

**THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I AND THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE:
EPIGRAPHIC, ART HISTORICAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

by

Peter James Brand

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations
University of Toronto

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0-612-35116-5

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-ABSTRACT-

**THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I AND THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE:
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The thesis examines the monuments of Seti I. Various epigraphic, art historical, iconographical and historical criteria are used to analyze his art and architecture, especially monumental reliefs, to elucidate a number of chronological and historical issues, including the problem of the hypothetical coregencies of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, the accession dates of the first three Ramessides and the length of Seti I's reign.

In chapter one, a number of iconographic, epigraphic and art historical characteristics of Seti's monuments useful for dating monuments within the reign and for distinguishing his work from that of his immediate predecessor and successor are identified, an important point since both Seti I and Ramesses II dedicated monuments in memory of their deceased fathers.

Chapter two catalogs Seti I's alterations and restorations of existing monuments, in particular, his repairs to monumental reliefs vandalized by Akhenaten and his treatment of restorations previously made by Tutankhamen. The intent is to diagnose the scope of this policy to gain a better understanding of its ideological ends.

Chapter three catalogs original monuments of the king throughout Egypt, Western Asia and Nubia. Discussion focuses on art historical, epigraphic and iconographic questions. Extended discussions of the *Baugeschichte* and chronology of decoration of Seti's temples at Abydos, Karnak and Gurnah are given here.

Chapter four examines chronological and historical issues of Seti's reign. A reappraisal of the accession dates of the first three Nineteenth Dynasty pharaohs supports the dates of III *smw* 24 for Seti I and III *smw* 27 for Ramesses. Eleven years is the most plausible length for the reign. A new examination of the hypothetical coregencies of Seti I with Ramesses I and Ramesses II indicates that there was no coregency in either case. In

particular, Ramesses II remained crown prince until the death of his father, and that relief decoration at Karnak, Gurnah and Abydos previously taken as evidence of a coregency are *post mortem* Seti I. Chapter five diagnoses the scope of Seti's building program and its state at his death at various sites in Egypt, Western Asia and Nubia.

Acknowledgments

Among those to whom I owe the greatest debt of gratitude for their assistance, I must thank first and foremost my advisor Professor Donald B. Redford, to whom I am profoundly grateful for his encouragement in completing this work, and for his expertise and the excellent training in Egyptology I received under his direction. I also owe a debt to my first mentor Professor William J. Murnane, whom I thank for his years of tireless support and invaluable advice freely given.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the fellowship that made my doctoral work possible. So too I am grateful to the SSEA-USA for the 1997 graduate student travel grant, which allowed me to conduct vital research in Egypt that year. Thanks go to Eugene Cruz-Urbe and Gerald Kadish for organizing and administering this prize.

Many others have generously helped me with this project over the years. To my other professors at the University of Toronto, Nicholas B. Millet and Ronald J. Leprohon, and those at the University of Memphis, Lorelei Corcoran and Edward Bleiberg, I say "thank you" for your advice and support. For many stimulating discussions and for the valuable information and references he sent my way I must also thank W. Raymond Johnson, Director of the University of Chicago's epigraphic survey, in particular for the invaluable insights he freely offered me on the subject of post-Amarna restorations and on iconographical issues.

To Professor Rainier Stadelmann of the German Institute in Cairo I am grateful for profitable discussions, particularly on the issue of the hypothetical coregency of Seti with Ramesses II, and for numerous references and offprints he provided me. Other colleagues who kindly lent their expertise and advice include Professors Betsy Bryan of John Hopkins University, John Baines at Oxford, and Hourig Sourouzian of the German Institute. So too, I would like to thank my French colleagues of the *Centre Franco-Égyptien* at Karnak

for their support: to Vincent Rondot for reading a manuscript on the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and for offering many useful suggestions concerning this monument. Luc and Marc Gabolde provided stimulating discussion on many epigraphic topics, and pointed out a number of important epigraphic features of the Karnak monuments that have proved extremely valuable to my research. Likewise, Christian Loeben of the University of Berlin sent a number of references and photos as well as many valuable trans-Atlantic discussions by E-mail, for which I am grateful.

Research in Egypt was facilitated by the generous support and permissions granted by Dr. Ali Hassan, former director of the SCA, and El Sayed Hegazy, Chief Inspector for Upper Egypt. For curatorial assistance, including photographs and other documentation, I am grateful to many curators and staff at museums around the world. I must thank Dr. Mohammed Saleh, director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo for permission to photograph a number of monuments, while May Trad offered much helpful advice and direction in the museum. Dorothea Arnold and Catharine Roehrig of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York have been generous in sending me photos and other information many times over the years.

Others to whom I am grateful for similar assistance include Roberta Shaw of the Royal Ontario Museum, Richard A. Fazzini in Brooklyn, Christiane Ziegler and Catherine Bridonneau of the Louvre, Jennifer Houser at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Maarten J. Raven in Leiden, Luc Limme in Brussels, Mogens Jørgensen in Copenhagen and Timothy Kendall of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Ingrid Nebe in Germany kindly sent me an unpublished photo of a recently discovered stela that proved valuable in my research. John Larson of the Oriental Institute in Chicago graciously provided me with copies of OI photographs on a number of occasions, material that proved vital to my research, and I would like to thank him formally.

Profitable discussions, references and research materials were also forthcoming from Professor James A. Harrell of the University of Toledo and Jean-Luc Chappaz of the Société d'égyptologie de Genève. To fellow graduate students in Toronto and elsewhere I say "thanks," particularly to Steven Harvey, Troy Sagriilo, Suzanne Onstine and Helmut Brandl. I must offer thanks to others who have assisted me over the years whom I have omitted for the sake of space.

Last, but not least, I am most grateful to my dearest friend Mr. Vincent Tovell. Without his unfailing support and kindness during the past few years, I would not have been able to complete this work which I dedicate to him.



He made it as his monument for his truest friend

Vincent Massey Tovell



Life, Prosperity, Health!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES		1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Art Historical and Iconographical Criteria	3
1.2.1	The Relief Style in the Earliest Years of Seti I	3
1.2.2	Posture of the King's Figure	9
1.2.3	Standing Figures that Bow or Stoop	10
1.2.4	Functional Versus Honorific Bowing	12
1.2.5	Distribution of Bowing Figures Under Seti	15
1.2.6	Bowing Kings after Seti I	17
1.2.7	Kneeling Figures with Knees together	19
1.2.8	Kneeling Figures with Splayed Knees	20
1.2.9	Prostrate Figures	21
1.2.10	The Long Wig Associated with Seti I	22
1.3	Epigraphic and Philological Criteria	26
1.3.1	Alteration of Existing Reliefs	26
1.3.2	Cosmetic Adjustments	26
1.3.3	Major Alterations	27
1.3.4	Defacement	27
1.3.5	<i>Damnatio Memoriae</i>	27
1.3.6	Iconoclasm	28
1.3.7	Usurpation	29
1.3.8	Use of the Term <i>ꜥh</i> in the Reign of Seti I	31
1.4	Criteria for Dating Reliefs during the Early Nineteenth Dynasty	38
1.4.1	Raised and Sunk Relief of Seti I	38
1.4.2	Raised and Sunk Relief of Ramesses II	39
1.4.3	Variant Orthographies in the Cartouches of the First Three Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaohs	40
1.4.4	Ramesses I	40
1.4.5	Seti I	43
1.4.6	Ramesses II	47
1.4.7	Three Phases in Relief Decoration from the First Two Years of Ramesses II's Reign	49
1.4.8	Summary of the Criteria Used to Date Royal Reliefs During the First Three Decades of the Nineteenth Dynasty	49
1.4.9	Ramesses I	49
1.4.10	Seti I	50
1.4.11	Ramesses II	50

CHAPTER 2: CATALOG OF RESTORATIONS, ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS MADE BY SETI I TO EXISTING MONUMENTS	52
INTRODUCTION	52
Lower Egypt	57
Tell al-Maskhuta	57
2.1 Hyksos Monument	57
Tell el-Basta	59
2.2 Lintel of Amenhotep II, British Museum EA 1103	59
Memphis and Environs	61
Mit Rahineh	61
2.3 Historical Stela of Amenhotep II (Cairo JdE 86763)	61
Giza	61
Sphinx Temple of Amenhotep II	61
2.4 Main Gateway, Jambs of Seti I	61
2.5 South West Room, Jambs of Seti I	62
Abu Sir	62
2.6 Pyramid Complex of Sahure, Fragment From the New Kingdom Sakhmet Sanctuary	62
Middle Egypt	63
Batn el-Baqara near Beni Hasan	63
2.7 Speos Artemidos	63
Upper Egypt	66
Thebes	66
Karnak	66
2.8 Fourth Pylon, North Tower, East Face	66
2.9 South Gate of the <i>w3dyt</i>-Hall, North-East Doorjamb	67
2.10 South Half of the <i>w3dyt</i>-Hall, East Gate, West Jambs	67
2.11 Obelisks “E” and “F” of Hatshepsut from the <i>w3dyt</i>-Hall	68
2.12 North Part of the <i>w3dyt</i>-Hall, North Face of Gateway of Thutmose III Enshrouding the Northern Obelisk “E” of Hatshepsut	71
2.13 North Part of the <i>w3dyt</i>-Hall, East Wall, Between Second and Third “Osiris Pillars” North of the North-East Doorway	71
2.14 Court Between Fifth and Sixth Pylons, Enclosure of Thutmose III, East Gate, North and South Jambs	72
2.15 Passage Through the Sixth Pylon, North Thickness	72
2.16 Wall Fragment from the Destroyed Granite Barque Shrine of Thutmose III	73
2.17 Room XV, North-East Doorjamb	73

2.18	Room XVI Left Doorjamb	74
2.19	Seventh Pylon, South Face, Granite Jambs of Gateway	75
2.20	Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34011)	75
2.21	Eighth Pylon, North Face	76
East Tower	76
2.21.1	KG 104: Thutmose II Led by Weret-hekau to Hathor Making <i>nyny</i> , With Barque of Amen Carried by Priests Behind the King	76
2.21.2	KG 102: Seti I Before Amen with the Lesser Ennead	78
2.21.3	KG 103: Seti Offers Wine to Amen-Re with the Great Ennead	81
2.21.4	KG 105: Thutmose I Before the Theban Triad	83
2.21.5	KG 107: Barque of Amen Carried by Priests	84
2.21.6	KG 108: Seti I Led by Monthu	85
2.21.7	KG 109: Thutmose II Presented by Weret-hekau to Amen-Re and Khonsu, While Thoth Enumerates Regnal Years for the King .	86
2.22	Eighth Pylon, South Face	87
2.23	Stela "R" of Amenhotep II from Eighth Pylon, South Face, East Tower	88
2.24	Stela "Q" of Amenhotep II from Eighth Pylon, South Face, West Tower	89
2.25	Edifice of Amenhotep II	89
2.26	Contra Temple of Amen-Re-Horakhty	91
2.27	Obelisk Fragments of Hatshepsut from Contra Temple	92
2.28	Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34013) from Ptah Temple	93
2.29	Stela Fragment from Temple J	94
2.30	Loose Block Usurped from Horemheb	94
2.31	Block of Amenhotep III with Cartouche of Seti I	95
2.32	Reused Blocks from the Monthu Precinct	95
2.33	Temple of Maat, First Hypostyle (= II)	96
2.34	So-called Gateway of Thutmose I North of the Monthu Precinct	96
2.35	Kamutef Chapel	97
Luxor Temple	97
2.36	Stela of Thutmose IV, Year 1	97
2.37	Fragmentary Stela of Thutmose IV with his Mother and Wife	98
2.38	Colonnade Hall of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamen	99
2.38.1	The Festival Procession of Opet Reliefs	99
2.38.2	The Columns, Upper Registers and Clerestory	101
Solar Court of Amenhotep III	103
2.39	North Wall, Amenhotep III Led by a God and Goddess	103
2.40	East Wall, North End, Barque of Amen-Re	103
Hypostyle Hall Adjoining the Solar Court	105
2.41	East Interior Wall	105

Register I (= top)	105
2.42 (I.1) Amenhotep III with Offering-bearer Libating Before Amen and Amenet Making <i>nyny</i>	105
2.43 (I.2) Amenhotep III Offering Milk to Amen	106
2.44 (I.3) Amenhotep III Slays an Oryx Before Amen	106
2.45 (I.4) Amenhotep III Pours Ointment Over Amen	106
Register II (= middle)	107
2.46 (II.1) Amenhotep III with Mace and <i>hk3</i> -scepter Before Amen	107
2.47 (II.2) Amenhotep III Before Amen with Foundation-ritual Text	107
2.48 (II.3) Amenhotep III Before Amen with Litany	107
2.49 (II.4) Amenhotep III Before Amen Consecrating Offerings	107
Register III (= bottom)	108
2.50 (III.1) Amenhotep III Driving the Calves Before Amen	108
2.51 (III.2) Amenhotep III Consecrating Four <i>mrt</i> -boxes Before Amen	108
2.52 (III.3) Amenhotep III Erecting the <i>shnt</i> -pole for Amen	108
2.53 (III.4) Amenhotep III Embraced by Seated Amen	109
2.54 Subregister Fecundity Figures	109
2.55 East Doorway Lintel Scene: Amenhotep III Accompanied by Fecundity Figures Offers Flowers to Amen	110
2.56 Pilaster Adjoining the North-East Corner of the Hypostyle	110
North Face	110
2.57 (I) Amenhotep III Receiving Life from Monthu	110
2.58 (II) Amenhotep III and Amen Holding Hands	110
2.59 (III) Amenhotep III with Mut Extending <i>Menat</i> -necklace	110
East Face	111
2.60 (I) Amenhotep III Receiving Life from Amen	111
2.61 (II) Amenhotep III with Weret-Hekau Extending <i>Menat</i> -necklace	111
2.62 (III) Amenhotep III Embracing Amen-Kamutef	111
2.63 West Gateway, East Jambs	112
2.64 Luxor Temple Summary	112
Thebes West Bank	113
Memorial Temple of Amenhotep III	113
2.65 Triumphal Stela of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34026)	113
2.66 Ceremonial Stela of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34025)	114
2.67 Reused Blocks from the Memorial Temple of Merenptah	115
Memorial Temple of Thutmose III	116
2.68 Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34015)	116
Medamud	116
2.69 Lintel Fragment (Inv. 4980)	116

Tod	117
2.70 Barque Station of Thutmose III	117
2.71 Block of Thutmose IV	118
El Kab	118
2.72 Desert Temple of Amenhotep III	118
2.73 Aswan	119
2.74 Destroyed Peripteral Temple of Amenhotep III	119
2.75 Temple of Satet at Elephantine	120
2.75.1 Block with Amen-Kamutef (Louvre B73, E 12921 bis 0)	120
2.75.2 Block with Thutmose III and Amen-Re	121
Nubia	122
Amada	122
2.76 18th Dynasty Temple	122
Sesebi	123
2.77 Temple of Akhenaten, Usurped by Seti I	123
CHAPTER II CONCLUSIONS	125
CHAPTER 3: CATALOG OF THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I	128
INTRODUCTION	128
Western Asia	129
Kadesh, Tell Nebi Mendu	129
3.1 Stela Fragment of Seti I (Aleppo 384)	129
Tyre	131
3.2 Rhetorical Stela of Seti I	131
Tell es-Shihab	132
3.3 Stela Fragment of Seti I (Istanbul 10942)	132
Beth Shan	134
3.4 Larger Stela of Seti I (Jerusalem S.884)	134
3.5 Smaller Stela of Seti I (Jerusalem S.885A/B)	135
Sinai	135
Serabit el-Khadim	135
3.6 Stela of Ashahebused, Year 8 (No. 247)	135
3.7 Stela of Ashahebused with Seti I and Ramesses II (No. 250)	136
3.8 Relief Fragment of Seti I (No. 249)	138

Lower Egypt	138
Qantara	138
3.9 Monument of Seti I for Ramesses I	138
Qatana-Qantir (Avaris)	140
3.10 Industrial/Military Site	140
3.11 Faience Inlays from Palace Doorways of Seti I	142
3.12 Barque Socle of Seth (Former Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum) ..	143
Tell Birka	144
3.13 Block of Seti I	144
Kom Sheik Raziq	144
3.14 2 Blocks (Doorjamb)	144
El-Mineiar	145
3.15 Block of Seti I	145
Heliopolis	145
3.16 Flaminian Obelisk	145
3.17 Obelisk Fragment of Seti I (Inv. 3012)	147
3.18 Three Obelisk Fragments of Seti I (Inv. 2001 & 2026 A/B)	148
3.19 Sandstone Doorjamb (Alexandria 420)	149
3.20 Offering Table for Atum-Khepri (Cairo CG 23090)	149
3.21 Offering Table for Horus-in-the-Great-Mansion (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek E. 115/AEIN 44/A 742)	150
3.22 Grottaferrata Statue Fragment of Seti I	152
3.23 Lintel of Seti I (Former Brussels E. 407)	153
3.24 Fragmentary Naos of Seti I	154
3.25 Naos Fragment of Seti I (Berlin 16782)	154
3.26 Octagonal Pillar of Seti I (Berlin 2888)	155
3.27 Block of Seti I (Alexandria 26290)	155
3.28 Block from an Obelisk Socle of Seti I (Inv. 2260)	156
3.29 Votive Temple-Model (Brooklyn 49.183 [66.229])	156
3.30 Fragment with Decoration of Seti I	159
Memphis	159
3.31 Temple of Seti I in Memphis	159
3.32 Statue of Seti (Cairo CG 1293)	161
3.33 Lintel of Seti I	161
3.34 Ptah Chapel of Seti I	162
3.35 Lintel of Seti I (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 13573)	163
3.36 Cornice of Seti I	164
Saqqara	165
3.37 Stela of Seti I for Renenwetet (Leiden V.16 Inv. #AP 61)	165
3.38 Tomb Relief of Amenwahsu and Tiya (Chicago 10507)	166

Giza	167
3.39 Stela of Hatiay (Cairo JdE 72269)	167
3.40 Huntsman Stela of Seti I (Cairo JdE 72269)	168
Fayum	168
3.41 Boundary Stela of Seti I, Year 2 (Cairo CG 34502)	168
Upper Egypt	169
Kom el-Lufi (Minya)	169
3.42 Boundary Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (Brooklyn 69.116.1)	169
Hermopolis	170
3.43 Decree of Seti I	170
3.44 Fragment of a Doorjamb	170
Girga	171
3.45 Building Cramp of Seti I	171
Abydos	171
3.46 Temple of Seti I	171
3.46.1 Outer Courts and Pylons	172
3.46.2 The Portico in the Second Court	172
3.46.3 First Hypostyle Hall	174
3.46.4 Second Hypostyle Hall	176
3.46.5 The Seven Chapels and Osiris Suite	177
3.46.6 South Wing of the Temple	179
3.46.7 Layout of Decoration in Paint	180
3.46.8 Reliefs in South Wing Finished by Seti I	180
3.46.8.1 Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite	180
3.46.8.2 Gallery of the Kings	180
3.46.8.3 Slaughter Court	182
3.46.8.4 Corridor of the Bull and Staircase Y'	182
3.46.9 Work in the South Wing Completed After Seti's Death by Ramesses II	183
3.46.9.1 Gallery of the Kings	183
3.46.9.2 Corridor of the Bull	183
3.46.9.3 Staircase Y'	185
3.46.9.4 Hall of Barques	185
3.46.10 Reliefs in the South Wing Completed by Merenptah	186
3.46.11 Temenos Wall, Palace and Magazines	187
3.46.12 Conclusions: The State of the temple at Seti's Death	188
Objects from the Temple	190
3.47 Statue fragment of Seti I (Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5910)	190
3.48 Statue Bust of Seti I (Dallas Museum of Art 1984.50)	191
3.49 Kneeling Statue of Seti I (New York MMA 22.2.21)	191

3.50	Statue Fragment of Seti I (Sorrento, Museo Correale di Terranova 74)	192
3.51	Altar Pedestal of Seti I (Cairo JdE 4743; SR 12018)	193
3.52	Osireion	194
3.53	Chapel of Ramesses I	199
3.54	Offering Table for Ramesses I	202
3.55	Osiride Statue of Ramesses I (Cairo: JdE 89525; SR 15522)	203
3.56	Stela for Ramesses I Chapel	204
	Uncertain Provenance within Abydos	205
3.57	Statuette of Seti I (Cairo CG 751)	205
3.58	Statue Fragment of Seti I (Dewsbury Museum)	206
3.59	“Portal Temple”	206
3.60	Lintel of Seti I (Cairo JdE 32091)	207
3.61	Fragment of Seti I as a Sphinx (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 12469)	208
3.62	Relief Fragment of Seti I (British Museum EA 609)	209
3.63	Stela of Miya	210
3.64	Relief Fragment of Seti I (Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg AEIN 42/A 730)	210
	Coptos	211
3.65	Base of Sphinx of Seti I	211
	Nagada	211
3.66	Offering Table of Seti I for Seth (New York MMA 22.2.22)	211
	Medamud	213
3.67	Statue Base Naming Ramesses I and Seti I (IFAO CAVES 42)	213
3.68	Reused Blocks of Seti I	214
	Thebes	216
	Karnak	216
3.69	The Great Hypostyle Hall	216
	3.69.1 Extent of the Decoration of the Hall under Seti I	217
	3.69.1.1	217
	3.69.1.2 North Exterior Wall	217
	3.69.1.3 Columns	218
	3.69.1.4 Architraves	219
	3.69.1.5 Clerestory and Roof	220
	3.69.2 Previous Theories on the Date of the Hall	222
	3.69.3 Chronology of the Decoration and Epigraphic Evidence for the Date of the Hall	228
	3.69.3.1 The Earliest Relief Work in the Hall and the Recutting of Figures of Seti I on the North Gateway	228
	3.69.3.2 Reliefs Portraying Ramesses I Inside the Hall ..	233

3.69.3.3	The Procedure Used to Decorate the Hall	236
3.69.3.4	Epigraphic Evidence for the Date of the Architecture	240
3.69.3.5	Chronology of the Relief Decoration under Seti I	241
3.69.3.6	Extent of Planned Decoration Executed in Paint by Seti I and Carved by Ramesses II . .	243
3.69.4	Summary and Conclusions:	
	Chronology of the Decoration of the Hall under Seti I	245
3.69.4.1	Summary of the Relative Chronology of the Decorative Process	246
3.69.4.2	Conclusions	248
	Karnak Precinct of Amen-Re	249
	Stelae of Seti I	249
3.70	Alabaster Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (Cairo CG 34501)	249
3.71	Ptah Temple Stela of Seti I, Year 1	250
3.72	Fragmentary Stela of Seti I(?)	251
3.73	Block(s) Reused in the Temple of Khonsu	251
	Statuary of Seti I at Karnak	252
3.74	Alabaster Statue of Seti I (Cairo CG 42139)	252
3.75	Group Statue of Amen, Mut and Seti I (Cairo CG 39210 + 927)	253
3.76	Group Statue of Amen & Mut (Cairo CG 39211)	254
3.77	Fragment of a Group Statue of Amen & Mut (Cairo CG 39212)	254
3.78	Black Granodiorite Head of Amen	255
3.79	Sphinx in the Name of Seti I (Late Period?)	256
3.80	Statue Base of Seti I	256
	Karnak, Precinct of Monthu	256
3.81	<i>Sm3-T3wy</i> Stela of Seti I	256
3.82	Bases of Granite Colossi of Seti I	256
	West Bank of Thebes	257
3.83	Gurnah Memorial Temple of Seti I	257
3.83.1	Architectural Conception	257
3.83.2	Building History	264
3.83.3	Description and Chronology of the Observable Phases in the Decorative Program	265
3.83.3.1	Decoration Featuring Seti Alone	266
3.83.3.2	Relief Featuring Seti I and Ramesses II in the Hypostyle Hall	268
3.83.3.3	The Vestibule of the Ramesses I Suite	270
3.83.3.4	Checklist of Scenes in the Vestibule	271
3.83.3.4.1	South Wall, Raised Relief/Short Prenomen (=R ¹) (271)	271

Upper Register Q 307-309	271
Lower Register Q 310	272
3.83.3.4.2 West wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short & Long Prenomen (=R ¹ — R ³) (272)	272
Scenes over the lintels of three doorways (Q 302, 304-305)	272
3.83.3.4.3 East wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short & Long Prenomen (=R ¹ — R ³) (273)	274
Upper Register Q 294-295 & 312	274
Lower Register Q 296 & 313	274
3.83.3.4.4 North Wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short Prenomen (=R ¹ & R ²) (275)	274
Upper register (Q 297-299)	275
Lower register (Q 301)	276
3.83.3.5 Antechamber (Room 34) to the Cult Rooms of Seti I (=R ² & R ³)	277
3.83.3.6 Later Reliefs of Ramesses II at Gurnah	277
3.83.4 Summary of the Chronology of Relief Decoration at Gurnah	
Temple under Seti I and Ramesses II	278
3.84 4 Votive Stelae of Seti I from Gurnah Temple	281
3.85 Double Temple of Seti I North of Ramesseum	282
Deir el-Medina	282
General and Uncertain Provenance Within the Town	282
3.86 Jamb of Seti I (Turin No. 6005)	282
3.87 Stela Naming Seti I and Ramesses I (no. 122)	282
3.88 Stela of Seti I (no. 422)	283
3.89 Stela of Seti I (Turin N. 50090 [former 1466])	283
3.90 Fragment of an Altar Stand	284
3.91 Cornice of a Doorpost	284
3.92 Stela Fragment with the King Libating the Barque of Hathor (no. 237)	285
3.93 Hathor Temple	285
3.94 Altar Stand of Seti I (no. 303)	285
3.95 Altar Stand of Seti I (no. 304)	286
3.96 Fragmentary Libation Basin for Hathor (Cairo JdE 72010)	286
3.97 Stela of Seti I (no. 414)	286
Town cemetery	287
3.98 Tomb Relief of Ameneminet (JdE 43591)	287
3.99 Tomb Relief Naming Seti I (Turin N. 50081)	288
Medinet Habu	288
3.100 Head of Amen Statue (Port Said Museum P. 4035 = former Cairo temp. no. 23.8.22.4)	288
3.101 Statue of Amenhotep I as Amen (Port Said Museum P. 4020 [= former Cairo CG 1244])	289

Valley of the Kings	289
3.102 Tomb of Seti I (KV 17)	289
Uncertain Provenance within Thebes	293
3.103 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I (British Museum EA 1665)	293
3.104 Three Fragments of a Theban Votive Temple Model	294
3.105 Statue of Seti I Protected by Amen (Louvre A 130)	294
El Kab	295
3.106 Lion Figure (Cairo JdE 89120)	295
3.107 Reused Blocks of Seti I (Column Drums)	296
Hierakonpolis	296
3.108 Statue Base Fragment of Seti I	296
Gebel Silsila East	296
3.109 Rock Stela, Year 6	296
3.110 Rock Stela of Hapi	298
Gebel Silsila West	299
3.111 Rhetorical Stela of Seti I	299
3.112 Hapi Shrine of Seti I	300
Edfu	300
3.113 Stela of Seti I to Hathor (Edinburgh RMS 1907.632)	300
Elephantine	301
3.114 "Nilometer" Stela of Seti I	301
3.115 Relief Fragment of Seti I	303
3.116 Wall Relief of Seti I Offering Wine to Khnum	303
3.117 Fragments of Three Sandstone Doorways	304
3.118 Temple Wall Relief (Louvre B 61, E 12921 BIS C)	304
Aswan Region	306
3.119 Smaller Stela of Seti I, Year 9	306
3.120 Larger Stela of Seti I, Year 9	310
3.121 Obelisk Fragment of Seti I	311
Deserts outside of Egypt	314
Wadi Hammamat	314
3.122 Rock Stela of Seti I (Cuyat-Montet no. 94)	314
3.123 Rock Stela of Seti I (Cuyat-Montet no. 213)	314
3.124 Rock Stela of Seti I (Cuyat-Montet no. 214)	314
Kanais	315
3.125 Kanais Temple of Seti I	315
3.126 Stela of Anena and Another	318
3.127 Rock Stela of Panub	318
Near Kurkur Oasis	319
3.128 Boundary Stela, Year 4	319

Nubia	320
Beit el-Wali	320
3.129 Block of Seti I	320
El Dakka	321
3.130 Blocks of Seti I	321
Kuban	321
3.131 Installation of Seti I in the Fortress of Kuban	321
Sayala	322
3.132 Stela Fragment of Seti I, Year 3	322
Amada	322
3.133 Kiosk Fragments	322
Qasr Ibrim	323
3.134 Rock Stela of Seti I with Viceroy of Kush Amenemopet	323
Faras	323
3.135 Block of Seti I	323
Aksha	324
3.136 Subsidiary Buildings of Seti I in the Ramesside Temple Complex	324
3.137 Block with Kneeling Captive	325
3.138 Block Fragment with Cartouche of Seti I	326
Buhen	326
3.139 Larger Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (British Museum EA 1189)	326
3.140 Smaller Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10988)	327
Amara West	328
3.141 Town Enclosure Wall	328
3.142 Stela of Seti I, Year 8 (Brooklyn 39.424)	329
3.143 Stela Fragment of Seti I (Khartoum Museum 3063)	330
3.144 Block with Cartouche of Seti from the "Governor's Palace"	330
Sai	331
3.145 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I (MAF F.25.11+)	331
Gebel Dosh a	331
3.146 Stela of Seti I with Viceroy of Kush Amenemopet	331
Sesebi	332
3.147 Block of Seti I	332
3.148 Precinct Wall of Sun Temple	332
3.149 Block of Seti I	332
Nauri	333
3.150 Stela of Seti I, Year 4	333
Gebel Barkal	335
3.151 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I, Year 11 (Khartoum 1856)	335
3.152 Hall of Appearances, (<i>Wshꜣt ḥꜣw</i>), of Seti I	337

CHAPTER 4: STUDIES ON THE HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SETI I'S MONUMENTS	338
4.1 The Internal Chronology of Seti I's Reign	338
4.2 Accession Dates of the First Three Ramessides	338
4.2.1 The Accession date of Ramesses I	338
4.2.2 The Accession date of Seti I	339
4.2.3 The Accession date of Ramesses II	341
4.3 The Length of Seti I's Reign	344
4.4 A Reassessment of the Hypothetical Coregencies of the Early Nineteenth Dynasty	348
4.5 The Hypothetical Coregency of Ramesses I and Seti I	350
4.6 The Hypothetical Coregency of Seti I with Ramesses II	352
4.6.1 Scholarship on the Coregency	352
4.6.2 The Abydos Dedicatory Inscription and the Kuban Stela of Ramesses II as Evidence for a Coregency	354
4.6.3 Survey of Monuments Touching on the Hypothetical Coregency of Seti I and Ramesses II	356
4.6.3.1 Stela of Ashahebused (Sinai 250)	356
4.6.3.2 Two Private Monuments Depicting Ramesses as Crown Prince	357
4.6.3.3 Abydos Temple of Seti I	357
4.6.3.4 Abydos Temple of Ramesses II	359
4.6.3.5 Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Interior Reliefs	359
4.6.3.6 Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Battle Reliefs of Seti I	363
4.6.3.7 Luxor Obelisks and Colossi of Ramesses II	363
4.6.3.8 Gurnah Memorial Temple of Seti I	364
4.6.3.9 Tomb relief of Ameneminet (Cairo JdE 43591) from Deir el-Medina	367
4.6.3.10 Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II	368
4.6.4 Conclusions	369
CHAPTER 5: THE BUILDING PROGRAM OF SETI I	374
5.1 Introduction	374
5.2 Western Asia and Sinai	374
5.3 Lower Egypt	374
5.4 Memphis	375
5.5 Heliopolis	378
5.6 Abydos	381
5.7 Thebes	384
5.8 Upper Egypt	388
5.9 The Deserts outside Egypt	390
5.10 Nubia	390

5.11	Parallel Foundations <i>3h Sty-mr-n-Pth m pr N</i>	393
5.12	Conclusions	394
APPENDIX A: METHODS USED IN RESTORING RELIEFS		396
1.	Hard Stone Reliefs	396
2.	Soft Stone Reliefs	398
APPENDIX B: ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BARQUE OF AMEN-RE UNDER SETI I AND RAMESSES II		402
1.	Earlier reign of Seti I	402
2.	Later Reign of Seti I	403
3.	Rameses II	408
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS		414
BIBLIOGRAPHY		421

LIST OF PLATES

- 1A. Relief of Horemheb from the 10th Pylon at Karnak.
- B. Relief of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the 2nd Pylon at Karnak.
- 2A. Relief of Seti I on the fallen obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak.
- B. Relief of Seti I from the edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak.
3. Copenhagen AEIN 42/A 730. Relief of Seti I from the chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos.
- 4A. Restored face of Amen-Re from the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- B. Restored relief of Amen-Re and Mut from the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 5A. Relief of Seti I from the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- B. Relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall showing mature Ramesside style.
- 6A. Relief of Seti I on a column from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- B. Relief of Seti I on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
7. Detail of former Brussels E. 407. Relief of Seti I on a lintel from Heliopolis.
- 8A. Relief of Seti I from his battle reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- B. Posthumous representation of Ramesses I in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.
- 9A. Relief of Seti I from his battle reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- B. Cairo JdE 32091. Relief of Seti I on a lintel from Abydos.
- 10A. Relief of Amenhotep III from Luxor temple.
- B. Relief of Seti I from Gurnah temple.
- 11A. Recut figure of Amenhotep III from Luxor temple.
- B. Relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 12A. Relief of Ramesses II on the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- B. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek E. 115/AEIN 44. Vignette on an offering table for Horus from Heliopolis.
- 13A. Relief of Seti I from Gurnah temple.
- B. Relief of Seti I from the north interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 14A. Relief of Ramesses III from his temple at Medinet Habu.
- B. Relief of Seti I from the north interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 15A. Long military wig of Seti I type A.
- B. Long military wig of Seti I type B.
- C. Long military wig of Seti I type C.
- 16A. *Damnatio Memoriae* of Hatshepsut on a block from the *chappelle rouge*.
- B. Relief of Seti I on the north interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 17A. Relief of Tutankhamen usurped by Horemheb on the 6th Pylon at Karnak.
- B. Cairo JdE 86763. Lunette of the Historical Stela of Amenhotep II from Memphis.
- 18A. Restored relief of Amenhotep II from the *w3dyt*-hall at Karnak.
- B. Restoration of Seti I on the 4th Pylon at Karnak.
- 19A. Shaft of the standing obelisk "E" of Hatshepsut at Karnak.
- B. Scene on the upper shaft of the fallen obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut at Karnak.
- 20A. Figure of Amen-Re restored by Seti I on fallen obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut at Karnak.
- B. Shaft of fallen obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut at Karnak.

- 21A. Restoration usurped by Seti I between 5th and 6th Pylons at Karnak
 B. Cairo CG 34011. Lunette of a stela of Thutmose III from Karnak restored by Seti I.
- 22A. Restoration of Seti I on the south-east jamb of the 7th Pylon at Karnak.
 B. Hathor, Weret-hekau and Thutmose II. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 23A. Barque of Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
 B. Prow of the barque of Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 24A. Amen-Re and Seti I. Secondary restoration on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
 B. Closer view of Amen-Re and Seti I.
- 25A. Recut plumes of Amen-Re on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
 B. Seti offering wine to Amen-Re. Secondary restoration on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
26. Recut hand of Amen-Re on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 27A. Lesser Ennead, top register. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak
 B. Greater Ennead, middle register. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 28A. Recut figure of Nemty on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
 B. Seti I led by Monthu. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
29. Seti I led by Monthu, with Thoth, Weret-hekau and king on 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 30A. Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the east tower of the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
 B. Weret-hekau, Thutmose II, Amen-Re and Khonsu. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 31A. Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the west tower of the 8th Pylon at Karnak
 B. Stela "R" of Amenhotep II restored by Seti I in front of the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 32A. Detail of stela "R" of Amenhotep II from Karnak.
 B. Stela "Q" of Amenhotep II restored by Seti I in front of the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 33A. Pillar 37 from the edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak. Secondary restoration of Seti I
 B. Cairo CG 34013. Stela of Thutmose III from Ptah temple at Karnak restored by Seti I
- 34A. Pillar 36 from the edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak. Secondary restoration of Seti I
 B. Block of Amenhotep III restored by Seti I. Karnak south blockyard.
- 35A. Pillar 28 from the edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak. Secondary restoration of Seti I
 B. Face of Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I on the 8th Pylon at Karnak.
- 36A. Amen-Kamutef and *shnt*-pole. Secondary restoration of Seti I in the hypostyle at Luxor temple.
 B. Amenhotep III pours ointment over Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I in the hypostyle at Luxor temple.
- 37A. Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I in the hypostyle hall at Luxor temple.
 B. Amenhotep III and divine figure. Secondary restoration of Seti I in the hypostyle hall at Luxor temple.
- 38A. Enthroned Amen-Re embracing Amenhotep III. Secondary restoration of Seti I from hypostyle hall at Luxor temple.
 B. Amenhotep III and Amen-Re. Secondary restoration of Seti I on a lintel from the hypostyle hall at Luxor temple.

- 39A. Amenhotep III embracing Amen-Kamutef. Secondary restoration of Seti I from the hypostyle hall at Luxor temple.
 B. Nile god. Secondary restoration of Seti I from the hypostyle hall at Luxor temple.
- 40A. Statue pedestal for Horus of Mesen dedicated by Seti I in memory of Ramesses I.
 B. Seti I as a sphinx with head of the Seth-animal. Obelisk fragment of Seti I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria.
- 41A. Scene from the top of an obelisk fragment of Seti I found in the harbor at Alexandria.
42. Flaminian obelisk of Seti I from Heliopolis.
- 43A. Obelisk fragment of Seti I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria.
 B. Block from an obelisk socle of Seti I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria.
- 44A. Fragment of an obelisk of Seti I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria.
 B. Side of an obelisk socle of Seti I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria.
- 45A. Alexandria museum 420. Doorjamb of Seti I from Heliopolis.
 B. Detail of Alexandria museum 420. Face of Seti I.
- 46A. View of Alexandria museum 420.
 B. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek E. 115/AEIN 44. Offering table for Horus-who-is-in-the-Great-Mansion from Heliopolis.
- 47A. Vignette from the front of Copenhagen E. 115/AEIN 44.
 B. Detail of bandeau text from Copenhagen E. 115/AEIN 44.
48. Former Brussels E. 407. Lintel of Seti I from Heliopolis.
49. Pennsylvania University Museum E. 13573. Lintel of Seti I from Memphis.
50. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden V. 16 Inv. # AP 61. Stela of Seti I for Renenwetet from Saqqara.
- 51A. Cairo CG 34502. Year 2 boundary stela of Seti I from the Fayum.
 B. Ptah chapel of Seti I from Memphis.
52. Brooklyn 69.116.1. Year one boundary stela of Seti I.
- 53A. Relief of Seti I in the Gallery of the Kings in his Abydos temple.
 B. Seti I and prince Ramesses in the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos.
54. Pennsylvania University Museum E. 12469. Fragment of a sphinx statue of Seti I from Abydos.
55. New York MMA 22.2.22. Offering table of Seti I for Seth.
- 56A. Cairo JdE 743. Altar pedestal of Seti I from his Abydos temple.
 B. Cairo JdE 32091. Lintel of Seti I from Abydos.
57. Relief of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on a pier from the north aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 58A. View of the south exterior face of the clerestory of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
 B. Detail of the north exterior face of the clerestory of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 59A. Relief of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on a pier from the south aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
 B. Ram-headed stern of the barge of Amen-Re. Original relief on 2nd Pylon at Karnak Suppressed by reliefs of Seti I on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
60. Recut relief of Seti I on the interior east jamb of the north gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.

- 61 Drawing of the figure of Seti I on the north gate of the Karnak Hypostyle
- 62A. Recut figure of Seti I on the west exterior jamb of the north gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
 B. Posthumous representation of Ramesses I in a relief of Seti I on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 63A. Detail of above scene.
 B. Detail of another posthumous scene with Ramesses I from the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 64A. Relief of Ramesses II on the west interior jamb of the south gate in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
 B. Posthumous representation of Seti I in a relief of Ramesses II on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
- 65A. Cartouche of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on an architrave in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.
 B. Cairo CG 34501. Alabaster stela of Seti I from year one.
- 66A. Detail of Ptah temple stela of Seti I.
 B. Lunette of Ptah temple stela of Seti I from year one.
- 67A. Reliefs of Seti I in Room 16 in Gurnah temple.
 B. Relief of Seti I in Room 16 in Gurnah temple.
- 68A. Relief of Seti I in the barque chapel of Amen-Re in Gurnah temple.
 B. Seti I anointing Ramesses I in the chapel of Ramesses I in Gurnah temple.
- 69A. Cartouche frieze of Seti I in the hypostyle hall at Gurnah temple.
 B. Posthumous representation of Seti I in a relief of Ramesses II from the north wall of the Gurnah temple hypostyle hall.
- 70A. Posthumous representation of Seti I in a relief of Ramesses II from the transverse hall in Gurnah temple.
 B. Posthumous representation of Seti I in a relief of Ramesses II in the hypostyle hall in Gurnah temple.
- 71A. Deified Seti I and Khonsu in a relief of Ramesses II in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah temple.
 B. Ramesses II receives *hb-sd*'s from Theban Triad and deified Seti I. Relief of Ramesses II from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah temple.
- 72A. Posthumous scene of Seti I from a relief of Ramesses II on the gateway leading into the chapel of Ramesses I in Gurnah temple.
 B. Ramesses II offering to Amen-Re and deified king. Relief of Ramesses II in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah temple.
- 73A. Deified Ramesses I and Amen-Re. Relief of Ramesses II in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah temple.
 B. Ramesses II running before Osiris and deified Seti I. Relief of Ramesses II from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah temple.
- 74A. Posthumous scene of Seti I alongside scene of Ramesses II in Room 34 in Gurnah temple.
 B. Incomplete reliefs of Ramesses II in Room 26 in Gurnah temple.

- 75A. Port Said Museum P. 4035. Head of Amen-Re from Medinet Habu (side view)
 B. Port Said Museum P. 4035. Front view.
76. Louvre B 61/E. 12921. Relief of Seti I from Elephantine.
77. Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10988. Smaller year one stela of Seti I from Buhen.
78. Prince Ramesses pours libation. Relief of Seti I from the Gallery of the Kings in his temple at Abydos.
79. Detail of prince Ramesses' sash with pendant bearing his cartouches
80. Deified Seti I. Relief of Ramesses II in staircase Y' in the temple of Seti I in Abydos.
81. Ramesses II offers to deified Seti I. Relief of Ramesses II in staircase Y' in the temple of Seti I in Abydos.
82. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the east tower of the 8th Pylon at Karnak. Relief of Tutankhamen usurped by Seti I.
83. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the north wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, east wing. Relief of Seti I.
84. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the north wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, west wing. Relief of Seti I.
- 85A. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re in the sanctuary of Amen-Re in Gurnah temple, north wall.
 B. View of the barque of Amen-Re in the sanctuary of Amen-Re in Gurnah temple, north wall.
- 86A. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re in the sanctuary of Amen-Re in Gurnah temple, south wall.
 B. Forward half of the barque of Amen-Re in the sanctuary of Amen-Re in Gurnah temple, south wall.
87. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, west wing. Relief of Ramesses II.
- 88A. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, east wing. Relief of Ramesses II.
 B. Billow of the veil on the barque of Amen-Re on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Relief of Ramesses II.
89. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the west wall of the Triple Shrine in Luxor temple, relief of Ramesses II.
- 90A. Cabin shrine of the barque of Amen-Re on the west wall of the barque sanctuary of Seti II at Karnak.
 B. Unrestored relief vandalized by Akhenaten on pillar 14 on the façade of the edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak.
91. Brussels E. 5300. Stela of Miya from Abydos.

LIST OF PLANS

1. Karnak Hypostyle Hall ground plan.
2. Karnak Hypostyle Hall clerestory elevation.
3. Karnak Hypostyle Hall cross section of the clerestory looking west.
4. Gurnah temple ground plan.
5. Gurnah temple hypostyle hall wall plans.
6. Gurnah temple transverse hall wall plans.
7. Gurnah temple vestibule of the Ramesses I suite wall plans.
8. Gurnah temple room 34 wall plans.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: <i>ꜥḥ</i> Used as an Adjective to Describe the King	32
Table 2: the phrase <i>ir ꜥḥ</i> used to Describe the King.	33

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Variant Orthographies of Seti I's Prenomen Arranged Vertically	44
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Methods Used in Restoring Reliefs	396
Appendix B: Iconography of the Barque of Amen-Re under Seti I and Ramesses II	402

CHAPTER I METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

1.1 Introduction

Through the use of a multi-disciplinary approach to the evidence, it is hoped that a clearer understanding of Seti I's building program and of a number of pertinent historical issues can be achieved. The primary focus of this study will be monumental reliefs. These will be examined from a number of perspectives: epigraphic, art historical, iconographic and philological. All these methodologies are useful in dating reliefs and monuments, and in arriving at a more precise internal chronology for individual monuments within the reign, and in elucidating the *Baugeschichte* of buildings such as the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It is also hoped that a multi-disciplinary approach can bridge the gap between art historians and philologists, who are often at odds. In particular, there is a great deal of scepticism among philologists towards art historical analysis and the conclusions reached by this method.¹ By applying a number of methodologies to the study of individual monuments, it will be shown that wholly independent criteria developed from a number of disciplines can be marshaled in support of similar conclusions regarding individual monuments, and that conclusions reached through the simultaneous application of a number of different methodologies are more reliable than those achieved through the use of only one.

¹Historical conclusions reached through the sole use of art historical criteria have often been discounted, even by other art historians. Thus recently J. F. Romano has challenged W. R. Johnson's arguments in favor of the alleged coregency of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. See Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. by L. Berman, (Cleveland, 1990), 26-46; and Romano's rejoinder in *Ibid.*, 55-64.

Yet ancient texts, often both fragmentary and highly rhetorical, are frequently as *prima facie* evidence. After many years of scholarly wrangling over the Amenhotep III/Akhenaten coregency, most of which centered on art historical evidence, textual evidence was recently put forward as "proof" of this theory only to be retracted soon thereafter. See J. P. Allen, "Further Evidence for the Coregency of Amenhotep III and IV?," *GM* 140 (1994), 7-8. Several views, including Allen's were given in "Further Evidence for the Coregency of Amenhotep III and IV?: Three Views," *Amarna Letters* 3 (1994), 26-30. Allen then retracted his views in an addendum to *Ibid.*, *Amarna Letters* 3, 152.

Ultimately, the goal of this examination of Seti's monuments is historical. A common pitfall of much Egyptological analysis of monumental reliefs and inscriptions, regardless of the methodology employed, (art historical, philological, epigraphic), is the tendency to focus too closely on a small sample of the available material that seems to be most relevant to the historical issue at hand. A good example of this is the question of the earliest decoration in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the issue of Ramesses I's involvement in it. Previous discussion of this topic has focused exclusively on a handful of reliefs naming him intermixed with those featuring Seti I, yet the precise dating and historical significance of these reliefs has remained elusive.² As we shall see, a holistic approach to all the reliefs in the building naming both Ramesses I and Seti I clearly establishes the sequence of its earliest decoration and Ramesses' role in this.

Too often such narrow, problem-based approaches to the study of monumental reliefs have led to erroneous or inconclusive results. A holistic examination of the entire decorative program of a monument, and not just those items that seem most interesting and historically significant, tends to establish better, more firmly demonstrable conclusions. When seen within the wider context of the whole decorative program, those more salient reliefs and inscriptions often turn out to have a different chronological or historical import than they seemed to have when examined in isolation.

The same holistic approach is also useful for examining recurrent patterns in the reliefs. At times it is necessary to examine individual iconographic or textual criteria not just from the period and venue of interest to the historian, but from a broader sequence of such themes encompassing examples that lie outside the time and place where they seem germane to the issue at hand. An example of this is the question of rebus decoration on the canopy of the sacred barque of Amen-Re at Thebes under Ramesses II and its potential relevance to the question of the hypothetical coregency between him and his father Seti I.³ Comparison with both contemporary examples as well as with others dating to before and after the early

²On this problem see *infra* 3.69.3.2.

³See *infra* 4.6ff.

Nineteenth Dynasty, suggest a much different interpretation should be placed on this evidence than has been offered by scholars who have focused on only the handful of examples bearing directly on the issue of the coregency itself.⁴

The present chapter is designed to outline various epigraphic, iconographic, and art historical criteria observable in monumental reliefs of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. These were chosen because they are commonly found in reliefs of this time and seemed useful for dating reliefs within the reign of Seti and for distinguishing them from ones made before and after him by Ramesses I and Ramesses II. The ability to distinguish more precisely reliefs of Seti from those of his immediate predecessor and successor is of paramount importance in understanding the chronology of the early Nineteenth Dynasty because Seti I dedicated a number of monuments to his father after the latter's death and because in turn Ramesses II completed a number of large buildings left unfinished at Seti's death. Finally, the question of whether Seti was alive or dead when Ramesses II began decorating monuments, and whether some reliefs featuring Seti I were posthumous, is vital to elucidating the problem of their hypothetical coregency.

1.2 Art Historical and Iconographical Criteria

1.2.1 The Relief Style in the Earliest Years of Seti I

Recently, Sourouzian has shown that the earliest sculpture in the round of Seti I was executed in a post-Amarna style.⁵ But what of the monumental reliefs from this time? In his important study of New Kingdom reliefs, Myśliwiec detected two stylistic phases in reliefs of Seti I.⁶ These, he believed, corresponded to the earlier part of his reign when the chapel for

⁴See *infra* Appendix B.

⁵H. Sourouzian, "Statues et représentations de statues royales sous Séthi I," *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 239-257.

⁶K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, (Warsaw, 1976), 96ff.

Ramesses I at Abydos was being decorated, and a later one towards the end of Seti's life during his alleged coregency with Ramesses II.

Myśliwiec's treatment of Seti's later relief style, found at Abydos, Gurnah, KV 17 and the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, is masterful, but his dating of what he believed were the king's earliest reliefs, exemplified by the Ramesses I chapel, is less clear. While these were made before the others, they were not, however, the earliest examples from the reign, and Myśliwiec perhaps overstates their affinity with post-Amarna examples, including those made by Ramesses I.

In his catalog, Myśliwiec overlooked a sizable quantity of examples. Most of these are restorations that Seti I made to existing monuments vandalized under Akhenaten, and additions he made to extant buildings. As we shall see in this chapter, many such reliefs can be dated to the earliest part of the reign based on epigraphic and other criteria wholly independent of stylistic analysis. This earlier corpus includes various restorations, wall reliefs from the southern portion of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and his decoration of the Speos Artemidos. Although Myśliwiec lists some of these sources, he does not treat any of them in detail.

The earliest reliefs to be considered in this study are those which can be confidently assigned to Ramesses I's brief reign.⁷ These are found on the interior surfaces of the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak (**PLATE 1B**).⁸ Badly damaged and largely neglected by Egyptologists, only two of the best preserved examples have been published.⁹ They both share a strong affinity with the art of Ramesses' immediate predecessors (**PLATE 1A**).¹⁰ The eye is large and almond-shaped and is tilted slightly downwards toward the front. A crease where the eyeball meets the ridge of the eye socket is treated both plastically and with an

⁷Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 93-94.

⁸*PM II*², 39 (144-145); Nelson, *Key Plans* KA 178-188 & 207-217.

⁹Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, figs. 89-90.

¹⁰Cf. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 186 (Tutankhamen), 189 (Ay), and 200 (Horemheb).

incised line that traces the edge of the socket. The lower edge of the eye socket is more subtly modeled, while the eyebrow is highly modeled and naturalistic, taking the form of a symmetrical, gradually curving arch. The bridge of the nose is straight, while its tip curves around and slopes down at a diagonal to the base of the nostril at its junction with the philtrum. The forehead appears straight and is only slightly convex, with the change in angle where it meets the bridge of the nose being very subtle. This gives the overall profile between the hairline and the tip of the nose a faintly concave appearance. Ramesses' mouth is full, with thick lips that bulge at the front before they narrow dramatically near the corner of the mouth. The corner of the mouth itself is a small, deeply incised dot from which a lightly modeled depression curves down and towards the back of the head to denote the cheek. The ear is similar to examples current since the reign of Amenhotep III in having a back-curving tragus.¹¹ As in other post-Amarna reliefs, the earlobe is also pierced, a custom among male royalty in the Amarna period that continued well into the Ramesside era.

Another, as yet unpublished relief from the Second Pylon that adjoins the present examples depicts the god Atum.¹² Although contemporary with those just described, it nevertheless differs in a number of ways. The nose is more aquiline and Atum's eye and eyebrow have the traditional thick cosmetic bands. Still, it is in essentially the same mode, and such minor variations in details of a relief are not unusual. All Ramesses I's reliefs from the vestibule of the Second Pylon differ measurably from those of Seti I in the latter's temples at Karnak, Gurnah and Abydos. This includes a number of tableaux on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall that depict the elder monarch alongside his son carved in the mature Ramesside style current towards the end of Seti's reign (**PLATE 8B**).¹³

The reliefs from the Abydos chapel of Ramesses I made under Seti I, which Mysliwicz dates to the earliest part of the latter's reign, also deviate significantly from the style of the

¹¹Until the late in the reign of Amenhotep III the tragus was always straight, thereafter it was depicted curving backward into the ear. William Murnane by personal communication. Cf. Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, *passim*.

¹²Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 187.

¹³On the date of these reliefs see *infra* 3.69.3.2.

Second Pylon reliefs (**PLATE 3**).¹⁴ At first glance, the Abydos chapel's decoration appears almost identical in style to that from the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak.¹⁵ The mouth is formed in a similar manner on both monuments while, in the mature Ramesside style, the lips are less rounded, more wedge-shaped and narrow more evenly towards the corner of the mouth.¹⁶ The nose is more aquiline, a variant attested on the Second Pylon, but less so than in some later reliefs of Seti from Abydos and elsewhere. The modeled brow with its deep crease between the brow and upper eyelid is another extension of the post-Amarna style. Despite these affinities, there is one important difference: the shape of the eye itself.

In the mature Ramesside style found on Seti's most important monuments, the eye is no longer symmetrical and almond-shaped but, as Myśliwiec points out, is more rhomboidal (**PLATE 5B**).¹⁷ In particular, the lower eyelid is asymmetrical and its shape differs from the upper lid unlike almond-shaped eyes. The base of its curve is behind the vertical axis of the eye, towards the outer canthus. This asymmetrical shape was often further enhanced by giving the lower eyelid a more dramatic bulge and by making the line connecting this bulge to the down-turned inner canthus more concave.

A relief thought to be from the Ramesses I chapel, Ny Carlsberg AEIN 42,¹⁸ is a good example of this Ramesside treatment of the eye and is similar to other reliefs from the chapel now in New York (**PATE 3**).¹⁹ On the whole, these reliefs are closer in style to those of Seti

¹⁴H. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1921).

¹⁵Cf. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 205-206 with Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, figs. 89-90.

¹⁶Ibid., Myśliwiec, 100-101 & figs. 209, 211 & 213.

¹⁷Ibid., 100-101 & fig. 209.

¹⁸Ibid., fig. 205.

¹⁹Ibid., figs. 204 & 206; H. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramses I at Abydos*, pls 1ff.

I in his own Abydos temple than they are to examples of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the Karnak Second Pylon.

A broad sample of Seti I's reliefs can be found that are closer in style to the post-Amarna reliefs of his immediate predecessors than they are to his own decoration in the mature Ramesside style used later in his reign. Although the examples in question all display traits that may be deemed post-Amarna, there does not seem to have been a single predominant school of reliefs early in the reign. For example, on the two great obelisks of Hatshepsut from the *w3dyt*-Hall at Karnak, one finds more aquiline noses on some of the Amen figures restored by Seti, alongside longer, straighter ones on others also made by him (**PLATE 2A**). Both these types occur in examples from the reign of Horemheb, for instance on the granite jambs of the Tenth Pylon (**PLATE 1A**).²⁰ The longer nose is smaller at the nostrils, while the aquiline one is thicker at the bottom, with larger nostrils.

Other reliefs of Seti from monuments he restored at Karnak also bear various post-Amarna traits found in the work of Horemheb. In reliefs Seti added to the rebuilt edifice of Amenhotep II in the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons, the eye is often slightly tilted, while the line between the front of the upper eyelid and the inner canthus is drawn with a bulge as on the Tenth Pylon reliefs (**PLATE 2B**). This convex shape is even more dramatic on examples from the east tower of the Eighth Pylon where the upper lid takes the form of a lopsided arch which curves down at a steep angle toward the inner canthus (**PLATES 4A & 5A**). By contrast in Thutmocide examples, this line was concave.²¹ This shape also differs from the almond-shaped eyes found under Amenhotep III, Akhenaten and the post-Amarna pharaohs.²² Proportionally, this late post-Amarna eye is massive and bulky compared both to the more slender rendition that preceded it and the Ramesside forms that appeared subsequently.

²⁰*PM II*², 188-189 (585a-f); J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin*, (Paris, 1979), 140, fig. 110.

²¹Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 39, 68, 73, 83 & 109.

²²*Ibid.*, figs. 143ff.

On the Eighth Pylon, the two large Amen figures on the north face of the east tower lack the deep creases between the upper eyelid and brow, their noses are also straighter and less aquiline (**PLATE 4A-B**). The image of Seti opposite Amen on the lower register has a more prominent aquiline nose and a large eye, which is shorter and thicker than the more slender eyes of the two Amens (**PLATE 5A**). The pharaoh's eye is also more tilted and the crease above the upper eyelid is indicated by a deeply incised groove. Yet all these examples are in keeping with the bulky eyes found on the Tenth Pylon jambs (**CF. PLATES 1A, 4A & 5A**). The lips on all these figures resemble examples of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the Second Pylon, being thick and rounded, almost puffy, at the front and narrowing suddenly towards the corner of the mouth.

These and similar variants can be found on many of the reliefs that Seti restored in his earliest years. They also occur in his decoration of the Memphite chapel of Ptah,²³ the Speos Artemidos²⁴ and in the south part of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor temple.²⁵ No one stylistic canon seems to have been in use at this time; rather, variations on themes found in the reliefs of Horemheb and Ramesses I were followed. The evolution toward the mature Ramesside style seems to have begun by regnal year four, as seen on a stela of that year from Kurkur oasis.²⁶

Later in the reign, when decoration of this ruler's greatest projects was underway at Karnak, Gurnah and Abydos, reliefs in the mature Ramesside style were produced under the direction of a small group of master craftsmen and sculptors. The result was a large corpus of more stylistically uniform reliefs executed after the new Ramesside style had been firmly established. By contrast, the smaller, more scattered body of examples carved in a stylistic

²³Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), pl. 48b.

²⁴S. Bickel & J.-L. Chappaz, *BSEG* 12 (1988), 21. Here the tilted, almond-shaped eye has been retained.

²⁵Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 53-55, 56 & 60.

²⁶See *infra* 3.128.

tradition inherited from the late Eighteenth Dynasty has not been well understood by art historians.

1.2.2 Posture of the King's Figure

In New Kingdom ritual scenes, the royal image is portrayed in a variety of stances. Most commonly, pharaoh stands fully erect while performing a ritual act, for example while offering incense or a libation (**PLATE 7**). The second most common pose features him kneeling with his knees together. Other postures were also appropriate in ritual episodes, but are less often encountered. Standing royal figures are shown leaning forward or stooping, while a kneeling king may be semi prostrate with his knees spread apart or have his torso inclined forward.

There is a striking feature of ritual scenes dating to the reign of Seti I: frequently the king is depicted standing or kneeling with his torso inclined forward (**PLATE 6A-B**). One also finds rarer examples of Seti crouched down or prostrate in abject humility before the gods (**PLATE 12B**). Seti's stooped posture is interesting not only from a religious or iconographical perspective, but also as an indicator of chronology because this pose, common during his reign, is not found under Ramesses I and it disappears almost immediately after the accession of Ramesses II. It can thus serve to distinguish reliefs actually dating to the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I from posthumous ones carved on their behalf by their respective successors.

It should be noted that the human figure is often portrayed with a stooped posture in reliefs and painting throughout Egyptian history. This mode of representation showed non-royal individuals engaged in various activities of everyday life and to express their respect to the sovereign, the gods and to their social betters. During the Amarna period, commoners, foreigners and even high officials were seen to double over or prostrate themselves in exaggerated poses to show their devotion to Akhenaten.²⁷ In the post-Amarna period, a renewed sense of piety and religious fervor towards the traditional pantheon manifested itself, among other means, through the portrayal of non-royal individuals paying obeisance to the

²⁷E.g., R.W. Smith & D.B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project* vol. 1: *Initial Discoveries*, (Warminster, 1976), *passim*.

gods with a bowed posture (**PLATE 91**).²⁸ This study, however, is strictly a discussion of the iconography of the royal effigy in New Kingdom ritual scenes and the observations and conclusions presented do not necessarily apply to representations of non-royals, or of pharaoh himself in any other context.²⁹

1.2.3 Standing Figures that Bow or Stoop

Bowing figures in two dimensional representations in Egyptian art can be defined *vis à vis* the Egyptian proportional canon. Normally, the human image is portrayed as standing fully erect. When the standard grid used to align the figure to the artistic canon of proportions is applied, the vertical axis of those standing, (defined by the mid-point between the two shoulders), intersects the ear.³⁰ In New Kingdom representational art, this same vertical line meets the intersection of the interior lines of the two legs at the groin.³¹ A fully erect figure, then, may be defined as one where a vertical line intercepts both the groin and the ear.³²

When a vertical line is plotted on a bowing figure so that it intersects the groin, the ear and mid point of the shoulders are generally found to be substantially forward of this axis. By applying the proportional grid to bowing figures, one often finds that the outer edge of the rear shoulder lies on or forward of the vertical line that intersects the rear of the calf on the

²⁸For example the lunette scenes of the two stelae from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb depicting him bent forward in adoration of the gods (British Museum EA 551 & St. Petersburg 1061). Cf. G. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of General Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun* vol. I, (London, 1989), pls. 24-25. The same pose can be found on many private funerary stelae of the post-Amarna era.

²⁹Such as the traditional smiting scene where the king's torso is inclined forward to smite the enemy, or in other vigorous stances found in battle reliefs.

³⁰G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, (Austin, 1994), 94, & figs. 5.1-5.2, 5.4 & 5.6.

³¹As defined with examples from the reign of Seti in E. Iversen, *Canon of Proportions in Egyptian Art*, (Warminster, 1975), pls. 13-14. This central axis is defined by Iversen's vertical line "M."

³²Robins, *Proportion and Style*, fig. 2.5.

hindmost leg.³³ In an erect figure, the edge of the back shoulder lies between one-half to one complete square behind the edge of the calf.³⁴

In most cases the inclination of stooped figures is dramatic enough so that it is quite obvious, and is at times so extreme that the king seems almost ready to fall over. There are some representations, however, in which the stance seems to be inclined forward, but where the pose barely satisfies the metrological criteria specified above. This is so in a number of royal figures from Seti I's Karnak battle reliefs, wherein he appears to be genuflecting slightly while presenting captives and war booty to the Theban triad (**PLATES 8A & 9A**).³⁵ However, when the proportional grid is applied to these figures, one finds that the tip of the back shoulder lines up with the calf, but the ear lies only slightly forward of the vertical line intersecting the groin. In these cases, the desired impression was achieved by making the rear shoulder slightly longer than the forward one, a digression from the standard canon, wherein the shoulders were of the same width.³⁶ The effect was further heightened by making the line of the back between the shoulder and the buttocks more vertical than in the normal canon, while making the line of the chest more oblique. The overall impression was more subtle than that of more dramatically tilted figures whose ears were set further ahead of the central axis. Other deviations from the canon found with two-dimensional representations of Seti include examples where his head is cocked so that he looks up slightly,³⁷ or where the monarch's shoulders are uneven, with the forward one being lower than the one behind and the upper edge of the shoulder consisting of a diagonal line sloping down toward the front.³⁸ This final

³³Ibid., figs. 5.5, 8.4 & 8.7.

³⁴Cf. *ibid.*, *passim*.

³⁵Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak vol. 4, OIP 107, (Chicago, 1985), pls. 8, 14, 32 & 36.

³⁶Cf. *Ibid.*, pls. 8, 32 & 36.

³⁷E.g., column 132 in Hypostyle Hall face a. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 14.

³⁸E.g., on a votive stela of Seti I from Saqqara. See *infra* 3.37.

class of figures has no characteristics in common with stooped ones, and may be defined as erect.

1.2.4 Functional Versus Honorific Bowing

The bowing pose is most commonly found in ritual scenes of the king making an offering to a deity. A closer inspection of these vignettes reveals that in some cases he bends down because of the nature of the ritual act he is performing; that is to say he is compelled to stoop over somewhat to complete his task (**PLATE 6B**). In tableaux where this is not the case, the bowing must be for honorific reasons *vis à vis* the god.

A survey of ritual scenes from before and after Seti indicates that the majority of bowing royal figures that occur in these episodes belong to the category of functional bowing. Two episodes from the foundation ceremony required this posture. In two panels from the south half of the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Ramesses II is shown hacking the earth with a mattock and forming a brick in a mold that sits upon a low table.³⁹ Other examples of these ceremonies depict the same posture. In a scene from one of the side rooms to the north of the Middle Kingdom court at Karnak, Thutmose III is shown bent over as he hacks the earth with a mattock. A kneeling figure of the monarch is also inclined forward as he forms a brick.⁴⁰ In a scene from the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, the same ruler is shown performing these two episodes of the foundation ceremony, but with a very pronounced stoop as he hacks the earth.⁴¹ Here again, he leans forward as he kneels to form the first brick.⁴² Another class of scene in which pharaoh is often seen bowing shows him

³⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 24-25.

⁴⁰Both scenes are found on the south wall of Room 42. *PM* II², 125; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* II, pl. 174.

⁴¹*PM* II, 468 (42); Nelson, *Key Plans*, MHB 159; W. J. Murnane, *United with Eternity: A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu*, (Cairo, 1980), 78, fig. 64.

⁴²*PM* II, 468, (42); Nelson, *Key Plans*, MHB 159-160.

laying hands on or embracing the figure of a god (PLATE 39A).⁴³ Likewise, he bends forward to place a collar around Amen's neck.⁴⁴ In some offering scenes the king must bend over because the offering table used in the ritual is quite low (PLATES 6B & 10A). An actual silver example from the tomb of Psusennes I measured only 59.5 cm tall.⁴⁵ Thus when he lays hands on the altar,⁴⁶ roasts a spit duck, or fans the flames, he is often obliged to lean forward.⁴⁷

Even before the reign of Seti I, however, one can find a few examples in which the sovereign seems to bow for honorific reasons. At Luxor temple, Amenhotep III bows while censuring and libating to the sacred barque of Amen-Re in two vignettes from the barque sanctuary (PLATE 11A).⁴⁸ Similarly, he bends honorifically while pouring water to purify

⁴³Thutmose II: E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pt. 1, (London, 1895), pl. 18; Hatshepsut: *chapelle rouge*, P. Lacau & H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak II*, (Cairo, 1979), pl. 10, nos. 15 and 156, pl. 15, no. 14; Amenhotep III: A. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, (Paris, 1894), fig. 46; H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, (Mainz, 1977), pls. 129, 150, 153, 155-157. One particular version of this type of ritual episode showing the king embracing the figure of the god Kamutef, is found already in the Middle Kingdom. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostri I à Karnak*, (Cairo, 1956), scenes 5, 6, and 21.

⁴⁴PM II², 324 (138); Abdel-Raziq, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis III*. (Tokyo, 1986), 94-95.

⁴⁵Rita E. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1987), cat. 23.

⁴⁶Thutmose III: Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, pl. 16; Hatshepsut: Lacau, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 15, no. 308, Amenhotep III: Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 102; Seti I: Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pl. 145.

⁴⁷Amenhotep III: *Ibid.*, Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 140-141.

⁴⁸PM II², 324 (138). Mahmud Abdel-Raziq, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis III*, 53 and 101. The figure may have been recut in the post-Amarna era. B. Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 90 & fig. IV.13. This recutting dates to the reign of Seti I according to Christian Loeben (personal communication). It is likely that the figure was shown bowing to some extent in Amenhotep III's original version.

the statues of Amen and Mut.⁴⁹ The monarch also leans forward while shaking a pair of sistra,⁵⁰ offering papyrus stalks and libating Amen,⁵¹ and while offering flowers he has just plucked from the marshes.⁵² It must be noted that, in the majority of cases, for tableaux in which the king bows, for honorific and sometimes even for practical reasons, there are parallels in which he stands erect while performing the same act.⁵³ Only a handful of scenes seem to have required a bowing stance at all times.⁵⁴ Late in the reign of Amenhotep III a new style of relief had come into use. It was characterized by high relief and baroque iconography that emphasized pharaoh's divine aspect.⁵⁵ In many cases Amenhotep is portrayed bowing for no practical reason in ritual scenes dating to this period.⁵⁶ It is not clear, however, what relationship, if any, the pose bears to the elaborate "deification iconography" found with it.

⁴⁹Ibid., Abdel-Raziq, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis III*, 85. Again, both the king's figures seems to have been adjusted.

⁵⁰Gayet, *Temple*, fig. 124.

⁵¹PM II, 320 (118); Gayet, *Temple*, fig. 67. Personal observation of the scene revealed that the king is definitely bowing here. Gayet's rendition not only fails to show the king bowing, but depicts him with an open palm, while in reality he holds a bunch of lotus flowers

⁵²PM II, 328 (156); Nelson, *Key Plans* LE 256-258.

⁵³Thus the king can be shown in a fully erect posture while purifying the god's statue, laying hands on the god, placing a pectoral around his neck, embracing him or placing his hands on an altar stand. Cf. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 52-53, 127, 134-135, 161-162.

⁵⁴So the king always leans forward during the foundation ceremony, when he hacks the earth or makes the first brick; also when he embraces Kamutef or when he must reach down towards a low offering table.

⁵⁵W. Raymond Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III*, 34ff.

⁵⁶E.g., figures in the large barque scene on the east face of the north wing of the Third Pylon at Karnak: PM II², 61 (183); Nelson, *Key Plans* KC 104; Kozloff (ed.), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 98, fig. IV 20. Likewise blocks from a granary of Amenhotep III, still largely unpublished see Ibid., Kozloff (ed.), 102, fig. IV 23.

From the above, it is apparent that in ritual scenes before the reign of Seti I, other than a concentration of images dating to the latest part of Amenhotep III's reign, pharaoh was seldom portrayed with an inclined torso. Although this posture is known as early as the Middle Kingdom, it is largely confined to contexts in which the king is required to bend forward to accomplish the appointed task, with only a handful of instances in which he does so out of reverence.

1.2.5 Distribution of Bowing Figures Under Seti

None of the small corpus of reliefs contemporary with Ramesses I, such as those inside the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak, show him inclined forward for honorific reasons.⁵⁷ He is shown in this manner in a number of posthumous reliefs in the Abydos chapel dedicated to him by his son and on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall that can be dated after his death on independent grounds (**PLATE 8B**).⁵⁸

During much of Seti I's reign, however, he was often depicted bowing in the presence of the gods on various monuments. Although a number of examples may be assigned to the category of functional bowing,⁵⁹ (**PLATE 6B & 67A**), in the vast majority of cases there is no apparent need for Seti to lean forward, and we may conclude that he is intentionally humbling himself before the gods and is not bending down out of necessity (**PLATE 6A**). This stance is very common, although not universal, in his Abydos temple,⁶⁰ but it is nearly ubiquitous in

⁵⁷Cf. *PM II*², 39, (144-145); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 178-188 & 207-217. Only one inclined figure of Ramesses I is found on the vestibule of the Second Pylon where he is depicted embracing Amen-Kamutef. *PM II*², 39 (144) second register, scene 1 (= Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 179).

⁵⁸Abydos: H.E. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1921), pl. 4; Karnak: Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pls. 1, 3, 131, 133 & 138. On the date of the Abydos and Karnak reliefs see *infra* 3.53 & 3.69.3.2.

⁵⁹Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pl. 145.

⁶⁰Calverley & Broome, *Abydos I-IV*, *passim*

reliefs carved for Seti in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak⁶¹ and in his speos at Kanais.⁶² At Gurnah, moreover, it is found in rooms where the decoration is done in the name of Seti I alone, (**PLATES 67A-B & 68A**), whereas in areas where the tableaux name Seti and Ramesses II, both rulers stand fully erect (**PLATES 69B & 70A-B**).⁶³

On many dateable stelae from throughout the reign, we find that lunette panels can show the king either bowing or standing erect. While some stelae have double vignettes, both postures are never used on the same one. All the stelae before year four of Seti's reign show him standing fully upright in ritual contexts (**PLATES 65B & 66A-B**).⁶⁴ Some undated stelae that seem to date by style to the middle or later years of the reign also show him standing erect.⁶⁵ The earliest datable attestation of this iconography is found on a stela from the region of Kurkur oasis dated to year four.⁶⁶ The bowing posture is most common in vignettes on stela datable from year four and later,⁶⁷ but, again, it is not universal even then.⁶⁸

⁶¹Except for a purification scene on the west wall, (Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 148), and scenes on the northern piers of the clerestory.

⁶²See *infra* 3.125.

⁶³On the scope and chronological significance of this phenomenon see *infra* 3.83 3.1-3.82.3.3.

⁶⁴Year 1: larger Beth Shan stela, (*infra* 3.4); Karnak, Ptah temple stela (*infra* 3.71); Karnak "alabaster stela," (*infra* 3.70); larger Buhen stela, (*infra* 3.139); smaller Buhen stela (*infra* 3.140). Year 4: Nauri stela (*infra* 3.150). Likewise a pair of undated stelae dateable to the earlier part of the reign based on other criteria: Tell es-Shihab stela (*infra* 3.3); "Nilometer" stela from Aswan datable to the earlier part of the reign (*infra* 3.114).

⁶⁵Two Wadi Hammamat rock inscriptions, nos. 213-214, (*infra* 3.122 & 3.123); Tell Nebi Mendu stela (*infra* 3.1); Gebel Doscha rock stela (*infra* 3.146).

⁶⁶See *infra* 3.128.

⁶⁷Perhaps from the middle years of the reign is a votive stela from Edfu (*infra* 3.113). Year 9: two Aswan stelae (*infra* 3.119-3.120). Also probably from year nine or so the stela of Panub (*infra* 3.127). A group of four votive stelae from Gurnah are also probably quite late (43.83).

⁶⁸Year 8: Sinai stela no. 247 (*infra* 3.6); year 11: Gebel Barkal stela (*infra* 3.151).

From the above evidence, it would seem that the bowing posture was not adopted until around year four. It was then used simultaneously with the conventional stance during the middle and later years of the reign. It became predominant during the later part of the reign, especially in the decoration of Seti's major temple projects at Abydos and Karnak, and late in the reign at Gurnah. The fact that his last dated monument, the year eleven stela from Gebel Barkal, features him standing erect need not be taken as proof that he reverted to the traditional pose at the end of his reign since his latest work at both Abydos and Karnak features the bowing stance.⁶⁹ Moreover, he employed both modes of representing himself at Gurnah and Abydos with the stooped figures predominating, while in the Karnak Hypostyle and Kanais shrine bowing figures occur almost to the total exclusion of upright ones.

1.2.6 Bowing Kings after Seti I

With the accession of Ramesses II, the traditional erect posture seems to have reappeared almost immediately. With the exception of a number of examples in the southern half of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and others that Ramesses II completed in his father's Abydos temple, very few reliefs carved during Ramesses' reign feature him bowing in veneration of the god, and in most such cases he seems to have been completing decoration laid out in paint for Seti (**PLATE 12**).⁷⁰ Only a handful of reliefs can be found in one of his own monuments dating to the earliest years of his reign.⁷¹ At Beit el-Wali, we find this pose in only a few episodes Ramesses had carved in bas relief in the two inner rooms of the temple.⁷² Thereafter, he is almost never portrayed stooped in adoration of the gods in ritual

⁶⁹On the problem of dating the precise extent of Seti's work in the Gurnah temple. See *infra* 3.83.3ff.

⁷⁰See *infra* 3.69.3.6.

⁷¹E.g, in the Karnak Hypostyle: cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7, 34, 53, 55-57, 59-61, 75-76. Some of these were laid out by Seti, in particular the scenes on the south gateway, others were solely the work of Ramesses. In Seti's Abydos temple reliefs in the first hypostyle hall and the south wing of the temple consisting largely of reliefs laid out in paint under Seti.

⁷²H. Ricke & G. R. Hughes, *The Beit-el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, (Chicago, 1967), pls. 19(C-D), 22, 29 31, 32(C-F), 33 and 44.

scenes. Thus he seems to have made a conscious effort to differentiate himself from his father in this regard.

In later reigns, the stooped posture reappears in selected offering scenes, especially in monuments at Karnak near to the Hypostyle Hall. So, for example, Ramesses III employs this iconography in a number of tableaux in the temple he built in the First Court. Although some of these feature him adoring the barque of Amen-Re,⁷³ where this stance had become traditional, he bows honorifically in several others.⁷⁴ Ramesses IV was inspired to employ this pose widely in the ritual episodes he added to most of the columns in the Karnak Hypostyle. Although he appears upright in a number of cases, the majority of these scenes portray him bowing, the latter pose occurring in almost all his wall decoration in the Khonsu temple.⁷⁵ Finally, Ramesses VII is represented in a similar manner in his tomb.⁷⁶ There are other examples in reliefs from throughout the Ramesside period, but these are more isolated and it is beyond the scope of the present study to catalog them all. It is clear, however, that, with the exception of Ramesses IV, none of Seti I's descendants employed the bowing posture in ritual reliefs on as large a scale as he had done, and such figures appear in only a tiny fraction of the ritual scenes in Ramesside temple reliefs from the time of Ramesses II on.

The bowing posture was quickly abandoned after Ramesses II's accession, suggesting that it was meant to show royal deference to the gods by a form of self-abasement usually expected of non-royal individuals towards their social betters. With royalty, this pose occurs only sporadically before and after Seti's reign, and it seems to have become the predominant method of depicting this king starting from about four years after his accession. In adopting this pose in religious art, Seti may have extended to the monarch the same idea of pious

⁷³Epigraphic Survey, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amon*, part I, RIK I, (Chicago, 1936), pls. 57-58.

⁷⁴Ibid., pls. 8, 10-11, 24, 45.

⁷⁵Cf. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* II, pls. 260-262, 264-265, 267.

⁷⁶*PM I.2*, 495-497. An onsite inspection of the tomb by the author in 1995 revealed that this iconography was common in its wall scenes.

humility towards the gods commonly found among private individuals in the post-Amarna era, who are often depicted bowing in adoration of the gods on their funerary stela.

1.2.7 Kneeling Figures with Knees together

In most cases where the pharaoh is shown kneeling before the god in ritual scenes, he does so with his knees together and his torso erect. This pose is known from sculpture in the round and for hundreds of years before the advent of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁷⁷ Reliefs depicting pharaoh in this manner are also common in the Thutmocide period.⁷⁸ As with standing figures, there are occasional examples in which a kneeling king is shown inclining forward. Here again, one finds instances where he leans forward to complete the assigned ritual task, as with two examples where Thutmose III kneels while making a brick.⁷⁹ In other cases he bends down while kneeling for apparently honorific reasons, especially in coronation episodes, but these are isolated instances⁸⁰ and the vast majority of kneeling royal figures have erect torsos in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁷⁷There are many kneeling Thutmocide statues and statuettes, which are often depicted presenting *nw*-jars or offering tables, including several colossal statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari (Hayes, *Scepter* II, 95-96 w/ fig. 53; a statuette of Thutmose III offering *nw*-jars (M. Saleh & H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue of The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, [Mainz, 1987], cat. 135); and Cairo CG 42073 a life sized statue of Amenhotep II kneeling with an offering table (V. Solia, "A Group of Royal Sculptures from Abydos, *JARCE* 29 [1992], 119, fig. 24). For a history of the kneeling statue type see E. Russmann, "The Statue of Amenemope-em-hat," *MMJ* 8 (1973), 103-104.

⁷⁸E.g. Lacau & Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 3, block no. 233, pl. 11, nos. 23, 95, 114, 145, 172, 261 & 233, pl. 20, nos. 260 & 275.

⁷⁹Karnak room 42: *PM* II², 125 (455); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KD 524; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* II, pl. 174. Medinet Habu, Eighteenth Dynasty Temple: *PM* II², 468, (42); Nelson, *Key Plans* MHB 159-160.

⁸⁰E.g. a figure of Amenhotep III before Atum on a small faience cup. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 404, cat. 106 & 415, pl. 55. Likewise he kneels facing Amen-Re in an investiture scene from Luxor temple. Gayet, *Temple*, fig. 98.

Under Seti I, however, there is a high incidence of kneeling figures with inclined torsos. They are especially common in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.⁸¹ Seti is often depicted this way elsewhere: in reliefs at Gurnah,⁸² (PLATES 10B & 13A), Abydos,⁸³ and on numerous other monuments such as stelae, naoi, obelisks, doorjambs, lintels and offering tables. Seti's torso is occasionally portrayed fully erect,⁸⁴ (PLATE 9A), but more often he is tilted forward, with the inclination varying from a slight to a dramatic angle. Even when it is slight, it contrasts with kneeling figures of other pharaohs portrayed fully upright, with rigid torsos.

1.2.8 Kneeling Figures with Splayed Knees

In a variant of the kneeling pose the king is depicted with his knees spread apart. Here his torso is always shown inclined forward (PLATES 12B & 43B). The same is largely true of most representations before and after Seti's reign, and may be due to the nature of the posture. It is quite possible to kneel this way, although holding the torso fully upright puts pressure on the small of the back. It may have been more comfortable to lean forward slightly.

Examples of the splayed-knee pose are less common before the reign of Seti I. Most examples in relief do not show the monarch himself this way in reliefs, but as a statuette. In the four-columned hall at Luxor temple, he is shown consecrating a series of elaborate ointment jar holders.⁸⁵ These jars take the form of a long base supporting a statuette of the king kneeling with knees splayed, and grasping an ointment jar with his hands. The shoulders

⁸¹E.g., Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 135, 189-192, 200, 218.

⁸²See *infra* 3.83.3.1.

⁸³E.g. Calverley & Broome, *Abydos* I, pls. 4 & 13, vol. IV, pls. 50-51. These are particularly common in the chapel of Re although the inclination is often slight. Cf. *Ibid.*, pls. 13-19.

⁸⁴E.g., on a granite lintel from Abydos. See *infra* 3.60.

⁸⁵*PM* II², 321-322, (26); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LE 171-172; Gayet, *Temple*, figs. 129-130.

are rendered in profile as is common with most Egyptian two-dimensional representations of statuary,⁸⁶ and the torso is inclined forward at a sharp angle, although other examples show both shoulders (**PLATE 11B**). Pharaoh himself is shown in this pose at least once on a block from a granary Amenhotep III dedicated at Karnak late in his reign.⁸⁷ After Seti's reign, splayed-knee kneeling figures are rare (**PLATE 14A**).⁸⁸

Under Seti, the splayed-knee pose is used more frequently in ritual contexts. The sovereign may assume it while making a variety of offerings such as trays of offerings, ointment jars and the like. He also kneels this way to be invested with *hb-sd* emblems (**PLATE 13B**).⁸⁹ Although found occasionally in wall reliefs,⁹⁰ it is perhaps more common in panels decorating offering tables (**PLATE 12B**).

1.2.9 Prostrate Figures

There is a final variant of the kneeling posture, showing prostrate and semi-prostrate royal figures. They are generally known from statuettes or representations of statuettes. The steatite statuette of Amenhotep III (New York MMA 66.99.29) is an example of a semi-prostrate figure.⁹¹ Three statuettes from early in the reign of Ramesses II are more fully prostrate.⁹² In each example he kneels with his legs spread apart, but his arms are stretched forward, nearly touching the ground while grasping an offering table, and his torso is almost parallel to the ground. Fully prostrate figures are very rare in reliefs. The only examples

⁸⁶H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 239ff.

⁸⁷*Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 339, fig. XI.10.

⁸⁸E.g. Ramesses III in a decorative window grill from above a doorway in the model palace at Medinet Habu. U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* 3, pt. 1, pl. 36b.

⁸⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 192.

⁹⁰Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 143, 192, 194 & 215; Calverley & Broome, *Abydos* I, pls. .

⁹¹MMA 66.99.28: *BMMA* 25 (March, 1967),

⁹²Cairo CG 42142, 42143 & 42144. G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* II, pls. 4-6. R. E. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1987), cat. 5 (= Cairo CG 42142).

known to me come from two votive temple models of Seti I. On the celebrated temple model from Brooklyn, eight figures of the ruler are shown prostrating themselves, with their knees splayed and their heads arched up at an uncomfortable angle, looking forward.⁹³ They manage to hold trays of offerings or jars of incense or wine aloft as well. These poses are close to those of the semi-prostrate statuette of Amenhotep III and the prostrate statuettes of Ramesses II. Two fragments of a similar model from Thebes bear figures in a similar pose but not crouching as low as those on the Brooklyn model.⁹⁴

1.2.10 The Long Wig Associated with Seti I

During the early Nineteenth Dynasty the king is often shown wearing a type of long wig not previously seen in royal iconography (**PLATE 15**). It is distinguished by its long lappets and is composed of individual tendrils of wavy hair.⁹⁵ These tendrils are gathered together in tight braids near the ends, the braided portions more narrower.⁹⁶ In many representations, the individual tendrils of hair are often shown as uniform strands that do not

⁹³A. Badawy & E. Riefstahl, "A Monumental Gateway of Sety I — An Ancient Model Restored," as a separatum and in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 5, figs. 3-5.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 11, figs 15-16; D. Berg, *SAK* 17 (1990), figs. 13-15.

⁹⁵E.g., Cairo CG 751, a statuette of Seti I. L. Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 74 & pl. 139.

⁹⁶Cf. a statuette and statue of the king from Abydos in Cairo CG 751, (L. Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 74 & pl. 139), and Vienna ÄS 5910, (E. Rogge, *CAA, Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien* 6, [Mainz, 1990], 67-73). This is similar to the enveloping wig worn by high ranking women in the later half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, e.g. the statue fragment of the wife of general Nakhtmin, Cairo CG 779B. E. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture Cairo and Luxor*, (Austin, 1989), 137.

narrow toward the end,⁹⁷ especially in reliefs.⁹⁸ The ends themselves are occasionally portrayed as tightly spiraled curls.⁹⁹

In royal examples, the strands at the back and sides of the wig are always shown as falling to just above the top of the shoulders, becoming dramatically and progressively longer towards the front where they fall over the front of the shoulders as lappets that cover the ears. The strands over the brow do not fall below the hairline.

Three versions of this wig can be distinguished. The first of these, type A, is by far the most common (**PLATES 15A & 60**). With type A, exemplified by Cairo CG 751, the length of the braided portions near the end of the strands are uniform. With type B, the ends of the strands are arranged in a tiered pattern of three or more layers (**PLATE 15B**).¹⁰⁰ The difference in the length of each successive layer of strands increases from the forehead to the side of the wig. This is surely not the Nubian wig worn by Amenhotep II, and later in the Amarna period by Nefertiti, as the Nubian wig has no lappets.¹⁰¹ Finally with type C, such as Vienna ÄS 5910, the braided portions become progressively longer from the side of the wig to the inner edge of the lappets where they touch the sides of the face (**PLATE 15C**). In relief this feature is represented by a convex line that runs down from the cheek bone to the shoulder.¹⁰²

⁹⁷Cairo CG 42150 a statuette of Ramesses III. See J. P. Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs*, (Paris, 1986), cat. 89, 139-140; M. Saleh & H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, cat. 225.

⁹⁸Louvre B7 from the tomb of Seti I. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 213.

⁹⁹Cf. a relief of general Ameneminet from the late Eighteenth Dynasty with an example from Seti's Abydos temple: H. Stierlin, *Les pharaons bâtisseurs*, (Paris, 1992), 125 & 147.

¹⁰⁰Cf. a relief from the tomb of Seti I now in Florence, no. 2468 (Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 21) with Cairo CG 42150 (Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 140).

¹⁰¹Cf. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 101-104 & 163 with *infra* plate 15B..

¹⁰²E.g. in a relief from Maya's tomb. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 158, pl. 8.

Once it was adopted as royal headgear, the long wig was embellished with a uraeus placed at the center of the forehead, its tail coiled up and over the top of the head, and a pair of crimped red streamers was attached to the wig at the nape of the neck. The wig seems to have become part of the royal coiffure with the accession of Ramesses I, but only one example contemporary with his reign is known.¹⁰³ It is also attested from the beginning of Seti's reign on the larger year one stela from Buhen,¹⁰⁴ and on the Alabaster stela of year one from Karnak.¹⁰⁵ Seti is portrayed wearing it in every possible context: in war, civil ceremonies¹⁰⁶ and ritual episodes of every kind. In the Karnak war reliefs, he sports it in about half the episodes; and has the blue crown in the other half.¹⁰⁷ The wig is also found in wall reliefs from this monarch's temples at Gurnah, Abydos and Kanais, in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁸ It also occurs in vignettes from both royal and private stelae.

After Seti's death, the wig fell into relative disuse under Ramesses II. Most examples date to the earlier part of his reign where it was already far less common than under Seti I¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³W. van Haarlem, *CAA, Selections from the Collection: Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam I*, (Mainz, 1986), 9352.

¹⁰⁴British Museum 1189, the larger Buhen Stela of year 1. See *infra* 3.139.

¹⁰⁵See *infra* 3.70.

¹⁰⁶Louvre C213: Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 215.

¹⁰⁷Among the better preserved examples are Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 3, 6, 12, 29,34 and 35.

¹⁰⁸So, for example, in the Karnak Hypostyle (cf. Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pls. 149, 154, 163, 166, & 178) and the Abydos temple (Calverley & Broome, *Abydos I-IV*, *passim*).

¹⁰⁹E.g. in reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in the battle reliefs on the south exterior wall of that building. Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pls. 7, 57, 62, 93, 106, 111. The battle reliefs on the south wall are to be published by the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project of the University of Memphis, William J. Murnane, Director. *PM II*², 57-58 (171-174).

and it soon disappeared altogether for the balance of his tenure.¹¹⁰ With the accession of Merenptah, it came back into regular use and representations of pharaoh wearing this wig in two- and three-dimensional representational art remain common until the end of the Ramesside age.

The long wig's origins as a piece of royal headgear may be traced to the pre-royal careers of both Ramesses I and Seti I. During the late Eighteenth dynasty, a bewildering array of wigs came into fashion.¹¹¹ Some can be associated with different social ranks and with professions, including styles employed in the military.¹¹² An exact parallel to type A, the most common variant of Seti's wig, occurs in several reliefs from the Memphite tomb of a General Ameneminet.¹¹³ It was also worn by other high officials both military and non-military.¹¹⁴ Type A is less common than types B and C in late Eighteenth Dynasty private examples. Type C was commonly worn by high officials; among them General Horemheb,¹¹⁵ Maya¹¹⁶ and

¹¹⁰So it is not found in any of the reliefs commemorating the battle of Kadesh where Ramesses II always sports the *Kheprsh* headdress.

¹¹¹As illustrated in G. T. Martin's *Corpus, Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, & Hidden Tombs of Memphis, passim*.

¹¹²Such as another distinctive wig with long lappets found in depictions of Horemheb during his pre-royal career. Cf. his statue New York MMA 23.10.1 with reliefs in the tomb. Cf. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pls. 106-107 & pls. 155A-C.

¹¹³G. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt I*, (London, 1987), no. 1 a-b, 2, 4; J. Yoyotte, *Les tresors des pharaons*, (Geneva, 1968), 133; H. Stierlin, *Les pharaons batisseurs*, 125.

¹¹⁴Cf. a relief from the tomb of Maya: G. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, (London, 1991), 181 & a relief of Amenmose in the Louvre: C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom and the Amarna Period*, Acanthus History of Sculpture, (London, 1960), pl. 5.

¹¹⁵In relief and statuary. G. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun, passim*.

¹¹⁶Maya's Memphite tomb: Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, 158, 163, 174 fig. 110.

others.¹¹⁷ Type B is also connected with high officials of the period including general Horemheb.¹¹⁸ The classic type A seems to be most closely associated with very high-ranking military officers, such as General Amenemhet. It may have been adopted by the first two sovereigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty as a way to emphasize their military credentials. Later, Ramesses II may have rejected it because it was a reminder of his family's non-royal origins.

1.3 Epigraphic and Philological Criteria

1.3.1 Alteration of Existing Reliefs

One of the primary methodological approaches used throughout this work is the epigraphic analysis of monumental reliefs associated with Seti I. A common phenomenon associated with royal reliefs in the New Kingdom is the alteration, termed recutting, of a relief subsequent to its completion. Today, it might appear to us that the aesthetic integrity of reworked reliefs was a low priority, but this is because the plaster masking and paint commonly used to complete, and to mask, these alterations has largely disappeared.¹¹⁹ It is the very absence of these finishing touches that allows us to study the phenomenon of recutting and to ascertain the reasons for which the Egyptians altered existing monuments

1.3.2 Cosmetic Adjustments

In most cases, Egyptian reliefs seem to have been executed more or less as desired the first time. Occasionally, however, one does find evidence of minor alterations, generally taking the form of one or more secondary cut lines on a relief. Such recutting may be called cosmetic because the primary consideration seems to have been aesthetic. It was generally aimed at refining the proportions of anthropomorphic figures. Features such as the profile, size of the head or headdress, proportions of the limbs, hands and feet may display evidence of modifications (**PLATES 13B & 14B**). Other cosmetic adjustments included minor changes in the king's costume, such as the royal kilt, or the proportions of inanimate objects. During the

¹¹⁷E.g. a chief of bowmen and overseer of horses Ry. Martin, *Corpus*, no. 42.

¹¹⁸Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pls. 22, 24-25, 36-39, 52, 54, 56-57.

¹¹⁹In fact, the restorations would have been largely invisible once they were plastered and painted.

early Nineteenth Dynasty, such cosmetic recutting is found in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, particularly on the north interior wall and the battle reliefs on its exterior. This retouching was more or less contemporary with the initial production of the reliefs, representing final corrections to the design. Cosmetic adjustments were also made in conjunction with many repairs made by Seti to monuments vandalized in the Amarna period.¹²⁰

1.3.3 Major Alterations

At times, secondary alterations to existing reliefs were not simply minor tinkering with details, but constituted more drastic changes. Among these are outright defacements for any of several reasons: adaptation and reuse of the relief both through erasure, addition or suppression, and through replacement of individual elements, such as the names and figures of individual gods and rulers. Regardless of the motives that inspired them, these were not minor cosmetic adjustments, rather they substantially changed the appearance, iconography, texts or style of the reliefs in question.

1.3.4 Defacement

Most large Egyptian monuments, temple buildings in particular, have been subjected to some degree of intentional defacement of their reliefs over the course of their long histories. Defacement was visited upon them for a number of different reasons over the intervening millennia but in each case, the perpetrators sought to destroy images, human, animal and divine, because of some hostility towards the images themselves or the beings represented by them. In some cases, this practice extended to the people and animals represented in the hieroglyphic script itself.

1.3.5 *Damnatio Memoriae*

In the pharaonic era the most common form of defacement was *damnatio memoriae* (PLATE 16A).¹²¹ This widespread practice was aimed at suppressing the memory, even the

¹²⁰See *infra* chapter 2, *passim*.

¹²¹See A. Schulman, "Some Remarks on the Alleged 'fall' of Senmut," *JARCE* 8 (1969-1970), 36-37

very existence, of private¹²² and royal individuals.¹²³ During the Amarna period, the largest single instance of *damnatio memoriae* was visited upon the gods themselves, and Amen-Re in particular by Akhenaten. Subsequently the heretic, along with his three immediate successors, was made anathema by Horemheb and the Ramessides and the former's buildings were razed to their foundations. In some cases monuments of a proscribed individual were usurped rather than defaced.¹²⁴

1.3.6 Iconoclasm

Strictly speaking, Akhenaten's vendetta against Amen-Re and other deities constituted a huge program of iconoclasm. In most other cases, however, the iconoclasts who targeted the monuments lived in the Coptic and Islamic periods (**PLATES 37A & 39A**). Generally, they held representations of human, divine and animal figures to be anathema. Closely related to the more orthodox iconoclasm of the Christian and Islamic faiths are instances motivated by sympathetic magic. Here representations of living beings were targeted because they were considered magically to be a threat. This type of vandalism even extended to humans and animals represented by hieroglyphs. The so-called "fertility gouges," observable on countless Theban monuments and elsewhere, are a second type of defacement (**PLATE 8A**). However, they seem to have been made without reference to the texts and images on the walls

¹²²For example two Viceroy's of Kush of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Usersatet and Nakhtmin, (Ibid., Schulman, *JARCE* 8, 36 w. n. 68), but apparently not, as has often been maintained, Hatshepsut's favorite Senenmut. Ibid., 36ff; P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 158. There are numerous others in the Theban necropolis alone, including the well known examples of Rekhmire and Menna.

¹²³E.g., with Hatshepsut late in the reign of Thutmose III. Ibid., Dorman, 46ff. Likewise Ay under Horemheb. O. Schaden, "Clearance of the Tomb of King Ay (WV 23), *JARCE* 21 (1984), 60-62. Horemheb's attitude towards Tutankhamen seems more ambiguous and evolved in any case. See Ibid., Schaden, 61-62; idem, "Report on the 1978 Season at Karnak," *NARCE* 127 (Fall, 1984), 44-64.

¹²⁴E.g., the Colonnade Hall at Luxor decorated by Tutankhamen and Ay and the two obelisks of Hatshepsut in the *w3dyt*-Hall at Karnak.

themselves. A final type of iconoclasm associated with monuments of Seti I is the frequent defacement of the -glyph in his nomen cartouche, a result of his demonisation in the Late Period.¹²⁵

1.3.7 Usurpation

Usurpation may be defined as one individual supplanting the name of a predecessor with his own on an inscribed monument. This practice was especially common among New Kingdom pharaohs. Usurpation was generally effected by replacing the names and titles of the owner with those of the usurper. At times stylistic changes were also made to the facial features of both the two- and three-dimensional sculptures¹²⁶ being expropriated. With reliefs, the process of replacing a predecessor's titulary required the careful erasure of the appropriate text rather than the violent hacking associated with instances of *damnatio memoriae*.¹²⁷

When usurping royal cartouches, the usual method to deal with raised relief was to shave off the original glyphs and to replace them with incised text (PLATES 57 & 65A). When the original medium was sunk relief, it was simply filled in with plaster and recut in sunk relief. Fortunately for historians, both methods have tended to leave traces of the original, which can be ascertained through epigraphic analysis. Raised relief often leaves an incised outline cut deeper than the surrounding background surface.¹²⁸ One may also find substantial traces of the raised version intact even after usurpation.¹²⁹ These outlines often survive in part or in whole even after the raised portion of the relief is shaved down and usurped. With sunk

¹²⁵Velde, Herman Te, *Seth, God of Confusion*, (Leiden, 1977), 138-151, especially 146-147.

¹²⁶E.g, statuery of Amenhotep III usurped by Ramesses II. See Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, cat. 14, 172-174.

¹²⁷On this distinction see Schulman, *JARCE* 8, 37.

¹²⁸So with cartouches of Ramesses I usurped by Ramesses II at the eastern end of the passage through the Second Pylon at Karnak. See W. J. Murnane, "Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory," *KMT* (Fall:1994), 15-24, 88.

¹²⁹So cartouches Ramesses II usurped from Horemheb on the Second Pylon. See *Coregency*, 8, fig. 3.

relief, the loss of the plaster masking leaves the original version exposed, although it must be unscrambled from the subsequent version. This is especially complicated when the relief has gone through more than one subsequent edition.¹³⁰

Modern scholars have often deemed instances of usurpation as evidence of an antagonistic attitude towards an earlier king. This is surely the case with Horemheb's usurping of monuments of Tutankhamen and Ay that were reused and not merely dismantled, such as the Colonnade Hall in Luxor temple,¹³¹ the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamen¹³² and colossi from Ay's memorial temple in western Thebes.¹³³ In proscribing Hatshepsut's memory, Thutmose III some times usurped his aunt's monuments, and at other times defaced them by removing her figure and protocol without adding his own.

The largest program of usurpation was that of Ramesses II. It seems, however, that he was not motivated by antipathy for any of the numerous predecessors whose monuments he appropriated. Surely Ramesses could not have borne ill-will towards so many predecessors, including his own father and grandfather, in usurping their monuments. Instead he did so to acclaim his own authority as pharaoh over the course of his extraordinarily long reign. At least one scholar has objected to the term usurpation in this context because its pejorative connotation fails to describe accurately Ramesses' motives for surcharging monuments.¹³⁴

¹³⁰Cf. reliefs of Horemheb on the Second Pylon at Karnak usurped in turn by Ramesses I and II, (Seele, *Coregency*, 8, fig. 1), and large cartouches of Ramesses IV on the large columns in the nearby Hypostyle Hall that he subsequently altered and which Ramesses VI later usurped.

¹³¹Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple* vol. 1, OIP 112, (Chicago, 1994), xvii.

¹³²Bennet, John. "The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun." *JEA* 25 (1939). 8-15; M. Gabolde, "Ay, Toutankhamon et les martelages de la stèle de la restauration de Karnak (Cairo CG 34183)," *BSEG* 11 (1987), 37-61.

¹³³U. Hölscher. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* 2, 102-105.

¹³⁴V. Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: Les architraves*, Forthcoming

1.3.8 Use of the Term *ꜣḥ* in the Reign of Seti I

Several temple foundations built during the reign of Seti I had official names incorporating the term *ꜣḥ*.¹³⁵ Three of these were patterned on the formula *ꜣḥ Sty-Mr-n-Pth m pr* god N. A third, the Osireion at Abydos, was called *ꜣḥ Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ n Wsir*. For many years now, the term *ꜣḥ* in these names has been translated either as “glorious” or “beneficial.”

The use of this term was not, however, limited to the names of temple foundations during Seti’s reign. In fact, it was quite commonly employed in rhetorical texts of the period.¹³⁶ Thus it is often found in dedication texts inscribed on the architraves and other architectural elements of various temples, within both the encomium and main narratives of royal stelae and in the captions of ritual scenes on temple walls. Essentially an adjective, *ꜣḥ* is attested as an adjectival verb, as a substantive by itself or as the object of verbs like *iri*.

Friedman has argued that the root meaning of the term *ꜣḥ* is “effectiveness.” Although it may have acquired the nuance of “luminosity,” this was a secondary meaning arising from and strictly limited to its use in funerary contexts.¹³⁷ In the sphere of the living, it described actions, often of a *quid pro quo* nature, taken by social inferiors on behalf of social superiors and vice versa.¹³⁸ The king, in particular, was *ꜣḥ* for the gods, and occasionally for a royal ancestor. The gods, in turn, were *ꜣḥ* for him.¹³⁹ In both royal and private contexts, this *quid pro quo* nature of performing *ꜣḥ* was often explicitly stated. Although Friedman prefers the translation “*ꜣḥ*-effective,” words like “beneficial” and “serviceable” convey the essential nuance of the expression.

¹³⁵See *infra* 5.11.

¹³⁶The use of *ꜣḥ* was not troubling to the orthodoxy of Seti’s time despite the use of the term in Akhenaten’s nomen. In a similar fashion the very *Ttn* itself appears in official texts of his reign. See J. Yoyotte, “Les grands dieux et la religion officielle sous Sétî I^{er} et Ramesès II,” *BSFE* 3 (1950), 19.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 39; F. Friedman, “Review of G. Englund, *Akh — Une notion religieuse dans l’Égypte pharaonique*, (Uppsala, 1978),” *JARCE* 19 (1982), 145-147.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, *Serapis* 8, 40ff.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 42

Under Seti I, *šh* can be used to describe the king himself or his actions. When describing the royal person, it is commonly used as a modifying adjective. Generally, the context describes the sovereign as being *šh* on behalf of one or more deities or in terms of his actions towards them (see table 1).

Table 1: *šh* Used as an Adjective to Describe the King

<i>KRI</i>	Transliteration	Translation
39:4	<i>tit šht nt Ttm</i>	beneficial image of Atum
46:10	<i>prrt šht n nb t3 đsr</i>	beneficial seed of the Lord of the Holy Land
76:1	<i>šh n it.f</i>	beneficial for his father
118:10-11	<i>Mn-mšꜥt-Rꜥ šh mnw m Twnw</i>	Menmaatre beneficial of monuments in Heliopolis
121:12	<i>nꜥr-nꜥr šh n it.f</i>	Good god beneficial for his father
121:14	<i>prrt šh n k3 Twnw</i>	beneficial seed of the Bull of Heliopolis
152:15	<i>nꜥr-nꜥr iwꜥ šh mi Hr</i>	Good god, beneficent heir like Horus
155:7	<i>nsw-bity šh n ms sw</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beneficial for the one who bore him
156:15-16	<i>s3 Rꜥ šh n psdt</i>	Son of Re, beneficial for the Ennead

In describing the king's actions, *šh* can be used nominally as the object of a participial form of the verb *iri*. The whole phrase serves adjectivally to modify the sovereign in terms of his actions, again usually on behalf of the gods. Thus he may be termed "the efficient king who makes benefactions for his father," or the like (see table 2). Here he is surely being described as effective/beneficial on behalf of the gods. Although in some of these examples *šh* could be translated as "glorious," with *n* being taken as a genitive, in other cases *n* must be dative, as it makes little sense for the monarch to be "glorious on behalf of his father god N" in these contexts, while "beneficial" or the like works in every case. Similarly, it is unclear

just what *iri ʒh* taken as “making glorifications/illuminations” would mean. Certainly *iri ʒh* expresses a more concrete, practical act.¹⁴⁰

Table 2: the phrase *ir ʒh* used to Describe the King

KRI I	Transliteration	Translation
42:3	<i>nsw rs-tp ir ʒhwt</i>	vigilant king who makes benefactions
70:11	<i>nṯr-nfr ir ʒhwt [n Tw]nty</i>	Good god who makes benefactions [for the Helio]politan
71:3-4	<i>nsw-bity ir ʒhwt</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt who makes benefactions
129:4	<i>wr mnw ir ʒhwt n psdt</i>	great of monuments who makes benefactions for the Ennead
137:6	<i>nb-Tʒwy ir ʒhwt n it.f Wsir</i>	Lord of the Two Lands who makes benefactions for his father Osiris
137:14	<i>nsw-bity ir ʒhwt n nṯrw</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt who makes benefactions for the gods
155:5	<i>nṯr-nfr ir ʒhwt n nb mʒt</i>	Good god who makes benefactions for the Lord of Truth
156:15	<i>nsw-bity ir ʒhwt n it.f</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt who makes benefactions for his father
159:14	<i>sʒ R^c ir ʒhwt</i>	Son of Re who makes benefactions

Pharaoh is often described as “seeking out benefactions” (*hhy ʒhwt*). Indeed he often fails to sleep at night because of this, remaining ever vigilant (*rs-tp*) while engaged in his task.

¹⁴⁰In the larger year nine stela of Seti I describing a quarrying mission led by the future Ramesses II while he was crown prince, the officials are described as “hastening (the work) along,” while “the king’s eldest son was before them doing *ʒh* for His Majesty” *hr irt ʒh n hm.f*. Ramesses’ task here was clearly practical, to oversee the production of colossi and obelisks. Therefore *ʒh* must connote “beneficial” or “effective” not “glorious.”

This rhetoric first appears in architraves from the Solar Court of Amenhotep III in Luxor temple.¹⁴¹ Despite its analogous use by Seti in some of the dedication texts on the architraves of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, it is also found in other texts as early as year one on stelae and in the Speos Artemidos inscriptions:

Larger Buhen stela

ist hm.f hr hhy 3hw r ir(t).w n it.f Mnw-Imn

“Now His Majesty sought out benefactions in order to do them for his father Min-Amen” (*KRI I*, 38:9-10).

Speos Artemidos Great Inscription

ist hm.f hr hhy 3ht n mwt.f Pht nbt Šrw

“Now His Majesty sought out benefactions for his mother Pakhet Lady of Shero” (*KRI I*, 42:16).¹⁴²

Quarry inscription, East Silsila year 6

ist hm.f^c.w.s m niwt rsyt hr irt hsy sw it.f Imn-R^c nsw-ntrw sdr.(w) rs-tp hr hhy 3hw n ntrw nbw T3-mry

“Now His Majesty, L.P.H. was in the Southern City doing what pleased his father Amen-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands when he lay awake seeking out benefactions for all the gods of Egypt” (*KRI I*, 60:8-9).

Karnak Hypostyle Hall, architrave inscription

ist ir ntr-nfr w3h ib r irt mnw sdr.(w) rs.(w) n^c.n.f m hhy ir 3ht in hm.f dd tp-rd ssm k3wt m mnw.f

“Now as for the Good god whose heart is set on making monuments while lying awake unable to sleep while seeking to perform benefactions;

¹⁴¹E.g, twice with *3h*: *Imn-htp-hk3-W3st rs-tp n m hhy irt 3ht m Tpt-rsynt* (*Urk. IV*, 1690:16-17); *sdr.(w) hr hhy 3hwt n it.f Imn-R^c* (*Urk. IV*, 1701:14-15). The verb *hhy* is also used with *sp nb mnh*, “every excellent action,” and *sp ikr* “excellent action.” Cf. *Urk. IV*, 1689:8 & 1697:12-13. In only two of these examples is he described as lying awake when contemplating these actions. Since Amenhotep’s building projects at Luxor on behalf of Amen-Re are being described, it seems certain that *3h* means “effective,” or “beneficial,” especially as a parallel to the terms *mnh* and *ikr*.

¹⁴²Elsewhere in the text Seti is called “the king who is awake making benefactions” *nsw rs-tp irt 3hw* (*KRI I*, 42:3).

indeed, it was His Majesty who gave the instructions, who guided work on his monument” (*KRI* I, 202:4-5).

Karnak Hypostyle Hall, architrave inscription
ist hm.f m s3 mr.f hr hhy spw n 3hwt n ms sw

“Now His Majesty was a loving son who sought out actions of beneficence for the one who bore him” (*KRI* I, 414:15-16).

From these examples, it is clear that Seti is searching for a specific act or acts to perform, and that these acts are connected with the building or refurbishment of monuments. Here *3h* makes better sense if it connotes “beneficent,” “effective” or “useful” action rather than “glory” or “luminosity.” In particular, *3h* is used nominally here, not adjectivally,¹⁴³ and translations like “seeking out glorifications” are unconvincing.

The texts often describe how his actions are beneficial for the gods. These often have to do with his building activities on their behalf, including his deceased father Ramesses I. Moreover, the monuments themselves are frequently described as being *3h* for the gods:

Qantara monument for Ramesses I

*ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Hr nb Msn mds-^c mst ssmw.f m bi3t m k3t mn3 nt dt
 m ir s3 ir 3hwt*

“It is his monument that he made¹⁴⁴ for his father Horus of Mesen the formidable of arm, fashioning his image in *bi3*-stone, in excellent and everlasting workmanship as a son who does what-is-beneficial” (*KRI* I, 106:8-9).

¹⁴³So even in *KRI* I, 414:14, *spw n 3hwt* where an indirect genitive is used so that *3hwt* cannot possibly be mistaken for a modifier.

¹⁴⁴So not “he made it as his monument.” See E. W. Castle, “The Dedication Formula *ir.n.f m mnw.f*,” *JEA* 79 (1993), 99-120.

Abydos chapel of Ramesses I

iw ir.n.i 3hwt hr.k kd.i n.k hwt n k3.k

“I have made benefactions for you since I have built for you a mansion for your ka” (*KRI I*, 109:15).

Abydos temple of Seti I dedication text

ntr-nfr iw^c 3h mi Hr ir mnw m t3-wr

“The Good god, beneficent heir like Horus who makes monuments in the Great Land” (*KRI I*, 152:15).

Abydos temple dedication text

ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Wsir-hry-ib hwt-Mn-m3^ct-R^c irt n.f hwt-ntr nfrt w^cbt 3ht mnht

“It is his monument that he made for his father Osiris who is in the Mansion of Menmaatre, making for him a perfect, pure, beneficial and excellent temple” (*KRI I*, 156:8-9).

Abydos temple dedication text

irt n.f hwt-ntr m m3wt hr st 3ht n dt ir.f di^c nh

“Making for him a temple anew in the beneficial place for eternity that he might make ‘given life’” (*KRI I*, 166:44).

Abydos temple dedication text

ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f wsir-hry-ib hwt mn-m3^ct-R^c irt n.f^c h wrt m st irt 3hwt ir.f di^c nh mi R^c

“It is his monument that he made for his father Osiris who is in the Mansion of Menmaatre, making for him a great palace in the place of making benefactions that he might make ‘given life’” (*KRI I*, 169:1-2).

Karnak Hypostyle Hall dedication text

nsw nht ir 3hwt n it.f nsw-ntrw kd pr.f smnh hwt-ntr.f m k3wt mnht nt hh shd.n.f wb3 sps m mnw nfrw wrw w3dw IIII

“The mighty king who makes benefactions for his father the King of the gods, who builds his domain and elaborates his temple with the excellent workmanship of eternity. He has illuminated the August Hall¹⁴⁵ with

¹⁴⁵*wb3* generally refers to the area in front of a temple, but in the case of the Karnak Hypostyle, it seems to refer to the building itself. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 9 & 13 This

perfect and great monuments (consisting of) columns...” (*KRI* I, 201 14-15).

The *quid pro quo* nature of *ḥt*-actions can be seen in one last example from yet another architrave text in the Karnak Hypostyle:

Speech of Amen-Re to the gods

*m33.tn mnw pn nfr w^cb rwd ir.n n.i s3.i n ht.i mry.(i) nb-T3wy nb irt ht
Wsr-m3^ct-R^c-stp-n-R^c rnn.i m ht r irt n.(i) ḥwt n.i r-pr.i...ḥnm.tn sw m
^cnh w3s stp.tn s3.tn ḥ3.f sns.n.(w) sw wnn.f m-dl.tn ḥ3.f mi ḥ3.tn r rwd rn.f
mitt rn.tn r drw ḥh mi kd.n.f 1pt-swt m m3wt m inr ḥd nfr rdt di.n.f 3w
wsht n iwyt.i m ḥ3w ir.n drtiw*

You have seen this perfect, pure and durable monument which my beloved bodily son has made for me, (namely) the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the ritual Usermaatre-Setepenre¹⁴⁶ whom I reared from the womb in order that he might make benefactions for my temple... may you endow him with life, dominion, may you set your protection behind him and be brotherly to him while he exists with you. Let him be beneficent as you are beneficent in order that his name might endure, just like your names, to the boundary of eternity in as much as he has built for me Karnak anew in fine, hard white sandstone. He has given length and width to my sanctuary in excess of what the ancestors did (*KRI* I, 203:2-5).

This and all the other dedication texts from the Karnak Hypostyle, as well as the other examples given above, make it clear that the measure of Seti's *ḥt*-effectiveness, to borrow Friedman's term, was the magnitude of his building program. Thus it is unlikely that *ḥt* is to be translated as "glorious" in any of the instances where it occurs in texts of Seti I, least of all in the names of the great temple foundations whose names are compounded with it. The Karnak Hypostyle Hall, along with parallel foundations at Gurnah, Memphis and Abydos were

is perhaps due to the fact that although the Hypostyle Hall was considered a *ḥwt-ntr* itself, it was also seen as being in front of (*ḥft-hr*) the *1pt-swt* proper,

¹⁴⁶The cartouches on many of these architrave texts have been usurped by Ramesses II from Seti I. See L.-A. Christophe, "La face sud des architraves surmontant les colonnes 74-80 de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 69-82.

clearly testaments to Seti's devotion to his gods within their respective domains, and their very names expressed his material beneficence to them.

1.4 Criteria for Dating Reliefs during the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

1.4.1 Raised and Sunk Relief of Seti I

Most of the relief decoration of Seti I conforms to the general practice of earlier pharaohs who tended to decorate interior wall surfaces with raised relief and exteriors in sunk relief. Of the few exceptions to this practice dateable to his reign, the speos at Kanais is the most significant, being decorated in sunk relief throughout.¹⁴⁷

Seti's reliefs are justly famous for their finesse and intricacy. This is particularly true of those in his Abydos temple where the fine grain of the limestone allowed the sculptors to carve exquisite details normally rendered only in paint (**PLATES 53A-B Cf. PLATE 50**).¹⁴⁸ Even in the coarser, medium of sandstone, bas reliefs from the interior walls of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in the barque sanctuaries of the Theban Triad and chapel of Ramesses I at Gurnah temple often have elaborately carved details, such as the monarch's long pleated garments (**PLATES 68A**).

Seti's raised relief tends to be higher than the low relief favored by his post-Amarna predecessors and many rulers of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty. They are closer to the high, baroque style favored late in the reign of Amenhotep III.¹⁴⁹ Hallmarks of this style include sensitive modeling and the overlay of highly modeled details, such as the arm where it passes over the body (**PLATE 14B**). Among the more striking examples of this mode are the hieroglyphic texts and the ram-headed prows of the sacred barques of Amen-Re gracing the north interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle (**PLATE 16B**). These tend to stand out against

¹⁴⁷See *infra* 3.125.

¹⁴⁸Calverley and Broome, *Abydos I-IV, passim*, See *infra* 3.46.4.

¹⁴⁹R. Johnson in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, 34-36.

the surrounding relief, and they were not merely outlined or cut into the background surface, two practices commonly found in low relief. Even in sandstone, where extensive detailing was still the exception rather than the rule, Seti demanded a high standard from his artisans and attributes such as facial features tend to be crisp and sensitively modeled. The transition to higher bas relief is apparent at the outset of the reign when Seti completed the decoration in the southernmost portions of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor, where reliefs are more highly modeled than the relatively flat carvings of Tutankhamen.¹⁵⁰ Sunk reliefs dating to Seti's reign exhibit the same care and attention to detail as his bas reliefs. Although they are generally not as carefully embellished as his bas reliefs, his sunk reliefs are, nevertheless, often far superior to the work of his successors.¹⁵¹

1.4.2 Raised and Sunk Relief of Ramesses II

At the outset of his reign, Ramesses II continued the practice of employing raised relief to decorate the interior surfaces of his buildings. Within a year or so of his accession, however, he began instead to employ sunk relief almost to the total exclusion of bas relief for the rest of his almost seven-decade tenure of the throne (**PLATE 12A**).

Even for the brief time during which he employed raised relief as a medium of decoration, the quality and level of detailing seems to have declined markedly from the standard set by his father. This is nowhere more apparent than in the earliest decoration in his own temple at Abydos, where the work is decidedly inferior to that in Seti's nearby temple. Ramesses had abandoned the laborious process practiced by his father of cutting intricate detailing into bas relief. Moreover, his sculptors were not as careful in finishing them. Only the most basic elements, such as facial features, were incised, and even these often lack the sensitive modeling and crisp features of Seti's work. The quality of the sculptor's output seems to have declined as the reign progressed, as did the overall quality of the monuments

¹⁵⁰Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, xvii.


¹⁵¹Cf. Karnak battle reliefs (Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, passim*), a siliceous sandstone doorjamb from Heliopolis and now Alexandria (*infra* 3.19), a black granodiorite lintel from Heliopolis (*infra* 3.23).

they embellished.¹⁵² One has only to compare earlier examples such as reliefs inside the Ramesside court at Luxor, which are among the finest produced during the entire reign, with reliefs added years later to his father's memorial temple at Gurnah to see the two extremes of this trend.¹⁵³ To be fair to Ramesses, however, it should be noted that the minimal level of detailing beyond facial features was ameliorated by the use of paint.¹⁵⁴

Scholars have long speculated what motivated Ramesses to abandon the use of raised relief altogether. The most frequently cited reason is speed, as presumably there was a significant amount of time saved in not cutting away all the background surface. Ramesses is often described as having been impatient.¹⁵⁵ It is impossible to judge his motivations accurately in adopting the exclusive use of sunk relief, but its speed of execution may have been a factor.

1.4.3 Variant Orthographies in the Cartouches of the First Three Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaohs

1.4.4 Ramesses I


Although he ruled for less than two years, Ramesses I's cartouches display a surprising number of variant orthographies. His nomen is written both as *R^c-ms-sw*. 









¹⁵²R. Stadelmann, "Die Lange Regierung Ramses' II," *MDAIK* 37 (1979), 457-463.


¹⁵³Cf. C. Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramsès à Louxor*, (Cairo, 1971), *passim* with J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I.: Die Reliefs und Inschriften* vol. 1, (Mainz, 1982), *passim*.

¹⁵⁴Even the most crude Ramesside reliefs were often minutely detailed in paint. Thus at Medinet Habu surviving painted decoration is often breathtaking in its intricacy despite the fact that the reliefs themselves are unremarkable in their sophistication. Such examples may belie the notion of universal carelessness in Ramesside art. E.g. Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* I, frontispiece, pls. 19, 20, 24-26; II, frontispiece, pls. 63-65, 97, 124.

¹⁵⁵Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*, (Warminster, 1982), 37.

which is by far the most common form, and occasionally R^c - ms - s ,  ¹⁵⁶ The orthography of the nomen was generally the same, and epithets are rarely suffixed to it.¹⁵⁷

Ramesses adopted the prenomen Mn - $phty$ - R^c , doubtless on the model of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty Ahmose's Nb - $phty$ - R^c . Like Ahmose, Ramesses' whole titulary is quite plain, lacking the additional epithets and elaborate titles accumulated by the rulers of the later Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁸ Several variant orthographies of Ramesses I's prenomen are attested. In most cases the -sign is in the middle position with  coming last. The -sign is often accompanied by the phonetic complement ,¹⁵⁹ (sometimes  in horizontally arranged cartouches),¹⁶⁰ although sometimes only  is written. Heretofore Egyptian rulers generally adopted simple prenomens consisting of three elements written with the same number of signs where possible. Certainly in view of the prenomens of Thutmose III and IV, the phonetic complement  was unnecessary in conjunction with the -sign.

The term $phty$, meaning "strength," could be written a number of ways. The simplest orthography was .¹⁶¹ The $phty$ was occasionally treated as a false dual in the Egyptian writing system and a number of variant orthographies found their way into the king's

¹⁵⁶J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 20, (Munich, 1984), 88 & 234.


¹⁵⁷Statue base Louvre E.7690. *KRI* I, 3:8 & 3:12.





¹⁵⁸K. A. Kitchen "The Titularies of the Ramesside Kings as Expression of their Ideal Kingship," *ASAE* 71 (1987), 132.

¹⁵⁹Sinai 245 (*KRI* I, 1:15); Buhen stela, Louvre C57 (*KRI* I, 2:6); Louvre 7690 (*KRI* I, 3:8 & 3:10); and Vienna 8953 (I. Hein, "Ein Stelenfragment Ramses' I.," *ZÄS* 116 (1989), 38.




¹⁶⁰Louvre C 57 (*KRI* I, 2:10 & 2:13, 3:1).

¹⁶¹Cf. Sinai 245 (*KRI* I, 1:15, 2:6); Louvre C 57 (*KRI* I, 2:10, 2:13, 3:1).

prenomen. Thus we also find .¹⁶² Other variants appear in posthumous monuments made in his name by Seti I.¹⁶³

There are several examples of the prenominal sign -sign on the bottom, without a complementary .¹⁶⁴ most of them on monuments associated with Seti I and dating after the elder sovereign's death, when the orthography of Ramesses' cartouche seems to have been influenced by the standard writing for his son's.¹⁶⁵ Other clearly posthumous monuments display variants with the -sign in the middle position. Epithets are occasionally attached to the prenominal sign, including *tit-R^c* and *iw^c-R^c*,¹⁶⁶ almost always when it is arranged horizontally.¹⁶⁷ As a dating criterion, examples of the simple form where the -sign is on the bottom are more likely to be *post mortem* Ramesses, although the reverse is not necessarily the case as other clearly posthumous examples feature orthographies found during his lifetime.

¹⁶²So. Sinai 244 = Brussels 2171 (*KRI* I, 1:12); Louvre 7690 (*KRI* I, 3:10 & 3:12); votive stela in Amsterdam (W. van Haarlem, *CAA, Selections from the Collection, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam* I [Mainz, 1986], sheet 9352).

¹⁶³ on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 138, 140-142).  is found in the Ramesses I suite at Gurnah temple (*KRI* I, 115-116). On a statue base from Qantara dedicated to Horus of Mesen and Ramesses  occurs (*KRI* I, 105:12).




¹⁶⁴E.g. a donation stela, Strasbourg 1378 (*KRI* I, 3:15 & 4:1); another donation stela from Karnak (*KRI* I, 4:9 & 4:11); and Amsterdam APM 9352 (van Haarlem, *Selections from the Collection*, sheet 9352).


¹⁶⁵E.g. the Abydos chapel of Ramesses I. Cf. Osirian statue of Ramesses I (*KRI* I, 108:5 & 108:7) with the main facade of the chapel (*KRI* I, 109:8 & 109:10) and its wall reliefs (H. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramses I at Abydos*, [New York, 1921], pls. 1, 5-6 & 9).

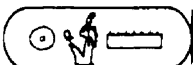

¹⁶⁶Cf. an obelisk fragment, Copenhagen 468 (*KRI* I, 5:4) and an offering table from the chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos (A. El-Khatib, "A Recently Discovered Offering Slab from the Reign of Seti I," *GM* 133 [1993], 67-77, figs. 1-10).

¹⁶⁷A rare exception is Brussels E 2171 (*KRI* I, 1:5).

1.4.5 Seti I

Variant orthographies of Seti I's nomen have often been commented on, in particular those where the -animal has been replaced by a figure of Osiris and a -amulet to write the name cryptographically on monuments associated with the god Osiris including all those from Abydos and in his tomb at Thebes written .¹⁶⁸ The standard form




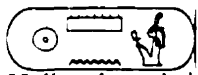
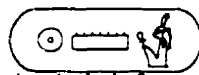
of the nomen, spelled with the -glyph, is *Sty-mr-n-Pth* which can be written a number of ways. Variant epithets naming other deities are found in specific locales as with *Sty-mr-n-Tmn* in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall,¹⁶⁹ and at least once at Heliopolis where *mr-n-Rc* appears.¹⁷⁰

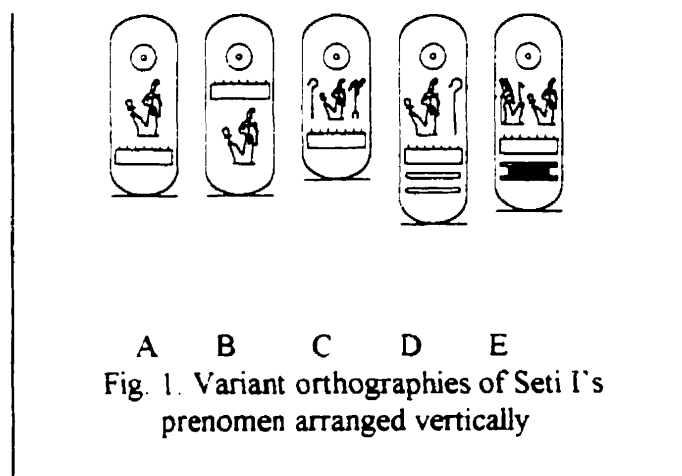
Variant orthographies of the prenomen have not elicited comment, but they may be more diagnostic for chronological purposes. Although rare, they occur on both horizontal and vertically arranged cartouches. The standard arrangement, , (fig. 1A), repeated endlessly on monuments dating from the first regnal year on, features the -sign at the end of the cartouche (see fig. 1A). At times this is reversed so that the goddess is found

¹⁶⁸A. El-Sawi, "Some Variations of Writing of the Names of Sety I at Abydos," *ASAE supplément* Vol. 70 1984-1985, (Cairo, 1987), 55-60.

¹⁶⁹C. Loeben, "À propos de la graphie du nom de Séthi I à Karnak," *Karnak* 8. (Paris, 1987), 225-228.

¹⁷⁰See *infra* 3.23.

in the final position (fig. 1B). A number of such variants can be securely dated to the first regnal year,¹⁷¹ often in conjunction with other stylistic traits consistent with a date early in the reign.¹⁷² A less common variant, , features the phonetic complement  appended to the -sign.¹⁷³ The *m3ʿt*-figure is used alone.¹⁷⁴ Another rare variant, , is found only on some of the architrave inscriptions in the Luxor Colonnade Hall, where it is juxtaposed with the standard form. The early variant  may reflect the influence of the most common form employed during his father's brief tenure, but



even from the beginning of the former's reign, on the earliest dateable monuments, the standard form, (fig. 1A), is by far the most common orthography.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹Brooklyn 69.116.1. See *infra* 3.42.

¹⁷²See *infra* 3.102.

¹⁷³See *infra* 2.8.

¹⁷⁴An exceptional variant with *M3ʿt* written phonetically seems to have been an error perpetrated by a draftsman transferring a hieratic text onto a small votive stela. See *infra* 3.113.

¹⁷⁵There are scattered examples of this orthography that cannot date to his earliest years. E.g. among architrave texts in his Abydos temple where this variant appears a few times among numerous examples of the standard form. *KRI* I, 129:4, 132:3, 134:15; 136:7

Seti occasionally appended epithets to his prenomen, as some of his predecessors had done; in particular Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. These include *tit-R^c*, *iw^c-R^c*, *iry-n-R^c* and *stp-n-R^c*.¹⁷⁶ During the New Kingdom, epithets are generally found in cartouches arranged horizontally,¹⁷⁷ and are rarely appended to vertical prenomen cartouches.¹⁷⁸ Presumably in most cases the latter arrangement was considered aesthetically incompatible with the standard elements of Seti I's prenomen, in particular the tall *mš^ct*-figure. This tends to be confirmed by exceptional examples featuring the epithet *hk3-W3st*, (fig. 1C), in which these tall, narrow signs flank the *mš^ct*-figure.¹⁷⁹ Only two other examples of a vertically arranged cartouche with an additional epithet are attested. One comes from Seti's smaller year nine stela from Aswan, recording the production of a number of granite colossi (fig. 1D). Here the epithet *hk3-T3wy* is appended to the unusually large, vertical cartouche behind the king in the lunette scene. This anomaly is explained by the fact that the epithet represents the name of one of the projected colossi.¹⁸⁰ A second one, (fig. 1E), found on a lintel at the Gurnah temple, bears the epithet *mr-Imn* in an arrangement that anticipates the orthography of Ramesses II's nomen.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 89 & 236.

¹⁷⁷As with the architraves in the solar court of Amenhotep III in Luxor temple (*Urk.* IV, 1682-1705, *passim*). The same is true for the architraves in the *šh-mnw* of Thutmose III at Karnak (*Urk.* IV, 855-857, 861:4 & 863:4) and in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (*Urk.* IV, 881:7 & 16).

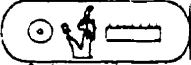
¹⁷⁸E.g. prenomen cartouches of Thutmose I on his standing obelisk at Karnak *Urk.* IV, 93-94). Likewise with the prenomen of Thutmose III in a number of wall scenes in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (ex: *PM II*², 468, (41); Nelson, *Key Plans*, Medinet Habu B166-168).

¹⁷⁹E.g. in the Karnak Hypostyle (*GHHK* I.1, pls. 191-193, 197, 199-200). Similar example are found under Horemheb in various locations.

¹⁸⁰See P. Brand, 'The 'Lost' Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I,' *JARCE* 34 (1997), 112. See *infra* 3.119.

¹⁸¹*PM II*², 414, (74e-f)

Just as prenomen with suffixed epithets are most common with horizontally arranged cartouches, the latter are often found in texts on architectural elements of large buildings such as their architraves, soffits and abaci. This is especially true in the Karnak Hypostyle.¹⁸² Again Seti is imitating his favored role models Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. They are also commonly found on offering tables.¹⁸³ Otherwise, such variants are generally found in the horizontally arranged texts of royal stelae. A particularly large sample of dated examples is clustered in texts from the first year or so of the reign.¹⁸⁴ A couple of others may also be dated to the vicinity of the first year, based on independent criteria.¹⁸⁵ The use of this phenomenon as a dating criterion for official texts is complicated by the occurrence of two other examples securely dated to the later years of the reign.¹⁸⁶ Still, these epithets may be of use in conjunction with other criteria for relative dating of stelae where the dateline is lost

Although the standard orthography for Seti's prenomen, , seems to have been the most commonly used one from the very beginning of the reign, variant writings are found and tend to be dateable to his earliest years.¹⁸⁷ This seems to be analogous to the numerous variants found in the first two years of Ramesses I and Ramesses II, when multiple orthographies were used and then abruptly disappeared for the rest of the second Ramesses's

¹⁸²V. Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: Les architraves*, Forthcoming.

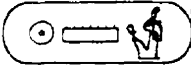

¹⁸³Cf. Cairo CG 23090 (*KRI* I, 121:13, 121:15); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg AEIN 44 (*KRI* I: 235:16 & 236:2); Abydos chapel of Ramesses I (A. El-Khatib, *GM* 133 (1993), figs 1-10).

¹⁸⁴Larger Beth Shan stela (*KRI* I, 11:16); smaller Beth Shan stela (*KRI* I, 16:3 & 16:16); Alabaster Stela Cairo CG 34501 (*KRI* I, 39:3, 39:8, 39:12); Karnak Ptah temple stela (*KRI* I, 40:11).


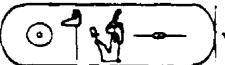
¹⁸⁵"Nilometer" stela from Elephantine (*KRI* I, 97:7 & 98:5); West Silsila Inundation stela (*KRI* I, 89:13).

¹⁸⁶E.g. two stelae from Sai and Amara West recording the king's year eight campaign against Irem (*KRI* VII, 9:4, 11:12-13).

¹⁸⁷Sesebi reliefs suppressing those of Akhenaten (See *infra* 2.75); Tell es-Shihab stela (*KRI* I, 17.5); a head of a limestone statuette of Amen in a unmistakably post-Amarna style used early in the reign (See *infra* 3.100).

long reign. The writing  of Seti's prenomen was possibly influenced by the standard arrangement employed by his father. Later the reverse situation obtained when posthumous monuments dedicated by Seti I and Ramesses II to Ramesses I feature an orthography, , reflecting Seti's cartouche. Less secure for dating purposes are horizontally arranged cartouches with additional epithets. Although a cluster of examples is found in earlier stela texts, several other are securely dated later.

1.4.6 Ramesses II

It has long been noted that Ramesses II employed several variant orthographies of his prenomen, with and without the addition of various epithets, and that these can be useful in dating monuments from early in his reign.¹⁸⁸ Reliefs carved during the first year or so of the reign can be dated by the form of the prenomen. At some undetermined point, but by III *smw* - day 26 at the end of his second regnal year, Ramesses had adopted the final form of his prenomen, *Wsr-m3^ct-R^c-stp-n-R^c*, , the standard form used until the end of the reign.¹⁸⁹ Thus monuments bearing the short form of the prenomen, ,

without the epithet *stp-n-R^c*, must date to the first and much of the second regnal year.¹⁹⁰ During the first two years he sporadically appended various epithets to his prenomen, including *tit-R^c*, *iw^c-R^c* and *mry-R^c*¹⁹¹. These epithets were used during the same period the simplex *Wsr-m3^ct-R^c* was in use.¹⁹² Although the apparent unpredictability of the use of these epithets has given rise to some confusion among scholars,¹⁹³ it seems likely that before the permanent adoption of the final form with *stp-n-R^c* Ramesses employed prenomen epithets in

¹⁸⁸K. Sethe, "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs," *ZAS* 62 (1927), 110-114; Seele, *Coregency*, *passim*.

¹⁸⁹*KRI* II, 344-345; Murnane, *JNES* 34, 161.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, Murnane, 158-161.

¹⁹¹Seele, *Coregency*, 27-31

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, 29ff. *Contra* Sethe, *ZAS*, 62, 10ff.

¹⁹³*Ibid.* Seele, 30-39

the same manner his father had, i.e. they were used almost exclusively in horizontally arranged cartouches decorating elements such as the lintels of doorjambs,¹⁹⁴ architraves and the like,¹⁹⁵ and not in vertically arranged cartouches in wall decoration.¹⁹⁶ The orthography of the short form of Ramesses' cartouche seems to have varied widely during the time it was in use.¹⁹⁷ Once the long form had been adopted, few variant orthographies occurred, and most of these seem to date to the earlier years of the reign.¹⁹⁸



Variants of his nomen are also found during the first regnal year or so. A variety of spellings of two forms of the nomen, *R^c-ms-sw* and *R^c-ms-s* occur.¹⁹⁹ *R^c-ms-s* seems to have become the standard form at the same time the final, long form of the premen was adopted. It remained so until about year 20-21 when *R^c-ms-sw* was adopted and used invariably for the duration of the reign.²⁰⁰ This phenomenon is only securely attested in Upper Egypt.

¹⁹⁴E.g. on a doorway at Gurnah: *ibid.*, Seele, 31, fig. 10. The epithet *iw^c-R^c* was used on the lintel, but the premen cartouche on the jamb lacks an epithet.

¹⁹⁵E.g. on some architraves and ceiling bandeaux in the Gurnah temple: *KRI* II, 638:12 & 15, 639:2 & 641.6-7.

¹⁹⁶Throughout the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, epithets are never appended to cartouches in the wall scenes carved before the adoption of *stp-n-R^c*. Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, *passim*.

¹⁹⁷Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 64-85 *passim*.

¹⁹⁸E.g. in the large temple at Abu Simbel  and  occur.

¹⁹⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 12, 18-21, 26, 28-30, 39-40, 63-86, 90-93, 96-100, 105-106 *passim*.

²⁰⁰K. A. Kitchen, "Aspects of Ramesside Egypt," *Actes du premier congrès international d'égyptologie. 2-10 octobre 1976*, ed. by W.F. Reineke, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kulture des Alten Orients* vol. 14, (Berlin, 1979), 383-387



1.4.7 Three Phases in Relief Decoration from the First Two Years of Ramesses II's Reign

During the earliest years of his reign Ramesses II employed both raised and sunk relief. After year two, however, he employed sunk relief on both interior and exterior wall surfaces to the almost complete exclusion of raised relief. Three phases of his earliest relief decoration can be distinguished, henceforth denoted by the abbreviations R¹, R² and R³. During the earliest period, R¹, the simple form of the prenomen, *Wsr-m3't-Rc* was used in conjunction with raised relief on interior wall surfaces for most if not all of year one. R² appeared when raised relief was abandoned but while the short form of the prenomen was still in use until sometime in year two. The appearance of R³ coincides with the adoption of the long form of the prenomen and was used for the balance of the reign.

During his earliest years, Ramesses completed the decoration of a number of his father's monuments. At Gurnah in particular, sunk reliefs naming Ramesses I and Seti I appear on some interior walls of the temple, while most others naming these two kings are in raised relief. These sunk reliefs either name Ramesses II as well, or they are adjacent to others that do. Sunk reliefs naming Ramesses I will be termed R I², while those featuring Seti will be S². Raised reliefs of Seti may be denoted as S¹.

1.4.8 Summary of the Criteria Used to Date Royal Reliefs During the First Three Decades of the Nineteenth Dynasty

1.4.9 Ramesses I

Monuments dating to the brief reign of Ramesses I may be distinguished from posthumous ones made in his honor by his successors based on a number of features. When decorated with human figures, these will be in keeping with the post-Amarna style. Monuments dedicated by Seti I tend to be in the mature Ramesside style common later in Seti's reign. The orthography of Ramesses I's prenomen often varied, but it was most commonly written with the -sign in the middle position. During Seti's reign the -sign is often in the final position, especially later in the reign. In ritual scenes, one expects Ramesses to be depicted standing with his torso erect. Seti I does not seem to have been portrayed bowing until the fourth year of his reign. Bowing figures of Ramesses I on

monuments that also feature Seti I are likely to date to after the former's death. By applying these criteria, it should be possible to determine which monuments were made in Ramesses' lifetime and which are memorials.

1.4.10 Seti I

It is well known that Seti was not able to complete a number of his own monuments, and that it fell to Ramesses II to accomplish this. What is less clear is the exact status of the elder pharaoh in reliefs juxtaposed with others naming his son. A number of criteria that appear to distinguish reliefs of Seti from those of Ramesses II. Another problem is the lack of dated monuments within the reign.

Seti I tended to employ raised relief on interior surfaces, according to the standard practice of his predecessors, and his decoration consistently exhibits a high degree of finesse and detailing. There is a substantial corpus of these in keeping with post-Amarna stylistic trends. A handful can be dated to his earliest years, while others lack a date. Variant orthographies of his prenomen also coincide with an early date in a number of examples. Prenomen cartouches with additional epithets are also common in the texts of stelae from his first years, but, since they also occur on later stelae, this criterion is not reliable in itself.

Beginning as early as year four, dated reliefs exhibit the mature Ramesside style of relief. Then too, royal figures with inclined torsos make their first appearance as a recurrent motif in Seti's reliefs. This method of depicting the king remains current until the end of the reign. Although the more conventional, erect stance is still found, it is not as common as the inclined pose.

1.4.11 Ramesses II

During the first year on the throne, Ramesses II followed his predecessor's example in using raised relief on the interior surfaces of the temples he decorated, but he was quicker to abandon Seti's practice of depicting the royal figure bowing in ritual scenes. Aside from those reliefs on Seti's monuments that Ramesses was completing, there are only a few tableaux in his own temple at Beit el-Wali depicting him in this manner. It was also during his first two years that Ramesses employed variant forms of his nomen and prenomen. By the end of the second year he had adopted the long form of his prenomen with the epithet *stp-n-R^c*, and had

standardized his nomen as *R^c-ms-s*, the form in which it remained until about year 21. Ramesses employed raised relief on the interior surfaces of his buildings before switching to sunk relief. This changeover took place before the end of year two. Three phases of his decoration in the first two years can thus be distinguished, R¹ raised relief with the short prenomen, R² sunk relief, short prenomen, and R³ sunk relief and long prenomen.

Careful examination of all these criteria for each of the first three rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty should make it possible to provide a more accurate chronological structure for the royal monuments of this period and at the same time to elucidate its political history, in particular the length of Seti I's reign and the royal succession at the beginning of the Ramesside age.

CHAPTER 2
CATALOG OF RESTORATIONS, ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS MADE BY
SETI I TO EXISTING MONUMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Repairs made by the pharaohs of the late Eighteenth Dynasty to monuments vandalized by the agents of Akhenaten are well documented. Surprisingly, however, little effort has been made to understand the technical features of these restorations, and historians have largely taken the whole process for granted. They have mostly focused on a handful of ancient texts commenting on the restoration period,¹ including Tutankhamen's Restoration Inscription found in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall,² and another stela of Tutankhamen, similar content, also unearthed there³.

Beginning with Tutankhamen, one also finds a scattering of restoration formulae employing the phrase *smšwy-mnw*, "renewal of monuments," but they are relatively scarce during the reigns of Tutankhamen,⁴ Ay⁵ and Horemheb, and there was no standardized

¹E.g., R.J. Leprohon, "The Reign of Akhenaten seen through the Later Royal Decrees," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II, (Cairo, 1985), 93-103.

²*PM II*², 53-53; *Urk.* IV, 2025-2032; J. Bennett, "The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun," *JEA* 25 (1939), 8-15. Cf. a new translation by W. J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, (Atlanta, 1995), 212-214. Two fragments of a duplicate stela were unearthed in the foundations of the Monthu temple: A. Varille, *Karnak I*, 18, pl. 52; R. Hari, *Horemheb et la Reine Moutmedjemet*, (Geneva, 1964), 128-135, fig. 44-45, pl. 22. See *PM II*², 10 for further references.

³*PM II*², 53; *Urk.* IV, 2034:10-2036; Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, 215.

⁴Tutankhamen's restoration inscriptions often name a previous king as the beneficiary of the restoration. E.g., for Amenhotep III at Luxor (Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple vol. 1, [Chicago, 1994], 1, 43, pls. 3, 119) and at Soleb (I. E. S. Edwards, "The Prudhoe Lions," *AAA* 26 [1939], 3-9).

⁵E.g., on a doorpost from Luxor temple. *PM II*², 321 (124a-b); *Urk.* IV, 2106:8; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 22, fig. 79. Following the king's titulary *ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Tmn hnty-ipt.f*

formula at this time.⁶ Others allude, all too briefly, to the repair of damaged monuments, as in a text of Ay from his speos at Akhmim,⁷ and by Horemheb in his Coronation Inscription.⁸ These documents either make only generalized statements about the restoration of the temples or, if they go into any detail, focus on the replacement of the most costly and prestigious sorts of cult equipment, including sacred barques and cult statues made of precious materials. They never treat the rehabilitation of stone monuments in any detail.

Little attention has been paid to the largest task that faced the champions of orthodoxy, namely the repair of damaged reliefs featuring Amen-Re and other gods on monuments throughout the land. Between the accession of Tutankhamen and that of Seti I, at least 25 to 30 years had elapsed during which vandalized reliefs were being restored. Extensive repairs to reliefs that Akhenaten's partisans had destroyed were made under Tutankhamen, Ay and Horemheb at Karnak, Luxor and elsewhere in the Theban region and throughout Egypt and Nubia.

It is Seti I, however, who is perhaps best known as a restorer of damaged temple reliefs because he frequently marked these repairs with a *sm3wy-mnw* formula. These texts are generally found in conspicuous locations: along processional ways, on monumental gateways, the lunettes of stelae and the façades of pylons. They are seldom found in the dark recesses and side rooms of the temples. Given that repairs to damaged reliefs had been underway for some two or three decades before Seti's accession, one may question whether such a large quantity of monumental reliefs remained unrestored at his accession, especially in

sm3wy n.f sb3.f 33 3ps. "He has made (it) as his monument for his father Amen-Pre-eminent-in-his-Harem, renewing for him his great and August portal."

⁶E.g., Deir el-Bahari: *Urk.* IV, 2134:20-2135:3 and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu: ex. *ibid.*, 2135:6; *PM II*², 468 (42); Nelson, *Key Plans*, MHB 161. See Hari, *Horemheb et la Reine Moutnedjemet*, 389-394 & pl. 60.

⁷*Urk.* IV, 2107:1-3. The statement is quite vague with regard to restoration work. The key term is *smnh* rather than *sm3wy*. On this monument see K.P. Kuhlmann, "Der Felstempel des Eje bei Achmim," *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 165-188 & pls. 48-56

⁸*Urk.* IV, 2119:13-17.

such prominent locations, as Seti's renewal inscriptions seem to attest. It is becoming increasingly apparent that many of the restorations made under both Horemheb and Seti I were in fact secondary alterations to ones first made under Tutankhamen.⁹ It is well known that Horemheb usurped many of Tutankhamen's monuments and suppressed his memory. This policy, it now seems, extended to his restorations. These usurpations have generally passed unnoticed because Tutankhamen and Horemheb employed renewal texts only sporadically (PLATE 17A).¹⁰

This chapter will catalog restorations and additions that Seti I made to existing monuments, with particular attention to the epigraphic features of these reliefs, and will include transliterations of the *smꜣwy-mnw* formulae added to the monuments. It is likely that many temple reliefs were restored by Seti without the addition of *smꜣwy-mnw* formula. Unless these have renewal texts themselves, however, or are associated with other reliefs that do, they will not be dealt with here. Such reliefs could only be distinguished from other restorations made by one of Seti's post-Amarna predecessors on art historical/ iconographic grounds. Such anepigraphic restorations are beyond the scope of the present study.

Earlier post-Amarna renewal texts often varied in their composition. Under Seti I, such inscriptions were standardized. His *smꜣwy-mnw* formula is quite straightforward. It

⁹This phenomenon has been noticed before, but its full implications or wide scale have largely escaped notice. W. J. Murnane, "Tutankhamun on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak," *VA* 1 (1985), 59-68; S. Bickel, "Blocs d'Amenhotep III réemployés dans le temple de Merenptah à Gourna," *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 1-13, esp. 11-12 & n. 20; H. Jaritz & S. Bickel, "Une porte monumentale d'Amenhotep III. Second rapport préliminaire sur les blocs réemployés dans le temple de Merenptah à Gourna," *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 277-285, esp. 284-285. I am grateful to W.R. Johnson for stimulating discussions on this topic that led me to a number of examples of this phenomenon.

¹⁰An exception includes two restored figures of Amen-Re on the east face of the Sixth Pylon at Karnak that are accompanied by renewal texts of Tutankhamen, his cartouche having been usurped by Horemheb. The restored image of the god on the south tower shows traces of an earlier, smaller version embedded in the later figure. These traces do not, however, belong to the pre-Amarna original, but to the original restoration of Tutankhamen. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 6, (= Karnak D). 160a-b, 15; *PM* II², 89-90 (240-241, 245); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* II, pl. 140.

consists of a direct genitival construction of the infinitive of the verb *smšwy*¹¹ “to make new” with the noun *mnw* “monument.” This was followed by a *sdm.n.f* past relative form employing the verb *iri* “make/do” followed by the king’s premen or nomen plus appropriate titles and epithets in any number of combinations or variations. The premen was the most commonly used name, while the nomen rarely occurs unless it is in parallel with a renewal formula containing the premen. The formula closed with a prepositional phrase: either *m pr (it.f)* Divine Name (+ epithets), “in the domain of (his father) Divine Name,” or *n (it.f)* Divine Name (+ epithets), “for/on behalf of (his father) Divine Name.”

These renewal formulae make it clear that the prime beneficiary of Seti’s efforts were the gods whose images had been chiseled out, since, as a rule, they end with the phrase “in the domain of Divine Name,” or “on behalf of Divine Name.” In apparent contrast, many of the renewal statements of Tutankhamen name Amenhotep III as beneficiary, but these are few and

¹¹*Wb.* IV, 126. See. G. Björkman, *Kings at Karnak: A Study in the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom*, (Uppsala, 1971), 32-33, 47-48.

seem to be completions of the latter's monuments by the former.¹² The *smꜣwy-mnw* formula also appears with a handful of restorations made by Horemheb.¹³

In addition to repairing damaged monuments and reworking many previous restorations, Seti completed several existing monuments that had either been undertaken by various predecessors and left unfinished, or that he decided to renovate or enlarge.¹⁴ At Karnak he added reliefs to a few previously undecorated surfaces.¹⁵ At Soleb in Nubia, he converted the Aten temple of Akhenaten into an Amen temple by suppressing his discredited

¹²See note 5 above. The handful of restoration texts known for Horemheb name respectively both previous kings and the gods as beneficiaries, at times even in the same inscription. Thus at Deir el-Bahari the inscriptions reads "His son, his beloved, has made it for him, (namely) Djeserkhepurure-Setepenre as a renewal of monuments anew, for his father and for his ancestor the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre ////." Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutmedjmet*, 393 & pl. 60. Another text that seems to mention Thutmose III reads *//// mnw n it.f Mn-////-Rꜥ ////////////// rnpt-ḥsbt 20(?) 3bd 3(?)*. This text most likely belongs to Horemheb, and not Seti I, as Hari posits. *Ibid.*, 392-393. Björkman contends that it could have been made by Amenhotep II. *Kings at Karnak*, 47-48, n. 4. If the reading *rnpt-ḥsbt 20* be accepted, it cannot belong to Seti. But the same difficulty would present itself for Horemheb if he ruled for less than twenty years (See Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, 234-235; J. van Dijk, "Maya's Chief Sculptor Userhat-Hatiay with a note on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb," *GM* 148 [1995], 29-34, esp. 34 & n. 25). Still, the length of Horemheb's reign is highly controversial and may well have been longer: see J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des Ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, (Hildesheim, 1994); *idem*, "Das Problem der Regierungsdauer Horemhebs," *SAK* 22 (1995), 37-41.

¹³Karnak: *PM II*², 89-90 (240-241, 245). Medinet Habu, 18th Dynasty temple: *PM II*², 468-478 (39-44, 49-50), *passim*. See Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutmedjmet*, pl. 60. These are the only group of standardized renewal formulae used before Seti I. Surprisingly they name both Horemheb and Thutmose III as the restorer! The formula used is *smꜣwy-mnw ir.n nsw bity PN n it.f Imn*.

¹⁴E.g., the Speos Artemidos of Hatshepsut and reliefs in the south part of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and wall reliefs in the rebuilt edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak. See *infra* 2.7, 2.25 & 2.38.

¹⁵On the south gate of the *wꜣdyt*-hall, north-east jamb and in Room XV. See *infra* 2.9 & 2.17.

predecessor's reliefs and adding his own. Finally, Seti also made renovations to a small number of existing monuments.¹⁶

Lower Egypt

Tell al-Maskhuta

2.1 Hyksos Monument

Limestone: H. 34 cm, W. 39.5

E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, (London, 1885), 15, pl. 6;

G. Daressy, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 259-272.

This peculiar monument seems to have been something akin to a small stela. Its main face is shaped like a truncated triangle, the uppermost portion having been broken off at some point. It is inscribed on its front and two sides with sunk relief. The main face bears an offering scene portraying the king standing before Atum. On the sides, the king is shown facing towards the front of the object holding weaponry, and in one case grasping a prisoner.

Even a cursory inspection of the monument reveals that it is a palimpsest, all four figures having been extensively reworked in antiquity. Naville discovered it at Tell el-Maskhuta in 1883, and wrongly attributed it to the Twentieth Dynasty.¹⁷ After careful study, its true nature was determined.¹⁸

In its original state, the main face depicted a royal figure standing before the falcon-headed Horus-Soped, guardian of the Twentieth nome of Lower Egypt.¹⁹ The supplicant had a shaved pate and wore a kilt with a long dagger attached to the belt. He held what seems to have been an oar in his right hand and a tall, narrow object that flares out at either end, perhaps a small brazier or altar stand. The two figures on the side panels were dressed and

¹⁶E.g., he apparently rebuilt two doorways in the sphinx temple of Amenhotep II at Giza. See *infra* 2.4-2.5.

¹⁷E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, (London, 1885), 15, pl. 6.

¹⁸G. Daressy, "Un monument du temps des Hyksos," *ASAE* 15 (1915), 259-266.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 262.

coiffed in a similar manner to the one on the front. The figure on the right side held a prisoner by the hair along with a staff.

The object was extensively reworked under Seti I, whose cartouches survive on its main face.²⁰ Both figures on the front have been altered. The deity is now a human-headed figure of Atum with a tripartite wig surmounted by the double crown.²¹ The king's kilt has been altered and a bull's tail added, while the dagger has been suppressed. The original arms and the objects they once carried have also been suppressed and replaced. The new right arm is raised in adoration while the left now holds a lotus blossom aloft. The king's visage has been reworked and his headgear changed. He now wears a long military wig with uraeus commonly found in representations of Seti I.²² An offering stand surmounted by a *nmst*-jar and lotus blossom has been inserted between the two figures.

On the left face, the skull cap was converted into a *Nemes*-headdress, and the staff into a mace, while the dagger was suppressed. A formulaic inscription "may all life and protection be behind him like Re forever and ever" was inserted behind the figure. On the right side, the kilt now has a triangular projection. The right arm was extended downward and the object it once held replaced with an axe. The headdress is now a *Khat*-wig with uraeus. The left arm and prisoner have not been altered. Traces of the bottom of a cartouche with the epithet *w3s dt* remain in front of the king's face while the formula "may all life and protection be behind him like Re forever and ever" has been inserted behind him. On both sides the legs were made more slender, while the back leg has been advanced slightly and a bull's tail added.

According to Daressy, the object may originally have come from Saft el-Henneh, site of the ancient Twentieth Lower Egyptian nome.²³ He attributed it to a Hyksos king.²⁴ The

²⁰Ibid., 266.

²¹Ibid., 263.

²²Daressy's drawing shows this wig with a flat bottom, but the photo seems to show a bash in the stone where the lappet of the wig should be. Cf. Ibid., 262, fig. 2 with pl. 1.

²³Ibid., 263.

²⁴Ibid., 270.

original iconography of the piece is unusual and might support a Second Intermediate Period date, but this is by no means certain. Eventually, it was transported to Tell el-Maskuta.

Tell el-Basta

2.2 Lintel of Amenhotep II, British Museum EA 1103


Red Granite: H. 88.5 cm, W. 200 cm

PM IV, 30; E. Naville, *Bubastis (1887-1889)*, EES Memoir 8, (London, 1890), 31 pl. 35D; Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, 11 & pl. 12; *KRI* I, 227 §98 a, i; *RITA* I, 196 §98, a, i; *RITANC* I, 149 §98 a, i.


Restoration formula:


Right: 1 - *nsw-bity nb T3wy Mn-M3t-Rc ir.n.f m sm3wy-mnw n ...*

Left: -1 s3 Rc nb hcw Sty-mr-n-Pth srwd pr it.f mi Rc

This lintel is carved in sunk relief with pendant scenes of Amenhotep II offering to the enthroned Amen-Re. On the left, the king proffers two -jars while on the right his figure is entirely lost except for traces of the *Khepre*-crown. In the center are two columns bearing restoration texts of Seti I.







The restorers shaved down the entire surface of the lintel and re-inscribed it for Amenhotep II while replacing the formulaic texts in the central columns with a *sm3wy-mnw* text. The surface is uniformly even without a depression around the two divine figures. The paleography of the glyphs in the two scenes matches those in the renewal texts.

Substantial traces of the earlier version of the two Amen figures are preserved. On the right, the upper line of the original arm holding the -scepter floats above the secondary version, which was shifted down. Other traces of the original include part of the wrist and hand of the other arm, the leading edge of the front plume of the god's crown and the tops of both plumes. Finally, traces of the original calf and heel are preserved.


In the left-hand scene, a cut line from the original lap survives above the secondary version. The earlier fist of the left arm was larger, but was in essentially the same position. As a result, the space for the  held in the other arm is cramped and the sign is crooked.

Recutting is also evident along the outer edges of both of the god's plumes, part of the earlier foot, the calf and chest.

The surviving royal figure lacks evidence of such recutting since the sculptor used the existing outlines of the original figures and text as a guide when he reworked the piece. By contrast, damage to the Amen figures may have obscured these lines. As a result, the bases of some cut lines from the original figure survived, but were not aligned with the restored figure.

The left column of the renewal text is incomplete. A blank space follows the phrase *mnw n*. Immediately below this is a blank space followed by a trace suggesting the bottom half of a -basket or an , with a larger blank space below that.²⁵ In the right column, faint traces of  can be made out consisting of the  and the right end of the -sign. These traces could represent either parts of the original text or an unfinished portion of the restoration text. The former possibility seems more likely, but that still leaves the renewal text incomplete in the left column where one would expect the name of the god to follow the preposition .

There are few examples of restorations made by Seti in Lower Egypt. Akhenaten seems not to have persecuted the cults of other deities as severely as he did Amen's. For example a stela of Thutmose III from Buto featuring the goddess Wadjet was not desecrated.²⁶

²⁵If an , it could indicate *pr* "temple/estate," although the standard restoration formula is *m pr* "in the house of" god X. There are examples of *sm3wy-mnw n* god X, but not of *n pr* of god X.

²⁶I am grateful to Donald B. Redford who showed me a photograph of this stela. Cf. survivals of other gods not associated with Amen in reliefs outside Thebes, such as Monthu at Tod and Khnum and his triad at Aswan (*infra* 2.70-2.71, 2.73-2.75).

Memphis and Environs

Mit Rahineh

2.3 Historical Stela of Amenhotep II (Cairo JdE 86763)

Siliceous sandstone: H. 285 cm, W. 44 cm

PM III.2, 846; A. Badawi, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 91-113 & pl. 1; E. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), pls. 3-5; K. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 100; (PLATE 17B).

Restoration formula: 1 - Hr K3-nht s'nh-T3wy nsw-bity Mn-M3't-R' s3-R' Sty-mr-n-Pth sm3wy-mnw m pr lmn

Seti added a restoration formula to the side of the stela instead of in the space between the two divine figures on the lunette where it is usually found. The entire surface of the lunette below the winged disk was recarved. In the process, much of the horizontal text divider above the first line of text was erased, leaving the figures in the scene without a ground line. Remnants of the earlier version of both divine figures survive. This is most apparent with the Amen figure, which has been shifted slightly to the left. Part of its original right shoulder, small of the back, the back of his left leg along with instep and the line of his buttocks persist. The original Ptah figure is attested by the cut lines of his chest and profile. The royal figures were also recarved but, as their outlines were not obscured by hacking, so the restorers used the lines of the original as a guide in reworking them. On the left, only the outline of the king's right calf survives from the original edition.

Giza

Sphinx Temple of Amenhotep II

2.4 Main Gateway, Jambs of Seti I

PM III:1², 39; S. Hassan, *Giza* VIII, (Cairo, 1953), 106-107, figs. 76-77; *KRI* I, 78 (=set ii), §40; *RITA* I, 66-67, §40; *RITANC* I, 66-67, §40.

These doorjambs were either newly placed by Seti in the sphinx temple of Amenhotep II at Giza or were found as yet uninscribed by him. There is no evidence that he usurped any earlier decoration on them. The thicknesses of both jambs bear conventional scenes of the king embracing a deity, Re-Horakhty on one and Isis on the other. The fronts of the jambs

were later usurped by Merenptah.²⁷ The iconography of the scenes is entirely conventional as are the texts, which give the king's cartouches with epithets.²⁸

2.5 South West Room, Jambs of Seti I

*PM III:1*², 39, I; S. Hassan, *Giza VIII*, (Cairo, 1953), 38, 106, pls. 50a-b; C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, (Cairo, 1976), 117-118, pl. 6a; *KRI I*, 77-78 (=set i), §40; *RITA I*, 66-67, §40; *RITANC I*, 66-67, §40.

These two doorjambs are inscribed on their fronts and thicknesses with the protocol of Seti I followed by *ir.n.f m mnw.f* formulae referring to the gods *Hwl* and Horakhty, both identified with the Great Sphinx. The jambs were apparently uninscribed before Seti, and were, perhaps, installed, along with the jambs of the main entrance, during some renovation in his time.

Abu Sir

2.6 Pyramid Complex of Sahure, Fragment From the New Kingdom Sakhmet Sanctuary

Limestone: H. 28 cm, W. 28 cm

*PM III.1*², 333; L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S^ca^hu-Re^c*, vol. 1, (Leipzig: 1910), 103-104.

Restoration formula: - 1 // // // [Mn]-M³t-R^c s^cnh-mnw // // // // Sry-[mr]-n-[Pth] Mwt-S^hmt-B³st
//

Borchardt never published the actual relief fragment with this renewal formula. The text is highly unusual, employing the term *s^cnh-mnw* rather than *sm³wy-mnw*. One would also expect *mry* after the name of the compound goddess Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet.

²⁷*PM III:1*², 39; S. Hassan, *Giza VIII*, (Cairo, 1953), 106-107, figs. 76-77.

²⁸*KRI I*, 78 (=set ii), §40; *RITA I*, 66-67, §40; *RITANC I*, 66-67, §40.

Middle Egypt

Batn el-Baqara near Beni Hasan

2.7 Speos Artemidos

PM IV, 164; H. W. Fairman & B. Grdseloff, *JEA* 33 (1947), 12-33; S. Bickel & J.-L. Chappaz, *BSEG* 12 (1988), 9-24; J.-L. Chappaz, *Ägyptische Tempel — Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, HÄB 37 (Hildesheim, 1994), 23-32.

Situated in the mouth of the Batn el-Baqara, some 2.5 km south of the Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan, the Speos Artemidos was a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the local lion-goddess Pakhet. Hatshepsut may have been responsible for excavating only the pronaos area, which she partially decorated.²⁹ With her dishonoring late in the reign of Thutmose III, her name and images were expunged from the temple.³⁰ Later still, the partisans of Akhenaten hacked out the name and figure of Amen where they occurred in the pronaos.³¹

It was probably left to Seti I to carve out the sanctuary and passageway, since he was the first to decorate them. In the sanctuary, decoration was limited to dedication texts on the frame around the statue niche.³² On the jambs of the entrance to the sanctuary, twin figures of

²⁹Hatshepsut only decorated some of the pronaos, leaving open the possibility that construction of the monument may not have been completed until the reign of Seti I. J.-L. Chappaz, "Recherches au Spéos Artémidos: Fonction et programme 'décoratif' d'un temple rupestre," in *Ägyptische Tempel — Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, HÄB 37 (Hildesheim, 1994), 23-25; S. Bickel & J.-L. Chappaz, "Missions épigraphiques du Fond de l'Égyptologie de Genève au Spéos Artémidos," *BSEG* 12 (1988), 24.

³⁰That Hatshepsut's persecution did not begin until late in the reign of Thutmose III now seems beyond question. See Peter F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senermut: Problems in Historical Methodology*, (New York, 1988), 46-65; Charles C. Van Siclen, "The Date of the Granite Bark Shrine of Tuthmosis III," *GM* 79 (1984), 53; Idem, "New Data on the Date of the Defacement of Hatshepsut's Name and Image on the Chapelle Rouge," *GM* 107 (1989), 85-86.

³¹*Ibid.*, Bickel & Chappaz, *BSEG* 12, 19.

³²*PM* IV, 164, (20-21); H. W. Fairman & B. Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos," *JEA* 33, pl. 6.

the king are shown entering the shrine while two pendant scenes of the king running a ritual course decorate the lintel.³³ Two scenes were carved at the south end of the passageway leading into the sanctuary. On the east wall Seti offers wine to Pakhet and, on the west wall, a water clock.³⁴

A long restoration text dating to Seti's year one was inscribed on the middle of the east wall of the passage.³⁵ This date has been called fictive by Chappaz, but he offers no support for this notion.³⁶ In fact, the original reliefs of Seti in the temple display traits of a post-Amarna style of relief, among them slightly protruding bellies and down-turned eyes,³⁷ thus suggesting an early date.

On the pronaos, Seti made various textual and iconographic alterations to the two scenes of Hatshepsut at the east end of the south wall.³⁸ The figure of the queen kneeling before Amen in scene four had faced away from the god, as was conventional in such tableaux during the Thutmose era. After Thutmose III vandalized the figure, it was recarved under Seti I in his own name, now turned so to face the god, while he places a *hnw*-crown on the king's head.³⁹ The figure of Amen was likewise restored as indicated by a *smšwy-mnw* text

³³*PM IV*, 164, 14-16; *ibid.*, Fairman & Grdseloff, *JEA* 33, pl. 5.

³⁴*PM IV*, 164, (18-19); *ibid.*, Fairman & Grdseloff, *JEA* 33, pl. 6; for a photo of the latter see Bickel & Chappaz, *BSEG* 12, 23.

³⁵*ibid.*, Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA* 33, pl. 7; *KRI I*, 41-43, §21; *RITA I*, 34-36, §21; *RITANC I*, 45-47, §21; Z. Davidoff, "La grande inscription de Séthi I au Spéos Artémidos," unpublished essay deposited at the University of Geneva, (Geneva, 1985).

³⁶Chappaz in *Ägyptische Tempel*, 27.

³⁷Bickel & Chappaz, *BSEG* 12, 21 & 23.

³⁸For the textual alterations see Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA* 33, 15-17. The scenes on the doorway and those to the right of it were never inscribed for Hatshepsut. So *contra* Fairman & Grdseloff, *Ibid.*, 17ff.

³⁹Bickel & Chappaz, *BSEG* 12, 17.

behind him. An earlier version of one of his arms is visible along with other traces.⁴⁰ In scene three, a figure of the *Twn-mwt.f*-priest was replaced with that of Thoth, his name rendered in sunk relief.⁴¹ Bickel and Chappaz attribute this change to the influence of the nearby cult of Thoth at Hermopolis, but the god's role as a substitute for the *Twn-mwt.f* during Seti's reign is also attested in the royal chapels of Seti's temples at Gurnah and Abydos.⁴² On the west half of the south wall, Seti added three scenes that expand on the thematic program of coronation in the reliefs of Hatshepsut to the east of the doorway.⁴³ No evidence of usurpation or reworking was found, contrary to the view expressed by Fairman and Grdseloff that Seti had usurped these reliefs from Hatshepsut.⁴⁴ Seti was also responsible for some of the decoration on the pillars of the façade, that otherwise bear a number of cartouches of Thutmose III. An epigraphic study failed to turn up any signs of reworking or usurpation.⁴⁵

⁴⁰For further epigraphic details of scenes 3 and 4 see *Ibid.*, 12, 16-20.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 17.

⁴²Gurnah: Rooms II-III, Thoth with priest in Room II, *PM* II², 411,(38); Thoth with the barque of Seti, Room III, *PM* II², 411, (41). At Abydos, Thoth accompanies or substitutes for the priest in several instances: Calverley & Broome, *Abydos* II, pls. 30, 35. Elsewhere only the priest is shown presiding over the king's cult. See *ibid.*, pls. 32, & 36, where Thoth substitutes for Seth as a titulary deity alongside Horus.

⁴³Chappaz in *Ägyptische Tempel*, 25; *PM* IV, 164, (5-7); Fairman & Grdseloff, *JEA* 33, pl. 4.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, Fairman & Grdseloff, 13, 17ff.

⁴⁵Bickel & Chappaz, *BSEG* 12, 16.

Upper Egypt

Thebes


Karnak

2.8 Fourth Pylon, North Tower, East Face

*PM II*² 79, (202,1); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 118-119; P. Barguet, *Temple*, pl. 13; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 114; (PLATE 18B).

Restoration formula: ~ // Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ
sꜣ-Rꜥ Sꜣy-mꜣ-n-Pth m ꜣꜣ itꜣ Imn-Rꜥ nsw-nꜣꜣꜣꜣ

This scene, located on the south corner of the east face of the north tower, is executed in sunk relief and preserves the lower torso and legs of a seated goddess. Behind her stands a minor deity carrying a tray. Both the goddess and the deity have been recut, indicating that Seti had reworked an earlier post-Amarna restoration of this scene. Traces of an earlier version of the goddess' buttocks extend along the base of the throne to the small of her back. Likewise her arm and the back of her throne have also been reworked. Fewer adjustments were made to the minor deity. These included reworking of his buttocks and back of his left calf. The left half of the scene, which presumably included a figure of the king, has been entirely lost. Few traces of hacking remain on the figure of the goddess. By contrast, extensive hacking remains along the base of the scene and on the minor deity.

Seti also added a restoration text in a bandeau under the scene. Although it is otherwise conventional, the spelling of the king's prenomen, , is unusual. Such variants of Seti's prenomen are most common early in the reign.⁴⁶

⁴⁶See *supra* 1.4.5.

2.9 South Gate of the *w3dyt*-Hall, North-East Doorjamb

PM II², 81, (210a); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 34; C. Loeben, *Karnak 8*, (Paris, 1987), 209, pl. 5a.

Restoration formulae: none

Seti's decoration of the interior jambs of the south gate of the *w3dyt*-hall is a virtual copy of Amenhotep II's reliefs on the corresponding jambs of the western gate of the south half of the same edifice.⁴⁷ Only a raised relief on the eastern jamb is preserved. The king makes a gesture of salute with one hand while holding a staff in the other. There is no indication that he suppressed an earlier relief.

2.10 South Half of the *w3dyt*-Hall, East Gate, West Jambs

PM II², 81, (212a-b); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 35-36; C. Loeben, *Karnak 8*, (Paris, 1987), 207-223; (PLATE 18A).

Restoration formulae:

North Jamb: - 1 *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nb-T3wy Mn-M3't-Rc m pr it.f Imn*

South Jamb: 1 - identical

On the jambs of this doorway, Amenhotep II makes a gesture of salute with one hand and holds a staff in the other. Restoration formulae below the king's outstretched arm are rendered in crude sunk relief.⁴⁸ Seti's renovation of this doorway seems to have included repair to the damaged names and epithets of Amen and repainting of the scenes.⁴⁹

According to Loeben, the Atenists overlooked two occurrences of Amen's name on the south jamb; in Amenhotep II's nomen cartouche and in the caption describing his ritual act.⁵⁰ In the caption, his name survives in very low, rather crude, raised relief, in contrast to

⁴⁷C. Loeben, "La port sud-est de la salle-*w3dyt*," *Karnak 8*, (Paris, 1987), 209 & pl. Va.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 220 pl. 3a-b.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 208, n. 10.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 208.

the rest of the original text, while the area where his epithets occurred is deeply pitted with hacking marks. This was filled in with plaster, with the epithets being rendered in this medium alone. Elsewhere on both jambs, the names and epithets of the god were severely hacked, and plaster was used liberally to fill in deep gouges. To varying degrees on both jambs, the restored glyphs were rendered partially or largely in plaster.⁵¹

2.11 Obelisks “E” and “F” of Hatshepsut from the *w3dyt*-Hall

North obelisk “E” of Hatshepsut, north half of the *w3dyt*-Hall

PM II², 81-2, (E); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 129; *LD* III, 22-23; R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* I, 135, figs. 60-61, II, pls. 100-101, 108; J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin*, (Paris, 1979), 27, fig. 12; (PLATES 19-20).

South obelisk “F” of Hatshepsut, Upper half of the shaft, (fallen), originally from south half of the *w3dyt*-hall

PM II² 82-83, (F); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 41; *LD* III, 24; R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* I, 191, fig. 115, II, pl. 119 (=pyramidion).

Restoration formulae

North Obelisk “E”:

west face, fifth scene from the top:

Restoration formula: $\downarrow - sm3wy-mnw ir.n nb h^c w Sty-mr-n-Imn$

south face, fifth scene from the top:

Restoration formula: $\downarrow - s3 R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth sm3wy-mnw it.f Imn-R^c nb pt$

South Obelisk “F”:

Face a:

Second scene from top:

Restoration formula: in front of king, $\downarrow - sm3wy-mnw ir.n Mn-M3^c t-R^c n it.f$

Third scene from top:

Restoration formula: in front of Amen, $- \downarrow sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3^c t-R^c$

Fourth scene from top:

Restoration formula: in front of Amen, $- \downarrow sm3wy-mnw ir.n nb T3wy Mn-M3^c t-R^c n it.f Imn$

⁵¹Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 3a-b.

Face c:

Fourth scene from top:

Restoration formula: in front of Amen, \downarrow - *smšwy-mnw ir.n nb-Tšwy Mn-Mšr-Rr m pr it.f lmn*

The upper halves both obelisks were decorated with offering scenes flanking the main dedication texts running down the middle of each face of their shafts (**PLATE 19A**). The names of both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III occur in these scenes, with those of the queen predominating. All four faces of their pyramidions received scenes portraying Hatshepsut kneeling before Amen-Re. In every instance, the deity's figure was expunged by the Atenists and later repaired. Restoration formulae are scattered in a few scenes on both obelisks. On the northern monolith, these were placed midway up the shaft on the south and west faces and would have been visible from the main axis.

Few if any traces of an earlier version can be observed on any of the restored figures, and these could as easily represent survivals of the expunged original as they could a previous restoration.⁵² It is clear that the first alteration to the fallen obelisk occurred late in the reign of Thutmose III when he usurped the titulary of his aunt on two faces of the upper reaches of the shaft, which was then exposed above the top of a gateway that partially sheathed them.⁵³ On the lower half of the monument, the name of Amen in the main texts was hidden behind the masonry sheath erected by Thutmose III. Being inaccessible during the reign of Akhenaten, they were not attacked.⁵⁴ His usurpations were limited to only some of the central texts, while the queen's cartouches in the scenes on the exposed upper portions of the shaft and pyramidion were left alone. Even on the shafts, his usurpations were only sporadic. The surfaces of the exposed central texts were shaved down to erase Hatshepsut's protocol

⁵²On the upper scene of the east face of obelisk "F," a trace of the earlier kneecap and shin of Amen's left leg can be made out. A. Roccati, *Egypt Classical Art Tours: Karnak and Luxor*, (Novara, no date given), 35.

⁵³LD III, 24 a & c.

⁵⁴E.g., on the north and west faces of the northern obelisk. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 101 and 108.

and those of Thutmose were inserted. Even here, the queen's Horus name was not suppressed.

In restoring the obelisks, Seti I was obliged to cut down the surface of the upper shafts on the sides bearing figures of Amen to the right of the central column of text. Moreover, he was compelled further to shave back the surface of the main text, bearing the name of Amen-Re, had previously been reworked by Thutmose III (**PLATES 19B & 20B**).⁵⁵ In so doing, he partially erased the revised text of Thutmose so that even the latter's cartouches were left faint (**PLATE 20B**).⁵⁶ The roughly finished, recut portions of the surfaces of these obelisks would have contrasted sharply with the pristine and highly polished surfaces bearing the royal figures to the left of the central text, which neither Thutmose nor Akhenaten had altered. To ameliorate this, Seti cut back the surfaces around the royal figures without altering the figures themselves (**PLATE 19B**). Stylistically, these are Thutmoside and differ from the post-Amarna style of the repaired Amen figures (**PLATE 20A**). Moreover the relief is more shallow because the background surface was lowered without altering the figures themselves. Seti often used this opportunity to substitute his own titulary in some of the reworked scenes.⁵⁷

⁵⁵E.g., on west face of the north obelisk: J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin*, (Paris, 1979), 27, fig. 12.

⁵⁶*LD III, 24 a & c*. This might have been mitigated by painting the inscriptions. Cf. the yellow tinting of the black granite reliefs on the lower portions of Hatshepsut's *chapelle rouge*.

⁵⁷On the south obelisk, the whole surface surrounding the king was cut back and the earlier cartouches replaced with those of Seti in the lower two scenes preserved on face *a* *LD III, 24*; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak I*, 191, fig. 115. Seti inserted his cartouches in the fifth scene from the top on the south face of the north obelisk. *LD III, 23*. Thutmose III never erased the figures and cartouches of Hatshepsut on these obelisks.

**2.12 North Part of the *w3dyt*-Hall, North Face of Gateway of Thutmose III
Enshrouding the Northern Obelisk “E” of Hatshepsut**

Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 126; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 109.

Restoration formula: ↓ - //////////////// *n it.f 1mn-R^c nsw-nrw*

In this scene, only the lower portions of the king and Amen, standing face-to-face, are preserved. The restored Amen figure has been recut. It sits in a depression and no traces of Amarna hacking remain. Both legs show evidence of reworking. A previous tail can also be made out, which was slightly longer, and farther to the left. These alterations are consistent with cosmetic adjustments of a previously restored relief. By adding a *sm3wy-mnw* inscription, Seti I identified himself as being responsible for the final version.

2.13 North Part of the *w3dyt*-Hall, East Wall, Between Second and Third “Osiris Pillars” North of the North-East Doorway

Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 123.

Restoration formula: - ↓ //////////////// *Mn-M3{^ct-R^c} m pr 1mn*

Only the lower part of a scene of a king and Amen standing face-to-face is preserved. The restoration formula runs vertically behind the god’s calf. The name of Amen is partially erased. The renewal formula is cut in sunk relief, while there is no recutting to the figure. This might suggest that Seti merely added the text here to a previously restored figure without altering it.

2.14 Court Between Fifth and Sixth Pylons, Enclosure of Thutmose III, East Gate, North and South Jambs

*PM II*² 86, (223-224); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 145-146, 48; (PLATE 21A).

Restoration formulae:

north jamb: bottom register (=KC 146) - 1 *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity nb-T3wy Mn-M3t-Rc m
pr it.fImn-Rc nb nswt T3wy ir.f di 6nh*

south jamb: bottom register (=KC 48c) - 1 *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity nb-T3wy Mn-M3t-Rc m
pr it.fImn-Rc nb pt di 6nh*

The granite jambs of this gate bore at least three registers of scenes portraying the king led by another deity before Amen-Re. The renewal texts occur on the lowermost registers of both jambs. The background was cut down, leaving no traces of hacking, and the figure of Amen along with his name and epithets were recut in sunk relief. This was carefully done, so that the depression of the surface is practically imperceptible without close inspection. The figures of Amen were rendered in a style consistent with reliefs of Tutankhamen, and there is no indication that these Amen figures have been restored more than once. It is likely that Seti merely added a renewal text to the two lowermost scenes on both jambs without further alterations to any of the divine effigies.

2.15 Passage Through the Sixth Pylon, North Thickness

*PM II*², 89 (239c); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KD 149.

restoration formula: ////////////// n nb T3wy [M]n-m3ct-Rc //////////////

Little more than the legs of a god leading a king are preserved in this granite relief decorating the thickness of the passage through the Sixth Pylon. Between them is a much damaged renewal text.

2.16 Wall Fragment from the Destroyed Granite Barque Shrine of Thutmose III

*PM II*², 95, 98-99 (275); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KD 28

Restoration formula: - 1 sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity nb T3wy Mn-M3ct-Rc n it.f Tmn-Rc nsw-ntrw

A large section of one of the walls of this monument preserves a scene of the king consecrating offerings to the ithyphallic form of Amen-Re.⁵⁸ A renewal text has been inserted in front of the god. No traces of hacking or of any earlier version survive. Stylistically, the restored figure is consistent with others made by Seti.

2.17 Room XV, North-East Doorjamb

*PM II*², 103 (308); P. Barguet, *Temple*, 210, n. 1; C. Loeben, *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987), 233-243.

Restoration formula: none

This scene was carved on the thickness of the doorway leading into a magazine of Thutmose III. It depicts the king making libation and thurifying before Amen and the deified queen Ahmose-Nefertari.⁵⁹ The figure of the queen is executed in bas relief, while those of the god and king are in sunk relief. The royal image was recut so that it now leans forward

⁵⁸*PM II*², 95, 98 (275).

⁵⁹C. Loeben, "Amon à la place d'Aménophis I: le relief de la porte des magasins nord de Thoutmosis III, *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987), 233-243.

very slightly. The legs have been shifted forward, along with the upper part of the chest. The head and *Khepreš*-crown were also moved forward, the crown being enlarged slightly in the process. Traces of the earlier back of the crown along with fainter ones of the original profile and eye can be made out.⁶⁰ The nomen cartouche has been usurped. Barguet asserted that this was a case of Seti II usurping Ramesses II,⁶¹ but Loeben argues that the relief originally belonged to Seti I and was usurped by Ramesses II.⁶²

Loeben also claims that the figure of Amen replaced an earlier one of the deified Amenhotep I. The image of the god was carved on blocks of alabaster, of which only the lowermost one remains. The surrounding blocks, on which the representations of the queen and the officiant king are inscribed, are sandstone. Loeben maintains that Ramesses II was responsible for replacing Amenhotep I with Amen and that he usurped the cartouche at this point.⁶³ By contrast, he would assign the alteration to the officiant king's pose to Seti's reign, by comparison with altered reliefs of Seti in the northern part of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁶⁴

2.18 Room XVI Left Doorjamb

PM II² 104 (313); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KD 196.

Restoration formula: *smꜣwy-mnw [n] Mn-mꜣt-Rꜥ*

This granite doorway in the north-east corner of room XVI of the *palais du Maat* is badly damaged with little more than the renewal texts on its base preserved. It is not clear what other repairs Seti may have effected in this portion of the temple.

⁶⁰Ibid., 234-235 with fig. 1, & 242, pl. 2A.

⁶¹Barguet, *Temple*, 210, n. 1.

⁶²Loeben, *Karnak 8*, (Paris, 1987), 235-236 with fig. 2.

⁶³Ibid., 237ff.

⁶⁴Ibid., 234 & n. 10.

2.19 Seventh Pylon, South Face, Granite Jambs of Gateway

(East jamb) *PM II*², 169-170 (498,e); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 86; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 369; (PLATE 22A).

Restoration formulae:

East: $\bar{\iota}$ *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c m pr it.f 1mn-R^c*

West: $\bar{\iota}$ → identical

Only the lowermost scenes on both of the southern jambs of the Seventh Pylons are intact. They feature Thutmose III before Amen-Re with a renewal text of Seti I occupying the space between them. No remnants of hacking or recutting are evident and the surface is uniformly even. The jambs must have been entirely smoothed down and recut under Seti, including the bandeau text at the base recording the name of the doorway compounded with the name of Thutmose III. The surfaces of these jambs are concave along their vertical axes.

2.20 Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34011)

Grey granite: H. 140 cm, W. 95 cm

*PM II*², 171; P. Lacau, *Stèles*, 21-22; (PLATE 21B).

Restoration formula: $\bar{\iota}$ → *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c n it.f 1mn-R^c nb nswt T3wy*

Much of the main text of this stela is lost, while its lunette is intact. The surface is uniformly flat, without panning towards the center where the divine figures had been hacked out. Stylistically, the faces are in keeping with the post-Amarna mode, with tilted, almond shaped eyes and slightly distended paunches.

Recutting is confined to the two divine figures. On the left side, the calf of his forward leg was thickened as was the shin of his back leg from the kneecap to the instep. On the right, the proportions of his forward arm were augmented along its bottom, with a secondary cut line extending from armpit to wrist. No other trace of reworking is to be found anywhere on the stela.

These final alterations do not appear to be evidence of a secondary restoration. Since the surface is uniform, Seti could have added a *sm3wy-mnw* text only in the unlikely event that

an earlier restorer had left the space blank. Neither do the traces of recutting appear to correspond to multiple versions; rather, they are cosmetic. The width of the reworked arms and legs on both figures is equal to the unretouched version on the opposite figure in each instance. Before this, the proportions of the arms and legs were uneven.⁶⁵


2.21 Eighth Pylon, North Face

*PM II*², 174-175 (517-519); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 102-113; *KRI I*, 228 (98, b, iv); R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pls. 380-381; W. J. Murnane, *VA I* (1985), 59-68.

East Tower

*PM II*², 174 (517-518); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 102-105.

2.21.1 KG 104: Thutmose II Led by Weret-bekau to Hathor Making *nyny*, With Barque of Amen Carried by Priests Behind the King


The king in this scene is Thutmose II and both his figure and cartouches are original Thutmoside reliefs. By contrast, the barque of Amen and the figures of the two goddesses were attacked by the Atenists and have been reworked (**PLATES 22B & 23A-B**). In an article dealing with the two barque scenes on the north face of the pylon, Murnane has shown that Tutankhamen was responsible for the earliest restoration of the pylon in the wake of the Amarna iconoclasts.⁶⁶ Both the western and eastern barque scenes were subsequently reworked by Horemheb⁶⁷ and Seti I respectively. On the canopy and veil of the eastern barque,⁶⁸ Tutankhamen's decorative scheme is largely intact, Seti having merely suppressed the winged beetle and -basket of Tutankhamen's prenomen rebus between the wings of

⁶⁵I am grateful to William Murnane who led me to this conclusion in a discussion in front of the stela in Cairo.

⁶⁶W. J. Murnane, "Tutankhamun on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak," *VA I* (1985), 59-68.

⁶⁷Horemheb seems merely to have usurped the rebus decoration on the veil of the barque of Amen on the west wing of the pylon, without any other alterations to Tutankhamen's reliefs whatsoever. See *infra* 2.21.5.

⁶⁸See also Claude Traunecker et. al., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak I*, (Paris, 1981), pl. 33 (2). The barque is discussed by Traunecker, vol. II, 78 no. 100.

the two goddesses and replaced them with -sign and *M3r*-figures while retaining the earlier sun disk (PLATE 82).⁶⁹ Thus Seti's prenomen has replaced Tutankhamen's in rebus form. On the billow of the veil, Seti erased the rebus of Tutankhamen's prenomen as well as a section of cobra frieze, cartouches and winged beetles running along the base of the veil. Traces of this frieze and the prenomen rebus remain visible.⁷⁰

Seti made other minor alterations to the barque of Amen: the plumed staff in front of the cabin was shifted to the right; part of the earlier one is still visible. The bottom of the veil, which droops down over the middle of the hull of the barque, was also recut. Finally, Seti enlarged a portion of the hull of the barque in its aft portion.⁷¹ The bottom line of the hull shows two versions, while the surface of the deck was raised so that it now slopes up at a more dramatic angle toward the aegis at the stern. Traces of the earlier deck remain in the aft portion of the hull near the cabin. The priests carrying the barque have also been restored along with the carrying pole, which is now shorter. This, however, may be Tutankhamen's work. Tutankhamen was also responsible for adding the *3rf*-crowns atop the ram headed aegises. These crowd the original Thutmose text, especially on the back.⁷²

Both goddesses in this scene have been restored in the post-Amarna period, (PLATE 22B), but while the figure of Weret-hekau exhibits little evidence of recutting, that of Hathor shows extensive reworking. Weret-hekau's figure lies in a depression, and scattered remnants of Amarna hacking remain in and around her. The only vestiges of the earlier relief are the upper portion of the earlier sun disk on the goddess' head and a portion of her ankle and heel of her left foot. The traces of the sun disk are probably the base of a cut line from the


⁶⁹Murnane, *VA* 1, 61-63, fig. 2.

⁷⁰Ibid., 62-63, fig. 2.

⁷¹This enlargement of the more slender fore and aft portions of barques of the post-Amarna period under Seti can also be observed at Luxor. See *infra* 2.38.1 & 2.40.

⁷²Cf. the *3rf*-crowns on the barque from the west tower that was restored by Tutankhamen and never altered by Tutankhamen. See *infra* 2.21.5. *3rf*-crowns make their first appearance on the processional barque of Amen-Re in Tutankhamen's reliefs from the Colonnade Hall at Luxor.

Thutmoseid original, while the earlier left heel could be the same or a cosmetic adjustment made under Tutankhamen. There is no evidence that Seti reworked the figure.

Hathor's figure was, however, extensively reworked by Seti. More traces of Atenist hacking surround her, some of which were filled in with plaster. Remnants of Tutankhamen's original restoration can be found all over her figure. Her earlier nose, mouth and chin float slightly below and to the right of Seti's version. Tutankhamen's shorter version of the cow's horns on her head can also be seen. The earlier arms and hands were located slightly to the left of the present ones, with the previous left hand and right wrist and the left -sign remaining visible. Other survivals include the calf of the left leg, the breast and the inside of the right arm down to the elbow. The preservation of these earlier traces of the figure contrast sharply with the paucity of Amarna hacking in the area. Moreover, the figure of the goddess lies in a depression, (the face is in an especially deep depression), so these traces of the previous version cannot belong to the pre-Amarna edition of the scenes, rather they must belong to an earlier post-Amarna restoration of the figure.

The dichotomy between Seti's reworking of Tutankhamen's Hathor figure and his deference to his predecessor's version of the Weret-hekau figure may perhaps be explained by the notion that the human face of the former bore the features of the now discredited Tutankhamen, where as the latter, having the head of a lioness, did not.

2.21.2 KG 102: Seti I Before Amen with the Lesser Ennead










Speech of Amen-Re acknowledging Seti's restorations:

1 - *dd mdw in Imn-R^c nb nswt T3wy hny Ipt-swt: s3.(i) mr.(i) nb T3wy Mn-M3^ct-R^c sm3wy.n.k r-pr.i m m3wt m sny r 3ht nt pt ib.i 3w n mrwt.k h^cwy.k(wy) m nfrw.k di.n.(i) n.k n^ch w3s nb*

"Words spoken by Amen-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak: '(my) beloved son, lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, you have restored my temple anew as what surpasses the horizon of heaven. My heart is joyful through love of you being exultant at your perfection. I give to you all life and dominion.'"


The royal figure clearly dates to the post-Amarna period (**PLATE24**). Only the mouth and ear are preserved of the face, but the shape of his mouth conforms stylistically to




post-Amarna relief, as does the ear, which is pierced with an inward curving tragus. Both these features are characteristic of post-Amarna and Ramesside depictions of the ear.⁷³ Traces of the earlier figure are found on the ankle and heel and instep of the back foot, the tie of the belt, and the base of the front thigh. A white crown in the final edition has replaced a double crown that was somewhat larger; parts of this remain above the crown.

Seti's prenomen cartouche occurs twice in the text of the scene, while the speech of Amen is obviously a post-Amarna composition. It is strange, then, that most recutting is found among the names and titles of Amen and in the epithets surrounding the king's cartouches. The first of four columns of Amen's speech contains his name and titles. These glyphs sit in a lower depression than the surrounding relief, as they would have been the only part of the original text to be vandalized. Remnants of an earlier post-Amarna restoration of the god's protocol were evidently suppressed (**PLATE 24A-B**). The protocol itself remained unchanged, but the orthography was altered by Seti. Vestiges of a squatting divine figure can be seen under the ,  and stroke of *Imn-R^c* in the final version. Below this, remnants of the middle sign of *nsw*, which is lower than in the final version, can be seen under the final . Traces of the earlier , which were also lower than in the final version, can be seen above the final . Extensive traces of an earlier *hnty Ipt-sw* can be seen under the final version. These traces seem to belong to Tutankhamen's restoration. Elsewhere in the main text, a few stray signs betray an earlier version, including a -basket, at a smaller scale, that intersects the tip of Amen's leading plume (**PLATE 27A**). Partially erased glyphs of the group  and part of a curved sign behind the upper portion of the god's left plume could belong to the pre-Amarna version of the scene. Under the double cartouches of the royal figure, traces of a -beetle can be seen within the loop of the  in the *di 'nh mi R^c* formula corresponding to the prenomen of Thutmose II in the Thutmoside edition (**PLATE 24**).

Tutankhamen's restoration of the figure of Amen was entirely reworked by Seti I. As is found elsewhere, a hallmark of this revision was the adjustment of the angle of the god's

⁷³See *supra* 1.2.1.

plumes so that they rise at a steeper angle (**PLATE 25A**). The head of the god has been set to the left somewhat, and traces of the earlier plumes, neckline, and profile, (**PLATE 35B**), can be made out. Other remnants include the inside of Amen's right arm, portions of the ribbon dangling from his modius crown, part of his left arm and the  he grasps, the knee and shin of his left leg and the thigh and calf of his right leg. In restoring the figure, extensive use was made of plaster, both to fill in surviving traces of Amarna hacking and also to suppress the cut lines of Tutankhamen's version. The remaining damage was particularly severe in front of his face, shoulders and upper arm, and much of the outer cut line of the sunk relief along the shoulder and arm was done in plaster. Where this has fallen away along the arm, a few segments of the Thutmoside relief survive. These are severely damaged and much shallower than either the final version or the earlier restoration of Tutankhamen.

The recut left plume of the god intersects the -basket at the end of his speech. The plumes of the earlier figure were not as long as in Seti's version and would not have interfered with this sign. This sign has been filled in with plaster, part of which has fallen away. The new forward plume also intersects a -basket, but this glyph was partially erased. Both signs are smaller than those of the new text, and therefore belong to the Thutmoside edition. Other vestiges of the original text, including the group , were not completely erased and can be seen behind Amen's plumes. It is clear that the god's speech is a post-Amarna composition and that the figure of the god and his protocol have been restored twice in this period. Seti altered the figure of the god and his protocol in the first column of his speech as restored by Tutankhamen, but whereas the latter had respected the Thutmoside edition of Amen-Re's oration, Seti erased it and placed new words in the god's mouth praising his own restoration work.

Behind the large scene are three subregisters with five gods each (**PLATE 27A**). Except for Atum, the second deity in the top subregister, all the figures of the Lesser Ennead were obliterated by Akhenaten's agents. Plaster masking used to conceal vestigial hacking

has largely fallen away. Most of the images bear signs of reworking, indicating that they have been restored twice.

2.21.3 KG 103: Seti Offers Wine to Amen-Re with the Great Ennead

Restoration formula: \downarrow *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity nb T3wy Mn-M3t-Rc m pr it.f // // //*

Speech of Amen acknowledging Seti's restorations:

\downarrow - *dd Mdw n Imn-Rc nb nswt T3wy nb pt nsw ntrw s3.(i) mr.(i) nb T3wy Mn-M3t-Rc ib.(i) ndm wrt m3.(i) nfrw.k sm3wy.n.k hwt-ntr.i m M3wt m sny r 3ht nt pt di.n.(i) n.k hc n Rc rnpwt nt Itm*



"Words spoken by Amen-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods: 'my beloved son, lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, my heart is greatly contented when (I) see your perfection, you having restored my temple anew as that which surpasses the horizon of heaven. I give to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.'"

The figure of the king in this scene is the work of Seti I (**PLATE 25B**). The nose is prominent and aquiline, and the eye is rhomboidal in shape, with a down-turned inner canthus in keeping with reliefs of Horemheb (**PLATE 5A**).⁷⁴ The ear of the figure is hidden by a wig, while the mouth and chin have mostly been destroyed. Stylistically, the figure does not resemble the two royal figures of Thutmose I and II on the same wall, which are Thutmoside originals, or that of any known early Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs. Moreover it does not conform to reliefs of Tutankhamen. There are depressions of the surface surrounding the royal figure, but there are no signs of recutting of an earlier version. Seti must have erased the original and replaced it with his own.

As with the scene above, the names and titles of Amen have been recut in the first line of the text; Seti having reworked Tutankhamen's edition (**PLATE 25B**). Here, too, the speech of the god deals with the restoration of the reliefs, and was composed under Seti, Tutankhamen having respected the original Eighteenth Dynasty text.

Extensive remnants of an earlier version of the Amen figure indicate that it underwent two restorations in the post-Amarna era. Traces of the leading edge of both earlier plumes

⁷⁴See *supra* 1.2.1.

can be observed slightly to the right of the final versions along with the upper front corner of the modius. The original ribbon dangling from the back of the modius is also preserved above the shoulder. The arms, especially the left one, have been reworked. The left forearm has been shifted to the right and is longer than the earlier one. Traces of the earlier wrist, and fist grasping an  are clearly visible (**PLATE 26**). The first  can be seen above and to the left of the later one. Earlier versions of the kneecaps and upper shins of both legs also survive. The right arm has been raised slightly higher than in the original restoration, and traces of the earlier version are evident. Here the fist was largely cut in plaster that has fallen away and much of it is now lost.

In various areas around the figure of Amen, plaster, now discolored, has been added.⁷⁵ Patches can be seen along the edge of the left arm from the biceps to the wrist, and along the line of the chest. This plaster is found around other parts of the figure, especially in front of the top of the modius crown and chin. Patches of it can be seen elsewhere in and around the figure and in a few other places in the scene as a whole. It seems to have been used primarily to mask evidence of the secondary restoration of Amen's figure. On the left arm, a portion of the patch, which extended from the biceps to the end of the fist, has fallen out, exposing a deep cut line of the earlier fist. More plaster has fallen out around the front shoulder of the god, revealing a broken surface underneath. The front of the previous neck is also apparent. The plaster in front of the god's face and crown now masks the earlier profile (**PLATE 4A**). Close inspection of this area revealed distinct traces of the earlier tip of the nose and nostril as well as the lips and upper chin of the previous edition. The plaster also served to form an even background surface in the area immediately surrounding the relief where this had become broken and irregular as a result of the vandalism to and multiple restorations of the figure. As with the Amen in KG 102 above, this medium was also employed to mold a new outer cut line for the deep sunk relief around the god's shoulder, but here it has largely fallen away whereas it is still largely intact along the outer edge of his left arm.

⁷⁵In June 1997 I was able to inspect these reliefs with a scaffold. Dusting off these discolored patches revealed the brilliantly white plaster.

Behind the main scene, in three subregisters, figures of the Great Ennead show signs of severe Amarna hacking and two restorations in the post-Amarna period (**PLATE 27B**). Extensive reworking is visible on all of the figures. Significant for dating both extant versions of all the reliefs on the pylon are the easternmost figures on the lower two subregisters of this scene. After the original Eighteenth Dynasty version of these reliefs had been completed, Thutmose III added a wall between the Seventh and Eighth pylons, which obscured the leftmost edges of these subregisters. The lower courses of this wall are still intact, while the upper part is gone, but one can trace its batter where it once covered the edge of the pylon in the form of an engraved guideline. The original relief is intact where this wall once covered it, including portions of the figures the two easternmost gods on the lower two subregisters and the large \uparrow -scepter that framed the scene. On the lower subregister, Qebhsenuf has been hacked out and restored, but the back of his head, which was once covered by the wall, was never attacked. The same is true of the figure of Nemty at the end of the subregister immediately above (**PLATE 28A**). Here part of an earlier figure covered by the wall is intact while the rest of it was hacked. In restoring this, Tutankhamen shifted and replaced the entire figure, which was then reworked by Seti. Here, then, is incontrovertible proof that the earlier versions of many of the figures on the pylon do not correspond to the Thutmose original, but to Tutankhamen's initial restoration of the same, which were finally suppressed and reworked by Seti I.

2.21.4 KG 105: Thutmose I Before the Theban Triad

The figures of the Theban triad within a large canopy have clearly been restored in the post-Amarna era (**PLATE 4B**). The surface around them has clearly been cut back, while the long text and figure of Thutmose I was not recut. Stylistically, the figures of the gods are rendered in a post-Amarna style that contrasts sharply with the Thutmose features of the king. There are, however, no traces of secondary restoration of any of the deities. The background surface of the relief is fairly even with the exception of the area around Amen's name and titles, probably because the hacking was quite deep here. Unlike the other two scenes on the east tower, however, it too lacks evidence of a secondary restoration.

It is likely that the present version does not correspond to the original version of Hatshepsut. This “family portrait” of the Theban triad together is otherwise not found before the post-Amarna era.⁷⁶ The original scene, which had Thutmose I standing before a long text describing Hatshepsut’s fictitious account of her coronation, would presumably have featured Amen crowning the kneeling Hatshepsut, possibly in the presence of Weret-hekau.⁷⁷ This earlier version may have been restored by Tutankhamen but was erased by Seti who replaced it with Amen-Re’s “family portrait.” Close inspection of the wall reveals that the background surface around these gods is deeper than the pristine surface of the Eighteenth dynasty text to its right and of the deepest hieroglyphs carved there.⁷⁸ Presumably, then, the earlier vignette could have been erased by Seti without leaving any sign of its presence, thus accounting for the lack of recutting. Stylistically, the faces of these gods are in keeping with Seti’s work on the rest of the pylon. The dense composition did not leave room for him to add a renewal text.

2.21.5 KG 107: Barque of Amen Carried by Priests

West Tower: *PM II*², 174-175 (519); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 107-113.

Murnane has demonstrated that this scene was first restored by Tutankhamen.⁷⁹ Horemheb subsequently reworked the rebus decoration of the veil and canopy of the barque shrine, which originally bore Tutankhamen’s titulary in rebus form, to reflect his own titulary. The cartouches of Thutmose II in the main text above the prow of the barque are of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but were usurped from Hatshepsut. Amen-Re’s name and protocols in

⁷⁶William J. Murnane by personal communication. This anomaly was originally pointed out to him by Herman Te Velde.

⁷⁷This same vignette is repeated on the upper right corner of the west tower of the Eighth Pylon and on numerous blocks from the *chapelle rouge*. Cf. *infra* 2.21.7 & Lacau & Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout*, *passim*.

⁷⁸I am grateful to William J. Murnane who took measurements of these reliefs for access to his notes on the subject.





⁷⁹W. J. Murnane, *VA I* (1985), 60, 63-65 & 61, fig. 1.

the first column of text has been restored twice, by Tutankhamen and Horemheb. There is no evidence that Seti ever altered the scene.

2.21.6 KG 108: Seti I Led by Monthu

Restoration formula: $\downarrow \rightarrow sm\dot{s}wy-mnw \text{ ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M\dot{s}'t-R^c [m pr] it.f Imn-R^c$

Seti I has inserted his cartouches and Horus name into this scene (**PLATE 29**).

Traces of the earlier version of the Horus name can be made out (**PLATE 28B**). These show a  and a -sign, corresponding to the Horus name of Thutmose II, *K3-nht-wsr-phty*, whose prenomen is attested throughout the scenes on the upper registers of both wings of the north face of the pylon. Traces of an earlier  and  of Thutmose' prenomen *'3-hpr-n-R^c* can be made out in the prenomen cartouche of Seti. This suggests, perhaps, that he also reworked the royal figure in a style contemporary with his reign. The type of the royal kilt he wears is not known from the Thutmoside era, indicating that the figure is the work of Seti.⁸⁰

The figure of Monthu was obliterated under Akhenaten and restored in the post-Amarna age, undoubtedly by Tutankhamen. There is little evidence to suggest it was subsequently re-restored. The only signs of reworking are found on the calf and ankle of the right leg. This lone trace is more likely to be a cosmetic adjustment made to the original restoration than evidence of secondary reworking of Tutankhamen's work. Having the head of a falcon, Monthu's figure never bore the features of Tutankhamen, so Seti would have had little cause to rework it. He contented himself with adding a restoration inscription and usurping the titulary of Thutmose II and reworking the figure of the king in a contemporary style.


⁸⁰This kilt, with an uneven hem line that slants down towards the back, first makes its appearance later in the reign of Amenhotep III. W. Raymond Johnson by personal communication.

2.21.7 KG 109: Thutmose II Presented by Weret-hekau to Amen-Re and Khonsu, While Thoth Enumerates Regnal Years for the King

Restoration formula: $\downarrow \sim sm\dot{s}wy-mnw \text{ ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M}^c\dot{s}t-R^c \text{ m pr it.f Imn-R}^c s\dot{s} R^c \text{ Sty-mr-n-Pth}$

The first Thutmoside edition of this scene featured Hatshepsut kneeling before the throne of Amen-Re, facing the goddess Weret-hekau (**PLATES 29 & 30B**). This was later altered to name Thutmose II. Faint traces of the king's lap and knee can be made out. At some point, the figure was suppressed and replaced with a standing one.

The figures of Amen, Weret-hekau and Thoth were all vandalized and restored but, as with the other animal headed deities, Thoth and Weret-hekau were probably restored only once. Still, a few earlier traces remain, including the lower torso and front of Thoth's kilt and fainter traces on his left shin and along the bottom of his left arm and wrist. The only remnant of the earlier figure of the goddess is her earlier right arm, that was crooked slightly lower and once touched the top of the kneeling king's crown. Traces of an original lower arm and hand of the Thutmoside Amen are also preserved, both of which overlap the figure of the king. Thus it is apparent that the goddess was restored only once.

The figure of Amen has been restored twice, as recutting around his lower torso, elbow of his right arm, the small of his back and buttocks attests (**PLATE 30B**). The figure of Khonsu, unlike the other deities, seems to have been a post-Amarna addition. Traces of a suppressed inscription can be seen in the middle of the god's figure. Two glyphs, including a -sign, can be seen to the left of his buttocks, while three other horizontal signs intersect the upper back of his thigh.

Seti's only alteration to these texts was the addition of a restoration formula. The prenomen cartouche of Thutmose II can still be seen in what is preserved of the main text of the scene. There is no indication of recutting of the king's figure, as is indicated by the preservation of the Thutmoside version of Amen's arm.

2.22 Eighth Pylon, South Face

*PM II*², 175-176, (521-522); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 143, 145; *KRI I*, 228 (98, b, vi, β), (98, b, v); W. Wreszinski, *Atlas II*, pl. 184a.




Restoration formulae:

East tower: \downarrow sm3wy-mnw ir.n s3-R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth m pr it.f Imn


West tower: \downarrow sm3wy-mnw [ir].n nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c di rnh

The two huge scenes on the south face of the pylon's towers depict Amenhotep II smiting prisoners before much smaller figures of Amen-Re. The figures of Amen, along with much of the text recording the speech of the god in front of each figure, were expunged by the Atenists (**PLATES 30a & 31A**).

The Amen figures have been restored on two occasions in the post-Amarna period, the second of these dating to the reign of Seti I as indicated by the restoration texts of this king that accompany the final version. The Amen figures and the renewal texts lie in deeper depressions than the rest of the surrounding wall surface. Still, these areas are peppered with deep chisel marks. Numerous traces of the earlier restoration surround the two figures. These traces are as deep as or deeper than the scattered hack marks, indicating that the traces do not belong to the pre-Amarna original.

On the east tower, traces of the previous restoration include the upper part of the god's beard and lower profile (**PLATE 30A**). The original version of the arm holding the  scepter was slightly higher and the back of the upper arm at the arm pit can be seen along with the upper forearm, wrist and part of the fist. The original forward leg overlaps the secondary one. The secondary back leg was set further back than in the first restoration, and the back of the previous calf can be seen inside the leg, along with the shins. The earlier version of the arm holding the  was shorter and its fist and the loop of the first  is evident within the fist and loop of Seti's revisions. Traces of the earlier forward edge of the god's front plume can also be made out.

On the west tower, the previous restoration of the plumes was set at a steeper angle (**PLATE 31A**). The forward edge of the front plumes of the earlier version lie in the middle of the final one. The back and top of the rear plumes remain behind the final one, with the cut

line extending down to the back of the modius of the crown and the nape of the god's neck. The length of the arm holding the  was equal in both versions, but the earlier one overlaps the final version slightly to the left. The same is true for the back leg and tail of the god, with the former visible from the kneecap down to the base of the shin. Other traces include the base of the thigh on the forward leg and the front of the beard between the chin and shoulder.

It seems that plaster was used mostly to fill in the pitting over the surface on which the Amen figures were carved. On the east tower, the name and epithets of Amen in his speech were deeply hacked and plaster would have been used in their restoration.

2.23 Stela "R" of Amenhotep II from Eighth Pylon, South Face, East Tower

Rose granite

*PM II*², 177 (R); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 154; E. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), pl. 1; (PLATES 31B & 32A).

Restoration formula: [////////] *ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c m pr it.f Tmn nb pt*

The scene on this stela was entirely recut by Seti I. It now sits in a square depression cut into the original surface of the stela. This uniform depression is less than a centimeter deep. There are no traces of Atenist chisel marks and the workmanship is excellent.

The glyphs on the stela are also of high quality and similar paleography. Moreover, there is no evidence of damage to the names and epithets of Amen in the body of the main text. We may conclude, therefore, that Seti had the stela entirely recut. Its whole surface was smoothed down to remove all traces of even the deepest hacking marks in the body of the text, and this became the new surface of the stela. The area of the scene was further cut down to remove the deepest hacking of the Amen figures in the scene itself, with only faint traces of the original front torso of the Amen figure on the left side being preserved. As a result, the whole scene was recut in a uniform depression. The final appearance of the restored stela was pristine, if unusual.

2.24 Stela "Q" of Amenhotep II from Eighth Pylon, South Face, West Tower

Grey granite: H. 230 cm, W. 115 cm

*PM II*², 177, (Q); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 150; Pillet, *ASAE* 24, (1924), pl. 9; (PLATE 32B).

Restoration formula: -! *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c // // // // // T3wy*

The entire surface of this stela was cut back when it was repaired. As a result, no traces of hacking or an earlier version are evident. Its present battered condition is largely a result of erosion that has utterly destroyed most of the text.

2.25 Edifice of Amenhotep II

*PM II*² 186, (527); KG fig. 3; C. Van Siclen, *VA* 6 (1990), 75-90; Idem, *VA* 6 (1990), 169-176; (PLATES 33A, 34A & 35A).

Restoration formulae:⁸¹

Pillar 31: *sm3wy-mnw ir.n s3 R^c Sty-mr-n-ptḥ m pr it.f Imn-R^c*

Pillar 32: *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-m3^ct-R^c m pr it.f Imn-R^c*

Pillar 36: *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-m3^ct-R^c m pr it.f Imn-R^c*

Pillar 37: *sm3wy-mnw ir.n s3 R^c Sty-mr-n-ptḥ m pr it.f Imn-R^c*

Scene 46: *//// [nsw-bi]ty Mn-m3^ct-R^c // // // // // Sty-m[r]-n-ptḥ n it.f // // // // // nsw-nṯ[rw]*

This building was originally erected by Amenhotep II in front of the Eighth Pylon, where it stood until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It was vandalized by the partisans of Akhenaten and later restored by Tutankhamen.⁸² It seems to have been dismantled by Horemheb, who re-erected it as an entirely new building of a radically different design using material from the earlier monument. This new edifice was set up on the east side of the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons, and predates a curtain wall also erected by Horemheb.⁸³

⁸¹C. Van Siclen, "Preliminary Report on Epigraphic Work Done in the Edifice of Amenhotep II, Seasons of 1988-89 and 1989-90," *VA* 6 (1990), 75-90.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 78.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 75 & 77, fig. 2.

Square pillars of the building already bore the original decoration of Amenhotep II as restored by Tutankhamen. Seti added renewal inscriptions to four of the pillars in the main hall of the structure. These are inscribed on the bases of the square pillars on the sides fronting the central axis (**PLATES 33A & 34A**). The Amen figures on these piers have been reworked on two occasions in the post-Amarna era, presumably by Tutankhamen and Seti I.⁸⁴ Examination of all these pillar scenes has revealed that in most cases the divine figures have been reworked after the initial post-Amarna repairs had been made. Recutting can be found on nearly every part of their bodies, especially on the limbs, faces, modius crowns, belts, necks and shoulders, and constitutes cosmetic adjustments to the figures, since it never alters their pose or iconography, but only slightly modifies their proportions.

Many of the pillars from the original edifice of Amenhotep II were not rebuilt as such at the new site. Rather their sections were reused to form the walls of the new structure. The sides of one of these wall blocks is exposed, revealing that what is now the wall surface with a bas relief, was originally the upper surface of one of these pillar sections. The decoration of one of the original faces of this section is exposed revealing the head and torso of an Amen figure that has been restored in the post-Amarna period. Unlike the rebuilt pillars in the edifice, however, it does not exhibit recutting. This represents further evidence that these alterations date to Seti's reign, after the initial post-Amarna restoration of the original building under Tutankhamen.

All of the wall decoration apparently postdates Horemheb's re-erection of the monument. Presumably the original wall reliefs were deemed unsuitable to its new architectural format. Seti I is the latest king whose name appears on the monument, while Horemheb's never appears. Otherwise, the only king named in the wall scenes is Amenhotep II. Seti was responsible for many if not all of the wall reliefs, especially those in the northern

⁸⁴According to Charles Van Siclen, the columns were restored by Tutankhamen while the building stood in its original location in front of the Eighth Pylon and were reworked after the building was re-erected as a result of damage sustained in moving them. Charles Van Siclen by personal communication.

suite where he inscribed a fifth renewal text on the north wall.⁸⁵ This and the other wall scenes were new compositions, not repairs of damaged Eighteenth Dynasty compositions. Thus the restored pillar section referred to earlier bears part of a wall relief on the upper surface of the section, which would have had another block resting on it when the relief was repaired. All the divine figures in the wall scenes were originals made by Seti, with no epigraphic evidence of restoration. Stylistically, all these reliefs bear markers of post-Amarna art in representations of both kings and gods. These include protruding bellies, slightly tilted eyes and slender limbs (**PLATE 2B**). The faces compare favorably with examples under Horemheb and Ramesses I as well as those known to date to Seti's earliest years. It is apparent, then, that upon his accession Seti I found this edifice rebuilt by Horemheb with its new decorative program incomplete. He reworked the divine figures originally repaired by Tutankhamen and added four renewal texts on the first two pairs of pillars along the main axis. He is also responsible for some if not all of the wall scenes on the structure, which are entirely new post-Amarna compositions.

2.26 Contra Temple of Amen-Re-Horakhty

*PM II*², 216 (6); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KI 112-113; A. Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 152-153, pl. 17.1.

Restoration formulae:

Pillar 3: Destroyed except for traces of prenomen cartouche

Pillar 4: - [smšwy]-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-Mšt-R^c m pr it.f Tmn-R^c

Seti carved restoration formulae on the west faces of the two central pillars on the façade of the building.⁸⁶ The west faces of all these pillars are carved in bas relief with scenes of Amen embracing the king.⁸⁷ The north and south faces have identical scenes in sunk

⁸⁵Scene 46: Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 245.

⁸⁶A. Varille, "Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d'Amon-Rè à Karnak," *ASAE* 50 (1950), 153, pillars 3-4. Only traces of Seti I's cartouche are preserved on pillar three.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 153 & pls. 17.1 and 18.

relief,⁸⁸ all of which were restored by Seti I. In every case, traces of hacking remained after these reliefs were recut, with plaster being used to fill in the remaining pits.

Seti was also responsible for repairs inside the building. Here, the surfaces were cut back so that the figures of Amen could be recut in very low reliefs, with the deepest traces of hacking filled in with plaster.⁸⁹ All the scenes appear to have been restored only once in the post-Amarna era, presumably by Seti I. There are no signs of recutting, while the figures of Amen are executed in a style consistent with his earliest years.⁹⁰

2.27 Obelisk Fragments of Hatshepsut from Contra Temple

*PM II*², 218 (32-33); A. Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 140-2, fig. 1 & pl. 6; Ch. Kuentz, *Obélisques*, 20-24, pls. 7-9; R. Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte*, (Berlin, 1944), 222, abb. 238.

Fragment of the shaft of one of these obelisks.

Restoration formula: - ! *smšwy-mnw ir/////*

This fragment preserves the heads and upper torsos of the king offering to the ithyphallic form of Amen-Re. The figure of Amen has been reworked in a post-Amarna style.⁹¹ Another fragment of one of these obelisks bears a figure of the god finished in a more conservative style, in keeping with the early Ramesside age.⁹² Although the name of the king in the restoration formula is lost, there is no need to assign the restoration to Ramesses II as

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 153 & pl. 17.2.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, pls. 14-15.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 18.

⁹¹Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 140, fig. 1.

⁹²R. Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte*, (Berlin, 1944), 222, abb. 238. Cf. figures of Amen from the pyramidion of one of these obelisks: Ch. Kuentz, *Obélisques*, pls. 7-9.

Varille does.⁹³ While it is true that Ramesses added marginal texts to this and other obelisks at Karnak and elsewhere, none of these has ever been associated with a restoration formula. Seti I, on the other hand, was responsible for restorations in the contra temple in which these obelisks were set up and of other standing obelisks at Karnak.

Pyramidion of southern obelisk (Cairo CG 17012)⁹⁴

The original composition of the scenes on this pyramidion depicted Hatshepsut kneeling before the enthroned Amen-Re. At some point, the figure of the queen on each face was suppressed and replaced by a pair of offering stands with lotus flowers. This probably dates to the later reign of Thutmose III, rather than to Seti I's. The figures of Amen were entirely recut by Seti in a style reminiscent of Thutmose art. No traces of an earlier restoration of the Amen figure or of Atenist vandalism are evident.

2.28 Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34013) from Ptah Temple *PM II*², 198 (6); P. Lacau, *Stèles* 27, pl. 9; (PLATE 33B).

Restoration formula: $\downarrow \rightarrow sm\dot{s}wy-mnw \text{ ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M\dot{s}t-R^c m pr it.f Pth nb-M\dot{s}t$

The recutting on this stela is largely confined to the scene on the lunette. These areas of recutting are easily distinguished from the original surface by their lighter color and rougher finish. The surface of the entire lunette has been shaved down excluding only the wings and disk of the Behdetite and the body and space behind a figure of a queen on the right side. Traces of a cut line behind the divine figure on the left defines the back of the original figure from the buttocks to the heel. Likewise, portions of the god's arms and two segments of his \uparrow -scepter including its prong are evident. From all this it is clear that the figures of Ptah were considerably smaller in the original version than in the final one. On the right, the cut line of Ptah's original back is preserved from above the buttocks to the heel. Two lines of his arms can also be made out.

⁹³A. Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 142, fig. 1. Restoration inscriptions of Ramesses II are quite rare, especially at Karnak.

⁹⁴Ch. Kuentz, *Obélisques*, 20-24, pls. 7-9

The areas around the figures of Thutmose III have been cut back, but not as deeply as around those of Amen. Unlike other restorations where the whole lunette was shaved down, the two royal figures on Cairo CG 34013 were not reworked following the cut lines of the original version. On the right hand scene, traces of the king's back leg remain, as does the shin of the forward leg. These are very faint, having been almost completely erased. As with the deity, the earlier images of Thutmose III were smaller than in Seti's restored version.

In the body of the text, several areas have been shaved down for the restoration of Amen's name. The largest of these occupies the first seven lines on the left side of the stela. Other, irregular patches of the surface have also been shaved down around occurrences of the god's name, with the surface area encompassing two or three groups of signs to either side and above and below the name being shaved down. There is no evidence of a secondary restoration anywhere on the stela including the *smꜣwy-mnw* formula naming Seti I. We may conclude, therefore, that he was responsible for repairing it.

2.29 Stela Fragment from Temple J


D.B. Redford, *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 2 & n. 10.

In 1971, Redford noted the existence of a fragment of a stela bearing a restoration text of Seti I. It has since disappeared.⁹⁵

2.30 Loose Block Usurped from Horemheb

unpublished

Restoration formula(?): */////// ir.n nsw-bity /// Mn-mꜣt-[Rꜥ] n it.f [Imn-Rꜥ] hnty I[pt-swꜥ]*

This sandstone block was deposited in the blockyard south of the First Court and Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and remains unpublished. Finished in fine low relief, it bears part of a text suggestive of a renewal formula. Most interestingly the cartouche has been usurped. Beneath the *mꜣt*-figure and -sign of Seti's prenomen traces of *////-hꜣpr[w-Rꜥ]-stꜣ-n-Rꜥ* can easily be made out. It is not clear where the block comes from or why Seti usurped it.

⁹⁵Redford, "New Light on Temple J at Karnak," *Orientalia* 55, (1986), 2 & n.10.

2.31 Block of Amenhotep III with Cartouche of Seti I

Unpublished. (PLATE 34B).

This block is inscribed in mediocre sunk relief of Amenhotep III offering a pot of incense. Only his head and protocol, including his cartouches, are intact. On the left edge of the text is a third cartouche giving the prenomens of Seti I. Above this is part of the title *nb T3wy*. Traces of recutting are apparent underlying this, proving the text is a later addition. These include an earlier reed leaf intersecting the upper right portion of the cartouche and a horizontal line bisecting the *M3ʿt*-figure just below her chin. Presumably Seti restored the divine figure in this scene and replaced a portion of the stereotyped text with a *sm3wy-mnw* formula.⁹⁶

2.32 Reused Blocks from the Monthu Precinct

*PM II*², 7; A. Varille, *Karnak Nord I*, (Cairo, 1943), 10-11, fig. 2; C. Robichon *et. al.*, *Karnak Nord IV.1*, (Cairo, 1954), 63 (20-22), figs. 95-97.


Blocks with renewal texts of Seti I from the Monthu Precinct:

Block T 46: Sandstone⁹⁷

Only the base of a raised relief cartouche with -sign is preserved.

Block E 162: Sandstone⁹⁸

Renewal formula: $\downarrow - [sm3wy-mn]w ir.n nsw-bity [Mn]-M3ʿt-R^c$

The left side of this raised relief block preserves the right side of the torso and arm of a male deity holding an . The figure has been restored, despite heavy hacking on the arm and the torso above the waist. Plaster must have been used liberally to complete the restoration. To the right is part of a renewal formula in raised relief. The relief is of high quality.


⁹⁶Cf. renewal text he added to the obelisks of Hatshepsut from the *w3dyt*-Hall, *supra* 2.11.

⁹⁷A. Varille, *Karnak Nord IV.1*, (Cairo, 1954), 63 (20) & fig. 95.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 63 (21) & fig. 96.

Block E 161: Sandstone⁹⁹

Renewal formula: $\text{~} \downarrow \text{ sm}^3\text{wy-m}\{\text{nw}\} \dots$

This block bears part of a renewal formula inserted into the upper portion of a scene. Above the text is the lower part of the wing of a falcon or vulture. The text is capped by a -sign. Only the left half of the column of text is preserved. To the left of the inscription is a vertical border element. The extreme left edge of the block is rough, but there is no indication of hacking. All three blocks may come from one or more doorways.

2.33 Temple of Maat, First Hypostyle (= II)

A. Varille, *Karnak I*, 10-11, fig. 2, face IB.

Seti I seems to have erected, or simply decorated, a pair of limestone columns in hall II of the temple of Maat within the Monthu precinct.¹⁰⁰ The columns were engaged to the east and west interior walls of the chamber. The western pillar was decorated with the cartouches and epithets of Seti I, which are only partially preserved. Both Ramesses II and III subsequently added marginal inscriptions to the sides of the column. The eastern column must also have been decorated for Seti, but all that remains of its decoration is part of a marginal inscription of Ramesses III.

2.34 So-called Gateway of Thutmose I North of the Monthu Precinct

*PM II*², 16 (63); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KO 117-122; A. Varille, *Karnak Nord I*, pl. 98; L. Christophe, *Karnak Nord III*, 76-77; C. Van Siclen, *GM* 80 (1984), 83.

Renewal formula: $\downarrow \sim \text{////// Mn-M}^3\text{t-R}^c \text{ s}^3\text{-R}^c \text{ nb h}^c\text{w [Sty]-mr-n-Imn [di}^c \text{nh]}$

On the west wall of the passage of this gateway, a relief depicts a king being led by Amen. At some point a smaller figure of a second king offering an image of Maat to the god was inserted. Seti had been credited with decorating the west wall of the passage of this gateway, with the smaller king being taken as the work of some later king. After re-


⁹⁹Ibid., 63 (22) & fig. 97.

¹⁰⁰Varille, *Karnak I*, 10-11, fig. 2 facing 10.

examining the reliefs, Van Siclen pointed out that Seti was responsible for the restoration of the Amen figure alone, with his name only occurring in the renewal formula.¹⁰¹

2.35 Kamutef Chapel

*PM II*², 275-276; H. Ricke, *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum in Karnak*, BÄBA 3.2, (Cairo, 1954), 4, fig. 1, 45 n. 11; pls. 10 [c].

There are only two fragments that can be assigned to Seti I from this structure. One, a fragment of the bottom of a cartouche with a  sign and the lower portions of a *M3^ct*-figure, certainly belongs to Seti. Ricke's reconstruction of the scene in which this fragment occurs is not clear, although it might be an offering formula.¹⁰²

A second fragment, bearing the Horus name *K3-nḥt ḥ^c-m-W3st* cut over that of Hatshepsut, perhaps makes better sense as that of Thutmose III and not Seti I, since the former was responsible for suppressing the queen's memory late in his reign.¹⁰³

Luxor Temple

2.36 Stela of Thutmose IV, Year 1

Black granite: H. 160 cm, W. 110 cm


El Sayed Higazy, *Dossiers histoire et archéologie: Egypte* 101 (January 1986), 20; El Sayed Hegazy and B. Bryan, *VA* 2 (1986), 93-100; B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 184-186 (14.2) and pl. 22, fig. 32.

Restoration formula:

Left column: $\dot{\iota}$ - *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c m pr it.f Imn-R^c*

Right column: - $\dot{\iota}$ *Imn-R^c nb nswt T3nb pt s3 R^c nb ḥ^cw Sty-mr-n-Pth di ^cnḥ mi R^c dt*

¹⁰¹C. Van Siclen, "The So-called Gateway of Tuthmosis I at Karnak," *GM* 80, (1984), 83.

¹⁰²H. Ricke, *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum in Karnak*, BÄBA 3.2, (Cairo, 1954), 4, fig. 1 with n. 11. If so, the *t* behind  could be the remains of a worn sun disk of *s3 R^c*. The traces below the cartouche would make better sense as *n it.f Imn*.

¹⁰³(*contra* Ricke, *Ibid.*, pl. 4 & 45, n. 11.

This stela was recently found in front of the Ramesside pylon.¹⁰⁴ Its entire surface was shaved down by Seti I leaving a raised lip around its outer edges.¹⁰⁵ As Hegazy and Bryan have noted, its figures and text were recut following the lines of the original. The paleography of the signs in the restoration text is the same as in the rest of the text, while no damage to Amen's name remains.¹⁰⁶ The surface around the divine figures in the center of the lunette has been cut down slightly more than on the rest of the stela to remove the deepest hack marks when the figures were recut. There is no evidence of a secondary restoration.

2.37 Fragmentary Stela of Thutmose IV with his Mother and Wife

Black granite: H. 70 cm, W. 110 cm

*PM II*², 538; M. Abdul-Qader Muhammad, *ASAE* 60 (1968), 248-249, 271 (XXV) & pl. 25. B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 183 (14.1).

Restoration formula: $\bar{\text{I}} - sm\bar{\text{z}}wy-mnw \textit{ir n nsw-bity [Mn]-M\bar{\text{z}}^c\bar{\text{r}}-R^c \textit{//////}$

Only the upper portion of this stela is preserved, including most of the lunette scene. None of its main text survives. The restoration formula in the center of the scene is flanked by two figures of Amen. It appears that the entire lunette has been reworked below the winged disk at the top.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴El Sayed Higazy, "Découverte d'une stèle de Thoutmosis IV sur le parvis du temple de Louqsor," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie: Egypte* 101 (January 1986), 20.

¹⁰⁵S. Hegazy and B. Bryan, "A New Stela of Thutmose IV from Luxor Temple," *VA* 2, 94, pl. 1.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 93-95.

¹⁰⁷As noted by Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 231, n. 245.

2.38 Colonnade Hall of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamen

PM II², 312-316; Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple vol. 1, OIP 112, (Chicago, 1994), pls. 43-49, 51-67; Idem, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 2, forthcoming; Idem, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 3, forthcoming.

The Colonnade Hall in Luxor temple was constructed late in the reign of Amenhotep III, but its decoration was largely forestalled by his death and the ensuing Amarna interlude.¹⁰⁸ Decoration commenced in earnest under Tutankhamen. By the end of his reign, decoration of all but the southernmost portions of the hall was complete. The unity of the composition of the tableaux suggests that Tutankhamen was also responsible for laying out the decoration of the entire Colonnade Hall in cartoon form.¹⁰⁹

2.38.1 The Festival Procession of Opet Reliefs

Although the southern third of the Colonnade Hall remained uncarved when Tutankhamen died, Horemheb never sculpted these scenes and seems to have contented himself with usurping the cartouches of Tutankhamen and Ay in the completed decoration. He did revise the cartoon of the large barque scenes at the southern end of the hall, changing the rebus decoration of the veil and canopy of the barque to reflect his own titulary.¹¹⁰

The tradition of incorporating elements of the reigning king's titulary into the decoration of the canopy of sacred barques in rebus form seems to have begun with Tutankhamen.¹¹¹ Now too, depictions of such iconography in relief became the object of the

¹⁰⁸Several scenes on the exterior and interior façade of the building seem to have been laid out in cartoon form late in Amenhotep III's reign. Raymond W. Johnson, in L. Berman, *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, 29-31, drawing 3; Idem., "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, SAOC 55, (Chicago, 1994), 133-134. Hereafter *Fs. Klaus Baer*.

¹⁰⁹Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, xvii, xix & n. 15.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pls. 43 50 & 58. The billow of this veil may have been partially carved by Tutankhamen and usurped by Horemheb. Ibid., 23 & n. 70 (= epigraphic commentary on pl. 58).

¹¹¹Murnane, *VA* 1, 67-68.


usurper's chisel. At Luxor and elsewhere, Horemheb often suppressed such rebus decoration of Tutankhamen in existing representations of the barque of Amen-Re,¹¹² while in other scenes in the northern portion of the Colonnade Hall, he unaccountably left them alone.¹¹³

It was not until Seti I came to the throne that the decoration in the southernmost portion of the Colonnade Hall was finally carved in relief. The presence of unaltered cartouches of Seti in the texts of these scenes pegs him as responsible for carving them.¹¹⁴ Seti introduced a few changes of his own beyond those Horemheb had made to the cartoon. He seems to have respected Horemheb's iconographic changes to the veil of the barque of Amen-Re, but altered the decoration of the exposed upper cabin to reflect his own prenomen.¹¹⁵ This combination of rebus decoration of two different kings on the veil and cabin of the barque is paralleled in the northern part of the Colonnade Hall where Tutankhamen is named on the veil and Amenhotep III on the upper portion of the cabin. There Tutankhamen, like Seti, had sought to associate himself with a predecessor.¹¹⁶ This is, perhaps, indicative of an early date for the reliefs.¹¹⁷

¹¹²E.g. on the east interior wall of the Luxor sun court and on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. See *supra* 2.21.5 & *infra* 2.41ff.

¹¹³In the Colonnade Hall: Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 110-111.

¹¹⁴Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, xvii.

¹¹⁵For the veil see: Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, 22-23, pl. 58. Only one fragment of the upper cabin survives, preserving a standing *M3't*-figure standing on a -sign as found on other examples from Seti's reign. *Ibid.*, 21 (iconographic comments) & pl. 50, fragment 1017. Compare the barque of Amen from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall for which see Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53 and 76.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, Epigraphic Survey, 23 (iconographic comments) and pl. 111.

¹¹⁷The only other monument of the early Nineteenth Dynasty that seems to honor Horemheb's memory is a small obelisk of Ramesses I. C. Aldred, *JEA* 54 (1968), 100-103, fig. 1-4, pl. 17:1; *KRI* VII, 6.

Seti made other changes to representations of the barques. The hull was thickened at the prow and stern and the collars of the aegides were enlarged.¹¹⁸ These enlarged features are characteristic of examples of divine barques made under Seti I,¹¹⁹ and can be observed in alterations he made to the extant barque scenes carved for Tutankhamen on east tower of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak and the east wall of the sun court at Luxor. Certainly Horemheb was not responsible for augmenting the proportions of the barque as can be seen from original examples from his reign,¹²⁰ and the lack of such alterations to examples he usurped from Tutankhamen.

2.38.2 The Columns, Upper Registers and Clerestory

Seti was also responsible for the carved decoration on the two pairs of columns at the southern end of the hall.¹²¹ These reliefs are unremarkable, although Seti does seem to have abandoned a scheme for the posthumous honoring of Amenhotep III adopted by Tutankhamen in the decoration of the columns, since he alone is the officiant in these offering scenes.¹²²

Only fragments of the upper portions of the building have survived. Its upper two-thirds were largely quarried away in the medieval period, and only a small portion of the original wall surface has been preserved. Above the Opet register, a series of tableaux representing the Min festival was laid out, while the uppermost register and the spaces between the window grills bore stereotyped offering scenes.¹²³ Fragments of this register

¹¹⁸Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, 19-20 with pls. 43 and 56. Cf. the much more slender prow and stern of the barques carved under Tutankhamen. *Ibid.*, pls. 7 and 110.

¹¹⁹See *Ibid.*, 19, n. 63 for references.



¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 19, n. 62.

¹²¹Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 2, forthcoming.

¹²²W. Raymond Johnson in *Fs. Klaus Baer*, 136.

¹²³Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 3, forthcoming. For a preliminary schematic drawing of the west wall at the south end see L. Bell in J.

from the south west interior wall of the building have been reassembled, revealing three scenes carved for Seti I. The quality of the carving is inferior to the reliefs from the Opet register.¹²⁴

Seti also completed a frieze of stereotyped decoration between the upper register and the cornice supporting the clerestory. Under Tutankhamen, this had consisted of the king's nomen resting on -baskets alternating with larger prenomen of Amenhotep III without cartouches.¹²⁵ Seti altered the pattern, his nomen cartouche now surmounting the -basket and alternating with his prenomen without cartouche.¹²⁶

In general, the reliefs of Seti from the Colonnade Hall are easily distinguished from those of Tutankhamen by their high, rounded relief and careful finishing of details and background surfaces.¹²⁷ Stylistically, the large figures of the king and deities are comparable to reliefs from the reign of Horemheb.¹²⁸ Here the nose is not as aquiline as in other reliefs dating to the earlier part of Seti's reign, but the slightly pot belly, also characteristic of post-Amarna relief, is retained.¹²⁹ These features point to an early date for the reliefs.¹³⁰

In completing the decoration of the Colonnade Hall, Seti was clearly following a pattern laid out in cartoon by Tutankhamen and Horemheb. He made only slight alterations to the cartoon, such as augmenting the proportions of the sacred barques and inserting his

Assmann *et. al.* (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, (New York, 1987), pl. 5B.

¹²⁴Peter Dorman by personal communication.

¹²⁵Johnson in *Fs. Klaus Baer*, 141.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 140-141. Bell in *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, pl. 5B.

¹²⁷Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, xvii.

¹²⁸Presumably Tutankhamen's cartoon was altered before the relief was carved to reflect the royal profile current at the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which differed markedly from the style of Tutankhamen's reign. Epigraphic survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, pls. 53-54.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, Epigraphic Survey, pls. 51-52.

¹³⁰See *supra* 1.2.1.

titulary into the cartouches, stereotyped decoration of friezes on the walls and columns and the alteration of the rebus decoration of the upper part of the cabin of the sacred barque of Amen-Re, while preserving Horemheb's decoration on the veil. Stylistic and iconographic features of the reliefs point to an early date in the reign for completion of the Colonnade Hall reliefs. The project formed part of his overall restoration program aimed at putting his stamp on Egypt's monuments as quickly as possible.¹³¹

Solar Court of Amenhotep III

2.39 North Wall, Amenhotep III Led by a God and Goddess

PM II², 317 (93-94); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LC 109; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. I, figs. 3-4.

Restoration text: $\downarrow \sim \text{//////} Mn-M^3t-R^c m pr it.f Imn-R^c$

Only the lower half of this scene is preserved. It depicts the king being led by a god and goddess. Both deities exhibit recutting, especially the male one. His arm, chest, back foot and legs have been reworked. The rear foot was shifted further to the left, making his stride longer. Only parts of the right arm, back and buttocks of the goddess were adjusted. All this recutting is consistent with secondary retouching of a previously restored relief.

2.40 East Wall, North End, Barque of Amen-Re

PM II² 317 (95); W.R. Johnson in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, (Cleveland, 1990), 30, drawing 2.

Restoration formula: $\downarrow \sim sm3\{wy\}-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M^3t-R^c m Ipt-rsyi$

This scene portrays the barque of Amen-Re resting on a socle in front of an array of offerings and accompanied by a statue of Amenhotep III and his *Ka*. The decoration on the canopy contains Horemheb's nomen arranged in a rebus pattern.¹³² According to Johnson,

¹³¹Perhaps the reliefs were completed in preparation for Seti's first visit to Thebes as king. Alternatively, their completion might have been ordered while he inspected the temple during that first visit.

¹³²A similar design for the canopy can be found in wall scenes in the southern third of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and on a barque scene usurped from Tutankhamen on the east

this scene was later modified by Seti I. His alterations were focused on enlarging the hull of the barque, and on the proportions of its aegises.¹³³

Horemheb had previously usurped the decoration of the canopy of the barque as first restored under Tutankhamen. He enlarged the space for the rebus decoration on the canopy by pushing back the kneeling *M3ʿr*-figures to make space for his rebus and by eliminating border elements behind the goddesses' backs. Although no direct evidence for the original presence of Tutankhamen's titulary in the rebus decoration is preserved, the adjustments made by Horemheb to this scene correspond to his usurpation of a similar barque scene of Tutankhamen on the Eighth pylon at Karnak.¹³⁴

The alterations of both Horemheb and Seti I are in keeping with their treatment of Tutankhamen's restoration work. Horemheb's alterations suppressed his predecessor's titulary in the rebus decoration on the barque. As he did elsewhere, Seti augmented the proportions of the craft and added a renewal text to the modified relief.

Elsewhere in the solar court, only the lower portions of the figures on the bottom register of scenes remain along the east interior wall, none being preserved above the waist. All of the deities exhibit retouching of their proportions. Taken in conjunction with the evidence discussed above, it is clear that Seti revised Tutankhamen's restorations throughout the solar court, adding renewal texts intermittently.

tower of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, pl. 58; Murnane, *VA I*, 60 & fig. 1.

¹³³W. R. Johnson, by personal communication.

¹³⁴W. R. Johnson by personal communication. Murnane, *VA I*, 60, fig. 1. At Karnak, the kneeling *M3ʿr*-figures were enlarged without suppressing the border elements at the edges of the canopy. The two secondary figures were not the same size, however, the figure at the back being somewhat larger.

Hypostyle Hall Adjoining the Solar Court

2.41 East Interior Wall

*PM II*² 318 (102) registers I-III; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 31-46; Gayet, *Temple*, pls. 2, fig. 7 & pl. 8, fig. 47-pl. 16, fig. 60.

Three registers of scenes on this wall had been restored at some point prior to Seti's reign, most likely under Tutankhamen. Seti then recut many of the divine figures and added restoration inscriptions to some of the scenes, mostly those on the lowermost register.

The scenes on this wall are in low, raised relief in sandstone. As a result of the original restoration, most traces of hacking seem to have been eliminated without cutting down the original surface in a dramatic fashion. The transition between the original background and that in which the figures of the deities were carved is often quite subtle. In general, little plaster was needed to fill in the few remaining hack marks. In the Coptic period, the faces, hands, feet and other portions of the figures of the gods and king on the lower registers were thoroughly bashed out, and several Coptic crosses were engraved on some of the scenes.

Register I (= top)

None of the scenes on the top register of this wall bear restoration formulae, although in every scene the figures of Amen and other deities have been altered after their initial restoration. No Coptic iconoclasm is evident on this level, presumably because they were too high off the ground.

2.42 (I.1) Amenhotep III with Offering-bearer Libating Before Amen and Amenet Making *nyny*

*PM II*², 318 (102), I.1; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 35-36; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 47; (**PLATE 37B**).

Here Amenhotep III pours a libation while a minor deity bears a tray of offerings to Amen-Re. At some point after the initial restoration parts of the Amen figure were retouched. This is apparent on the forward shoulder and top of the arm, on the beard and along the whole front from armpit down the torso and legs to the instep and toe of the advancing foot. Similar adjustments can also be found on the minor deity.

2.43 (L2) Amenhotep III Offering Milk to Amen

*PM II*², 318 (102), I.2; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 34; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 9, figs. 48-49.

Scattered remnants of Amarna vandalism survive in the form of light pitting of the surface. Again there is evidence of two successive restorations of the divine figure, the second one amounting to superficial tinkering. His beard was adjusted, as were his modius crown, the front of his kilt and his tail.

2.44 (L3) Amenhotep III Slays an Oryx Before Amen

*PM II*², 318 (102), I.3; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 32-33; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 10, fig. 50.

In this scene, the ithyphallic figure of Amen-Re displays evidence of two restorations. In the case of the second one, the front of the god's leg as well as his arm and upper back have been shifted slightly. The epithet "Lord of Heaven" following his name has also been recut with a fuller writing.

2.45 (L4) Amenhotep III Pours Ointment Over Amen

*PM II*² 318 (102), I.4; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 31; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 10, fig. 51 to pl. 11, fig. 52; (PLATE 36B).

The figure of Amen, sitting enthroned on a high plinth, has been entirely recut by Seti I. Extensive traces of this can be found on all parts of the figure, the object of which seems to have been to shift the figure to the left slightly. A series of hacking patterns arranged in lines and set at various angles occur here, being especially numerous around his plumes and on and behind his modius crown. The arrangement of these marks indicates that they were not meant to obliterate Amen's facial features or other attributes, and they are consistent with neither Amarna nor Coptic iconoclasm. Instead, they seem to be extensive keying for a layer of plaster used for repairs. To the left of the king, an image of Horus bearing a tray of ointment-jars has also been expunged and restored on two separate occasions, and the later version has been shifted slightly to the right.

Register II (= middle)

2.46 (II.1) Amenhotep III with Mace and *hk3*-scepter Before Amen

*PM II*² 318 (102), II,1; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 40; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 11, fig. 53.

Restoration formula: 1 - *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3t-Rc m pr it.f Imn-Rc*

Coptic iconoclasts attacked the face and limbs of the figures in this episode.

Secondary adjustments of the restored Amen-figure are found on his beard, front torso and shoulder, hem of his kilt and the calf and inner thigh of his forward leg.

2.47 (II.2) Amenhotep III Before Amen with Foundation-ritual Text

*PM II*² 318 (102), II,2; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 39; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 12, fig. 54.

There is no indication that the Copts disfigured this scene. Chisel marks around the top of Amen's plumes are consistent with keying for plaster employed by the restorers.

Subsequently the beard, neck, modius crown and front shoulder were revised under Seti I.

2.48 (II.3) Amenhotep III Before Amen with Litany

*PM II*² 318 (102), II,3; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 38; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 13, fig. 55.

The figures of both the king and Amen-Re were subjected to hacking at some point in post-antiquity. The representation of Amen has suffered badly from Coptic defacement and natural erosion of the stone. From what remains, it is apparent that it was restored on two occasions like others on this wall. Thus the secondary version of his toe and instep can be seen, these having been enlarged dramatically.

2.49 (II.4) Amenhotep III Before Amen Consecrating Offerings

*PM II*² 318 (102), II,2; Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 37; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 14, fig. 56.

Here the seated figure of Amen-Re has been adjusted under Seti I. Both legs and his forward arm holding the \uparrow -scepter show evidence of two separate restorations. The face was also reworked, traces of the previous beard being evident. The extant hacking seems to be traces of the iconoclast's chisel and keying by the restorers. The Copts do not seem to have vandalized this relief.

Register III (= bottom)

2.50 (III.1) Amenhotep III Driving the Calves Before Amen

*PM II*² 318 (102); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 44; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 15, fig. 57; (PLATE 37A).

Restoration formula: $\downarrow \rightarrow sm\dot{s}wy-mnw ir.n Mn-M\dot{s}^c t-R^c [n] it.f Imn$

In this scene, the figure of Amen has been bashed in the Christian era, when a Coptic cross was engraved between the god's legs. The hacking was directed at the arms, belt buckle and face of the god, the arms, face, buckle and legs of the king and the faces and legs of three of the four calves. Because of this damage, it is not clear what alterations might have been made to Amen's face. Otherwise Amen's figure was extensively modified by Seti I. His front shoulder, the lower calf, thigh, kneecap and ankle of the back leg along with the modius of his headdress and hem of his kilt have all been reworked. These adjustments seem to have been designed to enlarge the figure slightly.

2.51 (III.2) Amenhotep III Consecrating Four *mrt*-boxes Before Amen

*PM II*² 318 (102); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 43; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 15, fig. 58.

Again, the figure of the deity was reworked subsequent to the initial post-Amarna restoration of this scene with augmentation of its proportions being the apparent object. These modifications included the front shoulder, biceps and forearm, the front leg from the kneecap along the shins to the instep of the advancing foot and on the back leg the kneecap, calf and ankle.

2.52 (III.3) Amenhotep III Erecting the *shnt*-pole for Amen

*PM II*² 318 (102); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 42; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 16, fig. 59; (PLATE 36A).

Restoration formula: $\downarrow \rightarrow sm\dot{s}wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M\dot{s}^c t-R^c m pr it.f Imn s\dot{s} R^c [Sty]-mr-n-Pth$


The figure of Amen in this scene has been vandalized in the Coptic period; the face, phallus, plumes and upraised arm of the god being the target of this iconoclasm. Seti has once again altered a restoration made prior to his reign. In this case, the knees, shin and instep of the god's leg and foot were modified. His chest and back have also been adjusted and


recutting is evident on the leading edge of the forward plume of his headdress and on the straps crossing his chest. The face also seems to have been altered, but only changes to the tip of the beard have survived the Christian iconoclasts.

2.53 (III.4) Amenhotep III Embraced by Seated Amen

*PM II*² 318 (102); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 41; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 16, fig. 60; (PLATE 38A).

Restoration formula: \downarrow - [sm \dot{s} wy-mnw ir.n] nsw-bity s \dot{s} -R^c nb h^cw mry ntrw [Sry]-mr-n-Pth m pr it.f Tmn-R^c nb nswt T \dot{s} wy

In this scene, Amen sits enthroned on a high plinth touching an  to the king's nose. Because portions of the two figures overlap, the legs and left arm of the king had to be partially recarved along with the entire figure of Amen when the scene was first restored prior to Seti's reign. The faces of both figures have been hacked by the early Copts.

Here too Seti made minor adjustments to the proportions of the divine figure as in other scenes on this wall. These included reworking his lower torso and slight alteration to the angle of his plumes. The god's head and neck have also been shifted forward slightly as a result of changes to the angle of the plumes, and his arms have also been altered. Originally, his left arm, which holds an  up to the king's nose, was higher. Amen's right arm now reaches back behind the king's torso with the hand touching the nape of his neck. In the earlier restoration, this arm reached across in front of the king's chest and held a flail. Traces of the god's fist and the flail can be seen at the left side of the scene above the king's shoulder.

2.54 Subregister Fecundity Figures

*PM II*², 318 (104); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 45-46; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 2, fig. 7; (PLATE 39B).

Restoration formula: \downarrow - sm \dot{s} wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M \dot{s} t-R^c m pr [it].f [T]mn-R^c s \dot{s} R^c [Sry]-mr-n-Pth

Here Seti added a restoration inscription in front of the first of a series of fecundity figures arranged along the subregister. Most of these exhibit various adjustments to their arms, buttocks, feet and legs. Again these are consistent with a secondary restoration.

2.55 East Doorway Lintel Scene: Amenhotep III Accompanied by Fecundity Figures Offers Flowers to Amen

*PM II*² 318 (105a-b); Nelson, *Key Plans* LD 30; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 16, figs 62-63; (PLATE 38B).

Both of the Amen figures, and the two fecundity figures, have been restored twice. That on the left was shifted to the left slightly with recutting being evident throughout. The minor deity on the left has also been shifted. Again on the right, both deities were reworked, with Amen being shifted to the right.

2.56 Pilaster Adjoining the North-East Corner of the Hypostyle

Overall, the divine effigies exhibit only minor amounts of reworking, and doubtless owing to the confined space in these tableaux, none has been shifted as some on the adjoining wall have been.

North Face

2.57 (I) Amenhotep III Receiving Life from Monthu

*PM II*², 317 (98a, I); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LC 80; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46.

Recutting in this scene is confined to Monthu's legs and back.

2.58 (II) Amenhotep III and Amen Holding Hands

*PM II*², 317 (98a, II); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 81; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46.

Here the legs, arms and tail of the deity have been reworked.

2.59 (III) Amenhotep III with Mut Extending Menat-necklace

*PM II*², 317 (98a, III); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 82; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46.

Coptic hacking occurs on the faces and limbs of both figures. Mut's legs, crown and buttocks exhibit recutting, the upraised arm holding the *Menat*-necklace has been shifted higher in the final version. Keying for plaster can be seen on and in front of her legs.

East Face

2.60 (I) Amenhotep III Receiving Life from Amen

*PM II*², 317 (98b, I); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 48; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46.

Only Amen's modius crown, the nape of his neck and his belly have been adjusted after the initial restoration.

2.61 (II) Amenhotep III with Weret-Hekau Extending *Menat*-necklace

*PM II*², 317 (98b, II); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 49; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46.

The hacking visible in this scene derives from a number of sources. Coptic hacking is found on the face and limbs of the figure, while traces of Amarna vandalism survived the restoration process. Long strings of gouging on Weret-hekau's body are characteristic of keying for plaster used in the restoration process, so the damage to her figure must have been particularly severe. Recutting occurs along the front of her body from the breast to her shins, on the top of her upraised forearm, as well as traces along the front lappet and the back of her wig, all of which are indicative of a secondary restoration.

2.62 (III) Amenhotep III Embracing Amen-Kamutef

*PM II*², 317 (98b, III); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 50; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46; (PLATE 39A).

Restoration formula: - 1 *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity nb T3wy Mn-M3't-R^c m pr it.fTmn-R^c*

Despite Coptic vandalism to the face and limbs of Amen-Kamutef, recutting of his image is evident on the neckline and down the front of the leg from the thigh to the shin.

2.63 West Gateway, East Jambs

PM II², 318 (106a); Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 2; Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 18, fig. 66 (=106b).

Restoration formulae:


South Jamb: - [s]m³wy-mnw ir.n Mn-M³t-R^c // // // f [Im]n

North Jamb: - // // // // // // // Mn-M³t-R^c m // // // // //

The scenes above these much damaged renewal text feature figures of a king, perhaps Amenhotep III, facing the portal with one arm raised in salute and the other holding a long staff. They are similar to scenes on the jambs of two gateways in the southern part of the w³dyt-Hall at Karnak, also restored by Seti.¹³⁵

2.64

Luxor Temple Summary

Early in his reign, Seti I undertook extensive renovations in Luxor Temple. In the Colonnade Hall, he completed reliefs left unfinished by Tutankhamen and his successors at the south end of the building. Seti also made extensive modifications to reliefs restored by Tutankhamen in the solar court and adjoining hypostyle hall. In most instances, these constituted minor retouching of the divine figures. In particular, many effigies of Amen-Re were enlarged slightly by augmenting the profile of their faces limbs and the fronts of their torsos. In such cases there was little reworking along their hind portions. The position of the leading arm of the god holding the -scepter was in some instances shifted as well. Although the only well preserved examples are those on the nearly intact interior east wall of the hypostyle, figures on the now much denuded walls of the solar court were also revamped, apparently *in toto*. Prior to Seti's modifications, Horemheb had usurped a barque scene from the solar court that had been restored by Tutankhamen so that his titulary was reflected in the rebus decoration of the veil screening the canopy. From this we may conclude that Tutankhamen was responsible for initially repairing the mutilated tableaux in the solar court and hypostyle, Horemheb's contribution being restricted to eliminating his predecessor's name where it occurred in rebus form, while leaving the bulk of Tutankhamen's work alone. Finally, Seti altered the restored images of the gods throughout this part of the temple,

¹³⁵See *supra* 2.9.

intermittently adding renewal texts to scenes on the lower courses of the walls. There is no evidence that Seti was involved in repairs to the south of the solar court hypostyle.

Thebes West Bank

Memorial Temple of Amenhotep III

2.65 Triumphal Stela of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34026)

Painted Limestone: H. 206.5 cm, W. 110 cm

*PM II*², 448; W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, pl. 10; P. Lacau, *Stèles*, 59-60, pl. 20.

Restoration formula: – *smꜣwy-mnw ir.n sꜣ Rꜥ Sꜣy-mꜣ-n-Pth n it.f Imn-Rꜥ*

On the upper register of this triumphal stela of Amenhotep III, two figures of Amen-Re standing back-to-back were restored by shaving down the surface around the figures, including the name and epithet of the god in front of his plumes of the crowns of both figures. Originally, the offering formulae in front of the two kings, as well as the forward hand on the right figure were also shaved down and reworked to make the transition between the original surface around the king and the lower one around the god more subtle, thus rendering a more aesthetically pleasing result once the divine figures were restored in bas-relief. Once this process was complete, there were relatively few deep hack marks and little plaster patching was required, this being confined mostly to the chests of both Amen figures.

A *smꜣwy-mnw* formula and two offering formulae were etched in sunk relief by the same hand. This restoration formula is wedged between the right side figure of Amen and his \uparrow -scepter. Stylistically, the restored figures are done in a Ramesside style, the aquiline nose being especially prominent on the right-hand Amen figure. The restored figures are executed in a much flatter relief than the rest of the stela which was carved in a particularly high relief current late in Amenhotep III's reign.¹³⁶

¹³⁶Johnson in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, 34-36.

2.66 Ceremonial Stela of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34025)

Grey Granite: H. 318 cm, W. 163 cm

PM II², 447f; W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. 11; P. Lacau, *Stèles*, 47 & pl. 15; *KRI* I, 229, §98, c, ii; *RITA* I, 197, §98, c, ii; *RITANC* I, 150, §98, c, ii.

Restoration formula: $\text{ḏ} - \text{sm}^{\text{ḏ}}\text{wy} - \text{mnw} \text{ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M}^{\text{ḏ}}\text{t-R}^{\text{ḏ}} \text{n it.f Imn-R}^{\text{ḏ}} \text{nsw-n}^{\text{ḏ}}\text{rw nbw}$

A large part of the original surface of the lunette scene was shaved down between the front edges of the two royal figures. Above, the area of the caption text was shaved down and reworked, although the restorers were able to follow the original text as a guide except for the name and epithets of Amen. The wings and titles of the Behdetite were left alone, as were the two uraei and prenomen cartouche dangling from its sun disk. The surface bearing the first 21 lines of the main text has also been shaved down, while the amount of recutting decreases steadily from lines 22 to 27. The last four lines are in pristine condition except for the protocol of Amen.

Bell has noted the presence of traces of triangular projection kilts on the two earlier divine figures and traces of a uraeus on the forehead of the effigy of the god on the left-hand side.¹³⁷ Bickel points out that these conform to alterations made by Akhenaten who converted figures of Amen in his father's memorial temple into those of the deified Amenhotep III.¹³⁸

Other signs of reworking include traces of the original prongs of the ḏ-scepter and the corner where the shin meets the instep of the god's foot on both sides of the scene. Bickel has pointed out that Akhenaten converted many Amen figures in reliefs from Amenhotep III's

¹³⁷Lanny Bell in *Mélanges Mokhtar* I, 51, n. 124.

¹³⁸H. Jaritz and S. Bickel, "Une port monumentale d'Amenhotep III. second rapport préliminaire sur les blocs réemployés dans le temple de Merenptah à Gourna," *BIFAO* 94, (1994), 282-284. Cf. Cairo CG 34025 with a relief from the temple [*Ibid.*, 283, fig. 2], and another stela of Amenhotep III from his memorial temple [G. Haeny, *et. al.*, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, BÄBA 11, [Wiesbaden, 1981], pl. 5). In each case, the figure of Amen has been converted to that of the deified Nebmaatre and then restored as Amen.

memorial temple to images of the latter as a god.¹³⁹ The surviving traces of an earlier version presumably stem from just such a modification. Apart from reinscribing the name of Amen within the text and the protocol of Amenhotep III, Seti's immediate predecessors seem to have left the iconography of the stela as they found it, their being no indication of a secondary restoration on Seti's part.

2.67 Reused Blocks from the Memorial Temple of Merenptah

S. Bickel, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 1-13; H. Jaritz and S. Bickel, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 277-285.

Restoration formulae: various.¹⁴⁰

From a group of reused blocks of Amenhotep III recently discovered in the foundations of the memorial temple of Merenptah, it would seem that Tutankhamen was responsible for the initial restoration of Amenhotep's memorial temple.¹⁴¹ A pair of blocks have come to light bearing traces of Tutankhamen's cartouche in a restoration formula that was subsequently usurped by Seti I.¹⁴²

The figures of Amen on these blocks have been retouched by Seti without being recut entirely. These modifications were confined largely to adjusting the god's crown and beard and to changing proportions of his limbs.¹⁴³ The inclination of the plumes was altered, the height of the modius crown was changed, and the beard was lengthened.¹⁴⁴ The proportions of the god were made more svelte by narrowing his shoulders and making his legs more slender.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹Bickel, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 282-284.

¹⁴⁰Bickel, *BIFAO* 92, 11; Jaritz and Bickel, *BIFAO* 94, 284.

¹⁴¹Ibid., Bickel, 1-13; Ibid., Jaritz and Bickel, 277-285.

¹⁴²Ibid., Jaritz and Bickel, *BIFAO* 94, 284.

¹⁴³Ibid., 284-285.

¹⁴⁴Bickel, *BIFAO* 92, 11, 12, fig. 6.

¹⁴⁵Bickel, *BIFAO* 94, 285.

Memorial Temple of Thutmose III

2.68 Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34015)

*PM II*², 428; Lacau, *Stèles*, 31.

Restoration formula: \rightarrow s[m3]wy-mn[w] ir.n nsw-[bity] // // //

This stela bears a damaged renewal text, which despite the lack of a royal name is surely that of Seti I as no other king is known to have left such texts on restored stelae. The piece was unavailable for examination in Cairo and no photo has been published. It appears to be highly fragmentary in any case.¹⁴⁶

Medamud

2.69 Lintel Fragment (Inv. 4980)

Pink granite: H. 43 cm, W. 70 cm

F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1930)*, 65, fig. 42.

Restoration formula: \rightarrow ...[Mn]-M3^c t-R^c n it.f Mn[rw]...

This fragment preserves Monthu's throne and a king's left foot on the right half of a lintel, as well as part of the central band of text and the back cushion of the god's throne on the right. It was found in the foundations of the Monthu temple between two doorjambs of a gateway of Amenhotep II. This and the phrase "for his father Mon[thu] suggests that it constitutes evidence of Seti I's restoration of the earlier king's gateway.

¹⁴⁶Lacau, *Stèles*, 31.

Tod

2.70 Barque Station of Thutmose III

J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 50, pls. 4-5; P. Barguet, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 96-97 & pls. 2b, 3a-b, 5a-b.

Restoration formulae:

Door into chapel

West doorjamb: 𓂏 - *smšwy-mnw ir.n sš R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth*

East doorjamb: 𓂏 - *smšwy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-Mš^ct-R^c-iw^c-R^c*

South entrance of peristyle, pillars flanking entrance

West pillar, east face: - *smšwy-mnw ir.n sš R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth*

East pillar, west face: - *smšwy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-Mš^ct-R^c*

South balustrade, east end - *smšwy-mnw [ir.n] nsw-bity Mn-Mš^ct-R^c-iw^c-R^c mry Mnḡw nb
Drry*

Little can be said about the restoration of the divine figures in the barque chapel of Thutmose III at Tod because only the lower portions of the figures remain, nothing being preserved above the waists of any of them. The names and images of Amen, but not those of Monthu, seem to have been the targets of the Atenists.¹⁴⁷ A similar phenomenon is found at Aswan.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷The ideogram representing Monthu in the royal epithet "beloved of Monthu" was not hacked out where it occurred in the texts of Thutmose III on the shrine. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 50, pl. IV, fig. 2; P. Barguet, "Tôd, rapport de fouilles de la saison février-avril 1950," *BIFAO* 51, pl. V, b.

¹⁴⁸See *infra* 2.73ff.

2.71 Block of Thutmose IV

C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 97-98, pl. 34a.

Restoration formula: -↓ *sm3[wy]i////*

This sandstone block features the shoulder of an enthroned Amen-Re with the head and part of the torso of a goddess seated behind him. She was never attacked, while Amen has been restored.¹⁴⁹ Between the two figures is part of a renewal text.

El Kab

2.72 Desert Temple of Amenhotep III

PM V, 189, (7) and (11); *LDT* IV, 45(a-b); *LD* III, 138g; J. J. Tylor & S. Clarke, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Temple of Amenhotep III*, (London, 1898), pls. 1, 3 & 15. *KRI* I, 229-230, §98, d, ii, a/b; *RITA* I, 198, §98, d, ii, a/b; *RITANC* I, 150, §98, d, ii, a/b.

Restoration formulae

Lintel over façade: ↓ - *////////// ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3t-Rc*

Doorway into the shrine

Right: -↓ *sm3wy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-M3t-Rc s3 Rc Sry-mr-n-Pth m pr mwt.f Nhbti nbt pt*

Left: ↓ - same

This small desert shrine of Amenhotep III seems to have first been restored under Seti I. The figures of Nekhbet as well as those of Amen were vandalized by the agents of Akhenaten. The names and images of the gods were carefully restored and repainted by Seti I who also added renewal texts to the jambs of the doorway leading into the shrine¹⁵⁰ and on the lintel surmounting the façade of the building.¹⁵¹ There is no indication of secondary restoration.

¹⁴⁹There is no indication that the surface was reworked around the anonymous goddess, while the god's shoulder has clearly been recut. Her face is treated in a style consistent with the mid Eighteenth Dynasty and other blocks at Tod attest to building activity by Amenhotep II there.

¹⁵⁰J. J. Tylor & S. Clarke, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Temple of Amenhotep III*, (London, 1898), pl. 3 & 15 top.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, pl. 1 & 15 bottom.

2.73

Aswan

The island of Elephantine was the site of extensive building projects during much of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁵² Here, Amen-Re seems to have been associated with the local triad of Khnum, Satef and Anukis. Akhenaten's agents vandalized the protocols and images of Amen-Re on the standing monuments in Elephantine, while those of Khnum and his triad were left untouched.¹⁵³

2.74 Destroyed Peripteral Temple of Amenhotep III

PM V, 228; L. Borchardt & H. Ricke, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, BÄBA 2 (Cairo, 1938), 96, abb. 28; *KRI* I, 230, §98, d, iii; *RITA* I, 198, §98, d, iii; *RITANC* I 150, §98, d, iii.

Façade

Restoration formula: (Balustrade) – *smꜣwy-mnw ir.n nsw-bity Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ-iwꜥ-Rꜥ m pr it.f Hnmw*

The only record of this peripteral shrine is an illustration of Nestor l'Hôte showing a general view of the building.¹⁵⁴ A restoration inscription of Seti can be made out clearly on the balustrade of the temple. It is also apparent that the walls and pillars of the temple had reliefs portraying both Khnum and Amen-Re. Of these, only figures of Amen would have been suppressed in the Amarna period, since figures of Khnum and his triad were not attacked in the Aswan region. Seti presumably restored other parts of this temple, and added at least one other restoration inscription to the temple, on the exterior wall of the sanctuary.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵²F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile*, (Mainz, 1987). Eighteenth Dynasty kings attested here include Thutmose II, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.

¹⁵³Numerous reliefs depicting member of the Elephantine triad are preserved, none of them having been attacked, nor are any other gods but Amen. Cf. ex. C. Desroches Noblecourt, *Un siècle des fouilles Françaises en Égypte 1880 — 1980*, (Paris, 1981), cat nos. 258, 258 bis, 260-261; H. Ricke and S. Sauneron, *Die Tempel Nektanebos' II. In Elephantine und ihre Erweiterungen*, BÄBA 6, (Cairo, 1960), pl. 21a; F. Junge, *Elephantine XI*, pls. 6a-b, 10a, 11c, 13, 14c-d, 15c-d, 17a & c.

¹⁵⁴L. Borchardt & H. Ricke, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, BÄBA 2 (Cairo, 1938), 96, abb. 28.

¹⁵⁵*PM* V, 228 (4)-(5).

2.75 Temple of Satet at Elephantine

W. Kaiser, *MDAIK* 26 (1970) pl. 42a; idem *MDAIK* 27.2 (1971), 196, no. 46, pl. 48a; R. Drenkhahn, "Elephantine," *LA*, 1271-1275.

The Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Satet on Elephantine island was built and decorated under Thutmose III. Here again, only images of Amen-Re were expunged during the Amarna period.

2.75.1 Block with Amen-Kamutef (Louvre B73, E 12921 bis 0)

Sandstone: H. 72.5 cm, W. 82.5 cm

C. Desroches Noblecourt *et. al.*, *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte 1880 – 1980*, (Paris, 1981), 242 cat. no. 262 with color plate on 231.

Restoration formula: $\downarrow - sm\dot{s}wy-mn[w]....s\dot{s} R^c....$

This block portrays the head and upper torso of Amen-Kamutef with the arm of a king holding up a small pot of incense. Part of a restoration formula is also preserved. The medium is bas relief in sandstone.

The figure of the deity has been recut in a shallow trough, and some hacking remains. This is most severe around his collar, plumes and modius. Damage to the face, however, is only evident on the cheek and lower neck of the figure. Remnants of an earlier version of the god's front shoulder and his armpit are also preserved, along with faint traces of an earlier version of the back of his modius crown

Stylistically, the facial features are rendered in a manner consistent with the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁶ The aquiline nose, small mouth with symmetrical upper and lower lips and the eye with its down turned inner canthi can be found in other reliefs dated to Seti I's reign. Thus we may conclude that this restoration is his work. It is not clear whether traces of recutting an earlier version belong to the Thutmose original or previous restoration.

¹⁵⁶As noted by E. Delange in Desroches-Noblecourt *et. al.*, *Un siècle de fouilles*, 242.

2.75.2 Block with Thutmose III and Amen-Re

W. Kaiser *et. al.*, *MDAIK 27.2* (1971), 196, pl. 48a.

According to the excavator, this block came from a temple relief restored by Seti I.¹⁵⁷ It portrays Thutmose III and Amen-Re embracing each other. Both of their heads and upper torsos are preserved on the block. The figure of the god is surrounded by a narrow trough into which it has been recut. Traces of hacking remain on the modius of Amen's crown, the ribbon dangling from the back of the crown and on his shoulders and arm. The space around of his face and plumes have been cut down further than other portions of the relief. Despite this, the surface of the plumes is very uneven. It is likely that the hacking was particularly severe here. Amen's face has been cut down further to eliminate nearly all traces of hacking. The area of his eye being particularly depressed. Traces of hacking are found around the god's eyebrow and neckline.

Stylistically, the present block resembles Louvre B 73. The eyes and lips are rendered in the same manner, while the nose, although not as prominent as on the Louvre relief, is none the less aquiline.¹⁵⁸ The only evidence of what may be an earlier version of the relief is found along the profile of the face and the back of the modius crown. Part of what appears to be the earlier nose are consistent in form with the king's profile on the same block which is Thutmoside, and there is no indication that this relief was restored before Seti I's reign.

¹⁵⁷W. Kaiser *et. al.* "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Zweiter Grabungsbericht," *MDAIK 27.2* (1971), 196, n. 46.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Kaiser *et. al.*, *MDAIK 27.2*, pl. 48a with Desroches Noblecourt, *Un siècle de fouilles*, 231, fig. 262.

Nubia

Amada

2.76 18th Dynasty Temple

Doorjambes of main entrance, thicknesses: *PM* VIII, 67 (3-4); Centre of Documentation, *Le temple d'Amada*, *Cahier* II, (Cairo, 1967), B5-B6; *Cahier* III, B5-B6; *Cahier* IV, B5, B6. Door into vestibule, doorjambes, thicknesses: *PM* VII, 69 (30-31); *Le temple d'Amada*, G7, G8; *Cahier* I, pl. XL; *Cahier* III, 23; *Cahier* IV, G7-G11; *KRI* I, 230, §98 e, i-ii; *RITA* I, 198, §98, e, i-ii; *RITANC* I, 150, §98, e, I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, (Wiesbaden, 1991), 21.

Restoration formulae:

B6 -! sm3wy-mnw n it.f nsw-bity s3 R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth mry R^c Hr-3hty Itm nb T3wy Iwnw

B5 i - [sm3wy]-m]nw n it.f] nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c s3 R^c [St]y-mr]-n-Pth

G7 i - sm3wy-mnw n it.f nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c s3 R^c [St]y-mr-n-Pth mry Imn-R^c nsw ngrw nb pt hry-tp W3st di 3nh

G8 - i [sm3wy-mnw n it.f nsw-bity Mn-M3^ct-R^c] s3 [R^c St]y-mr-n-Pth mry Hr-3hty hry-ib [t]3 K3ht di [3nh]

The Amada temple was dedicated to both Amen-Re and Re-Horakhty by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. Throughout the edifice, the names and figures of Amen have been hacked out, while those of Re-Horakhty were respected by the Atenists. The temple's reliefs had apparently been entirely restored by an earlier post-Amarna king prior to Seti. Under Seti some of the previously restored Amen figures were reworked. In most cases, such adjustments were minor and cosmetic, focusing largely on the crown, arms and legs of the god.¹⁵⁹ In one case, however, Amen's figure was entirely recut, and shifted backwards from its original position; extensive traces of the earlier figure are preserved, while another was entirely recut *in situ*.¹⁶⁰ The reliefs were repainted after their restoration, and in most cases

¹⁵⁹Centre of Documentation, *Le temple d'Amada*, *Cahier* II & IV, F 22, L 4-5, L 16-17, P2, P12, R 3 and R 12.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, II & IV, C 3b and C 32-33, the latter was reworked with a slender waist, and the front leg was shifted to the right. Evidence of recutting occur on the back leg, the crown, the back of the head and the ribbon dangling from its modius.

this is still preserved.¹⁶¹ Although this paint may have obscured evidence of such reworking in many cases, traces of recutting are still visible in several instances. Most of these are consistent with cosmetic adjustments to selected Amen figures. The vast majority of the Amen figures, which display no traces of reworking, were probably left untouched by Seti's artisans. It is not clear how the sculptors chose which figures to rework, since they are spread throughout the entire temple. Moreover, they represent only a fraction of the god's images within the shrine.

It remains possible that the temple was not restored until Seti's time, and that the recutting evident on these figures merely corresponds to cosmetic adjustments made during this process. Still one would have to admit that the temple remained in a state of disrepair for some two decades or more after Akhenaten's death. Given Tutankhamen's interest in Nubia and Seti's proclivity for usurping restoration of the former, however, it seems more likely that the Amada temple is another example of this phenomenon.

Sesebi

2.77 Temple of Akhenaten, Usurped by Seti I

PM VII, 172-173; *LD* III, 141n; J. H. Breasted, *AJSLL* 25 (1908), 60, 62-64, 66, 70-77, figs. 36-43, 45-46, p. 62, fig. a-c, e-h, p. 66, fig. d; A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 23 (1937), pl. 11c; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 61.

Located in the remote Nubian site of Sesebi, this temple was dedicated to the cult of the Aten during Akhenaten's reign.¹⁶² During his survey of Nubia at the turn of the last century, Breasted had only one full day of the site to make epigraphic observations on the temple, and his work was hampered by fierce sand storms.¹⁶³ Moreover, all that remained

¹⁶¹Ibid., *Cahier* III, *passim*.


¹⁶²I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, (Wiesbaden, 1991), 61.

¹⁶³J. H. Breasted, "Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition," *AJSLL* 25 (1908-1909), 53-57.

standing were three columns.¹⁶⁴ Still, he was able to uncover evidence of the temple's unique history.

The decoration of each of the three columns was a palimpsest. Akhenaten was responsible for building the structure,¹⁶⁵ and he decorated the columns with scenes of himself and Nefertiti making offerings to the Aten.¹⁶⁶ Seti later suppressed Akhenaten's reliefs and replaced them with ones of himself making offerings to the Theban triad.¹⁶⁷

It seems likely that plaster was used on a wide scale when the secondary reliefs of Seti were carved, since the surface was not cut down enough to remove the deepest traces of the sunk reliefs of Akhenaten.¹⁶⁸ In decorating the columns, Seti employed raised relief or lightly incised sunk relief.¹⁶⁹ In one scene, where a figure of Seti was superimposed over one of Akhenaten, extensive traces of the latter's figure remain. The only portions of Seti's relief that survive are those that do not overlap with the earlier one. This strongly suggests that the final version was largely carved in plaster used to mask the remains of Akhenaten's edition.

Two features of the surviving reliefs of Seti perhaps suggest an early date in his reign for the reworking of the Sesebi temple. The figure of Amen-Re from the middle column displays the slightly protruding belly characteristic of the post-Amarna relief style.¹⁷⁰ The second is the orthography of Seti's vertical prenomen cartouche which in two examples is written with the -sign in the central position and the *Mꜣr*-figure on the bottom. This is

¹⁶⁴Ibid., figs. 32, 34.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 70ff.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., figs. 41-43, 45-46.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 60ff, figs., 38-40, 42, 45; Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 61.

¹⁶⁸The large sun disks in the original reliefs of Akhenaten have been noted since Lepsius' day. *LD III*, 141n; Breasted *AJSL* 25, 62, fig. a, 65, fig. 38, 67, fig. 39.

¹⁶⁹Breasted does not record which type of relief was used, nor is this clear from his photos.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 67, fig. 39.

the reverse of the standard arrangement for the his cartouche that was already predominant in the king's first regnal year.¹⁷¹ Thus it seems likely that the conversion of the Sesebi temple into a sanctuary of Amen took place very early in Seti's reign, probably during his first regnal year.

CHAPTER II CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent from the foregoing analysis that many, though certainly not all, of the monumental reliefs vandalized at the behest of Akhenaten had already been restored prior to the accession of Seti I. Considering the highly prominent locations in which this king's renewal texts can be found, it would be an odd state of affairs indeed if so many such important monuments had actually languished in ruin for the three decades or more that elapsed between Akhenaten's death and Seti's accession, a time when the post-Amarna kings, by their own declaration, were actively engaged in rectifying the desecration perpetrated by the heretic. And while there certainly were a significant number of monuments that had not yet been restored at Seti's accession, surely few of these were found along the main processional axes of Karnak temple and in other such prominent venues. Comprehensive epigraphic analysis of Seti's restorations has shown that he altered many of the restorations effected by his predecessors, in particular those of Tutankhamen. Moreover, in so doing he was merely engaging, on a much larger scale, in a policy first adopted by Horemheb. But whereas his predecessor had re-restored only a small number of reliefs, Seti reworked large numbers of them.

Moreover, Seti's restoration program is to be distinguished from those of any of his post-Amarna predecessors by the wide scale employment of the *smꜣwy-mnw* formula as compared to the relative paucity of such texts before his reign. Furthermore, he standardized its phraseology, whereas earlier kings had used various locutions with little or no observable consistency from monument to monument.

Seti I's restoration program can be dated to early in his reign based on a number of criteria. His great renewal text in the Speos Artemidos is dated to year one. It accompanies

¹⁷¹See *supra* I.4.5.

reliefs that may be dated to early in the king's reign on stylistic and iconographic criteria that indicate that they were finished in a post-Amarna style. In fact, many of the anthropomorphic images of deities restored by the king exhibit post-Amarna stylistic traits that contrast sharply with the mature Ramesside style found in his later reliefs.

As to what motivated Seti to undertake such a program of restoration, one can imagine a number of political windfalls such a policy might bring. For a new king, the use of the *sm3wy-mnw* formula in conjunction with his repair work would have been an efficient way to stamp his name on a large number of highly visible monuments in a short time. In so doing, the king was widely expanding a practice used only sporadically by his immediate predecessors. In altering reliefs that had been repaired by Tutankhamen, Seti was again following the lead of Horemheb on a much larger scale. The phenomenon of secondary restorations in the later post-Amarna epoch is undoubtedly related to the official *damnatio memoriae* of Tutankhamen and Ay. Despite the fact that the vast majority of Tutankhamen's restorations lacked inscriptions identifying them as his own work, they were nevertheless often targeted by Seti. Presumably it was the resemblance of the anthropomorphic deities in the young sovereign's restorations that was considered objectionable. In most cases, Tutankhamen served as a convenient, if technically anonymous, scapegoat for Seti since Horemheb had largely eliminated occurrences of Tutankhamen's protocol in both the latter's original monuments and in the few scattered restorations that named him. Thus Seti used his predecessor as a convenient straw man to demonstrate his orthodoxy at a time when his own legitimacy as the new scion of a dynasty scarcely two years old at his father's death was, perhaps, open to question.

Seti's restoration program, including additions and renovations to existing monuments that were not associated with repair of Akhenaten's iconoclasm, may be characterized as an effort on Seti's part quickly to imprint his name on a large number of monuments in a short time. His resumption of the ongoing process of putting aright the damage wrought by the chisels of the heretic's agents encompassed not just reliefs that were still unrepaired, but also many others in prominent locations to which he could affix a *sm3wy-mnw* text in his own name while suppressing the likeness of his now illegitimate post-Amarna predecessors through

secondary reworking of previously restored reliefs. By this twofold approach, he sought to establish himself as the definitive champion of orthodoxy and to close the final chapter of the post-Amarna era.

CHAPTER 3 CATALOG OF THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I

INTRODUCTION

Seti I, one of the more prolific builders in Egyptian history, left a huge corpus of monumental art and architecture. The present chapter will catalog his original monuments known both for their grandeur and the high quality of their achievement. They are found over a wide area encompassing Western Asia and the whole of the Nile valley from the Delta to Gebel Barkal. This catalog aims at being comprehensive if not exhaustive; no doubt some monuments will be overlooked, while others await future discovery. Most of the inscribed royal monuments of the reign will be included here, along with several private ones with decoration featuring the king. Minor art objects, tomb furnishings, scarabs and the like, will not be treated. It will be arranged from Syria in the north to Nubia in the south.

Here again, epigraphic, iconographic and art historical analysis of the monuments will be the primary methodologies applied to the king's work, in particular his reliefs. Textual analysis of the inscriptions will be limited to those relevant to the building histories of his monuments, those chronological and historical issues to be discussed in chapter four and a handful of new and unpublished texts. Although inscriptions of the reign form a rich corpus of information on many other historical, religious and cultural issues, they have largely been published with translation and commentary.¹ They must, therefore, lie beyond the scope of the present work. Thus anyone seeking analysis of the texts of the larger Beth Shan or the year one Alabaster stela of the king, for example, will have to look elsewhere, although the stelae themselves will be cataloged and examined from an epigraphic and art historical perspective.

Each item will have a reference number and a bibliography followed by commentary. Although many of these pieces do not lend themselves to extensive discussion, entries on others, such as the king's major constructions at Abydos, Gurnah and Karnak will take the

¹E.g. Kitchen's *KRI I*, *RITA I* and *RITANC I*. There is, in addition, a huge literature of interpretation of the more important texts.

form of long essays focusing on their *Baugeschichte* and the chronology of their decoration during the king's reign and those of his successors. Although a summary and conclusions will be given at the end of these sections, an overall treatment of the scope and ultimate state of the king's building program will be included in a synthesis in chapter four.

Western Asia Kadesh, Tell Nebi Mendu

3.1 Stela Fragment of Seti I (Aleppo 384)

Basalt: H. 45 cm; W. 70 cm

PM VII, 392; M. Pézard, *Syria* 3 (1922), 108-110 & pl. 22; idem, *Qadesh, mission à Tell Nebi Mend*, (Paris, 1931), pl. 28; A. Loukianoff, *Ancient Egypt* (1924/5), 101-8; *KRI* I, 25, §9; *RITA* I, 20, §9; *RITANC* I, 26, §9.

This basalt stela was discovered in 1921 at the site of Tell Nebi Mendu, ancient Kadesh.² Only the upper two thirds of the lunette are preserved. The stela is round topped at the front, but the preserved upper right corner is squared off at the back of its thickness and its upper left corner has broken away.³

The scene portrays Seti I standing before a row of four deities led by Amen-Re, who proffers a *hprs*-sword to the king. Loukianoff cleared up several epigraphic points about the stela's decoration misunderstood by its original editor.⁴ Seti wears a *Nemes*-headdress surmounted by an *3tf*-crown consisting of long ram's horns supporting a sun disk flanked by a pair of tall plumes. According to him, the king once proffered an image of Maat or a similar offering to the god, but no trace of this is preserved.⁵

Behind Amen stands a form of the god Seth wearing Syrian garb. This particular form of the god is known from the Nineteenth Dynasty, particularly from the "400-year" stela of

²M. Pézard, "Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend (1921)," *Syria* 3 (1922), 108-110.

³*Ibid.*, pl. 22.

⁴Loukianoff, "Stèle du pharaon Sétî I^{er} trouvée à Tell-Nebi-Mendou en Syrie," *Ancient Egypt* (1925), 101-108.

⁵*Ibid.*, 102.

Ramesses II, when he seems to have been worshiped both in Egypt and abroad.⁶ His name here is given as *Swth*-“Great of Strength.” The nature of the object that he holds aloft is unclear. By comparison with the two deities to either side of him, one would expect that it is some kind of weapon.

The third deity is the falcon-headed Monthu holding a mace with an ax blade. He is titled Monthu-“Lord of Thebes.” Behind him, only the headdress and back of the wig of a fourth deity is preserved along with a staff surmounted by a lotus blossom. This is enough to identify Hathor, a goddess often associated with foreign countries, especially in Asia and Sinai. No trace of her titles are preserved.

The workmanship of this stela is crude. The figures and glyphs have been etched in sunk relief, with only the barest suggestion of modeling, while interior details are few, and are haphazardly indicated if at all. According to his Karnak war reliefs, Seti I captured Kadesh.⁷ His campaign has been dated to the later half of the reign by Murnane.⁸ It is unfortunate that the main text, which presumably would have included a date, is lost.

The crudeness of this monument is striking, especially considering the import of the event it commemorates. Kadesh had been a thorn in Egypt’s side since the time of Thutmose III, and its possession desired by every pharaoh since. How, then, is the stela’s mean workmanship to be explained? It could have been made by Syrian craftsmen unfamiliar with Egyptian artistic standards, but this seems unlikely. More plausible is the notion that it was made on-the-spot immediately after the capture of Kadesh in order that it might be dedicated

⁶H. Te Velde, *Seth God of Confusion*, (Leiden, 1977), 124ff.

⁷Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 22-26. For the most recent discussion with references see W. J. Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*², SAOC 42, (Chicago, 1990), 52-58.

⁸After year five. *Ibid.*, 64. Spalinger would place it between years three and five, based partly on the notion that, since the king’s Irem campaign of year eight was not included in the Karnak reliefs, the campaigns depicted there must have occurred before this time. “The Northern Wars of Seti I: an Integrative Study,” *JARCE* 16 (1979), 42-43. This is a weak argument, however, since the Irem campaign was a small affair and the king himself did not participate in it.

by pharaoh himself before he left. As such, it would have served as an important talisman of Syrian fealty to Egypt. Certainly the material, basalt was local, for it occurs in Syria-Palestine, but not in Egypt, and was used in other West Asian stelae of the king.⁹

Kadesh, along with Amurru, returned to the Hittite fold soon after Seti's campaign, and was already the object of a failed invasion in year five of Ramesses II less than a decade or so after Seti's victory there. Despite this, it may be that the chiefs of Kadesh carefully preserved the stela, even after having dismounted it, as proof of their erstwhile "loyalty" to Egypt should Pharaoh's armies ever retake the city.¹⁰ Both its poor workmanship, and the lack of more substantial or carefully finished Egyptian monuments of this time at Kadesh, probably lends weight to the notion that the Egyptians left behind, at most, only a small garrison at Kadesh when Seti's armies returned to Egypt.

Tyre

3.2 Rhetorical Stela of Seti I

M. Chéhab, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22 (1969-71), 32, pl. 8:3; *KRI* I, 117, §56; *RITA* I, 98-99, §56; *RITANC* I, 96, §56.

The upper and lower portions of this fragmentary stela are now lost along with much of the first line of the text which would have included a date, and the lower portions which recorded the event that it commemorated.¹¹ What is preserved comprises only the titulary of Seti and a poetical encomium on him.¹²

A scene from his Karnak battle reliefs show the chiefs of Lebanon cutting down cedars for the monarch and paying him homage.¹³ This episode probably commemorates part of the

⁹Those at Tel es-Shihab and Beth Shan See *infra* 3.4-3.5.

¹⁰Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*², 53.

¹¹M. Chéhab, "Noms de personnalités égyptiennes découverts au Liban," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22 (1969-71), 32, pl. 8:3.

¹²*KRI* I, 117, §56.

¹³Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 28-34 & pl. 10.

Asiatic campaign in his first regnal year that was in part a tour of inspection designed to assert the new sovereign's sovereignty over his Palestinian and Lebanese vassals.¹⁴

A prenomen cartouche on the fourth line of the stela includes the epithet *tit R^c*. Various epithets were occasionally appended to Seti's prenomen on monuments, but these are particularly common in his first regnal year.¹⁵ This would be in keeping with the traditional year one date for the king's inspection tour in Lebanon, and a tentative date in year one is suggested for this monument.

Tell es-Shihab

3.3 Stela Fragment of Seti I (Istanbul 10942)

Basalt: H. ca. 100 cm; w. ca. 100 cm¹⁶

PM VII, 383; G. A. Smith, *PEQ* 33 (1901), 347; L. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, (Paris, 1907), 452 & fig. 304; W. M. Müller, *PEQ* 36 (1904), 78-80; *KRI* I, 17, §5, *RITA* I, 14, §5; *RITANC* I, 21-22, §5.

Only the upper two thirds of the lunette scene on this stela is preserved. It depicts Seti offering two *mw*-jars to Amen-Re and Mut.¹⁷ A prenomen cartouche flanked by uraei hangs suspended from the winged disk at the top of the lunette. Both the draftsmanship and carving of the stela are poor. The figures are distinguished by odd proportions and overly slender limbs. Mut's double crown is rendered ineptly. Internal details are executed in a haphazard fashion, such as Amen's fist holding the \uparrow -scepter or the facial features of the figures, while many details are missing entirely: viz. the collars and bracelets on all three figures.



¹⁴Much ink has been spilled over this and other aspects of the campaign of year one. On this scene see most recently Spalinger, *JARCE* 26, 32; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh²*, 43.

¹⁵See *supra* 1.4.3.

¹⁶"About 3 feet high and 3 feet wide." George A. Smith, "Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions found by the Way." *PEQ* 33 (1901). 348.

¹⁷L. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, (Paris, 1907), 452 & fig. 304.

The stela was apparently found at Tell es-Shihab, which might correspond to Qiriat-Anab.¹⁸ Kitchen suggests that the present monument was erected at a control post that the monarch established in a crossroads area where the routes east from the Yenoam ford to the Jordan river met the route running to Damascus and Upe from Transjordan.¹⁹ He notes that the toponym Qiriat-Anab is included in a topographical list at Abydos containing other toponyms connected with Seti's year one campaign.²⁰ A case for the stela's connection with the year one campaign might be supported by evidence from the stela itself which bears an unusual form of the king's prenomen.

In both cases where it appears, the vertical cartouche of Seti's prenomen is arranged with the -sign in the middle position and the *mꜣꜥt*-figure on the bottom, the reverse of the standard form. Although the more usual form with the -sign on the bottom was widely used beginning already in year one, variant orthographies of the prenomen are found most commonly in the earliest part of the reign.²¹ All this would suggest an earlier date for the stela, probably contemporary with the year one campaign. Stylistically, the maladroit draftsmanship and carving of the stela is useless for dating purposes. The poor workmanship suggests that the monument could have been made on-the-spot by craftsmen traveling with the army before it moved on.

¹⁸*RITANC* I, 35, §65 with references.

¹⁹*RITANC* I, 21-22, §36.

²⁰*KRI* I, 31 §12. The only other mentions of this place in Egyptian texts occurs in the eastern topographical list from the battle reliefs of Ramesses II on the south exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. *KRI* II, 153:41; J. J. Simons, *Handbook for the study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, (Leiden, 1937), XXIV:41.

²¹See *supra* 1.4.5.

Beth Shan

3.4 Larger Stela of Seti I (Jerusalem S.884)

Basalt

PM VII, 380; A. Rowe, *PUMJ* 20 (1929), 88-93; idem, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, (Philadelphia, 1930), 24-29, fig. 5 & pls. 41, 47:3; J.-M. Kruchten, *AIPHOS* 26 (1982), 21-62 & illustration facing 32; A. Mazar, "Beth-Shean," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 1, (Jerusalem, 1993), 214-223 w/ photo on p. 219; *KRI* I, 11-12, §2; *RITA* I, 9-10, §2; *RITANC* I, 17-19, §2.

This celebrated monument is one of the best known and studied documents of the reign.²² Although found broken in several pieces, it has been preserved intact. It takes the form of a tall, round topped monolith of basalt. The vignette portrays Seti I offering two *nw*-jars to Re-Horakhty. An offering stand bearing a *nmsr*-jar and lotus blossom stands between them, while the winged disk of the Behdetite hovers above.

The workmanship of this stela is very fine. The signs are carefully incised and highly legible. The figures on the lunette are well drawn and modeled, including the wings of the Behdetite, whose feathers are individually delineated. The two figures are rendered with wide shoulders, long legs, wasp-waists and flat bellies, all marking a rejection of the post-Amarna style, which was thus not the universal mode of relief in the earliest years of Seti's reign. The nose is decidedly straight, and lacks the distinctive aquiline curve that marks the developed Ramesside style found later in the reign. The epithet *ir.n R^c* has been appended to the prenomen in the main body of the text, but in only one of the two instances where it occurs.²³

Beth Shan had a major Egyptian garrison during the New Kingdom. While the king does not seem to have visited the town in year one, dispatching his army to capture it, the reconquest of Beth Shan warranted its commemoration with two stela. The larger one, being of particularly fine workmanship, was certainly not hastily erected after the battle in a locale

²²See most recently J.-M. Kruchten, "Convention et innovation dans un texte royal du début de l'époque ramesside: la stèle de l'an 4 de Séthi I^{er} découverte à Beth-Shan," *AIPHOS* 26 (1982), 21-62. A treatment of the text and its historical implications lies beyond the scope of this study.


²³*KRI* I, 11:16.

that was not heavily occupied by Egyptian forces,²⁴ but instead was a permanent memorial to Egyptian hegemony in Palestine set up in one of the primary garrisons in that territory.

3.5 Smaller Stela of Seti I (Jerusalem S.885A/B)

Basalt

PM VII, 380; B. Grdseloff, *Une stèle scythopolitaine du roi Sethos I^{er}*, (Cairo, 1949); W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 125 (1952); A. Mazar, "Beth-Shean" *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 1, w/ photo on p. 219; *KRI* I, 15-16, §4; *RITA* I, 12-13, §4; *RITANC* I, 20-21, §4.

This smaller stela apparently commemorates the same event as its larger companion, the recapture of Beth Shan during the king's Syro-Palestinian campaign of year one.²⁵ About a fourth of the left side of the stela is broken off, along with all but the bottom of the scene.²⁶ The preserved section is also somewhat eroded, making some passages of the text partly or wholly illegible. The double scene had a figure of pharaoh on either side offering to two back-to-back figures of some mummiform god or gods standing on -plinths. Only the legs of the two divine figures and of the royal one on the right side are preserved.

Sinai

Serabit el-Khadim

3.6 Stela of Ashahebused, Year 8 (No. 247)

PM VII, 348, nos. 247 + 248; A. H. Gardiner, Peet & J. Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*², EES Memoir 55, (London, 1955), vol. 2, 175-176, vol. 1, pl. 68; *KRI* I, 62-63, §28; *RITA* I, 53-54, §28; *RITANC* I, 58, §28.

This large, free-standing stela was set up on the approach to the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim. It was inscribed on both its north and south faces, in the eighth year of

²⁴Cf. *supra* 3.1, Seti's crude stela found at Kadesh (Tell Nebi Mendu), a site of equal if not greater strategic importance to Beth Shan, but one which probably lacked an Egyptian garrison.

²⁵B. Grdseloff, *Une stèle scythopolitaine du roi Sethos I^{er}*, (Cairo, 1949). *KRI* I, 16:8ff. Cf. the larger stela's text. *KRI* I, 12:7ff.

²⁶A. Mazar, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, (Jerusalem, 1993), photo on 219.

Seti I.²⁷ It was made under the supervision of an official named Ashahebused, who led several expeditions to the Turquoise mines in Sinai during the later years of Seti I and earlier reign of Ramesses II.²⁸ An official named Amenemhet later added an inscription to the west face during the reign of Ramesses II.²⁹

The north face is capped by a vignette portraying the king offering two *mw*-jars to Re-Horakhty. Below this is a brief rhetorical text that follows his full titulary dated to year eight, I *prt* 2. Below the text is a figure of Ashahebused adoring the royal cartouches. The official text of the expedition, inscribed on the south face,³⁰ is badly eroded and mostly lost. This was dated to year eight, and probably to the same day as the north face.³¹ Seti offers a conical loaf of bread to Hathor-Lady of Turquoise in the lunette scene. The text seems to have included an encomium to the sovereign, presumably followed by an official account of the expedition.

3.7 Stela of Ashahebused with Seti I and Ramesses II (No. 250)

PM VII, 363, no. 250; A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, J. Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*², Vol. 2, 176-177, Vol. 1, pl. 71; *KRI* I, 63, §29; *RITA* I, 55, §29; *RITANC* I, 59, §29.

This inscription has long been considered strong evidence in favor of the hypothetical coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II.³² The stela is divided into two registers. In the

²⁷Gardiner, Peet & Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*², EES Memoir 55, (London, 1955), pl. 68, no. 247, n. and s. faces.

²⁸Cf. Sinai 250, (*see infra* 3.7), *KRI* II, 340:3, 7; 341:9, and *KRI* III, 203-204, §114, IX.1.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Gardiner, Peet & Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*², pl. 68, no. 247, w. face. It is not contemporary with the stela. See Murnane, *Coregencies*, 87.

³⁰Compare the official record and expedition leader's report of an expedition to Wadi Hammamat under Nebtawyre-Menthuhotep IV. J. Couyat & P. Montet, *IHHOH*, (Cairo, 1912-13), nos. 113 & 192.

³¹*RITANC* I, 58, §107.

³²E.g., Murnane, *Coregencies*, 62-63; *RITANC* I, 59, §29.

upper panel, two standing figures wearing kilts and bull's tails face each other across an offering stand bearing a *nmst*-jar and a lotus blossom. Only the legs and the hems of their kilts survive. Below, a figure of the troop commander and royal butler Ashahebused stands with his arms raised in adoration of the king. In front of him, on the left half of the stela, a text gives his speech in praise of pharaoh:

"Giving Praise to your Ka.... multitudinous of chariotry, excellent of... [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre] son of Re, Seti-Merenptah and his royal son Usermaatre.... with Hathor, Lady of turquoise, Lord of crowns, Ramessu-Miamen, given life like Re....."

The two figures in the upper scene are certainly Seti I and Ramesses II shown with the full trappings of kingship. The figure on the left is the object of worship from both the figure on the right and from Ashahebused below, who faces to the left.³³

Neither one can be Re-Horakhty as Helck suggests.³⁴ The kilt of the figure on the top left has the sloping hem line of a type of royal kilt that first came into use under Amenhotep III,³⁵ while that of the figure on the right wears a kilt with a triangular projection long associated with royalty. The upper register may then be reconstructed as a tableau depicting Ramesses II in the full regalia of kingship offering to his royal, deified father. Although this monument has been cited as evidence of a coregency, there is really no reason it could not date to the independent reign of Ramesses II. It may very well have been dedicated in the first year after Seti's death, when Ramesses actively associated himself with his deceased father's memory.³⁶

³³The tops of the two lotus stalks also bend to the left, indicating that the blossoms faced towards the recipient of the cult on the left. Gardiner, Peet & Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*², I, pl. 71, no. 250.

³⁴W. Helck, "Probleme der Königsfolge in der Übergangszeit von 18. zu 19. Dyn.," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 212-213.

³⁵W. Raymond Johnson by personal communication.

³⁶See *infra* 4.

3.8 Relief Fragment of Seti I (No. 249)

Limestone(?): H. 40 cm; W. 49 cm

PM VII, 350, no. 249; A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, J. Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* 2, 176, vol I, pl. 69; *KRI* I, 64, §30A; *RITA* I, 55, §30A; *RITANC* I, 59, §30A.

This relief fragment, split into two pieces, was found in room A of the shrine of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim.³⁷ It depicts Seti I offering two *mw*-jars to Ptah.³⁸ It appears to be a wall relief.

Lower Egypt

Qantara

3.9 Monument of Seti I for Ramesses I

Red siliceous sandstone: H. (maximum) 2.12 m; W. of sides of base: east, 1.07m; south (= front), 70 cm; west, 81 cm; north (= back), 78 cm

PM IV, 6-7; S. Sauneron, *Bulletin, Société d'Etudes de l'Isthme de Suez* 5 (1954), 45-58, pls. 1-5; *KRI* I 105-107, §51; *RITA* I 88-89, §51; *RITANC* I, 90-91, §51; (**PLATE 40A**).


This monument takes the form of a truncated obelisk once surmounted by a cavetto cornice upon which rested a statue of Horus of Mesen in the guise of a falcon.³⁹ At present, only the lower part of the shaft is preserved. Its upper part, including the cornice, was seen on a number of occasions in the Nineteenth Century, but has since disappeared.⁴⁰ The main shaft rests on a slightly wider base, the whole unit resembling the \sim -sign. It was originally decorated by Seti I on three of its four sides. Subsequently, Ramesses II decorated the fourth side that had been left blank, apparently because it rested against a wall. He also added marginal inscriptions to all four sides of the pedestal.

³⁷W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, (New York, 1906), 76.

³⁸Gardiner, Peet & Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*² I, pl. 69, no. 249.


³⁹F. Ll. Griffith in W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis II, Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, EEF Memoir 4, (London, 1888), 103-104 & pl. 51.

⁴⁰S. Sauneron, "Le prétendu 'pyramidion' du jardin des stèles à Ismaïla," *Bulletin, Société d'Etudes de l'Isthme de Suez* 5 (1954), 45-48.

The sides of the shaft are decorated with incised reliefs and texts that included a ritual scene with columns of texts arranged below them. The episode on the front of the object had Seti I kneeling before the falcon-headed Horus "Lord of Mesen" who stands on a  plinth. The ruler offers two *mw*-jars to the deity. A dedication formula records that Seti made the monument for Horus of Mesen to foster the memory of his father Ramesses I.⁴¹

The two vignettes on the sides feature Seti I (west)⁴² and Ramesses I (east)⁴³ kneeling before the throne of the Heliopolitan sun god Re or Atum,⁴⁴ while Horus of Mesen extends the *rnpt*-staff to the sovereign and touches his crown. Behind Horus stands a goddess; Wadjet on the west face and presumably Nekhbet on the east side, although her name is lost. The texts again state that Seti made the monument for Horus of Mesen in memory of Ramesses I.⁴⁵

Ramesses II's addition to the originally blank north side is an offering scene identical to the one on the south side. Only traces of the episode, which had the king kneeling before the deity, is preserved. According to the inscription, Ramesses' motivation was to "restore the monument," *smšwy-mnw*, of his father Seti I...and to perpetuate the name of his grandfather Ramesses I...in the temple of Horus." In the marginal inscriptions he claims to have "made" and "erected" the monument, but elsewhere the texts suggest that he merely rehabilitated the pedestal after finding that it had fallen over.⁴⁶

It may be the case that this pedestal dates to the earliest part of Seti's reign. The orthography of his prenomen features the -sign in the middle position, while that of his

⁴¹*KRI* I, 106:10-12; *RITA* I, 88-89, §51; *RITANC* I, 90-91, §51.



⁴²Sauneron, *Bulletin, Société d'Etudes de l'Isthme de Suez* 5, pl. 2.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pl. 3.

⁴⁴These two gods are named in the inscriptions below the scenes, but in both cases they are almost totally lost. Only the legs and the base of the god's throne is preserved on the west face. *KRI* I, 106:13-16.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 106:5-12.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 107:13-14.

father has three variants. Variation in the orthography of his prenomen was common during Ramesses' brief tenure, but the -sign was always placed in the middle.⁴⁷ This seems to have influenced the orthography of Seti's prenomen in the first year or so of his reign. By contrast, during the reign of Ramesses II, writings of his grandfather's prenomen seems to have been influenced by that of Seti's, with the -sign being placed on the bottom of *Mn-phty-R^c*. It is likely then, that Seti dedicated this monument to his father within a year or so of having succeeded him.

Qatana-Qantir (Avaris)

3.10 Industrial/Military Site

E. B. Pusch, "Pi-Ramesse-geliebt-von-Amun, Hauptquartier deiner Streitwagen-truppen: Ägypter und Hethiter in der Delta-Residenz der Ramessiden," in *Antike Welt im Pelizaeus-Museum: Die Ägyptische Sammlung*, Arne Eggebrecht & Matthias Seidel, (eds.), (Mainz, 1993), 126-143, fig. 128; idem, in E. Bleiberg and R.E. Freed (eds.), "Recent Work at Northern Piramesse," *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1993), 201-203.

Recent excavations by Pusch at Qantir have yielded new insights into Seti I's building activity there.⁴⁸ Pusch has identified a site used for large-scale metalworking industry adjacent to a series of workshops at his stratum B3 dating to the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties.⁴⁹ North of a 2.5 m thick enclosure wall of mud brick, he uncovered seven long "melting channels" and a series of cross-shaped furnaces. It is estimated that several hundred people would have been needed to work the foot bellows of blast pipes connected to these melting channels alone.

⁴⁷See *supra* 1.4.5.

⁴⁸E. B. Pusch, "Pi-Ramesse-geliebt-von-Amun, Hauptquartier deiner Streitwagen-truppen: Ägypter und Hethiter in der Delta-Residenz der Ramessiden," in *Antike Welt im Pelizaeus-Museum: Die Ägyptische Sammlung*, A. Eggebrecht & M. Seidel, (eds.), (Mainz, 1993), 126-143, fig. 128.

⁴⁹E. Pusch, "Recent Work at Northern Piramesse," *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, E. Bleiberg & R. Freed (eds.), (Memphis, 1991), 201-202.

A series of rooms were excavated south of the enclosure wall. These comprised a row of multi-functional workshops for hot and cold metalworking, and for work in other organic and inorganic materials including wood, leather and stone. This seems to have been a large scale production line where every stage in manufacture can be identified from smelting to final production.

The next level, B3, dates to the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. Here the multi-functional workshops continued to function, while the metalworks to the north of the enclosure wall were abandoned and leveled.⁵⁰ They were replaced by a large military/administrative building described as “a vast courtyard lined with limestone columns, octagonal in section, and inscribed with the protocol of Ramesses II.” The columns seem to have been about 7 cubits high or about 3.6 meters. All of them had originally been inscribed with the titulary of Seti I before Ramesses usurped them.⁵¹ Embedded in the floor of the building, the excavators found hundreds of pieces of chariot hardware including yoke saddle-knobs, yoke knobs, decorative discs, as well as a complete horse-bit and many fragments of the same.⁵² The chariot hall seems to have been in use well into the reign of Ramesses II. Here too were found molds for the manufacture of Hittite shields that Pusch dates to the time after Ramesses II’s diplomatic marriage with the Hittite emperor Hattusili’s eldest daughter in year 34.⁵³ This exciting discovery, and the large amount of material evidence, pottery, etc.,

⁵⁰Large scale metalwork may have continued nearby. Hamza identified blast pipes, presumably for similar melting channels, at a site 200 meters northeast of Pusch’s excavations. M. Hamza, “Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Qantir (Faquš District),” *ASAE* 30 (1930), 62ff.

⁵¹Pusch in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 202-203; J. Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1980-81,” *Orientalia* 53 (1982), fig. 11. Seti’s protocol does survive on some of these columns. See. Pusch in *Antike Welt im Pelizaeus-Museum*, fig. 128.

⁵²Ibid., Pusch, 203.

⁵³Ibid., 203-204. The Hittite craftsman could have already been in Egypt before the treaty of year 34. It now seems likely that enclaves of foreign merchants and craftsmen regularly settled in Egypt to conduct trade. Such settlements certainly existed in Egypt throughout the New Kingdom, and there is no reason to doubt that Hittites could have arrived before the peace treaty. John Holladay, personal communication.

that Pusch dates to Ramesses' reign, has tended to overshadow Seti's role as the apparent founder of the chariot hall.

The intensive and large-scale metalworking industry, combined with the multipurpose workshops, strongly suggests that it was an arms factory. One can easily imagine the production of large amounts of weaponry including chariots at this site in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately, the stratum below this, C/D1, which is datable to the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty by pottery and a scarab of Amenhotep II, was too destroyed for the excavators to establish its function.⁵⁴

Seti was certainly responsible for establishing the chariot hall as indicated by the occurrence of his protocol on the columns. We also know that he embarked on a series of military campaigns into Western Asia on a scale not seen since the Thutmose era. Although they may have existed earlier, perhaps the most logical point for the establishment of the metalworking industry at the site was during the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I.⁵⁵

3.11 Faience Inlays from Palace Doorways of Seti I

PM IV, 9; M. Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 41-42; L. Habachi, *ZAS* 100 (1974), 101-102, pl. 6. E. Uphill, *JNES* 28 (1969), 22.

These tiles came into the possession of the Louvre via an antiquities dealer who claimed they were from Qantir.⁵⁶ This claim was proved accurate by the discovery of similar

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 200.

⁵⁵Seti was already campaigning in Djahy during his father's brief reign. Before this, no major campaign seems to have been undertaken in Asia since the later reign of Tutankhamen to early Horemheb. *KRI* I, 111:10-14. See most recently Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*², 48-49. On Tutankhamen's Asiatic campaign see D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten the Heretic King*, (Princeton, 1984), 212-215. A fragmentary series of reliefs featuring an Asiatic campaign of Tutankhamen has been reconstructed by W.R. Johnson, "An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun From Thebes: A Late Amarna Antecedent of the Ramesside Battle-Narrative Tradition," Ph.D. Dissertation, (University of Chicago, 1992). Murnane expresses doubts about Horemheb's military activity there. *Ibid.*, 30-31. Horemheb did, however, decorate his memorial temple with battle reliefs. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 120ff.

⁵⁶L. Habachi, "Sethos I's Devotion to Seth and Avaris," *ZAS* 100 (1974), 101.

tiles, and a factory for the production of faience at Qantir, all dating to Seti's reign.⁵⁷ The Louvre tiles belonged to more than one doorway. Those from the lintel are decorated with stars and with Seti's Horus name. The plaques of the doorposts are embellished with the five-fold royal titulary and the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁵⁸ From the tiles and the factory used to produce them, we may conclude that Seti founded an official residence at Qantir as part of a major development at the site that foreshadowed the capital Pi-ramesses established by his son.⁵⁹

3.12 Barque Socr of Seth (Former Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum)

Siliceous sandstone: H. 98 cm; W. 114 (at base), 110 (at top)


E. Bergmann, *RI* 12 (1882), 4-6; L. Habachi, *ZÄS* 100 (1974), 95-102, figs. 1-2, pl. 5a-b; *KRI* I, 232-234, §102; *RITA* I, 200-201, §102; *RITANC* I, 153, §102.

This monument takes the form of a pedestal with battered sides that support a torus molding and cavetto cornice. Made of siliceous sandstone, it is decorated on the front and back sides with vignettes of two royal figures performing the *sm3-T3wy* ritual, and on the

⁵⁷M. Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 42.

⁵⁸Habachi, *ZÄS* 100, pl. 6.

⁵⁹Ramesses states that he returned from Abydos to Pi-ramesses in year one, but this claim is contained in the Abydos Dedicatory Inscription. Redford called the date anachronistic since the inscription was not made until sometime after the first regnal year. Uphill maintains that the capital was founded by Seti and may have been called "Per-Seti" but he offers no clear evidence for this. D.B. Redford, "The Earliest Years of Ramesses II, and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor," *JEA* 57 (1971), 112, n. 3; E. Uphill, "Pithom and Raamses: their Location and Significance," *JNES* 28 (1969), 22. Clearly, a royal residence existed there by the end of Seti's reign. Moreover, further evidence that Pi-Ramesses was established early in Ramesses' reign may now be forthcoming. Among the miscellanies included in papyrus Anastasi II is a praise of the Delta residence of the Ramessides there. The prenomen of Ramesses II is given twice, both times as *Wsr-M3'rt-Rc*. A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, (Brussels, 1937), 13:1 & 4. The orthography for *m3'rt* is to be expected in hieratic, more telling is the absence of the epithet *stp-n-Rc* that was invariably appended to his prenomen from about year two (e.g. *ibid.*, Gardiner, 97:17, 98:8, 132:16; 135:10). Its absence here suggests, that the copyist was transcribing an original written in Ramesses' year one. The papyrus has been dated to the reign of Merenptah, (*Ibid.*, Gardiner, xiv), so the king referred to must be Ramesses II.

remaining sides with four royal figures with upraised hands supporting a -sign.⁶⁰ Habachi was the first to identify this object as a barque socle called a *skš* in Egyptian. The motif of the four kings supporting heaven is well known from Ramesside reliefs depicting barque socles.⁶¹ The name and epithets of Seth on the monument have been hacked out, but Habachi was able to read the damaged epithet as “Lord of Avaris” thereby establishing the monument’s likely provenance.⁶²

Tell Birka

3.13 Block of Seti I

PM IV, 9; E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, EEF Memoir 4, (London, 1887), 21, pl.9D; *KRI* I, 117, §57; *RITA* I, 99 §57; *RITANC* I, 96-97, §57.

This block was found by Naville at Birka close by the site of Avaris in a paved area adjoining six column bases.⁶³ Its decoration consists of the double cartouches of Seti I. It may have come from either a temple or civil building such as the palace the pharaoh built at Qantir.⁶⁴

Kom Sheik Raziq

3.14 2 Blocks (Doorjamb)

PM IV, 10; C. C. Edgar, *ASAE* 13 (1914), 279; *KRI* I, 117, §57; *RITA* I, 99 §57; *RITANC* I, 96-97, §57.

These two block probably derive from a minor structure Seti built at Avaris. The site of Kom Sheik Raziq is close to that of Avaris from which the blocks were probably brought.⁶⁵

⁶⁰L. Habachi, *ZÄS* 100 (1974), figs 1-2, pl. 5.

⁶¹E.g., Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* II, pls. 10-11.

⁶²Habachi, *ZÄS* 100, 99-100.

⁶³E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, EEF Memoir 4, (London, 1887), 21, pl.9D.

⁶⁴*RITANC* I, 97, §57 (a,i).

⁶⁵*RITANC* I, 100.

Their decoration consists of the nomen and prenomen of Seti I with titles and epithets arranged in opposite directions, which suggests that they were doorposts.⁶⁶

El-Mineiar

3.15 Block of Seti I

Limestone: H. 170 cm; W. 60 cm

S. Adam, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 306-7, 315, pl. 26a; *KRI* I, 117, §57; *RITA* I, 99 §57; *RITANC* I, 96-97, §57.

This block apparently derives from a doorjamb of a destroyed temple at the site of El-Mineiar.⁶⁷ Adam found an area full of limestone chips, indicative of a building that had been dismantled and burned for lime. Other blocks of Ramesses II and Merenptah are perhaps suggestive of a temple site. Kitchen posits that El-Mineiar may have been a settlement or staging-post on the route between Heliopolis and Avaris-Pi-Ramesses.⁶⁸

Heliopolis

3.16 Flaminian Obelisk

Pink granite: H. 23.20 m

PM VII, 409; O. Marucchi, *Gli Obelischi egiziani di Roma*, (Rome, 1868), pls. 3-4; P. Brand, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 102, figs. 1-2; *KRI* I, 118-120, §58; *RITA* I, 99-100, §58; *RITANC* I 97-98, §58; (**PLATE 42**).

This monument is also known as the Popolo obelisk after the Piazza del Popolo in Rome where it now stands.⁶⁹ It is decorated on three sides with texts and scenes naming Seti I. Its fourth side is inscribed for Ramesses II. Ramesses also added marginal inscriptions to either side of the main text on all four sides of the shaft. At the base of the shaft on each facet

⁶⁶C. C. Edgar, *ASAE* 13 (1914), 279.

⁶⁷S. Adam, "Recent Discoveries in the Eastern Delta," *ASAE* 55 (1958), 306-307 & pl. 26a.

⁶⁸*RITANC* I, 97, §184.

⁶⁹O. Marucchi, *Gli Obelischi egiziani di Roma*, (Rome, 1868), pls. 3-4.

is a picture of the king kneeling before a standing figure of either Re-Horakhty or Atum. Corresponding tableaux at the top of the shaft, just below the pyramidion, feature him kneeling before the same god who is now seated. Finally, nearly identical scenes grace each facet of the pyramidion, this time he is represented as a sphinx with human arms sitting atop a pylon-shaped plinth, raising up an offering to the enthroned solar deity.

The early history of this monolith is now better understood than heretofore. The Flaminian is one of a pair of obelisk that Seti meant to erect in front of the pylon gateway he added to the temple of Re in Heliopolis, which is depicted in a votive temple model found at Tell el-Yahudia.⁷⁰ It now seems likely that the obelisk is one of several such pairs that the sovereign commissioned in his year nine.⁷¹ It remained unfinished at his death and was later erected by Ramesses II. Presumably it was moved to Heliopolis and decorated on three of its sides as it lay on the ground near the end of Seti's reign.⁷²

The obelisk may have lain unfinished and abandoned for more than two decades after Seti's death before Ramesses II completed its decoration and erected it. The orthography of

⁷⁰A. Badawy, "A Monumental Gateway of Sety I," as a separatum an in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 3. See *infra* 3.29.

⁷¹L. Habachi, "The Two Rock-Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area Speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks," *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 113-125. P. J. Brand, "The 'Lost' Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I," *JARCE* 34 (1997), 101-114. See *infra* 3.119 and 3.120.

⁷²Cf. the history of the great Lateran obelisk of Thutmose III whose decoration was completed by his grandson Thutmose IV. According to the latter king: "Now His Majesty completed the very great sole obelisk from what his ancestor the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre brought after His Majesty found this obelisk having lain for a total of 35 years on its side in the possession of the craftsmen on the south side of Karnak." *Urk.* IV, 1550:3-7. *Ibid.*, Brand, 110.

Ramesses' nomen on the monument was current only after his twenty-first year.⁷³ Its mate has not yet been identified with certainty.⁷⁴

3.17 Obelisk Fragment of Seti I (Inv. 3012)

Black Granodiorite: H. 144 cm; W. faces: A 73.5 cm, B 70 cm, C 74 cm, D 67 cm
J.-Y. Empereur, *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996), 7 w/ fig; W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, (London, 1996), 59; N. Grimal, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 564; (**PLATES 40B, 41 & 43A**).

In 1994, a French expedition working in the harbor of Alexandria near the Qaitbay fort discovered thousands of pharaonic sculptures, architectural fragments and other monuments in a submerged area of some 2.25 hectares. Among these were fragments of obelisks of Seti I. Only a couple of preliminary reports on these discoveries have been published to date.⁷⁵ One of the Seti fragments belong to the uppermost shaft of a medium sized obelisk which is unusual in being made of black granodiorite.⁷⁶ The pyramidion is missing, but the offering scenes at the top of the shaft are preserved (**PLATES 41 & 43A**). These feature the king as a sphinx before two enthroned manifestations of the Heliopolitan solar deities. Most remarkable are two vignettes in which the sphinx representing Seti I has the head of the Seth animal (**PLATE 40**). A smaller fragment derives from a corner of the lower shaft.⁷⁷

⁷³K. A. Kitchen, "Aspects of Ramesside Egypt," *Actes du premier congrès international d'égyptologie. 2-10 octobre 1976*, W.F. Reineke (ed.), *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kulture des Alten Orients* 14, (Berlin, 1979), 383-387. Although Kitchen notes that this phenomenon is only consistent in Upper Egypt, the marginal texts, by comparison with those on the Luxor obelisks, would have been added sometime after year one, perhaps during the first jubilee.

⁷⁴It cannot have been the fragmentary obelisk found in the quarry at Aswan as Kitchen suggests. *RITANC* I, 97, §186. See Brand, *JARCE* 34, 101-104. See *infra* 3.121.

⁷⁵J.-Y. Empereur, "Alexandria: The Underwater Site near Qaitbay Fort," *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996), 7-10; idem, "Raising Statues and Blocks from the Sea at Alexandria," *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 19-22.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, *Egyptian Archaeology* 8, 8 & fig. on 7; W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, (London, 1996), 59.

⁷⁷H. 90 cm; W faces: A at base, 72 cm. B at base, 51 cm.

One would expect from this iconography that the obelisk derived from ancient Heliopolis. Many pharaonic monuments were removed from that site to Alexandria in late antiquity, including several belonging to Seti I. The original monolith was considerably smaller than the Flaminian obelisk. Moreover it was, remarkably for an obelisk, made of black granodiorite and lacks marginal texts to either side of the main inscription on its shaft as on the Flaminian. We must take all the more seriously Seti's claim to have "filled Heliopolis with obelisks."

3.18 Three Obelisk Fragments of Seti I (Inv. 2001 & 2026 A/B)

Siliceous sandstone: (Block 2021) H. 190 cm; W. 83 cm; (Block 2026 A/B) H. 116 cm; W. 66 cm

W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, 75; Grimal, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 564 (**PLATE 44A**).

This fragment stems from the upper shaft of an obelisk of Seti I. His prenomen can be made out on a cartouche from one of the fragmentary offering scenes at the top of the shaft. The main text consists of a single vertical column that begins with variants of his Horus name.

This monolith appears to be of roughly the same magnitude of a broken obelisk fragment of the king from the Gebel Gulab quarry near Aswan which had its own mate.⁷⁸ It is more likely that the present obelisk was quarried at Gebel Ahmar near Heliopolis. The siliceous sandstone there is of superior quality than Aswan.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Brand, *JARCE* 34, 101-104. See *infra* 3.121.

⁷⁹D. D. Klemm, *et. al.* "Die pharaonischen Steinbrüche des Silifizierten Sandsteins in Ägypten und die Herkunft der Memnon-Kolosse," *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 207-220.

3.19 Sandstone Doorjamb (Alexandria 420)

Yellow siliceous sandstone: H. 234 cm, W. 62 cm, D. 58.8 cm


PM IV, 5; G. Daressy, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 120-1, §xxiii, no. 21; *KRI* I, 120-121, §59 (with corrections, *KRI* VIII, 427-28); *RITA* I, 102, §59; *RITANC* I, 98, §59 (**PLATES 45A-B & 46A**).

This rather small doorjamb is decorated with scenes of the king before Re-Horakhty and Atum and as a sphinx (**PLATES 45A & 46A**).⁸⁰ Mysliwicz dates it to the later part of Seti's reign on stylistic criteria (**PLATE 45B**).⁸¹ This jamb once formed part of a small gateway, and surely did not belong to the pylon gateway Seti appears to have erected at Heliopolis.⁸²

3.20 Offering Table for Atum-Khepri (Cairo CG 23090)

Black granodiorite: L. 89 cm; W. 45 cm; H. 15 cm

PM IV, 70; A. Kamal, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 95-96; *idem*, *Tables d'offrandes*, (Cairo, 1909), 73-74, pl. 19; *KRI* I, 101, §60; *RITA* I, 103, §60; *RITANC* I, 98, §60.

This offering table was found reused in a house near the Bab el-Fetwa in Cairo. The spout has been broken off, marring the representations on the front side in the process.⁸³ The decoration of the table top is severely abraded, but traces remain. This area was framed by an unincised border 6 cm wide on the leading and sides edges of the upper surface.⁸⁴ Such border elements were often incised, but on this table, and another of the reign dedicated to Horus, (see next entry), the space was intentionally left blank. Originally the back edge of the table top would have had a representation of a reed mat in the form of a -sign, but this is now mostly erased. Kamal noted that only a pair of round loaves can be discerned in the

⁸⁰G. Daressy, "Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du musée d'Alexandrie," *ASAE* 5 (1904), 120-121, §xxiii, no. 21.





⁸¹Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, 102-103 & figs. 218 & 220.

⁸²*Contra* the present author's suggestion in *JARCE* 34, 101 & n. 8. See *infra* 3.29.

⁸³A. Kamal, "Une nouvelle Table d'Offrandes de Séthi I^{er}," *ASAE* 2 (1901), 95-96.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 95.

surviving decoration of the top, but there must have been at least a few jars of wine and beer and perhaps other offerings before the surface was mutilated.

On the front side of the table, removal of the spout has damaged the two scenes to either side.⁸⁵ Both are rendered in sunk relief and portray pharaoh kneeling with his torso inclined forward as he offers to Atum-Khepri. In both instances he wears a kilt and the *Khat*-wig. In the left panel he proffers two milk jugs to Atum-Khepri. His legs are lost in a break, but the cut line of his lap and part of his knee remains. On the right, Seti holds up a pair of *mw*-jars to the god. In the captions of both episodes, only one of the royal cartouches, arranged horizontally, is given, with the nomen on the left and the prenomen on the right. The latter is written with the phonetic complement -sign below the -sign. The compound god Atum-Khepri is depicted as a man sitting on a block throne, wearing a long tripartite wig holding a -scepter and an -sign.

A double bandeau text runs from the outer edges of the front side along the other three sides of the table. It consists of a series of descriptive phrases and epithets centered on the ruler's nomen and prenomen. Although the standard dedicatory formula is not present, the bandeau texts do refer to the king's building activity on behalf of Atum-Khepri. In the right bandeau Seti is called "the perfect god who is beneficial for his father, great of monuments." In the left bandeau he is "the effective, (*3h*), offspring of the Bull of Heliopolis." The notion that Seti is the offspring of Atum-Khepri is further stated in the two prenomen cartouches where the epithet *iw^c-R^c* is appended in both cases.

3.21 Offering Table for Horus-in-the-Great-Mansion (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek E. 115/AEIN 44/A 742)

Black granodiorite: L. 105 cm; W. 51 cm; H. 15 cm

M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: la collection égyptienne*, (Copenhagen, 1930), vol. 1, 102, vol. 2, pl. 110; *KRI* I, 235-236, §104; *RITA* I, 202, §104; *RITANC* I, 154, §104 (PLATES 12B, 46B & 47A-B).

This magnificent offering table was acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Egypt in 1892, and is of an unknown provenance. The piece is generally in good condition (PLATE

⁸⁵A. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, pl. 19.

46B). The main part of the table is broken into three pieces, and the spout on the front has been neatly broken off and is now missing.⁸⁶ It is otherwise practically intact. The removal of the spout seems consistent with reuse of the monument as a building block.

The surface of the table is well preserved and is carved in low relief with representations of various loaves of bread and jars of wine and beer resting on a mat. An undecorated border element runs along the side and front edges of the upper surface which, like a similar table dedicated to Atum, is uninscribed. A triangular-shaped depression with rounded corners occupies the center front portion of the table top. It was presumably meant as a catch basin to collect libations and direct them to flow out via the now missing spout.

On the front side of the table, a pair of tableaux in sunk relief flank the emplacement for the spout (**PLATES 12B & 47A**). These depict Seti kneeling with his knees splayed out and his torso inclined forward dramatically as he offers to the falcon-headed Horus. On the left-hand scene the king, wearing a *Nemes*-headdress, offers a jar of ointment. In the right-hand vignette, he sports a *Khat*-wig and holds up a jar similar to a *nmst*-jar, except that it lacks a lid and spout. In both episodes, pharaoh wears only a *Shendyt*-kilt, the pleats of which are engraved on the right, while they are missing on the left.

Two bandeau texts with two sets of the full royal titulary occupy the outer edges of the front side and the whole of the other three sides of the table (**PLATE 47B**). The glyphs are rendered in an admirable style, many of them bearing fine detailing. In both instances, the standard form of the titulary is used. Epithets have been appended to the prenomen in both texts. On the right side this is *iw^c-R^c* while on the left it is *stp-n-R^c*.

Kitchen has pointed out that this table may have been set up in a cult chapel dedicated to the god Horus within the main temple complex at Heliopolis.⁸⁷ The Great Mansion is a

⁸⁶The removal of the spout was neatly done without further damage to the monument, in contrast to the offering table for Atum-Khepri, (see previous entry), which received much rougher treatment in the hands of the Medieval builders of Cairo. This apparent respect for the table suggests it was reused in pharaonic times or late antiquity.


⁸⁷*RITANC* I, 154, §104 (b).

term for part of the main temple in Heliopolis.⁸⁸ "Horus-who-is-in-the-Great-Mansion" may be the name for a specific form of the god resident in this temple.

3.22 Grottaferrata Statue Fragment of Seti I

Black granodiorite: H. 44 cm; W. 31 cm; D. 56 cm

PM VII, 417; S. Bosticco, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956), 18-23, pls. 1-4; *KRI* I, 122, §61; *RITA* I, 103, §61; *RITANC* I, 98-99, §61.

This badly damaged fragment was once part of a seated black granodiorite statue of Seti I. All that remains is the lower part of the torso and much of the king's legs along with the upper half of his block-throne.⁸⁹ The figure is garbed in the same long, pleated garment represented on Turin 1380, the celebrated statue of Ramesses II dating to the earliest years of his reign.⁹⁰ Another statue of Seti I, Vienna AS 5910 wears the same garment as Turin 1380 and the Grottaferrata statue. Only the upper torso and part of the head of Vienna AS 5910 survives, but like the Turin statue it bears the -scepter in its right hand.⁹¹

A fragmentary inscription on the dorsal pillar describes pharaoh as "one who enlarges the House of Re who bore him." This would tend to indicate a Heliopolitan provenance for the statue. There are a couple of reasons for assigning the Grottaferrata statue a relatively late date. Sourouzian has also shown that most of the small corpus of Seti I's statuary dates to the later half of his reign.⁹² Moreover, he made a large addition to the temple of Re at Heliopolis

⁸⁸L. Kákosy, "Heliopolis," *LÄ* 2, 1111.

⁸⁹S. Bosticco, "Frammento di statua di Sethos I a Grottaferrata," *Aegyptus* 36 (1956), 18-23 w/ pls. 1-4.

⁹⁰Stylistically, Turin 1380, (S. Curto, *L'antico Egitto nel Museo Egizio di Torino*, [Turin, 1984], 146), closely resembles statuary from later in Seti's reign and was thought by some to have been usurped by Ramesses from his father. This is not the case, but the earliest sculpture of Ramesses II was in the same style employed late in Seti's reign. See M. Eaton-Krauss, "Ramesses who creates the Gods," *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 16-17 Compare it with New York MMA 22.2.21, Dallas Museum of Art 1984.50 and Vienna, AS 5910. All of these come from the king's temple in Abydos. See *infra* 3.47 & 3.48.

⁹¹See *infra*, 3.47.

⁹²H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 243.

that included a pylon gateway and perhaps a court.⁹³ Presumably the Grottaferrata statue was among the furnishings that were being installed after construction had been completed on the Heliopolitan building(s) late in the reign.

3.23 Lintel of Seti I (Former Brussels E. 407)

Black granodiorite: W. 248 cm; H. 108 cm

PM IV, 64; Gardiner, *JEA* 36 (1950), 35, pl. 1; B. Van de Walle, in Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, *La collection égyptienne: les étapes marquantes de son développement*, (Brussels, 1980), 23-25 w/ fig. 6 (PLATES 7 & 48).

This beautiful lintel of Seti I was unfortunately destroyed in a fire in 1946.⁹⁴ The workmanship of the piece is very fine. It is sculpted in sunk relief with a number of figures of Seti I and various gods. In the center of the lintel, the monarch stands between Horus and Seth who purify him (PLATE 48). On the left side, Seti offers two *mw*-jars to the falcon-headed Re-Horakhty, (PLATE 7), and the same offering to Atum on the right end. The texts are almost entirely conventional, except for the epithet *Mry-R^c* which is attached to Seti's nomen cartouche in each instance.

There is no evidence for the exact provenance of this object or for the nature of the building to which it once belonged. It was given to the Musée de Brussels on behalf of king Leopold II in 1900. Previously it had served as a lintel in a house in Alexandria. Many Heliopolitan monuments of Seti I had been removed to Alexandria in late antiquity. The figures are rendered in the mature Ramesside style favored by Seti's artisans in the middle and later years of his reign. The outlines and internal details of the figure as well as the hieroglyphs are rendered with the precise elegance characteristic of Seti's best reliefs.⁹⁵

⁹³See *infra* 3.29.

⁹⁴P. Gilbert, "Nouvelles, Brussels," *CdE* 21 (1946), 231; B. Van de Walle, "La collection égyptienne depuis ses origines jusqu'à la mort de Jean Capart (1835-1947)," *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, La Collection égyptienne: les étapes marquantes de son développement*, (Brussels, 1980), 25, n. 53.

⁹⁵Cf. sunk reliefs of Seti's reign from Heliopolis. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 102-103 w/ figs. 217-218 & 220.

3.24 Fragmentary Naos of Seti I

Red granite & black granodiorite: H. 102 cm; W. 113 cm; D. 131 cm

S. Curto, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 40, pls. I-II; A. Roccati, *The Egyptian Museum Turin*. (Rome, 1991), 22-23.

This fragmentary naos was made from a single block of stone. The upper part of the block contained a vein of red granite while the lower part is of black granodiorite.⁹⁶ The outer walls of the shrine are decorated with kneeling figures of Seti, his torso inclined forward slightly, interspersed with ritual texts dedicated to the Heliopolitan solar cult. The upper two registers are carved in red granite, while the lower one corresponds to the vein of black granodiorite.⁹⁷

3.25 Naos Fragment of Seti I (Berlin 16782)

Granite (?): W. 23 cm

G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 2, (Leipzig, 1913-1924), 214; *KRI* I, 236, §105; *RITA* I, 202-203, §105; *RITANC* I, 154, §105.

This fragment derives from the upper right-hand corner of the front of a small naos.⁹⁸ It is dedicated to the cult of Re. This naos is, perhaps, similar to another fragmentary example in Turin (see previous entry).

⁹⁶S. Curto, "Scavi nel Museo di Torino: I. Un naos di Sethi I," *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 40 & pls. 1-2. Near the end of his reign, Seti also commissioned some monolithic colossi with red granite crowns and black granodiorite bodies. See Brand, *JARCE* 34, 112-113 & *infra* 3.119.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, Curto, pl. 2. Fragments in the lower portion of the shrine display patches of white stone among the black matrix which are characteristic of granodiorite.

⁹⁸G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 2, (Leipzig, 1913-1924), 214.

3.26 Octagonal Pillar of Seti I (Berlin 2888)

Sandstone: H. 132 cm

G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften, Museen zu Berlin* 2, 322, *KRI* I, 236, §105; *RITA* I, 202-203, §105; *RITANC* I, 154, §105.

This octagonal pillar is decorated on four sides with stereotyped texts and decoration.⁹⁹ At the top of each column of text is a figure of the king as a sphinx and a cartouche. The texts consist of the king's Horus name, nomen and prenomen followed by the phrase "beloved of Atum or Re-Horakhty."

Similar pillars of Seti I were found at Qantir where they formed part of a chariot hall.¹⁰⁰ It is likely that the Berlin pillar once supported the roof of some mud brick construction of the ruler at Heliopolis, such as an administrative building, a palace or a storehouse.

3.27 Block of Seti I (Alexandria 26290)

Siliceous sandstone: H. 112 cm, W. 73 cm, D. 26 cm

K. Mysliwiec, *Études et Travaux* 8 (1975), 113-116; idem, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 217.

This block is of unknown provenance but has been assigned to "an atelier in the Eastern Delta...perhaps Heliopolis" by Mysliwiec.¹⁰¹ The original top and bottom of the block seem to be preserved. The left edge, where the god Seth occurs, may have been broken off, otherwise it could represent a somewhat damaged block line. The even surface of the right hand side is indicative of a block line. Thus the original scene, parts of which are missing to either side, must have been completed on other blocks. The block itself, then, cannot have been part of a lintel which would have been a monolith. Still, the scale of the figures is relatively small and they are in sunk relief. The block, then, probably does not derive from reliefs inside a large building. It might, however, belong to a smaller building or from a picture arranged on a gateway.

⁹⁹Ibid., 322.

¹⁰⁰See *supra* 3.10.

¹⁰¹K. Mysliwiec, "The Purification of Sethos I — a New Scene," *Études et Travaux* 8 (1975), 116.

3.28 Block from an Obelisk Socle of Seti I (Inv. 2260)

Siliceous Sandstone: H. 109 cm; W. 121 cm; D. 78 cm

J.-Y. Empereur, *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 22; W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, 10-11, 57 & 104-105; (**PLATES 43B & 44B**).

This block, described as one corner of an obelisk socle, was among those recently found in the harbor of Alexandria near the fort of Qaitbay.¹⁰² It is decorated with part of a vignette in sunk relief depicting Seti kneeling with his knees splayed in a semi-prostrate attitude before a low offering table bearing what appear to be jar stands (**PLATE 43B**). A portion of a similar vignette is found on an adjoining side (**PLATE 44B**). The king wears a tight fitting round wig and a *Shendyt*-kilt. The vulture goddess Nekhbet hovers above him. He proffers a tray of offerings, now much destroyed, to some deity not preserved on this block. A speech of Atum, recipient of the king's generosity, occupies the right side of the block's main face.

3.29 Votive Temple-Model (Brooklyn 49.183 [66.229])

Red Siliceous Sandstone: H. 28 cm; W. 87.5 cm; D. 112 cm

PM IV, 57; E. Brugsch, *RT* 8 (1886), 8-9, pl. 4; A. Badawy & E. Riefstahl, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 1-23; *KRI* I, 122-124, §62; *RITA* I, 103-105, §62; *RITANC* I, 99-100, §62.

This celebrated piece is the base of the "model" temple of Seti I from Heliopolis. It was found at Tell el-Yahudia by *fellahin* sometime before 1875 and was eventually acquired by the Brooklyn Museum.¹⁰³ Only the base of the model is preserved which bears sockets that once held now missing elements of a gateway with statuary and obelisks for a pylon gateway of Seti I. Badawy developed a largely plausible reconstruction of these lost architectural elements.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²J.-Y. Empereur, "Raising Statues and Blocks from the Sea at Alexandria," *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 19-22; N. Grimal, "Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale en 1995-1996," *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 566.

¹⁰³On the early history of the model see E. Riefstahl in "A Monumental Gateway for a Temple of King Sety I — An Ancient Model Restored," as a *seperatum* and in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 20-23 and the references cited there.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, Badawy, Frontispiece, 1-4.

One problem with his reconstruction, however, may lie in his insistence that the proportions of the model correspond to those of the actual building Seti constructed at Heliopolis. The proportions of the sockets vis à vis the width of the doorway on the model led Badawy to conclude that it represents “a monumental gateway rather than a typical pylon which would show much more elongated towers and a narrower doorway...the span of the doorway is too large for a continuous lintel, and only a so-called broken lintel of the type used at Amarna and taken over in Ramesside and later portals can be surmised.”

While Badawy is quite right that the portal of the actual temple, like his reconstruction of the model, would have had a broken lintel,¹⁰⁵ this does not prove that the actual building would have been a monumental gateway as opposed to a pylon gateway. The term *bhnty* is used to describe the monument in an inscription on the base. This term refers to a pylon gateway with twin towers.¹⁰⁶ Thus the model undoubtedly represents a conventional pylon.¹⁰⁷ As for the notion that the model's proportions reflected those of the actual building, this seems unlikely. The individual towers of pylon gateways were much wider than their portals, yet in a relief depicting the Second Pylon at Karnak, this difference in scale is reduced.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, had the width of the sockets for the pylon towers accurately reflected the

¹⁰⁵Broken lintels were commonly used on the doorways of Ramesside pylons. A depiction of the façade of the Second Pylon in a relief from the first court of the temple of Khonsu shows the pylon's gateway with a full lintel and with a doorway only half its height nested inside it. This smaller doorway has a broken lintel surmounted by a cornice decorated with a frieze of uraei and a pair of sphinxes. Epigraphic Survey, *Temple of Khonsu I*, pl. 52. For this and other features of the Second and Third Pylons, (see Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I*, OIP 112 [Chicago, 1994], pls 15-16), at Karnak see G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 32-41 w/ figs. 14 & 16.

¹⁰⁶P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 192-196.

¹⁰⁷Spencer cites only two cases where *bhnt* seems to refer to a large gateway built into the brick temenos wall of a temple precinct, and these are both quite late. The usual term for such a gateway is a *sbj* ʿj. Ibid., 196.

¹⁰⁸Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 4, OIP 107. (Chicago, 1985), pl. 52.

dimensions of the actual monument, the model would have been considerably larger, making it unwieldy in both size and weight.

A few other corrections to Badawy's reconstruction of the model can be made. Having shown that it represents a building with a monumental pylon gateway, it is probable that it would have included at least two flagstaves per tower, for a total of four, whereas his reconstruction has only one per tower. If the scale of the monument approached that of the Karnak Second Pylon, it may have had as many as four per tower. Finally, Berg has called into serious question Badawy's conclusions regarding this object's purpose. It does not seem to have been used in the foundation ritual, as Badawy had thought. Although it obviously had some kind of ritual or votive significance and doesn't seem to have been an architect's model, its precise function remains unclear.¹⁰⁹

The side walls at the back of the model may represent a court similar to the Ramesside court at Luxor temple. In fact, the building represented by the Brooklyn model is strikingly close in design to that of the Luxor forecourt. This is perhaps more significant now that the latter monument seems to have been planned and partially constructed late in Seti I's reign.¹¹⁰

It is unfortunate that the texts on the model's base nowhere give the official name of the proposed structure. In fact, the bandeau texts are somewhat vague in describing it. The text on its right side does list the individual elements of the model, but only so as to catalog the materials of which its various parts, and not the actual building, were made of.¹¹¹ The left bandeau text describes the monument as an "August sanctuary," *šm šps*, which seems to be a generic term meaning "shrine/sanctuary."¹¹²

¹⁰⁹D. Berg, "Some Ramesside Fragments," *SAK* 17 (1990), 103-105; *contra* Badawy, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, 7-10.

¹¹⁰P. J. Brand, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 107ff.

¹¹¹Badawy, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, 1.

¹¹²*Wh* III, 468.8-12.

Only one part of Seti's projected pylon gateway and forecourt can be identified with any degree of certainty, namely the Flaminian obelisk. As of yet, no trace of the pylon itself, or of colossal statues or sphinxes that might have stood in front of it, have been found.

3.30 Fragment with Decoration of Seti I

W. M. F. Petrie, *Heliopolis, Kafr, Ammar & Shurah*, (London, 1915), 7, pl. 8.

This fragment bears a portion of the royal titulary, [*nsw-bit*]y Mn-m^st-R^c-tit-R[^c], in a horizontal inscription bordered by a pair of register lines. There is no indication of decoration in the space above or below the line of text. Petrie gave no specific measurements, but the fragment appears quite small. The small size of the fragment, the horizontal arrangement of the text and the presence of the epithet *tit-R^c* appended to the cartouche, might suggest that it came from an offering table, perhaps dedicated to Re-Horakhty. Seti dedicated at least two other offering tables to Heliopolitan deities; one to Atum-Khepri and another to Horus-who-is-in-the-Great-Mansion.¹¹³

Memphis

3.31 Temple of Seti I in Memphis

Foundation deposits

H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* V, (Graz, 1968), 1223; idem, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, (New York, 1879), 235; W.C. Hayes, *Scepter* 2, (New York, 1990), 332b; K. A. Kitchen, in E. Bleiberg and R.E. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1993), 87-104; *KRI* I, 124, §63 a/b; *RITA* I, 105, §63 a/b; *RITANC* I, 100-101, §63 a/b.

These two small objects, a scarab and a glazed faience plaque, are all that is known of a major building of Seti I in Memphis. The scarab is said to derive from Mit Rahineh, site of the ancient city of Memphis and the great temple of Ptah. The site of the "new" temple of

¹¹³Cf. *supra* 3.20 & 3.21.

Ptah, built by Amenhotep III, lies several hundred meters to the west of the Jubilee Hall of Ramesses II.¹¹⁴

The name of the temple, "Beneficial (*ḥt*) is Seti-Merenptah in the Domain of Ptah," exactly parallels that of his Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. This, as Kitchen points out, is clearly deliberate.¹¹⁵ They are just two of a whole series of temple foundations bearing similar names. Two others are the king's memorial temple at Gurnah in western Thebes and the Osireion in Abydos.¹¹⁶ Kitchen posits that the Memphite building was a large Hypostyle Hall like that at Karnak.¹¹⁷ As with the Theban monument, the building was probably incomplete in some way upon Seti's death.¹¹⁸ Ramesses apparently finished it and certainly usurped it, renaming it "the Temple Beneficial is Ramesses-Meriamen in the Domain of Ptah" as recorded on a papyrus dated to his year 43.¹¹⁹ As with the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Seti's Memphite building was considered a temple (*ḥwt-ntr*) by itself.¹²⁰ Being constructed of limestone, it was almost certainly dismantled and reused for building material or burnt for lime at some point in post-antiquity.

¹¹⁴K. A. Kitchen "Towards a Reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis," in E. Bleiberg and R.E. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1993), 88-89.

¹¹⁵Kitchen in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 89.

¹¹⁶See *supra* 1.3.8.

¹¹⁷Kitchen in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 89.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 89-90.

¹¹⁹P. Bulaq 19 (Cairo GC 58096). *KRI* VII, 102:15, 103:9.

¹²⁰R. Stadelmann, "Tempel und Tempelnamen in Theben-Ost und -West," *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 175ff; P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*, (London, 1984), 50.

3.32 Statue of Seti (Cairo CG 1293)

Black granodiorite: H. 103 cm; W. 36 cm; D. 85.5 cm

PM III:2², 863; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus V*, 1066 [9]; L. Borchardt, *Statuen IV*, 150-51, B. Horneman, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary IV*. (Copenhagen, 1951-1969), pl. 1127; *KRI I*, 124, §64; *RITA I*, 105, §64; *RITANC I*, 101, §64.

This broken statue represents Seti kneeling before the enthroned Atum. Kitchen suggests that the Heliopolitan Atum may have had an official cult center in Memphis.¹²¹ Unfortunately the head is gone, making it impossible to date the piece on stylistic grounds.

3.33 Lintel of Seti I

Limestone: W. 140.5 cm; H. 54 cm

PM III:2², 846; A. Badawi, *ASAE* 54 (1956), 161, pl. 5, *KRI I* 124-125, §65; *RITA I*, 105, §65; *RITANC I*, 101-102, §65.

Finished in high raised relief, this lintel was found reused in the tomb of Shoshenq D, son of Osorkon II who was High Priest of Ptah in Memphis.¹²² It is inscribed with a double scene of the monarch running before some unidentified goddess. Only the lower half of the king's nomen cartouche, on the right hand panel, survives, giving [S]ty-[mr]-n-[Pth].¹²³ According to Kitchen, the lintel may have derived from a chapel similar to the one Seti dedicated to Ptah and two Memphite goddesses,¹²⁴ but the style of relief is quite different, casting doubt on this assessment.

¹²¹*RITANC I*, 101, §64.

¹²²A. Badawi, "Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk, Sohnes Osorkons II und Hohenpriester von Memphis," *ASAE* 54 (1956), 161 & pl. 5.

¹²³*KRI I*, 125:3.

¹²⁴*RITANC I*, 102, §65. See *infra* next entry.

3.34 Ptah Chapel of Seti I

PM III 2², 843; J. Berlandini, in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropoles au nouvel empire*, (Paris, 1988), 35-36 & pl. 3; idem, *BSFE* 99 (1984), 28-49, pl. 1-3; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), pl. 33-34; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 247-249 & pls. 46-48; (PLATE 51B).

Built of limestone, this small chapel was dedicated by Seti I to Ptah and a pair of goddesses named *Mn-nfr* and *Tsmt* who personified the city of Memphis itself.¹²⁵ Inside its single chamber were three elegant limestone statues.¹²⁶ The central one represents Ptah enthroned. It is well preserved save only for the head which is missing. His torso is well detailed, the broad collar and *rishi*-feather pattern of his cloak being particularly striking.¹²⁷ The surface decoration of the lower portions of the statue is largely eroded.

Ptah is flanked by statues of two goddesses, *Mn-nfr* on his left and *Tsmt* on his right. Both are double statues, each having a figure of Seti as a child sitting on her knee. They wear a long shift and an enveloping wig surmounted by a modius. Both royal statues wear a pleated kilt, sandals and a *Khepresh*-crown and each holds a \int -scepter in his right hand.¹²⁸

Sourouzian has demonstrated that the statuary from the chapel dates to quite early in Seti's reign. The features of the heads are rendered in a post-Amarna style.¹²⁹ The same appears to be true of the reliefs on the side walls of the chapel. The only face preserved is that

¹²⁵J. Berlandini, "La chapelle de Séthi I nouvelles découvertes: les déesses *Tsmt* et *Mn-Nfr*," *BSFE* 99 (1984), 28-49 & pls. 2-3; J. Berlandini, "Problématique des monuments de la chapelle de Séthi I à Memphis," in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropoles au nouvel empire*, (Paris, 1988), 35-36.

¹²⁶H. Sourouzian, "Statues et représentations de statues royales sous Séthi I," *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 247-249 & pls. 46-48.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, pl. 47b.

¹²⁸These statue groups reproduce in three dimensions a type of scene often found in relief during this time. Reliefs of the king as a child sitting on the goddesses' lap are found on the side walls of this chapel and in Seti's temples at Gurnah and Abydos. Cf. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), pl. 48a, Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* IV, pl. 20.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, Sourouzian, 247-248.

of the kneeling king on the north wall.¹³⁰ The eye is rendered with a natural, modeled brow without cosmetic line, and with a crease that runs halfway between the eyebrow and the eyelid.¹³¹ The eyeball itself is almond-shaped. This face bears a striking resemblance to a relief of Ramesses I on the north interior wall of the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak,¹³² and to other post-Amarna reliefs.¹³³ The bellies of the figure on the north wall of the chapel, and another from the south wall of the chapel depicting the ruler sitting on the lap of the goddess *Tsmt*, protrude slightly in the manner of post-Amarna art.¹³⁴ It is likely, then, that the chapel was dedicated in the earliest years of Seti's reign.

3.35 Lintel of Seti I (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 13573)

Limestone: H. 69 cm; W. 170 cm

PM III 2², 860; *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin* 15, (November, 1950), 15 [2-3]; (PLATE 49).

This lintel was found in the vicinity of the palace of Merenptah in Memphis.¹³⁵ Surmounting the lintel proper is a torus molding and cavetto cornice. Two round holes have been bored into the sides of the lintel to either side of the beam of the lintel. The piece is inscribed in lightly incised sunk relief, the workmanship being quite elegant. Its decoration consists of a winged sun disk, the Behdetite, whose name is inscribed at either end of the wing

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 48b.


¹³¹This feature is often found in Amarna and post-Amarna relief. Cf. K. Mysliwicz, *Le Portrait Royal*, 78 & 83 w/ figs. 157-200, *passim*. On the post-Amarna style used during the earliest part of Seti's reign see *supra* 1.2.1.

¹³²*PM II*², 39 (144); Nelson, *Key Plans*, 187-188; G. Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, 89.

¹³³E.g., Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, Tutankhamen: figs. 186-187; Horemheb: fig. 200.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, pl. 49a-b.

¹³⁵H. Ranke, "The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum," *Pennsylvania University Museum Bulletin* 15 (November, 1950), 15 [2-3].

tips. Below this is a double inscription bearing the cartouches of Seti I. The left-hand text reads: *ḥꜥ nsw-bity Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ mr Imn* "Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre beloved of Amen." On the right is *ḥꜥ sꜣ Rꜥ Sty-mr-n-Pth mr Mwt* "Live the son of Re, Seti-Merenptah, beloved of Mut." It is apparent that the piece stems from some Memphite chapel or shrine dedicated to these Theban gods. It is possible, too, that this monument dates to quite early in the reign. The prenomen cartouche is arranged so that the -sign is in the central position. Such an arrangement is more often found on monuments dating to the first year or so of the reign.¹³⁶

3.36 Cornice of Seti I

Limestone: L. 66 cm; H. 38 cm; D. 37 cm

A. Mahmoud Moussa, *ASAE* 68 (1992), 115-118 & pl. 2.

This limestone block represents the left corner of a cavetto cornice.¹³⁷ The cornice does not continue on the side of the block, instead the front surface of the block was cut back slightly deeper beyond the edge of the front corner of the cornice and left rough. The front of the cornice is decorated with alternating nomen and prenomen cartouches of Seti I with each cartouche resting on a gold sign and surmounted by double plumes and a sun disk. The block was found near the small chapel the sovereign dedicated to Ptah early in his reign from which it may have come.¹³⁸

¹³⁶See *supra* 1.4.5.

¹³⁷A. Mahmoud Moussa, "Two Blocks Bearing a Celebration of a Jubilee Festival and a Part of Cornice Inscribed with Cartouches of Sety I from Memphis," *ASAE* 68 (1992), 115-118, pl. 2.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, 115.



Saqqara

3.37 Stela of Seti I for Renenwetet (Leiden V.16 Inv. #AP 61)

Limestone: H. 88 cm; W. 58 cm; D. 11 cm

P. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung, Ägyptische Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden IV*, (Hague, 1913), 12, pl. 24, no. 44; H. D. Schneider and M. S. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid*, (Leiden, 1981), 109, no. 107; *KRI I*, 232, §101; *RITA I*, 199, §101, *RITANC I*, 152, §101; (PLATE 50).

This elegant votive stela is preserved nearly intact save only for severe abrasion near the top of the lunette, which obscures the facial features of Seti and the goddess along with most of their names and titles, and a bash in the lower right corner of the piece.¹³⁹ The decoration consists of a scene in which Seti offers two *mw*-jars to the goddess Renenwetet. Between them is an offering stand bearing a *nmsr*-jar and a bouquet of lotuses. Seti is cloaked in a long pleated garment beneath which he wears a long skirt. He wears the *Kheprsh*-crown with streamers falling down his back along with a pair of bracelets, a broad collar and an apron hanging from the front of his belt.

Renenwetet is garbed in a long, tight-fitting shift with bracelets, anklets and a broad collar. She has the head of a cobra to which is attached a tripartite wig. She holds an  in one hand and a -scepter and a sheaf of wheat in the other.

The figures are rendered in the mature Ramesside style current in middle and later years of the reign. The king's shoulders are broad, but the forward one slopes down towards the front. His torso has a flat belly and a wasp-like waist, and the legs are long. The chin is square and the mouth has small, full lips with chiseled edges. The nose is large and aquiline. The rest of the face has been damaged. The interior details of the relief, in particular the king's long garment, are rendered with detailed precision. Overall, the relief compares favorably with those from Seti's temple at Abydos. The text features a hymn praising the



¹³⁹P. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung, Ägyptische Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden IV*, (Hague, 1913), 12, pl. 24, no. 44; H. D. Schneider and M. S. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid*, (Leiden, 1981), 109, no. 107.

monarch as a favorite of various harvest deities and as a provider of agricultural abundance himself.¹⁴⁰

3.38 Tomb Relief of Amenwahsu and Tiya (Chicago 10507)

Limestone:

L. Habachi, *RdE* 21 (1969), 27-47; G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt I*, (London, 1987), 30-31 & pl. 27, *KRI* I, 320, §126.1, *RIIA* I, 260, §126.1, *RIANC* I, 212-213, §126.1.

This relief depicts the table scribe Amenwahsu and his associate the royal scribe Tiya paying homage to the deified Seti I and crown prince Ramesses. Ramesses is entitled "King's son of his body, his beloved, Ramessu." Seti is described as an Osiris-king. The iconography of the relief portrays the monarch as deified, for he holds the crook and flail in one hand and a mace in the other. Behind him prince Ramesses holds aloft a -fan behind his father. This emblem serves both as a mark of Ramesses' status as a royal son and a mark of Seti's divinity.¹⁴¹ The divine iconography used here is appropriate both for living and deceased pharaohs, and the image might represent Seti as a cult statue as on two boundary stelae from his earliest years.¹⁴² If his exact status is ambiguous, so is his son's. Prince Ramesses is shown holding an . Among the living, this amulet is normally borne only by deified rulers whether dead or alive. From an iconographical perspective, then, Ramesses' status, living or dead, is as ambiguous as his father's. Since he must have been alive when the piece was made, however, it seems most plausible that the piece was made during his father's reign before his own accession. The relief attests, then, to Ramesses' tenure as crown prince before his father's death.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰*KRI* I, 232, §101.

¹⁴¹On the significance of the *hwi*-fan as a mark of divinity see L. Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun." *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* I, (Cairo, 1985), 31-60.

¹⁴²Cf. *infra* 3.41 & 3.42.

¹⁴³Murnane, *Coregencies*, 60, (b).

Giza

3.39 Stela of Hatiay (Cairo JdE 72269)

Limestone: H. 32.5 cm

PM III:1², 43, S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Excavations at Giza 8, (Cairo, 1953), 263, fig. 199 (no. 21); idem, *The Sphinx*, (Cairo, 1949), fig. 36; C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, (Cairo, 1976), 189-191. NE 51; *KRI* I, 78, §41; *RITA* I, 67, §41, *RITANC* I, 67-68, §41.

This small stela is of rather crude workmanship. It is divided into two registers, the upper one depicting Seti I kneeling before the compound god *Hwt*-Horemakhet in the guise of the Great Sphinx, to whom he proffers two *nmst*-jars. Pharaoh's head is bowed and his torso inclined forward slightly. He is garbed in a kilt with bull's tail. His crown consists of a *Nemes* surmounted by ram's horns holding a sun disk with tall plumes and uraei.

In the register below, the "Chief Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands" Hatiay kneels in adoration of the Sphinx. This Hatiay has been identified as an official named Userhat-Hatiay, also known as *Penya*, from this reign.¹⁴⁴ More recently, van Dijk has identified this man with a certain Userhat who served as Maya's chief sculptor during the reign of Horemheb.¹⁴⁵ If this is one and the same man, he had a very long career and seems to have survived on at least until the sixteenth year of Ramesses II and perhaps as late as year thirty.¹⁴⁶ In contrast to the elegant reliefs attributed to Maya's chief sculptor, this stela is of fairly crude workmanship. Given the high quality of reliefs under Seti I, the crudeness of the piece is hard to understand, even more so as it was commissioned by the chief royal sculptor himself. Presumably he did not make it himself!

¹⁴⁴H. Guksch, "*Wsr-ḥst und ḥstjꜣjj* zur Zeit Sethos I.," *GM* 64 (1983), 23-24.

¹⁴⁵J. van Dijk, "Maya's Chief Sculptor Userhat-Hatiay with a Note on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb," *GM* 148 (1995), 29-34.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 29.

3.40 Huntsman Stela of Seti I (Cairo JdE 72269)

Limestone: H. 120 cm; W. 80 cm

PM III 1², 39; S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Giza 8, 104-105, figs. 74-75 (no. 80); idem, *The Sphinx*, fig. 42; C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, 184-189: NE 50; *KRI* I, 76-77, §39; *RITA* I, 65-66, §39; *RITANC* I, 66, §39.


This stela is badly eroded and broken off at the top. Originally it had two registers of tableaux with a main text below. Unfortunately, only the lower scene and the text remain, and these are severely worn in several places. The text accompanying the hunting episode describes how pharaoh slew a lion in the presence of his courtiers, while the scene depicts him shooting arrows at a herd of gazelles.¹⁴⁷ The formal text below makes reference to the construction of some kind of shrine dedicated to *Hwt-Horemakhet* at which commoners could worship. This was followed by an encomium lauding the monarch's prowess as a military leader.¹⁴⁸ The monument here referred to may correspond to the additions and renovations Seti made to the Sphinx temple of Amenhotep II.¹⁴⁹

Fayum

3.41 Boundary Stela of Seti I, Year 2 (Cairo CG 34502)

Sandstone: H. 101 cm; W. 52 cm; D 22 cm

PM IV, 104, G. Daressy, *RT* 14 (1893), 38 §lviii; *KRI* I, 45, §23; *RITA* I, 38, §23; *RITANC* I, 47-48, §23. (PLATE 51A).

This boundary stela is similar to one from year one set up in Kom el-Lufi and now in Brooklyn (see next entry). It was commissioned as the result of a land survey. The tableau that dominates the stela bears a single figure of the king holding a staff and an . He wears a *shendyt*-kilt and on his head the white crown. As on the Brooklyn stela, the image represents

¹⁴⁷Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Excavations at Giza 8, (Cairo, 1953), figs. 74-75; idem, *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations*, (Cairo, 1949), fig. 42.

¹⁴⁸*KRI* I, 76-77, §39.

¹⁴⁹*RITANC* I, 66, §130. See *supra* 2.4 & 2.5

a cult statue of the deified ruler.¹⁵⁰ The workmanship is mediocre sunk relief. The face is relatively astylistic save only for the eye which is *sfumato*






**Upper Egypt
Kom el-Lufi (Minya)**

3.42 Boundary Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (Brooklyn 69.116.1)

Limestone. H. 120 cm; W. 42 cm

D. Kessler, *SAK* 10 (1982), 215-220, pl. 4a; R. Fazzini, *Art of Ancient Egypt: A Selection from the Brooklyn Museum*, Exhibition Catalog: Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra University, (Hempstead, New York, 1971), no. 17; *KRI* I, 231, §100; *RITA* I, 199, §100; *RITANC* I, 152, §100; (**PLATE 52**).

This round-topped stela was discovered at the west bank site of Kom el-Lufi, 4.5 km south of Samalut and 17 km north of Minieh in Middle Egypt.¹⁵¹ It once had a large blank area about 55 cm deep below the bottom line of the text.¹⁵² This was removed prior to its acquisition by the Brooklyn museum. Kitchen notes that it is not a donation stela, as Kessler had asserted,¹⁵³ but a boundary marker on the border of two estates.¹⁵⁴ Its text describes it as having been positioned "south of the domain of Re and north of the middle of Nacho."¹⁵⁵

The vignette is carved in sunk relief with a figure of Seti I. He holds a staff in his right hand and an  in his left. Behind the king a -fan sits in a -sign with a half -sign and a second  below it. Bell has shown that the figure on the stela portrays a royal cult statue that was apparently the beneficiary of a foundation.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰L. Bell, *Mélanges Mokhtar* I, 36 & 53, nn. 149-150.

¹⁵¹D. Kessler, "Eine Stele Sethos I. aus Kom el-Lufi (Minia)," *SAK* 10 (1982), 215-216.



¹⁵²*Ibid.*, pl 4a.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 218-220.

¹⁵⁴*RITANC* I, 152, §300.

¹⁵⁵*RITA* I, 199, §100(b).

¹⁵⁶L. Bell, *Mélanges Mokhtar* I, 36 & 53, nn. 149-150.

The main text, dated to year one, exhibits an early variant of the prenomen cartouche, arranged horizontally, in which the -sign comes before the *ms't*-figure. This variant can be found in other early monuments.¹⁵⁷ By contrast, a vertically arranged cartouche in the lunette scene exhibits the standard orthography with the -sign on the bottom.

Hermopolis

3.43 Decree of Seti I

Sandstone

H. Brunner, *MDIK* 8 (1939), 161-4, pl. 23; *KRI* I, 125-126, §67 (with corrections, *KRI* VII, 428:3-7); *RITA* I, 106, §67; *RITANC* I, 102-103, §67.

Only the bottom right-hand portion of this stela is preserved.¹⁵⁸ Much of the main text, along with the scene at the top, is missing. Although no part of Seti's protocol survives in the text, both its rhetoric and subject matter parallels that of the Nauri decree.¹⁵⁹ The royal herald Nedjem, who is named in the text, is also attested in the Memphite palace accounts from the early part of the reign.¹⁶⁰

3.44 Fragment of a Doorjamb

Limestone: H. 23 cm, W. 51 cm

G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, (Hildesheim, 1959), 296, IX §5, pl. 61c.

Roeder published this fragment of what appears to have been part of a doorjamb. The decoration is engraved and arranged vertically. Only the lower two glyphs of Seti's prenomen

¹⁵⁷See *supra* 1.4.5.

¹⁵⁸H. Brunner, "Das Fragment eines Schutzdekretes aus dem Neuen Reich." *MDIK* 8 (1939), 161-164 & pl. 23.

¹⁵⁹*RITANC* I, 102, §201. On the text of Nauri Decree and its legal implications, see: F. Ll. Griffith "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," *JEA* 13 (1927), 193-208; W. F. Edgerton, "The Nauri Decree of Seti I A Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion," *JNES* 6 (1947), 219-230; A. H. Gardiner, "Some Reflections on the Nauri Decree," *JEA* 38 (1952), 24-33.

¹⁶⁰*KRI* I, 272.5.

are preserved. No further information on the monument from which the block may have stemmed is forthcoming.

Girga

3.45 Building Cramp of Seti I

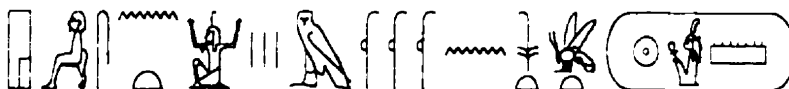
Grey granite

PM V, 39; U. Bouriant, *RT 9* (1887), 89 [64].

This small "block" inscribed for Seti I was found at Girga in the last century.¹⁶¹ By its shape as recorded by Bouriant, it must be a building cramp. It is similar to cramps found in the Osireion by Frankfort,¹⁶² and probably came from this or some other Abydene building of the king. No other trace of Seti's building activity at Girga is forthcoming.

Abydos

3.46 Temple of Seti I Reliefs of Seti I



PM VI, 1-27; A. Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville*, vol. 1, *Ville Antique — Temple de Sèti I.*, (Paris, 1869); A. St. G. Caulfeild, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (Sety I)*, (London, 1902); J. Capart, *Abydos, le temple de Sèthi I^{er}: étude générale*, (Brussels, 1912); E. Zippert, *Der Gedächtnistempel Sethos I. zu Abydos*, (Berlin, 1931); A. M. Calverley & M. F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, 4 vols., (London, 1933-1958); R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, (Warminster, 1981); Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, (Los Angeles, 1981); (PLATES 53A-B, 78-81).

The celebrated temple of Seti I at Abydos could serve as the topic of a dissertation in itself, and indeed it has several times,¹⁶³ along with specific aspects of it.¹⁶⁴ It is beyond the

¹⁶¹U. Bouriant, "Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Égypte," *RT 9* (1887), 89 [64].

¹⁶²H. Frankfort *et. al.*, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos 2*, (London, 1933), pl. 8.

¹⁶³J. Capart, *Abydos, le temple de Sèthi I^{er}: étude générale*, (Brussels, 1912); E. Zippert, *Der Gedächtnistempel Sethos I. zu Abydos*, (Berlin, 1931).

¹⁶⁴R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, (Warminster, 1981); H. Gauthier, *La grande inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos. Publiée avec notes et glossaire*, (Cairo, 1912).

scope of the present work, then, to consider or even review aspects of this temple beyond evidence for the history of its construction and decoration.

3.46.1 Outer Courts and Pylons

The temple is built primarily of limestone, although sandstone was used in various areas throughout. The two courts, each fronted by a pylon, are now much destroyed. These were decorated entirely by Ramesses II sometime after the adoption of the final form of his prenomen. The pylons and two courts are much destroyed, with only the lower courses of stonework remaining. There is some evidence that Seti may have completed parts of these courts and their pylons. His cartouches were found in a number of instances, including one inscribed on a block found below the pavement level on the façade of the first pylon.¹⁶⁵ David notes that his name also occurs twice on the west wall of the first court, which might suggest that Seti built the wall separating the two courts.¹⁶⁶ Other cartouches of Seti occur, however, in dedication texts that are undoubtedly the work of Ramesses II, casting some doubt on this assessment.¹⁶⁷

3.46.2 The Portico in the Second Court

By contrast to the destruction of the pylons and first two courts, the middle and rear portions of the temple are well preserved. The middle section consists of two hypostyle halls. The façade of the outer hypostyle, at the back of the second court, consists of a portico

¹⁶⁵E. B. Ghazouli, "The Palace and Magazines attached to the Temple of Seti I at Abydos." *ASAE* 58 (1954), 167-169 & pl. 24B.

¹⁶⁶David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 11. Following A. Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville I*, Ville Antique — Temple de Sèti I, (Paris, 1869), 10-11.

¹⁶⁷E.g., in a scene depicting a row of Ramesses' daughters from this same wall. *Ibid.*, pl. 3; Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, (Los Angeles, 1981), 58, fig. 6-11; *PM VI*, 3 (13-18). So too in the procession of his sons on the south and west walls. *PM VI*, 1 & 3 (7-11); *Ibid.*, Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, 57, fig. 6-9. Seti's name occurs in several dedication texts carved for Ramesses II in the first and second courts where it is given as part of the name of the temple. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 13, 212-214, fig. 2. pl. i [2].

supported by twelve square pillars of limestone. The wall behind it was also limestone and was originally pierced by seven doorways. All but the central one of these were later plugged up with sandstone blocks by Ramesses II so that the wall could be inscribed with his *inscription dédicatoire*. According to David, the façade itself, i.e. the wall behind the portico, was constructed by Seti, but the pillars were erected by Ramesses.¹⁶⁸ She notes that the interior lintels of the original doorways leading to the first hypostyle hall, along with other portions of the outer hypostyle hall, were partially decorated by Seti at the end of his reign.¹⁶⁹ Surely the interior surfaces of this wall could not have been decorated before the wall itself, and the portico that adjoins it, were constructed. Since the roof and side walls of the portico were connected to the first hypostyle hall, it would have been more economical to build them at the same time as the first hypostyle hall. The walls of the second court, which was unroofed, could have been built at a later stage.¹⁷⁰ Murnane argued that Ramesses claimed to have built this portico in the *inscription dédicatoire* where in describing the state in which he found the temple after his father's death he claims: "Its architectural elements (*mnw*) had not been completed; the pillars had not been erected on its terrace..." Murnane believed this to be a description of the portico at the west end of the second court,¹⁷¹ but it is more likely that Ramesses was referring to an identical, and now much destroyed portico at the west end of

¹⁶⁸David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 11.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 23-24.

¹⁷⁰Cf. the structure of the Gurnah memorial temple of Seti I where the roofed portico, at the back of the second court is integral to the rear portions of the temple, which are built of stone. The side walls of both courts, along with the two pylons were added separately. These outer portions were largely built of mud brick at Gurnah, while those at Abydos are of stone. Still, comparison of the two structures is instructive in understanding the building history of the Abydos temple.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, Murnane, 165.

the first court, of which only the pedestals and lowest courses of the pillars remain.¹⁷² As in the second court, these lie on a low terrace about a meter above the floor of the court.¹⁷³

3.46.3 First Hypostyle Hall

The walls of the first hypostyle are largely of sandstone except for a limestone veneer placed over the north wall. The columns are also of sandstone. At Seti's death, some of those in the first hypostyle had already been inscribed. He also partly decorated the seven doorways in the west wall leading through to the inner hypostyle.¹⁷⁴ Traces of his original decoration remain in a few instances, but these reliefs were largely replaced by those of his son.¹⁷⁵ Similar palimpsests are found in the scenes between the doorways, especially on the upper registers.¹⁷⁶ Seti also seems to have decorated the lintels of most of the doorways through the east wall of the first hypostyle leading into the second court, where traces of raised relief bearing his name were found.¹⁷⁷

No further decoration of Seti is to be found in the first hypostyle hall, and Ramesses later usurped all the reliefs his father had completed here, often replacing them with new compositions of his own. It is likely, however, that many if not all of the tableaux in the outer hypostyle had been laid out under Seti. The royal figures in these episodes are often shown bowing, a practice well attested under Seti here and elsewhere, but one quickly rejected by Ramesses upon his accession.¹⁷⁸ From elsewhere in this temple comes unequivocal evidence

¹⁷²Calverley & Broome, *Abydos* IV, pl. 3.

¹⁷³David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 11.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁷⁵Seti's work survives in a few instances. Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, 79.

¹⁷⁶David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 27-28.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 23-24.

¹⁷⁸See *supra* 1.2.5.

that Seti laid out large areas of wall decoration in paint that were not carved until after his lifetime.¹⁷⁹ In converting these to relief, Ramesses II's sculptors immortalized the now obsolete iconography of the painted version.¹⁸⁰ Another feature that betrays the fact that Seti composed the decorative program in the first hypostyle is the survival of his name on the shrine of Wepwawet in a panel from the north wall.¹⁸¹

It is apparent that Seti had laid out the decoration of the first hypostyle hall in polychrome before his death, and that the first stages of converting these into relief were then underway. Ramesses, finding the relief largely unfinished, completed them in his own name while usurping those completed by his father. This is precisely the same pattern found in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. As David has noted, far from piously completing the work of his father, Ramesses adapted the decoration of this chamber to suit his own design.¹⁸² In many cases when he erased extant reliefs of his father, he replaced them with entirely new designs of his own.¹⁸³ By contrast to the cartoons of Seti completed by Ramesses, in which the king's torso is often bent forward, the reliefs laid out by Ramesses himself show him fully upright. In this respect, the history of the decoration differs from that of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall where Ramesses usurped the cartouches of his father, but merely converted the extant tableaux from raised to sunk relief.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹J. Baines *et. al.*, "Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos," *JEA* 75 (1989), 13-30.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pls. 2-3.

¹⁸¹*PM* VI, 6 (58); David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 21 & pl. 6. Such accidental survivals of Seti's name in murals and reliefs carved or usurped by his successors is also known from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Osireion. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 180; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 33. On survivals of Seti's name in painted decoration usurped by Merenptah in the Osireion see *infra* 3.52.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, David, 20ff.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁸⁴See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 180-183.

3.46.4 Second Hypostyle Hall

The walls of the second hypostyle are limestone throughout, and are embellished with magnificent bas reliefs for which Seti's temple is famous. Its columns are of sandstone.¹⁸⁵ By his death, all the reliefs in the second hypostyle were carved. Those on the west wall had also been colored¹⁸⁶ and the painters had just begun to tint reliefs on the north wall.¹⁸⁷ Although the scenes on the west wall proper had been painted by the end of the reign, those on the doorways leading to the seven chapels had not. In fact, the sculptors had not yet applied the finishing details to them. They lack the intricate detailing found on other reliefs in the hall, but upon closer examination it is apparent that the process of finishing them was underway at Seti's death. There are extensive traces of details rendered in paint but not yet carved on the reliefs on most of these doorways.¹⁸⁸ In a number of instances, the process of carving these details had just begun on the lowermost registers of the doorways when the project was abandoned.¹⁸⁹

On the east wall, the representations above and between the portals leading to the first hypostyle hall generally lack the extensive detailing found elsewhere in the king's reliefs in the building.¹⁹⁰ In particular, none of the scenes along the top register have been embellished, and no traces of painted guidelines are evident. A similar phenomenon seems to occur on some of

¹⁸⁵Calverley & Broome, *Abydos IV*, pls. 4-5 & 57 with drawings of the scenes pls. 67-78.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, Calverley & Broome, *Abydos IV*, pls. 13-14, 16-17, 19-20, 22-23, 25-26, 30-31 & 35.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pls. 8-9.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pls. 12, 15, 18, 21, 23, 27 & 32.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, pl. 15, (=doorway into Isis chapel), the reed mats supporting the god and goddess on the right jamb and the navel of the goddess on the left jamb. Cf. the lowermost registers on the other doorways where the reed mats have often been detailed. *Ibid.* pls. 18, 24, 32.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, pls. 45-52.

the column panels that have been carved but not detailed.¹⁹¹ Traces of painted guidelines for their embellishment are found on a number of them.¹⁹²

From the above we may conclude that the sculptors carved the reliefs in two stages. After converting the painted cartoon into bas relief, intricate detailing was laid out on the reliefs and then engraved by the sculptors. Normally, such minutiae was rendered in painted outline as part of the coloring of the reliefs by the painters. Even the seemingly crude reliefs of Seti's Ramesside successors were often intricately detailed in paint although the carved reliefs themselves were almost completely lacking in engraved finishing. In fact, the highly detailed reliefs at Abydos were exceptional even in the corpus of Seti's own work. No comparable level of embellishment is found in either the monarch's decoration in the Gurnah memorial temple or in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It is true that the sandstone medium found at Thebes was not as conducive to such fretwork as the fine grained limestone used at Abydos, but even the Ramesses I chapel, also made of limestone, lacks a comparable level of embellishment.¹⁹³ Thus at the end of the reign, the sculptors had completed the first stage of cutting the bas relief and were in the process of engraving the finer detailing where this had been laid out in paint. At the king's death, many of the panels on the east and north walls had been detailed and the painters were in the process of coloring them. Although Seti's successors respected his reliefs in the second hypostyle, none bothered to finish painting them.

3.46.5 The Seven Chapels and Osiris Suite

It is apparent from their state of completion that the seven main chapels were among the first areas of the temple to be decorated, with both the initial sculpting and final detailing

¹⁹¹Ibid., pls. 67-78.

¹⁹²Ibid., pl. 72, column 6A-C & pl. 73, column 7A-C.

¹⁹³H. E. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1921), pls. 1-11, *passim*. While it is true that these reliefs are exquisitely finished, particularly the texture of the pleated linen robes and wigs of the figures, other details such as the broad collars, bracelets and armlets are generally not indicated. See *supra* 1.4.1.

of the reliefs having been largely completed in each chapel.¹⁹⁴ Likewise the reliefs in the Osiris suite seem to have been completed before Seti's death.¹⁹⁵ Late in the reign, the painters began to color the reliefs in this part of the temple. By the time work stopped, the reliefs in the chapels of Amen-Re and Osiris had been finished in polychrome along with large portions of the Osiris suite, including the chapels of the Abydene triad within it. Some of the reliefs in the Osiris suite seemed to have been colored early in Ramesses II's reign, where he finished details of some of the tableaux in paint which were normally carved in relief under Seti such as an inscription on the pole of a tent shrine of Osiris.¹⁹⁶ It may be the case that the sculptors had not yet applied the finishing touches to many of the reliefs in the Osiris suite. In the Horus chapel, the sculptors had left the detailing of the north wall incomplete at Seti's death. Ramesses II seems to have had a number of these reliefs colored after his accession, adding the final embellishments in paint.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴Calverley & Broome, *Abydos I-II*, *passim*.

¹⁹⁵Calverley & Broome, *Abydos III*, *passim*.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., Calverley & Broome, *Abydos III*, pl. 52a; A. el-Sawi, "Ramesses II Completing a Shrine in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos," *SAK* 10 (1983), 307-310. Beginning under Ramesses II, many details that were engraved in the bas relief under Seti I were now only finished in paint. Even the outlines of broad collars and bracelets were left out. Such details were then rendered meticulously in paint. Cf. painted reliefs from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (e.g. Omm Sety & el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, 223, fig. 24-4 (located in room XIII, west wall = *PM* VI, 38). So too at Medinet Habu (see *supra* chapter 1, n. 153). This practice also extended to bas reliefs from Ramesses' Abydos temple that lack the extensive detailing in relief found in Seti's nearby temple.

¹⁹⁷Calverley & Broome, *Abydos III*, pl. 33; A. el-Sawi, "A Note on the Northern Wall of the Inner Chapel of Horus in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos," *GM* 95 (1987), 67-72.

3.46.6 South Wing of the Temple

The unusual L-shaped south wing of the temple consisted of a number of suites of related chambers.¹⁹⁸ The Gallery of the Lists (X)¹⁹⁹ leads to the butchers court with its four subsidiary rooms (rooms A'-D').²⁰⁰ A door through the west wall of the Gallery leads to the Corridor of the Bull (Y)²⁰¹ followed by a stairway (Y')²⁰² exiting through the west wall of the building. South of this exit was another door leading to an antechamber with four more doors opening into storerooms (E'-I').²⁰³ A doorway in the south west corner of the second hypostyle hall leads to the suite of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar (T-V).²⁰⁴ This now consists of a large chamber supported by three pillars. A pair of chapels are entered via doorways in the west wall. Baines has shown that the original design of this suite would have included three chapels and a larger antechamber supported by six columns. This was compressed to make room for the Corridor of the Bull and its connecting stairwell.²⁰⁵ Finally, a second door through the west wall of the Gallery of the Lists leads to the Hall of Barques, this in turn has a stairway leading to the temple roof.

¹⁹⁸ *PM* VI, 22-27. The lettered designations for the rooms are those of Mariette.

¹⁹⁹ *PM* VI, 24-25.

²⁰⁰ *PM* IV, 26-27.

²⁰¹ *PM* VI, 25-26.

²⁰² *PM* VI, 26.

²⁰³ *PM* VI, 27.

²⁰⁴ *PM* VI, 23-24.

²⁰⁵ J. Baines *et. al.*, "Abydos, Temple of Sethos I: Preliminary Report," *JEA* 70 (1984), 16-18.

3.46.7 Layout of Decoration in Paint

It appears that the decorative program of the entire southern wing of the temple was laid out in the form of polychrome cartoons during Seti's reign.²⁰⁶ Most of these were never converted into relief before his death; their purpose was to serve both as a temporary substitute and a guide for the reliefs to be carved later.

3.46.8 Reliefs in South Wing Finished by Seti I

3.46.8.1 Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite

By the end of Seti's reign, the sculptors had completed their work in the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite. Although the fine detailing of the tableaux had been engraved, none of them were ever colored.²⁰⁷

3.46.8.2 Gallery of the Kings


This chamber contains some of the most famous and historically important reliefs in the temple. Besides the invaluable king list, several of the tableaux portray the future Ramesses II as a prince officiating in the ritual alongside his father (**PLATES 53B & 78**)²⁰⁸ He is entitled "Hereditary Prince, King's eldest son of his body, Ramesses true-of-voice (*iry-p't s3 nsw smsw n hm.f R^c-ms-sw m3^c-hrw*)." Ramesses is invariably depicted on a smaller scale than his father as a prince with the side-lock. His name (without cartouche) and titles also mark him as a prince. Exceptionally, the double cartouche of Ramesses as king occurs in

²⁰⁶Ibid., 18; J. Baines, *et. al.*, *JEA* 75 (1989), 13-30; *PM* VI, 26-27; For descriptions of these murals see David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, (Hall of Barques), 152-154; Slaughter Court, 154-157; Store rooms leading off Slaughter Court, 157-159; South western store rooms, (= E'-I'), 159-161. Cf. Omm Sety & el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, 171-175.

²⁰⁷Cf. Ibid., Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, 140-153, figs. 11.1-11.26; K. Lange & M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years*, (London, 1961), pls. 218 & 222.

²⁰⁸*PM* VI, 25 (223), (224-225), (228), (229-230). Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 163, fig. 5a-b, Ibid., Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, 154-155, figs. 12.1-12.2; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*, (Warminster, 1982), 12, fig. 4.

one case on a pendant hanging from the end of his sash, with the short form of his prenomen being employed (**PLATE 79**).²⁰⁹ There is no reason to believe this feature was added subsequent to the original edition of the relief. Since the overwhelming preponderance of evidence indicates that he was still only a prince at the time these reliefs were carved, we may conclude that the cartouches were prospective ones already chosen before his accession as sovereign.

The relief decoration in the Gallery of Kings encompasses all but its southernmost portion. The final fifth of the eastern wall was left blank, along with the space to the south of the left jamb of the doorway into the Hall of Barques. Likewise, the southern doorway leading to the Butcher's Hall was never decorated. In the last tableau on the east wall, the king lays his hands on a table of offerings dedicated to Amen-Re (**PLATE 53A**). The space beyond it is blank; the frieze of cartouches and *hkr*-friezes, along with a ribbon pattern and -sign below it and the dado below the tableau, all stop at the right edge of the scene. No trace of decoration is found to the left of this vignette, but it must have once existed as a polychrome cartoon.²¹⁰ It has since faded away,²¹¹ and the area was covered with graffiti during the Roman period.²¹² The scene to the south of the doorway into the Hall of Barques is also blank, but like the east wall, must have been laid out in paint and left uncarved at Seti's death. Adjacent to this, the left jamb of the door into the Hall of Barques bears a figure of pharaoh wearing the White Crown entering the temple. The bas relief is completed in raised relief with Seti's protocol, but Ramesses II has added his cartouches in sunk relief below those

²⁰⁹Ibid., Murnane, 163, fig. 5b.

²¹⁰Baines, *JEA* 70 (1984), 20-21.

²¹¹Baines notes that many of the painted cartoons in this portion of the temple have faded substantially since they were photographed in the 1930's. Baines, *et. al.*, *JEA* 75, 14. The roof was missing at the southern end of the Gallery admitting sunlight which bleached the painted decoration away. On the roof of the southern end of the Gallery of Lists see Baines, *JEA* 70, 20-21.

²¹²Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, 158 & figs. 12.4A-b, 160, figs. 12.6-12.7.

of his father.²¹³ Baines suggests that the relief may have been completed by Ramesses, who added his name as evidence of his filial piety.²¹⁴

From the above, it is apparent that the south end of the Gallery of Lists remained incomplete at Seti's death, which implies that it was among the last parts of the temple to be decorated at the end of Seti's lifetime. This, in turn, would imply that the episodes depicting Ramesses II as still a prince are indicative of his status shortly before his father's death.

3.46.8.3 Slaughter Court

This area of the temple remains largely unpublished.²¹⁵ Its decoration is executed in sunk relief naming Seti I,²¹⁶ this being the only work in this medium naming him in the temple.

3.46.8.4 Corridor of the Bull and Staircase Y'

Seti seems to be responsible for a handful of reliefs on the doorway leading from the Corridor of the Bull to staircase Y'. A double tableau over the lintel of the doorway inside the Corridor has Seti running with the *hpt*-oar to Osiris and Sokar.²¹⁷ The shadow of the door is inscribed in raised relief with Seti's protocol, with latter texts at the base of these in sunk relief naming Ramesses II.²¹⁸ Seti is responsible for two of the panels in Staircase Y'. Two of these feature long speeches of Thoth and Sefekhet-abu on the eastern end of the south and north walls respectively.²¹⁹

²¹³R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 110.

²¹⁴John Baines by personal communication.

²¹⁵*PM* VI, 26, (243-244). David, *op. cit.*, 154-157.

²¹⁶John Baines by personal communication.

²¹⁷*PM* VI, 26, (238a-b); David, *op. cit.*, 115.

²¹⁸*PM* VI, 26m (238e-f); *Ibid.*, David, 115.

²¹⁹*PM* VI, 26, (239) & (241); *Ibid.*, David, 115-117.

3.46.9 Work in the South Wing Completed After Seti's Death by Ramesses II

In addition to finishing and usurping his father's partially completed decoration in the first hypostyle and outer courts, Ramesses II undertook the completion of reliefs in parts of the southern wing. Most of this work is characterized by the use of sunk relief and the longer form of his prenomen, (style R³), indicating that it was done sometime after year two. All such reliefs were laid out in paint by Seti I and feature the king bowing. That Ramesses was following such cartoons left by his father is proved by reliefs in the Hall of Barques.

3.46.9.1 Gallery of the Kings

As noted above, Ramesses may have completed a relief on the left jamb of the entrance to the Hall of Barques that was already partially carved by his father. Ramesses added his cartouches in sunk relief bearing the long form of his prenomen, (R³), below those of his father. This work was presumably done sometime after year two when he did most of his work in the temple.

3.46.9.2 Corridor of the Bull

All the tableaux in the Corridor of the Bull are finished in R³ by Ramesses II. Only the lower register remains substantially intact, but traces of panels on an upper register are also preserved in a few instances. A number of the tableaux depict him along side his eldest son Amenhirkhopeshef, including the celebrated bull lassoing episode on the north wall.²²⁰ Also on the north wall, Ramesses drags the boat shrine of Sokar towards Thoth and the deified Seti I, while a smaller, mostly destroyed figure, undoubtedly the prince, follows behind.²²¹ Two other scenes depict only the monarch sacrificing an oryx and offering to Ptah and Sakhmet.²²²

²²⁰PM VI, 26 (236-237).

²²¹Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, 163, figs. 13.4-13.5

²²²Ibid., 162, fig. 13.3 & 164, fig. 13.6.

On the south wall, the easternmost panel features Ramesses driving the four calves towards Khonsu and the deified Seti I.²²³ The middle tableaux has Ramesses running with *h3*-vases before a largely destroyed figure of a mummiform deity. In the next episode he is accompanied by three deities snaring waterfowl in a clap net.²²⁴ In the final scene, the king and prince Amenhirkhopeshef present captured waterfowl to Amen-Re and Mut.²²⁵

The two episodes featuring the deified Seti I are probably alterations made by Ramesses II to the original design that his father had laid out in paint. In both cases, the figures of the dead ruler hold \uparrow -scepters and \uparrow -signs in their hands.²²⁶ This is not the typical iconography of a deified king, who is usually shown holding an \uparrow , (often with a mace as well), in one hand and a crook and flail in the other.²²⁷ Presumably the painted version of Seti included two deities in each tableau. Ramesses altered the second one into a figure of his father merely by substituting the head of the deity with that of the sovereign and adding the royal titles.²²⁸ The three figures of prince Amenhirkhopeshef accompanying Ramesses were surely based on the painted tableaux of Seti I with Ramesses as the prince. Although Ramesses' sons and daughters are depicted on many of his monuments, he is rarely shown

²²³*PM* VI, (234); *Ibid.*, Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, 166, fig. 13.8.

²²⁴*PM* VI, 25-26, (235); *Ibid.*, Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, 167, fig. 13.9; J. S. Westerman, "The Fowling Scene in the Temple of Sety I — Abydos," *GM* 103 (1988), 91.

²²⁵*PM* VI, 25-26, (235); *Ibid.*, Omm Sety & H. el-Zeini, 167, fig. 13.10; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 34, fig. 12.

²²⁶*Ibid.*, Omm Sety & el-Zeini, 166, fig. 13.8, right edge of photo.

²²⁷Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 42, 48, 53 (= without crook and flail), 57, 61 & 72. So too in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite in Seti's Gurnah temple. See *infra* 3.83.3.3ff.

²²⁸On the lowermost scenes on the interior jambs of the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle, the second divine figure, (which may have been a goddess or a mummiform deity like Ptah), was, in each case, entirely replaced by a figure of the deified Seti before Ramesses had Seti's painted cartoon sculpted in relief. Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 57 & 61 with the interior jambs of the north gate, (*Ibid.*, pls. 184 & 187), and with the scenes on the exterior jambs of both gates: (north gate: Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 19C & 19F, south gate: *PM* II², 50, [164f-g]).

acting in concert with them.²²⁹ The jambs of the doorway leading into staircase Y' are inscribed with the titulary of Ramesses II, while the thicknesses are inscribed with elongated cartouches of his in bas relief.²³⁰

3.46.9.3 Staircase Y'

As noted above, Seti may have completed the two vignettes bearing long speeches of Thoth and Sefekhet-abu, but two other scenes in this chamber feature Ramesses II as king offering to the deified Seti along with Isis and the Ennead ((**PLATE 80-81**)).²³¹ His titulary also appears on the jambs of the doorway leading into the Corridor of the Bull.²³² These reliefs are the only ones featuring Ramesses as king with the short form of his prenomen and are in bas relief (style R¹). The fact that Ramesses is not shown bowing in these scenes indicates that he was not following a design laid out in cartoon by Seti.

3.46.9.4 Hall of Barques

Like the other rooms in the southern wing, the walls of the Hall of Barques had been covered with polychrome cartoons during Seti's reign.²³³ Decoration in this chamber is executed in R³ indicating that it was never visited by the sculptors until sometime after Ramesses II's second regnal year. The cartouches of Seti were altered to those of Ramesses II in paint before they were cut in relief. Ramesses never completed the work, and the various tableaux include examples of every stage in the decoration process from the full cartoon, to the earlier and later stages in the sculptor's work, thus leaving an invaluable record of the

²²⁹E.g., from the later part of the reign when Merenptah served as heir apparent. See H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, (Mainz, 1989), 1ff with figs. 1-2 & pls 1-2.

²³⁰*PM* VI, 26, (238c-d); *Ibid.*, David, 115.

²³¹*PM* VI, 26, (240) & (242); Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 162 & 164, fig. 6a-c

²³²David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 112.

²³³J. Baines *et. al.*, *JFA* 75 (1989), 13-30.

procedures used to decorate temples in the New Kingdom.²³⁴ In particular they indicate that portable scaffolding was used and that sculptors of various levels of expertise worked on the same reliefs.²³⁵

That Seti laid out the decoration as polychrome cartoons is proved both by the survival of his painted cartouches on the uncarved columns in the chamber,²³⁶ and by the occurrence of bowing figures of the monarch that were being carved into sunk relief by Ramesses. This is significant because Ramesses did not employ this iconography beyond the earliest months of his reign.²³⁷

3.46.10 Reliefs in the South Wing Completed by Merenptah

Merenptah made a half-hearted attempt to complete the decoration of part of his grandfather's temple.²³⁸ In antechamber E' in the south-west corner of the temple he began to carve some of the painted designs into relief. Only parts of the east wall and doorway into storerooms F' and H' were carved. A double panel of the king adoring Osiris is flanked on the right by a carved figure of Thoth.²³⁹ On the right side of the double scene, part of a figure of the king was cut before the project was abandoned. On the jambs of the doorway into

²³⁴Ibid., pls. 2-4.

²³⁵Ibid., 24-28.

²³⁶David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 152.

²³⁷Cf. Baines, *JEA* 75, pls. 2-4. See *supra* 1.2.6. Ramesses seems to have been following painted cartoons of his father on many of the columns and on the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. See *infra* 3.69.3.6.

²³⁸H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, 133-134; A. Zayed, *ASAE* 65 (1983), 19-27.

²³⁹*PM* VI, 27 (250); J. Capart, *Abydos, le temple de Sèti I^{er}; étude générale*, (Brussels, 1912), pl. 50; David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 160. Seti II was not responsible for these reliefs as Capart asserts.

storerooms F²⁴⁰ and H²⁴¹ Merenptah's titulary occurs, marking him as responsible for the project.

3.46.11 Temenos Wall, Palace and Magazines

The entire temple complex seems to have been enclosed by a mud brick temenos wall interspersed with tower-shaped buttresses.²⁴² A complex of magazines with a formal palace-style reception hall was built in the south-east quadrant of the temple precinct. The reception hall was supported by ten columns, with a throne dais set in the east wall of the room. Six doorways in the hall gave access to various suites of rooms and store rooms.²⁴³ Most of the structure was given over to storage magazines, which consisted of long barrel-vaulted galleries.²⁴⁴ The building is entirely unlike the model palaces attached to the Theban royal memorial temples of the Ramesside age, including the prototype structure within Seti's own memorial temple at Gurnah.²⁴⁵

Despite the presence of the reception hall, and perhaps a window of appearances as well, the Abydos structure cannot really be compared to model temple palaces of the Ramesside period.²⁴⁶ Although it is situated in the position usually occupied by such

²⁴⁰Ibid., Capart, pl. 50; *PM* VI, 27 (251).

²⁴¹David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 160.

²⁴²E. B. Ghazouli, "The Palace and Magazines Attached to the Temple of Sety I at Abydos and the Façade of this Temple," *ASAE* 58 (1964), 111, fig. 2, 156-157.

²⁴³Ibid., 113ff.

²⁴⁴Ibid., 113ff.

²⁴⁵R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1972); idem, *MDAIK* 31 (1975); idem, *MDAIK* 38 (1982); idem, in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 254-255.

²⁴⁶E.g., Medinet Habu: *PM* II², 522-525; U. Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu 3*, (Chicago, 1934), 49-59; idem, *Die Wiedergewinnung von Medinet Habu im westlichen Theben*, (Tübingen, 1958). Ramesseum: *PM* II², 442-443; Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu 3*, 77-78.

buildings, its layout is almost identical to the magazine complex in Seti's Gurnah temple.²⁴⁷ Similar magazine complexes with formal entry halls are found in other Ramesside memorial temples.²⁴⁸ The presence of the throne dais in the reception hall, along with the position of the magazine complex adjacent to the east side of the outer courts, suggest, perhaps, that the Abydos structure was meant to function as a kind of abbreviated temple palace.

3.46.12 Conclusions: The State of the temple at Seti's Death

Seti had finished constructing all the roofed portions of the temple including the south wing, the Osiris Suite, the seven chapels and the two hypostyle halls. In the *inscription dédicatoire* Ramesses claims that he found the front and back portions of the temple uncompleted. Specifically he notes that the pillars had not been erected on its terrace. The reference to the back portion probably refers to the incomplete state of the carved decoration, not to construction. The portico at the back of the second court, which adjoins the east wall of the first hypostyle hall, is decorated with reliefs of Ramesses II including his *inscription dédicatoire*. In this inscription Ramesses claims to have erected pillars on the portico. Although it has been claimed that these were the pillars on this very portico, it is perhaps more likely that he was referring to the portico at the back of the first court.

At Seti's death, pharaoh's artisans had sculpted all the reliefs in the Osiris suite, the seven chapels, the second hypostyle hall and the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite. In the Osiris suite and the chapels of Amen-Re and Osiris, the painters had largely or entirely completed coloring the panels. In the second hypostyle, only parts of the west wall were tinted and the painters had just begun work on the west end of the north wall. The sculpting of the relief was apparently a two-stage process. At the end of the first stage, the reliefs compared well with all but the most ornate bas relief of the New Kingdom in their level of intricacy. Next, however, the draftsmen laid out minute details of the figures such as their jewelry, costume, and other minutiae normally rendered only in painted outlines. Large portions of the

²⁴⁷Ibid., Stadelmann, in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 255, 269, fig. 2.

²⁴⁸E.g., Ramesseum: *PM II*², 442.

decoration in the second hypostyle still awaited this detail work, and the draftsmen's outlines remain on some of the columns and on the doorways leading into the seven chapels. Elsewhere, in the seven chapels and the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite, the finer details had been engraved, but the reliefs remain untinted. In the first hypostyle hall, Seti had managed to carve only a fraction of the decoration. In completing it, Ramesses often followed his father's painted decoration. This is attested in the survival of his name on the shrine of Wepwawet in a scene entirely carved by Ramesses, and by the presence of bowing figures of Ramesses where he was clearly following a design laid out by his father. By contrast, when he usurped his father's extant reliefs, Ramesses replaced them with new scenes of his own composition.

Seti had laid out the decoration of the entire south wing as polychrome cartoons, and had begun to convert some of them into relief. He had completed all but the southernmost portion of the Gallery of the Kings at his death. He may have also begun work in staircase Y' and was perhaps also responsible for sunk reliefs naming him in the Slaughter Court. Throughout the southern wing, his cartouches survive in the painted cartoons, even in a handful of instances in the Hall of Barques where Ramesses replaced most of them before he began to render the cartoons in sunk relief.

It is apparent that the Gallery of Lists was among the last portion of the temple to be decorated before Seti's death, and its southern end remained uncarved. Ramesses may have completed one vignette on the left jamb of the door into the Hall of Barques to which he appended his cartouche below those of his father. His sculptors also carved some decoration at the western end of the Corridor of the Bull above the doorway leading into Staircase Y' along with parts of the walls in the stairway itself. Since the Corridor of the Bull and the Gallery of Lists represent the latest portions of the temple to be decorated while Seti yet lived, the appearance of the future Ramesses II as a prince, not as a king, both in the reliefs in the Gallery and doubtless in the original painted decoration in the Corridor argues that Ramesses remained a crown prince on the eve of his father's death.

From the Temple

3.47 Statue fragment of Seti I (Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5910)

Black granodiorite: H. 77 cm; W. 70 cm; D. 52 cm

PM VI, 9, A. Mariette, *Catalog général des monuments d'Abydos*, (Paris, 1880), no. 351, idem, *Abydos, description des Fouilles I*, (Paris, 1869), 28 [8]; idem, *fouilles exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie, et au Soudan 2*, (Paris, 1867), 99 [clx]; E. Rogge, *CAA, Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien 6*, (Mainz, 1990), 67-73, V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 121-122, fig. 27, H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 254-255, pl. 51.

This fragmentary bust of a black granodiorite statue is the "colossus" unearthed by Mariette in Seti's Abydos temple.²⁴⁹ Originally, it represented the ruler seated on a throne holding a $\hat{\text{H}}$ -scepter in his right hand,²⁵⁰ and is one of only two extant statues of Seti depicting him with the long military wig first worn by the sovereign of the early Nineteenth Dynasty.²⁵¹

On art historical grounds, Sourouzian dates the piece to late in Seti's reign.²⁵² Solia also notes its close affinity to the New York and Dallas busts of Seti from Abydos.²⁵³ On stylistic and iconographic grounds, the statue certainly cannot be dated to the reign of Thutmose III as Altenmüller contended.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹A. Mariette, *Catalog général des monuments d'Abydos*, (Paris, 1880), no. 351

²⁵⁰Similar to other statues of the period including a fragmentary statue of Seti I from Heliopolis and Turin 1380 the famous statue of Ramesses II from the earliest years of his reign. See *supra* 3.22.

²⁵¹The other is Cairo CG 751 also from Abydos (*infra* 3.57). On this wig see *supra* 1.2.10.

²⁵²H. Sourouzian, "Statues et représentations de statues royales sous Séthi I," *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 255.

²⁵³V. Solia, "A Group of Royal Sculptures from Abydos," *JARCE* 29 (1992), 122.

²⁵⁴H. Altenmüller, "Königsplastik," *LA* 3, 601, n. 352.

3.48 Statue Bust of Seti I (Dallas Museum of Art 1984.50)

Black granodiorite. H. 36.2 cm; W. 29.9 cm; D. 18.65 cm

S. Nash, *Dallas Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall, 1984), 1 & frontispiece, V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 107-122, figs. 1-6, 18a, 19a; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 250-251, pl. 49 a-b.

This fragment consists of the head and upper torso of the king wearing a *Nemes*-headdress. The upper portion of the dorsal pillar bears the epithet *ntr-nfr* followed by his prenomen. Solia has demonstrated that this bust was once part of a kneeling figure of the pharaoh presenting offerings. Stylistically, it is related to two other kneeling statues from the Abydos temple (see next two entries).²⁵⁵ Although its provenance is unknown, Solia convincingly argues for an Abydene provenance.²⁵⁶ Sourouzian dates the piece to the latter part of the reign on stylistic grounds and concurs that it probably belonged to a kneeling statue presenting offerings.²⁵⁷ Two other kneeling statues of the king from Abydos seem to have been pendants,²⁵⁸ and it is quite possible that another statue, along with the lower part of this one, has been lost.

3.49 Kneeling Statue of Seti I (New York MMA 22.2.21)

Black granodiorite. H. 1.14 m; W. 35 cm; D. 75.5 cm

W.C. Hayes, *Scepter* 2, 330-331, 335, fig. 210; V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 113-120, figs. 7-12, 18c, 19c; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 253-254, pl. 50a-b.

This statue represents the monarch kneeling and presenting a table of offerings supported by a papyrus blossom. Much of the table, along with the king's arms and

²⁵⁵Solia, *JARCE* 29, 107-122.

²⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 122.

²⁵⁷H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49, 250-251.

²⁵⁸M. di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg, "I monumenti faronici di Sorrento: La statua di Seti I" e la Recentemente ritrovata statua di Padimenemipet," *SCO* 24 (1975), 214.

shoulders, is now missing.²⁵⁹ The head was found broken off, and large portions of the right side of the face and both sides of the *Nemes*-headdress are lost.²⁶⁰

Sourouzian would assign this statue to an intermediate phase in the sculpture of the king, earlier than the Dallas bust.²⁶¹ The differences in style between the two sculptures are, however, slight, and they are more than likely contemporary works by different hands.²⁶² If much of the statuary for this and other temples was begun rather late in the reign as construction of the building neared completion, which Sourouzian herself posits, then they are probably more or less contemporary. The piece appears to be a companion to a fragmentary statue now in Sorrento (see next entry). The table of the latter is supported by a lotus stalk, both sculptures being identical in their scale, iconography and material.²⁶³

3.50 Statue Fragment of Seti I (Sorrento, Museo Correale di Terranova 74)

Black granodiorite: H. 76.11 cm; W. 35.5 cm; D. 64.5 cm

PM VII, 419; M. di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg, *SCO* 24 (1975), 211-15, pls. 1-7; V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 120-121, figs. 13-17, 18b, 19b; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 254, pl. 50c-d.

Companion to New York MMA 22.2.1, this piece has sustained greater damage. Only the battered lower half of the statue remains, now broken into two pieces. The larger fragment includes the base, the sovereign's legs, the lower half of the lotus stalk that supports the offering table and the lower part of the back pillar bearing an inscription. The second fragment consists of the support for the offering table, in the form of a papyrus stock, and a portion of the table itself. The two pieces are broken along the line of his lap. A detailed

²⁵⁹Solia, *JARCE* 29, figs. 7-12.

²⁶⁰Cf. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49, pl. 50a-b.

²⁶¹*Ibid.*, 253-254.

²⁶²Solia notes only minor differences between the two works and considers them to be of one school. *JARCE* 29, 113-118, 122.


²⁶³M. di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg, *SCO* 24, 214.

history of the sculpture was published by Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg.²⁶⁴ Solia and Sourouzian have both recently considered the piece from an art historical perspective, noting its affinity with other Abydene sculptures of the reign.²⁶⁵

3.51 Altar Pedestal of Seti I (Cairo JdE 4743; SR 12018)

Sandstone: H. 90 cm; W. (at base) 75 cm

PM VI, 27; A. Mariette, *Catalog général des monuments d'Abydos*, (Paris, 1880), no. 1365, idem, *Abydos, description des Fouilles I*, (Paris, 1869), 28 [9]; idem, *Fouilles exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie, et au Soudan 2*, (Paris, 1867), 99 [9]; (PLATE 56A).

This is the lower portion of what appears to be an altar pedestal. Its four sides rise up from a square base, narrowing towards the top. The decoration of each face consists of a vertical inscription with elements of the royal titulary flanked at the base of the pedestal by reliefs of two fecundity figures bearing trays laden with offerings.²⁶⁶ The upper portion is now largely missing. On one side of the table, traces of two -signs can be seen on which sat Seti's cartouches. The latter are missing along with most of the cavetto cornice that supported the now missing table top.



The texts on the sides are as follows:

A) Hr k3-nḥt-sḥ-nḥ-T3wy s3 Rḥ Sty-mr-n-Pth mr Skr

B) Nḥr-nḥr nb T3wy Mn-m3ḥt-R3 s3 Rḥ Sty-mr-n-Pth mr Hr

C) Hr k3-nḥt-ḥḥ-m-W3st nsw-bity Mn-m3ḥt-Rḥ nwy Wsir

D) Nḥr-nḥr nb T3wy Mn-m3ḥt-Rḥ s3 Rḥ Sty-mr-n-Pth mr Hr-3ḥty

The epithet beloved of Osiris is spelled with a -sign and two reed leaves. In the other three cases, only the -sign is used. The original provenance of this altar stand within the temple is unclear.

²⁶⁴Ibid., 111-115.

²⁶⁵Solia, *JARCE* 29, 120-121; Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49, 254.

²⁶⁶Not four as Mariette states. *Catalog général des monuments d'Abydos*, (Paris, 1880), no. 1365.

3.52 Osireion



PM V, 29-31; M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, (London, 1904); H. Frankfort *et al.*, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* 2 vols, EES Memoir 39, (London, 1933).

This celebrated monument is known by various names, including Strabo's Well, the Tomb of Osiris and the Osireion. It is a royal cenotaph of Seti I. The practice of building such cenotaphs among royalty and commoners in Abydos predates Seti by hundreds of years, as does that of building royal memorial temples.²⁶⁷ The Osireion was first excavated at the turn of the century by Murray²⁶⁸ and work continued off and on until 1926.²⁶⁹

The date of the building has been the subject of controversy. Junker drew attention to the similarity of the building's construction to that of the so-called temple of the Sphinx at Giza and the lack of Ramesside parallels to date it to the Fourth Dynasty,²⁷⁰ and his view was once widely accepted.²⁷¹ Frankfort has proven beyond all doubt, however, that the Osireion is the original work of Seti I. He pointed out that the similarities between it and the Giza temple are quite superficial, arising in part from the former's unfinished state. Seti's cartouches are found stamped on mud bricks²⁷² and carved in relief on the walls of the sarcophagus chamber. Moreover, large portions of the building are built of limestone and sandstone, neither of which were used in the Giza monument.²⁷³ Likewise, the granite columns and lintels sit upon sandstone blocks identical to others joined with cramps inscribed for Seti.²⁷⁴ Even the notion

²⁶⁷"Cenotaph," *LA* 3, 387-391; "Abydos," *LA* 1, 28-41.

²⁶⁸M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, (London, 1904).

²⁶⁹H. Frankfort *et al.*, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* I, (London, 1933), 1-8.

²⁷⁰H. Junker, "Von der ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches," *ZAS* 63 (1928), 1-14.

²⁷¹See Frankfort, *Cenotaph* I, 23 n. 2 for references.

²⁷²*Ibid.*, 24; vol. 2, pl. 11.

²⁷³*Ibid.*, vol. 2, pls. 2-3

²⁷⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 1, 4 & 24 w/ pl. 8.

that Seti was working with the “kernel” of a granite construction of the Fourth Dynasty was refuted when a number of granite cramps inscribed with his name were found within the walls.²⁷⁵

If the Osireion may be dated absolutely to Seti’s reign, its date within the reign is somewhat more problematical. Frankfort concludes that the limestone retaining wall must first have been constructed before work could have proceed further on both the rest of the cenotaph and the rear portions of the nearby memorial temple lest the latter collapse into the pit sunk to receive the subterranean Osireion. He also posits that the sarcophagus chamber, the only other portion of the cenotaph constructed in limestone, must have been built at roughly the same time as the retaining wall.²⁷⁶

At some point, the decision was taken to build the remaining portions of the cenotaph largely in sandstone and granite. By good fortune, we possess a handful of documents apparently touching on the construction of the Osireion. Two of the three ostraca found at the site of the Osireion by Frankfort contribute little to our understanding of how it was built.²⁷⁷ A third, however, is invaluable.²⁷⁸ It is the only record of what is apparently the ancient name of the building *3h Mn-m3t-R3 n Wsir* “Beneficial is Menmaatre for Osiris.” The work described on this ostrakon includes the transport of two shipments of various stone blocks, apparently column bases and paving slabs, from the quay to the south of the building. Since these shipments were destined for the Osireion and included paving stones and column bases, they would have consisted of sandstone.²⁷⁹ All these are described as having come from the quarry.

²⁷⁵Ibid., vol. 1, 24, vol. 2, pl. 8.1.

²⁷⁶Ibid., vol. 1, 9-10.

²⁷⁷B. Gunn, in *Cenotaph* vol. 1, 94; vol. 2 pls. 90/92, nos. 2-3; *KRI* I, 128, §72, *RITA* I, 108, §72; *RITANC* I, 105, §72.

²⁷⁸Ibid., Gunn, in *Cenotaph* vol. 1, 92-94, vol. 2, pls. 90/92, no. 1; *KRI* I, 127-128, §70; *RITA* I, 107, §70; *RITANC* I, 103-105, §70.

²⁷⁹Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 2, pls. 2-3.

The same document records work done that day for the excavation of a canal "which is on the south of (the building) 'Beneficial is Menmaatre for Osiris'." The blocks described here were probably destined for the foundations and lower courses of stonework in the main chamber as they included column bases and paving stones. This might correspond to the earliest part of what could be called a second phase in the construction of the edifice. During the first stage, the limestone retaining walls, which allowed safe access to the site, along with the sarcophagus chamber, had been installed. The blocks used up to this point were fairly small, and could be transported by men overland from the quay, apparently located near the front of the memorial temple, to the site of the Osireion. Yet once the foundation, paving stones and pillar bases were in place, the third stage of construction began. This involved installing the huge granite monoliths for the pillars and architraves and large sandstone blocks for walls of the central chamber. To facilitate this, a canal was being extended to the south end of the site, and this was still under construction when ostracon Osireion no. 1 was written. It was situated so as to avoid the site of the temple that was also under construction.²⁸⁰

But when might this second phase in the construction of the Osireion have taken place? A quarry inscription of Seti I from eastern Gebel Silsila may provide the answer. The stela, dated to year six, IV *shu* 1, commissions a royal messenger and a task force of 1000 men to go to East Silsila to produce sandstone for monuments "on behalf of Amen-Re along with Osiris and his Ennead."²⁸¹ The stone procured for Amen-Re was destined for Seti's memorial temple at Gurnah. Some of this stone was earmarked for the Abydos temple, but much of it went into the Osireion.²⁸² The new quarry at East Silsila was commissioned in year six, a little more than half way through the king's reign. Ostracon Osireion no. 1 dates to IV *pri*, day 22.

²⁸⁰David maintains that this canal was located on the site of the temple. She maintains that the canal was filled in and the temple built on top of it. She attributes subsidence that damaged the temple to the earlier existence of the canal here. In fact, the temple lies to the north of the Osireion, while ostraca Osireion no. 1 states that the canal was to the south of the Osireion. *Contra* David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 18.

²⁸¹A reference, perhaps, to the gods honored in Seti's temple?

²⁸²*RITANC* I, 52-57, §95, 57, §101.

No year is given, but if it was in year six, then some four months and 22 days would have elapsed between the dispatch of the quarrying expedition by Seti and the arrival of the shipments mentioned on the ostrakon. The next possible date would be in year seven, over sixteen months after the expedition set out. Given the relatively small size of the blocks, mostly paving stones and column bases, it is conceivable that the first shipments of stone could have arrived at the site within four and a half months of Seti's decree.²⁸³

We may then date the beginning of the second, major, phase in the construction of the Osireion to the monarch's sixth regnal year. Thus at the end of the season of *pṛt* of that year, the retaining wall and sarcophagus chamber had been completed and stone for the foundations and lower courses of the central chamber was just beginning to arrive at the site. Meanwhile, a canal was being dug in preparation to receive the huge granite blocks for the walls, pillars and architraves of this chamber.

The decoration of the cenotaph was never completed in Seti's lifetime. Reliefs naming him are found only in the sarcophagus chamber, and these were left incomplete at his death.²⁸⁴ It is impossible to say when these reliefs were carved, but it need not have been while the rest of the building was under construction.²⁸⁵ These reliefs were carved in limestone, and are of the same high quality as those found in the nearby temple. Presumably the temple was Seti's first priority, and decoration of the cenotaph would have drawn sculptors away from their work at the former site. Thus the carving of the reliefs in the sarcophagus chamber might post-date its construction by a considerable period.

There is evidence that the decoration of the cenotaph was largely, if not entirely, laid out in paint under Seti I. Baines has shown that the decoration of the Hall of Barques in the

²⁸³A contemporary document from Abydos, O. Berlin P.11292, is dated to X+2 month of *pṛt*, day 13, possibly nine days before Osireion No. 1. *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 3, (Berlin, 1911), pls. 30-30A; *KRI* I, 128, §71; *RITA* I, 108, §71; *RITANC* I, 105, §71.

²⁸⁴Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 2, pls. 75-80.

²⁸⁵*Ibid.*, I. 10.

nearby temple was laid out as a polychrome cartoon before it was carved.²⁸⁶ A simplified polychrome palette in this and probably other chambers was employed so that these cartoons might serve as a temporary measure until the sculptors were able to convert them into fine bas relief. This practice was apparently used elsewhere during the later New Kingdom.²⁸⁷ In the reign of Merenptah, most of these designs were converted into sunk relief. The palette used in the Osireion, as in the temple, was not elaborate.²⁸⁸ Touches of red, blue and green paint were added to the figures that were outlined and detailed in black ink. Yellow, which was found in the temple murals, does not seem to have been used in the Osireion. Although Seti's name has been replaced by that of Merenptah in the reliefs and even in the extant polychrome cartoons in the rooms beyond the sarcophagus chamber,²⁸⁹ certain iconographic features of these tableaux points to Seti as their author. Throughout these scenes, many standing royal figures lean forward, while kneeling ones have their torsos inclined forward, often with their knees splayed.²⁹⁰ Moreover, in one case Seti's name was written without a cartouche and this was overlooked when the sculptors replaced Seti's name with that of Merenptah.²⁹¹

By the end of Seti's reign, construction of the Osireion was largely completed, with the tableaux laid out in polychrome throughout. The sculptors apparently had little time to convert the murals to relief while he was alive. Such work was confined to the limestone walls of the sarcophagus chamber. Years later, Merenptah began to convert the paintings into

²⁸⁶J. Baines *et. al.*, *JEA* 75 (1989), 13-30, pls. 2-4.

²⁸⁷E.g. in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Cf. *supra* 2.38.1 and *infra* 3.69.3.6 respectively.

²⁸⁸Baines, *et. al.*, *JEA* 75 (1989), 14, 18-20.

²⁸⁹Cf. Horemheb's alteration of existing cartoons of Tutankhamen in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor, which were not carved in bas relief until Seti's reign. Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, xvii & 22-21, (=commentary on pl. 58).

²⁹⁰Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 2, pls. 50-51, 73; M. Murray, *Osireion* 2, pls. 2, 3, 5. See *supra* 1.2.5 & 1.2.8.

²⁹¹Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 1, 23.

relief, after replacing the painted cartouches of his grandfather with his own. Work reached the entrance corridor before the project was finally abandoned.

3.53 Chapel of Ramesses I

PM IV, 31/33, H.E. Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1921); *Idem*, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1937); J. J. Clère, *RdE* 11 (1957), 1-15, figs. 1-6, W.C. Hayes, *Scepter* 2, 331, fig. 208, 333, fig. 209, S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I. in Abydos*, (Göttingen, 1964), 9-14, pls. 9-10, *KRI I*, 108-110, §53; *RITA I*, 91-93, §53; *RITANC I*, 92-93, §53.

This small building functioned as a memorial temple in miniature for Ramesses I who died before he could build one for himself.²⁹² The dedication texts on its doorjambs describe it as a "Mansion of Millions of Years" the term used by the Egyptians to describe such temples.²⁹³ The shrine was located immediately to the north of the north-east corner of the precinct wall of Seti's temple. It sat within a small mud-brick walled precinct of its own, perhaps 25 m long x 15 m wide entered via a limestone portal.²⁹⁴ The chapel proper was built of limestone, measuring some 7 m long x 4 m wide and consisting of a single room. The façade of the temple was flanked by either a mud brick pylon tower or a small complex of service rooms of the same medium.²⁹⁵ Among the furnishings Seti provided for the chapel, cataloged below, were a large dedicatory stela in the courtyard, a black granodiorite statue of Ramesses I as Osiris and an offering table.

The decoration of the shrine was limited to its interior walls and the façade. The jambs of the doorway into the chapel are inscribed with dedication texts.²⁹⁶ To either side of these

²⁹²H.E. Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1937), 12-15 w/ pl. 2 & figs. 2 & 5.


²⁹³G. Haeny, "La Fonction Religieuse des 'Châteaux de Millions d'Anées'," *L'Égyptologie en 1979* vol. 1, (Paris, 1982), 111-116.

²⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 10 w/ pl. 1 & fig. 2.

²⁹⁵*RITANC I*, 92, §173.

²⁹⁶*KRI I*, 109:5-109:10.

on the façade of the chapel are figures of Seti I on the left and Ramesses I on the right. Texts in front and below the two monarchs record Seti's speech to Ramesses in which he describes his beneficence to his father, and the latter's response acknowledging this generosity and entreating the gods to bless his son.²⁹⁷

Inside the chapel, the reliefs were arrayed on two registers of scenes. On the lower register of the South wall Ramesses I is shown offering to Osiris, Isis and Hathor-Mistress of the West.²⁹⁸ Behind him are his queen along with three female and two male relatives, perhaps his children and Seti's siblings, but all, sadly anonymous due to the loss of the top of the register. From the upper register only a single fragment depicting Ramesses driving the four calves before Osiris-Wennofer (lost) is preserved.²⁹⁹ Of the rear (= west) wall, the lower register is perfectly intact with a magnificent double scene of Ramesses and Seti offering to the portable reliquary of Osiris, the so-called fetish of the god.³⁰⁰ Also from the upper register are two connected blocks of a second double scene.³⁰¹ On the left Seti offers a tray of offerings to Osiris behind whom stands Horus. On the Right Ramesses I (lost) offers bouquets to Osiris attended by Isis. In the center of the vignette is a personified -pillar representing Osiris. The lower half of the north wall bears a representation of Ramesses sitting before several tables and piles of offerings with a large offering list arrayed before him.³⁰² Traces of a second offering list above the first also survive. Two sub registers below the offering list depicted rows of priests making and purifying funerary offerings. Below the enthroned pharaoh himself, two fecundity figures perform the *sm3-T3wy* ritual while six others

²⁹⁷ *KRI* I, 109:10-110:9.

²⁹⁸ H.E. Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, (New York, 1921), pls. 6-8.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

³⁰⁰ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, pls. 1-3.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 4.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, pls. 9-10.

bring trays of offerings. This episode recalls a number of elements found in the decorative program of Old Kingdom royal memorial temples, such as those of Sahure and Pepi II. Perhaps Seti deliberately emulated an ancient thematic program in having this scene depicted on his father's memorial chapel, but it does not occur in his own nearby temple.

Stylistically, the reliefs in the chapel bear similarities with examples dating to Ramesses I's own reign, such as those on the vestibule of the Karnak Second Pylon and with others from the earliest part of Seti's own reign.³⁰³ In several instances, the eye is rendered with a naturally modeled brow, and lacks evidence of cosmetic bands behind the eye and on the brow. Such cosmetic lines are, however, indicated as often as they are not, both in the reliefs in the chapel and in examples from the Second Pylon's vestibule.³⁰⁴ By contrast, reliefs in Seti's Abydos temple consistently portray the cosmetic bands and the treatment of the corner of the mouth differs somewhat. In most respects, however, the reliefs from both these Abydene monuments are nearly identical in both their style and proportions, and the chapel reliefs lack other overtly post-Amarna traits such as narrow shoulders, distended paunches and the rather block-like proportions found in the reliefs of Horemheb. The only other significant point of departure between the two sets of Abydene reliefs is the lack of fine detailing found in reliefs from the Ramesses I chapel. We have seen, however, that the highly embellished reliefs of Seti's temple are the exception not the rule.³⁰⁵ In most respects, the reliefs from the chapel have more in common with those from Seti's temple than they do with reliefs known to date to Ramesses I's own reign and the earliest years of his son's, suggesting that they date to the period in between.



Winlock averred that the chapel was undertaken by Ramesses I while he was alive, but was only just begun at his death and that Seti obviously completed it.³⁰⁶ It seems more likely

³⁰³See *supra* 1.2.1.

³⁰⁴Cf. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, *passim*. For the Second Pylon reliefs see *supra* 1.2.1.

³⁰⁵See *supra* 3.46.4.

³⁰⁶Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, 11-12.

that the shrine was completely the product of Seti's efforts. The location of the chapel and its small precinct was governed by the emplacement of his son's temple precinct, rather than the other way round.³⁰⁷ Stylistically, it seems unlikely that the chapel reliefs date to the beginning of Seti's reign. The orthography of Ramesses' nomen and prenomen on the monument are entirely consistent. Moreover, the prenomen is always rendered with the -sign on the bottom, reflecting the standardized form used throughout Seti's reign.³⁰⁸ Earlier in the reign, Seti wrote his father's name, and sometimes his own, in a manner reflecting the predominant usage during the latter's brief tenure with the  in the central position. Thus while the chapel of Ramesses I might easily date from the first half of Seti's reign, it was probably not built at its very beginning.

3.54 Offering Table for Ramesses I

Black granodiorite: L. 83 cm; W. 43 cm; H. 34 cm

A. El-Khatib, *GM* 133 (1993), 67-77, figs. 1-10.

This well preserved offering table was discovered in 1992 some eight km east of the site of Abydos.³⁰⁹ It is intact except for the spout which is often broken off on monuments of this type. Its decoration is well preserved. The upper surface has a group of food and drink offerings rendered in bas relief of high quality. This is surrounded by a border filled with incised texts. The area of the food offerings lies in a shallow depression connected to a shallow channel that ran through the spout allowing liquid offerings to pour off the table via the spout.

The sides of the table are decorated with two horizontal bandeaux inscriptions describing provisions Seti made for his father's cult after the old king's death.³¹⁰ The epithet *tit R* has been appended to the prenomen of both rulers in each instance.

³⁰⁷See Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, 9, fig. 1.

³⁰⁸See *supra* 1.4.5.

³⁰⁹A. El-Khatib, "A Recently Discovered Offering Slab from the Reign of Seti I," *GM* 133 (1993), 67.

³¹⁰*Ibid.*, 67, upper line of text on the side.

3.55 Osiride Statue of Ramesses I (Cairo: JdE 89525; SR 15522)

Black granodiorite: H. 175 cm

PM IV, 33; H. Gauthier, *ASAE* 31 (1931), 192-197; J. J. Clère, *RdE* 11 (1957), 33-36, figs. 14-16; S. Schott, *Denkstein*, 15, pl. 1; *KRI* I, 108, §52; *RITA* I, 90-91, §52, *RITANC* I, 90-91, §52.

This statue was first published by Gauthier in 1931 when it was still in the possession of an antiquities dealer in Baliana.³¹¹ By 1947 it had passed to a dealer in Cairo where Clère found it. It has since come into the possession of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The piece is mummiform, with its head, arms and base missing. Traces of a divine beard remain. The statue's interests derives from its dorsal pillar inscription commemorating the provisions Seti I made for the cult of his deceased father at Abydos. Despite the lack of a provenance, it has always been thought to have come from the chapel of Ramesses I.³¹² The text clearly states that the statue represents Ramesses I.³¹³

This piece may have served as the cult statue of Ramesses I in the chapel Seti erected for him. A wall relief from this monument does show Ramesses I as a cult statue seated on a throne receiving offerings, but this need not reflect the actual form of his cult statue. The god Osiris is shown in the same manner as the statue in several reliefs in the chapel.³¹⁴ The statue, therefore, like the chapel itself, may have served a dual function. Most of the time it would represent the deceased king, but during the festival of Khoiak, when the portable reliquary of Osiris made a stopover in the chapel, it could serve as the cult statue of the god himself.

³¹¹H. Gauthier, "Une statue de Ramsès I^{er} défunt originaire d'Abydos," *ASAE* 31 (1931), 194.

³¹²*Ibid.*, 197.

³¹³*KRI* I, 108.

³¹⁴Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs*, pls. 4-6.

3.56 Stela for Ramesses I Chapel

PM IV, 33; G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 167-200 & plate;

J. J. Clère, *RdE* 11 (1957), 15ff & plate; S. Schott, *Denkstein*, pls. 2-8, *KRI* I, 110-114, §54; *RITA* I, 93-96, §54; *RITANC* I, 93-94, §54.

This fragmentary alabaster stela was unearthed at the site of the chapel of Ramesses I. Its upper portion is missing including the vignette and a significant portion of the text. The latter would have included the dateline, royal titulary, and an encomium of the sovereign. The surviving text picks up at the end of the first part of the main text, a historical retrospective on the Amarna period put in the mouth of Seti I. He goes on to describe Ramesses I's accession and his own role as prince regent. The next section describes Seti's accession after his father's death and his own filial piety in building a memorial temple for his father and his devotion to Ramesses' memory.

This text has been considered in detail on a number of occasions and a text critical analysis lies beyond the scope of this work.³¹⁵ It is apparent that Seti's description of his activities during his father's brief reign are in keeping with the notion that he was prince regent, but not a full coregent.³¹⁶ Moreover, it is abundantly clear that Ramesses' memorial chapel was commissioned only after his death

³¹⁵Jean Jacques Clère, "Notes sur la chapelle funéraire de Ramesès I à Abydos et sur son inscription dédicatoire," *RdE* 11 (1957), 1-38; Siegfried Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I für die Kapelle Rameses' I in Abydos*, NAWG 1964/1, (Göttingen, 1964).

³¹⁶See *infra* 4.5.

Uncertain Provenance within Abydos

3.57 Statuette of Seti I (Cairo CG 751)

Grey schist: H. 21 cm

PM V, 47, L. Borchardt, *Statuen III*, 74, pl. 139; V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 121 n. 30, fig. 26; *KRI I*, 126, §68; *RITA I*, 107, §68; *RITANC I*, 103, §68.

This statuette of Seti I is said to derive from the “metropolitan” temple of Osiris at Abydos.³¹⁷ It may, however, come from Karnak, perhaps from the temple of Mut.³¹⁸ The king’s legs are missing below the thighs along with parts of his arms. The head is well preserved except for the very tip of the nose³¹⁹ and damage to a portion of the wig. Otherwise it is largely intact.

Seti wears the long military wig with a uraeus on his brow.³²⁰ This example indicates that the wig was made up of long, wavy tresses gathered into tight braids near the bottom of each strand. He is garbed in a long pleated garment that seems to have replaced a much older costume to become the official Heb-Sed garment under Amenhotep III.³²¹

Only a section of a thick pole held in the king’s left hand is preserved. This was undoubtedly a divine standard of the type borne by many royal and non-royal statues of the

³¹⁷A. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments, Abydos*, cat. no. 352, 32; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten III*, Cairo CG 751, 74, pl. 139.

³¹⁸According to the *journal d’entré 2078*, this statuette was registered from the *vestibule de Pachet* which may correspond to the temple of Mut. I am grateful to May Trad of the Egyptian Museum for this information.

³¹⁹V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 121 n. 30, fig. 26.

³²⁰See *supra* 1.2.10.

³²¹H. Sourouzian, “Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l’époque thinite jusqu’à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III,” *Hommages à Jean Leclant I Études pharaoniques*, (Cairo, 1994), 499-530 Cf. Vienna AS 5910 (*supra* 3.47) and Turin 1380 both of which wear this same costume.

new Kingdom. Standard bearer figures are known from the New Kingdom, as both statues and statuettes.³²²

3.58 Statue Fragment of Seti I (Dewsbury Museum)

Limestone: H. 35.5 cm; W. 20.3 cm

PM V, 47. Unpublished.

Only the back half of this limestone statuette is preserved.³²³ It appears to represent a seated deity. The back of a tripartite wig is preserved on the right side of the figure. The ample curve of the lower waist and hips suggest that it is female, although this is by no means certain. It could also represent some deity. The figure sits on a block throne with a dorsal pillar rising above the seat back. This is inscribed with a damaged text: *//// n [i]t(?) f n k3 n . Wsir nsw Mn-m3^ct-R^c ////*. "//// of [his fa]ther(?) for the *Ka* of the Osiris-king Menmaatre ////."

3.59 "Portal Temple"

D. O'Connor, "Abydos: A Preliminary Report of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition, 1967," *Expedition* 10, no. 1 (Fall, 1967), 12-14.

This temple was largely built and decorated by Ramesses II.³²⁴ During excavations in the late 1960's, however, several architectural elements and fragments inscribed for Seti I were found. It may be that these were brought in from somewhere else as reused material was incorporated into the structure.³²⁵ Subsequent archeological investigations have revealed that

³²²C. Chadeffaud, *Les statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne*, (Paris, 1982). See also H. Satzinger's review in *BiOr* 41 (1984), 375ff & M. Eaton-Krauss, "Concerning Standard-Bearing Statues," *SAK* 4 (1976), 67-70. The earliest example of this type seems to be a statue of Thutmose IV, Cairo JdE 43611. See. B. Bryan, "Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV," *JARCE* 24 (1987), 13ff.

³²³I am grateful to Brian Haigh of the Bagshaw museum for information on the piece.

³²⁴D. O'Connor, "Abydos: A Preliminary Report of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition, 1967," *Expedition* 10, no. 1 (Fall, 1967), 12-14.

³²⁵*Ibid.*, 12.

the temple's lay atop a mud brick platform composed of bricks naming Seti I, so he does indeed appear to have founded the temple.³²⁶

3.60 Lintel of Seti I (Cairo JdE 32091)

Red granite: H. 72 cm; W. 154 cm

PM V, 59; *PM VI*, 27; A. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, (Cairo, 1914), 173 [703]; Idem, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, (1915), 185-6 [703]; K. Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 219 & 223; (**PLATES 9B & 56B**).

The exact provenance of this lintel within Abydos is unknown. It is decorated in sunk relief with parallel vignettes of Seti I offering to Osiris. In their details, the two scenes are identical, with only slight variations in the text. Seti kneels fully upright holding a pair of *nmst*-vases up to the god (**PLATE 56B**). He wears a kilt, a *Nemes*-headdress and an artificial beard, while the vulture goddesses Nekhbet hovers above him. Osiris sits on a throne with hands projecting from the front of his cloak. He holds a \uparrow -scepter, a crook and flail. On his head is the *3rf*-crown. Between the figures are two offering stands bearing a pair of lotus blossoms. A winged sun disk with pendant uraei labeled as the Behdetite hovers above the center of the lintel.

Mysliwicz contends that this piece dates to late in the reign, during Seti's alleged coregency with Ramesses II. He likens the style of the facial features to examples of Ramesses II from Tanis which, in fact, date to more than two decades after Seti's death, including the lunette panel on the 400-year stela.³²⁷ (**PLATE 9B**) Thus there can be no stylistic link between this lintel and reliefs of Ramesses II such as the 400-year stela.³²⁸ The

³²⁶David O'Connor by personal communication.

³²⁷Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, 103. Cf. figs. 219, 223 of Seti with figs. 224, 232.

³²⁸Stylistically, the facial features of Ramesses II on the 400-year stela resemble those of reliefs that can be dated to the later half of his reign. In these reliefs the *Kheprsh*-crown is often taller than in earlier examples, while the bridge of the formerly aquiline nose is now depicted with a straight line that is uninterrupted between the brow and the tip of the nose, thus giving the face a chisel-like sharpness. Cf. Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 226, 228, 250, 253-254 (= first 20 years of the reign) with figs. 224, 229, 232 & 233 (= later half of the reign). A wholesale stylistic reappraisal of this king's reliefs is in order.

workmanship, executed in sunk relief, is far superior to that of the stela and other reliefs from the later years of Ramesses II's reign. Stylistically, the reliefs are treated in a manner consistent with the mature Ramesside style of the later years of Seti's reign.

3.61 Fragment of Seti I as a Sphinx (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 12469)
Limestone(?): H. 36cm; W. 20cm.
PM V, 47; (PLATE 54).

This fragment stems from a small limestone statue of the king as a sphinx with human arms that he uses to proffer a vessel to the god. Only a portion of the vessel, in the shape of an ointment jar with a stopper probably in the shape of a ram's head remains. Traces of the animal's wig are preserved.³²⁹ Of the ruler, only the tips of the fingers and thumb of one hand remains. The extant side of the vessel is inscribed with a text: *nsw-bity Mn-m3't-R3 [mr] Wsir*, "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre [beloved of] Osiris." Sphinxes of this type are well known from the New Kingdom. Larger ones, of perhaps a meter or so in length were placed near the entrances of pylon gateways,³³⁰ such as a calcite example of post-Amarna date in the First Court at Karnak³³¹ and another of Ramesses II now in Cairo.³³² Smaller examples, which perhaps served as votive pieces, are known,³³³ and reliefs in Seti's

³²⁹Only part of the wig remains, but similar ram-headed stoppers are well attested.

³³⁰E.g., a relief depicting the Second Pylon. Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu I*, pl. 52.

³³¹G. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, 67, fig. 49; E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, cat. 64, 139-142. Legrain attributes it to Tutankhamen, but Russmann posits it could as easily belong to Tutankhamen, Ay or more likely Horemheb.

³³²Cairo CG 36811.



³³³E.g., a sandstone statuette of Ramesses II. Cairo CG 42146. R.E. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, cat. 6 and a small calcite example of Tutankhamen recently found in the Luxor Cachette. M. El-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple*, (Mainz, 1991), 42-43.

Abydos temple suggest they could also be made in gold.³³⁴ Presumably, jars of the latter type actually served as repositories for unguents.

3.62 Relief Fragment of Seti I (British Museum EA 609)

Limestone: H. 49 cm; W. 64.5 cm

British Museum, *Sculpture Guide*, (London, 1909), 159, no. 571; M. L. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10 (1982), p. 11 & pl. 13.

This fragment preserves the upper portion of a scene depicting Seti facing Horus-protector-of-his-father. At the extreme right, a Wepwawet standard is preserved. This tableau is much like one originally carved for Ramesses I in the eastern passage of the Second Pylon at Karnak portraying the king led by Monthu who touches an  to Ramesses' nose. In both scenes, pharaoh wears the *3rf*-crown, and the two figures are preceded by a Wepwawet standard.³³⁵ A second standard, bearing the so-called royal placenta, probably once preceded the Wepwawet standard as in the Karnak relief. Above the picture, extensive traces of a -sign with ribbon bandeau and *hkr*-frieze can be seen.


The bas relief is carefully rendered, but lacks the extensive detailing found in Seti's work from his Abydos temple. This more simplified style of relief is in keeping with the Ramesses I chapel, although the scale of reliefs from that monument seems to be larger than that of the present example. EA 609 may come from the "metropolitan" temple of Osiris instead, or some other construction of Seti at Abydos, and perhaps dates to the earlier half of the king's reign before decoration of his main Abydos temple had begun.

³³⁴A similar example, this time holding up a bowl of food is depicted in the chapel of Re-Horakhty at Abydos. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* II, pl. 18.

³³⁵*PM* II², 42, (148G).

3.63 Stela of Miya

PM V, 99; L. Speers, *RT* 39 (1921), 113-144 & pl. 4; *KRI* I, 342-344, §142, 1; *RJTA* I, 279-281, §142, 1; *RITANC* I, 238-239, §142, 1; (PLATE 91).

This stela of the scribe of offerings in Seti's Abydos temple Miya depicts the king offering to Osiris. He is accompanied by his son and successor Ramesses II who is entitled "the King's first bodily son Ramesses." He wears the side lock and carries the -fan, iconography consistent with the role of a prince.³³⁶

3.64 Relief Fragment of Seti I (Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg AEIN 42/A 730)

Limestone: H. 41 cm; W. 52 cm

M. Mogensen, *La glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: La collection égyptienne*, (Copenhagen, 1930) vol. 1, 100 (A730), vol. 2, pl. 108; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens*, (Copenhagen, 1956), 37-38, no. 40; K. Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, 98-99, & fig. 205; (PLATE 3).

This elegant piece shows the head of Seti I wearing a round bottomed wig with a diadem (PLATE 3).³³⁷ A sun disk with pendant uraei floats above his head, while his prenomen cartouche, preceded by the title "good god" identifies him. Behind his head, traces of the formula "[given] all life" are preserved.

The technique used is the fine bas relief found in reliefs from Seti's Abydos temple and the chapel erected to his father's memory. Mysliwicz attributes the fragment to the latter monument.³³⁸ Facial details such as the modeled brow with a crease between the eye and the brow, and the lips, which are rounded at the tips with a down-curving crease at the corner of the mouth, recall post-Amarna features of reliefs from the Ramesses I chapel, from which the fragment probably originates.³³⁹ Another hallmark of this piece shares with the reliefs from

³³⁶On the significance of this scene see *infra* 4.6.3.2.

³³⁷M. Mogensen, *La glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: La collection égyptienne*, (Copenhagen, 1930) vol. 1, 100 (A730), vol. 2, pl. 108; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens*, (Copenhagen, 1956), 37-38, no. 40.

³³⁸Mysliwicz, *le portrait royal*, 98-99.

³³⁹*Ibid.*, 94-95.

the Ramesses I chapel is the lack of extensive detailing of features such as the hieroglyphs, the hoods of the uraei and of the wig and diadem. This contrasts sharply with the ornate detailing of reliefs in the Seti temple.³⁴⁰

Coptos

3.65 Base of Sphinx of Seti I

Sandstone

PM V, 131; W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, (London, 1896), 15.

This small piece has been lost since Petrie discovered it. Unfortunately, he did not publish any photographs or drawings.³⁴¹ It remains the only known monument of Seti I from Coptos. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

Nagada

3.66 Offering Table of Seti I for Seth (New York MMA 22.2.22)

Black granodiorite: H. 15.8 cm; W. 105 cm; D. 53.3 cm

A. Badawy, "A Monumental Gateway of Sety I — An Ancient Model Restored,"

Miscellanea Wilbouriana 1 (1972), 10, fig. 14; *KRI* I, 234-235, §103; *RITA* I, 201-202, §103; *RITANC* I, 153, §103; (PLATE 55).

This well preserved offering table resembles two others produced for Horus and Atum-Khepri by Seti (PLATE 55).³⁴² It lacks a spout, although it is not entirely clear that it ever had one. Where the spout would normally be there is a concave depression with a smooth finish identical to that of the rest of the table. It may have been broken off subsequent to the table's completion. The careful finishing of the concave depression is hard to explain if the piece was reused as a building block. Perhaps the depression resulted from an ancient repair after the spout had been broken off during the ancient service life of the table.



The layout of the decoration is identical to that of the Ny-Carlsberg table dedicated to Horus. The table top is decorated with two pairs each of conical and round bread loaves and



³⁴⁰Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* I-IV, *passim*.

³⁴¹W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, (London, 1896), 15.

³⁴²Cf. *supra* 3.20 & 3.21.

a pair of jars. On the front side of the table, two miniature offering scenes flank the concave depression. On the right, Seti kneels with his legs splayed out and his arms upraised in adoration of Seth who sits enthroned on a plinth. The act of the king is labeled “adoring the god four times.” Seth’s figure has been hacked out in antiquity, but its outline as well as many internal details, can easily be made out.

On the left hand panel, pharaoh kneels in the same position before Nephtys, with his arms holding aloft a *nmst*-jar and a pot of incense. The scene is entitled “giving libation.” Nephtys also sits enthroned on a plinth. She has a tripartite wig, but no other distinguishing headgear. Both deities hold -scepters and -signs. In both episodes, the king wears a *Shendyt*-kilt and a *Khat*-headdress and his head is bowed down somewhat. No other detailing of his costume is apparent.

The extreme ends of the front side and the other three sides are occupied by a pair of bandeau texts giving Seti’s titulary. The incised texts are of high quality. The left hand text is conventional, but the right hand bandeau gives a variant of Seti’s titulary: “Live the Horus, Mighty bull of Re, Contented with Maat, Two Ladies, Great of splendor in the minds of the patricians, Golden Horus, Contented with victory, beloved of Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, Son of Re, Seti-Merenptah, beloved of Seth son of Nut, may he live forever.” The Seth animal was hacked out of the epithet following the nomen on the right bandeau text, but was left intact in all four occurrences of Seti’s nomen in the bandeau texts and in the tableaux. In both instances, where the prenomen occurs in the bandeau, the orthography is such that the -element is placed high in the cartouche. In the left hand example, an  was added below it, while on the right, the lower space at the end of the cartouche was left blank. From other offering tables of Seti I, we would normally expect an additional epithet such as *itt R^c* or *iw^c R^c* to occupy this space.³⁴³

Although the table has no provenance, the epithet of Seth, “the Ombite Lord of the Southland,” points to the site of Ombos. Hayes identifies this with Nubt, which he believed

³⁴³Cf. the two offering tables from Heliopolis, and another from the Ramesses I chapel in Abydos. *Supra* 3.20, 3.21 & 3.54.


was located at modern Tuxh on the west bank of the Nile, 32 km north of Luxor.³⁴⁴ Nubt, however, was probably located at the site of Nagada 26 km north of Luxor.³⁴⁵


Medamud

3.67 Statue Base Naming Ramesses I and Seti I (IFAO CAVES 42)

Sandstone: H. 5 cm; L. 16.5 cm; W. 8 cm

M. F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1925*, (Cairo, 1926), 46, Inv. (M) 20; A.-P. Zivie, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 99-114, figs. 1-2, pl. 28; *KRI* I, 200, §81; *RITA* I, 171, §81; *RITANC* I, 131-132, §81.

This miniature statue base had been cited as evidence for the hypothetical coregency between Ramesses I and Seti I.³⁴⁶ It is made of sandstone and is of rather crude workmanship. Two parallel inscriptions on its sides name Ramesses I and Seti I. The former is described as “the good god, the likeness of Re who illuminates the Two Lands like Horakhty.” Seti is termed “the good god, star of the land; he arises and everyone lives.” The upper surface of the object is inscribed with the prenomen cartouche of Seti I, but the *mꜣꜥt*-figure seems to have been altered. Zivie contends that the glyph was initially , thus naming Ramesses I.³⁴⁷

As Kitchen notes, it is most likely that Seti dedicated the statue shortly after Ramesses' death.³⁴⁸ Every other monument that associates the name of these two monarchs can be shown to date to the sole reign of Seti. The orthography of both king's prenomens, giving the -sign in the central position, conforms to the standard orthography of the prenomen during Ramesses' brief tenure and in the earliest portion of Seti's reign, especially

³⁴⁴Hayes, *Scepter* 2, 332; *RITANC* I, 153, §305(b).

³⁴⁵B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, (New York, 1989), 35-37.

³⁴⁶A.P. Zivie, “Une monument associant les noms de Ramsès I et de Séthi I,” *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 99-114, esp. 109-114; W. J. Murnane, *Coregencies*, 183-185, 234.

³⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 108-109.

³⁴⁸*RITA* I, 131, §251.

in monuments dedicated to his father.³⁴⁹ Given the large number of monuments dedicated by New Kingdom pharaohs such as Tutankhamen, Ay, Seti I and Ramesses II in memory of their immediate or recent predecessors, this small piece offers only feeble evidence of a coregency between Ramesses I and his son.

3.68 Reused Blocks of Seti I

M. F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925)*, (Cairo, 1926), 3, fig. 4; idem., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926)*, (Cairo, 1927), 127, fig. 75; *LDT II*, 260.

At least two dozen or more sandstone blocks with raised relief decoration of Seti I can be found in the blockyard at Medamud. Others are built into the gateway of Tiberius. All these blocks are decorated with fine bas relief which on stylistic grounds date to the later part of Seti's reign. They all seem to derive from his memorial temple in Gurnah. At least two blocks have texts referring to this building. One of these stems from a vignette with the sovereign and Thoth, and refers to a deity, (name lost), "residing in the Mansion 'Beneficial-is-[Seti]-Merenptah-[in]-the-Domain-of-Amen-on-the-West-of-Thebes.'" Still another block with an image of the monarch leaning close to an enthroned male deity, has a fragmentary text with part of this name "[A]men-Re on the west of Thebes."

A handful of these blocks also make reference to the god Osiris or to Abydos. One of these, now built into the top of the Tiberius gateway, probably comes from part of a doorway. The fragmentary text includes traces of his cartouches with the epithets "[Beloved of] Osiris Lord of Abydos the [great(?)] god," and "Heir of Wennofer lord of the H[oly]-Land." Another loose block from the blockyard also makes reference to Osiris.

Most, if not all, of these blocks would have come from the rear (=west) portions of the Gurnah temple. The four rooms giving off the pillared chamber behind the barque sanctuary of Amen are only partly preserved; their outer walls being denuded almost to the

³⁴⁹Cf. the pedestal Seti dedicated to Horus of Mesen in memory of Ramesses. See *supra* 3.9.

foundations³⁵⁰ The two large sanctuaries to either side of the three chapels of the Theban Triad are also much reduced along with the outer walls of the chapels of Mut and Khonsu and those of the two side chambers of the Amen chapel.³⁵¹ Room 19, moreover, was dedicated to the Osirian funerary mysteries.³⁵² Thus the blocks referring to Osiris need not come from some other site. Clearly, then, the Gurnah temple was used as a quarry in late antiquity to supply stone for the Greco-Roman temple at Medamud.

³⁵⁰Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37, fig. 1, rooms 17-20.

³⁵¹*Ibid.*, rooms 9-12, 14-15.

³⁵²*PM II*², 416 (83).

**Thebes
Karnak**

3.69 The Great Hypostyle Hall



Interior Wall Surfaces

*PM II*², 42 (148i-j)-46 (156), 49 (161)-(163), 59 (176)-60 (179b); H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 4 = KB 32-38, 65-67, 170-171, 174-176, 178-180, 183-186, 190-193, 197-199, 202-209, 216-256, 266-297, 301-344, 352-390; H. H. Nelson, W. J. Murnane, editor, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* vol. I. part 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106, (Chicago, 1981), pls. 1-7, 31-33, 117, 121-129, 131-135, 137-257, 261-265; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 1, (Paris, 1982), 75, fig. XLVIII, figs. 22-33, vol. 2, pls. 39-52; *KRI* I, 206-208, §§83-84; *RITA* I, 179-183, §§83-84; *RITANC* I, 135-136, §§83-84.

Columns (nos. 74-134)

*PM II*², 50-51; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 3, nos. 74-134; L.-A. Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*, (Cairo, 1955), pls. 26-28; R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 1, fig. 43, vol. 2, pls. 40-41, 48.

Architraves and Soffits

*PM II*², 51; V. Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Les architraves*, forthcoming; L.-A. Christophe, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 69-82; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 1 figs. 33-35, vol. 2 54-55; *KRI* I, 201-206, §82, 414-415, §176; *RITA* I, 172-179, §82; *RITANC* I, 132-135, §82.

Clerestory

*PM II*², 50; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 4 = KB 400-426; R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 1, figs. 35, 38, vol. 2, pls. 53, 55, 60, 62-63, 70-71.

North Exterior Wall (Seti I Battle Reliefs) + Thickness and Exterior of North Gateway

*PM II*², 53 (166)-57 (169); Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 10, fig. 5; Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* 4, (Chicago, 1985); *KRI* I, 6-32, *passim*, §§18-26, 29-31, 38-47, 49-64; *RITA* I, 6-26, *passim*, §§18-26, 29-31, 38-47, 49-64; *RITANC* I, 10-35, *passim*, §§18-26, 29-31, 38-47, 49-64; additional fragments, *KRI* V 2, 12, §185.

SEE (PLANS 1-3) & (PLATES 5A-B, 6A-B, 8A-B, 9A, 11B, 13B, 14B, 16B, 57-63 & 65A).

3.69.1 Extent of the Decoration of the Hall under Seti I

3.69.1.1 Interior Wall Surfaces

Seti I decorated the entire northern half of the Hypostyle Hall;³⁵³ i.e., the north wall,³⁵⁴ the northern half of the east wall,³⁵⁵ including the northern half of the vestibule of the Third Pylon,³⁵⁶ and the north half of the western wall (PLAN 1).³⁵⁷ By the end of the reign, his decoration had also spilled into the southern half on the west wall³⁵⁸ and spread as far as the west corner of the southern half of the vestibule of the Third Pylon.³⁵⁹ All Seti's decoration inside the building was done in raised relief.

3.69.1.2 North Exterior Wall

The northern exterior walls were inscribed with a series of sunk reliefs commemorating Seti's Asiatic and Libyan campaigns.³⁶⁰ These have received a great deal of

³⁵³The locations of these scenes can be found in H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, OIP 56, (Chicago, 1941), pl. 4. Hereafter, Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB + location number. The actual scenes are published in H. H. Nelson, edited by W. J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* vol. I, part 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106, (Chicago, 1981), (hereafter Nelson, *GHHK* I.1), which uses a different numbering system for the scenes from that used in Nelson, *Key Plans*. A concordance of these can be found in Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, xv-xvii.

³⁵⁴Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 266-297; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 263.

³⁵⁵Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 301-344; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 264.

³⁵⁶Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 352-390; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 265.

³⁵⁷Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 201-209, 217-256; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 262.

³⁵⁸Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 32-38, 65-67; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 258 = pls. 1-7, 31-33 & 41.

³⁵⁹Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 170-171, 174-176, 178-180, 183-186, 190-193, 197-199; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 261 d-f = pls. 117, 121-129.

³⁶⁰*PM* II², 53-57; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 10, fig. 5; Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 4, (Chicago, 1985).

attention from historians and art historians seeking to elucidate the events they record.³⁶¹ They raise issues that lie beyond the scope of the present work.

3.69.1.3 Columns

Seti also decorated all the smaller columns in the northern part of the Hall (PLAN 1).³⁶² Most of these were inscribed with a single ritual scene oriented towards north-south axis. Those to the west of the north-south axis had vignettes on their east face, while ones to the east of the axis had them on the west side (PLATE 6A). The vignettes on columns 74-80 were visible from the main east-west axis. Columns 77 and 78, at the crossing of the two axes, had two panels each, one facing each axis. In addition to these, each column was inscribed with a papyrus bundle pattern, bands of cartouches and other stereotyped designs such as uraei between the cartouches near the tops of the columns, and *rekhyt*-birds adoring the royal cartouches at the column bases.

Ramesses II later usurped his father's tableaux on columns 74-80.³⁶³ Subsequently, Ramesses IV covered the bundle patterns on all the small columns in the northern part of the building with ritual episodes and cartouche friezes, so that they now bear three ritual scenes spanning their entire circumferences.

There is no evidence that Seti ever inscribed the shafts of the two rows of great columns in relief.³⁶⁴ These seem to have been first carved for Ramesses II in bas relief during

³⁶¹R. O. Faulkner, "The Wars of Sethos I," *JEA* 33 (1947), 34-39; G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, (Mainz, 1976); A. Spalinger, "The Northern Wars of Sety I: An Integrative Study," *JARCE* 16 (1979), 29-47; C. Broadhurst, "An Artistic Interpretation of Sety I's War Reliefs," *JEA* 75 (1989), 229-234; W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*², SAOC 42, (Chicago, 1990); H. el-Saady, "The Wars of Sety I at Karnak: A New Chronological Structure," *SAK* 19 (1992), 285-294. For further references see *ibid.*, Murnane, 40, n. 8.

³⁶²L.-A. Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*, (Cairo, 1955), 89, and pl. 26.

³⁶³*Ibid.*, pl. 26.

³⁶⁴He may, however, have laid the decoration out in paint. See *infra* 3.69.3.6.

the earliest part of his reign in style R¹.³⁶⁵ Seti also decorated the abaci of both rows of great columns.³⁶⁶ Each of the larger columns originally had a vignette facing the east-west axis, with the four columns at the intersection of the two axes having two, one facing each axis. Both Ramesses II's final alterations and Ramesses IV's additions to the columns are in sunk relief. Finally, both Ramesses IV and Herihor added texts to the column bases.³⁶⁷

3.69.1.4 Architraves

Seti I engraved the architraves above the central row of great columns and the inner faces of those surmounting the first row of smaller columns on either side (= 67-73 and 74-80) (PLAN 3).³⁶⁸ He also decorated those lying on a north-south axis in the northern half of the Hall, most of which are no longer *in situ*.³⁶⁹ His work included the soffits of all these architraves that bear elements of his titulary including numerous variants of his Horus name.³⁷⁰ Ramesses II later usurped the south faces of the architraves over columns 74 and 80, both

³⁶⁵See W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975), 172, n. 63.

³⁶⁶See V. Rondot & J.-C. Golvin, "Restaurations antiques à l'entrée de la salle hypostyle ramesside du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak," *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 250 & pl. 31.

³⁶⁷A. M. Roth, "Some New Texts of Herihor and Ramesses IV in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *JNES* 42 (1983), 43-53.




³⁶⁸L.-A. Christophe, "La face sud des architraves surmontant les colonnes 74-80 de la grande salle Hypostyle de Karnak," *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 69-82; V. Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Les architraves*, (Manuscript, 1995), 2-3; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 3, faces 430-436, 476-480.

³⁶⁹*Ibid.*, Rondot, 5-8.

³⁷⁰*Ibid.*, chapter 1.

faces of those over the two rows of great columns, the north faces of those over columns 67-73,³⁷¹ and their soffits (PLATE 65A).³⁷²

3.69.1.5 Clerestory and Roof

All the interior and exterior surfaces of the clerestory were originally inscribed by Seti I (PLAN 2-3).³⁷³ The piers and lintels on the exterior, which framed the window grilles, were decorated in sunk relief (PLATE 58A).³⁷⁴ The lintels were decorated with a continuous frieze of alternating falcons and vultures facing south and perched on the -sign (PLATE 58B). Above this was a continuous -bandeau running the length of the clerestory, surmounted by a full version of Seti I's titulary which was in turn surmounted by another -sign.³⁷⁵ Each falcon protects one of these cartouches with its outstretched wings. The piers are inscribed with two vertical columns of hieroglyphs, the one on the left begins with the king's Horus name followed at its base with either his nomen or prenomen, alternating from pier to pier, followed by various epithets. The right column contains a speech of Amen-Re addressed to pharaoh.³⁷⁶

³⁷¹W. J. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 180; Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 3, nos. 430, 432, 433, 435, 436; Christophe, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 69-82.

³⁷²This applies to the soffits of the architraves over the two rows of great columns and over the first row of small columns on the north. Rondot, *Les architraves*, pls. 20-22. Seti never decorated the soffits of the architraves over the first row of smaller columns south of the central axis, although he did inscribe the north face of these architraves. *Ibid.*, pl. 41.

³⁷³Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 4, figs. 1-4.


³⁷⁴R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak: contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique 2*, (Paris, 1982), pl. 71.


³⁷⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 71; B. George and B. Peterson, *Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836-1837*. Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 3, (Stockholm, 1979), no. 7.

³⁷⁶*Ibid.*, George and Peterson, no. 17; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak 2*, pl. 71.

On the interior of the clerestory, Seti decorated the cavetto cornices and all the surfaces above them. The cornices were engraved with alternating nomen and prenomen cartouches arranged at intervals. The interior faces of the piers between the window grilles bear scenes of the king standing face to face with Amen-Re (PLATE 57 & 59A). All of these were originally executed in raised relief by Seti I, but were subsequently usurped by Ramesses II. On the north side, Ramesses merely substituted his cartouche in sunk relief, while on the south side each tableau was entirely recut in sunk relief.³⁷⁷ He usurped every other interior surface of the clerestory as well, including the cornice³⁷⁸ and the interior faces of the lintels above the window grilles.³⁷⁹

Little evidence remains of the roofing slabs, and none are still *in situ*. There had been a partial collapse of the roof at the western end of the clerestory in the Late Period that was repaired in the Ptolemaic era.³⁸⁰ Substantial portions of the roof over the central aisle were still intact in the late Sixteenth Century of the present era.³⁸¹ Currently, none of the roofing slabs are *in situ* and little is known about them. In 1954 a sandstone block was discovered in

³⁷⁷For an example of only the cartouche being usurped see J. Lauffray *et. al.*, "Les travaux du Centre Franco-Égyptien de 1972 à 1977," *Karnak* 6, pl. 3a. For a completely sunk relief example, cf. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* I, 117, fig. 38. In the scenes that have been recut in sunk relief, the original raised relief is betrayed by the presence of register lines and a -sign which were left in raised relief, and by the fact that the figures protrude out farther than the background surface. Elsewhere in the building, this is a hallmark of the conversion of raised relief into sunk relief. See, *Coregency*, 53-56, §83.

³⁷⁸*Ibid.*, Lauffray *et. al.*, *Karnak* 7, 9. In 1995, this was checked in the field by myself and confirmed by William Murnane and Lorelei Corcoran. The presence of the -sign was visible on some prenomen cartouches in raking light.

³⁷⁹*KRI* I, 201:13-15, 203:11-13; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 2, pl. 60. Ramesses usurped the titulary and cartouches in sunk relief leaving the original raised relief of the dedicatory inscription. See Lauffray *et. al.*, *Karnak* 6, pl. 3a.

³⁸⁰V. Rondot, & J.-C. Golvin, "Restaurations antiques à l'entrée de la salle hypostyle ramesside du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak," *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 249-259.

³⁸¹C. Burri. *et. al.*, *Voyages en Égypte des années 1589, 1590 et 1591: le vénitien anonyme, le Seigneur de Villamont, le hollandais Jan Sommer*, (Cairo, 1971), 101-103.

the foundation of a statue of Pinodjem.³⁸² This was inscribed in raised relief with part of a royal titulary and the lower tips of the outstretched wings of a vulture or falcon. The cartouche contains the nomen of Ramesses II, but this has obviously been usurped in sunk relief. Clear traces of *Sṛy* underlie the sunk relief *Rḥ-ms-sw*. The nomen is compounded with the epithet “beloved of Amen.” Seti I generally used the standard form of his nomen compounded with “beloved of Ptah” at Karnak except in the Great Hypostyle Hall where *Mn-m3ḥt-Rḥ mr-n-ṯm* is generally found.³⁸³ From this, we may conclude that the block derives from the roof of the Hypostyle Hall, probably from the roof of the clerestory which was inscribed for Seti and usurped by Ramesses II.

3.69.2 Previous Theories on the Date of the Hall

It has been argued by several scholars that the central row of great columns in the Hypostyle Hall bears a striking resemblance to the Colonnade Hall at Luxor temple, and that perhaps the twelve great columns at Karnak originally formed a similar colonnade built as early as the reign of Amenhotep III.³⁸⁴ There are reasons for doubting this assessment.

A painting from the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT. 49) reputedly shows the temple of Karnak as it appeared during the reign of Ay. Immediately to the west of the outer pylon is a T-shaped canal.³⁸⁵ Chevrier did find evidence of such a canal beneath the foundations of the

³⁸²M. Hammad, “Zwei von Ramses II Neubenutze Steine,” *ASAE* 55 (1958), 199-203.

³⁸³C. Loeben, “À propos de la graphie du nom de Séthi I à Karnak,” *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987), 225-228.

³⁸⁴This idea was first put forward by Mariette and was later followed by a number of scholars: R. Engelbach, “Origin of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak,” *Ancient Egypt* (1925), 65-71; H. Chevrier, “Chronologie des constructions de la Salle Hypostyle,” *ASAE* 54 (1957), 35-38.

³⁸⁵N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, (New York, 1933), pls. 41-42. Discussed by Seele, *Coregency*, 5, §10.

Second Pylon.³⁸⁶ Much of the decoration of the Second Pylon seems to have been accomplished under Ramesses I and was later usurped by Ramesses II.³⁸⁷ Seele proved, however, that the earliest decoration was done by Horemheb, who was therefore responsible for constructing it.³⁸⁸ Furthermore, the Pylon cannot have been initiated by Ay, since many of the blocks reused in its foundations and interior stem from the “Mansion of Nebkheperure,” a structure built and partially decorated by Tutankhamen and completed by Ay.³⁸⁹

If the outer pylon in the Neferhotep mural is the Third Pylon, then both the Second Pylon and the Hypostyle Hall must date to some point later than the reign of Ay. Haeny contends that the scene from Neferhotep’s tomb is not a reliable source for the appearance of Karnak during Ay’s reign, pointing out that although the vestibule of the Third Pylon certainly existed by the earliest period of Akhenaten’s reign, it is not portrayed in the Neferhotep mural.³⁹⁰ To this one might respond that other elements of the temple are not illustrated in detail. Only one obelisk, or pair of obelisks, is shown in front of the Fourth Pylon,³⁹¹ while in reality two pairs stood there, the work of Thutmose I and III. The object of the

³⁸⁶Chevrier, *ASAE* 27, pl. 1; idem, *ASAE* 33, 175, and *ASAE* 38, 605; Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 40.

³⁸⁷Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, 136-57; *PM* II², 38-39.

³⁸⁸Seele, *Coregency*, 7-8 and figs. 1 & 2.

³⁸⁹*PM* II, 40-41. O. J. Schaden, “Report on the 1978 Season at Karnak,” *NARCE* 127 (Fall, 1984), 50 & 52, n.8; M. Eaton-Krauss, “Tutankhamun at Karnak,” *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 1-11; L. Gabolde & M. Gabolde, “Les temples ‘mémoriaux’ de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques),” *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 127-178; M. Gabolde, “L’Étude du monument de Toutankhamon et Ay,” *Mission Epigraphique à Karnak du 1^{er} Juin 1987, rapport d’activité*, (unpublished).

³⁹⁰G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der Ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, BÄBA 9, (Wiesbaden, 1970), 46.

³⁹¹There is no question that the gate behind the obelisk in this scene is the Fourth Pylon as it is depicted with a kind of awning supported by Papyrus columns that was erected by Thutmose IV. *PM* II², 72, 79; J. Yoyotte, “Une porche doré: La porte du IV^e pylone au grand temple de Karnak,” *CdE* 28 (1953), 30-38; B. Bryan, *The Monuments of Thutmose IV*, (Baltimore, 1991), 170-171.

representation from TT. 49 seems to have been to give an overview the whole temple and its gardens, with some details being left out. Recently Loeben has claimed that the outer pylon in the scene from TT. 49 could represent the north-south axis of the temple, and there is some evidence that a canal was located here as well.³⁹² But again, if the southern axis is being represented, then one of the three pylons which existed along this route before Horemheb's accession is missing.³⁹³ Although the testimony of the Neferhotep mural is not unequivocal, it is reasonable to conclude that it does indicate that the ground immediately to the West of the Third Pylon was still occupied by a canal during Ay's reign. If a colonnade of the Luxor type did exist before the rest of the Hall was constructed, it could not have been installed earlier than the reign of Horemheb.

Regardless of who is given credit for this phantom colonnade, Amenhotep III or Horemheb, there is little archaeological evidence and no epigraphic data testifying to such a notion. Chevrier, Nims and Seele supposed that traces of the foundations of a wall in the north eastern sector of the Hall corresponded to ones they believed flanked a central row of columns in a construction similar to the Luxor Colonnade Hall,³⁹⁴ but Haeny demonstrated that these belonged to some earlier structure that had already been removed by the time the Third Pylon was erected.³⁹⁵ It has now been determined that they belonged to a court fronted by a small pylon erected by Thutmose II in front of the Fourth Pylon that was later removed by Amenhotep III to make way for the Third Pylon.³⁹⁶ Nims also seems to have mistaken modern renovations of the foundations of the Hall as evidence of ancient ones belonging to

³⁹²C. Loeben "Der Zugang zum Amuntempel von Karnak im Neuen Reich: Zum Verständnis einer zeitgenössischen Architekturdarstellung," *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, (Budapest, 1992), 393-401.

³⁹³The Seven, Eighth and the Tenth Pylon which was begun under Amenhotep III.

³⁹⁴Seele, *Coregency*, 18, §31 and n. 11; Chevrier, *ASAE* 54, 35-36.

³⁹⁵Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 46.

³⁹⁶J.-C. Golvin, "La restauration antique du III^e Pylône," *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987), 190 and Pl. 1; L. Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' du Thoutmosis II à Karnak," *Karnak* 9, (Paris, 1993), 1-100.

this phantom colonnade.³⁹⁷ Poorly documented repairs to the ancient foundations carried out in the earlier part of this century have led to great confusion regarding the nature of the originals, leading some to contend that fired bricks were used to make foundations in the Eighteenth Dynasty!³⁹⁸

Murnane, objecting to the “phantom” colonnade, notes that the colonnades Amenhotep actually built at Luxor temple, his memorial temple in Western Thebes and at Soleb all front open courts, unlike Karnak where the Hypostyle Hall was built in front of the Third Pylon, the main façade of the temple.³⁹⁹ Haeny has outlined further reasons why no Luxor style Colonnade Hall could have been built.⁴⁰⁰ In the end he accepts the painting from Neferhotep’s tomb as evidence that no part of the Hypostyle Hall was built before the reign of Horemheb. Finally, he rejects the notion that Horemheb first built a colonnade basing his judgement on the lack of credible evidence for side walls of such a structure.⁴⁰¹ He concludes that the Hypostyle Hall was conceived and built as a single unit. Nevertheless, a variant of this theory has survived to this day, promoted by none other than the *Centre franco-*

³⁹⁷G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 46.

³⁹⁸H. Chevrier, *ASAE* 54 (1957), 35; idem, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (Novembre 1926 — Mai 1927),” *ASAE* 27 (1927), 149-150 & pl. 5; P. Gilbert, “Remarques sur l’architecture de la Salle Hypostyle de Karnak,” *CdÉ* 35 (1943), 38. These brick foundations under the great columns probably represent modern replacements of the original talatat which had crumbled. It is quite possible that these repairs were effected by Legrain at the turn of the century. Cf. Chevrier, *ASAE* 27, pl. 5 where the installation of similar brick foundations in the southern part of the building is documented. Alternatively, they could stem from repairs in Ptolemaic or Roman times when extensive repairs to the building were made. J.-C. Golvin, *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987) 189-205; V. Rondot, & J.-C. Golvin, *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 249-259. Repairs of the foundations and lowest courses of the side walls in this period are attested along the exterior of the north wall and interior of the south wall.

³⁹⁹W. J. Murnane, “Dans le domaine d’Amon: l’oeuvre d’Aménophis III à Karnak et à Louxor,” *Dossiers histoire et archéologie*, no. 180, *Amenophis III: L’Égypte à son apogée*, (March, 1993), 34.

⁴⁰⁰Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 48 & n. 156.

⁴⁰¹*Ibid.*, n. 156.

égyptienne pour l'étude des temples de Karnak who argue that Horemheb was responsible for erecting a Colonnade.⁴⁰² This hypothesis ignores the matter of the side walls that would be expected if a Colonnade Hall had been built.⁴⁰³ There is absolutely no epigraphic data to support the colonnade theory. The earliest preserved decoration on the great columns and the clerestory dates to Seti I's reign.⁴⁰⁴ These reliefs are pristine and there is no sign of reworking. One final objection is the presence of two "throne shrines" of Ramesses I that were blocked by the first pair of great columns. The placement of these shrines makes little sense if one assumes that a colonnade was in place when they were installed since the great columns of the central axis block the approach to them (PLAN 3).⁴⁰⁵

Construction of the Hall, including the central columns, could have occurred only after the Second Pylon had been built, since earlier sunk reliefs on its eastern face depicting a voyage of the great river barque of Amen-Re, the *Userhet-Amen*, had first to be erased when this surface became the west interior wall of the Hypostyle Hall,⁴⁰⁶ PLATE 59B), and because the method used for joining the Hall's architraves and roofing slabs to the Second Pylon were obviously an afterthought.⁴⁰⁷ Haeny would place the construction during the reign of

⁴⁰²M. Albouy, *et. al.*, *Karnak: Le temple d'Amon restitué par l'ordinateur*, (Paris, 1989), 103-109 & 114-118.

⁴⁰³The missing side walls would have presented a serious challenge to Seti if he intended to add smaller columns to an extant colonnade hall. The existing building would have had to be buried in embankments and then the roof and side walls would have been removed and the inscriptions on the columns erased. Only then could the process be started over again to build the rest of the hypostyle including the new clerestory roof.

⁴⁰⁴See *infra* 3.69.3.1.

⁴⁰⁵*PM* II², 43 (149); Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, 149-152.

⁴⁰⁶Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 266-267; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 1, 104-106 & figs. 24-26, 2, pl. 42.

⁴⁰⁷Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 49-50, and n. 156. Haeny asserts that if the Hall and the Second Pylon had been built at the same time, the incorporation of the architraves into the pylon would have been better designed. Other factors betray the fact that the pylon was built and decorated before the Hall existed. A ledge was cut into the pylon to support the roofing

Horemheb.⁴⁰⁸ He notes that reliefs on the western wall include several episodes featuring Ramesses I. Since he reigned for less than two years, Haeny argues that construction of this huge structure could not have been completed during Ramesses I's brief tenure on the throne, so it must have been first undertaken by Horemheb.⁴⁰⁹ Although he admits that Seti I could have executed the reliefs on behalf of his deceased father, he thinks it unlikely.⁴¹⁰ Seele likewise believed that Ramesses I was responsible for the reliefs in question and avers that perhaps Horemheb, though more likely Ramesses I, was responsible for the conception and building of the Hall.⁴¹¹

This view has been challenged by other scholars who have argued that Seti I was responsible for building the structure in its entirety.⁴¹² Murnane doubts that the reliefs in question portraying Ramesses I were carved while he was alive, arguing that they were a posthumous memorial made by Seti.⁴¹³ It now seems likely that the episodes with Ramesses I on the east face of the north tower of the Second Pylon, as well as some newly discovered tableaux of Ramesses I alternating with others of Seti I framing the eastern face of the passage

slabs as were the large slots cut into the pylon's face to receive the architraves. *Ibid.*, n. 156. A frieze of uraei that was once part of the original sunk relief decoration on the east face of the pylon still remains on the north tower. Since this decoration was covered by the architraves and roofing blocks at this juncture, it was never erased. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 137 above the architrave slot; Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 216.

⁴⁰⁸*Ibid.*, Haeny, 50-51.

⁴⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 43-44, 50-51.

⁴¹⁰*Ibid.*, 43.

⁴¹¹Seele, *Coregency*, 19-22, §§ 33-37.

⁴¹²Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, 180-181; Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, 59-63; P. Gilbert, "La conception architecturale de la salle hypostyle de Karnak," *CdE* 34 (1942), 169-176.

⁴¹³W. J. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 170-171; *idem*, "Ramesses I and the Building of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Revisited," *Fs. Sadek*, forthcoming.

through the Second Pylon, were originally carved by Seti after Ramesses I had died.⁴¹⁴ A comprehensive epigraphic analysis of the decorative program of this huge monument greatly elucidates the problem of its date.

3.69.3 Chronology of the Decoration and Epigraphic Evidence for the Date of the Hall

3.69.3.1 The Earliest Relief Work in the Hall and the Recutting of Figures of Seti I on the North Gateway

On the northern side of the clerestory some original raised relief of Seti I has been preserved on the piers between the window grilles,⁴¹⁵ although the cartouches have been usurped in sunk relief by Ramesses II (PLATE 57). These vignettes depict Seti I standing before either Amen or Mut, and are almost the only ritual pictures in the Hall carved for Seti in which he is not shown bowing in the presence of the god. On the south side of the clerestory, vignettes on the piers were originally finished in raised relief by Seti, but they too were usurped, and were entirely converted into sunk relief by Ramesses II (PLATE 59A).⁴¹⁶ Here the monarch is shown bowing slightly.

Seele maintained that the reliefs in the Hall were sculpted in a top to bottom fashion as the earth fill used in constructing the building was removed. As we shall see, there is now strong evidence that portable wooden scaffolding was used to decorate most of the surfaces.⁴¹⁷ The older theory does, however, hold true for the clerestory, since Seti is responsible for its decoration but not for the great columns and the southern range of smaller

⁴¹⁴*Ibid.*, *Fs. Sadek*. See *infra* 3.69.3.2.

⁴¹⁵Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 400-405. These remain largely unpublished. For a view of two of these piers see J. Lauffray *et. al.*, "Les travaux du Centre franco-égyptien de 1972 à 1977," *Karnak* 6, pl. 3a.

⁴¹⁶This dichotomy arose because the northern half of the Hall remained in raised relief. In the south wing, most of Ramesses' work was in sunk relief, and he later converted all of his earlier raised relief here, along with that of his father, into sunk. See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 179-180.

⁴¹⁷See *infra* 3.69.3.3.

columns which support it. Inscribing the clerestory before removal of the earth fill proceeded would have made sense for a couple of reasons. First among these was the daunting prospect of raising 25 meter high scaffolding. Secondly these would have had to be maneuvered around the great umbels of the papyrus columns. It is telling, then, that Ramesses I does not appear in any of the reliefs on the clerestory.

There is a peculiar abnormality of the reliefs on the northern gateway of the building: many of the sovereign's figures on the interior and exterior jambs and the thickness of this portal have been extensively reworked (**PLATES 60-61 & 62A**). The outer jambs and most of the thicknesses were studied and published by the Epigraphic Survey in connection with Seti's battle reliefs on the north exterior wall.⁴¹⁸ In an excursus, the Survey noted that in every case the royal figure had been recut so that an erect stance was replaced by a stooped one *vis à vis* the deity.⁴¹⁹

The episodes on the gateway's exterior jambs were originally carved for Seti in raised relief and subsequently usurped by Ramesses II, who converted them to sunk relief, while leaving scenes on the thickness as they were and expropriating only the cartouches. Changes to the raised relief on the thickness and interior jambs of the gateway, however, indicated that it was Seti himself, and not Ramesses II, who was responsible for the alterations to the royal figures on this gateway.⁴²⁰ The Epigraphic Survey also noted that the decoration of exterior doorjambs in raised relief was a routine exception to the rule that exterior tableaux were carved in sunk relief.⁴²¹

It seems likely that every surface of the north gateway was sculpted at one time. Multiple instances of recutting and adjustments to the royal figure can be observed on its

⁴¹⁸Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 19-21. Two partially preserved scenes on the eastern thickness were not included in the Survey's publication and are to be published by the Hypostyle Hall Project of the University of Memphis (= Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 10, fig. 5, no. 13).

⁴¹⁹Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 77.

⁴²⁰Ibid., 73.

⁴²¹Ibid., 47 and n. 1.

interior and exterior jambs as well as the thickness. In some scenes there are no alterations⁴²² or much less drastic ones,⁴²³ but at least one episode on the exterior jamb exhibits no less than three separate adjustments to Seti's figure before it was recut in sunk relief by Ramesses.⁴²⁴ Likewise, two vignettes on the interior jambs of the gateway were recut at least three times.⁴²⁵ Seti is also shown bowing in two episodes from the battle reliefs where he presents booty and captives to the Theban Triad (**PLATES 8A & 9A**).⁴²⁶ Here his likenesses have not been altered in the same manner as those on the gateway, which suggests that the reliefs on the exterior doorjambs are contemporary with those on the thickness and interior jambs but not with the battle reliefs.⁴²⁷

Both the alterations to and the final versions of the royal figures on the surfaces of the north gateway are by no means uniform. As noted by the Epigraphic Survey, in the final version on the thickness, the king's figures are not so rigid and upright as before.⁴²⁸ The forward inclination of some of them is much less dramatic than that of others in the Hall.⁴²⁹ Scenes on the exterior jambs also show a considerable variation in the degree of the ruler's

⁴²²Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 280 b-d; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 184.

⁴²³Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 20E.

⁴²⁴Ibid., 69 and pl. 19F.

⁴²⁵Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 280e-i; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 186-187; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 2, pl. 47.

⁴²⁶Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pls. 14 & 36.

⁴²⁷The Epigraphic Survey noted that the foreign name rings on the large smiting scenes flanking the gateway were "updated" to reflect Seti's wars, possibly indicating that these scenes were carved before the battle reliefs. *Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 47. The figures of the king in these scenes do show cosmetic adjustments to his face in several instances.

⁴²⁸Ibid., 77.

⁴²⁹Ibid., pl. 20A, D and E. Cf. pl. 20B where the inclination forward is similar to other scenes inside the Hall.

stoop.⁴³⁰ Of those on the interior jamb of the gateway, only one is substantially preserved,⁴³¹ it is on the bottom register of the east jamb and is key to elucidating the sequence of these successive modifications to the royal figure on the north gateway (**PLATES 60-61**).⁴³² Seti dedicates a temple to Amen-Re and Mut in this episode. The two deities show only cosmetic alterations, but the royal figure displays evidence of two major changes to the original with subsequent cosmetic adjustments. The first transmutation was the most significant.

Originally, the king stood erect with his head cocked so that he looked up slightly.⁴³³ His left arm was straighter and raised higher than in the later version. In the second edition the figure is stooped with its legs shifted forward. The head was completely recut with a long military wig replacing the *Nemes*-headdress. The second version also lacks a false beard. Subsequent alterations were largely cosmetic, being focused on adjusting Seti's back, rump, left shoulder and the backs of his legs and feet. These went through three versions as did the streamers dangling from his wig. The apron and belt show two versions as does the right arm. The second version of the head also seems to have been altered once. In the one above, only his feet are preserved,⁴³⁴ but they bear traces of three distinct versions, indicating that this image must have been subject to same drastic alterations as the one below.

Taken as a group, the representations of the king on the surfaces of the northern gateway display a large amount of reworking that is not seen in other standing figures of Seti I within the Hall. This suggests that the gateway was perhaps the first part of the structure to be decorated by him, once the earth embankments had been removed and the walls had been

⁴³⁰Ibid., cf. pl. 20A-F.

⁴³¹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 182-187.

⁴³²Ibid., pl. 187. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* 2, pl. 47.

⁴³³This gesture of the king's head can be found many times at Seti's Abydos temple, both when he bows and more commonly when he does not. Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* I, pl. 18 top, second scene from the right, 23 top, second from the right; Ibid., vol. III, pl. 16, middle top register and bottom left.

⁴³⁴Ibid., pl. 186.

dressed. Presumably some of the tableaux on the north gateway had already been carved with the ruler standing erect before it was decided to portray him in a stooped posture in all the reliefs and to rework those already carved. It is possible that the original plan was to depict only some of his figures with inclined torsos. Once the decision to have him bow in all the scenes was taken, the sculptors had to make several alterations to at least three of the royal figures on the north gateway along with other cosmetic changes before their superiors were satisfied with the sovereign's pose.⁴³⁵

One other curious fact about the recut figures of Seti on the north gateway remains to be considered. The Epigraphic survey noted that his original posture in panels on the thickness of the north gateway was not upright, the conventional stance used in Egyptian art for thousands of years; instead he stood overly erect and seemed to be leaning backwards slightly with his head cocked as though he were looking up to the god before him.⁴³⁶ The same rigid stance with an upturned head can be seen in the original version of the episode on the bottom of the east interior jamb.⁴³⁷ It would seem that this overly stiff posture with upturned head was deemed an inappropriate or unsuccessful means of portraying the royal image. Nonetheless, it was probably meant to serve the same iconographic purpose as the bowing stance that succeeded it.

Elsewhere in the Hall, standing figures of Seti I have not been altered in such a drastic manner. It is true that some of these on the eastern half of the north wall have been revised more than other scenes in the Hall, but these are cosmetic modifications, (PLATES 13B, &

⁴³⁵Ibid., Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 186-187; Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 19F. A similar situation obtained on the east wall of the sanctuary at Luxor temple, where two bowing figures of Amenhotep III were adjusted a number of times to refine the angle at which the king leaned forward. M. Abdel-Raziq, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis III im Luxor Tempel*, (Tokyo, 1986), east wall: 85, 101; west wall: 53. These adjustments have been dated to the Post-Amarna era by Christian Loeben. C. Loeben by personal communication.

⁴³⁶Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 73-75 and pl. 20A-F

⁴³⁷Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, 187; Cf. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* I, 107-108 & fig. 28.

83),⁴³⁸ mostly of episodes in which he kneels.⁴³⁹ An exception is a panel immediately to the east of the north gateway where he offers incense to the barque of Amen-Re in procession (PLATE 14B). The reworking is largely confined to the position of the king's arm and the size of his cap crown and it is purely cosmetic.⁴⁴⁰ Other adjustments to Seti's figure within the Hall are both scattered and minor, while the vast majority of them were never altered.⁴⁴¹ It is most telling that no other standing figures of Seti carved during his reign in the Hall show the sort of drastic adjustment of his posture that we see on the north gateway (PLATES 6A-B). It seems likely, then, that they were the first to be carved once the construction embankments had been removed.⁴⁴²

3.69.3.2 Reliefs Portraying Ramesses I Inside the Hall

Ramesses I is portrayed in several tableaux on the upper register of the north half of the east wall⁴⁴³ and in four "new" scenes on the jambs of the west gateway (PLATES 8B, 62B & 63A-B).⁴⁴⁴ His presence in the latter reliefs had escaped notice until recently, but those on the upper register of the north tower have been a source of much speculation as to what

⁴³⁸As noted by the Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 77 n. 1.

⁴³⁹Nelson, *GHHK*, pls. 189-195.

⁴⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 197.

⁴⁴¹E.g. the large scene on the north tower of the Second Pylon in which the king's profile shows three versions. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 216, *idem*, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 137. See Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* I, 105, fig. 23. Other scenes show cosmetic adjustments to Seti's figure, mostly in scenes where he kneels. Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 143, 164, 176 & 210.

⁴⁴²The clerestory had already been decorated. See *infra* 3.69.3.3

⁴⁴³Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 217, 219-222; *idem*, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 138, 140-142.

⁴⁴⁴Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 32, 34, 202 & 204; *idem*, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 1, 3, 131, and 133. The scenes of Ramesses I on the gateway alternate with ones naming Seti I. All of them were subsequently usurped by Ramesses II. The cartouches were examined in raking light William Murnane, Jennifer Palmer and myself during the 1994 season of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project. See Murnane in *Fs. Sadek*, forthcoming.

they might reveal about the monument's architectural history and the testimony they give to the hypothetical coregency between Ramesses I and Seti I. Legrain believed they were carved after Ramesses' death as a memorial.⁴⁴⁵ Seele maintained that Ramesses I must have commenced the decoration of the Hall on the top of the west wall, and that these reliefs were the first carved in the Hall. Given his brief reign, probably less than two years, the structure, Seele believed, must have already been under construction during Horemheb's final years.⁴⁴⁶ Haeny concurred, finding it unlikely that Seti I would have executed these reliefs after his father's death.⁴⁴⁷ Murnane took issue with Seele's contention that several of these tableaux naming Ramesses I, which do not describe him as *m3^c-hrw*, must date to before his death.⁴⁴⁸ In fact, a frieze of nomen cartouches and prenomen rebuses above these vignettes contains elements of Seti's titulary only (PLATE 63A-B).⁴⁴⁹ If these reliefs were the first to be carved in the Hall using a method proceeding from top to bottom, as Seele believed, one would expect this frieze to have Ramesses I's cartouche alone, or at least a combination of his cartouches alternating with those of Seti.⁴⁵⁰

Ramesses I need not have had anything to do with the execution of these reliefs. Despite Haeny's objections, there is no reason to doubt that they could have been carved after Ramesses' death, since Seti is known to have erected several posthumous monuments to his

⁴⁴⁵Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, 156-157.

⁴⁴⁶Seele, *Coregency*, §§34-36.

⁴⁴⁷Gerhard Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 43-44, 50-51.

⁴⁴⁸Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 217-221; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 138-141; Murnane, *JNES* 34, 170-171; idem, *Fs. Sadek*.

⁴⁴⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 136, 138-143.

⁴⁵⁰See now T. Ling, "Ramesside Filial Piety," *BACE* 3 (1992), 59-66; Murnane, *Fs. Sadek*. Ling also believed that the decoration was carved from top to bottom, but it is now clear that scaffolding was used. See *infra* 3.69.3.3.

father, including a chapel within his own Gurnah temple and a cult chapel at Abydos.⁴⁵¹ Moreover reliefs from the Abydos chapel show both rulers officiating in ritual scenes, although the monument was clearly built after Ramesses' death.⁴⁵² A similar instance of such posthumous representations occurs at Luxor where Tutankhamen and Ay juxtaposed vignettes of Amenhotep III with ones naming themselves on the interior walls and façade of the Colonnade Hall.⁴⁵³ Thus while it is possible that the scenes on the walls and gateway of the east face of the Second Pylon could be taken as evidence for a coregency between Ramesses I and Seti I, the mere presence of the names or even the figures of two kings on a single monument is no proof of such an arrangement given other clearly posthumous representations of deceased kings in association with their successors; viz. scenes of Amenhotep III with both Tutankhamen and Ay at Luxor and Ramesses I with Seti I at Abydos.⁴⁵⁴

Further evidence that the reliefs depicting Ramesses I on the top of the west wall and west gateway are posthumous comes by comparing them with others known to date to his lifetime such as those on the interior surfaces of the Second Pylon's vestibule which are clearly post-Amarna in manner (**PLATE 1B**).⁴⁵⁵ A similar post-Amarna style can be seen on a

⁴⁵¹Monument to Horus of Mesen on behalf of Ramesses I (*supra* 3.9); Abydos chapel of Ramesses I (*supra* 3.53); Ramesses I suite in Seti's memorial temple at Gurnah (*infra* 3.83.3.3).

⁴⁵²Cf. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, pls 1, 4-6. The deceased Ramesses I is shown throughout the reliefs without the use of the term *m3^c-hrw* or any other indication that he is dead.

⁴⁵³Discussed by W.R. Johnson, "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, D.P. Silverman, (ed.), SAOC 55, (Chicago, 1994), 133-144. Johnson notes that the epithet *m3^c-hrw* is never used in association with Amenhotep III or any other iconographical or textual indication that he was dead when the reliefs were carved, despite the fact that only a portion of the façade was laid out in paint during Amenhotep's lifetime.

⁴⁵⁴Cf. posthumous reliefs of Tutankhamen in decoration of Ay. See O. J. Schaden, *NARCE* 127 (Fall, 1984), 44-64; L. Gabolde & M. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 127-178.

⁴⁵⁵See *supra* 1.2.1.

figure of the sovereign on the north side of a “throne shrine” Ramesses I set up against the north east end of the south tower of the Second Pylon.⁴⁵⁶ By contrast, the reliefs from the west wall belong to the mature Ramesside style found in the rest of Seti’s work in the Hall, at Abydos and Gurnah.⁴⁵⁷ They lack any features of the late post-Amarna style employed by Ramesses I and by Seti himself in the earliest years of his reign. The iconography of the west wall tableaux also differs from any contemporary with Ramesses brief reign; for they show him with a stooped posture, a stance never observed in any reliefs carved during his lifetime (PLATE 8B). Finally, all the reliefs on the west wall were cut after those on the clerestory and north gateway, and Ramesses I was never named in any of these. They must, therefore, date to several years after the death of Ramesses I.

3.69.3.3 The Procedure Used to Decorate the Hall

In the past, the chronology of the decoration and construction of the Hall has been considered complex and problematical because the assumption was made that the reliefs were carved from top to bottom simultaneously with the dressing of the walls and columns as the earthen embankments were removed.⁴⁵⁸ This was Seele’s assumption, and he used it to bolster claims that Ramesses I commenced the decoration of the Hall during his brief reign and that Seti I took Ramesses II as coregent.⁴⁵⁹ This theory has produced chronological problems and Seele was perplexed when he realized that if this construction method was in fact used, then tableaux on the south half of the west wall were being carved when it should

⁴⁵⁶*PM* II, 43 (149); Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, 149-152.

⁴⁵⁷Mysliwicz, *Le portrait royal*, 96-104.

⁴⁵⁸Seele, *Coregency* §37.

⁴⁵⁹*Ibid.*, §33-37 on reliefs portraying Ramesses I. Doubted by Murnane, *JNES* 34, 170-171, and Ling, *BACE* 3, 60, and now disproved by Murnane, in *Fs. Sadek*. On the notion that a scene from the bottom register of the north wall showing Seti and “the king’s son of the starboard side” is indicative of a coregency between Seti and Ramesses II see Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, 200-209, and *Ibid.*, Seele, §40 and fig. 8. Murnane has disproved this idea beyond all reasonable doubt. *Ibid.*, Murnane, 156-158.

have still been buried. His elaborate theory, that a system of earthen ramps was later erected to serve as scaffolding for the sculptors, is unconvincing.⁴⁶⁰ He also admits that the “stratification” of the reliefs on the south wall changes not from top to bottom, as he supposed it did in the north part of the Hall, but laterally, moving from west to east along the south wall.⁴⁶¹

All these problems are, I believe, illusory. A number of independent epigraphic features of the decoration indicate that the scenes on most of the interior surfaces of the Hall were laid out and carved only after the walls and columns were dressed, and that the earliest decoration was Seti’s alone. Several aspects of the decoration seem consistent with the use of portable wooden scaffolding set up along one section of wall, with each level of a section being carved, and the scaffold then moved along to the next section.

On the north gateway, the alteration of royal figures on two separate registers indicates that the sculptor or sculptors had access to them at roughly the same time (**PLATE 60**). Elsewhere in the Hall, inclined figures of Seti have not been reworked in this manner and so must have been carved after the north gate, including those featuring Ramesses I on the top of the west wall. The same is true of panels featuring Ramesses alternating with those of his son on the jambs of the west gate, which likewise must date later than those on the north gateway. If the Hall was still largely buried, and Ramesses I was only just beginning to decorate the upper register of the west wall at his death, as Seele argued, the pattern of decoration observable on the west gateway would be difficult to explain.⁴⁶²

It seems hard to deny that scaffolding was used on at least a few occasions during the Hall’s history. Both Ramesses II and Ramesses IV usurped or made additions to many of the columns. Unless one believes the Egyptians flooded the Hall with earth each time a king

⁴⁶⁰He had to admit that a different method for carving the reliefs might have been used in the south part of the Hall. Seele, *Coregency*, §§37, 119-125.

⁴⁶¹*Ibid.*, §120. An identical situation obtains on the south half of the east wall.

⁴⁶²Unless one accepts Seele’s highly implausible theory that tunnels and shafts were sunk into the embankment to decorate individual portions of the walls.

decided to add or alter reliefs within the building, one is forced to conclude that portable scaffolding was used.⁴⁶³

There is evidence that sculptors used scaffolding in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor, a building similar in size and height to the Karnak Hypostyle. The Epigraphic Survey has shown that the decorative program was laid out in cartoon at one time under Tutankhamen, but that the sculptors proceeded from north to south and top to bottom as they carved the reliefs during the reigns of Tutankhamen and Seti I, with a hiatus under Ay and Horemheb.⁴⁶⁴

Finally, definitive proof that wooden scaffolding was used to decorate a temple of similar date is now forthcoming from Seti I's Abydos temple. Baines has shown that several hands were simultaneously at work on different levels of one section of wall space in the Hall of Barques at Abydos before the project was abandoned.⁴⁶⁵ To this one might respond that the walls of the Hypostyle Hall were too high for wooden scaffolding. But at Abydos, Baines observed that border elements and friezes along the top of the wall were carved first, while scenes along the bottom of the wall, which did not require scaffolding, were completed before others that did,⁴⁶⁶ and some epigraphic features of the reliefs on the south half of the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle suggest that a similar procedure was used at Karnak. Here Seti completed a frieze above the large presentation scene on the south tower and three of the five vignettes below it.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³Legrain was an early proponent of the notion that wooden scaffolding was used to decorate the walls after the construction embankments were removed and the walls dressed. *Les Temples de Karnak*, 181-182.

⁴⁶⁴Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I, (Chicago, 1994), xvii, xix.

⁴⁶⁵John Baines *et. al.* "Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos," *JEA* 75 (1989), 24-28.

⁴⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁶⁷Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 7 (top), 31-33.

It is clear from the three periods of Ramesses II's decoration in the south half of the building, (R¹ — R³),⁴⁶⁸ that the sculptors were working laterally along the walls and not top to bottom. Seele admitted as much but tried to solve the problem by advancing a cumbersome theory involving ramps and even tunnels which he himself found deficient.⁴⁶⁹ This pattern of decoration is more in keeping with portable scaffolding than his dubious notion of ramps and tunnels.

The clerestory seems to have been the one area decorated while the edifice was still buried under the construction embankments (PLANS 2-3). Its reliefs were completed before any of those on the walls and columns below, as the conventional, erect stance of the figures of Seti on the north aisle indicate (PLATE 57). Clearly, the recut figures of Seti on the north gateway would have been done subsequently, before any other part of the Hall had been sculpted.⁴⁷⁰ But what of the bowing figures of the monarch on the southern piers of the clerestory (PLATE 59A)? Field observations conducted by members of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project with the aid of binoculars has failed to reveal any evidence that the royal figures on these piers were converted from erect to bowing when they were transformed into sunk relief by Ramesses II. It is unlikely that they were ever altered by Seti, as the scenes on the north gateway had been, since those on the north half of the clerestory were never recut. Therefore it seems most likely that these vignettes portrayed pharaoh bowing when they were first carved. It may be that when the decoration was first planned, the intention was not to show the king standing, either with an erect or inclined torso in every scene, but to have a mix of both.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸See *supra* 1.4.7.

⁴⁶⁹Seele, *Coregency*, §120-125 & figs. 17A-B. Cf. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 169, figs. 11-12.

⁴⁷⁰See *supra* 3.69.3.1.

⁴⁷¹At Abydos, such a plan seems to have remained in effect, where scenes with the king bowing were interspersed with those showing him erect. Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos I-IV, Passim*.

If such a plan remained in effect until work on the north gateway was already underway, it could explain why some figures on this portal exhibit drastic recutting, while others do not. In the tableaux on the west interior jamb of the north gate, he leans forward but there is no evidence of recutting so it must have been initially sculpted in this pose.⁴⁷² Apparently, then, the original plan was to have bowing figures on the west jamb of the gateway and erect ones on the east jamb. When this scheme was abandoned, the panels on the east jamb were reworked.

3.69.3.4 Epigraphic Evidence for the Date of the Architecture

Various scholars have put forth evidence for dating the hypostyle Hall to the reigns of Horemheb and/or Ramesses I based on the latter's presence in a handful of scenes on the west wall.⁴⁷³ As we have seen, however, there is strong evidence that these vignettes are posthumous. It has also been claimed that the north half of the structure was built by Seti and the south half by Ramesses II.⁴⁷⁴ In fact, Seti originally decorated the entire clerestory, the abaci and architraves surmounting the great columns (**PLANS 2-3**). Therefore he must have also been responsible for their erection. Furthermore, since his decoration extends to the architraves of the first two rows of columns in the southern half of the building, the southern row of which support the crucial juncture of two perpendicularly arranged series of

⁴⁷²Observation in the field has yielded no evidence of recutting on the preserved portions of Seti's figure in these tableaux. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 280a-d; idem, *GHHK I.1*, pls. 183-184. While only the king's head is preserved at KB 280b-d and only the lower part of his forward leg and foot at KB 280a, both of these would exhibit traces of recutting if their poses had ever been reworked. Likewise, the deities in these scenes show no cosmetic adjustments. Cf. the reworked scenes on the east jamb and thickness of the north gate: Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pl. 187 & Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 73-75 & pls. 20-21.

⁴⁷³Seele, *Coregency* §§ 37; Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 43-44, 50-51. See *supra* 3.69.3.2.

⁴⁷⁴Lauffray argues that a slight difference in height, (= 36 cm), between the northern and southern halves of the clerestory occurred because the two halves of the Hall were built separately. *Karnak* 6, 9. Neither the epigraphic nor the archaeological evidence supports this notion.

architraves resting on their abaci,⁴⁷⁵ it would seem most logical to conclude that the entire Hall was erected at one time, and was at the very least completed under Seti I if not initiated by him.

3.69.3.5 Chronology of the Relief Decoration under Seti I

From the evidence cited above, the probable chronology of the decoration of the Hall can be reconstructed as follows: The architects intended to dress the walls and columns in a separate operation before inscribing them. When all the blocks had been set in place and the elements of the roof and clerestory were being dressed, they decided to decorate the interior and exterior surfaces of the clerestory as well as the architraves and abaci surmounting the twelve great columns before further removing the construction embankments (**PLANS 2-3**) This would have made sense for two reasons. Beyond the obvious factor that the height involved was particularly great, some 25 meters, the builders also recognized that maneuvering wooden scaffolding around the wide umbels of the twelve great columns would have been tricky at best. Far better to sculpt the flat surfaces of the clerestory and the abaci of the great columns as they were dressed and while the Hall was still conveniently buried under the earthen embankments used to construct it.⁴⁷⁶ This would explain the vertical demarcation between Seti's decoration of the clerestory and the abaci of the great columns and that of Ramesses II on the capitals and shafts of the great columns (**PLAN 2-3**). Presumably the sculptors never got around to decorating these columns in relief before Seti's activity in the Hall ceased. The architraves surmounting them, as well as those over the first two rows of small columns to the south, were decorated by Seti I. In fact, these six north-south architraves in the center of the Hall, which run east-west along its main axis, are inscribed

⁴⁷⁵S. Clarke & R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Construction and Architecture*, (New York, 1990), 152; D. Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry*, (New York, 1991), 127 & fig. 4.33.

⁴⁷⁶Murnane, *F's. Sadek*, forthcoming.

with a series of dedication texts apparently composed as a set.⁴⁷⁷ Perhaps Seti wished to have these texts executed as soon as possible since the task of inscribing them was obviously given a high priority.⁴⁷⁸ Thus the architraves over the four central rows of small columns were perhaps among the earliest parts of the Hall to be sculpted once the walls had been dressed, if indeed their decoration was not concurrent with that of the clerestory.

By the time Seti's active participation in the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall ceased, his reliefs encompassed the entire north wall, the north halves of both the east and west walls, and had begun to spill over into the south half of the west wall and the south half of the vestibule of the Third Pylon (PLAN 1). He had also inscribed all of the smaller columns in the northern half, but none farther south. The earliest reliefs detectable on the shafts and capitals of the great central columns are in raised relief and bear the earlier form of Ramesses II's prenomen (R¹). It seems clear that the wall scenes of Seti in the south half of the building were being laid out by the draftsmen immediately before they were sculpted. So on the west face of the south corner of the vestibule of the Third Pylon, all the scenes show the king bowing. Some of these had been first carved by Seti and usurped by Ramesses II, while others were first sculpted under Ramesses.⁴⁷⁹ On the adjacent, south face of the corner, three of the four scenes show the king bowing, while a fourth does not.⁴⁸⁰ All these were first carved under Ramesses. Other reliefs of Ramesses II on the south wing of the Third Pylon show him upright in every case.⁴⁸¹ All this suggests that in the process of decorating the wall surfaces of the Hall, the draftsmen were working one step ahead of the sculptors.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷V. Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: Les architraves*, forthcoming.

⁴⁷⁸This impression is also shared by Vincent Rondot. Personal communication.

⁴⁷⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 117-121.

⁴⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pls. 112-116.

⁴⁸¹*Ibid.*, pls. 88-112.

⁴⁸²The same would be true of the south half of the west wall. Cf.

3.69.3.6

**Extent of Planned Decoration Executed
in Paint by Seti I and Carved by Ramesses II**

We have seen that the method used in decorating buildings like the Karnak Hypostyle was first to lay the tableaux out as painted cartoons, then to sculpt them in relief. Evidence from the Hall of Barques in Seti's Abydos temple indicates that such designs could sometimes be finished in polychrome. Most extant cartoons are done in black and red paint. In the tombs of Horemheb and Seti I, red paint indicates the basic layout and proportions of a scene, which was subsequently refined and corrected with black paint. The corrected version then served directly as a guide for the sculptors.⁴⁸³

Why, then, were polychrome cartoons sometimes employed? Their use may have been motivated by the time-consuming process involved in creating bas reliefs. Buildings such as the Abydos temple and the Hypostyle Hall were only decorated after the walls had been fully dressed and the edifice itself disencumbered of its construction embankments. Once this was done, the building would have been functional structurally. One gets the impression that pharaohs were often impatient to complete their large ceremonial monuments, but an essential aspect of such buildings, and one without which they were incomplete, was the decoration. It has often been suggested that the use of sunk relief by Akhenaten and Ramesses II was motivated by the desire to complete their building projects as quickly as possible.⁴⁸⁴ The painstaking care Seti lavished on his monuments through the use of raised relief has often been contrasted with his son's typically crude and quickly-executed sunk relief. Perhaps Ramesses'

⁴⁸³Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, translated by D. Warburton, (New York, 1990), 72. Cf. figs. 50-52 on pg. 80 and 55 on pg. 81.

⁴⁸⁴Seele believed that Ramesses' was influenced by a school of sculpture that preferred sunk relief to raised relief. Seele, *Coregency*, §129. This seems unlikely. It is more plausible that the greater speed with which sunk relief could be executed was the motivating factor. In a similar way, Akhenaten's use of talatat was surely prompted by the ease with which these small blocks could have been carried by a single man, thus speeding up construction. Witness the large buildings that Akhenaten threw up in his first years at Karnak, and the entire city of Akhetaten constructed in only a few years. Donald Redford, by personal communication.

motivation in switching to sunk relief was to avoid the same misfortune that befell his father in leaving large portions of his buildings undecorated at his death.

In his study of the Hall of Barques at Seti's Abydos temple, Baines contrasted the careful laying out of the polychrome cartoons under Seti with the rapidity with which Ramesses converted it into sunk relief.⁴⁸⁵ Given the amount of time it took to complete raised relief, the use of polychrome murals throughout the building could have been motivated by the desire to make these rooms fully functional if not fully complete. Could not the same situation have obtained at Karnak?

As noted earlier, Ramesses discontinued the practice of having his figure portrayed bowing in ritual episodes very early in his reign, and that in many of the vignettes in the south half of the Hall where he bends forward, he does so for practical reasons or because there was a more ancient precedent for doing so out of reverence in a particular ritual.⁴⁸⁶ There is an anomalous cluster of tableaux in the south gateway of the Hypostyle Hall featuring him bowing for purely honorific reasons on the surfaces of the south gateway. These seem to have been laid out under Seti I (PLATES 12A & 64A).⁴⁸⁷

An examination of the scenes on the large columns on the east-west axis and on many of the smaller ones throughout much of the southern half of the Hall shows that again, Ramesses' figure bows for purely honorific reasons in nearly all of them. What is even more revealing is that when one plots the locations of the column scenes in which Ramesses does not bow, it becomes apparent that two of the four areas are adjacent to wall surfaces that were in the process of being sculpted at the end of Seti's reign, namely the columns near the

⁴⁸⁵Baines, *JEA* 75, 28.

⁴⁸⁶See *supra* 1.2.4.

⁴⁸⁷In support of this it should be noted that during the 1995 season, members of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project discovered that Seti I was originally featured in two of the six scenes, (= the middle register of both jambs), on the exterior jambs of the south gateway. These reliefs were carved during Ramesses II's R¹ phase of decoration. Presumably these had been laid out in paint by Seti but never carved before his death. In having them carved, Ramesses posthumously honored Seti on the middle registers. Cf. Seti's memorials to Ramesses I on the west wall. See *supra* 3.69.3.2.

south corner of the vestibule of the Third Pylon and those adjacent to the large panel on the south half of the west wall. The only other group of columns that do not show the king bowing are found in the two southernmost rows of smaller columns in the Hall, exclusive of the two columns lying along the north-south axis. As for the relief work of Ramesses II on these columns, one finds that it dates to all three phases of his relief work in the Hall. Furthermore, as Seele first pointed out, work in R¹ is concentrated on the two rows of great columns, the first row of smaller columns to the south of these, and on the columns adjoining the north-south axis of the Hall. From this it is apparent that completion of the decoration of the north-south axis was a priority early in Ramesses' reign. It is also the case that all the columns decorated with vignettes in which the pharaoh stands erect were first executed in R³.

From this evidence, we may conclude that many of the columns in the southern portion of the Hall had been laid out in paint before Ramesses II abandoned the use of bowing figures early in his reign. Furthermore, since Seti managed to carve the decoration of the abaci of the two rows of great columns, as well as all the architraves in the Hall as far south as the north face of the architraves surmounting the first row of small columns to the south of the great one, he obviously had a claim on the decoration in this portion of the Hall. It is likely that before he died, Seti's draftsmen had managed to complete the layout of the two rows of great columns, the columns adjoining the north-south axis in the southern half of the Hall, the interior and exterior surfaces of the south gateway, and most of the other small columns in the southern portion of the Hall except for those in the two southernmost rows, and a handful of others that lay adjacent to wall surfaces that were being sculpted at the very end of the king's reign. It is also possible that at least some of these areas were completed in polychrome paint, especially along the two main processional axes through the building.

3.69.4

Summary and Conclusions: Chronology of the Decoration of the Hall under Seti I

It has been established that the reliefs on the walls and columns were not carved until they had been dressed, and that some kind of portable scaffolding was used to give access to the upper reaches of the walls. Further, the earliest decoration has been shown to date to the

latter half of Seti I's reign, the scenes of Ramesses I being posthumous memorials executed by Seti.

3.69.4.1 Summary of the Relative Chronology of the Decorative Process

- The construction of the building is completed with all architectural elements in place. With the Hall entirely filled with earth, the walls and columns are dressed as the embankments are gradually removed.

- When the base of the clerestory is reached, it is decided to lay out and sculpt the decoration on its interior surfaces, on the abaci of the twelve great columns, and on the architraves surmounting the great columns, along with the cornice and perhaps the architraves surmounting the first two rows of smaller columns on either side that support the clerestory. This operation would save the trouble of having to manoeuvre scaffolding around the giant capitals of the great columns.

All the original decoration of the clerestory was done for Seti. The presence of royal figures with inclined torsos on the piers between the window grilles on the south aisle of the clerestory and of erect ones on the north side suggests that this was the earliest decoration to be carved. Although the figures on the south side were usurped by Ramesses in sunk relief, there is no evidence he ever altered their poses. Unlike figures on the north gateway, the erect ones on the north aisle of the clerestory were never converted into bowing ones, presumably because it was considered too much trouble to put scaffolding up for this operation while so many undecorated surfaces yet remained.

- After the walls and columns had been dressed, layout of the decorative program in cartoon began. A system of portable wooden scaffolding was devised to allow the draftsmen to lay out the first tableaux in paint and for the sculptors to carve them.

- The first area of the building to be inscribed after the clerestory was the north gateway. The decorative scheme on its interior and exterior surfaces was laid out and sculpted. At this point, the program included a mix of scenes juxtaposing bowing and erect figures of the ruler.

- Before work had proceeded to the adjacent walls, however, it was decided to portray all his figures with inclined torsos. The sculptors were called back to the north

gateway to modify the panels in which he did not already bow. Most of these seem to have gone through two or more revisions before his pose was deemed satisfactory. Minor, cosmetic adjustments to the divine figures were also made in many instances. This retouching was presumably contemporary with the first alterations.

- Cosmetic adjustments of both royal and divine figures are found in many of the reliefs on the north wall. Although none of these modifications were on a scale equivalent to the drastic reworking of royal images on the north gateway, they may reflect the “growing pains” of the sculptors as they undertook this huge new project. Most of these alterations are found on both the east and west half of the north wall, but they are most common on the scenes directly east of the north gateway.

- By contrast to the north wall, the east and west walls are relatively free of recutting. Presumably, when the sculptors reached these areas, they had refined their techniques to the point where fewer mistakes were being made requiring correction. Similarly, the decoration of the columns shows few signs of revision, suggesting that sculpting of these episodes only began in earnest after much of the north wall had been completed.

- Towards the end of Seti’s reign, work had begun to spill into the southern portion of the Hall. His workmen had completed the northernmost faces of the south vestibule and reached the west face of the corner when he died. The draftsmen had managed to lay out all the scenes on the west face of the corner and the three lower registers on the south face by this point before the work was interrupted by the king’s death. On the south half of the west wall, several tableaux had been completed when he died.

- Seti’s artisans had completed work on all of the small columns in the north part of the Hall but they never laid a chisel to the great columns or any others in the south half during his lifetime. Yet the draftsmen had laid out the cartoons on these columns and probably on most of the smaller columns in the south part of the edifice as well, particularly those facing the north-south axis. The south gateway also seems to have been laid out before he died. The work along these axes, at least, may have been laid out in polychrome. In this state, they were functionally complete and the time-consuming process of converting them into relief could

await completion of the wall reliefs. After the smaller columns in the north wing had been carved, priority was apparently given to sculpting the wall surfaces in the south portion.

3.69.4.2

Conclusions

It is apparent that the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak temple was built between the Third Pylon of Amenhotep III and the Second Pylon of Horemheb as a single unit during the reign of Seti I. There is no evidence for the outmoded theory that the central row of great columns once constituted part of a colonnade built prior to Seti's reign on the model of Luxor temple. In fact, Chevrier found that a canal existed immediately west of the Third Pylon on the future site of the Hall. This canal may be the one portrayed in a mural from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT. 49) dating to Ay's reign. Excavations of the foundations failed to show credible evidence for such a colonnade, and foundations of fired brick under the great columns on the main axis belong to modern repairs conducted early in the 20th century or in the Greco-Roman era.

The earliest decoration of the Hall dates not to the reign of Ramesses I, as Seele and others believed, but to Seti I's. Reliefs portraying Ramesses I on the west wall and gateway are certainly posthumous, leaving no evidence for his participation in the construction of the Hall. In fact, his two throne shrines, set at the innermost edges of the Second Pylon's east face, make best sense if we conclude they were erected before the Hypostyle Hall had yet been conceived. Although construction of the Hall could have begun as early as the latest part of Horemheb's reign, it was probably Seti I who inaugurated this the most ambitious of building projects Egypt had seen since the pyramid age. His decoration of the entire clerestory, and of the abaci and architraves of the six central rows of columns, shows that construction of the entire structure must have been completed during his reign.

Seti's influence on the decorative program of the monument probably extended much farther into the southern portion in the Hall than was thought before. He seems to have laid out cartoons on many of the columns in the south wing and on the south gateway. The layout of extensive decoration in polychrome paint as a temporary substitute for relief would explain two curious anomalies connected with his work on the edifice: the fact that his relief work

breaks off neatly with the southernmost row of small columns in the north half of the Hall and the fact that he never carved the twelve great columns lying along the important east-west axis in relief. After his accession, Ramesses II both completed the decoration of the building and usurped much of his father's decorative program in it. Consequently, he has often been given credit for an achievement which was fundamentally that of his father's.

Karnak Precinct of Amen-Re



Stelae of Seti I

3.70 Alabaster Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (Cairo CG 34501)

Calcite: H. 201 cm; W. 105 cm; D. 38 cm

PM II², *KRI* I, 38-39, §19; *RITA* I, 31-32, §19; *RITANC* I, 43-45, §19; (PLATE 65B).

This once magnificent stela is made of a single block of white calcium calcite. It was found in the *Cour de la Cachette*. It is dated to II *ꜥhr* 1 in Seti's first regnal year, and comes some two months or so after his accession.⁴⁸⁸ The text states that it was erected "opposite the Mansion of the Prince, at the Place of Appearances of the Incarnation of Re." According to Barguet, this location was a rooftop shrine that served as the principle sanctuary of Re in Karnak where the morning form of the sun god appeared.⁴⁸⁹ It was accessed by a stairway near the north-east corner of the main temple. Kitchen posits that the stela may have been decreed while Seti was in Thebes overseeing the burial of his father.

The scene on the Lunette has the king standing face to face with Amen-Re who grasps one of his hands. Behind the god stands his consort Mut who holds a -scepter extended behind Amen to the king. From this dangles a *hb-sd* group which the king cups in his free hand. Behind the king, Khonsu stands on a -plinth. The upper part of the lunette is missing, taking with it the titularies of the figures and their headdresses. The king is garbed in a long pleated ceremonial robe and is coiffed with a long military wig surmounted by a pair of long ram's horns which are only partially preserved.

⁴⁸⁸If Seti's accession date is III *smw* 24. See *infra* 4.2.2.

⁴⁸⁹P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-rè à Karnak*, (Cairo, 1962), 276, n.5.

The spaces for the figures were uniformly cut depressions in outline form designed to receive inlays of colored glass. This would have consisted of colored glass and semi-precious stones. Fine semiprecious inlay of a similar type is known from Seti's reign.⁴⁹⁰ Traces of plaster cement which held the inlay in place may be found on parts of the four male figures, most extensively on the head and upper torso of Khonsu.

In contrast to the presumed fineness of the inlays on the lunette, the text was rendered in shallow etching in the carefully finished alabaster surface. The etching is not deep enough to have received blue colored paste that was used on similar stelae, although it is possible the hieroglyphs could have been painted.

3.71 Ptah Temple Stela of Seti I, Year 1

Sandstone:

*PM II*², 198 (8); *KRI I*, 40-41, §20; *RITA I*, 32-33, §20; *RITANC I*, 45, §20; (**PLATE 66**).

Only the upper half or so of this stela is preserved. The round-topped lunette has a double scene. On the right, Seti, followed by the goddess Hathor, offers *mꜣꜥt* to Ptah who stands in a shrine (**PLATE 66A**). On the left, the sovereign offers two *mw*-jars to Amen-Re and Mut (**PLATE 66B**). A winged sun disk hovers above the vignette. The composition of the two vignettes is not symmetrical and the quality of the bas relief is rather mediocre. The figures of both Amen and pharaoh have narrow shoulders often characteristic of proportions for male figures in the post-Amarna era.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰An exquisite red jasper inlay of the king's face is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has been dated to Seti's reign on stylistic grounds. The shape of the hair line, which suggests the king was wearing the long military wig first adopted in the Nineteenth Dynasty, would tend to confirm this. W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (Boston, 1960), 144 & fig. 93.

⁴⁹¹G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, (Austin, 1994), 152 & figs. 6.41 & 6.47.

3.72 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I(?)

D.B. Redford, *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 2-3, fig. 1; *KRI* VII, 8, §182.

This once large stela is reduced to only a handful of small fragments.⁴⁹² It was unearthed in chapel J in the north-east quadrant of the precinct of Amen at Karnak.⁴⁹³




Although none of Seti's names and titles occur in the preserved text, according to Redford the phraseology of the rhetorical text is distinctive of the king. It seems to have been a rhetorical treatment of his military exploits in Asia.⁴⁹⁴

3.73 Block(s) Reused in the Temple of Khonsu

Sandstone

Unpublished

These blocks were reused in the lowest course of stone in the pylon of the Khonsu temple. The decoration is cut in sunk relief. The first block has two *Iwn-mwt.f*-priests standing to either side of a heraldic device giving the royal titulary. In the middle are two *serekhs* with variants of Seti's Horus name; *K3 nht s'nh T3wy* on the left and *K3 nht h' m W3st* on the right. Flanking these are two lines of text. The left hand text reads "words spoken by the *Iwn-mwt.f*-priest 'twice purifying king Menmaatre given life.'" On the right is "words spoken by the *Iwn-mwt.f*-priest 'twice purifying the son of Re, lord of crowns, Seti-Merenptah given life.'"

Possibly related to this block are two others to either side of it bearing a frieze of  and -signs surmounting -baskets. Above the frieze on one are two lines of text giving the names and titles of Amen-Re, Mut and Khonsu as part of a stereotyped text that once included a royal titulary.⁴⁹⁵ The fine cutting of the relief on these last two blocks and their

⁴⁹²D.B. Redford, "New Light on Temple J at Karnak," *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 2-3, fig. 1.

⁴⁹³*PM* II², 203-204.

⁴⁹⁴The places referred to are very generalized. Redford, *Orientalia* 55, 2-3.

⁴⁹⁵The verb *mry* and the formula *di 'nh mi R'* occurs after the names and epithets of the deities.

paleography is consistent with the reign of Seti I, although another Ramesside date cannot be ruled out. It is not clear from which building these blocks derived. Kitchen published the text of yet another block built into the pylon of Khonsu temple bearing his cartouches. He suggests that it may have derived from a statue base, but this is by no means certain.⁴⁹⁶

Statuary of Seti I at Karnak

3.74 Alabaster Statue of Seti I (Cairo CG 42139)

Calcite: H. 238 cm; W. 73 cm

*PM II*², 140 (c); G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes II*, 1-4, pl. I; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 3, (Paris, 1958), 390, pl. 125(4); M. Saleh & H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum Cairo*, cat. no. 201; E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, (Austin, 1989), cat. no. 67, 146-148; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 244-246, pl. 45; *KRI I*, 212, §85a; *RITA I*, 183-184, §85a; *RITANC I*, 137, §85a.

This magnificent composite statue consists of six pieces of calcite joined together.⁴⁹⁷ Separate appliqués of various precious and semi-precious materials would have been added to ornament the statue. These probably included a *Nemes*-headdress, inlays for the eyes and eyebrows, a broad collar, sandals, a plaited kilt and an apron.⁴⁹⁸ The statue rested on a separate base and was supported by a back pillar. This dorsal pillar and a plinth joining the two legs are inscribed with texts of Seti I.

Although the statue has been ascribed to an earlier post-Amarna pharaoh,⁴⁹⁹ Sourouzian has shown that it is stylistically consistent with the earliest sculpture of Seti I.⁵⁰⁰ It

⁴⁹⁶*KRI I*, 415, §177; *RITA I*, 342, end, §177; *RITANC I*, 305, §177.

⁴⁹⁷Legrain, *Statues et statuettes II*, 1-4, pl. I.

⁴⁹⁸M. Saleh & H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum Cairo*, (Mainz, 1987), cat. 201.

⁴⁹⁹Legrain, *Statues et statuettes II*, 4. He bases this on the poor quality of the inscriptions as compared to the magnificent workmanship of the statue. The paleography of the inscription on the king's "Alabaster Stela" of year one is identical to this statue, as is the carving. Russmann suggested it may have been begun for Ramesses I. E. R. Russmann, *Ancient Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, (Austin, 1989), 148. See *supra* 3.70.

⁵⁰⁰Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 244-246.

probably served as an official cult statue of the ruler at Karnak and would have been dedicated early in his reign, perhaps during the first year.

3.75 Group Statue of Amen, Mut and Seti I (Cairo CG 39210 + 927)

Black granodiorite: H. 78 cm; W. 46 cm

PM II², 127; G. Daressy, *Statues des divinités* I, 299-300; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, 158-159 & n. 1 (= Cairo CG 927); A. el H. Ma'arouf, *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987), 174-177, pl. 4; *KRI* I, 212-213, §85b; *RITA* I, 184, §85b; *RITANC* I, 137, §85b.

This piece was long known from two separate fragments that were eventually united.⁵⁰¹ Three new fragments belonging to it were recently found in the *3h-mnw* in Karnak. Fortunately, two of these fill in some of the lacunae in the text on the back pillar.⁵⁰²

The statue group represents Amen-Re and Mut seated on a double throne with a much smaller figure of the king standing between their legs. The back pillar contains a long inscription referring to the benefactions, *3hw*, the sovereign had done on behalf of Amen-Re. The final part of the text states that he "has made mighty monuments of beautiful black granite." This text is not the *ir.n.f m mnw.f* formula, since part of this formula is inscribed on one of the new fragments near the top of the final line of the inscription.⁵⁰³ Sourouzian notes the similarity between this statement and that of the two year nine stelae from Aswan⁵⁰⁴ describing the production of numerous "great statues in black granite" which suggests that the statue group may have come from late in the reign.⁵⁰⁵ The relative paucity of statuary for this king, might tend to confirm her hypothesis.

⁵⁰¹G. Daressy, *Statues des divinités* I, 299-300 (=Cairo CG 39210); L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, 158-159 & n. 1 (= Cairo CG 927).

⁵⁰²A. el H. Ma'arouf, "Un groupe statuaire de Séthi I, XIX^e dynastie," *Karnak* 8, (Paris, 1987), 174-177, 187 & pl. 4.

⁵⁰³*Ibid.*, 176, line 7 & 177, larger new fragment.





⁵⁰⁴See *infra* 3.119 & 3.120.

⁵⁰⁵H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 246.

3.76 Group Statue of Amen & Mut (Cairo CG 39211)

Black granodiorite: H. 80 cm; W. 42 cm

*PM II*², 285; G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* I, 300, pl. 56; B. Horneman, *Types V*, pl. 1208, *KRI* I, 213, §85c; *RITA* I, 184, §85c; *RITANC* I, 137, §85c.

This statue is well preserved lacking only the plumes of Amen-Re's crown and the tip of Mut's nose.⁵⁰⁶ There seems to have been three columns of text on the dorsal pillar, but these have been erased. The only texts remaining on the statue are the nomen and prenomen cartouches of Seti I inscribed on the front of the double throne. Daressy believed that the prenomen cartouche had been usurped from Amenhotep III, and that the name of Amen had been restored in the epithet *mry Tmn*. This seems unlikely as one would expect the whole statue to have been smashed during the Amarna period. Stylistically, the piece does not resemble known statuary of Amenhotep III. Finally there is the orthography of Seti's prenomen. It is arranged with the -sign in the central position. If the cartouche had been usurped from Amenhotep III's *Nb-m3'rt-R'*, one would expect that only the -sign would have been added over the -basket. The latter is almost always found on the bottom of Amenhotep III's cartouche.⁵⁰⁷ The statue is probably the original work of Seti, the orthography of the prenomen, and the simple, unorthodox form of the nomen, , suggest a date early in his reign.

3.77 Fragment of a Group Statue of Amen & Mut (Cairo CG 39212)

Black granodiorite: H. 41 cm; W. 44 cm



*PM II*², 285; G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* I, 300; *KRI* I, 214, §85d; *RITA* I, 185, §85d; *RITANC* I, 137, §85c.

Only the lower portion of this statue is preserved.⁵⁰⁸ Its width is nearly identical to Cairo CG 39211 and it is likely that the two are pendants. The orthography of Seti's

⁵⁰⁶G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* I, 300, pl. 56; B. Horneman, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* 5, pl. 1208. In Daressy's plate it is wrongly labeled Cairo CG 39210.

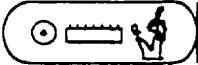
⁵⁰⁷An exception is the Alabaster Barque Chapel of Thutmose IV that was finished early in the reign of Amenhotep III. *PM II*², 71-72; B. Bryan, *The Monuments of Thutmose IV*, 171-174.

⁵⁰⁸Daressy, *Statues de divinités* I, 300. No photo is provided.

cartouches on the statue would tend to confirm this. The prenomen is again arranged with the -sign in the middle, while the nomen is written *Sty-mr-ptḥ* written with . The unorthodox form of the cartouches again suggests an early date for the piece.⁵⁰⁹ While Cairo CG 39211 and 39212 are likely pendants, Cairo CG 39210 is apparently unrelated to them and dates to later in the reign. The exact provenance of Cairo CG 39211 & 39212 within Karnak is unclear.

3.78 Black Granodiorite Head of Amen

H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 246, pl. 46a, Centre Franco-Égyptien des Temples de Karnak, forthcoming.

Discovered in 1982 south of the granite sanctuary in Karnak, this anepigraphic head of Amen-Re bears a striking resemblance to two limestone heads from the Ptah chapel of Seti I at Mit Rahineh. Like these two Memphite heads, it features hooded, almond-shaped eyes⁵¹⁰ with modeled brow, and a similar treatment of the mouth with slightly puffy cheeks and triangular grooves at the corners of the mouth creating a slight smile that became characteristic of Nineteenth Dynasty royal statuary.⁵¹¹ All three heads are oval in form. The similarity between them suggests a point early in Seti's reign as the most likely date for the Karnak head.⁵¹² Part of the dorsal pillar inscription bears his protocol. This inscription includes the prenomen cartouche of the king written . Here again, this orthography of the prenomen is linked to a date early in the reign based on the post-Amarna style of the head.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁹See *supra* 1.4.5.

⁵¹⁰As defined by B. Bothmer, in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, 89, figs. 7 & 9.

⁵¹¹C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, (New York, 1980), 189.

⁵¹²Although it could have been made under Ramesses I, a date earlier, (i.e. under Horemheb), or later, (under Ramesses II), may be excluded based on known stylistic criteria for the statuary of these rulers.

⁵¹³see *supra* 1.4.3.

3.79 Sphinx in the Name of Seti I (Late Period?)

*PM II*², 143; G. Legrain, *Archaeological Report*, Egypt Exploration Fund 1904-1905, 24; *KRI I*, 214, §262e; *RITA I*, 185 §262e; *RITANC I*, 137, §262e.

This piece is said to date to the Late Period, but is inscribed for Seti I. To date only its texts have been adequately published.

3.80 Statue Base of Seti I

*PM II*², 24; H. Chevrier, *ASAE* 31 (1931), 83.

The present whereabouts of this piece is unknown. According to Chevrier, it joins with another fragment belonging to the lower part of the statue. No further details were ever published.

Karnak, Precinct of Monthu**3.81 *Sm3-T3wy* Stela of Seti I**

Sandstone

*PM II*², 9; A. Varille, *Karnak I*, FIFAO 19, (Cairo, 1943), 19, pl. 49.

A piece described by the excavator as a stela was found broken into several pieces⁵¹⁴ Its design features two fecundity figures performing the *sm3-T3wy* ritual. Above this is a heraldic device featuring Seti's cartouches flanked by winged uraei. Two separate groups of fragments bear part of the king's Horus name and a lintel decorated with hawks protecting the king's cartouches. Part of a torus molding remains which would have had a cavetto cornice above it. The piece may have served as a stela or perhaps as a decorative element in stone fitted into a mudbrick building.

3.82 Bases of Granite Colossi of Seti I

*PM II*², 11 (30-31); R. Robichon & L. Christophe, *Karnak Nord 3*, FIFAO 23, (Cairo, 1951), 10-12, fig. 2, pl. 47.

These granite bases apparently served as pedestals for two granite colossi.⁵¹⁵ They were installed by Seti in front of a gateway built into the south side of the temenos wall of the

⁵¹⁴A. Varille, *Karnak I*, FIFAO 19, (Cairo, 1943) 19, pl. 49.

⁵¹⁵R. Robichon & L. Christophe, *Karnak Nord 3*, FIFAO 23, (Cairo, 1951), 10-12, fig. 2, pl. 47.

canal terminating at the front of the Gurnah temple allowed the great barges of the Theban triad, led by the huge barque *Userhet-Amen*, to reach the edge of the western desert from Karnak.⁵¹⁸

Having chosen a prestigious site for his temple, Seti planned a large memorial foundation centered on a building of innovative design. Fortunately, it is one of the best preserved in all of Thebes, allowing for close study. In 1970, the German Institute of Archaeology began a major archaeological and epigraphic survey at the site.⁵¹⁹

The main building is laid out along the classic tripartite design of Theban memorial temples with a back portion housing the inner cult rooms, preceded by two open courts fronted by mud brick pylon gateways and enclosed by side walls.⁵²⁰ The whole complex was surrounded by a massive series of enclosure walls of mud brick.⁵²¹ Towers were built at the four corners along with a series of tower-like buttresses set at intervals along the walls. This type of temenos wall is not found prior to Seti's reign in Theban memorial temples. Gurnah, then, was a veritable divine fortress. This design may recall archaic and Old Kingdom enclosure walls such as that of the pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara, suggesting a conscious revival of ancient traditions.⁵²²

⁵¹⁸Ibid., Stadelmann, 177-178.

⁵¹⁹R. Stadelmann, "Der Tempel Sethos. in Gurna (Erster Grabungsbericht)," *MDAIK* 28.2 (1972), 293-299 & pls. 68-70. Subsequent reports can be found in idem, *MDAIK* 31.2 (1975), 353-3356 & pls. 108-109; idem, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 125-131 & pls. 39-43; R. Stadelmann & K. Mysliwiec, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 395-405 & pls. 95-101.

⁵²⁰R. Stadelmann, "The Mortuary Temple of Seti I at Gurna: Excavation and Restoration," in E. Bleiberg and R. Freed, (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 251-269, esp. 251-252 & 269, fig. 2.

⁵²¹Ibid., 253, pls. 2-3 & 269, fig. 2; R. Stadelmann & K. Mysliwiec, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 395-397, pls. 96-98a; R. Stadelmann, "Totentempel und Millionenhäuser in Theben," *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 310.

⁵²²Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 253. Still later examples such as the walls and high gates at Medinet Habu, obviously modeled on Migdol fortresses, suggests an Asiatic inspiration.

The gateway through the first pylon was built of limestone and sandstone. The passage through the gate was lined with finely sculpted limestone blocks, while the roof was supported by a massive sandstone architrave.⁵²³

A dromos leading from the first to the second pylon was paved with sandstone slabs. Immediately to the west of the first pylon, just inside the court, Seti had two colossal sphinxes installed.⁵²⁴ Although little more than their bases now remain, they preserve invaluable topographical lists of foreign place names.⁵²⁵ The pedestals of two smaller limestone sphinxes were found guarding the entrance through the north wall of the first court.⁵²⁶ They appear to date late in the reign, as they were never finished.

On the south side of the first court Seti had the earliest known version of a model royal palace built.⁵²⁷ This type of symbolic palace became a standard fixture of royal memorial temples in the Ramesside era. In terms of its scale and design, it is closely related to the model palaces in the Ramesseum and at Medinet Habu. Thus Seti established the prototype for this sort of building. The façade of the palace, as at Medinet Habu, was decorated with the head-smiting motif and other iconography of triumphant art.⁵²⁸

⁵²³R. Stadelmann & J. Osing, "Königliche Votivestelen aus dem Torraum des Totentempels Sethos' I. in Gurna," *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 255, pl. 46b.

⁵²⁴*PM* II², 408(3a-b, d-f); *KRI* I, 33-35, §13-14; *RITA* I, 26-28, §13-14; *RITANC* I, 36-38, §13-14; Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 44, pl. 76a-b; idem, *MDAIK* 35, 312.

⁵²⁵*KRI* I, 33-35.

⁵²⁶Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 254-255, pl. 5a.

⁵²⁷Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 28.2, 293ff; idem, *MDAIK* 31.2, 353ff w/ pl. 108a; idem, *MDAIK* 38, 395 & pl. 95a-b; idem, "Gournah: glorieux est Séthi a l'ouest de Thèbes," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie*, "Thèbes: les temples de millions d'années," no. 136, (March, 1989), 20-21; idem, "Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den thebanischen Totentempeln," *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 221ff; idem, *MDAIK* 35, 312 & n. 68.

⁵²⁸Ibid., *MDAIK* 35, 310 & 312. Part of the window of appearances was decorated with Asiatic and other prisoners of war: Ibid., *MDAIK* 31.2, pl. 109c.

Gurnah also included a complex of storage magazines, located in the north-west quadrant of the precinct.⁵²⁹ The main series of magazines was accessed by a columned hall as in the Ramesseum. At some point a fire inside the magazine hardened the mud bricks, preserving the name of the king stamped on many of them, proof that the complex had been completed by Seti and not under Ramesses II, who finished inscribing it and claimed to have built it as well.⁵³⁰ South of the main temple, there was a sacred lake, which included a small Osiride Island.⁵³¹

Practically nothing remains of the second court walls and pylon.⁵³² Called the festival court, its west end consisted of a portico supported by ten lotus-bundle columns, the southernmost of which is now missing. The court's function is clearly indicated by the reliefs on the wall behind the portico depicting episodes from the Feast of the Valley in which the barques of the Theban triad, of the deified Ahmose-Nefertari and of Seti himself participated.⁵³³ This decoration was executed after Seti's death by Ramesses II.⁵³⁴

The back portion of the temple, built entirely of sandstone, is laid out in a tri-partite design. The southern wing consists of two separate sets of rooms dedicated to the memorial cults of both Seti,⁵³⁵ (rooms 34-37), and his father Ramesses I, (rooms 28-31) (PLAN 4).⁵³⁶ Rooms 34-37 are dedicated to the offering cult of Seti's statue. They had no connection with

⁵²⁹Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 125-129 & pls. 39-41a; idem, *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 255 & pls. 6a-b, fig. 2.

⁵³⁰Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 33, 128-129, pl. 41a.

⁵³¹*Ibid.*, 257 & fig. 269.

⁵³²*Ibid.*, 255 & fig. 2; idem, *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 136, "Thebes: les temples de millions d'années," 21 top; idem *MDAIK* 31.2 (1975), 353-354 & pl. 108b.

⁵³³Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 312-313.

⁵³⁴*PM* II², 408-409; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 168-170.

⁵³⁵*PM* II², 411-412; Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 318-319.

⁵³⁶*PM* II², 417-418; *Ibid.*, Stadelmann, 314-315.

the royal barque, which was lodged in room three, because it could not actually fit in this suite.⁵³⁷ The decoration of room 34, executed by Ramesses II, is typical of the *Opfertischsaal*, which serves as the antechamber to the chapel of the royal cult statue.⁵³⁸

The Ramesses I suite is virtually a separate memorial temple built into his son's larger one. As Ramesses did not have time to build his own memorial temple, Seti provided one for him. A foundation deposit in the south-west corner of the building under the suite of rooms dedicated to Seti's own cult, included plaques inscribed with Ramesses' name among a larger number of objects bearing Seti's cartouches.⁵³⁹ The Ramesses I suite includes a vestibule supported by two columns, a large barque chapel with a false door, and two side rooms.⁵⁴⁰

In one sense, the Ramesses I chapel was not an innovation. Rulers before and after Seti provided rooms in their memorial temples for the cults of their fathers or other royal ancestors.⁵⁴¹ Still, the Ramesses I suite is the most elaborate of these and it functioned as a temple within a temple. Its chambers, indeed, were multi-functional. It served as a *repositoir* for the barques of Amen and Ramesses I, an offering chapel for his cult statue and the venue for his false door, all of which are located in separate rooms in the main temple.⁵⁴² On both side walls, Seti is portrayed offering to the barque of Amen-Re. Behind these episodes he is

⁵³⁷Dieter Arnold, *Wandrelied und Raumfunktion*, MÄS 2 (Berlin, 1962), 57ff.



⁵³⁸Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 318-319; *Ibid.*, Arnold, 42ff.

⁵³⁹Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 129-130 & pl. 41; *idem*, *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 256 & pl. 7.

⁵⁴⁰The last two rooms, (nos. 30 and 31), were not decorated until relatively late in Ramesses II's reign. They are distinguished from the earlier reliefs of Ramesses by the crudeness of their execution and the later form of the king's nomen *R^c-ms-sw*. *PM* II², 418-419. See *supra* 1.4.6.

⁵⁴¹E.g. Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Ramesses III who provided a barque chapel for his "father" Ramesses II. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 306-308, figs. 1a-b, 2c.

⁵⁴²Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 314-315.

seen again, anointing a statue of the deified Ramesses I (**PLATE 68B**).⁵⁴³ In each case, the figure of Ramesses is depicted wearing a combination divine kilt with *Shendyt*-kilt, and holding an  and a staff. He wears a wig with square-bottomed lappets and a uraeus, this being surmounted by a horned *3tf*-crown on the north wall while on the south wall the horns support a sun disk flanked by tall plumes. The only names surviving in these panels are those of Seti as officiant. Still, the iconography of the two divine figures leaves no doubt they represent Ramesses I as Osiris,⁵⁴⁴ and he is also identified with Osiris on two panels of the false door at the west end of the room, where he sits on a block throne within the Lower Egyptian shrine, wearing a close fitting garment with the white crown and a false beard, holding a crook, flail and -scepter.⁵⁴⁵ These reliefs show that Ramesses was assimilated both with Amen-Re and Osiris, as was Seti himself in other parts of the temple.

The north part of the main temple was occupied by a suite dedicated to Re-Horakhty and dominated by a large sun court (rooms 22-27, 42).⁵⁴⁶ To the west are a set of five service rooms and a stairwell leading up to what must have been a rooftop shrine to the sun god. These chambers were accessed by a long service corridor, which runs parallel to the sun court's south wall.⁵⁴⁷

The central door through the portico leads into a hypostyle hall supported by six columns, with six chapels lining its north and south sides.⁵⁴⁸ The four western chapels are

⁵⁴³PM II², 418 (106-107); R. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1987), 27 upper left (= Nelson, *Key Plans*, K 349).

⁵⁴⁴In the vestibule Ramesses II is shown offering wine to Osiris who appears in precisely the same guise as the two figures of Ramesses I in the chapel but without a uraeus. Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 307; PM II², 417 (100).

⁵⁴⁵PM II², 418 (108); Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 348.

⁵⁴⁶PM II², 416, 420-421; R. Stadelmann, "šwt-Rꜥw als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 167-169; J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna: Die Reliefs und Inschriften* 1, (Mainz, 1977), 38ff & pls. 24-36.

⁵⁴⁷Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 256-257.

⁵⁴⁸PM II², 410.

dedicated to various aspects of the royal cult. The reliefs in chapel 2 indicate that it was dedicated to the cult of the deified monarch,⁵⁴⁹ while chapel 3 is consecrated to the royal barque.⁵⁵⁰ On the north side, chapel 4 associates pharaoh with Osiris.⁵⁵¹ It is the reliefs and texts in chapel 5, however, that are most significant for here the king is assimilated with the god Amen.⁵⁵² On the north wall, the king and Amen, standing side by side, are purified by Horus and Thoth.⁵⁵³ The deified sovereign receives offerings on the west wall from the *ḥwn-mwt.f*-priest, while on the east wall there is a manifestation of Amen-Re-Kamutef native to the temple standing before an offering list. As Nelson and Christophe have shown, this regenerative form of Amen was assimilated with the king to become a specific form of Amen called "Amen-Re-Kamutef who is within the temple (named) 'Beneficial is Seti Merenptah in the Domain of Amen on the West of Thebes.'"⁵⁵⁴

A transverse hall located at the west end of the hypostyle hall gives access to five sanctuaries.⁵⁵⁵ A prominent feature of this hall are two episodes in which pharaoh is suckled by a goddess.⁵⁵⁶ These scenes served to nourish the deceased monarch reborn through merging with Amen in the purification ceremony that took place in room 5.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁴⁹*PM II*², 411; H. H. Nelson, "The Identity of Amon-Re of United-with-Eternity," *JNES* 1 (1942), 127-155.

⁵⁵⁰*PM II*², 411; Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 314.

⁵⁵¹*PM II*², 412.

⁵⁵²*PM II*², 412; L. B. Christophe, "La salle V du temple de Séthi I^{er} à Gurnah." *BIFAO* 49 (1950). 117-180; Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 256-257; idem, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 313-314.

⁵⁵³*PM II*², 412 (50); Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 247, fig. 5.

⁵⁵⁴Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 132ff, Christophe, *BIFAO* 49 (1950), 117-180.

⁵⁵⁵Rooms 7-8: *PM II*², 43.

⁵⁵⁶Hathor in the north wing, Mut in the south wing. Hathor: *PM II*², 410 (26) (=Q 126). Mut: *PM II*², 410 (21) (=Q 136).

⁵⁵⁷Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 315-316 & n. 95.

The larger, central portion of the temple house is occupied by a suite of rooms dedicated to the Theban Triad (rooms 10-20).⁵⁵⁸ Of the five chapels accessed through the transverse corridor, the three central ones were consecrated to the barques of the Theban triad, with Mut on the south and Khonsu on the north. The central shrine, dedicated to Amen-Re, is much larger than the other four. Supported by four square pillars, it leads to two small rooms (14-15) to the north and south, and a much larger suite of rooms (16-20) to the west.⁵⁵⁹ The large room immediately to the west (16) is also supported by four square pillars. It was dedicated to four manifestations of Amen: Amen-Re, Amen-Kamutef, Amen-Re-Horakhty, and Amen-Atum-Osiris. Each of these, in turn, was honored in one of the four chapels to the north and south of this room. On the west wall there was a large false door through which the spirit of the ruler could pass from his tomb into the temple.⁵⁶⁰ The two outer chapels were dedicated to the cults of Re and Monthu representing Heliopolis of the north and south respectively.⁵⁶¹

3.83.2 Building History

It is likely that the construction of the Gurnah temple had been completed by the end of Seti's reign, although much of its decoration was realized by Ramesses II. Beyond the rear portions of the temple, Seti decorated parts of the gate through the first pylon and the temple palace façade.⁵⁶² Moreover, he built most if not all the mud brick magazines and temenos

⁵⁵⁸PM II², 413-416.

⁵⁵⁹Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 316-317.

⁵⁶⁰PM II², 415 (79); U. Hölscher, *Excavations of Medinet Habu 3, The Mortuary Temple of Rameses III*, pt. 1, (Chicago, 1941), 25, fig. 14.

⁵⁶¹Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35, 316 & n. 98.

⁵⁶²Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 31.2 (1975), pl. 109a & c; idem, *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 136 (1989), 22-23 (= block from first pylon gateway). In the area of the first pylon, Seti had already installed and decorated the two large sphinxes with their invaluable topographical lists as well as a group of votive stelae. On the latter see *infra* 3.84.

wall.⁵⁶³ Construction of the sandstone temple would have necessitated the use of construction embankments and ramps, which would have occupied the site of the magazines and temenos walls. Presumably, then, these outbuildings would have been raised only after the temple itself had been finished. A rock stela of the king's year six at Gebel Silsila raises the possibility that work on the Gurnah temple may not have begun until midway through his reign.⁵⁶⁴

Many stone furnishings in the temple, such as a pair of sphinxes flanking the north-east gate of the first court, were never completed.⁵⁶⁵ The apparent lack of royal statuary from the site also suggest that it was built late in the reign.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, the pattern of the temple's relief decoration further indicates that it dates to late in the reign.

3.83.3 Description and Chronology of the Observable Phases in the Decorative Program

Much of the scholarly attention directed at the Gurnah temple has been focused on the question of what the reliefs contribute to our understanding of the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II.⁵⁶⁷ Beginning with Seele, it has been claimed that Seti jointly decorated part of Gurnah temple with his son. More recently, however, Stadelmann opined that Ramesses' work here came only after his father's death.⁵⁶⁸ What follows is an epigraphic analysis of the reliefs at Gurnah aimed at elucidating the chronology of its decoration and the roles the two kings played in this process.

⁵⁶³Seti completed the brickwork of the palace, magazines and temenos wall as indicated by bricks stamped with his name. Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 255 & pl. 6b.

⁵⁶⁴See *infra* 3.109.

⁵⁶⁵Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 254 & pl. 5a.

⁵⁶⁶Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 243.

⁵⁶⁷E.g., Seele, *Coregency*, 27-31, 40-45; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (197), 165-170; idem, *Coregencies*, 70-71.

⁵⁶⁸Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 252 & n. 7; *KRI* I, 634-637.

Several phases of relief work have been identified here that can be distinguished by a number of features. Two have been pointed out before; the use of raised or sunk relief and the occurrence of both the long and short form of Ramesses II's prenomen.⁵⁶⁹ Still other criteria can be identified. The orthography of Ramesses' nomen as either *R^c-ms-s* or *R^c-ms-sw*, for one, indicates that the reliefs were cut either before or after his year twenty, respectively,⁵⁷⁰ but only when found in conjunction with the long form of the prenomen as both forms of the nomen were used during the first two years. Likewise, different phases in reliefs portraying Seti I can also be seen; these include the use of raised or sunk relief in panels featuring Seti, the juxtaposition of decoration naming him with that naming his son, and the posture of his figure, which was depicted both standing or kneeling, with his torso either fully upright or inclined forward, sometimes dramatically (Cf. **PLATEs67-68A with 69B-70**).⁵⁷¹ As we shall see, these later features, not previously discussed, also bear on the chronology of the reliefs at Gurnah.

3.83.3.1 Decoration Featuring Seti Alone

Logically, the earliest reliefs feature Seti alone, as they would have been carved before the accession of Ramesses II as the result either of a coregency or the former's death (PLAN 4). They are found clustered in a few distinct areas: in the sanctuaries of the Theban triad, in the two sanctuaries flanking them and in the rooms behind and beside the Amen chapel (=rooms 9-20). Likewise, in the four western chapels off the hypostyle there is no indication of Ramesses II's involvement (=rooms 2-5). Finally, Seti alone is present with his father Ramesses I in the latter's chapel (=room 29).

This early work can be distinguished from later reliefs by the presence of a combination of two features. It is executed entirely in raised relief and representations of the

⁵⁶⁹See *supra* 1.4.7.

⁵⁷⁰Kitchen in *Actes du premier congrès international d'égyptologie. 2-10 octobre 1976*, 838-387.

⁵⁷¹See *supra* 1.2.5 & 1.2.7.

king, both standing and kneeling, usually have inclined torsos in ritual scenes (Cf. **PLATES 10B, 13A & 67A-B**).

Kneeling figures can be found in lintel scenes, the spaces above doorways and in wall panels (**PLATE 10B**). In some cases, the torso may bend forward only slightly,⁵⁷² more often its inclination is pronounced,⁵⁷³ especially when the monarch extends his hands forward in adoration of the god.⁵⁷⁴ Seti kneels mostly when presenting offerings, but in one case he does so while receiving Heb-sed's from the Theban Triad. When standing, he almost always bows in worship of the gods, with varying degrees of stoop.⁵⁷⁵ Fully erect standing figures of Seti in these rooms are exceptional.⁵⁷⁶ This pattern is consistent with reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall where he is almost invariably depicted with inclined torso, and at Abydos where this iconography predominates.

⁵⁷²E.g., room 14, west wall, Q 242, (=PM II², 414 [71]); Amen chapel, south wall, west end above doorway, Q 228, (=PM II², 414, [70a-b]); room 15, south wall above doorway, Q 240, (=PM II², 414, [72 c-d]).

⁵⁷³E.g., room 15, north wall, above doorway, Q 221-223, (=PM II², 414 [72 a-b]); room 16, north wall, lower register, Q 256, (=PM II², 415 [78]); room 16, east wall, north end, upper register, Q 249, (=PM II², 415 [77]); room 16, east wall, south end, upper register, Q 263, (=PM II², 415 [75]). So too on the column scenes in room 16, PM II², 415, pillars A-D.

⁵⁷⁴Room 17, north wall, east of doorway, Q 285, (=PM II², 415, [81]). Paralleled by a votive stela from the gate of the first pylon. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), fig. 4 & pl. 78.

⁵⁷⁵E.g., in rooms 4, 10-13, 16 and 20 at Q 175-176, 216-217, 219, 230, 235, 249-251, 253-254, 257, 261, 263, 265-266, 346, 350; PM II², 412-418, *passim*.

⁵⁷⁶In only a handful of scenes, mostly from the cult rooms off the side chapel and the Ramesses I chapel. E.g. room 4, east wall, Q 174, PM II², 412 (45). See Stadelmann in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, pl. 8a; room 5, east wall, Q 168, PM II², 412 (49); Khonsu chapel, south shadow of the door, Q 213, PM II², 413 (65c); room 12, south thickness of the door, Q 214, PM II², 414 (67c); Ramesses I chapel, two scenes at west end of side walls, Q 347 & 349, PM II², 418, (106-107). A standing figure of the king being purified with Amen-Re by Horus and Thoth does not bow: Q 169, PM II², 412, (50). Another purification scene from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall is practically the only one carved on its walls in which he stands fully erect. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 230; Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 148.

3.83.3.2 Relief Featuring Seti I and Ramesses II in the Hypostyle Hall

Reliefs naming Seti are juxtaposed with ones naming Ramesses II in the Gurnah hypostyle hall, the adjoining transverse corridor, the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, room 34 and the rear wall of the portico. They date to various phases of Ramesses II's earliest relief work.⁵⁷⁷ As Seele and Murnane have pointed out, the earliest work is in bas relief where the short form of Ramesses' prenomen occurs (=R¹). These are confined to the hypostyle, transverse corridor and portions of the vestibule and, since they were completed entirely in raised relief, elsewhere known to be the earliest stage of Ramesses' royal career, they must have been the first part of Gurnah inscribed once Ramesses began his work here (**PLATES 69B-70B**). Only one element of the hypostyle hall's decorative program features Seti's name alone, a frieze of his cartouches along the top of the east, north and south walls, including the inner face of the northern architrave where it passes over the transverse hall (**PLATE 69A**).⁵⁷⁸ Evidence from Abydos indicates that the stereotyped decoration along the tops of walls was executed before the scenes below were carved.⁵⁷⁹ That this method was preferred at Gurnah is confirmed in several instances where this frieze was done in an earlier style than the wall reliefs below it.⁵⁸⁰ Thus Seti's craftsmen had already completed part of the earliest stage of decoration in the hypostyle before Ramesses had his first opportunity to inscribe his name anywhere at Gurnah.

The so-called joint decoration of the hypostyle consists of a mix of vignettes portraying either Seti or Ramesses II (**PLAN 5**). Sometimes they alternate from scene to scene, other times reliefs naming just one king are lumped together. Their titularies are juxtaposed on four of the doorways into the six side chapels. The one leading to room six is

⁵⁷⁷See *supra* 1.4.7.

⁵⁷⁸W. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 166, fig. 7.

⁵⁷⁹J. Baines, *JEA* 75, 25 & pl. 2.

⁵⁸⁰E.g. in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, over the west and east walls. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 166, fig. 8, B & D; Also in room 34 where a frieze in R² surmounts reliefs in R³ on the west wall. *Ibid.*, 169, fig. 9 D.

Seti's alone, while that into room three names only Ramesses.⁵⁸¹ Seti dominates all the reliefs on the north and those on the upper registers of the south wall. Each king appears in one of the lower panels of the south wall. In two of the upper tableaux on the south wall, the royal names have been lost and it may be that Ramesses was named in both these scenes. On the east wall, only Ramesses is named, although the titularies are missing from two of the wall scenes and from the panels on the lintel of the doorway into the inner court.

Upon closer examination, a pattern reveals itself. On the north wall Seti is named in all the tableaux, with Ramesses' protocol appearing on one jamb each of the two western doorways leading into rooms 4 and 5. On the south wall, Seti again predominates on the upper register, with a more even mix on the two eastern doorways. Ramesses, however, is named in two of the three larger scenes of the lower register and on the whole of the doorway into room 3. The decoration is more balanced on the doorways into rooms 1 and 2. On the east wall, save only for the earlier frieze of Seti, all the panels appear to name Ramesses.

In the transverse corridor, Ramesses dominates the preserved tableaux on the south and east walls (PLAN 6). The north wall is missing. On the west wall, five doorways lead into the chapels of the Theban Triad and two other deities. Here Seti's name is preserved on seven of the wall panels and doorjamb, (PLATE 70A), while Ramesses appears in only five. Fully nine of these scenes and bandeau texts are now anonymous. Still it would appear that, by comparison with the other walls in the corridor, if Ramesses was not named in a majority of these, then each king was named approximately the same number of times.⁵⁸²

The decoration in the transverse corridor was largely overlooked by Seele and Murnane. Ramesses' predominance on some of the walls in the corridor and adjoining hypostyle seems at odds with the theory that the two kings were equal coregents, particularly since Ramesses was the junior partner while Seti was the owner of the temple!

⁵⁸¹Ibid., 166, fig. 7.

⁵⁸²The cartouche is missing from a number of these scenes, Q 128, 133 and 187. Seti features in one scene on the west wall, Q 185, and on the right jamb of the door into room 12. Ramesses II is found everywhere else. Cf. Q 129-134, 181-190 (=PM II², 413-414, [55-67], *passim*).

3.83.3.3 The Vestibule of the Ramesses I Suite

In the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah temple, reliefs naming Ramesses II outnumber those of his father (**PLAN 7**).⁵⁸³ These date later than those in the hypostyle. In the latter, much larger chamber, all the reliefs are raised. By contrast, in the vestibule, a much smaller room, the style quickly changed from raised to sunk relief, with the second medium occurring more frequently (**PLATES 72A & 73A-B**). This suggests that raised relief was being phased out shortly after work in the vestibule had begun and that the hypostyle was completed first.

In all but three scenes in the vestibule, Ramesses II is shown as the active officiant in the tableaux, while his father and grandfather act as passive recipients or witnesses to the ritual and ceremonies. The only exceptions are found over the doorway to the chapel of Ramesses I, where Seti I is featured as an active participant three times, offering wine to Amen in a vignette pendant to another featuring Ramesses II as officiant over the lintel of the doorway leading into the Ramesses I chapel, and as officiant in the two middle registers on the same doorway (**PLATE 72**).⁵⁸⁴ Otherwise, Seti is featured only as a deified sovereign standing behind Amen and other gods in a passive role in offering and coronation episodes, where he serves in precisely the same capacity as the deceased Ramesses I (**Cf. PLATES 71, 72B & 73A-B**).

The decorative program of the vestibule itself has not heretofore been considered by scholars, and most attention focused on an isolated “coronation” scene on the north wall that portrays Ramesses II receiving years and Heb-sed’s in the presence of the Theban Triad and Seti I (**PLATE 71B**).⁵⁸⁵ The decorative program of this room consists of a series of tableaux depicting cult rituals and royal investitures. In the ritual episodes, Ramesses II, and, in only the three cases cited above, Seti I, makes offerings before Amen and members of his triad, to

⁵⁸³*PM II*², (417-418); Murnane, *JNES* 34, 16, fig. 8A-D.

⁵⁸⁴Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 304 (=PM II², 418 [105a-b]). Murnane, *JNES* 34, 16, fig. 8B. Seti appears in the second register on the right jamb.

⁵⁸⁵Seele, *Coregency*, 27, §44 with n. 14 & fig. 9.

Osiris and the deified Ramesses I. The others depict Ramesses II led into the presence of Amen to be invested with regalia and other emblems of kingship.

3.83.3.4 Checklist of Scenes in the Vestibule

The following is a checklist of the wall scenes in the vestibule, and names the participants and major iconographical and stylistic elements of each tableau as they relate to the date of the reliefs. The phase of Ramesses II's relief decoration, (R¹ — R³), and the iconography of figures of his two predecessors will also be noted.

3.83.3.4.1 South Wall, Raised Relief/Short Prenomen (=R¹)

All the decoration on this wall is raised relief with the shorter form of Ramesses II's prenomen occurring. Seti's titulary alternates with that of his son on the doorway,⁵⁸⁶ and in a frieze of cartouches along the top of the wall, but Seti is otherwise entirely absent from this decoration that, since only raised relief are used here, must be among the earliest in the chamber.⁵⁸⁷

Upper Register Q 307-309

Ramesses II offers wine to Osiris (Q 307)

Here Ramesses II makes offerings to a form of Osiris identical to images of the deified Ramesses I on the side walls of the latter's sanctuary (room 29).⁵⁸⁸

Ramesses II offers food to the Theban Triad (Q 308)

This panel has Ramesses II offering before a large table laden with food offerings.

⁵⁸⁶PM II², 417 (103 a-b); Seele, *Coregency*, 31, fig. 10.

⁵⁸⁷Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 166, fig. 8A.


⁵⁸⁸Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 347 & 349.

Ramesses II offers flowers to Amen (Q 309)

Here again Ramesses II is the officiant, this time before the ithyphalic form of Amn-Re to whom he offers two bouquets of flowers.

Lower Register Q 310

Ramesses II censuring and libating to Theban Triad and Ramesses I (Q 310)

Ramesses censes and libates to the Theban triad and Ramesses I who stands behind the shrine enclosing the deities. Ramesses I holds a crook and flail in one hand and an  and a mace in the other.

3.83.3.4.2 West wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short & Long Prenomen (=R¹ — R³)

The frieze over the central doorway is executed in raised relief and Seti's cartouches alternate with those of his son, the earlier form of whose prenomen appears. Everywhere else on this wall, sunk relief is employed. The frieze over the right doorway is destroyed, while over the left doorway, the longer form of Ramesses II's prenomen appears alongside his father's cartouches.⁵⁸⁹ The decoration on the northern doorway and the panels above it, and again on the doorway into the Ramesses I chapel is in R².

Scenes over the lintels of three doorways (Q 302, 304-305)

Above lintel of doorway into room 31 (Q 302)

Ramesses II offers flowers to Amen, Khonsu and Seti I

The vignette is in sunk relief with the short form of Ramesses II's prenomen (=R²). Seti is depicted in a passive role as the recipient of offerings.



Above lintel of doorway into Ramesses I chapel (room 29)

Double scene: Seti I (left) and Ramesses II (right) before Amen and a goddess (Q 304)

⁵⁸⁹Murnane, *JNES* 34, 166, fig. 8B.

A double tableau in sunk relief with the short form of Ramesses II's prenomen.⁵⁹⁰ Amen is accompanied by the goddess Mut on the left and Isis on the right. The left-hand panel represents one of only three in the entire room in which Seti is given an active role. As with the reliefs in the hypostyle, and by contrast to those carved during his lifetime in the temple, he kneels with his torso fully erect, and in another on the right jamb of the central doorway (=Q 304) he stands, again fully upright.

Above lintel of doorway into room 30
Ramesses II thurifies Amen, Mut and Seti I (Q 305)

This episode is sunk relief, with the longer form of Ramesses II's prenomen. Seti I is again shown in a passive role as the recipient of offerings. He holds a -scepter in one hand and an  in the other.

Jambs of doorway into room 29 (Q 304)
Ramesses and Seti I offer wine to Amen

These are in the R² style. Seti appears as the active participant in the two scenes on the middle registers of the doorjambs.⁵⁹¹ Murnane's diagram of the wall decoration on this jamb erroneously assigns all these tableaux to Seti (PLATE 72A).⁵⁹²

3.83.3.4.3 East wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short & Long Prenomen (=R¹ — R³)

Only part of the frieze of cartouches over the central doorway is in raised relief, and juxtaposes the cartouches of Ramesses I, Seti I and Ramesses II. The rest of the decoration, including the frieze of cartouches at the top to either side of the doorway, is in sunk relief. The frieze over the north end has only the cartouches of Ramesses II, while that over the

⁵⁹⁰Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 304; *PM II*², 418 (105a-b); Murnane, *JNES* 34, 16, fig. 8B.

⁵⁹¹Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 304; *PM II*², 418 (105).

⁵⁹²Murnane, *JNES* 34, 166, fig. 8B.

south end had Seti's, alternating with his son in R³. Most of the scenes are in R² except for one in the upper right-hand corner of the wall and the frieze above it that are in R³.⁵⁹³

Upper Register Q 294-295 & 312


Ramesses II led into the presence of Amen and Mut by Monthu and Atum (Q 295)

This is in sunk relief and bears the short form of the king's prenomen (=R²).

Double Scene: Ramesses II as *Twn-mwt.f*-priest consecrates offerings before Ramesses I (Q 294)


Executed in R³, Ramesses I is shown twice as a mummiform king in a double shrine, in the guise of Osiris wearing the Red crown in the north panel and the White in the south. Between the two figures there is a vertical text describing Ramesses II's work as a renewal of monuments (*sm3wy-mnw*) on behalf of his grandfather, "in the monument (*mnw*) of his father, the Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre."

Ramesses II offers a tray of food to Amen, Khonsu and Ramesses I (Q 312)

Again Ramesses appears in sunk relief, with the long prenomen (R³). Ramesses I stands behind the two deities holding a crook and flail in one hand and an  in the other. His epithets include *m3c-hrw* and *ntr c3* as well as *di snb cnh dd w3s nb^(sc)!*


Lower Register Q 296 & 313

Ramesses II running with *hs*-vases before Osiris and Seti I (Q 313)

Executed in R³, Seti I is portrayed standing behind Osiris with crook, flail and . He is entitled *ntr nfr m3c-hrw* and *ntr c3* (PLATE 73B).

Ramesses II led into the presence of Amen and Ramesses I by Monthu while Thoth enumerates regnal years (Q 296)

⁵⁹³Murnane, *JNES* 34, 166, fig. 8D.

Carved in R³, Ramesses I is again shown standing behind Amen holding a crook and flail and an . His epithets include *m3c-hrw* and *ntr ʿ3 nb ʿbdw* followed by a *di ʿnh mi Rʿ* formula (PLATE 73A).

3.83.3.4.4 North Wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short Prenomen (=R¹ & R²)




The upper half of the first register and the frieze at the top of the wall are now missing. All but the jambs of the north doorway are decorated in raised relief. The lintel of the doorway has titles of Ramesses II and Seti I in raised relief (R¹ & S¹).⁵⁹⁴ Ramesses II's titles appear in sunk relief on the left jamb while those of Seti appear in the same medium on the right (R² & S²) (PLATE 71B).

Upper register (Q 297-299)

King (Ramesses II?) offers before Amen-Kamutef (Q 297)



Only the lower portions of the scene are preserved. The god, who is mummiform, is presumably Amen-Kamutef, since the god's distinctive ribbon hangs behind his back. The absence of the combination *w3s-dd*-staff suggests that he cannot be either Khonsu or Ptah who generally hold this scepter.⁵⁹⁵ Behind him is a kind of pedestal in the shape of a monumental gateway on a plinth that usually supports a plumed staff associated with Kamutef. The monarch is presumably Ramesses II since he appears as the officiant in nearly all the vignettes in this chamber.

King (Ramesses II?) offers before Khonsu(?) and deified king (Q 298)



Only the legs of the king and god are preserved. The god is mummiform and stands on a -plinth. The base of his scepter is preserved. It takes the form of an elongated -pillar with the bottom of a -scepter protruding from the base. This iconography is consistent with both Khonsu and Ptah. Given the Theban venue and the lack of other episodes featuring

⁵⁹⁴Murnane, *JNES* 34, 166, fig. 8C.

⁵⁹⁵Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 18 27 & 30 for the iconography of these three deities.



Ptah, it is likely that the god was Khonsu. Behind him, the deified ruler is preserved as far as his lower torso, sporting a kilt with an elaborate apron that became a mark of the deified king in the later years of Amenhotep III.⁵⁹⁶ He holds an  in one hand and a -scepter in the other. This figure, whose name is lost, is either Ramesses I or Seti I.

King (Ramesses II?) offers Maat to Amen-Re and deified king (Q 299)

All but the heads of the figures and main text of the scene are preserved here. A ribbon dangling from the back of the god identifies him as Amen-Re (**PLATE 72B**). The lower portions of the officiant's head can be seen. He sports a wig otherwise found only in a handful of other tableaux at Gurnah in the hypostyle hall. Behind Amen stands a deified king, either Ramesses I or Seti I, holding an  and a -scepter.

Lower register (Q 301)

Ramesses II granted Heb-sed festivals and years in the presence of the Theban Triad and Seti I

Seele considered this “coronation” scene to be one of the definitive “proofs” of a hypothetical coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II (**PLATE 71B**).⁵⁹⁷ As in other examples on this wall, however, Seti is portrayed in the guise of a deified king or cult statue holding a -scepter and an  (**PLATE 72A**). The image is generic and of ideological rather than historical value. The insertion of a figure of the recipient's father in such episodes is less common, but it is in keeping with the themes of legitimization by association with his royal ancestors found on the walls of the vestibule. Presumably, if Seti had decorated this chamber, only Ramesses I would have been shown as the royal ancestor. After his father's death,

⁵⁹⁶W.R. Johnson in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, 35. Cf. the kilt on the magnificent quartzite cult statue found in the Luxor cache. M. El-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cache of Luxor Temple*, (Main, 1991), 21-27, esp. fig. 51.

⁵⁹⁷Seele, *Coregency*, 27, §44.

Ramesses II chose to emphasize his link to both his father and grandfather, in order to highlight his own royal lineage.

3.83.3.5 Antechamber (Room 34) to the Cult Rooms of Seti I (=R² & R³)

Rooms 34-37 were dedicated to the statue cult of Seti I, but their decoration was never finished in his lifetime (PLAN 8). Instead it fell to Ramesses II to complete them. The three western rooms are much denuded, and no reliefs survive on their walls. By contrast, the decoration of room 34 is largely intact.⁵⁹⁸ It is entirely in sunk relief, with both the longer and shorter forms of Ramesses II's prenomen appearing (R² & R³) (PLATE 74A).

The frieze along the top of the walls has Seti's cartouches alternating with those of Ramesses II in R². The doorways into rooms 35-37 are all in R³ except for the right jamb of the south doorway where Seti's titulary appears, again in sunk relief (S²). The dead ruler's protocol also appears on the right jamb of the doorway in the south wall.⁵⁹⁹ Otherwise he serves as the officiant in only four of the eleven preserved wall scenes.

3.83.3.6 Later Reliefs of Ramesses II at Gurnah

Ramesses seems to have abandoned work on his father's memorial temple shortly after the adoption of the long form of his prenomen, sometime in year two. At this point, he seems to have lost interest both in memorializing his father and in decorating the temple. Then, sometime after the adoption of the later form of his nomen, *R^c-ms-sw* shortly after year 20, the sovereign revisited the project and ordered the completion of reliefs in the sun court, exterior walls and other undecorated portions of the temple.⁶⁰⁰ Many of these are extremely crude and some were never finished (PLATE 74B).⁶⁰¹ After neglecting to complete this temple for at least two decades, he may have resumed it in preparation for one of his Heb-Sed festivals.

⁵⁹⁸Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 390-400; *PM II*², 419-420, (121-123).

⁵⁹⁹Murnane, *JNES* 34, 169, fig. 9C-D.

⁶⁰⁰J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I.: Die Reliefs und Inschriften* 1, (Mainz, 1982).

⁶⁰¹*Ibid.*, *passim*.

3.83.4 Summary of the Chronology of Relief Decoration at Gurnah Temple under Seti I and Ramesses II

The construction and decoration of Seti's Gurnah temple dates to relatively late in his reign. Indeed a quarry inscription of year six from Gebel Silsila might suggest that construction began only halfway through the reign.⁶⁰² It is clear that its earliest decoration is found in the rooms where Seti I is featured alone. These are solely in raised relief and pharaoh is generally portrayed with an inclined torso both in the standing and kneeling position. They are scattered throughout the temple, but are concentrated in what might be described as its most important chambers, i.e. the barque sanctuaries of the Theban Triad, the suite of rooms behind the Amen sanctuary, the four westernmost rooms leading off the sides of the hypostyle hall dedicated to various aspects of the royal cult, and the chapel of the Ramesses I suite. The presence of Seti in these rooms alone, with no trace of Ramesses II, marks them as being earlier and not later than others that always portray Seti upright.⁶⁰³ The second group is intermixed with decoration naming Ramesses II, in both raised and sunk reliefs (R¹ - R³). Moreover, Ramesses officiates in the lion's share of these tableaux in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite and in room 34. In the hypostyle hall, Seti predominates on the north wall, while the south wall seems to have an approximately even mix of both rulers. On the east wall, Ramesses is appears to the exclusion of Seti! In the transverse hall, Ramesses eclipses his father on the east wall, with a more even mix on the west wall, although the names are missing from many of the panels there.

Seele and Murnane have taken the Gurnah reliefs as evidence that Seti decorated his memorial temple jointly with his son during a hypothetical coregency. This now seems less plausible. Close inspection shows that, as one progresses from the north wall to the south wall of the hypostyle hall and then on to its east wall and transverse corridor, the number of

⁶⁰²See *infra* 3.109.

⁶⁰³*Contra* Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 77-78. Here it is argued that the Gurnah reliefs featuring the upright stance date earlier than ones where the king bows. But these same reliefs, featuring Ramesses II, must date later than those in which only Seti appears.

vignettes featuring Seti steadily diminishes so that on the east wall he is entirely absent.⁶⁰⁴ Moreover, he is never shown bowing in any of these scenes, although that iconography is found in the latest phases of his decoration of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in his Abydos temple, as well as those areas of Gurnah he decorated himself. One also finds that the frieze of cartouches along the tops of the walls name Seti alone on the north, south and east walls. This suggests that they were the first reliefs to be carved here, and probably the last part of the work done before Ramesses II began participating in the decoration.

The pattern in the hypostyle hall and transverse corridor makes better sense if it is understood as work done by Ramesses II immediately after his father's death. One can follow Ramesses' filial piety as it steadily waned over his first two regnal years, so that by the time his sculptors reached the east wall of the hypostyle, the young monarch is seen to the exclusion of his deceased father.

This pattern was continued in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite that appears to have been the second area to be decorated under Ramesses II. Here, raised relief gave way to the R² style, and Seti appears only twice as the officiant in two minor tableaux decorating the doorway into the Ramesses I chapel. Otherwise he is featured in the vestibule only as the passive recipient of offerings or accompanying members of the Theban Triad or other gods in investiture scenes and the like. Here he plays the same role as Ramesses I, both of whom are represented with the iconography of deified kings, i.e. holding ♀ and ♁ -scepters, in the company of the gods. Both are given epithets like m^3c-hrw and $ntr-c3$ appropriate to this role.

Seti's image appears for the last time in reliefs decorating room 34. Thereafter he is named only in stereotyped decoration on the walls and columns of the portico where his cartouches alternate with those of Ramesses in R³.⁶⁰⁵ In room 34, all the decoration is in sunk relief and was carved during the latest portion of R² and shortly after the adoption of R³. Here again, Seti is featured as the officiant in a minority of the tableaux and never with inclined torso whether standing or kneeling. He never used interior sunk relief at Karnak or Abydos,

⁶⁰⁴See *supra* 3.83.3.2.

⁶⁰⁵Murnane, *JNES* 34, 168.

indeed he only rarely used this medium for interior decoration at all.⁶⁰⁶ Moreover even when he was shown fully erect in some tableaux at Abydos, these vignettes were always juxtaposed with ones in which he bows. All these factors support the notion that reliefs in rooms where Ramesses appears were made after Seti's death despite the latter's appearance in many of them, both with his son and alone.

A combination of features, the absence of bowing figures, the uneven distribution of decoration in the name of the two alleged coregents, Ramesses II's domination of such scenes even in the first and second periods, (R¹ & R²), the almost universally passive role Seti plays in the tableaux from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, and finally the use of sunk relief, a medium which Seti clearly did not favor elsewhere during his lifetime, all represent major stumbling blocks for the coregency theory. We are asked to believe that Seti allowed his son to make the major decisions on the style and iconography used to embellish his own buildings. He supposedly permitted Ramesses to overshadow him, as the younger man named himself in most of the wall decoration carved during the alleged coregency, while he himself adopted a passive role in the decorative program in the vestibule of his own father's memorial suite, where by tradition he should have played the role of officiant. Moreover, this so-called joint decoration is not in keeping with what is found elsewhere; no such pattern is forthcoming in Seti's Abydos temple, in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall or in the two temples Ramesses erected at the outset of his reign at Abydos and Beit el-Wali. Indeed, Seti is recorded only in passing at Abydos and not at all at Beit el-Wali. This state affairs, a gross imbalance in favor of the alleged junior partner in a hypothetical coregency, strains credulity.⁶⁰⁷

If we assume Seti had died before any reliefs featuring Ramesses II were cut, then the pattern of decoration in all these buildings makes better sense. Gurnah temple was dedicated to Seti's memorial cult, but only a small fraction of its decoration was complete at his death. At Abydos, by contrast, he had finished a larger portion of the decoration, and Ramesses II

⁶⁰⁶So, exceptionally, in his speos at Kanais where sunk relief was used exclusively. See *infra* 3.125.

⁶⁰⁷Despite W. K. Simpson, "The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesostris I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956), 214-219.

preferred to focus his energies on his own newly built temple there. In western Thebes, Ramesses' first years saw the earliest stages in the construction of the Ramesseum, so there was little else for the sculptors assigned to the Gurnah temple to do beyond continuing with the project. Thus Ramesses felt obliged to complete some of its decoration in the name of his father while at the same time intermixing himself into the decoration. He soon tired of his filial duties and, increasingly, he began to overshadow the memory of his father in its decoration. As his second regnal year came to a close, Ramesses abandoned the project entirely only to revisit it some two or more decades later when he completed the decoration in Gurnah, in coarse sunk relief, he named only himself.

3.84 4 Votive Stelae of Seti I from Gurnah Temple

R. Stadelmann & J. Osing, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 255-274, figs. 3-6 & pls. 78-79, 81a-b.

These four sandstone votive stelae of Seti I, along with another of Ramesses II, were found reused as paving stones in the passage through the outer pylon of the Seti temple.⁶⁰⁸ Three of them feature Seti standing before the deity with a stooped posture. The fourth depicts him kneeling, his torso bent down and his arms extended in adoration to the sun god Re-Horakhty. This stela has the only substantial text of any of this group, a hymn of praise by the sovereign to the god.⁶⁰⁹

All four stelae, as well as a fifth one belonging to Ramesses II, are identical in their use of sunk relief of mediocre quality. In contrast to those of his father, however, Ramesses' stela portrays him standing fully erect before Amen-Re. It also bears the shorter form of his prenomen, so it must date to the first year or so of his reign. Seti's stelae probably date to near the end of his reign.

⁶⁰⁸R. Stadelmann & J. Osing, "Königlichen Votivestelen aus dem Torraum des Totentempels Sethos' I. in Gurna," *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 255-274.

⁶⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 262-269.

3.85 Double Temple of Seti I North of Ramesseum

PM II², 442; U. Hölscher, *Excavations of Medinet Habu 3, The Mortuary Temple of Rameses III*, pt. 1, (Chicago, 1941), 75-77, pl. 40 [A-B], 75, figs. 48-49.

The building seems to have been a slightly smaller predecessor to the later one that Ramesses adjoined to his own memorial temple the Ramesseum. It is known only from the plan of its foundation trenches and foundation deposits bearing Seti's name.⁶¹⁰ It is not clear who the original recipient of the cult was, but the latter building seems to have been dedicated to the cult of Ramesses II's mother and Seti's wife queen Tuya.⁶¹¹

Deir el-Medina

General and Uncertain Provenance Within the Town

3.86 Jamb of Seti I (Turin No. 6005)

PM I:2², 738; S. Bruyère, *Meret Seger*, (Cairo, 1930), 285.

This jamb was reused in antiquity. Its original dedication mentioned Ptah-Lord-of-Truth. It was reinscribed under Ramesses II with his prenomen and that of his father, both introduced by the title *nb T3wy*. Ramesses' prenomen, which precedes that of his father, includes the epithet *stp-n-Rc*, thus even proponents of a coregency between these two pharaohs would tend to date this object to after Seti's death.⁶¹²

3.87 Stela Naming Seti I and Ramesses I (no. 122)

Limestone: H. 33 cm; W. 84 cm

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40) fasc. 2*, (Cairo, 1952), 86-87, fig. 162.

⁶¹⁰U. Hölscher, *Excavations of Medinet Habu 3, The Mortuary Temple of Rameses III*, pt. 1, (Chicago, 1941), 75-77, pl. 40 [A-B], 75, figs. 48-49.

⁶¹¹On the queen see K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 97 with refs. 251-252. Her public role during Seti's lifetime was virtually nil so far as the preserved monuments attest. She rose to prominence in the role of Queen Mother during her son's reign.

⁶¹²Seele and Murnane concluded that the long form of the prenomen came into general use after Seti's death. Seele, *Coregency*, 93, §135; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 80.

Carved in high raised relief, this stela is finished in the mature Ramesside style. Its double scene portrays Seti I standing behind Osiris on the left and Ramesses I behind Re-Horakhty on the right.⁶¹³ Both rulers bear the epithet “given life.” The stela could be seen as weak, (but previously unmentioned), evidence for a hypothetical coregency between the two kings. It is more likely, however, that it was set up during Seti’s lifetime in honor of the reigning sovereign and his deceased father, given the considerable number of posthumous monuments of Ramesses I dating to his son’s reign.

3.88 Stela of Seti I (no. 422)

Limestone

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 1, (Cairo, 1952), 149, no. 422; *KRI* I, 225, §289ii; *RITA* I, 194-195, §289ii; *RITANC* I, 146-147, §289ii.

This piece is mentioned only in passing by Bruyère, and no photograph or drawing of it was included in the publication. Its present location is unknown.⁶¹⁴

3.89 Stela of Seti I (Turin N. 50090 [former 1466])

Limestone: H. 56 cm; W. 65 cm; D. 11 cm

M. Tosi, A. Roccati, *Stela e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, n. 50001 — 50262*, (Turin, 1972), 126, pl. p. 301; *KRI* I, 226, §289iii; *RITA* I, 195, §289iii; *RITANC* I, 146-147, §289iii.

This limestone votive stela depicts Seti I and an anonymous vizier venerating the deified Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.⁶¹⁵ It has been cut down from its original size, so that the lower portions of the figures, along with any original main text, are lost. The round top of the stela is also the result of trimming it down at some later point, resulting in the loss of portions of the titles of the two kings, Ahmose-Nefertari’s plumed headdress, and, most

⁶¹³S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), 86-87, fig. 162.

⁶¹⁴S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 1, (Cairo, 1952), 149, no. 422.

⁶¹⁵M. Tosi & A. Roccati, *Stela e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, n. 50001 — 50262*, (Turin, 1972), 126, pl. p. 301

unfortunately, the vizier's name.⁶¹⁶ Seti leans forward slightly as he libates and thurifies the divine couple, his censer being held in an odd way. The vizier is even more stooped.

3.90 Fragment of an Altar Stand

Limestone

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), pl. 5.

Only the upper part of this altar stand is preserved, encompassing the cornice and part of the shaft. A horizontal cartouche of Seti I is inscribed just below the torus molding at the base of the cornice.⁶¹⁷

3.91 Cornice of a Doorpost

Limestone: H. 15 cm; W. 30 cm

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), 150, no. 42.

This fragment of the cornice and part of the doorpost of a small broken lintel doorway bears the prenomen of Seti I that is preserved below the cornice.⁶¹⁸ It is unclear from what structure this piece derives, although it may have belonged to the small mud brick temple of Hathor Seti built for the village.

⁶¹⁶There is some debate as to who was southern vizier during the earlier years of Seti's reign. Paser built his tomb at Thebes, while the only other vizier known to have served Seti, Nebamun, is attested in the Memphite palace accounts from early in Seti's reign. Kitchen maintains that Nebamun was Paser's predecessor as southern vizier, although Helck places him in the north. *RITANC I*, 187-188; W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, (Leiden, 1958), 311.

⁶¹⁷S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), pl. 5.

⁶¹⁸*Ibid.*, fasc. 2, 150, no. 42.

3.92 Stela Fragment with the King Libating the Barque of Hathor (no. 237)

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), 104, fig. 178.

This fragmentary bas relief depicts pharaoh libating to the barque of Hathor. The aegis of her craft, along with the heads of two priests carrying it, are preserved along with the king's head and torso. He is coiffed in the long military wig favored under Seti I. His features include a large, aquiline nose and a small mouth in a style reminiscent of his best reliefs. The excellent quality and extensive detailing of the relief also suggests that it dates to Seti's reign, although no cartouche or other defining titles are preserved.⁶¹⁹ The piece may have belonged to a stela, royal or private, associated with his nearby Hathor temple. Otherwise it could be part of a tomb relief.

3.93 Hathor Temple

Mud Brick:

*PM I:2*², 694-695; S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)*, fasc. 1, (Cairo, 1952), 18-19, pls. 10, 13-15, 99-104.

This small mud brick processional temple consisted of a series of terraces with a courtyard, two-columned hall and a chapel, also with two columns. A small mud brick pylon formed the main façade of the whole building. In addition to the items found within this shrine, a number of other objects from the village associated with the goddess may also have been associated with her temple (see the following entries).

3.94 Altar Stand of Seti I (no. 303)

Limestone

*PM I:2*², 694; S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fascs. 1-3, (Cairo, 1952): fasc. 1: 103, fig. 55, 102-103; fasc. 2: 127, fig. 208 & pl. 21; fasc. 3: 42-43, 51 & fig. 2, p. 42; *KRI I*, 225, §95a, i; *RITA I*, 194, §95a, i; *RITANC I*, 145-146, §95a, i.

⁶¹⁹*Ibid.*, fasc. 2, 104, fig. 178.

3.95 Altar Stand of Seti I (no. 304)

Limestone

PM I:2², 694; S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fascs. 1-2, (Cairo, 1952): fasc. 1: 102-103 & fig. 55; fasc. 2, pl. 21 & fig. 209; *KRI* I, 225, §95a, ii; *RITA* I, 194, §95a, ii; *RITANC* I, 145-146, §95a, ii.

Two altar stands were discovered at the foot of the stairs leading up to the pronaos of the Hathor temple. Both are inscribed with the protocols of Seti I naming him as beloved of Amen (no. 303) and Hathor (no. 304).

3.96 Fragmentary Libation Basin for Hathor (Cairo JdE 72010)

PM I:2², 746; S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), 51, 126, pl. 8, figs. 139-140; *KRI* I, 225, §95a, iii; *RITA* I, 194, §95a, iii; *RITANC* I, 145-146, §95a, iii.

Only a fragment of this once magnificent libation vessel now remains.⁶²⁰ It is decorated with the protocol of Seti-I and seems to have been donated by him to the Hathor temple.

3.97 Stela of Seti I (no. 414)

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, (Cairo, 1952), 149:414; *KRI* I, 225, §289i; *RITA* I, 194, §289i; *RITANC* I, 146-147, §289i.

This fragmentary stela was mentioned in passing by Bruyère, without a photo or drawing.⁶²¹ Its current whereabouts are unknown. Presumably, it too came from the Hathor temple.

⁶²⁰Ibid., fasc. 2, 51, 126, pl. 8, figs. 139-140.

⁶²¹Ibid., fasc. 2, 149, no. 414.

Town cemetery

3.98 Tomb Relief of Ameneminet (JdE 43591)

Limestone: H. 60 cm; W. 80 cm

PM I:2², 699; G. Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. 11; R. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1987), 142, cat. no. 11; *KRI* I, 403, §171, 1; corrections, *KRI* VII, 431.5-6; *RITA* I, 333, §171, 1; *RITANC* I, 296-297, §171, 1.

This fine bas relief stems from the tomb of Ameneminet. The upper register shows the monarch garbed in a long pleated gown and a long military wig holding an incense censer and bowing in adoration before the barque of Amen-Re.⁶²² Stylistically and Iconographical, the piece was long believed to date to Seti's reign. A pair of faded cartouches in paint were assumed to be his until Kitchen reexamined the piece and found that they belong to Ramesses II giving the early form of his prenomen *Wsr-ms^ct-R^c*.⁶²³ A rebus with the short prenomen was also worked into the decoration of the veil shrouding the cabin shrine of the barque.

The relief must date to the earliest part of Ramesses' reign before the bowing iconography was abandoned.⁶²⁴ It may be that the vignette was laid out in paint and perhaps even partially carved while Seti was alive, since the cartouches which decorate the pylon of some temple in the scene are rendered only in paint. More telling, however, is the rebus on the barque canopy that is carved with Ramesses' prenomen. There is no indication of Seti's name in the design, even though this relief would date to the period of the alleged coregency.⁶²⁵

⁶²²R. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1987), 142, cat. no. 11.

⁶²³*RITANC* I, 297; *KRI* VII, 431.5-6.

⁶²⁴Kitchen dates it to the prince regency period while Seti was still alive. *RITANC* I, 297. Only a handful of reliefs depict Ramesses bowing. See *supra* 1.2.6.

⁶²⁵See *infra* 4.6.3.9 and Appendix B.

3.99 Tomb Relief Naming Seti I (Turin N. 50081)

M. Tosi & A. Roccati, *Stela e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, n. 50001 — 50262*, (Turin, 1972), 119-120, pl. p. 297; *KRI* I, 226, §289iv; *RITA* I, 195, §289iv; *RITANC* I, 146-147, §289iv.

The piece is not part of a stela, as Kitchen noted, but comes rather from a private source, possibly the tomb of Neferhotep (no. 216).⁶²⁶ Executed in crude sunk relief, parts of several columns of text mentions the divine couple Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari as well as the prenomen cartouche Seti I followed by the epithet *m3^c-hrw*.

Medinet Habu**3.100 Head of Amen Statue (Port Said Museum P. 4035 = former Cairo temp. no. 23.8.22.4)**

Limestone: H. ca. 20 cm

PM I:2², 775; unpublished (**PLATE 75A-B**).

Texts on sides of dorsal pillar:

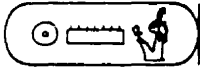
Right side: *nfr-nfr nb T3wy Mn-m3^ct-R^c s3 R^c nb h^cw Sty-mr-n-Pth [mr.n] Tmn-R^c sdm w3[w](?)*

Left side: *s3^c nh^c dd w3s snb nb 3wt-ib nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt r nh[h]////*

This small limestone head of a statue of Amen may be dated to quite early in Seti's reign based on art historical and epigraphic criteria. The nose is quite small, while the ears are both oversized and pierced (**PLATE 75B**). Moreover, the nose, which is entirely preserved, is straight and rather flat with wide nostrils, unlike the aquiline noses characteristic of Ramesside royal statuary.⁶²⁷ The eyes are narrow, almond shaped and slanted down towards the nose. These characteristics are in keeping with stylistic criteria for post-Amarna sculpture. The mouth is straight and lacks depressions at the corner of the mouth found in other

⁶²⁶M. Tosi, A. Roccati, *Stela e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, n. 50001 — 50262*, (Turin, 1972), 119-120 & pl. p. 297.

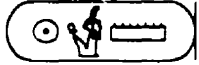
⁶²⁷Cf. Cairo CG 751 a statuette from the later part of Seti's reign. V. Solia, *JARCE* 29 (1992), fig. 26. See *Supra* 3.57.

Nineteenth Dynasty royal statuary. It also lacks the slight smile characteristic of Ramesside royal sculpture. The head is well preserved, except for the top of the plumes which are somewhat damaged. Traces of the base of the god's beard are preserved as well. The form of Seti's prenomen, , is consistent with other examples from the earliest part of the reign (PLATE 75A).⁶²⁸ The right-hand inscription names the god "Amen-Re who hears the cry of woe" or something similar.⁶²⁹

3.101 Statue of Amenhotep I as Amen (Port Said Museum P. 4020 [= former Cairo CG 1244])

Limestone

PM I.2², 775; L. Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 127, pl. 127; *KRI* I, 224 §93; *RITA* I, 193, §93; *RITANC* I, 144-145, §93.

Like the previous piece, this statue of Amenhotep I in the guise of Amen was found at Medinet Habu.⁶³⁰ In its treatment of the nose, mouth and ears, the piece closely resembles Port Said 4035, both sculptures likely dating to the first year or so of Seti's reign. The statue may have been set up in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu or perhaps in some temple dedicated to Amenhotep I at Medinet Habu, or in a shrine near the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu.⁶³¹ The prenomen is given conventionally as .

Valley of the Kings

3.102 Tomb of Seti I (KV 17)

PM I.2², 535-545; E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Sethos' I. im Tal der Könige*, (Basel, 1990).

Seti's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, KV 17, is well known as among the largest and most extensively decorated royal sepulcher in the valley. The quality of the painted relief

⁶²⁸See *supra* 1.4.5.

⁶²⁹*W3*{*w*}(?). *Wb.* I, 245:1. Perhaps related to Amen-who-hears-prayer.

⁶³⁰L. Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 127, pl. 127

⁶³¹*RITANC* I, 144, §284.

decoration is exquisite. KV 17 features many innovations in the design and decoration of the royal tomb of the New Kingdom. Horemheb was the first monarch of the age to embellish his tomb with painted raised relief, but this was limited only to the well room and the sarcophagus chamber.⁶³² Seti now filled the previously blank descending corridors, antechambers and side rooms with painted reliefs.⁶³³ Although no royal tomb ever included an unabridged edition of these compositions, Seti's contains among the most complete versions of a number of the underworld books including *The Amduat* and *The Book of Gates*.⁶³⁴

Architecturally, the overall design of the tomb was based on that of Horemheb, but Seti's huge burial chamber is the first to bear a high, vaulted ceiling.⁶³⁵ The most singular feature of the monument is, however, a descending passageway leading down from the floor of the burial chamber to an as yet undetermined depth. This curious structure has still not been adequately explained. It has been variously described as a corridor leading to the "true" burial chamber and as an attempt to reach the mythical waters of the primeval ocean Nun.⁶³⁶

There is evidence that Seti's architects originally foresaw a decorative program for his tomb along the lines of Horemheb's final resting place, with reliefs to be limited only to the well room and burial chamber. In any case, it now seems likely that the well room was the first part of the sepulcher to be decorated.⁶³⁷ The proportions and style of the figures in this room are in keeping with examples in the royal tombs of Horemheb and Ramesses I, having the same longer kilts and short legs and straighter noses.⁶³⁸ These traits contrast with the

⁶³²E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, (New York, 1990), 27-28; J. Romer, *Ancient Lives: The Story of the Pharaoh's Tombmakers*. (London, 1984), 11.

⁶³³Ibid, Hornung, 29-30.

⁶³⁴Ibid., 29-30.

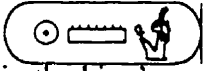



⁶³⁵Ibid., 30.

⁶³⁶See discussion in J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, (New York, 1989), 74ff.

⁶³⁷E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Sethos' I. im Tal der Könige*, (Basel, 1990), pls. 54-57.

⁶³⁸G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, (Austin, 1994), 157-159 & fig. 6.47; idem, "Anomalous Proportions in the Tomb of Haremhab (KV 57)," *GM* 65

taller figures elsewhere in the tomb, the latter being stamped with the aquiline nose and other distinctive features of the high Ramesside style.

The orthography of the king's cartouches is also suggestive of an early date for the reliefs in the well room. The prenomen is written . In keeping with other monuments associated with Osiris, such as reliefs in the king's monuments from Abydos, the nomen is not written with . Elsewhere in the tomb, it is written with the -glyph, but here in the well room, a plain seated god figure, , is employed. The costume of the seated divine figures in both cartouches is white, while it is always red in all the other chambers. The only other incidence of the earlier writing of the prenomen is found in a scene over a doorway into room N in the burial chamber that coincides with figures rendered in the holdover style of the royal tombs of Seti's two immediate predecessors.⁶³⁹ In every other case, the decoration reflects the mature Ramesside style found in reliefs at Gurnah, Abydos and the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It is apparent from all these criteria that the well room was the first chamber to be inscribed and that its decoration may represent an earlier scheme for its embellishment. It is also the case that the reliefs in royal tombs were not always carved from the entrance back, since reliefs in corridor B near the entrance have only been laid out in monochrome cartoon form, and the sculptors having left their work unfinished on these walls at the king's death.

The tomb was plundered during the late New Kingdom. It also served as a temporary cache for other despoiled royal mummies before these were transferred, along with Seti's own mummy, to the royal cache at Deir el-Bahari during the reign of Siamun.⁶⁴⁰ Little of Seti's original grave goods remained intact when Belzoni cleared the tomb in 1817.⁶⁴¹ Among his

(1983), 91-96; idem, "The Canon of Proportions in the Tomb of Ramesses I (KV 16)," *GM* 68 (1983), 85-90.

⁶³⁹Hornung, *Das Grab des Sethos' I im Tal der Könige*, pl. 162.

⁶⁴⁰C. N. Reeves, *The Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis*, (New York, 1990), 92-94.

⁶⁴¹*Ibid.*, 92;

finds was the lower half of an exquisite anthropoid coffin of calcite along with fragments of its lid. According to Dodson, it represents the outermost of the standard set of three coffins.⁶⁴² The middle coffin, made of wood, was found in the Deir el-Bahari cache with the royal mummy inside.⁶⁴³ This coffin retains little of its former glory, the embossed gold foil that once covered it having been stripped away in antiquity and the face being crudely remodeled in stucco. No trace of the innermost coffin has survived, perhaps indicating that it, like that of Tutankhamen, was of solid gold.⁶⁴⁴ The calcite coffin is not, strictly speaking, the royal sarcophagus, which was always box-shaped. Dodson posits that this may have been made of wood.⁶⁴⁵ The coffins and sarcophagus would have been surrounded by a series of nested wooden shrines covered with sheet gold and engraved with episodes from various underworld books.⁶⁴⁶

Seti's is one of a few royal tombs that was virtually complete at the death of its owner. By contrast to Ramesses II and Ramesses III, however (both of whom had several decades to finish their tombs), Seti's artisans largely completed his in only a decade. This is all the more remarkable considering the fact that the decoration of KV 17 is among the most intricate and carefully painted in the valley, consisting entirely of bas relief except for the ceiling which was only painted. Romer notes that the tomb of Horemheb represents a break with the old tradition of completing the decoration of the royal tomb in hastily executed wall paintings in

⁶⁴²A. Dodson, *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt*, (New York, 1993), 70 & by personal communication.

⁶⁴³*PM I.2*², 661, 18; Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, (Cairo, 1909) 30-31 & pls. 16, 18 & 19.

⁶⁴⁴Aidan Dodson by personal communication.

⁶⁴⁵Aidan Dodson by personal communication.

⁶⁴⁶As attested from the tomb of Tutankhamen, (A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankhamon*, [Princeton, 1977]), and on a papyrus ground plan from the Egyptian Museum in Turin depicting the tomb of Ramesses IV (E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, 42).

only a handful of rooms during preparations for the monarch's funeral.⁶⁴⁷ Although the decorated chambers in Horemheb's tomb were carved and painted in exquisite bas reliefs, the decoration in the sarcophagus chamber had only been laid out and was in the process of being carved when work stopped at the time of his burial.⁶⁴⁸ Even more incomplete and hurriedly prepared was the tomb of Ramesses I.⁶⁴⁹ In order to fulfil his plans for a vast and elaborately decorated tomb, Seti reorganized and expanded the workforce of the royal tomb makers based at the village of Deir el-Medina.⁶⁵⁰ His reform of the village was highly successful, for he was interred in one of the largest, most exquisitely decorated and most completely finished tombs in the Valley of the Kings.

Uncertain Provenance within Thebes

3.103 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I (British Museum EA 1665)

Sandstone: H. 67; W. 55.5 cm

A. W. Shorter, *JEA* 19 (1933), 60-61, fig. 1; M. L. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, 11, pl. 9; *KRI* I, 231, §99; *RITA* I, 198-199, §99; *RITANC* I, 151, §99.

This stela fragment of an uncertain Theban provenance preserves about two fifths of the main text and nothing of the vignette except the base of the king's tail and the back of his heel.⁶⁵¹ Unfortunately the upper left portion of the text is missing which once included the date and titulary. What is preserved includes a brief encomium in praise of the sovereign, and a rhetorical statement lauding his superior leadership of the chariotry. Finally, the last two

⁶⁴⁷Romer, *Ancient Lives*, 11.

⁶⁴⁸E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemheb in Tal der Könige*, (Bern, 1971), *passim*.

⁶⁴⁹*PM* I.2² 534-535; Reeves, *The Valley of the Kings*, 91-92.

⁶⁵⁰Romer, *Ancient Lives*, 11-12, 21-22. This reorganization seems to have taken place under the direct supervision of the Vizier Paser. It was more extensive than the expansion of the village when the workmen returned to their ancestral home after the Amarna period in the seventh regnal year of Horemheb. See W. J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, (Atlanta, 1995), 234-235, Nr. 107-C.1.

⁶⁵¹M. L. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, 11, pl. 9.

lines record his decree for the re-institution of some festival, the name of which is lost, at Thebes on IV *pri* 10.⁶⁵²

3.104 Three Fragments of a Theban Votive Temple Model

Dark grey granite

A. Badawy, "A Monumental Gateway of Sety I," as a *separatum* and in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* I, (1972), 11, figs. 15-16; D. Berg, *SAK* 17 (1990), 81-106, pls. 2-4.

These fragments stem from a votive temple model similar to the Heliopolitan temple model of Seti I now in Brooklyn.⁶⁵³ The names and titles of Amen on the various fragments often mention Karnak. Although this might indicate that Karnak was the venue for the actual structure, (presumably the Great Hypostyle Hall), Berg makes a case for the ambiguity of the phraseology, leaving open the possibility that some other Theban monument was intended.⁶⁵⁴ He posits that it depicted Gurnah temple. Another possibility is that it represents the Ramesside court at Luxor which was also begun under Seti I. As preserved, however, the sockets on the Theban model differ from those on the Heliopolitan example that clearly does represent a monumental pylon gateway similar to the Luxor façade.⁶⁵⁵

3.105 Statue of Seti I Protected by Amen (Louvre A 130)

Black granodiorite: H. 69 cm

PM II², 533; J. Vandier, *Mamel* 3, 390, 408, 410, 419; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 246-247, pl. 49d.

This small group depicts Seti kneeling in front of an enthroned Amen-Re.⁶⁵⁶ The royal figure is preserved, except for his head and neck, but only the god's feet and part of his legs survive. The statue can be assigned to Seti because his two cartouches are inscribed on front

⁶⁵²On the date see *RITANC* I, 151, §298.


⁶⁵³D. Berg, "Some Ramesside Fragments," *SAK* 17 (1990), 81-106. See *supra* 3.29.

⁶⁵⁴Perhaps the king's memorial temple at Gurnah. *Ibid.*, 101-102.

⁶⁵⁵Brand, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 101-114. See *infra* 3.119.

⁶⁵⁶H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 246-247, pl. 49d.

of the upper surface of the pedestal to either side of his knees. The pedestal, which is rather deep, is otherwise uninscribed.

It may be that it was not completed, but it is more likely that the existing pedestal fitted into the socket of a separate, larger pedestal in the manner of several examples found in the Luxor cache of statues.⁶⁵⁷ It may be just such an arrangement that is depicted in a relief from the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where Seti kneels before Amen. The two figures rest on a low platform or mat which in turn is supported by a larger platform.⁶⁵⁸ Sourouzian posits that Louvre A130, which has pharaoh holding an , represents the deified king, and that therefore it may have come from Seti's Gurnah memorial temple.⁶⁵⁹

El Kab

3.106 Lion Figure (Cairo JdE 89120)

J. Capart et. al., *Fouilles d'El-Kab, Documents*, (Brussels, 1954), 106:A, pl. 33; *KRI* I, 226, §96; *RITA* I, 195, §96; *RITANC* I, 147, §96.

This statuette represents “Horus-who-wards-off-evil” in the form of a lion. It was dedicated to the temple of Nekhbet.⁶⁶⁰ This form of Horus was more common in later periods, but is known from the shrine of Amenhotep III at El-Kab simply as “Horus-who-wards-off” and from Seti I's temple at Kanais at “Horus-lord-of-the-desert.” The texts along the sides of the base give Seti's full titulary with the epithet “beloved of Horus-who-wards-off-evil.”⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷M. El-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple*, (Mainz, 1991): statue of Atum and Horemheb, 35ff.

⁶⁵⁸Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 150.

⁶⁵⁹H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 247.

⁶⁶⁰J. Capart et. al., *Fouilles d'El-Kab, Documents*, (Brussels, 1954), 106: A, pl. 33.

⁶⁶¹*KRI* I, 226:14-16.

3.107 Reused Blocks of Seti I (Column Drums)

PM V, 173; S. Clarke, *JEA* 8 (1922), 37.

Clarke noted several reused blocks in the temple complex of Nekhbet at El-Kab. Among these were what seem to have been column drums inscribed with the names of Amenhotep I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III and Seti I.⁶⁶²

Hierakonpolis**3.108 Statue Base Fragment of Seti I**

PM V, 196; J. E. Quibell & F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis* 2, ERA 5, (London, 1902), 53.

Little can be said about this piece beyond noting its apparent existence. Quibell and Green failed to provide documentation of relevant details of the monument or its decoration and no photographs or drawings of it are known. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

Gebel Silsila East**3.109 Rock Stela, Year 6**

PM V, 220; *LD III*, 141 e-g; *LDT IV*, 97:5, 98; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte*, (Paris, 1879), pls. 262-265., pls. 262-265; *KRI I*, 59-61, §26; *RITA I*, 51-53, §26; *RITANC I*, 56-57, §26.

This stela is known only from various Nineteenth century copies, all of which are marred by various errors. Unfortunately, no reliable edition of the lunette panel was ever recorded. The present location and condition of the stela are unknown.

The main text of the stela, including its dateline, is well preserved. It commemorates a quarrying expedition sent to East Silsila in year six to procure sandstone for building projects. The date given is *rnpt-hsbt 6 3bd 4 3ht sw 1*. This is followed by a full royal titulary and brief encomium of the king. Next comes the main subject of the text:

"Now when His Majesty, L.P.H., was in the Southern City doing what he, (namely) his father Amen-Re king of the gods, praises, he lay awake seeking out what-is-beneficial for all the gods of Egypt. Dawn broke and the next⁶⁶³ day came, and [His Majesty], L.P.H., caused a royal

⁶⁶²S. Clarke, "El-Kâb and its Temples," *JEA* 8 (1922), 37.

⁶⁶³*iw sn-nw n hrw hprw*. *KRI I*, 416:15, correcting *Ibid.*, 60:9; *RITANC I*, 57, §102.

messenger of His Majesty's, L.P.H., to be sent with a corps of 1000 men of the army; likewise [...reference to ships...] ⁶⁶⁴ with crews in order to ferry monuments, for his father Amen-Re (and for) Osiris together with his Ennead, consisting of fine hard sandstone. ⁶⁶⁵

The rest of the main text records how the ruler provided generous rations and supplies to his workmen and that in turn "they worked willingly for His Majesty, L.P.H." The practice of supplying liberal rations to such expeditions is mentioned in at least one other early Nineteenth Dynasty text. ⁶⁶⁶

The text does not specify which building project(s) were to receive stone from the expedition. It states variously that pharaoh is acting on behalf of "all the gods of Egypt," and that he is procuring stone for Amen-Re, (along with) Osiris and his Ennead." In the accompanying scene, the king worships Amen-Re, Ptah and an unidentified goddess. ⁶⁶⁷

Kitchen suggests that the stone was being procured for various building projects in Upper Egypt including the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, the Gurnah memorial temple and the Abydos temple. Although the latter was built primarily in limestone, sandstone was used as well. ⁶⁶⁸ It is far more likely, however, that the intended Abydene venue was the Osireion in which a great deal of sandstone was used. ⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁴Cf. the larger year nine stela of the king from Aswan recording quarry work, *infra* 3.120. *KRI* I, 74:13.

⁶⁶⁵*KRI* I, 60:8-11.

⁶⁶⁶Cf. Ramesses II's year nine stela from Manshiyet es-Sadr, *KRI* II, 360-362.

⁶⁶⁷*KRI* I, 59:12-13. Unfortunately, the scene was never accurately copied. E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte*, (Paris, 1879), pls. 262-265.

⁶⁶⁸The first pylon was constructed of sandstone, although it may have been built under Ramesses II. E. B. Ghazouli, *ASAE* 58 (1964), 167; *RITANC* I, 52-53. This material was used in other portions of the temple, such as in the first hypostyle hall, but most of the temple was limestone. See *infra* 3.46.1 & 3.46.3.

⁶⁶⁹See *supra* 3.52.

The destination for most of this sandstone, however, would surely be Theban. Year six comes a little more than half way through the reign, and one would expect that construction of one if not both of Seti's main building projects at Thebes, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Gurnah memorial temple, would have been underway by this time. Of these, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall was both the larger and the most complete at the king's death. By contrast, the Gurnah memorial temple would have required considerably less sandstone than the Hypostyle Hall, since only the rear portions of the temple employed this material in any quantity, with other portions of the temple being largely constructed of mudbrick with some additional sandstone and limestone.⁶⁷⁰ Moreover, the process of decorating it seems to have begun quite late in the king's reign, and less than half the reliefs were finished at his death. This, in turn, points to a relatively late date for its construction. Thus although the Karnak Hypostyle Hall may well still have been under construction in year six, it was surely begun much earlier.⁶⁷¹ Work on the Gurnah temple, on the other hand, may have just begun at this point.

The present stela records the opening of quarrying operations to procure sandstone for a number of building projects in Thebes and Abydos. Although the Gurnah memorial temple and the Osireion were probably the main projects supplied by this new quarry. Others, including the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, may have also received stone as a result of the expedition recorded here.

3.110 Rock Stela of Hapi

PM V, 220; *LDT IV*, 97:6; *KRI I*, 61, §27; *RITA I*, 53, §27; *RITANC I*, 57-58, §27.

The scene on this stela shows the official Hapi adoring the cartouches of Seti I.⁶⁷² The texts describes him as "The Chief of Retainers, favorite of His Majesty, L.P.H., and

⁶⁷⁰See *supra* 3.83.1.

⁶⁷¹See *infra* 3.109.

⁶⁷²*LDT IV*, 97:6; F. Ll. Griffith, "Notes on a Tour of Upper Egypt," *PSBA* 11 (1889), 234, pl. 3.

Superintendent of the task-force for the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands.” As Kitchen points out, he may not have been the leader of the quarrying expedition commemorated by Seti’s year six stela.⁶⁷³ That text records that a messenger, *wꜣꜣꜣꜣ*, was summoned by the king to lead the expedition.⁶⁷⁴ Still, Hapi’s titles seem too high flown to be those of anyone but the leader of such an expedition. There would have certainly been other expeditions to the Silsila quarries before year six, to acquire stone for the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁶⁷⁵ Others may have come after year six. Hapi, if not the leader of the year six expedition, was perhaps at the head of one of these other missions.

Gebel Silsila West

3.111 Rhetorical Stela of Seti I

PM V, 218; J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls. 265-267; *KRI* I, 80-81, §43; *RITA* I, 68-70, §43; *RITANC* I, 68-69, §43.

This stela is known only from a hand copy made by de Rougé. Kitchen posits that it is incomplete at the end.⁶⁷⁶ The preserved text bears the royal titulary followed by a long encomium to the king. Any mention of the specific event being recorded was lost or left unrecorded by de Rougé. A pair of vertical strokes preceding the titulary might be part of a dateline, but the space is unusually small for this, and the term *hr* (*hm.n*) is missing. De Rougé’s copy is liable to be inaccurate in some way, and the text may have been damaged at this point, so it is possible that year two was meant. This interpretation is admittedly hazardous, since the strokes could just as easily refer to the day or even the month in the date line. On the other hand, the smaller year nine quarry text of the king from Aswan gives a bare *hꜣt-sp 9 nsw-btꜣ Mn-mꜣꜣt-Rꜣ...* as the date line without the phrase *hr hm n*.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷³*RITANC* I, 58, §104.

⁶⁷⁴*KRI* I, 60:10.

⁶⁷⁵See next entry.

⁶⁷⁶*RITA* I, 69, §139.

⁶⁷⁷*KRI* I, 73:11.

The long rhetorical text suggests a major event was being commemorated. If the stela recorded a quarrying expedition and, further, if it be dated to year two, then it might once have recorded the opening of a quarry to supply stone for the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. This is, admittedly, pure speculation.

3.112 Hapi Shrine of Seti I

PM V, 218; P. Barguet, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 49-63, pl. 2; *KRI* I, 81-91, §44:A; *RITA* I, 76-80, §44; *RITANC* I, 69-77, §44.

This rock stela was the first of a series of four Ramesside monuments dedicated to Hapi, god of the Nile inundation.⁶⁷⁸ Unfortunately, Seti's stela is badly damaged, with the scene, the date and much of the main text being lost. The other three were dedicated by Ramesses II, Merenptah and Ramesses III. The first two of these are dated to the king's first regnal year, while that of Ramesses III is from year six. Although the date of Seti's inscription is lost, it was almost certainly in year one by comparison with the next two shrines which are very similar to it. The endowment, or re-endowment, of new cults with provisions may have been a priority for the king early in his reign.

Edfu

3.113 Stela of Seti I to Hathor (Edinburgh RMS 1907.632)

Sandstone: H. 42.5 cm; W. 34.6 cm

H.M. El-Saady, *JEA* 76 (1990), 186-188 & pl. 20.1.

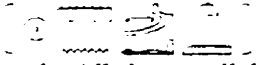
This round topped votive stela is of unknown provenance.⁶⁷⁹ It is carved in sunk relief with no traces of paint. The entire surface consists of a tableau depicting Seti I offering two *mw*-jars to the goddess Hathor who stands before him on a plinth.

The texts are straightforward. The act of the king is "making libation." Over the king's head the text reads "The perfect god, Menmaatre, Son of Re, Seti-Merenptah, given

⁶⁷⁸P. Barguet, "Les stèles du Nil au Gebel Silsileh," *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 49-63, pl. 2.

⁶⁷⁹H. M. El-Saady, "Two Minor Monuments of Sety I," *JEA* 76 (1990), 186-188 & pl. 20.1.

life.” The goddess is titled “Hathor who resides in Behdet.” The toponym Behdet can refer to a number of ancient sites, but El-Saady has argued that, of all these, Edfu is the most likely candidate. Hathor had a cult center there by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and she played a major role in the festivals of Horus of Edfu as his consort.⁶⁸⁰

The orthography of the prenomen, , is highly peculiar. The phonetic writing of *m3ʿt* in particular is unusual. All the parallels collected by El-Saady for this were in hieratic.⁶⁸¹ The most likely explanation for this curious writing is that the draftsman rendered the prenomen according to the hieratic orthography of the king's prenomen by mistake.

The workmanship of the stela is of medium quality. Stylistically, the relief shows characteristics of a mature Ramesside style of carving. The nose is somewhat aquiline and the belly is flat. The pose of the figure betrays a very slight forward inclination, and this effect is heightened by the left shoulder that is somewhat higher than the right.⁶⁸² The stela probably dates to the middle or later years of the king's reign.

Elephantine

3.114 “Nilometer” Stela of Seti I

Siliceous sandstone: H. 167 cm; W. 65 cm

PM V, 226; Champolion, *ND* I, 223-5; W. Kaiser, *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 113, 138 & pl. 43b; F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile*, (Mainz, 1987), 49-50, no. 4.2.3, pl. 31; *KRI* I, 97-98, §45; *RITA* I, 81-82, §45; *RITANC* I, 78, §45.

This large stela fragment was found on Elephantine where it had been set in the coping of the Nilometer of the Satet temple,⁶⁸³ but was probably first erected in the Khnum temple of




⁶⁸⁰Ibid., 106; See H. W. Fairman, *Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple*, (Manchester, 1954), 196-200.

⁶⁸¹Ibid., El-Saady, 186, n. 6; *KRI* I, 243:5, 244:11, 260:5, 274:8, 369:12.

⁶⁸²Cf. Leiden V. 16 Inv. # AP61, the king's votive stela from Saqqara in which his back shoulder is higher although his torso is fully erect. *Supra* 1.2.3 & 3.37.

⁶⁸³F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile*, (Mainz, 1987), 49.

the New Kingdom.⁶⁸⁴ An unknown number of lines of the text are missing from the bottom of the stela and its original height is unclear. Its width can be estimated by the dimensions of the double scene and the layout of the royal titulary in the first line. About six groups are missing from either end of the first line which is the widest of the preserved text.⁶⁸⁵

Carved in sunk relief, the lunette consists of a double scene with a short rhetorical text running down the center of the lunette dividing the two vignettes.⁶⁸⁶ On the right, the king stands before Amen-Re offering two *mw*-jars. He wears a triangular kilt, bracelets, and a broad collar. Only traces of his headgear remain, but it appears to be the *Kheprsh*. Part of the right foot is all that survives of the royal figure in the left panel, the object of his worship being the god Khnum. The two divine figures stand on -plinths and hold -scepters and -signs.

Several features point to an early date for this stela. The figures conform to a late post-Amarna style of relief current in the earliest years of Seti's reign. Thus the image of the king has a long, slender neck, narrow shoulders and slim arms and legs. The lips are full and the mouth is marked by a down curved groove denoting the cheeks and the brow is modeled. The king's posture is fully upright.

In the main text, the nineteenth line of the main inscription bears a prenomen cartouche with the epithet *tit R^c*. While such epithets were occasionally used with the prenomen in the texts of later stelae, they are most common in the earliest years of the reign.⁶⁸⁷ The stela records a "conversation," really a pair of speeches, between the king and the god Khnum.⁶⁸⁸ The preserved section of the text contains the king's speech. Here Seti thanks Khnum for having entrusted him with the kingship of Egypt, and assures the god that

⁶⁸⁴*RITANC* I, 78, (b) §151.

⁶⁸⁵*KRI* I, 97:6-7.

⁶⁸⁶F. Junge, *Elephantine XI*, pl. 31.

⁶⁸⁷See *supra* 1.4.5.

⁶⁸⁸For translations see Breasted, *ARE* III, 89, §§203-4 (lines 14-16 only); F. Junge, *Elephantine XI*, 49-51; *RITA* I, 81-82.

he has heeded his guidance. The text breaks off at the very beginning of Khnum's response. Based on art historical, epigraphic and textual evidence, the most likely date for the text, then, would be year one or two, but certainly within the first half of the reign.⁶⁸⁹

3.115 Relief Fragment of Seti I

Sandstone: H. 35 cm; W. 50 cm; D. 62 cm


F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile*, 49, 4.2.2.2, pl. 29d.

Carved in raised relief, this block originates from a ritual scene from the New Kingdom temple of Satet.⁶⁹⁰ The preserved decoration includes the tops of two cartouches, a uraeus surmounting a cluster of lotus blossoms, part of the name of the goddess Nekhbet, and traces of a Golden Horus title which best suit Seti I.⁶⁹¹

3.116 Wall Relief of Seti I Offering Wine to Khnum

Sandstone: H. 96 cm; W. 64 cm; D. 18 cm

F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile*, 48-49, 4.2.2.1, pl. 30a.

This block was found in the northeast side gateway of the Roman period temple of Khnum.⁶⁹² It preserves a fragment of an offering scene in sunk relief. The rather crude quality of relief is more characteristic of the work of Ramesses II, but a cartouche identifies it as belonging to Seti. Of the king, only one upraised arm holding a *nw*-jar is preserved. The angle at which this arm projects upward indicates that he was kneeling. Khnum, identified by an inscription in front of him, is enthroned on a high -plinth surmounted by a reed mat. Only the god's left arm, right hand and legs and the tip of one of his horns remain. The style of relief and diminutive scale of the composition suggests, perhaps, that it came from the

⁶⁸⁹*Contra* Habachi, who erroneously associates the stela with quarrying operations recorded on Seti's two year nine stelae from Aswan. *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 125.

⁶⁹⁰Junge, *Elephantine XI*, 49 & pl. 29d.

⁶⁹¹Although the fragmentary prenomen and Gold Horus name could belong to Amenhotep III, the traces at the top of the nomen cartouche match the name of Ptah as in Seti-Merenptah. *Ibid.*, 49, 4.2.2.2 note *d*.

⁶⁹²*Ibid.*, 48 & pl. 30a.

uppermost register of an exterior wall of the Khnum temple comparable to vignettes from the upper registers in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁶⁹³

3.117 Fragments of Three Sandstone Doorways

F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile*, 48, 4.2.1.1-4.2.1.4, pls. 29a, e-g.

All four of these gateway fragments are of sandstone decorated with incised texts. Two can be assigned to the same doorway by their dimensions and the similarity in the carving of the glyphs.⁶⁹⁴ A third block comes from the upper right hand portion of another doorway, its workmanship being the coarsest of all these blocks.⁶⁹⁵ By contrast, the fourth block is more carefully finished than the other three.⁶⁹⁶ These blocks would seem to correspond to three separate doorways of modest dimensions. All are decorated with elements of Seti's titulary, and they may have belonged to some mud brick structure now lost, such as temple magazines of the kind Seti erected in the Ramesside temple complex at Aksha,⁶⁹⁷ and to a gateway Seti added to the mudbrick Sphinx temple of Amenhotep II.⁶⁹⁸

3.118 Temple Wall Relief (Louvre B 61, E 12921 BIS C)

Painted sandstone: H. 143 cm; W. 115 cm; D. 18 cm

Unpublished; (PLATE 76).

This wall relief was excavated by Clermont Ganneau from the temple of Khnum on Elephantine and was donated to the Louvre in 1908.⁶⁹⁹ Divided into two pieces, its

⁶⁹³Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 81-86.

⁶⁹⁴4.2.1 and 4.2.1.2: Junge, *Elephantine XI*, 48 & pl. 29 a & e.

⁶⁹⁵4.2.1.4: *Ibid.*, 48 & pl. 29g.

⁶⁹⁶4.2.1.3: *Ibid.*, 48 & pl. 29f.


⁶⁹⁷See *infra* 3.136.

⁶⁹⁸See *supra* 2.4 & 2.5.

⁶⁹⁹From the Louvre's records graciously sent to me by Christiane Ziegler.

decoration is executed in fine sunk relief which is painted, and consists of figures of Amen-Re and Mut sitting inside separate shrines. Only the plumes, back of the modius and shoulder of Amen is preserved. He sits in a shrine with a double roof and two sets of support poles. Behind him is part of the titulary of Seti I: *Mn-m3^ct-R^c s3 R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth km3 3hw n mss* [sw?]. “Menmaatre son of Re Seti-Merenptah who produces what-is-beneficial for the one who bore [him].” The Seth-animal glyph has been bashed out at some latter date.

Only the face of Mut, along with portions of her headdress and front shoulder remains, along with the top half of her papyri-form scepter. She is in a pavilion similar to that of Amen, except that it has only a single roof and one set of support poles. The accompanying text with restorations is perhaps: “Words spoken by Mut-the-Great, lady of heaven in the midst of Isheru, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: [O my son] of (my) body Menmaatre: [my heart is glad at seeing your] beauties...”

Above the scene, surmounting a -sign border painted blue with yellow stars, is a ribbon border surmounted by a *hkr*-frieze. All these elements are in bas relief, while the figures of the deities and the text are executed in sunk relief. The quality of workmanship is far superior to most of Seti's other reliefs from Elephantine. The style of Mut's features are clearly Ramesside, in particular her large, aquiline nose. It seems more likely that this relief comes from an interior wall surface. Despite the “rule” that sunk relief was used only on exterior surfaces before the reign of Ramesses II, other clearly interior sunk reliefs are known from Seti's reign, including all the decoration inside his rock shrine at Kanais. Alternatively, the relief may be Seti's restoration of a Thutmocide original. Light traces of chisel marks and three small plaster patches to the wall surface might support this notion. The background surface is evenly dressed, making the second hypothesis less likely, as one generally finds the surface of restored tableaux to be irregular.

Aswan Region

3.119 Smaller Stela of Seti I, Year 9

Rock stela. H. 172 cm; W. 150 cm

PM V, 247; L. Habachi, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 114-117, fig. 1, pl. 1; *KRI* I, 73, §36; *RITA* I, 62, §36; *RITANC* I, 64, §36.

This stela was engraved in sunk relief on a cliff some 150 m west of the Unfinished Obelisk.⁷⁰⁰ The inscription is somewhat eroded, particularly at the top of the lunette, where some of the titles and epithets of the king and Amen-Re are largely worn away.⁷⁰¹ The text is also eroded, and Lepsius' copy records only the first line and about half of the second along with only traces of the other two.⁷⁰²

The stela records an expedition to procure colossal statues:

"Regnal year 9 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre, son of Re Seti-Merenptah. His Majesty, L.P.H., ordered the making for himself of colossal statues of black (stone). Then His Majesty discovered a new quarry for great statues of black (stone), the crowns thereof being from the Red Mountain, the mountain of 'quartzite' (=bi3).⁷⁰³ See, never had their like ever been seen since the time of Re. The name of the quarry which His Majesty, L.P.H., discovered: 'The quarry of Menmaatre-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands.'"

The present author has recently shown that the statues referred to are probably the four seated colossi in and in front of the Ramesside court in Luxor temple.⁷⁰⁴ The smaller year nine text further specifies that the crowns of the colossi will be of bi3-stone of the Red

⁷⁰⁰L. Habachi, "The Two Rock-Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area Speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks," *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 114-117, pl. 10.

⁷⁰¹*Ibid.*, 115, fig. 1.

⁷⁰²*LD* III, 141i; *LDT* IV, 118-119 (4) with a.

⁷⁰³*KRI* I, 73:12. The Manshiyet Es-Sadr stela of Ramesses II also calls for "great statues, their crowns, thereof, being of bi3 of the quarry of Usermaatre-setepenre Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands." *KRI* II, 362:10-11.

⁷⁰⁴P. J. Brand, "The 'Lost' Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I," *JARCE* 34 (1997), 101-114.

Mountain.⁷⁰⁵ This statement has caused some confusion among scholars as to the nature of the statues described, since no colossi inscribed for Seti I are preserved. Debate has focused on the description of the crowns. Sethe had argued that the statues were monolithic, noting that contiguous veins of black and red granite are found in the Aswan quarries.⁷⁰⁶ This idea was rejected by Harris, who believed the crowns came from a different quarry.⁷⁰⁷

The confusion arose from the phrase *h'w.sn iry m ḏw ḏš(r)t ḏw biḏwt*. Habachi took this as “the crowns thereof from the Mountain of Quartzite of the Red Mountain.” Kitchen translates it as “whose crowns were (to be) of red quartzite from the Red Mountain (*Gebel Ahmar*).” Habachi’s translation is superior to Kitchen’s, but neither’s conclusions regarding its meaning is correct.

One of the four great seated Luxor colossi, the western one in front of the pylon, does indeed have a red crown.⁷⁰⁸ The statue was cut so that the modius of its red crown would be carved in a vein of red granite running through the contiguous black granodiorite of which the rest of the statue is composed.⁷⁰⁹ A vein of red granite runs through the back part of the

⁷⁰⁵KRI I, 73:12.

⁷⁰⁶K. Sethe, “Die Bau — und Denksteine” *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil-Hist.Klasse XXII.

⁷⁰⁷J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, 75. Followed by Habachi, *BIFAO* 73, 117, and Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 64.

⁷⁰⁸I am indebted to Dr. Raymond Johnson for this information. His observations were made after a thunderstorm at Luxor where the rainwater brought out the lighter red color of the stone of the crown. Once noticed, it is quite apparent. This material must be red granite, which occurs in veins contiguous with veins of black granodiorite at Aswan (James Harrell by personal communication). This was called *biḏ* in the smaller year nine stela. Like modern Egyptologists, the ancients seem not to have distinguished between red hard stones and used the term *biḏ* for different types of stone.

⁷⁰⁹A similar case is the “Young Memnon” statue of Ramesses II in the British Museum. The body is of black granodiorite while the head and crown are of a separate vein of red granite. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, (New York, 1980), 194. So too a small black granodiorite head of Ramesses II wearing a *Nemes*-headdress surmounted by the Double Crown has a patch of pink granite covering the brow of the *Nemes* and the front of the Red Crown. Russmann dates the piece to the earlier part of the reign. E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian*

Nemes-headdress of the eastern colossus. This state of affairs is precisely what is described in the text of the stela. The original plan for the embellishment of the Luxor forecourt probably included only the four seated colossi of black granodiorite and two obelisks.⁷¹⁰ A relief accompanying the year three dedication text portrays the façade of the pylon with two seated colossi and a pair of obelisks without the other four smaller standing colossi, which were added later.⁷¹¹ A second depiction of the façade, (this time showing all six colossi), was carved on the interior south-west wall of the court.⁷¹²

These statues, along with the two Luxor obelisks, were commissioned by Seti in year nine, scarcely two years before his death. Ramesses II had the good fortune to inherit a number of monoliths and the partially built Luxor forecourt and pylon, which were still undecorated and probably still under construction at his accession. The colossi would have been transported to Luxor in the rough, with the court being built up around the southern pair, which are now inside it.⁷¹³

There is also textual evidence to support the notion that the four Luxor colossi were first commissioned by Seti I. Habachi first pointed out that such monuments were gigantic

Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor, cat. 68, 148-149. Leblanc insists that the dual coloration of the Young Memnon was irrelevant because it was painted. C. Leblanc, "Diodore, le tombeau d'Osymandyas et la statuaire du Ramesseum," *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, 80 & n. 46. Both the pains the Egyptians took to carve such colossi from separate veins of stone and the textual references to this practice, are, however, in keeping with a deliberate effort to emphasize the dual coloration of the stone. Moreover, paint was often used only to highlight features of granite statuary as with the intact granite statue of Thutmose III from his temple at Deir el-Bahari where yellow paint highlights the stripes on the *Nemes*-crown and traces of red paint remain on the face. J. Lipińska, *The Temple of Thutmose III: Statuary and Votive Monuments*, Deir el-Bahri 4, (Warsaw, 1984), cat 1 w/ pls. 68-74.

⁷¹⁰The four seated colossi are made of granodiorite called *km*, "black stone," in the smaller year nine stela (James Harrell, personal communication).

⁷¹¹Kuentz, *La face sud*, pls. 21 & 26.

⁷¹²*PM* II, 308, (30); J. Capart, *Thebes: Glory of a Great Past*, (New York, 1926), 41, fig. 23; *Dossiers histoire et archéologie: Égypte* 101, (January, 1986), 37.

⁷¹³See Brand, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 110-111.

cult statues dedicated to the cult of the royal *Ka*.⁷¹⁴ As such, they were generally given names.⁷¹⁵ The eastern seated colossus in front of the pylon at Luxor was named “Usermaatre-setepenre/Ramesses-miamen Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands.” On the present stela, the phrase “ruler of the Two Lands,” *ḥkꜣ-Tꜣwy*, is appended to Seti I’s prenomen in two cases. One of these is found in the lunette scene where the royal protocol is depicted in huge glyphs behind the king’s figure.⁷¹⁶ This anomalous use of the royal cartouches in the vignette may have been intended to emphasize the divinity of the proposed cult statues, with the caption perhaps being the prospective name for one of the statues. In the last line of the main text, the quarry is named “the quarry of Menmaatre-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands given life.” By contrast, the epithet does not appear in the prenomen cartouche in the titulary sequence at the beginning of the text. This epithet is quite rare in contexts other than on royal colossi. The eastern colossus from the façade of Luxor temple is the earliest example from Ramesses II’s reign to bear the epithet “Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands,” and is the only one made for him in black stone.⁷¹⁷ From the evidence of the smaller Aswan text of year nine and its striking parallels to the four seated colossi at Luxor temple, we may safely assume that the latter were commissioned by Seti I in his year nine but none were completed until after his death.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁴L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, (Glückstadt, 1969), 19.

⁷¹⁵*Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁷¹⁶Habachi, *BIFAO* 73, 115, fig. 1.

⁷¹⁷See Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, 18.

⁷¹⁸Similarly, the great recumbent colossus of Ramesses II carved from indurated limestone at Memphis bears on its left shoulder the early form of his prenomen as does the dorsal pillar inscription on a nearby black granite statue of the king. *KRI* II, 494:4 & 495:2. This monument would not have come from Aswan, but from a nearby locale. The black granodiorite colossus would have come from Aswan and was perhaps also commissioned by Seti in year nine. Perhaps the limestone colossus was also commissioned late in Seti’s reign. Other, as yet unidentified colossi might have been ordered for the pylon gateway Seti erected at Heliopolis. Badawy, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* I, 3.

3.120 Larger Stela of Seti I, Year 9

Rock Stela: H. 215 cm; W. 142 cm

PM V, 245; L. Habachi, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 118-124, fig. 2 pl. 2; *KRI* I, 74, §37; *RITA* I, 63-64, §37; *RITANC* I, 64-65, §37.

This larger rock stela, also from year nine, is carved on a large boulder. The scene depicts the king bowing with an exaggerated stoop holding an incense censer with both hands. He pays homage to the Elephantine triad of Khnum, Satet and Anukis.⁷¹⁹ Following a dateline, titulary and a royal encomium, the main text records that:

"His Majesty, L.P.H., has ordered the commissioning of multitudinous works for the making of very great obelisks and great and wondrous statues in the name of His Majesty, L.P.H. He made great barges for transporting them, and ships crews to match them (for) ferrying them to the quarry while the officials and transport-men hastened and his eldest son was before them doing what-is-beneficial for His Majesty."⁷²⁰

Of the monuments referred to here, only the Flaminian obelisk, now in Rome, can be identified.⁷²¹ The Flaminian was only partially decorated at Seti's death and it was left to Ramesses II to complete it. To date, no trace of the Flaminian obelisk's companion has been identified. It cannot have been the siliceous sandstone obelisk fragment, also from Aswan.⁷²² Neither are either of the two fragmentary obelisks found recently in the harbor at Alexandria.⁷²³ According to the larger year nine stela, Seti appears to have commissioned a "multitude," *ḥḥw*, of obelisks.⁷²⁴ Like the four seated colossi of Ramesses II from Luxor, it seems that the two Luxor obelisks also date a bit earlier than is usually thought.⁷²⁵ On the one

⁷¹⁹Habachi, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 119, fig.2 and pl. 11.

⁷²⁰*KRI* I, 74:12-14.

⁷²¹See *supra* 3.16.

⁷²²See *infra* 3.120.

⁷²³See *supra* 3.17 & 3.18.

⁷²⁴See Brand, *JARCE* 34, 104ff.

⁷²⁵*KRI* II, 598-605; *PM* II², 302-304.

now in Paris, the decoration of all but the western face of the pyramidion and shaft exhibits the early form of Ramesses II's prenomen.⁷²⁶ On the other, the short form is found only on the west face of the pyramidion and shaft.⁷²⁷ The rest bear the longer form. The evidence on the Luxor obelisks suggest that their faces were decorated in turn over the course of the first regnal year.⁷²⁸ All the exposed faces of the western shaft and one face of the eastern monument had been completed before the order to adopt the long form came down sometime during his second regnal year. This would imply, in turn, that the monuments themselves, if they were not produced specifically for Ramesses II at the very beginning of his reign, assuming there would have been time, might be still earlier.

That work on the Luxor obelisks could have proceeded so far during Ramesses II's first year or so suggests that they had almost certainly been in the works before he came to the throne, and that they and the four black granodiorite seated colossi could be among those referred to on Seti I's year nine stelae from Aswan, where he ordered the procurement of several, (i.e. at least two pairs), of obelisks and colossi. The evidence from the Luxor obelisks lends further weight to a suggestion made by Redford that the Luxor court was planned, if not begun, under Seti I.⁷²⁹

3.121 Obelisk Fragment of Seti I

Siliceous sandstone:

L. Habachi, *Drevnia Egipet*, (Moscow, 1960), 224-235, figs. 9-15; R. & D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen*, (Munich, 1981), fig. 40; Brand, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 104-107, figs. 3-7.

⁷²⁶*KRI* II, 601:15, 602:3, 6, 13, 16 & 603:3.

⁷²⁷*KRI* I, 598:10 & 599:6.

⁷²⁸Brand, *JARCE* 34, 108-109.

⁷²⁹Redford, *JEA* 57, 118.

This fragment of the upper shaft and pyramidion of a medium sized obelisk was first published by Habachi.⁷³⁰ It lies in an ancient quarry for siliceous sandstone at Gebel Gulab near Aswan.⁷³¹ The fragment seems to have been extracted and partially dressed. Some decoration was also carved on three faces of the upper shaft immediately below the base of the pyramidion. This consisted of tableaux of the king kneeling before various manifestations of the Heliopolitan sun gods.⁷³² The shaft broke off just below these scenes. A fourth side remains only partially dressed.

It has been suggested that the fragment might represent the intended mate for the Flaminian obelisk of Seti I.⁷³³ This now seems impossible. Habachi estimated that it was a relatively small obelisk, about 12 meters high to judge by both the size of its pyramidion and a nearby quarry face which is 12 meters wide.⁷³⁴ At only 12 meters high, it would have been dwarfed by the 23 meter Flaminian. Egyptian illustrations of obelisk pairs always shown them as being of the same height. In reality, some pairs could differ measurably in height. A dramatic example of this is the two obelisks set up by Ramesses II in front of Luxor temple. The eastern monument is 25 meters high, while the western one, (now in Paris), is 22.5 meters high.⁷³⁵ Given the unique problems associated with quarrying such huge monuments, this difference is not surprising. Still, they are on roughly the same scale. Most pairs, however,

⁷³⁰L. Habachi, "Notes on the Unfinished Obelisk of Aswan and Another Smaller one in Gharb Aswan," in *Drevnia Egipet*, (Moscow, 1960) 224-235, figs. 9-15. See now R. & D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen*, (Munich, 1981), fig. 40; Brand, *JARCE* 34, 103, fig. 3-6 & 104 fig. 7.

⁷³¹D.D. Klemm, *et. al.*, "Die pharaonischen Steinbrüche des Silifizierten Sandsteins in Ägypten und die Herkunft der Memnon-Kolosse," *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 207-220.

⁷³²*Ibid.*, Habachi, 227-230 and figs. 11-13.

⁷³³*RITANC* I, 97, §186.

⁷³⁴*Ibid.*, 230-231.

⁷³⁵Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, fig. 33.

were almost exactly the same height.⁷³⁶ Moreover, the Aswan fragment is made of red siliceous sandstone.⁷³⁷ By contrast, the Rome monument, like others of its magnitude, is pink granite. Thus the Aswan fragment was probably destined for some other Heliopolitan venue before it was abandoned, and the Flaminian obelisk's mate is still missing.

In fact, there is evidence from a nearby quarry face that this obelisk had a mate of its own. This quarry face, from which the broken obelisk was undoubtedly removed, shows signs of continued workmanship beyond what would have been necessary to extract one obelisk. The top of the face has been partly smoothed down along its whole length. The side of the face has also been smoothed down. Moreover, at one end, the side turns in and the top of the smoothed down portion narrows to a point. The impression given is that of an obelisk with pyramidion, and this is undoubtedly what it is. Presumably one obelisk had been extracted and production of the second one was underway when the first broke, so the project was then abandoned. The siliceous sandstone from Gebel Gulab is of inferior quality to that found at Gebel Ahmar near Cairo.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶As among several pairs of obelisks of Ramesses II at Tanis, all of which were between 10 and 14 meters high, the differences between each of the paired obelisks was less than .5m, with the difference between one pair being only .03m. P. Montet, "Les obelisques de Ramsès II," *Kemi V* (1936), 104-114.

⁷³⁷I am grateful to Dr. James Harrell for this information as well as for photos of the obelisk and its quarry site. Habachi, *Drevnia Egipet*, 230-231. Siliceous sandstone is wrongly called quartzite by many Egyptologists. Most of it was quarried from Gebel Ahmar near Cairo. Beds of the same material at Gebel Gulab near Aswan was of inferior quality and was little used in pharaonic times. The Aswan obelisk fragment of Seti, which came from this quarry, may have broke because of the poor quality of the stone. James Harrell, personal communication. See D. D. Klemm, *et. al.*, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 207-220.

⁷³⁸Klemm, *MDAIK* 40, 211ff.

**Deserts outside of Egypt
Wadi Hammamat**

3.122 Rock Stela of Seti I (Cuyat-Montet no. 94)

PM VII, 333; Cuyat-Montet, *IHHOH*, 69, pl. 23, no. 94; *KRI I*, 64, §31A; *RITA I*, 55, §31A; *RITANC I*, 60, §31A.

3.123 Rock Stela of Seti I (Cuyat-Montet no. 213)

PM VII, 333; Cuyat-Montet, *IHHOH*, 105, pl. 41, no. 213; *KRI I*, 64, §31B; *RITA I*, 55, §31B; *RITANC I*, 60, §31B.

3.124 Rock Stela of Seti I (Cuyat-Montet no. 214)

PM VII, 333; Cuyat-Montet, *IHHOH*, 105, pl. 40, no. 214; *KRI I*, 64, §31C; *RITA I*, 55, §31C; *RITANC I*, 60, §31C.

These three rock inscriptions of Seti I are the only known evidence of the king's activity in the Wadi Hammamat. They presumably attest to quarrying activity there during his reign. All three inscriptions consist of purely formal ritual scenes.

No. 94 depicts Seti kneeling on a tall plinth before the enthroned Amen-Re.⁷³⁹ An offering stand bearing a *nmsr*-jar and a tall bouquet of flowers sits between the two. The relief has been inserted over an earlier inscription of Akhenaten, and the titles of Amen, written directly in front of the god's face and torso, obliterate part of the earlier king's inscription. A sun disk with pendant uraei and solar rays terminating in human hands is the only part of the original inscription left intact.


No. 213 depicts Seti offering a figure of *m3ʿt* to the ithyphallic form of Amen.⁷⁴⁰ The inscription is delineated by engraved lines without modeling.

No. 214 shows the king standing before Amen-Re offering a pair of papyrus stalks.⁷⁴¹ This inscription shares a number of affinities with no. 94 suggesting that they were made on the same occasion. The style of the facial features and careful modeling of the figures in both scenes is identical. The epithets of Amen-Re in both cases are given as "Lord of heaven, ruler

⁷³⁹Cuyat-Montet, *IHHOH*, 69, pl. 23, no. 94.

⁷⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 41, no. 213.

⁷⁴¹*Ibid.*, pl. 40, no. 213.

of Thebes,” and the paleography of the glyphs are identical. Nos. 213 & 214, which are stylistically different share a curious affinity: Seti’s nomen is rendered in both cases with a peculiar double  at the bottom of the cartouche. It is not clear if 213 & 213 are contemporary, but it is likely that 94 and 214 are.

Kanais

3.125 Kanais Temple of Seti I

PM VII, 323-324; A. Weigall, *ASAE* 9 (1908), 71-84; H. Gauthier, *BIFAO* 17 (1919), 1-38, pls. 1-20; S. Schott, *Kanais — Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia*, NAWG 1961/6, (Göttingen, 1961); *KRI* I, 65-71, §32-33; *RITA* I, 56-61, §32-33; *RITANC* I, 60-62; §32-33.

This rock shrine was carved into a mountain at Kanais in the Wadi Abad some 55 km east of the Nile from Edfu. It was founded, along with a well and a small settlement, to support mining operations initiated by Seti I to provide gold for the adornment of his temple at Abydos. The shrine consists of a speos fronted by a portico supported by four columns. A square pillar was later added to help support the roof. Two niches with engaged Osiride statues of the king flank the main entrance. The speos has a main hall with four square pillars. The back wall has three sanctuaries while two niches give off the side walls of the hall at the back.

The temple is best known for its celebrated “three-fold” inscription, found on the left jamb of the main doorway and on the north wall of the main hall, which has received much scholarly attention.⁷⁴² Most significant is text B, dated to year nine, III *šmw* 20. It gives an account of the king’s inspection tour of the eastern desert to examine the gold mining operations there, and related how he despaired over the difficulty of the journey to the site in the summer heat. After contemplating the matter, he sought for a good location to dig a well, and decided to establish a settlement for the miners complete with a temple. Stonemasons

⁷⁴²Cf. Breasted, *ARE* III, 81-87, P§169-195; B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, “New Renderings of Egyptian Texts I. The Temple of Wâdi Abbâd,” *JEA* 4 (1917), 241-251; S. Schott, *Kanais: der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia*, (Göttingen, 1961); M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 2, (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1976), 52-57; *KRI* I, 65-70, §32; *RITA* I, 56-60, §32; *RITANC* I, 60-62, §32.

accompanying him on the journey were ordered to start work on the shrine. Once it was completed, Seti returned to the temple to dedicate it.

The date is followed by the stock phrase “on this day” and an account of the king’s first visit to the site. It is almost certain, however, that the date refers to his second visit.⁷⁴³ The text notes that “after the monument was finished and its inscriptions engraved, His Majesty returned to praise his fathers all the gods.” Schott posits that the date line was left open until the king’s arrival, or until the whole of text B was carved during the royal visit.⁷⁴⁴ Although Gunn and Gardiner cast doubt on the historicity of the two royal visits, in particular the king’s speech during the first journey, Schott demonstrates its veracity.⁷⁴⁵

The *raison d’être* for the Kanais settlement was to support mining operations that provided gold for Seti’s temple foundation at Abydos. Text C takes the form of a decree in which he establishes a new troop of “gold-washers” to mine and transport the precious metal to his temple in Abydos. He insists that he has not taken workers from another gang of miners, and warns both contemporary officials and royal posterity not to interfere with his establishment. This mandate includes an order of exemption and protection⁷⁴⁶ and a religious malediction on any who would despoil or interfere with the miners.

⁷⁴³Schott, *Kanais*, 163-164.

⁷⁴⁴Schott, *Kanais*, 164.

⁷⁴⁵B. Gunn & A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), 241-251; Schott, *Kanais*, 164. Further confirmation of royal progresses during this period are legion. E.g., a reference to Horemheb’s resumption of an annual tour of inspection inaugurated by Thutmose III: *Urk.* IV, 2150: 7-8, 12-14. See Leprohon in *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, 101; Seti’s own travels about his kingdom are recorded in the palace accounts of years two and three: *KRI* I, 243-281, §112, *passim*. For a recent commentary and references see *RITANC* I, 159-185, §112, *passim*. Seti’s journey to the Aswan quarries is recalled in two stelae of year nine. See *supra* 3.119 & 3.120. Finally, the extensive travels of Ramesses II in his earliest years has been discussed by Redford in *JEA* 57 (1971), 110-119.

⁷⁴⁶A. Théodoridès, *RdE* 24 (1972), 188-192.

The temple is dedicated to several gods, including the great imperial triad of Amen-Re, Re-Horakhty and Ptah who are named in the dedication texts on the architraves.⁷⁴⁷ The central sanctuary niche in the south wall is occupied by a statue of Amen flanked by Seti to his right and the falcon-headed Horus of Edfu to his left crowned with a solar disk.⁷⁴⁸ The west niche is occupied by the king and Isis between an unidentified deity the upper part of whose statue has been destroyed, but who was probably Re-Horakhty.⁷⁴⁹ The eastern niche has Osiris with the king to his right and Ptah to his left.⁷⁵⁰

Of the shrine, text B states that "Amen is in it, Re is within it, Ptah and Osiris are in its sanctuary and also Horus, Isis and Menmaatre, the Ennead which is in this temple." It should be noted that the seven deities honored in the Kanais shrine are the same ones with chapels in the Abydos temple. Presumably this "Ennead" included three separate manifestations of the king represented by the three statues in the sanctuary niches for a total of nine gods. In addition to these, the deified aspect of Seti was also represented by two Osiride statues engaged in niches flanking the main entrance on the south wall of the portico.⁷⁵¹

From all this, it is apparent that a major focus of the shrine was the cult of the deified king. In this way, the Kanais temple functioned along the lines of New Kingdom temples in Nubia such as those of Thutmose III at Ellesiya, Amenhotep III at Soleb, Tutankhamen at Faras and several temples of Ramesses II.⁷⁵² Another indication of the importance of the royal cult here is the use of variant Horus names of the king similar to ones found on the soffits and

⁷⁴⁷KRI I, 70:5-71:15.

⁷⁴⁸Gauthier, *BIFAO* 17 (1919), pl. 14; Schott, *Kanais*, pl. 9.

⁷⁴⁹Ibid., Schott, 167.

⁷⁵⁰Ibid., 136. The plates in Gauthier for the side chapels are both very dark and show almost nothing of the figures in the two niches. *BIFAO* 17 (1919), pls. 15-16.

⁷⁵¹Gauthier, *BIFAO* 17 (1919), pls. 2-3; Schott, *Kanais*, pl. 7.

⁷⁵²As noted by Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 61, §115. See now I. Hein, *Die Ramesidiche Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, (Wiesbaden, 1991), 144-117, 121-122; L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, (Glückstadt, 1969).

architraves of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and Abydos temple, both of which were also dedicated, in part, to the deified king.⁷⁵³

In contrast to the emphasis placed on the royal cult is the exceptional piety of the king as demonstrated by the iconography of his figure in the ritual scenes.⁷⁵⁴ In every episode, he is shown bowing in deference to the gods. There are no erect figures here, unlike the Abydos and Gurnah temples where one finds a mix of upright and stooped ones. In this way, the Kanais shrine is more like the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, where bowing figures are almost universal.

3.126 Stela of Anena and Another

PM VII, 325 (27); *LDT* IV, 83; W. Golénischeff, *RT* 13 (1890), 79, pl. 3; *KRI* I, 72 §34; *RITA* I, 61, §34; *RITANC* I, 62-63, §34.

This stela commemorates two men who were associated with gold mining operations in the region of Kanais under Seti I. The first of these, Anena, was a troop commander who oversaw the transport of gold from the region to Seti's temple at Abydos. The second man, a crewman on the ship "<Appearing> in Truth" Nebseny is described as being "[charged] to excavate the Well of Seti-Merenptah," i.e. the one at Kanais.

3.127 Rock Stela of Panub

PM VII, 325 (29); *LD* III, 138 o; J. Leclant, *Syria* 37 (1960), fig. 5, pl. 2; *KRI* I, 72-73, §35; *RITA* I, 61-62, §35; *RITANC* I, 63-64, §35.

This stela is divided into two registers. On the upper one, Seti is depicted worshipping a company of six gods: Amen-Re, Mut, Re-Horakhty, Osiris, Isis and Horus, the latter being represented as a large falcon.⁷⁵⁵ The king is portrayed with a stooped posture as he offers two *mw*-jars. There seems to be damage of the surface below the chin of the king in Meyer's

⁷⁵³Abydos: Calverley and Broome, *Abydos* IV, pls. 63-65. Karnak: V. Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: Les architraves*, forthcoming.

⁷⁵⁴Gauthier, *BIFAO* 17 (1919), pls. 2-20, *passim*.

⁷⁵⁵For other references on this stela and its gods see J. Leclant, "Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes," *Syria* 37 (1960), 32, n. 1.

photograph,⁷⁵⁶ and it seems unlikely that Seti wears a false beard as is shown in Lepsius' drawing.⁷⁵⁷

On the bottom register a stable master of Amen and chief of troops Panub kneels in adoration of Astarte who is mounted on a galloping horse bearing a shield and spear.⁷⁵⁸ Between the two is a text in which the official praises the six gods pictured above along with Hathor-Lady-of-Behdet, Ptah-Lord-of-Truth, and Sakhmet-Beloved-of-Ptah. He entreats them to bless the king. Most of these gods are associated with Seti's nearby shrine at Kanais and with his temple at Abydos. Hathor is often associated with desert and foreign locales, while Horus the Behdetite is concerned with the eastern desert and the Kanais shrine.

Astarte herself is not named in the text, but seems to have been personally favored by this military official. It seems likely that Panub's inscription was made in connection with the nearby Kanais shrine. He may have been part of the escort that accompanied the king on one of his excursions to Kanais.

Near Kurkur Oasis

3.128 Boundary Stela, Year 4

Sandstone: H 72 cm.

Elephantine DIAK archive photos F. 38758-61; called Wüstenstele 4/92. I. Nebe, Forthcoming.



This stela was discovered in the desert near the Kurkur oasis in 1992, and is now kept in the inspectorate magazine on Elephantine.⁷⁵⁹ It is carved from a slab of sandstone that is perfectly intact, the workmanship being of high quality in sunk relief. Its scene occupies the upper half and portrays the king bowing in homage before the god Khnum. Proffering two *mw-jars* to the god, Seti is garbed in a kilt with triangular flap over a second one with a sloping hem line. A bull's tail is attached to the back of his belt. Seti also wears the *Khat*-headdress, a

⁷⁵⁶Ibid., fig. 5.

⁷⁵⁷LD III, 138 o. The beard is seldom if ever worn with the *Khepresh*-crown.

⁷⁵⁸Despite a defective writing of her name. Leclant *Syria* 37 (1960), 34, nn. 3-4.

⁷⁵⁹I am grateful to Ingrid Nebe for a photo of the stela and information on it. She intends to publish the stela in the near future.

broad collar and bracelets. Between the king and the god is an offering stand holding a *nmst*-jar and a lotus blossom. Khnum stands on a plinth holding a -scepter and an . He wears an *stf*-crown on his head and bears the epithet "Lord of the West."

The text is arranged in seven horizontal lines below the vignette, and is dated to regnal year 4, III *pri* 20. The king's full titulary comes next followed by a eulogy to him:

"The good god who shields millions, a rampart for hundreds of thousands, who is in control of his heart when he sees the multitude. He rejoices when one remembers battle. The sovereign, great of strength, who takes possession of the white crown he having caused his portion to flourish for the Two Lords like his father Re. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre-Image-of-Re. On this day, now His Majesty he is joyful at establishing the borders of Ta-Sety. His father Re possesses the Two Banks while his true son repeats his plans eternally."

The vignette is the earliest dated example of a ritual scene in which Seti is portrayed bowing piously before the deity. It also displays the fully Ramesside style of draftsmanship including wider shoulders and a flat belly.

Nubia

Beit el-Wali

3.129 Block of Seti I

PM VII, 27; F.C. Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, (Paris, 1822), pl. 13 [f]; H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* III, 14, n. c; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, *GÖ* 22, (Wiesbaden, 1991), 6-7.

This block is known only from an early copy by Gau. It bears a relief of Seti I being purified by Horus and Seth.⁷⁶⁰ Gau found the block in the entrance hall of the temple of Ramesses II, but it is now lost. Although it may have come from the pylon of the Beit el-Wali temple,⁷⁶¹ it could also have come from Kalabsha, 300 meters south of Beit el-Wali where a

⁷⁶⁰F. C. Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, (Paris, 1822), pl. 13 [f].

⁷⁶¹I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, *GÖ* 22, (Wiesbaden, 1991), 6-7.

New Kingdom temple seems to have existed.⁷⁶² Gau's copies contain some inaccuracies in the spelling of the king's nomen and prenomen in a couple of instances, but other examples on the block are perfectly clear, and leave its attribution to Seti I beyond all doubt.

El Dakka

3.130 Blocks of Seti I

PM VII, 41; *LDT* V, 75 [top]; G. Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakke* 1, (Cairo, 1930), 13-14; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 11-12.

Lepsius noted the existence of several fragmentary sandstone blocks inscribed with traces of Seti's cartouche.⁷⁶³ Perhaps there was a 18-19th Dynasty temple on the site that was later destroyed.⁷⁶⁴ Alternatively, they may have come from a temple in the fortress of Kuban opposite El Dakka.

Kuban

3.131 Installation of Seti I in the Fortress of Kuban

W.B. Emery and L.P. Kirwan, *Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan (1929-1931)* vol. 2, (Cairo, 1935), 26, 28 & pl. 11; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 13.

Emery and Kirwan dated stratum D in the fortress at Kuban to the reign of Seti I.⁷⁶⁵ Hein posits that blocks of Seti found across the river at El-Dakka may have come from here.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶²Ibid., 8-9.

⁷⁶³*LDT* V, 75 [top].

⁷⁶⁴Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 11.

⁷⁶⁵W.B. Emery and L.P. Kirwan, *Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan (1929-1931)* vol. 2, 26, 28 & pl. 11.

⁷⁶⁶Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 13.

Sayala

3.132 Stela Fragment of Seti I, Year 3

Sandstone: H. 22 cm

H. Satzinger, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien Funde aus Ägypten: Österreichische Ausgrabungen Seit 1961*, (Vienna, 1979), cat. no. 1, fig. 9, Inv. No. A 594; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 17; *KRI* VII, 8.

This fragment preserves the lower right-hand corner of a small royal votive stela dedicated to Monthu. The scene and text are rendered in crude sunk relief, with only the feet and part of one leg of the king remain.⁷⁶⁷ Below the lunette are two horizontal lines of a purely formal text: "Regnal year three, second month of prt Repeating-of-[births of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre] son of Re Seti-Merenptah, [beloved of] Monthu [/////]."

The stela, along with other Ramesside fragments, probably attests to mining activity by Seti and his successors in the area, although no settlements have yet been found there.⁷⁶⁸ It may have been set up on the occasion of some official expedition, military or otherwise, to the site in year three.⁷⁶⁹

Amada

3.133 Kiosk Fragments

H. Gauthier, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 122-124; L. Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, *BÄBA* 2 (Cairo, 1938), 99f; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 21-22.

Gauthier assigned responsibility for this chapel to Seti I. He based this assessment on eight blocks with traces of a frieze of falcons alternating with cartouches of Seti I, and on two other blocks with his cartouche as well as an architrave fragment.⁷⁷⁰ Borchardt maintained

⁷⁶⁷H. Satzinger, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien Funde aus Ägypten Seit 1961*, (Vienna, 1979), cat. 1 & fig. 9.

⁷⁶⁸*Ibid.*, cat. 1.

⁷⁶⁹Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 17.

⁷⁷⁰H. Gauthier, "Quelques fragments trouvés à Amada," *ASAE* 10 (1910), 122-124.

that the structure was a “Landungskapelle” dating to the earliest part of Akhenaten’s reign.⁷⁷¹ His argument is weak, however, since Akhenaten dedicated so few monuments to Amen, even in the earliest part of his reign.⁷⁷²

Qasr Ibrim

3.134 Rock Stela of Seti I with Viceroy of Kush Amenemopet

Sandstone: H. 286 cm; W. 391 cm

PM VII, 94; F. Hintze, *ZÄS* 87 (1962), pl. 3; R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 52 (1966), 65-70; Idem, *Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim*, EEF Memoir 32, (London, 1968), 83-90, pls. 39-40; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 30; *KRI* I, 98-99, §46; *RITA* I, 82-83, §46; *RITANC* I, 78-79, §46.

This well known rock stela is one of several monuments carved in the name of Seti I by the viceroy of Kush Amenemopet.⁷⁷³ The scene portrays the king lancing his Nubian foe with a javelin. The accompanying text is highly rhetorical and lacks a date, and thus cannot be assigned to any specific event, such as Seti’s year eight foray in Irem, with any certainty. Still this may have been the occasion for which it was made.

Faras

3.135 Block of Seti I

Sandstone: H. 24.5 cm; W. 36 cm

J. Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Faras 5, (Warsaw, 1981), 290, cat. no. 319; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 37.

⁷⁷¹Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, BÄBA 2 (Cairo, 1938), 99f. Followed by Hein, *Die Ägyptische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 21-22.

⁷⁷²E.g., the stela at Gebel Silsila: *Urk* IV, 1962; G. Legrain, *ASAE* 3 (1903), 262-266. For blocks at Karnak which derive from a monument dedicated to Re-Horakhty and Amen-Re: see D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten the Heretic King*, (Princeton, 1984), 62 & 64, w/ figs. 4.4-4.5.

⁷⁷³F. Hintze, “Die Felsenstele Sethos I. bei Qasr Ibrim,” *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 31-40 & pl. 3; R. A. Caminos, *Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim*, EEF Memoir 32, (London, 1968), 83-90 & pls. 39-40; Idem, “The Talbotype Applied to Hieroglyphics,” *JEA* 52 (1966), 65-70.

Seti's activity near Faras is known only from one sandstone block inscribed with part of his cartouche.⁷⁷⁴ This was found reused in the Christian cathedral at the site. Karkowski opines that it may have come from Aksha where other material of this reign is found.

Aksha

3.136 Subsidiary Buildings of Seti I in the Ramesside Temple Complex

Lintels and jambs: J. Vercoutter & A. Rosenvasser, *Kush* 11 (1963), 134, 140, pl. 34; A. Rosenvasser, *Kush* 12 (1964), 96-98, pl. 28-29; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 38; *KRI* I, 227, §97a; *RITA* I, 195-196, §97a; *RITANC* I, 147-148, §97a.

A total of five lintels, along with portions of the corresponding doorposts, bearing decoration of Seti I were found in the ruins of subsidiary mud brick buildings in the southwest portion of the New Kingdom temple complex at Aksha.⁷⁷⁵ These five chambers probably served as storerooms and not chapels as Rosenvasser claims.⁷⁷⁶ They face a corresponding row of such rooms whose doorways were inscribed for Ramesses II.

Seti appears to have established a fortified town site here late in his reign. At his death the mud brick work had been largely completed and the site was functional, but construction of the temple was apparently not finished, since it was decorated by Ramesses II in the early part of his reign.

Kitchen suggests that the temple may have originally been dedicated to either Min-Amen or some form of Horus who apparently served as a co-templar deity with Isis.⁷⁷⁷ Under

⁷⁷⁴J. Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Faras 5, (Warsaw, 1981), 290, cat. no. 319.

⁷⁷⁵J. Vercoutter & A. Rosenvasser, "Excavations at Aksha, September 1961-January 1962," *Kush* 11 (1963), 134, 140, pl. 34; A. Rosenvasser, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1962-63," *Kush* 12 (1964), 96-98, pl. 28-29.

⁷⁷⁶*RITANC* I, 148, §294. *Contra* Rosenvasser, *Kush* 12 (1964), 96-97. The doorjambs and chambers they give access to are similar to magazines connected to the so-called temple palace at Seti's Abydos temple. See *supra* 3.46.11.

⁷⁷⁷*RITANC* I, 148, §294. Presumably Horus of Buhen who is named on one of the jambs. Rosenvasser, *Kush* 12 (1964), 97.

Ramesses II, it became a temple dedicated to “Usermaatre the great god lord of Nubia.” Spalinger dates its construction to sometime before year fifteen, but after year two, based on the form of the king’s nomen and other criteria.⁷⁷⁸ Hein would date it to between years five and fifteen. Still, it can be shown elsewhere that planning and initial construction of some monuments which were entirely decorated after Ramesses II’s second regnal year would have taken place under Seti I, so it is likely that Seti undertook the construction of the Aksha temple late in his reign.⁷⁷⁹

3.137 Block with Kneeling Captive

Sandstone

A. Rosenvasser, *Kush* 12 (1964), 99, pl. 32c; *Ibid.*, Hein, 38. J. Vercoutter, in *Livre du Centenaire*, MIFAO 104, (Cairo, 1980), 175, fig. 7c.

This block was built into a pillar in the south-west corner of the outer hall.⁷⁸⁰

Although it is anepigraphic, Rosenvasser dates it to Seti’s reign. It portrays the king spearing a Nubian captive while a divine vulture or falcon, of which only the wing’s are preserved, hovers above him. The king’s pose is similar to the traditional smiting scene except that he dispatches the enemy, not with a mace, but with a spear. This variant of the smiting motif

⁷⁷⁸A. Spalinger, “Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and other Ramesside Temples in Nubia,” *JEA* 66 (1980), 95-98. Ramesses’ second Irem war apparently took place between years fifteen to twenty. K. A. Kitchen, “Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia,” *Ägypten und Kusch*, E. Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), (Berlin, 1977), 220-221. According to both Kitchen and Spalinger, the military reliefs in the temple showing a Nubian war, refer to Ramesses’ participation in a campaign against Irem during Seti I’s eighth year. *Ibid.*, Spalinger, 98-99.

⁷⁷⁹E.g., the Ramesside court at Luxor. See *supra* 3.119. So too in Nubia at Amara where Seti is responsible for the mud brick town wall. See *infra* 3.141. It has also been argued by some that Beit el-Wali was begun for Seti. See Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 107 and references.

⁷⁸⁰A. Rosenvasser, *Kush* 12 (1964), 99 & pl. 32c; J. Vercoutter, “Le pays Irem et la pénétration égyptienne en Afrique (stèle de Saï S. 579),” in J. Vercoutter, (ed.). *Livre du Centenaire*, MIFAO 104, (Cairo, 1980), 175, fig. 7c.

appears first under Seti.⁷⁸¹ As with other Nubian monuments, the king's headdress, in this case a round-bottomed wig with diadem, is surmounted by ram's horns which support a sun disk flanked by pair of tall plumes and two uraei.

3.138 Block Fragment with Cartouche of Seti I

A. Rosenvasser, *Kush* 11 (1964), 140; *Ibid.*, Hein, 38.

This block apparently comes from a group of fragments belonging to a vignette depicting a procession. According to Rosenvasser, Seti was responsible for some kind of building on the site, perhaps the main temple otherwise known to have been completed by Ramesses II.⁷⁸²

Buhen

3.139 Larger Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (British Museum EA 1189)

Sandstone: H. 126.5 cm; W. 83 cm

PM VII, 129 (3); M.L. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10 (London, 1982), 11, pls. 10-11; 37-38, §18; *KRI* I, 37-38; *RITA* I, 30-31, §18; *RITANC* I, 42-43, §18.

The decree for this stela, and for another smaller one also found at Buhen, is dated to IV *smw* last day in the king's first regnal year when he was in Memphis.⁷⁸³ The decree is almost identical to another issued by Ramesses I in his second regnal year.⁷⁸⁴ Both record the king's order that a new endowment of various priests, slaves "of His Majesty's capture" and foodstuffs be granted to the temple of Ptah within the fortress of Buhen. Unlike Ramesses I's stela, in which he claimed that he built the temple, Seti states only that he dedicated the

⁷⁸¹Cf. the Qasr Ibrim stela of Seti, (see *supra* 3.134), and a scene from the Libyan campaign in the king's Karnak battle reliefs: Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 29. In the latter example Seti tramples another Libyan even as he dispatches the chief with his javelin.

⁷⁸²Vercoutter and Rosenvasser, *Kush* 11 (1963), 140. On the temple see Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 38-39.

⁷⁸³*KRI* I, 38:2.

⁷⁸⁴*KRI* I, 2-3.

stela.⁷⁸⁵ Seti's tablet was set into the southern niche in the front inner wall of the forecourt.⁷⁸⁶ The date on the stela is the earliest one known from Seti's reign and probably comes some seven months after that on his father's decree, the latter's death and Seti's accession having come during this interval.⁷⁸⁷

The stela is worked in rather crude sunk relief,⁷⁸⁸ in contrast to both the parallel stela of Ramesses I and the lesser stela issued by Seti on the same day.⁷⁸⁹ Moreover it is on a smaller scale than Ramesses I's monument. Seti's figure in the scene marks the earliest datable example of the long military wig with uraeus in his reign. Previous to this, it is attested only once under Ramesses I.⁷⁹⁰ Although the workmanship is crude, the narrow shoulders of the figures are in keeping with the post-Amarna style of relief employed early in the reign.

3.140 Smaller Stela of Seti I, Year 1 (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10988)

PM VII, 129; D. Randall-Maciver & C. L. Woolley, *Buhen*, (Philadelphia, 1911), 92-93, pl. 34; H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: Vol. 1 The Inscriptions*, (London, 1976), pl. 60, no 7; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 42; *KRI* I, *KRI* I, 100, §47; *RITA* I, 83-84, §47; *RITANC* I, 79-80, §47; (PLATE 77).

⁷⁸⁵Ibid., Mumane, 48; *RITANC* I, 43, §78. Still, the text recording the temple's construction by Ramesses I lies in the last three lines of the inscription that were carved at the behest of Seti I to replace five earlier lines of text in the original edition. See L.-A. Christophe, "La carrière du prince Merenptah et les trois régences ramessides," *ASAE* 51 (1951), 355. This perhaps indicates that the north temple was not completed until early in Seti's reign. Ibid., Christophe, 355.

⁷⁸⁶*RITANC* I, 3, §5b; H. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: Vol. 1 The Inscriptions*, (London, 1976), 211, n. 3, correcting *PM* VII, 120, plan.


⁷⁸⁷*RITANC* I, 3, §5b; A. Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Seti I," *JSSEA* 8 (1978), 231-232 w/ references n. 8.

⁷⁸⁸M. L. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pl. 10.

⁷⁸⁹See next entry.

⁷⁹⁰See *supra* 1.2.10.

This stela was found with the left one third of the slab missing. Its execution is markedly superior to Seti's larger Buhen stela. For although the paleography of the signs is nearly identical, the lunette scene is rendered in fine bas relief and the overall surface has been more carefully finished. Its text consists of rhetorical praise of the king.

In the vignette, the king stands to the right holding an  in one hand and an *ib3*-scepter in the other with which he consecrates a pile of offerings. He wears a *Nemes*-headdress surmounted by a crown made up of two tall plumes and a sun disk supported by ram's horns and flanked by Uraei.⁷⁹¹ To the left of the offering table, Ptah stands in a shrine that also encloses a single offering stand with a *nmst*-jar and lotus blossom. A winged sun disk hovers at the top of the lunette. Pendant uraei dangling from the sun disk flank Seti's prenomen written without a cartouche. As with the larger Buhen stela, the figure of the king is distinguished by its narrow shoulders in keeping with the post-Amarna style of relief.

Amara West

3.141 Town Enclosure Wall

PM VII, 164; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 25 (1939), 142 & pl. 13; idem, *JEA* 34 (1948), 9; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 52.

Seti seems to have founded this settlement and had completed much of the town wall as indicated by mud bricks stamped with his name.⁷⁹² He may have also initiated construction of the temple on the island as the focal part of this new fortified town. Like so many other buildings the king began, this was left unfinished at his death, leaving Ramesses to complete it after his accession.⁷⁹³ Ramesses II named it the *Pr-R^c-ms-sw-mry-Tmn*, but Fairman avers that

⁷⁹¹This combination of royal headgear was favored in other representations of the king in Nubia. Thus on scenes accompanying the Nauri decree and the year eleven stela from Gebel Barkal. F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. 39; G. A. & M. B. Reisner, *ZAS* 69 (1933), 74.

⁷⁹²H. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1938-9," *JEA* 25 (1939), 142 & pl. 13; Idem, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1947-48," *JEA* 34 (1948), 9.

⁷⁹³Fairman insists that the temple was not built until Ramesses II's reign and leaves open the possibility that Seti had built an earlier temple on the site. *Ibid.*, 142.

the original foundation would have been called something like the *Pr-Mn-mꜣt-Rꜥ* based on a damaged inscription found at the site.⁷⁹⁴ Likewise, the west gate of the enclosure may have been erected by Seti but was decorated by Ramesses II.⁷⁹⁵

3.142 Stela of Seti I, Year 8 (Brooklyn 39.424)

Sandstone: H. 96.5 cm; W. 76.5 cm; D. 14 cm

PM VII, 159; *KRI* I, 102-104, §9; replaced and improved, *KRI* VII, 8-11, §184; *RITA* I, 85-87, §49; *RITANC* I, 81-90, §49; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 52.

This stela records a campaign against Irem.⁷⁹⁶ The entire surface is badly weathered. A depression in the middle of the stone was anciently filled with plaster and has largely disappeared. Much of the text was inscribed in this medium and most of this has been lost.⁷⁹⁷ The upper portion of the year date is worn away, with four strokes preserved below. Although a higher date has been proposed, it is more likely that the date is year eight.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁴H. Fairman, *JEA* 34 (1948), 9. While his interpretation is possible, the broken inscription could also refer to the *pr Imn* instead of the *pr Mn-mꜣt-Rꜥ*. Still, one would expect Seti, who founded the site, to have named it after himself so Fairman's solution may be the best one.

⁷⁹⁵*Ibid.*, *JEA* 34, 8.

⁷⁹⁶*RITANC* I, 81ff.

⁷⁹⁷From the Brooklyn Museum's records kindly sent to me by Dr. R. Fazzini.

⁷⁹⁸Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 82. He notes that the only other possibility would be year nine, with five strokes above. Vercoutter would date the stela to Π (year 12) on epigraphic grounds, but this seems doubtful. *Contra* J. Vercoutter, "Une campagne militaire de Sétî I en Haute Nubie," *RdE* 24 (1972), 207; *idem*, "Le pays Irem et la pénétration égyptienne en Afrique (stèle de Saï S. 579)," in J. Vercoutter, (ed.) *Livre du Centenaire*, MIFAO 104, (Cairo, 1980), 176, n. 2 & 177 w/ n. 2. Vercoutter relied on photographs, while the stela itself was checked by R. Fazzini and W. Murnane in 1982, who found no evidence of a hypothetical year 12, leaving (year 8) as the most reasonable solution. From the Brooklyn Museum's records kindly sent to me by Richard Fazzini.

Another text found some ten miles to the south of Amara West at Sai records the same event.⁷⁹⁹ The piece may join with Khartoum 3063 (see next entry).

3.143 Stela Fragment of Seti I (Khartoum Museum 3063)

Sandstone: H. 59.7 cm; W. 70.3 cm; D. 14.6

PM VII, 161; H. W. Fairman, *Discovery NS* 2 (August 1939), 390; idem, *The Connoisseur* 103 (1939), 327; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 52; D. Wildung (ed.), *Sudan: Antike Königreiche am Nil*, (Munich, 1996), 140, cat. 142; *KRI* I, 104, §50; *RITA* I, 87-88, §50; *RITANC* I, 90, §50.

This fragment consists of only the lunette scene depicting Seti smiting Nubian foes.⁸⁰⁰ It is, perhaps, the top of Brooklyn 39.424 which has a text but no scene.⁸⁰¹ In support of this contention, it should be noted that the thicknesses of these two stela fragments are identical. The width of the present stela is about 6.5 cm less than the Brooklyn stela, but the former is broken off at its right hand side, with only the arm of Amen-Re, extending a *hps*-sword to the king, being preserved. Seti wears the Nubian wig surmounted by a pair of ram's horns embellished with uraei, tall plumes and a sun disk. The stela was found in the pillared hall of the Ramesside temple at Amara-West.⁸⁰²

3.144 Block with Cartouche of Seti from the "Governor's Palace"

Sandstone

PM VII, 163; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 34 (1948), 6-9, pl. 6.2; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 52.

This sandstone block is decorated in crude relief with the upper part of what appears to be an offering scene, probably featuring Re-Horakhty as indicated by a large sun disk on his

⁷⁹⁹*RITANC* I, 81ff. See *infra* 3.145.

⁸⁰⁰D. Wildung (ed.), *Sudan: Antike Königreiche am Nil*, (Munich, 1996), 140, cat. 142.

⁸⁰¹*RITANC* I, 90, §167.

⁸⁰²Fairman, *JEA* 25, 142-143.

head.⁸⁰³ Traces of Seti's prenomen mark him as responsible for the block. Fairman suggested that it stemmed from a small chapel on the site erected prior to the main Ramesside temple.

Sai

3.145 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I (MAF F.25.11+)

Sandstone: H. 54 cm; W. 98 cm

J. Vercoutter, *RdE* 24 (1972), 201-208, pl. 17; idem, in *Livre du Centenaire, IFAO*, (Cairo, 1980), 157-163, fig. 1, pl. 21A/B; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 59; *KRI* I, 102-104, §49; replaced and improved, *KRI* VII, 8-11, §184; *RITA* I, 85-87, §49; *RITANC* I, 81-90, §49.

In 1970 Vercoutter discovered a stela of Seti I similar to one found at Amara West.⁸⁰⁴ The two texts are not identical, but are parallel accounts of the king's year eight campaign against Irem.⁸⁰⁵ The lunette scene, along with the uppermost lines of the text bearing the date, are lost, as is the lowermost part of the text.

Gebel Dosha

3.146 Stela of Seti I with Viceroy of Kush Amenemopet

PM VII, 167; *LD* III, 141k; *LDT* V, 230; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 60; *KRI* I, 100-101, §48; *RITA* I, 84-85, §48; *RITANC* I, 80-81, §48.

This stela was carved on the rocky cliffs at Gebel Dosha on the west bank of the Nile above the Eighteenth Dynasty speos of Thutmose III. It was made at the behest of the Viceroy of Nubia Amenemopet who seems to have served in this capacity throughout most of Seti's reign. The tableau depicts the king offering incense and pouring libation for the Elephantine triad of Khnum, Satet and Anukis.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰³H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1947-48," *JEA* 34 (1948), pl. 6.2

⁸⁰⁴J. Vercoutter, *RdE* 24 (1972), 201-298; idem, *Livre du Centenaire*, MIFAO 114 (1980), 157-163.

⁸⁰⁵See *RITANC* I, 81ff.

⁸⁰⁶*LD* III, 141k.

Sesebi

3.147 Block of Seti I

PM VII, 174; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 152-153.

This block, decorated with the cartouches of Seti I, was found reused as the threshold in the door of a house. No photograph or drawing was published and its present whereabouts are unknown.⁸⁰⁷

3.148 Precinct Wall of Sun Temple

A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 23 (1937), 148; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), plan; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 62.

The small temple to the sun god seems originally to have been built by Akhenaten. Seti rebuilt it and surrounded it with a mud brick enclosure wall.⁸⁰⁸

3.149 Block of Seti I

A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 23 (1937), pl. 19; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 153; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 62.

This sandstone block is decorated with a fine bas relief of a goddess holding two *rnpt*-staves behind a king. Of the latter, only his shoulder is preserved.⁸⁰⁹ The piece can be dated, perhaps, to Seti's reign on stylistic criteria.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁷H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi (Sulda) and Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937-38," *JEA* 24 (1938), 153.

⁸⁰⁸A. M. Blackman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi, Northern Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37," *JEA* 23 (1937), 148.

⁸⁰⁹Blackman, *JEA* 23, pl. 19.4.

⁸¹⁰The in-curved tragus of the ear marks this relief as dating to the post-Amarna period (W. J. Murnane, by personal communication). The piece lacks any other characteristics of the art of either this king or any of his Amarna or post-Amarna successors. The use of bas-relief, moreover, indicates that the piece probably dates to no later than the first year of Ramesses II, after which the use of this medium became quite rare during the rest of the New Kingdom.

Nauri

3.150 Stela of Seti I, Year 4

PM VII, 174; F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA* 13 (1927), 193-208, pls. 37-43; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 62; *KRI* I, 45-58, §24; *RITA* I, 38-50, §24; *RITANC* I, 48-55, §24.

This well known rock stela is considered one of the most important texts of Seti I's reign.⁸¹¹ It preserves an edict issued by the king to protect the property and labor force of a foundation he had established for his Abydos temple from abuse by various classes of officials operating in Nubia.⁸¹² The text belongs to a small group of similar decrees⁸¹³ issued in the post-Amarna period to address official corruption, which seems to have become a serious problem during the reign of Akhenaten.⁸¹⁴ Further analysis of the legal portions of this text are best left to those with more expertise in this topic than the present author. Still, a few observations can be made on portions of the text as they relate to Seti's plans for his Abydos temple and its foundation.

It is apparent from the text that Seti considered the establishment of a large foundation for his Abydos temple a high priority early in the reign. The far-flung agricultural estates, gold mines and other economic concerns maintained by the Abydos foundation had been at least in part established by year four, the date on the stela, if not earlier. In the Nauri decree, an account of the temple and its estates takes the form of a eulogy.⁸¹⁵ The description of the temple proper is fanciful when compared to the actual building preserved at Abydos. As the

⁸¹¹F. Ll. Griffith, "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," *JEA* 13 (1927), 193-208.

⁸¹²For interpretations of this documents see William F. Edgerton, "The Nauri Decree of Seti I: A Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion," *JNES* 6 (1947), 219-230; A. H. Gardiner, "Some Reflections on the Nauri Decree," *JEA* 38 (1952), 24-33.

⁸¹³E.g., the decree of Horemheb: J.-M. Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb: Traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutionnel*. (Brussels, 1981). For a text similar to the Nauri decree, also from Seti's reign, see H. Brunner, "Das Fragment eines Schutzdekretes aus dem Neuen Reich," *MDIK* 8 (1939), 161-164. See *supra* 3.43.

⁸¹⁴See R.J. Leprohon, "The Reign of Akhenaten Seen through the Later Royal Decrees," *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, 93-104.

⁸¹⁵*KRI* I: 46:10ff.

text dates to year four, when the structure can scarcely have been begun if at all, it is at any rate prospective. The descriptions are largely hyperbole, and even the more specific details do not correspond to reality.⁸¹⁶ Although they are described in the same glowing terms, the enumeration of the various personnel and properties that were assigned to the temple's holdings is perhaps more accurate, as these were protected by decree. Thus Seti established estates to provide fowl, cattle and other livestock and plantations to raise grain and other herbage. Moreover, personnel were assigned to it including various classes of priests, agricultural workers and prisoners of war, the last being described as coming from Retchenu.⁸¹⁷ Among the other personnel and properties cited in the text are fleets of ships. Not mentioned in the eulogy, but described as protected by the decree, are other temple personnel such as bee keepers, vintners, desert traders and gold washers.⁸¹⁸ All these properties and personnel are described as functioning in Nubia, but the eulogy of the temple foundation states that the king had established estates throughout Egypt to provide foodstuffs to the Abydos foundation.⁸¹⁹

In addition to the Nubian concerns of the temple, we know that Seti established gold mining operations in the eastern desert at Kanais later in his reign.⁸²⁰ In addition, wine jar dockets from Abydos and Reqaqna mention vineyards, at least one of which was probably in the Delta.⁸²¹ Thus despite the hyperbole of the rhetorical portion of the decree, it seems clear

⁸¹⁶The pylons are described as being of "Tura limestone with thickness of granite." *KRI* I, 47:12. In fact, the outer pylon, largely built under Ramesses II, is constructed of sandstone. See *supra* 3.46.1.

⁸¹⁷*KRI* I, 48:16ff.

⁸¹⁸*KRI* I, 52:6-8.

⁸¹⁹*KRI* I, 50:10-11.

⁸²⁰See *supra* 3.125.

⁸²¹*KRI* I, 59, §25a-b. The Abydos jar, Cairo amphora 2789, makes reference to the Har-canal in the Delta. Kitchen doubts that a vineyard was to be found at Reqaqna, 24 km north of Abydos, as the best vineyards were in the north. See *RITANC* I, 55-56, §99.

that by year four, Seti had already begun to establish a huge foundation on behalf of his Abydos temple with holdings dispersed throughout Egypt and Nubia.

Gebel Barkal

3.151 Fragmentary Stela of Seti I, Year 11 (Khartoum 1856)

Sandstone: ca. H. 170 cm; W. 110 cm; D. 12 cm⁸²²

PM VII, 220; G. A. Reisner & M. B. Reisner, *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 73-78, pl. 8; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 66; *KRI* I, 75-76, §38; *RITA* I, 64-65, §38; *RITANC* I, 65-66, §38.

It is a great pity that this inscription is so fragmentary.⁸²³ Fortunately, the dateline is wholly intact, as it remains the highest known date in the king's reign, IV *smw* 12 or 13.⁸²⁴ The scene depicts Seti offering incense to Amen and a goddess.⁸²⁵ The king wears the Nubian wig surmounted by a pair of ram's horns with sun disk, tall feathers and two uraei. Three slender offering stands that support a large pile of offerings stands between him and the two deities. Seti's posture is upright. Although it is more common to find inclined figures of the king later in the reign, the conventional stance is also found at this time and one need not conclude that Seti ceased to employ the bowing stance at the end of his reign.⁸²⁶

In the main text, the dateline and royal titulary was followed by a eulogy of the sovereign which is almost completely lost. Next comes the main report.⁸²⁷ It describes a series of building projects the king had initiated on behalf of the various gods of Egypt. The

⁸²²G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal Part 3. The Stela of Sety I," *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 75.

⁸²³*Ibid.*, 73-96.

⁸²⁴*KRI* I, 75:8.

⁸²⁵Reisner & Reisner, *ZÄS* 69, pl. 8.

⁸²⁶See *supra* 1.2.5.

⁸²⁷*KRI* I, 75:12ff.

first mentioned is a broad hall of appearances, (*wšht ḥꜥw*), built of sandstone, for Amen.⁸²⁸ This is probably a reference to the addition Seti made in the temple of Amen at Gebel Barkal. Following the brief description of this building comes an extended testimonial to the king's prowess as a military leader, followed by an all to brief description of his building activities in Heliopolis.⁸²⁹ Precisely what sort of edifice the king erected there is lost, but it was, perhaps, a reference to the forecourt with pylon gateway, colossi and obelisks he is known to have built there.⁸³⁰ It is described as being in the temple of the *Benben*-stone. The final section of the text calls on all the gods to celebrate the king's accomplishments as a builder since "he has built for you a temple anew, of fine, hard white sandstone." This is presumably a second reference to the Gebel Barkal temple, since no other site is mentioned.

Although a great deal of the text is missing, the larger portion of these lacunae seem to be in the rhetorical sections. Thus following the description of the hall of appearances, the long encomium in praise of Seti's military leadership seems to have included the middle lines of the text which are either largely or wholly lost. Where the text picks up again in lines 16 and 17, the reference to Amen-Re suggests that the rhetorical theme has not changed. Therefore, nothing with historical value seems to be missing from this part of the text, such as a description of building activities elsewhere, say in Memphis.

Thus in all likelihood, only two building projects are mentioned in this text. One on behalf of Amen is mentioned twice.⁸³¹ Moreover, the type of building is described as a broad-hall of appearances.⁸³² The Heliopolitan building was located in the Mansion of the *Benben*-stone, but precisely what sort of edifice it was is lost, although it may very well have been a forecourt with pylon gateway, obelisks and colossi Seti appears to have built there.

⁸²⁸*KRI I*, 75:14-76:1.

⁸²⁹*KRI I*, 76:6-7.

⁸³⁰See *supra* 3.29.

⁸³¹*KRI I*, 75:14-76:1; *KRI I*, 76:8-9.

⁸³²Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 77 & n. 148.

3.152 Hall of Appearances, (*Wshꜥ hꜥw*), of Seti I

G. A. Reisner, *JEA* 4 (1917), 220ff; I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, 66.

Reisner excavated the remains of a pillared hallway, (B 503 on his plan), in front of the original Eighteenth Dynasty sanctuary of the main temple of Amen-Re at Gebel Barkal. It was much denuded, only the lowermost portions of the columns and walls being preserved. Despite the lack of textual evidence to indicate who built it, Reisner was able to narrow the field of possible candidates to Horemheb and Seti.⁸³³ With the discovery of the latter king's fragmentary stela of year eleven in B 503 some years later, Reisner concluded that Seti indeed was responsible for erecting this pillared hall.⁸³⁴

⁸³³G. A. Reisner, "The Barkal Temples in 1916," *JEA* 4 (1917), 222-223.

⁸³⁴Reisner & Reisner, *ZAS* 69, 77.

CHAPTER 4

STUDIES ON THE HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SETI I'S MONUMENTS

4.1 **The Internal Chronology of Seti I's Reign**

The present chapter aims to increase our current understanding of a number of key chronological and historical problems of the reign of Seti I that frustrate those seeking to establish a more secure chronology for the New Kingdom. The length of Seti I's reign remains one of the more controversial problems in New Kingdom chronology; the number of years he reigned is still open to question as are the accession dates of the first three kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The issue of the hypothetical coregencies of Seti I with Ramesses I and II is less pertinent, as no one would now advocate the notion of double dated coregencies in the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹ It is hoped that the following analysis can provide a more secure internal chronology of Seti's reign, but absolute chronology lies beyond the scope of this work.

4.2 **Accession Dates of the First Three Ramessides**

4.2.1 **The Accession date of Ramesses I**

There is no direct evidence for the accession date of Ramesses I. Attempts to isolate a time frame for his accession have been made by Krauss² and Von Beckerath,³ but the results are highly speculative, based on estimations of how Ramesses' short reign might fit into their models for absolute chronology between the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II. The highest date known for this king is II *prt* 20 in year two.⁴ Although this provides a *terminus*

¹See *infra* 4.6.1.

²R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, HÄB 7 (1978), 185-189, 201.

³Sometime during I/VII *prt*. J. Von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, HÄB 39, (Hildesheim, 1994), 106, & 117.

⁴From his Buhen stela (= *KRI* I, 2-3).

post quem for the accession of Seti I, by itself does not shed light on the accession date of Ramesses I.

4.2.2 The Accession date of Seti I

The first attempt to isolate an accession date for Seti I was made by Helck in 1959.⁵ By arranging the various dates in the *Rechnungen* from the palace in Memphis from regnal years two and three in their calendrical order, he arrived at an interval between II *pri* 17 and I *smw* 17 during which the start of the new regnal year could have occurred. As he later admitted himself, this methodology was flawed. The dated entries are not derived from a single papyrus, and there is no proof that they once formed a consecutive series of dates.⁶ Helck later proposed III *smw* 24, described as the “waterborne procession,” *hⁿw*, of Seti on O. Gardiner 11, as the accession date.⁷ Murnane reappraised the material from the *Rechnungen*, and by arranging the dates which overlap he was able to isolate a continuous series of dates on which the accession could not have occurred. The resulting window during which Seti could have come to the throne lay between III *smw* 18 and IV *smw* 17.⁸

Although it did fall within the interval he had established, Murnane rejected Helck’s revised date. He asserted that the events called *h^fi-nsw*, although they could refer to anniversaries of the royal accession, also denoted the public appearance of the royal cult figure on other occasions. Moreover, the events of III *smw* 24 were described as a *hⁿt*, “waterborne procession,” and therefore did not betoken Seti’s accession date.⁹ Redford has shown that during the New Kingdom the term *h^fi-nsw* was used to refer specifically to the

⁵W. Helck, “Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich,” *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* 3, *Analecta Biblica* 12, (Rome, 1959), 117-118.

⁶W. Helck, “Chronologische Kleinigkeiten,” *CdE* 41 (1966), 233-234; W. J. Murnane, “The Accession Date of Sethos I,” *Serapis* 3 (1975-76), 23.

⁷Helck, *CdE* 41, 233-234; *KRI* VI, 249:7.

⁸Murnane, *Serapis* 3, 23-24.

⁹*Ibid.*, 25-26.

king's accession date or its anniversary.¹⁰ Festivals in honor of individual deceased kings were celebrated only once a year, in contrast to holy days of the Theban Necropolis' two patron deities, the deified Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.¹¹ Moreover *h^ci* seems to have been interchangeable with the term *hnt/hnw* in describing festivities surrounding the anniversary of the king's accession in material from Deir el-Medina.¹² A *hnt* normally refers to a waterborne procession,¹³ but like many other festal days at Thebes during the New Kingdom, the anniversary of a king's accession must have included some kind of waterborne procession involving the royal cult statue.

Murnane's primary objection to Helck's date was that it was not consistently a holiday in the Ramesside period, since a workman was recorded as being absent on III *smw* 24 on an ostrakon of Ramesses II's year 40, which, he reasoned, must have therefore been a workday.¹⁴

This conclusion is misleading, as it is now apparent that workers who were ill or away for extended periods of time were noted as absent for the whole period even if some of the intervening days were in fact official holidays.¹⁵ Helck also compiled several other examples where III *smw* is logged as a holiday, although no reason is specified in any of these.¹⁶ Thus

¹⁰D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies*, (Toronto, 1967), 22-25. The Turin Work Journal describes III *smw* 27 as the *h^ci n nsw Wsr-m³t-R^c///* (= *KRI* VI, 697:2). P. Bib. Nat. 237 describes I *smw* 26, which is incontrovertibly the accession date of Ramesses III, as [*h^ci*] *nsw Wsr-m³t-R^c-mr-Imn* (= *KRI* VI, 340:1). A notation following this date in ODM. 55 from year 21 of Ramesses III describes it as *irt h^ci-nsw n pr-³ ^c.w.s.* (= *KRI* V, 557:7).

¹¹W. Helck, "Drei Ramessidische Daten," *SAK* 17 (1990), 213, n. 3.

¹²In connection with Ramesses II, O. Cairo CG 25503 (= *KRI* IV, 425:10-11) and Seti I on III *Smw* 24: *p³ hnw Sty*, O. Gardiner 11 (= *KRI* VI, 249:7).

¹³*Wb.* III, 375:5-12, var. *hnw*: *Wb.* III, 375:13.


¹⁴Murnane, *Serapis* 3, 26.

¹⁵Helck, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205, n. 3; J. J. Jansen, "Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen," *SAK* 8 (1980), 127-152..

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 207-208.

while Seti's accession could have fallen any time between III *smw* 18 and IV *smw* 23, Helck's date III *smw* 24 seems the most likely solution, there being no clear evidence against it.

4.2.3 The Accession date of Ramesses II

Various dates have been proposed over the years for Ramesses II's accession. A range of dates in all three seasons of the Ancient Egyptian calendar has been advanced, and the question has been even more controversial than the accession date of Seti I. Sethe noted that a stela attributed to Ramesses' eighth year describes how work on a colossal statue was carried out between year 7, III *3ht* 21 and year 8, III *3ht* 8.¹⁷ This 363-day interval was described as consisting of one year and three days (*w^c rnpt hrw 3*)¹⁸. The curious writing for *3ht* in the dateline, , however, could also represent *smw*, which Sethe himself seems to have preferred. The stela itself was dated to II *prt* 8 in year eight. Sethe concluded that the accession date could not have fallen between III *3ht* (or *smw*) 18 (= the day on which work on the colossus was completed in year 8) and II *prt* 8 the date of the stela itself.¹⁹ Instead it must have occurred from between II *prt* 8 and II through IV *prt* 20, the latter figures being the range of possible date on a stela from Giza which appears to date from year one.²⁰ Seele later narrowed this time span to between II *prt* 8 and III *prt* 1, the latter date being the first given on a calendar from the ceiling of the Ramesseum.²¹ Doubt was cast on the conclusions advanced by Sethe and Seele when Von Beckerath, aided by a superior edition of the

¹⁷K. Sethe, "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs," *ZÄS* 62 (1927), 110-114;

¹⁸Ignoring the five epagomenal days.

¹⁹The reading *3ht* is perhaps more likely than *smw* in this instance. Seele, *Coregency*, 80. If the first date is read as *smw*, then the dates between II *prt* 8 and III *smw* 18 would have lain in the same regnal year if one accepts this accession date. J. Von Beckerath, "Das Thronbesteigungsdatum Ramses II," *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 2.

²⁰Sethe, *ZÄS* 62, 112-113. The stela is in bas relief and seems to bear the shorter form of the king's prenomen. See Murnane, *Coregencies*, 64-65.

²¹Seele, *Coregency*, 80-81.

Manshiyet es-Sadr stela, pointed out an error in Sethe's theory. Sethe had misread the years between which the statue was carved. They are in fact between years eight and nine, not seven and eight. Since the dateline on the statue was in year eight, Von Beckerath concluded that it must have been backdated.²² Von Beckerath placed Ramesses' accession between I *prt* 17 — II *prt* 8.²³ But in reconstructing the new king's itinerary during year one, Redford has called attention to a serious flaw in any proposed accession date during *prt*, whereby Ramesses would have been to Gebel Silsila, which he visited on III *smw* 10, before the festival of Opet in the second month of *3ht*, but this would mean that he had passed through Thebes before the festival which is described as his first visit to the city as king.²⁴

Larson advocated two ranges of possible accession dates based on ostraca from Deir el-Medina containing dated lists, which include regnal year dates, from Ramesses II's reign: (A) III *3ht* 5 — III *3ht* 11, or (B) I *3ht* 16 to III *3ht* 5.²⁵ His case depends on the interpretation of absentees noted on a work list from Deir el-Medina. These dates were subsequently condensed by Wentz and Van Siclen to between III *3ht* 5-11.²⁶ In a detailed criticism of this methodology, Krauss seriously undermined Larson's conclusions.²⁷ Since Ramesses left Thebes for the north on III *3ht* 23 in year one after celebrating the Opet festival which began in the middle of II *3ht*. In order to arrive at Thebes in time for Opet, Krauss posits that he must have left Memphis no later than the end of I *3ht*, thereby reducing Larson's

²²Von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 81, 2; A. Hamada, "A Stela from Manshiyet es-Sadr," *ASAE* 38 (1938), 217-230 & pl. 30; *KRI* II, 360:7-362:12.

²³J. von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 81, 3.

²⁴Redford, *JEA* 57 (1971), 110, n. 3.

²⁵John A. Larson, "The Date of the Regnal Year Change in the Reign of Ramesses II," *Serapis* 3 (1975-76), 17-21.

²⁶E. F. Wentz & C. C. Van Siclen, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, (Chicago, 1976), 234.

²⁷R. Krauss, "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse," *SAK* 5 (1977), 147-148; Followed by W. Helck, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205, nn. 1 & 3.

window for the accession date dramatically. Von Beckerath had shown that the accession could not have occurred between II *pri* 8 and III *smw* 21.²⁸ Taken together with Krauss' own conclusions based on the king's travels during his first regnal year, this left an interval between III *smw* 22 and the end of I *3ht* when he must have left Memphis for Thebes for the Opet festival, but based on the date of the king's death in the middle of I *3ht* and some ancient confusion as to whether he had ruled for a full 66 or 67 years, Krauss concludes that Ramesses could not have come to the throne in the later part of *3ht*.²⁹

Helck had long maintained that Ramesses II's accession date was III *smw* 27.³⁰ He based this on the recurrence of this date as a holiday from the attendance journals and other sources from Deir el-Medina. Not all these attestations of III *smw* 27 as a holiday are certain, some being quite fragmentary³¹ or doubtful.³² Others, however, are quite clear,³³ and even when the reason for the holiday was not given, it was consistently observed on this date.³⁴ It seems clear that III *smw* 27 was generally a holiday, and in particular one in honor of Ramesses II. Murnane, in support of Larson's date, objected to Helck's date, noting that the

²⁸Von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 81, 86.

²⁹Krauss, *SAK* 5, 147-148.

³⁰W. Helck, "Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich," *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* 3, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (Rome, 1959), 118-120; idem, "Drei Ramessidische Daten," *SAK* 17 (1990), 205-214.

³¹O. Cairo CG 25503 (= *KRI* IV, 425:10-11) describes a holiday due to the *hnt* of some king. Of his prenomen, only the sun disk is preserved. The date is also lost, but it came shortly after III *smw* 20 in year 1 of Siptah.

³²E.g., an absentee list from year one of Ramesses V: O. Cairo CG 25609, (= *KRI* VI, 245:13). There are two fragmentary dates between the 21 and 28 of III *smw*. The specific notations for these dates are completely lost.

³³O. Cairo CG 25533 a work journal from year 3 of Ramesses IV describes III *smw* 27 as free for the [*h^ci* or *hnt*] of *Wsr-m3^ct-[R^c]-stp-n-R^c*. *KRI* VI, 176:5. The Turin Necropolis Journal describes a date (lost) between III *smw* 26 and 28 as free for the *h^ci n nsw Wsr-m3^ct-R^c////*. *KRI* VI, 697:2.

³⁴See list compiled by Helck, *SAK* 17, 207.

term *h^ci* could be used to refer to any occasion on which the king's cult statue appeared in public, and not just to the anniversary of his accession, although this is contrary to what Redford had concluded about the term.³⁵ Krauss³⁶ has offered further chronological evidence in support of III *šmw* 27 as the accession, and this date has gained widespread acceptance as the most likely solution to the problem and is advocated here.³⁷

4.3 The Length of Seti I's Reign

The highest attested date for Seti I is regnal year 11, IV *šmw* 12 or 13 on his fragmentary stela from Gebel Barkal.³⁸ Still, it has often been claimed that he reigned longer than this. The various copyists of Manetho credit him with a long reign of between 51 (Africanus) and 59 (Josephus) years. Although Manetho can be quite accurate with regard to the length of some reigns, the figures quoted for Seti are impossible.³⁹ Still one classical source seems to have preserved a more plausible span of 10-11 years for Seti's reign.⁴⁰

³⁵Murnane, *Serapis* 3 (1975-76), 25-26; Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, 22-25.

³⁶Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977), 146-148.

³⁷For references to those adopting this solution, see Helck, *SAK* 17, 205-206. So too Von Beckerath, renouncing his earlier view (= *ZÄS* 81 [1956], 1-3), now supports Helck's date. See idem, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, 69-70.

³⁸G.A. Reisner & M.B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal Part 3. The Stela of Sety I," *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 73-96; *KRI* I, 75:8. See *supra* 3.151.

³⁹The task of unscrambling the Manethonian tradition has long exercised scholars. With regard to his treatment of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, cf. R. Krauss, *Das Ende des Amarnazeit*, HÄB 7, (Hildesheim, 1978), 204-256; D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, (Mississauga, 1986), chpt. 7, 231ff & 8, 302-305; J. Von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, 54-61. With regard to Seti I in particular, see Redford, *King Lists*, 303; idem, *History and Chronology*, 208-215.

⁴⁰Theophilus or "Pseudo-Eratosthenes." See Redford, *History and Chronology*, 211; Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, 274-276.

Nineteenth century scholars, although rejecting the Manethonian tradition, still tended to assign a considerable span for the king's rule, of between twenty and thirty years. These figures, however, were highly impressionistic. By the turn of the century, thinking on this subject was moving towards a figure of twelve to thirteen years.⁴¹

There was little original evidence to support any of these dates. The highest known date for the king was year nine until Reisner's discovery in the 1930s of the Gebel Barkal stela of year eleven, IV *smw* 12 or 13. This remains the highest known date for Seti I, but evidence for a longer reign has been put forward based on ancient material. Bierbrier averred that the autobiography of Bakenkhonsu, the High Priest of Amen-Re of Karnak under Ramesses II, indicated that Seti had ruled for fourteen or fifteen years.⁴² Eleven years of his career are ascribed to Seti's reign followed by a second, four year segment. His third post is said to have come under Ramesses II. So, Bierbrier concluded, Seti must have ruled 15 years. His assessment was disputed by Murnane who rounded the figure quoted by Bierbrier down to ten.⁴³ Kitchen, in turn, called Murnane's methodology into question.⁴⁴ Most recently, Jansen-Winkeln has demonstrated that Bakenkhonsu's autobiography is moot as a chronological source.⁴⁵ He argues convincingly that the two positions that Bakenkhonsu seems to have held during Seti's reign could have been served concurrently.

The lack of a date higher than year eleven led Helck to point out that if Seti had ruled for fourteen to fifteen years, then he is alone among the Ramessides in having so many

⁴¹Redford, 208-209.

⁴²M.L. Bierbrier, "The Length of the Reign of Sethos I," *JEA* 58 (1972), 303.

⁴³Murnane, *Coregencies*, 86; idem, *JNES* 34 (1975), 188-189.

⁴⁴*JNES* 39 (1980), 170-171. Murnane still defends his original conclusions. See now *The Road to Kadesh*², 110, n. 28.

⁴⁵K. Jansen-Winkeln, "The Career of the Egyptian High Priest Bakenkhonsu," *JNES* 52 (1993), 221-225.

unattested regnal year dates, in particular successive ones.⁴⁶ Such an argument *ex silentio* must be viewed with caution, however. A useful caveat for citing such gaps as evidence is the problem of the length of Horemheb's reign, which remains highly controversial.⁴⁷ Still, only year ten of Seti I remains unattested between his first and eleventh regnal years and many of the intervening years are attested in multiple instances.⁴⁸ Although a weak argument by itself, Helck's contention adds some weight to the notion of a ten- to eleven-year reign.

Kitchen argued for a longer reign based on a number of events that he believed must have transpired between the hypothetical accession of Ramesses as coregent and Seti's death.⁴⁹ He avers that it would have taken a few years for the young ruler to produce his first four sons and for the two eldest to have reached an age whereby they could be taken on a military campaign depicted in reliefs from Ramesses' temple at Beit el-Wali. He further opined that only after these events had transpired did the viceroy of Nubia, Amenemopet, die, to be replaced by Yuni, who is also attested under Seti I. Kitchen's arguments are highly speculative and rely on the dubious veracity of Ramesses II's claims in the *inscription*

⁴⁶W. Helck, "Zur Chronologiediskussion über das Neue Reich," *Ägypten und Levante* 3 (1992), 63-65.

⁴⁷The highest uncontroversial date for Horemheb is year 13, but seven of these are unattested, including a three-year interval between 9 and 12. J. Von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, 103. But see W. Helck, *Ägypten und Levante* 3, 64, who claims only year eleven is missing. Two highly controversial dates have also been put forward: a year 16 on a stone libation vessel (D.B. Redford, "New Light on the Asiatic Campaigning of Horemheb," *BASOR* 211 [October 1973], 36-49) although it has been dismissed as a forgery by others: (W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadest*², 30-31 with nn. 149-152) and a year 27 in a graffito inscribed on a statue from Horemheb's memorial temple, (U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 2: *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, [Chicago, 1939], 106-108 w/ fig. 90 & pl. 51c), which may in fact refer to the reign of Ramesses II. See most recently Von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, 104; idem, "Das Problem der Regierungsdauer Horemhebs," *SAK* 22 (1995), 37-41 for an overview of this controversy.

⁴⁸Ibid., Helck, *Ägypten und Levante* 3, 64.

⁴⁹K. A. Kitchen, "Review of William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, (Chicago, 1977)," *JNES* 39 (1980), 170.

*dédicatoire*⁵⁰ and the notion that the Beit el-Wali reliefs faithfully reflect events vis à vis the Nubian campaign, all of which is highly unlikely.⁵¹ His reconstruction may be dismissed as a chronological fantasy, leaving no proof for a long, fifteen-year reign.

With his death, Seti I left a number of large projects unfinished, these being completed by his son. They include the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and its counterpart in Memphis, his Abydos temple and his memorial temple at Gurnah. Also left incomplete were a number of colossi and obelisks that are mentioned in two year nine quarry inscriptions from Aswan. As I have shown elsewhere, the four seated colossi and two obelisks that Ramesses II set up in the pylon and forecourt of Luxor temple were originally conceived by Seti I.⁵² The larger text of year nine records that Seti had ordered a “multitude, (ꜥꜥw), of works for the production of very great obelisks and great and wondrous colossi.” Despite this vow, there are few obelisks and apparently no colossi inscribed for Seti I. Ramesses II, however, was able to complete the two obelisks and four seated colossi from Luxor within the first years of his reign, the two obelisks in particular being partly inscribed before he adopted the final form of his prenomen some time in year two.⁵³ This state of affairs strongly implies that Seti died after ten to eleven years. Had he ruled on until his fourteenth or fifteenth year, then surely more of the obelisks and colossi he commissioned in year nine would have been completed, in particular those from Luxor. If he died after little more than a decade on the throne, however, then at most two years would have elapsed since the Aswan quarries were opened in year nine, and only a fraction of the great monoliths would have been complete and inscribed at his death, with others just emerging from the quarries so that Ramesses was able to decorate them shortly

⁵⁰On the reliability of the *inscription dédicatoire* as evidence for Ramesses’ early career see *infra* 4.6.2

⁵¹On the significance of Amenemopet’s appearance in the Beit el-Wali reliefs see *infra* 4.6.3.10.

⁵²P. J. Brand, “The ‘Lost’ Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I,” *JARCE* 34 (1997), 101-114. See *supra* 3.119.

⁵³Brand, *JARCE* 34, 108-109.

after his accession. The state of the Luxor obelisks, then, lends further weight to the case for a shorter, ten- to eleven-year reign for Seti I.

It now seems clear that a long, fourteen- to fifteen-year reign for Seti I can be rejected through lack of evidence. Rather, a tenure of ten or more probably eleven years appears the most likely scenario. Precisely how long the reign was depends on the accession dates of Seti and his son Ramesses II, and how these fall relative to the dateline on the king's last known monument, the Gebel Barkal stela of year eleven, which is dated to IV *smw* 12 or 13. Thus Seti could have reigned for a full ten years and about three months if the date on the stela comes between an accession date for Seti in III *smw* and Larson's accession date for Ramesses II in III *3ht*. Seti could also have died shortly after the beginning of his twelfth year, having completed a full eleven years as king. This second reconstruction, based on Helck's more plausible accession dates for the two kings, is the one preferred here.

4.4 A Reassessment of the Hypothetical Coregencies of the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

Egyptologists have long been exercised by the notion that, at certain intervals in Egyptian history, pharaoh might take his eldest son to rule jointly with him in order to guarantee the succession. This practice has most often been labeled a coregency. Such arrangements have been assumed to be most common in the Twelfth Dynasty,⁵⁴ but it has been argued that the first three rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty formed a series of interlocking coregencies, with the one alleged between Seti I and Ramesses II pointed to as being better attested than perhaps any other in Egyptian History. Even before Seele's work on the issue, scholars had long termed the association of Seti I and Ramesses II a coregency.

More recently, the term coregency has come into disfavor among students of the Ramesside era in describing the alleged joint rule between its first three dynasts. Christophe and Spalinger prefer the label "regency," and Kitchen "prince regency." All three object to the term coregency because of the lack of evidence that the junior partner had an independent

⁵⁴But see now C. Obsmer, *Sésostris Ier. Étude chronologique et historique du règne*, (Brussels, 1995), pt. 1.

system of regnal years before his father's death. On this point Seele agrees, with only Murnane arguing for double dating. More recently he has retracted this proposal, leaving it without a champion.

Still, all these scholars maintain that, near the end of their reigns, Ramesses I and Seti I ruled jointly with their eldest sons, allowing them all the trappings of full kingship, including regalia and titularies, excepting only an independent dating system. One may question the alleged distinction between "coregency" and "regency" based solely on the presence or absence of double dating. Such a dichotomy reflects, perhaps, the historian's obsession with dates and chronology, a major focus of proponents of coregencies. Seele, Kitchen and others would argue that Seti denied his son the right to tally his own regnal years during the regency as a way of exerting his primacy as the senior partner. If Seti had allowed his son the right to don the crown and regalia, imbued with all the sacred potency of the divine office of kingship itself, and to proclaim in full an equally sacred titulary, it is unlikely that denying him an independent system of dating would have marked Ramesses as the inferior partner. The system of regnal years was simply a means of reckoning time and lacked the divine potency associated with the regalia, titulary and other formal trappings of kingship. Thus the modern distinction between regency and coregency would make little sense from the Egyptian perspective.

If Ramesses II had been crowned while his father still lived, he was nominally an equal partner to his father and would not have lacked any of the prestige enjoyed by the younger coregent of the 12th Dynasty, even though they also had independent dating systems. The salient question, then, is not whether Ramesses had his own dating system, but was he crowned as king before Seti's death? It matters not whether this is called a regency or coregency: if he was allowed all the dignity and splendor of the pharaonic office, then he was by definition a king and thus terms like "prince-regency" and "regency" cannot be used to describe his association with his father.

4.5 The Hypothetical Coregency of Ramesses I and Seti I

Maspero was the first to suggest that Ramesses I ruled jointly with his son Seti I for at least part of his brief reign and since then, a number of scholars have maintained the same position.⁵⁵ Still, it has remained the vaguest of notions with little hard evidence to support it, and was considered only hypothetical in Murnane's study of this phenomenon.⁵⁶

Early proponents of the coregency theory had only Ramesses I's stela of year two from Buhen, Louvre C57, as evidence.⁵⁷ The last five lines of the original text were suppressed by Seti I who added three in their stead bearing his own titulary. The argument that this somehow proves Seti became coregent lacks merit, rather the stela must have been reinscribed when Seti issued a virtually identical decree on a stela of his own year one.⁵⁸

The most extensive source we have for Seti's position during Ramesses' reign is the fragmentary dedicatory stela unearthed in the ruins of the chapel he built for his father at Abydos.⁵⁹ In describing his own duties during Ramesses' reign, Seti makes it clear that they took place "before I ruled the Two Lands," *nfryt r hk3.i T3wy*.⁶⁰ While Ramesses' kingship is explicitly described,⁶¹ Seti's role was to be "with him like a star at his side." None of the duties he performs are strictly those of a king, but are consistent with services performed by a prince or even by Horemheb in his capacity as "deputy of the Lord of the Two Lands" under Tutankhamen when he was considered the heir presumptive. Nowhere in the text does Seti

⁵⁵See L.-A. Christophe, "La carrière du prince Merenptah et les trois régences ramessides," *ASAE* 51 (1951), 352 with references.

⁵⁶Murnane, *Coregencies*, 183-184, 234.

⁵⁷*KRI* I, 2-3.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Christophe, *ASAE* 51, 354-356.

⁵⁹S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I für die Kapelle Rameses' I in Abydos*, NAWG 1964/1, (Göttingen, 1964). See *supra*, 3.53-3.56.

⁶⁰*KRI* I, 111:8.

⁶¹"So my father began (discharging) the kingship of Re, sitting upon the dias like him" *KRI* I, 111:3-5.

claim to have acted as king, instead he states that his duties under Ramesses took place before he assumed the throne.⁶²

In his study of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Seele called attention to a series of reliefs on its western wall depicting Ramesses I intermixed with others of Seti I.⁶³ These cannot be taken as evidence of a coregency as it now seems undeniable that they were carved long after the old king's death.⁶⁴

The sandstone base of a small statue from Medamud, published by Zivie, remains the most substantial bit of evidence for a coregency.⁶⁵ It is inscribed on one side with the titulary of Ramesses I and on the other with that of Seti. At the front of the upper surface, the prenomen of Ramesses I appears to have been surcharged by Seti's.⁶⁶ Despite Zivie's view to the contrary, this object represents only flimsy evidence for a coregency. Murnane was more cautious, and termed this coregency only hypothetical,⁶⁷ while Kitchen posits that the statue was most likely commissioned by Seti after his father's death and that he subsequently appropriated the cartouche on its front.⁶⁸ Given the number of monuments posthumously dedicated to Ramesses by his son, Kitchen's conclusion seems the most plausible. Seti was probably not his father's coregent; rather he remained a crown prince serving as his father's "staff of old age" until the old king died.

⁶²Christophe, *ASAE* 51, 353-354, 357.

⁶³Seele, *Coregency*, 12ff.

⁶⁴See *supra* 3.69.3.2.

⁶⁵A.-P. Zivie, "Un monument associant les noms de Ramses I et de Séthi I," *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 99-114. See *supra* 3.67.

⁶⁶Zivie, *BIFAO* 72, pl. 28.

⁶⁷Murnane, *Coregencies*, 183-184 & 234.

⁶⁸*RITANC* I, §81, 131-132.

4.6 The Hypothetical Coregency of Seti I with Ramesses II

4.6.1 Scholarship on the Coregency

A subtle bias pervades most scholarship on this topic; the interests of historians have tended to focus largely on the coregency as the earliest stage in Ramesses II's career and as a chronological marker for the same.⁶⁹ The issue is often presented from his perspective, with less attention being paid to Seti's role. Indeed, one gathers from much work on this topic that the two most important actions Seti took in the latter part of his reign were to appoint his son as coregent and then to die! As we shall see, this partiality has led these scholars to overlook inconsistencies in their theories that would tend to make Seti the inferior partner. What follows is a brief thumbnail sketch of the views of a number of scholars who have considered the issue in detail.

Seele

Seele postulated a relatively long coregency, which he believed lasted for several years, perhaps even a decade, the time he thought was needed to complete the large corpus of temple reliefs carved during the alleged period of joint rule.⁷⁰ He was the first to study the phenomenon of the different phases in Ramesses' earliest monumental reliefs through observation of the style of relief used and the orthography of the king's prenomen.⁷¹

Christophe

Christophe maintained that there were no true coregencies during the Ramesside era.⁷² He termed the role of Seti I, Ramesses II and Merenptah during their respective father's

⁶⁹Note the titles of Seele's monograph and Murnane and Spalinger's articles on the subject where Ramesses is mentioned first: Seele, *The Coregency of Rameses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975), 153-190; and Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," *JNES* 39 (1979), 271-286.

⁷⁰Seele, *Coregency*, 29.

⁷¹Although Sethe was the first to point out the chronological significance of the short form of Ramesses' prenomen. *ZAS* 62 (1927), 110-114.

⁷²L.-A. Christophe, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 335-372.

reigns as regencies, since, he argued, they had neither an independent system of regnal years before their sole accessions, nor the right to enclose their names in cartouches.⁷³ He considered the *inscription dédicatoire* from Abydos to be highly unreliable as evidence, rather he characterized the young prince as play-acting the role of king when according to the text Seti had him crowned, an event he describes as coming early in the reign.⁷⁴ Christophe places the true beginning of the regency near the end of Seti's tenure, in year eleven, when Ramesses allegedly took responsibility for managing the kingdom because his father was supposed to have been enfeebled by old age and illness.⁷⁵

Murnane

Murnane contends that a coregency began sometime in Seti's year ten or late year nine and ended with his death early in year eleven.⁷⁶ He once maintained that Ramesses began to count his regnal years upon his accession as coregent before his father's death, a notion Seele had rejected on chronological grounds.⁷⁷ Murnane believed that Seti died sometime during the second half of Ramesses' second regnal year, an event that coincided with the adoption of the longer form of the new king's prenomen.⁷⁸ More recently, he has revised his view of the coregency, abandoning the notion that Ramesses began to count his regnal years while Seti was alive.⁷⁹

Spalinger

In his treatment of Ramesses II's early career, Spalinger stressed that his joint rule with Seti I was not a coregency but a regency, because the junior partner did not begin to

⁷³Ibid., 355 & 361-363.

⁷⁴Ibid., 360-361.

⁷⁵Ibid., 361 & 363.

⁷⁶Murnane, *JNES* 34, 190.

⁷⁷Seele, *Coregency*, 78ff.

⁷⁸Murnane, *JNES* 34, 188.

⁷⁹W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh²*, SAOC 42, (Chicago, 1985), 93, n. 90.

enumerate his regnal years until after his father's death.⁸⁰ Spalinger's examination of this period focused largely on the young regent's alleged participation in Seti's military campaigns. In particular he tried to show that the battle reliefs inscribed on the walls of Ramesses' Beit el-Wali temple could be linked to Seti's campaigns commemorated in his own war monument at Karnak and through various other sources. He concluded that this regency lasted two years or less, beginning shortly after year nine.⁸¹

Kitchen

Like Spalinger, Kitchen rejects the term coregency in connection with the dynastic policies of the Ramessides because no system of double dating, as found in the Middle Kingdom, was then in use. Rather he terms the earliest phase of Ramesses II's career a "prince regency." Still he maintains the notion that the young prince had all the outward trappings of kingship including the regalia and a full royal titulary.⁸² In a review of Murnane's study, he claims that the regency lasted from some time after year nine until a hypothetical year 14/15 of Seti I.⁸³

4.6.2 The Abydos Dedicatory Inscription and the Kuban Stela of Ramesses II as Evidence for a Coregency

These two inscriptions of the first decade of Ramesses II's reign have long been taken as evidence of his official role during his father's lifetime. In them some would see proof that Ramesses acted as Seti I's coregent. According to the *inscription dédicatoire*:

"It was Menmaatre who nurtured me. The All Lord magnified me while I was a child until I could rule. He gave the land to me while I was in the egg. The officials kissed the earth before me as I was inducted as eldest king's son and hereditary prince upon the throne of Geb and when I

⁸⁰A. J. Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," *JNES* 38 (1979), 271-286. See *idem*, "Traces of the Early Career of Seti I," *JSSEA* 8 (1978), 229, n. 3.

⁸¹*Idem.*, *JNES* 38, 285-286.

⁸²K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*, (Warminster, 1982), 27-30.

⁸³*Idem.*, *JNES* 39, 170-171.

reported on the [affairs] of the Two Lands as chief of the infantry and chariotry. When my father appeared before the people, I being a child in his embrace, he said concerning me ‘crown him that I might see his beauty while I am alive.’ [He caused that] the chamberlains [might be summoned] in order to set the crowns upon my forehead (saying) ‘place the Great (crown) upon his head’ so he said concerning me while he was on earth ‘that he might administer this land, that he might care for [Egypt] that he might command the people.’” (*KRI* II, 327:12-328:3)

As Christophe has pointed out, much of this statement describes Ramesses’ role as heir apparent and crown prince.⁸⁴ Murnane initially believed that two stages in Ramesses’ earliest career were being described, crown prince and full coregent.⁸⁵ The titles ascribed to the young Ramesses are consistent with the station of crown prince, i.e. king’s eldest son and hereditary prince (*šš nsw smsw iry-pʿr*)⁸⁶ and some military titles.⁸⁷

Next it is claimed that Seti had his son crowned (*šhʿ*). In Christophe’s estimation, this was merely play-acting carried out under the watchful eye of Seti I. Seele, by contrast, took this assertion at face value.⁸⁸ Spalinger and Murnane also took the passage literally.⁸⁹ Murnane later admitted that many of the claims made in the *inscription dédicatoire* were pure hyperbole, in particular the assertion that he held key military posts in the government.⁹⁰ How seriously, then, can we take Ramesses’ highly self-serving claim that he was crowned king by

⁸⁴Christophe, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 360ff.

⁸⁵Murnane, *Coregencies*, 58.

⁸⁶W. J. Murnane “The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution,” in D. Silverman (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, 1995), 202 and references cited there.

⁸⁷Spalinger, *JNES* 38 (1979), 283ff.

⁸⁸Seele, *Coregency*, 26-30.

⁸⁹Spalinger, *JNES* 38, 283; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 58.

⁹⁰Murnane in Silverman (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 207-208. He long maintained that there was some degree of exaggeration. Idem, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 59; idem, *The Road to Kadesh*², 109.

Seti, even as a child in his arms! Perhaps the most reliable and concrete portion of this statement are the enumeration of Ramesses' titles as eldest king's son and heir apparent.

The Kuban stela clearly describes Ramesses not as a coregent, but only as crown prince.⁹¹ He is called the "child-heir" (*hrd iry-p't*). Again, exaggerated claims for his involvement in the military and other high circles of the government are made, but no account of his coronation is given.

In addition to being given these titles, Ramesses was doubtless given some training in the civil and military spheres as preparation for the kingship, but these two inscriptions of Ramesses' earliest reign, being exaggerated and patently self-serving accounts, are of dubious value as evidence for Ramesses' earliest career during his father's reign, and cannot be taken at face value. One only need compare the fictitious accounts given by both Hatshepsut⁹² and Thutmose III⁹³ of their "coronations" during the lives of their fathers Thutmose I and II.

4.6.3 Survey of Monuments Touching on the Hypothetical Coregency of Seti I and Ramesses II

4.6.3.1 Stela of Ashahebused (Sinai 250)

This stela has long been considered veritable proof of the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II.⁹⁴ The much-damaged upper scene certainly depicted the younger man as king offering to his deified father.⁹⁵ The text consists largely of an encomium in honor of Seti, but it also mentions "his royal son Usimaatre//." Although such texts are usually directed at living kings, there is no reason this example could not have been composed to laud the memory of a recently deceased Seti I. Indeed, if it dates to the earliest months of

⁹¹*KRI* II, 356:1-6.

⁹²*Urk.* IV, 259:1-262:1.


⁹³*Urk.* IV, 180:10-12

⁹⁴Murnane, *Coregencies*, 62-64. See *supra* 3.7.

⁹⁵Helck, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 212-213.

Ramesses II's tenure, it might have been intended to associate the young, as yet untried ruler with his illustrious father in the time immediately following the latter's death. There certainly is no dearth of other posthumous memorials to deceased kings along these lines from the New Kingdom.⁹⁶

4.6.3.2 Two Private Monuments Depicting Ramesses as Crown Prince

A tomb relief of the royal scribe Amenwahsu from Saqqara and the Abydene stela of the scribe Miya, (PLATE 91), both depict the future Ramesses II as a prince alongside his father.⁹⁷ In both cases Ramesses plays the same role as his father: as the passive recipient of offerings in the Amenwahsu relief and as officiant alongside his father on Miya's stela. In both cases he sports the typical garb of a prince found in countless representations of his own sons, a side lock, a kilt with a long sash and a -fan.⁹⁸ In both cases, he is entitled "king's son of his body:" the "first," (*tpy*), on the Miya stela, and on the Memphite relief as "his beloved." No further titles such as "eldest king's son" (*s3 nsw smsw*) or heir apparent (*iry-p'rt*) are given. Since, however, no other son of Seti I is known, the earliest datable reference to Ramesses dates to Seti's year nine, it seems most likely that both these inscriptions date to the later part of Seti's reign when Ramesses's grooming for the succession became a public affair.

4.6.3.3 Abydos Temple of Seti I

The most explicit evidence of Ramesses' official status before Seti's death is to be found in reliefs from the Gallery of the Kings and the Corridor of the Bull. In the Gallery, Ramesses is depicted in a number of tableaux as a prince alongside his father, entitled "Hereditary Prince and King's eldest son of his body" (PLATES 53B & 78). In one case his

⁹⁶See *supra* 3.69.3.2 for a discussion of this phenomenon in the 18th and early 19th dynasties.

⁹⁷See *supra* 3.38 & 3.63.

⁹⁸E.g., Luxor temple. *PM* II², 306(17) & 308(30). There are many other examples from Abydos, the Ramesseum and elsewhere.

sash bears a pendant decorated with the early forms of his cartouches (**PLATE 79**).⁹⁹ Otherwise the iconography is entirely consistent with his role as crown prince.

It is apparent that the reliefs in the Gallery were among the last ones carved before Seti died.¹⁰⁰ In the adjoining Corridor of the Bull he left the decoration laid out in paint but uncarved.¹⁰¹ These scenes were completed in sunk relief by Ramesses II. In a number of these, including the famous bull-lassoing scene, Ramesses' own eldest son, Amenhirkhopeshef, is depicted alongside his father with the same titles as prince Ramesses in the Gallery. All this suggests that Ramesses was still being depicted as a prince in the official record on the eve of Seti's death.

Since king Seti and prince Ramesses are both shown as protagonists, we may be sure that these tableaux reflect the latter's role while his father lived. By contrast, a pair of scenes in staircase Y' adjoining the Corridor of the Bulls depict king Ramesses offering to his deified father,¹⁰² (**PLATES 80-81**), a motif which could easily be *post mortem* Seti, as are a pair of scenes in the Corridor of the Bulls, executed in the style R³, where Ramesses and his son act on behalf of the deceased Seti and other deities.¹⁰³

⁹⁹Murnane, *JNES* 34, 163, fig. 5a-b.

¹⁰⁰See *supra* 3.46.8.2.

¹⁰¹See *supra* 3.46.8.4 & 3.46.9.2

¹⁰²Murnane, *JNES* 34, 164, fig. 6a-c. See *supra* 3.46.9.3.

¹⁰³See *supra* 3.46.9.2. The figures of the deified Seti had been altered by Ramesses from cartoons laid out by Seti which originally represented other deities.

4.6.3.4 Abydos Temple of Ramesses II

Although it has often been claimed that the decoration of this building dates to the alleged coregency, very few references to Seti I are to be found here. He appears once in a statue group¹⁰⁴ and again in a relief from room I where he is depicted as a cult figure.¹⁰⁵ Far from indicating that Ramesses was his coregent, the paucity of references to Seti I in the temple presupposes that he was dead. Why else would Seti have been so rarely present in his junior partner's temple at the same time that the latter was allegedly playing such a prominent role in the decoration of his father's monuments?

4.6.3.5 Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Interior Reliefs

Seele and Murnane both argued that reliefs from the Karnak Hypostyle provided ample evidence of a coregency. Their assessments were made largely on the basis of reliefs in the southern portion of the building. No evidence supporting a coregency is forthcoming from the northern portion of the Hall.¹⁰⁶ A fresh look at material from the southern half casts further doubt on their conclusions.

Although the reliefs in the south wing were largely executed in Ramesses' name, both Seele and Murnane saw evidence there that Seti was still alive and able to exert his influence on the decorative scheme. Still, the overwhelming predominance of Ramesses here forced Seele and Murnane to conclude that his father had "turned over" responsibility for decorating it to him.¹⁰⁷ Seele believed that the Hall was largely built by Ramesses I and that Seti and Ramesses II divided responsibility for decorating it amongst themselves.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴*PM VI*, 38-39; *KRI II*, 549:5.

¹⁰⁵*PM VI*, 35 (23); *KRI II*, 542:2.

¹⁰⁶See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 153-158; *Contra Seele, Coregency*, 50.

¹⁰⁷Seele, *Coregency*, 86 & 93; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 76.

¹⁰⁸Seele, *Coregency*, *passim*.

Despite the obvious supremacy of Ramesses in the south wing, both Seele and Murnane put forward evidence for their contention that Seti was alive and able to assert his authority when it was decorated. This may be outlined as follows:

1.) In no less than 8 tableaux, Seti is portrayed as a cult figure receiving offerings from his son (**PLATE 64A**).¹⁰⁹ It should be stressed that in each case, Seti's role is entirely passive, and he is clearly deified. As such, these tableaux are but slim evidence that he was alive.

2.) Seti officiates in one panel mixed in with others dating to phase R² of his son's decoration of the west wall (**PLATE 64B**).¹¹⁰ Seele quoted this episode in support of his claim that Seti was alive during the period R².¹¹¹ A number of objections to this notion can be raised on art historical grounds.

As we have seen, there is every reason to believe that Seti **always** had himself depicted with a stooped posture in all his relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall. This stance is found in the king's latest work at Gurnah temple and at Abydos as well. By contrast the present example is rendered in sunk relief and the king stands fully upright. Moreover the scene is entirely isolated without similar examples naming him. Despite the active role played here by Seti, this vignette is surely a posthumous *hommage* similar to ones that Seti made on behalf of Ramesses I on the northern portion of the west wall.¹¹²

It should also be pointed out that members of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project recently found evidence that Seti was named in additional reliefs from the middle registers of the exterior jambs and thicknesses of the south gateway.¹¹³ These were juxtaposed with

¹⁰⁹Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 86, 92, 99-100, 101d, 101i, 105, 113, 117-118; Idem, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 42, 48, 53, 57, 61, 65, 72, 76. Seele, *Coregency*, §§89-95.


¹¹⁰Nelson, *Key Plans* KB 61; *GHHK* I.1, pl. 27.

¹¹¹Seele, *Coregency*, 60, §87.

¹¹²Cf. posthumous reliefs depicting Amenhotep III in the Luxor temple Colonnade Hall. Johnson in *Fs. Klaus Baer*, 133-144.

¹¹³Nelson, *Key Plans* KO 29-30 & 45; *PM* II², 49-50 (164f-g).

others above and below them naming Ramesses II (PLATE 12A). Unlike the scene just mentioned, these were consistent with the style of Seti's work in the building; they were initially carved in raised relief and depicted him bowing, as did the adjoining scene featuring Ramesses.¹¹⁴ They are not convincing as evidence for joint rule, however, as Seti appears in only a fraction of the decoration on the south gate and Ramesses seems to have been transforming cartoons laid out in paint by his father into reliefs mostly naming himself.¹¹⁵ The most economical explanation for these reliefs is that Ramesses took the opportunity to complete a handful of these scenes as a posthumous memorial to Seti, in keeping with the latter's *hommages* to Ramesses I on the west wall.

3.) Elements of Seti's prenomen seemed to be intermixed with those of Ramesses in the form of rebus decoration on the canopy of the sacred barque of Amen-Re in scenes on the south wall (PLATE 87).¹¹⁶ Seele believed that their prenomen were juxtaposed in the rebus decorations in both scenes. Later Murnane showed that only Seti's is found on the eastern panel.¹¹⁷ Still, he maintained that such a juxtaposition is to be found on the western one. It now seems clear that when the western barque canopy was carved in R¹, that once again only Seti's prenomen was reflected in the rebus pattern. At some later point, many but not all distinctive elements of his prenomen were suppressed while elements indicative of Ramesses' titulary were added. As argued elsewhere in this work, a survey of the development of rebus decoration on barque canopies during the latter half of the New Kingdom indicates that elements distinctive of one king's protocol might be retained by his successors while others were replaced by new ones denoting the current occupant of the throne. Even after Seti's death, a number of -signs, in the Nineteenth Dynasty unique to his prenomen, still

¹¹⁴All these scenes were later converted to R³ and Ramesses replaced his father's name with his own.

¹¹⁵See *supra* 3.69.3.6.

¹¹⁶Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 99-100 & 117-118; Nelson, *GHHK* 1.1, pls. 53 & 76; Seele, *Coregency*, 71-75; Murnane, *JNES* 34, 173; *idem*, *Coregencies*, 77-78.

¹¹⁷Murnane, *GM* 19 (1976), 41-43.

occurred in representations of the canopy as late as the reign of Seti II (PLATE 90A).¹¹⁸ During the R¹ and R² phases, the barque canopy was depicted to show Seti's titulary alone. Later the example carved in raised relief, which was easier to rework, was altered to reflect more closely the prenomen of Ramesses II while many elements distinctive of his father's titulary were suppressed, even ones retained in other examples from Ramesses' reign and later.¹¹⁹ All this suggests that Ramesses' alterations of the barque scene to the west of the south gate had little to do with the alleged coregency or even the iconographical configuration of the actual barque of Amen-Re early in his reign.¹²⁰

The epigraphic history of the Karnak Hypostyle and the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II have been closely linked by scholars, but is this affinity credible? From the perspective of Ramesses II's reign, the vantage point shared by previous scholars examining the question, it does. But what of Seti I? We are asked to believe that he "turned over" the southern portion of the Hall to his junior partner, satisfying himself with the northern aisle. Yet this generous concession included the columns along the paramount east-west axis with its gigantic papyriform columns, since these were decorated in Ramesses' name alone.¹²¹ Given the importance of this processional route and the trouble Seti had taken to decorate the clerestory and architraves, why should he have done this? As demonstrated earlier, the epigraphic data from this building suggests that Seti's work in the Hall stopped not when he turned over responsibility for the project to his son, but with his death; it is clear that the decoration of the south portion of the edifice was proceeding on several fronts when it suddenly came to a halt to be continued by Ramesses. Moreover, evidence for Seti's

¹¹⁸See *infra* Appendix B

¹¹⁹E.g. the barque scene in the Triple Shrine at Luxor. See *infra* Appendix B.

¹²⁰Cf. Seti I's alteration to a barque scene on the east tower of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak, which he usurped from Tutankhamen to give his own prenomen rebus, which nevertheless did not reproduce the actual iconography of the barque at that time. See *infra* appendix B.

¹²¹The abaci of these columns were decorated by Seti along with the architraves they supported and the whole clerestory. See *supra* 3.69.1.3 — 3.69.1.5.

influence over the decoration of the south wing, (assuming he was still alive), is tenuous at best. Rather it was the memory of a deceased predecessor that Ramesses invoked in presenting his father in several tableaux as a cult figure and inserting a handful of other posthumous scenes with Seti as the officiant.

4.6.3.6 Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Battle Reliefs of Seti I

In a number of episodes from the battle reliefs of Seti I on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle, a diminutive figure following in the wake of the king has been supplanted by a second one portraying Ramesses II in the guise of a crown prince.¹²² Once thought to be representations of a phantom older brother of the future monarch,¹²³ the Epigraphic Survey has proven these to be representations of a military officer named Mehy who had been granted the high honorific title of “Fanbearer on the King’s Right Side.” While opinions on the role of the official Mehy do vary, and his precise role in the political history of the earliest Nineteenth Dynasty remains cloudy, the revised version of these reliefs offer us yet another glimpse of Ramesses in the role of crown prince, and again it is only in this capacity that we find Ramesses depicted acting in concert with his father, never as king.

4.6.3.7 Luxor Obelisks and Colossi of Ramesses II

It is now apparent that the two obelisks and four seated colossi from the Ramesside court in Luxor temple were originally commissioned for Seti I.¹²⁴ Bearing the short form of Ramesses II’s prenomen, the two obelisks in particular were decorated during the period of the alleged coregency when the short form of his prenomen was still in use. Since there is no reference to Seti on these monoliths, proponents of a coregency would be forced to conclude that he turned the project over to his junior partner. Given the importance of the project, to

¹²²Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, (Chicago, 1985), pls. 6, 10, 12, 23 & 29.

¹²³J. H. Breasted, “Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I,” *ZAS* 37 (1899), 130–139.

¹²⁴Brand, *JNES* 34 (1997), 108ff.

the cult of the deified king in particular, it seems highly unlikely that the elder king would have voluntarily relinquished it to his partner, a scenario resorted to by Seele and Murnane to explain Ramesses' prominence in reliefs in the southern half of the Karnak Hypostyle.¹²⁵

4.6.3.8 Gurnah Memorial Temple of Seti I

The construction and decoration of Seti's Gurnah temple dates to a time relatively late in his reign. Indeed a quarry inscription dated to year six from Gebel Silsila hints that construction began only halfway through the reign.¹²⁶ As we have seen, it is possible to isolate several distinct phases in the decoration of the Gurnah memorial temple based on the style and iconography of the reliefs.¹²⁷ It is clear that its earliest decoration is found in the rooms where Seti I is featured alone. These examples are all in raised relief and the king is generally portrayed with an inclined torso in both the standing and kneeling position. They are scattered throughout the temple, but are concentrated in what might be described as its most important chambers, i.e. the barque sanctuaries of the Theban Triad, the suite of rooms behind the Amen sanctuary, the four southernmost rooms leading off the sides of the hypostyle hall dedicated to various aspects of the royal cult, and the chapel of the Ramesses I suite. The presence of Seti in these rooms alone— with no trace of Ramesses II— marks them as being earlier and not later than others that always portray Seti upright.¹²⁸ The second group is intermixed with decoration naming Ramesses II, in both raised and sunk reliefs (R¹ – R³).¹²⁹ Moreover, Ramesses officiates in the lion's share of these tableaux in the vestibule to

¹²⁵See n. 105 above.

¹²⁶See *supra* 3.109.

¹²⁷See *supra* 3.83.3 & 3.83.3.1.

¹²⁸*Contra* Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 77-78. Here it is argued that the Gurnah reliefs featuring the upright stance date earlier than ones where the king bows. But these same reliefs, featuring Ramesses II, must date later than those in which only Seti appears.

¹²⁹This assumes that Seti had not laid out the decoration of the hypostyle hall in paint as he seems to have done at Abydos and in the Karnak Hypostyle on columns along the main

the Ramesses I suite and in room 34. In the hypostyle hall, Seti predominates only on the north wall, while the south wall and transverse hall seem to have an approximately even mix of both kings. On the east wall, Ramesses predominates apparently to the exclusion of Seti!

Seele and Murnane have taken the Gurnah reliefs as evidence that Seti decorated his memorial temple jointly with his son during a hypothetical coregency. This now seems highly unlikely. Close inspection shows that, as one progresses from the north wall to the south wall of the hypostyle hall and then on to its east wall and transverse corridor, the number of scenes featuring Seti steadily diminishes so that on the east wall he is not found at all.¹³⁰ Moreover, he is never shown bowing in any of these, although that stance is found in the latest phases of his decoration of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in his Abydos temple, as well as those areas of Gurnah he decorated himself. One also finds that the frieze of cartouches along the tops of the walls are in the name of Seti alone, on the north, south and east walls. This suggests that they were the first reliefs to be carved here, and probably the last part of the work to be done before Ramesses II began participating in the decoration.

The pattern in the hypostyle makes better sense if it is understood as work done by Ramesses II immediately after his father's death. One can thus follow Ramesses' filial piety as it steadily waned over his first two regnal years, so that by the time his sculptors reached the east wall of the hypostyle and adjoining transverse corridor, the young king is seen almost to the exclusion of his deceased father.

This pattern was continued in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite that seems to have been the second area decorated under Ramesses II. Here, raised relief gave way to the R² style, and Seti appears only three times as the officiant in two minor tableaux decorating the doorway into the Ramesses I chapel. Otherwise he is only depicted here as the passive recipient of offerings or accompanying members of the Theban Triad and other gods in investiture scenes and the like, where he plays the same role as Ramesses I, both of whom are

axis and those in the southern wing and the southern gateway. Still, the evidence from Karnak also suggest that the wall scenes at Karnak were being laid out by the draftsmen directly in advance of the sculptors. See *supra* 3.69.3.5.

¹³⁰See *supra* 3.83.3.2.

represented with the iconography of deified kings, i.e. holding $\overline{\text{t}}$ and $\overline{\text{t}}$ -scepters, in the company of the gods. Both are often given epithets like $m3^c-hrw$ and $ntr-c3$ appropriate to this role.

Seti's image appears for the last time in reliefs decorating room 34. Thereafter he is named only in stereotyped decoration on the walls and columns of the portico where his cartouches alternate with those of Ramesses in R³.¹³¹ In room 34, all the decoration is in sunk relief and was carved near the end of the R² phase and after the adoption of R³. Here again, Seti is featured as the officiant in a minority of the scenes and never with inclined torso whether standing or kneeling. Otherwise he is only represented in sunk relief on the interior walls of Gurnah in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite. Seti never used interior sunk relief at Karnak or Abydos, indeed he only rarely used this medium for interior decoration at all.¹³²

A combination of features, the absence of bowing figures, the uneven distribution of decoration in the name of the two alleged coregents, Ramesses II's domination of such scenes even in the first and second periods, the almost universally passive role Seti plays in the tableaux from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, and finally the use of sunk relief, a medium which Seti clearly did not favor elsewhere during his lifetime, all represent major stumbling blocks for the coregency theory. We are asked to believe that Seti allowed his son to make all the major decisions on the style and iconography used to embellish Seti's own buildings. Furthermore, he is alleged to have permitted Ramesses to dominate this process, giving Ramesses responsibility for most of the wall space in his own temple while he himself adopted a passive role in the decorative program in the vestibule of his own father's memorial suite where by tradition he should have played the role of officiant. Moreover, this alleged joint decoration is not in keeping with what is found elsewhere; no such pattern is to be found in Seti's Abydos temple, in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall or in the two temples Ramesses erected at the outset of his reign at Abydos and Beit el-Wali.

¹³¹Murnane, *JNES* 34, 168.

¹³²So, exceptionally, in his speos at Kanais where sunk relief was used exclusively. See *supra* I.4.1.

If we assume Seti had died before any reliefs featuring Ramesses II were cut, then the pattern of decoration in all these buildings makes better sense. Gurnah temple was dedicated to Seti's memorial cult, but only a small fraction of its decoration was complete at his death. At Abydos, by contrast, he had finished a larger portion of the reliefs, and Ramesses II preferred to focus his energies on his own newly built temple there. In western Thebes, Ramesses' first years saw the earliest stages in the construction of the Ramesseum,¹³³ so there was little else for the sculptors assigned to the Gurnah temple to do beyond continuing with the project. Thus Ramesses felt obliged to complete some of its decoration in the name of his father while at the same time intermixing himself into the decoration. He soon tired of his filial duties and, increasingly, began to overshadow the memory of his father in its decoration. By about the end of his second year, Ramesses abandoned the project entirely only to revisit it some two or more decades later when he completed the decoration in Gurnah, in an often coarse style of relief. This time he named only himself.

4.6.3.9 Tomb relief of Ameneminet (Cairo JdE 43591) from Deir el-Medina

This fine tomb relief was once thought to date to Seti I's reign on stylistic grounds.¹³⁴ More recently Kitchen demonstrated that it was made early in Ramesses II's reign based on faded cartouches in paint and rebus decoration on the veil of the barque of Amen-Re that gives the early form of his prenomen *Wsr-m3ꜣt-Rꜥ*.¹³⁵ As noted earlier, this relief must date to the very earliest part of his kingship.¹³⁶ We know from other reliefs at Karnak and Luxor that early in Ramesses' reign, the rebus decoration from the canopy of Amen-Re's sacred barque reflected Seti's prenomen.¹³⁷ This scene, then, does not reflect the actual iconography of the

¹³³Thus foundation deposits giving the early form of his prenomen indicate that work began on the Ramesseum very early in the reign. *KRI* II, 667:10-13.

¹³⁴R.E. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Memphis, 1987), 142, cat. 11.

¹³⁵*RITANC* I, 297.

¹³⁶See *supra* 3.98.

¹³⁷See *infra* Appendix B

barque shortly after Ramesses' accession. It does suggest, however, that he was, in fact, the only regnant king at that time, namely when the coregency is alleged to have been in force. This piece may be weighted as further evidence against the notion of a coregency.

4.6.3.10 Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II

Although this temple certainly dates to the earliest part of Ramesses II's reign, there is no unequivocal evidence for a coregency here. Seti I is never mentioned in any of the texts or scenes, and there is no reason to believe that the building was decorated before his death. Much has been made of how battle reliefs within the main hall might coincide with the young monarch's early career while Seti was alive.¹³⁸ A scene depicting the viceroy of Nubia Amenemopet is offered as proof of joint rule, since he is apparently attested under both kings, as is his successor Yuni.¹³⁹ It would seem that these viceroys are attested under both Seti I and Ramesses II, a state of affairs that implies a coregency.¹⁴⁰ Yet this, too, is open to question; if the Nubian war scenes represent an actual battle, then it can be none other than a skirmish in Irem commemorated by two stela of Seti I dating to year eight¹⁴¹ and perhaps in a series of rock inscriptions of the viceroy Amenemopet.¹⁴² In all likelihood this campaign, in which the king himself did not partake, occurred in regnal year eight and was a small affair.

¹³⁸A. Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," *JNES* 38 (1979), 271-286.

¹³⁹*KRI* I, 303-304, §118; *RITA* I, 247, §118; *RITANC* I, 200-201, §118.

¹⁴⁰G. A. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia," *JEA* 6 (1920), 38-40, Seele, *Coregency*, 36. Spalinger, *JNES* 38, 275-276 with further references 276, n. 23.

¹⁴¹See *supra* 3.142 & 3.145.

¹⁴²See *supra* 3.134. For other monuments of Amenemopet see *KRI* I, 302-303; §117, 1-5; *RITA* I, 246-247, §117, 1-5. Commentary and additional references can be found in *RITANC* I, 199-200, §117, 1-5. See too, I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, especially 86-87.

With the exception of Seele, proponents of the coregency, (or regency), would place its commencement in or after Seti's year nine.¹⁴³

In the Beit el-Wali reliefs depicting the Irem campaign, it is king Ramesses bearing all the insignia of that office who charges the Nubian foe in his battle chariot and then receives the viceroy Amenemopet and two of his own sons bearing Nubian tribute in another wall relief. Moreover, he depicted himself as king participating in past events that transpired when he was still only a prince. Since Yuni had replaced Amenemopet sometime in year nine, before the coregency is alleged to have begun, it is apparent that the old viceroy was dead and buried when the reliefs at Beit el-Wali were carved. As for his own two sons, these can have been only infants at the time if, indeed, they were yet born at all. All this casts grave doubt on the historical reconstructions of Kitchen and Spalinger as well as undermining another support of the coregency theory, since Ramesses was obviously misrepresenting a historical event for ideological reasons.

4.6.4

Conclusions

The interest of scholars in the history and chronology of Ramesses II's reign has tended to skew their perception of the evidence for his alleged coregency with his father, and their investigations have centered on the former's role. When examined from the perspective of Seti I's reign, disturbing inconsistencies arise. The notion that Seti and Ramesses jointly decorated buildings at Gurnah, Karnak and Abydos does not hold up under closer scrutiny. In every case where this is alleged to have occurred, one must admit that Seti would have made drastic concessions to his junior partner, by allowing him to take the more salient role in the decoration, and to make all the key decisions as to the style and iconography of the reliefs. We are asked to believe that Ramesses was allowed to eclipse him in the decorative program of his own memorial temple at Gurnah. At Karnak, he is alleged to have assigned responsibility for decorating not only the whole of the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall, but also the all-important main axis of the edifice with its giant columns, to his son. At Seti's

¹⁴³Murnane, *JNES* 34, 189-190; idem, *Coregencies*, 86-87; Spalinger, *JNES* 38 (1979), 284-286; Kitchen, *JNES* 39 (1980), 170.

Abydos temple, we find that the only tableaux featuring Ramesses that can be said with certainty to date to his father's lifetime are those where he is still a prince.

Reliefs in which one king is shown offering to his father or a predecessor depict the recipient as a deified monarch who is liable to be dead. Thus reliefs depicting Seti receiving offerings from his son at Karnak, Abydos and Gurnah are but dubious testimony to a coregency. Likewise, given that posthumous scenes of deceased rulers depicted in the role of officiant as if they were still alive can be found juxtaposed with decoration of living monarchs, (e.g. Amenhotep III with Tutankhamen and Ay at Luxor, Ramesses I with Seti I at Karnak and Abydos), the value of such evidence featuring Ramesses II with his father at Gurnah, Karnak, and staircase Y' in Seti's Abydos temple is likewise highly equivocal. The most reliable sort of artistic confirmation of joint rule would be scenes in which both rulers were shown side-by-side performing the same act, as Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are shown in any number of reliefs on the *chapelle rouge*,¹⁴⁴ and in the sanctuary at the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁴⁵ The only time we see Seti and Ramesses acting in concert is in the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos where the younger man is in the guise of a crown prince. The only known private monuments depicting Ramesses during his father's reign, a relief of Amenwahsu from Saqqara and the stela of Miya from Abydos, also show him as prince alongside his father, as do reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It now seems likely that the reliefs in the Gallery of the Kings were carved at the very end of Seti's reign and that others in the Corridor of the Bull had already been laid out in paint with scenes again featuring prince Ramesses alongside his father, which suggests, in turn, that Ramesses was still crown prince at Seti's death. Another problem with the theory of joint decoration is the absence of Seti in Ramesses' temples at Abydos where the former is referred to only in passing, and at Beit el-Wali where he is never mentioned at all. This whole pattern of temple decoration, assuming there was a coregency, represents a gross imbalance in favor of the alleged junior partner, which strains credulity.

¹⁴⁴P. Lacau & H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, passim*.

¹⁴⁵*PM II*², 366 (133).

The textual evidence for the coregency is highly unreliable. Ramesses' claim that he was crowned by Seti is pure hyperbole, and about the only trustworthy claims in the *inscription dédicatoire* and Kuban stela are his assertions to have been a crown prince. Likewise, Sinai 250 is not the definitive proof some would claim it to be, and could easily date to shortly after the elder king's death. Another lynch pin of the case for a coregency, the notion that the two viceroys of Nubia Amenemopet and Yuni are both attested under Seti I and Ramesses II, does not hold up under close scrutiny. The only reference to Amenemopet under Ramesses is found in reliefs at Beit el-Wali. These transform the historical role of then prince Ramesses in the Irem campaign of Seti's year eight into a fictitious incident whereby he appears as king defeating the Nubians and then receiving tribute presented to him by Amenemopet, who was, in any case, dead when the reliefs were carved. The Beit el-Wali reliefs, then, are highly dubious as evidence of the coregency.

"The entire problem surrounding the regency is one of vagueness."¹⁴⁶ In fact, both Murnane and Spalinger lament the dearth of solid evidence in support of the alleged joint rule of the two kings, and hoped that new evidence would be forthcoming in support of it. In the nearly two decades that have passed since the last major appraisal of the coregency was penned, no such evidence has come to light. Instead, the present reappraisal casts grave doubt on the known evidence. Coregencies in general have received much support from English-speaking scholars, and the Seti-Ramesses case is considered by many to be the most secure. French and German Egyptologists have tended to discount the notion of coregencies altogether, casting doubt on even the more solid testimony of double-dated monuments for the coregencies of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁴⁷ Outright dismissals of all coregencies remains unconvincing, and some, such as the joint rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are undeniable.

¹⁴⁶Spalinger, *JNES* 38 (1979), 285.

¹⁴⁷See most recently N. Grimal, "Corégence et association au trône: l'*Enseignement d'Amenemhat I^{er}*," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 273-280; A. Schaefer, "Zur Entstehung der Mitregentschaft als Legitimationsprinzip von Herrschaft," *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 44-55; C. Obsomer, "La date de Nésou-Montou," *RdE* 44 (1993), 103-140; idem, *Sésostri I^{er}, Étude chronologique et historique du règne*, (Brussels, 1995), 35-145.

Still, in the past, a great deal of weak, ambiguous or circumstantial evidence has been offered by proponents of many coregencies, in particular the highly doubtful notion that Amenhotep III and Akhenaten were coregents. The case for the coregency of Seti I and Ramesses II is built on two *post factum* texts of Ramesses II dating with certainty to after Seti's death, and a large corpus of reliefs which seemed to show that the two men ruled as king at the same time which now also seem to date to after Seti's death. More definitive evidence, such as the double-dated inscriptions of the Twelfth Dynasty and the kind of iconographic evidence from the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III showing them acting in concert, is lacking from the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

Certainly there was some kind of association between Seti and his son. Crown prince Ramesses was given a highly prominent role in his father's later years, along with careful training and grooming in anticipation of the day when he would become king. One Egyptologist has remarked that no other pharaoh was better prepared to succeed his father than Ramesses. The crown prince gained practical experience in religious, civilian and military affairs. Evidence for his training comes not only from the *inscription dédicatoire* and the Kuban stela, but also from Seti's reign, including the larger year nine stela from Aswan, the south wing of the Abydos temple, and two private monuments. Evidence from Seti's battle reliefs at Karnak and those of Ramesses at Beit el-Wali also suggest the prince played a military role. Even those who would dismiss the idea of a coregency admit that late in the reign he served as an exceptionally influential and conspicuous heir apparent. Grimal describes this arrangement as "*association au trône*," and terms Ramesses' office as that of *Dauphin*.¹⁴⁸ Remaining heir apparent until Seti I died, Ramesses placed a heavy emphasis on the memorial cult of his father. As a young and untried king, Ramesses constantly emphasized his connection to his highly successful father.

The early Ramessides do not seem to have wholly established the legitimacy of their dynasty by the end of Seti's reign, and their right to the throne may still have been in

¹⁴⁸Grimal, *BIFAO* 95, 280.

question.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, Ramesses may have felt threatened by the influence of a military officer called Mehy.¹⁵⁰ This man seems to have had influence with Seti, and some would see him as the original heir apparent.¹⁵¹ It is not clear whether Mehy outlived his king, but no later than the accession of Ramesses to the throne, representations of him following after Seti in the Karnak war reliefs were suppressed and replaced by those of prince Ramesses. Thus the new king's accession must be the *terminus post quem* for Mehy's disgrace.

Given such political controversies, it is not surprising that Ramesses would choose to associate himself closely with his deceased father, just as Seti himself had done with Ramesses I.¹⁵² To these ends he made exaggerated claims to have been associated with his father at an early age and even to have been crowned. The *inscription dédicatoire* and the Kuban stela, taken with the reliefs from Ramesses' earliest years have led many to envision a coregency. Seen from his perspective, the evidence is quite persuasive, but when examined from Seti I's point of view, this political arrangement seems to be dramatically unbalanced in favor of his son. If one keeps in mind the notion that Seti was dead when reliefs dating to the first two years of Ramesses II's reign were made, the pattern of monumental decoration makes better sense. Nor is it any coincidence that the only glimpses we have of the younger man acting in concert with his father all portray him with the iconography of the crown prince.

¹⁴⁹Murnane in O'Connor and Silverman, (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 185ff.

¹⁵⁰See most recently *Ibid.*, 199-203, with references.

¹⁵¹Helck, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 212.

¹⁵²See T. Ling, "Ramesside Filial Piety," *BACE* 3 (1992), 59-66.

CHAPTER 5 THE BUILDING PROGRAM OF SETI I

5.1 Introduction

The mammoth size of Seti I's building program is all the more remarkable in light of the brevity of his reign; only eleven years. In this chapter the program as a whole and its state at his death are examined. A relative chronology of the various projects the king engaged in during his reign at major centers like Memphis, Abydos and Thebes is offered; the scope of his activity in these places, and in larger areas such as Nubia, appears to be greater than previously thought.

5.2 Western Asia and Sinai

Seti I is perhaps best known for his aggressive foreign policy in Asia, annual military campaigns that continued from the first year until well into the reign. Much of the evidence for these stems from a number of stelae the king left in Palestine and Syria. Four seem to date from early in the reign, and were probably made in connection with the campaign of year one and were in Palestine and Lebanon,¹ a fifth was dedicated after the king recaptured Kadesh in his middle or later years.² In Sinai, he left a handful of monuments attesting to ongoing activity in the turquoise mines at Serabit el-Khadim.³

5.3 Lower Egypt

Unfortunately, little remains of Seti I's activity in the Delta. Much of what is there is in the Eastern Delta, particularly in the vicinity of Qantir, site of the ancient cities of Avaris and Pi-Ramesses. But it was Seti who founded the great residence of the Ramesside kings and developed the ancient cult center of the dynastic god Seth at Avaris. He probably rebuilt

¹Istanbul 10942, Jerusalem S. 884 & S. 885A/B. See *supra* 3.2-3.5.

²Aleppo 384. See *supra* 3.1. On this campaign see Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*², 52-58 with references.

³Sinai nos. 247, 249 & 250. See *supra* 3.6-3.8.

the god's temple there, but a barque socle dedicated to him is all that survives.⁴ It is certain that he founded a royal palace nearby at Qantir.⁵ Major economic and military development of the area was also undertaken, including a workshop for producing faience, a huge factory complex for metalworking and production in other materials,⁶ and a large chariot base was located nearby, suggesting that the industrial site was dedicated to arms production. Located as it was on Egypt's north-eastern frontier, the gateway to Sinai and Western Asia, Seti's plan for turning his family seat into a military base makes perfect sense in light of his war record abroad.

During the course of his long reign, Ramesses II continued the development of this new city, which he soon renamed after himself, and his achievements there have tended to overshadow Seti's role as the ultimate founder of Pi-ramesses. Although Seti dedicated other monuments to the gods here, aside from the barque pedestal for Seth only a few stray blocks naming him have been found in the area.⁷ Elsewhere in the Eastern Delta, he dedicated a siliceous sandstone pedestal surmounted by a hawk figure to Horus of Mesen on behalf of his deceased father Ramesses I. It was found at Qantara.⁸

5.4 Memphis

Like other pharaohs, Seti I made extensive use of locally available materials in his large building projects. At Memphis it was limestone, particularly the fine quality stone of Tura, but unfortunately this is the prime ingredient in making lime, and ancient sites were plundered from post-antiquity to the end of the last century as convenient sources of stone to feed the lime kilns. Blocks from Memphis, its necropoli at Saqqara, and elsewhere were also

⁴See *supra* 3.12.

⁵See *supra* 3.11.

⁶See *supra* 3.10.

⁷See *supra* 3.13-3.15.

⁸See *supra* 3.9.

used to supply Medieval Cairo with building material. As a result, few traces of the vast constructions of Egypt's ancient capital remain, and its architectural history is poorly understood. Investigations of the site are further hampered by the fact that Memphis lies on the site of the modern settlement of Mit Rahineh. Once a village, Mit Rahineh is expanding rapidly and is already part of the sprawling suburbs of the modern megalopolis of Cairo.

Memphis was the capital of Egypt in the New Kingdom and the home of the god Ptah, and one would expect a great builder like Seti I to have developed the city extensively. Still, there is relatively little evidence for his activity there. Early in his reign, he seems to have built at least two small chapels. The one to Ptah is well preserved and includes three exquisite statues of Ptah and two goddesses with figures of the king sitting on their knees. Both the statuary and the reliefs are finished in a post-Amarna style, indicating an early date.⁹ A second chapel apparently dedicated to Amen-Re and Mut of Thebes is known only from a lintel inscribed with an early variant of Seti's prenomen and the names of the two Theban deities.¹⁰ A limestone cornice inscribed with the king's cartouches may have come from the Ptah chapel near which it was found.¹¹ A lintel featuring the king running before an unidentified goddess may come from some other chapel, but the relief is unrelated stylistically to that of the Ptah chapel and it does not belong to the earliest part of the reign.¹² It is unclear what monument it came from or when it was dedicated.

Later in the reign, Seti appears to have undertaken major constructions at Memphis, but little direct evidence of these remains. Probably the largest was the *hwt-ntr ʒh Sty-mr-n-Pth m pr Pth*, the "Temple (called) 'Beneficial is Seti Merenptah in the Domain of Ptah,'" known only by two inscribed pieces from a foundation deposit. It was quite possibly a large hypostyle hall added to the main sanctuary of Ptah. Like so many of the king's other monuments, it remained unfinished at his death, to be completed and usurped by Ramesses II,

⁹See *supra* 3.34.

¹⁰Pennsylvania University Museum E. 13573. See *supra* 3.35.

¹¹See *supra* 3.36.

¹²See *supra* 3.33.

who renamed it for himself.¹³ No architectural trace of it has yet been found; but it was almost surely quarried away in post-Antiquity.¹⁴

Two other establishments of Seti I at Memphis, which have also disappeared, are known only from a couple of fleeting references in later texts. A certain Sayempeteref served as the chief goldsmith in the *hwt-Mn-M3ʿt-Rʿ*, “Mansion of Menmaatre” in Memphis,¹⁵ which may have been the king’s “Mansion of Millions of Years,” (i.e. his memorial temple), in the city, or merely an abbreviation for the *hwt-nʿr 3h Sty-mr-n-Pth*.¹⁶ Alternatively, then, another edifice of the king, known only from another textual source, the *pr Sty-mr-n-Pth*, could have been his memorial temple.¹⁷

Only one statue of black granodiorite inscribed for the king is known from Memphis.¹⁸ It may be the case that, as at Heliopolis and Thebes, colossal statues of the king were in the works late in his reign to embellish the temple of Ptah.¹⁹ The huge recumbent indurated limestone colossus of Ramesses II is inscribed on its belt with the early form of his prenomen, indicating that it was being completed during his second regnal year.²⁰ A black granodiorite

¹³See *supra* 3.31.

¹⁴A festival hall of Ramesses II at Memphis is preserved only in the lowest courses of its stone work, which were made of grey granite. Only a handful of limestone blocks pertaining to the main superstructure escaped the lime kilns.

¹⁵A. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, (Cairo, 1947), 141-142; Y. J.-L. Gourlay, “Trois stèles memphites au Musée de Grenoble,” *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 93.

¹⁶A similar abbreviation, with the prenomen, was used to refer to the memorial temple of Seti I at Gurnah even though the official name, the *hwt-nʿr 3h Sty-mr-n-Imn m pr Imn hr imntt Wʿst*, employed the nomen. *KRI* I, 223:11-13.

¹⁷Badawi, *Memphis*, 108.

¹⁸Cairo CG 1293. See *supra* 3.32.

¹⁹P. P. J., *JARCE* 34 (1997), 101-114.

²⁰*KRI* II, 494:4. See *supra* 1.4.6-1.4.7.

colossus of Ramesses, also from Memphis, features the earlier prenomen on its dorsal pillar.²¹ Could it be that both of these were commissioned by Seti at the end of his reign? It is clear that Seti did build extensively at Memphis, including a large addition to the main sanctuary of Ptah and a memorial temple. The former structure was later usurped by Ramesses II. Further evidence of his activity at the site probably awaits future excavations there.

5.5 Heliopolis

As at Memphis, Seti made use of locally available building material at Heliopolis, in this case, siliceous sandstone quarried at nearby Gebel Ahmar. The site of ancient Heliopolis is even more poorly understood archaeologically than Memphis. In fact, hardly a trace of Seti's activity there has been found *in situ*. Great quantities of stone were used in the construction of Medieval Cairo, and have largely disappeared without a trace. Today the site is engulfed by a suburb of modern Cairo that bears its name. By good fortune for Egyptology, however, the Ptolemaic kings transported great quantities of material from Heliopolis to their capital at Alexandria for reuse, and thereby preserved a good sample of the city's pharaonic heritage. Recently, a wealth of new material has been recovered from the modern harbor of Alexandria in a submerged area corresponding to the ancient city center, which was apparently destroyed in an earthquake.²² A handful of Seti's Heliopolitan monuments have been raised from the harbor of Alexandria in recent years. Among thousands of fragments still lying on the sea floor there may be others belonging to him.

A corpus of at least fifteen of his monuments is presently known from Heliopolis, attesting to extensive building activity there. These include obelisks, statues, offering tables and other stone furnishings that would have embellished major constructions within the great precinct of the sun god at Heliopolis. Only a handful of fragments come from the buildings

²¹*KRI* II, 495:2.

²²W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, (London, 1996); J.-Y. Empereur, "Alexandria: The Underwater Site near Qaitbay Fort," *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996), 7-10; idem, "Raising Statues and Blocks from the Sea at Alexandria," *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 19-22.

themselves, including a doorjamb and a block of siliceous sandstone,²³ a small octagonal pillar,²⁴ and an exquisite black granodiorite lintel.²⁵ All these are from smaller constructions, and they surely do not attest to the huge additions the king must have made to the sanctuary of Re and his circle of deities. We know at the very least that Seti added a large pylon gateway and court fronted by colossal statues, obelisks and sphinxes. This is known only by the votive temple model from Tell el-Yahudia²⁶ and the Flaminian obelisk in Rome.²⁷ No other trace of this edifice is known. Since the decoration of the Flaminian obelisk was completed by Ramesses II, it is probable that the whole project remained unfinished at Seti's death.

No other major buildings of the king at Heliopolis are known even by name. One would expect Seti to have built a memorial temple there, and that a major addition to or reconstruction of the main temple of Re at Heliopolis would have been built and named something like "Beneficial is Seti-beloved of Re in the domain of Re," on analogy to his Memphis and Karnak buildings. The official name of the pylon and forecourt represented by Brooklyn 49.183 is unknown. Perhaps it was called the *ḥ Sty-mr-n-R^c m pr R^c* like the hypostyle halls at Memphis and Karnak. By analogy with the Ramesside court at Luxor, it could have been a later addition to Re's precinct, which would mean that Seti planned or built at least three major buildings at Heliopolis. All of this, unfortunately, is pure speculation.

Although it is, perhaps, impossible to know more about his buildings at Heliopolis, the numerous statues, obelisks, offering tables and other monumental furnishings and embellishments testify to his activity there and keen interest in Re's cult center. In addition to the large Flaminian obelisk, Seti planned or erected at least two pairs of siliceous sandstone

²³Alexandria nos. 420 & 26290. See *supra* 3.19 & 3.27.

²⁴Berlin 2888. See *supra* 3.26

²⁵Former Brussels E. 407. See *supra* 3.23.

²⁶Brooklyn 49.183. See *supra* 3.29.

²⁷See *supra* 3.16.

obelisks and another pair in black granite, for a total of at least eight of these monoliths. Two of these never left the quarries at Aswan,²⁸ while fragments of the other pairs were plucked from the sea floor at Alexandria recently.²⁹ Only the Flaminian was a great obelisk, the others all seem to have been about twelve meters high. Still, we may take seriously a text on the Roman monolith that Seti “filled Heliopolis with obelisks.” A siliceous sandstone block also brought up from the sea may have belonged to the pedestal of one of these.³⁰

Seti I also donated three granite offering tables: one to Horus-in-the-Great-Mansion,³¹ another to Khepri,³² while a fragment of a third³³ must have been dedicated to Atum or Re-Horakhty. There may have been still another, if the king granted one to the three primary manifestations of the Heliopolitan sun god as well as Horus. Two naoi were also made for these gods.³⁴ We might wonder if the king commissioned other statuary to decorate these constructions, including at least two colossi as represented by the temple model, but only one battered statue fragment survives.³⁵ In fact, there is a dearth of statuary of this ruler, and much of it is from quite late in the reign.³⁶ The granite colossi in particular were only begun near the end of his life.³⁷ In conclusion, Seti had a particularly strong interest in the site of Heliopolis, and seems to have lavished a great deal of energy in enlarging the cult center of the

²⁸See *supra* 3.121.

²⁹See *supra* 3.17 & 3.18.

³⁰See *supra* 3.28.

³¹Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek E. 115/AEIN 4/A 742. See *supra* 3.21.

³²Cairo CG 23090 See *supra* 3.20.

³³See *supra* 3.30.

³⁴See *supra* 3.24 & 3.25.

³⁵See *supra* 3.22.

³⁶Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 243, 254-257.

³⁷See *supra* 3.119 & 3.120.

sun god Re. The lack of evidence for the actual buildings at the site is, then, particularly unfortunate.

5.6 Abydos

Seti's main achievement in the home of Osiris was his splendid temple dedicated to all the major gods of the Egyptian pantheon. It is justly famous for its exquisite reliefs. The redevelopment of the site was one of his major preoccupations as early as year four, when the king issued his famous decree, found at Nauri, to exempt the huge and diverse properties of the god in Nubia.³⁸ It was probably just one of a number of such decrees to protect the revenues and chattel of the Abydos foundation from abuse. It may be that a fragmentary decree from Hermopolis was also issued on behalf of the Abydos foundation.³⁹ The resources Seti lavished on this foundation were enormous, and included the revenue of gold mines in Nubia and the eastern desert of Egypt itself, where he founded a settlement and speos temple at the site of Kanais, and dug a well to supply water to the miners.⁴⁰ Here again, the threefold dedication inscription states that the gold supplied by this mining settlement was to go exclusively to the Abydos temple, and issues maledictions on any who would divert this supply to other ends.⁴¹

Construction at Abydos was probably first undertaken in the earlier years of the reign, but certainly not at its very beginning. The Osireion was also underway during this time. In year six Seti dispatched a quarry expedition to Gebel Silsila to procure sandstone for various projects,⁴² and some of it may have been destined for portions of the Abydos temple and for the Osireion if a number of ostraca describing the transportation of stone for the column bases

³⁸See *supra* 3.149.

³⁹See *supra* 3.43.

⁴⁰See *supra* 3.125.

⁴¹S. Schott, *Kanais, der tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia*, NAWG 1961/6, (Göttingen, 1961).

⁴²See *supra* 3.109.

and flooring of the monument also date to year six.⁴³ It was after the midpoint of the reign, then, that huge granite monoliths for the Osireion's pillars and walls would have arrived at the building site by a canal that was being dug at the same time as the paving stones for its floor were arriving by ship from Gebel Silsila.

Meanwhile construction of the temple was proceeding from the sanctuary outward. The roofed portions, including the sanctuaries, south wing, Osiris complex and the two hypostyle halls may have been erected first, the two courts and pylons being added later. These outer sections of the temple may have still been under construction at his death, for they were completely decorated by Ramesses II, who also claimed to have set up the pillars on the portico in the first court.⁴⁴

In the roofed portions of the temple, Seti's sculptors seem to have proceeded from the Osiris complex and seven main chapels outward to the second hypostyle and then on to the first hypostyle and south wing. The temple's decorative program was first laid out in a series of polychrome cartoons. By his death, the artisans had begun to sculpt the Gallery of the Kings and the outer hypostyle hall, and had also finished a group of at least four black granodiorite statues for the temple, along with an altar pedestal.⁴⁵

To complete parts of his father's work, Ramesses II employed the painted cartoons as a guide, although he erased the extant reliefs in the outer hypostyle and replaced them with designs of his own. Ramesses failed to complete the reliefs in the south wing. Merenptah briefly resumed that work, but then quickly abandoned it.

It has been thought that the chapel Seti erected on behalf of his father dates to the earliest part of the reign.⁴⁶ This conclusion may be rejected for two reasons. Stylistically, the reliefs reflect both the post-Amarna style from his earliest years and the mature Ramesside

⁴³See *supra* 3.52.

⁴⁴See *supra* 3.46.1.

⁴⁵The statues are Vienna ÄS 5910, Dallas 1984.50, New York MMA 22.2.21 and Sorrento 74. The altar pedestal is Cairo JdE 4743. See *supra* 3.47-3.51.

⁴⁶See *supra* 3.53.

style used in his nearby temple. They may, therefore, date to the middle years of the reign. This shrine was certainly positioned with reference to the main precinct wall of the Seti temple, but was surely built after it. The chapel, then, probably dates to the earlier half of the reign, but not to its beginning.

Seti also made some additions to the “metropolitan” temple of Osiris at Abydos, from which a limestone relief fragment and a granite lintel presumably come.⁴⁷ There are other items of less certain Abydene provenance, including a fragment of a sphinx and two statuettes of the king.⁴⁸ Seti also appears to have undertaken construction of the so called “portal temple” completed by Ramesses II.⁴⁹

It is obvious that Abydos was a major focus of his building program. It may actually be the case that Seti envisioned a grand design for the holy city. The old sanctuary of Osiris in the “metropolitan” temple and Seti’s temple may have formed the ends of a processional route similar to the temples of Karnak and Luxor at Thebes, with the route running along the desert edge. Certainly the chapel of Ramesses I and the temple of Ramesses II lie along this hypothetical axis. In fact, both structures may have served as wayside shrines where the barques of the Abydene triad and the portable reliquary of Osiris could have stopped during processions between the two main temples during Khoiak and other festivals. The Ramesses I chapel, as indicated by its decorative program, certainly played a dual function, as the memorial temple of the king and as a repository for the reliquary.⁵⁰ It has also been pointed out that the temple of Ramesses II is designed along the same lines as the temple of Ramesses III in the First Court at Karnak, which functioned as an elaborate wayside shrine.⁵¹ Ramesses

⁴⁷See *supra* 3.60, 3.62.

⁴⁸See *supra* 3.57-3.58 & 3.61.

⁴⁹See *supra* 3.59.

⁵⁰See *supra* 3.53.

⁵¹K. P. Kuhlmann, “Der Tempel Rameses II. In Abydos: Vorbericht über eine Neuaufnahme,” *MDAIK* 35 (19), 189-194.

II began to decorate this temple very early in his reign,⁵² which is probably why he expended so little energy on completing reliefs in his father's memorial temple during his own R¹ period.⁵³

As it now seems clear that there was no coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II, and temple decoration featuring Ramesses II as king appeared only after his father's death, it may be the case that Ramesses II's Abydos temple was under construction near the end of Seti's reign and that he intended to decorate it in his own name. Construction of this edifice and the so-called "portal" temple probably began only when much of the work on the Abydos temple had been completed late in the reign. In addition to the renovation the "metropolitan" temple of Osiris, Seti I undertook construction of at least three and perhaps four new buildings as part of a grand design to transform Abydos into a large cult center to rival those at Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis.

5.7 Thebes

In Thebes, as elsewhere, Seti's primary focus at the outset of his reign was on restoring existing monuments vandalized at the behest of Akhenaten, although in many cases he chose to alter repairs effected by Tutankhamen. Completion of reliefs in the southern portion of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor temple also dates to the earliest part of the reign. A number of stelae, statuary and other new monuments also date to this period, including the alabaster stela from the solar temple at Karnak⁵⁴ and another erected in the Ptah temple.⁵⁵ A small cluster of statuary at Karnak may also be dated early in the reign, including the beautiful

⁵²See Murnane, *Coregencies*, 71-73 & references.

⁵³As suggested to me by John Baines, personal communication. Murnane posits that Ramesses' work on his own nearby temple during a hypothetical coregency largely precluded his participation in the decoration of his father's temple at that time. *Coregencies*, 75.

⁵⁴See *supra* 3.70.

⁵⁵See *supra* 3.71.

alabaster composite statue of the king,⁵⁶ two group statuettes of Amen and Mut,⁵⁷ and a black granodiorite head of Amen.⁵⁸ Cairo CG 42139 and the Amen head exhibit post-Amarna stylistic traits, while the latter and Cairo CG 39211 & 39212 all bear variant forms of Seti's cartouches typical of monuments from his earliest years. Two other sculptures from Medinet Habu, a statue of Amenhotep I as Amen-Re and a statuette head of Amen also date to the first year based on the same stylistic and epigraphic criteria.⁵⁹

Work on Seti's tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 17) seems to have begun very early, as soon as Ramesses I was interred in his hastily finished sepulcher. As with Ramesses II's tomb,⁶⁰ early variants of Seti's prenomen cartouche indicate that decoration of part of his final resting place was achieved in the earliest part of the reign. In fact, these early reliefs, which are clustered in the well room, indicate that the original design of the tomb was to follow Horemheb's in having decoration confined to a handful of its many chambers and corridors.⁶¹ Although its excavation and decoration began very early in his reign, work was still ongoing when Seti died.

Contrary to the views of many scholars over the past century, no part of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, such as a hypothetical grand colonnade on the model of Luxor temple, existed or was in the works when Seti came to the throne.⁶² He probably undertook it quite early in the reign. Sandstone for the Hall would have been procured from the quarries at Gebel Silsila. In fact, a quarry inscription of year six records that he dispatched an expedition to procure stone for his building projects at Thebes and elsewhere. Although some

⁵⁶Cairo CG 42139. See *supra* 3.74.

⁵⁷Cairo CG 39211 & 39212. See *supra* 3.76 & 3.77.

⁵⁸See *supra* 3.78.

⁵⁹See *supra* 3.100 & 3.101.

⁶⁰Murnane, *Coregencies*, 79-80.

⁶¹See *supra* 3.102.

⁶²See *supra* 3.69.2.

of this may have been earmarked for the Karnak Hypostyle, year six seems too late in the reign to be the starting date for work there. There is another stela at Gebel Silsila that may commemorate the opening of quarries to supply sandstone for the Hall.⁶³ It is a large stela bearing a long rhetorical encomium of the king, but the event it commemorated is unfortunately lost. The dateline in the sole copy of the text by de Rougé is garbled, although it may correspond to regnal year two. Such an elaborate stela at Gebel Silsila is liable to commemorate quarry work for some great monument, and it is tempting to conclude that it heralds the beginning of work on the Karnak Hypostyle in Seti's second regnal year. Work on this edifice was to occupy the king for the rest of his reign. At his death the entire structure had been built and almost half of it was inscribed in relief. Painted cartoons to guide the sculptors had been laid out on the great columns along the main axis, on many of the columns in the south half and on the south gateway. It was left to Ramesses II to complete them.

It is clear that the pharaonic state could afford to undertake multiple large building programs simultaneously. In the earlier half of Seti's reign, major constructions were underway at Karnak, Memphis, Heliopolis, Abydos and elsewhere. Still, a project as vast as the Karnak Hypostyle Hall must have strained the state's resources of manpower and the means to support the hundreds of workers engaged there. There is reason to believe that the king's second major building project at Thebes, his memorial temple at Gurnah, had been started in year six. Its construction was barely finished,⁶⁴ and only a fraction of the relief decoration had been carved when he died.⁶⁵ That the work on this highly important project began so late in the reign suggests that the Karnak Hypostyle required all the resources and manpower that Seti could muster in the Theban region. The Hall was probably not finished by year six, but work may have proceeded far enough for some resources to be diverted into the Gurnah project. Since only the rearmost portions of the memorial temple are in stone, the rest being constructed largely of mud brick, work on the shrine may have proceeded relatively

⁶³See *supra* 3.111.

⁶⁴See *supra* 3.83.2.

⁶⁵See *supra* 3.83.3.1 & 3.83.4.

quickly. Moreover, the temple as a whole was considerably smaller than the great memorial temples of Ramesses II and III, which were built of stone throughout.

In the last three years of his reign, Seti's quarrymen were ordered to procure numerous obelisks and colossi at Aswan, and some of these were destined for a new building project at Thebes, the Ramesside Court at Luxor temple. The Luxor obelisks were decorated in the first year or so of Ramesses II, so they, along with the four great seated colossi of black granodiorite, would have arrived at the building site in about the last year of Seti's reign. Thus, we may surmise that, by year ten or eleven, construction of the Karnak Hypostyle and Gurnah memorial temple would have been complete and pharaoh's tireless builders would have begun work on the Luxor forecourt. Normally, statuary for a new temple was commissioned only after construction was fairly complete. In the case of colossal statuary, however, it was often necessary to manoeuvre the roughed-out monoliths into their final resting places and then to build the structure up around them. Even in the case of the two colossi in front of the pylon, this may have been the preferred method. The Luxor obelisks and colossi may have been commissioned in year nine, in anticipation of building work projected to begin a couple of years hence. It would appear, then, that building work on the king's major constructions at Thebes was conducted in three stages.

Seti was active elsewhere in Thebes and left a series of other, mostly smaller monuments there. At Deir el-Medina he built a temple for Hathor⁶⁶ and left a number of votive objects including stelae,⁶⁷ three altar stands⁶⁸ and a libation basin.⁶⁹ Several private monuments naming the king also stem from the village.⁷⁰ Elsewhere at Thebes, he undertook

⁶⁶See *supra* 3.93 & 3.91.

⁶⁷See *supra* 3.88, 3.89, 3.92 & 3.97

⁶⁸See *supra* 3.90, 3.94 & 3.95.

⁶⁹See *supra* 3.96.

⁷⁰See *supra* 3.87 & 3.99

construction on the site of the double temple of Ramesses II at the Ramesseum.⁷¹ An unsolved mystery is the fragmentary votive temple model of Seti I from Thebes, which cannot presently be identified with any of his buildings, although it probably represents one of them.⁷²

5.8 Upper Egypt

Outside of Abydos and Thebes, Seti's building activity in Upper Egypt is not well attested, although he seems to have been active at many sites. In the Fayum and at Minya in middle Egypt, he left two boundary stelae early in his reign.⁷³ Only a fragmentary decree of exemption and part of a doorjamb were found in the cult center of the god Thoth at Hermopolis. Likewise at Coptos, Petrie found only the base of a sphinx, which is now lost.⁷⁴ A fine offering table dedicated to the monarch's patron deity, Seth, probably comes from the god's Upper Egyptian cult center at Nubt, modern Tukh.⁷⁵ Seti's only known monument from Medamud is a small statue base from the earliest part of his reign, dedicated to the memory of his deceased father, Ramesses I.⁷⁶ Reused blocks from this site were removed from his Gurnah temple in late antiquity.⁷⁷ From El Kab, only a lion figure and some reused blocks date to the reign.⁷⁸ At Hierakonpolis Quibell reports that he found a statue base fragment naming Seti, but this has since disappeared.⁷⁹

⁷¹See *supra* 3.85.

⁷²See *supra* 3.104.

⁷³See *supra* 3.41 & 3.42.

⁷⁴See *supra* 3.65.

⁷⁵See *supra* 3.66.

⁷⁶See *supra* 3.67.

⁷⁷See *supra* 3.68.

⁷⁸See *supra* 3.106 & 3.107.

⁷⁹See *supra* 3.108.

Considering Seti's huge building program at Thebes, it comes as no surprise to find that he was also active in the quarries at Gebel Silsila. It was almost certainly in year one that he dedicated a rock shrine to the Nile inundation god, Hapi, on the west side of the river.⁸⁰ As mentioned earlier, the large rhetorical stela at west Silsila probably dates to year two and it would have commemorated the opening of quarries to procure stone for the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁸¹ In year six, another quarry expedition was recorded on a stela on the east of Gebel Silsila.⁸² A superintendent of task forces named Hapi was also sent to east Silsila to oversee quarry work, but it is unclear when this was or if he supervised the expeditions of years two or six.⁸³ One may be certain that the work of these expeditions, particularly that of year two, would have been ongoing for a number of years.

At Edfu, only a small votive stela dedicated to Hathor testifies to Seti's interest in the site.⁸⁴ On Elephantine in the Aswan region, Seti is known to have been quite active. His "Nilometer" stela was dedicated early in the reign,⁸⁵ and German excavations have turned up a number of fragments of doorways and wall reliefs,⁸⁶ although these are of a rather poor quality, which seems more in keeping with work of Ramesses II. By contrast, a wall relief unearthed by the French at the turn of the century is of admirable quality.⁸⁷ In the Aswan granite quarries, the two rock stelae of year nine record the establishment of new quarries to

⁸⁰See *supra* 3.112.

⁸¹See *supra* 3.111.

⁸²See *supra* 3.109.

⁸³See *supra* 3.110.

⁸⁴See *supra* 3.113.

⁸⁵See *supra* 3.114.

⁸⁶See *supra* 3.115-3.117.

⁸⁷See *supra* 3.118.

produce obelisks and colossi.⁸⁸ Also in the Aswan region Seti commissioned a pair of siliceous sandstone obelisks, one of which broke shortly after it was extracted. The other is still engaged in the quarry face.⁸⁹

5.9 The Deserts outside Egypt

From Kurkur oasis, a recently discovered rhetorical stela of year four bears the earliest dated example of a ritual scene in which the king bows in the presence of the gods.⁹⁰ Three rock inscriptions left in the Wadi Hammamat seem to stem from two separate visits to the site by someone on official business of the king.⁹¹ Seti traveled to Kanais in the eastern desert on two occasions.⁹² On the first, he reconnoitered the eastern desert route to the gold mining regions and decided to found a well and a settlement for the gold miners complete with a shrine to the gods at Kanais. He returned in year nine to dedicate the shrine. A number of officials left their own inscriptions at the site including Anena, Panub and the newly appointed viceroy of Nubia, Yuni.⁹³

5.10 Nubia

Seti was particularly active in Nubia near the end of his reign. At Beit el-Wali only a decorated block was found belonging to some unknown building of his. It has also been suggested in the past that he initiated work on Ramesses II's temple there.⁹⁴ The king

⁸⁸See *supra* 3.119 & 3.120.

⁸⁹See *supra* 3.121.

⁹⁰See *supra* 3.128

⁹¹See *supra* 3.122-3.124.

⁹²See *supra* 3.125.

⁹³See *supra* 3.126, 3.127. For Yuni's stela see *KRI* I, 303-304, §118,1; *RITA* I, 247, §118,1; *RITANC* I, 200-201, §118,1.

⁹⁴On the question of precisely when construction of the Beit el-Wali temple began see I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, *GÖ* 22, (Wiesbaden, 1991), 107-109 with

appears to have been responsible for an installation in the fortress of Kuban and loose blocks found nearby at El Dakka probably attest to some shrine at Kuban.⁹⁵ At Sayala he left a fragmentary votive stela of year three.⁹⁶ From Amada come fragments of a kiosk naming the monarch.⁹⁷ A rock stela from Qasr Ibrim, which also features the viceroy of Nubia, Amenemopet, may commemorate the year eight campaign against Irem.⁹⁸ Only a single inscribed fragment of the king is known from Faras,⁹⁹ but this may have come from Aksha, where he established a fortified town site that included a number of store rooms with inscribed sandstone doorways.¹⁰⁰ He left a number of other fragments at Aksha, including a block depicting him spearing a Nubian captive and a fragment of wall decoration.¹⁰¹ He may also have begun work on the temple there inscribed by Ramesses II.¹⁰²

At Buhen in year one he reinstated an endowment for Min-Amen established just a few months earlier by Ramesses I and dedicated a stela to commemorate the event.¹⁰³ A second votive stela was also commissioned on the same day,¹⁰⁴ and his father's stela of year two was reinscribed with his own titulary.¹⁰⁵

references..

⁹⁵See *supra* 3.130 & 3.131.

⁹⁶See *supra* 3.132.

⁹⁷See *supra* 3.133.

⁹⁸See *supra* 3.134.

⁹⁹See *supra* 3.135.

¹⁰⁰See *supra* 3.136.

¹⁰¹See *supra* 3.137 & 3.138.

¹⁰²See *supra* 3.136.

¹⁰³See *supra* 3.139.

¹⁰⁴See *supra* 3.140.

¹⁰⁵*KRI* I, 3.3; *RITA* I, 2, §3; *RITANC* I, 2-5, §3.

The town enclosure wall at Amara West also dates to Seti's reign.¹⁰⁶ Here too, he seems to have left a stela commemorating the Irem campaign of year eight,¹⁰⁷ and an inscribed block from a crude shrine to the sun god, Re-Horakhty.¹⁰⁸ The Irem campaign is also recorded on a fragmentary stela unearthed at Sai.¹⁰⁹

A votive inscription of the viceroy Amenemopet features the king offering to the Elephantine triad.¹¹⁰ At Sesebi the pharaoh usurped Akhenaten's temple¹¹¹ and rebuilt the precinct wall.¹¹² At least two loose blocks there date to his reign.¹¹³ Further to the south, at Nauri, the king had his exemption decree for the Abydos foundation inscribed atop a *gebel*.¹¹⁴ At the southernmost part of his empire, Seti added a hypostyle hall to the shrine of Amen-Re at Gebel Barkal.¹¹⁵ Also from here comes the last known text of his reign, the fragmentary building inscription of year eleven.¹¹⁶ It is possible that Seti was already planning a series of new temple towns in Nubia late in his reign, a vision realized under Ramesses II. Seti also founded the Aksha and Amara West settlements, and he seems to have made additions to several extant settlements throughout Nubia.

¹⁰⁶See *supra* 3.141.

¹⁰⁷See *supra* 3.142 & 3.143.

¹⁰⁸See *supra* 3.144.

¹⁰⁹See *supra* 3.145.

¹¹⁰See *supra* 3.146.

¹¹¹See *supra* 2.77.

¹¹²See *supra* 3.148.

¹¹³See *supra* 3.147 & 3.149.

¹¹⁴See *supra* 3.150.

¹¹⁵See *supra* 3.152.

¹¹⁶See *supra* 3.151.

5.11 Parallel Foundations *ꜥḥ Sty-mr-n-Pth m pr N*

Egyptian temples were generally named by the pharaohs who built them. In some cases, two or more of these foundations shared names based on a common model. Seti's two major constructions at Thebes, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and Gurnah memorial temple are among the best known examples of this practice. The Karnak Hypostyle is called *ꜥḥ Sty-mr-n-Tmn m pr Tmn*, while the Gurnah temple is like-named but with the added phrase *ḥr imntt Wꜥst*.¹¹⁷ At least two other buildings erected by Seti bore similar names, the *ꜥḥ Sty-mr-n-Pth m pr Pth* at Memphis and the Osireion at Abydos, called *ꜥḥ Mn-mꜥt-Rꜥ n Wsir*. It is quite probable that other, now destroyed buildings would have borne names on the same model, in particular at Heliopolis.

The names pharaohs gave their large ceremonial buildings in the New Kingdom generally made a theological or ideological statement of some kind.¹¹⁸ Often, a number of foundations were given parallel names.¹¹⁹ In many cases these names expressed some notion of the king's divinity, often through his being "united," *ḥnm*, with a god¹²⁰ or a toponym.¹²¹ As demonstrated above, it seems clear that the term *ꜥḥ* as used in texts of Seti I means something like "beneficial," "useful" or "effective." There is no reason to believe it meant

¹¹⁷R. Stadelmann, "Tempel und Tempelnamen in Theben-Ost und -West," *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 171-180.

¹¹⁸H. H. Nelson, "The Identity of Amon-Re of United-with-Eternity," *JNES* 1 (1942), 127-155; G. Haeny, "La fonction religieuse des 'Châteaux de Millions d'Années,'" *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1982), 111-116; R. G. Morkot, "Nb-Mꜥt-Rꜥ-United-with-Ptah," *JNES* 49 (1990), 323-337.

¹¹⁹R. Stadelmann, "Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben," *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 303-321.

¹²⁰E.g., Amenhotep with Ptah in his Memphite temple *Nb-Mꜥt-Rꜥ ḥnmt Pth*. Morkot, *JNES* 49, 325-327.

¹²¹Both the Ramesseum and Luxor temple forecourt of Ramesses II are called *ḥnmt-Wꜥst*.

“glorious.” In fact this translation is impossible in some instances.¹²² The term *ḥ* is used to describe the king or his actions, but always in relation to his actions on behalf of the gods. In particular, construction of monuments, *mnw*, is described as *ḥ*, “beneficial.” The same is certainly true of his parallel foundations. *ḥ Mn-mḥt-R n Wsir*, the Osireion, is an example where the translation of *ḥ* as “glorious” makes no sense: “Glorious is Menmaatre for Osiris,” whereas “beneficial for” does. As for the other three like-named foundations, “beneficial” is the preferred nuance for *ḥ*. By making additions such as the Karnak Hypostyle and Gurnah memorial temple to the greater “domain,” *pr*,¹²³ of Amen, the king was certainly “beneficent.” The names given these parallel temple foundations, and the ubiquitous occurrence of the term *ḥ* in building inscriptions, dedication texts and other rhetorical texts of Seti I’s reign sound a common theme: he meant to express his serviceability to the gods through his building program.

5.12 Conclusions

Seti is well known as a great builder. The truly colossal magnitude of his building program, however, has not been fully understood until now. In a short decade, he transformed the major centers of the Egyptian kingdom with a series of often gigantic, and always elegant new monuments: two great Hypostyle Halls were added to the main temples of Amen-Re at Karnak and Ptah in Memphis, with perhaps a third at Heliopolis; late in the reign, two pylon forecourts were under construction at Thebes and Heliopolis, and these were to be furnished with colossal statuary and obelisks. Perhaps a half a dozen pairs of obelisks were finished or in the works to embellish the city of Heliopolis. At least three temples of the type the Egyptians called “Mansions of Millions of Years,” (i.e. memorial temples), were built at Memphis, Thebes and Abydos. At Abydos, he was in the process of transforming the holy city of Osiris into a large cult center on par with those of Amen, Ptah and Re. In addition to his exquisite temple dedicated to the Theban triad, the great imperial triad of Amen, Re and

¹²²See *supra* 1.3.8.

¹²³Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 14-20 & 27.

Ptah,¹²⁴ and to his own cult, he also built the Osireion, made additions to the temple of Osiris, and undertook construction of one or two other buildings, including, perhaps, the temple of Ramesses II. The new royal residence city, later named Pi-ramesses in the reign of his son, was begun by Seti. Remains of other monuments scattered throughout Egypt, Western Asia and Nubia attest to his far-flung building program.

Seti I died, probably rather suddenly and doubtless unexpectedly, shortly after the twelfth anniversary of his accession. As a result, every one of his large building projects was left unfinished in some way. Ramesses II had the good fortune to inherit a number of large ceremonial buildings, colossal statues, obelisks and the like, which were largely built or completed, but as yet mostly undecorated. In completing these monuments, and in some cases by usurping his father's decoration, as in the Karnak Hypostyle, which, along with Seti's addition to the Ptah temple, he renamed for himself, we have been left with the impression that Ramesses was largely or wholly responsible for monuments built or at least commissioned by Seti I. In fact, some of the most colossal monuments of Ramesses' reign, which in large measure define him as the greatest pharaonic builder, were conceived by his father. What makes Seti's accomplishments all the more remarkable is the short duration of his reign when compared to the 67 years granted to Ramesses or the nearly four decades to that other great New Kingdom builder, Amenhotep III, after whom Seti modeled himself.

¹²⁴J. Yoyotte, "Les grands dieux et la religion officielle sous Séthi I^{er} et Ramsès II." *BSFE* 3 (1950), 17-22.

APPENDIX A METHODS USED IN RESTORING RELIEFS

1. Hard Stone Reliefs

The restoration of damaged reliefs carved in harder stone such as granite, basalt and diorite posed a different set of challenges from the restoration of softer media like sandstone and limestone. These arose not only from the hardness of the material, but also from the manner in which hard stone monuments were finished. To begin with, the Egyptians preferred to emphasize the texture and finish of hard stone, and rarely masked reliefs in these media with paint and plaster. Thus in restoring these reliefs, the use of plaster and paint to mask damage does not seem to have been an acceptable or feasible option.

To restore a damaged hard stone relief, the sculptor was obliged to cut back the original surface to eliminate all traces of even the deepest hack marks. Traces of Atenist hacking are almost never found on such monuments. Fortunately for the restorers, the vandal's chisels do not seem to have cut deeply into hard stone monuments.

The lunette scene on the granite stela of Thutmose III from Gebel Barkal was never restored.¹ The images of Amen were methodically removed, apparently by pecking them out. Next, the surface was smoothed down. As a result, the god's figures were almost completely obliterated, with only scant traces remaining.² Yet the deepest hacking is not deeper than the base of the cut lines of the original relief and this pattern of damage would have facilitated the restorer's work. A similar case are blocks from the *chapelle rouge* where Hatshepsut's names and figures have been erased (PLATE 16A). The defacement of hard stone reliefs is

¹G. A. Reisner & M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal Part 2. The Granite Stela of Thutmosis III," *ZAS* 69 (1933), pl. 3; R.J. Leprohon, *CAA, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: Stelae II*, (Mainz, 1991), 23.733, 4/5.

²On the right figure, only traces remain of the feet and lower calf of the extended leg as well as of the fist of the extended arm holding the scepter. On the left figure, only the toe of the extended leg can be made out. I am grateful to Timothy Kendall of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston for checking the stela for me and sending photos of it.

characterized by uniformly deep pitting of the surface, achieved by pecking at the relief. Substantial traces of the original cut lines can often be made out

The easiest sort of relief to restore was one of large scale in which the area surrounding the vandalized divine figure was relatively free of undamaged texts and reliefs belonging to the original edition. On granite doorjambs, for instance, there tended to be a relatively large amount of blank space surrounding the figure of the god (**PLATE 21A**).³ The sculptor had only to carve back the surface creating a pan-like depression in the area occupied by the original figure. Once the surface was smoothed back deeply enough to eliminate all traces of hacking, the new divine figure, along with the text giving his protocol, could then be laid out and carved in sunk relief. In this way, an aesthetically pleasing result could be achieved. Moreover, when a larger area could be panned down, the depression became less obvious so that in some cases it can only be detected on closest inspection. The almost exclusive use of sunk relief for hard stone monuments also greatly facilitated their restoration, since less of the original surface had to be cut back than in a raised relief.

On monuments of a smaller scale, such as most stelae and lintels,⁴ or on larger monuments where the density of the inscribed text and figures is higher, such as the scenes on some obelisks,⁵ it was often necessary to recut the entire surface, including areas that had not been vandalized (**PLATES 19-20**). On the lunette scenes of many stelae, the entire surface of the scene was cut back to create a more subtly graded depression and to avoid giving the impression that the restored figure was lying in a hollow (**PLATES 31A & 33B**).⁶ As a result,

³Karnak on the south jambs of the Seventh Pylon, (*PM* II², 169-170 [498e] & opposite jamb), and on the jambs of a gateway between the Fifth and Sixth Pylons (*PM* II², 86 [223-224]). See *supra* 2.14 & 2.19.

⁴E.g. a lintel of Amenhotep II from Tell el-Basta, BM 1103 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pl. 12). See *supra* 2.2.

⁵The obelisks of Hatshepsut from central Karnak (Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* I, 123, figs. 60-61, II, pls. 100-101 & 108; J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin*, [Paris, 1979], 27, fig. 12). See *supra* 2.11.

⁶E.g. the Historical Stela of Amenhotep II from Memphis (E. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 [1953], pl. 3, [see *supra* 2.3]) and the Ptah temple stela of Thutmose III from Karnak, Cairo CG

undamaged portions of the scene, such as the royal figure, offering stands and accompanying texts, had to be shaved down, virtually erasing them. In such cases the sculptor followed the lines of the original text and figures as a guide in reworking them at a deeper level (**PLATE 17B**).⁷

2. Soft Stone Reliefs

In repairing soft stone monuments, the restorer was faced with a somewhat different set of challenges, but he had additional means at his disposal to set the damage right. Limestone and sandstone are much easier to sculpt than hard stone like granite and one might expect their restoration also to have been much easier. Faced with these softer media, however, Amarna iconoclasts had often exercised great zeal, leaving very deep gouges in the stone, particularly in areas such as the god's name, face and headdress. Such hacking generally penetrated the surface further than even the deepest sunk relief (**PLATE 90B**).⁸

While hard stone reliefs are almost always *en creux*, raised relief was often used on sandstone and limestone monuments. As a result, the sculptor had to shave the surface back deeply to eliminate the hacking to the original if his new figure were to stand out. However, often when he shaved the damaged surface down to obtain a uniformly smooth surface on which to carve a new figure, he found the most severe hacking too deep to obliterate without creating a surface that was itself too deep in comparison with the original, undamaged surface (**PLATE 34A**). Even with sunk relief, substantial traces of hacking could remain (**PLATE 30A & 31A**).

Fortunately, the restorer of soft stone reliefs had paint and plaster at his disposal. Hard stone reliefs were seldom painted, and then only to highlight prominent features,⁹ never

34013, (Lacau, *Stèles*, pl. 9, [see *supra* 2.28]).

⁷E.g., on the Historical Stela of Amenhotep II a trace of the calf of the king's forward leg on the left hand scene is a rare example of the recut figure of the king going outside the line of the original (K. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 100. See *supra* 2.3).


⁸E.g., on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. See *supra* 2.21-2.22.

⁹E.g., the figures and text on the lowermost course of the *chapelle rouge*, composed of black granodiorite, were tinted yellow.

to tint the background. Limestone and sandstone reliefs, on the other hand, were, as a rule, entirely painted over. A coat of whitewash, generally tinted a light blue up until the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was applied to the background. The hieroglyphs and figures were individually colored, often in meticulously detailed polychrome.

Plaster was commonly used in relief sculpture of all periods to correct flaws in material or workmanship and to fill cracks between joints in the blocks. During restoration, the surface of a damaged relief was smoothed down as far as was judged prudent, and any remaining chisel gouges, be they a few stray marks or large patches of hacking, would be filled with plaster (**PLATES 4A, 18A & 26**). It is likely that the plastering took place before the actual recarving of the reliefs proceeded.¹⁰ Completed, such fully plastered, recarved and painted reliefs must have looked more aesthetically pleasing in the low light of roofed buildings than they do today, stripped of paint and plaster and exposed to bright sunlight.

Often the restorers were able to shave the surface down to such a point that little plaster was required to fill in the remaining hack marks.¹¹ The worst hacking might have been limited to one area, especially the name or face of the god, and only these areas needed plaster.

As an alternative, the surface in the area of the most severe gouging could be shaved down further than others. A pan-like depression was often created with borders often extended to the register lines, scene dividers or the -scepter generally carried by the deity

¹⁰On the use of plaster as a relief medium and the shallow, uneven lines it produced in the stone where the sculptor's chisel penetrated, see W. J. Murnane, "The Bark of Amun on the Third Pylon at Karnak," *JARCE* 16 (1979), 15 & pl. 6. In the Ramesside age, plaster was often used as a medium when the masons did not bother to dress the stone carefully. In such cases, the quarry marks would have been similar to hack marks in vandalized relief. On the south exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle, the wall surface was never carefully dressed before the reliefs were carved. Instead, a layer of plaster was smeared on the wall. As a result, many of the cut lines on the smaller figures and glyphs are only lightly incised, where the sculptor's chisel barely penetrated the layer of plaster.

¹¹E.g., at Luxor temple, reliefs on the east interior wall of the hypostyle hall adjoining the sun court. *PM II*², 318 (102). See *supra* 2.42-2.54.

(**PLATE 31A**).¹² Where there was no such boundary, the edge of the depression was made shallower so that it faded into the rest of the background. When the average depth of the hacking was relatively shallow and the area to be restored was large, the effect could be so subtle as to be virtually undetectable (**PLATE 37A**). This was especially true for low reliefs.¹³ In some cases, however, the entire surface of the figure was covered with plaster and recarved largely in this medium. Where the plaster has by now fallen away, such areas look as though the hacking had been partially smoothed away, but little or no restoration of the original figure or glyphs is apparent (**PLATE 18A**).¹⁴

In more compact areas of intensive hacking that had undamaged relief close by, the challenge was greater. So, for example, the figure of Amen embracing the king might be carved with a shallow trough surrounding it, thereby resembling a sunk relief without the sharp edge.¹⁵ In some cases, the hacking was most severe in a particular area such as the plumes of Amen, so the area had to be cut back more deeply.¹⁶ On smaller monuments, such as the limestone stela of Amenhotep III from his memorial temple in Thebes, a large part of the lunette had to be cut back and undamaged portions, such as the king's hands, reworked.¹⁷

As a result of the differing procedures used in the restoration of soft and hard stone reliefs, the amount of epigraphic information they might convey also varies. Although the repairs to sandstone and limestone reliefs often appear aesthetically unappealing today, the

¹²E.g. in a scene from the north wall of the Karnak Eighth Pylon depicting the Theban triad inside a shrine, the surface was cut back to the left of the text divider just outside the front edge of the canopy pole. *PM II*², 174 (517. II). See *supra* 2.21.4.

¹³E.g. again with reliefs in the Luxor temple hypostyle. *PM II*², 318 (102).

¹⁴Cf. blocks with both sunk and raised relief from the memorial temple of Amenhotep III reused in the memorial temple of Merenptah. Jaritz & Bickel, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 483 & 485. See *supra* 2.67.

¹⁵E.g. W. Kaiser *et. al.*, *MDAIK* 27.2 (1971), pl. 48a.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pl. 48a; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *et. al.*, *Une siècle de fouilles en Égypte 1880-1980*, (Paris, 1981), 242, cat. No. 262 with color plate on 231. See *supra* 2.75.1.

¹⁷Lacau, *Stèles*, pl. 20. See *supra* 2.65.

loss of the paint and plaster used to mask the remnant traces of hacking and reworking often yields volumes of information on the history of these carvings. By contrast, the careful refinishing of granite reliefs, which usually involved the total removal of all traces of both hacking and any earlier version(s), generally reveals fewer clues to the epigrapher. This is an important factor to keep in mind for, as discussed in chapter two, many of the restorations of Seti I had a more complicated history than has previously been understood.

APPENDIX B
ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BARQUE OF AMEN-RE
UNDER SETI I AND RAMESSES II

1. Earlier reign of Seti I

As attested in a handful of reliefs from the earliest part of his reign, Seti I made few if any changes to the iconography of the barque of Amen of Karnak as it had appeared in reliefs of Horemheb. In the Colonnade Hall in Luxor temple, he converted existing painted cartoons of Tutankhamen into relief.¹ In so doing, he immortalized alterations to these designs made under Horemheb. Horemheb had altered these designs so that a rebus of his nomen replaced an earlier arrangement featuring Tutankhamen's prenomen on the veil shrouding the cabin shrine.² The Epigraphic Survey has published evidence suggesting that Seti incorporated elements of his prenomen into the decoration on the upper part of the cabin shrine.³ Thus it would seem that Seti was attempting to associate himself with his recent predecessor.⁴ It is obvious, however, that this does not represent evidence of a coregency between these two kings. It is less clear whether these iconographical changes to the images of the barque corresponded to genuine alterations to this sacred object itself.

At Karnak, on the east tower, (north face), of the Eighth Pylon, Seti altered a barque scene that had initially been restored by Tutankhamen (**PLATES 23A-B & 82**).⁵ Here Seti

¹See *supra* 2.38 & 2.38.1.

²Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 43, 50 & 58.

³*Ibid.*, 21, & pl. 50, fragment 1017. See *supra* 2.38.1.

⁴Just as Tutankhamen sought to affiliate himself with the deceased Amenhotep III by including a cryptographic rebus of the latter's prenomen on the exposed portion of the cabin shrine. Cf. *Ibid.*, pls. 7, 49, 50, 58 & 110 and iconographic comments on pls. 50 & 58, pp. 21 & 23.

⁵*PM* II, 174 (517); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 104; Claude Traunecker et. al., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak I*, (Paris, 1981), pl. 33 (2). Discussed by Traunecker, vol. II, 78 no. 100. Horemheb had previously altered the barque scene on the west tower. Murnane, *V&A* 1, 60-63 with close up of canopy 62, fig. 2. See *supra* 2.21.1.

made two changes to the iconography of the veil: he substituted a rebus of Tutankhamen's prenomen with that of his own between the wings of the two kneeling goddesses while erasing a second prenomen rebus of Tutankhamen on the billow of the veil (**PLATE 82**).⁶

The details he did not supplant are of equal interest. The decoration of the upper part of the veil and the exposed portion of the cabin was left alone, as were the vulture-shaped clasp along the top of the veil and the frieze of crowned cobras alternating with combined ḥ- and 𓂏-elements. He also left the two winged *m3't*-figures as he had found them. By contrast, Horemheb, who had respected this scene, had altered or eliminated many of these same elements on a pendant scene from the west tower.⁷ Seti's primary motive, then, seems to have lain in replacing the prenomen rebus of Tutankhamen with his own name. And while he made other minor adjustments to the image of the barque,⁸ he respected decoration on the upper part of the canopy that was apparently now obsolete.⁹ From all this, it is apparent that, although the scenes from the south end of the Luxor Colonnade Hall *might* reflect the barque's actual appearance early in Seti's reign, the scene on the east tower of the Karnak Eighth Pylon certainly *does not*.

2. Later Reign of Seti I

At some point during Seti's tenure, but certainly by the time the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Gurnah memorial temple were being decorated during his later years, the iconography of the barque of Amen-Re had been redesigned so that the decoration on the veil and cabin shrine would reflect the titulary of the current occupant of the throne. We next encounter the barque in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where it appears in five scenes


⁶For other alterations to the barque see *supra*. 2.21.1.





⁷Murnane, *VA* I, 60, 63-65.

⁸Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, 19-20, iconographic comments to pl. 43.

⁹Horemheb presumably had redesigned the iconography of the cabin and veil during his own reign. *Ibid.*, 23, iconographic comments to plate 58.

carved at Pharaoh's behest in the northern half of the building,¹⁰ (PLATES 83-84), and in four scenes from Gurnah temple (PLATES 85-86).¹¹

Although the canopy iconography was "updated" for Seti, several elements were carried over from Horemheb's version. Thus the upper portion of the veil retains a frieze of uraei and lotus petals, while its lower hem still has a frieze with nomen and prenomen rebuses, the former still in cartouches flanked by uraei (PLATE 84).¹² These scarabs, which occurred under Tutankhamen and Horemheb, originally reflecting Tutankhamen's prenomen, were now replaced by squatting figures of the hawk-headed Re-Horakhty sitting on _____-signs and clutching -feathers in their fists.¹³

The center of the veil is still dominated by two winged *mꜣḥt*-figures; they no longer kneel on -baskets, but on _____-signs instead, and also wear sun disks on their heads in place of -feathers. In their fists they hold the same combination of glyphs as under Horemheb, but -signs extending from the bottom of their lower wings have been added (PLATE 84).¹⁴ As with Tutankhamen and Horemheb, these two goddesses protect a rebus of the royal prenomen, (nomen in the case of Horemheb), with their wings (PLATE 86A). In the north part of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, the prenomen rebus consists of a large figure of Re-Horakhty squatting on a _____-sign, and holding a -feather in his fist (PLATE 84). Thus the three main figures on the veil form rebuses of the king's prenomen Menmaatre. Behind




¹⁰Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 152, 178, 180, 197 and 226. Idem, *Key Plans*, KB 234, 275, 278, 291, 334.








¹¹In the main chapel of Amen-Re, (= *PM* II², 414 (68-69); Nelson, *Key Plans* Q 219-220 & 230-231) and of Ramesses I (*PM* II², 418 (106-107); Nelson, *Key Plans*, 346 & 349). See *supra*





¹²Cf. the plates cited in the preceding note with Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 43, 50, 58 (=Horemheb) and 110-111 (temp. Tutankhamen).


¹³A similar prenomen rebus without cartouche can be found in friezes along the tops of the walls in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 136-143.

¹⁴Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180 and Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 58.





each goddesses, defining the corner edges of the cabin, is a marginal space framed by a border element at its outer edge and beyond this the poles that support the cornice. This margin is occupied by a rebus consisting of a sign supported by flower stocks, (lotus blossoms on one side, papyrus on the other). The -sign, in turn, supports three -signs with a .¹⁵ The uppermost edge of the veil is without decoration (PLATE 84).¹⁶

The billow of the veil now features a kneeling *mꜣt*-figure with curved wings. Her right arm is folded across her chest, holding a -scepter while her left arm lays across her lap grasping an -sign.¹⁷ Above her head floats a sun disk with two pendant uraei supported by her  (PLATES 83A & 86B). She squats on a -sign flanked by - and -signs. To the left of this goddess, kneels a figure of a king wearing the white crown and offering an image of .¹⁸ This corresponds to a statuette that sat on the deck of the barque, not to the iconography of the veil itself.





The decoration of the exposed upper part of the cabin is entirely new. It is dominated by two winged *mꜣt*-figures whose outstretched wings protect a squatting figure of the ram-headed Amen-Re (PLATE 83, 85A & 86A). They stand on -signs and have sun disks on their heads, each holding a -feather in her upper fist and an -sign in the lower one. Between the crux of their wings, a figure of the king bends on one knee, holding aloft a 






¹⁵The -signs sometimes have pendant uraei, both with and without crowns on their heads. Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 180, 197, & 226; (PLATES 83-84).





¹⁶In two of the examples from the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall, traces of an earlier version of the canopy and veil survived after the final version was shifted higher. These do not reflect the decoration of the upper edge of the veil. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 180 and 197. Cf. pl. 226 where this space is blank.



¹⁷This figure is well preserved in only one case, KB 278, (=Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180). Examples from Seti's Gurnah temple show her with outstretched arms grasping -signs, kneeling on the -sign, but without the - and -signs in front of her knee. Cf. at Gurnah the barque sanctuary of Amen-Re and the Ramesses I chapel: *PM* II², 414, (68-69) & 418, (106-107); Nelson, *Key Plans* Q 219-20, 230-31, 346 & 350.

¹⁸Missing at Gurnah.

supported by a . They proffer these to the squatting Amen-Re who surmounts a lotus blossom growing out of a -canal. The deity grasps an -sign in his fist and wears an -crown.



The middle and lower portions of the cabin shrine were almost completely screened by the veil. In two cases, however, we are given a partial glimpse of what lay behind it. As it slopes down towards the front of the cabin, a small portion of the lower cabin is sometimes exposed. In one scene there appears to be a frieze of winged goddesses holding their wings open in front of them.¹⁹ They wear no form of headdress. In another scene, a similar frieze of goddesses occurs, this time with -feathers on their heads grasping -signs in their fists with -signs wedged between their wings (PLATE 84). Between each goddess is a cobra wearing an -crown with a -scepter in front of him.²⁰

Above the cavetto cornice, the hump-shaped roof of the canopy is screened by a frieze of prenomen rebuses, without cartouches, alternating with a second element. These rebuses always consist of hawk-headed Re-Horakhty figures squatting on -signs and clutching -feathers. The second element is made up of rearing uraei with sun disks on their heads surmounting either  or -signs.²¹







Another distinctive iconographic element of the barque's decoration under Seti I that reflects his titulary can be found occasionally on the collars of the aegises at the prow and sometimes at the stern.²² Inside the innermost strand of the triple-stranded *šbyw*-collars are kneeling *mꜣꜥt*-figures with outstretched arms and curved wings. They have sun disks on their heads and hold -signs while kneeling on -signs and are thus prenomen rebuses.




¹⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 226.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 180. These elements are not clearly defined in Nelson's drawing.

²¹The -signs occur in two of the scenes, the -signs two others one. Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 178, 180, 197 and 226.

²²Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 180 (fore and aft), 197 and 226 only stern preserved. So too at Gurnah, prow only: Q 219-220, 230-31, 346 & 350, Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 58 with a similar figure under Horemheb.


The scenes from the north part of the hypostyle hall show minor variations and iconographic inconsistencies from scene to scene. So, for example, in the frieze on the upper part of the cabin, the uraei can be shown surmounting either  or -signs.²³ Likewise the papyrus and lotus stalks that support the column of rebus elements behind the two kneeling goddesses on the veil may vary. In four scenes, these stalks curve upward like a -glyph, (PLATE 84), while in a third scene they are upright like a -sign (PLATE 84).²⁴ Finally, on the east wall of the northern half of the Hall, the *m3ʿt*-figures on the veil hold -feathers, while those on the upper part of the canopy hold -signs, an arrangement that is reversed in the scenes on the east half of the north wall. All four goddesses hold feathers in the scene on the west end of the north wall.

Four detailed representations of the Barque of Amen-Re dating to later in Seti's reign can be found at Gurnah temple; two each in the chapels of Amen-Re and Ramesses I.²⁵ The iconography of these representations is nearly identical to that at Karnak, with the same kinds of minor variations (PLATES 85-86). These can be summed up as follows. In the two barque scenes on the north and south walls of the chapel of Amen-Re, the flower stalks on the outer margins of the veils are in the form of the -sign with lotus and papyrus capitals. The -signs above them do not have pendant uraei. On the frieze above the cavetto cornice, the rearing cobras sit atop -signs. The same iconography is present on the north wall of the Ramesses I chapel, while the outer margins of the veil on the south wall have been left blank. In all four representations of the barque of Amen in Gurnah temple, the four *m3ʿt*-

²³Cf. *Ibid.*, pls. 180, 197 and 226.



²⁴Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 152, 178, 180, 197 and 226. Even among the three examples with the bowed stocks, the amount of curvature may vary. In one case, the innermost stem curved in on itself.

²⁵Amen chapel: *PM II*², 414 (68-69); Nelson, *Key Plans* Q 219-220 & 230-231. Ramesses I chapel: *PM II*², 418 (106-107); Nelson, *Key Plans*, 346 & 349.

figures on the canopy and veil hold -signs. Finally, in every case, the top of the veil is lower and more horizontal than examples carved for Seti at Karnak.²⁶

3. Ramesses II

All of the most detailed examples of reliefs portraying the barque of Amen-Re of Karnak carved in Thebes that survive from the reign of Ramesses II date to his earliest years. Two of these are found in the Hypostyle hall, flanking its south doorway (**PLATES 87 & 88**).²⁷ A third example graces the west wall of the chapel of Amen-Re in the Triple Shrine at Luxor temple (**PLATE 89**).²⁸ A fourth, less detailed example, is included in a scene on the south half of the west wall in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.²⁹ The Karnak reliefs date to no later than the second half of Ramesses' second regnal year, although as we shall see, one of these was subsequently altered.³⁰ The example from the Triple Shrine at Luxor may date as early as Ramesses II's third year, although it was probably carved somewhat later.³¹

The rebus decoration on the canopy and veil of Amen's sacred barque depicted on the south half of the west wall in the Karnak Hypostyle displays elements of Seti's titulary alone, the only significant variation being the presence of a -sign in place of a -board below the kneeling goddess on the billow of the veil.

²⁶This conforms to the two barque scenes on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall that were carved under Ramesses II but possibly laid out in paint under Seti. Cf. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53 & 76, (=Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 116-117 & 99-100), with the Gurnah reliefs.

²⁷Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 99-100 (west) and KB 117-118 (east). Idem, *GHHK* I.1, pls. 53 (west) and 76 (east).





²⁸Nelson, *Key Plans*, LB 30-35; *PM* II, 310 (39); D. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, *MÄS* 2 (1962), pl. 20.


²⁹Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 38; idem, *Key Plans*, KB 72.

³⁰See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 171ff.

³¹See D.B. Redford, "The Earliest Years of Ramesses II, and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor," *JEA* 57 (1971), 110-119; P. J. Brand, "The 'Lost' Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I," *JARCE* 34 (1997), 101-114.

The scene on the east side of the south gateway was executed in sunk relief, but the figures inside the cabin and veil are in bas relief following the standard practice for rendering such details (**PLATE 88A**). Seele had thought that the titularies of Seti I and Ramesses II were mingled into the rebus decoration in this scene³² but, in fact, only that of Seti appears here.³³ Still, this relief dates to the second phase of Ramesses' relief decoration, R², while he was still using the shorter form of his prenomen in combination with sunk relief.

This image of the barque differs from examples carved for Seti in only a few minor details. Thus the *Mrt*-goddesses that appear on the runners of the sledge no longer stand on the -sign. On the veil, the papyrus and lotus stalks at the margins are in the form of -signs. The kneeling goddesses on the veil wear -feathers on their heads in place of the sun disks found under Seti. Despite these changes, only Seti I's titulary is preserved in rebus form. Thus the rebus of Menmaatre on the center of the veil and on the frieze above the cornice remains intact, while all four *mꜣt*-goddesses rest on -signs.




In the scene to the west of the south gateway, the situation is somewhat different (**PLATES 87 & 88B**). In its final form, the rebus decoration does include elements of Ramesses II's prenomen, while the -glyph, distinctive of Seti's prenomen, remains. It had been thought that the elements distinctive of Ramesses II's titulary were integral to the original raised relief version of the scene completed in R¹.³⁴






This scene, along with all the raised relief in the southern half of the building was later converted from raised into sunk relief. Seele believed that the original version of the canopy and veil were left unaltered in raised relief since they were interior elements customarily finished in this manner in sunk relief compositions. Murnane subsequently established that alterations were indeed made to the iconography of the canopy and veil after it was first





³²Seele, *Coregency*, 68-75.

³³Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 173.

³⁴Seele, *Coregency*, 71-72, §102; Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975), 173.

carved.³⁵ He noted that three of the four goddesses on the canopy now hold -staves in their upraised hands, while an -staff was added next to the -feather grasped by the squatting figure of Re on the veil.³⁶ He concluded that the inclusion of only Seti's titulary in the original composition reinforces the notion that he was alive and also supported the notion that he was involved in a coregency at the time this scene was carved.³⁷

Before this reworking occurred, the iconography of the veil in the western scene was identical to the one to the east of the south gateway. Ramesses' alterations to this scene are more extensive than Murnane realized. Beyond those noted above, several more are to be found here. Thus on the billow of the veil, the winged *m3't*-figure now kneels on a -platform and clutches an -staff, thus spelling Ramesses II's prenomen. The body of the goddess herself consists of the raised original, but her -staff, wings, solar disk and the -platform were all recut in sunk relief. Traces of the original wing remain as do the bases of the pegs on the -board which have been suppressed. Above here, the frieze of uraei and flower petals framing the top of the veil has also been largely suppressed where it crosses the billow.

On the central part of the veil, the squatting figure of Re holds an -staff in his hand. It appears that this glyph has suppressed the original -feather and not merely adjoined it as Seele and Murnane suggest.³⁸ The -sign on which the god squats has been altered to a -platform by the addition of an engraved line slanting down from the left end of the sign, while some of the pegs on the board have been shaved down. Presumably these changes were masked with plaster.










On the exposed upper portion of the cabin, there is evidence that, here too, the relief was extensively recut. There is a triangular shaped area to the left of the canal sign on which





³⁵W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II: Two Addenda," *GM* 19 (1976), 42-43.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 42.


³⁷*Ibid.*, 43.


³⁸Seele, *Coregency*, 72; Murnane, *GM* 19 (1976), 42.

the Amen figure squats. Embedded in this area, which resembles a ramp, are traces of the cut lines of the original -sign, which touched the bottom of the left goddesses' wing. On the right side, this area has been shaved down more evenly, but traces of the cut lines of  are more extensive. Unlike the other small elements, these signs are no longer raised. The -staves in the upraised hands of these goddesses are in raised relief, with few signs of the original -signs remaining. As with the squatting Re figure below, the -signs upon which the goddesses on the upper cabin stand, have been converted to -platforms by the addition of a slanted line at the front, but without further suppression of the -sign through the erasure of the pegs. Again this must have been finished with plaster. Finally, on the frieze above the cornice, the -staves held by the Re figures have suppressed the original -feathers.




All these alterations seem to have been aimed at suppressing elements of Seti's prenomen so that, in its final form, little trace of the earlier king's prenomen would have been visible until the plaster masking had fallen away. The only unaltered element of Seti's titulary are the two -signs supporting the goddesses on the veil. It would seem, then, that all the reworking the western barque scene came only after the death of Seti, and that the inclusion of elements of Ramesses' prenomen came always at Seti's expense. Once these alterations had been completed, no complete rebus of the dead king's prenomen remained intact. Even in their original form, the eastern and western barque scenes on the south wall featured minor iconographical differences from examples carved for Seti I at Karnak and Gurnah. Thus the *m3'r*-figures on veil have feathers on their heads instead of solar disks and the Re figures on the frieze above the cavetto cornice squat on -platform-signs.³⁹ Gold signs have been added below the nomen cartouches on frieze at bottom of veil and -signs have replaced the -signs below the cartouches found in examples carved for Seti.

In the Triple Shrine at Luxor it is undeniable that the barque scene carved on the west wall of the Amen chapel was carved only after the death of Seti I (PLATE 89). Yet here, too, elements of the deceased king's prenomen appear in the rebus decoration on the veil as



³⁹Although they still rest on -signs in the scene east of the south gateway.


Murnane first pointed out.⁴⁰ The -signs that support the four goddesses are the most distinctive elements, since the winged *mꜣꜥt*-figure had been a standardized element of the rebus decoration on the veil since at least the reign of Tutankhamen. Such figures graced both the upper part of the cabin and the veil in Theban representations of the barque of Amen into the Ptolemaic period.


The retention of various iconographic elements in the rebus decoration of the canopies of Amen's barque that were distinctive of individual kings after their demise has not been considered by those who assert that such decoration is evidence of coregencies. While it is quite true that reliefs portraying the decoration of these barques could reflect the titulary of the current occupant of the throne, they are not completely reliable as evidence for the genuine appearance of these processional icons. As we have seen, even in a particularly large sample of contemporary representations of the barque, viz. nine reliefs of Seti I portraying it at Karnak and Gurnah, minor variations in the iconography occur from scene to scene. Moreover, examples from the earlier part of his reign, on the Eighth Pylon and the Luxor Colonnade Hall, do not always closely reflect the barque's decor at that time.

Most if not all of the distinctive iconographic features of the decoration on the cabin and veil originated as a distinctive feature of some king's titulary. Yet as king succeeded king, some of these elements were kept while others were replaced. Among the best examples of the former are the winged *mꜣꜥt*-figures on the veil and, later, the upper cabin first adopted by Tutankhamen and Seti I respectively. Even rather singular elements, however, could be retained long after the death of the king who adopted them. Such, indeed, was the case of the -signs supporting figures on the veil and canopy. These were adopted by Seti and they replaced the -baskets employed by Tutankhamen and Horemheb. Yet they were retained by Ramesses II in a relief from Triple Shrine in Luxor temple carved after his father's death (PLATE 89). More than 80 years later, in the barque station of Seti II in the first court at Karnak, the -sign still bears the squatting figure of Re on the veil and the winged *mꜣꜥt*-

⁴⁰Murnane, *Coregencies*, 78-79.

figure on the billow (PLATE 90A).⁴¹ Although they seem to have been replaced by -signs under Ramesses III,⁴² they occasionally reappear under later kings.⁴³ The suppression of some of these same glyphs in the scene to the west of the south gateway in the Karnak Hypostyle probably does not reflect a genuine alteration to the actual barque (PLATES 87 & 88B). Still, Ramesses does seem to have made distinctive changes to this processional icon, including the -staves.

From this we may conclude that the appearance of elements of Seti's titulary in representations of the canopy of Amen-Re's sacred barque carved under Ramesses II is at best very weak evidence for a coregency between these monarchs. Instead, it seems that while each successive pharaoh altered the rebus decoration on the veil and cabin of the Amen barque to reflect his own titulary, he also respected some of the decorative features added by his predecessor. In this way the iconography of the barque gradually evolved over the course of the later New Kingdom. Several rebus elements introduced by Seti I, (the standing *mꜣꜥt*-figures on the upper cabin and the squatting figures of the gods Amen and Re being the most important), became permanent features of its iconography, while the -signs, distinctive of his prenomen, were retained for at least 80 years after his death.

⁴¹*PM II*², 26 (32-33); Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 24 & 15 (= much destroyed). Poorly published in watercolor renderings in H. Chevrier & É. Drioton, *Le Temple reposoire de Séthi II à Karnak*, (Cairo, 1940), pls. 9-10. E.g., at K 24, the winged goddess on the billow of the veil and the squatting figure of Re in the center of the veil surmount -signs, while the four standing goddesses on the veil and upper cabin do not.

⁴²E.g., in his barque station in the First Court at Karnak. See Epigraphic Survey, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amon*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I-II, (Chicago, 1936), *passim*.

⁴³E.g., in the temple of Khonsu they are depicted apparently without the pegs. They are certainly not *mr*-signs. Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu I*, pls. 21, 53 & 69.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> . Chicago
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> Cairo
<i>AIPHOS</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves</i> . Brussels
Barguet, <i>Temple</i>	Barguet, Paul. <i>Le temple d'Amon-rè à Karnak</i> . (Cairo, 1962)
BÄBA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 9 vols. (Cairo, Zurich & Wiesbaden, 1938-1981)
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre of Egyptology</i> . Sidney
BASE	British Schools of Archaeology in Egypt
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Oriental Research</i> . New Haven
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> . New York
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> . Cairo
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden
<i>BMHHT 10</i>	Bierbrier, Morris L. <i>British Museum: Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.</i> part 10. (London, 1982)

- Borchardt, *Statuen* Borchardt, Ludwig. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. 5 vols. Cairo CG 1-1294. (Cairo, 1911-1936)
- Breasted, *ARE* Breasted, James Henry. *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906-1907)
- BSEG* *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève*. Geneva
- BSFE* *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*. Paris
- CAA* *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Iose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptische Altertümer*. (Mainz, 1977-present)
- Calverley & Broome, *Abydos* Calverley, Amice M. & Broome, Myrtle F. *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. 4 vols. (London, 1933-1958)
- CdE* *Chronique d'Égypte*. Brussels
- Cairo CG *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo
- Champolion, *ND* Champolion. Jean F. *Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux par Champolion le Jeune*. (Paris, 1944)
- Couyat-Montet, *IHHOH* Couyat, Jules. & Montet, Pierre. *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*. (Cairo, 1912-13)
- CRIPÉL* *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*. Lille
- EEF/EES Egypt Exploration Fund/Society. London
- ERA Egyptian Research Account. London

- Études et Travaux* *Études et Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences.* Warsaw
- FIFAO Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo
- Fragments of a Shattered Visage* Bleiberg, Edward and Freed, Rita E. (eds.). *Fragments of A Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great.* (Memphis, 1991)
- Frankfort, *Cenotaph* Frankfort, Henry *et. al.* *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos.* 2 vols. EES Memoir 39. (London, 1933)
- Fs. Klaus Baer* Silverman, David P. (ed.). *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer.* SAOC 55. (Chicago, 1994)
- Gayet, *Temple* Gayet, Albert. *Le Temple de Louxor I: Constructions d'Aménophis III.* (Paris, 1894)
- GHHK I.1 Nelson, Harold H. ed. by Murnane, William J. *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* vol. I. part 1. *The Wall Reliefs.* OIP vol. 106. (Chicago, 1981)
- GM *Göttinger Miscellen.* Göttingen
- GO Göttinger Orientforschungen IV Reihe Ägypten. Göttingen
- HÄB Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim
- Hayes, *Scepter I-II* Hayes, William C. *The Scepter of Egypt.* 2 vols. (New York, 1990)
- Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen* Haeny, Gerhard. *Basilikale Anlagen in der Ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches.* BÄBA 9. (Wiesbaden, 1970)

- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven
- JARCE* *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Boston & New York
- JdE *Journal d'Entrée*. Egyptian Museum Cairo
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago
- JSSEA* *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*. Toronto
- Karnak* Centre Franco-égyptien d'études des temples de Karnak. *Cahiers de Karnak*. 10 vols. (Paris, 1980 — present)
- KRI* Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. I-VII. (Oxford, 1969-1990)
- LÄ* Helck, Wolfgang *et. al.* *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I-VII. (Wiesbaden, 1972-1992)
- Lacau, *Stèles* Lacau, Pierre. *Stèles du nouvel empire*. 2 vols. Cairo CG 34087-34189. (Cairo, 1909-1926)
- LD* Lepsius, Karl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Abt. I-VI in 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849-1858) & reduced reproduction, Geneva, 1971ff
- LDT* Lepsius, Karl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Texte. I-V (Berlin & Leipzig, 1897-1913) & reproduction, Geneva, 1975
- Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* Legrain, Georges. *Les temples de Karnak*. (Paris, 1929)
- MÄS *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien*. Berlin & Munich

- MDIK MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Cairo
- Mélanges Mokhtar* Posener-Kriéger, Paule. (ed.). *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*. 2 vols. (Cairo, 1985)
- MIFAO *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*. Cairo
- MMJ* *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. New York
- Murnane, *Coregencies* Murnane, William J. *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. SAOC 40. (Chicago, 1977)
- Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal* Mysliwiec, Karol. *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du nouvel empire*. (Warsaw, 1976)
- NARCE* *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*. New York
- NAWG* *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Göttingen
- Nelson, *Key Plans* Nelson, Harold H. *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. OIP 56. (Chicago, 1941)
- OBO *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*. Fribourg/Göttingen
- OIP *Oriental Institute Publications*
- PEQ* *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*. London
- PM* Porter, Bertha & Moss, Roslind, L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. (Oxford, 1927-1952)
- PM II²* Porter, Bertha & Moss, Roslind, L. B. Burney, Ethel W. & Málek, Jaromir. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. Vols. 1-3. 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1960-1978)

- PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London
- RdE* *Revue d'Égyptologie*. Paris
- RITANC* Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* vol. I. (Oxford, 1993)
- RITA* Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations* vol. I. (Oxford, 1993)
- RT* *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris
- SAK* *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur*. Hamburg
- SAOC* *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*. Chicago
- SCO* *Studi Classici e Orientali*. Rome
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- Urk. IV* Sethe, Kurt & Heick, Wolfgang. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Hefte 1-22. (Leipzig, 1908-1909, 1927-1930 & Berlin, 1955-58)
- VA* *Varia Aegyptiaca*. San Antonio
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- ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. Leipzig & Wiesbaden

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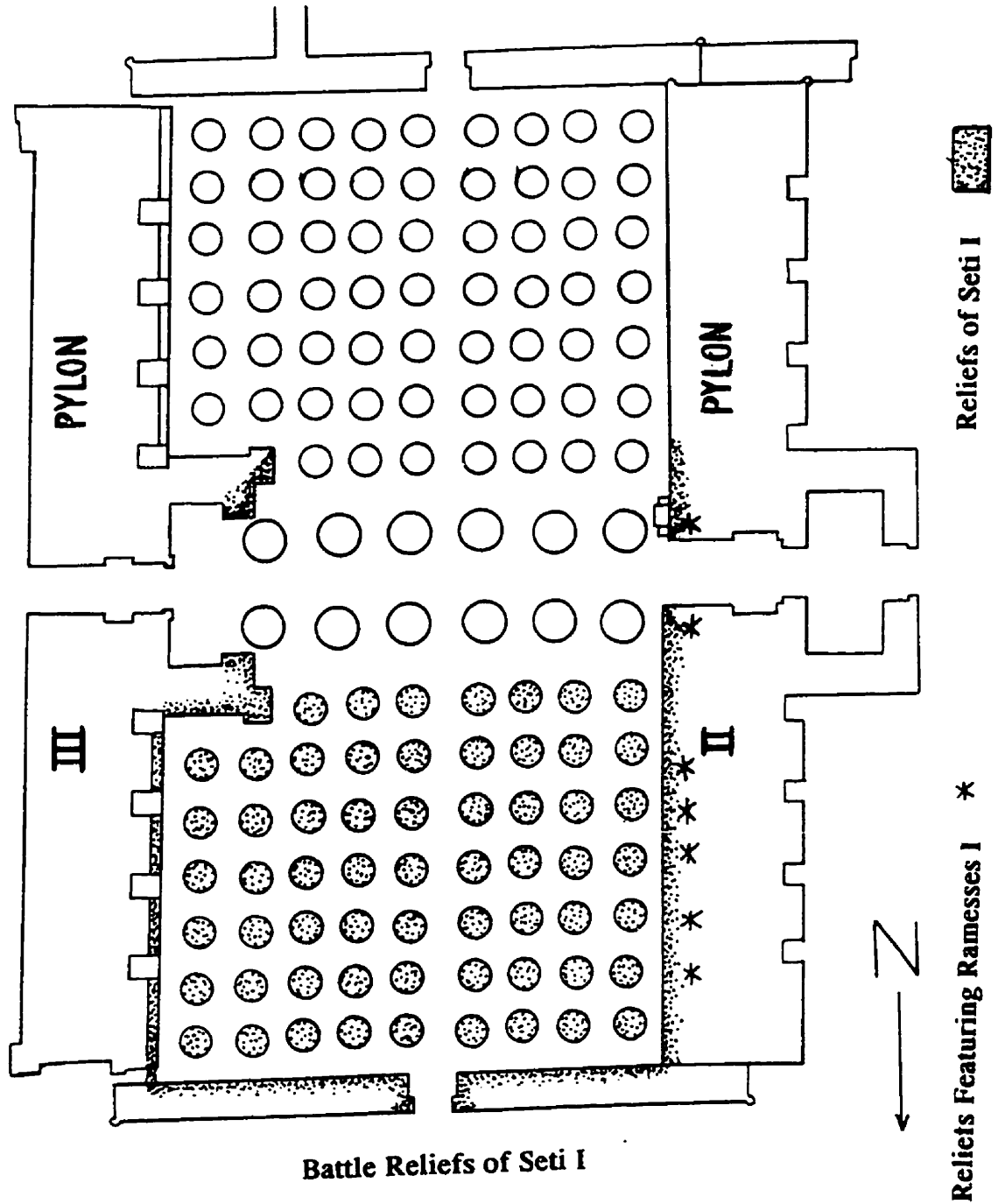
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Karnak Hypostyle Hall ground plan.



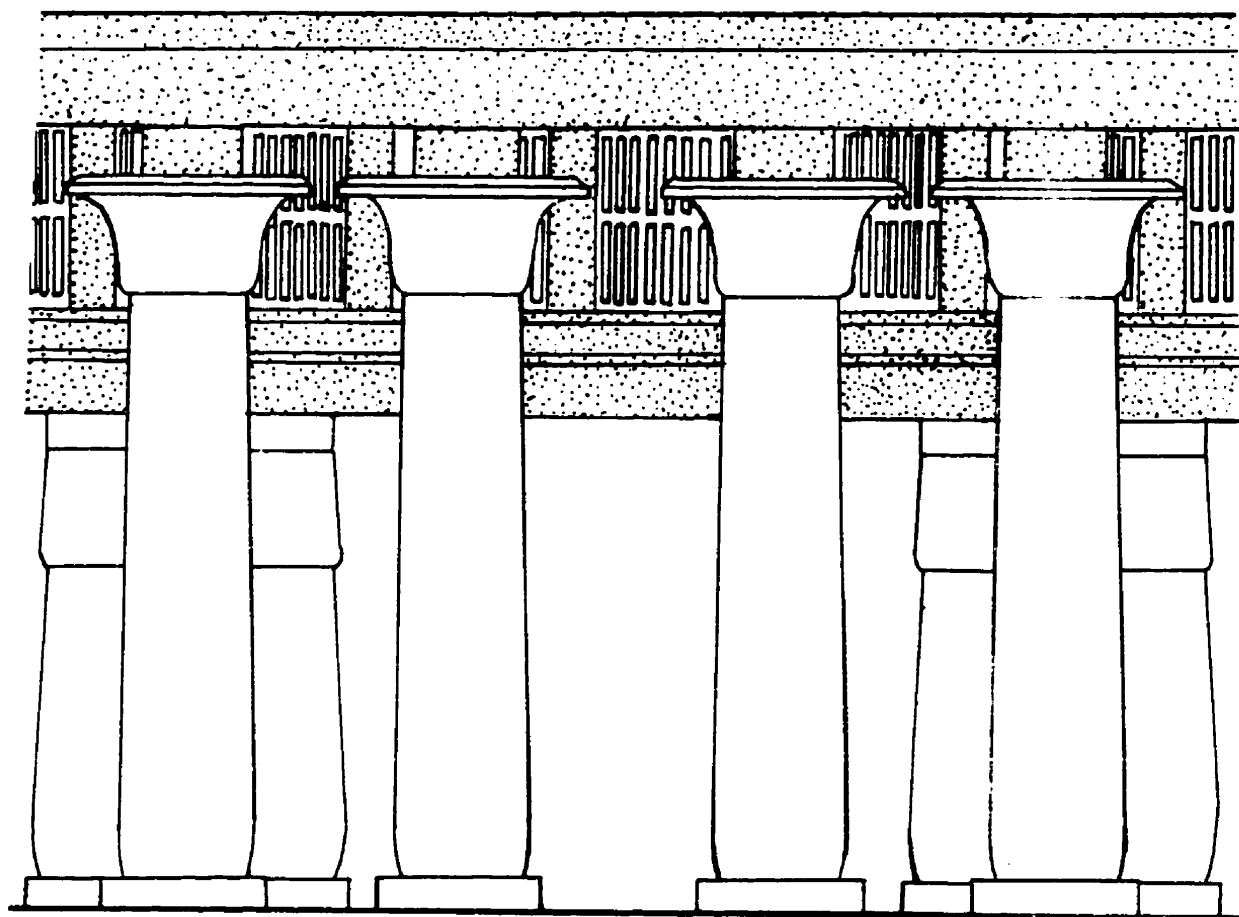
Battle Reliefs of Seti I

Reliefs of Seti I

Reliefs Featuring Ramesses I *

PLAN 2

Karnak Hypostyle Hall clerestory elevation

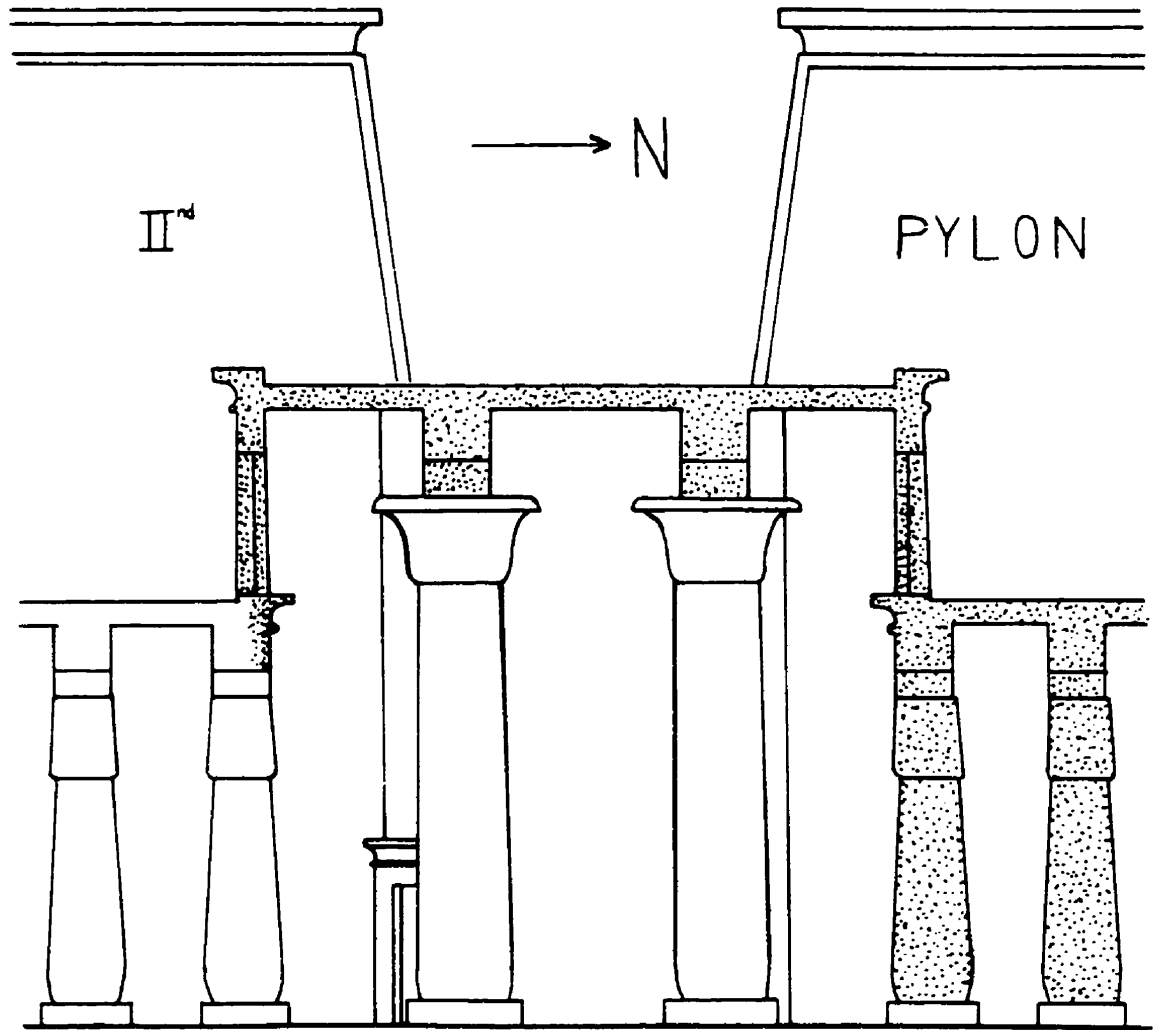


**Karnak Hypostyle Hall Clerestory Elevation
Facing South**

Reliefs of Seti I



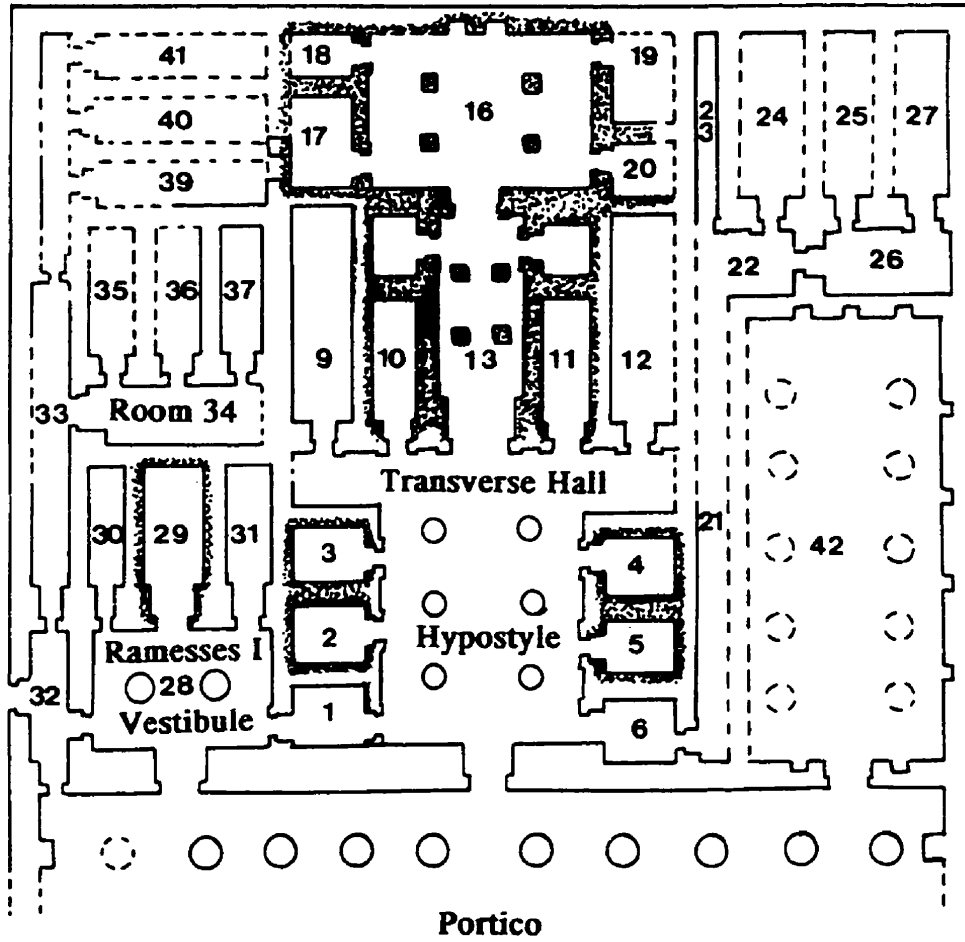
Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Cross section of the clerestory looking west



Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Cross section of the Clerestory Looking West

Reliefs of Seti I 

Gurnah temple ground plan.



Reliefs of Seti I 

Gurnah Temple of Seti I Main Sanctuary

Gurnah temple hypostyle hall. Wall Plans
 Numbers refer to Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl 37

Seti I ¹					Frieze				
S ¹ 144		? 142		S ¹ 140		? 138		S ¹ 135	
S ¹		S ¹		S ¹		R ¹		R ¹	
R ¹ 145	S ¹	S ¹ 143	R ¹ 141	S ¹	R ¹ 139	R ¹ 137	R ¹	R ¹ 136	

South Wall

Seti I ¹					Frieze				
? 124		S ¹ 122		S ¹ 120		S ¹ 118		S ¹ 116	
S ¹		S ¹		S ¹		S ¹		S ¹	
S ¹ 126	S ¹	R ¹ 125	S ¹ 123	R ¹ 121	S ¹	S ¹ 119	S ¹ 117	S ¹	

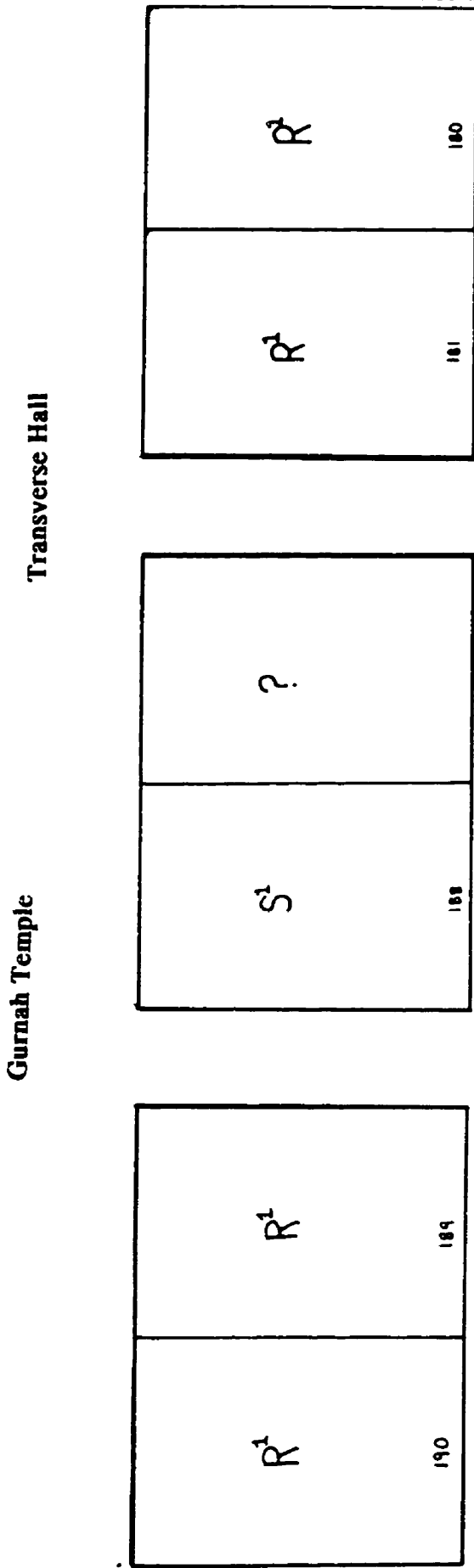
North Wall

Seti I ¹				Frieze	
R ¹ 113	? 112	? 111	? 111	? 147	R ¹ 146
R ¹ 115	R ¹ 114			R ¹ 148	

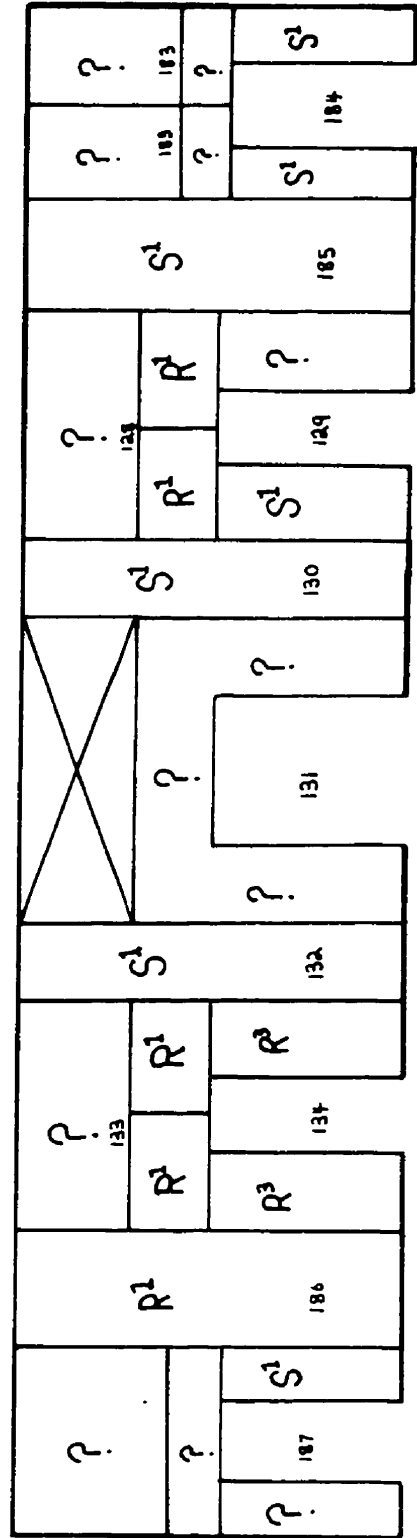
East Wall

Gurnah Temple Hypostyle Hall

Gurnah temple transverse hall. Wall Plans.
 Numbers refer to Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37.



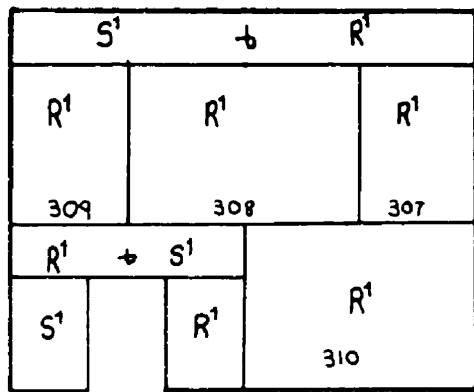
East Wall, (South End) South Wall East Wall, (North End)



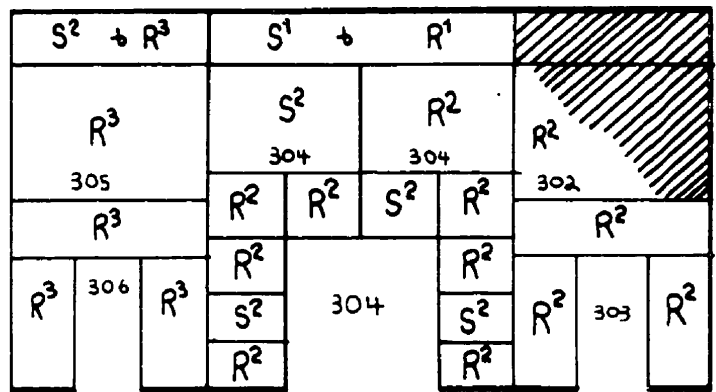
Transverse Hall West Wall

Gurnah temple vestibule of the Ramesses I suite. Wall Plans.
 Numbers refer to Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37.

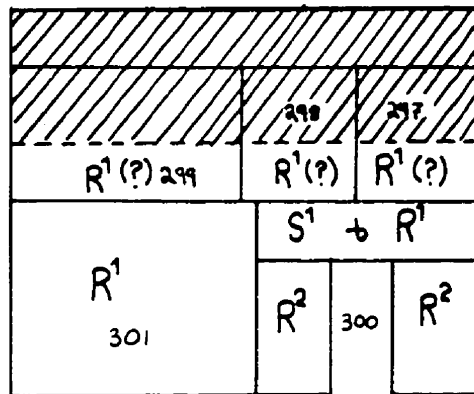
Gurnah Temple Vestibule of Ramesses I Suite



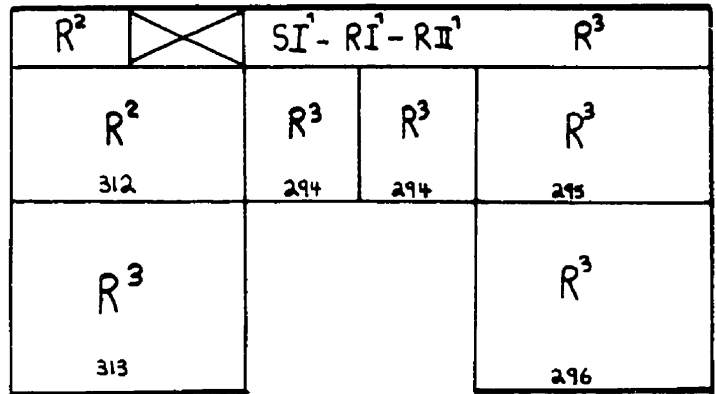
South Wall



West Wall



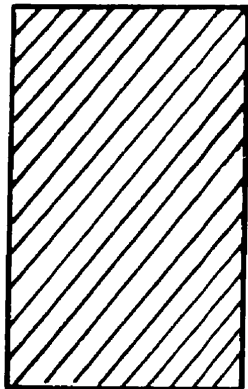
North Wall



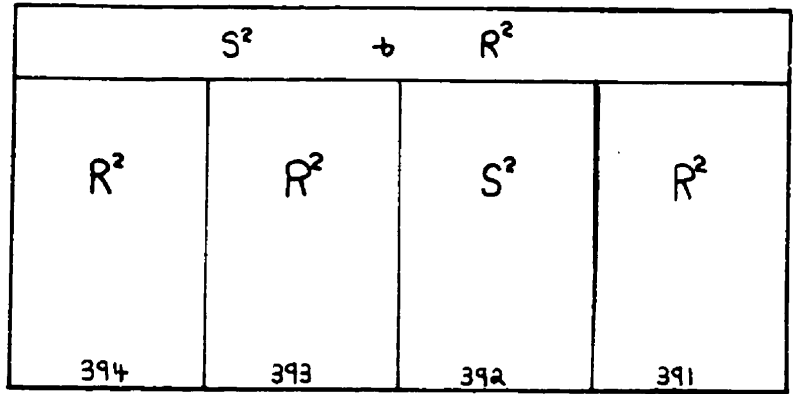
East Wall

Gurnah temple Room 34. Wall Plans.
 Numbers refer to Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37.

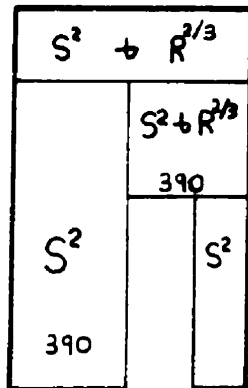
Gurnah Temple Room 34



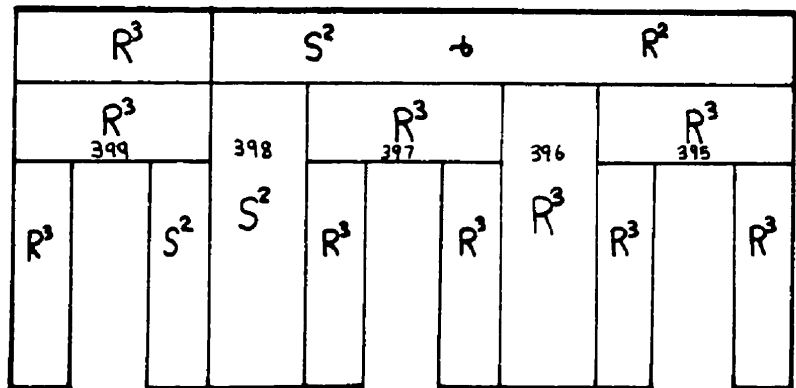
North Wall



East Wall



South Wall



West Wall

A)

A) Relief of Horemheb on a loose block from the 10th Pylon at Karnak.



B) Relief of Ramesses I from the 2nd Pylon at Karnak. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KA 187.

B)



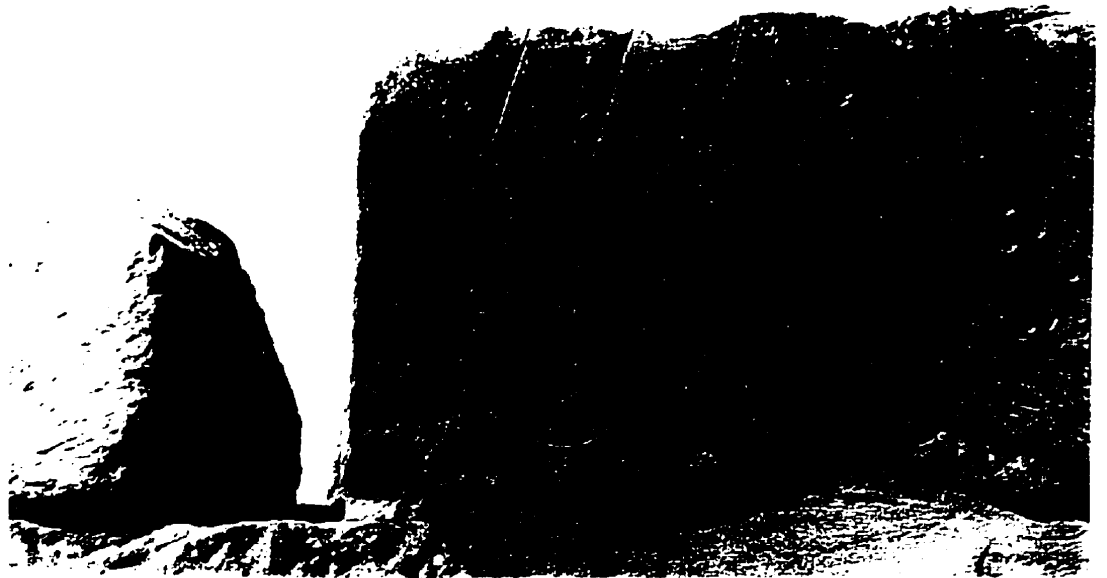
A)

A) Relief of Seti I on obelisk "F"
of Hatshepsut.

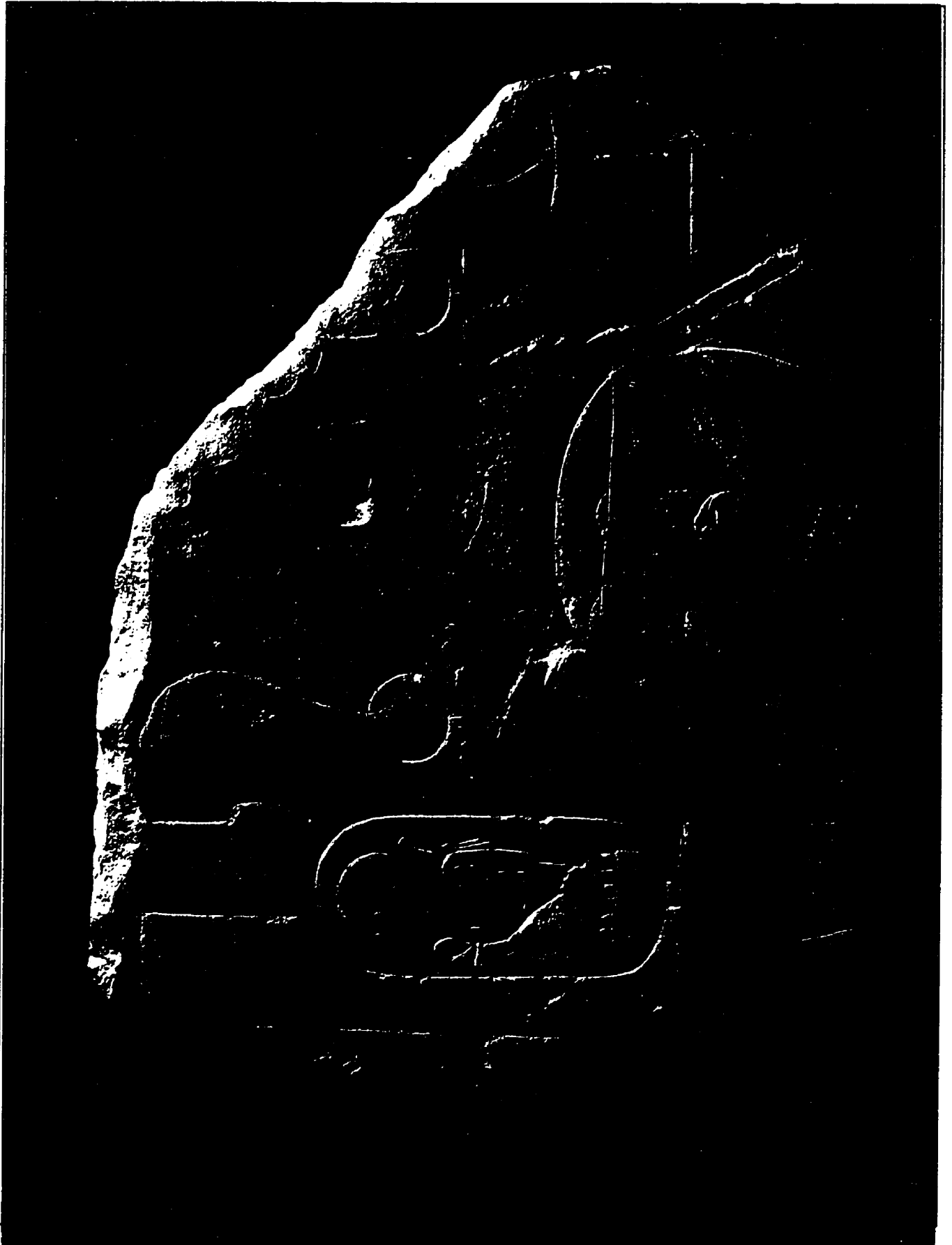


B) Relief of Seti I from the
edifice of Amenhotep II in the
court of the 10th Pylon at Karnak.
Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 250.

B)

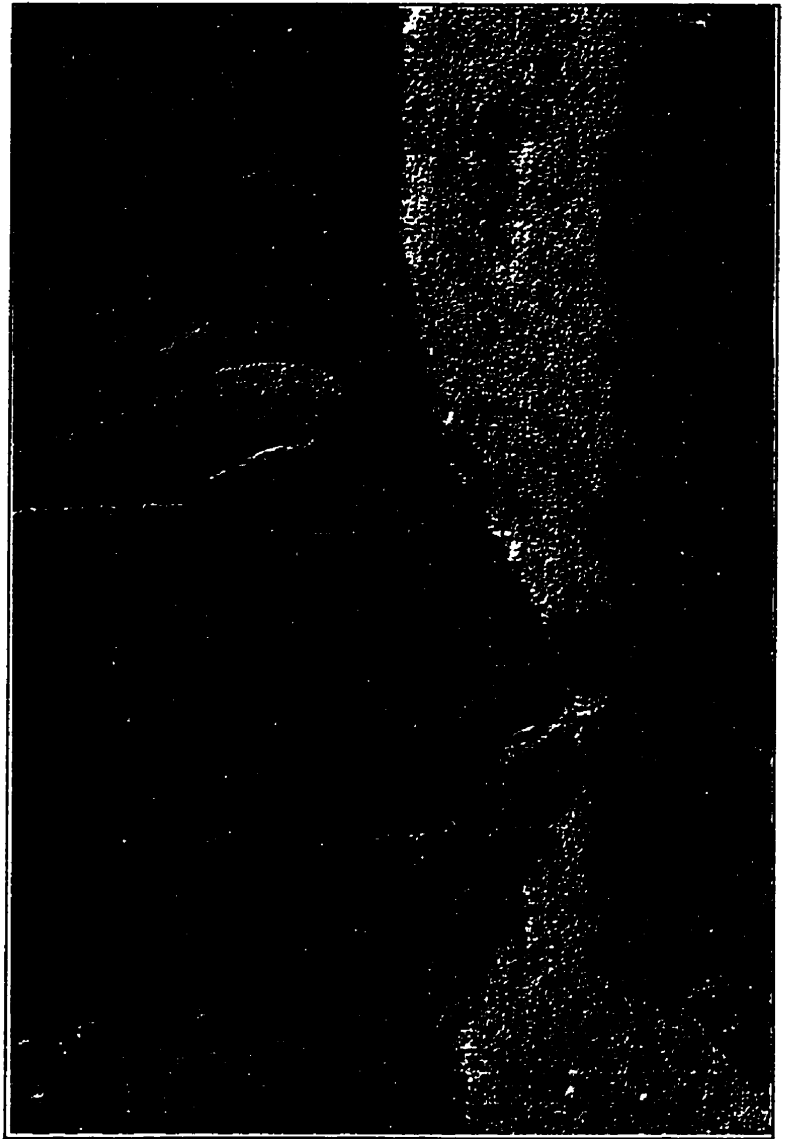


Copenhagen AEIN 42/A 730. Relief from the Ramesses I chapel built by Seti I at Abydos. Photo courtesy Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg.



A)

A) Relief of Seti I from the 8th Pylon at Karnak. Face of Amen with traces of earlier version of Tutankhamen covered in plaster. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 103.



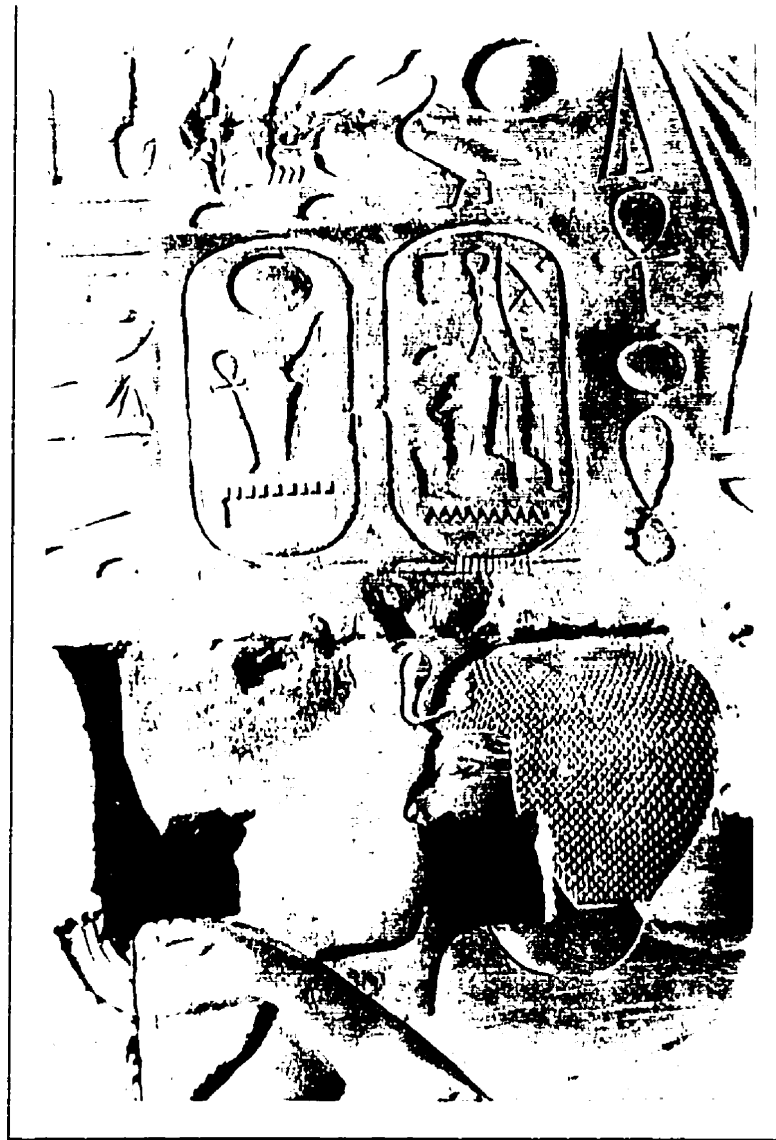
B) Relief of Seti I from the 8th Pylon at Karnak. Amen and Mut. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 105.

B)



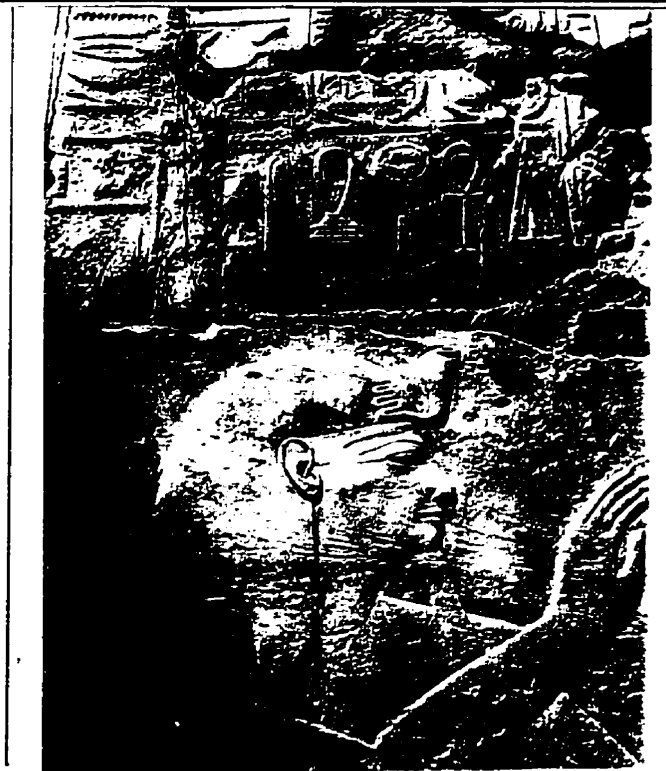
A)

A) Relief of Seti I from the 8th
Pylon at Karnak. Nelson, *Key
Plans*, KG 102.



B)

B) Relief of Seti I from the Karnak
Hypostyle Hall showing mature
Ramesside style. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1,
Pl. 169; *Key Plans*, KB 255.



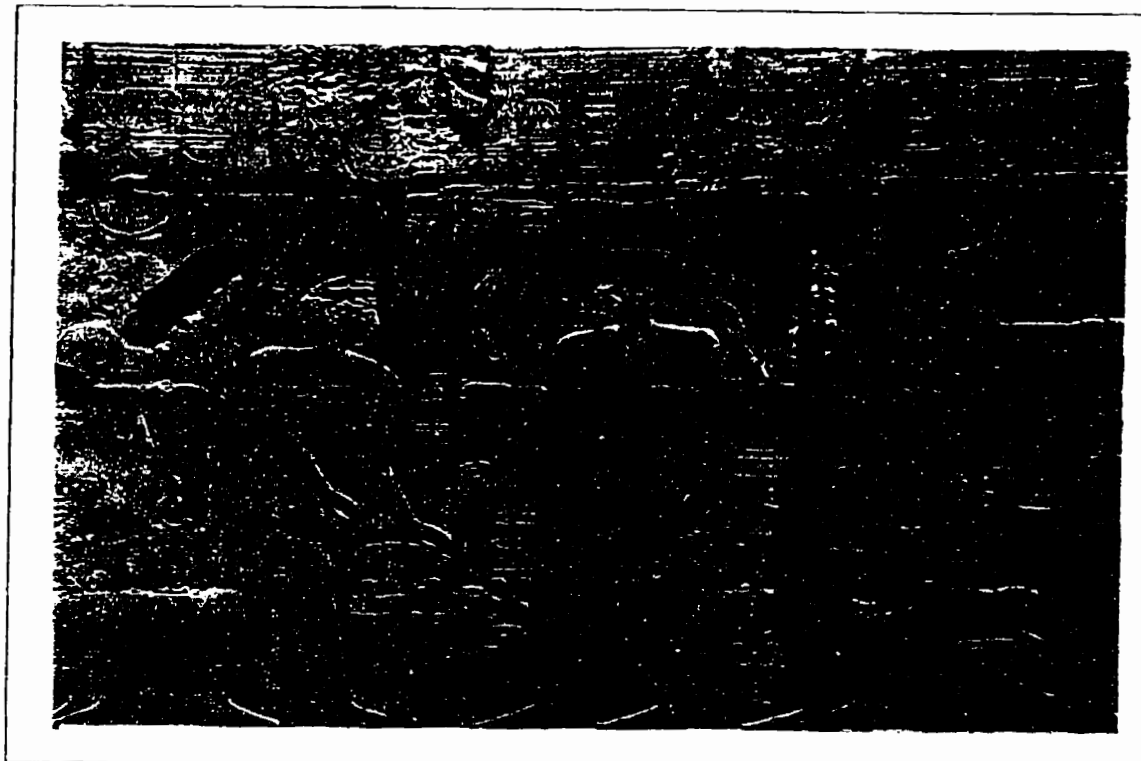
A)

A) Column relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.

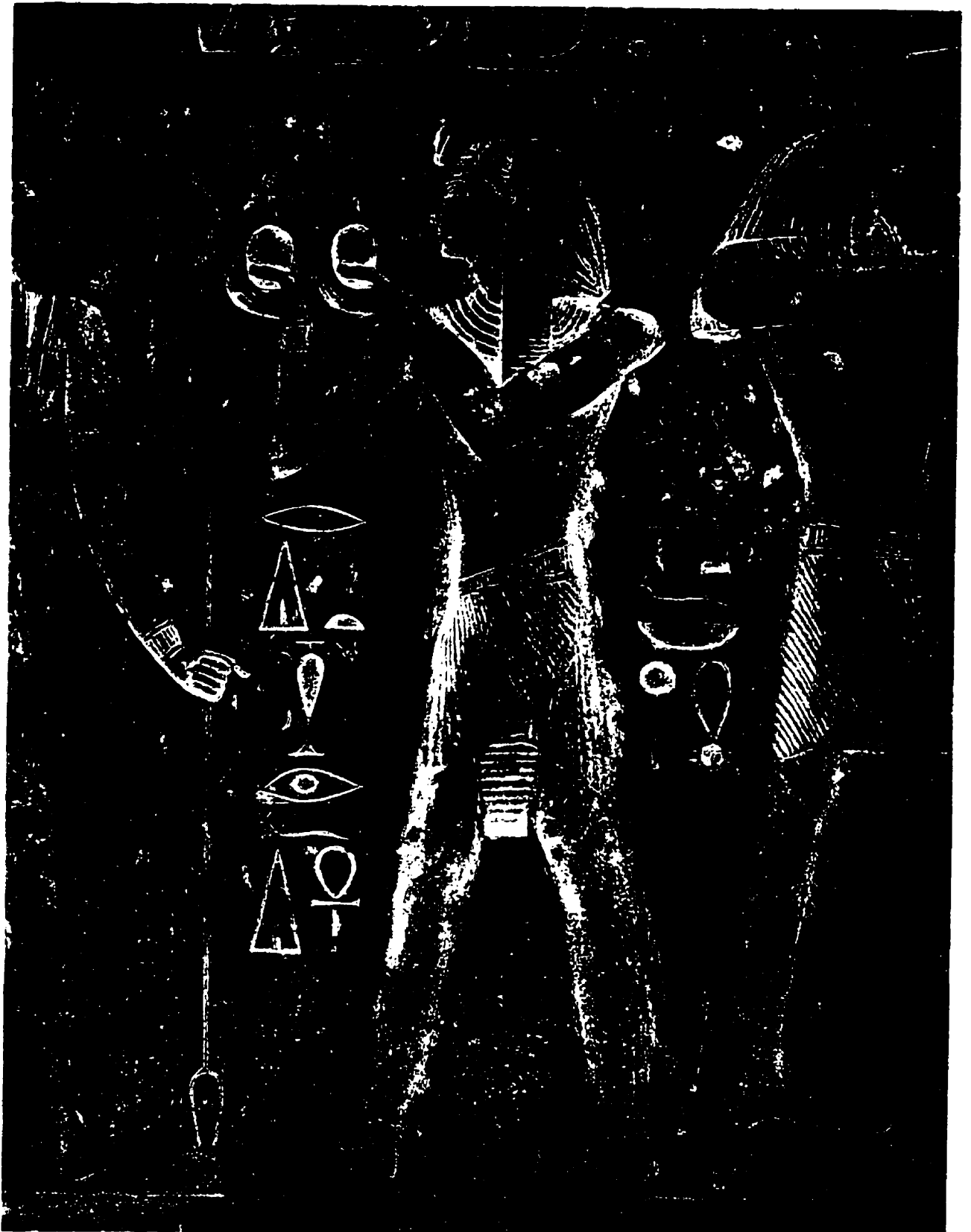


B) Relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall west wall. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 145; *Key Plans*, KB 226.

B)



Former Bruxelles E. 407. Lintel of Seti I from Heliopolis (detail).
Photo courtesy institut royal du patrimoine artistique, Belgium.



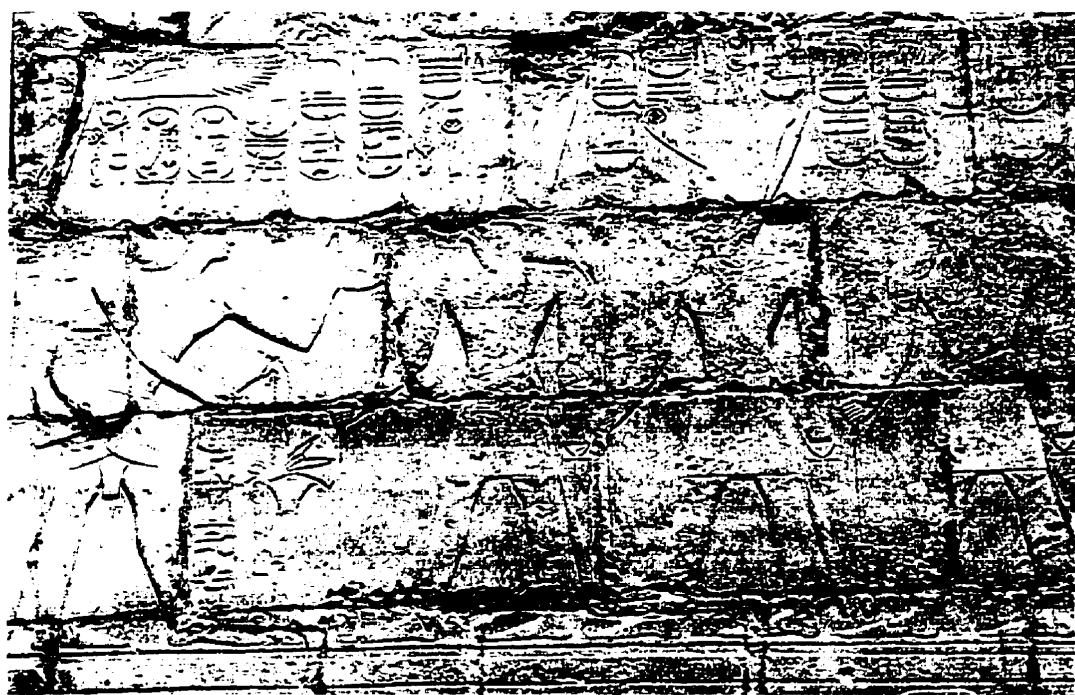
A)

A) Figure of Seti I from battle reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs of King Sery I*, pl. 36.



B) Posthumous scene of Ramesses I from the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 138; *Key Plans*, KB 217.

B)



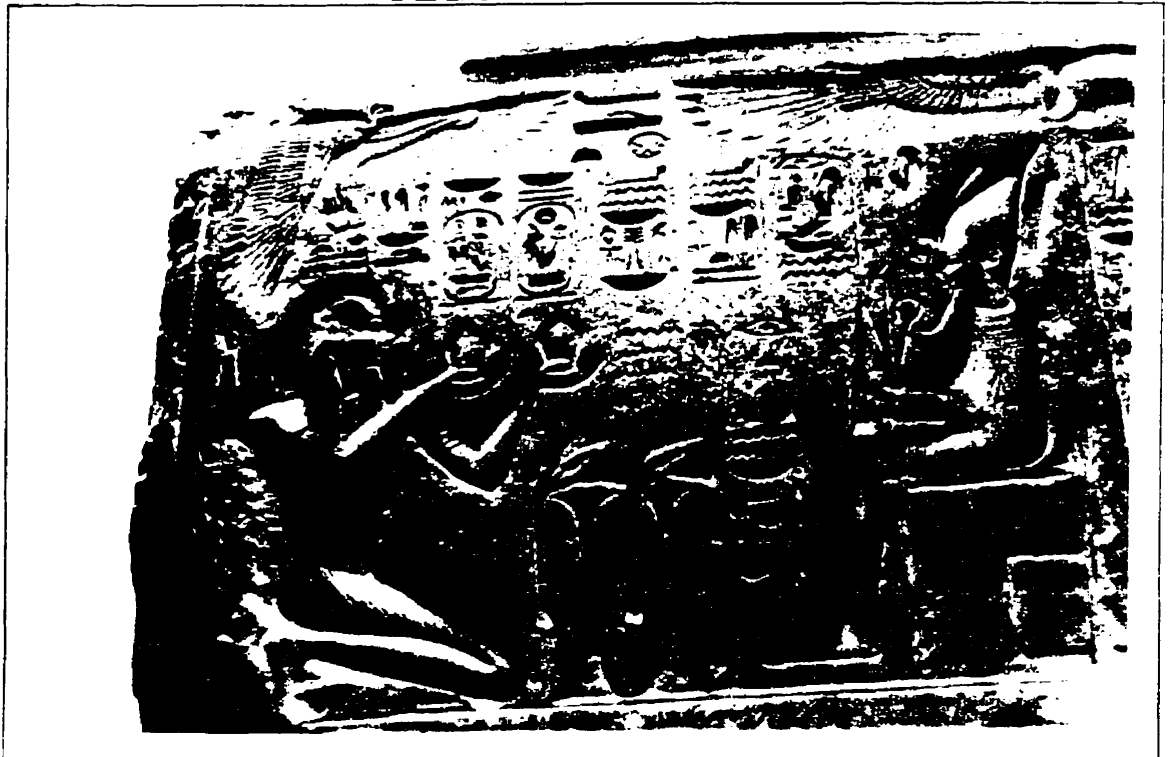
A)

A) Figure of Seti I from battle reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs of King Sery I*, pl. 14.



B) Relief of Seti I on a granite lintel from Abydos. Cairo, JdE 32091.

B)



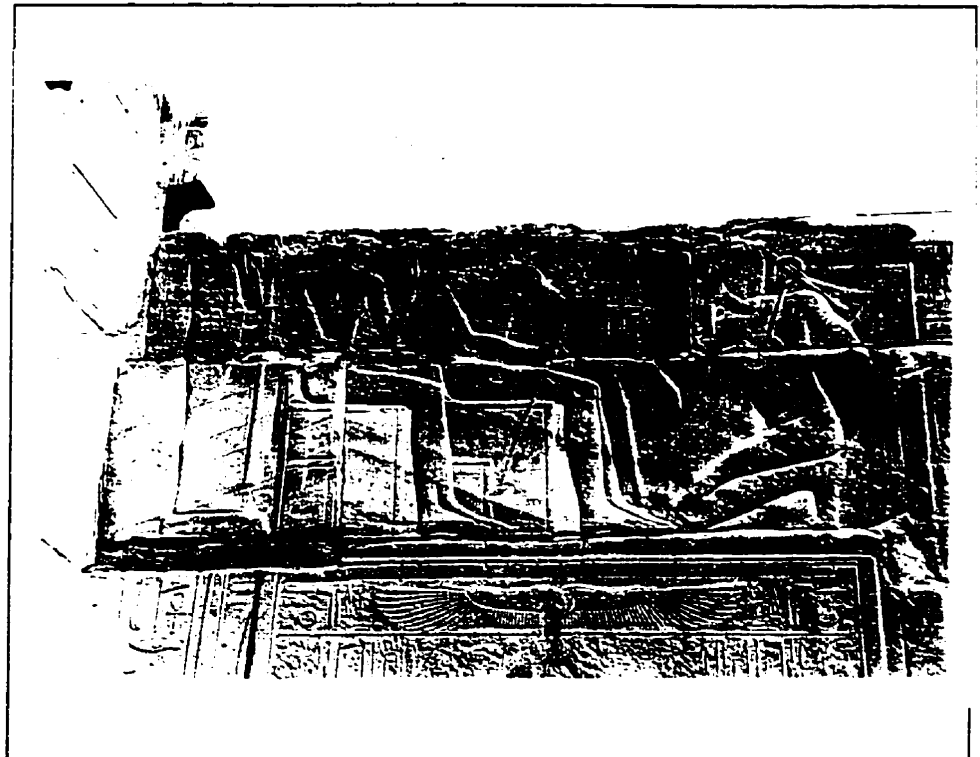
A)

A) Amenhotep III leaning forward to fan a brazier. Relief from Luxor temple. H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl 141



B) Relief of Seti I from the barque sanctuary of Amen in Gurnah temple. Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 221.

B)



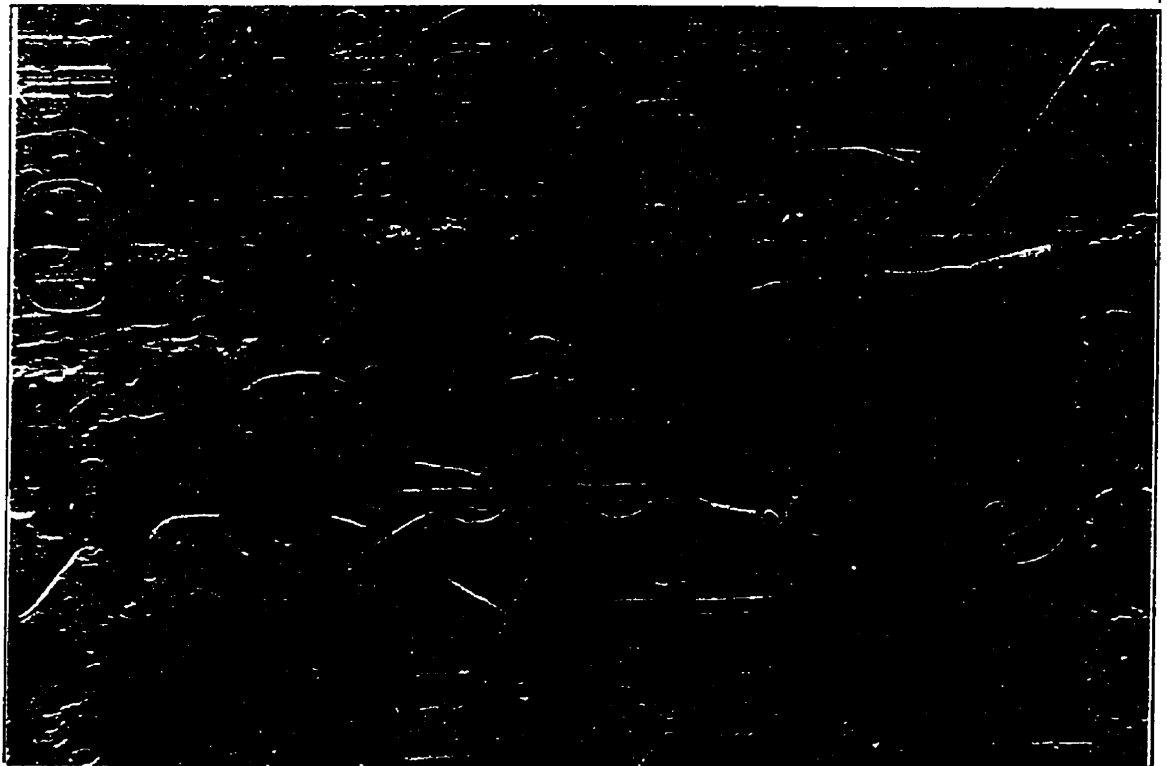
A)

A) Recut figure of Amenhotep III from the main sanctuary of Amen in Luxor temple. *PM II*², 324 (138). Mahmud Abdel-Raziq, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis III*, 53 and 101.



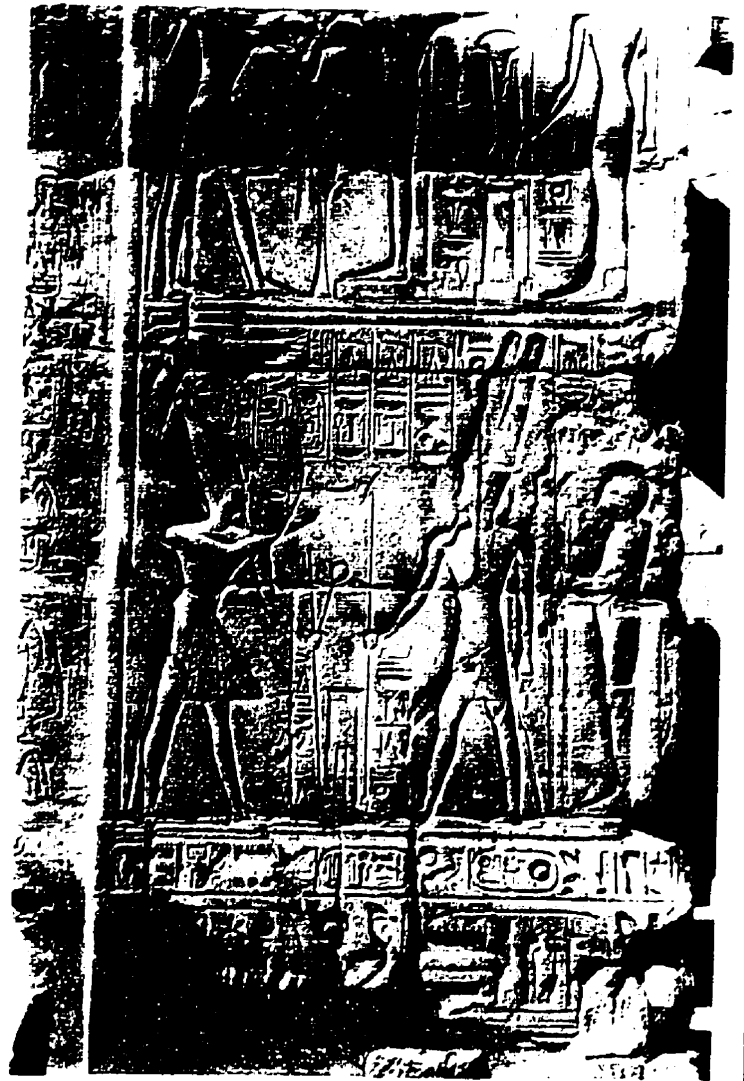
B) Relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall showing an ointment jar in the form of a king kneeling with splayed knees. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 153; *Key Plans*, KB 235.

B)



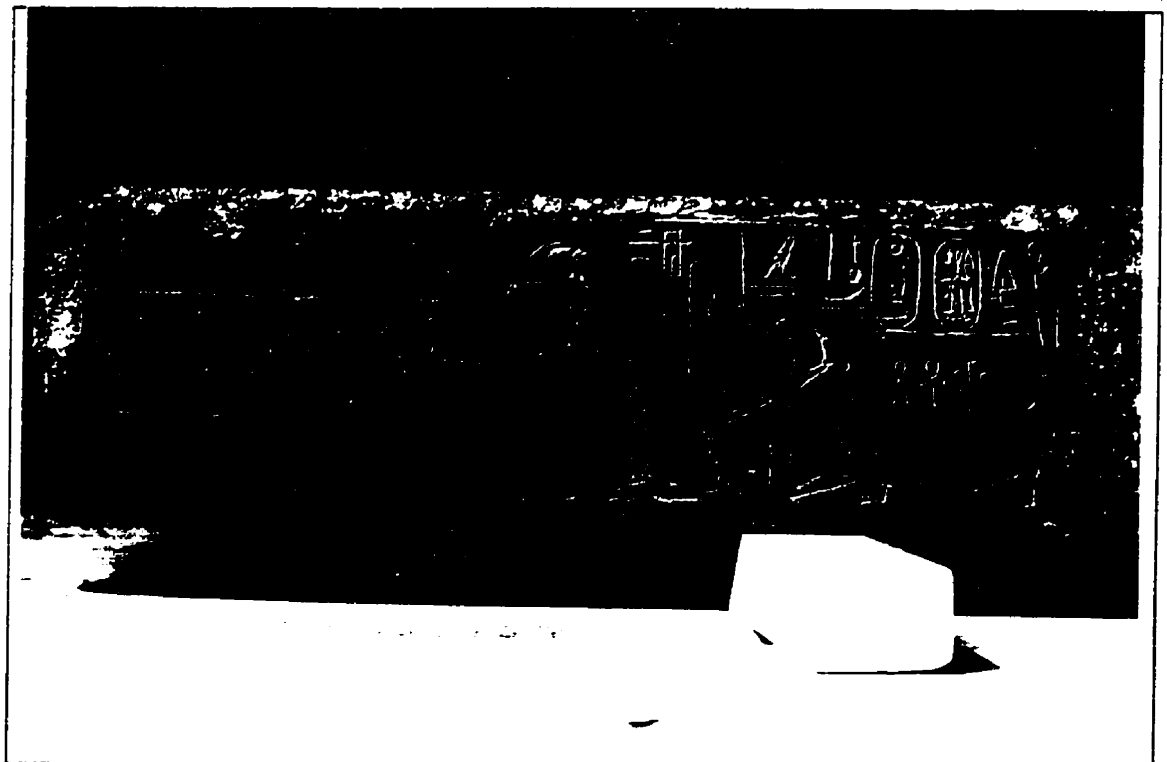
A)

A) Relief of Ramesses II from the south exterior gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall originally laid out in paint by Seti I. West jamb, bottom register. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KO 45.



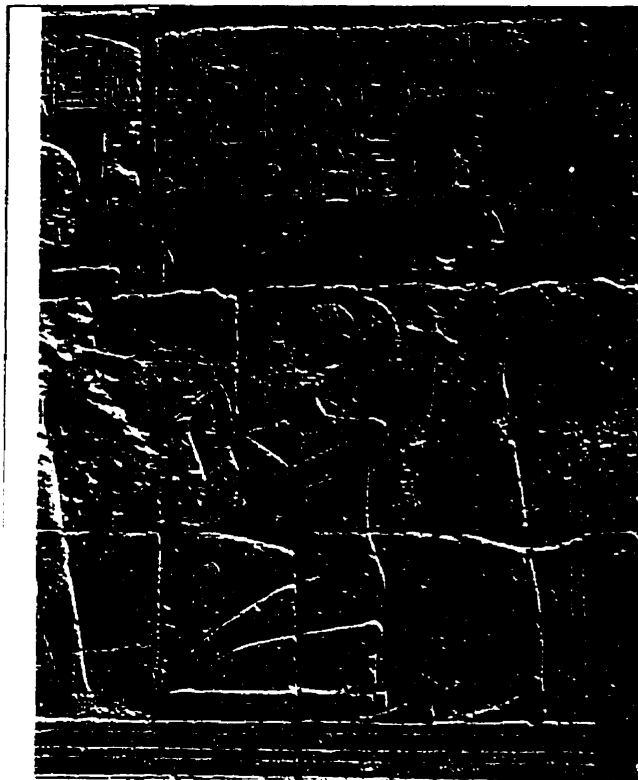
B) Seti I kneeling with splayed knees. Vignette from offering table for Horus from Heliopolis. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek E. 115/AEIN 44/A 742.

B)



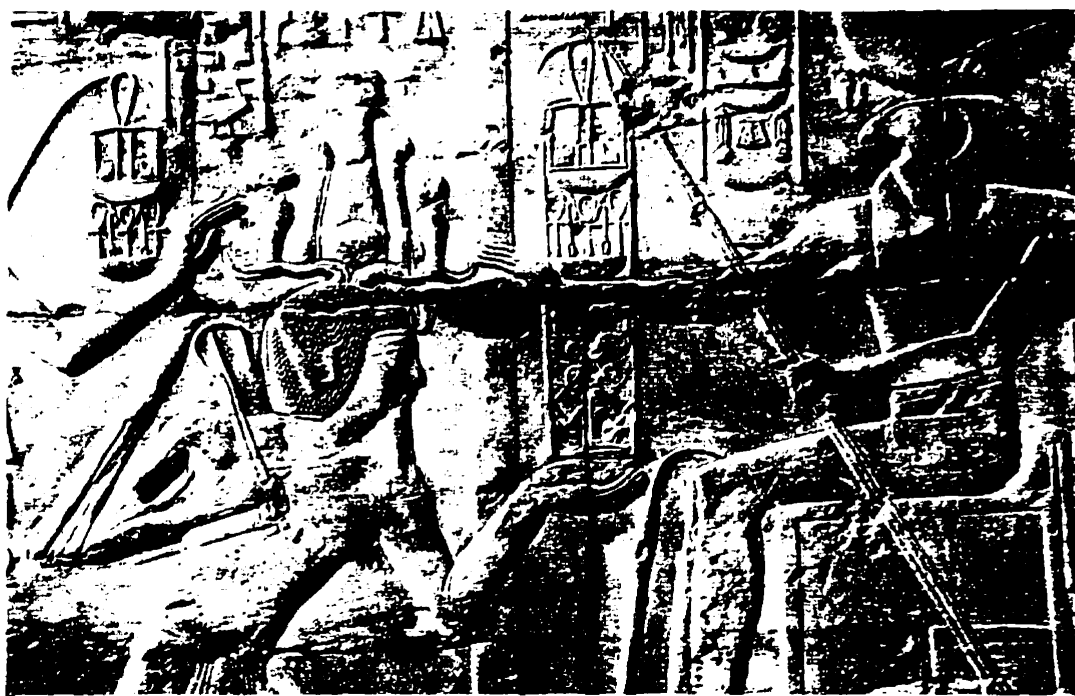
A)

A) Relief of Seti I from Room 16 at Gurnah temple. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 256.

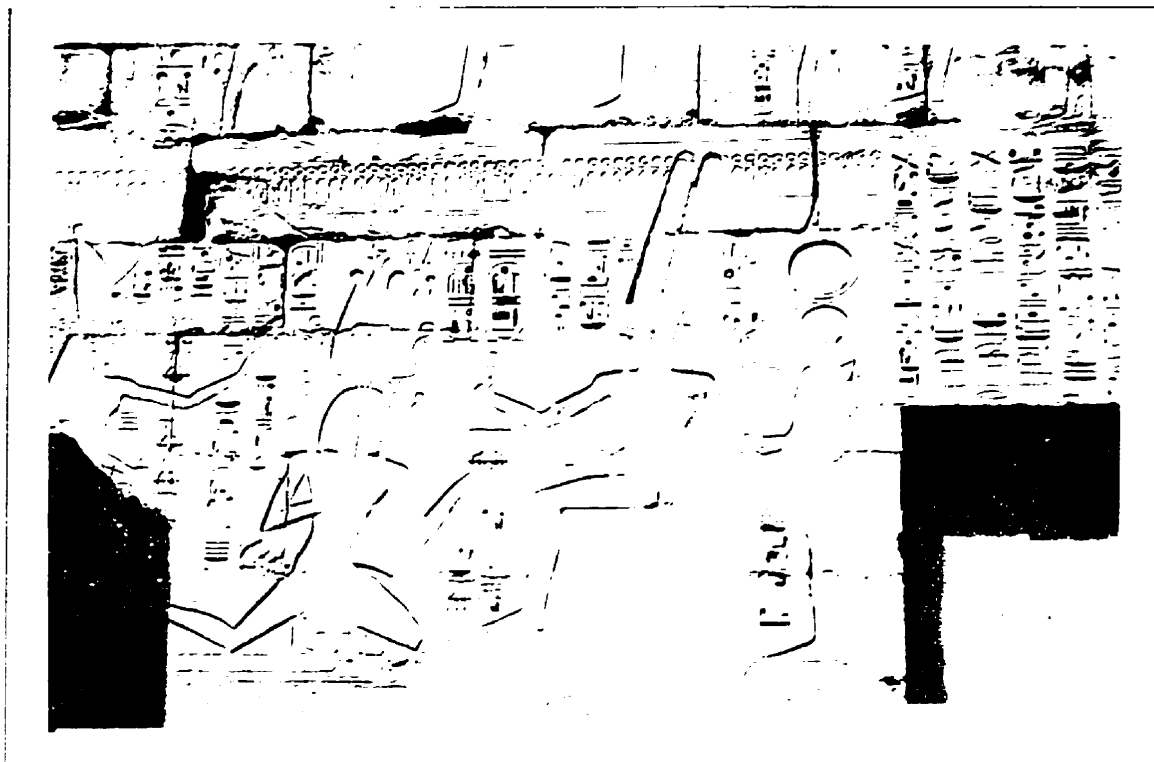


B) Relief of Seti I from the north interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall exhibiting cosmetic recutting of the king's arms, face, chest and wig. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 192; *Key Plans*, KB 286.

B)



A)



A) Relief of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu kneeling with his knees splayed. *PM II*², 505 (114).

B)

B) Relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall exhibiting cosmetic recutting of the king's headdress, forward arm, chest and shoulder. Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, 197; *Key Plans*, KB 291.



A)

Long military wig of Seti I
type A.



B)

Long military wig of Seti I
type B.

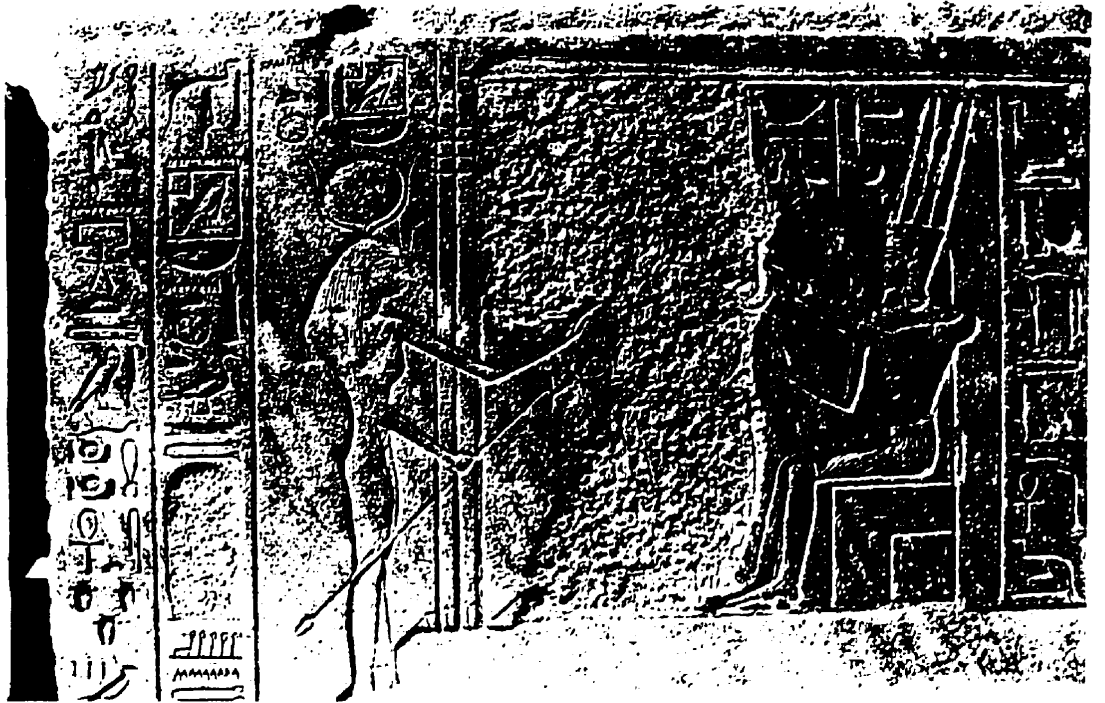


C)

Long military wig of Seti I
type C.



A)



A) *Damnatio Memoriae* of Hatshepsut on a block from the *chapelle rouge*.
An example of hacking pattern on a hard stone monument.

B) Prow of the barque of Amen-Re from a relief of Seti I in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Nelson, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197; *Key Plans*, KB 292.

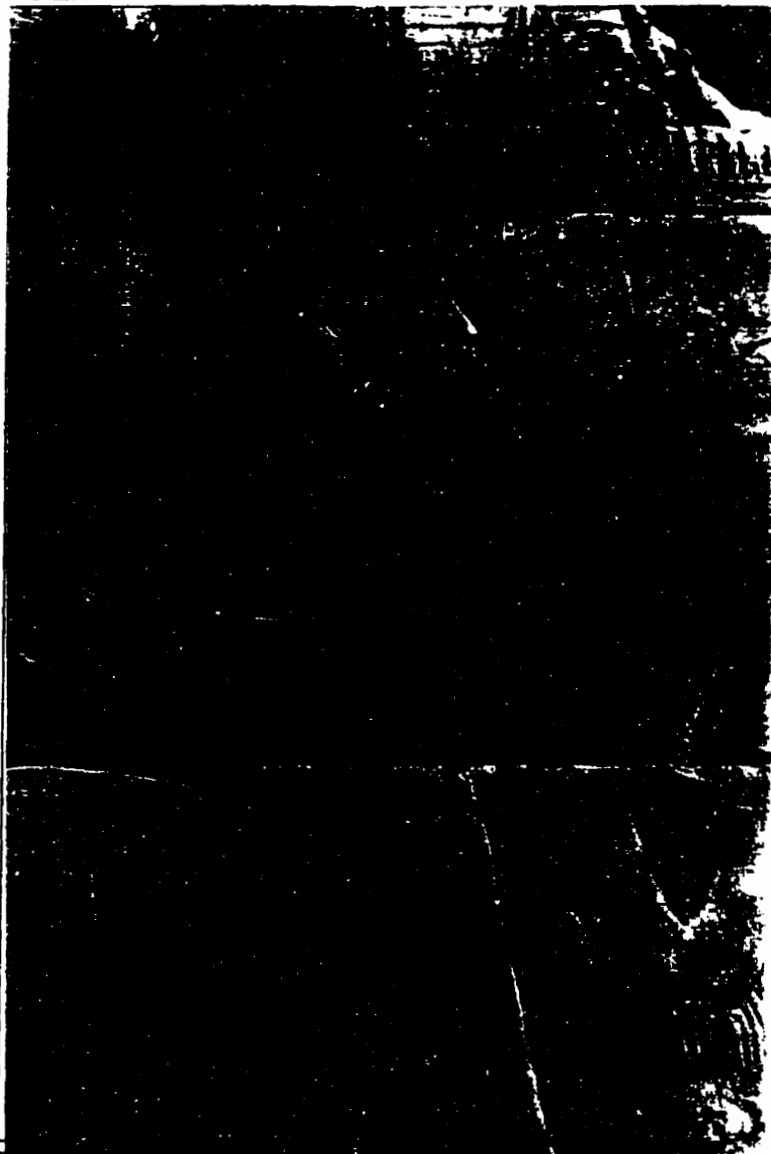
B)



A)

A) Restored figure of Amen-Re from the 6th Pylon at Karnak. Originally restored by Tutankhamen, it has been recut by Horemheb who usurped Tutankhamen's cartouche in the renewal text. Nelson, *Key Plans* KD 160a-b.

B) Lunette of the Historical Stela of Amenhotep II from Memphis. Cairo JdE 86763. Note recutting on the legs of Amen and the king on the left side.



B)



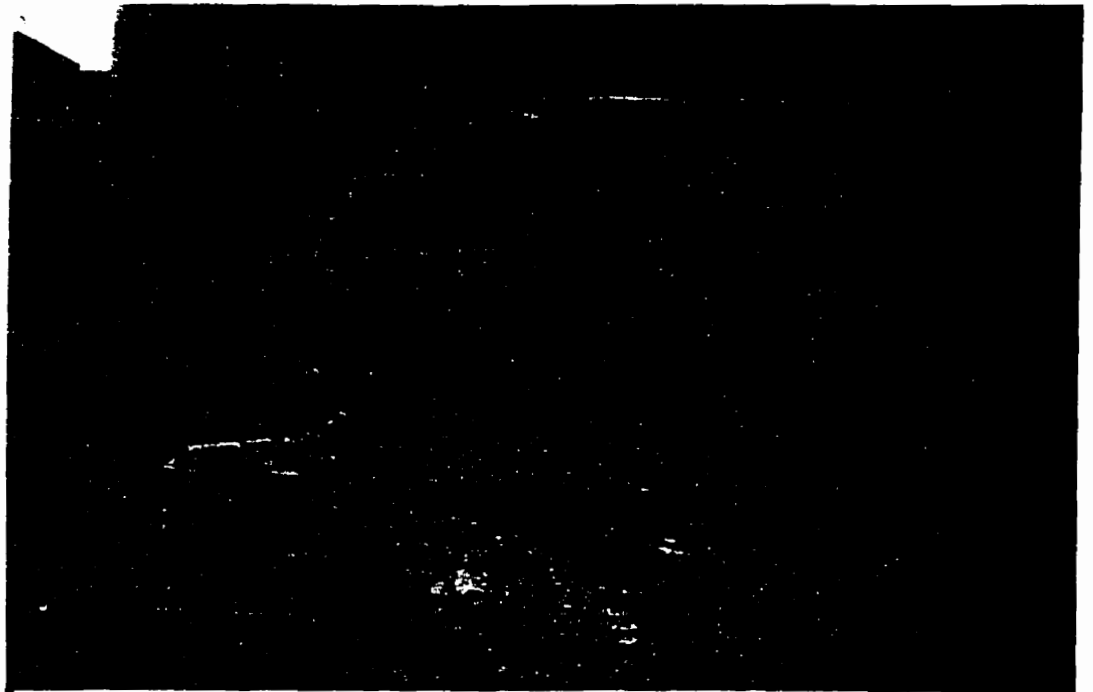
A)

A) Relief of Amenhotep II
Restored by Seti I on the south-
east gate of the w3dy-hall at
Karnak Nelson, *Key Plans*,
KC 35.



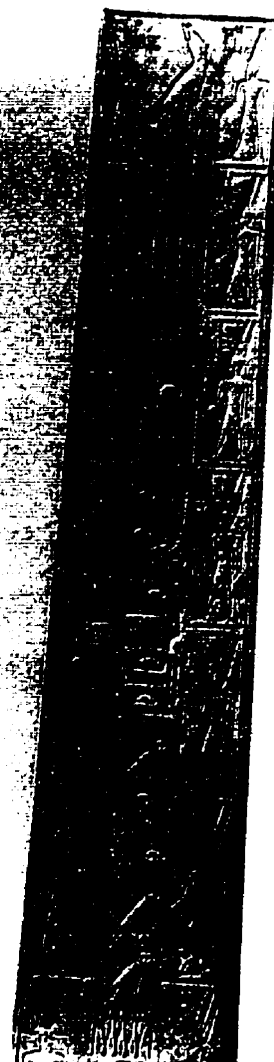
B) Secondary restoration of Seti I
on the 4th Pylon at Karnak with
recutting on the goddesses' figure.
Located at KC 118-119.

B)



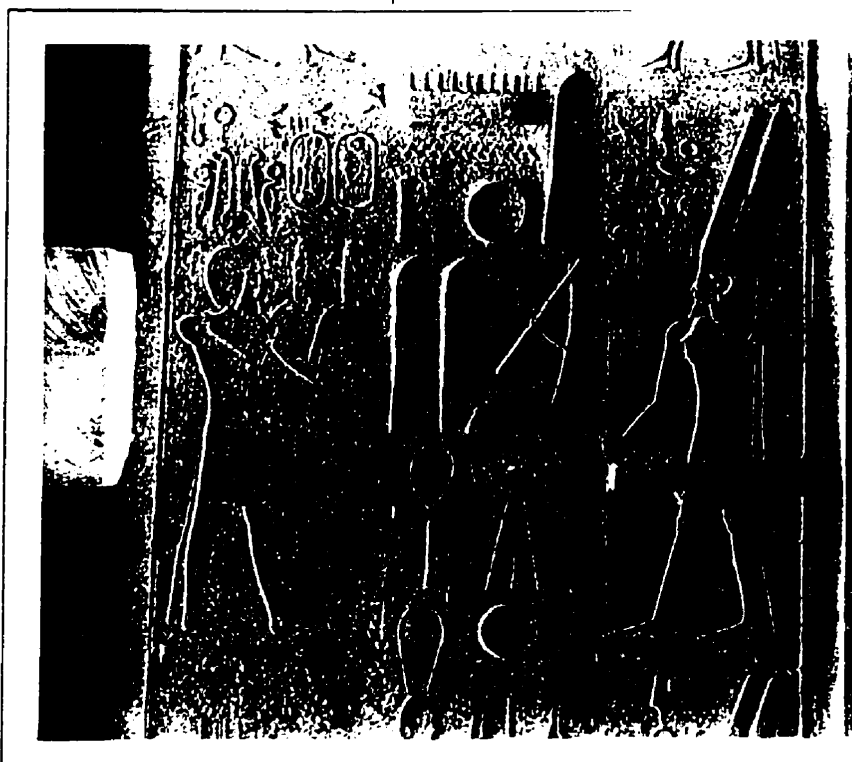
A)

A) Shaft of obelisk "E" of Hatshepsut at Karnak. The lighter colored areas have been recut during restoration. *PM II*², 81-82 (E).



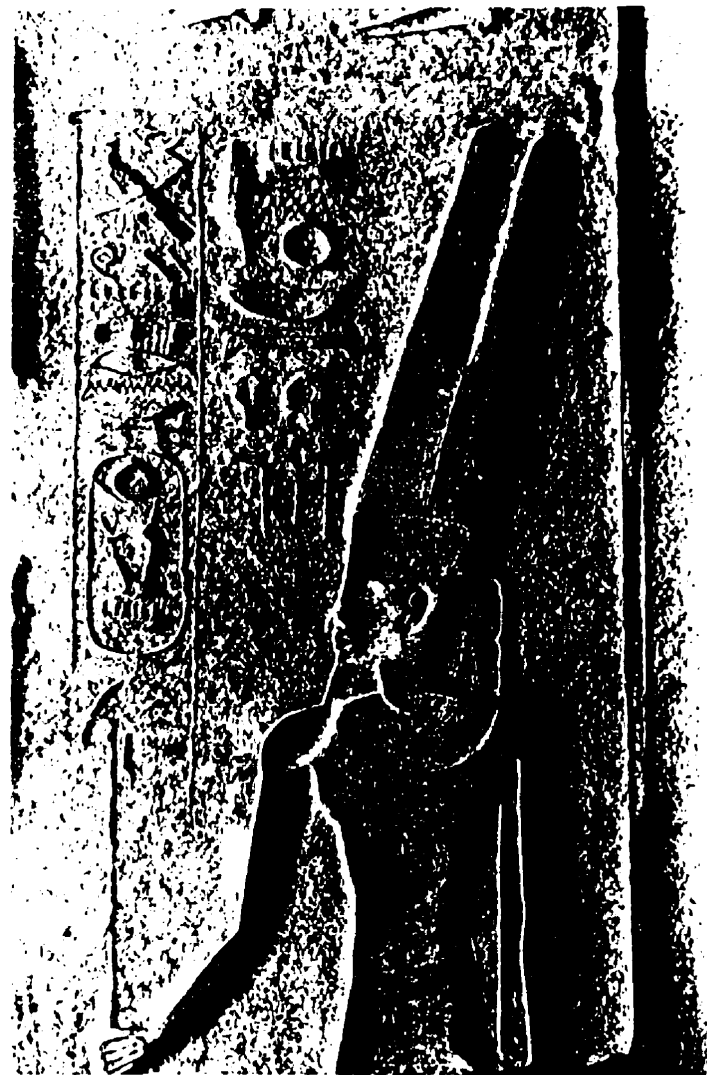
B) A scene on the upper shaft of the fallen obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut from Karnak. Seti I has added his titulary to the royal figure by shaving down the area surrounding it without altering the figure itself. *PM II*², 82-81 (F).

B)



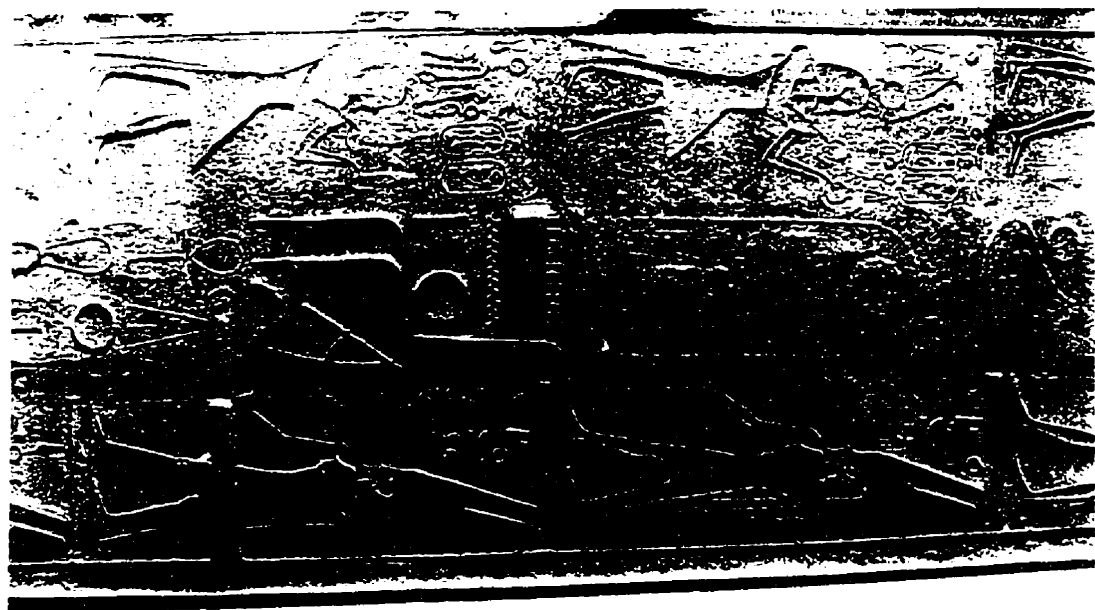
A)

A) Restored figure of Amen with renewal text of Seti I on the fallen obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut from Karnak.



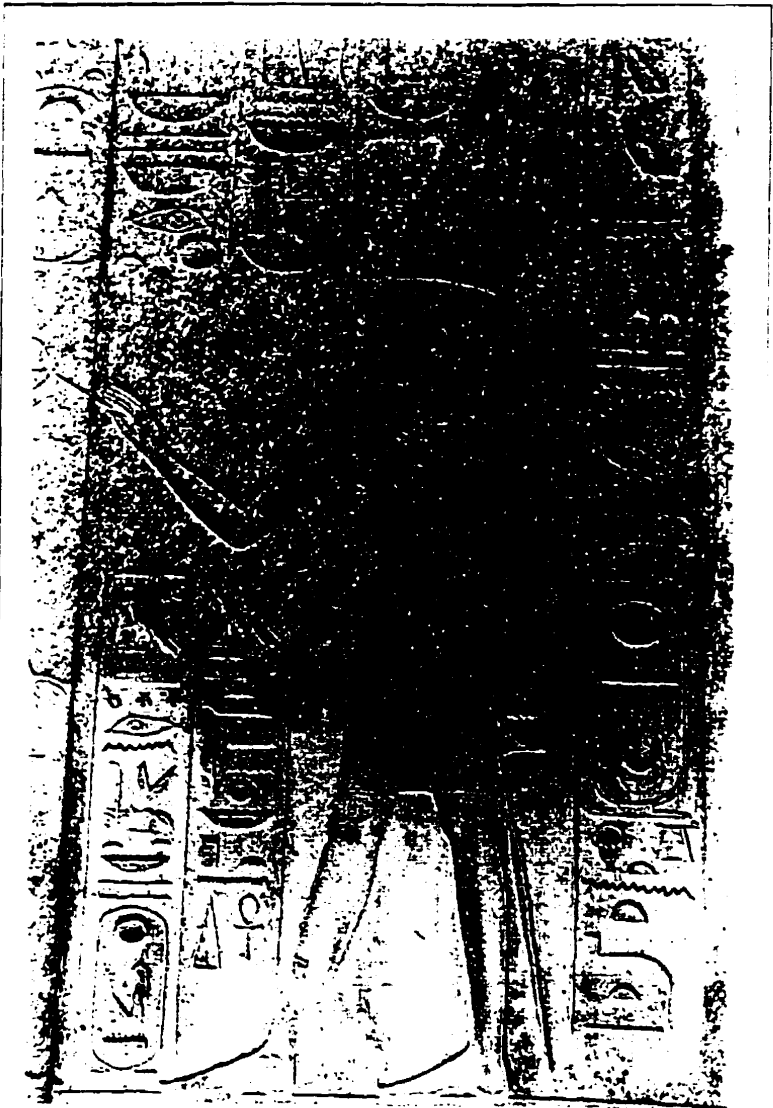
B) Obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut. The entire surface of its upper shaft has been shaved back during its restoration, partially erasing the prenomen of Thutmose III in the process. Seti I has added his protocol to the royal figures without altering the figures themselves.

B)



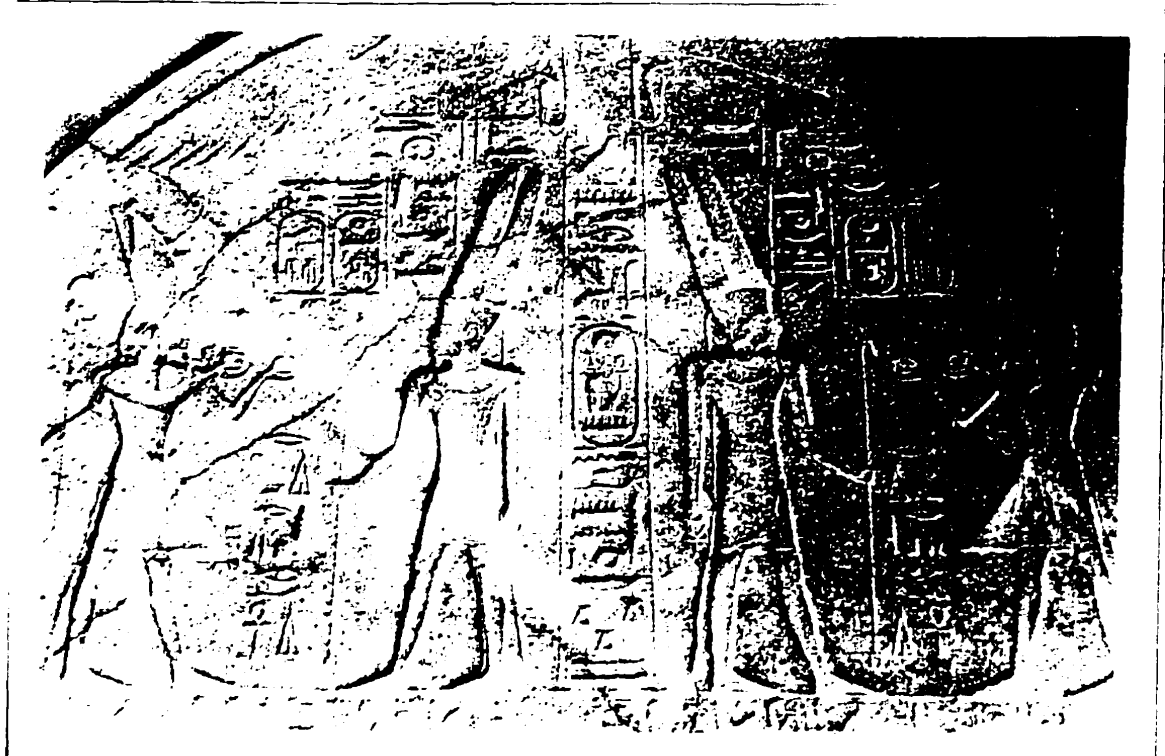
A)

A) Restored figure of Amen from a gate between the 5th and 6th Pylons. The figure seems to have been restored by Tutankhamen with Seti I adding a renewal text without altering the figure. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KC 48c.



B) Lunette of Cairo CG 34011, a stela of Thutmose III. The few traces recutting of the divine figures seem to be cosmetic adjustments, not secondary restoration.

B)



A)

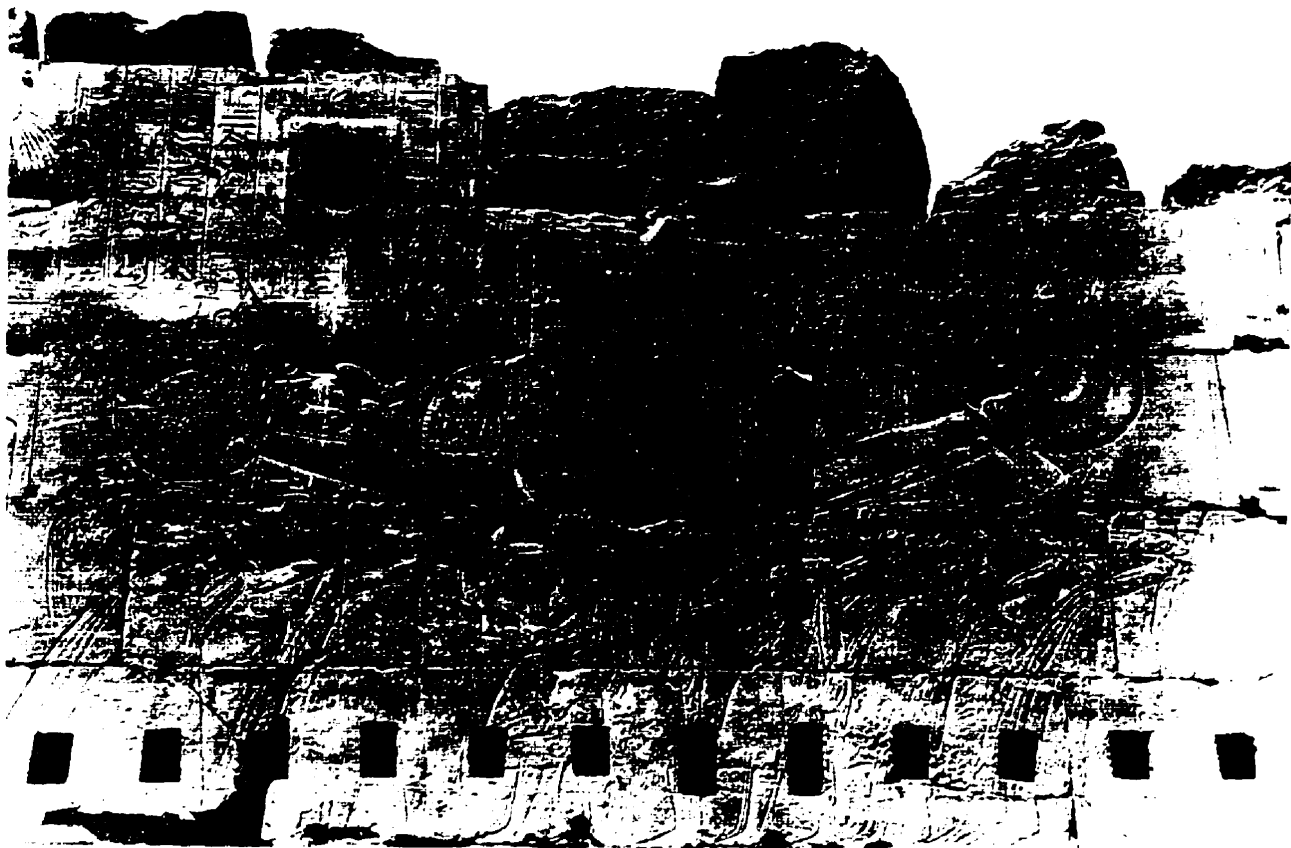
A) Restored scene on the south-east jamb of the gate through the 7th Pylon restored by Seti I. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 86



B) Hathor, Weret-hekau and Thutmose II on the north face of the 8th Pylon, east tower. Hathor's figure has been restored twice in the post-Amarna period. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 104.

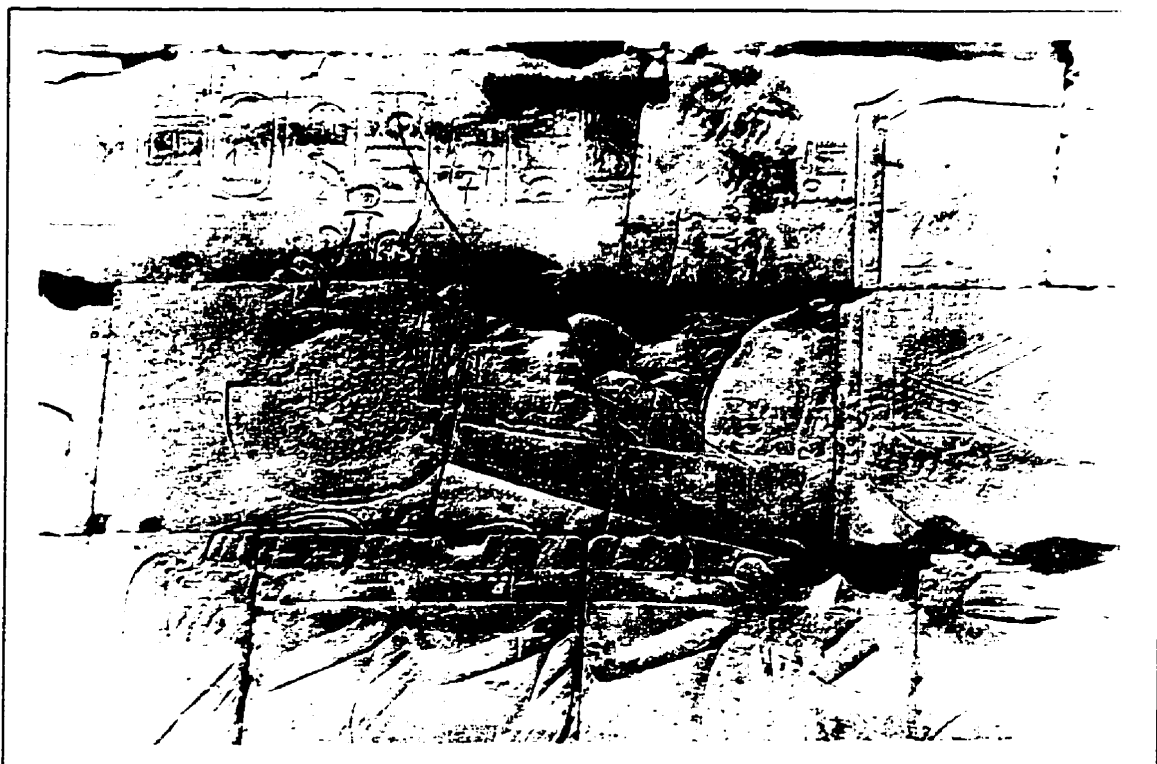
B)

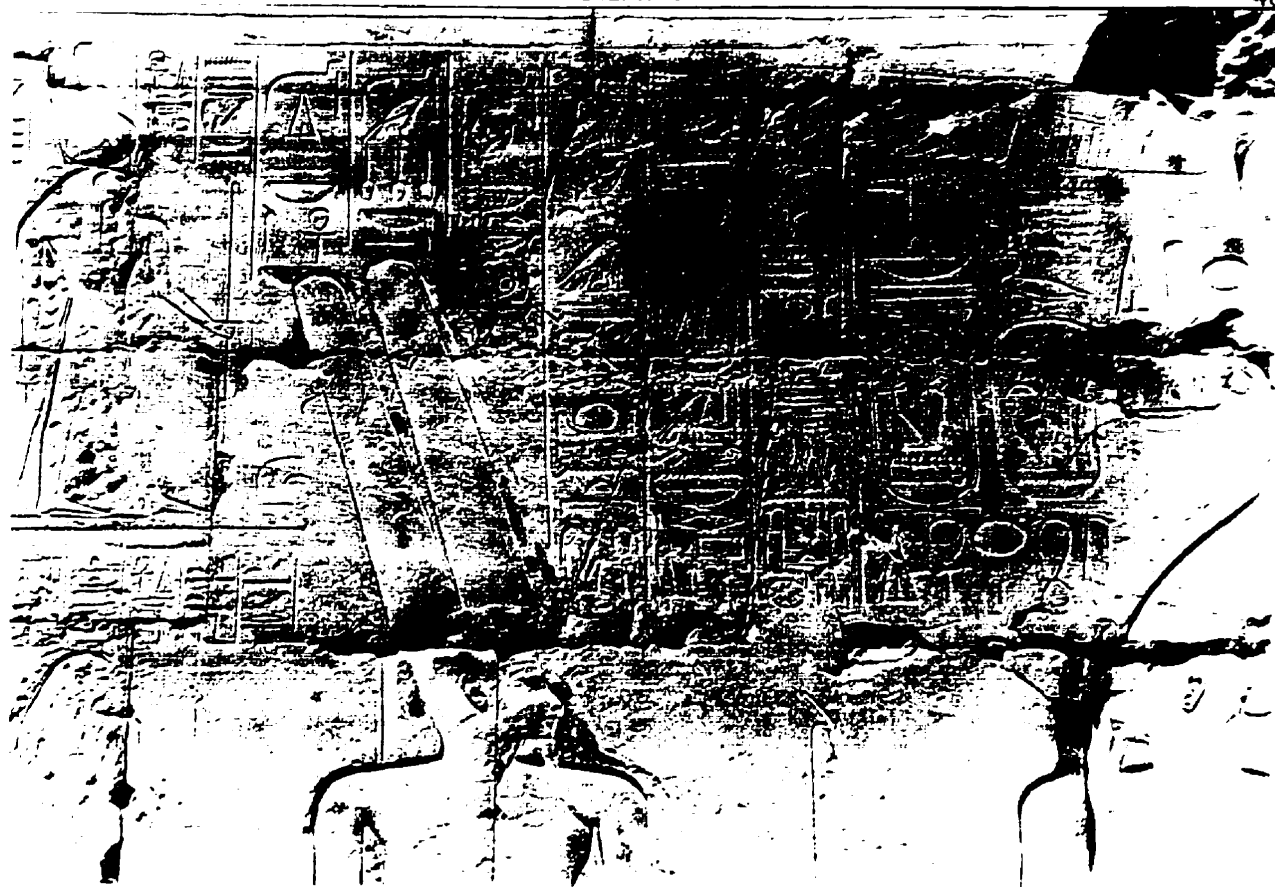




A) Barque of Amen-R on the 8th Pylon. Tutankhamen usurped by Seti I. Nelson, *Key Plans* KG 104.

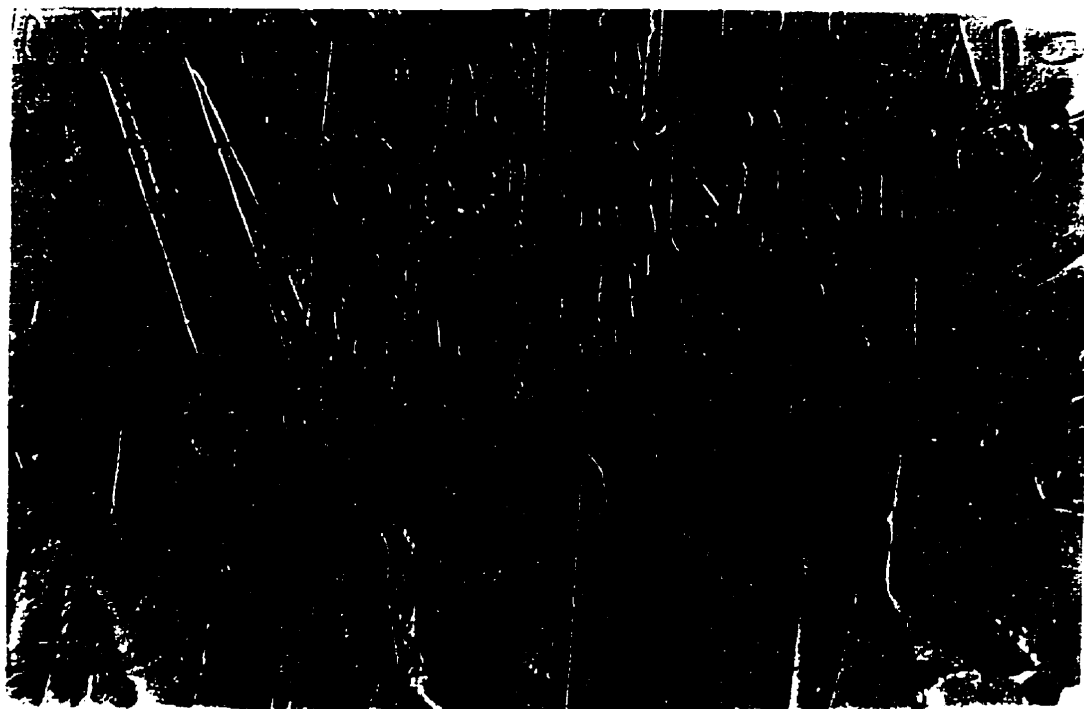
B) Prow of the barque. Note Seti's prenomen rebus on the veil, usurped from Tutankhamen.





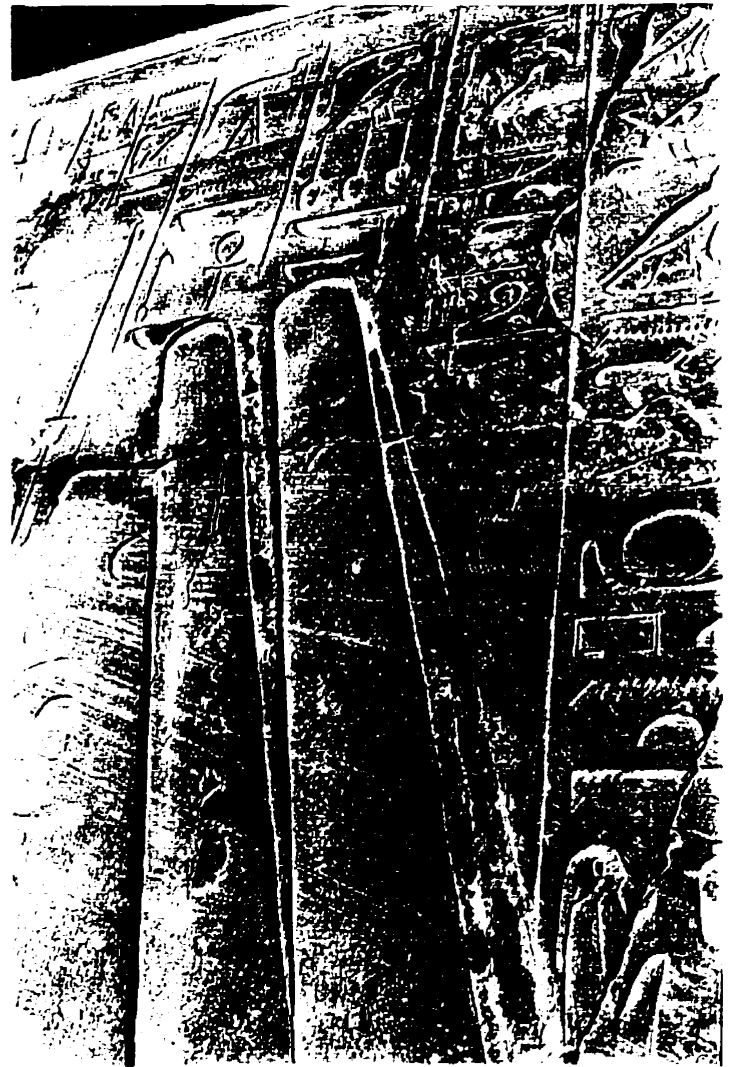
A) Amen-Re and Seti I from the 8th Pylon east tower. Note the secondary restoration of Amen's figure and protocol and earlier king's crown. Nelson, *Key Plans*. KG 102

B) Closer view. Note the recutting of Amen's plumes, armpit and face. Darker areas are discolored plaster. The oval in the *ḥn* below the cartouche is part of Thutmose II's prenomen.



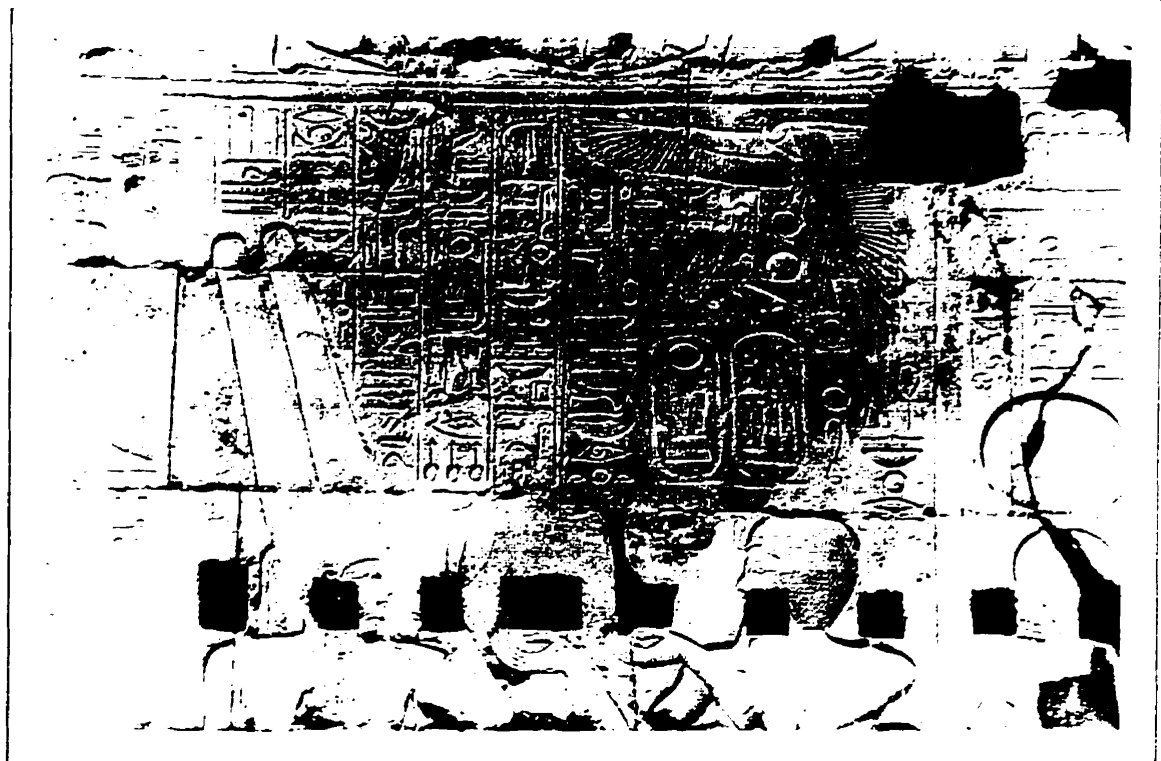
A)

A) Recutting of Amen's plumes at KG 102. Discolored plaster is evident along with earlier plumes. Final version crowds earlier text. Traces of original text behind shaft of the left plume.



B) Seti I offering wine to Amen. Amen's figure and protocol exhibit secondary restoration. While in front of his face is plaster. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 103.

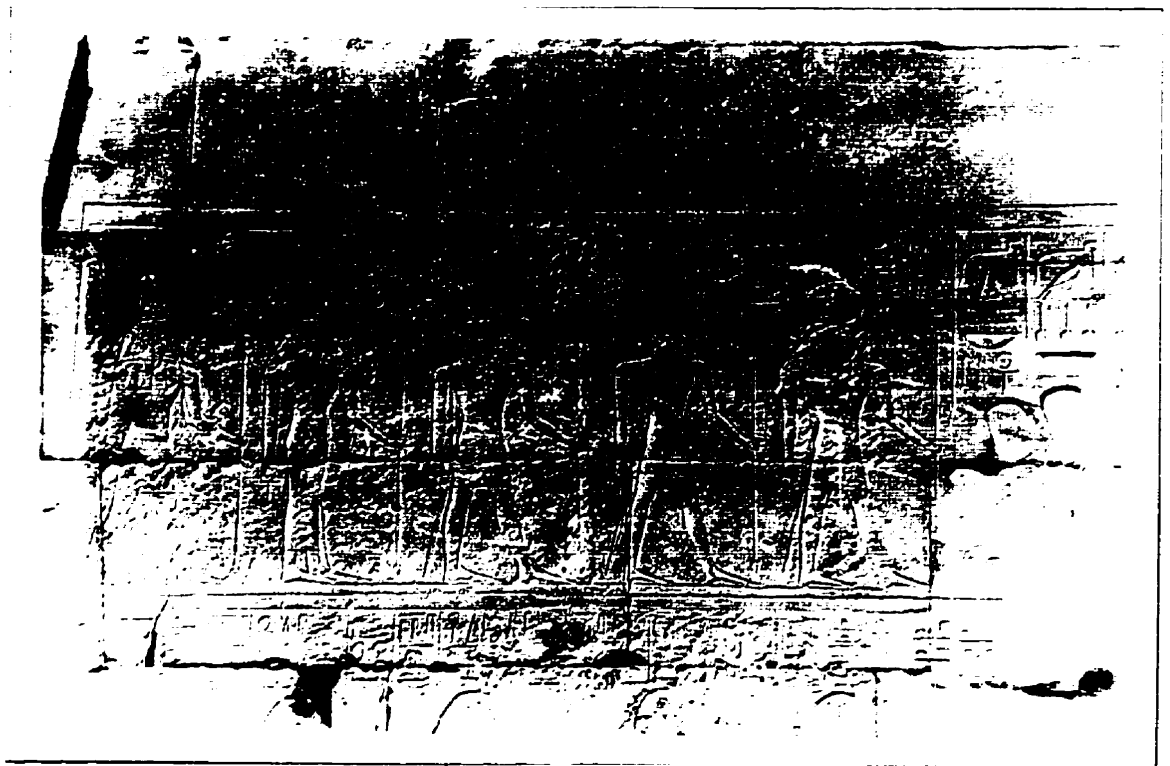
B)





Recutting from the secondary restoration of Amen's fist with *ḥnh*, patched with discolored plaster in KG 103. Note earlier *ḥnh* below and left of final version.

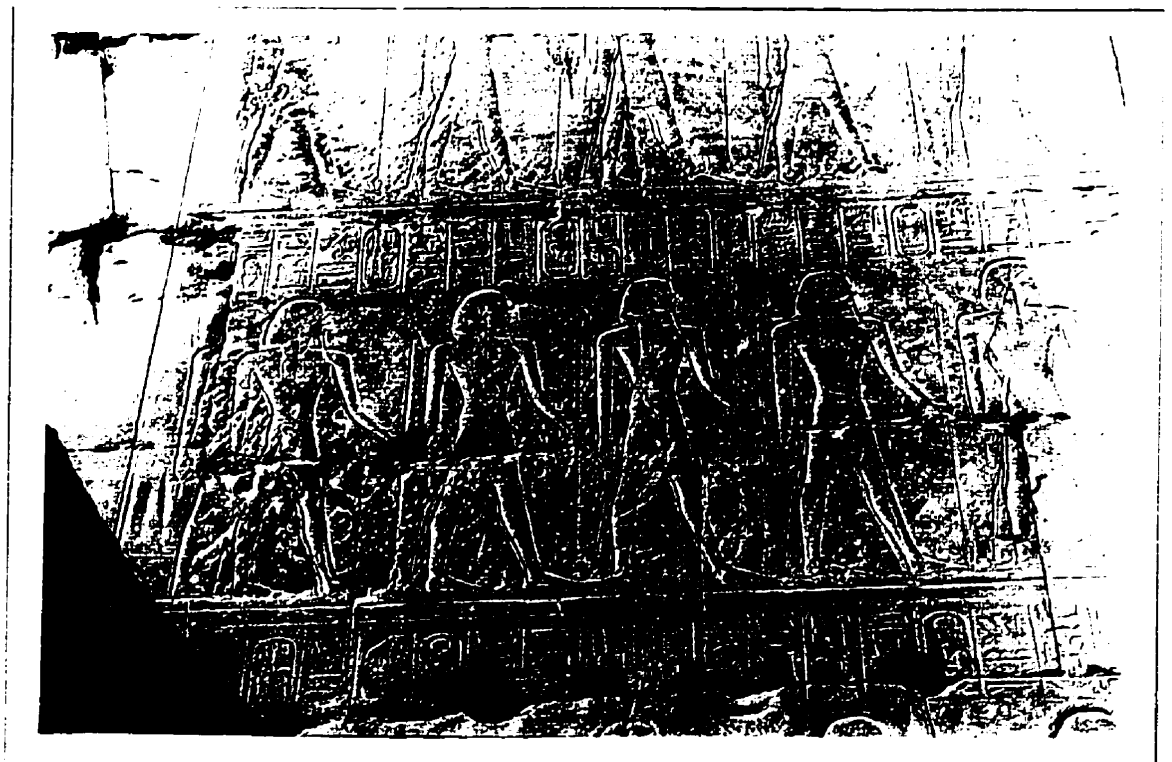
A)



A) Recut figures of the Lesser Ennead on the top register of KG 102. The Heliopolitan sun god Atum was never vandalized by the Amarna iconoclasts.

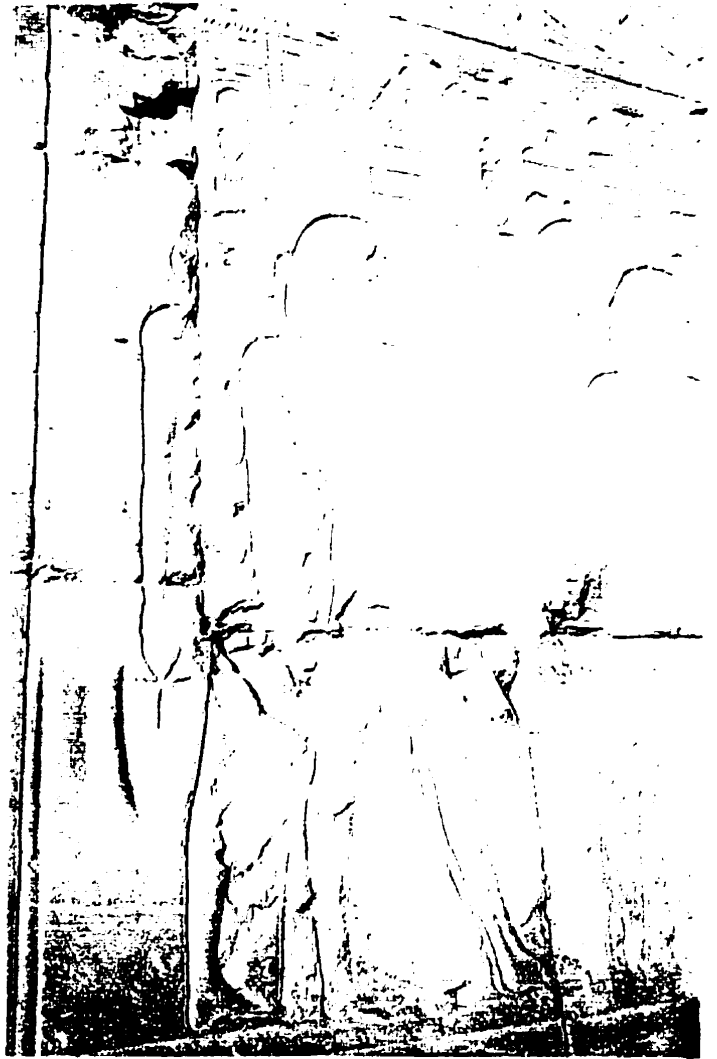
B) Figures of the Greater Ennead in the middle register of KG 103. The rear shoulder and leg of Nemty's figure was partially covered by a wall in the Amarna era and escaped damage. Tutankhamen shifted it to the right where it was recut by Seti I.

B)



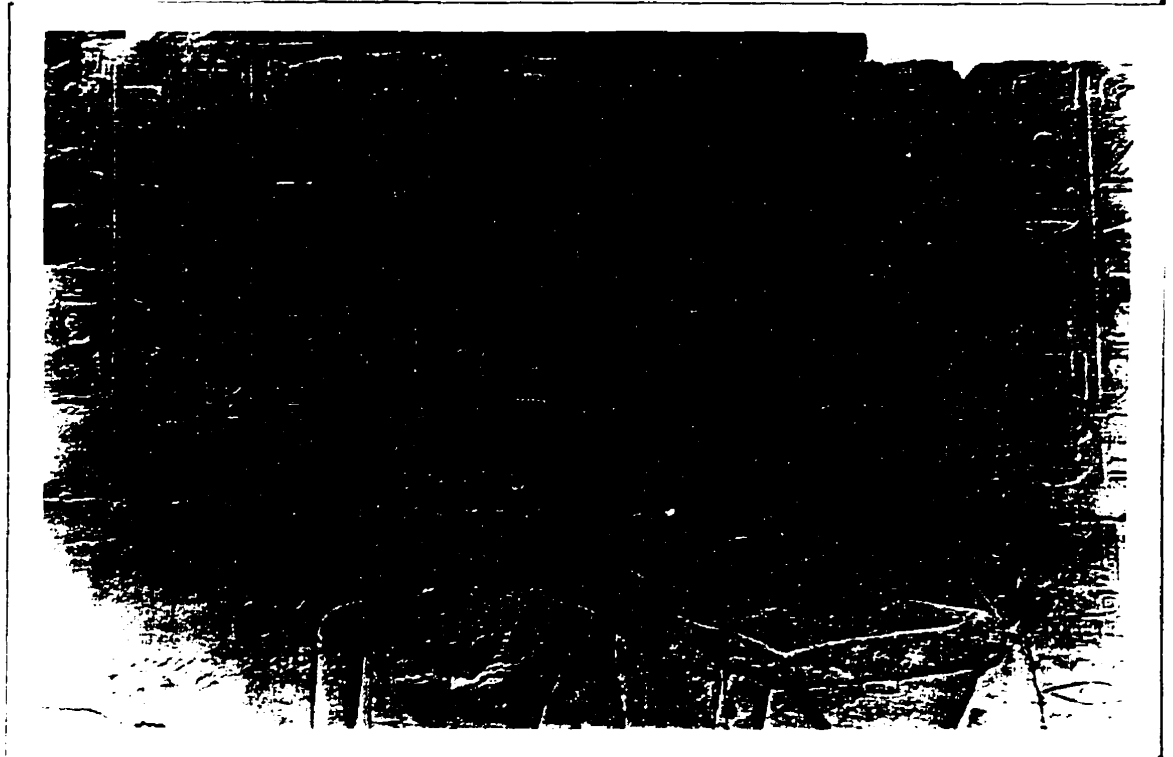
A)

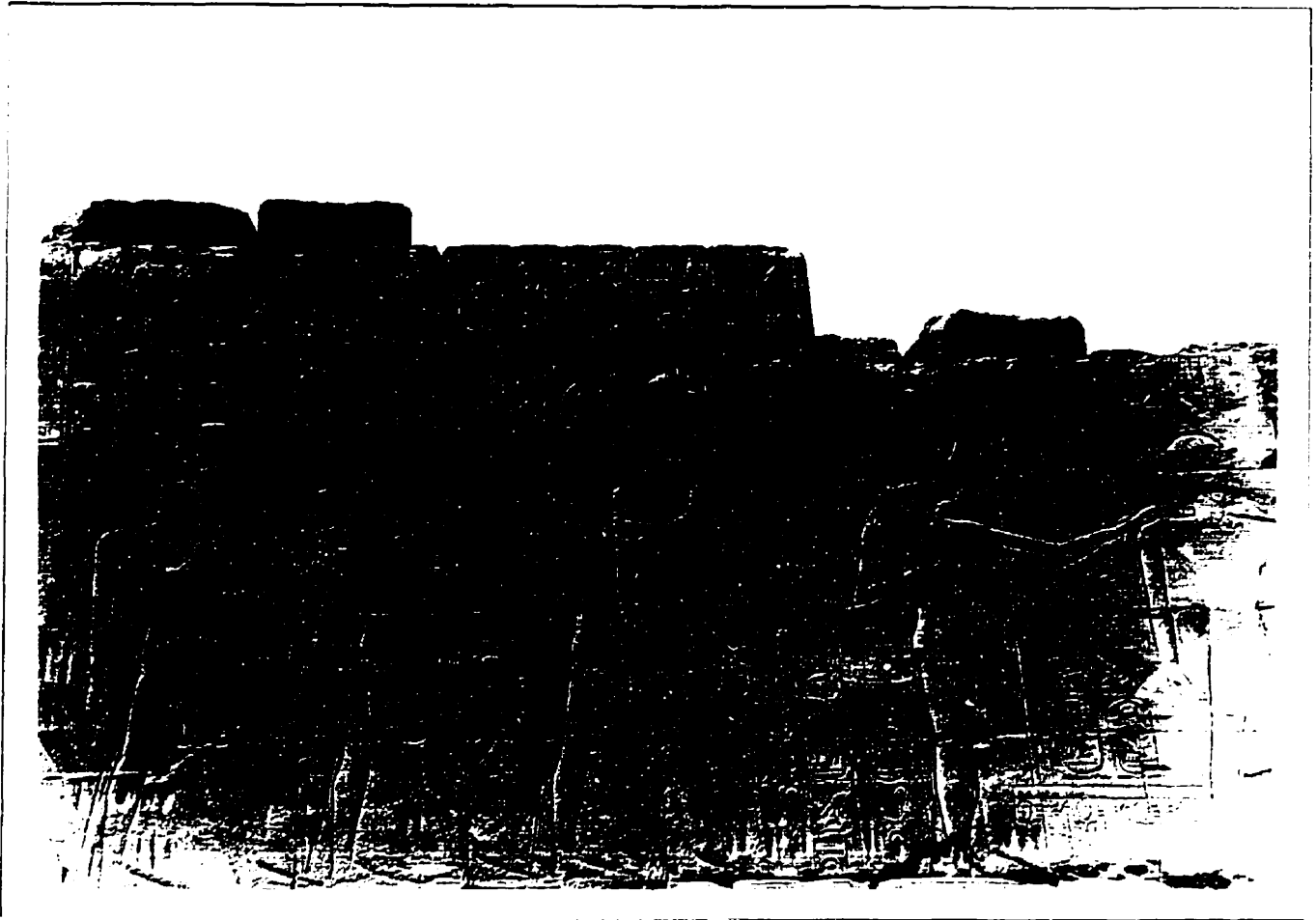
A) Recut figure of Nemty at from the 8th Pylon at KG103. The shoulder and leg at the left edge of the scene was covered by a wall added by Thutmose III and was never vandalized. The post-Amarna figure was shifted to the right by Tutankhamen and recut by Seti I



B) Seti I led by Monthu on the west tower of the 8th Pylon north face at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 108. The original royal figure was Thutmose II. Traces of his Horus name, *wsr phty*, can be made out in that of Seti I. The protocol of Amen-Re behind the vulture goddess was restored twice.

B)





West tower of the 8th Pylon at Karnak, north face, upper register. Seti I led by Monthu, = Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 108 and Thutmose II presented to Amen by Weret-hekau while Thoth enumerates regnal years, = KG 109. None of these deities, all of which are animal-headed, were recut by Seti. The cartouches of Thutmose II in the text above Thoth's head have been usurped by Seti, but much of the plaster has fallen away revealing extensive traces of the original version. Earlier traces of the extended arm of Weret-hekau are evident.

A) 8th Pylon, east tower, south face. Secondary restoration of the Amen figure with renewal text of Seti I. Extensive remnants of Amarna hacking were once covered with plaster. Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 143.

A)

B) KG 109. Weret-hekau presents Thutmose II to Amen-Re and Khonsu. An earlier royal figure knelt in front of Amen facing the goddess. The earlier version of Amen's hand which rested on the king's head can be made out in the midriff of the final king. Amen's figure has been reworked by Seti I. The figure of Khonsu is a post-Amarna addition to the scene. Elements of a *di 'nh mi R'* formula are embedded in his buttocks and thigh.

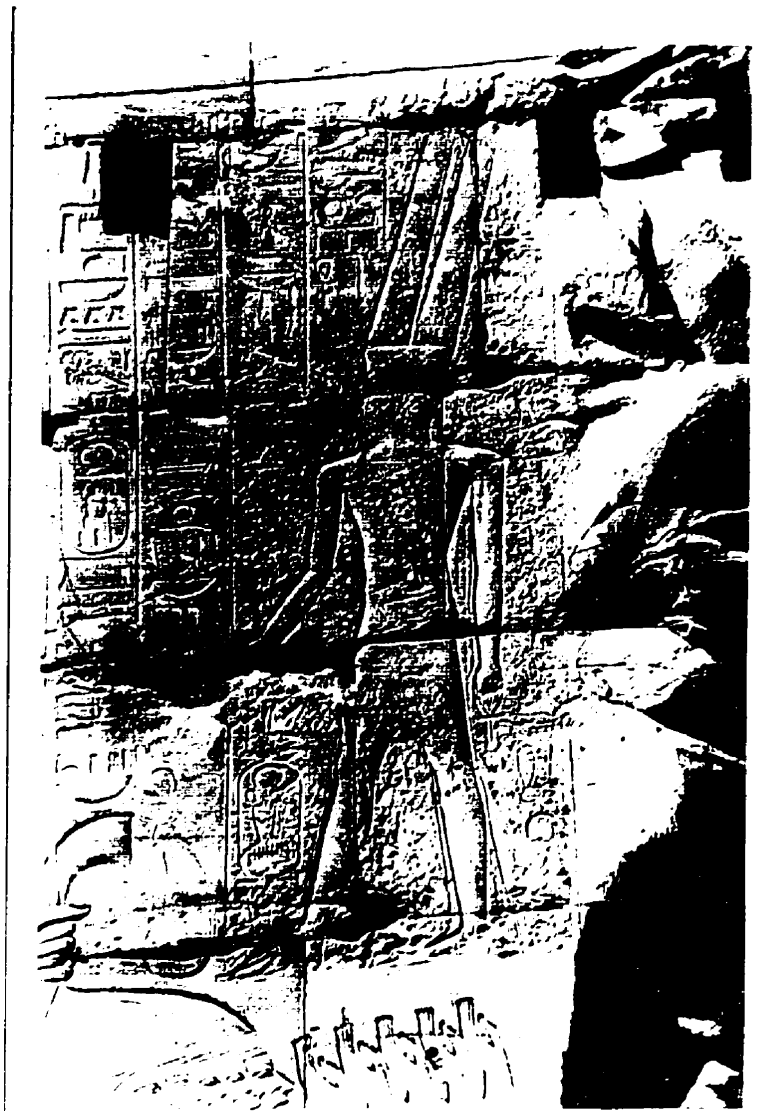


B)



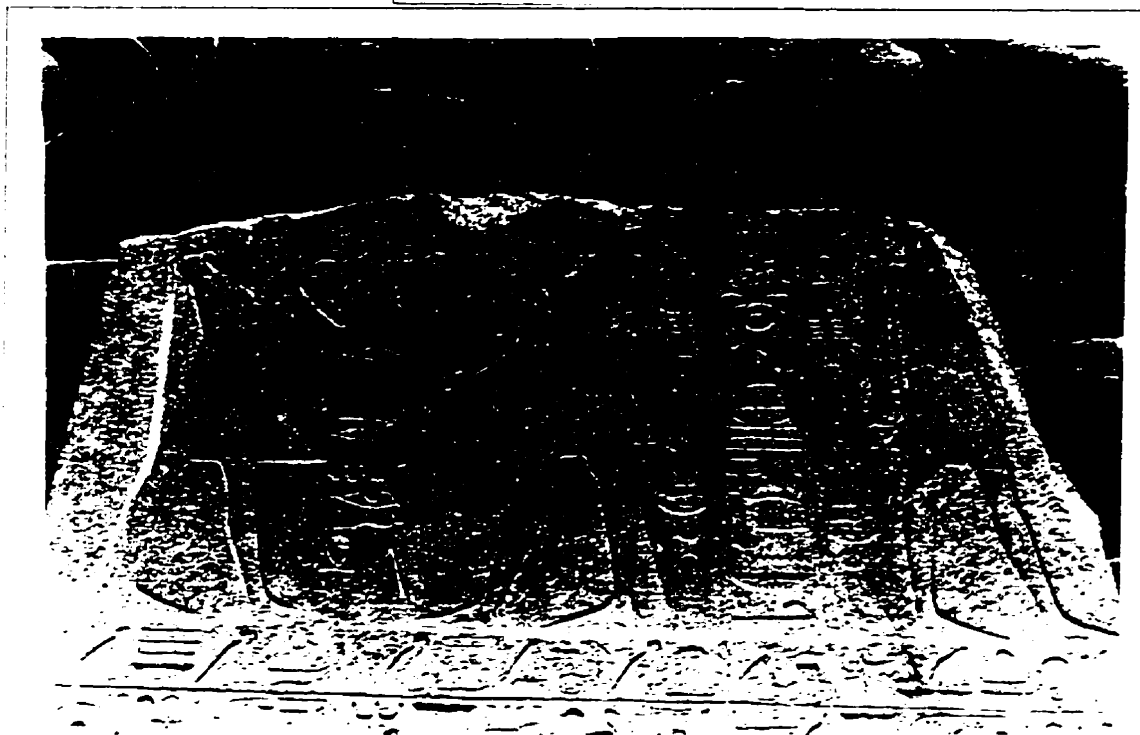
A)

A) Secondary restoration of Amen figure from south face of 8th Pylon, west tower at KG 145.



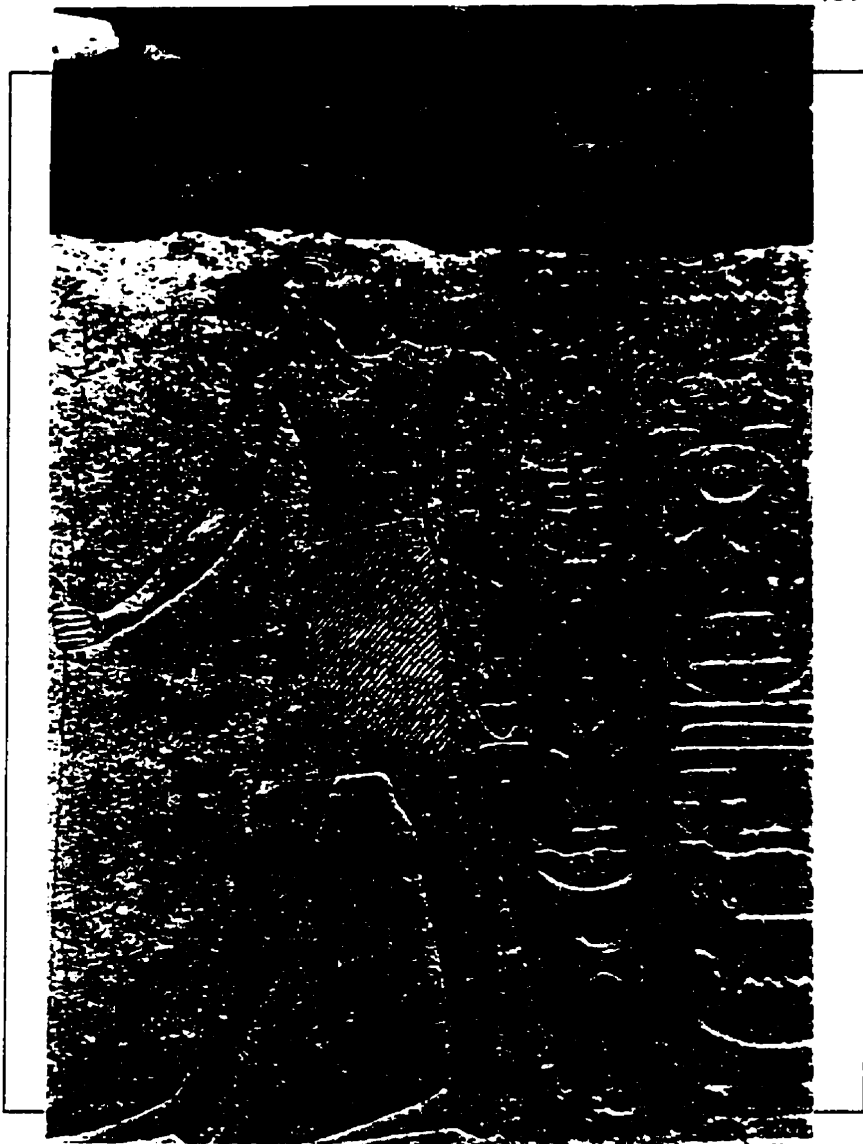
B) Stela "R" of Amenhotep II. *PM II*². 177 (R). The entire surface of the stela was shaved down and reinscribed under Seti I. The surface of the lunette scene was cut back further than the rest of the tablet. No traces of hacking or the original version are evident.

B)



A)

A) Amen figure and renewal text of Seti I on Amenhotep II's stela "R" in front of the south face of the 8th Pylon's east tower. Note the Post-Amarna style of the face.



B) Stela "Q" Amenhotep II in front of the west tower of the 8th Pylon, south face. *PM II*², 177 (Q).

B)



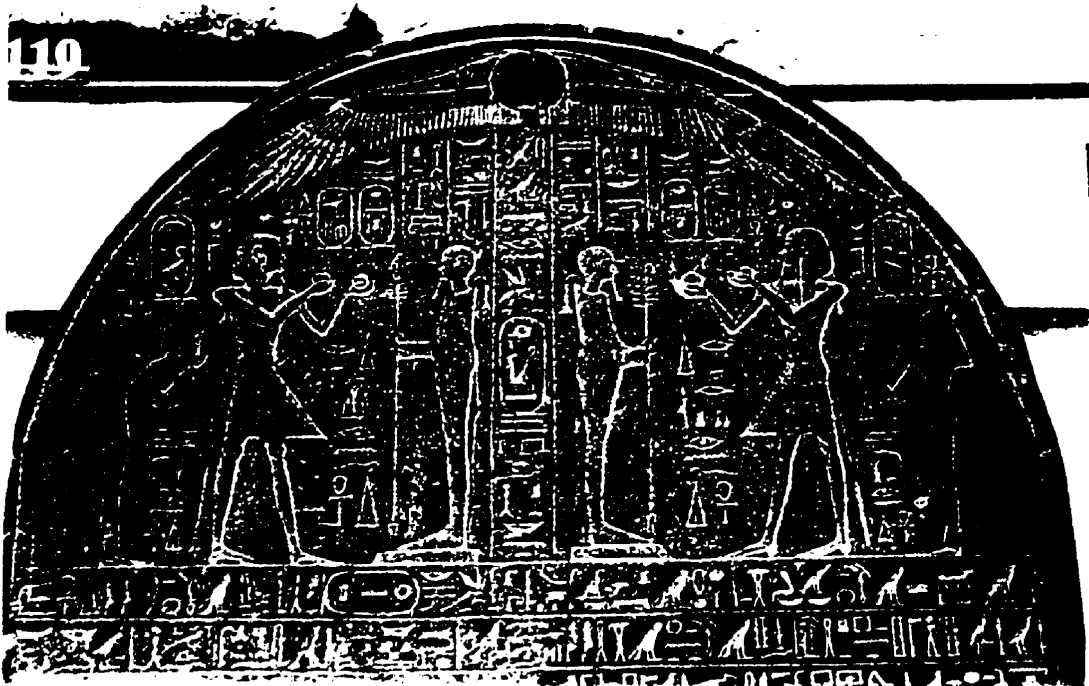
A)

A) Pillar 37 in the Edifice of Amenhotep II in the court of the 10th Pylon at Karnak. Nelson *Key Plans*, KG 37. Note the secondary recutting of Amen's arm, forward kneecap, belt and hemline of his kilt.

B) Stela of Thutmose III from the Karnak temple of Ptah. Cairo CG 34013. *PM II*², 198 (6).

Lighter colored areas represent reworking of the surface which is less polished than the original, darker areas. Recutting of the back and buttocks of the Ptah figure on the right side is apparent. So too, on the left.

Faint diagonal lines between legs of the king on the right correspond to the legs of the original royal figure, which, like the deities, was considerably smaller than the original version.



B)

A)

A) Pillar 36 from the edifice of Amenhotep II in the court of the 10th Pylon at Karnak. Traces of a secondary restoration of the Amen figure include the knees and shins, hem of the kilt and belt, and the belly



B) Unpublished block of Amenhotep III from the south blockyard at Karnak. The titulary of Seti I on the left edge of the block has suppressed the original *dd mdw* formula. Traces of an original reed leaf can be made out in the upper right corner of Seti's prenomen. Photo courtesy of Christian Loeben.

B)



A)

A) Pillar 28 in the Edifice of Amenhotep II in the court of the 10th Pylon. The figure has been substantially enlarged by Seti I after Tutankhamen restored it. The face is rendered in a post-Amarna style.



B) Face of Amen on the east tower of the 8th Pylon at Karnak, north face at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 102. In front of the final version are traces of the profile which corresponds to Tutankhamen's original repairs. These are now largely masked by discolored plaster. Traces include the throat, brow, and much of the nose. Recutting of the streamer dangling from his modius crown is also visible.

B)



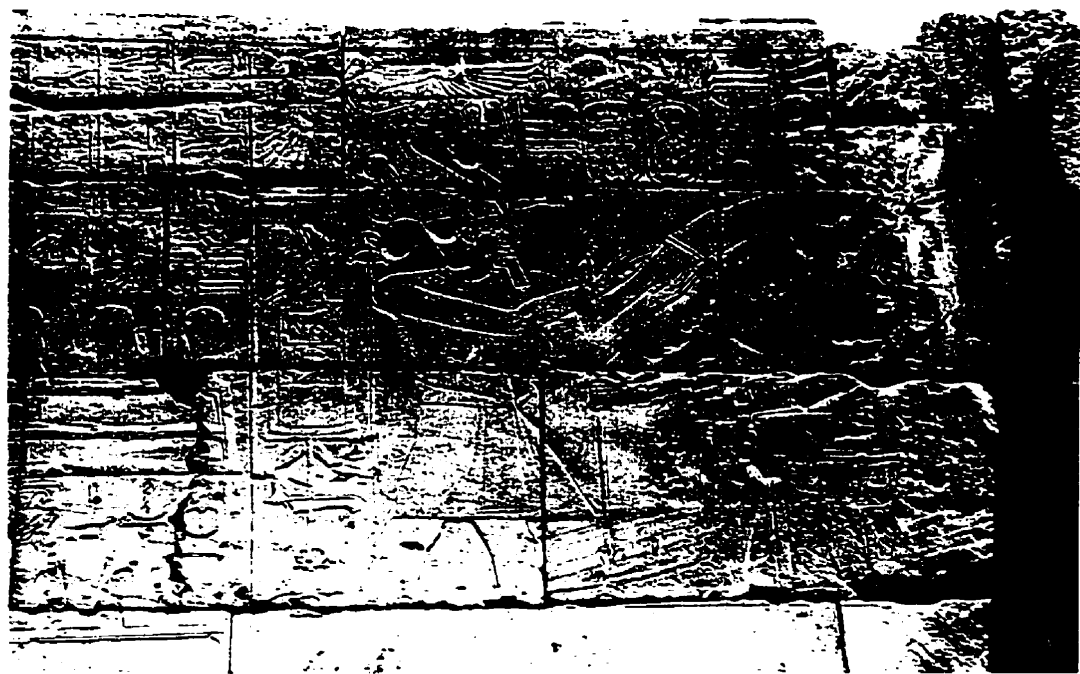
A)

A) Secondary restoration of a figure of Amen-Kamutef on the east wall of the hypostyle hall adjacent to the sun court of Amenhotep III in Luxor temple. Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 42. The shins, instep, chest, back and beard have all been extensively reworked.



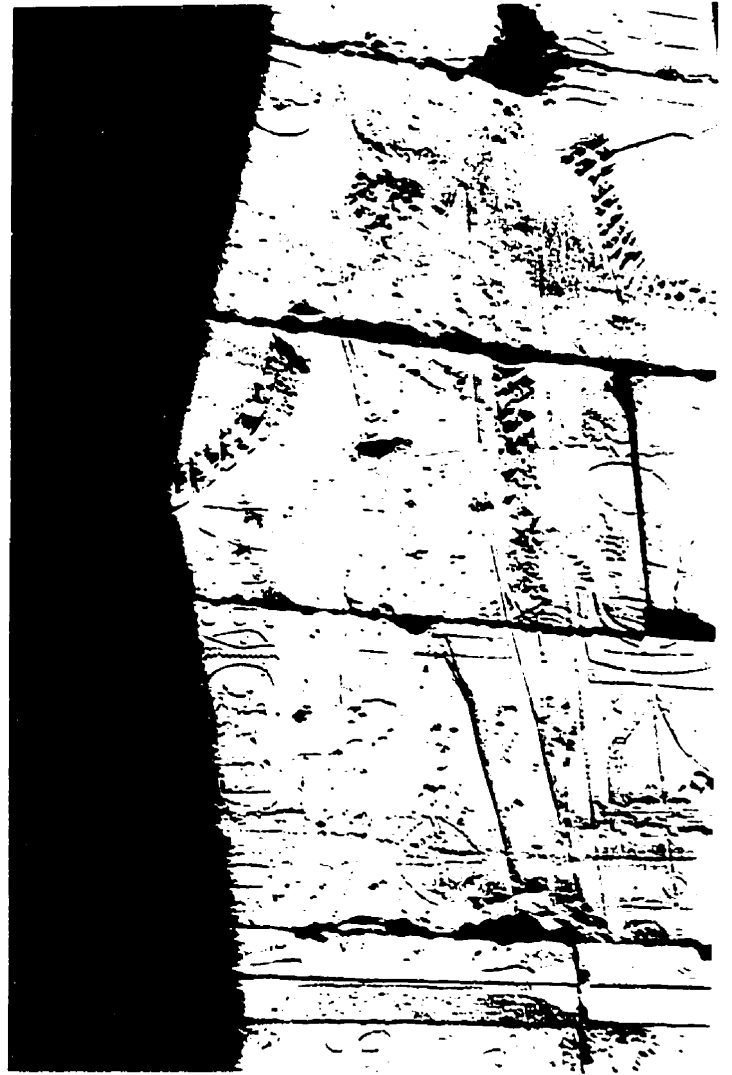
B) Amenhotep III pouring ointment over Amen-Re in Luxor temple hypostyle. Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 31

B)



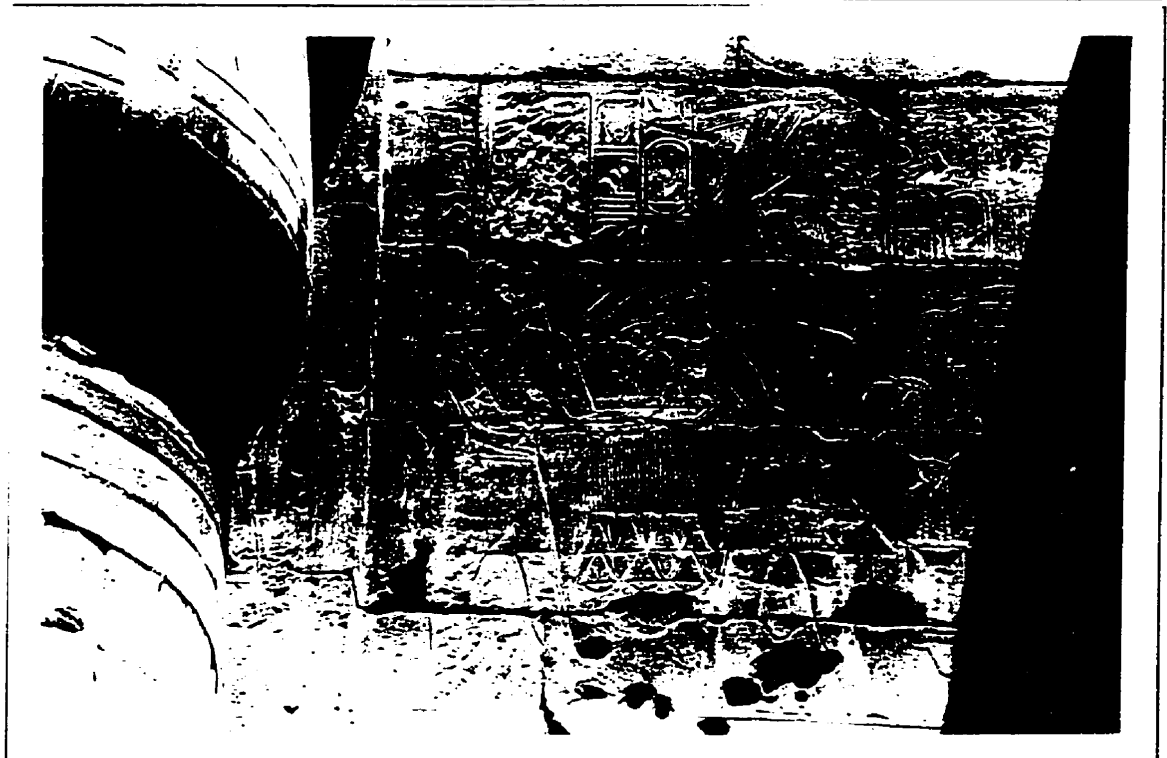
A)

A) Amenhotep III driving the four calves before Amen. LD 44
Trace of secondary restoration include the chest, hemline and back kneecap. A Coptic cross engraved between Amen's legs is contemporary with the hacking to his face and arms.



B) Amenhotep with divine figure libating Amen. LD 35-26. The deity has been extensively reworked around the arms, legs and chin.

B)



A)

A) Amenhotep III embraced by enthroned Amen from hypostyle adjoining the solar court at Luxor temple. Nelson, *Key Plans*, LD 42. Recutting of the god includes his chest, and arms, including an original flail held behind the king's head which was suppressed in the final version.



B) Lintel over east doorway in the Luxor hypostyle at LD 30. The two divine figures were extensively recut.

B)



A)

A) Pilaster at south east corner of the Luxor temple forecourt, middle register. LD 50. The front of the leg and the neckline have been retouched.



B) Reworked Nile god with renewal text of Seti I at LD 46 Earlier traces along arms, profile and belt.

B)



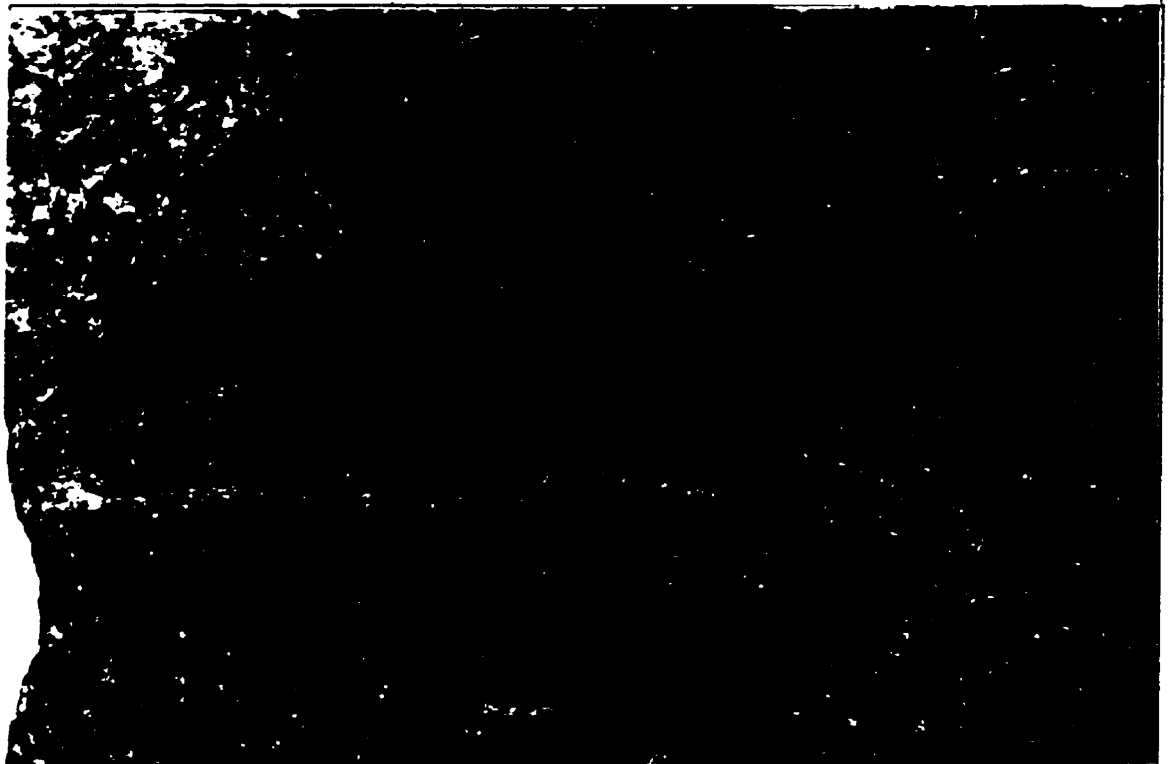
A)

A) Statue pedestal for Horus
of Mesen dedicated by Seti I on
behalf of Ramesses I *PM* IV, 6-
7



B) Relief from a granite obelisk
fragment of Seti I from Heliopolis
featuring the king as a sphinx with
the head of the Seth
animal.

B)

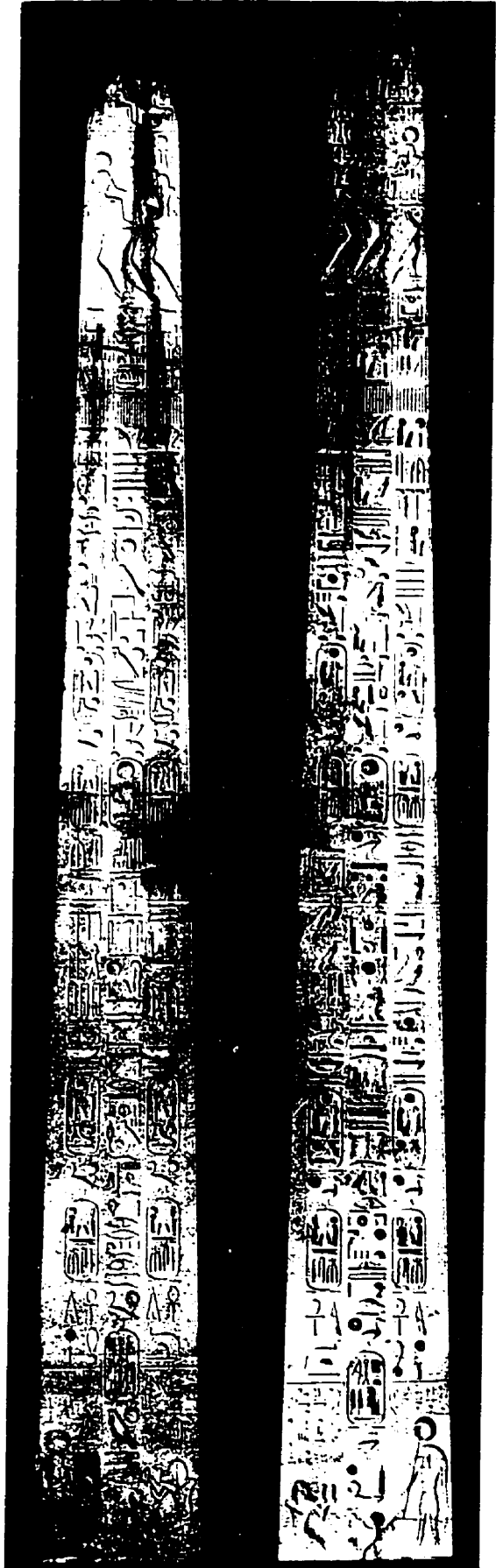




Scene from the top of the black granite obelisk fragment of Seti I from Heliopolis recently discovered in the harbor in Alexandria. The king is depicted as a sphinx with the Seth-animal head. He sits on a plinth with the epithet "beloved of Ptah" written inside a box below him.

The whole group forms a rebus writing of his nomen Seti-merenptah.

Flaminian obelisk of Seti I.
PM VII, 409; O. Marucchi,
Gli Obelischi egiziani di Roma,
pls. 3-4. The obelisk was
completed by Ramesses II who
added the marginal texts.



A)

A) Fragment of the upper shaft of a black granite obelisk of Seti I. Originally from Heliopolis, it was recently found in the harbor at Alexandria. The scene depicts Seti as a sphinx offering to Atum.



B) Siliceous sandstone block from an obelisk pedestal of Seti I recently found in the harbor at Alexandria, originally from Heliopolis.

B)



A)

A) Fragment of the shaft of a siliceous sandstone obelisk fragment of Seti I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria. The main text give a variant of his Horus name "Beneficial for Re," *ꜥḥ n Rē*. The badly eroded scene features the king kneeling before a solar deity.



B) Side of the obelisk pedestal of Seti I from Heliopolis.

B)



A)

A) Siliceous sandstone doorjamb
of Seti I from Heliopolis.
Alexandria museum no. 420
The middle register features
Atum touching an *ꜥnh* to the
king's face.



B) Closeup of the king's face
from the same doorjamb.

B)



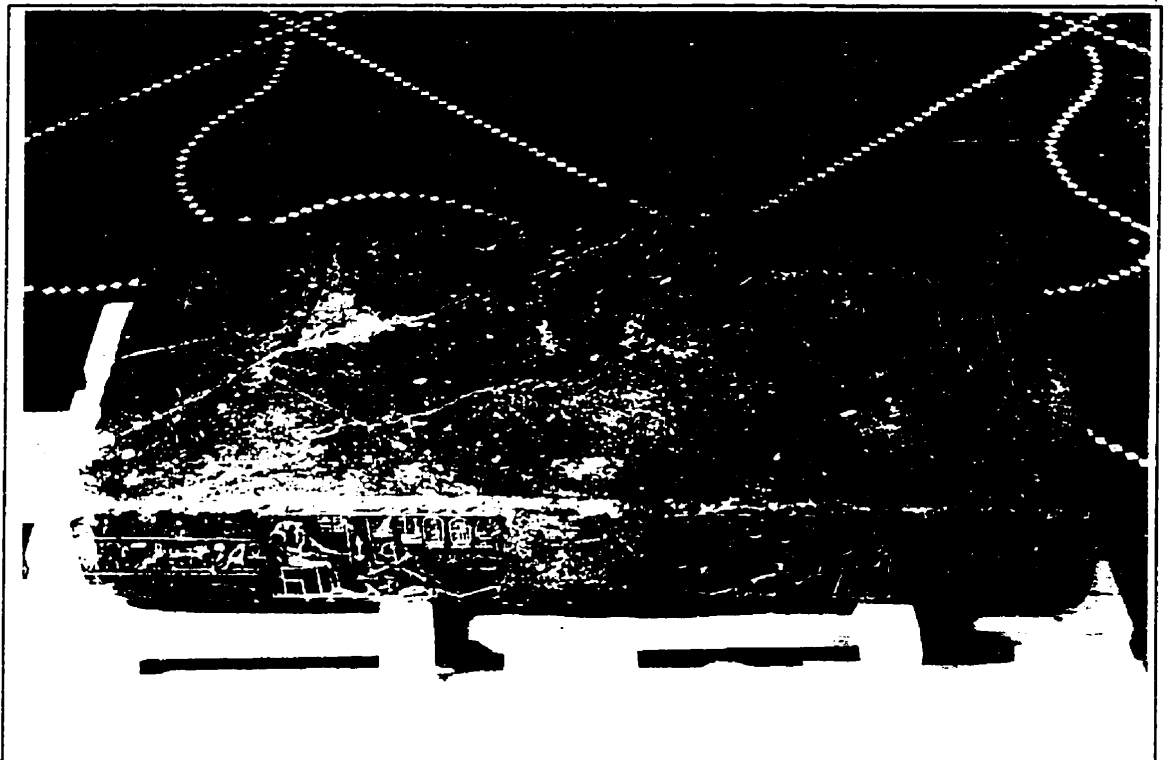
A)

A) Side view of Alexandria no. 420.

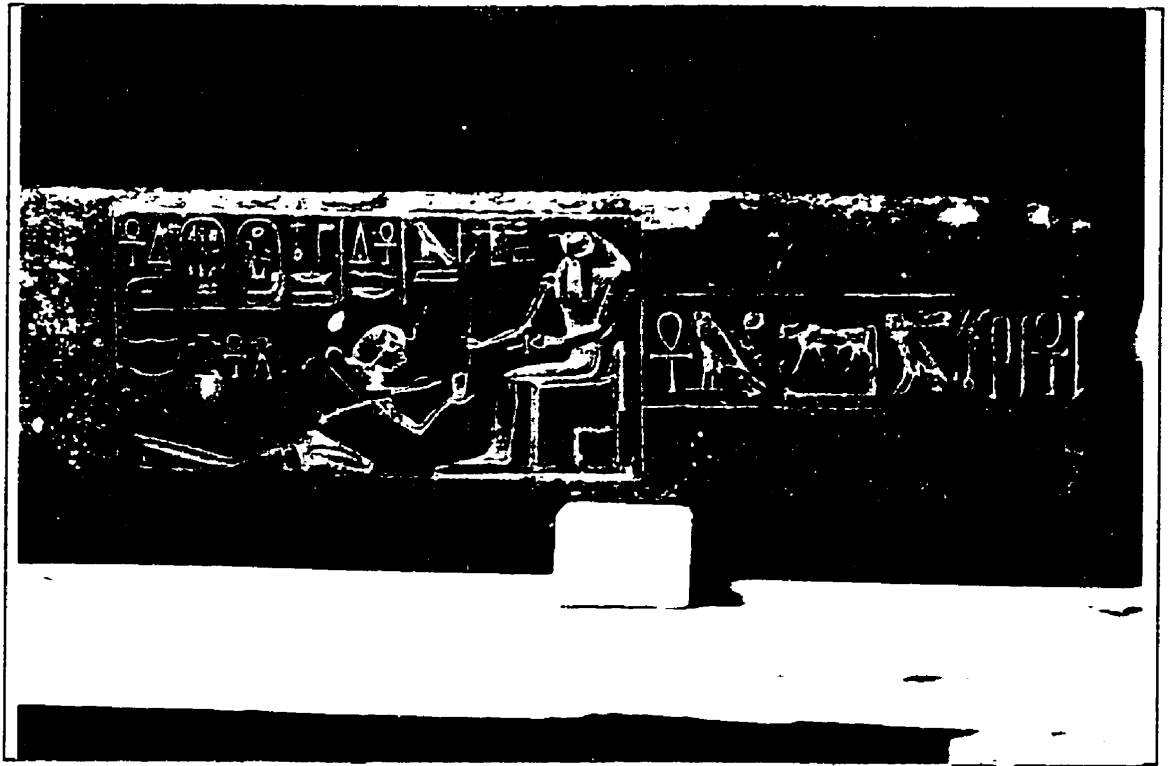


B) Black granodiorite offering table of Seti I for Horus-who-is-in-the-Great-Mansion.
Copenhagen E. 115/AEIN 44.
Photo courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

B)



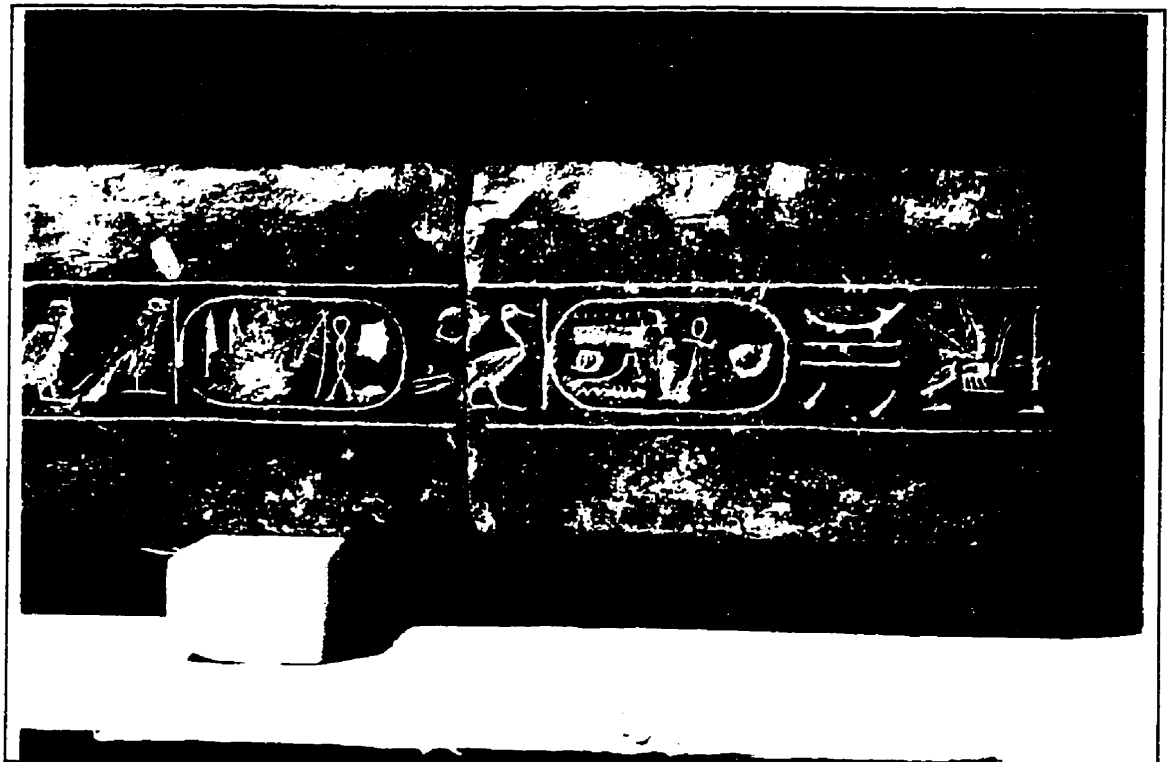
A)



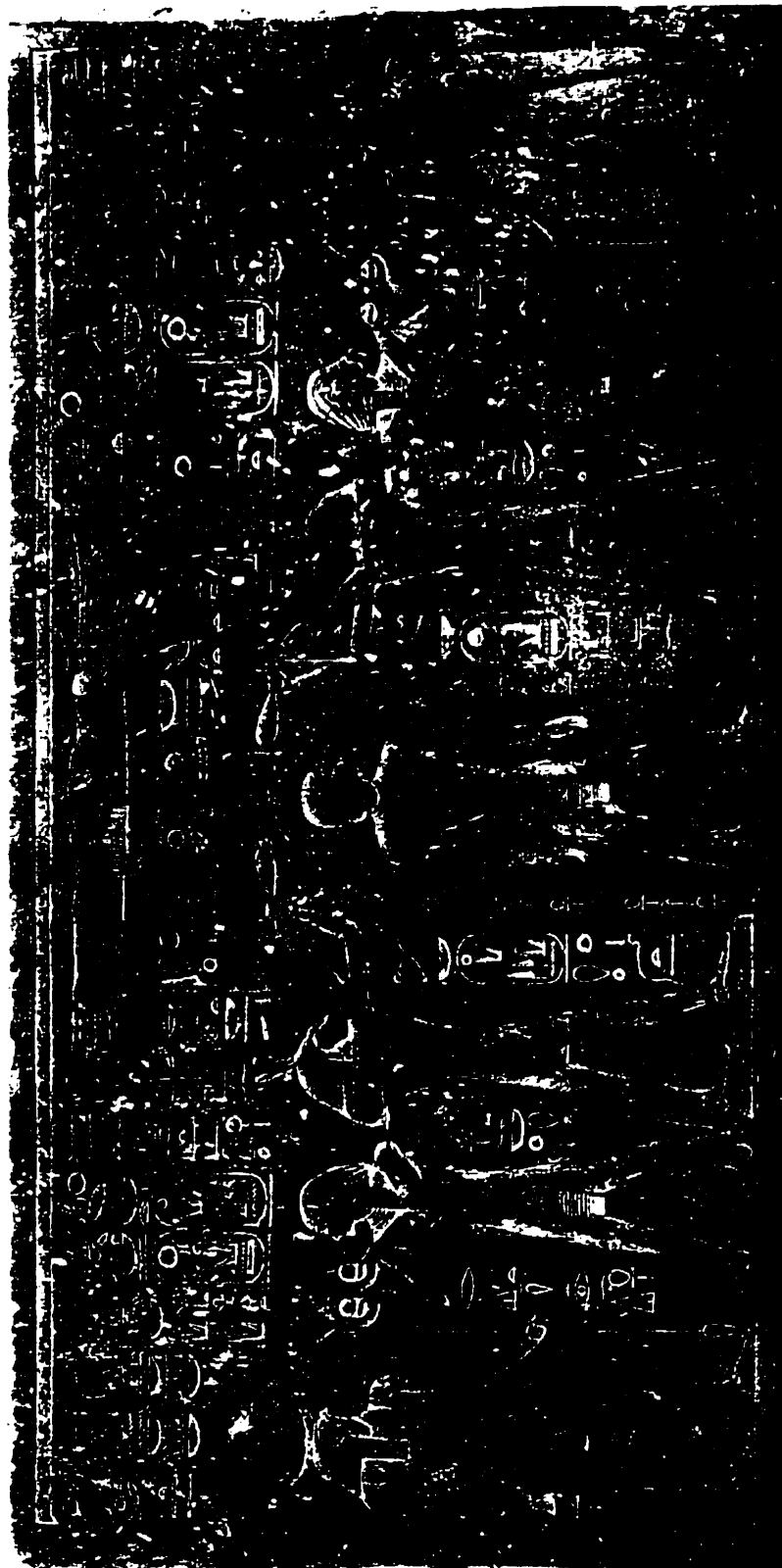
A) Offering scene on the offering table for Horus, Copenhagen E. 115/AEIN 44 .
Photo courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

B) Part of the bandeau text on the back of the same offering table
Photo courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

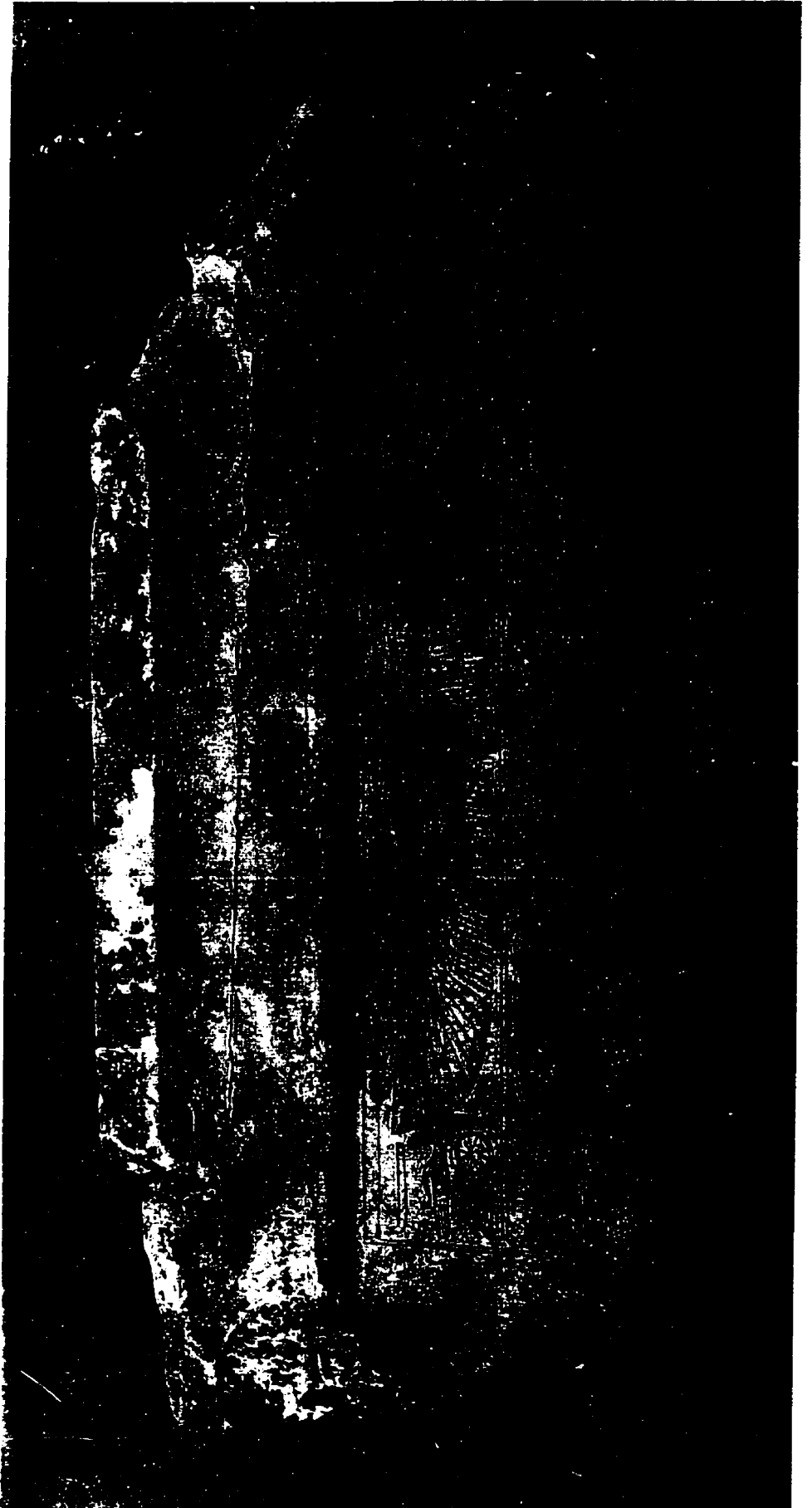
B)



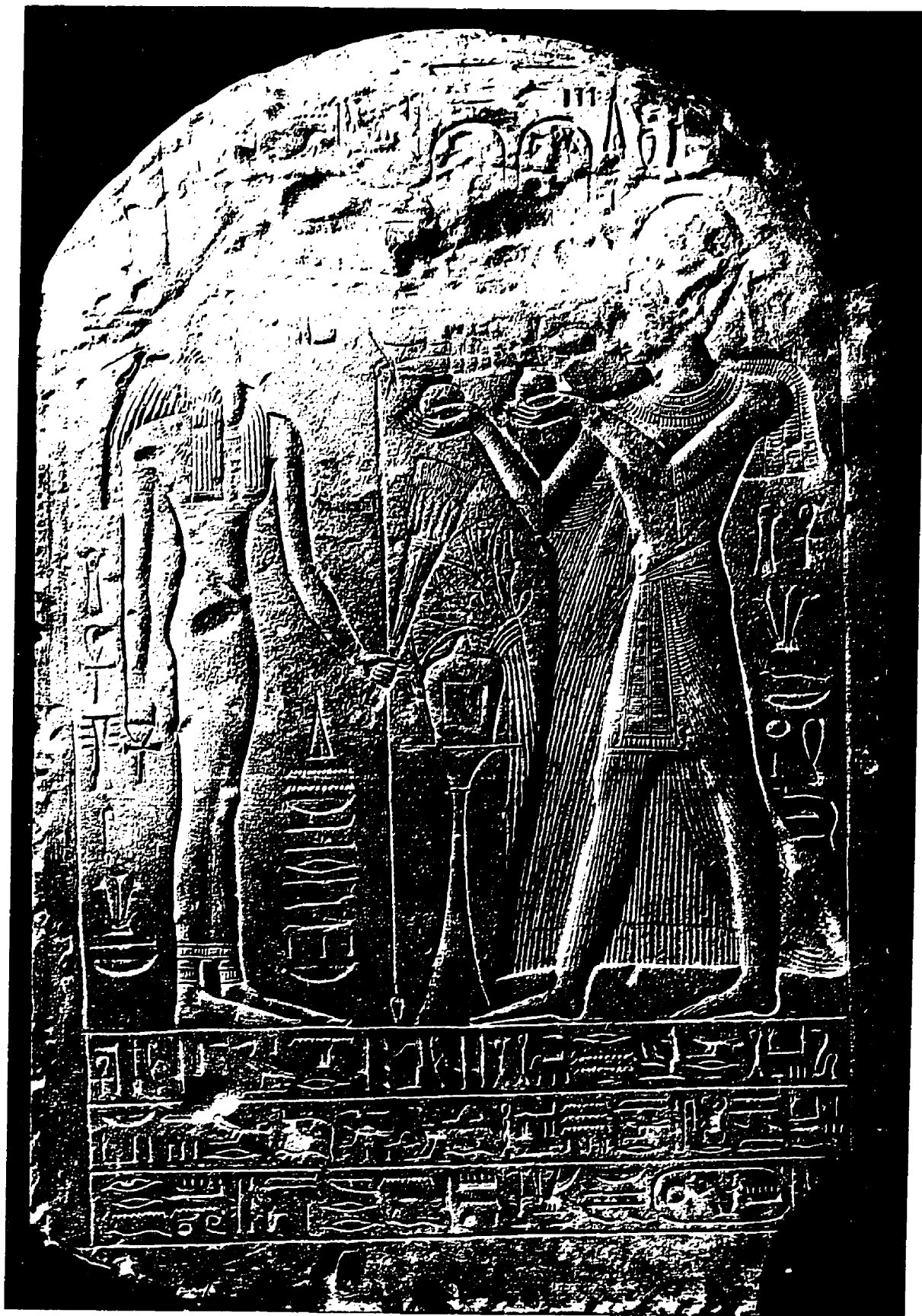
Former Bruxelles E. 407. Black granodiorite lintel of Seti I from Heliopolis. Photo courtesy institut royal du patrimoine artistique, Belgium.



Pennsylvania University Museum E. 13573. Limestone lintel of Seti I from Memphis. Photo courtesy University Museum.



Leiden V. 16 Inv. # AP 61. Votive stela of Seti I for Renenwetet from Saqqara.
Photo courtesy Rijks Museum van Oudheden.



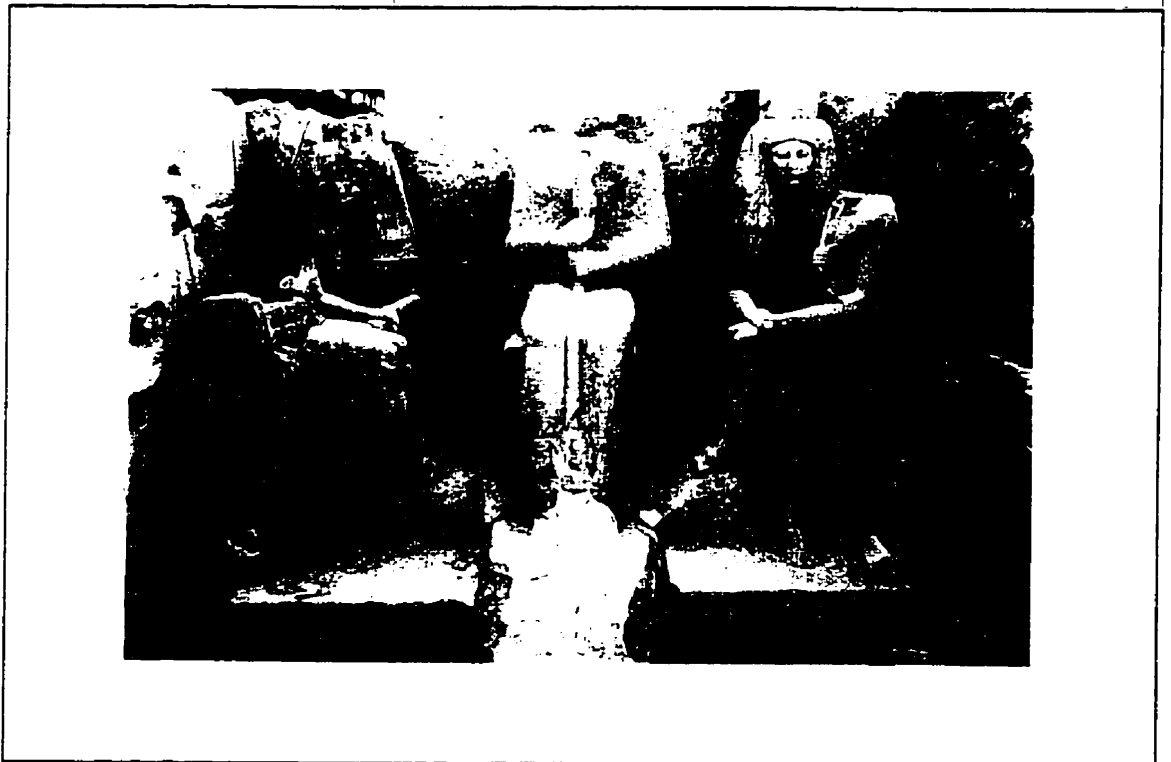
A)

A) Boundary stela of Seti I of year two from the Fayum. Cairo CG 34502.



B) Ptah chapel of Seti I from Memphis.

B)

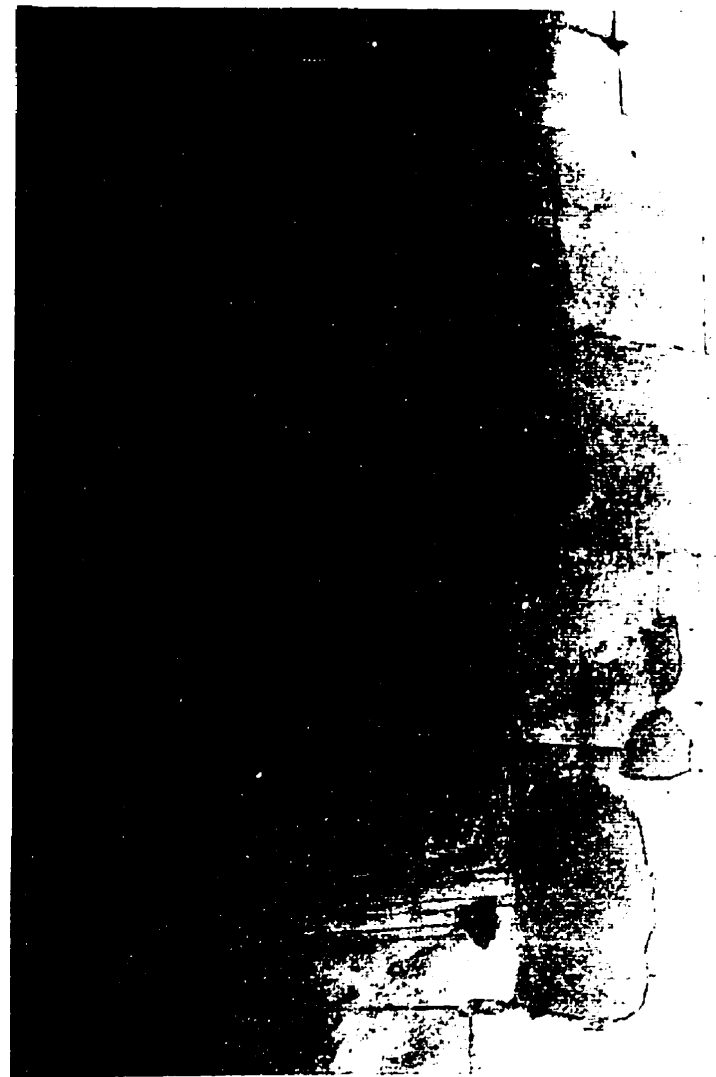


Brooklyn 69.116.1. Boundary stela of Seti I of year 1. D. Kessler,
SAK 10 (1982), pl. 4a. Photo courtesy Brooklyn Museum.



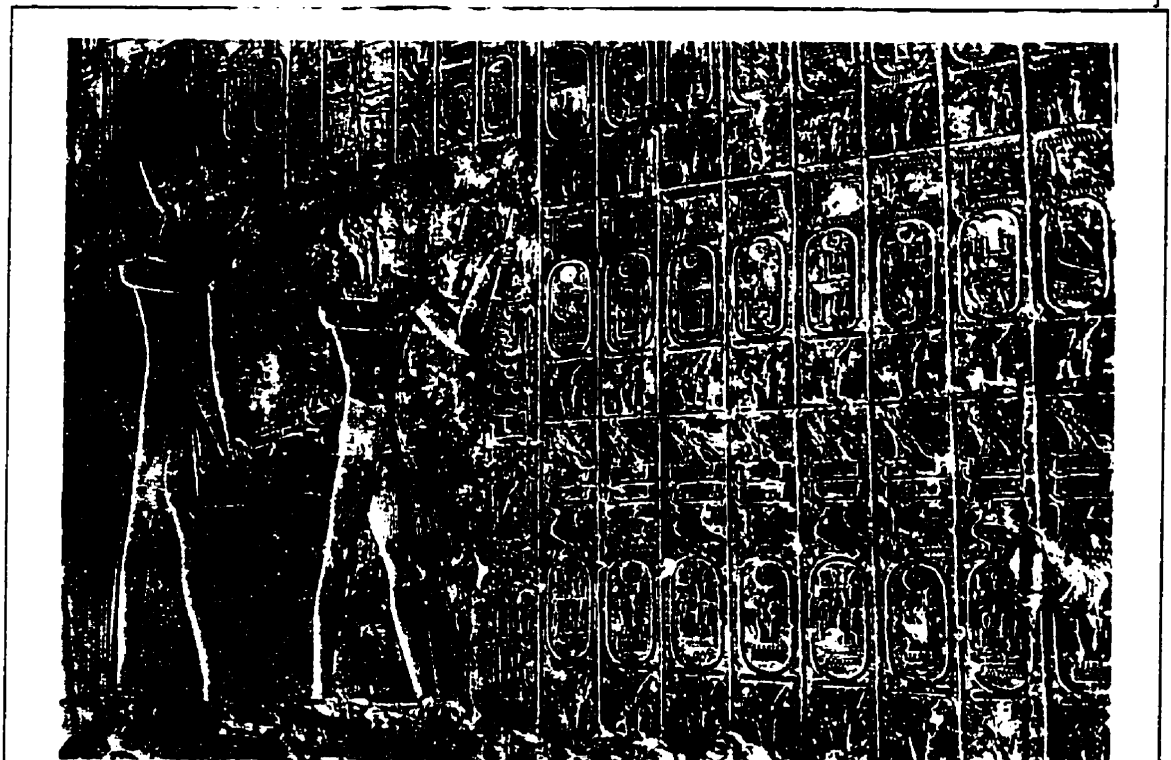
A)

A) Relief of Seti I from the Gallery of the Kings in his Abydos temple. The dado Pattern below the king and the ribbon bandeau and cartouche frieze above him all stop at the back edge of the scene. The blank space behind the scene had been laid out but never carved before Seti's death.



B) Seti I with prince Ramesses in the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos. The prince is entitled Heir apparent and king's eldest bodily son, his beloved, Ramesses-true-of-voice.

B)



Pennsylvania University Museum E. 12469. Fragment of a
sphinx of Seti I. Photo courtesy University Museum.

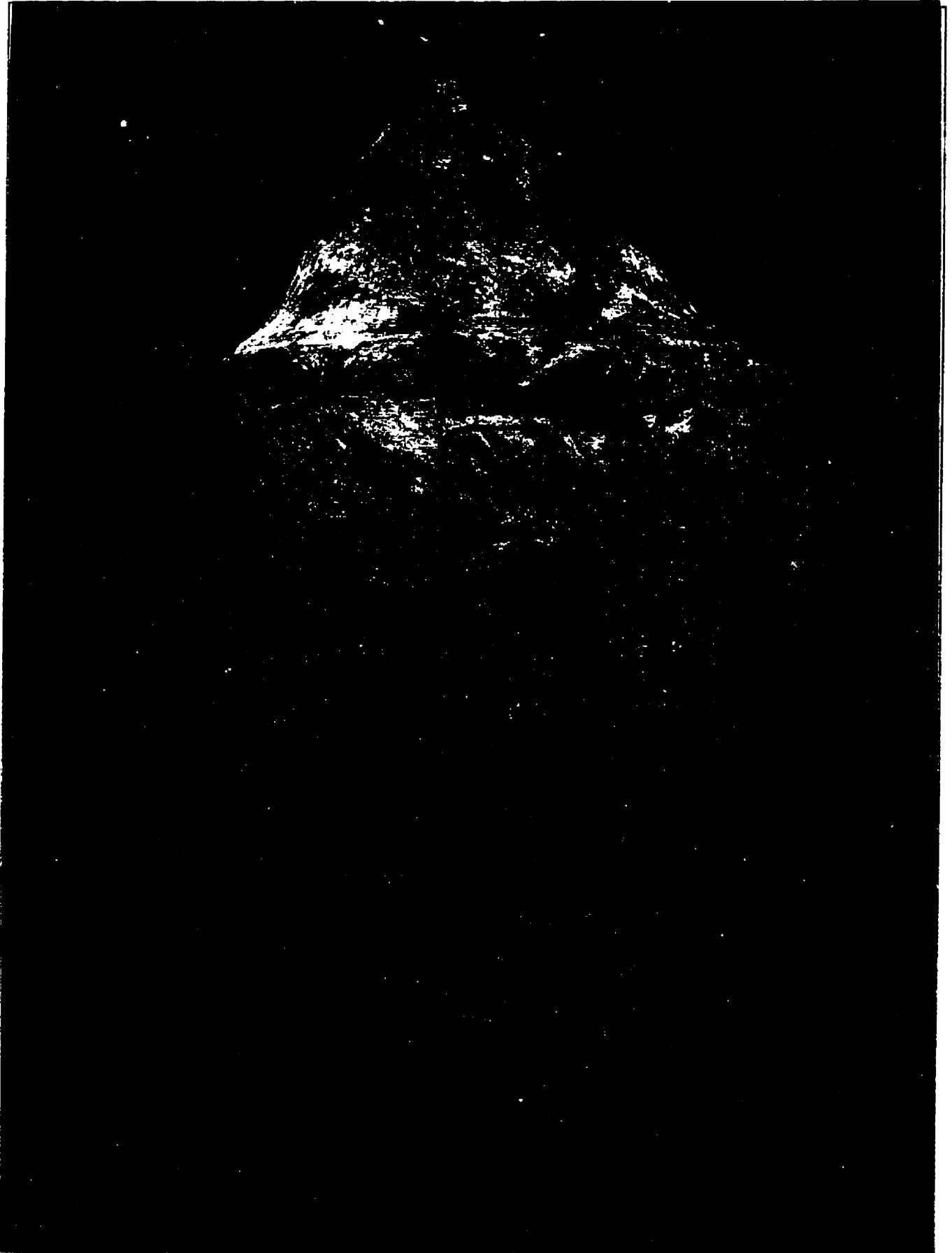
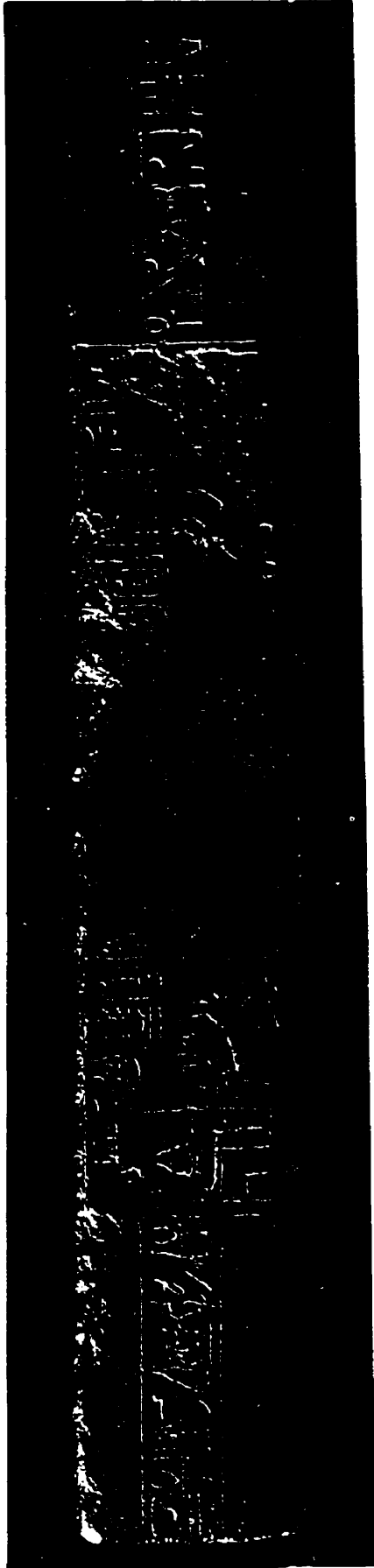


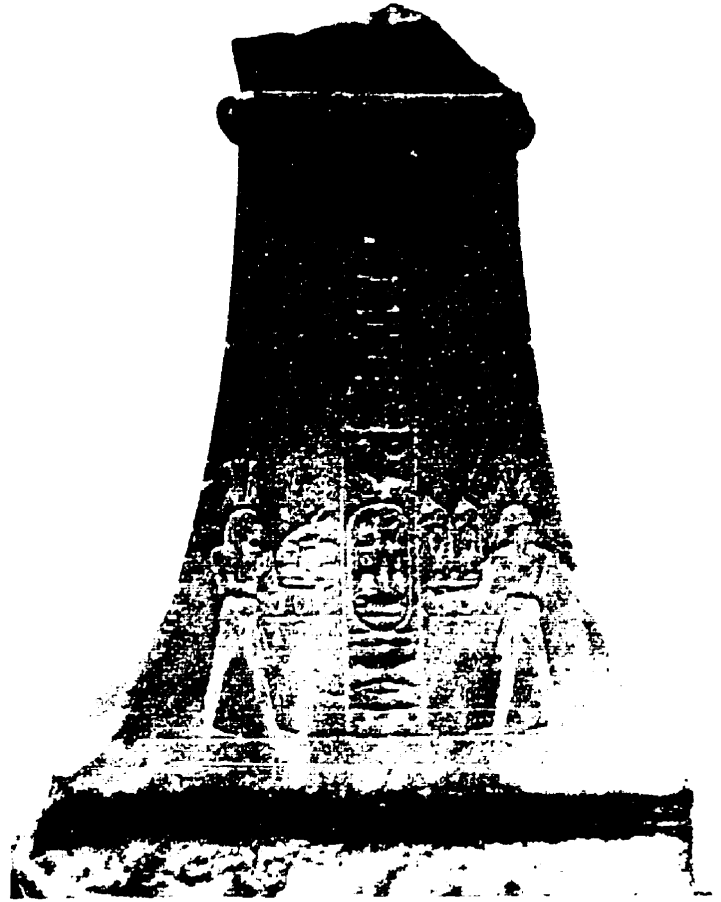
PLATE 55

New York MMA 22.2.22. Offering table of Seti I for Seth.
Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art



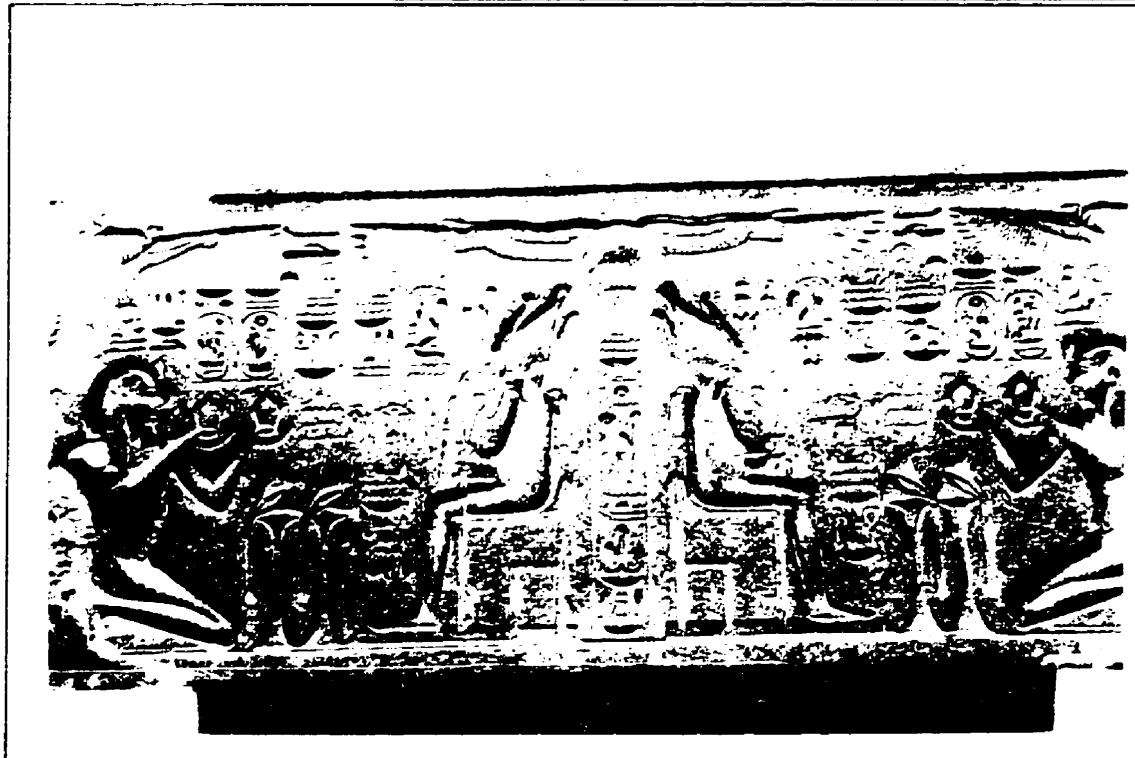
A)

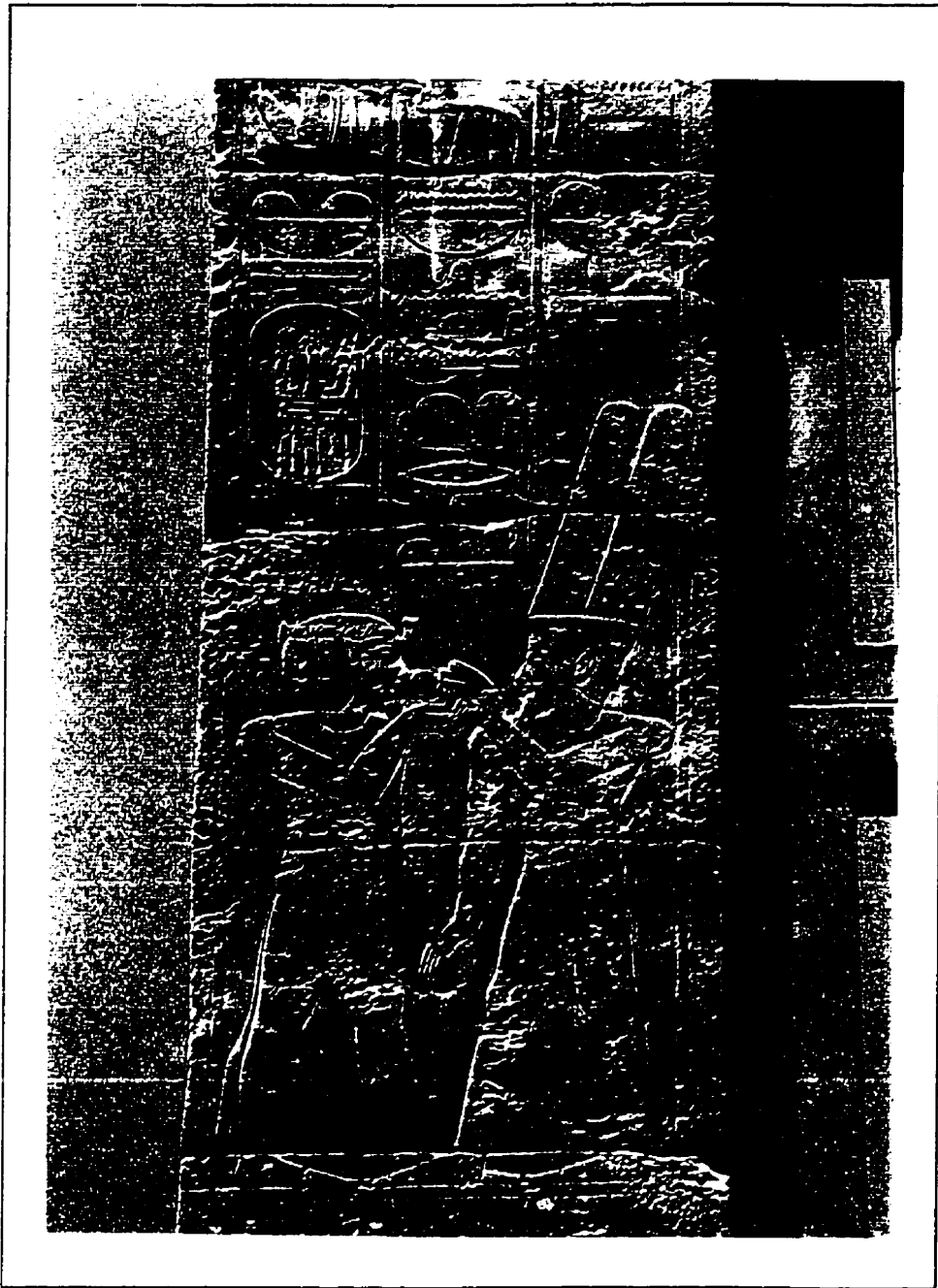
A) Altar pedestal of Seti I
from his Abydos temple.
Cairo JdE 743.



B) Granite lintel of Seti I from
Abydos. Cairo JdE 32091

B)





Relief of Seti I on the interior face of a pier on the north aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Executed in raised relief with the king's figure standing fully upright, the cartouche has been usurped by Ramesses II

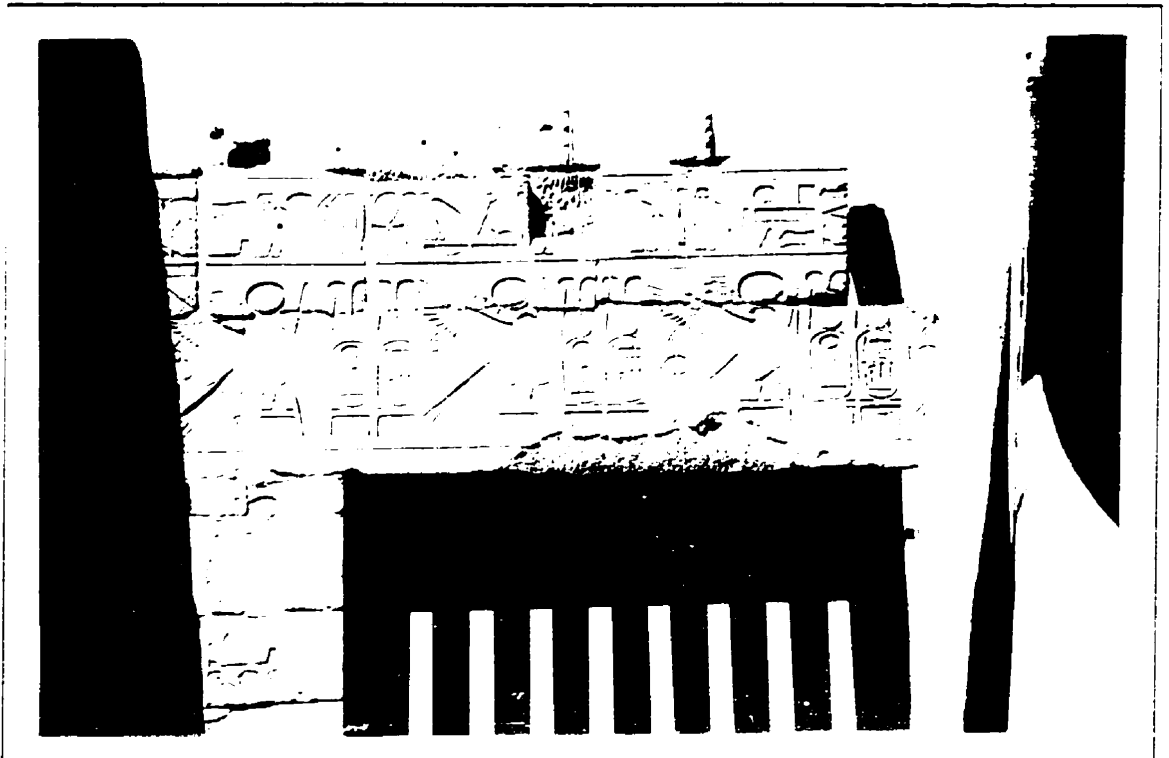
A)



A) Karnak Hypostyle Hall. View of the south exterior face of the clerestory.

B) Bandeau with titulary of Seti I surmounting the north side of the clerestory.

B)



A)

A) Relief of Seti I on the interior of a pier on the south aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. The scene has been usurped by Ramesses II who converted it from raised to sunk relief. Elements of the original raised version such as the figures project beyond the recut background. The original text dividers are still in raised relief.



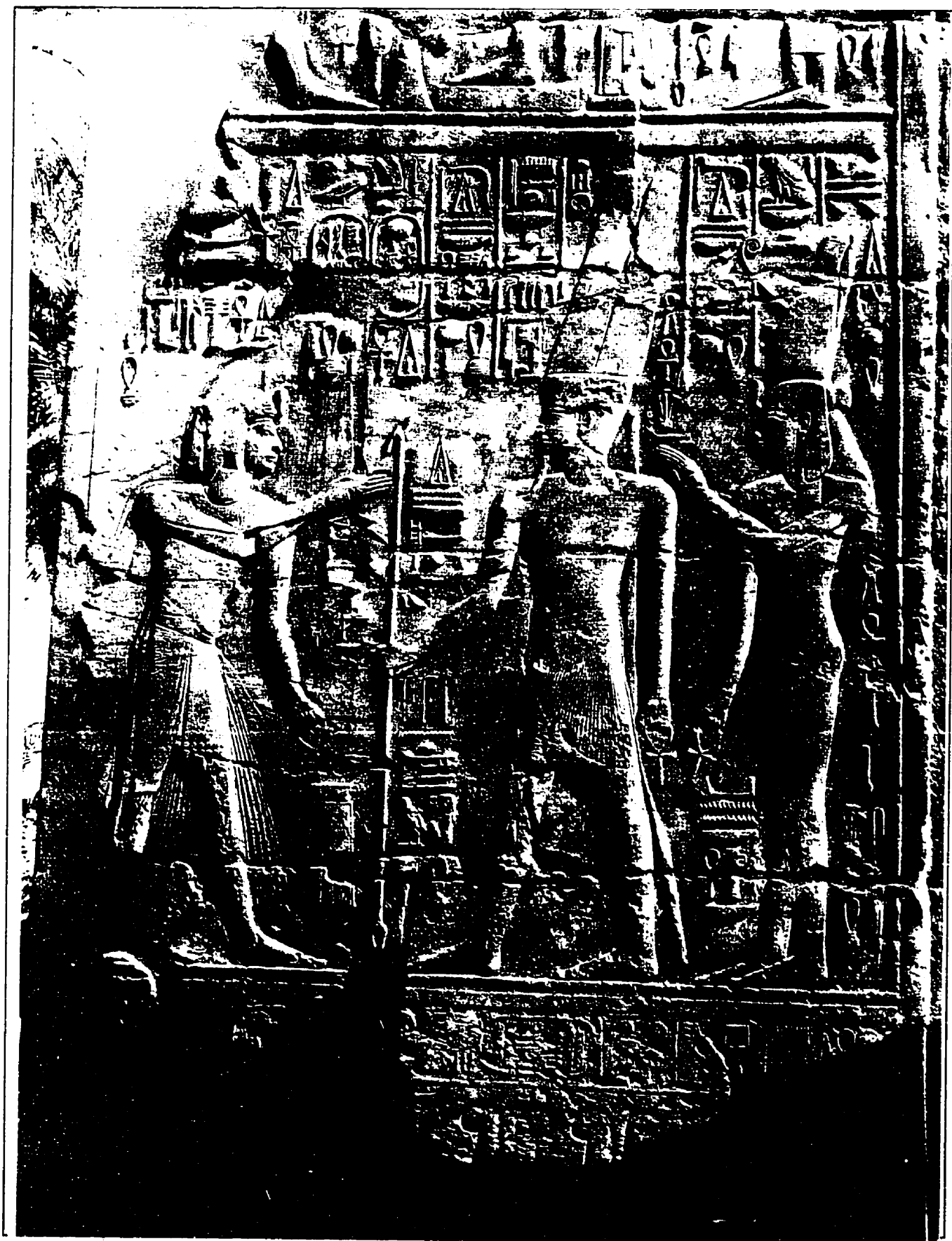
B) Huge ram-headed stern figure head of the barge of Amen-Re from original sunk relief decoration of the east face of the 2nd Pylon at Karnak. This was suppressed by Seti I and recut in raised relief. The overlying scene is located at Nelson, *Key Plans* KB 232; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 150.

B)

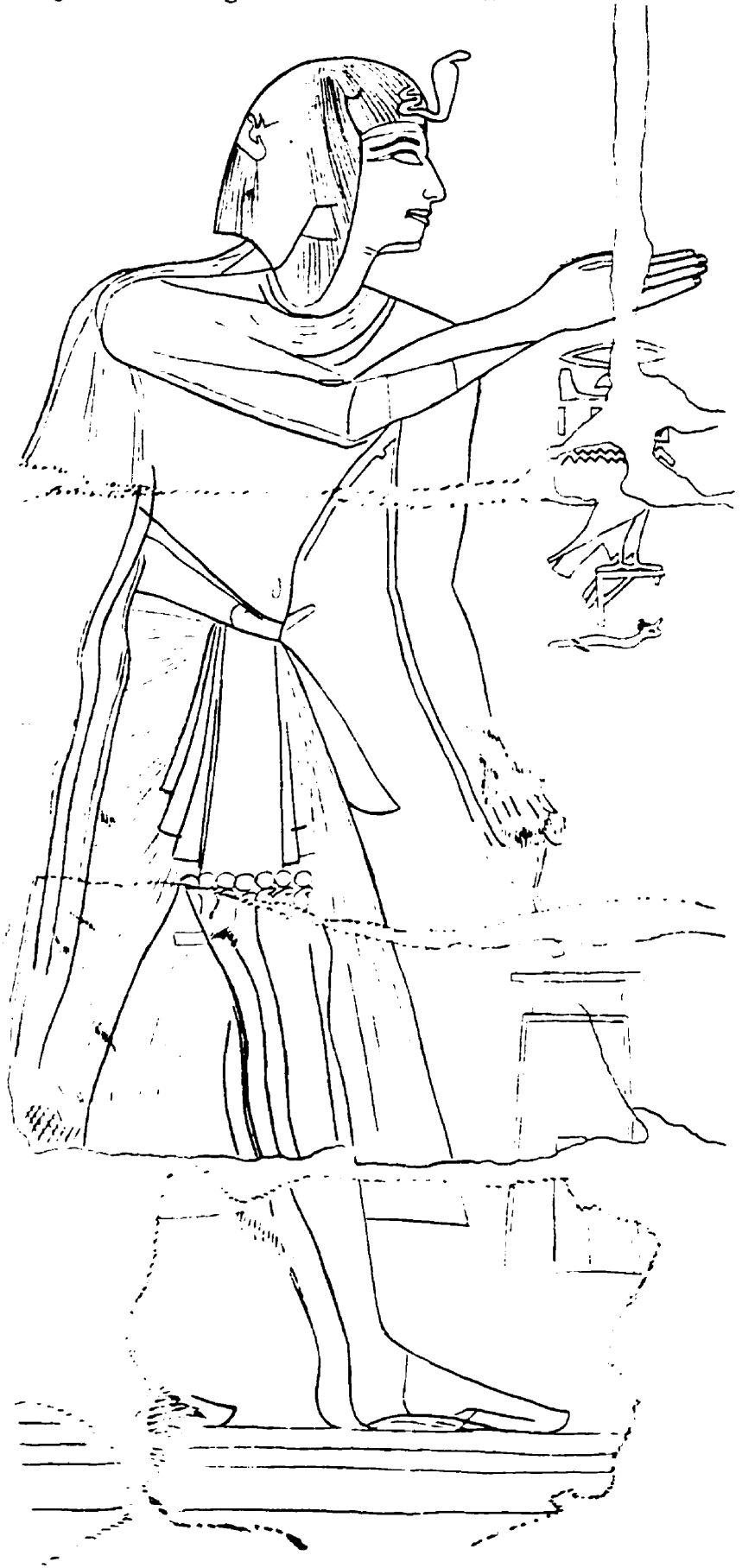


North gate of the Karnak hypostyle, east interior jamb, lower register. Recut figure of Seti I shifted from an upright to a bowing stance. Similar recutting on king's foot above.

Location Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 280; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 187.



Drawing of the recut figure of Seti I at KB 280.



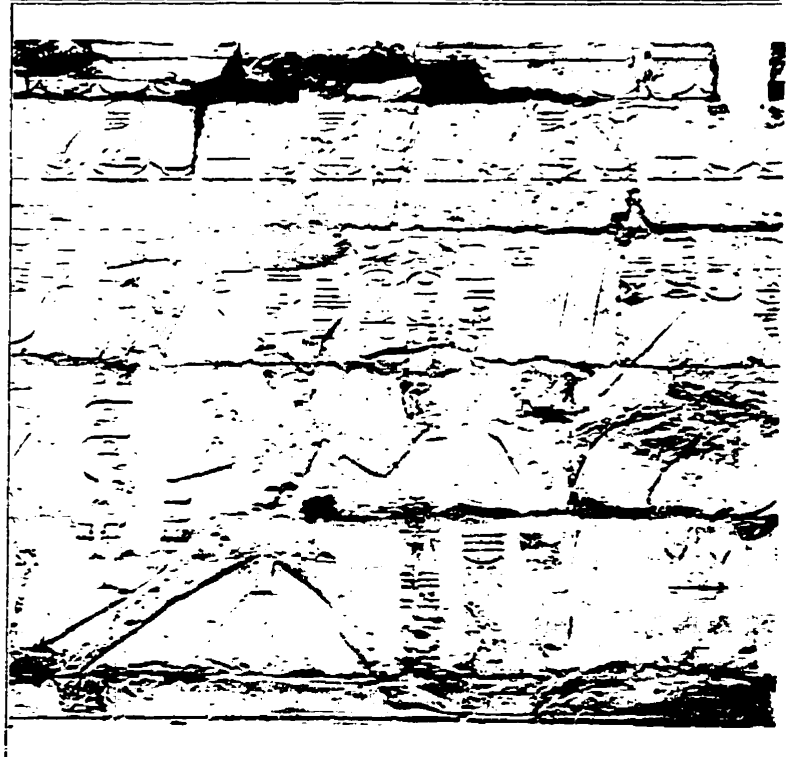
A)

A) Recut figure of Seti I on the west exterior jamb of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall's north gateway. The original and revised versions of Seti were in raised relief. This was converted to sunk relief by Ramesses who also usurped the cartouches. Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 19F.

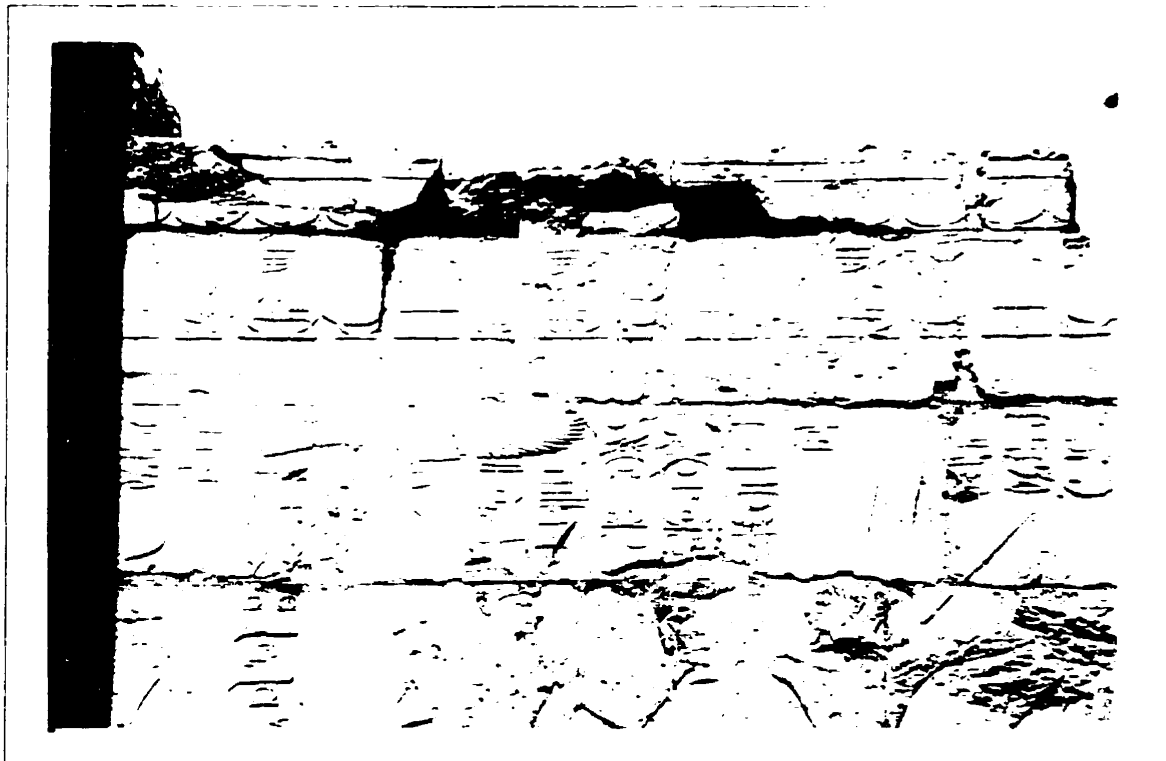


B)

B) Relief of Seti I depicting the deceased Ramesses I running with *hs*-vases before Amen-Re. Located on the west interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 221; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 141.



A)



A) Detail of KB 221. Note the frieze with Seti I's nomen cartouches flanked by uraei and rebuses of his prenomen above the scene.

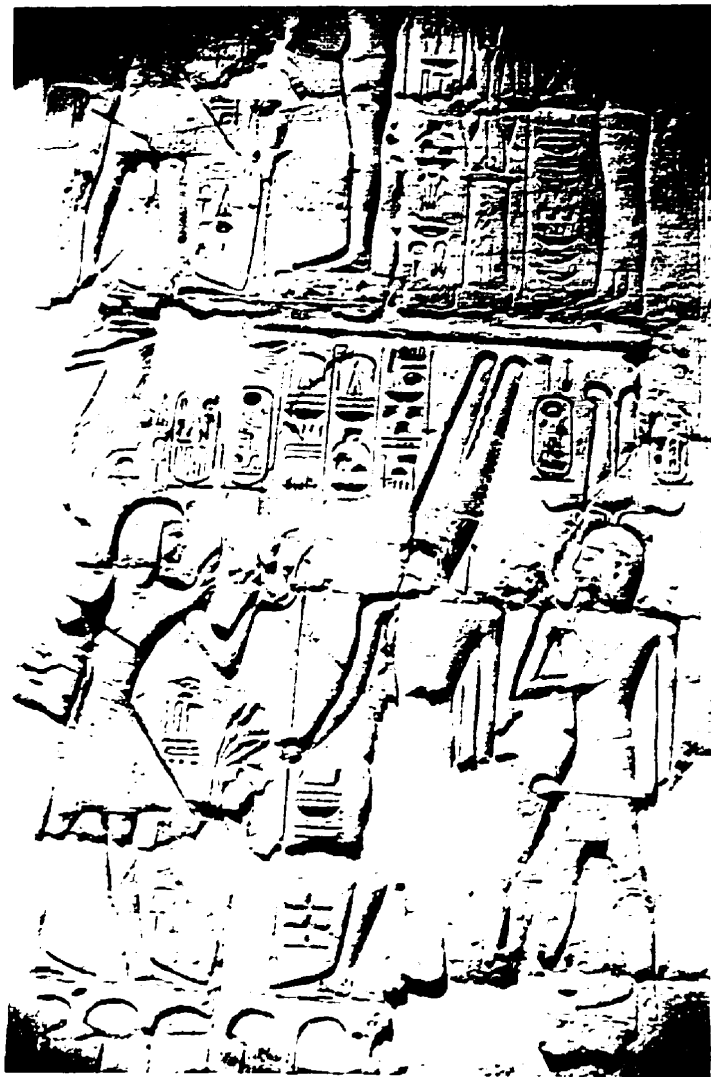
B) Detail of another posthumous representation of Ramesses I adjacent to KB 221. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 222; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 142.

B)



A)

A) Relief of Ramesses II from the west interior jamb of the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, bottom register. Originally laid out in paint with Amen and another deity, It was first carved in R¹ with Ramesses worshiping Amen and the deified Seti I. Subsequently it was converted to R³. Finally, Ramesses substituted his father's name with his own over the deified king's figure. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 101d; idem, *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 57.

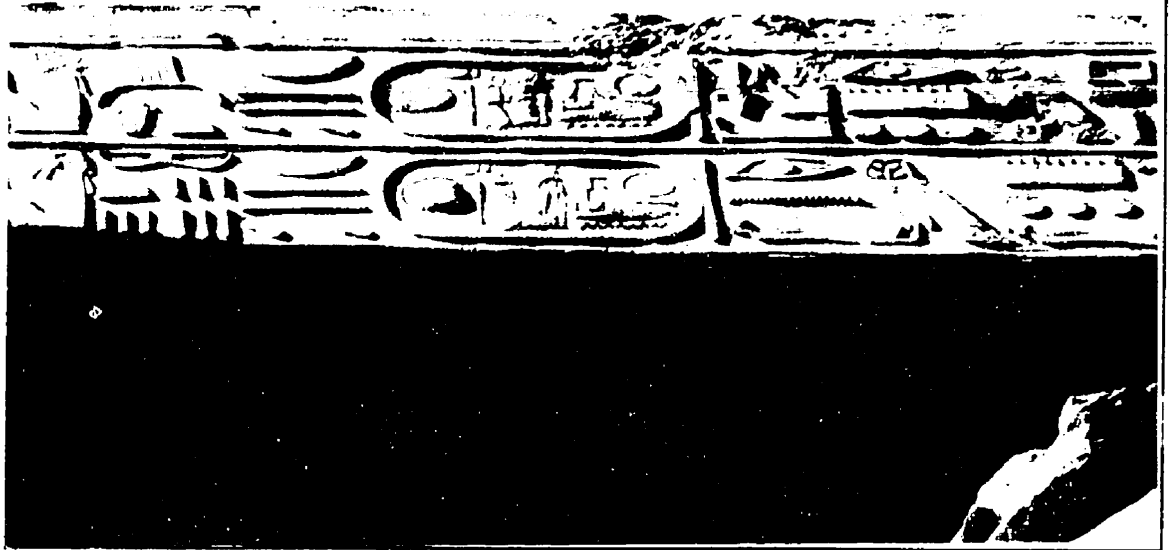


B) Posthumous scene of Seti I made by Ramesses II. Carved in sunk relief with the king standing upright, the iconography of this scene differs from reliefs of Seti in the Hall. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 61; idem, *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 27.

B)



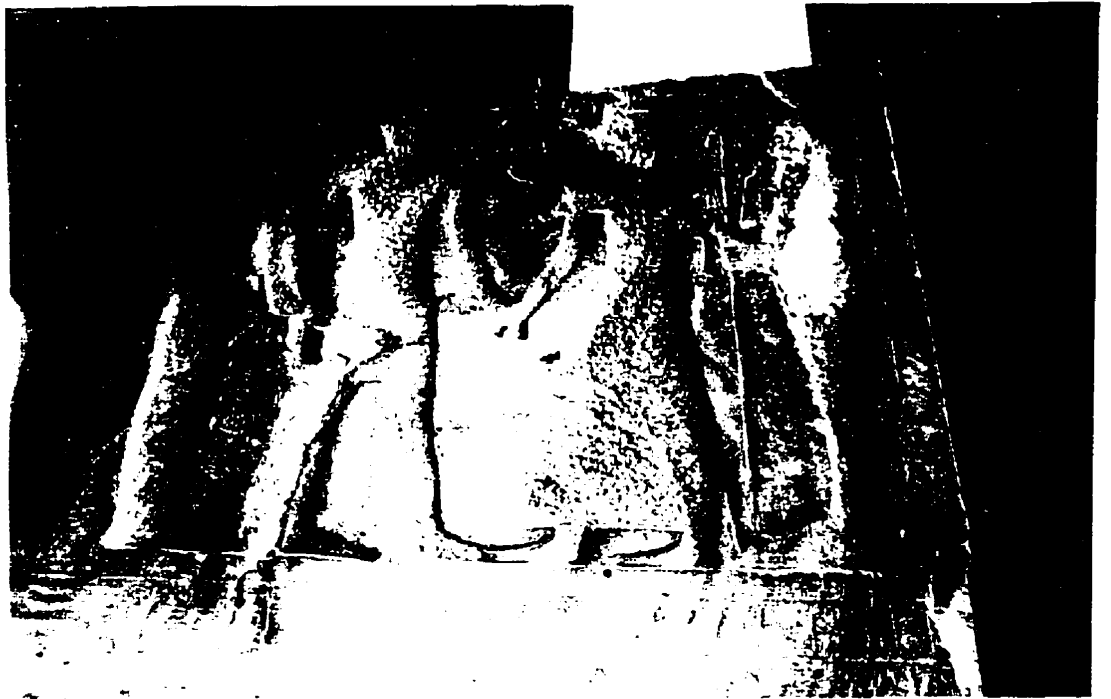
A)



A) Cartouche of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on an architrave in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.

B) Alabaster stela of Seti I of year one. Cairo CG 34501.

B)



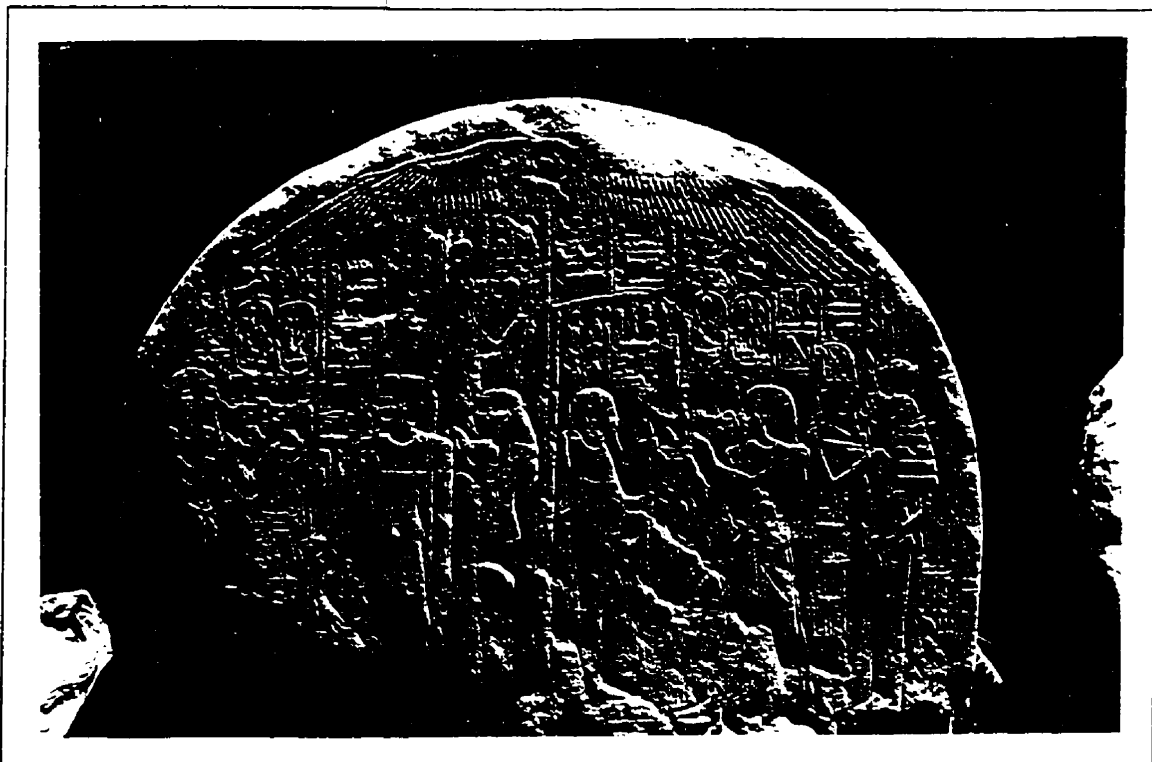
A)

A) Detail from the Ptah temple stela of Seti I.

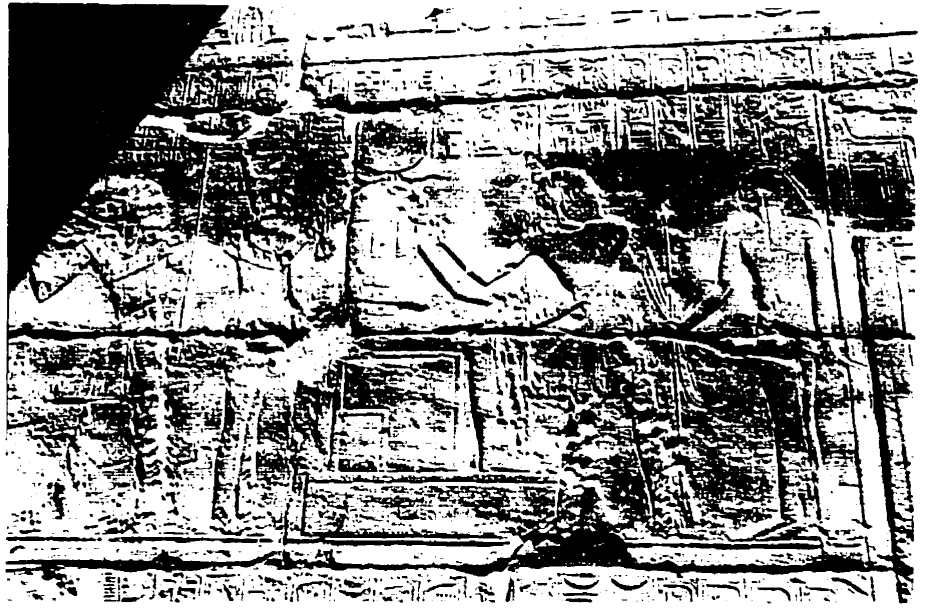


B) Lunette of the Ptah temple stela of Seti I.

B)

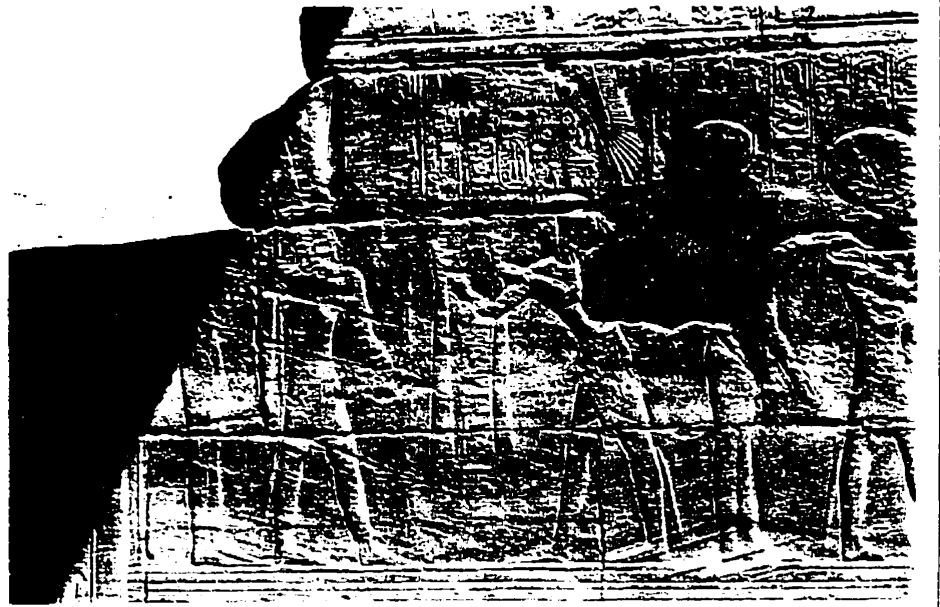


A)



A) Reliefs of Seti I in Room 16 in Gurnah temple. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 254-255.

B)



B) Reliefs of Seti I in room 16 in Gurnah temple at location Q 256-257.

A)

A) Relief of Seti I from the main chapel of Amen-Re at Gurnah temple. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 220.

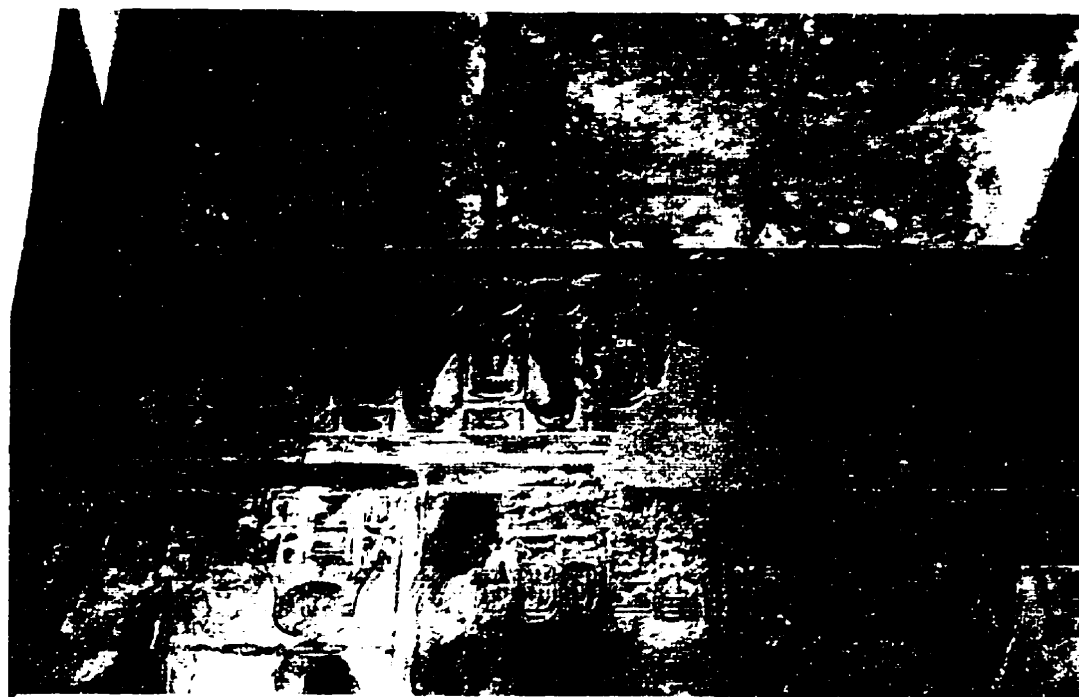


B) Seti I anointing Ramesses I in the guise of Osiris from the chapel of Ramesses I in Gurnah temple. Location Q 347.

B)



A)



A) Cartouche frieze of Seti I along the top of the south wall of the Gurnah temple hypostyle hall. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 136

B) Relief of Ramesses II featuring a posthumous representation of Seti I on the south wall of the Gurnah temple hypostyle hall at Q 136

B)



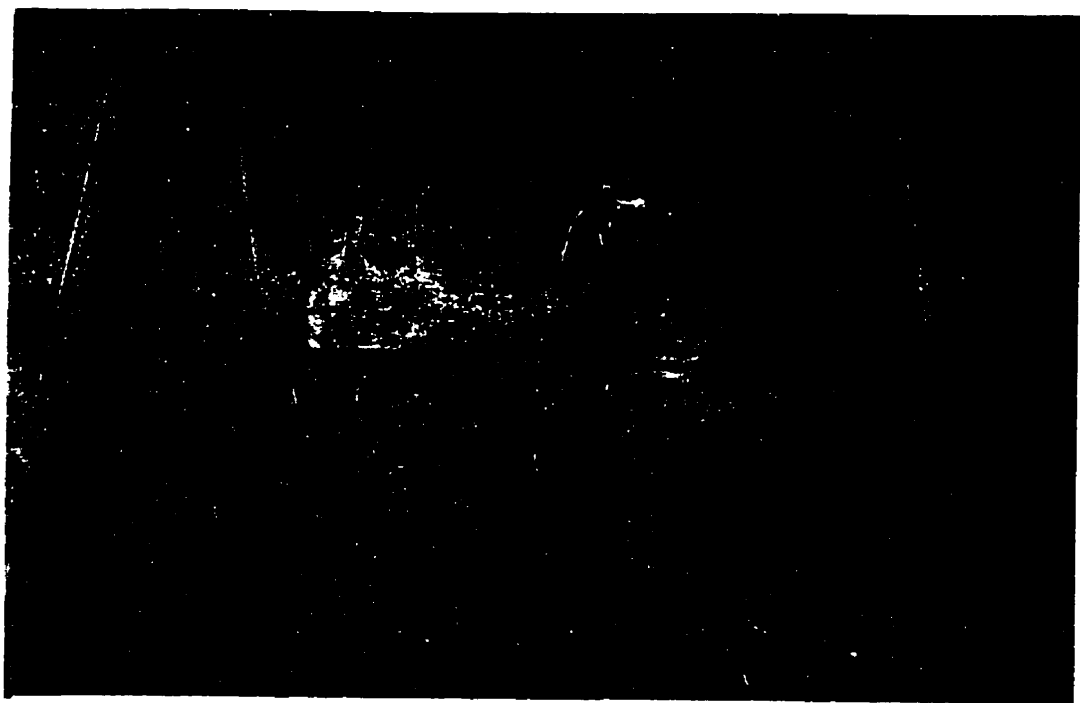
A)

A) Relief of Ramesses II with a posthumous scene of Seti I offering incense to Osiris from the west wall of the transverse hall of Gurnah temple. Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 185.



B) Posthumous scene of Seti I offering flowers to Amen-Re from the hypostyle hall in Gurnah temple. Located at Q 123.

B)



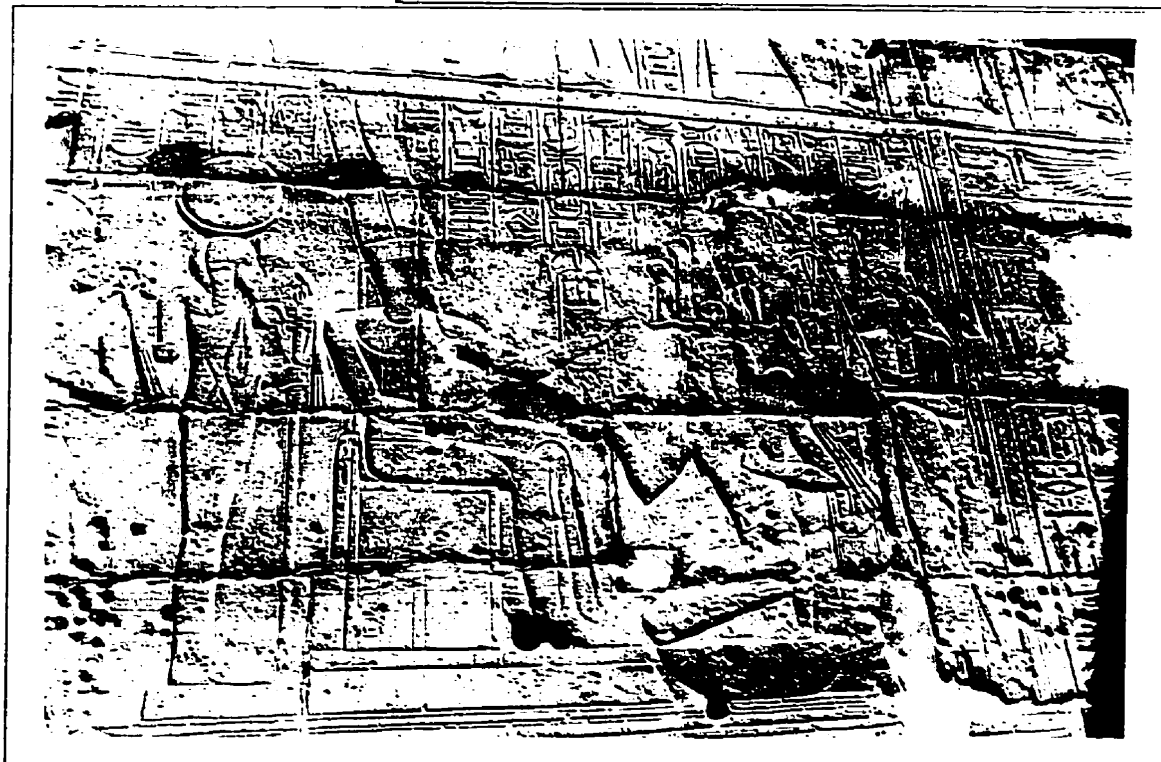
A)

A) Detail of Q 301 showing the deified figure of Seti I holding the crook, flail and *ꜥnh*.



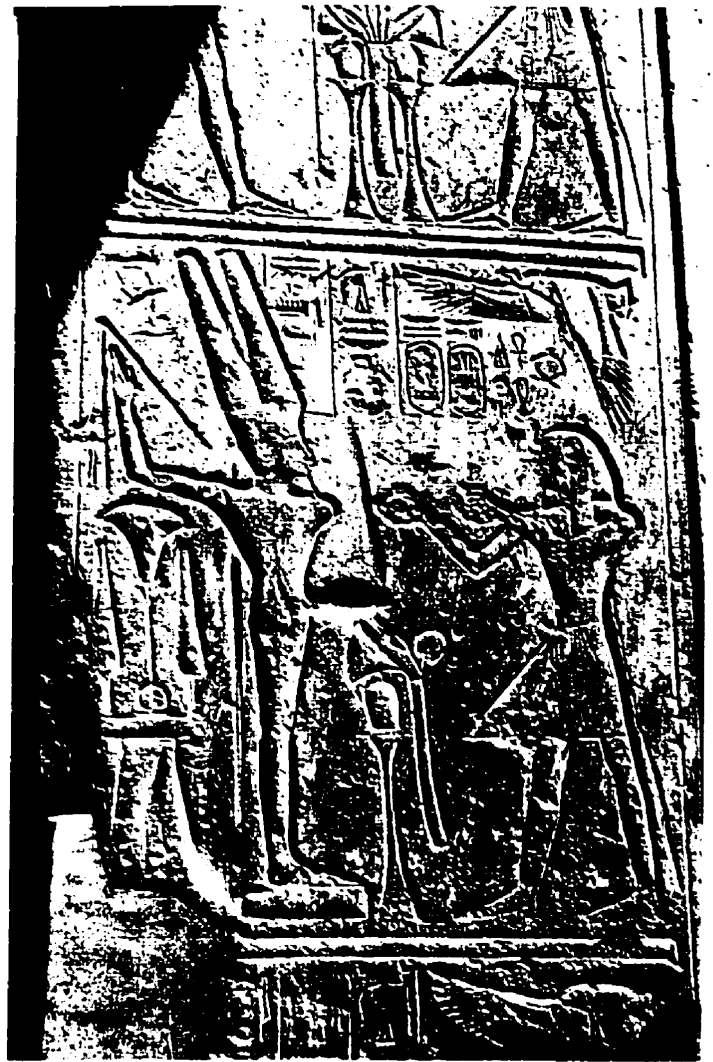
A) Relief of Ramesses II receiving *hb-sd*'s from the Theban Triad in the presence of the deified Seti I. Gurnah temple, vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, north wall. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 301.

B)



A)

A) Posthumous scene of Seti I on the east jamb, middle register of the door leading into the chapel of Ramesses I at Gurnah temple. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 304.



B) King (Ramesses II) offering to Amen-Re and deified king (Seti I or Ramesses I). Gurnah temple, north wall of the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite. Location Q 299.

B)



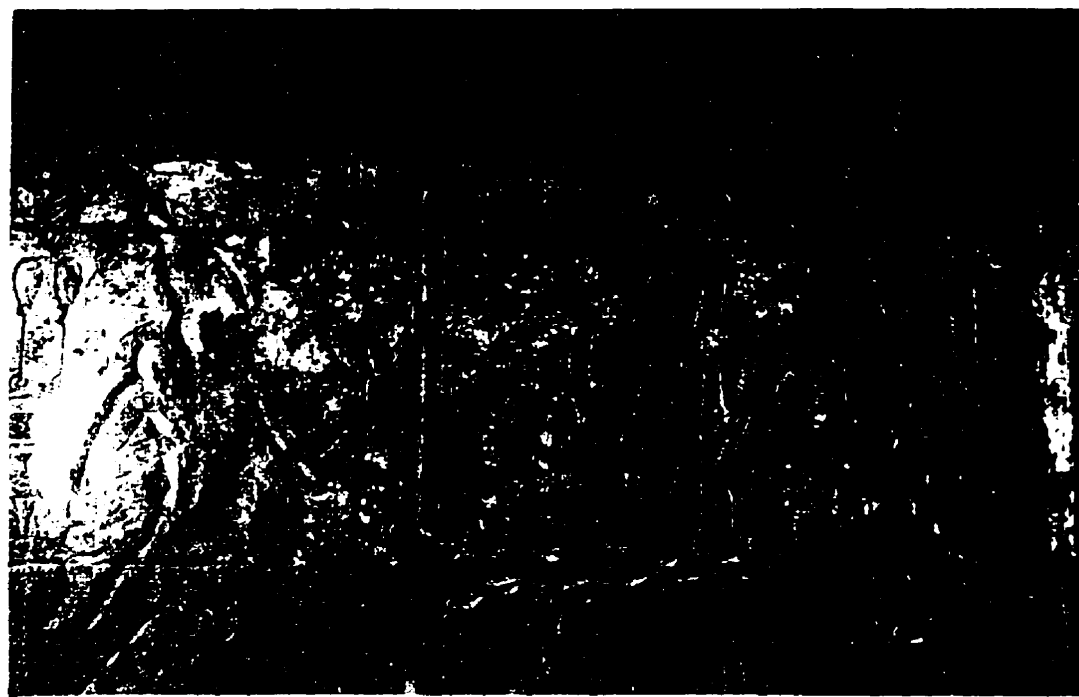
A)

A) Relief of Ramesses II featuring the deified Ramesses I from the east wall of the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite at Gurnah temple. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 296.

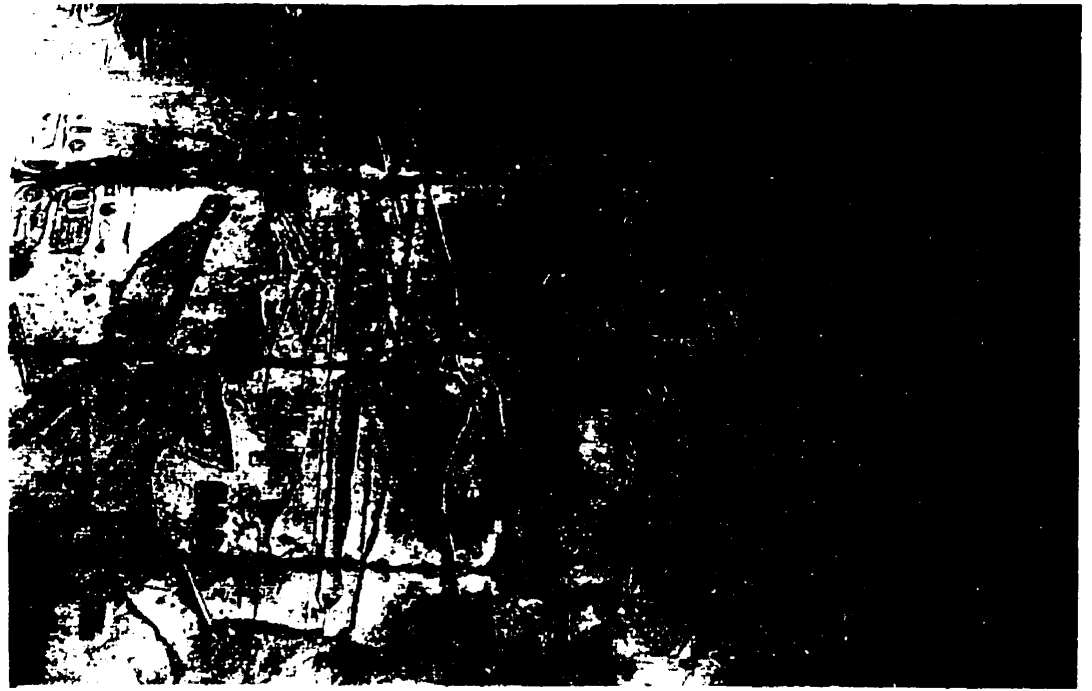


B) Ramesses II running with *hs*-vases before Osiris and deified Seti I on the east wall of the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite at Gurnah temple. Location Q 313.

B)



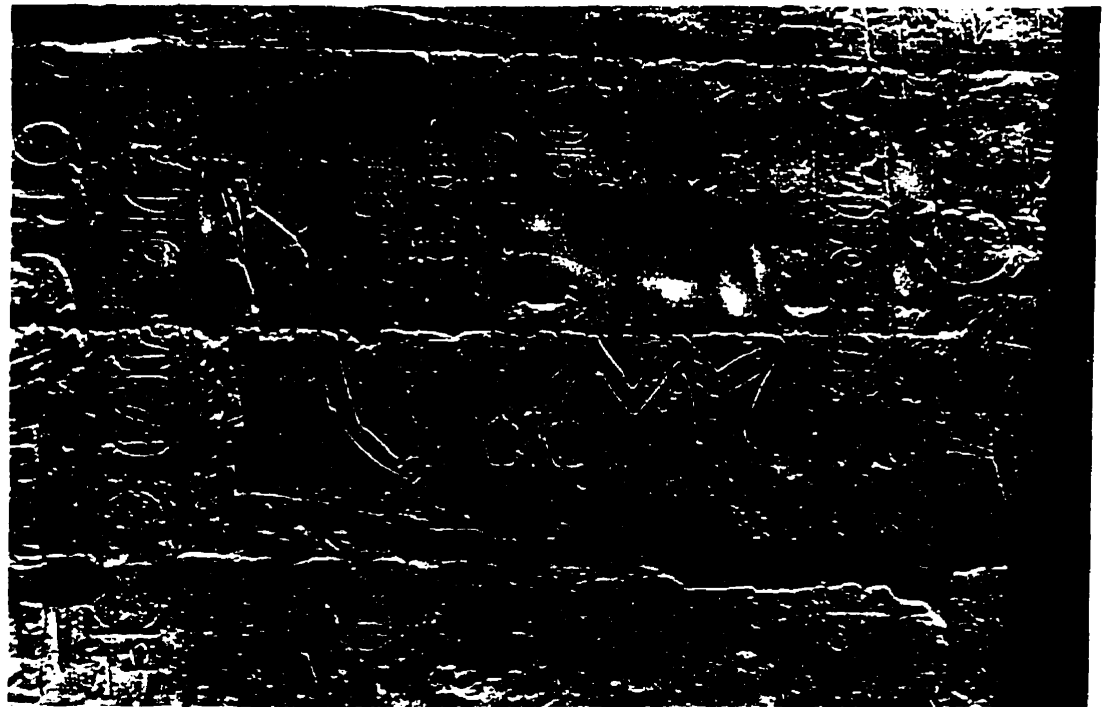
A)



A) Relief of Ramesses II from room 34 of Gurnah temple with a posthumous scene of Seti I dedicating the four *mrt*-boxes to Amen and Ramesses II running with the *hpt*-oar on the left. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 392-393

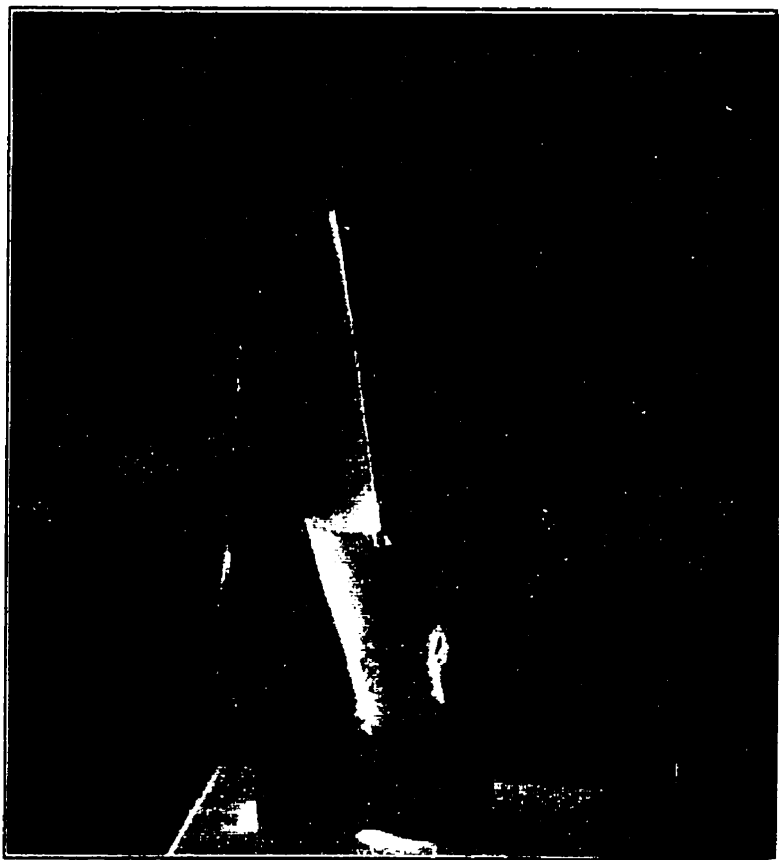
B) Incomplete reliefs of Ramesses from room 26 of Gurnah temple. Located at Q 449-451.

B)



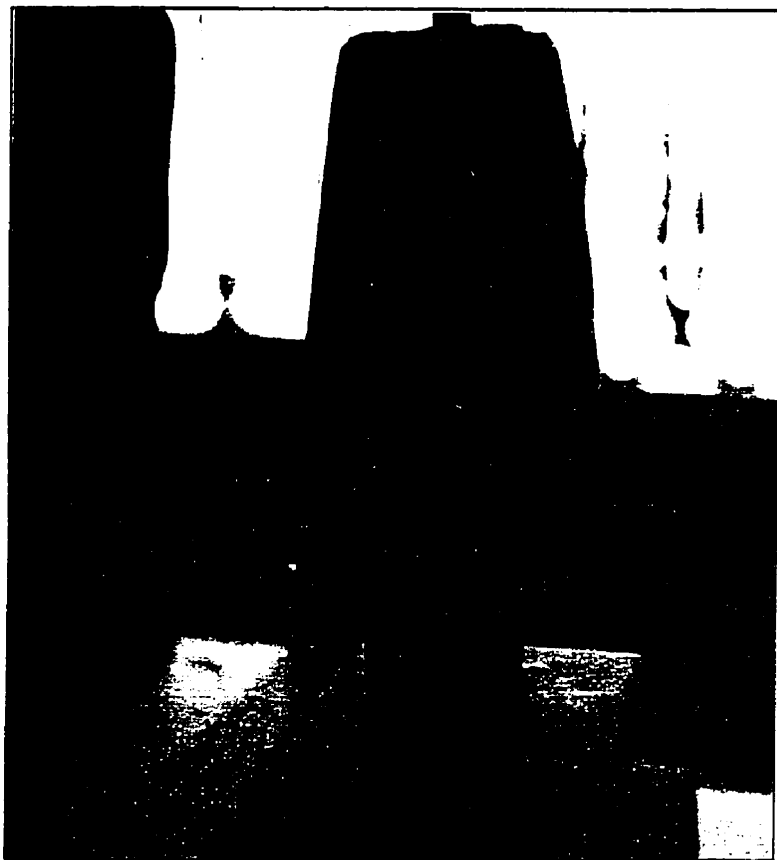
A)

A) Side view of the head of a statue of Amen from Medinet Habu done in a post-Amarna style, with an early variant of Seti I's prenomen. Port Said Museum P. 4035.



B)

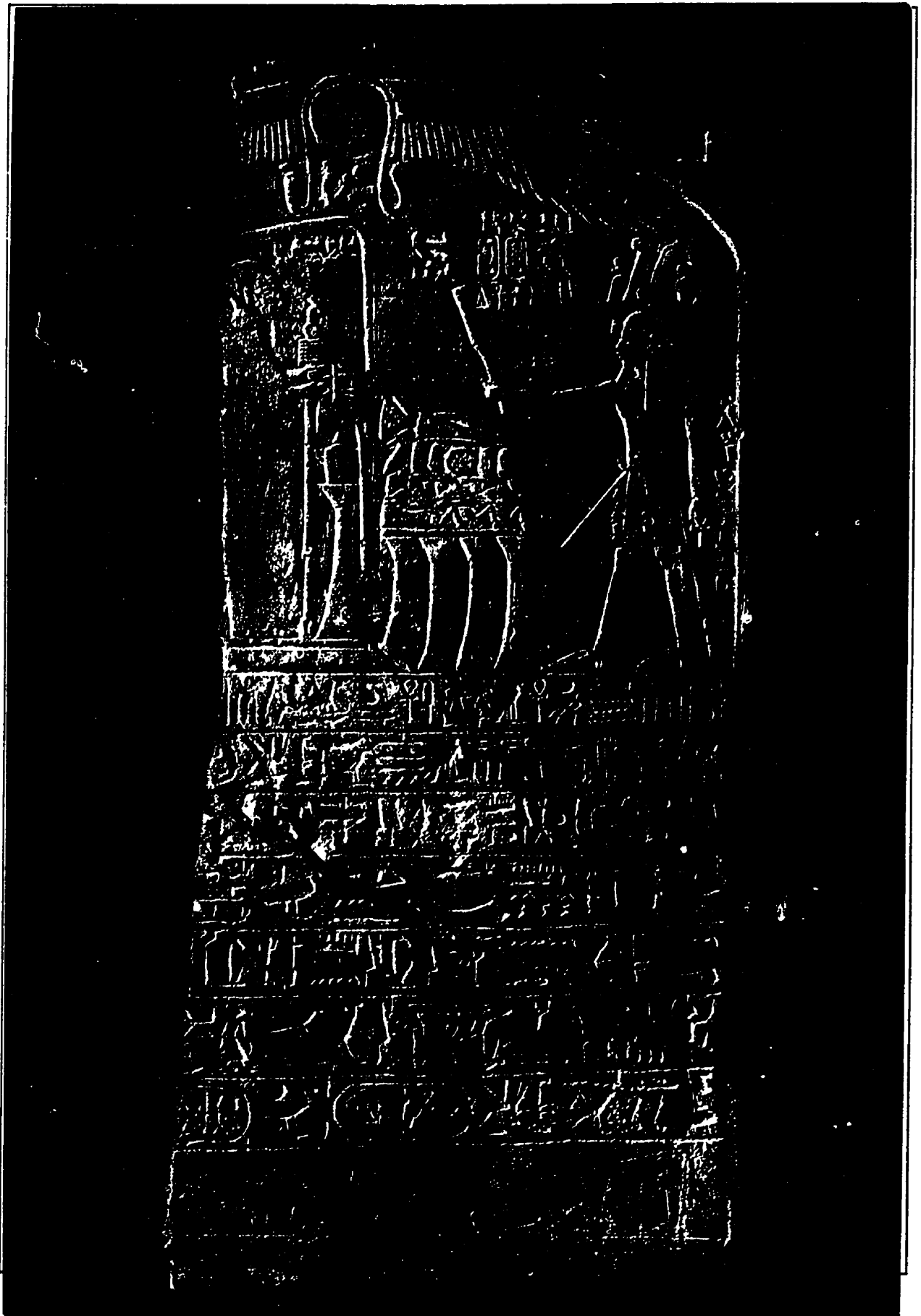
B) Front view of the statue head. Note the almond-shaped eyes and small nose.

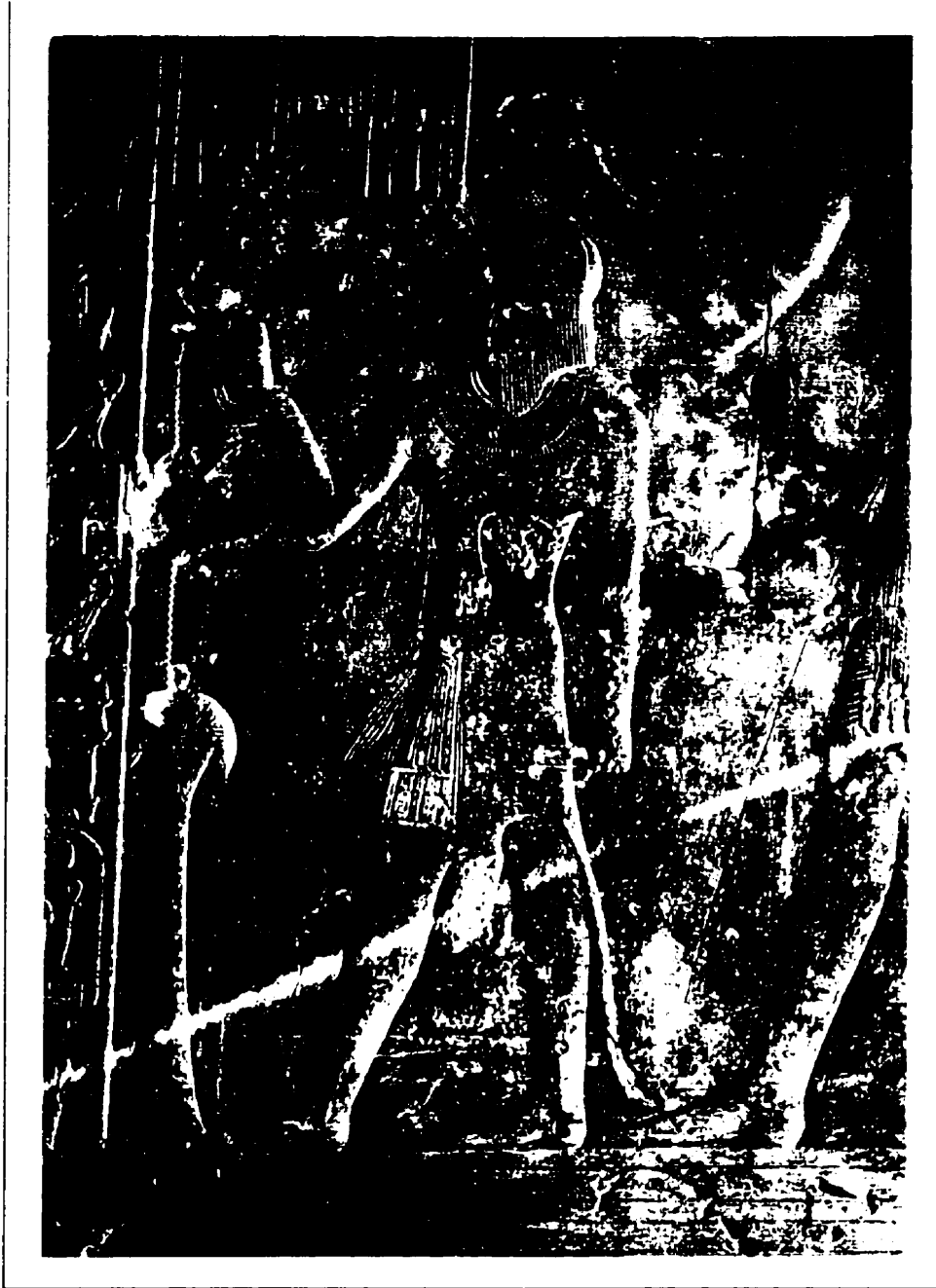




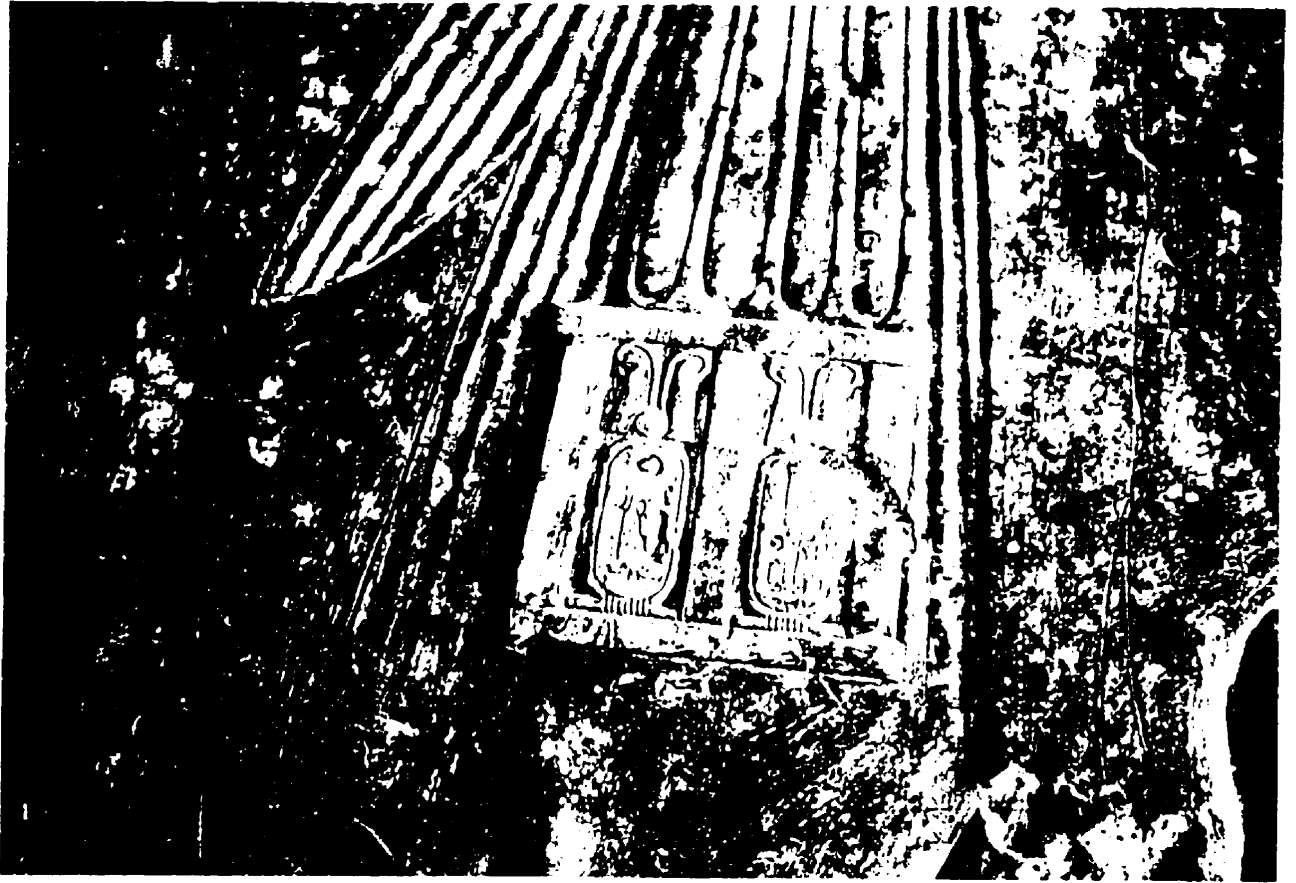
Louvre B 61/E 12921. Relief of Seti I from Elephantine.
Photo courtesy the Louvre.

Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10988. Smaller Buhen stela of Seti I of year one.
Photo courtesy the University Museum.

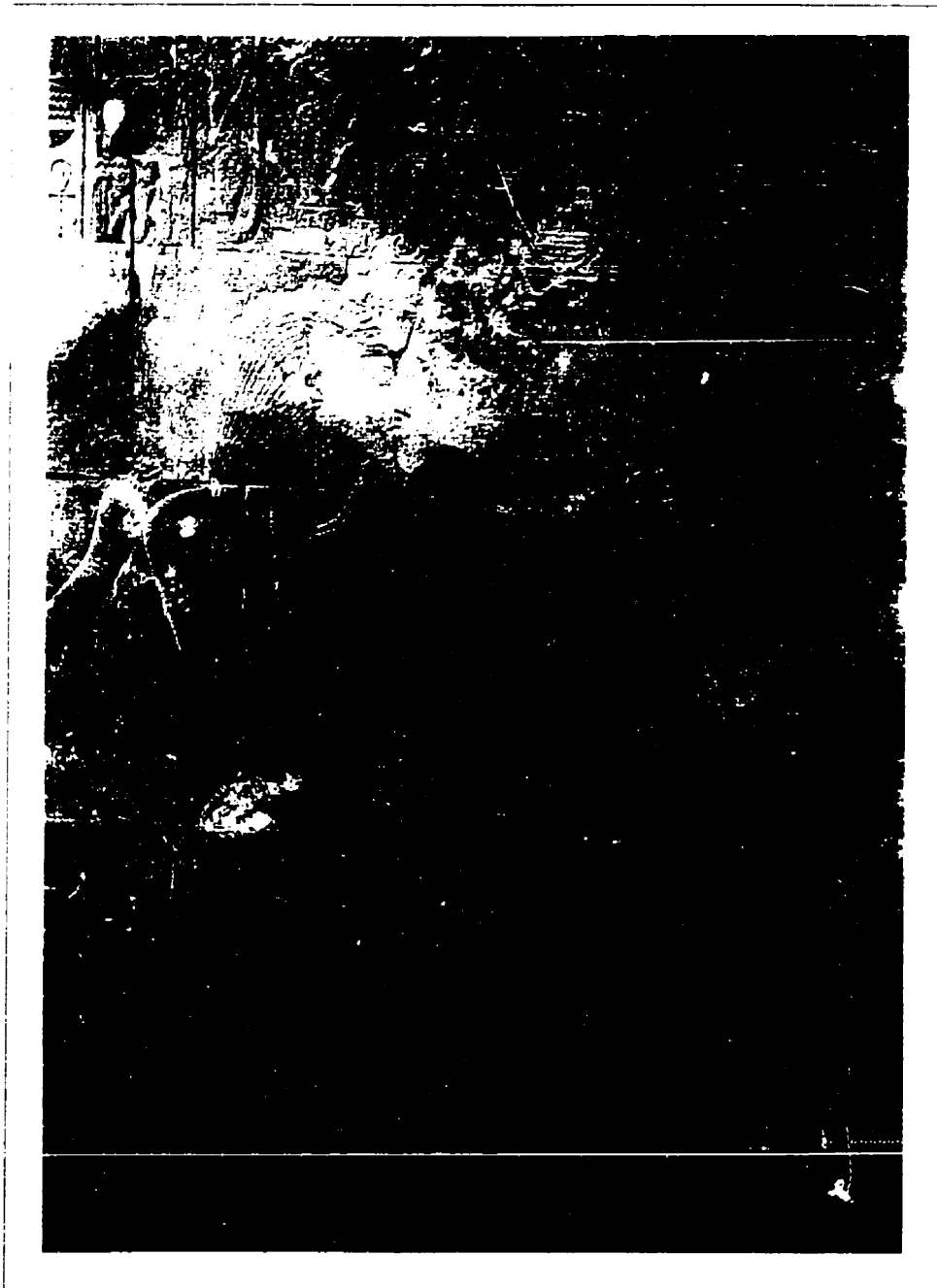




Relief of Seti I from the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos. The future Ramesses II is depicted as prince and heir apparent. On his sash is a pendant with his cartouches. He is entitled "heir apparent, and king's eldest bodily son Ramessu." *PM* VI, 25 (229).
Photo courtesy William J. Murnane.



Detail of prince Ramesses' sash with pendant giving the earlier form of his prenomen from the Gallery of the King's at Abydos. There is no reason to believe this is anything other than the original edition of the relief. Ramesses probably had a prospective prenomen, but it did not appear in official inscriptions.

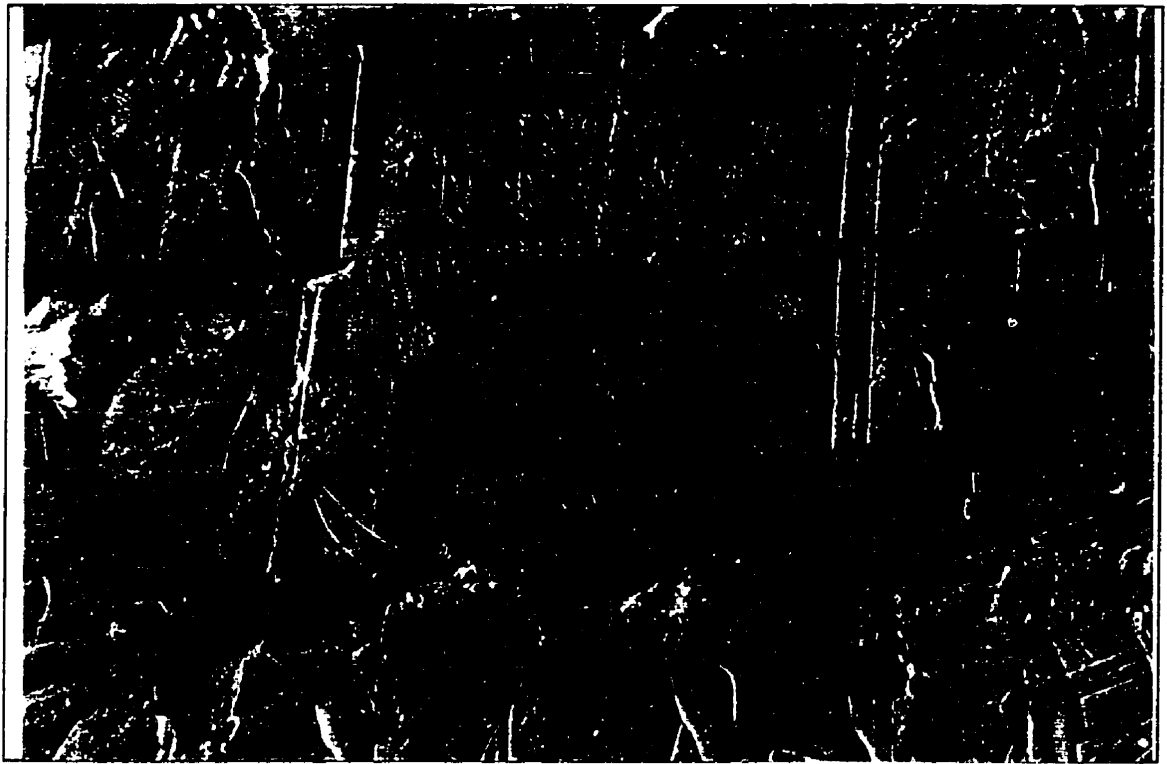


Relief of Ramesses II depicting the deified Seti I being offered to by King Ramesses. This and a pendant scene on the opposite wall are the only reliefs in Seti's Abydos temple carved by Ramesses II in his period R¹, in the earliest part of his reign. Located in staircase Y' adjoining the Corridor of the Bull. *PM* VI, 26 (240). Photo courtesy William J. Murnane.



Relief of Ramesses II from corridor Y' in Seti I's Abydos temple depicting him offering to Seti I, (see previous plate), a goddess, and the Ennead. *PM* VI, 26 (240).

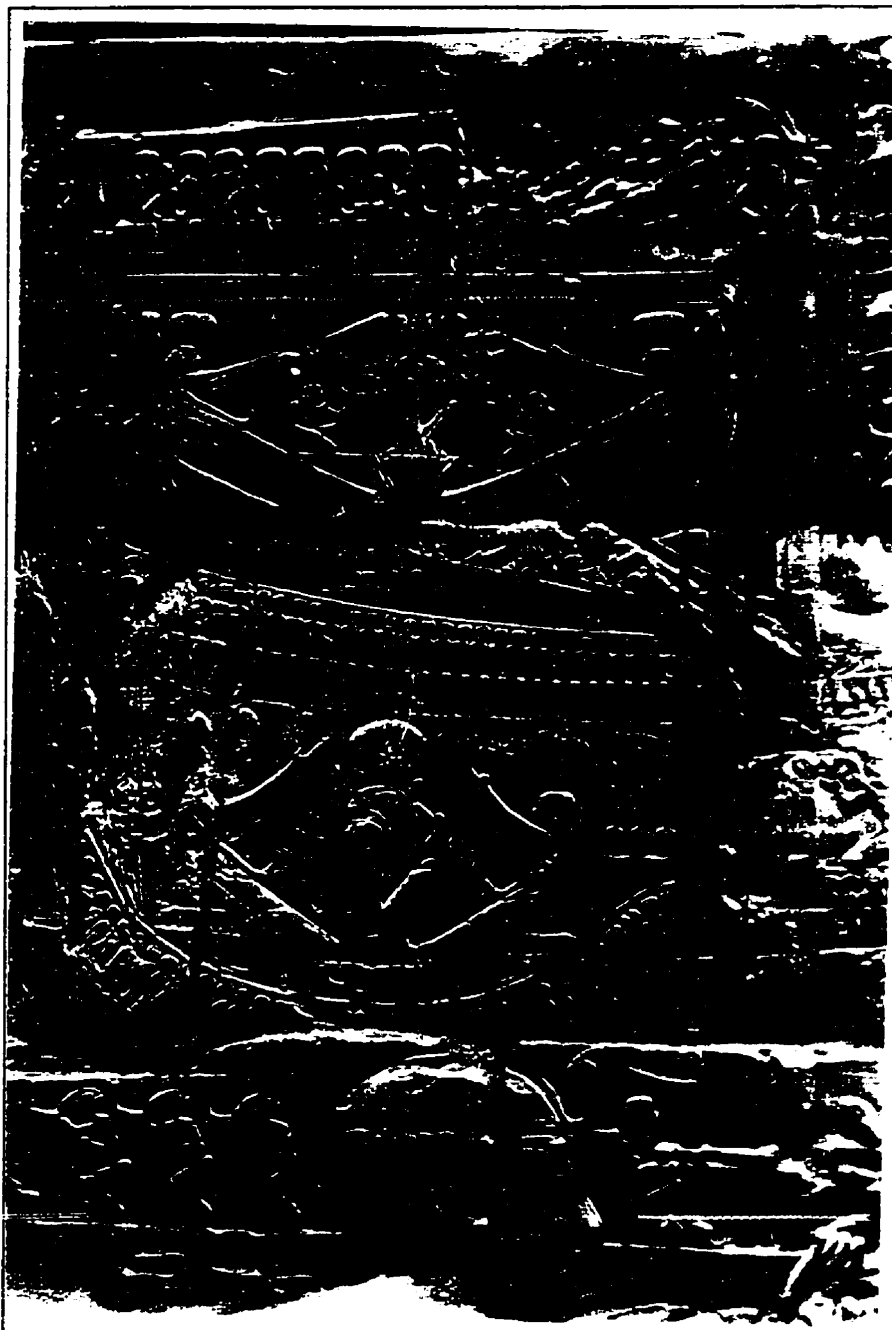
Photo courtesy William J. Murnane.



Cabin shrine and veil of the barque of Amen-Re from the east tower of the 8th Pylon at Karnak, north face. The original version featured a rebus of Tutankhamen's prenomen lodged between the wings of the two goddesses. The final version has Seti I's prenomen, hacked out in post-antiquity. Depressions to either side of it represent the *hpr*-beetle of Tutankhamen's prenomen. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans* KG 104.



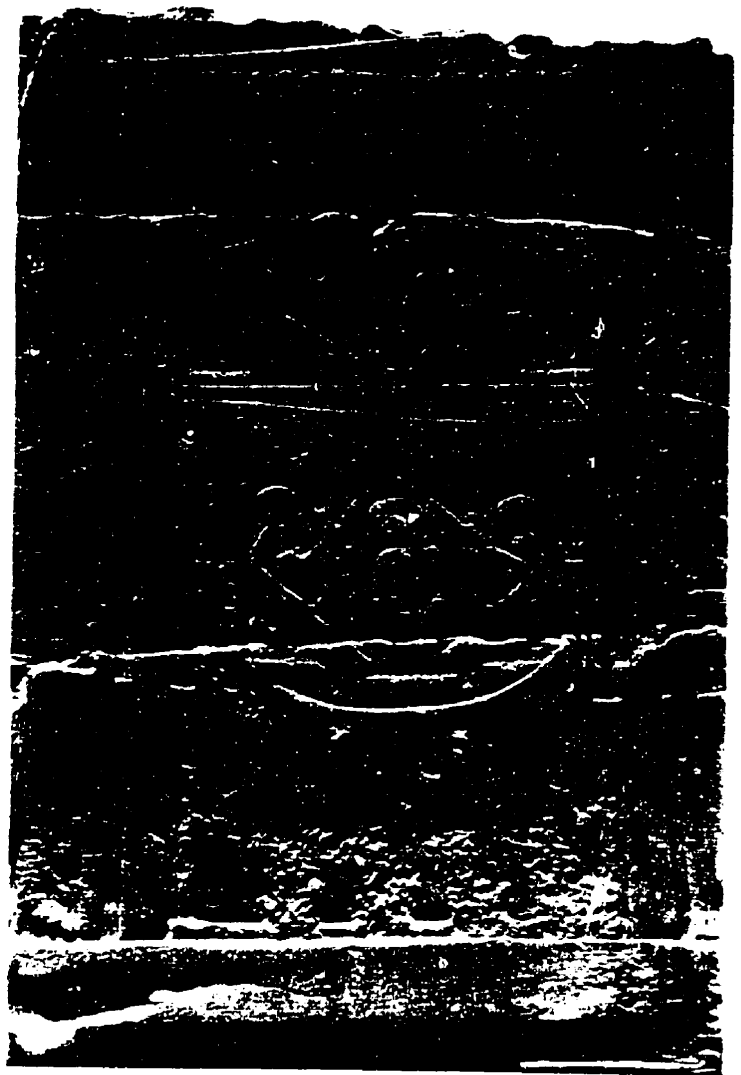
Cabin shrine and veil of the barque of Amen-Re from the north wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall east of the north gateway. The relief has been adjusted so that the figures on the cabin and veil have been shifted and the forward canopy pole has also been recut. No iconographic changes are evident, and the reworking appears to be cosmetic. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 292; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 197.



Cabin shrine and veil of the barque of Amen-Re from the north wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall., west of the north gateway. Here again, cosmetic adjustments were made to refine the proportions of the barque canopy. Note the frieze of winged goddesses and uraei peeking out from behind the top of the veil as it slants down towards the front of the cabin. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 277-278; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 180.

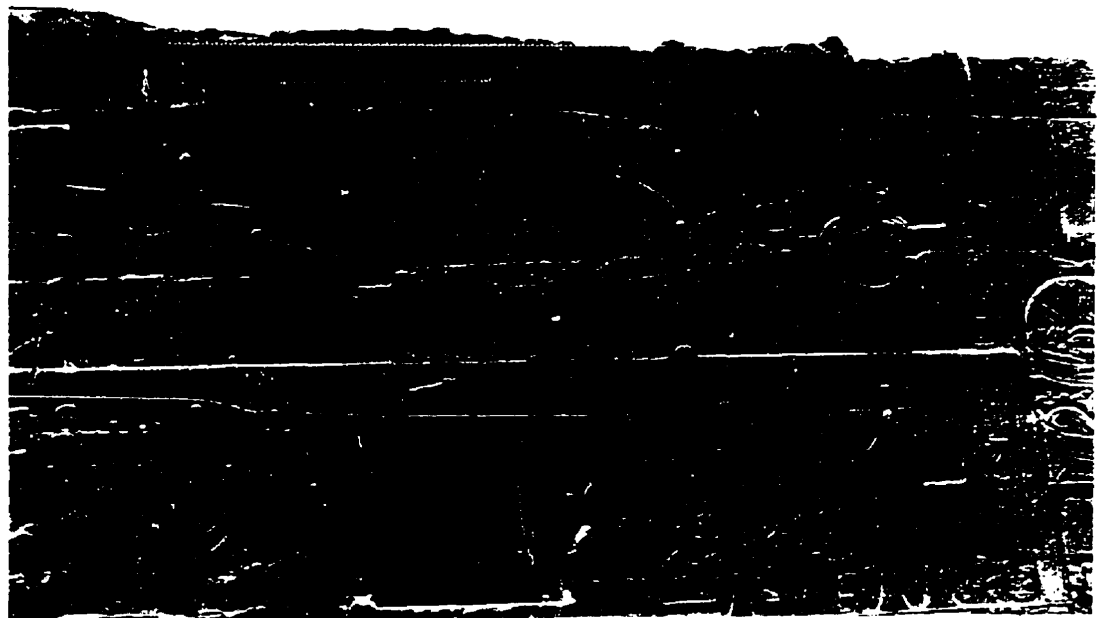
A)

A) Canopy of the barque of Amen-Re on the north wall of the main sanctuary of the god in Seti I's Gurnah temple. The iconography varies slightly from contemporary examples at Karnak. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 219.



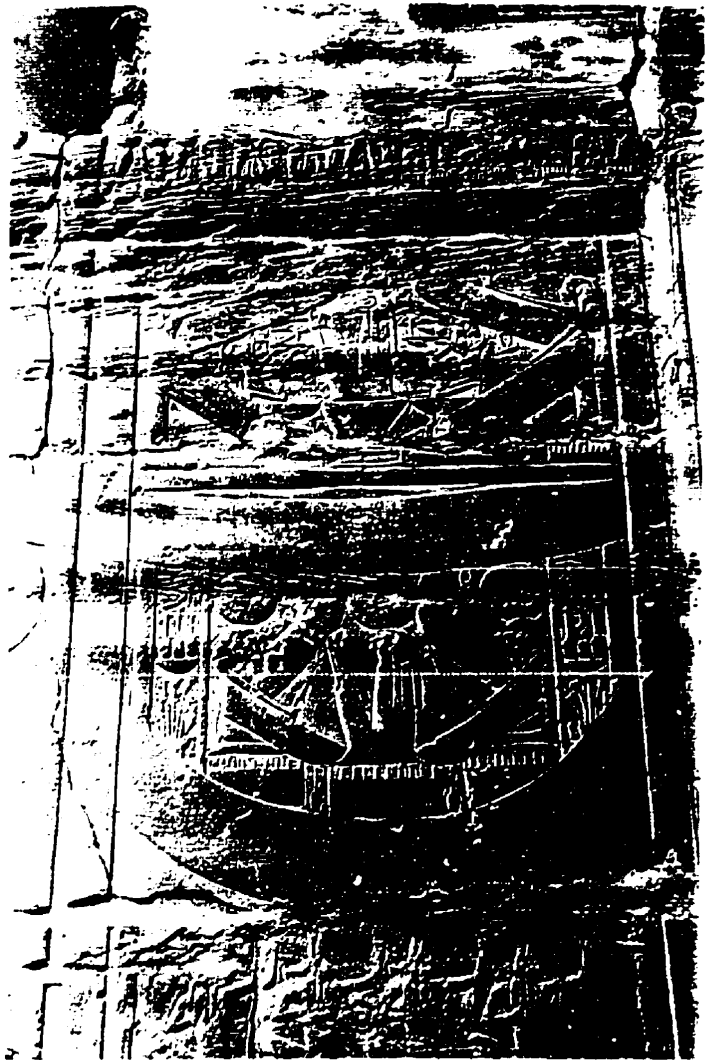
B) View of the same barque. A rebus of the king's prenomen has been worked into the billow of the veil and inside the *shywt*-collar on the forward aegis.

B)



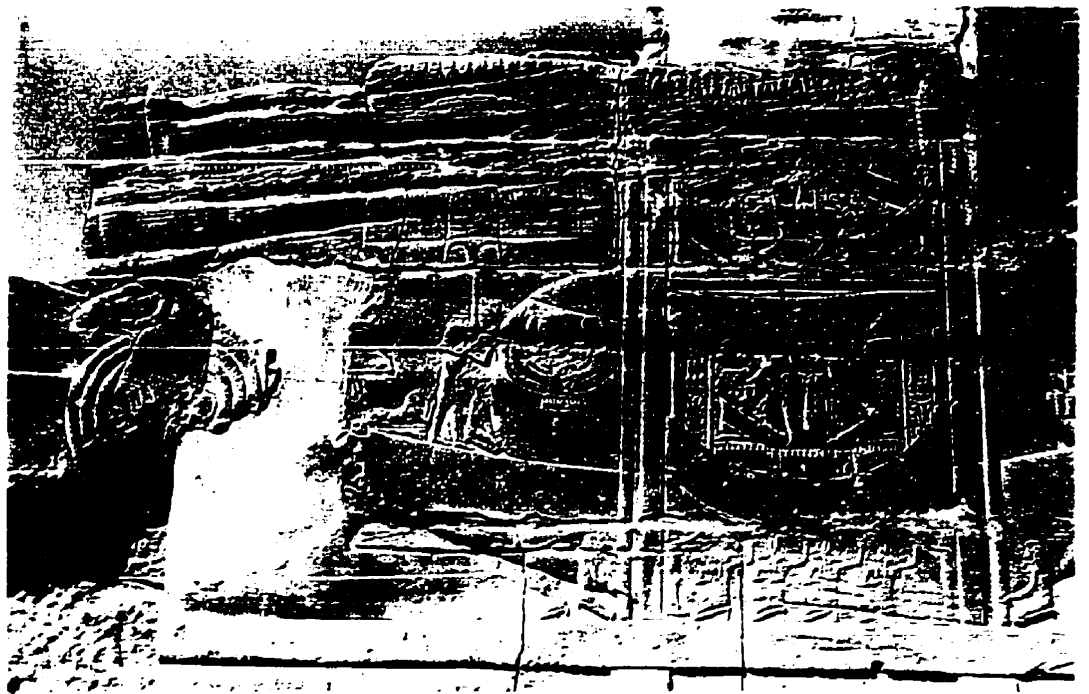
A)

A) Canopy of the barque of Amen-Re from the south wall of the main sanctuary of the god in Seti I's Gurnah temple. The iconography varies slightly from contemporary examples at Karnak. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Q 230.



B) Forward half of the same barque. Note the rebus of Seti's prenomen on the billow of the veil.

B)





Canopy of the barque of Amen-Re from the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall west of the south gateway. Carved under Ramesses II, the rebus decoration originally featured only elements of Seti I's prenomen.

Sometime after he converted the reliefs on this wall from raised to sunk relief Ramesses suppressed elements of Seti's prenomen and replaced them with elements of his own, including the *wsr*-staff in the fist of the squatting Re figure on the veil, and those held by three of the *m3't*-figures. The *mn*-boards were also suppressed.

Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 99-100; idem, *GHHK* I.1, pl. 53.

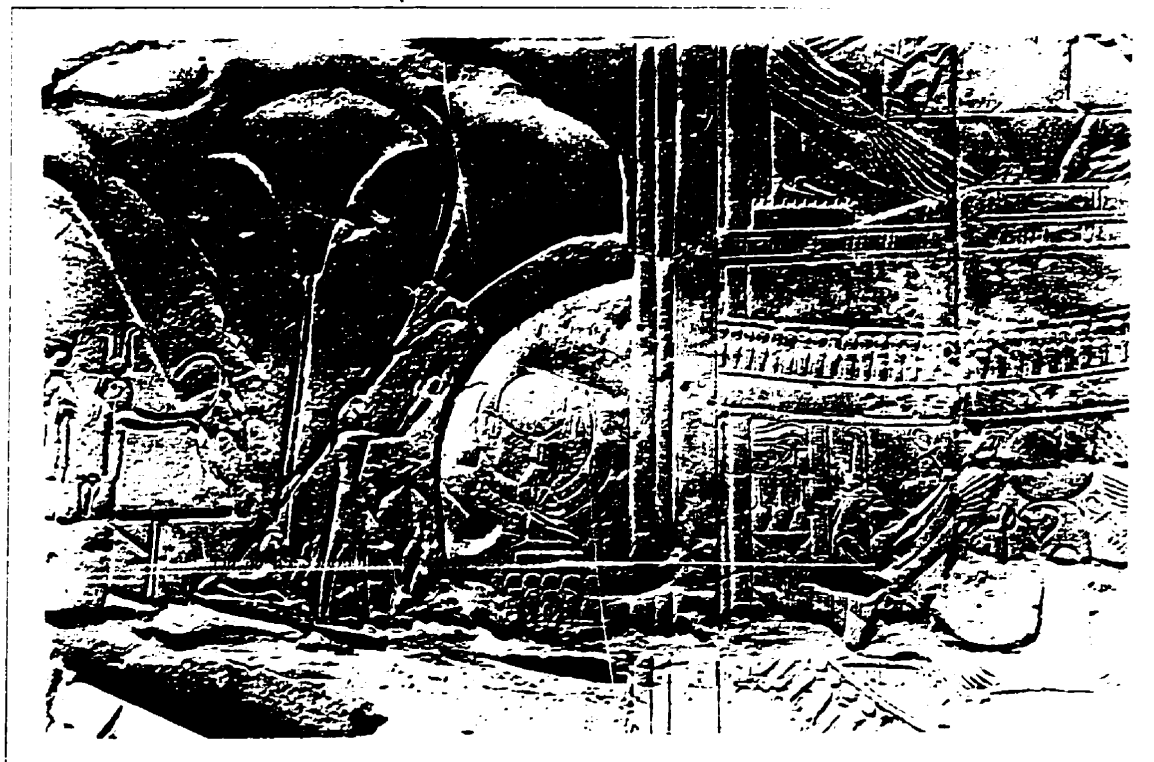
A)

A) Canopy of the barque of Amen-Re in a relief on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall east of the south gateway. Carved in phase R² of Ramesses II's relief work in the Hall, it contains only elements of Seti I's prenomen in the rebus decoration. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KB 117-118; idem, *GHHK* 1.1, pl. 76

B) Billow of the veil on the barque of Amen-Re at KB 99 in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Ramesses II has suppressed the raised *mn*-board supporting the winged *m3'rt*-figure and cut a *m3'rt*-platform. The goddess has been recut in incised relief and an *w3'sr*-staff has been placed in her fist.



B)



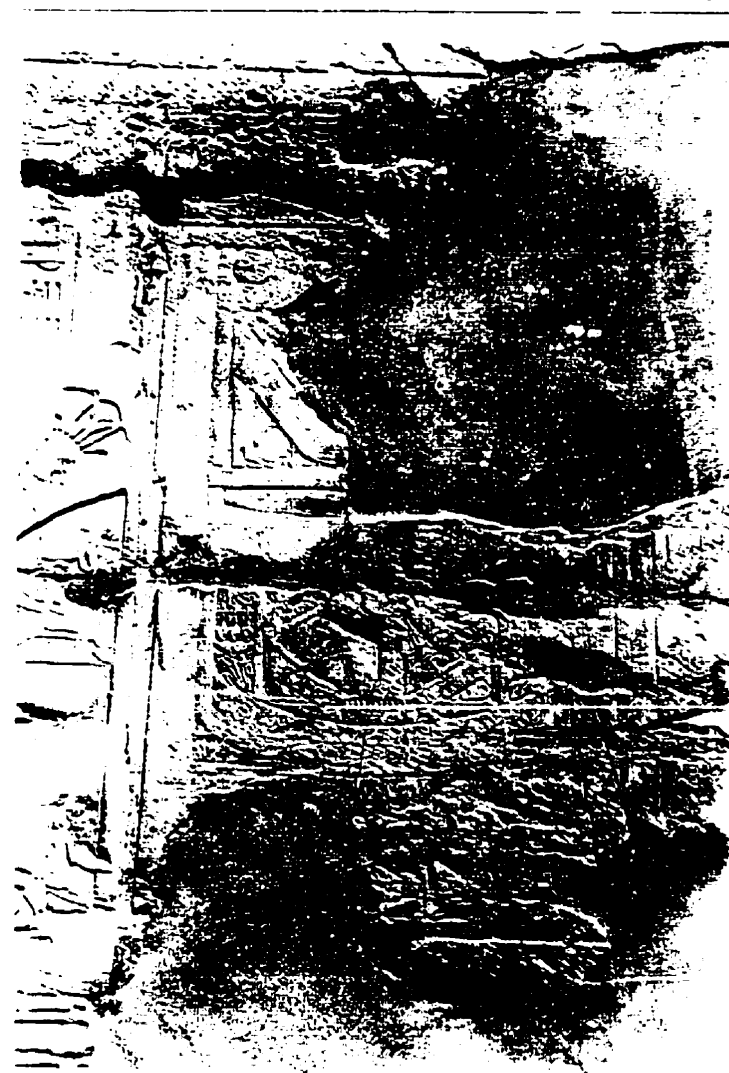


Canopy of the barque of Amen-Re in the Triple Shrine of Luxor. chapel of Amen-Re, west wall. Carved sometime after year two of Ramesses II, the rebus decoration on the veil and cabin shrine in this scene still reflects the titulary of Seti I. The only element reflecting the prenomen of Ramesses is the *wsr*-staff held by the squatting figure of Re on the veil.

Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, LA 34.

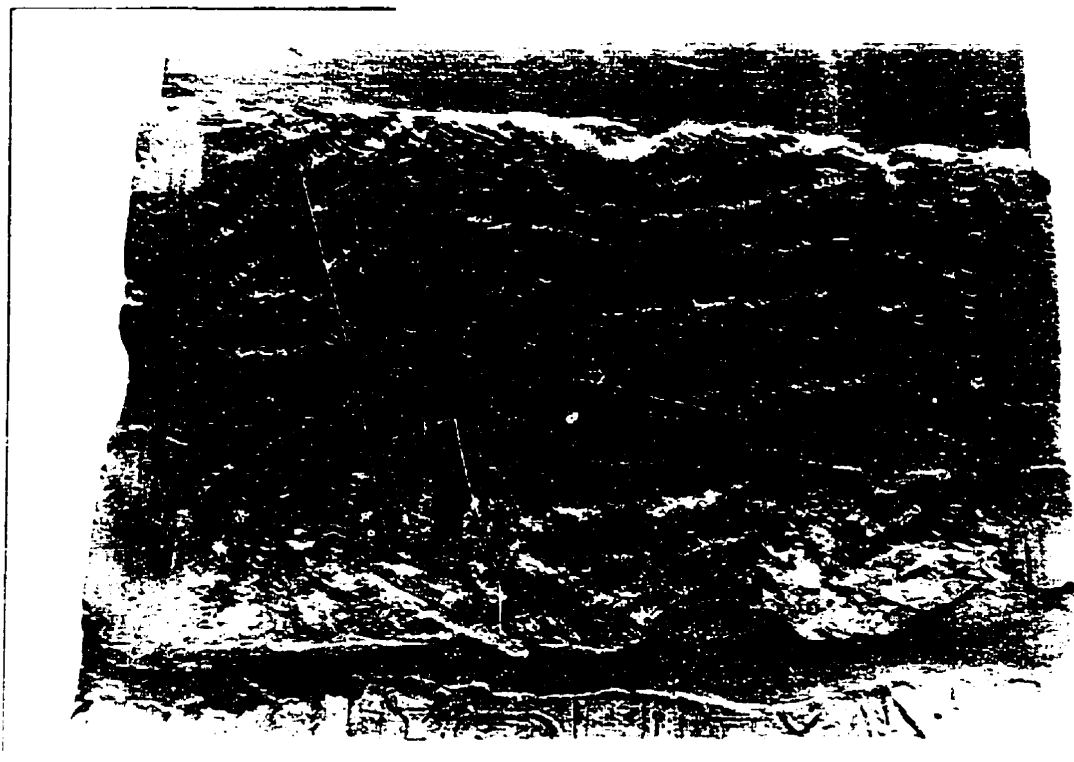
A)

A) Canopy of the barque of Amen-Re on the west wall of the barque shrine of Seti II in the court of the First Pylon at Karnak. Many years after his death, Seti's titulary is still reflected in the rebus decoration of the veil. The squatting figure of Re surmounts a *mn*-sign, as does the winged *m3't*-figure on the billow of the veil. The four standing *m3't*-figures on the veil and upper cabin shrine no longer stand atop *mn*-signs.



B) An unrestored surface on pillar 14, east face form the portico of the edifice of Amenhotep II in the court of the 10th Pylon. The deeper gouges cut much farther into the original surface than most of the damage. These would have remained even if most of the surface had been smoothed back. Traces of the original surface still remain in some places. Located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, KG 14.

B)



Bruxelles E. 5300. Stela of Miya featuring Seti I with prince Ramesses.

