14, moreover, they accidentally recut all of the original short *prenomen* before they suppressed it with plaster and carved the longer form *Wsr-M5. t-R5-stp-n-R5* in its
Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Since Nelson copied this relief, a small rectangular block has disappeared upon which appeared the cornice of the vestibule of Amun’s tent-shrine fetish and segments of its standard and of Amun’s dangling ribbon. In recent years, decay caused by infiltration of salts has progressed along the base of the scene, destroying the middle of col. 1 and the lower back of Ramesses II’s advancing leg. A frieze of cartouches on the offering table, unlike those in GHHK I.1, pl. 32 incised with Sety I’s names, was deliberately left blank.

Translations:

Label: ‘Giving cloth,’ that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef:

1: ‘(I) have given to you all life and dominion on my part.’
2: ‘(I) have given to you all health on my part.’
3: ‘(I) have given to you all joy on my part.’
4: ‘(I) have given to you my lifetime as king, you appearing like Re.’
5: ‘(I) have given to you millions of jubilees, you appearing as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt, that your heart may be joyful, (and) that you may rule the Two Lands, you being enduring like Re.’
6: ‘You shall exist (as) foremost of the Ka of all the living, like Re.’

By the King: The dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, whom [Re]-Atum has caused to appear in order to exercise his kingship.

Behind the King: The king, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of the ritual USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually appear on the throne of Horus of the Living.

a. Reading mnḫ.[t]: cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 160:1.
b. Repeated mechanically above each column of Amun’s speech.
c. The handle of has not been carved.
d. Restoring ḫ(w)=i m nsw ( ): cf. other instances of this formula in the glossary s.v. di.n=i n=k.
e. The length of the wish desired here seems to have required the artists to lay it out in the long column behind the god, perhaps forcing them to abbreviate the customary formula (wnn nsw, nb t3.wy etc.) and place it in two shorter columns (8-9), thus including it in the god’s speech: cf. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 39, n. 224.
f. On gemination in the verb wni as a prospective form see: Allen, Middle Egyptian, §21.7; Gardiner, Gr³, §§107, 118, 440.3.
g. Parts of endure: cf. glossary s.v. R⁵-Ttmw.
h. Compare the text between GHHK I.1, pls. 31-32 for a similar instance in which a long column of text ends prematurely because the space was cut off by
Pharaoh’s bull’s tail.

**PLATE 35**


**Location:** B 69: West wall, south wing, lowest register, fifth scene from the north.

**Subject:** Ramesses II, holding the flail in his left hand and the mekes in his right, performs a ceremonial run before Monthu.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Remains of the earlier version abound, and the upper parts of the bull’s tails worn by Monthu and the king were never recarved. Raised edges and incised lines circumvallate many hieroglyphs and the main figures. Traces of Ramesses II’s shorter prenomen include its larger , the snout of below that of the final version, and the knee of (to the left of final of stp.n.R*), and . From his earlier nomen cartouche one sees , part of with its elaborate fox pelt motif, the first , and .

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Beneath the vulture, all but the last two signs in col. 9 have now fallen away. A square patch-stone set in plaster contains the top right corner of Monthu’s disk, the middle of his left plume, and the corresponding portion of the text divider to the left (opposite and the head of ). Blobs of swollen plaster spill out of block joints and small cavities at the center of the scene and cover the relief at a number of points: e.g., Ramesses II’s torso, kilt and rear arm; the word *sht* in col. 1; and Monthu’s forward arm and lower torso. In keeping with her identity as Wadjet, the vulture has a serpent’s head. Note the presence of two square post-holes (below the three course-markers behind Ramesses’s thigh and above the baseline of the scene in the gap in front of his rear foot), although they are not reflected in the drawing. These holes were doubtless connected with a later building constructed inside the Hall. In recent years, the sandstone has deteriorated rapidly along the lower half of the scene.

**Translations:**

**Label:** aTraversing the field four times for his father Monthu, lord of Thebes that he might achieve ‘given life.’

**By Monthu:** bMonthu, lord of Thebes: cWords spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.

4(I) have given to you the years of Atum. 5(I) have given to you my strength against all foreign countries. 6(I) have given to you the victories of my sword, my strength and my power. 7(I) have given to you the victories of my sword in order to trample the rebellious foreign countries, the Black Land and the Red Land being gathered in your grasp forever and ever!”

**By the Vulture:** 8Wadjet, 9as she gives all life [on] her part.
By the King: The dual king USERMA'ATRESETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically above each column of Amun’s speech.

b. Restoring sp [2], for which see the glossary ad loc.

c. Restoring [h]r=s, for which see the glossary s.v. the preposition hr (b).

PLATE 36

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 46-47 (157) IV.2; Marc Gabolde, “L’inondation sous les pieds d’Amon,” BIFAO 95 (1995), pp. 235-258, figs. 1-2; Barguet, Karnak, pl. VII B; Amun, Mut and Khonsu, Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 88; Albouy et al., Karnak, pp. 150-151 (detail of Theban Triad inside shrine).

Location: B 70: West wall, south wing, lowest register, sixth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels and, accompanied by fifteen members of the Theban Ennead, adores Amun-Re (enthroned), followed by Mut and Khonsu (standing). A falcon—doubtless Horus—hovers over the king’s head, while beneath the front of its wing the serpent goddess Wadjet (perched on a basket mounted on a tall papyrus stalk) offers dominion to atop Ramesses’ serekh. Members of the Theban Triad are ensconced within a kiosk, their feet resting on a body of water. In Amun’s forward hand are the staves of life and dominion, from which rivulets of water stream into the pool that gathers directly under his feet. Also notable, Amun wears a double-stranded shebyu-collar, and on his head (along with his customary double-plumed headdress) a hemhem-crown. By contrast, there is nothing exceptional about the costumes of Mut and Khonsu. The other deities all appear without their distinctive attributes (e.g., for Seth or Sobek), being distinguished merely as human males and females with tripartite wigs and generic divine costumes.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 68, 75, 119). Many traces of the earlier version linger at the edges of the final sunk lines, and in some cases (e.g., the coils of -crowns in cols. 43-44) raised lines were never recut as sunk. The most striking example of this last expedient, in fact, is the interior of the Theban Triad’s shrine. Although the supports and roof of the shrine itself were recarved in sunk relief, most of its contents (except for hieroglyphs along the top, with their dividers) remain raised in keeping

73 This may represent the water that appears to rise out of the soil at the beginning of the annual inundation, a phenomenon that formerly occurred at the edges of the alluvial valley and which was associated in antiquity with the influence of the Ogdoad who were buried at Medinet Habu: see M. Gabolde, BIFAO 95 (1995), pp. 245-255. For the local ennead worshiped at Medinet Habu see: Medinet Habu IX, p. xxx.
74 Except, perhaps, the double forehead ornament of Mut’s vulture crown with both a vulture and cobra head, each crowned with a sun disk and tall horns. These details are not fully captured in Nelson’s drawing.
with the sculptors’ convention that treats as raised parts of sunken figures superimposed on others.75 Traces of Ramesses II’s earlier names abound in the several versions of his cartouches.76 His figure is higher than the negative space around him.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** As on the preceding plate, clumps of excess plaster spill out between the block joints and partly obscure the figures, especially the Theban Triad. At several points, the sculptors made cosmetic adjustments to Amun’s figure: they reworked his rear arm (traces remain inside his chest) and rear shoulder, lengthened his beard, and shifted the back of his crown to the right, allowing his plumes to project slightly at either side, as they normally do. Amun’s figure also became the object of special devotional attention as the demiurge of the yearly Nile inundation that was believed to arise in Western Thebes.77 Note that it is surrounded by drill-holes, presumably to hold a veil over his image.78 Devotees also hollowed out his eye to receive an inlay.

The relief suffers from a few areas of deep hacking due to the removal of Horemheb’s decoration on the Second Pylon: amid Ramesses II’s titulary and the hovering falcon’s legs; in Amun’s plumes and the top of his bemhem-crown; and at the top of col. 34. In recent years, decay of the sandstone caused by infiltration of saline groundwater has progressed along the lower part of the scene, afflicting the figure of Hathor and cols. 34 and 36, along with col. 1, and the king’s knee and the base of his kilt. Patches of salt encrust large portions of the base of the scene.

A variety of finer elements of the relief do not appear in the drawing: creases at the roots of Amun’s horizontal ram’s horns and the undulating corrugations on his curved horn above his ear; the faces of Mut’s vulture and cobra ornaments and the former’s horned sun disk; the modeled ridge and molded rims of Ramesses II’s khepresh-crown; Amun’s belt buckle; and the ear piercings of the larger figures. Note that while members of the Theban Triad have cosmetic bands on their eyes and eyebrows, the gods of the Ennead and Ramesses II do not.

**Translations:**

**Label:** Adoring Amun-[Re, ch]ief of the Ennead,*

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75 Cf. the similar treatment of smaller, but still extensive sections of original relief on *GHHK* L1, pls. 2-4, 33-34, 38. It is also the method by which decoration on the veils and cabins of sacred barks was represented both within the Hall (Ibid., pls. 38, 53, 76, 152, 178, 180, 197, 226), and elsewhere.

76 Traces of simple Wsr-Mȝ[t-R] remain in cols. 16, 20, 32 and (most extensively) in 27 and 45. His nomen, written is legible in cols. 18, 23, 29 and 46. Incrustations of salt on the lowermost subregisters of the Ennead have obliterated any traces of the raised version.


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by the king himself.

*By Amun:* Words spoken by Amun-Re king of the gods, chieftain of the Great Ennead: “(I) have given to you the Nile flood as a great thing, and I double for you provisions.”

*By Mut:* Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, as she gives all life and dominion.

*By Khonsu:* Khonsu-in-Thebes Nefer-Ihotep in Karnak, as he gives all life, stability, and dominion: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy.”

*By Gods Facing the Theban Triad:* Words spoken by the Great Ennead: “We have come before you that we might adore your beauty, (O) Amun king of the gods! Life and dominion are gathered in your fist, and water issues forth beneath your feet, while you give food and provisions to your son RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life.”

*By Individual Gods:* Monthu, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you dawn, (O) Amun-Re, that you might give life and dominion to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.”

Atum, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) lord of the gods, that you might give health to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

Shu, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you dawn, (O) Amun-Re, that you might give valor to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.”

Tefnut, as she gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) king of the gods, that you might give victories to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

Geb, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) ruler of the Ennead, that you might give the years of Atum to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

Nut, as she gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you dawn, (O) Amun-Re, that you might give the lifetime of Re to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.”

Osiris, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you dawn, (O) Amun-Re, that you might give the kingship of the Two Lands to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

Isis, as she gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) ruler of the Ennead, that you might give the years of Atum to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

The Ombite, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you dawn, (O) Amun-[Re], that you might give your throne to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.”

Nephthys, as she gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) ruler of the Ennead, that you might give the years of Atum to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

Horus, as he gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) Amun-Re, that you might give eternity to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.”

Hathor, as she gives life and dominion: “Beautifully you appear, (O) lord of the gods, that you might give all (sorts of) offerings to the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

Sobek-Re, lord of ‘Island-of-Amun,’ as he gives life and dominion: “[Beautifully] you dawn, (O) Amun-Re, that you might give all provisions to the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.”

Tjenenet, as she gives joy: “[Beautifully] you appear, (O) king of the gods, that you might give all catches of fowl and fish to the lord of
appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.”

41Yunyt, as she gives life and dominion.

By Wadjet: 42Beloved of Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: 43Horus: mighty bull, “beloved of Ma’at”, 44the dual king, [son of] Amun, [lord of] the Two Lands USERMA³ATRE-SETEPENRE,

45the son [of Re] of [his body, lord of appearance]es RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re,

46great of appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix, 48who is loved in Karnak.

a. Restoring ³lmn-[R’ hr(y)]-tp psd.t: so col. 3 below.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 3-5.

c. Reading dl.=i) [n]=k. There is not enough room for another in the gap above .

d. Reading hw k3 (n s3=k etc.) rather than hw [n] k3 n s3=k as suggested by M. Gabolde, BIFAO 95 (1995), p. 236, who also reads the presumed before as unbroken. But while there is room for this sign in the gap, there is no trace of it, nor indeed any need to assume its existence from the condition of the word below. While k3, “food” is normally spelled with the -determinative (Gardiner signlist X-4), there are not a few cases in which is accompanied only by a single (Medinet Habu III, pl. 136:23; Medinet Habu IV, pl. 229:44; Medinet Habu V, pl. 306 B:1; Medinet Habu VI, pls. 417 A:8, 475:6; Medinet Habu VII, pl. 585 B:6,) or (So Medinet Habu VI, pl. 391 B). While we found no exact parallel to the formulation here, hw is often paired with another word meaning “provisions” or the like: cf. RIK I, pl. 20:29 ([Hapy] wr hr k3, dβw, hw, rsf); RIK II, pl. 90:32-33 (Hapy wr hr hw, rsf); cf. ibid., pl. 105:15 (³lnm=k β m wsrw, hw, k3w).

e. By analogy with the unambiguously nominal emphatic form (second tense) ḫr=k in cols. 18, 25, 29, 36 and 47, the sd=k of wbn can be interpreted as a second tense with the emphasis on the qualifying adverb, in this case nfr.(w) as a stative.

f. The epithet was apparently added in later antiquity: not only does the paleography of the signs differ from neighboring texts in this section, but they were carved initially in sunk relief, with no trace of an initial raised version common to the remainder of these inscriptions. Per Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 42, n. 246: this is no mistake, ancient or modern, but the name is undeniably different from the expected Upper Egyptian locality Sumenu, i.e. Crocodilopolis (Mahamid el-Qibli, near Gebelein) whose ancient name was iw-itrw or iw-mi-itr (AEO II, p. 21*; Gauthier, DG I, pp. 42-43; W. Helck,

In itself, *iw <n> Imn* should refer to Sma-Behdet (El Balamoun) in Lower Egypt (Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 44; *AEO* II, pp. 180*-181*); but since Sobek-Re is a member of the Theban Ennead here, it seems likelier that this toponym lies in its vicinity, perhaps as a later variant of *iw-m-itrw*—along the same lines of *iw Sbk* (which may refer to the same locality: Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 48), but with stronger ties to Karnak and its resident god, whose assimilation to the local crocodile-god may have grown stronger in later antiquity (see Edward Brovarski, “Sobek,” LÄ V, pp. 1010-1014). An Upper Egyptian *Iw-m-itrw* was located at el-Madamid/er-Rizeiqat near Armant: Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* III, p. 574.

By Restoring ☞ for mr[y] to the left of the tall stalk (which, except for its blossom, is entirely lost in the block joint): cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 178:19.

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**PLATE 37**

**Bibliography:** *PM* II, p. 46-47 (157) IV.3; Legrain, *Karnak*, p. 213, fig. 128.

**Location:** B 71: West wall, south wing, lowest register, seventh scene from the north.

**Subject:** Ramesses II, together with Wepwawet, Khnum, and two forms of Horus, stand in a large papyrus skiff as they tow the river-barge of Amun-Re (shown on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 38) in the presence of the Upper Egyptian *Meret*-goddess.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (many traces of which persist outside the later incised lines, e.g., Khnum’s profile and beard). In some cases this raised version was never recarved (e.g., the coil of the Red Crown worn by the serpent to the left of the cartouche-standard near the prow). Evidence for the earlier form of Ramesses II’s *prenomen* (inside the cartouche in col. 4) is confined to traces of a larger raised ☞.

Elements of simple *Wsr-MAa.t-Ra* remain at the bottom of the cartouche standard near the prow. In the Nile, the waves of the water were partly erased where the surface was cut back in the conversion to sunk relief. They are more intact at the right end of the scene, and here the vessel’s hull projects higher than the background indicating that the raised relief was not shaved back here as thoroughly as in the rest of the scene.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** As in scenes to the right, swollen plaster extrudes onto the wall surfaces from block joints at the right end and from patches to small cavities. Along the base of the wall, where the carved surfaces have become encrusted with
insoluble salt, erosion has accelerated in recent years. Above, the deck of the bark was lowered from a higher original version (between the steering column and the standard behind the last of the gods). The sculptors recut Wepwawet’s wig lappets and those of Ramesses II and Horus next to him.

Translation

By the Jackal-standard: 1Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands.

By the Meret-Goddess: 2The Meret of Southern Egypt.

By the King: 3The good god 4USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.

By Horus (middle): 5Horus, foremost of the cataract.

By Khnum: 6Khnum, lord of the cataract.

By Horus (left): 7Horus, lord of the cataract.

Above the Scene: 8Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Maat,’ 9he of the Two Ladies ‘protector of Egypt, subduer of foreign lands,’ 10Horus-of-Gold, ‘rich in years, great of victories,’ 11the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE—12the good god, effective for the one who is effective for him; 13a sovereign whose like has not (previously) come into being; 14divine seed 15who issued from the god’s [lim]b[s]; 16whom the king of the gods created and caused to be established 17while he (king) was in the eg[g] 18in order to exercise his (god’s) kingship [on earth]. 19He has […] for him the flat lands and hill countrys[es], 20every land being in a submissive posture 21because of his divine power. His person appears, 22his [heart] glad, in the [barge]-23(being)-on-the-river, in order to row 24his father Amun and the gods in his company.

25He has placed himself at the tow-rope of the 26Userhat barge, like Re in the Night- 27Bark. All the gods rejoice, 28bearing Amun 29to Thebes: he has made a good 30journey, like Re at his rising, 31in order to come to rest in Karnak, 32the district of eternity, which the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN—given life like Re—has made for him.

a. The three khhw connected with the gods in cols. 5-7 may be identical, but the issue is clouded by their abbreviated spellings. Of the three, only Khnum is regularly connected with the First Cataract region. One of the remaining two deities may be associated with the mysterious khh(w) of Horus that is said to be at the northern end of Nubia (Urck. IV, p. 808:2). On khhw “cataract region,” see Wb. IV, pp. 29-30; Ranier Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch vol. I, Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit, p. 1333; vol. II, Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, p. 2515; Lesko, DLE II, p. 149. Citing this example, C. Leitz (ed.), Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen III, pp. 758-59, translates this epithet for both Khnum and Horus as “lords of the water offering.”

b. Read pri m [h]’[w]-ntr, with placed to the left of \ and ? ? ? ? (of which the one on the right, now lost, appears on
the drawing) above . Kitchen’s restoration (KRI II, p. 571:1) is generally correct, except for the placement of the -determinatives under . We find no direct parallels for this spelling, although can be spelled without (Khonsu II, pl. 171:14; Medinet Habu I, pl. 26:21) and without (Medinet Habu II, pl. 86:47; Medinet Habu V, pl. 286 B:11).

c. Although the sign on the right side of this group is worn, it is definitely, not as shown on the drawing; thus read (and compare GHHK I.1, pls. 7:40 and 111:2, where a phrase built on is balanced by another using ) rather than (as Kitchen proposed, KRI II, p. 571:1). In any case, it is grammatically unfeasible to read “Amun-[Re]” following in apposition, for in that case the sentence should properly be *sw n sw ntr.w, with the dependent pronoun preceding the subject (see Gardiner, Gr.3, § 66, p. 383).

d. See GHHK I.1, pls. 40:10; 76:9; and 97:12-13 for followed by .

e. The initial sign in this column was probably, as indicated on the plate, thus . with lands and countries as direct objects. The verb that fits the traces best would be “to destroy” (cf. Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, pl. 15 C:16, sswn.n=(i) n=k t3.w Thn.w), although the implied absence of a determinative is troubling. Assuming an incorrect doubling of the in the would eliminate this difficulty and also permit other restorations—e.g. st3, “to lead in” (Medinet Habu IV, pl. 231:6, st3=i n=<k> tw Fnh.w or sm3, “to kill” (cf. Medinet Habu I, pls. 43:13-14; 44:13; Medinet Habu II, pls. 101:2-3; 102:20, in all of which the god “kills” flat lands and/or hill countries for the king).

f. With Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 44 (n. 263), reading ; for , “tow-rope,” see Wh. II, p. 223:10 (where this abbreviated spelling is unattested).

g. So taking as a nominal emphatic (second tense) functioning as the object of the preposition . Hoch, Middle Egyptian, §150; Allen, Middle Egyptian, §25.3.1

PLATE 38

Bibliography: PM II2, pp. 46-47 (157) IV.3; Legrain, Karnak, p. 17, fig. 17; Seele, Coregency, p. 55, fig. 16; Albouy et al., Karnak, pp. 130-131 (detail of prow of Userhet river-barge).

Location: B 72: West wall, south wing, lowest register, eighth scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II faces the central cabin on board the Userhet river-barge of Amun-Re as he censes the portable bark-shrine (inside) and those of Mut and Khonsu (behind the cabin) (figs. 65,
Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief—indeed, sculptors left the interior of the cabin of Amun’s barge entirely in raised relief. They only recarved the hieroglyphs above the portable bark, the two large fans above the deck, and the plumed standard just behind its figurehead in sunk, leaving the bark itself raised. No reliable traces of Ramesses II’s earlier names (which must have stood inside the original cartouches) are legible. The iconography of the processional bark’s cabin-shrine reflects Sety I’s titulary, although this is true of other representations of the bark dating to Ramesses II’s reign on the south wall. We need not conclude that Sety’s artists laid the scene out in paint or take this as evidence of a coregency between the two kings.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: As in the preceding scene, sculptors never renewed the waves of water inside the band representing the Nile river when they recarved the scene. More of the offering table between the king and the sphinx-standard is intact than the drawing suggests. These offerings rest on a table and are surmounted by an incense pot from which whisps of smoke issue. Excess plaster overflows from block joints and chisel gouges, especially inside the cabin of the river-barge. Removal of Eighteenth Dynasty decoration left deep hacking in various parts of the scene which Nelson rendered as shading in his drawing (below Mut’s bark and the prow of Khonsu’s), or as gaps in the relief (in and around Khonsu’s bark). Shade that obscures part of the long row of uraei-serpents below Amun’s portable bark, and the frieze above it, corresponds to swollen plaster.

Many finer details (especially on the sacred barks) are missing or abbreviated in the drawing: individual lentoid beads on shebyu-collars on the fore and aft figureheads of Amun’s portable bark were carved; on the billow of its veil, there are two -pillars beneath the kneeling goddesses’ wings; on the veil itself, both goddesses (in their upper fists) and hold -signs; below the veil, a king kneeling before three jackal headed statuettes wears a nemes-headcloth. Two Meret-goddesses to either side sport tiny -glyphs on their heads, although the

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79 On the Userhat barge see George Foucart, Une temple flottant: le vaisseau d’or d’Amon-Rê, Fondation Piot 25, (Paris: 1922). For the iconography of the portable bark of Amun, see now C. Karlshausen, L’iconographie.

80 The presence of Sety I’s titulary was first noted by Seele, Coregency, p. 55 (fig. 16); On the retention of elements of Sety I’s titulary on the bark of Amun-Re during Ramesses II’s reign, Peter J. Brand, “Monuments of Seti I and their Historical Significance: Epigraphic, Art Historical and Historical Analysis,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto: 1998), appendix B; Karlshausen, L’iconographie, p. 213, pl. 20.

81 For this table, cf. the Userhat barge in GHHK I.1, pl. 152.

latter are abbreviated, and the right goddess’ sign is partly erased. On the exposed upper half of the cabin-shrine, the squatting Amun-figure has long ram’s horns surmounted by an atef-crown as in other contemporary examples. Two kneeling kings to either side rest on their own ground lines, not on the sloping wings of the two goddesses behind them. Each goddess holds a figure in her higher arm and rests on a plinth, although due to the tiny scale, these lack their customary game pieces. They are not plinths as Nelson’s drawing implies. The lower wing of the goddess on the left was enlarged. Further omissions include: cow’s horns flanking tall plumes worn by large uraei of the forward figurehead of the Userhet-barge (cf. the stern aegis); two ribbons attached to a standard supporting the sphinx behind the king; and carved lines which distinguish the main shaft of the barge’s nearest steering oar from its blade-like paddles.

Translations:

Above the Prow of Amun’s Barge: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, to the Ennead which is in the primordial waters: “(As for) my beloved son of my body, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\textsuperscript{a} ATRE-SETEPENRE, I have reared him with my body in order to perform benefactions for my temple. I have chosen him ahead of millions in order to do what pleases my Ka. I said concerning him while he was (still) in the egg: ‘He belongs to you, to be a protector, and to establish your offerings on earth, to do as you desire.’ Look, (I am) giving to [hi]m my kingship, (and) my years as sovereign. I have joined together for him the reed with the papyrus, (and) the testamentary document is in his grasp, inasmuch as he has acted to row me from the (Southern) Sanctuary to [the shrine].”

Above the Stern of Amun’s Barge: Words spoken by the Great Ennead which is in Karnak, as they answer before their god, Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “Look, we are the protection of his limbs, while subduing for him the Nine Bows, inasmuch as you selected him ahead of millions to do what pleases our Ka(i). We have given to him the lifetime of Re (and) the years of Atum, all foreign countries being under your sandals forever and ever!”

Above the Prow of Amun’s Processional Bark: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak.

Above the Prow of Khonsu’s Processional Bark: Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands USERMA\textsuperscript{\textae} ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of each column.

b. The is omitted, although its phonetic complement is present. The parallel cited by Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, Karlshausen, L’iconographie, pp. 203-4, pls. 11, 12, 13.

p. 44, n. 266) in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 25:4 is not strictly germane, since it employs another grammatical construction.


d. Read *mk* <wi> *hr rdi.t*; for the omission of the 1st pers. dependent pronoun, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 44:35; 52:16; 53:11.

e. The tail of remains just below the gap.

f. The term *bi.tyt*, corresponding to *nsy.t*, is no more to be associated with Northern Egyptian kingship than is the root *bi.ty* from which it comes: Eberhard Otto, “Der Gebrauch des Königstitels *bjtj*,” *ZÄS* 85 (1960), pp. 143-152. At times, *bi.ty* refers to former kings as a group and may be translated “ancestral kings,” or “kings of old.”

g. The form of this sign is ambiguous, and it could be interpreted as . Even so, it is most likely to be , thus *rnpt.w=ti*

(Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, pp. 44-45 with n. 270, citing *KRI* II, p. 571:12 and assuming an error either by an ancient sculptor or the modern copyist). The sunk relief version is more like , while a raised relief trace resembles .

h. So writing *n* for *m* cf. Junge, *Late Egyptian*, §1.1.3(2).

i. Literally “hand” or “grasp”: *m hf=f* = “in his grasp,” *Wb.* III, pp. 272-73.

j. Something like “Karnak” would be expected, but the traces (of which the clearest is still ) do not support that reading. Examination of the wall indicates that there is room for a short, flat sign (now lost) between the top of the tall final group (with the presumed and ) and above. There are also two short horizontal traces, one over the other and now badly eroded, over the bird’s back. Assuming these are to be taken seriously, the shapes might be either curved or more-or-less straight. In any case, the shape Nelson drew on the plate above the bird’s back cannot be discerned with any certainty. There is no easy restoration to be suggested here, but two might bear consideration: either the “Min emblem,” (Gardiner signlist R-22) over for *hm*, “shrine”; or , followed by (Gardiner signlist F-4) over the back of *= [pr] (i)m(y)-hlt*, “[the house of] the one-who-is-in-front” (i.e., Amun). We do not have much
confidence in either of these alternatives, and we advance them only to provide a basis for discussion.

k. The spelling \( m = tn.w \) used here is an extended form of the 2nd pers. pl. form (originally “look you!” by analogy with the singular \( m = k \)) that appears to be invariable in plural contexts (see \( Wb. \) II, p. 5): the 1st pers. pl. dependent pronoun is either understood in this “conventional” writing or (by analogy with \( m = k < wî > \)) omitted altogether.

l. There is enough room for the suffix \( \text{ at the bottom of this column.} \)

m. Reading \( di = n \ n = f \). One could emend the text to \( *di.(n) = (n) \ n = f \) by assuming the sculptor omitted an \( n \). However, there was no shortage of space at the end of the column, so it seems best to interpret the phrase as an indicative (perfective) \( sd\ m = f \).

PLATE 39

**Bibliography:** *PM* II², pp. 46-47 (157) IV.4. Note that the article by Louis A. Christophe, “A propos de deux épithètes de Ramsès IV,” *AXAE* 52 [1954], pp. 201-214) cited in *PM* II², pp. 46-47 III.6 refers to this scene, and not that published on *GHHK* I.1, pl. 27.

**Location:** B 73: West wall, south wing, lowest register, ninth scene from the north.

**Subject:** Ramesses II extends an ‘aba-scepter as he consecrates six piles of slaughtered cattle and offerings before Amun-Re and Mut enclosed by a kiosk. His other hand dangles beside him holding an incense wand while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Diverse areas of rough chiseling on the surface (e.g., in col. 2, in front of Amun’s face) doubtless stem from erasure of Horemheb’s reliefs on the back of the Second Pylon. As with the scenes to its right, plaster spills out of block joints in the middle of this scene, although without obscuring any of the carving. Nelson did not record the inner features of Nekhbet’s upper wing, and the area where her long feathers converge should be round. He also left out interior features of Ramesses II’s \( khbprs\)-crown. The torus molding and the top of the cornice of the lower dais on which the deities sit are actually double lines in raised relief.

**Translations:**

**Label:** A The king himself presents a great hecatomb to his father, [Amun]-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, chieftain of the Great Ennead, consisting of long-horned cattle and calves, short-horned cattle—everything good and pure—and offerings of all (sorts of) fresh flowers for his father Amun-Re that he might give life, stability, and dominion to [his] son RAMESU-[MERAMUN].

**By Amun:** Words spoken by Amun-Re, a pre-eminent in [his] sanctuary: “Welcome, welcome, (O) good god! (I) have given to you myriads of jubilee(s).”

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84 Cf. other examples on this wall, e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 28, 30, 31, 33, 35.

85 Cf. the dais of the bark shrine in ibid., pl. 76.
By Mut: Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands, residing in Southern Opet, as she gives life and dominion: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you millions of [years], appearing as dual king on the throne of Horus, all foreign countries being under [your] sandals.”

By the Vulture: Nekhbet the bright one.

Above Scene: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at’; he of the Two Ladies: ‘protector of Egypt, subduer of the foreign countries,’ Horus-of-Gold: ‘rich in years, great of victories,’ the good god who appears in the White Crown; handsome of face, beautiful in the Blue Crown; who has made twice-great monuments for his father Amun.

By the King: The dual king USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN, whom Atum himself established to exercise his kingship.

Behind the King: The king who makes benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA’ATRE, shall continually appear in the house of his father Amun-Re and present a hecatomb [to] his Ka.

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

b. See glossary s.v. Imn-R* hn.ty Ip.t=f.

c. Or “millions of jubilees”? See glossary s.v. hh.w m rnp.wt, and hh.w m hḥ.w-sd.

d. There is deep hacking here, but we see the upper half of the left.

e. See Louis A. Christophe, ASAE 52 (1954), p. 205 [12].

PLATE 40


Location: B 74: West wall, south wing, lowest register, tenth (last) scene from the north.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a cup of incense and pours a libation onto a table laden with offerings in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: A few specks of paint survive, protected by the corner of the Hall. Ramesses II’s face and arms, as well as the ribbon behind Amun and the straps across his chest, are red. In addition, red pigment that runs along the top of Amun’s helmet-crown seems to be an outline of that feature, rather than a solid coloring of either the crown itself or the plumes above it. His enveloping garment was probably white (from the few off-white traces that remain). Traces of blue pigment linger in some of the grape clusters on the ceiling of the shrine. The pattern of stripes on Ramesses’ nemes-headress as drawn by Nelson is clear, including additional traces not recorded, but only the white undercoat remains.

Observations: Iconoclasts never damaged this scene. Hacking inside Ramesses II’s kilt and at the bottom right-hand corner of the scene (not drawn) is connected, no doubt, with erasure of Horemheb’s Second Pylon’s reliefs. Plaster clings

87 Ibid., pl. 208.
to the block joints and in some minor defects in the surface.

Translators:

By Amun: ^1 Amun-Re, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ^2 the great god [who is upon] ^3 the great seat: ^4 “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ^5 (I) have given to you all health. ^6 (I) have given to you all joy.”

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

By the King: ^7 The lord of the Two Lands USERMA^8 ATR^9 E, ^4 the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ^9 whom Amun has selected to exercise ^10 his kingship on earth.

PLATE 41 RIGHT

Bibliography: PM II^2, pp. 46–47 (157) IV.5.

Location: B 75: West wall, south wing, cross-wall between the west end of the south wall and the south tower of the Second Pylon.

Subject: On this plate are marginalia from the south wing of the west wall. We have discussed the fragmentary frieze on the left above, with the rest of the western doorway. On the right is decoration carved on a short cross-wall connecting the south wall with the south corner of the Second Pylon, forming the southwest corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Here a winged serpent goddess, mounted on a clump of Southern Egyptian lilies, spreads her wings to protect Ramesses II’s titulary, which occupies the vertical band to her left. ^88

Type of Relief: At the south end (Right) the decoration is all in sunk relief, employing the final form of Ramesses II’s prenomen (fig. 122).

Paint: At the south end (Right) some pigment remains: yellow inside the serpent; blue-green in the lily stems; and red on the floral gynoecium.

Observations: The top of the cross-wall is lost.

At the bottom, the breakage represents not merely damage but the insertion of unsmoothed repair blocks, between one-half and two-thirds the size of the smaller Ramesside blocks still present in the west wall. ^89 Nelson is somewhat more exact than usual with respect to the signs, but he did not draw all the horizontal lines between the two vertical margins on either side. Other details left out include the wing of and the face of . In the crux of the cobra’s wing, actually has its distinctive pronged base inside .

Translations:

Left Column: [Horus: mighty bull], ‘beloved of Ma^at;’ he of the Two Ladies ‘protector of Egypt, subduer of the foreign countries;’ Horus-of-Gold ‘rich in years, great of victories;’ the dual king USERMA^8 ATR^9 E-SETEPENRE; the son of Re RAMES[SES]-MERAMUN […] .

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^88 For similar parallels, cf. Medinet Habu II, pls. 107, 108, 117, 130; Medinet Habu III, pl. 178; Medinet Habu V, pls. 319, 321, 338C-D, 349, 351; Medinet Habu VI, pl. 447; Medinet Habu VII, pl. 511A; Medinet Habu VIII, pls. 596, 597, 657, 658.

^89 On these repairs, possibly of Roman date, see P. Brand, NARCE 180 (Fall, 2001), pp. 1 & 3-6.
a. There is enough room for 𓊤𓊧𓊨𓊖, 'given life like Re,' or similar at the bottom of the column.

**SOUTH WALL (Plates 42-87)**

The reliefs in this section are, for the most part, still preserved on the inner surface of the Hall’s south wall, including scenes on the central doorway (lintel, jambs, and thicknesses) and on the southern thickness of the passage at the building’s southeastern corner. In addition, Nelson reconstructed a number of scenes that once stood in the uppermost register at the eastern end of the wall, along with the tops of adjacent scenes in the register below. Parts of similar scenes from the fourth register remain *in situ* at the top of the western half of the wall, but since only a few insubstantial fragments of these are left, (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 44 top), we will reserve any further attempt at reconstruction for a future volume dedicated to fragments from the Great Hypostyle Hall.

![Diagram of the south wall showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.](image)

On the south wall we find the same division between originally raised and sunken relief that occurs on the adjoining part of the west wall (plan 2). The borderline between these two styles, however, is far more regular. Instead of zigzagging through individual scenes, as on the west wall, the transition occurs cleanly at the eastern half of the wall. Ramesses II recarved all scenes on the west side and on the south doorway’s lintel and jambs in raised relief, but later changed them to sunk. Reliefs on the eastern half of the wall and in the thicknesses of the doorways were all carved in original sunk relief, but the thicknesses were clearly carved last, for they alone were sculpted initially with the final form of Ramesses II’s *prenomen*, usually written.
In one instance (GHHK I.1, pl. 53:37) the orthography is . All of the earliest versions on the rest of the south wall (east of the south gateway) employed the short form of his prenomen Wsr-Ms.t-Ra. However, while traces of raised relief decoration on the west wing and south gate invariably show the prenomen orthography as , it appears in an eclectic variety of different orthographies on the east wing.90 Also variable is the earlier form of the nomen, which is occasionally spelled R*-ms-sw (ibid., pls. 68, 70, 71:12, 76:5, 77) but more regularly R*-ms-s (even within scenes in which R*-ms-sw also appears), e.g., ibid., pls. 71:11 and 76:42). Moreover, R*-ms-s alone, in various hieroglyphic “spellings,” always occurred in both the raised and sunk editions on the west wing and south gate.

Later, Ramesses II would begin spelling his nomen consistently as R*-ms-sw; but since that transition did not occur until his twenty-first regnal year,91 it seems clear that he was using this spelling already at the beginning of his reign—no doubt in imitation of his grandfather, the first Ramesses. He continued to use it, simultaneously with R*-ms-s, during the first years of his reign, after which the latter spelling came to be preferred. In any case, Ramesses never altered his earliest sunk reliefs containing the short prenomen, but when the scenes in raised relief were recut as sunk, both names were updated throughout to the forms that had become current by that time.92

Determining the precise dates for these stages of carving on the south wall is difficult, but a number of suggestive indications do emerge from the reliefs here. First, and as noted below, the form of the prenomen inscribed on the Ished-tree’s leaves in plate 79 is rarely found elsewhere.93 At the latest, the carving of this scene would thus fall in the king’s second regnal year— but more probably in his first— and it would also be later than all of the material initially carved in raised relief on the west side of the south wall.94 The change from raised to sunk relief also included cartouches of Sety I, which Ramesses II’s artisans initially recut without alteration (GHHK I.1, pls. 42, 48, 53, 57 and 61). Only subsequently did they surcharge two of these scenes, on the jambs of south gateway, with Ramesses II’s own cartouches, so that he is now depicted offering to Amun and to a deified figure of himself (ibid., pls. 57 and 61). Notably, Sety I also acts as celebrant in a few scenes on the outer jambs and thicknesses of this portal. Ramesses II officiates in most of

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90 We find a similar richness of orthographic variety of Ramesses II’s cartouches in earliest sunk relief decoration in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Sety I’s Gurnah temple.


92 See in general Seele, Coregency, pp. 90-91; Murnane, JNES 34 (1975), pp. 179-180.

93 So in the first corridor of Ramesses II’s royal tomb (PM I.2, p. 505 (1-3); Murnane, Coregencies, pp. 78-80), and on abaci of the columns in the hypostyle hall of Sety I’s Gurnah temple (Nelson, Key Plans, pl. 37, fig. 1, nos. 11-16), both of which were inscribed very early in the king’s reign.

them, and he alone was responsible for their creation, including these posthumous hommages to his father.\footnote{PM II², pp. 49-50 (164c-f); Nelson, \textit{Key Plans}, KO 29-30, 45} Since Ramesses later usurped Sety’s figures here as well, it is not inconceivable that he took over his father’s effigies on the inner jambs at the same time.

In contrast with the west wall, the reliefs on the south wall feature Sety I in several instances, albeit only as a passive recipient of cult. He is represented in one scene within each of the registers east and west of the doorway, and he appears prominently in the lowest registers on the doorjambs. While this has been interpreted as evidence of a coregency,\footnote{Seele, \textit{Coregency}, pp. 61-75; Murnane, \textit{JNES} 34 (1975), pp. 172-179.} it should be noted that Sety’s role is entirely consistent with Ramesses II’s program of decoration, for in each case Sety I features as a royal ancestor who receives worship from his successor. As we shall see below, the overriding theme of the reliefs on the south wall is Ramesses II’s kingship and its legitimation. In this respect, these scenes echo similar sequences of reliefs on the north wall, where Sety I acts as the celebrant. Since the cult of the royal ancestor plays no part in the latter scenes, nor in any other reliefs Sety I carved in the Great Hypostyle Hall,\footnote{Brand, \textit{Monuments of Seti I}, pp. 206-208. This is all the more telling because we know that Sety I did promote the ancestor cult elsewhere, through his Abydos kinglist and specifically for his father in cult chapels at Abydos (\textit{Abydos} II, pl. 36 small statue next to barque of Seti I, both Ramesses I and Satre) and within his own memorial temple at Gurnah (Brand, \textit{Monuments of Seti I}, pp. 230-232). So contra Ted Ling, “Ramesside Filial Piety,” \textit{Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology} 3 (1992), pp. 59-66.} Ramesses II could well have introduced this theme for his own ends. Much of Sety I’s “influence” may thus be deliberate on Ramesses II’s part, reflecting his wish to be seen worshiping his father, rather than merely a mechanical retention of decorative patterns from an earlier reign. Although only Sety’s name appeared in the rebus decoration on the canopy of the Amun-bark, it is not necessarily the case that his artists had laid out cartoons of this decoration on the south wall in paint before he died.\footnote{On the iconography of the Amun bark during this period see Karlshausen, \textit{L'iconographie}, pp. 67-88.}

Throughout the Great Hypostyle Hall, blocks in the lowest courses of walls had been so weakened by salt infiltration that many of them were replaced in later antiquity.\footnote{For general discussion of this question see Georges Legrain, \textit{Les temples de Karnak}, (Brussels, 1929), pp. 249-255; Brand, \textit{NARCE} 180 (Fall, 2001), pp. 1 & 3-6.} This process is particularly apparent on the south wall, where the repairs even extended into the lowest levels of the scenes. When the new masonry was inserted, the restorers made sporadic attempts to recarve the missing parts of the Ramesside reliefs. They executed these additions in a style characteristic of the Graeco-Roman period, and their coordination with the original material is quite variable (see commentary to \textit{GHHK I}.1, pls. 52, 53, 57 and 77).

Below the level of the scenes, they made no attempt to reproduce the original dado motif that ran along the bases of the walls, which by tradition consisted of two broad bands framed by three narrow ones. More unfortunate is the loss of the High Priest Herihor’s marginal inscriptions, parts of which still exist on the east
side of the south wall and, more completely, on the southern end of the east wall.

Numerous traces of later building activity are apparent on the surface of the south wall. As with the west wall, though, there is no coherent pattern to reveal much about the structures that left such marks. Malicious hacking of Amun’s phallus is found in the third register (GHHK I.1, pls. 45, 64) and even higher (ibid. pl. 86), but not on the lowest registers, except at one side of the central doorway (ibid., pl. 60). This defacement is, perhaps, the result of fertility magic practiced by the Hall’s later occupants and differs from the wholesale iconoclasm they visited on figures elsewhere in the building.

On the lowest register at the east side (GHHK I.1, pl. 52), Seth’s figure and epithet were effaced in later antiquity, but this is an isolated instance. Similar treatment was not meted out to Seth in another representation of the Theban Ennead on the west wall (above, ibid., pl. 36).100

**SOUTH WALL, WEST SIDE (Plates 42-53)**

Note that the ritual sequence of episodes on this side is generally the reverse of that used to number the plates—to wit, in the two highest registers in situ, the narrative sequence unfolds from left to right (plan 2):

Uppermost in situ (“second”) register: Ramesses II first appears before Amun in the marsh (pl. 45); participates in trapping waterfowl with the clapnet (pl. 44); presents captured birds to the Theban Triad (pl. 43); and offers to his father, Sety I (pl. 42).

Middle (“third”) register: Ramesses II leaves the palace and is purified by Khnum (pl. 51); is led into the temple by Monthu and Atum (pl. 50); is acknowledged by Amun (pl. 49); purifies a statue of Sety I (pl. 48); embraces ithyphallic Amun (pl. 47); and sacrifices an oryx in the presence of the Theban Triad (pl. 46).

In the bottom (“fourth”) register the sequence is less apparent, with the focus of each scene appearing to be at the opposite end of the wall. In pl. 52, for example, the composition is oriented primarily toward the west, where Pharaoh appears before his divine father, Amun. To the east, however, in pl. 53, the procession of sacred barks moves toward the east, although the officiating king (Ramesses II, at the east end of the scene) faces west. In several vignettes on the west side one finds stray traces of incised lines which may stem from some earlier version of the reliefs which was abandoned in favor of the final design.101

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100 Seth’s figure was largely respected inside many of Sety I’s cartouches in the northern half of the Hall except for a cluster on the north wing of the east wall. See below.

101 Cf. observations to pls. 43-44 and 48-49.
Diagram of the west wing of the south wall showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.

**PLATE 42**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 47 (158) I.4; Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 62-64 (fig. 18: photograph); Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 178, fig. 17a (hand copy of cols. 2-7).

**Location:** B 86: South wall, western half, uppermost register *in situ* ("second"), first scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II offers incense and libation to his father, Sety I, who is accompanied by his *Ka* (fig. 123)

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief, of which numerous traces linger along the edges of the final cuts, both in the hieroglyphs (e.g., the left side of in col. 8) and the figures (e.g., the front of Ramesses II’s advancing leg and Sety I’s facial profile). In col. 8 under of *mi Re* was mistakenly recarved as . It is possible that the itself was carved in error, perhaps for , but no trace of the original sign (if there was one) is now preserved. The lower half of the diagonal ribbon pattern along the right edge of the scene was left in raised relief.

Elements of Ramesses II’s original cartouches include the larger of his *prenomen* (col. 5) and in his *nomen*.

The main figures were mostly cut back so that they do not project from the negative space around them. An exception is the lappet of Ramesses’ *nemes*-headdress and the lower part of his beard where they overlap his body. In converting them to sunk relief, the sculptors largely erased the belt aprons of both kings, and
here the drawing is inaccurate. Traces of Ramesses’ apron are fainter and more incomplete than Nelson’s drawing suggests, for this area was cut back and resurfaced with plaster (now largely gone). Only the middle diagonal line of his belt is particularly clear. On Sety’s apron, only the head of a cobra on the left side of the base (not drawn) is apparent, but traces Nelson indicated as dotted lines are vestiges of plaster. In general, the recut surfaces often exhibit a porous consistency of dense but shallow pitting that was sealed with a plaster wash which occasionally still clings to areas of the relief (e.g., between Ramesses’ legs and between Sety and his ka-figure).

**Paint:** A considerable amount of color persists in this scene. Flesh tones of the two kings, the ka-figure (including the ka-arms) and the sledge underneath the serekh are red. Note that the translucent effect of Sety I’s long kilt is conveyed by a lighter tone of red in the parts of his legs it covers. The ritual vessels—censer, libation jar, and offering stand—are yellow, as are Ramesses’ kilt, Sety’s tail, the ka-figure’s staff, and the spaces between hieroglyphs inside the serekh. Between the kings, the offering table is also yellow, with vertical red stripes painted along the length of its cornice. Yellow is also present in the ka-figure’s kilt and bull’s tail. Sety’s belt, the ka-figure’s wig and beard, and margin lines at the right end of the scene are blue, which was also employed (along with another faded color, probably green) in the chessboard pattern near the base of his serekh.

Below this, between the ka-arms, are blue and yellow or white alternating vertical stripes flanking the door of the serekh. Horizontal crossbars on the door are also blue. A bracelet on the wrist of Sety’s rear arm has faded, but the armband above consists of alternating blue and yellow vertical stripes between two blue horizontal bands. The deified king’s streamer is red, rectangles of the same color being detectable in his bull’s tail. The pattern of Sety’s painted apron is evident, but its colors have faded. The loaves of wedge shaped bread on the offering table are also red.

**Observations:** Some block joints have now widened. Note in particular that no trace of any sign exists above at the bottom of col. 4. Nelson left out some details and introduces a few inaccuracies: the back of the Horus falcon’s Double Crown above Sety’s serekh was left out; the division between the scepters in Sety’s grasp is illusory, but his thumb was recut; and in col. 13, one sees part of the cobra goddess’ coils above the upper left corner of the basket upon which she

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102 Some of these colors, yellow in particular, have faded since Murnane noted them in the 1970s and 80s.  
103 Cf. Abydos I, pls. 7, 14.

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104 Armbands of this sort appear to be worn by divinities in Abydos I, pls. 12, 30; cf. in GHHK I.1 pls. 43, 59, 68, 69, 70, 74. Pharaoh’s bracelets are similar in these examples (ibid., pls. 59, 73; cf. Abydos I, pls. 5, 11), but his armlets are simpler, consisting of three horizontal bands (generally yellow between two bands of blue). This distinction is generally observed throughout the Abydos temple, and it is also found in royal tombs (see MMA photographs T-887, 895, 913; and cf. Erik Hornung, Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige, (Bern, 1971), pls. 7, 8, 14 right, 15b). Occasionally, though, the king appears in his tomb wearing the more elaborate “divine” armbands (MMA photos T-915, 919, 147; cf. Hornung, Das Grab des Haremhab, pls. 2-6), just as sometimes the gods wear the simpler “royal” armbands (ibid., pls. 13a, 14 left, 15a, 18 right; MMA photos T-911, 916). This distinction is regular enough, however, to suggest that Sety I is represented here as a god.
rests.

Translations:

Label: 1 Censing and libating [to] the good god.

By Ramesses II: 2 Words spoken: 3 "O incense! O scent of god! Its scent belongs to you; the scent of the Eye of Horus [belongs to you]. The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re forever."

Behind Ramesses II: 4 The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, shall continually appear in <the house of> his father Amun, like Re, while offering things to his father, the good god MENMA’ATRE.

By Sety I: 5 The good god MENMA’ATRE, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, true of voice before the great god.

By the Vulture: 6 Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the Ka: 7 The living royal ka-of the lord of the Two Lands, Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live.’

By Serpent behind Ka: 8 <Wadjet> as she gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

d. Reading r=k not n=k. Clear traces of are visible at the top of col. 4; Nelson’s is erroneous.

e. This is surely an ellipse of the more usual h³w m pr it=f lmnn. So GHHK I.1, pls. 39:21, 64:4, 72:7, 91:10, 99:11, 130:8.

f. The erroneous , changed to the of “Re” in the final version, does not cohere well with any epithet of Amun’s that might follow, and it may be a scribal error. It is also possible that the original version was mit.t (for the prepositional use of which cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 51:1; 53:28) instead of mi Ra. The sculptor carved in both the raised and sunk relief versions, while is outlined with engraved lines but not rendered as sunk.

g. Her identity is suggested by the papyrus-stalk which supports her.

PLATE 43

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 47 (158) I.3; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 84.

Location: B 87: South wall, western half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II offers captured marsh-fowl to Amun-Re in the presence of Mut and Khonsu.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief, vestiges of which are particularly strong in Ramesses II’s figure (his tail, knee, and neck) and in that of Amun (fig. 124). Note that
Amun’s front forearm was recarved in sunk relief outside the original cut, and craftsmen filled the interval with blue paint in the final version (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 42, at Sety I’s belly). Recutting occurs along the front of Mut’s body from her armpit to her foot and on Khonsu’s leg. Ramesses’ tail was left in raised relief behind his kilt, and his belt apron and streamers were not shaved back. Only the larger ◻️ of Ramesses II’s raised *prnomen* ◻️ is legible.

**Paint:** ¹⁰⁵ Amun’s flesh tones are blue, those of Mut are yellow. At least part of the breast of each marsh-fowl is blue as well, but the remainder of their coloring is gone. Amun’s cap-crown, his bracelets, garment and bull’s tail are yellow. A red Isis-knot clasp hangs below his belt. Two rows of blue vertical bands were picked out on bracelets encircling his biceps. Amun’s tail is red, and the braces holding up his corselet were painted in alternating bands of blue-green and yellow. Mut’s dress is red, with two slender hems of blue trim below her breast. A cloth belt with streamers tied around her garment is distinct, but is too faded for its color to be identified. A curious patch of red wash to the left of Amun’s scepter (opposite in col. 1) probably does not reflect the scepter’s original color. ¹⁰⁶

**Observations:** Masons inserted a small rhomboidal patch-stone into the wall between Mut and Khonsu. Scratches running inside Ramesses II’s body may stem from an earlier version of his figure that was placed further to the right, along with similar traces, not recorded by Nelson, in his upper right arm, his advancing leg, and Khonsu’s body. Scratches behind his back and below col. 17 are less definite and may well be random. Damage to the relief between cols. 13 and 14, along with a gap between the heads of Mut and Khonsu, represent zones of quarry hacking. Nelson omitted a curved fold in Amun’s kilt, and he did not render faithfully the feet of overlapping ducks Pharaoh grasps in his hands, in part because of light hacking inside their bodies confuses the image.

**Translations:**

*By the King:* ¹¹Words spoken: “(I) have come before you, (O) my father, Amun, (I) having crossed the marshes for you.

*By Amun:* ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands:

*By Mut:* ⁷Mut, lady of heaven,


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1⁰⁵ As in the previous scene, some of these colors have faded beyond recognition since they were noted by Murnane in the 1970s.

1⁰⁶ Which is normally blue or blue-green: cf. pl. 59 below, and *Abydos* I, pls. 5, 12, 14, 15; *Abydos* II, pls. 6, 7.
By the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-[SETEP]EN[RE], the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2, 4-6.

b. Reading $shb= (i) \ n=k\ s$s. For the phrase $shb\ s$s “to cross the marshes,” see Wb. III, pp. 420:15-421:1-5, and cf. below GHHK I.1, pl. 44:45.

c. Note that the sculptor has carved for

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PLATE 44

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) I.2;
Champollion, Monuments, pl. ccxxxvii; James Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica or exact copies of various hieroglyphical inscriptions and sculptured monuments still existing in Egypt and Nubia, and at Mount Sinai, (Cairo [1825-1828]), pl. lvii; and the published photographs cited in PM II², p. 47 (158) I.2;
Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pls. 82-83, Horus and clapnet, pl. 78; Left side, Azim and Reveillac, Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/162 and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/162; Copies of the texts include Champollion, ND II, pp. 41-42, 44 (A); LDT III, p. 15 [a]; and Maurice Alliot, “Les rites de la chasse au filet, aux temples de Karnak, d’Edfou et d’Esneh,” RdE 5 (1946), pp. 110-112 (upper part).

Location: B 88: South wall, western half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), third scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II, in the company of Khnum and Horus, pulls shut a clapnet trapping a mass of marsh fowl, in the presence of Thoth (who gives the signal by silently stretching a cloth), while Seshet stands by holding a strip of cloth around her neck.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 66, 125-127). Traces of raised relief linger, particularly along the edges of the figures. In recarving the large elements, there was a tendency to set the final cut outside the raised version. By contrast, the artists cut sunk versions of hieroglyphs inside the original raised signs and, consequently, they are more slender. They left the marsh below the clapnet, as well as the clapnet itself and its contents, as raised relief. A few vestiges of Ramesses II’s raised cartouches are legible: of $Wsr-M�.\ t-R$, (cols. 24, 27); (cols. 27, 46); (col. 46); (cols. 27, 48); and the larger $\bigcirc$ in his nomen (col. 10).

Paint: Little remains, although Ramesses II and the male divinities have red flesh. There are faded patterns of paint below the clapnet (representing lashings) and on the epicalyces of the two largest papyrus blooms at the left end of the marsh. Horus’s face is white with the falcon facial markings in black. The rope he holds shows traces

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of yellow. The same color is also present in the ribbons of the king’s diadem and Khnum’s kilt. Traces of red are detectable in the sashes of Sheshat. Green is present on the stems of the papyrus flowers over the clapnet.

**Observations:** With the exception of the group leader on the right, all the water fowl above the clapnet were defaced by hacking—a fate shared by the avian hieroglyphs in cols. 18 and 21, and by in col 16. All other damage to the relief is unremarkable, including residual quarry marks, especially in the body of Khnum and between him and col. 37. Above Seshet, the gap may result from missing patch-stones or else derive from a beam hole for a structure built against the wall in later ages. Traces of engraved lines on Seshet’s head, inside her body, and a gash (not recorded) behind her, are related to other stray marks in the adjacent scene (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 43) and probably resulted from a redesign of the original raised relief program of decoration. A single pilgrim’s gouge was excavated just to the right of Khnum’s forward knee.

It should be noted that the fragment from the base of the largely missing top register, above this scene, includes portions of five small tableaux. In each episode, the king (facing right) kneels before an enthroned divinity. These vignettes resemble reconstructed scenes from the top register on the east side of this wall (GHHK I.1, pls. 81-86), where the king faces left, and those reliefs, along with the rest of the carving at that end of the wall, were originally sunk. In the top register on the western side, the reliefs were initially raised and changed subsequently to sunken relief like the rest of the decoration west of the central doorway. They were similar to those on the top of the east side, but for lack of evidence there is little more that can be said about them.108

**Translations:**

*By Khnum:* 1Words spoken by Khnum, lord of the cataract: 2 “King USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE has come before you, (O) Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. 4He has brought to you everything that flies; 5a pure offering to your Ka.”

*By Horus:* 6Words spoken by Horus, foremost of the marsh fowl: “(I) have brought to you myriads of everything that alights.”

*By the King:* 9The good god USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 10the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

*By the Vulture:* 11Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

*By Clapnet:* 12-13The brave fowler, the ruler aggressive-of-arm, who knows (how to use) his hand(s), 15-16for whom were created the millions of birds which he has snared. 17The Fen Goddess has come to him through a desire that the marsh fowl might swarm for him and (so that) they may be offered to his august father, Amun, king of the gods—nearly the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE.

*By Thoth:* 25Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, pre-eminent in Hesret, residing in

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108 To date, we have discovered no blocks from the western half of the south wall’s top register in the yards around Karnak.
the Mansion of the Clapnet: “Welcome, welcome, 27(O) <son> of Amun-Re, lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE! 27-28 You have snared the water fowl in your trap. 29-30 For you the Fen-Goddess has caused that the marsh fowl might flutter 30 as you draw (shut) your clapnet, and your two arms are on the draw-rope together with your two brothers—Khnum (being) in front of you 31 (and) Horus behind you—driving away the evil ones from your path. 31 Look, (I) am your father, the lord of Hermopolis: 36 my two arms are stretching the cloth for you.”

Beside Thoth: 37 The lord of Hermopolis—closing the net: Words spoken: “My two arms are outstretched. You have come, that (I) may spread out the cloth for you. I have come to you in the marsh, after you have crossed the marshes, and after you have sprung your traps. You have brought away tens-of-thousands of geese, and thousands of green-chested birds, lying inertly on the offering table of the gods forever and ever!”

By Seshet: 42 Words spoken by Seshet, [la]dy-[who-is-in-front, she of] the double-fringed sc[arf]:

40 Neith, lady of Meter, 4k [who is in] 44 Sais, mistress of Pe and Dep 4f [pre-eminent in Island]- 45 in-the-Marsh: “[You have] crossed the waters to the place where your father is, his heart being glad when he sees your strength like (that of) Monthu, (O) aggressive-of-arm, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEP[EN]RE, given life like Re.”

Beside Seshet: 47 Words spoken by Seshet, She of Dep and Pe, lady of Nej jeret, 4p who is in 48 Sais, mistress of Meter, to her son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life: 49 “I am your mother, who bore you by means of my beauty, you being suckled upon my two breasts, when I acted for you (as) nurse and brought up your incarnation to be king on the throne of Horus like Re.”

b. Reading ii.n rather than in: see Maurice Alliot, “Les rites de la chasse au filet, aux temples de Karnak, d’Edfou et d’Esneh,” RdE 5 (1946), p. 72; and thus also Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 48, n. 16.
c. Under  in col. 5, was erroneously carved for : see glossary ad. loc. for this common error.
d. There is room only for a resumptive pronoun (=sn or =w) at the bottom of the column.
e. The root meaning of nhp/snhp seems to have the connotation of rapid, repetitive movement or the initiation of such motion or action. See Wb. II, p. 283; IV, p. 167-168. Here it seems to refer to the fluttering movement of the waterfowl as they swarm over the clapnet, which had doubtless been strewn with grain to bait them.
g. For Hw.t-ib.t, the “Mansion of the

h. Although only Imn-Ra is actually carved here, the context requires s[t] Imn. If so (pace Sharkawy, *Amon-Temple*, p. 49, n. 23) this error is ancient, not modern: perhaps ☇ was substituted for the similarly shaped ☇ in the hieratic text from which the present version was derived.

i. The determinative at the top of the column holds a cudgel in his upraised rear arm (similar to ☇ (Gardiner signlist A 59) but with its forward arm held upright.

j. Alliot inferred this restoration (*RdE* 5 [1946], pp.111-112) after a possible parallel at Esna (ibid., pp. 76 [D] and 78, n. 1). At Karnak, the traces at the left side of col. 42 could suggest St[t], [ḥt], š[t]š[t]: arguably the left ends of two ▼▼ signs): cf. Gardiner, *Gr.*, p. 507 (Signlist S-32); *Wb.* IV, p. 29:3-5; and note that the goddess in this scene wears such a scarf around her neck.

k. For Mtr (determined with ▼▼, here missing) see Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l’Egypte Ancienne*, I (Paris, 1957), p. 79, where it is identified as the canal linking the Sebennytic and Canopic arms of the Nile.

l. Pe (*AEO II*, p. 188*) and Dep (Montet, *Géographie de l’Egypte Ancienne*, I, p. 91) were twin cities located at the site later known as Buto: see Hartwig Altenmüller, “Buto,” *LÄ* I, pp. 887-8.

m. So reading [ḥn.t iw] m šš.


p. Compare the sun who “illuminates every land by means of his beauty” (*Medinet Habu* V, pl. 283 D) and see RIK III, pl. 13:4, in which nfr.(w) is written with bare ☇ (albeit in a cramped context, behind the goddess’ back). The Berlin dictionary lists two entries for nfr alone as “beauty, goodness” (*Wb.* II, pp. 257:12-15; 258:11-12) along with nfr.w (ibid., p. 260:1, often abbreviated as nfr). The alternative interpretation of nfr as a noun (translating “as a beautiful woman.” Sharkawy, *Amon-Temple*, p. 50, s.v. pl. 44) seems less likely, since it requires omission of the feminine .t that normally accompanies this word (*Wb.* II, p. 258:4-5).
PLATE 45


Location: B 89: South wall, western half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II (his figure lost) stands on a papyrus skiff in the marshes with the goose of Amun riding on board, near the prow, in the presence of ithyphallic Amun. Wadjet and Nekhbet hover as vultures over the king.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Raised lips and incised lines from the earlier version linger alongside various elements: e.g., a number of the papyrus stalks and blossoms; Wadjet’s rear wing and tail; pendant uraei on the solar disk; and Amun’s arm. Similar traces surround many hieroglyphs as well. For the most part, the sculptors recut the marsh plants into sunk relief (more thoroughly than in GHHK I.1, pl. 44), but they left the skiff and goose raised. They also incompletely shaved down both vultures, erasing some of their plumage. At the scene’s left edge, vertical bands of the ribbon border were converted to sunk relief only in the upper half, but were left raised below.

Paint: Alternating bands of paint define Amun’s necklace, but the colors are too faded to distinguish. Behind him, his tall lettuces are green, and the flabellum between them is green (bottom of the plumes) and yellow (top).

Observations: Damage to Amun’s body seems unconnected to any malice directed against it, being instead natural weathering of the stone which never interrupts the cut lines. An exception, perhaps, is his penis which was intentionally gouged, although subsequent erosion clouds the issue. Breakage in cols. 1 and 7 results from erosion and is localized for the most part around the animal hieroglyphs. A pattern of hacking inside and to the right of Ramesses II’s prenomen cartouche is quarry damage, since remnants of plaster infill cling to it. Later occupants of the Hall carved two pilgrim’s gouges between col. 8 and Amun’s lower body.

A notable feature of Wadjet’s figure is the serpent’s head issuing from her vulture’s body (cf. pls. 26 and 35 above). Its head, and that of the vulture Nekhbet, were lightly hacked. Above this scene are fragments of three smaller episodes from the missing top register, each one showing

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109 The closest parallel in a temple relief is from the Luxor Temple, a scene that shows Amenhotep III standing in a skiff while plucking reeds from a swamp (unpublished): see PM II², p. 328 (156) III; Key Plans, pl. xxiii (E 257); cf. also PM II², pp. 92-93 (267-268) I; Barguet, Karnak, pl. xxi B (top right). Royal fowling scenes in the New Kingdom are otherwise rare, being confined to a scene in the tomb of Ay, where the king’s figure was vandalized (PM I, part 2, p. 550, 23 [2]), and a scene on the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun (Marianne Eaton-Krauss, and Erhart Graefe, The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, [Oxford, 1985], pp. 15-16, pl. XIV, XXIA, XXVI).

110 An alternate theory is that it may be connected with the prising of the two blocks beneath, bearing the king’s figure, out of the wall (doubtless for some householder’s purposes). Note that the edge of the doorway on the left is also damaged at this point (showing marks of a lever?), although the surface above and below is well preserved.
Pharaoh (Left) kneeling before a divinity (Right). Translations:

By Amun: 1 Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god, 2 pre-eminent in 3 his sanctuary, 4 who is upon his great seat: 4 Words spoken: 5 “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. 6 (I) have given to you all health. 7 (I) have given to you all joy. 8 (I) have given to you all provisions. 8 (I) have given to you my lifetime as king forever.”

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

By the Vulture (Right): 9 Nekhbet.

By the Vulture (Left): 10 Wadjet, 11 as she gives all life, stability, and dominion, [all] health, 12 all joy and all valor like Re.

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands

[USER]MAATRE-[SETEPENRE], the lord of appearances [RAMESSES-MER]MUN. 112

a. The sign under  上 actually resembles a malformed  下, but it is probably to be understood as a botched rendering of a complement to the sign above—perhaps  上 which infrequently determines  hn.ty (e.g., GHHK, pl. 33:10). Still, it was definitely carved as  下.

b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-7.

PLATE 46

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 47 (158) II.1; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 86.

Location: B 90: South wall, western half, middle register in situ (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II, in the presence of Amun, Mut and Khonsu, slits the throat of an oryx that rests on a table.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but recarved from raised relief (figs. 94, 128). Traces of the earlier version are especially plentiful inside the cartouches, by the other hieroglyphs, and along the edges of the figures (both in- and outside the later cuts). There was a  下-ideogram in the former nomen cartouche. In the prenomen (cols. 2 and 20), parts of  下 and  下 are discernable, along with  下 (col. 2). In converting the scene to sunk relief, craftsmen erased the falcon’s plumage and face without recarving them. They also left a marginal frame at the far right of the scene as raised relief.

Paint: A considerable amount of pigment remains. Amun’s flesh tones are blue. Ramesses II’s skin is red and his broad collar has concentric rings of green alternating with blue separated by white lines, and with a single outer one of red above an outer fringe of blue and green floral petals. The king’s khat headdress is yellow.

Amun’s plumes are outlined in red, with the

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111 See GHHK I.1, pl. 44 for more of this sequence; and cf. pls. 81-86 for comparanda from the east end of this wall.

112 Note that the top of  下 and  下 of mr-Inn can still be made out in the remains of his nomen cartouche. A trace of the larger disk of his original raised prenomen is also legible.
grillwork pattern of quills and filaments in yellow against a white background.113 Parts of Mut’s Double Crown—its coil, back rib, and front projection—are red, as was the basic coloring of her dress (which is preserved along the edges of her body). Khonsu’s wig is black. A narrow strip of red cleaves along the bottom of Khonsu’s menat-necklace and just to its right. The falcon’s tail and the outer tiers of its wings are green, with the inner parts being red (forward wing) and blue (downswept wing).114 Yellow remains within the offering table while blue is present in the pt sign above the scene. Patches of blue, yellow, green, and red cling to many of the hieroglyphs (see appendix A).

**Observations:** Until it was cleaned in the 1990s, a thick incrustation of salt and mud (rendered on the plate as shade) cut across the middle of the scene. Removal of this detritus revealed Amun’s rear hand, grasping a, and the top of his lap to be intact. Salt clinging to the midsections of Mut and Khonu was not removed, perhaps because it had comingled with ancient plaster used to patch defects in the stone. Hacking at the upper right corner of the offering table is typical of quarry damage, which also affects the lower back of Amun’s throne and the extreme lower left corner of the scene behind Khonu. Due to the salt incrustation when Nelson recorded the relief, a few inaccuracies crept into his drawing, to wit:

Khonsu’s lower arm and hand are not visible, nor is the outer loop of his menat-necklace; the tops of the group in col. 11 are also obscured. Note that the pendant ends of Khonsu’s flail are much longer—more than is usual—and complete at the end (with three rounded points), while the butt end of his crook is visible just to the left of his staff.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: *(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE! *(I) have given to you years of eternity, *(you appearing as ruler of joy, inasmuch as you have done what pleases my heart, by means of*)beautiful monuments.”

*By Mut:* Mut, lady of Isheru, as she gives all life, as she gives all dominion, as she causes every protection—all life, stability, and dominion—to surround him like Re.

*By Khonsu:* Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes, Neferhotep in Karnak, lord of joy, lord of heaven, given all life, stability, and dominion: *(I) have* given you the crook and the flail, you appearing like Re.

*Behind Khonsu:* Every protection—[life, stability, and] dominion—surrounds him like Re.

*By the Falcon:* The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, as he gives all life, stability, and dominion.

*By the King:* Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

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113 E.g. *Abydos II*, pls. 6-7.
114 Some of this polychrome cannot be confirmed since these observations were first made by Murnane in the 1970s and 80s. The clearest traces are those of the king’s collar, his red flesh tone and Amun’s blue skin.
life like Re.  

*By Wadjet:* 29 Wadjet, as she gives all life and dominion.

a. The sculptor carved (for in).

b. Perhaps due to lack of space, the suffix was omitted, restoration of which would yield the more usual “...as he gives...” etc.

c. One would expect *di=f'nh* etc, “as he gives life...” Perhaps the scribe omitted for lack of space.

**PLATE 47**

**Bibliography:** *PM II*, p. 47 (158) II.1.

**Location:** B 91: South wall, western half, middle register *in situ* (“third”), second scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II embraces ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Amunet. Amun’s characteristic tent shrine stands behind him, and a vulture with a serpent’s head soars over the king.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (fig. 129). Numerous traces of the initial version persist along edges of the figures (e.g., at Amun’s rump, profile, arm, and rear leg, and Amunet’s front hip and arm). The top of Pharaoh’s tail was left in raised relief. Traces of his raised *prenomen* cartouches include all the signs of

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115 The drawing inaccurately shows a conventional vulture’s head.

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1 and (col. 14). His *nomen* orthography remained largely identical except was used in *mr-Imn*. Inside his wig, Ramesses II’s diadem is partially erased, a result of the conversion to sunk relief. Otherwise, the figures often protrude higher than the surrounding negative space.

**Paint:** A considerable amount of paint is intact on the hieroglyphs and somewhat less in the figures. Ramesses II’s flesh is red and that of Amun blue, while the god’s dangling ribbon and the belt streamers of Amunet’s dress are also red.

**Observations:** As on pl. 46, a thick deposit of grey-brown salt crystals and mud obscures the chests and shoulders of Amun and the king. Otherwise, with the exception of a small rectangular hole that straddles cols. 6-7 (a beam hole?), and a larger one at the bottom of col. 10 (perhaps a missing patch-stone), the scene is wholly intact.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* 1 Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, 2 the great god, 3 king of the gods, 4 who is upon his great seat: 5 “(I) have given to you valor, victory, and power for your strong arm.”

*By Amunet:* 6 Amunet residing [in] 7 Karnak, 8 lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands, 9 as she gives all life: 10 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you a million* years, you appearing as the dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt, the flat lands and hill countries being under [your] sandals, and your arm being [unop]posed.”
By the King: ¹¹The lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^{\text{ATRE-SETEPENRE}}, ¹²the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

By the Vulture: ¹³<Wadjet> ⁺⁺叁 as she gives all life.

Behind the King: ¹⁴The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^{\text{ATRE-SETEPENRE}}\) shall continually appear as king on the throne of Horus, foremost of all the living \(^{\text{k_e}s}\), like Re.

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a. One normally expects “millions of years.”
   See glossary s.v. \(d.l.n=(i)\) \(n=k\) \(h\_w \_m\) \(rnp.wt\).

b. Restoring \([n(n)\ h]sf\ =k\): cf. \(GHHK\ I.1\), pls. 7:37 and 52:25.

c. Her identity is suggested by the fact that the vulture actually has a serpent’s head although Nelson miskatenly drew it as a raptor’s beak.

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**PLATE 48**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 47 (158) II.3; This drawing was first published by Nelson in his article, “Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu, and the Ritual of Amenophis I,” *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 219, fig. 15.

**Location:** B 92: South wall, western wing, middle register *in situ* (“third”), third scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II pours water from four jars over a statue of Sety I, which he is described as going around four times. A vulture flies over Ramesses.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (fig. 130). Sculptors never recarved the tails of either king, and numerous raised edges and engraved lines from the raised antecedent skirt the outer edges of both actors and many of the hieroglyphs. As in the previous scene, the figures protrude from the background, and their interior surfaces were not shaved back in the conversion to sunk relief.

**Paint:** Both pharaohs have red flesh. On Sety’s rear arm, one sees the pattern of his two bracelets, but their colors have faded.

**Observations:** Note the small patching-stones used to mend gaps caused by defective or irregularly sized blocks (at Sety’s shoulder and rear leg). Apart from natural deterioration—such as the widening of gaps between blocks and some erosion at the tops of cols. 5 and 6—the relief is in excellent condition. A number of vertical gashes belong to an earlier, abandoned, design for the reliefs in this section of the south wall. These occur in Ramesses’ waist, extend from the tip of the vulture’s outstreached wing and continue through Ramesses’ *prenumen* cartouche to in front of his uraeus.¹¹⁶ These last traces may correspond to streamers dangling from royal standards that proceed the king in scenes where he is led into the temple by Monthu and Atum.¹¹⁷ Note that Sety I’s *nemes*-wig lappet continues below the gap.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ‘Going round-about four times on behalf of his father, the good god MENMA\(^{\text{ATRE}}, with four *nemset*-jars of water.

By Ramesses II: ²²Going round-about four times.

Words spoken: “Be pure, be pure, ³(O) Osiris King MENMA\(^{\text{ATRE}}! ⁴May you live, may you be made new, may you be rejuvenated!” ⁵The dual

¹¹⁶ Cf. observations to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 43-44 above.

¹¹⁷ So Ibid., pl. 50.
king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 6 the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 7 given life like Re. By Sety I: 8 The good god MENMA’ATRE, 9 the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, b true-of-voice in the presence of 10 the great god, (namely) Osiris, foremost of the westerners.

a. Nelson’s copy suggests phr is written with ꝗ (Gardiner sign-list M-11) rather than the more customary ꝗ (F-46, var. F47-49), for which see Gardiner, Gr.3, p. 480 (ItemCount). However what he takes as a smaller than usual flower is, in fact, merely a random chip in the stone.

b. In the raised relief edition, Sety’s nomen was written with𓊞, but the -ideogram has replaced it in the sunk version.

c. Reading m3’-ḥrw ḫr ntr-į. See glossary s.v. m3’-ḥrw.

PLATE 49

Bibliography: PM II², p. 47 (158) II.4; Albouy et al., Karnak, p. 142 (Amun-Re and king in kiosk shrine).

Location: B 93: South wall, western half, middle register in situ (“third”), fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels within a shrine under the protection of Amun-Re while Thoth writes down the length of his reign on three year-staves and the “Mistress of Writing” brings two more year-staves laden with jubilees. All these year-staves terminate at their bottoms with 𓊞 signs (symbolizing continuity, thus complementing the references to linear time in the texts). Attached to the bottom of Thoth’s staves are the hieroglyphs (for hh.w “millions”) and (ḥfn.w, “hundreds-of-thousands”), while each of the goddess’ staves has only (a hundred-thousand” or “myriad”). and jubilee-signs between these two fronds are interspersed twice with for “all life, stability, and dominion,” and once with (dbf.w) denoting “tens-of-thousands.”

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 88, 90, 131-132). Residue from the earlier version abounds as raised edges and incised lines along the outer contours of the figures: e.g., Amun’s plumes and his front shoulder; the king’s back and the terminals of his flail; the goddess’ forward shoulder; and around many of the hieroglyphs. Some elements were left as raised relief, including the upper part of Thoth’s tail and some notches on the year-staves. The craftsmen partially shaved back the figures, occasionally erasing or softening interior features, e.g., the leopard’s legs at the bottom of the goddess’ dress. Ramesses II’s head and crown, however, were untouched, and here the modeling is particularly fine.
Paint: Thoth and the king have red flesh. Amun’s skin is blue, while the seat cushion on his throne and his dangling ribbon are red. His cap-crown and corselet are yellow, the garment having a thick band of red along its upper border, below his nipple, and a rishi-feather pattern—from red on yellow—to his kilt. Amun’s kilt and a bracelet on Thoth’s upper arm are also indicated, but the colors are faded. A trace of blue survives inside the right lappet of Thoth’s wig, while his neck is painted green. Ramesses’ crown is also blue. The star of Sheshat’s emblem above her head is red, covered by two green horns. A series of narrow horizontal bands embellish Amun’s throne, but their colors are not evident.

Observations: Masons inserted two small patch-blocks near the bottom of the scene (inside Amun’s throne and in front of Ramesses II’s lap). A cluster of deep hack-marks inside Amun’s throne along with lighter, more scattered pitting on the king and inside the shrine, are probably quarry damage. Nelson did not copy some finer ornamentation such as the flap which emerges diagonally above Thoth’s belt to the left of his navel or high modeling inside Pharaoh’s khephresb-crown extending above his ear and a deep crease behind it. Thoth’s ibis-head features are more elaborate than indicated, including a tiny ear, nostril, and grooves on his beak. Various incised lines in and around the king’s figure may stem from an earlier design of the reliefs on this part of the wall.

Translations:

By Thoth: Words spoken by Thoth: (I) have given to you millions of years and myriads of jubilees, inasmuch as your father, the lord of the gods, has ordained (that) the flat lands and the hill countries be under your sandals forever and ever!”

Between Thoth and the King: Words spoken by the lord of Hermopolis: “I write down for you myriads of jubilees. (I) cause your annals to be established as ‘Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Maat,’ that you may exist forever.”

By the Lady of Writing: Words spoken by the Lady of Writing, she who is pre-eminent in the house of documents: (I) foretell for you the jubilees of Re and the years of Atum.”

By Amun-Re: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the throne of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: “(O my) beloved son of my body, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life: My heart is glad for love of you, while I exult at seeing your monument. (I) have given to you the crook and the flail, my office, while (I) cause your annals to be established for millions of years forever and ever!”

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands USERMA\ATRE-SETEPEN RE, the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

a. Note that the scribe has neglected to

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118 Here again, the presence of some of this pigment could no longer be confirmed since Murnane’s observations were first made.
119 Cf. the figure of Monthu in GHHK I.1, pl. 50.
120 Cf. our observations to ibid., pls. 43-44 and 48 above.
include the -sign of \( \text{\textit{dd}} \) (\( \text{\textit{mdw}} \)) at the top of the column, perhaps because the group \( \text{\textit{smn}} \) to accommodate it.

b. So taking \( \text{\textit{wnn}} = k \) as a prospective \( \text{\textit{sdm}} = f \).


d. Here \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{mri}} \)}} \) has been miswritten for \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{dd-mdw}} \)}} \) here.

e. Repeated mechanically above cols. 14-21.

f. The upright \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{mri}} \)}} \) has crowded out the mechanically written \( \text{\textit{mdw}} \) (of \( \text{\textit{dd-mdw}} \)) here.

g. As Nelson’s \textit{sic} indicates, the sculptor forgot to carve the -glyph’s beard.

\textbf{PLATE 50}

\textbf{Bibliography:} PM II², p. 47 (158) II.5; Legrain, \textit{Karnak}, fig. 135; Schwaller de Lubicz, \textit{Karnak}, pl. 78.

\textbf{Location:} B 94: South wall, western half, middle register \textit{in situ} (“third”), fifth scene from the west.

\textbf{Subject:} Ramesses II is led into the presence of Amun (shown in pl. 49) by Monthu and Atum, preceded by the jackal and placenta standards.

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 133-135). Traces of the earlier version persevere along the outer edges of the figures and some hieroglyphs (e.g., the base of \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{dd}} \)}} \) in col. 1 and the top of \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{mdw}} \)}} \)}} \) in col. 2). In general, the sculptors left interior adornments intact when they converted the figures to sunk relief, although Atum’s belt was partly erased at its front and back where it meets the outline of his body. Ramesses and both deities are well modeled and are often higher than the background wall surface. Weathering in the cartouches has obliterated most vestiges of their raised forms, but \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{mri}} \)}} \) and \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{mdw}} \)}} \) of Ramesses II’s shorter \textit{prenomen} are visible.

\textbf{Paint:} Almost none has withstood the elements, but \( \text{\textit{\( \text{\textit{dd-mdw}} \)}} \) in col. 16 has alternating bands of dark pigments, perhaps red and blue.

\textbf{Observations:} Note the narrow slot carved into the relief, from near the top of col. 8 down into Atum’s crown, and a larger oval cavity above cols. 14 and 15, both made, perhaps, in connection with a later structure inside the Great Hypostyle Hall. Swollen plaster fills some of the joints between blocks, e.g., above Atum’s knees. Monthu’s facial markings are more intricate than the drawing conveys, and his belt buckle was not indicated.

\textbf{Translations:}

\textit{Label:} ¹Coming in and going out: inducting the king into the temple of Amun-Re.

\textit{By Monthu:} ²Words spoken by Mon\[thu\] residing in Thebes, ³the great god, lord of heaven, ⁴king of all the gods.

\textit{By Atum:} ⁵Words spoken by Atum: ⁶“Proceed ye⁷ to the temple ⁸of your father, Amun-Re.”
By the King: "The good god, lord of the Two Lands [USERMA’AT]RE-SETEPEN[RE], [RAMES]SES-[MER]AMUN, given life like Re."

By the Jackal-standard: "Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life, stability and dominion like Re; as he gives all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy, (and) as he leads the way in front of his person like Re.

a. The of dd-mdw is repeated mechanically above this column, and the reflexive (i)r=k that accompanies the imperative spills over into the next column.

b. Pace Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 53, n. 56, part of is preserved below the of ssm.

PLATE 51

Bibliography: PM II, p. 47 (158) II.6 (Left) II.7 (Right); LeGrain, Karnak, fig. 134; Azim and Reveillac, Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges LeGrain, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/163 and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/163.

Location: B 95-96: South wall, western half, middle register in situ (“third”), sixth, and seventh (last) scenes from the west.

Subject: (Left) Ramesses II stands within the portico of his palace as he leaves to make an appearance in the temple of Amun. He wears the White Crown and carries the flail and the mekes. (Right) Ramesses II, wearing a khat-wig, stands in front of the palace as Khnum purifies him with streams of water poured from a -jar in the presence of the jackal- and placenta-standards.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief (figs. 89, 91, 136-138). Traces of the suppressed raised version are prolific along the edges of the figures and hieroglyphs (particularly behind Ramesses on the left). Although the craftsmen shaved the figures back, they generally did so without obliterating the interior features of the raised originals. Still, a few elements were partly erased: e.g., streamers to the right of Ramesses II’s apron (Left); and the outer ends of horizontal lashings at the base of the giant glyph [Gardiner’s sign list (O) 11]. Elements of the king’s original cartouches are apparent in both instances: (Left) all the signs of cartouche employed are clear, while his nomen are distinguishable. At the far left, a marginal ribbon design was left raised.

Paint: On the right, Ramesses’ flesh is red; Khum’s rear wig lappet is blue.

Observations: Clusters of hack marks appear on the palace façade on the left (below the upper two block lines) and around personified - and .
glyphs that support the royal standards. These, along with a horizontal gash through Ramesses’ rear ankle (Left), are not connected to any discernable pattern of vandalism and must be residual chisel marks left by the masons. Later occupants did leave three shallow pilgrim’s grooves above the jackal standard (at both ends of col. 12) and between its legs. A flap extending above Khnum’s belt and the fold in Ramesses II’s headcloth above his ear (Right) are not drawn.

Translations:

(Left) Label: 1 It is (as) the likeness of Re that the king appears at the temple of his father, Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By the King: 2 The lord of the Two Lands USERMA ATRE-SETEPENRE, 3 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 4 the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

Behind the King: The protection of all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, surrounds him like Re. 5

(Right) By Khnum: 6 Words spoken 7 by Khnum: 8 (I) have purified you with life and dominion, 9 that your limbs may be rejuvenated 10 unto millions 11 of millions, 12 you being stable like Re.” 13 Words spoken, three times: 14 “Be pure, be pure, (O) king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life!”

By the Jackal-standard: 15 Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands.

By the King: 16 The lord of the Two Lands USERMA ATRE-SETEPENRE, 17 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

a. So taking the geminating form $h^m$ as a nominal emphatic (second tense) with nominal subject: Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, § 147, Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 25.9. The alternative is to interpret the verb as a defective writing of the infinitive. For the prepositional use of $mit.t$, see glossary *ad loc.*

b. The customary $\text badly damaged $ was omitted beneath $h3=f$.

c. Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 6-10.

d. At the top of col. 9, $\text badly damaged $ is a dittography from the preceding column even though the necessary part of speech has already been supplied at the bottom of col. 8.

e. One would normally expect “four times,” for each of the four deities normally associated with this rite, but clearly the sculptor could not fit four strokes in the confined space. See Alan H. Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh,” *JEA* 36 (1950), pp. 3-12. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 105:9-11.

**PLATE 52**

*Bibliography:* *PM* II, p. 47 (158) III.1;

For earlier published photographs see Legrain, *Karnak*, figs. 129-130; Maurice Pillet, *Thèbes: Karnak et Louxor* (Paris, 1928), fig. 7 (king and Mut); Charles F. Nims, *Thèbes of the Pharaohs: Pattern for every city* (London, 1965), pl. 34 (scene inside kiosk); right side, Azim and Reveillac, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/164

**Location:** B 97-98: South wall, western half, bottom (“fourth”) register, first scene from the western end.

**Subject:** Ramesses II kneels before Amun in the presence of Mut and Khonsu to receive the royal insignia, as well as “many years” and “myriads of jubilees.” To the left of this shrine, Thoth inscribes the years of Ramesses’ reign while the Iunmutef-priest announces Amun’s decree in the king’s favor to fifteen members of the Theban Ennead.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 139-145). Hallmarks of the earlier figures and hieroglyphs are profuse along the outer contours of the final ones, being too numerous to catalog here. Ramesses’ sculptors did not shave down the larger figures drastically, and they tend to stand out against the negative space with their original features intact as bas relief. As elsewhere, the vertical ribbon border at the far right end was left in raised relief, as were the legs and thrones of all but Monthu in the upper three registers of Ennead deities. During the Greco-Roman era, restorers recreated those of the lowest group in sunk relief on new masonry (see observations below). Elements of suppressed bas relief of appear in the recarved *prenomen* cartouches (cols. 2, 43, 45), while strong traces indicate that the orthographies of Ramesses II’s *nomen* Rˁ-ms-s-mr-Imn (col. 46) and his Horus name (cols. 43, 44) were identical in both editions. In col. 44, the held by was left as raised relief and her feather was larger.

At the base of col. 43, the paleography of the signs in Ramesses II’s *nomen* cartouche peg it as a Greco-Roman creation on a replacement stone, with no Ramesside traces (fig. 144).

**Paint:** Flecks of red paint cling to the Iunmutef’s upraised arm, and some blue persists inside the sky-sign. There are horizontal bands of faded pigment on the thrones of Atum and Nephthys, but the colors are unclear. Paint scarring has left a negative impression of Amun’s broad collar and that of Atum. Mut’s crown preserves traces of white and red paint corresponding to her crowns.

**Observations:** At the very bottom, the scene is not preserved as its Ramesside authors carved it. By late antiquity, salt-laden ground water had infiltrated the base of the south wall and caused severe decay of the sandstone, obliterating much of the relief decoration here, including the dado motif and the lowest reaches of the present scene. Damaged blocks were replaced and carved with newer versions of the same material, in a contemporary Greco-Roman style. This is clearly evident in the paleography of the lowest cartouche in col. 43 and in the sinuousness of Ramesses’ forward foot (his original foot had been covered
by the bottom of his then longer belt apron) (figs. 143-144). Likewise, portrayal of highly modeled ankle bones of the main figures—uncharacteristic of Ramesside art—is another hallmark of their later date. The Greco-Roman restorers missed re-carving Thoth’s bull’s tail within the restoration block. The king’s rear leg was originally raised, traces of which are now filled with modern cement. The traces of the original raised relief are only visible on the top edge of the calf muscle. The uraeus freeze on the bottom of the king’s belt apron was not remodeled on the Greco-Roman restoration block, only the tops of their discs are visible. Amun was originally seated on a mafat plinth, while the king was kneeling on a mat at a lower level, none of which had been restored. For parallels see plates 70 and 192.

Faint tool marks on this newer masonry differ from those on Ramesside blocks above, clearly indicating the line of demarcation between the original and later carvings. It begins at the joint across Khonsu’s ankle, then moves up, proceeding through the upper half of Amun’s throne (along a seam not indicated on the drawing), then down again through Ramesses’ thigh to the front edge of his apron. This line then moves lower, passing below a frieze of solar disks that once belonged to a row of uraei along the bottom of his apron (the serpents were never recarved on the new masonry) and through his forward heel. This heel was reworked twice (the earlier versions having been carved either too high or too low) before a satisfactory compromise was achieved. Next, the boundary slopes up (as a seam between the king’s rear leg and Mut’s year-staff) and then moves in a prevalingly straight line through the knees of Mut, Thoth, and the Iunmutef and, finally, through the upper bodies of the lower row of Ennead figures on the left end. Below the scene itself, the restorers did not recreate the lost dado or a bandeau text (presumably of Herihor), but left the masonry rough and undressed.

Other anomalies may be noted. Curious shapes observed between the figures of Hathor and Sobek (Ennead) are due to bungled modern attempts at restoration in cement. At the right end, blocks have shifted, resulting in misalignment of the staff above Khonsu’s knee with what lies below. Hacking to Seth’s head and his name, “The Ombite,” in col. 36 aside, no malicious damage was inflicted on this scene (fig. 145). Copious amounts of plaster extrude from block joints, especially those running through the heads of the Theban Triad. Discreet areas of quarry hacking afflict some regions: several of the cobras on the left end of the kiosk-shrine; at the tops of cols. 9-10; the base of cols. 11-12; and part of the sky-sign above cols. 26-7. Otherwise, except for the loss of color and some widening of the block joints, the relief is in good condition.

Much of the finer ornamentation of the relief was omitted or misconstrued by Nelson, including: the partition of Thoth’s beak and the precise shape of his eye; cavetto cornices and torus moldings on the podiums supporting members of the Ennead; the double line of the Iunmutef’s brow denoting his natural hairline and that of his wig; the priest’s nipple (in the raised version); vertical lines delineating the shafts of
Mut’s three year-staves; modeling on Ramesses’ khopresh-crown; toenails on his forward foot; recutting on the lower side of his belt and on Amun’s necklace; the raised relief version of the top of Amun’s rear plume (higher than the final one), which touches the grape clusters hanging from the kiosk’s roof; and recutting on the back support of his throne.

Translations:

By Amun-Re: Words spoken by Amun-[Re], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, receive for yourself the crook and the flail, years and myriads of jubilees, you appearing as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt.”

By Khonsu: Khonsu Neferhotep in Karnak, as he gives all life and all joy.

By Mut: Words spoken by Mut, lady of Isheru: “I have [made] your heart endure in the great place, in the presence of your father, the lord of the gods, his heart being joyful through love of you, [as he endows] your limbs with life and dominion like Re forever.

By Thoth: Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis: “See, (I) am acting in accordance with what has been ordained of your father, the lord of the gods. (I) have caused your annals to be established, consisting of millions of years and myriads of jubilees, (and) I have caused your lifetime to be (as) a likeness to (that of) heaven. So long as Re exists, so shall you exist. I have given to you the south(erners), gathered in submission; the northerners being subdued by your divine power. I have placed the fear of you in all foreign countries, and the dread of you in the hearts of their chiefs.”

By Iunmutef-priest: Words spoken by the Iunmutef-priest, purifier of the Per-wer shrine, to the Great Ennead which is in Karnak: “Amun-Re, king of the gods, has ordained the establishing of the son whom he loves, [the lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE], as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt. [He has] bequeathed to [him] south, north, west and east, gathered together; the flat lands and hill countries being under his sandals, and his arm not being opposed—what is spoken in Heliopolis, is done in Thebes, and endures in the Mansion-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah.”

By the Ennead: Words spoken by the Great Ennead residing in Karnak: “One acts in accordance with all you have ordained for your son who came forth in front of you. As for him, one acts for a doer, (therefore) be beneficent for the one who has performed benefactions […] We have given to [you millions of years and] myriads of jubilees, as for a son who is as beneficent as he.


Beside Thoth’s Year-staves: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at’, the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESES-MERAMUN, given life.

By the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at’, the dual king USERMA*ATRE-
SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-5, 10-12, 17-21 and 23-25.

b. Of the original “short” prenomen, strong traces survive: a larger circle, the snout and back ear of 

   and a trace of 

   under at the bottom of this cartouche.

c. So reading \( s[mn.n=(i)] ib=k m s.t-wr.t \).

   There is a trace of so reading the verb as \( smn \), “to cause to endure.” On the \( s.t-wr.t \), “great seat/shrine,” \( (Wb \text{. IV, p. 7}) \) see Luc Gabolde, “Un linteau tentyrite de Thoutmosis III dédié à Amon,” \textit{BIFAO} 99 (1999), 195-200; P. Spencer, \textit{The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study}, p. 108-114

d. Reading \( [hnm=f] f'w=k \). Cf. \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 53:51; 106:13; 109:2; 111:8; 149:9.

   Although the left text divider is intact here, the rest is lost in deep hacking.

e. Note the strange writing for \( it \), “father,” abbreviated to just a ligature perhaps influenced by the phrase \( in \) at the top of the adjacent column.

f. Abbreviating by omission of the customary \( e\hat{e} \) (in \( hh.w m rnp.wt \)).

g. So taking \( d\hat{e}=i \) in cols. 18-20 as indicative (perfective) \( sdm=f \).

h. Reading \( mht.tw h m n b3.w\simeq k \) the posture of the -determinative (which is actually garbed like a Canaanite) implies a nuance like “subdued” or similar, comparable in meaning to \( ks(w) \) in the first clause. We could have an abbreviation of \( ihm \), which has a wider range of meanings: cf. \( Wb \). I, pp. 118:20-21 “trauern”; 119:1, “Jubel.” More appropriate, perhaps, to this context, Faulkner, \textit{CD}, p. 28, has “to restrain.”

i. The wall surface around \( ibw wrw\simeq sn \) is roughened but there is no trace of superimposed on the legs and tail of as Nelson indicated with dashed lines.

j. For the title \( 'b pr-wr \) see \( Wb \). I, p. 175:12.

   A curving trace below must represent the bottom of the sledge-like platform on which the \( pr-wr \) shrine rests: a number of parallels for this feature of (Gardiner signlist O-19) can be found in the paleography file of the Epigraphic Survey at Chicago House (Luxor, Egypt).

k. Traces of the top of a flat sign, perhaps suit the restoration \( n[b b3.wy] \) which was presumably followed by Ramesses II’s \textit{prenomen} cartouche.

l. I.e., the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

m. Reading \( sw.t ir=t(w) n irw, 3h n ir 3h.wt n\simeq [k] \). The phrase is introduced by the archaic independent pronoun \( sw.t \).

n. Restoring \([di.n=n] n=[k]\) or similar at the bottom of the column. A ‘\[\text{n}\]’ Nelson indicates under \([\text{n}\]) is erroneous. Below this, any additional phrase that may have existed in the Ramesside edition was carved on a block that was replaced in late antiquity and not recarved in all its original detail. However, there is enough space to restore \([hh.w m rnp.wt]\), “millions of years,” which fits the phraseology at the top of col. 27. See glossary s.v. \(di.n=(i) n=k hh.w m rnp.wt\).

o. Literally “like a son who is beneficent just like his type.”

p. Hacked, but not completely obliterated.

q. Instead of two \(\uparrow\) -signs, the sculptor has carved a single \(\uparrow\) in sunk relief here. Cf. the more orthodox writing of the goddess’ name in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 140.8.

**PLATE 53**


**Location:** B 99-100: South wall, western half, bottom (“fourth”) register, second (last) scene from the west end.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (Left) censes the procession of barks of the Theban Triad in which he also marches (center), acting as High Priest of Amun. Ranks of priests bearing Amun’s bark are masked, as falcons (the “souls of Pe,” in front) and jackals (the “souls of Nekhen,” in back). Sety I, whose image is perhaps to be interpreted as a statue, follows the procession “accompanying his father Amun-Re in his beautiful Feast of the Valley.”121

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 69, 93, 146-169). Raised edges and incised lines from suppressed bas relief are ubiquitous along the outer contours of the final sunken relief of both the hieroglyphs and the main figures, most strikingly, at Ramesses II’s chin at the left end (figs. 146-147). Initially, Ramesses’

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Prenomen cartouches were later amended to Wsr-Mn-Ra-t-Rc-stp-n-Rc (fig. 168). His initial nomen, like the final one, was Rc-ms-smr-lmnn. Note that the format of Ramesses’ titulary (cols. 32-34) was changed in the final edition (see observations below).

As in other scenes converted from raised relief, the workmen shaved back some of the main elements, yet the figures often project against the background (figs. 146, 149, 156, 167, 169). They overlooked a few minor components, leaving them raised: some of the round incense nuggets Ramesses (left) places in his censer were shaved down, but only some were carved sunken (fig. 93); the upper tails of several priests shouldering Amun’s processional bark; a sandal strap on the king’s (center) advancing foot, and the curved front of his other sandal. Portions of a vertical ribbon border adjacent to the left end of the scene (a continuation of the one shown on GHHK I.1, pls. 45 and 51, but not reproduced in this drawing) were also left raised.

Worthy of special commentary is the iconography of the cabin-shrine of Amun’s processional bark and the embroidered veil enveloping its lower half (figs. 69, 155-166). In keeping with standard artistic practice for representing interior and overlapping portions of sunk relief compositions, the artisans left all elements within the cabin-shrine and veil as bas relief. This decoration takes the form of a complex array of hieroglyphs and divine figures originally arranged as cryptograms of Sety I’s prenomen Mn-Mn-Rc, as noted by Seele and Murnane. Subsequent to its creation, Ramesses II added new elements, chiefly -signs and -glyphs, which herald his prenomen. Most of these insignia are in raised relief, and Seele believed that Ramesses had left the rebus decoration unaltered when he ordered his sculptors to convert the tableau to sunk relief, arguing that the presence of -glyphs in the initial composition reflected a coregency between Sety I and Ramesses II.

Murnane, however, subsequently established that Ramesses II had indeed made additions to the iconography of the cabin-shrine and veil after it was first carved. In Murnane’s

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122 On Sety I’s alterations to the design of Amun’s bark upon which Ramesses II’s version was modeled, see our commentary to pl. 197 below.
view, the earlier composition was skillfully altered by the king, whose workmen adapted siglia reflecting Sety I’s *prenomen* and added new ones by recarving the surface in some places to create an *ersatz* “raised relief” strongly resembling the original version, but seeming to blend Ramesses II’s *prenomen* with that of his father to reflect a their alleged period of joint rule. According to Murnane, these alterations were as follows:

- was added to the right side of  held by  at the center of the veil (fig. 164); three out of the four winged goddesses at the sides of the canopy (excluding the figure at the lower left) each had -signs in her hands erased and recarved as  (fig. 163); Nelson’s drawing fails to record this substitution on the lower right side. In this way, Murnane believed, the final edition harmonized the royal *prenomens* of Ramesses II and Sety I in one composition. He also concluded that the appearance of only Sety’s titulary in the original design reinforced the notion that Sety was alive and involved in a coregency when the scene was first carved.

Ramesses II’s modifications to these cryptograms were, however, more extensive than Murnane realized. In its pristine state, the rebus decoration indeed named Sety I alone as *Mn-M3₃-t-R*’, and was identical to a corresponding bark scene on the east wing of the south wall (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 76). However, closer examination now reveals that Ramesses II, in adding elements of his own *prenomen*, actively suppressed glyphs distinctive of his father’s. In addition to the changes noted by earlier scholars, several more have now been discovered here:

1. On the billow of the veil, the winged goddess kneels on a -plinth and clutches , thus spelling Ramesses’ *prenomen* (fig. 162). While her body persists in its original raised relief configuration, the  and  have been added as sunk relief, and her wings were recut. She previously knelt on which was suppressed in favor of , but vestiges of the game pieces abide. Above her, a frieze of of uraei and flower petals in raised relief along the top of the veil was largely erased where it crosses the billow, and Nelson did not record the surviving traces.

2. At the center of the pall, we now know that the original -feather held

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128 Changes noted by Murnane in ibid., p. 42.
129 Ibid., p. 43. This despite the fact that Sety’s role here and elsewhere on the south wall is essentially a passive one as a statue and/or recipient of cult offerings.
130 The following observations were first noted by Peter J. Brand, “Monuments of Seti I and their Historical Significance: Epigraphic, Art Historical and Historical Analysis,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1998), pp. 409-411.
131 Ibid., pp. 409-411.
was suppressed and replaced by by 

along with a new, smaller tucked under the jackal’s chin (figs. 160, 164). While the old feather’s curved tip had pointed back towards the sun god, as on all the other bark scenes in the Hypostyle Hall, the new feather’s bulge points away from him. Ramesses II’s craftsmen also transformed the on which Re squats into a by engraving a sloping line at the left end of the sign and by shaving down some of the game pieces of . Likewise, signs supporting a pair of winged goddesses flanking Re were converted to -plinths, although here their game pieces were not erased. However, all three -signs were masked with plaster so that in the final edition only -plinths were evident (figs. 161, 166). Vestiges of an erased held in the right-hand goddess’ upraised fist remains legible amid final that replaced it (Nelson’s drawing is erroneous here) (fig. 160). However, her companion on the left still has an , and there is nothing to indicate it was ever altered.

(3) Rebus decoration on the exposed upper panel of the cabin-shrine initially resembled that of Sety I’s barks, with two goddesses—
doubtless Ma’at—holding -signs in their upraised fists and wearing solar disks on their heads while standing on -signs (fig. 159). They stretch out their wings protectively over a ram-headed figure of Amun in the center of the panel who squats on a lotus flower emerging from a -canal, while on either side two small kings offer -eyes to him. As below, these goddesses form a cryptogram of Sety I’s prenomen , while the squatting Amun reflects the epithet usually attached to Sety’s nomen in the Great Hypostyle Hall.

Here again, however, Ramesses’ artists later altered these cryptograms in his favor. Below the left-hand goddess’ wing, there is a curious triangular shape in raised relief adjacent to the on which ram-headed Amun squats (not shown in the drawing). Embedded in this object, which resembles a “ramp,” are traces of a suppressed which initially touched the bottom of the goddess’ wing (fig. 159). Doubtless this “ramp” is an artifact of the re-sculpting process. To the right of Amun, the corresponding area below the right-hand goddess’ wing was shaved back more evenly, but here, traces of an erased are fainter. The purpose of these modifications was to allow -signs on which both

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132 The same is true of prenomen rebus of Sety I at the top of the west wall. Cf. GHHK L1, pls. 138-143.

133 See Karlshausen, L’iconographie, p. 204.
goddesses stand to be converted to through the addition of distinctive slanted lines on their front sides (i.e., those that face the same direction as each goddess). On the left side, an incised line marks this sloping front and the flat top of , while the original game pieces of remain intact. On the right side, the slanted front of the plinth is in low raised relief, and the game pieces of were partially erased (figs. 163, 165). Doubtless plaster was used in both cases to complete these revisions, again with the result that all three -signs marking Sety I’s prenomen were suppressed in favor of -plinths. Finally, an held in each goddess’ upraised fist was erased and replaced by a . On the right, faint traces of the “arms” of are still discernable.

(4) Above the cornice surmounting the cabin-shrine is a rebus frieze nestled beneath the roof of an outer baldachin. This frieze was converted into sunk relief and now consists of falcon-headed Re figures holding -staves while squatting on -plinths. In the primary raised edition, however, -figures clutched -feathers and squatted on -signs, of which traces remain.

As these observations make abundantly clear, far from harmonizing Sety I’s prenomen with his own in rebus decoration on the cabin and veil of Amun’s processional bark, Ramesses II ordered his craftsmen to suppress his father’s titulary in favor of his own when he decided to modify its earliest design. It cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence of joint rule between the kings. These alterations surely coincided with the transformation of the raised relief scenes on the west part of the south wall to sunken relief. Moreover, the final edition must date later than the episodes originally carved in sunk relief (with the shorter form of Ramesses II’s prenomen) on the east wing of the south wall, including a scene (GHHK I.1, pl. 76) where only Sety I’s name appears in the rebus decoration on the Amun-bark (see below). Neither does the suppression of -signs distinctive of Sety I’s prenomen in the current scene necessarily reflect actual changes to the iconography of Amun’s processional bark itself. In the chapel of Amun within Ramesses II’s Triple Shrine at Luxor Temple, the divine figures in rebus decoration in a relief depicting Amun’s bark also rest on -signs, and continue to do so as late as the reign of Sety II in a scene from his bark shrine in the First Court at Karnak. At Luxor, the only “update” to the cryptograms is that the squatting Re on the veil now grasps a instead of a -feather.

134 Nelson, Key Plans, pl. XXI, B34; PM II², p. 310 (39).  
135 Nelson, Key Plans, KA 15, 24; PM II², p. 26 (32) 1, (33) 1; Karlshausen, L’iconographie, p. 213.  
136 Ibid., Karlshausen, p. 213.
**Paint:** The flesh of Ramesses II and of the priests conveying the barks of Mut and Khonsu is red, as is the Behdetite disk above Khonsu’s bark. Blue is noticeable within the sky-sign above the scene, on Ramesses II’s *khepresh* crown and in the wig of the soul of Pe in the front row. Large open fans held aloft beside the two smaller barks were painted in alternating stripes of red and blue, as concentric “rings” running parallel to the curve of the plumes (Mut/front, Khonsu/rear); or radiating vertically from the hub, with the blue bands thinner than the red ones (Khonsu/front). Paint scarring delineates the pattern of the king’s (*center*) broad collar. Dotted lines on the forward aegis of Mut’s bark may indicate that Nelson saw pigment here, but if so, it is now lost.

**Observations:** As in the scene to the right (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 52), decay of the masonry along the base of the wall, where salt-laden moisture had infiltrated the sandstone, necessitated repairs in late antiquity. Only the sandaled feet belonging to the king and priests (immediately in front and behind him) marching beside Amun’s bark are original. Otherwise, the lowest reaches of the scene were recreated in sunk relief on new blocks that replaced the decayed originals (fig. 148). As in the preceding scene, the line of demarcation between the Ramesside and Greco-Roman masonry runs through the lower legs of the figures. Below the ground line, a segment of the horizontal dado motif (five horizontal bands of varying thickness) survives under Ramesses II’s figure (*center*). Beneath them are the tops of two large hieroglyphs carved in sunk relief—evidently all that persists of Herihor’s marginal inscription here. Ground lines carved on the new masonry are inconsistently rendered: viz., as a single line over most of the distance; as a double line under the king at the left; and with no baseline at all under the feet of the souls of Pe in front of the bark. The censing king’s rear (near) foot is flat, with its four smaller toes delineated.

A number of small stones were employed as veneers to mend defects or complete uneven joints between larger blocks. Note, in particular, patches behind the stern of Amun’s bark in the bellies of the middle group of jackal-headed priests, and to the left of the disk above the cabin of Amun’s bark (this last veneer being especially noticeable because it has weathered more severely than the masonry around it).

Due to the small format of Nelson’s drawings and the intricacy of this large scene, he has omitted or misconstrued some minuta of the carvings: (1) Tiny cartouches on the censing king’s belt apron are engraved with his *nomen* (*Rā-ms-s*

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137 As in some of the other scenes on this wall, Murnane’s observations of some of this pigment (made in the 1970s and 1980s) could not be verified in recent years.

138 Compare *Abydos* I, pls. 7, 11; *Abydos* II, pl. 11; *Medinet Habu* II, pls. 64, 65; *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 202.

139 Herihor inserted bandeau texts below the dado elsewhere in the hall (see commentary to pl. 76, below), but the only well-preserved example occurs at the south end of the east wall (see commentary to plate 106).

mr-Imn) and longer prenomen (Wsr-M3'.t-R*-stp-n-R*) (fig. 150). His belt has a double line (bottom) and was recut (top). His ear was recut, and he has a high, arched eyebrow without a thick cosmetic band. (2) Both wig lappets on the first jackal-headed priest have carved striations, like his fellows, but none of the falcon-headed priests have such plaiting (fig. 158). (3) Subtleties of the facial markings on these jackal and falcon masks are not fully conveyed by the drawing. (4) Individual beads of the shebyu-collars of the king (Left) (fig. 147) and on the forward aegis of Khonsu’s bark are carefully delineated as on Amun’s bark, and those on Khonu’s rear aegis are not fully carved (or were partly erased in the conversion to sunk relief), while Mut’s are unadorned.  

141 (5) The kneeling king supporting the forward pole of the baldachin over Mut’s bark was hacked out by iconoclasts, but his companion grasping the rear pole, although damaged by erosion, was not. There is no other sign of vandalism in the scene. (6) Sashes worn by the priests escorting Khonsu’s bark are longer and more complete than indicated. (7) Nelson’s renderings of the faces of the Khonsu and Mut aegises are rudimentary. (8) A falcon’s head on the deck of Mut’s bark behind its steering columns faces right, not left as indicated. (9) The sculptors have occasionally carved the fingernails on the hands of priests where they grip the carrying pole of Amun’s bark. (10) The nearest falcon-headed priest of the leading rank escorting Amun’s bark has a flap extending above his belt. (11) A horizontal frame separating the upper panel of Amun’s cabin-shrine from the lower one (just above the veil) has a ribbon pattern with groups of narrow vertical stripes separated by wider squares. A similar motif, this time in a vertical configuration, occurs on the frames immediately behind the winged goddesses on the veil. (12) The goddess on the upper left side of the cabin-shrine and on the lower right of the veil both have headbands like their companion on the left side of the veil, while the fourth goddess does not. (13) A uraeus on the rear figurehead of Amun’s bark has a horned solar disk like the forward one. (14) Above the censing king (Left) plumage on the middle tier of the vulture’s downswept wing was incompletely erased. Partitions on her forward wing are not quite as Nelson drew them. (15) Above Sety I, the long feathers on the vulture’s upper wing are more complete, like those on the lower wing.

Also worthy of note are changes made to the arrangement of the censing king’s titulary in the distinctive “box” surmounted by a sky-sign over his head (cols. 32-34) (figs. 151-152). 142 In its original edition, his cartouches and Horus name were preceded (to their right) by the cobra-goddess Wadjet, , perched atop a tall -column with the formula, di=s 5nh […] “as she


142 On the significance of this arrangement of royal titularies see Cathie Spieser, Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 174, (Göttingen, 2000).
This now lies under the final Horus name, while vestiges of its predecessor overlap both it and the final prenomen. Below the two cartouches, the earlier formula, having less room, was more abbreviated, being simply \( \text{given life like Re,} \) of which clear traces persist. Traces of a raised relief can be detected in the column of text in front of the king who accompanies Amun’s bark, at the bottom of the column, between the final and . The raised relief was slightly higher then the final sunk version, as were the signs at the bottom of the prenomen cartouche.

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1 The king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^{\text{a}}\) ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re [RAMESSES]\(^{\text{b}}\)-MERAMUN shall continually perform a censing in front of his father, Amun-Re king of the gods, together with the [Great]\(^{\text{a}}\) Ennead.

**By the Falcon-headed Priests:** 3 The Great Ennead, (namely) the Souls of Pe, their arms bearing all life [and dominion for the lord of the Two Lands].\(^{\text{b}}\)

**By the King Beside Amun’s Bark:** 4 The first prophet of Amun, the dual king USERMA\(^{\text{a}}\) ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMES[ES]-MERAMUN, given life.\(^{\text{c}}\)

**By the Jackal-headed Priests:** 5 The Small Ennead, (namely) the Souls of Nekhen, their arms bearing life and dominion <for> the lord of the Two Lands.

**By Amun’s Bark:** 6 Words spoken\(^{\text{d}}\) by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: “(O my) beloved son, 7 the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^{\text{a}}\) ATRE-SETEPENRE, my heart is glad with \(^{\text{e}}\)joy\(^{\text{e}}\) for love of you. I have endowed your beauty with life and dominion. \(^{\text{f}}\) The wonders (i.e., oracles) of my double-figurehead belongs to your handsome face, for the two uraeus-serpents \(^{\text{g}}\) 9-10 have become attached to your diadem.\(^{\text{g}}\) I fortell for you \(^{\text{h}}\) victories against all foreign countries.\(^{\text{b}}\) See, 12(I) give\(^{\text{b}}\) to you the south as well as the north, the west and the east \(^{\text{i}}\) (being) under your supervision. I have caused\(^{\text{i}}\) 14-15 that the chiefs of distant foreign countries might come to you, 15 all of whom have not known 16 Egypt since the time 17 of the god, (all) bearing every goodly offering \(^{\text{b}}\) of their foreign countries, laden \(^{\text{b}}\) on their backs through fear of you. 20 I have caused that your war cry might circulate through \(^{\text{b}}\) all foreign countries; the dread of you being in \(^{\text{b}}\) their hearts, as if of the one-who-is-in-Ombos (i.e., Seth). 23 I have caused that your name might be greater and \(^{\text{b}}\) that your victories might be grander \(^{\text{b}}\) than (those of) the kings, \(^{\text{b}}\) the ancestral rulers,\(^{\text{k}}\) and the masters of strength. 27 I have caused that your name might endure 28 (in) the likeness of the sky.\(^{\text{b}}\) You shall exist so long as \(^{\text{b}}\) heaven exists, forever. For you are my beloved son who is on my throne, who does what pleases my heart.”

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143 Cf. the titulatures of both Ramesses II and Sety I in GHHK I.1, pl. 76 (although neither has the Horus name). See also ibid., pl. 179 where all three names are accompanied by Wadjet, but without the box-like enclosure surmounted by a sky sign.
By the Vulture: 31Nekhbet.

By the King Censing Amun’s Bark: 32Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ 33the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 34the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re, 35whose appearances in the Mansion of the Phoenix are great, the lord of the Two Lands, 36who one beloved of Re.

By the King’s Ka: 37Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPEN[RE].

By Khonsu’s Bark: 38Khonsu-Neferhotep 39in Karnak, the lord of heaven.

By the Winged Disk above Khonsu’s Bark: 40The Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage.

By Mut’s Bark: 41Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion.” 42Mut the great, lady of Isheru, 43-44mistress of all the gods.

By the Winged Disk above Mut’s Bark: 45The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, who issues from the horizon, as he gives life and dominion. 46The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives life and dominion.

Above Sety I: 47Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes,’ 48the good god MENMA’ATRE, 49the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, true-of-voice in the presence of 50the great god, lord of the sacred land.

Behind Sety I: 51The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENMA’ATRE shall continually follow his father Amun-Re in his Beautiful Festival of the Valley, as he endows his limbs with sweet breeze [...].

a. Inscribed on the lowest original blocks, now lost and replaced by new masonry left uninscribed. Given the spacing implicit in the adjoining columns of text, there is no need to add ['given life'] at the bottom of col. 1, as does Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 55, n. 77 (based on a restoration hazarded by Kitchen in KRI II, p. 573:6). One would expect psḏ t [੫.੫] at the bottom of col. 2 by analogy with the text of col. 3, and this missing group of signs would match the height of the bottom half of the nomen cartouche in col. 1.

b. Read 5nh [w²k²] nb [n nb tβ.wy]: [ ] is lost in the gap to the right of the lower part of col. 3; for the rest, which was on the original block, now lost (see note a above), cf. col. 5.

c. The signs  were initially carved in raised relief slightly to the left, traces of which Nelson indicated as dotted lines.

d. Repeated mechanically above cols. 7-30.

e. For the spelling rwšw instead of ršw.t see Wb. II, p. 454.

f. For ḫβ.why as “countenance, figurehead” (lit. “front’’), see Wb. III, p. 29:1-3: the dual here probably refers to the double aegis-figurehead fixed to the prow and stern of the processional bark (cf. ibid., p. 29:4, the bark called “whose double-countenance is broad-striding”); but cf.
RIK I, pl. 35 A:23 and RIK II, pl. 99 D:5-6, where it simply means “countenance” or “forehead.” See also Khonsu I, pl. 21:5, but note that here, the word is written as a plural (ḥ3.wt). Compare the name of Amun’s river barge, ḫnn-wsr-ḥ3.t, “Amun-is-Mighty-of-Prow.” The bi3.wt refers to oracles of Amun performed through the medium of the bark’s aegises. See Georges Posener, “Aménémopé 21,13 et bj3jt.t au sens d’’oracle,'” Z-Äs 90 (1963), pp. 98-102; Jaroslav Černý, “Egyptian Oracles”, in Richard A. Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3], (Providence, 1962), pp. 35-49; on oracles in general see László Kákosy, “Orakel” in L-Ä IV, pp. 600-606; more recently Tahia Shehab El-Din, “Oracles in Ancient Egypt,” in Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel, Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), Hommages à Fayza Haikal, (Cairo, 2003), pp. 259-266.

g. Literally, “the two uraeus-serpents are associated…” This sentence is also attested (albeit broken) in Khonsu I, pl. 21:5-6. As noted by Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 56, n. 82, the 2nd pers. sing. suffix is written with instead of ḫn: cf. glossary s.v. nb. Note, too, the two additional uraei on the king’s khepresh-crown (themselves wearing Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns) in the scene.

h. Here sr and rdi.t occur in two pseudo verbal constructions with hr + infinitive. The first employs the Late Egyptian First Present construction with the pronominal compound tw=i. In the second, mk (wi) hr rdi.t, the scribe has omitted the dependent pronoun.

i. So taking di=i in cols. 13, 20, 23 and 27 as indicative (perfective) sDm=f.

j. Literally “like” (mi).


l. In the raised relief edition, the text below the king’s cartouches was configured somewhat differently. See observations above.

m. Note that here the prenommen is written.

n. Reading m t3.w n[dm…], perhaps “the sweet breath […].” Traces suit . The bottom of this column was carved on a block that was later replaced by another, which was left blank.
SOUTH WALL, PORTAL (Plates 54-61, 87)

The portal is preserved almost to its full height, only missing the very top of the lintel, along with its cornice and any short section of wall that may have stood above it.\textsuperscript{144} By contrast with the treatment of the doorway on the outer south wall, where the jambs project several centimeters above the surface of the adjoining walls on each side, the portal inside the Hall is barely differentiated from the side walls, the surface of the gateway being only a few centimeters higher than that of the walls to either side. Otherwise, the only boundaries between decoration on the gate and the walls to either side are vertical dividers on the outer edges of the scenes on each jamb and the vertical ribbon border carved on the main walls where they meet the jambs (\textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 45, 51). Between these is a narrow gap in the decoration on the extreme outer edges of each jamb.

Diagram of the south gate, interior face, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.

The decorative program of the south portal consists of matching scenes on each side of the lintel and the jambs. One disadvantage of Nelson’s publication is that each side of the lintel is drawn, and published, as a distinctly separate scene (ibid., pls. 54, 58) rather than as the closely related entities they are. On the face of the portal, as noted previously, the original decoration in raised relief was recarved as sunk, and examples of

\textsuperscript{144} Cf. \textit{Medinet Habu} V, pl. 302; \textit{RIK} I, pl. 41 B.
the earlier “short” prenomen, invariably written, were updated to show Ramesses II’s definitive one, Wsr-m3t-Rā Stp.n.Rā. The final orthography was usually, but occasionally. His nomen was almost always the Rā-ms-s form in both versions, with the orthography coinciding, except for a unique instance on the lowest register of the west jamb (see commentary to ibid., pl. 57 below). Scenes on the western thickness of the door (ibid., pl. 87) were probably added later since they are carved in deep (if badly eroded) sunk relief, with no sign of any earlier version. The eastern thickness was left uninscribed, partly because the entrance to the staircase leading to the roof was placed here, but also because the single door leaf of this portal rested against this surface when the door stood open.145

145 The socket for the doorpost can still be seen (albeit in cement) in the roof of the passage, at the south end of the eastern thickness.
PLATE 54

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164b); Champollion, ND II, pp. 40, 41 B (some texts).

Location: B 101a: South portal, lintel, western side.

Subject: Ramesses II runs a ceremonial race, carrying the oar and (hpt) in the presence of Amun-Re, Khonsu and the Upper Egyptian Meret-goddess.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in bas relief. Vestiges of raised carvings abound along the edges of the figures (e.g., the back of Amun’s crown, the king’s front shoulder) and the hieroglyphs (especially in cols. 1, 10 and 11). In cutting back the original surface, the workmen sometimes left the new one slightly rough, with numerous small cavities, e.g., on parts of Amun’s body and in the negative space in front of his face. They did not recarve a vertical margin line at the far right end. Portions of pre-existing relief that they “recycled” are higher and smoother than recut elements: e.g., the top of Amun’s helmet crown and ear (but not his plumes); the center of his torso and inner line of his rear arm; and Khonsu’s sidelock and headband. A further artifacts of this process is evident on Ramesses’ shendyt-kilt. Its curving hemlines were partly erased where they touch the outer contours of his body, while a pendant flap between his legs was cut back grosso modo, with an abrupt transition from raised to sunk relief where it projects below his inner thighs.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A block at the upper right-hand corner of the scene has shifted a bit to the left, and it is thus misaligned, as shown on the drawing. Loss of masonry at the top of the doorway has deprived us of the very top of the scene (except on the right side) and also its lower left corner. Left out of the drawing, and lying between the falcon of the Horus-name standard and the vulture, is a partially erased group of hieroglyphs in raised relief giving the phrase k3-nsw ‘nh, “living royal Ka,” which was never converted to sunk. Further omissions are the internal division of Ramesses’ and the face of in col. 16.

Translations:

Label: °Taking possession of the oar for Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: ²[Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ³lord of heaven, …: “(O) my] beloved [son], of my [bodly], ⁴[the lord of the Two Lands° [USERMA°ATRE]-SETEPENRE: my heart ⁶is glad at seeing] your monument, ⁷[(O) good god, and I am satisfied with] what you have done. ⁸[I have given to you] the lifetime of Re ⁹and the years of Atum].”

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

By Meret-Goddess: ⁺The Southern Egyptian Meret.

Words spoken by the Southern Egyptian Meret: “Welcome in peace, (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom (I) love! ¹⁰May your father Amun receive you that he might give to you all life and dominion.”
By Khonsu: [Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep]:

14[(I) have given to you] all life, stability, and dominion on my part. 15[(I) have given to you] all joy on my part. 16[(I) have given to] you millions of jubilees [...]"

Above the Vulture: The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage who [issues from the horizon—].

By the King: [The dual king, lord of the Two Lands] USERMA’AT[RE]-SETEPENRE, [the son of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Inside ka-standard Behind the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at.’

Behind the Vulture: The living royal ka.


b. Restore [nb p.t…s3=i n h.t]=i mry.

Alternatively, one might restore another epithet of Amun after [nb p.t] such as [ntr 3] or [hk3 Wis.t]: see glossary, s.v. *Tmn-Rc* nb ns.wt t3.wy.

c. The title nb t3.wy normally follows “my beloved bodily son” (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7:3-4, 38:2-3; 49:15-16), and there is no room for an additional epithet at the top of this column.

d. Restoring 3w (in the very full spelling which the spacing requires) followed by n m33: two traces at the right side of the column are probably the tips of 🎈.

Given the spacing, it also seems likely that *dd-mdw* was repeated mechanically at the tops of all these columns. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 55:3-4; 57:3-4; 59:2-3; 61:2-4. So too on the east gateway of the Ramesside forecourt at Luxor Temple (*PM* II², p. 306 [19f-g]) and on the lintel of the triple shrine of Ramesses II inside the court (*PM* II², p. 310 [38a-b]).

e. Restoring ntr nfr (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 101:5-7); or alternatively, *m Wis.t*, “in Thebes” (ibid., pl. 152:3-4).

f. Restoring [hpt.kwi] hr (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 101:5-7; 107 right:4-5; 152:3-4; 137:19-20): the traces above *iri.n=k* in this column probably belong to 🎈 + 🎈. The beard and left ear of the first sign can be made out, and the top of the 🎈 is preserved with blank space above it.

g. See glossary, s.v. *dl.n=i* n=k *hr*, *w n Rc*. etc. The 🎈 determinative of *Itmw* survives at the bottom of col. 8.

h. So an imperfective passive participle, lit. “who is a beloved one of me.” Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:36: *mrr n Rc*, “who is a beloved one of Re.”

i. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53:45, and other examples in the glossary s.v. *Bhd.ty*.

j. “18” has been omitted from the numbering of the text columns.
Between the vulture’s tail and the Horus-falcon’s crown, the raised group was shaved down but never recarved as sunk relief. *K3-nsw *nmh* is a common label associated with royal *ka*-standards. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 15A-B, 17A, 17C; *RITL II*, pls. 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193; *Medinet Habu II*, pls. 101, 102, 114, 120, 121, 122; *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 144.

**PLATE 55**

*Bibliography:* PM II², p. 49 (164b) 1; Azim and Reveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain*, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/160; vol. 2, pl. 4-3/160.

*Location:* B 101b: South portal, top register of western jamb.

*Subject:* Ramesses II offers two jugs of milk to Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Mut.

*Type of Relief:* Initially carved in raised relief, but later converted to sunk. Glimers of the former persist at the edges of the cuts: e.g., Mut’s front thigh; her lips and chin; the right edges of the bouquet and *nemset*-vessel on the offering stand (the jar’s spout was left raised); and some hieroglyphs. Text in col. 7 was maladroitly erased but never recarved. Rough surfaces left by incomplete smoothing of the wall after conversion are most acute in the upper left quadrant.

*Paint:* None preserved.

*Observations:* Most of Ramesses’ figure was lost when the entire left edge of the scene (adjacent to the doorway) sheared off. Deep gouges between the legs of Amun and Mut are residuum of the quarrying process that the masons could not smooth away. Abrasion to the king’s right milk jug is probably fortuitous. Later occupants hollowed two faint pilgrim’s grooves on either side of Amun’s lower plumes and a third between his shoulder and scepter.

*Translations:*

**Label:** ‘Giving milk to his father, Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By Amun:* Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: *Words spoken:* “(I) have [given] to you all life and dominion. *(I) have given you all health.”

*By Mut:* Mut, lady of Isheru, as she gives life.

*Behind Amun:* [Every] protection—all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health—sur[rounds him].

*By the King:* [The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁸⁹the master of strength RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN,⁴⁰given [life like Re].

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.

b. One sees the flowers of above the gap. A faint curve before Mut’s face might be a or . If genuine, perhaps this column was originally meant to be a *di.n=(i) n=k* formula.

c. From Ramesses II’s shorter *prenomen* in
the raised version, one sees traces of a larger.

PLATE 56

Bibliography: PM II², p. 50 (164b) II; Earlier photographs in Legrain, Temples de Karnak, fig. 137; Seele, Coregency, pp. 64-66, fig. 20; Azim and Reveillac, Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges LeGrain, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/161 and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/161.

Location: B 101c: South portal, middle register of western jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a greeting with a nemset-jar to ithyphallic Amun-Re, accompanied by Amunet.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but initially carved in raised relief. Traces of bas relief abound on the contours of the final cuts of both the larger figures and hieroglyphs and are so ubiquitous as to preclude a full listing. As elsewhere, interior surfaces of the main elements were not shaved back except along the edges, so that some features—Amun’s beard; Ramesses II’s belt apron¹⁴⁶ and wig lappet; and the ears of all three figures—protrude markedly. A raised trace of the snout of from Ramesses’ shorter prenomen is legible below that of the final sunken glyph of Wsr-[M3,t]-Rꜣ-[stp-n-Rꜣ]. His nomen had the same orthography in both editions.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The sandstone block on which Ramesses’ head and torso were carved suffers from erosion that has grown worse since the drawing was made. As a result, it is no longer possible to determine what Nelson meant by dotted lines he indicates behind the king’s head and below the vulture’s wing. Elsewhere, one finds residual quarry damage in and behind Ramesses’ torso and the goddess’ midriff. Light hacking on the tip of the god’s penis is surely malicious. Note that the “snout” of Amunet’s wꜣs-scepter is more complete where it overlaps Amun’s flail than the drawing suggests. On the offering stand, the nemset-jar’s spout more closely resembles a feather.

Translations:

Label: a Greeting with a nemset-jar [for]b Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life like Re.’

By Amun: 2Amun-Re, lord of heaven, 3the great god 4who is upon the great seat: 5Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my seat and my throne.”

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

By Amunet: 6Amunet, residing in 7Karnak, 8lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: 9“(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries.”

By the King: 10The lord of the Two Lands USER[MA’AT]RE-SETEPENRE, 11the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 12given life like Re.

a. The back of  and the bottom of its tail are preserved above the gap.

¹⁴⁶ Nelson overlooked a diagonal segment that descends from the lower corner of the apron’s leftmost streamer before fading out. It would have continued to the bottom hem of the kilt and formed the left side of its triangular flap but was erased when the surface was recarved. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 26, 43, 73 (painted), 77, 82, 96, 99, inter alia, were the flap is more complete.
b. The dative \textit{dative is lost in the void between blocks.}

\textbf{PLATE 57}

\textit{Bibliography:} PM II, pp. 50 (164b) III; Legrain, \textit{Karnak}, fig. 137; Seele, \textit{Coregency}, pp. 64-66, fig. 20; Brand, \textit{Monuments of Seti I}, fig. 106; Azim and Reveillac, \textit{Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain}, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/161 and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/161.

\textit{Location:} B 101d: South portal, lowest register of western jamb.

\textit{Subject:} Ramesses II offers incense to Amun-Re, followed by Sety I (whose name was later changed to Ramesses II) (fig. 96).

\textit{Type of Relief:} Sunk, but converted from raised relief. Abundant \textit{disjcta membra} of suppressed bas relief huddle along the outlines of the final work. In cols. 6-7, Ramesses II surcharged Sety I’s cartouches with his own, but only after the former had first been recarved in sunk relief. Upon inspection, one sees that the three figures are higher than negative space around them, a hallmark of such alteration to sunk relief. Minor elements were, however, occasionally left as bas relief, including the upper curve of Sety’s \textit{hkh} scepter, and a segment of his tail above his mace. On both royal effigies, the upper front corners of their belt aprons are complete, indicating that these were recarved after the kings were recut in sunk relief. However, the sculptors largely erased the left side of Ramesses’ (Left) triangular kilt flap and did not recarve it. Sety’s fist was also shaved back, and there are traces of recutting on his knuckles and the butt of his \textit{hkh} scepter. In the final sunken carving, the format of Ramesses II’s titulary and accompanying epithets (cols. 8-10) differs from the raised relief version (see below).

\textit{Paint:} Both kings have red flesh, and there are flecks of red on Sety I’s apron. Otherwise, no color is preserved.

\textit{Observations:} This scene, and its mate on the lower east jamb (pl. 61), have long been noted for the fact that Ramesses altered Sety I’s cartouches to his own, so that he now, in fact, worships his own divine alter ego.\textsuperscript{147} Leaving aside the issue of Ramesses II’s self-deification during his lifetime, this scene presents a number of epigraphic oddities, some of which have generally escaped comment.\textsuperscript{148} As noted above, Sety I’s cartouches were reinscribed in sunk relief when the whole episode was converted to sunk. Ramesses II’s subsequent “usurpation” of his father’s names was accomplished in sunk relief by filling them in with plaster and carving his own in their stead. \textit{Prima facie}, Ramesses II would seem to have surcharged them no earlier than his 21\textsuperscript{st} regnal year, given the coincidence of his long \textit{prenomen} with the \textit{nomen} orthography \textit{R^n-ms-sw}.\textsuperscript{149} Yet on the bottom of the east jamb, in a nearly identical scene, Sety I’s \textit{nomen} was replaced by \textit{R^n-ms-s}, a form that held sway before year 21! A similar farrago of contradictory writings of Ramesses’ \textit{nomen} occurs in reliefs he usurped on the north jamb of the western gateway,\textsuperscript{150} and here again, it remains

\textsuperscript{147} Seele, \textit{Coregency}, pp. 64-66.


\textsuperscript{149} See above chapter 2.4.3.

\textsuperscript{150} \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 131-134. See above, commentary to \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 131-134.
possible that this change was effected at the temporal boundary between the two nomen orthographies.

At the left side of the scene, the sculptors enlarged Ramesses II cartouches in the sunk relief version (cols. 8-9), but they eliminated some of his titles and epithets to accomplish this. His raised cartouches were smaller and were preceded by the epithets *nb tāwy*, “lord of the Two Lands” (*prenomen*) and *nb hšw*, “lord of appearances” (*nomen*). To the left of his *nomen* cartouche, they abridged the phrase *di ṣnh mỉ Rā*, ‘given life like Re.’ Traces of the suppressed glyphs remain legible amid the final texts. These alterations are all the more puzzling for being unique among Ramesses II’s early bas reliefs that were converted to sunken ones on the south and west walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Similar enlarged cartouches, also made at the expense of adjacent texts, appear in Ramesses II’s usurpation of scenes of Sety I on the first row of columns (nos. 74-80) north of the central nave of the Hall, once he became Ra-ms-w. Later in his reign, the king’s cartouches and other texts that gloss ritual scenes were often carved in a larger format vis à vis the figures, but at the expense of having shorter texts. This trend continued under Ramesses III, whose cartouches are often much larger than other texts.151

Here, as elsewhere along the base of the south wall, new blocks were inserted where the originals had decayed. The line of demarcation with the original Ramesside masonry occurs just below Sety’s knees and cuts through his legs, then runs down his advancing leg and ends below the level of the scene. Sety’s rear foot stands on a baseline that is slightly higher than the main ground line behind him, as if he were standing on a low podium, albeit one much shorter than is normally the case for images of cult-statues.152

The rest of the scene is still preserved as it was before this repair. Below it, but not shown in the drawing, are three sets of double plumes (decorating a missing frieze of large vertical cartouches that belonged probably to Ramesses III or IV),153 although the cartouches themselves were lost when the blocks on which they were carved were replaced by uninscribed stones. Several pilgrim’s grooves were dug in the

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151 Ramesses II’s decoration on the main curtain wall surrounding the heart of Karnak Temple features these large format texts. Cf. Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszene auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses’ II. in Karnak*, (Wiesbaden, 1968), pls. *passim*. Ramesses III large cartouches are often found in ritual scenes in his temple at Medinet Habu.

152 In the corresponding scene from the bottom of the east jamb (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 61), the original ground line is preserved and there is no podium. Sety’s effigy stands on a higher plinth in a scene on the east wing of the wall (ibid., pl. 72), but here he is enclosed within a kiosk shrine.

153 A similar frieze of plumes in the thicknesses of the south portal lies beneath a marginal inscription of Ramesses III. By comparison, below a similar Ramesses III text on the thicknesses of the north portal (*Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 20D-E) are other marginal bandeaux belonging to Ramesses IV (usurped by Ramesses VI). Most germane, however, is an identical frieze of Ramesses IV’s cartouches (also crowned with ostrich plumes and sun disks) carved below the lowest scene on the west interior jamb of the north gateway. There is a frieze of such plumes at the bases of the east interior jambs of both gateways (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 61 and 187, although they are recorded by Nelson only in the latter case), but the actual cartouches are only preserved below the west jamb of the north interior gate. See below commentary to plate 184.

On marginalia of the later Ramesside kings in the Hypostyle Hall see P. Brand in P. F. Dorman and B. M. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 52-59.
replacement masonry below these plumes.

Amun’s face was carved onto a patchstone that has sheared off, although his nose is largely intact. A large crack that opens up in front of Sety’s face and runs through his crown is surely ancient, since it is filled with plaster. Of possible significance is the fact that Ramesses II’s eye was carved with cosmetic bands, while Sety I’s figure was not. An extension to the streamer of Sety’s diadem, rendered by Nelson with dotted lines, is illusory.

Translations:

Label: Censing to A[mun-Re] that he might achieve ‘given life.’
By Amun: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, king of the gods:
Words spoken: “(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees. (I) have given to you all joy. (I) have given to you all flat lands being pacified.”

By Sety I: The good god MENMA†ATRE, [the son of] Re SETY-[MEREN][A]MUN.

By Ramesses II: USERMA†ATRE-SETEPENRE, RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life forever.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.
b. Usurped in sunk relief by Ramesses II, as USERMA†ATRE-SETEPENRE.

Imprints of Sety’s prenomen in both the raised edito princeps (the “box” of and ) and sunk (all the signs) are clear despite Ramesses’ superimposed
c. Despite weathering of the surface, strong traces of the -glyph’s body and rear foot survive, which Nelson overlooked.
d. Usurped in sunk relief by Ramesses II as RAMESSU-[MERENA]MUN. Note, too, that impressions of all the signs in the group are visible in sunk relief amid erosion—it would have applied to both kings. From the raised version only the back of the -glyph’s wig is certain.

e. Traces of underlie the upper part of the final prenomen. Plural strokes of are evident in the final nomen.
f. Of the erased original text, overlaps final , while underlies final .

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PLATE 58

Bibliography: PM II, p. 49 (164a); For an early copy of some of the texts see Champollion, ND II, pp. 40, 41 (A).

Location: B 101f: South portal, lintel, eastern side.

Subject: Ramesses II runs a ceremonial race, carrying two \(\text{vases}\), in the presence of Amun-Re, Mut and the Upper Egyptian Meret-goddess.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but changed from raised relief. Residuum of the primary edition (raised lips and engraved outlines) frequently abide at the margins of the sunken cuts. As on the west side of this lintel (see above, plate 54), the recarved surface is often rougher than the smoother ones of elements carried over from the raised version. A vertical margin line at the right end, left raised, connects with the scene’s ground line, which was shaved back, but not recarved as sunk. Streamers issuing from the collar of a figurehead held by the royal Ka-standard behind Ramesses are not true sunk relief, but only engraved. Faint signs of the earlier \(\text{ DAT}\) (further to the right than in the final version) are seen inside Ramesses II’s \(\text{ serekh}\).

Traces consistent with the shorter form of Ramesses II’s prenomen, with the orthography \(\text{VAM}\), are evident in all three examples herein. His nomen was written identically in both versions.

Paint: The goddess’ shoulder is painted red. A curving area of rough surface mimics the pattern of Amun’s collar, but this is probably an artifact of the recarving process. Any traces of color on Mut’s vulture cap that Nelson indicated with dotted lines have now vanished.

Observations: Except for the loss of blocks that formed the top of the scene, as well as damage to the lintel that affects its lower left side, the relief is in good condition. A long block containing the heads of the three main figures has shifted outwards by a few centimeters.

Translations:

Label: 1Presenting libation to his father, Amun that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: 2[Words spoken\(^a\) by Amun-Re], king of the gods, lord of heaven: \(3^b[(O) my] \text{beloved [son of]} \text{my body, } 4^c[\text{the lord of the Two Lands]} \text{USERMA\'ATRE-SETEPENRE}, 5^c[\text{my heart is glad for}] \text{love of you,} b^d \text{and [I] rejoice } 6^d[\text{at seeing] your [monuments]. (I) have given to you […]}.^e

By Meret-Goddess in front of Amun: 7Words spoken\(^d\) by the Southern Egyptian Meret: “Welcome in peace, (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA\'ATRE-SETEPENRE! \#May your fa[ther] Amun receive you that he might give to you all\(^e\) life and dominion \#like Re every day.”

By Mut: 10[Words spoken by]\(a\) Mut, lady of heaven […]\(^f\)“[(I have given to] you millions of jubilees […]].^g 12[I have given to you the kingship […]].”\(^h\)

By the King: 13[The lord of the Two Lands]\(a\) USERMA\'AT(RE)-SETEPENRE, 14[the lord of appearances]\(a\) RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 15[given all life, stability, and dominion \#like [Re] forever.

By Royal Ka behind King: Horus: mighty bull, \#beloved of Ma\'at.’
a. Given the spacing of what follows, this formula was probably repeated mechanically above the rest of the columns of Amun’s speech along with those of Mut.

b. Nelson’s alleged \( s^2m \) on the plate is a mistake for the bottom of \( \text{[ib=1 3w n]} \) mr.wt=k, \( h^r.w.[kwi n m^3l nfr.w=k \text{ (var. mnnw=k)}] \); see Epigraphic Survey, Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, pl. 32:9-10; \( Kbsntu II, \) pl. 171:8-9; RIK I, pl. 58:5; and cf. \( tw=i r^s.kwi n mrwt=k \), etc. (RIK I, pl. 19:5-6; 57:4-7).

c. The balance of this sentence, now completely lost, was inscribed to the left of Amun’s plumes.

d. Repeated mechanically above cols. 8-9.

e. Nelson’s supposed handle of “\( \text{[ib=1 3w n]} \) mr.wt=k” is just a stray chisel mark; the sign is clearly \( \text{[ib=1 3w n]} \).

f. There is room for as many as three short columns for Mut’s titles above her head.

g. For possible endings see the glossary, s.v. \( \text{[ib=1 3w n]} \) mr.wt=k. \( h^r.w.[kwi n m^3l nfr.w=k \text{ (var. mnnw=k)}] \).

h. For possible endings see the glossary, s.v. \( \text{[ib=1 3w n]} \) mr.wt=k. \( h^r.w.[kwi n m^3l nfr.w=k \text{ (var. mnnw=k)}] \).

i. Given the spacing implied by the phrase \( \text{[ib=1 3w n]} \) mr.wt=k, \( h^r.w.[kwi n m^3l nfr.w=k \text{ (var. mnnw=k)}] \); see Epigraphic Survey, Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, pl. 32:9-10; \( Kbsntu II, \) pl. 171:8-9; RIK I, pl. 58:5; and cf. \( tw=i r^s.kwi n mrwt=k \), etc. (RIK I, pl. 19:5-6; 57:4-7).

PLATE 59

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (164a) I.

Location: B 101g: South portal, top register of eastern jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers two jugs of milk to Amun-Re, who is followed by Mut.

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Traces of the earlier version are found at the edges of the later cuts, although these are fewer than in most other scenes converted from raised relief (fig. 170). Nelson omitted a long segment of the curved fold inside Amun’s kilt, which was partly erased in the conversion to sunken relief. Strong traces of Ramesses II’s erased short prenomen (\( Wsr-M3^3.t-R^5 \)) in suppressed raised relief are legible amid the sunken version of the longer form. Raised text in col. 5 was partially shaved down but was never recut into sunk relief.

Paint: Ramesses II’s flesh is red, Amun’s is blue, and Mut’s yellow. Two bracelets on the king’s wrist are blue, while on his upper right arm, his armlet had three bands (one red, originally yellow, between two blue). His left milk-jug is red, and Amun’s \( w^s-scepter \) is green. Mut’s dress is red, supported by polychrome straps (alternating bands of red and blue separated by a lighter color), and bound by a long belt-sash (of which the colors have faded). A bracelet on her upper right arm had alternating vertical bands of green and yellow, and her collar had three rings of blue alternating with two bands of green (top) and red (bottom, penultimate). Her vulture-crown had a
green wing and tail, while her Double Crown had its traditional colors of red and white. Additional pigments (e.g., on some of the hieroglyphs and concentric bands on Amun’s collar) are too faded to identify.

**Observations:** Much of the carved surface is unusually smooth because substantial residue of a plaster wash that coated is intact, especially in the block joints around Mut’s head. This surface plaster is a very smooth and fine grained wash, contrasted with coarser stucco used as infill between the block joints. Except for damage to the left part of the scene where the masonry has sheared away, the scene is well preserved.

Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall carved several pilgrim’s grooves behind the heads of Amun and Mut and inside the god’s upper left shoulder. Shallow pecking to the facial features of Ramesses and Amun and the king’s hands are surely their work. Nelson omitted the fingers on Mut’s upraised hand.

**Translations:**

*Label:* Presenting milk to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By Amun:* Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ‘I have given to you valor and victory on my part. I have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands.’

*By Mut:* Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: ‘I have given to you life and dominion like Re.’

*By the King:* The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

\[\text{a. Repeated mechanically above col. 3.} \]

\[\text{b. Additional traces of this erased text not recorded in the drawing are \(\text{\textcopyright} \) next to} \]

\[\text{and \(\text{\textcopyright} \) below them. See the glossary, s.v. \text{di.n=(i) n=k nh\=h m nsw} \text{b.wy}.} \]

**PLATE 60**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 49 (164a) II; Seele, Coemency, p. 64-65, fig. 19.

**Location:** B 101h: South portal, middle register of eastern jamb.

**Subject:** Ramesses II offers incense to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Isis.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief. Elements of expunged bas relief circumvallate the final sunk cuts and are particularly strong on Ramesses’ legs and Isis’ feet. The sculptors were more thorough in shaving back the raised surfaces so they do not protrude against the background. An exception is Isis’ solar disk. Ramesses’ belt apron was partly erased in this operation, which also left dense but shallow pitting where the surfaces were cut back. A few minor elements were left raised, e.g., the point of the larger in col. 6. In the prenomen cartouche, only the larger and snout of are legible amid the sunk version, along with and in his nomen.
Paint: The king has red flesh, and on his upper arms he wears bracelets with horizontal bands of blue (cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 59, 70). A bouquet on the offering stand has red stems. Otherwise, none of the colors have withstood the elements with any distinctness.

Observations: Iconoclasts hacked Amun’s phallus, but only lightly. Sandstone, of which this scene is composed, is highly porous and has begun to erode or exfoliate in several places, including the region of Mut’s upper body; between the heads of Amun and the king; and at the top of col. 1 below Ramesses’ elbow. Large parts of the relief are coated with a fine plaster wash, which is peeling off in the region between the torsos of the king and Amun. Coarse white plaster employed as gap filler is evident in horizontal joints in the lower part of the scene. Cobras at the base of Ramesses’ apron are not as complete as Nelson indicates.

Translations:

Label: ‘Censing his father Amun that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: 2Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef:
3“(I) have given to you my lifetime as king.”

By Isis: 4Words spoken by Isis 5the great, mother of the god:
6“(I) have given to you the throne of
7Atum.”

By the King: 8The lord of the Two Lands
USERMA 9ATRE-SETEPENRE, 9master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 10given life like Re 11forever.

154 Most of this color can no longer be confirmed since the observations were made by Murnane in the 1970s and 80s.

PLATE 61

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 49-50 (164a) III.
Photograph in Seele, Coregency, pp. 64-65, fig. 19.
Location: B 101i: South portal, lowest register of eastern jamb.

Subject: Ramesses II offers libation with a nemes-jar before Amun-Re and Sety I (whose cartouche names were later changed to those of Ramesses II).

Type of Relief: Sunk, but originally carved in raised relief (figs. 97, 171-172). Raised edges and incised outlines of the expunged version are ubiquitous, and the main figures are at a higher level than the empty space around them. In col. 11, the raised relief edition of Ramesses II’s nomen was written, as traces of

remain beneath final. Traces of

are clear.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Note that, as on plate 57, Sety I’s cartouches (cols. 1, 8-9) were first recut from raised to sunk relief and were later replaced with those of Ramesses II in sunk relief. Nelson only records the final versions of Ramesses II. Clear traces of both versions of Sety’s name persist: col. 1 (prenomen), the larger , the bottom of
(raised and sunk), and the feather of
(sunk); col. 7 (prenomen) and
(sunk only); col. 8 (nomen) and . Note, also, that in contrast to the episode on the corresponding west jamb, Ramesses’ nomen is written $R^5$-ms-s where it has replaced Sety’s (see commentary to pl. 57, above).

As in the previous episode, the sandstone here is often porous and there has been further erosion since Nelson’s drawing was made, e.g., in the middle of the vulture’s downswept wing. There are some minor inaccuracies and omissions in the drawing: Sety’s fist clasping the scepters was recut, but the separation between the two scepters is illusory and the top of the cartouche ring in col. 1 is incomplete. Below this scene, as in the corresponding place on the west jamb (GHHK I.1, pl. 57) and north gateway (ibid., pls. 184, 187), are the tops of several of the plumes that crowned a frieze of vertical cartouches. The cartouches were lost in later antiquity when fresh, uncarved blocks were inserted to replace decayed Ramesside masonry at the base of the jamb.155

Translating:
Label: 1Making a libation to his father Amun-Re on behalf of king MENMA$^*$$^*$ATRE, a true-of-voice.

By Amun-Re: 2Words spokenb by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: 3“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re 4(and) his years as ruler of Heliopolis. 5(I) have given to you the kingship of Geb.”

By Sety: 6The good god, who makes monuments for his father Amun-Re, 7the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA$^*$$^*$ATRE-SETEPENRE,$^*$ the son of Re, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,$^*$ 9true-of-voice in the presence of the great god.

By Ramesses II: 10The lord of the Two Lands USERMA$^*$$^*$ATRE-SETEPENRE,$^*$ 4master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN,$^*$ 12given life like Re.

a. Recarved, first as MENMA$^*$$^*$ATRE into sunk relief, then (also in sunk relief) as USERMA$^*$$^*$ATRE-SETEPENRE.
b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-4.
c. Recarved, first as SETY-MERENAMUN into sunk relief, then (also in sunk relief) as RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

PLATE 87

Bibliography: PM II$^2$, p. 50 (164d).

Location: B 125-126: South portal, western thickness.

Subject: Two scenes, one above the other, in which Ramesses II (his figure now destroyed) presents offerings to Amun-Re—ithyphallic (top) and enthroned (bottom).

Type of Relief: Both scenes were carved initially as sunk relief, although the marginal ribbon pattern at the right edge of both scenes is raised. Groups of horizontal stripes between the two vertical bands on this element are incomplete in the upper segment (as shown on the plate), but are consistently carved below (where Nelson did not record them).

155 See commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 57.
Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Below the lower scene are segments of three raised horizontal bands which served as a dado pattern at the base of the wall, as inside the Hall itself. Although the upper doorpost sockets are extant (in cement) on both sides of the passage, it seems most likely that there was originally a single door leaf that rested against the eastern thickness when open, since this space was left undecorated.

Translations:

(Top)
In front of the God: “[I have given to] you my […] forever and ever!”

Behind the God: Every [protection—all life …], (and) all joy—surrounds him like Re.

(Bottom)
By Amun: [Words spoken by Amun-Re… : “(I) give to you] I[…the office] b 2of dual king, (my) kingship 3being the reward for what you have done.”

a. A survey of di.n=(i) n=k formulas in the glossary shows that the phrase sp 2, “two times,” generally follows d.t as an extension of the core phrase (e.g., B.t=i n nsw etc.). Exceptions include: mnw=k mn sp 2 (GHHK I.1, pl. 131:6); and rn=k mn sp 2 (ibid., pl. 2:4). Part of a sign on the right side of the column below may be ֪. The rest of the sentence cannot be restored because traces are too few and the range of parallels too wide.

b. Much more of the god’s speech was carved to the left of the column labeled as the first, but too little is preserved to make sense of it. The restorations are simply what is required by the context.

SOUTH WALL, EAST SIDE (Plates 62-79, 80-86)

The eastern half of the south wall, like its western counterpart, now consists of three registers of scenes; originally there were four, but the top one has been removed (plan 2). In composition, both wings are mirror images of one another, in that the progression of scenes moves away from the central doorway. Invariably, the king faces right on the western half, and left on the eastern side. Thus the sequence of episodes in each register on this eastern side follows the numbering of the plates better than it does on the west:

(1) Bottom (fourth) register: the king offers to the barks of the Theban Triad (GHHK I.1, pl. 76), dedicates offerings to Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 77), is led by Monthu and Atum (ibid., pl. 78), and appears beside the Ished-tree (ibid., pl. 79).

(2) Middle (third) register: the king drives four calves (ibid., pl. 68), receives the unification of the Two Lands from Horus and Thoth (ibid., pl. 69), receives jubilees (ibid., pl. 70), runs a ceremonial race before
Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 71), greets his deified father, Sety I (ibid., pl. 72), dedicates four chests of cloth to Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 73), has his crowns steadied (ibid., pl. 74), and offers Ma’at to Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 75).

(3) Second (uppermost extant) register: the king is led in by two goddesses and the Souls of Pe and Nekhen (ibid., pl. 62), receives the regalia from Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 63), offers flowers to ithyphallic Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 64), presents offerings to the deified Sety I in his sacred bark (ibid., pl. 65), is modeled by Khnum on the potter’s wheel (ibid., pl. 66), is suckled by a goddess, and appears before Amun-Re (ibid., pl. 67).

Diagram of the south wall, east wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.

(4) What remains of this missing (top) register is comprised of a series of loose blocks that had fallen from the top of this wall and which (when reassembled by Nelson) produced yet another register of scenes that stood above (ibid., pls. 81-86).156 This first register is a “space-filler.” Not only are the figures smaller than in the scenes below, its overall height is reduced by the composition, in which the king invariably kneels before the divinities who are all enthroned. Here as well the scenes are composed as mirror images of those on the other half of the south wall; Ramesses II always faces left in these scenes, whereas on the western side (based on the scant remains at the top of GHHK I.1, pl. 44) he invariably faces right.

Another salient characteristic of the south wall’s east wing is the large amount of polychrome still preserved here, especially in the south-east corner. Finally, GHHK I.1, pl. 80 is a scene carved on the southern thickness of the passage that runs through the southern corner of the east wall. A complementary scene on the north thickness was not recorded by Nelson.157 Both scenes (including a facsimile of the south thickness) will be included in a forthcoming volume dedicated to the gateways of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

156 These blocks are now stored on platforms that lie in the open space to the south of the Great Hypostyle Hall, between the first court of the Temple of Amun and the Temple of Khonsu.
157 PM IF p. 50 (165b-c); Nelson, Key Plans, B 122, 129.
By contrast with the west wing and central portal, all of the decoration on the east half of the south wall was initially carved in sunk relief during the second phase of Ramesses II’s work in the Hypostyle Hall, where the king universally employed the original, shorter form of his *prenomen*, inscribed with a wide variety of orthographies.\(^{158}\) His *nomen* fluctuates between \(R^6\)-ms-s and \(R^6\)-ms-sw, with the majority being the former, and with a wider range of orthographies than are found elsewhere in the Hall.\(^{159}\) This second phase of his relief work, in which sunk relief coincides with the short prenomen, marks the point at which Ramesses began to experiment more heavily with the hieroglyphic “spelling” of both cartouches, a phenomenon that can also be observed at Gurnah temple.\(^{160}\)

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\(^{158}\) See above chapter 2.4.2.

\(^{159}\) \(R^6\)-ms-s occurs in *GHHK* I.1, pls. 63-65, 68, 72-76, 78-79, 81 (all three), 82 (middle and right), 83 (middle), 84 (Right), 85 (Right). \(R^6\)-ms-sw occurs in ibid., pls. 69-70, 77, 82 (Left), 83 (Left), 84 (Left). The *nomen* is incomplete or lacking in ibid., pls. 62, 66-67, 80-81, 83 (Right), 84 (middle), 85 (Left), 86-87. Both orthographies coexist only in ibid., pl. 71.

PLATE 62

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) I.1; For an earlier photograph, omitting the goddess at the left end, see Medinet Habu IV, pl. 236 A; and cf. ibid., pl. 235.

Location: B 102: South wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Nekhbet, Wadjet, and the Souls of Pe and Nekhen lead Ramesses II to a goddess who performs the ny ny-ritual.¹⁶¹

Type of Relief: Sunk (fig. 173).

Paint:¹⁶² The flesh of the king and the Souls is red, while that of all three goddesses is yellow. The middle Soul of Nekhen (jackal-headed) wears a blue corselet, and his wig lappets are also blue. Wadjet, on the king’s right, and the anonymous goddess at the far left wears dresses bound with red streamers (parts of which endure) and all three goddesses have anklets in which vertical yellow bands alternate with others in red, blue and green, framed by horizontal blue bands at the top and bottom.¹⁶³ Decoration on the king’s apron includes two parallel columns of small painted rectangles, but only two yellow squares can still be identified with certainty.¹⁶⁴ Decayed pigment of indeterminate color survives at various points: a latticework pattern on the belt of the leftmost Soul of Pe; a painted sash falling to the right of the royal apron; bracelets of the king and Wadjet where they clasp hands; and concentric bands of Nekhbet’s broad collar. Note at the bottom of Wadjet’s dress an elaborate fringe of alternating rectangles of blue, red, and green, separated by narrow blue vertical stripes set against a yellow ground.

Observations: Two blocks with hieroglyphic texts were restored to their positions by Nelson and do not form part of the standing wall.

Currently kept among the blocks stacked to the north of the temple of Khonsu, they have been collated for this commentary. On the wall itself, the king’s face is badly abraded. Fissures and striations due to natural decay of the stone mar the upper bodies of the souls of Pe (falcon headed), the king, and the goddesses flanking him. A pattern of chisel gouges on the upper part of the goddess at the far left of the scene are left from the quarrying process. Along with isolated defects across the scene and the joints between blocks, they were filled with plaster, much of which still remains on the wall along with a finer

¹⁶¹ Her name is not preserved. Elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, goddesses who perform the ny ny-ritual include Amunet (GHHK I.1, pl. 111 and Hathor (GHHK I.1, pl. 199). A clue to her identity here may be the crown she wears. Lack of a tripartite wig tends to eliminate Hathor. It must be a Red or White Crown, headgear that is appropriate for a limited number of goddesses. Amunet and Neith generally don the Red, while goddesses with the White are rarer. Nekhbet may sport a White Crown with feathers, technically an atef-crown, but that does not seem to be the case here. Amunet: Medinet Habu V, pl. 284; Khonsu I, pls. 48, 67, 95 (the latter with a “hathoric” headdress); Hathor: Khonsu II, pl. 172.


¹⁶² Cf. commentary to pl. 42, above.

¹⁶³ Cf. Medinet Habu IV, pl. 213; Abydos I, pl. 7.
plaster surface wash. Nelson failed to capture the subtleties of the jackals' heads: their nostrils, cosmetic bands on their eyes and eyebrows, and interior cavities of their closest ears. He also did not record traces of the beaks of the two rightmost Souls of Pe.

**Translations:**

By Nekhbet: Words spoken by Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakon[polis]: *(O my) son who is in my heart […] *[for]ever.*

By Falcon-headed Gods: *(Words spoken by the Souls of Pe:)* “Come to the mansion of your father as we give to you praises […] We [come] to you like […] (Divine Name) when he […]s himself, so then […] in the palace, [where he] fashioned your great [moment] of receiving the great name[s]. Mingling with you are those-who-are-in[the district of] Thebes. Exulting for you is the entire [Ennead] when they see you assuming the form of Re, (O) image of (Divine Name), …] the master of strength RAMES[SES]-MERAMUN!”

By the King: The dual king USERMAAT]RE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given all life, [stability and dominion like Re].

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The tail of and the right end of the of d[t] are visible. Above is a single stroke, possibly from.

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The speech is quite different in the parallel scene in the Second Court of Ramesses III's mortuary temple (*Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 235:23-33).

b. This expression or a variant seem constant in the parallels, for which see the glossary s.v. the verb *ii* (e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 78:2-3, 111:5-6). No ready parallels could be found, however, for most of the speech that follows.

c. To the right of the single at the lower left end of the group above, there is a sign that terminates (unrecorded by Nelson), perhaps.

d. The curving trace recorded by Nelson is incorrect; instead, the bottom of is clearly present.

e. Restoring something like *ms tw* ([*Divine Name*] im= s), but *ms.wt*, “birth” is also possible here, or even the beginning of a new sentence.

f. Given the feminine endings, expressions such as *R* or *sp* cannot fit, thus restore [3.t] or something similar. “Crowns” (h[w]) are among the items that can be the object of *ssp* (see, *inter alia*, *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 313 A:7) but here again, no direct parallel was found.

g. A curving trace (unrecorded by Nelson) that is preserved above is perhaps to be identified as the bottom of , thus perhaps restore [rn.w w]r.w?

h. Restoring something like *imy.w* [sp1.t] *Wls.t.* The bottom of a , not copied by Nelson, is preserved at the left side of the
group above, possibly positioned to the
left of the terminal .t which is often the
phonetic complement of spī.t (Faulkner,
CD, p. 222 bottom).

i. Reading ṭḥḥ n=k [pṣd.t] tmm.ti: cf.
glossary, s.v. pṣd.t.

j. Nelson’s  are incorrect: instead
(from right to left) there are the bottoms
of  (Gardiner sign list A-53), and
—thus restore [k]i, “form, shape”
(Faulkner, CD, p. 276).

k. No obvious restoration can be inferred
from the oblong trace (similar to the
bottom of  , but somewhat narrower)
at the bottom right of the group above.

PLATE 63

Bibliography: PM II, p. 48 (159) I.2;
Champollion, ND II, p. 40 A (col. 1).

Location: B 103: South wall, eastern half,
uppermost register in situ (“second”), second
scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II is ushered into the presence
of Amun-Re by Mut and receives from him, in the
presence of Khonsu, the crook and the flail, while
Thoth inscribes the king’s titulary on a year-staff.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Amun’s flesh is blue, that of Thoth red.
Amun and Khonsu rest on blue podiums;
Khonsu’s is solid, while Amun’s is fringed in a
lighter color. Indistinct traces of horizontal
painted lines remain on the side of Amun’s
throne.

Observations: A combination of deep natural
fissures, spalling, and residual toolmarks disfigures
the upper half of the relief, with quarry damage
being most severe around Thoth’s upper body. It
is unlikely, however, that any of this damage, e.g.,
to king’s mouth, is vandalism. Most of the texts
that glossed the scene are lost. Twin cobras
flanking Ramesses II’s belt apron are rendered
with particular finesse.

Translations:

By Thoth: [...]
a. It is unclear how this lacuna is to be
restored. Parallels of Thoth’s year-staves
in the Hypostyle Hall usually begin with
the king’s Horus name, but this seems
unlikely unless the staves were
considerably taller than the god himself
(compare GHHK I.1, pls. 7, 52, 96, 118,
150). One might restore *[sS.n=(i)
qn.wr=k m], “I have inscribed your annals
as], etc.” (by analogy with ibid., pl. 49,
where there are two columns of texts
beginning with a ḏḏ-mdw in formula, but
without royal titles, before the palm
frond). For other parallels see Donald B.
Redford, Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and

166 Doubtless gold. Cf. Medinet Habu V, pl. 322.
PLATE 64

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 48 (159) I.3.

**Location:** B 104: South wall, eastern half, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), third scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II presents flower bouquets to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is accompanied by a goddess wearing a horned disk.¹⁶⁷

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Ramesses II’s flesh is red, that of the goddess (as well as the king’s tail) yellow. The taller bouquet has green paint on the stems underneath the king’s fist. Green paint is also present on the second lettuce behind Kamutef.

**Observations:** Apart from malicious gouging inside Amun’s phallus, damage to the scene results from quarrymen’s marks, removal of blocks from the upper courses or deep fissures cause by natural weathering. The rear part of the goddess’ horns and her associated text are preserved on the right corner of a block that now lies in the blockyard south of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

**Translations:**

*By Goddess:* ¹(1) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ³(1) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords, you being rejuvenated forever.”

*Behind the King:* ⁴The dual king USERMAʾATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN [shall continually] appear in the house of his father Amun like Re forever.

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¹⁶⁷ Probably to be identified with Isis, who often accompanies ithyphallic Amun: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 18, 24, 60, 88, 116; it could also be Hathor (ibid., pl. 4).

PLATE 65

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 48 (159) I.4.

**Location:** B 105: South wall, eastern half, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), fourth scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II offers incense and libation, along with a laden table of offerings and an offering list, to a statue of Sety I inside the cabin-shrine of a sacred bark mounted on a sledge.¹⁶⁸

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** The hull of Sety I’s bark is painted green, with an upper border in a different (now faded) color. Within its cabin-shrine, Sety’s effigy stands on a blue plinth. On the offering table, the epiocalyxes of the uppermost lotus flower were also green. Red paint survives on Ramesses II’s foot.

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¹⁶⁸ For this type of sacred barque see Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 61-62; Luc Gabolde, Marc Gabolde, “Les temples ‘mémoriaux’ de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques),” *BIFAO* 89 (1989) pp. 127-178. Iconographically, Sety’s bark is similar to that of the craft towing Amun-Re’s riverbarge (*GHHK* I.1 pls. 37, 151), a similarity also discussed by Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, p. 62.
The offering table preserves traces of yellow paint, while the first and third cup (from left to right) at the bottom of the table show green paint still present within their carved oval contents. No further color is preserved.

Observations: Two blocks containing the upper portions of the scene are no longer in situ, but now rest in the yards between the Great Hypostyle Hall and the Temple of Khonsu. To the left of the bark’s steering column, a large hole may be fortuitous, or could have been a beam-hole for one of the later dwellings built inside the Hall. Residual toolmarks in some parts of the scene were patched with plaster. Ramesses’ upper body suffers from the same erosion found in the previous scene. Behind Sety, the “face” inside the personified holding is erroneous. It is actually a human eye and eyebrow similar to (Gardiner’s signlist D7A), but pockmarks in the stone must have suggested a “face” to Nelson who relied on small-scale photographs to make his drawings.

Translations:

By Sety I: 1The good god MENMAʿATRE, 2the son of Re SETY-MERNEAMUN, 3true-of-voice.
Behind Sety I: Every protection—life—surrounds him eternally.

By the Winged Disk: 4The Behdetite, the great god, 5as he gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

By the Vulture: 6Nekhbet the bright one of [Hierakon]polis, 7as she gives life.

By the King: 8The lord of the Two Lands USERMAʿATRE, 9the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Behind the King: 10The King, the lord of the Two Lands […] USERMAʿATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, shall continually appear on the throne of the Horus of the living like Re.

Offering List (in four registers, numbered 11-19, A-D):

11-A Wine, 2 bowls. 12-A Water, 2 bowls. 13-A Shenes-loaf, 1 bowl. 14-A Hetba-loaf, 1 bowl. 15-A Pesen-loaf, 1 bowl. 16-A Depet-joint of meat, 1 bowl. 17-A Shafet-cake, 1 bowl. 18-A Honey, […] bowls

11-B Ritual meals, 2. 12-B Figs, 2 [bowls]. 13-B Grapes, 2 [bowls]. 14-B Carob-beans, 2 bowls. 15-B Zizyphus-fruit, 2 bowls. 16-B Beer, 2 bowls. 17-B Large bread, 1 [bowl]. 18-B Flank of meat, 1 [bowl].

11-C Kidney-fat, 1 bowl. 12-C Meḥk-cut of meat, 1 bowl. 13-C Roast meat joint, 1 bowl. 14-C Liver, 1 bowl. 15-C Spleen, 1 bowl. 16-C Breast cut of meat, 1 bowl. 17-C Shin, 1 bowl. 18-C Foreleg (of beef), 1 bowl. 19-C R( )-goose, 1 bowl. 14-D Trp- goose, 1 bowl. 15-D Pigeon, 1 bowl. 16-D White sesbet-fruit, 2 bowls. 17-D Green sesbet-fruit, 2 bowls. 18-D Bḥḥt-fruit, 2 bowls. 19-D Persea-fruit, 2 bowls.

a. Given the spacing, restore nb t3. wy, [nb iri.t ḫ.t, nb ḫps]: cf. RIK I, pl. 38-D, which is the only parallel to show three such titles preceding the prenomen (although examples with two elements are not uncommon: see GHHK I.1, pls. 39:21; 99:11; 105:11-12).

PLATE 66

Bibliography: PM II, p. 48 (159) I.5.

Location: B 106: South wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), fifth scene from the west.

Subject: Khnum models the infant Ramesses II on his potter’s wheel in the presence of a goddess.\(^{169}\)

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Khnum’s throne dais, with its cavetto cornice and ramp, is painted white. Between its moldings, the cornice has vertical stripes of blue alternating with one or two other colors (now faded), with white gaps between them. Surmounting this dais, Khnum’s \textcolor{blue}{\underline{}}-pedestal is blue, with its outer trim in a lighter, now faded, color (probably gold).\(^{170}\) This pedestal, in turn, supports a green mat on which Khnum’s throne and feet rest. Horizontal stripes on the side of his throne are visible, but their colors (except for a pale blue or blue-green) have largely faded. At the bottom left of the throne is a red square. Green paint survives on the hem of the goddess’s dress. No other pigment has escaped time and the elements.

Observations: Residual quarry damage, even some deep cavities in the stone, dapple the relief, although corse stucco infill and a fine plaster wash is often still well preserved, especially behind Khnum and along his dais where the joint between two blocks is still largely masked. This serves as a reminder that the unsightly gaps between blocks that are all too evident today were largely invisible in antiquity. In recording this scene, Nelson overlooked the infant king’s navel and below it, three curved folds of belly fat above his groin.

Translations:

By the King: \![Words spoken by the dual king USERMA\textsuperscript{a}ATRE-SETEPENRE to K\textsuperscript{b}hnum,\textsuperscript{a} master of the potter’s wheel: “How beautiful is this which you have done, as you construct me, the lord of Egypt!”

By Khnum: \![I have placed you on the throne of H\textsuperscript{b}orus as king,\textsuperscript{b} that you might celebrate jubilees like Atum, and that you may become youthful like Yah (the moon).”

\begin{itemize}
  \item[a.] Something along these lines is indicated, since the speech that follows is spoken by the king.
  \item[b.] This or something similar must precede here, at the end of Khnum’s speech to the king.
\end{itemize}

\(^{169}\) Nelson identifies the goddess as [Mut]-Bastet, although neither name appears in the preserved text. Perhaps the serpent coiled around her staff above her fist suggested this identity. Mut appears with similar serpent-entwined staves in two scenes from the Hypostyle Hall: GHHK I.1, pls. 7, 213.

\(^{170}\) See commentary on plate 65 above.
PLATE 67

Bibliography: PM II\(^2\), p. 48 (159) I.6-7.

Location: B 107-108: South wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), sixth and seventh (last) scenes from the west.

Subject: The youthful Ramesses II (holding a rekhyet-bird in his right hand) is suckled by Hathor (Right); then, as a young adult, he appears before Amun-Re and Khonsu, enclosed within a kiosk on a dais (Left) (figs. 67, 174-175).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: As in the preceding episode, Amun’s throne is elevated on a tripartite arrangement consisting of a white dais (shared with Khonsu and the king), with alternating vertical stripes of red, blue, and green against a white background inside its cornice. Amun’s own pedestal is solid blue, with an outer frame in a lighter color, doubtless gold. Above this pedestal is a green mat. His throne was painted in alternating horizontal stripes of red, green, and blue, with the box in its lower left corner painted solid red. Khonsu’s staff is green and so is the scene frame behind his kiosk. His pedestal is blue while the kiosk supports are yellow. Note that the king’s tail (a pattern in blue on gold) crosses the right-hand support in paint. Both kings have red flesh; Hathor’s flesh is yellow, and her dress has a lower hem in blue. The nursing king’s belt had a long sash executed in paint (now faded but probably red) which falls to the left of the streamers on his belt apron.\(^{171}\)

Observations: In the scene on the right, the royal child’s legs were widened, as paint is found in a narrow space between each versions (at the front of both legs). A block with Hathor’s head now lies in the yard south of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Illusory are the legs of the rekhyet-bird held by young Ramesses on the right, as are any suggestion that cobras once flanked the base of his belt apron. While there is some damage to the bottom of his apron, the intersection of its left side with his front leg is intact. A number of subtle features of the relief are misconstrued or absent in the drawing: Hathor’s hand is not so curving on the king’s waist (Right); her nipple and breast are more clearly defined; in her eye, the iris is not carved; while she has her characteristic lock of hair behind her face, it does not curve above her forehead as indicated;\(^{172}\) the cobra’s head of young Ramesses’ (Right) uaeus is angled more vertically; the artist has defined Amun’s toenails and cuticles in relief and partly carved the outer frame of Amun’s – plinth as well, but only on its sloping front and its top just below his feet; and the narrow part of the king’s tail above his calf muscle (Left) was never carved.

Translations:

By Hathor: iWords [spoken] by Hathor, lady of Dendera: “I am your mother who created your [beauty]a 3-4[…] 6[…] to you consisting of life [and dominion like] Re every day.”

\(^{171}\) For a discussion of the significance of the red looped sash see Amy Calvert, “The red looped sash: an enigmatic element of royal regalia in Ancient Egypt,”

\(^{172}\) For parallels for this type of wig worn by Hathor see GHHK L1, pls. 106, 144, 145, 157.
By the King: [...] like Re forever.

a. For kmi nfrw, cf. GHHK I.1, 76:22; 163 (Right): 2-3; 166:12. It is hard to decide if the curving trace below the feet of the flying duck is a round sign or merely a suggestive chink in the stone.

PLATE 68

Bibliography: PM II, p. 48 (159) II.1; Legrain, Karnak, fig. 144.

Location: B 109: South wall, eastern half, middle register in situ (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Ramesses II drives four calves into the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re (figs. 73, 176).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Here, as in the adjoining scenes on this register, substantial vestiges of polychrome have survived on the main figures and some hieroglyphs.173 (1) Ramesses II’s flesh is red, his kilt and corselet blue (originally green?),174 and the lowest band of his collar is also blue (as is his ceremonial beard). His crown and feathers have vertical stripes of blue alternating with others of red and green.175

(2) Amun’s flesh is blue, his garment white, and his crown gold. Feather patterns on his plumes are yellow, outlined in red, on a white ground.176 His broad collar has concentric rings of blue alternating with others of green and red. It was wider than Nelson indicated, the outermost rings consisting of a thick penultimate band of red and a final one in blue.177 Amun also wears a gold pectoral (now much faded), which hangs from two straps, each painted with a double row of dark rectangles against a gold background.178 Behind his body, a dangling ribbon is red; his armlet and bracelet are gold, with alternating stripes of blue and red inlay. The basic color of his flail is gold, with three rows of green circular beads (top) and four rows of triangular beads (two green rows, one red, the last green) below. His tent shrine is painted red, with four bands of yellow around it, and it rests on a blue pedestal. At the top of the tent, its protruding shaft also seems to have been yellow, but this may be decayed red. Vertical stripes of some darker color against a light background adhere to the cornice of its façade, while the doorway is red. Its -standard is blue, but the lily’s gynoecium (at the root of ) is red.

(3) All but the lowest calf have red bellies.

173 Many of the colors observed by Murnane in the 1970s and 80s are no longer readily apparent, with the most durable polychrome being confined to Amun’s figure.
176 For color parallels see ibid., Romano et al., pp. 42, 57; Abydos II, pls. 6,7.
177 The ithyphallic Amun seems to have worn floral -collars in Post-Amarna and Ramesside iconography. Luxor Museum J. 139, a polychrome block from the temple of Thutmose III with a relief of the ithyphallic Amun restored in the post-Amarna period offers a clear parallel (ibid., Romano et al., pp. 42, 57.
178 Cf. Abydos II, pls. 6, 11; Medinet Habu IV, pl. 208.
Otherwise, the second calf from the top is solid red, and the uppermost calf piebald (with large patches of blue/black on a white ground). A nemset-jar on the offering stand is gold. Above it, the green leaves of the epicalyx are outlined on the upper lotus flower, and the lily pad is also green. Finally, cords which tether the calves are yellow (coil) and red (lowest strand).

**Observations:** Apart from light hacking inside the tip of the god’s phallus (if not fortuitous), there is no malicious damage to this relief. Note that the king’s cattle-prod was originally carved too high (angled up in front of his body) and was subsequently lowered to its present position. Its original lines were filled with plaster, much of which still adheres. In general, the plaster infill and finer surface wash that masked joints between the blocks and various minor cavities in the stone are remarkably well preserved. Faint horizontal gashes between the white calf and the lotus bouquet are of uncertain origin.

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1Driving the calves for Amun.

**By Amun:** 2Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef:

3“Welcome in peace, (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom Re has loved! 4(I) have given to you eternity as king forever, 5(and) as ruler of joy, 6all foreign countries being under your sandals.”

**By the King:** 7Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma‘at,’ 8the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA‘ATRE, 9the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSU-MERAMUN, 10given life like Re.

**Beside the Calves:** Dappled (top), Red (second), White (third), Black (bottom).


**PLATE 69**

**Bibliography:** PM II2, p. 48 (159) II.2; Legrain, *Karnak*, 145; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 75-76.

**Location:** B 110: South wall, eastern half, middle register *in situ* (“third”), second scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II kneels on a table formed by the top of a large ⲃ-hieroglyph, as Horus and Thoth perform for him the rite of sm3-t3.wy, “uniting of the Two Lands” (fig. 10).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:**179 Both the signs and the figures are elaborately painted. Flesh tones are red, and the kilts of all three actors are yellow. Both gods had blue wigs, with a gold clasp at the bottoms of Thoth’s lappets. His ibis’ head is green. Wrist bracelets on the figures are blue, with additional detail added in another color. On his biceps, Ramesses II’s armlets have three horizontal bands (one blue between two yellow), while the gods have alternating blue and gold vertical bands

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179 While much of the polychrome still exists and is particularly intense in this scene, some of the colors have faded since Murnane’s observations were made in the 1970s and 1980s.
within the horizontal borders. Both Horus and the king wear similar broad collars with alternating rings of blue and green near the neck and a band of red followed by a final row of blue-tipped white floral petals at the bottom. All three actors have different patterns on their belts. Thoth’s belt was apparently solid blue; Ramesses II has a lattice pattern in green (with a rounding buckle also indicated in a lighter color); and Horus has a latticework pattern in a lighter color, with interiors painted in alternating fields of blue, green, and red. Ramesses’ head is encircled by a diadem (not indicated by Nelson) consisting of a broad strip of red framed by narrow bands of green on the top and bottom and divided into small rectangles by vertical green stripes. At the back of the circlet is a blue knot from which descends rigid streamers divided into rectangular compartments having green borders and interiors painted red, blue, green, and gold. His forehead uraeus is yellow, with details of the hood shown in mirror-image fields of blue, red, and green paint. Ramesses’ beard and wig are blue (although the wig now appears green above the diadem), and his crook has its typical alternating bands of blue and gold.

The “table” of supporting the king is painted with alternating rectangles of red, blue, and green, divided by gold stripes. Its windpipe has the same color motif, but arranged vertically, while the upper third of the lungs in blue and the bottom parts red. Adjacent to the lungs, both the papyrus marsh (Right) and canal network (Left) are also red. Papyrus stalks and flowers on the right are green, as are the lily petals (Left), but the latter have blue stems and red gynoecium. Horus’ tail is distinctively patterned with groups of colored bands: four blue over two in red are still preserved. His falcon’s eye markings are blue. The design on the upper hem and braces of Thoth’s corselet is apparent, but its colors have faded. By contrast, Horus’s clothing is solid blue. Hovering above Ramesses II, the vulture’s body is red, its serpent’s head yellow. On its back wing, the upper row of feathers is blue and the lower tier green. Green paint seems to have been applied first to both rows, with blue added later. On her forward wing, long wingtip feathers in the lower tier are green, while the shorter ones nearest her body are red.

Observations: Apart from widening of the block joint in cols. 6 to 9 (perhaps due to natural forces), the relief is in excellent condition. Along with so much paint, plaster caulking and surface wash in this scene are remarkably well-preserved, giving us an impression of how other, more damaged and timeworn reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall must have appeared in their original states. Between Horus’ legs, the gap is actually filled with crumbling plaster. Another seam running horizontally through the shoulders of the figures is so well disguised that it is only a hairline crack not recorded in the drawing. More obvious is a

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180 Cf. above, GHHK I.1, pl. 42.
181 This pattern has greater affinities with what is employed in the tomb of Horemheb (Erik Hornung, Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal des Könige, [Bern, 1971] pls. 2-8) than in Sety I’s temple at Abydos, but it is not an exact parallel. In this scene note that the blue bead pattern occurs above the red band on Horus’ necklace, the lowest band being a solid blue.
182 Abydos IV, pl. 22.
183 Abydos III, pl. 11.
vertical juncture inside Thoth’s wig (Left) and another hairline crack running vertically through Horus’ head (Right).

Translations:

By Horus: Words spoken by Horus, the great god, lord of Mese(n):"We unite for you the Two Lands under your feet, this good god. The kingship of the Two Lords shall continually belong to you—(namely) my share, (and) the share of my brother. The dual possessions belong to you, consisting of life and dominion. The land of Southern Egypt and the land of Northern Egypt are in your presence, you being like A[mun] as ruler of the Nine Bows.

By Thoth: Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis: "We have united for you Southern Egypt and Northern Egypt: they are assembled for you, (for) you are their dual lord. All the shares of the Two Lords, their dual possession on earth, they shall continually offer to your Ka. I have given to you Southern Egypt under your sandals, and Horus has given to you the land of Northern Egypt: we have gathered the Two Lands for you, under your feet.

By the King: The dual king USERMAATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life forever.

a. For this title of Horus see Christian Leitz (ed.), Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen III, pp. 650-651; Wb II, p. 145.2

b. Dual, referring to the two shares that are divided between the “Two Lords,” Horus and Seth, and which correspond to the two halves of Egypt.

c. A badly weathered trace suggests [mn] here, but parallels (e.g., Medinet Habu V, pl. 379, 4a; Medinet Habu VIII, pl. 655 right) more often associate the king with Re when he is described as “ruler of the Nine Bows.” If “[Re] is to be restored here (as suggested in Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 65), the spacing suggests an “alphabetic” spelling: cf. GHHK 1.1, pl. 84 middle:4.

d. Taking di=i as indicative (perfective) or preterite sdm=f: Junge, Late Egyptian, §3.5; Allen, Middle Egyptian, §§20.1-20.4. The phrase iw Hr hr rdi.t expresses a concomitant event which in the Late Egyptian non-initial main sentence usually expresses events in a narrative sequence. Junge, Late Egyptian, §5.2.

PLATE 70

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) II.3.

Location: B 111: South wall, eastern half, middle register in situ (“third”), third scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II kneels in the presence of Amun-Re, Neith, and Mut-Weret-hekau, and receives years and jubilees from them (fig. 74).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Mut and Neith have yellow flesh, and both goddesses wear similar dresses, although Mut’s is better preserved, being hemmed at the top with a green horizontal band, the shoulder

184 Although most of the polychrome is still evident, some color has been lost since Murnane’s observations were made in the 1970s and 80s.
straps being green with alternating red and green squares. The bottom of the dress, above her ankles, has a fringe of horizontal polychrome stripes (the top is blue, followed by red and then green with lighter colored squares at the bottom, all three separated by narrow white bands). The dress itself is white with a red sash tied around her chest above her arm and reaching down to her knees, having a green hem. Mut’s collar has concentric rings of blue, gold, and green. She wears two bracelets on her forward arm: the one on her wrist is solid blue, the other on her biceps has alternating stripes of blue and gold. Mut’s wig is blue with a yellow clasp at the bottom of each lappet. Her lioness face is green, separated by a yellow mane from her wig. Her solar disk is red, and the jubilee emblems on her year-staff have green baskets and red thrones. The third jubilee sign from the bottom has a cartouche crowned by a circle inside the pavilion on the right, but only its white underpainting remains intact and no royal name is now legible. Neith’s dress is white, a red sash is tied around her waist while the streamers of her sash are also red with blue-green tips, and the lower hem of her dress has bands of blue, red and green with lighter colored rectangles, the three bands being separated with white narrow bands.

Ramesses II’s flesh is red. His nemes-headdress has alternating blue and yellow stripes, and the elaborate atef-crown above has vertical blue strokes alternating with another, faded color (probably green).\(^{185}\) Large uraei on the king’s horns are gold, with two semi-circular blue patterns on the rear cobra’s hood. Ostrich plumes flanking the crown have a vertical stripe of blue running up their centers between some lighter color, now lost, to either side. Ramesses’ crook is painted with blue and gold stripes, as on pl. 69, and the upper part of his flail (above the whip terminals) is gold. Armlets on his biceps have a central band of yellow between two of blue; pigment on his wrist bracelets is too faded to identify with certainty. His beard is blue. He sports a belt with a gold buckle and blue stripes at the top, bottom, and middle with a different color between them that is now unclear. A broad apron hangs from this belt, divided into small painted rectangles, one row of which is also blue against a yellow background. The others are faded, but were surely painted differently.\(^{186}\) One streamer adjacent to the apron is blue, the exterior one being red. His kilt was some light color, either white or yellow. Traces of pigment on the wings of the falcon hovering above Ramesses is now indistinct, but was surely a combination of blue and green as elsewhere.

Amun’s flesh is blue (on his legs, feet, and forward hand). His throne is painted with horizontal stripes of red, blue, and green, but the rectangle in its lower left corner is red, as is its seat-back cushion. The frame of his throne is yellow interspersed with small rectangles which are probably blue. Both the ribbon dangling behind his crown and his corselet are also red; his

\(^{185}\) Cf. similar crowns with this pattern: GHHK I.1, pls. 68, 73, 108, 194.

\(^{186}\) For similar patterns see Hornung, Das Grab des Haremhab, pls. 14a, 15a, 16a, 18b, 19b, 20a; Abydos I, pls. 7, 11; Abydos II, pl. 11.
cap crown, plumes and kilt are yellow. In front of his legs, the broad end of Amun’s tail had yellow underpainting with details picked out in another darker pigment—of which only misshapen flakes remain—but the color and pattern of this design are now unclear. Amun’s belt has a much faded latticework pattern. He grasps a green year-staff with blue $\text{\texttrade}$ and $\text{\texttrade}$ at its butt end. Amun and the king share a low dais which is white with vertical stripes of red, blue, and green against a white background on its cornice, as in pl. 67. Resting on this dais, the interior of Amun’s $\text{\texttrade}$-pedestal is blue, with an outer framework in a lighter, now faded color. Between this pedestal and his throne is a green mat, bound at each end and its middle with bands of yellow lashings.\(^{187}\) Here the green paint is particularly well preserved. The supports of Amun’s kiosk shrine are divided into two parallel bands running up each side. Against a yellow ground, each band has of a column of alternating small rectangles (colored blue) and taller ones, alternatingly, red, blue, and green. Four of the cobras on the kiosk’s roof, just in front of Amun’s plumes, still have twin blue semi-circles at the tops of their hoods. Above the scene, the long sky-sign is blue.

**Observations:** Stucco infill and plaster wash that masked block joints and other defects in the stone are generally well preserved in this scene, except in the region of Amun’s chest and face, where underlying quarry damage to the stone mars his features. Nelson’s drawing fails to convey the subtle carving of Mut’s leonine face. Note, too, that the notches on her palm-frond staff are longer than indicated. Amun’s staff has a double carved line where it overlaps his throne. The sculptors recut the bottom of Neith’s arm where it crosses her torso.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* \(^{1}\)Words spoken by Amun-Re: \(^{2}\)“Receive unto yourself millions of \(^{3}\)years and myriads of jubilees.”

*By Neith:* \(^{4}\)Neith, mother of the god, lady of heaven.

*By Mut:* \(^{5}\)Words spoken by Mut Wer[et]-hekau:

$^{6}$“Your son belongs to you, (O) king of the gods. It is he \(^{7}\)who issued from your body.\(^{8}\) May you give to him life, stability, and dominion, \(^{9}\)(and) myriads of jubilees.”

*By the King:* \(^{10}\)The lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^{\text{a}}\)ATRE, \(^{11}\)master of strength RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

*By the Falcon:* \(^{12}\)As he gives life and dominion \(^{13}\)like Re.\(^{b}\)

a. Read $n[t]f\ pw wpi.n h.t= k$. The trace above $pw$ is now lost.

b. One normally expects $di \ ‘nh$ etc. to follow the cartouches. However, $\text{\texttrade}$ doubtless refers to the Horus falcon, whose name was omitted for lack of space. Similar ellipses with a bare initial $di=f$ or $di=s$ with the raptor as an unnamed antecedent sometimes occur in the Great Hypostyle Hall (cf. e.g., GHHK I.1, pls. 4:13, 47:13) and elsewhere (e.g., Epigraphic Survey, RILT II, pls. 144:14, 161:12, 167:12, 168:8; and Medinet Habu

\(^{187}\) Cf. Abydos I, pls. 5, 12, 14, 16; Abydos II, pl. 11; Abydos III, pls. 7, 44; Medinet Habu IV, pls. 219, 222.
PLATE 71

Bibliography: PM II, p. 48 (159) II.4; LD III 143 (d); Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 74; Wolfgang Decker, Michael Herb, Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten, teil 2 (Leiden, 1994), tafel XXIX A 172.

Location: B 112: South wall, eastern half, middle register in situ (“third”), fourth scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II, carrying two -vases, runs alongside the young Apis bull in a ceremonial race before ithyphallic Amun-Re (figs. 77, 177).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Ramesses II’s flesh and his crown are red and his kilt and tail are yellow. The bull’s rear legs and tail are black, its rear hooves are blue, as are the pedestals supporting Amun and the base of his shrine behind him. Beads on his flail (opposite his upraised hand) are green. Colors are indistinct on Amun’s collar and also on his arm, although faded pigment is visible. The god’s crown and flail show traces of yellow paint. Above the scene, the sky sign is blue. Behind the king, a personified -pillar has several horizontal stripes on its shaft, but the colors are indistinct.

Observations: Less of the plaster caulking and surface wash are preserved here than in the previous two scenes. Minor defects in the wall surface abound, with the most severe chisel marks occurring behind the king’s head and shoulders.

Translations:

Label: 1 Presenting libation to Amun that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: 3 Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamut[ef]: 4 “Welcome, welcome, (O) my bodily son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE! (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re, and the kingship of Horus in Pe, and Dep. (I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion, like a son who is as effective as you are.”

By the King: 10 The good [go]d, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

Behind the King: Every protection—life, stability and dominion. 12 The king, who performs benefactions [for] his father Amun, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSU, shall continually appear as dual king of Southern and Northern Egypt like Re.

a. An ellipse of mi <ir.n> s3 3ḥ, etc. due to lack of space.

PLATE 72

Bibliography: PM II, p. 48 (159) II.5; Champollon, Monuments, pl. cclxxviii (4); Rosellini, Mon. storici, pl. lxii (2); James Burton, Excerpta hieroglyphica, (Cairo, 1825–28), pl. ix (1); Orlando Felix, Notes on Hieroglyphics, (Cairo, 1830), pl. 3 (middle); LD III, pl. 143c; Legrain, Karnak,
fig. 146.

**Location:** B 113: South wall, eastern half, middle register in situ (“third”), fifth scene from west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II, dressed as the Iunmutef-priest, presents a royal offering to a statue of Sety I, which stands inside a shrine (figs. 178-179).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:**

— Both kings have red flesh. Little paint survives otherwise on Ramesses’ figure, but he wears a blue bracelet on his advancing arm. Traces of Sety’s pleated gown consist of white threads running across the red underpainting on his chest. Sety’s crown is blue, with a yellow vizor and a red streamer hanging down the back. His collar has the familiar pattern of alternating bands of blue and green, with a red one above the final row of green beads on the bottom, denoting a floral wkh-collar. Streamers beside the apron that hangs from his belt are red (outer) and blue (inner), while the apron itself is divided into two vertical columns of tall and short rectangles painted onto a lighter field, but the colors are indistinct. Sety’s crook has the usual alternating blue and gold stripes, and his flail terminals are gold, with four rows of green beads above them. The supports of his kiosk have two columns of tall and short rectangles in pairs of red and blue against a gold background. The cornice at the top of the kiosk is a lighter color, possibly yellow, with alternating vertical stripes of blue and green. The uraeus snakes above the kiosk show traces of blue in the upper half of the hood, while the lower half is green. Stylized grape clusters hanging from its ceiling are blue. On the offering table, slabs of meat and the cavities of the ducks are red; two eggplants and the epicalyxes of the lotus flowers are green; the stems of the flowers are red, the pomegranates display traces of yellow. Above Ramesses II, the upper row of feathers on the falcon’s rear wing is blue, the bottom tiers on both wings are green, as is the tip of its tail. Finally, the sky above the scene is blue.

**Observations:** Apart from some widening of block lines at the bottom of the scene, the relief is in good condition, although decay to the sandstone from salt infiltration has begun to progress along the bottom of the scene; specifically on Sety’s advancing foot, in the space behind Ramesses’ rear foot, and at the bottom of col. 7. As with the adjoining reliefs, the plaster coating on this scene is remarkably well-preserved.

**Translations:**

*By Ramesses II:* 1 A royal offering of Geb, the hereditary prince of the Great Ennead (and) of the Small Ennead, 2 that they might give bread, beer, beef, fowl, cool water, wine, (and) milk—pure, pure—3 to the Osiris King MENMAÂ‘ATRE, true-of-voice, 4 of what his son, whom he loves, gives to him, 5 (namely) the lord of the Two Lands USERMAÂ‘ATRE, 6 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

*Behind Ramesses:* 7 The king, the image of Amun, lord of the Two Lands USERMAÂ‘ATRE, the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, shall continually appear in the house of his father Amun [like Re] 8 forever.

*By Sety I:* 8 The good god MENMAÂ‘ATRE, 9 the

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190 Some of the color has faded since Murnane’s made his observations in the 1970s and 1980s.

191 Cf. color notes to GHHK I.1, pl. 68.
son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, true of voice:

the king’s appearance in the house of Amun.

a. Champollion, Monuments III, pl. cclxxxviii (4).

b. So presumably a defective writing of the infinitive ḫ’t.

PLATE 73

Bibliography: PM II, p. 48 (159) II.6; Legrain, Karnak, fig. 147.

Location: B 114: South wall, eastern half, middle register in situ (“third”), sixth scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II consecrates four meret-boxes in the presence of Amun-Re (figs. 14, 180).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Amun’s flesh is blue, and he sports a yellow kilt with a latticework patterned belt, parts of which are red, although other colors have faded. A strip of decayed paint indicates the lower hem of his kilt. Emerging from the back of his crown, a red streamer dangles behind him. On his rear arm, Amun wore a gold bracelet; other armbands are indicated on his forward arm (biceps and wrist), but their colors are indistinct. Only the pattern of his broad collar remains. Its colors are gone, but his scepter is green. The quill-and-feather pattern on Amun’s plumes is yellow—outlined in red—against a white background.

Ramesses II’s beard shows traces of green paint, his kilt is yellow at the back but with a large triangular flap that is white. A series of red lines radiating across the flap converge at its lower front corner, and the sloping right side of this flap is also painted with red lines. His belt has a latticework design, parts of which are blue, while his belt apron consists of groups of colored rectangles (only blue survives) against a gold background with a frieze of teardrop pendants at the base between the uraei and two side ribbons which are blue. Ramesses’ bull’s tail is red. He wears a floral ḫ’t-collar similar to those in other scenes on the south wall, with alternating rings of blue and green, and wider, now faded, outer bands. On his biceps, Ramesses wears simple armlets (yellow between two blue bands, top and bottom), but on his wrists are more intricate bracelets with vertical blue inlays on a gold background. His atef-crown is painted with alternating vertical stripes of blue, green, and gold, with a golden disk at its summit. The visor and uraeus are yellow. Ostrich feathers on either side also have blue and green vertical stripes while their quills are gold. These plumes were embellished with slightly curved white lines running horizontally across each plume. The horns of the crown display traces of green and white paint.

All four meret-boxes are white with red bindings and a red border around their rectangular lids. A diagonal strap crosses this rectangular border on the two upper boxes. Both the topmost and third boxes have blue plumes and are mounted on red sledges. Several red straps crisscross the lower parts of the first, second and

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192 A particularly intense patch of blue pigment survives on the god’s face and neck, a clear indication of how spectacular the colors must have been in their original condition.

193 Cf. e.g., Medinet Habu IV, pl. 220; Luxor Museum cat. 64: Romano et al., The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art. Catalogue, pp. 43, 52-53.
third box, but Nelson only indicated those on the latter. On a gold offering stand stands a nemset-jar with traces of yellow, the epicalyxes of the lotus flowers have alternating green and blue bands, their stems red. Three lilies below the vulture goddess (col. 7) are green, with red gynoecium, while her wing is blue, and she rests on a green basket. Above Ramesses' head, the large sunk disk is red, as are the ka-arms below his serekh and the neck of the king's head on the pole held by the ka-standard. Cobras flaking the sun disk are yellow with the ornamentation of their hoods consisting of blue semi-circles and red rectangles above green wedges. Atop the serekh, the wing and back of the Horus-falcon are green while his crow is red. The cobra in front of the falcon wears a White Crown painted yellow. Green paint survives in the feathers of the crown worn by the king's aegis at the top of the staff carried by the ka-ams, while its streamers are red. Both sky signs, over the serekh and the main scene, are blue.

**Observations:** Abrasion indicated in the drawing at the base of the plumes just above Amun's platform crown is illusory. Apart from the usual sort of damage around the block edges, the relief is in good condition. The plaster coating over the surface is largely intact except for an exposed region of quarry damage beside the plumes above the lowermost meret-chest.

**Translations:**

*Label:* ¹Striking against the four meret-boxes four times that he might achieve 'given life.'

*By Amun:* ²Words spoken⁴ by Amun-Re, lord of the throne[s] of the Two Lands: ³"(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE: ⁴how beautiful are these (things) which you have done for me. ⁵(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries⁵, the Nine Bows⁶ being gathered under your sandals. I have caused that their chiefs might come to you as⁶ one, (being) fearful because of your awesomeness.”

*By the Vulture:* ⁷<Nekhbet>⁴, as she gives life and dominion.

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

*By the King's Ka:* ¹⁰-¹¹The living royal ka ¹¹of the lord of the Two Lands.

*Serekh:* Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma'at.’

- a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 6.
- b. Not that the middle sign of “foreign lands” and the second group of ³ ³ of “Nine Bows” were never carved and are indicated only in paint.
- c. Literally “I cause that their chiefs come to you like one who is fearful,” etc.
- d. The Southern Egyptian lilies that support the basket on which the vulture stands suggest this identity.

**PLATE 74**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 48 (159) II.7; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 148; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 73.

**Location:** B 115: South wall, eastern half, middle register *in situ* (“third”), seventh scene from west.
**Subject:** Ramesses II sits enthroned with the regalia between Nekhbet and Wadjet, as Horus and Thoth steady the crowns on his head (figs. 181-183).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Large amounts of polychrome remain intact, especially in the middle and upper parts of the scene. All three male figures have red flesh, while that of both goddesses is yellow. Ramesses II and the goddesses have white eyes with black pupils. The king’s Double Crown is yellow except for those features at its front and back associated with the Red Crown, which are red. The uraeus on his brow is yellow with two blue semicircles in its hood on top of green wedges. His flail is yellow, with rows of triangular green and blue spacer beads between the pendants (above Wadjet’s arm). Ramesses’ necklace has rings of blue alternating with others of green and red, with pale blue flower petals against a darker blue background as the outermost row. Bracelets on the king’s upper arms are in three thick horizontal bands (one yellow between two blue); while those on his wrists consist of vertical blue bands alternating with stripes in a lighter color (probably yellow). Ramesses’ false beard is blue, as is the chin strap attaching it to his crown. His belt has a lattice pattern in which green dominates, and the wide apron hanging from it is yellow with other colors superimposed in rectangles (for which pattern see the commentary to plate 73), but only a trace of red survives. Two streamers to either side are red (outer) and blue (inner), the upper blue one being rendered only in paint above the carved line defining the top of his lap.

All three thrones have yellow frames, with red cushions at their backs; and on the sides of all three, the rectangle at the lower rear corner is red. The interior of Ramesses II’s throne is solid blue, but those of the goddesses are painted with red, blue and green horizontal stripes. All three rest on a green mat, placed on a podium with an outer frame in yellow and interior in solid blue.

Both goddesses wear vulture crowns (with yellow bodies, but the wings are blue on top and green on the bottom, and the tail feathers are green). On Wadjet’s head (right) the vulture’s rear is red. Wadjet’s wig is blue while Nekhbet’s is a dark color, either blue or black, and both have yellow clasps at the ends of their lappets. Each goddess wears a similar dress and necklace: Wadjet’s collar (better preserved than her counterpart’s) has a pattern similar to the king’s, formed by rows of green, blue, green, blue, red, with an outer row of white lotus petals outlined in darker blue. Wadjet’s dress is supported by braces with alternating rectangles of red, yellow, and blue against a green background with the same pattern arranged horizontally on the upper hem of her dress to which the shoulder straps are attached. The dress itself is in an indistinguishable light color, perhaps white, but has a series of four stripes of blue and red between its upper hem and her arm. Nekhbet’s dress and shoulder braces have a similar pattern but are more faded. At the bottom, Nekhbet’s dress has alternating blue and green stripes, while Wadjet’s is more elaborately hemmed, with blue and red bands above a blue
lattice pattern. Both goddesses wore similar armbands, with blue or green inlays set against a light background.

Horus’ corselet and shoulder braces are blue-green, while Thoth’s have faded. Both gods sport red belts, Thoth’s with a gold buckle, and their kilts are painted to suggest a fold of yellow (rear) over white (front), separated by a red line. Their wigs are solid blue and (like those of both goddesses) have gold clasps at the bottoms of their lappets. Thoth’s head is green with a solid black eye and a black bill, while Horus’ face is white. His eye is yellow with a black iris, and his falcon’s facial markings are blue. The broad collars worn by the gods repeat the same pattern as observed in the case of the goddesses. The armlets and bracelets of Horus and Thoth have closely set alternating horizontal stripes of blue and green, while their edges are rendered in two vertical white stripes. Horus wears a yellow bull’s tail.

Aside from those in col 8, nearly all of the hieroglyphs in this scene retain substantial traces of color. Text dividers separating the columns are also blue.

**Observations:** A considerable amount of the plaster wash is preserved in the scene. Some of the plaster infill which masked quarry damage has fallen out below the king’s knee, inside Nekhbet’s throne, and around the lower kilt and the knee of Horus’ advancing leg. Apart from such defects, and some widening of the block joints, this relief is in excellent condition.

**Translations:**

*By Wadjet:* 1 Words spoken by Wadjet: “My two arms 2 surround you, with life and dominion, 3 (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, beloved of Amun!”

*By Thoth:* 4 Words spoken by Thoth, master of the god’s words: 5 “(O) my bodily son whom I love, 6 the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, I establish 7 for you the Double Crown on 8 your head 9 in order (for you) to take possession of the Two Lands by rightful claim, 10 like your father Horus son-of-Isis, every foreign country being gathered in your grasp, (and) you being rejuvenated like Re.”

*By Nekhbet:* 9 Words spoken by Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis: “My two arms 10 are your protection and are enclosing your limbs, that you may be rejuvenated 11 like the solar disk in the sky, (O) master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN!”

*By Horus:* 12 Words spoken by Horus the Behdetite: “I establish 13 for you the Southern Egyptian

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195 Compare kilts divinities wear in the royal tomb of Horemheb KV 57: Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, pls. 14a, 15a, 18b, 19b.

196 See Appendix A.
crown and the Northern Egyptian crown, they being established on your brow—
you appearing as Horus, lord of the palace, after you have gone forth with the White Crown on your head, (and) you having come into existence one who takes possession of the Double Crown, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE!"

By the King: The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re, master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

a. Literally “in” (m).
b. Literally “as one true of voice.”
c. Alternatively, read pri n=k and translate as an imperative, as in Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 68, n. 185: “Go you forth, with the White Crown on your head” etc.
e. Reading エ.

PLATE 75

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 48 (159) II.8.

Location: B 116: South wall, eastern half, middle register in situ (“third”), eighth (last) scene from west.

Subject: Ramesses II presents a hieroglyphic rebus of his prenomen to ithyphallic Amun-Re while a falcon hovers above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Ramesses II’s flesh is red, while Amun’s is black. Note that the color of the king’s skin beneath the diaphanous kilt below his waist is rendered in pink, lighter than the normal red of his exposed flesh. Ramesses’ necklace, armbrads, apron and streamers are painted as on pl. 74. His khat-wig, including the lappet behind his back, is yellow while the uraeus on his brow is yellow with two blue semi circles on its hood. He holds a green basket on which rests, her dress is white, her wig is blue and her face is yellow. The feather she holds is black with a white spine, the sun disk above her head is red while the in front of her is also black. Here, as on pl. 74, Ramesses’ iris is indicated in black paint but was not carved. Above the king’s head, the falcon has mostly green feathers, but with narrow bands of red feathers at the back of both wings, while the inner tier of its downswept wing is blue. Blue paint is present in the rear part of its body, while

197 Murnane’s notes describe the god’s flesh tones as blue, and they are clearly some much faded patches of a darker color. However, given the large amount of well preserved blue paint elsewhere in this scene—which is mostly protected from the sun and elements by its position at the corner of the wall— and the fact that this scene contains among the best preserved pigment of any in the Hall—one would expect the god’s flesh tones to be better preserved if they were blue. Black ithyphallic representations of Amun are known from the Post-Amarna age, e.g. Luxor Museum J. 139, a relief from Thutmose III’s Deir el-Bahari temple restored in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (J. Romano et al., The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art. Catalogue, pp. 42, 57); and from several examples in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (Medinet Habu IX, pls. 119, 122, 124, 126, 132, 134, 136). Black is perhaps the most fragile pigment used in Egyptian temple reliefs. See John Baines, “Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos,” JEA 75 (1989), pp. 21, 29-30.
its tail feathers are green. Its belly and hocks are white and its legs yellow and hold a green feather. Its head is green at the top and back with a white face and faded check markings.

Below Amun’s collar (painted conventionally with alternating bands of blue and green above a penultimate band of red and a final band of blue), he wears a white garment, with a gold pectoral and red streamers across his chest; all of these elements are defined only in paint. The design on his pectoral (now indistinguishable) is further colored with red, blue and green; and it hangs from straps painted in alternating bands of red, blue, green, and yellow. His beard and chinstrap are black, his crown is yellow, as is the openwork design of his plumes, outlined in red, against a white background. Amun’s wrist bracelet is gold, with vertical green and blue bands. He also has an armband on his upper arm with the same design as his wrist bracelet. Behind his crown hangs a long red ribbon. His flail is yellow with green and red spacer beads above the whip terminals.

An offering table in front of Amun is painted yellow with green vegetable offerings, while the bread and meat offerings are red. Behind Amun, his tent shrine is red with a thick horizontal yellow stripe near the top (opposite his rump). The horns of its -standard are blue with a yellow cord, mounted on a pole shaped like a Southern Egyptian lily (green with a red gynoeicum).

The sky sign above this scene and the column dividers separating the texts are blue. Behind Amun, the marginal decoration at the eastern edge of the south wall is painted with blue vertical bands, between which are rectangles of green, red and blue painted on a lighter background. The interiors of the cartouches are yellow with blue rings. Extensive traces of color remain on the hieroglyphs, for which see appendix A.

Observations: There are patches of chisel gouges where plaster infill has fallen away: between the king’s arms; at the upper left side of Amun’s tent shrine and at its base; at the bottom of cols. 1-2; between cols. 6-7; and below the falcon’s feet. Otherwise, the scene is well preserved, with its plaster coating largely intact.

Translations:

By Amun: ‘Words spoken by Amun-Re, pre-eminent in his sanctuary: “(O) my son whom I love, ²the lord of the Two Lands USERMA³ATRE, may your name exist, ⁴being firm, permanent and stable ⁵in Karnak.”

By the King: ⁶The lord of the Two Lands USERMA⁷ATRE, ⁸the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁹given life like Re forever.

PLATE 76

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48 (159) III.1; Legrain, Karnak, figs. 138-140; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, Sety I and offering table, pl. 74, bark, pl. 76; center, Azim and Reveillac, Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/158-159 and vol. 198 Compare e.g., Medinet Habu IV, pl. 208; Abydos II, pl. 6.
2, pl. 4-3/158-159.

**Location:** B 117-118: South wall, eastern half, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), first scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II offers incense and libation in front of a shrine. Inside, the processional bark of Amun rests on a pedestal decorated with four kings holding up the sky. Behind Amun’s shrine, the barks of Mut and Khonsu rest on socles of their own. Behind them, in turn, a processional statue of Sety I rests on a pedestal mounted on a sledge (figs. 184-192).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Extensive traces of blue remain in the sky sign above the scene. Both kings have red flesh, and some blue paint clings to the back of Ramesses II’s *khbepresh*-crown. Among other isolated bits of color, note the red disks behind Ramesses II’s *serekh* and on the head of a cobra on the front of the Amun bark’s canopy roof. Above Khonsu’s bark, the lower right wing of the Behdetite has flecks of blue. Green and white vertical stripes remain of the traces of paint recorded by Nelson on the plumes of Sety’s headdress. The shrine in which Amun’s bark rest shows traces of yellow paint as does the shrine of his bark cabin. The fans at either end of Khonsu’s bark also display traces of color. The one at the bark’s stern has traces of a darker color running in a semicircle close to the outer edge of the fan, while that at the prow has a band of dark color running radially from the center toward the exterior at the lower right part of the fan.

199 Much of this color has faded since Murnane’s observations were made in the 1970s and 80s.

**Observations:** Although this relief was executed by Ramesses II (using the short form of his *prenomen*), decoration on the cabin-shrine and enveloping veil of the bark of Amun reflects only the *prenomen* of Sety I, *Mn-Mst R-a*, with none of the added elements for Ramesses II own throne name *Wsr-Mst R-a* found on the other bark canopy from the western side of the doorway (figs. 184-186).

Nelson did not mark the distinction between Sety I’s image, which has cosmetic bands on the eye and eyebrow, and that of Ramesses II, which does not, nor the fact that the sculptors enlarged Ramesses’ eye. Elsewhere, there is no recutting. The bottom of the pectoral that hangs from the collar of the stern aegis of Amun’s bark has been neatly filled with plaster, perhaps in an attempt to reduce its size or otherwise alter it. Of iconographic significance, perhaps, on the forward aegis of Khonsu’s bark, the individual beads of its *shebyu*-collar are carved (incompletely) in relief (fig. 192).

Seemingly random patterns of chisel marks scattered throughout the relief are due to quarrymen’s tool marks that were repaired with

200 Compare *GHHK I.1*, pl. 53; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 141. Although this fact has been cited as evidence for a period of joint rule between these rulers (Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 70-71; Murnane, *JNES* 34 [1975], p. 173), it now seems likely Ramesses II carved this scene and a similar one west of the south gateway (*GHHK I.1*, pl. 53), only after Sety I had died.

On Sety I’s alterations to the design of Amun’s bark upon which Ramesses II’s version was modeled, see our commentary to pl. 197 below.

201 The *shebyu*-collar on the rear aegis were left blank. The same pattern is found on the bark of Mut and similar examples occur elsewhere. See P. Brand, *JSSEA* 33 (2006), pp. 17-28 and figs. 13-20A-C.
coarse plaster infill and a finer plaster wash. Loss of much of this stucco gives the relief an appearance of having been deliberately vandalized in some areas (e.g., in cols. 19-20) but resulted from imperfect smoothing of the surface by the masons. Elsewhere, blobs of white plaster extrudes from the joints and from small cavities on the surface. In the upper left side of the scene, however, swollen grey encrustations of salt and mud disfigure the vulture over Sety I and the rear aegis of Khonsu’s bark. Iconoclasm is limited to defacement of in Sety I’s nomen cartouche in col. 32.

Here, as on the eastern wing of the south wall, much of the base of this wall consists of newer blocks inserted during the Greco-Roman era to replace original masonry that had decayed. A dado motif consisting of horizontal bands is intact only at the right end (up to the aegis of Amun. Below this, and under Ramesses II’s figure, are three hieroglyphs from a marginal inscription that Herihor carved at the base of this wall:

—perhaps to be restored

\([\text{sm}3\text{wy}]\)-\(\text{mn}[w]\) \(\text{ir.}[n]\) \(\text{nsw-}\)[\text{bity}].

“[Restoration] of monument[s] which the [dual] king […] made.”202 Note that Ramesses II’s craftsmen have indicated all the toes on Sety I’s near foot and the straps of his sandals. While this might seem typical of a Greco-Roman style, other examples of this treatment of the near foot are sometimes encountered in Ramesside art.203

Nelson omitted numerous minute details from his copy, which were too small to capture at the scale of his drawing; others he simply overlooked. Also missing from the drawing, the following may be noted: (1) two clasps attaching the hulls of the Khonsu and Mut barks to their carrying platforms;204(2) on the billow of Amun’s veil, there is a -pillar beneath the forward wing of the kneeling goddess; (3) facial details of the row of \(\text{mdw-sps}\) poles beneath Amun’s bark, and the tiny statuettes of the king they protect, are intricately carved, in particular, the mouth of the scepter; (4) the sandal strap on Sety I’s advancing foot has a “lotus stem” motif; (5) both falcon’s head aegises on Khonsu’s bark have uraei-serpents on their foreheads.

**Translations:**

*Before Amun’s Bark:* 1Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “Welcome in peace, (O) good god, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^\ast\)ATRE. I am your father and you are my son. 2-3I brought you into being as (my) excellent heir in order to perform benefactions in my presence.”

*Above Amun’s Bark (front):* 4Words spoken by Amun-Re: 5“(O my) son whom I love, 6the master

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202 See a more complete bandeau text of Herhor which we translate in our commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 106.

203 Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 77 where Ramesses II’s near foot, restored in the Greco-Roman era, lacks an arch and has tiny, stubby toes.

204 These clasps do not often appear in the more complex iconography of Amun’s bark during the Ramesside period, but are found in Eighteenth Dynasty examples. See Karlshausen, L’iconographie, p. 158.
of strength RAMESSU-MERAMUN, protector who is upon my throne, 8 I have chosen you to be sole lord on earth, in order to exercise the kingship of Re. You shall continue to exist and your monument shall continue to endure in Karnak.”

Above Amun’s Bark: 13 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the Two Lands being pacified. 15 I subdue for you the Nine Bows. I join for you the reed to the papyrus […] like an effective son of just your type.”

By Khonsu’s Bark: 22 Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: “(O) my bodily son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, I am your father who created your beauty. 23 I elevate your name throughout millions of years. 24 (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.”

By Mut’s Bark: 28 Words spoken by Mut Weret-hekau, lady of the Two Lands: “(O) my beloved son, the master of strength RAMESSES-MERAMUN, my heart is glad for love of you. 29 (I) have received your great hecatomb. 30 (I) have given to you eternity as king, you appearing on the throne of Atum.”

By Sety I: 32 The king, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, true-of-voice, [shall continually] follow his father Amun in the temple (called) ‘Effective is SETY-MERENPTAH in the Estate of Amun,’ and [shall continually] receive (offering) loaves [that issue from the (divine) presence] daily in the course of [every day]. 33 The good god MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given like Re.

By the Vulture: 39 Nekhbet, as she gives all valor, all victory and all joy on her part.

By the King: 40 <Nekhbet> as she gives life and dominion like Re.

The dual king USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

In the Serekh behind the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the dual king USERMA’ATRE.

a. Clear traces of the first of nst are visible on the edges of the gap between blocks.

b. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 69 translates, “So long as you exist, so long shall your monument exist, which is firm” etc.

c. Ibid., p. 69, n. 190 suggests that, since the plural Htp.w does not agree with the dual tH.wy, the latter is a mistake for tIwy (plural), for which there are parallels in the Hypostyle Hall. See glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k tIwy m Htp.w. Lack of space probably caused this ellipse.

d. Signs in cols. 19 and 20 are mostly illegible due to chisel gouges left by the masons. Beside the tall narrow sign Nelson records in col. 19, the lower right corner of a square or rectangular glyph to its left is also present. Near the bottom of
col. 20, a “( )” above the group *mi* may be merely a deep gash. However, above this, at the left side of the column is another, narrow trace at the same level as the group *mi* in col. 21. No other definite traces are evident, and the meaning of what subsists is obscure.


f. The surface is badly decayed and masked by a concretion of salt-laden mud. While traces of *di.n=(i) n=k* are reliable, those of *ḥ* are less certain.

g. Restoring [*wnn*] at the top of the column: see glossary s.v. *wnn nsw*.

h. Restoring *ḥr ṣp sn.w [pri m bḥ m] ḫrt-hrw mt [Rḥ nb]*: “cakes, loaves” (*Wb.* III, p. 453 bottom). On *pri m bḥ* (for which there is just enough room after *sn.w*), see Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 70, n. 199.

i. Arranged under both cartouches.

j. This identity is suggested by the Northern Egyptian papyrus around which the serpent is coiled.

k. Here, as elsewhere on this plate, the columns are wrongly numbered.

l. This identity is suggested by the Southern Egyptian lily around which the serpent is coiled as well as its crown.

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**PLATE 77**

**Bibliography:** *PM II*, p. 48 (159) III.2; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 141; King presenting offering, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 74.

**Location:** B 119: South wall, eastern half, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), second scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II, holding a mace and a staff in his left hand, presents an offering of meat to Amun-Re and Neith (figs. 193-196).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Neith’s crown and the animal offerings in the lowest four piles are red. The goddess dress is white, the lower part of her collar shows traces of blue paint. Her sash is red while the hem of her dress displays traces of three rows of now faded color. Amun’s flesh and the innermost tier of feathers on the falcon’s lower wing are blue. The god’s kilt and belt show traces of gold as does the king’s kilt. The king’s bull’s tail is gold with alternating horizontal bands of blue and red. The nemset-jar and stand are yellow, while the lotus stems above the jar are red. Paint on the offerings must have been applied in late antiquity as the coloring extends over both the original and later reliefs (see below).

**Observations:** In the course of Greco-Roman repairs to this scene, new masonry was inserted at the base of the wall, and parts of the missing Ramesside decoration was recreated. The blocks containing the right half of the lowest two piles of offering, the king’s advancing leg (below his kilt),
and both his legs (below the shins)\textsuperscript{205} are different in their surface treatment from the Nineteenth Dynasty reliefs that surround them. These two phases of decoration do not quite match (e.g., the hooves of the decapitated ox that dominates the third pile are misaligned). Recarving of some elements was never completed: the lowest offering pile; Ramesses II’s staff where it should have continued below his kilt; and the end of col. 1.

On the left side of the relief, the base of the offering stand and Amun’s feet are original blocks, but Neith’s are on replacement masonry. The original dado, consisting of alternating thick and thin horizontal bands, is preserved beneath Amun and the offering stand, where it was rendered with incised lines. It was recreated in raised relief on new masonry beneath Neith, but not under Ramesses or the meat offerings. Below this, the lowermost blocks on the wall—the originals of which once bore a long bandeau text of Herihor (traces of which appear at the far right end of the preceding scene)—still have rough surfaces and project farther than the older smoothed masonry above them.

A gap in Neith’s head is an area of deep quarry damage which also afflicts the midriff of both deities, i.e., Amun’s upper torso and the space around Neith’s shoulder. Large amounts of plaster caulking, some of it swollen, endures in these damaged areas, in the joints between blocks, and in minor cavities scattered across the surface of the relief. Nelson did not distinguish a slight separation of the ends of the two streamers falling beneath the king’s shoulder.

**Translations:**

*Label:* a Causing that a great hecatomb might be presented to his father [Amun-Re…].

*By Amun:* b Words spoken by Amun-Re king of the gods: “(O) my son of my body whom I [lov]e,

b the lord of the Two Lands USERMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, my heart is glad for love of you, \(4^4\) and I rejoice at seeing your beauty. You \(6^5\) doubled for me \(5^a\) divine offering consisting of millions and myriads of things—large and small cattle, \(6^c\) wine, incense, \(6^d\) and good things—\(6^e\) in my temple. \(7^f\) I have given to you the throne \(7^g\) of Geb and the office \(8^h\) of Wenennefer, all foreign countries \(8^i\) being under your sandals, without (there being) your opponent \(10^j\) I have given to you the lifetime of the sky and the kingship of the one who is in it."

*By Neith:* \(11^k\) Words spoken by Neith, mother of the god: “Welcome in peace, (O) good [go]d, to the house of your father \(12^l\) Amun. You have provisioned his offering tables on earth, \(13^m\) (and) he has received your hecatomb that he might give to you all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

*By the Falcon:* \(14^n\) The Beh[de]tite: \(14^o\) “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.”

*By Nekhbet:* \(17^p\) \(<\text{Nekhb}b\text{et}>\), \(17^q\) as \(<\text{she}>\) gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

*By the King:* \(18^r\) Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma\textsuperscript{at},” \(18^s\) the dual king USERMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, \(18^t\) the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN, given life like Re.

*Behind the King:* \(21^u\) King’s appearance, \(8^v\) his heart being pleased with the temple of Amun in Karnak, and \(b^w\) causing that a great hecatomb might be

\textsuperscript{205} The block containing the upper part of the king’s advancing leg was cut so that its upper side runs along the base of his kilt while its right side follows the front of his rear leg from the kneecap to the shins.
presented to him, consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (and) every good and pure thing, in excess of what had existed previously.\textsuperscript{i}

a. The bottom of the original label is cut off by newer blocks inserted as replacements for the originals which had decayed. The usual ending (\textit{lmm-R\textsuperscript{c}}, \textit{ir=f di ‘nh}) is likely, but neither its full extent nor the orientation of its elements—crucial to any translation—are apparent.

b. Traces of the top and bottom of \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{image.png} are still visible in the gap, but the sign was largely executed in plaster, now swollen and decayed.

c. There is space for \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{image.png} in the gap between the blocks.

d. Reading \textit{b(w) nfr}.

e. I.e., the sun-god Re.

f. This identity is suggested by the Southern Egyptian lily on which the vulture sits.

g. Pace Sharkawy (\textit{Ammn-Tempel}, p. 70, n. 206). It is not clear that the unusual \textit{hs.t nsw=f} must be an abbreviated form of \textit{hs.t nsw <d}s>=f, since that expression does not occur with \textit{hs} in this Hall (see glossary, s.v. \textit{ds}). Still, although \textit{hs.t hm=f} is attested (\textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 37:23), \textit{hs.(t) nsw} is far more frequent (cf. \textit{Medinet Habu} IV, pls.197:5-6, 28; 200:8; 201:1; 237A:1; \textit{Medinet Habu} VI, pl. 451:1), and this is probably what was meant here, with the otiose \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{image.png} probably included by confusion with \textit{hm=f}.

h. Read \textit{hr rdi.t}.

i. Reading \textit{wn m-[b3h]} Cf. \textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 151:24. A trace of \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{image.png} with seminal fluid issuing from its tip is discernable although Nelson overlooked it.

\textbf{PLATE 78}

\textbf{Bibliography:} \textit{PM} II\textsuperscript{2}, p. 48 (159) III.3; Legrain, \textit{Karnak}, fig. 142.

\textbf{Location:} B 120: South wall, eastern half, bottom register \textit{in situ} (“fourth”), third scene from the west.

\textbf{Subject:} Preceeded by the Wepwawet- and royal placenta-standards, Ramesses II is led by Monthu and Atum into the temple. The king, wearing the Blue Crown, receives the sign of life extended to his nostrils by Monthu. A vulture hovers above the king (figs. 78, 197-198).

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Sunk.

\textbf{Paint:} Ramesses II’s \textit{khepresh}-crown is blue.

Traces of red have withstood the ages inside his ear and in the hands of the two deities. Elements of the Red Crown in Atum’s Double Crown are red, as is the disk on Monthu’s head. Traces of black are present in Atum’s beard. Monthu’s tall plumes contained colored sections, of which only some blue survives, against a light (probably yellow) background.\textsuperscript{213} His wig is blue and the markings of his face are black. Above Ramesses II’s head, fleshy parts of the vulture are red, its head and tail blue. Its wing plumage is mostly

\textsuperscript{213} Cf. a similar color scheme on the king’s plumes in pl. 96. This is in contrast to Amun’s plumes, which generally have all white compartments between a yellow framework.
blue, but those closest to the hocks in the lower half of its forward wing are red. The sky-sign above the scene is blue.

**Observations:** Shallow pitting that disfigures the carved surface is quarry damage. A number of these cavities, as well as cracks through Monthu’s plumes, are filled with plaster. Most severe is gouging around Atum’s face which, except for his eye, was carved in stucco, now lost.

Here, as in adjoining scenes, new masonry was inserted by Greco-Roman restorers to replace original blocks that had crumbled. They recreated the feet and ankles of all three figures with arched soles and highly modeled ankle bones.\(^{207}\) Five wide and narrow horizontal bands of the dado were also duplicated in raised relief on portions of new masonry that was smoothed down for this purpose. Below it, the blocks were left rough hewn.

Among details overlooked or misconstrued in Nelson’s drawing are the following: a modeled ridge runs diagonally through the back of Ramesses’ crown, while the coils of his uraeus serpent inside it are more complete than indicated; deep surface pitting affects the space behind his uraeus’ head; and Ramesses’ chin is also more complete above the gap. There is only one streamer on the right side of the king’s belt apron, and Atum’s eye is intact except for the right end and its cosmetic band, which are missing. His eyebrow with its cosmetic band is complete. On Monthu’s brow where he normally has two overlapping cobras, there is only the hood and tail of one, but Nelson omitted a second serpent’s head.

**Translations:**

**Label:** Coming in and going out: inducting the king into the great mansion of Southern Egyptian Heliopolis. “May your father Amun receive you that he might cause you to be rejuvenated [forever].”\(^*\)

**By Monthu:** Words spoken by Monthu, lord of Thebes: “Come ye to the great mansion of your father Amun that he might protect your person with millions of years and myriads of jubilees.”

**By Atum:** Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: “Proceed in peace to the temple, that you might see your august father, the lord of the gods, his two arms nourish you with life, dominion, and eternity with years of eternity, (O) lord of the Two Lands USERMA\^ATRE!”

**By the Jackal-Standard:** Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he guides upon a good road in front of his son USERMA\^ATRE, in order to rest in the temple of his father Amun in K[arnak].

**By the King:** Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma\^at,’ the dual king USERMA\^ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, whom Amun has loved, more than any (other) king, like Re every day. Given life like Re.

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\(^{207}\) Note that in the preceding scene, they made the king’s feet flat.

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Although the object is missing, this is surely a reference to how Amun’s arms provide for the king.

**PLATE 79**

**Bibliography:** *PM* II2, p. 48 (159) III.4; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 143. For the text of Thoth, see Wolfgang Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak. I. Eine Inschrift Ramses’ IV,” *ZÄS* 82 (1958), pp. 119-120 (7); Thoth, king and *Ished*-tree, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 72-73.

**Location:** B 121: South wall, eastern half, bottom register *in situ* (“fourth”), fourth (last) scene from the west.

**Subject:** Ramesses II kneels beside the *Ished*-tree as he receives years and jubilees from Amun-Re in the presence of Mut and Khonsu, while Thoth inscribes the king’s name and epithets on the leaves of the tree.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Thoth’s wig, Amun’s flesh, and the feathers on the right end of the winged disk above the king still have flecks of blue paint. Thoth’s flesh is red. Faded vertical stripes are visible on the cornice of Amun’s shrine. The grape clusters at the top of the shrine are blue. Amun’s crown is yellow while the cloth at the back of his throne is red. Otherwise, no paint remains except in the sky sign (omitted on this drawing), which is blue.

**Observations:** Quarry gouges, concentrated along the edges of some blocks, afflict portions of cols. 7-9 and 12; Khonsu’s lower body; Mut’s head, neck and shoulders; and Amun’s neck. Some of this hacking still contains the plaster used to mask it. The base of the wall was rebuilt in late antiquity with new masonry. On the uppermost course of replacement blocks, the feet and ankles of Thoth and Mut, the lower part of the long podium supporting Amun and Ramesses (but not its upper surface) and well as Khonsu’s pedestal, were all carved anew. Beneath them, the dado was also recarved in bas relief with thick and thin horizontal bands, as in the previous scenes. Underneath the dado, these blocks were left unsmoothed, in the same condition as when they arrived from the quarry.

On the leaves of the *Ished*-tree, Thoth inscribes Ramesses II’s shorter, early prenomen, *Wsr-Mš.t-Rc* along with an epithet, “master of strength” (*nb hps*) on a separate leaf. This combination (in one cartouche) is also found on two statues of Ramesses II from Karnak, now in the Cairo Museum. A pair of leaves is inscribed with a curious reversal, a rare variant orthography that is attested elsewhere only rarely during the earliest part of his reign.

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208 Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* II, (Cairo, 1909), pp. 7-8, cat. 42142 and 42143, with pls. iv-v.

209 So occurs in a scene where Ramesses II greets Re-Horakhty in the first corridor of Ramesses II’s tomb in the Valley of the Kings, carved in raised relief. See *PM* I.12, p. 505 (2); Murnane, *Coregencies*, pp. 79-80; Christian Leblanc, “La tombe de Ramsès II (KV.7): de la fouille archéologique à l’identification du programme iconographique,” *Memnonia* 20 (2009), p. 63, fig. 3. Here all the hieroglyphs of the prenomen except the sun disk were later sliced off with a chisel (Cf. *LD* III, pl. 172g).
inscribed with these same writings dangle from the tips of Amun’s year-staves.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* Words spoken by Amun-Re king of the gods: 
“(O) this true son of my [body], the protector who is upon my throne, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, (I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, and all health on my part.”

*By Mut:* Words spoken by Mut, lady of the papyrus-columns: “(I) have given to you very many jubilees.”

*By Khonsu:* Words spoken by Khonsu-Neferhotep:
“(I) have given to you the crook and the flail, and life and dominion to your nose. I have given to you eternity as a legal possession in the presence of the lord of the gods. I have caused that your name [might endure] in Thebes just like the name of Atum endures in Heliopolis.”

*By Thoth:* Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis: “I inscribe for you millions of jubilees, your years (being) like sands of a sand bank, all flat lands and all hill-countries being gathered under your sandals. I have inscribed

Presumably this cartouche was then emended to a more correct orthography in plaster which has now fallen away. Elsewhere in the first corridor, a more conventional writing of the short *prenomen* occurs in several instances. Equally novel writings of Ramesses II’s *prenomen,* and even, were used to decorate some of the columns and abaci in the hypostyle hall of Sety I’s Gurnah temple. Nelson, *Key Plans,* pl. 37, fig. 1, nos. 11-16.

Your titulary as Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ which endures upon the august *Ished-tree* in the “Mansion of the Ka of Ptah,” and which is established in the Southern City.”

*By Winged Disk:* The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, as he gives life.

*By the King:* The good god, son of Amun, protector of the one-who-is-in-Thebes, the dual king USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re forever.

a. If a curving trace below the left corner of , the only possible restoration is $\text{s}^3\text{pn}\text{m}^3\text{n}_1^2\text{y}^1\text{i}$. See *Beit el-Wali,* pl. 12:6 ($\text{s}^3\text{f}\text{m}^3\text{i})$ for the phonetic enhancement of what is normally spelled $\text{h.t=i},$ unless this mistake reflects the ending of $\text{n}_1\text{ty}$ below.

b. Restore $\text{di=i [rw}_1\text{f}]\text{rn=k m W}_1\text{is.t.}$ cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 53:127-8; 137:18; *Medinet Habu V,* pls. 280 B, lower scene; 291:12-13.

c. So omitting the $\text{-determinative. Cf. GHHK I.1,* pl. 150:1.}$

d. Note the curious reduplication of here. While one could take this as a writing of $\text{di.n=i n=k},$ the 1st pers. suffix pronoun is normally omitted in that formula (but see col. 20), while it is often written in the $\text{s}\text{d}_1\text{m}\text{f}$ (so e.g., cols. 10 and 12).

e. Written instead of.
PLATE 80

Bibliography: PM II², p. 50 (165c).
Location: B 122: South wall of passageway through east wall at the south corner.
Subject: Ramesses II offers incense and libation before Amun-Re and Mut.
Type of Relief: Sunk.
Paint: None preserved.
Observations: This relief was carved on the south wall of a short passage through the southeast corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Here, Ramesses II approaches the deities from the outside. Directly across from this scene is another on the north wall, not copied by Nelson, showing the king before Khonsu.²¹⁰ It is much shorter than the present scene, suggesting that originally a single door leaf at the east end of the passage opened against the undecorated part of the north wall. A second door at the west end of the passage may be a later addition, a deep hole at col. 5 above Mut is all that remains of this door’s emplacement.

This relief is later than adjoining scenes on the south wall and the southernmost end of the east wall as it was carved in sunk relief with the longer form of Ramesses II’s prenomen cartouche.²¹¹ It is not clear whether it is contemporary with other scenes having this writing on parts of the eastern wall and south wing of the Third Pylon’s vestibule.²¹² It might be contemporary with other decoration added to the exterior region of the south-east gate which date after Ramesses II adopted his final prenomen but prior to his year 21 when his nomen was still R²-ms-s.²¹³

Translations:²¹⁴
Label: ¹Censing and libating to his father.
By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak, ³the great god, lord of heaven: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all flat lands,⁴ (and) all⁵ hill countries.”
By the King: ¹⁰(Long) live the good god who makes monuments for his father, Amun-[Re], ¹¹the dual king USERMA⁵ATRE-SETEPENRE, ¹²the son of Re⁵ RAME[SSES-MERAMUN, …].¹³
Behind the King: [Every protection—all life, stability and dominion], all [h]e[a][lth] and [all joy]—surrounds [him like Re].¹⁴

a. The dual ²t.wy is presumably an error for the plural ²b.w.
b. Clear traces of remain above the gap.
c. Our collation of this damaged inscription revealed traces of the body of of

²¹⁰ Nelson, Key Plans, loc. KB 129; PM II², p. 50 (165b). The Hypostyle Hall Project made facsimile copies of both scenes during the 1990s and these will be published in a future volume dedicated to reliefs from the gateways of the Great Hypostyle Hall.
²¹¹ GHHK L1, pls. 42-79, 81-86.
²¹³ Nelson, Key Plans, pl. 8, loc. KG 70-76; PM II², p. 59 (175). These scenes will also be published by the Hypostyle Hall Project in a volume on the gateways.
²¹⁴ Collation of the scene in the 1990s turned up several traces that Nelson had missed, for which see the notes to our commentary.
SOUTH WALL, EASTERN SIDE:
RECONSTRUCTED SCENES

Blocks from the scenes to be discussed in this section are now located south of the Great Hypostyle Hall, in the open space defined by the two main axes of the main temple and the southeast corner of its enclosure wall. Here, the Centre Franco-Égyptien d’Etude des Temples de Karnak has built waterproofed platforms on which to store fragments that previously lay scattered around Karnak’s precincts. Nelson reconstructed fragments of the south wall’s fourth register (eastern wing), now stored on these platforms, along with a few from the top of the third register (see GHHK I.1, pls. 62, 65 and 67). All these blocks share similar features; Ramesses’ sculptors executed them in sunk relief using the earlier “short” form of his prenomen. None of them can, therefore, have come from the west side of the south wall, as they would have signs of transformation from raised to sunk relief and display the king’s long prenomen. Episodes on this topmost register were designed on a smaller scale than those in the registers below. These scaled-down scenes were adapted to the restricted space by having Ramesses II kneel before enthroned deities. Nelson’s reconstructed scenes proceed from the west (starting with ibid., pl. 81) to the east (ibid., pl. 86), ending at the southeast corner of the Hall. Our treatment will follow Nelson’s arrangement of the blocks, diverging only to call attention to different readings that emerged from our collation of these materials in situ.

PLATE 81

**Bibliography:** None prior to Nelson’s publication.

**Location:** B 122a-c: Fourth (“upper”) register, not in situ, west end of eastern half of the south wall.

**Subject:** Three scenes: Ramesses II kneels and (Right) offers Ma’at to Amun-Re, (Middle) wine to Mut, and (Left) a cup of incense to Khonsu.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** (Right) Amun’s flesh is blue, and his crown and plumes are colored yellow.

(Middle) Mut’s flesh is yellow, as is the main part of her Double Crown, while its back upright, front projection and coil are red. Mut wears a green dress, and her vulture crown is...
green, with a red rump and a red uraeus. Her papyrus scepter has a blue shaft and a green capital. Her throne has a yellow frame, with a red cushion hanging down its back. Its interior is colored with alternating blue, green and red stripes, and the square in the throne’s lower rear quarter is red. The throne rests on a mat, which is green except for the lashings at both ends and in the middle that are painted with red vertical strands against a yellow background. Below this is a blue —-plinth.

(Left) Ramesses II’s flesh is red, and he wears—in addition to a gold armlet (right arm) and a collar in several bands (colors faded)—a yellow kilt. Streamers hanging from his wig are painted with green stripes alternating with another, faded color. His diadem is blue and yellow, and he kneels on a green pedestal. Khonsu’s throne also rests on a green mat. The god’s flesh is green, and he wears a golden bracelet on his lower wrist. His throne as a red frame, while both the prongs of his was-scepter and alternating stripes on the side of his throne are painted green. Above Ramesses’ head, the vulture’s fleshy parts are red, its hocks yellow, and its wings red and blue (front) and blue and green (lower). It grasps a green ♀ in its talons.²¹⁵

Observations: Damage visible around Amun’s crown (Right) may represent quarry marks, as it was repaired in plaster, while losses to cols. 2-3 (Left) is due to erosion of the stone.

Translations:

(Right)
Label: ¹Offering Ma’at to her father Amun-[Re].
By Amun: ²Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods: ³“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion on my part.” ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you your monument enduring like heaven, your lifetime (being) like the solar disk [in it].”
By the King: ⁵The lord of the Two Lands
USERMA’ATRE, ⁶the lord of appearances
RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re.

(Middle)
Label: ¹Offering wine to Mut, lady of heaven.
By Mut: ²Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven:
³“(I) have given to you all health on my part.”
⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life and dominion, that you may be rejuvenated like your father Re.”
By the Disk: ⁵The Behdetite, lord of heaven.
By the King: ⁶The dual king, lord of the Two Lands
USERMA’ATRE, ⁷the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

(Left)
Label: ¹Censing to his father Khonsu.
By Khonsu: ²Words spoken by Khonsu […]²³⁶ “(I) have given to you all joy on my part, all valor, (and) all victory.” ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you eternity as king [of the Two Lands], (and) eternity as ruler of joy.”
By the King: ⁵The lord of the Two Lands
USERMA’ATRE, ⁶the lord of appearances
RAMESSES-MERAMUN, ⁷given life like Re forever.
a. The female suffix pronoun is clear and presumably refers to Ma’at.
b. Miscarved: for , or for .
c. Restoring “h.w=k mi itn [im=s]: cf. Medinet Habu III, pl. 136:13; Medinet Habu V, pl. 317:9; Khonsu I, pl. 53 (paint); Khonsu II, pl. 198 A:10.
d. There is room either for or a short epithet such as “Neferhotep” or “in Thebes” (m WAs.t). See glossary s.v. Hnsw.
e. Restoring nHH m nsw [t3.wy] d.t etc.: see glossary, s.v. di.n=(i) n=k nHH m nsw t3.wy. Pace Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 73, n. 237), the gap is too wide for the restoration he proposes from pl. 68:4-5.

PLATE 82

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson’s publication.

Location: B 122d-f: Fourth (“upper”) register, not in situ, eastern half of the south wall (continued).

Subject: Three scenes: Ramesses II kneels and (Right) presents white bread to an enthroned figure of Min (without his normal ithyphallic attribute); (Middle) gives flowers to Amunet; and (Left) offers wine to Monthu (whose figure is mostly destroyed).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: In all three scenes, the king's flesh is red, and all three kilts are yellow. At Left, his triangular kilt has narrow lines in red paint, and at Right and Left the apron hanging below his belt is flanked by streamers in blue (inner pair) and red (outer pair). Ramesses in Middle wears a gold bracelet on his wrist, along with armlets having vertical inlaid bands of blue (on yellow?). In Left and Right, his belt has a lattice-pattern (in blue) with a gold buckle.

In Right, Min’s scepter is green with a blue head, and his kilt is yellow. In Middle, Amunet’s face is yellow, her crown red, and her scepter (along with her dress) green. Her throne rests on a green mat bound in the middle and at both ends by yellow lashings. As before, the side of her throne is painted with alternating blue, green, and red stripes, and a cushion on the back is red. Left, Monthu’s legs are red, his tail yellow, and the mat his feet rest on is green with traces of yellow lashings preserved over the green at its front end.

A faint speck of blue under this mat is all that remains of the plinth that supported Monthu’s throne (see below). Traces of blue cleave to the sky-border below the scenes which crowned the top of the second register of scenes on the wall.

Observations: In Right, the held by Min (and drawn by Nelson) is not, in fact, fully carved. Only the upper left corner of its loop was incised, resembling (from its proximity to the hand) a long, slender “thumb.” A mat supporting Monthu’s feet does not reach to the ground line but is more like those of the other deities and “floats” in mid air (presumably because the
slanted line representing the front of the plinth that supports it was never carved in this case. All the damage indicated by Nelson is abrasion due to centuries of natural wear and tear on the blocks.

**Translations:**

*(Right) Label:* 1 Presenting white bread to his father Amun.

*By Min:* 2 Words spoken by Min who is in his house: *(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re."

*Words spoken:* *(I) have given to you my office, my seat, my throne, (and) my lifetime as lord of every land."

*By the King:* 5 The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, 6 the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES.

*(Middle) Label:* 1 Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers to Amunet.

*By Amunet:* 2 Words spoken by Amunet, residing in [Karnak, lady of] heaven, lady of the Two Lands.

*Words spoken:* *(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries gathered under your sandals."

*By the King:* 5 The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, 6 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 7 given life like Re

*Words spoken:* for[ever].

*(Left) Label:* 1 Presenting wine to Monthu.

*By Monthu:* 2 Words spoken by Month[u…] 3 […] 4

*By the King:* 5 The dual king USERMA’ATRE, 6 the son of Re RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

a. Here was miscarved as  

b. A rare example of Ramesses II’s nomen written without the epithet *mr-lmn*, "beloved of Amun."

c. Unless this is a vocative, “(O) lord of the Two Lands,” the epithet *nb.(t) b.wy* would be a variant of the more usual *hnw.t b.wy* (for which see the glossary s.v. *Imn.t*).

d. With for  

e. Under *Mnt(w)*, the upright trace does not correspond to any of Monthu’s usual epithets, such as *hr-ib Wst.t, hry-ib Twnw, nb Wst.t, Ity ntr.w, hry-tp ms.w* attested in the Hypostyle Hall or elsewhere nor is it positioned properly to be the top of one of the tall plumes worn by Monthu’s determinative ( ). As of our collation in Spring 2000, it no longer exists, and, given the occasional lapses in observation seen in other such fragments he copied, Nelson’s interpretation of it may be questioned.
PLATE 83

**Bibliography:** None prior to Nelson’s publication.

**Location:** B 122g-i: Fourth (“upper”) register, not in situ, eastern half of the south wall (continued).

**Subject:** Three scenes: Ramesses II kneels and offers to a deity with a solar disk on his/her head; (Middle) offers flowers to Shu; and (Left) offers four cups to Tefnut.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Both large disks in Right and Middle are red, and uraei dangling from the sides of the disk in Middle are yellow, with the serpent on the right having a red crown. Flowers in this scene are green, and Ramesses II’s khepresh-crown is blue. Shu wears a headdress with alternating yellow and red plumes. In Left, the fleshy parts of the vulture are red. Some of the yellow underpainting survives in Middle and Left.

**Observations:** Here as on other blocks from this register, the workmanship of the relief decoration is often crude. Damage to Ramesses II’s hands in Left appears to result from decay to the bottom of the block. Nelson did not record the coils of Ramesses’ uraeus serpent inside his wig in Left.

**Translations:**

*Right* By Divinity: 1“My [beloved] son, (I) place [every foreign country in] 2 your awesomeness.” 4Words spoken: “(I) have given to you [all] flat land[s …].”

*Middle* By Shu: 1Words spoken by Shu, the son of Re: 2“(I) have given to you all health.” 3Words spoken: “(I) have given to you your monuments be enduring and [frm …].”

*Left* By the King: 5The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, 4the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

*Middle Right* By Geb: 1Words spoken by Geb. 2[…]

*Left* By Tefnut: 1Words spoken by Tefnut. 2[…]

*Right* By the King: 4The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, 5the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

a.  From surviving traces, one may assume that the god’s speech began at the bottom of the column preceding this one, under his name and titles. The traces at the top of col. 1 may be interpreted as parts of [mr]y=i, di.[n=(i) n=k].

b.  With written for  

c.  The of rd, which seems to be oriented backwards on the drawing, is not visible on the block; instead, someone deliberately scored the surface with a chisel just above the block joint, which, along with erosion, might have been suggestive of a sign. For possible continuations of this formula, see glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k mnw=k…

PLATE 84

**Bibliography:** None prior to Nelson’s publication.

**Location:** B 122j-m: Fourth (“upper”) register, not in situ, eastern half of the south wall (continued).

**Subject:** Four episodes: Ramesses II kneels and offers to Geb; (Middle Right) presents
ointment to a divinity who wears the Double Crown (Mút?); (Middle Left) offers to another divinity; and (Left) offers a cup of incense to Isis. Under this last scene, several fragmentary columns of text are preserved, belonging to the top of the third register.  

Type of Relief: Sunk.  

Paint: Above the scenes, the sky-sign is blue throughout. In Right, Geb’s flesh is red, while his wig and collar are blue. Ramesses II, in Middle Right, wears a nemes-headcloth with blue and yellow stripes. Above him, the fleshy parts of the vulture are red, and her back wing is blue (top) and green (bottom). In Middle Left, the Behdetite disk, Ramesses’ crown and flesh are red. In Right, Isis wears a green dress hemmed at her ankles with a yellow fringe. Her throne has a yellow frame with stripes in different colors (now faded) on its side, and the border of the interior molding at the lower left was painted green. Isis’ throne rests on a blue plinth.  

Observations: Chisel marks that occasionally disfigure the relief are quarry damage. In Left, the front of Ramesses headdress below his ear is more bulging, suggesting that it has no lappet and is a khat-wig rather than a nemes-crown.  

Translations:  

(Right)  
By Geb: ¹Words spoken by Geb, ²father of the gods: ³ “[I] have given to you all health.”³a ⁴Words spoken: “I have given to you eternity as king […].”³b  
(Middle Right)  
By the King: ¹[The lord of the Two Lands USERMA⁵ATRE, ²the lord of appearances]  
RAMESSES-MER[AMU]N ³given life like Re.  
By Divinity: ⁴Words spoken: “[I] have given to you millions of years, (and) myriads [of jubilees …].”³c  
(Middle Left)  
Behind Divinity: ⁴[Words] spoken: “[I] have given to you the lifetime of Re […].”³d  
(Left)  
Label: ¹Censing to the god’s mother.  
By Isis: ²[Words spoken by] Isis ³ “[I] have given to you ….” ⁴[Words spoken: “[I] have given to you the victories of my sword[,] ⁵all foreign lands being under your sandals.”  
By the King: ⁴[ […]USERMA⁵ATRE, ⁶master of strength RAMESU-MERA⁷MUN, ⁸given life like Re.  
(Below left): […] M[ehen…] enter […] upon […].”³f  

Notes:  
b. For possible endings, see glossary s.v.  
c. See glossary s.v.  
d. See glossary, s.v.  
e. See glossary s.v.  
f. Only the tops of four columns are shown. The first column on the left is not separated from the second by a text divider, and the fourth (starting with ) is shown, correctly, at more of a distance from the third than seems consistent with a continuous text. Nelson’s drawing accurately shows
and as part of a single group, left of the divider, but a trace under looks like fortuitous damage. At the top of the first column, on the left, only the top and right side of the sign are visible; what is drawn as the bottom is an accidental fracturing of the stone. On Mehen, see our commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 7, note n.

PLATE 85

Bibliography: None prior to Nelson’s publication.

Location: B 122n-o: Fourth (“upper”) register, not in situ, eastern half of the south wall (continued).

Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses II kneels and offers wine to a male god; and (Left) gives bouquets to three deities. The falcon-headed divinity is probably a form of Horus. A second god wearing a uraeus and a disk above his head might be a royal ancestor (perhaps the deceased Sety I) or might instead be a form of Atum. The third is a goddess wearing a solar disk and horns, probably a form of Hathor or Isis.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: In Right, the king’s flesh is red (as it also is in Left). He wears a yellow kilt, and a patch of blue is preserved at the back of his belt (doubtless from a lattice pattern: cf. pl. 82). The god’s skin is red, and he has a yellow tail and a green w3s-scepter (features shared with the falcon-headed god in Left). Flowers held by the king in Left are green. The goddess’ face is yellow, and her sun disk is red. Fleshy parts of her vulture crown (including the tail-feathers) are red, and its wing green.

Above these vignettes, the sky-sign is blue, as are the text dividers.

Observations: The upper part of Right (upper block) is now split into two parts. In Left, damage to the goddess’ upper body is also due to exfoliation of the carved surface, not to malicious destruction or toolmarks.

Translations:

(Right) Label: Offering wine to the great god.
By God: 1 […] 3 […] 4 […] 5 “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. 6 (I) have given to you all heal[th].”
By the King: 7 [The lord of the Two] Land[s] USERMA’ATRE, 8 [the lord of appearances] RAMESSES-[MER]-[MUN].

(Left) Label: 1 [Giving] all (sorts of) fresh flowers.
By Falcon-god: 2 […].

By Royal God: 5 “[I] have given to you that your name is enduring in Heliopolis.”
By Goddess: 4 […]: 5 “(I) have given to you all health.” 6 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the kingship of Atum […].”

a. So restoring something like [di.n=(i) n=k rn=k mn (or rwd) m ‘lw]nw. These traces are omitted in Sharkawy’s translation (Amun-Tempel, p. 77 and n. 278).

b. See glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k nsy.t Itmw.
Observations: Someone deliberately cut through the feet of the god on the left with a chisel. If such iconoclasm was not visited on the other figures, one cannot help wondering if the god thus vandalized was Seth.

Translations:

Behind Divinities: ![Words spoken: “(I) have given to you eternity as] king of the Two Lands, (and) eternity] as ruler of the Nine Bows.”

a. The determinative of $d.t$ was miscarved as —another mistake arising from incorrect transcription of a hieratic original of these texts (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 82 right:4).

EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE (Plates 88-109 + 130)

Sety I erected the east wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall to abut directly the façade of Amenhotep III’s Third Pylon. Because Sety’s architects chose to leave future generations access to the pylon’s wooden flag-masts, this wall is divided into four sections by niches designed for that purpose. At the south end, the first of these wall sections was evidently decorated around the same time as the south wall’s eastern wing, as its reliefs exhibit the same characteristics of original sunk relief and use of Ramesses II’s early “short” *prenomen*. The other three sections were all carved later when he was already “Usermaat-re setepenre.” This peculiarity is overlooked in Nelson’s publication, however, which numbers the scenes from the top register downwards (plan 3). By late antiquity, infiltration of salt-laden ground water had caused the lowest courses of the wall to decay, so Greco-Roman-era restorations were carried out to replace damaged blocks with new ones. Unlike the south wall, however, much of the dado motif of five narrow and thick horizontal bands, and, in the southernmost section of the wall, large portions of a bandeau text of the High Priest of Amun and “King” Herihor remain intact.216

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216 The original masonry is well-preserved beneath the scenes at the north end of the wall (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 104, 109), but here there was no inscription beneath the dado.
PLATE 88

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48-49 (160) I.1.

Location: B 130: East wall, south wing, upper register (“first”), first scene extant from south.

Subject: Ramesses II plays a sistrum before the face of ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Isis.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: At least two blocks containing the extreme right side of this episode have shorn away, taking much of Ramesses II’s image and titulary with them. Otherwise, the most conspicuous damage to this scene lies in iconoclastic vandalism to which the divine figures were subjected. Their arms and faces are uniformly defaced, but neither Amun’s phallus nor his forearm and hand were attacked. In addition, quarry damage taking the form of innumerable shallow chisel marks are scattered across the entire scene but are most dense behind Isis’ torso, beneath Ramesses’ feet, and between col. 5 and his sistrum. The pattern of these pharaonic chisel gouges differs markedly from the iconoclasts’ toolmarks. In this drawing, as well as the one to its left (GHHK I.1, pl. 89) and the schematic drawing of the wall (ibid., pl. 260), a kind of ledge that projects at the top of the wall, crudely engraved with a -frieze, is omitted.²¹⁷

Translations:

Label: ¹Playing the sistrum [for] his [father], Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he may achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: ²Amun-Re king of the gods, Kamutef, ³lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ⁴who is upon his great seat: ⁵[Words] spoken: “(I) have given to you years of eternity.”

By Isis: ⁶Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of heaven, ⁷Weret-hekau, ⁸as she gives all life and dominion, ⁹and all health on her part, ¹⁰(and) all joy on her part.

²¹⁷ This feature can be seen, however, on GHHK I.1, pl. 130 (a reconstructed scene from this wall).
PLATE 89

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48-49 (160) I.2.

Location: B 131-132: East wall, south wing, upper register (“first”), second scene extant from south.

Subject: Ramesses II worships Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Mut while a vulture soars above.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The faces, hands, forearms, and lower legs of all the figures, and Amun’s advancing foot were deliberately hacked out by later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall. Other defects seem most consistent with quarrymen’s toolmarks, some of them quite deep, that were smoothed over with plaster (now missing) prior to carving. Most severe is a patch in the middle of col. 10 and in and below Mut’s rear foot. Pitting inside the contours of some animal hieroglyphs, viz.:  and  (col. 6),  (col. 5), and the head of  (col. 2), may be iconoclasm, but this is much lighter than chiseling inflicted on the main figures, and there are numerous stray quarry marks in these areas too. As in the adjoining scene (pl. 88), Nelson did not record the ḫ-dép settlement frieze on the molding above the scene, but he indicated marginal decoration along the opening for the flag mast niche to the left and a fragment of the lintel that spanned it. Large raptor’s wingtips here presumably belonged to a winged disk surmounting a formulaic text below. Missing from Nelson’s drawing are the curving fold of Amun’s kilt and the right side of Ramesses’ triangular kilt flap.

Translations:

Label: 1Adoring the god fo[ur times] by the king, the lord of the Two Lands USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE to his father, Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: 2Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven: 3“(O) my son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE, 4(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, 5(and) eternity as ruler of the Nine Bows.”

By Mut: 6Mut the great, mistress of the gods.

By the King: 7The lord of the Two Lands USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE, 8the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 9given life like Re.

Behind the King: 10The king who performs benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE shall continually appear [on the throne of]  Hathor of the Living like Re, forever and eternally.

a. Cf. glossary, s.v. ḫ-dép.

b. GHHK I.1, pls. 12 right:12; 34:14; 65:10; 153:14.

PLATE 90

Bibliography: PM II², p. 48-49 (160) II.1.

Location: B 133: East wall, south wing, uppermost register in situ (“second”), first scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II, followed by his Ka, gestures with an ʿaba-scepter as he consecrates a hecatomb to ithyphallic Amun-Re (fig. 199).
Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Although traces of plaster wash are plentiful (e.g., on the god’s body), no colors remain. Amun’s pedestal shows traces of blue paint. Red survives scattered within the king’s body and that of the ka, while also present in the sledge underneath the serekh. The king wears an armlet on his rear arm, comprised of three horizontal bands, two of darker color with a lighter band in between.

Observations: A block containing most of cols. 2, 8-9 and all of cols. 3-4 is no longer in situ, but lies on a platform in the yard south of the Great Hypostyle Hall (fig. 199). Extensive traces of residual quarry hacking mottle the relief, most severely in the lower right corner behind Ramesses’ ka-figure. Fainter chisel marks abound across this scene, but there is no sign of intentional defacement. Significant amounts of plaster infill cling to the wall at the bottom of col. 1 and behind the ka-figure. Nelson omitted or misconstrued a number of minor features in his drawing: a small flap in front of Ramesses’ belt buckle and the sloping right side of the larger triangular flap of his kilt; cosmetic lines on the eyes and eyebrows of both figure; a small projection on the lower front of the standard supporting Ramesses II’s Horus name; the curving tip of Amun’s false beard; the pommel of Amun’s flabellum is not scalloped, rather the curved base of the plumes is cut more deeply over it.

Translations:

Label: 1. Causing a [great] hecatomb to be presented to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: 2. Amun-Re-Kamutef, [lord of heaven,] pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon his great seat, chieftain of the Great Ennead.

5. “[Words spoken:] (I have given to you ...)” like Re. 6. “[I have given to you ...] and all joy. 7. “[I have given to you ...] eternally. 8. “[I have given to you my [seat] and my [throne].” 9. “[I have given to you my lifetime, of when (I) was on earth.” 10. “[I have given to you my kingship on earth, you appearing like Re.”

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

By the King: 11. “[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands] USERMA AT[RE], the son of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSES-MER[AMU]N, given life, stability and dominion like Re.

Serekh of Royal Ka: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at.’

a. Nelson’s drawing can be augmented with the right corner of below the block line: thus restore [nb] p.t (cf. the glossary for this epithet s.v. Imn-Ra KA-Imn-Ra KA-mw.t=f). Pace Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 80, n. 10), there is no room for ntr in this gap.

b. The tops of columns 5-7 are preserved on a loose block illustrated in GHHK I.1, pl. 130. Each column begings with the formula dd-mdw di.[n=(i) n=(k)]. The phrase dd-mdw was repeated.

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218 For the tops of columns 5-7 and 11-12 see GHHK I.1, pl. 130, lower right.
mechanically at the tops of cols. 6-7 as it was in cols. 8-9.

c. Any number of boons might be granted. See glossary s.v *di.n=(i) n=k*.

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

e. Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 80) translates “Ich gebe dir meine Lebenzeit für (dein) Erdendasein.”

f. These texts are preserved on *GHHK I.1*, pl. 130.

**PLATE 91**

**Bibliography:** *PM II*², p. 48-49 (160) II.2.

**Location:** B 134: East wall, south wing, uppermost register *in situ* (“second”), second scene from south.

**Subject:** Ramesses II dedicates three racks laden with offering vessels to an unusual form of Amun-Re, who is coiffed with the royal headdress surmounted with the god’s characteristic plumes (fig. 8).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** A coat of plaster can be seen on the best-preserved surfaces of the relief, but no color remains. The pattern of a bracelet Nelson recorded on the wrist of Ramesses II’s lower arm is only faintly visible.

**Observations:** Although no malicious intent is evident in the disfigurement to this relief, there are large areas of deep quarry hacking at several points along with a residuum of stucco used to mend them. Natural abrasion of the upper edge of the block containing Ramesses II’s head has rendered his *prenomen* cartouche illegible. A block containing the top of col. 10 is no longer *in situ*, but is now stored in the yards south of the Hall.

Iconographically, the object of Ramesses’ worship is unusual, and it is unfortunate that the deity’s titulary is lost in the main text. While the label text names him merely as Amun-Re, his identity seems more complex. His tall feathers, secured to his headdress by a long ribbon that dangles behind him, is particular to Amun. But the headdress itself, either a *nemes*-wig (as Nelson’s drawing implies) or more likely an Osiris-wig with a square lappet (since the lappet is in fact longer and lacks the curved end which Nelson drew)²¹⁹ suggests Amun was here syncretized to another deity. A uraeus on his forehead could mean he was a deified royal ancestor, most likely Sety I, as a hypostasis of Amun. He could even be an amalgam of Amun, Osiris, and the deified Sety I.²²⁰

**Translations:**

**Label:** ¹Purifying offering-rack(s) for his father Amun-Re, that he may achieve ‘given life.’

By *Amun:* ²[Amun-Re … ]; ³[*(I) have given to you]* my […].b ⁴[(I) have given to you millions of jubilees.c ⁵[(I) have given to you] all joy. ⁶[(I) have given to you millions] of years.’⁴d

By *the King:* ⁷[Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Maʿat’], ⁸[…] USERMA₇ATRE], ⁹[…] RA]MESSES-[MERAMUN].

**Behind the King:** ¹⁰The king, who performs

²¹⁹ The wig is similar to examples worn by the deified Ramesses I in his chapel within Sety I’s Gurnah temple (*PM II*², p. 418 (106-107); Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 119).

²²⁰ Parallels for these combinations can be found in the inner chapel of Osiris in Sety I’s temple at Abydos (*Abydos III*, pls. 35, 40).
[benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands].
USERMA'ATRE, shall continually appear in the house of his father Amun-Re, king of the gods, and have given to him all foreign countries under his sandals.

a. Reading wḏḥ.w, perhaps with the unorthodox writing ḫḫ, unless a bird-like shape to the left of ḫḫ is erroneous. See Wb 1, p. 393. Usually translated as “offering table,” they here take the form of racks for holding libation vessels.


c. See glossary, s.v. di.n=i n=k ḫḥ.w m ḫḥwb-sd.

d. See glossary, s.v. di.n=(i) n=k ḫḥ.w m rnp.wt.

e. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 89:10.

f. See Gardiner, Gr. I, p. 222, § 298 for the passive voice after a preposition. For the sense of continuative ḫr + infinitive see Hoch, Middle Egyptian, pp. 92-94; Gardiner, Gr. I, § 228; Allen, Middle Egyptian, pp. 165-166; Junge, Late Egyptian, § 2.2.3.

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**PLATE 92**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 48-49 (160) II.3.

**Location:** B 135: East wall, south wing, uppermost register in situ (“second”), third scene from south end.

**Subject:** Ramesses II presents an offering of food to Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Discolored pigment defines the pattern of Amun’s broad collar. Traces of blue remain on his arms, and yellow in his bull’s tail. Otherwise, none remains.

**Observations:** Erosion running through Amun’s face and down into col. 2, results from a natural fault in the stone. Otherwise, areas of shade in this drawing reflects deep scoring with a chisel, unusually deep remains of quarry work that was repaired with plaster (now mostly lost). Fainter toolmarks speckle the large block in the middle. Ramesses II’s belt apron is partly visible on its right side, but Nelson did not record it. Only the bottom of the tabletop supporting the offerings remains above the flaring summit of its stand, the rest being lost in quarry hacking along the block’s edge.

**Translations:**

*Label:* 'Offering every thing [good and pure to his father] Amun-Re. 

*Behind Amun:* 'Words spoken: “(I) have given to you] all [flat lands] and all hill-countries, (they) being subdued under your sandals, as their chiefs come to you as one, laden on their backs.”

*Behind the King:* 'Words spoken: “[I] have given to you] my true kingship that [your name] might flourish (as) the likeness of the sky, your [y]ears
being like the solar disk in it.\textsuperscript{74d}

\textbf{a.} Given the size of the gap (as noted by Sharkawy, \textit{Amen-Tempel}, p. 82 and n. 22), restore \textit{wdn h.t nb. \{t nfr.t w\}b.t n it=f}.

\textit{IImn-Ra}: roughly analogous are \textit{GHHK I.1}, pls. 25:1, 27:1-2, 33:1, 35:1.

\textbf{b.} Cf. glossary s.v. \textit{di.n=(i) n=k t w nb.w \textit{h}s.wt nb.wt.}

\textbf{c.} The sign copied as \includegraphics[width=0.05\textwidth]{diagram.png} at the upper right side of the column was inspected repeatedly in different lights, and it is more consistent with the lower back corner of \includegraphics[width=0.05\textwidth]{diagram.png}, used as a 1\textsuperscript{st} pers. sing. suffix.

\textbf{d.} Restoring \textit{[di.n=(i) n=k \ldots]=i, nxy.t=i n wn-[m^3]}, \textit{rwd [rn=k] mit.t hry.t, rnp.wt=k mi itn im=s. Cf. di=i n\textit{h}b.t=k mit.t hry.t (Medinet Habu VI, pl. 366:15-16).}

\section*{PLATE 93}

\textbf{Bibliography:} \textit{PM} II\textsuperscript{2}, pp. 48-49 (160) II.4.

\textbf{Location:} B 136: East wall, south wing,
uppermost register \textit{in situ} (“second”), fourth scene from the south end.

\textbf{Subject:} Ramesses II presents two bouquets of flowers to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Sunk.

\textbf{Paint:} Concentric rings of faded pigment define Ramesses II’s collar, otherwise, none remains.

\textbf{Observations:} As in the previous two scenes, deep scoring with a chisel indicates quarry damage left from imperfect dressing of the masonry, especially in and above Ramesses’ head, around Amun’s head, in front of his torso, and below the text between them. Plaster used to ameliorate these gouges is best preserved behind Ramesses’ torso. A large hole that extends to either side of the king’s feet may be due to a missing patchstone. Note that only the wide, lower part of the king’s tail was carved, and Nelson’s dashed lines indicate where the rest should have been.

Fingernails on his upper fist were indicated by the sculptor in relief. Nelson misconstrued the juncture of Amun’s long ribbon where it merges into his skull below his rear plume. The absence of Amun’s customary helmet-crown occurs in two other reliefs in the Hall and in Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty temple art, where it is clear that the purpose of the long ribbon was to secure the quills of his plumes to his skull.\textsuperscript{221}

\textbf{Translations:}

\textbf{Label:} \textit{‘Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers that he might achieve ‘given life.’}

\textbf{By the King:} \textit{[(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for\textsuperscript{a} Amun-Re, \textsuperscript{2}the dual king \textsuperscript{U}SE[RAMSEES-MERAMUN].

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{221} See \textit{GHHK I.1}, pls. 95, 193. Middle Kingdom examples include reliefs from Senwosret I’s White Chapel at Karnak: Pierre Lacau, Henri Chevrier, \textit{Une chappelle de Sesostris Ier à Karnak}, (Cairo, 1969), pls. 17, 20, 21-36, 38-41. Numerous examples, in which Amun sometimes lacks his plumes, are found in Hatshepsut’s Chapel Rouge: Grimal, \textit{et al.}, \textit{La Chapelle Rouge I}, pp. 56-57, 68-70, 104-105, 120, 133-135, 143, 153, 164, 168, 172, 174, 176, 178, 181-182, 187-189, 194, 202, 204, 212, 215, 225-226; with the ribbon, but without his plumes, ibid., pp. 166, 217-221, 237-238. Although it is usually ithyphallic Amun that appears without a crown, his bipedal form occasionally does as well: \textit{GHHK I.1}, pl. 82 (Right); ibid., Grimal \textit{et al.}, pp. 229, 255-258; \textit{Medinet Habu VI}, pl. 363; Lacau and Chevrier, \textit{Une chappelle de Sesostris Ier à Karnak}, pls. 15, 16, 24, 28, 37.
\end{footnotesize}
By Amun: 5 [Amun-Re-Kamutef], chieftain of the [Enne]ad. 6 [Words spoken: “(I) have given to you] all flat lan[ds]. 7 (I) have given to you] all [hill co]untries. 8 (I) have given to you (my) kingship on earth, forever and ever!”

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

a. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 95:5 (Right).

b. There is scarcely room for [3.t] under this group (as assumed, without explanation, by Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 80); and cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 214:4, where Amun-Re-Kamutef is merely hr[y]-tp psD.t.

c. Presumably this column was headed by the formula dd-mdw that would have been repeated mechanically at the top of col. 7.

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**PLATE 94**

**Bibliography:** PM II², pp. 48-49 (160) II.5.

**Location:** B 137: East wall, south wing, second register, fifth scene from south end.

**Subject:** Ramesses II offers a cup of incense to Amun-Re while a raptor hovers above (fig. 200).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Traces of green paint can be seen in Amun’s scepter. Plaster wash is noticeable within the incense cup. Otherwise none preserved.

**Observations:** As elsewhere on this wall, zones of concentrated toolmarks were left by the masons behind Amun’s head, over Ramesses II’s incense cup, and on the offering stand. In the upper right corner, the entire surface of a rectangular block is covered by such deep quarry hacking. All these defects were coated with liberal amounts of plaster onto which missing portions of decoration were carved.

Later occupants of the Great Hypostyle Hall defaced Amun’s head, as well as his and the king’s feet, but here their gouges differ from ancient chisel marks, being smaller and shallower. They also inserted a beam hole above Ramesses’ head—evidence of the ill-documented post-pharaonic occupation of the building. Nelson excluded some finer details: the sloping right side of Ramesses’ kilt flap; modeling on his khepresh-crown; and the lower right side of the offering stand.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ḫ[G]iving incense.

**By Amun:** 2 Amun-Re, lord of Karnak, lord of heaven, 3 ruler of Thebes: 4 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and victory. 5 (I) have given to you all food. 6 (I) have given to you all provisions.”

**By the King:** 7 The lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 8 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-6.

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**PLATE 95**

**Bibliography:** PM II², pp. 48-49 (160) II.6-7.

**Location:** B 138-139: East wall, south wing, second register, sixth and seventh (last extant) scenes on this level.

**Subject:** Two scenes: (Right) Ramesses II offers two jars of wine to ithyphallic Amun-Re whose
tall plumes are tied directly to his head (without the crown that normally supports them); and (Left) the king lifts his right hand to touch the shoulder of falcon-headed Khonsu while a vulture flies above.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** In most cases, the figures’ hands and feet were vandalized, a fate that also befell the shaft Amun’s phallus (but not its tip) and the vulture’s head (Left). Exceptions are Ramesses II’s rear foot (Left) and his upraised hand. It may be that the iconoclasts never finished their work, since only the heel of Khonsu’s rear foot was attacked, and gouging to his features is not as methodical as to the heads of the other figures.

Dense, seemingly random patterns of deeper chisel marks left by the Ramesside quarry workers occurs at several points: in the sky-sign above Khonsu’s plumes (Left); in and behind the upright of Ramesses’ Red Crown (Right); in the middle of the scene, from Amun’s chest and shoulders and below his arm (Right) to the king’s front shoulder (Left), as well as through the top of Amun’s tent-shrine. Khonsu’s rear arm is carved amid a dense region of hacking extending to the left of his rump.

**Translations:**

(Left) **Label:** 1Giving [w]i[ne] to Amun-Re, that he may achieve ‘given life.’

**By Amun:** 2Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god, 3pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon 4his great seat.

**By the King:** 5(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions [for] Amun-Re, 6the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, 7the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN.

(Left) **By Khonsu:** 1Khonsu-Neferhotpe: 2Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you myriad[s] of jubilees. 3(I) have given to you years of eternity.”

**By the King:** 4The lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, 4the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 6given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

**PLATE 96**

**Bibliography:** PM II2, p. 49 (160) III.1.

**Location:** B 140: East wall, south wing, third register, first scene from the south.

**Subject:** Ramesses II receives his titulary, along with years and jubilees, from Thoth (fig. 201).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Protected by the corner of the wall, much pigment has withstood the elements on Ramesses II’s figure. His flesh is red, preserved on most of his body, as is the disk of his crown. His tall plumes are each subdivided into pairs of chevron-shaped compartments; the upper pair is red, with alternating sets of blue and green below, all against a latticework design in a lighter color, presumably yellow. Flanking these plumes are two shorter blue-green feathers. The large uraeus in front is gold, with the semi-circles of its hood added in blue. Ramesses’ wig is blue, as were portions of his collar, although no pattern of this element survives. Armbands on his biceps consist of two
wide blue bands separated by another in gold. The belt of his kilt is green. His triangular kilt projection is white, with horizontal red pleating on the right side; the kilt itself is yellow. Ramesses’ belt apron is gold embellished with two vertical columns of larger squares alternating with smaller rectangles of blue and red. Streamers beside this apron are red (outer) and blue (inner). On the right side of the apron, a uraeus was added in paint at its base. This serpent is yellow with blue markings on its head and blue, green, and red ones on its hood. Finally, the lower part of the king’s tail is decorated with alternating blue and red rectangles against a yellow field. The pt sign above the scene is blue.

**Observations:** Damage to the relief is confined to natural wear, especially along the block lines, and residuum of toolmarks. One sees no evidence of the activities of later occupants, although the gap between blocks above Thoth’s head has widened into an irregularly shaped hole. The original plastered surface is well preserved on the right part of the scene.

**Translations:**

By Thoth: Words spoken by Thoth, lord of the god’s word[s]: “Receive unto yourself peaceful years united with life and dominion. I join for you the reed to the papyrus as a legal possession for you, I having caused your titulary as king to be established in my writing, with my very own fingers.”

By the King: The good god USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re. Horus of the Two Ladies: ‘protector of Egypt, subduer of the foreign countries,’ the son of Re, his [beloved] RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re. Horus-of-Gold: ‘rich in years, great of victories,’ the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA’ATRE, given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-6.

b. For , a very flat sign (thinner than ) was substituted. Presumably this error was derived from a hieratic original.

c. This last phrase is arranged under all three columns, with ‘given life’ (di ‘nh) repeated under cols. 11 and 13, the whole phrase, di ‘nh mi Ra, being understood as applying to each column. Compare GHHK I.1, pl. 7:38-40; 118:8-10.

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**PLATE 97**

**Bibliography:** PM II2, p. 49 (160) III.1.

**Location:** B 141: East wall, south wing, third register, second scene from the south.

**Subject:** Ramesses II presents a royal offering (not shown) to Amun-Re while a falcon soars above (figs. 202-203).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Ramesses II’s flesh is red, his khat-

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222 Much of this color has faded since Murnane recorded it in the 1970s and 1980s.
headdress yellow. Concentric rings of his collar are visible, but their colors have faded except for the band closest to the edge which is red. Patches of blue persist in the sky-sign at the top and on the falcon’s wings. The king’s kilt, uraeus and bull’s tail are yellow. Amun’s skin is blue, and his crown, armbands, shoulder braces, and the upper hem of his corselet are painted yellow. The ribbon descending from his crown is red. Vertical strips of blue, representing inlays, were added to the armbands. Amun’s collar had one band of red (nearest his neck) with a blue flower petal fringe along the bottom. On his chest, the interior of his pectoral is painted blue, but the other colors have faded. His beard shows traces of a darker color, while his scepter is green.

Observations: A faint incised line, which Nelson did not record, defines the sloping right side of Ramesses’ triangular kilt flap. A patch-stone straddling cols. 2-3 is missing, while between cols. 4-6 and above Amun’s plumes, a zone of deep quarry marks was patched with liberal amounts of coarse plaster, and large chunks of this still cling to the wall; the top of the text divider between cols. 5 and 6 and traces of mi Ra are rendered entirely in this medium. A layer of fine plaster wash used as a sealant is well-preserved across much of this scene.

Translations:
Label: Making a royal offering to Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he might achieve ‘given life.’
By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the Two Lands, residing in the temple ‘[…] Great […]’ have [given] to you [all] flat lands and all [hill] countries. I have given to you years of eternity, you <appearing>like Re. I have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries, as I subdue for you the Nine Bows; I have caused that you might be powerful; (and) I create your awesomeness with a loving heart.
I have given to you all life and dominion, and all health.”
By the King: The dual king USERMA’ATRE, the son of Re, MESSES-MER’MUN, whom Amun has chosen as king in order to exercise his kingship on earth.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-7.
b. The name of a locality determined with is likeliest here, but no clear parallels suggest themselves. Km-wr designates not only the Bitter Lakes but also a body of water at Thebes (Wb. V, p. 126:5), but this usage seems not to be attested before Ptolemaic times. Mr-wr, “Moeris,” is documented in the New Kingdom (Wb. II, p. 97.13), as is w3d-wr, “sea” (Wb. I, p. 269), but both are remote from the Theban area. It is also possible that a place-name completely different from those noted above was present here. Another possibility is that the unknown temple was associated with Amun as a bringer of the Nile (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 36), perhaps [hph] wr (“High [Nile]”: Wb. III, p. 43:1). Other “watery” forms of Amun, such as mw-wr (Wb. II, p. 231:17) or Nun (Khsns II, pl. 163:5-6) are not generally determined with.
c. There is no damage to the wall where Nelson indicates shade in his drawing, instead the sculptor never carved the sign  


d. Taking $b\delta w=k$ as a prospective $sdlm=f$ after causative $rdi$. If this passage is an ellipse with the dative $n=f$ omitted for lack of space, then translate “I give (to you) your power,” etc. On $b\delta$ used as a verb, see Dimitry Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I, 77.1153; Idem, *Année lexicographique* II, 78.1187; S. Sauneron, *RdE* 15 (1963), pp. 49-51.

Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 83) translates “in [their] hearts,” but the trace is absolutely flat and thus cannot be $\therefore$ required for $=s[n]$; it thus seems preferable to see it as the top of $\therefore$ (or possibly even $\therefore$), reading $m\ ib\ mr[r]$.

**PLATE 98**

*Bibliography:* *PM* II*, p. 49 (160) III.3.

*Location:* B 142: East wall, south wing, third register, third scene from the south.

*Subject:* Ramesses II offers a pectoral collar to ithyphallic Amun-Re while a vulture hovers above.

*Type of Relief:* Sunk.

*Paint:* Patterns for bracelets on the king’s forward arm, his collar, and the latticework design of his belt are visible, but their colors have faded. Ramesses’ flesh is red, but no other colors are apparent. The outer edge of the king’s collar is blue, which is also present in the outer ribbon flanking his belt apron and in Amun’s pedestal. His kilt and the bottom of his bull’s tail are yellow. Yellow is also present in the triangular beads hanging from the pectoral the king is offering. The fan behind Amun preserves traces of color in its mount, a top blue band, followed by yellow and ending in red at the bottom of the mount. The stalks of the lettuce plants are yellow, while the rightmost lettuce preserves traces of green.

*Observations:* Amun’s phallus is interrupted in the middle by a fortuitous chisel gouge, but the rest is intact. No sign of iconoclasm is discernable, but there are extensive regions of quarry hacking in various parts of the scene. This is most severe behind the god’s plumes, at the base of Amun’s fetish stand, and along the top of the scene, and was ameliorated with liberal amounts of plaster now mostly lost. A gap between the vulture’s upper wing and the tops of cols. 8-9 is not surface damage, as shading in Nelson’s drawing suggests, but a deep rectangular hole, perhaps due to a missing patch-stone or else to the activities of the Hall’s later occupants.

*Translations:*

1. *Label:* ‘Givi[ng] a pectoral-collar to his father Amun-Re, that he may achieve ‘given life.’

2. *By Amun:* *Words spoken* by Amun-Re

[Ka]mutef:  

3. “[I] have given to you my rei[gn] as king.”

4. “[I] have given to you life and dominion.

5. “[I] have given to you all …].

6. “[and] all […] on my part.”

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

*By the King:* 7The dual king USERMA’AT[RE],
8[the son of Re] RAMESSES-[MERAMUN], whom Re-Atum has chosen in order to be ruler] of every land.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-4.

b. Literally: “my kingship as king.”

c. There is not enough room for $di.n=(i)\ n=(k$ at the top of col. 6, which must, instead, have the continuation of this formula from col. 5.

d. For $stp.n\ Rc$ (with $Rc$ under the verb, without honorific transposition) cf. $GHHHK\ I.1$, pl. 251 right:8; but cf. ibid., pl. 147:12 ($stp.n\ lmn-Rc$, with the $Rc$ forming a group under $lmn$). The sign 瓷, a malformed glyph resembling 或 or 瓷, might be a corrupted 術: perhaps read $[stp].n\ Rc-(I)tm(w)$. Usually, however, the god’s name is followed in such formulae by $ds=f$ (for which see ibid., pls. 172:11-12; 175 right:9; 238:10-11; 248:8-9). Although the epithet $stp.n\ Rc-ltm$ is attested elsewhere in the Hall in a similar context (ibid., pl. 153:17), the writing differs. One also finds $[stp]\ n\ ltmw\ ds=f$ (ibid., pl. 160:12-13); and $[stp]\ n\ ltm$ (ibid., pl. 164 right:10).

e. Perhaps restore $r\ [hk\ 3]\ n\ t\ 3\ nb$ (compare $GHHHK\ I.1$, pls. 160:12-13; 163 right:11-12; 175 right:10).

PLATE 99

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 49 (160) III.4.

Location: B 143: East wall, south wing, third register, fourth scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II presents a broad collar to Amun-Re (fig. 204).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Faint vestiges of the latticework pattern on Ramesses II’s belt are discernable, consisting of blue and green paint on a lighter colored background. Red paint remains on the torso and advancing foot of the king. Traces of yellow are noticeable in Amun’s bull’s tail. The wings of the vulture still preserve remnants of blue paint.

Observations: The two small block fragments that preserved the rear midsection of the king’s kilt have disappeared since Nelson made this drawing. While no malicious damage is apparent, sporadic toolmarks, especially along the block edges and below Ramesses’ feet, are left from the quarry.

Translations:

Label: 1Giving a broad collar to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: 2Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes:

Words Spoken:

(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health. 4(I) have given to you all valor and victory. 5(I) have given to you all food and all provisions. 6(I) have given to you the victories of my sword, my strength, (and) my power; all flat lands and all hill counties being bowed down to the divine power of your person forever and ever!”

By the King: 7The lord of the Two Lands
USERMA'ATRE, "the lord of appearances
RAMESSES-[MER]AMUN, "given life, stability
and dominion] like Re \(^9\) forever.

**Behind the King:** The king, the lord of the Two
Lands, master of the ritual USERMA'ATRE shall
continually appear in the house of his father,
Amun-Re king of the gods, and have given\(^b\) to
him the South and the North gathered under his
sandals.

a. Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols.
   4-6.

b. A similar construction, with \( hr \ rdi.t \ n=f \),
is \( GHHK \) I.1, pl. 91:10. Here \( \bigcirc \) has
been omitted.

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**PLATE 100**

**Bibliography:** \( PM \) II, p. 49 (160) III.5.

**Location:** B 144: East wall, south wing, third
register, fifth scene from the south.

**Subject:** Ramesses II stands in adoration of
Khonsu. Behind the god’s figure, note part of a
decorative border that ran along the side of the
niche that opened onto one of the flag-masts of
the Third Pylon.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** The king’s chest and arms preserve traces
of red paint. Yellow is still noticeable in the \( nemset-\)
jar. Otherwise no paint remains.

**Observations:** Although the relief was not
defaced maliciously, deep holes above cols. 9-10
and below Khonsu’s feet indicate missing patch-
stones, or perhaps the presence of later structures
built against this wall. Khonsu’s hands and parts
of his scepters are lost to erosion. Later occupants
carved four pilgrim’s grooves in cols. 2 and 6
above Khonsu’s Lunar disk.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ⁴Adoring the god four times for his father
Khonsu-in-Thebes, that he might achieve ‘given
life like Re.’

**By Khonsu:** ²Khonsu-in-Thebes ³Neferhotep-in-
Kar[nak]. ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you
all victory on my part. ⁵(I) have given to you all joy
on [my] part. ⁶(I) have given to you years of et[ern]-
ity.”

**By the King:** ⁷The dual king USERMA'ATRE, \(^8\) the
son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, \(^9\) given life,
stability, and dominion like [R]e \(^{10}\) forever.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-6.

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**PLATE 101**

**Bibliography:** \( PM \) II, p. 49 (160) III.6.

**Location:** B 145: East wall, south wing, third
register, sixth scene from the south.

**Subject:** Ramesses II gestures with an \( \text{‘aba-} \)
scepter as he dedicates five piles of offerings (in
which meat products predominate) to falcon-
headed Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum. A falcon
hovers above the king.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Some plaster wash remains on the surface
of the relief (especially on the offerings). The
king’s rear leg shows traces of red. Blue is still
present on the tail feathers of the vulture, while
yellow is discernible within the \( \text{‘aba-scepter}.\)
Otherwise no paint remains.

**Observations:** Medieval iconoclasts defaced the
god’s head along with the heads and feet of the bird glyphs in cols. 2-3, the head of in col. 4, and (unaccountably) of ỉw in col. 5.

Someone excavated a pilgrim’s groove behind the falcon’s rear wingtip. Chiseling to the right of col. 9 below the god’s arm reflects residual quarry damage. Much of Ramesses’ figure is lost where the masonry sheared away. Otherwise, the relief has smooth surfaces and remains in excellent condition.

Translations:

Label: ‘Causing a hecatomb to be presented to his father, Amun-Re-Horakhty, that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum, lord of Karnak: “(O my) beloved son of (my) body, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, my heart is pleased with your monument; (O) good god, I am content with what you have done. (I) have given to you my lifetime as king forever and ever!

Words spoken by Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum, lord of Karnak: “(I) have given to you the victories of my strong arm, my strength, (and) my power; all foreign countries being under your sandals forever and ever! (I) have given to you years of eternity with life and dominion.”

By the King: (Long) live the good god, image of Re, protector of the one-who-is-in-Thebes, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re forever.

a. was miscarved for : read mnw=k.
b. was miscarved for : read Htp.k(wi).
c. Nelson has reversed the numbering of cols. 9-10.

PLATE 102

Bibliography: PM II, p. 49 (160) III.7.

Location: B 146: East wall, south wing, third register, seventh scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II pours a liquid offering from an -jar into a -shaped offering basin, supported by an -figure with two upraised arms, before Amun-Re and Amunet. A vulture soars above the king (fig. 205).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: The relief still preserves numerous traces of paint. The vulture above the king has traces of red on the lower interior part of its outstretched wing and blue on the outer edges of the wings. Faint traces of patterning can be discerned within the belt apron of the king, however the colors are not identifiable. Red is present on the legs of the king and on the coil of Amunet’s Red Crown. Yellow remains on Amun’s bull’s tail.

Observations: Iconoclasts hacked out the heads of both divinities and the king, along with the vulture’s head and that of the falcon perched atop the serekh in col. 10. Nonetheless, Ramesses’ eye, nose, mouth, and ear remain largely intact, while damage to the king’s rear foot is fortuitous.
weathering. Dense quarry marks afflict the zone between Amun and the king, and a large square hole may indicate the position of a missing patchstone inserted so that the sculptors could carve Amun’s lower arm and fist on an even surface. Although the iconoclast’s chisel and an unfortunate gap between blocks obfuscates the matter, it may be the case that Amun lacked his customary helmet-crown and that he appears here with his plumes secured to his bald pate with a ribbon. Most parallels, including three examples in the Hall, generally show Amun’s ithyphallic avatar in this fashion, however, bipedal exemplars are known from this building and from Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge at Karnak. 223

Translations:

By Amun: 1Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: 2“(O) my son, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, 3(I) have given to you my office of ancestral king, 4(and) my kingship from when (I) was on earth. 5(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, forever and ever!”

By Amunet: 6Amunet, residing in Karnak: 7“(I) have given to you years of eternity. 8(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. 9(I) have given to you all food and all provisions.”

By the King: 10Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ 11lord of the Two Lands USERMA*ATRE-SETEPENRE, 12the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 13given life 14like Re.

PLATE 103

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 49 (160) III.8-9;
Wolfgang Decker, Michael Herb, Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten, teil 2 (Leiden, 1994) tafel XXIX A 173.

Location: B 147-148: East wall, south wing, uppermost register in situ (“third”), eighth and ninth (last extant) scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: (Right) Ramesses II, wearing the atef-crown and carrying a crested ibis (mostly lost) in his right hand and a group of staves in his left, performs a ritual race in the presence of a goddess (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 12). (Left) The fragment of this scene preserves only Ramesses II’s tail, feet, and lower legs (facing left).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of yellow are present on the goddess’ legs and at the bottom of the offering stand. Red is still discernible on the lower edges of the striding king’s legs. Otherwise no paint remains.

Observations: Iconoclasts vandalized the king’s advancing foot and both of the goddess’ feet. Apart from this, all other damage appears to be of natural origin. Portions of the right edge of this scene have sheared away, depriving us of the main texts and most other elements to the left of the offering stand (Right). Note that engraved lines indicating the bundle of rods carried by the king were left uncarved below his waist.

Translations:

(Right) Label: 1[Taking] the run* for the lady of
heaven, that he may achieve ‘[given] life.’

By the King: 2(The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE), 3the son [of Re], lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

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

By the Goddess: 4“(I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land. 5[(I) have given to you…, all foreign countries being] under your sandals.”

(Left) By the King: […] that he might achieve ‘given’ life.”


b. Traces of are visible before the king’s advancing foot.

PLATE 104

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.9.

Location: B 149-150, 160: East wall, south wing, area between first and second flag mast niches from the north: uppermost register in situ (“third”), eleventh scene from south (Top); fourth (lowest) register ninth (and final) scene from south (Bottom).

Subject: (Top) Ramesses II appears before Amun-Re. (Bottom) Ramesses II receives life and jubilees from Amun-Re in the presence of Mut (behind Amun) and the goddess of Thebes (behind the king) while a vulture flies above (fig. 206).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: A pattern of alternating bands of blue and yellow remains on the king’s collar under the back of his nemes-headress.

Observations: Residual toolmarks from the quarry afflict the inside of Ramesses’ kilt and the space between his legs (Bottom). Shade on Nelson’s drawing (at Top, Ramesses II’s legs; at Bottom, Amun’s face, the falcon’s head, and assorted hieroglyphs in the text) represents iconoclasm by later occupants of the Hall. Targeted hieroglyphs include the heads and feet of many zoomorphic and anthropomorphic signs, but also the thrones of Σ Σ in col. 3. They also pecked at the Goddess of Thebes’ nose, mouth, and ear. A square hole in col. 1 (Bottom) may have secured a beam for a domestic structure from the roof of which this vandalism was accomplished. All other damage to the relief is from natural wear. Below the scene, much of the original masonry remains intact and was not replaced in the Greco-Roman era when other parts of the east wall’s base were rebuilt with new blocks. Below the dado pattern, the surface is undecorated, with no sign of a bandeau text of Herihor as found further to the south.

Translations:

(Top): Label: 1[...to] his [father] Amun-Re. (Bottom): By Amun: 1Words spoken* by Amun-Re, lord [of the Thrones of the Two Lands], pre-eminent in Karnak: 2c(O) my beloved son of my body USER[MA’AT]RE-SETEPEN[RE], 3receive for yourself myriads of jubilees, 4(and) eternity with life and dominion, in order to exercise 5the kingship which I exercised, forever and ever!”

By Mut: 6Words [spoken b’y Mut, [Lad’y] of Isheru,
By the Goddess of Thebes: *Words spoken* by Victorious Thebes, lady of the scimitar, mistress of every land: "I have [come] to you, bearing your son whom you love, Horus, beloved of Ma’at, that you might give him eternity as king of the Two Lands."

By the King: The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPEN[RE], the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen as king, given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-5, and 9-10.

b. Restore the determinatives of Tšrw at top of col. 7 + [hnw.t ntr.w nb.w] (in the long space above nb.t at the bottom of the column). This belonged to another title, either nb.t [w3d.w] “lady of the papyrus columns,” or nb.t [p.t], “lady of heaven,” that continued to the left of col. 7: see glossary, s.v. Mw.t.

c. One would normally expect hnw.t sp3.t nb, “mistress of every nome.” Sp3.t can be written with 🌟 or 🌟 (cf. Wb. IV, p. 97-99), but unless we have here a carving mistake for the first, one is forced to read the sign as 🌟, since its paleography is identical to 🌟 elsewhere in this text. Nor can this be a graphic error cause by faulty transcription from a hieratic text, as neither ideogram for sp3.t resembles a flat line. Cf. Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I-III, (Osnabrück, 1965), nos. 325 and 604.

d. The traces of n=k are too low for di.n=i n=k, even assuming that 🌟 would have stood at the top (under dd-mdw); thus restore instead [ii.n=i] n=k, as written in GHHK I.1, pl. 106:11-12.

e. Cf. ibid., pl. 106:12.

f. Arranged under cols. 10-11.

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PLATE 105

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (160) IV.1.

Location: B 151-152: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, first scene from the south.

Subject: Ramesses II is purified with signs of life and dominion issuing from two jars held, respectively, by Horsiese and Thoth. A vulture with outstretched wings flies over the king. To the right of the scene is the doorway through the southeast corner of the Hall (see pl. 80 above), with a decorative pattern formed by the king’s serekh, cartouches, and other symbols above the lintel (fig. 207).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of blue remain inside the sky-sign at the top of the scene. The vulture’s tail and the king’s wig and beard are also blue, as is Horsiese’s wig. The king’s beard ends in a white or light colored band, probably to indicate a clasp. Horsiese’s face is white while his bull’s tail is yellow. Both Ramesses II’s and Horsiese have red flesh, as do the ka-arms embracing the king’s nomen above the doorway. The king’s collar shows
alternating lines of green, blue, green, red and white petals on a blue background. At the top of col. 4, an erroneous, and reversed, was corrected into with red paint.

Observations: Areas of shade in the drawing represent toolmarks made during quarrying, later ameliorated with copious amounts of plaster, some of which still clings to the wall, especially on the hovering vulture. In the lower part of the scene, swollen plaster spills out of the block joints and from minor cavities in the wall surface. No sign of vandalism is apparent. The bottoms of Thoth’s feet are lost where original masonry along the base of this wall was replaced in late antiquity after it had decayed. Beneath Horsiese and the king, the original dado and part of a long bandeau text of Herihor remains intact, with newer stone below it. All of these new blocks were left rough and undressed. In recent years, erosion due to salt damage has progressed around Thoth’s head and on the vulture’s right wing, and the gaps between blocks have sometimes widened. Nelson did not record the curving hem inside Thoth’s kilt. Due to salt infiltration and the decay it wrought to the lowest courses of the wall, new masonry was inserted here by Greco-Roman era restorers, obliterating much of the dado and a bandeau text of Herihor.224

Translations:
Beside Horsiese: 1“Your purity is my purity, (and) vice-versa, (O) lord of the Two Lands

By Thoth: 9Words spoken by Thoth: “[Your purity is] the purity of Horus, (and) vice-versa. Your purity is the purity of Seth, (and) vice-versa. Your purity is the purity of Thoth, (and) vice-versa. Your purity is the purity of Dewen-anwy, (and) vice-versa. Be pure be pure (O) king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of strength USERMA’ATRE! You shall continually be foremost of the Ka’s of the all the living, you appearing on the throne of Horus like Re forever.”

By the Vulture: 14As she gives life.

By the King: 15The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE.

On the Doorway Lintel: 16Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at.’ 17(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, [beloved of] Amun-[Re], RAMESSU-MERAMUN. k

224 See commentary to the next plate.
a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-7.

b. Reading shrd, with pencilled reversed.

c. One would expect some kind of conjunction, perhaps mi, before rwd R, thereby connecting this phrase to the previous clause semantically. It may have been omitted for lack of space.

d. Reading nb [n K]m.t. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 200:4 (though with pencilled), and ibid., pls. 7:20, 66:1 (both written without m).


e. The orthography of this cartouche, is different than Nelson copied it. A must have appeared at the bottom of the cartouche, the closest parallels for which—but employing the writing R^-ms-s—are GHHK I.1, pls. 81 right:6, center:7; 82 center:6.

f. Or “Very pure <is> the king” etc. (Sharkawy, Ammun-Tempel, p. 87).

g. At the top of col. 13, nb.w is carved correctly; the supposed was thus wrongly interpreted by Nelson owing to a patch of discolored stone at the sign’s right corner.

h. Cols. 16-17 are mirrored in cols. 16’-17’. Note the differing orthographies of the xronen cartouches.

i. The bottoms of cols. 16 and 16’ would have been filled by the decorative square at the base of the king’s serekh.

j. Thus on the left side: perhaps the king was “beloved of” another deity on the right.

k. Ramesses II’s nomen is embraced by in turn supported by carrying - staves in his two hands, which frame the sides of the cartouche. On the significance of such arrangements of royal titulary see Cathie Spieser, Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire, OBO 174, (Göttingen, 2000).

PLATE 106


Location: B 153-154: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, second and third scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses II is crowned with the Double Crown by falcon-headed Khonsu (Right) (figs. 208-209). Hathor, wearing tall plumes and carrying a sistrum, leads Ramesses II into the presence of Amun-Re and Amunet (Left) (210-211).

Type of Relief: Sunk.
Paint: Only a few traces survive. Khonsu’s wig is blue, his flesh red. Amun’s flesh is blue. The rear upright of Ramesses’ Double Crown (Right) is red, and the separation between the body of the crown and its projection in front (which is, unaccountably, painted blue) was outlined in red. Also visible is the pattern of the king’s broad collar (Left), but its colors have faded. The king’s bull’s tail show traces of yellow and red. Hathor’s flesh is yellow as is the base of her crown and her uraei with their horns and discs; her rear plume is painted in stripes of blue and another lighter color, following the contours of the plume, while the disk resting on her crown is red. Traces of a lighter color are present within her dress, while the hem is formed of blue and green bands. Yellow can be detected in Amun’s crown and plumes, his streamer and bull’s tail. Khonsu has yellow plumes and a red disc. Red is also present in the lower part of the vulture’s horizontal wing.

Observations: Shade in Nelson’s copy mostly represents quarry hacking, and sometimes natural wear. Swollen plaster used to fill these toolmarks, joints between the blocks, and minor cavities in the stone abounds. Hathor and the king (Left) have naturalistically modeled eyes and eyebrows, while Amun, Amunet, and Ramesses (Right) have cosmetic bands. On the right, the coiled tail of Ramesses’ uraeus was first carved on the front of his nemes-headcloth and then erased. Its head above the hood is lost in chisel marks and must have been rendered in plaster. Damage to the head of in col. 5 is fortuitous, and there is no other sign of any malicious damage to either scene. Note that the sculptor has distinguished two overlapping sets of horned disks on the heads of Hathor’s double uraeus. Nelson did not indicate a few minor elements: (Right) Ramesses’ belt buckle; the fold in his nemes-headcloth above his ear; the partition of Khonsu’s beak. The Ramesside dado motif and parts of a bandeau text of Herihor are substantially intact beneath the scene, but the lowest courses of blocks on the wall are rough hewn replacement masonry inserted by Greco-Roman restorers (figs. 212-214).

Translations:
(Right) By Khonsu: 1 Words spoken
by Khonsu-in-Thebes, Horus lord of joy: 2 “I have established for you the Double Crown on your head, (namely) the crowns, that <you> might take possession of the two shares, in order to act (as) dual king in my place.”

By the King: 3 The good god, son of Amun, 4 the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, 5 the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re, 6 great of love in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

(Left) Label: 9 “I shall play the sistrum to your beautiful face, causing the beauty of your incarnate form to be content.”

By Hathor: 10 Words spoken by Hathor, lady d of Dendera: “I propitiate <you>, 11 (O) lord of the gods, as I play the sistrum to your face. (I) have come to you, bearing your son whom you love, Horus ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ 13 that [you] might endue his [fles][h] with life and dominion forever and ever!”

By the Vulture: 14 Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.
By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre- eminent in Karnak: Welcome in peace, (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom I love: I have granted your lifetime; the existence of heaven being like that you shall (continually) exist. I have given to you my lifetime [as] king like Re every day.”

By Amunet: Words spoken by A[mun]et residing in Karnak: “Welcome [in peace], (O) my son of (my) body whom I love, the Horus ‘rich in years,’ that your father Amun may receive you. [have] given to you million[s] of jubilees. I have given to you years of eternity united with life and dominion.”

By the King: Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, [USERMA’AT]RE, the lord of appearances [RAMESSES- MER]AMUN.

Behind the King: The king, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ the lord [of the Two Lands, master of the ritual]! USERMA’AT[RE], shall continually appear as king on the throne of Horus, foremost of the kas of all the living, like Re.

Bandeau Text of Herihor: [Renewal of monuments which the dual king, lord of the Two Lands]m HIGH PR[EST] OF AMUN, the son of Re, lord of appearances SIAMUN-HERIHOR in the house of his father Amun-Re, king of the gods that [he] might give life, stability, dominion and health to the dual king [HIGH] PRI[EST OF AMUN …].

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-4, 16-19, and 22-25.

b. Pace Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 89), this epithet refers to Khonsu and not the king.

c. Or, somewhat more literally, “on my seat.”

d. So written without a feminine ending.

e. Reading <w> (the was not carved).

f. Reading iwf, written with \ \ \ \ (Gardiner signlist F51, Faulkner CD, p. 13), of which only part of one sign remains.

g. Perhaps due to lack of space, the sculptor carved in place of .

h. Sharkawy’s translation (Amun-Tempel, p. 88, n. 99) assumes a missing part of speech, i.e. di = i <m> : This is not impossible, but the readings in this section are so uncertain that a translation that is grammatically simpler, and more literal, seems safest.

i. Reading wnt hr.t mi w[n]n=k: the oval sign is low enough, relative to the top of the column, to be interpreted as the jug of , and inspection of the trace (in April 2000) shows it to extend slightly higher on the left than the right, which would be incompatible for the circular disk of but normal for . The absence of “lugs” on the side of the jug, while infrequent, is not unattested in Ramesside carvings. Moreover, the position of this
trace is compatible with 

\[ \text{the stem of which persists amid damage to the left.} \]

j. So reading \( h^r = i [m] \) \( nsw \) and restoring

\[ \text{in the gap.} \]

k. So reading \( di-[n] = (i) \) \( n=k \). There is just

\[ \text{enough room for the first} \]

in the gap. Alternatively, one could read \( di=(i) \) \( n=k \) as an indicative (perfective)

\( sd[m]=f \).

l. It must be admitted that the presumed

\[ \text{can not be made out, and the} \]

one trace of the second \( \) is faint

\[ \text{indeed. Hacking is so severe here that the} \]

signs below the first \( \) (of \( nb \)

\( [tA.wy] \)) must have been carved wholly in

\[ \text{plaster, almost none of which now} \]

endures.

m. This text was first published in Barguet,

Karnak, p. 60. See also \( Khonsu I \), p. x.

Given the phrase \( m \textit{ pr} \textit{ it} = f^r \textit{Imn-R}^c \), “in the house of his father Amun-Re,” which

follows, one might restore the beginning of

this text as \( sm^y\textit{wy-mmw ir.n nsw-bity nb t}\text{.wy} \). In favor of this reading,

fragments of the critical \( sm^y\textit{wy-mmw} \) formula appear in another bandeau text

below the bark scene on the east side of

the south wall. See our observations to

\( GHHK I.1 \), pl. 76. Roth published traces

of \( sm^y\textit{wy-mmw} \) texts on several column

bases in the Hall as well: \( JNES 42 \) (1983),

pp. 44, 49. On the \( sm^y\textit{wy-mmw} \) restoration formula, see Brand, \( Monuments of Seti I \), chapter 2; Joseph Brett McClain,

“Restoration Inscriptions and the

Tradition of Monumental Restoration,”

(Ph.D Dissertation, University of

Chicago, 2007).

PLATE 107

**Bibliography:** PM II\(^2\), p. 49 (160) IV.4-5; Tohfa
Handoussa, “The Rebirth of Ramses II in the
Hypostyle Hall of Karnak,” in N. Grimal \textit{et al.}
(eds.), \textit{Hommages Fayza Haikal}, (Cairo, 2003),
pp. 107-110; Peter J. Brand, “Veils, Votives, and
Marginalia: the Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and
Luxor,” in. Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan,
(eds.), \textit{Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient
Thebes}, SAOC 61 (Chicago, 2007), p. 75, fig. 5.22;
Mariam F. Ayad, \textit{God’s Wife, God’s Servant: the God’s
136, 138, figs. 3.10, 3.11.

**Location:** B 155-156: East wall, south wing,

fourth (lowest) register, fourth and fifth scenes
from south.

**Subject:** Two scenes: \( \text{Right} \) Ramesses II

dedicates five piles of offerings with an \( \^\text{aba-}

scepter before an ithyphallic figure of Amun-Re;

\( \text{Left} \) the king offers a cup of incense and pours a

libation in front of a kiosk, inside which Amun-Re

is embraced by Mut (figs. 215-219).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** \( \text{Left} \) There are traces of red paint within

the king’s Red Crown and his body (in both

scenes). Otherwise no traces of paint survive.

**Observations:** Most shade that Nelson indicates

in his drawing reflects erosion wrought by

infiltration of salt-laden ground moisture. In the
upper part of the left hand scene, the gap is not as wide as he indicated, and Ramesses II’s cartouches are more complete, although the sandstone is swollen and decayed here. All the figures have cosmetic bands on their eyes and eyebrows. Although someone removed the tip of Amun’s phallus, there is no other deliberate hacking and little quarry damage in either scene. Several small rectangular holes were inserted around the figures of Amun and Mut which once secured a veil or perhaps a wooden shrine with doors. Nelson overlooked: (Left) a curving fold inside Amun’s kilt; and (Right) recutting on Ramesses II’s belt and two streamers on the left side of his belt apron. Nor did he fully capture the intricacy of the forward wings of both vultures. Under both scenes, the original dado motif is well preserved. Beneath it, in turn, Greco-Roman restorers inserted rough hewn blocks, thus eliminating any part of the bandeau text Herihor may have carved here.

Translations:
(Right) Label: 1Caus[ing] that a great hecatomb might be offered to his father Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’
By Amun: 2Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of Karnak: 3"(O my) son whom I love, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 4my heart is glad at seeing your* monument. I am6 content 7with what you have done. I have caused that the south come <to> you, 8gathered in submission, 9(and) the north in a crawling posture because your divine power is great; 9(they) bearing [all] their products [of] 10their foreign countries laden upon [their backs]. 11(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified forever and ever!”
Behind Amun: Every protection—all life, stability [and dominion], all health, (and) all joy—surrounds him like Re.
By the King: 12Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ 13the good god USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 14the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 15image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen 16as king.
(Left) In front of the Shrine: 1Amun-Re, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands], pre-eminent 1 in Karnak.
By Amun inside the Shrine: 2Amun-Re, king of the gods.
By Mut: 3Mut the great, 4lady of Isheru, 5mistress of all the gods.
By the King: 6The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-[SET]EPEN[RE], 7the son of Re, lord of appearances [RA]MESSES-M[ER]AMUN, 8given life like Re forever.

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225 P. Brand in P. F. Dorman and B. M. Bryan (eds.), Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, pp. 62, 75, fig. 5.22.
226 Cf. commentary to plate 106 above.
“ihrer Fremdländer” is required—a possible option, but not one that is demonstrated convincingly.

d. Restoring [pxd=sn]: cf. GHHK 1.1, pls. 53:19; 92:2

e. All of is preserved below the gap.

f. Both and the back of are can be made out.

g. Parts of and are preserved below the gap along with the top of above it.

PLATE 108

Bibliography: PM II, p. 49 (160) IV.6-7.

Location: B 157-158: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, sixth and seventh scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: (Right) Ramesses II consecrates four meret-chests with his aba-scepter in the presence of Amun-Re; (Left) Ramesses II drives four calves before Khonsu. Above the king hover a falcon (Right) and a vulture (Left) (fig. 84).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: No paint remains in the scene to the right. On the left, Ramesses II’s atef-crown was painted with green, red, and blue vertical stripes, with red and blue stripes on its plumes and green horns.

Observations: In both scenes, the lower portions are severely eroded and are encrusted with insoluble salts, and it is this factor which may explain differences between Nelson’s copy and our observations. There is little deliberate damage to either scene; the heads of two -serpents in cols. 5 and 6 were deliberated effaced, however loss of the lower half of Ramesses II’s nomen cartouche on the right, col. 10, is due entirely to natural weathering. On the left, a round hole in front of Ramesses’ crown (just above the level of his horns), along with another round hole above in col. 4, may be the work of the Hall’s later occupants. Nelson has misconstrued the raptor in the right hand scene: it is actually a falcon, not a vulture as his record implies. As a result, he also mistook details of its wing plumage and the shape of its body, while his vulture’s “head” is merely decay of the stone. Beneath the king’s feet (Left), but not copied by Nelson, a segment of the original dado motif remains.

Translations:

(Right) Label: 1 king against the meret-box(es), [four] times.

By Amun: 2 Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-[eminent in Kar[nak]: 3 “(O) my bodily son, the lord [of the Two Lands USERMA ATRE- SETEP|EN|RE], my heart is glad for [lo]ve of you, (and) I rejoice at all y[ou] have done. (I) have given to you valor and victory, stout-heartedness and the power of your strong arm.”

By the King: 4 Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved [of

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227 Some of these colors have faded since Murnane recorded them in the 1970s and 1980s. See color observations to pls. 68, 70, and 73 above.
Maʿat], *the dual king USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE, *the son of Re [RAMESSES]-MERAMUN, *given life like Re.

(Left) *By Khonsu: [Words spoken by Khonsu]-in-Thebes, Neferhotep-in-[Karnak]: “Welcome* in peace, (O) my son *USERMAʿATRE-SETEP[EN][RE], that your father may receive you [...].”

By the King: *Live (O) good god who makes monuments for his father Amun, *the dual king USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE, *the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, *given life like Re.

a. Severe decay makes it difficult to confirm the traces Nelson recorded with any confidence. Below of *mrt, the

- determinative may be illusory. Its “plumes” seem to consist of furrows of worn stone, and of the “box” itself, only its rectangular bottom is visible, below which is an oval sign—probably (sp).

Cf. *GHHK I.1, pl. 73:1.

b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-7.

c. Restoring *n [m]r.w[t=k]: for parallels see glossary s.v. *mr.wt.

d. Reading *h°.k(wi), with miscarved for .

e. Traces of the flat top and down-curved right end of a sign along the edge of the gap are consistent with , so read *iri.n=[k] nb.” Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 90, reads “ich jubilier über das, war

<du> gemacht hast.”

f. Reading *dl.n=(i) n=k , with miscarved for .

g. Restoring *Nfr-htp-m [Ip.t-sw.t: iwy] m htp etc. See glossary s.v. *Hnsw. For the greeting formula, cf. *GHHK I.1, pl. 7:4.

h. The rest of the speech, in columns missing above the god’s head, is now lost.

i. So restoring a conventional formula, perhaps [*nḥ nṯr nfr, iri mn]w n it=f lmn.

Above the right end of , Nelson did not record firm traces of . For parallels under Ramesses II in the Great Hypostyle Hall, cf. *GHHK I.1, pls. 7:41; 21:6; 111:14. See glossary s.v. *nḥ nṯr nfr etc.

PLATE 109

Bibliography: *PM II2, p. 49 (160) IV.8.

Location: B 159: East wall, south wing, fourth (lowest) register, eighth scene from the south.228

Subject: Ramesses II is led into the temple by a goddess who holds (probably) the sign of life to his nose.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Much of the scene is entirely lost where several blocks have disappeared, yet the original masonry along the base of this part of the wall is largely intact, and the wide and narrow horizontal bands of the dado are preserved below the scene and the one to its left (*GHHK I.1, pl.

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228 The scene illustrated on *GHHK I.1, pl. 104 follows immediately to the left.
Herihor’s bandeau text, which begins near the south-east gateway, did not extend this far.

**Translations:**

*By the Goddess:* ¹[^Come to the temple,⁵ that you may see your father, the lord of the gods, ²[his heart being glad for] love of you, as he endows your limbs ³[with life and dominion],⁶ (and) as he gives to you the jubilee(s) of Re and the years of Atum.*

*Behind the King:* Every protection—[all] life and dominion, and all [health—surrounds [him] like Re.

a. Restoring [mi ir=k r hw.t-ntr], with ⁴[^used as a determinative: See glossary s.v. the imperative form of ii, “to come.” So with hw.t-ntr, GHHK I.1, pls. 149:6, 199:4. Alternatively one might read mi ir=k r hw.t ³.t, “come to the great mansion,” (cf. ibid., pls. 78:3, 111:6, 179:2.]

b. Or “life, stability, and dominion”: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 53:8; 106:13; 111:4, 7-8; 137:11; 149:9.

**PLATE 130**

**Bibliography:** None aside from Nelson’s publication.

**Location:** B 171a: South end of the east wall, top register.

**Subject:** Portions of two scenes are preserved, along with part of the decorative frame around a window once situated at the top of the southernmost end of the east wall. (Upper left) Ramesses II presents a conical loaf of white bread to a male deity. Behind the king (Upper right), is the left and bottom sides of a window with a ribbon border and below it a frieze of large hieroglyphs. Below this frieze (Lower right) only the tops of several columns of text from another scene.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Nelson recorded horizontal bands of pigment on the leftmost large pillar glyph from the decorative frieze, but the colors are now unknown.

**Observations:** This scene and the adjoining window once stood at the extreme south end of the east wall. Only the lower and left sides of the fenestration are preserved here. They stood directly above above the two scenes at the south end of the third (uppermost in situ) register. This window would have admitted additional light the southern part of the Hypostyle Hall.

**Translations:**


*By Deity:* ⁵[^Words [spoken:] “(I) have given to] you all valor. ⁶[^I have given to] you all victory. ⁷[^I have given to you] all joy.”

*By the King:* ⁸[^Horus: mighty [bull], `beloved of the...
Two Lands,’ 6 the good god, [lord of the Two Lands] USERMA’ATRE, 7 the son of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

Behind the King: 8 [The king], the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA’ATRE shall appear in the house of his father Amun-Re that he might [give] to him all life and dominion on his part like Re.ć

a. Reading skr t hdl. Cf. e.g., GHHK I.1, pl. 82 (Right):1; 133:1 and see glossary s.v. skr.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of cols. 3-4.

c. Reconstructing the opening phrase as based on numerous

parallels: see glossary s.v. wnn nsw. The gap after Imn-Rać is less certain, especially given the traces Nelson records. One would expect [rdi]=f n=f, “that he might give to him…,” but this does not agree with the traces which better suit

something like or , “…that he might make…” Semantically, the missing phrase should be a prospective form.

d. Repeated mechanically at the top of the two adjacent columns.
Unlike the reliefs carved on the south wing, these are homogenous in style (being cut in raised relief of excellent quality) and originate in the reign of Sety I, although the carving is often abbreviated or incomplete in the frieze at the top (plan 4). A few scenes near the doorway that now exhibit his son’s name inside their cartouches were usurped when Ramesses II took possession of all materials, on both walls and columns, that adjoined the central aisle inside the Hall. Sety I’s original “ownership” is patent not only from his cartouches, but also from a continuous frieze that runs along the top of the west wall, above the upper register of scenes. Here, Sety I’s nomen cartouches alternate with a rebus of his prenomen.

Each cartouche is flanked by two serpents, both of which have a hanging from its belly and face away from the cartouche (as if to protect it). These serpents’ tails issue from a solar disk that surmounts each

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232 GHHK I.1, pls. 135, 158-159. The scene on pl. 136 (top) do not belong to this series, even though they now seem to be contiguous to it: belonging instead to a roof terrace, they were separated from the scenes below by the roof slabs (now missing) and were decorated after year 21 of Ramesses II’s reign (for which see the commentary to pl. 136).
233 Murnane, JNES 34 (1975), 180ff.
234 Shown on GHHK I.1, pls. 138-143.
cartouche, and they both wear solar disks themselves (as do the -rebuses between these groups). This frieze, which establishes Sety I’s initiative as the prime mover in the decoration of this wall, is especially significant because it runs above a number of scenes in the upper register in which Ramesses I is the celebrant. Given the overwhelming evidence of Sety I’s primary responsibility for decorating this wall, it seems safest to view these images of Sety’s father as an act of homage, rather than as indicating that Ramesses I began to decorate inside the Great Hypostyle Hall during his brief reign.

This north wing of the west wall is laid out as a mirror image of its southern counterpart (see plan 1; cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 262). Immediately adjoining the doorjamb, there is a colossal scene (ibid., pl. 137) spanning three registers in height that rests upon the left end of lowest register of scenes below (ibid., pls. 158-160). Since the roof of the Hall’s central nave stood above the south end of that large scene, this space on the west wall is filled with two registers of offering scenes, whereas the building’s roof lay directly above the frieze that runs along the top of the rest of the northern wing (cf. ibid., pl. 262). To the right of the huge scene are three registers of episodes, with the lowest register continuing below these.

On the lowermost register, the sculptors carved additional details to the reliefs generally not found on those in the registers above where—if present at all—they were rendered only in paint. This additional fretwork is commonly found on the wigs of the king and various deities, the pleating of Sety I’s kilt, and the latticework design of his belt. One also encounters this higher level of embellishment of Sety I’s reliefs on the lowest registers of the north and east walls of the Hypostyle Hall.

Substantial traces of Horemheb’s erased sunk relief decoration on the north tower of the Second Pylon remains on this wall despite Sety I’s methodical attempt to erase it. Yet Sety also recreated much of Horemheb’s decorative program. In both versions, there were scenes at the top of the wall in which several members of the Great Ennead of Thebes appeared. At the south end of the wall Horemheb carved a huge scene, probably very much along the lines of its successor under Sety I in which the king is led by a goddess before enthroned Amun-Re. Narratively, the Eighteenth Dynasty scene was more closely linked to the waterborne procession of the royal barge towing the great Userhet bark of Amun-Re during one of the great religious festivals, Opet or the Feast of the Valley. Horemheb’s barges were much larger in scale than Sety I’s

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235 The fragmentary frieze published on pl. 136 bottom is misattributed there to the north wing of the west wall. In fact, it is preserved in situ at the north end of the south wing (cf. pl. 7).
236 See Pls. 138, 140-142. Sety I is the celebrant in two scenes of this series (pls. 139 and 143).
238 Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, p. 566, fig. 25.
239 Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 138 and 267.
240 Ibid., pl. 137.
with the tow ship being an actual royal barge maned by banks of rowers with long oars. It was doubtless modeled closely on Amenhotep III’s decoration on the north tower of the Third Pylon’s east face.\textsuperscript{241} By drastically reducing the size of these vessels, Sety I’s artists were able to accommodate four register of scenes in the zone north of the huge scene at the south end.\textsuperscript{242}

\textsuperscript{241} \textit{PM II}, p. 61 (183); \textit{Key Plans}, loc. KC 101-104; Schwaller de Lubicz, \textit{Karnak}, p. 596, fig. 55, and pls. 96-97.

\textsuperscript{242} \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 151-152.
**PLATE 135**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 43 (151) I and II.1-2.

**Location:** B 206-209: West wall, north wing, two upper registers of the extension at the southern end (inside the clerestory of the central nave).

**Subject:** Four scenes: Ramesses II kneels and *(Top Left)* offers a bouquet to Amun-Re; *(Top Right)* officiates before Khonsu; *(Bottom Left)* adores ithyphallic Min-Amun-Re (fig. 220); and *(Bottom Right)* offers a jar of ointment to Mut.

**Type of Relief:** Raised, but the cartouches (originally belonging to Sety I) were recut in sunk relief for Ramesses II. In the two lower scenes, raised traces of and of Sety I’s nomen cartouches, and , , and of his prenomen are visible.

**Paint:** *(Bottom left)* Faded pigment on Sety I’s collar is discernable just under the back of his wig, but its colors have faded. No other paint survives.

**Observations:** Patches of hacking that occur throughout this area, indicated by shade on the drawing, is unconnected with any intent to vandalize the figures and must stem from the quarry or from removal of Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs. *(Top Left)* Parts of the god’s staff remain at the edge of the gap (above and below his hand and to the right of Sety’s bouquet). Stray chisel marks speckle Sety’s upper body, his arms and the bottom of his bouquet. There is, however, no recutting on his bouquet. Instead, the thin stems of two lettuce stalks flank the wider butt end of his bouquet. Most of the surface inside the god’s kilt has now sheared off. *(Top Right)* Dense hacking left by the masons, not iconoclastic, disfigures Khonsu’s arms and thighs, as well as the areas shaded on Nelson’s drawing, where portions of Sety’s image were partly cut in plaster, now gone. Although the tie of his diadem is carved in relief behind his wig, the two lines inside it are illusory. *(Bottom Left)* The sculptors recut both figures: Sety’s kbat-wig below his ear; the front of Min’s leg below his knee; the tip of his penis; and the leading edge of his front plume. Nelson’s drawing omits the vulture’s eye, the bottom of Sety’s wig lappet inside his armpit, his royal beard, the front of Min’s eye, and the circumcision on his phallus. *(Bottom Right)* In addition to quarry hacking reflected by shade on the drawing, there is similar damage under the falcon’s tail and through his wing and in pitting on Mut’s upper body. Sety I’s torso was recut at his back and chest, as was the back corner of his wig. A small block that bore Mut’s lower back and the middle of her rear arm is no longer extant. Her rear foot, at its heel and sole, were never carved in stone, and must have been indicated in plaster. Mut’s eye is more complete than Nelson indicates, and her uraeus, except for its head, is visible amid toolmarks.

**Translations:**

*(Top Left):* No texts remain.

*(Top Right):* The bottoms of three signs (grouped together, but distinctly separate) are evident above and to the left of Khonsu’s hands. The sign on the left resembles the shaft of or a similar tall, slightly ovoid glyph. It appears that the sign in the
middle is although its shaft is longer and thinner and its “arms” more narrow than Nelson’s copy suggests, while the sign at left resembles (Gardiner signlist M-40, with its tie on the right).

(Bottom Left) By Min: 1Min-Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes, 2lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary.

By the Vulture: 3Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By the King: 4(Long) live the good god, <lord of> joy; 5the dual king, lord [of the Two] Lands USERMA\(^\mathrm{a}\)ATRE-SETEPENRE, 6the son of Re, lord [of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN, 3given life like Re.

(Bottom Right) By Mut: 1[Mut, lady of Ishe\(\text{ru}\)], 2[mistress of] all the gods: 3“(I) have given to you the Nine Bows gathered together…” 4

By the Falcon: 5The Behdetite, [great god], [variegated of plumage, 6[as he gives all …] like [Re].

By the King: 5[The dual] king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^\mathrm{a}\)ATRE-SETEPENRE, 6the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, 3given [life] like Re every day.

a. This use of 3w.t-ib, isolated at the bottom of this column, is unusual and thus far unparalleled. It is most likely an ellipse of nb 3w.t-ib.

b. Replacing MENMA\(^\mathrm{a}\)ATRE.

c. Replacing SETY-MERENAMUN.

d. The front leg, chest, and chin of

e. The lower right side of  is preserved (albeit unrecorded) above . There is only one vertical element in front of Mut’s face, which is the base of a text divider, not the shaft of . For parallels to this epithet, see glossary, s.v. \(\text{Mw.t}\).

f. the top left “peak” of  (Gardiner signlist S 23), is preserved above the gap.

### PLATE 136 (Top)

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 43 (151) III.3.

**Location:** B 210-12: West wall, north wing, above the roof line immediately north of the clerestory (adjacent to pl. 135 and above pl. 137).

**Subject:** (Top) Ramesses II presents Ma\(^\text{at}\) (in the form of a rebus of his prenomen) to enthroned Amun-Re who is accompanied by falcon-headed Khonsu. To either side of the scene are large cartouches of Ramesses II (fig. 221).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None.

**Observations:** This scene does not belong with the rest of Sety I’s decoration on the west wall. It was located on a rooftop terrace above the ceiling of the north wing of the Hypostyle Hall, adjacent to the northern windows of the clerestory nave and is the chief remnant of a program of decoration Ramesses II added to the east face of
the Second Pylon at some point after his 21\textsuperscript{e} regnal year, when his nomen had become $R^{c}-ms$-$sw$. At one time, there must have been several scenes, interspersed with large cartouches, all along the west face of the Second Pylon above the roof of the Hypostyle Hall. These reliefs are probably coeval with huge cartouches and other titulary that Ramesses II carved on the north face of the north tower and south face of the south tower of the Second Pylon, and with ritual and triumphal scenes on the exterior sides of the vestibule and on the façade of the Pylon’s towers and vestibule.\textsuperscript{243} It may also be contemporary with Ramesses II’s usurpations of reliefs by Horemheb and Ramesses I on the Pylon.\textsuperscript{244} All of this decoration bears the later form of Ramesses II’s nomen, $R^{c}-ms$-$sw$, made, perhaps, in connection with one of his jubilee festivals.\textsuperscript{245}

In the present scene, Nelson did not record details of Khonsu’s beak, nostril, and the upper part of his wig where it meets his face.

\textsuperscript{243} All of Ramesses II’s original decoration on the Second Pylon is sunk relief, and his nomen is $R^{c}-ms$-$sw$: Aside from Kitchen’s handcopies of the triumphal scenes on the side walls of the vestibule ($KRI$ II, pp. 168-169; $RITA$ II, pp. 42-43; $RITANC$ II, pp. 78-79), most of it remains unpublished. The locations are as follows: on the façade (Loc. Nelson, $Key Plans$, KA 140-141, 164-169; $PM$ II\textsuperscript{3}, p. 39 [146-147]); and outer sides (Loc. KB 77, 257) of the pylon towers; and on the exterior side walls (Loc. KA 142-144, 159-161; $PM$ II\textsuperscript{3}, p. 38 [139, 141]); façade (Loc. KA 148-150, 154; $PM$ II\textsuperscript{3}, p. 38 [138]); and interior reveals (Loc. KA 175-176, 203-205; $PM$ II\textsuperscript{3}, p. 38 [142-143]) of its vestibule.


\textsuperscript{245} P. J. Brand in P. F. Dorman and B. M. Bryan (eds.), $Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes$, pp. 55-56.

Hacking in the upper part of the large prenomen cartouche to the left of the scene are quarry marks. Immediately to the left of this is a smooth area of wall space devoid of inscriptions against which the westernmost pier of the north clerestory windows once rested. Beyond the large cartouches at the right end of the scene are vestiges of another episode, not recorded by Nelson. All that survives here is the rump and throne of a male divinity behind whom are the legs and lower torso of a goddess who stood behind him. Between them is part of a column of text containing the phrase [...] $hb.w$-$sd$ $n$ $R^{c}$ [...] , “[I] have given to you [...] the jubilees of Re [...] .” The rest is lost.

**Translations:**

\textit{Label:} \textsuperscript{9}Presenting Ma$\textsuperscript{at}$ to the lord of Ma$\textsuperscript{at}.$

\textit{By Amun:} \textsuperscript{2}[(Amun-Re…)]$a$ lord of Karnak. \textsuperscript{3}[Words spoken:] “(I) [have given] to you all valor.$b$ \textsuperscript{4}[(I) have given to you] all [victory].”

\textit{Behind Amun:} Every [protection]—all life—surrounds him like Re.$d$

\textit{By Khonsu:} \textsuperscript{5-6}[Khonsu]-[in-Thebes-Nefer]-hotep.

\textit{7}“(I) have [given] to you all health. \textsuperscript{8}(I) have [given] to you all joy. \textsuperscript{9}(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.” \textsuperscript{10}[Words] [spoken]: “(I) have [given] to you all life as king of the Two Lands and eternity as ruler of joy.”

\textit{By the King:} \textsuperscript{11}[The lord of the Two Lands]

USERMA$\textsuperscript{a}$ATRE-SETEPENRE, \textsuperscript{12}[the lord of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN,$e$ \textsuperscript{13}given life like Re$e$ forever.

\textit{Behind the King:} \textsuperscript{13-A}Every [protection—all life and dominion—surrounds him] like Re forever. \textsuperscript{13-}

\textit{b}[The dual king, lord of the Two Lands}
USERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances] RAMESSU-MERAMUN, [beloved of Amun].

Large Cartouches on Right: The lord of the Two Lands [USER]MA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

Large Cartouches on Left: [The lord of the Two Lands US]ERMA‘ATRE-SETEPENRE, [the lord of appearances RA]MESSU-MER[AMUN].

a. Unless col. 4 was misnumbered on the plate, there is room only for a bare ‘Imn-R above nb Ip.t-sw.t in col. 2.

b. By analogy with col. 10, it seems likely that the di.n=(i) n=k formulas assigned to Amun and Khonsu were each preceded by dd-mdw, repeated mechanically at the top of each column.

c. For the frequent pairing of nht with kn.t see glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k.

d. In protection formulae, ‘nḥ is normally preceded only by sA.

e. By analogy with the large cartouche at right and consistent with wall decoration from the later part of his reign at Karnak and in Sety I’s Gurnah temple, it is likely that Ramesses II’s cartouches were here preceded only by the titles nb tA.wy and nb hfw. Cf. Wolfgang Helck, Die Ritualzonen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses’ II. in Karnak, Abbildungen (Wiesbaden, 1968) passim; Jürgen Osin, Der Tempel Sethos’ I. in Gurna: Die Reliefs und Inschriften I, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 20, (Main am Rhein, 1977), pls. 1-44, passim.

f. Again by comparison with Ramesses II’s later reliefs in Thebes, one would expect a text with both cartouches, each preceded by two titles, and concluding with the phrase “beloved of god N,” in which the deity named is the same as his object of worship. See Helck, Die Umfassungsmauer, Abbildungen, pls. 20-46, 48-57, 59-61, 63-69, 82-83, 90-92.

PLATE 137

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) III; Legrain, Karnak, p. 189, fig. 121.

Location: B 216: West wall, north wing: huge scene between the north jamb of the western gateway and the top three registers of scenes further north.

Subject: Sety I is led into the presence of Amun-Re by Isis, who presents the god with a bouquet and a sistrum. Behind her enthroned husband stands Mut, while Khonsu stands behind the king, inscribing his titulary on a year-staff (from which hang jubilee kiosks, one of which has the cartouches of Sety I inside it) (figs. 221-229).

Type of Relief: Raised, although Ramesses II substituted his prenomen cartouche in sunk relief for that of his father in cols. 19 and 30. However, traces of Sety’s erased name are readily apparent.

Paint: Faint stripes remain on Sety I’s nemes-headcloth and concentric bands on his broad collar and on Khonsu’s collar. A darker shade of pigment clings to the irises of Isis, Sety I and
Khonsu, and there are horizontal bands of decayed paint on the upper part of Khonsu’s staff, but all these colors have faded beyond recognition, and there is no other pigment.

Observations: Small cosmetic adjustments to the major figures are plentiful:

(1) Sety I’s craftsmen recut his profile and beard three times and reworked both sides of his nemes-headcloth lappet. In addition, they readjusted both of his shoulders; his arms and upper torso at the armpits; his rear elbow; and the shafts of his crook and flail, each as many as three times. They also reworked his earlobe and made two separate ear piercings at different times. Both sides of Sety’s advancing leg and the back of his rear leg were recut along their entire lengths. Remnants of plaster clinging to the calf and ankle of his rear leg indicate that the craftsmen’s intention was to make it wider on that side. Its position may have been shifted to the right as well.

(2) Khonsu’s sidelock was thickened at the back, and his thumb was enlarged on his lower fist. The front of his body was recut from the top of his leg to the instep and toe of his foot. Here, the sculptors made his body wider, and this effect was completed in plaster which they molded to build up the space between the original and final cut lines. In places where this stucco has fallen away, one sees both versions.

(3) Minor recutting occurs on Isis’ chin; the front of her back leg beneath the hem of her dress; her front leg from below her knee to her ankle; her back just below her armpit; and her belly. Reworking to her extended arm was more extensive; it may have been shifted up, and the top of her arm from the biceps to the wrist was made thicker. Plaster used to complete this effect is intact on her biceps, but has fallen away from her forearm and wrist. Stucco also clings to the concave portion of her rear leg above her calf, which the sculptors also made thicker.

(4) Amun’s image was also modified at several points. The sculptors adjusted the leading edge of his plumes and the front of his crown, along with the back and tip of his beard. They also reworked his rear shoulder; the back of his rear arm and the top of his hand; both sides of his advancing forearm; and the front of his throne’s seat cushion. Finally, they widened his advancing upper arm along its bottom and the back of his rear leg from its calf to its ankle, using plaster to build it up and mask obsolete cut lines.

(5) Sety’s artisans shifted Mut’s body to the right and then adjusted it on both sides to make her thicker. Engraved lines to the left of her lower back and buttocks—vestiges of the suppressed version—indicate where these once were. Initially, the final version of her body was too slender, and they had to widen it on its front from where her right arm crosses her torso to the instep of her foot. Plaster used to complete this effect has fallen out in some places. Recutting and plaster infill are also found on the front and back of her dangling arm; on the thumb of her upraised arm; and along the back of her torso. In addition, the craftsmen modified her wig at the back; her vulture cap at its top; her throat; and the upper parts of her Double Crown.

(6) Carved lines embedded in some of the
uraei and solar disks in Sety I’s cartouche frieze between the architraves may indicate that it had been laid out in paint and partially carved in relief on a smaller scale before the larger final version was made.

In making these “cosmetic” adjustments to the figures, Sety’s craftsmen employed a common method. First, they sculpted a new outer cut line for the element to be adjusted. Next, they shaved back the negative space adjacent to it so that newly recut features appeared as raised relief. Since, however, the level of new elements was not as high as the original ones (with the upper surface of recarved relief being at the same height or lower than the original negative space surrounding the primary version), plaster was applied to build up recut features and it was shaped to complete the process of extending the raised relief into previously empty space. Where this plaster has fallen away, recut relief appears to be “terraced,” e.g., on Sety’s recarved profile.

Several traces of Horemheb’s original sunk relief decoration on the Second Pylon also survive, most notably, a large, deeply cut solar disk over Sety I’s head belonging to an earlier deity who once stood here and who led Horemheb before Amun (cf. GHKK 1.1, pl. 267). Below this disk, and now embedded inside Sety’s nemes-headdress, is a sloping gash that was surely the back of the divinity’s wig. Also visible are part of its rear shoulder and the slope of its back amid Sety’s torso, and, perhaps too, the calf of its rear leg inside Sety’s advancing one. Inside Sety’s rear leg are traces of the advancing leg and ankle of his Eighteenth Dynasty royal predecessor. A curving gash, filled with ancient plaster, runs parallel to Isis’ calf inside her leg and presumably also stems from Horemheb’s suppressed decoration. Thus, Sety’s design appears to have been similar to Horemheb’s original decorative program, but it is unclear whether the king was led directly by a goddess before Amun or whether a male deity, perhaps falcon-headed Khonsu with a lunar disk on his head, intervened between them.

A frieze of cobras wearing sun disks carved in sunk relief is preserved above the emplacement for the left-hand architrave (above cols. 4-9) along with another fragment with the lower hoods of several uraei situated above Sety I’s larger frieze between the two architraves. Both fragments must also belong to Horemheb’s decoration of the pylon, for they would have been covered by the roofing slabs that rested on the architraves just below. Perhaps this frieze surmounted the roof of a shrine that enclosed the figures. Also part of the Second Pylon’s original decoration is an isolated group of hieroglyphs, seemingly at the top of col. 18. These are, however, above the Hypostyle Hall’s roofline, and the traces are actually $d^d-mdw\ di.n=(i)\ n=\ [k]$. Moreover, they are in sunk relief and cannot be part of Sety I’s work, but must belong to Horemheb’s scheme. Doubtless the phrase was part of the speech by the first divinity in a row of Ennead gods of whom only his forward shoulder and upper torso remain.²⁴⁶

Among the fine details omitted from the drawing are the eye and mouth on the “head” of

²⁴⁶ See GHKK 1.1, pl. 267 and compare ibid., pl. 138.
Amun’s wa3-scepter; the eye of Khonsu’s uraeus; much of the plaiting on his beard; the thumb- and fingernails of Amun, Mut, Sety I, and Khonsu; the eyes of some large uraei on the cartouche frieze above the scene; creases on Amun’s neck; and a chin strap that secures his beard to his crown. Nor is a sloping double line engraved on the front of Isis’ vulture crown above her eyebrow noted in the drawing. As is typical of Sety I’s craftsmanship, many of the hieroglyphs are intricately carved. Late Period iconoclasts erased the head of in Sety I’s nomen cartouche in col. 1. Shallow pitting that disfigures Mut’s face may be fortuitous, and aside from an isolated case where was thoroughly pecked out near the bottom of col. 30, there is no further evidence of iconoclasm or other forms of vandalism.

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1King’s induction into the temple (called) ‘Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun,’ that [you] might see your father, the lord of the gods, (and) that he might give to you eternity with life and dominion.

**By Isis:** 3[Words spoken] by [Is]is the great, mother of the god, to her father 4[Amun-Re]: “[I play] the two sistra for love of you, (with) all (sorts of) fresh flowers to your nose, as [I] charm your handsome face. I am your august daughter….” 5**Behold** your son, Horus ‘appearing in Thebes,’ that you might endow him with life, stability and dominion, like (what is done) for a son who is effective like him.”

**By Khonsu:** 10Words [spoken] by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: 11“[I have given to you millions] of years, 12[(and) myriads of jubilees] in [as […]* 13[…] as I give to you 14the nine bows.* I have inscribed your titulary as Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live’—it being fixed on the august ished-tree in the mansion of the prince, beside the lords of Heliopolis: your name endures like heaven endures, (and) is stable unto eternity.”

**By Amun:** 15[Words spoken by Amun-Re, … lord of the two]nations of the Two Lands: “Welcome, welcome, (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA`ATRE-SETEPENRE: I being glad, 16I being satisfied [with what you have done for me]. (and) I [ex]ult at seeing your beauty! (I) have given to you my office of dual king, my kingship, (and) my lifetime as king, inasmuch as you have made for me a great monument directly in front of my temple, which has endured as the broad-hall of Shu since the time of the ancestral kings: I had not inspired (any of) them to embellish my monuments, except for my son, the one who is effective for the one who fashioned him. May you do what pleases my Ka, I having said to you, when you were in the egg, that you belong to me to be (my) protector. Your name shall continually exist, being established and enduring, as (is done) for a son who is as effective as you are, inasmuch as [you have made] for me monuments in Thebes, the district of eternity—(namely) the dual king USERMA`ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life.”

**By Mut:** Mut the great, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

**By the Vulture:** 3Nekhbet.
By the King: The dual king who performs benefactions for his father Amun, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA†ATRE, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, whom Amun has magnified as king.

a. Note that bs-nsw is written without following.

b. Reading [iri=i] sšš.ty (cf. GHKK I.1, pl. 106:9, 11).

c. Reading swnwnw=[i] pływ=k hr nfr. Pace Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 105, n. 40), this is an entirely correct formulation in Late Egyptian, and it need not be “corrected” to its Middle Egyptian equivalent. The range of meanings of swnwnw includes “to coax,” “to cajole” and “to flatter.” Wb. IV, p. 69; Lesko DLE II, p. 20.

d. Or “I am your daughter, the noble-woman”? Nelson has confused a behind the (šps) ideogram in col. 8 with a text divider, with the result that his col. 9 is too wide. There are actually three vertical segments, for and the text divider. Nor are any traces of in col. 9 that Nelson might have seen visible today or apparent in Chicago Oriental Institute photographs 6048, 6049, and 8477. This part of the wall was already badly eroded in Nelson’s day, and the sign is probably erroneous. Yet it is unclear what text filled this gap.

e. Reading m3 as an imperative, with a reflexive dative (Gardiner, Gr. I § 337.2).

f. Part of the head of is discernable here.

g. For parallels to this reconstruction of cols. 14-15, see glossary s.v. di.n=(i) n=k hh.w m rnp.wt, etc. Traces of that Nelson records in col. 16 are now gone.

h. Interpreting the signs at the bottom of col. 17 as the back of or succeeded by at right side of column, then —thus probably read di=[i] n=k pd.t-psd.t. The may have been omitted altogether, but if present at all, is incomplete and squeezed in below the architrave. The phrase di.n=(i) n=k that Nelson recorded at the extreme top of col. 18 is not a mistake, but neither does it belong to this text: rather, it is a remnant of an older text in sunk relief from the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of the Second Pylon. It stands immediately to the left of the sunk relief cobra-frieze (which, although not drawn, extends all the way across the top of the emplacement for the architrave). See observations above.

Repeated mechanically above cols. 20-30.

The length of the gap above [nb n]s.wt tḥ.wy seems to require another epithet following the god’s name, but absence of a parallel from this building makes it unclear which one it might be: nb ns.wt tḥ.wy generally initiates a string of epithets. However, clear traces of below at the top of col. 19—an unusual writing of in—occupies a considerable amount of space and if the name Amun-Re were followed by it might fill the whole gap without an additional epithet.

Usurped, in sunk relief, by Ramesses II from the original prenomen of Sety I.

So restoring htp.kwi m [ir.t.n=k n=i].

So m ḫ ḫ t-hr r-pr=i. See C. Wallet-Lebrun, “Hft-hr dans les texts de construction,” *GM* 58 (1982), pp. 75-86.

Reading n (for m) ḫ ḫ (3).w ḫ t.tw (with above the determinative at the top of col. 27).

Literally “I did not cause (nn rdi.n=n=i) an acting (ir.t) in their heart(s).” The grammar of the negative form is troubling. While we could have nn for n in an n sḏm.n=f construction, that form
does not negate the past as the context (earlier kings) demands.

s. There seems to be no room for [iri] at the top of col. 29, as Sharkawy admits (Ammun-Tempel, p. 106, n. 54) even while including it in his translation.

t. There is room for above the trace of , thus read \(gd.n=i [n]=k\).

u. Literally, “a son effective like your type.”

v. Restoring \(mi \ [irr=k] n=i\) (cf. cols. 21-22).

w. Unless \(sp\textit{t}\) (with its own phonetic complement and determinative) was meant as an exaggerated additive to \(W\textit{s}t\), it seems best to translate it separately as here, qualifying \(W\textit{s}t\). Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 37:34.

x. This column is not numbered on the drawing.

PLATE 138

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 43 (152) I.1; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 14, King and Monthu.

**Location:** B 217: West wall, north wing, top register, first scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Ramesses I offers incense and libation to a procession of eight divinities. A vulture-goddess soars over the king’s head (fig. 230).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Tefnut has horizontal bands across her chest and a shoulder strap behind her wig lappet. Geb wears a corslet with two shoulder straps; traces of his broad collar also survive. Both straps of Nut’s dress, her collar, and three horizontal bands across her chest are visible, as is the upper hem of Osiris’s corslet, and the armlet on the biceps of his forward arm. Isis’ dress has several horizontal bands spanning her upper torso and the concentric rings of her broadcollar are evident, but while these patterns are discernable, all the colors have faded.

**Observations:** Numerous vestiges of Horemheb’s program of sunk relief decoration on the Second Pylon survive, most notably at the upper left corner of the scene where Sety I’s craftsmen left part of their master’s titulary frieze uncarved. Here one sees a procession of ten incompletely erased divinities. A broad swath of dense chisel gouges extending across the three most complete gods at the left end is residue from their removal. It is not clear whether Sety’s workmen carved his titulary frieze in plaster used to mask this residue or if they simply left it incomplete. Sparse traces of the arms, waists, and torsos of several additional gods are embedded in the decorative border separating the final scene from the titulary frieze, along with another above the vulture at the far left end. In addition, under Nut, there is preserved the top of a short column of text in sunk relief. Here one sees only three signs \(, n \ p\textit{i} \ iri, “…for the one who makes …”\)

247 Traces extend into the scenes below: cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 145.
and extending into the scenes below (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 145) belong to another row of deities from the obsolete decoration. Dense toolmarks also obscure the peaks of Monthu’s plumes and Isis’ solar disk.

In completing the new decorative program, Sety I’s artists retouched the reliefs cosmetically at some points: the king’s forward shoulder and the bottom of his lower arm from its elbow to its wrist; and the front of Atum’s rear arm from his armpit to his thumb. Nelson did not capture some finer details including: light modeling on the bodies of the goddesses which defines their inner thighs and the division of their legs or facial markings on Monthu’s falcon’s head. Plumage on the vulture’s lower wing is also less complete and is absent from its tail.

Translations:
Label: Censing and libating to his father(s): the Great Ennead.

By Monthu: Monthu, lord of Thebes, residing in Iuny, as he gives life: “(I) have given to you all valor. (I) have given to you all victory.”

By Atum: Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, the great god, as he gives all life: “(I) have given to you all health.”

By Shu: Shu, the great god, lord of heaven, as he gives all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health: “(I) have given to you all food. (I) have given to you all provisions.”

By Tefnut: Tefnut, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: “(I) have given to you years of eternity. (I) have given to you the throne of Geb.”

By Geb: Geb, father of all the gods: “(I) have given to you all flat lands. (I) have given to you a great jubilee. (I) have given to you offerings of loaves.”

By Nut: Nut the great, who bore the gods: “(I) have given to you myriads of years. (I) have given to you the kingship of Re.”

By Osiris: Osiris, Formost of the Westerners, the great god, lord of the sacred land: “(I) have given to you my seat and my throne. (I) have given to you my office of dual king. (I) have given to you your lifetime as long as [heaven] exists.”

By Isis: Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of heaven, Weret-hekau: “(I) have given to you years of eternity. (I) have given to you the kingship of Horus [on earth].”

By the King: The good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENPEHTYRE RAMESSU, give life like Re.

a. Unless this epithet is meant to associate Monthu with Atum by giving him an affiliation with northern Egypt, this should perhaps be interpreted as hrty-ib Twn(y), referring not to Heliopolis, but to ancient Iuny, modern Armant, a major cult center of Monthu 20 km south of Thebes. See Pierre Montet, Géographie de l’Égypte Ancienne I, (Paris, 1957), p. 72. Monthu is called nb Twn[y] as early as the Sixth Dynasty in the tomb of Ihy at Thebes: Percy E. Newberry, “A Sixth Dynasty Tomb at Thebes,” ASAE 4 (1903), pp. 97-100.
An alternative solution might be to read the title as a reference to Heliopolis or even an ellipse of nb Iwnw <Šm³w>, “lord of <Southern Egyptian> Heliopolis,” but note the absence of which militates against a reading of Iwnw, “Heliopolis” in either case. However, this sign occurs in GHHK I.1, pl. 111:5, although this also refers to Iuny [Armant] and not Heliopolis. The same writing of Iuny with appears in the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak: Pierre Lacau and Henri Cheverier, Une chapelle de Sesostris Ier à Karnak, (Cairo, 1969), p. 78, §186 and n. a; p. 89, §235 (20). Luc Gabolde suggests that these apparent miswritings of Iuny perhaps resulted both through deliberate association with the name of Heliopolis and also by the fact that the ending .y was weak (Luc Gabolde, by personal communication).


c. Miscarved as instead of .

d. This may be a contracted writing of hb.w- sd ṣi wr.t, “a great many jubilees,” dictated by lack of space. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 79:6-7.

e. Reading ḫpw ḫw, “offerings of loaves.” Or, if is to be understood as dfβw, then read “food-offerings and provisions” ṭḥm. V, p. 569.

f. On all three signs the sculptor failed to carve the “bump” that regularly occurs on the side of , but one was later added to the first sign as an engraved line.

g. Note the determinative of ḏmn.tyw.

h. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 145 left:11: \( di.n=(i) n=k "h".w=k r \text{ wnn } hr.t \).

i. By analogy with col. 29, there is room for [ṭp брос] at the bottom of this column: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 90:10, 93:8.

j. These four short columns were left unnumbered on the drawing.

k. Nelson has erroneously misoriented 
It actually faces right as it normally would, not left as indicated in the drawing.

**PLATE 139**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 43 (152) I.2.

**Location:** B 218: West wall, north wing, top register, second scene north of the large one at the south end.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels under the vulture-goddess Nekhbet and offers a conical loaf of bread to Seth, who is followed by his consort, Nephthys.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Sety I’s belt has three narrow horizontal bands on either side and through its middle, probably of some lighter color, but only the pattern is evident. Decayed pigment remains on his collar.

**Observations:** Numerous traces of the arms and bodies of a procession of divinities carved by Horemheb in sunk relief onto his Second Pylon are embedded in the frieze above this scene. There is, additionally, part of an erased di. [n]=(i) n=k formula inside the solar disk of the first uraeus on the left. A few small veneer stones were used to patch Seth’s advancing foot and the front of Sety I’s body (the latter being mended with three small blocks), and two were employed on Nephthys’ wig and the back of her torso. Hacking left over from removal of Horemheb’s reliefs is concentrated in a few spots, including the bottom of Sety’s nomen (which was completed in plaster) and Seth’s head and chest. Large gaps in the top frieze and a hole at the bottom of col. 11 seem to be fortuitous rather than deliberate. Neither Seth’s figure nor the text containing his name were attacked by iconoclasts. As a whole, the relief is in good condition, although a block containing the vulture’s lower wing has buckled and threatens to fall away. A few subtle details not shown in the drawing are a vertical rib inside the upright of Sety’s Red Crown and the lightly modeled ankle bones of Sety I and Seth. Nelson has misconstrued the shape of Seth’s wig and lappet, which more closely resemble those of Shu, Geb, and Osiris in the previous scene (pl. 138).

**Translations:**

**Label:** ¹Presenting a conical loaf of white bread to his father Seth, that he might achieve ‘given life.’

**By Seth:** ²Words spoken by Seth, great of strength,

³residing in the temple (called) ‘Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN ⁴in the Estate of Amun’: “(I) have given to you all life and dominion, all health, ⁶(and) all joy on my part.”

**By Nephthys:** ⁷[Words] spoken by Nephthys, [the god’s] sister, ⁸as she gives all life, ⁹(and) all joy ¹⁰like Re: ¹¹“(I) have given to you myriads of years, [you appearing] like Re.” ¹²d

**By Large Vulture:** ¹²Nekhbet.

**By Small Vulture:** <Nekhbet>, ¹f as she gives life.

**By the King:** ¹³The lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, ¹⁴the lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, ¹⁵given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-6 and 8-9.

b. in the di. [n]=(i) n=k formula were mistakenly carved as through confusion with a hieratic original.
c. Cf. RIK I, pl. 42-C:7 (nb.t-hw.t, sn.t-nfr, hnw.t t3.wy).

d. Given the size of the lacuna above mi

\[ R^\circ \] (of which \[ \rightarrow \] are lost in the gap), restore \[ \rightleftarrows \]: h².ti.

e. The sculptor miscarved \[ \downarrow \] instead of

\[ \searrow \].

f. This identity is suggested by the Southern Egyptian lily on which this vulture rests, as she extends \[ \nearrow \] “dominion,” toward the king’s names at the left.

PLATE 140

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 43-44 (152) I.3-4.

Location: B 219-220; West wall, north wing, top register, third and fourth scenes north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses I kneels beneath a vulture-goddess, (Left) offers wine to Horsiese and Hathor of Dendera (Right), and presents a nemset-jar to Sobek, who is followed by the goddesses Tannenet and Yunyt (fig. 231).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Patterns of stripes on Ramesses I’s nemset-jar (Right) are merely natural strata in the bedding of the sandstone and continue in the negative space around and above this vessel. Faint vestiges of concentric bands on the broad collars of Horsiese, Hathor, the king (Right), and Sobek remain, but their colors have decayed beyond recognition.

Observations: Cosmetic reworking is limited to Horsiese’s front shoulder and Tjennenet’s belly and the small of her back. No remnants of Horemheb’s suppressed decoration are visible in this scene. Diagonal striations inside Sobek’s wig are, in fact, natural layers in the sandstone’s bedding. Dense toolmarks from erasure of obsolete decoration is most concentrated inside Horus’ wig, Hathor’s sun disk, and Yunyt’s head and midriff. Post-pharaonic occupants of the Hypostyle Hall introduced small beam-holes in Horus’s rear leg, and at the left sides of cols. 7 and 12 (Right). Larger gaps resulted where portions of carved surface sheared off through natural decay. Vertical bands in the ribbon border under the cartouche frieze are more complete than drawn. Nelson overlooked or abbreviated other features in his record, including the vultures’ wing plumage, Horus’ belly, Sobek’s snout and his tail, and the fold in Ramesses I’s (Right) nemes-headcloth above his ear.

Translations:

(Left) Label: 1Offering wine to his father Ho]rus, [that he might achieve ‘given] life [like Re]”

By Horus: 2Horus-Son-of-Isis, 3the great god,

4residing in Karnak: 5Words spoken: “(I) have given to you myriads of jubilees. 6(I) have given to you the years of Atum.”

By Hathor: 7Hathor, lady 8of Dendera, lady of heaven, 9Weret-hekau: 10“(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries. 11(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands, forever and ever!”
By the Vulture: "Wadjet.

By the King: The good god who performs benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands MENPEHTYRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSU, given life like Re.

(Right) Label: Greeting with a nemset-jar for his father Sobek, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re.’

By Sobek: Sobek, lord of Sumenu:

(I) have given to you all life and dominion. I have given to you all health. I have given to you all joy. I have given to you food and every catch of fowl and fish.”

By Tjenenet: Tjenenet, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands:

(I) have given to you the years of Re. I have given to you all flat lands. I have given to you your monument, enduring like heaven.”

By Yunyt: Yunyt, the daughter of Re, lady of heaven, Weret-hekau:

(I) have given to you the Nine Bows gathered together. I have given to you food and provisions. I have given to you the strength of the Two Lords with life and dominion.”

By the King: The lord of the Two Lands MENPEHTYRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSU, given life like Re.

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d. Direct examination of the wall and of high resolution photographs reveals that the sign which Nelson records as more closely resembles (a variant of Gardiner’s signlist T 11), with its distinctive notch and bulbous fletching at the left end. This is surely a miswriting of the mace hieroglyph (signlist T1), which has the value mnw. These signs are nearly identical in the hieratic from which the draftsman worked (Cf. Georg Möller, Hieratische Paläographie II, nos. 439 and 448). We must have here, then, a highly abbreviated writing of Sumenu (Mahamid el-Qibli, near Gebelein), a cult center of Sobek in Upper Egypt. See AEO II, p. 22; Eberhard Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues, p. 93; E. Brovarski, “Sobek,” LÄ V, pp. 1002-1004; W. Helck, “Sumenu,” LÄ VI, p. 110. Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 108) mistakenly reads this as “Sobek, der Herr von Krokodilopolis.” Cf. our note f to GHHK I.1, pl. 36:37.

e. Reading hw dfw.

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PLATE 141

Bibliography: PM II, p. 44 (152) I.5; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 102.

Location: B 221: West wall, north wing, top register, fifth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Ramesses I, with the Horus falcon
hovering above his head, runs a ritual race with two -vases in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re and Hathor, lady of the Southern Egyptian sycamore (fig. 232).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Ramesses I’s belt has a latticework design, but its colors are not apparent. Otherwise, no paint remains.

**Observations:** Traces of Horemheb’s sunk relief decoration on the Second Pylon consist of some obscure vertical gashes inside the king’s body; and the center of a large winged disk, , of the Behdetite embedded at the right end of the cartouche frieze (traces of its epithets occur in GHHK I.1, pls. 142-143). No malicious hacking is apparent, and dense scoring by a chisel on and around Amun’s chest and arm and on Hathor’s chest and wig resulted from the removal of the otiose decoration. The same must be true for random gouges on the king’s legs and kilt. Ramesses’ advancing forearm was recut below his wrist.

**Translations:**

**Label:** Offering libation to Amun-Re, lord of heaven.

**By Amun:** Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of heaven, pre-eminent (in) his sanctuary, the great [go]ld who is on his great seat, as he gives all life, stability, and dominion: “(I) have given to you my years as king.”

**By Hathor:** Words spoken by Hathor, lady of the Southern Egyptian sycamore: “(I) have given to you life and dominion. (I) have given to you joy. (I) have given to you love of you, it being great like Re.”

**By the King:** The dual king MENPEHTYRE, the son of Re RAMESSU, given life like Re, whom Amun has caused to appear in Karnak.

**By the Falcon:** <The Behdetite>, as <he> gives life and dominion.


### PLATE 142

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 44 (152) I.6.

**Location:** B 222: West wall, north wing, top register, sixth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Ramesses I runs a ritual race, carrying ship’s gear—an oar and —before Amun-Re and Hathor, Lady of Byblos.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** In the upper right corner of this plate, Nelson records traces of suppressed Eighteenth Dynasty decoration embedded in the cartouche frieze, viz.: of the Behdetite’s epithet [”. In addition, there are further vestiges: a long, horizontal sign, probably .
just to the right of the “flag” of that overlaps a solar disk surmounting the first cartouche on the right; a long, mostly horizontal gash just below of Imn in Sety I’s nomen that continues into the hood of a large uraeus at its right, surely part of ; and a curving trace near the base of this same cobra’s hood which is either or . Another curving gash is situated beneath the left uraeus’ hood and of Sety’s prenomen rebus, but it aligns neither with the shaft of nor the left end of above. If not simply fortuitous, then it must be a disk, perhaps for . Taken as a group (and conscious of vestiges of a winged disk in the previous scene) these elements may be reconstructed as , or perhaps , part of a longer text that undoubtedly—based on numerous parallels—read Bhdyt ntr 3 sbi šw.t, “the Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage.”

Patches of residual chisel gouges stemming from removal of these Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs afflict the vulture’s forward wing, surviving portions of Amun’s torso, Hathor’s shoulders, and her legs at her knee and calf. A few patching-stones employed to ameliorate the most severe of such toolmarks are missing, notably a large, deep hole in Ramesses I’s body, along with smaller gaps inside Amun’s torso, in the space between the two divinities, and over Hathor’s ankles. Otherwise, damage to this scene reflects natural wear-and-tear. Since Nelson recorded it, the second nomen cartouche in the top frieze and the uraeus to its right have fallen away.

Nelson misinterpreted, or simply failed to record, a number of subtle details. There is a groove inside the upright of Ramesses I’s Red Crown, and unusually, the head of Amun’s w3ś-scepter has a distinct mouth, slanted eye, an ear, and even a pointed nostril (cf. observations to pl. 137). Vertical stripes in the ribbon border above the scene are more complete than indicated, and two of Amun’s fingers on his forward hand are intact. In addition to the ribbon in the middle of Hathor’s wig, she wears another filet tied around the crown of her head, but this lacks a knot at the back. In contemporary reliefs from the Hall, Hathor’s wig does not have a tripartite design with lappets, but covers her rear shoulder, thus Nelson’s “sic.” Note that a ka-standard behind Hathor is part of the adjacent scene (GHHK I.1, pl. 143).

Translations:

Label: 1Taking possession of the oar for Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By the King: 2The good god, lord of the Two Lands

248 The disk and horizontal traces are recorded in GHHK I.1, pls. 143 and 267.
MENPEHTYRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU, true-of-voice for[ever].

By the Vulture: Nekhbet, as she gives all life, stability, and dominion.

By Amun: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of [he]aven, king of the gods:

Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and victory. (I) have given to you all food, (and) provisions. (I) have given to you the Black Land, the Red Land, (and) every foreign country gathered together.”

By Hathor: Hathor, lady of Byblos, as she gives all life and dominion, as she gives all health, as [she] gives all joy.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 8.

b. Traces of the left flail and flat bottom of dmD remain above Amun’s foot.

c. For Hathor lady of Biblos Kíp(ny) see Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen IV, p. 150.

PLATE 143

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 44 (152) I.7.

Location: B 223: West wall, north wing, top register, seventh (last) scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by Hathor, Lady of Turquoise. A vulture hovers above the king, while behind him stands a ka-standard with his Horus name (fig. 233-234).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded traces abound, including horizontal bands and a belt with long streamers on Hathor’s dress, stripes on Sety I’s nemes-headcloth, including its “tail” behind his shoulder, a latticework motif on his belt, and a pattern of rectangles on his belt apron, but no colors are discernable. An armlet on the bicep of Sety’s rear arm has a lighter band (yellow?) between two darker ones (blue?).

Concentric rings of faded pigment define Amun’s broad collar, the outermost one being wider than the rest.

Observations: Deep chisel gouges disfigure this relief in several areas, most concentrated on Sety I’s face, the biceps of his forward arm, the elbow joint of his other arm, parts of the sky-sign above the scene, and Amun’s fetish stand. Hathor’s figure is also dappled with toolmarks. Aside, perhaps, from Sety’s face—unless this too is simply unfortunate—all this damage appears to be random, and likely originated with the erasure of Horemheb’s reliefs on the Second Pylon.

Extensive traces of this suppressed decoration survive, entangled as sunk relief palimpsests in Sety I’s titulary frieze at the top of the wall. Although Nelson recorded some of this residuum, his copy is not without errors, and we can now identify more palimpsests. In the top right corner, one sees the oval body and short tail of a huge vulture, but its head is that of a cobra mounted on a curving, serpentine neck. Its large, round eye is intact amid hacking. None of these elements are fully captured in Nelson’s drawing, nor are portions of its wing. Its forward wing is angled up more on the bottom, while its
downswept wing is longer and wider, extending as far as the tops of cols. 10-12. Nelson’s wingtip feathers are too short and appear to point in the wrong direction, nor did he indicate the rounded hindquarters of the raptor’s body, its tail, or two long wingtip feathers of its advancing wing inside the solar disk of Sety’s third prenomen rebus from the right. Sculptors’ chisel marks amid the vulture’s image betray their efforts to remove it, but these were not thorough, and they must have resorted to smearing plaster to cover the rest.

This vulture’s cobra head suggests that she represents Wadjet. Confirmation may be found in a suppressed hieroglyph embedded in the solar disk of the second cartouche from the left end of the frieze, but this sign is not quite as Nelson copied it. Its fingers and thumb do not point to the right, but in the opposite direction. No further traces immediately below or to either side of this glyph attest to the missing text, but it likely belonged to the group part of Wadjet’s titulary, which may be reconstructed as \([Wadjet, D(p(y).t P(y).t)],\) “[Wadjet, she of D[ep and Pe].”250 Additional traces on this part of the wall are discussed elsewhere.251

A number of veneer blocks were inserted into the wall, notably at the bottom of Sety’s ka-standard (this stone is now missing) and at the lower part of the offering table. Nelson omitted or distorted a number of elements in his copy. Above Sety I, the architecture of his vulture’s forward wing is more elaborate, Sety’s belt has a buckle and there is a looped sash next to the leftmost streamer of his belt apron (indicated by an engraved line), his navel is teardrop shaped with modeling for his belly fat, Amun’s phallus is circumcised, the top of Amun’s eye and eyebrow are preserved, as is his lower lip, while the front of his beard juts out slightly from the tip of his chin. Nelson did not draw two long streamers with rounded edges that dangle from Hathor’s wig and reach almost to her elbow (figs. 233, 336).252 The vertical ribbon border at the right edge of the scene lacks the double lines that Nelson drew on each side. Some details of the food offerings on both the altar and Sety’s tray are also mischaracterized, especially the roast ducks.

**Translations:**

*By the King:* 1 The good god who makes monuments for his father Amun, 2 the dual king MENMA’ATRE, 3 the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, 4 given life like Re.

*By Ka-standard:* 5 The living royal ka of the lord of the Two Lands, master <of the ritual>, a pre-eminent in the robing room, pre-eminent in the house of the morning.

*Serekh:* Horus: mighty bull, “appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live.’


251 Part of in the first sun disk are discussed in the commentary to the preceding plate. On traces of the atef-crown of Amun’s barge embedded in Hathor’s feet, see notes to plate 150, below.

Hathor appears with identical streamers hanging below her enveloping wig on a lintel block of Sety I found in his Gurrah memorial temple. It remains unpublished and does not resemble descriptions of lintel blocks from the outer pylon of the temple noted in *PM II*, p. 408 (1-2).
By Amun: Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, king of the gods, the great god who is upon his great seat. Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life [and dominion], (and) health.”

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

By Hathor: Hathor, lady of Turquoise, as she gives all life and dominion: “(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands.”

a. So restoring $nb <ir.t h.I>$ which is doubtless and ellipsis due to lack of space. See glossary s.v. $k3$.

b. Traces of the left end of $\text{[ ]}$ and the left artery of $\text{[ ]}$ persist along the left edge of the gap, leaving just enough room for $\text{[ ]}$ below.

c. Most of $\text{[ ]}$ remains below $\text{[ ]}$, so reading $mi R^c$.

d. For Hathor lady of Turquoise, or perhaps, lady of Wadi Maghara, see Leitz, Loxikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen IV, p. 62.

PLATE 144

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.1.

Location: B 224: West wall, north wing, second register, first scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels on a mat gesturing with an aba-scepter in one hand and censer with the other before Amun-Re and Hathor, lady of Dendara. A vulture hovers above the king (fig. 235).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Concentric bands of faded paint show the design of Amun’s broad collar, but the colors are indistinguishable. No other paint remains.

Observations: In a cosmetic change, the sculptors recut Hathor’s necklace. A deep hole in the lower part of col. 7 may be due to later occupation of the Great Hypostyle Hall or to a missing patch-stone. Otherwise, the relief is well preserved, and other damage appears to be fortuitous. Plaster infill used to mend a number of small cavities adheres in several instances. Note that the block with the peaks of Hathor’s plumes has shifted to the right and is no longer in alignment with the base of her crown.

Translations:

Label: Censing.

By Amun: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, king of the gods: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy.”

(I) have given to you all food. (I) have given to you my seat and my throne forever and ever!”

By Hathor: Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Dendara: “(I) have given to you the [kingship of Horus] like Re. (I) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords, with life and dominion.”

By the King: The lord of the Two lands MENMA’ATRE, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.
a. Due to a miscalculation that caused Amun’s forward plume to intrude at the bottom of this column, the sculptor was forced to shorten the shaft of radically. It ends at the level of the base of. Not realizing this, Nelson has confused the shaft of with the text divider on the right. Again, due to the rake of Amun’s plumes, this divider actually terminates at the level of in the epithet nb p.t.

b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 4 and 7.

c. So reading Iwn.t, “Dendara,” Hathor’s well-known cult center. So contra Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 111, n. 97, who wrongly interprets this toponym as “Armant.”

d. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 138:34.

e. Below the round sign, surely, nothing can be made out on the wall, but to its right a curving trace corresponds to the right side of the cord of.

f. So contra Sharkawy’s (Amun-Tempel, p. 110, n. 94) erroneous reading, “der großartig erscheint in Hermonthis,” i.e. Iwn.t(y) (modern Armant). The epithet 3 h³w m Iwnw Êm³w is well attested in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Cf. glossary s.v. 3.

PLATE 145

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) II.2-3; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 11, king and Amun (Right).

Location: B 225-226: West wall, north wing, second register, second and third scenes north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Two scenes: (Left) Sety I kneels on a mat and elevates a broad collar and a pair of bracelets to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by the Theban avatar of Hathor (fig. 235); (Right) Sety I lays his hands on an offering table laden with food for Amun-Re, who is followed by Hathor of Hutsekhem.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: (Left) Concentric bands of paint cleave to the broad collar Sety offers to Kamutef while (Right) the pattern of Sety’s collar and that of Amun are visible, but all these colors are unrecognizable, and there is no other pigment.

Observations: Minor cosmetic adjustments to the figures abound in both episodes. On the left, the artists enlarged Sety I’s cap crown at its summit. They also reworked the top of his rear upper arm, and they shifted the upper part of his forward arm lower. It is recut from armpit to elbow, and plaster used to mold its lower side still clings to the wall. Nelson indicated this latter operation as a dotted line. On the right, the sculptors retouched Sety’s belt, his breast, and the inside of his forward arm just below his armpit. They also augmented the front shoulders of both Amun and Hathor. Amun’s profile; chin, throat, and his beard were modified, while Hathor’s eye was reworked maladroitly.

Later occupants of the Hall gouged out
Kamutef’s penis. Dense hacking in Sety’s forehead (Right) and to the vulture above him, however, resulted from the king’s erasure of Horemheb’s sunk relief decoration on the Second Pylon’s. Hieroglyphic traces of these carvings are discernable behind the vulture (Right), for which see our commentary to pl. 138, above. Note that a dangling “uraeus” behind Hathor’s crown (Right) is merely two gouges. Damage at the top of cols. 5 and 8 (Right), and to Sety’s titulary (Left) is natural erosion. Nelson did not record a curved line inside the root of Amun’s arm indicating his rear shoulder.

Translations:

(Left) Label: 1 Giving a broad collar to his father.
By Amun: 2 Amun-Re-Kamutef, the <great> god a who is upon his great seat: 4 Words spoken: b “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. 5 (I) have given to you (my) power as a god.”
Behind Amun: 6 Every protection—all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy—surrounds him like Re forever.
By Hathor: 7 Hathor, chieftain<ess> of Thebes, c as she gives all life, 9 as she gives all dominion:
10 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you years of eternity. 11 (I) have given to you south, north, west and east gathered together.”
By the Vulture: 10 Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.
By the King: 11 The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, e [the son of Re], f lord of appearances SETY-[MER]ENAMUN.

a. Nelson’s copy is erroneous here, only is actually inscribed here, and the space at the bottom of this column is more crowded by the slope of Amun’s plumes than his drawing suggests. Moreover, the right hand text divider adjacent to 1Imn-Rf k3-mw.t=f is illusory.
b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5 (Left) and 8 (Right).
c. For parallels to hrm.<t>-tp W3s.t, cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 165 right:1; 232 left: 9.
d. The column number 11 was mistakenly reduplicated here.
e. Nelson omitted traces of the right side of .
f. Reading [s’A.n=Im]n m [nsw]. The was either never carved or has worn away.
g. Reading rdi.t h.t hr h3.t. See Wb. III, p. 224. The artist has lavished his efforts on depicting the facial features of .
h. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichenungen* IV, pp. 103-104.

i. One sees a trace of the duck’s bill of . For this epithet before nb ḫrw, and parallel to ntr nfr, see (inter alia) *GHHK* I.1, pls. 20:9, 24:13, 53:49, 65:2, 71:11, 104:12, 142:3.

**PLATE 146**


*Location:* B 227-228: West wall, north wing, second register, fourth and fifth scenes north of the large scene at the south end.

*Subject:* Two episodes: *(Left)* Sety I waves an ḫaba-scepter with one hand while reaching toward four meret-boxes with his other in front of ithyphallic Amun-Re, and one of the Hathors worshiped in Southern Egypt. A vulture soars over the king. *(Right)* Sety I drives four calves toward Amun-Re and another local Southern Egyptian form of Hathor. The Behdetite floats over Sety in the guise of a solar disk with two pendant uraei (fig. 236).

*Type of Relief:* Raised.

*Paint:* Concentric bands of discolored paint define Sety’s broad collar *(Left)*, but no other pigment remains.

*Observations:* Deletion of Eighteenth Dynasty sunken reliefs on the Second Pylon has left patterns of shallow cavities on the later figures, many of them still filled with plaster. Nevertheless, a deeply carved silhouette of the ram’s head prow of Amun’s Userhet barge remains as a palimpsest where Sety I’s two scenes meet. Its atef-crown, capped with a solar disk, is embedded in Sety’s head and torso *(Right)*, along with residue of plaster used to hide these elements. Traces of ostrich plumes that flanked the main shaft of this atef-crown are visible inside the king’s arms.

Sety I’s craftsmen reworked the top of his upraised rear forearm *(Left)*, but they made no other modifications to their initial carvings. Nelson omitted, or failed accurately to convey, some finer points of these reliefs in his drawing. *(Left)* He did not capture the full intricacy of the vulture’s inner wing. He also missed one side of a triangular flap on Sety’s kilt to the left of his belt apron and its streamers. On the uppermost meret-chest, the sculptors engraved individual filaments on both feathers, and the quills on all eight plumes. Only the top meret-chest has its distinctive pattern of horizontal and diagonal bands, and it appears that Sety’s craftsmen discontinued carving such embellishments on the others. *(Right)* One sees a rib in the upright of Sety’s Red Crown, along with his belt-buckle and a curving hem between the front of his kilt and his belt apron. There is modeling on the throats and chests of all four calves. Vandalism in these scenes is limited to Amun-Kamutef’s penis which later squatters in

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253 Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 267.
the Hall partially hacked. Although large sections of masonry have shorn away at the left end of the relief, it generally remains in excellent condition.

**Translations:**

*(Left) Label:* 1Striking against the meret-boxes four times for Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, 2[that he might achieve 'given life, stability and] dominion like Re forever.'

*By Amun:* 3Amun-Re Kamut[ef], lord of heaven, 4the great god, pre-eminent in [his] sanctuary, 5who is upon his great seat: 6Words spoken: 7“(I) have given to you the throne of Geb. 8(I) have given to you what the solar disk illuminates. 9(I) have given to you what the solar disk encircles. 9(I) have given to you my lifetime as king of the Two Lands.”

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

*By Hathor:* 10Hathor, lady of Wadj<et>, 11as she gives joy, 12as she gives life and dominion: 13“(I) have given to you south and north. 14(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries gathered together.”

*By the Behdetite:* 15The Behdetite, the great god, as he gives all life.

*By the King:* 16The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA<ATRE>, 17the son of Re SETY-[MER]ENAMUN, 18given all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

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*a.* Restoring [iri=f di ‘nh qdl] w3s mi R* q.t.

*b.* Repeated mechanically above cols. 7-8 *(Left) and 4-5 (Right).*


*d.* There is hacking on the wall below in col. 7, but no trace of the feminine marker remains. If not simply omitted, it was, perhaps, carved in plaster. On the toponym *Mddt*, a cult place of Hathor in the 13th Upper Egyptian nome, see Horst Beinlich, “Medjedni,” in *LÄ* III, p. 1276; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 68*; Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 26;

2, (Bonn, 1976), pp. 150-156.

PLATE 147

Bibliography: PM II, p. 44 (152) II.6.

Location: B 229: West wall, north wing, second register, sixth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I holds a staff and mace in his left hand and with his right hand extends an 'aba-scepter towards Amun-Re’s shnt-shrine while four men wearing plumes in their hair climb up the shrine’s support poles as they erect it before him. Nekhbet flies above Sety in her vulture form.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Aside from faded pigment defining the pattern of the god’s broad collar, none is preserved.

Observations: Residual toolmarks on the surfaces of the figures stem from erasure of obsolete decoration on the Second Pylon, of which only two obscure traces in the flabellum and behind the god are still evident. Amun’s facial features are partly carved in plaster used to mask such cavities, while similar defects account for shade in Nelson’s drawings amid some of the hieroglyphs. Sety’s artisans recarved their master’s rear leg at his calf along with the lower left side of his tail. Amun’s upper arm appears too thin, and blobs of plaster along its lower side indicate that the craftsmen attempted to thicken it to more normal proportions in that medium. Nelson failed to record a segment of the lappet of Sety’s nemes-headcloth extending below his arm and a double line that bisects the head of his mace. Note, too, that Sety’s nemes has its normal “tail,” although its rounded end is missing; Nelson's suggestion of two “streamers” below the king’s shoulder is erroneous.

Translations:

Label: 1 Erecting the [pole of the shn.t-shrine for Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘giv]en [li]fe like Re.”

By Amun: 2 Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, 3king of all the gods, the great god 4who is upon his great seat: 5Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my [po]wer and my strength. 6(I) have given to you my [li]ftime as king. 7(I) have given to you the jubilee(s) of Re. 8(I) have given to you myriads of years.”

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

By the Vulture: 9Nekhbet.

By the King: 10The lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 11the lo[rd of] appea[rances] SETY-MERENA[MUN], 12whom Amun-Re has chosen, 13given life.


b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 6-8.

c. The sculptor has miscarved for .

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PLATE 148


Location: B 230: West wall, north wing, second register, seventh scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I stands between Horus and Seth, who pour over him streams of water represented as signs of life (figs. 237-238).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Concentric rings lightly etched in the surface around the king’s neck may have guided the artists’ hands in painting Sety’s broad collar, but no pigment remains here or elsewhere.

Observations: Later occupants of the Hall deliberately cut away the bottom of col. 9, perhaps to excavate a beam-hole that they never completed. Above Sety’s head, the gap is due to natural erosion. Low density patterns of shallow toolmarks abound on all three actors, a hallmark of Sety I’s removal of Horemheb’s decoration on the Second Pylon. A concentrated line of such damage extends from Sety’s head through Horus’ head. Much of the plaster infill the Ramesside workmen used to cover such defects coheres. They applied stucco to the legs of both Seth and the king, not merely to patch holes, but to mold the finished surface. Where stucco has fallen away, the carved surface is badly pockmarked and too flat. Nelson did not capture the subtleties of Seth’s face, creases at the corner of his mouth, modeling along the top of his snout, and his nostril. The Behdetite’s right-hand wingtip and its titles were partly carved in plaster, now decayed.

Translations:

By Seth: 1 Words spoken by the Ombite, lord of the land of Southern Egypt: “(O) my son, whom I love, the king, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, I have purified you with life and dominion, that you may become young again like your father Re, and that you may celebrate jubilee(s) like Atum, and that you might appear as ruler of joy. Your purity (is) my purity; my purity (is) your purity, (O) lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN!”

By Horus: 6 Words spoken by Horus: “(I) have purified you with life and dominion; your lifetime (is) the lifetime of Re: may you celebrate very many jubilees, that [you] might appear [like Re].

Your purity (is) my purity; my purity (is) your purity, (O) lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE!”

By the Winged Disk: The Behdetite.

By the King: The good god MENMA’ATRE, given life.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-4 and 7-9.

b. Reading mry=i. One would expect , but the second was omitted for lack of space.

c. So restoring <nsw>. See Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 114, n. 126, citing LD III, pl. 124d. But the sign which stood in the gap in Lepsius’ time was , thus it seems
the ancient sculptor omitted  unless is merely a dittography of the bottom of the previous column or if the latter is meant somehow to stand as an ideogram for nsw, “king.” One would expect  

d. So perhaps restoring something like h5.[t mi R7]. Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 33:4-5; 34:6; 46:17; 90:10; 97:5-6.

**PLATE 149**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 44 (152) II.8.

**Location:** B 231: West wall, north wing, second register, eighth scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Falcon headed Khonsu²⁵⁵ and Atum lead Sety I by the hand into the temple of Amun. A falcon hovers over the king’s head.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Traces of decayed paint cling to Atum’s wig, collar, and the king’s collar, but no colors are distinguishable.

**Observations:** No deliberate vandalism is apparent, and chisel marks scattered throughout the relief are spoor from removal of the original carvings on the pylon. One sees shallow pitting on the main figures. Khonsu’s legs, the lower part of

his kilt, Sety’s legs, and the base of his apron, are all peculiarly flat and were partly built up in stucco. Swollen plaster still clings to some parts of the wall.

There is evidence that the sculptors were hurried in finishing their work. They initially miscarved the bottom of Khonsu’s belt, then corrected it. In addition, they defined the lappets of his wig with an engraved outline, not true relief, and they made its left lappet longer than its right. Recutting is limited to enlargement of the thumb of Khonsu’s left arm grasping his w3s-scepter.

Note that the front of Khonsu’s wig (by his cheek) and Atum’s belt buckle are absent from the drawing. A short gap separates the text divider to the right of col. 4 with the scene divider to the right of Khonsu’s w3s-scepter, which is also thicker. At the bottom of col. 1, Nelson drew a “” which is illusory.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ¹Coming in and going out: inducting the king into the temple of his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Khonsu: ²Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes:
³“Proceed ye to the temple, ⁴that you may see your father, the lord of the gods.”

By Atum: ⁵Words spoken by Atum, the lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: ⁶“Come [to] the temple ⁷of your father,⁸ Amun-Re, that he may give to you ⁹eternity as king of the Two Lands, ¹⁰(and) that he may endow your limbs with life and dominion.”

By the King: ¹¹The good god, son of Amun, ¹²the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, ¹³the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN,

²⁵⁵ Normally, Monthu accompanies Atum in the act of leading the king into the temple. Cf. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 50, 78, 111, 179, 199. There seems to be a close iconographic link between the two gods as when falcon-headed Khonsu wears the same solar disk with tall plumes as Monthu. Ibid., pl. 95.
a. The sculptor apparently carved below di ‘nh and then erased it.
b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-4 and 6-8.
c. The group was carved this way deliberately, with of wdš and the seemingly otiose upper of ir=k being part of one design. If the latter was ever suppressed, it was only done so only in paint.
d. The usually found in the writing of It, “father,” is omitted.

PLATE 150
Bibliography: PM II, p. 44 (152) II.9; Schwaller de Lubic, Karnak, pp. 566-567 with figs. 25 and 26b, pl. 42, Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 100, Amun and Mut.
Location: B 232: West wall, north wing, second register, ninth (last) scene north of the huge scene at the south end.
Subject: Sety I kneels in front of Amun, who steadies his khepresh-crown. Hathor, lady of the Red Land, stands behind Amun. In front of Amun and the king, Thoth records Sety I’s titulary on a year-staff, while a vulture-goddess soars over the king (fig. 239).
Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: Due to the relative protection afforded by its proximity to the northeast corner of the Hypostyle Hall, traces of paint in this scene are richer than elsewhere on this wall, however, only the patterns of these designs can be detected as all the colors have faded beyond recognition. Horizontal stripes embellish the interior of Amun’s throne. Alternating bands of lighter and darker pigments define the broad collars of Amun, Sety, and Thoth. A latticework motif on Sety’s belt, as well as armlets on his biceps and bracelets on his wrists, are also visible. These armlets consist of a band of lighter pigment framed by two darker ones.
Observations: As in the scene above (GHHK I.1, pl. 143), a deeply carved palimpsest of Horemheb’s erased sunk relief decoration on the Second Pylon is well preserved at the extreme right edge of the scene adjacent to the pylon’s massive torus molding, because here Sety I’s workmen were less thorough in shaving back the Eighteenth Dynasty surface before they laid out and carved his new decorative program for the Hypostyle Hall. Hence, extensive traces of the massive ram’s-head stern piece of Amun-Re’s huge Userhet river barge with its elaborate atef—crown remain embedded in the figures of Amun and Hathor, and continue into the scene above. Here one sees the ram’s curved horn and ear, its forehead and the bridge of its nose, the rear curve of its wig (with traces of the individual plaits of hair in the deep groove adjacent to the horn), and the top of the wig where it merges with the horns.

256 Compare the situation on the extreme south end of the south tower of the Second Pylon, the only portion of that structure where extensive traces of suppressed decoration remain. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 266, and see our commentary to pls. 12, 20-21, above.
257 See GHHK I.1, pl. 143. For photographs and a reconstruction of these traces, see Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, p. 567, fig. 26b.
Its atef-crown has a conical body that flares out at the top between a pair of tall ostrich plumes. Horizontal ram’s horns extend to either side at its base, and on these rest two large uraei with solar disks which flank the crown’s feathers. Chisel marks inside the deep sunk relief cuts of the ram’s head and wig attest to efforts directed at their removal or are, perhaps, keying to secure plaster infill inside the deeper crevices left from their incomplete erasure. Stucco was employed to mask these traces and to carve portions of Amun and Mut that are now missing where it has fallen away. Finally, plaster once filled innumerable shallow gouges along the base of the scene and inside Thoth’s body.

Sety I’s craftsmen recut the lower bicep of Thoth’s rear arm, but no further cosmetic adjustments are evident. Small parch-stones, now lost, were inserted in the front of Amun’s throne and at Hathor’s rump. Nelson did not record some minor details, including modeling on Sety’s khepresh-crown and its double rim behind his ear, lines separating three individual terminals of his flail, part of the division between Amun’s plumes, and the lower hem of his kilt extending from where his tail meets his lap to the front corner of his throne. Along the right edge of the scene, the inner lines of the vertical ribbon border were never carved, and Nelson’s drawing is erroneous on this point.

**Translations:**

*By Thoth:* a Words spokenb by the lord of Hermopolis: "(I) have established your name for you to be king which I inscribe with my fingersc myself, as (I) unite for you the reed d to the papyrus as a document of legal possession in your grasp."

*Beside Year-staff:* e Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,’ the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life.

*By Amun-Re:* f Words spokena by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, residing in the temple (called) "Effective is SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun: (I) establish for you the crowns on your head, when you appear as dual king."

*By Hathor:* g Words spoken by Hathor, lady of the Red Land: “May your heart be glad in the presence of your father, who has ordained for you the kingship of Atum. (So long as Re exists, so shall your name exist; (and) so long as heaven exists, (so shall) your deeds (exist) likewise.”

*By the King:** h The dual king MENMA’ATRE, i the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, whom his father Amun has caused to appear in order to exercise his kingship.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-4 and 7-8.

b. The scribe has omitted the -determinative.

c. So reading m db3:w= (i), “my fingers” not x3=i, portions of two –signs are visible which Nelson mistook as be. I am grateful to Benoit Lurson for pointing this out to me.

d. Reading imy.t-pr n hfk=k. The tall sign is

228
its left cross-bar is preserved next to the lower right part of  

Below di ‘nh (and perhaps not to be read with the text above) are signs signifying “million(s) of jubilees.”

Only the left end of  is carved in relief while the rest was cut in plaster, now lost.

**PLATE 151**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 44 (152) III.1; KRI I, pp. 206:11-207:11; RIT A I, pp. 179-180; RIT:ANC I, pp. 135-136; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, p. 566, figs. 24-25.

**Location:** B 233: West wall, north wing, third register, first scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Sety I, assisted by Wepwawet, Khnum, Horus, and accompanied by the Southern Egyptian Meret-goddess, crew a royal ship that tows the river barge of Amun (shown in the next plate).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Horemheb’s program of decoration on this part of his Second Pylon also featured a scene of a royal vessel towing Amun-Re’s great Userhet river barge, but his iteration differed from Sety I’s relief in a number of ways, not the least of which was its vastly larger scale.²⁵⁸

The nearest parallel—after which Horemheb modeled his own scene—is a representation of Amenhotep III’s royal ship towing Amun’s river barge on the north wing of the Third Pylon.²⁵⁹ Unlike Sety I’s papyrus skiff, manned by a crew of divinities, both Eighteenth Dynasty tow vessels resembled an actual royal barge of a type common during the New Kingdom, and they were manned by human oarsmen.²⁶⁰ In the present scene, remnants of its hull are embedded in Sety’s craft starting from the legs of Khnum and Horus and continuing through the rear of its hull and steering oars into the adjacent scene of Amun’s Userhet barge (GHHK I.1, pl. 152).

Among the traces of the hull of Horemheb’s tow ship, one sees a number of rectangular “slots” separated by narrow raised partitions, and these are even more pronounced in the adjoining scene. Comparison with Amenhotep III’s royal barge is instructive since it was also carved in sunk relief. As was customary for superimposed elements in sunk relief compositions, this ship’s long oars are treated in raised relief where they overlap its hull, being highest at their juncture with lower edge of the hull. Here similar “cells” appear as the gaps between the oars. It is also here that Amenhotep’s sunk relief is most profound where the sculptors indicated the incurring bottom of the hull. By this analogy, when Sety I’s masons shaved back

²⁵⁸ Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 267. See also reconstruction in Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, 566, fig. 25.

²⁵⁹ PM II², p. 61 (183); Key Plans, loc. KC 101-104; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, p. 596, fig. 55, and pls. 96-97.

²⁶⁰ A similar royal barge tows the Userhet on the west exterior wall of Ramesses III’s temple in the First Court of Karnak (Epigraphic Survey, RIK II, pls. 87-88).
Horemheb’s composition on the Second Pylon, these deeper cuts could not easily be eliminated, so they filled them with plaster, some of which still adheres in a long groove below the aft hull of the later skiff.

On the right half of the scene, at the very bottom of the watercourse, only a few engraved segments are left from an erased pattern of zigzag lines that indicated ripples of water on the Nile. Moreover, this watercourse is carved as sunk relief at its bottom, but in raised relief at its top. Similar traces of waves appear below Amun’s barge in the next scene, where the river is also carved as sunk at the base and raised on top. In Horemheb’s version, the Nile’s surface was located higher up on the wall as the horizontal line of “cells” representing the level at which his suppressed barge rode in the water attests. In keeping with the smaller scale of Sety’s new edition, his artisans shifted the Nile’s top surface lower, and they carved it in bas relief. As a result, they erased nearly all of the incised waves from Horemheb’s composition, except in a few places at the base of the watercourse, but never carved them anew.

Deep erosion from natural causes has obliterated much of the carved surface in the left part of the scene, most of which Nelson records as large gaps in his drawing, but human agency accounts for some of the damage. Zealots brutally hacked the hands and faces of Sety I, Meret, and the other two male divinities. They also cut deep gashes through the wrists of Khnum and Horus as if to sever them from their arms, and they pecked out their signs. This pattern of defacement is at once deeper, but less methodical than post-pharaonic iconoclasm usually seen in the Hypostyle Hall or on the adjoining gateway of the Second Pylon. They also vandalized the falcon-head finials on the steering posts; and selected hieroglyphs (human figures and birds’ heads) in cols. 1, 2, 22, 25, 26, 29, and 30. Note that the head of the -standard, behind near the prow, is intact, however its tall plumes are destroyed except for their summits. Finally, a number of round holes at the front of the barge (between the divine standards, at the middle of the Meret-goddess’ body, and in the hull below her figure) must date to after the pharaonic age, but they are otherwise hard to explain, as is the rectangular slot near the front of the vessel’s hull.

Visible losses to Wepwawet’s figure are due to weathering. Nelson did not copy some parts of

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261 Normally in the Hypostyle Hall, the iconoclasts thoroughly destroyed the limbs and heads of the figures, even beyond the outer cuts of the original relief, but they did so with shallow pecking that has not left deep gouges such as we see here. Cf. inter alia, GHHK I.1, pls. 3, 13-14, 113-115, 118, 124-125, 128-129, 133. Other examples of this methodical defacement are found on various columns in the Hall and on the gateway and inner passage of the Second Pylon (PM II, pp. 42-43 [148a-b, g-h]). Ptolemaic reliefs on the façade of the gateway are to be published by a Belgian mission under the direction of René Preys. Reliefs in the eastern passageway, originally sculpted by Ramesses I and recarved under Ptolemy VI, will appear in a future volume devoted to the gateways of the Great Hypostyle Hall. See now Murnane, KMT 5, no. 3 (1994), pp. 15-24; Murnane, et al., ASAE 78 (2004), pp. 98-102.

262 Shading on Wepwawet’s arms and the rope in his hands (as indicated in Nelson’s drawing) is not hacking, but exfoliation of the carved surface which has left a ghostly outline of the figure below the level of his shoulders. Presumably the iconoclasts attacked
the Meret-goddess’ rump and legs.

Translations:

By Horus: ¹Horus, foremost of the cataract.

By Khnum: ²Khnum, lord of the cataract, as he gives all health.

By the King: ³The lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE.

By Wepwawet: ⁴Wepwawet of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands.

By Meret-Goddess at the Prow: […] Southern Egyptian Meret.*

Above the Barge: ⁵Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,’ ⁶the of the Two Ladies: ‘repeater of births, mighty of the khepesh-sword, subduer of the Nine Bows,’

⁷Horus-of-Gold: ‘repeater of appearances, powerful of bows in all lands,’ ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life,

⁹the good god who performs benefactions for his father the king of the gods, (and) enlarges ¹⁰[his] river-barge as the likeness ¹¹to th[at which is] in heaven—being worked with ¹²the gold of the mountain-tops, (and) made dazzling ¹³with every (sort of) august ¹⁴precious stone, the “faces” (being) of [gold], ¹⁵the “head[s]” of lapis-lazuli.

The ornament of ¹⁶Re is on its figurehead; his processional cult statue ¹⁷is in/on […] ¹⁸elevating ¹⁹his cult image in its interior. ²⁰It has illuminated the primordial ocean with its beauty, ²¹like Re at his rising in the horizon. ²²It is the king himself who gives instructions for seeking out benefactions for his father: its like has not been seen ²³since the time of the ancestors, except for…his person, the son of Amun whom Re-Atum loves—²⁴to whom was given an increase over what existed previously, ²⁵he has surpassed what the ancients have done. The gods jubilate in front of him while rowing him to the <Southern> Sanctuary.²⁶His august [son] SETY-MERENAMUN is pleased very greatly as they tow, with a loving heart, what belongs to²⁷Amon. [The gods] say with one voice to the king of the gods: ²⁸“How brilliant is what your son does for you. Be beneficial to him, inasmuch as he is beneficial to you. May you give to him the south gathered in submission, (and) the north fallen to his divine power. May you reward him with millions of years, (and) myriads of jubilees, inasmuch as he has ornamented your august barge (named) ‘Amun-is-Mighty-of-Prow!’”

a. Nelson has misinterpreted Meret’s title. What he takes as in the unnumbered column in front of her is actually part of . For a parallel, see GHHK I.1, pl. 37:2.

b. Reading s³3 wi3=[f] ip itrw m sny r n.[ty] m p.t. Our translation differs from that of Kitchen (RITA I, p.179): “… who enlarges [his] river-[barge] in conformity with his status (‘name’) in heaven.” A third possible translation would be “…who enlarges his river barge as something which surpasses that (one) which is in heaven.” Traces of are not as Nelson drew them. Just one vertical trace remains,
presumably representing the flag masts in front of its cabin-shrine. Cf. the same hieroglyph at col. 34 where only one flag mast appears (not two as Nelson indicates) and unlike *GHHK* I.1, pl. 152, cols. 9 and 18 which each do have two flag masts. Otherwise, only the flat base upon which the vessel rests is preserved. The presumed is lost in the gap, and a supposed trace of indicated by the drawing is erroneous.

c. Restoring *sThn.(w) m [aA.t] nb.(t).*

d. No vestige of [ ] survives. The reference to “faces,” *hr.w*, is probably to the ram’s head prow and stern aegis figureheads.

e. Kitchen translated *tp.w* as “head(gear),” *RITA* I, p. 181. It presumably refers to the wigs of the prow and stern figureheads, in contrast to their ram’s “faces,” *hr.w*. See previous note.


g. No obvious solutions to restoring this gap present themselves. However, the text does not give a concrete description of the *Userhet* barge itself, so the missing phrase is probably not a term for some part of its structure (i.e., its podium, cabin-shrine, etc.). Rather, the context is mythical, emphasizing the king’s role in assisting the solar deity in the guise of the air god Shu who raises the sky to support Amun. Decoration on the pedestals of sacred barks may show four royal figures supporting a -sign (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 76; *Abydos* II, pls. 5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 23; Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 248-249). Likewise, small royal figures on the sledge of Amun’s portable bark steadying its four canopy poles, and another that supports the forward hull, also represent the king as Shu (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 53, 76, 178, 180; 226; Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 196-197, 225). See Herman Te Velde, “The Theme of the Separation of Heaven and Earth in Egyptian Mythology,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977), p. 161-169. Sety I is compared to Shu in a text glossing the adjoining scene (*GHHK* I.1, pl. 152: 19-20; *KRI* I, p. 209:3-4). In this context, the term *shy*, with its -determinative, has more cosmological overtones (*Wb*. IV, p. 236). By contrast, words like *twAy*, “support,” *fti*, “to lift up” and *rmn*, “to shoulder/carry” are employed in texts that refer to the king physically carrying the god’s processional bark or cult image (e.g., *GHHK* I.1, pls. 152: 15; 180:5, 12, 20). I am grateful to Christina Karlshausen for her observations on this passage.

h. Here, *ṣsm(w)* could refer either to the cult statue of the god or to his portable bark that encloses it (and is, in turn, enclosed within the cabin-shrine of the *Userhet* barge). Karlshausen, *inter alia,*
distinguishes the terms ššmw, “cult image” and ššm (n) ḫwি, “processional bark” (Karlshausen, *L’iconographie*, pp. 268-271). Eaton, however, argues that Egyptian texts are too vague to make such a neat distinction and that, moreover, ššmw may refer both to the gods in a mythological context and to the king himself. Catherine Eaton, “Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the New Kingdom,” *ZÄS* 134 (2007), pp. 18-19.

i. Reading š[$h]d.n=f Nnw etc.

j. This appears to be a imperfective active participle in a participial statement in which the prefix has been omitted: so reading <in> nsw ḏš=f ḏd tp-rd.

k. Reading d[r] ḫk (with miscarved as ḫk).

l. For parallels to hr ħn.t, cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, pls. 20:3 (with note b); 69:10; 83:15; 91:2.

m. This is surely an abbreviated writing of ḫp.ḫ-rsy.t, “the Southern Sanctuary,” i.e., Luxor Temple.

n. Reading St-[y]-mr-n-[Amn ḫrw.(w) [r] ẖt [w]r.[f] ḫth=sn. This is one of a number of possible reconstructions of this broken passage. For additional interpretations see RITANC I, p.136.

o. Literally, “those (things) which carry (or belong to)” Amun—in any case, referring to the river barge of Amun.


PLATE 152

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 44 (152) III.1; Legrain, *Karnak*, fig. 123; KRI I, pp. 207:12-208:3; *RITA* I, p. 180; RITANC I, pp. 135-136.

**Location:** B 234: West wall, north wing, third register, second scene north of the large scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Sety I stands on the deck of the Userhet river barge of Amun and censes the god’s processional bark resting inside its cabin-shrine. On deck, in front of Sety, the bark of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari rests on a pedestal, while behind the cabin are those of (top) Khonsu, and (bottom) Mut (figs. 240-241).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** As in the previous scene, remnants of the aft hull of a royal barge from suppressed Eighteenth Dynasty decoration on the Second Pylon persist amid the foreword hull of Sety I’s depiction of Amun-Re’s Userbet barge. Plaster still adheres in several of the rectangular “cells” where the hull and rowing oars of Horemheb’s royal

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263 Mostly destroyed, but (by analogy with other examples, e.g. pl. 38) virtually certain.
tow-barge intersected (see commentary to previous plate). Inside col. 23 at the far right end, Nelson recorded the upper right corner of the prow aegis collar of Horemheb’s Userhet barge. Horizontal lines running through the ram’s snout on the stern figurehead of the Ramesside Userhet barge correspond to tow ropes from Horemheb’s expunged version. In the watercourse below, a few segments of erased waves from the old relief are visible, but as in the last scene, Sety I’s artists never carved new ones. A zone of random gouging with some intact plaster caulking resulted from removal of the old decoration.

Several cosmetic modifications were affected by the sculptors to Sety I’s relief, to wit: they recut his breast, feet, and the top of his rear leg; the solar disk on the prow aegis of Amun’s portable bark; and the paddles of its steering oars. They even adjusted the leg of a small royal figure kneeling before three jackal-headed souls of Nekhen below the bark of Ahmose-Nefertari. A solar disk at the base of the atef-crown on the prow aegis of Amun’s barge was completed in plaster, while on its stern piece, the artist modified its curving ram’s horn, completing the final version in plaster, now fallen away, but which also clings to its wig. Anciently, someone hollowed out the eye of the forward ram’s head aegis, perhaps to secure an inlay in connection with a cult of the Userhet barge practiced in the later New Kingdom.

Malicious damage in this relief is sporadic. Most vandalism was directed against Amun’s processional bark inside the cabin of his river barge. Iconoclasts hacked the smaller vessel’s cabin-shrine, prow aegis, and tiny figures on its forward deck. At the same time, perhaps, two rectangular holes were excavated above the bark’s forward carrying pole. Defacement of individual hieroglyphs is confined to text above the vessel’s stern (viz.: and in col. 15).

Translations:

Above Barge: ‘Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord [of the Thrones of the Two Lands]: (O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands MENMAATRE, my heart is pleased with your monuments in Thebes, and I am content with what you have done. My heart is in joy, since you have made great monuments in my temple, (and) you have illuminated Karnak with the workmanship of eternity, like the sun disk when it rises at dawn. You have hewn for me (my) august river-barge, ‘Amun-is-[Mighty-of-Prow], with genuine conifer-wood of the ridge-tops. The ‘faces’ thereof are of gold, worked with lapis-lazuli. Never has the like been done since the primeval age of the land. You have [placed] your processional statue, carrying my cult image the great and august podium which is in my bark, just as Shu acted for his father Re. I know the beneficent deeds that you

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264 This continues in the next scene, although Nelson does not indicate them there (pl. 153), but cf. pl. 267.
265 A ram-headed avatar called Amun-Re-Userhet appears in a relief of Ramesses IV on column 28 of the Great Hypostyle Hall: Louis A. Christophe, Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes, (Cairo, 1955), p. 51. In the south wing, an anthropomorphic form of Amun as the source of the Nile inundation also had an inlaid eye. See commentary to plate 36, above.
have done. 

I have caused your lifetime as king (to be) like the permanence of heaven.”

By Vulture-goddess: Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

By the King: MENMA’ATRE SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, given life.

By Ahmose-Nefertari’s Bark (in front of shrine): AHMOSE-NEFERTARI.

By Khonsu’s Bark (behind shrine, top): Khonsu-Nefertibre.

By Ahmose-Nefertari’s Bark (behind shrine, bottom): [Mut…].

a. Reading a as mdh, “to hew.”

b. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 151:34. Collation at the wall of a trace at the top of col. 11 confirms that it is the forehead, eye and ear of .

c. Reading a s m[Aa n] tp-tw. The top of a long, flat sign is preserved below the -determinative for conifer-wood (Gardiner’s sign list M 41). This could be either or conceivably . The gap, however, is large enough to accommodate two flat signs, viz.: and , although no trace of the latter remains (contra KRI I, p. 208:1).

d. There is scarcely room for anything larger than , hr.w (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 151:13).

e. Reading n(n) zp: has in fact been carved instead of the correct (Gardiner signlist (O 50). So contra KRI I, 208:1.

f. Reading [di] k htn.ty=k hr t<w> by ssm(w)=i. So contra Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 118, n. 175 who reads [ir] k etc. The trace preserved here, if reliable, does not suit the paleography of elsewhere in the relief (e.g., cols. 13 and 19), but does match the hand of .

g. See commentary to pl. 151, note f, above.

h. So reading t3y as a writing of t3 “to support, carry,” with the determinative . Wb. V, pp. 248-50 offers no clear parallels to this orthography.

i. See commentary to pl. 151, note h, above.

j. The top of a long, flat sign, probably , is visible at the top of col. 17.

k. D. Jones, A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms, (London, 1988), p.153 lists various suggestions for isp.t/ip.ts without further comment. The term is a variant of ibs(w)/ibsy.t. Wb. I, pp. 64:13 and 69:15. In the Coffin Texts (Spell 681), it seems to refer to a catafalque (Ranier Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch vol. II, p. 162) and here may refer to the podium inside the cabin-shrine of the Userhet barge on which the processional bark rested during transport.

l. This is a reference to Shu raising the sun god into heaven in his role as a god of the atmosphere as a metaphor for the podium in the barge’s shrine. See our
commentary to pl. 152, note g, above.

The following lines are not numbered on the plate.

PLATE 153

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.2; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 19.

Location: B 235: West wall, north wing, third register, third scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels on a mat and presents to ithyphallic Amun-Re (who is followed by Hathor of Cusae) a silver statuette of himself, shown kneeling and presenting ointment. Between Amun and Hathor stands the god’s distinctive tent-shrine. A falcon hovers over the king’s head (figs. 242-243).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A diagonal gash that cuts through Amun’s crown and Hathor’s shoulders is a vestige of the hull of Amun’s river barge from erased decoration of Horemheb on the back of the Second Pylon.²⁶⁶ Shallow cavities scattered throughout the relief, especially on Hathor’s body, are residual toolmarks left over from Sety’s removal of these obsolete reliefs. His craftsmen recut Sety’s wig (at its bottom and lower front), his breast, and the front of his beard. Entwined coils of the uraeus serpent on his diadem are not as complete as Nelson’s drawing suggests.

Although someone has thoroughly gouged out Amun’s phallus, the carving was spared any further malicious hacking, and other damage is mild and appears fortuitous. A modern visitor engraved the name “Nicolina” in cursive Latin characters just below the lower arm of the king’s statuette.

Translations:

Label: ¹Offering ointment in a statue of silver, which ²MENMAʼATRE made ³for his father Amun-Re.

By Amun: ⁴Amun-Re-Kamutef, ⁵the great god who is upon ⁶his great seat: ⁷Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my lifetime as king. ⁸(I) have given to you ⁹my office of king forever and ever!”

By Hathor: ⁹Hathor, lady of ¹⁰Cusae, ¹¹[lady of heaven], ¹²mistress of the Two Lands: ¹²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you your monument, enduring like heaven. ¹³[(I) have] given to you the years of Re, (and) the power of Shu and Tefnut.”

Behind the King: ¹⁴The king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual MENMAʼATRE shall continually [appear]⁶ on the throne of Horus of the living like his father Re every day.

By the King: ¹⁵The good god MENMAʼATRE, ¹⁶the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁷whom Re-Atum⁴ has chosen, ¹⁸given life like Re.

a. The sculptor carved instead of , probably due to scribal confusion of a original hieratic.

b. This seems to be the most likely epithet that could fit the space. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 146: right 7-9; 231 right 1-2.
c. Restore [ḥ]w.

d. Note the very full spelling of (I)tmw. The name could be taken as Atum-Re or Re-Atum. Cf. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 118.

PLATE 154

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.3.

Location: B 236: West wall, north wing, third register, fourth scene north of the large scene at the south end.

Subject: Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and Hathor of Hetephemu and offers a silver statuette of himself, shown carrying a basket of food on his head. Among these miniature offerings is a rebus of his prenomen (fig. 244).²⁶⁷

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faded outlines on the collars of both Amun and Hathor are visible, along with the pattern of Hathor’s arm bands, her shoulder straps, and the decorative hem at the top of her dress, but the colors are indistinguishable.²⁶⁸

Observations: The bottom of the foreword and central hull of Amun’s Userhet river barge carved in the late Eighteenth Dynasty on the rear of the Second Pylon cuts across Sety I’s relief as a deep gash. Chevron patterns that Nelson recorded inside the diagonal crevice (at Sety’s forward wrist and the front of Amun’s kilt) are not an error on his part.²⁶⁹ Resembling fragments of the zigzag pattern shown in the watercourse under the original royal barge,²⁷⁰ their presence on the hull of Horemheb’s representation of the Userhet is, however, difficult to explain, as I know of no artistic parallels. Perhaps they are a visual representation of the dazzling reflections that would have danced on the gold plated hull of the actual barge as it floated on the Nile in bright sunlight.²⁷¹ Residual chisel marks from the removal of this relief are most concentrated on the plinth beneath Sety, on his shoulder, and inside Amun’s kilt just above the diagonal gash.

No malicious defacement is apparent, and all damage appears to be fortuitous. Sety’s rear arm is flat, having been built up with now-missing plaster used to mask toolmarks. A tall rectangular patch-stone has disappeared from the region of cols. 5-6, along with a smaller one in Amun’s chest. Sety I’s craftsmen recut Hathor’s chin, but made no further modifications to their work.

Nelson has misconstrued a number of minor details. On the vulture’s rear wing, the blade-like feathers of its inner tier are longer and are not separated from the outer row by a curved line; definitely chevrons. Moreover, they are located on the sloping forward hull of the barge, not on its flat, horizontal bottom that was in direct contact with the water below.

²⁶⁷ Cf. GHHK 1.1, pls. 33, 194.
²⁶⁸ See the notes on paint in our commentary to pl. 74 for descriptions of these patterns.
²⁶⁹ One occasionally finds parallel line segments at the base of chisel cuts that are purely fortuitous artefacts of the sculpting process. These marks, however, are

²⁷⁰ See GHHK 1.1, pls. 151-152 with our observations, above.
²⁷¹ One immediately calls to mind the description of Amenhotep III’s royal barge “the dazzling sun disk,” itn ḫn. Embossed gold sheets that plated the Userhet’s Hull are represented visually in Amenhotep III’s reliefs on the Third Pylon (PM II², p. 61 [183]; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 287-291; P. Brand, JARCE 36 [1999], 122, fig. 7); in decoration of Tutankhamun from the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple (Epigraphic Survey, Opet, pls. 76-78, 80); and in a scene from the outer court of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak (Epigraphic Survey, Khonsu I, pls. 12, 21).
The door at the base of the large serekh consists of three single lines, not two double lines, and the left jar on the basket of offerings is not a milk-jug like that to its right, but more closely resembles a-

**Translations:**

*Label:* 1Offering (food)stuff(s) upon the statue of silver which the lord of the Two Lands MENMA\'ATRE made for his father Amun, that he might achieve ‘given life.’

*By Amun:* 4Words spoken by Amun-Re, residing in the temple (called) 5‘Effective is [SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun]:’ 6“(I) have given to you [life] and dominion to your [nose], (O) lord of the Two Lands. 7(I) have [given] to you years of eternity with life and dominion.”

*By Hathor:* 8Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Hetephemu, residing in the temple (called) 9‘Effective is [SETY-MERENAMUN in the Estate of Amun]:’ 10“(I) have given to you years of eternity with life and dominion. 11(I) have given to you the strength of the Two Lords, (and) their victories.”

*By the Vulture:* 14Nekhbet.

*By the Serpent:* Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.

*By the King:* 15The dual king MENMA\'ATRE, 16the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, 17great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

*By the Ka-Standard:* 18Living royal Ka-of the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, pre-eminent in the robing room, pre-eminent in the house of the morning.

*Serekh:* Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,’ the dual king MENMA\'AT[RE].

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-6.

b. A trace of the right “arm” of remains. For 5\(h\) w/s r\(f\) n\(d\)= k cf. GHHK I.1, pl.7:28.

c. Gauthier, *DG III*, p. 145 considers *\(h\)tp-\(h\)m(w) to be a place name for an agricultural territory in the Heliopolitan nome, or a cult center for Hathor-Sekhmet near Heliopolis. For alternate translations see Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeischungen* IV, p. 111.

d. The of Imn and have largely worn away. Damage to the face of seems fortuitous.

e. There is a trace of above the gap.

**PLATE 155**

**Bibliography:** *PM II*, p. 44 (152) III.4.

**Location:** B 237: West wall, north wing, third register, fifth scene north of the huge scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Sety I offers the milk of four cows to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is followed by a form of Hathor native to the western Delta. A vulture-goddess flies over the king’s head (figs. 245-246).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.
**Paint:** Faded pigment of uncertain color defines stripes on Sety’s *nemes*-headcloth, a lattice pattern on his belt, broad collars worn by Sety, Amun, and Hathor, and long streamers dangling from Hathor’s belt.

**Observations:** A gash bisecting Sety I’s midriff is a vestige of the erased hull of Amun’s river-barge, but the vertical trace Nelson indicates on the right side of col. 12 is shallow. Here the hieroglyphs are incompletely carved. Sety’s artisans recut the lappet of his *nemes*-headcloth below his arm, the elbow of his right arm, and Hathor’s chin. Plaster coats much of Amun’s torso. Apart from hacking to the god’s phallus, there is no sign of vandalism, although there are large gaps due to loss of the masonry.

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1Offering milk of the cows* of the estates of Tcheni 2 to Amun-Re, that he may achieve ‘given life.’

**By Amun:** 3Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven,* king of the gods, 4the great god who is upon *his great seat: 5Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you my lifetime as king. 6(I) have given to you years of eternity [with life]e [and dominion].* 8(I) have given to you the flat lands being pacified. 9(I) have given to you my seat and my throne, forever and ever!”

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

**By Hathor:** 10Hathor, lady of Pe and Dep, the charming one,* 11as [she] gives all life, stability [and dominion].

**By the King:** 12Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, [who causes] the Two Lands to live,’ 13the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 14the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, 18whom Re-[Atum]* has magnified 16in order to exercise the kingship.

**a.** For the meaning and reading *id.t* see Gardiner, *AEO II*, pp. 258*-262*.

**b.** The sign beside 1 has been erased, or has worn away, leaving only incised outlines. Murnane tentatively read this round-topped trace as either (Gardiner signlist V 19) or a tall form of (V 20), with the phonetic value *md.(t)*, “cattle stall” (*Wb.* II, p. 185:1). He suggested that the scribe wrote it here with a terminal  through contamination from *kni*, “palanquin,” which is determined with the same sign.


With either solution, the preceding *hw.wt* is surely to be understood in its older (and broader)

c. Miscarved as instead of . Nelson omitted three bands across , and a chevron pattern at the back of the “flag” of 

d. Repeated mechanically over cols. 7-8.

e. Restoring *nhh [m] nh wšš*; cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 2:12; 183:6


Sharkawy (*Amen-Tempel*, p. 120, n. 204) reads “Herrin von Peh und Dep und Kom el ElS” (*nb.t P _p IAmw*). *ImA* - not *Itmw*, stands for Kom el-ElS, Leitz, ibid. pp. 15-16. However, in Wb I, p. 80 the writing corresponds more to “sweet” since it is missing the plural strokes or the sign designating a place name.

g. There is room in the gap for [Itmw]. Compare *GHHK* I.1, pls. 34:12, 98:9.

### PLATE 156

**Bibliography:** *PM* II², p. 44 (152) III.5.

**Location:** B 238: West wall, north wing, third register, sixth scene north of the giant scene at the south end.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels and offers Maʿat before Amun-Re, who was followed by another divinity (destroyed). Behind the king, Hathor lady of Punt holds a year-staff from which hang signs for jubilees.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Hathor’s collar has discolored bands of pigment.

**Observations:** An incised rut that angles up from Sety I’s belly into Amun’s torso was the bottom hull of the god’s river barge that Horemheb had carved on the Second Pylon. Sety’s workmen could not eliminate the deepest remnants of sunk relief,²⁷² but hacking from their attempt to do so pockmarks the figures, especially the king’s lower body. Some parts of the relief were executed in stucco. Where this has fallen away, as with Hathor’s ear, the carving sometimes appears unfinished. Sety’s belt, apron, and streamers are also not as complete as Nelson records. Plaster still clings to Hathor’s body, Amun’s forward leg, and Sety’s rear leg. His craftsmen also recut the right side of Hathor’s wig lappet.

Fracturing and erosion of the stone through natural decay has caused large gaps in the middle and right end of the scene where masonry has fallen away, and this process is ongoing at its left end. Carved details absent from the drawing include: modeling on Sety I’s crown; its lower rim behind his ear; the division of his streamers at their wide end; and two ribbons extending below the knot at the back of Hathor’s wig which Nelson does not record. Note that while Hathor’s rear foot is broken at the ankle, her front foot is sufficiently well preserved to show that it continued below the surface of the king’s platform.²⁷³

²⁷² Fragments of a chevron pattern remain inside this gash where it overlaps the king’s body. See *GHHK* I.1, pl. 154 and our commentary, above.

²⁷³ Cf. the position of the goddess’ feet on pls. 70 and 79.
Translations:
Label: ![Presenting] Ma’at to his father.

By Amun: ²[A]mun-[Re], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ³Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. ⁴[(I) have given to you …].”

By the Divinity behind Amun: ⁵[…] ⁶as […] gives […] ⁷[Words] spoken: “[(I) have given to you …].”

By Hathor: ⁸Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Punt: ⁹“(I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land ¹⁰gathered together ¹¹[under] your ¹²sandals.”

By the King: ¹²The good god who performs benefactions for his father, ¹³lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, ¹⁴the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹⁵given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically a the top of cols. 4 and 9.

b. For Hathor lady of Punt see Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen IV, pp. 52-53

c. ²², normally the determinative of ḏšr.t, may be restored at the top of col. 10: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 35:7 & 193:8.

d. Miscarved as ²² instead of ²².

Subject: Sety I anoints the forehead of ithyphallic Amun-Re with ointment. Hathor, lady of the Delta, stands behind Amun, while a vulture soars over the king (fig. 247).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Residual toolmarks from Sety I’s removal of Horemheb’s Second Pylon decoration scar the relief, especially at the tops of cols. 2-5. As a result, Hathor’s name is damaged, but remains fully legible. Likewise, the summit of Amun’s leading plume is also largely intact. In addition to a diagonal segment of the suppressed Userhet- barge’s hull indicated above cols. 1 and 4, four diagonal gashes descend from the top of these text columns into the base of Amun’s plumes. Nelson records one as a crack, but all are vestiges of the Userhet’s massive steering oars. Iconoclasts gouged out the god’s penis, but no other malicious damage is apparent. Spalling has claimed much of Amun’s face and the king’s, but the tip of Sety’s chin survives.

Nelson overlooked or misconstrued a larger than usual number of elements in his copy: details of the vulture’s beak and inner wing are missing; the coiled body of Sety’s uraeus serpent is present inside his cap crown; his ointment jar does not flare out at the top, and no trace of its cone of unguent remains; the base of Sety’s belt apron continues through his long sash; Amun’s beard remains largely intact inside his shoulder; the pommel of the god’s flabellum fetish is more elaborate; Hathor’s breast, although damaged, is also more complete. Nelson omitted, too, the upper right corner of the offering stand and part

PLATE 157

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) III.6.

Location: B 239: West wall, north wing, third register, seventh (final) scene north of the large scene at the south end.
of a jar resting on it. Moreover, the front of Amun’s pedestal does not cover the lower right base of the stand, rather the opposite is true, and a bouquet draped over the stand has three stems with rounded ends.

Translations:
By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god who is upon his great seat: “(I) have given to you all health.”

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

By Hathor: Hathor, lady of the two shores, as [she] gives all life: “(I) have given to you [the flat lands being] pacified, all hill-countries being under your feet.”

By King: The lord of the Two Lands MEN[MA*A]TRE, the lord of appearances SE[T]Y-MER[AMUN].

a. Repeated mechanically above col. 4.
b. The placement of this $\text{di.n=()} n=k$ formula between the columns devoted to Amun’s titulary is highly unusual, but may have been dictated by concerns over the layout of the text in a more confined space.
c. Most of $\text{is legible, and the sign has not been deliberately erased or tampered with as Nelson’s drawing suggests.}$
d. On $\text{rwd.twy, “the two banks (of the Delta),” see } Wb. \text{ II, p. 413. Lesko, } DLE \text{ I,}$ p. 268, translates $\text{rwd}$ as “shore.”
Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 121, n. 213) compares this term with the dual form of $\text{fn “boundary marker” (Wb. V, p. 372) which often occurs in the dual.}$
e. Cf. GHKK I.1, pls. 155:8 and 160:5 ($\text{di.n=()} n=k \text{ t} \text{t.w m } \text{htp.w}$).
f. So reading $\text{hr rd.wy=k.}$

PLATE 158

Bibliography: PM II², p. 43 (151) IV.3; Medinet Habu IV, pl. 212 (Left).
Location: B 240: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, first scene from the south.
Subject: The king (initially Sety I but usurped by Ramesses II) offers flowers to a processional cult image of ithyphallic Amun-Re resting within his kiosk-shrine with a planter box of lettuce and a kneeling statuette of the king offering wine. A vulture-goddess hovers over Sety’s head.
Type of Relief: Raised, except for Ramesses II’s cartouche which is sunk.
Paint: None preserved.
Observations: Hacking that mars the carved surface at the left end of the frieze of uraei at the top of Amun’s shrine are residuum left from the erasure of Horemheb’s obsolete decoration on the Second Pylon. Sety I’s artisans recut his chest and belly three times to make it broader. They also modified his lower back, rump, the streamers dangling behind him, and the top of his belt. Note that Nelson did not record the back of Sety’s kilt where it projects behind his rear leg.²⁷⁴ Diagonal

²⁷⁴ Cf. GHKK I.1, pls. 31, 76.
markings on his torso probably indicated a priestly sash which the craftsmen suppressed or never fully carved. If so, parallels elsewhere in the Hall hint that Sety also wore a cap crown.\textsuperscript{275} Nelson overlooked a short ramp that descends sharply from the dais supporting the god’s shrine at its front.\textsuperscript{276}

At some point in antiquity, Amun’s image was covered by a veil secured by drill-holes that remain visible at several points around Amun. These are located in the lower part of the rear support of his shrine, inside the cartouche-and-rosette spangled pall upon which his effigy rests, and in an eroded patch under col. 4. There is also a vertical slot above and to the left of the top of the god’s plumes, and there is a square hole just above the sky sign over col. 4.

Several of the cartouche-shaped studs on the pall contain, alternatingly, \textit{prenomen} and \textit{nomen} cartouches of Sety I (their hieroglyphs are incised and, due to their small scale, rather crudely executed); interspersed with round studs containing stars in raised relief, some of which have circular hubs at their centers. Damage to this scene, although extreme, appears to be from natural causes. Several blocks have eroded badly, including those containing Sety’s head, cols. 2-4, and the ribbon dangling behind Amun, and isolated traces of the god’s offerings above the table have now dissapeared. Modern restorers have inserted new masonry below the scene and on the upper left side to shore up the wall. An ancient patch-stone has vanished from the region of Sety’s rump.

\textbf{Translations:}

\textit{By Amun:} Words [spoken] by Amun-Re-Ka-mutef: “(O) my beloved son, [the lord of] the Two Lands USERMA\textsuperscript{a}ATRE-SETEP\textsuperscript{a}RE,\textsuperscript{b} (I) have given to you my life[time …].”

\textit{Behind the King:} The king, [the lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA\textsuperscript{a}ATRE-SETEPENRE]\textsuperscript{a} shall continually cause to appear his father, Amun-Re-[Ka]mutef,\textsuperscript{a} in order to rest upon the dais, inasmuch as he (\textit{Amun}) has [given] to him valor and victory against every foreign country.

\textit{Above the King’s Shoulder:} Every [protection—all life—surrounds him] like Re.\textsuperscript{e}

\textit{By the Vulture:} […], as [she] gives life.

\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] Usurped from Sety I in sunk relief by Ramesses II, although no reliable traces remain.
\item[b.] The trace next to \includegraphics{Image} is not \includegraphics{Image} but the \includegraphics{Image} of \textit{ḥr} w.
\item[c.] Read \textit{s[ḥr]}\textsuperscript{r}.
\item[d.] The hindquarters of \includegraphics{Image} are visible on \textit{Medinet Habu} IV, pl. 212 (\textit{Left}).
\item[e.] Restoring \textit{[s\textsuperscript{f} ‘nh nb h3=f] nb mi R}.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., pls. 157, 197 and 210.
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid., pl. 70.
PLATE 159

Bibliography: PM II, p. 43 (151) IV.1-2; Medinet Habu IV, pl. 212 (Left); priest carrying standard: Legrain, Karnak, pl. 191, fig. 122; lower left side: Azim and Reveillac, Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/157, vol. 2, pl. 4-3/157.

Location: B 241-242: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, second scene from the south.

Subject: Preceded by three subregisters of priests, carrying standards, Sety I escorts the statue of ithyphallic Amun-Re as it is borne aloft on the shoulders of the priests. Behind the procession, a larger image of Amun (followed by that of Amunet) stands before a laden table of offerings (figs. 248-249).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: The sculptors retouched their work at several points: Sety I’s forward arm on both sides; the larger Amun’s front shoulder, phallus, and the back of his leg and heel; and Amunet’s crown at its front and back. This larger Amun served as recipient of cultic devotion as square holes for securing a veil attest. They are evident just below col. 6, above Amun’s foot, and in front of Amunet’s thigh. Iconoclasts completely gouged the smaller Amun’s phallus, but were less thorough with the larger’s member. Parts of the relief have disappeared since Nelson recorded them, including277 the pommels of two large fans held aloft before the god, a text in front of him, and the bottom of col. 8. Nelson overlooked the larger Amun’s beard, and he did not copy the dado pattern composed of two thick bands framed by three narrow ones that remains mostly intact below the scene.

Translations:

In front of Amun in Procession: [Amun-Re-Kamut]ef, lord of heaven [...].

By the King: The good god, lord of the [Two L]ands [...]; the son of Re, lord [of appearances [...]], a [given life] like [Re].

By the Larger Figure of Amun: 1[Amun-Re]-Kamutef, lord of heaven, 2the great god, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, 3who is upon [his gre]at seat: 4Words spoken:b “(I) have given to you [all] life, stability, and dominion [...]. 5(I) have given to you [all] valor and all victory. 6(I) have [given] to you all flat lands and every hill country gathered together.”

Behind Amun: Every [protection]—all [life], c stability, and dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, (and) all victory—surrounds him.

By Amunet: 7Amunet, lady of [Karonak], [mistress of] the god[s]. d 8Words spoken: “(I) have [given] to you all food.”

a. It is not clear whether Ramesses II usurped Sety I’s cartouches in this relief as he did in the adjoining scene to the south.

b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-6.

c. So restoring  at the top of this column where incrustation of salts and decay of the sandstone had rendered this portion of the wall illegible.

d. Read Imn.t nb.[t] lp]. t-[sw.t] (determined

277 Cf. Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3171.
of joy. Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health. (I) have given to you all flat lands being pacified.”

By the Vulture: Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion like Re.

By Serpent: Wadjet, as she gives valor and victory [...].

By the King: Horus: mighty bull, [‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live’], the dual king, lord of the Two Lands [MENMAAT]RE, the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-[MEREN]AMUN, [given life like Re], image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum himself [created] to be ruler of every land.

a. Note the unusual second of rdi.t. The determinative of mnḫ.t is written probably for.

Although a trace of that Nelson records is erroneous, and here the wall is encrusted by salt deposits, this unusual grouping of determinatives is an ancient “mistake,” not simply faulty copying by Nelson. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 123, n. 233 is mistaken. Cf. Wb, II, p. 87.

b. Repeated mechanically above col. 5.

c. Carved mistakenly as instead of.

d. Given the spacing, this should have been arranged beneath the cartouches.
Traces along the bottom left edge of col. 12 in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 7171 clearly suit  

followed by  , so reading [k]m3.n  

Itmw, etc, which Nelson mistook for  

and two more inscrutable traces. For a parallels to this writing of km3, cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 163 right:2; 166:12. So contra Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 123, n. 237.

PLATE 161

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 44 (152) IV.1.
Location: B 244: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fourth scene from the south.
Subject: Sety I, kneeling, presents an offering to Amun-Re, followed by Mut. A vulture soars over the king’s head (fig. 250).
Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: None preserved.
Observations: Sety’s artisans recut the back of his headcloth and widened his beard on its left side. Plaster still clings between these versions where it joins his chin. Two large holes (just above Sety’s head and between the two divinities) contributed to the destruction of the middle of this relief, but again, this is connected with post-pharaonic reuse of the building.279 Hacking inside the vulture’s tail is not matched by any further sign of vandalism.

Salt deposits encrust the bottom of the relief, but pleating on Sety’s kilt is fully carved.

Translations:
By Mut: 1Words spoken by Mut the great], lady of Iserhu: 2“(O my) a bodily son, the lord of appear[ances] SETY[MER]ENAMUN, 3-4(I) have given to you all flat lands, 4the Nine Bows 5being subdued beneath your sandals, (and) [your arm] not being opposed.” 6Words spoken: “(I) have given to [you va]lor [against] the south, (and) victory [against the north, the flat lands (and)] hill- 

countries being bowed down, 7their products [on their] backs.”  

By Amun: […]d 74“(I) have given to you” every foreign country under [your] sandals.”  

By the King: 8[…] whom Amun himself chose to be sole [lord] on earth for[ever], 9[the dual] [king], lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA’ATRE, 10the son of Re, lord of appearances [SETY]- 

MER[EN]AMUN, 11image of Re in front of the Two Lands […]

a. A trace resembling the top of  is the head of  for the 1st pers. fem. sing. suffix pronoun =i. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 163:3.

b. Carved mistakenly as  instead of  .

c. Note the deformed spelling m ksmw (for m ksw) and its determinative of a bowing Canaanite ruler. See fig. 250.

d. Nelson did not record vestiges of the upper right corner of a column of text in

279 See Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 7332. These holes are now filled with cement, as other large gaps already were in Nelson’s time.
front of Amun’s plumes. But while its text divider is clear, traces of a pair of hieroglyphs are illegible.

e. Cf. stp.n ‘Imn d$=f rdi n=r nb-w$ tp-t$b d.[]. A trace at the bottom of the column seems to be ꜜ. (GHHK I.1, pl. 169:12-13).

PLATE 162

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.3.

Location: B 245: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fifth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents flowers to a divinity (destroyed). A vulture flies over the king’s head.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Remnants of the king’s broad collar are visible in archival photographs.²⁸⁰

Observations: Although there is no apparent sign of recutting, Sety I’s craftsmen must have adjusted his nemes-headcloth, for its lappet is oddly narrow. Moreover, there is a hollow space between the top of his rear shoulder and the bottom of his wig which Nelson misjudged in his copy. It is hard to imagine that the complete loss of the right half of this relief is due only to natural causes.

Translations:

By the King: [1[…] 2[…]³ enduring eternally, [like] a son who is effective for [the one who fashioned him],⁴ the dual king, master of the ritual,⁵ lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE,⁶ the son of Re,⁷ master of strength,⁸ lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re,⁹ the son of Amun, who is upon [his throne].¹⁰

Behind the Deity: (I) [have] given to you […]².¹

a. No conclusive restoration can be proposed. At the top of the column is a standing human glyph—perhaps (a verb of adoration) or (a verb of building)—probably followed by . The last recognizable sign is [], following either a missing [, or associated with something like r(š)-[pr] (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 178:7). The right facing orientation of these signs indicate this text contained epithets describing the king. Instead of the pattern of two box-like “hieroglyphs” shown at the bottom of the column in Nelson’s drawing, only the text divider along with part of a single tall, narrow sign is visible.

b. Restoring rwd.t n nhh [ml] s$ 3h n [ms sw]: the word preceding the adjective rwd.t should be a feminine substantive.

c. Given the spacing and remaining traces, restore [nsw-bity nb ir].ι-h.t.

d. Restoring [s$ R$ nb h]p$: There are definite traces of .

e. Arranged under the two cartouches.

f. Restoring hry [ns.t=f] with a full writing

²⁸⁰ Chicago Oriental Institute photographs 3590 and 7174.
like that in *GHHK* I.1, pl. 166:16.

For traces of this column, see *GHHK* I.1, pl. 163 (Left), behind the vulture’s tail. The final sign is a tall, narrow one, but it is not clear which.

**PLATE 163**

**Bibliography:** *PM* II², p. 44 (152) IV.4-5.

**Location:** B 246-247: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, sixth and seventh scenes from the south.

**Subject:** Two scenes: Sety I kneels, (Left) offers wine to Amun-Re, and (Right) offers a conical loaf of bread to lioness-headed Mut. Wadjet (Left) (fig. 251) and Nekhbet (Right) hover above the king as vultures.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** The masons inserted small patchstones between cols. 3 and 4 (Left). Sety I’s sculptors modified their work at several points, (Left) shifting Amun’s forward shoulder higher and recutting the other. They also retouched the top of his belt, along with (Right) Mut’s belly and thigh, and Sety’s biceps muscle. On the left, a hovering vulture has a serpent’s head as befits her identity as Wadjet. Her name appears partly erased in col. 7 as does  of Amun’s in col. 2. Note that (col. 1, left) has lashings across both its jars. The flaring curve at the base of the offering stand is more subtle and not angular as drawn.

Areas of shade on the drawing denote different things. Sety’s conical loaf (Right) is merely worn, but the tip of Amun’s beard is lost in hacking which further afflicts his upper torso, the zone between his shoulder and the top of his scepter, and the tops of his plumes. None of this is malicious, however, as neither the faces nor extremities of any of the figures were attacked. Instead, we see residue from erasure of the Second Pylon’s Eighteenth Dynasty decoration.

Other damage resulted from erosion, as with deep striations in the sandstone visible in the upper half of both scenes. Mut’s leonine head is discernable in outline, but her carved features are badly worn. Plaiting on her wig is, however, more intact than Nelson indicates, nor did he fully capture the latticework design of Sety’s belt. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall may have removed masonry on the left side, and they also inserted a rectangular hole above the king’s offering (Right).

**Translations:**

(Left)

Label:  

By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands *MENMA’ATRE*, my heart [is] glad at seeing your monument, and I am content with what you have done. (I) have given to you valor and victory like Re. (I) have given to you [your] monument enduring like heaven.”

By hovering Vulture: *Wadjet* of *Pe-Dep*, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the Vulture below: *Nekhbet*, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: *Horus*, [mighty] bull, ‘beloved of Re,’

*the dual king, lord of the Two Lands*
MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN], [image of] Re […]­.

(Right)

By Mut: Words spoken by Mut, lady of Ishe[ru]:
2 "I am your mother who created your beauty. My two arms surround you with life and dominion, (O) lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE. (I) have given to you all life and stability; all health, (and) all joy on her part." (I) have given to you the Black Land and the Red Land …"

By the Vulture: Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion <like> Re.

By [Serpent] under the Vulture: Beloved of [Wadjet, as she gives] life.

By the King: The good god [who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun-Re king of the gods], the dual king, lord of [the Two Lands] MENMA'ATRE, the image of Re—lord of appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN—in front of the Two Lands, whom [Amun]n himself has chosen to be ruler of every land, given life like Re.

c. A trace below the disk is consistent with of ti.t R []; an epithet that occurs after Sety's cartouches in several instances on this register: ibid., pls. 160:12; 161:11; 163 right:10; and which is arranged in the same manner as here in pl. 165 right:11.

d. Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-5.

e. One would expect "dominion," here, but the sculptor has carved instead.

f. One would expect hr=i, "on my part."

g. Reading the sole hieroglyph preserved in this column as for Dšr.[t]: see glossary, s.v. di.n=(i) n=k Km.t Dšr.t.

h. The sculptor miscarved instead of .

i. The substitution of ti.t-R [] for s3 R [], unusual in itself, has also occasioned its separation from the prepositional phrase hn.ty tA.wy that customarily qualifies it. For ti.t-R [] used independently before the cartouche see GHHK I.1, pl. 168:12.

j. So reading r h[kš] n tš nb. The curving trace adjacent to is more circular than Nelson's copy suggest, in keeping with the top of , not of . For parallels, see glossary s.v. hkš n tš nb.
PLATE 164

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) 6-7.

Location: B 248-249: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, eighth and ninth scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: Sety I kneels to offer (Left) a bouquet to ithyphallic Min-Amun-Kamutef, whose planter box of lettuces stands behind him and (Right) a tall vase of ointment to Amun-Re. Wadjet (Left) (fig. 252) and Nekhbet (Right) hover above the king as vultures.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Recutting occurs on both royal figures, at (Left) the biceps of Sety’s rear arm, his neckline, and the top of his leg from waist to knee, and (Right) on both sides of each arm above his elbows. Iconoclasts gouged out Min’s phallus. Other chisel marks, viz.: on Min’s upraised arm and shoulder, and on Amun-Re’s face and shoulders are, however, fortuitous. Weathering is most severe at the level of both gods’ heads, while deposits of salt encrust the relief’s lower half. Nelson did not capture the subtleties of individual ringlets on Sety’s wig (Left) or Wadjet’s face and neck markings. Someone may have attempted to excise the hieroglyphs at the top of col. 2 (Left), perhaps for sale on the antiquities market.

Translations:

(Left)

By Min: ¹Min-Amun-²Kamut[ef], ²³whose beaut[jies are extolled]:⁴Words spoken:⁵“(I) have given to you all valor and all health. ⁶(I) have given to you all joy.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god who makes monuments for his father Kamutef in order to […] ⁸the son of Amun […] ⁹the dual king, lord of the Two Lands] MENMA’ATRE, ¹⁰the son of Re, lord of appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, ¹¹ […] whom Amun himself has chosen.

(Right)

By Amun-Re: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Kar[nak]: ²Words spoken: ³“(I) have given to you valor against the south, (and) victory against the north]. ⁴(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all [joy]. ⁵(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years [of Atum]. ⁶(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakon[polis].

By the King: ⁷(Long) live the good god, lord of […, … crowns], ⁸who takes possession of the White Crown, ⁹the dual king, lord of the Two Lands] MEN[MA’ATRE], ¹⁰the son of Re, lord of appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like [Re], ¹¹[whom] Atum has [chosen].

a. Restoring [³b m] nfr[w=f]. Given the limited space available above the god’s flail, there is not enough room for this to be prefaced by [³b˘], “elevated of arm,” as in GHHK I.1, pls. 186 bottom:3; 193:4; and 216:2. See glossary s.v. ³b˘.

b. Repeated mechanically above col. 5 (Left) and above cols. 3-4 (Right).
c. Above \[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\], there is what looks like  
the head and neck of \[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\], along with the front part of an indistinct sign 
above it: we restore, tentatively, \[\text{\textit{iri mn[\text{n it=f K3-mw].t=f r [\ldots]}, etc.}}\].

d. The sign at the bottom of this column 
does not appear to be \[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\], as the drawing suggests. Rather it is part of a tall, narrow sign.

e. Restoring \[\ldots\text{st}p.n \text{Imn ds=f}.\] There should be room for another epithet above this one.

f. Given parallels and the vestige of  
\[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\] below \[\text{rsy}\], the formula should continue \[n[ht r mht.t]\] (see glossary s.v. \[\text{di.n=(i) n=k kn.t r rsy etc.}\]), but traces Nelson drew at the bottom of the column  
(\[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\] with a \[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\] under it) are 
doubtful. Of this, only the stroke is clear. Instead of a flat sign above, we see two fragments that are compatible with  
and the bottom right “tail” of  
and to the left of the stroke, a possible  
\[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\], so reading  
\[\text{\textnormal{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\].

g. Possibly reading \[\text{hfw}\] at the bottom of the gap.

h. See glossary s.v. \[\text{stp.n}\] for parallels to \[\text{stp.n}\] + divine name.

PLATE 165

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (152) IV.8-9.

Location: B 250-251: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, tenth and eleventh scenes from the south.

Subject: Two scenes: Sety I kneels and (\textit{Left}) offers bouquets to a falcon-headed avatar of Amun-Re-Horakhty (fig. 255) and (\textit{Right}) makes an unidentifiable offering to Theban Hathor (fig. 254). A vulture-goddess (\textit{Left}) and a divine falcon (\textit{Right}) (fig. 253) hover over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few cosmetic alterations to the reliefs are evident. On the left, Sety I’s artists reworked both sides of his belt and his chest. They also enlarged the back of Amun-Re-Horakhty’s wig and his beak. In the process, they may have partially erased his eye and cheek markings. At right, the artists widened the back of Sety’s wig slightly, and they also recut the bottom of Hathor’s headband and shifted her eye.

The masons prepared the wall for carving with at least four veneer blocks located at (\textit{Left}) Sety’s chest (half of it still \textit{in situ}) and the falcon-god’s rear shoulder and (\textit{Right}) within Hathor’s horned sun disk and inside her chest. Plaster bedding for these patches remains, especially at the falcon-god’s shoulder. Modern iconoclasts hacked the vulture’s tail and some hieroglyphs—
in col. 5 (\textit{Left}) and the heads of -serpents in cols. 4-6, (\textit{Left})—but otherwise they largely spared the relief of their attentions.
Isolated defacement to $\n$ in Sety’s nomen cartouche (Right), betrays lighter toolmarks and must date to Late Period animus towards Seth.

Other damage to carved surfaces results from natural defects in the bedding of the sandstone (notably, the masons filled some larger cracks with plaster in antiquity). Ancient chisel marks obscure parts of the falcon’s wing and titulary (Right), but since they contain stucco infill, they are best explained as residue from Sety I’s erasure of Horemheb’s Second Pylon decoration, not vandalism. Large gaps in the upper left and lower right corners may be due to Medieval squatters deliberately removing masonry. Details of the falcon-god’s eye markings, nostril, and beak are more intricate than Nelson’s drawing conveys, and his uraeus lacks a tail.

_Translations:

_(Left) Label:_ 1Giving all (sorts of) good and pure fresh flowers.  
__By Amun:_ 2Amun-Re-Horakhty, 3pre-eminent in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis, lord of heaven:  
4Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all flat lands [(and) all hill countries gathered together].b  
5(I) have given to you a million year[s] forever <in> [j]oy.  
6(I) have given to you all food.  
7(I) have given to you my seat and my throne like Re forever.”

_(Right) By Hathor:_ 1Words spoken by Hathor, chieftain(ess) of Thebes: “(O my) beloved bodily son, 2the lord of the Two Lands MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, 3my heart 4is satisfied with this monument which you\textdagger have made. 4I have given <to you>\textdagger e the throne of Geb and the office of Atum. 5(I) have given to you […]”

__By the Falcon:_ “The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage, as he gives life.  
__By Serpent:_ ?<Wadjet>, as she gives life and dominion.  
__By the King:_ "The good god [who performs benefactions] in the house of his father Amun, 9the dual king, [lord of] the Two Lands MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, 10the son of Re, [lord of] appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whose strength Re has magnified, who makes his border at the ‘Horn(s)-of-the-Earth,’ (and) at the marshlands of Naharin.\textdagger\textdagger"

_a._ Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-6.  
b._ Assuming that this column was as long as its neighbor, there is space for [hls.wt nb.(wt) dmd]. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 146 right:11; 159:6.  
c._ If one follows the tracings on the drawing, this reconstruction requires an oddly compressed spelling of d.t. What Nelson saw is still recognizable on the wall, but with only below the tail of \textdagger, \textdagger, and \textdagger (of 3w.t-ib, bottom) are clear. Even with compression, a more conventional writing of d.t m 3w.t-ib seems impossible.  
d._ Miscarved \textdagger instead of \textdagger.  
e._ So taking di=i as an indicative (perfective) sdm=f. The dative n=k has been omitted.
for lack of space.

f. Although the cobra goddess’ identity is uncertain because she lacks a crown, and since the flower blossom she rests upon is lost, a serpent is more in keeping with Wadjet than for Nekhbet, who generally appears as a vulture.


\textbf{PLATE 166}

\textit{Bibliography: PM II}, p. 44 (152) IV.10.

\textit{Location:} B 252: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, twelfth scene from the south.

\textit{Subject:} Sety I kneels and offers two jars of wine to Amun, who is followed by Khonsu. Nekhbet hovers above the king as a vulture.

\textit{Type of Relief:} Raised.

\textit{Paint:} None preserved.

\textit{Observations:} Random patterns of hacking (e.g., inside the sky sign above the vulture’s head, in Amun’s torso, and to Khonsu’s name in col. 7) are residue from deletion of Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs on the pylon. In preparing this wall for carving, Sety I’s masons inserted patching-stones below his cartouches and in Amun’s front shoulder and chest. His artisans also recut the figures to make small cosmetic modifications to their work: Amun’s belt and forward plume; Sety’s rear arm along its biceps; the back of his wig; and Khonsu’s crescent moon. Evidence of later settlement activity inside the Hall includes several “hitching rings” for tethering domestic animals that medieval occupants opened in and below Khonsu’s hands and at Sety’s rear shoulder. They also mutilated the noses and eyes of all three figures, along with Amun’s ear and the head of Khonsu’s uraeus, but only with light gouges.

In his drawing, Nelson neglected or misinterpreted some finer details. The top and bottom of Sety I’s belt are represented as double lines,\textsuperscript{281} he wears a \textit{shendyt}-kilt as in the next scene, beads on Khonsu’s \textit{menat}-necklace and braids of his sidelock differ from Nelson’s interpretation, and the root of Amun’s beard is preserved in outline, although it has eroded.

\textit{Translations:}

\textit{Label:} \textsuperscript{1}Giving wine to Amun.

\textit{By Amun:} \textsuperscript{2}A[mu]n-Re, lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler of] Thebes: \textsuperscript{3}Words spoken: \textsuperscript{4}“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum. \textsuperscript{5}(I) have given to you [all flat lands and all hill countries] under your sandals. \textsuperscript{6}(I) have given to you […] in your [gra]sp. \textsuperscript{7}“(I) have given to you eternity […] for]ever and ever!” \textsuperscript{6}

\textit{By Khonsu:} \textsuperscript{7}Khonsu-in-Thebes \textsuperscript{8}Neferhotep, the [great] god. \textsuperscript{9}Words spoken: \textsuperscript{10}“(I) have given to you [all] joy […] like Re. \textsuperscript{10}(I) have given to you [all] valor.”

\textit{By the Vulture:} \textsuperscript{11}Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

\textit{By the King:} \textsuperscript{12}(Long) live the good god [who makes] monuments for his father who created [his] beauty, \textsuperscript{13}who has magnifies his [house],\textsuperscript{14} like

\textsuperscript{281} This is not recutting; cf. the more elaborate belts in the following two scenes, \textit{GHHK I.1}, pls. 167-168.
the horizon of heaven, with good hard sandstone, the dual king, ruler of joy, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re who propitiates the gods, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life son of Amun, who is upon [his] throne.

a. See glossary, s.v. ‘Imn-Rê nb ns.wt tity nb p.t hkh3 W3s.t.
b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 4-5, and 10.
c. Among the disparate elements that might be gathered in the king’s grasp are: tâw hîs.wt, pd.t psd.t, Smîw Mîw, and Km.t Đ8r.t: see glossary s.v. di.n= is(i) n=k.
d. See glossary, s.v. di.n= is(i) n=k nhî.
e. There is room either for another substantive “all …” (…nb) or “on my part” (hr=î) in the gap.
f. The sculptor miscarved instead of .
g. There are clear traces of above the gap.
h. There is room for [hkh], at the right side of the column.

PLATE 167

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 44 (152) IV.11.

Location: B 253: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, thirteenth scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels as he offers incense and libation to ithyphallic Amun-Re. A falcon soars above the king’s head.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Cosmetic recutting is as follows: the top of Sety’s forward arm, and his shoulder between his beard and neck; the top of the ribbon dangling behind Amun (Nelson’s line being the lower, original version); and the god’s leg from below his penis to his knee. Iconoclastic denziens of the Hypostyle Hall in a later age partially scratched out Sety’s eye and mouth and thoroughly hacked Amun’s penis, but not as deeply as elsewhere in the Hall. In Sety’s nomen cartouche, is partially damaged, but so is in ‘Imn, and it is not clear that this was intentional. Squatters also inserted four small beam-holes across the middle of the relief (behind Sety’s head, in front of his face; on Amun’s penis, and in the lettuce plant closest to him). Veneer blocks are missing at the king’s nomen cartouche and the bottom of col. 5. Larger gaps in the scene are due to deliberate removal of masonry or, in col. 1 and at Amun’s face, to natural wear. Salt crystals have effloresced on the offering table and Sety’s legs. The rest is in good condition.

Given the density of hieroglyphic texts in scenes along the base of the north wing of the west wall, a few columns of hieroglyphs must be lost from the upper half of this relief. A horizontal inscription below the falcon’s wing would have

282 The Late Period iconoclasm against Seth is attested—sporadically—on this wall and elsewhere in the Hall. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 165:10.
identified him as the Behdetite.\textsuperscript{283} Considering the space needed to accommodate his upper wing, there was at least one additional column of text to the right of col. 1. One of these probably had a Wadjet-serpent or Nekhbet-vulture on a heraldic column flanked by \textit{di=s anx wAs mry}.\textsuperscript{284} If there was another, it would have been an additional speech of Amun headed by \textit{dd-mdw}. Harder to explain are two \textit{-scepters flanking} above cols. 2-3. Raptors hovering over the king sometimes grasp signs for \textit{and} in their talons in Ramesside iconography, but there are no exact parallels for this in early Nineteenth Dynasty walls scenes in the Hall, and the spacing is odd.\textsuperscript{285}

\textbf{Translations:}

\textit{By the King:} [(Long) live] the good [god who performs [benefactions in the house of his father Amun],} a \textit{the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master of strength MEN[MAATRE],} 3\textit{the son of Re whom he loves, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN,} 4\textit{given all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health like Re.}

\textit{By Amun:} \textit{Amun-Re-Kamut[ef],} 6\textit{the great god, pre-eminent in his sanctuary, who is upon his great seat:} 8\textit{Words [spoken:\textit{“(I) have given to you . . .”}.} 9\textit{(I) have given to you all food.”}

\textit{Behind Amun:} Every <protection>—all <life>, \textit{stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy—surrounds him like Re.}

\textbf{a.} So restoring \textit{[\textit{nh ntr} nfr [iri \textit{b[.wt m pr it=f'lmn]}, cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 165:8}

\textbf{(Right). The phrase} \textit{—where it occurs in the Great Hypostyle Hall—always comes at the beginning of Sety I’s titulary. Note that a trace of \textit{is further to the left than Nelson indicates.}

\textbf{b.} Repeated mechanically above col. 9.

\textbf{c.} There is not enough room for \textit{.}

Perhaps a craftsman added \textit{in paint. Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 171:8, 172:6.}

\textbf{PLATE 168}

\textbf{Bibliography:} \textit{PM II2, p. 44 (152) IV.12.}

\textbf{Location:} B 254: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fourteenth scene from the south.

\textbf{Subject:} Sety I kneels and offers a clepsydra to Mut (figs. 45, 256).

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Raised.

\textbf{Paint:} There are faint bands of paint or paint

\textsuperscript{283} Cf. ibid., pls. 165 right, and (by analogy with the vulture-goddess’ titles)160-169.

\textsuperscript{284} Cf. ibid., pls. 160:7, 163:8, 168:10, 178:19.

\textsuperscript{285}In GHHK I.1, plates 39, 45 and \textit{signs, but without flanking \textit{-scepters are clutched in the talons of Nekhbet-vultures. In ibid., pl. 42, a vulture holds a single \textit{-pillar. The closest parallel is in plate 128 where the falcon grasps \textit{with a \textit{below. Note that these are held diagonally.

\textsuperscript{283} In GHHK I.1, plates 39, 45 and signs, but without flanking \textit{-scepters are clutched in the talons of Nekhbet-vultures. In ibid., pl. 42, a vulture holds a single \textit{-pillar. The closest parallel is in plate 128 where the falcon grasps \textit{with a \textit{below. Note that these are held diagonally.}
Observations: Scattered patterns of chisel marks in several zones across the relief (e.g., inside the vulture’s wing tip, at the top of cols. 6, 7, and 9, and the bottom of col. 10) are spoor from the removal of Horemheb’s decoration on the Second Pylon. Sety I’s artists recut Mut’s belly, the back of her rear leg, her eye, and chin. A tool mark on Sety’s cheek is fortuitous (since his features are intact), but light gashes on Mut’s nose and mouth are iconoclastic. A small beam-hole inside the king’s head marches with others in the previous scene. Mut wears a uraeus crowned with a horned disk which, although faint, is preserved in outline.

Translations:

Label: 1 Giving a clepsydra to Mut, lady [of heaven], 2 that he might achieve ‘given life [like] Re.’

By Mut: 2 Mut, the great, lady of heaven, 3 mistress of the papyrus columns: 4 Words spoken: 5 ‘(I) have given to you the [throne]e of Geb and the office of Atum.
6 (I) have [given] to you all food and all provisions. 6 (I) have given to you valor against the south, (and) victory against the north.
7 (I) have given to you all life and dominion like Re. 8 <(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the [power] of Shu and Tefnut.

By hovering Vulture: 9 Nekhbet, lady of heaven, as she gives all life, stability, dominion, (and) health on her part, like Re.

By small Vulture below: 10 [Bel]oved of <Nekhbet>, as she gives life and stability like Re.

By the King: 11 Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in

Thebes, 12 [who causes] the [Two L]ands to live,’ 13 the dual king, image of Re, lord of the Two Lands MENMA†ATRE, 14 the son of Re, whom he loves, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re, 14 who has made for himself a valiant name in every foreign country.

a. The ideogram is (as in col. 1), but here her flail is lightly engraved and may have been added later.
b. Repeated mechanically above cols. 5-7.
c. See glossary, s.v. di.n=(i) n=k ns.t Gb b.t ṭtmw.
d. Per Sharkawy, curving trace above [h:w] is probably of an incompletely carved di.n=(i) n=k formula. The rest may have been laid out in paint at the top of the column.
e. Restore [wsr], there is a trace of the second ear of , + ; see glossary s.v. Św, ṭfnw.t.
f. At the bottom of the column there are clear traces (more than Nelson records) of on the right side, for which we restore [mr], but there is no trace of the presumed at left.
g. So written with instead of .
PLATE 169

Bibliography: PM II 5, p. 44 (152) IV.13; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 8, king’s head only.

Location: B 255: West wall, north wing, fourth (lowest) register, fifteenth (and final) scene from the south.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents Maʿat to Amun-Re (figs. 257-259).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In preparing the wall for carving, the masons inserted a number of small patching-stones into irregular block joints within and to the right of Amun’s chest. Note that Sety’s beard and wig lappet appear too thin, and the sculptors may have recarved them, just as they retouched Amun’s forward arm and leg on their right sides, and the left side of his beard. Apart from defacement of in Sety’s nomen, there is no sign of vandalism. Erosion has left gaps in Amun’s body and his forward hand. Nelson omitted features of the vulture’s head, the fold in the king’s nemes-headcloth above his ear, and strands of the -glyph’s necklace in col. 1. Part of the Ramesside dado motif survives beneath Amun’s rear leg.

Translations:

Label: Presenting Maʿat to her lord.

By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “(O) my beloved son of my body, the lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE, how beautiful is the monument that you have made within my temple. (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum. (I) have given to you all life and dominion and all joy and health like Re.”

By the Vulture: Wadjet of Dep, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands.

By the King: (Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father [Amun], who makes his house with the workmanship of eternity, who embellishes the temples […] the dual king, master of [str]ength, lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE, the son of Re, lord of the foreign countries, lord of appearances [SETY-MEREN[A]MUN, given life like Re, image of Amun-Re] in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen—(namely) the one (King) whom he appointed to be sole lord on earth.

1. Note that the supposed reversal of the “head” of is a mistake by Nelson; traces show it to be oriented correctly.

2. Nelson overlooked traces of the body of , and below, fragments of and of Imn.

3. We see the right end of above the group pr=f.

4. Reading hw.wt-ntr as a plural on the assumption (quite uncertain) that a below is one of a three plural strokes that qualify this word. Leftover vestiges are difficult to interpret into a coherent restoration of this column.
e. Restoring [ti.t] Imn-[R*] at the top of the column seems to be required by what follows. Nelson did not record a curving trace immediately below the \[\text{专栏} \] of Imn, which could be part of \[\text{专栏} \].

PLATE 170

Bibliography: PM II\(^2\), p. 44 (152).

Location: B 256: West wall, cross-wall between the west end of the north wall and the north wing of the Second Pylon.

Subject: Sety I added stereotyped decoration to this marginal space formed by a short cross-wall connecting the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall to the Second Pylon. Although not as well preserved as Ramesses II’s decoration on the corresponding south-west corner, (GHHK I.1, pl. 41 right), we may reconstruct the present relief along much the same lines. Here, two ribbon borders frame a single column of large hieroglyphs giving Sety I’s five-fold titulary. On the left side, where the batter of the Second Pylon afforded a tall, narrow, triangular space, his sculptors indicated three huge stems of what must have been giant papyrus stalks (as befits the northern location of this wall). A winged serpent goddess, now missing, probably surmounted open papyrus blooms. These papyrus stalks are not a perfect mirror of Ramesses’ design in the south-west corner. Here, the main text is wider, leaving less room for the papyrus plant, which has only three stems.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Masons charged with smoothing the wall left deep quarry hacking that they mended with liberal amounts of now-missing plaster in gaps near the base of the inscription and in areas Nelson indicated with shade in his drawing. Likewise, Sety I’s artisans sculpted the large hieroglyphs of his titulary crudely. Below the inscription, later restorers inserted new blocks at the base of the wall. Nelson has left out some details, e.g., facial features of \[\text{专栏} \] in Sety I’s prenomen and a fox pelt motif on \[\text{专栏} \].

Translations:


a. Just one of the nine \[\text{专栏} \] survives, the rest were carved in plaster that masked the block joint and quarry hacking.
NORTH WALL (Plates 171-201)

Sety I’s craftsmen sculpted decoration on this wall in fine bas relief typical of his reign. Only the two lowest registers (originally the third and fourth) remain in situ, but dozens of blocks from the two upper registers lie in yards around Karnak.286 The first (top) register was shorter than those below; its figures are on a smaller scale, and all of the gods are seated. This smaller format mirrors the top of the south wall.287 Although figures on the fourth (lowest) register are at the same scale as those on the middle levels, the register itself is taller (plan 5). This left more space for longer hieroglyphic texts. In keeping with other interior walls in the Hall—excluding the south wall’s west wing—scenes on the north wall are oriented with deities facing out of the temple (i.e., to the west [left]), while the king faces east towards the interior of Karnak.

On the north wall (exclusive of its central gateway), Sety I stands in only five episodes on the fourth (lowest) register, three of which feature Amun’s processional bark288 and two where Atum and Monthu lead Sety into the sanctuary.289 In every scene on the three upper registers, and in two more on the lowest,290 Sety I kneels before the gods. In the second291 and third292 registers, the deities generally stand.293

Sety I’s sculptors embellished reliefs on the bottom register of the north wall with finely carved ornamentation that is often absent from scenes above them. Here carved flourishes include pleating on royal and divine kilts, priestly garments, plaited wigs, latticework patterns on belts, even beads on their broad collars. They also created magnificent layered effects that give these carvings a three-dimensional appearance,

286 Most of these blocks have now been transferred to waterproof platforms by the Franco-Egyptian Center at Karnak. We will publish them in a separate volume dedicated to fragments from the Great Hypostyle Hall.
287 Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 81-86, the commentary to the same, and our introductory remarks to the south wall, east wing, above. A similar format obtained in ritual vignettes placed above battle scenes of Sety I on the north exterior wall (Epigraphic Survey, Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, p. 128) and those of Ramesses II on the south exterior wall (ibid., pl. 47C).
288 GHHK I.1, pls. 178, 180, 197.
289 Ibid., pls. 179 and 199.
290 Ibid., pls. 198 and 200.
291 Only traces of one scene (ibid., pl. 188) remain in place on the wall.
292 Now the highest register preserved in situ: ibid., pls. 171-177, 189-196.
293 An exception is Re-Horakhty enthroned within a kiosk in a scene from the third register on the east wing of the north wall: Ibid., pl. 192.
the most striking of which are overlapping ranks of priests wearing pleated gowns and leopard skin pelts who are escorting the barks and the elaborate decoration on the barks themselves. On the third (top in situ) register of the east wing, Sety’s craftsmen occasionally applied such ornamentation as pleating on his kilt and striations on the wigs of Thoth and Weret-Hekau. By contrast, on the upper register of the west wing, the scenes are largely devoid of fine embellishments, except for plaiting on Sety’s wig in two instances.

Such finely carved embellishment often coincides with extensive recutting of Sety I’s figure in reliefs from the central portal. Except for decoration on the clerestory roof, his sculptors carved scenes on the north gateway before completing any other reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Here, they modified the pose of his effigies from an upright to a bowing stance in a number of scenes on the gateway’s exterior and interior jambs and in its passage. A similar nexus of elaborate detailing and recutting occurs on the north wall’s east wing. Here, Sety’s artists retouched his figure in each scene, mainly to refine the proportions and attitude of his limbs, face, and headdress. In several instances, they added a large triangular flap and belt apron to his kilt.

In contrast to their extensive modification of Sety’s images, his artists made fewer and more subtle amendments to divinities on the central gate and east wing to adjust the proportions of their limbs, faces, and torsos. More significantly, they altered three representations of Amun-Re’s processional bark extensively, concentrating their efforts on reworking its cabin-shrine and the embroidered veil that enveloped it. Here, their main intention was to perfect rebus decoration representing elements of Sety I’s prenomen.

Upon completing their revisions to decoration on the north portal, Sety’s workmen proceeded to carve scenes on the east wing of the north wall before turning to the west half. A relative paucity of cosmetic recutting, especially to the king’s proportions, distinguishes reliefs on the third (upper in situ) register of the west wing from those on the eastern half and north gate. Even when the craftsmen made iconographically significant changes, eschewing recarving, they accomplished them in paint.

In dressing the rough hewn blocks to prepare the north wall for decoration, Sety I’s masons frequently encountered areas of severe chisel marks left from quarrying that persisted stubbornly when they had smoothed down the rest of the wall surface. Some areas of these unsightly gouges they mended with plaster infill, even in large quantities. Often, however, the builders preferred to cut out large square or
rectangular fenestrations and insert veneer slabs. More than a dozen such fenestrations between 15 and 20 cm deep are visible across the north wall where patching slabs have dissapeared. Such large patch slabs are more common here on the north wall than in any other part of the building, where the masons preferred smaller veneers as a rule to mend odd joints between blocks. Otherwise, they more often resorted to copious amounts of plaster rather than large veneer slabs to ameliorate even large zones of dense quarry hacking.

In general, reliefs on the upper in situ (third) register have survived in good condition despite the loss of patch-blocks. Sadly, the lowest register has fared much worse over the millennia due to infiltration of ground water which has mobilized salts that severely disfigured Sety I’s exquisite reliefs on this level. Yet this damage is highly uneven: while some portions are in excellent condition, large areas of decorated wall surface have eroded completely. Others have concretions of insoluble salts which obscure or deform the relief. All the more surprising, then, is the frequency with which traces of ancient painted decoration have survived until today. One miraculous example is a patch of colored decoration in a bark procession scene.304 Happily, too, later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall infrequently subjected images on the north wall to iconoclastic vandalism, the most notable exception being where they gouged out ithyphallic Amun’s penis.305 This is always much deeper than normal iconoclastic hacking, which suggests that their intent was to obtain bits of stone for fertility magic. Otherwise, malicious damage is highly sporadic and less methodical than iconoclasm elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall.306

NORTH WALL, WEST SIDE (Plates 171-181)

Sety I’s decoration on the west wing of the wall forms a generally homogenous corpus of high, well-modeled raised relief of excellent quality. In contrast to the east wing and north portal, there is much less recarving of the figures, with extensive modifications to the cabin-shrine and veil of Amun’s processional bark being the most notable exception. Otherwise, Sety’s craftsmen retouched the proportions of the figures infrequently and less drastically than on the central gate and east wing of the north wall.

On the third (uppermost in situ) register, and on blocks from the missing upper registers now lying in the yards north of the Hypostyle Hall, Sety’s artisans kept ornamentation to a minimum in striking contrast to the scenes below. Here, too, the reliefs are slightly flatter. Substantial vestiges of paint in some episodes reveals that all these reliefs were embellished with elaborate polychrome including a few elements that the sculptors never carved in relief: e.g., a triangular flap and belt apron on Sety I’s kilt and vine leaves twisted about the papyrus stalk he offers;307 Amun’s ankle bracelet;308 and a papyrus bloom and tricolor fan extended

304 See our commentary to ibid., pl. 180.
305 Ibid., pls. 173, 177, 193, 195.
306 Vandals scratched gashes across the noses, mouths, eyes, ears, and sometimes the hands of the king and gods: e.g., Sety’s face (ibid., pls. 173-177, 191; 195-196); the hands of Sety and Amun (ibid., pl. 175); Atum’s face (ibid., pl. 175).
307 Ibid., pl. 171.
towards the cabin-shrine of Amun’s bark.\textsuperscript{309}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{diagram.png}
\caption{Diagram of the north wall, west wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{308} Ibid., pl. 172.

PLATE 171

Bibliography: PM II², p. 44 (153) II.1; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 43.

Location: B 266: North wall, western half, uppermost register in situ (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath the Behdetite falcon and offers lotus and papyrus stalks to Monthu (fig. 56).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Protection from the elements afforded by its location in a corner has conserved substantial amounts of paint in this scene. Sety I’s flesh is red, his crown is blue, the pupil of his eye is black, his streamers are red, and his broad collar has alternating bands of blue and a lighter color, probably green. He wears bracelets and an arm band with blue stripes and yellow rims. Sety’s triangular kilt flap is executed wholly in paint consisting of a white background with pleating and trim in red. The belt apron has red and green rectangles against a light background, while streamers flanking it are blue and red. Circular wedges on the hood of the apron’s lower uraeus are blue, while a solar disk on the upper uraeus’ head is red. Sety offers two bouquets, of which the papyrus stalks have reddish brown stems and green blooms with their filaments picked out in a darker shade of green or blue.³¹⁰ Vine leaves entwined with the papyrus are green. The king’s lotus bouquet and a single bloom on the offering stand have reddish brown stems with epicalyces and petals on their florets detailed in green and blue against a white ground.

Monthu’s flesh is red, his kilt and corslet are green, and his wig is blue, as is his . He also wears a yellow belt with traces of a latticework pattern in blue. His bracelets have alternating inlays of blue and a lighter color, and his arm band is also blue. Faint traces of blue stripes are visible on his tail, especially where it widens behind his calf. Patterns of decayed paint, some of it blue, define parts of his broad collar, including a frieze of lotus petals along its outer row. A single chevron of red paint survives near the top of Monthu’s rear plume, along with flecks of blue at the top of both plumes, all that remains of their feather patterns.³¹¹ The offering stand is yellow and scattered bits of color persist on individual hieroglyphs.³¹² Note that a scribe inserted col. 8 in paint after the sculptors had finished their work. A few blue and red squares from the ribbon border behind the scene (not shown in Nelson’s drawing) persist to the right of col. 17.

Observations: The sculptors reworked the figures to make slight, cosmetic modifications as follows: both of Monthu’s wig lappets; his throat; his rear shoulder; the heel of his rear leg; Sety I’s knee; and his foot at its instep and toe. Streamers falling over his shoulder are lightly incised, the craftsman having added them as an afterthought. Concentrated zones of chisel marks blemish the relief at several points, residue from quarrying operations that Sety’s masons did not

³¹⁰ Cf. the painted papyrus blossom in GHHK I.1, pl. 180.

³¹¹ Cf. Ibid., pl. 96 for the closest parallel.

³¹² See appendix A.
fully eliminate when they smoothed the wall surface, although plaster still clings to some of them. These occur above the falcon’s tail, near the end of its lower wing and at the top of col. 16 below the gap, inside Sety’s rear shoulder, and on the offering table at its base. Damage in the middle of both the falcon’s wings, head, and feet is natural erosion, and its legs are more complete than Nelson indicated. A thin layer of plaster coats Monthu’s kilt and where it has fallen out reveals faint tool marks. Here, the artisans shaped the interior of Monthu’s advancing leg and the top of his rear leg in plaster. Most of this has now disappeared, exposing oddly flat surfaces and shallow pecking. It is unclear whether these cavities are keying for plaster or residual quarry damage.

Only the front of Monthu’s eye is carved in stone. The rest, along with his cheek markings, must have been indicated in plaster the sculptors used to hide stray chisel marks on his face and solar disk. Note that the head of in col. 14 is carved on a small patch-stone. Since Nelson made his drawing, a crack beneath the top of the offering stand has widened, and the left edges of the top two -signs in col. 17 have decayed. Recently, new decay has progressed through the king’s belt and buttocks, extending into the top of his kilt.

Transliterations:
Label: 1 Giving fresh flowers to 2 Monthu residing in Thebes.
Monthu: 3 Monthu residing in 4 Thebes, the great god, ruler of the Ennead. 5 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you (my) 6 kingship and the years of Atum.” 6 (I) have given to you the south and the north like Re every day. 7 (I) have given to you the crook and the flail, every land being under your feet. 8 (I) [have] given [to you] all valor and all victory, your strength being like (that of) the son of Nut.”

By the Falcon: 9 The Behdetite 10 the great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven, as he gives […].

By the King: 11 (Long) live the good god, great of monu[ments] in the estate of his father Amun, 12 the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 13 the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, 14 image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen to rule 15 all that the sun disk encircles, like Re, 16 he having assumed 17 all flat lands 18 being under his supervision—the Two Banks of Horus 19 being under your counsels.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 6-7.
b. One would normally expect Re here. The traces below however, are in keeping with although only the left stroke is certain. Wb. II, pp. 332-333 give examples of nsy.t written with plural strokes. Below, Atum’s name is written only with .
c. The reference to ph.ty, “strength,” in particular, suggests that Seth is being invoked. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 133, reads “[Geb].” Note, this column is
executed in paint.

d. Reading *hmn*, “unite/assume.” The trace at the top of col. 16 does not belong to a square sign like [square] as Nelson’s drawing suggests. Rather, it slants down slightly to the left and should instead be read as the top of [square]

e. Determined with [square]


h. The 2nd pers. sing. suffix refers to Amun.

PLATE 172

*Bibliography:* *PM II*², p. 44 (153) II.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 44.

*Location:* B 267: North wall, western half, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), second scene from the west.

*Subject:* Sety I kneels beneath a Nekhbet vulture and elevates a tray of food and flowers to Amun-Re (fig. 22).

*Type of Relief:* Raised.

*Paint:* Substantial vestiges of color persist only in the lower part of this scene. Red paint clings to Sety I’s torso, arms, shoulders, and face. His beard, the bracelets on his right arm, and the arm band of his left biceps are each blue. Concentric rings of blue and red, highlight his broad collar except for the outermost two bands which are yellow (inner) and blue with a flower petal motif (outer). Although a layer of gesso and red paint coats his rear arm, much of it has flaked away, and the arm band Nelson indicated below his rear shoulder is not actually present. [313] Long, rigid streamers falling behind Sety’s diadem retain their detailed ribbon pattern of large squares and narrow rectangles in paint, but the only identifiable pigment is again blue. In painting them, the artist shifted both streamers marginally to the left of the carved version, so that the right half of the longer carved ribbon was left unpainted. Faded squares of blue also remain on Sety’s circlet and on the latticework pattern of his belt. Note that a supposed “bull’s tail” Nelson indicated above his knee is illusory, nor is the wall damaged here.

Some green, blue, and yellow pigment clings to lotus blossoms on Sety’s tray of food offerings and again at the top of the standing bouquet next to the altar table. The base of a closed flower bud at the top of this bouquet is yellow. Meat offerings on the altar are red. Amun’s flesh, in particular his advancing leg and both feet, are blue. He also wears a yellow ankle bracelet on his advancing leg, although the rear anklet has faded. A scribe wrote a brief inscription in front of Amun’s legs only in paint which though faded, retains traces of blue and red.

*Observations:*

Minor cosmetic recutting abounds in this scene, most obviously Amun’s plumes which the

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[313] This damage was already evident in Chicago Oriental Institute photo 3417 that Nelson used as the basis for his sketch.
sculptors reworked to make them slope at a more acute angle to the right. Nelson indicated the final version as dotted lines representing their engraved outlines. Keying for plaster inside these lines once secured plaster—that the sculptor used to build up the right sides of both recut plumes. Sety’s craftsmen made less drastic alterations to his royal figure by enlarging his toe and instep slightly and recutting the tops portions of his Double Crown and the shorter streamer and uraeus of his circlet where these overlap his wig. They also further retouched Amun’s figure at the crook of his forward arm, his nose, his belly, the top of his belt, the front side of both legs, and the wrist and fist of his rear arm. Dense zones of shallow pitting left by the quarry men disfigure Amun’s face and shoulders, although a residue of plaster caulking still adheres. The offering table and standing bouquet are speckled with chisel gouges. Since Nelson recorded it, the head of Sety’s forehead uraeus has eroded.

Nelson introduced several inaccuracies into his drawing of the altar table and Sety’s tray of food offerings. There is no basket of figs at the left end of the table, only a set of four overlapping nemset-jars, the leftmost one of which is damaged by hacking. Each jar is equal in size whereas Nelson’s seem to become progressively smaller towards the left. An oval loaf next to these jars has a lenticular slit in its center. By contrast, two oval marks on the leftmost round loaf on Sety’s tray are fortuitous pits in the stone much like several others (which Nelson did not record) above and to the right of Sety’s Double Crown, all of which must be the work of the building’s later occupants. Inside Sety’s wig, the uraeus dangling from his diadem is not as clearly delineated as Nelson’s copy suggests. Rather, there is a smooth depression in place of this cobra’s head and hood. Like the streamer to which it is attached, the sculptors must have reworked this serpent, but they completed it in paint and stucco. The craftsmen delicately carved Amun’s thumb- and fingernails in relief, but Nelson did not record these.

Translations:

Label: Elevating offerings.
By Amun: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ruler of Thebes, lord of benefactions:
Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all joy like Re. (I) have given to you all valor and all victory. (I) have given to you all food like Re.”
By the Vulture: Nekhbet.
By the King: (Long) live the good god, who makes monuments [for] his father Amun, the dual king MENMA‘ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen.

a. Literally: “elevating things.”
b. Traces of in paint above the block edge are more substantial than Nelson records. Below this gap, the determinative of (Gardiner sign list N 19) may be a scribal quirk influenced by the writing of Re-Horakhty, especially since the preceding word nb is
here determined with 🦅. For a different interpretation, see Sharkawy, *Amon-Tempel*, p. 134 and n. 10.

c. Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 5.

PLATE 173

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 44 (153) II.3; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 44.

**Location:** B 268: North wall, western half, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), third scene from the west.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels beneath a hovering Behdetite falcon and presents two pots of incense to ithyphallic Amun-Kamutef (fig. 38).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Only traces of decayed underpainting remain as the original colors having faded beyond recognition. These include: striping on the king’s *nemes*-headcloth; bands of his collar; a faded latticework pattern on his belt; and two individual feathers on the flabellum behind Amun.

**Observations:** The sculptors retouched their work lightly at several points. Using plaster to augment the final versions, they enlarged Sety’s forward arm from elbow to armpit, and they recut the instep of his foot (this is what Nelson drew), the earlier instep being too narrow. Further recutting appears on Amun’s buttock, the tip of his beard, the top of his upper arm, on the bottom of 🌾 and the right lettuce plant behind the god, and inside the falcon’s upper wing. Sety’s artisans even modified some of the hieroglyphs: 🚪 in col. 10; 🏖️ in col. 5; and 🐣 below it.

A zone of shallow pecking affects the falcon’s lower wingtip, the block containing it and col. 11 being generally rougher than the others and coated with plaster residue. Here, as careful inspection reveals, the leading edge of the Behdetite’s lower wing was carved in stone, while Sety’s artists built up the rest of the wing in plaster. Likewise, they cut 🐣 at the top of col. 11 in sandstone, but aside from portions of the right edge of this text sculpted on the adjacent block, no further traces remain below 🐣. Here, too, they must have molded the missing hieroglyphs in plaster as a kind of appliqué.

Concentrated zones of deep chisel marks left from quarry work disrupt the relief at various points, namely through Amun’s chin and lower back, between the end of col. 1 and the king’s left incense pot, and in the *di ‘nh mi R* formula below Sety’s cartouches. Later dwellers in the Hall deeply gouged Amun’s phallus and the area surrounding it, presumably to obtain fragments of stone for fertility magic. Lighter gashes to Sety’s face, too, are surely their work. Note that even in Nelson’s time, defects in the sandstone bedding had left multiple fissures in the long block which stretches across the top of the scene. Nelson omitted the chinstrap that secures Amun’s false beard.

**Translations:**

*Label:* ⁴ Censing to Amun.

*By Amun:* ² Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³ lord of heaven,

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314 See Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3416.
who is upon his great seat: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all health and all valor.”

By the Falcon: The Behdetite.

By the King: (Long) live the good god, who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, the dual king MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen.

a. Note that the face and wig, but not the ears and snout, of are damaged.

b. Only traces of the head of and are there. The head of that Nelson records is erroneous.

**Observations:** Sety I’s craftsmen retouched the king’s beard, his instep, his forward arm, and the top of Amun’s helmet crown. They also shifted the god’s ear to the right and enlarged in Sety’s prenomen cartouche. Iconoclasts gouged Sety’s eye and lacerated his mouth and nose. Someone thoroughly erased his ear, although a depression for the inner ear is apparent, with light scarring of the stone surrounding it. In general, the wall is smooth and even, although masons used plaster to fill quarry marks in Amun’s forward arm and shoulder. A large patch-block has disappeared at the top of the scene along with a smaller one in front of Amun’s advancing leg. Nelson did not record the fingernails on either figure or Sety’s chinstrap.

**Translations:**

*Label:* Giving fresh flowers to the lord of the gods, he having achieved ‘given life.’

*By Amun:* Amun-RE, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead: [Words spoken: “(I) have given to you] an eternity of jubilees. (I) have given to [you] all health and all joy. (I have given to you my lifetime as lord [of the Two Lands] like [Re] every day.”

*By the King:* (Long) live the good god, effective of monuments in the estate of his father Amun, the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, the son [of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, image of Re in front of the Two Lands, his beauty being in (one’s) face like the solar disk.

*Behind the King’s Crown (in paint, not recorded by Nelson):* [...] as she gives all life and dominion, [all]
Behind the King: Protection and life surround him like Re.


b. Restored from and repeated mechanically in col. 5.

c. Restoring $n[b\ ti.wy]$.

d. Restoring from parallels in the previous three scenes. The shaft of a small $\bullet$ remains.

e. Nelson overlooked this faint column of text in decayed paint that a scribe added behind the top of Sety’s crown after the sculptors had finished their work. This text belongs neither with that of cols. 10-11 nor with the protection formula below. Rather, it continues the vulture goddess’ name and epithets. So reading.

Iconoclasts defaced Sety’s eye, nose, and mouth

**PLATE 175**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 44 (153) II.5-6.

**Location:** B 270-271: North wall, western half, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), fifth and sixth scenes from the west.

**Subject:** Two scenes: Sety I kneels and (*Left*) presents a conical loaf of bread to Atum (*figs. 40, 52, 260) and (*Right*) offers a pot of incense to Amun-Re (*fig. 41). A divine falcon (*Left*) and Nekhbet as a vulture (*Right*) hover over the king.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Decayed paint of uncertain color defines Sety I’s broad collar, an arm band on the biceps of his rear arm, and Atum’s collar in the scene at left. To the right, one sees faint traces of a shoulder brace supporting Amun’s corslet and part of his broad collar, both on his rear shoulder.

**Observations:** (*Right*) The sculptors lightly recut both figures at several points: Sety’s belt; the bottom of his rear arm from wrist to elbow; and his forward arm from elbow to armpit; Atum’s belly; tail; wig lappet, his rear arm just below the elbow joint; his forward arm from his fist to the elbow joint; and the instep of his advancing foot. In addition, the craftsmen also modified Atum’s wig. A faint engraved line slopes down behind his wig and falls over his shoulder in the fashion of a tripartite wig. It remains unclear, however, which of these coiffures was the primary version. If the tripartite wig was the final one, the sculptors must have built it up in stucco, but none remains and there is no roughening of the surface. A line at the lower back of the final headdress—which, perhaps, Nelson mistook as its “tail”—is illusory.
along with Atum’s nose and ear by pecking them with a sharp instrument, but resorted to a scratching motion to attack Sety’s ear and uraeus. None of this vandalism is severe, and other damage is light and fortuitous. At the top of the scene, a large veneer block has disappeared, although two smaller ones running through Sety’s midriff and below his arms remain intact.

(Left) Other than recutting Amun’s profile from his nose to the top of his helmet crown, the sculptors did not amend their work. Here again, vandalism is mild, being confined to Sety’s nose, mouth, the fingers and thumb of his left hand supporting his incense cup, Amun’s fist holding the w3-scepter; and the head of the scepter itself. Amun’s ear is, however, unscathed, and Nelson’s drawing is erroneous on this point. Deep gouging from quarry work obscures the bottom edge of the block in the upper right corner, and \(\text{\textcircled{1}}\) in col. 3 is incompletely carved, evidence the masons employed plaster to fill in the large gap below. A patch-block is missing from the bottom right corner of the scene.

**Translations:**

*Left Label:* 1Presenting white bread to Atum that he might achieve ‘given life’.\(^a\)

*By Atum:* 2[Atum…lord] of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: 3[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the] crook and the flail forever and ever! 4(I) have given to you all health like Re.”


*By the King:* 5[(Long) live the go]od [go]d, image of Re, protector of the lord of the gods, \(^6\)the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 7the son [of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, \(^8\)image of Re in front of the Two Lands, \(^9\)whom Amun himself has chosen \(^10\)to be ruler of every land.

*Right Label:* 1Censing to the lord of the gods, 2Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes.

*By Amun:* 3Amun-Re, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands], lord of heaven, sweet of love:

*4Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you kingship of the Two Lands like Re.”

*By the Vulture:* 5Nekhbet.

*By the King:* 6The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, \(^7\)the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, \(^8\)<given> all life and dominion, all health and all joy \(^9\)like Re every day.

a. The phrase \(\text{\textit{di}} \text{\textit{nḥ}}\) was omitted.

b. Traces correspond to \(\text{\textcircled{2}}\), so reading \(\text{\textit{nsy.} \text{\textit{t nw tl.wy}}.}\) This faulty ligature, with \(\text{\textcircled{3}}\) after the genitival \(\text{\textcircled{4}}\), probably derives from a hieratic miswriting of the standard spelling.

**PLATE 176**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 44 (153) II.7.

**Location:** B 272: North wall, western half, uppermost register in situ (“third”), seventh scene from the west.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels beneath a hovering falcon and presents a jar of ointment to the falcon-headed Khonsu.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.
**Paint:** Two faded bands indicate Khonsu’s broad collar, but their color is not apparent.

**Observations:** Sety I’s artists recut his beard, rear shoulder, and his nemes-headcloth’s lappet on its left side. They also retouched Khonsu’s forward shin, rear kneecap, advancing instep (three times), rear instep (twice), and his rear heel. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall mutilated the relief, but in a desultory fashion, by pecking at Sety’s facial features; his uraeus; Khonsu’s fist holding grasping his w3s-scepter; and the scepter’s upper shaft and head. In the bottom left corner, someone removed a large veneer slab, and one or two more are absent from the top of the relief. Otherwise, the scene is in excellent condition. Among the finer details that Nelson overlooked are the tail of Sety’s uraeus serpent arching over the top of his nemes-headcloth, the root of the headcloth’s tail above his shoulder (immediately right of a crack), and details of Khonsu’s beak and horns.

**Translations:**

*By Khonsu:* ¹[Khonsu]-in-Thebes-Neferhotep
²[Words spoken: “(I) have given] to you all valor.
³(I) have given to you all food and provisions in my presence. ⁴[(I) have given to you millions] a of jubilees, while you arise on the throne of Horus of the living like Re everyday.”

*By the Falcon:* […] b

*By the King:* ⁵The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, ⁶the son [of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁷great of monuments in the estate of Amun.

a. Restoration based on similar parallels, e.g., GHHK I.1, pls. 34:7 and 35:7.

b. Only part of a tall, diagonal sign survives, perhaps . However, this does not match any parallel in the Hypostyle Hall reliefs, including known variants of the Behdetite’s protocol. Sharkawy, (Amun-Tempel, p. 136, n. 35), erroneously claims that the space was left blank by comparison with GHHK I.1, pl. 175B.

**PLATE 177**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 44 (153) II.8.

**Location:** B 273: North wall, western half, uppermost register *in situ* (“third”), eighth (and final) scene from the west.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels and offers wine to ithyphallic Amun-Re and a goddess while a raptor hovers above him (fig. 261).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** No pigment remains, but faintly engraved diagonal lines sloping behind Sety’s wig diadem and continuing below his shoulder may be paint scars left from rigid streamers the craftsmen added in polychrome subsequent to carving this relief.³¹⁵

**Observations:** By comparison with other scenes on this register, the sculptors made more extensive revisions to Sety I’s image, recutting it as follows: his rear shoulder and the bottom of his upper arm; the palms of both hands; the crook of his forward arm; the left side of his neckline and

his throat; his belt along its bottom; his toe; and
the calf and heel of his leg. They also enlarged his
forward arm near his armpit, and most of the
plaster infill they used to augment it remains in
situ. Although deep natural erosion mars Amun’s
midriff, iconoclasts may have gouged out his
penis. Much of the scene is missing, including a
veneer slab at the bottom and several blocks from
its upper and right quadrants. Damage to Sety’s
face is a combination of vandalism and decay,
while a small hole in the king’s wig may also be
deliberate. There is a curious scattering of tiny
round holes in and around the texts above the
king, as if someone had fired lead shot at the wall
with a rifle.

Translations:

By Amun:
1 [Words spoken: “(I) have given to] you
my seat and my throne forever and ever!
2 [I have
given to yo]u the king[ship] of Re.”

By goddess:
3 [“(I) have given to you eternity as king
of the Two Lands like [Re].”]

By king:
4 The dual king, lord of the Two Lands
MENMAṣṣATRE,
5 the son of Re, lord of
appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, 6 whom Re
has chosen in the Mansion <of the Phoenix>.

a. The horizontal sign above 𓊞 is the left
end of 𓊞 and above it is the left
side of 𓊞.

b. See glossary s.v di.n=(i) n=k nhḥ m nsw
ḥt.wy.

c. The sign has been left blank inside. See
glossary s.v hw.t-bnw.

Bibliography: PM II, p. 44 (153) III.1; KRI I, pp.
210:5-211; RIT I, p. 182-183; RITANC I, pp.
136; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, bark of Khonsu
and edge of frieze; pl. 43; frieze and text, pl. 44;
Sety I offering flowers, pl. 46.

Location: B 274-275, 279: North wall, west side,
bottom register, first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I offers two large bouquets of
flowers in front of a shrine (figs. 3, 18, 262-263).
Inside, the processional bark of Amun-Re rests on
a pedestal decorated with four kings holding up
the sky. Two tables laden with offerings stand
beneath the bark’s forepart, and a series of mdw-
ḥps standards are arrayed beneath its aft hull.

Behind the shrine, the barks of Khonsu and Mut
rest on their pedestals surrounded by tables of
offerings, tall bouquets, and large open fans.
Below them, a small doorway leads via a short
tunnel to a stairway inside the north tower of the
Second Pylon.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Surviving pigment is most apparent on the
rear “tent pole” supporting the baldachin nested
over the heavier frame of the inner shrine that
encloses Amun’s bark. On upper part of this pole,
adjacent to the offering table and bouquet in front
of Khonsu’s bark, alternating squares of red and
blue are interspersed with faded patches that were
once yellow.316 Inside the wider vertical frame of
the inner shrine, decayed pigment indicates its
geometric design. Atop the cornice of the inner

316 Compare the paint on similar shrines, e.g.,
Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IV, pls. 208, 235;
Abydos IV, pl. 30.
shrine above Amun’s bark, faded paint indicates the design on the hoods of the six leftmost cobras of the frieze of large uraei. Each has two blue semi-circles at the top of its hood flanking a column of colored segments running down its center. Faint rectangular shapes at the bases of these hoods were probably once red, although this color has faded beyond certain identification. One would expect truncated right triangle patterns at either side of the midriff of each cobra’s hood, but these have completely faded.

In front of Khonsu’s bark, a tall bouquet has patches of green paint with details picked out as blue stripes, and a faded motif of floral petals remains near the top of this bouquet. Blue paint clings to the sky sign above the missing prow of Mut’s bark and in several patches all along the large sky border above the barks of Amun-Re and Khonsu. Pigment also adheres to a few individual hieroglyphs (see appendix A).

Observations: There is relatively little recutting in this scene, especially by comparison with two other representations of Amun’s bark on the north wall, where sculptors extensively modified the design of its cabin-shrine and enveloping veil. Here, the artists did not modify the canopy and veil because they carved this scene later, after finalizing Sety’s redesign of Amun’s bark elsewhere.317

They did retouch some other elements, including: the solar disk crowning its forward aegis; the bottom of its hull where the stern curves up below its rear aegis; a tiny sun disk crowning the uraeus on its rear aegis; and the second and third vases on an altar table adjacent to the pedestal that supports the bark. Above the bark itself, on the corniced roof of the kiosk-shrine in which it rests, Sety’s craftsmen recut the hoods of the second, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh large cobras from the left end of the shrine at their bases to make them more recurving, like others in this frieze. Finally, Sety’s artisans adjusted his royal figure at several points: both of his shoulders; the front of his torso just below his breast; his facial profile from chin to brow; his eye and eyebrow; and the hood of his uraeus at its base.

Extensive damage to this scene derives from a number of causes. Large portions of Khonsu’s bark and the space above Mut’s were carved on blocks with severe quarry damage, and the masons used large quantities of plaster to mend these areas of chisel marks into which sculptors then carved much of the relief.318 Little of this plaster remains on these hacked surfaces. Similar tool marks, although not as dense, occur along the frieze of rebus figures atop the cabin of

317 On Sety I’s alterations to the design of Amun’s bark, see our commentary to pls. 180 and 197 below. Similarly, the craftsmen never modified four representations of Amun’s bark in Sety I’s Gurnah Temple, located in the god’s chapel and that of Ramesses I: Nelson, Key Plans, pl. 37, fig. 1, loscs. 219, 230, 346, 350; PM II', pp. 414 (68-69), 418 (106-107); Brand, Monuments of Seti I, fig. 139.

Amun’s bark, in the cornice of the shrine above cols. 13-14, and where the heads of several cobras are missing above cols. 4-5. Residual chisel gouges also mar the Behdetite falcon hovering over Sety I. Dotted lines in Nelson drawing below the Amun bark’s rear aegis, which he mistook for an erased pendant necklace and for recutting of its steering oars, are, in fact, merely cracks.

Elsewhere, besides large areas where the relief is wholly destroyed, much of the carved surface has suffered from erosion and salt damage: (e.g., the door lintel, rear portions of the Amun bark’s hull, figures holding the tillers of its steering oars, its pedestal, the billow and bottom of its veil, a winged goddess figure inside the shebyu-collar on its forward aegis, and an offering table below its prow). Incrustations of salt coat large portions of the lower half of the relief that have escaped this destruction, obscuring details such as personified figures supporting the mdw-śps standards below the aft carrying pole, and menat-counterpoises attached to them. Nelson omitted several of these along with Sety I’s front foot, which remains visible.

Nelson did not record individual beads of the shebyu-collars on the aegises of Amun’s bark which the ancient sculptors had carved in detail. However, Sety’s artisans left those on Khonsu’s rear aegis blank, and they only partly carved beads on Mut’s rear aegis shebyu (the rest they may have rendered in plaster). In general, much fine ornamentation, which was impossible for Nelson to record at the small scale of his drawing, abounds in this scene: e.g., the braided ends of each strand of Sety’s wig; faces of the small figures on the deck of Amun’s bark; the uraeus-serpents’ eyes in the frieze atop the cornice of the shrine; the face of a standard below Amun’s rear aegis; and the goddess Bat’s face on a sistrum behind the last divine standard. Relief carving in this scene is particularly fine and intricate, especially on Sety’s figure where his artisans subtly indicated pleating on his kilt and crimped streamers attached to his belt apron and wig—all of which they exquisitely modeled in raised relief. Individual hieroglyphs are often more elaborate than Nelson could indicate, e.g., the faces of anthropomorphic hieroglyphs and of -owls.

Nelson also misconstrued some finer details, e.g., the leopard pelt and sash worn by the first priest-king supporting the sky on Amun’s pedestal, where he mistook the forward sash’s fringed end as a leopard’s head terminal.

Segments of the original dado pattern of two thick horizontal bands between three narrower ones remain below the aft portion of Amun’s bark (at the level of the prenomen cartouches on the right jamb of the small doorway), but Nelson only recorded the uppermost of these five lines as the baseline upon which the king stands. Note that two narrow lines between a wider one upon which Amun’s bark pedestal rests (being higher than the main baseline) represents the cornice and torus molding of a low dais that supports the shrine enclosing

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319 Brand, JSS 4 33 (2006), pp. 20-21, figs. 13-20A-C.
the bark.\textsuperscript{320}

In late antiquity, restorers shored up the base of the wall with new masonry where much of the original stone had decayed. One block inserted below the pedestal of Amun’s bark was reused from some post-New Kingdom monument and bears part of a small offering scene with a king wearing an \textit{atef}-crown adoring a god with a Double Crown carved in raised relief. His cartouches were intentionally defaced. The left jamb of the small doorway below Mut’s bark is composed of undecorated replacement masonry of uncertain date.

\textit{Translations:}

\textit{On the Shrine’s Support:} \textsuperscript{1}…the dual king MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, the son of Re\textsuperscript{b} [SETY-MERENAMUN] [beloved of] Amun-Re […]\textsuperscript{a}

\textit{Above Amun’s bark:} \textsuperscript{2}Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: \textsuperscript{3}“O my son of my body whom I love, \textsuperscript{4}the lord of the [Two Lands], \textsuperscript{5}master of the ritual MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, \textsuperscript{6}my heart is joyful through love of you. \textsuperscript{6}I rejoice at seeing all the monuments \textsuperscript{7}which you build for me. My temple is \textsuperscript{8}a new thing; how joyful (it) is \textsuperscript{9}when (I) am lifted very high \textsuperscript{9}and my heart is joyful when (I) rest \textsuperscript{10}inside \textsuperscript{11}like Re after he has united with \textsuperscript{12}the horizon. (I) have given to you \textsuperscript{13}the reward thereof, consisting\textsuperscript{e} of life, dominion, \textsuperscript{14}the lifetime of Re and \textsuperscript{15}the years of Atum. So (long as) Re exists, \textsuperscript{17}so shall your name exist; so (long as) heaven exists, so shall your deeds exist (O) lord of the Two Lands MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE} […]”

\textit{By the Falcon:} \textsuperscript{18}The Behdetite, great god of variegated plumage, as he gives life.

\textit{By the Vulture:} \textsuperscript{19}Beloved of Nekhbet, as she gives life and dominion.

\textit{By the King:} \textsuperscript{20}Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,’ \textsuperscript{21}the dual king, lord \textsuperscript{22}of the Two Lands\textsuperscript{h} MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, \textsuperscript{23}the son of Re, lord \textsuperscript{24}of appearances\textsuperscript{h} SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, \textsuperscript{25}the image of Re before the Two Lands.

\textsuperscript{24}(number omitted)

\textit{By Khonsu’s Bark:} \textsuperscript{25}Khonsu-\textsuperscript{26}in-Thebes, Neferhotep, \textsuperscript{27}[Horus lord of joy…].\textsuperscript{1}

\textit{By Mut’s Bark:} \textsuperscript{28}Mut [lady of 29]Isheru, \textsuperscript{30}[mistress of] \textsuperscript{30}[all] the gods[…].\textsuperscript{1}

\textit{On the Doorway:}

\textit{To either side of the Winged Disk:} The Behdetite\textit{ Parallel Inscriptions on the Lintel:} \textsuperscript{31}[Long] live\textsuperscript{k} the dual king MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE-IW\textsuperscript{A}}ARE, beloved of Horakhty (Right); beloved of Atum (Left).

\textit{Parallel Inscriptions on the Lintel:} \textsuperscript{32}[Long] live the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, beloved of Amun-Re (Right); beloved of Mut (Left).

\textit{Right Doorjamb:} \textsuperscript{33}[Long] live the good god, great of monuments, the dual king MENMA\textsuperscript{ATRE}, the son of Re [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.\textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{34}[Long] live the good god who performs\textsuperscript{m} benefactions, the dual king [MENMA\textsuperscript{AT}]RE, the son of Re [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.\textsuperscript{n}

\textbf{a.} Note that the underlined, below Sety’s nomen cartouche is erroneous. This is
almost certainly not a label text. One would expect \textit{rdi.t rnp.wt n 'Imn-Rt'}, “giving fresh flowers to Amun-Re” or similar. Instead, it is probably an attempt to carve part of the kind of extended royal titles often inscribed on the frames of similar shrines. These are often rendered only in paint (e.g., Epigraphic Survey, \textit{Medinet Habu} IV, pls. 197, 208, 218, 219, 222; \textit{Abydos} III, pls. 39, 44), but were sometimes carved, generally in sunk relief (e.g., \textit{Abydos} I pls. 6, 7, 10, 11, 19, 22, 27, 30, 31, \textit{Abydos} II, pls. 5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 23, 35, \textit{Abydos} III pls. 16, 31, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43, 46, \textit{Abydos} IV, pl. 38B).

\textbf{b.} Here \textit{sA}, “son,” is written \textit{O}.

\textbf{c.} The surface is smooth and even here. If the sculptor ever carved \textit{H}, he must have subsequently erased it. Or, he may have overlooked it initially and then rendered it in plaster or paint as an afterthought.

\textbf{d.} There are definite traces of \textit{N}. Cf. Sharkawy, \textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 137, n. 52.

\textbf{e.} Abbreviating \textit{\textcircled{A}} for the stative 1\textsuperscript{st} pers. sing. ending \textit{kwi}. Note that while \textit{h\textsuperscript{t}i} appears to geminate here, the phrase cannot be taken as either an emphatic (second tense) \textit{sdm=f} or an imperfective \textit{sdmw=f} relative form, with a 2\textsuperscript{nd} pers. sing. suffix pronoun, as neither option results in a meaningful translation.

Elsewhere in the Hall, \textit{h\textsuperscript{t}i} is sometimes written \textit{h\textsuperscript{t}w} (\textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 58:5, 77:4, 200:3, 226:5). Note that Nelson, ibid., pl. 226:15 reads \textit{h\textsuperscript{r}}, but this is entirely restored. Thus it would seem that the reduplication of \textit{\textcircled{A}} is purely a graphic phenomenon that is not grammatically significant. Cf. \textit{Wb.} III, p. 40. Compare the gemination of \textit{shf\textsuperscript{r} n Imn} (e.g., \textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 2:15 and our commentary to the same, note f).

\textbf{f.} Reading \textit{h\textsuperscript{t}i=(i) sk\textsuperscript{3}=(i) wr}. The term \textit{sk\textsuperscript{3}} can refer to a pedestal for a processional bark or cult statue (Maurice Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924),” \textit{ASAE} 24 [1924], pp. 65-68; \textit{Urk.} IV, p. 663; Charles F. Nims, “An Oracle Dated in ‘The Repeating of Births,’” \textit{JNES} 7 [1948], p. 159, n. “h”). Thus Sharkawy (\textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 137, n. 55) translates “Ich jubele <über> den großen Untersatz,” but he is forced to interpolate the preposition \textit{m}, making \textit{sk\textsuperscript{3}} the object of \textit{h\textsuperscript{t}i}: (\textit{Wb.} III, p. 40).

Moreover, \textit{sk\textsuperscript{3}} is here determined with \textit{\textcircled{A}}. It seems best, then, to read \textit{sk\textsuperscript{3}} as a verb, “to make high” (\textit{Wb.} IV, pp. 302-303) in a passive \textit{sdm=f} construction (see Gardiner \textit{Gr.}, §§419-420; Allen, \textit{Middle Egyptian}, pp. 290-293), with the 1\textsuperscript{st} pers. suffix pronoun unwritten as is common.

Semantically, this passage expresses the god’s delight when his image is carried aloft by his bearer priests.
and his resulting joy once the bark is laid within the new temple (r-pr) Sety has just built for him. I am grateful to Luc Gabolde and Christina Karlshausen for these references and for offering useful insights into this text.

g. For this use of m, see Gardiner Gr.3, §162.5.

h. Restoring nb tj.wy with the prenomen and nb hjw with the nomen.

i. Nelson records a , from which one might restore the epithet Hr [nb 3w.t-ib] of Khonsu. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 106:1. However, quarry hacking is particularly deep here, and the only clear traces are of a text divider between cols. 26 and 27, making this restoration hazardous.

j. Restoring Mw.t [nb.t] jšrw [hwn.t] ntr.w [nb.w].

k. Based on contemporary parallels, one would expect at the center of cols. 31 and 32. Severely eroded traces of this sign remain on the upper line.

l. Reading s s R* Sty-mr-n-Pth lmn nsw- ntr.w mjy below the prenomen which, although clearly visible, Nelson did not record. Here and again in col. 34, iconoclasts mostly erased , except for its base.

m. There is only enough room to fit between ntr nfr and 3h.wt.

n. Reading s R* Sty-mr-n-Pth Mw.t nb.t p.t mjy, which Nelson omitted. Cf. col. 33.

PLATE 179


Location: B 276: North wall, west side, bottom register, second scene from the west.

Subject: Monthu and Atum lead Sety I into the temple while Nekhbet flies above him as a vulture (figs. 11, 264-265).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Very little adheres. Monthu’s plumes each have a series of darker colored chevrons separated by a grillework of lighter frames, although their colors are uncertain. Two patches of green pigment cling to the vulture goddess’ downswep wing.

Observations: Sculptors recut the relief to make several cosmetic adjustments to the figures as follows: all of Atum’s White Crown and the front corner, vertical projection, and lower end of the coil of his Red Crown; Atum’s belly; the bottom of his belt; Sety I’s forward shoulder, neckline, facial profile, and the front of his wig; the biceps of Monthu’s arm grasping Sety’s, and his beak and chin. In col. 13, an artist recut the head and neck of .

Sety’s workmen carved the main figures with much fine ornamentation to their wigs, clothing, and broad collars. Nelson’s drawing

321 For a similar design see GHHK I.1, pl. 96.
omits some of these details including: an Isis-knot and some vertical elements of a latticework pattern on Monthu’s belt; teardrop-shaped beads along the outer rims of his broad collar and of Sety; the left and right shoulder straps of Monthu’s corslet at his shoulders, his navel, eye, and the inner corner of his beak, and the bottom tip of his right wig lappet below his arm. A craftsman either partly carved Monthu’s falcon’s cheek marks in plaster or incompletely erased them. Nelson also left out the head of Sety’s uraeus, Atum’s navel, and a flap projecting above Atum’s belt buckle. A blank area inside Atum’s kilt is due to the sculptor carving some of its pleating in plaster, which he used to ameliorate defects in the stone. Monthu’s kilt is encrusted with a light coating of salt, but there was no pleating. The drawing does not capture the finesse with which the ancient sculptor depicted the vulture’s head.

Much of the lower half of this scene is destroyed, and what remains has a concretion of insoluble salts, especially the feet of Monthu and Sety. A large patch-stone has disappeared from the upper left corner of the scene. Since Nelson recorded them, some elements have fallen away: the top half of the loop of Monthu’s

\[ \text{\textbullet} \]

at the top of col. 2; the head of

\[ \text{\textbullet} \]

in col. 3; and the left side of

\[ \text{\textbullet} \]

in col. 3. Unless damage to the head of the rearing cobra in col. 10 is deliberate, there is no evidence of vandalism to this relief.

**Translations:**

*By Monthu:* Words spoken by Monthu, lord of Thebes: “Come to the great mansion that you might see your father, the lord of the gods […]wide/joy…[…you…].”

*By Atum:* Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: “Proceed in peace to the temple of your father Amun-[Re], his two arms being in nyny-greeting to your beautiful face as he lengthens your lifetime as king. May he give to you eternity with life and dominion and eternity as ruler of joy, you being Horus, chieftain of the Two Lands and the Nine Bows […] all foreign countries being gathered [under your sandals].”

*By the Vulture:* Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

*By the Cobra:* Wadjet as she gives all life, stability, and dominion like Re.

*By the King:* Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,’ the dual king, lord of the Two Lands,

MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, the one whose strength Re has magnified.

*By the Royal Standards:* [Wepwawet] of Southern Egypt, the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life, stability, dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, [all] victory as you [appear] upon the throne of Atum-Re.

a. Followed by 3w[…]. Perhaps restoring something like 3w [ib=f…], “[His heart]
is joyful […]“ at the top of col. 3?

b. Only ☐ (not ☐), at the base of the column is preserved. Nelson did not record clear traces of its handle.

c. Following Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 138, n. 66 in restoring sw3h=f. The middle trace at the bottom of the group—interpreted by Nelson as the bottom of ☐ (w3h)—is not entirely certain, although the base of ☐ and ☐ are definite.

d. A number of restorations are possible based on contemporary parallels: pd.t- psd.t [m ksw n hmhm.t=k] “in submission to your war cry” (Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, pl. 14:12-13); or [m d.wt r pr-hd=k wr] “as serfs of your great treasury” (RIK I, pl. 34-A:4); or [m bf n b3w=k] “as the plunder of your power” (Medinet Habu V, pl. 287:4-5); or [3mm m bf=k] “held in your grasp” (Medinet Habu VI, pl. 482:4) inter alia.

e. This identity is suggested by the Northern Egyptian papyrus stalk upon which the serpent rests.

f. Traces of ☐ are visible.

g. Lit. “the one whom Re has magnified his strength.”

h. Restoring h3i.t. Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 139, n. 70) takes this as a “Pseudo-Partizips,” i.e., stative for h3i.ti. If so, it may be a kind of false archaism by analogy with the archaic and later forms of the 2nd pers. fem. sing. suffix pronoun.

i. The ☐ after ☐ suggests a compound form of the sun-god is meant.

PLATE 180


Location: B 277-278: North wall, west side, bottom register, third (and last) scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I leads a procession of barks of the Theban Triad in his priestly role of “king’s son of the starboard side.” He is again shown marching beside the bark of Amun-Re “on behalf of the second prophet of Amun.” The barks of Mut and Khonsu follow Amun’s, each with a cortege of bearer-priests and others holding aloft fans and elaborate floral bouquets to shade the vessels (figs. 17, 31-34, 266-276).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: For the most part, little pigment has withstood the ravages of time, most of it blue. Above the scene, patches of blue survive on the sky-sign above col. 15 and over the forward half of Amun’s cabin-shrine. More blue clings to the sky sign above Mut’s bark. There are several
concentric rings of blue on the right side of the fan before Khonsu’s aegis. Pigment of uncertain hue on the fan in front of Mut’s aegis defines plumes radiating from its hub. Artists rendered two papyrus blooms—probably green—in paint above the oar locks and steering oars of Mut’s bark. Decayed paint has etched a scar on the upper left side of Mut’s rear aegis collar. Faded polychrome clings to the fan and to one of the papyrus blooms behind her bark. One also sees flecks of blue on Amun’s bark canopy, on the wig of inside its veil, along the horizontal base of the cabin-shrine’s roof, on the sloping roof of the baldachin above, and on the text divider to the right of col. 16.

Exceptionally, paint on one block is largely intact—all the more surprising given damage to the sandstone relief nearby. Just above the billow of Amun’s bark, an uncarved zone of negative space retains its coat of whitewash. Here, craftsmen painted the single, tricolor feather of a fan and a delicate papyrus blossom. The feather has a blue tip with alternating chevrons of white and red below. Individual filaments of the red sections are indicated in dark red against a lighter wash, while the papyrus bloom has a pale blue-green hue with its filaments picked out in a darker shade of the same color. This small patch indicates the richness and brilliance of polychrome that has vanished elsewhere.322

Observations: Sety I’s craftsmen made numerous modifications to their initial carving of Amun’s bark and its priestly escorts, including the king’s effigies. Here, their aim was to augment the proportions of human figures. More significantly, they also reworked elements of Amun’s bark, especially its cabin-shrine and veil. In the process, they sometimes altered its iconography.323

Sculptors recut the heads, hands, and shoulders of both kings and of several priests escorting Amun, generally to enlarge them slightly, as follows: (1) On the king leading the procession, his skull cap, uraeus, profile (twice) and his rear leg below the knee; (2) The rear shoulder of the nearest priest in the first rank behind the king; (3) The facial profile (from forehead to chin), eye, rear shoulder, and thumb of the group leader in the second rank; (4) The priestly sash, shaved skull, nose, lips, and the right side of the hand of the nearest bearer in the third rank; (5) The bottom of the wrist and fist of the leader of the fourth rank. Workmen carved his mouth and nostril in plaster, which is now missing—here, the surface is lower and is speckled with residual tool marks; (6) Sculptors also modified the second king’s forward shoulder, nose, forehead, and his cap crown at its front and top. They also shifted his eye higher and to the right. Its “iris” is illusory, being merely the intersection of the two versions of his eye. Finally, they modified the fringe and lower hem of his leopard pelt above and behind.

323 On Sety I’s changes to Amun’s processional bark, see our commentary to pl. 197 below.
its clawed foot. Nelson did not record the coiled body of Sety’s uraeus cobra, which the sculptors either partly erased or carved in plaster; (7) Although no recutting is evident on the heads and upper bodies of the four ranks of bearing priests behind the second king, the overlapping rear feet of those in the final rank were recut at their insteps.

Sculptors also adjusted components of Amun’s bark extensively. They enlarged the solar disk crowning its prow aegis. On the stern figurehead, they shifted the top of its ram’s head and solar disk higher and to the right, and moved the two outermost strands of its shebyu-collars between the ram’s throat and its wig lappet further to the right. They also retouched the ram’s chin and goatee. Note that a winged Ma’at-goddess rebus of Sety I’s prenomen inside the shebyu-collars of the rear aegis was shaved back and recarved with lightly incised lines. Recutting is visible on her solar disk and rear arm. Craftsmen retouched the deck and base of the Amun bark’s aft hull and the bottom of its forward hull.

In recutting Amun’s bark, Sety’s craftsmen directed most of their efforts towards modifying its cabin-shrine and veil by enlarging and repositioning individual elements. In doing so, their primary objective was to make visible elements of the inner naos and baldachin normally hidden by the outer ones that Sety had added to the bark’s canopy-shrine. Alterations were as follows: (1) They shifted a garland of Sety’s cartouches and prenomen rebuses at the bottom of the veil slightly lower. Note that these cartouches have Sety’s nomen in sunk relief at a scale that was too small for Nelson to record. (2) Above, two winged goddesses on the veil, who kneel on -signs and wear solar disks on their heads, were made smaller and were shifted closer to the center. In front of Re, traces of the earlier goddess’ breast, arm, and upper wing are embedded in her successor’s wig. Behind Re, the sculptors recarved the second repositioned goddess’ back. (3) By shifting these goddesses, sculptors opened up marginal zones behind them at the veil’s outer edges, where they inserted hieroglyphic motifs. Palimpsests of the earlier goddess’ backs remain amid the -groups on each side. (4) At first, was taller since the crown of his original head and the bottom of his solar disk are now embedded in his final disk. Below Re, the sculptors widened on both sides. (5) They also moved the veil’s upper hem higher by inserting an undecorated swathe above the frieze of uraei. (6) In raising the veil, they also shifted rebus figures resting on a horizontal cross-beam on the upper panel of the outer naos to a higher level. Rebus decoration on this upper panel consists of two winged Ma’at-goddesses standing on with sun disks on their heads, again forming rebuses of Sety I’s prenomen.

324 See Karshausen, L’iconographie, pp. 70-72.
Between them, a ram-headed Amun squats on a lotus bloom emerging from 🕉️. Below, the earlier crosspiece is embedded in the left half of the frieze of uraei near the veil’s upper hem. The wings of the earlier goddess on the left side, along with Amun’s lotus bloom and 🕉️, were all suppressed. In their place, sculptors carved part of a frieze of winged Ma’at-goddesses interspersed with elaborately crowned uraei and 🕉️ that embellished the normally concealed inner naos;326

(7) Above this, they shifted final versions of the two winged goddesses and squatting Amun higher, but made them shorter than their predecessors. Portions of the face, breast, and upraised arm of the original goddess on the left are visible inside her successor’s downswept wing. A palimpsest of Amun’s earlier body is embedded in the final lotus on which he now squats, and traces of his original atef-crown persist inside his final wig and shoulder. In front of Amun, the kilt of a small king kneeling along with his ground line were also retouched. (8) A palimpsest of the original ceiling of the cabin-shrine cuts through Amun’s crown and the upper wings and sun disks of both goddesses; (9) In their original configurations, the vertical supports of the outer naos—nested between the “tent pole” colonnettes of the inner and outer baldachins—were narrower. By widening them, the sculptors were forced to decrease the arched profile of the roof’s cavetto cornice at its front and back. The inner colonnettes were absent in the first iteration;327

(10) Sculptors also increased the height of this cornice by shifting the molding at its top higher. A horizontal line now bisects a row of 🕉️- and 🕉️-signs in the rebus frieze;328

(11) To accommodate the wider frame of the inner shrine, craftsmen also shifted the two outer “tent pole” colonnettes supporting the baldachin nested over it away from the inner cabin. Traces of the rounded capital of the forward colonnette and the back of a short cavetto cornice above it are embedded in the rightmost 🕉️ which the sculptors had inserted to fill a space created when they extended the inner shrine’s cavetto cornice. In other bark scenes in the Hall, this rebus frieze always begins with 🕉️.329 Further evidence that these taller colonnettes were moved outwards is confirmed by an odd gap between the final prenomen rebus on the inner cornice and the rear colonnette’s capital. Parallels in the Karnak

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326 For this iconography see Karlshausen, L’iconographie, 71, 74 & pls. 12-13. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 197.

327 Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 197. Here, the inner “tent pole” colonnettes are absent. This reflects an earlier stage in the evolution of Amun’s sacred bark under Sety I.

328 Note that the 🕉️-motif does not signify that the reliefs on this wall have anything to do with Amenhotep III as Carlotti and Martinez erroneously contend in Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire, Memnonia cahier supplémentaire no. 2, (2011), p. 122 and pl. 18A.

329 So GHHK I.1, pls. 53, 76, 178, 197, 226.
Hypostyle Hall—in which the cornice friezes have not been reworked—lack such a gap; (12) On the runners of the sledge-shaped carrying platform at the base of the cabin, workmen recut the rightmost Soul of Pe’s upper knee; (13) Finally, the sculptors reworked the billow of the veil and figures inside it by shifting them towards the prow. A statuette of a kneeling king wearing the White Crown that they had positioned outside the initial billow is now inside the final one. They suppressed him with plaster and carved a new king outside the final billow. Further to the right, there is recutting on the chest and kilt of a standing king proffering a *nemset*-jar. Plaster residue used to complete these alterations remains on the billow.

Craftsmen lightly retouched the barks of Khonsu, Mut and their escorts as follows: both sides of a fan behind Khonsu’s bark; the sashes, leopard pelts, and kilts of two priests beside Khonsu’s cabin-shrine along with the rear shoulder of the first of these; the insteps of the rear feet of the first two rows of priests supporting Mut’s bark; the hand of the priest robed in a panther-skin; and Mut’s stern hull. Note that a pectoral necklace on the rear aegis of Khonsu’s bark was carved with shallow incised lines, but it remains uncertain whether the sculptors erased it or inserted it later.

Due to the small scale of his drawing, Nelson overlooked a number of fine details, including: (1) The sandals straps on the near feet of the second and third ranks of priests behind the leading king at prow of Amun’s bark; (2) Partially erased details at the upper left corner of the billow of the veil where a (facing right) and two -signs remain apparent along with the bottom of a third; (3) On the belt-apron of the second king escorting Amun’s bark, a small cartouche has Sety I’s nomen in delicate raised relief, although its tiny resembles a -glyph; (4) On Amun’s veil, facial feauters of ; (5) Those of a winged Maʿat-goddess inside the shebyu-collar of his rear aegis; (6) Nor did Nelson record individual beads of shebyu-collars on the Mut and Khonsu barks’ aegises.

Aside from some widening of gaps between blocks, the relief remains in largely the same condition as Nelson documented. Infiltration of salt-laden moisture has disintegrated the stone, creating huge gaps in the relief. These losses are now filled with modern cement. A large veneer slab has fallen out behind Amun’s rear aegis. Dense quarry hacking obscures the frieze above the cornice of Amun’s cabin-shrine at its front. At the base of the wall, much of the original dado motif persists, but as usual, Nelson did not record it.

Translations:
By Amun’s Bark:*a  The king’s son of the starboard side, b […] the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, [MENMA’AT]RE,  the son of Re, lord of
appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN: “[…] my limbs being pure and clean […] through being established” […]d […] 4to the sanctuary, Re being in heaven, [his] heart* joyful [with] the deed of truth which occurred when he has seen* his son 5shouldering him, the king lifting up* the one who begat him, 1 (being) one who [causes]* (things) to be done out of excellence, 4 and one who is beneficial for those who are beneficial. 1 See, (I)m am acting in accordance with […] his counclers […] 7being fixed in my heart, as he gives to me 8his office, his seat, his throne, and his kingship 9as ruler of the Two Lands. He has bequeathed to me 10those things that are his before the entire land. 11The army and the courtiers have seen 12me, the sovereign 13shouldering (my) father, I being very, very pure. 14I have given in excess of what is customarily done, 9 for I know 14that he is satisfied with purity; that he lives on truth. How fortunate 15is the king who does what (I) have done for him; for he shall achieve eternity.” 16The king himself, his limbs being pure 7when he dons the panther skin— 18the dual king MENMAATRE, given life, 19the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN—he says:

By Khonsu’s bark: 30Khonsu- 31in-Thebes Nefer-32hot[ep in [Kar]nak 33as he gives all life, stability, dominion, 34and all health on his part. 2  


Behind the Second King: 25[[…]going forth […] as the incarnation of 26the dual king MENMAATRE, acting as one who is praised of the king, on behalf of the Second Prophet of Amun-Re.

a. Translation and commentary for lines 1 through 24 is based on W. J. Murnane, “The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I,” JNES 34 (1975), pp. 154-158.


c. Traces fit hr mn. For the causative use of hr + infinitive, see Gardiner, Gr.4, §166.3.

d. Traces of iw visible here probably were followed by the subject and verb. Something like “one proceeded” would suit the context.

e. Traces suit 

f. Traces indicate 

: so reading ib= [f] 3[w [m s]p n m₃t.]

g. Reading m₃n.n= [f s₃=[f hr] rmn.t=f (or rmn.t it=f). The proposed spelling of m₃(t) as m₃n is well attested for the sdm=f form (see Gardiner, Gr.4, §§439, 448), but seems otherwise unattested for
the \textit{sdm.n=f} form. Other alternatives are 
\textit{m3n=f} \textit{n=fs3=f}, “when (he) sees for himself his son,” presupposing the omission of the subject (ibid., §486-487); or, less probably, 
\textit{m3n n=f s3=f} \textit{rmn it=f}, “for his son has seen for himself [...] carrying his father.” Considering the aberrant writings of what is supposed to be Classical Egyptian in the temple inscriptions of the New Kingdom, it seems that either of the first two solutions is preferable to the third.

h. Restore \(\beta[t]\): \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{feather.png}}\) is represented with a tuft of feathers projecting from the back of its head, as is common in the Hypostyle Hall. A trace Nelson saw to its left, if it was reliable, was probably the upraised arm of the determinative \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{determinative.png}}\) (Gardiner signlist A 9), but it is now too eroded to confirm.

i. Reading, perhaps, \textit{ms s}, for \textit{ms sw} (\textit{Wb}. IV, p. 59). No certain remnant of a second \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{feather.png}}\) as recorded by Nelson and Murnane remains.

j. Restoring \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{feather.png}}\) and reading \textit{diw}: only the feet of the quail chick are left, but not its tail or hocks.

k. A not uncommon phrase in Ramesside temple inscriptions, but one which has apparently escaped the compilers of the Berlin dictionary (\textit{Wb}. II, p. 86:14 lists only \textit{rmn}). Usually the phrase occurs with direct objects, i.e., \textit{ir.t mnnw hr mnh} (RIK I, pl. 16, B-4; E. Otto, “Eine Bauinschrift Ramses’ III. in Luxor,” \textit{ZÄS} 90 [1960], p. 97:4; Otto’s translation, ibid., p. 94; and cf. several occurrences on the architraves in the forecourt of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, at Nelson, \textit{Key Plans}, pl. 15, nos 706, 1.2; 707, l. 1; and 710, l. 2; \textit{Khonsu II}, pls. 142-144).


m. \textit{Mk} (wy) \textit{hr ir.t}; for similar examples with the 1\textsuperscript{st} pers. dept. pronoun omitted, see RIK I, pl. 37F:4; \textit{Medinet Habu} II, pl. 114:12; also on the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, just west of the doorway, in the speech before the bark of Amun, \textit{mk (wy) hr rdi.t n=k rsy mi mh.ty, imnt.t, ibbt.t hr s.t-hr=k}, “See, (I) have given to you the south and the north, the west and the east under your authority:” \textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 54:11-13.

n. Restore \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{feather.png}}\) of \textit{shrw=f}.

o. For \textit{m hft-hr n}, see \textit{Wb}. III, p. 275, at C. This is the normal writing of this
compound in the Hypostyle Hall. At the bottom of the column, nothing remains below 🟪. So contra Murnane’s observations in JNES 34 (1975), p. 156, note q.

p. Reading m3n wy mšr (see above note g) or if the sdm.n=f form is preferred, render as a second tense, “it is while I am very, very pure that the army and the courtiers have seen me (etc.).”

q. Probably, with the writing of auxiliary r denoting gemination, an imperfective passive participle, irrwt. See Gardiner, Gr.3, §358. Cf. Below, irr ir.n=i (line 15), a king “who does what I did,” speaking of any king, in a general sense.

r. Nelson’s maladroitly rendered 🟪 is perhaps due to a layer of dirt that obscures this part of the relief in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5252 which served as the base of his sketch.

s. For Imn-p3-Sw, “Amun Das Licht,” an epithet of Amun from the New Kingdom onward, see Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen VII, p. 40.

m refers to the bodily form of the god, see J. Spiegel, “Die Grundbedeutung des Stammes hm,” ZÄS 75 (1939), pp. 112-121.

u. Distinct traces of 🟪 to the left of the sun sign and of 🟪 below the disk remain despite a small cavity in the stone.

Mythologically, the passage compares the king carrying Amun’s bark to Shu lifting up the solar god in the sky. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 152:19-20.

v. The first word appears to read 🟪, but its meaning escapes me. The bird cannot be 🟪 since there would be no room for its beak, thus it cannot be b3.t, “standard”. So contra Kitchen, RITA I, p. 181; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 140 and n. 86: “die Tragestange, die auf mir leigt, für A[mun].”

w. Reading hr tp=i or, perhaps, hr.[t]-tp=i, “my uraeus.”

x. Perhaps ni[s], “to summon.”


z. See glossary, s.v. ḫnw m Wist. Nfr-ḥtp m Ip.t-sw.t. Since Nelson recorded them, all of cols. 32 and 33 and most of col. 34 have fallen away.


bb. So reading hm n nsw-br.ty. Murnane, JNES 34 (1975), p. 152, fig. 2. See above note t.
As with all of Sety I’s wall decoration inside the Hypostyle Hall, this section of the north wall consists of fine raised relief. It is high relief, often with stunning effects where diverse elements are layered one atop the other. Striking examples include the king kneeling beneath the entwined branches of the Ished-tree (pl. 192) and the processional bark of Amun with its majestic figurehead, its deck crowded with statuettes (pl. 197). Sety I’s figure censing the bark is executed in particularly high relief.\(^{330}\)

As discussed above, scenes on the east wing share a number of features that distinguish them from those on the west side. Unlike reliefs on the third (uppermost in situ) register in the west, the eastern carvings were frequently embellished with the same attention to fine details like the pleating on kilts and plaiting on wigs that are commonly found on the lowest register across the entire wall. Most notable in this regard is an aborted initiative to carve the bands on Sety’s nemes-headdress in high relief (pl. 189).

Frequent modifications to the reliefs are common to every scene on the east wing except the gods of the Ennead at the lower east end (pl. 201). Minor adjustments to the proportions of royal and divine effigies are common. More exceptional were changes made to the king’s image. As is usual in the Hypostyle Hall, Sety’s torso is inclined forward even when he kneels.\(^{331}\) Unlike the north gateway, where some figures were shifted from an upright to a bowing stance,\(^{332}\) the most significant changes the artisans made to their royal

\(^{330}\) So too in the bark sanctuary of Amun-Re in Sety I’s Gurnah Temple in Western Thebes where the modeling of the king’s figures before the bark is higher than the surrounding reliefs. *PM II*, p. 414 (68-69); Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, fig. 113.

\(^{331}\) Ibid., Brand, pp. 16-18.

\(^{332}\) Ibid., 202-206. See commentary to pl. 187.
master’s effigy was to alter his plain kilt into a more elaborate one with a large triangular flap and belt apron with pendant uraei and flanked by streamers (cf., GHHK I.1, pls. 189, 191-193, 195). In the first three instances they carved the belt apron with streamers in true relief, but deliniated the triangular flap with an incised line. At the same time, they frequently enlarged Sety’s knee, also usually as an engraved line, but this was modeled as relief through the addition of plaster.

Plaster was employed in a similar fashion to enlarge other recarved elements when they could not be fully rendered in stone without cutting back the negative space around them severely, as this would have left them in odd-looking troughs. Because these recarved elements were not keyed for plaster by scoring them, most of the stucco infill has long since fallen away, but enough remains to verify the method of work.

A further anomaly distinguishing these scenes from the rest of Sety I’s decoration in the Hypostyle Hall is the appearance of a “long form” of his prenomen with the epithet h$\bar{k}3$-$W3.s.t$ added to either side of $M3^\circ.t$ in several instances.\textsuperscript{333}

\textsuperscript{333} Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 190-193, 195 (eroded traces not recorded by Nelson), 197, 199-200.
PLATE 188

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 45 (154) I.

Location: B 281: North wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“second”), only preserved scene on this register.

Subject: In this largely destroyed scene, the king (Sety I) kneels before a male divinity.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Sculptors recut the king’s belt, belt apron, and the top of his advancing knee. A patch-block has vanished between his knee and the god’s legs.

Translations:

Behind the Deity: [...] Shu and Tefnut, every foreign land being under your sandals.

a. A number of restorations are possible based on contemporary parallels: e.g., rwḏ rn= k mi Šw Tfnwt “...your name flourishes like Shu and Tefnut” (GHHK I.1, pl. 105:6); or di.n=(i) n=k ḫw n R* wr n Šw Tfnwt “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the power of Shu and Tefnut” (ibid., pls. 153:13, 168:8).

PLATE 189

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 45 (154) II.1.

Location: B 282: North wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“third”), first scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun and presents two jars of wine (fig. 37).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Three bands of paint on Sety I’s collar persist, although their color is not apparent.

Observations: Extensive cosmetic recutting occurs on every part of Sety’s figure as follows: (1) the top, back, lappet (both sides), and root of the “tail” of his nemes-headcloth; (2) his profile from brow to chin, his beard (both sides), eye (shifted higher), and neckline; (3) his arms, at the back of his rear shoulder, top of the forward shoulder, underside of both arms above the elbow, crook of the forward arm; (4) his breast and belly; (5) and his lower body, including his rump, belt, knee, the sole of his foot, and his instep (twice) and toe. In modifying his lower body, Sety’s craftsmen enlarged his knee considerably, and they added a large triangular flap with a belt apron to his kilt as they did in several other episodes on this register. They defined elements of the belt apron in low relief, but they built up the bottom point of the kilt flap and the enlarged knee in plaster. Otherwise, recutting is limited to the upper right tier of the bouquet next to Sety’s knee. Unusually, the artists carved stripes on the king’s nemes-headcloth in high relief which is particularly deep on its lappet. This—along with pleating on his kilt—reflects a sporadic attempt to render fine details in relief instead of paint on the north wall’s east wing. A large patch-stone is missing to the right of Sety’s hands, and quarry marks afflict the lower right corner of Amun’s podium. Otherwise the surviving relief is in excellent condition.

Translations:

Label: [giving] wine to Amun-Re
By Amun: [...(I) have given to you] all victory like

334 For Sety’s rump, waist and foot, see GHHK I.1, pls. 185-186.
Re.

Behind Amun: Every [protection…] surrounds him like Re every day.

Behind the King: 3[…given life] like Re. 4[The king…] MENMA^ATRE, [shall] continually appear like Re […]a

a. So restoring [wnn nsw…] Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 193:15.

PLATE 190

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 45 (154) II.2.
Location: B 283: North wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“third”), second scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels beneath a vulture goddess and offers a broad collar and bracelets to Amun-Re (fig. 277).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Traces of paint define four concentric bands of indistinguishable color on the right side of the broad collar Sety proffers, and there are several bands on Amun’s own collar below his neckline. Amun wears a corslet of which the design of its upper hem and twin shoulder straps is evident, although the colors have also faded. Blue pigment remains inside Amun’s rear plume near the top.335 Faint traces of the petals and epicalyces of the lotus bloom are also visible.

Observations: Artisans recut Sety’s waist, belt, the solar disk at the top of his crown and the upper right side of the crown itself, and the hood of its forward uraeus. They also enlarged his lap and knee significantly. Modifications to Amun’s figure are more subtle and include the back of his forward arm above its elbow, the front of his rear arm from the armpit to the crook of the arm, the back of his rear arm from shoulder to fist, his forehead, the front of his crown, and the back and tip of his beard.

Sety’s upper torso and head were carved on a large patch-block which has disappeared. Elsewhere in the scene, quarry hacking, once filled with plaster, obscures part of texts in cols. 3 and 4, Sety’s legs, and a few deep pits in Amun’s plumes. Although a hole in the deity’s rear shoulder may be intentional, there is no further sign of vandalism, and the relief is in good condition. Nelson did not record some finer details, including the toenails of both figures, a chin strap securing Amun’s false beard, and the eye and mouth on the head of his wıs-scepter (otherwise rarely indicated in relief), Amun’s fingernails, markings on the vulture’s hocks, and her facial features.

Translations:

Label: 1Giving a broad collar to Amun-Re

By Amun: 2Amun-Re, [ruler] of Thebes: 3Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you the kingship of Re. 4[(I) have] gi[vem to you] all health forever. 5(I) have given to you valor against the South and victory against the North forever. 6(I) have given to you my office, my seat, my throne, (and) my lifetime when (I)b was on earth like Re.

Behind Amun: Every protection—life—surrounds him.

By the Vulture: 7Nekhbet.

By the King: 8(Long) live the good god who makes

335 See our commentary on GHHK I.1, pl. 96.
benefactions, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA\'ATRE-HEKAWASETE, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 6.
b. Reading h\(\text{t} = w = i\) wn\(= (i)\) tp \(t i\) mi \(R\).c. The epithet \(hk3-Ws.t\), “ruler of Thebes,” occurs in several, but not all, of the \textit{prenomen} cartouches in scenes east of the central doorway on the north wall.

\textbf{PLATE 191}

\textbf{Bibliography:} \textit{PM} II, p. 45 (154) II.3; Weret-hekau: Legrain, \textit{Karnak}, p. 207, fig. 127.

\textbf{Location:} B 284: North wall, eastern half, uppermost register \textit{in situ} (“third”), third scene from the west.

\textbf{Subject:} Sety I kneels and offers a clepsydra to Weret-hekau. Above him, Wadjet soars in the form of a serpent-headed vulture (figs. 9, 23, 44, 46).

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Raised.

\textbf{Paint:} Weret-hekau’s dress has a folded wing pattern consisting of overlapping bands of diagonal stripes, with narrow borders in a lighter color that frame wide swathes of darker pigment. Her dress is supported by two shoulder straps that have wide, dark bands with lighter strips on their edges. Between the lappets of her wig, her broad collar has alternating bands of light and dark paint, but all of these pigments have faded beyond recognition. Weret-hekau’s leonine face is pale blue-green while the forward lappet of her wig is blue. One of the lotus buds of the bouquet on the offering stand is green, and Sety’s kilt is yellow.

\textbf{Observations:} Here again the sculptors extensively modified Sety I’s image. Most significantly, they added a triangular flap to his kilt along with an elaborate belt apron flanked by uraei and streamers, and they enlarged his knee. Otherwise, they recut various parts of his body to enlarge their proportions or change their position: (1) his belly, the top of his forward shoulders and the rounded end of the rear one were thickened; (2) his throat and neckline were shifted to the left; (3) on his rear arm, they shifted the forearm higher and made the upper arm wider; (4) they also moved his forward arm lower above its elbow; (5) Sety’s craftsmen enlarged his wig at its top, back and front, both sides of his beard, and his profile; (6) they shifted his eye higher and thickened his eyebrow; (7) his uraeus was made taller; (8) sculptors also enlarged his diadem and transferred it upwards slightly. The clasp at its back is larger and further to the left than the original version. A pair of rigid streamers issuing from the back of the diadem was shaved down and longer ones that slope further to the left were carved in shallow relief. Craftsmen carved all these enlarged proportions in shallow bas relief, often as little more than incised outlines, and they used plaster to build up the augmented elements. Most of this has now fallen away since they did not key the recut surfaces to secure the plaster, but enough remains on Sety’s forward arm below his arm pit.

\footnote{For parallels see \textit{Abydos} IV, pls. 1, 7, 13, 20, 23, 26, 30.}
and at the bottom of his triangular kilt flap where it overlaps the bottom of his leg to illustrate their method. The sculptors made fewer adjustments to Weret-hekau’s figure: they enlarged her forward wig lappet, the right side of her lioness’ mane, her knee, throat, and neckline, and the bottom of the large solar disk on her head.

Masons inserted two large veneer slabs in the upper and lower right corners of the scene, presumably to eliminate quarry damage. Weret-hekau’s rear arm was carved on another tall, narrow patch-stone, but the left side of this block interfered with the front of her arm, so the sculptors partially modeled this limb in plaster. Quarry hacking with vestiges of stucco patching—Nelson indicated this with shade in his drawing—mars the center of the scene. Note that the surface of a block containing Sety I’s prenomen, cols. 1-2, and parts of 3, 6 and 8, is cut back further than those around it. Here the sandstone is highly porous and has remnants of a decayed plaster coating. As a result, texts in cols. 3 and 6 are damaged. Iconoclasts attacked Sety’s toe, but left the rest of this scene unharmed. A fragment of the scene from the missing register above preserves a fragment of the kneeling king’s leg. Here again, the artists subsequently added a triangular flap to his kilt.

Translations:

Label: 1 Giving a clepsydra to 2 Weret-hekau.
By Weret-hekau: 3 Words spoken by Weret-hekau,

337 This and other fragmentary scenes will be reconstructed from loose blocks found mostly in the yards to the north of the Hypostyle Hall and will appear in a future volume on fragments from the Hypostyle Hall.

lady of the palace: “(O) my son 4 the lord of the Two Lands MENMA 5 ATRE-HEKAWASET, 5(I) have placed the fear of you in the flat lands[…]a 6(I) have given to you all flat lands and the Nine Bows gathered under your sandals forever and ever!”

Behind Weret-hekau: [Every] protection—life—surrounds her [...]..

By the Vulture: 7 Wadjet.
By the King: 8 (Long) live the good god, image of Re, sacred egg of Atum, 9 the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA 10 ATRE-HEKAWASET, 10 the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, 11 given life like Re.

a. The right side of this column and the entire column to its right were carved on a missing patch-block. One might restore nb.w, “all,” at the top of the missing column thereby reading “all the flat lands” etc.

b. So swH.t dsr.t n.t Imnw. The 根-sign evidently confused Nelson who wrote sic inside it. This is a perfectly clear, although highly abbreviated, writing for swH.t. Perhaps he mistook it for an abbreviation of sI. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 178:1.

c. The column of text behind the vulture is drawn and translated in GHHK I.1, pl. 190:6 and in our commentary above. Two erased traces (perhaps the upper loops of or of ⁶a) remain above the top of the king’s crown, but were not
recorded by Nelson. This probably represents an aborted protection formula deleted for lack of space. The bottom of the sign(s) would have interfered with the top of the king’s Double Crown, and the surface around the bulb of its White Crown was cut back further than elsewhere.

PLATE 192

Bibliography: PM II, p. 45 (154) II.4; Legrain, Karnak, p. 207, fig. 127; Schwaller de Lubiz, Karnak, p. 571, fig. 30, Thoth, king and Ished-tree, pl. 49, Re-Horakhty, king and Weret-hekau, pl. 50; Azim and Reveillac, Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/171 and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/171; Beate George and Bengt Peterson, Die Karnak–Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836–1837, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 3, (Stockholm, 1979), p. 21.

Location: B 285-286: North wall, eastern half, uppermost register in situ (“third”), fourth and fifth scenes from the west.

Subject: (Left): Sety I kneels beside the Ished-tree while Thoth inscribes individual leaves with his prenomen (fig. 278). Above the tree hovers a sun disk with pendant uraei, between which is a rebus of the king’s prenomen. (Right) Sety I kneels on a podium receiving jubilees, life, and dominion from Re-Horakhty enthroned in a shrine (figs. 47-48). Weret-hekau stands behind Sety extending one arm protectively behind his crown while the other clutches a year-staff with jubilee, life, and protection emblems.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: The most extensive traces persist on Sety’s figure in the right-hand scene.338 His atef-crown and its ostrich plumes have alternating vertical stripes of blue and pale blue-green, and its ram’s horns are pale blue-green. Sety’s wig is blue. A Nineteenth Century visitor to Karnak, Baltzar Cronstrand, records these same colors on the king’s falcon corslet, but aside from a few specks of blue, only the pattern of its design is still legible. Two falcon’s wings folded across Sety’s upper chest are blue and green. Less apparent today, but visible in Cronstrand’s day, is an embroidered cloth shirt with distinctive overlapping strips of fabric crossing his belly, which according to Cronstrand is red.339 The pattern on his collar and on an arm band encircling the biceps muscle of his forward arm (alternating vertical bands of lighter and darker pigment) also survives, but again its colors have faded. A pattern of discolored squares set against a lighter background (probably yellow) decorates the king’s belt apron. In addition to the three carved streamers flanking the left side of the apron, there are traces of a longer sash in decayed pigment overlapping the two outermost ribbons.340 Alternating squares of darker and

340 This is probably a remnant of a red looped sash sometimes found in later Ramesside iconography. See Amy Calvert, “The red looped sash: an enigmatic
lighter paint remain on the shaft of his crook. On his flail, there are three columns of six small circles near the top of the pendants and three columns of triangular shapes just above the horizontal line at the top of its three long terminals. Again, their colors are unclear.

Elsewhere in the right-hand scene, Re-Horakhty’s forward wig lappet is blue. The &- and -signs in col. 18 have blue and green squares arranged in a chessboard pattern. Wereth-hekau’s face is pale blue-green.

On the left-hand scene, Thoth’s broad collar has bands of alternating light and dark pigment of uncertain hue, and his wig is blue. Blue-green pigment clings to some of the Ished-tree’s leaves, namely on the bottom row of leaves just above Thoth’s forward arm, in the second and in the third row of below this arm, just above the back of Sety’s crown, and between the first two branches above Sety’s knee and to the right of the triangular flap of his kilt. Sety’s khepresh-crown is blue, and his belt has a latticework design, but its colors are uncertain.

Observations: (Left scene): Here again, Sety I’s sculptors extensively reworked his royal figure. They added a triangular flap with a belt apron and streamers to his kilt, which they rendered in a combination of very low relief and incised lines. Some of the plaster they used to suppress leaves and branches of the Ished-tree beneath this flap remains in situ. They also enlarged Sety’s khepresh-
crown at its front and back, along with his uraeus. Other revisions include his neckline; the instep, heel and toe of his foot; and his mouth and chin. They also shifted his eye higher and tilted its axis so that it is more horizontal than in the original downturned eye. Finally they recut each of Sety’s shoulders and arms. Traces of the initial forearm, incompletely erased, survive above the final version, which was recut twice. Modification of Thoth’s image is limited to his belt below his sash, the top of his tail, and the shoulder and bicep of his forward arm.

(Right scene): Here the sculptors’ cosmetic adjustments to Sety’s effigy were even more pervasive, including: the bottom and back of his wig; his profile and the front and tip of his false beard (which they lengthened and widened); the heads of both uraei on his atef-crown and the sun disk of the left serpent; Sety’s belly and belt; and his forward knee. Here again, they shifted his eye higher and they widened and shifted both arms slightly. His advancing forearm arm receiving jubilee emblems was thickened along both sides below his elbow, the top of his thumb was raised, and his palm and fingers were recut. Sculptors moved his rear arm grasping his crook and flail downwards and to the right. Nelson’s drawing indicates recutting to the bottom of his earlier forearm, elbow, and the biceps muscle of his original upper arm as dotted lines, but incompletely; the underside of his forearm was, in fact, recut twice, and a palimpsest of the top of the earlier forearm consists of erased lines above the final version. They also reworked his flail twice. The leftmost pendant of its flabellum was

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shifted to the right. Some of the plaster used to build up these enlarged proportions and to suppress earlier versions still adheres to various parts of the king’s figure, namely on his rear arm just below the dotted line in Nelson’s drawing between his elbow and back, at his throat, belly, the elbow of his forward arm, and the front of his rear thigh just above the instep of his advancing foot. Elsewhere, most of this stucco has fallen away.

The sculptors made less drastic adjustments to Re-Horakhty’s effigy, including his throat, the right side of his tail, the underside of his extended arm, his breast, the top of his rear arm holding a year-staff from its wrist to its biceps muscle, the bottom of this arm from the shoulder to the elbow, its thumb, and the back of his leg above the calf muscle. Nelson omits the bottom jaw of Re-Horakhty’s beak and the heel of his forward foot. Alterations to Weret-Hekau’s figure are confined to her head. Here, the workmen slightly enlarged her profile from the peak of her wig at her forehead to her chin, along with her mane, ear, and the triangular tuft of hair which envelops her ear, and finally, her neckline.

Both scenes are in good condition, with no obvious deterioration since Nelson’s day. At least two large veneer blocks are missing from the space above Thoth’s head and where his legs were. A gap in Nelson’s copy above the solar disk rebus over the Ished-tree indicates erosion. A few zones of quarry damage, once filled with plaster, occur in the space above cols. 11-14; the bottom front corner of Re-Horakhty’s throne; at the top of his throne where his year-staff overlaps; in his belt and rump; and finally, in the dais he shares with the king just below the forward support pole of his kiosk-shrine.

Translations:

By Thoth: [Words spoken by Thoth], lord of Hermopolis, master of the god’s words: “(I) have recorded your [titulary] as Horus: mighty bull, appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live, enduring on the august Ished-tree of Heliopolis in the presence of Atum.”

By the Behdetite: [The Behdetite], the great god, lord of heaven, as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

Below the Behdetite: MENMA’ATRE.

By Weret-hekau: Words spoken by Weret-hekau, lady of the palace: “(O) my beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE-HEKAWASET, [I give] to you millions of jubilees and myriads of years <in> peace, as (I) established for you the diadems of Re, the ornament being established upon your forehead.” As she gives all life surrounding him.

By Re-Horakhty: Words spoken by Re-Horakhty, the great god: (I) have established for you the diadems upon your head, every foreign country being under your sandals.”

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

By the King (Right): The good god MENMA’ATRE-HEKAWASET, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

Nelson numbered the columns of these texts as if they belonged to one large scene.
a. So restoring something like [(1) \(dd\ \text{mdw}\ \text{in}\ \text{Dhwty}\) (2) \(nb\ \text{Hmw}\ nb\ \text{mdw-ntr}\ w\text{dn}\)]. There is probably just enough room in cols. 1 and 2 for the proposed restorations, but not enough to fill col. 3. Cf. Sharkawy, \textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 145, nn. 131-132. For another restoration see W. Helck, \textit{ZÄS} 82 (1957), p. 118.

b. There is space in col. 4 for Sety I’s Horus name surmounted by \begin{figure}
\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=1cm]{sety_horus}
\end{center}
\end{figure}.

c. Restoring col. 5 as \(mn\ \text{hr}\ \text{t\=sd}\ \text{sps}\ \text{Twn}\ w\text{m-bih\ Itmw}\). So Sharkawy, \textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 145, n. 133, citing \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 79:20 and 137:18. The restored verb \(mn\) could be a stative or a participle.

d. Here the Behdetite takes the form of a disk with pendant uraei which frames a rebus of Sety’s \textit{prenomen}.

e. It is unclear whether the text read \([di=i]\ n=k\) or \([di.n=(i)\] n=k.\)

f. One might expect \(<m>\ \text{htp}\). Sharkawy, \textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 145, takes \textit{htp} as an adjective.

g. Reading \(smn\=(i)\ n=k\ b^*w\ n\ R^c\).

**PLATE 193**

\textbf{Bibliography:} PM II\textsuperscript{2}, p. 45 (154) II.5; Amun-Kamutef, Schwaller de Lubicz, \textit{Karnak}, pl. 48; Azim and Reveillac, \textit{Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain}, vol. 1, pl. 4-3/171 and vol. 2, pl. 4-3/171.

\textbf{Location:} B 287: North wall, eastern half, uppermost register \textit{in situ} (“third”), sixth scene from the west.

\textbf{Subject:} Sety I kneels beneath a falcon while offering two \(\text{\raisebox{1pt}{\textcircled{O}}}\)-jars to Amun-Kamutef while the Behdetite falcon flies above (figs. 12, 53, 279).

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Raised.

\textbf{Paint:} Decayed paint indicates a pattern of alternating light and dark stripes on Sety’s \textit{nemes}-headdress, concentric bands on his collar, and two streamers on his triangular kilt flap that flanked a belt apron (which itself has disappeared). Kamutef wears an arm band with a latticework pattern on his biceps muscle and a broad collar with concentric rings of pigment, but these colors have also faded. His headband and a streamer dangling behind him are red, while his skull cap is blue. On the fetish table behind him, a bit of green paint adheres to one of the lettuce plants.

\textbf{Observations:} Sety I’s figure underwent numerous minor changes at the hands of his sculptors who recarved its proportions as follows: the upright of his Red Crown; his \textit{nemes}-headdresses’ tail and lappet; the visor of his \textit{nemes}-headdress (Nelson largely omitted an arched fold above the visor, which was also recut); his ear; his eye and eyebrow; the back of his beard; his rear shoulder; his rear forearm along its top (twice) and its underside; both sides of his advancing arm above its elbow (the effect of which was to shift the final arm lower); the top of this arm from its joint to the wrist; the top of his belt (twice); his belly; and the heel (twice), instep, sole (twice), and toe of his foot. Finally, sculptors inserted a triangular flap on his kilt by engraving its outline and then painting in details of a belt apron flanked
by streamers. Plaster they used to augment this flap clings to its bottom corner below Sety’s leg. Elsewhere, stucco used to fill out the recarved portions of his figure remains on Sety’s heel, the bottom of his rear forearm, the bottom of his upper arm just above its elbow, and on his throat. His ear is very flat and appears partly erased—its final version may have been largely executed in plaster. Stucco employed to patch defects in the stone also clings to Sety’s hands, his forward wrist, and his throat.

Less extensive were changes the artists made to Kamutef’s figure. His belly was made wider and less curving above and below the base of his phallus, and some of the plaster used to complete the effect still adheres. Recutting is evident on his front shoulder, the left side of his arm from his shoulder to his hand, the bottom of his arm from armpit to elbow, and the rim of his skullcap below the ear. His fingers were widened on both sides of the hand. His flail’s handle was lengthened by extending its shaft towards his shoulder and its butt was recut twice. The sculptors retouched his facial profile from above his forehead to his chin and along the front of his beard. All these adjustments thickened his proportions.

Practitioners of fertility magic deeply gouged Amun’s penis to obtain stone for their rituals. Nevertheless, traces of its outline endure and it is clear that Sety’s men had recut the top of its shaft. Light gashes on the faces of both figures are also deliberate, but there is no other sign of iconoclasm, although two round holes at the bottom of col. 8 (which march with others in the adjoining scene) are surely the result of human intervention. The relief is still in excellent condition with no apparent change since Nelson’s day. Numerous thin horizontal fissures running diagonally through the block containing the falcon and hieroglyphic text in front of Amun’s plumes resulted from natural defects in the bedding of the sandstone. Deep cavities in the falcon’s tail, however, are ancient tool marks left from the quarry.

Translations:

Label: 1Giving libation to Amun-Re, lord of heaven.

By Amun: 2Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ruler of the 2-3Ennead, 4upraised of arm, whose $beauty is vaunted: 6Words spoken: 7(I) have given to you all flat lands in fear of you. 7(I) have given to you life and dominion. 8(I) have given to you my office, my seat, my throne, and my lifetime of when (I) was on earth; the Black Land and the Red Land being under your authority, and the Nine Bows being under your two sandals.”

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

By the Falcon: 9The Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven, 10as he gives all life and dominion like Re.

By the King: 11(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, 12the dual king MENMA\textsuperscript{a}ATRE, 13the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, 14given life, stability, and dominion like Re. 15The king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA\textsuperscript{a}ATRE-HEKA\textsuperscript{w}ASET, shall continually appear like Re.
a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 8.

b. As Nelson’s *sic* indicates, the handle of 🍗 is reversed.

**PLATE 194**

*Bibliography:* *PM II*, p. 45 (154) II.6.

*Location:* B 288: North wall, eastern half, third register, seventh scene from the west.

*Subject:* Sety I kneels before Amun with a basket of food offerings perched on his head. A royal *ka-*standard inscribed with his Horus name stands behind him (figs. 280-281).

*Type of Relief:* Raised.

*Paint:* Faded paint indicates the pattern of Sety I’s broad collar and on the bouquet atop the basket of food offerings. Four vertical stripes persist on the “niched façade” decoration at the base of the *serekh* containing his Horus-name between the -arms. There is also a faint trace of a curving sash on the king’s forward knee to the right of carved ribbons of his belt apron. All of these pigments have faded beyond recognition.

*Observations:* His craftsmen reworked Sety’s figure at several points, including the top and back of his cap crown, the bottom of his eye, his ear, neckline, rear shoulder, wrist, both sides of his belt, a sash to the left of his belt apron, and his advancing knee and calf muscle. Two lightly incised versions of a priestly sash cross his chest diagonally from the forward shoulder to the back of his belt, but Nelson did not record either. His uraeus cobra’s hood has now worn away. Note that a curved line on the lower left side of the pile of food offerings in Sety’s basket is lightly incised. Nelson omitted a sloping carved line above the top of the bouquet suggesting another offering, probably a lettuce plant.342 Except for his forward shoulder, the craftsmen did not recarve Amun’s icon, but they adjusted the left prong at the base of his *w+s*-scepter, resulting in its asymmetry with the right one. The 🍗 in col. 4 was also recut and shifted to the left.

A large patching slab has vanished from the center of this tableau, and the block above it, which is inscribed with the head and shoulders of Amun and the right side of Sety’s basket of food, retains shallow pitting associated with quarry damage. This is most severe in the region of the food offerings and below the top of the deity’s *w+s*-scepter where some plaster infill remains. Nelson misinterpreted some details of these offerings as a result. In particular, a rebus of Sety I’s *prenomen* contains only 🍗 and 🍗,343 but a small “disk” Nelson drew is actually the curved neck and head of a roast duck. Perhaps the large oval bread loaf with two small holes adjacent to the rebus group is to be understood as 🍩.

Quarry marks disfigure Amun’s rear shoulder, upper arm, and the middle of col. 6. A second veneer slab, missing above Sety’s basket,

342 Lettuce plants sometimes flank similar bouquets proffered by the king, So *GHHK* I.1, pl. 240, 247, 254. 343 For parallels, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 33 and 154. In the latter episode, a miniature statuette of the king offering a food basket containing the rebus is offered by Sety. In this case, however, the disk must have been elsewhere.
contained his titulary and Amun’s speech. However, this gap is too large for just the king’s titulary, and it is likely that a solar disk flanked by uraei representing the Behdetite hovered over him as well. Nelson omitted some finer details of this relief, including the lower rim and earlap of Sety’s cap crown (which was recut) and the deity’s toenails. Although there is no sign of iconoclasm, someone drilled two round holes above Sety’s rear ankle.

Translations:

By Amun: 1 Amun-Re, the lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven, ruler 2 of Thebes:
3 [Words spoken: “(I) have given to you] all provisions. 4 (I) have given to you all life and dominion and all health. 5 (I) have placed your awesomeness in the hearts of the pa.t-nobility and the rxy.t-commoners. 6 (I) have given to you valor against all the hill countries; dread of you being in the hearts of the Nine Bows, as their chiefs come to you as one.”

Behind Amun: Protection—life—surrounds him like Re.

By the Protective Deity: 9 As [he] give all victory, all health and all joy like Re.

By the King: 7 [The dual king MENMA’ATRE, 8 the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN], 6 given life like Re.

Behind the King: Every protection—life—surrounds him like [Re].

The King’s Serekh: Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live.’

a. Surely at the top of this column, and repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 6.

b. Restoring [dd mdw di.n=(i) n=k df][5w nb.

c. Restoring [di.n=(i)] §fy:t=k. The phrase might still be longer.

d. Cf. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 147, “ihre Fürsten zu dir kommen, (geschlossen) wie ein (Mann).”

e. One could restore either or in this space. Given the limited room, the protective deity would have been smaller than usual if it was a falcon or vulture. More likely, there was a sun disk with pendant uraei once labeled as the Behdetite in a vertical column to the left of col. 8. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 146 (Right) where the sun disk is called the Behdetite. For the Behdetite as a disk, see C. Spieser, Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire, pp. 64-65 and figs. 250, 258, 260-262. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 15, 45, 50, 68, 73, 81 middle, 82 right, 82 left, 83 middle, 84 middle, 86, 95 right, 146 right, 187, 192, 200, 249.

f. There is room for cartouches preceded by one set of titles.

g. Arranged horizontally under cols. 7 and 8 as in numerous other examples in the Hall.

344 Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 146 & 192. The space to be filled is roughly square and there does not seem to be enough room for a vulture or a falcon.
PLATE 195

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) II.7.

Location: B 289: North wall, eastern half, third register, eighth scene from the west.

Subject: Sety I kneels and offers two jars of wine to Min-Amun-Kamutef (figs. 16, 282). Nekhbet soars above the king in her vulture form.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Three dark rings of faded pigment remain on the god’s collar near his neckline, while a fourth band lies outside the carved outer edge of this collar. Traces of Sety’s broad collar persist as well, but all these colors have faded beyond recognition.

Observations: Sculptors recut the king to enlarge his proportions as follows: all of his khat-wig except for its visor and uraeus; on his rear arm, the top of the forearm and the bottom of the upper arm; his rear shoulder; on his forward arm, the top of his shoulder and biceps muscle along with the elbow and underside of his forearm; the bottom of his hands; both O-jars; his belly; rump; instep at the ankle; both sides of his belt; and the bottom of his knee. Sety’s craftsmen also shifted his eye upwards and extended the tip of his nose. Faint traces of an earlobe to the right of the earlier, more complete ear indicate that it was also shifted rightwards. Sculptors must have built up the king’s enlarged khat-wig and final ear with stucco and covered the earlier ear. Sety’s belly and the top of his original lap were both enlarged once before the artist greatly enlarged his knee and added a large triangular flap to his kilt in a third, final revision. They carved these last alterations only as engraved lines and presumably modeled them in plaster. Subsequently, craftsmen indicated details of Sety’s belt apron and flanking ribbons in paint. At the same time, they incompletely suppressed pleating and the distinctive flap of his original Shendyt-kilt. Plaster caulking adheres to the underside of his hands, the lower edge of his rear upper arm, and the end of the enlarged lappet of his khat-headdress below his shoulder. They also inserted the root of a false beard (which Nelson did not record) as two engraved lines between his chin and the top of his shoulder and probably formed it in plaster.

The sculptors’ adjustments to Min-Amun-Kamutef’s proportions were fewer. They thickened his chest just below his shoulder, his back, rump, and the back of his leg from its thigh to its heel. Scattered traces of plaster infill survive on the leg.

Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall thoroughly and deeply gouged out Min’s phallus. Elsewhere, malicious damage is restricted to shallow scratches on the god’s nose and mouth and to Sety I’s nose and upper lip. Defects to at the top of col. 3 may simply be fortuitous. Quarry hacking is most severe at the bottom of the scene between Sety’s knee and Min’s pedestal and extends into the offering stand and floral bouquet between them, but the masons left fainter tool marks elsewhere, especially on the bottom of the king’s wig, through his hands and O-jars, and on the ribbon dangling behind Amun. Note that the block inscribed with Sety’s cartouches and cols. 7 and 12 is more abraded.
than the others with residue of stucco patching.\textsuperscript{345} As a result, Nelson missed traces of the epithet $\text{hk3-W3s.t}$ in Sety’s \textit{prenumen} also found in nearby scenes. Losses to the top of col. 2 result from natural decay of the sandstone which extends into Min’s plumes.

Nelson passed over a few minor elements such as the top of Sety’s visor, his navel, and the fold in his \textit{kbat}-wig above his ear. His neckline, although partially erased on its left side, is complete and touches the base of his wig, nor has the drawing conveyed the intricacy of Nekhbet’s facial markings. Also missing is a curving line carved inside Min’s upper arm depicting his rear shoulder. Someone lightly engraved a curious rectangular shape between Min’s front shoulder and col. 6, but this appears to be a later graffito of uncertain significance.

\textbf{Translations:}

\textit{Label:} $^1$Giving wine.$^a$

\textit{By Min:} $^2$Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, $^3$who is upon his great seat, $^4$the great god: $^5$Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re$^b$ and the years of Atum.”

\textit{Behind Min:} Every protection—life, stability, and dominion—surrounds [him].$^d$

\textit{By the Vulture:} $^6$Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, mistress of the Two Lands $^7$as she gives all life like Re.

\textit{By the King:} $^8$(Long) live the good god, image of Re, protector of Kamutef, $^8$the divine seed which issues forth from the god’s flesh in order to perform the kingship of Re, $^9$the dual king, lord of the Two Lands \textit{MENMA”ATRE-HEKAWASET}, $^a$the son of Re, lord of appearances \textit{SETY-MERENAMUN}, given life like Re, $^b$the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen.

\textit{Behind the King:} Every protection—all life, stability, and dominion—surrounds [him].$^d$

\textit{a.} This whole phrase was erased—or incompletely carved and then abandoned—with only faint engraved lines left behind. Evidently, the scribe encountered some confusion in writing the formula. He interposed $\square$ and below $\square$ and to the left of $\square$ in \textit{rd1.t}. Below $\square$, the sign that Nelson drew in double lines as a squashed $\square$, is, in fact, merely a single line denoting the curve of $\square$, but with no base, leaving only the $\square$ and $\widehat{\square}$ (Gardiner signlist W 21), to spell \textit{irp}, “wine.” For correct spellings of this formula, see \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 122:1; 166:1; 253:1 (so Sharkawy, \textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 147, n. 144). This was, perhaps, a copyist’s error resulting from a misreading of the original hieratic ligature. Perhaps the draftsman mistook it for a writing of \textit{rd1.t pr}, “giving the house <to its lord>” (as in \textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 187:1). Any final

\textsuperscript{345} As noted in the commentary to pl. 195 where it affects Amun’s head and shoulders and the king’s basket of offerings.
correction may have been rendered in paint or was simply omitted.

b. Here serves both as determinative of \( h^t.w \) and the ideogram of \( R^t \).

c. Nelson omitted the epithet \( hk3-W3s.t \).

d. No trace of \( \overline{\text{aH}}w \) is visible in the gap after \( \overline{\text{aH}}w \). At the end of the column, \( \overline{\text{aH}}w \) was either erased or incompletely carved, and its flat top is not preserved as Nelson’s copy suggests.

**PLATE 196**

_Bibliography:_ PM II², p. 45 (154) II.8.

_Location:_ B 290: North wall, eastern half; uppermost register _in situ_ (“third”), ninth (and final) scene from the west.

_Subject:_ Sety I offers two jars of ointment to Amun-Re while Wadjet hovers above the king as a vulture (figs. 5, 283).

_Type of Relief:_ Raised.

_Paint:_ Three bands of faded paint delineate the king’s broad collar.

_Observations:_ Unlike other scenes on this register, the sculptors made fewer alterations to Sety I’s figure. They recut his belt on each side, his heel and the bottom of his instep where it curves into his toe, and the fingers of both hands. In addition, they enlarged the lower half of the king’s wig at its front and back and engraved horizontal lines on its rear extension. Amun’s belt was also recut. Light scratches inside the tops of Amun’s plumes, as recorded by Nelson, are not recutting, but seem to be fortuitous. Palimpsests of a suppressed version of the main text above the figures are evident in several of the final hieroglyphs and are described in notes to the translation.

In smoothing the wall, quarrymen left residual chisel marks which are concentrated at various points through the offering stand; inside Sety I’s rear shoulder; in Amun’s head, shoulders and his kilt; and in the middle reaches of the decorative ribbon margin behind him. Plaster caulking adheres in places, especially in the offering stand and bouquet. Much of Amun’s face was carved in stucco and is now lost. Iconoclasts confined their depredations to light pecking of Sety’s facial features, the hood of his uraeus, and the hand closest to his face. Of Amun’s neck and beard, almost nothing remains, and Nelson’s copy is inaccurate on this point. Behind the god’s plumes, a small patch-stone has vanished. Nelson overlooked some minutia such as the navels of both figures, their belt buckles, and the coils of Sety’s uraeus meandering across the front of his diadem, although the latter were partly erased.

_Translations:_

*By Amun:* ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ruler of Thebes: ²Words spoken:* “(I) have given to you all health ³on my part. ⁴(I) have given to you ⁵all joy on my part. ⁶(I) have given to ⁷you eternity as ⁸king of the Two Lands and eternity as ⁹the ruler of joy.”

*By the Vulture:* ¹⁰Wadjet, ¹¹as she gives all life and dominion like Re.

*By the King:* ¹²The good god ¹³who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, ¹⁴the dual king, ¹⁵lord of the Two Lands
MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re, lord of [appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re, the image of Re, the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen, whom he (Amun) has appointed to be the sole lord upon earth.

*Behind the King:* Protection, life, stability, and dominion.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3. Traces of earlier glyphs are imbedded in and perhaps the signs of snb, but they are not readily identifiable. Here and in col. 3, palimpsests of earlier serpents overlap the final ones.

b. Nelson's *sic* notes that is absent from snb, "health."

c. The bottom right half of an earlier is implanted within final of di.n=(i) n=k. Below this is a narrow diagonal element of another, unidentified hieroglyph.

d. There are definite traces of a second above and below the gap.

e. The artist did not carve the bottom of at its right end above the head of.

f. Here the sculptor apparently miscarved for, which Nelson did not notice.

g. Traces of at least three long, narrow signs persist inside the three final tall ones of Wadjet’s name. The uppermost palimpsest is a flat glyph, but its identity is unclear. Below, are two glyphs resembling signs. A rounding traces in the final may be part of an earlier.

h. Inside the “flag” of are palimpsest traces of the flat bottom of a sign, and below this the top of and game pieces of, with segments of its “box” embedded in the shafts of the final signs.

i. Inside the heart of there are three “waves” of with the top of a wide, flat sign below. The earlier group must have been Imn, “Amun.”

j. A palimpsest bisects the thorax and abdomen of . A short vertical sign (a perhaps?) cuts through the middle of the left, but slants to one side. A taller vertical trace runs through the insect’s abdomen just to the right of its stinger and continues into the left corner of.

k. Only the leftmost of h₅w is substantially intact, but faint remnants of the top and base of also survive.

l. A rounding trace below cannot be the top of since there is not enough room for that sign to fit in the
narrow space available, nor is there any evidence of it above $\text{b.wy}$, so the sculptor must have omitted $\text{c.tu}$. This trace is, instead, the top of $\text{c.tu}$, the phonetic compliment of $\text{t.t}$.

**PLATE 197**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 45 (154) III.1; KRI I, pp. 211:1-14; RIT A I, p. 183; RIT ANC I, p. 136.

**Location:** B 291-292: North wall, east side, bottom register, first scene from the west.

**Subject:** Sety I censes the procession of barks of the Theban Triad, each borne by a cortège of priests, while Nekhbet hovers over him as a vulture (figs. 35-36, 54, 284-289).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** It is likely that this episode was among the first reliefs the craftsmen sculpted after completing their work on the adjoining north gateway. As on that portal, modeling of this relief is higher than elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall. Intricately carved ornamentations abound, e.g.: Sety I’s pleated robes, on the hubs of large open fans surrounding Amun’s bark, the fine ram figurehead, and decorative roundel on its prow aegis.

Modeling on Sety’s figure is particularly high, and the sculptors made several cosmetic adjustments to refine its proportions. In small increments, they enlarged the top and back of his cap crown five times and his uraeus once. They also recut his chest, belly, and the top of both shoulders three times and they modified his back, the rounded end of his rear shoulder, the top of his rear arm along its whole length, his belly, neckline, and the nape of his neck each one time. Finally, they shifted his forward arm lower and recut its lower side from armpit to wrist three times.

Sety’s artists made extensive cosmetic adjustments to Amun’s processional bark, retouching the vessel’s hull at its stern, enlarging the sun disk crowning its stern aegis along its left side, and reworking a bell-shaped flabellum above the veil’s billowing front, and the hub of another fan just behind the rear aegis, but they directed most of their efforts towards modifying the proportions and iconography of the bark’s cabin-shrine and veil.

In the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak and in his Gurnah temple, Sety I introduced new elements to the design of Amun’s processional bark in Thebes that aggrandized its splendor and iconographic complexity, thereby distinguishing it from the portable barks of all other gods and even from Amun’s own bark in Sety’s Abydos temple. Amun’s Theban bark would retain Sety’s innovations to its design throughout the centuries down into Ptolemaic times.346 Sety’s enhancements date to the later part of his reign and mark a departure from older representations of Amun’s bark, including examples carved early in his reign in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple.347 During the Eighteenth Dynasty, the cabin-shrine of Amun’s processional bark—like

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those of other deities—took the form of a closed naos sheltered under a baldachin, the latter having an arched roof supported by “tent-pole” colonnettes.348 Under this baldachin, the naos itself possessed a roof with a cavetto cornice. From the reign of Horemheb onwards, a frieze of rebus designs forming elements of the ruling king’s titulary sat atop the cornice just under the baldachin’s arched roof. Both naos and baldachin rested on the bark’s upper deck.

In the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Sety I now enclosed the bark’s existing naos and baldachin within an elaborate new double canopy structure consisting of a larger outer naos enclosed, in turn, by a second external baldachin.349 Sety’s outer baldachin is identical to the older, inner one in having an arched roof fronted by a cornice façade and supported by four colonnettes. Directly beneath it, however, his outer naos, Karlshausen’s “naos externe,” is not a closed chapel like the innermost one. Rather, it is an open kiosk structure identical to pavilions sheltering kings and gods in wall scenes.350 Its closest archeological parallel is surely the outer canopy of Tutankhamun’s gilded canopic shrine which, like Sety’s eternal naos, served as a kind of ciborium over the closed internal naos housing Tutankhamun’s canopic vessels and the god’s cult statue respectively.351 Unlike other kiosks, however, the lateral faces of Sety’s new external naos were subdivided by a horizontal cross beam upon which rested a veritable rood screen of carved openwork figures that obscured the upper half of the inner naos from view. These openwork panels were arrayed as elaborate hieroglyphic rebus decoration incorporating elements of the king’s prenomen in a configuration having two winged MB5-t-goddesses and a squatting figure of ram-headed Amun inspired by late Eighteenth Dynasty rebus decoration on the veil below.352

Both of Sety’s new external structures emerge from the runners of the sledge-shaped palanquin on which the vessel’s hull itself rested. In reliefs from his temple at Gurnah, these new structures hid the inner naos and baldachin from view, but in the Great Hypostyle Hall, his sculptors altered their earliest design of this scene to make both partially visible.353 Sety also modified rebus decoration on the veil that partly enshrouds the lower half of the canopy. In the present scene, then, his sculptors made their first attempt at portraying Sety’s renovations to the canopy-shrine of Amun’s bark which they subsequently reworked as follows:

(1) In its initial configuration, rebus decoration on the veil was simpler. Its upper hem

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348 Ibid., pp. 195-196.
349 Ibid., pp. 70-71 and pl. 12; Traunecker, et al., La chapelle d’Achôris, p. 83, fig. 5.
350 Cf. e.g., GHHK I.1, pls. 39, 40, 49, 52, 70, 72, 79, 158, 192, 200, 220, 227.
351 PM II I, p. 573-574; T. G. H. James, Tutankhamun, (Vercelli, 2000), pp. 100-103. Presumably, this outer naos-canopy was supported by vertical frames having two flat, narrow stanchions joined at the corners in an L-shape as Traunecker’s reconstruction suggests. Traunecker, et al., La chapelle d’Achôris, p. 83, fig. 5; Karlshausen, L’iconographie, pl. 28.
352 Ibid., Karlshausen, pp. 212-213.
353 None of the seven representations of Amun’s bark dating to the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II is identical in the design and iconography of their canopy-shrines, but each has slight differences from the others: GHHK I.1, pls. 38, 53, 76, 153, 178, 180, 226. See Karlshausen, L’iconographie, pp. 70-74.
was lower, but lacked the double frieze of uraei and lotus petals. Two winged goddesses on the veil were taller, and each was situated closer to its outer edges. Nelson recorded vestiges of their larger sun disks, but missed traces of the left-hand goddess’ upraised wing. In the second iteration, artists shifted each goddess closer to the center to permit the insertion of marginal decoration with hieroglyphic motifs behind them. They also recut, shifting him lower and slightly to the left. Palimpsests of his head, chest, knee, and solar disk remain embedded in the final version. He originally possessed a uraeus suspended from his solar disk, but there was no room for it in the compressed space of the final carving.354

(2) Sculptors enlarged the outer contours of the veil’s billowing front. Inside, they suppressed a larger rebus of Sety I’s prenomen consisting of a winged Maat-goddess kneeling on and replaced her with a smaller one positioned further to the left. Her final wingspan was narrower and lower, permitting them to insert a kneeling king wearing the White Crown offering in the space to her right. Above these figures is a partially carved bandeau of lotus petals. Nelson omitted traces of signs between the final goddess and kneeling king,355 and he did not record palimpsests of the original goddess that overlap the final design, viz.: her curving wings, head, and torso. Her sun disk was twice as large as her successor’s disk, but lacked pendant uraei. The kneeling king’s forearm is largely missing; presumably the artist carved it in stucco. At its base, a frieze of —rebuses of Sety I’s prenomen alternating with nomen cartouches flanked by uraeus serpents decorates the billow. A row of sun disks crown each of them. In one of the tiny cartouches, a sculptor attempted to incise Sety I’s nomen at this tiny scale; the others are damaged. Note that modeling of the raised relief in this frieze, which was never altered, is higher than reworked elements just above it.

(3) By raising the veil’s upper hem, Sety I’s craftsmen had to shift rebus designs on the the external naos’s exposed upper panel higher. Although they also raised the naos ceiling, figures on this panel are vertically more compressed than the originals. Iconographically, both winged goddesses, squatting Amun, and two kneeling kings are identical to their predecessors. Of the earlier winged goddesses, who stood lower and slightly behind their successors, outlines of each of their solar disks, lower wings, and -sign remain visible, along with the lower fist and -sign of the one facing Amun. Evident, too, are Amun’s earlier chest, knee, lotus bloom and --canal. Finally, an earlier kneeling king’s legs and waist are embedded in the lower wing of the goddess on the left. Nelson did not record all

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354 This uraeus is not indicated in Nelson’s sketch, nor by Karlshausen, ibid., pl. 16.
355 Cf. GHHK L1, pl. 180.
of these elements.

(4) By shifting these elements higher, craftsmen now exposed a portion of the inner naos to view in a narrow triangular space framed by the sloping hem of the veil below with the horizontal crosspiece of the outer naos above. Here, they inserted a frieze of winged goddesses alternating with uraeus-serpents and scepters.\(^{356}\)

(5) In its first iteration, only the external naos’ wide stanchions framed rebus decoration on the canopy and veil. Later, sculptors inserted two plain colonnettes between these piers and the rebus decoration, representing the poles of the otherwise hidden inner baldachin nested under the external naos. On the canopy’s right (aft) side, they left the outer naos’ support unaltered, but they inserted a new colonnette in a gap created by shifting the winged goddess on this side further to the center. A more complex situation arises on the left side. Here, artists made the external naos stanchion thinner to permit insertion of a second colonnette. However, the left side of this new colonnette falls slightly to the left of the original right side of the outer naos support. Because there was a narrow strip of negative space between this naos stanchion and rebus decoration on the canopy and veil, there now appears to be a thin “column,” resembling a text divider, to the left of the final naos support. In reality, the workmen filled this void with plaster to give the new colonnette solidity, but this has now fallen away. Sculptors also thickened the left edge of the left outer naos support by building it up in plaster.

(6) By transferring rebus decoration on the outer naos’ upper panel higher, Sety’s artisans were forced to compress its ceiling below the cavetto cornice of its roof. They also shifted a torus molding between this ceiling and the cornice, and reworked the latter’s arched ends, augmenting the right (aft) edge with stucco. While they did not alter the frieze of rebuses above the cornice, they did rework the outer baldachin’s “tent pole” colonnettes and arched roof enclosing the external naos by enlarging them and shifting them higher. First, they made the two supports wider while moving the “tent pole” capital of the forward one higher. As a result, they moved a small cornice and uraeus cobra wearing a sunk disk resting on this capital upwards enlarging them in the process.\(^{357}\) Finally, they raised the forward hump of the baldachin’s arched roof slightly.

While most of the relief work in this episode is fully carved, the sculptors left hieroglyphic texts in cols. 15-16 and a tall floral bouquet immediately to their left unfinished. Although they defined the upper part of this bouquet in shallow raised relief, its carved outlines

\(^{356}\) Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 180. See Karlshausen, L’iconographie, pg. 71, 74 & pls. 12-13 and 16. This motif is similar to examples from the late Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly Horemheb’s rendition of Amun’s bark at Deir el-Bahari: H. Gorski, “La Barque d’Amon dans la décoration du temple de Thoutmosis III à Deir el-Bahari,” MDAIK 46 (1990), pp. 99-112.

\(^{357}\) The original \(\bigcirc\) of the Behdetite’s name is embedded in the solar disk of this enlarged cobra.
fade away below. Likewise, they completed little more than the incised outlines of the hieroglyphs, the first stage in carving bas relief. Here and there in col. 15, an artist had just begun to cut away negative space around some of the signs including the 𓊮𓊯 and 𓊰𓊱. This process was further advanced at the tops of cols. 15-16 where there is some modeling to the hieroglyphs, although here the bas relief carving is much shallower than elsewhere in the scene.358

Sadly, large portions of this magnificent scene have long since disappeared, through the loss of veneer slabs, but mostly through destruction wrought by the infiltration of salt laden moisture which caused much of the inscribed surface to disintegrate. Thick layers of modern cement already covered the missing relief in Nelson’s day.359 Since he made his drawing, more of the relief has gradually worn away, including all of Sety I’s profile between his chin and uraeus. Elsewhere, what remains is sometimes marred by quarry damage, viz.: at the tops of cols. 7-9; the base of col. 8; Sety’s forward arm; on two fans held above Amun’s prow; the Behdetite’s left wingtip; the central hulls of the barks of both Khonsu and Mut; and the midriffs of two priests wearing leopard pelts who escort Amun’s bark, including the panther head on the second priest’s robe.

Vandals did little malicious damage to the figures, except to the hands of two priests escorting Khonsu’s bark and to the heads of their leopard skins. Scratches through the eye of fan bearer behind Mut’s bark are also malicious. However, damage to the heads of these priests and to others carrying her bark is quarry hacking.

In his drawing, Nelson overlooked some finer ornamentation in this complex scene, viz.: double cartouches crowned with solar disks and ostrich plumes on the leopard pelts of two priests escorting Khonsu’s bark near their shoulders; pendants on their sashes enclose identical cartouches (which Nelson recorded as plain rectangular boxes), and these attach to the sashes with three clasps taking the form of tiny leopard’s heads with intricately carved facial details. On all three barks, individual beads of the shelyu-collars on their aegis collars are carved in relief. A minutely incised text runs down the center of Sety’s belt apron (see translations below), and in each of the three versions of his breast, the sculptor carefully indicated his nipple. Markings on the face and hood of a cobra on Amun’s prow aegis were also intricately carved along with undulating ridges on its curved ram’s horn. In some cases, the sculptor carved the hieroglyphs more ornately than elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, e.g., solar rays on 𓊲 in col. 13.

**Translations:**

*Label:* 1Censing [to his father…] 2Amun-Re […] who makes[3]benefactions,* the lord of the Two Lands, [MENMA*ATRE…].

*Before Amun’s Bark:* 4Words spoken by Amun…:
“[…]5 […] all for/of/6 […] the estate of [A]mun7 […] who does its likeness8 […] long/joyful 8[…]”

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358 In his drawing, Nelson attempted to distinguish these incompletely carved hieroglyphs in these columns by drawing the narrower elements of these signs with double lines whereas he normally rendered such glyphs with a single line.

359 Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5255.
hearts inside it [...]e 3h.wt all life, stability, and 
domination, and valor against every foreign country 
without [...]e.

By the Vulture: 10Nek[hbet …]h[as she gives…] all 
 [...] and all victory against every foreign land, 12as 
she gives all [li]f[e, stability, and dominion and [all] 
health, 13as she <gives> [...li]f[e and all joy like Re.

Below the Winged Disk: 14The Behdetite, great god 
of variegated plumage as he gives life, stability, 
domination, health, valor, and victory like Re.

Before Khonsu’s Bark: 15May the incarnate form of 
this august god, Khonsu-lord-of-joy], proceed in 
order to rest in the monument of his son, the lord 
of the Two Lands MENM[A†ATRE, 16as he 
(Khonsu) gives to him the lifetime of Re and the 
years of Atum.

Above Khonsu’s Bark: 17Words spoken by 18Khonsu-
in-Thebes Neferhotep: “(O) my son 20the lord of 
the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 21(I) have given 
to you life [...]e.”

Above Mut’s Bark: 22“I/my [...]e. 23(I) have] 
give[en to you] life and dominion [...]e.”

Behind the Barks of Khonsu and Mut: 24[in order to 
rule] all that the sun disk encircles, bequeathing 
for y[ou] Northern and Southern Egypt, and every 
foreign land en[closed in your grasp].”

By the King: [...]e given [lit]e like Re.

Behind the King: The king, the lord of the Two 
Lands MENMA’ATRE-HEKAWASET shall 
continually appear before his father Amun while 
giving to him [every] foreign country.

On the King’s Belt Apron: [...] all/you to the 
mansion [...] coming [...] the lord of the Two 
Lands [...].

a. 3h.wt likely belonged to a phrase like [iri] 
3h.wt, “who makes benefactions,” or a 
similar epithet describing the king.

b. Only the head of remains at the 
top of col. 4. At its base, Nelson has 
confuted two separate elements into one 
“sign.” Instead, there is the bottom of the 
right text divider and the right end of a 
flat glyph, perhaps or .

c. So reading [...] pr [I]mn.

d. Reading [...] iri mit.t=s [...]. A rounded 
trace below the group is perhaps .

e. A trace below of hnw= s is the 
top of a human arm glyph, perhaps 
or . At the bottom of 
col. 8 we see the tail end and back leg of . This part of the text is afflicted 
with quarry damage.

f. At the top of col. 9 are traces of a flat 
sign, perhaps . Among the 
parallels that suggest themselves for 
restoring the missing text that proceeded 
$h^n$ dd $w^s$ etc, the closest parallel is 
$GHHK$ I.1, pl. 111:4 where the verb $hnm$ 
“endow” is used to describe Amun’s 
actions on the king’s behalf. The same 
verb is commonly found in similar divine 
speeches elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall, 
usually with the phrase $m^n h^n w^s$: Cf.
ibid., pls. 52:12-15; 53:8; 106:13; 109:2-3; 137:12; 149:9. Alternatively, there could have been a di.n-(i) n=k formula, which is attested in Amun’s speech in another bark scene on the north wall: ibid., pl. 178:12-14.

g. The sculptor carved the negative particle at the end of the column but then erased it. His original intent may have been to make a longer text, but lack of space prevented this. After the draftsman laid out in paint, a sculptor mistakenly carved it before suppressing this otiose phrase. Below, the wall surface is smooth and even, and no further traces remain.

h. One sees the top of and rim of for Nh.t.

i. Nelson’s “ in col. 13 was never carved, (although one would certainly expect it). Only the base of a tall narrow sign, likely , remains above .

j. Nelson’s drawing suggests that there is an erased between and of Khonsu’s name, but it is only a small vertical gash. Neither is there any trace of a suppressed over , and here the surface is otherwise unblemished.

k. For feasible parallels to this text, cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 53: 41-44; 76: 28-31; and 180:35-38, of which the first example is closest. Only the top of is apparent at the top of col. 22. By analogy with the speech of Khonsu above, we might reconstruct this text as [dd mdw in Mw.t nb.t lsrw: sî][û nb tîw Mn-Ma.t-Ra …], “Words spoken by Mut, lady of Isheru: “(O) my [beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE,]” etc.

l. The sign above śn appears to be a seated figure, perhaps as the determinative for ḫk3, “ruler.” So restoring [ṛ ḫk3] śn(t) nb itn, etc. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 171:14-17.

m. A box surmounted by a sky-sign enclosed Sety I’s cartouches which were preceded by either his Horus name or serpent entwined on a pole with a di ‘nh mi R formula below the cartouches. Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 53, 76. On the format and significance of such arrangements of royal names see C. Speiser, Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire, pp. 23-29.

n. Mistaken by Nelson as a continuation of col. 13.

o. Using the progressive tense hr + infinitive.

p. Although not recorded by Nelson
because of its tiny scale, there is an
eroded inscription on Sety’s belt apron of
which a few legible traces remain: at the
top is followed by and a tall rectangular sign, perhaps . After
this comes with tucked behind its head. The next sign is hard to decipher and there follows a damaged patch. The final legible signs are .

**PLATE 198**

**Bibliography:** *PM* II², p. 45 (154) III.2.

**Location:** B 293: North wall, east side, bottom register, second scene from the west.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels on a platform composed of a *sm3-Tawy* motif while Horus the Behdetite and Thoth purify him with streams of water in the form of hieroglyphic signs for “life.” A vulture shown en face soars above (fig. 290).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Flecks of discolored paint adhere to Sety’s broad collar near his neckline. A few small deposits of blue cleave to the large sky-sign above. Thoth’s kilt has bits of yellow while his belt has a painted latticework design, but here the colors have faded beyond recognition.

**Observations:** Sculptors made minor corrections to all three figures, recutting them as follows: Sety I’s beard; his rear arm at its biceps and the top of its wrist; his belly and lap; and his belt along its top; Thoth’s rear leg at his knee and shin; and the knee, buttocks and upper thigh of Horus’s rear leg. They also enlarged the base and left side of Horus’ -vase below his fist, and reworked his beak, cheek markings, and his concave hairline behind his face.

In addition to large gaps in this scene resulting from natural decay of the standstone caused by the infiltration of salt-laden groundwater along its base, other losses are due to human agency. Later occupants of the Hall may have deliberately removed masonry from the upper left quadrant. They are surely responsible for a round hole in col. 5 adjacent to the vulture’s right wingtip. Iconoclastic vandalism is more desultory, being largely confined to several hieroglyphs, viz.: the heads of -cobras in cols. 2 and 10, the head and feet of (Gb) in col. 5, and, oddly, in col. 14. Smaller holes above Horus’ head and inside his wig seem to be fortuitous, or at least random for his face is unspoiled. Someone attacked the hovering vulture’s head. Directly above Sety I, gouging to his cartouche may also be malicious.

Tool marks left by the masons disfigure the kilts of both deities, and the craftsmen rendered much of their pleating in stucco, although Nelson overlooked some carved pleats on Horus’ garment, nor did he fully capture elaborate latticework patterns on the belts of Horus and Sety. One or more Nineteenth Century visitors left graffiti on the body and wings of the hovering vulture: “RD” on its chest, and below
this “DIVZ” and “1857” on the raptor’s abdomen. Further scratchings on both wings are obscure except for the digits “28” on its lower left wing.

**Translations:**

*Ritual Act of Horus:* "King MENMA’ATRE is twice pure, four times!"

*Above Horus:* "May the king, the lord of the Two Lands, MENMA’ATRE, be very pure! He shall continually appear [upon the throne] of Geb, I having purified you, expelling your impurity, and establishing your annals as millions of years. Your kingship is like (that of) Horakhty. Your body is pure, you being very purified before the Great Ennead! May they set their protection over you with all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever!"

*Ritual Act of Thoth:* "The son of [Re], [SETY-ME][REN]AMUN is twice pure, four times!"

*Above Thoth:* "May the son of [Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, be very pure! He shall continually appear as dual king the uraeus which is upon your brow the Nine Bows. May they cause that you might appear."

*By the Vulture:* Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives all life like Re.

*By the King:* The lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE.

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a. Once the position of Horus’ extended arm is taken into account, there is only enough room above the gap for one group of tall signs. Traces recorded by Nelson above the group nsw in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3169 do not inspire confidence, and the gap has widened since Nelson’s day. The formula used here does not correspond to other purification scenes in the Hall (GHHK I.1, pls. 48:1; 51:11; 105:1 & 8; 148:5 & 10). Among the more plausible restorations might be *dd mdw,* “words spoken” (cf. ibid., pl. 51:11, *dd mdw sp* 4, “words spoken four times,” where it was not necessary to name the speaker). Note that the phrase *sp* 4, “four times” occurs at the bottom of this column. Alternatively, one might restore a royal title like *nb t3.wy,* “lord of the Two Lands” or similar.

b. So restoring *wnn=f b3 w [hr ns.t] Gb* or similar. Above the gap we see the head of . So compare col. 13 and, *inter alia,* GHHK I.1, pls. 189:4; 193:15; and 197: text behind the king.

c. Reading *dr sdb.w* See Wb IV, p. 382:13. Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel,* p. 149 has “Ich vertreibe dienen Schmutz.” For the meaning of the phrase *dr sdb.w* in a similar context, see P. Vernus “Un décret de Thoutmosis III relatif à la santé publique (P. Berlin 3049, vo XVIII-XIX),” *Orientalia* 48 (1979), pp. 179-180 with n. “g” where it means “to remove impurities” in the contexts of the king’s
actions to improve the health at all levels of society. I am grateful to Ronald Leprohon for this reference.

d. Both $dr$ and $smn$ are circumstantial $sdm=f$ forms after $sdm,n=f$ (i.e. the verb $sw\#h$) expressing prior action in the past with a 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun.

e. Cf. a similar locution from Luxor temple, $stp=sn n=k s^3=sn$, “they set for you their protection.” H. Brunner, Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor, (Mainz, 1977), pl. 63:14. Again, thanks go to Ronald Leprohon for this reference. Note also that $\subseteq\square\square\square$ is only lightly engraved, and the sculptors appears to have partly erased it.

f. See note a. above.

g. Reading $[wn]n=f$. See cols. 4-5.

h. Literally, “the uraeus which is in [your] brow.” Above the gap, a definite trace of the upper right corner of $\subseteq\square\square\square$ remains.

i. The broad curve below $di=sn$ is too wide for a round sign such as the top of $\subseteq\square\square\square$ or $\subseteq\square\square\square$ but is consistent with the expansive arch of $\subseteq\square\square\square$ in col. 13. This passage certainly does not refer to the Nine Bows, but rather to the gods—perhaps the Ennead as in col. 7.

j. There was probably a $nomen$ cartouche preceeded by the title $nb\ yw$ to the left of the $prenomen$ over the king’s head.
sashes which emerge from his belt buckle and fall to the right of his apron are only lightly engraved. It is likely the craftsmen inserted them as afterthoughts. They also enlarged Monthu’s beak and they moved his shoulder and his right wig lappet slightly to the left. Finally, they enlarged the jackal on the tall standard. Engraved remnants of its undulating body persist below the final iteration. The top of its platform and the lower back of the left uraeus were also recut.

Erosion caused by infiltration of salt laden moisture has destroyed much of the lowest sections of this relief. An undecorated replacement block, perhaps dating to Greco-Roman repairs, attests to the severity of this problem, even in antiquity. Similar decay, albeit less severe, afflicts Hathor’s image and her accompanying text.

Later occupants of the building excavated a number holes: in the falcon’s advancing wing, through Hathor’s sun disk; and in cols. 2 (through Monthu’s name) and 4 (the right half of below ). Larger, but more shallow hollows—above Monthu’s left plume and in cols. 10-12—seem intentional, but are not deep enough for the insertion of roof beams or poles. Iconoclasts defaced some of the avian hieroglyphs: the head and neck of (Gb) in col. 8; the neck of (s3) in col. 5; and the upper body of in col. 4. Otherwise, spalling, fracturing, and other wear and tear, especially at the right end of the scene, appears to be natural.

Translations:

Label:
4| (Coming in and going out): inducing [the king] into the temple of hi[is] father [Amun-Re].
By Monthu: 2| Words spoken by Monthu lord of The[b]es: “[(O) my son] my beloved, the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, come ye to the temple to see your august father the lord of the gods Amun-Re who caus[es that you…] appear.”
By Atum: 5| Words spoken by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan: “(O) my son, my beloved, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE-HEKAWASET, proceed with (me) to the great mansion that <you> might see your father, the lord of the gods that he might give to you eternity as king of the Two Lands; eternity as ruler of joy; the throne of Geb; the office of Khepri; and the lifetime of Re in heaven.
By the Jackal-standard: 6| Wepwawet, [of Southern Egypt], the power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life, stability and dominion, all health, all valor and […] every foreign country gathered under your sandals, (and) [your arm] not being opposed […]
By Hathor: 10| Words spoken by Hathor lady of Dend[era residing in Deir el-Bah]ari: “Come in

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360 Carlotti and Martinez insist that the alteration of Wepwawet’s image cannot have been made for aesthetic reasons, instead they take it as evidence of their dubious theory that the earliest reliefs on this wall date to the late Eighteenth Dynasty: Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: Memnonia cahier supplémentaire no. 2, (2011), p. 122.
361 See Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 3169. These are now filled with cement.
peace (O) good god, lord of the Two Lands, whom Re has loved, lord of appearances [SETY]-MERENAMUN, […] ye nrm Amun […] my two arms are in] nyny-greeting through love of you, as (I) rejoice at seeing your perfection. Come ye to the great place that you might see your father [A]mun […], the ornament being established upon your forehead, (and) so that he might give to you his office, his throne and a lifetime existing […] you having gone forth before him in order to do what pleases his ka as a reward for this durable monument."

By the Falcon: 13 The Behdetite, the <great> god of variegated plumage; 16 as he gives life and dominion, [all] health and all joy like Re.

By the King: 17 Long live the good god who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA ATRE-HEKAWASET, the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re, the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen.

a. Elsewhere in the Hall, the formula is usually ‘k pr.t bs nsw, written

[formula image] or similar. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 50:1; 78:1; and 149:1; although it can be abbreviated to bs-nsw, cf. ibid., pl. 137:1. Unless the draftsmen left a deliberate gap between the beginning of this column and the end of col. 4 above, there is probably just enough room to squeeze the complete formula into the available space.

b. Restoring it=f [Imn-R'].

c. Restoring [s=f] by analogy with Atum’s speech in col. 5.

d. So restoring di=f […]. The grammar of di is ambiguous, although a relative form seems the best solution. Alternatively it could be taken as a circumstantial, “as he causes,” an indicative (perfective) “he has caused,” or even a prospective, “that he might cause.” A 2nd pers. sing. dep. pronoun seems to be demanded by the context and by the size of the gap which is too large for di=f alone.

The next phrase is probably to be restored as hti=[k] as a prospective sdm=f after causative rdi. Nelson’s reading of two -signs, however, does not inspire confidence. His sign on the right does not suit the actual traces and would, moreover, be a highly unorthodox writing of hti. It more closely resembles , although it is worn, especially on the bottom. Below this group, one would expect , and this would fit the available space.

e. Reading htn=f (i). The bottom of is preserved, but the 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun is omitted.

f. Reading hw.t=f t.t, “great mansion.”

Bisecting is an , but its hand is on the left side and its upper arm is absent.
Here, the text is certainly elliptical. One might restore $m^{3}=<k>$ “that you might see,” or perhaps $<r> m^{3}<i>$, “in order to see.” However, there is no room at the top of col. 7 to accommodate $\square$.

Nearly all traces of $\square$ that Nelson observed are now lost due to widening of the gap.

Reading "$h^{r}w \text{n R}^{"} \text{m p.t.}"

There is enough room for two or 2½ tall groups here. A small trace midway in the broken area between $kn.t \text{nb}$ and $[d]md$ was not round on the bottom as Nelson drew it, although it might have been the middle peak of $\square$, presumably modified by $\square$, thus $h^{3}s.t \text{nb}$, “every foreign country.” Unfortunately, this fragment has now vanished. Given the length of the gap, there may have been another word or phrase before $h^{3}s.t \text{nb} \text{dmd}$, perhaps $nht \text{nb}$, “all victory,” but with a highly abbreviated writing.” There is insufficient space for anything longer.

So restoring $n \text{hsf} [^{k}=k]$. See glossary s.v. $\text{hsf}$.

So reading $\text{nb.t} \text{Iw[nt hr.t-ib Ds]}^{r} \text{rt}$.

Compare GHHK I.1, pl. 4:8. A trace of $\square$ persists below the gap.

Traces on the wall do not support Nelson’s reading which seems to have been $lp.t\text{-sw.t}$, “Karnak.” What is left appears, instead, to be the right side of an arm determinative, $\square$ or $\square$. Directly above it, is a small eroded glyph which might be $\square$ or $\square$.

After a short gap traces might suggest the particle $ir=k$ by analogy with cols. 3-4 ($my \text{ir}=k \text{r hw.t-ntr}$), 6 ($\text{w}d^{3} \text{r}=k \text{hn}^{r}=(i)$); and 11 ($my [r]k$). Nelson’s small round trace just above the gap is dubious, as is Sharkawy’s restoration (Amun-Tempel, p. 151, n. 192-193): […] $lp.t\text{-sw.t} […] \text{n}$ $it=k$, “[…] Karnak […] to your father.”

Perhaps restoring $\text{[wy}=k(i)] \text{m}$ at the bottom of col. 10. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 111:9-10; 179:6. Alternatively, one might restore $[ir=(i) \text{ny}ny]$, “I make $\text{ny}ny$-greeting.” ibid., pl. 111:12.

The $\text{ny}ny$-ritual may be a divine enactment of the practice of aspersing water on the ground to suppress dust. In Egypt today, this is done by splashing water with a rapid movement of the arms to distribute a spray evenly on the ground. Bespattering the ground with water to settle dust would have been a suitable act of greeting ahead of the king’s entry into the temple. Gardiner, however, rejected the notion that $\text{ny}ny$ refers to sprinkling of water, instead regarding it as a graphic pun of the determinative for $\text{iai}$ “to wash”. See A. H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Haremhab,” JE A 39 (1953), p. 19, note mm; rejecting Wb. II, p. 203, “Begrüssung durch Wassersprengung.”

So reading $h^{r}=(i)$ as a circumstantial $s\text{dm}=f$ with an unwritten 1st pers. sing.
suffix pronoun (=i). See glossary s.v. hfi.

I am grateful to Brett McClain for examining the wall and confirming this reading.

d. Reading my [r]k.

e. So m hsw mnw pn rwf: Winb. III, p. 158:2. Nelson’s sic indicates that he thought should be read as an incomplete ligature of h.n.t, “in front of.”

f. Due to a lack of space or through confusion of a hieratic original, the scribe has made an ellipse of ntr, “the great god,” and compounded his error by writing ḫ in place of ḫ.

g. A bare trace of remains.

PLATE 200


Location: B 295: North wall, east side, bottom register, fourth scene from the west.

Subject: Inside a canopy shrine, Sety I kneels to receive jubilees, life, and dominion from Amun-Re. Mut stands behind him extending one arm protectively towards his crown while the other clutches a year-staff. Khonsu stands behind Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Whitewash persists sporadically in the upper half of the scene. Otherwise, what little color survives is limited to the right end of the scene and to a few hieroglyphs. On the shrine’s cavetto cornice—immediately below a cobra frieze—narrow vertical stripes of decayed pigment remain from above col. 3 to the right end. Behind Khonsu, the outer baldachin’s rear support pole (absent from Nelson’s drawing) has alternating squares of lighter and darker pigment (see observations below).

Observations: Seams between the blocks are mostly even and narrow—except for the horizontal joint above the deities’ heads—and the wall surface is generally well dressed and free of blemishes. In the frieze of uraei atop the shrine, however, ancient masons were careless in placing and dressing two rough hewn blocks from the quarry, leaving gaps in their upper left corners which they plugged with copious amounts of plaster. Ancient sculptors made a few cosmetic modifications to their initial work, retouching Sety I’s figure at his belly, lower back, the biceps of his arm holding a scepter, and the top of his belt. Elsewhere, they retouched Khonsu’s crescent moon and the rump of Mut’s vulture cap. Note that they carved Mut’s shoulder strap, upper hem of her dress, and front of her vulture crown’s wing although Nelson’s records them as dotted lines wrongly implying they are only painted. He also failed to draw the rear “tent pole” colonnette supporting the baldachin roof.

362 For color in the hieroglyphs see appendix A.
363 Cf. the canopy pole enclosing Amun-Re’s processional bark in GHHK I.1, pl. 178 with our commentary above. In this example, alternating squares of red and blue occur framed by a lighter color. For color parallels, see Medinet Habu IV, pls. 208, 235.
364 Compare similar double canopy shrines elsewhere in the Great Hypostyle Hall housing deities or Amun’s
Translations:

By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: "(O) my son [of] (my) body 2my beloved, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA³ATRE, my heart is joyful at seeing your monument, and I rejoice through love of [you], a (I) having appointed b you to be lord of Egypt in order to be king and chieftain of the Nine Bows even as (I) establish c [for] you the diadems upon your head and the ornament of Re d upon [your] brow."

By Khonsu: Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: "(I) have given to you all flat lands and all hill countries. I have [given] to you joy and health."

By Mut: Words spoken by Mut lady of Isheru: (O) (my) beloved son, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA³ATRE, (I) establish for you the diadems upon your head in the likeness of [your] father [R]e. (I) have established for you the flat lands being pacified and every hill country under your sandals."


By the King: The lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, the dual king MENMA³ATRE-HEKAWESET, given life like Re.

a. So n m[r[w.t= k]. compare GHHK I.1, pl. 178:5.

b. Definite traces of remain: rdl.n=(i) tw r nb Km.t.

c. Reading smn=(i) [n]=k h²w hr tp=k. There is room for in the gap at the top of col. 5.

d. So hkr n R³ hr wp.t=[k]. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 152 has only “und den Schmuck an [deinen] Scheitel.”

PLATE 201

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (154) III.5.

Location: B 296-297: North wall, east side, bottom register, fifth (and final) scene from the west.

Subject: Fifteen members of the Great Ennead of Thebes sit enthroned witnessing the coronation of the king depicted in the previous scene. Below them, a doorway leads via a staircase to the top of the north wall.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Sheltered in a corner where the north and east walls meet, much ancient paint survives, especially in the upper register of gods. Likewise, gesso wash on which the colors were applied is also well preserved. At the extreme right, a vertical ribbon border has green frames with alternating blue, pale yellow, green, and red sections between. Elsewhere, blue is the best preserved color, especially on the large sky-sign in the upper right corner over cols. 11-14 and on a smaller one above cols. 18-30. Although no tincture remains on Monthu’s figure, polychrome on Atum, Shu

366 For color in the hieroglyphs see appendix A.
and Tefnut is largely intact. All three have blue wigs and bracelets, white garments, and broad collars with alternating rings of blue and green. Shu and Atum’s necklaces have an outer fringe of blue teardrop shaped beads. Their flesh is red, while Tefnut’s is yellow. All three sit on thrones painted with horizontal stripes of red and green interspersed with blue ones, while the squares in their lower rear corners are red. They rest on a green rushwork mat bound with yellow lashings under Shu’s feet and Tefnut’s throne.

Below the lower sky-sign, little more than faded whitewash remains, although Geb and Osiris have faint stripes on their thrones, while flecks of green adhere to the mat beneath Osiris’ feet.

**Observations:** Scattered remnants of quarry marks and the joints between blocks necessitated plaster caulkling, being most apparent in vertical and horizontal block joints on the upper register, including a blob in the sky sign above Tefnut’s head. Most severe are large patches of dense toolmarks obscuring the heads and torsos of Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys, while lighter hacking mars those of Geb and Nut. The gaps between blocks are, in reality, much narrower than Nelson records, since he traced the edges of the quarry damage. Except for minor corrections to Hathor’s back and wig, recutting is absent.

Ancient iconoclasts effaced in col. 24 by slicing the raised relief off, yet they left a faint outline of the sign. Similar treatment was meted out to in Sety I’s nomen cartouches in col. 27 and on the lower register of the door lintel. Relief on the bottom register and adjacent doorway has eroded badly, although the masonry remains mostly intact, except the bottom of the lintel. In late antiquity the left door jamb was replaced with new, undecorated masonry. Erosion and a crust of decayed plaster impregnated with insoluble salts obscures these deities and right jamb of the gate, however Nelson recorded most such damage as if the stonework was lost. Below these gods is a typical dado motif.

**Translations:**

By Members of the Ennead: ¹Monthu ²lord of Thebes, ³lord of heaven ⁴as he gives all life and all valor to the lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE, given life like Re. ⁵Atum ⁶lord of the Two Lands, ⁷the Heliopolitan ⁸as he gives all life and all joy to the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re. ⁹Shu ¹⁰the son of Re, ¹¹lord of heaven ¹²as he gives all life and all health to the lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE, given life like Re. ¹³Tefnut ¹⁴lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands ¹⁵as she gives all life and all joy to the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life like Re. ¹⁶Geb ¹⁷the lord of heaven and ¹⁸Nut ¹⁹as they give all life and dominion [to the son of Re] Lor[d of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN] ²⁰Osiris ²¹the lord of heaven and ²²Isis ²³as they give all he[al]th to the good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE. ²⁴Seth ²⁵the great god ²⁶and Nephthys ²⁷as they give […] to the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUN. ²⁸Horus ²⁹and Hathor ³⁰mistress of the Two Lands ³¹as they give all […] to the good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMAʿATRE. ³²S[obek…], ³³[Tjenenet] and
On the Doorway:

By the Winged Disk: The Behdetite.

Parallel Inscriptions on the Door Lintel:

(Long) live the dual king MENMA'ATRE-IW'A RE loved of Mut. (upper right): (Long) live the dual king MENMA'ATRE-IW'A RE beloved of Amun-Re. 36(lower left): [(Long) live the the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN beloved of Monthju. (lower right): [(Long) live the son of Re] SETY-[MERENA] MUN beloved of Atum.

Western Jamb:

Eastern Jamb: (Left): […] the dual king [MENMA'ATRE the son of Re SET]Y-[MER]-[AMU]N […]. 39(Right): The son of A[mu]n, the dual king MENMA'ATRE, [the son of Re] [SET]Y-[MERENAMUN…].

The phrase mi Ra at the base of cols. 8 and 15 is obviously carried over from di 'nḥ in cols. 4 and 12. The entire phrase should be read at the base of each column.

Nelson copied a rectangular shape before ntr nfr consisting of two lightly incised lines, but he overlooked raised traces of . The sculptors carved this part of the text in plaster they had used to ameliorate a large zone of quarry marks further to the right. These lines sometimes appear above and below the waves of -signs (at the top of this column and elsewhere in the Great Hypostyle Hall) and seem to be incidental artefacts of the procedure for carving this glyph in raised relief.

c. There are three deities on this register and one would expect Tjenenet and Yunyt to accompany Sobek as they do elsewhere in the Hall, both in the Theban Ennead (GHHK I.1, pls. 36, cols. 37 and 40-41; pl. 52, cols. 40-42) and as a triad (ibid., pl. 140). Less certain is the arrangement of their names and epithets as there is room for four or five columns to the right of col. 35.

d. Nelson overlooked several traces in this column, including of nsw-bi.ty, adjacent to the same title in col. 39, and of Imn and from Sety’s nomen. Ancient iconoclasts defaced .

e. Below the prenomen, only of Sety’s nomen survive.
Scenes from the interior, exterior, and passageway of the north gateway formed a single decorative unit. Sety I carved all of them in bas relief, including those on its exterior façade.\textsuperscript{367} In their original state, the interior surfaces closely resembled those on the south portal in having three levels of cultic scenes on the jambs surmounted by a lintel with twin episodes showing the king running a ritual course before Amun and a second deity.\textsuperscript{368} At its top this lintel was flush with the second register (from the top) of scenes on the main wings of the north wall, all of which were crowned by a shorter register of scenes in which Sety I knelt before enthroned gods.\textsuperscript{369}

![Diagram of the north gateway showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.](image)

Only the two lowest registers of the interior jambs, along with a fragment of the highest one on the east side, now remain in situ. Unfortunately we have not identified further blocks from the jambs among dozens from the north wall lying in the yards near the Hall. Our colleague Janusz Karkowski has reconstructed a pair of scenes on the lintel from nine fragments.\textsuperscript{370} As on the south gate’s lintel (\textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 54, 58), these scenes are mirror images in which Sety runs with \textsuperscript{371}vases before enthroned Amun-Re behind whom stands Mut (\textit{West}) and Khonsu (\textit{East}). On the west side, Sety dons the Red Crown and runs with a bull calf. Both scenes have minor cosmetic recutting to (\textit{West}) Sety’s legs, rear foot, and crown and Amun’s crown; and (\textit{East}) to Amun’s crown and Khonsu’s leg, forehead, sidelock and uraeus.

\textsuperscript{367} Ramesses later usurped Sety’s cartouches on the exterior façade and door reveals, converting Sety’s bas relief on the outer jambs and lintel to sunk relief in the process. See Epigraphic Survey, \textit{Battle Reliefs of King Sety I}, pp. 66-76, and pls. 19-21.

\textsuperscript{368} \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 54-61, 259.

\textsuperscript{369} Ibid., pls. 81-86, 259.

\textsuperscript{370} Peter J. Brand, Jean Revez, Janusz Karkowski, Emmanuel Laroze & Cédric Gobeil, “Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project: Report on the 2011 Field Season for the University of Memphis & the Université de Montréal à Québec,” \textit{Cahier de Karnak} XIV, fig. 39, forthcoming.

\textsuperscript{371} Peter J. Brand, Jean Revez, Janusz Karkowski, Emmanuel Laroze & Cédric Gobeil, “Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project: Report on the 2011 Field Season for the University of Memphis & the Université de Montréal à Québec,” \textit{Cahier de Karnak} XIV, fig. 39, forthcoming.
Sety I inserted marginal texts beneath the lowest scenes on the interior and exterior jambs and on the outer thicknesses, all giving the name of the portal and with it that of the Hypostyle Hall itself. In all of these, Sety’s *nomen* has the epithet *mr-n lmn*, “Beloved of Amun,” as it does in most of his *nomen* cartouches inside the Hypostyle Hall and in his war scenes on the north exterior wall.

In scenes from the interior jambs, however, Sety I’s *nomen* epithet is *mr-n-PtH*, “Beloved of Ptah,” the standard one he used throughout Egypt, but which rarely appears in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Its inclusion here might be explained by the north gateway’s situation on a processional route leading to the small temple of Ptah which lies to the north of the Hall at the northern edge of the main precinct wall of Karnak. On the exterior jambs, the situation is less clear, in part because Ramesses II’s conversion of this decoration into sunken relief and his usurpation of the cartouches left few readable traces of Sety’s originals. It appears, however, that both forms of the *nomen* alternated. Perhaps Sety originally intended them to alternate here and elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall before he abandoned the idea.

Much of the original masonry from the passageway through the north gate has vanished, but in addition to scenes on the outer door reveals copied by the Epigraphic Survey, decoration on the interior east door reveals has escaped destruction, but was not recored by Nelson. These fragmentary scenes are nevertheless interesting in their own right for the light they shed on Sety I’s earliest relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall. At the base of the east thickness, the dado begins 140 cm above ground level and consists of three thin and two thick horizontal bands in raised relief. Above this are traces of three registers of scenes in raised relief:

**Bottom**: A frieze of Nile gods bearing trays of offerings face south towards the inside of the Hall. Ramesses II usurped the cartouches in formulaic texts accompanying the figures.

**Middle**: The king censes with an incense wand and pours a libation from an *ḥn*-shaped vessel onto an offering stand before Amun-Re, who is enthroned within a shrine. A vulture hovers above the king. Much of the upper part of the scene is lost, including all distinctive traces of the king’s titulary except for his Horus name. The epithet *mry-Mff.t* in sunk relief indicates that Ramesses II also usurped this scene.

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372 Although Ramesses II later usurped his cartouches on the exterior jambs and thicknesses, traces of Sety’s names often shine through.
373 So *GHHK* I.1, pls. 184, 187 and in a few isolated cases on the east wall, pls. 203; 206; 209; 217; 221.
374 So *mr-n-PtH* on the middle west jamb (ibid., Epigraphic Survey, pl. 19E) and *mr-n-lmn* on the lower west jamb (pl. 19F) and middle west thickness (pl. 20D). On the rest, no trace of Sety’s *nomen* epithet remains.
375 I am grateful to my doctoral student Erika Feleg for making this suggestion.
376 Nor was its existence noted in Nelson’s *Key Plans*, pl. X or *PM I* 1, 49 (162). These reliefs will be published in a future volume dedicated to the gateways of the Hypostyle Hall.
Top: All that remains is a king’s rear leg, his triangular kilt, his belly, and an isolated fragment with a male deity’s fist holding an and beside it part of his thigh and tail.

As pitiful as these vestiges might seem, they do contribute further to our understanding of how the draftsmen and sculptors who designed and executed the earliest decoration in the Hypostyle Hall worked. Here, they sculpted it in high relief and applied a level of carved embellishment that is more characteristic of Sety I’s work in his Abydos temple than of most of his other reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall. In the best preserved scene, they laboriously carved pleating on Sety’s long gown, and they portrayed his sandaled rear foot with all his toes. More unusually, they carved Amun’s wrist bracelets and armband with horizontal and vertical stripes to show their inlays.

As with a few scenes on the interior and exterior jambs, the artists have recut Sety’s effigy to change the king’s posture from an erect to a bowing stance. In the lower rear corner of the throne, the usual square has two miniature Nile gods performing the sm3-t3.wy ritual in fine bas relief while the platform supporting the shrine has a minutely carved border with an interior frieze of hieroglyphs. No less exquisite are the frieze of Nile gods at the base of the wall. Their wigs have individual striations, and their broad collars have concentric bands carved in relief with an outer band of teardrop shaped beads framed at the bottom with an additional thin band.

It is clear that Sety I’s craftsmen intended for the reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall to be as ornate as those in his Abydos temple. The effort required to achieve this goal and the relatively coarse grain of the sandstone medium they had to work with soon convinced them to scale back their ambitions. Although they continued to embellish the scenes at ground level on the north, east and west walls with a greater amount of carved ornamentation, this was less than what they achieved on the east interior door reveal. A further indication that this reveal was perhaps the first decoration to be carved for Sety after the clerestory is the anomalous presence of Nile gods at the base of the walls. These are quite common on the dados in the inner and outer hypostyles of Sety I’s Abydos temple, but are not found elsewhere in the Karnak Hypostyle. The presence of erased Nile god figures at the base of the walls in the Amun chapel of Sety I’s Gurnah temple was recently discovered by Phillipe Martinez. Although he claims they are evidence of an Eighteenth Dynasty

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377 So too with Amun-Kamutef’s figure just around the corner on the east interior doorjamb: GHHK I.1, pl. 186.
378 Cf. Epigraphic Survey, Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, 77-78; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, 201-206; commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 187, below.
origin for the temple, it is more likely that they, too, reflect an early design change in Sety’s earliest decoration in his Gurnah temple.380

A further indication that Sety I’s artisans began their decoration of the north part of the Hypostyle Hall on this portal is the fact that they often recut the king to shift his pose from an upright one to a bowing stance. As discussed elsewhere, the piers between the window grilles on the clerestory have a mix of upright (north) and bowing (south) figures of the king.381 A similar dichotomy seems to have obtained in the earliest decoration of the north gateway.382 Certainly, the sculptors reworked the king’s pose in a high proportion of the scenes on the portal to make the king’s posture more stooped. All this suggests that Sety I’s original intention was to have a mix of upright and bowing figures of himself in ritual scenes on the walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall as there was, indeed, on the piers of the clerestory roof inside the central nave.383

380 My own examination of the erased reliefs in the main chapels of Gurnah temple suggests that they were never completed, and not merely erased. Other palimpsest reliefs he notes in the chapels of Amun and Khonsu also reflect early revisions of Sety I’s decorative program and not erased Eighteenth Dynasty. Most definitively, I found traces of Sety’s nomen and Horus name on the frames of the portal leading from the Amun chapel into the four pillared hall behind it: PM II², p. 414 (74a-b); Nelson, Key Plans, Q 224 and 226. Finally, I also observed numerous examples of cosmetic recutting of the figures, especially the kings, in some of the reliefs in the main chapels and the suite of rooms behind them which had escaped my notice when I wrote my doctoral work on Sety’s monuments (see Brand, Monuments of Seti I, pp. 235-236).

381 Brand, Monuments of Seti I, pp. 201-202. See above chapter 2.1.7.

382 Ibid., pp. 202-205

383 Ibid., figs. 95-97.
PLATE 183

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162a) I.

Location: B 280a: North wall, central gateway, west jamb, uppermost in situ (“middle”) register.

Subject: Sety I, his figure now largely destroyed, offers bunches of lettuce to Amun-Kamutef and Isis while a raptor soars above him.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Isis has flecks of blue on her wig, bands of discolored pigment on her broad collar, and indistinct traces on her dress which appear to be green. On the flabellum behind Amun-Re, faint lines arranged in a herringbone pattern define some of its individual feathers.

Observations: Masonry which bore the entire right side of the scene has vanished, taking most of Sety I’s figure with it. Of the raptor hovering above him—apparently a vulture—one sees merely the bladelike tips of its wing feathers³⁸⁴ and its hooked beak (which Nelson omitted). A rounded shape in front of Amun’s crown is the tip of a lettuce plant that Sety offers to him.³⁸⁵ A large gap in front of Amun-Re’s chest stems from a lost patch-stone. Shade in Nelson’s drawing along the god’s shoulder, upper arm and the terminals of his flail denotes hacking left from the quarry that masons had covered with plaster.

As in other scenes on the north gateway, Sety I’s craftsmen recut his image, cosmetically modifying the arch, heel, and ankle of his foot and his calf muscle. It is likely that Sety once stood more erect, but he now has more stooped posture. Less radical were a few adjustments the sculptors made to both divine figures. They enlarged Mut’s wig, extending its lappet (twice) and the back (once). Additionally, they recut her ear, her hairline above her eyebrows, the armpit and biceps muscle of her rear arm, her breast, the lower hem of her dress, both of her ankles, and finally, the heel and arch of her rear foot. Changes to Amun-Re’s figure occur at his wrist, forearm, thumb, the top of his helmet crown, and the division between his plumes at their root. Behind him, artists made the doorway of the shrine holding his fetishes wider on both sides and they adjusted its cavetto cornice and torus molding on the left side.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, ²who is upon ³the⁴ great seat.

By Isis: ⁴Isis the great, ⁵lady of heaven: ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to you eternity with life and dominion.”

By the King: ⁷The good god MENMA’ATRE, ⁸the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH,⁹ given life like Re.

a. The suffix was presumably omitted through lack of space.

b. The nomen epithet mr-n-Ptḥ in scenes on this gateway occurs in place of mr-n-Imn because the portal lies on a processional route leading to Ptah’s Karnak sanctuary situated to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall.

³⁸⁴ Nelson did not record the vulture’s beak. It was posed with scissored wings: GHHK I.1, pls. 42, 44, 45, 128, 203, 205, 255.
³⁸⁵ Compare GHHK I.1, pl. 237.
PLATE 184

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162a) II.

Location: B 280b-d: North wall, central gateway, west jamb, bottom register.

Subject: Sety I (figure largely destroyed) offers a bouquet to Amun-Re and Mut. A damaged bandeau text underneath the scene bears the name of the gateway and of the Hypostyle Hall itself compounded with Sety’s royal names. Below this, Ramesses IV added a frieze of large vertical cartouches topped by ostrich plumes and sun disks.

Type of Relief: Raised, except for Ramesses IV’s cartouche frieze which is sunken.

Paint: None is preserved, although paint scars indicate the design of both deities’ broad collars.

Observations: This episode bears witness to Sety I’s ambitious plans to decorate the Great Hypostyle Hall in a style of bold raised relief that was to be embellished with finely carved ornamentations akin to decoration in his Abydos temple. His sculptors quickly abandoned this second goal before completing their work on the north gateway, but not before they had carved the plaiting on Mut’s wig and feathering on her vulture crown. They had also partially engraved the openwork design on Amun’s rear plume, although Nelson overlooked this and did not capture modeling on Sety’s khepresh-crown.

In contrast to other scenes on the north gateway, here there is little recutting to Sety I’s figure except for the top of his crown. Thus it is likely his effigy was always shown bowing in this scene. Cosmetic reworking of the divine figures is limited to Mut’s ankles and heel, which were recut twice; the earlap of her vulture cap, the front of Amun’s helmet crown, the ribbon dangling behind it, and his earlobe.

Chisel gouges from quarry work afflict Amun-Re’s kilt and Sety’s face and crown. Small cavities that pockmark the surface between Amun’s torso and his advancing arm may be related to natural decay of the sandstone. Abrasion that obscures parts of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, especially in cols. 6 and 9, is mostly fortuitous, but iconoclasts deliberately hacked out in both of Sety I’s woman cartouches.

Although the entire right edge of the scene is now missing, much of the gap below and to the left of the king’s head in Nelson’s drawing is occupied by undecorated replacement masonry with which restorers have shored up the wall. These blocks are partially smoothed, and one has a pilgrim’s groove indicating that these repairs are not recent, however no attempt was made to recreate any part of the original decoration. Other gaps in the scene resulted from erosion of carved surfaces (e.g., at the level of Mut’s thigh and wrist) and from some widening of the gaps between blocks where their edges have wore away.

Translations:

By Amun:

1 Amun-Re [lord] of the thrones of the

386 In sandstone reliefs, artisans normally completed this detail on Amun’s tall plumes in paint whereas they frequently carved it in Sety I’s limestone bas reliefs at Abydos.

387 Replacement masonry was inserted along the base of the walls throughout much of the Hypostyle Hall in Roman times. See P. J. Brand, NARCE 180 (Fall, 2001), pp. 1 & 3-6.
Two Lands: 2 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you eternity as king of the Two Lands. *(I) have given to you*3 victory […].”

By Mut: *(M)ut [Lady] of heaven: *(Wor)ds spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy like Re. *(I) have given to you*4 the Black Land and the Red Land gathered together under your sandals.”

Behind Mut: Protection, life, stability, and dominion [surrounds her like Re].

By the King: *(The) good god MENMA'ATRE, *(the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH,* given life like Re.

Below the Main Scene:

Name of the Gateway: *(The great gateway (called): ‘the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re], lord of appearances [SET]Y-[M]ERENAMUN is beneficial in the estate of Amun,* given life like Re.

Cartouche Frieze of Ramesses IV: *(nomen cartouches): RA[MESSES]-MERAMUN-[HEKAMAAT]. *(prenomen cartouches): USERMAATRE-[SETEPEN]AMUN.*

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a. The handle of [ ] has now worn away or was omitted.

b. So perhaps restoring *[dmd hr th ty=k].

c. Due to the position of Mut’s dangling arm, there is not enough room for the complete formula. Perhaps restore *[h[s mi R]* behind her legs. Compare GHHK 1.1, pls. 186-187.

d. [ ] was partially removed with a chisel.

e. In the present inscription and in the corresponding text at the bottom of the east jamb (GHHK I.1, pl. 187:15), there is room for two titles before each of Sety’s cartouches. Parallel texts with the name of the gateway are shorter but better preserved on the outer jamb and door reveals of this gateway: Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pp. 70-71, 76 and pls. 19-20. Late Period iconoclasts have effaced [ ] in Sety’s nomen (cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 187). His nomen epithet is Merenamun, the proper one for the name of the Hypostyle Hall, usually written [ ].


f. Traces best suit the earlier form of Ramesses IV’s cartouches: *[Wsr-Mf.t-][stp-n-Imn], and *[Rc-[ms-][ms-s]-][ms-Imn-[hk3-Mf.t]]. On the east jamb of the north gate and west jamb of the south gate, similar
friezes once existed, but there only the ostrich plumes surmounting these cartouches now remain intact which Nelson recorded incompletely: GHHK I.1, pls. 57, 61 & 187. In general, all these marginal inscriptions have suffered from natural decay and the insertion of uninscribed replacement masonry to shore up the walls in late antiquity


**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 49 (162b) I.

**Location:** B 280e-f: North wall, central gateway, east jamb, upper and middle registers.

**Subject:** (upper register): Sety I (figure entirely missing) offers to a male deity and a goddess. (lower register): Sety I (figure largely destroyed) offers two ointment jars to Amun-Kamutef and Isis (figs. 29-30).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** In both episodes, sculptors immaculately dressed the wall surface and there is no sign of quarry damage aside from a few stray chisel gouges. Fragments of the upper scene are unremarkable, with no sign of recutting or vandalism. In the lower register, a block restored to the wall after Nelson made his drawing preserves Sety I’s head, forward shoulder, hands, part of his titulary, and two ointment jars that he offers to Amun. He wears a short wig with elaborately carved plaits and a uraeus. Sety’s craftsmen extensively modified his figure, recutting his foot and leg twice (with one version of his toe extending into the base of the offering stand); the top and front of his wig, and his profile, beard, and shoulder. His face is inclined so that he appears to look up slightly.

Sculptors also retouched the proportions

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388 A fragment of a kneeling royal figure at the extreme right of this drawing completes missing portions of the king on pl.189. A sky-sign border under it corresponds to the extreme top left of the sacred bark procession illustrated in pl. 197.

389 For this type of jar, compare GHHK I.1, pls. 196; 238; 249 (top).

390 See our commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 187 below.
of both divinities as follows: Isis’ profile from her hairline to her chin; Amun-Kamutef’s profile from the front of his helmet crown to the point where his beard meets his shoulder, his eye, forward shoulder, throat and neckline, the nape of his neck, and the lower rim of his crown behind his ear. Here, as elsewhere on the north gateway and on adjacent walls, the craftsmen sporadically attempted to carve ornamentation on the figures that they normally rendered only in paint elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall. Nelson recorded striations on Isis’ wig, bead work on Amun’s flail terminals, and inlays on his armband and bracelet. It is clear, too, that the sculptors discontinued carving further embellishments of this type in media res. So, they had carved the left side of Isis’ collar and her forward shoulder strap in outline before aborting the process.

Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall partially hacked Isis’ face, ear, uraeus serpent, and Sety I’s hands. Other damage, e.g., to some of the hieroglyphs, appears to be fortuitous. Note that the handle of Amun’s flail is missing below the level of his thumb, but the wall surface it should occupy above his shoulder and biceps is smooth, and even and Nelson’s drawing is misleading. If it has not simply worn away, the sculptors may have erased the handle and added a new one in paint or plaster.

Translations:
(Upper Register):
Before the Goddess: As she gives all life and dominion.*

Behind the Goddess: [Protection, life, dominion, and heal]th surrounds her like Re.^

(Lower Register):
By Amun: 1A[m]un-Re-Kamutef, the lord of heaven, 2ruler of Thebes, 3elevated of arm, who rests 4[upon] the dais. 5"[I] have given to you … li]ke [R]e."

By Isis: 6Isis the great, 7lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands. 8"[I] have given to you life and dominion. 9 [I] have given to you…] like Re.”


Label: 10[Giving ointment … that he might achieve ‘given] life."

By the King (Not Recorded by Nelson): 11[The lord] of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE-HEKAWARESET, 12[the lord] of appearances SETY-MERENPTAH, given life like Re, […] 13the image of R[e] in front of the Two Lands, whom A[mun] loves […].

This text is doubtless a continuation of the goddess’ speech, employing a circumstantial sdm=f.

Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 184, 186 (bottom), 187.

Reading htp [hr] h.tyw. See GHHK I.1, pl. 158:5. Only a trace of the lower front branch of is reliable, and most of what Nelson drew for this sign is actually a deep gash in the stone.

Restoring s3 nh w3s [h3=s] mi [R]”. See GHHK I.1, pl. 187, and pace Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 142, n. 106. Since the goddess’ arm hangs down behind her holding an 3, there is probably
insufficient room for any further signs, including the group snb averred by Sharkawy. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 184 where the butt of Mut’s ♂ is at the level of her knees.
e. So restoring something like [ḥnk m md.t ... ir=f’di] ‘nh.
f. Above ti.t Rc is the right side of ♂.
g. Definite traces of ♂ remain.

PLATE 187

Bibliography: PM II², p. 49 (162b) II; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pp. 568-569 with fig. 28 and pl. 47; Brand, Monuments of Seti I, pp. 204-205 and fig. 101.

Location: B 280g-i: North wall, central gateway, east jamb, bottom register.

Subject: Sety I presents a model of the temple to Amun-Re and Mut (figs. 49-51). A damaged bandeau text underneath the scene bears the name of the gateway and of the Hypostyle Hall itself compounded with Sety’s royal names. At the base of the wall, Ramesses IV added a frieze of large cartouches, of which only some of the ostrich plumes surmounting them remain intact.³⁹¹

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None remains, but paint scars indicate the broad collars of all three figures.

Observations: This scene has proved vital to understanding the chronological sequence of Sety I’s decoration on the north gate and within the Hypostyle Hall as a whole.³⁹² Schwaller de Lubicz demonstrated that sculptors had dramatically altered the king’s posture and costume. Sety originally stood erect with his face turned up, and he wore a nemes-headcloth and false beard. Next, the sculptors modified his pose so that he now bows to the gods, and they altered his costume as well.³⁹³ He now sports a long wig that first appeared in royal iconography at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.³⁹⁴ They also removed his beard, as it never appears with the long wig. Sety’s right arm, extended towards the god, is now slightly lower and is more bent. His forward leg and foot were shifted twice. Of his initial, upright pose, several palimpsests are apparent: embedded inside his final wig behind his visage are his ear; the ear-flap and lappet of his nemes-headcloth; the top of his profile from the bridge of his nose to his brow; and the bottom curve of the rearing uraeus on his forehead. A curious hole in Sety’s final wig lappet is a negative space framed by the intersection of earlier versions of his throat, the base of his false beard and the top of his shoulder. Below this, a curved line denotes his neckline. The bottom of his original right arm, including its elbow joint, persists just below the bend of his final arm where it crosses his chest. Also embedded in final upraised arm are the top of his initial chest and the root of his dangling arm. Of the three versions of his buttocks, right thigh, and

³⁹¹ See the translations and commentary to pl. 184.
³⁹² See Brand, The Monuments of Seti I, pp. 204-205.
³⁹³ Schwaller de Lubicz, (Karnak, pp. 568-569 and fig. 28), reconstructed the primary figure as wearing a short kilt as well. Except for his belt apron, no trace of his original kilt survives.
the back of his leg—extending down to the middle of his calf—the innermost cutline, which is also in higher relief than the others, is doubtless that of the primary, erect version of his figure.

After the craftsmen had altered Sety’s posture so dramatically, they made further cosmetic adjustments to his bowing effigy. They retouched his nose, lips, and chin twice and his throat once. His final uraeus, the front of his wig lappet, and his neckline were enlarged. Both of his repositioned arms underwent further modifications. Recutting along the bottom of his upraised right arm from its elbow joint to his rear shoulder indicates that it was twice shifted down. Nelson overlooked reworking along the left side of his dangling arm from wrist to armpit where the sculptors had thickened it. Sety’s chest was recut once while long streamers falling over his shoulder, his back, buttocks, and the back of his right thigh were each modified twice. Craftsmen shifted his advancing leg back to the left twice after their initial alterations to its position. Sety’s belt apron may have largely been “recycled” from the initial carving, since it is at the highest level of the relief’s surface. His elaborately pleated kilt is certainly not original, since it is at a lower level, but it remains unclear what garment he initially wore. However, Schaller de Lubicz reconstruction of a short kilt is misleading as there are no traces to confirm it. Recutting on the belt apron is limited to its left side and to three streamers flanking it on the right. Note that the bottom of this apron has a single cartouche in the middle flanked on each side by three uraei who face away from it, all capped with solar disks.396

By contrast with Sety I’s image, the sculptors made far less radical cosmetic modifications to those of Amun-Re and Mut. Amun’s fist grasping his scepter was shifted down slightly. At first, his dangling arm was closer to his torso, and a palimpsest of its left side is embedded in the final arm. His armpit was also slightly higher. His eye is now higher than before, while his final belt is lower. They also recut his beard on its right side and rear kneecap. Finally the artists recut the ankle, toe, heel, and arch of his rear foot.

Mut’s dangling arm was moved closer to her body, and traces of the back of her original arm are embedded in the final one. Her belly and the small of her back were thickened slightly. Her right shoulder is higher and the right side of her wig lappet was recut. The ankles of both her feet show three distinct versions, while the heel and instep of her left foot was retouched along with the toe of her right foot. Her eye was also adjusted slightly. Her extended left arm was shifted and recut and the upper arm now looks unnaturally slender where it crosses her torso.

It is apparent that the sculptors were in the process of adding fine detailing to this relief in the final stage before this more elaborate technique of carving was abandoned. The pleating on Sety’s kilt is particularly ornate. Striations on his wig were also carved, with the odd smooth

395 Schaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pp. 568-569, fig. 28.

portion in its middle due to the fact that portions of the surface were cut in plaster which masked the earlier version of the figure. Pleats were also carved on Amun’s kilt, and his belt is engraved with a latticework pattern. At this point, the addition of such fretwork was abandoned, and there is no such detailing on Mut; her wig and vulture cap lack the decoration found on other examples from the north gateway.

The scene is well-preserved, and there is little quarry hacking or other defects in the stone. Vestiges of plaster infill adhere in some places, especially in front of the king’s uraeus. There are losses to the masonry on the upper and lower left corners of the scene and the marginal inscriptions below the scene are mostly lost. At the base of the wall, Ramesses IV carved a frieze of his cartouches, but only traces of the ostrich plumes and solar disks that crowned them are left.397

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1Giving the house to its lord.

*By Amun-Re:* 2-3Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the [Two] Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: 4Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion like Re. 5(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum like Re.”

*Behind Amun:* Protection and life surround him.

*By Mut:* 6Mut lady of heaven, 7mistress of the Two Lands as she gives life like Re: 8Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all [va]lor like Re. 9(I) have given to you* all life, stability, and dominion.”

*Behind Mut:* Protection, life, stability, and dominion surround her like [Re].b

*By the Solar Disk:* 12The Behdetite, the [gr]eat godc 13as he gives life, 14as he gives life, stability, dominion and health like [R]e.

*By the King:* 19The dual king MENMA’ATRE-[HEK]AWASET,d 11the son of Re S[ET]Y-MER[EN]PTAH, given life like Re.e

**Name of the Gateway:** 18[The great gateway (called): ‘The [dual] king, lord of the Two Lands]

MEN[MA’AT]RE, [the son of Re], lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUNf is beneficial in the estate of Amun,’ given life [like] Re.

a. Nelson overlooked the handle of

b. The group  is entirely missing in the gap, including any trace of the

Nelson records above .

c. Traces of  are clear, but there is no room for additional epithets like sbi šw.t since one must account for the now missing uraeus with pendant on the left half of the Behdetite’s solar disk. So contra Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 142-143 and n. 107.

d. There is a trace of a tall narrow sign in front of the lower front of which probably corresponds to the handle of

397 Ramesses IV added the same marginal decoration to the base of both interior jambs of the north and south gateway. Cf. GHHK I.I, pls. 57, 61, and 184, and the commentary to these plates. Aside from the west jamb of the north gate, only the plumes remain, and Nelson’s drawings omit those from the south gate.
in the epithet \textit{hkt-W3s.t}, an epithet that occurs in Sety I’s \textit{prenomen} in the scene above and in several episodes from the north wall’s east wing. See \textit{GHHK} I.1, pls. 190-193, 197, 199-200 and our observations to pls. 186 and 195.

\textbf{e.} Arranged horizontally below the cartouches.

\textbf{f.} was defaced in the Late Period. Sety’s \textit{nomen} epithet is Merenamun, the usual one for the name of the Hypostyle Hall, and not Merenptah as in the scenes on the jambs. See our commentary to pl. 184.
Diagram of the east wall, north wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.

EAST WALL, NORTH SIDE (Plates 202-232)

As he did on the south tower of the Third Pylon, Sety I installed a kind of thick veneer of large blocks against the north tower of the pylon, leaving four gaps in this wall to expose the niches for the great flagmasts (plan 6). Only at the top of the wall, preserved in one instance in the north wing, did this veneer wall partly cover the niches. At the very top, the surface of the wall projected out slightly as a kind of ledge, just above the level of the highest register of scenes.\footnote{There is no evidence that the east wall ever had decoration predating the reign of Sety I, and this overhanging projection at the top of the wall is not evidence that masons has cut back alleged reliefs on the wall below it. It is more likely that this projection was meant to provide more room for the roof slabs that rested on it. One must ask, too, why Sety I’s masons would not have used the same procedure for removing alleged Eighteenth Dynasty decoration on the north wall that the used on the east? So contra Carlotti and Martinez in Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: Memnonia cahier supplémentaire no. 2, (2011), p. 123 and pl. 19B.} This ledge was decorated with a frieze. They are preserved above pls. 202-206, but Nelson did not record them. Most of these $hkr$-signs were not carved in true relief, but merely engraved, often rather crudely. The ledge was flush with tops of the architraves which ran parallel to it (north to south).\footnote{V. Rondot, La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: les architraves, (Paris, 1997), pl. 1: architraves nos. 43-45.} The ledge functioned to rest the east end of a series of ceiling slabs that spanned the gap between the pylon and the architraves.

The four wall sections each consist of five registers of ritual scenes executed in bas relief for Sety I. Loss of the masonry on the upper registers and decay of the relief from salt infiltration has robbed us of a large percentage of these scenes. The top two registers are missing from the north and south ends along with most of the third on the north from loss of the masonry. Most of the bottom register in the three southern

\footnote{There is no evidence that the east wall ever had decoration predating the reign of Sety I, and this overhanging projection at the top of the wall is not evidence that masons has cut back alleged reliefs on the wall below it. It is more likely that this projection was meant to provide more room for the roof slabs that rested on it. One must ask, too, why Sety I’s masons would not have used the same procedure for removing alleged Eighteenth Dynasty decoration on the north wall that the used on the east? So contra Carlotti and Martinez in Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: Memnonia cahier supplémentaire no. 2, (2011), p. 123 and pl. 19B.}
sections are gone and that of the northern partition is badly affected by salt efflorescence. Some of the missing upper registers may be recoverable among the blocks from the Hypostyle Hall now lying in the yards around Karnak. Nelson numbered the surviving episodes moving from the first (top) register proceeding from north to south across each level.

Much of the decorative program of this wall features episodes from the daily cult ritual, often called the “Ritual of Amenhotep I.” While most offering scenes have only brief “label texts” identifying the ritual act preformed, the Karnak episodes of the daily are glossed with longer texts, i.e., the full incantations spoken by the priests during the liturgy. These denser texts crowd around the figures—sometimes even to the exclusion of typical elements of ritual scenes such as an offering table, raptor hovering above the king or his royal titulary—making them readily distinguishable from “normal” ritual scenes in the Hypostyle Hall.

These tableaux have an affinity with Sety I’s decoration on the north and west walls. As on the north wall, the king always kneels in the presence of the gods except for three (preserved) episodes on the bottom register when he breaks the seal and opens Amun’s shrine (pl. 227) and once in the third register where he performs the rite of “bringing the foot” (pl. 210). As elsewhere in the Hall, the craftsmen sometimes retouched their work to modify the proportions of the royal and divine effigies. Carved ornamentation of the reliefs is more intricate on the lower registers. Such engraved details include: the pleating on royal and divine kilts; latticework patterns on their belts; the plaiting of wigs; plumage on vultures wings and Amun’s flabellum fetish; the leaves of his lettuce plants; and even the stripes on Sety’s nemes-headcloth, to name the most frequently encountered fretwork. Sometimes this detailing is encountered higher up on the wall.

One frequently encounters areas of quarry damage on the north wing of the east wall due to imperfect smoothing of the rough cut blocks by the masons. Patch-stones were employed sparingly and tend to be smaller than the large veneer slabs on the north wall. Rather, even large areas of quarry marks were filled in with copious amounts of plaster and carved as if they were stone, but only traces of this material survives.

Although the -ideogram in Sety I’s nomen cartouche was often effaced by Late Period iconoclasts, there is little sign of vandalism on the wall. A few holes excavated for the insertion of roof beams attest to the Hall’s later occupants, who left no other sign of their activity here except for gouging of ithyphallic Amun’s phallus on the lower registers, doubtless for fertility magic (GHHK I.1, pls. 218-219, 221).


401 Targeting only its head (GHHK I.1, pls. 207, 208 [left], 218 middle, 225) or the entire glyph (ibid., pls. 208 right, 209, 213-214, 221-222, 227 middle and right).
PLATE 202


Location: B 301: East wall, north side, top register, first extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels with his arms upraised in adoration to Amun-Re. A long ritual text occupies most of the space around the figures (fig. 292).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Two blocks above the king’s head have disappeared, and Nelson has restored texts missing in cols. 15-18 from parallels. Otherwise, the scene is almost completely intact, except for the ribbon border behind the king. On a long block at the top of the scene, the negative space around hieroglyphs at the tops of cols. 1-15 is rough and the hieroglyphs less crisply carved than others below, although they remain fully legible, because the sculptors did not finish smoothing the carved surface here as thoroughly as they did elsewhere in this scene. Near the top of col. 4, the lower part of is lost in a cavity. Stonecutter’s toolmarks left from imperfect dressing of the wall appear in Amun’s plumes; Sety’s legs and the empty space above them; and on at the bottom of col. 8. Nelson overlooked a few minor elements: the coiled tail of Sety’s uraeus serpent; the top of his headcloth visor; his navel; eyebrow; a flap on his shendyt-kilt; Amun’s eyebrow; and the Isis-knot suspended from his belt.

Translations:

By Amun-Re: 1Amun-Re lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands], pre-eminent in Karnak.

Litany of the King: 2Spell for perpetuating the divine offerings: 3Greetings to you (O) Atum. Greetings to you (O) Khepri. You have come into existence on the high ground and you shine in the pyramidion in Heliopolis, ejaculating Shu and Tefnut. May you place your two arms around king MENMA’ATRE, given life forever. 4May the name of Atum, lord of the Two Lands endure in Heliopolis, like this divine offering consisting of what the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN gives to Amun together with 5his Ennead which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Shu endure in ‘Upper Lasting-of-Place’ in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. 6May the name of Tefnut endure in ‘Lower Lasting-of-Place’ in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Geb endure in ‘Hacking-the-Earth’ in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Nut endure in Hutshen(yt) in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Seth lord of Ombos endure which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Osiris- 11Foremost-of-the-Westerners endure in Abydos which is perpetuated forever. May the name of Isis 12in Netjeret which is perpetuated forever. May the name of 13Seth lord of Ombos endure which is perpetuated forever. May the name of 14Nephthys endure in the Mansion in Heliopolis which is perpetuated forever. May the name of 15the Ram-Lord-of-
Mendes endure which is [perpetuated] forever. May the name [of] Thoth endure 
[in Hermopolis which is perpetuated forever. A royal offering (for) Geb (consisting of) choice cuts (of meat)
[for the gods which (they) have selected.] To them belongs their power; to them belongs their]
honor; [to them belongs their effectiveness.
What is given to them: a royal offering consisting of divine offerings; 
consisting of what king MENMAÂ’ATRE—given life forever—
gives.”

a. Reading btb.t for bnbn.t, “pyramidion.”

b. Nelson (JNES 8 [1949], p. 326) calls for the insertion of and in the rest of the text by analogy with GHHK I.1, pl. 211. However, this would alter the translation considerably, and we have chosen to interpret the text as it is written here, yielding a result different from that in pl. 211.

c. In this formula, which repeatedly follows as rwd rn n + Divine Name and epithets, the prospective sdm=f is employed. In the concluding phrase, rwd n d.t, the verb rwd is a participle. Mn-s.t hry. was a cult center of Shu in Heliopolis. Wb. II, p. 88:11.

d. Emending hr.t to hr.t. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 326; Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri, pl. 53, recto 8, 8; Wb. II, p. 88. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 211:6. Mn-s.t hr.t. was a cult center of Tefnut in Heliopolis. Wb. II, p. 88:12.

e. Hw.t-šn.(y)t was the name of the sanctuary of Nut in Heliopolis. Wb. IV, p. 503:6; Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen V, p. 89; Gauthier, DG IV, p. 134 translated as “le château de l’acacia”. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 211:7. Nelson (ibid., p. 326) emends the preposition m to n. Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 155, n. 8) sees it as an error for.

f. Rwd has been omitted, perhaps due to a lack of space. So ibid., Nelson, p. 326.

g. Ntr.t, modern Behbeit el-Hagar, was a cult center of Isis. See Gauthier, DG III, p. 107: L. Habachi, LÄ I, pp. 682-683; Favard-Meeks, Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara, pp. 368-400.

h. Alternatively, this may refer to ancient Hu (Diospolis Parva): K. Zibelius, “Hu,” LÄ III, p. 64. So Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 156, n. 11. Hw.t-m-Twnw was the sanctuary in Heliopolis where Nepthys was worshiped. Gauthier, DG IV, p. 71.


j. So restoring Ip.t.n=<sn>. Nelson omitted the 3rd pers. pl. suffix pronoun in his reconstruction for lack of space or perhaps through ancient scribal confusion with the independent pronoun ntsn which follows it.

k. Discarding Nelson’s otiose and reading di n=sn. So Sharkawy, Amun-
PLATE 203

Bibliography: PM II², p. 45 (155) I.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 40; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 322-323, 325; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 156-157.

Location: B 302-303: East wall, north side, top register, second and third extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and grasps a wick of twisted cord while a vulture hovers above. A litany text occupies much of the space between them (fig. 293). (Right) Sety I (figure destroyed) kneels before Mut (figure largely destroyed). Only the tops of five columns of text and of Mut’s Double Crown survive.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: In the left-hand scene, residual tool marks with bits of stucco patching afflict the vulture’s wings. Much deeper quarry hacking obliterates Amun’s plumes and text in col. 1, which the sculptors has carved largely in now-missing plaster. While the pockmarked surface remains largely intact, Nelson drew it as a gap. Below, masonry containing the right side of Amun’s figure, including his face, has sheared away. At the top of col. 2,  has now disappeared. Sety’s craftsmen recut the right edge of his wig lappet, but made no further modifications to this relief. They carved his eye in a sfumato manner. Nelson left out some minor details including the faces of -glyphs and Amun’s eyebrow, nor did he fully capture the intricacy of the vulture’s inner wing.

Translations:

Left:

By Amun: ( Amun-Re k]ing of all [the gods], pre-eminent in [Karnak].

Litany of the King: ²Spell for extinguishing it (the torch): Words spoken: ³This is that eye of Horus through which you became great. ⁴May you live ⁵by means of it. May you become strong by means of it, (O) Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands! ⁶This is that eye of Horus which you have eaten by which your body has been enclosed.

⁶Now what is [it] to you—the spell for twisting the wick—(so that) the Udjat-eye has entered the western Mountain? ⁷The divine offerings are in his possession. ⁸Come, come, (O) Eye of Horus <in> peace!”

Below vulture: As she gives life.

By the King: The dual king MENMA³ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH.

Right:

By Mut: ¹M[ut …].

By the King: ²The good god […] ³MEN]MA³ATRE […] ⁴SETY-MER[JEN]AMUN, ⁵given [life] like Re.

a. So restoring [Imn-R³] nsw [ntr.w] nb.w hn.ty [Ip.t-sw.t]. Sufficient room for “Karnak” exists between col. 1 and the god’s plumes. So GHHK I.1, pls. 202:2; 212:2.

b. Emending the bottom of col. 3 to hr=s. See Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 322.

c. So writing ḫḥ for ḫḥ. See glossary s.v.


e. For sḥt ibt, “twisting the wick,” using the verb sḥt “to weave,” see ibid., Nelson, p. 325 and n. 116; followed by Sharkawy, ibid., p. 156, n. 19. So not “striking sḥḥḥ ḏḥ the wick,” with the meaning of extinguishing the flame.

f. A reference to the sun setting behind the western mountains. Ibid., Nelson, p. 325 and n. 117.

g. Literally: “the divine offerings are his thing.”

PLATE 204


**Location:** B 304-305: East wall, north side, top register, forth and fifth extant scenes from the north.

**Subject:** (Left) Sety I (figure destroyed) kneels before Khonsu (figure largely destroyed); (Right) Sety I kneels before Amun-Re as he elevates a tray of food offerings to the god. A litany text occupies much of the space above them (fig. 294).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Vertical bands of discolored pigment adhere to some of -signs in the frieze above the scene.

**Observations:** Situated over a large fenestration that gave access to one of the flag mast niches on the Third Pylon’s façade, the small episode at left portrayed Sety I kneeling before an enthroned figure of Khonsu, but only the deity’s lunar disk and crescent remains, along with some of the text. In the larger scene at right, light cavities on a block containing Amun’s legs and the offering stand are tool marks resulting from imperfect smoothing of the masonry. Fainter pockmarks in the background around cols. 1-4, and the “blocky,” unrefined character of some of these hieroglyphs (e.g, in col. 3), further attest to the sculptors’ haste in their work, since they never completed the laborious task of cutting back and smoothing negative space around the bas relief glyphs. Cosmetic recutting of the figures is limited to Sety’s belly and the elbow of Amun’s forward arm. Since Nelson recorded this scene, cracks have propagated in the block above Sety’s head, while two small patch-stones in his midriff have fallen away. Numerous fisures caused by decay of the sandstone around Sety’s hands, arms, and shoulders, and in Amun’s forward arm, existed in Nelson’s time.404

403 Compare *GHHK* I.1, pl. 206 top.
404 Cf. Chicago Oriental Institute photo 5893.
Translations:

Left:
By Khonsu: 1Khonsu-2in-Thebes Neferhotep.
By the King: 3The good god, lord of [the Two Lands 4MEN]MAEATRE, […] 5SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, 6given life like Re. Every protection—all life—surrounds him like Re.

Right:
By Amun: 1Amun-Re ruler of Thebes.

Behind Amun: Every protection—life—surrounds him.

Litany of the King: 2Spell for elevating offerings:
“Come 3(O) king and elevate offerings before his face. 4Elevate offerings to Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. 5All life is with him; all health is with him; 5-6all stability is with him; all dominion is with hima like Re forever!”

By the King: 7The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMAEATRE, 8the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

a. Nelson (JNES 8 [1949], p. 329) translates hr=f in each instances as “emanates from him.”

PHATE 205


Location: B 306-307: East wall, north side, top register, sixth and seventh extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I kneels before Ptah who is enclosed in a shrine. The king holds a jar of ointment in one hand and extends the small finger of his other to anoint Ptah while Nekhbet flies above as a vulture (fig. 295). (Right) Sety I kneels before lion-headed Mut and Khonsu, offering them a cup of incense. Above him is a litany text for the incense ritual.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: A few vestigial chisel marks from quarry work appear in the right hand scene as deep gouges on Mut’s sun disk and her upper body and as lighter marks disrupting hieroglyphs at the bottom of cols. 12 and 15-17. Craftsmen made a few cosmetic shifts to the figures, viz.: (Left) at the top of Sety’s forward arm at his wrist and shoulder; Ptah’s instep and toe; and (Right) Sety’s buttocks, his wig behind his uraeus, and the decorative clasp and streamers at the back of his diadem; Mut’s curving leonine mane and the back of her long wig below her sun disk; and finally Khonsu’s skullcap behind his sidelock and the left tip of his lunar crescent.

Nelson’s misconstrued or overlooked several minor features including: Khonsu’s modeled ankle bone; vertical lines on his flagellum terminals do not extend so high. Instead, they resemble those in plate 208. Nelson has not rendered the interior of Nekhbet’s forward wing accurately, and he omitted her jaw line and round nostril. As elsewhere, this sketch does not capture the paleography of the hieroglyphs. Of particular note is (a variant of Gardiner signlist N 4) at the base of col. 13 which Nelson confused.
with  
(S 15). Small wedges above the sky-element are as Nelson indicated them, but three verticals below it are rivulets of water like . Since Nelson recorded them, erosion has destroyed the upper half of Khonsu’s diadem including the tail of his uraeus serpent coiled around it and parts of col. 8 above. Later occupants of the Hypostyle Hall introduced a deep square hole into the space above cols. 6-8 on the right.

**Translations:**

**Left:**

*Label:* 1Annointing.

*By Ptah:* 2Words spoken by Ptah great of strength, 3who is over the great place: 4“(O) my beloved son 5the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, as he gives 6life, stability, and dominion.”

*By vulture:* 7Nekhbet.

*By the King:* 8The good god, son of the handsome-of-face, 9the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 10the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

**Right:**

*Label:* 11Censing to Mut, to the lady of heaven 12that he might achieve ‘given life like Re every day.’

*By Mut:* 13Mut lady of Ischeru, 14lady of heaven, 15mistress of the Two Lands 16“(I) have given to you all life, stability, dominion, and all health.”

*By Khonsu:* 17[Words] spoken by Kh[ons]u: 18“(I) have given 19to you all life, stability, and dominion, 20all health and all joy 21like Re forever and eternally.”

*Litany of the King:* 22Spell for censing to Mut: “Arise 23effectively (O) she-who-appears, 24(O) Wadjet, being satisfied 25with going forth from therein on high. The Greater Ennead 26and the Lesser Ennead 27are satisfied on account of the scent of her fragrance, 28being content with what the white eye of Horus 29does (by) coming forth from the gods 30from her tears, and vivifying Atum by means of her flesh 31consisting of what the king—MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re SETYMER[EN]AMUN 32given life stability and dominion like Re—gives.”

a. On Ptah 33hr s.t wr.t see: Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* V, pp. 375-76.

b. The usual 34di.n=(i) n=k formula was omitted and replaced by a 35di=f’nh text due to lack of space. The present locution, which employs a circumstantial 36sdm=f, is normally found after the titulary and epithets of protective or attendant deities.

c. For nfr-hr as epithet of Ptah see: Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* IV, pp. 214-17; Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pl. 117:2.

d. Nelson has misnumbered the columns. Mut’s protocol should precede the formula in col. 3.

e. Nelson miscopied the top of col. 7. His 37is erroneous and the verb *di* is written with 38.

f. The sculptor has miscarved
place of \[\text{\ldots}\]. Although this could be interpreted as a more complete writing of \textit{d.t nhh}, the second term is usually rendered simply as \[\ldots\] in the wall scenes: see glossary s.v. \textit{nhh}.

g. For \textit{h\textasciitilde y.t} as an epithet of Mut and Hathor, see \textit{Wh} III, p. 242; Leitz, \textit{Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen} V, p. 651.

h. The draftsman has rendered the \[\ldots\] of \textit{nds} as a simple flat line, perhaps due to a copying error in transcribing from a hieratic original. The left side of this glyph, along with \[\ldots\] above it, suffer from chisel marks left by the masons. Below, only the head of \[\ldots\] (Gardiner signlist G 37) has escaped destruction.

i. Reading \textit{irr.t ir.t Hr}. For \textit{ir.t Hr hd.t}, “white eye of Horus” meaning frankincense, see \textit{Wh} I, p. 107:19.

j. Reading \textit{hpr m ntr.w m rm.t=s}. My translation differs from that of Nelson’s (\textit{JNES} 8 [1949], p. 341) who reads: “the gods came into being from her tears, (and) Atum is vivified in [her fl]esh.” Traces of \textit{iwf=s} are not quite as Nelson recorded them. The \[\ldots\]-glyph (Gardiner signlist F 51) lies between \[\ldots\] and \[\ldots\] and is largely preserved. In fact, the wall surface is more intact than Nelson indicates but the chick’s lower body is lost in a dense pattern of chisel marks. Below this, no trace of \[\ldots\] or \[\ldots\] endures.

k. Nelson supplies the phrase “this incense is for Mut” (ibid., p. 341, n. 177) before \textit{md d nsw} etc. by analogy with the conclusion of the torch ritual (ibid., p. 337 & fig. 37; \textit{GHHK} I.1, pl. 212:14), so presumably restoring \textit{\textless hw sntr pn n Mw.t\textgreater}.

**PLATE 206**

**Bibliography:** Only the lower scene is noted at PM II^2, p. 45 (155) II.1.

**Location:** B 307a (upper scene): East wall, north side, top register, eighth and final extant scene from the north; B 308 (lower scene): East wall, north side, second register, first extant scene from the north.

**Subject:** (Top) Sety I kneels and presents \[\ldots\]-jars to Khonsu. Only the god’s name and a portion of his lunar disk are intact (figs. 1, 296). (Bottom): Sety I kneels while offering a bouquet to ithyphallic Amun. A litany text occupies much of the space between them.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** (Upper scene): Sety I’s architects spanned the tops each of the eight great fenestrations they had opened in the north and south wings of the east wall with a short crosswall
like the lintel of a doorway. On the north wing, Sety decorated these spans with a pair of ritual episodes much like those on lintels of small doorways. Each bore a pair of symmetrical tableaux of offering scenes in which Sety knelt at the outer sides facing towards the center offering to back-to-back images of two deities at the center. Situated on the left side of a niche, the present scene is the best preserved of all these episodes. Sety’s craftsmen appear to have redesigned it shortly after they began their work. At the upper left corner, they had partially carved a sky-sign just below the longer one that runs across the whole breadth of the east wall at the top, but they quickly abandoned it. Engraved traces of this unfinished sky-sign are on a slightly higher level but they vanish at the left side of col. 7 where the surface becomes lower. Had it continued, this lower sky-sign would have overlapped the texts above the figures at the height of the group in col. 7. Note that a thin vertical frame at the far left edge is only incised, and it does not reach the longer sky-sign at the top.

Below Sety’s waist, craftsmen must have executed his now-missing rump and foot in plaster, since the wall surface is actually preserved here but suffers from light quarry damage. Elsewhere, they carved the hieroglyphs in Khonsu’s name and epithets incompletely, leaving the surface around the glyphs rough. Above the scene, a portion of the frieze disappears in a region of severe quarry damage.

(Lower scene): Masonry along the entire left edge and bottom left corner of this scene has broken away, and severe quarry damage afflicts large portions of the rest of this relief. In the upper right corner of the block containing Sety I’s torso, masons had cut its surface back so far that they resorted to a large triangular patch of plaster to make its surface flush with the blocks around it. As a result, sculptors carved the king’s arms, hands, floral bouquet and the offering stand in front of him in stucco. Just above this, the corners of two more blocks also have severe quarry hacking on their lower portions, although the raised edge of Sety’s wig and one of the bouquet’s flowers are distinct. Higher still, the right side of a fourth block is deeply pitted and the sculptors had to carve most of cols. 6-8 in a coating of plaster, but little of this now remains. Finally, lighter chisel gouges mar Amun’s hand and the shaft of his flail. Craftsmen recut Amun’s curving rear shoulder

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405 These fenestrations exposed the eight niches of Amenhotep III’s Third Pylon ensconcing its great flagmasts to view. Sety I covered the rest of the pylon’s façade below the roof level of the Hypostyle Hall with the eastern wall of his new construction.
406 Scenes on the right (south) sides of these “lintels” will have been the only cases on the east wall’s north wing in which the orientation of Sety’s images and those of the gods were reversed, with Sety facing north, i.e., away from the central axis of Karnak.
407 Cf. GHHK 1.1, pls. 203 right, 204 left.
408 Nelson only recorded the higher sky-sign inside of which he placed the column numbers of the text. Elsewhere, Nelson sporadically recorded shorter sky-signs at the tops of sections of the east wall’s south half and on the vestibule of the Second Pylon. See ibid., pls. 117 (bottom), 122, 253 (bottom).
409 Here again, Nelson drew areas of quarry hacking as if they were gaps in the wall, yet the underlying masonry remains largely intact except along the left edge.
inside his arm, and they adjusted the slope of his forward plume to make it more raking towards the right.

**Translations:**

*Top:*

By Khonsu: §Konsu-[in-]2Thebes: §Words spoken: “(I) have given to you §the lifetime of Re.” a

By the King: §MENMA’ATRE, §SETY-MERENPTAH b §given life, stability, and dominion like Re. Every protection—life—surrounds him like Re forever.

*Bottom: 410*

By Amun: §(I) have given to you all joy and all health like Re.” c §Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, §the great god §who is upon §the great seat.

*Behind Amun:*

Every protection—life, stability, and dominion—surounds him like Re.

*Litany of the King:*

§Spell [for presenting the bouquet (on) the day of the sixth (day) (of the lunar month) festival]. May a bouquet be given to §the king, §the king’s children and §the king’s companions in the house] who cause §that Amun much alight as all your protection, that you might live eternally. §May Amun <do> §what you love through love of you in Karnak, §O MENMA’ATRE; may you do what is praised (as) one whom Amun has praised. §(As for) all that you do, §may he praise you, may he cause you to endure, may he overthrow §your enemies whether §dead or alive.”

a. Line 3-4 are entirely absent in Sharkawy’s translation (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 159).

b. So not Sty-mr-n-lmn.

c. This di.n=(i) n=k formula has been misnumbered by Nelson as if it were a label text.

d. Elsewhere, the same incantation is written with the imperative imi: GHHK I.1, pl. 228:4. Nelson’s translation implies that rdi is an imperative in the present example too, although it is certainly not a writing of imi. So too Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 159. Short of admitting that we have a corruption of the text, perhaps the best solution is to take di as a passive form of the prospective sdm=f, “may a bouquet be given.”

e. The group calls for some analysis. It may be understood as a prospective passive sdm=f, with hni lmn being a nominal phrase acting as its subject, although the ending w is rarely attested, and the prospective passive is generally rdi not di. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 21.2; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, § 71; Gardiner, *Gr.*, § 387.1. Alternatively, it could be understood as a participle, viz.: either a perfective passive participle, “which is given so that Amun might alight,” and referring to the bouquet; or as a perfective active participle, “who cause that Amun might alight,” referring to the king, his children and officials, thus with w being a plural ending. The last is

f. There are clear traces of the and of below it. Of the group ‘nh, only is present, but not g. No trace of remains above the gap.
i. The indirect object (a perfective relative form, *irwt=k*) is placed in extra position for emphasis. Gardiner, *Gr.*, §§ 146-148.

**PLATE 207**


**Location:** B 309: East wall, north side, second register, second extant scene from the north.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels before Amun-Re and recites a litany which takes the form of a menu of offerings (figs. 297-298).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Light pitting in Amun’s torso and plumes and in Sety’s torso and legs aside, masons carefully smoothed this section of wall. The artists did not fully carve striations on the king’s wig. Note that odd gaps in cols. 6, 7, 9, 15, 16, and 21 are indeed present and are not an oversight by Nelson, the stone being unblemished in each case. Cosmetic recutting occurs on the shoulder and biceps of Amun’s forward arm. Masons inserted a few small patch-stones, two of which have vanished below col. 1 and at the base of Sety I’s prenomen cartouche in col. 23. Although the scene remains in good condition, masonry along its right edge has fallen away. A gap in the middle of cols. 12 and 13 has widened since Nelson’s day, and Sety’s nose and eye have also sheared away.

**Translations:**

**By Amun:** ^1^Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands ^2^pre-eminent in Karnak, ^3^the great god.

**Litany of the King:** ^4^“(O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus by which your mouth is opened: wine, 2 bowls. ^5^Amun, take for yourself the protective water ^6^from the breasts of your mother Isis: water, 2 bowls. ^6^Amun, receive for yourself your head: *shenes*-bread, 1 bowl. ^7^Amun, take possession for yourself (and bring) to your face: ^8^*heta*-bread, 1 bowl. ^8^Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus (but) preventing him from suffering on account of it: *pesen*-bread, 1 bowl. ^8^Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus which he has tasted, *depet*-bread, 1 bowl. ^8^Amun, take for yourself the breast of Horus which he has tasted, *depet*-bread, 1 bowl. ^8^Amun, take for yourself the breast of Horus of which the
gods have tasted: figs, 2 bowls. 14(O) Amun, take for yourself <the Eye> of Horus, (namely) your words: mida-cuts of meat, 2 bowls.k 15(O) Amun, [take] for yourself the Eye of Horus, their blue ones: grapes, [...] bowls. 16(O) Amun, [take] for yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out: carob beans, [...] bowls. 17(O) Amun, take for yourself <the Eye of Horus> which they have licked up for him: zizyphus fruit, 2 bowls. 18(O) Amun, [take] for yourself the Eye of Horus which he has sought out: xenes-cut of meat, 1 bowl. 19(O) Amun, take for yourself the two eyes of that great one: large loaf of bread, 1 bowl. 20(O) Amun, take for yourself those complainers who are against you, whom you have grasped: flank (of meat), 1 bowl. 21(O) Amun, take for yourself the pupil of the Eye of Horus: sewet-cut of meat, 1 bowl. 22(O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus which he has pulled out: mida-cuts of meat, 2 bowls.

Above the king: 23The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA'ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given all life, stability, and dominion and all health like Re every day.

a. An obscure writing of the imperative m, “take” written with ꜜ (Gardiner signlist T1). See Gr.3, §336 and p. 510; Wb. II, p. 60.

b. For mw bsi, “schützendes Wasser, Muttermilch,” see Wb. I, p. 475:5. Gardiner (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum I, p. 93 and II, pl. 54, recto, 9, 10) reads “take to thyself the water which flows (mw bsi) from the breast of thy mother Isis.” Both Nelson (JNES 8 [1949], p. 327) and Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 160 n. 46) doubt the writing stems from bsi “to flow” (Wb. I, p. 474).

It may, in any case, be a pun on bsi “to protect” and bsi “to flow.”

c. So ḫtt n=k r hr=k, probably means lit. “take possession for yourself, towards your face…”

d. Written prns, most likely because final r in pr was not pronounced in the Late Egyptian spoken dialect and through transposition of n and s. Regardless, the correct writing is psn (Wb. I, 549; cf. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum II, pl. 54, recto 9, 13).

e. A pun on dp.t “taste” and “dp.t-bread.”

f. Another pun on ṣ “to be cut off” and ṣ.t-cake. The final t would not have been pronounced in the latter word. The writing ṣy.t here is exceptional. See glossary s.v. ṣ.t.

g. Restored from Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum II, pl. 54, recto 9, 17.


i. Unlike col. 5, here the -hieroglyph (Gardiner signlist D 27), lacks a nipple. Other versions of this text have “breast of Isis.” See Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 328, n. 130.

j. So restored by Nelson, ibid., p. 328.

k. So reading midt, “cut of meat,” here
spelled mrd. The final r in spelled mrd. The final r in would not have been pronounced. This is another pun, on mdw “words” and mid3.

l. A misfortunate joint between blocks has all but destroyed the glyphs (Gardiner’s sign list T1) in cols. 15-18, although small traces are discernable in most cases.

m. Reading ir.tyw, “blue ones.” See Wb. I, p. 116. Perhaps this is a comparison of the Eye of Horus to grapes. It is surely a pun on i(i)rr.wt, “grapes.”

n. Nelson restores “2” in both instances.

o. A reference to Seth’s destruction of Horus’ Eye.

p. Writing spr.w(t) for w$h “carob bean.” Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 226:5B where spr.wt is written . Cf. Wb. I, p. 289; IV, p. 105:1. Nelson (JNES 8 [1949], p. 328) reads: “(O) Amun, take to thyself those who rebel (sby) against thee…,” however the text does not support his interpretation.

q. Reading nsbt.n=s(n) n=f. Here nsb “to lick up” (Wb. II, p. 334) is a pun on nbs “zizyphus fruit.”

r. Traces of the numeral “2” which Nelson recorded at the bottom of this column are now lost.

s. So taking tswy as nominal form derived from either tsj “to rise up” (Wb. IV, pp. 405-407) or perhaps more likely tsj “to be angry/to complain” (Wb. IV, p. 408:4; Faulkner, CDME, p. 308). It therefore means something like “those who complain” or “those who are angry.” This presumably refers to the god’s opponents as the prepositional phrase r=k “against you” indicates. Thinking along the same lines, Nelson (JNES 8 [1949], p. 328 and critical annotation to line 20 of fig. 33) reads: “(O) Amun, take to yourself those who rebel (sby) against thee…,” however the text does not support his interpretation.

t. So ndr.n=k sn is a past relative with direct object. So a pun on ndr “to grasp” and drww “flank of meat.”

u. A pun on sw(i).t “pupil” and sw.t “cut of meat.”

v. Another pun, on snh “to seek out” and hns “cut of meat.”

PLATE 208

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 45 (155) II.3-4.

Location: B 310-311: East wall, north side, second register, third and fourth extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I kneels and offers a nemset-jar to Khonsu; (Right) Sety I kneels and presents a jar of ointment to Sekhmet. Two vultures, Nekhbet (Left) and Wadjet (Right) hover over the king.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Traces of decayed paint define concentric bands of Sety’s broad collar (Right), otherwise no pigment survives.

Observations: In the left-hand scene, masonry
containing the left edge of the relief has fallen away. Losses to the king’s face and the bottom of col. 10 resulted from deep quarry hacking. Apart from this, lighter toolmarks afflict (Right) Sekhmet’s midriff and her rear arm; Sety’s ointment jar with its cone of unguent; and (Left) Khonsu’s head and moon disk, with plaster adhering to the latter. A sculptor retouched Sekhmet’s forward arm where it bends. In both scenes, Late Period iconoclasts effaced in the king’s nomen cartouches. Medieval inhabitants of the building inserted a rectangular beam hole Sety’s knee (Left). While the relief is still in good condition, a fragment of Sekhmet’s forward arm has fallen out just above her wrist. Nelson overlooked the visor of Sety’s wig on the right.

Translations:

Left:
Label: 1Greeting with the nemset-jar to Khonsu that he might achieve 2‘given life.’

By Khonsu: 3Khonsu-in- 4[T]hebes Neferhotep:

5Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy.”

By the Vulture: 6Nekhbet.

By the King: 7(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, 8the dual king MENMA’ATRE, 9the son of Re [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, 10given life like Re forever and eternally.

Right:
Label: 1Offering ointment to Sekhmet 2that she might achieve ‘given life.’

By Sekhmet: 3Sekhmet the great, 4whom Ptah loves, 4mistress of 5all the gods: 6Words spoken:

“(I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion. 7(I) have given to you joy. 8(I) have given to you all valor, all victory and all health like Re.”

By the Vulture: 9Wadjet.

By the King: 10(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father who placed him upon his throne, 11the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 12the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, 13image of Re in front of the Two Lands, whom Atum chose, given life like Re.

a. This is the only example in the Karnak Hypostyle hall wall scenes were ir=s di 14’nh appears, with di clearly refering to the goddess and not the king. However, for lack of parallels in the Hypostyle Hall, it seems best to take this example as an aberration from the usual formula which refers to the king.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of the next column.

c. The handle of is present in the relief, but Nelson omitted it in his drawing.

PLATE 209

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 45 (155) II.5.

Location: B 312: East wall, north side, second register, fifth and final extant scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents two jars to Amun-Re and Amunet while Nekhbet soars over the king as a vulture (fig. 2).

Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: Faint traces of Sety’s broad collar persist although its colors have faded.

Observations: Severe quarry damage at the conjunction of three blocks mars the center of the scene, obliterating Amun’s chest, head, and plumes, and portions of the text in front of him, all of which Nelson indicates as a huge gap. Masons repaired this hacking with a large stucco patch in which the sculptors carved these elements, but this plaster is now lost. Lighter quarry marks affect texts above Sety’s head, especially in cols. 13 and 14. Although there is no sign of recutting, a sculptor added the ribbon dangling between the Amun’s torso and rear arm as an afterthought, since it consists merely of two lightly incised lines. Late Period iconoclasts defaced in the king’s nomen by slicing it off with a chisel. Masonry has fallen away on the lower right side of the scene, destroying parts of Amunet’s lower body. Nelson omitted some minutia such as the goddess’ ankle bone.

Translations:
Label: 1Offering wine to his father Amun-Re king of the gods.
By Amun: 2Words spoken by Amun-[Re…]a
3[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you …]b 4[(I) have given to you the throne of Geb and the office of Atum.”
By Amunet: 5Amunet residing in 7Karnak, 8[mistress of the Go]lds. 9[Words] spoken: “(I) have given to you the kingship of the Two Lands and the Nine Bows gathered under your sandals forever and ever! 11(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion and all health forever.”
By the Vulture: 12Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives life and dominion.
By the King: 13<Wadjet> as she gives [life] and dominion like Re. 14Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Re,’ 15the dual king MENMA’ATRE, 16the son of Re SETY-MERENPTAH, 17the image of Re in front of the Two Lands, given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

a. It is unclear what combination of Amun’s numerous epithets accompanied his name here. See glossary s.v. ‘Imn-Rc’.

b. Restoring something like dd mdw di.n=(i) n=k […] by analogy with col. 9.
Cols. 2-3 would have each contained approximately four tall groups of signs while col. 4 could have had one. Allowing two groups at the top of col. 3 for the formula, there were probably a total of three groups devoted to Amun’s benefactions.

c. So by analogy with GHHK I.1, pl. 76:40, where the cobra goddess entwined around a lotus stem is Nekhbet and wears the White Crown. The blossom is missing in the present scene, but here the cobra goddess wore the Red Crown as indicated by a coiled wire extending from it.

d. This is one of the few instances in the Hall where Sety’s nomen contains the standard epithet mr-n-PtH instead of mr-n-Imn. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 183, 184, 187.
of his pen, since there are no carved details here aside from the coils of Sety’s uraeus serpent above his brow. The drawing omits further adjustments to the royal figure, viz., recutting at the back of his forward arm from his elbow to his armpit, to both the top and bottom of this forearm, the top of his rear shoulder, and on his rear arm, the left side of his wrist above the handle of his broom. Sculptors also modified his -shaped libation vessel.

Initially, it took the form of a conventional vase, the right side of which is embedded inside the final vase. The entire right side of the final vessel consists merely of engraved lines, indicating that they had built it up in plaster. Craftsmen also retouched the upper left side of the final vase just above its spout. Nelson’s drawings misconstrues some finer points of this relief: the “arms” of Sety’s -vessel are more elaborate and its spout takes the form of a -feather; lashings binding his broom together actually run perpendicular to the shaft of the broom itself, and there are more of them above and below the two Nelson records.

Translations:
By the King: […] Amun himself.

PLATE 211

Location: B 314: East wall, north side, third register, second extant scene from the north.
Subject: Sety I kneels and presents a taper to Amun Re. Between them, most of the scene is occupied by a long ritual text (fig. 299).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Along with traces of plaster undercoat in the vicinity of Amun’s upper body and head, flecks of blue cling to his forward arm and face.

Observations: Gaps in the scene result from different causes, and Nelson has restored missing portions of the litany text from parallels. The entire left edge of the scene has shorn away, taking much of the king’s face, rump, and his nomen cartouche with it. Deep quarry hacking afflicts two blocks along the bottom of the scene. Here, sculptors carved reliefs on them in plaster, which has now mostly dissipated. Fainter chisel marks persist in Amun’s rear shoulder, neck, and plumes. Elsewhere, masons inserted a few small patch-stones, at least two of which vanished, leaving gaps in the upper half of cols. 10-12. Another patch-stone remains in situ in Amun’s shins. A pattern of faint cavities exist on a long block in the lower middle part of the scene containing Sety’s arms, Amun’s lower body, and the lower portions of cols. 5-8. Such pockmarks attest either to the natural porosity of the stone or to imperfect smoothing by the artists. Hieroglyphic texts carved here lack the crispness found elsewhere on this relief, and vestiges of stucco caulking are plentiful. Similar abrasion occurs in Amun’s plumes and near the top of col. 9, where the first has completely worn away. The drawing indicates this sign with dashed lines. In a cosmetic adjustment, craftsmen retouched Sety I’s belly and lengthened his beard, making it wider on its left side. Nelson did not record a curved fold inside Amun’s kilt or Sety’s belt buckle.

Translations:

By Amun: ‘Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak, the great god, lord of heaven: “(I) have given to you all life, dominion, and valor and all victory [like] Re.”

Litany of the King: ‘May this taper endure for Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, just as the name of Atum, lord of the Two Lands endures [in] Heliopolis; just as the name of Shu endures in Upper ‘Lasting-of-Place’ [in Heliopolis]; just as the name of Tefnut endures in Lower ‘Lasting-of-Place’ in Heliopolis; just as the name of Geb endures [in] ‘Hacking-the-Earth’ [in Heliopolis]; just as [the name] of Nut endures in Hutshen(yt) in Heliopolis; just as the name of Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners endures in Abydos; [just as] the name of Isis endures in Netjerety; just as the name of Seth the Ombite endures in Ombos; just as the name of Nephthys endures in the [Mansion in Heliopolis]; just as the name of Horus endures in Re; just as the name of Wadjet endures in Dep; just as the name of the Ram endures in Mendes; just as the name of Thoth endures in Hermopolis; (and) [... ] name [sailing] in the bark. It has not been destroyed: consisting of what the king—MENMA’ATRE, [the son of Re], lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, given life, stability, [dominion], joy [and health] like Re [forever]—gives.”
a. There is not enough room for another phrase such as d.t or nhh above Amun’s foot.


c. Reading B3-t3, for the more usual B3-t3. Ibid., p. 338, n. 163. Leitz (Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen II, p. 707) renders this term not as a place name but as an epithet: B3-t3y, “the male Ba.”

d. See above our note e to the commentary for *GHHK* I.1, pl. 202:9.

e. See above our note h to the commentary for *GHHK* I.1, pl. 202:14.

f. Nelson omits inserted between and.

g. Note that “Ram” is here written with.

h. So reading skd m wi. It is not clear if the traces of a divine bark hieroglyph, perhaps similar to the more complete below, are part of a noun or a verb.

i. Perhaps restoring [m dd nsw] Mn-m3.t-R5 by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pls. 202:19; 205:16; 212:14 and 219:13.

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**PLATE 212**


**Location:** B 315: East wall, north side, third register, third extant scene from the north.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels and presents the New Year’s taper to ithyphallic Amun-Re. A long ritual text occupies most of the space around them (fig. 300).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Two zones of dense hacking from quarry work obscure some of the text from cols. 6 to 13. Sety’s artists recut his figure to effect minor cosmetic adjustments, viz.: the biceps muscle of his rear arm below the lappet of his headdress; knuckles on his fist grasping the taper; his belly and chest; the top of his belt; and the instep of his foot.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:*

1 Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in *Karnak*, lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary.

*Litany of the King:*

5 Spell for the taper of New Year’s Day: “Greetings to you (O) this perfect taper for Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands! Greetings to you (O) Eye of Horus which guides [on the road of] total darkness, which leads Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands in every place in which your ka-desires to be, living forever. […] a taper for Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands consisting of new fat and cloth of the washers as what is given to
you. 8Your father Geb, your mother Nut, Osiris, Isis, [Seth]c and Nephthys: may [th]ey (all) wash your face, may they wipe away your tears, 9may they open your mouth with these their clean fingers. May the sky be given to you, 9-10 may the earth be given to you; 10 to you belongs the Field of Reeds on 10-11 this [good] night of [New Year’s day].d 11 (O) establishe of the month, (O) lord of the sun, (O) rejuvenated seed 12 of the gods, […] gods, (O) rejuvenated seed 13 just like the pure ones, 14 the Indestructible Ones, so this taper is for Amun, lo [rd of the thrones of the Two Lands, consisting of what king MENMAcATRE gives.

a. As Nelson notes (JNES 8 [1949], p. 336, notes to fig. 37), the sign above tk3 is a wide glyph like or . It is impossible to say which, since no trace remains above its flat upper surface. Regardless, this sign is certainly taller than the determinative of d.t above, which Nelson drew as being thicker than it actually is.

b. So according to Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum I, pl. 22; followed by Nelson, ibid., p. 336, n. 155, this phrase is to be read hbs rh.itiw.

c. The -hieroglyph was carefully effaced, leaving only light abrasion to the surface.

d. The hieroglyphs that follow pn at the top of col. 11 are obscure due to the chisel gouges that afflict this part of the relief. A round trace above of smn is not the bottom of , rather it more closely resembles the bottom of . While traces of the left side of a second below pn are definite, it must have been narrower than the one above. Moreover, traces below this second do not suit the phonetic compliment , so this is not a full writing of nfr. A diagonal trace that Nelson records is present, but it is shorter and more curving than he suggests. It may be the left horn of or even of the ideogram , albeit more vertically compressed than elsewhere in this text (cf. col. 5). The solution might be to read grh pn n nfr w[pt-rnp.t], “this good night of Ne[w Years],” although these traces do not inspire full confidence.

e. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 336, notes to fig. 37 restores the determinative in this gap.

f. The circumpolar stars.

g. The particle iw suggests this phrase is a continuation of the same sentence. See Allen, Middle Egyptian, §15.10.2; Junge, Late Egyptian, § 3.0.2; Gardiner, Gr.4, § 117.
PLATE 213

**Bibliography:** PM II², pp. 45-6 (155) III.4-5.

**Location:** B 316-317: East wall, north side, third register, fourth and fifth extant scenes from the north.

**Subject:** *(Left)* Sety I kneels before Mut, who extends a pair of papyrus stalks to him entwined with two cobras (fig. 301). One serpent wears the Red Crown, the other the White. A Behdetite falcon hovers over the king. *(Right)* Sety I kneels and offers Ma’at to Amun-Re, while Wadjet flies above as a vulture (fig. 302-303).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** *(Left)* Ancient sculptors made various cosmetic shifts to Mut’s figure, viz.: her rear shoulder; the upright at the back of her Red Crown; her neckline; and the leading edge of her vulture cap’s wing at its top. The whole left edge of this vignette—contiguous with a flag mast niche on the Third Pylon—has shorn away. Later inhabitants of the Hall sunk a large square hole at the bottom, obliterating Sety’s knee and Mut’s toes in the process. Since Nelson recorded them, part of Sety’s torso, his forward arm above the elbow joint, and much of the bladelike tips of her outer wing feathers. Markings on her head are finely carved, as are the fox pelts design of in col. 7. During the Late Period, iconoclasts deliberated scraped away the -glyph in Sety’s nomen cartouche.

**Translations:**

*Left:*

*By Mut:* ¹Mut the lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: *²Receive for yourself the Sed-festival like Re that [he] might achieve ‘given life.’³

*By the Falcon:* ⁴The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage.

*By the King:* ⁵(Long) live the good god, lord of the [Two] Lands, master of the ritual

⁶MENMA’ATRE, ⁷SET]-Y-[MER]EN[AMUN], ⁸given life.

*Right:*

*Label:* ¹Presenting Ma’at to her lord.

*By Amun:* ³Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all flat lands.⁵(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.”

*By the Vulture:* ⁶Wadjet lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

*By the King:* ⁷(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the estate of his father Amun, who magnifies the estate of the one who bore him, the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances S[ET]Y-MERENAMUN, ⁹given life like Re forever.
a. Nelson numbered the label text as if it were part of Mut’s speech.

b. The $\text{N} -$ideogram in Sety’s nomen cartouche is more complete than the drawing indicates. In defacing it, Late Period iconoclasts were less thorough than in the adjoining episode, although they did chisel out its head. The most severe damage (i.e., to its torso), however, results from a round, seemingly fortuitous, hole.

c. Nelson has reversed the numbering of cols. 2-3 from their normal sequence.

d. So writing $\text{I} -$ for the sing. masc. genitive $\text{I} -$.

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PLATE 214

**Bibliography:** PM II², pp. 45-46 (155) III.6.

**Location:** B 318: East wall, north side, third register, sixth extant scene from the north.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels and offers a lettuce stalk to Amun-Kamutef and Isis while a falcon soars over him.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Aside from slight recutting of the biceps muscles of Sety I’s arms, the artisans made no alteration to their initial design. Here again, Late Period zealots effaced $\text{N} -$ in the king’s nomen by slicing it away although its outlines remain clear. Masonry has disappeared along the scene’s right edge, from Amun’s plumes and col. 1, and by Sety’s knees. Someone inserted two closely spaced rectangular beam holes just below Amun’s pedestal.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ‘Giving lettuce to Amun-Re $\text{I} -$ that he might achieve ‘given life.’

**By Amun:** $\text{I} -$ Amun-Re-Kamutef, the great god, $\text{I} -$ chieftain of the Ennead, lord of heaven, $\text{I} -$ king of the gods, who is upon $\text{I} -$ his great seat: $\text{I} -$ “(I) have given to you your name enduring like heaven $\text{I} -$ forever and ever!”

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

**By Isis:** $\text{I} -$ Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of heaven, $\text{I} -$ mistress of all the gods […] $\text{I} -$ “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re $\text{I} -$ and the years of Atum.”

**By the Falcon:** $\text{I} -$ The Behditite, the great god, the lord of heaven.

**By the King:** $\text{I} -$ (Long) live the good god, son of Amun, master of strength, $\text{I} -$ lord of the Two Lands MENMA$\text{I} -$ ATRE, $\text{I} -$ the son of Re $\text{I} -$ MERENAMUN, $\text{I} -$ image of Re, pre-eminent before the Two Lands, $\text{I} -$ whose strength Re magnified, given life like Re.

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a. The sculptor initially carved an $\text{I} -$ in raised relief, however he then added the engraved outline of $\text{I} -$, which he probably built up in plaster as well. The confusion may have stemmed from a draftsman’s error due to the similarity of both signs in hieratic.
While the reading seems certain, no trace of \( \bigcirc \) remains amid a small zone of quarry marks.

PLATE 215

Bibliography: PM II\(^2\), pp. 45-46 (155) III.7-8.

Location: B 319-320: East wall, north side, uppermost in situ register (“third”), seventh and eighth (and final) extant scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I (figure largely destroyed) kneels and offers a libation in two \( \bigcirc \) jars to Amun and the goddess of Thebes. (Right) Sety I kneels and presents a bouquet to Amun-Kamutef and Isis while a vulture hovers over the king (fig. 24). A royal ka-standard inscribed with Sety’s Horus name stands behind him. In a fragmentary scene above, Sety I kneels and presents Ma\( \text{at} \) to a pair of deities (see commentary below).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Faint traces of white undercoat define the patterns of several elements of lost polychrome, viz.: (Left) the Goddess of Thebes wears a dress embellished with a folded wing pattern\(^{412} \) and supported by shoulder braces; and (Right) one sees the broad collars of Isis and Amun and a latticework design on Sety I’s belt. All of the original colors have faded.

Observations: (Left) Although the craftsmen recut neither Amun’s effigy nor what remains of Sety I’s, they did retouch the Goddess of Thebes’ headband; the lappet of her wig; her lower back and buttocks; and the back of her leg at the calf. Large gaps in the upper and left zones of this scene resulted from deliberate removal of several blocks.

(Right) Residual chisel gouges disfigure the lower edge of a block containing the base of Kamutef’s plumes and the tops of cols 8 and 9.

Lighter toolmarks obscure part of Sety I’s Horus name emblem (amid the epithet \( s^\text{nh} t.t\text{.wy} \)), Isis’ body, and the flabellum behind Kamutef. Plaster infill clings to Sety’ right arm where it crosses his chest. Sety’s artisans retouched the proportions of his figure along the top of his rear shoulder, his eye, and the top of his rear leg from the calf muscle to his ankle. They also modified both deities, viz., the back of Isis’ leg, her lower back, and the right side of her rear arm below her wig, Amun-Kamutef’s calf, the front of his leg from his knee to the base of his penis, and the curved tip of his beard.

Parts of this relief have suffered from exfoliation of the raised relief along the edges of larger elements, including much of the table behind Amun, the pole of his flabellum, and on much of Isis’ figures, viz., her scepter, chin, fist, the front of her body below her waist, and the four plumes of her headdress. Several of the hieroglyphs have worn away in cols. 3, 5, and 6, leaving ghostly negative impressions of their shapes. Damage to Sety I’s nomen cartouche in col. 11 is entirely fortuitous and not the result of iconoclasm directed towards Seth.

Above the right-hand scene, portions of another fragmentary episode survive. Nelson only recorded the feet of the king and a striding male deity, but another block in situ bears part of a kneeling king and the legs of a male deity. Artisans

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\(^{412}\) Cf. commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 192.
recut Sety’s right arm above his elbow and the striding male deity’s calf muscle on his forward leg. Between them is an offering stand upon which rests a bouquet of lotus flowers. Fragments of a label text indicate that the king presents in this scene; it reads: rdi.t M3:t n […] “giving Ma’at [to Amun]. The pronged butt of a scepter behind the god indicates that another divinity stood there. Behind the king are parts of two tall hieroglyphs, the left one may have been an a.

Translations:

Left:

Label: 1Making libation for Amun.
By Amun: 2[…] 3[…] 4[…]
By the Goddess of Thebes: 5“(I) have given to you […] every foreign land. 6[…] 7[…] he/his.”

Right:

Label: 1Giving all (sorts of) fresh flowers.
By Amun: 2Amun-Re-Kamutef, 3the great god, who is upon the great seat: 4“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion and all health.”
Behind Amun: Every protection—all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy—surrounds him.
By Isis: 5Isis the great, mother of the god, 6lady of heaven.
By the Vulture: 7Nehkhet the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives life and dominion like Re.
By the King: 8Wadjet as she gives life and dominion. 9Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes,’ 10the dual king, [lord of] the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 11the son of Re, [lord of] appearances [S]ETHY-MERENAMUN; 12given life, 13the image of Re in front of the Two Lands.
Ka-standard Behind the King: The Royal Ka. Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, causing the Two Lands to live.’

a. Only remains.
b. This identity is suggested by the Northern Egyptian papyrus around which the serpent is coiled. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 179:10.
c. Damage to is entirely fortuitous.

PLATE 216

Bibliography: PM II, p. 46 (155) IV.1; God’s head and text: Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 51; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 321, 323; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 166.

Location: B 321: East wall, north side, fourth register, first scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents two tapers to Amun-Kamutef while a vulture hovers overhead. A long ritual text occupies most of the space above the king (fig. 304).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Substantial amounts of paint cling to the lower part of this scene. Red flesh tones cover most of Sety I’s body. He wears yellow bracelets with alternating blue and yellow inlays while armbands on his biceps each consist of two blue
bands with a gold one in the center. Yellow and blue stripes alternate on his nemes-headcloth. His beard and chin strap are entirely blue, and his broad collar has alternating rings of green and blue with an outer fringe of blue lotus petals. The king sports a yellow kilt and a belt with a latticework pattern of blue and gold. His uraeus is also gold with blue and red markings on its hood and head.

Sety grasps two yellow tapers. In front of him, both offering stands are gold. To their right, a lettuce plant has green foliage and a yellow stalk upon which the arist has painted red dots. Two upright bouquets have green trunks with a yellow band near the top and horizontal lines picked out in red to indicate where the stems were lashed together. This is particularly clear on the bouquet between the offering stands. Above the trunk of each standing bouquet are three tiers of floral petal motifs in blue and green flanked by small red buds on the lowest tier. Above the highest echelon, two closed lotus buds flank a single open blossom. Forked spikes of faded blue-green paint on these blooms define their epicalyaxes with petals in light blue pigment against a white ground between them. Draped over the offering stand, a lotus bouquet has red stems, a green lilly pad, and white blossoms with green epicalyaxes and blue petals. Craftsmen applied a darker shade of blue-green paint between the lotus stalks on the offering stand and to either side of the closed buds on the standing bouquets.

Amun wears a floral wih-collar in which faded bands of lighter and darker pigment alternate, all hedged round by an outer rim of light blue floral petals against a darker blue ground. Amun’s flesh tones are blue, as flecks of pigment near the root of his upraised arm indicate. A red streamer dangles behind his body. His pedestal and the ground line on which the whole scene rests are blue. On the table behind Amun, the flabellum has tall red feathers interspersed with blue ones, and with horizontal bands of blue and red at the base of these plumes. Blue clings to a triangular wedge at the center of the lilly-shaped pommel at the top of the flabellum’s staff and to the pedestal and doorway of the table. Both lettuce plants are green, and the left one has a yellow stalk at its base.

Behind the king, a ribbon border framing the north end of the wall has alternating rectangles of blue and red. Traces of blue adhere to the vulture’s downswept wing. Although no other colors are visible, much of the plaster undercoat survives in the lower half of the scene.

**Observations:** Deep quarry hacking disfigures the vulture’s lower wing, her feet, and the tip of her forward wing. Lighter chisel marks appear on Amun’s lower legs and his front shoulder, the latter having stucco infill. A large blob of plaster clings to pitting in the middle of col. 5. More stucco was used to patch a triangular region of quarry damage in front of Sety’s face. Although the craftsmen never recut Sety’s image, they ornately engraved stripes on his nemes-headcloth, the latticework decoration on his belt, and pleating on his kilt.

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Translations:

By Amun: 2Amun-Re³-Kamutef, elevated [of arm]b, whose beauty is vaunted, 4the lord of [Thebes]: "(I) have given to you all life and dominion and all joy like Re."

Litany of the King: 5Spell for making the taper of every day: "May the taper come ⁶to your ka (O) Amun-Re! May that which predicts the night after the day come! ⁷The Eye of Re appears ⁸in Karnak. (I)⁹ come to you ⁸as I cause that it might come, (namely) the Eye of Horus appearing ⁹on <your> forehead, ¹⁰it being established ⁹⁰on your brow. For your ka (O) Amun-Re, the Eye of ¹¹Horus is your protection. The dual king MENMA'A'TRE, ¹²a son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹²given life, stability, and dominion like Re."

a. The god is called Amun-Re in the main litany, line 5.
b. Reading βAi-a. Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 186:3; 193:4. The word ²², “arm” is probably missing from a short column of text between col. 2 and the top of Amun’s plumes.
c. Here a pseudo-verbal construction with a stative form employs an archaic ³ for the 3rd pers. fem. sing. ending .ti.
d. The 1st pers. sing. suffix pronoun was omitted here, unless it appeared in the missing top of the next column.
e. These are further pseudo-verbal constructions with the 3rd pers. fem. sing. stative ending.
f. So reading m ḫꜣt=<k>. See Nelson,


PLATE 217


Location: B 322: East wall, north side, fourth register, second scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels and presents a cup of incense to Amun-Re while a raptor soars above (fig. 305).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: There are scattered remnants of polychrome, and much of the plaster undercoat remains intact, the latter being most apparent on Sety I’s midriff where it partially hides the latticework design a sculptors had carved on his belt. Blue pigment clings to the king’s wig and beard and to Amun’s legs and forward arm. Sety’s dons a yellow kilt and his flesh is red. Although they have faded beyond recognition, markings on the hood of Sety’s uraeus serpent are discernable.

Observations: Deep quarry hacking afflicts the upper right corner of a block containing Sety’s carouches and the base of col. 5. Immediately to its right, losses to the middle of cols. 3-5 are due to erosion along the top of another block. Otherwise, except for removal of masonry along the top of the scene, the relief remains largely unblemished. Sculptors recut both Sety and Amun cosmetically, shifting the king’s eye higher and modifying his nose, beard, the top of his rear arm near his shoulder, and the wrist of his forward limb. They also thickened Amun’s beard and extended its tip, and they enlarged his forward
shoulder.

**Translations:**

*Behind Amun:* Every protection—life—surrounds him.

*Litany of the King:* “[Spell for censing after] the reversion of 2[offerings]: “[This is th[at White Crown of Re]. This is incense] that purifies 4[you, the abundance which places] itself upon your head that it might purify 5[you. Greetings to you (O) Ptah! Greetings to you (O) Thoth! (O) successors of Re!”

*By the King:* “The dual king, lord of the Two Lands, MENMATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENPTAH, given life, stability, and dominion like Re.”

**a.** Sharkawy (*Amun-Tempel*, p. 167, n. 116) restores 由 analogy with GHHK I.1, pl. 230:1. Such a restoration is only possible if the spacing of the hieroglyphs was more compressed, especially the orthography of *snTr*, “incense.” In favor of Sharkawy’s restoration is the fact that the ancient scribe omitted the rubric ㎖ in just one of 21 surviving litany texts on the east wall (GHHK I.1, pl. 211:4).

**b.** A trace above 由 is not curving like 由, instead it is vertical.

**c.** So ertz not *hr*.

**d.** There is probably enough room for the epithets *nsw-bi.ty* and *nb t.wy*. Compare traces above the nomen cartouche (see following note).

**e.** At the left edge of the area of deep quarry hacking, the tail of 𓊚, the left corner of 𓊚 of s’ [R’] nb [h’]w remain.

**PLATE 218**


**Location:** B 323-325: East wall, north side, fourth register, third, fourth and fifth scenes from the north. 415

**Subject:** (Left) Suty I kneels before ithyphallic Amun-Re and pours a libation from a nemset-jar onto a bouquet of lotus flowers as Wadjet in her vulture form flies above (fig. 306). (Middle) Suty I kneels before Amun-Re and pours a libation from a -vase onto a bouquet of flowers while the Behdetite falcon hovers above (figs. 307-308). (Right) Suty I kneels before ithyphallic Amun and pours a libation from a nemset-jar into a basin resting on an offering stand while a vulture soars above (fig. 42). (Top) Fragments of three scenes survive, all of which depicted the king

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415 Nelson did not assign separate location numbers to fragments of three scenes from the missing third register above: Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 323-325; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 218.
kneeling in close proximity to a male deity, but only the king’s legs and hands remain (Top, Center and Right). Amun appears in both his ithyphallic (Center) and bipedal forms.

**Type of Relief**: Raised.

**Paint**: Little pigment endures. Blue paint clings to Amun-Kamutef’s pedestal (Left), and Sety’s flesh is red (Left). Lightly engraved lines served to guide the craftsmen who painted broad collars on figures of Sety I (Left), Amun-Kamutef (Left and right), and Amun-Re (Center), but no pigment remains.

**Observations**: Masonry along the right edge of the rightmost scene, which abuts a flagstaff niche on the Third Pylon, has shorn away. The ancient builders inserted a few small patch-stones in these reliefs, at least one of which has disappeared from the lower part of Sety’s image (Center). Gaps along block edges and cracks have sometimes grown wider since Nelson’s time, e.g. in the middle of col. 1 (Left). Most disfiguring, however, are two large zones of dense chisel gouges masons left in the uppermost portions of the scenes (Left and Right) which extend into the fragmentary episodes above. Rather than insert veneer blocks, they smeared copious amounts of plaster here onto which sculptors then carved portions of the decoration, but this stucco wore away. Elsewhere, residual quarry hacking is less acute, but interrupts Sety’s torso and arms (Right), the falcon’s upper wing (Center), and portions of all three Amun figures. Sculptors also carved the upper corner of the basin and part of the left stream of water issuing from Sety’s nemset-jar (Right) in plaster, which is also now gone.

Sety’s craftsmen reworked the figures in all three episodes to refine their proportions. (Left) They recut Sety’s nose, the instep of his foot (twice), and his heel. Plaster they used to augment his instep still adheres. Streamers issuing from the back of his crown are lightly carved and may be an afterthought. Sculptors also thickened Kamutef’s leg from just below his penis to the instep of his foot, along with his ankle and heel. (Center)

Originally, Sety’s upraised arm grasping his vase was much higher. His thumb and the left side the earlier vase are embeded inside the final vessel—Nelson records them as dashed lines—and the right stream of water displays evidence of recutting. Sculptors adjusted the lower right side of Amun-Re’s rear arm and fist. Finally, (Right) they recut the king’s thumb and wrist of his hand supporting the nemset-jar, and they widened the left side of his dangling arm from his armpit to his elbow. Despite such retouching, some proportions still appear oddly narrow, especially Amun’s advancing leg (Center), Sety’s upper rear arm and Kamutef’s leg (Right).

In all three episodes, artists completed the reliefs with finely engraved ornamentation they usually rendered only in paint elsewhere. Yet these efforts were inconsistent. Note how they carved petals and epicalyxes on just two of three lotus blooms (Left). They engraved latticework patterns on the belts of Amun (Center) and Sety (Right), tall feathers on Kamutef’s flabellum fetish (Left and Right), and bands on Sety’s nemes-headcloth (Right). Most unusually, they subtly
modeled the lily pad on the offering bouquet (Left), and the ankle bones and calf muscles on Sety’s legs (Center and Right) and Amun’s (Center).

Later dwellers in the Hypostyle Hall deeply hacked out most of Kamutef’s penis (Left), which they accomplished more thoroughly than Nelson’s drawing indicates, although the base of its shaft is partly intact. A similar fate likely befell Kamutef’s other image (Right), but here his phallus is entirely lost in a gap between blocks.

Iconoclasts who disfigured Amun’s face (Center) with numerous gashes surely acted in post-pharaonic times, while those who gouged out the head of the in Sety’s nomen cartouche (Center) acted in the Late Period.

**Translations:**

*Left:*

**Label:** 1Making a libation to Amun-Re that he might achieve ‘given life.’

**By Amun:** 2Amun-Re-Kamutef, who is upon 3-4the great seat, 5the lord of heaven, 6ruler of Thebes.

**Litany of the King:** 7Spell for entering for the reversion of offerings: ‘(O) Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, 4your enemy is removed for you. 5Horus has turned himself on account of his Eye in its name of 6reversion-of-offerings.’ Your fragrance belongs to you (O) all (you) gods.”

**By the Falcon:** 8The Behdetite.

**By the King:** 9The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 10the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

*Right:*

**By Amun:** 11[Amun-Re, […]], 12the great god.

**Litany of the King:** 13 Spell for what is performed upon] the altar of kingship for Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and for 4[his Ka; for] Amun-Re-Kamutef, and for his Ka; for the 14Great Ennead 4which resides in Karnak, and for their kas; and for the ka of 5the king, the lord of the Two Lands, master of strength MENMA’ATRE, 14the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.”

a. A “[ ]” Nelson records above  is illusory.

b. The sculptor omitted the suffix presumably due to lack of space. Compare *inter alia* GHHK I.1, pl. 183:2-3.

c. There is room for  at the top of this column.

d. Because of a defect in the stone, the
snout of [ ] is uncarved and was probably rendered in plaster.

e. The artist has carved [ ] instead of [ ].

f. The semantic nuance of the preposition hr is uncertain here. Nelson (JNES 8 [1949], p. 315), translates “Horus turns himself to his Eye…”

g. Nelson’s records a trace of a tall, narrow sign above [ ]. High resolution photographs of the wall surface indicate that it is disrupted by quarry hacking and that no trace of any hieroglyph is present. For variants of the god’s epithets in the Hypostyle Hall, see glossary s.v. Imn.

h. There is certainly enough room at the top of the column to restore [ ].

i. Restoring [irrw], an imperfective passive participle.

j. The sculptor initially carved a text divider between cols. 5-6 by mistake and then carefully erased it, leaving faint traces behind.

**PLATE 219**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 46 (155) IV.6; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 216-218, 221; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 169.

**Location:** B 326: East wall, north side, fourth register, sixth scene from the north.

**Subject:** Sety I presents a nemset-jar to Amun-Re-Kamutef. A litany text occupies most of the space around them (figs. 4, 309).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** The entire left edge of this scene has broken away, especially the left side of the king’s figure. Two large regions of quarry hacking obliterate text at the summits of cols. 6 through 9; the lower portions of cols. 8 through 13; Sety I’s face, hands and his missing nemet-jar; and most of the sky-sign above the scene. What remains of Sety’s neck and chin is badly worn and, to a lesser extent, so is the upper part of his beard although its outlines remain clear. The builders repaired this quarry damage with plaster, which has mostly worn away, destroying portions of the relief sculptors had carved in this medium. Masons also inserted two small patch-stones in Amun’s upper torso. Another may have vanished near the base of col. 9. In a few cosmetic adjustments, sculptors recarved the upper side of the king’s forward forearm, and they enlarged the toe and instep of Amun’s foot and lengthened his penis. Later iconoclasts vandalized his phallus, although not as thoroughly as elsewhere in the Hall.

**Translations:**

_By Amun:_

1. Amun-Re-Kamutef who is upon his great seat, the lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, the great god, pre-eminent in Karnak: “(I) have given to you all victory and all health like Re.”

2. Litany of the King: Spell for greeting with the nemset-jar on the New Year’s Day festival: “(O) Amun, take for yourself your head; unite with yourself your two eyes. (I) have brought to you that which issues forth from the Primordial Waters, the best which issues forth from Atum.”
in this its name of nemset-jar. (O) Amun, unite with yourself your bones; set [for] yourself your eye in its place. (O) Amun, take for yourself <your heart>; unite for [yourself your head] so that what pertains to you is [complete]. (O) Amun, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, [which supplicates] to you in this its name of nemset-jar which is in it. (O) Amun, lord of the Two Lands in all his names: Greetings to you (O) Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands in the sky, in the land and in [your place] which is in the land of Southern Egypt, (and) which is in [Northern Egypt, (and) in every place of your ka desires, which lives [for]ever. May the august one come, two times! May the nemset-jar come, two times! May the White Crown come, two times! May the Eye of Horus come, (namely) the White Crown. May the scent come to your nostrils which is in Heliopolis, (and) which is in the Mansion-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah, which is [very] pure, consisting of what the [king—the lord] of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life [like] Re—gives!

a. The glyph that the sculptor carved for more closely resembles .

b. Despite wide gaps above and below Amun’s penis, there is no indication that the sculptor erased or omitted any part of this text. Note that is reversed as Nelson’s sic indicates.

c. Following Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 216 and Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 169. The term h3.t, literally “the foremost (thing),” is possibly a comparison of the act of pouring libation with Atum’s act of procreation by ejaculation. Gardiner (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum I, pl. 82) translates h3.t as “the beginning.”

d. The scribe inserted in place of the expected . See ibid., Nelson, p. 217, fig. 13.

e. The phrase “receive for yourself your head” was omitted from this edition of the text. Ibid., p. 216.

f. Ibid., p. 216.

g. So reading s[nm n=k]. Nelson reads smn.n=k, “of which you have eaten.” Ibid., p. 216, followed by Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 169.

h. Reading for . Ibid., Nelson, p. 217, fig. 13, note to line 8. Note the pun between smn, “to supplicate,” and nms.t, “nemset-jar”? Both written with

i. The gap between the blocks has widen, destroying most traces of the plural except for the upper curve of .

j. So taking as a phonetic compliment of nms.t, not a dative.

k. These are further puns on hnm “scent,” hnm.t “nostrils,” and nms.t “nemset-jar.”

l. All but the base of the two signs of imy Twnw have now disappeared.
PLATE 220

Bibliography: PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.7; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 40; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 339-341; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 169-170.

Location: B 327: East wall, north side, fourth register, seventh scene from the north.

Subject: Sety I kneels within a shrine, presenting two tapers to Amun-Re. A long ritual text occupies most of the space around them. Behind the king, the door of the shrine is open (figs. 13, 310).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Some blue clings to Amun’s face, but all other pigments have disappeared.

Observations: Except for the upper right corner of Amun’s shrine, the entire right edge of the relief has broken away. Otherwise, beyond some quarry hacking on Amun’s leg and Sety I’s torso and lap, the scene remains largely intact, although part of the king’s waist has eroded and some gaps between blocks have widened. Artists made several cosmetic alterations to their royal master’s image. They converted Sety’s cap crown into a khat-wig by incising its outline and keying the surface behind his neck so that plaster with which they built up his new headcloth could adhere. Additionally, they enlarged the front of his wig just behind his uraeus serpent and reworked a pair of ribbons dangling behind his shoulders into an appropriate lappet for the khat-wig.416 Craftsmen also retouched his chest, the biceps muscle on his rear arm and the bottom of his forearm.

416 For parallels to the ribbons behind the cap crown, cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 197, but omitted in some examples (e.g., ibid., pl. 194, 210) For the khat-wig lappet, cf. ibid., pls. 202, 214, 221.

Modifications to Amun’s icon are limited to the heel, ankle, and calf muscle of his advancing leg; the left side of a ribbon behind his head; his breast; and the “snout” of his w3š-scepter’s head, which they elongated. Finally, they shifted the scene’s ground line slightly lower from below the shrine’s door pivot at left to col. 4 at right. An engraved line above the final groundline indicates its previously higher level. Nelson left some details unrecorded, including a fold in Sety’s khat-wig above his ear and a fragment of the back of his belt, which has an engraved latticework design.

Translations:

By Amun: 1 Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in 2 Kanak.

Litany of the King: 3 Spell for illuminating the house:

4 “May this house be illuminated by Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands when he 5 [op]ens a good year 6 together with Re, when he 7 passes the night together with Thoth and 8 a taper consisting of white (fat) 4 and cleaned cloth. 5 May this house be illuminated by Amun-Re-Kamutef when he opens a good year; 6 and by Re-Horakhty when he opens a good year; and likewise by Pта[h] the lo[rd] of Ankh-Tawy 7 when he opens a good year, 8 and <likewise by>. 9 Mut, lady of Isheru, mistress of the gods residing in Karnak <when she opens a good year>, 8 and <likewise by>. 9 The belly of king MENMA 10 ATRE is filled and rich with food belonging to your festival.”

Nelson (JNES 8 [1948], p. 339, n. 167) is mistaken in taking the subject of $wp=f$ and $swj=f$ as “it” referring to the taper/torch. Unless one supplies it as an unnamed antecedent here, the word $thj$ “taper” does not occur until col. 5. Moreover, “he/it” is said to pass the night together with Thoth and the taper. Surely the subjects are, in the first case, Amun himself who is compared to a taper as the source of illumination for the shrine, and in the second case Re. Possible support for Nelson’s translation might lie in the fact that the masculine suffix pronoun $=f$ appears in the same phrase after the name of the goddess Renenwetet (col. 10), although this could simply be a scribal error.

So reading as $wp=f nfr.t$ nfr.t, a circumstantial $sdm=f$. See ibid., p. 339 and n. 167. Note the odd spacing of the group $nfr$ as Nelson’s sic indicates.

Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 212:7, $tk3…m =\overset{\_}{d} m\overset{\_}{w}$ “taper…of new fat.” Fresh fat would be white by comparison with old fat, which would have discolored through heating and become darkened with soot. So $hbs m rh.t$, “cloth of washing.” Compare GHHK I.1, pl. 212:7, $hbs rh.tw$, “cloth of the washers.”


So portions of the phrase $mit.t nn in$ were omitted several times in the text for lack of space. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 138-140 and fig. 39, notes.

Ibid., p. 340, notes to fig. 39.


So emending the text to $wp=s nfr.t nfr.t$. See above note b.

There is no reason for Nelson’s sic if one reads . So Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 170, n. 143.

PLATE 221


Location: B 328-329: East wall, north side, fourth register, eighth and ninth scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Sety I (figure mostly destroyed) kneels before Wenenofer (fig. 15). (Right) Sety I kneels and presents a cup of incense to ithyphallic Amun-Re while the Behdetite falcon hovers above (figs. 15, 311).
Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Gaps in these scenes results from multiple causes: (Left) Masonry has sheared away along the left edge of the scene, destroying most of Sety I’s image. A combination of erosion and quarry damage accounts for losses above his cartouches and to a raptor that once hovered above him. At the bottom of col. 1, the surface has worn away, obliterating part of Wenenofer’s epithets. (Right) Loss of a patch-stone deprived Amun-Re of his face. Natural weathering affects Sety’s midriff, forward arm, and the top of Amun’s flabellum on the table behind him. By imperfectly smoothing of blocks from the quarry, the masons left tool marks at (Left) the base of col. 1, and (Right) Sety’s hand, his incense cup, and the tip of Amun’s phallus (although here some of plaster infill remains), and in parts of cols. 1, 3-4. Craftsmen thickened Wenenofer’s back at the top, thereby making his counterpoise thinner. On the right, they reworked Sety’s khat-wig below his ear, the left side of his beard, and the bottom of his arm above the elbow where it crosses his torso. Plaster still clings to the latter modification. Finally they extended Amun’s plumes and the butt of his flail, doubtless molding the augmented portions in stucco, now lost. In both vignettes, Late Period iconoclasts defaced cartouches by slicing them away with a chisel, although their outlines remain legible. At some point, a long, rectangular beam hole was inserted at the level of the sky sign adjacent to col. 1 (Left).

Translations:

Left:
By Wenenofer: 1Wenen[nofer …] 2of the living:a
3Words spoken:b “(I) have given to you your valor. 4(I) have given to your victory.”
By the King: 5[The dual king]6 MENMA’ATRE,
6[the son of Re]7 SET]Y-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.

Right:
By Amun: 1Amun-Re, 2who is upon his great seat,
3the [great] god, lord of heaven: 4Words Spoken:
“(I) have given to you life and dominion.”
By the Falcon: 5The Behdetite, the great god of variegated plumage.
By the King: 6(Long) live the good god, great of monuments in the estate of his father Amun, 7the dual king, master of strength, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 8the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENPTAH, 9given life like Re.

a. Assuming the presence of a raptor above cols. 3-6—by analogy with the right hand scene—we may safely conclude that this god was not named Wsir, “Osiris,” in the gap to the left of col. 1, but that Wenenofer was his chief name here. For reference to Osiris in the wall scenes, where he appears as part of the Ennead or is named in ritual text, see glossary s.v. Wsir.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.

c. The sculptor inserted the handles of in cols. 3-4 as an afterthought.
There is probably enough room to restore a vulture, perhaps with a horizontal line of titulary below its leading wing. This would account for the relatively low placement of the dd-mdw formulae in cols. 3-4, especially by analogy with the format of the texts in the adjoining scenes (cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 221-225). If so, there may have only been enough room for one tall group before Sety’s cartouches, nsw-bi.ty above his prenomen and s3 R’ over his nomen.

PLATE 222

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.10.

**Location:** B 330: East wall, north side, fourth register, tenth scene from the north.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels to present an ointment jar before Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu, while a raptor flies above (fig. 312).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Faded bands of discolored pigment represent the broad collars of Amun and Mut.

**Observations:** Several blocks have vanished from the lower right quadrant of this scene. Higher up, someone removed a veneer slab behind Mut’s head. At the very top, to the left of Amun’s plumes, medieval squatters introduced three large beam holes and were probably responsible for prying out masonry below as well. Above Sety I’s titulary, dense quarry hacking obliterates most of the raptor, and its surviving wingtip is riddled with chisel marks. Similar gouging disrupts carved surfaces in the middle of Amun’s plumes and between Mut’s face and Khonsu’s scepters.

The sculptors recut Sety’s figure cosmically along the top of his rear arm, on his chest and along the top of his leg from the calf muscle to his ankle. They also retouched Mut’s hand. In the scenes directly above this one, only two divinities appear. By squeezing a figure of Khonsu in behind Mut the draftsman was forced to compress the god’s flail; double lines that Nelson records as the flail’s terminals are not as he drew them. Instead, the left side of the flail pendant disappears behind Mut’s rear shoulder and dangling upper arm.

**Translations:**

**Label:**
1. Offering* ointment to his father ²Amun-Re.
2. By Amun: ⁴[Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands], b the lord of heaven: ⁵[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re, forever and ever!”]
3. By Mut: ⁸Mut lady ⁹of Isheru: ¹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all ¹value.”
4. By Khonsu: ¹¹[Khonsu …].e ¹²“(I) have given to [you …].”
5. By the King: ¹⁰(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun, ¹³the dual king, lord of the Two lands MENMA²ATRE,
6. the son of Re, lord of appearances S[E]T[Y]-MERENAMUN, ¹⁴the image of [Re] before the Two Lands, whom Atum himself has chosen, ¹⁵given life like Re.

**a.** So reading hnk m md.t. No trace of the bottom of remains below the

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417 GHHK I.1, pls. 205, 209 and 214.
gap, which is slightly wider than Nelson’s drawing suggests.

b. There is room for approximately two and one half tall groups here, space enough for ‘Imn-Rˁ nb ns.wt b. wy. Cf. e.g., GHHK I.1, pls. 202:1; 207:1; 211:1; 213:3; 218 middle:1; 220:1.

c. Reading the tall sign at left as 𓊸. Cf. ibid., pl. 223:3.

d. Nelson has mistaken a gash on the right side of 𓊸 as the handle of 𓊸.

e. For possible restorations of Khonsu’s epithets, see glossary s.v. ḫnsw.

f. Later Period iconoclasts defaced 𓊸 in Sety I’s nomen. 𓊸

g. Restoring 𓊸 above tl.t. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 163:10 (Right); 165:11 (Right); 214:15.

Observations: Like others scenes contiguous with flag mast niches on this wall, masonry along the left edge of this relief has broken away. Erosion and fracturing of the stone have left gaps in Amun’s face, to his upraised arm, and along the edges of blocks. Chisel gouges in the god’s lower back and parts of his lettuce and flabellum are quarry damage. Sculptors recut Amun’s rear shoulder, carving an extra curved line where his shoulder meets the root of his arm, along with the tops of individual plumes on the flabellum behind him. Ancient iconoclasts erased the head of 𓊸 in Sety’s nomen cartouche, but left its body intact. Later occupants lightly scratched the tip of Amun’s phallus and carved shallow pilgrim’s grooves to the left of col. 9, one of which has partly effaced 𓊸.

Translations:
By Amun: 𓊸 Amun, 𓊸-𓊸 whose perfection is vaunted, 𓊸 the lord of heaven; 𓊸 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.”

By the Falcon: 𓊸 The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

By the King: 𓊸 The good god, lord of joy, lord of appearances 𓊸 like his father Min-Kamutef 𓊸 the [dual ki]ng, lord of the Two Lands MENMA‘ATRE, 𓊸 the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, 𓊸 given life like Re.

a. So reading 𓊸 Mnw, for which writing see Wb. II, pl. 72:11. Note, too,
the simplified paleography of.

**PLATE 224**

*Bibliography:* PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.12.

*Location:* B 332: East wall, north side, fourth register, twelfth scene from the north.

*Subject:* Sety I kneels to present ointment to Re-Horakhty while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture (figs. 313-314).

*Type of Relief:* Raised.

*Paint:* Faint traces of blue pigment cling to Sety I’s *khépresh*-crown and Re’s broadcollar. Finely engraved lines guided the artist who colored the royal broadcollar.

*Observations:* An unsightly zone of deep chisel marks from the quarry disrupts Re-Horakhty’s solar disk and tops of several columns of text in the upper half of the relief. Smaller clusters of hacking obscure Sety’s forward hand and wrist and the god’s kilt, but, aside from some cracking and exfoliation of carved surfaces at its base, this scene remains in excellent condition. While they never altered Sety’s effigy, his craftsmen retouched the god’s lower torso, the front of his kilt and his lower back just above his rump. They inserted the *knot* hanging from Re’s belt and streamers falling behind Sety’s shoulders with maladroitly incised outlines, perhaps as afterthoughts. In stark contrast, they lavished their talents elsewhere, especially in carving Re-Horakhty’s wig and his magnificent falcon’s head. Nelson has not captured the full intricacy of his finely modeled beak, nostril, and *eye* markings. Unusually, too, the deity’s fingernails on his fist grasping his scepter were intricately carved.

*Translations:*

**Label:** 1 Presenting ointment to Re-[H]or[akhty].

**By Re-Horakhty:** 2 Words spoken by Re-[Hor[akh]ty, [the great god],* lord of heaven: 3 “(O) my son of (my) b[ody], 4 the lord of the Two Lands MENMA²ATRE, 5(I) have given to you my lifetime [as] 6 king of the Two Lands forever.”

**By the Vulture:** 7 Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

**By the King:** 8 [(Long) live the go]od [god] who makes monuments in the estate of his father 9[Amun² as] he gives eternity as king of the Two Lands to 10[the dual king], lord of the Two Lands MENMA²ATRE, 11the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.


b. There is just enough room for at the bottom of col. 5.

c. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 171:11; 199:17 and 208:7, where similar phrases name Amun although in each case another deity appears in the scene.

**PLATE 225**

*Bibliography:* PM II², p. 46 (155) IV.13.

*Location:* B 333: East wall, north side, fourth register, thirteenth (and final) scene from the north.

*Subject:* Sety I kneels and elevates a tray of food offerings to Khepri while the Behdetite-falcon hovers above (figs. 315-316).
Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Decayed pigment has etched the pattern of Sety I’s broad collar and, just below it, that of an armband on his biceps.

Observations: Quarry hacking accounts for a gap between col. 2 and the tip of the falcon’s upper wing. Large chunks of masonry have sheared away along the scene’s right edge and from the king’s legs. Some elements of raised relief have experienced spalling, including Khepri’s w3s-scepter, the edges of Sety’s forward arm and hand, and a few hieroglyphs in cols. 1-3. Sety’s artisans recarved the front of his torso, both sides of his rear arm, and the biceps muscle of his forward arm. Upon completing their initial work, they realized they had overlooked the hieroglyphic formula in column 5, but they only began to cut four hieroglyphs between the papyrus column and the king’s serekh, and these incompletely, by incising them in outline without fully defining these glyphs in raised relief. Thus (GameObject) consists of just a single engraved line, as does the loop of (GameObject), while an internal peak Nelson records for (GameObject) is absent. To the left of (GameObject), they trimmed back the papyrus column supporting the cobra goddess at its base. A few carved details do not appear in Nelson’s sketch, including petals on a single lotus blossom in the upper left corner of Sety’s tray and two horizontal lines inside his belt.

Translations:

By Khepri: 4Khepri who resides [in Karnak...]:

2Words spoken: a “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. b(I) have given to you all flat lands.”

By the Falcon: 4The Behdetite, the great god, of variegated plumage, lord of heaven.

By the Cobra: 5<Wadjet> as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: 6Horus: mighty bull, ‘Causing the Two Lands to live,’ 7the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, 8the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, 9given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

a. This phrase would have appeared in one or two missing columns to the right of col. 1, and we may restore Khepri’s full titles as something like 4Hpri hry-ib 4Xfp.t-sw.t 18ntr-5 nb p.t, “Khepri who resides in Karnak, the great god,” or similar.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

c. The goddess is identified by the papyrus stalk on which the cobra is entwined.

PLATE 226


Location: B 334: East wall, north side, bottom register, first scene from the north.

Subject: Amun-Re’s processional bark rests on a pedestal within a shrine surrounded by offerings and cultic paraphernalia (figs. 317-318). Originally, a figure of Sety I knelt below a short offering list,
a hovering Nekhbet-vulture, and his cartouches until temple authorities of a later generation inserted a small doorway here as a convenient north-east exit from the Hypostyle Hall. Unlike portals in the southeast corner or those at the east and west ends of the adjoining north wall, this gate lacks any sort of decorative frame.418

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Considerable vestiges of polychrome and plaster undercoat survive along the very top of this scene, especially in its upper left corner. Blue paint clings to the sky-sign above, and to vulture’s tail, wingtips, her legs, and the she clutches in her talons. Her rump and inner wings are red. Enclosing Amun’s bark, the corniced roof of his shrine has vertical stripes in red and blue against a lighter background that was probably once yellow. In a frieze of cobras above, their hoods contain a design of twin semi-circles of a darker hue (originally blue) just below their heads, and of lighter wedges near their bases. Occasional traces of blue remain on their heads too, but all these colors have faded. There are more definite colors on some hieroglyphs.419 Finally, horizontal sections in blue and red define a marginal design at the scene’s far left end.

**Observations:** Sadly, this relief has decayed further since Nelson recorded it. A number of small patch-stones and fragments have broken away, including a tall veneer block inscribed with col. 13, a triangular fragment in the shrine’s roof just above and to the right of col. 7, a chunk of stone comprising the tops of cols. 4 and 5, and another patch-stone from the lower offering table in front of Amun’s pedestal portraying two Nile gods standing back-to-back. Salt-laden moisture has infiltrated the sandstone, progressively disintegrating various parts of the relief, but most dramatically a single block containing rows B and C of the tabular offering list where spalling has effaced most of its carved surface.420

Sety I’s craftsmen never made extensive iconographic modifications to this representation of Amun’s processional bark as they had to images of this vessel on the north wall,421 although here they did retouch large sun disks on its fore and aft ram’s head aegises. Working at a reduced scale, Nelson was not able to capture some minute details of the complex iconography on the bark’s cabin-shrine and its enveloping veil in his drawing. A decorative garland at the bottom of the veil has tiny cartouches etched with Sety I’s *nomen* flanked by cobras, each with sun disks above them. These alternate with rebuses of Sety I’s *prenomen* in the form of . At the center of the veil, two winged images of Ma’at wearing sun disks on their heads kneel on -signs, extending their

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418 Above the south-east gateway, Ramesses II’s placed his royal titles in a decorative frieze, while Sety I’s names embellish the jambs and lintels of two small doors in the north wall. See *GHHK* I.1, pls. 105, 178, 201.

419 See appendix A.


421 See our commentary to *GHHK* I.1, pls. 178; 180; 197.
wings protectively towards a larger -rebus.

Each goddess holds in her upper fist and a sequence of , , and, signs in her lower fist, which she extends in a line towards the solar deity, but Nelson overlooked these tiny glyphs along with traces of on which Re squats.422 Behind each goddess, vertical border elements frame a marginal space containing hieroglyphic rebus designs. At the bottom are sprays of floral stocks of lotus blooms on the left (north) side and papyrus on the right (south) in reverse of the expected orientation. Resting above them, the group in turn supports a with uraeus-cobras wearing crowns—these Nelson did not record—issuing from their inner canthi. As with the plant motifs below them, here the artists have reversed the correct geographical orientation of these serpents by placing the Red Crown on the left (south) serpent’s head and the White crown on its mate.423 Aside from decorative borders of uraei and flower petals, all that is left of the veil’s billow is a kneeling king offering.

Between the veil’s sloping upper hem and a horizontal crossbeam at the base of the outer naos’ decorative panel, a narrow triangular gap exposes decoration on the side of the bark’s inner naos, showing a frieze of winged Ma’at figures alternating with signs.424 Here, the upper winged arm and head (wearing a ) of the first goddess, protrudes above the veil’s sloping hem. Behind her follows a second upraised wing with a malformed curving “arm” on its upper edge and further to its left the crown of her head. Perhaps this confined, oddly-shaped space confused or limited the sculptor, as from parallels on the north wall, one expects these goddesses to alternate with cobras wearing atef-crowns with signs between them.425 Decoration on the upper panel of the external naos and its corniced roof largely mimics three examples on the north wall with standing Ma’at goddesses resting on who spread their wings protectively towards , a rebus design rendering Sety’s nomen epithet in the Hypostyle Hall, “beloved of Amun.” But in contrast to other examples dating to Sety I’s reign in the Hypostyle Hall, these goddesses do not

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422 Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 178; 180; 197 where he did record them.
423 The artists depicted the bark itself facing to the north, but arranged these symbols as if it were facing south.
424 Karlshausen, L’iconographie, p. 204.
425 See our commentary to pls. 180 and 197.
hold in their upper hands but signs instead.

Translations:

By Amun’s Bark: Words spoken by Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “(O my) son of my body, my beloved, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, my heart is joyful at seeing your monument and I rejoice through love of you, you having built (my) temple as a new thing from fine sandstone. My [he]art is at rest within your monument, I having received your hecatomb. (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re, the years of Atum, the throne of Geb and my office on my part and the [kingship] of Horus in joy, and every hill country under your sandals.”

Litany of the King: Spell for presenting wine that the field might flourish: “[This god rejoices (at) the abundance of] what he has eaten. I have [filled] for you the Eye of Horus [with very pure wine]!

By the Vulture: Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.


a. Writing for .kwi.
b. Both are sdm.n=f forms in a dependent clause expressing prior action.
c. Note the peculiar orthography of the determinative of hw.t, written.
d. Reading B.t=i.
e. The traces following hr=i are obscure, and this part of the relief has vanished. In Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5253, however, one sees traces of a tall sign curving to the left at top are consistent with , perhaps followed by the tops of . Thus, as Nelson’s drawing suggests, we may read nsy.[t], “kingship,” with lost in the gap below.
f. Sharkawy, (Amun-Tempel, p. 173), translates “…den Thron des Geb und mein Amt, das ich an (bei) mir habe, […]” but this is dubious. In Chicago Oriental Institute photo 5253, the bird’s body and head are consistent with , not .
g. So reading hnk m irp.
h. One expects the preposition m or n here:
i. Restoring  for \( [mH]n=i n=k \).

of the \( sdm.n=f \) form was transposed with , the suffix pronoun \( =i \) referring to the king. See Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 213, fig. 10; Sharkawy, *Amun-Tempel*, p. 172, n. 161.


k. Just above the gap is the top of a wide, flat glyph that slopes up to the right. It is probably a trace of the determinative, representing a wedge-shaped loaf of bread resting on a bowl, for which see GHHK I.1, pl. 65 at col. 13A; *Abydos* II, pl. 32. The top of this loaf is slightly undulating, like piles of these wedge-like loaves often shown in ritual scenes, e.g., ibid., pls. 194, 202, 204, 217, 225. In painted reliefs, they are usually colored red: cf. *Abydos* II, pl. 11; ibid. III, pls. 10, 44.

l. So \( dbH.t-Htp \) with the derminative.

m. Writing \( spr.t \) for \( w^\text{H} \), “carob beans.” Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 207:16. So *Wb.* IV, p. 105:1.

n. Writing \( m^\text{c} \) for \( mid\), “cut (of meat).”

o. Writing \( mr.t \) for \( mis.t \), “liver.”

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**Plate 227**


**Location:** B 335-337: East wall, north side, bottom register, second, third and fourth scenes from the north.

**Subject:** (Left) Sety I greets the god Amun-Re, who stands in his shrine (fig. 320). (Middle) Sety I breaks the seal on the door of Amun-Re’s shrine (figs. 43, 319). (Right) Sety I draws the bolt on the door of Amun-Re’s shrine.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Aside from portions of gesso undercoating and some blue in the sky-element above, no paint survives. At the base of the wall, deposits of insoluble salt have impregnated the plaster wash.

**Observations:** In each scene, Sety I’s craftsmen retouched their work to effect minor corrections to his three effigies and also Amun’s. (Left) They amplified the top of Sety’s nemes-headcloth, his facial profile and his beard, shaving back the walls surface below cols. 3-5 to allow the modified head to stand out against negative space around it. They also recut his rear leg from its shin to the instep of his foot. In their initial configuration, Amun’s plumes rose more vertically, but the craftsmen reduced their acclivity by shifting their tops rightwards, thereby making them slope more acutely. Since the drawing records their original right edges, both plumes appear too thin at their summits, but incised lines show the final versions which were built up in plaster, now gone. Further adjustments include the deity’s forward shoulder.
and a streamer dangling behind his crown; however, the double line recorded above his brow is erroneous.

(Middle) Here, craftsmen enlarged the top of Sety’s khat-wig, his profile, uraeus, and the biceps muscle of his upraised arm. As a result of further modifications they made to his belt apron, two iterations of ribbons flaking its right side and of a uraeus cobras at its base now overlap. Amun’s neckline, the top of his forward arm, and his rear shoulder were also recut. (Right) Sculptors enlarged the top and back of Sety’s nemes-headcloth twice. Once again, the wall surface dips lower around his head to maintain the appearance of raised relief. They also retouched the king’s profile and the back of Amun’s forward arm below his armpit.

Ancient iconoclasts effaced in Sety’s nomen cartouches and twice in col. 1 (middle). Vandals of a more recent era scratched at the king’s eye and nose (Left). No other malicious damage appears, but later occupants of the building hollowed out more than two dozen pilgrim’s grooves clustered in the lower parts of these scenes, although they do not appear in the drawing. Since Nelson recorded it, a patch-stone containing Sety’s upper arm (Left) has fallen out. Another in the same position (Right) had already vanished by his day. Salt infiltration had long since destroyed several blocks along the base of this scene and left many of the rest badly weathered and scarred by concretions of insoluble salts. Nelson’s copy documents such erosion and salt deposits only sporadically with shade, and he did not discriminate between them.

Translations:

Left:

Label: ¹[Breaking the seal by the king].
By the King: ²The good god, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, given life.
Litany of the King: ³Spell for breaking the seal: “May the heavenly waters be open, ⁴may the semen of Osiris be drawn out. I have not come in order to drive the god away from his throne, (but) I have come in order to place the god upon his throne! You are established upon the great throne of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.”
By Amun: ⁵Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in *Karnak: ⁶Words spoken: “(I) [have gi]ven to you the lifetime of Re. ⁷(I) have given to you the Nine [Bows], [you being] establish[ed upon] the throne of Horus.”

Center:

Litany of the King: ¹Spell for pulling out the door-bolt: “Pull out the finger of [Seth] from the Eye of Horus. Removing the finger of [Seth] from the Eye of Horus is pleasant! ²Removing sickness from the god is pleasant. ³(O) Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, receive for yourself your double-plumes and your mace. (O) naked one, ⁴you are clothed! (O) one-who-is-dressed, ⁵you are skilled! ⁶I am the god’s servant! ⁷It is the king who has ordained that (I) might see the god!”

By the King: ⁸The dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances [SET]Y-MERENAMUN, given life like Re.
Behind the king: Every protection—life—surrounds him like Re.

By Amun: \(\text{Amun-[Re-Ka]mutef.}\) Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum. \(\text{[I have] given [to] you millions of Jubilees.}\) (I) have given [to] you all flat lands gathered under your sandals.”

Right:

Litany of the King: Spell for [opening the double door-leaves]: “May the double door-leaves of heaven open. [May the double] door-leaves\(^a\) of earth open. Greetings to Geb [father of the gods, saying to him: ‘the gods are established upon]\(^b\) [their [thr]one(s)]. May the double door-leaves [open]\(^a\) that the Ennead might [sh]ine. May Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, who is upon [his great seat],\(^c\) be exalted […] the west […] and ea\(^a\)st […] two times! Your perfection belongs to you\(^a\) (O) Amun-Re lord of heaven! \(\text{[Words spoken: ‘[I have] given [to you…]}\) (O) naked one, <you> are clothed!\(^v\)”

By the King: The dual king, [lord of the Two] Lands MENMA\(^a\)ATRE, \(\text{[Words spoken: ‘[I have] given [to you…]}\) \(\text{[I have] have given [to you…].}\) (I) have given [to you…]."

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a. Restoring \(\text{sd si}n.\text{[i]} \text{in nsw}.\) Cf. col. 3; Abydos I, pl. 17; ibid. II, pls. 4, 13, 21.


c. Reading \(\text{ii.}\) (I). See previous note.

d. So reading \(\text{[i]} \) as \(\text{r d}^\text{di.}\) t.

e. Restoring \(\text{pd.}\) \(\text{wt psd.}\) t. There is room for another tall group between the bottom of Amun’s fist and the top of \(\text{[O]}\). A single extant trace seems to be the flat base of a sign, perhaps \(\text{[i].}\) but it does not suit \(\text{hr th. t=k}\) or similar. Cf. col. 11 (middle).

f. Reading something like \(\text{mn.[ti hr]} \) s.\(\text{t Hr.}\) Traces beneath the eroded \(\text{[O]}\) have weathered beyond reliable interpretation, and Sharkawy’s restoration (Amun-Tempel, p. 173, n. 169) of […] \(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) s\(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) \(\text{[i]}\) [under] dem Thron des Horus [liegen],” appears doubtful.

g. Reading \(\text{[i]} \) as \(\text{st}^\text{[i]}\) s.

h. The scribe wrote \(\text{sd “to break” in place of st3 “to pull out” in col.1; and sfh “to remove” in col. 2.}\)

i. Writing \(\text{dhri for dhrt.}\) “bitterness, sickness.” Wb. V, p. 483. See also David, Guide, p. 63. Sharkawy’s reading (Amun-Tempel, p. 174), “Gelöst ist das Leder für den Gott,” is not convincing. Following it is a compound preposition \(\text{hr-s}^\text{[i]}\) written \(\text{hr-is.}\)
This is a pun on ṭṛḥ “to don (a garment)” and ṭṛḥ “to be wise, skilled.” The phrases h3 hbs tw, ṭṛḥ ṭṛḥ t(w)—both are puns—imply that by being dressed in the course of the ritual, Amun became skilled. Both phrases with tw are nfr sw constructions with the 2nd pers. dep. pronoun.

Reading in nsw wdl m’n=(i) nfr. This is a participial statement introduced by the enclitic particle in and writing (wld) for (wdl). The verb mỉβ can be written mën in the subjunctive, cf. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §19.2; Hoch, *Middle Egyptian*, §71.

Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 10 and 11 (middle) and 10 (Right).

So restoring r3 n [wn ṭḥ.wy]. One expects or similar based on parallels Cf. *Abydos* I, pl. 4; ibid., *Abydos* II, pls. 4, 14, 22. See also Sharkawy, *Amon-Tempel*, pp. 174-175 and n. 182.

Below the -determinative is part of a -sign.

So reading ndl-ḥr n Gb [it ntr.w m dd n=f ntr.w mn.(w) hr] s.t=sn. See parallel texts from Sety I’s Abydos temple cited above.

Restoring [s].t sn. The rightmost stroke of below remains intact.

So reading [wn ṭḥ.wy]. Cf. Sharkawy, *Amon-Tempel*, p. 175, n. 185; *Abydos*, pls. 14, 22.

Reading [p]ṣd.t. Here psd was written for psd. Note the pun with psd.t, “Ennead.”


Clear traces of and remain. Cf. ibid., Sharkawy, p. 175, n. 189.

The most likely reading is for nfr.w=k ny=k, perhaps with a writing of something like . Compare *Abydos II*, pl. 4 where occurs. There is insufficient room to accommodate Sharkawy’s (ibid., p. 175, n. 190) expansive restored writing of the same phrase.

Restoring ḥbs <tw>.

So by comparison with the deity’s epithet in the incantation. It remains unclear whether another epithet could fit after this, although Nelson’s drawing indicates a vertical trace at the bottom of col. 8 beside the left text divider. Perhaps this was an element of the phrase ḫn.ty Ip.t-sw.t, “pre-eminent in Karnak,” which might have continued on an additional column behind Amun’s plumes. Assuming the presence of the rear wall of his shrine, however, there may not be
enough room for an additional column of text behind Amun. So GHHK I.1, pl. 220.

**PLATE 228**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 46 (155) V.5; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 332-335; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 175.

**Location:** B 338: East wall, north side, bottom register, fifth scene from the north.

**Subject:** Sety I (figure largely destroyed) kneels before Amun-Kamutef and presents a bouquet (fig. 321).

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None.

**Observations:** Infiltration of salt-laden ground moisture has largely obliterated the present scene and those further to its right in this lowest register of the east wall’s northern wing. Sety I’s knee has disappeared since Nelson’s recorded it. Otherwise, except for minor abrasion that has, for example, destroyed Amun’s thumb, most of what he recorded remains intact. Note that his drawing omits the separation between Amun’s plumes at their bases.

**Translations:***

*By Amun: 4[A]mun-[Re]- 2Kam[utef who is upon his great]a 3seat.*

*Litany of the King:* 4[Spell for offering a bouquet on the day]b of the first day of the lunar monthc festival: “Give 4a bouquet to the king, to the royal children,4 and the king’s companions in the house who causee 6Amun to alight as your protection, that you might live like Re every day 7that you might livef eternally […].”

*By the King:* 8The lord of the Two Lands [MEN][M][A’AT]RE […].

a. The tail of remains below s.t “place.”


c. Reading psdn.tiw.

d. A contracted writing of ‘nh n nsw, ms.w-nsw, etc. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 332, fig. 35.

e. This is probably plural perfective active participle. See above note e in our commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 206:7.


**PLATE 229**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 46 (155) V.6; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 211-212; Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, pp. 175-176.

**Location:** B 339: East wall, north side, bottom register, sixth scene from the north.

**Subject:** [Sety I] offers to Amun-Re, who is enclosed within a shrine.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Some plaster undercoat clings to Amun’s face and within his shrine, but no color remains.

**Observations:** Progressive erosion has degraded this relief further. Only the very tops of cols. 1-4 and a frieze of cobras resting atop Amun’s shrine remain in good condition, although his visage is relatively unscathed.

**Translations:***
Litany of the King: 1 Spell for bringing a gift of beer: “May the Eye of Horus be refreshed for him. 2 May the testicles of Seth be refreshed for him. 3 May Horus be satisfied with his Two Eyes. May Seth be satisfied with his testicles. 3 May Amun-Re, pre-eminent in Karnak be content with these choice cuts (of meat) consisting of 3-4 what [the] king, 4 the lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA’ATRE, [the] son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN gives [to you—given life], stability, and dominion like Re [forever].”

By Amun: 5 Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: 6 [Words spoken: “(I) have given to you valor. 7 [(I) have given to] you victory.”

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of the next column.

PLATE 230


Location: B 340: East wall, north side, bottom register, seventh scene from the north.

Subject: [Sety I offers incense to Amun-Re] who is enclosed within his shrine.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: As in scenes neighboring it, most of this relief has vanished or is badly weathered. As a result, Nelson restored its texts from parallel sources. Since then, further decay has expunged several hieroglyphs apparently legible in his day, although the block containing middle sections of cols. 1-4 appears more eroded in Chicago Oriental Institute photograph 5892 than his copy implies.

Translations:

Litany of the King: 1 Spell for placing incense on the flame [for Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands]: 2 “(O) Amun-Re-Kamutef, take for yourself the Eye of [Horus which comes (with) its fragrance to you] consisting of what the king, the lord [of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN—given life—] gives to you.” 4 Spell [for placing fat upon the flame: “May provisions come united with] 5 provisions. May Horus stand up that he might make his two eyes healthy in this his name of 6 fat. May Thoth come to you [that he might turn him(self) back in this] his 7 name [of ‘the praised one’ consisting of what the king, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE] gives to you.”

By Amun: 8 [Words spoken by Amun…] 9 “…(O) my [son …] 10 [the Lord of the Two Lands ME]NMA’ATRE …].”

a. Amun-Re-Kamutef’s name is used as a vocative and is part of the spell proper, not the rubric. Cf. Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 176. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), p. 208, takes it as part of the rubric.
b. A pun on ḫḏ, “fat,” and śḏ, “to make healthy.” Traces of (Gardiner signlist V26) that Nelson records at the top of col. 6 do not inspire confidence. What subsists more closely resembles 𓊬.
c. This phrase is obscure. Nelson (*JNES* 8 [1949], p. 209) translates: “He has approached (*hsy sw* in this) his name of the praised one.” Sharkawy (*Amon-Tempel*, p. 176) reads: “Er hat sich genährt in diesem <sienen> Namen des Gelobten.”


e. Aside from part of one [切除], none of the traces Nelson saw in the lower range of col. 7 now survive.

f. So restoring something like *[dd mdw in Imm…s3]=[i [nb-ti.wy] Mn-[m3=t-R*…]*. For similar parallels, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 46:1-2; 49:14-16; 52:1-2; 77:2-3; 79:1-3; 200:1-2. In each case, *nb t3.wy* preceeds the king’s *prenomen*.

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**PLATE 231**

**Bibliography:** *PM* II², p. 46 (155) V.8.

**Location:** B 341-342: East wall, north side, bottom register, eighth and ninth scenes from the north.

**Subject:** (Left) Sety I with regalia stands between Horus and [another deity]. (Right) Sety I kneels between two [goddesses].

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None.

**Observations:** The pitiful traces of these scenes have eroded even further since the drawings were made. Nelson’s copy omits vertical striations on Sety’s long wing in the scene on the right. Nor does it fully capture the vulture’s facial features and the pattern of its wing feathers on the left.

The meaning of the episodes is not entirely clear. On the left, certainly, the two gods are not purifying the king with water. Nelson’s label for the scene describes it as “Sety I with regalia being escorted into the temple.” However, in scenes of the *bs nsbw*, “induction of the king,” it is normal for Atum and Monthu to accompany him. The closest parallels are scenes in which Horus and Thoth confirm the king’s rule in some fashion.

The scene on the right is even more obscure. It is not clear that Sety is kneeling as Nelson’s description implies. The vulture above the king is certainly Nekhbet. Her titulary occurs in a horizontal text above her head, although the column numbers Nelson assigned, viz.: 5-6, imply that it is part of a series of vertical text like that in col. 4. The orientation of col. 4 is vertical and the hieroglyphs face to the left while Nekhbet’s

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426 Neither the texts nor what remains of the king’s figure compares with other purification scenes in the Hall. Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 48, 51, 105, 148, 198. 427 Cf. ibid., pls. 50, 78, 111, 149, 179, 199. So too in Sety I’s Abydos temple: *Abydos* II, pl. 30. In one scene on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, two goddesses and six souls of Nekhen and Pe escort Ramesses II. In some cases, a lone goddess leads Ramesses II, (GHHK I.1, pls. 106 [Hathor], 109 [name lost]), or Sety I (ibid., pl. 137 [Isis]).

428 E.g., two reliefs from the south wall where these gods act on behalf of Ramesses II by performing the *sn3-ti.wy* ritual on his behalf (GHHK I.1, pl. 69), or steadying his crowns while he sits enthroned between Wadjet and Nekhbet (ibid., pl. 74). A scene reconstructed from loose blocks that originally stood at the top of the west wall of the Hall shows Horus and Seth crowning Ramesses II. See W. J. Murnane, “Reconstructing Scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak,” in A. Niwinsky and A. Majewska (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska*, Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1, (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 107-118. Similar iconography is found in scenes from Sety I’s Abydos temple: *Abydos* II, pls. 30, 32; IV, pl. 42.
protocol faces to the right. The texts in cols. 1-3 behind the vulture which name Wadjet are vertically arranged and face to the right, the mirror image of col. 4.

One might reconstruct the scene as showing the king between two goddesses, anthropomorphic Wadjet on his left and probably Nekhbet to his right and Nekhbet again as a vulture above his head. It is unclear whether the king is sitting or standing. Against such an interpretation, perhaps is the text in col. 4 which seems to refer to Onuris-Shu.

Translations:
Left:
By Horus: Words spoken by Horus the Behdetite “[…] lord of the Two Lands MENMA#ATRE, (I) have given to you the life[time] of Re and the years of Atum […]”
Above Deity on Left (name lost): Words spoken by […] the lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN…].”
By the Vulture: Nekhbet the bright one [of Hierakonpolis] lady [of heaven…].
By the King: The lord [of the Two Lands MEN]MA#ATRE, the lord of appearances [SETY-MERENAMUN].
Right:
Behind the Vulture: Thebes […] lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, Wadjet […]
By the King: Onuris-Shu, the son of Re, lord […]
By the Vulture: Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of [heaven].

a. One would expect something like [s3=i mr=i nb t.i.wy Mn-m3'.t-R#], “(O) my son whom I love[, the lord of the Two Lands MENMA#ATRE,” or similar. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 148:2-3 (Sety I purified by Seth: s3=i nb t.i.wy Mn-m3'.t-R#).
b. Based on similar parallels, the deity was either Thoth (ibid., pls. 69, 74, 105, 198) or Seth (ibid., pl. 148).
d. Incorrectly numbered by Nelson.

PLATE 232

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 46 (155) V.9.
Location: B 343-344: East wall, north side, bottom register, tenth and eleventh (and final) scenes from the north.

Subject: (Left) Litany of the goddesses of Thebes before [divinities] in a shrine. (Right) Fragmentary scene with vulture goddess above the [king] (fig. 322).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: Only the masonry at the top of the scenes is still in situ. The rest, including the lower portions of cols. 8 and 9 from the left hand scene, have disappeared. The group dw3.t tw at the top of col. 9 (Left) is inscribed on a small patch-stone.

429 Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 62, 74. In the royal chapel of Sety I’s Abydos temple, The king appears twice flanked by these goddesses, but in each case the Behdetite hovers above: Abydos II, pls. 30, 36.

430 Note that Nelson’s numbered diagram in GHHK I.1, pl. 264 is in error as the two scenes in his pl. 32 occupy all the wall space between the two southernmost flagmast niches.
A single obscure trace which Nelson did not record occurs in col. 11 (Left). His drawing indicates the upper part of a small cobra in his col. 12, which may correspond to the name of Tefnut as in col. 10. Two deep pilgrim’s grooves have obliterated the wall surface at the top of Nelson’s cols. 12-14.

Also in the left scene, modern graffiti, omitted by Nelson, were inscribed in the sky-sign bandeaux above the scene between the first six uraei of the shrine and col. 9. From left to right, these are: (1) “B. FA” deeply incised in block capital letters directly above col. 8; (2) “B FACHINELI” inscribed in block capital letters between the tops of cols. 4-6; (3) “Fotografo il 3 del 3 […] 1879” inscribed in cursive with only the “F” capitalized. This graffito begins above col. 2 and is interrupted by a break. “1879” is inscribed below the sky-sign and interrupts the solar discs of the first two uraei on the shrine’s canopy. The first graffito is apparently an aborted attempt to give the name presented in the second. Another graffito, the Arabic name “IBRAHIM,” has been inscribed in block Latin characters enclosed in a crudely etched rectangle in the sky above col. 4 of the right hand scene, perhaps in imitation of the Fachineli graffiti. Some of the hieroglyphs and text dividers in cols. 1-6 (Left) and the frieze of uraei with solar disks adjacent to col. 1 have flaked off, leaving behind negative impressions of their shapes. This damage predates the Fachineli graffiti as his “1879” is carved into the eroded surface of the two leftmost disks. The heads of the glyphs in cols. 9 and 10 were vandalized.

**Translations:**

*Left,* 432

*Litany of the Goddess of Thebes:* 4Words spoken by [Victorious] Thebes, [lady of the scimitar, mistress of every Nome]: “I have come before you” 2(O) lord of the gods, Amun lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands. The entire Ennead propitiates you,] their two [arms [raised]] 3in adoration at your appearing. They play the sistra to your beautiful face while every city comes] 4to you in praise [in order to propitiate the perfection of your incarnation, that you might protect your son MENMA’ATRE with all life, stability, and dominion], and that you might give to him [your] victor[ies, your scimitar, your strength, and your power. Your august daughter Mut lady] 6of Isheru [propitiates you, Satet and Anuket] adore [you. Nekhbet propitiates you, the lady of Ra-Inty adores you.] 7An[u]ket, residing in Per-meru] propitiates you, [Menhyt, lady of Khent adores you. The Daughter of Re, lady of] 8Agny [propitiates you, Hathor, lady of] Inerty adores you. [Ra’yet-tawy] propitiates [you, Tjenenet-

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432 For Ramesside parallels to this text see Kitchen’s edition (*KRI II*, pp. 592-596) with his translations (*RITA II*, pp. 388-339), commentary and bibliography (*RITANC II*, pp. 401-404).

Right:

By Deity (Name Lost) on Right:

1 [Words] spoken [by …] 2 strong arm[e] […] 3 […] 4

By Deity (name lost) on left: 4 Words spoken by […] 5 […] establishing […] 6 millions of […] 7 you appearing […]”

By the Vulture: 8 Nekhbet.

a. So restoring Wis.t-[ nh.t.ii, nb.t hps, hnw.t sp3.t nb]. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 104:8. She also appears several times in scenes of Ramesses IV from the columns: Louis A. Christophe, Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leur épithètes, (Cairo, 1955), p. 52.

b. For a visual representation of the Great Ennead adoring Amun-Re see GHHK I.1, pl. 36.


d. Based on the reconstructed length of neighboring columns there does not seem to be room for the couplets that refer to Hekayet, Isis of Coptos, Hathor lady of Dendara, and Hathor lady of Hut-Sekhemu. Cf. parallels in KRI II, pp. 593:15-594:4. Presumably, the present edition resumed with Isis of Abydos.

e. Nelson records traces of but they have now disappeared as have of Amun at the top of col. 3.
VESTIBULE OF THE THIRD PYLON (Plates 110-130 + 261, 233-257 + 265)

When he built the Great Hypostyle Hall, Sety I clad the outer faces of the Third Pylon vestibule with new masonry similar to the veneers on the façade of the Pylon’s north and south towers. In doing so, he shrouded from view two unfinished triumphal scenes of Amenhotep IV on the vestibule’s exterior side walls. Pilasters at the exterior corners of the vestibule were part of Sety I’s design and did not exist in Amenhotep IV’s underlying structure. On the exterior of the original vestibule, only the sections of the façade between the pilasters at the inner corners and the central axis were left exposed and were decorated by Sety I and Ramesses II.

Although the Ramesside masonry abutting the north and south wings of the vestibule was built, like the entire Great Hypostyle Hall, by Sety I alone, the decoration on the two wings of this vestibule are a hodgepodge epigraphically (plans 7-8). This is due both to their location flanking the main processional axis of the Hall, and the fact that, temporally, their creation spans the end of Sety’s reign and the beginning of Ramesses II’s.

Before his death, Sety I’s artisans had completed decoration of the north side of the vestibule (GHHK I.1, pls. 233-257, 265, a-e), and they had begun work on the southern side, where they decorated the northmost faces of the south wing (ibid., pls. 122-129, 261e-f). As elsewhere inside the Hall, Sety’s artisans carved the decoration in raised relief, although it tends to be flatter and less subtly carved and embellished than on the walls further north. The precise boundary between Sety’s decoration and that of his son is slightly ambiguous due to conditions on the west face of the pilaster (ibid., pl. 261, d), where royal cartouches survive in only two of the six scenes (ibid., pls. 118-119), but as both these were initially completed by Ramesses II, he may plausibly be credited for all of them. The presence of bowing figures of the king in most of these scenes suggests that Sety I’s draftsmen had laid out painted cartoons for more of the decoration on the vestibule than his sculptors were able to carve in relief before the king’s death (ibid., pls. 113-129, 2611b-f). As on the west wall and west half of the south wall, Ramesses’ artisans carved their new monarch’s earliest reliefs, on the western pilaster of the vestibule in raised relief much like his father’s, featuring the shorter form

PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) and (180). The northern smiting scene was removed and reerected in the open air museum at Karnak, while the southern example is partly visible behind the south exterior wall of the vestibule. Ramadan Sa’ad, “Les travaux d’Amenophis IV au IIIe pylône du temple d’Amon Re à Karnak,” Kêmi 20 (=Karnak 3) (1970), pp. 187-193, figs. 1, 3.

GHHK I.1, pls. 127-129, 261f, 265f; Nelson, Key Plans, pl. 4, KB locs: (south wing) 180, 186, 193; (north wing) 360, 367, 376; PM II², p. 60 (178) I-III. Only the decoration on the south wing (Sety I usurped by Ramesses II) remains substantially intact, that on the north wing being entirely destroyed.

Most ambiguous is the third scene from the top where Nelson recorded traces of the of Sety I’s nomen epithet mr-n-PtH, but our own collation differs: see our commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 119:11.
of his *prenomen*, *Wsr-M3t-R* (ibid., pls. 117-121, 261d). Later, they continued their work on the southern pilaster in sunk relief while continuing to employ the shorter *prenomen* (ibid., pls. 112-116, 261c).

Exceptionally, at the very top of the south pilaster, both the short and long *prenomen* forms coincide in one relief (ibid., pl. 112, top). By the time his sculptors reached the main south wall of the vestibule, Ramesses had adopted the longer *prenomen* *Wsr-M3t-R*-*stp-n-R* (ibid., pls. 110-112, 261a).

Adding further complexity is the fact that Ramesses II later converted his earliest reliefs on the west face of the south wing’s pilaster to sunken relief (ibid., pls. 117-121, 261d; plan 8). He did the same to Sety I’s decoration on the south and west pilaster facets in the north wing (ibid., pls. 249-257, 265d-e), but here he also usurped his father’s cartouches as well. These later operations on the north and south wings did not coincide—for on the south aisle, the *nomen* form is *Rc-ms-s*, while *Rc-ms-sw* occurs on the north wing in reliefs usurped from Sety I, indicating that the usurpations and conversion of the reliefs on the north wing were done at some point no earlier than year 21. Even more unusually, the short *prenomen* was simply recut in sunk relief, whereas elsewhere (on the west wall and west side of the south wall), when raised relief was converted, the king’s longer *prenomen* was substituted for the now obsolete short one. This suggests, perhaps, that raised relief decoration on the south wing, especially on the west facet of the pilaster, was converted earlier than similar work on the west and south walls.

Nelson’s record omitted decoration on the east facing facets of both wings of the vestibule (ibid., pls. 261b and 265b). In both cases, these narrow surfaces were embellished with vertical columns of large hieroglyphic text giving the extended titularies of Sety I (north) and Ramesses (south).

**EASTERN VESTIBULE, NORTH SIDE (Plates 233-257 + 265)**

In sharp contrast to the several phases of Ramesside wall decoration on the southern wing of the Third Pylon’s vestibule, those on the north wing were largely homogenous, at least under Sety I (plan 7). This king completed all of the decoration here in raised relief towards the very end of his reign. In each scene, Sety kneels to make an offering before one or a pair of divinities. As a group these reliefs are flatter and “blocky,” with less subtle modeling than we have come to expect with Sety I’s best relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall. Overlapping elements are indicated with engraved lines and without the layered modeling seen elsewhere.

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446 This is true of both reliefs usurped from Sety I (ibid., pls. 122-129) and scenes carved for Ramesses in raised relief (ibid., pls. 117-118).
447 Such later date for the conversion and/or usurpation of reliefs on the north side of the main axis is consistent for the north wing of the vestibule, the first row of smaller columns north of the great ones (columns 74-80), and (cartouches only), and scenes on the piers between the window grilles on the northern clerestory. The situation on the north jamb of the west gate and on the architraves over the central aisle is more complex. See above chapter 2.6.
448 See introductions to the west wall, south wing and south wall, west side, above.
449 The southern example is largely destroyed but seems to have been carved in sunk relief with Ramesses II’s titulary.
elsewhere. As on the adjoining east wall, the craftsmen sometimes indicated the pleating on Sety’s kilt and the plaiting of his wig in the scenes on the lower three registers.

Diagram of the vestibule of the Third Pylon, north wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.

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450 So the king’s arm where it crosses his chest or the lappets on a goddess’ wig are frequently rendered as a mere engraved line rather than modeled in true relief. E.g., GHHK I.1, pls. 233-235, 242.
PLATE 233

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) I.
Location: B 354: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” first register, first extant scene from the east.
Subject: Sety I kneels while offering to an enthroned [divinity].
Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: One sees faint traces of red pigment on the king’s belly.
Observations: The remains of this scene are marred by severe weathering of its surface. There are some quarry marks below the king’s belt. The nape of the king’s neck is damaged, and Nelson’s drawing is erroneous here, making it impossible to determine the precise nature of his headdress. The drawing also omits the vertical ribbon bandeau at the edge of the wall behind the king.
Translations: No texts are preserved in this scene.

PLATE 234

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) II.2; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 52.
Location: B 361: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” uppermost in situ register (“second”), first extant scene from the east.
Subject: Sety I presents ointment to a male divinity accompanied by a goddess.
Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: None.
Observations: The goddess’ advancing leg was recut just above her foot. This scene is in the same condition as in Nelson’s day. A number of blocks are entirely missing, and portions of the carved surface of those that remain have eroded. Small patch-stones are missing in front of the god’s advancing leg and, since Nelson’s time, the one bearing the wrist of Sety’s upraised arm has vanished. The drawing omits the buckle of Sety I’s belt, and parts of the stem of the lotus bouquet on the offering stand.
Translations: No texts remain.

PLATE 235

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) II.1.
Location: B 362: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” second register, second extant scene from the east.
Subject: Sety I kneels to offer Ma’at to Ptah and Sekhmet (fig. 19).
Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: None.
Observations: The scene is in good condition although there is some quarry damage, principally along the upper wing of the vulture and the king’s upper body. The masonry is preserved where cols. 5 through 7 were, but its surface is badly eroded. The gap along the right edge of the scene beside col. 10 in Nelson’s drawing is erroneous, and, although damaged, the vertical border pattern is

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451 It would have been either a cap crown without streamers (cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 145, 157, 180, 194, 210) or a round wig without a diadem (cf. ibid., pls. 208, 211, 217, 222, 231, 236, 245). Examples of the latter always have engraved lines indicating the echelons of curls, so this is probably the cap crown.
452 See ibid., pl. 235.
453 The presence of a lettuce plant among the offerings suggests the god was Amun.
legible here except for a patch-stone missing behind the king’s head. A number of other small patch-stones are also lost, including some still present in Nelson’s time, such as in Ptah’s upper torso and Sakhmet’s elbow joint, before the god’s shins, in Sety’s waist and behind his foot. The relief carving is crisp, flat, and only lightly modeled. Nelson’s drawing misinterprets a number of details. It fails to capture the beauty and intricacy of Sakhmet’s leonine face. The hem of the king’s kilt above the knee is erroneous, and the lower back of his foot is uncarved, having been partly rendered in plaster due to quarry damage at this spot.

Translations:

Label: 1Presenting [Ma’at to] the lord of heaven that he might achieve ‘given life.’

By Ptah: 2Ptah lord of Ma’at, king of the Two Lands, lord of eternity: 3Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. 4(I) have given to you all health and all joy.”

By Sekhmet: 5[Sekhmet…] 6[…] 7[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you] all provisions.”

By the Vulture: 8Nekhtet the bright one of Hierakonpolis: 9[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion and all health, 10all valor and all victory.”

By the King: 11(Long) live the good god, great of monuments in the estate of Amun, 12the dual king, lord of [the Two Lands] MENMA’ATRE, 13the son of Re, lord of appearances, SETY-MERENAMUN.

a. One would expect $\text{hnk (m) } m^3.t \ [n \ nb m^3.t]$, “presenting Ma’at [to the lord of Ma’at],” or similar. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 81 right:1 ($\text{hnk m m^3.t n it=s’Imn}$); 169:1 ($\text{hnk m m^3.t n nb=s}$); The $m$ of predication can be omitted (ibid., pls. 126:1; 213:1). Only part of the flat base of remains. The reversed orientation of $p.t$ is, perhaps, identical to occasional reversals of divine names in label texts. Otherwise, it might just be a hopeless corruption of $\text{hnk m m^3.t n nb m^3.t}$. These uncertainties are compounded by the unfortunate presence of a block joint. Finally, the lower right corner of is atypically flat. These oddities may all arise from the draftsman’s imperfect transcription of a hieratic original.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 4.

c. At the top of col. 7, there is a trace of the head of which Nelson did not record.
PLATE 236

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) III.3-4.

Subject: (Left) Sety I kneels while pouring libation and [offering incense] to a male divinity.
(Right) Sety I kneels and offers a cup of incense to a goddess.⁴⁵⁴

Type of Relief: Raised.
Paint: None.

Observations: Both scenes are in much the same condition as they were when Nelson drew them, but weathering of the stone along the edges of the raised relief has worsened in several places. On the left, the king’s shin, sole of his foot, back, and shoulder have degraded. On the right, spalling has damaged the goddess’ facial profile, forward shoulder, and the fist and thumb of her rear arm clapping the . The edges of Sety’s wrist and inner forearm holding the incense cup and the thumb of his rear hand have also deteriorated on the right, along with the top of his thigh, his knee, and his heel. The horizontal signs in col. 1 on the right side have also badly spalled, although leaving behind negative impressions allowing the signs to be read. The same is true of the lower half of the goddess’ scepter. There is also some minor erosion in the text above the king at the bottom of the cartouche rings, on some of the hieroglyphs inside them, and two -baskets in col. 6, although the outlines are clear.

Sety’s figure on the right seems to have been adjusted. There is recutting inside and to the left of his upraised hand holding the incense cup. There is a marked depression of the surface and some faint lines in front of his profile, indicating that it too was probably adjusted. On the left, his forward arm was recut on its left side just above the elbow joint.

Translations:

Left:
Label: 1[Censing and liba]ting.⁴⁵⁴

Right:
Label: 4[Cen]sing to the lady of heaven.⁴⁵⁴

By the King: 2[The dual king] MENMAATRE, 3the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN

By the Vulture: 4[Nekhbet as she gives life]⁴⁵⁴ [Re]: 6“(I) have given to you all valor and all health like Re forever.”

a. So restoring [ir.t snTR qbHw]. See glossary s.v. ir.t snTR qbHw. Although there are examples of rdi.t snTR (GHHK I.1, plss. 2:1, 94:1, 173:1, 230:1), no cases of *rdi.t snTR qbHw are attested in the Hypostyle Hall wall scenes.

b. The feminine ending .t was omitted due to lack of space.

c. The name of the Vulture goddess was probably placed before her leading wing tip with the phrase [di=s “nh...] mi [R] arranged below the wing. Compare similar examples where the goddess’ name appears before the leading wing or in front of the di=s...mi R formula below it: GHHK I.1, plss. 160:6; 163

⁴⁵⁴ Her apparent lack of a tripartite divine wig might suggest that she is Amunet wearing the Red Crown.
PLATE 237

**Bibliography:** PM II\(^2\), pp. 59-60 (177) III.2.

**Location:** B 370: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” third register, third scene from the east.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels to offer lettuce plants to the ithyphallic Amun-Re while Wadjet soars above as a vulture.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None.

**Observations:** The ancient builders repaired defects in this portion of the wall with several patch-stones, including four behind Amun’s head and shoulders (not three as the drawing implies). Four smaller ones have since fallen away: a long block under the vulture’s outstreached wing; another that contained Sety’s forehead uraeus; and two more in the region of his torso. The two \(\text{x}\)—
glyphs of \text{nsw-hi.ty} in col. 8 and those of \text{mht.t} in col. 5 have exfoliated, leaving a negative impression of the signs in outline. Otherwise, the scene is well-preserved and is largely in the same condition as it was in Nelson’s day, although some of the gaps in the stone have widened. There is some scattered and minor quarry hacking, especially in the king’s forearms and on the block containing Amun’s hand and the handle of his flail. Nelson’s copy left out vertical striations on the king’s wig.

**Translations:**

\textit{By Amun-Kamutef:} \(^1\)Amun-Kamutef, lord of heaven, \(^2\)lord of heaven, \(^3\)who is upon \(^4\)the great seat: \(^5\)[Words spoken: [(I) have [gi]ven to you my office and my throne. \(^6\)(I) have given to y[ou] valor against the south and victory against the north; all flat lands, every foreign hill country, and the Nine Bows being subdu[ed] under your sandals.”

\textit{Behind Amun:} Every protection—life, stability, and dominion—surrounds him like Re.

\textit{By the Vulture:} \(^6\)Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

\textit{By the King:} \(^7\)(Long) live the good god who is pleased with Ma\(^8\)at, \(^9\)the dual king MENMA\(^\text{\textendash}ATRE, \(^b\)the son of Re SETY-\text{MERENAMUN, }\text{\textit{<son>}}\text{ of Amun,} \(^c\)who issued from his limbs, \(^d\)lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves.\(^4\)

\begin{enumerate}
\item[a.] So a dittography of \text{nb p.t.}
\item[b.] Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 5.
\item[c.] The emendation \text{<s\textendash>} \text{Imn} seems required to make sense of this passage. The term \(s\text{3}\) was doubtless omitted for lack of space.
\item[d.] Definite traces of \text{\(\text{\textendash}\)} are visible.
\end{enumerate}
PLATE 238

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59-60 (177) III.1.

Location: B 371: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” third register, fourth scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels before a heavily-laden offering table to present two ointment jars to Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: The masonry in this scene has fractured in many places, and this damage has progressed through erosion and sheering away much of the stone since Nelson’s day. The king’s head and upper torso, carved on patch-stones, are now completely gone, as is another containing the bottom front corner of the god’s kilt and the top of his knee. Portions of Sety’s legs, of ointment jars, and of the offering table have decayed. Gone, too, is the tail end of the vulture. Although the king’s head is now entirely gone, traces unrecorded by Nelson are apparent: viz., the leading edge of his beard where it intersects with his wrist and the snout of his uraeus-serpent’s head.455

Translations:

Label: Presenting ointment to Amun.

By Amun: Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.

By the Vulture: Nekhbet, mistress of the Two Lands.

By the King: (Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father who placed him upon his [throne], the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA³ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amun himself has chosen.

a. Repeated mechanically at the tops of cols. 4 and 5.

b. So reading t³.t as t³.t, “dais.” See Faulkner, CDME, p. 303.

c. A trace of the upper left corner of survives below the lower right leaf of . So reading di sw hr [ns.t]=f.

PLATE 239

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) IV.4.

Location: B 377: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” fourth register, first scene from the east.

Subject: Sety I kneels before Khonsu while the Behdetite falcon flies above.

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: Damage to this already much-destroyed scene has progressed markedly since the drawing was made. What remained of the king’s head and face and Khonsu’s headdress have now worn away. The relief defining most of the

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455 The king’s Double Crown should have both a uraeus and the coiled wire of the Red Crown. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 15, 74, 77, 130.
hieroglyphs in the texts have also largely exfoliated leaving only partially legible negative impressions of their outlines. Only the Behdetite falcon remains in good condition, although the lower edge of its upper wing has vanished. The shaded area in the drawing below the king’s chin denotes quarry hacking. Streamers behind Sety’s neck and shoulders were recut in antiquity.

**Translations:**

*By Khonsu:* "Khonsu […]: a Words spoken: “(I) [have] given to you all valor and victory. (I) have given [to] you all life, [and dominion] and all health.”

*By the Falcon:* “[The Behdetite], the great god of variegated plumage, as [he] gives life.

*By the King:* Wadjet as she [gives life, dominion…].

*Horus:* mighty bull, ‘appearing [in] Thebes,’ [the dual king, lord] of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, [the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MER[EN]AMUN, given life like Re…].

a. The god’s epithets would have continued on two more columns before and behind his plumes.

b. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.

c. All the di.n=(i) n=k formulae have now disappeared.

d. Cf. GHHK I.1, pl. 238:3.

e. Identified by the papyrus stalk she is perched on.

f. Cf. similar examples with Wadjet or Nekhbet: GHHK I.1, pls. 36:43; 76:35 & 40; 154:14; 163 (Left):8; 165 (Right):7; 168:10; 178: 19; 179:10; 209:13; 215 (Right):6; 225:5; 240:5; 246:5; 251 (Right):5.

**PLATE 240**

**Bibliography:** PM II2, pp. 59-60 (177) IV.3.

**Location:** B 378: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” fourth register, second scene from the east.

**Subject:** Sety I kneels with a bouquet with lettuce stalks before ithyphallic Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Traces of decayed paint define the broad collars of Amun and Sety I, but their colors have faded.

**Observations:** Some gaps between blocks have widened since the drawing was made, but most of the new damage takes the form of exfoliation of the carved surface. Spauling along the faces of both figures has progressed, obscuring their profiles. Much of the god’s flail, the outlines of his plumes, and many of the hieroglyphs have also decayed, leaving negative outlines.

Recutting is limited to the back of the god’s helmet crown and to his beard. The drawing omits some details like the fold in the king’s khat-wig above his ear and the buckle of his belt. Unusually, the bracelet on his upper arm was indicated with carved lines, albeit crudely. The lotus blooms on the offering stand are not fully defined in bas relief because the background matrix of stone was not fully carved back around them. Lashings at the bottom of the cartouche ring of Sety’s prenomen are narrower than on his
Further oddities are two misshapen “buds” flanking the large blooms of the king’s bouquet adjacent to the lettuce plants.456

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* ¹Ἀμον-Ῥε pre-eminent in his sanctuary, ²who is upon his seat, ³lord of heaven, king of all the gods.

*By the Vulture:* ⁴Nekhbet, ³⁵the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives life and dominion like Re.

*By the King:* ⁶Beloved of Nekhbet, ³⁶as she gives life and dominion. ⁶(Long) live the good god who performs benefactions for his father Amun, ²³the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMÂ²ÂRE, ³⁶the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN.

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**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** There are extensive traces of discolored paint revealing the pattern of the original polychrome, although not always its tint. The stripes on the king’s nemes-headdress are discernable as is the rear shoulder strap of Amun’s corslet. There is whitewash on some of the blossoms of the tall bouquet and traces of blue green pigment on the bloom directly above his fist and the second large blossom two places above it. The pattern of filaments on the two largest papyrus blooms near the top of this bouquet is also visible.457 Amun’s broad collar and the left shoulder strap and upper hem of his corslet are visible. The collar has narrow concentric bands of alternating colors (probably once blue and green) and a wider outermost band with a floral petal motif. Faint bits of blue pigment adhere to his corslet. The bands of Mut’s broad collar are there, but the color is lost. Long ribbons fashioned as a belt around Mut’s midriff are fainter than Nelson’s drawing suggests.

**Observations:** The scene is in much the same condition as when the drawing was made, although decay around the king’s lower body has progressed. Sety’s uraeus is entirely hacked out. Sety’s uraeus is entirely hacked out. The damage does not appear recent, and one wonders if inclusion of the uraeus was a slip of the pen by Nelson. Erosion has destroyed the back of Amun’s head and neck behind and below his ear along with Mut’s chin. Spalling of the relief along Mut’s lower torso and legs mars her outline. The vulture’s head has also disappeared along with the

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**PLATE 241**

**Bibliography:** PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) IV.2.

**Location:** B 379: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” fourth register, third scene from the east

**Subject:** Sety I kneels with bouquets before Amun-Re and Mut.

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456 For examples of the king offering a bouquet with two lettuce plants cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 116; 134; 247; 254.

457 Cf. commentary to GHHK I.1, pls. 171 and 180.
middle of col. 11. The ribbon behind Amun’s head is not misaligned as Nelson’s drawing suggests. In cols. 4-6, many of the hieroglyphic signs have exfoliated leaving ghostly outlines.

**Translations:**

*By Amun:* 1Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven: 2Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor like Re.”

*Behind Amun:* Protection and life surround him.

*By Mut:* 3Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of all flat lands: 4Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: “(I) have given to you all valor.”

*By the Vulture:* 5Wadjet, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

*By the King:* 6(Long) live the good god who makes monuments, 7the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMAATRE, 8the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MEREN[AMUN], 9who performs benefactions for the one who bore him, 10 who makes content 11of his father like the horizon of heaven.

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**Bibliography:** PM II, pp. 59-60 (177) IV.1.

**Location:** B 380: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall, “A” fourth register, fourth scene from the east.

**Subject:** [Sety I kneels and presents ointment] before Re-Horakhty and the goddess She-Comes-and-Is-Great. A vulture hovers above the now missing king.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Faint scarring indicates the pattern of the goddess’ broad collar, but no pigment remains.

**Observations:** Damage to the lower portions of the scene has progressed since Nelson recorded it. Fragmentary hieroglyphs below the vulture’s down-swept wing have vanished, and the stone has further broken up around Re-Horakhty’s legs. The back of the goddess’ head and the tail of her vulture crown are now lost. Nelson omitted the upper edge of Re-Horakhty’s sun disk which is preserved at the bottom of cols. 2 and 3. Damage at the tops of cols. 6 and 7 has progressed, and the sculptor recut the goddess’ wig lappet and the wing of her vulture cap.

**Translations:**

*Label:* 1[Censing] 2to [Re]-Horakhty.

*By Re-Horakhty:* 3Re-Horakhty the great god, 4lord of heaven, ruler of [Heliopolis]: 5Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re.”

*By the Goddess:* 6She-[Comes-and-Is-Great,] 7lady of heaven 8as she gives life, dominion, 9valor, victory, 10health, and joy.

*By the Vulture:* […] heart […] dominion […]

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**a.** A slight trace of the lower left side of a
hieroglyph may be reconstructed a number of ways. Perhaps the most likely is to read [hieroglyph], a ceramic cup from which issues a wisp of incense smoke, a variant of Gardiner’s signlist W10: cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 17, 60, 81 (left), 84 (left), 94, 138, 175, 250. In favor of this reading is a small vertical line above the cup. We may restore the label as something like [ir.t snTr] n R*-Hr-āt.ty, “[censing] to Re-Horakhty.”

b. Nelson’s numbering system has omitted 4.

c. Reading [hieroglyph]. The legs and hind quarters of are clear.

PLATE 243

Bibliography: PM II², pp. 59-60 (177) V.

Location: B 385a, 385-386: North side of the Eastern vestibule, north wall “A,” bottom register, first, second and third scenes from the east.


Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: None.

Observations: All three scenes are in much the same condition as they were in Nelson’s day. In some cases, the hieroglyphs have suffered from weathering although their outlines are legible. In the middle scene, the drawing omits the king’s eyebrow, the visor and fold of his nemes- or khat-headdress, and the coiled body of his uraeus. The hood of the uraeus has disintegrated. The top of his head is recut as is his forehead and the bridge of his nose. On the right, the top of Khonsu’s sidelock was left out of the drawing. The upper left side of his lunar disk was also reworked.

Translations:

Left:

By the Deity: 1“[…in years] 2[…] Horus, that you might achieve millions 3[of jubilees] 4and millions of myriads of ye[a]rs 5[…]…, and the flat lands and hill countries (being) under your sandals, 6without [op]osing [your arm]….”

Middle:

By Amunet: 1Amunet who resides in 2Karnak:

4Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. 5(I) have given to you all health and [all] joy.”

By the King: “The dual king, […]lord of the Two Lands| 6MENMA| 7ATRE, 8the son of Re, image of Atum, lord of [appearan]ces [SE]T| Y- MERNAMUN, 8who makes monuments with a loving heart for […]…, given life like Re.

Right:

By Khonsu: 1Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep […]

a. Restoring something like m rnp.wt. One sees definite traces of the feet and tail of [hieroglyph] followed, perhaps, by a badly eroded [hieroglyph].

b. So one would expect ir=k HH.w [m hb.w-sd].

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c. So reading \( hh.w n hfn.w m rnp. [\text{wt}] \). The traces of a kneeling figure has one knee upraised, the other down which suits another rather than or similar.

d. This column belongs to the right hand scene, but was numbered with the middle scene as col. 3, by Nelson.

e. The last sign is perhaps or . The trace above it is more obscure, but might be . The horizontal is not flat, as Nelson records, but undulates slightly, more in keeping with the body of . We may therefore restore something like \( n[n h s]f \) \( [r=k] \). … For parallels, see glossary s.v. \( hsf \).

f. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 5.

g. By analogy with col. 7, there should have been another unusual epithet between \( ns\-\text{bi ty} \) and \( [n b h^w] \), but it is impossible to know what it was.

PLATE 265B

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Location: B 355: North wing of the Eastern vestibule, east facet of pilaster “B.”

Subject: In this tall, narrow space, two columns of large-scale hieroglyphic texts face each other. On the right (facing left) is a string of Sety I’s five-fold titulary beginning with his Horus name. On the left is the speech of Amun-Re, identified by an enthroned figure of the god holding a scepter in one hand while with the other he proffers an to the beak of Sety’s Horus falcon in the adjacent column. Below this enlarged ideogram of Amun-Re is his speech beginning with the \( dd \text{ mdw in} \) formula. The format of this inscription closely matches those of texts on the architraves in the Hall, some of which begin with enthroned Amun-Re ideograms extending life to the Horus falcon.\(^{458}\) As with the double inscriptions on the east-west running architraves in the central nave and its vicinity, one text begins with the royal titulary and the other has the speech of the god represented by the ideogram. Such texts also serve as a kind of “scene” in that the king’s protocol functions as a manifestation of the ruler himself.\(^{459}\) A chief difference here is the fact that this text is arranged vertically whereas architrave texts are horizontal. The texts on the pilaster are enclosed by a kind of box with at the top.\(^{460}\) A vertical text divider separates the columns below the level of the Amun-figure and Horus falcon at the top. Even closer parallels are the pilasters on the south wall of the first court of

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\(^{458}\) Rondot, \textit{Les architraves}, pls. 3 (no. 4); 8 (nos. 13-14); 10 (nos 18 and 31).


\(^{460}\) Cf. similar enclosures around royal titulary in some of the wall scenes: \textit{GHHK I.1}, pls. 53, 76-77, 197. Such arrangements of royal titulary with sky signs are identified by Speiser as the \textit{cadre cosmique} (ibid., pls. 23-29), and serve to reinforce the sense of pharaoh’s universal rule.
the Khonsu temple at Karnak.  

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Apparently overlooked by Nelson, the relief is badly damaged in spots and the entire lower half is gone. In terms of its quality, the relief work is inconsistent; while some hieroglyphs are well carved, others are incompletely defined in relief. Sporadic quarry damage and imperfect smoothing of the walls, which is often worse in corners, and the depredations of the millennia have further conspired to rob this relief of its original grandeur.

**Translations:**

*By Amun-ideogram:* Amun-Re: “Life and dominion belong to your [nose].”

*Speech of Amun (left column):* Words spoken by the lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “O my son of my body [my beloved] the lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, my heart is glad [through love of you] (and) [I] rejoice at [seeing] yo[ur] monuments.

*Sety I’s Titulary (right column):* Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live,’ TwoLadies: ‘repeater of births, powerful of strength, who subdues the Nine Bows,’ Horus-of-Gold: ‘repeater of appearances, [powerful of bows in all lands,’ the dual king MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re SETY-MERENAMUN.

a. Reading  hus r [fnd]=k. The tiny scale of the text and its separation from the main column below militates in favor of it being taken as separate from the latter. The absence of a verb, i.e. *di.n=(i) n=k is due to the lack of space, although one could read the figure of Amun as *di=i, resulting in “I give life and dominion to your [nose].”

b. Reading  ns.[wt] b.wy. Of ns.wt, only the top rim of a single on the left remains.

c. This phrase and much of what follows has numerous parallels in the Hypostyle Hall. Cf. inter alia GHHK I.1, pls. 49:15-18; 76:28; 77:2-4; 101:3-5; 107 (Right): 3-4; 163 (Left): 2-4; 178:3-7; 200:1-3; 226:2-5. None of the parallels are exact.

d. The gap is roughly one tall group of signs high. Based on parallels cited above, the most likely phrase is mry=i.

e. One would expect [n mr.wt=k]. Traces of and further below are visible.

f. One would expect h’i.k(wi). Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 49:18; 77:4; 178:6; 200:3; 226:5. The latter three examples, all dating under Sety I, have the determinative. The verb is here written . Below it is the top of .
g. So restoring \( n \text{[m33 m]} \text{m}w=k \). One sees traces of \( \text{[\#\#\#]} \). Below this, all is destroyed except for a small trace of a tilted \( \text{[\#\#\#]} \) like that held by a squatting deity.

h. Due to imperfect smoothing of the surface, the \( \text{[\#\#\#]} \) was partly cut in plaster.

i. Nothing below \( \text{whm h}\text{f}w \) remains, but we may restore something like \( \text{[wsr pd.wt m t3.w nb.w, nsw-bi.ty Mn-m3.s.t-R} \text{ s3 R}\text{ Sty-mr-n-imn…]} \). Cf. pl. 170. It is unclear what additional titles or phrases might have preceded or followed either cartouche.

**PLATE 244**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 59 (176c) 1.

**Location:** B 356: North side of the Eastern vestibule, east facet of pilaster “C,” top register *in situ* (“first”).

**Subject:** Sety I kneels to offer \( \text{[\#\#\#]} \)-jars to Mut.

**Type of Relief:** Raised.

**Paint:** Mut’s flesh is yellow, her wig is blue and her dress green. Her broad collar has concentric bands of blue and green. The side of her throne is painted with alternating blue, green, and red stripes. There is yellow paint on the offering stand and bread offering.

**Observations:** There is light quarry damage in the region of Mut’s legs and below the horizontal gap that bisects the scene. Scattered chisel gouges mar the upper part of the scene around the king’s head and hands. Two square holes at the top of the scene are either missing patch-stones or beam holes.

Nelson’s drawing is inaccurate at several points. He exaggerates the size of the king’s knee, the middle part of Mut’s scepter is not as complete as drawn, and he does not capture the offerings on the table between the figures, which are undamaged. These consist of a tall, narrow cone of incense in the center flanked by parallel arrangements of round bread loaves each surmounted by a basket of fruit and an eggplant. Finally, the lower corners of the sky-border at the top of the scene merge with the narrow vertical borders that frame the scene. On the left, the gap between col. 3 and this frame is considerably wider than Nelson indicated. Note that Mut’s headdress has a uraeus although its head is damaged.

**Translations:**

*By Mut:* ¹Mut, lady of heaven, ²mistress of all the gods; ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy—surrounds her like Re.”

*By the King:* ⁴The good god, [the son] of Amun, ⁵lord of the Two Lands [MEN]MA’ATRE, ⁶the lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, ⁷given life like Re] forever.

*Behind the King:* All protection, life, stability, and dominion.⁸

a. Written without the feminine marker *t.*

b. The end of the protection formula \( h\text{f}=s \) \( mi R\text{c} \) has been mixed in with the
goddess’ speech.

c. has either disappeared in the gap or the scribe omitted it.

d. The end of the protection formula was omitted.

PLATE 245

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) II; Isis and body of Amun-Re, Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 52.


Subject: Sety I kneels before ithyphallic Amun-Re and Isis while Nekhbet soars as a vulture (fig. 323).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: 463 Sety’s flesh is red, his kilt yellow, and his wig and beard blue. The concentric bands of his broad collar are mostly blue with a wider band of yellow and a final blue band at the outer edge. His arm bands and wrist bracelets are blue and yellow. His belt has a latticework pattern in faded pigment. Blue also remains on the king’s cartouche rings and the scene divider behind him. Amun’s broad collar contains concentric bands with a wide outer rim of floral petals, the color of which has faded. Yellow sticks to his helmet crown and his beard is blue. Also discernable are the goddess’ broad collar, the shoulder straps and upper hem of her dress, and the belt with streamers tied around her waist, all of which Murnane recorded as blue. Above her ankles, the lower hem of the dress had three narrow horizontal bands framing wider spaces with short vertical stripes in a latticework pattern the color of which seems to be blue. 464 Her wig is a darker color, probably blue, with a yellow diadem. The vulture’s inner wing and the sky sign above the scene are blue. The small podiums on which Amun and his fetish stand are both a darker color, perhaps blue. His lettuce stalks appeared green to Murnane.

Observations: The scene is in good condition. There is quarry damage along the edges of some blocks, especially the in the king’s chest and the god’s upraised arm and flail, but much of the plaster infill used to patch these cavities coheres. The vertical cross hatching at the base of Sety’s wig as drawn by Nelson is erroneous; instead, the sculptors carved only horizontal lines inside the wig.

Translations:

By Amun: 1 Amun-Re who is pre-eminent in his sanctuary, 2 the great god, 3 lord of heaven, 4 who is upon his great seat: 5 "(I) have given to you my seat, my throne and my lifetime existing upon earth.”

Above Isis: 6 Isis the great, 7 [mother of the gods], 8a lady of heaven, 8b mistress of [the gods (and) the Two Lan]ds.

By the Vulture: 9 Nekhbet 10 as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

463 Although most of the paint is still evident, some of the colors Murnane observed in the 1970s and 80s are no longer clear.

464 On this lower hem, cf. our color notes to GHHK I.1, pls. 70 and 74.
By the King: [(Long) live] the good [god], image of Re, whom Amun himself has chosen, the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA’ATRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances, SETY-MERENAMUNk, given life like Re forever.

a. So restoring *mw.t nTr* in the gap.

b. While the is clear, traces of are more ambiguous. Moreover, there is a definite trace of above the tip of Isis’ rear cow’s horn that Nelson missed. Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 183, n. 276 reads “die Gebieterin [aller Götter]” by analogy with *GHHK* I.1, pl. 214:8-9. The presumed spacing of the glyphs seems too wide for a reading of simply *hnw.t [B.w]*. Perhaps restoring something like , "mistress of the gods (and) of the Two Lands," with *hnw.t* doing “double duty.”

c. Nelson failed to record the lower part of above the solar disk. For nearby parallels to the *nh nfr nfr* formula cf., *inter alia*, GHHK I.1, pls. 237:7; 238:7; 240:6; 241:8; 248:5; 251(Left):6; 254:9; 256:6.

PLATE 246

Bibliography: *PM* II, p. 59 (176c) III; Amun and Amunet, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 52.


Subject: Sety I kneels to present jars to Amun-Re and Amunet (fig. 324).

Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: 465 Amun’s face, arms, legs, and chest are blue, his corslet, the chinstrap securing his false beard, his kilt, corslet, and helmet crown are yellow. His broad collar has bands of blue alternating with a lighter color. His armlets, one of them omitted in the drawing, consist of two tiers of alternating yellow and blue vertical blue stripes separated by yellow horizontal bands. His ankle bracelets have the same design. The upper hem and shoulder straps of his corslet and the lower hem of his kilt are decorated with blue rectangles against a yellow background. His broad collar has narrow bands of blue separated by narrower bands in lighter color (yellow?), with a wider outer band of a floral petal design in blue. The latticework pattern on his belt is partly intact, but the color has faded. It had an Isis-knot below the belt buckle in blue and a lighter color.

Sety I’s flesh is red, his beard blue, and his shendyt-kilt yellow, although its lower hem is carved, not painted as Nelson’s drawing suggests. Sety’s nemes-headress has alternating stripes in yellow and blue. His belt has a latticework pattern in blue against a yellow background. Amunet’s crown is red. The colors on her limbs and body have largely faded beyond recognition, but the lattice pattern of the bracelet and armlet on her forward arm, the upper hem and forward shoulder

465 The colors were more apparent when Murnane observed them in the 1970s and 1980s, although substantial polychrome is still visible today.
strap of her dress, and portions of the folded wing design of her dress (parts of which are blue) are visible.466

Some color abides on other parts of the scene. The two baskets of fruit have an alternating pattern of darker (blue) and lighter (yellow) squares like a chessboard. The "domes" at the top are blue, representing grapes. The vulture above Sety has red on its neck, hocks, and rump, with blue on its tail and the interior of the rear wing. The most elaborate polychrome is found in the square at the base of the king's serekh in col. 7. It is embellished with red and blue vertical (lower part) and horizontal (upper part) stripes against a white background with a green horizontal stripe at the top of the square. There are also dark marks against a light (yellow?) background defining the ribbing on and separation between the door leaves at the center of the square.

Observations: The scene is in well preserved, although some masonry along the left edge and lower right corner has sheared way. Quarry hacking, which contains some of the original plaster patching remaining, occurs around the king's shoulders and his upper torso and in cols. 6-7. The plaster inside the serekh has swollen, obliterating . Plaster also adheres in two horizontal swathes in the gaps between blocks along the shoulders of the two divinities and in the upper left side of the scene.

Translations:

By Amun: 1Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: 2Words Spoken: "(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re."

By Amunet: 3Amunet who resides in Kar[nak]:

4Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all" food and all provisions."

By the Vulture: 5Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: 6Wadjet as she gives life and dominion. 7Horus: mighty bull, '[who causes] the Two Lands [to live],' 8the dual king, lord of the Two Lands MENMA5ATRE, 9the son of Re, lord of appearances SETY-MERENAMUN, 10given life like Re.

a. Here was miscarved for .

b. Her identity is suggested by the papyrus stalk upon which rests. Note the scepter extending diagonally to the Horus falcon of the king's Horus name in col. 7.

PLATE 247

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 59 (176e) IV; Amun-Re and Mut, Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 52.


Subject: Sety I kneels and presents a bouquet and lettuce stalks to ithyphallic Amun-Re and Mut while Nekhbet hovers above as a vulture (fig. 325).

Type of Relief: Raised.

466 For the folded wing design, cf. our commentary to GHHK I.1, pl. 191; Abydos IV, pls. 1, 7, 13, 20, 23, 26, 30.
Paint: There are traces of blue in the following elements: on the sky-sign above the figures, the vulture’s forward wing by her body, the king’s wig, some of the feathers on Amun’s flabellum and the pedestals supporting Amun and his fetish. The lettuce stalks behind Amun are green, while the flabellum between them has red and blue plumes. Other colors are less certain. Fainter traces of discolored pigment in narrow concentric bands define the broad collars of Amun and Mut. The outermost band of the god’s collar is wider than the others and would have had a floral petal design, now faded. Amun has a bracelet on his wrist and an arm band around his bicep with a latticework pattern. The chinstrap of his false beard is visible. Two long sashes, and above them a faint horizontal band, define the pattern of Mut’s belt-sash.467 Her flesh is yellow. The calyces on the right lotus at the top of Sety’s bouquet are barely discernable.

Observations: Masonry along both the left and right edges of the scene has sheared away, destroying portions of Mut’s figure and Sety’s. Quarry marks are most severe along the edges of the blocks and were mended with plaster that remains partly intact. Most of the god’s phallus and Sety’s forearms were carved in this medium and are damaged as a result.

The sculptors made cosmetic modifications to the proportions of Amun’s lower leg from the calf to the heel, extended his toe, and recut the left side of the offering stand. A few minor inaccuracies and omissions have crept into Nelson’s drawing, so there are vertical striations on the king’s wig and his neckline are intact. The artist delicately rendered Sety’s thumbnails and Mut’s. The bottom of her wig lappet is not flat, but actually slopes down slightly to the left. The tips of lettuce stalks are also not quite as Nelson drew them.

Translations:

By Amun: ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ²the great god, king of the gods, ³lord of heaven, pre-eminent in his sanctuary: ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given [to] you all valor.”

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

By Mut: ⁵Mut the great, lady of heaven, ⁶mistress of all the gods, ⁷as she gives life and all valor, ⁸and all health on her part.

By the Vulture: ⁹Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis ¹⁰as she gives life, stability, dominion and all health on her part like Re.

By the King: ¹¹The dual king, lord of [the Two Lands] MENMA’ATRE, ¹²the son of Re, lord of [appearances] SETY-MERENAMUN, ¹³given [life like] Re each day.

PLATE 248

Bibliography: PM II², p. 59 (176c) V.


Subject: Sety I (figure largely destroyed) kneels and presents a nemret-jar to Amun Re and a [goddess]. Nekhbet in her vulture form hovers above the king.

467 Cf. GHHK L1, pls. 70, 241, 245.
Type of Relief: Raised.

Paint: Aside from traces of blue in the sky-sign above the figures, no pigment has weathered the elements.

Observations: Much of what remains of this scene is badly affected by natural decay of the sandstone taking the form of innumerable small cavities and striations. Large portions of the scene, including most of the king and all but the staff of the goddess behind Amun, are missing. The artists retouched their work at several locations on Amun’s figure, including the back of the ribbon behind his crown, his rear arm near the armpit, and his forward shoulder. Recutting of Sety’s image occurs on his forehead, uraeus, front of his nemes-headcloth, and the crook of his arm below his neck. The “flag” of in col. 5 was also enlarged. Nelson omitted the fold in Sety’s headcloth above the ear.

Translations:

By Amun: 4Amun-Re, king of the gods: 2Words spoken. a “(I) have given to you all valor and victory. b (I) have given to you all health and joy.”

By Goddess: […] all […] c

By the Vulture: 4Nekhbet the bright one [of Hierakonpolis…].

By the King: 5(Long) li[ve] the good god who performs benefactions in the estate of his [father] Amun. 6[the dual king] MENMA’ATRE, 7[the son of Re] SETY-MERENAMUN, 8[im]age of [Re] before the Two Lands, whom Amun has chosen 9him[self] to be sole lord upon earth […], given life like Re.

a. Repeated mechanically at the top of col. 3.
b. So omitting the of snb, “health.”
c. It is not clear if the tall narrow sign above is or the shaft of a larger sign like . Here, the relief is obscured by natural fissures from the decay of the stone.

PLATE 249 (+ 265 “D”)

Bibliography: PM II, p. 59 (176b) I and II.1-2; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 58.

Location: B 352 + 357-358: North wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facet of pilaster “D,” first and second registers.

Subject: At the very top, adjoining the architrave, a seated figure of Amun-Re (pl. 265d) faces out from the temple, symbolically greeting the king whose dedicatory texts he faces. In the register below, there are two scenes. Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels below a sun disk flanked by cobras in both scenes and (Left) offers two jars of ointment to enthroned Khonsu (pl. 249 top), and (Right) offers Maa.t to Ptah, seated within a shrine (pl. 249 bottom).

Type of Relief: The top vignette (Amun) is raised. Sety I initially carved the scenes below as raised, but Ramesses II changed them to sunk relief when he took possession of the Hall’s central aisle. Traces of the original raised version are apparent (Left) at the lower edge of the half-moon on Khonsu’s head, above his forehead, and
(Right) at the upper lintel of the shrine and at Ptah’s forehead. The right end of the sky-sign above Ptah and the vertical border behind his shrine (Right) and the frame behind the king (Left) were also left in raised relief. The quality of the reworked relief was often crude, especially on the support poles of Ptah’s shrine. A few traces of the original prenomen of Sety I also survive in both scenes.

**Paint:** In the upper vignette, Amun has blue skin. His bracelets, ankle bands, tail, and garment are yellow, while his plumes are white. The side of his throne is painted with alternating horizontal blue, green, and red bands (much faded). Below (Left) Khonsu’s flesh is blue, the king’s collar is also blue, as is his wig (with the fillet in a lighter, faded color), and his flesh is red. Here and in the scene to the right, horizontal stripes can be made out on the sides of the thrones, but the colors have faded.

**Observations:** The Amun at the top occupies wall space adjacent to an architrave. The relief is in excellent condition, although there is a large patch of quarry damage mended with now much decayed plaster in front of him, which Nelson drew as if the masonry was lost. There is insufficient room for a king here, but the space could have accommodated an offering stand. The Amun at the top occupies wall space adjacent to an architrave. The relief is in excellent condition, although there is a large patch of quarry damage mended with now much decayed plaster in front of him, which Nelson drew as if the masonry was lost. There is insufficient room for a king here, but the space could have accommodated an offering stand.

Below the architrave, the top of the scene (Left) has suffered from the settling of the heavy architrave blocks above. At the base of the scene, there is quarry damage along the edge of the block under the king’s knee and at the back of the base of the god’s throne. In the adjoining scene (Right), there are chisel marks coated with decaying plaster on Ptah’s body and throne. Severe gouging mars the figure of Maat, which the king offers, and the space between the top of her head and the cartouches. A large blob of plaster into which the goddess’ feather was sculpted is intact. Most of her head and body were lost when the rest of the stucco onto which she was carved fell away. The top of Ptah’s scepter was partly cut in plaster as well. Since the relief was not subjected otherwise to malicious damage, it seems best to interpret this chisel gouging as the result of imperfect smoothing of the blocks from the quarry, not the iconoclastic deprivations of later occupants of the Hall, who did, however, introduce a beam-hole at the upper left corner. Nelson’s drawing misinterprets the merging of the vertical frames at either end of the scene with the sky-sign above it. Moreover, the frame on the left consists of a single narrow line more like that on the right.

**Translations:**

*(Top)*

_By Amun:* Amun-Re, king of the gods.

*(Bottom Left)*

_Label:_ ¹Presenting ointment, ²that he might achieve ‘given life.’

_by Khonsu:* ³Khonsu-in- ⁴Thebes Neferhotep.

_by the King:* ⁵The lord of the Two Lands

USERMAÇATRE-SETENPARE, ⁶the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

*(Bottom Right)*

_Label (Erased, Not Recorded by Nelson):* Presenting

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468 The background was white, but the openwork design on them would have been yellow, now faded.
469 The corresponding scene on the south wing of the vestibule, (GHHK I.1, pl. 117), is narrower than the present episode.
Ma'at to her lord.

By Ptah: 1Ptah, lord of Ma'at: 2"(I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion."

By Sun-disk: 3<The Behdetite>, as he gives all life like Re.

By the King: 4The lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, 5the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN.

a. The lap of the original of Sety I's prenomen can be seen between the final $R^*$ and $\text{Ra}$. 

b. This curious “mirror image” of the nomen (which reverses the normal positions of “Re,” “Amun,” and “ms-sw”) could be more than a simple mistake: it may reflect the primacy in this temple of Amun, whose figure is represented as facing out from the building’s interior (as is seen regularly on the columns and abaci).

Notably, this reversal occurs only when “Re” and “Amun” are written with their divine images (cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 250-251), rather than alphabetically, when the normal arrangement is used (ibid., pls. 252, 255-257). Note, moreover, that the “Amun” hieroglyph is also found reversed on ibid., pl. 254, where [ms]-s is grouped in the proper order. In pl. 251, ms-sw is arranged in the conventional order on the left, but not on the right.

c. So reading $\text{Ra}$ of Sety I’s prenomen, the left side of the original (a trace of the somewhat larger $R^*$ of Sety I’s prenomen) is evident; and part of the top horizontal of $\text{Ra}$ remains between the final $\text{Ra}$ and $R^*$.

d. In this cartouche, $\text{Ra}$ appears to be holding a $\text{feather}$ instead of his usual $\text{scepter}$.

PLATE 250

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 59 (176b) III.1-2; Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak, pl. 58.


Subject: Two scenes: in each one, Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath the vulture-goddess Nekhbet and (Left) offers a cup of incense to Mut and (Right) proffers a finger to anoint the brow of the ibis-headed god Thoth.

Type of Relief: Initially carved as raised for Sety I, Ramesses II converted it to sunk relief and replaced his fathers’ names with his own. Traces of the original raised version can be seen inside the cartouches in both scenes and in the serekh.
(Right), at the bottom of the nomen cartouche (Left). Raised edges along the backs of the king and Thoth, as well as at the front of Thoth’s leg and the back of the king’s head (Right) are also visible. Behind the king (Left), the vertical frame was left in raised relief, while that behind Thoth (Left) was only partly recut in sunk relief. The raised relief ground line upon which the figures stand was incompletely erased but not recut as sunken. The main figures sometimes project out farther than the negative space around them, a further artifact of the conversion of the relief. Above the head of Thoth’s wAs-scepter (left), there are distinct traces of an erased raised relief cobra goddess resting on a -basket and extending a small wAs-scepter towards the falcon in the king’s Horus name at right.470 Behind the cobra’s body, the sculptor began to carve a -glyph that identifies the cobra as Wadjet.

Paint: Above, the sky sign is blue. (Left) Mut’s wig is blue, as is the wing of her vulture headdress. The king’s khat-headcloth is gold, his collar blue, and the skin of his belly and chest (below his arm) red. (Right) The figures’ have red flesh, and Thoth’s wig is blue.

Observations: On the left, Nelson failed to draw the bottom of the king’s right (i.e. upper) arm, which is visible amidst the damage above the block line, to the left of the figure’s (lost) elbow. He also omitted the interior of the vulture’s rear wing, but here the carved details are not as elaborate as on the other wing nor are their proportions like the corresponding wing on the other vulture. The feathers along the bottom of the left vulture’s forward wing were partly erased when the relief was transformed into sunk relief. Also left out is the separation between the vulture’s feathery hocks.

There is no malicious damage to the figures, and hacking at the upper right corner behind the -hieroglyph is due to the block’s rough treatment at the quarry. The flap on Ramesses’ shendyt-kilt (Right) is not as complete as Nelson drew it, having been partly erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

Translations:

(Left)

Label: ¹Censing to the lady of heaven.

By Mut: ²Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods: ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor. ⁴(I) have given to you every offering, all provisions, all health, (and) all joy like Re.”

Behind Mut: ⁵Protection and life surround her.

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven, ⁷as she gives life.

By the King: ⁸(Long) live the good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual, USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE,⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,⁹given life like Re, ¹⁰the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

(Right)

By Thoth: ¹¹Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, the great god: ¹²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re. ¹³(I) have given to you the years of

470 Compare, e.g., GHHK I, pl. 251 (right).
Atum. ⁴(1) have given to you eternity as king. ⁵(1) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, (and) all health.”

By the Vulture: ⁶Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁷Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Maʿat,’ ⁸the dual king, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMAʿATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁹the son of Re, whom he loves, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, ¹⁰great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis.

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a. A trace of the lower chest of ⁴Sety I’s prenomen can be made out to the right of the final goddess’ knee, and a trace of the original ⁴stp.n. is discernable to the left of the final stp.n.

b. The knee of ⁴, the back of the second ⁴, and ⁴below are visible under the final ms-sw.

c. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-4.

d. Traces of Sety I’s erased Horus name, ⁴m-Wisle.t, are clearly visible under Ramesses II’s final version.

e. The front of the original goddess’ plume and most of her ⁴are detectable.

f. Part of the back of the first ⁴(of “Sety”) can be seen between the bottom of the final ⁴and the top of ⁴.

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**PLATE 251**

*Bibliography:* PM II², p. 59 (176b) IV.1-2; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 58.


*Subject:* Two Scenes: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath a vulture-goddess, and (Left) offers a figure of Mḥt.t to falcon-headed Re-Horakhty; and (Right) presents a nemset-jar and a censer to Amun-Re.

*Type of Relief:* Here again Ramesses II converted the raised relief of his father Sety I into sunk relief. Traces of Sety’s names are detectable inside the cartouche rings in both scenes. The main figures often project out against the negative space around them. Other hallmarks of these transformations include (Left) raised edges along the left side of the god’s tail and (Right) at Amun’s back shoulder, front knee and the top of his back plume. Behind the king on the left, a vertical border is still in raised relief. The proportions of the figures are sometimes odd due to this process: e.g., (Left) the short wingtip feathers on the vulture’s downswept wing and (Right) the king’s forward arm is overly slender, especially when compared to his rear upper arm where it crosses his chest (still raised from the original edition). The ground line under both scenes was left as raised. Finally, raised versions of a label text and a di.n=(i) n=k formula between the king and Re-Horakhty (Left) were erased but never recut in
sunk relief (see translations below).

**Paint:** (Left) The sun disk on the god’s head is red.
(Right) The king’s flesh is red (at his chin and upper hand), as is the fleshy part of the vulture’s rear end and the lower tier of its front wing. The top and back of this wing is green, as is most of the vulture’s rear wing (but the lower front feathers here may be of a different color).

Decayed pigment shows the pattern of the Ramesses II’s broad collar, the stripes on his nemes-headcloth, and Amun’s broad collar, but the colors are uncertain.

**Observations:** In the larger gaps in the lower half of the relief, the surface has shorn away—perhaps in connection with the rough handling that occasioned the loss of the lower left corner. A deep hole has also been opened at the lower right corner.

**Translations:**

*(Left)*

Erased Label: 1^aPresenting Ma-at to [her] lord 1^b
that he [might achieve] ‘given life.’

By Re-Horakhty: 1Re-Horakhty, the great god, 2lord of heaven, lord of heaven (sic), 3as he gives all life:

Words spoken: “(I) have given to you valor against every foreign country.”

Erased Text Before the God: “(I) have given to [you] life and dominion, all health and all joy like Re.”

By the Vulture: 5<Wadjjet>, 6as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: 6The good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of the ritual USERMA^cATRE-SETEPENRE, 8the son of Re whom he loves, lord of appearances RAMESU-MERAMUN, 8whom Re-in-the-bark-of-Re has chosen.

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![Translation Diagram](image)

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*a.* Reading

\[\text{\textit{hnk M\textdegree.t n nb}= [s ir]= f \text{ di } \text{ nbh},}\]
based on the traces. Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 81 (\textit{hnk m M\textdegree.t n it}= s Imn); 126 (\textit{hnk M\textdegree.t n it}= f 1mn-R\textdegree ir=f [di] nbh); 169 (\textit{hnk m M\textdegree.t n nb}= s); 213 (\textit{hnk M\textdegree.t n nb}= s).

*b.* If not simply a dittography, the second nb p.t may have resulted from miscarving nb t3, “lord of earth.” Alternatively one could read the second title as nb hr.t, “lord of the sky.”

*c.* Reading

\[\text{\textit{di.n}=(i) n=k \text{ nb } w\text{is} snb nb 3w.t-[ib] nb mi R\textdegree}.\]

*d.* Read \textit{Wy}<y.\textdegree>, in an abbreviated spelling.
e. Of Sety I’s prenomen, the knee of the original can be seen between the final and goddess; and the left end of is visible at the left end of.

f. The back of the wig and knee of and the second of “Sety” are present under “Ramessu.” The left part of is discernable at the bottom of the cartouche, between final and.

g. Her identity is suggested by the papyrus column-capital on which the serpent sits. If so, the vulture is probably Nekhbet.

h. The knee of original is apparent between the final and; and the top of can be seen within the.

i. The back of the final can be seen on the left; and the (of mri.n=Imn) survives almost intact at the bottom of the cartouche.

j. So reading stp.n R♂ m wi3 n R♂.

PLATE 252

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 59 (176b) V.1-2.


Subject: Two scenes: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath a vulture-goddess and (Left) offers a bouquet to Amun-Re; and (Right) presents a conical loaf to an ithyphalic image of Min-Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Initially carved for Sety I in raised relief, Ramesses II has changed it to sunken relief. There are many traces of the earlier raised version along the edges of the present carvings. This process resulted in certain peculiarities: the bouquet was left raised within the sunken trough cut around it, some interior details of the relief were partly erased and never recarved, viz.: the bottom of the both vultures’ forward wings and the back of Ramesses II’s wig and diadem (Right). The rigid streamers behind his wig were erased and never converted, while the flower-shaped terminal at the back of the diadem was left raised.

Paint: (Right) The king’s face, arms, and legs (including his thigh) are red, and the Min-Amun’s pedestal and the sky-sign are blue.

Observations: Large portions of the masonry on which both scenes were carved have sheared away. (Left) Nelson omitted the vertical striations on the king’s wig. The battered condition of the relief makes it difficult to identify the erased names of Sety I inside the usurped cartouches. (Right) Traces of “Sety” can be seen inside the nomen cartouche, but nothing of his prenomen or Horus name is evident.
Translations:

(Left) By Amun: 1 Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak: 2 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy like Re. 3 (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, all foreign countries being under your sandals.”

By the Vulture: 4 Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

By the King: 5 [(Long) live] the good [god, lord of] joy, a 6 the dual king, great of strength, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, b 7 the son of Re, whom Atum loves, lord of appearances, [RAMESSU-MER]AMUN, c 8 given life, stability, [dominion], (and) joy like Re.

(Right) By Min: 1 Min-Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes, 2-3 lord [of heaven, pre-eminent in Karnak] k: 4 “(I) have given to you all valor like Re. 5 (I) have given to you all flat lands and every hill-country under your sandals.”

Behind Min: [Every protection … surrounds him] like Re.

By the Vulture: 6 Wadjet, lady of heaven.

By the King: 7 Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ e 8 good god, lord of the Two lands, master of the ritual USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, e 9 the son of Re, whom Amun loves, the lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, f 10 given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

a. Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 187, n. 308) suggests a restoration of [hk3] 3w.t-ib, by analogy with GHHK I.1, pl. 256:7—but here one sees neither trace of the hk3 nor apparent room for it next to 3w.t-ib. A closer analogy would be pl. 135 (bottom left):4, but in both cases, the likelier restoration is the common epithet [nb] 3w.t-ib. Cf. pl. 223:5.

b. Nelson failed to record definite traces of a disk above the back of . The original prenomen was Sety I’s, but no sign of it can be made out.

c. No vestiges of Sety I’s erased names are apparent.

d. The edge of the gap is not as Nelson drew it; its shape is actually suggestive of and a trace of the sign’s right arm persists.

e. Restoring nb [p.t hn.ty Ip.t-s]w.[t].

f. Nelson recorded traces of , , and of Sety’s nomen, of which the latter are the most obvious.

PLATE 253 (TOP)

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 59 (176b) VI.

Location: B 388: North wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facet of pilaster “D,” bottom register.

Subject: Two scenes: (Left) falcon-headed Khonsu leads Ramesses II (figure missing) while handing him the kingly regalia (the [crook and] flail). (Right) The goddess Mut embraces her husband, Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: The scene was raised relief under Sety I, but Ramesses II transformed it into sunk relief. Many traces of the earlier raised edition are
seen at the edges of the later sunk versions. The ground line preserved below the scene (Right) was left in raised relief.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Amun’s face is badly eroded, although the outline of his profile is clear. Other damage to the rest of the relief is also due to natural wear-and-tear. Given the large amount of wall space available to the left of Khonsu and by analogy with related scenes in the Hall, it is likely that the god was accompanied by Atum as he led the king before Amun-Re and Mut.471

**Translations:**

*By Khonsu:* Words spoken by Khonsu: 2“Receive unto yourself the crook and the flail, (and) the crowns] 3established [on your head.] 4(I) have given] 4to you […]”

*By Mut:* Mut, lady of the papyrus-columns, mistress of the gods.

*By Amun:* Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the [Two] Lands.

*By the King:* [The dual ki]ng USER[MA’ATRE]-SETEPEN[RE]

a. The columns are so short that it is tempting to restore something along the lines of $\delta sp \; n=k \; [hk\, h\, \, h\, h\, \, h\, w] \; mn.(w) \; [hr \; tp=k].$

b. For the masculine form nb as an abbreviation of nb.t, see glossary, s.v. nb.t.

c. Although unrecorded by Nelson, the first $\bigcirc$ of nsw-bi.ty is evident above the cartouche.

**PLATE 253 (BOTTOM) + 265 (“e” top)**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 59 (176a) I-II.

**Location:** B 353 + 359: North wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “E,” first and second registers.

**Subject:** At the very top are two horizontal lines of large hieroglyphs. Below this, the scene in the highest register shows Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneeling as he offers wine to Geb, who sits enthroned.

**Type of Relief:** (Top) This scene is still mostly in raised relief, although the left part of the second line was converted into sunk relief. (Bottom)

Previously raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II recut the scene into sunken relief. Numerous traces of the earlier version remain as raised lips and/or engraved lines along the edges of the final carvings. The main figures often project out further than the negative space around them. The vertical frames behind the king and Geb, along with the right half of the sky sign, were left raised.

The coiled body of Ramesses II’s uraeus serpent inside his crown was mostly erased during the conversion to sunk relief, but what remains, namely its left side, was omitted by Nelson.

**Paint:** A few stripes of faded paint survive on the side of the throne, but otherwise, no color is preserved.

**Observations:** The drawing misinterprets the damaged traces of the decorative border to the right of Geb (see pls. 254-255): here, as below, the two vertical bands are raised, but the horizontal bars between them (where preserved) are merely

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471 Cf. GHHK L1, pls. 50, 78, 111, 149, 179, 199.
incised. Decaying plaster used to fill numerous shallow cavities left over from imperfect smoothing of the masonry coats the middle portions of the relief. The lower half of Ramesses II’s nomen cartouche is more complete than Nelson indicated. Since his time, however, natural erosion has obliterated Geb’s facial features.

**Translations:**

*Above the Scene:* (upper) Beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak; (lower) Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

*Label:* 1 Giving wine.

*By Geb:* 2 Geb, 3 the great god, lord of heaven: 4 “(I) have given to you all valor.”

*By the King:* 5 The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 6 the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, 7 given life like Re, 8 image of Re 9 before the Two Lands.

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

a. All but 1 of the phrase 2Imn-R 3 nsw-ntr.w has been converted into sunk relief, the rest of the text is in raised relief.

b. A trace of the erased 4 of the original 5 is preserved under the neck of 1.

c. The 6 and 7 of the Ramesses II’s nomen are still largely intact. At the top of the cartouche, the engraved outlines of 8 from Sety I’s nomen are clearly visible.

**PLATE 254**

**Bibliography:** PM II 2, p. 59 (176a) III.

**Location:** B 366: North wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “E,” third register.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels beneath Wadjet in her vulture form and offers a bouquet and lettuce plants to ithyphallic Amun-Re (figs. 326-328).

**Type of Relief:** Initially raised relief of Sety I, but Ramesses II changed the scene to sunk relief. Of the fetish behind the god, only the feathers of the flabellum were converted to sunk; the rest, including the two lettuce plants, temple-shaped stand and the flabellum’s pole, were left raised, as was the vertical border along the right edge of the scene. Numerous other traces of the original raised version persist outside the edges of the final cuts as raised lips and engraved lines. The feathers along the edges of Wadjet’s wings and tail were partly erased when the relief was converted, and Nelson’s drawing is inaccurate on this point. The sculptors did not follow the original lines of the lettuce plants flanking the bouquet offered by the king when they recarved them, but they never fully erased the originals either. As a result, there are two overlapping versions of the tops, which led to some confusion in Nelson’s drawing.
Directly behind the god, a protection formula text was erased but never recarved in sunk relief. The spout of the nemtot-jar on the stand was also left raised. Finally, the ground line upon which the figures rest was never recut.

**Paint:** The king’s flesh is red. Traces of green paint cling to the bouquet and on the flowers draped over the jar on the offering stand. A great deal of plaster wash remains on the surface of the relief (especially on the god and the offering stand), and the striped pattern on the king’s headcloth is clear, but the colors have faded.

**Observations:** The figures have not been deliberately vandalized, and all damage to the relief appears to be fortuitous. Nelson misinterpreted the proportions of the vulture’s rear wing; its middle tier is wider, and there is no gap between its outer edge and the feathers of the outermost tier. As usual, he has omitted the fold in the king’s nemes-headcloth above his ear.

Recutting on the king’s belt—apparently not related to the conversion to sunk relief—occurs along its top and bottom. Also left out are the two closed-bud lotus stems flanking the open blossom on the offering stand.

**Translations:**

*Label:* ¹Giving lettuce.

*By Amun:* ²Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³the great god ⁴who is upon his great seat, ⁵chieftain of the Ennead: ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor like Re. ⁷(I) have given to you my seat ⁸and my throne like Re forever.”

*Behind Amun (not recorded by Nelson):* <Every> protection—all life, stability, and [dominion], all health, all heal[th] and all joy—<surrounds him>

like Re forever.ᵇ

*By the Vulture:* ⁸Wadjet.

*By the King:* ⁹(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun, ¹⁰the dual king, lord of the Two Lands

USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE,ᶜ ¹¹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN,ᵈ given life like Re, ¹²image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

a. As Nelson’s *sic* indicates, the sculptor has carved  mù for  mù.

b. Reading 

![Diagram](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

based on clear traces of the erased text.

Curiously, *snb nb*, “all health,” is a dittography, while the expected phrase *h²=f nb*, “all…surrounds him,” is omitted. No trace of  ž remains. Perhaps these defective writings led to the text’s suppression when Ramesses II’s sculptors converted the rest of the scene to sunken relief. The text is arranged vertically between the god and his fetish. For close parallels to this particular format for the protection formula behind ithyphallic Amun, cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 167; 193; 214; 215.

c. No definite traces of Sety I’s *prenomen* are apparent.
d. Parts of the first of “Sety” and the of mr-n-Inn are visible amidst the sunk relief hieroglyphs of Ramesses II’s nomen.

PLATE 255

Bibliography: PM II, p. 59 (176a) IV.


Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels under the hovering vulture-goddess Nekhbet and offers a tall bouquet to Amun-Re and Mut (fig. 329).

Type of Relief: Initially raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II converted the scene to sunk relief. The main figures project against the negative space around them. The sky-sign above the scene and the vertical ribbon border along the right edge were not converted to sunk. As a result of the conversion, the king’s eye and eyebrow were partly erased, as were the front and back of his belt.

Paint: The king’s flesh is red, that of Amun blue. The under-painting of Amun’s collar also seems to have been blue, although the outline of the last (or perhaps penultimate) band in another, faded lighter color can be made out. Traces of the armlets around the god’s upper arms are visible, but a patch of yellow survives on his left arm. There is some yellow on his kilt and corslet and Mut’s flesh as well. Two buds on the bouquet (left side, opposite the king’s face) are rendered only in green. Blue paint adheres to the leading edge of the vulture’s forward wing.

Observations: Most of the king’s foot and his lower leg were carved on a patch-stone. Another veneer may have stood at the lower right corner of the relief, but this gap might also be connected with the later occupation of the Hall or natural degradation of the masonry. The drawing does not fully capture interior details of the vulture’s wings. Iconographically, the unusual manner in which Amun extends his wIs-scepter may in part be dictated by the fact that the tall bouquet dominates the narrow space between the god and Pharaoh.

Translations:

By Amun: 1 Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in 2 Karnak.

By Mut: 3 Mut the great, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, 4 as she gives life and dominion.

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

By the King: 6 The dual king, lord of the [Two] Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 7 the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSU-MERAMUN, 8 given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

a. The loop of held by the original

remains above the snout of .

The face, neck and feather on her head persists between the final goddess and

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472 Much of the color Murnane recorded in the 1970s and 1980s has now faded beyond recognition.
b. No traces of the earlier version with Sety I’s nomen are apparent.

PLATE 256

Bibliography: PM II, p. 59 (176a) V.
Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels under the vulture-goddess Nekhbet and offers two jars of wine to Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef (fig. 330).

Type of Relief: Initially carved in raised relief for Sety I, Ramesses II changed the scene to sunk relief. Traces of the earlier version remain outside the final carved outlines of the final version (e.g., along the right text divider of col. 1). Certain sections of the relief (e.g., the ground line and the right side of Amun’s podium behind his heel) were left as raised relief. The main figures often project slightly against the negative space around them.

Paint: The god’s crown (below his plumes) and the offering stand are yellow, while the flower stems and the top of the pole behind Amun are red. Otherwise, no color survives, although the pattern of concentric bands on the god’s broad collar is still apparent.

Observations: Hacking inside the contours the god’s penis is surely deliberate, but the random chiseling seen in other sections (inside the god’s lower body, on his forearm, on the fetish behind him, inside the vulture’s advancing wing, and in cols. 2-3 and 4-5), is quarry damage due to imperfect smoothing of the wall surface.

A few details escaped Nelson’s pen, and he misconstrued others: (1) The front of Ramesses’ wig behind his ear is preserved, as is his diadem entwined with the coils of his uraeus serpent’s body. His wig has a second uraeus inside the lower front. The wig itself has horizontal bands, with the upper tiers just below the diadem decorated by rows of numerous vertical segments carved in relief. (2) Ramesses’ belt apron inside his triangular kilt had streamers flanking it just above the two uraei. (3) The bottom of his leg and the lower corner of his triangular kilt are not accurately drawn. (4) Although damaged, more of the wrist and hand of the king’s rear arm is preserved than indicated. (5) The lettuce plants and flabellum behind Amun are more complete than drawn. (6) Finally, the drawing also oversimplifies the vertical ribbon border along the right edge of the scene. As elsewhere, the vertical lines are carved in raised relief (and were not converted to sunk), while the horizontal lines were merely incised.

Translations:
By Min: ¹Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ²³who is upon his [great] seat, ³the great god:
⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all valor and all victory like Re.”
By the Vulture: ⁴Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis.
By the King: ⁵(Long) live the good god who makes monuments in the house of his father Amun-Re, ⁷the dual king, ruler of joy, lord of the Two Lands

⁴⁷³ The color Murnane observed in the 1970s and 1980s is no longer visible.
USERMA\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ATRE-SETEPENRE,\textsuperscript{a} the son of Re, whom the Ennead loves,\textsuperscript{b} [the lord of appearan[ces]\textsuperscript{c} RAMESSU-MERAMUN.\textsuperscript{d}

a. The top of the plume belonging to the original \includegraphics[height=1cm]{plume.png}, as well as the right loop of her \includegraphics[height=1cm]{loop.png}, can be made out just under the final \includegraphics[height=1cm]{disk.png}.

b. The traces suggest \includegraphics[height=1cm]{mrpsdt.png}, \textit{mr psd.t}, "whom the Ennead loves." In particular, Nelson’s "\includegraphics[height=1cm]{ntrnfr.png}" is erroneous. Instead we have the top of \includegraphics[height=1cm]{ntrnfr.png}. He also omitted the right side of \includegraphics[height=1cm]{disk.png} below the disk of \includegraphics[height=1cm]{disk.png}; the latter also being more complete. Where space allowed, similarly unorthodox epithets were occasionally inserted between the more standard ones of the \textit{nomen} (\textit{sA Ra} and \textit{nb h\textdegree}w) and \textit{prenomen} (\textit{nsw-bi.ty} and \textit{nb t\textdegree}wy): cf. \textit{GHHK I.1}, pls. 168:12-13; 169:10-11; 252:6-7. Sharkawy’s reading, (\textit{Amun-Tempel}, p. 190, n. 326), of \textit{nTr nfr} does not match the clear traces on the wall.

c. The right side of \includegraphics[height=1cm]{envelope.png} is preserved.

d. The original \includegraphics[height=1cm]{envelope.png} (of \textit{Sty-mr-n\textdegree}lmn) survives at the bottom of the cartouche.

PLATE 257

\textbf{Bibliography}: \textit{PM II\textdegree}, p. 59 (176a) VI.

\textbf{Location}: B 390: North wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “E,” bottom register.

\textbf{Subject}: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) [kneels and offers] to an enthroned figure of Amun-Re (fig. 331).

\textbf{Type of Relief}: Formerly raised relief of Sety I, Ramesess II changed the scene to sunk. Numerous traces of the raised version persist as incised lines and raised edges around the final sunk relief hieroglyphs and Amun’s figure. The \includegraphics[height=1cm]{sunk.png} at the top of col. 9 is sunk relief, while the text below it was shaved down raised relief that was never converted to sunk. Sculptors left the beard of \includegraphics[height=1cm]{beard.png} in col. 6 in raised relief. The vertical ribbon border along the right edge of the scene was left in raised.

\textbf{Paint}: None preserved.

\textbf{Observations}: Although the scene has suffered severe destruction from natural causes, there is no evidence of deliberate mistreatment of the figures. The drawing omits the decorative border at the right of the scene, which is the same here as on other scenes on this wall (cf. \textit{GHHK I.1}, pls. 254-256).

\textbf{Translations}:

\textit{By the Vulture}: \textsuperscript{1}Wadjet, lady of Per-[…].\textsuperscript{a}

\textit{By the King}: \textsuperscript{2}(Long live the good god),\textsuperscript{b} great of monuments in the house of his father [Amun-Re], \textsuperscript{3}[the dual king], lord of [the Two Lands] USERMA\textsuperscript{\textdegree}ATRE-SET[EN]RE,\textsuperscript{c} \textsuperscript{4}[the son of Re], lord of [appearances RAMESSU-
By Amun: Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “My beloved son of my body, the lord of the Two Lands USERMA ATRE-SETEPENRE, my heart is glad for love of you, and I am content with what all that [you] have done [for me] (I) have given to you [the life]time of Re and the years of Atum.”

a. So clearly written Widy.t nb.t pr […], as Sharkawy (Amun-Tempel, p. 190, n. 332) suggests emending the text to nb.t p.t, “lady of heaven.” The epithet may have been nbt pr-wr, “lady of the Southern Egyptian shrine.” Leitz (ed.), Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band IV, p. 53.

b. Compare GHHK I.1, pls. 241, 254, 256, among others, for this approximate sequence.

c. No traces of Sety I’s original prenomen remain.

d. The left side of a raised along with much of and the upper right corner of attest to Sety I’s prenomen.

e. Above the surface is damaged, but no other traces remain. Given the spacing, we are inclined to restore $htp.k(wi) hr ir<3>. n=[k n=(i)] nb.$
The Ramesside decoration in this southern wing of the vestibule of the Third Pylon may be divided into four distinct stages (plan 8): (1) Sety I’s reliefs on the main façade and north facet of the pilaster (GHHK I.1, pls. 122-129); (2) Ramesses II’s earliest decoration originally in raised relief and having the shorter form of his prenomen on the west pilaster (ibid., pls. 117-121); (3) scenes of Ramesses in sunk relief with the short prenomen on the south pilaster (ibid., pls. 112-116); and the latest stage, in sunk relief, but with the long prenomen (ibid., pls. 110-112).

Some ambiguity remains as to the question of when these scenes were laid out and where precisely Sety I’s work broke off and Ramesses II’s began. Unlike the north wing of the vestibule and main east wall where the king almost always bows, Sety I bows in some episodes and kneels in others on the main façade of the vestibule and north pilaster. Ramesses usually stands, but he may also kneel in episodes from the west and south pilasters (ibid., pls. 112-121). Moreover, on all but one of these scenes, the king bows with his torso inclined forward, even while kneeling. This posture is more typical of Sety I’s work but does occur in some of Ramesses II’s earliest reliefs beyond Karnak. On the main south wall of the vestibule, carved in sunk relief with Ramesses’ long prenomen, his figure stands upright. It is possible that Sety I’s draftsmen had laid out the decoration on the west and south pilasters before his death, but that the sculptors only carved them after Ramesses II’s accession. Whether any of the scenes on the west facet were carved before Sety’s death is now impossible to tell, as only Ramesses II’s name is preserved in two episodes (ibid., pls. 117-118).

474 His figure remains erect in GHHK I.1, pl. 113.
476 So GHHK I.1, pls. 110-111. In pl. 112 (Bottom), he knelt to be crowned by divinities, a posture that he adopts in other reliefs initially carved for him inside the Hypostyle Hall only in the short offering scenes from the missing top register of the south wall (ibid., pls. 81-86) or in a handful of “coronation” scenes on the registers below (cf. ibid., pls. 49, 52, 69-70, 79).
Diagram of the vestibule of the Third Pylon, north wing, showing the location of each scene listed by plate number.

**PLATE 110**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 60 (180) III-IV.

**Location:** B 181, 187-188: South side of the Eastern vestibule, south wall “A,” uppermost in situ registers (“second” and “third”).

**Subject:** Two scenes: The one on top, in which the king appeared before a divinity, is mostly destroyed. Below, Ramesses II presents four cups of water to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Aside from some blue on the vulture’s downswung wing, no pigment survives.

**Observations:** Chisel gouges from imperfect smoothing of the quarried blocks are most concentrated behind the king’s torso in the upper scene and the area around and behind his head in the lower scene. As a result, some elements were partly carved in plaster, including the lappet of his nemes-headdress. While the quality of the sculptor’s work in the main scenes is competent, the vertical ribbon border along the left edge of the scene is crude. Its vertical lines are lightly etched and are far less straight and even than Nelson’s drawing implies.

Iconoclasts are responsible for a different pattern of hacking inflicted on the limbs of the figures in both scenes. They also attacked Amun’s, penis, face, the root of his beard, and the face of in col 1. Other damage to both scenes is due to natural wear. All texts in the upper scene
are missing. Nelson’s drawing is inaccurate at a number of points. Only the wide lower portion of the king’s tail (Top) is actually carved, there is an unfinished uraeus on the right side of the king’s belt apron (Bottom), and the feathers on the vulture’s lower wing are more complete.

Translations:
Label: *Going round-about four times with four red pots of water,*

\[\text{By Amun:} [\text{Amun-Re ...}]\]

\[\text{Words spoken:} “(I) have given to you all valor. *(I) have given to you all victory.”\]

\text{Behind Amun:} Every protection—life, stability, and dominion—surrounds him like Re.

\text{By the Vulture:} *Nekhbet.*

\text{By the King:} *The lord of the Two Lands USERMA*\text{ATRE-SETEPENRE,} *the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,* *given life like Re* *forever.*

\text{Behind the King:} Every protection—all life, stability, and dominion, all health, (and) all joy—surrounds him like Re forever and eternally.

a. So reading \textit{m dšr.t 4 n.t mw}.

b. Repeated mechanically above col. 4.

PLATE 111

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (180) V.1.

Location: B 195: South side of the Eastern vestibule, south wall “A,” bottom register, first scene from the west.

Subject: Monthu and Atum lead Ramesses II into the sanctuary, while Amunet stands before them making \textit{nyy} (figs. 332-333).

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: Traces of blue abide near the king’s necklace and inside Monthu’s wig. The flesh of both figures is red.

Observations: Damage to parts of cols. 5-10 is the same kind of random abrasion associated elsewhere with chisel gouging from the quarrying process. Damage in the lower part of the scene and along its right side is due to erosion of the surface and removal of some of the blocks. The upper part of Atum’s tail, indicated as a dashed line in the drawing, is actually lost to weathering. Malicious defacement is more limited here than in the scene above. The noses and mouths of the king and Atum were deliberately gouged, but those of Monthu and Amunet are untouched. Iconoclastic vandalism to heads and bodies of several hieroglyphs in the main text, along with the vulture’s head, are indicated by shade in Nelson’s drawing. As in the scene above, the vertical border element on the left end is crude while the work in the main scene is of a higher standard. Below the feet of Atum and the king, but not recorded by Nelson, portions of a dado composed of four evenly spaced horizontal bands are preserved. Monthu’s facial markings are more intricate than the drawing conveys, and his beak was recut in antiquity.

Translation

Label (in front of Monthu, not numbered): [Inducting the king into the temple of] *A* Amun-Re.

\text{By Atum:} *Words spoken* \textit{by Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan:} “Proceed to *2* the temple of your father, the king of the gods that he might establish for you the crowns on *3* your
head—(namely) the ornaments of your father Re;
that he might cause your years to endure
for millions and millions; (and) that he might endow
your life, stability, and dominion.”

By Monthu: Words spoken by Monthu, lord of Thebes, residing in Iuny: “Come ye to the great mansion of your father, Amun-Re—[his heart] being glad [for] your [love] of you, as he endows your limbs [with life and dominion].”

By Amunet: Words spoken by Amunet, residing in Karnak: “(My) two arms are in my-greeting to your handsome face, (O) Horus ‘beloved of Ma’at’! May the Ennead of the great mansion receive you, their hearts being glad with […].”

By the Vulture: Nekhbet the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as she gives life and dominion.

By the King: The good god who makes monuments for his father Amun-Re, the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, great of appearances in Southern Egyptian Heliopolis, given life like Re.

Reading something like [bs nsw r hw.t n] Imn-Ra. There are traces suggestive of just below Monthu’s fist and
possibly just above the group Imn-Ra. Cf. GHHK L1, pls. 50:1; 149:1.

Repeated mechanically above cols. 2-4, 6-8 and 10-11.

So reading hnm=f tw as a prospective

sdm=f, not as a passive hnm.tw=f, “that you might be endowed.”

Written with only the royal determinative (Gardiner signlist A 41) which may be read as nb, “lord.”

So reading hr(y)-ib Twn(y). Iuny is modern Armant. See our commentary to plate 138: 2, note a.

For parallels see note b to the translations for pl. 109.

The speech concluded in the missing column to the right of col. 11, probably continuing with iri.n=k n=i, “what you have done for me.”

Given the size of the gap, perhaps restore a determinative of ny ny.

This column is omitted by Sharkawy, Amun-Tempel, p. 92. At the bottom, although the sequence is unusual, perhaps restore (for sA) beside (which is certain) preserved at the bottom of the column. There is hardly room for anything else below this group.

PLATE 112 (BOTTOM)

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 60 (180) V.2.

Location: B 194: South side of the Eastern vestibule, south wall “A,” bottom register, second (and last) scene from the west.

Subject: The king, accompanied by a goddess, kneels before a divinity and receives jubilees from
a male deity.\textsuperscript{477} In the upper right-hand fragment, the traces above the god’s arm probably represent his scepter.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk. The carving in the scene to the right is particularly crude, with virtually no modeling on the flat relief.

**Paint:** Traces of green cleave inside the goddess’ dress (at her right shoulder) and inside the god’s scepter. Possible traces of red are detected inside the cobra (upper right) and inside the goddess’ wig.

**Observations:** The scene is badly damaged, the blocks being held together only by cement. No texts survive.

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**PLATE 261B**

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

**Location:** B 172: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, east facet of pilaster “B.”

**Subject:** In this tall, narrow space, a single column of large-scale hieroglyphic text faces right (north) giving a string of Ramesses II’s five-fold titulary beginning with his Horus name.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Overlooked by Nelson, the relief is badly damaged in spots. Carved in sunk relief and containing the longer form of Ramesses II’s prenomen, it must date to his third decorative period in the Hypostyle Hall. The very top of the relief is attended by severe quarry damage and here it was partly carved in plaster which remains substantially intact and illustrates well the technique elsewhere in the Hypostyle Hall whereby relief was carved in stucco in areas afflicted with such toolmarks. Below, additional quarry damage and losses to the masonry account for several gaps in the text.

**Translations:** Horus: mighty [bu]ll, ‘beloved of Ma’at,’ he of the Two Ladies: [’protector of Egypt, sub]duer of for[eign countries],’ Horus-of-Gold: ‘rich in years, gre[at] of victories,’ the dual king USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of [Re RAMESSES-MER]AMUN, given life.

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**PLATE 112 (TOP)**

**Bibliography:** PM II\textsuperscript{2}, p. 60 (179c) II.

**Location:** B 173: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “C,” first (top) register.

**Subject:** Ramesses II kneels before a seated deity, as he receives jubilees, life, stability, and dominion.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Iconoclasts’ hacking obscures the king’s face, his hands, and knees. The in col. 1 and the on the right have also been hacked, but the god’s feet are undamaged. Both the longer and shorter forms of Ramesses II’s prenomen are used here, and in neither case has there been any reworking of the signs inside the cartouche. Above the deity’s foot is a curved trace with a slightly bobbed and upturned end. Could this be the tail of the leopard pelt worn by Seshet? This detail was omitted by Nelson, who also misrepresented the front of the pedestal, which has a sloping front like .

\textsuperscript{477} Cf. Medinet Habu V, pl. 316.
Translations:

By the King: “Receive unto yourself eternity.”

Between the King and the God:  The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA\ATRE-SETEPENRE, given life.

Behind the King:  […] USERMA\AT[RE], […] RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given [life].

PLATE 113

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) III.

Location: B 177: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “C,” second register.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a cup of incense to a ram-headed figure of Khnum.

Type of Relief: sunk.

Paint: None preserved.

Observations: Aside from light pitting on the long block with the figure’s legs, the ancient masons carefully smoothed the wall surface. Quarry damage is most severe in the region around the king’s rear foot. The area at the bottom of col. 1, that Nelson erroneously indicates with shade, is actually so smooth and even that it was certainly never carved. Below Ramesses II’s cartouches, the later occupants of the Hall inserted a beam hole; they may also be responsible for deep hacking inside the nomen. Iconoclasts attacked the faces, legs, and feet of the figures, and the king’s hands as well. Those of Khnum, however, were left unmolested.

Translations:

Label: ¹Censi[ng].

By the King: ²The good⁵ god USERMA\ATRE-SETEPENRE, ³the son of Re RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given [life like Re].

By Khnum: ⁴Khnum, [lord of] Bigg[a]: ⁵“I have given to you all life, stability, and dominion.”

a. No signs were ever carved in the unblemished space that Nelson erroneously depicts with shade in his drawing.

b. The crossbars at the top of are uncarved.

c. Restore di [³nh mi Re] arranged under cols. 2-3 (cf., among many examples, GHHK I.1, pls. 104:11-12; 106 right:6-7).


PLATE 114

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179c) IV.

Location: B 182: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “C,” third register.

Subject: Ramesses II offers a conical loaf of white bread to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Sunk.

Paint: None.

Observations: A different pattern of chiseling in the sky-sign above the disk at the upper left is quarry damage; otherwise, the wall surface was carefully dressed. The early “short” form of Ramesses II’s prenomen occurs, with no trace of reworking. Vandals defaced the figures’ hands and feet, the god’s phallus, and various animal hieroglyphs in the text, but the king’s rear foot
was spared.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ¹Presenting white bread to Amun-Re, that he may achieve ‘given life like Re.’

**By Amun:** ²Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ³the great god who is upon ⁴his great seat: ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁶(I) have given to you my years as king of the Two Lands.”

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

**By the Solar-disk:** ⁷[The Behde]tite.

**By the King:** ⁸The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMAʿATRE, ⁹the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES[SW]-MERAMUN.

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**PLATE 115**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 60 (179c) V.

**Location:** B 189: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “C,” fourth register.

**Subject:** Amun-Re, followed by Amunet, grasps Ramesses II by the hand as he extends (now broken away) to the king’s nose.

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** Amun’s flesh is characteristically blue, with traces of this pigment in his legs and at his left shoulder. Otherwise, none of the colors are preserved.

**Observations:** Cosmetic recutting is limited to the bottom of Amun’s belt. Quarry gouging, with some plaster infill remaining, mars the lower right corner of the block containing the top of Ramesses II’s head. Hacking with malicious intent afflicts the upper bodies of the divinities, but apparently not the king, Amun’s face and his elbow joint (not indicated by Nelson), or Amunet’s head, shoulders and arms. Despite this vandalism, the outlines of both Amun and Amunet’s profile are still visible. Note also the hacking of in col. 4. Nelson omitted some details, including the tip of Amun’s beard below his arm, the lower rim of his helmet crown, the top of Ramesses’ ear, and above it the fold in his nemes-headcloth.

**Translations:**

**By Amun:** ¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: ²Words spoken: “(I) have [given] to you all joy, ³to your nose, (O) lord of the Two Lands, (my) [so]n.”

**By Amunet:** ⁴Amunet residing in ⁵Karnak, ⁶lady of[heaven]: ⁷Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life stability and dominion, (and) health. ⁸(I) have given [to] you all flat lands and all hill countries gathered together.”

**By the King:** ⁹The lord of the Two Lands USERMAʿATRE, ¹⁰[lord of] ap[pearances] RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

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a. As at GHHK I.1, pl. 111:12, there is scarcely room for anything else under the final group, and the most logical restoration that suggests itself is \[s=S(i)\]. Note the reversed orientation of the hieroglyphs in col. 3, as if it were a label text.

b. This is by far her most frequent epithet of
c. The \(\equiv\) is rendered as a flat line, without the customary buldge in the center.

**PLATE 116**

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 60 (179c) VI.

**Location:** B 196: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, south facet of pilaster “C,” bottom register.

**Subject:** Ramesses II offers a bouquet and lettuce plants to ithyphallic Amun-Re, who is accompanied by Isis (fig. 334).

**Type of Relief:** Sunk.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** The absence of deliberate hacking suggests that this lowest register was substantially covered by debris when scenes in the upper levels were attacked. Larger gaps in the scene are due to losses of the masonry, perhaps including some patch-stones. The condition of the king’s upper body and bouquet is due to natural erosion of the sandstone. Residual abrasion in the region of Ramesses’ kilt and legs resulted from imperfect smoothing of the blocks. Nelson’s drawing fails to convey the refined facial features of the king and Amun or the precise shape of Isis’ ws-scepter where it overlaps the god’s flail.

**Translations:**

**Label:** 1Giving [fresh flower]s\(^a\) to [his father Amun-Re ...].\(^b\)

*By Amun:* 2[Amun-Re-Kamutef, 3the great god,\(^c\)

Lor]d of [heaven],\(^d\) 4who is on his great seat:

5[Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the flat lands] being pacified.”\(^e\)

*Behind the God:* [Every] protection—all life, stability, and dominion, all [he]alth, (and) all joy—surrounds him [like Re].

*By Isis:* 6Isis, mistress of the Two Lands, 7lady of heaven, great [of magic]\(^f\) 8s\(^8\)(I) have given to you the south and the north, every foreign country being under your sandals.”

*By the King:* 9[The lord of the Two Lands]

USERMA\(^\*\)AT[RE], 10the lord of appearances

RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 11whom Amun has caused [to appear]\(^g\) as 12king.

a. Restoring \(r\)\(n\).\(p\).\(w\)\(t\) (or similar), with its

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{determinative, above the king’s kilt, }\\
\end{array}
\]

with [\(\square\)] and [\(\square\) ] below: cf. label texts where the king offers a bouquet, 

*GHHK* I.1, pls. 125:1; 134:1 (with lettuce); 215:1. In one instance, (ibid., pl. 254:1), \(r\)\(d\).\(i\).\(t\) \(\#\)\(b\)\(w\), “giving lettuce” occurs while the king presents a similar bouquet flanked by lettuce.

b. There is room for the customary \(n\) \([i=t=f\)

\(\text{Imn, }ir=f\text{ di }\text{*nh}\)] below the \(n\), but it is too uncertain how much of this formula was included here for a confident restoration.

c. The \(\text{ntr}\) not infrequently determines \(\text{ntr}\) \(^\circ\): see glossary, s.v. \(\text{ntr}\) \(^\circ\).

d. Interpreting the tips of these two signs as

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\end{array}
\]

e. Cf. glossary, s.v. \(d\).\(i\).\(n\)=(I) \(n=k\) \(t\).\(3\).\(w\) \(m\)

*h\(t\).\(p\).\(w\).

g. More probably "magnify," which occurs fairly frequently in this phrase (ibid., pls. 2:15; 24:14; 25:9; 33:19), than "[s]aA", which (although not unattested: see ibid., pl. 137:34-35) is most frequently used in other expressions.

PLATE 117

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) I-II.

Location: B 170, 174-175: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facet of pilaster “D,” first and second registers.

Subject: On the bottom, a kneeling figure of the king (mostly lost) offers Ma’at to an enthroned Ptah. Above this divinity, an enthroned figure of Amun-Re faces right, toward the architrave set into the wall to the right.

Type of Relief: Everything above line 2 of the lower scene (inclusive) is still in raised relief.

Below, all the figures and the text of col. 1 were originally cut in raised relief and then changed to sunk.

Paint: A pattern of horizontal stripes decorates Amun’s throne (Tōp), but the colors have faded.

Observations: It is not clear whether this relief was initially carved for Sety I at the very end of his reign or for Ramesses II at the beginning of his, although the latter is perhaps more likely. Except for quarry marks at the end of line 2, the relief is well-preserved, with no malicious defacement of the figures. Nelson omitted a curved swath that forms part of the hanging cloth screen of Ptah’s tent-like shrine, which is carved in raised relief.\textsuperscript{478}

Also left out is a narrow vertical frame behind Amun. The plinth on which Amun rests has a sloping front (like Ptah’s) and its end extends farther than the back of his throne.

Translations:

(Bottom) Label: \( \text{Presenting Māat to her lord.} \)

By Ptah: \( \text{P[t]ah of the handsome face […]}. \)

By Amun: \( \text{A[m]un-Re.} \)

a. So reading \( \text{hnk M'[t] n nb=s}. \) The final sign is \( \text{[ ], not [ ]}. \)

b. It is uncertain which of Ptah’s other epithets (if any) were carved in the broken area above his head: see glossary, s.v. \( \text{Pth}. \)

PLATE 118

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179b) III.

Location: B 178: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facet of pilaster “D,” third register.

Subject: Ramesses II receives jubilees and years from Thoth, who writes the king’s titulary on the year-staves in front of him.

Type of Relief: Originally carved in raised relief by Ramesses II, then changed to sunk. Many traces of the earlier version endure along the edges of the hieroglyphs and along the back of Thoth’s body. The vertical frames on both sides of the

\textsuperscript{478} Cf. painted examples of this embroidered cloth that screens the sides of Ptah’s kiosk-shrine in polychrome examples from the Theban necropolis, e.g., the tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11) (\textit{PM} I.2², p. 523 [22]; Kent Weeks [ed.], \textit{Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and the Funerary Temples of Thebes West}, [Vercelli, 2001], p. 234); in the tomb of prince Amunhirkhopeshef (QV 55) (\textit{PM} I.2², p. 759, [2-4] no. 2; ibid., Weeks, p. 318); and in Sety I’s Abydos temple (\textit{Abydos} IV, pls. 25, 30).
scene were only partly converted to sunk relief, namely (Right) only below Ramesses' knees and (Left) everything below the level of the in col. 5.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Iconoclasts hacked faces and feet of the figures, although the deity's rear foot and both figures' hands were spared. Still, the distinctive outlines of the god's ibis head and long, curved bill make his identification as Thoth certain. The king's outline from his forehead to the tip of his nose is also visible. The royal titulary was recut from an earlier version of the same text in raised relief. Traces of the raised relief version of Ramesses II's cartouches indicate that this scene was initially carved for him, although it is conceivable that the draftsman laid it out in paint under Sety I. Here, as in the scene immediately below, the sculptors maintained the shorter form of Ramesses' prenomen, including the unorthodox phonetical spelling in col. 10.

Nelson has mischaracterized or left out some details: Thoth's kilt has a curved interior hem. His belt has a buckle and a flap that projects diagonally above it. The king does not hold a -basket cupped in his hand. Instead, there are two and above them traces of the lower left side of .

**Translations:**

*By Thoth:* ¹[Words spoken by …]² in Thebes:

³[...: “I have given to you] ⁴the years of Atum, [(and) the office] of […],⁵(by) what is spoken⁶ with his mouth, (namely) Amun, king of the gods in the presence of the entire Ennead.”

*By the King:* ⁶“Receive for yourself the jubilees of Re and the years of your father Atum, that you may spend eternity as king.”

*Between the Year-staves:* ⁷Horus: [mighty] bull, ‘beloved of Ma‘at,’ the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, given life, stability, and dominion like Re. ⁸[He of the Two Ladies]: ‘protector [of Egypt, sub]duer of the foreign countries,’ the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,⁹ given life, stability, and dominion like Re. ¹⁰Horus-of-Gold: ‘rich in years, great of victories,’ the dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE,¹¹ given life, stability, and dominion like Re.¹²

*Aside Divinity:* ¹¹First occasion of very many jubilees.

a. Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-5.

b. Although the god was unhesitatingly identified with Thoth in the plate volume (an attribution accepted “ohne Zweifel” by Sharkawy, *Amen-Tempel*, p. 95, n. 173), his identity is problematic. It is true that Thoth regularly inscribes the king's titulary in comparable scenes (cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 49, 52, 79, 96, 150, 192).

Moreover, it is now clear from our collation of the relief that he has an ibis head and beak. On the other hand, the epithet *m WIs.t* is unattested for Thoth and seems to be the exclusive preserve of Khonsu. In one case, however, Khonsu does inscribe Sety I's titulary: *GHHK* I.1,
c. If the god named is Khonsu, one would expect [Neferhotep in Karnak]. See glossary, s.v. *Hnts*. If he was Thoth, the restoration is unclear.

d. Assuming is an indirect genitive, perhaps another object of *di.n=(i) n=k* is to be restored here: the spacing could suggest *bt.t*, “the office” belonging to a god—perhaps “Wenenofer” (GHHK I.1, pl. 77:6-8) or “Khepry” (ibid., pl. 199:7-8), although “the office of Atum” (*bt.t’ltnw*) is most common, albeit unlikely here (since one would not expect this to be associated with “the years of Atum”).

e. Possibly is the last consonant of a word at the bottom of the preceding column, but if most of that space was filled with the name of a divinity, possibilities are limited: perhaps *r(w)d* (cf. Medinet Habu I, pl. 108:11 + RIK II, pl. 85:11, *imy bt.w rwd m r(b)=f r^t* nb, “Let breath flourish in my (his) mouth every day”); but more probable is *dd*, which would require the of *dd-mdw* to do double duty at the top of col. 4. With any restoration remaining so conjectural, this translation is necessarily speculative.

f. For a well preserved parallel, see GHHK I.1, pl. 96.

g. Note the odd orthography of the *nomen* *R^c-*-*ms-s-s* with an extra *s*.

h. A horizontal trace to the left of below the final cannot be taken for a hypothetical *(of Sety I’s *prenomen*), but must be a raised version of Other traces of the original raised *Wsr-m^3.t-R^c* (spelled identically to the final version) are clear.

i. This last phrase is arranged under all three columns, the whole phrase, *di n’h dd w*s mi R^c*, being understood as applying to each column. Compare GHHK I.1, pl. 7:38-40; 96:11-13.

j. Nelson omits clear traces of below along the edge of the gap. Certainly this statement is not to be taken as a historical fact, since Ramesses did not in fact celebrate his first jubilee until his year 30, whereas this inscription may be dated to his first regnal year based on the orthography of his *prenomen* cartouche.

PLATE 119

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 60 (179b) IV.

**Location:** B 183-184: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facet of pilaster “D,” fourth register.

**Subject:** Ramesses II is led in by Mut and [kneels] before Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** The scene was initially raised relief carved for Ramesses II that he later changed to sunk. Traces of the earlier version abound among the hieroglyphs and are especially
prominent on Amun’s plumes and his chest.

**Paint:** The most abundant traces are of Amun’s collar—blue bands alternating with those of another color, with a penultimate band of red and a final (bottom) band of blue. A fleck of red survives at the center of Amun’s kilt, just below the belt, and the ribbon behind the god’s head is also red.

**Observations:** The major figures in the scene have not been hacked, but the hieroglyphs of seated gods in the text were vandalized, as was in col. 4, the outline of which remains clear. The cartouches were converted to sunk relief, like the rest of the scene, but it is not precisely clear if Sety I was named previously. At the left, inside the *nomen* at col. 11, Nelson saw which would necessarily belong to [*Sty mr*. *n* = *Imn*], but our collation indicates this is fortuitous damage. Moreover, a raised trace of the rounded top of is clear. The other *nomen*, at col. 4, shows vestiges of the original raised and (of Ramesses) beside the later, sunken versions. The *prenomen* on the left (col. 10) is odd, having an aberrant above the (bottom) that is normally the phonetic complement of (above). It can hardly reflect an earlier *mr. n Imn* (or similar), since that epithet is exclusive to Sety I’s *nomen*, but it might hypothetically be a deformed reworking of the original at the bottom of Sety’s *prenomen* or, more likely, a unique early variant of Ramesses II’s *prenomen*.

Among the details omitted or misinterpreted by Nelson: the wing and cobra-uraeus of Mut’s vulture cap and the plumage along the edges of the vulture’s wings, which was partly erased in the conversion to sunk relief.

**Translations:**

*Right:*

By *Mut:* 1 *Mut,* [lady of] heaven: 2 Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all health.”

By the King: 3 The dual king, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE, 4 the son of *Re,* lord of appearances [RA]MESSES-MERAMUN, 5 given all life, stability, and dominion like *Re* every day.

*Left:*

Label: 6 [Greeting] with [the *nemset*-jar]*b, that he might achieve ‘given [life].’

By *Amun:* 7 Words spoken by *Amun-Re,* lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: 8”(I) have given to you years of eternity.”

By the King: 9 The good god, who performs benefactions for his father, 10 the dual king USERMA’ATRE, 11 the son of *Re* [RA]MESSES-MERAMUN.

a. Despite hacking, the outline of the is clear.

b. The trace above is a tall narrow sign. The most likely restoration is , *[nd-hr]* *m* [*nms.t*]. See glossary s.v. *nms.t.*

c. Repeated mechanically above col. 8.
d. The \( \text{\textcircled{1}} \) and \( \text{\textcircled{2}} \), if it is not purely decorative (or a misinterpretation of one of the signs in the original cartouche), is inexplicable. Sharkawy’s note on this crux (\textit{Amen-Tempel}, p. 95, n. 177) is unilluminating.

\textbf{PLATE 120}

\textbf{Bibliography:} PM II\(^2\), p. 60 (179b) V.

\textbf{Location:} B 190-191: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facet of pilaster “D,” fifth register.

\textbf{Subject:} Ramesses II (presumably) kneels before a divinity who wore a large solar disk.

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Originally carved in raised relief, the scene was later transformed into sunk. Traces of the raised version persist around some of the hieroglyphs, along the bottom of the king’s leg, and the sole of his foot.

\textbf{Paint:} None preserved.

\textbf{Observations:} No signs of deliberate damage are apparent, although most of the scene is destroyed through loss of the masonry. Pitting once discernable above the king’s arm may well be the result of quarry damage, although this is now covered by modern cement, along with most of the destroyed scene. Nelson’s drawing suggests the deity’s large sun disk had a pendant uraeus, but only natural erosion of the surface is now visible here. Nelson omits clear traces of the lower hem of the king’s \textit{shendyt}-kilt.

\textbf{Translations:}

\textit{By the God:}\(^1\) \textit{(I) [have given] to you the lifetime of Re forever [and eternally].}\(^b\)

\textit{By the King:}\(^2\) The good god, great of kingship [in the estate of Amun].\(^3\) The du[al] ki[ng], lord of the Two Lands [USERMA\(\text{\textcircled{A}}\)RE[...]].\(^4\)

\textbf{a.} Gods in the Great Hypostyle Hall whose heads are surmounted by a disk with a uraeus are, in the order of frequency, Monthu (\textit{GHHK\(\text{\textcircled{I}}\) I.1, pls. 35, 50, 78, 111, 138, 171, 179, 199), followed by (Amun)-Re-Horakhty (ibid., pls. 32, 165, 224, 251 left) and Khonsu (ibid., pl. 95, 106 right). If the god was Monthu, one would expect the leading edge of his forward plume to be preserved. Khonsu should have the tip of his lunar crescent. Therefore, the deity is probably some form of Re.

\textbf{b.} The space left in the column below the gap requires another tall group, most probably \textit{nHH}.

\textbf{c.} Cf. \textit{GHHK\(\text{\textcircled{I}}\) I.1, pls. 171:11; 176:7.}

\textbf{d.} It is not clear whether the \textit{prenomen} was the longer or shorter form.

\textbf{PLATE 121}

\textbf{Bibliography:} PM II\(^2\), p. 60 (179b) VI.


\textbf{Subject:} Probably two scenes: On the left, the scene is totally destroyed. On the right, Ramesses II receives the \textit{[crook] and the flail of kingship from [one or more divinities].}

\textbf{Type of Relief:} Originally carved in raised relief, the scene was converted to sunk. Traces of the raised version are evident around the hieroglyphs,
along the bottom of the sky-sign above, and at the back of Ramesses’ wig.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** Only the extreme right side of the right scene is preserved. There is room for at least two, and perhaps three, divinities in the remaining space to the left and/or possibly a second episode. No deliberate vandalism to the scene can be detected, although there is natural wear in front of Ramesses’ face. The streamers behind his head are very lightly carved, as if they were an afterthought.

**Translations:**

*By the King:*


A. There is hardly room for anything taller above the cartouche.

PLATE 122 + 261 (“e”, top)

**Bibliography:** *PM* II², p. 60 (179a) I-II.

**Location:** B 171 + 176: South Wing of the Eastern vestibule, north facet of pilaster “E,” first and second registers.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and offers wine to an enthroned figure of Nut.

**Type of Relief:** Formerly raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II recarved it into sunk relief. The most obvious raised traces persist at the edges of some hieroglyphs near the top of the scene (e.g., the behind the king, and the phrase *di ˈnḥ* in front of him) and in the margins of the lines above. A few traces of Sety I’s original names can be detected inside the cartouches. The lowermost horizontal text divider at the top was left partly raised.

**Paint:** The king’s flesh is red (traces along the front of his chest and the front of his right arm). Otherwise, no color is preserved.

**Observations:** No deliberate damage to the scene can be observed. Nelson omitted some details, including the spout of the *nemset*-jar, the lappet of Nut’s tripartite wig, the framework along the upper part of her throne, and the vertical ribbon border that encloses the scene behind her. This last feature was left in raised relief.⁴⁷⁹ Uraei on the king’s belt apron that Nelson drew are erroneous.

**Translations:**

*Above the Scene: (Top)* Beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak. (Bottom) Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

**Label:** 1. ‘Giving wine, that he may achieve ‘given life.’

*By Nut:* 2. Nut the great, 3. as she gives all life.

*By the King:* 4. The good god, great of monuments, 5. the lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, 6. the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, 7. given life like Re.

**Behind king:** Every protection—life—surrounds him.

A. A trace of the knee of the original in Sety I’s *prenomen* is preserved between and the top of :

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. *GHHK* I.1, pls. 124-126.
b. The knee of \(\text{\ding{178}}\) is preserved over the sun-god’s knee; and the tops of \(\text{\ding{179}}\) (of “Sety”) appear above the final Nelson’s drawing is erroneous in that there is only one \(\text{\ding{178}}\) at the bottom of Ramesses’ nomen.

PLATE 123

**Bibliography:** PM II, p. 60 (179a) III.

**Location:** B 179: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, north facet of pilaster “E,” third register.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and offers a bunch of onions to Amun-Re (fig. 335).

**Type of Relief:** Formerly raised work under Sety I, Ramesses II recut it as sunk relief. The recutting is generally neat, but some elements were left in raised, viz.: the god’s facial profile and the vertical border along the left edge of the scene. Traces of Sety I’s cartouche names persist amid the final version. Numerous other vestiges of the raised original circumvallate the hieroglyphs and main figures.

**Paint:** Traces of red indicate the king’s flesh tones in his neck and jaw and at the top of his chest (under the arm). Amun’s blue flesh is best preserved on his legs, directly under his kilt.

**Observations:** The drawing omits the border decoration that runs down the left-hand side of the relief, for which see drawings of the other episodes on this face of the pilaster.\(^480\) Its two vertical lines are raised along the wall’s full length, but the horizontal lines between them are merely incised. Nelson did not fully capture plumage on the vulture’s forward wing and omitted it entirely from the other wing.

**Translations:**

- **Label:** \(1\) Giving white onions to Amun-Re.
- **By Amun:** \(3\) Words spoken by Amun-Re residing in the temple ‘Effective is \(4\) RAMESSES-MERAMUN\(^a\) in the Estate of Amun: ‘(I) have given to you \(5\) all life and dominion on my part.”
- **By the King:** \(6\) Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes,’ \(7\) the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA\(^c\) ATRE-SETEPENRE, \(8\) the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, \(9\) given life like Re.

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\(^{a}\) Traces of Sety I’s original raised nomen remain visible: the tip of the snout of to the right of the sun-god’s beak; the tops of above the final; the waves of below the second. Two are in fact present although Nelson records only one.

\(^{b}\) The sculptors recut Sety I’s Horus name in sunk relief.

\(^{c}\) Surviving vestiges of Sety I’s prenomen amid the final sunk version of Ramesses II include: part of the top of to

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\[^480\] Cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 124-126.
the right of \( \text{踱} \); the knee, \( \text{膝} \), face and feather of \( \text{羽} \); and the larger \( \text{日} \) of \( R^* \).

d. Here, just as in col. 3, original traces of “Sety” remain outside the final signs, viz., the snout of \( \text{勇} \), the tops of \( \text{头} \), most of \( \text{口} \) above final \( \text{口} \). The sign \( \text{刀} \) of the final version is not quite as Nelson drew it but more closely resembles the sign \( \text{刀} \) turned on its side.

PLATE 124

Bibliography: PM II\(^2\), p. 60 (179a) IV.

Location: B 185: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, north facet of pilaster “E,” fourth register.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and elevates a nemset-jar to Atum.

Type of Relief: Initially raised work of Sety I, Ramesses II then recarved it into sunk relief.

Various traces of the raised version persist along the edges of many of the final hieroglyphs; in particular, one sees elements of Sety I’s cartouches and Horus name. The border at the far left side was left raised, and the main figures tend to be higher than the negative space around them.

Paint: Only a few traces abide in the hieroglyphs. At the bottom of the serekh, the interior of the door is blue and the area outside (to its left) is red. A great deal of paint is preserved, however, on the figures. The king’s flesh is red that of Atum yellow. The god’s kilt is also yellow, as is the coil of his crown, but the other elements belonging to the “red” parts of the Double Crown are red. Ramesses’ kilt is yellow with flecks of blue on his belt apron.

Observations: Iconoclasts deliberately attacked the figures, including Atum’s face, lower arms, and hands, and lower legs and feet, and Ramesses II’s face and hands, as well as his front elbow. Among the hieroglyphs, only \( \text{刀} \) in col. 1 was hacked.

Translations:

By Atum: \(^1\)Words spoken by Atum, lord of Karnak, residing in \(^2\)the temple ‘Effective is RAMESSES-MERAMUN\(^a\) in the Estate of \(^3\)Amun’: “(I) have given to you all joy on my part, \(^4\)(and) all health \(^5\)on my part \(^6\)like Re forever.”

By the King: \(^7\)Horus: mighty bull, ‘beloved of \(^{Ma\at}\(^8\)*the good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA\ATRE-SETEPENRE,\(^9\)the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN,\(^d\) given life like Re.

a. The \( \text{踱} \) of Sety I’s original raised prenomen can be detected here.

b. Extensive traces of Sety I’s full Horus name, \( \text{踱} \), persist amid the sunk relief version of Ramesses II’s. The palace façade box at the bottom was not as tall in the original version.
c. The bottom of ☀, along with the original knee of ⚪ and the loop of her ☔, remain to the left of the final goddess. The top of ▲ is visible amid stp-n-Rc.

d. The snout of ⚪ and outlines of ♦ of Sety’s nomen are apparent.

PLATE 125

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (179a) V.


Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety) offers a bouquet to ithyphallic Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Carved in raised relief by Sety I, the scene was converted into sunk relief by Ramesses II. Traces of the earlier version are especially noticeable along the front of the god’s body, along the king’s back, the back of his head, and around the bottom of the bouquet. They also persist on some hieroglyphs, especially the bottom of the ▲-glyphs in cols. 5-6.

Paint: A fleck of red remains on Amun’s torso, corresponding to the crossed ribbons hanging from his neck. A pattern of concentric rings of his broad collar are discernable, some of them are green with the wide outermost band having blue floral petals. Lettuce plants behind the god are green with yellow at the base of their stocks. The king’s flesh is red.

Observations: There is light quarry damage in the king’s midsection, on the vertical border beside the god’s fetish, and in col. 1. Iconoclasts attacked the faces, hands, and feet of the figures, but they spared the king’s back foot and Amun’s upraised arm. The god’s phallus was presumably treated in the same way, completing the damage that it suffered from being in the gap between blocks. Nelson’s left out the following details carved in the relief: the cylixes and petals of the lotus blossoms in pharaoh’s bouquet and on the offering stand and the feathers on the flabellum of Amun’s fetish, some of which the craftsmen erased when the converted the scene to sunk relief.

Translations:

Label: Giving fresh flowers to his father, Amun-Re.

By Amun: Amun-Re, king of the gods, Kamutef,
the great god who is upon his great seat, lord of heaven, lord of the earth: Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. (I) have given to you all health.”

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

By the King: The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA’ATRE-SETEPENRE, the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.

a. Repeated mechanically above col. 6.

b. A possible trace of the original ☐ may be seen at the left end of the final ☔.
c. Traces of of Sety I’s original nomen are apparent, especially its snout.

**PLATE 126**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 60 (179a) VI.

**Location:** B 199: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, north facet of pilaster “E,” bottom register.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers MAa.t to an enthroned figure of Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** Initially raised relief of Sety I, Ramesses II recarved it as sunken. Remnants of the earlier version are profuse along the figures’ bodies, as well as around some of the hieroglyphs—e.g., the bottom of (col. 4) and the chest of (col. 5). The vertical border along the left edge of the scene was not converted to sunk relief.

**Paint:** None preserved.

**Observations:** There is no deliberate hacking of the relief, although the god’s right forearm was shaved down, removing the modelling and leaving a flat surface. Recutting to the king’s chin and Amun’s heel may have resulted from cosmetic shifts by Sety I’s craftsmen rather than the scene’s transformation into sunk relief under Ramesses II. Nelson omitted some details including the lower hem of the king’s long kilt between his legs, the inner and outer rim of his khepresh-crown, and the modeled ridge in the crown above his ear.

**Translations:**

**Label:** ¹Presenting Maذاt to his father Amun-Re that he may achieve ‘[given] life.’

By Amun: ²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great god: ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all joy.”

By the King: ⁴The good god USERMAذاATRE-SETEPENRE, ⁵the son of Re [RAMES]SES-[MERAMUN]. ⁶[whom Re has chosen] as king, ⁷given life like Re.

a. The held by the original raised is discernable under the snout of .

One sees the larger too.

b. No traces of Sety I’s nomen survive, except for a trace of the wig of .

c. Reading [stp.n R²] m nsw. cf. GHHK I.1, pls. 4:16 (stp.n. R² [short group]); 97:11; and 12 (Right):11 (stp.n ʔlmn m nsw).

**PLATE 127**

**Bibliography:** PM II², p. 60 (178) I.

**Location:** B 180: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facing wall at north end, uppermost register in situ.

**Subject:** Ramesses II (originally Sety I) kneels and presents ointment to Amun-Re.

**Type of Relief:** Initially raised work of Sety I, the scene was recarved in sunk relief by Ramesses II in a relatively crude fashion. Signs of the raised
version are most clearly visible at the back of the king’s head and in some of the hieroglyphs—e.g., the ◦ and □ in col. 2.

Paint: Traces of red adhere inside the king’s back shoulder and along the edges of his legs. Otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: The profile and workmanship of the king’s face resembles those of other scenes recarved from Sety I on the west wall’s south wing. The king’s streamers are very lightly cut and were perhaps added to his figure as an afterthought. His remaining cartouche exhibits signs that are thick and obviously reworked in sunk relief, but no traces of the original nomen of Sety I are apparent. Note that the decorative border that runs along the right side of all the scenes on this wall was only lightly engraved—not true raised relief—and was never converted to sunk. Nelson’s drawing has misconstrued the king’s offering. He is, in fact, presenting a bouquet of flowers flanked by lettuce (only the right stalk is preserved) and not an ointment jar as the drawing implies. The horizontal bands on the border element are more complete than the drawing indicates.

Translation

Label: 1[Giving] lettuce* to his father Amun-Re, that he might achieve ‘given life like Re forever.’

By the King: […]USERMA\*ATRE-SETEPENRE, […]RAMESSES-SES-MERAMUN […].

a. So reading rdi.t ʿbw. The sign at the top of col. 1 that Nelson takes as something like a misshapen .setTitle, an ointment jar turned oddly on its side, is in fact a lettuce stalk hieroglyph similar to that shown (vertically) in GHHK I.1, pl. 254:1.

PLATE 128

Bibliography: PM II2, p. 60 (178) II.

Location: B 186: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facing wall at north end, “F” second register in situ.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) censes Amun-Re over a laden offering-table.

Type of Relief: Formerly carved as raised work of Sety I and later recarved as sunk by Ramesses II. Traces of the earlier version abound as raised edges or engraved lines outside the cut lines of the final sunk version, e.g., at the king’s tail, right side of the offering table, and the bottom of the vulture’s forward wing, and along the edges of many hieroglyphs. The offering table and its contents were outlined in sunk relief, but the inner details have all been left raised. Maladroit workmanship by Ramesses II’s sculptors may account for the falcon’s oddly shortened rear wing. The decorative border behind the king was left raised.

Paint: Red paint survives inside the king’s shoulder and down his back, on his chest and belly. The falcon’s rear wing is green.

Observations: The king’s head, hands, forearms, legs, and feet have all been hacked by iconoclasts.

Translations:

Label: ʿCensing to Amun-Re, that he might
achieve ‘given life like Re.’

By Amun: ²[Words spoken:] “(I have given to] you all life, stability, and dominion. ³(I have given to you) all health.”

By the Facon: ⁴The Behdetite, lord of heaven, ⁵as he gives life and dominion.

By the King: ⁶The good god, lord of the Two Lands USERMA⁷ATRE-SETEPENRE,⁸ the son of Re, lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN.⁹

a. Probably repeated mechanically over col. 3.

b. The back and feather of the original is preserved behind the final sign; and the loop of her ① persists under the head of ②. The larger ③ and most of the “box” of ④ of Mn-Ma₃·t-Ra is apparent.

c. The top of at least one original ⑤ (in “Sety”) can be seen in and to the upper left of ⑥ in “Ramesses.”

PLATE 129

Bibliography: PM II², p. 60 (178) III.

Location: B 193: South wing of the Eastern vestibule, west facing wall at north end, “F”, bottom register in situ.

Subject: Ramesses II (originally Sety I) offers ointment to an enthroned figure of Amun-Re.

Type of Relief: Initially raised relief of Sety I, recarved as sunk by Ramesses II. The earlier version is especially noticeable along the king’s back, his tail, on the bottom of his robe between his legs, and along the bottom of the sky-sign. The decorative frame behind him, only lightly engraved, was never converted to sunk.

Paint: Some red clings to the king’s shoulder, chest, and at the back of his advancing leg. Otherwise, no color is preserved.

Observations: The base-line of the scene is incompletely carved (with the lower line emerging from beneath Amun’s platform but stopping short under the king’s foot). More of the masonry survives than the drawing indicates, but this suffers from deep erosion that has obliterated large portions of both figures and the text of cols. 1-4. A patch-stone is missing in the region of the king’s thigh. Ramesses’ head and back foot were hacked, but his front foot was spared. Amun’s foot and lower legs, the only vestiges of his figure, were also attacked. Some of the hieroglyphs in col. 5-6 and the vulture’s head were also defaced.

The decorative border to the scene’s right has been drawn incompletely, omitting the horizontal bars that lie between the two vertical frames. These are preserved all the way to the base-line of the scene, and even beyond, although the raised vertical lines become fainter as they descend from the top of the scene, being merely incised as they approach the bottom of this scene. The entire border extends 4 cm. below the base-line of the scene before disappearing for a distance of 68 cm., and then resumes for another 74 cm. before disappearing completely. This final disappearance occurs 184 cm. below the base-line.
of the scene, just above a horizontal line in red paint that arguably was part of the original cartoon layout of another, uncarved scene that would have been intended to stand below this one. This painted line (184 cm. below the base-line of this scene) runs parallel to another, incompletely preserved, red line 1.5 cm. below the first. The position of these lines correspond to the level of the lower legs of the figures in the adjoining scene on the pilaster (GHHK I.1, pl. 126), so they are unlikely to have been the base-line of the uncarved scene, unless it was intended to be uncharacteristically small.

**Translations:**

*Label:* 
Giving ointment to Amun-Re.

*By Amun:* 
Words spoken by A[mun-Re], king [of the gods], lord of heaven: ³⁴“[(I) have given to you …].”

*By the King:* 
Horus: mighty bull, ‘appearing in Thebes,’ lord of the Two Lands USERMA'ATRE-SETEPENRE, the lord of appearances RAMESSES-MERAMUN, given life like Re forever.

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**a.** So reading [rdi]t m md.t. The sign above is clearly , not the upper arm of .

**b.** Repeated mechanically above cols. 3-4.

**c.** Sety I’s Horus name was simply converted to sunk relief. Traces of the original raised remain visible.

**d.** Of Sety I’s prenomen one sees traces of the larger , part of the “box” of and the knee of .

**e.** No trace of Sety I’s original nomen include the body of , the tops of and .