

CAHIERS DE KARNAK



14

Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak

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ASPECTS OF THE DEIFICATION OF KING SETY I¹

Amr Gaber (Alexandria University)

DEIFICATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT was *in actu* an intermittent process which occurred throughout the ancient Egyptian Pharaonic history.² A small number of the ancient Egyptian kings experienced a pre-mortem deification while numerous were subjected to a posthumous deification and the latter was the common case. However, this process was not only restricted to kings as some queens, princes and private persons underwent deification as well. Thus, the aims of this article are to study and analyze a corpus of epigraphic and iconographic documents *vis-à-vis* the deification of King Sety I, to compare the aspects of the deification employed in his deification with those of other kings, to find out whether the king in question underwent a pre-mortem, post-mortem deification or both and finally, to present the iconography of the deified King Sety I.

I. The sacred barks (Docs. 1-4)

The sacred barks of King Sety I are depicted twice in his temple of millions of years at *Qurna* (docs.1 and 2). A third occurrence appears in the temple of Sety I at Abydos (doc. 3). Additionally, a fourth one is found in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (doc. 4). Moreover, a different form of a boat used by Sety I is illustrated in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak (doc. 9).

¹ The topic of the present article is a part of my unpublished Master thesis entitled “Deification of Human Beings in Ancient Egypt-Since the beginning of the Dynastic period till the end of the Roman period” which I finished in 2001 in Alexandria University. However, since then my work has been developed and more references have been added. I would like to dedicate this article to Dr. Penelope Wilson of Durham University in gratitude for all what she has taught me and for all her support. I would like to express my thanks to Robert Rothenflug and especially to Raymond Monfort for providing me with the photos of some of the studied scenes and helping me to locate some texts in the temple of Sety I at Abydos. I am grateful for Prof. C. Ward for providing me with a pdf copy of her book. I am also grateful to Dr. K. Eaton, Prof. G. Robins, P. Robinson, and Dr. M. Ullmann for providing me with a pdf copy of their articles. I am also grateful to Dr. Peter Brand for his helpful discussions regarding documents (23) and (24).

² The doctrine of Kingship in ancient Egypt was that the kingship was divine but the king was not a god, see H. GOEDICKE, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich*, *ÄgAbh* 2, 1960; G. POSENER, *De la divinité du Pharaon*, *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique* 15, Paris, 1960; D.P. SILVERMAN, “The Nature of Egyptian Kingship”, in D. O’Connor, D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden, 1995, p. 49-92; see also M. COMPAGNO, “God-kings and King-gods in ancient Egypt”, in Chr. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, *OLA* 82, 1998, p. 237-243; E. MORRIS, “The Pharaoh and Pharaonic Office”, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt I*, Malden-Mass, 2010, p. 201-217.

Document 1

Location of the scene: on the wall of the Portico of the temple of Sety I at *Qurna*.³

Description of the scene: the priests carry the bark of the king together with the bark of Ahmose-Nefertary.⁴ Twelve *wʿb*-priests carry the sacred bark in four rows. A *sm*-priest is depicted under the shrine of the bark. Another two *wʿb*-priests are shown standing before and behind the bark, each of them is carrying two fans. Both the prow and the stern of the bark have the king's head surmounted by the *šwty*-crown. The stern has two oars.

The text before the shrine reads:



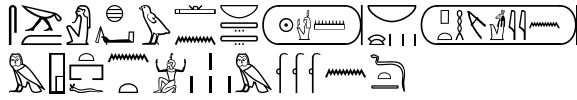
Nb-t3wy (Mn-m3't-R') nb-h'w (Mry-n-Pth Sty) mry Imn-R' nsw ntrw
Lord of the two lands, (Men-maet-Re), lord of the crowns, (Mery-en-Ptah-Sety),
*beloved of Amun-Re, King of the gods.*⁵

Document 2

Location of the scene: Room III-one of the rooms on the south side of the central Hypostyle Hall, temple of Sety I at *Qurna*.⁶

Description of the scene: the bark is depicted inside a shrine. Thoth stands before the sacred bark. The prow and the stern of the bark have the king's head surmounted by the *3tf*-crown. Offering tables and oblations are depicted underneath the bark. The bark stand is uninscribed. The stern has two oars.

Text before the bark reads⁷:



s3m hwt n nb-t3wy (Mn-m3't-R') nb-h'w (Mry-n-Pth Sty) m hwt.f nt h3w m rnpwt n dt
The holy bark of the lord of the two lands, (Men-maet-Re), lord of the crowns, (Mery-en-Ptah Sety) in his
*temple of millions of years of eternity.*⁸

Text above the bark mentions⁹:



*wts-nfrw nsw (Mn-m3't-R' iw'-R') m hwt-ntr.f n dt*¹⁰
*The portable shrine of the King (Men-maet-Re), heir of Re, in his temple of eternity.*¹¹

3 PM II, p. 408 (5-7).

4 PM II, p. 408 (5-7).

5 RITA II, 425.

6 PM II, p. 411 (42); H. NELSON, "The identity of Amon-Re of united-with- Eternity", *JNES* 1, 1942, p. 144.

7 *Id.*, p. 137, fig.19; G. LEGRAIN, "Le logement et transport des barques sacrées et des statues des dieux dans quelques temples Égyptiens", *BIFAO* 13, 1917, p. 4; R. STADELMANN, "Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben", *MDAIK* 35, 1979, p. 314, n. 79.

8 H. NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 137, fig.19; *KRI* I, 215.

10 M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit: Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*, *ÄAT* 51, 2002, p. 267.

11 H. NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 144; RITA I, 186.

Document 3

Location of the scene: the south wall of the western section of the vaulted chapel of Sety I at his temple of millions of years at *Abydos*.¹²

Description of the scene: the bark, which is depicted inside a shrine and rests on a stand, has a prow and a stern having the king's head surmounted with the *ztf*-crown.¹³ An offering table is represented before the bark inside the shrine. Another offering table segregates Thoht who is followed by *Īwn-mwt.f*-priest from the sacred bark. Beneath the stern a *'nh*-sign is depicted having human hands while holding a *mdw*-staff with a king's head having a two feathered crown. Then a lotus stand followed by three statues of Sety I, Ramesses I and the royal wife Sat-Re. The bark stand is decorated with four figures of Hapy each carrying a tray. The stern of the bark has two oars. Underneath the bark there are offerings depicted.¹⁴

Document 4

Location of the scene: south thickness of the doorway of Chapel [O] of Mariette in the temple of King Ramesses II in *Abydos*.¹⁵

Description of the scene: The sacred bark is depicted resting on a bark stand. The upper part of the bark is lost including the prow and the upper part of the bark shrine. The bark stand is inscribed with the cartouche of Sety I. A king's statue is depicted underneath the bark. The stern of the bark has the king's head while the prow is lost. Offering tables and oblations can still be seen around and beneath the bark.

Text accompanying the scene:¹⁶



[*ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f nswt Mn-mꜣ't-R' irt n.f hwt-kꜣ*] *n sšmw.f hꜣw šms it.f Wsīr m hwt(f) nt hꜣhw m rnpwt imy(w)t ꜣbdw*

[*He made from his monuments to his father Men-maet-Re building for him his ka-house*] for the cult statue of the bark, his father Osiris follows in (his) temple of millions of years in *Abydos*.¹⁷

¹² PM VI, p. 10 (102).

¹³ A.R. DAVID, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, Warminster, 1981, p. 94-96; M. CALVERLEY, M.F. BROOME, A.H. GARDINER, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II. The Second Hypostyle Hall*, London, Chicago, 1935, pl. 35; A. MARIETTE, *Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville II. Temple de Sêti (supplément), temple de Ramsès, temple d'Osiris, petit temple de l'Ouest, nécropole*, Paris, 1880, pl. 32.

¹⁴ R. PREYS, "De Osirismysteriën en de tempel van Sethi I te Abydos", *De Scriba* 2, 1993, p. 44, fig. 25.

¹⁵ Chapel [I] it is mentioned wrongly as the room of Hathor, see PM VI, 35 (23); K.P. KUHLMANN, "Der Tempel Rameses II. in Abydos, Zweiter Bericht über die Neuaufnahme", *MDAIK* 38, 1982, p. 355; M. ULLMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 307, n. 1100.

¹⁶ The beginning of the text is lost, see A. MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, pl. 20f. Kitchen completed the text as [*ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Wsīr nb ꜣbdw irt n.f hwt-kꜣ*], see *KRI* II, 541, 15-16.

¹⁷ M. Ullmann completed the text as [*ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f nswt Mn-mꜣ't-R' irt n.f hwt-kꜣ*], see M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 306; *id.*, "Der Temple Rameses' II. in Abydos als 'Haus der Millionen an Jahren'", in H. Beinlich (ed.), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Würzburg, 23. - 26. September 1999*, *ÄAT* 33, 2002, p. 189.

2. Invocation in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula (Doc. 5)

The invocation of different deities in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula occurred first during the Old Kingdom¹⁸ and then it continued to appear throughout the different periods of ancient Egyptian history. Mainly, some deities were invoked for offerings and other important demands. The philological and grammatical constructions of this formula evolved and each period features its distinctive style which helps to date almost every text.¹⁹

Document 5

Location of the text: the right jamb of a limestone door in the tomb which belongs to a person called *Ḥmn-m-wiꜥ*. It is now housed in the Cairo Museum.²⁰

Description of the text: King Sety I is invoked in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula by *Ḥmn-m-wiꜥ* who lived during the Nineteenth Dynasty.²¹



ḥtp-dī-nsw Ḥnsw m Wꜥst Nfr-ḥtp sꜥ Ḥmn pr.(w) m ḥ'w.f nb-tꜥwy (Mn-mꜥ't-R'ꜥ) mꜥ'-ḥrw dī.sn iꜥt nfrt ḥr ḥt iꜥw n kꜥ n sꜥm ꜥ m St mꜥ't ꜥ mk [...] Ḥmn-m-wiꜥ mꜥ'-ḥrw

*An offering which the king gives (to) Khonsu in Thebes, (to) the good and peaceful one, (and to) the son of Amun, issued from his body, the lord of the two lands, (Men-maet-Re), justified, that they may give a good burial after an old age to the ka of the servant in the place of truth, great of protection [...] Amunemwia, justified.*²²

3. The so-called deification by the Eye of Horus (Doc.6)

The Eye of Horus has played an important part in the mythical and religious life in ancient Egypt.²³ However, according to one translation of the text of document (6), a hitherto unknown role might have been added. Nevertheless, a discussion will tend to prove that this role is not viable in this context despite the fact it occurred in other cases.

18 The appearance of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula dates to the Fourth Dynasty, A.M. ROTH, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries," *JARCE* 30, 1993, p. 48–55.

19 For the Formula in the Old Kingdom, see J.P. ALLEN, "Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom", in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31 - June 4, 2004*, Prague, 2006, p. 9-17. For this formula, see D. FRANKE, "The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A challenge", *JEA* 89, 2003, p. 39-57; W. BARTA, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄgForsch* 24, 1968; G. LAPP, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, Mainz, 1986; H. SATZINGER, "Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis", *LingAeg* 5, 1997, p. 177-188; H. ALTENMULLER, *LÄ* IV, 1982, col. 596-597, s.v. "Opferumlauf"; R.J. LEPROHON, "The Offering Formula in the First Intermediate Period", *JEA* 76, 1990, p. 163-164; W. Barta, "Zur Bedeutung der Opferformel im Alten Reich", *GM* 96, 1987, p. 7-9; G. LAPP, "Eine spezielle Opferformel des Mittleren Reiches", *SAK* 14, 1987, p. 181-183; P.C. SMITHER, "The Writing of *ḥtp-dī-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms", *JEA* 25, 1939, p. 34-37; J. BENNETT, "Growth of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom", *JEA* 27, 1941, p. 77-82; *id.*, "Motifs and Phrases on Funerary Stelae of the Later Middle Kingdom", *JEA* 44, 1958, p. 120-121.

20 JE 46367.

21 Amunemwia has a tomb (No. 356) which dates back to the Nineteenth Dynasty at Deir el-Medineh, see B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1928)*, *FIFAO* 6/2, 1929, p. 118.

22 The writing of *mꜥ'-ḥrw* by this way frequently follows the name of women, see H. SHNEIDER, *Shabtis* I, Leiden, 1977, p. 135 (d). It was added to the name of the deceased from the Middle Kingdom onwards, see G. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et archeologie* I, Paris, 1893, p. 93-114. See also F.L. GRIFFITH, "Stela of Mentuhetep son of Hepy", *PSBA* 18, 1896, p. 200-201; R. ANTHES, "The original meaning of *mꜥ'-ḥrw*", *JNES* 8, 1954, p. 21-22.

23 For the eye of Horus in the ancient Egyptian mythology, see J.G. GRIFFITHS, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth: From Egyptian and Classical Sources*, Liverpool, 1960, p. 28-41; *id.*, "Remarks on the Mythology of the Eyes of Horus", *CdE* 35, 1958, p. 182-193.

Document 6

Location of the scene: the first Osiris Hall in the temple of Sety I at *Abydos*, lower register of the southern section of the eastern wall.²⁴

Description of the scene: Horus, son of Osiris, pours 'nh-signs, w3s-signs and water over the king's head which flow over King Sety I from three ḥs-vases. The same water spills down over four small mummified figures standing on a stand. Two altars each with a nmst-vase and between them stands a bouquet of lotus flowers is depicted between Horus and Sety I.²⁵

Sety I representation: he is represented in a mummified form with his arms crossed across his chest holding the royal insignia consisting of the flail and the crook. His head is surmounted with the crown of Amun with eight cobras hanging from it in addition to the one at the front. Two curved ram horns can be seen around his ears in addition to another two transversal ram horns as part of his crown. Sety I also wears a šbyw-collar.

A column of text behind Horus son of Osiris reads:²⁶



sntr.n.f sw m irt.f nt dt.f w' b.f ntr sšm.f

*He (Horus) has censured him (Sety I) with his bodily eye, pure is his body and divine is his image.*²⁷

4. Statues of Sety I (Docs. 7-12)

Some statues of Sety I are depicted underneath the sacred barks as presented in documents (3)-(4). This part of the work is dedicated to the statues of Sety I which received a cult as shown in documents (7)-(12). However, documents (7)-(11) illustrate only the two dimensional representations of the statues of Sety I while only document (12) is three dimensional.

Document 7

Location of the scene: Karnak temple, Great Hypostyle Hall, south wall, west part, middle register²⁸.

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II pours water from four nmst-vases to purify a statue of the deified Sety I.²⁹

Sety I representation: he wears a headdress surmounted by the nms-headdress, a short kilt and a ceremonial beard. He holds a ḥd-mace and a 'nh-sign in his left hand.³⁰

24 PM VI, p. 21 (192).

25 A.R. DAVID, *A Guide*, 128; A. MARIETTE, *Abydos*, pl. 22.

26 M. CALVERLEY *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos III. The Osiris complex*, London, Chicago, 1938, pl. 35.

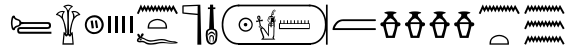
27 See A.R. DAVID, *op. cit.*, p. 143; *id.*, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, Warminster, 1973, p. 230.

28 PM II, p. 47 (158).

29 *OIP* 106, pl. 48.

30 *OIP* 106, pl. 48.

Text between Ramesses II and Sety I:³¹



phr ḥꜣ sp 4 n it.f ntr nfr (Mn-mꜣ't-R') m nmst 4 nt mw

Going around 4 times to his father the good god (Men-maet-Re) with the 4 nmst-vases of water.

Text accompanying Sety I³²:



ntr nfr (Mn-mꜣ't-R') nb ḥ'w (mry-n-Īmn Sty) mꜣ'-ḥrw ḥr ntr ꜣ Wsir ḥnt Īmntt

The good god,³³ (Men-maet-Re), lord of the crowns, (Mery-en-Amun-Sety), justified through the great god Osiris, lord of the west.

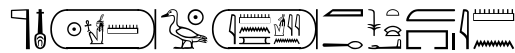
Document 8

Location of the scene: Karnak temple, Great Hypostyle Hall, south wall, eastern part, middle register.³⁴

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II in the guise of *Īwn-mwt.f* priest offers to a *ka*-statue of the deified Sety I³⁵. An offering table laden with offerings is depicted between them.³⁶

Sety I representation: He stands in a shrine and wears the blue crown surmounted by the cobra, a long kilt with a bull's tail attached to its back, and a ceremonial beard. He holds in his left hand the royal insignia while in his right hand he grasps the *ḥd*-mace and the *'nh*-sign. The shrine's top is decorated with a row of cobras surmounted with sun discs.³⁷

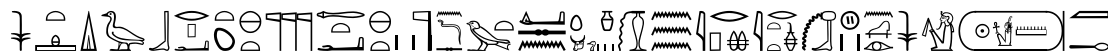
Text accompanying Sety I:³⁸



ntr nfr (Mn-mꜣ't-R') sꜣ-R' (Mry-n-Īmn Sty) mꜣ'-ḥrw ḥ't nsw m pr Īmn

The good god, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Amun-Sety), justified, the appearing of the king in the house of Amun.³⁹

Text between Ramesses II and Sety I⁴⁰:



ḥtp-dī-nsw Gb rp't psdt ꜣt psdt nsdt wrt dī.sn t ḥnqt kꜣw ꜣpd ḥnqt qbḥ ḥrp w'b sp-sn n Wsir nsw (Mn-mꜣ't-R') mꜣ'-ḥrw

31 *OIP* 106, pl. 48.

32 *OIP* 106, pl. 48.

33 For the translation of this title as “the younger god”, see O.D. BERLEV, “Two Kings-Two Sons: On the worldwide of the Ancient Egyptians”, in S. Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin, 2003, p. 1-33.

34 *PM* II, p. 48 (159).

35 M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 255.

36 *OIP* 106, pl. 72; P. BARGUET, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse*, *RAPH* 20, 1962, p. 67.

37 *OIP* 106, pl. 72.

38 *OIP* 106, pl. 72.

39 *RITA* II, 377.

40 *OIP* 106, pl. 72; W.J. MURNANE, “The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I”, *JNES* 34, 1979, p. 176, fig. 15b.

An offering which the king gives (to) Geb, the hereditary prince, the great ennead and the small great ennead that they may give bread, beer, oxen, fowl, libation(s), wine, milk, pure twice to Osiris King (Men-maet-Re), justified.⁴¹

Document 9

Location of the scene: Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, interior south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, upper register, eastern half.⁴²

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II burns incense and pours a libation on an offering table laden with offerings before a *ka*-statue of Sety I standing inside a shrine on a boat.⁴³ The boat, which is made of papyrus, is preceded by a sphinx standard flanked by two staffs while the stern of the boat has two oars.⁴⁴ The first staff is surmounted by Horus wearing a crown while the top of the second one is mounted by a cartouche having the king's name flanked by two cobras. The boat is different from those represented in documents (I)-(4).

Sety I description: The head of the statue is damaged but a ceremonial beard can still be seen. His left hand grasps a *ḥꜣ*-stick while his right hand holds the *anx*-sign and the *ḥꜣ*-mace. Sety I wears both a short interior kilt and long exterior kilt with a bull's tail attached to it.⁴⁵

Text accompanying Sety I⁴⁶:



ntr nfr (Men-maet-Re), sꜣ-Rꜥ (Mry-n-Īmn Sty) mꜣꜥ-ḥrw
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Amun Sety), justified.

Document 10

Location of the scene: Karnak Temple, Great Hypostyle Hall, bottom register of the internal east half of the south wall.⁴⁷

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II burns incense and pours a libation before the barks of Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu and behind them stands a *ka*-statue of Sety I.⁴⁸

Sety I description: he stands above a stand and wears a wig surmounted by the cobra and above the wig there are two transversal ram horns and two feathers. He has a ceremonial beard, a long kilt with a tail attached to it, and two sandals. He grasps the *ḥꜣ*-sign in his left hand and the *ḥꜣ*-mace in his right hand.⁴⁹

41 RITA II, 377.

42 PM II, p. 48 (159).

43 M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 254.

44 OIP 106, pl. 65.

45 OIP 106, pl. 65.

46 OIP 106, pl. 65.

47 PM II, p. 47 (158).

48 OIP 106, pl. 76; P. BARGUET, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 68; M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 255.

49 OIP 106, pl. 76.

Text accompanying Sety I:⁵⁰



nfr nfr (Mn-m3't-R') s3-R' (Mry-n-Imm Sty) di 'nh m3 R'
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Amun Sety), given life like Re.

Document 11

Location: Chapel D at the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.⁵¹

Description: The sanctuary of Osiris contains a group of 5 statues. One of them belongs to Ramesses II and another to Sety I while two are dedicated to Osiris and Isis in addition to a fifth statue which is destroyed and its identity is unknown. All the statues are represented seated.⁵²

Document 12

Location: the three niches in the south wall of the temple of *Kanais*.⁵³

Description: The statues of deities and Sety I are carved in the three niches as follows:

The middle niche contains statues of: Amun (middle), Sety I (left) and Horus (right).⁵⁴

The western niche contains statues of: Sety I, Isis and Re-Horakhty (?).⁵⁵

The eastern niche contains statues of: Sety I (right), Osiris (middle) and Ptah (left).⁵⁶

5. Scenes showing Sety I acting as a god

Walls of the temples were used to depict mainly the relation between the kings and the deities especially the different offerings and rituals performed before the gods and goddesses. Nevertheless, Sety I was depicted on several temples acting as a god while he receives offerings. These temples are: Temple of Sety I at *Qurna* (Docs. 13-20), Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak (Docs. 21-26), and the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Docs. 27-37).

Temple of Sety I at el-Qurna⁵⁷ (Docs. 13-20)

Document 13

Location of the scene: the eastern part of the Portico.⁵⁸

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II burns incense and pours libation to Atum and the deified Sety I.⁵⁹

⁵⁰ *OIP* 106, pl. 76.

⁵¹ *PM VI*, p. 38 (70).

⁵² A statue is mentioned for Horus. Besides, it is mentioned that there are four statues in two rows, see *PM VI*, p. 28-39.

⁵³ *PM VII*, p. 322, fig. 1; A.J. MORALES, "Threats and warnings to future kings: The inscription of Seti I at Kanais (Wadi Mia)", in Z. Hawass, J.H. Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, *CASAE* 39, 2010, p. 395, fig. 1.

⁵⁴ *PM VII*, p. 324 (24); H. GAUTHIER, "Le Temple de Ouâdi Mîyah (El Knais)", *BIFAO* 17, 1917, p. 25, pl. 14; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, *ProbAg* 16, 2000, p. 280; S. SCHOTT, *Kanais: Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wâdi Mia*, *NAWG* 6, 1961, pl. 9.

⁵⁵ The god could be Amun-Re (?), see *PM VII*, p. 409 (26); H. GAUTHIER, *BIFAO* 17, 1917, p. 26, pl. 16; S. SCHOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 167; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁵⁶ *PM VII*, 409 (25); H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 26, pl. 15; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 280; S. SCHOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁵⁷ It is worthy to mention that some scenes were excluded from the scope of the research as the officiant and the recipient kings cannot be identified with certainty, see P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 243-244.

⁵⁸ *PM II*, p. 409 (8-13).

⁵⁹ *PM II*, p. 409 (8-13).

Sety I representation: he wears the long military wig surmounted by the cobra and a long kilt. He holds in his left hand the *ḥqꜣ*-scepter. The relief of Sety I is badly damaged.

Text accompanying Sety I:



[...] (*Mn-mꜣ't-R'*) [...] (*Mry-n-[Pth] Sty*) [...]
 [...] (*Men-maet-[Re]*), [...] (*Mery-en-[Ptah] Sety*) [...]

Document 14

Location of the scene: second register of the southern wall of the Hypostyle Hall.⁶⁰

Description of the scene: Ramesses II kneels while receiving the *ḥb-sd* sign from Amun and the deified Sety I. Mut and Khonsu stand behind Ramesses II respectively.⁶¹

Sety I representation: he wears the blue crown surmounted by the cobra, a long kilt and a ceremonial tail. He holds the royal insignia (*ḥqꜣ-nḥḥꜣ*) with the right hand and grasps the *ḥnh*-sign with his left hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:



ḥnh nṯr nfr (Mn-mꜣ't-R') sꜣ-R' (Mry-n-Pth Sty) di ḥnh mī R' dt
 May the good god live, (*Men-maet-Re*), son of Re, (*Mery-en-Ptah Sety*), given life like Re eternally.

Document 15

Location of the scene: northern wall of Room V.⁶²

Description of the scene: *Ḳwn-mwt.f* priest burns incense before the deified Sety I and a goddess personifying the temple whose head and only one of her hands can still be seen.⁶³ A hymn to Re consisting of 15 columns of text is depicted between them.

Sety I representation: King Sety I is represented seated while wearing the *nms*-headdress surmounted by the cobra and a ceremonial beard. A crown consisting of two transversal ram horns and two feathers is above the headdress. He holds the *wꜣs*-scepter in his right hand and a *ḥnh*-sign in his left hand. He also wears a short kilt with a tail attached to it.

Text accompanying Sety I:



nṯr nfr nb tꜣwy ḥqꜣ ꜣwt-ib nswt-bity (Mn-mꜣ't-R') sꜣ-R' (Mry-n-Pth Sty) di ḥnh
mī R'.
 The good god, lord of the two lands, ruler of happiness, King of Upper and Lower
 Egypt, (*Men-maet-Re*), son of Re (*Mery-en-Ptah Sety*), given life like Re

60 PM II, p. 410 (17).

61 PM II, p. 410 (17); P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

62 PM II, p. 412 (48).

63 L.A. CHRISTOPHE, "La salle V du Temple de Séthi I^{er} à Gournah", *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 170-171.

Document 16

Location of the scene: Chapel III, north west wall.⁶⁴

Description of the scene: *Ỉwn-mwt.f* priest extends his right hand before the deified Sety I and a goddess personifying the temple.⁶⁵ A list of offerings, consisting of 10 columns of text, is depicted between them. A table, laden with offerings, is depicted before Sety I. The priest holds with his left hand a *rhyt*-bird and another object.

Sety I representation: Sety I is depicted seated on a throne. He wears the *nms*-headdress surmounted by the cobra, a ceremonial beard, bracelets and a short kilt. He extends his left hand to touch the offering table while he holds the *anx*-sign with his right hand.

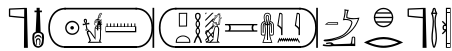
Document 17

Location of the scene: Vestibule XXVIII, western wall, second register, first scene.⁶⁶

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II runs with the *hs*-vases to Osiris and the deified Sety I.⁶⁷

Sety I representation: He wears the *nms*-headdress, a short kilt and a ceremonial tail. He holds the royal insignia (*nḥḥꜣ-ḥqꜣ*) in his right hand and grasps the *ḥḥ*-sign with his left hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:



ntr nfr (Mn-mꜣ't-R') (Mry-n-Pth Sty) mꜣ'-ḥrw ḥr ntr ʕ
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), (Mery-en Ptah Sety), justified before the great god.

Document 18

Location of the scene: Vestibule XXVIII, eastern wall, second register.⁶⁸

Description of the scene: Ramesses II kneels to be crowned by Mut and Amun in the presence of Khonsu and the deified Sety I who stands behind Amun.⁶⁹ Ramesses II extends his left hand to receive the *hb-sd* signs while carrying the royal insignia with his right hand.

Sety I representation: he wears the blue crown surmounted with the cobra, a long kilt and a ceremonial tail. He holds the *hqꜣ*-scepter in his left hand and grasps the *ḥḥ*-sign in his right hand.

The text accompanying Sety I mentions:



nb-tꜣwy ([Mn]-mꜣ't-[R']) nb ḥ'w (Mry-[n]-Pth [Sty]) di ḥḥ mi R' dt
Lord of the two lands, ([Men]-maet-[Re]), lord of the crowns, (Mery-[en]-Ptah [Sety]), given life like Re eternally.

64 PM II, p. 412 (48).

65 L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *op. cit.*, p. 170-171.

66 PM II, p. 417 (99-100).

67 P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 274.

68 PM II, p. 417 (101), (102).

69 LD III, pl. 150 a, c; K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Rameses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, SAOC 19, 1940, p. 28, fig. 9.

Document 19

Location of the scene: Room XXX, above the lintel.⁷⁰

Description of the scene: Ramesses II burns incense before Amun, Mut, and Sety I⁷¹ while extending his right arm before the deities.

Sety I representation: He wears the long military wig surmounted by the cobra and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached to its back. He holds the royal insignia with his right hand and grasps the 'nh-sign with his left hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:



(Mn-mꜣ't-Rꜥ) mꜣ'-ḥrw ḥr ntr-ꜥ

(Men-maet-Re), justified before the great god.

Document 20

Location of the scene: Room XXXI, above the lintel.⁷²

Description of the scene: Ramesses II offers flowers to Amun, Khonsu, and the deified Sety I respectively.⁷³

Sety I representation: he wears the nms-headress surmounted by the cobra, a long kilt, ceremonial beard and the ceremonial tail. He holds in his left hand the ḥqꜣ-scepter and grasps the 'nh-sign in his right hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:



[...] (Mn-mꜣ't-[Rꜥ]) [...] ([Mry-n-Pth] Sty)

[...] (Men-maet-[Re]), [...] ([Mery-en-Ptah] Sety).

Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak (Docs. 21-26)**Document 21**

Location of the scene: Column No. 13 - Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.⁷⁴

Description of the scene: Ramesses II offers two nw-jars filled with wine, one in each hand, to Amun-Re-kamutef and the deified Sety I.⁷⁵

Sety I representation: His representation is badly damaged. The only parts that can still be seen are the head dress which cannot be determined with certainty, a short kilt and another long transparent kilt with a bull's tail attached to its back and holding with his left hand the 'nh-sign.

70 PM II, p. 418 (I09).

71 PM II, p. 418 (I09); P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

72 PM II, p. 419 (I13).

73 PM II, p. 419 (I13).

74 PM II, p. 51.

75 This is the sole scene on the column, see L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leur épithètes*, *BdE* 21, Cairo, 1955, p. 12, 98, pl. 27; L. HABACHI, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, *ADAIK* 5, 1969, p. 17; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 170.

Document 22

Location of the scene: Column No. 32 - Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.⁷⁶

Description of the scene: Ramesses II offers a *nmst*-vase to Amun-Re and the deified Sety I.⁷⁷

Sety I representation: His representation is badly damaged. The head does not exist anymore. He wears a short interior kilt and another long exterior transparent kilt with a tail attached to its back. He holds the *nhh*-flail with his right hand and the 'nh-sign with his left hand.

Document 23

Location of the scene: the eastern jamb of the southern doorway of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.⁷⁸

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II pours water out of a *nmst*-jar to Amun and his deified self (formerly Sety I).⁷⁹

Sety I Representation: Sety I wears the long military wig surmounted by a cobra and a short kilt with a bull's tail attached to its back. He holds the two royal insignia (*hq3-nhh33*) with his left hand and grasps the 'nh-sign and the *hd*-mace in his right hand.⁸⁰

Text accompanying Sety I (officiant):⁸¹



irt qbḥ n ḫt.f Ḳmn-R' n nsw (wsr-[m3't]-R' stp-mn-R') m3'-ḥrw

*Offering libation to his father Amun-Re (and) to the King (Weser-[maet]-Re setep-men-Re) justified.*⁸²

Document 24

Location of the scene: the western jamb of the southern doorway of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.⁸³

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II offers incense to Amun and his deified self (formerly Sety I).⁸⁴

Sety I representation: He wears a headdress surmounted by the cobra, a ceremonial beard, a short kilt, and the *šwty*-crown. He holds in his right hand the *hq3*-scepter and grasps the *hd*-mace in his left hand.⁸⁵

Document 25

Location of the scene: internal south wall, west half, upper register, west end of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.⁸⁶

⁷⁶ PM II, p. 51.

⁷⁷ Both the hands of Ramesses II and the offering are destroyed. It is the only scene on the column, see L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Les divinités des colonnes*, p. 14, 102, pl. 27; L. HABACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 17; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 170.

⁷⁸ PM II, p. 49 (164a).

⁷⁹ PM II, p. 49 (164); *OIP* 106, pl. 61.

⁸⁰ *OIP* 106, pl. 61; K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Rameses II*, p. 65, fig. 19.

⁸¹ *OIP* 106, pl. 61.

⁸² *RITA* II, 378.

⁸³ PM II, p. 50 (164b). L.A. Christophe mentioned wrongly that King Ramesses II offers maet to Sety I, see L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 170. G. Legrain mentioned the same description as L.A. Christophe, see G. LEGRAIN, *Les temples de Karnak*, Bruxelles, 1929, p. 129-130, fig. 137.

⁸⁴ *OIP* 106, pl. 57.

⁸⁵ *OIP* 106, pl. 57; K. SEELE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, fig. 20.

⁸⁶ PM II, p. 47 (158).

The text accompanying the deified King Sety I reads:⁹⁶



Mn-m3't-R' ntr 3
Men-maet-Re the great god

Document 28

Location of the scene: lower register of the eastern section of the southern wall of the corridor of the bull.⁹⁸

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II offers four calves to Khonsu and the deified Sety I.⁹⁹

Sety I representation: Sety I wears the long military wig surmounted by a cobra, a short kilt with a tail hanging from the back. He holds in his right hand the *w3s*-scepter and in his left hand a '*nh*-sign.

Text accompanying Sety I:



Nswt-bity (Mn-m3't-R') s3-R' (Mry-n-Pth Sty)
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Ptah Sety).

Document 29

Location of the scene: lower register of the western corridor of the bull.¹⁰⁰

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II and a prince drag the bark of Sokar towards Thoth and the deified Sety I.¹⁰¹

Sety I Representation: King Sety I wears the long military wig surmounted by a cobra, a short kilt with a tail hanging from the back. He holds the *hq3*-scepter in his left hand and a '*nh*-sign in his right hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:



ntr nfr (Mn-m3't-R') (Mry-n-Pth Sty) di 'nh
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), (Mery-en-Ptah Sety), given life.

96 A. EL-SAWI, *MDAIK* 43, 1987, p. 226.

97 It is emphasizing the way in which the king's name is written by the obelisk sign which could be spelt out as *mn*, see *Wb* II, 71, 10. This name is not mentioned by von Beckerath in his book, see J. VON BECKERATH, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, *MÄS* 20, 1984, p. 236. For other variations of his name, see A. EL-SAWI, "Some variations of writing of the names of Sety I at Abydos", *ASAE* 70, 1984-1985, Suppl., 1987, p. 53-63; A. PIANKOFF, "Le nom du roi Sethos en égyptien", *BIFAO* 47, 1948, p. 175-177.

98 PM VI, p. 25 (234-235); A.R. DAVID, *A Guide*, p. 113.

99 PM VI, p. 25 (234-235); A.R. DAVID, *op. cit.*, p. 113; *id.*, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 204; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 165; A. EGBERTS, *In quest of meaning: a study of the ancient Egyptian rites of consecrating the meret-chests and driving the calves*, *EgUit* 8, Leiden, 1995, p. 226, 272-273; D.L. EADY, "Omm Sety's Abydos", *JSSEA* 10, 1979-1980, p. 189-190; O. SETY, H. EL ZEINI, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt*, Los Angeles, 1981, p. 166, fig. 13.8.

100 PM VI, p. 26 (236-237).

101 P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 165; J. CAPART, *Abydos: Le temple de Seti I^{er}, Étude générale*, Bruxelles, 1912, pl. 49; O. SETY, H. EL ZEINI, *Abydos*, p. 163, figs.13.4-13.5; A.R. DAVID, *A Guide*, p. 115.

Document 30

Location of the scene: eastern wall of the staircase.¹⁰²

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II offers provisions to the deified King Sety I, Isis and the Ennead of the sacred land (mostly destroyed).¹⁰³

Sety I Representation: he is shown seated wearing the *nms*-headdress surmounted with the cobra. He also wears the ceremonial beard and the bull's tail. He has a collar, armllets and bracelets adorning his arms. He holds a stick with a composite head consisting of the *w3s*-*'nh*-*dd* signs in his left hand and the *hd*-mace in his right.¹⁰⁴

Text before King Ramesses II:¹⁰⁵



int ntr nfr Mn-m3't-R' r šbt.f
Bringing the good god Men-maet-Re to his food.¹⁰⁶

Document 31

Location of the scene: western wall of the staircase.¹⁰⁷

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II offers provisions to the deified King Sety I, Isis and the Ennead of *r3-st3w*.¹⁰⁸

Sety I representation: He is shown seated wearing the *nms*-headdress surmounted by the cobra. He wears the ceremonial beard, a short kilt, bracelets and armllets. He holds in his right hand the *hd*-mace while in his left hand a composed scepter of the *w3s*, *'nh* and the *dd* signs.

The text above King Sety I: a column of text, flanked by two cobras hanging from a sun disc, reads:¹⁰⁹



w3s 'nh dd nb n Mn-m3't-R'
All authority, life and stability to Men-maet-Re.

Document 32

Location of the scene: second court, north wall.¹¹⁰

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II offers ointment to the deified Sety I.

¹⁰² PM VI, p. 26 (239)-(240).

¹⁰³ A. MARIETTE, *Abydos: Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville I, Ville antique, temple de Sêti*, Paris, 1869, pl. 51b; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 166; A.R. DAVID, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 210; *id.*, *A Guide*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁴ W.J. MURNANE, *JNES* 34, 1979, p. 162-164, fig. 6a-c; A. MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, pls. 52-51b; K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Rameses II*, p. 162.

¹⁰⁵ A. MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, pl. 51b.

¹⁰⁶ A.R. DAVID, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 210.

¹⁰⁷ PM VI, p. 26 (241-242).

¹⁰⁸ The name of the necropolis of Giza, see R.O. FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, 1991, p. 146, and *Wb* II, 398, 9.

¹⁰⁹ A. MARIETTE, *Abydos I*, pls. 50-51a; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 166.

¹¹⁰ This scene is not mentioned in PM VI, p. 3.

Sety I representation: he wears the long military wig surmounted by a crown consisting of two plumes, the sun disk resting on two ram's horns.¹¹¹ Two cobras flank the plumes each one is surmounted by a sun disk. The king holds in his right hand the *hq3*-scepter and the *nhh3*-flail. The rest of the king's relief is completely damaged.

Text accompanying Sety I:



[...] (Mn-m3't-R') s3-R' (Mry-n-[P]t[h] Sty) m3'-hrw
 [...] (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-[P]ta[h] Sety), justified.

Document 33

Location of the scene: second court, west wall, south section.¹¹²

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II offers maet to Osiris, Isis, and Sety I.

Sety I representation: King Sety I who is shown standing wearing a short wig surmounted by the cobra. He wears a collar and a double kilt, the outer one is transparent and long while the interior is short. A central tab ending with a frieze of cobras is hanging from the belt. He holds in his right hand the *anx*-sign while he grasps the *hq3*-scepter with his left hand. The text accompanying Sety I reads:¹¹³



dd mdw in Wsir nsw (Mn-m3't-R') m3'-hrw ndm ib.k nswt-bity (Wsr-m3't-R' stp-n-R') R' hr di(t).k nhh Tm h' n rn.k Hr wsr rnpwt mk wi m ršwt n r' nb ii.k whm 'nh hntš.k wi hr ir[t n.k] hr.[i] dhn.k wi r m3'-hrw s3[n wi] Wnn-nfr hr irt [n.k nbt]

Words spoken by Osiris, King (Men-maet-Re), justified: "May your heart be glad, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Weser-maet-Re Step-en-Re), Re gives you eternity, Atum rejoicing (at) your name of Horus, rich in years. Behold, I am in joy everyday. You come, repeating life. You make me glad at doing to you through me, you appointed me to triumph, to make great [...]; Wenn-nefer has made all to you."¹¹⁴

Document 34

Location of the scene: second Hypostyle Hall, south wall, the scenes between the gallery of the lists and the east end.¹¹⁵

Description of the scene: Sety I is depicted seated on a throne between Horus the avenger of his father before him and Wepwawet behind him.

Sety I representation: the face of Sety I is damaged. Sety I wears a crown consisting of two feathers with two transversal ram horns, armllets, wide collar and bracelets. He holds in his right hand the *w3s*-scepter while his left hand holds the *anx*-sign.

111 This scene is badly damaged, see A.R. DAVID, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 23.

112 PM VI, p. 3 (34-37).

113 A. MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, pl. 5; *KRI* II, 323, I-4.

114 See A.R. DAVID, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 24.

115 This scene is not attested in PM VI.

Text accompanying Sety I:¹¹⁶



Mn-mꜣ't-Rꜥ nꜥtr ꜥꜣ hry-ib hwt.f imyt ꜥbdw
*Men-maet-Re, the great god, who resides in his temple which is in Abydos.*¹¹⁷

Document 35

Location of the scene: second court, west wall, north section.¹¹⁸

Description of the scene: Sety I walks in procession together with Isis and Horus.¹¹⁹

Sety I description: Sety I wears the long military wig surmounted by a cobra, a crown consisting of two plumes, two ram horns and a sun disc, a short interior kilt and a long exterior transparent kilt with a bull's tail attached to its back. He holds the *hqꜣ*-scepter with his left hand and a *anx*-sign in his right hand.

Document 36

Location of the scene: second court, west wall, above the doorway of the entrance of Horus.¹²⁰

Description of the scene: Ramesses II presents a tray of offerings to Horus, Isis and Sety I.¹²¹

Sety I description: he wears the long military wig headdress surmounted by the cobra, wide collar, armlets, bracelets, a short interior kilt and a long exterior transparent kilt attached to its back a bull's tail. He holds the *nh*-sign in his left hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:



(Mn-mꜣ't-Rꜥ) (Mry-n-Ptꜥ Sty) mꜣ'hrw hr nꜥtr ꜥꜣ
(Men-maet-Re), (Mery-en-Ptah Sety), justified before the great god.

Documents showing Sety I venerated (Docs. 37-40)

The documents (37)-(40) mentioned below show the veneration of King Sety I.¹²² The veneration encompasses various means such as adoration recognized by posture of a private person who raises his hands in adoration, text containing certain formulas expressing adoration or presenting offerings.

116 M. CALVERLEY *et al.*, *Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos IV. The Second hypostyle hall*, London, Chicago, 1958, pl. 42; A. MARIETTE, *Abydos I*, pl. 27.

117 P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 390; R. PREYS, *De Scriba 2*, 1993, p. 40.

118 This scene is not attested in PM VI.

119 A.R. DAVID, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

120 This scene is not attested in PM VI.

121 A.R. DAVID, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

122 A cartouche of the deified King might have been placed between the deities depicted on a limestone stele in the British Museum (No. 360). The lower part of the cartouche is erased however it might be completed as *[Mn]-mꜣ't-Rꜥ*. S. BICKEL completed the cartouche as *[nb]-mꜣ't-Rꜥ* however she mentioned that the style of the stele can permit the dating to Sety I, see S. BICKEL, "Aspects et fonctions de la déification d'Amenhotep III", *BIFAO* 102, 2002, p. 81, n. 94.

Document 37

Location of the scene: southern wall of the shrine, third register of tomb No. 10 at Deir el-Medina. The tomb, which belongs to *P3-nbwy* and *K3-s3* who were servants in the place of truth, dates back to Ramesses II's reign.¹²³

Description of the scene: *K3-s3* and his son are represented standing in front of Sety I, Ramesses I, and Horemheb.¹²⁴ *K3-s3* is shown burning incense and pouring a libation from a *hs*-vase on a table laden with offerings while his son behind him carries flowers. Sety I description: The three kings are depicted in the same manner. Each one of them being seated on a throne and his body is wrapped in the same case as Osiris. The *hq3*-scepter and the *nhh3*-flail are being held in the left hand and another *nhh3*-flail is being carried in the right hand. A *nms*-headdress with a cobra at the front surmounts their heads with a broad collar on the chest, a ceremonial beard attached to the chin and two bracelets each around a handwrist.¹²⁵ Text before *K3-s3* shows that it is a *htp-di-nsw* offering to the three kings.

Text accompanying Sety I (same text accompanies other kings): *Wsir nsw* "Osiris the king".¹²⁶

Document 38

Location of the scene: A funerary stele now in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago OI 10507).¹²⁷

Description of the scene: *Imn-w3h-sw*, the table scribe and *Ti3*, the royal scribe pays homage to Sety I and Ramesses who holds the '*nh*-sign.¹²⁸

Sety I description: the king wears the military wig surmounted by the cobra, short kilt, armllets, bracelets and a short skirt. He holds the *hq3*-scepter and *nhh3*-flail in one hand and the *hd*-mace in the other.

Text accompanying Sety I: one of the king's epithets is *Wsir* "Osiris".¹²⁹

Document 39

Location of the stele: Gebel el-Silsileh east.¹³⁰

Description of the stele: *H'py*, the commander of the troops of the lord of the two lands, is represented raising his hands in adoration before the cartouches of Sety I which are surmounted by a two feathered crown and resting upon the *nwb*-sign.¹³¹

123 PM I p. 19, 21; A.H. GARDINER, A. WEIGALL, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, London, 1913, p. 17.

124 PM I, p. 21 (6); B.G. DAVIES, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina*, *EgUit* 13, 1999, p. 81.

125 LD III, 173b.

126 LD III, 173b.

127 The provenance of this stele is not certain. For a part of a temple relief, see L. HABACHI, "La reine Touy, femme de Séthi I, et ses proches parents inconnus, *RdE* 21, 1969, p. 45-46, pl. 3b. For Abydos as its provenance, see J. VAN DIJK, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis. Historical and Iconographical Studies*, Groningen, 1993, p. 85-88. As for Saqqara, see P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 151, 317.

128 *Ibid.*, p. 151; E. TEETER, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute University of Chicago*, OIP 23, 2003, p. 56-57.

129 RITA I, 260.

130 PM V, p. 220.

131 LD IV, 97; KR/I, 61; Fr.L. GRIFFITH, "Notes on a Tour in Upper Egypt", *PSBA* 11, 1889, p. 234, pl. II; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

A part of the inscribed text reads:¹³²



rdi i3wt n ntr nfr sn t3 n nb t3wy

Giving adoration to the good god, kissing the earth to the lord of the two lands.¹³³

Document 40

Location of the stele: Room A in the shrine of Hathor, Serabit El-Khadim, Sinai, (stele No. 247).¹³⁴

Description of the stele: The stele, which dates to the eighth year of Sety I, is inscribed on both sides. It shows on one face a man called 'š3-ḥb-sd raising his hands in adoration before the two cartouches of Sety I. On the other face the king is depicted offering bread to Hathor.¹³⁵

Commentary

Going through the previously mentioned documents, which reflect the different methods employed in the deification process of King Sety I, it can be realized that the deification of the king in question cannot be determined except through these documents.¹³⁶ However, they were enough to grasp an idea about his deification in comparison with other kings in ancient Egypt.

According to documents (1)-(4), two different representations of the sacred barks of Sety I can be recognized. The first representation as revealed by document (1) is depicted carried by priests during a procession. The second representation as shown in documents (2)-(4) is illustrated resting on a bark stand. These two representations are of the same type of bark. Additionally, a second type of bark, used to accommodate a statue of Sety I, is different in representation as reflected in document (9) from the type shown in documents (1)-(4). The bark shown in document (9) is a papyri form which resembles the bark of the deified Senusert III at Semneh.¹³⁷ Furthermore, it resembles the barks used by Mentuhotep II at *Deir el-Bahari*¹³⁸ and Senusert I at

¹³² LD Text IV, 99; PM V, p. 220.

¹³³ See RITA I, 53.

¹³⁴ PM VII, 348, No. 247 N. face; J. ČERNÝ, B. BRUYÈRE et J.J. CLÈRE, *Répertoire Onomastique de Deir el-Médineh*, FIFAO 12, 1949, p. 80; KRI III, 738, 13-14.

¹³⁵ A.H. GARDINER, T.E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 2nd ed., EES 45, 1955, p. 175-176; *id.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, 2nd ed., EES 36, 1952, pl. 68; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 125; KRI I, 62-63.

¹³⁶ According to R. David a scene in the second court of the Abydos temple, south wall, west end shows King Ramesses II runs towards Amun Re between them there is a faded figure accompanied by the cartouche of Sety I (?), see R.A. DAVID, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 22. However, A. Weigall states that it is the figure of an Asiatic prisoner which coincides with the description of Ramesses II slays an Asiatic before Amun-Re provided by PM VI, 3 (33). Additionally, G. Jéquier plate does not show enough to support the former statements. The text mentioned in KRI does not reveal enough evidence to investigate the scene. R. David's the religious rituals at Abydos is the only reference to this scene, see A. WEIGALL, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, London, 1910, p. 12; G. JÉQUIER, *L'architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte II. Les Temples Ramessides et Saïtes de la XIX^e à la XXX^e Dynastie*, Paris, 1922, pl. 26. Additionally, a part of a stele found at Aksha having the head of Sety I and a text with the di.n.i n.k Formula, which probably denotes a deified status, see RITANC II, 496. Documents (37)-(40) are given as examples for the veneration of the king, for other stele coming from Serabit el-Khadim, see PM VII, p. 363, 250; KRI I, 63; A.H. GARDINER, T.E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, p. 176-177.

¹³⁷ R. CAMINOS, *Semna-Kumma I: The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37, 1998, pl. 50.

¹³⁸ D. ARNOLD, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari 2. Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars*, ArchVer 11, 1974, pl. 22.

Furthermore, another text accompanying the statue of Sety I mentioned in document (10) where the text before him reads¹⁴⁹:



[wnn] nsw nb t3wy m3^c-hrw hr šms it.f ĩmn m hwt-ntr 3h (Mry-n-Pth Sty) m pr-ĩmn hr [...] šsp [...] hrt-hrw (may ever) [exist] the king, lord of the two lands, justified following his father Amun in the god's house beneficial¹⁵⁰ (Mery-en-Ptah Sety) in the house of Amun¹⁵¹ to receive [...] daily [...].¹⁵²

This text denotes that the statue of document (10) of the deified Sety I was carried to follow that of Amun inside the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak probably to receive offerings or things for his daily welfare. Seele has suggested that the direction of the scene is towards the east as if coming back after the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.¹⁵³ The question is where this statue was placed? Probably inside the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak taking into consideration that the two documents of (10) and (26) do not show any sacred bark of the king which follows the procession of the sacred barks of the Theban triad. Hence, the Great Hypostyle Hall might have functioned as a sanctuary for the cult statue of Sety I at Karnak. Perhaps that's the reason why Ramesses II did not usurp the rest of the scenes showing the deification of Sety I in the Great Hypostyle Hall. A possible alabaster cult statue has been found in Karnak.¹⁵⁴ Despite the loss of some parts, H. Sourouzian managed to associate the statue depicted in document (10) at the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak with this genuine alabaster statue found in Karnak.¹⁵⁵

Additionally, his sacred bark at Abydos was possibly carried to Osiris temple to participate in Osiris's procession to Umm el-Qaaab.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, according to an ostrakon found at *Deir el-Medina*, there was an appearance (*h'*) to participate in the accession date of Sety I which was celebrated during the Ramesside period on the 24th day of the third month of *šmw* where most of the documents related to this date shows that the workmen had this day off.¹⁵⁷ Thus, it is apparent that the sacred bark of Sety I not only in his temple at *Qurna* as shown

149 OIP 106, pl. 76.

150 For this term as beneficial, see P. BRAND, "Use of the term 3h in the reign of Seti I", *GM* 168, 1999, p. 23-33; *id.*, *The monuments of Seti I*, p. 146.

151 This designation is used to refer to the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, see *ibid.*, p. 192.

152 See RITA II, 377; K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Ramesses*, p. 66.

153 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

154 PM II², p. 140 (c); G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particulies*, II, CGC, Nos. 42139-42191, Cairo, 1909, I-4, pl. I, No. 42139; J. VANDIER, *Manuel* 3, 390, pl. 125(4); M. SALEH, H. SOUROUZIAN, *Official Catalogue*, cat. 201; H. SOUROUZIAN, "Statues et représentations de statues royales sous Séthi I", *MDAIK* 49, 1993, p. 244-246, pl. 45; KRI I, 212, §85a; RITA I, 183-184; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 222-223.

155 JE 36692; H. SOUROUZIAN, *op. cit.*, p. 243-244; K. EATON, *The Ritual Functions of the Processional Equipment in the temple of Seti I at Abydos* I, PhD thesis, New York University, 2004, p. 27.

156 D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, London, 2009, p. 56.

157 For the dates of this feast, see W. Helck, "Feiertage und Arbeitstage in der Ramessidenzeit", *JESHO* 7, 1964, p. 159-160; W. BARTA, "Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche Zeugnisse königlicher Herrschafts-übernahme", *SAK* 8, 1980, p. 136-166; W. HELCK, "Drei Ramessidische Daten", *SAK* 17, 1990, p. 207-208. For a detailed study about the feasts of the deified Amnhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary and the accession days of the kings especially Sety I, see H. JAUHAINEN, *A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina*, PhD Thesis, Helsinki, 2009, p. 159-161, 172-177, 179-186.

in document (I) where it was represented being carried but also in the other temples as shown in documents (2)-(4) in religious festival(s) where the temples reside. Additionally, other sacred barks participated in other religious festivals such as the Opet Festival as in the case of Tutankhamun.¹⁵⁸

What about the statue inside the shrine of the sacred bark? In three documents (2-4), different offerings are presented to the sacred bark or to be more accurate to the statue inside the shrine of the bark. Despite the lack of textual evidence regarding oracles given by the statue inside the sacred barks, the iconographical evidence showing the sacred bark of Sety I being carried by priests in processions as in document (I) denotes that such action might have taken place during these processions as in the cases of other deified kings who had oracles.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, an oracle at Deir el-Medina might be connected to King Sety I, according to an ostraca¹⁶⁰ which mentions the temple of Maetre.¹⁶¹ Additionally, Sety I had a ka-chapel at Deir e-Medina to the north of the temple of Hathor.¹⁶² Given the sheer amount of evidence including documents (5) and (37), it seems that King Sety I had his own cult at Deir el-Medina.

An important point, which needs to be tackled, is the statues depicted underneath the sacred barks in documents (3) and (4). Additionally, other statues of the king are represented underneath some of the deities' sacred barks. Such statues of the king also appear in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos as shown in document (3). These statues appear to have a special connection with the royal *ka*.¹⁶³ However, some of these statues carry different staffs and present offerings in other scenes and thus they act as performers of a cult.¹⁶⁴ These statues

158 PM II, p. 314-315; W. WOLF, *Das Schöne Fest von Opet*, pls. I-II; W.J. MURNANE, "Opetfest", *LÄ IV*, 1982, col. 575; P. BARGUET, "Luxor", *LÄ I*, 1975, col. 1104; *The Epigraphic Survey, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I*, pls. 5-16.

159 For oracles of King Ahmose I, see I. MUNRO, "zum kult des Ahmose in Abydos: ein weiterer beleg aus der Ramessidenzeit", *GM* 101, 1988, p. 57-59. For oracles of King Amenhotep I, see J. ČERNÝ, "Le culte d'Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole Thébaine", *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 192-193; A.G. MCDOWELL, *Judication in The Workmen's Community of Deir el-Madineh*, Leiden, 1990, p. 108-109; M. BIERBRIER, *The Tomb builders of The Pharaohs*, Cairo, 1989, p. 98; A.M. BLACKMAN, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt", *JEA* 12, 1926, p. 177, pl. 35; A. SADEK, "Glimpses of popular religion in the New Kingdom Egypt I. Mourning for Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medineh", *GM* 36, 1979, p. 52. For oracles of King Ramesses II, see LD VI, 22 (4); J. ČERNÝ, "Two king's sons of Kush of the Twentieth Dynasty", *Kush* 7, 1959, p. 73. For oracles in general, see A.M. BLACKMAN, "Oracles in ancient Egypt", *JEA* 11, 1925, p. 254-255; A.H. GARDINER, "The Dakhleh Stela", *JEA* 19, 1933, p. 19-31; J. BARNES, "The Neville Papyrus: A Late Ramesside Letter to an Oracle", *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 69-71; B. KRAMER, "Orakelfrage", *ZPE* 61, 1985, 61-62; W. SCHUBART, "Orakelfrage", *ZÄS* 67, 1931, p. 110-112; J. ČERNÝ, "Egyptian Oracles", in R.A. Parker (ed.), *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, Providence, 1962, p. 35-48; J.-M. KRUCHTEN, "Oracles" in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 2, New York, 2001, p. 609-612; D.A. BERG, *The Genre of Non-Juridical Oracles (HRTW) in ancient Egypt*, PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1988; M. CHOSON, *La consultation des oracles en Égypte du Nouvel Empire à l'époque chrétienne*, Master's Thesis, Université de Marne-la-Vallée, 2005; A. VON LIEVEN, "Divination in Ägypten", *AOF* 26, 1999, p. 79-97. For the questions asked during the oracles, see J. ČERNÝ, "Questions adressées aux oracles", *BIFAO* 35, 1935, p. 41-58; *id.*, "Nouvelles série de questions adressée aux oracles", *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 13-24; *id.*, "Troisième série de questions adressée aux oracles", *BIFAO* 72, 1972, p. 46-69. For an oracle through which a lady called Neskhnonsu was deified, see B. GUNN, "The decree of the Amonra-sonthēr for Neskhnons", *JEA* 41, 1955, p. 83-105. For an oracle which Nectanebo I relates how the goddess Nehmetaway proclaimed his future kingship, D. KLOTZ, "Two Overlooked Oracles", *JEA* 96, 2010, p. 247-254.

160 P. GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh VIII. Nos 706-830*, *DFIFAO* 39, 2000, p. 75.

161 There is no temple known to be built by Sety I at Deir El-Medine. However, the Khenu which was built by Rameses II might be that place where cults of other kings took place. For that Khenu, see B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1935-1940*, *FIFAO* 20/I, 1948, p. 72-79, 85-89; W. HOVESTREYDT, "A Letter to the King Relating to the Foundation of a Statue (P. Turin 1879 vso.)", *LingAeg* 5, 1995, p. 115, n. 26; H. JAUHAINEN, *A Study of References to Feasts*, p. 180; *id.*, "Religious Buildings at Deir El-Medina", in R. Preys (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Structuring Religion*, Leuven, 28. September, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 153.

162 B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1935-1940)*, *FIFAO* 20/I, 1948, p. 91, 97, 101-104; K. EXELL, *Soldiers, sailors and sandalmakers: a social reading of Ramesside Period Votive stelae*, London, 2009, p. 69.

163 K. EATON, *The Ritual Function*, p. 183.

164 *Ibid.*, p. 184-187.

cannot be called “cult statues” as they were never placed in the sanctuary inside the *naos* or inside the shrine of the sacred bark.¹⁶⁵

Additionally, the texts accompanying the sacred barks mentioned two terms used *sšm ḥw*¹⁶⁶ as in documents (2) and (4) and *wts nfrw* as in document (2). The first term can be used to refer to cult statues in shrines on sacred barks, sacred barks or both as stated by Nelson.¹⁶⁷ C. Karlshausen believes that this term can refer to both the sacred bark and the statue inside the shrine.¹⁶⁸ B. Ockinga postulates that this term can be used for sacred barks only.¹⁶⁹ On the contrary, L. Bell and following him Krutchen indicate that this term refers to the cult statue inside the *naos* of the sacred bark.¹⁷⁰ K. Eaton points out to the difficulty recognized in understanding whether this term means sacred bark or cult statue¹⁷¹. Regarding the latter, *wts-nfrw*, this term was used to refer to the portable shrine on the sacred bark¹⁷² or the sacred bark itself.¹⁷³

Table (1): A comparison between the sacred barks of Sety I shown in documents (1)–(4).

	Document 1	Document 2	Document 3	Document 4
<i>w'b</i> -priests	X	—	—	—
Fan bearers	X	—	—	—
Lotus stand	—	—	X	—
<i>sm</i> -priest	X	—	—	—
Bark stand	—	X	X	X
Cabin veiled	X	X	X	X
Sphinx standard	X	X	X	damaged
Offering table before the sacred bark	—	—	X	—
Prow (king's head)	X	X	X	damaged
Stern (king's head)	X	X	X	X
Two oars at the stern	X	X	X	X
Thoth before the bark	—	X	X	—
<i>Ḳwn-mwt.f</i> -priest	—	—	X	—
Text referring to the sacred bark (<i>sšm ḥw</i> – <i>wts nfrw</i>)	—	<i>sšm ḥw</i> <i>wts nfrw</i>	—	<i>sšm ḥw</i>
Kneeling king's statue facing prow (wearing <i>nms</i> -headdress)	X	X	X	X

165 G. ROBINS, “Cult statues in ancient Egypt”, in N.H. Walls (ed.), *Cult image and divine representation in the ancient Near East: American Schools of Oriental Research*, Boston, 2005, p. 2.

166 Sometimes it appears as *sšm n ḥw*, see A.H. GARDINER, “Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amūn”, *JEA* 38, 1952, p. 12, pl. 5, L. 33.

167 H. NELSON, *JNES* 1, 1942, p. 141.

168 Chr. KARLSHAUSEN, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire*, *OLA* 182, 2009, p. 268-271.

169 B. OCKINGA, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im alten Agypten und im Alten Testament*, *AUAT* 7, 1984, p. 41-42.

170 L. BELL, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun” in *Mélange Mokhtar* 1, Cairo, 1985, p. 37; J.-M. KRUCHTEN, “Profane et sacré dans le temple Égyptien”, *BSEG* 21, 1997, p. 28.

171 For a detailed study of this term see K. EATON, *The Ritual Function*, p. 138-139; see also *id.*, “Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques”, *ZÄS* 134, 2007, p. 18-19.

172 H. NELSON, *JNES* 1, 1942, p. 144, 146.

173 R.O. FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary*, 72; Chr. KARLSHAUSEN, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine*, p. 263.

	Document 1	Document 2	Document 3	Document 4
Kneeling king's statue facing stern (wearing <i>nms</i> -headdress)	X	X	X	X
Kneeling king's statue facing stern (wearing white crown)	X	X	X	damaged
Standing king's statue (wearing <i>nms</i> -headdress while offering)	X	X	X	damaged
King's statue underneath the bark	—	—	X	X
King's statue steering the boat	X	X	X	X
Two fans flanking the cabin	—	X	—	X
Bark stand inscribed with king's name	—	—	—	X

On document (5), King Sety I was invoked together with god Khonsu in the *h̄tp-di-nsw* formula by a servant in the place of truth at *Deir el-Medina*. However, the name of the King in question was enclosed in a cartouche and his name follows the god's name.¹⁷⁴ The invocation of deified kings whether alone¹⁷⁵ or together with other deities¹⁷⁶ frequently appeared in ancient Egypt. However, the kings' names rarely appear without the cartouches

¹⁷⁴ The rule was that the king's name follows the deities' names but there were few exceptions, such as King Teti I, see H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies I, Varia*, New York, 1976, p. 59, fig.1. For King Senusert I, see J.-E. GAUTIER, G. JÉQUIER, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht, MIFAO 6*, 1902, p. 60, fig. 69. For King Amenemhet III, see W. BARTA, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, ÄGFO 24*, 1968, p. 57, n. 1; LD II, 120g; H. GAUTHIER, *LdR 1*, p. 328, L; N. FARAG, Z. ISKANDER, *The Discovery of Neferwptah*, Cairo, 1971, p. 13, figs. 8-10. It occurred once with one of the deified queens, Hatshepsut, see A. WIEDMANN, "On a monument of the first Dynasties of Egypt", *PSBA 9*, 1887, p. 180-184; *Urk. IV*, 241, 6-8.

¹⁷⁵ For kings invoked alone such as Senefru, see A. FAKHRY, *The Monuments of Senefru at Dahshur II, the valley temple part II. The finds*, Cairo, 1961, p. 38, No. 70, fig. 337; *id.*, *The Monuments of Senferu at Dahsur I. The Bent pyramid*, Cairo, 1959, p. 86, fig. 52. For King Pepi II, see G. JÉQUIER, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II III. Les approches du temple*, Cairo, 1940, p. 31, pl. 50, fig.11. For King Unas, see A.M. MOUSSA, "A stele from Saqqara of a family devoted to the cult of King Unas", *MDAIK 27*, 1971, p. 81, pls. 13, 14. For King Monthuhotep Nebhepetre, see *Urk IV*, 1225, 8-11. For King Mothuhotep III, see W.M.FI. PETRIE, *Tanis II. Nebsheh and Defenneh (Taphanes)*, *EES 4*, London, 1888, p. 45, pl. 42. For King Senusert I, see H. GAUTHIER, G. JÉQUIER, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, p. 60, fig. 69. For Amenhotep I, see LD, Text, III, 282; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1929)*, *FIFAO 7/II*, 1930, p. 41, fig.16; JE 36997; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes des rois et de particuliers II*, No. 42179, p. 44-45, pl. 41. For King Amenhotep II, see W. HELCK, *Urk. IV*, 1482, 12-16. For King Thuthmosis III, see G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes III*, No. 42121, p. 70, pl. 71; *id.*, "Notes d'inscriptions: § XXXVII-XXXVIII", *ASAE 7*, 1906, p. 185. For Thuthmosis IV, see B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (Années 1948 à 1951)*, *FIFAO 26*, 1953, p. 38, pl. 10 (2). For Akhenaten, see N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part III: *the tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, *ASE 15*, 1905, p. 18-19. For Ramesses II, see P. SPENCER, *Amara West I. The Architectural Report*, London, 1997, p. 23; J. YOYOTTE, "Un document relatif aux rapports de la Libye et de la Nubie", *BSFE 6*, 1951, p. 9-14.

¹⁷⁶ For kings invoked together with other deities such as Senefru, see A. FAKHRY, *The Monuments of Senferu at Dahshur II*, part II, p. 31, 63-65, pls. 68, 69; H.O. LANGE, H. SCHÄFER, *Grab und Deksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, CGC 20400-20780, Berlin, 1908, p. 375, No. 20742; A. MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général des monuments d'Abydos Découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris, 1880, p. 588, No. 1496; A. ERMAN, "Geschichtliche Inschriften aus dem Berliner Museum", *ZÄS 38*, 1900, p. 121; J. VANDIER, "Le groupe de Mémi et d'Akhou", in *ДРЕВНИЙ ЕГИПЕТ*, Moscow, 1960, p. 105; J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III. Les grandes époques. La statuaire*, Paris, 1958, p. 241. For King Teti, see H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies I*, p. 59, fig.1. For King Unas, see A. MOUSSA, H. ALTENMÜLLER, "Ein Denkmal zum Kult des Königs Unas am Ende der 12. Dynastie", *MDAIK 31*, 1975, p. 93. For King Monthuhotep Nebhepetre, see P.E. NEWBERRY, "Extracts from my notebooks (IV)", *PSBA 23*, 1901, p. 220-221; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes I*, p. 72, No. 42122, pl. 72; G. STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Maryland, 1946, p. 24, No. 34, pls. 6, 111. For King Senusert I, see J. VERCOUTTER, "Upper Egyptian settlers in the Middle Kingdom Nubia", *Kush 5*, 1957, p. 62, fig. 2; see also *HTBM IV*, London, 1913, p. 5, pl. 4; S.M. SMITH, *The Fortress of Buhen, The Inscriptions*, *EES 48*, London, 1976, p. 16, pl. I, No. 2-263. For King Senusert III, see F. HINTZE, W.F. REINEKE, *Felsin Schriften aus dem Sudanesischen Nubien I*. Text, Berlin, 1989, p. 103, No. 384, pl. 136. For the copies of Dunham and Janssen, see D. DUNHAM, J.M.A. JANSSEN, *Second Cataract Forts I. Semna Kumma*, Boston, 1960, p. 167, No. 123; H. FRANKFORT, "The cemeteries of Abydos: work of the season 1925-1926", *JEA 14*, 1928, p. 240, fig. 2, pl. 20 (1). For King Amenhotep I, see P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I*,

within the *hṭp-dī-nsw* formula.¹⁷⁷ The invocation of the deified person in the *hṭp-dī-nsw* formula is a common factor between the deified Kings, deified Queens¹⁷⁸ and deified individuals¹⁷⁹ in ancient Egypt.

On document (6), L. Bell translated the text as follows: “he (Horus) has deified him (Sety I) with his own eye”.¹⁸⁰ He believes that Sety I is deified by the Eye of Horus and this text is a part of the ritual of Amenhotep I¹⁸¹ and builds his theory on his translation. The following discussion will highlight a few outstanding points

1st fasc., CGC, No. 34034, p. 67-68, pl. 23; JE 37407; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et Statuettes* II, p. 42, No. 42176, pl. 40. For Amenhotep III, see L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privaten Leuten im Museum von Kairo*, CGC, IV, Nos. 951-1294, Berlin, 1934, p. 117, No. 1222. For Thutmosis III, see G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes* III, Nos. 42122, 42114, 63, 71, pls. 72, 66; M. PILLET, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921-1922)”, *ASAE* 22, 1922, p. 252; G. DARESSY, “Description des monuments épigraphiques trouvés à Karnak en 1921-1922”, *ASAE* 22, 1922, p. 262-263; H. JACQUET-GORDON, “Concerning a statue of Senenmut”, *BIFAO* 71, 1972, p. 141; P. DER MANUELIAN, *Studies in The Reign of Amenophis II*, *HÄB* 26, 1987, p. 28, fig. 14; *Urk.* IV, 1019, 17, 1020, 1-2; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes* I, p. 69-71, No. 42121; *Hieroglyphic Texts From Egyptian Stelae, & C., in The British Museum*, part V, London, 1914, p. 11, pl.37. For King Ramesses II, see M.A. BARSANTI, H. GAUTHIER, “Stèles trouvées à Ouadi Es-Sabouà (Nubie)” *ASAE* 11, 70-73; *KRI* III, 89-90. For Merenptah, see *KRI* IV, 73, 7-9; G. LEFEBVRE, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep*, Paris, 1929, p. 44, 43; see also *LD* III, 200a. For Sety II, see H. GAUTHIER, “Une tombe de la XIX^e Dynastie à Qantir (Qantir)”, *ASAE* 32, 1932, p. 118. For Ramesses IV, B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1934-1935)*, *FIFAO* 16/3, 1939, p. 300-301, No. 27, 300, fig.168. For Ramesses IX, see G. LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

177 The only example, which occurred without a cartouche and was invoked in the *hṭp-dī-nsw* formula in ancient Egypt, is the case of King Senusert III of the Twelfth Dynasty, see F. HINTZE and W.F. REINEKE, *Felsin Schriften aus dem Sudanesischen Nubien I. Text*, Berlin, 1989, p. 109, No. 400, pl. 144; D. DUNHAM, J.M.A. JANSSEN, *Second Cataract Forts I, Semna Kumma*, Boston, 1960, p. 141, No. 12, pl. 96G; F.L. GRIFFITH, “Oxford excavations in Nubia”, *AAA* 8/I, 1921, pl. 24 (7); J. KARKOWSKI, *Faras* V, p. 78.

178 For Queen Ahmose-Nefertary, A. WEIGALL, “A report on the excavation of the funeral temple of Thoutmôsis III at Gurneh”, *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 128; G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* II, p. 44-45, 49, pls. 41, 46; I.E.S. EDWARDS, *British Museum*, part VIII, 22, pl. 21, No. 826; Ph. DERCHAIN, “Débris du temple-reposoir d'Amenophis I^{er} et d'Ahmes Nefertari à Draa Abou'l Nagaa”, *Kêmi* 19, 1969, p. 21, figs.7, 8; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1928)*, *FIFAO* 6/2, 1929, p. 118; *id.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1929)*, *FIFAO* 7/2, 1930, p. 41, fig.16; M.L. BIERBRIER, *The British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts From Egyptian Stelae Etc.*, part 12, London, 1993, p. 14, pl.41; M. MOGENSEN, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Copenhagen, 1918, p. 30-31, pl. 14, fig.18; G. ANDREU, “La tomb de Thotermaktouf à Deir el Medina (TT 357)”, *BIFAO* 85, 1985, p. 16-17, pl. 8; E. SCAMUZZI, *L'art égyptien au Musée du Turin*, Turin, 1966, pl. 21; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1926)*, *FIFAO* 4/3, 1927, p. 35; G. MASPERO, “Rapport à M.Jules Ferry, Minstre de l'instruction publique sur une mission en Italie”, *RecTrav* 3, 1882, p. 110 (4). For Queen Hatshepsut, A. WIEDMANN, “On a monument of the first Dynasties of Egypt”, *PSBA* 9, 1887, p. 184; J. BERLANDINI-GRENIER, “Sennemout, stolist royal, sur une statue-cube avec Neferourê”, *BIFAO* 76, 1976, p. 111; *Urk* IV, 241, 6-8. For Queen Nefertiti, M. SANDMAN, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, *BiAeg* 8, 1938, p. 63. For Queen Tawseret, G.A. GABALLAH, “Some Nineteenth-Dynasty Monuments in Cairo”, *BIFAO* 71, 1971, p. 134, pl. 26.

179 For Imhotep, see D. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep Gotterwerdung im alten Ägypten*, *MÄS* 36, München, Berlin 1977, p. 42. For an individual called aay who probably lived during the Middle Kingdom, H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus* VI, Leipzig, 1891, p. 1426; A. ROWE, “Newly-identified monuments in the Egyptian museum showing the deification of the dead together with brief details of similar objects” *ASAE* 40, 1940, p. 36-37. For Ptah-hotep II who lived during the Fifth Dynasty, S. HASSAN, *Mastabas of Ny-aankh-Pepy and Others, Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938* II, Cairo, 1975, p. 70, pl. 64. For Isis who lived during the Sixth Dynasty, M. ALLIOT, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)*, *FIFAO* 10/2, 1935, p. 28, 30, 37-38; H. DE MEULENAERE, “La Statue d'un Contemporain de Sébekhotep IV”, *BIFAO* 69, 1971, p. 61-62; G. DARESSY, “Monuments d'Edfou datant du Moyen Empire”, *ASAE* 17, 1917, p. 240; R. ENGELBACH, “Report on the Inscriptions of Upper Egypt from April 1920 to March 1921”, *ASAE* 21 1921, p. 65-66; *op. cit.*, “Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu”, *ASAE* 22 (1922), 114. For Heqaib, L. HABACHI, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, *ArchVer* 33, 1985, p. 29, 59, 69, 94, 105, 108; M.R. JENKINS, “The stela of Neferhotep from the sanctuary of Heqaib in Elephantine island”, *JEA* 82, 1996, p. 199-200, pl. 20 (3), fig.1; A.M. DONADONI ROVERI, “Una stele di Heqa-ib al Museo di Torino”, *OrAnt* 13, 1974, p. 53, pl. 3; L. HABACHI, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, *CASAE* 23, p. 11. For Ibw and Wah-ka II who lived during the Middle Kingdom, see H. STECKEWEH, *Die Fürsten Gräber von Qâu*, *Sieglin Exp* 6, 1936, p. 7, 49.

180 L. BELL, “Luxor temple and the cult of the royal ka”, *JNES* 44, 1985, p. 284.

181 The recto of the Chesterbeatty papyrus No. 9 contains certain rituals, which are entitled “Rituals of Amenhotep I”. Most of these rituals appear to have been performed on behalf of the deified King Amenhotep I. At the beginning; Amun was the receiver of the offerings until Amenhotep I and Amun are confused. This confusion is increased by the appearance of King Ramesses II as an officiant and as a receiver of the rites together with Amenhotep I, see H. NELSON, “Certain reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the ritual of Amenophis I”, *JNES* 8, 1949, p. 196, footnote (2). Now in the British museum No. 10689, see *ibid.*, p. 201. This papyrus is 4 meters long and 18,5 cm high, for the complete translation of the papyrus, see A.H. GARDINER, *HPBM I. Text*, London, 1935, p. 79-113. The same rituals were described on two other papyri dating to the reign of Ramesses II. They were found in the sanctuary of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medineh. One of them was acquired by the Cairo Museum (CGC 58030), and the other one

adumbrated here, which should clarify the confusion. On one hand, the word, *sntr*, which appears in the text, is accompanied with the determinative of three grains of salt that means “to cense” or “to purify”.¹⁸² On the other hand, the word which means “to deify” always appears with the determinative of the roll of papyrus.¹⁸³ However, one rare example shows a grain of salt and the papyrus roll together as determinatives of the same word in the papyrus of the Book of the Dead of Nebseni and it means “censes”.¹⁸⁴ G. Robins points out that the word *sntr* can mean “to make divine” thus, the incense had the power to make divine.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, when L. Bell cited references to support his opinion he mentioned the word with the roll of papyrus only and not the three grains of incense which denotes that he misread the word.¹⁸⁶ Besides, R. David translated this text and other similar texts which occurred in the same temple as “censes” which is close to the mark. However, L. Bell points out that the scene shows no burning of the incense as it shows Horus purifying Sety I.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, he believes that this ritual occurred six other times: 1) In the temple of Ramesses III of Medinet Habu.¹⁸⁸ 2) In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak¹⁸⁹ (document 25). 3) In the chapel of Sety I in the Osiris complex.¹⁹⁰ 4) Three scenes in the east wall of the second hypostyle hall at the temple of Sety I at Abydos.¹⁹¹ Having a closer look on the Medinet Habu scene, it can be noticed that it represents Ramesses III pouring a libation from a *hs*-vase on two alters with plants before Re-Horakhty. A part of the text accompanying the king which mentions *irt-Hr* reads: *di.(i) n.k irt Hr ii sty.s r.k* “I give the Eye of Horus to you and its fragrance comes to you”.¹⁹² This text is referring to the Eye of Horus as a kind of incense.¹⁹³ Thus, the scene of document (6) is not connected in any way with the other documents mentioned in table (2) in terms of the text. A. Roberts, on the other hand, believes that document (6) is a part of the ritual of Amenhotep I, however, her interpretation is quite different from that of L. Bell as she believes that this scene reflects the renewal of Egypt and that this scene is an episode of the seven scenes covering the walls of the shrine of Sety I which help in the transformation in the status of the king.¹⁹⁴ H. Nelson studied the scenes representing the ritual of Amenhotep I at the Great Hypostyle Hall

got into the possession of the Turin Museum (CGT 54041), J. ČERNÝ, *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 196, n. 2. The Cairo Papyrus was acquired by the Museum in 1913. It was written in hieratic of the Nineteenth Dynasty. For the complete hieroglyphic text, see G. DARESSY, “Rituel des offrandes à Amenhotep I^{er}”, *ASAE* 17, 1917, p. 97-122. Finally, it was found out that the Turin papyrus was the lower part of the Cairo papyrus as the papyrus was cut by the discoverer, see H. NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 201. The Cairo Museum contains offering rituals of Ramesses II to Amenhotep I, see G. DARESSY, *op. cit.*, p. 97. This ritual was depicted on many temples such as: Medinet Habu, great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and also Ptolemaic temples: Edfu, Kom Ombo, Denderah, and Philae, see R.A. DAVID, *A Guide*, p. 85-86. For these rituals, see H.M. HAYS, *The Ritual Scenes in The Chapels of Amun*, in *Medinet Habu IX. The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, Part I. *The Inner Sanctuaries*, *OIP* 136, 2009, p. 1-14.

182 *Wb* IV, 180, 7. See also L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* III, Berkeley, 1987, p. 67-68. Prof. J.Fr. Quack has the same opinion and he added that he does not agree that the so-called “Ritual of Amenhotep I” is intended to deify that particular king - it is simply the normal offering ritual of the New Kingdom. However, he does not exclude of course the general concept that purification contributed to divinization (Personal communications). For Papyrus CG 58030 (pCairo), see W. GOLENISCHEFF, *Papyrus hieratiques*, CGC, Cairo, 1927, p. 134-56 and pls. 24-27. For Papyrus CGT 54041 (pTurin), see E. BACCHI, *Il rituale di Amenhotep I*, Turin, 1942.

183 *Wb* IV, 180, 3, 4. For *sntr* as consecrate, see A.H. GARDINER, “Davies’ copy of the great speos Artemidos Inscription”, *JEA* 32, 1976, p. 47, col. 23; *Urk.* IV, 387, 12.

184 E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead. The chapters of coming forth by day*, London, 1898, CLXXXVIII, 465, 7.

185 However, she did not state evidence to support this idea, see G. ROBINS in N.H. WALLS (ed.), *Cult image*, p. 8.

186 L. BELL, *JNES* 44, 1985, p. 284, n. 165.

187 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

188 *Ibid.*, p. 284; H. NELSON, *JNES* 8, 1949, p. 221; *Medinet Habu IV. Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, *OIP* 51, 1940, pl. 242A.

189 *OIP* 106, pl. 42.

190 M. CALVERLEY *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* III, pl. 40.

191 *Id.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* IV, pls. 47, 48.

192 H. NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

193 P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, *OLA* 78, 1997, p. 875.

194 A. ROBERTS, *My Heart My Mother: Death and Rebirth in Ancient Egypt*, Rottingdean, East Sussex, 2000, p. 58-92.

at Karnak and at the temple of millions of years of Ramesses III at *Madinet Habu* and he did not include any part of document (6) in his study.¹⁹⁵ However, he included document (25) which is the only one that is labeled “performing the incense rite”.¹⁹⁶ H. Nelson ascribed the case of the non-matching text with the offering ritual performed in document (25) to negligence during the Ramesseide Period but what about the same phenomenon which occurs in document (6)? Additionally, performing this ritual before a King helps to deify him but what about performing the same ritual before a deity, it probably has a different effect but the text is silent regarding this effect. The fact remains that document (6) is different from the other documents shown in table (2) in terms of the officiant as a deity performs the ritual and not a priest or a king. Thus, according to the assembled examples shown in table (2) a deity, a king or a *Iwn-mwt.f* priest can perform the ritual.

Table (2): A comparison between seven scenes of the ritual of Amenhotep I.

	Doc. 6 Abydos	Abydos	Doc. 25 Karnak	Madinet Habu	Abydos	Abydos	Abydos
Beneficiant	Sety I	Sety I	Sety I	Re-Horakhty	Re- Horakhty	Osiris- wen-nefer	Amun-Re
Beneficiant posture	Standing	Standing	Standing	Standing	Seated	Seated	Standing
King's representation	Mumified	Mumified	Not Mumified	—	—	—	—
Officiant	Horus son of Isis	Iwn-mwt.f	Ramesses II	Ramesses III	Sety I	Sety I	Sety I
Deities attending	—	Isis	—	—	—	—	—
Ritual performed	Pouring libation	Burning incense	Burning incense- Pouring libation	Pouring libation	Burning incense	Burning incense	Burning incense
Text coincide with the offering ritual	Does not coincide	Coincide	Coincide with burning incense only	Coincide	Coincide	Coincide	Coincide
King's ka	—	—	present	—	—	—	—
Location of the scene	Shrine of Sety I east wall southern part	Shrine of Sety I west wall Central Part	Great Hypostyle Hall South wall	North court, north wall, upper register	Second Hypostyle Hall East wall	Second Hypostyle Hall East wall	Second Hypostyle Hall East wall

¹⁹⁵ H. NELSON, *JNES* 8, 1949, p. 201-232 and p. 310-345.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

The question that can be raised is: whether the Eye of Horus can contribute to the deification of a human being? The answer can be found in the following text that is worthy to note and which appears on an Apis stele in the Louvre Museum No. 3 and dates to the 30th year of King Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The text reads:¹⁹⁷



r sntr.f m irt-Hr
to deify him with the Eye of Horus.

As for the Eye of Horus, it was mentioned several times in the spells of Pyramid Texts purifying, cleaning and censuring the king.¹⁹⁸ It seems that it had its own cult as it was regarded as a deity as it had its own priest and several people bore the epithet of *hpt wdjt*.¹⁹⁹ The rest of the text excludes the possibility that the Eye of Horus is a kind of incense. Another interesting text inscribed in the western crypt No. 1 in the temple of Hathor at Dendera states that:²⁰⁰



ntry.s tw m dsrw
She divinizes you with beer.²⁰¹

This text is related to the festival of drunkenness celebrated inside the temple. It seems that one of the beer's qualities is to divinize which denotes that some objects in ancient Egypt had the capability to deify.

197 S. MORENZ, "Zur Vergöttlichung in Ägypten" *ZÄS* 84, 1959, p. 134; H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus* V, p. 966; M. MALININE, G. POSENER, J. VERCOUTTER, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1968, p. 4; É. CHASSINAT, "Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis", *RecTrav* 21, 1899, p. 71; *KRI* II, 370, 7.

198 See R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969, p. 6-8.

199 A person called Udjahorresne who lived during Cambyses's invasion of Egypt bore that title on a statue preserved now in the Vatican Museum (Cat. 22690), see G. HART, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, London, New York, 1986, p. 94; A.B. LLOYD, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet a Collaborator's Testament Author", *JEA* 68 1982, p. 166-180; J. BLENKINSHOPP, "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah", *JBL* 106/3, 1987, p. 409-421; M. VERNER, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids, Abusir*, Prague, 1994, 195-208; L. BAREŠ, K. SMOLÁRIKOVÁ, E. STROUHAL, *Abusir IV, The shaft Tomb of Udjarhorresnet at Abusir*, Prague, 1999, p. 31-43; M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature 3. The Late Period*, Berkeley, London, 1980, p. 36-41; H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus* IV, p. 636-642; J. BAINES, "On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of W.K. Simpson I*, Boston, 1996, p. 83-92; A. KUERT, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid period I*, New York, 2007, p. 117-121; S. GRÄTZ, *Das Edikt des Artaxerxes: Eine Untersuchung zum religionspolitischen und historischen Umfeld von Esra 7, 12-26*, *BZAW* 337, Berlin, 2004, p. 223-233; P. BRIANT, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, Winona Lake, 2002, p. 472-473. For the epithet of *hpt wdjt*, see H. DE MEULENAERE, "Cultes et sacerdoces à Imaou (Kôm el-Hisn) au temps des dynasties saïte et perse", *BIFAO* 62, 1964, p. 157,165. For other persons who bore the title, see N. SPENCER, K. SMOLÁRIKOVÁ, *Kom Firin I. The Ramesside Temple and the Site Survey*, *BMRP* 170, 2008, p. 6-7, 10, 18, 26-26.

200 *Dendara* VI, 66, 1.

201 W. WAITKUS, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera: ihre Aussagen zur Funktion und Bedeutung dieser Räume*, Mainz, 1997, p. 166-169; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara: les fêtes d'Hathor*, *OLA* 105, 2002, p. 105-105; *id.*, *Dendara: V-VI, Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor*, *OLA* 132, 2004, p. 342-343.

Another question is can a deity interfere in the deification of a human being? A very rare example of such interference is the case of princess Neskhonsu, daughter of Semendes II of the Twenty-first Dynasty, when Amun approved her deification through an oracle.²⁰²

A contrario, the case in question is different as it deals with king and not royal personnel but the previously mentioned case at least proves that such interference exists. However, several examples occurred from the Ptolemaic period shows that deities could “make divine” the king or even certain parts as in the case of a text mentioned in the temple of Edfu where Re-Horakhty addressed King Ptolemy IV as follows:²⁰³



sntr.i hm.k

I deify your majesty.

It should be noted that *sntr* “to make divine”²⁰⁴ during the Ptolemaic period looks the same as the word which means “to cense” and there might be deliberate ambiguity.²⁰⁵ Additionally, the writing differs from the word used during the Pharonic period.

It is worthy to note that Sety I wears a *šbyw*-collar in that specific scene. R. Johnson revealed, after an intensive analysis of Amenhotep III’s monuments decoration throughout Egypt, that the *šbyw*-collar shows an elevation in the rank of the person who wears it, so when Amenhotep III wears the collar in question; it shows an official statement that Amenhotep III had united with the sun god during his life time.²⁰⁶ This can also indicate the same elevation of status of Sety I and its connection with the sun god Re.

Regarding the statues of Sety I as a part of a cult as presented in documents (7)-(12), the statues of the kings were subjects of a worship such as the cases of Teti I of the Sixth Dynasty,²⁰⁷ King

202 See B. GUNN, “The decree of the Amonrasonthēr for Neskhons”, *JEA* 41, 1955, p. 100; W. GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus Hiératiques*, CGC, Cairo, 1927, p. 169 ff.; S. DONADONI, “The dead”, in S. Donadoni (ed.), *The Egyptians*, Chicago, 1997, p. 279.

203 *Edfou I*, 101, 2.

204 P. WILSON, *PL*, p. 875.

205 *Ibid.*, p. 876.

206 There are four styles of decoration and the fourth style is the deification style. One of the characteristics of this deification style, which was introduced after the 30th year of his reign, is the *šbyw*-collar, which was not used in Amenhotep III’s custom before, see R. JOHNSON, “The deified Amenhotep III as the living Re-Horakhty: Stylistic and Iconographic considerations”, in *Sixth International Congress of Egyptology*, Turin, 1991, p. 231. For more details about the other three styles, see *id.*, “Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning”, in D. O’Connor, E.H. Cline (eds.), *Amenhotep III Perspectives on His Reign*, Michigan, 1998, p. 81-87; *id.*, “Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some new considerations”, *JEA* 82, 1996, p. 70, n. 31. The *shebyu* collar is made out of gold or precious stones, also faience, see R.O. FAULKNER, *CD*, p. 264. For a scene of Amenhotep III wearing the *šbyw*-collar while sitting in a shrine, see A.P. KOZLOFF, “Bijoux”, in *Amenhotep III, Le Pharaon-Soleil*, Paris, 1993, p. 373, pl. 15 (4); *The Epigraphic Survey, The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192, OIP* 102, 1980, pl. 47. For the *Shebyw*-collar, see P. BRAND, “The Shebyu-Collar in the New Kingdom Part I”, *JSSEA* 33, 2006, p. 17-28.

207 There is a broken statue, preserved in the Museum of Borély in Marseille, which belongs to a certain *Īmn-wꜥh-sw* and dates back to the Nineteenth Dynasty. The left side, bears a relief representing *Īmn-wꜥh-sw* kneeling and raising his hands in the attitude of adoration before King Teti whose name occurs without a cartouche behind him, see É. NAVILLE, “Le roi Teta Merenptah”, *ZÄS* 16, 1878, p. 69; PM III², p. 729; J. MALEK, “A meeting of the Old and New. Saqqāra during the New Kingdom”, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honor of J.Gwyn Griffiths, OccPub* 8, 1992, p. 68. On the right side of the statue *Īmn-wꜥh-sw*’s wife is depicted kneeling in the same attitude as her husband in front of a statue inside a pyramid, see J. CAPART, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, Brussels, 1902, pl. 45.

Monthuhotep Nebhetepre of the Eleventh Dynasty,²⁰⁸ Kings Thuthmosis I,²⁰⁹ Amenhotep III,²¹⁰ Thuthmosis IV²¹¹ and Akhenaten²¹² of the Eighteenth Dynasty, King Ramesses II²¹³ of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Kings

- 208 On a limestone fragment-stele in the British Museum (No. 347/690), which was found near the funerary temple of King Monthuhotep, two osiride statues of King Amenhotep I, and King Monthuhotep are represented on the right-hand side. In the middle of the stele, an offering table is depicted, see É. NAVILLE, *The XIth Dynasty Temple of Deir El-Bahari I*, *EES* 28, 1907, p. 60-61, pl. 25b; Chr. LEBLANC, "Le culte rendu aux colosses 'osiriaques' durant le Nouvel Empire", *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 296-299, fig. I, pl. 49; S. QUIRKE, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London, 1992, pl. 47. In a tomb of a person called *Amunemint*, who was a divine father of the manison of Amenhotep III, he is shown burning incense and pouring a libation before a statue of Monthuhotep-Nebheteptra, a Queen (probably Ahmose-Nefertary), and goddess Hathor. This tomb is situated at Qurnet Murai. It dates to the Ramesside period, see PM I, p. 354 (2-3).
- 209 A scene on the lower register of the southern wall (western side) of the first hall in the tomb No. 51 at *Qurna*, which belongs to a person called *Weserhet*, represents two Osiride statues of King Thutmosis I. The statues are depicted wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. The hands are crossed across the chest without any staffs or sceptres. Before them there are two offering tables each one is in front of a statue. Chr. Leblanc called the attention that there were two other Osiride statues depicted wearing the white crown behind the previously mentioned ones but now invisible, Chr. LEBLANC, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
- 210 A *graffito* at Aswan shows *Bek*, overseer of the works and chief sculptor, offering to a statue of Amenhotep III named *nb-mꜣ't-R' ḥqꜣ ḥqꜣw*. While his son *Men* offers to Akhenaten who burns incense to his god Aten on the left side. At *Karnak* temple for instance, he erected a colossus in front of the 10th pylon, called Neb-maet-Ra, Monthu of the ruler, see P. CLÈRE *et al.*, "Le socle du colosse oriental dressé devant le X^e pylône de Karnak", *Karnak* 5, 1975, fig.8; A. VARILLE, "Notes complémentaires sur l'inscription dorsale du colosse méridional de Memnon", *ASAE* 34, 1934, p. 13-14, fig.1; L. SPELEERS, *Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1923, p. 34, No. 113; A. VARILLE, "Fragments d'un colosse d'Amenophis III donnat une liste de pays Africains (Louvre A18 et A 19)", *BIFAO* 35, 1935, p. 167, pl. 2; *id.*, "L'inscription dorsal du colosse méridional de Memnon", *ASAE* 33, 1933, p. 94; *id.*, "Un colosse d'Amenophis III dans les carrières d'Assouân", *RdE* 2, 1936, p. 173-174; M. MÜLLER, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons*, Basel, 1988, III-13, see PM II, p. 449 .
- 211 A statue of the king in question is mentioned on a round-topped limestone stele, now in the Cairo Museum. Besides a *ḥm-kꜣ* priest of the statue was also attested on the same stele, P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I*, CGC, Cairo, 1909, p. 41-42, No. 3402I, pl. 12.
- 212 On the walls of the tombs of *Tell el-Amarna* four Osiride colossi represent Akhenaten standing on a base in the great temple of Aten at *Tell el-Amarna*. Akhenaten is depicted nude; his hands are crossed across his shoulder. He holds the *heqa* and the *nekkheka*. Two statues are represented with the red crown while the other two with the white crown of Upper Egypt. These statues are represented in the tomb of Meryib, see N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I. The tomb of Meryra*, *ASE* 13, 1903, pls. 10A, 11, 25, 33; see also J.D.S. PENDLEBURY, "Excavations at Tell El Amarna, preliminary report of the season 1933-4", *JEA* 20, 1934, p. 129-136, pl. 14. Also for the statues in the tomb of Meryib, see Chr. LEBLANC, *op. cit.*, p. 307, fig. 3. Also in the tomb of Huya and Ahmes, small statues were represented beside the colossi of Akhenaten. They may represent his daughter or his wife, see N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna III*, p. 20; pl. 30. Chr. Leblanc points out that it is the first time to find statues of a king having small statues around them, see Chr. LEBLANC, *op. cit.*, p. 308. Four statues of the King were also represented on a limestone fragmentary relief from Hermopolis now in the Boston Museum of Fine arts (No. 63, 961), see J.D. COONEY, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections*, New York, 1965, p. 100-101, No. 61. Chr. Leblanc points out that the nude Osiride statues of Akhenaten are represented in the tomb of Merire at Tell El Amarna and the statue of the Cairo Museum JE 55938, see "Piliers et colosses de type 'Osiriaques' dans le contexte des temples de culte royal", *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 79-81, fig. 5.
- 213 After the intensive study of L. Habachi for a group of steles known as the Horbeit steles, which were found at the beginning of the 20th century and the majority were sold to W. Pelizaeus of Hildsheim, Germany, by the famous antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman, he found that The owners are depicted offering or raising their hands in the attitude of adoration to deities or the statues of Ramesses II. The latter is usually represented standing on a base, with a dorsal pillar, bearded, wearing a short kilt, a bull's tail and the crown of Upper Egypt. For the different statues of Ramesses II and their names, see L. HABACHI, "Khataana-Qantir importance", *ASAE* 52, 1952, p. 524-543; M. HAMZA, "Excavations of the department of Antiquities at Qantîr (Faqûs District) (season May 21st -July 7th 1928)", *ASAE* 30, 1930, p. 61; H. BRUNNER, "Die statue Ramses-Meri-Amun-Der-Gott", *MDAIK* 37, 1981, p. 101-102, pl.15; R. KHAWAM, "Un ensemble de Moules en Terre-Cuite de la 19^e Dynastie", *BIFAO* 70, 1971, p. 139; A.H. GARDINER, "Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn", *JEA* 27, 1941, p. 58-59; S.R.K. GLANVILLE, "Book-keeping for a cult of Rameses II", *JRAS* January 1929, p. 19, text on 24; A.H. GARDINER, *RAD*, Oxford, 1948, p. XVIII; A. SCHARFF, "Ein Denkstein des Vezirs Rahotep aus 19. Dynastie", *ZÄS* 70, 1934, p. 34; L. HABACHI, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, 33-34, fig. 21; J.J. CLÈRE, "Nouveaux Documents relatifs au culte des colosses de Ramesès II", *Kémi* 11, 1950, p. 39, pl. 3 B; A. BADAWY, *A History of the Egyptian Architecture III*, Berkley, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 478, fig. 253; A.H. GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies, BiAeg* 7, 1937, p. XIII-XIV, 23; R.A. CAMINOS, *LEM*, London, 1954, p. 74, 3.4-3.6; L. HABACHI, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, *CASAE* 23, Cairo, 1981, p. 231, fig. 69; L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten II*, CGC, Berlin, 1925, p. 105, No. 508; M. BIERBRIER, *HTBM* 10, London, 1982, p. 25-26, pl. 61; H. GAUTHIER, *Ouadi es-Sebouâ I*, p. 207-208; II, pls. 59 (B left), 60 (B); A.M. BLACKMAN, *Derr*, p. 95-96.

Ramesses III,²¹⁴ Ramesses VI²¹⁵ and Sethnakht²¹⁶ of the Twentieth Dynasty, King Psmatik²¹⁷ of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Kings Nectanebo I²¹⁸ and Nectanebo II²¹⁹ of the Thirtieth Dynasty. Additionally, some of the deified queens had statues which were worshipped as in the case of Ahmose-Nefertary.²²⁰ W. Helck believes that every king in the New Kingdom had statues, which were worshipped and offerings were presented to them. Helck also highlighted that the king was not the subject of the worshipping but his *ka* as the people consider the statue more important than the living king himself since he would not be as effective as the statue.

It seems that the striking difference between the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Nineteenth/ Twentieth Dynasties is that during the former dynasty the king built the statue and assigned a priest for its maintenance, but during the latter the people could erect the statue.²²¹ H. Nelson pointed out that document (7) is a part of the ritual

214 A stele mentions the *wab*-priests and the chantresses for the great statue of *Remessw heqa Iounu*. This stele was discovered in 1915 at Memphis in the course of the excavations led by the university Museum of Pennsylvania (find No. 2882). But unfortunately it was not found after storing, see A.R. SCHULMAN, "A cult of Ramesses III at Memphis", *JNES* 22, 1963, p. 177.

215 According to the inscriptions on the walls of the tomb of *Pennut*, viceroy of Nubia, at *Aniba*, he erected a cult statue for the King Ramesses VI in the temple of Ramesses II at Derr. As a reward, the king sent to him two vessels of silver, see G. STEINDORF, *ANIBA II. Text*, Glückstadt, 1937, p. 246-247. His rock-cut tomb is in Nubia, see PM VII, 76-77; J.H. Breasted, *Records of Ancient Egypt* IV, Chicago, 1906) §474, p. 231; A. WEIGALL, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia and their condition in 1906-7*, 118; W. HELCK, "Die Stiftung des *PN-NWT* von *Aniba*", *BZS* 1, 1986, p. 24. *Pennut* was also represented on the walls of his tomb at *Aniba* worshipping the statue of Ramesses VI together with the steward *Mery*, see PM VII, p. 76 (6); F. HEYKAL, A. ABOU-BAKR, *Tombeau de Pennout a Aniba, Description Archeologique, CEDAE*, 1963, p. 19. Another cult statue called "Ramesses beloved like Amun" stood in Western Thebes in a shrine at *Deir el-Medineh* perhaps beside the chapel of the goddess Hathor where the Ptolemaic temple now stands, see A.M. AMER, "Reflections on the reign of Ramesses VI", *JEA* 71, 1985, p. 68; KRI VI, 335, 5-6; S.C.B. ROBIN, *Late Remesside Three-Dimensional Royal Statuary: From Ramesses IV through Ramesses XI*, PhD Thesis, John Hopkins University, 2001, p. 107; W. Hovestreydt, *A Letter to the King Relating to the Foundation of a Statue (P. Turin 1879 vso.)*, *LinAeg* 5, 1997, p. 107-121; M. FITZENREITER, "Statuenstiftung und religiöses Stiftungswesen im pharaonischen Ägypten. Notizen zum Grab des *Pennut* (Teil V)", in M. Fitzenreiter et al., *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie*, IBAES VII, London, 2007, p. 233-263. For a description of a statue of Ramesses VI, see A.G. MCDOWELL, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*, Oxford, 1999, p. 94-95, n. 64; G. ROBINS in N.H. Walls (ed.), *Cult image*, p. 6.

216 A limestone stele from Abydos, dating to the reign of King Ramesses III, is preserved in the Cairo Museum. On the lower register, there are two statues of King Sethnakht and his wife *Tiymerenyaset*, JE 20395; A. RADWAN, "Zur bildlichen Gleichsetzung des ägyptischen Königs mit der Gottheit", *MDAIK* 31, 1975, p. 103, pl.7; R. EL-SAYED, "Stèles de particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux Statues Royales de la XVIII^e à la XX^e dynastie", *BIFAO* 79, 1979, p. 155, pl. 46.

217 H. GAUTHIER, *LdR* 5, p. 80-81, Nos. 64-65; JE 36572; G. DARESSY, *Statues des divinités I, CGC Nos. 38001-39384*, Cairo, 1906, p. 217, No. 38865; R. EL-SAYED, *Documents Relatifs à Sais et ses Divinités, BdE* 69, Cairo, 1975, p. 230; E. JELÍNKOVÁ, "Un titre saïte emprunté à l'Ancien Empire", *ASAE* 55, 1958, p. 113, No. 20.

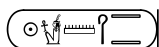
218 Priests of the statues of King Nectanebo I are attested, H. DE MEULENAERE, "Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo", *CdE* 35, 1960, p. 95, No. 8; J. YOYOTTE, "Nectanébo II comme faucon divin?", *Kêmi* 15, 1959, p. 70; H. GAUTHIER, *LdR* 5, p. 191; H. CARTER, "Report on general work done in the southern inspectorate", *ASAE* 4, 1903, p. 50; G. LEGRAIN, "Notes d'Inspection", *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 186.

219 J. YOYOTTE, *op cit.*, p. 71; H. DE MEULENARE, *op. cit.*, p. 97. According to the Serapeum stele (No. 3689), a certain *Wennefer* held the title of "The priest of the statues of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nekhethorenhebyt", E. OTTO, "Eine Memphitische Priesterfamilie des 2. Jh. v. Chr.", *ZÄS* 81, 1956, p. 127; T. HOLM-RASMUSSEN, "On the statue cult of Nectanebos II", *AcOr(c)* 40, 1979, p. 21-22.

220 A cult statue of the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertary is depicted on the walls of *Amenmes*'s tomb at *Draa Abu el-Naga*, see G. FOUCART, *Tombes Thébaines, Nécropole de Dirâ' Abû'n-Nâga, Le Tombeau d'Amonmos*, pl. IV. A statue for the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertary is mentioned on a black granite fragment stele, now in the Cairo Museum (8/11/26/8). It was found in Karnak and on its upper part Amun and the queen are depicted. The statue is called "the statue of the millions of years", see L. GABOLDE, "Un fragment de stèle au nom d'Ahmose-Nefertary", *BIFAO* 91, 1991, p. 161-171. A part of an inscription in the tomb of *Pennut*, dating to the reign of Ramesses VI, reads "Nefertary who is satisfied in *Miaam*", see KRI VI, 350, 13; M. GITTON, *L'épouse du Dieu Ahmes Néfertary*, p. 78; for the copy of Gauthier, see H. GAUTHIER, *LdR* 3, p. 202, pl. 38. R. Morkot points out that an estate belongs to a cult statue of Queen Nefertary, see R. MORKOT, "Violent images of queenship and the royal cult", *Wepwawet* 1, 1986, p. 5.

221 W. HELCK, "Zum Kult an Königs Statuen", *JNES* 25, 1966, p. 40-41.

of Amnhotep I episodes of this ritual were depicted at the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.²²² A text inscribed on a stele at Aswan mentions two colossi for Sety I together with two obelisks. It dates to the ninth regnal year of Sety I.²²³ The text includes cartouches referring to the names of the colossi as “Men-maet-Re” the ruler of the two lands”. P. Brand believes that these statues were being cut during the reign of Sety I but they were used by Ramesses II at Luxor Temple.²²⁴



(Mn-mꜣt-Rꜥ ḥqꜣ tꜣwy)

Men-maet-Re, the ruler of the two lands.

As for document (II), it shows for the first time a king and his son grouped together with other deities in the sanctuary of the temple. However, in this case Sety I was already dead. This case may imply that Ramesses II was aiming at reflecting the idea that his father is a god and himself as well. In contrast, document (I2) shows that the statues of Sety I appeared in the three sanctuaries of the temple *Kanais* together with other six deities while Sety I was still alive. According to the texts of the temple, it was dedicated to these deities together with Sety I²²⁵ who are the same deities with sanctuaries in the temple of Sety I at Abydos.²²⁶ The text reads:²²⁷



Īmn im.s Rꜥ m-ḥnw.s Pth Wsꜥr m ḥwt.s Ḥr ꜣst Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ Psdt imyt ḥwt-nꜥr

*Amun is in it, Re is within it, Ptah (and) Osiris are in its sanctuary and (also) Horus, Isis, (Menmaat) and the Ennead which is in this temple.*²²⁸

M. Lichtheim believes that the king is a member of ennead of seven whose number is brought up to nine by the king's three statues in the sanctuaries.²²⁹ This recalls the case of the four statues in the sanctuary of the great temple of Abu Simbel of which one belongs to Ramesses II.²³⁰ Additionally, Ramesses II statues were found in the sanctuary of the temple of Gerf Hussein²³¹, in the temple of Wadi el-Seboua²³² and in the sanctuary in the temple of el-Derr.²³³ Another case is the statue of Horemheb being placed among other deities in his temple at Gebel el-Silsileh.²³⁴ After analyzing the different types of the king's statues as some of them were a

222 H. NELSON, *JNES* 8, 1949, p. 219, fig. 15.

223 L. HABACHI, “The Two Rock-Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area Speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks”, *BIFAO* 73, 1973, p. 113-25; *KRI* I, 73-74.

224 P. BRAND, “The “Lost” Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I”, *JARCE* 34, 1997, p. 101-114; *id.*, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 274.

225 B. GUNN, A.H. GARDINER, “New Renderings of Egyptian Texts”, *JEA* 4, 1917, p. 245; M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature 2. The New Kingdom*, Berkeley, London 1976, p. 54; J.H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt III. The Nineteenth Dynasty*, Chicago, 1906, p. 83, §173; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

226 *Ibid.*, p. 280.

227 *KRI*, I, 67, 3; C.E. SANDER-HANSEN, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie*, *BiAeg* 4, 1933, p. 26, l. 9-10; S. SCHOTT, *Kanais*, pl. 19, text B, cols. 10-11.

228 *RITA* I, 57.

229 M. LICHTHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 57, n. 8.

230 PM VII, p. 110 (115).

231 PM VII, p. 62 (112).

232 H. GAUTHIER, *Ouadi es-Seboua* I, p. 207-208; II, pls. 59 (B left), 60 (B); LD III, 180a.

233 A.M. BLACKMAN, *Derr*, p. 95-96.

234 R.A. CAMINOS, “Gebel es-Silsileh”, *LÄ* II, 1977, col. 442; *id.*, “Epigraphy in the field”, in J. Assmann, G. Burkard, V. Davies (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, London, 1987, p. 63.

subject of worship, five types of statues can be deduced. a) Life size statues as in the case of documents (7) and (9). b) Colossus statue: as in the case of the two statues of the temple of Luxor. c) Cult statue as in the case of document (10). d) Statues placed inside the shrines of the sacred barks as in the case of documents (1), (2), (3) and (4). e) Statues placed inside the sanctuary of some temples such as documents (11) and (12).

Table (3): A comparison between the statues of Sety I in documents (7)-(10).



	Document 7	Document 8	Document 9	Document 10
Name of the statue	—	—	—	—
Base for the statue	—	X	—	X
Sandals	—	—	—	X
Type of offering performed	Pouring water from 4 <i>nms</i> -vases	Presenting offerings	Burning incense + pours a libation	Burning incense + pours a libation
Title of ritual	Going around 4 times	—	—	—
King's crown/headdress	<i>nms</i> -head dress	<i>hprš</i> -crown	damaged	Wig + <i>šwtj</i> crown
King's dress	Short kilt	Long kilt	Long kilt	Long kilt
King's regalia	<i>hḳ</i> -mace + <i>ʿnh</i> -sign	<i>hḳ</i> and <i>nhḳ</i> + <i>hḳ</i> -mace + <i>ʿnh</i> -sign	<i>ʿbj</i> -stick + <i>hḳ</i> -mace + <i>ʿnh</i> -sign	<i>hḳ</i> -scepter
Statue standing inside a shrine	—	X	X	—
Officiant	Ramesses II	Ramesses II	Ramesses II	Ramesses II

Both documents (14) and (18) represent Ramesses II in the presence of the Theban triad together with the deified Sety I. The former deals with the coronation of Ramesses II while the latter deals with the receiving of Ramesses II of the *hb-sd* festivals. These two documents show how Ramesses II made use of the deification of his father in order to consolidate his accession to the throne. These two documents are unique among the documents of the deification in ancient Egypt as their topics did not occur before or after Ramesses II's reign. Additionally, King Ramesses II is represented also on the walls of the temple of King Sety I at *Qurna* offering to his grandfather, King Ramesses I. It seems that King Ramesses II in order to consolidate his accession to the throne and the idea of his own deification later on, he aimed to confirm not only the deification process of his father but of his grandfather as well.²³⁵

²³⁵ PM II, p. 417 (99), (100), (101), (102); 418 (106). Besides, due to the fact that King Ramesses I died before erecting any construction for his cult, King Sety I erected a chapel for his father's cult at Abydos, see H.E. WINLOCK, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, *MMA Papers* 5, 1937, pl. II. In addition, a statue was set up in this chapel by Sety I, see H. GAUTHIER, "Une statue de Ramsès défunt originaire d'Abydos", *ASAE* 31, 1931, p. 195.

As for document (19), it shows Sety I represented for the first time replacing the third member of the Theban triad, Khonsu, the offspring of Amun and Mut. This case has not been attested before except during the reign of Ramesses II.²³⁶ However, this scene was executed during the reign of Ramesses II. Additionally, a group statue shows Amun, Mut and Sety I replacing Khonsu.²³⁷ Furthermore, document (33) shows Sety I replacing Horus, the third member in the triad consisting of Osiris, Isis and Horus.

Despite the fact that rooms 34-37 in the temple of millions of years of Sety I at *Qurna* were dedicated to the cult of Sety I,²³⁸ however, the documents reflecting his deification from these rooms only come from rooms 30, 31, and 38 and none of the documents come from these rooms. Additionally, two documents (19) and (20) showing the deification of Sety I come from room 30 and 31 which are dedicated to the cult of Ramesses I.²³⁹ Judging from the decoration of room 34, it is believed to be the hall of the offering table.²⁴⁰ Seele²⁴¹ and Murnane²⁴² believes that the decoration of documents of the *Qurna* temple of Sety I were executed jointly by Sety I and Ramesses II. Stadelmann believes that Ramesses II's work at the temple of Sety I at *Qurna* was executed after Sety I's death.²⁴³ Additionally, P. Brand rejects the Seele-Murnane's theory based on epigraphic and pictorial evidence.²⁴⁴

It is worthy to mention that documents (23) and (24) were usurped later by King Ramesses II as he changed the cartouches.²⁴⁵ That's why the cartouches of Ramesses II still have some signs which once constituted the name of Sety I which are still visible as shown in documents (23) and (24) where  was used to write Sety I name and  which appears in document (24).

The southern wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak was completed during the early years of Ramesses II's reign.²⁴⁶ After the Twenty-first regnal year of Ramesses II, he usurped Sety's reliefs along the central axis of the Great Hypostyle Hall and in some parts of the northern wing entirely decorated by Sety I.²⁴⁷ Rondot rejects the term "usurpation" in connection with Ramesses II as being too pejorative.²⁴⁸ Brand considers usurpations of Ramesses II along with the king's addition of new reliefs and marginal inscriptions to existing monuments in the

236 For Ramesses II as offspring of Amun and Mut who took the place of Khonsu, see at the temple of Abu Simbel, see PM VII, 104 (43); LD. III, 188a; J. ČERNÝ, S. DONADONI, *Abou-Simbel, Porte d'Entrée et Grande Salle F*, CEDAE, Cairo, 1962, F.57; PM VII, p. 109 (94); LD, Text, V, p. 146 (middle), KRI II, 757, 112. At the Gerf Hussein for the place of Nefertem, see, PM VII, p. 35 (5). For the place of Khaonsu at the temple of wadi el-Seboua, see PM VII, p. 62 (125-127); H. GAUTHIER, *Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, I, 226; II, pl. 63A. At the temple of el-Derr, see A.M. BLACKMAN, *Derr*, p. 49-50, pl. 37; PM VII, p. 87 (18).

237 RITA I, 184; CGC 39210/927.

238 R. STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 35, 1979, p. 318-319; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 230.

239 R. STADELMANN, *op. cit.*, 318-319; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

240 D. ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, *MÄS* 2, 1962, p. 42; R. STADELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 318-319; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 230-231.

241 K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Rameses II*, p. 94.

242 W.J. MURNANE, *Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies*, *SAOC* 40, 1977, p. 62.

243 R. STADELMANN, "The Mortuary Temple of Seti I at Gurna: Excavation and Restoration", in E. Bleiberg, R.E. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, Memphis 1993, p. 252, n. 7; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 234.

244 *Ibid.*, p. 246-247.

245 These scenes were usurped by Ramesses II, see *ibid.*, p. 43, n. 220. L.A. Christophe mentioned wrongly that King Ramesses II is offering to the deities and deified Sety I, see L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 170.

246 W.J. MURNANE, *JNES* 34, 1979, p. 153-190.

247 *Ibid.*, p. 153-190.

248 V. RONDOT, *La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: Les architraves*, Paris, 1997, p. 151.

context of royal ideology and the celebration of his Sed Festivals.²⁴⁹ K. Seele²⁵⁰ and W. Murnane²⁵¹ believe that documents (23) and (24) prove that the deification of Sety I occurred during his lifetime. P. Brand contradicts this idea based on artistic features advocating the notion that these documents are post-mortem.²⁵² Epigraphic evidence that supports P. Brand's theory is that Sety I in documents (7) and (8) is mentioned as *Wsr* "Osiris" which shows that this scene is post-mortem. This is the first instance in ancient Egypt that a king i.e. Ramesses II is offering to his deified self or another deified king (formerly Sety I) in a temple of millions of years not only within the precinct of a divine temple inside Egypt but also on the main east-west axis.²⁵³ This is also the only occurrence in ancient Egypt that a king usurped a deification scene and ascribed the scene to himself.

With reference to documents (23) and (24) of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, L.A. Christophe believes that Ramesses II offers to a special form of the god Sety I.²⁵⁴

Additionally, these two documents are different from the other documents as first they were made to reflect the deification of Sety I and later on after they were usurped by Ramesses II so as to reflect his own deification instead. Hence, when were these two documents executed and when were they usurped? Taking into consideration that these two documents show that Sety I was shown deified inside the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, certainly such documents, reflecting a new doctrine in the most important divine temple in ancient Egypt, were executed after a special arrangement with the priests of Amun at Karnak. During the early years of Ramesses II, he completed all the reliefs that were not finished by Sety I in the southern wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak.²⁵⁵ Both the long prenomen (*Mery-Amun Re-ms-s*) of Ramesses II and the sunk-relief show that this scene should have been completed between the second year and the twenty-first year of his reign. After his twenty-first regnal year he usurped the reliefs along the central axis of the Great Hypostyle Hall.²⁵⁶ Then, the scenes of documents (23) and (24) were usurped by Ramesses II reflecting his own pre-mortem deification. The question that can be raised is why did Ramesses II usurp these two scenes only to show his deified status? And he did not usurp the rest of the scenes *in toto*. He was probably trying to show that his father is a god and consequently he is a god as well.

All the documents coming from the temple of Karnak (7-10), (23) and (25-26) have the epithet of *ms'-hrw* accompanying the cartouches of Sety I except for document (24). Additionally, all of these documents had the long prenomen of Ramesses II as (*Mery-Amun Re-ms-s*) except for document (7) which means that it has been carved after the twenty-first year of Ramesses II's reign since it has the long prenomen of (*Mery-Amun Re-ms-sw*). Furthermore, document (10) is unique since the cartouches accompanying Ramesses II has the long prenomen (*Mery-Amun Re-ms-s*) while the cartouches accompanying the sacred bark of Amun has the long

249 P. BRAND, "Veils, votives, and marginalia in the use of sacred space at Karnak and Luxor", in P. Dorman, B. Bryan, (eds.), *Sacred space and sacred function in ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61, 2007, p. 51-83.

250 K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Rameses II*, p. 86, 93.

251 W.J. MURNANE, *Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies*, p. 76.

252 P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 320.

253 For King Amenhotep III who was offering to his deified self at the temple of Soleb at Nubia, see M. GIORGINI, Cl. ROBICHON, J. LECLANT, *Soleb I (1813-1963), Mission S. Giorgini sous le haut patronage de l'université de Prise*, Sansoni-Firenze, 1965, p. 103, fig. 85, Doc. 20, I; LD III, 110 k; LD III 84c; J.M.A. JANSSEN, "A brief description of the decoration of the room II of the temple of Soleb", *Kush* 9, 1961, p. 204 (No. 33); A.M. BLACKMAN, "Preliminary report of the excavations at Sesbi, northern province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37", *JEA* 23, 1937, p. 148-149.

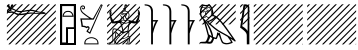
254 L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *BFAO* 49, 1950, p. 178.

255 P. BRAND, "Usurpation of Monuments", in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2010, p. 5 : <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025h6fh>.

256 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

pre-nomen of (*Mery-Amun Re-ms-sw*) which implies that this text has been carved or the cartouches have been changed after the twenty-first year of Ramesses II's reign. However, W. Murnane refutes the epithet of *mꜣ'-ḥrw* which accompanies Sety I as a proof of his death.²⁵⁷ In contrast documents (7) and (8) show the epithet of Osiris accompanying Sety I such an evidence of Sety I's death is indisputable.

All the documents coming from the Temple of Karnak are from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. This hall is a temple of millions of years as designated by the text:²⁵⁸



[...*ir.n*].*f* *ḥwt-nṯr ḥḥ*[.w m?] *rnṣwt m* [*inr nfr rwdt*]²⁵⁹

[...] *he built a temple of millions of years from [beautiful and strong stone]*

The function of this hall has been suggested as the resting place of sacred barks of the Theban triad²⁶⁰ and it was also the place for the cult of the *ka* of the Seti I.²⁶¹

In relation to document (27), King Sety I offers to his deified self together with Osiris. He holds the *ḥnḥ*-sign, besides his name was written without a cartouche and was followed with a divine title. On one hand, R. David and A. El-Sawi believe that the living King Sety I offers to the dead and the deified King Sety I.²⁶² On the other, A.M. Calverley, M.F. Broome and A.H. Gardiner believe that Sety I offers to his deified self.²⁶³ Concerning the former statement, it can be argued that it is not accurate as there is no evidence that the deified king was dead during the time of offering. The presence of that scene at a temple of millions of years does not impose the fact that he was dead. This case may recall to our attention the case of other New Kingdom Kings who were depicted offering to their deified selves in their temples of millions of years, such as King Ramesses II at Abu Simbel.²⁶⁴ Additionally, the pictorial representation of the king indicates that he is alive as he was not represented in a mummified form. However, it is worth mentioning that this is the first occurrence in ancient Egypt where a king is depicted offering to his deified self in a temple of millions of years. R. Preys pointed out to the fact that this scene is a part of the mysteries of Osiris which took place in the temple where Sety I is assimilated to Osiris and that Sety I leaves his human body to transform to a divine spirit.²⁶⁵ It can also be recognized that the king's name is written without a cartouche twice in documents (26) and (27). His name is also followed by the

257 W.J. MURNANE, *Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies*, p. 271.

258 V. RONDOT, *La grande salle hypostyle*, pl. 48A'.

259 ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 250; V. RONDOT, *op. cit.*, p. 9I[NA 28+NA 29+NE 20], pl. 48A'.

260 V. RONDOT, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

261 *Ibid.*, p. 149. D. Arnold and G. Haeny pointed out that among other functions of the Hall that is contained a statue of the *ka* of Sety I receiving a cult, see D. ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 62-63; G. HAENY, "La fonction religieuse des 'Châteaux de Millions d'Années'", in *L'Égyptologie en 1979* vol. I, Paris, 1982, p. III-116.

262 R.A. DAVID, *A Guide*, p. 128; A. EL-SAWI, *MDAIK* 43, 1987, p. 227.

263 M. CALVERLEY *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I*, pl. 13.

264 P.J. FRANSEN, "Trade and cult", in G. Englund (ed.), *The Religion of Ancient Egyptians: Cognitive structures and Popular Expressions, Proceedings of Symposia in Upsala and Bergen 1987 and 1988*, *Boreas* 20, 1989, 95, fig. I; PM VII, p. 104 (43); LD III, 188a; J. GOHARY, *Guide to The Nubian Monuments on Lake Nasser*, Cairo, 1998, p. 114, 17; J. ČERNÝ, S. DONADONI, *Abou-Simbel, Porte d'entrée et Grande Salle F*, F. 57; LD III, 188a; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, "Quelques remarques sur le grand temple d'Abou-Simbel", *RevCaire* 47, No. 250, 1961, p. 307, No. 2; *id.*, *Abou Simbel et l'épopée de sa découverte*, Brussels, 1965, p. 196, No. 2; Chr. LEBLANC, *BIFAO* 82, 1982, pl. 56, B; J. ČERNÝ, E. EDEL, *Abou-Simbel, Salles Intérieures*, CEDAE, Cairo (without date), H 29; *KRI* II, 758, 2; LD Text V, p. 146 (top).

265 R. PREYS, *De Scriba* 2, 1993, p. 49.

epithet of: *ntr* 𓄿 “the great god” which was also a common epithet for most of the deified kings.²⁶⁶ W. Murnane believes that Sety I was still alive when Ramesses II was still using his early prenomen²⁶⁷ especially in documents (10) and (26) as he pointed out to the elements of Sety I’s prenomen which appear in the form of a rebus on the bark of Amun. In contrast P. Brand shows that this evidence is flimsy as the same rebus appears during the reign of Sety II of the Nineteenth Dynasty²⁶⁸ and he believes that these scenes were executed after Sety I’s death. Additional epigraphic evidence which also contradicts Murnane’s theory is 1) Sety I holds the epithet of Osiris which is given to a dead person. 2) Ramesses II offers a *hṯp-di-nsw* offering which is a funerary offering for the welfare of the deceased. However, Murnane’s points out that of there are some examples where Sety I is still alive while having this epithet as in document (38) and he supports his argument with other examples from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as in documents (8) and from the temple of Qurnaas in document (20).²⁶⁹ Murnane builds his theory on postulated co-regency between Ramesses II and Sety I.²⁷⁰ However, this theory is not widely accepted.²⁷¹

Pertaining to document (28), King Ramesses II is represented offering four calves to the deified Sety I together with god Osiris. This is the only instance in which the four calves are offered to a deified king.²⁷² However, the ritual has been performed once also before one of the divine adorers, Amenredis, daughter of Kashta who is standing behind Osiris and Harendotes.²⁷³

Regarding documents (30) and (31), they show the nomen of the deified King Sety I written without a cartouche as any other deity.

Document (34) shows a deified form of Sety I in the temple of Abydos which is “Men-maet-Re, the great god, who resides in his mansion which is in Abydos”.²⁷⁴ The forms of the deified kings who dwell in other localities

266 For other deified kings with the same epithet, King Teti, see P. LACAU, *Stèles de la XVIII. Dyn., Tome premier, Troisième fascicule, CGC Nos. 34065-3418, Cairo, 1957*, p. 235; M.A. BARSANTI, “Un monument du roi Teti”, *ASAE* 13, 1913, p. 255. For King Thutmose III, see R. MOSS, “The ancient name of Serra (Sudan)”, *JEA* 36, 1950, p. 42. For King Amenhotep III, see M.S. GIORGINI, Cl. ROBICHON, J. LECLANT, *Soleb I*, p. 102-103, fig. 83, Doc. 20G; *LD III*, 87c. For King Tutankhamun, see J. KARKOWSKI, *Faras V, The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Warsaw, 1981, p. 119. For King Ramesses II, see A.M. BLACKMAN, *Derr*, p. 49-50; *LD*, Text, V, 105 (middle); *KRI II*, 774, 6; *LD III*, 191m; *LD*, Text, V, 186 (near Bottom); H. GAUTHIER, *LdR* 3, p. 49, 163; J. VERCOUTTER, “Preliminary report of the excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine archaeological expedition, 1961”, *Kush* 10, 1962, pl. 36d; J. ČERNÝ, *Kush* 7, 1959, p. 73a.

267 W.J. MURNANE, *JNES* 34, 1979, p. 183.

268 P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 321.

269 W.J. MURNANE, *Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies*, p. 271. However, the text accompanying Sety I in document (20) is almost destroyed and not quite visible.

270 W.J. MURNANE, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

271 See below discussion of document (38).

272 As for this rite, see A.M. BLACKMAN, H.W. FAIRMAN, “The significance of the ceremony *hwt bḥsw* in the temple of Horus at Edfu”, *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 98-112; *id.*, “The significance of the ceremony *hwt bḥsw* in the temple of Horus at Edfu”, *JEA* 36, 1950, p. 63-81. For more examples and a detailed study about this ritual, see A. EGBERTS, *In quest of meaning*.

273 This scene is represented in the forecourt of the tomb - chapel of Amenredis, daughter of Kashta where, Shepenwepet II is the officiant, see PM II, p. 476 (9)-(10); U. HÖLSCHER, *The Excavations of Madinet Habu V: Post-Ramesside Remains, OIP* 66, Chicago, 1954, pl. 12b; A. EGBERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 246, pl. 120.

274 P.J. BRAND, in *Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungs-feldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens*, p. 26. Amnehotep I had about nine deified forms. For these forms, see J. ČERNÝ, *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 198-203; G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales, CGC* 61001-61044, Cairo, 1909, p. 222, No. 61041; A.H. GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies, BiAeg* 7, 1937, p. XIII; J.-M. KRUTCHEN, “Une stèle dédiée à Amenhotep I^{er}”, in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim II*, Jerusalem, 1990, p. 650; J. VANDIER, *Tombes de Deir el-Medineh, La Tombe de Nefer-Abou, MIFAO* 69, 1935, p. 19, pls.12-13; A.H. GARDINER, B. VAN DE VALLE, “New light on the Ramesside tomb-Robberies”, *JEA* 22, 1936, pl. 16, line 4.7; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1929), FIFAO* 7/2, p. 53, fig. 21; *id.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (Années 1948 à 1951), FIFAO* 26, 1953, p. 42, pl.12, 2. For a form of the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertary called Ahmose-Nefertary of the Menset, see G. MASPERO, “Rapport à M. Jules Ferry, Ministre de l’instruction publique sur une mission en Italie”, *RecTrav* 3, 1882, p. 110 (4).

were attested before as in the cases of Tutankhamun,²⁷⁵ Thuthmosis III,²⁷⁶ Amenhotep III²⁷⁷ and Ramesses II.²⁷⁸ The formula, which is constituted as follows, sometimes occurs with the deified kings:

King's name with/without a cartouche + *hry-ib* + a locality (where the King is worshipped)

The *hry-ib* signifies deities worshipped away from their own home.²⁷⁹ Additionally, there is another similar formula which occurs also with deified kings as in the case of Thuthmosis III who is called Menkheperre, the foremost of *hmq-nh* (name of his temple in western Thebes).²⁸⁰

King's name with a cartouche + *hnt* + a locality (where the King is worshipped)

After analyzing the offerings scenes of the deified Sety I, it can be realized that he is always represented either alone as in documents (7), (8), (9), (25), (28) and (32) or with other deities while following them receiving offerings or benefiting from rituals as in documents (10), (13), (17), (19), (20), (23), (24), (26), (27), (29), (31), (33) and (36) or preceding them as in documents (15) and (16). Additionally, he was never depicted before a deity denoting that there are degrees of formalities which the artists were aware of. The posture of Sety I was either depicted seated on a throne as in documents (27), (30), (31) and (34) or standing as shown in the rest of the documents.

275 For a form of Tutankhamun, see "Nebkheperwre who dwells in Sehetepneterw", see J. KARKOWSKI, *Faras* V, p. 28, 115-116, 119; *shp-ntrw* is the name of the fortress that was built at Faras under Tutankhamun see N. DE G. DAVIES, A.H. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tut'ankhamun (No. 40)*, TTS 4, 1926, 18, fig. 3. His viceroy in Nubia, *Huy*, constructed a small village and a small temple. The temple was called Sehetepneterw, which means "the conciliation of the gods". This may point out to Tutankhamun's return to the Orthodox religion after the end of the Atunism, see B.G. TRIGGER, *Nubia Under The Pharaohs*, London, 1976, p. 120; W. EMERY, *Egypt in Nubia*, London, 1965, p. 191; L. HABACHI, *Sixteen studies on Lower Nubia*, CASAE 23, 1981, p. 162; M.F. LAMING MACADAM, *The Temples of Kawa I, The Inscriptions, Text*, London, 1949, p. 1-2.

276 For "Menkheperre the great god who dwells in Tehkhety" which is inscribed on a statue now in Khartoum Museum, see R. MOSS, "The ancient name of Serra (Sudan)", *JEA* 36, 1950, p. 42. *Tihhti* is a village in upper Nubia where god Thot and King Thuthmosis III were worshipped. It might have occupied the actual site of Serra to the north of Faras, see H. GAUTHIER, *DG* VI, p. 28, 46

277 For a form of Amenhotep III in Soleb, Nebmaetre, the lord of Nubia who is at the fortress of Khaemmaet, see *LD* III, 85a; J.M.A. JANSSEN, *Kush* 9, 1961, p. 204 (No. 34); M.S. GIORGINI, Cl. ROBICHON, J. LECLANT, *Soleb* I, p. 100-101, fig. 81, Doc. 20 (E). The inscriptions on the pedestal of one of the rams that once lined the avenue to the temple now in the British Museum confirm this idea. These rams belong to the temple of Soleb, but they were found by Lepsius at Gebel el-Barkal as they were moved by the Ethiopians, see *BAR* II, p. 362, n. d. There were two lions in the possession of lord Prudhoe who presented them to the British Museum in 1835. Amenhotep III made the one in question, while the other one was made by Tutankhamun, see I.E.S. EDWARDS, "The Prudhoe lions", *AAA* 26, 1939, nos. 1-2, 4, pl. Ia; P. PAMMINGER, "Zur göttlichkeit Amenophis III", *BSEG* 17, 1993, p. 85-86.

278 For Ramesses II in the temple of Abu Simbel as Wesermaetre Setpenre, who dwells in the temple of Remessw Meryamun", see *LD*, Text V, 154 (top); *KRI* II, 756, 1; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *RevCaire* 47, No. 250, 1961, p. 307, No. 2; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Abou Simbel*, p. 196, No. 2; *LD* III, 189f; *LD*, Text, V, 142 (middle lower); *KRI* II, 760, 8. In Amra west, see P. SPENCER, *Amara West I: The Architectural Report*, London, 1997, p. 23.

279 A.H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 582; D. BUDDE, "Epithets, Divine", in J. Dieleman, W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2011, p. 3: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0028t1z4>

280 On a statue now preserved in Cairo Museum, see *JE* 37177. This statue was found in the Karnak Cachette and dates to the reign of King Thutmosis III, see G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes* III, No. 42121, 70, pl. 71; *id.*, "Notes d'inspection: § XXXVII-XXXVIII", *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 187, see also G. LEFEBVRE, *Histoire des grandes prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIIe Dynastie*, Paris, 1929, p. 110. This kind of statues which represents individual holding a stele is called Stelophorous, see M. SALEH, H. SOUROUZIAN, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, Mainz, 1985, p. 33; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes* III, p. 70; *id.*, *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 185. For another statue with the same text, see *Urk.* IV, 1019, 17, 1020, 1-2; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes* I, p. 69-71, No. 42121.

Additionally, the role of the deified Sety I in most of these documents can be described as a passive one and this can be justified due to the fact that there is not a text which suggests a reply in return of what the king is offering except for documents (33) where he responds to the officiant. His nomen and prenomen are enclosed in cartouches in all these documents except for documents (27), (30), (31) and (34) where his names appeared without it denoting his deified status. It is worthy to note that, these documents appeared only in one temple which is the temple of Sety I at Abydos reflecting the importance of this temple. However, these documents were executed after his death and under the supervision of his son and successor, Ramesses II except for documents (12) and (27) which is the only definite documents executed while he was still alive. Additionally, the nomen of Sety I, which was depicted without being enclosed within the cartouche, was also mentioned at least twice in two different instances in the temple of *Kanais*²⁸¹ and in the temple of Sety I at *Qurna*²⁸² where the nomen was presented as an offering to deities and the text accompanying the scenes mention it is as a maet offering. This might denote that it is a subliminal way to have the approval of the deities for the deification of Sety I as his nomen includes the sign of maet. This phenomenon was attested later on by his son Ramesses II in the temples of Abu Simbel²⁸³ and Wadi El-Seboua.²⁸⁴ Another suggestion, it could be a kind of word play as the text mentions that Sety I is offering maet however he is shown offering his nomen.

Documents (37)-(40) reflect the veneration of Sety I by individuals. Such documents, which reflect the veneration of the kings, are characterized mainly by two features. The first is the posture of the devotee which is usually raising the hands exuding adoration especially before the cartouches of the king.²⁸⁵ The second is the *rd̄t i3wt* “giving adoration” formula and sometimes as in the case of document (39) followed by another formula *sn-t3* “kissing the earth”.²⁸⁶ Regarding document (37), it shows how the ancient Egyptian artist was aware of the reverse chronological order of the kings where Sety I is represented first, followed by his father and then Horemheb. The cult of royal ancestors at *Deir el-Medina* can be noticed frequently including the cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary.²⁸⁷ It also appeared on one votive stela from *Deir el-Medina* in the temple of Hathor at *Deir el-Medina*, Khenu chapel, dating to the first half of Ramesses II’s reign, where kings Ramesses I, Horemheb, Sety I and Ramesses II are depicted.²⁸⁸

281 The scene is the western scene of the exterior portico. The scene represents King Sety I standing before Amun-Re while offering his name 𓆎 to him H. GAUTHIER, “Le Temple de Ouâdi Mîyah”, *BIFAO* 17, 1920, pl. 3.

282 E. TEETER, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, *SAOC* 57, 1997, p. 28-36, pl. 24. For the presentation of the name of the king, see C. SPIESER, “Réflexions sur quelques scènes d’offrande du nom du roi”, *JSSEA* 30, 2003, p. 113-125.

283 PM VII, p. 101; P.J. FRANDSEN, in G. Englund (ed.), *The Religion of Ancient Egyptians*, p. 95, fig. 1.

284 PM VII, p. 61 (97)-(99); H. GAUTHIER, *Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, I, 219; LD, Text V, 86 (bottom).

285 For the veneration of the cartouches by private persons, see C. SPIESER, “*Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*”, *OBO* 174, 2000, p. 84-117, figs. 1-138; C. SPIESER, “Cartouche”, in E. Frood, W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2010, p. 6: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz00inf61t>

286 H.G. FISCHER, “Proskynese”, *LÄ* IV, 1982, cols. 1125-1127.

287 PM I, p. 15 (3).

288 JE 72023; PM I, p. 694; RITA III, 426; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1935-1940*, *FIFAO* 20/2, 1952, pls. XII, XXXVIII [79]; K. EXELL, *Soldiers, sailors and sandalmakers*, p. 90, 149, No. 94.

Despite the fact that document (38) is seen by some Egyptologists as proof of the co-regency between Sety I and his son Ramesses II,²⁸⁹ epigraphic evidence which shows Sety I bears the epithet *Wsir* “Osiris” which he also bore in documents (7) and (33) refute the theory raised by some Egyptologists. This epithet is normally added to the name of the dead king in the Pyramid Texts as well as the individuals who adopted the same epithet.²⁹⁰ The problematic issue of co-regency,²⁹¹ regency²⁹² or crowned prince²⁹³ is still a matter of debate among the scholars and there is not definite evidence to reach a conclusive result. Indeed, the *nh*-sign was borne by some of the deified kings, however, the one who carries it is Ramesses II and not Sety I.²⁹⁴

As for document (39), the custom of adoring the cartouches of the king²⁹⁵ seems to have been flourishing during the Ramesseid period. These kinds of documents reflecting the adoration of the king by private persons can be categorized under several types:

Type a) private person raising hands exuding adoration before the cartouches of the King in addition to an accompanying text the *rdit iwt* “giving adoration” formula. This is the case of document (39) in addition to other cases of Kings Ramesses II²⁹⁶ and Ramesses III.²⁹⁷

Type b) private person raising hands in adoration before a text which includes the *rdit iwt* “giving adoration” formula without having the cartouches of the King depicted as in the case of Kings Teti²⁹⁸ and Thutmosis III.²⁹⁹

289 W.J. MURNANE, *Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies*, p. 60; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 151.

290 D.M. DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, Leiden, 1998, p. 103.

291 For the scholars who adopted the theory of coregency, see K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Rameses II*, p. 29; W.J. MURNANE, *JNES* 34, 1979, p. 188.

292 For the scholars who maintain regency, see L.A. CHRISTOPHE, “La carrière du prince Merenptah et les trois régences ramesseides”, *ASAE* 51, 1951, p. 335-372; A.J. SPALINGER, “Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II”, *JNES* 38, 1979, p. 271-286; *id.*, “Traces of the Early Career of Seti I”, *JSSEA* 8, 1978, p. 229, n. 3; *id.*, *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos*, *CHANE* 33, 2009. As for K. Kitchen he postulated that Ramesses II first phase of his career can be referred to as “prince regency”, see K.A. KITCHEN, *Pharaoh Triumphant: Life and Times of Rameses II*, Warminster, 1983, p. 27-30; *id.*, “Review of W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, Chicago, 1977”, *JNES* 39, 1980, p. 170-171.

293 P. Brand maintains the notion that Ramesses II never ruled jointly with his father Sety I in a coregency but he was a crown prince; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 333-335; *id.*, “Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesseid Kings”, p. 29.

294 It is worthy to note that this sign was borne also by some individuals in ancient Egypt. On an Eleventh Dynasty stele which is now in the Cairo Museum, JE 88876, a couple is shown holding an *anx*-sign. This stela was published by H.G. FISCHER, “An Eleventh Dynasty Couple holding the sign of life”, *ZÄS* 100, 1974, p. 16-28. In two Twenty-first /Twenty-second Dynasty wooden funerary stelae from Thebes, private citizens are depicted carrying the *nh*-sign. A. ZAYED, “Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum”, *RdE* 20, 1968, p. 149-170.

295 For the veneration and adoration of some king’s cartouches by some goddesses or baboons which associates them with the solar disk as reflected by chapter 16 from the Book of the Dead, see C. SPIESER, “Les cartouches divins”, *ZÄS* 129, 2000, p. 90-94.

296 *KRI* III, 60, 14-15; 98, 5, 10-11, 16; H. GAUTHIER, *Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, I, 36, 39-40; A.J. ARKELL, “Varia Sudanica”, *JEA* 36, 1950, p. 32-33, fig. 2; S. SNAPE, “Ramesses II’s forgotten frontier”, *EA* 11, 1997, p. 24.

297 Temporary No. 30-I-35-1a-e; see L. HABACHI, “Khataana-Qantir importance”, *ASAE* 52, 1952, p. 493-497.

298 E. NAVILLE, “Le roi Teta Merenptah”, *ZÄS* 16, 1878, p. 69; *PM* III², p. 729; J. MALEK, “A meeting of the Old and New. Saqqâra during the New Kingdom”, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honor of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 68; J. CAPART, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, Brussels, 1902, pl. XLV; JE 40693; *PM* III², p. 667; B. GRDSELOFF, “Le roi Iti divinisé”, *ASAE* 39, 1939, p. 394, fig.17; D. WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt I, Posthume Quellen über die Könige der ersten vier Dynastien*, *MÄS* 17, Berlin, 1969, p. 97-99, pl. VIII 2.

299 A. RADWAN, “Thutmosis III. als Gott”, in H. Guksch, D. Poltz (eds.), *Stationen, Festshchrift Stadelmann*, Mainz, 1998, p. 334, No. 5, pl. 4.

Type c) private person raising hands in adoration before the representation of the King sometimes accompanied with a deity as in the case of Kings Menkauhor,³⁰⁰ Amenhotep I,³⁰¹ Sethnakht³⁰² and Ramesses III.³⁰³

Type d) private person burns incense and pours a libation before King as in the case of Kings Senusert I and Amenhotep I.³⁰⁴

Type e) private person kneels before the King as in the case of Senusert III³⁰⁵ and Ahmose I.³⁰⁶

Type f) private person offers to the King accompanied by *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula as in the case of Kings Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary.³⁰⁷

Type g) private person kneels before a text including the *rdit i3wt* “giving adoration” formula while raising hands in adoration as in the case of King Amenhotep I.³⁰⁸

Type h) *ka*-standard bearing the cartouche of the King and a private person raising his hand before a text in adoration as in the case of King Amenhotep III.³⁰⁹

Type i) baboons raise their hands in adoration before cartouches of the King as in the case of King Ramesses IV.³¹⁰

Type j) private person kneels while raising hands in adoration before cartouches of the King as in the case of King Sety II.³¹¹

An important point, which needs to be tackled, is the iconography of the deified Sety I and how the deified Sety I was presented. Throughout the discussed documents dealing with his deification, apart from appearing in human form only, it can be deduced that Sety I does not have a fixed form for his deification instead he appeared frequently wearing different costumes. This result can be reflected through table (4). Additionally, apart from the form of Sety I at Abydos shown in document (34), there is no affordable textual evidence which shows different forms of Sety I as in the case of Amenhotep I and Ramesses II. As any other deified king³¹² in order to take care of the cult of the deified Sety I, he had several priests looking after it as can be shown on document (I).

- 300 M.I. ALY, “New Kingdom scattered blocks from Saqqara”, *MDAIK* 56, 2000, p. 229; J. BERLANDINI-GRENIER, “Varia Memphitica (I)”, *BIFAO* 76, 1976, p. 315, n. 5; F. JONCKHEERE, *Les médecins de l'Égypte pharaonique, essai de prosopographie*, Brussels, 1958, p. 72, No. 78, fig.24; p. 162; see also J. BERLANDINI, “La pyramide ‘ruinée’ de Sakkara-Nord et Menkaouhor”, *BSFE* 83, 1978, p. 25, fig.2; J. BERLANDINI, “La pyramide ‘ruinée’ de Sakkara-Nord et le roi Ikaouhor-Menkaouhor”, *RdE* 31, 1979, p. 19, pl. 2b; PM III², p. 820.
- 301 P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I/2*, CGC 34067-34068, Cairo, 1926, No. 34170; 208-209, pl. LXII; B. BRUYÈRE, *Mert Seger à Deir el-Médineh*, *MIFAO* 58/1, 1929, p. 15-16, fig.11; *id.*, *Mert Seger à Deir el-Médineh*, *MIFAO* 58/2, 1930, p. 157, fig. 85; J.J. CLÈRE, “Monuments inédits des Serviteurs dans la Place de Vérité”, *BIFAO* 28, 1929, p. 183, pl. IV, No. 4.
- 302 JE 20395; A. RADWAN, “Zur bildlichen Gleichsetzung des ägyptischen Königs mit der Gottheit”, *MDAIK* 31, 1975, p. 103, pl.7; R. EL-SAYED, “Stèles de particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux statues royales de la XVIII^e à la XX^e Dynastie”, *BIFAO* 79, 1979, p. 155, pl. XLVI.
- 303 JE 45570. On a sandstone block which was found by C. Fischer at Mit-Rahineh in 1916, see G.A. GABALLAH, “Three documents from the reign of Ramesses III”, *JEA* 59, 1973, p. 109.
- 304 L. BULL, “Two Egyptian stelae of the XVIII Dynasty”, *MMS* 2/1, 1929, p. 78-82.
- 305 PM VII, p. 122.
- 306 I. MURNO, “zum kult des Ahmose in Abydos: ein weiterer beleg aus der Ramessidenzeit”, *GM* 101, 1988, p. 57-59; A.H. GARDINER, “A stele in the Macgregor collection”, *JEA* 4, 1917, p. 189, pl. XXXVII.
- 307 JE 27573; P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I/1*, CGC, No. 34034, p. 67-68, pl. XXIII.
- 308 M. BIERBRIER, *HTBM* 10, London, 1982, p. 27, pl.64; G. ROBINS, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1993, p. 123, fig. 47.
- 309 A. RADWAN, “Amenophis III., dargestellt und angerufen als Osiris (*wnn-nfrw*)”, *MDAIK* 29, 1973, p. 72-75, pl. XXVII b.
- 310 B. BURÈYRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1934-1935)*, *FIFAO* 16/3, p. 359, fig. 209; A. RADWAN, “Der Königsname Epigraphisches zum Göttlichen Königtum im Alten Ägypten”, *SAK* 2, 1975, p. 231, doc.47.
- 311 J. COUYAT, P. MONTET, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Wadi Hammâmât II*, *MIFAO* 34/2, 1913, p. 49, No. 46; *ibid.*, I, *MIFAO* 34/1, 1912, pl. XIV.
- 312 E. TEETER, “A Family of Priests of the Defied Amenhotep I (Chicago OIM 11147)”, in S.H. D’Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: studies in honor of R.A. Fazzini*, *ProbÄg* 28, 2007, p. 235-241; R. ENGELBACH, *A Supplement to The Topographical Catalogue of the Private tombs of Thebes (Nos. 253-334)*, Cairo, 1924, p. 16; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur Les Fouilles de Deir El-Médineh (1929)*, *FIFAO* 7/2,

These investigated documents came mainly from the temples of Sety I at Abydos, *Qurna* in addition to the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. It seems that Sety I had a special status in the temple of Abydos since there are two places associated with his cult. First, the southernmost bark chapel can be accessed through a door in the west wall of the second hypostyle hall and the central of the three northern chapels in the Osiris complex can be entered through a door in the north wall of the first Osiris Hall.³¹³ Additionally, a text in the temple of Abydos states that: “The deities approach you and you are one of them”.³¹⁴ However, in the Book of the Dead, the deceased is mentioned several times as “like one of them (gods)”.³¹⁵ This text may recall the case of Hatshepsut who referred to herself clearly as a god as in her temple at Deir el-Bahari.³¹⁶

p. 12; see also H. GAUTHIER, “La Nécropole de Thèbes et son personnel”, *BIFAO* 13, 1917, p. 165; G. FOUCART, *Tombes Thébaines, Nécropole de Dirâ' Abû'n-Nâga, Le Tombeau d'Amonmos*, pls. 28-32; J. ČERNÝ, “Quelques ostraca hiéroglyphiques inédits de Thèbes au Musée du Caire”, *ASAE* 27, 1927, p. 206; *id.*, *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 185-186; G. DARESSY, “Quelques ostraca de Biban el-Molouk”, *ASAE* 27, 1927, p. 178; For a high priest of Amenhotep I, see J.J. CLÈRE, “Monuments inédites des serviteurs dans La Place de vérité”, *BIFAO* 28, 1929, p. 176. A person called Any who was the owner of the TT 134, which dates back to the 19th Dynasty, was the high priest of “Amenhotep who navigates on the water of Amun”, see N. DE G. DAVIES, “Two pictures of temples”, *JEA* 41, 1955, p. 80. For a person called Panehsy who was a first priest of “Amenhotep I of the court” and who had a tomb No. 16 at *Dra abu El-Naga*, see M. BAUD, É. DRIOTON, *Tombes thébaines, nécropole de Dirâ' Abû'n-Nâga, Le tombeau de Panehsy*, *MIFAO* 57/2, 1932, p. 14ff.

³¹³ P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 39; K. EATON, *The Ritual Function*, p. 303-304.

³¹⁴ A. MARIETTE, *Abydos I*, pl. 51, col. 31; R.A. DAVID, *Abydos*, p. 212; O'CONNOR, *Abydos*, p. 61.

³¹⁵ Chapters 140, 148 of the Book of the dead; T.G. ALLEN, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at The University of Chicago*, *OIP* 82, 1960, p. 224; 245; see also *id.*, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, *SAOC* 37, 1974, p. 117.

³¹⁶ For a text dating to the 9th year of her reign in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, Queen Hatshepsut describes herself as *ink ntr šꜣw ḥpr* “I am a god who organized the existence”, see E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari III*, *EEF* 14, 1898, pl. 86, line 7; On the other hand, some scholars translated *šꜣw ḥpr* as “beginning of the existence”, see also M.A. MURRAY, *The Splendour That was Egypt*, London, 1950, p. 174.

ASPECTS OF THE DEIFICATION OF KING SETY I

Table (4): The iconography of the deified Sety I shown in documents (I3)-(36).

Doc	AC	BC	WC	NH	LMW	TFC	DK	LK	SK	nF	HS	wS	CS	aS	HM	A	T	C	B	CB
I3					X				X		X									
I4		X		X				X		X	X			X			X			
I5				X		X			X			X		X			X			X
I6				X					X					X					X	X
I7				X					X		X			X			X			
I8		X							X		X			X			X			
I9					X				X		X			X			X			
20				X				X			X			X			X			X
21							X							X			X			
22							X			X				X			X			
23					X				X	X	X			X			X			
24						X			X		X				X					
25					X			X		X	X			X			X			
26	X								X					X	X		X			
27			X											X		X		X	X	
28					X				X		X	X		X			X			
29					X				X		X			X			X			
30				X									X		X	X	X	X	X	
31				X					X				X		X	X			X	
32					X					X	X									
33							X				X			X				X		
34						X						X	X	X		X		X	X	
35					X	X	X				X			X			X			
36					X		X							X		X	X	X	X	

Key Table (4):

- Doc: Document
- AC: 3tf-Crown
- BC: Blue Crown
- WC: White Crown
- NH: Nms-Headress
- LMW: Long Military Wig
- TFC: Two Feathered Crown
- DK: Double Kilt
- LK: Long Kilt
- SK: Short Kilt
- nF: nḥḥḳ-Flail
- hS: ḥqḳ-Scepter
- wS: wḳs-Scepter
- CS: Composite Scepter (ḥḥ-ḳḳ-wḳs)
- S: ḥḥ-Sign
- hM: ḥḳ-Mace
- A: Armlets
- C: Collar
- T: Tail
- B: Bracelets
- CB: Ceremonial beard

The question that can be raised at this point is how can the process of the deification of the king in question be interpreted? As a matter of fact, the process of the deification of King Sety I cannot be discussed as an isolated case from the other instances of the deified kings in ancient Egypt. Several kings throughout the course of the ancient Egyptian history were deified during the Old Kingdom,³¹⁷ Middle Kingdom,³¹⁸ the New Kingdom³¹⁹ and the Late Period Kings³²⁰ as well. The case of the king in question is quite different, as he was deified during his lifetime and then his son Ramesses II contributed to his post-mortem deification as well. It seems that Sety I managed to deify himself and declared that process in the temples of Abydos and *Kanais* perhaps after

- 317 For King Seneferu, R. VENTURA, "Snefru in Sinai and Amenophis I at Deir El-Medinah", in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt, The Bible and Christianity*, Jerusalem, 1985, p. 278-288; J. MALEK, "Old Kingdom rulers as "local saints" in the Memphite area during the Middle Kingdom", *Archiv Orientalni Supplementa* 9, 2000, p. 241-258; A. GABER, "Aspects of the deification of some Old Kingdom Kings", in A. Eyma, C. Bennett (eds.), *A Delta-Man in Yebu, EEF OccVol* 1, 2003, p. 12-31. For Neferirkare, see L. BAREŠ, *ZÁS* 112, 1985, p. 87-94. See also J. MALEK, in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)*, Prague, 2006, p. 249. For Unas, see A. MOUSSA, H. ALTENMULLER, *MDAIK* 31, 1975, p. 93-97; ALTENMÜLLER, *SAK* 1, 1974, p. 1-18; J. MALEK, "Archiv Orientalni Supplementa" 9, 2000, p. 250, n. 54; A. MOUSSA, "A stele from Saqqara of a family devoted to the cult of King Unas", *MDAIK* 27, 1971, p. 81-84. For Teti, see J. MALEK, *op. cit.*, p. 249-250; D.P. SILVERMAN, "Middle Kingdom Chapels of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara", in Chr. Eyre (ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists: Abstracts of Papers*, Oxford, 1995, p. 168-169; and D.P. SILVERMAN, "Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery", in *Abusir and Saqqara*, p. 259-282. For the veneration of this king during the New Kingdom, see J. MALEK, "A Meeting of the Old and New. Saqqâra during the New Kingdom", in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 67-68, 71-73. For a brief discussion of Middle Kingdom cults to other kings of the Sixth Dynasty, see C. BERGER, "Le Temple de Pepi I^{er} au Moyen Empire", *Les Dossiers d'Archeologie* 146-147 (March-April 1990), p. 90-93; J. LECLANT, *Orientalia* 47, 1978, p. 280, n. 77. Regarding the findings in the temple of Pepi I and their significance to the Middle Kingdom cult to this king, see P. VERNUS, "Deux inscriptions de la XII^e Dynastie provenant de Saqqara", *RdE* 28, 1976, p. 119-138, where the same phenomenon is presented in relation to a pair of Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions associated with Pepy II. For Nyuserre, see A.J. MORALES, "Traces of official and popular veneration to Nyuserre Iny at Abusir. Late Fifth Dynasty to the Middle Kingdom", in *Abusir and Saqqara*, p. 312-341.
- 318 L. HABACHI, "King Nebkpetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representation", *MDAIK* 19, 1963, p. 16-51; K. EL-ENANY, "Le saint thebaine Montouhotep-Nebhepetrê", *BIFAO* 103, 2003, p. 167-190; *id.*, "La vénération post mortem de Sésostri I^{er}", *Memnonia* 14, 2003, p. 129-137; *id.*, "Le 'dieu' nubien Sésostri III", *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 207-213; S. LUPO DE FERRIOL, "Amenemhat III en el Fayum: algunos aspectos de su deificación", *REE* 5, 1994, p. 71-86.
- 319 For Amenhotep I, see A. VON LIEVEN, "Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis I., I. Amenophis I. auf schildförmigen Mumienamuletten", *RdÉ* 51, 2000, p. 103-121; A. VON LIEVEN, "Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis I., II. Der Amenophis-Kult nach dem Ende des Neuen Reiches", *ZÁS* 128, 2001, p. 41-64; G. HOLLENDER, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumer Kultes anhand der Privatgräber der thebanischen Nekropole*, *SDAIK* 23, 2009. For Thutmose III, see A. RADWAN, in H. Guksch, D. Poltz (eds.), *Stationen, Festschrift Stadelmann*, p. 329-340. For Thutmose IV, see M. HARTWIG, "A vignette concerning the deification of Thutmose IV", in R.H. Dauria (ed.), *Servant of Mut*, p. 120-125. For Amenhotep III, see S. BICKEL, "Aspects et fonctions de la déification d'Amenhotep III", p. 63-90; S. BICKEL, « La divinisation d'Amenhotep III et le dieu Nebmaâtrê de Soleb », conférence donnée lors du colloque international sur le temple de Soleb, à l'Ifao, le 6 avril 1999. (appears in: Soleb VI. Actes du colloque international sur le temple de Soleb); T. VON SCHULLER-GÖTZBURG, "Zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis III. in Ägypten", *GM* 135, 1993, p. 89-95; P. PAMMINGER, "Zur Göttlichkeit Amenophis' III", *BSEG* 17, 1993, p. 83-92; W.R. JOHNSON, "The dazzling sun disk: iconographic evidence that Amenhotep III reigned as the Aten personified", *KMT* 2/2, 1991, p. 60-63, 65-66. A. RADWAN, "Concerning the Cult of Amenhotep III after His Death", in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt, Essays in Honour of D.O. O'Connor*, *CASAE* 36/2, 2007, p. 289-290. For Tutankhamun, see L. BELL, "Aspects of the cult of the deified Tutankhamun", in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, *BdE* 97, 1985, p. 31-59. For Ramesses II, see Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*; P. FUSCALDO, "Aksha (Serra West): a Lintel and Two Fragments of Lintels Offering Additional Evidence of the Deification of Ramesses II", *BES* 11, 1991, p. 23-32; A.D. DE RODRIGO, "Aspectos políticos de la deificación de Ramsés II en Aksha (Nubia)", *REE* 2, 1992, p. 17-22. For the deification of the New Kingdom Kings, E.Y. KORMYSHEVA, "Kulte der ägyptischen Götter des Neuen Reiches in Kusch", in *Wege öffnen, Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, *ÄAT* 35, 1996, p. 133-148. For deification in general, A. RADWAN, "Einige Aspekte der Vergöttlichung des ägyptischen Königs", in *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel, Symposium anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo am 10. und 11. Okt. 1982*, *SDAIK* 18, 1985, p. 53-69.
- 320 H. DE MEULENAERE, "Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo", *CdE* 35, 1960, p. 95, No. 8; J. YOYOTTE, "Nectanébo II comme faucon divin?", *Kémi* 15, 1959, p. 70; H. GAUTHIER, *LdR* 4, p. 191; CARTER, "Report on general work done in the southern inspectorate", *ASAE* 4, 1903, p. 50; G. LEGRAIN, "Notes d'Inspection", *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 186.

an agreement with the priests. Accordingly, his deification would help him to maintain control over the country not as a king alone but as a god which gives him total supremacy. Even his son had exploited this process in his own deification to be a son of a god and god afterwards. L. Habachi pointed out that Ramesses II attempted to establish the deification and the cult of his father.³²¹ T. Ling and following him P. Brand were close to the mark when they pointed out that Ramesses II³²² managed to exploit the deification of his father and to deify his grandfather for his own benefit. This theory can also be ascertained by the fact that the pictorial evidence, showing the deification of Ramesses I, was mostly all the work of Ramesses II.³²³ However, the cult of the king in question or any other king's cult in Pharaonic Egypt cannot be compared with the cult of Ramesses II which was a nationwide cult while the former can be defined as small scale cult and did not gain much popularity among the workers of *Deir el-Medina* as in the case of Amenhotep I. Additionally, apart from the festival that was celebrated for his accession to the throne which was still celebrated after his death, there are no festivals correlated with his cult that were ever attested so far as in the case of Amenhotep I³²⁴ and Ahmose-Nefertary.³²⁵ Even after his death his cult did not succeed to flourish as in other cases such as some of the Kings of the Old Kingdom. In the case of the king in question another king managed to exploit the deification of his father and use it in his favour which denotes a king's interference. This is in contrast to G. Jéquier's theory who suggested that the funerary cults that were still going on in later times; were due to the priests who found an economic advantage from exploiting the piety of the private people seeking to obtain for their own dead a share in the offerings or the intercession of the deified king.³²⁶ This explanation conveys the notion that the priests were responsible for the deification of the dead kings who had nothing to do with their deification. This interpretation may coincide with the cases of some of the kings of the Old Kingdom who were deified hundreds of years after their death especially during the New Kingdom³²⁷ but not with the case of the king in question as his deification process is considered mainly a state or official cult and his cult cannot be defined as a popular cult. In contrast, it seems that the deification of individuals in Pharaonic Egypt has no authority controlling the process.³²⁸

Another question is why were some kings eager to deify themselves during their life time? The answer is probably to search for supreme power as a real god so that his authority cannot be defied and surpasses a king with divine powers. Surely the case of Sety I is the best example for such a case as he was from a poor background and he wanted to strengthen his power all over Egypt. The fact remains that the deification of King Sety I

321 L. HABACHI, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, p. 49-50.

322 T. LING, "Ramesside Filial Piety", *BACE* 3, 1992, p. 59-66; P. BRAND, "Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesside Kings (13th Century BC): A Historical Approach", in *Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens: Akten zum 2*, Symposium des SFB 295, Mainz, 15.10.-17.10.2001, Würzburg, 2005, p. 27.

323 PM II, p. 417 (99-102), 418 (106). King Sety I built a chapel for Ramesses I at Abydos according to the texts inscribed on the chapel, see E. WINLOCK, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, *MMA Papers* 5, 1937, pl. II.

324 For the festivals of the deified Amenhotep I, see A. BLACKMAN, *JEA* 12, 1926, p. 180, n. 2; J. ČERNÝ, *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 182; A. SADEK, "Glimpses of popular religion in the New Kingdom Egypt I. Mourning for Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina", *GM* 36, 1979, p. 52; D. VALBELLE, *Les ouvriers de la Tombe: Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside*, *BdE* 96, 1985, p. 332, 334; A. SADEK, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, *HÄB* 27, p. 171-172.

325 A. ERMAN, "Monatsnamen aus dem Neun Reich", *ZÄS* 39, 1901, p. 129. For the festival called "festival of the navigation" of the deified Ahmose-Nefertary which were celebrated by the inhabitants of the village of *Deir el-Medineh* on the 14th and the 15th of the second month of the *Shemu*. Besides they considered these days as holidays, see C. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *La femme au temps de Pharaons*, Paris, 1986, p. 105; D. VALBELLE, *Les ouvriers de la Tombe*, p. 335; M. GITTON, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary*, p. 79; M. GITTON, *LÄ* I, col. 105.

326 G. JÉQUIER, *Le Mastabat Faraoun, Fouilles à Saqqarah*, Cairo, 1928, p. 32.

327 A. GABER, in A. Eyma, C. Bennett (eds.), *A Delta-Man in Yebu*, p. 12-31.

328 A. VON LIEVEN, "Deified Humans", in J. Dieleman, W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2010, p. 3: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.doark21198/zz0025k5hz>.

was not a new scheme but it was just a stage in the deification process which appeared frequently during the Dynastic period and developed by time and mainly it was for political reasons. Several kings tried to legitimize their accession to the throne and the deification was a kind of religious/political propaganda invented to help Ramesses II to maintain his powers over the country. Thus, it would appear that this was not just a way to legitimize his accession to the throne but also to have a non defying power during his reign not as a king but as a god.

To sum up, the deification of Sety I cannot be interpreted apart from the deification of his son Ramesses II who was the mastermind behind the deification of his father after his death and contributed to the deification of his grandfather as well. Sety I's pre-mortem deification cannot be questioned in the light of the documents discussed above. Ramesses II exploited the deification of his father after his death and managed to deify himself as well. This also alludes to the theory of the deification of Ramesses II which was preplanned early in his reign and that it was not planned late in his reign in the great temple of Abu Simbel.³²⁹

329 M. ULLMAN, "Ramesses II as deity at Abu Simbel", in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists University of the Aegean Rhodes, 22-29 May 2008, Abstracts of Papers*, Rhodes, 2008, p. 261-263; *id.*, "Der göttliche Ramses II. im Großen Tempel von Abu Simbel", in E. Bechtold, A. Gulyás, A. Hasznos (eds.), *From Illahun to Djeme. Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, BAR 2311, 2011, p. 301-316.

ENGLISH SUMMARIES

MICHEL AZIM, AGNÈS CABROL †, AUDE DOBRAKOWSKI, LUC GABOLDE

“Les mystères d’un sphinx”, p. I-II.

Publication of two photographs (calotypes) of Fr. de Campigneulles taken in the central part of Karnak, and purchased by the Musée d’Histoire Naturelle of Lille (France). One of them shows a mysterious sphinx, now lost. Study of the latter leads to the hypothesis that it may be a representation of Amun.

MANSOUR BORAİK

“The Sphinx Avenue Excavations. Second Report”, p. 13-32.

The excavations along the ancient road were divided into several sectors including the ramps before the gate of Euergetes; these excavations have brought to light significant information concerning the history of east Luxor. This sacred road, built by Nectanebo I, was probably used for the procession from Karnak to Luxor temple during the Opet festival, and was in use until the end of the Roman period. During the Ptolemaic period, many restorations and constructions in both Karnak and Luxor were achieved via the use of this sacred road. Such continuation of work opened up opportunities for economic and cultural development in the city for years to come.

MANSOUR BORAİK

“A Roman Bath at Karnak Temples. A Preliminary Report”, p. 33-46.

Recent excavation in front of Karnak temple sheds light on Roman life in Luxor through the discovery of a large bath complex. The excavated remains of this *thermae* cover some 300 m² and include many archaeological features, such as the well-preserved bathing pools. Most of the walls of the superstructure now stand less than a metre high, but some of the fired brick walls of the substructure are 3 metres tall. The *thermae* were remoulded and redecorated over what appears to be a long period of use, adding to the challenge inherent in understanding the history of the complex. The rooms of the *thermae* are laid out axial sequence. Much of the complex, including its foundation, was built of fired brick. Key features of the Karnak *thermae*, moving east to west,

include well-built drains, leading to *loutra* (water plunge pools), an extensive *hipocaustum*, and a *praefurnium*. The presence of two distinct *caldaria* suggests that the Karnak *thermae* had discreet sections for female and male bathers. This hypothesis is supported by the large number of glass bracelets and other feminine jewelry discovered in the drains on the southern side of the complex. Further excavations will reveal the full plan of the *thermae* and test this hypothesis.

MANSOUR BORAİK, SALAH EL-MASEKH, ANNE-MARIE GUIMIER-SORBETS, BÉRANGÈRE REDON

“Ptolemaic Baths in front of Karnak Temples. Recent Discoveries (Season 2009-2010)”, p. 47-77.

The article presents new results from the excavations of the Karnak baths during the 2009-2010 seasons. The building was uncovered in 2006 by the SCA during rescue excavations, and a preliminary report was published in 2009. Since then, excavations have continued and led to the discovery of the baths’ heating system. In the first part of the article, this structure is described and interpreted in light of recently uncovered comparanda in Egypt, particularly at Taposiris Magna. We show the ingeniousness of the heating devices in such Graeco-Egyptian baths by presenting one of the most ancient and well-preserved systems found in Egypt.

In the second part, the study focuses on the decoration of the baths, in particular on the mosaic floors and wall paintings. After a careful description of the whole decorative programme, which is identified with the “structural style”, we examine the technical aspects of their construction. Finally, we show that their luxury evokes Greek and Macedonian examples, such as the palace of Philip II of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great.

MANSOUR BORAİK, MOHAMED NAGUIB

“Ceramic Material from the Ptolemaic Baths Excavations in front of Karnak Temples”, p. 79-191.

In 2007 the Ministry of State for Antiquities started excavations to the north-west of the first pylon of Karnak temple, within the framework of the refurbishment programme of the sector located between the temple of Karnak and the Nile. The material presented here represents five different historical periods: Late period, Ptolemaic period, Roman period, and Islamic and Ottoman periods. The ceramic material is composed of different fabrics (clays), local and imported, and it was used for diverse purposes: storage, transportation, cooking, tableware, lighting etc. Study of this pottery corpus makes a vital contribution toward dating the site and also helps to model daily life in an area that was very active during the Graeco-Roman period.

PETER BRAND, JEAN REVEZ, JANUSZ KARKOWSKI, EMMANUEL LAROZE, CÉDRIC GOBEIL

“Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, Report on the 2011 Field Season for the University of Memphis & the Université du Québec à Montréal”, p. 193-229.

During a six week field season in May and June of 2011, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project began to record inscriptions on the columns and abacus blocks of the building. This consisted of detailed collation of earlier records of the abacus blocks made by Ricardo Caminos in the 1950s and systematic photography of all the abaci facets *in situ* and of those now lying in the block yards. Many of the abaci have palimpsest inscriptions of erased Sety I or early Ramesses II inscriptions replaced by later Ramesses II reliefs. Orthogonal images of a representative sample of abaci facets were made in the block yards and from our scaffolding. Theodolite measurements of abaci facets and wall reliefs were also taken and a successful experiment was made to make a conventional photograph into an orthogonal one using the software program *Redresseur*. Collation of early

sketches of the column scenes by Harold Nelson yielded a wealth of new epigraphic data, including palimpsest inscriptions on some of the columns. Study of the abaci and column scenes also gave us new insights into the orientation of decoration, chronology of the relief decoration and post-pharaonic iconoclasm. Work also continued to produce “unrolled” and orthogonal images of the columns based on photogrammetric data obtained in 2007 and 2008. We also continued our earlier work to record inscribed blocks that have fallen from the upper levels of the walls that now lie in the northern and southern block yards.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS CARLOTTI, PHILIPPE MARTINEZ

“Nouvelles observations architecturales et épigraphiques sur la grande salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, p. 231-277.

This study attempts to bring a new perspective to the history of the great hypostyle hall in Karnak. Different clues, architectural as well as epigraphic, either new or previously unconsidered, show that the monument as we know it is the result of modifications and alterations spanning many decades and different reigns, beginning with a primary project launched by Amenhotep III. If a projected high colonnade, similar to the one built at Luxor Temple, was never finished, the space thus delineated seems then to have been occupied by a peristyle court surrounded by pillars of *talatats* mainly bearing the name of queen Nefertiti. Tutankhamun, (perhaps Aj) and Horemhab then dismantled this structure and reused its foundations to support a new peristyle adorned with columns. It is only during the reigns of the first Ramessid kings that it was transformed again into a fully covered hypostyle hall; this should be understood as a truly Ramessid invention. Although this presents a coherent account of architectural development, a number of important historical questions remain open, especially when the numerous traces of erasure and deliberate damage are taken into account; these situate parts of the structure in the whirlwind of Amarna desecrations. Although this article offers a workable hypothesis that tries to integrate all the available evidence, a central aim is to reopen debate concerning the history of the monument to which other scholars will contribute.

SILVANA CINCOTTI

“Les fouilles dans le Musée”: la collection égyptienne de Turin et le Fonds Rifaud”, p. 279-285.

This article treats statues held in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Turin that were discovered in Egypt by Jean Jacques Rifaud on behalf of the French consul Bernardino Drovetti. Research undertaken in Geneva on the unpublished manuscripts of Rifaud, as part of a PhD on the statues in the Turin museum, has permitted, as a first step, important information regarding the location of the standing statues of the goddess Sekhmet to be brought to light; in his report on the excavation, Rifaud says that he found the standing statues in the temple of Ptah, located north of the sacred precinct of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak.

ROMAIN DAVID

“La céramique d’un habitat du v^e siècle à Karnak”, p. 287-297.

This article focuses on ceramics coming out of a securely dated Vth century layer from a small dwelling within the enclosure of the Ptah Temple at Karnak. An indicative typology provides information on the main production activities in such contexts.

CATHERINE DEFERNEZ

“Remarques à propos de quelques vases Bès découverts à Karnak”, p. 297-331.

This paper puts forward a few examples of well-preserved Bes-pots that were recently uncovered at Karnak in the upper levels of the debris of the Treasury of Shabaka. Dated to the Ptolemaic period (possibly to its first half), these pieces offer new evidence for this specific class of pottery. Otherwise rarely attested, these Bes vessels, which were manufactured in Nile clay, are not clearly recognizable because of their schematic decoration. This consists of, for example, the marking of eyes by fingerprints and, in some cases, a nose seems to be created by a slight pinching of the outer wall.

Most of the occurrences of this vessel-type identified at Karnak are presented here; these were found in several areas of the Amun-Re temple, as well as North and South Karnak. Some similar vessels were also recently recorded in the Mut Temple. Some closed shapes found at other sites in the Theban area are also included, as well as those discovered in several areas outside Thebes, particularly in the Delta; for example, reports which mention such vessels from several sites in the eastern part of the country are assessed.

Despite the small number of pieces, these Bes-pots are significant, and their analysis shows a major development in this class of pottery. They also provide new data for the classification established in a previous study, which was based on findings from the Persian site of Tell el-Herr.

DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE, GHISLAINE WIDMER

“Un *hiereus* en écriture démotique à Karnak”, p. 333-336.

Publication of a fragmentary sandstone block discovered in 2010 in the excavated material lying over the Ptolemaic baths in front of Karnak temple. The inscription, which could be a dedication, includes mention of the Greek title *hiereus* transcribed into Demotic for which very few examples are otherwise attested, thus providing new evidence for the cultural mixing in this area at the beginning of the Roman Period.

AMR GABER

“Aspects of the Deification of King Sety I”, p. 337-382.

This article investigates a corpus of documents which reflect the different strategies deployed in the deification of Sety I in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Analysis of these different documents, both epigraphic and iconographic, elucidates features of his deification, not only during his lifetime but also his posthumous deification by his son Ramesses II. These documents mainly come from the temples of Seti I at Abydos and Qurna, and the great hypostyle hall at Karnak. A comparative analysis of these documents with those of other deified kings is presented. A group of documents which present the veneration of Sety I are also discussed.

LUC GABOLDE

“Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation”, p. 383-399.

It has been recently and often proposed that the enveloping masonry which surrounds the obelisks of Hatshepsut in the *Wadjyt* hall, hiding their lower parts, should be dated to her reign, having been erected for religious or architectural reasons. However, close reexamination of these arguments shows that they do not have a convincing basis. The previous attribution of this enveloping masonry to the reign of Thutmose III remains the most likely thesis; it is also the most convincing in respect to the texts dealing with the building activity in this area, and should be definitely preferred.

JÉRÉMY HOURDIN

“À propos de la chapelle d’Osiris-Padedankh de Chapenoupet II. Un apport à sa reconstitution épigraphique et architecturale”, p. 401-423.

Publication of new archaeological material found recently on the avenue of Sphinxes, between the temples of Karnak and Luxor. Some of the newly discovered blocks come from an already known Osirian chapel – the chapel of Osiris-Padedânkh (firstly published in *Karnak-Nord IV* in the 1950s) – and are elements of its doors and walls. Reconstructions of these features are presented, enhancing knowledge of the chapel. This monument was constructed under the pontificate of the god’s wife Shepenwepet II during Tanutamón’s obscure rule. Some other unidentified blocks are also published here to enable analysis and identification.

CHARLIE LABARTA

“Une stèle de Ramsès II au magasin Cheikh Labib à Karnak”, p. 425-436.

This article publishes a fragmentary pink granite stele of Ramesses II, which had been carved on the rear surface of an offering table of Mentuhotep II. It was found between the IIIrd and IVth pylon at Karnak and is currently held in the Sheikh Labib magazine. The inscription begins with mention of year 37 of Ramesses II, the date of his third jubilee; although a large part of the text is missing, the lower half preserves a speech of Amun, which contributes to the study of the royal eulogy during the XIXth dynasty.

NADIA LICITRA

“La réfection de l’enceinte du temple d’Amon sous le règne de Ramsès III : une nouvelle stèle découverte à Karnak”, p. 437-445.

In April 2012, a new stela of Ramesses III was discovered on the site of the Treasury of Shabaka. Its text commemorates the reconstruction of the enclosure wall of the temple of Amun during his reign, giving new information about the location of the northern section of the wall at the beginning of the XXth dynasty.

DAVID LORAND

“Une ‘Chapelle des Ancêtres’ à Karnak sous Sésostri I^{er}?”, p. 447-466.

Senwosret I undertook, during his 45-year reign, a nearly systematic re-building of the main divine temples of ancient Egypt. The cult place of Amun-Re in Karnak was not neglected. Among the various remains of the limestone temple and chapels, several statues dedicated by Senwosret I were excavated at the beginning of the 20th century. Three of them represent royal ancestors from the Old Kingdom and the Late First Intermediate Period. The statue Cairo CG 42004 of king Sahura and the statue of Prince Antef-Aa Cairo CG 42005 were found in Karnak, while a third one, representing king Niuserra, whose provenience is unknown (British Museum EA 870), probably also comes from the temple of Amun-Re. The dedication of former kings’ statues is part of a vivid royal interest in the past at the beginning of the 12th Dynasty in order to define the political ideology of the ruler. The three statues must have been kept in one or several room(s) of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun-Re, probably in a structure anticipating the “Chapel of Ancestors” erected in the Akh-menu by Thutmose III.

CHRISTOPHE THIERS

“*Membra disiecta ptolemaica (II)*”, p. 467-491.

Publication of loose blocks belonging to monuments built at Karnak during the reigns of Ptolemy IV Philopator, Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes.

CHRISTOPHE THIERS, PIERRE ZIGNANI

“Le domaine du temple de Ptah à Karnak. Premières données de terrain”, p. 493-513.

During 2010-2012, excavations were conducted at the Temple of Ptah at Karnak. The work mainly focused in the southwestern part of the precinct, and inside the chapels and courtyard of the sanctuary. This preliminary report presents the traces of different developments in the environment of the temple during its long use, up to its secondary occupation after the end of the Pharaonic worship.

These preliminary investigations concern:

- the remains prior to construction of the sanctuary of Tuthmosis III (a gate of Senakhtenre Ahmose and massive mud-brick walls beneath the substructure of the temple);
- limestone bearing slabs which were reused as the floor of the chapels and the courtyard;
- limestone blocks of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut which were reused in the foundation of the temple;
- Ptolemaic and Kushite gates associated with mud-brick enclosure walls on the main axis and on another southernmost axis;
- the late Roman and secular occupation of the area.

Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani

معبد بتاح بالكرنك - المعطيات الأولية عن الموقع

بدأت أعمال الحفائر موسم ٢٠١٠ - ٢٠١٢ بمعبد بتاح بالكرنك وتم تركيز العمل بالمنطقة جنوب غرب الموقع ، وداخل المقاصير وكذلك فناء قدس الأقداس ، وهذا التقرير المبدئي يقدم بقايا تطورات مختلفة بالبيئة المحيطة بالمعبد خلال فترة استخدامه الطويلة وحتى فترة استغلاله الثانية بعد نهاية العبادة الفرعونية، والفحوص الأولى والدراسات الأولى كانت للبنية الأولية لمقصورة تحوتمس الثالث (بوابة سنخت ان رع أحمس وأسوار ضخمة من الطوب اللبن أسفل المباني السفلية للمعبد) البلوكات الحاملة من الحجر الجيري والتي تم إعادة استخدامها في أرضية المقاصير والفناء - بلوكات الحجر الجيري لتحوتمس الثالث وحتشبسوت والتي أعيد استخدامها في أساس المعبد بوابات العصرين الكوشي والبطلمي والمرتبطة بأسوار الحائط المحيط بالمعبد على المحور الأساسي والمحور الآخر الجنوبي - فترة الاستيطان بالمعبد على المحور الأساسي والمحور الآخر الجنوبي - فترة الاستيطان في العصر الروماني لهذه المنطقة.

Charlie Labarta

لوحة للملك رمسيس الثاني بمخزن الشيخ لبيب بالكرنك

ينشر المقال جزء من حجر الجرانيت للوحة من عصر رمسيس الثاني والتي تم نقشها فوق سطح مائدة قرابين من عصر أمنحوتب الثاني ، وقد عثر عليها بين الصرحين الثالث والرابع بالكرنك ومحفوظة حالياً بمخازن الشيخ لبيب. وتبدأ النقوش بالعام ٣٧ من حكم رمسيس الثاني - تاريخ عيد اليوبيلي الثالث على الرغم من أن جزء كبير من النص مفقود - أما النصف الأسفل فيحمل كلام لآمون والتي تساهم في دراسة الشعائر الملكية خلال عصر الأسرة.

Nadia Licitra

إصلاح سور معبد آمون في عهد الملك رمسيس الثالث: لوحة جديدة مكتشفة بالكرنك

تم الكشف في أبريل عام ٢٠١٢ عن لوحة من عصر رمسيس الثالث بموقع كنز شباكا، والنص باللوحة يؤرخ لإعادة بناء السور المحيط بمعبد آمون رع خلال عصره ويعطي معلومات جديدة عن موقع القطاع الشمالي لهذا السور في بداية الأسرة.

David Lorand

مقصورة الأجداد بالكرنك من عهد سنوسرت الأول

لقد بدأ سنوسرت الأول خلال حكمة والذي إستمر لأكثر من سنه في إعادة بناء منظم لمعابد مصر القديمة ولم ينسى بالطبع المكان المقدس لآمون رع بالكرنك ومن بينه العديد من البقايا الحجرية المشيد من الحجر الجيري مثل المعابد والمقاصير غير ذلك العديد من التماثيل والتي قدمها سنوسرت الأول والتي تم إكتشافها في بدايه القرن العشرين. وثلاثة من هذه التماثيل تمثل أجداده ملوك الدولة القديمة ومن أواخر عصر الانتقال الأول. فقد تم إكتشاف تماثيل الملك ساحورع والمحفوظ بالبحر المصري CG42004 وتماثيل الأمير أنتف عا« CG42005 بمعبد الكرنك بينما الثالث والذي يمثل الملك نوسرع والذي لم يُعرف مصدره والمعروضة بالمتحف البريطاني أيضا إنه EA870 ربما أيضا إنه جاء من معبد آمون رع بالكرنك والواقع أن تقديس تماثيل الملوك السابقين كان جزء من إهتمام بالماضي في بدايه الأسرة الثانية عشرة حتى يعطى طبيعة دينية على الحاكم السياسي وربما أن التماثيل الثلاثة كانوا محفوظين في واحدة من حجرات معبد الدولة الوسطى لآمون رع - أو ربما في المتحف المعروف بمقصورة الأجداد والتي شيدت في معبد الأخ منو بواسطة تحتمس الثالث.

Christophe Thiers

Membra disiecta ptolemaica II

هذه المقالة تنشر للبلوكات الواقعة والتي كانت جزء من آثار شيدت بالكرنك خلال عصور بطليموس الرابع (فليوباتير) وبتليموس السادس (فيلوميتير) وبتليموس الثامن (يوريجيتس)

Didier Devauchelle, Ghislaine Widmer

hiereus بالكتابة الديموطيقية بالكرنك

تشير المقالة إلى قطعة من الحجر الرملي تم الكشف عنها في حفائر الحمام البطلمي أمام الكرنك عام ٢٠١٠م- والقطعة عليها نقش والذي ربما يكون جزء من مقدمة تحمل لقب إغريقي مترجم إلى الديموطيقية والتي ليس لدينا منها الكثير من الأمثلة الآن وهي تمدنا بدليل جديد من المزج الثقافي لهذه المنطقة في بدايه العصر الروماني .

Amr Gaber

مظاهر تأليه الملك سיתי الأول

المقال يفحص أصل الوثائق التي تعكس الطرق المختلفة التي تم توظيفها لتقديس سיתי الأول من ملوك الدولة الحديثة الأسرة التاسعة عشرة. وتحليل تلك الوثائق المختلفة سواء مرسومة أو مصورة سوف توضح أن تقديس لم يكن في حياته ولكنه بعد مماته وبواسطة إبنه رمسيس الثاني وقد جاءت هذه الوثائق أساسا من معبده في أبيدوس والقرنة وصاله الأساطير بمعبد الكرنك - بالإضافة إلى ذلك فهناك تعليق عام يناقش هذه الوثائق وتعكس تقديس سיתי الأول.

Luc Gabolde

ملاحظات على كساء مسلات صالة واجيت وتأريخه

لقد اتضح حديثاً أن الأحجار المحيطة بمسلات حتشبسوت في صالة «الواجيت» وتخفي أجزاءها السفلية ترجع لنفس عصر هذه الملكة وأنه تم إقامتها لغرض معماري وديني ولكن بإعادة دراستها يتضح أن هذه الجدران ليس لها أساس وان الرأي السابق بأن هذه الأحجار المحيطة بقواعد المسلات من عصر تحوتمس الثالث هو الأقرب للصواب خاصة أنها تتطابق مع نصوص الإنشاء الخاصة بنفس عصر هذا الملك.

Jérémy Hourdin

مقصورة أوزير- با جد عنخ لشبنوبت الثانية ، إضافة لإعادة بناء النقوش والعمارة

هذا المقال يناقش بعض من الدلائل الأثرية تم إكتشافها بحفائر طريق أبو الهول بين معابد الكرنك والأقصر حيث جاءت بعض هذه القطع المنقوشة من مقصورة لأوزورس معروفه وهى مقصورة «أوزوريس بادي عنخ» والتي تم نشرها عام ١٩٥٠م بعض هذه البلوكات كانت أجزاء من أبواب لهذا الأثر وقد تم إعادة تركيب لهذه القطع بالمقالة تكمل معلوماتنا عن هذه المقصورة وقد تم إنشاء هذا الأثر خلال عصر الزوجه الإلهة «شبن إم أوبت» خلال عصر «تانت أمون» وأخيرا فهناك بعض البولكات تم نشرها لمزيد من المعرفة.

Silvana Cincotti

«الحفائر في المتحف»: المجموعة المصرية بتورين ووثائق Rifaud

تعنى هذه المقالة بتماثيل موجودة بمتحف الآثار المصرية بتورين والتي كانت قد اكتشفت بمصر بواسطة Jean Jacques Rifaud لصالح القنصل الفرنسي Bernardino Drovetti الأبحاث التي أجريت بجنيف على المخطوطات الغير منشورة ل Rifaud كجزء من رسالة دكتوراه على تماثيل متحف تورين، قد أوضحت معلومات هامة بخصوص موقع التماثيل الواقعة لسخمت. فيقول Rifaud في تقريره عن الحفائر أنه عثر لثماثيل الواقعة في معبد بتاح الواقع شمال معبد آمون رع بالكرنك.

Romain David

فخار استيطان من القرن الخامس بالكرنك

هذه المقالة تشير الى الفخار الذي يرجع للقرن الخامس الميلادي في الطبقة التي تعود لهذا العصر من منطقة سكنانية داخل معبد بتاح بالكرنك. والتصنيف الأولى يضيف معلومات عن وجود نشاط صناعي في هذه الطبقة بالموقع.

Catherine Defernez

ملاحظات بخصوص بعض أواني بس المكتشفة بالكرنك

تهدف المقالة إلى دراسة مجموعة من الأواني المحفوظة جيداً من أواني الإله بس والتي تم الكشف عنها في المستويات العليا بالرديم أعلى حجرة كنوز شباكا، وهي ترجع للعصر البطلمي (ربما النصف الأول)، وهذه القطع تقدم دليل جديد لهذا المستوى من الفخار، ومن ناحية أخرى لم يعثر على الكثير منها، أواني بس هذه والتي صنعت من طين النيل من الصعب التعرف عليها بسبب أسلوب زخرفتها المبهم والتي تتكون كمثال من تحديد العيون بواسطة طبع الأصبع وفي بعض الأحيان الأنف كان ينفذ بواسطة خط من الحافة الخارجية، ومعظم ظهور هذا النوع من الأواني كان بالكرنك وبأماكن عديدة بمعبد آمون رع، وكذلك شمال وجنوب الكرنك، وقد عثر على بعض نماذج لهذه الأواني في معبد موت.

بعض الأشكال المغلقة عثر عليها في مواقع مختلفة في منطقة طيبة تشمل أيضاً نماذج مشابهة في أماكن أخرى خارج طيبة خاصة في الدلتا خاصة وإن هناك بعض التقارير تؤكد العثور على مثل هذه الأواني شرق البلاد، وعلى الرغم من العدد القليل من القطع فإن أواني «بس» تعتبر فريدة ودراستها توضح تطور ضخم في هذا المستوى من الفخار، وتضيف معلومات جديدة في طريقة التصنيف السابقة والتي اعتمدت على بعض الأواني من العصر الفارسي في تل الحيرة.

Mansour Boraik, Mohamed Naguib

الأواني الفخارية من حفائر الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك

بدأت وزارة الدولة لشئون الآثار الحفائر في عام ٢٠٠٧ م إلى الشمال الغربي من الصرح الأول لمعبد الكرنك في إطار مشروع تطوير المنطقة الواقعة بين معبد الكرنك ونهر النيل ، والمقالة تقدم هنا فخار من خمسة عصور تاريخية: العصر المتأخر والعصر اليوناني والعصر الروماني والعصور الإسلامية والعثمانية، وقد صنعت الأواني الفخارية من مواد «طينية» محلية ومستوردة، وقد استخدم الفخار لأغراض مختلفة مثل التخزين والنقل وأواني طبخ المائدة والإنارة وغيرها. إن دراسة الفخار هامة جداً في المساعدة في تاريخ الموقع وتساعد في دراسة الحياة اليومية في المنطقة والتي كانت نشطة خلال العصر اليوناني الروماني.

Peter Brand, Jean Revez, Janusz Karkowski, Emmanuel Laroze, Cédric Gobeil

مشروع صالة الأعمدة بالكرنك - تقرير عن موسم ٢٠١١ بجامعة Memphis وجامعة Quebec مونتريال

بدء مشروع دراسة صالة الأعمدة لموسم ٢٠١٠ والذي إستمر لمدة ستة أسابيع في تسجيل النقوش على الأعمدة والدعامات التي تعلوها والتي كان قد قام بها ريكاردو كامينوس في ١٩٥٠ م وكذلك التصوير العلمي لكل الدعامات الخاصة بالأعمدة سواء الموجود مكانها أو التي في فناء الأحجار المنقوشة ومعظم دعامات الأعمدة عليها أثار نقوش ترجع لعصر ستي الأول وبداية عصر رمسيس الثاني تم محوها وإعادة نقشها في عصر رمسيس الثاني. وقد تم إلتقاط بعض الصور العمودية للدعامات وكذلك النقوش على الأعمدة مع أخذ قياسات التيوبوليت للدعامات وكذلك نقوش الأعمدة وقد أمدت المشروع بمعلومات قيمة عن نقل النقوش بإفريقيا الغير واضحة على الأعمدة بمقارنتها بالرسومات والصور التي قام بها «هارولد نيلسون» وأعطت فكرة جديدة عن إتجاه الزخرفة وتاريخ نقشها وإستمرت الأعمال أيضا لتعطي أشكال عمودية لنقوش الأعمدة إعتيادا على الدراسة الفوتوجراميتية التي تم إلتقاطها مواسم ٢٠٠٧/٢٠٠٨ كما إستمرت دراسة الأحجار المنقوشة والتي سقطت من المستويات العليا للجدران والموجودة حاليا شمال وجنوب صاله الأعمدة .

Jean-François Carloti, Philippe Martinez

ملاحظات جديدة على العمارة والنقوش بصالة الأعمدة الكبرى بمعبد آمون رع بالكرنك

تهدف الدراسة إلى إعادة إلقاء الضوء على تاريخ صالة الأعمدة الكبرى بالكرنك، حيث توجد العديد من القرائن سواء معمارية أو رسومات حديثة أو غير مدروسة تبين أن هذا الأثر هو في الحقيقة نتاج العديد من التعديلات والتغييرات والتي حدثت على مر عقود طويلة وعصور مختلفة، وبدأ المشروع الأول لأنحوتب الثالث حيث صاله صف الأعمدة المرتفعة مثل تلك الموجودة في معبد الأقصر - وتم تخطيط المعبد مرة أخرى والذي على ما يبدو تم بتشييد فناء له رواق أعمدة محاط بأعمدة من أحجار الثلاثات والتي تحمل بصفة أساسية أسم الملكة نفرتيتمى تم جاء عصر توت عنخ آمون رع وحورمحب والذين أزالوا هذا المبنى واستخدموا أحجاره في الأساسات التي تدعم رواق الأعمدة ثم جاء بداية عصر الرعامسة حيث تغيرت تماما وأصبحت مليئة بالاساطير والتي تبين أنها تكمل أسلوب عصر الرعامسة المعمارى وهكذا فقد شهد هذا التطور المعمارى لهذا الأثر العديد من المراحل على مر العصور وتظل كثير من الأسئلة خادعة تاريخيا حيث أن العديد من بقايا أثار تهشم النقوش لابد من دراستها حيث تم تطهير المبنى من عاصفه تدنيس عصر العمارنه وستصبح نظرية كهذه المجال أمام العلماء لكثير من الجدل للتحقيق منه.

Mansour Boraik

الحمام الروماني أمام معابد الكرنك تقرير مبدئي

تم إضافة نجع الحساسنة إلى مشروع تطوير ساحة الكرنك بعد تعويض الأهالي عن الأرض التي كانوا يقيمون عليها وبإجراء الحفائر في هذه المنطقة تم الكشف عن حمام روماني كبير يشغل مساحة أكثر من ثلاثمائة متر مربع والحمام الروماني المكتشف مازال يحتفظ بجميع عناصره المعمارية كاملة وهو مشيد من الطوب الأحمر ويتميز بتخطيطه المعقد والذي يعكس الفترة الطويلة التي أستخدم فيها الحمام

ويتمد محور الحمام شرق غرباً ويتميز بمدخله الذي يؤدي إلى صالة ذات أعمدة وتنقسم إلى عدة أقسام على جانبيها حجرات إنتظار والحمام به أحواض للإستحمام بالمياه الباردة وأخرى بالمياه الساخنة إلى جانب قسم للحمام البخار كما عثر على حجرات للتسخين لها تصميمها المميز إلى جانب نظام صرف صحي شيد بأسلوب هندسي فريد وقد تم الكشف عن العديد من القطع الأثرية منها أساور زجاجية وخواتم وأقراط نسائية توضح أن الحمام كان يستخدم للرجال والنساء كما عثر على العديد من الأواني الفخارية المختلفة الأشكال والاحجام والتي توضح طول الفترة الزمنية التي أستخدم فيها هذا الحمام

والمقالة هي تقرير مبدئي عما تم الكشف عنه حيث أن الحفائر مازالت مستمرة والتي ستوضح التخطيط المعماري الكامل لهذا الحمام الفريد والذي يعكس الحياة الإجتماعية خلال العصر الروماني في المنطقة الغربية لمعابد الكرنك والتي كانت تشكل أهم مركز ديني سواء للمصريين أو الرومان في ذلك العصر

Mansour Boraik, Salah el-Masekh, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, Bérange Redon

الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك - الاكتشافات الحديثة موسم (٢٠٠٩ - ٢٠١٠)

يهدف المقال إلى تقديم النتائج الحديثة لحفائر الحمامات البطلمية بالكرنك خلال مواسم ٢٠٠٩ - ٢٠١٠ م. لقد تم اكتشاف المبنى في عام ٢٠٠٦ م بمعرفة المجلس الأعلى للآثار خلال حفائر إنقاذ (SCA) وتم نشر تقرير مبدئي عن العمل عام ٢٠٠٩ م ومنذ ذلك الوقت استمرت الحفائر وأسفرت عن اكتشاف نظام التسخين للحمام ، ففي الجزء الأول من المقال سيتم وصف المبنى وتفسيره في ضوء الاكتشافات المماثلة في مصر خاصة في منطقة تابوزيرس ماجنا ، وسوف نوضح باستفاضة نظم التسخين في الحمامات الإغريقية المصرية وذلك بشرح واحد من أقدمها وأكثرها حفظاً في مصر . وفي الجزء الثاني سوف نركز على زخرفة الحمام خاصة الأرضيات الموزايك (الفسيفساء) وألوان الحوائط ، وبعد وصف دقيق لكل برنامج الزخرفة والمرتبطة بأسلوب البناء سوف نشرح التقنية لشكل هذه الزخرفة . وأخيراً سوف نوضح الأسلوب الإغريقي الذي تم تنفيذه بعناية والأمثلة المقدونية مثل قصر فيليب الثاني بمقدونيا والد الاسكندر الأكبر .

الملخصات العربية

Michel Azim, Agnès Cabrol, Aude Dobrakowski, Luc Gabolde

لغز تمثال لأبو الهول

تنشر المقالة صورتين تم إلتقاطهما بمعرفة «فرانسوا شامبيليه» في القطاع الأوسط لمعبد الكرنك والصور من مقتنيات متحف التاريخ الطبيعي في مدينة ليل بفرنسا (Musée d'Histoire Naturelle of Lille, France) واحده من هذه الصور تمثل تمثال أسطوري لأبو الهول مفقود الآن والدراسة توضح لنظرية أن يكون هذا تمثال لأمون.

Mansour Boraik

حفائر طريق أبو الهول التقرير الثاني

إستمرت أعمال حفائر طريق أبو الهول في عدة قطاعات مختلفة، لعل أهمها القطاع الواقع خلف مكتبة الأقصر العامه، والقطاع الممتد من طريق المطار وحتى نجع أبو عصبه وقد أضافت الحفائر الكثير من المعلومات عن تاريخ طيبة منذ العصور الفرعونية وحتى العصر الحديث ، حيث تم الكشف عن العديد من الأنشطة الأنسانية التي كانت على جانبي الطريق خلال العصور اليونانية والرومانية - كما تم الكشف عن إمتداد السد الكبير والذي كشف عنه أمام معبد الكرنك إلى الغرب من طريق الكباش الذي يقع أمام بوابة ويرجيتوس مما يؤكد أن معابد الكرنك كانت مشيدة فوق مايشبه الجزيرة، وان حفائر طريق أبو الهول تفتح المجال مستقبلا للمزيد من البحث إلى النحو الأقتصادي والسياحي لمحافظة الأقصر ويهدف المقال إلى الحديث عن أهم الأكتشافات على طول هذا الطريق المقدس والذي تم الكشف عن جميع قطاعاته إلا القطاع الأخير والذي يقع أمام سنترال الأقصر والذي يجرى به العمل الآن

Romain David

فخار استيطان من القرن الخامس بالكرنك

Catherine Defernez

ملاحظات بخصوص بعض أواني بس المكتشفة بالكرنك

Didier Devauchelle, Ghislaine Widmer

hiereus بالكتابة الديموطيقية بالكرنك

Amr Gaber

مظاهر تأليه الملك سيتي الأول

Luc Gabolde

ملاحظات على كساء مسلات صالة واجيت وتأريخه

Jérémy Hourdin

مقصورة أوزير - با جد عنخ لشبنوبت الثانية ، إضافة لإعادة بناء النقوش والعمارة

Charlie Labarta

لوحة للملك رمسيس الثاني بمخزن الشيخ لبيب بالكرنك

Nadia Licitra

إصلاح سور معبد أمون في عهد الملك رمسيس الثالث: لوحة جديدة مكتشفة بالكرنك

David Lorand

مقصورة الأجداد بالكرنك من عهد سنوسرت الأول

Christophe Thiers

Membra disiecta ptolemaica II

Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani

معبد بتاح بالكرنك - المعطيات الأولية عن الموقع

المحتويات

Michel Azim, Agnès Cabrol †, Aude Dobrakowski, Luc Gabolde

لغز تمثال لأبو الهول

Mansour Boraik

حفائر طريق أبو الهول - التقرير الثاني

Mansour Boraik

حمام روماني بمعابد الكرنك - تقرير مبدئي

Mansour Boraik, Salah el-Masekh, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, Bérangère Redon

الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك - الاكتشافات الحديثة موسم (٢٠٠٩ - ٢٠١٠)

Mansour Boraik, Mohamed Naguib

الأواني الفخارية من حفائر الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك

Peter Brand, Jean Revez, Janusz Karkowski, Emmanuel Laroze, Cédric Gobeil

مشروع صالة الأعمدة بالكرنك - تقرير عن موسم ٢٠١١ بجامعة **Memphis** وجامعة **Quebec** مونتريال

Jean-François Carlotti, Philippe Martinez

ملاحظات جديدة على العمارة والنقوش بصالة الأعمدة الكبرى بمعبد آمون رع بالكرنك

Silvana Cincotti

الحفائر داخل المتحف - المجموعة المصرية بتورين ومجموعة ريفود **Rifaud**

مجلة الكرنك



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المركز المصري الفرسي لدراسة معابد الكرنك

القاهرة
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