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MEDINET HABU — VOLUME X

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

PART II

THE FAÇADE, PILLARS, AND ARCHITRAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THUTMOSID PERIPTEROS

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

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PLATES 143 – 251

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WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

by

THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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BIBLIOGRAPHIC

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960–
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Bamberg/Wiesbaden, 1979–
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo, 1900–
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoirs, Egypt Exploration Society. London, 1893–
Aufrère, *Propylône*	S. Aufrère. *Le propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*. MIFAO 117. Cairo, 2000
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Berlin/Mainz, 1970–
Beinlich, "Gaugötter"	H. Beinlich. "Der König vor den Gaugöttern Ägyptens in einer Darstellung aus der 18. Dynastie." *SAK* 8 (1980): 55–63
Brugsch, *DG*	H. Brugsch. *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*. Leipzig, 1879
Brugsch, *Thesaurus*	H. Brugsch. *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*. Leipzig, 1883–91
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932–
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'étude. Cairo, 1908–
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte*. Brussels, 1925–
Černý, *Notebook*	Unpublished notebook of J. Černý, now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford
Champollion, *ND*	J.-F. Champollion. *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux par Champollion le Jeune* I–II. Paris, 1844–89
Clère, *Porte*	P. Clère. *La porte d'Évergète à Karnak, 2e partie*. MIFAO 84. Cairo, 1961
Demot. Nb.	E. Lüddeckens et al. *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Wiesbaden, 1960–
Edfou	M. de Rochemonteix and É. Chassinat. *Le temple d'Edfou* I–XIV. Cairo, 1897–1934, 1984–90
Edgerton, *Graffiti*	W. Edgerton. *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles*. OIP 36. Chicago, 1937
Gardiner, *Grammar*	A. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1957
Gardiner, *Onomastica*	A. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I–II and plates. Oxford, 1947
Gauthier, *DG*	H. Gauthier. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* I–VII. Cairo, 1925–31
Hölscher, *Excavation*	U. Hölscher. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* I–V. OIP 21, 41, 54, 55, 66. Chicago, 1934–54
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London, 1914–
Jéquier, *L'architecture*	G. Jéquier. *L'architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte* I: *Les temples memphites et thébains des origins à la XVIIIe dynastie*. Paris, 1920
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago, 1942–
Klotz, *Roman Thebes*	D. Klotz. *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 15. Turnhout, 2012
Kom Ombos	J. de Morgan et al. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* II: *Kom Ombos*. Vienna, 1895
KRI	K. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical* I–VII. Oxford, 1969–
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf (eds.). *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I–VII. Wiesbaden, 1975–92
L.*D.*	K. R. Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* I–VI. Berlin, 1849–58
L.*D. Text*	K. R. Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: Text* i–v. Berlin/Leipzig, 1897–1913
LGG	C. Leitz (ed.). *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* I–VIII. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16, 129. Leuven, 2002–3
MÄS	Münchner ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–
McClain, "Cosmogonical Inscriptions"	J. B. McClain. "The Cosmogonical Inscriptions of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and the Cultic Evolution of the Temple of *Djeser-set*," in B. Bryan and P. Dorman (eds.), *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes*, 69–96. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 65. Chicago, 2011
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Cairo, 1930–
Medinet Habu	The Epigraphic Survey. *Medinet Habu* I–IX. OIP 8, 9, 23, 51, 83, 84, 93, 94, 136. Chicago, 1930–2009
Mendel, *Kosm. Inschr.*	D. Mendel. *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften in der Barkenkapelle des Chonstempels von Karnak*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 9. Turnhout, 2003
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1902–
Möller, *Paläographie*	G. Möller. *Hieratische Paläographie* I–III. Leipzig, 1909–12
Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*	E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* I–VI. Egypt Exploration Fund, 13th, 14th, 16th, 19th, 27th, and 29th Memoirs. London, 1895–1908
OBO	Orbus Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg/Göttingen, 1973–
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–2022

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OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven, 1975–
Otto, *Gott und Mensch*	E. Otto. *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Heidelberg, 1964
Otto, *Topographie*	E. Otto. *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 16. Berlin/Leipzig, 1952
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden, 1953–
Pestman, *Chronologie*	P. W. Pestman. *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C.–453 ap. J.-C.)*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 15. Leiden, 1967
PM II^2	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* II: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1972
Poo, *Wine-Offering*	M. Poo. *Wine and Wine-Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*. London, 1995
Prisse, *Monuments*	É. Prisse d'Avennes. *Monuments égyptiens, bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc., d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux par É. Prisse d'Avennes, pour faire suite aux Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie de Champollion-le-Jeune*. Paris, 1847
RdÉ	*Revue d'égyptologie*. Paris/Cairo, 1933–
RIK IV	The Epigraphic Survey. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* IV: *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*. OIP 107. Chicago, 1986
RILT I	The Epigraphic Survey. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple* I: *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*. OIP 112. Chicago, 1994
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg, 1974–
Sethe, *Amun*	K. Sethe. *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*. Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 4. Berlin, 1929
Sternberg, *Propylon*	H. Sternberg el-Hotabi. *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels in Karnak-Nord: Zum Dekorationsprinzip des Tores; Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Urkunden VIII, Texte Nr. 1–Nr. 50*. Göttinger Orientforschungen 4. Reihe Ägypten 25. Wiesbaden, 1993
Thissen, *Med. Habu*	H. Thissen. *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*. Demotische Studien 10. Sommerhausen, 1989
Urk. I	G. Steindorff (ed.). *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* I: *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* 1–4 (K. Sethe). Leipzig, 1903–33
Urk. IV	G. Steindorff (ed.). *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* IV: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* 1–16 (K. Sethe), 17–22 (W. Helck). Leipzig/Berlin, 1906–58
Urk. VIII	G. Steindorff et al. (eds.). *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* VIII: *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* 1 (K. Sethe, O. Firchow). Berlin, 1957
Valeurs phonétiques	F. Daumas et al. (eds.). *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* I–IV. Montpellier, 1988–95
von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*	J. von Beckerath. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. MÄS 49. Mainz am Rhein, 1999
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* I–VII and *Belegstellen* I–V. Leipzig, 1926–51
Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*	P. Wilson. *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. OLA 78. Leuven, 1997
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig/Berlin, 1863–

GENERAL

cf.	*confer*, compare
cm	centimeter(s)
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
fig(s).	figure(s)
Gr.	Graffito/Graffiti
i.e.	*id est*, that is
l(l).	line(s)/column(s)
m	meter(s)
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
P.	Papyrus
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

[ ] enclose material that exists today neither on the wall nor in earlier modern copies, but that is believed to have been present originally. Lacunae in the texts are indicated in the translations with [. . .] for one missing sign or sign-group, and with [. . . . . .] for more than one missing group.

( ) enclose words not written in the original text, but understood to have been present (as with the frequently unwritten suffix pronoun *=i*) or added as necessary in translation.

< > enclose material believed to have been omitted or miswritten by the ancient scribe.

{ } enclose material actually present in the text, but believed to be superfluous.

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PREFACE

This volume, the tenth in the Epigraphic Survey's *Medinet Habu* series, continues the publication of the reliefs and inscriptions in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Amun *Djeser-set*. Herein is presented the decoration on the temple's outer façade, along with that of the interior architraves and the eastern, southern, and northern pillars of the peripteros, constructed and inscribed during the sole reign of Thutmose III. This section of the monument thus follows, both architecturally and chronologically, the six inner chambers presented in *Medinet Habu* IX, which were built and partly decorated during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Like the inner sanctuaries, the scenes and texts in these outer portions of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple were subjected to a series of modifications in later ages, including the Amarna period and its aftermath; the Ramessid era; the Twenty-First, Twenty-Fifth, and Twenty-Ninth Dynasties; the Ptolemaic dynasty; and the Coptic period. The epigraphic evidence for these phases, consisting of changes and additions both to the carved and to the painted decoration of the surfaces, has been carefully represented in the facsimile plates and is described and analyzed in detail in the accompanying commentary. Extending over two millennia, the continual refurbishment and decorative reconfiguration of this temple attest its significance as a focal point of the ancient Theban sacred landscape.

The Epigraphic Survey will continue the publication of the Eighteenth Dynasty Amun temple, along with the later additions thereto, according to the following plan: *Medinet Habu* XI will be concerned with the inscriptions of Ramesses III and other additions and modifications to the exterior and interior of the peripteros; *Medinet Habu* XII will present the bark shrine of Thutmose III, extensively reworked during the Ptolemaic period; in *Medinet Habu* XIII will appear the decoration on the Kushite pylon and the adjoining gate of Taharqa, along with the portico inscribed for Nectanebo I; and *Medinet Habu* XIV will include the Ptolemaic and Roman extensions along the temple's axis to the east. Facsimile drawings for each of these volumes are in progress, and the publications may be expected in due course. In 2014, the Survey's staff began to record and analyze the broken remains of the destroyed Western High Gate of Ramesses III, of which over a thousand inscribed fragments are preserved; this material will also form the subject of a future volume in the *Medinet Habu* series. At the same time, a complete photographic survey of the tomb chapels of the God's Wives of Amun is now in progress, and facsimile drawing, collation, and comprehensive publication of those monuments will follow. There also remain within the Medinet Habu temenos various minor structures, including the decorated subterranean wells of Ramesses III, as well as a large corpus of fragmentary material, all of which will eventually be included in the Epigraphic Survey's publication program.

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In addition to the epigraphers, artists, photographers, and other scholars who have contributed to the plates and commentary presented in this volume, many other members of the Chicago House staff have been involved in activities directly or indirectly related to the Epigraphic Survey's work at Medinet Habu, and it is our pleasure to acknowledge them here.

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Our fieldwork at Medinet Habu would not be possible without the long-standing collaboration and friendship of our Egyptian colleagues in the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and the Supreme Council of Antiquities, with whom we have worked in fruitful partnership for almost a century. Sincere thanks are due in particular to Minister of Tourism and Antiquities Mr. Ahmed Issa; Minister of Tourism and Antiquities Dr. Khaled el-Enany; Ministers of State for Antiquities Affairs Dr. Mamdouh el-Damaty and Dr. Mohamed Ibrahim; Minister of State for Antiquities Dr. Zahi Hawass; Secretaries-General/Chairmen of the Supreme Council of Antiquities/Egyptian Antiquities Organization Dr. Mustafa Waziri, Dr. Mustafa Amin, Dr. Zahi Hawass, Dr. Gaballa Ali Gaballa†, Dr. Ali Hassan†, Dr. Abd el-Halim Nur ed-Din, and Dr. Mohamed Bakr; Directors of Foreign Missions Dr. Nashwa Gaber, Dr. Mohamed Ismail, Dr. Hany Abu el-Azm, and Dr. Magdi Ghandour; General Directors of the Pharaonic Sector Dr. Ayman Ashmawy, Dr. Adel Hosein, Dr. Ali Asfar, Dr. Mahmoud Afify, and Dr. Sabry Abdel Azziz; General Directors for Upper Egypt and Luxor Dr. Fathy Yaseen, Dr. Mohamed Yahia Ewada Shaalan, Dr. Talat Abdel Azziz, Dr. Mohamed Abdel Azziz, Dr. Abdel Hakim Karrar, Dr. Mansour Boraik, Dr. Holeil Ghaly†, and Dr. Yahia el-Masry†; Gurnah Inspectorate General Directors Dr. Bahaa el-Din, Dr. Fathy Yaseen, Dr. Talat Abdel Azziz, Dr. Mohamed Abdel Azziz, Dr. Mustafa Waziri, and Dr. Ali Asfar; and Director of the Documentation Center and Director of Ministry Publications Dr. Hisham el-Leithy.

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It has frequently been our pleasure to host visits by US ambassadors to the Arab Republic of Egypt and by mission directors of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Egypt to observe our ongoing preservation work in Luxor, and we are grateful for their support. Thanks are due to Chargé d'Affaires Nicole Shampaine, Ambassador Jonathan Cohen, and Chargé d'Affaires Thomas Goldberger; Ambassadors Robert Stephen Beecroft, Anne Patterson, Margaret Scobey, Francis Ricciardone, David Welch, Daniel Charles Kurtzer, and Edward Walker; Mission Directors of USAID Egypt Leslie Green, Sherry Carlin, Mary Ott, Walter North, Jim Bever, Hilda (Bambi) Arellano, Ken Ellis, Bill Pearson, and John Wesley; and especially Sylvia Atalla and Mohamed Abdel Rahman, USAID Egypt, whose steadfast friendship and support over the years have been deeply appreciated.

We would also like to extend our thanks to USAID Egypt for its grant-funded support of our conservation and site management programs at Medinet Habu. This vital assistance has allowed us to expand all aspects of our preservation work at a critical time, to follow through on site development programs inaugurated almost a century ago, to install educational signage in English and Arabic, to provide stimulus for the local economy, and to make the temple precinct more accessible for tourists and scholars alike. Our gratitude is enormous and profound.

The annotated translations and commentary provided with this volume represent the collective research effort of the epigraphers whose names are listed above, assembled over many years of collaborative fieldwork and analysis. J. Brett McClain and Jennifer L. Kimpton have compiled and edited this material for publication. Thereto have been added a study of the multiphased painted decoration on the square pillars, undertaken by Krisztián Vértes, and a chapter on the graffiti in the peripteros, authored by Christina Di Cerbo and Richard Jasnow. Margaret De Jong and Susan Osgood have provided sound advice on the arrangement of the facsimile drawings, while the keen and discerning eyes of Susan Lezon have checked every detail of the photographic plates. Ariel Singer skillfully typeset the manuscript, correcting numerous errors in the process.

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W. RAYMOND JOHNSON
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INTRODUCTION

THE FAÇADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

Six square pillars, resting on the elevated sandstone platform of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, form the east façade of its peripteros (pl. 143). The southernmost and northernmost pillars are adorned with torus moldings at their outer corners, which join the torus extending along the top edge of the architrave above. A high cavetto cornice crowns this architrave, as on the temple's north, south, and west exterior faces. On the left and right, the four interstices between the flanking pillars are closed with stone balustrades, while the open space between the two central pillars forms the entrance to the ambulatory around the bark shrine. Although subjected to various modifications from the Amarna era through the Ptolemaic period, the underlying form of the Thutmosid façade remains intact (pls. 143, 150). The details of its construction and the history of these subsequent alterations have been thoroughly described by Hölscher,[1] whose observations are critical to understanding the concomitant and extensive reworking of its carved and painted decoration.

As with the other components of the peripteros described in this volume, the original decoration of the façade was carried out during the sole reign of Thutmose III. The front of the Small Temple was the only part of its exterior to be decorated during the Eighteenth Dynasty, the three other sides of the temple being left uninscribed. Traces of the Thutmosid paint found on these exterior walls demonstrate that they were covered overall in whitewash, and the incised reliefs of the east façade, painted in yellow ochre, would thus have presented a striking aspect to the approaching visitor (pl. 245).

This decoration was executed in the restrained style of the early New Kingdom. The cavetto cornice and torus moldings were left smooth and painted white. The lintel over the central portal originally bore a large winged solar disk, at the outstretched tips of whose feathers appeared the name of *Bḥd.ty*. On either side, the architrave was inscribed with the titles and names of Thutmose III in large hieroglyphs extending to the corners (pls. 151–52). Below, each of the six pillar faces (pls. 153, 155–59) depicts Thutmose III standing in the presence of Amun-Re. The god of the temple, called *Ḏsr-s.t* in three of six instances, wears the double-plumed diadem in each scene, but the king's regalia vary; most notably, he is shown with the Upper Egyptian crown in the three southern scenes, while on the three northern pillars he wears the *ꜣtf*-crown, the *šw.ty*-crown, and the double crown. Above the king in each scene is a deity in vulture form, either Nekhbet or Wadjet, while below was carved a line of text of the form *mry (ꜣImn-Rꜥ) dỉ ꜥnḫ . . .*,[2] beneath which the remaining space on the pillar was undecorated. The connecting balustrades were also devoid of adornment. The ensemble of architrave and pillar inscriptions thus exhibited a balanced formality complementing the elegant proportions of the monument.

The harmony of this composition was marred before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the agents of Akhenaten desecrated the image and name of Amun wherever they appeared. The damaged areas were repaired during the reigns of Horemheb and Sety I in the less austere manner characteristic of the post-Amarna restoration, and each of those kings added a renewal text flanking the doorway to commemorate his pious act (pls. 160–61). At the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the names and titles of King Amenmesse were added below these texts, as if to claim some association with the deeds of his more illustrious predecessors. Not long thereafter, Ramesses III asserted a more serious claim as renewer of the temple of Amun *Ḏsr-s.t*, which was incorporated into his mortuary cult complex, by filling the previously undecorated north and south exterior walls with his distinctively deep-cut scenes and texts[3] and, on the façade, adding two marginal inscriptions, containing his royal titulary, to the previously blank surfaces of the outer balustrades (pls. 162–63). These incised elements were all painted yellow ochre in imitation of the Thutmosid scheme, and painted patterns in the same color were also added to the cornice and torus molding (pl. 246).

The tradition of renewing the monument was continued at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, in the time of the high priest of Amun Painedjem, son of Paiankh, with the addition of texts in the form *smꜣwy mnw . . .* on the left and right balustrades, filling the space between Ramesses III's inscriptions and the Eighteenth Dynasty pillar decoration (pls. 162–63). Additional inscriptions, giving significant theological information about the temple's cult and divine occupants, were added to the bases of its north and south exterior walls.[4] Associated with this group of texts was a series of revisions made to the painted details on the monument's exterior surfaces and within the eastern section of the ambulatory; these modifications are analyzed in detail by K. Vértes below (pp. 53–56). The decoration scheme of the façade at this stage is illustrated on pl. 247.

During the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, architectural additions were made to the temple along its axis toward the east, including a small pylon approximately 20 m in front of the original structure. Hölscher conjectured that a narrow enclosed gallery linked the west face of this pylon to the façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty monument,[5] but a more recent examination of the remains has suggested that the pylon, with a small inner vestibule, was instead connected to the Thutmosid temple by a colonnade with screen walls.[6] The junction of this colonnade with the older façade may explain

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[1] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 19–27.

[2] On the interpretation of these formulaic texts, see commentary for pl. 153, n. *e*.

[3] To be published in *Medinet Habu* XI (in preparation).

[4] To be published in *Medinet Habu* XI.

[5] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 21, 26–27, pl. 5.

[6] J. Jacquet and H. Jacquet, "Architectural Report: The Later Constructions Added to the Façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple," in *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1995–1996* (Chicago, 1996), 50–54.

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certain traces of architectural modification that antedate the Ptolemaic period, which are visible on the surfaces of the central lintel and the flanking architraves (see comments to pls. 151–52, 167–76). The reliefs and inscriptions on the façade and within the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, however, do not show any textual or stylistic modifications associated with the Kushite hegemony. At some time thereafter, but before the Ptolemaic era, blocking stones were inserted into the four interstices between the flanking columns, as on the north and south sides of the peripteros.[7] All of these stones would have been decorated in incised relief and painted in polychrome, but only one of the lower stones (pl. 154) now remains in situ.[8] It depicts Sopdet-Satet with offerings in the presence of two deities, perhaps Osiris and Isis, but its upper portion is lost, so there is insufficient evidence to suggest how the contents of this and the other scenes on the blocking stones may have incorporated the cultic themes expressed in the temple's decoration as a whole.

Beginning in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, the temple of Amun *Ḏsr-s.t* underwent a further series of repairs, modifications, and architectural expansions, which continued until nearly the end of the dynasty.[9] Under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, this work of renewal was focused primarily on the interior and exterior decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty monument, accompanied by structural repairs. The façade was extensively reworked at this time. From the original east entrance, with its two flanking pillars, a new portal was created, with insets cut for a double door, and the decoration on its jambs, reveals, and soffit was reworked in the Ptolemaic manner (pls. 156, 159, 177–80). The lintel above was completely recarved, its winged sun disk being replaced by four scenes showing the king and his queens, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III, presenting offerings to the deities resident in *ỉ.t ṯ3.w-mw.wt*, the mound of Djeme (pls. 167–76). Atop the lintel, the Eighteenth Dynasty torus molding and cavetto cornice were resculpted and emblazoned with a new winged solar disk with uraei in high relief (pls. 164–66). Examination of the surface suggests that this ensemble, lacking any painted decoration, was instead embellished with a coating of metallic foil to create a magnificent entrance to the ambulatory surrounding the bark shrine, of which the façade, portals, and interior walls were themselves extensively modified.[10]

At the same time, on either side of the east entrance, the four flanking pillars with their architraves, along with the torus molding and cavetto cornice above and the marginal inscriptions of Ramesses III below, were repainted in the bold Ptolemaic palette of green, red, and blue over a new white background (pl. 248). This paint scheme was applied not only to the façade but also to the north and south exterior walls of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. The striking visual effect of this polychromatic refurbishment was soon thereafter masked in part by the addition of the north and south annexes, during or after the reign of Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter, and by the side walls of the court/hall fronting the façade, which cover portions of the original wall surfaces at the northeast and southeast corners of the Thutmosid peripteros.[11] Adjustments to the torus molding and cavetto cornice at these corners to incorporate the new additions are illustrated on pl. 228.

The terminal phase of expansion of the temple complex, under the emperor Antoninus Pius,[12] left no evidence of any alteration to the façade or the peripteros of the Eighteenth Dynasty monument. Numerous graffiti in both Demotic and Coptic, as well as figurative graffiti, of which a few appear on the façade (pl. 233), along with the ubiquitous vandalism inspired by monotheistic zeal, carry the history of these parts of the temple forward through the Christian era, at least until the abandonment of the Coptic town of Djeme around the ninth century AD.[13] The architecture and decoration of this façade thus attest many, though not all, of the historic phases of the temple of Amun *Ḏsr-s.t*, with the original inscriptions of Thutmose III modified during the late Eighteenth Dynasty; the Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-First, Twenty-Fifth, and Twenty-Ninth Dynasties; the Ptolemaic kingdom; and the late antique/medieval period. Each stage has left its traces, in some instances only faintly discernible, forming a many-layered palimpsest in stone (pl. 150).

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY PERIPTEROS

Like the east façade, the sixteen square pillars and two pilasters surrounding the bark shrine, along with their architraves, were decorated during the sole reign of Thutmose III. As already noted, the north and south exterior surfaces of the monument were left undecorated until, three centuries later, the Eighteenth Dynasty temple was incorporated into the mortuary complex of Ramesses III.[14] The original decoration of the peripteros was thus oriented inward, to the broad ambulatory surrounding the central shrine, with whose elaborate tableaux, depicting the foundation and dedication of the temple, its scenes and texts formed an integrated composition. The inscriptions on the interior surfaces of the architraves (pl. 181*A*–*C*), the longer of which, on the north and south sides, consist of dedicatory texts of the form *ỉr.n=f m mnw=f*, are elaborated with significant details concerning the monument. The temple's location is given as "the exact mound of the west" (pl. 181*B*, l. 2, and pl. 181*C*, l. 4), and its construction is characterized as the "embellishment" of a preexisting monument "anew" (pl. 181*B*, l. 4), "for his majesty had found (it) fallen into ruin" (pl. 181*C*, l. 2). This description accords with the archaeological evidence for an earlier version of the shrine and peripteros, begun during Hatshepsut's reign, which itself replaced a tripartite shrine dating to the Eleventh Dynasty and another uncompleted structure from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[15] Thutmose III's building is described as "a great mansion" (*ḥw.t ꜥ3.t*) and "a sacred shrine" (*ḫm ḏsr*), constructed of sandstone (pl. 181*B*, ll. 2, 4), as the god's "exact place/sacred place of the first occasion" (pl. 181*B*, l. 4, and pl. 181*C*, l. 2), a reference to the cosmogonical

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[7] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 20–21, 55, figs. 19–20, and pl. 5. On the problem of the date of these blocking stones, whose emplacement may or may not have been contemporary with modifications to the peripteral hall during the reign of Achoris, see the commentary for pl. 154.

[8] A second blocking stone was still in place in the interstice to the right of the portal as late as 1854, when it was photographed by J. B. Greene; compare pl. 144 and see below, p. 9, n. 6.

[9] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 27, 29–30, 56–59.

[10] The decoration of the central bark shrine of the temple will appear in *Medinet Habu* XII (in preparation). On the cultic significance of these modifications, focused on the central axis of the monument, see McClain, "Cosmogonical Inscriptions."

[11] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 22–25, 57.

[12] Ibid., 31, 59–62.

[13] Ibid., 62.

[14] Ibid., 19–21, 49–52, and pl. 4.

[15] Ibid., 4–7, 44–48.

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significance of this site, much elaborated upon in later texts.[16] The proper name of the monument, "Menkheperre (of) Amun *Ḏsr-s.t*,"[17] is given twice here (pl. 181*B*, l. 2; pl. 181*C*, l. 4) but is preserved in no other known source. During the Amarna iconoclasm, all occurrences of the name of Amun on the architraves were hacked out; each was subsequently restored. Thereafter, aside from structural repairs made in the late dynastic or Ptolemaic period, no further modification of these inscriptions occurred.

The ceiling of the ambulatory was painted bright blue with rows of yellow stars to represent the heavens; the colors are now mostly lost, but a remnant may be seen near the southwest corner of the bark shrine (pl. 251*B*).[18] The interior side of each pillar, facing the ambulatory, was decorated in raised relief, painted in polychrome (see pls. 241, 243), with a depiction of Thutmose III before Amun. Stylistically both the carving and the painting of these scenes resemble those of the square pillars in the *ꜣḫ-mnw* of Thutmose III at Karnak,[19] the decoration of both monuments having been executed at approximately the same time.[20] Amun is depicted in ithyphallic form (as Kamutef) on the central pillar of the south and of the north row (pls. 190, 219); otherwise he appears in the ordinary standing pose, receiving or embracing or giving life to the king. In two instances (pls. 205, 219), the god is named simply *ỉmn*, in the others *ỉmn-Rʿ*; throughout he is given various standard epithets, as within the inner sanctuaries. On none of the interior pillar faces, however, is he named *ỉmn*/*ỉmn-Rʿ Ḏsr-s.t*, in contrast to the architrave inscriptions above. All of these interior scenes except one (pl. 213) record a speech by the deity concerning the rights, attributes, powers, or regalia of kingship given to the ruler, which one text describes "as the reward for these things that you have done for (me)" (pl. 193*B*, l. 2). Below the ground line of each scene is carved a horizontal text, either the formula *mry (ỉmn-Rʿ) dỉ ʿnḫ . . .* or *sp tpy ḥb-sd ỉr=f ʿšꜣ wr.t*, alternating in every instance but one (pl. 204). These references to the first jubilee of Thutmose III link the inscribed content of the peripteral pillars chronologically to that of the façade of the inner sanctuaries[21] and suggest that the decoration of both sections was in progress by the time of that festival occasion in the king's thirtieth regnal year.[22]

The king's regalia in these raised-relief scenes exhibit a division at the temple's central axis. Along the south aisle and in the south half of the east aisle, the king wears the white Upper Egyptian crown in every instance but one (pl. 190), where, embracing the ithyphallic god, he wears the close-fitting "Nubian"-style wig. In each scene on the south the king wears the triangular kilt with cobra sporran, and in most depictions he holds an *ʿnḫ* and *ḥḏ*-mace in his left hand. The raised-relief scenes in the north aisle and in the north half of the east aisle show more variation; in four examples (pls. 205, 208, 213, 222) the king wears the red crown of Lower Egypt, but he also appears twice (pls. 216, 225) with the Upper Egyptian diadem and once (pl. 219), with ithyphallic Amun, wearing the *nms*-headdress. He is also shown more frequently wearing the close-fitting kilt (pls. 213, 216, 222, 225) than the triangular garment, though in one instance (pl. 213) the former was repainted to show the latter.[23]

Subsequent modifications to the interior pillar faces reflect the later history of the temple itself. Each figure of Amun, along with his name and epithets and those of the accompanying avian deity, was hacked out during the Amarna iconoclasm; during the subsequent return to orthodoxy, the images and texts were repaired and repainted, the restored versions reflecting the post-Amarna/early Nineteenth Dynasty style and color palette. No alterations were made to these scenes during the reign of Ramesses III, but later, at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, the six panels on the east interior of the peripteros received stylistic modifications in paint, which may be linked with the overall "renewal" of the monument under the high priest Painedjem, as analyzed by K. Vértes below.[24] Later, when the windows between the pillars were closed off with blocking stones,[25] the interior surfaces of the pillars and the exterior lateral walls of the bark shrine were covered with a layer of plain white plaster, intentionally obscuring the raised relief decoration within the north and south aisles of the ambulatory.[26] Upon this plaster layer, numerous graffiti were painted or inscribed in Ptolemaic/Roman and Coptic times. Finally, during the nineteenth or early twentieth century, attempts were made by a visitor or visitors to scrape away this plaster layer at many locations throughout the ambulatory, so as to reveal the carvings underneath; the clumsy and reckless manner in which this was done resulted not only in the destruction of many of the graffiti but also in extensive damage to the finely painted New Kingdom reliefs.

In conjunction with the fourteen raised-relief interior pillar faces, the thirty-two lateral faces and two pilasters were decorated in incised relief, which, as on the façade, had yellow-ochre-painted figures and hieroglyphs on a white background (see pl. 242). The style is consistent with contemporary examples of sunk-relief decoration on square pillars, for example, at Buhen[27] and Amada.[28] Two of these lateral scenes, flanking the east entrance, were erased when the doorway was modified under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, leaving only a few traces visible among the Ptolemaic

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16 As first observed by Sethe, *Amun*, 53–61 (§§103–19).

17 See the commentary for pl. 181*B*, n. *d*.

18 Compare *Medinet Habu* IX, pl. 139*G*.

19 PM II², 110–11; also J.-Fr. Pécoil, R. Baud, and N. Beaux, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: Relevés épigraphiques*. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations 32 (Paris, 2000).

20 P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse* (Cairo, 1962), 296–97; see also below, n. 22.

21 *Medinet Habu* IX, 19–20, and pl. 13, l. 7.

22 The date of final completion of the decorative program within the Thutmosid temple remains uncertain. D. O'Connor and P. Laskowski imply, without stating exactly, that work on the monument was not completed until after year 42 of Thutmose III (see E. Cline and D. O'Connor, *Thutmose III: A New Biography* [Ann Arbor, 2006], 32, 204–5), but this position is unconvincingly presented, based on a misrepresentation of Hölscher's remarks concerning the construction of the front wall of the Dyad Chamber and King's Chamber and the modification of the doorways of the bark shrine (*Excavation* II, 9, 18), and ignoring the abovementioned textual references to the king's first jubilee. It is true, however, that the decoration inside the King's Chamber (*Medinet Habu* IX, 58–63, pls. 84–91) and the interior of the bark shrine should be dated to sometime after year 33 or 34, based on the depictions of Meretre-Hatshepsut as great royal wife (Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III*, 205, with reference to *LÄ* IV, 544). In light of this fact, and considering the observations made by D. Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, Aegyptiaca Loediensia 5 (Liège, 1998), 250–51, 538–40, concerning the date of the reliefs in the Dyad Chamber and King's Chamber, it is reasonable to suppose that work on the monument's decoration was in progress for a period both well before and for some years after the king's first jubilee in year 30.

23 See below, p. 55.

24 See below, pp. 53–56.

25 See above, p. 2.

26 Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 20–21.

27 R. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* I (London, 1974), pls. 42, 48.

28 P. Barguet and M. Dewachter, *Le temple d'Amada* II (Cairo, 1967), pl. III/4.

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hieroglyphs (pls. 179, 180). The remaining thirty-two scenes, like the raised interior pillar faces, underwent a series of later modifications. On all but two (pls. 202, 203), the deities and their names and epithets were attacked by Akhenaten's agents and had subsequently to be restored. The blocking stones later inserted between the pillars partially masked these scenes, while their exposed inner corners were covered with white plaster, and some show vestiges of painted or incised graffiti. Afterward, when the blocking stones had been removed, the medieval inhabitants of Djeme vandalized many of the images and hieroglyphs, and in some instances they have also been damaged by more recent attempts to scrape away the plaster coating, as described above.

In each lateral scene, Thutmose III is embraced, received, or given life by a deity. The king appears in a greater variety of diadems than on the inward-facing panels, including the Upper Egyptian crown, the double crown (*sḫm.ty*), the *ỉtf*-crown, several variations of the double ostrich-plume headdress with solar disk and horns atop various caps, and the tall *šw.ty* crown, as well as, to the north of the axis, five occurrences of the Lower Egyptian crown. In the south and southeast aisles he always wears the triangular kilt, usually holding the mace and *ʿnḫ*, but in several scenes on the north and northeast sides he is shown wearing the close-fitting kilt. Most, though not all, of the images are accompanied by a speech of the god conferring benefits upon the king or legitimizing various aspects of his reign.

These deities form a geographical series representing selected districts of Upper and Middle Egypt, ranging from the Nubian frontier to the 20th nome, near the entrance to the Fayyum. Beinlich has analyzed their arrangement,[29] but a few additional remarks are appropriate here.[30] The scenes along the south aisle of the ambulatory as far as the fourth column from the west (pls. 182–94) depict gods and goddesses associated with the first three nomes of Upper Egypt, but they are not arranged in strict topographical order. The pilaster at the southwest corner (pl. 182) shows a god in human form whose name is unfortunately lost. The facing scene, pl. 183, depicts Horus "foremost of *T3-sty*," representing the Nubian frontier region both south and north of the First Cataract, including the 1st Upper Egyptian nome.[31] Next (pls. 185, 186) appear the goddesses Menehyt "lady of the frontier," associated with the district of Esna, and Nekhbet, representing Nekheb (Eileithyiapolis/Elkab), both situated in the 3rd nome of Upper Egypt. They are followed by two representations of Horus (pls. 188, 189), the first probably the god of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), and the second of Behdet (Apollinopolis/Edfu), the principal towns in the 2nd nome. Thereafter (pls. 191, 192, 194) appear the divine triad Anuket, Khnum, and Satet of the First Cataract region. Collectively, these nine scenes thus present the main deities of the Nile Valley districts to the south of the Thebaid.

On the north aisle, the western pilaster and the five westernmost pillars depict gods and goddesses from northern Upper Egypt and Middle Egypt. On the east face of the fifth pillar from the west (pl. 212) appears "The Koptite," the avatar either of Min-Horus or of Osiris associated with Koptos (Qifṭ) in the 5th Upper Egyptian nome.[32] From the same district, on the fourth pillar, are shown Horus the Elder, the principal god of Cusae (Quṣ), and Seth the Ombite (pls. 215, 217), but before these was interposed, on the west face of the fifth pillar, Hathor "chieftess of Thebes" (pl. 214), interrupting the topographical sequence. Further west, on the third pillar (pls. 218, 220), appear Hathor of Dendera, representing the 6th nome, and Onuris-Shu for the 8th nome; they are followed (pls. 221, 223) by Horus son of Isis and Khnum lord of Hypselis (*Šꜣs-ḥtp*, Shuṭb), of the 10th and 11th nomes, respectively. Next, on the sides of the last pillar, are Wepwawet of Asyuṭ (Lykonpolis) in the 13th nome and Thoth of Ashmunein (Hermopolis) in the 15th nome (pls. 224, 226); facing Thoth's image is the northwestern pilaster (pl. 227), which, though partly quarried away, preserves the name of Herishef, lord of *Nn-n(y)-sw.t* (Herakleopolis) in the 20th Upper Egyptian nome. Here the geographical series ends.

Athwart the temple's axis at the eastern end of the peripteros are grouped representations of deities who, as Beinlich has observed,[33] can be loosely associated with the region of the 4th nome, Thebes its capital, and the Theban necropolis. On the southeast we find Hathor "chieftess of the western desert" (pl. 195), while on the same pillar appears Sobek-Re "chief of the Ennead" (pl. 197), whom it is tempting to link with either *Sw-mnw* or *ʾIw-m-ỉtrw* (Krokodeilonpolis) in the region of Gebelein/er-Rizeiqat, both of which are attested as cult centers of the crocodile god.[34] On the corner pillar, facing Sobek, is Horus "protector-of-his-father" (pl. 198), followed by the funerary/netherworld gods Anubis (pl. 199) and Osiris (pl. 200), facing one another in the southernmost window of the east façade. In the adjoining window (pls. 202, 203) stand the solar deities Re-Horakhty and Atum, the only divine images in the Thutmosid temple to be spared during the Amarna iconoclasm. To the north of the east entrance are scenes depicting Amun-Re and Amunet (pls. 206, 207), followed by Mut and Montu (pls. 209, 210), the principal deities of Karnak, while around the northeast corner of the peripteros (pl. 211) is Ptah "south-of-his-wall," the Karnak avatar of the god of Memphis,[35] with Hathor *ḥr(y).t-tp Wꜣs.t* (pl. 214) on the next pillar, as previously mentioned.

This series of deities is related to the topographical lists collected and analyzed by Gardiner,[36] to whose comparative study thereof it would have made a minor but significant addition had the content of the scenes been available to him. Nevertheless, although the topographical information implicit in the peripteral scenes is rooted in the Egyptian conception of Nile Valley geography, particularly as reflected in the primarily Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom sources on which Gardiner focused his examination, our series is to be distinguished from the most chronologically proximate comparanda in terms of its function. It is neither an onomastical list, such as that of the Ramesseum (P. Berlin 10495) or of the Onomasticon of Amenope and its parallels,[37] nor is it a list representing income or tribute brought from the various districts in question, such as in the tomb of Rekhmire or the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.[38] Nor are the deities presented in the context of a litany or hymn, such

[29] Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 55–63.

[30] Specific remarks on the identification and geographical association of each deity are given with the translations below.

[31] Contra Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 58–59.

[32] This scene, masked by the stones of the later doorway of Achoris, was not accessible to Beinlich ("Gaugötter," 59–60).

[33] Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 59–61.

[34] Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 20*–21*; the position of this scene suggests a location to the south of Thebes, but the association remains tentative, as the god's epithets do not connect him directly with either of these toponyms.

[35] This scene was also covered by the lintel and jamb of the Achoris doorway; Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 60, guessed correctly that Ptah might be depicted here. Khonsu, whom Beinlich suggested for the other hidden pillar face, is curiously omitted from the group of Theban deities appearing in this section.

[36] Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 40–64, gives an overview of the lists included in his analysis; their contents are summarized on pls. XXIV–XXVII of the same work.

[37] Ibid., 6–39.

[38] Ibid., 45–49.

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as in the series found at Luxor and Karnak.[39] Functionally, the most relevant parallels are found at Medinet Habu itself: the series of scenes at roof level above the inner chambers of Ramesses III's mortuary temple[40] and the related sequence inscribed during the reign of Ramesses VI on the outer sandstone enclosure wall at the east side of the temple complex.[41] Each of these Twentieth Dynasty panels depicts the king making an offering to one or more deities, whose images are accompanied by speeches in reply, according the usual accolades and benefits due the sovereign. The topographical selection of these deities, ranging from the Nubian region to Memphis and Heliopolis, encompasses the pantheon of the Nile Valley in the act of making these programmatic declarations, thereby signifying, within the context of the mortuary temple, the legitimacy of the king's reign throughout the land.

The content and context of the lateral pillar scenes of the Eighteenth Dynasty peripteros indicate that they were intended for a similar purpose. The geographical extent represented by the selected deities, from the southern frontier region to the Herakleopolite nome, is comparable to that of the two Twentieth Dynasty series, though more abbreviated, perhaps, due to the limited space available within the Thutmosid temple. As in the later examples, most of the divine images here are accompanied by texts according the king his traditional attributes of royal power and privilege; in this respect they are integrated with the adjoining raised-relief panels showing the king in the presence of Amun-Re. The deities face outward in the traditional manner, welcoming the king into the temple for whose construction and dedication, graphically depicted on the outside walls of the bark shrine that they surround and commemorated in the dedicatory texts of the architrave overhead, he merits the accolades of the gods of all Egypt. The images, texts, and architecture of the peripteros thus form a compositional unity expressing the right of the king, as the monument's builder, to reign over the Nile Valley.

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[39] Ibid., 49–51.

[40] *Medinet Habu* VII, pls. 538–70; summarized by Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 53–54.

[41] Described and analyzed by C. Nims, "Another Geographical List from Medīnet Habu," *JEA* 38 (1952): 34–45, noting (p. 35) that both of these series were probably copied from a single exemplar (now lost) at the Ramesseum.

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TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

PLATES 151–52. INSCRIPTIONS OF THUTMOSE III ON THE ARCHITRAVES OF THE FAÇADE

South Text

[1](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-beloved-of-Re, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, given life forever.

North Text

[2](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-ruler-of-Maat, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, given life[a] forever.

Note to Translation

[a] Of the four large ☥-signs on the outer architrave, only this rightmost has the double flare to the horizontal crossbar. The central ☥ of the upper inscription on the east interior architrave (pl. 181*A*) also shows this graphic variant, which is otherwise scarce in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple; a raised-relief example is shown at *Medinet Habu* IX, pl. 65*A*, l. 3.

Epigraphic Comments

These two facing lines of large-scale incised hieroglyphs occupy the architraves over the pillars of the façade. They originally flanked a large winged sun disk carved over the central portal, traces of which may be observed within the four scenes that replaced this feature during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (pls. 167–76). The inscriptions are delimited above and at either side by the temple's torus molding, with the Eighteenth Dynasty cavetto cornice atop. Like the other elements of the façade as decorated under Thutmose III, the signs in these inscriptions were painted yellow on a white background, but this paint scheme is now only faintly visible. The torus molding and the cavetto cornice above were also painted white but were neither inscribed nor provided with painted details in their original configuration. Except for the epithets contained in the cartouches of Menkheperre, the two texts are identical in content, and their signs are rendered in a style consistent with that of the interior architrave inscriptions (pl. 181*A*–*C*).

As with the other elements of the façade, these architraves underwent a series of modifications subsequent to the reign of Thutmose III. During the Atenist iconoclasm, the name and epithet of Amun on each side were hacked out (leaving intact the associated sun disks of *Rʿ*); the damaged sections of the texts were afterward restored, leaving traces of the older reed leaf, *mn*-sign, water sign, and *nb*-basket visible in the southern example, while the northern text shows traces of the Thutmosid water sign and *ns.t*-hieroglyphs. In the Twentieth Dynasty, the artists of Ramesses III added to the torus molding yellow-painted vertical and diagonal bands in the traditional pattern, while the cavetto cornice overhead was inscribed with a standard reed-top motif, also picked out in yellow paint. Later, an area of the cartouche in the southern text, including the *mr*-sign, the water sign, and the leg of the *ḫpr*-sign, was abraded, perhaps due to the emplacement of a structure fronting the façade in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[1]

Additional modifications were made during the Ptolemaic period, when the four small-scale ritual offering scenes were engraved over the central doorway, with an angled groove about 10 cm wide and 5 cm deep cut at either end of the group to create a lintel, distinct from the flanking architraves. Since the cutting of this feature obliterated part of the initial *ʿnḫ*-sign on either side, the missing portions of the *ʿnḫ*, as well as of the border lines above and below, were thereafter repainted on the angled surface of the groove. Above, a vignette showing a winged cobra deity was cut into each of the negative spaces left by the sculpting of a new cavetto cornice (pls. 164–66). At the same time, most of the temple's exterior was repainted in the typical Ptolemaic palette of red, green, and blue; the remains of this brightly colored detailing can be observed here on the torus molding, where the direction of the diagonal banded pattern was reversed, and on a few signs of the inscription itself, particularly the bee-sign, the *mn*-signs, and the *nb*-basket on the north architrave, as well as on the cavetto cornice overhead (cf. pl. 248). The successive paint stages on the façade, from the time of Thutmose III through the Ptolemaic dynasty, are analyzed in greater detail by Krisztián Vértes (see below, pp. 53–56), with conclusions substantially different from those originally suggested by Hölscher.[2] After this repainting episode, but still during the Ptolemaic period, construction of the side walls of the hall fronting the façade[3] blocked the final section of each inscription (*dỉ ʿnḫ ḏ.t*) from view, although the subsequent partial dismantling of the southern wall has revealed the text once again.[4]

At the same time, the north and south side chambers were constructed, the east walls thereof abutting the torus molding at the corners of the original temple.[5] On the south corner, the surface of the torus was cut back at the point aligned with the outside of the wall of the Ptolemaic hall in order to create a clean interior corner with the east exterior wall of the south chamber, which was thereby made flush with the preexisting front of the monument. The corner of the cavetto above was cut back in a similar fashion; these modifications are shown in detail on pl. 228*A*. On the north corner, the stones comprising the outside wall of the side chamber overlapped the older torus molding, so no modification thereto was necessary. A lightly incised vertical architectural guideline can, however, be seen on the curved surface of

[1] See Hölscher, *Excavation* II, pl. 5. A more prosaic possibility is that this abrasion was caused by domestic animals tethered to the anchor holes that were cut into the surfaces of the two pillars below this section of the architrave (see pls. 199, 200) during the medieval period, but the apparent repainting of the lower left leg of the *ḫpr*-sign after the abrasion took place suggests otherwise.

[2] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 19.

[3] On the date of construction of this hall see Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 23–25, 57.

[4] Using foil impressions, it was possible to obtain a complete copy of the text on the north end of the architrave; the area obscured from view by the facing wall blocks is marked on the drawing with thin dashed lines.

[5] See Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 22–23.

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the old torus at this point, perhaps an aid for the Ptolemaic builders in positioning the wall of the court with respect to the wall of the side chamber, but it is difficult to be certain of its significance, as considerable shifting of the stones after these modifications has put all of the elements in question out of alignment. The northeast corner of the Thutmosid cavetto cornice was, moreover, carved back to match the new torus molding of the north annex. Details of these features are shown on pl. 228*B*.

The medieval residents of Djeme vandalized the falcon, bull, owl, and scarab hieroglyphs on both architraves. Structural damage, due in part to the weight and distribution of the heavy ceiling and cornice blocks that rested atop these architraves, can also be seen, particularly where the architrave blocks join atop the two inner pillars, and there is a large crack at the left end of the southernmost block. At the beginning of the northern text, the surface of the corner of the block is broken off, taking away part of the *ꜥnḫ* and *Ḥr* signs and a section of the torus molding above; this may have occurred at the same time that the north end of the Ptolemaic winged sun disk/cornice was damaged (see pl. 166).

PLATE 153. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, [2]as he gives all life and all stability and dominion on [his][a] part like[b] Re.

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet.

Above the King

[4]The good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [5]the bodily son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful[c]-of-manifestation, [6]given life like Re[d] forever.

Below Scene

[7]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.[e]

Notes to Translation

[a] The right side of the *r*, shaved away as part of the post-Amarna recarving process, was restored in paint only. The *=f* below is lost in the crack of the block line.

[b] Traces of the rope of the *mỉ*-sign indicate its presence in the Thutmosid original; hacked out along with Amun's figure during the Amarna iconoclasm, it was omitted when the scene was restored. Remains of Atenist damage to the round vessel suggest that this part of the sign was particularly targeted for attack.

[c] A section along the block line was built up in plaster when the scene was inscribed in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The *nfr*-sign, included in this area, is intact as originally carved.

[d] There is no trace of a determinative stroke below the sun disk.

[e] The interpretation of marginal texts of this type proposed by H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1977), 86–89 (with reference to the Medinet Habu examples in n. 221), assuming *mry (ỉmn-Rꜥ) dỉ ꜥnḫ . . .* etc., is followed here. The partially carved divider below this line of text is apparently a later addition, as in the neighboring scene (pl. 155).

Epigraphic Comments

This scene occupies the east face of the southernmost pillar on the façade of the temple and is bordered on the left by a torus molding forming the southeast corner of the original Thutmosid building. The king, wearing the white crown and carrying the *ꜥnḫ*, is received by Amun; the figures and texts were originally painted yellow on a white background. In the time of Akhenaten, the image of Amun, his name and epithets in l. 1, and the name of Nekhbet in l. 3 were desecrated; they were subsequently restored in the post-Amarna period. The process of shaving back the stone to recarve the incised relief affected parts of signs in l. 2, including the *wꜣs*-sign, which also had to be recarved, along with much of the border element behind the god at the right side of the scene. Here, traces indicate that the original width of the border, corresponding with the preserved sections at upper right, was greater than that of the recarved final version. Traces of original signs are visible within the name of Amun in l. 1 and that of Nekhbet in l. 3, along with the word *mỉ* in l. 2, as noted. Note also that the sun disk signs in ll. 1–2 were left undamaged by Akhenaten's men and remain as originally carved under Thutmose III, though their raised, rounded centers may have been planed down slightly during the restoration process. The post-Amarna restoration also involved repainting the damaged areas in close imitation of the original Thutmosid yellow-on-white color scheme.

Additional modifications were made in the Twenty-First Dynasty, when the outlines and some details of the two figures were picked out in dark red paint, vestiges of which may still be observed (see below, pp. 53–56 and pl. 249*D–G*). The scene underwent further alteration as part of the restoration of the temple under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (pl. 251*A*), at which time most of the temple's exterior was repainted in polychrome. Unlike the pillar faces flanking the central doorway (pls. 156, 159) this scene was not recarved but only repainted, as were the other side pillars (pls. 155, 157, 158).

To the left of the scene, the torus molding was also painted white in the Thutmosid period, with bands of yellow paint added in the Twentieth Dynasty. Under Ptolemy VIII, a blue background and red and white stripes were added, though mere flecks of paint survive as evidence of the fields of blue. Subsequently, when the south annex was built onto the corner of the temple, the upper portion of the torus molding was shaved back at a point halfway across its diameter, beginning at the level of the king's shoulder and deepening toward the top of the scene and the architrave above, in order to accommodate the batter of the annex wall (see detail on pl. 228*A*). The outside (south) batter of the wall of the Ptolemaic court may also be observed in this modification, while on the right, in the area of the recarved right border element, architectural guidelines in the stone appear to correspond to the interior position of the Ptolemaic wall blocks.

The lower part of the scene, from the figures' knees down, is masked by the thickness of the partly dismantled Ptolemaic wall, the construction of which must therefore postdate the repainting of the temple exterior under Ptolemy VIII. This portion has been drawn and collated separately on the basis of foil rubbings; a wide gap, however, allowing relatively easy access to the covered section, has permitted it to be rendered with a high degree of accuracy. Moreover, the facing wall blocks appear to have protected the scene from medieval iconoclastic damage, suggesting that the upper courses may have remained in place until after the abandonment of Coptic Djeme.

PLATE 154. SOPDET-SATET WITH OFFERINGS BEFORE OSIRIS(?) AND ISIS(?)

Before Sopdet-Satet

[x+1][a][. . .] every[thing][b] good and pure [x+2][. . .] year(?)[c] [x+3](with) a bow in her right hand and an arrow in [x+4]her left hand.

Behind Sopdet-Satet

[x+5][The protection of all life], stability, and dominion [surrounds her][d] like Re forever and ever.

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Notes to Translation

[a] Additional columns of text, of uncertain number and arrangement, would have been inscribed above the male deity and his female counterpart at left. A depression in the damaged area above the goddess's head suggests a *nb*-sign, but this is far from certain.

[b] The line of inscription runs horizontally above the offering table. In the damage at left can be seen the *nb*-basket, followed by the bottom of the *nfr*-sign, then the  of *wꜥb*.

[c] The reading is uncertain; only the *t*-loaf is clear. The tall sign to its right has what appears at first glance to be the protrusion associated with the *rnp.t*-sign, but it is possible, on closer examination, that this is simply a peck mark associated with iconoclastic hacking of the goddess's face. Moreover, if *rnp.t* was indeed written here, its orientation would be oddly reversed.

[d] The narrow shaft of the *ḏd*-pillar and the left fork of the *wꜣs*-scepter are visible in the undamaged area behind the goddess's crown. These traces, in conjunction with *mỉ Rꜥ ḏ.t (n)ḥḥ,* allow the standard protection formula to be restored.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene is incised on one of the slabs used to block up the opening between the two southernmost pillars of the exterior façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. It is the lower of the two blocking stones for this opening, preserving the bottom half of the decoration on the panel, and it is the only one of these blocks that remains in situ in the peripteros.[6] It is possible that the upper slab contained a second register of decoration in addition to the top of the scene illustrated here, but it is more likely that it completed the latter and contained mostly textual elements.

The slab itself is tapered, being thinner at its top than at its base. This shape resembles that of the blocks forming the lintel of the Achoris gate, which may help suggest a date for the blocking of the peripteral windows.[7] A deep and regularly shaped hole, containing remnants of plaster, at the bottom center of the slab is difficult to characterize. The fact that the hole is cut only in the slab and not through the balustrade immediately beneath it suggests that it is contemporary with the emplacement of the stone, not a later modification. Again, one may compare this feature to the Achoris gate, for similar holes are visible on the interior surfaces of its lintel slabs. Possibly these holes were used when maneuvering the blocks into position. Whatever their function, the presence of these holes may also suggest a shared date of construction for both the gate and the blocking stones. The back of the slab, visible from the ambulatory (pl. 230*A*), is roughly finished and undecorated.

The surface is incised at left and right with a recessed vertical strip between the decorated area of the scene and the adjoining pillar face. The scene is framed on each side by a *wꜣs*-scepter, angled to form a distinct batter. It shows an offering ritual in which all of the participants are deities. The goddess on the right, presenting the offering, wears a green sheath dress, holds a bow and three arrows, and wears an unusual crown. The crown's full height is not preserved; it was embossed with a five-pointed star and furnished with a uraeus and two gazelle horns. The principal recipient of the offerings is a mummiform male deity holding a scepter and standing in a shrine, while behind him, holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign and a papyrus scepter, is a female deity wearing a tripartite wig with fillet and a sheath dress with a pleated, knotted strap.[8]

The slab is in fair condition except at the top and bottom edges, where the sandstone has eroded, and the upper portion of the decorated surface is lost to a large break. Plaster is still visible in the joins between the slab and the pillars. On the left border appear the remains of blue paint, similar to that used elsewhere in the blue and red bands that were added around these intercolumnar slabs.[9] There is no trace of any earlier carving. Plaster and paint are preserved on the carved surface, with green and red tones suggesting a link with the Ptolemaic paint episode visible elsewhere on the façade. The intact painted details on the lower portion of the goddess's dress at left suggest that the garment was richly decorated. In the medieval era, the head, upper arm/shoulder, and left hand of the left goddess were intentionally damaged, as was the right hand of the officiating goddess.

The identification of the figures is not certain. The text naming the participants was located at the top of the scene and is now lost. Hölscher's tentative identification of the goddess on the right as Satet, associated with the area of the First Cataract, is reasonable; she is often shown with a bow and arrows, and her typical headgear consisted of a tall crown, shaped like the white crown of Upper Egypt and flanked by two gazelle horns (cf. pl. 194). In the late dynastic period, this goddess came to be identified with Sopdet (*Spd.t*), whose appearance as the star Sirius presaged the Nile inundation. The composite deity could therefore be expected to possess the star iconography of Sopdet as well as the attributes of Satet. The point in history at which this fusion took place has been suggested to be as early as the Saite period, but on questionable evidence.[10] Despite the loss of the name, the combination of the star and the archery implements nevertheless suggests the identification of this deity as the composite goddess Sopdet-Satet.[11]

The identity of the other two figures is less certain, for the complete female figure on the left has no distinctive iconography, while the mummiform male figure is lost from the waist up. Hölscher's guess of Osiris and Isis is plausible, but there is no way to be completely sure without the missing information and without understanding how this ritual scene may have fit into the larger decorative program of the blocking stones.

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[6] On the blocking stones see Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 20–21, pl. 5. A photograph of the temple façade taken in 1854 by J. B. Greene (pl. 144) shows an additional blocking stone in situ in the space between the two pillars immediately north of the doorway. The decoration of this block cannot be made out in the photograph, but it was observed in 1829 by Champollion, who described it as follows:

> Entre les piliers 4 et 3, il reste un entrecolonnement formé d'une seule pierre, avec basrelief représentant Thouthmosis III libant et encensant Ammon générateur, assisté de Thamoun. (Champollion, *ND* I, 325)

Champollion does not say whether the king's cartouche was actually preserved; if so, then the block must have been inscribed with his image as an act of commemoration, in a manner similar to the use of his names and protocols on the polyhedral columns installed in the ambulatory during the reign of Achoris in the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty. This second block was subsequently removed, certainly before the 1890s, and cannot now be located. The photograph is preserved in an album by J. B. Greene, *Monuments et paysages de la Nubie et de la Haute Égypte* (Paris, 1854), pl. 33, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

[7] Hölscher had suggested a Saite date based on the style of the decoration (*Excavation* II, 21).

[8] The exact nature of the strap is not clear from the carving. We have rendered the internal lines with the sun-line convention, which suggests that the strap is a single piece of cloth. It is possible, however, that the strap is actually composed of two pieces of cloth with a negative space in the center.

[9] Noted by Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 21, and visible in many places on the north and south pillars and architraves of the peripteros (cf. pl. 251*E*).

[10] For the proposal to date this identification to the Saite period, see G. Roeder, "Sothis und Satis," *ZÄS* 45 (1908): 22–30; but note the questions raised at *LÄ* V, 1111–12. The sole example given in the *LÄ* of a pre-Ptolemaic Satet figure wearing a star is in fact this scene, following Hölscher's stylistic dating of the slab.

[11] The closest parallel for the crown, dating to the Roman period, can be seen in H. Junker and E. Winter, *Philä* II (Vienna, 1965), 332.

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PLATE 155. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, king of the gods, (he of) the sacred mountain of the west,[a] [2]as he gives all life, all stability and dominion, and all joy.

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, as she gives life.

Above the King

[4]The good god, the ruler of Thebes, [5]the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]the beloved son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, [7]given all life like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.[b]

Notes to Translation

[a] This is an abbreviated form of the epithet *ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t*, which occurs thrice in the interior architrave texts of Thutmose III (pl. 181). *Ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t*, "the sacred mountain of the west," served as a general designation for the Theban necropolis but was also applied specifically to this temple; for discussion see Gauthier, *DG* VI, 132–33; also Sethe, *Amun,* 54–55 (§105).

[b] As on pl. 153, the text divider below this line is evidently a later addition; it is cursorily scratched into the stone, cuts through the original Thutmosid yellow dado, and was filled with blue pigment during the Ptolemaic period, when the dado was repainted in bands of blue and red.

Epigraphic Comments

This pillar, the second from the south on the façade, depicts Thutmose III wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and receiving life from Amun-Re while grasping another *ꜥnḫ* in his free hand. The figure of Amun-Re, his name (except the sun disk) and the epithet *(ny)-sw.t nṯr.w* in l. 1, and the whole of l. 3 were erased under Akhenaten and restored following the Amarna period. Traces of the god's double plumed crown, arm, torso, and feet show that he stood somewhat closer to the king as originally carved, while traces of the 𓇋-sign in Nekhbet's name show that it was originally placed slightly to the right. When the damaged reliefs were shaved back for recarving, some of the surrounding undamaged sections were affected; for instance, the *ỉb*-sign in l. 2 lost part of its right vessel, which was not recarved. The post-Amarna restorers also refreshed the Thutmosid paint scheme of yellow signs and figures on a white background, vestiges of this treatment being visible throughout. Later, at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, additional details were added to the images of the king and the god in dark red paint, and the whole scene was repainted in polychrome under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

During the medieval period, the inhabitants of Djeme attacked parts of the scene, including the face and wings of the vulture, the head of the *ḏ*-sign in l. 7, the legs and feet of the *sꜣ*-sign and most of the *Ḏḥwty* hieroglyph in the cartouche in l. 6, the face and left leg of the king, and both legs/ankles of Amun-Re. In addition, a row of five simple crosses was scratched across the scene at the level of the figures' crowns. A section at the upper left corner of the pillar is abraded in the same fashion as the neighboring section of the architrave (see pl. 151), and the broken corner may be the result of a first attempt to cut a tether hole between this panel and the adjoining surface (pl. 200). Aside from additional minor damage to the stone along the block lines and edges, however, the scene is in rather good condition overall.

PLATE 156. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re *Ḏsr-s.t*, [2]as he gives all life, all stability and dominion, and all health.

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, as she gives dominion.[a]

Above the King

[4]The good god, the ruler of Thebes, [5]the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]the beloved son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, [7]given life like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.

Note to Translation

[a] The phrasing is unusual; although no traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty version remain, one would suspect *dỉ=s ꜥnḫ wꜣs* or similar for the original.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene, in which Thutmose III wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and holds the staff, mace, and *ꜥnḫ*, is the counterpart to the scene on the opposite jamb of the central portal (pl. 159), where he wears the double crown. Amun Re, wearing the double-plumed crown, receives the king, holding the *ꜥnḫ* to his nose.

This pillar face was completely recarved when the entryway was reconfigured under Euergetes II. The content of the texts, with one possible exception (n. *a* above), was retained, but the style of the signs was updated, as was that of the figures in the scene. It may be noted in particular that the king's kilt originally had a pleated pattern, traces of which are still visible, but these details were omitted in the Ptolemaic phase. Other details, such as the ribbon behind the king's head and the broad collars fringed with beads on both edges, are typical of Ptolemaic-style regalia, as is the deep engraving in Amun's plumes. Aside from the pharaoh's kilt, traces of the New Kingdom carving may be seen next to the name of Amun in l. 1, at the tail and the 𓊃-ring of the winged Nekhbet, and above her image, where the vestiges of the original *p.t*-sign are visible. There are traces of both the top and the bottom of the king's staff as well, showing that it was originally of the normal height and overlapped the god's arm, while a trace of the top of the New Kingdom carved dado can be seen within the reworked l. 8 at the bottom of the scene.

Several architectural modifications are also associated with the Ptolemaic renewal of the doorway. The two rectangular patch stones at the upper right are a later addition, along with the smaller patch below the second block line, at the right corner. Other patches in the area of the king's nomen and in the blank space below are indicative of attempts at surface repair, perhaps during the recarving process. At the upper left corner of the pillar, a smoothed bevel continues the outer edge of the reworked Ptolemaic lintel, cut out of the original architrave above (see pls. 151, 169, 170). At the lower left, a section removed from the edge of the pillar likely resulted from the insertion of the Late Period blocking stone above the adjoining balustrade. The lower right corner of the scene, behind the figure of Amun, was broken off during the medieval era, no doubt because of its proximity to the central entryway. Iconoclastic hacking of the figures, however, is surprisingly limited; only the head of the vulture goddess, the raised hand and belt of Amun, and the king's eyebrow, crown, beard, belt, and

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mace were attacked, while a chip out of the surface by the king's right foot is probably the result of natural deterioration of the stone.

Like the rest of the doorway, this scene remained unpainted during the Ptolemaic redecoration of the temple and thereafter. Traces of the older Thutmosid yellow paint can be seen in l. 8, within the deepest grooves of some of the recarved signs.

PLATE 157. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, *Ḏsr-s.t*, [2]as he gives all life, all joy, and every offering.

Before Wadjet

[3]Wadjet,[a] as she gives life.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the good god, lord[b] of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]given life and dominion, [7]enduring like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] A depression between and  suggests the expected  , but no trace of the sign remains.

[b] The original *nb*-sign, lost due to earlier damage in this area of the block, was recarved in the plaster surface of the Ptolemaic repair and repainted in green.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene, occupying the northernmost pillar of the façade, is now almost entirely masked by the lateral wall of the Ptolemaic court, the profile of which is shown in dashed lines on the drawing. It has therefore been necessary to copy the sunk relief decoration by taking foil impressions and by examining the details using a mirror within the interstice; these methods have allowed most, although not all, of the scene's features to be observed with reasonable accuracy. Some areas, including the lower part of the *srḫ*, the front of the king's crown, and the base of the sporran, could not be recorded by either method and have been left blank in the facsimile.

The composition shows Amun-Re *Ḏsr-s.t*, with the double-plumed crown and simple kilt, receiving Thutmose III, who wears the *ꜣtf*-crown with pleated kilt and sporran and holds the staff and *ʿnḫ*; the deity extends an *ʿnḫ* to the king's nose. The figures and text were attacked by Akhenaten's agents, with deep hack marks obliterating the image of the god, along with his name and epithets in l. 1, the upper section of the adjoining l. 2, and all of l. 3. So severe was the damage in these areas that extensive plaster filling was necessary during the post-Amarna restoration. The large trapezoidal patch stone in the lower left part of the scene is also a component of these repairs, though the patch stone at the left of the upper block appears to be original to the Thutmosid construction. The word *mn* in l. 6 and a large area surrounding it were also hacked out by the Atenists, presumably by confusion with the name of Amun; this area, too, required extensive repair thereafter. Much of the border element behind Amun's figure was either left unrestored or rendered in paint only, of which nothing now remains.

The Thutmosid yellow-on-white paint scheme was redone in polychrome during the Ptolemaic restoration of the temple's exterior. There must, however, have been some additional damage to the scene between the New Kingdom and the second century BC, as there are several areas, particularly along the block lines, that appear to have been built up once again in plaster during the Ptolemaic redecoration process. The lower part of the *srḫ* in l. 4, for example, was treated in this way, resulting in the loss of the original carved details, and the tail of the vulture goddess was reworked rather atypically at this time. Due to the constricted space, however, it has not been possible to examine all of these areas directly, nor can the painted details be recorded with precision.

The torus molding at the right edge of the scene, forming the northeast corner of the Eighteenth Dynasty monument, also exhibits signs of repair, though it is difficult to say whether this work dates to the reign of Ramesses III, to that of Achoris, or to the Ptolemaic period. When the northern annex was constructed, additional modifications were made to accommodate the overlapping exterior wall of the new room, including a curious recutting of the original cavetto cornice to form the interior corner of a smaller Ptolemaic torus molding (pl. 228*B*). Moreover, architectural guidelines indicating the inner and outer faces of the wall of the Ptolemaic court were incised along the lower left corner of the pillar face itself and on the outer east face of the Eighteenth Dynasty plinth below the base of the torus. Since this later wall covered the scene from at least the first century BC, the inscription was spared any iconoclastic damage at the hands of Djeme's medieval occupants.

PLATE 158. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, [2]as he gives all life and dominion and all health like Re.

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis, as <she>[a] gives dominion.

Above the King

[4]The good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [5]the bodily son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, [6]given life like Re forever.

Behind the King

[7]He shall be foremost of the *ka*s of all the living like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.

Note to Translation

[a] We presume *dî=<s> wꜣs*, with the pronoun omitted because of space constraints; it is possible that the *=s* was carved in the pre-Amarna version, but no trace of it survives.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene depicts Thutmose III, wearing a composite *šw.ty* diadem with horns and uraei and holding the staff and *ʿnḫ*, embraced by Amun-Re. An odd feature of this scene is the awkward placement of the incised bottom ends of the side borders, which do not extend all the way to the bottom of the horizontal text below the ground line; the carving of these elements is original to the composition, but such an arrangement does not occur on any of the other pillar scenes in the temple.

The inscription was intentionally defaced during the Amarna period, resulting in damage to the figure of Amun-Re, the text containing

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his name and epithets (l. 1, except for the sun disk hieroglyph, which was left intact), and the whole of l. 3, concerning Nekhbet. Interestingly, the lower rear leg and bull's tail of the king seem also to have been damaged, Atenist-style pecking being clearly in evidence; perhaps the Heretic's agents became confused by the king's complex regalia and began working on the wrong figure before realizing their mistake. All of these areas were restored following the return to orthodoxy, at which time the inscribed border element next to Amun's figure was partially erased, while an area of plaster fill along the middle block line may also be associated with the post-Amarna repairs. Traces of the Thutmosid Amun show that he originally stood somewhat more to the right. The Thutmosid paint scheme of yellow figures and signs on a white background was reproduced in the restored version. This and the subsequent stages of repainting on this pillar and the associated architectural elements of the façade, carried out during the Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties and the Ptolemaic era, are shown in the series of color illustrations on pls. 245–48 and discussed in detail by K. Vértes below (see pp. 53–56). A double patch stone emplacement visible under l. 8 (see pl. 163) can be ascribed to the Twenty-First Dynasty.

There is slight evidence of medieval vandalism of the relief, the scarab-sign in l. 4 and the *Ḏḥwty*-sign in l. 5 having been damaged, along with *wn* and the  -sign in l. 7, but the deity and king figures were, remarkably, left undamaged. A large cross, much like those shown on pls. 155 and 159, was scratched across the text of l. 5. The top block of the pillar, which is relatively thin for its width, is cracked and broken due to the weight of the superposed architrave blocks.

PLATE 159. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re *Ḏsr-s.t*, [2]as he[a] gives all life, all stability and dominion, and all joy like Re.

Before Wadjet

[3]Wadjet, as she gives life.

Above the King

[4]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [5]the beloved bodily son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, [6][. . . . . .].[b]

Below Scene

[7]Beloved[c] (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The *=f* is carved in reverse orientation, but no trace survives to show whether the sign was positioned thus in the Thutmosid version.

[b] The rightmost line of text, which would presumably have included *dỉ ꜥnḫ . . .*, etc., is lost with the patch stone that formed the corner of the pillar.

[c] The small missing patch stones at the top of *mry* and along the pillar edge at left indicate repair of the block line during the Ptolemaic reconfiguration of the doorway.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double crown and carrying an *ꜥnḫ*, is received by Amun-Re, who holds an *ꜥnḫ* to his nose; the deity grasps the king's right hand in a gesture different from that shown in the corresponding scene to the left of the doorway (pl. 156), in which Amun holds the king's arm. This scene was entirely recarved in the Ptolemaic style during the reign of Euergetes II, at the same time as the reworking of the lintel above and the opposite jamb, but, as on the latter, the Thutmosid decorative scheme and texts were retained.

The Ptolemaic sculptors did not entirely erase the evidence of Amarna-period hacking and the depressions in the stone caused by post-Atenist repairs, and vestiges of both of these features are visible in the photograph. Moreover, a few traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty carving can be seen within the cobra-headed vulture and along the line of the *p.t*-sign; comparison of this area with the New Kingdom decoration preserved on the pillar to the north (pl. 158) suggests that both the bird and the sky sign were recarved in a higher position, the top of the pillar face in the Thutmosid examples being occupied by a border element that is absent here. The space available for the vulture's claws and *šn*-ring above the words *sꜣ Rꜥ* in l. 5 is inordinately small, and this area appears to have been filled with plaster, perhaps during the recarving process. Due to the Coptic hacking of the signs below, the entire area was afterward broken away. Given that more space was available to carve the entire vulture figure, it is difficult to understand why so little space was left for the *šn*-ring; one can only suppose that because of prior damage to this area there was some confusion during the reworking of the inscription, resulting in a cramped rendering of this feature.

Additional traces of the earlier (Thutmosid/post-Amarna) carving may be seen in front of the reed-leaf of *ỉmn* and below the *ḏsr*-sign in l. 1, above and within the topmost *nb*-sign in l. 2, within the sedge and bee hieroglyphs in l. 4, and around the figures of the king and god: to the right of Amun's collar, below the king's uraeus, near his kilt and leg, and behind the small of Amun's back, where the original ribbon was inscribed. Traces of both Eighteenth Dynasty bull's tails can also be seen next to the recarved versions. Some of the yellow New Kingdom paint remains in these traces, but the scene is otherwise devoid of color. Within the crevices of some of the signs appear vestiges of white plaster or gesso, probably used as the base for a metallic coating (on which see below, p. 15). Along the right side of the panel, the corner has been cut back smoothly at an angle, creating an oblique facet around 10 cm wide. This feature was a component of the Ptolemaic modification of the door frame and corresponds to the similar modification at the top left corner of the south jamb (pl. 156), both of which align with the left and right edges of Euergetes II's recarved lintel overhead (pls. 169–70, 173–74).

A large patch stone that formed the right corner of the top half of the scene (as well as the top left corner of the adjoining scene, pl. 206) is lost, revealing the underlying stone surface, which was prepared with mortar for the join. Two smaller patch stones still in situ along the left edge of the pillar face, also visible in the reveal (pl. 180), may or may not have formed part of the original structure; the recarving of both faces makes it impossible to say whether these patch stones were introduced during the Ptolemaic restoration. Another tiny patch stone in the block line at the top of l. 2, devoid of decoration, appears to postdate the Ptolemaic recarving. The right corner of the pillar is also broken away further down, for about 50 cm of its length.

Some iconoclastic damage was inflicted on the scene in the medieval period, including hacking of the head of the serpent-headed vulture, her feet and *šn*-ring with the head of the *sꜣ*-sign below, the king's head and face, and the face of Amun. The extent of this damage is, however, rather limited in comparison with many other scenes in the temple; in this respect it is similar to the opposite jamb (pl. 156). A large Coptic cross is etched into the center of the scene between the heads of the two figures, and the area around the king's hand holding

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the *ʿnḫ* is covered with a heavy layer of carbonized pitch, likely also from the Coptic occupation of the site.

PLATES 160–61. RESTORATION INSCRIPTIONS FLANKING THE ENTRANCE OF THE TEMPLE

South Jamb[a]

[1]Renewal of the monument which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkheperure-chosen-of-Re, made for his father Amun.

[2]Renewal of the monument which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, made for his father Amun.

[3]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menmire-chosen-of-Re-beloved-of-Amun, the son of Re, Amenmesse-beloved-of-Re-ruler-of-Thebes, given life.

North Jamb

[1]Renewal[b] of the monument which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkheperure-chosen-of-Re,[c] made for his father Amun.

[2]Renewal of the monument which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, made for his father Amun.

[3]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands,[d] <Men>[e]mire-chosen-of-Re-beloved-of-Amun, the son of Re, Amenmesse-<beloved>[f]-of-Re-ruler-of-Thebes, given life.

Notes to Translation

[a] The copy of the south inscription given by Lepsius (L.*D.* III, 202d) is accurate as to the content of the texts, though not as to their palaeography or arrangement, and omits the traces.

[b] The copy of this text given by E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé, pub. par M. le Vicomte Jacques de Rougé* (Paris, 1877–79), pl. CXLVIII, omits the \\ of *smꜣwy* both here and in l. 2.

[c] Traces show that the base of Horemheb's cartouche was first placed at the wrong end, presumably a mistake on the part of the Ptolemaic sculptor when the text was recarved, and likely corrected on the spot.

[d] De Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques,* pl. CXLVIII, renders the determinatives below *tꜣ.wy* as \\, perhaps influenced by the similar error in Lepsius' hand-copy (L.*D. Text* iii, 154).

[e] The word *mn* in the prenomen was erroneously recarved as the 𓏏-sign, with a trace of one of the pegs betraying the error, presumably introduced during the Ptolemaic reworking of this inscription. W. Murnane, in his notes to the preliminary hand-copy of this inscription, suggested that this might be evidence that the cartouche was originally carved for Merneptah (*bꜣ-n-Rʿ mr(y)-ʾImn*), then usurped for Amenmesse, with the traces of the former, juxtaposed with the signs of the latter, putting the sculptors of Euergetes II to confusion. Unfortunately, no other traces of the pre-Ptolemaic carving remain to confirm or disprove this suggestion.

[f] We assume that the 𓏏-sign, included in the nomen on the south side, was omitted here either as an error during the Ptolemaic recarving or for reasons of spacing. It is possible, however, that the name here is the variant *ʾImn-Rʿ-ms-s(w)-ḥqꜣ-Wꜣs.(t)*, as attested on stelae from the Gurnah temple of Sety I (see R. Caminos, "Two Stelae in the Kurnah Temple of Sethos I," in O. Firchow [ed.], *Fs. Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag* [Berlin, 1955], 17–29). Von Beckerath (*Königsnamen*, 158–59), however, understands these writings as erroneous, and Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154) interpreted the spelling in this inscription as a recarving error.

Epigraphic Comments

These two sets of inscriptions in the names of Horemheb, Sety I, and Amenmesse were carved flanking the east entrance to the temple, below the lower marginal text of the scene on each jamb (pls. 156, 159), from which each group is separated by a text divider. Traces in the top line of the left set (pl. 160) show that these texts were carved in part over the Eighteenth Dynasty inscribed dado lines. Later, as with the rest of these two pillar faces, the inscriptions were recut in the Ptolemaic style when the doorway was reconfigured under Euergetes II. With the possible exceptions noted above, the content of the original texts was intentionally retained out of respect to the memory of the earlier kings whose works of piety were therein attested. A marked transition is apparent on either side between the area cut back for the resculpting of these text bands and the adjoining outer surface of the balustrade, where the texts of Painedjem and Ramesses III appear on a white painted background, while the left edge of the south group of texts shows a thin vertical guide line incised into the stone, no doubt associated with the Ptolemaic modifications.

Many traces of the New Kingdom inscriptions remain visible. The left group (pl. 160) includes traces of the 𓏏, 𓎛, and 𓈙-signs of l. 1; an earlier 𓈙, positioned in the middle of the group below 𓁹, in l. 2, along with traces of the sun disk and the knee of 𓎛 in the cartouche, and the 𓎟 and 𓎡 of *n ỉt=f ʾImn*; and in l. 3 traces of the original 𓅱 hieroglyph, the 𓅱-sign in the prenomen of Amenmesse, and the 𓅱-sign in both the prenomen and the nomen. On the right jamb (pl. 161), l. 1 bears traces of the foot of 𓃀, the corner of 𓁹, the lower left leg of 𓀀, and the pegs of 𓏏; l. 2 shows a lower original position for 𓅱; and l. 3 has traces of the older 𓎛- and 𓎛-signs in the cartouches, along with the trace showing that 𓏏 was recarved as 𓏏 in the prenomen as discussed above (n. *e*). There are vestiges of yellow paint from the New Kingdom within some of the recut signs, and bits of red paint in some of the negative spaces may correspond to an earlier dado band. The Ptolemaic-era white plaster or gesso layer observed in other places on this doorway, perhaps a background for a metallic surface treatment, can be observed in spots within these inscriptions. There is no evidence of later iconoclastic damage, but there are some cracks and weathering of the stone on either side.

PLATE 162. MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF PAINEDJEM AND RAMESSES III

Inscription of Painedjem

[1]Renewal of the monument which the high priest[a] of Amun-Re king of the gods, the mayor, vizier, and supreme commander of the army of Upper and Lower Egypt, Painedjem,[b] justified, son of the [high] priest [of Amun-Re king of the gods, Paiankh],[c] justified, made; he having made [. . .][d]

Inscription of Ramesses III

[2](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, great of kingship, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-beloved-of-Amun, the son of Re, [Ramesses-ruler-of]-Heliopolis, [. . .][e]

Notes to Translation

[a] The 𓀀-sign is carved without its beard, unlike the corresponding sign in the opposite text (pl. 163). The beard is included in the copies of

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Lepsius (L.*D.* III, 251d), Černý (*Notebook* 139, 13), and K. Jansen-Winkeln, (*Inschriften der Spätzeit* I [Wiesbaden, 2007], 18, §24).

[b] Perhaps the sculptor confused  and here, but the presence of the stem (omitted by Černý and given erroneously with two protrusions by Jansen-Winkeln) shows that the sign was probably drafted correctly by the scribe. In the corresponding text on the opposite side, the sign is similarly rendered, but without any indication of the stem.

[c] Restore [*ḥm*]-*nṯr* [*tp(y) n ʾImn-Rʿ (ny)-sw.t nṯr.w pꜣy-ʿnḫ*] based on the text opposite (pl. 163).

[d] The left end of the inscription is masked by the Ptolemaic wall of the court, and mortar fill in the gap obscures its last three or four groups, of which nothing can be read with certainty beyond *r* [. . .].

[e] The standard nomen of Ramesses III, mostly lost in the gap, can be restored with confidence. The end of the text, covered by the Ptolemaic wall, probably consisted of [*mry ʾImn-Rʿ*] or the like.

Epigraphic Comments

Two sets of marginal inscriptions were added to the previously undecorated Thutmosid balustrades on the east façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. The first set, inscribed during the reign of Ramesses III as part of his decorative program for the Small Temple's exterior walls, occupies the lower position, approximately 30 cm below the curve of the balustrade. The two facing texts, deeply incised, contain an abbreviated version of the king's names and titles. Originally painted in yellow on a white background to match the Thutmosid sunk-relief decoration, the hieroglyphs were redone in polychrome during the Ptolemaic era.

Within the blank space above this Ramessid text, the high priest Painedjem caused two facing restoration inscriptions to be carved, commemorating his renewal of the temple at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty. The hieroglyphs are smaller than those of Ramesses III and are shallowly incised; their palaeography, characterized by details cursorily and inconsistently rendered, matches that of the high priest's texts along the temple's north and south exterior walls, and they were presumably carved at the same time. Of particular interest is the  -sign, carved distinctively with two feathers to indicate a Libyan warrior, reflecting the political and cultural situation in Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period.[12] The interiors of the signs were painted blue, with the background left in white, and vestiges of a preliminary draft in red paint can be seen in several places. K. Vértes has provided more in-depth remarks on the sequence of paint schemes for these inscriptions (see below, pp. 53–56, and pls. 245–48). In the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, when the New Kingdom restoration texts on the doorjambs were recarved (pls. 160, 161), the reworking of the surrounding surface caused the right end of the top border line to be erased at the beginning of Painedjem's southern text, an error that was not corrected afterward.

The  -sign in l. 1 was hacked out by iconoclasts in the medieval period, but these two lines of text were otherwise spared from intentional damage. On the south section, below the blocking stone (pl. 154) between the two southernmost pillars, a large rectangular chunk of the balustrade was cut out, creating a low, irregular entrance to the ambulatory.[13] This caused the loss of both texts as far as the right edge of the corner pillar. The texts on both sides of the façade extend behind the masonry of the Ptolemaic court walls, so that the ends of all four inscriptions are partially obscured; a thin dashed line on the plate indicates the position of the later wall.

PLATE 163. MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF PAINEDJEM AND RAMESSES III

Inscription of Painedjem

[1]Renewal of the monument which the supreme commander of the army, the high priest of Amun-Re king of the gods, Painedjem, justified, son of the high priest of Amun-Re king of the gods, Paiankh,[a] justified, made; he having made a monument for his father Amun-Re king of the gods who dwells in *Ḏsr-s.t*, he desiring to hide[b] [his][c] image upon the mountain.[d]

Inscription of Ramesses III

[2](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, great of kingship, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-beloved-of-Amun, the son of Re, Ramesses-ruler-of-Heliopolis, [beloved] of Amun [. . .][e]

Notes to Translation

[a] The feet of the -sign are shown with an elongated curve.

[b] The base of the -sign in *ḥꜣp* is unusually compressed.

[c] Read *sšm=*[*f*].

[d] The reading of this sign is not certain. Situated in a corner of the interstice between the adjoining torus molding and the abutting Ptolemaic wall, only its upper left protrusion is detectable above a hard concretion of ancient mortar, making it impossible to see anything further. The spacing suggests (*ḏw*), but a rather narrow (*ḫꜣs.t*) is also possible.

[e] In the obscured section there is space for [*mry*] *ʾImn-*[*Rʿ*].

Epigraphic Comments

The texts of Painedjem and Ramesses III on the north balustrade correspond in style, orientation, and content to those on the south. In a later modification to the dado of the façade, two patch stones, the smaller one roughly rectangular and the larger semicircular, were inserted at the top edge of the Painedjem text in the area below the second pillar on the north (pl. 158). The semicircular patch was still in place in 1854, when the façade was photographed by J. B. Greene (pl. 144). Above the Painedjem text on the north side, between the lateral pillar surfaces illustrated on pls. 206 and 207, are two sandstone patches to the curved top of the balustrade (cf. pl. 150); these patches were probably inserted when decorated blocking stones were placed in the window spaces between the peripteral pillars. Below the top of the balustrade are bits of hieratic graffiti in black ink (Gr. 455*A–D*; see below, pl. 233); the Twenty-First Dynasty inscription appears to postdate these graffiti, and they are also partly covered by the Ptolemaic red-painted band, so they may be of Ramessid date.

PLATES 164–66. PTOLEMAIC CORNICE AND VIGNETTES

As part of the alterations made to the east entrance during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, the uninscribed Eighteenth Dynasty cornice and torus molding over the lintel were resculpted to produce a smaller, highly detailed cornice bearing a winged solar disk with uraei in high relief, framed by heraldic vignettes and set atop a torus molding of reduced diameter, which was carved with a regular banded pattern.

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[12] See the remarks of E. Cole, "Foreign Influence in the Late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period," in M. Pinarello et al. (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2014: Ancient Egypt in a Global World. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium* (Oxford, 2015), 115, with reference to A. Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," in *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985): 57.

[13] This entrance was filled with cement in the time of Daressy; for its prior appearance see G. Steindorff, *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreiches* (Bleifeld and Leipzig, 1900), 112, fig. 97.

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Along with similar modifications made to the eastern and western doorways of the bark shrine within, these changes emphasized the central processional axis of the monument while making the portals conform to the Ptolemaic architectural and decorative canon. These modifications required the insertion of two patch stones in the vertical block line at left, where the Thutmosid blocks had become separated from one another, and a wooden wedge inserted into the left end of the horizontal block line was also part of this renovation.

Each of the flanking vignettes, filling the hollow space between the curved end of the Ptolemaic cornice and the edge of the adjoining New Kingdom original, features a winged cobra goddess whose feathers embrace a standing *wꜣs*-scepter with *šn*-ring. The left (south) vignette (pl. 164*B*) depicts "Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis," wearing the Upper Egyptian crown flanked by plumes, resting on a *nb*-sign atop the lotus plant, which is to be read "lady of Upper Egypt." The right (north) vignette (pl. 165*B*) shows "Wadjet, lady of Pe and Dep,"[14] with the Lower Egyptian crown, atop the *nb* with the papyrus plant designating her as "lady of Lower Egypt." The fine detailing of the serpent figures is partly obscured by a layer of gritty plaster, applied some time afterward, which also hides much of the red, white, green, and blue paint on both sides. Though some erosion and cracking has occurred in both vignettes, there is no evidence of medieval iconoclastic damage to either of them.

The cornice, whose surface is decorated with stylized palm fronds, exhibits the steep profile typical of this feature in Ptolemaic architecture. Neither the palm leaves nor the winged solar disk was painted, but in a few places there are vestiges of a greenish-brown residue adhering atop a layer of plaster or gesso, suggesting a metallic coating, as also found on the lintel below. The top edge of the cornice has broken off along the right three-quarters of its length. The preserved section at the upper left has two shallow rectangular emplacements about 12 mm deep with some plaster remaining inside them, perhaps associated with fixtures attached later, when the court in front of the temple was constructed. Both the central sun disk and the high-relief cobras on either side of it were vandalized by the temple's medieval inhabitants.

PLATES 167–76. OFFERING SCENES OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II ABOVE THE EAST ENTRANCE

As already observed (p. 7), the central section of the architrave, as decorated in the time of Thutmose III, was adorned with a large winged solar disk, at whose feather-tips was inscribed the name *Bḥd.ty* in hieroglyphs comparable in scale to those of the facing architrave texts containing the king's titulary. No certain trace of the feathers, pinions, or rim of the disk survives, but a small rectangular hole located precisely in the middle of the lintel, later filled in with a neat sandstone patch, indicates that the winged disk probably consisted of a sculpted attachment in wood or metal affixed to the stone surface. Subsequent to the removal of this feature, but prior to the Ptolemaic inscriptions, there is evidence for an intermediate stage of modification in the form of two holes, irregularly shaped, at each end of the lintel, about two-thirds of the way up its height. Ptolemy VIII's sculptors also patched these holes carefully before they began their work, so they must indicate the presence of a previous exterior fixture. Since it is known that a colonnade was built in front of the façade during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,[15] it can be conjectured that these holes were cut to support its (presumably) wooden roof or architraves, but the limited evidence precludes more detailed speculation.

When the cavetto cornice and torus molding above the portal were recut (pls. 164–66), the surface of the lintel was smoothed down, removing all but the deepest traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty hieroglyphs, which would then have been filled with plaster. On this newly prepared surface were inscribed four small-scale offering scenes, symmetrically arranged. Each depicts two deities receiving offerings from Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, who appears alone as officiant in the two center scenes but is accompanied by his corulers Cleopatra II "the king's sister" in the leftmost and Cleopatra III "the king's wife" in the rightmost scene.[16] The accompanying texts are canonically arranged and consist, aside from the elaborate label for each ritual, of divine speeches honoring the royal officiant and of numerous descriptive epithets of the king and of the beneficiary deities, which accord in content with the longer theological texts carved within the temple during Ptolemy VIII's reign. As noted previously (p. 7), a deep groove was carved at either end of the lintel to mark it as a separate element from the Eighteenth Dynasty architrave. This groove extended downward as a beveled edge along the outer corners of the pillar faces shown on pls. 156 and 159, further distinguishing the doorframe from the adjoining elements of the façade.

Aside from bits of yellow ochre paint remaining within the deepest of the Eighteenth Dynasty traces, there is no evidence of polychrome decoration applied to any part of these four offering scenes, but the vestiges of plaster or gesso previously described on the scenes on pls. 156, 159, 160, 161, and 166, bearing greenish-brown metallic residue, are also abundant on the surface of the lintel. Testing by portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometer during the 2013–14 field season revealed that this residue contained significant traces of copper and chloride,[17] suggesting that the cornice, torus molding, lintel, and jambs of the portal may have been covered with a layer of copper or bronze foil, subsequently corroded. Such a treatment would be similar in type, though not in magnificence, to the gold foil over gesso applied to the doorway of the inner sanctuary of the Imhotep/Asklepios shrine at Deir el-Bahari, also dating to the reign of Ptolemy VIII.[18] Since the jambs and reveals of our doorway, along with the cornices, lintels, jambs, and reveals of both the eastern and western portals of the bark shrine, also lack any trace of painted decoration but likewise show vestiges of white plaster/gesso adhering to the sandstone surface, it follows that each of these three axial doorways may have been finished with a similar metallic coating. This evidence also accords with the traces of gold leaf or foil previously observed on the frame of the central doorway leading into the inner sanctuaries, which was applied as part of the overall Ptolemaic redecoration program focused on the temple's central axis.[19]

[14] The writing with the 𓌙-sign, which takes the phonetic value *dp* from its use as the determinative of *dp* "taste," is attested in late texts; see *Wb.* V, 443.

[15] J. Jacquet and H. Jacquet, "Architectural Report: The Later Constructions Added to the Façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple," in *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1995–1996* (Chicago, 1996), 50–54.

[16] On the Demotic documents recording the stages and dates of the joint rule of Ptolemy VIII, his sister Cleopatra II, and his niece Cleopatra III, see Pestman, *Chronologie*, 56–65. The presence of both queens dates the recarving of this lintel either to 138/37–132/31 BC or to 125/24–116/15 BC.

[17] We are grateful to Dr. Melinda Hartwig, former professor of ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern art at Georgia State University and now curator of ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern art in the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University, and Prof. Daniel M. Deocampo, chair of the Department of Geosciences at Georgia State University, for generously providing the equipment needed to conduct on-site tests of these surface deposits, and to Katie Etre of Emory University for providing expert analysis of the results.

[18] E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari* III: *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (Warsaw, 1984), 20.

[19] Compare the remarks at *Medinet Habu* IX, 21–22 (with reference to pls. 14–15).

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PLATE 170. PTOLEMY VIII, ACCOMPANIED BY CLEOPATRA II, OFFERING WINE TO AMUNOPET AND AMUNET

Before the King

[1][a]Take for yourself the wine that has gone forth[b] from Bahariya,[c] the eye of Horus[d] that has gone forth from Dakhla-Kharga,[e] which (I have) offered[f] [2]for [your] *ka*,[g] that you may be powerful[h] [by means of] them,[i] while they rejoice[j] who follow <him>.[k]

Above and Before Amunopet

[3]Words spoken by Amunopet of Djeme,[l] [the great living god, chief][m] of the gods, who crosses[n] to Djeme[o] [4]every ten days in order to purify food-offerings [5]for the great *ba* of Kematef:[p] [6]"I shall cause that you seize all lands[q] (that) the Disk gives."

Above and Before Amunet

[7]Words spoken by Amunet, the very great one, [8]who resides in Karnak: [9]"I have given to you joy every day (and) happiness without interruption."

Rightmost Column

[10][r] The image of Horus-lord-of-life, of the son of Isis, the *ka*-priest of Nun the great one,[s] the successor of the Ennead,[t] who pours out[u] water for them every ten days.[v]

Above the King

[11]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Heir of the God[s Epiphaneis],[w] chosen of Ptah, who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun, [12]the son of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, [13]the excellent seed[x] of the lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,[y] [14]the effective image[z] who has gone out from him,[aa]

Behind the King

[15]—[the protection][ab] of all life and dominion surrounds him like Re forever—

Above the Queen

[16](and) the king's sister, the ruler[ac] (and) lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra,[ad] [17]the Gods Euergetai.[ae]

Before the Queen

[18]Making offering-recitations[af] (with) great rejoicing.[ag]

Leftmost Column

[19][ah]He who has gone forth from the Clever One,[ai] reared[aj] by the Two Sisters within Pe, the image of Re, the successor of Atum, born of his mother, lord of Imet,[ak] who fills[al] the eye of Horus with its wine, they being pure.[am]

Notes to Translation

[a] The two columns of text (ll. 1–2) containing the scene's label are heavily damaged, with a crack in the lintel block running vertically through l. 1, while l. 2 was carved athwart the adjoining block line, the erosion of whose edges has obliterated many of the signs therein. Moreover, the surface in this area is generally abraded, so that what remains of the hieroglyphs can, in many places, be made out only with difficulty. Restorations to the text can nevertheless be suggested based on the parallel found on the gate of the Montu complex at North Karnak (Aufrère, *Propylône,* 199–203, fig. 30 = scene 10b, ll. 2–3).

[b] Here, after *ỉrp*, can be seen the ⌓-sign for *pr,* followed by the upper right corner of the phonetic complement ⊐ above the flat *m*.

[c] The upper part of the word *Ḏsḏs* (Gauthier, *DG* VI, 134) is heavily abraded, but examination of the remaining traces suggests an (admittedly otherwise unattested) writing with 𓈙 followed by the clearly visible 𓊪, 𓈎, and the determinative.

[d] For the common writing of *ỉr.t Ḥr* with 𓁹𓂀 see Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 98.

[e] For the writing of *Knm.t* with ✶ compare *Urk.* VIII, 129c; it is derived from the astronomical term *knm.t* (*Wb.* V, 132–33). On the significance of the wine of the oasis regions *Ḏsḏs* and *Knm.t* in the Ptolemaic temple ritual see Aufrère, *Propylône*, 201, n. (b), with many citations listed. For further discussion and examples of this ritual episode see also Poo, *Wine-Offering*, 89–101.

[f] The *n* at the top of l. 2 serves both for the expected but unwritten *.n=ỉ* following *wdn* and as the preposition for the following *n kꜣ=*[*k*].

[g] The writing was presumably 𓂋𓏏𓋴, as in the North Karnak example (Aufrère, *Propylône*, 200, fig. 30, l. 2), but without the reversed orientation employed there.

[h] Read *sḫm=k*; the side of the 𓌙-sign is visible to the right of the break, while the left corner of 𓊃 can be seen to the upper left, with the handle of the 𓎛 preserved below. The resulting orthography, 𓌙𓎛, is unusual but suits the space available, bearing in mind the slight vertical disjunction of the inscription along the block line.

[i] If the disjunction mentioned in the previous note is taken into account, there is enough room for a low broad sign, presumably 𓅱 *ỉm*, above the suffix *=*[*s*]*n*. There is also space for the three plural strokes below *=*[*s*]*n*, but no trace of them remains.

[j] The 𓁷 of *ḥ‹* can be seen as a damaged outline to the right of the break, and the hand of the upper 𓊃-sign, and the hand and elbow of the lower one, are visible at the edges of the damage in the next group below. If these identifications are accepted, then the space to the left of 𓁷 must have been occupied by the determinative 𓀁, though it is difficult to explain why the word would have been written in this way. Moreover, the emphatic particle *rf*, which follows *ḥ‹* in the North Karnak example (Aufrère, *Propylône*, 200, fig. 30, l. 3), was omitted here.

[k] The signs of *ỉmy.w-ḫt=f* are clearly visible, with the break running through the middle of the groups; the disjunction between the blocks is notable in this section. A superfluous trio of strokes was included for *ỉmy.w-ḫt* before the suffix 𓂝, which itself would appear to be a scribal error for *=k*, written 𓎡 at Aufrère, *Propylône*, 200, fig. 30, l. 3.

[l] For the writings with 𓅱 of *Ḏꜣ.w-mw.wt* "Djeme," common in the Medinet Habu inscriptions, see Sethe, *Amun*, 53 (§103), and discussion by Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 104, n. 507.

[m] A small patch stone, approximately 10 cm in height, was inserted here before the Ptolemaic recarving, one assumes to fill the hole left by an earlier architectural emplacement (related to the similarly positioned hole at the right end of the lintel; see discussion above, p. 15). The plaster that must have filled the surrounding cracks has fallen away, and the surface of the patch is abraded, making it difficult to read the hieroglyphs. With care, however, one can make out two of a group of three 𓎼-signs, followed by 𓏏 and 𓊵, and 𓎛 in the next group, with the top of a faintly visible 𓅱 below. These vestiges make it possible to restore the group 𓇋𓏏𓎼 *nṯr ꜥ ‹nḫ ḥry . . .* in the upper gap, based on the parallels given by M. Doresse, "Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du début de la décade," in *RdÉ* 25 (1973): 124–26 (documents B, D, H, I, and J); Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 55, n. 56; Aufrère, *Propylône*, 346 (scene 21b); and at *Urk.* VIII, 96b, 96g, and 139k.

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[n] For the writing of *ḏ3w* compare pl. 176, l. 8.

[o] The projected level of the base of the text column, which should align with the bottom of the adjoining cartouche, allows for a determinative, perhaps  , after the second .

[p] Other texts indicating the decadal provision or purification (*sfsf*) of food offerings by Amunopet for the Ogdoad and the great *ba* of Kematef are cited by Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 56, n. 68; 65, n. 153; 166, n. 1068; 183, n. 1194; 213, n. 1456; 265, n. (a); 294 (from the gate of Claudius at Medinet Habu); and 355 (from the propylon of Deir Shelwit).

[q] Written *t3.wy*.

[r] For the epithets of Amunopet of Djeme in this column compare *Urk.* VIII, 36b; and further Sternberg, *Propylon,* 119–21; Aufrère, *Propylône,* 344, 346–50 (§§237b, 238f–i), figs. 59–60.

[s] For discussion and references see Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 57, n. 71.

[t] The male deity of *Psḏ.t* is carved androgynously, seemingly with a breast and without the expected beard.

[u] Evidently *stỉ* < *s3t*; see *Wb.* III, 422–23, and *Wb.* IV, 328–29, but on the possible expanded significance of the  -sign in the texts of Djeme compare the remarks of Y. Volokhine, "Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agoûz, *Ḏd-ḥr-p3-hb, Ḏḥwty-stm*," in *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 422. See also Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 56, n. 69, with additional occurrences.

[v] References in Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 56, nn. 63–66.

[w] A large crack in the corner of the block runs through the top of the cartouche, obscuring several signs, but the prenomen of Euergetes II can easily be restored. The left tip of  *ỉwʿ* is visible at the edge of the broken area, with the end of  below, while the top corner of  remains intact at the upper right.

[x] *Wb.* I, 531/3–4.

[y] Either *t3.wy* was carved without the usual   -signs, or they have disappeared as a result of erosion.

[z] For *sḫm spd* compare *Urk.* VIII, 129a, which can probably be corrected on the basis of this example.

[aa] The reference is to Amun, *nb ns.wt t3.wy*, of whom the king is the son/successor.

[ab] There is no trace of the expected *s3*-sign here. The area is abraded, and it is possible that the sign was carved above the king's shoulder and is now lost; otherwise it may have been omitted because of the spacing in this case.

[ac] The expected phonetic complement  is carved here as .

[ad] Cleopatra II, *sn.t ny-sw.t*, as opposed to *ḥm.t ny-sw.t* (Cleopatra III) in the rightmost scene (pl. 174).

[ae] The epithet of the royal couple *nṯr.wy mnḫ.wy* includes a pair of determinative signs; the first of these signs, a seated figure wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, can be taken to indicate the king, who appears thusly adorned below, while the second hieroglyph shows a seated figure in a double-plumed crown, a reference to the queen's diadem.

[af] The top part of the text column before the queen is heavily eroded, and the reading is made more difficult by the traces of the earlier Thutmosid  and  , both deeply cut, which render the surface irregular. One would expect the inscription to begin just below the queen's elbow, but no indication of any sign can be found there. Instead, below the corner of the big Eighteenth Dynasty , the signs  can, with some optimism, be observed. Since the ritual act *ỉr(t) wdn(.t)* is attested (*Edfou* I, 145/17 and 398/17), the suggested reading is a reasonable one; see discussion and references in Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 278–79. The queen's upraised hand accords with the "chanted ritual" indicated by this label.

[ag] Presumably *(m)ršw.t wr.(t)*.

[ah] The series of epithets for the king in l. 19 parallels in part a text of Ptolemy VI from the second pylon at Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 129e), and the damaged signs can be restored therefrom with confidence.

[ai] That is, Thoth; see *Wb.* II, 445/9.

[aj] *Wb.* II, 439/1, but written here with the ideogram only. The head and back arm of the child figure are just visible at the right side of the damaged area.

[ak] On *ỉm.t* see *Wb.* I, 78/12 and Gauthier, *DG* I, 73–74. The capital of the 19th Lower Egyptian nome; its precise location is uncertain, with Buto, Pelusium, and Tell Nebeshieh all having been proposed. Further discussion and references are given at Aufrère, *Propylône*, 411 (§266), n. (i).

[al] The left edges of the three groups *mw.t=f nb ỉm.t mḥ* are preserved; the hieroglyphs were carved over the depression left by the big -sign of the Thutmosid inscription, and the disappearance of plaster fill from this area caused the loss of the remainder. *Mw.t=f* is clear from the extant bits, and the -sign and the following toponym *ỉm.t* become clear by comparison with the abovementioned Karnak parallel. The tail of the *mḥ*-sign can be seen at the corner of the trace .

[am] The referents of *=w* are *ỉr.t Ḥr* and *ỉrp*; this concluding phrase of the series of epithets reemphasizes the king's role in the wine-offering episode depicted in this scene.

Epigraphic Comments

This is the leftmost of the four scenes inscribed on the lintel over the east entrance to the temple, occupying the left end of the lintel block itself and the right end of the adjoining architrave block. As the traces of *[Bḥ]d.t(y)* in large hieroglyphs demonstrate, this lintel was once decorated with a winged image of the solar disk. The subsequent modifications made to the lintel have been discussed above (p. 15). The scene depicts Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, along with his sister-wife Cleopatra II, offering wine to Amunopet and Amunet, here associated with the mound of Djeme. Overall the elegantly carved sunk-relief decoration is well preserved, although the hieroglyphic texts are at such a small scale that the relatively mild surface abrasion has left them difficult to read in several spots. Additionally, the severe cracking along the left edge of the lintel block where it meets the architrave block has resulted in considerable loss to ll. 1, 2, 3, 11, and 12. The deeply cut traces of , , and , at mid-height of the figures of the king and queen, must have been filled with plaster for the Ptolemaic inscription, and the disappearance of this infill has also carried away parts of the text columns (ll. 2, 15, 18, and 19). Aside from the cracking and deterioration of the surface, the faces of Amunopet and Amunet were vandalized in the medieval period, along with Amunopet's phallus. There also are a few peck marks around the king's crown. Nevertheless the royal couple, and the queen in particular, appear for the most part to have been spared intentional destruction; this unexpected preservation of Cleopatra's image may also be observed on pl. 174 (see below), as well as on the lintel over the east entrance to the bark shrine.

There is no indication that this scene received painted decoration, aside from the remains of yellow paint within the traces of Thutmose III's inscriptions. As with the other recarved features from the reign of Euergetes II on the axis of the temple, the carved incisions show vestiges of white plaster or gypsum, which probably formed the base for a metallic surface coating, as previously noted (p. 15).

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PLATE 172. PTOLEMY VIII OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE AND MUT

Before the King

[1]Take for yourself Maat, the great one[a] (whom) you love, your Meret,[b] from whom you live, [2]who loves Ptah, as she unites with your majesty, the daughter of Re; she will not be distant[c] from you.[d]

Above Amun-Re

[3]Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods, the august image, chief of all the gods, the great god, lord of heaven, [4]the earth, the netherworld, the waters, and the mountains; Amun, the great one who came into being at the first occasion, the father of fathers [5]of the Ogdoad: [6]"(To) you (I) have given Maat in Djeme(?),[e] that you may satisfy the gods with what they love."

Above and Before Mut

[7]Words spoken by Mut the great one, lady of Isheru, the mother, chief of the goddess(es), [8]who went forth from Nun: [9]"(To) you (I) have given Maat, who arises in front of you, that she may take her place between your eyebrows."

Rightmost Column

[10]He who came into being at the beginning, who fashioned his (own) body with his hands, who created Nun, who arose from within it when[f] the land was mixed with darkness,[g] the father of the fathers of the Ogdoad, Kematef in [the first occasion].[h]

Above the King

[11]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Heir of the Gods Epiphaneis, chosen of Ptah, who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun, [12]the son of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, [13]the Horus concerning whom the gods and goddesses rejoice.[i]

Behind the King

[14]The protection of all life and dominion surrounds him like Re forever.

Leftmost Column

[15]The eldest son of Amun, the firstborn of Tatenen, the excellent seed gone forth from Re, the splendid egg[j] from[k] the lord of Hermopolis, the heir of Khonsu, the youthful image[l] of Re, who satisfies the hidden *ba* with his daughter.[m]

Notes to Translation

[a] Some of the texts in this vignette, including the label and the epithets of Amun-Re, share elements with those of the corresponding scene on the exterior north architrave of the propylon of Montu at Karnak (Aufrère, *Propylône*, 203–9, no. 11a (§§177–79). Here, *wr.t* is suggested by the parallel *m n=k Mꜣʿ.t wr.t mr=k* (ibid., 144, no. 7b), but the writing is not otherwise attested.

[b] On *Mr.t*, embodying various attributes including order, harmony, and the generative power of vegetation, see Aufrère, *Propylône*, 147–48 (§156), nn. (c–d), and 206 (§179), n. (b).

[c] The fuller writing shows that *ḥrỉ*, instead of *wꜣ*, is probably also to be read in the parallel at Aufrère, *Propylône*, no. 11a (§178*a*).

[d] For *n sḏm=f* designating the future tense in Ptolemaic texts, see D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische* 2 (Hützel, 2008), 788–89 (§159).

[e] Reading uncertain; the lack of a feather on the crocodile-sign and the presence of  , which usually has the value *k* or *q*, render this suspect as a writing of Djeme.

[f] *r* for *ỉw*; see *Wb.* I, 42, and *Valeurs phonétiques* I, 156.

[g] For discussion of this phrase describing the primordial chaos at the moment of creation, quoting this example, see Klotz, *Roman Thebes,* 135, n. 777. Klotz notes occurrences of the same phrase on the Gate of Domitian at Medinet Habu (ibid., 175, n. 1142; see Epigraphic Survey negative nos. 21168, 21169) and at Kom Ombo (ibid., 123; see *Kom Ombos*, 312, no. 958). The example cited by Klotz (ibid., 175, n. 1142) from the bark shrine of the Small Temple (MH.B 155 N, l. 2; see McClain, "Cosmogonical Inscriptions," 78, fig. 5.9, l. 2, and Epigraphic Survey negative no. 1548) is slightly misquoted, the word *ꜣbḫ* being omitted there. Similar expressions are also cited by Klotz, *Roman Thebes,* 124 (*Urk.* VIII, 65c), 172 (*Urk.* VIII, 79h), and 203 (citing *Urk.* VIII, 188e, but the reference is erroneous; the text is actually found at *Urk.* VIII, 144g). Note that the writing of *smꜣwy* here incorporates a superfluous determinative stroke.

[h] Part of a round sign is visible at the edge of the damaged area; both the available space and the context permit *n sp tpy* to be suggested here, assuming *n* is written for *m*.

[i] A reference to, or perhaps a variant of, the Horus name of Euergetes II: *ḥwnw ḥkn.tw m ʿnḫ=f*, etc. (see von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 241).

[j] The king receives here, seemingly exceptionally, an epithet that is elsewhere associated with Rattawy (Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 210–11) and with the birth of Montu of Thebes (ibid., 157, n. 962), and is also accorded to Horus at Dendera (*LGG* VI, 222a–b).

[k] Or "of," if *m* is written here for the genitive *n*.

[l] Understand the  -sign as the phonetic complement *w* (*Valeurs phonétiques* II, 340) for *nww*, though the writing is not otherwise attested.

[m] For this writing of *sꜣ.t* see *Wb.* III, 411. The reference is to Maat, daughter of Amun-Re.

Epigraphic Comments

The center left scene of the lintel shows Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, wearing the double-plumed diadem with horns, uraei, and solar disk, offering Maat to Amun-Re enthroned, accompanied by Mut. The scene was carved over the erased Thutmosid decoration, a trace of which, deeply cut and still bearing vestiges of yellow paint, extends across Mut's double crown and past the column of text to the left. Given its shape and location, this may be part of the upper pinion of the Eighteenth Dynasty winged sun disk. At the far right of the scene, jutting into the vertical text column (by *wbn m-ḫnt=f*), is part of the square patch stone, also noted for pl. 176, that fills an older hole precisely in the center of the lintel, perhaps indicating where a solar disk in wood or metal had been attached under Thutmose III. Aside from the trace just noted, the scene is devoid of painted decoration, though several of the incisions contain remnants of a plaster coating, and the greenish-brown metallic residue noted elsewhere on this doorway adheres to the surface of this scene in a few places.

The carving is relatively well preserved except for the faces of the three figures, the arms and legs of Amun, and the lower legs of Mut, which were vandalized in the medieval period. A natural crack in the sandstone extends across the heads of Mut and Amun and over the king's shoulders, and the large break in the lower edge of the lintel, extending into the adjoining scene to the right, has caused the loss of the bottom of l. 10 of the text.

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PLATE 174. PTOLEMY VIII, ACCOMPANIED BY CLEOPATRA III, OFFERING WINE TO HORUS AND ISIS

Before the King[a]

[1]Let the field[b] prosper[c] in[d] the locale (that) you desire; let produce grow in your favorite place, [2](O) pure[e] and noble[f] one who is[g] (in?)[h] the great[i] eye[j] of Horus; let [your] heart[k] rejoice[l] in [3]the smell [. . .].[m]

Above Horus

[4]Words spoken by Horus, son of Isis and son of Osiris, the great god who resides in the mound of Djeme,[n] lord of the throne(s) of the Two Lands [5]in his resting place, [6]the king of the gods in Thebes: [7]"(To) you (I) have given power in all lands like the power of Geb among mankind."

Above and Before Isis

[8]Words spoken by Isis the great one, the god's mother, who resides in the mound of Djeme, the eye of Re, the lady of heaven, [9]mistress of all the gods, the august [10]and powerful one in Karnak: [11]"(To) you (I) have given a long lifetime in happiness and a long reign as the ruler of rejoicing."

Leftmost Column

[12]The chief[o] of the gods, the sovereign and ruler of the Ennead, the great god, who extinguishes[p] his flame, whose image is sacred, whose body is hidden in the sacred netherworld, in the mound of Djeme beside his father Amun the great one.[q]

Above the King

[13]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Heir of the Gods Epiphaneis, [chosen] of Ptah, who does the justice of [Re], living [image] of Amun, [14]the son of Re, [Pt]olem[y] ever-living, beloved of Ptah, [15]the heir of Geb, who has proceeded from his flesh, [16]who satisfies Horus with the flourishing eye of Horus,[r]

Behind the King

[17]—the protection of all life and dominion surrounds him like Re forever—

Above the Queen

[18](and) the king's wife, the ruler and lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra,[s] [19]the Gods Euergetai.[t]

Before the Queen

[20]"Turn your beautiful face toward my beloved brother, that you may cause the entire land to be loyal to him."[u]

Rightmost Column

[21]The son of Amun, the divine water[v] of the lord of the throne(s) of the Two Lands, the flood of Senut,[w] who inundates Ta-mery, who causes the lands to flourish with justice, who opens the mouth of [his father with the] flourishing [eye][x] of Horus[y] and satisfies his heart with what he loves.

Notes to Translation

[a] The label of this scene corresponds to "Type III" of the Ptolemaic/Roman wine-offering formula as categorized by Poo, *Wine-Offering,* 107–10, which consists of a late variant of the wine-offering episode in the daily temple offering ritual. Line 1 of this example agrees closely with the labels at *Edfou* I^2, 71 and 109. The damage to ll. 2–3 of the label makes it difficult to be sure to what extent the text following *s.t-ỉb=k* corresponds to any of the parallels, but an attempt has been made here to reconstruct a coherent text based on the visible parts of signs.

[b] The otiose *t* is common; see *Wb.* IV, 399.

[c] Understand *rwḏ* and *ḫp(r)* as prospective *sḏm=f* forms in the optative mood, following N. Tacke, *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* II, OLA 222/2 (Leuven, 2013), 67–68.

[d] Written *n*; for the consonantal dissimilation of *m* before *b* and other labials see D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemaïsche* 1 (Hützel, 2007), 519 (§17.4).

[e] The second column of text is split in two by the block line, and the damaged edges render the identification of its signs difficult. For the first group  *twr* (*Wb.* V, 253) may be suggested based on the parallel at *Edfou* I^2, 71, cited by Poo, *Wine-Offering*, 108, 110, n. *a*, albeit tentatively, as the phrase by itself is rare, and *twr* with the harpoon and prepositioned determinative stroke is most unusual. For an example of the -sign with extended upper protrusions, see D. Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna: Paléographie,* Paléographie hiéroglyphique 1 (Cairo, 2004), 327 (§493). If *twr* is correct, then it can be taken along with *šps* as a reference to the divine recipient, here addressed in the second person.

[f] The flail and front foot of  are visible to the left of the break, and the back foot of the chair can be seen to the right.

[g] The ends of the  appear at either side of the break, and the  to the left of the damage is clear. Either another or a must have occupied the lower right position in the group.

[h] Since the parallel at *Edfou* I^2, 71, lacks *nty*, its presence must be explained here; a possible solution is to understand *nty (m)*. Alternatively, one could take *nty* as written for simple *n* and translate "(O) pure and noble one of the great eye of Horus. . . ."

[i] Assuming  .

[j] The left corner of  is visible to the left of the block line.

[k] Probably  .

[l] Reading  (*Wb.* III, 40); the upraised left arm of the standing figure and the hand of the *ꜥ*-sign can be made out to the left of the block line.

[m] The signs of the third column of text are mostly eroded away or lost in the adjacent cracks, leaving only faint vestiges that are difficult to identify with any certainty. At the top of the line it is possible to read  *ḫnm* "smell" (*Wb.* III, 293; Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 734); for similar phrasing compare *Edfou* I^2, 71: *. . . ḥꜥ ỉb=k m ḫnm=f nb*; also *Edfou* V, 232: *. . . ḥꜥ=k ḫnm.n=k ḫnmy=f*; and *Edfou* VII, 213:*. . . ḫnm=sn sn=tn ỉm=sn*. Unfortunately, the area following *ḫnm* is heavily grooved and eroded; there is at least one partly preserved horizontal sign, but the visible traces do not permit a restoration based on any of the available parallels. One might also expect *. . . ỉw=w wꜥb*, which concludes the wine-offering label in many examples, but the traces do not convincingly suggest this either. The illegibility of this section is all the more regrettable since this example would appear to be an uncommon variant of the text.

[n] On the role of Horsiese in the mortuary cult of western Thebes see the remarks of Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 114–15.

[o] For Horus as the "chief" or "elder" of the gods, compare *Edfou* V, 8/7.

[p] Conjecturing that  has the value *ꜥ*, and taking the  for *ḫm*, but the reading of this group is not at all certain. Nevertheless, for the idea compare P. Louvre N3279, I, 4–5 (cited at *LGG* II, 204b): *ꜥḫm ḫt m pr.t=s* "who extinguishes the flame when it goes forth," an epithet ascribed to Haroeris. Alternatively, it would be possible to understand this word as *ꜥḫm* < *ꜥḫm* "divine image," which, written with the crocodile

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hieroglyph, suggests a reference to the hieracocephalic crocodile form of Khonsu-Shu (*ḫm/ḫm*) discussed by Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 104–9, and by Mendel, *Kosm. Inschr.*, 74–75, n. d; but in that case the sense of the following *nbỉ=f* becomes unclear.

[q] Osiris, rather than Horus, was sometimes said to rest *r-gs ỉt=f ỉmn wr*; compare C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak* I, BAe XI (Brussels, 1958), 233, ll. 6–7.

[r] For the phrase compare *Edfou* I^2, 71; the "flourishing eye of Horus" is a common term for wine in the wine-offering ritual during the Greco-Roman period (see Poo, *Wine-Offering*, 24–25).

[s] Cleopatra III, niece and wife of Euergetes II, styled *ḥm.t (ny)-sw.(t)*; her image corresponds to the depiction of Cleopatra II, *sn.t (ny)-sw.(t)*, on pl. 170.

[t] The determinative for the king in *nṯr.wy mnḫ.wy* wears the Upper Egyptian crown, even though the king wears the Lower Egyptian crown in the scene itself. By contrast, the determinative for the queen has a double-plumed crown, matching her diadem below.

[u] Understanding *mtn* < *mṯn*, with *mṯn* having the sense of the "right path" (*Wb.* II, 176/5–6); the literal translation would be "that you may place the entire land upon his right path." Given the determinative  , this seems the most likely reading. Another possibility is to read *mtn* < *mdn* "be tranquil" (*Wb.* II, 182/8–9); the expression *ỉmỉ p; t; ḥr mdn=f* "set the land at its ease" is attested in New Kingdom examples, as discussed by J. Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb: Traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutionnel* (Brussels, 1981), 153–54. The expression is not well attested in Ptolemaic inscriptions, and it may be that this example shows a confusion of the two lexemes.

[v] For *mw nṯry*, the "divine water (= semen)" indicating the king as offspring of the god, see *Wb.* II, 52/13.

[w] For *Sn.wt* designating Egypt, see *Wb.* IV, 153/7. The epithet *Ḥʿpy n Sn.wt* occurs again at Kom Ombo 479 (*Kom Ombos*, 355), also from the reign of Euergetes II. To the citation at *LGG* V, 49c, may be added another example from the second pylon at Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 131d), inscribed for Ptolemy VI Philometor.

[x] In the space below *. . . wp r n . . .* the surface was deeply hacked during the Amarna-period erasure of the Eighteenth Dynasty *t*-sign in *Bḥd.t(y)*, a few traces of which nevertheless remain visible. In the time of Euergetes II, this area was filled with plaster that has now disappeared, resulting in the loss of two groups of signs. This space is sufficient to restore *. . . wp r n* [*ỉt=f m ỉr.t*] *Ḥr . . .* , based on the similar text at *Urk.* VIII, 131d, with the bottom of  *Ḥr* visible below the damage.

[y] On wine in the Opening of the Mouth ritual see Poo, *Wine-Offering*, 71–78.

Epigraphic Comments

This is the rightmost of the four scenes on the lintel, mirroring the position of that shown on pl. 170 and sharing with it many epigraphic features. Post-Thutmosid modifications corresponding to those at the left end of the lintel include Amarna-period damage to the name of *Bḥd.t(y)*, which can be seen around the traces of the *t*-sign in l. 21. Two patch stones, positioned similarly to those depicted on pl. 170, likely relate to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty architectural modifications made to the temple façade; these stones would have been inserted thereafter in order to provide a complete surface for the Ptolemaic sculptors. Small wedges of wood embedded in the plaster were used to affix the rightmost of these patches; two of these wedges are still in place (visible below Cleopatra's cartouche), while two or more others have fallen out, revealing the plaster underneath. Like the left end of the lintel, the right edge of this scene was deeply grooved in order to separate the lintel visually from the adjoining architrave, marking the Ptolemaic doorframe as an element distinct from the neighboring pillars of the façade. As with the other scenes on the lintel, there is no evidence that paint was applied over the whitewash that still adheres here and there to the inscription. Small bits of the greenish-brown metallic residue observed elsewhere on this east entrance to the temple occur in places on this scene as well.

There are marks of the usual iconoclastic vandalism on three of the four figures, with the face and hair of Isis, the body of Horus, and the face, torso, and legs of the king having been targeted. The image of Cleopatra, however, appears to have been left intact, as on pl. 170 (see above) and on the scene over the east entrance to the bark shrine. Although the carved surface is otherwise in rather good condition, the join between the lintel and architrave blocks, which runs vertically in front of the figure of Ptolemy VIII, suffered heavy cracking, particularly to the right end of the architrave stone, through which a large vertical fissure runs from top to bottom. These cracks and the damage adjoining both them and the block line itself have rendered particularly difficult the readings of ll. 2–3, as well as affecting ll. 4, 7, and 13–14.

PLATE 176. PTOLEMY VIII OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE AND KHONSU

Before the King

[1]Take to yourself Maat,[a] your daughter,[b] the great one <whom> your *ka* loves, even as she loves your majesty, your esophagus,[c] [2]that you may live in seeing her, and that you may breathe the sweet breath [3]through her.

Above Amun-Re

[4]Words spoken by Amun-Re *Ḏsr-s.t*, the great one who came into being at the beginning, the great god, the lord of heaven, the earth, the netherworld, [5]the waters, and the mountains; Kematef, who came into being at the first occasion, the father of the fathers [6]of the Ogdoad:[d] [7]"(To) you (I) have given Maat, enduring in your heart, in order to perform it[e] for the gods and goddesses."

Above and Before Khonsu

[8]Words spoken by Khonsu-Shu in Thebes, who crosses over to the mound of Djeme every day [9]in order to elevate[f] (and in order to) satisfy the heart of Amun, [10]the father of the fathers of the Ogdoad: [11]"(To) you (I) have given drunkenness, that you may be drunk again, and gladness [of heart without ceasing]."[g]

Leftmost Column

[12]He who came into being at the beginning, having brought into being all that exists, who made heaven and created every land and the mountains, and who brought the sea into being; Kematef, who came into being on the first occasion, his head being under[h] the netherworld of Thebes [in the vicinity of Djeme].[i]

Above the King

[13]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Heir of the Gods Epiphaneis, chosen of Ptah, who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun, [14]the son of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, [15]the Falcon of Gold: great of strength; [16]the one who does beneficial deeds.[j]

Behind the King

[17]The protection of all life and dominion surrounds him like Re forever.

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Rightmost Column

[18]The impartial judge,[k] the mayor who is without favoritism,[l] who elevates Maat to the one from whom she has gone forth[m] so as to bear Meret to the one who created her, upright of heart in doing justice.

Notes to Translation

[a] A parallel for this label is found at *Urk.* VIII, 3d (= Aufrère, *Propylône*, 210ff., no. 11b) and 59e (= Clère, *Porte*, pl. 14). For the example on the Bab el-Abd, Aufrère restores *Mr.t* instead of *Mꜣʿ.t* in the break, without comment, even though Sethe and Firchow had suggested *Mꜣʿ.t* (with ⟹) based on the corresponding text from the Bab el-Amara; Sternberg el-Hotabi is equivocal (Sternberg, *Propylon*, 32). The lack of a published photograph impedes verification of Aufrère's reading.

[b] The second *t* is superfluous. Although it is possible to read *Mꜣʿ.t=k wr.t* at both *Urk.* VIII, 3d (or *Mr.t=k wr.t*, following Aufrère, *Propylône*, 210) and 59e, the writing here makes it plain that *Mꜣʿ.t sꜣ.t=k wr.t* is intended. Since our example shows the fuller writing, it may be suggested that both of the Karnak occurrences could be read accordingly.

[c] The end of the cord of is visible, though damaged. On *tpḥ.t wḏ.t kꜣ.w* "esophagus," see Aufrère, *Propylône*, 212–13.

[d] The hieroglyph for the male deity is beardless, as with that of *Psḏ.t* on pl. 170, l. 10.

[e] *s(y)*, lit. "her," i.e., Maat.

[f] For the role of Khonsu-Shu vis-à-vis Amun of Djeme and the Ogdoad see Klotz, *Roman Thebes*, 102–3, with reference to this text (n. 491). It would appear that the description of his daily visit is abbreviated here, since *sʿr* lacks its expected object (*ḥtp.w*, *Mꜣʿ.t*, etc.).

[g] Read . . . *pḫꜣ* [*ỉb n ỉr ꜣb*]. The ⊏-determinative of *pḫꜣ* is visible above the damage. A determinative stroke for *ỉb* can be seen below ⊏ at the edge of the break, and the remainder of the phrase may be restored conjecturally based on the parallel at *Urk.* VIII, 2f. On the significance of *pḫꜣ ỉb* "gladness of heart," see Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 364, with reference to Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 124–25.

[h] is written for .

[i] *LGG* II, 379c, cites but one other occurrence of this phrase at *Urk.* VIII, 84h (= Clère, *Porte*, pl. 20), where *wnn tp=f ḫr dwꜣ.t n.t Wꜣs.t* is followed by *m ḏw ỉmnt.t m-h(ꜣ)w ỉꜣ.t ṯꜣ.(w)-mw.(w)t* "in the mountain of the west, in the vicinity of the mound of Djeme." The remaining space in the column precludes restoring more than two missing groups here, but [*m-hꜣw Ṯꜣ.w-mw.wt*], written with the cryptogram for Djeme, would fit the lacuna.

[j] *wr pḥ.ty* is an abbreviation of the king's "Falcon of Gold" name (von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 240–41); the additional epithet *ỉr ꜣḫ.w*, occasionally applied to deities (*LGG* I, 440b), is exceptional for the protocol of Ptolemy VIII, but recalls Εὐεργέτης.

[k] The seated baboon determinative for *wpw*, roughly carved in this example and partly obscured by plaster, is also found at *Edfou* I², 43/10. Other late occurrences of this hieroglyph are cited by D. Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna: Paléographie*, Paléographie hiéroglyphique 1 (Cairo, 2004), 61 (§161). The royal epithet *wpw nn nmʿ* "Richter ohne parteiisch zu sein" is discussed by Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 76, with several parallels noted.

[l] For *ỉmy-r nỉw.t ỉwty rdỉ.t ḥr gs* compare *Urk.* VIII, 59i, with translation and discussion by W. Guglielmi, *Die Gottin Mr.t*, PdÄ 7 (Leiden, 1991), 118.

[m] Compare *Urk.* VIII, 59i: *sʿr Mꜣʿ.t n nb=s qmꜣ s(y)* "who elevates Maat to her lord who created her." One would expect *im=f* here rather than *im=s*, since the beneficiary deity is Amun.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene occupies the position right of center on the lintel; it is counterbalanced by the scene on pl. 172 to its left, which shows the king presenting Maat to Amun and Mut. As it shares the center of the lintel block, it is in better condition than the outer pair of wine-offering episodes (pls. 170, 174), major damage here being limited to the lower edge, where a large chunk of the corner has been broken off, causing the loss of Khonsu's feet and the ends of ll. 11 and 12. There is minor iconoclastic hacking to the face of the king and to that of Khonsu, as well as to the king's torso and legs; other chisel marks appear to have been made in a desultory fashion. A narrow crack extends diagonally across the surface in line with the natural bedding of the sandstone.

As mentioned in the commentary on pl. 172, a rectangular patch is visible at the left of the scene (l. 12), precisely in the center of the lintel, which was applied prior to the recarving of the surface under Euergetes II; this patch covered the Eighteenth Dynasty hole that had been made for the attachment of a winged sun disk made of precious metal, wood, or some other perishable material. A notable feature is the trio of lines carved at the hem of Amun's kilt. Though the kilt line for a seated Amun figure usually runs directly across the leg above the knee, in this case three different lines have been rendered, one of which seems intended to represent the diagonal fold of the kilt, while another falls below the kneecap. It is difficult to say which of these lines constituted part of the final version of the figure.

Like the other reliefs on the doorway, this scene exhibits no painted decoration. The white plaster layer observed elsewhere is visible in many of the cuts in the stone, and the greenish-brown patina discussed previously is also in evidence here, particularly around Khonsu's staves and on the curved torus molding above.

PLATE 178. DECORATION ON THE SOFFIT OF THE EAST ENTRANCE

The underside of the lintel of the eastern portal was presumably, like those of the other architraves, undecorated in the Eighteenth Dynasty. When the lintel, jambs, and reveals of the entrance were reworked under Ptolemy VIII, the soffit was also modified. The outer (east) half of the surface was left at its original level but sculpted in raised relief with a winged solar disk and flanking uraei, facing outward, in the rounded Ptolemaic style. No paint is visible on this section, and it is possible that, like the adjoining jambs and reveals, it was provided with a metallic coating instead.

The inner soffit was carved out of the Thutmosid architrave block, just as the inner reveals of the doorway were cut out of the original Thutmose III pillar faces on either side (cf. pl. 230*B*). The decorated surface here is approximately 7.5 cm higher than the original level of the bottom of the architrave. In contrast to the outer soffit, the decoration is in incised relief. The vulture goddess Nekhbet, oriented to the west, wears the Upper Egyptian crown with plumes and extends her wings over the axis of the temple, grasping two long feather-standards and two *šn*-rings in her claws. Her figure and the accompanying text are surrounded by a border on all four sides. The text reads as follows.

Translation

[1]Nekhbet,[a] the bright one of Hierakonpolis, who binds up the bow(s),[b] she of the extended wing, lady of Fagt,[c] as she gives all valor and all[d] victory to the son of Re, Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah.

Notes to Translation

[a] The -sign is written in reverse orientation here.

[b] On this epithet see Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 1195.

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[c] An odd writing of the toponym *Fꜥg.(t)*; the reversed might be understood as a graphic error for , but the presence of the is difficult to explain, unless it simply has the (attested, for the Ptolemaic period) phonetic value *t*.

[d] The and plural strokes are superfluous, perhaps added to fill the space below the *nb*.

Epigraphic Comments

The whole composition was finished in the Ptolemaic color palette, although in a rather slipshod fashion. Much of this paint, especially the blue background, has now flaked off the surface, revealing the white undercoat, and most of what remains has become faded and discolored. The areas originally painted in yellow, including the interiors of the hieroglyphic signs, the broad inner elements of the vulture's wings, and the alternating yellow panels in the border, have faded to a dull tan, rendering the color hardly distinguishable as such.

At each of the two eastern corners of the surface, the soffit is pierced by a large rectangular doorpost emplacement. These holes are approximately the same size and about 16 cm deep. Both emplacements were cut in two stages, the earlier of which shows smooth sides, with a later, deeper cut still displaying rough chisel marks. In fact, both of these stages postdate the original carving of the soffit under Ptolemy VIII, as the holes were cut through the corners of the inscribed borders and caused the loss of the tips of the feather-standards. One expects that there were actually doorposts here during the time of Ptolemy VIII, but their emplacements must have been smaller than the later versions.

In its present state, the decoration of both the outer and inner soffits is fairly well preserved, and there is no evidence of iconoclastic damage to the winged figures or the hieroglyphic signs.

PLATE 179. TEXT OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II ON THE SOUTH REVEAL OF THE EAST ENTRANCE[20]

Translation

[1]The Horus: youthful one, in whose life one rejoices, the successor of his father, fortunate of deeds, whose splendor is sacred along with the living Apis; the Two Ladies: who makes the Two Lands content; the Falcon of Gold: great of strength, lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods, the sovereign [like] Re; the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Heir of] the God[s Epiphaneis], chosen of [Ptah], who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun, the son of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, along with his sister, his wife, the ruler, lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra, the Gods Euergetai,[a] [2]beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, the august image, chief of the gods, lord of the gods,[b] father of the gods, whose form no (other) god brought into being,[c] who came into being of himself, who made the Ogdoad entirely, who came into being and brought into being the things that are,[d] this [great][e] god who made himself into millions,[f] who created[g] his (own) body, whose breath is the wind, whose sweat is the inundation,[h] whose saliva is[i] what creates[j] the sea; even the sky is (but) a part of him,[k] (for) just as he gave birth to the decan stars[l] in their entirety, so also did he make entering in and going forth among them;[m] and (beloved) of the Gods Philadelphoi, the Gods Euergetai, and the Gods Philopatores.[n]

Notes to Translation

[a] *nṯr.wy mnḫ.wy,* the cult title of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II from 145/44 BC according to G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London, 2001), 195, or 143/42 BC, as attested in Demotic sources, on which see Pestman, *Chronologie*, 56, but compare M. Minas, *Die hieroglyphischen Ahnenreihen der ptolemäischen Könige* (Mainz, 2000), 149, n. 578.

[b] Read *nb nṯr.w*, but the epithet could also be read *Ḥr Ḥr.w*, "Horus of Horuses," written exactly as on the reveal of the east entrance to the bark shrine at MH.B 175, l. 2 (cf. McClain, "Cosmogonical Inscriptions," 80, n. 77). This part of the text would thus read *ḥr(y) nṯr.w nb.(w) Ḥr Ḥr.w ỉt nṯr.w*, "chief of all the gods, Horus of Horuses, father of the gods." The reading proposed above, however, seems better to suit the context in this case. See further D. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram* (New Haven, 2006), 38–39, n. 203.

[c] *n(n) nṯr sḫpr qỉ=f*, with *n(n)* negating a noun phrase (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §108.3). The orthography of *sḫpr* is written atypically, with the two low narrow signs preceding the low broad causative *s*, with the final *r* in its proper place. The sense of the phrase is reinforced by the following *ḫp(r) ḏs=f*.

[d] *ḫp(r) sḫp(r) nty.w;* for *nty.w* "the things that are," compare *Edfou* IV, 376/5.

[e] The expected  would fit in the damaged area here.

[f] *ỉr s(w) m ḥḥ.w,* meaning millions of gods, hence the ⁂-determinatives.

[g] Most likely *qm; ḥꜥ.w=f* (cf. Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 1056), or perhaps alternatively *ṯnỉ m ḥꜥw=f* "exalted in his body/limbs."

[h] *nf=f ṯ;w fd.(t)=f ḥꜥp(y)*. For *nf* as a creative force compare *Edfou* V, 114/10–11. The sense of *fd.(t)=f ḥꜥp(y)* is suggested by Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 391.

[i] The top left corner of the □-sign of *p*[*w*] is visible above the break.

[j] The canthus of the -sign can be seen below the damaged area.

[k] *nt*[*t*]*=f p*[*w*] *ỉr w;ḏ-wr gb.t ỉ;(y) ꜥ.t ỉm=f.* For the correct reading and interpretation of this passage in light of parallels at Esna see D. Klotz, "*Articulata Forma Dei*: A Cosmic Epithet from Esna and Medinet Habu," *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012), 31–37.

[l] *ḫ;bs.w,* from *ḫ; b;=s* "her souls are a thousand," an allusion to the stars in the body of Nut; see Wilson, *Ptol. Lex.*, 704; compare Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram* (New Haven, 2006), 141, note C and n. 27.

[m] We now understand the two *sḏm.n=f* phrases as nominal constructions, forming a *Wechselsatz*, following Klotz, "*Articulata Forma Dei*," 34; these clauses were previously rendered as circumstantial by McClain, "Cosmogonical Inscriptions," 73.

[n] These are the dynastic predecessors Ptolemy II with Arsinoë II (Pestman, *Chronologie*, 16), Ptolemy III with Berenike II (ibid., 28), and Ptolemy IV with Arsinoë III (ibid., 36).

Epigraphic Comments

Like the corresponding text on the north reveal, these two columns replace an original sunk-relief scene of Thutmose III. Traces of the king's Upper Egyptian crown, containing bits of yellow paint, can be seen in the area of the words *ḫp(r) ḏs=f ỉr Ḫmny.w* in l. 2, with traces of his back shoulder visible at *nṯr* [*;*] *p*[*w*] below. The king thus faced right (west), into the temple; as on the panel opposite, removal of the inner section of the pillar face to create the Ptolemaic door emplacement caused the loss of the remaining features of the Thutmosid scene. When the jamb was reworked under Euergetes II, it was found necessary to insert three small patch stones in damaged areas of the Eighteenth Dynasty block: two at the top of the pillar, and one at the level of the block line below.

[20] Preliminary translations and commentary on the second line of this text and of the one opposite (pl. 180) have been given by McClain, "Cosmogonical Inscriptions," 72–75. Readings subsequently improved are incorporated here. For some general remarks on these texts see C. Zivie-Coche, "L'Ogdoade à Thèbes à l'époque ptolémaïque (II): Le périptère du petit temple de Médinet Habou," in Christophe Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 3)*, Cahiers «Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne» 8 (Montpellier, 2013), 230–31.

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The hieroglyphs were carved with intricate internal details, although many of these details are now lost due to erosion. There is a curious streak of green paint, located within a shallow, irregular vertical groove in l. 1 (near *mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Ṯnn*), which defies explanation. There are also some places in the lower part of the text where the surfaces of the signs exhibit vestiges of a reddish hue, perhaps part of the original painted cartoon, as is visible in the antechamber at the nearby temple of Thoth at Qasr el-Agouz. Otherwise, no painted decoration is preserved on the reveal except for the yellow of the Thutmosid traces. In many places, however, a white plaster adheres to the signs, which was apparently part of the Ptolemaic surface treatment and may be related to the surface coating observed on the outer face of the doorway (see the remarks on this feature above, p. 15). Both columns of hieroglyphs are heavily damaged in the middle section, and there is a complete break at the block line two-thirds of the way down. The breaks have been illustrated in the drawing based on an earlier photograph (Epigraphic Survey negative no. 1322), but the damaged sections are now filled with concrete, as shown in the more recent photograph (pl. 179*A*). A few of the hieroglyphs show evidence of medieval vandalism, but this is surprisingly minimal considering the location of the relief.

PLATE 180. TEXT OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II ON THE NORTH REVEAL OF THE EAST ENTRANCE

Translation

[1]The Horus: youthful one, in whose life one rejoices, the succes[sor of his father], fortunate of deeds, whose splendor is sacred along with the living Apis; the Two Ladies: who makes the Two Lands content; the Falcon of Gold: great of strength, lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods, the sovereign like Re; the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Heir of the Gods Epiphaneis, chosen of Ptah, who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun, the son of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, along with his sister, his wife, the ruler,[a] lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra, the Gods Euergetai,[b] [2]beloved of Amun-Re *Ḏsr-s.t*, Nun the elder one who came into being at the beginning,[c] the bull who ejaculated Nun,[d] who flooded the marshes,[e] who fashioned the fashioners, who built the builders,[f] who reckoned for him(self) his form[g] in his heart, the ancestor[h] and ancestress of the gods and goddesses, that father of theirs who initiated their existence,[i] the *ba* great of sanctity among the gods, the primaeval one who made for him(self) the primaeval ones; and (beloved) of the Gods Epiphaneis, the God Eupator, and the God [Philo]metor.[j]

Notes to Translation

[a] The □ is a sculptor's error for ◿, the phonetic complement of *ḥqꜣ.t*; compare pl. 179*B*, l. 1.

[b] Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II (see translation of pl. 179, n. *a*).

[c] Compare Sethe, *Amun,* 69 (§139, Theb. T. 254 b/c) and 70 (§140, = L.*D. Text* iii, 118). This is a commonly attested epithet of Nun; see also ibid., 74 (§145).

[d] For a discussion of the epithet *kꜣ ʿ Nwn*, see D. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram* (New Haven, 2006), 23–25.

[e] Written *ḫꜣw.wt*; for the writing with two *w*-signs see *Wb.* III, 360.

[f] Both "fashioners" (*nbỉ.w*) and "builders" (*qd.w*) here indicate the Ogdoad, though referring to other deities elsewhere; see *LGG* IV, 187b–c, and VII, 229b.

[g] Written *qꜣ=f*; compare *Wb.* V, 15.

[h] Of *ḏfn* with *y* many examples are given in *LGG* VII, 622*c*–623*c*. The *t* is certain, but it is perhaps an error for the usual *nw*-pot phonetic complement.

[i] The *qmꜣ*-sign was deliberately hacked out, apparently in an act of medieval iconoclasm. The reading *mw.t* originally suggested by McClain ("Cosmogonical Inscriptions," 73, n. 43) is erroneous; subsequent examination has enabled the correct identification of the  .

[j] There is room in the break for the missing -sign of *p(ꜣ) nṯr* [*mr*] *mw.t=f*. These are the deified dynastic predecessors Ptolemy V with Cleopatra I (Pestman, *Chronologie*, 42); Ptolemy Eupator, the son of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II (ibid., 50–52; cf. M. Minas, *Die hieroglyphischen Ahnenreihen der ptolemäischen Könige* [Mainz, 2000], 11, pl. 5, and 37, pl. 26); and Ptolemy VI Philometor, whose epithet in the singular indicated that his sister-wife Cleopatra II, still living, had become the deified consort of Euergetes II (Minas, *Hieroglyphischen Ahnenreihen*, 190).

Epigraphic Comments

As on the south reveal (pl. 179), this inscription was recarved over an original sunk-relief scene from the reign of Thutmose III. Traces of the king's right shoulder (by the word *ỉpy* in l. 2) and right foot (within and to the left of *ỉt=sn pw . . .*) show vestiges of the original yellow paint within the incisions, and another trace above, within the -sign of *Nwn wr . . .* , may be of the in the *nṯr nfr* of the king's titles. The king thus faced west, or toward the interior of the temple; there would have been sufficient space at left, where the recessed cut was later made for the installation of a door, for a deity to have been carved facing him. Since the traces in the opposite reveal show that the king there wore the Upper Egyptian crown, it is reasonable to suppose that the king on this surface would have worn the red crown of Lower Egypt, though no other trace of the Eighteenth Dynasty carving survives to give confirmation.

Reconfiguration of this doorway under Euergetes II included not only the addition of this text but also the insertion of two patch stones, probably to repair the damaged corners of the second block of the pillar. At the base of the reveal, the lowermost block has cracked into several pieces, resulting in misalignment of parts of the decoration. There was a slight batter to the face of the adjoining recarved pillar face on the east (pl. 159), which resulted in a gradual widening of the space between the right-hand text divider and the right edge of the pillar. The modern cement infill in this area was made without regard for this feature or for the displacement of the fragmented stones.

Like the other parts of the doorway recarved under Ptolemy VIII, the surface of this relief was not painted, but the white plaster coating observed elsewhere on the portal's jambs and reveals (see p. 15) is also visible here. Several of the animal hieroglyphs in this text were hacked out in the medieval period, and all of the signs have become eroded over time, in many cases making their original sculpted details difficult to observe.

PLATE 181*A*. EAST INTERIOR ARCHITRAVE OF THE PERIPTEROS

Left Half

[1](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, the good god, the lord of ritual, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-ruler-of-Thebes, beloved of Amun, foremost of the sacred mountain of the west,[a] given life like Re forever. [2](Long) live the Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful[b]-of-manifestations, beloved of Amun, foremost of *Ḏsr-s.t*, given life like Re forever.

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Right Half

[3](Long) live the Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, the good god, the lord of ritual, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-whom-Re-made, beloved of Amun-Re, foremost of the sacred mountain [of the west],[c] given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever. [4](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestations, beloved of Amun-Re, foremost of *Ḏsr-s.t*, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] On the toponym *Ḏsr(.t)-ỉmnt.t* see the comments for pl. 155, n. *a*. Both examples here have the 𓊹-determinative.

[b] The *nfr*-sign in the king's cartouche was left intact here and in all other occurrences of the king's nomen on the interior architraves.

[c] The 𓇋-sign is lost in the gap between the two architrave blocks. An uninscribed patch stone, inserted in the join and fixed with mortar, was part of an ancient episode of repair, most likely during the Ptolemaic restoration of the temple. The copy of this text published by Champollion, *ND* I, 713, has *Ḏsr{t}-s.t* erroneously interposed from the line below.

Epigraphic Comments

The interior surfaces of the east, south, and north architraves of the peripteros were each inscribed with two facing texts, beginning at the center point of each architrave, consisting of two lines of large-scale hieroglyphs in sunk relief. The signs, carved with minimal internal detail, were painted in polychrome on a white background, but the colors are now faded throughout and blackened by fire in many places. The inscriptions here on the east side, being shorter than those on the north and south, consist solely of the names, titles, and epithets of Thutmose III.

In the time of Akhenaten, the name *ỉmn* with its determinative and the 𓇅-sign were hacked out in both ll. 1 and 2; they were later restored, with few traces of the original hieroglyphs remaining. By contrast, in the right-hand text, the name *ỉmn*, the determinative stroke of *Rʿ*, and the words *ḥnt(y) Ḏsr-ỉmnt.t* were hacked out in l. 3, while *ỉmn,* the stroke of *Rʿ*, and *ḥnt(y) Ḏsr-s.t* (except for 𓐍) were excised in l. 4 below, the sun disk ⊙ being left intact deliberately in both instances. These sections were also restored in the post-Amarna period, with few clear traces left over from the Thutmosid version; the names and epithets of Amun in these texts thus seem to have been restored according to the original composition. Later cracking of the stone, particularly along the block lines, has led to the loss of small portions of the inscription, but there is no evidence of medieval iconoclastic damage to any of the hieroglyphs.

PLATE 181*B*. SOUTH INTERIOR ARCHITRAVE OF THE PERIPTEROS[a]

Left Half

[1](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, the Two Ladies: great of majesty[b] in all lands, the Falcon of Gold: great of strength, who smites the Nine Bows, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-beloved-of-Re, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life like Re forever. [2]As his monument for his father Amun-Re, king of the gods, he undertook to make for him a great temple upon the exact mound of the west:[c] "Menkheperre (of) Amun *Ḏsr-s.t*,"[d] of good sandstone, that he might make for him (the state of) living forever.

Right Half

[3](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, the Two Ladies: enduring of kingship like Re in heaven, the Falcon of Gold: sacred of appearance, powerful of strength, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the lord of ritual, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre-whom-Re-made, the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestations, given life like Re forever. [4]As his monument for his father Amun,[e] lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of the sacred mountain of the west, he undertook to raise up for him a sacred shrine[f] of good sandstone, his exact place of the first occasion,[g] my majesty having embellished it[h] anew, that he might make for him (the state of) being given life forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] Both the left and right texts on this architrave have been published by Champollion (*ND* I, 717), Lepsius (L.*D.* III, 38c), Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1305), and Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 881–82), with only slight misarrangements of the signs and a couple of errors, noted below.

[b] Champollion, *ND* I, 717, omitted the 𓎛 of *šfy.t*; it is shown accurately in the later copies.

[c] The writing 𓎛𓏏𓏏 does not allow certainty as to whether *ʿqꜣ* (*Wb.* I, 233–34) or *mty/mtr* (*Wb.* II, 171–74) is written here; Brugsch (*DG*, 35), followed by Gauthier (*DG* I, 22), preferred the former, but such an abbreviation is unusual for either word. Note that *mt(y).t/mt(r).t* is written with 𓍿 in the adjoining text at right (l. 4). Both words have a similar range of meaning, so the sense is not in doubt. Specifying the eminence (*ỉꜣ.t*) whereon Thutmose III constructed this temple (*ḥw.t-nṯr*), the toponym, which presages the later *ỉꜣ.t ṯꜣ.w-mw.wt*, also appears in the parallel inscription on the north architrave (pl. 181*C*, l. 4), but it is not otherwise attested.

[d] The name of this temple. Otto (*Topographie*, 71–72) ignored the cartouche of Menkheperre, taking *ỉmn ḏsr-s.t* to be the shrine's full name. It is clear, however, that here is a toponym constructed in a similar manner to many other early Eighteenth Dynasty examples, which have the king's cartouche preceding a descriptive active participial phrase (ibid., 106). What is problematic in this case is the apparent lack of reference to the king's action, as commonly found in such names (e.g., *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ mn ḥs.wt ḥr ỉmn* or *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ šsp ḥs.wt n.t ỉmn*; ibid., 26–27), which would require us to understand a genitive, as suggested here. Alternatively, one might hold *ỉmn* to be in honorific transposition and interpret the participle *ḏsr* not as intransitive, referring to the god, but rather in its original transitive sense, with the king as its antecedent: *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ḏsr s.t ỉmn* "Menkheperre, who sets apart/sanctifies the place of Amun," as preferred by E. Freier in *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* IV: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie; Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16* (Berlin, 1984), 305; this would then be a play on the deity's particular epithet. The name is written identically in the corresponding position on the north architrave (pl. 181*C*, l. 4), aside from which no other attestation is known.

[e] Champollion, *ND* I, 717, erroneously adds a sun disk and stroke (*Rʿ*) after *ỉmn*; the other copies show this group correctly.

[f] For discussion see P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), 104–8, with the insightful suggestion that our *ḫm ḏsr* may be the referent of the name *ḥw.t Mꜣʿ.t-kꜣ-Rʿ ḫm ḏsr ỉmn* included in a series of temples (personified as fecundity figures) on the blocks of Hatshepsut's quartzite bark shrine, published by P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* I (Cairo, 1977), 77–78, and II (Cairo, 1979), pl. 4 (nos. 179, 242). See also the remarks of J. Hoffmeier, Sacred *in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The Term ḎSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I–XX*, OBO 59 (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1985), 184.

[g] *s.t=f mt(y).t/mt(r).t n.t sp tp(y);* the corresponding text on the north architrave (pl. 181*C*, l. 2) has *s.t=f ḏsr.t n.t sp tp(y).* With reference to both

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designations compare *Medinet Habu* IX, 23–24 and pl. 21, ll. 5–6, where the temple is called *s.t=ỉ mt(y).t/mt(r).t . . . s.t=(ỉ) ḏsr.t ḫm.(t).n bỉ.tyw*, "my exact place . . . (my) sacred place which the earlier kings of Egypt have neglected."

[h] Read *smnḫ.n s(y) ḥm=ỉ*, with reference to *s.t=f*; compare pl. 181*C*, l. 2. It is also possible to read *ḥm=<f>*, avoiding the shift to the first person.

Epigraphic Comments

As on the east and north architraves, the large hieroglyphs here show limited internal sculpted details, but they were painted in polychrome, now substantially faded. Specific sections were targeted for erasure during the Amarna period, including the signs  *ꜥ; šfy.t* in l. 1, the name *ỉmn . . . (ny)-sw.t nṯr.w* (leaving the ⊙-sign intact) as well as *ỉmn* with its determinative following the cartouche of *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ* in l. 2, while in l. 4 the right part of *ỉmn* and the words *nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy ḫnt(y)* were hacked out. All of these areas were subsequently restored, with no substantial traces remaining of the original version. Later cracking and breaks along the edges and block lines of the architrave carried away portions of the inscription, including the upper right area of the cartouche *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ mr.n Rꜥ* in l. 1, the upper parts of *Nb.ty* and *wꜣḥ* in l. 3, and the left half of the cartouche of *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ ỉr.n Rꜥ* in the same line; this last section was repaired with an uninscribed, plaster patch stone, most likely as part of the late dynastic/Ptolemaic restoration of the ambulatory and bark shrine.

At the right end of l. 3, the bird-signs  and  were vandalized by the temple's medieval inhabitants, as were the  ,  , and -signs at the end of l. 4, but the other hieroglyphs in the inscription were left undamaged.

PLATE 181*C*. NORTH INTERIOR ARCHITRAVE OF THE PERIPTEROS[a]

Left Half

[1](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, the Two Ladies: great of majesty in all lands, the Falcon of Gold: great of strength, who smites the Nine Bows, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre-image-of-Re, the bodily son of [Re], Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestations, given [life, dominion, and h]ealth[b] like Re forever. [2]As his monument for his father Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,[c] he undertook to raise up for him his sacred place of the first occasion and to embellish[d] it as a work of eternity—for his majesty had found (it) fallen into ruin—so that he might achieve (the state of) being given life like Re forever.

Right Half

[3](Long) live the Horus: mighty bull appearing in Thebes, the Two Ladies: enduring of kingship like Re in heaven, the Falcon of Gold: sacred of appearance, powerful of strength, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of ritual, Menkheperre-chosen-of-Re, the son of Re, Thut[mose-beautiful-of-manifestation, given life like Re] for[ever].[e] [4]As his monument for his father Amun-Re, king of the gods,[f] he undertook to make for him a great temple upon the exact mound of the west:[g] "Menkheperre (of) Amun *ḏsr-s.t*,"[h] of [good sand]stone, [that he might make for] him[i] (the state of) being given life forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] Parts of the inscriptions on this architrave were published by Champollion (*ND* I, 717) and Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1305), the former observing that the left end of the west side of the text (after *kꜣ.t* in l. 2) was obscured by a wall of "fired bricks" at the time of his visit. Lepsius (L.*D.* III, 38d) gives a copy of the whole architrave, but it is uncharacteristically full of mistakes, both in the upper line, the left and right halves of which are reversed, and in the lower, of which the right (east) half merely duplicates the corresponding text in L.*D.* III, 38c (= pl. 181*B*, l. 4); there are minor errors, as well, in the copy of each line. Acknowledging the error(s) in the published plate, L.*D. Text* iii, 156, gives the text of l. 2 (only) accurately from *. . . sꜥḥꜥ n=f s.t=f. . . .* Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 882/10–14) also gives l. 2 of this architrave inscription, but repeats the erroneous insertion of *ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t* before *sꜥḥꜥ n=f* from Lepsius' plate; otherwise his copy of this line is more or less accurate. For remarks on the significance of this text see J. Hoffmeier, Sacred *in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The Term ḎSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I–XX*, OBO 59 (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1985), 172–73; but his hand-copy duplicates Sethe's error.

[b] There is space in the broken section for ,  , and the tall  of *snb*, but not for  .

[c] Here, exceptionally, the name of *ỉmn* and the *nb*-sign were left intact by Akhenaten's agents. The  of *nsw.t* and *tꜣ.wy* were also left undamaged, but the three  -signs were erased and had subsequently to be restored. The arrangement of these signs, though unusual, is the original, as several traces attest.

[d] Both *sꜥḥꜥ* and *smnḫ* are infinitives, functioning as the objects of *ỉr.n=f*.

[e] The right end of both lines of the inscription is heavily damaged, the surface of the architrave having been chiseled away, probably during the medieval era. Restore *Ḏḥwtyⲫ[ms-nfr-ḫpr dỉ ꜥnḫ mỉ Rꜥ ḏ.t]* based on the corresponding text at the east end of the south architrave (pl. 181*B*, l. 1).

[f] The stone of the architrave is deeply scarred here, the large chisel blows, characteristic of medieval vandalism, showing a distinct difference from the adjoining sections of recarved post-Amarna surface. Parts of each sign, however, remain visible.

[g] Compare pl. 181*B*, l. 2; the writing is the same here, though the arrangement of the signs differs very slightly.

[h] Compare pl. 181*B*, l. 2; the writing of the name here is identical.

[i] The left part of the word *ỉnr* is preserved before the damage; restore *[nfr n rwḏ.t ỉr=f n]=f . . .* thereafter.

Epigraphic Comments

The large incised hieroglyphs on this architrave are like those on the east and south sides of the peripteros, with only vestiges of the original painted colors remaining. During the Amarna period, the -sign in l. 1 was hacked out, as were the three -signs in l. 2 (see above, n. *c*); in l. 4, the Atenists erased *ỉmn-Rꜥ (ny)-sw.t nṯr.w*, along with small parts (but not all) of the signs and and the -determinative in the name of Amun. All of these sections were afterward shaved back and recarved. The north architrave shows more evidence of later damage than the others; severe cracking on either side of the block line between the two center blocks had to be repaired with a patch stone, affixed with mortar, during the late dynastic or Ptolemaic period, and at the same time a plaster patch was made to fill the gap between the blocks at right (running through the tail of the in l. 3), wherein the lines of the affected hieroglyphs were restored. Another such inscribed plaster patch runs through *nb.w* in l. 1, and still another, uninscribed, may be seen above *sꜣ [Rꜥ] n ḥ.t=f* in the same line. Large areas of the surface were intentionally chiseled away near the left end of l. 1, after *m mnw=f* in l. 4, and at the right end of ll. 3–4. Medieval damage to the inscription was, however, limited to these areas, rather than targeting individual hieroglyphic signs.

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PLATE 182. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY A MALE DEITY

Above and Behind the Deity

[1]Words spoken b[y . . . . . .]:[a] [2]"To (my) son [. . . . . .][b] (I have) given all life and dominion on my part, (as well as) all lands and all foreign countries, even as (I) love you, like Re forever."

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4][variegated of plumage].[c]

Above the King

[5]The Horus: [. . . . . .][d] [6][. . . . . .][e] [7][given life, [8]stability], dominion, [9][and health like Re forever].[f]

Notes to Translation

[a] No part of the *n* is visible, and the remainder of the column, including the god's name, is completely lost.

[b] The titles and name of the king are lost in the gap; *ʿnḫ wꜣs nb* would be directly after the cartouche.

[c] On analogy with the other pillar scenes in the ambulatory showing the Behdetite, the epithet *sꜣb šw.t* was probably carved behind his lowered wing.

[d] The Horus-sign stood atop the king's *srḫ*, now lost.

[e] Line 6, located to the left of l. 5 but now lost, would have contained the king's titles and cartouche.

[f] The arrangement of ll. 7–9 can be suggested based on that of pl. 185, restoring [7][*dî ʿnḫ*] to the right of the king's horn, below the *srḫ*, and [8][*ḏd*] *wꜣs* to the right of his crown, with [9][*snb mî Rʿ ḏ.t*] below the falcon's lowered wingtip.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, doubtless Thutmose III, wearing the *ꜣtf*-crown, is embraced by a male deity, the loss of whose name and features makes it impossible to identify. The location of this scene in the far southwest corner of the peripteros invites the suggestion of an Upper Egyptian or Nubian god, as on many of the nearby pillars, but this is by no means certain.[21] Preservation of the standard Thutmosid yellow-on-white paint scheme is minimal, though bits of the original red grid lines may be seen at bottom right, below the inscribed area. The figure of the god was hacked out during the Amarna period and thereafter recarved; the affected area extended into the column of text at lower right (l. 2), where the surface was shaved back and reworked. The words *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿꜣ* (l. 3) were also hacked out under Akhenaten and later restored.

During the late dynastic period, inscribed blocking stones were installed above the balustrade that originally connected this pilaster with the facing pillar (pl. 183). Red- and blue-painted bands along the outer edge of the soffit of the architrave attest the presence of these stones, as in the other interstices of the peripteros. Later, these blocks were removed, and the balustrade itself was cut away to create a new entrance on the south side of the temple.[22] The rectangular hole at lower left, as well as a smaller hole cut into the lower part of the chiseled scar of the balustrade (pl. 229*A*) and several cuts made in the architrave above (pl. 229*B*), presumably served as parts of the emplacement for the door or doors inserted here.

The king's face shows typical medieval hacking, with another hacked area between his legs, but there is additional surface damage throughout the scene, and it is difficult to say which marks are deliberate and which are accidental, especially taking into account the frequent traffic into and out of this portal over many centuries. Indeed, the outer corner of the pilaster is worn smooth at about shoulder height to a person entering the ambulatory, behind the pharaoh's leg. Two rectangular chunks of the stone have been rudely chiseled out of the surface, one containing the god's face and another taken from the area of his kilt; the character of the damage suggests that these features of the relief were removed in modern times for the antiquities trade.

The structure of the pilaster is badly damaged, apparently as a result of shifting of the large blocks at the corner where the architrave joins the façade of the inner chambers; the left corner of the top block is lost, and the inscribed surface of the second block has broken off to a depth of approximately 25 cm. The upper section of the remaining surface has shifted laterally and out of plane, and so is misaligned from the lower portion of the pilaster; recent concrete and stone patches now fill the gap below. The inscribed surface along the lower block line is also worn and cracked, and some erosion along the natural bedding of the stone can be observed.

PLATE 183. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY HORUS OF NUBIA

Above and Behind Horus

[1]Words spoken by Horus, foremost of Nubia, the great god:[a] [2]"To the good god, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, the god who rules Heliopolis, (I)[b] have given all life and dominion on my part, (as well as) all lands and all foreign countries; may he rejoice with[c] his[d] *ka* like Re forever."

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4][variegated] of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [7]given life, stability, dominion, [8]and health like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] L. 1 was published initially by Champollion, *ND* I, 716, though with the signs in reverse and disarranged; a better copy was provided by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155). For occurrences of *ḫnty Tꜣ-sty* see *LGG* V, 872b–873a, citing this as the only instance of the epithet applied to Horus. *Tꜣ-sty* encompassed both Nubia and the 1st nome of Upper Egypt (Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 2*), making it unlikely that the 3rd Upper Egyptian nome is represented here, as suggested by Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 59.

[b] The *f* after *dî* is an error, perhaps introduced when the area was recarved, though there is no trace of what sign occupied this place before. The most likely suggestion would be , yielding an original *sḏm.n=f*.

[c] For this writing see *Wb.* III, 110.

[d] The , rendered here without horns, is original to the Thutmosid carving.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene in incised relief occupies the west face of the southwestern pillar of the ambulatory, within the passage created by the removal of the balustrade during the late dynastic period. Thutmose III, wearing the double crown, is received by Horus of Nubia, who presents

[21] Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 59.

[22] This modification was probably effected at the same time that similar entrances were cut at the other three corners of the peripteros, most likely during the reign of Achoris (cf. the commentary to pls. 197–98, 211–12, and 226–27 below).

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life to the king's nose. The paint scheme, consisting of yellow signs and figures on a white background, is faintly preserved in some areas. The hieracocephalic deity and his name and epithets in l. 1 (from 𓈖 down) were hacked out during Akhenaten's reign and thereafter recarved, including the god's hand behind the king's head. The text of l. 3 and the abovementioned signs in l. 2 were also erased by the Heretic's agents and afterward restored. A trace of the original line of the god's head is visible behind the recarved version, and another trace may be seen behind his bull's tail. A trace 𓌙 can be seen in *stỉ* in l. 1, and a trace is also visible by 𓊪 in l. 3. The upper arm of the original sign may be seen above the recarved 𓎛 at the top of l. 2. The smooth area at the top left of the pillar, where the border is completed in paint only, appears to have been rendered thus in the original Thutmosid decoration, rather than as the result of later modification, for the surface is perfectly flat and intact.

There is extensive damage to the top right corner of the pillar face, resulting from structural deterioration in antiquity. Patch stone emplacements, extending into the top left corner of the adjoining exterior scene (MH.B 85) demonstrate an attempt at repair, probably in the late dynastic or Ptolemaic period, but the stones that filled them have since disappeared. Red paint in the border to the right of the king's crown attests the colored band painted here around the edge of the window blocking stones, inserted between this scene and the one opposite (pl. 182).

In the middle of the scene are two square cuts in the surface, about 10 cm deep, within the figure of Horus, likely part of a later door emplacement. The decoration suffered extensive medieval iconoclastic hacking, focused particularly on the crown, face, arms, and legs of the king, but also on the falcon, bull, and owl hieroglyphs in ll. 1 and 5.

PLATE 184. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of all the gods. [2]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life, stability, and dominion."

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, as she gives life.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]given life, stability, dominion, [7]and health like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]First occasion of the jubilee; may he perform a great many.

Epigraphic Comments

Thutmose III, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, is received by Amun-Re, who holds the sign of life to the king's nose. The king holds another *ꜥnḫ* and a mace in his right hand and a straight staff in his left. The scene is surmounted by the vulture goddess Nekhbet, whose name, along with the following signs *dỉ=s*, were damaged in the Amarna period and subsequently recarved. The figure of Amun, along with his name and epithets in l. 1, was also recarved after having been hacked out during the reign of Akhenaten. Few traces of the original carving are visible, but a trace by the king's shoulder indicates that its original position was a bit more to the right. Additionally, a raised area of the surface indicates the original position of the king's staff where it crossed over the god's leg, and a small trace of the staff is visible in the god's ankle. Amun's hand grasping the king's arm was, interestingly, left intact by the agents of Akhenaten. The text columns have no remarkable stylistic features, other than that the crossbar of the 𓋴-sign in *nṯr nfr* (l. 5) seems never to have been carved. The jubilee text running below the scene is similar in character to those found on other pillars of the ambulatory. Below this line can be observed remnants of the painted dado of yellow and red bands framed with black borders, the same as that found on each of the other interior pillar faces, as well as below the raised-relief scenes in the inner sanctuaries and the bark shrine.

Though most of the carved outlines in the scene are well preserved, much of it is covered with later plaster, obscuring some areas, particularly in the upper portion; the Eighteenth Dynasty polychrome painted details are thus difficult to make out, though the border patterns at the top and right side and the details within Amun's plumes can still be traced. Part of the surface of the *srḫ*, with portions of the signs *m Wꜣs.t*, the palace façade below, and the signs *dỉ ꜥnḫ ḏd wꜣs* (l. 6), were shaved away in antiquity, with the stone left bare; the absence of paint or plaster in this area may indicate that this was done during the Ptolemaic or Roman period—that is, following the late dynastic plastering of the ambulatory—or even later, during the medieval era; in either case, the reason for this treatment of the stone is difficult to explain. An odd area of damage at the front of the king's kilt appears not to be associated with the Amarna episode, but rather to be an area that contained many hard stone inclusions, removed with difficulty in the course of the original carving of the scene.

The middle block of this pillar, which contains the heads and torsos of the figures, has shifted approximately 0.5 cm to the left of the one below; this shift is barely visible in the drawing but accounts for some of the slightly disjointed lines in the kilt area of the figures. At the left of the lower block, a large patch stone, perhaps original to the Eighteenth Dynasty, is missing from the face of the adjoining scene on the east (pl. 185). This area of the corner was subsequently restored with two smaller patch stones, visible in older photographs,[23] only one of which is still in place.

A red sketch was painted on top of the late plaster overlay at the hem of Amun's kilt; it is difficult to say whether this was intended to reference the partially obscured carved lines of the god's figure. Below, in the space between Amun's knees, are the remnants of a black painted Demotic text (Gr. 456; see pl. 234).

PLATE 185. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY MENEHYT

Above and Behind Menehyt

[1]Words spoken by Menehyt, lady of the frontier:[a] [2]"To Menkheperre (I) have given all life and dominion, all stability, and all health, (along with) the throne of Geb, the office of Atum, and the portion [of the two lords . . . . . .]"[b]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, lord of heaven, [4]the great god.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [7]given life, [8]stability, dominion, [9]and health like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The text containing the name and epithet of the goddess was first published at L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 10. On Menehyt, associated with the

[23] Compare Jéquier, *L'architecture*, pl. 42 (1). The patch stones are also visible in Epigraphic Survey negative nos. 1311 and 7682.

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district of Esna in the 3rd Upper Egyptian nome, see D. Meeks, *LÄ* IV, 48–51, noting the proximity of Nekhbet on the pillar face opposite (pl. 186) at *LÄ* IV, 49, n. 5, and with specific discussion of the toponym *ḫnt-tꜣ* at *LÄ* IV, 50, n. 11; compare also Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 58–59; Gauthier, *DG* IV, 184, Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 11*; and P. Montet, *Geographie de l'Égypte ancienne* II (Paris, 1961), 48. As Meeks explains, the geographical sense of *ḫnt-tꜣ*, "limit of the land" or "frontier," when used as an epithet for Menehyt, is rather ambiguous.

[b] For *pssš.t nb.wy*, "the portion of the two lords," compare *Medinet Habu* IX, 25 and pl. 25, ll. 4–5. There would be room for one or two additional groups in the damaged area at the bottom of the line.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double-plumed headdress with ram's horns and bearing the *ꜥnḫ*, mace, and staff, is received by Menehyt in lioness-headed form. Though the face of the pillar is weathered below, the original yellow-on-white paint scheme is visible in its upper sections. The figure of the goddess and her name and epithets beginning with the 𓋴-sign in l. 1 were vandalized during the Amarna period and subsequently recarved. The area shaved back for restoration included the text *. . . ns.t Gb ỉꜣw.t (ỉ)tm pssš.*[*t . . .*] in l. 2 at right, along with parts of the adjoining border decoration; it may be that the two large patch stones that are now missing from the area of Menehyt's legs were also a part of the post-Amarna repairs. The restored area even included the bits of her hand and arm visible in front of the king's chest and a small section above the king's shoulder. Traces of the original carving are visible in these areas; interestingly, the goddess's knuckles and the tip of her thumb were not included in the recarved version. Additional traces can be seen above her shoulder, at the back of her wig, and in front of her torso. The name and epithet of Horus of Behdet in l. 3 were also expurgated and afterward restored, with traces of the original 𓎛-hieroglyph preserved within the recarved sign.

Vestiges of blue- and red-painted bands along the left edge of the scene and extending along the outer edge of the soffit are evidence for the insertion of blocking stones in front of this pillar in the late dynastic period; the balustrade below was cut back to fit these blocks, as elsewhere. The lower right corner of the pillar, including the space previously occupied by the rightmost of the abovementioned patches, was repaired again, perhaps in the Ptolemaic era, by inserting rough uninscribed stones; the upper one, visible in earlier photographs of this scene,[24] has since been removed and is not shown in our drawing. Post-pharaonic damage to this scene is relatively limited, the king's face being the only element significantly affected by medieval iconoclasm. A large flake of stone has broken off at the top right corner, carrying with it part of the signs in l. 3.

PLATE 186. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY NEKHBET

Above and Behind Nekhbet

[1][Words spoken b]y Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis,[a] lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands: [2]"[My] beloved [son][b] Menkheperre, I am your mother, sweet of love; in your childhood (I) nursed you. You are the one who shall achieve (the state of) living forever."[c]

Before and Behind the Winged Deity[d]

[3][. . . . . .] [4][. . . . . .]

[24] Jéquier, *L'architecture*, pls. 42 (1), 43 (5).

Above the King

[5][The Horus: mighty bull] beloved of Re, [6][. . . lord of] ritual,[e] Menkheperre, [7]given life like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] Although designated by her usual epithet *ḥḏ.t Nḫn*, Nekhbet here in the geographical series represents her eponymous town, Nekheb (Eileithyiapolis, Elkab), capital of the 3rd nome of Upper Egypt (Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 8*–9*).

[b] There is not enough space for an additional *ḏd mdw* at the top of l. 2. Restore [*sꜣ=ỉ*] *mry=(ỉ). . . .*

[c] For another example of this phrase, with *twt* as the archaic independent pronoun, second person, see *Medinet Habu* IX, 24, n. *e*, with reference to pl. 21, l. 6. The speech of Nekhbet in this column, beginning with *ỉnk mw.t=k . . .* , is given at *Urk.* IV, 580/16–581/1.

[d] The winged deity is completely lost in the damaged area at upper right, and the identifying text (l. 3) is also missing. Behind the wing of the avian, either *nṯr ꜥꜣ* or *sꜣb šw.t* (l. 4) would most likely have been carved.

[e] There was probably space for the additional titles *nṯr nfr nb tꜣ.wy* before [*. . . nb ỉr.t*] *ḫ.t* in this column.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double crown and holding the *ꜥnḫ* and staff, is embraced by Nekhbet, who wears the simple *ꜣtf*-crown and close-fitting dress. The standard color scheme, yellow figures and signs on a white background, is sporadically preserved. The image of the goddess, her name and epithets in l. 1, and the words *ỉnk mw.t=k* at left were destroyed by the adherents of Akhenaten and subsequently restored; traces of the original carving may be seen above her chin and shoulder, as well as within the lower part of her leg and foot.

Below the scene, the top of the connecting balustrade was cut away during the late dynastic era, and the space between this pillar and the facing one (pl. 185) was closed with blocking stones. The installation of these stones seems to have left no trace on the inscribed surface, and the red- and blue-painted bands elsewhere associated with this modification are not preserved here, although they can be seen on the soffit of the architrave. About three-quarters of the inscribed surface of the uppermost block is lost, and the whole upper left corner is now occupied by a large uninscribed patch stone, inserted during the late dynastic/Ptolemaic repair of the ambulatory, that extends the entire thickness of the pillar (cf. pls. 187, 188); it protrudes approximately 5 cm beyond the plane of the surface. The left corner of the lower block is also badly cracked and broken. The king's arm, near the outer corner of the pillar, shows some medieval hacking. Two chunks of stone, containing the base of the sporran and the king's hand holding the staff before Nekhbet, have been chiseled out of the surface; the character of the cutting suggests theft of these carved details in modern times.

PLATE 187. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1][Amun][a]-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: [2][Words spoken]:[b] "To you (I) have given the kingship of the Two Lands and the years of Atum in life and dominion; your possession[c] indeed[d] is joy, living like Re forever."

Before the Winged Deity[e]

[3][. . . . . .]

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Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [5]the bodily son of Re,[f] Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, [6]given life, stability, and dominion [7]upon the seat of Horus forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] There is not enough space for the expected *ḏd mdw ỉn . . .* at the top of the column; restore therefore [*ỉmn*]-*Rʿ . . .* in the space now occupied by the repair stone.

[b] Restore [*ḏd mdw*], as on pl. 184, l. 2. Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 563/7) gives the following sign as  , but it is certainly  .

[c] The lack of plural strokes for *ḥr(y).t* in this example lends an air of antiquity to the text; compare *Urk.* I, 123/4.

[d] Assuming *ỉsṯ* is used enclitically here; compare Gardiner, *Grammar*, §248.

[e] The winged deity in this case was likely Nekhbet, the heraldic goddess of Upper Egypt, who appears on all the other interior pillar faces in the south half of the peripteros (pls. 184, 190, 193, 196, 201, 204).

[f] Despite the heavy damage, one can read *sꜣ Rʿ n ḥ.t=f. . . .*

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and holding the *ʿnḫ*, mace, and staff, is received by Amun-Re, who offers life to the king's nose. This gesture was not, however, the one originally made by the god; traces visible in the king's upper arm show that, prior to the Amarna period, Amun was shown grasping the king's arm below the shoulder. The same change was made to the scene on pl. 193. Amun's image and his name in the text above (l. 1) were hacked out during the reign of Akhenaten and thereafter restored, the recarved back plume of the god's diadem overlapping the column divider between ll. 1 and 2 and the word *rnp.wt*. Amun's hand on the king's back shoulder was ignored by the Atenists and left intact.

The original painted details are largely obscured on the upper half of the pillar by the thick plaster applied during the late dynastic period, while below only scant vestiges of any surface treatment remain. Extensive damage to the upper block of the column necessitated the emplacement of a large repair stone during the late dynastic or Ptolemaic era, obliterating the decoration at the top of the scene. The installation of this stone appears to have included heavy chiseling both of the remainder of the top block and of the upper corners of the second block; the chiseled surfaces were presumably then filled with repair plaster, some of which remains visible in the damaged areas. At an even later date, the inferior quality of the sandstone caused deterioration along the bedding of the lower block, and the bottom right corner of this block was broken off. There is little evidence for any iconoclastic damage to this scene during the Coptic occupation, but a small round hole where Amun's wrist crosses his chest suggests the emplacement of a wooden rod or peg.

PLATE 188. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY HORUS

Above and Behind Horus

[1]Words spoken by Horus: "(My) beloved bodily son, [2][to] you [I have given] the years of eternity and the kingship of the Two Lands in joy, even as I love you, living [like Re] forever."[a]

Before and Behind the Behdetite[b]

[3][The Behdetite . . .] [4]variegated of plumage.[c]

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [6]the [good] god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, ruler of Thebes, [7]given life, [8][stability], and dominion like [Re] forever.[d]

Notes to Translation

[a] The top of l. 1, as originally carved, must have begun at least two squares higher, probably with *ḏd mdw . . .*, facing the Horus atop the *srḫ* in l. 5. It is evident that the text *ḏd mdw ỉn Ḥr sꜣ . . .* is a later version, the column having been reworked so as to accommodate not only the large uninscribed repair stone at the top right of the pillar but also the broken area of the original stone block beneath. It is certain that the name of Horus would have been hacked out under Akhenaten and thereafter restored, but, supposing the repair block and the associated plaster restoration to be of late dynastic or Ptolemaic date, it follows that *ḏd mdw* and the divine name in l. 1 were adjusted again after these repairs were made. Moreover, there is a bit of the bottom of a sign in the damaged area above the block line; it must be part of the original or post-Amarna text but cannot be identified. In any case, it is difficult to understand why the top of l. 2 remained unaltered, for the suffix *=k* below the break and the following text are manifestly original to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Nor was l. 5, containing the king's Horus name, modified in any way. In fact, none of the texts on the other faces of this pillar (pls. 186, 187) was altered to accommodate the repair stone. For l. 1, the traces of a determinative stroke visible above the  -sign and of part of a bird's leg within the leg of the *Ḥr*-hieroglyph suggest a possible original reading *ḏd mdw ỉn Ḥr sꜣ ꜣs.t sꜣ=(ỉ) n ḥ.t=(ỉ)*, the whole subsequently compressed to its present extent, but this is only conjecture. The problem was already noted by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 8), but with the rendered erroneously as  . Given the position of this scene, on the other side of the pillar from the one with Nekhbet (pl. 186) and directly across from the one showing Horus of Behdet (pl. 189), Horus here must represent Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), which is set between Behdet and Nekheb in the geographical lists (Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 7*–9* and pl. XXIV).

[b] The falcon deity can be identified by the shape of his tail and by the epithet (see the following note).

[c] Read [3][*Bḥd.t(y) . . .*] [4]*sꜣb šw.t*; a bit of the left edge of  can be seen within the damaged area behind the wing.

[d] The words *dỉ ʿnḫ* below the *srḫ* continue with [*ḏd*] *wꜣs . . .* at the top of l. 8, "skipping" the words *ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t*, which are to be read as an epithet of Menkheperre in l. 6.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double-plumed diadem with sun disk, ram horns, and gazelle horns, grasps a trio of *ʿnḫ.w* in his left hand and a mace (probably with pendant *ʿnḫ*) in his right. There are only scant remains of the original yellow-on-white painted decoration on the surface. In addition to the modifications made to l. 1, noted above, the figure of Horus (excepting his right hand on the king's back shoulder) was hacked out in the time of Akhenaten and later restored. A trace of the god's original shin line can be seen where his leg crosses that of the king, and another trace is visible within his kilt above the break. Note the vestiges of plaster repair at the bottom of the *srḫ* and around the signs *dỉ ʿnḫ*, also part of the post-Amarna restoration.

Bits of blue paint in the left side of the *p.t*-sign indicate the presence of interstitial blocking stones in the space adjoining this scene.

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Moreover, the Thutmosid border element at the upper left corner was shaved back, perhaps in association with the insertion of these blocking stones; the same treatment may be observed on the facing pillar (pl. 189). As on pls. 186 and 187, severe damage to the uppermost block required repairs, including the large uninscribed block at upper right, and evidently a smaller patch stone, now missing, below the block line on the left side. There is evidence for plaster fill in the adjoining broken areas of stone, demonstrating the technique used in an attempt to arrest the structural decay. Moreover, the upper right corner of the middle block was also chiseled back during the repair process (cf. pl. 187). The lowermost block, composed of inferior-quality sandstone, is also severely split and broken, but there is no evidence of ancient repairs thereto (again cf. pl. 187). The king's face and hand were vandalized by the temple's medieval inhabitants.

There are two painted graffiti on the surface, the first of which (Gr. 459*A*, pl. 234), on the king's kilt and sporran, is in black paint, consisting of an abstract arrangement of lines resembling a net. The second (Gr. 459*B*), to the right of the king's waist, is a small human figure in dark gray paint; the two graffiti are perhaps contemporaneous.

PLATE 189. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY HORUS

Above and Behind Horus

[1]Words [spoken b]y Horus of Behdet, the great god, lord of heaven:[a] [2]"[. . . . . .][b] Menkheperre, to you (I) have given the kingship of the Two Lands and the years of Atum in life and dominion; may you rejoice upon my seat in joy like Re forever."[c]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3][The Behdetite, the great god],[d] [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, ruler [of Thebes, [7]given life],[e] [8]stability, and dominion like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The name and epithet were first recorded by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, VII). On the deity and locale, representing the 2nd Upper Egyptian nome, see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 6*–7*.

[b] There is space for perhaps two groups in the chiseled area above the cartouche; [*sꜣ=ỉ mry=ỉ*] would be a likely restoration.

[c] The text following the cartouche is given at *Urk.* IV, 572/2–3. The *ꜣw* of *ꜣw ỉb =k* is original, though curiously rendered backwards, in contrast with the one below.

[d] [*Bḥd.t(y) . . .*] is without doubt; the most likely epithet would be [*nṯr ʿꜣ*], as on pl. 183.

[e] The sign after *ḥqꜣ*, likely  (or perhaps alternatively ), along with l. 7 [*dỉ ʿnḫ*] below the *srḫ*, may be inferred based on the text of the facing scene (pl. 188). These signs were erased during the post-Amarna restoration and were not recarved.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the *ꜣtf*-crown and carrying the *ʿnḫ* and mace, is received by the hieracocephalic Horus of Behdet. Originally the figures and signs were painted yellow on a white background, but this scheme is only partially preserved at the top and left side. The god's figure, the area immediately above it as far as the right side of the king's face and crown, and the divine name and epithets in l. 1 were damaged during the Amarna period and later shaved back and restored. The king's forearm was shaved down during the recarving process, and the tip of his mace was also smoothed away and not recarved. Traces of the god's left leg and foot show the original width of these features, and there is a trace of the kilt of Thutmose III near the tip of the restored version, the shape of which was somewhat altered.

A large rectangular section of the lowermost block, covering the area of the king's right leg, is missing and presumably once contained a patch stone; a similar patch stone, also missing, occupied an area at the top right of the scene. The upper left corner of the top block was heavily chiseled at some point subsequent to the original carving, perhaps as part of the late dynastic/Ptolemaic repair of this area, and the area was covered with plaster fill, much of which still adheres within. At the bottom of the pillar face, the balustrade top was chiseled away to accommodate the blocking stones inserted here, and a shaved-back section of the border at upper right, along with bits of blue paint within the adjoining *wꜣs*-sign, must also relate to the emplacement of these stones. The second and third blocks of the pillar itself have shifted out of alignment with one another, resulting in disjunction of the carved elements along the block line. There is little evidence of medieval iconoclastic damage to this scene.

Between the legs of Horus a graffito (Gr. 460, pl. 234) was added in light-gray paint, showing a kilted or skirted human figure, while in l. 2 there appears part of an undecipherable Demotic graffito in black ink.

PLATE 190. THUTMOSE III EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

Above Amun-Re-Kamutef

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re-Kamutef: [2]"(As for my) son, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation,[a] (my) beloved, [3]this one venerated from the womb[b] (and) well beloved; to him (I) have given all life and dominion."

Before Nekhbet

[4]Nekhbet, as she <gives>[c] life.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [7]given life like Re [8]forever.

Below Scene

[9]First occasion of the jubilee; may he perform a great many.

Notes to Translation

[a] The *nfr*-sign in the king's epithet has been carefully smoothed away, leaving only a trace of the top of the hieroglyph.

[b] Read . . . *mr(y)=(ỉ)* [3]*ỉmꜣḫw pw n ḫ.t . . .*, with the *n* used here in place of *m;* for *ỉmꜣḫw pw* compare pl. 218, l. 2. This section of the text has been published at *Urk.* IV, 562/14–15.

[c] When the goddess's name was recarved following the Amarna period, the erased *dỉ* was omitted.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the "Nubian" wig, embraces ithyphallic Amun-Re-Kamutef, who stands on a pedestal in front of his *sḫn.t*-shrine. The god's name in l. 1, his entire figure, and the upper part of the shrine behind him were all hacked out in the Amarna period and subsequently restored. Traces of the original carving are visible where the god's foot

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intersects the shin of the king; other traces, if any remained, are now obscured by the thick layer of plaster applied to this pillar in the late dynastic period. This plaster also obscures much of the original and post-Amarna polychrome painted decoration, which is, however, still visible where the plaster has fallen away, particularly within the king's *srḫ*. At the upper right corner of the pillar is the emplacement for a rectangular patch stone, now missing, that also formed part of the late dynastic or Ptolemaic repairs observed in the adjoining face (pl. 189). A deep rectangular hole in the center of the scene, at the front of the king's head, was probably made during Coptic times for the emplacement of a beam, corresponding to a similar hole in the wall of the bark shrine opposite (MH.B 168). Iconoclastic damage is limited to the areas of the king's wig and chin, the god's nose, and the curious erasure of the *mỉ*-sign in l. 7. Heavy damage to the left corner of the pillar may be attributed either to incidental breakage or to natural weathering of the stone.

A large graffito depicting a sailboat (Gr. 461) is painted in black across the lower right corner of the scene, while a small Demotic text (Gr. 462), also in black, appears between the king's legs. Near the bottom of the pillar is a black-painted Coptic cross (Gr. 463). These three graffiti are illustrated on pls. 234 and 235.

PLATE 191. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY ANUKET

Above and Behind Anuket

[1]Words spoken by Anuket, lady of Sehel:[a] "(My) beloved son, [2]Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation, to you (I) have given my lifetime in life and dominion, your years being numerous in jubilees; may you live like Re forever."[b]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3][The Behdetite, the great god],[c] [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, given all life, [7]stability, and dominion forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The name and epithet of Anuket were first published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 6). On the toponym *St.t* see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 5* and D. Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), 107, §28. There is no trace of, or space for, the determinative 𓊃 indicated by Valbelle for this occurrence (ibid., n. 452).

[b] The portion of the speech following the nomen is given at *Urk.* IV, 580/12–14; compare the translation by Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis*, 29, no. 251B.

[c] [*Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ꜥ*] is suggested based on examples from several of the other pillars.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene is part of a series depicting the divine triad of the First Cataract region: Anuket, Khnum (pl. 192, opposite) and Satet (pl. 194).[25] Here, the king, wearing the *šw.ty*-crown without sun disk and bearing the tall staff and mace, is received by Anuket in her distinctive feathered headdress. The original paint scheme of yellow figures and hieroglyphs on a white background, though much eroded, is preserved in some places. During the time of Akhenaten, the figure of the goddess, along with her name (beginning at the *n* of *in*) and the remaining signs in l. 1, were erased; these areas were cut back and restored in the post-Amarna period. Vestiges of the Atenist peck marks can be seen behind the lower part of the divine figure and on either side of her head. Traces of the original carving, visible at her chest, shoulder, back, waist, and feet, indicate that her body was slightly wider as originally rendered. The recarving of the feet was rather clumsily done, the reworked lines of the king's staff being omitted from the space between the hem of the goddess's dress and the top of the back foot, but it is possible that these features were completed in plaster or paint that is now lost.

During the late dynastic period, the top of the balustrade below the scene was cut down to facilitate the insertion of blocking stones between the pillars. The preservation of the king's face and body is probably due to the presence of these stones through Coptic times. The head, face, headdress, and torso of Anuket were vandalized by the medieval inhabitants of Medinet Habu, along with the two owl hieroglyphs in l. 2. There is a large, heavily damaged area at the upper right corner of the upper block and an even larger break at the lower left of the pillar, both of which were likely caused by structural pressure to the blocks. Incidental damage can be seen at the corners of the pillar and along the block lines.

[25] See discussion in Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 56–58.

PLATE 192. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY KHNUM

Above and Behind Khnum

[1]Words spoken by Khnum, lord of the cataract, who resides in Elephantine:[a] [2]"(My) beloved son, Thutmose-divine-ruler, to you (I) have given all life and dominion on my part, every offering and every provision[b] on my part; may you rejoice, living like Re forever."

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, the image of Re, [7]given life, stability, and dominion [8]like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The god's name and epithets are given at L.*D. Text* iii, 155, V.

[b] The tail of the 𓄡 intersects that of the 𓂋 as originally carved.

Epigraphic Comments

The ram-headed Khnum receives the king, who carries the mace, staff, and *ꜥnḫ* and wears the high *šw.ty*-crown, as in the scene opposite (pl. 191). A minor difference is the small protective vulture on the back of the king's crown, a feature not included on the facing pillar. The scene, executed in sunk relief and painted in the standard yellow-on-white color scheme, is generally well preserved, with structural damage to the pillar face limited to the upper and the left edges; there is also a minor displacement between the lower and middle blocks, resulting in misalignment of the carved lines, and a large crack through the right section of the lower block. The god was hacked out in the Amarna period and subsequently recarved; the area cut back for recarving included the front of the king's kilt, resulting in the loss of the macehead, which seems not to have been incorporated when the kilt was restored. Traces of it remain visible, along with traces of the earlier tip of the kilt, and the earlier lines of the god's right horn, belt, and right leg may also be observed in trace. Moreover, the god's hand where it grasps the king's arm and his left arm crossing behind the king's body were also hacked and repaired, leaving traces of the god's thumb and of the original

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version of the king's arm and breast. Recutting of the deity affected, too, the hieroglyphic text behind him (l. 2) from *ḥtp.t* to *ḏ.t*, and the signs were partially reworked as a result, evidence for which includes a tiny trace of the right vessel on the *ỉb*-sign. Along with the god's figure, his name and epithets in l. 1 were vandalized by the Atenists and had to be restored, leaving traces of the original  -sign at the base of the text column. In l. 3, *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ꜥ* was hacked and restored as well, as attested by traces of the last two signs.

During the late dynastic or Ptolemaic restoration of the temple, damage to the northwest corner of the pillar's lowermost block, below the level of the balustrade, was repaired with a patch stone, cemented in place with white plaster. The patch (pl. 229*D*), measuring 32 cm high × 12 cm wide × 11 cm deep, was cut from a reused block inscribed with a horizontal text, of which part of the word  *sšm* is preserved along with the front half of a god determinative, thus probably referring to a divine statue. The inscription was painted yellow on a white background, and the style suggests a Ramessid date.

The criocephalic deity suffered iconoclastic damage in the medieval period affecting his face, headdress, and shoulders. The king's figure, however, apparently protected by in situ late dynastic blocking stones, escaped relatively unscathed. The emplacement for these blocking stones, cut into the top of the adjoining balustrade, may be seen below the base of the scene. Bits of red and blue paint in the border to the right of the falcon deity and l. 8 of the text attest the standard color band associated with these stones. Above the two figures, in the middle of the *srḫ*, a deep ovoid depression is scratched in the stone surface, the significance of which is unclear.

PLATE 193. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re, chief of the Two Lands. [2]Words spoken: "To (my) son, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, (I) have given the throne of Amun and the office of Atum, as the reward for these things that you[a] have done for (me); may you achieve (the state of) living forever."

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, as she <gives>[b] life.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull beloved of Re, [5]the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]<given>[c] life, stability, and dominion; [7]may he rejoice like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The mode of address switches to the second person here.

[b] It is likely that *ḏỉ* was omitted by mistake when this line was recarved after the Amarna period, but no trace thereof remains.

[c] Again, the *ḏỉ* seems to have been lost when the area around Amun's figure was shaved back for recarving, and it was omitted from the restored version. Traces below the tips of the "fork" of the *wꜣs*-sign, by contrast, suggest a modification during the initial carving of the text.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and holding the staff, mace, and *ꜥnḫ*, stands before Amun-Re in standard regalia. The original Thutmosid polychrome painted decoration and the painted details applied to the restored areas after the Amarna episode are well preserved here, particularly on the upper two-thirds of the pillar and despite the layers of plaster added to the surface in the late dynastic period; this scene is illustrated in color on pl. 241. The god's figure, including his hand on the king's back shoulder; his name and epithet in l. 1; his name in l. 2; and the name of Nekhbet in l. 3 were erased under Akhenaten and thereafter recarved, with the alterations to the texts noted in notes *b*–*c* above. The column dividers flanking l. 1 were partially restored in paint only. Reworking the divine image also caused some loss to the left edges of the hieroglyphs in the lower half of l. 2. More significantly, traces indicate that Amun originally grasped the king's upper right arm, the gesture being altered in the recarved version so that the god presents life to the king's nose; the same change can be seen on pl. 187. An additional trace of the king's forearm, at the level of the god's belt, shows a slight modification of the angle of the line when it was reworked. A section of the surface in the upper right corner was filled with plaster for the original carving, perhaps because of a flaw in the stone; this plaster is now partly lost, but the details are included in the drawing based on an older photograph (Epigraphic Survey negative no. 7685). The scene was defaced by the temple's medieval inhabitants, the affected areas including Amun's crown, face, collar, and feet, along with the corresponding parts of the king's figure, the heads of the  - and  -signs (l. 2), the  in the king's cartouche, and the  - and -signs (l. 7). Aside from incidental damage at the corners of the pillar, however, and some erosion to the lowermost block, the carved surfaces remain in relatively good condition.

PLATE 194. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY SATET

Above and Behind Satet

[1]Words spoken by Satet, lady of Elephantine:[a] [2]"(My) son, Thutmose-beautiful[b]-of-manifestation, I am your mother who created your beauty, (I) nursing you to (become) king of Upper and Lower Egypt. To you (I) have given all life, stability, and dominion on my part forever."[c]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull beloved of Re, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, given all life, [7]stability, and dominion forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] Compare the earlier copies in Champollion, *ND* I, 716, and L.*D. Text* iii, 155, IV. On the name and epithet see Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), 103, n. 351, and 125, n. 738; the island and its deities are discussed by Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 2*–5*.

[b] The *nfr*-sign in the king's cartouche is intact as originally carved.

[c] The speech of Satet is given at *Urk.* IV, 580/8–10; compare the translation by Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis*, 29, no. 251A.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, holding the staff and *ꜥnḫ* and wearing a *šw.ty*-crown with double horns and sun disk, is received by Satet, who wears her distinctive horned vulture diadem. The sunk-relief figures and signs were originally painted yellow on a white background, this paint scheme being well preserved in the upper three-quarters of the scene. During Akhenaten's reign, the figure of the goddess was hacked out, along with

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her name and toponymic (l. 1), the upper portion of l. 2 (as far as *qmȝ.t*), and the name of the Behdetite (l. 3). These sections and the surface immediately surrounding them were later shaved back and recarved. Traces of the original Thutmosid inscription can be seen at the beak of *sȝ* and below *ỉnk* in l. 2, within the *t* of *Bḥd.t(y)* in l. 3, and in the area where the king's foot adjoins that of the goddess. A plaster patch visible in the king's face (cf. photograph, pl. 194*A*) is likely part of the original surface preparation. The top of the balustrade below the scene was cut down to accommodate the insertion of blocking stones during the late dynastic period, and bits of the usual blue- and red-painted bands are visible at the upper left, as well as on the soffit of the architrave. The head and crown of Satet were vandalized during the medieval occupation of the temple, along with two areas around the king's sporran. A 50 cm area of the right corner of the pillar has been broken away, perhaps also in Coptic times.

Remnants of a graffito in white paint (Gr. 464), perhaps representing parts of a boat, may be seen to the left and right of Satet's legs; this graffito is shown in detail on pl. 235.

PLATE 195. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY HATHOR

Above and Behind Hathor

[1]Words spoken by Hathor, chieftess of the western desert:[a] [2]"(My) son, [. . .][b] Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes, I am your mother who created your beauty, (I) nursing you,[c] even as (I) loved you, in order to (become) ruler of the Nine Bows like Re forever."[d]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4][variegated] of plumage.[e]

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, given life, [7]stability, and dominion like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] Read *ḥr(y).t-tp s(my).t ỉmnt.t*, with 𓉐𓉐 for 𓋴𓈖𓋴; on the epithet, originally published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, III), see Otto, *Topographie*, 51, and compare the remarks of Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 61. For the writings of *smy.t* see *Wb.* III, 444/8. This occurrence may be added to those listed at *LGG* V, 455a.

[b] [*ny-sw.t-bỉ.ty*] or [*nb tȝ.wy*] could have occupied the space before the cartouche; [*mry=(ỉ)*] or [*n ḫ.t=(ỉ)*] would also be possible.

[c] The same expression occurs on the facing panel (pl. 194, l. 2), but the *.t* of *qmȝ.t* was omitted here. Curiously, the *mȝ*-hieroglyph is written backward.

[d] The speech of Hathor is given at *Urk.* IV, 578/17–579/1.

[e] Part of the 𓅃 is visible at the right of the broken area below the falcon's tail; 𓆑 would have been carved in the lacuna above.

Epigraphic Comments

Thutmose III, bearing his mace and wearing the *šw.ty*-crown with sun disk and ram horns, is received by Hathor in the horned solar disk with pendant uraeus. Like the other sunk-relief pillar faces around the ambulatory, this scene had a white background with yellow figures and hieroglyphs; the paint scheme is rather well preserved on the upper and middle sections of the pillar. The image of the goddess was erased during the Amarna iconoclasm, along with the text of l. 1 beginning with *ḥr(y).t-tp*, that of l. 2 starting at *ỉnk* and running down as far as the second *tw*, and all of l. 3. Notably, the sun disk in Hathor's headdress was left intact, although the horns on either side of it and the uraeus were hacked out; the name 𓇋 in l. 1 was also spared by the Atenists. The king's arm where it crosses the goddess's body was also left intact, along with some of the adjoining areas of the surface. All of the damaged areas were subsequently cut back and restored. Only one trace of the Thutmosid Hathor figure is visible, below her back foot; traces of the original text can be seen above the recarved 𓈖 in l. 1, at the left end of the 𓋴 in l. 2, and at the left of the 𓎛 in l. 3. A yellow paint trace below the right corner of 𓉐 in l. 1 may indicate that the sign was carved slightly lower in the original inscription.

During the late dynastic period, blocking stones were inserted into the space adjoining this pillar, for which purpose the top of the balustrade was flattened. The damage to the king's kilt and sporran may be associated with the emplacement of the lower stone. At the right of the panel can be seen vestiges of the blue and red bands added to the outside of these blocking stones throughout the ambulatory; these bands continue on the soffit of the architrave. A section at the top of the pillar exhibits signs of repair, likely from the same period, where some of the broken areas were filled with plaster and smoothed over. These areas, visible in an older photograph (Epigraphic Survey negative no. 1318), have since been covered with concrete. The upper block of the pillar continued to crack following the ancient repairs, however, and large sections of it are missing at the upper left and upper right corners of the scene. The lower left corner of the pillar was also badly cracked and appears to have been repaired in plaster in ancient times, evidence of which can also be seen on the adjoining face (pl. 196). During the medieval period, the face of Hathor and some of the neighboring areas of text were vandalized, and the king's face was also attacked. A Demotic graffito (Gr. 467) at the lower right behind the king's knee, as well as two others of nineteenth-century date (Gr. 468*A*–*B*), appearing conspicuously within the cartouche, are illustrated on pl. 235.

PLATE 196. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of heaven: [2]"<My> bodily <son>,[a] Thutmose-beautiful[b]-of-manifestation, my heir, who is upon my throne, who has built my houses, who has formed my images,[c] to [you][d] (I) have given all [life], stability, and [dominion] on my part forever."

Before Nekhbet

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, (as he gives) life.[e]

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [5]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given life, stability, dominion, [7]and health like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]First occasion of the jubilee; may he perform a great many.

Notes to Translation

[a] The expected *sȝ=ỉ* was omitted here, perhaps for lack of space; it is also possible that (as suggested by Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 562, n. *c*) the group originally occupied the end of l. 1 and was recarved as *nb p.t* in the post-Amarna version, when the tops of Amun's plumes were restored, but no trace remains to support this suggestion.

[b] The *nfr*-sign in the nomen is intact as originally carved, showing no sign of later modification or erasure.

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[c] For this writing of *ʿšm* < *ʿḫm* compare *Wb.* I, 225–26.

[d] [*=f*] is also possible, understanding the address in the third person. This section of the text, covered with thick late dynastic plaster, was heavily scraped in modern times, obliterating any trace of the sign beneath.

[e] The name of Nekhbet was erroneously recarved as that of the Behdetite Horus in the post-Amarna period, and *dỉ* was omitted by the sculptor in the new version; traces show that the text originally read [*Nḫb.t*] *dỉ*=[*s*] *ʿnḫ*, the original ☥ having been left intact.

Epigraphic Comments

Thutmose III, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and carrying the staff and *ʿnḫ*, is received by Amun-Re, who extends an *ʿnḫ* to the king's nose. Despite an unusually heavy layer of plaster laid over the scene during the late dynastic period, the polychrome detailing of the relief is here much in evidence, especially in the upper third of the scene, in the king's *srḫ*, within Amun's plumes, and on the collars of both figures. During the Amarna period, the image of Amun-Re, as well as his name and epithet in l. 1 and most of l. 3 as noted above, were hacked out by Akhenaten's followers; all of these areas were thereafter shaved back and reinscribed. The later plaster obscures all traces except those visible in l. 3.

Sometime after the Amarna period, and perhaps at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, the painted details of Amun's figure were altered, yielding a different color scheme and an offset pattern of decoration on the plumes of his crown; the juxtaposition of the two versions is shown in fig. 1. This stage of modification is discussed in more detail below (see pp. 53–56). The already-noted heavy layer of plaster, intended to obscure the figures and text, seems to have spared the relief extensive iconoclastic damage during the temple's medieval occupation, although the genital area at the hem of the king's kilt shows some peck marks. The uppermost block of the pillar has cracked at its right corner, the line of the crack extending through the king's cartouche in l. 2. This crack did not extend very far into the depth of the block; rather, the surface has broken away in two large flakes, which were later reattached with a mortar binding at an unknown date. Moreover, this top block has shifted out of alignment with those below by about 1 cm. The lowermost inscribed block is also cracked down its right side, the associated surface damage and the heavy coating of plaster, later scraped off as noted above, having all but destroyed several of the hieroglyphs in this section. Several other large pieces of stone are missing from the edges of the pillar face. Additional damage caused by modern attempts to scrape away the plaster coating can be observed around the king's head and crown.[26]

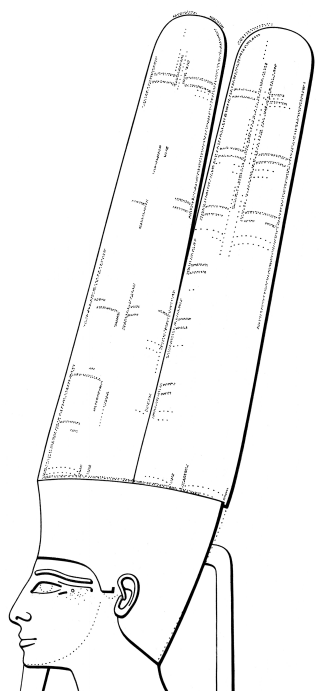


Fig. 1. Earlier and later painted decoration juxtaposed on the crown of Amun-Re; compare pl. 196. *Drawing by Vértes.*

PLATE 197. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY SOBEK

Above and Behind Sobek

[1]Words spoken by Sobek-Re, the great god,[a] chief of the Ennead: "(My) beloved son, [2]Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes, to you (I) have given all life and dominion on my part, all stability on my part, all health on my part, and all joy on my part, you living like Re forever."

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4][variegated of plumage].[b]

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, [Men]kheper[re], [7]given [all] life, [8][stability, and dominion][c] forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 2, gives only the epithet *nṯr ʿ᳓*, omitting the following *ḥr(y)-tp Psḏ.t*. On the opposite pillar scene (pl. 198), depicting the king before Horus, Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, I) recorded *nḏ-ḥr* but showed a lacuna thereafter, where *ỉt=f* is now plainly visible. Since the signs recorded by Lepsius are at similar heights on the facing surfaces, it seems likely that they were both obscured from view at the time of the Prussian expedition. A possible explanation appears in the maps of the site (L.*D.* I, 92; L.*D. Text* iii, 150), which show the uninscribed jambs of a later doorway still in situ in this passage, but no evidence of these jambs now remains.

[b] [*sꜣb šw.t*] may be restored behind the deity's lowered wing.

[c] One group is lost, presumably [*ḏd wꜣs nb*].

Epigraphic Comments

Menkheperre, holding the staff and *ʿnḫ* and wearing a composite *šw.ty* diadem with horns, uraei, and sun disks atop a close-fitting cap, is received by the crocodile-headed Sobek-Re,[27] who offers life to the king's nose. The face of the crocodile god is notable for the careful modeling of its eye, ear, and mouth. The original Eighteenth Dynasty color scheme, consisting of yellow-painted hieroglyphs and figures on a white background, is consistent with that of the other sunk-relief scenes of the peripteros and is best preserved here on the upper part of the pillar. The divine figure, his name in l. 1 (including only the top half of *nṯr ʿ᳓*), and the name and epithet of the Behdetite Horus in l. 3 were damaged during the Amarna period and thereafter restored; traces of the original carving are found along the back of the god's head, on his legs and feet, and by the signs *nṯr ʿ᳓* in l. 3. Another notable feature is the extensive damage inflicted on the king's image from chest to feet, the

[26] Regrettably, the temple remains subject to occasional vandalism; a large graffito (not appearing in either the drawing or the photograph) was scratched into the surface of this scene sometime during the summer of 2007, after the collation of the facsimile was completed.

[27] Compare the scene depicting Thutmose III before Sobek-Re in Room XXII at Karnak (PM II^2, 117 [379]), published by Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. XVII (3). There, the god's face has been hacked out (as can be seen in Epigraphic Survey negative no. 7932), so Prisse d'Avennes must have either drawn the relief prior to its mutilation or restored the facial features in his copy.

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deep gouges of a wide-bladed chisel filled in places with thick plaster. This gouging may be related to the emplacement of a doorway leading to the southern annex (see above, n. *a*), for which the balustrade below the scene, connecting this pillar with the one opposite (pl. 198), was removed in its entirety. Prior to the emplacement of this doorway, however, window blocking stones had been inserted atop the balustrade, as demonstrated by the remains of red- and blue-painted bands in the plastered area to the left of the king's head; the presence of this detail establishes the sequence of these two architectural modifications.

The left side of the upper block and the upper left corner of the middle block are lost because of structural damage, and there are also broken areas along the right corner of the pillar. Many of the signs in the inscription above the figures, as well as the guardian falcon over the king, show evidence that the plaster coating associated with late dynastic modification of the ambulatory was at some time afterward scraped out of their incisions. This type of scraping, made with a sharp metal object, occurs on many of the neighboring scenes and was probably the work of a visitor in the modern era attempting to clarify the hieroglyphic text.

PLATE 198. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY HORUS

Above and Behind Horus

[1]Words spoken by Horus-protector-of-his-father:[a] "(My) bodily son, [2]lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, to you (I) have given[b] the kingship of the Two Lands upon the throne of the one who unites the living,[c] even as (I) love you, you living[d] forever."

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god,[e] [4]the great [god].

Above the King

[5]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [6]the good god, Menkheperre, [7]given life [8]like Re forever.

Below Scene

[9]Beloved (of Horus), given life.[f]

Notes to Translation

[a] Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, I) gives only *nḏ-ḥr* [. . . . . .], suggesting that the text was obscured below this point, as observed for pl. 197 (n. *a*).

[b] The text from *dỉ.n=(ỉ) n=k . . .* is given at *Urk.* IV, 571/7–9.

[c] *ns.t n.t ỉ·b ·nḫ.w* seems to be an elaboration of *ns.t ·nḫ.w* (*Wb.* II, 322/6), with *ỉ·b ·nḫ.w* presumably an epithet of Horus in this context.

[d] To the original were added, at a later date, two fronds on either side, making the sign into a  . It is uncertain whether this change was made during the post-Amarna restoration, but it is unlikely that *·nḫ sw ḏ.t* was ever the intended reading.

[e] Extensive traces of the Thutmosid version show that l. 3 originally read *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t*; this was recarved as *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ·s* after the Amarna period. Since l. 4, behind the deity's wing, also reads [*nṯr*] *·s*, the epithet as recarved is redundant.

[f] On the pillars of the peripteros, this shortened form of the *mry . . . dỉ ·nḫ* formula below the scene occurs only here and on the adjoining pillar face (pl. 199).

Epigraphic Comments

Thutmose III, carrying the *·nḫ* and wearing a composite *šw.ty* diadem with horns and sun disk atop a close-fitting cap, appears with the falcon-headed Horus *nḏ-ḥr-ỉt=f* (Harendotes). The original paint scheme of yellow figures and signs on a white background is well preserved in the upper two-thirds of the scene, and several squares of the red-painted draftsman's grid are visible at right. It would appear that the left border element was done in paint only, in contrast to the right one, which was carved in the standard fashion. The image of the god, his name and epithets and the words *sꜣ=(ỉ) n ḥ.t=(ỉ)* in l. 1, and the divine name and epithet in l. 3 were hacked out in the time of Akhenaten. Although the god's front foot and hand on the king's shoulder were left undamaged, the rest of god's figure was targeted with particular zeal, and there are still vestiges of the deep peck marks made by the Heretic's agents, despite subsequent restoration. Traces may be seen at the god's shoulder, behind his back, in front of his knee, and at his heel; there are also traces of the Thutmosid falcon hieroglyph and of the original ○-sign next to the recarved ones in l. 1, and the abovementioned traces in l. 3.

During the late dynastic or Ptolemaic period, the balustrade between this pillar face and the one opposite (pl. 197) was removed, the chiseled outline thereof remaining visible below the inscription. It is evident, however, that blocking stones had previously been inserted atop the balustrade, for the red and blue paint stripes elsewhere associated with their emplacement can be seen here along the pillar's right edge. The scene is generally free of medieval iconoclastic damage, with the exception of narrow cuts made laterally through the signs of l. 9. The top right corner of the upper block is broken as a result of structural pressure from the architrave overhead, and there are additional cracks across the *srḫ* and cartouche; some of the damaged sections in this area, now covered by modern concrete, have been restored based on an older photograph (Epigraphic Survey negative no. 1320). The upper left corner of the pillar is also broken, the damage extending well across the adjoining face (pl. 199).

PLATE 199. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY ANUBIS

Above and Behind Anubis

[1]Words spoken by Anubis, foremost of the divine booth.[a] [2]Words spoken: "To (my) beloved son, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, (I) have given all life and dominion on my part, all stability on my part, all health on my part, and all joy on my part forever."

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3][The Behdetite], the great god,[b] [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [6]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [7–8]given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.[c]

Below Scene

[9]Beloved (of Anubis), given life.

Notes to Translation

[a] The epithet only was published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 8).

[b] Parts of the signs  are visible at the edge of the damaged area above *ḏd mdw* in l. 1, and [*Bḥd.t(y)*] can therefore be inferred.

[c] The arrangement of the signs in ll. 7–8, in front of and above the king's crown, is anomalous. The standard honorific phrase is written with *dỉ ·nḫ* at the beginning of l. 7, followed by *ḏd wꜣs* at the beginning of l. 8, then *mỉ Rˁ* tucked into the corner between the cartouche and the crown, forming the end of l. 7, and concluding with *ḏ.t* at the end of l. 8.

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Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the close-fitting "Nubian" wig surmounted by the *ꜣtf*-crown and carrying the staff and *ḥnḫ*, is received by jackal-headed Anubis. A curious feature is the rendering of the king's kilt, whose rear diagonal fold is carved with one line only, rather than as a band, as in other examples (e.g., pls. 202, 203). The original Thutmosid paint scheme, consisting of yellow signs and figures on a white background, is quite well preserved in this example, and there are extensive traces of the draftsman's grid in red paint on the upper part of the scene. During the time of Akhenaten, the image of Anubis, including his hand on the king's shoulder, as well as his name and epithet in l. 1 (starting with the *n* of *ỉn*), were hacked out, these areas being subsequently cut back and recarved. The recarving process affected the left sides of most of the signs in l. 2. Traces of the back of the god's headdress show that it originally overlapped the column divider between ll. 1 and 2, and there is a trace at the bottom corner of the king's staff, which must previously have extended across the god's foot. Moreover, parts of the signs 𓈖 (in *ỉn*) and 𓋴 in l. 1 and of the 𓉐 in l. 2 were restored in paint only.

During the late dynastic period, the top of the curved balustrade below the scene was cut flat and two blocking stones were inserted into the space above, the lower of which is now the only one still in place. Plaster adhering to the surface of the right part of the scene, particularly along the right border, may be dated to the same era. The in situ blocking stone, whose profile is delineated in dashed lines on the drawing, obscures much of the king's body and some of that of the deity; most of the area in question has been recorded using foil impressions, but portions of the king's torso, belt, and kilt remain inaccessible. Vestiges of red paint on the soffit also recall the emplacement of the blocking stones, the upper of which was probably already removed during Coptic times, when a tether hole was made in the topmost block, cutting through the body of the falcon god. This feature corresponds to a similarly placed hole in the pillar face opposite (pl. 200). The top and right corner of this upper block and a small section of the corner of the middle block were broken off at some point thereafter, most likely as a result of shifting of the architrave overhead. A crack extending diagonally across the middle block damaged the figure of Anubis, which was thereafter patched with mortar. With the exception of a few minor peck marks to the king's face and the god's shoulder, this scene was spared iconoclastic damage during the medieval occupation of the site.

PLATE 200. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY OSIRIS

Above and Behind Osiris

[1]<Words>[a] spoken by Osiris, foremost of the west.[b] [2]Words spoken: "To (my) bodily son, Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes, (I) have given my seat, my throne, and my crown, he being arisen as king of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the seat of Horus like Re forever."[c]

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.[d]

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Maat, [5]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given life like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] There is no trace of the expected *mdw*-sign, either carved or painted, and no evidence that any other sign occupied this place in the text.

[b] Identified at L.*D. Text* iii, 155, VII.

[c] The text of the god's speech is given at *Urk.* IV, 571/4–5; compare the similar text on the adjoining pillar face (pl. 201, l. 2).

[d] The epithet *sꜣb šw.t,* usually carved behind the falcon's lowered wing, was omitted in this example.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the *ꜣtf*-crown as in the facing scene (pl. 199), but here with gazelle horns added, is received by Osiris *ḫnt(y) ỉmnt.t*. The original color scheme, consisting of a white background with yellow-painted signs and figures, is best preserved in the upper sections, with part of the red-painted draftsman's grid visible in the upper right corner. There are several places where the sculptors of Thutmose III found it necessary to repair flaws in the stone with plaster before carving, particularly along the upper and middle block lines. The image of Osiris, his name and epithet in l. 1, and the whole of l. 3 were hacked out by Akhenaten's adherents, who, however, left the god's hand on the king's back shoulder and his left foot intact. The king's arm, extending across the god's torso, was carefully spared by the Atenists. The damaged areas were then restored in the post-Amarna period, leaving only one visible trace of the original carving below Osiris' beard. Some of the affected areas, such as the border line to the left of l. 3, the signs *nṯr ḥꜣ* in that same line, the left ends of the two 𓈖 signs above *sꜣ* in l. 2, and probably the column divider behind the top of the god's crown, were restored in paint only.

During the late dynastic period, the top of the curved balustrade was cut flat and blocking stones were inserted in the space between the pillars; the lower one, as discussed in the remarks on the opposite pillar face (pl. 199), remains in place, covering the area delineated in dashed lines on the facsimile drawing. Most of this area has been recorded using foil impressions, but the mortar between the blocking stone and the pillar face is still partially intact, obscuring most of the king's left leg and foot, along with parts of his kilt and belt. Some of the plaster coating applied to the inscribed surfaces of the peripteros during the same era remains visible within the god's figure and in l. 2.

After the upper blocking stone had been removed, probably in Coptic times, a tether hole was cut into the surface of the upper pillar block, corresponding to the hole in the opposite pillar. To the right of this feature, near the corner, are several wide, shallow grooves scratched in the stone surface, the date and purpose of which are uncertain. At the bottom of l. 2, next to the *t* of *ḏ.t*, are indecipherable bits of a graffito in black ink.

PLATE 201. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re,[a] king of the gods. [2]Words spoken: "To the lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation,[b] (I) have given my seat, my throne, my inheritance, and my possessions, <you> being arisen upon the throne of his father Re and upon the seat of Horus of the living [forever]."[c]

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, as she gives life.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]beloved of Re in the night-bark,[d] [7]given life like Re.

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Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The name of Amun-Re lacks the usual determinative stroke for *Rʿ*; compare pl. 204, l. 1. This writing is apparently the original, for the sun disk hieroglyph was left intact by Akhenaten's agents.

[b] The *nfr*-sign in the king's cartouche was left intact as originally carved.

[c] The speech of Amun is given at *Urk.* IV, 563/14–15, but omitting the 𓂻 ending of *ḥʿ.t(i)*, which is apparently either a brief shift to the second person or an error introduced when this section was recarved after the Amarna period. Sethe also omitted the 𓏛 after *ns.t*, which sign allows the reading *. . . ḥr ns.t ỉt=f Rʿ. . . .* At the end of the column, the words *. . . ḥr s.t Ḥr n.t ʿnḫ.w* were also recarved, but without regard to the previous spacing of the signs, so that there was no room to include the original ending *ḏ.t*, traces of which appear within the plural strokes, even though the Thutmosid determinative 𓏞 remained intact below. Compare the similar text on the adjoining panel (pl. 200, l. 2).

[d] Read *Rʿ m mskt.t* (*LGG* IV, 622a). On the iconography of the *mskt.t*-bark, see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* VI/1 (Cairo, 1946), 40ff., esp. 70–76. Detailed representations of this vessel are provided by A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pls. 173–76.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and grasping the mace and *ʿnḫ*, is embraced by Amun-Re. The original Eighteenth Dynasty polychrome details are quite well preserved throughout, as are the modifications made to the color scheme during the Twenty-First Dynasty, illustrated in color on pl. 243 and discussed at length below (see pp. 53–56). During the Amarna period, the image of Amun-Re, his name and epithet in l. 1 (with the exception of the sun disk, as observed in n. *a* above), and the name of Nekhbet in l. 3 were hacked out by Akhenaten's servants; these areas, which included the god's hand behind the king's neck, were subsequently cut back and restored. Also damaged and thereafter repaired was the section of text in l. 2 extending from *ḫʿ* down to *ʿnḫ.w*; it appears that this erasure was deliberate, for the sun disk hieroglyph was again left intact. The recarved text was modified as previously described (see n. *c*). Traces of the Thutmosid carving can be seen in front of the king's raised arm and by both of his feet, as well as by the words *ḥr ns.t*, the *Ḥr*-sign, and the abovementioned traces of *ḏ.t* in l. 2.

In the late dynastic period a thick layer of whitewash was applied to the surface of this pillar, as elsewhere in the ambulatory. This coating still adheres in many places, though there is also evidence that some of it has been scraped away, probably in modern times, to reveal details of the underlying decoration, causing damage to the relief (e.g., at the *mr*-sign in l. 6). During the medieval era, the faces, arms, and legs of both figures were heavily damaged by iconoclasts; the hieroglyphs, however, were not targeted in this scene. There is minor cracking along the pillar edges and block lines, and a crack has formed at the top of the third block, extending across the king's crown. At some point a Copt scratched a small cross near Thutmose III's lowered hand.

PLATE 202. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY RE-HORAKHTY

Above and Behind Re-Horakhty

[1]Words spoken by Re-Horakhty, lord of heaven.[a] [2]Words spoken: "To (my) beloved son, Thutmose-beautiful[b]-of-manifestation, my protector, who is upon my throne, (I) have given all life and dominion, (I) having caused that he rule the Two Banks,[c] even as I love him, forever."[d]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [6]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [7]given all life like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The god's name and epithet are given at L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 6.

[b] The *nfr*-sign was hacked out, leaving only bits of the hieroglyph visible; nothing was carved or painted in its place.

[c] Or perhaps *ỉdb.wy=(ỉ)* "(my) Two Banks." For *ỉdb.wy Ḥr* as a designation of Egypt see *Wb.* I, 153/7, with particular reference to the occurrences at *Urk.* IV, 500/16–501/2 and L.*D.* III, 246a; see also *RILT* I, pl. 119, l. 10.

[d] The speech of Re-Horakhty is given at *Urk.* IV, 567/15–17.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the *ỉtf*-crown with ram's horns and holding the staff, mace, and *ʿnḫ*, is given life by hieracocephalic Re-Horakhty, whose head is surmounted by the solar disk. The original paint scheme of yellow figures and signs on a white background is well preserved in the upper portion of the scene. The god's image and name were left intact by Akhenaten's minions, as were those of Atum on the opposite pillar face (pl. 203), no doubt because of the solar associations of these deities vis-à-vis the Aten cult; it is of interest to note also that the figure of Re-Horakhty is illuminated by the sunlight each morning, while the figure of Atum receives direct sun thereafter through mid-afternoon. By contrast, the name of the Behdetite in l. 3 was hacked out and subsequently restored, leaving visible traces of the original 𓎛- and 𓂻-signs.

During the late dynastic period, the rounded top of the balustrade below the scene was cut down to facilitate the insertion of blocking stones into the space between these two pillars. Later, the medieval occupants of Djeme desecrated the god's head and arms, the face of the king, and the *sỉ*, *Ḏḥwty*, and *ḥr* hieroglyphs in l. 2. At the right edge of the cartouche in l. 6 is a small, round hole in which is still embedded the end of a wooden pole, probably inserted after the temple was no longer in cultic use; this hole corresponds to an identical one in the opposite pillar face, though the purpose of such a lightweight fixture here is difficult to guess. Aside from minor chipping along the pillar edges and block lines, the scene is in good condition overall, though a graffito in charcoal, dated 1838 (not illustrated), can be seen within the *p.t*-sign at top.

PLATE 203. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY ATUM

Above and Behind Atum

[1]Words spoken by Atum, lord of Heliopolis, the great god. [2]Words spoken: "Thutmose-beautiful[a]-of-manifestation, (my) bodily son, uniquely excellent,[b] brought up from the egg in his rank of chief of the Two Lands: to him (I) have given (the state of) being given life forever."[c]

Before and Behind the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god, [4]variegated of plumage.

Above the King

[5]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [6]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [7]given all life like Re forever.

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Notes to Translation

[a] The *nfr*-sign in the king's cartouche has been hacked around the edges, but it remains essentially intact, with no sign of later reworking.

[b] *wꜥ mnḫ*, *Wb.* I, 276/3.

[c] At the end of the column, the word *ḏ.t* was partly carved, but the signs were then filled in with plaster, and vestiges of yellow paint show that the text was emended to read *. . . dỉ ꜥnḫ nb* "given all life," perhaps better to suit the compressed space. The ground line was also extended in paint behind the king's heel.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing a horned *ꜣtf*-crown identical to the one in the facing scene (pl. 202), is received by Atum, who holds the *ꜥnḫ* to his nose. The king grasps a staff in one hand and the mace and *ꜥnḫ* in the other, but the mace handle is depicted here as extending behind the king's body (though, curiously, in front of the bull's tail), and we see the fingers on the inside of his fist, indicating that the objects are held in his right hand. The original paint scheme, yellow figures and hieroglyphs on a white background, is well preserved near the top of the pillar.

As in the opposite scene, the god's image, name, and epithets were left intact by Akhenaten's adherents,[28] doubtless because of the deity's solar nature. The words *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr* were hacked out, however, and were thereafter restored. Part of the *p.t*-sign above this text was restored in paint only. During the late dynastic period, the top of the balustrade was cut down to allow the emplacement of blocking stones, whose continued presence in the medieval era helped to protect most of the king's image from the desecration that was carried out on Atum's head, face, body, and right leg, although the king's arm and mouth/nose, left exposed, were also hacked. Bits of red paint in the right border also attest the presence of the window blocking stones. The associated plaster coating on the surface of the inscription obscures some of the hieroglyphs in l. 2. During the Ptolemaic dynasty, the upper right corner of the topmost block was shaved back at an angle to match the notch cut at either side of the exterior door lintel (see pls. 168, 170). A large area of the surface at the bottom right of the scene is broken away, and vestiges of plaster fill in this area may indicate an ancient attempt at repair. In the left border of the cartouche containing the king's prenomen is a round hole with the broken end of a wooden pole still in place, corresponding to the one in the facing scene (pl. 202). There is additional damage to the lower left edge of the pillar face and minor damage along the corners and block lines.

PLATE 204. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re,[a] lord of heaven: [2]"(As for) the son of Re, (my) beloved, Thutmose-beautiful[b]-of-manifestation, who has made offerings, lord of veneration: (I) caused that he seize the crown even when he was a nestling,[c] forever."

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [5]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]given life like Re, [7][. . .][d] foremost of the Two Lands, forever.

[28] Contra Lepsius (L*.D. Text* iii, 155, V), who thought that the god's head was restored after having been hacked out. There are neither traces nor any modifications to the surface that support this observation.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re [forever].[e]

Notes to Translation

[a] As in the neighboring raised-relief scene (pl. 201), the sun disk was not hacked out in the Amarna period, so its position, and the lack of a determinative stroke, may be taken as original.

[b] The *nfr*-sign in the cartouche is intact, with no sign of any attempt at erasure or modification.

[c] Literally "even when he was as one who is in his nest." Sethe's copy (*Urk.* IV, 563/17–564/2) is accurate in every respect except for the word *sšy*, which he shows with three nestlings, as in the normal orthography; but the sign as carved here, though obscured by later plaster and damaged by scraping in modern times, has only two, a form exceedingly rare. For similar expressions, compare Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* V, pl. 131 (Hatshepsut) and *Urk.* IV, 157/2–3 (Thutmose III); also L. Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amontempels von Karnak* (Leipzig, 1905), 44–45 (Amenhotep II) and *RIK* IV, pl. 34, ll. 8–9 (Sety I). This example of the emphatic *sḏm.n=f* construction with the following particle *ỉsk* is notable.

[d] The lower extension of a sign can be seen below the broken area; is possible, giving [*tỉ.t Rꜥ*]; but the insertion of additional epithets between *mỉ Rꜥ* and *ḏ.t* is in any case unusual.

[e] Doubtless [*ḏ.t*] in the space cut back for the Ptolemaic door.

Epigraphic Comments

The king wears the Upper Egyptian crown and holds the staff and mace, while Amun, in the double-plumed diadem, extends the *ꜥnḫ* to his nose. Although the late dynastic plaster coating is especially thick on the surface of this pillar, many elements of the original polychrome finish remain visible, particularly within the *srḫ*. As with the scene illustrated on pl. 201, the paint scheme was modified during the Twenty-First Dynasty (see below, pp. 53–56). During the Amarna period, the image of the deity, his name and epithet in l. 1 (except for the sun disk), and the name and epithet of Nekhbet in l. 3 were erased by the servants of Akhenaten; all of the affected areas were thereafter restored, with a few traces of the older *mn*-sign in l. 1 visible above the reworked version. The plaster overlay, which obscures the carved details in many areas, especially on the lower part of the scene, has been scraped off from much of the surface, particularly in the second half of l. 2, apparently in an attempt to render the signs more readable, but this has resulted in much damage to the underlying relief. In the time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, the entrance to the ambulatory next to this pillar was modified to receive a double-leaved door, and in so doing the builders cut away about 12 cm of the left edge of the scene. Subsequent damage and erosion at the corner caused the loss of even more inscribed details. There is additional damage along the right edge, as well as cracks across the middle of the uppermost block, caused by the weight of the architrave above. The temple's medieval inhabitants vandalized the faces of both the king and god, as well as the latter's hand. A figurative graffito in black paint (Gr. 472) may be seen behind the king's calf, and another, in black and white (Gr. 473), is visible on the lower section of the pillar face; these graffiti are shown on pl. 236.

PLATE 205. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN

Above and Behind Amun

[1]Words spoken by Amun: "(My) son, [2]Menkheperre, of (my) body, (my) beloved, to you (I) have given[a] [all] life and dominion [. . .],[b] even as (I) love you, you living like Re forever, eternally."

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Before Wadjet

[3]Wadjet, as she[c] gives life.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]beloved of A[mun]-Re, lord of heaven.

Below Scene

[7]Beloved (of Amun), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] As originally carved, with 𓎛 for 𓋴.

[b] The signs *ꜥnḫ* and *wꜣs* were partly erased when the surface around the adjacent Amun figure was smoothed back for restoration, and they do not appear to have been recarved completely. Assume [*nb . . .*] after *ꜥnḫ wꜣs*; there is room for one more group before *mỉ mrr=(i) . . .* , perhaps [*. . . ḫr=ỉ*].

[c] The *=s* was carved backward by the original sculptor in order to fit more closely against the *dỉ* in the truncated space.

Epigraphic Comments

In this scene, pendant to the previous one, Menkheperre wears the Lower Egyptian crown and carries the staff, *ꜥnḫ*, and mace, the last of which is shown extending behind his body; he is embraced and given life by Amun, who is depicted in standard regalia. The god's figure (excepting the heel of his leading foot), his name and the word *sꜣ* in l. 1, the name of Wadjet in l. 3, and the whole of l. 6 were hacked out in the Amarna period and thereafter restored. Substantial damage to the stone along the middle block line, especially at the left side and within the crowns of the god and king, suggests that the surface here was vigorously attacked by Akhenaten's adherents; this section was afterward repaired with thick mortar fill, much of which has now fallen out, revealing the hacked stone beneath. A heavy layer of plaster, applied during the late dynastic period, obscures most of the scene's painted details, including the later paint stages observed elsewhere in this part of the ambulatory (see below, pp. 53–56), and sections of the carved lines of the figures as well. In the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, the adjoining doorway was recessed, causing the loss of the right edge of the pillar. A large crack, caused by structural pressure, extends across the upper block and down the upper right corner of the middle block, where a section of the surface has broken off. The thick plaster coating protected this scene from any serious iconoclastic damage in the medieval era, the chipping at the pillar edges and along the block lines being of an incidental character. There is no evidence that the late plaster was scraped off in modern times, in contrast to the corresponding scene on the other side of the doorway (pl. 204). A graffito in black paint (Gr. 478, pl. 237), showing part of a boat, is preserved between the lower legs of the pharaoh.

PLATE 206. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven,[a] [2]as he gives all life and all health like Re.

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.[b]

Above the King

[4]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [5]the bodily son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, [6]given [life like] Re for[ever].[c]

Notes to Translation

[a] The god's name and epithets were first published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 4).

[b] Assuming that the epithet *sꜣb šw.t* was not carved behind the god's lower wing, as in the opposite scene (pl. 207).

[c] Most of the line is lost, but the visible bits of *dỉ*, *Rꜥ*, and *ḏ.*[*t*] allow the whole phrase to be reconstructed.

Epigraphic Comments

Thutmose III, wearing the Lower Egyptian crown and holding the *ꜥnḫ*, is received by Amun-Re, who offers life to the king's nose. The scene is carved in sunk relief, its signs and figures painted yellow on a white background, though the colors are now quite faded. During the Amarna iconoclasm, the figure of Amun, his name and titles (l. 1), the greater part of the adjacent l. 2 (starting with *ꜥnḫ*), and the name *Bḥd.t(y)* in l. 3 were all erased and afterward cut back for recarving. Traces show that Amun's arm was originally shown hanging down behind his body holding an *ꜥnḫ*, but in the post-Atenist restoration it was recarved so that the god holds the hieroglyph to the king's nose. Additional traces of the Thutmosid god figure are visible behind his head, within the other arm, near his chest, back, and thigh, and at his legs and feet; these traces show that he was placed slightly to the left in the earlier version. The right arm of the *ꜥnḫ* in l. 2 and the top of the divider between ll. 1 and 2 were restored partly in paint, and segments of the original border behind the god indicate that this area also was restored in paint only.

At the base of the scene can be observed the scar where the top of the balustrade was cut away to allow the emplacement of blocking stones in the late dynastic period. The left edge of the pillar was modified during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II when the central entryway was recarved. A large rectangular patch stone, inserted as part of that work, is now missing at upper left, its socket still containing vestiges of the ancient mortar. Below, along the corner, extends a beveled edge created to define the outer edge of the north jamb of the entrance (extending down from the right end of the lintel; cf. pls. 168, 174).

There is little evidence for medieval vandalism of this scene, the inscription having been protected by the interstitial blocking stones, one of which was still in place as late as 1854.[29] Patches of red paint on the surface between the king and Amun may also be associated with later modifications to the decorative scheme. A hole in the surface near the *mn*-sign in the cartouche corresponds to a similar hole in the opposite pillar face (pl. 207), perhaps indicating that a wooden pole or other fixture was inserted here during Coptic times (cf. pls. 199, 200). Indistinct remnants of a graffito in black ink are visible over Amun's heel.

PLATE 207. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUNET

Above Amunet

[1]A[munet], lady of heaven, mistress of the gods,[a] [2]as she gives all life and all health like Re.

[29] See pl. 144 and p. 9, n. 6 above for the early photograph of the façade by J. B. Greene.

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Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Beloved of Nekhbet, lady of Upper Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, given life [6]like Re forever.

Note to Translation

[a] The preserved part of this text column was recorded by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, III); the edge of 𓎛 visible by the break makes *ỉ*[*mn.t*] certain. Traces show that the epithet [*nb*]*.t p.t* was carved lower in the original than in the post-Amarna version. This would require both an expanded writing of the preceding *ỉmn.t* and a shortened writing of the following *ḥnw.t*, but no trace of the Thutmosid version of these words remains. Presumably *nṯr.w* occupies its original position at the end of the column.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double-plumed diadem with ram's horns and holding the staff and *ʿnḫ*, is received by Amunet, who wears the crown of Lower Egypt and holds the *ʿnḫ* to the sovereign's nose. The usual paint scheme of yellow signs and figures on a white background is partially preserved in some areas of the scene. In the time of Akhenaten, the goddess's figure, her name and epithets in l. 1, the name and epithet of the Behdetite in l. 3, and the divine name and image at the top of l. 4 were hacked out; these areas were recarved during the post-Amarna restoration, though the position of the *ʿnḫ* in front of the king's face was shifted noticeably higher. In the area behind the goddess, where the surrounding surface was shaved back, the repair to the vertical border was either left incomplete or finished in paint, which has now disappeared. In addition to the traces in l. 1 noted above, there are remnants of the older 𓌙 and 𓎛 in l. 3, along with many traces of the name and image of Nekhbet atop the heraldic Upper Egyptian standard, showing that the positions of the vulture goddess and her *šn*-ring and scepter, as well as of the hieroglyphs of her name, were significantly altered when reworked.

During the late dynastic period, the top of the balustrade below the scene was cut down to allow the insertion of blocking stones between this pillar face and the one opposite. One of these blocking stones was still in place in 1854;[30] this may have helped protect the images of the king and goddess from iconoclastic attacks in the medieval era, of which this scene exhibits no evidence. A hole in the *ʿnḫ*-sign in l. 4, corresponding to the one noted in the opposite pillar (pl. 206), presumably supported a wooden pole, as in the scenes shown on pls. 199 and 200. There is a crack through the middle of the uppermost block caused by structural pressure from the architrave, and the upper left corner of the middle block has also broken off. Incidental damage is visible at the block lines, where some of the Eighteenth Dynasty mortar fill has deteriorated over the course of time.

PLATE 208. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1]Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of heaven: [2]"[(My)] beloved [bodily son],[a] Menkheperre, to you (I) have given to perform millions of jubilees upon the seat of Horus like Re."

Before Wadjet

[3]Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull beloved of Re, [5]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]image of Amun to eternity.

Below Scene

[7]First occasion of the jubilee; may he perform a great many.

Note to Translation

[a] A patch stone was inserted here during the late dynastic or Ptolemaic era to repair the damaged top left corner of the block. Its surface is finished with plain white plaster, devoid of decoration. There is room for two groups in the missing section of the text. Part of the right corner of a 𓏏-loaf can be seen below the damaged area, allowing the restoration of [*ḥ*]*.t=(ỉ)*, and consequently of [*sꜣ=(ỉ)*] above; there is no space left for *ḏd mdw* at the top of the column.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene in raised relief shows Thutmose III, in the Lower Egyptian crown, being embraced by Amun-Re, who holds the *ʿnḫ* to the king's nose. As in the scene on pl. 205, the king holds the staff, the *ʿnḫ*, and the mace, whose shaft passes behind his body. The polychrome Eighteenth Dynasty decoration and the later paint modifications made at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty (see below, pp. 53–56), although largely obscured by the late dynastic plaster overlay, remain visible in some places. The typical red, yellow, and black bands of the Thutmosid dado below the scene are illustrated on pl. 251*C*. The figure of the deity, including his left hand behind the king's head, was hacked out during the Amarna period and afterward restored, but the king's left arm and hand, and the portion of the staff below the hand, were left intact. The name and epithet of the god in l. 1 and his name in l. 6 were also excised and later recarved, but the name and epithets of Wadjet in l. 3 were spared the typical Atenist iconoclasm in this case, and the signs remain as originally sculpted. The late plaster layer covers the details of the figures and hieroglyphs in many places, rendering undetectable any traces of the pre-Amarna version of the god's figure and names. Amun's face suffered characteristic medieval hacking, as did the *m-*, *sd-, ḥr-,* and *Ḥr*-signs in l. 2. In addition to the missing area at the top of l. 2, there is extensive cracking of the topmost block, and the right corner of the second block has also broken away. Part of a Demotic text in black ink is visible to the right of the bottom of the *ʿnḫ* in the king's hand, but the signs can scarcely be read. A figurative graffito (Gr. 479, pl. 237), showing part of the rigging of a boat, extends across the body of Thutmose III.

PLATE 209. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY MUT

Above Mut

[1]<Words spoken by> Mut, lady of Isheru, lady of heaven: "<To you I have given>[a] [2]all life and [dominion] and all health, even as I love you."

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behde[t]ite, the great god.

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Beloved of Wadjet, lady of heaven, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

[30] See pl. 144 and p. 9, n. 6 above.

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Above the King

[5]The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given all life like Re forever.

Note to Translation

[a] The recarving of l. 1 after the Amarna period introduced serious alterations to the text, and the original reading is not entirely clear from the traces. A diagonal trace at the top right corner of the -sign could perhaps be identified as the back of an original , with the left corner of the previous *nb*-basket of *nb.t* to the left of the final , and a trace of the front edge of the older in front of the final -sign, allowing an original [*ḏd mdw ỉn*] *Mw.t nb.*[*t*] *ỉ*[*šrw . . .*] to be suggested; this would leave space for [*dỉ.n=(i) n=k*], which was omitted in the restored version, at the end of the column. Though tentative, this solution accords with the content of l. 2, which remains as originally carved under Thutmose III. No explanation is possible for these changes to the inscription in l. 1; elsewhere in the temple, the post-Amarna sculptors took care to restore at least a reasonable approximation of the Thutmosid texts. The final version was recorded by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 2).

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double crown and holding the *ʿnḫ*, is offered life by Mut, who is adorned with the vulture headdress and grasps the king's hand. The original paint scheme, consisting of yellow figures and hieroglyphs on a white background, is rather well preserved over much of the surface. During the Amarna period, the figure of the goddess was hacked out, along with all of l. 1 (see note above), the name *Bḥd.t(y)* in l. 3, and the top part of l. 4 containing the name, epithet, and image of Wadjet. Traces of the goddess's wig, headdress, and forearm indicate that she originally stood somewhat more to the right, and there are also traces of the earlier version of the signs in ll. 1 and 4. When this latter area was recarved, some of the feather details on the winged deity above were erased; they may have been restored either in plaster or in paint, but the lines are now lost. The same is true of parts of the vertical border lines behind the goddess's head. In l. 2, an area at the edge of the block over the word *snb* appears to have been repaired in plaster in ancient times, though the missing parts of the *n*-sign were not recarved in the prepared surface.

During the late dynastic period, the balustrade below the scene was modified so that blocking stones could be inserted between this pillar face and the one opposite (pl. 210). Part of a red-painted band associated with these inserts is visible on the border left of the king's legs. These stones must have been removed at a relatively early date, however, for the exposed faces and hands of both the king and goddess suffered iconoclastic damage during the medieval period. A crack runs across the left end of the uppermost block, and the right corners of both the upper and middle blocks are broken off as a result of structural pressure and shifting of the stones. Incidental damage is visible along the block lines and the edges of the pillar as well. A round hole at the bottom right corner corresponds to a similar hole in the inner jamb of the Achoris doorway opposite and must have been intended to receive a wooden pole or other fixture.

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives all life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, [6]given all life forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The arrangement of the signs in l. 1 was considerably altered when the inscription was recarved following the Amarna iconoclasm. Traces of the original can be seen immediately following the *n*-sign in Montu's name, and the trace *nb*-sign, located half a group higher than in the final version, confirms the earlier orthography. Traces of the earlier and of *Wꜣs.t* show that this word was half a group higher as well. Below, a curved trace is visible in the final city-sign, marking the original height of the left plume of Montu's diadem, the tips of which extended into the bottom of the text column. For this arrangement compare J.-Fr. Pécoil et al., *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes. Relevés épigraphiques* (Paris, 2000), pl. 45. Part of the god's epithet was published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, I).

[b] The ties on the book-roll determinative were rendered in paint only.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, holding the *ʿnḫ* and wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, is given the sign of life by Montu, crowned with the double-plumed sun disk and uraeus; as in the opposite scene (pl. 209), the god's other hand grasps that of the pharaoh. The original yellow-on-white paint scheme is well preserved, especially on the upper parts of the pillar face, and a bit of the sculptor's grid in red is even visible behind the avian deity's lowered wing. During the Amarna period, Montu's image and his name (l. 1), the name and epithet of the Behdetite (l. 3), and the name and depiction of Wadjet atop her standard (l. 4) were hacked out and thereafter restored; in addition to the traces discussed above, there are vestiges of the original *nṯr*-sign in l. 3 and traces of the original rendering of Wadjet's name and image in l. 4. When the area around Montu's figure was cut back for recarving, some sections of the vertical border elements at left were erased; these lines were restored in paint, much of which has now disappeared.

Below the king's figure can be seen the scar where the top of the curved balustrade was removed to allow the insertion of blocking stones, including remains of the mortar used during the emplacement. These blocking stones were thereafter taken down at a sufficiently early date to allow the king's head and body, along with the hands, face, and crown of Montu, to be vandalized by the temple's medieval occupants. The lower of the two patch stones along the right edge of the pillar was added during the Ptolemaic period, when the adjacent scene on the right (pl. 157) was restored and repainted. The upper patch stone, at the end of the upper block line, is original to the time of Thutmose III. The upper right corner of the topmost block has broken off because of the weight of the superposed architrave, while minor damage along the block lines has revealed some of the original mortar fill in these areas.

PLATE 210. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY MONTU

Above Montu

[1]Montu, lord of Thebes,[a] [2]as he gives all life and dominion and all health.[b]

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.

PLATE 211. THUTMOSE III BEFORE PTAH

Above Ptah

[1]Words spoken by Ptah-south-of-his-wall: "[To you (I) have] given[a] [2]millions of jubi[lees. . . . . .].[b]

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis.

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Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Beloved of Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given life like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a]Restore *dì*.[*n=(i) n=k*].

[b]If this column of text ends above the head of the deity (i.e., at the same level as *mry* in l. 4), then there is room for [*mì Rʿ ḏ.t*] or the like following *ḥḥ.w m* [*ḥb.w*]-*s*[*d*].

Epigraphic Comments

The Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of this pillar is mostly covered by the blocks of a gateway installed during the reign of Achoris, which was inserted into a cut made through the balustrade of the ambulatory. Fortunately, the lintel was built of separate slabs and is thus hollow inside; the profiles of these sandstone blocks are indicated with dashed lines in the facsimile plate. A narrow gap where the top of the north lintel block is missing, below the Eighteenth Dynasty architrave, allows the upper portions of both this scene and the one opposite (pl. 212) to be observed, while parts of the north edge of each scene can be examined via gaps between the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty jambs and the Thutmosid pillar faces.

The scene depicts Ptah-south-of-his-wall with the king before him. The figure of the god at right is entirely covered by the masonry of the later doorway, while the only visible portions of the king's figure are the bulbous top and square tip of his double crown, with bits of the curlicue visible in front of them, and parts of his kilt, arms, legs, bull's tail, and foot below. The king's pose, with both arms extended downward, suggests the ritual *dwꜣ nṯr sp fdw*.[31] The sunk-relief figures and hieroglyphs were painted yellow on a white background, as with the other lateral pillar scenes in the ambulatory. The name and epithet of Ptah in l. 1, along with those of Nekhbet and Wadjet in ll. 3–4, were erased during the Amarna period and subsequently restored. Traces of the original signs can be seen in ll. 3–4. The scene suffered further damage either during the Amarna period or at some other time before the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty, when the top left corner of the upper block of the pillar and a smaller segment along the top edge of the stone broke away, taking with them the back part of Nekhbet's tail and downswept wing, along with portions of the *ʿnḫ* and *mì* signs in l. 6 and segments of the *p.t*-sign below the architrave. Parts of these features were cursorily repainted onto the damaged stone surface, without any attempt at recarving or surface repair. The monochrome yellow tone of the paint suggests that this restoration was made during the embellishment of the temple's exterior under Ramesses III.

Bits of mortar adhering to portions of l. 4 of the text correspond to a line of mortar remnants extending across the soffit of the architrave and down onto the surface of the opposite pillar (pl. 212). These remains suggest that a blocking stone was emplaced between the two pillars, as was done elsewhere in the ambulatory during the late dynastic period. It is important to note, however, that there is no trace here of the red- and blue-painted stripes on the outer edges of the pillars and architraves, such as are to be seen on many of the other windows where blocking stones were installed. These observations lead to the conclusion that the blocking stones were inserted prior to the reign of Achoris (i.e., before the gateway was constructed between the two pillars) but the colored bands framing these blocking stones were painted later, as part of the overall repainting of the temple's exterior during the Ptolemaic era.

The mortar used to fix the blocks of the Achoris doorway covers some of the hieroglyphs in the exposed areas, and a layer of blackened plaster or resin further obscures the carved details of the inscription. Since the entire scene remained masked by the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty blocks, it was spared any iconoclastic attacks during the medieval occupation of Djeme.

[31] For the gesture and label compare R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* II (Paris, 1982), pls. 130–31 (location Karnak C 153).

PLATE 212. THUTMOSE III BEFORE "THE KOPTITE"

Above the Deity

[1]The Kopt[ite . . . . . .][a]

[2]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion."

[3]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given [all] joy."

Behind the Deity

[4][The protection . . . . . all around] him like Re.[b]

Before the Behdetite

[5]The Behde[t]ite, the great god.

Above the King

[6]The good god, lord of the Two Lands, the son of Re, Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat, [7]given all life like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The writing of *Gb.tyw*[*y*] (*Wb.* V, 163/2) can be reconstructed by comparison with that shown by L. Coulon et al., "«Catacombes» osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak: Rapport préliminaire de la campagne des fouilles 1993," in *Cahiers de Karnak* X (Cairo, 1995), pl. XII, with 𓋴𓏏 covered by the plaster fill to the left of 𓃀, and the ⊗-sign obscured left of the 𓈖 below. Since only the legs of the mummiform divine figure are visible in the lower part of the scene, it is impossible to be certain whether Min or Osiris is meant here, as either might be known as "the Koptite," an epithet that is, however, less commonly attested in the New Kingdom than might be supposed (cf. *LGG* VII, 309c–310a). On the basis of the Karnak example just cited, the identification of the deity here as Osiris might be favored, since evidence demonstrates the existence of a sacred quarter within the Karnak precinct dedicated to that god (Coulon et al., "«Catacombes» osiriennes," 221–23), and since we are dealing in this part of the ambulatory with a group of deities known to be "resident" in Thebes/Karnak, including Ptah-south-of-his-wall, pictured in the scene immediately opposite. Yet the Karnak parallel for *Gb.tywy* was reworked in the Ptolemaic period, and the text might have been altered from the Ramessid original (on which see W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak*, ÄA 18 (Wiesbaden, 1968), 108 and pl. 67). Closer in date to our scene is stela BM 706 from the reign of Sety I, found in the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, in which a group of (mainly) Theban deities includes the ithyphallic Min, called *Gb.tyw(y) nb p.t* (see *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c. in the British Museum* VI [London, 1922], pl. 48, with remarks in *KRI* I, 329–31). The evidence thus remains equivocal, and, barring future removal of the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty doorjamb, the exact identity of the god shown here will remain in doubt.

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[b] The end of the protection formula [*sꜣ . . . . . ḥꜣ*]=*f nb mỉ Rʿ* is revealed by the parts of these signs detected at the limit of the wall section that could be traced by foil impression in the gap between the gate slabs and the inscribed surface. If it is presumed that the text started behind the head of the deity, then six to eight groups are missing here.

Epigraphic Comments

As with the scene on the opposite pillar face (pl. 211), the decoration here is almost entirely covered by the blocks of the Achoris gate, except for the upper section, visible within the hollow of the lintel, parts of the right edge, and a section below showing the legs and feet of both figures, which are traceable in the gap between the pillar face and the blocks of the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty jamb. The doorjamb blocks, whose positions are shown in dashed outline, mostly obscure the figures of both the god and king, whose regalia and gestures can only be guessed. Given the shortness of ll. 2–3, however, it is likely that the god wore a high crown or headdress. For the identification of the deity called here *Gb.tyw*[*y*], see n. *a* above. As decorated under Thutmose III, the scene had the typical yellow-painted signs and figures on a white background. The paint is rather well preserved, which may explain the absence of any vestiges of the usual grid in red. During the Amarna period, the divine figure was no doubt hacked out and later recarved; his name in l. 1 and that of the Behdetite in l. 5 exhibit signs of having been vandalized and subsequently restored. A trace of the original can be seen above the recarved version in l. 5, and the -sign in l. 1 also shows an earlier trace. An area of abrasion at the right side of the uppermost pillar block may be the result of fitting the lintel blocks for the Achoris gate. The stones that form the lintel are squarer at this end and therefore block more of the text from view than in the facing scene, and the mortar holding the blocks in place likewise survives better than that abutting the opposite pillar. A line of mortar extending along the divider between ll. 2 and 3, and upward over the wing of the Behdetite Horus, corresponds to the outline visible on the architrave soffit, indicating the presence of a blocking stone that would have been removed when the doorway of Achoris was put in place. Since, like its counterpart opposite, this pillar surface was covered by the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty construction, it was also spared the medieval iconoclastic attacks observed in other areas of the monument.

PLATE 213. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, [2]as he gives all life and all stability[a] like Re.

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet.[b]

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given life like Re forever.

Behind the King

[7]The protection of life, stability, dominion, and health is all around him like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The area to the left of *ḏd* is blank, and the surface was not damaged in the Amarna period or affected by subsequent recarving. Despite the odd spacing, we must assume that this was the original arrangement of the text; perhaps the scribe omitted a *.t* or a *wꜣs* here when composing the scene.

[b] The name of Nekhbet, erased during the Amarna period, was thereafter recarved.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, holding the *ʿnḫ* and wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, is received by Amun-Re, who wears his double-plumed diadem. The scene was painted in polychrome, remnants of which persist over much of the relief, especially near the top of the pillar. In the time of Akhenaten, the name of the god in l. 1, his image below (including the hand behind the king's head), and the name of Nekhbet in l. 3 were vandalized and then restored during the post-Amarna period. Unlike several other examples in this area of the temple, the name and image of Wadjet (l. 4) were left undamaged by the Atenists. The post-Amarna recarving caused the erasure of the border behind the top of Amun's crown; only a single trace of the original figure of the god, below the recarved arm line near the king's breast, can now be seen. Significant modifications were made to the painted decoration of the king's costume around the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty (see the discussion on pp. 53–56). Thereafter, a thick layer of plaster was applied to the raised-relief surface, as elsewhere in the ambulatory, which has obscured some of the painted features and in many sections makes the relief itself difficult to observe with precision. In addition to the damaged area at the upper left corner, there is additional loss of detail along the lower block line, particularly by the king's lowered hand. Surface damage near the king's face appears to be more recent, caused by an attempt to scrape away the plaster layer in order to reveal the underlying sculpted details.

An illegible Demotic text in black ink (Gr. 483) is visible to the left of the intersection of the ankles of the two figures, while below the scene, near the base of the pillar, is an elaborate picture of a boat (Gr. 482), painted in black and white. These graffiti are illustrated on pl. 238.

PLATE 214. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY HATHOR

Above Hathor

[1]Hathor, chieftess of Thebes, lady of heaven,[a] [2]as she gives all life, stability, and dominion, and all health.

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull beloved of Re, [5]the good god, Menkheperre, [6]given life forever.

Note to Translation

[a] The epithets of Hathor were recorded by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, 10), but omitting the phonetic and of *p.t*. Hathor of Thebes is frequently attested; see *LGG* V, 447b–448a.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the "Nubian" wig with uraeus surmounted by double plumes, ram's horns, and sun disk[32] and holding the staff, mace,

[32] For depictions of Thutmose III in a more elaborate version of this diadem, see R. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* I: *The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London, 1998),

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and *ꜥnḫ*, is received by Hathor, crowned with cow's horns, solar disk, and pendant uraeus and presenting the *ꜥnḫ* to his nose. The yellow-on-white paint finish is well preserved throughout the scene. During the Amarna iconoclasm, the image of the goddess (excepting her hand grasping the king's arm), her name and epithets (l. 1), and those of the Behdetite (l. 3) were erased; these areas were subsequently restored, leaving a visible trace of Hathor's original shoulder to the left of the recarved version, along with traces of the Thutmosid *ꜥnḫ*. The recarving process also affected the border lines at right, segments of which were restored in paint only. During the late dynastic period, a notch was cut out of the balustrade below the scene to allow blocking stones to be inserted. Scraping of the surface in the area of the king's chest may relate to the insertion of these blocks. Extensive remains of the blue- and red-painted bands associated with the decoration of these stones can be seen along the left border and extending across the outer edge of the soffit as well. The stone panels were later removed, and the medieval inhabitants of the site vandalized the king's head, eye, nose, hand, and kilt, as well as the ear and hand of Hathor. The top right corner of the pillar was broken off, perhaps as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty when the name of Nekhbet was recarved, and there is minor damage along the block lines.

PLATE 215. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY HORUS

Above Horus

[1]Words spoken by Horus the Elder, lord of Upper Egypt:[a] "(My) beloved son, [2][Men]kheper[re], to you (I) have given millions of years."

Before Nekhbet

[3][Nekhbet . . . . . as] she [gives] life.[b]

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Beloved of Wadjet,[c] lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]given life like Re forever.

Behind the King

[7]The protection of life, stability, and dominion is all <around>[d] him like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The name and epithet of *Ḥr-wr* (Haroeris) are given at L.*D. Text* iii, 155, IX. Along with Seth of Ombos in the scene on the opposite side of the pillar (pl. 217), Horus the Elder represents the 5th nome of Upper Egypt; for discussion see Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 61.

[b] The name of Nekhbet, which would have occupied the beginning of l. 3, and most of the following signs are lost because of damage at the upper left corner of the pillar. All that remains are parts of the post-Amarna *ꜥnḫ*-sign and the bolt *s*, next to which may be seen traces of a Thutmosid *wꜣs*-sign, the last in the original line of text, which would therefore have ended with [. . . *dỉ=s ꜥnḫ wꜣs*].

[c] The  -sign shows two distinct spurs at its lower end, a form otherwise unknown; perhaps the sculptor confused the intended word with  *sn.t*.

[d] The expected *ḥꜣ* was left out, apparently for lack of space before the *=f*, and there is no indication that the omission was remedied in paint.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and holding the *ꜥnḫ*, is received and embraced by hieracocephalic Horus the Elder. Much of the original yellow-on-white paint scheme remains intact, especially near the top and on the right side of the pillar. The name and epithet of Haroeris and the words *sꜣ=(ỉ) mr(y)=(ỉ)* in l. 1, as well as the god's figure below (including the hand behind the king's head), were damaged by Akhenaten's agents and subsequently restored, as were the whole of l. 3 and the signs *mry . . . dỉ=s ꜥnḫ wꜣs* in l. 4. The text of l. 2 beginning with *ḥḥ.w . . .* was partially erased when the adjoining areas were shaved back for restoration, and the affected signs were also recarved. Traces of the original inscription can be seen at the end of l. 3 (cf. n. *b* above) and behind the king's head. In the late dynastic period, the balustrade was modified, and the scene was partly covered by intercolumnar blocking stones, as in the other interstices of the ambulatory. Remnants of blue and red paint along the right edge of the pillar and the outer edge of the architrave soffit attest the bands of colored decoration added outside these blocking stones when the temple's exterior was repainted during the Ptolemaic era.

The fan behind the king was incised with a crude graffito in the form of a cross, perhaps associated with the adjoining northern annex, which was converted into a church in the Coptic era. Nevertheless, both the king's face, unusually fine and well preserved, and the visage of the god were spared any iconoclastic damage, and their bodies were likewise left intact. A large patch stone was inserted, perhaps during the late dynastic or Ptolemaic period, at the upper left corner of the pillar, where a triangular section of the original block had broken away; this patch, along with any plaster used to repair the affected area, has now disappeared, leaving the empty rectangular emplacement. Minor damage along the block lines and edges of the pillar has revealed some of the original Eighteenth Dynasty mortar fill.

PLATE 216. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. [2]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion and all health like Re."

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the good god, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, [6]the son of Re, Thutmose-beautiful[a]-of-manifestation, [7]given life like Re.

Below Scene

[8]First occasion of the jubilee; may he perform a great many.

Note to Translation

[a] The *nfr*-sign was deliberately hacked out and not restored. Since plaster residue from the late dynastic period is visible within the damage, the sign must have been defaced at some prior date; for a possible explanation, see S. Biston-Moulin, "Remarques sur la transformation des épithètes *nfr ḫpr(.w)* dans les cartouches du nom de naissance de Thoutmosis III," in *ZÄS* 139 (2012): 19–27.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and carrying the *ꜥnḫ*, is received by Amun-Re, who holds an *ꜥnḫ* to his nose. A notable feature is

pls. 33 and 37, with discussion, pp. 67, 71–72; idem, *Semna-Kumma* II: *The Temple of Kumma*, ASE 38 (London, 1998), pl. 18, with discussion, p. 18.

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the carved chin strap extending from Amun's crown to the beard; this element was usually rendered in paint only. The Eighteenth Dynasty polychrome painted decoration is visible in many areas throughout the scene, particularly in the *srḫ* and on the king's sporran (pl. 251*D*), despite the relatively thick coating of later plaster. In the time of Akhenaten, the figure of Amun-Re, his name and epithets in l. 1 (excluding the sun disk), and those of the falcon deity in l. 3 were destroyed. All of these areas were subsequently recarved, with no trace of the original signs or figures remaining visible, though the god's right plume overlaps the *mỉ*-sign at the end of l. 2, demonstrating a shift in the deity's position in the recarved version.

The rectangular patch stone emplacement noted for pl. 215 extends into the top right corner of this face of the pillar. The left edge of the pillar was cut back at a bevel, part of a modification made to the adjoining face (pl. 217) in the late dynastic or Ptolemaic era. A Demotic graffito in red ink, located in front of the face of Amun-Re, has been published by Edgerton;[33] a new copy is given in this volume (Gr. 485). Another Demotic graffito in black ink (Gr. 486) is visible about 25 cm below the bottom line of the jubilee text, and a black painted sketch (Gr. 487) appears immediately beneath it. These three graffiti are shown on pl. 238. The ubiquitous late plaster overlay, thickly applied here, seems to have discouraged iconoclastic attacks during the medieval occupation of the temple, though the head of the *sꜣ*-sign in l. 6 was hacked. Incidental damage appears along the edges of the pillar and the block lines.

PLATE 217. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY SETH

Above Seth

[1]Words spoken by[a] the Ombite,[b] lord of Upper Egypt, lord of heaven,[c]
[2]as he gives all life,[d] all health, and all joy like Re.

Before Wadjet

[3][Wadj]e[t],[e] she of Dep and Pe.

Above the King

[4]The good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of ritual, Menkheperre,
[5]who smote the rulers of foreign lands who transgressed against
[6]him,[f] given all life [7]like Re.

Notes to Translation

[a] As initially carved, this column of text lacked *ḏd mdw ỉn*, beginning instead with *Nbw.ty*; traces of  may be seen above the final  , while  and the ⊗-determinative may be seen in trace to the right of the post-Amarna  . One expects  to the left of these signs, but no trace of it can be found. The insertion of *ḏd mdw* to fill the space at the top of the column in the post-Amarna version was due to the rearrangement of the god's epithets in the area below, there being no divine speech to which it could refer.

[b] A long horizontal trace below the recarved suggests that the  of *nb Tꜣ-šmʿw* was originally one group higher. The Ombite's name and epithets were given by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 155, g), accompanied by a sketch of his face. For contemporary examples of *Nbw.ty* (*Wb.* II, 242/4), variously written, compare L.*D.* III, 34c; 35a, b, e; and 36b. Along with Haroeris (pl. 215), Seth represents the 5th Upper Egyptian nome; see Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 61; also Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 28*–29*.

[c] The lower part of the column was recarved after the Atenist iconoclasm, but the lack of traces precludes reconstruction of the original arrangement of the signs. When the end of the column was shaved back for restoration, the adjoining *mỉ*-sign in l. 2 was partly erased and had to be recarved, leaving a trace of the original jug visible to the right.

[d] The area occupied by the lower halves of the signs  and the adjoining surface exhibit a most peculiar feature. The sandstone, in an area approximately 10 cm high by 15 cm wide, bulges irregularly outward about 2 cm from the surrounding surface, and, although chisel marks seem to indicate an incipient attempt to smooth out this protuberance, the remainder appears to have been prepared, plastered, and inscribed as part of the Thutmosid decoration process. No hard inclusion or other irregularity in the composition of the stone is apparent, nor can the bulge be related to any architectural feature. Only the right part of this area, in l. 1 where the lower part of the *mdw*-sign appears, was affected by Amarna-era damage and subsequent restoration; parts of the carving in the middle of have worn away, apparently the result of the thin plaster wash in which they were originally carved having eroded. We are unable to suggest any explanation for this anomaly in the surface treatment.

[e] The name of the serpent-headed vulture  is confirmed by the lower part of the final visible to the left of the break. This line of text, except for the  at lower left, was erased under Akhenaten and subsequently restored, with traces of the original  visible at the wrist of the recarved sign. Part of the plaster of the restored inscription has fallen away as a result of later damage to the pillar's upper right corner, revealing the rough surface preparation below.

[f] The epithet *ḥw ḥqꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt pḥ.w sw* also occurs in the second episode of Thutmose III's foundation ritual, on the north wall of the bark shrine (MH.B 158) directly across from this pillar.

Epigraphic Comments

This scene was first published at small scale by J. Burton.[34] The king, wearing the *nms* crowned with double plumes, sun disk, and horns (cf. pl. 188), holds a basket into which the animal-headed Seth places a sheaf of *ʿnḫ.w*. The original yellow-on-white painted decoration is still visible, particularly at the upper left corner and within the king's figure. In addition to the areas of text mentioned above (ll. 1, 3), the figure of the Ombite god was damaged during the Amarna iconoclasm; in the post-Amarna restoration, the surface was smoothed back in these sections and the figure was recarved. Traces of the Thutmosid version are visible by the god's upraised arm and hand, including traces of the original -signs above the -basket, as well as behind the headdress. More extensive traces may be seen around the god's legs and feet, which seem to indicate two stages of recarving, with evident confusion in the final rendition of the right foot, where the recarved heel does not match with the position of the leg as restored. Moreover, part of the ground line between the god's feet and below the king's left foot was left blank in the recarved version. As restored, the feet slant oddly downward, as if to fill the space made available by this omission.

The pillar face exhibits numerous later modifications, but among these the Saite erasure of Seth's figure, common among the monuments of Thebes, is conspicuously absent, the limited damage to the god's head being consistent rather with vandalism during the medieval period. As is indicated by the remnants of blue and red bands of paint along the left edge of the scene and adhering to the soffit above, this interstice was supplied with blocking stones in the late dynastic period. More difficult to explain is the complete removal of the upper block of the balustrade, roughly but thoroughly chiseled away; though now

[33] Edgerton, *Graffiti*, pl. 33 (no. 84); translated by Thissen, *Med. Habu*, 76.

[34] J. Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* (Cairo, 1825–28), pl. XXXVII (21).

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reconstructed in cement, its ancient condition is visible in an early photograph.[35] Also notable are the right and left edges of the pillar face, recarved with beveled surfaces (as in the adjoining scene, pl. 216), which elsewhere (pls. 156, 159) are characteristic of Ptolemaic modification. The added bevels did not, however, affect the older decoration of the surface. Heavy damage to the upper left and upper right corners of the pillar was also addressed during the Ptolemaic repair program, as evidenced by the remains of extensive plaster infill. Medieval damage to the scene is comparatively light; affected areas include the king's face and hands, along with the face, ears, and neck of Seth. A graffito reading "AS," carved sometime prior to 1930 above the god's ear, is visible in the photograph (pl. 217*A*).

PLATE 218. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY HATHOR

Above Hathor

[1][Words spoken by] Hat[hor][a] lady of Dendera:[b] [2]"[. . . . . .][c] this venerated one,[d] inasmuch <as[e] I> endure: to you (I) have given eternity on my part and the kingship of the Two Lands."[f]

Before the Winged Deity

[3][. . .][g]

Above the King

[4][The Horus: . . .],[h] [5][. . .] Thutmose ruler-of-Maat,[i] [6][. . . like] Re forever.[j]

Notes to Translation

[a] The top two groups of the column are lost, leaving only the corner of the -sign visible.

[b] *ỉwn.t* has an extra , perhaps introduced when the epithet was recarved after the Amarna period; both *t*-signs were omitted from the copy given by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154, 6). Hathor represents the 6th Upper Egyptian (Tentyrite) nome; compare Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 61.

[c] Two or three groups are missing at the beginning of l. 2.

[d] The right extension of the -sign, added in paint when the adjoining text column was restored after the Amarna period, would appear to be an error. For the expression *ỉmꜣḫ(w) pw* compare pl. 190, l. 3. Sethe's copy of this text is given at *Urk.* IV, 579/3–4.

[e] Assuming that *n-ꜥ.<t-n.t>* is the intended compound preposition; there is no sign of the expected *-.t* here after *ꜥ*, and the *n.t* has been omitted as well.

[f] The surface below *tꜣ.wy* is completely blank except for a later graffito in red paint (Gr. 489, pl. 239). Although the area was shaved back slightly when the adjoining goddess figure was restored after the Amarna period, there is no indication that any text was ever carved here.

[g] There would certainly have been an avian deity above the king, with its name given as l. 3.

[h] The remaining section of the palace façade demonstrates that the king's Horus name constituted l. 4.

[i] The top part of l. 5 is lost, and the bottom is also now mostly destroyed, but in an older photograph (Epigraphic Survey negative no. 1327; fig. 2) the cartouche can still be read and is therefore shown here.

[j] Though the end of l. 6 is now mostly destroyed, the old photograph (fig. 2) shows the determinative stroke of *Rꜥ* and the head of the *ḏ*-sign.



Fig. 2. Thutmose III embraced by Hathor. Condition of pillar in the 1930s; compare pl. 218. *Photograph by Epigraphic Survey*.

Epigraphic Comments

The Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of this pillar face, inscribed in sunk relief and originally painted yellow on a white background, is preserved only as far as the top of the second block. The king, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and holding the staff and *ꜥnḫ*, is embraced by Hathor, whose diadem is the same as that shown on pl. 214. The figure of the goddess and the text column containing her name and city (l. 1) were erased under Akhenaten and then restored in the era of his successors. Traces of the earlier carving are visible at her thigh and feet, while the area under the king's cartouche and *srḫ* was shaved back, indicating the old position of the goddess's horn and demonstrating that she originally stood more to the right.

More serious modifications to the pillar were made in the late dynastic period, when the top block, badly cracked, had to be patched with one large stone at the upper left, extending through the pillar's entire thickness, and two smaller stones at the upper right. The lower of these two small patches shows a raised, chiseled stub where the window blocking stone was inserted between this pillar and the next one to the east, thus suggesting that the interstitial stones and the repair of this pillar were contemporaneous. Damaged sections of text containing the titulary of Ramesses III were also restored on the north (exterior) face of each of these two smaller patch stones (MH.B 133; cf. fig. 3). At the bottom of the scene is a chiseled scar where the Eighteenth Dynasty balustrade was cut out for the blocking stone emplacement,

[35] W. Abney, *Thebes and Its Five Greater Temples* (London, 1876), pl. V.

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Fig. 3. Outer corner of pillar showing later patch stones; compare pl. 218. *Photograph by McClain*.

but the upper block of the balustrade was itself removed at a later date (see comments for pl. 217). Red and blue bands of paint at the right edge of the pillar also attest the presence of the blocking stones. Remains of the late plaster overlay adhere to ll. 1, 2, and 4 of the inscription.

The surface of the Thutmosid relief continued to deteriorate after these repairs and modifications, with further cracking and flaking observable at the upper right of the second block even in recent times (cf. the older photograph of this scene, fig. 2, with the newer one on pl. 218*A*), while the patch stones above are now reinforced with an iron band. Additional damage to the scene is visible on the king's face and sporran, attacked by the temple's medieval inhabitants, and there is some decay along the lower block line and the lower left edge of the pillar. The surface of the stone within and around the king's figure has turned a deep orange-red, which suggests an episode of burning in the area.

PLATE 219. THUTMOSE III EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-KAMUTEF

Above Amun-Kamutef

[1][Words spoken] by Amun-Kamutef, lord of heaven: [2]"[My] bodily [son], Menkheperre, [3][to you I have given] the kingship of the Two Lands upon the seat of Horus like Re."

Before the Winged Deity

[4][. . .][a]

Above the King

[5]The king of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]lord of strength, chosen of Re, [7]given life forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Kamutef), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Note to Translation

[a] The avian deity above the king was doubtless labeled, but no identification is possible.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the *nms*-headdress, embraces the image of Amun-Kamutef upon his pedestal. The raised relief of this scene was painted in bright colors like those of the other inward-facing pillar surfaces, and a few vestiges of this decoration remain visible beneath the late dynastic plaster overlay. The ithyphallic figure of Amun-Kamutef, his *ḥ:yb.t*-shrine, and his name and epithet in l. 1, along with adjoining sections of ll. 2–3, were vandalized by Akhenaten's agents and thereafter restored. Shaving back the stone to the left of the divine image resulted in the loss of sections of the left border, which was made to overlap the god's flail as recarved. The fan of Kamutef's emblematic shrine displays some fine details in the post-Amarna palette of yellow, white, and red.

When the window blocking stones were inserted throughout the ambulatory, the top of this pillar face and that of the adjoining one (pl. 218), needing structural repair, were patched with uninscribed stones, the largest of which can be seen on this plate; it has been reinforced with an iron band in recent times. A rough, deep hole at the front of the king's head, lined with plaster, was used to emplace a wooden beam in the medieval period, with a corresponding hole in the facing scene (MH.B 160) on the north wall of the bark shrine. Near the base of the pillar is a graffito in black paint (Gr. 490, pl. 239) depicting part of a boat. This pillar face otherwise lacks evidence of medieval iconoclasm, damage along the edges and block lines being of an incidental character. There are, however, several places where the Late Period plaster was scraped away in modern times, in an attempt to reveal the older decorated surface, but damaging the relief in the process.

PLATE 220. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY ONURIS-SHU

Above and Behind Onuris

[1][Words spoken by][a] Onuris-Shu, son of Re.[b] [2][Words spoken]: "To my bodily son Menkheperre [(I) have given][c] all life and dominion, all stability, all health, and all joy, even as all the gods love him."[d]

Before the Behdetite

[3][The Behdetite. . .].[e]

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull beloved of Re, [5]the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given all life forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] One group is lost at the top of l. 1; restore [*ḏd mdw ỉn*].

[b] The name and epithet of Onuris-Shu were recorded by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154, 6). The deity represents the 8th Upper Egyptian (Thinite) nome; for discussion see Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 62; also Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 36*–39*.

[c] One group is lost at the top of l. 2; restore [*ḏd mdw dỉ.n=(ỉ)*].

[d] The 𓃀-sign of *(s)w* was apparently erased during the post-Amarna restoration and was not recarved; there is no trace of the original hieroglyph.

[e] The name and epithet of the Behdetite would have appeared before his outstretched wing in the space now occupied by the uninscribed patch stone.

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Epigraphic Comments

The king, holding the staff and *ꜥnḫ* and wearing the "Nubian" wig surmounted by a composite *ỉtf*-style crown with ram's horns, is received by Onuris-Shu in his distinctive four-plumed headdress, who presents an *ꜥnḫ* to the king's nose. The normal sunk-relief paint scheme, with yellow figures and hieroglyphs on a white background, is sporadically preserved, more so on the left half of the pillar. During the reign of Akhenaten, the divine figure (including his hand on the king's shoulder), his name and epithet in l. 1, and the words *nṯr.w nb.w* in l. 2 were hacked out; these areas were subsequently shaved back and recarved. There are traces of the earlier version of the god's plumes, modius, and crown, one of which shows that the bottom of the headpiece was originally round rather than squared off. There are also traces of the earlier hand on the king's shoulder and small traces by the god's heel.

During the late dynastic period, the top of the balustrade below the inscription was chiseled down, and blocking stones were inserted between this scene and the one opposite (pl. 221). Patches of red and blue paint along the left edge of the scene indicate the colored bands that were applied in association with these stones. The large patch stone at the upper right was also inserted at this time (cf. the remarks for pls. 218 and 219), with some of the mortar from this episode of repair still adhering below it and at its upper left corner. The blocking stones themselves were later removed, allowing vandalism of the king's face and sporran during the medieval period. There is incidental damage along the block lines, particularly the lower one, where vestiges of mortar fill, part of the original Eighteenth Dynasty surface preparation, still adhere within the gaps where the finished surface is lost.

PLATE 221. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY HORUS

Above and Behind Horus

[1]<Words>[a] spoken by Horus, son of Isis,[b] lord of heaven. [2]Words [spoken]: "(My) bodily son, Menkheperre, to you (I) have given (my) seat, (my) rank, (my) inheritance, and my throne, even as (I) love you, in(?) [. . . . .]."[c]

Before Wadjet

[3][Wadjet, as she gives] life and dominion.[d]

Above the King

[4]The Horus: exalted of white crown, beloved of Re, [5]the good god, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]given all life forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] There is no evidence of the expected *mdw*, apparently omitted from the original text.

[b] The name of Horsiese was published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154, V), omitting the epithet *nb p.t*. Beinlich ("Gaugötter," 62–63, n. 16) suggests that this deity should be associated with the 10th nome of Upper Egypt, with reference to Beinlich, *Studien zu den "geographischen Inschriften" (10.–14. o. äg. Gau)* (Tübingen, 1976), 109–13. This identification, though indirect, is reinforced by the god's depiction wearing the double crown; compare the remarks of Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 44*–45*.

[c] The part of the god's speech starting from *dỉ.n=ỉ n=k . . .* is given at *Urk.* IV, 571/11–13, Sethe's copy being accurate except for the suggested [*ꜥnḫ.tỉ*] after *tw*. The sign whose corner is visible above the break cannot be identified with certainty, but  is possible, with room for at least three more groups below.

[d] The *t*-sign between *ꜥnḫ* and *wꜣs*, whether original to the text or added after the Amarna period, is apparently superfluous.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double-plumed crown with two sets of horns and sun disk (cf. similar regalia on pls. 194 and 195) and holding a sheaf of *ꜥnḫ.w* in one hand and a single *ꜥnḫ* in the other, is embraced by Horsiese, wearing the double crown, who extends another *ꜥnḫ* to the pharaoh's nose. The original yellow-on-white paint is spottily preserved throughout, though covered in many places by later plaster. During the Amarna period, the god's image, including his hand behind the king's neck, along with the text of l. 1 (beginning with *ỉn*) and that of l. 3, were hacked out by Akhenaten's agents; these sections were recarved following the return to orthodoxy. A trace of the original egg hieroglyph is visible next to the final version in the name of Isis (l. 1), and a trace of the Thutmosid line of the god's upper arm demonstrates a slight shift in its position.

There are emplacements for patch stones, now missing, at the lower left and lower right corners of the scene, inserted at an unknown date. There is also evidence for repairs made to the upper left corner and the top edge of the scene, where the surface has been chiseled back to receive a mortar fill, only a small patch of which is still visible. During the late dynastic period, an angular cut was made in the curved top of the balustrade below the scene in order to facilitate the insertion of blocking stones in the adjoining space. Bands of red and blue paint associated with these blocking stones can be observed at the right edge of the scene, continuing along the soffit overhead (see detail, pl. 251*E*). The faces and figures of both the god and king are remarkably free of iconoclastic damage, though the *sꜥḥ*, *ỉwꜥ*, and quail-sign in l. 2 and the scarab in l. 5 show deliberate peck marks. Minor damage is visible along the block lines, as well as more serious cracking in the surface above the balustrade.

PLATE 222. THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

Above and Behind Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, as he satisfies the heart. [2]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given the years of Horus and the years of Atum as king of all the living; may you rejoice like Re forever!"[a]

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, [6]given life like Re forever.

Below Scene

[7]First occasion of the jubilee; may he perform a great many.

Note to Translation

[a] The speech of Amun-Re, beginning with *dỉ.n=(ỉ) n=k . . .* , is given at *Urk.* IV, 563/11–12.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, carrying an *ꜥnḫ* and wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, is embraced by Amun-Re. Vestiges of the Eighteenth Dynasty polychrome

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decoration can be seen in some areas, particularly on Amun's crown, although much of the surface is covered over with thick white plaster applied in late dynastic times. In the reign of Akhenaten, the god's image, along with his name (except for *Rʿ*) in l. 1, the names of Atum in l. 2 and of the Behdetite in l. 3, and the image of Wadjet with her name and standard and the associated text in l. 4, were hacked out by the king's servants; all of these areas were subsequently restored. A trace of the original text divider to the right of l. 2 is now overlapped by the plume of Amun's crown, demonstrating a shift in the position of this element, and there is a trace of the original *bḥ*-sign near the corner of the recarved sign in l. 3.

Extensive repairs were made to this pillar during the late dynastic or Ptolemaic era, including the top right corner, which was chiseled back in a regular pattern, the resulting triangular area probably being filled with mortar. Another patch stone, at the upper left corner of the middle block, formed part of the surface of the adjoining scene (pl. 223) but is now missing, as is the larger patch stone at the lower right corner, the emplacement for which is also shown on pl. 221. Both of these patch-stone emplacements show remains of the mortar that was used to affix the stones, and an area of plaster below the level of Amun's knees must relate to this episode of repair. There is no evidence that the figures were defaced by the temple's medieval inhabitants, though an inexplicable scatter of peck marks is visible behind the king's crown. Two rounded holes in the lower block line and another one in Amun's arm appear to have been made intentionally, though their purpose cannot be guessed. A figurative graffito in black (Gr. 492, pl. 239) was painted below the dado, near the level of the floor.

PLATE 223. THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY KHNUM

Above Khnum

[1]Words spoken by Khnum, lord of Hypselis:[a] [2]"Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes, to you (I) have given [all] life and dominion."[b]

Before Wadjet

[3]Wadjet, as she gives life.

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Nekhbet, lady of Upper Egypt, as she gives stability and dominion like Re.

Above the King

[5]The good god, lord of rejoicing, Menkheperre, [6]image of Re, foremost of the Two Lands.

Behind the King

[7]The protection of life, stability, dominion, and health is all around him.[c]

Notes to Translation

[a] A trace of the original 𓊹-sign can be seen at the left corner of the post-Amarna version. L.*D. Text* iii, 154, 4, records the signs □ ⊗ after the visible *t*-sign (or perhaps just ⊗, with n. 3 indicating some uncertainty), but the lower part of the group is no longer preserved. For *Šꜣs-ḥtp*, Ὑψηλή, capital of the 11th nome of Upper Egypt (modern Shuṭb), see *Wb.* IV, 412/12; also Gauthier, *DG* V, 107–8; occurrences of Khnum as its chief deity are listed at *LGG* III, 747a–b. This example is discussed by Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 62. The same deity is depicted in the geographical series inscribed on the outer eastern enclosure wall of Ramesses III (MH.E 117); see C. Nims, "Another Geographical List from Medīnet Habu," in *JEA* 38 (1952): 43, with reference to On. Am. 367 (Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 67*, with pls. XI–XIa); also F. Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siûṭ and Dêr Rîfeh* (London, 1889), pl. 18, ll. 66–68. To Khnum of *Šꜣs-ḥtp* was ascribed the creation of animals, as observed by S. Sauneron, "Khnoum de Chashotep, créateur des animaux," in *Villes et légendes de l'Égypte*, BdÉ 90 (Cairo, 1983), 61–64.

[b] Read *ʿnḫ wꜣs* [*nb*]. We presume here that all of the text columns ended at the same height, at the level of the bottom of the cartouche in l. 5. It is possible, however, given the available space above Khnum's head, that ll. 1–2 had one or two more groups in the area occupied by the now-missing patch stone.

[c] There is no trace of the expected *mỉ Rʿ* in the space below *nb*.

Epigraphic Comments

Thutmose III, wearing the *nms* and double crown and holding an *ʿnḫ*, is received by the ram-headed Khnum. The sunk-relief scene was finished in the usual color scheme of yellow hieroglyphs and figures on a white background, the paint being moderately well preserved throughout. In the Amarna period, the figure of Khnum (not including his hand on the king's shoulder), his name and epithets in l. 1, those of Wadjet in l. 3, and the heraldic vulture in l. 4 (excepting the text below the *nb*), were hacked out, all being subsequently restored. A trace of the god's original left horn can be seen below the recarved tip, and there are traces near the recarved Nekhbet and basket in l. 4. A slight hollowing out of the surface around the serpent-headed vulture deity at the top left seems to have been part of the initial carving, rather than a later alteration. At the left end of the upper block line, an area of plaster fill, into which the signs *tꜣ.wy* are carved, was also part of the initial Thutmosid preparation of the surface.

The scene was later modified to receive blocking stones in the window between it and the opposite pillar (pl. 224). An architectural guideline, faintly incised and indicating the position of the outer surface of the blocking stones, is visible behind the king's head, extending down into the text of l. 7. To the left of this line, and extending from the top to the bottom of the scene and on the soffit overhead, are blue and red vestiges of the Ptolemaic repainting on the outer window edges, as observed in other examples. The lowest block of the scene was more deeply incised for the insertion of the blocking stone than those above it, and thus it may already have shifted out of position when the modification was effected. This shift was both out of plane and out of lateral alignment, leaving a disjunction in the carved decoration at the lower block line. The top of the balustrade was also modified, as in the other windows of the peripteros. There is evidence of late dynastic or Ptolemaic plaster repair at the upper right corner of the scene below the architrave, similar to that visible on pl. 217. The face, body, and limbs of the god were disfigured by medieval iconoclasts, resulting in several deep scars. The king's cartouche was also singled out for destruction, the signs being disfigured by heavy blows of a sharp tool. Between ll. 5 and 6 of the text appears a hole, squarish in shape and filled with plaster, that corresponds to a similarly placed hole in the scene opposite, no doubt for the insertion of a wooden beam or the like. A smaller, smoothly rounded hole cut near the border behind the fan element above l. 7 is less explicable. A graffito depicting the head of a canine, incised behind Khnum's elbow, is of indeterminate date.

PLATE 224. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY WEPWAWET

Above Wepwawet

[1]Wepwawet, lord of the necropolis, who resides in *Ḏsr-s.t.*[a] [2]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion, all stability, and all health."

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Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, lord of heaven.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the good god, lord of rejoicing, Menkheperre, [6]given all life like Re forever.

Note to Translation

[a] The god's name and epithets were recorded by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154, III). Wepwawet represents the 13th nome of Upper Egypt with its capital *S:wty* (Asyut), as observed by Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 62; compare Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 74*–75*, with discussion and references.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and carrying his staff and *ʿnḫ*, is received by the jackal-headed Wepwawet, who holds an *ʿnḫ* to his nose. The standard color treatment of yellow figures and signs on a white background is preserved in many places here. Areas vandalized during the Atenist heresy include the image of the deity, his name and epithets in l. 1, and the name and epithet of *Bḥd.t(y)* in l. 3. There are traces of the earlier 𓊃 of *ḏsr* in l. 1 and of the original 𓎛 in l. 3 below the final version, and vestiges of Wepwawet's headdress, kilt, and back heel can be seen adjacent to the recarved lines.

During the late dynastic period, the balustrade below the scene was cut down to accommodate the blocking stones inserted between this scene and the one opposite (pl. 223). Remnants of the associated blue- and red-painted bands can be seen along the right edge of the pillar, corresponding to those on the soffit above. Later, after the blocking stones were removed, the face of the king was attacked by the local inhabitants. A square beam emplacement at the top right corner of the cartouche corresponds to the one shown on pl. 223. There is incidental damage and cracking along the top and right edges of the pillar and at the block lines, while exposed plaster in the upper block line shows how mortar infill was used by the Thutmosid sculptors to complete the original surface. At the back of the god's headdress there is evidence of scraping in modern times to remove the late plaster overlay, which has resulted in damage to the carved line.

PLATE 225. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

Above Amun-Re

[1]Amun-Re, king of all the gods, lord of heaven. [2]Words spoken: "To you (I) have given all life and dominion and all health like Re."

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual, Menkheperre, [6]given life, stability, dominion, [7]and health like Re forever.

Below Scene

[8]Beloved (of Amun-Re), given life, stability, dominion, and health; may he rejoice like Re forever.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and holding the mace and *ʿnḫ*, is received by Amun-Re, who offers an *ʿnḫ* to the king's nose. The original polychrome paint (see detail, pl. 251*F*) is well preserved over much of the surface, albeit obscured in places by the thick white plaster layer applied during the late dynastic period. The scene was attacked during the reign of Akhenaten, at which time a large area associated with the god was hacked out, including the entire divine figure, the hieroglyphic text giving his name and titles (l. 1, except for the sun disk, which was left unmolested), and the name of Nekhbet (l. 3). The areas in question were subsequently restored, leaving traces of the earlier 𓃀-sign of *ʾImn* in l. 1 and of the 𓄿-sign in l. 3. Traces of Amun's back foot and heel can be seen within and behind the recarved version, while another trace across the king's foot shows that it was originally overlapped by that of the god, who stood somewhat more to the left.

There is evidence of a repair made during the late dynastic or Ptolemaic period at the top of the pillar, where its intersection with the architrave was patched with mortar. During the medieval occupation of the temple, the face, arms, and legs of Amun-Re were vandalized; another area of damage, apparently random, appears in l. 5 below *(ny)-sw.t-bi.t(y)*. Erosion of the surface is visible along the upper and lower block lines and in an abraded area at the lower left of the pillar, adjoining the passage cut through to the outside when the balustrade was removed. There is also evidence of mistreatment of the scene in modern times, when an attempt was made to scrape off the late plaster coating, damaging the underlying relief. There are several vestiges of Demotic graffiti in black on the plaster in the area of the painted dado, but none of them can be read with any certainty. A figurative graffito in red paint may be seen at the lower right corner.

PLATE 226. THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY THOTH

Above Thoth

[1]Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, the great god, lord of heaven:[a] "(My) beloved son, [2]Menkheperre, to you[b] (I) have given all lands and every foreign country, living forever."[c]

Before the Behdetite

[3]The Behdetite, the great god.

Above the King

[4]The Horus: mighty bull arisen in Thebes, [5]the good god, ruler of Thebes, Menkheperre, [6]given all life, [7]stability, and dominion like Re forever.

Notes to Translation

[a] The epithets of Thoth, though not his name, were published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154, 2). The god represents the 14th Upper Egyptian nome, as discussed by Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 62, with its capital *Ḫmnw* (Ashmunein); compare Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 79*–81*.

[b] The 𓏏 was carved erroneously as 𓏌, with no paint correction in evidence.

[c] Read *ʿnḫ.t(i) ḏ.t*.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the double crown and holding a staff, is received by Thoth, who presents the *ʿnḫ* to his nose. As with the other incised-relief pillar faces, the figures and hieroglyphs were finished in yellow paint on a white background, but much of the color has worn away here. The image of the god was damaged during the Amarna period, as were the text of l. 1, starting with the *n* of *ỉn*, and the text of l. 3. Traces of the original *nb*-sign in l. 1 show that it was originally carved somewhat lower, while the traces within the recarved *nb p.t* appear to

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be those of an ꜣ-sign, which would indicate that *nṯr* ꜣ was originally one full group lower. The traces are insufficient to suggest what word occupied the space between *nb Ḥmnw* and *nṯr* ꜣ in the original text. Minor traces of the original *bḥ* and *-.t* hieroglyphs can be seen in l. 3 next to the recarved signs. In the broken area of surface at the lower right, one can see traces of the bull's tail worn by Thoth; the recarved tail is overlapped by the final version of the border.

At the upper left corner of the scene is an area of blue paint from the Ptolemaic decorative phase, showing that interstitial blocking stones were previously inserted into the space between this pillar and the pilaster opposite (pl. 227). A line of plaster running across the soffit overhead also indicates the outline of the blocking stones. The removal of the balustrade beneath this scene must therefore postdate the removal of the window blocking. Further repair work is suggested by the unpainted mortar fill at the top of the pillar, where it intersects the architrave; this fill may also date to the Ptolemaic era. A large rectangular socket was cut into the lower block of the pillar, below the block line, perhaps at the same time that the balustrade was removed. The surrounding areas of the surface are almost completely destroyed, so that only the lower part of the right border, a bit of the god's foot, and the outline of the right corner of the original balustrade are left intact. To the right of this last feature, where an area of smooth surface remains, may be seen parts of two Coptic graffiti: ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ above and part of ⲓⲥ below. Beneath them are the vestiges of at least one Demotic graffito in black ink, but it cannot be deciphered. The figures of both the king and the god were heavily disfigured during the medieval period, along with the *Ḥr*-sign atop the king's *srḫ* and the bull-hieroglyph therein, and a rude cross was hacked into the king's chest. A large round hole was made in the center of the pillar face, but the corresponding area of the facing pilaster is too destroyed to tell whether a similar hole was made there. The traffic of many centuries through this entrance caused much additional damage to the left and right corners of the pillar.

PLATE 227. THUTMOSE III BEFORE HERISHEF

Above Herishef

[1]Words spoken by Herishef, lord of Herakleopolis:[a] [2]"[To] you[b] (I) have given all life and dominion and all stability like Re forever."

Before Nekhbet

[3]Nekhbet,[c] as she gives life.

Before the Royal Cartouche

[4]Beloved of Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

Above the King

[5]The son of Re, his beloved, Thutmose-beautiful[d]-of-manifestation, [6]given all life forever.

Behind the King

[7][. . . . . .].[e]

Notes to Translation

[a] The name and epithet of Herishef were published by Lepsius (L.*D. Text* iii, 154, I), whose copy suggests a missing half-group below ⊗, but this reconstruction is unlikely given the spacing of *ḏ.t* at the end of l. 2. For *Nn-n(y)-sw.t* see *Wb.* II, 272; also Gauthier, *DG* III, 93. The deity represents the 20th nome of Upper Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 113*–114* and Beinlich, "Gaugötter," 63.

[b] The handle of 𓎛 either is lost in the damaged area or was never carved, as in the opposite scene (pl. 226, l. 2).

[c] Parts of the stalk and right frond of 𓇋 are visible at the edge of the damage.

[d] The *nfr*-sign in the king's nomen was neither damaged nor modified in this example.

[e] The spacing and the presence of the fan, as on pl. 223, suggest that there was likely a protection text behind the king.

Epigraphic Comments

The king, wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, stood before Herishef, no trace of whose image has survived, but the arrangement of the text columns demonstrates that the ram-headed god was not adorned with his characteristic high *ꜣtf*-diadem here. The Thutmosid yellow-on-white painted finish is well preserved toward the top of the pilaster. The divine name and epithet (l. 1) were attacked during the reign of Akhenaten, as was the text of l. 3, *Nḫb.t dỉ=s ꜥnḫ*. Traces show that the words *nb* and *n(y)-sw.t* in l. 1 were carved slightly lower in the Thutmosid version. Interestingly, the heraldic figure of Wadjet on her standard and the accompanying text were spared by the Atenists, unlike other examples in the ambulatory.

Bands of blue and red paint can be seen on the upper right corner of the inscription, indicating the presence of blocking stones between this surface and the one opposite (pl. 226). The entire bottom half of the scene was removed sometime after the late dynastic period, the surface of the blocks being cut back to a depth of about 20–30 cm to enable the installation of a doorway leading into the northwest corner of the ambulatory, which included several emplacements for sockets or other wooden features visible along the right edge of the recessed area. Plaster fill along the upper block line and at the top of the pilaster where it intersects the architrave suggests an episode of repair, perhaps of Ptolemaic date. The temple's medieval occupants vandalized the 𓎛-sign in l. 1, and there is extensive damage and cracking at the corners of the panel, especially at the top left and top right.

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HISTORY OF THE PAINTED DECORATION OF THE PERIPTEROS AND FAÇADE

KRISZTIÁN VÉRTES

INTRODUCTION

The temple of Amun *Ḏsr-s.t* at Medinet Habu, extensively modified over the course of its long history, shows many stages of inscribed decoration, and the Epigraphic Survey has taken pains to record them in such a way as to reflect the distinct stylistic features of each phase. The Chicago House method of epigraphic documentation permits these varying styles of relief and inscription to be shown with great precision. Yet for recording the painted decoration that originally covered and served as the final surface of these inscribed walls, the traditional facsimile line drawing presents significant limitations. The dotted lines normally employed by the Survey to indicate painted features are often sufficient only to suggest the basic outline or pattern, lacking the subtlety needed to capture the many fine details of the original painted finish. Since the carved relief and the painted decoration were both integral to the overall decorative scheme of an Egyptian monument, the former serving in effect as a three-dimensional underpinning for the latter, and since the painted decoration of the ambulatory and façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, like the carved surfaces thereof, underwent several iconographically significant stages of modification over time, of which the evidence is well preserved in many places, it has proven necessary to develop additional recording techniques whereby these pigment layers can be documented in a manner appropriate to their importance. Further, a more sophisticated visual vocabulary is required to present these additional layers of information in published form. In the following paragraphs, the challenges of documenting the painted decoration in the temple will be discussed, and the processes whereby the work was achieved will be demonstrated, so as to show the great wealth of additional information that can be gathered through careful observation and the application of suitable techniques.

Both the carved and the painted decoration in the ambulatory and on the façade of the temple show more complex phasing than that preserved on the walls of the inner sanctuaries, published in *Medinet Habu* IX. The Thutmosid pillars, starting with their original decoration, bear traces of subsequent Amarna-period destruction, post-Amarna restoration, and medieval iconoclastic defacement, and some surfaces display features of a complete Ptolemaic redesign, along with additional textual elements introduced at various points between the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic era. These multiple alterations were accompanied by a correspondingly complex sequence of painted layers that, as preserved, often seem to blend together in a mass of apparently unrelated features. Although the Chicago House method can show traces of earlier stages of the inscribed decoration using finer-weight lines, no comparable convention exists for indicating multiple *painted* layers in the facsimile drawing. Indeed, the nature of the black-and-white line drawing makes it impossible that any such convention could be effectively employed within the parameters of the traditional format. As the work of recording the scenes and texts in this section of the monument proceeded, it became apparent that enhanced techniques of recording and presenting this additional category of information would need to be developed.

A preliminary examination of the painted layers on scenes in the ambulatory and on the temple's exterior revealed three separate and well-distinguished paint episodes: the original Thutmosid decoration, the paint scheme associated with the Ramessid additions on the outer walls, and a thorough Ptolemaic modification of many of the surfaces, particularly on the outside walls. Other phases, less obvious but still significant, belong to the post-Amarna restoration, most likely carried out during the reign of Horemheb, and to the late dynastic period, when the addition of blocking stones between the pillars of the ambulatory was accompanied by the addition and modification of painted details in the affected areas.

In addition to the complexity of these stages of decoration, a further difficulty was presented by the current condition of the paint on the walls. Most of the extensive Ptolemaic polychrome decoration, for instance, applied on a thick layer of plaster over the exterior wall reliefs, has fallen off, leaving mere vestiges of the colors and details. The only coherently preserved areas of the Ptolemaic paint scheme are on the temple's interior, particularly inside the bark shrine.[1] In order to present the exterior painted elements from this period, a hypothetical visual reconstruction would therefore be required. Well before these restorations under the Lagid dynasty, the New Kingdom painted reliefs within the ambulatory had already been obscured when a layer of white plaster was applied on top of the decorated surfaces, probably during the late or Ptolemaic period.[2] Demotic graffiti were written atop this plaster layer, attesting the later reuse of the space by priestly personnel. In modern times, clumsy attempts were made to remove the plaster, further damaging the inscribed and painted surfaces underneath; yet much of this coating remains, obscuring the polychrome decoration. Careful observation, however, using the techniques outlined below, has enabled this layer to be penetrated, revealing a carefully executed series of paint schemes beneath.

TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Although the large-format film camera can record well-preserved painted wall surfaces effectively, regular photography is less useful when the surfaces are eroded, their details faded and barely visible to the naked eye. High-resolution digital photographs, which can be enhanced by employing photo-editing software, provide a more flexible dataset whereon the enhanced recording of painted surfaces may be based. Even the most sophisticated photographic enhancement, however, cannot automatically collect, select, and present all of the pigment traces relating to a given phase of the decoration. When reconstructing and presenting original color schemes, therefore, optimum results are obtained by using a mix of traditional and electronic tools to create an enhanced facsimile drawing.

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[1] To be published in *Medinet Habu* XII.

[2] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 18, 20.

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In our early publications, the Epigraphic Survey's artists recorded numerous samples of polychrome painted reliefs by using monochrome photographic enlargements as the basis for facsimile paintings, a highly effective technique when representing well-preserved wall decoration with only one paint stage. The complicated series of paint stages in the ambulatory of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple requires a more complex approach. After some experimentation, it was found that good results could be obtained by creating enhanced colored-pencil drawings on transparent film, using the finalized black-and-white facsimile line drawings of the scenes as a background. The colored pencils enable the artist to reproduce fine painted lines, even at scale, and the original tones can be represented accurately by building up each color from three different pencil hues, thus capturing the wide variety of color transitions needed for faithful replication of the original, especially where faded or eroded. A crosshatched texture mixing the three selected hues is used to indicate large color panels, complementing the individual colored-pencil lines used to record the fine paint lines. This mix of techniques reflects the ancient Egyptian painting procedure, wherein large color panels were set down first and fine details were added later, often working with different color palettes. Moreover, the use of this flexible texturing technique allows well-preserved areas to be emphasized, while making less definite suggestions in poorly preserved sections. Once the colored-pencil drawings on matte acetate have been completed, the sheets are scanned at high resolution, color corrected, and layered over the scanned line drawings. The intent of this method is to represent the actual state of the pigments preserved on the surface vis-à-vis the carved relief, selectively enhanced to give a visual impression of the original appearance. Although each of these enhanced color facsimiles selects and presents a discrete stage of the painted decoration, separating it from the other stages preserved on the same surface, it is important to emphasize that they are not reconstruction drawings; all of the colors and details appearing in the facsimiles are in fact preserved on the wall itself.

The color plates illustrate this technique as applied to three different types of painted pillar faces. The first, a typical example of the Eighteenth Dynasty raised relief with painted polychrome decoration found on the inner pillar faces of the ambulatory, is shown on pl. 241 (MH.B 95). One of the incised-relief lateral pillar faces, with monochrome yellow figures and signs on a white background, is illustrated on pl. 242 (MH.B 130). A third stage, consisting of the Ptolemaic polychrome color scheme applied over the unmodified Eighteenth Dynasty carving (obscuring its original yellow-and-white painted decoration) on the pillars of the façade, is exemplified on pl. 244 (MH.B 118), that section of the monument exhibiting the best-preserved evidence of this later paint stage.

The effectiveness of these enhanced color drawings allows the historical evolution of the paint schemes on the six-pillared façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple to be shown in a sequence of color plates indicating the main stages of paint additions and modifications. Since the central doorway of the façade was completely recarved during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and is devoid of any painted finish, and since the paint sequencing on the flanking north and south pillars is inconsistently preserved, it was decided to select the least eroded and faded section, consisting of the second pillar north of the entrance (MH.B 118) and the wall sections above and below the scene, as an example to represent the sequence of the whole.

In these illustrations (pls. 245–48), a computerized version of the color drawing method was developed to apply the same technique over much larger surfaces. Color texture patterns were created from the original penciled samples, and digital colored-pencil brushes were designed and tested in the field. Once proven, these techniques were applied over large homogeneous painted areas, such as torus moldings, cavetto cornices, and deep-cut Ramessid hieroglyphs, as a time-saving measure. This combination of techniques, with manual and electronic brushstrokes complementing one another and blending together seamlessly on the virtual canvas, has permitted the desired level of quality while providing greater control and efficiency in the process. Again, instead of restoring the theoretical original appearance of each phase, the artist has enhanced only the areas of pigment still actually preserved on the surface by adding more prominent color values for the traces, so that the drawings present each stage with a weathered appearance, with the same areas of physical damage to the wall indicated for all phases; the historically appropriate inscribed features, taken from the completed line drawings, were also included in each plate. Sections above and below the scene, however, were drawn on the computer tablet and added to the illustration in order to give a complete elevation with minimal artificial reconstruction. The addition of a neutral color panel behind the scene provides a homogeneous background and helps clarify the tone of the original whitewashed background of the decoration, an oft-neglected but important feature, wherever visible. In addition, another version of the panel was created for each phase with the digital color photograph layered into the background, illustrating further the three-dimensional character of the inscribed elements. Four main stages were illustrated with this method: the Eighteenth Dynasty phase, Ramessid additions, Twenty-First Dynasty additions, and finally the Ptolemaic redesign of the entire color scheme. The resulting color representations show the temple façade as if it had been left unmodified after a given period and gradually decayed to the point of showing the currently visible damage and paint traces.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY PAINT EPISODE

Of particular interest for the historical sequence of paint schemes in the ambulatory is the second pillar face from the east on the south interior, MH.B 99 (pl. 196), in raised relief, which shows Thutmose III given life by Amun-Re. The typical Eighteenth Dynasty polychrome elements were painted on a blue-gray background; where the figure of Amun was destroyed by Akhenaten's agents and subsequently recarved, the figure was repainted with a background in white according to the post-Amarna palette. A close look at the face of the restored Amun, however, shows a further modification. The (restored) brownish-red post-Amarna skin tone was later painted over in yellow, perhaps to suggest gold (pl. 249*A*). Investigation of the rest of the Amun figure reveals yellow paint traces over the arms and legs as well, suggesting a wholesale modification of the color scheme for the deity in this case, which is not present on the adjoining scene to the west, MH.B 95 (pl. 241; cf. pl. 193). Unfortunately, the late plaster layer over the surface precludes further observation of these color details. Yet examination of other pillar faces in this eastern section of the ambulatory yields corroborating data. The second pillar south of the doorway on the east row, MH.B 108 (pl. 243; cf. pl. 201) shows even more prominently the yellow pigment applied over the earlier red paint on Amun's figure. When this scene is compared with the well-preserved pillar scene on the south row (pl. 241), it can be seen that the image of Amun in the latter shows only post-Amarna-style painted elements, while pl. 243 shows additional painted features applied over the earlier post-Amarna scheme. These later alterations amount to a complete redesign of the god's costume. Whereas on pl. 241 Amun wears a regular gold-feathered corslet, picked out with fine red brushstrokes, and has polychrome details on the belt, broad collar, and armlets, on pl. 243 it can be seen that most of this polychrome post-Amarna costume was covered with another layer of yellow paint, over which his belt, collar,

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and armlets were rendered according to an entirely different pattern, executed in dark red paint with broad, hasty brushstrokes.

Comparison of the king figures on the two scenes reveals even more significant alterations. On pl. 241, the king's triangular kilt is painted white, with thin red stripes; on pl. 243, the entire kilt is painted over in yellow, including the king's belt, whose original blue, red, and green panels and fine red outlines were replaced with a considerably simplified pattern of thick red brushstrokes over the yellow background, in some cases even ignoring the position of the carved lines. While the king's red skin color was retained, the white crown and mace were also painted yellow. Comparison of these two scenes thus shows the dramatic character of these changes, which were, in this case, limited to the two principal figures.

A comprehensive examination of the other interior pillar faces in the ambulatory shows that this distinctive phase of paint alterations was applied to certain scenes but not to others. Specifically, six pillar faces at the east end of the peripteral passage—MH.B 99, 108, 112, 116, 120, and 127 (pls. 196, 201, 204, 205, 208, 213; cf. pl. 250*H*)—were so treated. All of these scenes, which show the king in the presence of Amun, face the central axis and would be visible when passing from the east entrance to the doorway of the bark shrine. In each case, the paint modifications were limited to the two main figures, leaving the surrounding elements untouched. Unfortunately, each of these scenes was also covered with plaster in the late dynastic period, rendering examination of this paint stage difficult in many places. One of these pillar scenes, however, bears some important additional information. The scene at MH.B 127 (pl. 213), alone among these six panels, shows the king wearing not the triangular kilt but the tight-fitting kilt with wide beaded sporran, and the mace depicted in the other examples was omitted when this scene was carved. During this later paint modification, however, uniformity was imposed by changing the design of the king's costume; the outline of the triangular kilt was painted over the original straight garment, and the king's mace was painted in (pl. 249*B*–*C*). As part of this modification, the central carved beads of the original sporran were erased, and the beads overlapping the king's thighs were painted red to blend in (pl. 249*B*). As a result of this transformation, the visitor entering the ambulatory was greeted with six stylistically identical scenes, with the king in the triangular kilt, surrounding the entrance to the bark shrine. The other pillar scenes on the north and south aisles, not visible from the axis of entry, were not included in this paint stage. Any additional paint changes that may have been made along the central axis at this time were lost when the doorway, east exterior, and interior of the bark shrine were recarved during the Ptolemaic period.

A careful inspection of the temple's exterior has yielded additional traces of this paint layer, particularly on the east façade. Here, the six pillar faces, originally painted with yellow details on a white background (pl. 245), show a number of subsequent modifications (pls. 246–48), of which some may be ascribed to the phase in question. On the best-preserved of the outer pillar scenes, MH.B 118 (pl. 158), faint red-painted outlines were observed around the god's profile and shoulders (illustrated on pl. 247) that were clearly rendered prior to the comprehensive Ptolemaic paint revision (pl. 248). The southernmost scene, MH.B 102 (pls. 153, 251*A*) also shows relatively well-preserved paint elements, since it was blocked by a later stone wall. Here, before the polychrome Ptolemaic layer, the figures were embellished with red contours applied with a thick brush. While these lines were carefully rendered around the facial profiles (pl. 249*D*–*E*), elsewhere, such as on the hands and feet (pl. 249*F*–*G*), they appear rapidly executed and perhaps unfinished. Details added to the belts and kilts are also stylistically similar to those added within the ambulatory, representing only basic elements. It is clear, moreover, that these red outlines were not added directly on the Thutmosid yellow background; rather, they were first given their own background in a slightly lighter yellow tone, quite distinct from the darker, mustard-colored original. Interestingly, the hieroglyphic text and other features above the figures were not included in this stage of modification. Based on these observations, we conjecture that each of the sunk-relief façade scenes received a fresh coat of yellow paint and that details were added to the figures and their costumes (crowns, belts, ribbons, etc.) in dark red, in conjunction with the corresponding modifications added to the six eastern interior pillar scenes within the ambulatory.

On the north and south exterior walls of the temple, originally undecorated during the Eighteenth Dynasty, the sculptors of Ramesses III added scenes and inscriptions in the deeply cut style typical of the reign. All of these details were painted over during the Ptolemaic period using the multicolored palette already observed (pls. 244, 248). Since, however, most of the Ptolemaic paint has now disappeared, the previous stages of paint decoration may now be detected, though the particular aspects of the phasing here have made distinguishing the various layers quite difficult. Nevertheless, a couple of well-preserved examples, where the multilayered painted scenes were protected within the later structure of the northern Ptolemaic annex, serve as illustrations of the historical sequence. At MH.B 123, on the north exterior of the peripteros, where a scene of Ramesses III is now mostly covered by the east sidewall of the Ptolemaic annex, a strip of the exposed carving including the king's hand holding the staff and scepter shows two layers of painted finish (pl. 250*A*). The earlier one—on a monochrome yellow background with red outlines representing each finger, the palm line, and two parallel lines for the bracelet—is surmounted by a subsequent layer with only a few spots of reddish-brown paint on plaster. Within the outline of the bracelet, however, the earlier yellow background has peeled off to reveal blue paint underneath, thus indicating a more complicated sequence than one may at first have supposed. The same three layers may also be observed in the ribbons of the king's kilt at MH.B 133, outside the Ptolemaic annex (pl. 250*B*). Here, the uppermost layer shows a polychrome geometrical design of wavy lines, underneath which are thick red brushstrokes reflecting a more traditional ribbon design, with parallel horizontal lines over a yellow background. Beneath this, however, a third layer is visible, with a design that is similar to the second layer, but with much thinner and lighter red outlines, and vertical divisions as well as horizontal ones, suggesting a more complex pattern. A much better preserved example of the same ribbon is found nearby, at MH.B 125 (pl. 250*C*), where the earliest (Ramessid) layer is slightly better preserved, allowing the same pattern to be observed over a larger area. Here also were added thicker, darker red paint lines in a more simplified design, as in the previous example (pl. 250*B*). These samples are sufficient to demonstrate a sequence of three painting events: the first, more delicately painted, original to the reign of Ramesses III; the second, in which costume elements were repainted with thicker, darker red paint lines; and the third, dating to the Ptolemaic period. The second layer may be compared stylistically with an additional example found at MH.B 137, where the same belt and ribbon design elements occur (pl. 250*D*–*E*). An even more elaborate example of these three paint episodes may be observed on the south exterior wall of the temple, at MH.B 81 (pl. 250*F*). Here, the king's collar shows the blue, green, and red stripes of the Ptolemaic phase, beneath which is visible an intricate pattern consisting of three rows of floral ornaments painted in red over a yellow background. Beneath this appears the original layer, in dark blue, certainly corresponding to the original decorative phase under Ramesses III.

As on the temple façade, then, the Ramessid reliefs on the north and south exterior walls show three distinct paint phases. The first, dating to the reign of Ramesses III himself, consisted of delicately executed

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paint details in a limited polychrome palette, with elegant, thin red brushstrokes over a homogeneous yellow background, with the exception of armlets, collars, and bracelets, which were painted dark blue. In the following phase, the paint scheme was stylistically updated in the same manner as already observed around the east end of the ambulatory interior and on the façade. Finally, there are sporadic vestiges of the Ptolemaic paint layer in its typical bold polychrome, applied mostly atop a thick coating of plaster but sometimes laid directly over the earlier paint layers.

CONCLUSIONS

The above observations regarding this newly discovered Twenty-First Dynasty paint episode allow it to be situated within the historical development of the Small Temple's decoration. From the temple plan (pl. 250*H*), it is clear that the painters of this layer limited the changes to areas visible from the outside of the monument and along its central axis. There are no traces of this phase within the inner sanctuaries, on the outer walls of the bark shrine, or on the interior pillar faces in the north and south corridors of the ambulatory. The update seems therefore to be focused on the path of the bark procession, perhaps because the painters at this stage were working with limited time or resources. Again, the Ptolemaic recarving of the bark shrine's façade and interior make it impossible to say whether these surfaces were previously embellished with updated paint details. Nevertheless, the fact that only the main figures on the pillar faces were so modified, along with the cursory character of these painted enhancements, suggests a program carried out at short notice: a distinct event in the temple's history.

On the outer walls, the traces of this paint episode are found atop the original Eighteenth Dynasty / Ramesses III painting and underneath the Ptolemaic layer. Moreover, this stage is preserved in the scenes on MH.B 106 (pl. 250*G*) and MH.B 118 (pl. 247), which were partially covered by a structure added during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty[3] and therefore must predate that period. In addition, Hölscher has called attention to the possible effects on the Small Temple of the destruction of the fortification walls of Medinet Habu at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, suggesting a link between this "catastrophe" and the restoration inscriptions of the high priest Painedjem, carved shortly thereafter around the socle of the monument's north, south, and east sides.[4] Since no architectural modification or repair of the temple, nor any inscriptional modification, can be linked with the acts of renewal mentioned in these texts, it is reasonable to suppose that these enhancements to the painted decoration, hastily carried out on the exterior surfaces and within the central axis of approach to the shrine, may have been part of a restoration program carried out by the high priest at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty. The nature of the preserved elements on the costumes, with their rough brushstrokes in red on a yellow background, also suggests a late Ramessid / early Third Intermediate Period date. It is hoped that more in-depth study of the paint layers on the north and south outer walls of the temple, to be published in the next volume in this series (*Medinet Habu* XI), will provide additional clarification of the monument's long and complex decorative history.

[3] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 21, 26–27, pl. 5; J. Jacquet and H. Jacquet, "Architectural Report: The Later Constructions Added to the Façade of the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple," in *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1995–1996* (Chicago, 1996), 50–54.

[4] Hölscher, *Excavation* II, 52.

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GRAFFITI ON THE FAÇADE AND WITHIN THE PERIPTEROS

CHRISTINA DI CERBO AND RICHARD JASNOW

The graffiti found in the areas of the temple included in this volume are poorly preserved. Many are obscured by later layers of plaster and are virtually illegible, while the natural discoloration of or mineral inclusions in the stone often add to the difficulty of identifying the faint markings on the walls; some, scarcely visible to the naked eye, have been recorded using digital enhancement. The faint traces that remain nevertheless demonstrate that there must have been a high concentration of graffiti of various types on the interior faces of the pillars, comparable in number and character to the better-preserved examples on the north side of the bark shrine and in the northern Ptolemaic annex.[1] The graffiti published here include boats, human figures, names, and crosses, as well as several standard Demotic votive texts. The numerous boat graffiti, probably of Coptic date, are particularly intriguing and were perhaps inspired by the proximity of navigable waters during the Nile inundation. Since the northern annex was used as a chapel dedicated to St. Menas, it may also be that these many boat images were associated in some way with the local cult of that saint. Aside from these ancient graffiti, nineteenth-century travelers also left records of their visits in various locations. Taken together, the graffiti within this part of the temple, though for the most part scarcely noticeable today, attest to a space in which the inhabitants of Djeme made the most of the opportunity for artistic and textual expression on the wall surfaces.

The numbering system used here continues the sequence from *Medinet Habu* IX, which is itself a continuation of Edgerton's original numbering system.[2]

PLATE 233

Coptic Graffito (Gr. 453)

Located on the south section of the plinth of the temple façade, this incised graffito, which appears to read MAKIOP. . . C, may be an attempt to render the personal name Makarios.

Four Crosses (Gr. 454)

On the plinth of the façade, to the right of the previously mentioned inscription, appear four incised crosses, each of which seems to represent a slightly different form.

Traces of Four(?) Graffiti (Gr. 455*A–D*)

Of these four brief texts written above and below the marginal inscription of Painedjem (pl. 163), only Gr. 455*B* is somewhat legible. It was written on a layer of white plaster, which in some areas was covered by a later coating of plaster, possibly Coptic. The writing is clearly hieratic, but the only certain sign is the well-formed  (Möller, *Paläographie* III, no. 15). The first signs could be *sn* (ibid., no. 597) and *n*, but this interpretation is far from secure.

[1] Room R of Lepsius (L.*D.* I, 92), numbered VII by Porter and Moss (PM II², pl. XLV).

[2] *Medinet Habu* IX, 64–65.

PLATE 234

Demotic Graffiti (Gr. 456*A–B*)

There are traces of at least two Demotic graffiti located below the kilt and to the left of the front leg of Amun-Re on pl. 184; one (*A*) is written in red ochre, the other (*B*) in black ink. The second line of Gr. 456*B* (central section) probably contains *m-bꜣḥ ʾImn* "before Amun."

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 457)

A graffito in black ink, located below the forearm of the king on pl. 185, shows a man possibly holding a stick. It is similar to Gr. 460.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 458)

On the interior of the balustrade between MH.B 83 and MH.B 87 (pls. 184 and 187) are the remains of an unidentified figurative graffito, possibly to be associated with Gr. 459. It does not seem to represent part of a boat.

Figurative Graffiti (Gr. 459*A–B*)

These two graffiti, located on and in front of the king's kilt on pl. 188, are well preserved. The smaller one (*B*) is clearly a standing man, perhaps wearing a red crown and holding something in his hand. The main element (*A*) is more puzzling; its most prominent feature is the oval shape, but the representation cannot be identified. It does not seem to depict a boat or part of a boat, which is the most common kind of figurative graffito in this area.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 460)

Located below the kilt of Horus of Behdet on pl. 189, this graffito in black ink shows a man with raised arms, probably holding a stick.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 461)

This large drawing of a boat in black ink extends across the lower right corner of the scene on pl. 190. The upper portion shows three sailors climbing up the mast, while the lower section must represent the hull of the boat.

Demotic Graffito (Gr. 462)

Vestiges of a Demotic text in black ink are visible between the legs of the king on pl. 190. One might read *Ḥnsw* at the end of the second line. The thicker diagonal mark slanting to the right may belong to the boat in Gr. 461.

PLATE 235

Coptic Cross (Gr. 463)

Near the base of the pillar, below the scene shown on pl. 190, may be seen a small Coptic cross in black ink.

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Figurative Graffito (Gr. 464)

In front of and behind the lower legs of Satet on pl. 194 are traces of a figurative graffito in white paint. Elsewhere, particularly in the northern Ptolemaic annex, such white-painted details represent parts of boats.

Travelers' Graffiti (Gr. 465*A–C*)

On the curved portion of the sandstone balustrade in front of the scene with Satet (pl. 194) are three incised travelers' graffiti:

A. E. Hess

B. W Lüdtke 1881

C. C. Gaia

These graffiti are mentioned by W. De Keersmaecker, *Travellers' Graffiti from Egypt and the Sudan* V: *Thebes: The Temples of Medinet Habu* (Antwerp, 2006), 48 and 51, but no further biographical information is given concerning the three individuals.

Figurative Graffiti (Gr. 466*A–B*)

Next to the previously mentioned travelers' graffiti are two incised images. The first (*A*) has the appearance of a lizard; the second (*B*) is perhaps an animal head.

Demotic Graffito (Gr. 467)

In the scene with the king received by Hathor (pl. 195), behind the king at the level of his kilt hem, is a brief incised Demotic graffito:

[1][. . .] *Pꜣ-ỉs.t*[a]

[2][. . .]

[a]Perhaps [*Ḥr*]-*pꜣ-ỉs.t*; cf. *Demot. Nb.*, 807–8.

Travelers' Graffiti (Gr. 468*A–B*)

Within the *srḫ* and the cartouche of Thutmose III on pl. 195 are two inscribed travelers' graffiti:

A. Cotoin

B. C de Pomereu

The reading and interpretation of the first graffito are uncertain. The second is discussed in De Keersmaecker, *Travellers' Graffiti* V, p. 51.

Traveler's Graffito (Gr. 469)

High on the Thutmosid architrave inscription (pl. 181*B*), within the middle ○-sign of the word *mnw* in l. 4, is a small incised traveler's graffito:

Olma⌜n⌝ 184⌜4⌝

The reading is uncertain.

PLATE 236

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 470)

On the interior face of the balustrade between the two southernmost pillars on the east side, below the in situ blocking stone, is a graffito in black ink, perhaps traces of a boat or boats.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 471)

On the inner face of the next balustrade to the north, between MH.B 108 (pl. 201) and MH.B 112 (pl. 204), is a black and white painted boat. A thick black line, bordered by white, was used to outline the hull. White was also employed for the sails and ropes. Such boat images sometimes display white squares, or black squares alternating with white squares in a checkerboard pattern, but here only the black squares are preserved.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 472)

Between the lower legs of the king on pl. 204 are traces of an unidentified graffito in black ink. It may be part of a boat, but this interpretation is uncertain.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 473)

On the lower section of the pillar below the scene shown on pl. 204 are traces of a boat graffito in black and white. Part of a sail is visible, showing a pattern of outlines in black with white squares.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 474)

On the surface of the recessed southern reveal of the east entrance, adjoining the Ptolemaic text, are traces of a boat graffito in black ink, with parts of the hull and cabin preserved.

Traveler's Graffito (Gr. 475)

Also on the recessed southern reveal, high up near the soffit of the doorway, is an incised traveler's graffito. The first group appears to be a ligature of "P" and "B," followed by an "M" or an "N."

PLATE 237

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 476)

On the recessed northern reveal of the east entrance, to the left of the Ptolemaic text, may be seen traces of a boat graffito in white pigment.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 477)

Higher up on the same recessed surface are traces of another boat graffito in black and white pigment, with vestiges of red ochre visible nearby.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 478)

Between the lower legs of the king figure on pl. 205 are traces of a boat graffito in black ink, showing a clear pattern of black squares.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 479)

Angling across the torso of the king on pl. 208 are possible traces of the rigging of a boat in black ink.

Traveler's Graffito (Gr. 480)

Within the word *snb* in l. 2 of the text concerning Montu shown on pl. 210 appears part of a penciled traveler's graffito:

O . . .

1846(?)

Traveler's Graffito (Gr. 481)

Within the *nb*-sign in l. 6 of pl. 210, near the previous example, is another penciled traveler's graffito:

C. Downey(?)

The two were presumably fellow travelers.

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PLATE 238

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 482)

Near the base of the pillar containing the scene shown on pl. 213 is a large graffito of a boat, with the hull and sail rendered in black and white pigment.

Demotic Graffito (Gr. 483)

In the scene shown on pl. 213, near where the king's foot crosses that of Amun, are a few illegible traces of a Demotic text in black ink.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 484)

Low down on the inner surface of the balustrade between MH.B 127 (pl. 213) and MH.B 131 (pl. 216) are two boats rendered in black and white pigment.

Demotic Graffito (Gr. 485)

Before the face of Amun-Re, who offers life to Thutmose III, on pl. 216 is a Demotic graffito written in red ochre:

[1]ʳ*p; rn nfr Ns-p;*ˡ*-wt(?) s; P;-hb*

[2]*mn* [*ty*] *m-b;ḥ* ˀ*Imn š‹ ḏ.t*

[1]ʳThe good name of Nespaˡut(?), son of Paheb,

[2]remains [here] before Amun forever.

Compare Edgerton's copy, *Graffiti*, pl. 33 (no. 84), and the translation by Thissen, *Med. Habu*, p. 76. The placement of this text directly before the deity and above the ‹*nḫ*-sign was doubtless intentional.

Demotic Graffito (Gr. 486)

On the lower face of the pillar bearing the abovementioned scene (pl. 216) are the illegible traces of a Demotic inscription, comprising perhaps six lines, in black ink.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 487)

Immediately beneath the previous text on the lower pillar face are traces of a boat graffito in black ink.

PLATE 239

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 488)

On the inner face of the balustrade between MH.B 131 (pl. 216) and MH.B 135 (pl. 219) are traces of at least two boats in black and white pigment.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 489)

At the lower left corner of the scene shown on pl. 218, in the space left blank by the abbreviated inscription of l. 2, is the image of a standing man with upraised arm in red ochre. The vertical traces beneath the figure, also in red ochre, seem to be associated with it. There are several other patches of red, of a slightly different tone, surrounding the figure, which are not copied here; they may represent another stage of background painting in this area of the pillar.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 490)

On the uninscribed pillar surface below the scene shown on pl. 219 are a few traces of a boat in black ink.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 491)

On the inner face of the balustrade between MH.B 135 (pl. 219) and MH.B 139 (pl. 222) are the remains of an unidentified figurative graffito in black ink.

Figurative Graffito (Gr. 492)

Below the scene shown on pl. 222, on the uninscribed portion of the pillar face, appear the possible traces of a boat in black ink.

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GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
art.	article
caus.	causative
cf.	*confer*, compare
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
div.	divinity
encl.	enclitic
ep.	epithet
fem.	feminine
imper.	imperative
loc.	locality
masc.	masculine
n.	noun
part.	particle
pers.	person
pl.	plural
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
rel.	relative
RN	royal name
RT	royal title
sing.	singular
vb.	verb
2ae gem.	*secundae geminatae*
3ae inf.	*tertiae infirmae*
4ae inf.	*quartae infirmae*

ꜣ.t n. “moment, instant”; see *Km-ꜣ.t=f*

ꜣy encl. part., 179*B*:2

ꜣw (1) adj. vb. “to be wide, to be joyful (of heart), to rejoice,” 155*B*:8; 183*B*:2; 187*B*:8; 189*B*:2; 192*B*:2; 193*B*:7, 8; 201*B*:8; 204*B*:8; 205*B*:7; 213*B*:8; 219*B*:8; 222*B*:2; 225*B*:8

(2) n. “length,” in the compound:

r-ꜣw, “all, entire,” 179*B*:2 (twice). See also *ꜣw.t-ỉb, ꜣw.t-ꜥ*

ꜣw.t-ỉb n. “joy,” 155*B*:2; 157:2; 159*B*:2; 174:11; 187*B*:2 (partly restored); 188*B*:2; 189*B*:2; 197*B*:2; 199*B*:2; 220*B*:2; 223*B*:5. See also *nb ꜣw.t-ỉb*

ꜣw.t-ꜥ ep. “she of the extended wing” (of Nekhbet), 178:1

ꜣw.t n. “food-offering,” 170:4

ꜣb vb. “to stop, cease,” 170:9; 176:11 (restored)

ꜣbỉ vb. 3ae inf. “to desire,” 174:1

ꜣbw loc. “Elephantine,” 192*B*:1; 194*B*:1

ꜣbḫ vb. “to mix, unite with,” 172:10

ꜣḫ adj. vb. “to be excellent, beneficial,” 172:15. See also *pr.t ꜣḫ.t n.t nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy*

ꜣḫ.w n. “beneficial deeds, benefactions”; see *ỉr ꜣḫ.w*

ꜣs.t div. “Isis,” 170:10; 174:8. See also *Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*

ỉ first-pers. sing. suffix pron., passim

ỉꜣ.t n. “mound”; see *ỉꜣ.t mt(y).t n.t ỉmnt.t, ꜣꜣ.t ṯꜣ.w-mw.wt*

ỉꜣ.t mt(y).t n.t ỉmnt.t loc. “exact mound of the west,” 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4

ꜣꜣ.t ṯꜣ.w-mw.wt loc. “the mound of Djeme,” 174:4, 8, 12; 176:8

ỉꜣw.t n. “office,” 185*B*:2; 193*B*:2

ỉꜣby adj. “left(-hand),” 154*B*:x+4

ỉꜥb vb. “to unite,” 198*B*:2

ỉw part., 170:19; 172:10

ỉwꜥ n. “heir,” 172:15; 196*B*:1. See also *ỉwꜥ n nṯr.w pr.w, ỉwꜥ n Gb pr m ḥꜥ.w=f*

ỉwꜥ n nṯr.w pr.w ep. “Heir of the Gods Epiphaneis” (in prenomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:11 (partly restored); 172:11; 174:13; 176:13; 179*B*:1 (partly restored); 180*B*:1. Cf. *ꜣIwꜥ n nṯr.w pr.w stp.n Ptḥ ỉr Mꜣꜥ.t Rꜥ sḫm ꜥnḫ ꜣImn*

ꜣIwꜥ n nṯr.w pr.w stp.n Ptḥ ỉr Mꜣꜥ.t Rꜥ sḫm ꜥnḫ ꜣImn RN “Heir of the Gods Epiphaneis, chosen of Ptah, who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun” (prenomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:11 (partly restored); 172:11; 174:13 (partly restored); 176:13; 179*B*:1 (partly restored); 180*B*:1

ỉwꜥ n Gb pr m ḥꜥ.w=f ep. “the heir of Geb, who has proceeded from his flesh” (of Ptolemy VIII), 174:15

ỉwꜥ.t n. “inheritance,” 201*B*:2; 221*B*:2

ꜣIwn.t loc. “Dendera,” 218*B*:1

ꜣIwnw loc. “Heliopolis,” 183*B*:2; 203*B*:1. See also *ḥqꜣ ꜣIwnw*

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ỉwty negative rel. adj. "who, which (is) not," 176:18

ỉb n. "heart," 155*B*:8; 174:2, 21; 176:7, 9; 180*B*:2; 183*B*:2; 187*B*:8; 189*B*:2; 192*B*:2; 193*B*:7, 8; 201*B*:8; 204*B*:8; 205*B*:7; 213*B*:8; 219*B*:8; 222*B*:1, 2; 225*B*:8. See also *ꜣw.t-ỉb, ꜥqꜣ-ỉb, pḫꜣ-ỉb, nḏm-ỉb, ḥry-ỉb, s.t-ỉb, shr-ỉb Tꜣ.wy, šms-ỉb*

ỉp vb. "to reckon," 180*B*:2

ỉp.t-s.wt loc. "Karnak," 170:8; 174:10

ỉm.t loc. "Imet," 170:19

imꜣḫ n. "veneration," 204*B*:2

ỉmꜣḫw n. "venerated one," 190*B*:3; 218*B*:2

ỉmỉ imper. vb. "give!" 174:20

imy adj. from prep. *m* "who, which is in," 204*B*:2

ỉmy-w(t)y prep. "between," 172:9

ỉmy-r mšꜥ wr title "supreme commander," 163*B*:1

ỉmy-r mšꜥ wr n Šmꜥw Mḥw title "supreme commander of Upper and Lower Egypt," 162*B*:1

ỉmy-r nỉw.t title "mayor," 162*B*:1; 176:18

ỉmy.w-ḫt n. "those who follow," 170:2

ỉmn div. "Amun," 160*B*:1, 2; 161*B*:1, 2; 172:4, 15 (twice); 174:12, 21; 176:9; 181*B*:4; 181*C*:2; 193*B*:2; 205*B*:1; 219*B*:1. See also *ỉmn-ms-s(w) mry Rꜥ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t, ỉmn-Rꜥ, Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ ỉmn ḏsr-s.t, mry ỉmn, mry ỉmn ḫnty ḏsr-s.t, mry ỉmn ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, sḫm ꜥnḫ ỉmn, tỉ.t ỉmn*

ỉmn-ỉp.t div. "Amunopet," 170:3

ỉmn-ms-(sw) mry Rꜥ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t RN "Amenmesse-beloved-of-Re-ruler-of-Thebes" (nomen of Amenmesse), 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3 (partly restored)

ỉmn-Rꜥ div. "Amun-Re," 153*B*:1; 155*B*:1; 156*B*:1; 157:1; 158*B*:1; 159*B*:1; 163*B*:1; 172:3; 176:4; 179*B*:2; 180*B*:2; 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4; 184*B*:1; 187*B*:1 (partly restored); 190*B*:1; 193*B*:1; 196*B*:1; 201*B*:1; 204*B*:1; 206*B*:1; 213*B*:1; 216*B*:1; 222*B*:1; 225*B*:1. See also *mry ỉmn-Rꜥ, mry ỉmn-Rꜥ nb p.t, mry ỉmn-Rꜥ nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy, mry ỉmn-Rꜥ ḫnty ḏsr-s.t, mry ỉmn-Rꜥ ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n ỉmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

ỉmn.t div. "Amunet," 170:7; 207*B*:1

ỉmnty adj. "right(-hand), western," 154*B*:x+3; 195*B*:1

ỉmnt.t n. "the west," 200*B*:1. See also *ỉꜣ.t mt(y).t n.t ỉmnt.t, ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t*

ỉn prep. "by," 170:3, 7; 172:3, 7; 174:4, 8; 176:4, 8; 182*B*:1 (partly restored); 183*B*:1; 184*B*:1; 185*B*:1; 186*B*:1 (partly restored); 188*B*:1; 189*B*:1 (partly restored); 190*B*:1; 191*B*:1; 192*B*:1; 193*B*:1; 195*B*:1; 196*B*:1; 197*B*:1; 198*B*:1; 199*B*:1; 200*B*:1; 201*B*:1; 202*B*:1; 203*B*:1; 204*B*:1; 205*B*:1; 211*B*:1; 215*B*:1; 217*B*:1; 218*B*:1 (restored); 219*B*:1; 221*B*:1; 223*B*:1; 226*B*:1; 227*B*:1

ỉn-ḥr-Šw div. "Onuris-Shu," 220*B*:1

ỉnb n. "wall"; see *Ptḥ-rsy-ỉnb=f*

ỉnpw div. "Anubis," 199*B*:1

ỉnr n. "stone," 181*B*:2, 4; 181*C*:4

ỉnḥ n. "eyebrows," 172:9

ỉnk first-pers. sing. independent pron., 186*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2

ỉr.t n. "eye," 170:1, 19; 174:2, 8, 21 (restored). See also *sḫtp Ḥr m ỉr.t Ḥr wꜣḏ.t*

ỉrỉ vb. 3ae inf. "make, do, perform," 157:5; 158*B*:4; 160*B*:1, 2; 161*B*:1, 2; 162*B*:1 (twice); 163*B*:1 (twice); 170:18; 172:9; 176:7, 11 (restored), 12, 18; 179*B*:2 (four times); 180*B*:2; 181*B*:2 (thrice), 4 (twice); 181*C*:2 (twice), 4 (thrice, once restored); 184*B*:8; 186*B*:2; 190*B*:9; 193*B*:2 (twice); 196*B*:8; 204*B*:2; 216*B*:8; 222*B*:7. See also *ỉr ꜣḫ.w, ỉr Mꜣꜥ.t Rꜥ, ỉr.n Rꜥ, nb ỉr.t ḫ.t*

ỉr ꜣḫ.w ep. "who does beneficial deeds" (of Ptolemy VIII), 176:16

ỉr Mꜣꜥ.t Rꜥ ep. "who does the justice of Re" (in prenomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:11; 172:11; 174:13 (partly restored); 176:13; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *ỉwꜥ n nṯr.w pr.w stp.n Ptḥ ỉr Mꜣꜥ.t Rꜥ sḫm ꜥnḫ ỉmn*

ỉr.n Rꜥ ep. "whom-Re-made" (of Thutmose III), 181*A*:3; 181*B*:3. Cf. *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ ỉr.n Rꜥ*

ỉrp n. "wine," 170:1, 19

ỉsw n. "reward," 193*B*:2

ỉsk non-encl. part., 204*B*:2

ỉsṯ part., 181*C*:2 (written *ỉst*); 187*B*:2 (written *ỉst*)

ỉšrw loc. "Isheru," 172:7

ỉt n. "father," 160*B*:1, 2; 161*B*:1, 2; 163*B*:1; 172:4 (twice), 10 (twice); 174:12, 21 (restored); 176:5 (twice), 10 (twice); 179*B*:2; 180*B*:2; 181*B*:2, 4; 181*C*:2, 4; 198*B*:1; 201*B*:2. See also *pꜣ nṯr r-ṯnw ỉt=f, nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w, nṯr.w mr.w ỉt.w, ḥry-ns.t ỉt=f*

ỉty n. "sovereign," 174:12. See also *ỉty mỉ Rꜥ*

ỉty mỉ Rꜥ ep. "the sovereign like Re" (in Falcon of Gold name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1 (partly restored); 180*B*:1. Cf. *wr pḥ.ty nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w ỉty mỉ Rꜥ*

ỉtmw div. "Atum," 170:19; 185*B*:2; 187*B*:2; 189*B*:2; 193*B*:2; 203*B*:1; 222*B*:2

ỉtn div. "the (Sun) Disk," 170:6

ỉṯỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to take, seize," 170:6; 204*B*:2

ỉdb.wy n. "the Two Banks (= Egypt)," 202*B*:2

ꜥ n. "arm, hand," 154*B*:x+3, x+4; 172:10. See also *ꜣw.t-ꜥ*

ꜥ.t n. "part, limb (of body)," 179*B*:2

ꜥꜣ adj. "great," 170:5, 7; 174:11 (twice); 180*B*:2; 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4. See also *ꜥꜣ ḫpš ḫw pḏ.t psḏ.t, ꜥꜣ šfy.t m tꜣ.w nb(.w), nṯr ꜥꜣ, nṯr ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ, kꜣ nḫt ꜥꜣ nsy.t*

ꜥꜣ ḫpš ḫw pḏ.t psḏ.t RN "great of strength, who smites the Nine Bows" (Falcon of Gold name of Thutmose III), 181*B*:1; 181*C*:1

ꜥꜣ šfy.t m tꜣ.w nb(.w) RN "great of majesty in all lands" (*Nb.ty* name of Thutmose III), 181*B*:1; 181*C*:1

ꜥꜣ.t n. "a great thing," in the compound prep. *n-ꜥꜣ.t-n.t*, "inasmuch as," 218*B*:2

ꜥꜥ vb. "to ejaculate," 180*B*:2

ꜥnḫ (1) vb. "to live," 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2; 172:1; 176:2; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 2, 3; 181*C*:1, 3; 186*B*:2; 187*B*:2; 188*B*:2; 191*B*:2; 192*B*:2; 193*B*:2; 197*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 226*B*:2. See also *ꜥnḫ ḏ.t, nṯr ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ, sḫm ꜥnḫ ỉmn, ḏsr msḫꜥ=f ḥnꜥ Ḥp ꜥnḫ*

(2) n. "life," 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 153*B*:2, 6, 7; 154*B*:x+5 (restored); 155*B*:2, 3, 7, 8; 156*B*:2, 7, 8; 157:2, 3, 6, 8; 158*B*:2, 6, 8; 159*B*:2, 3, 7; 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3; 170:10, 15; 172:14; 174:17; 176:17; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 3, 4; 181*C*:1 (restored), 2, 3, 4; 182*B*:2, 7 (restored); 183*B*:2, 7; 184*B*:2, 3, 6; 185*B*:2, 7; 186*B*:7; 187*B*:2, 6, 8; 188*B*:7; 189*B*:2, 7 (restored); 190*B*:3, 4, 7; 191*B*:2, 6; 192*B*:2, 7; 193*B*:3, 6, 8; 194*B*:2, 6; 195*B*:6; 196*B*:2 (restored), 3, 6; 197*B*:2, 7; 198*B*:7, 9; 199*B*:2, 7, 9; 200*B*:6; 201*B*:3, 7, 8; 202*B*:2, 7; 203*B*:2, 7; 204*B*:6, 8; 205*B*:2, 3, 7; 206*B*:2, 6 (restored); 210*B*:2, 4, 6; 211*B*:4, 6; 212*B*:2, 7;

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213*B*:2, 4, 6, 7, 8; 214*B*:2, 6; 215*B*:3, 4, 6, 7; 216*B*:2, 7; 217*B*:2, 6; 219*B*:7, 8; 220*B*:2, 6; 221*B*:3, 6; 222*B*:4, 6; 223*B*:2, 3, 7; 224*B*:2, 6; 225*B*:2, 6, 8; 226*B*:6; 227*B*:2, 3, 4, 6. See also *ḥkn tw m ꜥnḫ=f*

(3) n. "the living," 158*B*:7; 198*B*:2; 201*B*:2; 222*B*:2

ꜥnḫ ḏ.t ep. "ever-living" (in nomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:12; 172:12; 174:14; 176:14; 178:1; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *Ptwlmys ꜥnḫ ḏ.t mry Ptḥ*

ꜥnq.t div. "Anuket," 191*B*:1

ꜥḥꜣw n. "arrow," 154*B*:x+3

ꜥḥꜥw n. "lifetime," 174:11; 191*B*:2

ꜥḫm vb. "to extinguish," 174:12

ꜥḫm n. "image (of a god)," 196*B*:2

ꜥšꜣ adj. "many," 184*B*:8; 190*B*:9; 191*B*:2; 196*B*:8; 216*B*:8; 222*B*:7

ꜥq vb. "to enter, come (in)," 179*B*:2

ꜥqꜣ-ỉb adj. "upright, straightforward," 176:18

w third-pers. plural suffix pron., 170:10, 19

wꜣ vb. "to fall," 181*C*:2

wꜣḥ vb. "to endure"; see *wꜣḥ nsy.t mỉ Rꜥ m p.t*

wꜣḥ nsy.t mỉ Rꜥ m p.t RN "enduring of kingship like Re in heaven" (*Nb.ty* name of Thutmose III), 181*B*:3; 181*C*:3

wꜣs n. "dominion," 153*B*:2, 7; 154*B*:x+5; 155*B*:2, 8; 156*B*:2, 3, 8; 157:6, 8; 158*B*:2, 3, 8; 159*B*:2, 7; 170:15; 172:14; 174:17; 176:17; 181*A*:3, 4; 181*C*:1 (restored); 182*B*:2, 8; 183*B*:2, 7; 184*B*:2, 6; 185*B*:2, 8; 187*B*:2, 6, 8; 188*B*:8; 189*B*:2, 8; 190*B*:3; 191*B*:2, 7; 192*B*:2, 7; 193*B*:6, 8; 194*B*:2, 7; 195*B*:7; 196*B*:2 (restored), 6; 197*B*:2, 8 (restored); 199*B*:2, 8; 201*B*:8; 202*B*:2; 204*B*:8; 205*B*:2, 7; 207*B*:4; 208*B*:3; 209*B*:2 (restored), 4; 210*B*:2, 4; 211*B*:4; 212*B*:2; 213*B*:4, 7, 8; 214*B*:2; 215*B*:3 (erased), 4, 7; 216*B*:2; 219*B*:8; 220*B*:2; 221*B*:3; 222*B*:4; 223*B*:2, 4, 7; 224*B*:2; 225*B*:2, 6, 8; 226*B*:7; 227*B*:2, 4

wꜣs vb. "to be ruined," 181*C*:2

Wꜣs.t loc. "Thebes," 174:6; 176:8, 12; 210*B*:1; 214*B*:1. See also *ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t, kꜣ nḫt ḫꜥ m Wꜣs.t*

wꜣḏ adj. "flourishing, hale," 174:21. See also *sḥtp Ḥr m ỉr.t Ḥr wꜣḏ.t*

wꜣḏ-wr n. "sea," 176:12; 179*B*:2

Wꜣḏy.t div. "Wadjet," 157:2; 159*B*:3; 165*B*:1; 205*B*:3; 208*B*:3; 209*B*:4; 210*B*:4; 211*B*:4; 213*B*:4; 215*B*:4; 217*B*:3 (partly restored); 221*B*:3 (restored); 222*B*:4; 223*B*:3; 227*B*:4

wꜥ adj. "sole, unique," 203*B*:2

wꜥb (1) adj. "pure," 154*B*:x+1

(2) vb. "to be pure," 170:19

wbn vb. "to shine, arise, appear," 172:9, 10

wpw n. "judge," 176:18

Wp-wꜣ.wt div. "Wepwawet," 224*B*:1

wpỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to open, separate," 174:21

wnn vb. "to be, exist," 158*B*:7; 176:12

wnn.t n. "that which exists," 176:12

wr adj. "great," 174:2. See also *ỉmy-r mšꜥ wr, ỉmy-r mšꜥ wr n Šmꜥw Mḥw, wr pḥ.ty, Ḥr-wr*

wr pḥ.ty ep. "great of strength" (of Ptolemy VIII), 176:15; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *wr pḥ.ty nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w ỉty mỉ Rꜥ*

wr pḥ.ty nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w ỉty mỉ Rꜥ RN "great of strength, lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods, the sovereign like Re" (Falcon of Gold name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1 (partly restored); 180*B*:1

wr(.t) n. "great one, elder" 170:10; 172:1, 4, 7; 174:8, 12 (twice); 176:1, 4; 180*B*:2

wr.t adv. "very, exceedingly, much," 170:7, 18; 184*B*:8; 190*B*:9; 196*B*:8; 208*B*:7; 216*B*:8; 222*B*:7 (partly restored)

wrr.t n. "great crown," 200*B*:2; 204*B*:2

wḥm vb. "to repeat," 176:11

Wsỉr div. "Osiris," 174:4; 200*B*:1

wsr adj. "powerful"; see *Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ mry ỉmn*

Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ mry ỉmn RN "Usermaatre-beloved-of-Amun" (prenomen of Ramesses III), 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2

wdn vb. "to offer," 170:1

wdn.t n. "offering-recitation," 170:18

wḏ vb. "to decree"; see *ṯpḥ.t-wḏ.t-kꜣ.w*

bꜣ n. "*ba*," 170:5; 172:15; 180*B*:2

bỉk (n) nbw RT "Falcon of Gold," 176:15; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1, 3

bỉ.ty n. "king of Lower Egypt"; see *ny-sw.t bỉ.ty*

bꜥḥỉ vb. 4ae inf. "to flood, inundate," 174:21

bw n. "place, locale," 174:1

bnr adj. "sweet," 190*B*:3

Bḥd.t loc. "Behdet," 189*B*:1

Bḥd.ty div. "the Behdetite" (= Horus of Edfu), 182*B*:3; 183*B*:3; 185*B*:3; 188*B*:3 (restored); 189*B*:3 (restored); 191*B*:3 (restored); 192*B*:3; 194*B*:3; 195*B*:3; 196*B*:3; 197*B*:3; 198*B*:3; 199*B*:3 (restored); 200*B*:3; 202*B*:3; 203*B*:3; 206*B*:3; 207*B*:3; 209*B*:3 (partly restored); 210*B*:3; 212*B*:5 (partly restored); 214*B*:3; 216*B*:3; 220*B*:3 (restored); 222*B*:3; 224*B*:3; 226*B*:3

P loc. "Pe," 170:19; and in the following epithets:

P(y).t Dp(y).t "she of Pe and Dep (= Wadjet)," 165B:1

Dp(y).t P(y).t "she of Dep and Pe (= Wadjet)," 217*B*:3

p.t n. "heaven," 176:12. See also *wꜣḥ nsy.t mỉ Rꜥ m p.t, nb p.t, nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w, nb.t p.t*

pꜣ masc. sing. def. art.; see *pꜣ nṯr mrr mw.t=f, pꜣ nṯr r-ṯnw ỉt=f*

pꜣ nṯr mrr mw.t=f ep. "the God Philometor" (of Ptolemy VI), 180*B*:2 (partly restored)

pꜣ nṯr r-ṯnw ỉt=f ep. "the God Eupator" (of Ptolemy Eupator), 180*B*:2 (partly restored)

pꜣw.ty n. "primaeval god," 180*B*:2 (twice)

pꜥ.t n. "mankind," 174:7

pw dem. pron., 179*B*:2 (twice, partly restored); 180*B*:2; 190*B*:3; 218*B*:2

pr n. "house, temple," 196*B*:2

pri vb. 3ae inf. "to go forth, to go out," 170:1 (twice), 19; 172:8, 15; 174:15; 176:18; 179*B*:2. See also *ỉwꜥ n nṯr.w pr.w, ỉwꜥ n Gb pr m ḥꜥ.w=f, pr m-ḫnt=f, nṯr.w pr.w*

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pr m-ḫnt=f ep. "who has gone from him (= Amun)" (of Ptolemy VIII), 170:14

pr.t n. "seed," 172:15. See also *pr.t ꜣḥ.t n.t nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy*

pr.t ꜣḥ.t n.t nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy ep. "excellent seed of the lord of the thrones of the Two Lands" (of Ptolemy VIII), 170:13

pḥ vb. "to attack"; see *ḥw ḥqꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt pḥ.(w) sw*

pḥ.ty n. "strength"; see *wr pḥ.ty, ḏsr ḫʿ sḫm pḥ.ty*

pḫꜣ-ỉb n. "gladness," 176:11 (partly restored)

psš.t n. "share, portion," 185*B*:2 (partly restored)

Psḏ.t n. "Ennead," 170:10; 174:12; 197*B*:1

psḏ(.t) adj. "nine"; see *pḏ.t psḏ.t*

Ptwlmys ʿnḫ ḏ.t mry Ptḥ RN "Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah" (nomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:12; 172:12; 174:14 (partly restored); 176:14; 178:1; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1

Ptḥ div. "Ptah," 172:2. See also *Ptḥ-rsy-ỉnb=f, Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn, mry Ptḥ, stp.n Ptḥ*

Ptḥ-rsy-ỉnb=f div. "Ptah-south-of-his-wall," 211*B*:1

Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn div. "Ptah-Tatenen"; see *nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w*

pḏ.t n. "bow," 154*B*:x+3; 178:1. See also *pḏ.t psḏ.t*

pḏ.t psḏ.t n. "the Nine Bows," 195*B*:2. See also *ʿꜣ ḫpš ḥw pḏ.t psḏ.t*

f third-pers. sing. masc. suffix pron., 153*B*:2 (twice, once restored), 5; 155*B*:2, 6, 8; 156*B*:2, 6; 157:2; 158*B*:2, 5, 7; 159*B*:2, 5 (twice); 160*B*:1, 2; 161*B*:1, 2; 162*B*:1; 163*B*:1 (four times, once restored); 170:2 (erroneously), 14, 15, 19; 172:10 (twice), 13, 14, 15; 174:5, 12 (four times), 15, 17, 20 (twice), 21 (thrice, once restored); 176:12 (twice), 17; 179*B*:1 (six times), 2 (nine times); 180*B*:1 (six times, once restored), 2 (six times); 181*B*:2 (six times), 4 (seven times); 181*C*:1, 2 (seven times), 4 (six times, once restored); 183*B*:2 (thrice, once erroneously); 184*B*:8; 187*B*:5, 8; 190*B*:3, 9; 193*B*:7, 8; 196*B*:8; 198*B*:1; 201*B*:2, 8; 202*B*:2; 203*B*:2 (twice); 204*B*:2 (twice), 8; 205*B*:7; 206*B*:2, 5; 208*B*:7; 210*B*:2; 211*B*:1; 212*B*:4; 213*B*:2, 7, 8; 215*B*:7; 216*B*:8; 217*B*:2; 219*B*:8; 222*B*:1, 7; 223*B*:7; 225*B*:8; 227*B*:5. See also *Kꜣ-mw.t=f, Km-ꜣ.t=f*

fy third-pers. dual masc. suffix pron., 172:10

Fʿg.t loc. "Fagt," 178:1

fd.t n. "sweat," 179*B*:2

m prep. "in, as, with, by, being/consisting of, from," 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 154*B*:x+3 (twice); 157:4; 170:1 (twice), 2, 18, 19; 172:1, 4, 6 (twice), 8, 10 (thrice, once written *n*), 15 (thrice); 174:1 (twice), 2, 5, 6, 7 (twice), 10, 11 (twice), 12 (twice), 15, 16, 21 (thrice, once restored); 176:2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 12, 18; 179*B*:1, 2 (thrice); 180*B*:1, 2 (twice); 181*A*:1, 4; 181*B*:1, 2 (twice), 3 (twice), 4 (twice); 181*C*:1, 2 (twice), 3 (twice), 4 (twice); 183*B*:5; 184*B*:4; 185*B*:5; 186*B*:2; 187*B*:2 (twice), 4; 188*B*:2, 5; 189*B*:2 (twice), 5; 190*B*:3 (written *n*); 191*B*:2 (twice, once written *ỉm*); 192*B*:5; 193*B*:2; 195*B*:5; 196*B*:4; 197*B*:5; 198*B*:5; 200*B*:2, 4; 201*B*:4, 6; 203*B*:2 (twice); 204*B*:2; 205*B*:4; 208*B*:2; 211*B*:2; 216*B*:4; 221*B*:2 (uncertain); 222*B*:2; 224*B*:4; 225*B*:4; 226*B*:4. See also *m-mꜣw.t, m-ḥꜣ.t, m-ḫnt, m-ḫnw, m-ḫr(y).t-hrw*

m imper. vb. "take!" 170:1; 172:1; 176:1

mꜣꜣ vb. 2ae gem. "to see," 176:2

mꜣʿ-ḫrw ep. "justified" (of a deceased person), 162*B*:1 (twice); 163*B*:1 (twice)

Mꜣʿ.t n. "Maat" (= right order), 172:1, 6, 9; 176:1, 7, 18. See also *ỉr Mꜣʿ.t Rʿ, Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ mry ỉmn, Mn-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ, ḥqꜣ Mꜣʿ.t, kꜣ nḫt ḫʿ m Mꜣʿ.t*

mꜣw.t n. "a new thing," in the following compound:

m-mꜣw.t, "anew," 181*B*:4

mỉ prep. "like, as, even as, inasmuch as," 174:7; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1; 182*B*:2; 188*B*:2; 195*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 202*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 209*B*:2; 220*B*:2; 221*B*:2; and in the following phrase:

mỉ Rʿ "like Re," 153*B*:2 (erased), 6, 7; 154*B*:x+5; 155*B*:7, 8; 156*B*:7, 8; 157:7, 8; 158*B*:2, 6, 7, 8; 159*B*:2, 7; 170:15; 172:14; 174:17; 176:17; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1, 2, 3 (restored); 182*B*:2, 9 (restored); 183*B*:2, 8; 184*B*:7; 185*B*:9; 186*B*:7; 187*B*:2, 8; 188*B*:2 (restored), 8 (partly restored); 189*B*:2, 8; 190*B*:7; 191*B*:2; 192*B*:2, 8; 193*B*:7, 8; 195*B*:2, 7; 196*B*:7; 197*B*:2; 198*B*:8; 199*B*:7; 200*B*:2, 6; 201*B*:7, 8; 202*B*:7; 203*B*:7; 204*B*:6, 8; 205*B*:2, 7; 206*B*:2, 6 (partly restored); 207*B*:2, 6; 208*B*:2; 209*B*:6; 211*B*:6; 212*B*:4, 7; 213*B*:2, 6, 7, 8; 215*B*:6, 7; 216*B*:2, 7; 217*B*:2, 7; 218*B*:6 (partly restored); 219*B*:3, 8; 222*B*:2, 6; 223*B*:4; 224*B*:6; 225*B*:2, 7, 8; 226*B*:7; 227*B*:2. See also *ỉty mỉ Rʿ, wꜣḥ nsy.t mỉ Rʿ m p.t, Mn-mỉ-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ mry ỉmn*

mʿr adj. "fortunate, successful"; see *mʿr sp.w*

mʿr sp.w ep. "fortunate of deeds" (in Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *ḥwnw ḥkn=tw m ʿnḫ=f ḥr(y)-ns.t ỉt=f mʿr sp.w ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ*

mw n. "water," 170:10; 174:21. See also *nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w*

mw.t n. "mother," 170:19; 174:8; 186*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2. See also *ỉꜣ.t tꜣ.w-mw.wt, pꜣ nṯr mrr mw.t=f, Tꜣ.w-mw.wt, Kꜣ-mw.t=f*

Mw.t div. "Mut," 172:7; 209*B*:1

mn vb. "to remain, endure," 157:7; 218*B*:2. See also *Mn-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ, Mn-mỉ-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ mry ỉmn, Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*

Mn-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ RN "Menmaatre" (prenomen of Sety I), 160*B*:2; 161*B*:2

Mn-mỉ-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ mry ỉmn RN "Menmire-chosen-of-Re-beloved-of-Amun" (prenomen of Amenmesse), 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3 (partly restored)

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ RN "Menkheperre" (prenomen of Thutmose III), 153*B*:4; 155*B*:5; 156*B*:5; 157:5; 158*B*:4; 159*B*:4; 183*B*:6; 184*B*:5; 185*B*:2, 6; 186*B*:2, 6; 188*B*:6; 189*B*:2, 6; 190*B*:6; 191*B*:6; 193*B*:5; 194*B*:6; 195*B*:6; 196*B*:5; 197*B*:6 (partly restored); 198*B*:6; 199*B*:6; 200*B*:5; 201*B*:5; 202*B*:6; 203*B*:6; 204*B*:5; 205*B*:2, 5; 206*B*:4; 207*B*:5; 208*B*:2, 5; 209*B*:5; 210*B*:5; 211*B*:5; 213*B*:5; 214*B*:5; 215*B*:2 (partly restored), 5; 216*B*:5; 217*B*:4; 219*B*:2, 5; 220*B*:2, 5; 221*B*:2, 5; 222*B*:5; 223*B*:5; 224*B*:5; 225*B*:5; 226*B*:2, 5; and with accompanying epithets:

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ỉr.n Rʿ "Menkheperre-whom-Re-made," 181*A*:3; 181*B*:3

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ mr.n Rʿ "Menkheperre-beloved-of Re," 151*B*:1; 181*B*:1

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t "Menkheperre-ruler-of-Thebes," 181*A*:1

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ḥqꜣ Mꜣʿ.t "Menkheperre-ruler-of-Maat," 152*B*:2

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ "Menkheperre-chosen-of-Re," 181*C*:3

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ tỉ.t Rʿ "Menkheperre-image-of-Re," 181*C*:1

See also *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ỉmn Ḏsr-s.t*

Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ỉmn Ḏsr-s.t loc. "Menkheperre (of) Amun-*Ḏsr-s.t*" (name of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple), 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4

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mnw n. “monument,” 163*B*:1; 181*B*:2, 4; 181*C*:2, 4; and in the following compound:

smꜣwy mnw “renewal of the monument,” 160*B*:1, 2; 161*B*:1, 2; 162*B*:1

Mnḥy.t div. “Menehyt,” 185*B*:1

mnḫ adj. “excellent, beneficent,” 203*B*:2. See also *nṯr.wy mnḫ.wy*

Mnṯw div. “Montu,” 210*B*:1

Mr.t div. “Meret,” 172:1; 176:18

mrỉ vb. 3ae inf. “to love,” 153*B*:7; 155*B*:6, 8; 156*B*:6, 8; 157:8; 158*B*:8; 159*B*:5, 7; 163*B*:1; 172:1, 2, 6; 174:20, 21; 176:1 (twice); 179*B*:2; 180*B*:2; 182*B*:2; 186*B*:2; 187*B*:8; 188*B*:1, 2; 190*B*:2; 191*B*:1; 192*B*:2; 193*B*:8; 195*B*:2; 197*B*:1; 198*B*:2, 9; 199*B*:2, 9; 201*B*:8; 202*B*:2 (twice); 204*B*:2, 8; 205*B*:2 (twice), 7; 207*B*:4; 208*B*:2; 209*B*:2, 4; 211*B*:4; 213*B*:8; 215*B*:1, 4; 219*B*:8; 220*B*:2; 221*B*:2; 225*B*:8; 226*B*:1; 227*B*:4, 5. See also *pꜣ nṯr mrr mw.t=f, mry ỉmn, mry ỉmn ḫnty ḏsr-s.t, mry ỉmn ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, mry ỉmn-Rʿ nb p.t, mry ỉmn-Rʿ nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy, mry ỉmn-Rʿ ḫnty ḏsr-s.t, mry ỉmn-Rʿ ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, mr.n Rʿ, mr.n Rʿ m mskt.t, mry Rʿ, nṯr.w mr.w ỉt.w, qꜣ ḥḏ.t mry Rʿ, kꜣ nḫt mry Rʿ*

mry ỉmn ep. “beloved of Amun,” in the following:

(1) of Amenmesse, 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3. Cf. *Mn-mỉ-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ mry ỉmn*

(2) of Ramesses III, 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2 (partly restored). Cf. *Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ mry ỉmn*

mry ỉmn ḫnty ḏsr-s.t ep. “beloved of Amun, foremost of *ḏsr-s.t*” (of Thutmose III), 181*A*:2

mry ỉmn ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t ep. “beloved of Amun, foremost of the sacred mountain of the west” (of Thutmose III), 181*A*:1 (written *ḏsr-ỉmnt.t*)

mry ỉmn-Rʿ ep. “beloved of Amun-Re” (of Ramesses III), 163*B*:2 (partly restored)

mry ỉmn-Rʿ nb p.t ep. “beloved of Amun-Re, lord of heaven” (of Thutmose III), 205*B*:6

mry ỉmn-Rʿ nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy ep. “beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands” (of Thutmose III), 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2

mry ỉmn-Rʿ ḫnty ḏsr-s.t ep. “beloved of Amun-Re, foremost of *ḏsr-s.t*” (of Thutmose III), 181*A*:4

mry ỉmn-Rʿ ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t ep. “beloved of Amun-Re, foremost of the sacred mountain of the west” (of Thutmose III), 181*A*:3 (with *ỉmnt.t* restored)

mry Ptḥ ep. “beloved of Ptah” (in nomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:12; 172:12; 174:14; 176:14; 178:1; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *Ptwlmys ʿnḫ ḏ.t mry Ptḥ*

mry Rʿ ep. “beloved of Re” (of Amenmesse), 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3 (with *mry* omitted). See also *ỉmn-ms-s(w) mry Rʿ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t, qꜣ ḥḏ.t mry Rʿ, kꜣ nḫt mry Rʿ*

mr.n Rʿ ep. “beloved of Re” (of Thutmose III), 151*B*:1; 181*B*:1. Cf. *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ mr.n Rʿ*

mr.n Rʿ m mskt.t ep. “beloved of Re in the night-bark” (of Thutmose III), 201*B*:6

mrw.t n. “love,” 186*B*:2; 190*B*:3

mḥ vb. “to fill,” 170:19

Mḥw loc. “Lower Egypt,” 165*B*:1; 209*B*:4; 210*B*:4; 211*B*:4; 213*B*:4; 215*B*:4; 222*B*:4; 227*B*:4. See also *ỉmy-r mšʿ wr n Šmʿw Mḥw*

msỉ vb. 3ae inf. “to bear, to give birth to; to form, to fashion,” 170:19; 179*B*:2; 196*B*:2. See also *ỉmn-ms-s(w) mry Rʿ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t, Rʿ-ms-s(w) ḥqꜣ ỉwnw, Ḏḥwty-ms*

msw.t n. “birth, manifestation,” 172:15

msḫʿ n. “splendor”; see *ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ*

mskt.t n. “night-bark”; see *mr.n Rʿ m mskt.t*

mšʿ n. “army”; see *ỉmy-r mšʿ wr, ỉmy-r mšʿ wr n Šmʿw Mḥw*

mty adj. “exact, precise”; see *ỉꜣ.t mt(y).t n.t ỉmnt.t, s.t=f mt(y).t n.t sp tp(y)*

mṯn n. “right path(?),” 174:20

mdw n. “word(s)”; see *ḏd mdw*

md.t-ḏsr n. “sanctity,” 180*B*:2

mḏ adj. “ten,” 170:4, 10

n masc. sing. indirect genitival adj., 151*B*:1; 153*B*:5; 158*B*:5; 159*B*:5; 160*B*:1, 3; 161*B*:1, 3; 162*B*:1 (four times, once restored); 163*B*:1 (thrice); 170:5, 10 (four times), 11, 19 (four times); 172:5, 10, 15 (thrice); 174:15, 21 (thrice); 176:6, 9, 10; 181*A*:3; 181*B*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*C*:1, 3, 4 (restored); 187*B*:5; 188*B*:1; 193*B*:2; 196*B*:2; 198*B*:1; 200*B*:2; 201*B*:6; 203*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 206*B*:5; 208*B*:2 (restored); 219*B*:2 (restored), 6; 220*B*:2; 221*B*:2

n.t fem. sing. indirect genitival adj., 174:5; 176:12; 180*B*:2; 181*B*:2, 4; 181*C*:2 (twice), 4; 198*B*:2; 201*B*:2. See also *n-ʿꜣ.t-n.t*

ny-sw.t n. “king”; see *ny-sw.t bỉ.ty*, *ny-sw.t nṯr.w, ḥm.t ny-sw.t, sn.t ny-sw.t*

ny-sw.t bỉ.ty RT “king of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 155*B*:5; 156*B*:5; 159*B*:4; 160*B*:1, 2, 3; 161*B*:1, 2, 3; 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2; 170:11; 172:11; 174:13; 176:13; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1;181*A*:1, 3; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1, 3; 193*B*:5; 194*B*:2; 200*B*:2; 201*B*:5; 206*B*:4; 207*B*:5; 210*B*:5; 211*B*:5; 216*B*:5; 219*B*:5 (partly restored); 225*B*:5

ny-sw.t nṯr.w ep. “king of the gods,” 155*B*:1; 158*B*:1; 172:3; 174:6; 179*B*:2; 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4; 184*B*:1; 201*B*:1; 225*B*:1. See also *ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n ỉmn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

nw plural indirect genitival adj., 215*B*:2

n prep. “to, for, at,” passim. See also *n-ʿꜣ.t-n.t*

n negative “without,” 170:9; 172:2; 176:11

nỉw.t n. “city”; see *ỉmy-r nỉw.t*

nww adj. “youthful,” 172:15

Nwn div. “Nun,” 170:10; 172:8, 10; 180*B*:2 (twice)

nb adj. “all, every, any,” 153*B*:2 (twice); 154*B*:x+1, x+5 (restored); 155*B*:2 (thrice), 7; 156*B*:2 (thrice); 157:2 (thrice); 158*B*:2 (twice), 7; 159*B*:2 (thrice); 170:4, 6, 10, 15; 172:3, 14; 174:7, 9, 17; 176:12 (twice), 17; 178:1 (twice); 182*B*:2 (thrice); 183*B*:2 (thrice); 184*B*:1, 2; 185*B*:2 (thrice); 190*B*:3; 191*B*:7; 192*B*:2 (thrice); 194*B*:2, 7; 196*B*:2; 197*B*:2 (four times), 8 (restored); 199*B*:2 (four times); 202*B*:2, 7; 203*B*:2, 7; 205*B*:2 (restored); 206*B*:2 (twice); 207*B*:2 (twice); 209*B*:2 (twice), 6; 210*B*:2 (twice), 4, 6; 212*B*:2, 3 (restored), 4, 7; 213*B*:2 (twice), 7; 214*B*:2 (twice); 215*B*:7; 216*B*:2 (twice); 217*B*:2 (thrice), 6; 220*B*:2 (five times), 6; 221*B*:6; 222*B*:2; 223*B*:2 (restored), 7; 224*B*:2 (thrice), 6; 225*B*:1, 2 (twice); 226*B*:2 (twice), 7; 227*B*:2 (twice), 6. See also *ʿꜣ šfy.t m tꜣ.w nb(.w)*

nb n. “lord,” 170:10, 19; 172:15; 179*B*:2; 192*B*:1; 203*B*:1; 204*B*:2; 210*B*:1; 215*B*:1; 217*B*:1; 219*B*:6; 223*B*:1, 5; 224*B*:1, 5; 226*B*:1; 227*B*:1; and in the following:

nb ꜣw.t-ỉb ep. “lord of rejoicing” (of Thutmose III), 224*B*:5

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nb ỉr.t ḫ.t RT "lord of ritual," 153*B*:4; 157:5; 158*B*:4; 159*B*:4; 181*A*:1, 3; 181*B*:3; 181*C*:3; 184*B*:5; 186*B*:6 (partly restored); 202*B*:6; 203*B*:6; 204*B*:5; 205*B*:5; 206*B*:4; 208*B*:5; 215*B*:5; 217*B*:4; 219*B*:5; 221*B*:5; 225*B*:5

nb p.t ep. "lord of heaven," 158*B*:1; 176:4; 185*B*:3; 189*B*:1; 196*B*:1; 198*B*:3 (erased); 202*B*:1; 204*B*:1; 206*B*:1; 208*B*:1; 217*B*:1; 219*B*:1; 221*B*:1; 224*B*:3; 225*B*:1; 226*B*:1. See also *mry ỉmn-Rˁ nb p.t*, *nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w*

nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w ep. "lord of heaven, the earth, the netherworld, the waters, and the mountains," 172:3–4; 176:4–5

nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy ep. "lord of the thrones of the Two Lands," 153*B*:1; 157:1; 163*B*:1; 174:4, 21; 181*B*:4; 181*C*:2; 187*B*:1; 206*B*:1; 213*B*:1; 216*B*:1. See also *pr.t ꜥḥ.t n.t nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy*, *mry ỉmn-Rˁ nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy*

nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w ep. "lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods" (in the Falcon of Gold name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *wr pḥ.ty nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w ỉty mỉ Rˁ*

nb ḫpš ep. "lord of strength" (of Thutmose III), 219*B*:6

nb Tꜣ.wy RT "lord of the Two Lands," 153*B*:4; 155*B*:5; 156*B*:5; 159*B*:4; 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3; 181*A*:2, 4; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1, 3; 183*B*:6; 185*B*:6; 188*B*:6; 189*B*:6; 190*B*:6; 191*B*:6; 192*B*:6; 193*B*:5; 194*B*:6; 195*B*:6; 196*B*:5; 197*B*:6; 198*B*:2; 199*B*:6; 200*B*:5; 201*B*:2, 5; 209*B*:5; 211*B*:5; 212*B*:6; 213*B*:5; 217*B*:4; 220*B*:5; 222*B*:5

nb.wy n. "the two lords," 185*B*:2 (restored)

nb.t n. "lady," 164*B*:1; 165*B*:1 (twice); 172:7; 178:1; 185*B*:1; 191*B*:1; 194*B*:1; 207*B*:2; 209*B*:1, 4; 210*B*:4; 211*B*: 4; 213*B*:4; 215*B*:4; 218*B*:1; 222*B*:4; 223*B*:4; 227*B*:4; and in the following:

nb.t p.t ep. "lady of heaven," 174:8; 186*B*:1; 207*B*:1 (partly restored); 209*B*:1, 4; 214*B*:1

nb.t Tꜣ.wy RT "lady of the Two Lands," 170:16; 174:18; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1

Nb.ty RT "Two Ladies," 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1, 3

nbỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to fashion, work, make," 172:10; 180*B*:2 (twice)

nbỉ n. "flame," 174:12

nbw n. "gold"; see *bỉk (n) nbw*

Nbw.ty div. "the Ombite," 217*B*:1

nf n. "breath," 179*B*:2

nfr adj. "good, beautiful, perfect," 154*B*:x+1; 174:20; 181*B*:2, 4; 181*C*:4 (restored). See also *nfr ḫpr, nfr ḫpr.w, nṯr nfr*, *tp-nfr*

nfr ḫpr ep. "beautiful of manifestation" (of Thutmose III), 153*B*:5; 156*B*:6; 159*B*:5; 181*B*:1; 181*C*:3 (restored); 190*B*:2 (with *nfr* erased); 191*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 196*B*:2; 201*B*:2; 202*B*:2; 203*B*:2; 204*B*:2; 216*B*:6 (with *nfr* partly erased); 227*B*:5. See also *Ḏḥwty-ms nfr ḫpr*

nfr ḫpr.w ep. "beautiful of manifestations" (of Thutmose III), 181*A*:2, 4; 181*B*:3; 181*C*:1. See also *Ḏḥwty-ms nfr ḫpr.w*

nfr.w n. "beauty," 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2

nmˁ vb. "to be partial, biased," 176:18

nn dem. pron. "this, these," 193*B*:2

nn negative, 176:18; 179*B*:2

Nn-ny-sw.t loc. "Herakleopolis," 227*B*:1

nḥḥ n. "eternity, forever," 154*B*:x+5; 181*C*:2; 188*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 208*B*:6; 218*B*:2

Nḫb.t div. "Nekhbet," 153*B*:3; 155*B*:3; 156*B*:3; 158*B*:3; 164*B*:1; 178:1; 184*B*:3; 186*B*:1; 190*B*:4; 193*B*:3; 196*B*:3 (erased); 201*B*:3; 204*B*:2; 207*B*:4; 211*B*:3; 213*B*:3; 215*B*:3 (restored); 223*B*:4; 225*B*:3; 227*B*:3

Nḫn loc. "Hierakonpolis"; see *ḥḏ.t Nḫn*

nḫnw n. "childhood, youth," 186*B*:2

nḫt adj. vb. and adj. "mighty, victorious, powerful"; see *kꜣ nḫt ꜥꜣ nsy.t, kꜣ nḫt mry Rˁ, kꜣ nḫt ḫˁ m Wꜣs.t, kꜣ nḫt ḫˁ m Mꜣˁ.t*

nḫtw n. "victory," 178:1

ns.t n. "throne," 185*B*:2; 193*B*:2; 196*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 200*B*:2; 201*B*:2 (twice); 202*B*:2; 221*B*:2. See also *nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy*, *ḥry-ns.t, ḥry-ns.t ỉt=f*

nsy.t n. "kingship, reign," 174:11; 187*B*:2; 188*B*:2; 189*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 218*B*:2; 219*B*:3; 222*B*:2. See also *wꜣḥ nsy.t mỉ Rˁ m p.t, kꜣ nḫt ꜥꜣ nsy.t*

nty rel. adj. "who, which (is)," 174:2; 179*B*:2

ntt n. "saliva," 179*B*:2

nṯr n. "god," 170:3; 172:3, 6, 7; 174:8, 12; 176:7; 179*B*:2 (four times); 180*B*:2 (twice); 183*B*:2; 220*B*:2; and in the following:

nṯr ꜥꜣ ep. "the great god," 172:3; 174:4, 12; 176:4; 179*B*:2 (partly restored); 182*B*:3; 183*B*:1, 3; 185*B*:4; 189*B*:1, 3 (restored); 191*B*:1 (restored); 192*B*:3; 194*B*:3; 195*B*:3; 196*B*:3; 197*B*:1, 3; 198*B*:3, 4 (with *nṯr* restored); 199*B*:3; 200*B*:3; 202*B*:3; 203*B*:1, 3; 206*B*:3; 207*B*:3; 209*B*:3; 210*B*:3; 212*B*:5; 214*B*:3; 222*B*:3; 226*B*:1, 3

nṯr ꜥꜣ ʿnḫ ep. "the great living god," 170:3

nṯr nfr RT "the good god," 153*B*:4; 155*B*:4; 156*B*:4; 157:5; 158*B*:4; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:3; 183*B*:2, 6; 184*B*:5; 185*B*:6; 188*B*:6 (with *nfr* restored); 189*B*:6; 190*B*:6; 191*B*:6; 192*B*:6; 194*B*:6; 195*B*:6; 196*B*:5; 197*B*:6; 198*B*:6; 199*B*:6; 200*B*:5; 202*B*:6; 203*B*:6; 204*B*:5; 205*B*:5; 208*B*:5; 209*B*:5; 212*B*:6; 213*B*:5; 214*B*:5; 215*B*:5; 216*B*:5; 217*B*:4; 220*B*:5; 221*B*:5; 222*B*:5; 223*B*:5; 224*B*:5; 226*B*:5

See also *ỉwˁ n nṯr.w pr.w, pꜣ nṯr mrr mw.t=f, pꜣ nṯr r-ṯnw ỉt=f, ny-sw.t nṯr.w, nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w, nṯr.w pr.w, nṯr.w mr.w ỉt.w, nṯr.w sn.w, nṯr.wy mnḫ.wy, ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n ỉmn-Rˁ ny-sw.t nṯr.w, ḥnw.t nṯr.w, ḥkn nṯr.w nṯr.wt ḥr=f, sḥ-nṯr*

nṯr.w pr.w ep. "the Gods Epiphaneis" (of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I), 180*B*:2. See also *ỉwˁ n nṯr.w pr.w*

nṯr.w mr.w ỉt.w ep. "the Gods Philopatores" (of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III), 179*B*:2

nṯr.w sn.w ep. "the Gods Philadelphoi" (of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II), 179*B*:2

nṯr.wy mnḫ.wy ep. "the Gods Euergetai," in the following:

(1) of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II/III, 170:17; 174:19; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1

(2) of Ptolemy III and Berenike II, 179*B*:2

nṯr.t n. "goddess," 176:7; 180*B*:2. See also *ḥkn nṯr.w nṯr.wt ḥr=f*

nṯry adj. "divine," 174:21. See also *ḥqꜣ nṯry*

nḏ-ḥr n. "protector," 198*B*:1

nḏ.ty n. "protector," 202*B*:2

nḏm adj. "sweet," 176:2; 186*B*:2

nḏm-ỉb n. "sweetness of heart, happiness," 174:11

r n. "mouth," 174:21

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r prep. "to, into, for, against, in order to, (more) than," 170:3, 4; 172:2; 176:7, 8, 9 (twice, once restored), 18; 181*C*:2; 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 208*B*:6. See also *ỉmy-r mšʿ wr, ỉmy-r mšʿ wr n Šmʿw Mḥw, ỉmy-r niỉw.t, r-ꜣw, r-gs*

Rʿ div. "Re," 170:19; 172:2, 15 (twice); 174:8; 197*B*:1; 201*B*:2; 202*B*:1. See also *ꜥImn-Rʿ, ỉr Mꜣʿ.t Rʿ, ỉr.n Rʿ, ỉty mỉ Rʿ, wꜣḥ nsy.t mỉ Rʿ m p.t, Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ mry ꜥImn, mỉ Rʿ, Mn-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ, Mn-mỉ-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ mry ꜥImn, Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ, mry Rʿ, mr.n Rʿ, mr.n Rʿ m mskt.t, Rʿ-ms-s(w) ḥqꜣ ꜥIwnw, sꜣ Rʿ, stp.n Rʿ, qꜣ ḥḏ.t mry Rʿ, kꜣ nḫt mry Rʿ, tỉ.t Rʿ, Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ*

Rʿ-ms-s(w) ḥqꜣ ꜥIwnw RN "Ramesses-ruler-of-Heliopolis" (nomen of Ramesses III), 162*B*:2 (partly restored); 163*B*:2

rwḏ vb. "to prosper, flourish," 174:1

rwḏ.t n. "sandstone," 181*B*:2, 4; 181*C*:4 (restored)

rmnỉ vb. 4ae inf. "to bear, carry," 176:18

rnp.t n. "year," 154*B*:x+2 (uncertain); 187*B*:2; 188*B*:2; 189*B*:2; 191*B*:2; 215*B*:2; 222*B*:2 (twice)

rnn vb. "to nurse," 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2; 203*B*:2

rr vb. "to rear, nurse," 170:19

rḫ-s(w) ep. "the Clever One (= Thoth)," 170:19

rsy adj. "southern"; see *Ptḥ-rsy-ỉnb=f*

ršw.t n. "rejoicing, joy," 170:18

rdỉ vb. "to give, grant, cause," 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 153*B*:2, 6, 7; 155*B*:2, 3, 7, 8; 156*B*:2, 3, 7, 8; 157:2, 3, 6, 8; 158*B*:2, 3, 6, 8; 159*B*:2, 3, 7; 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3; 170:6 (twice), 9; 172:6, 9; 174:7, 11, 20; 176:7, 11, 18; 178:1; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 3, 4; 181*C*:1, 2, 3 (restored), 4; 182*B*:2, 7 (restored); 183*B*:2, 7; 184*B*:2, 3, 6; 185*B*:2, 7; 186*B*:7; 187*B*:2, 6, 8; 188*B*:2 (restored), 7; 189*B*:2, 7 (restored); 190*B*:3, 4 (erased), 7; 191*B*:2, 6; 192*B*:2, 7; 193*B*:2, 3 (erased), 6 (erased), 8; 194*B*:2, 6; 195*B*:6; 196*B*:2, 3 (erased), 6; 197*B*:2, 7; 198*B*:2, 7, 9; 199*B*: 2, 7, 9; 200*B*:2, 6; 201*B*:2, 3, 7, 8; 202*B*:2 (twice), 7; 203*B*:2 (twice), 7; 204*B*:2, 6, 8; 205*B*:2, 3, 7; 206*B*:2, 6; 207*B*:2, 4, 5; 208*B*:2, 3; 209*B*:4, 6; 210*B*:2, 4, 6; 211*B*:1, 4, 6; 212*B*:2, 3, 7; 213*B*:2, 4, 6, 8; 214*B*:2, 6; 215*B*:2, 3 (restored), 4, 6; 216*B*:2, 7; 217*B*:2, 6; 218*B*:2; 219*B*:3 (restored), 7, 8; 220*B*:2 (restored), 6; 221*B*:2, 3 (restored), 6; 222*B*:2, 4, 6; 223*B*:2, 3, 4; 224*B*:2, 6; 225*B*:2, 6, 8; 226*B*:2, 6; 227*B*:2, 3, 4, 6

hrw n. "day," 170:4, 10. See also *m ḫr(y).t hrw*

ḥꜣ prep. "around, surrounding," 154*B*:x+5 (restored); 170:15; 172:14; 174:17; 176:17; 212*B*:4 (restored); 213*B*:7; 223*B*:7

ḥꜣ.t n. "forepart," in the compound prep. *m-ḥꜣ.t*, "in/at the beginning," 172:10; 176:4, 12; 180*B*:2

ḥꜣp vb. "to hide," 163*B*:1; 174:12

ḥʿ.w n. "flesh, body," 179*B*:2. See also *ỉwʿ n Gb pr m ḥʿ.w=f*

ḥʿỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to be joyful, rejoice," 170:2; 174:2

ḥʿ.wt n. "rejoicing, joy," 170:9

Ḥʿpy div. "Hapy; Inundation, Flood (the Nile god)," 174:21; 179*B*:2

ḥw.t-nṯr n. "temple," 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4

Ḥw.t-Ḥr div. "Hathor," 195*B*:1; 214*B*:1; 218*B*:1 (partly restored)

ḥwỉ vb. 3ae inf. "smite, strike"; see *ʿꜣ ḫpš ḥw pḏ.t psḏ.t, ḥw ḥqꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt pḥ.(w) sw*

ḥw ḥqꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt pḥ.(w) sw ep. "(he) who smote the rulers of foreign lands who transgressed against him" (of Thutmose III), 217*B*:5-6

ḥwnw ep. "youthful one" (in Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *ḥwnw ḥkn=tw m ʿnḫ=f ḥr(y)-ns.t ỉt=f mʿr sp.w ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ*

ḥwnw ḥkn=tw m ʿnḫ=f ḥr(y)-ns.t ỉt=f mʿr sp.w ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ RN "youthful one, in whose life one rejoices, the successor of his father, fortunate of deeds, whose splendor is sacred along with the living Apis" (Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1 (partly restored)

ḥb-sd n. "jubilee," 184*B*:8; 190*B*:9; 191*B*:2; 196*B*:8; 208*B*:2, 7; 211*B*:2 (partly restored); 216*B*:8; 222*B*:7. See also *nb ḥb.w-sd mỉ ỉt=f Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn ỉt nṯr.w*

Ḥp div. "Apis"; see *ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ*

ḥm n. "majesty," 172:2; 176:1; 181*B*:4; 181*C*:2

ḥm.t RT "(the king's) wife," 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. See also *ḥm.t ny-sw.t*

ḥm.t ny-sw.t RT "king's wife," 174:18

ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n ꜥImn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w title "high priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods," 162*B*:1 (twice, once partly restored); 163*B*:1 (twice)

ḥm-kꜣ n. "*ka*-priest," 170:10

ḥnʿ prep. "with, together with," 179*B*:1 (twice); 180*B*:1 (twice); 183*B*:2

ḥnw.t n. "mistress," in the following epithets:

ḥnw.t nṯr.w "mistress of the gods," 174:9; 207*B*:1

ḥnw.t Tꜣ.wy "mistress of the Two Lands," 186*B*:1

Ḥr div. "Horus," 170:1, 10, 19; 174:2, 21; 183*B*:1; 187*B*:7; 188*B*:1; 189*B*:1; 198*B*:1; 200*B*:2; 201*B*:2; 208*B*:2; 219*B*:3; 222*B*:2. See also *sḫtp Ḥr m ỉr.t Ḥr wꜣḏ.t*

Ḥr RT "the Horus," 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 157:4; 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2; 172:13; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1, 3; 182*B*:5; 183*B*:5; 184*B*:4; 185*B*:5; 186*B*:5 (restored); 187*B*:4; 188*B*:5; 189*B*:5; 190*B*:5; 191*B*:5; 192*B*:5; 193*B*:4; 194*B*:5; 195*B*:2; 196*B*:4; 197*B*:5; 198*B*:5; 199*B*:5; 200*B*:4; 201*B*:4; 202*B*:5; 203*B*:5; 204*B*:4; 205*B*:4; 208*B*:4; 214*B*:4; 216*B*:4; 218*B*:4 (restored); 220*B*:4; 221*B*:4; 224*B*:4; 225*B*:4; 226*B*:4

Ḥr-ꜣḫ.ty div. "Horakhty," 202*B*:1

Ḥr-wr div. "Horus the Elder," 215*B*:1

Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t div. "Horus son of Isis," 174:4 (*Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t-sꜣ-Wsỉr*); 221*B*:1

ḥr n. "face," 174:20

ḥr prep. "on, upon, with, because of," 163*B*:1; 172:13; 174:20; 176:18 (twice); 181*B*:2; 181*C*:4; 187*B*:7; 189*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 200*B*:2; 201*B*:2 (twice); 208*B*:2; 219*B*:3

ḥry adj. "who, which is upon; chief," 170:3; 172:3; 179*B*:2; 196*B*:2; 202*B*:2

ḥry-ỉb adj. "residing in," 163*B*:1; 170:8; 174:4, 8; 192*B*:1; 224*B*:1

ḥry-ns.t n. "successor," 170:10, 19. See also *ḥry-ns.t ỉt=f*

ḥry-ns.t ỉt=f ep. "the successor of his father" (in Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1 (partly restored). See also *ḥwnw ḥkn=tw m ʿnḫ=f ḥr(y)-ns.t ỉt=f mʿr sp.w ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ*

Ḥry-š=f div. "Herishef," 227*B*:1

ḥry(.t)-tp adj. "chief, at the head of," 172:7; 193*B*:1; 195*B*:1; 197*B*:1; 203*B*:2; 214*B*:1

ḥrỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to be far away, distant," 172:2

ḥḥ n. "million," 179*B*:2; 208*B*:2; 211*B*:2; 215*B*:2

ḥqꜣ vb. "to rule," 183*B*:2; 195*B*:2; 202*B*:2

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ḥqꜣ n. “ruler,” 174:11, 12; and in the following epithets:

ḥqꜣ ꜥIwnw “ruler of Heliopolis” (of Ramesses III), 162*B*:2 (partly restored); 163*B*:2. Cf. *Rꜥ-ms-s(w) ḥqꜣ ꜥIwnw*

ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t “ruler of Thebes,” in the following:

(1) of Thutmose III, 155*B*:4; 156*B*:4; 181*A*:1; 188*B*:6; 189*B*:6 (partly restored); 195*B*:2; 197*B*:2; 200*B*:2; 223*B*:2; 226*B*:2. Cf. *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t, Ḏḥwty-ms ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t*

(2) of Amenmesse, 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3. Cf. *ꜥImn-ms-s(w) mry Rꜥ ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t*

ḥqꜣ Mꜣꜥ.t “ruler of Maat” (of Thutmose III), 152*B*:2; 155*B*:6; 158*B*:5; 183*B*:2; 187*B*:5; 193*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 199*B*:2; 206*B*:5; 212*B*:6; 218*B*:5. Cf. *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ ḥqꜣ Mꜣꜥ.t, Ḏḥwty-ms ḥqꜣ Mꜣꜥ.t*

ḥqꜣ nṯry “divine ruler” (of Thutmose III), 192*B*:2. Cf. *Ḏḥwty-ms ḥqꜣ nṯry*

See also *ḥw ḥqꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt pḥ.(w) sw*

ḥqꜣ.t RT “ruler,” 170:16; 174:18; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1

ḥkn vb. “to rejoice”; see *ḥkn nṯr.w nṯr.wt ḥr=f, ḥkn=tw m ꜥnḫ=f*

ḥkn nṯr.w nṯr.wt ḥr=f RN “concerning whom the gods and goddesses rejoice” (possible Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 172:13

ḥkn=tw m ꜥnḫ=f ep. “in whose life one rejoices” (in Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *ḥwnw ḥkn=tw m ꜥnḫ=f ḥr(y)-ns.t ỉt=f mꜥr sp.w ḏsr msḫꜥ=f ḥnꜥ Ḥp ꜥnḫ*

ḥtp vb. “to rest,” 174:5

ḥtp.t n. “offering,” 157:2; 192*B*:2; 204*B*:2

ḥḏ adj. vb. “to be bright”; see *ḥḏ.t Nḫn*

ḥḏ.t Nḫn ep. “the bright one of Hierakonpolis (= Nekhbet),” 158*B*:3; 164*B*:1; 178:1; 186*B*:1; 204*B*:3; 211*B*:3

ḥḏ.t n. “the white crown”; see *qꜣ ḥḏ.t mry Rꜥ*

ḥ.t n. “thing, offering(s),” 154*B*:x+1 (restored); 157:5; 158*B*:4; 159*B*:4. See also *nb ỉr.t ḥ.t*

ḥꜣbs.w n. “decan stars,” 179*B*:2

ḫꜣs.t n. “foreign country,” 182*B*:2; 183*B*:2; 226*B*:2. See also *ḥw ḥqꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt pḥ.(w) sw*

ḥꜥ n. “glorious appearance”; see *ḏsr ḥꜥ sḫm pḥ.ty*

ḥꜥỉ vb. 3ae inf. “to appear (in glory), to arise,” 200*B*:2; 201*B*:2. See also *kꜣ nḫt ḥꜥ m Wꜣs.t, kꜣ nḫt ḥꜥ m Mꜣꜥ.t*

ḫpr vb. “to exist, to come into being,” 172:4, 10; 174:1; 176:4, 5, 12 (twice); 179*B*:2 (twice); 180*B*:2. See also *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ, nfr ḫpr, nfr ḫpr.w, Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rꜥ stp.n Rꜥ*

ḫpš n. “foreleg, (mighty) arm, strength, might”; see *ꜥꜣ ḫpš ḥw pḏ.t psḏ.t, nb ḫpš*

ḫm n. “shrine,” 181*B*:4

Ḫmny.w div. “the Ogdoad,” 172:5, 10; 176:6, 10; 179*B*:2

Ḫmnw loc. “Hermopolis,” 172:15; 226*B*:1

ḫnm n. “smell,” 174:2

Ḫnsw div. “Khonsu,” 172:15. See also *Ḫnsw-Šw*

Ḫnsw-Šw div. “Khonsu-Shu,” 176:8

ḫnt n. “face,” in the compound:

m-ḫnt, “in the face of, in front of, from, out of,” 170:14, 172:9, 10

ḫnt-tꜣ loc. “frontier,” 185*B*:1

ḫnty adj. “foremost,” 158*B*:7; 181*B*:4; 183*B*:1; 199*B*:1; 200*B*:1. See also *mry ꜥImn ḫnty Ḏsr-s.t, mry ꜥImn ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, mry ꜥImn-Rꜥ ḫnty Ḏsr-s.t, mry ꜥImn-Rꜥ ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, ḫnty Tꜣ.wy*

ḫnty Tꜣ.wy ep. “foremost of the Two Lands” (of Thutmose III), 204*B*:7; 223*B*:6

ḫr prep. “with, before, by, from,” 153*B*:2; 182*B*:2; 183*B*:2; 192*B*:2 (twice); 194*B*:2; 196*B*:2; 197*B*:2 (four times); 199*B*:2 (four times); 218*B*:2

ḫrw n. “voice”; see *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*

ḫ.t n. “body,” 153*B*:5; 158*B*:5; 159*B*:5; 181*C*:1; 187*B*:5; 188*B*:1; 190*B*:3; 196*B*:2; 198*B*:1; 200*B*:2; 203*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 206*B*:5; 208*B*:2 (restored); 219*B*:2; 220*B*:2; 221*B*:2

ḫꜣ.t n. “marsh,” 180*B*:2

ḫnw n. “interior,” in the compound:

m-ḫnw, “within, in the midst of,” 170:19

ḫnm vb. “to unite,” 172:2

Ḫnmw div. “Khnum,” 192*B*:1; 223*B*:1

ḫr prep. “under, with,” 176:12

ḫr(y).t n. “possession(s),” 187*B*:2; 201*B*:2; and in the compound:

m-ḫr(y).t-ḥrw, “daily,” 170:9; 176:8

s third-pers. sing. fem. suffix pron., 154*B*:x+3, x+4, x+5 (restored); 155*B*:3; 156*B*:3; 157:2; 158*B*:3 (restored); 159*B*:3; 170:19; 172:1, 2 (twice), 9 (twice); 176:1, 3, 18 (twice); 178:1; 184*B*:3; 190*B*:4; 193*B*:3; 201*B*:3; 205*B*:3; 207*B*:2, 4; 208*B*:3; 209*B*:4; 210*B*:4; 211*B*:4; 213*B*:4; 214*B*:2; 215*B*:3, 4; 221*B*:3 (restored); 222*B*:4; 223*B*:3, 4; 227*B*:3, 4

s.t n. “seat, pedestal, place,” 172:9; 174:5; 187*B*:7; 189*B*:2; 200*B*:2 (twice); 201*B*:2 (twice); 208*B*:2; 219*B*:3; 221*B*:2. See also *s.t-ỉb, s.t=f mt(y).t n.t sp tp(y), s.t=f ḏsr.t n.t sp tp(y), Ḏsr-s.t*

s.t-ỉb n. “favorite place,” 174:1

s.t=f mt(y).t n.t sp tp(y) loc. “his exact place of the first occasion,” 181*B*:4

s.t=f ḏsr.t n.t sp tp(y) loc. “his sacred place of the first occasion,” 181*C*:2

sꜣ n. “son,” 162*B*:1; 163*B*:1; 170:10; 172:14; 174:4, 21; 182*B*:2; 186*B*:2; 188*B*:1; 190*B*:2; 191*B*:1; 192*B*:2; 193*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2; 197*B*:1; 198*B*:1; 199*B*:2; 200*B*:2; 202*B*:2; 203*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 208*B*:2 (restored); 215*B*:1; 219*B*:2 (restored); 220*B*:2; 221*B*:2; 226*B*:1. See also *sꜣ Rꜥ, Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*

sꜣ.t n. “daughter,” 172:2, 15; 176:1

sꜣ Rꜥ RT “son of Re,” 153*B*:5; 155*B*:6; 156*B*:6; 158*B*:5; 159*B*:5; 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3; 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2; 170:12; 172:12; 174:14; 176:14; 178:1; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1; 181*A*:2, 4; 181*B*:1, 3; 181*C*:1 (partly restored), 3; 187*B*:5; 204*B*:2; 206*B*:5; 212*B*:6; 216*B*:6; 220*B*:1; 227*B*:5

sꜣ n. “protection,” 154*B*:x+5 (restored); 170:15 (restored); 172:14; 174:17; 176:17; 212*B*:4 (restored); 213*B*:7; 215*B*:7; 223*B*:7

sꜣb adj. “variegated”; see *sꜣb šw.t*

sꜣb šw.t ep. “variegated of plumage (of Horus of Edfu),” 182*B*:4 (restored); 183*B*:4 (with *sꜣb* restored); 188*B*:4; 189*B*:4; 191*B*:4; 192*B*:4; 194*B*:4; 195*B*:4 (with *sꜣb* restored); 197*B*:4 (restored); 199*B*:4; 202*B*:4; 203*B*:4

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sꜣṯ vb. “to pour out,” 170:10

sy third-pers. sing. fem. pron., 176:2, 7, 18; 181*B*:4; 181*C*:2

sʿr caus. vb. “to elevate, raise up,” 176:9, 18

sʿḥ n. “rank,” 203*B*:2; 221*B*:2

sʿḥʿ caus. vb. “to raise up, to erect,” 181*B*:4; 181*C*:2

sw third-pers. sing. masc. pron., 179*B*:2; 202*B*:2; 204*B*:2; 217*B*:6; 220*B*:2 (partly restored)

swḥ.t n. “egg,” 172:15; 203*B*:2

sbq adj. “splendid,” 172:15

Sbk div. “Sobek,” 197*B*:1

sp (1) n. “time, occasion,” in the following compound:

sp tpy, “first occasion,” 172:4, 10 (restored); 176:5, 12; 184*B*:8; 190*B*:9; 196*B*:8; 208*B*:7; 216*B*:8; 222*B*:7. See also *s.t=f mt(y).t n.t sp tp(y), s.t=f ḏsr.t n.t sp tp(y)*

(2) n. “deed, act”; see *mʿr sp.w*

spd adj. “effective”; see *sḫm spd*

sfsf vb. “to purify (offerings),” 170:4

smꜣwy caus. vb. “to renovate, renew,” in the compound:

smꜣwy mnw, “renewal of the monument,” 160*B*:1, 2; 161*B*:1, 2; 162*B*:1; 163*B*:1

smꜣwy n. “darkness,” 172:10

smy.t n. “desert,” 195*B*:1

smnḫ caus. vb. “to embellish,” 181*B*:4; 181*C*:2

smsw adj. “eldest,” 172:15

sn third-pers. pl. suffix pron., 170:2; 172:6; 179*B*:2 (twice); 180*B*:2 (twice)

sn n. “brother,” 174:20. See also *nṯr.w sn.w*

Sn.wt loc. “Senut (= Egypt),” 174:21

sn.t RT “(the king’s) sister,” 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. See also *sn.t ny-sw.t*

sn.t ny-sw.t RT “king’s sister,” 170:16

Sn.ty div. “the Two Sisters (= Isis and Nephthys),” 170:19

snb n. “health,” 153*B*:7; 155*B*:8; 156*B*:2, 8; 157:8; 158*B*:2, 8; 159*B*:7; 181*C*:1 (partly restored); 182*B*:9 (restored); 183*B*:8; 184*B*:7; 185*B*:2, 9; 187*B*:8; 193*B*:8; 196*B*:7; 197*B*:2; 199*B*:2; 201*B*:8; 204*B*:8; 205*B*:7; 206*B*:2; 207*B*:2; 209*B*:2; 210*B*:2; 213*B*:7, 8; 214*B*:2; 216*B*:2; 217*B*:2; 219*B*:8; 220*B*:2; 223*B*:7; 224*B*:2; 225*B*:2, 7, 8

snn n. “image,” 170:10; 172:15

snsn vb. “to breathe, inhale,” 176:2

srwḏ caus. vb. “to make to flourish,” 174:21

shrỉ caus. vb. 3ae inf. “to make content,” in the compound:

shr-ỉb, “to make content”; see *shr-ỉb Tꜣ.wy*

shr-ỉb Tꜣ.wy RN “who makes the Two Lands content” (*Nb.ty* name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1

sḥ n. “booth,” in the compound:

sḥ-nṯr, “divine booth,” 199*B*:1

sḥtp caus. vb. “to satisfy,” 172:6, 15; 174:21; 176:9; 222*B*:1. See also *sḥtp Ḥr m ỉr.t Ḥr wꜣḏ.t*

sḥtp Ḥr m ỉr.t Ḥr wꜣḏ.t ep. “who satisfies Horus with the flourishing eye of Horus” (of Ptolemy VIII), 174:16

sḫpr caus. vb. “to create, bring into being,” 172:10; 176:12 (twice); 179*B*:2 (twice)

sḫm n. “power,” 174:7 (twice)

sḫm adj. vb. “to be mighty, powerful,” 170:2; 174:10. See also *ḏsr ḫʿ sḫm pḥ.ty*

sḫm n. “image,” 170:19; 172:3; 179*B*:2. See also *sḫm ʿnḫ ỉmn, sḫm spd*

sḫm ʿnḫ ỉmn ep. “living image of Amun” (in prenomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:11; 172:11; 174:13 (partly restored); 176:13; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *ỉwʿ n nṯr.w pr.w stp.n Ptḥ ỉr Mꜣʿ.t Rʿ sḫm ʿnḫ ỉmn*

sḫm spd ep. “effective image” (of Ptolemy VIII), 170:14

sšy n. “nest” 204*B*:2

sšm n. “divine image,” 163*B*:1; 174:12

St.t div. “Satet,” 194*B*:1

St.t loc. “Sehel,” 191*B*:1

stp vb. “to choose, prefer”; see *stp.n Ptḥ, stp.n Rʿ*

stp.n Ptḥ ep. “chosen of Ptah” (in prenomen of Ptolemy VIII), 170:11; 172:11; 174:13 (partly restored); 176:13; 179*B*:1 (partly restored); 180*B*:1. Cf. *ỉwʿ n nṯr.w pr.w stp.n Ptḥ ỉr Mꜣʿ.t Rʿ sḫm ʿnḫ ỉmn*

stp.n Rʿ ep. “chosen of Re,” in the following:

(1) of Thutmose III, 181*C*:3; 219*B*:6. See also *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ*

(2) of Horemheb, 160*B*:1; 161*B*:1. Cf. *Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ*

(3) of Amenmesse, 160*B*:3; 161*B*:3. Cf. *Mn-mỉ-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ mry ỉmn*

sd see *ḥb-sd*

šꜣ n. “field,” 174:1

šꜣʿ vb. “to initiate, begin,” 180*B*:2

Šꜣs-ḥtp loc. “Hypselis,” 223*B*:1

Šw div. “Shu”; see *Ḫnsw-Šw*

šw.t n. “plume”; see *sꜣb šw.t*

špsỉ adj. vb. “to be august, noble,” 172:3; 174:2, 9; 179*B*:2

šfy.t n. “majesty”; see *ʿꜣ šfy.t m tꜣ.w nb(.w)*

Šmʿw loc. “Upper Egypt,” 164*B*:1; 207*B*:4; 215*B*:1; 223*B*:4. See also *ỉmy-r mšʿ wr n Šmʿw Mḥw, Tꜣ-šmʿw*

šms vb. “to follow,” in the compound:

šms-ỉb, “to follow (one’s) desire, to be happy,” 170:9

šsp.t n. “produce,” 174:1

šdỉ vb. “to nurse, suckle,” 186*B*:2

qꜣi vb. 3ae inf. “to be exalted”; see *qꜣ ḥḏ.t mry Rʿ*

qꜣ ḥḏ.t mry Rʿ RN “exalted of white crown, beloved of Re” (Horus name of Thutmose III), 181*A*:2, 3; 190*B*:5; 191*B*:5; 199*B*:5; 202*B*:5; 203*B*:5; 204*B*:4; 221*B*:4

qỉ n. “form,” 179*B*:2; 180*B*:2

qbḥ.w n. “cataract,” 192*B*:1

qmꜣ vb. “to create,” 176:12, 18; 179*B*:2; 180*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2

qn.t n. “valor,” 178:1

qd vb. “to build,” 180*B*:2 (twice); 196*B*:2

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k second-pers. sing. masc. suffix pron., 170:1, 2 (twice, once restored), 6, 9; 172:1 (four times), 2 (twice), 6 (twice), 9 (twice); 174:1 (twice), 2 (restored), 7, 11, 20 (twice); 176:1 (four times), 2 (thrice), 7 (thrice, once restored), 11 (twice); 184*B*:2; 186*B*:2 (thrice); 187*B*:2 (twice); 188*B*:2; 189*B*:2 (twice); 191*B*:2 (twice); 192*B*:2 (twice); 193*B*:2 (twice); 194*B*:2 (thrice); 195*B*:2 (twice); 196*B*:2 (restored); 197*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 199*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 208*B*:2; 211*B*:1 (restored); 212*B*:2, 3; 215*B*:2; 216*B*:2; 218*B*:2; 219*B*:3 (restored); 221*B*:2; 222*B*:2 (twice); 223*B*:2; 224*B*:2; 225*B*:2; 226*B*:2; 227*B*:2

kꜣ n. "*ka*," 158*B*:7; 170:2; 176:1; 183*B*:2. See also *ḥm-kꜣ*

kꜣ n. "bull," 180*B*:2. See also *kꜣ nḫt ꜥꜣ nsy.t, kꜣ nḫt mry Rꜥ, kꜣ nḫt ḫꜥ m Wꜣs.t, kꜣ nḫt ḫꜥ m Mꜣꜥ.t*

kꜣ nḫt ꜥꜣ nsy.t RN "mighty bull great of kingship" (Horus name of Ramesses III), 162*B*:2; 163*B*:2

kꜣ nḫt mry Rꜥ RN "mighty bull beloved of Re" (Horus name of Thutmose III), 181*B*:1; 181*C*:1; 186*B*:5 (partly restored); 193*B*:4; 194*B*:5; 208*B*:4; 214*B*:4; 220*B*:4

kꜣ nḫt ḫꜥ m Wꜣs.t RN "mighty bull appearing in Thebes" (Horus name of Thutmose III), 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 157:4; 181*A*:1; 181*B*:3; 181*C*:3; 184*B*:4; 185*B*:5; 188*B*:5; 192*B*:5; 198*B*:5; 201*B*:4; 205*B*:4; 216*B*:4; 224*B*:4; 225*B*:4; 226*B*:4

kꜣ nḫt ḫꜥ m Mꜣꜥ.t RN "mighty bull arisen in Maat" (Horus name of Thutmose III), 181*A*:4; 183*B*:5; 187*B*:4; 189*B*:5; 195*B*:5; 196*B*:4; 197*B*:5; 200*B*:4

Kꜣ-mw.t=f div. "Kamutef," 190*B*:1; 219*B*:1

kꜣ.w n. "food"; see *ṯpḥ.t-wḏ.t-kꜣ.w*

kꜣ.t n. "work, construction," 181*C*:2

ky second-pers. dual masc. suffix pron., 172:9

Km-ꜣ.t=f div. "Kematef," 170:5; 172:10; 176:5, 12

Knm.t loc. "Dakhla-Kharga," 170:1

Klꜣwpdrꜣ.t RN "Cleopatra" (nomen of Cleopatra II/III), 170:16; 174:18; 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1 (partly restored)

Gb div. "Geb," 174:7; 185*B*:2. See also *ỉwꜥ n Gb pr m ḥꜥ.w=f*

gb.t n. "sky, heavens," 179*B*:2

Gb.tywy div. "the Koptite," 212*B*:1 (partly restored)

gmỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to find," 181*C*:2

gs n. "half, side," 176:18; and in the compound:

r-gs, "beside," 174:12

tꜣ n. "land, earth," 170:6; 172:10, 21; 174:7, 20; 176:12; 182*B*:2; 183*B*:2; 189*B*:2; 226*B*:2. See also *ꜥꜣ šfy.t m tꜣ.w nb(.w), nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w, ḫnt tꜣ, Tꜣ.wy, Tꜣ-mry, Tꜣ-sty, Tꜣ-šmꜥw, Tꜣ-ṯnn, tꜣ-ḏsr*

Tꜣ.wy n. "the Two Lands (Egypt)," 187*B*:2; 188*B*:2; 193*B*:1; 198*B*:2; 203*B*:2; 218*B*:2; 219*B*:3; 223*B*:6. See also *nb ns.wt Tꜣ.wy, nb Tꜣ.wy, ḥnw.t Tꜣ.wy, ḫnty Tꜣ.wy*

Tꜣ-mry loc. "Ta-mery (= Egypt)," 174:21

Tꜣ-sty loc. "Nubia," 183*B*:1

Tꜣ-šmꜥw loc. "Upper Egypt," 217*B*:1

Tꜣ-ṯnn div. "Tatenen," 172:15. See also *Ptḥ-Tꜣ-ṯnn*

tꜣ-ḏsr n. "necropolis," 224*B*:1

tỉ.t n. "image," in the following epithets:

tỉ.t ỉmn "image of Amun" (of Thutmose III), 208*B*:6

tỉ.t Rꜥ "image of Re" (of Thutmose III), 181*C*:1; 192*B*:6; 223*B*:6. See also *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ tỉ.t Rꜥ*

tw second-pers. sing. masc. dependent pron., 179*B*:1, 180*B*:1; 182*B*:2; 186*B*:2; 188*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 195*B*:2 (twice); 198*B*:2; 205*B*:2; 209*B*:2; 221*B*:2

twr vb. "to be pure," 174:2

twt second-pers. independent pron., 186*B*:2

tp n. "head," 176:12. See also *ḥry-tp, tp-nfr*

tp-nfr n. "justice (Maat)," 174:21; 176:18

tp prep. "upon," 170:4, 10

tpy adj. "first," 172:15. See also *ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n ỉmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w, sp tpy*

tpḥ.t see *ṯpḥ.t-wḏ.t-kꜣ.w*

tmꜣ.t n. "mother," 172:7

tḫ n. "drunkenness," 176:11 (twice)

Ṯꜣ.w-mw.wt loc. "Djeme," 170:3 (twice); 172:6. See also *ỉꜣ.t ṯꜣ.w-mw.wt*

ṯꜣw n. "breath, wind," 176:2; 179*B*:2

ṯꜣty title "vizier," 162*B*:1

ṯpḥ.t n. "cavern"; see *ṯpḥ.t-wḏ.t-kꜣ.w*

ṯpḥ.t-wḏ.t-kꜣ.w n. "esophagus, throat," 176:1–2 (written *tpḥ.t-wḏ.t-kꜣ.w)*

ṯnỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to raise up"; see *pꜣ nṯr r-ṯnw ỉt=f*

ṯtf vb. "to flood," 180*B*:2

dwꜣ.t n. "netherworld," 174:12; 176:12. See also *nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w*

Dp loc. "Dep," in the following epithets:

P(y).t Dp(y).t "she of Pe and Dep (= Wadjet)," 165*B*:1

Dp(y).t P(y).t "she of Dep and Pe (= Wadjet)," 217*B*:3

dmꜣ vb. "to bind," 178:1

ḏ.t n. "body," 172:10; 174:12

ḏ.t adv. "forever," 151*B*:1; 152*B*:2; 153*B*:6, 7; 154*B*:x+5; 155*B*:7, 8; 156*B*:7, 8; 157:7, 8; 158*B*:6, 7, 8; 159*B*:7; 170:15; 172:14; 174:17; 176:17; 181*A*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*B*:1, 2, 3, 4; 181*C*:1, 2, 3 (restored), 4; 182*B*:2, 9 (restored); 183*B*:2, 8; 184*B*:7; 185*B*:9; 186*B*:2, 7; 187*B*:2, 7, 8; 188*B*:2, 8; 189*B*:2, 8; 190*B*:8; 191*B*:2, 7; 192*B*:2, 8; 193*B*:2, 7, 8; 194*B*:2, 7; 195*B*:2, 7; 196*B*:2, 7; 197*B*:2, 8; 198*B*:2, 8; 199*B*:2, 8; 200*B*:2, 6; 201*B*:2 (partly erased), 8; 202*B*:2, 7; 203*B*:2 (erased), 7; 204*B*:2, 7, 8 (restored); 205*B*:2, 7; 206*B*:6 (partly restored); 207*B*:6; 209*B*:6; 210*B*:6; 211*B*:6; 212*B*:7; 213*B*:6, 7, 8; 214*B*:6; 215*B*:6, 7; 218*B*:6; 219*B*:7, 8; 220*B*:6; 221*B*:6; 222*B*:2, 6; 224*B*:6; 225*B*:7, 8; 226*B*:2, 7; 227*B*:2, 6. See also *ꜥnḫ ḏ.t*

ḏꜣỉ vb. 3ae inf. "to cross," 170:3; 176:8

ḏw n. "mountain," 163*B*:1; 176:12. See also *nb p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t mw ḏw.w*

ḏfꜣw n. "provisions," 192*B*:2

ḏfn n. "ancestor," 180*B*:2

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ḏfn.t n. "ancestress," 180*B*:2

ḏr n. "entirety," 174:20

Ḏḥwty div. "Thoth," 226*B*:1. See also *Ḏḥwty-ms*

Ḏḥwty-ms RN "Thutmose" (nomen of Thutmose III), with accompanying epithets:

Ḏḥwty-ms nfr ḫpr "Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestation," 153*B*:5; 156*B*:6; 159*B*:5; 181*B*:1; 181*C*:3 (partly restored); 190*B*:2 (with *nfr* erased); 191*B*:2; 194*B*:2; 196*B*:2; 201*B*:2; 202*B*:2; 203*B*:2; 204*B*:2; 216*B*:6 (with *nfr* partly erased); 227*B*:5

Ḏḥwty-ms nfr ḫpr.w "Thutmose-beautiful-of-manifestations," 181*A*:2, 4; 181*B*:3; 181*C*:1

Ḏḥwty-ms ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t "Thutmose-ruler-of-Thebes," 195*B*:2; 197*B*:2; 200*B*:2; 223*B*:2

Ḏḥwty-ms ḥqꜣ Mꜣʿ.t "Thutmose-ruler-of-Maat," 155*B*:6; 158*B*:5; 183*B*:2; 187*B*:5; 193*B*:2; 198*B*:2; 199*B*:2; 206*B*:5; 212*B*:6; 218*B*:5

Ḏḥwty-ms ḥqꜣ nṯry "Thutmose-divine-ruler," 192*B*:2

ḏs n. "self," 179*B*:2

ḏsr adj. "sacred," 174:12 (twice); 181*B*:4. See also *md.t-ḏsr, s.t=f ḏsr.t n.t sp tp(y), tꜣ-ḏsr, ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ, ḏsr ḫʿ sḫm pḥ.ty, Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ, Ḏsr-s.t*

ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t loc. "the sacred mountain of the west," 155*B*:1; 181*B*:4. See also *mry ʾImn ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t, mry ʾImn-Rʿ ḫnty ḏsr.t-ỉmnt.t*

ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ ep. "whose splendor is sacred along with the living Apis" (in Horus name of Ptolemy VIII), 179*B*:1; 180*B*:1. Cf. *ḥwnw ḥkn=tw m ʿnḫ=f ḥr(y)-ns.t ỉt=f mʿr sp.w ḏsr msḫʿ=f ḥnʿ Ḥp ʿnḫ*

ḏsr ḫʿ sḫm pḥ.ty RN "sacred of appearance, powerful of strength" (Falcon of Gold name of Thutmose III), 181*B*:3; 181*C*:3

Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ stp.n Rʿ RN "Djeserkheperure-chosen-of-Re" (prenomen of Horemheb), 160*B*:1; 161*B*:1

Ḏsr-s.t ep. "sacred of place" and loc. (the temple of Amun *Ḏsr-s.t* at Medinet Habu), 156*B*:1; 157:1; 159*B*:1; 163*B*:1; 176:4; 180*B*:2; 224B:1. See also *Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ ʾImn Ḏsr-s.t, mry ʾImn ḫnty Ḏsr-s.t, mry ʾImn-Rʿ ḫnty Ḏsr-s.t*

Ḏsḏs loc. "Bahariya," 170:1

ḏd vb. "to say," in the following phrase:

ḏd mdw, "words spoken," 170:3, 7; 172:3, 7; 174:4, 8; 176:4, 8; 182*B*:1; 183*B*:1; 184*B*:1, 2; 185*B*:1; 186*B*:1 (restored); 187*B*:2 (restored); 188*B*:1; 189*B*:1 (partly restored); 190*B*:1; 191*B*:1; 192*B*:1; 193*B*:1, 2; 194*B*:1; 195*B*:1; 196*B*:1; 197*B*:1; 198*B*:1; 199*B*:1, 2; 200*B*:1 (partly erased), 2; 201*B*:1, 2; 202*B*:1, 2; 203*B*:1, 2; 204*B*:1; 205*B*:1; 208*B*:1; 211*B*:1; 212*B*:2, 3; 215*B*:1; 216*B*:2; 217*B*:1; 218*B*:1 (restored); 219*B*:1 (restored); 220*B*:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 221*B*:1 (partly erased), 2 (partly restored); 222*B*:2; 223*B*:1; 224*B*:2; 225*B*:2; 226*B*:1; 227*B*:1

ḏd adj. "enduring, stable," 176:7

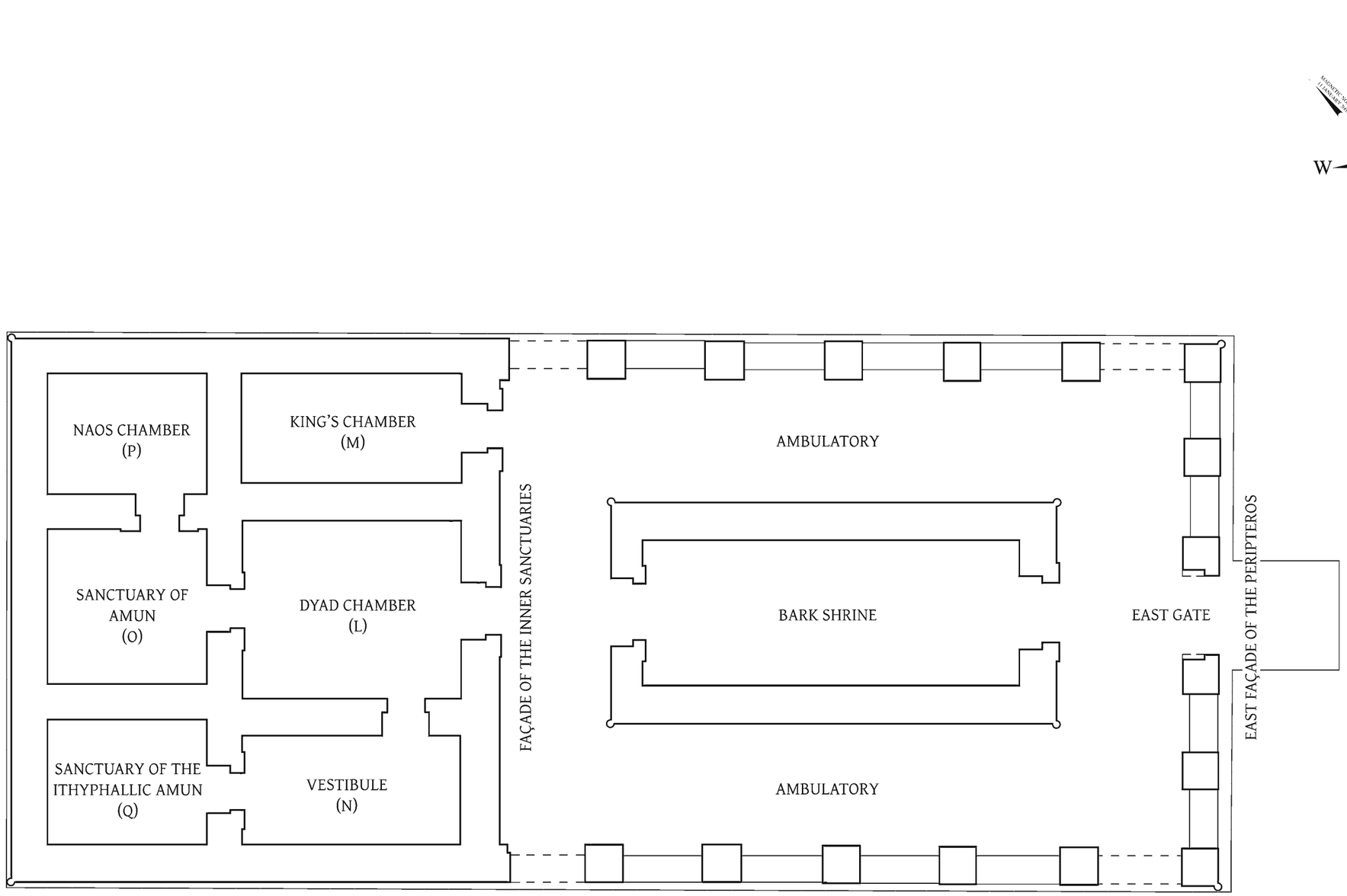
ḏd.t n. "stability," 153*B*:2, 7; 154*B*:x+5; 155*B*:2, 8; 156*B*:2, 8; 157:8; 158*B*:8; 159*B*:2, 7; 181*A*:3, 4; 182*B*:8 (restored); 183*B*:7; 184*B*:2, 6; 185*B*:2, 8; 187*B*:6, 8; 188*B*:8 (restored); 189*B*:8; 191*B*:7; 192*B*:7; 193*B*:6, 8; 194*B*:2, 7; 195*B*:7; 196*B*:2, 6; 197*B*:2, 8 (restored); 199*B*:2, 8; 201*B*:8; 204*B*:8; 205*B*:7; 213*B*:2, 7, 8; 214*B*:2; 215*B*:7; 219*B*:8; 220*B*:2; 223*B*:4, 7; 224*B*:2; 225*B*:6, 8; 226*B*:7; 227*B*:2

PERSONAL NAMES

Pꜣy-ʿnḫ (Paiankh), 162*B*:1; 163*B*:1

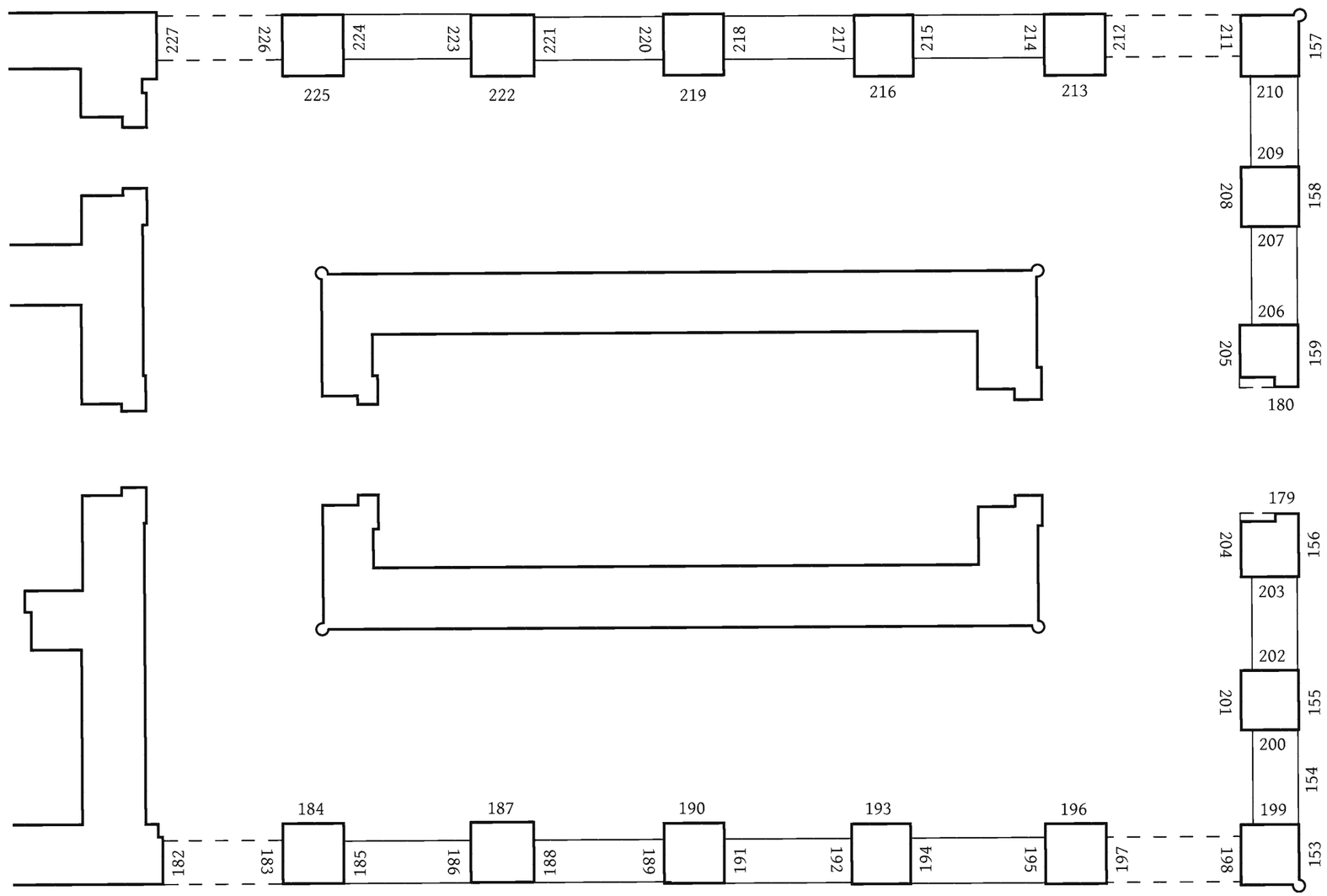
Pꜣy-nḏm (Painedjem), 162*B*:1; 163*B*:1

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GROUND PLAN OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE OF AMUN AT MEDINET HABU

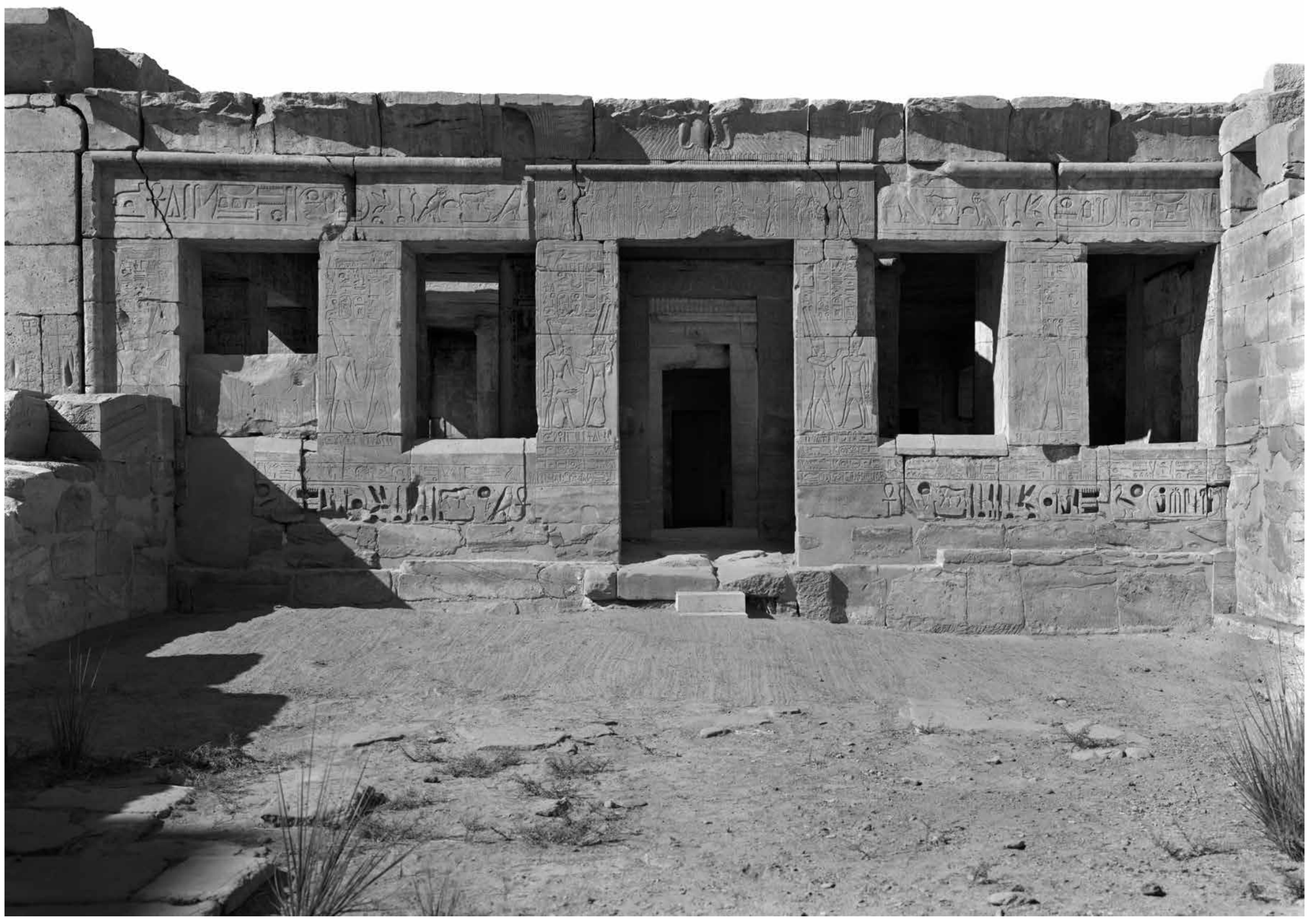
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GROUND PLAN OF THE PERIPTEROS AND BARK SHRINE IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

NUMBERS INDICATE THE POSITION OF THE FACSIMILE PLATES APPEARING IN THIS VOLUME

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Photograph by Lanka and Lezon

THE FAÇADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

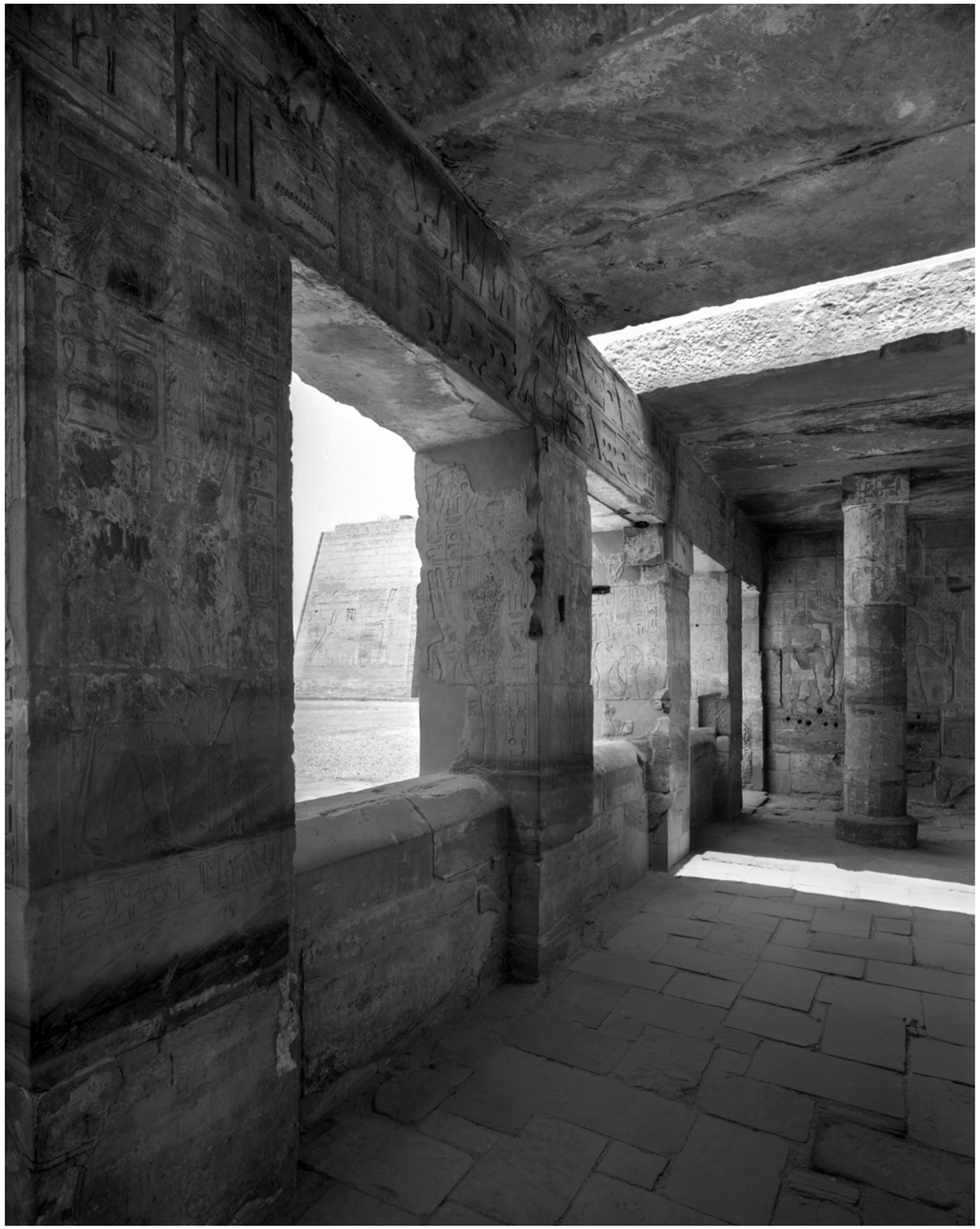
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THE FAÇADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE IN 1854

J. B. Greene, *Monuments et paysages de la Nubie et de la Haute Égypte* (Paris, 1854), pl. 33

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Photographs by Kobylecky

A



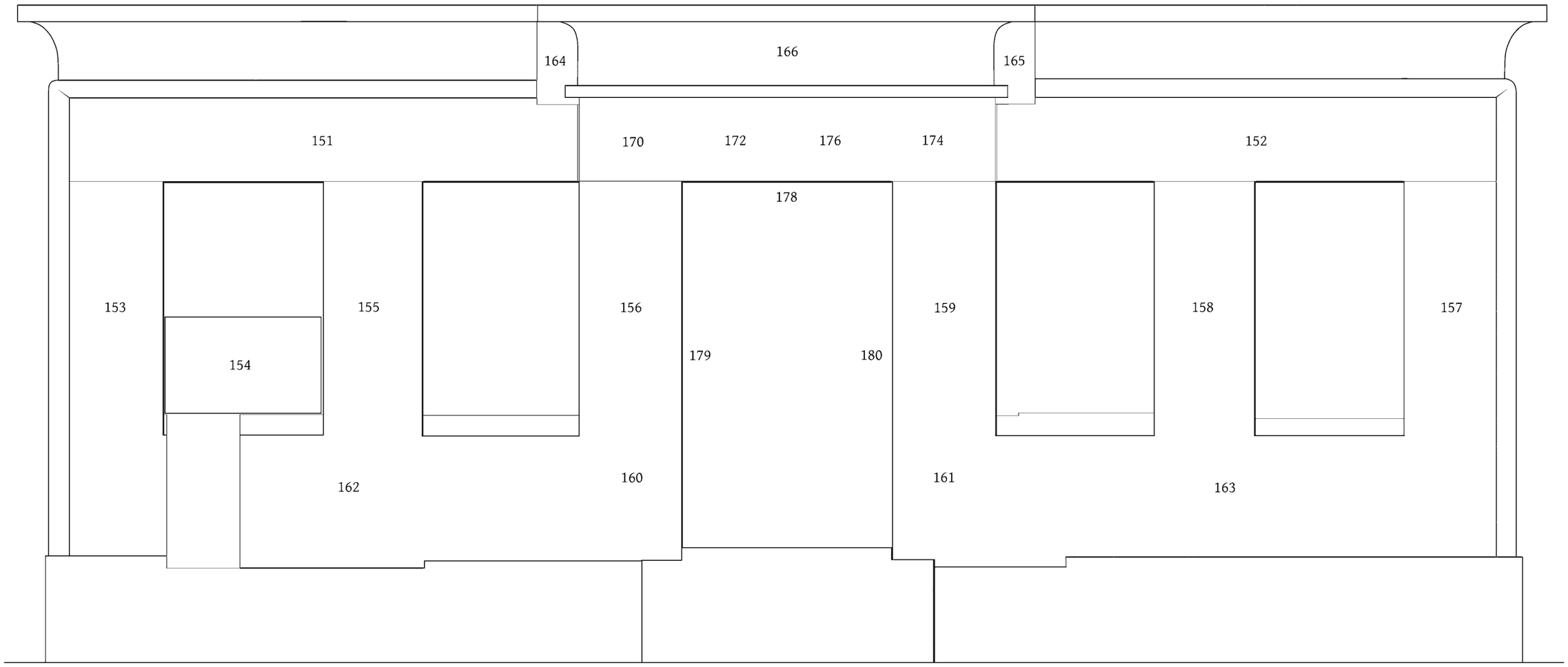
B

THE INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS

A. SOUTH PILLARS

B. NORTH PILLARS

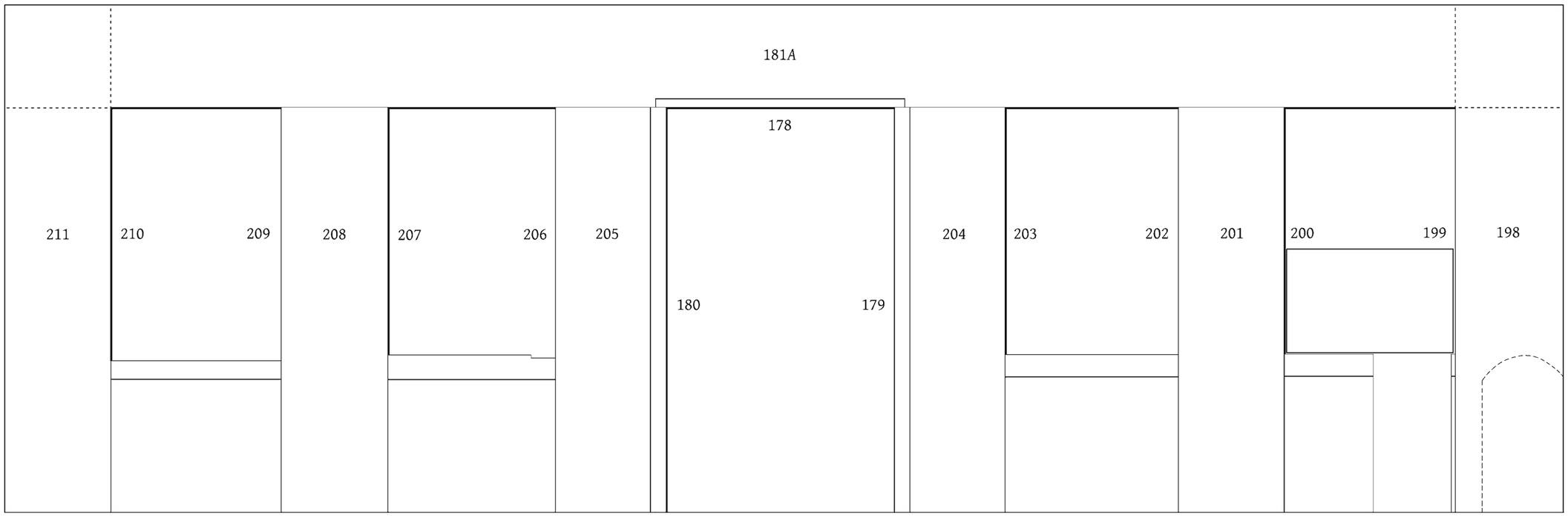
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ELEVATION OF THE EAST FAÇADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

NUMBERS INDICATE THE POSITION OF THE FACSIMILE PLATES

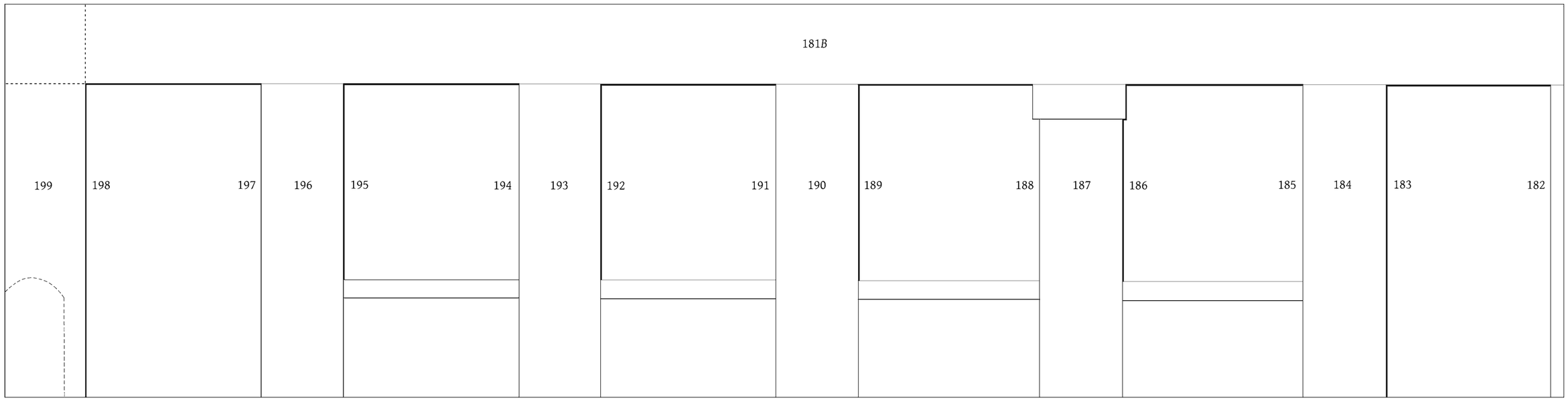
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ELEVATION OF THE EAST INTERIOR OF THE THUTMOSID PERIPTEROS

NUMBERS INDICATE THE POSITION OF THE FACSIMILE PLATES

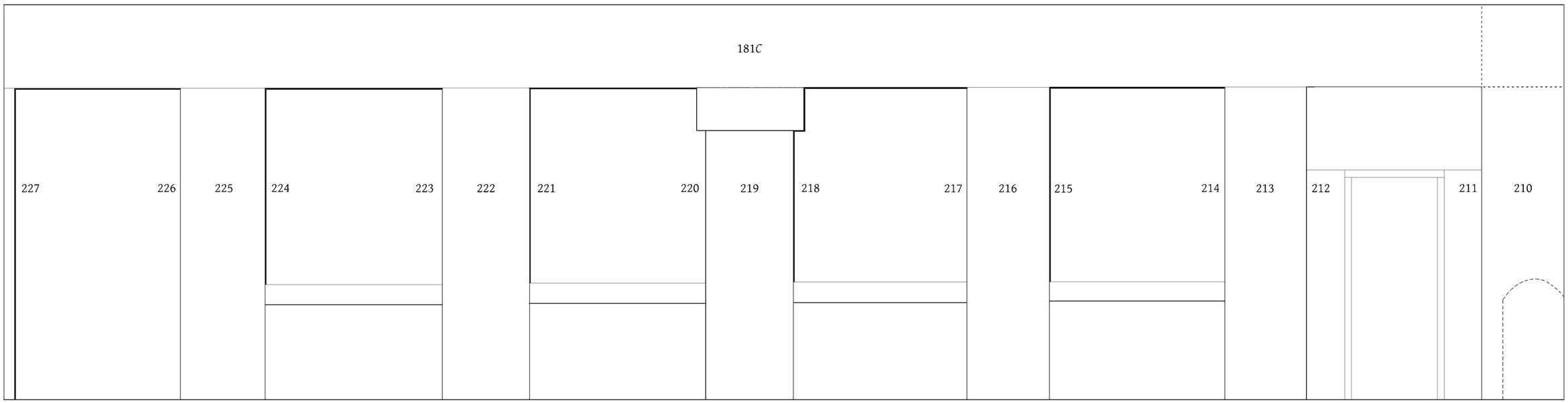
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ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH INTERIOR OF THE THUTMOSID PERIPTEROS

NUMBERS INDICATE THE POSITION OF THE FACSIMILE PLATES

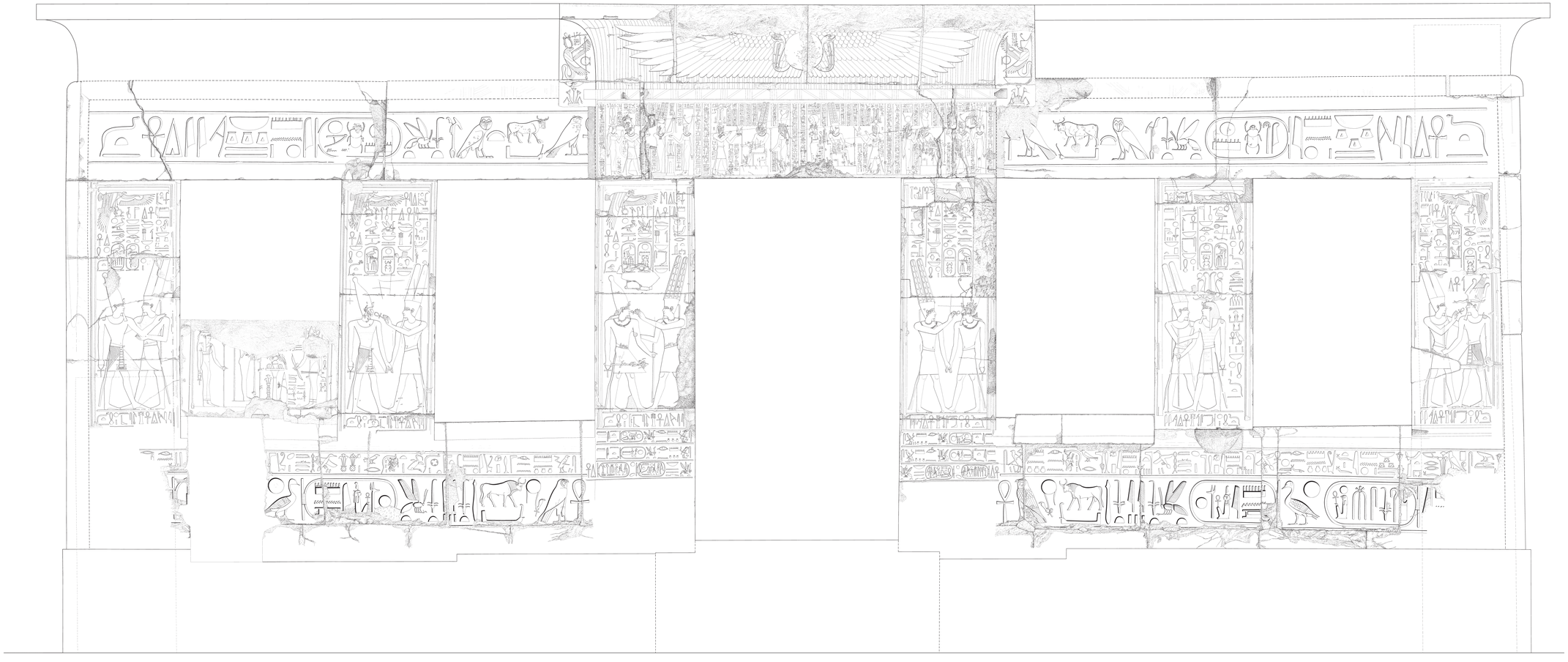
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ELEVATION OF THE NORTH INTERIOR OF THE THUTMOSID PERIPTEROS

NUMBERS INDICATE THE POSITION OF THE FACSIMILE PLATES

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Drawing by De Jong, Osgood, Schenck, and Vértes

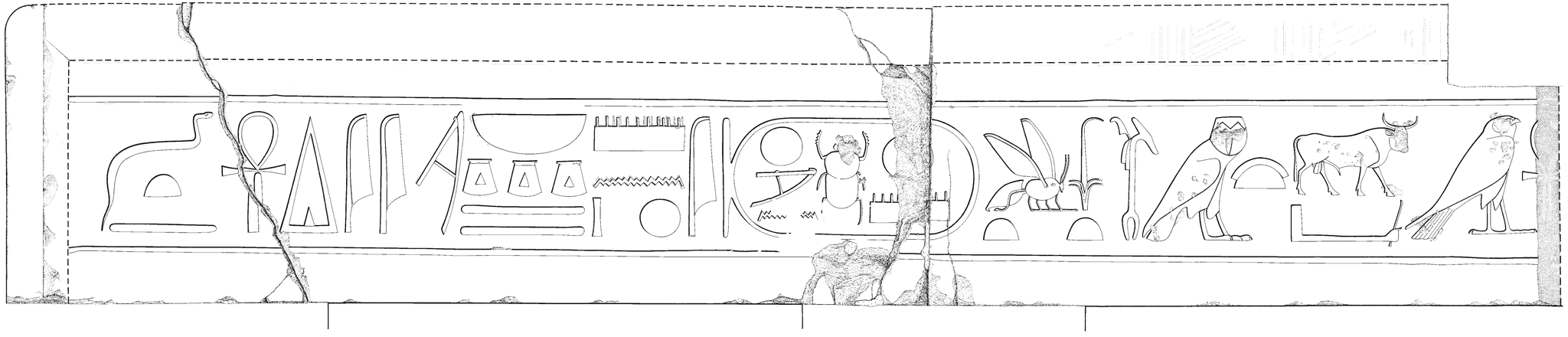
DECORATION ON THE EAST FAÇADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

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Photograph by Kobylecky

A

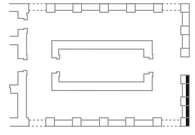


Drawing by Osgood

B

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INSCRIPTION OF THUTMOSE III ON THE SOUTH ARCHITRAVE OF THE FAÇADE

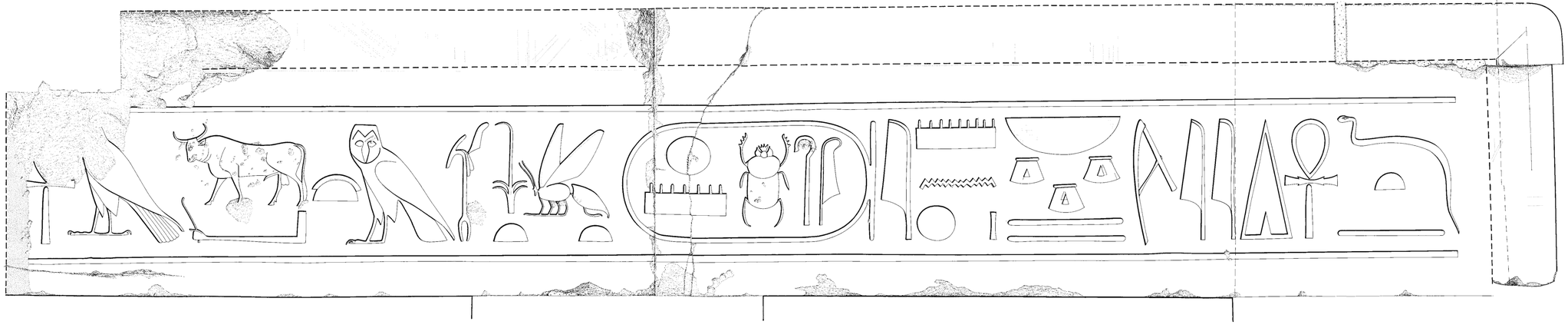


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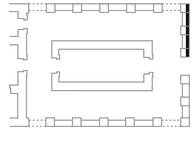
A



Drawing by Osgood

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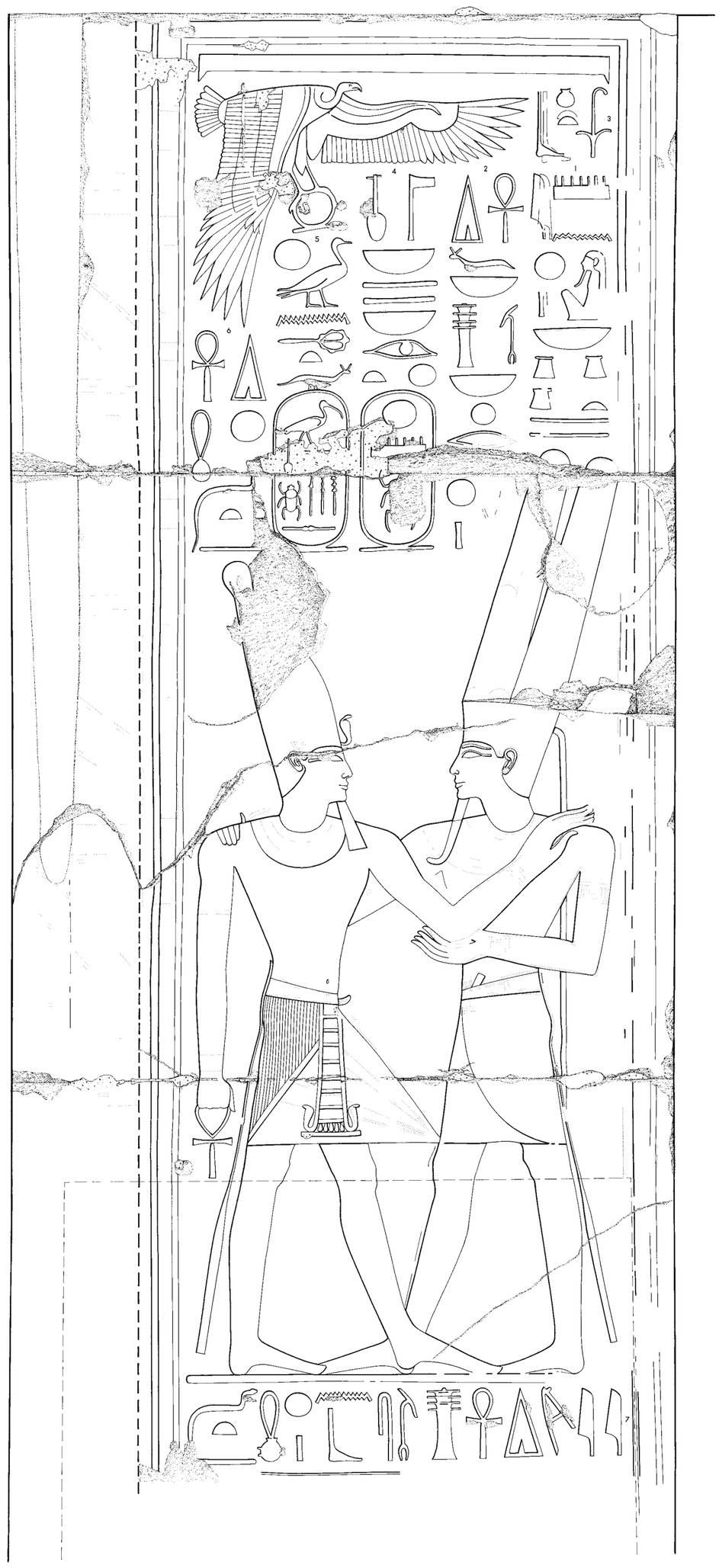
INSCRIPTION OF THUTMOSE III ON THE NORTH ARCHITRAVE OF THE FAÇADE

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A



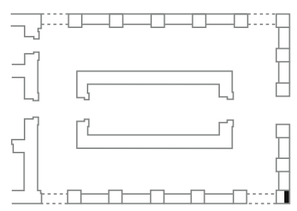
Drawing by Osgood

B

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THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE

FAÇADE, SOUTHEAST CORNER

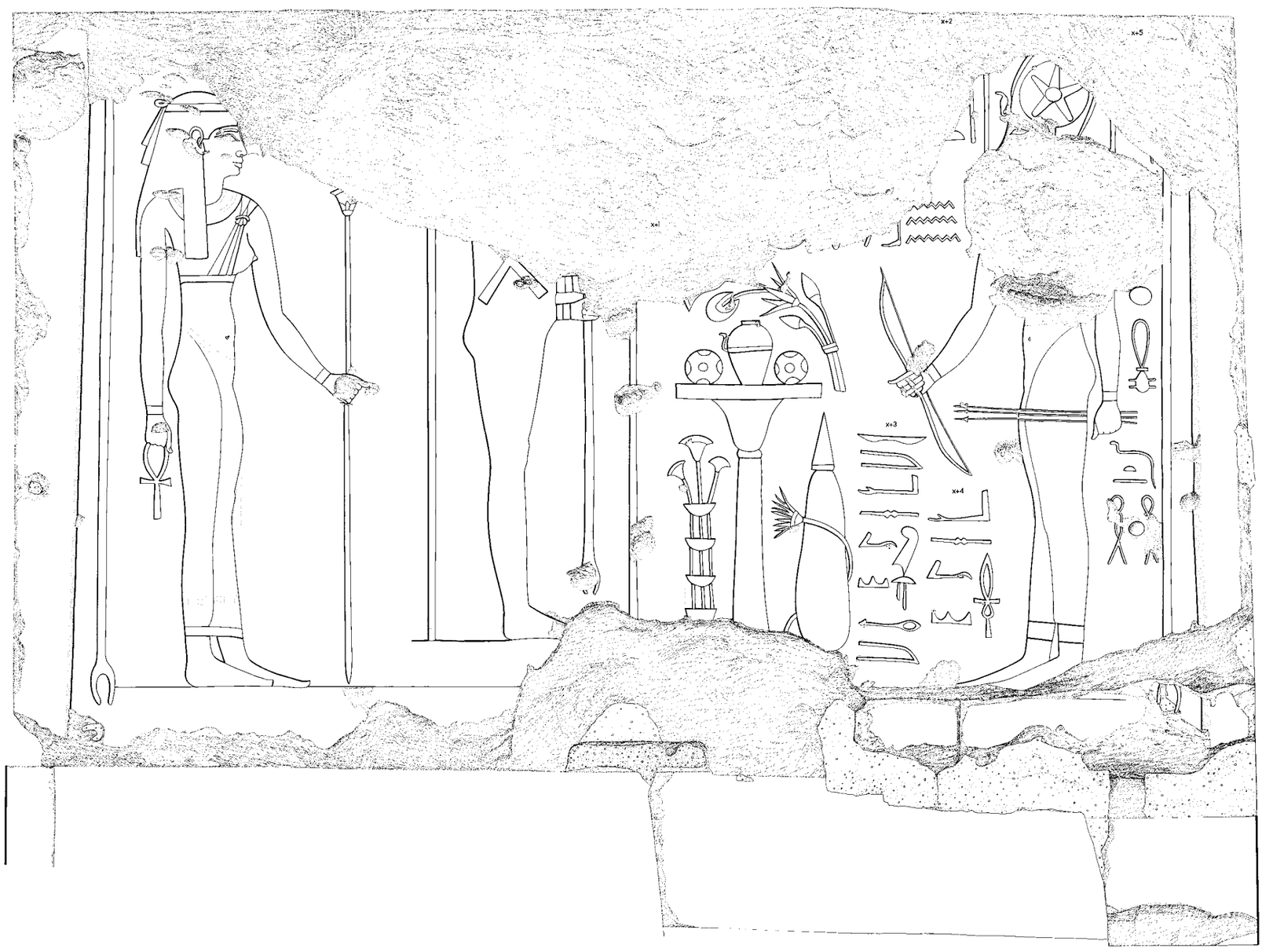


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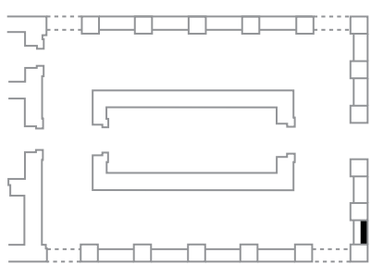
Drawing by Osgood

B

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SOPDET-SATET WITH OFFERINGS BEFORE OSIRIS(?) AND ISIS(?)

FAÇADE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE, BLOCKING STONE

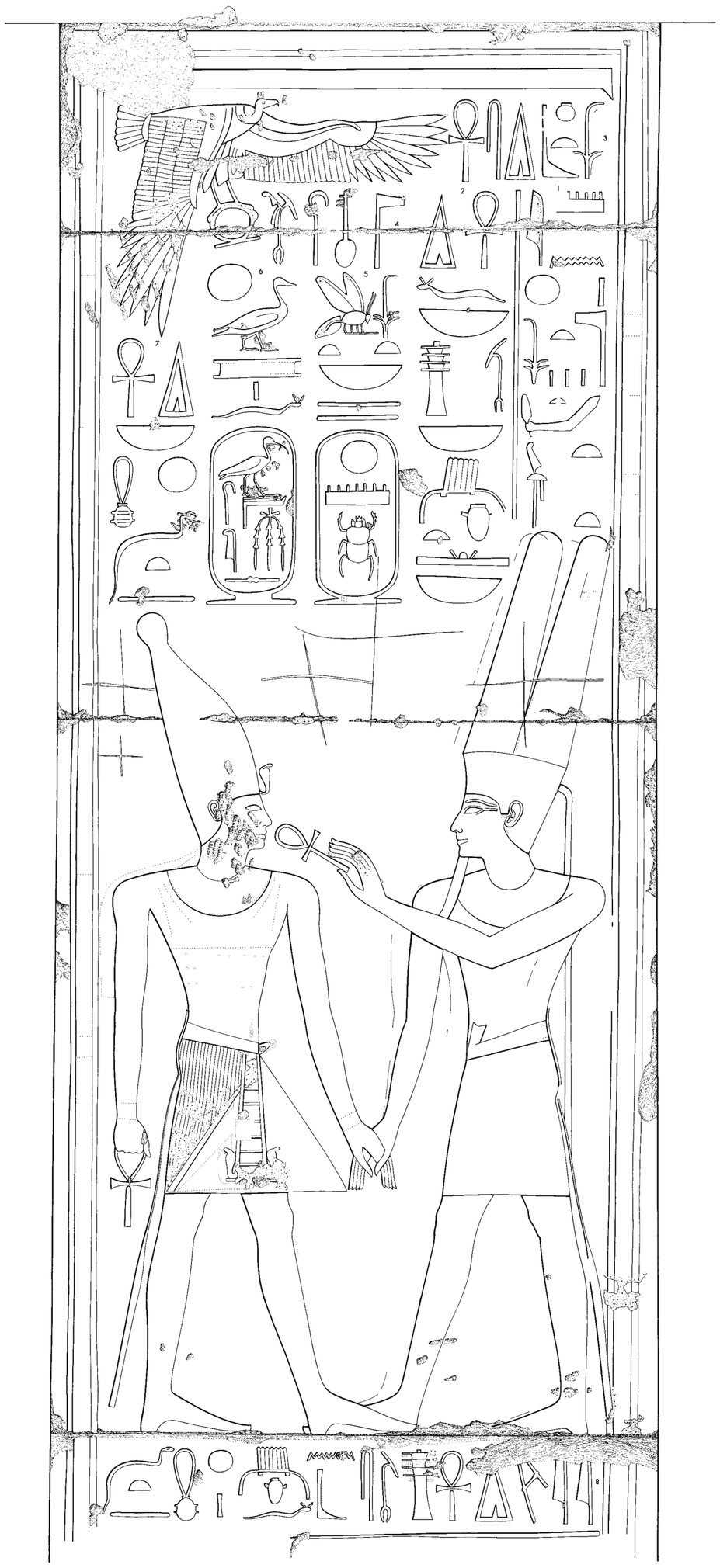


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A



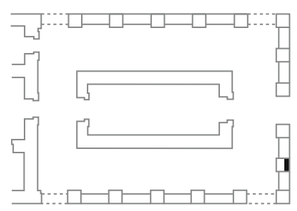
Drawing by De Jong and Schenck

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THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

FAÇADE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

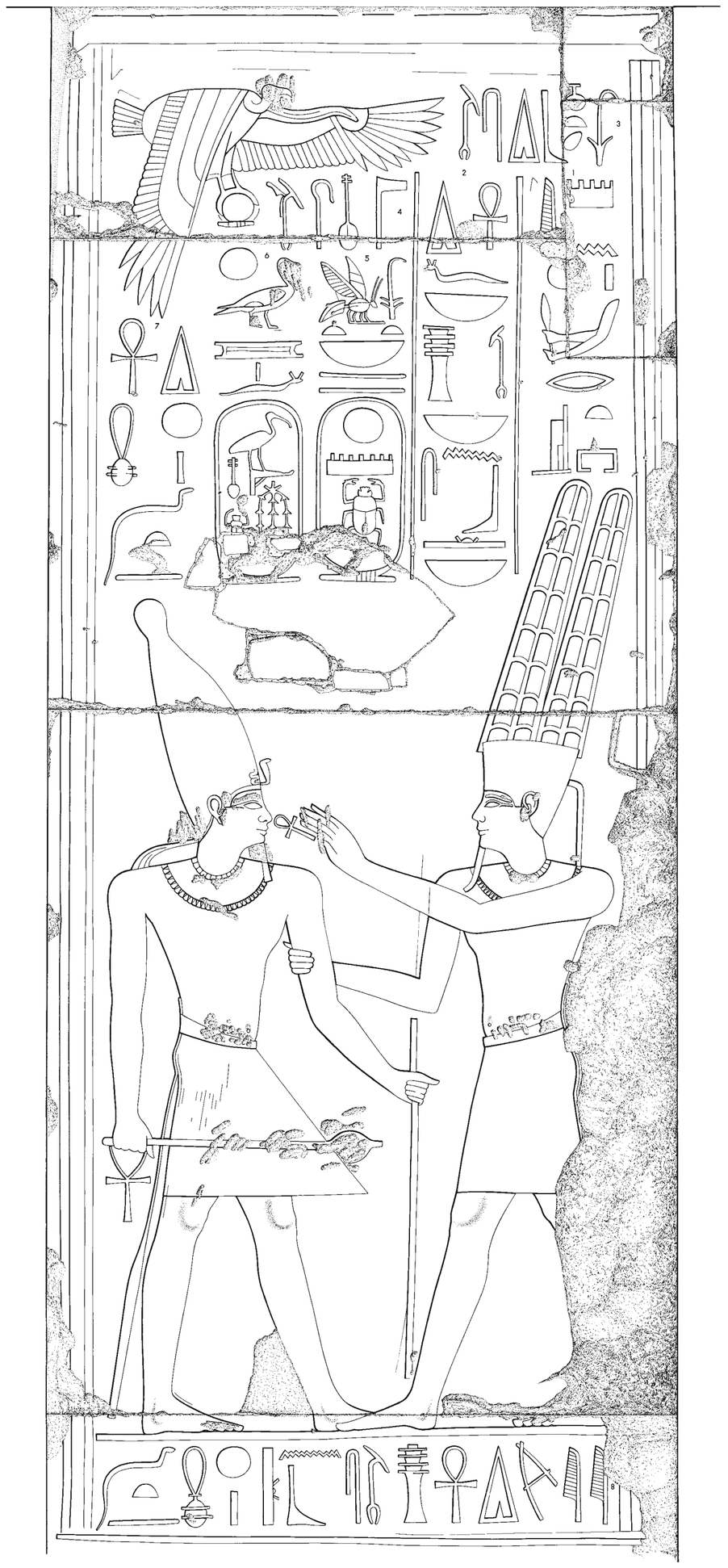


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A



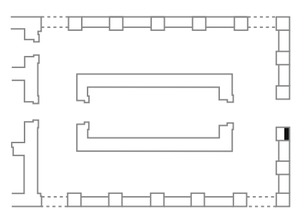
Drawing by De Jong, Schenck, and Williams

B

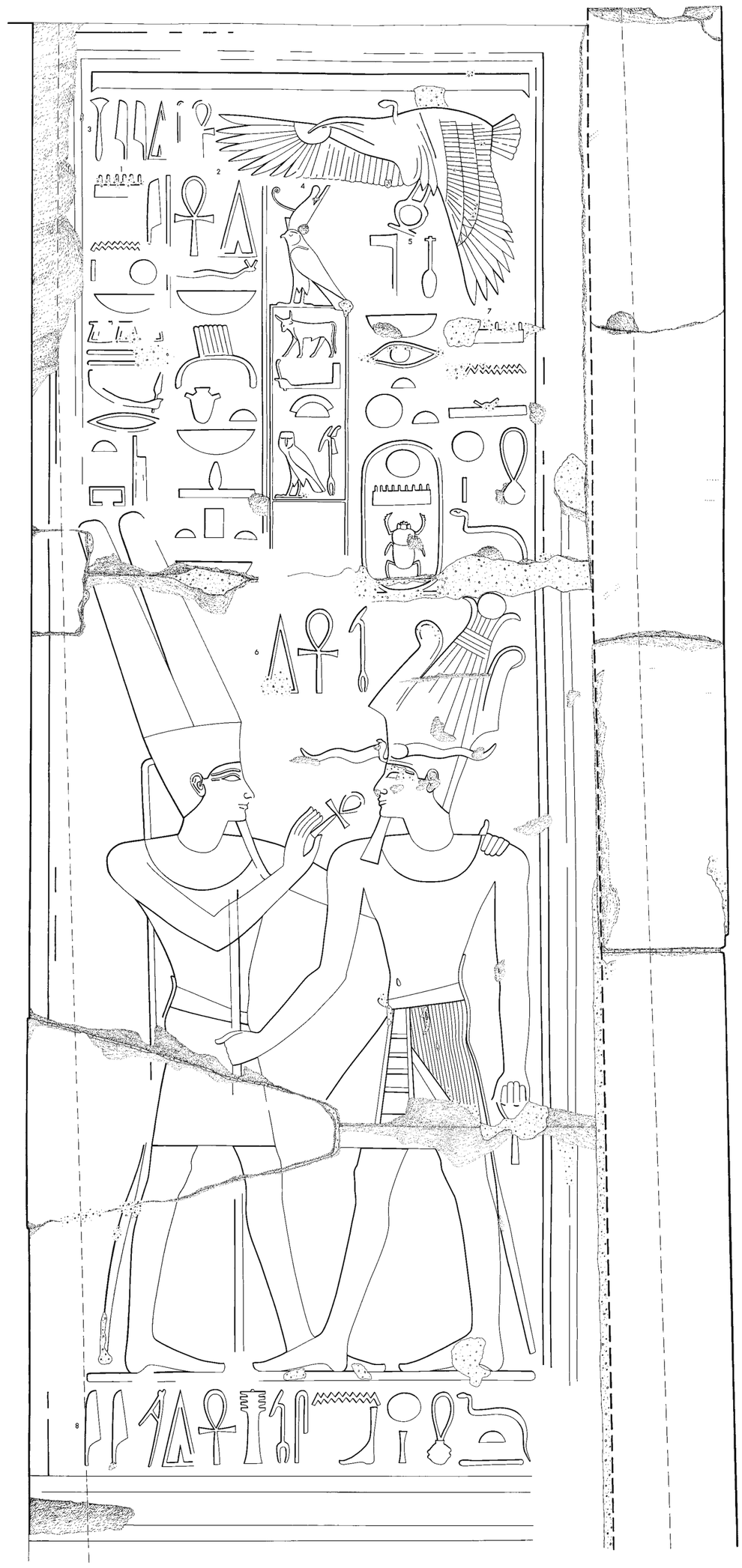
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THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

FAÇADE, SOUTH JAMB OF ENTRANCE



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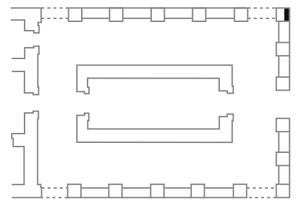


Drawing by Osgood and Schenck

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THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

FAÇADE, NORTHEAST CORNER

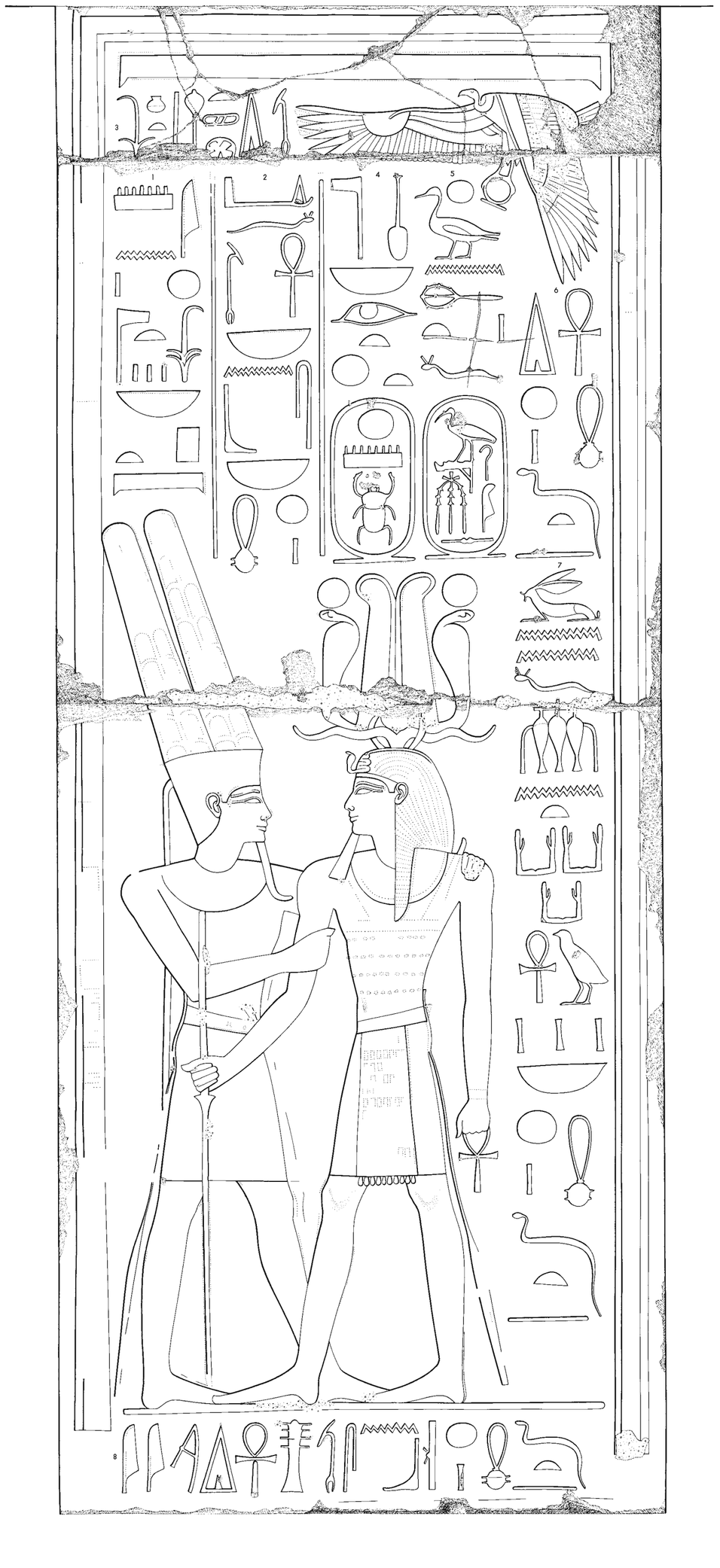


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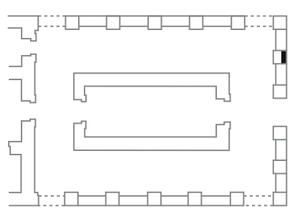
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THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE

FAÇADE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

(Compare color plates 244–48)

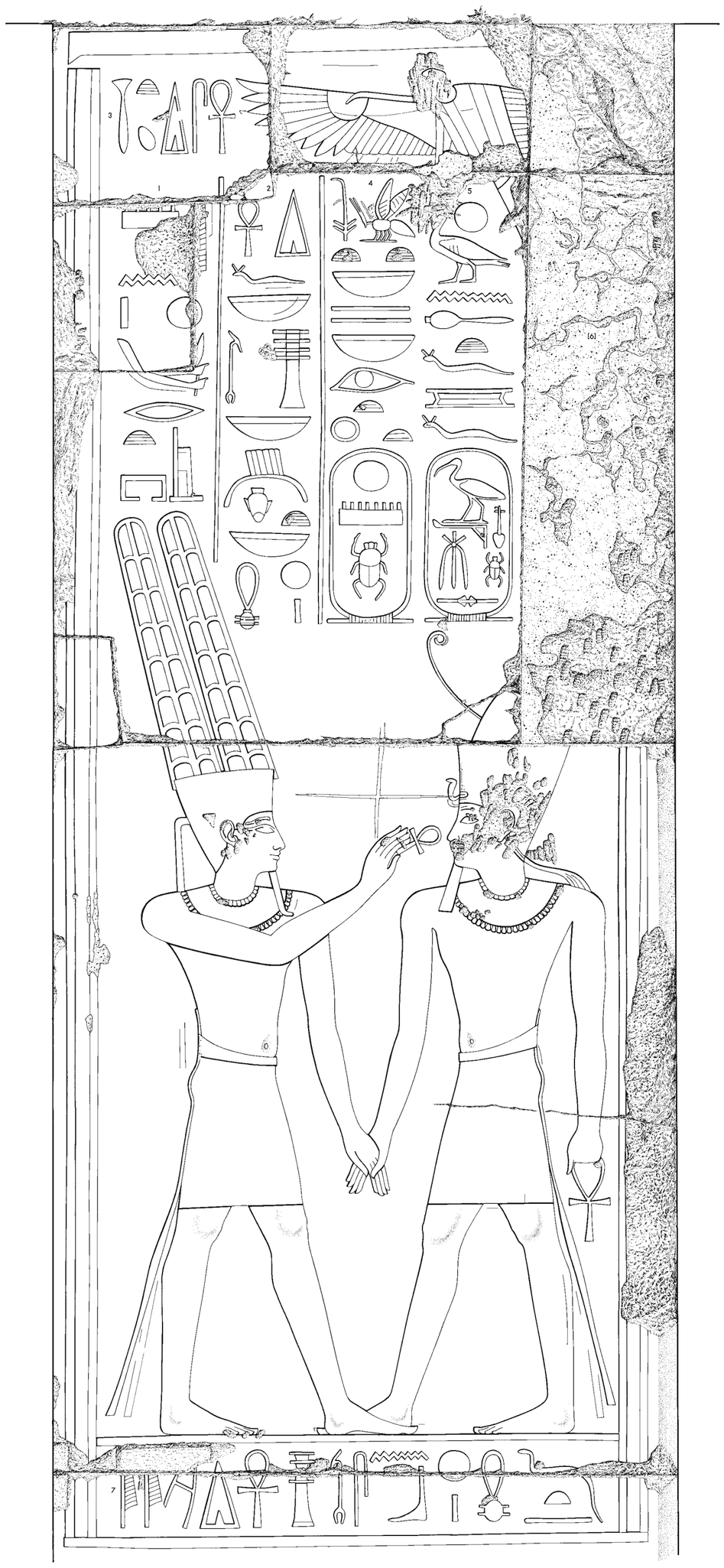


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Photograph by Lanka and Lezon

A



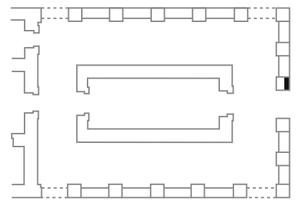
Drawing by De Jong and Schenck

B

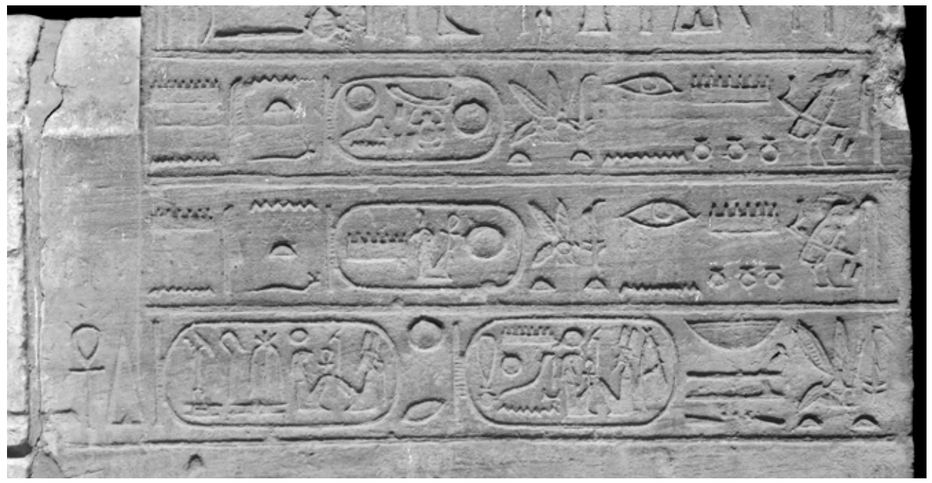
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

FAÇADE, NORTH JAMB OF ENTRANCE

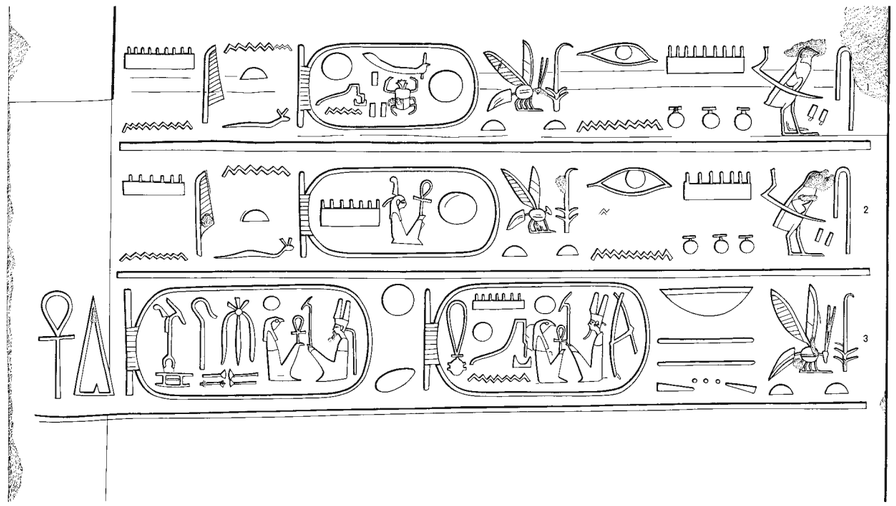


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



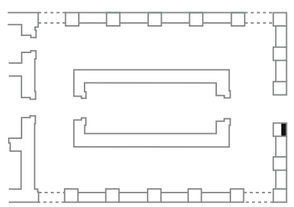
Drawing by Osgood

B

0 1 m

RESTORATION INSCRIPTIONS OF HOREMHEB, SETY I, AND AMENMESSE

FAÇADE, SOUTH JAMB OF ENTRANCE

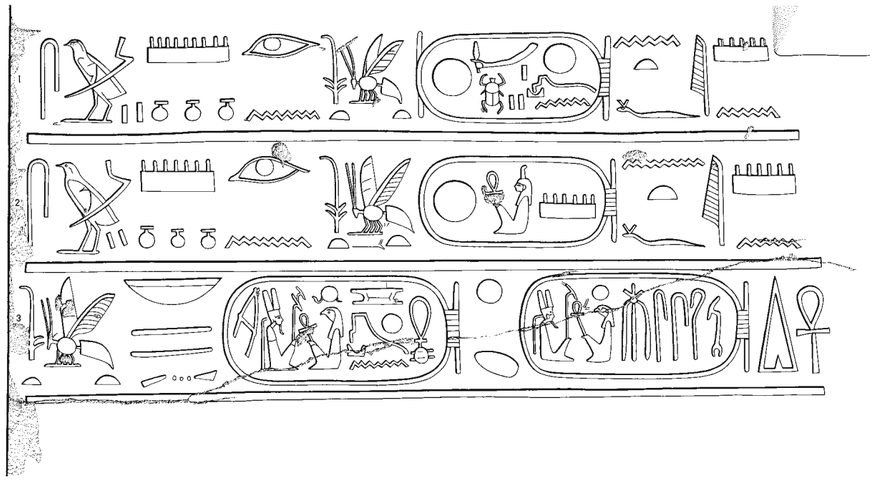


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



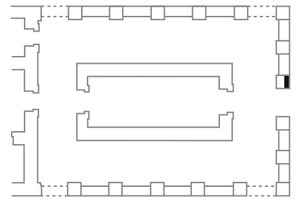
Drawing by Osgood

B

0 1 m

RESTORATION INSCRIPTIONS OF HOREMHEB, SETY I, AND AMENMESSE

FAÇADE, NORTH JAMB OF ENTRANCE

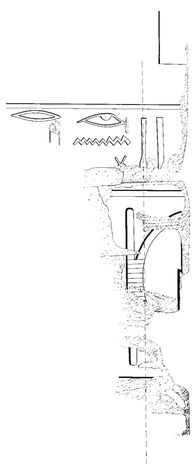


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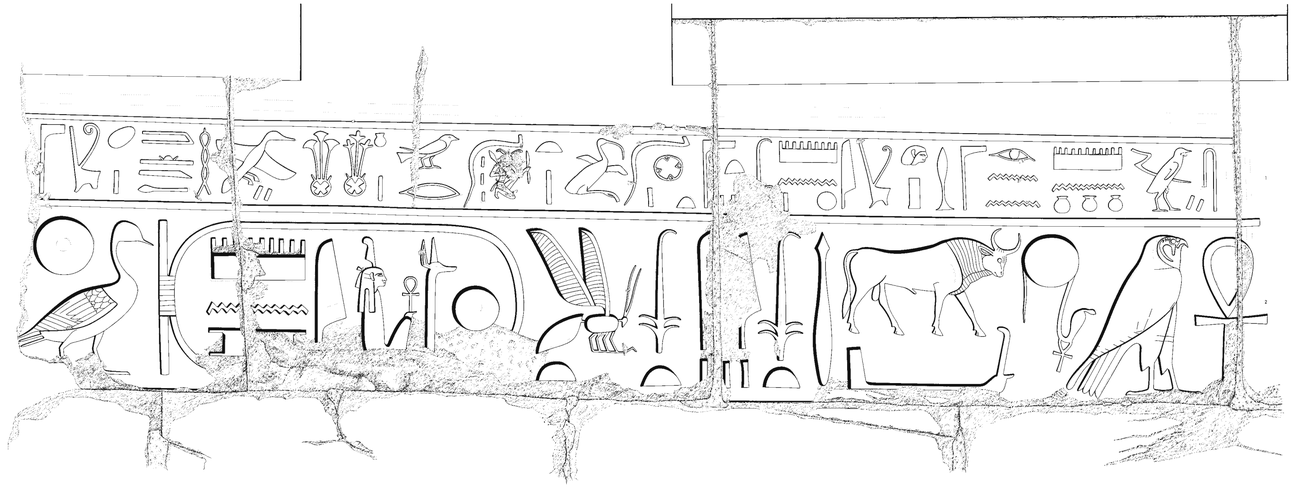


Photograph by Kobylecky

A



Drawing by Vértes

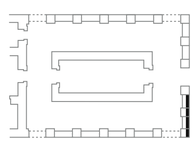


B

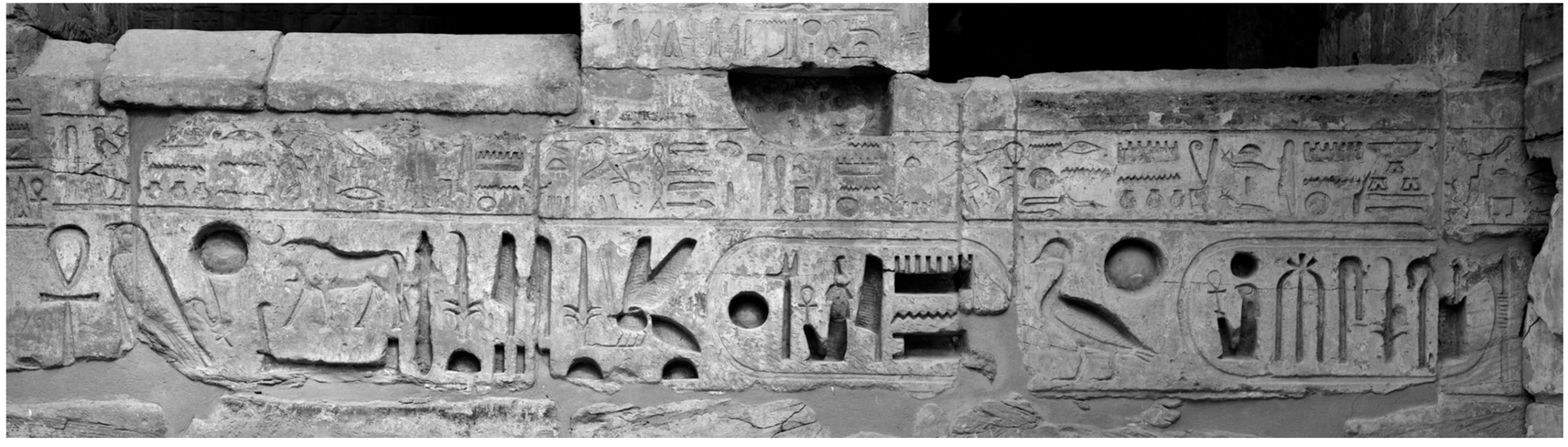


MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF PAINEDJEM AND RAMESSES III

FAÇADE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

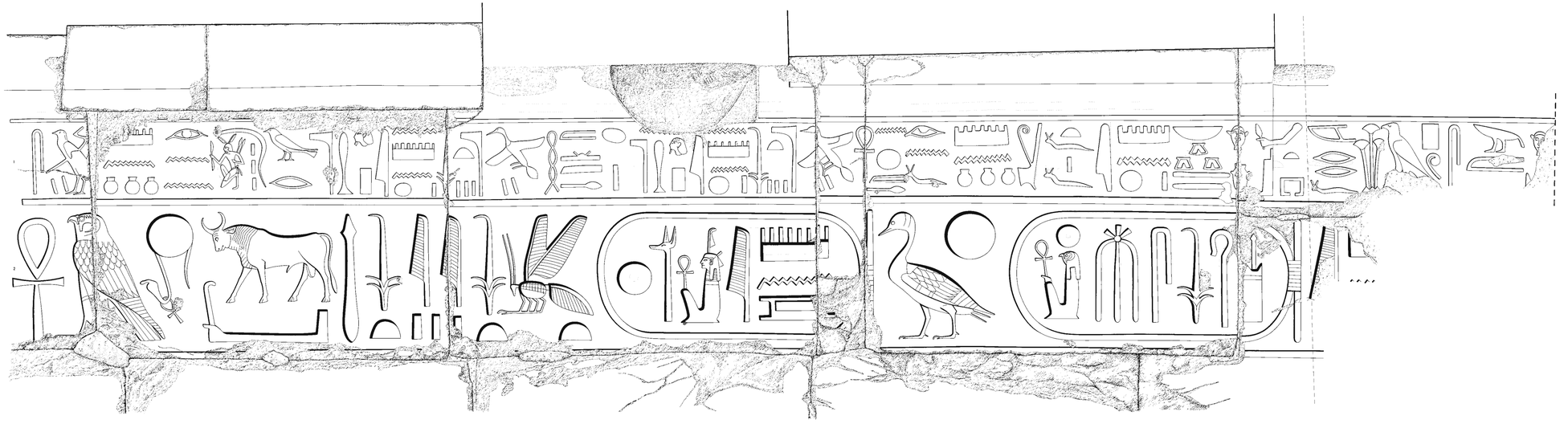


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



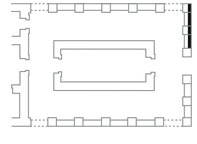
Drawing by Vértes

B

0 1 m

MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF PAINEDJEM AND RAMESSES III

FAÇADE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

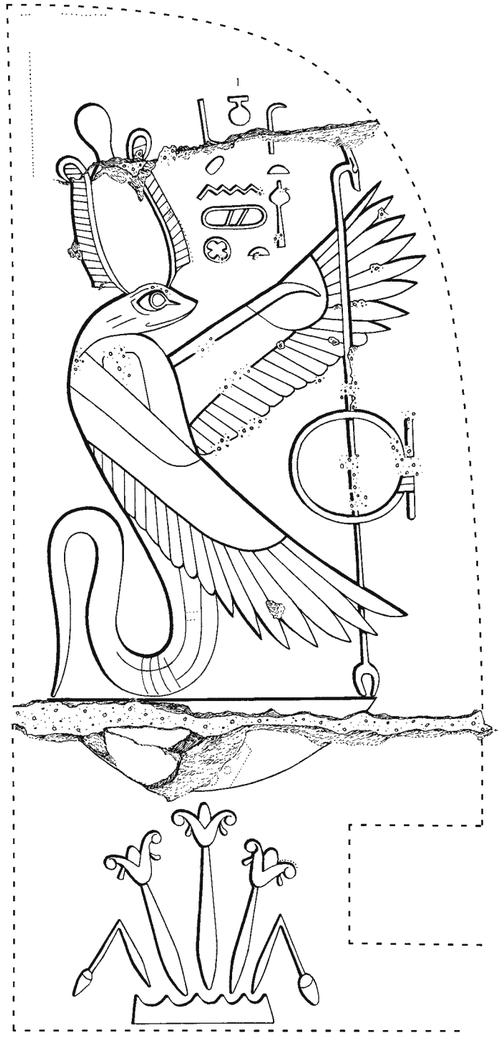


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



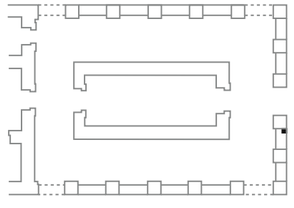
Drawing by Osgood

B

0 50 cm

VIGNETTE OF NEKHBET

FAÇADE, LEFT OF CAVETTO CORNICE ABOVE ENTRANCE



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Photograph by Kobylecky

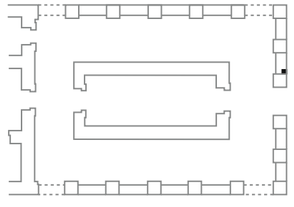
A



Drawing by Osgood

B

0 50 cm



VIGNETTE OF WADJET

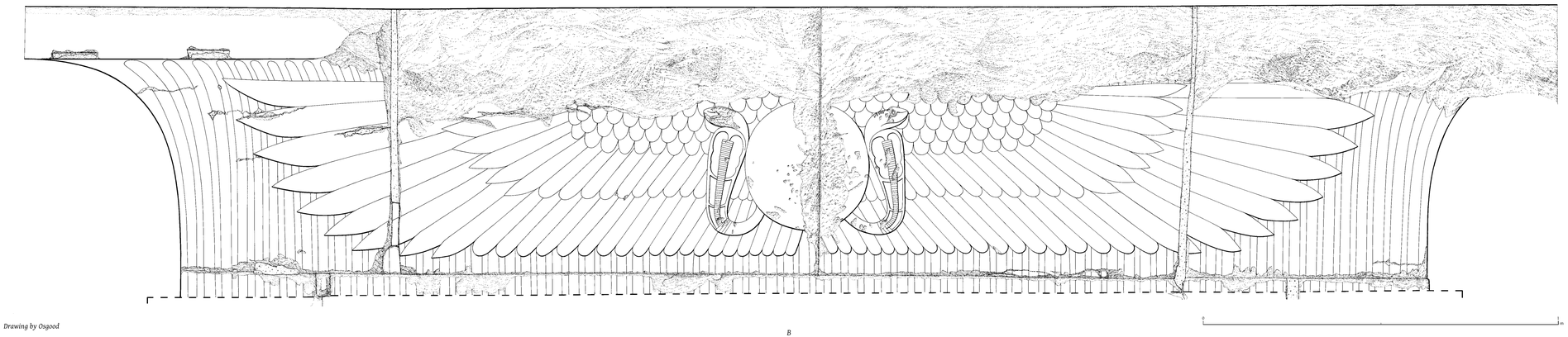
FAÇADE, RIGHT OF CAVETTO CORNICE ABOVE ENTRANCE

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Photograph by Kobylecky

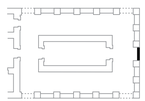
A



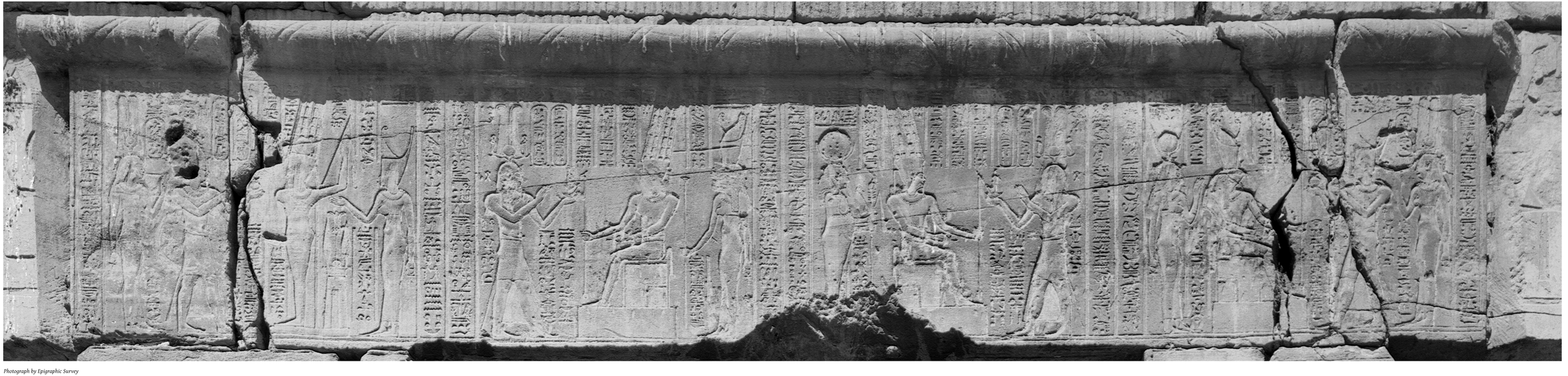
Drawing by Osgood

B

PTOLEMAIC CAVETTO CORNICE
FAÇADE, ABOVE ENTRANCE



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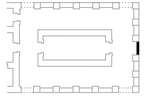


Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

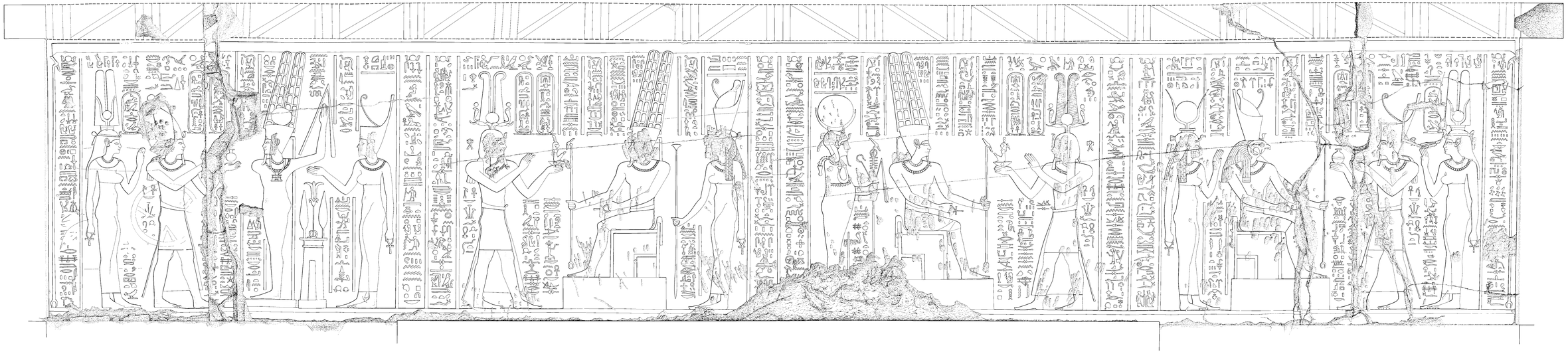
OFFERING SCENES OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE

(Compare plate 168)



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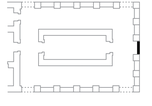
Drawing by De Jong

0 50 cm

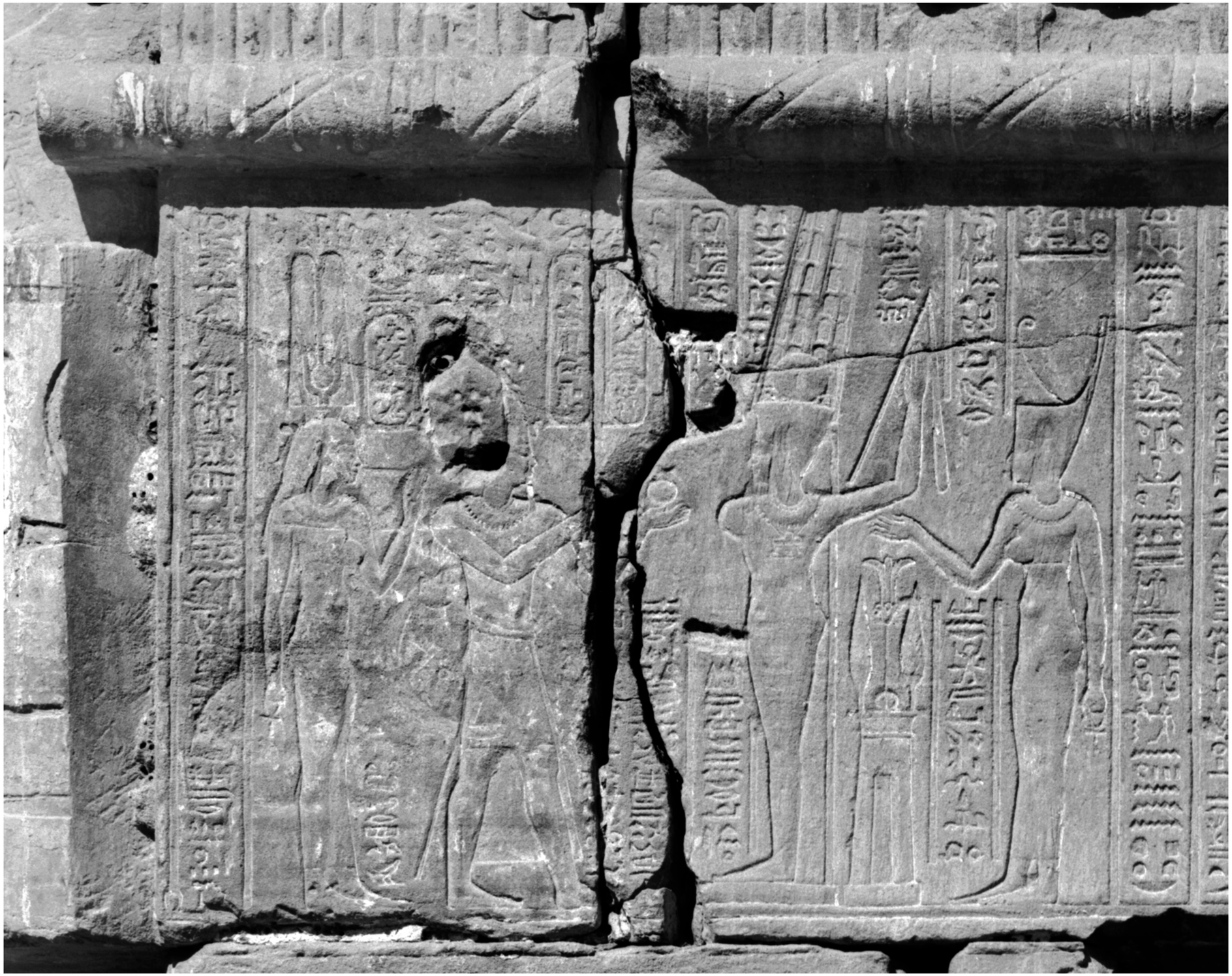
OFFERING SCENES OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE

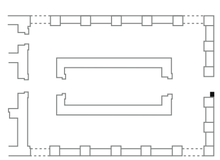
(See plate 167)



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Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

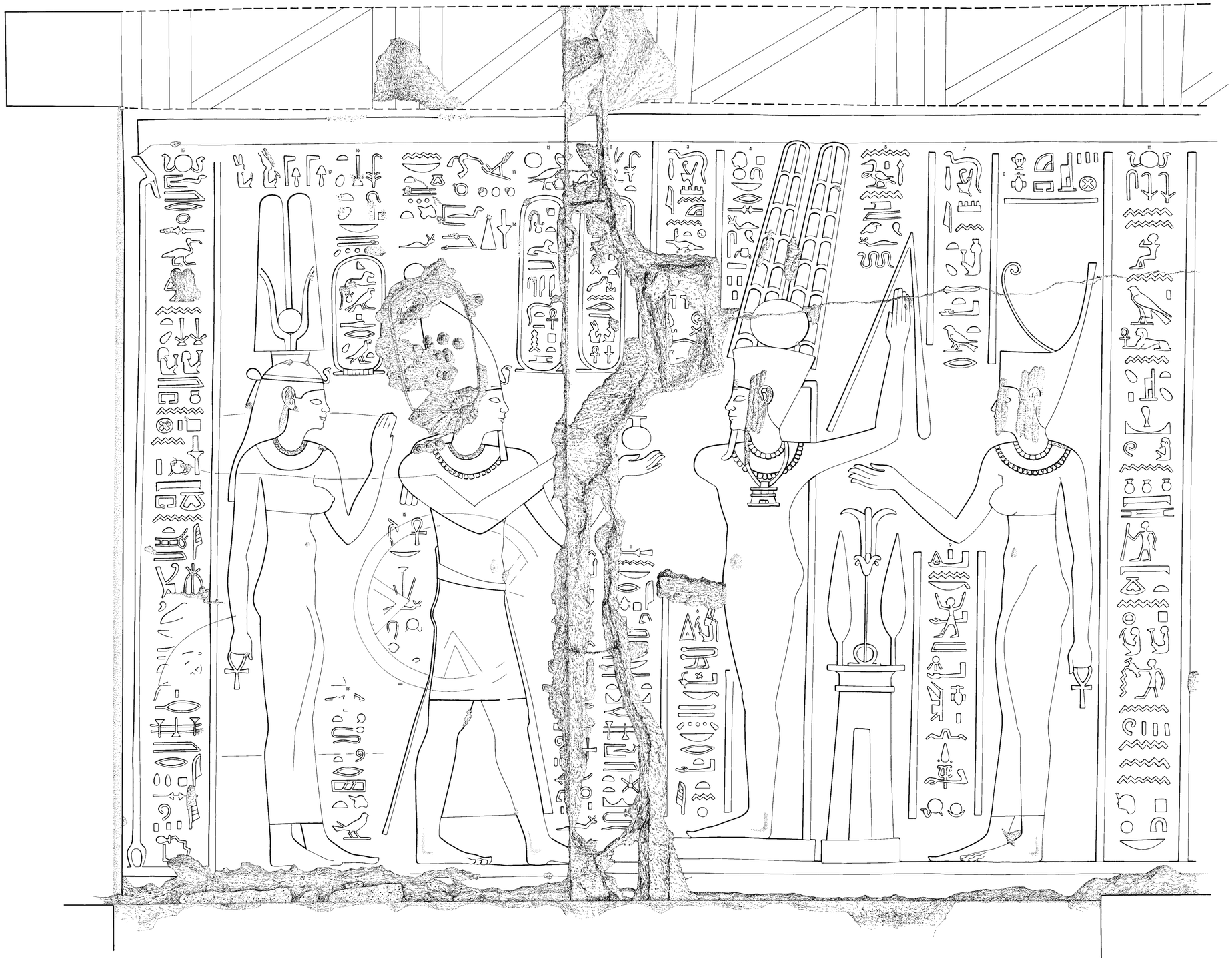


PTOLEMY VIII, ACCOMPANIED BY CLEOPATRA II, OFFERING WINE TO AMUNOPET AND AMUNET

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, LEFT END

(Compare plate 170)

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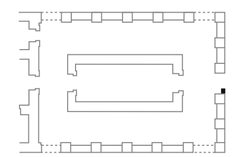
Drawing by De Jong

0 20 cm

PTOLEMY VIII, ACCOMPANIED BY CLEOPATRA II, OFFERING WINE TO AMUNOPET AND AMUNET

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, LEFT END

(See plate 169)



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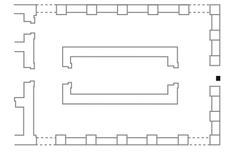


Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

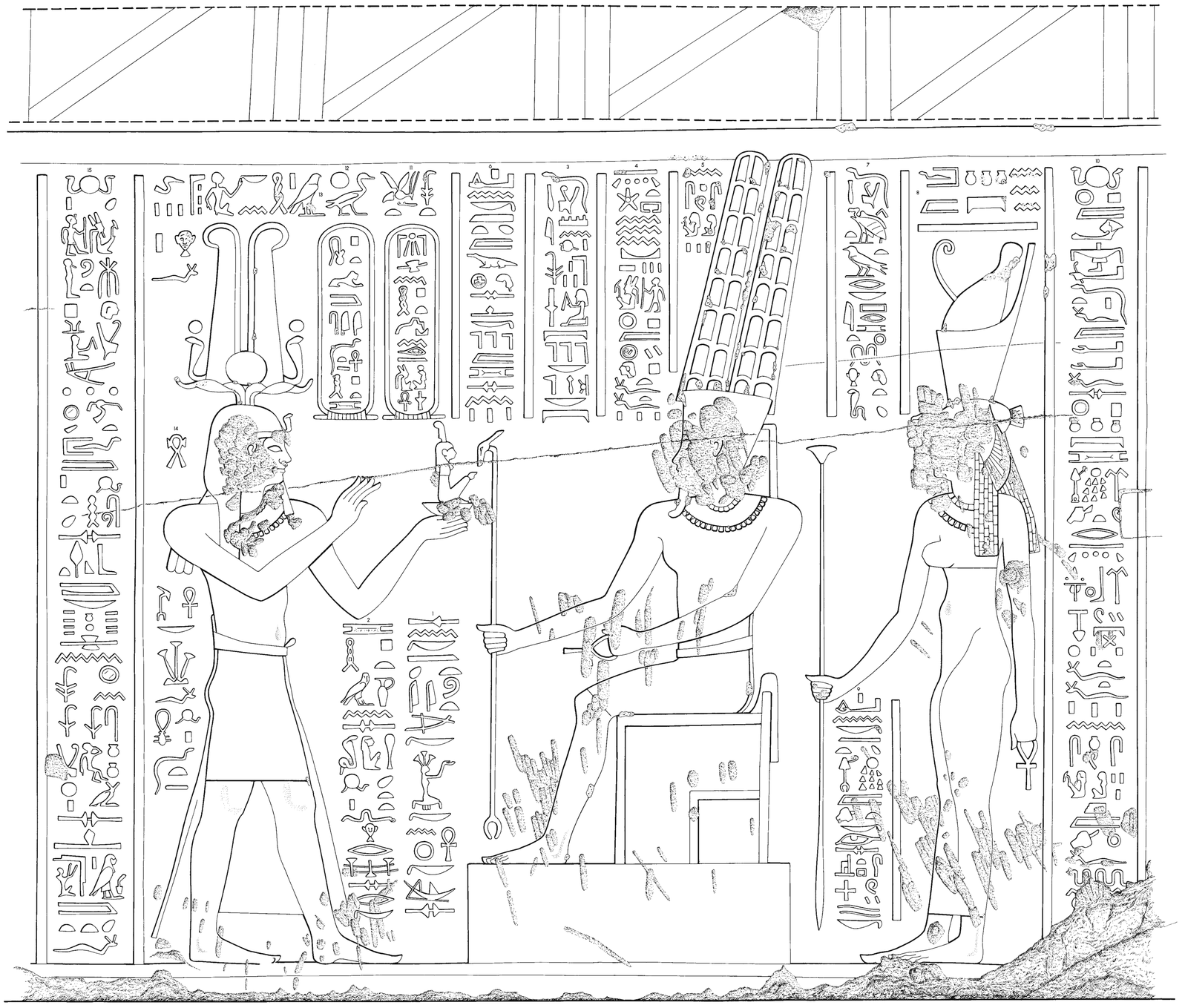
PTOLEMY VIII OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE AND MUT

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, CENTER LEFT

(Compare plate 172)



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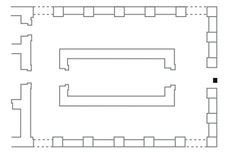
Drawing by De Jong

0 20 cm

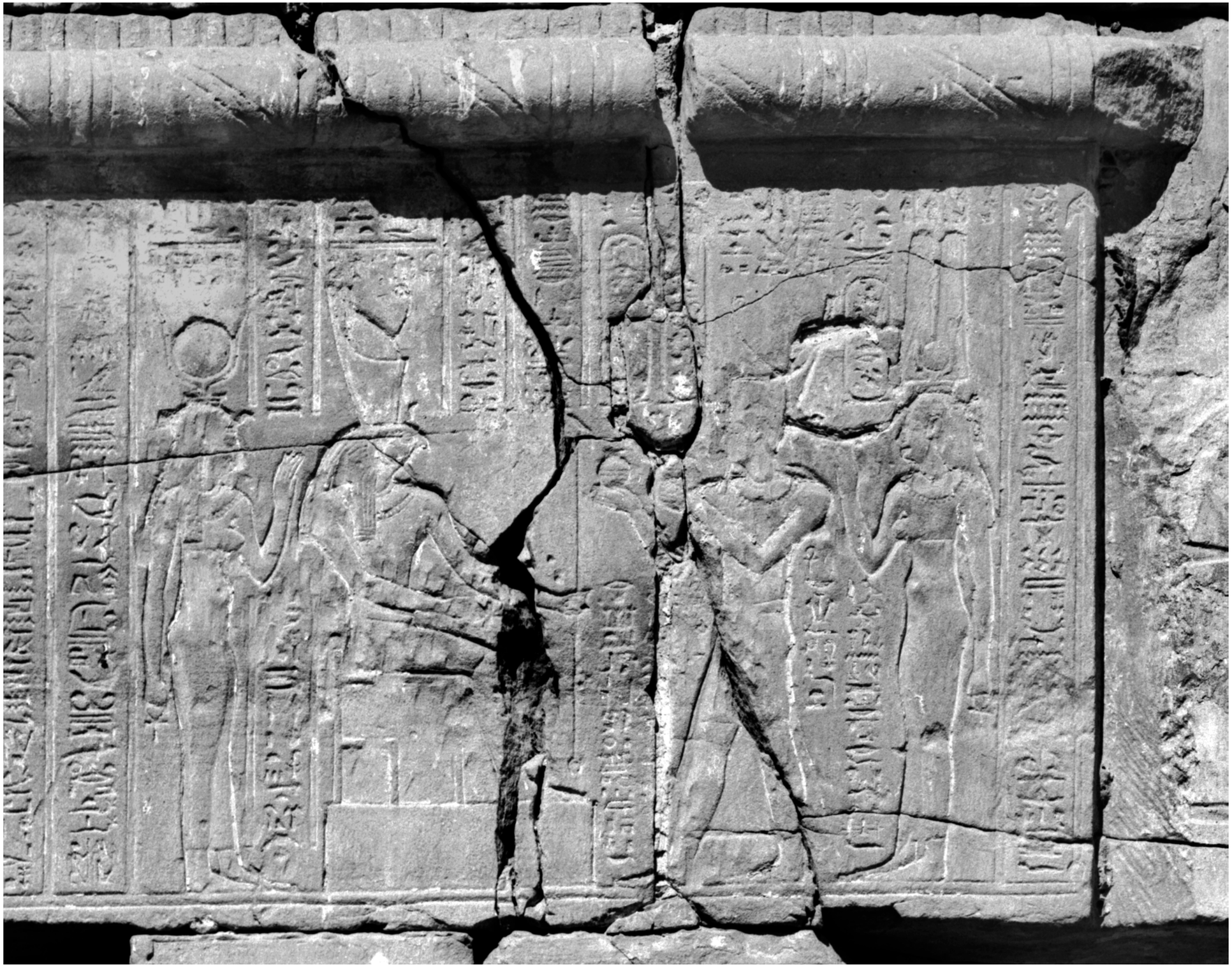
PTOLEMY VIII OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE AND MUT

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, CENTER LEFT

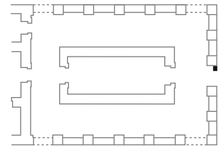
(See plate 171)



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Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

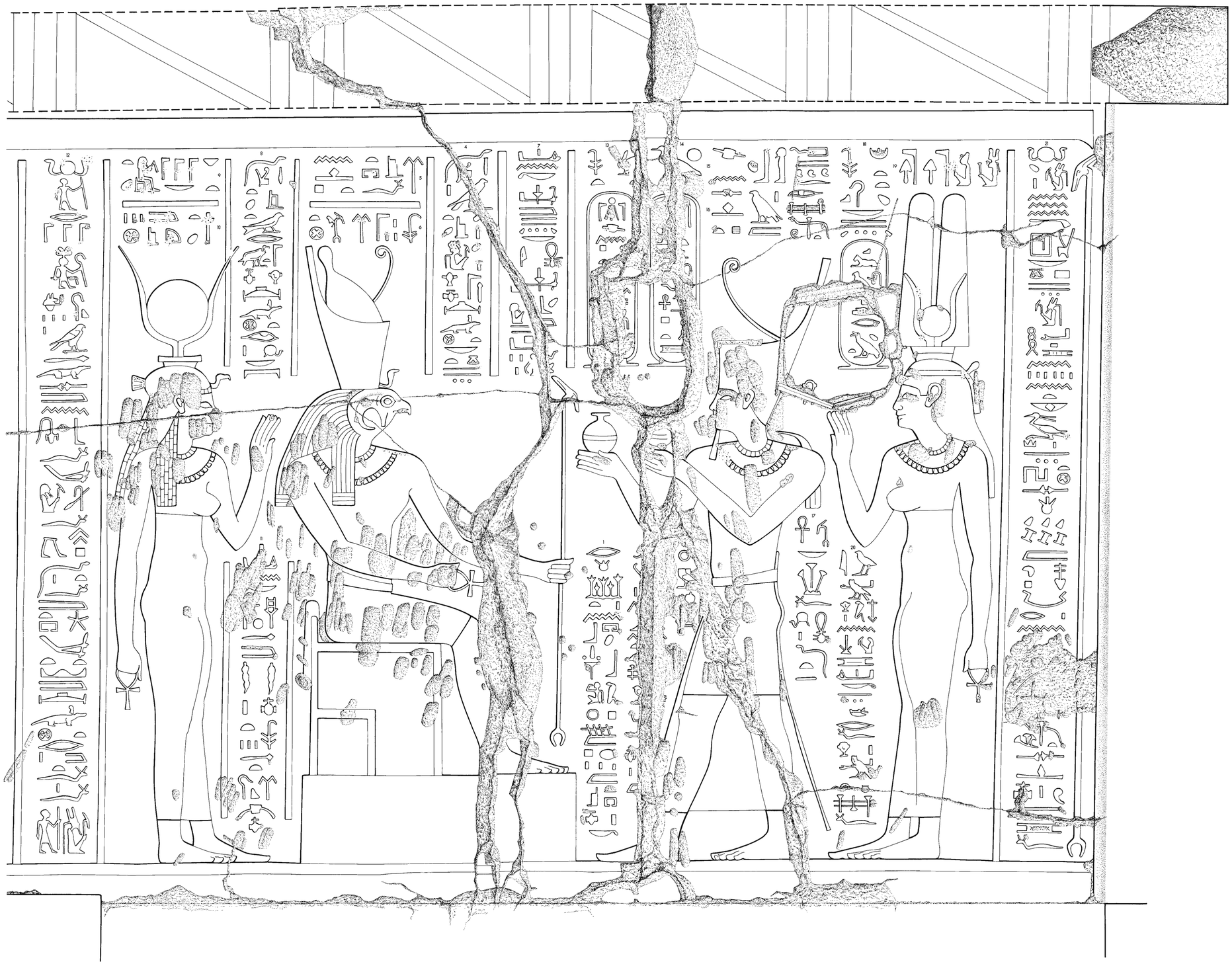


PTOLEMY VIII, ACCOMPANIED BY CLEOPATRA III, OFFERING WINE TO HORUS AND ISIS

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, RIGHT END

(Compare plate 174)

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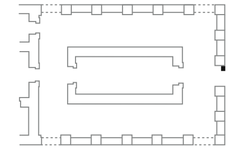
Drawing by De Jong

0 20 cm

PTOLEMY VIII, ACCOMPANIED BY CLEOPATRA III, OFFERING WINE TO HORUS AND ISIS

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, RIGHT END

(See plate 173)



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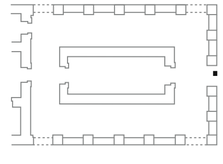


Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

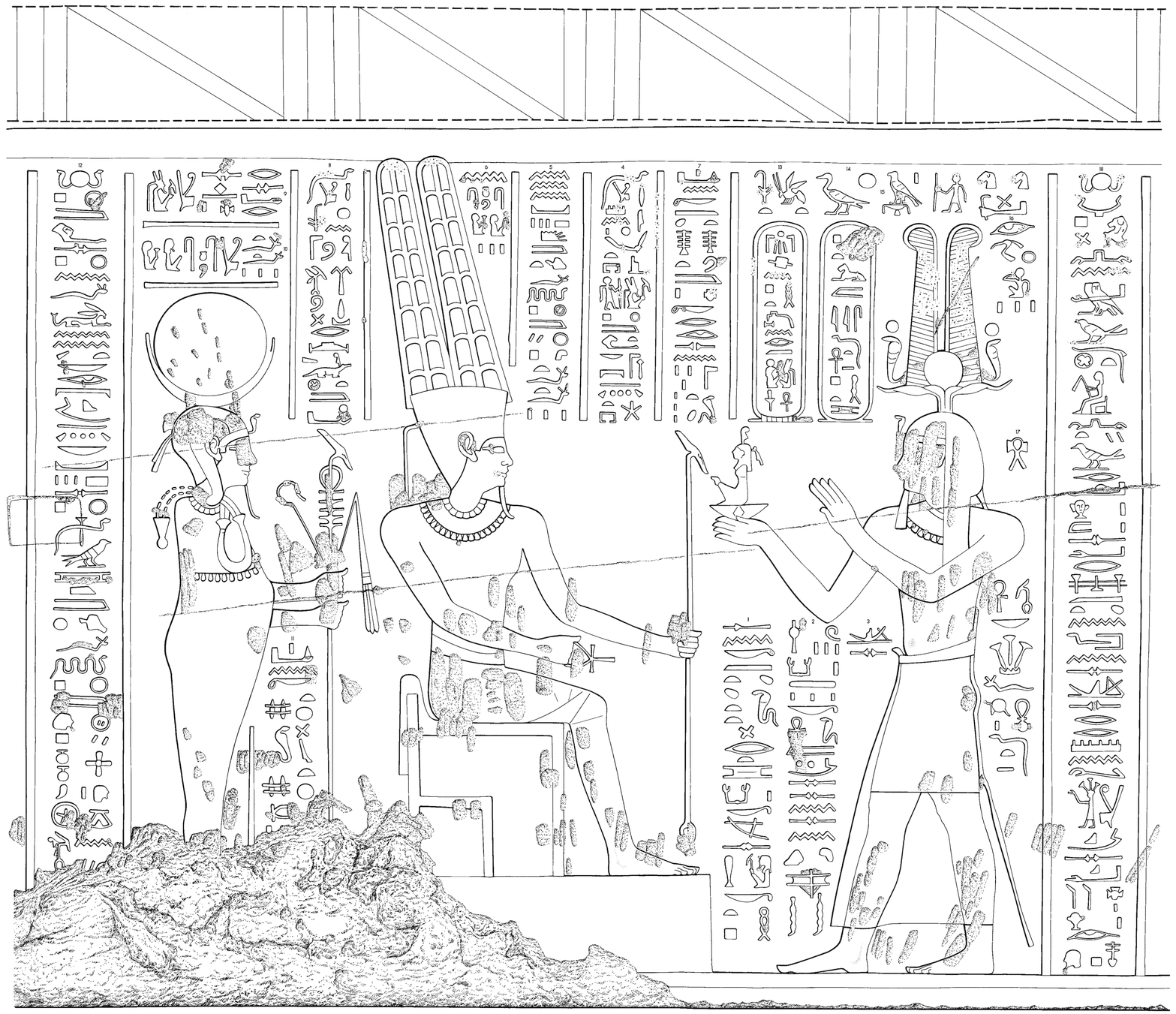
PTOLEMY VIII OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE AND KHONSU

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, CENTER RIGHT

(Compare plate 176)



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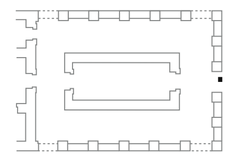
Drawing by De Jong

0 20 cm

PTOLEMY VIII OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE AND KHONSU

FAÇADE, LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE, CENTER RIGHT

(See plate 175)



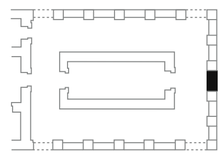
isac.uchicago.edu



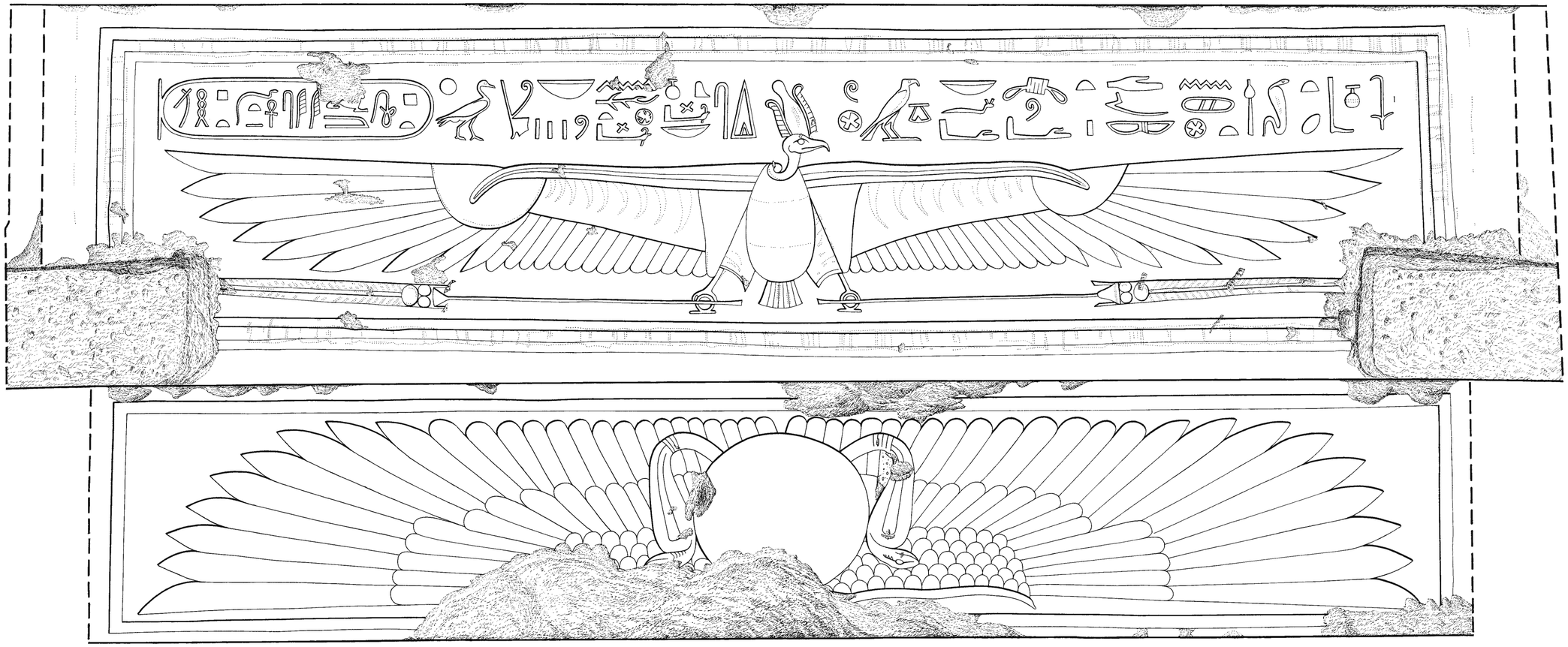
Photograph by Kobylecky

DECORATION ON THE SOFFIT OF THE EAST ENTRANCE

(Compare plate 178 and color plate 240)



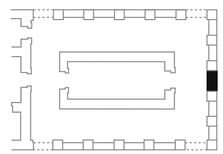
isac.uchicago.edu



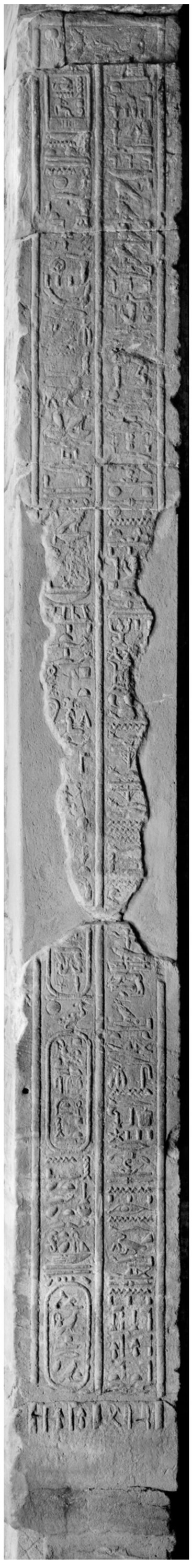
Drawing by Osgood

DECORATION ON THE SOFFIT OF THE EAST ENTRANCE

(See plate 177 and color plate 240)

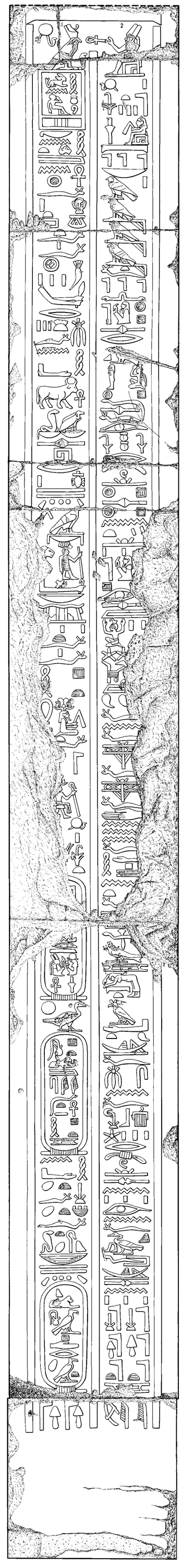


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Photograph by Keefe

A



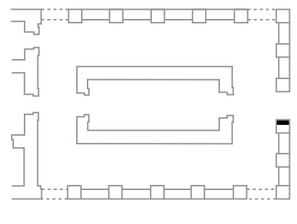
Drawing by De Jong

B

0 1 m

TEXT OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II

SOUTH REVEAL OF EAST ENTRANCE

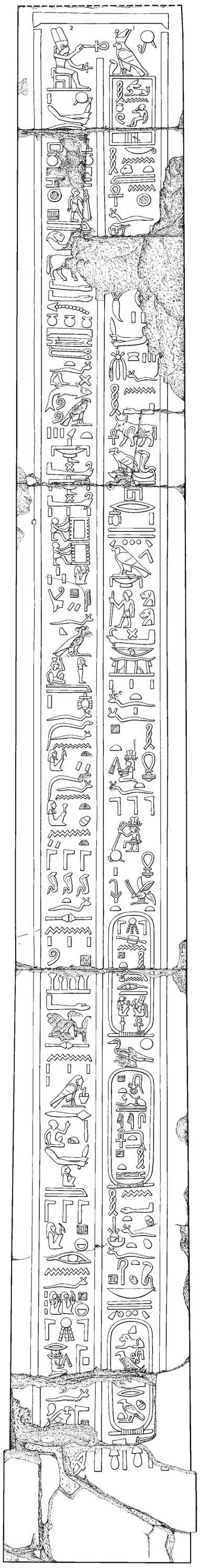


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



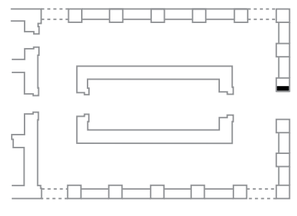
Drawing by De Jong

B

0 1 m

TEXT OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II

NORTH REVEAL OF EAST ENTRANCE



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A



B



Photographs by Keefe, Lezon, and Van Eynde

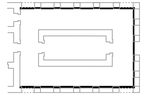
C

INSCRIPTIONS OF THUTMOSE III ON THE INTERIOR ARCHITRAVES OF THE PERIPTEROS

A. EAST ARCHITRAVE

B. SOUTH ARCHITRAVE

C. NORTH ARCHITRAVE



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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



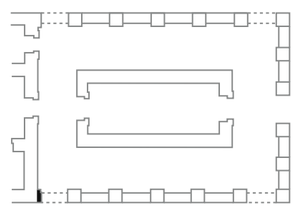
Drawing by De Jong

B

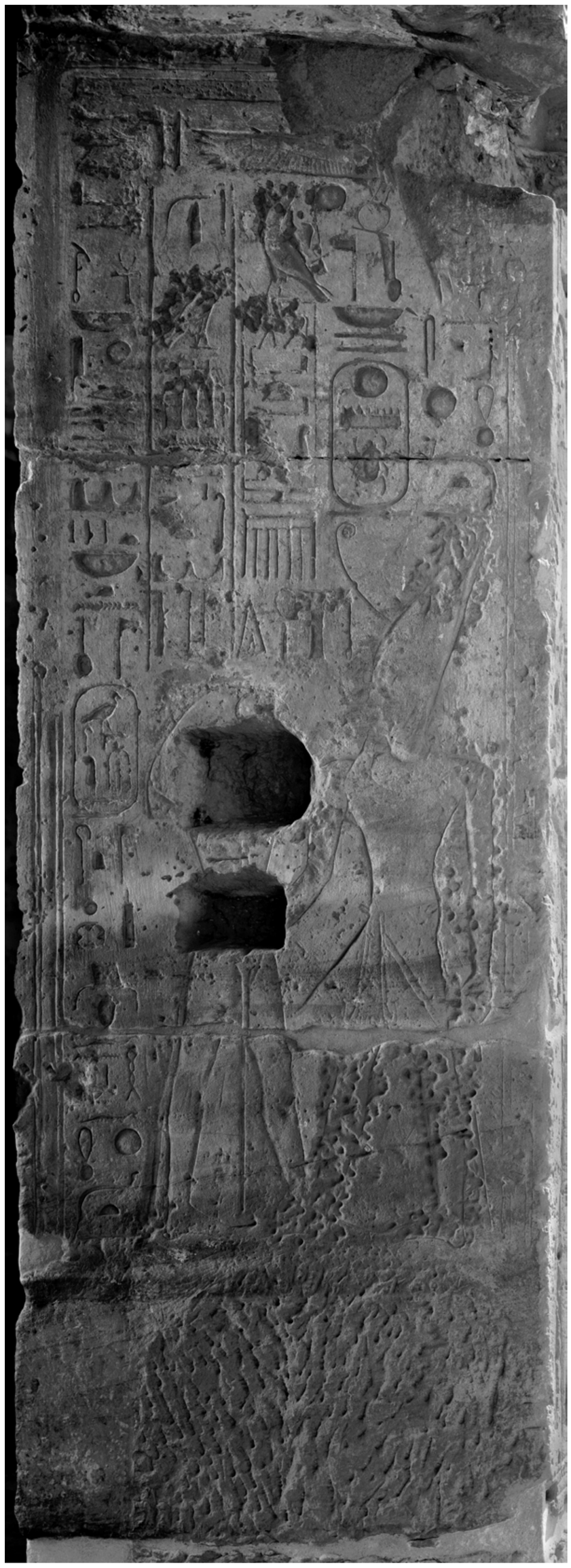
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY A MALE DEITY

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

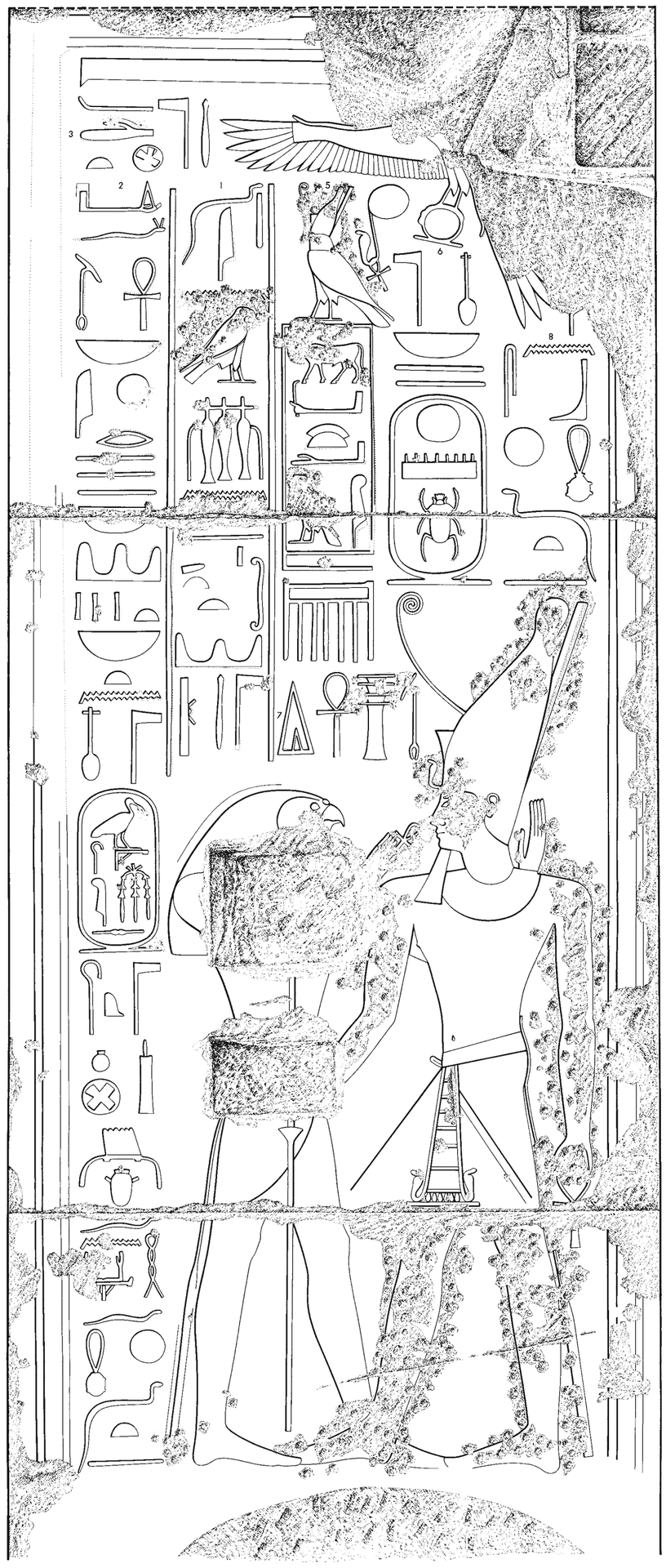


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



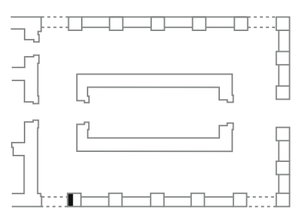
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Vértes

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY HORUS OF NUBIA

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

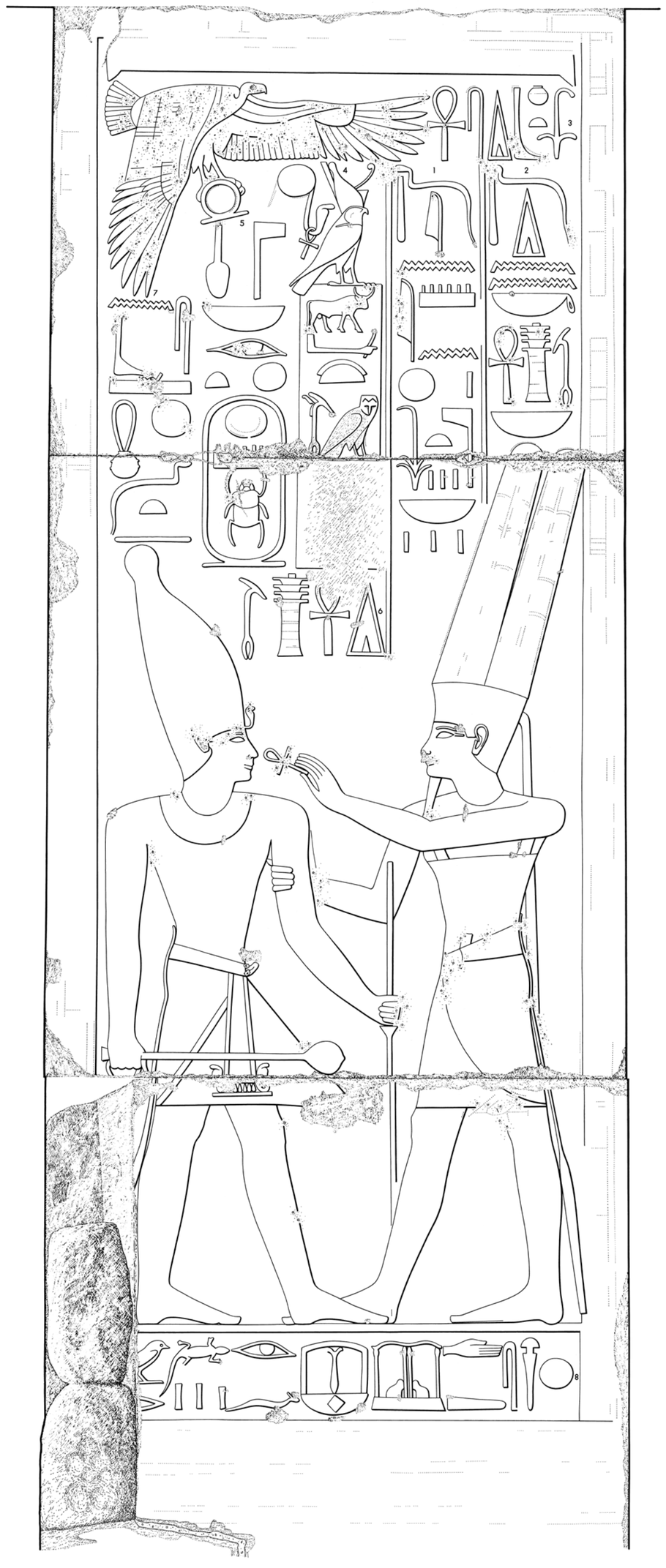


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Photograph by Keefe and Kobylecky

A



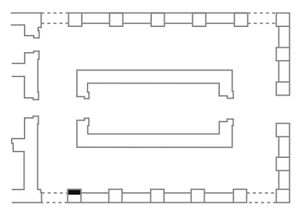
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Vértes

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

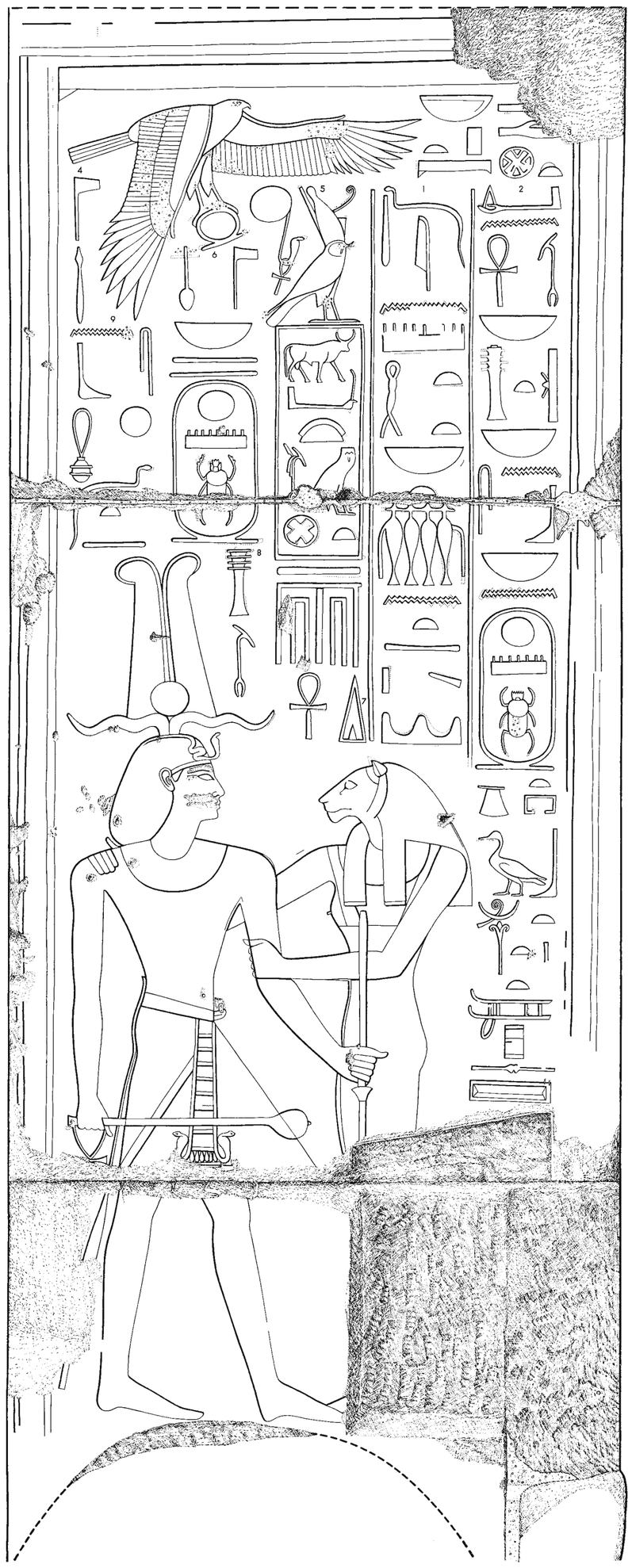


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A

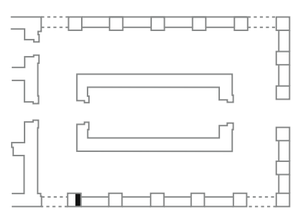


Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY MENEHYT

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

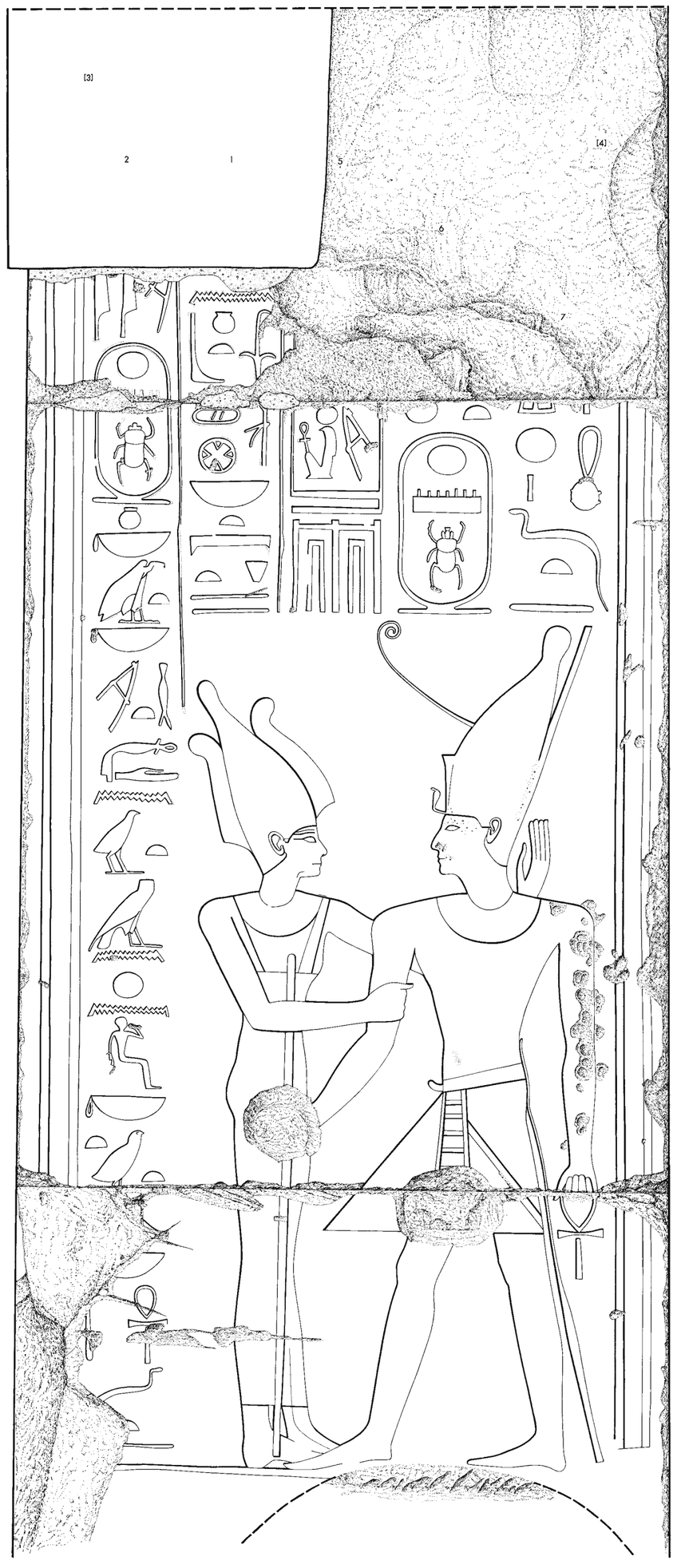


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A

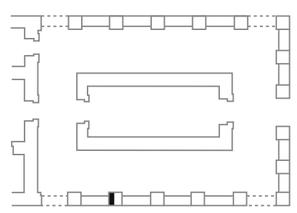


Drawing by De Jong and Heidel

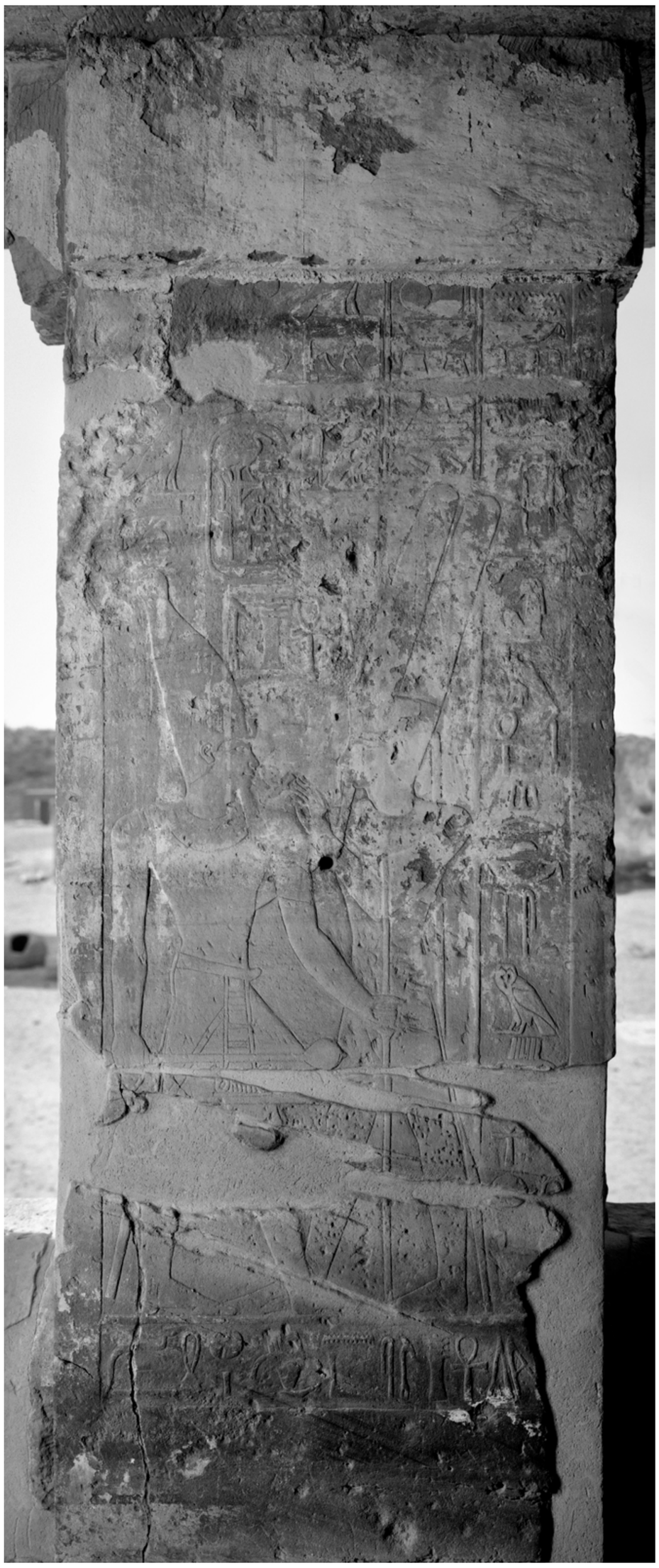
B

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY NEKHBET

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

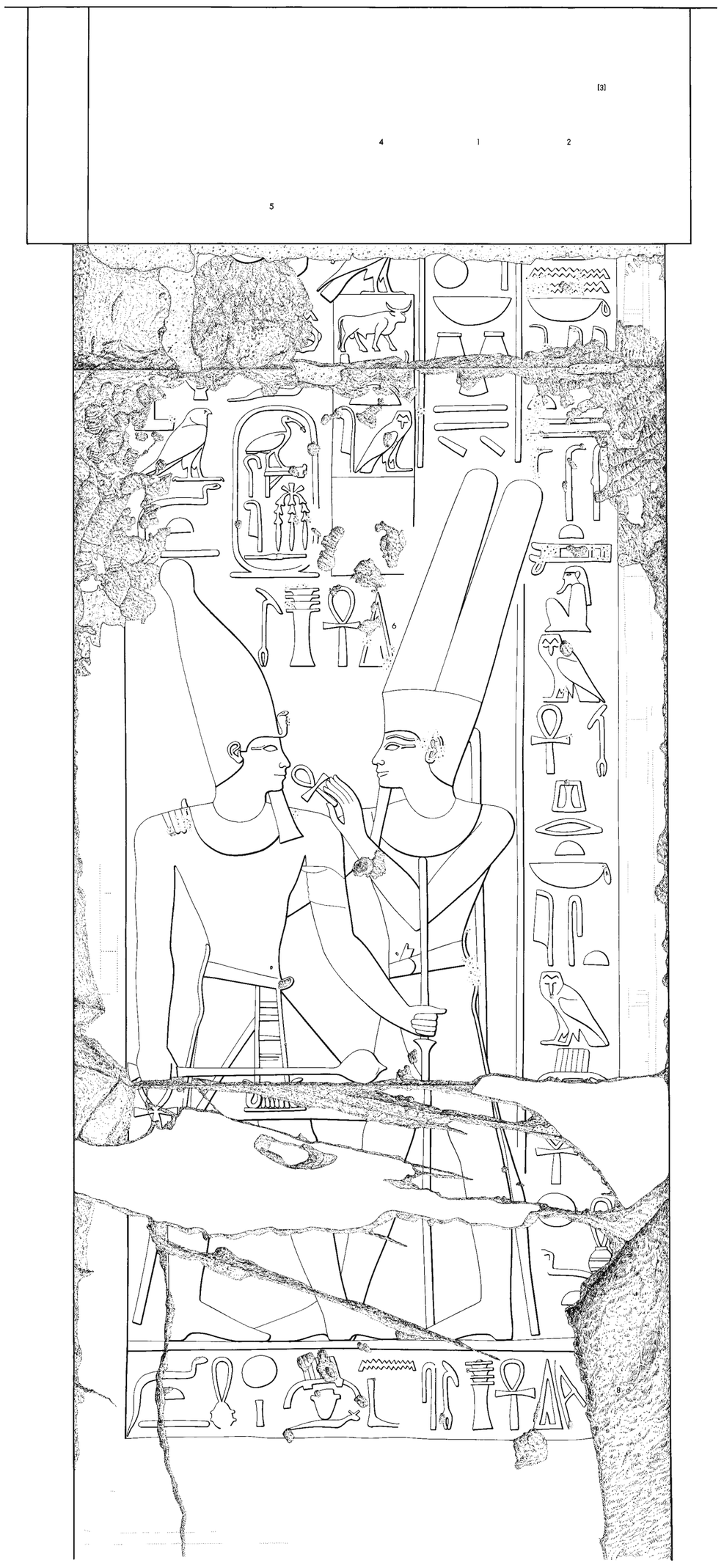


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



Drawing by De Jong and Heidel

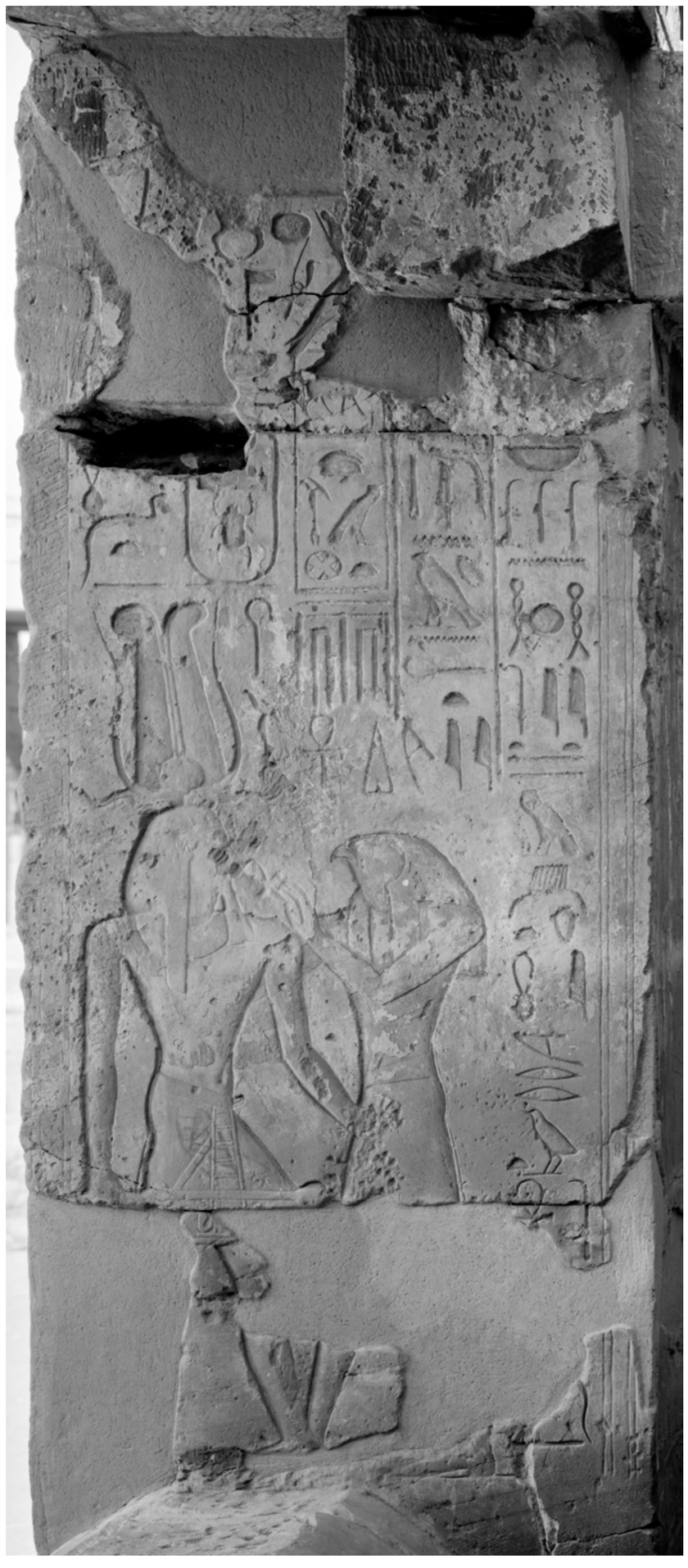
B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

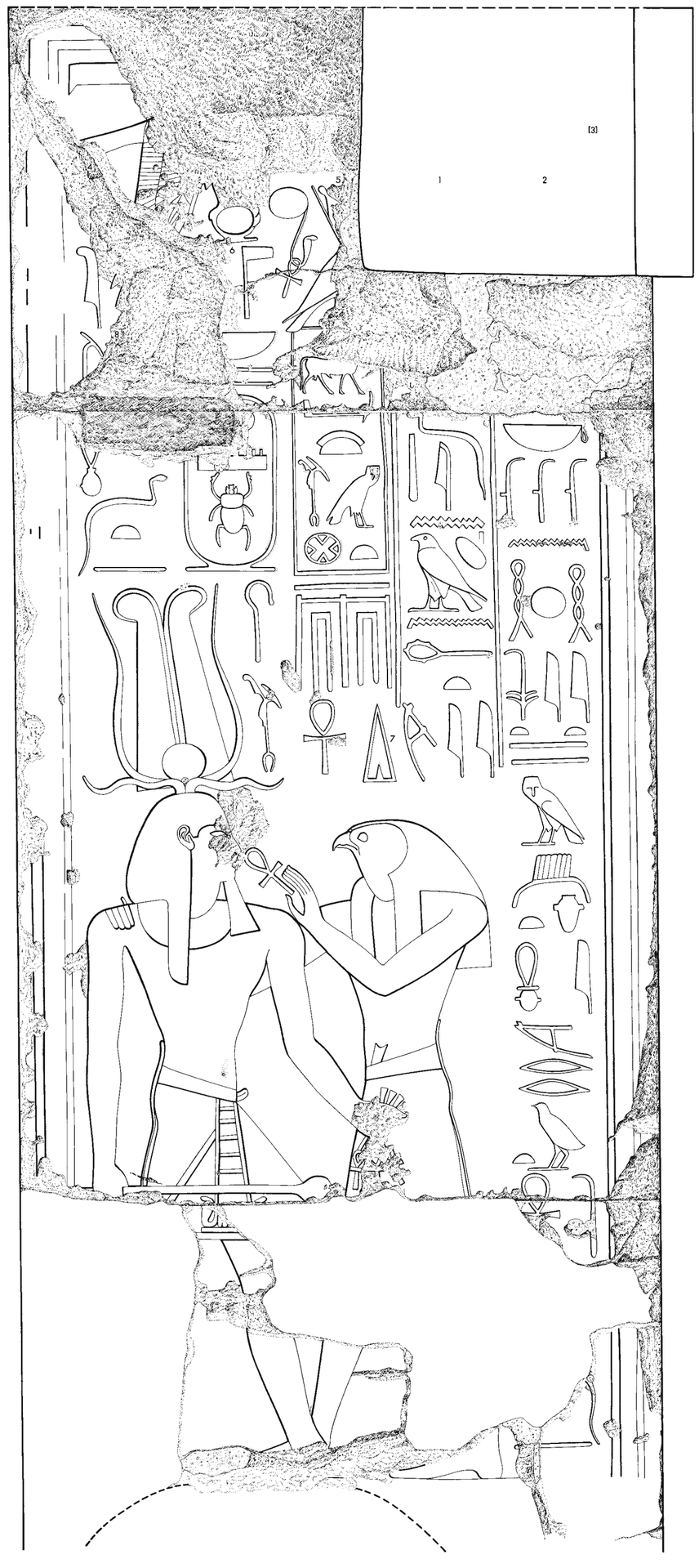
PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

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A

Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde



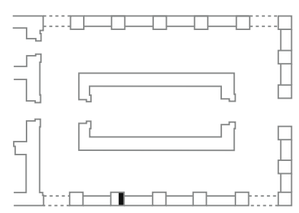
B

Drawing by De Jong and Heidel

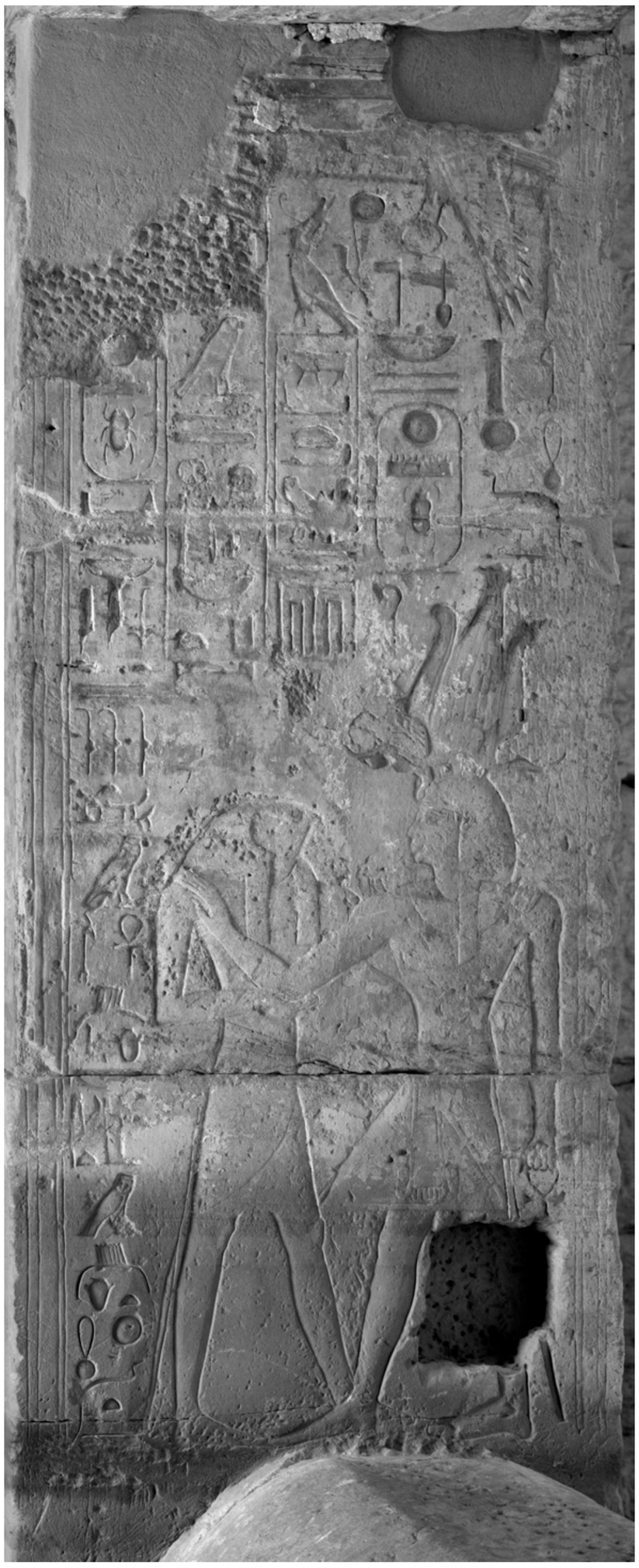
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY HORUS

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

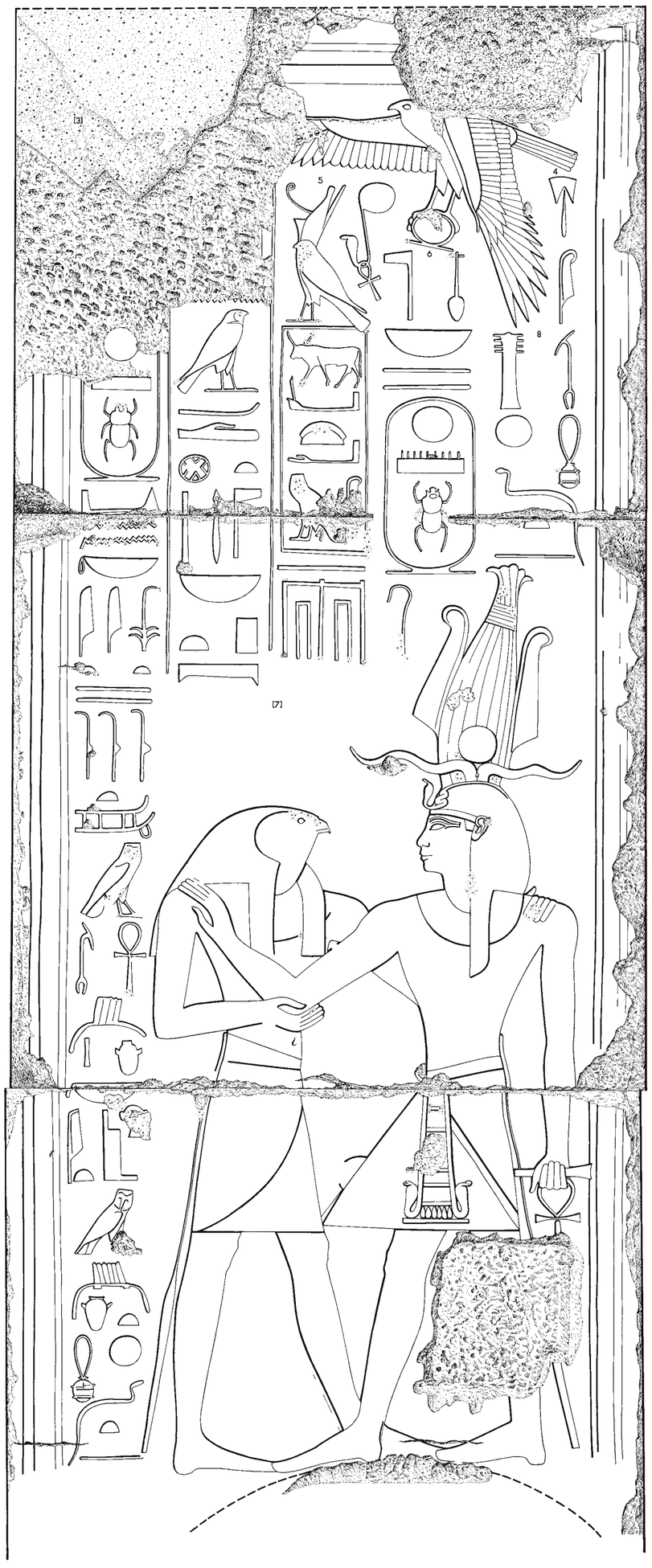


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



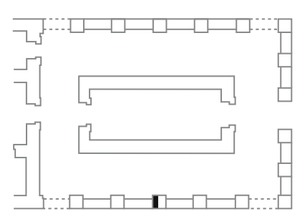
Drawing by De Jong and Johnson

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY HORUS

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE



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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



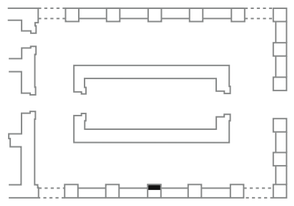
Drawing by Osgood and Vértes

B

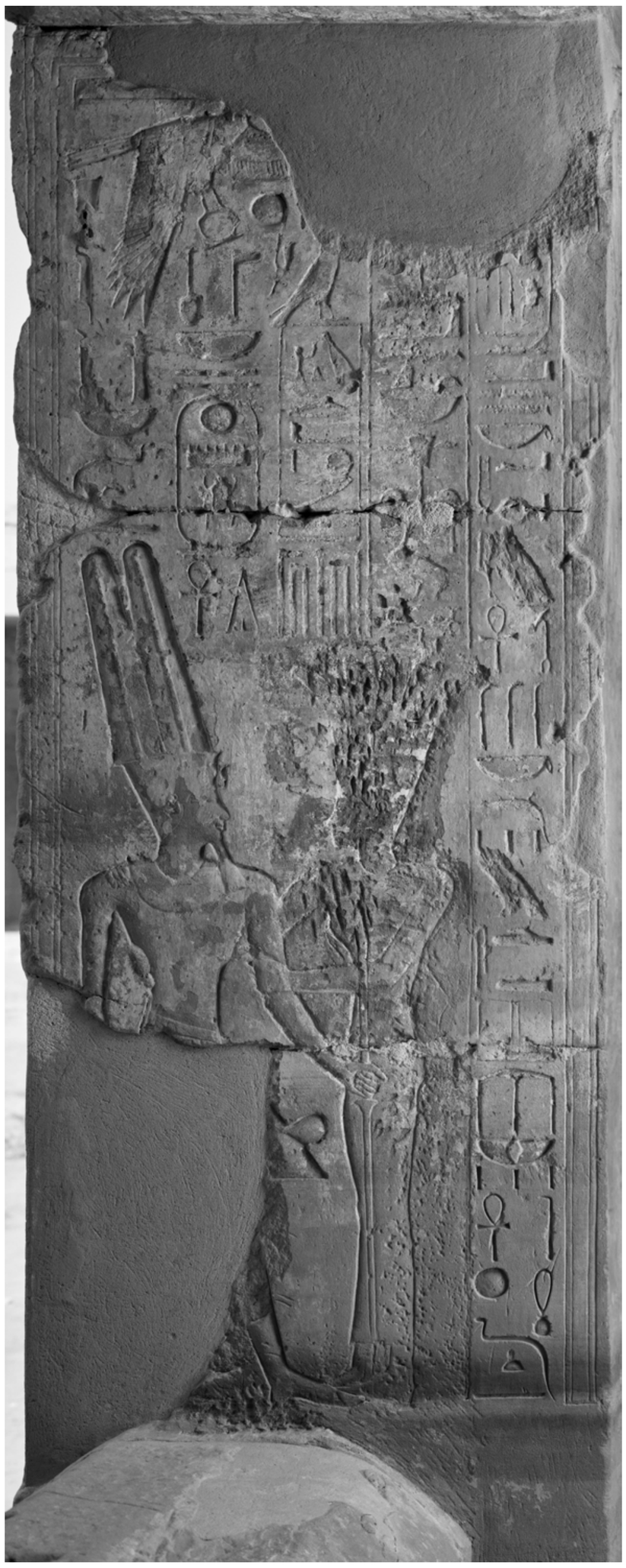
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

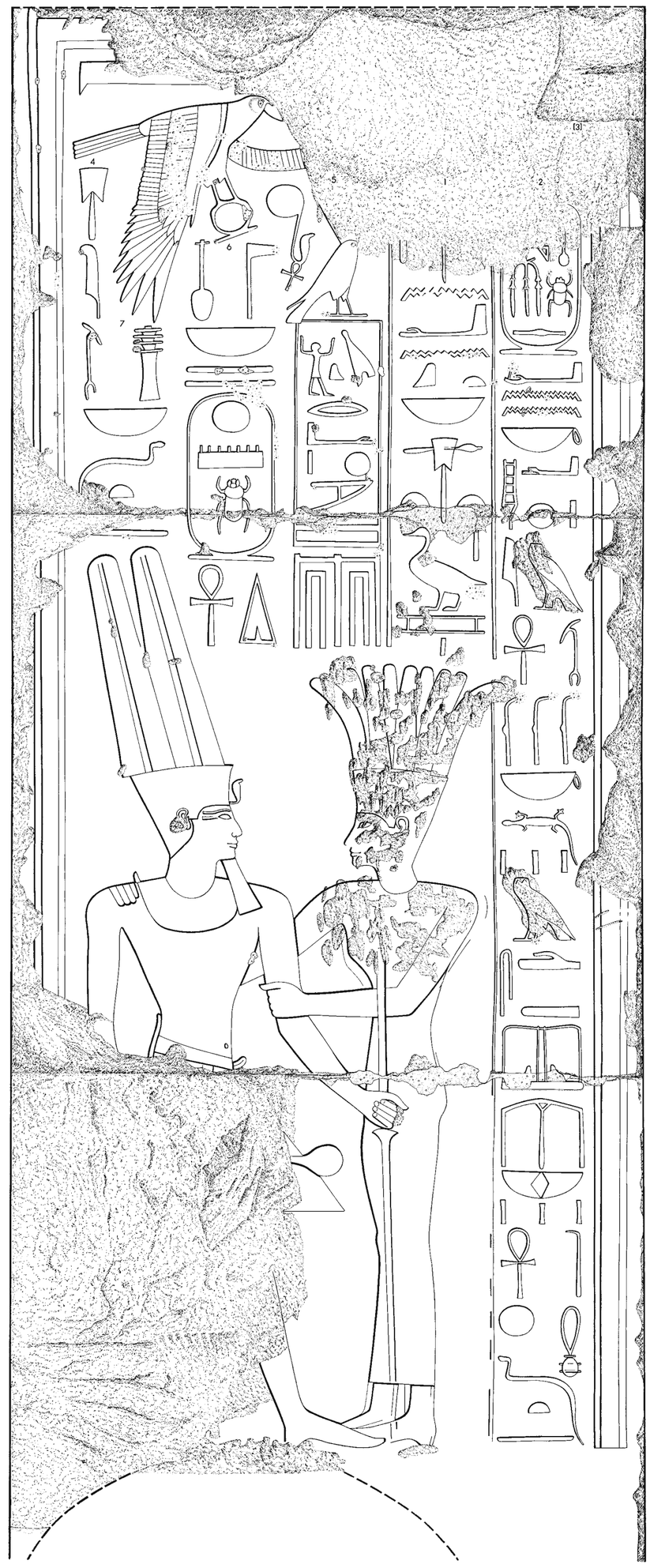


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Photograph by Keefe

A



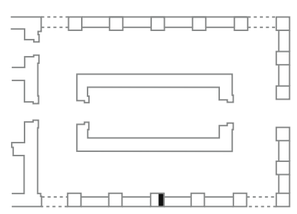
Drawing by De Jong and Heidel

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY ANUKET

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE



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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



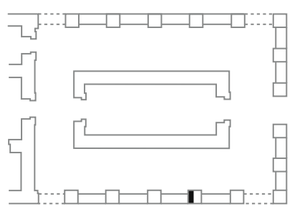
Drawing by Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY KHNUM

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

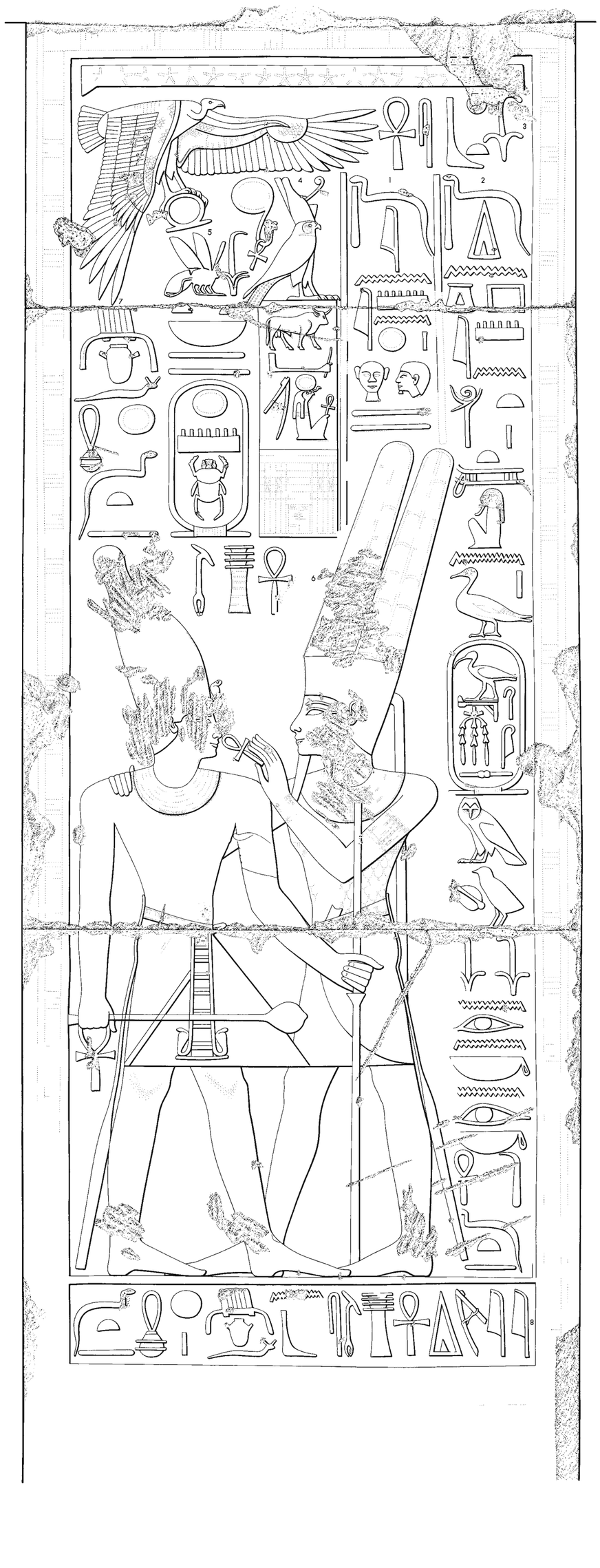


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



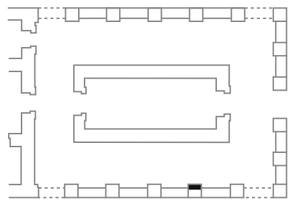
Drawing by Osgood and Vértes

B

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

(Compare color plate 241)

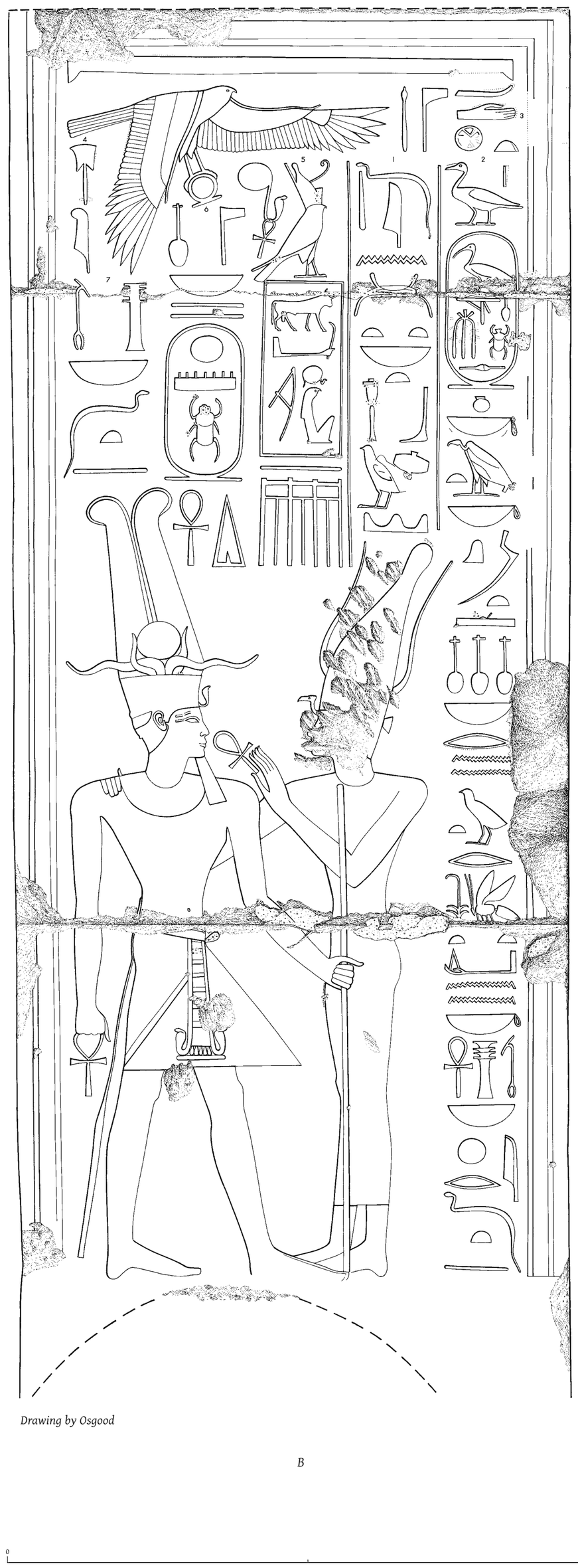


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Photograph by Keefe

A

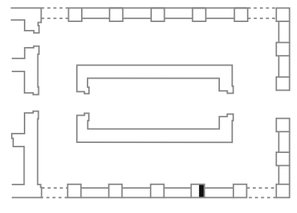


Drawing by Osgood

B

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY SATET

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

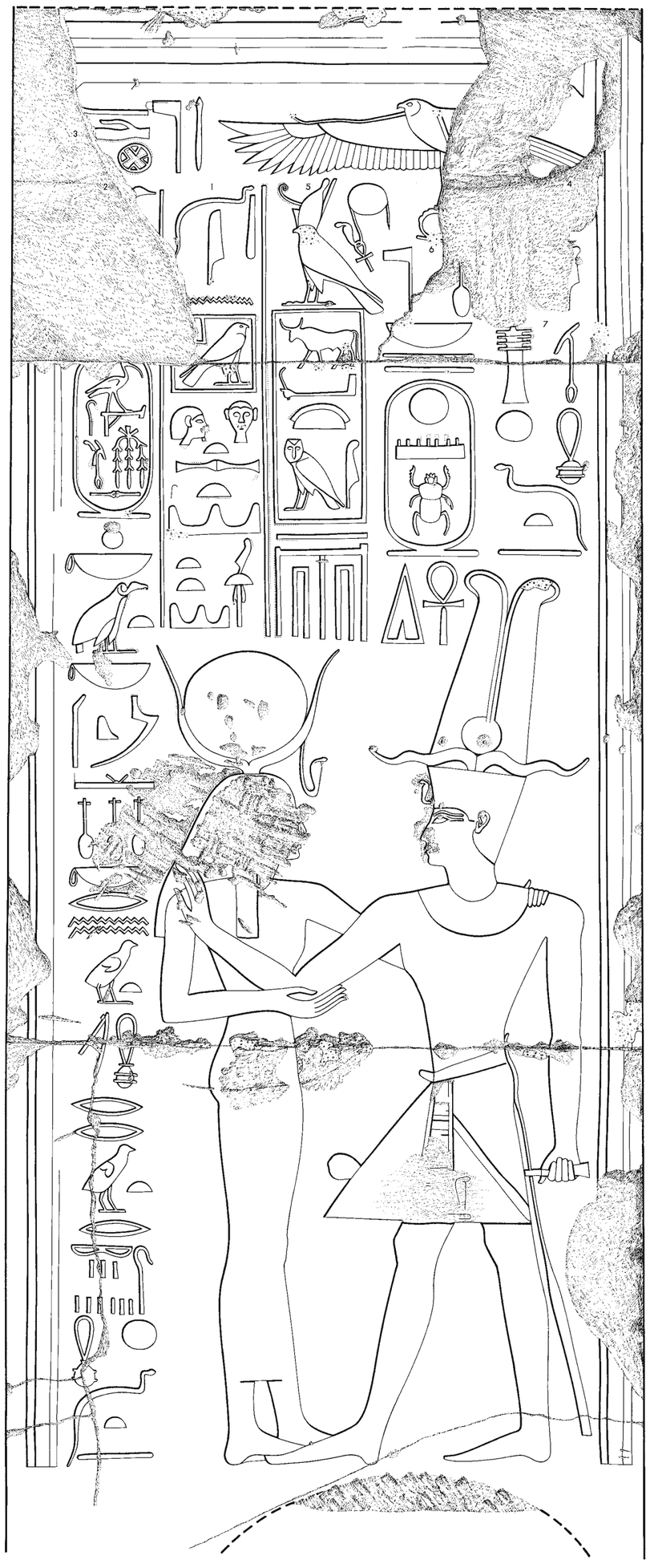


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Photograph by Keefe

A



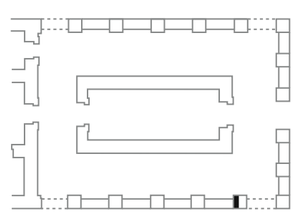
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY HATHOR

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

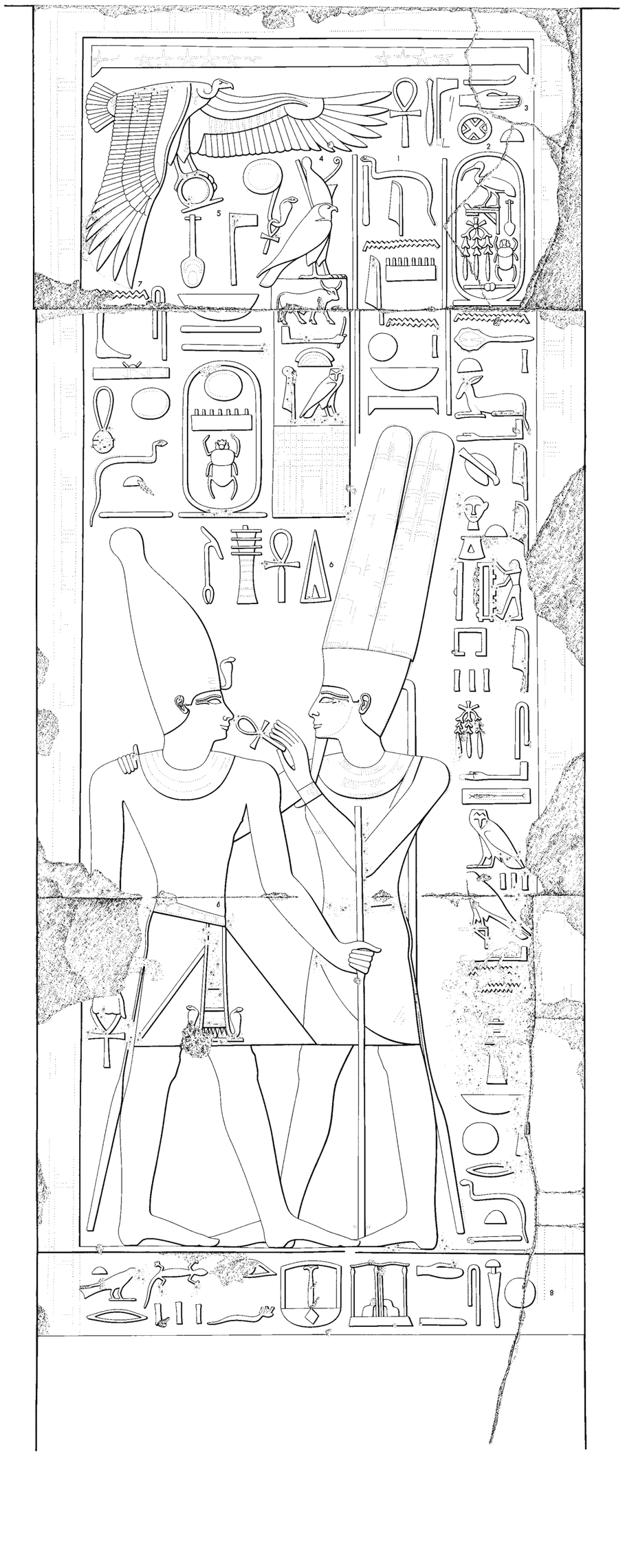


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Photograph by Keefe

A



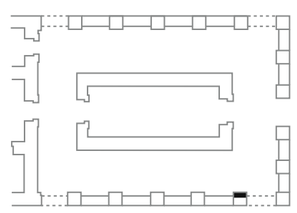
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Vértes

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

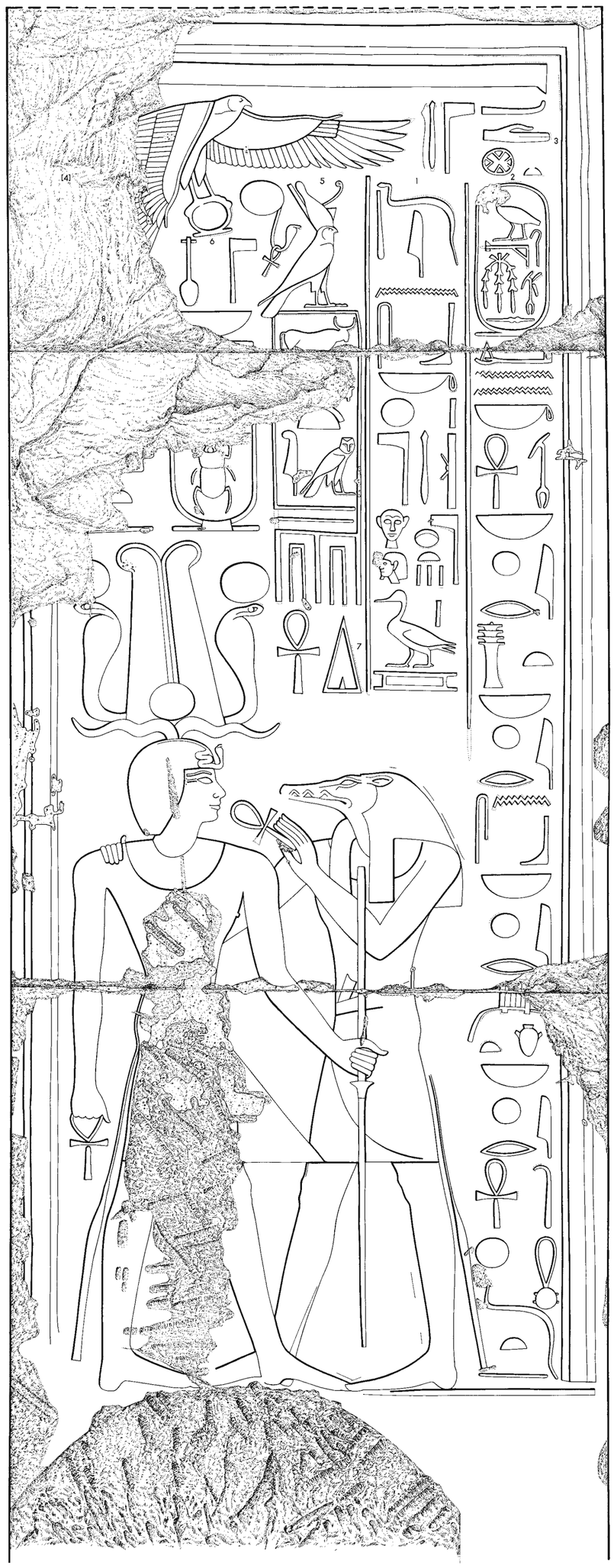


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Photograph by Lezon and Van Eynde

A



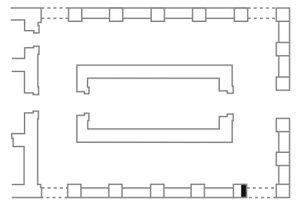
Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY SOBEK

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

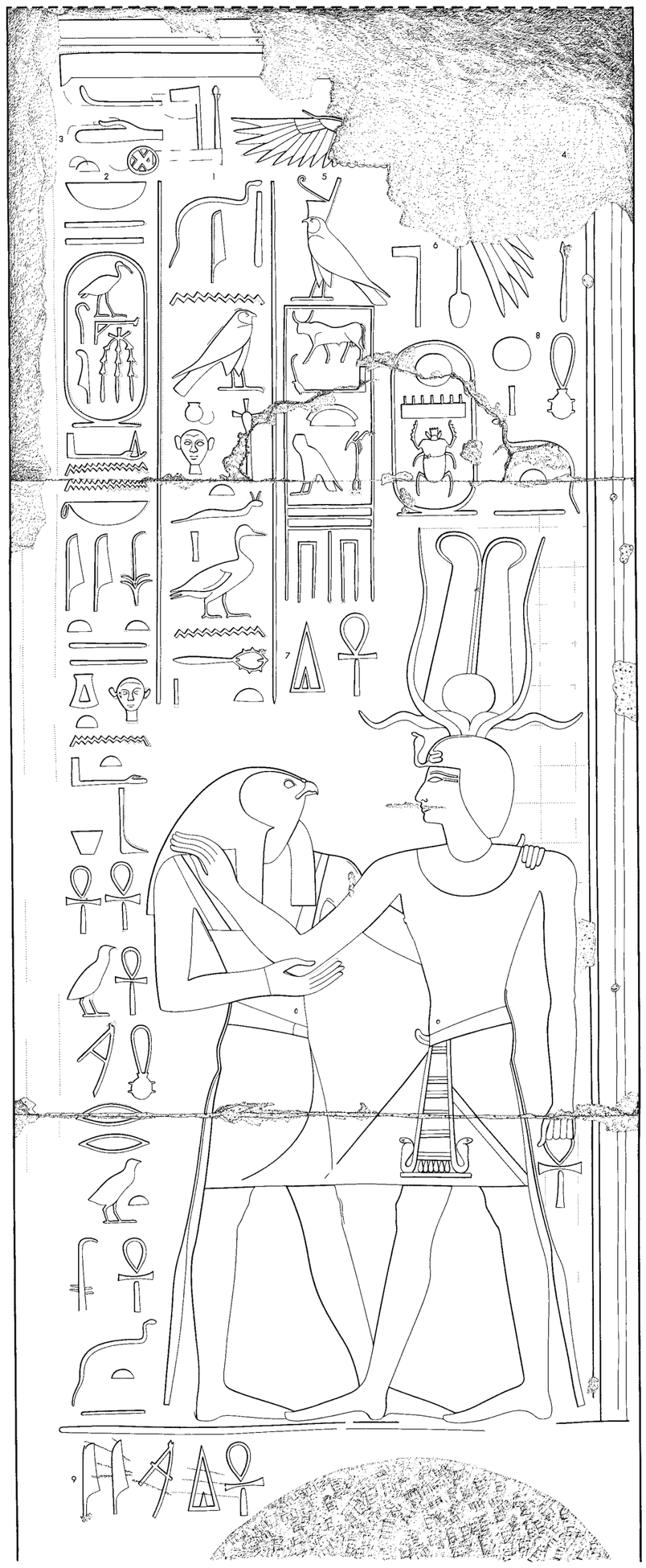


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Photograph by Keefe

A



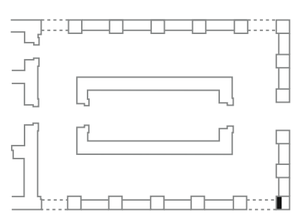
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Vértes

B

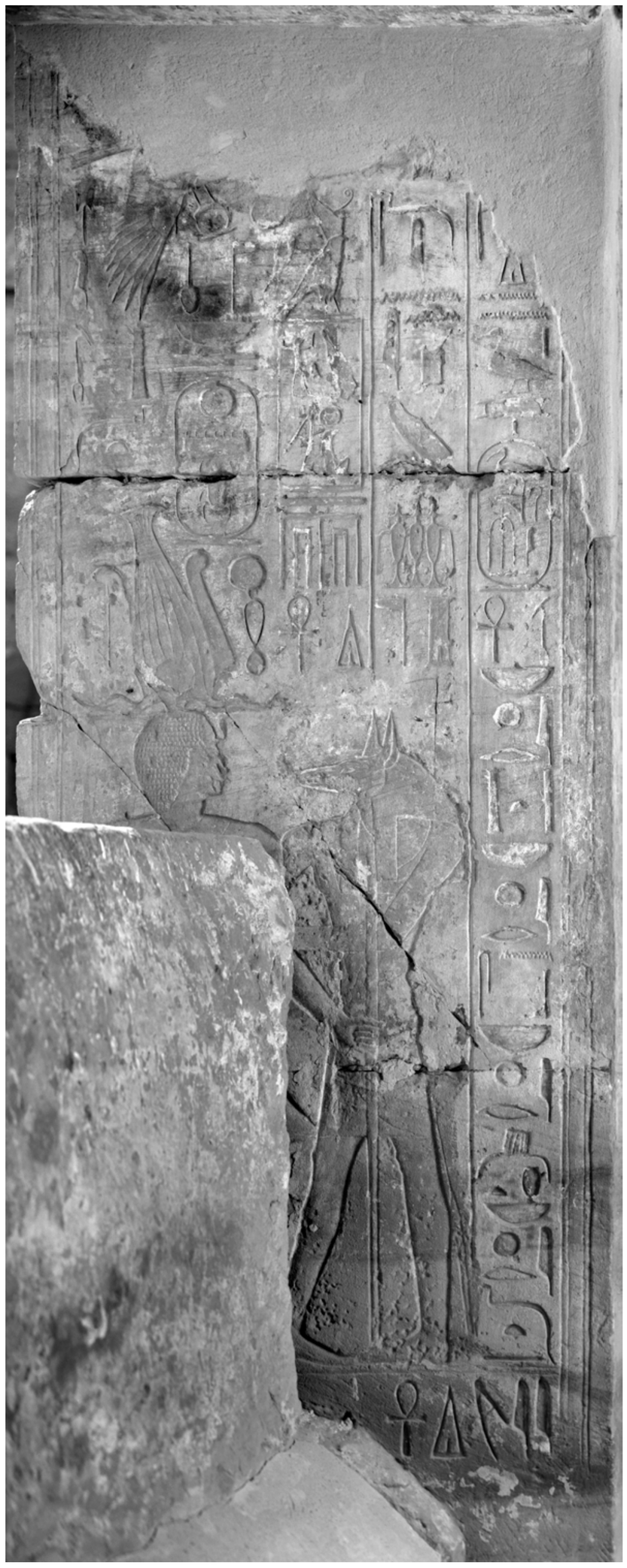
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY HORUS

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

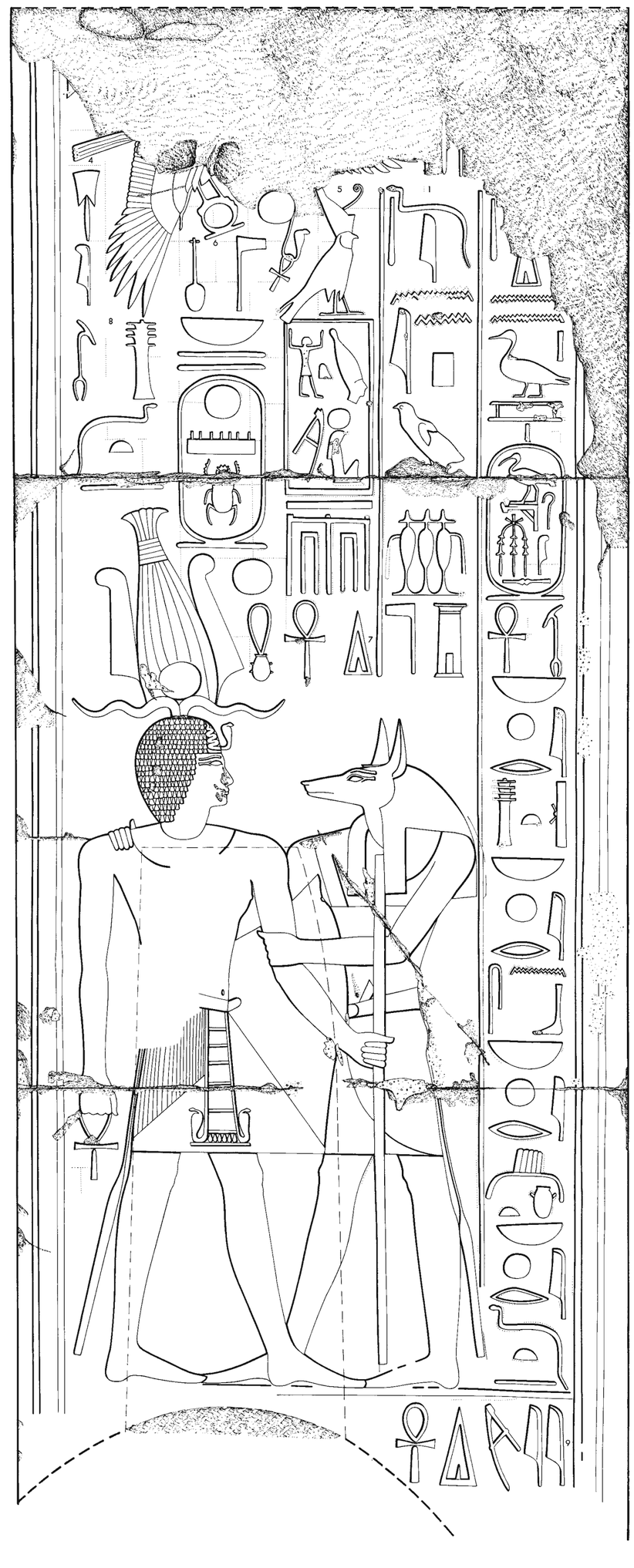


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



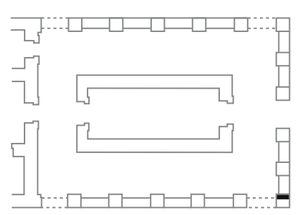
Drawing by Alberts and Di Cerbo

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY ANUBIS

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

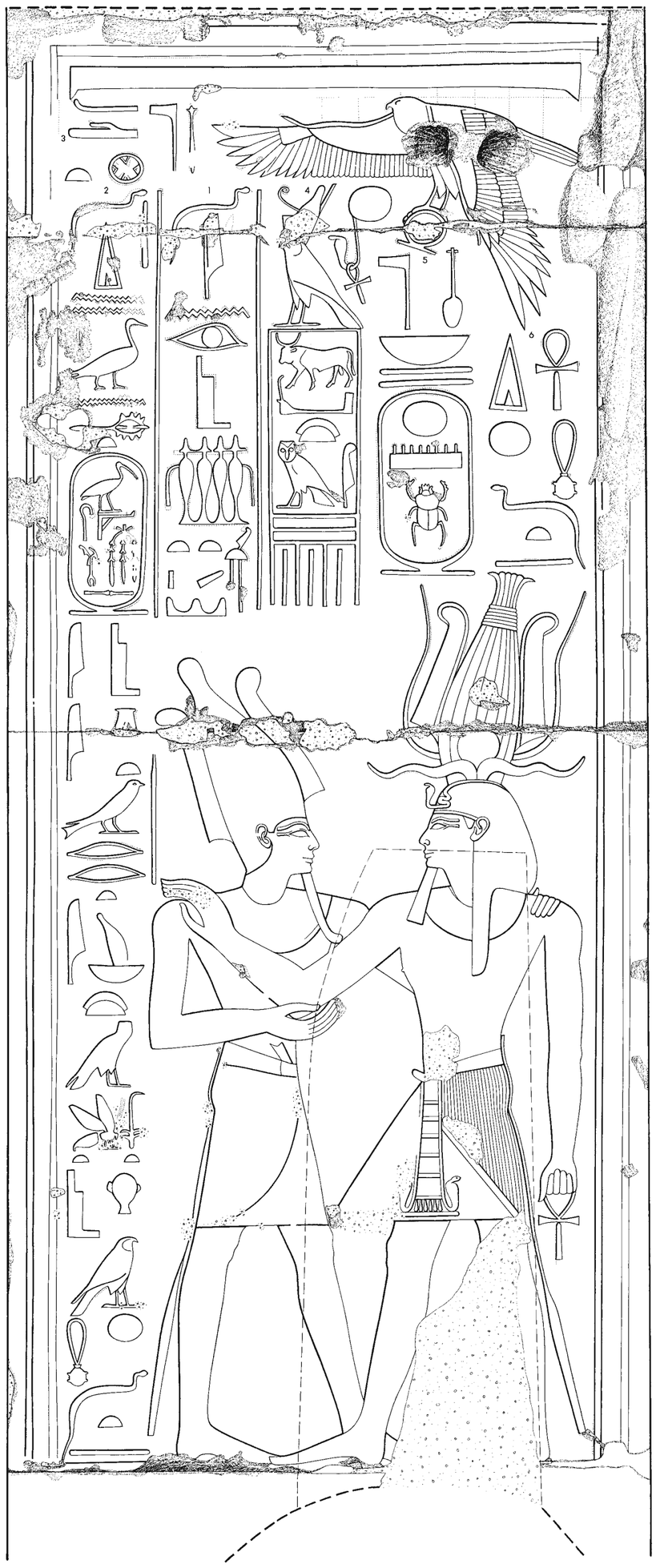


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



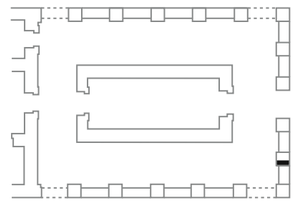
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY OSIRIS

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

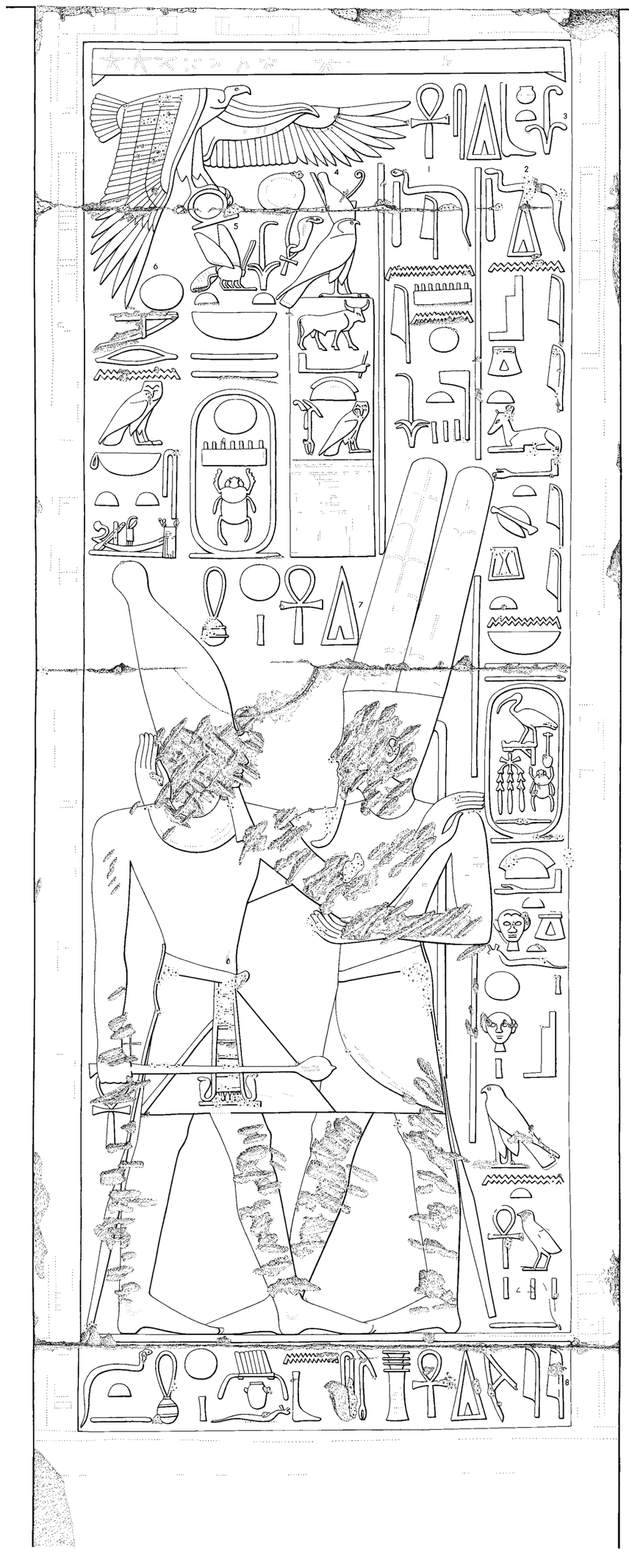


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



Drawing by Osgood

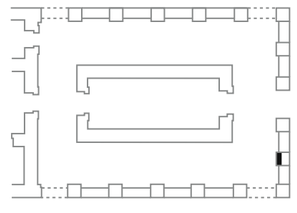
B

0 1 m

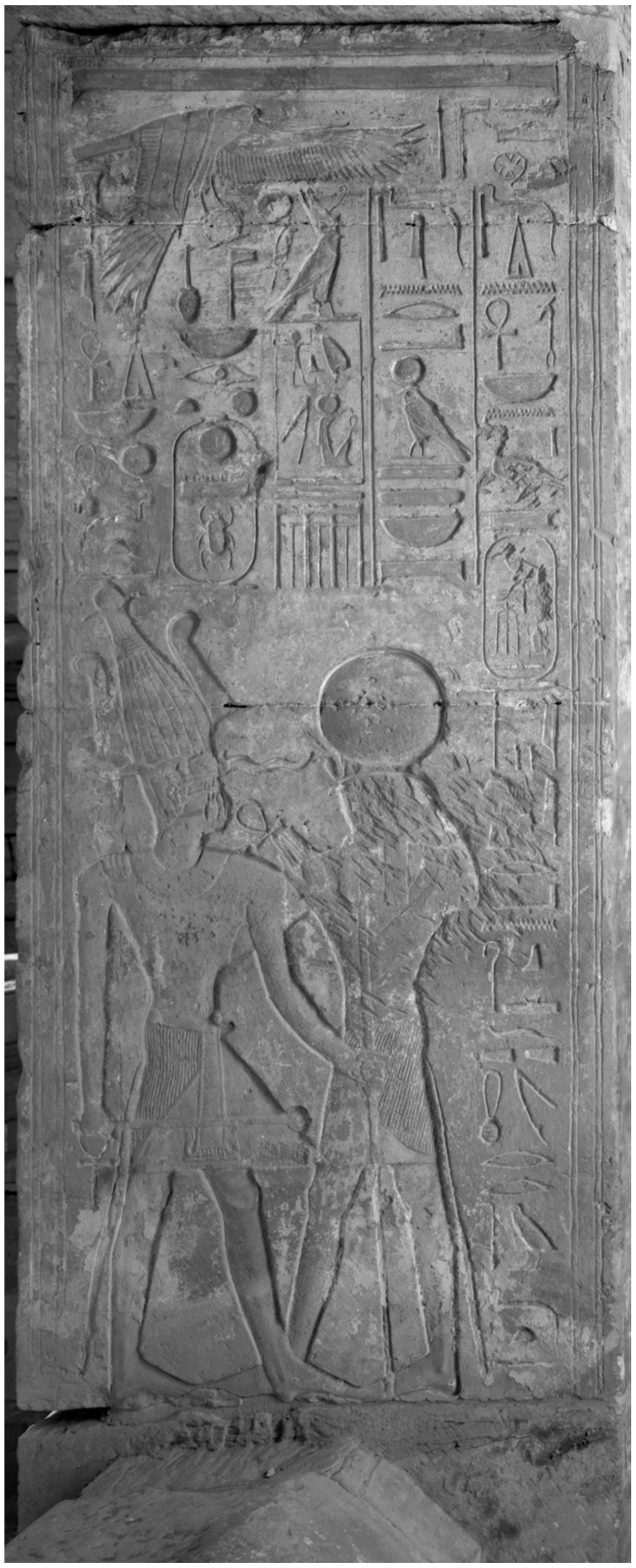
THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

(Compare color plate 243)

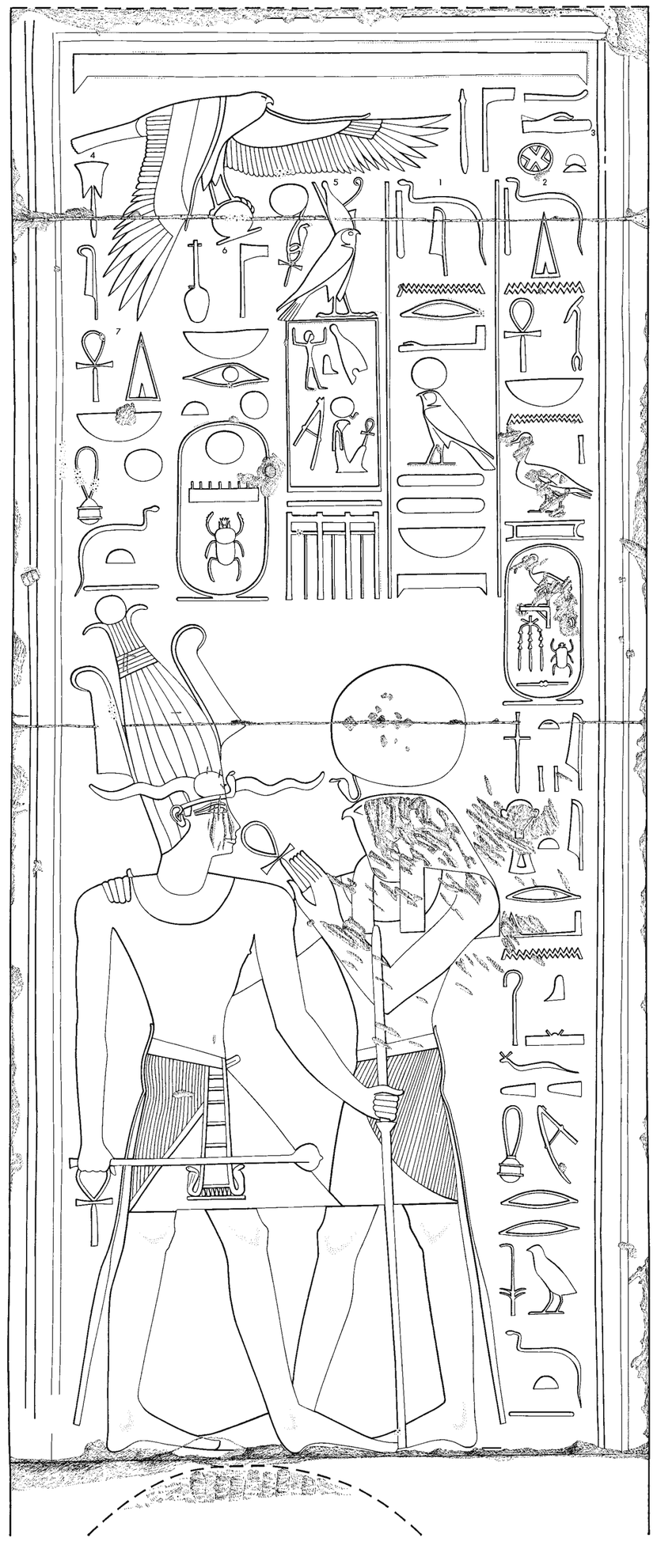


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



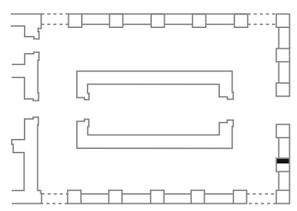
Drawing by Johnson and Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY RE-HORAKHTY

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE



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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A

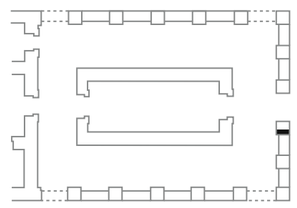


Drawing by Osgood

B

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY ATUM

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

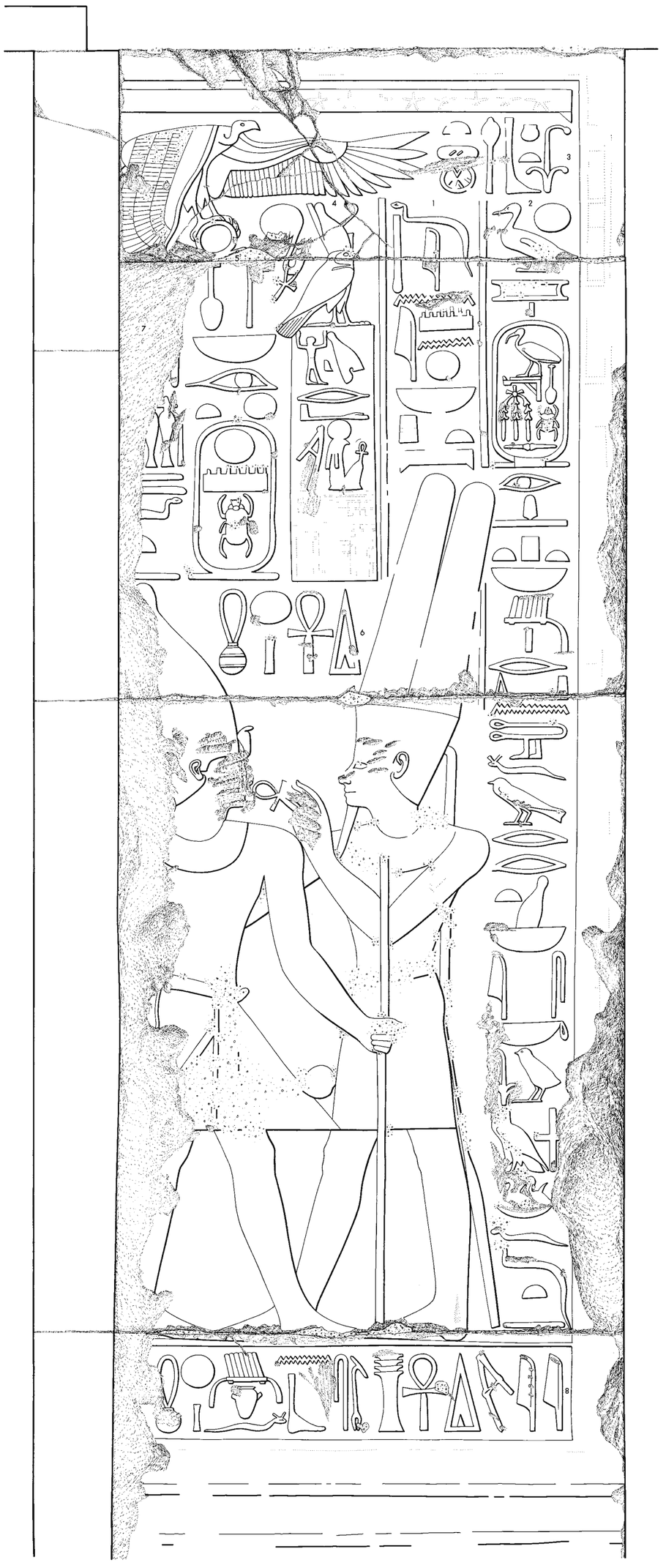


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



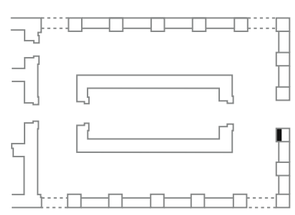
Drawing by Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

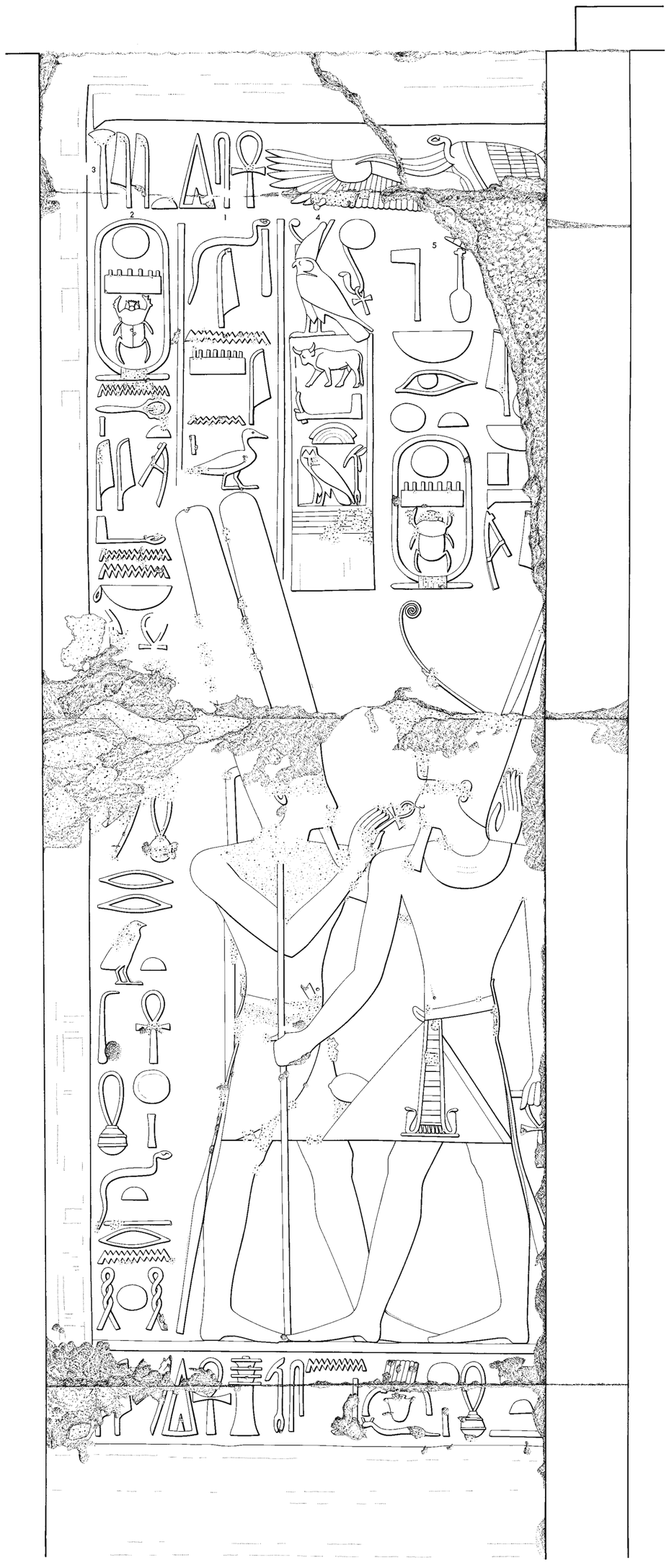


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Photograph by Keefe

A



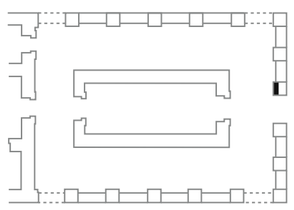
Drawing by Baumann and Schenck

B

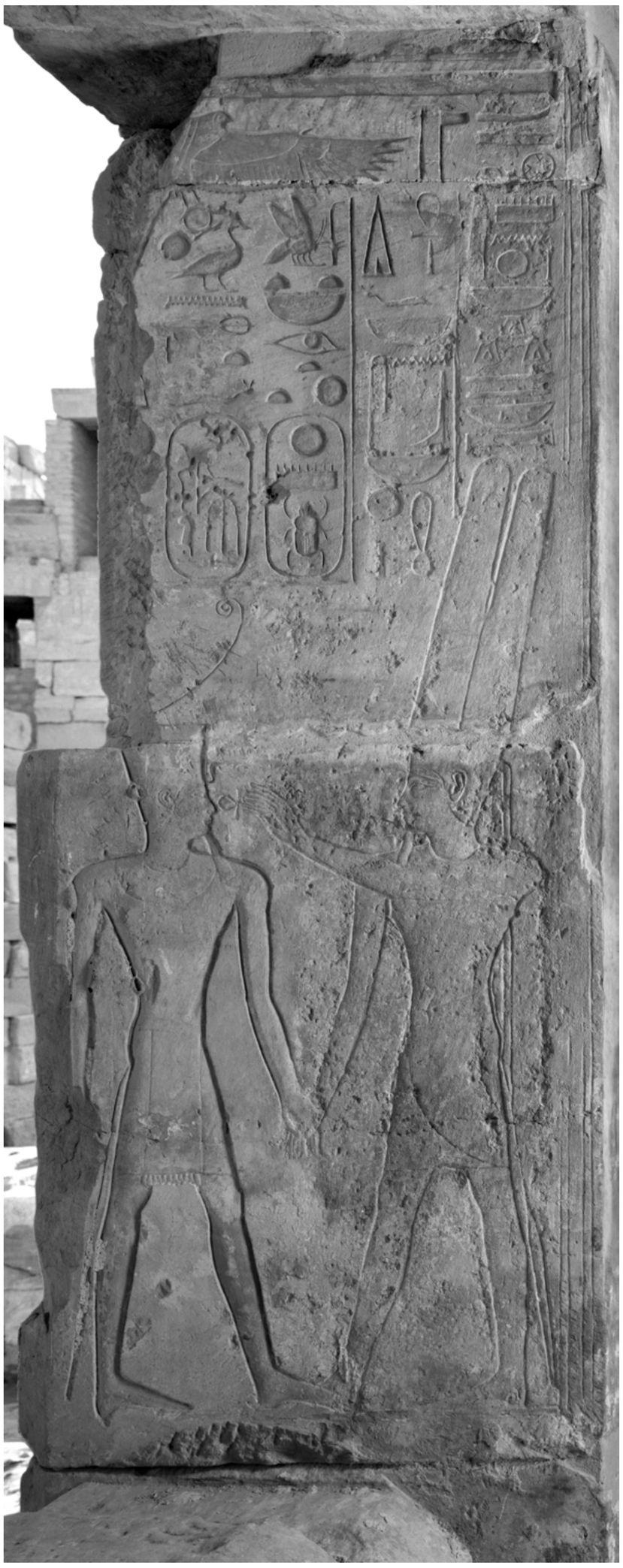
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

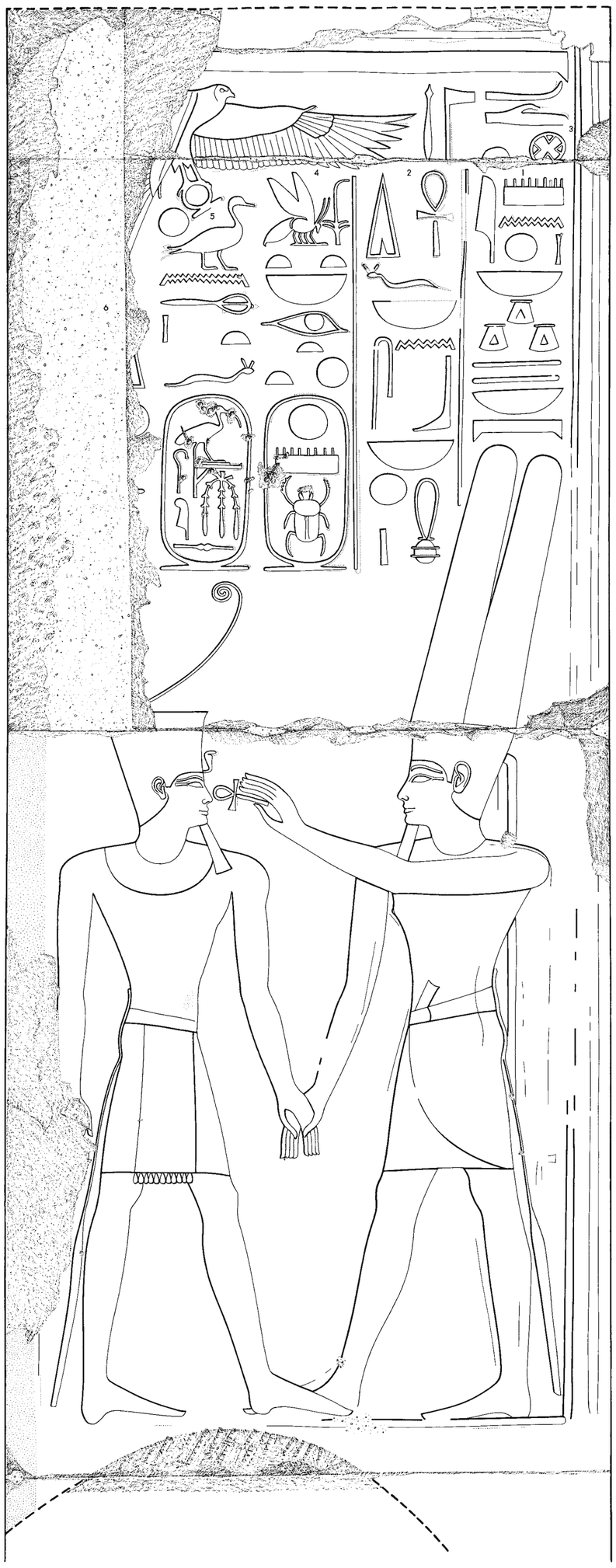


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Photograph by Keefe

A



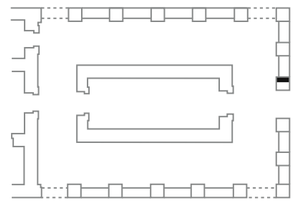
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B

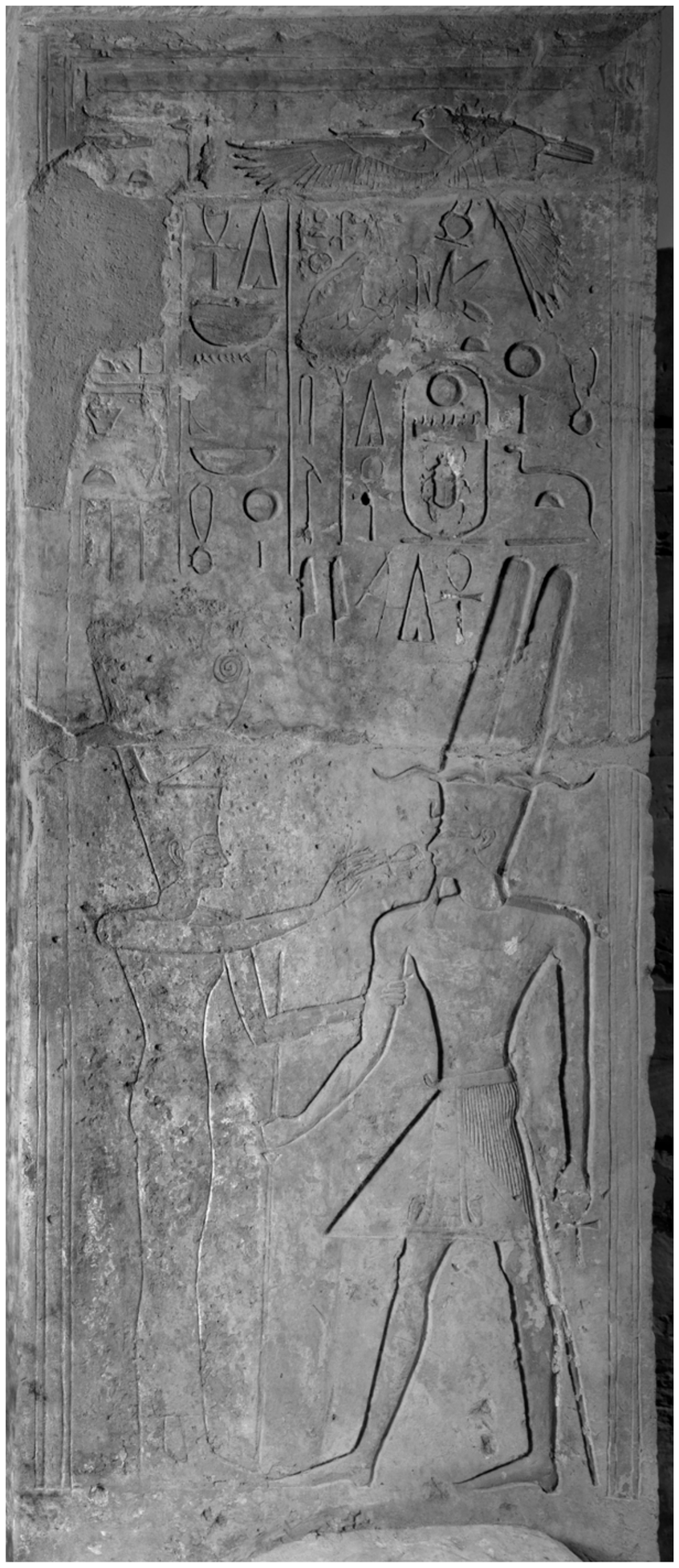
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

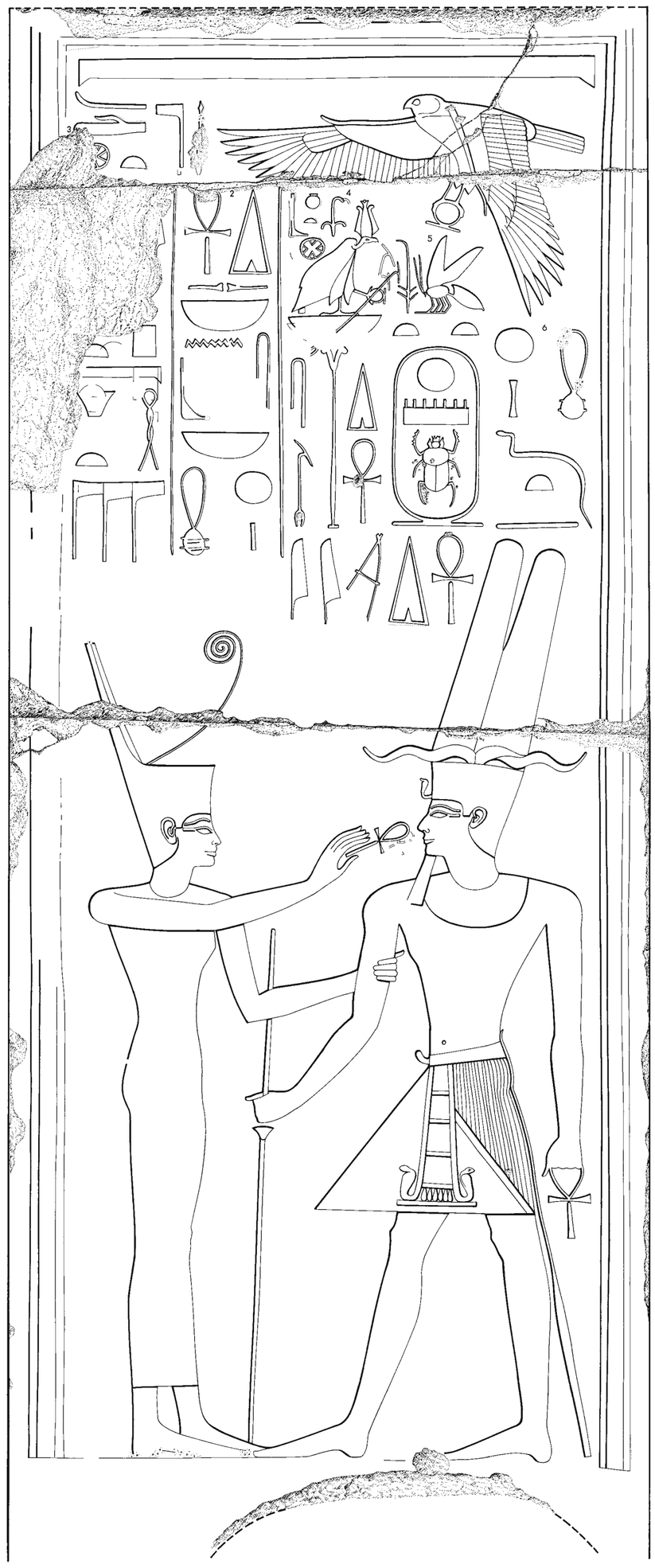


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



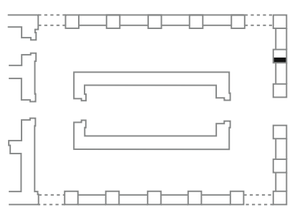
Drawing by De Jong and Johnson

B

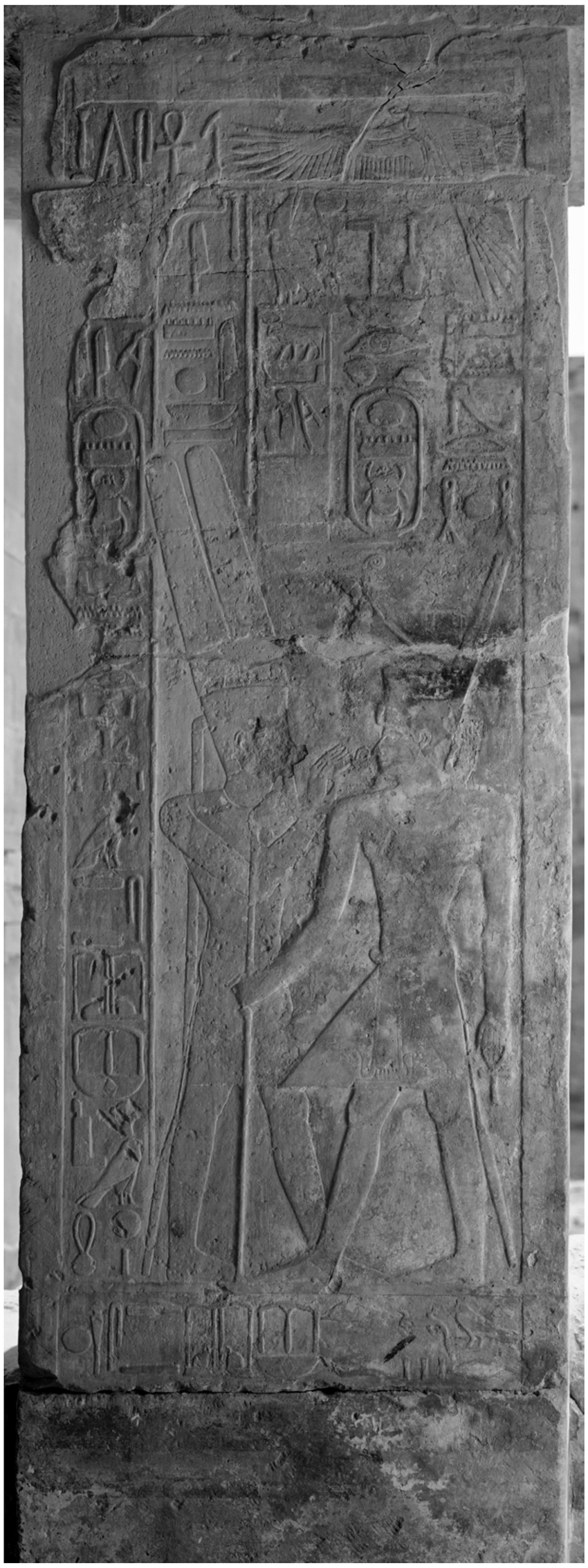
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUNET

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

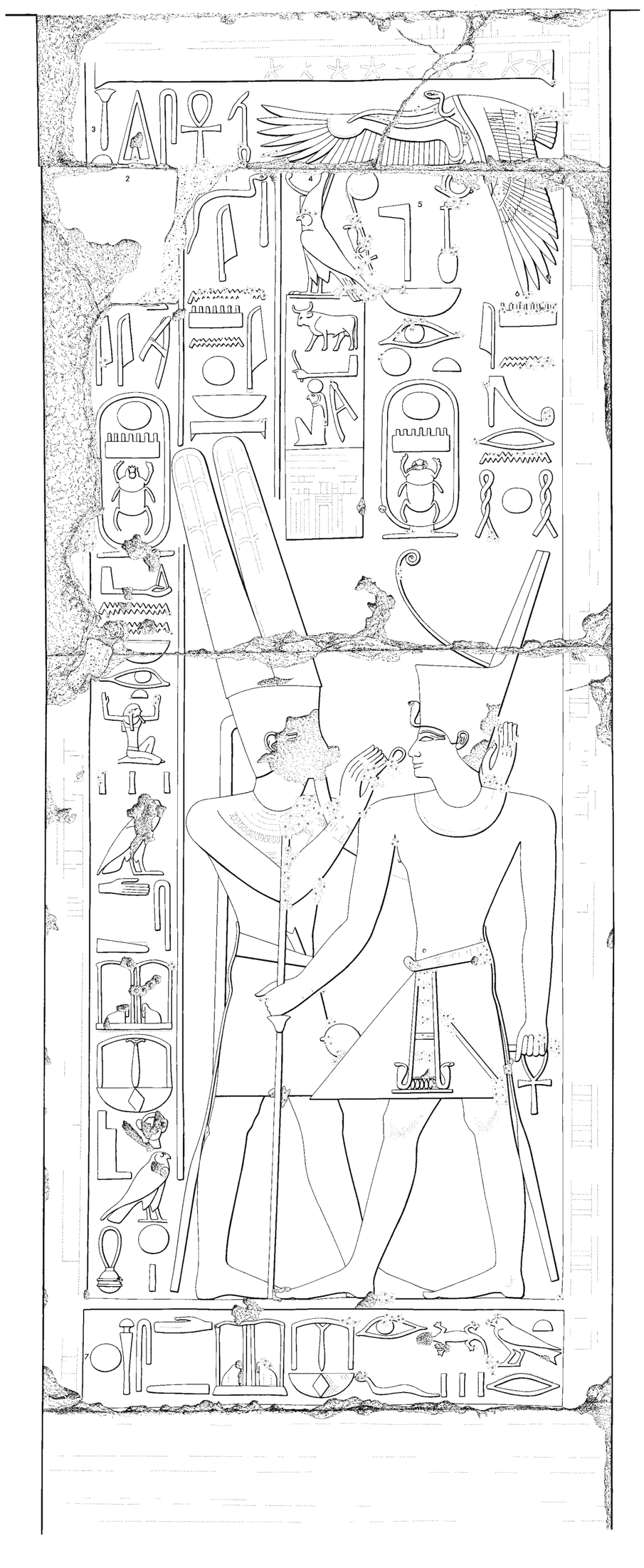


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



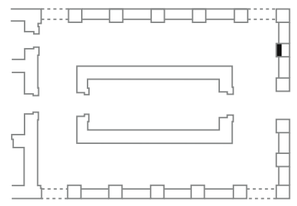
Drawing by De Jong

B

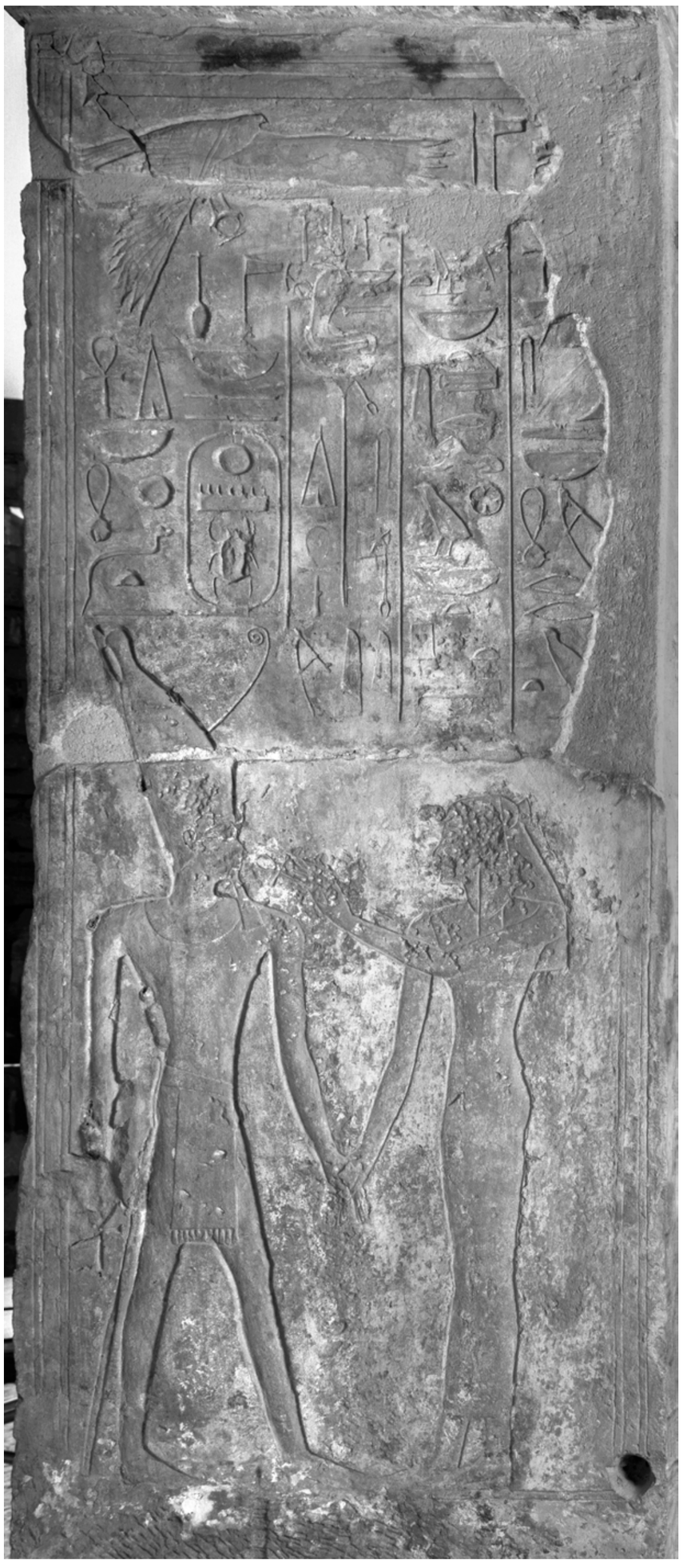
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE



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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



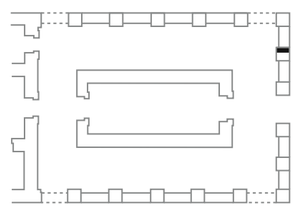
Drawing by De Jong and Johnson

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY MUT

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

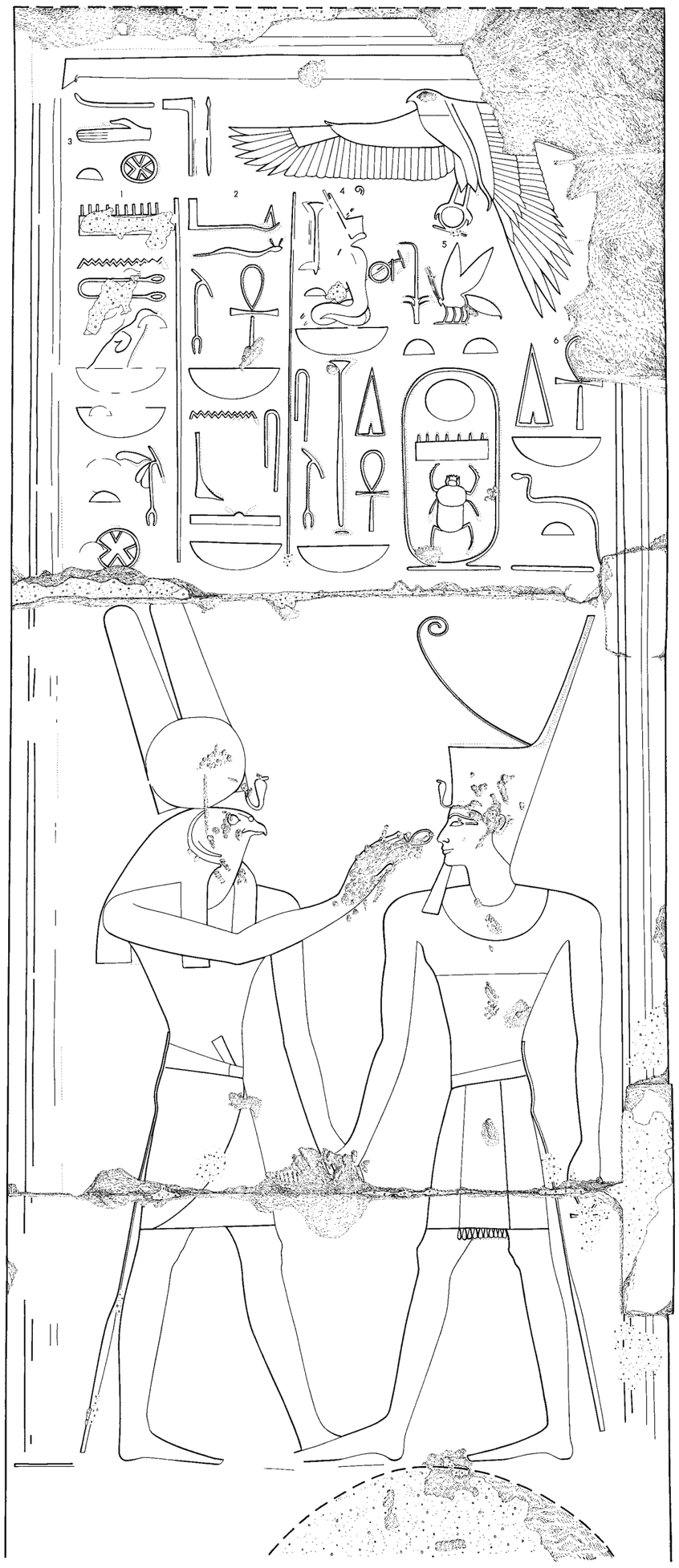


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



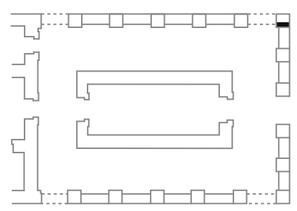
Drawing by Johnson and Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY MONTU

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

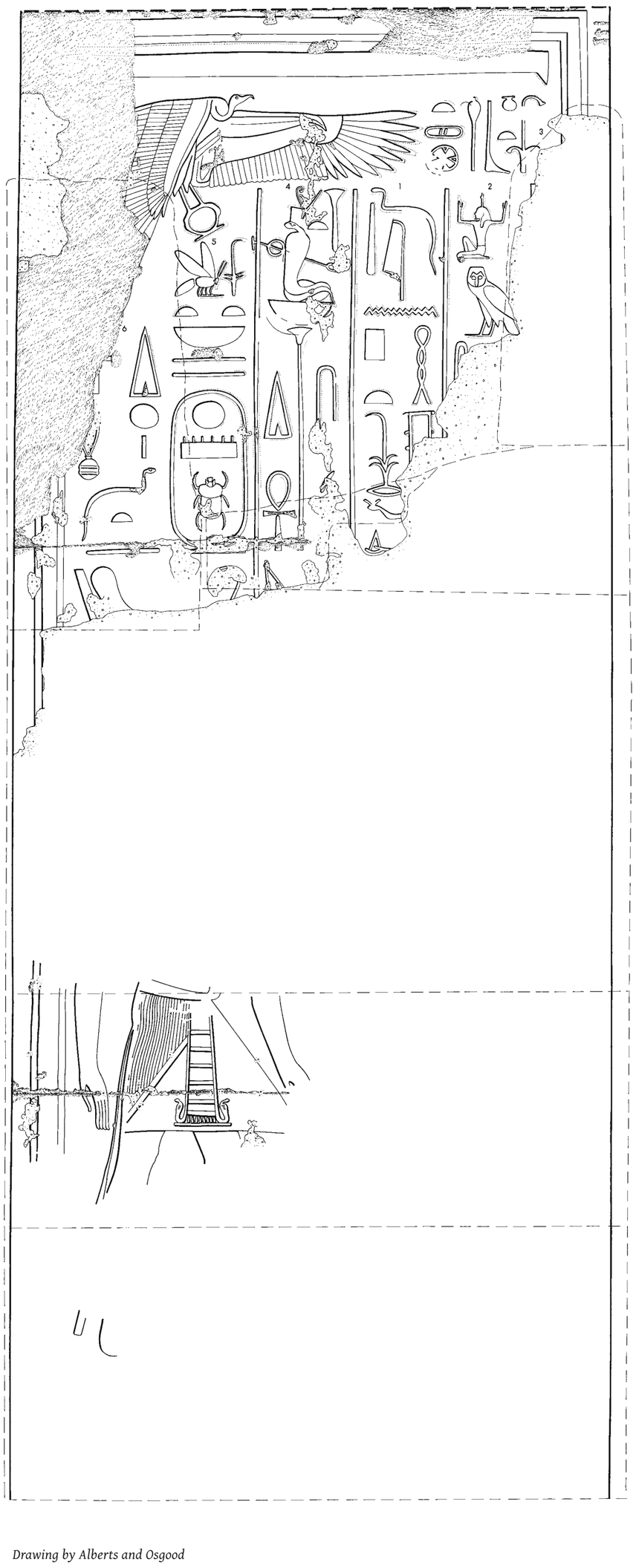


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A

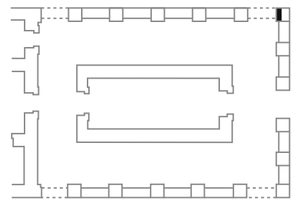


Drawing by Alberts and Osgood

B

THUTMOSE III BEFORE PTAH

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

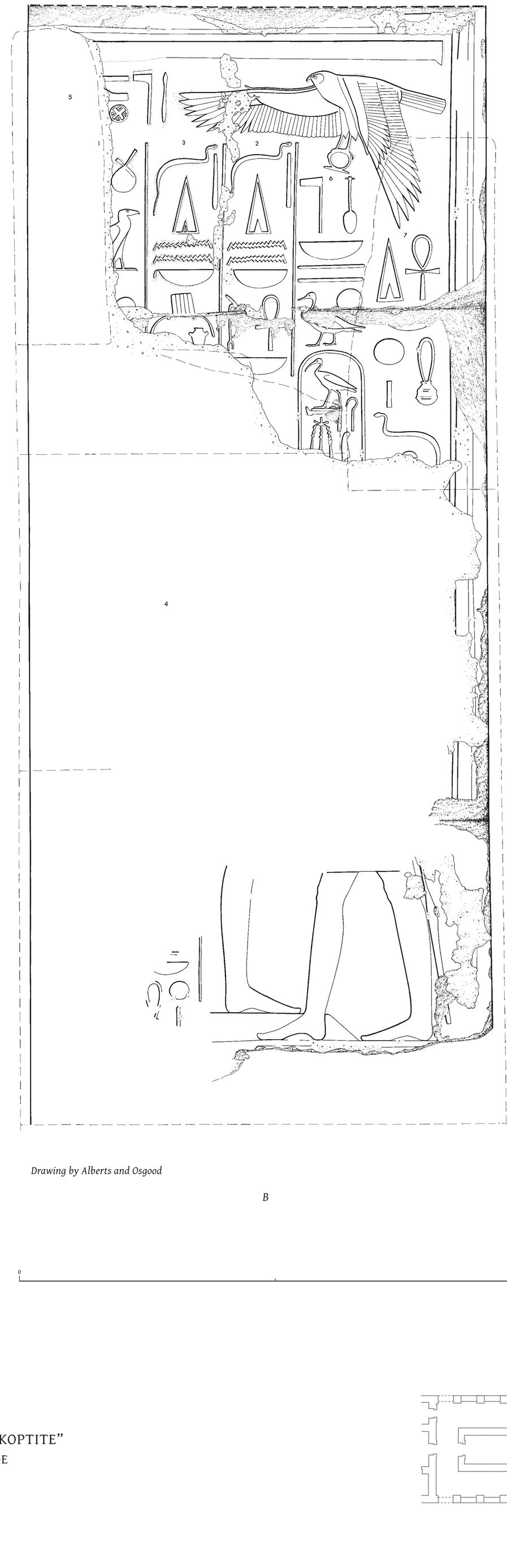


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



Drawing by Alberts and Osgood

B

THUTMOSE III BEFORE “THE KOPTITE”

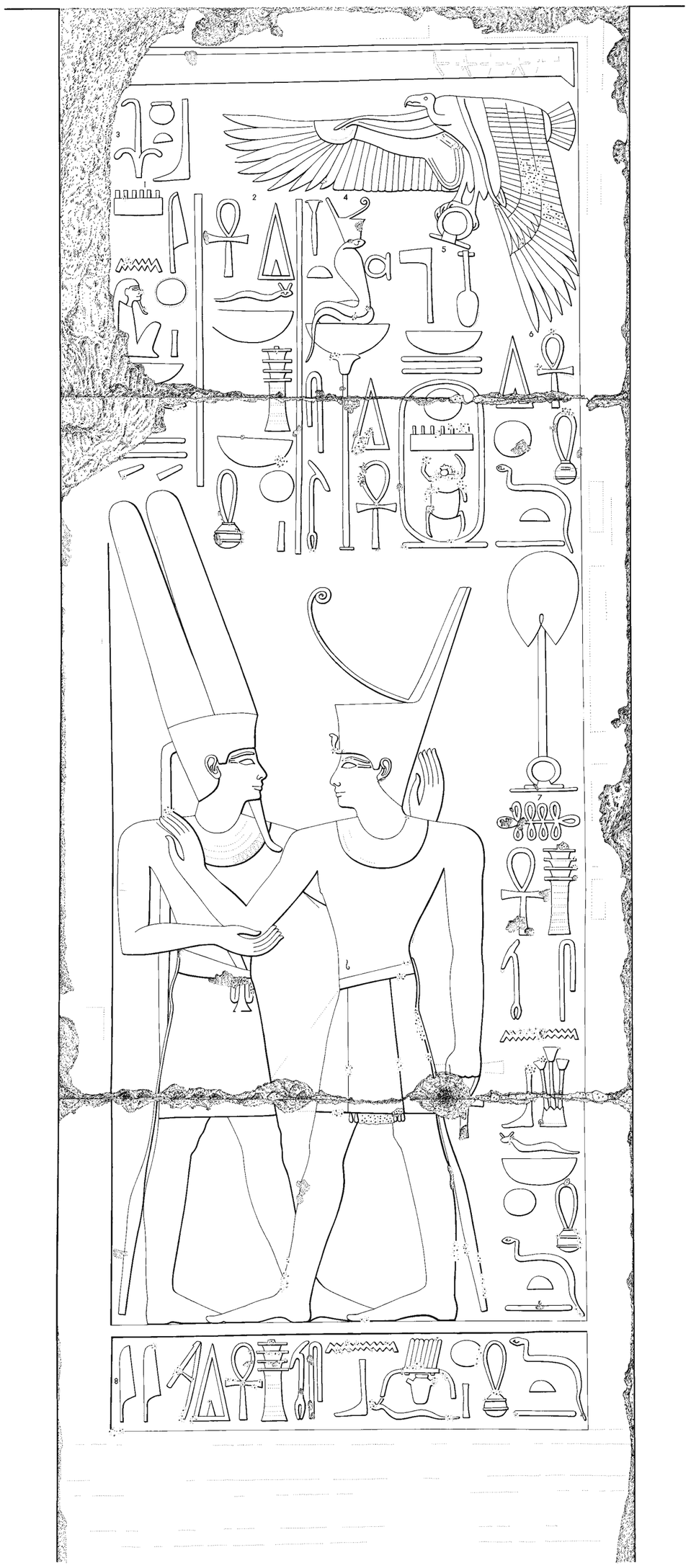
PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



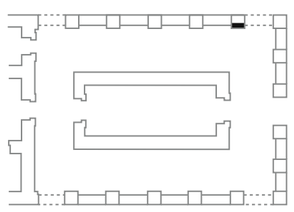
Drawing by De Jong and Williams

B

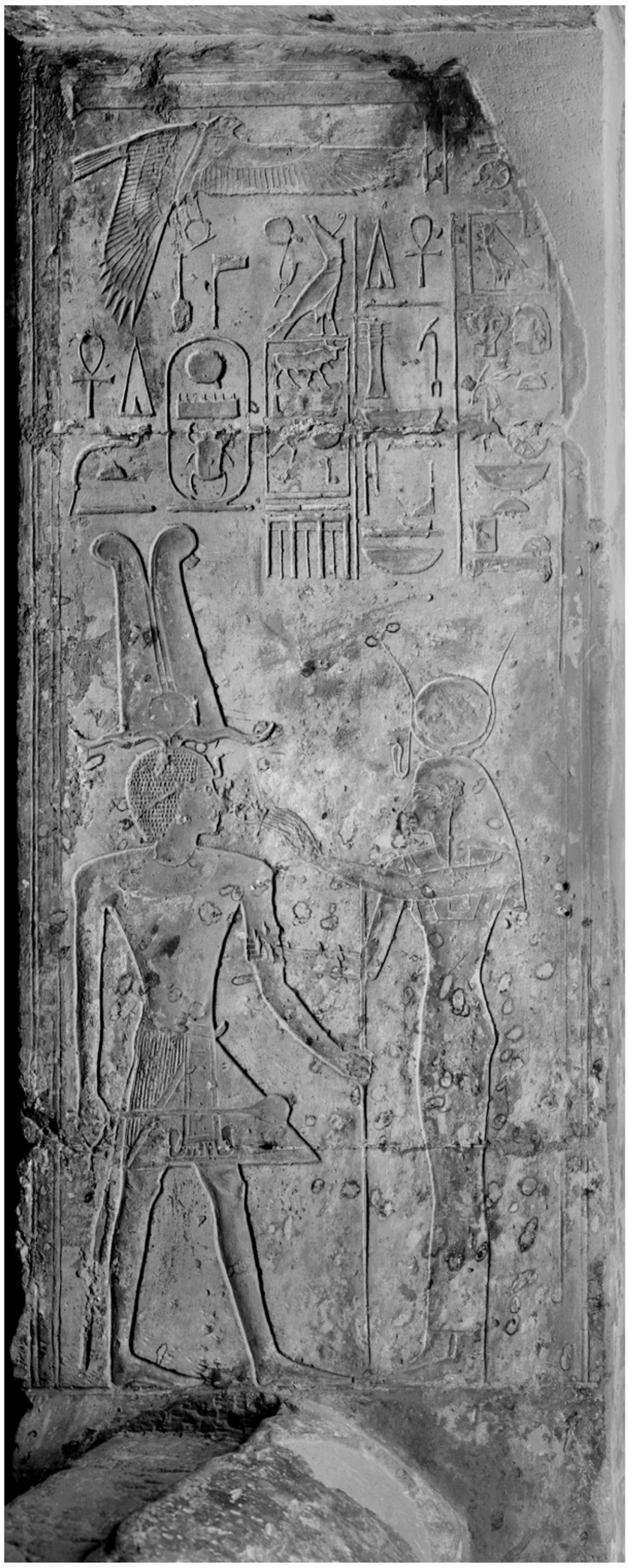
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

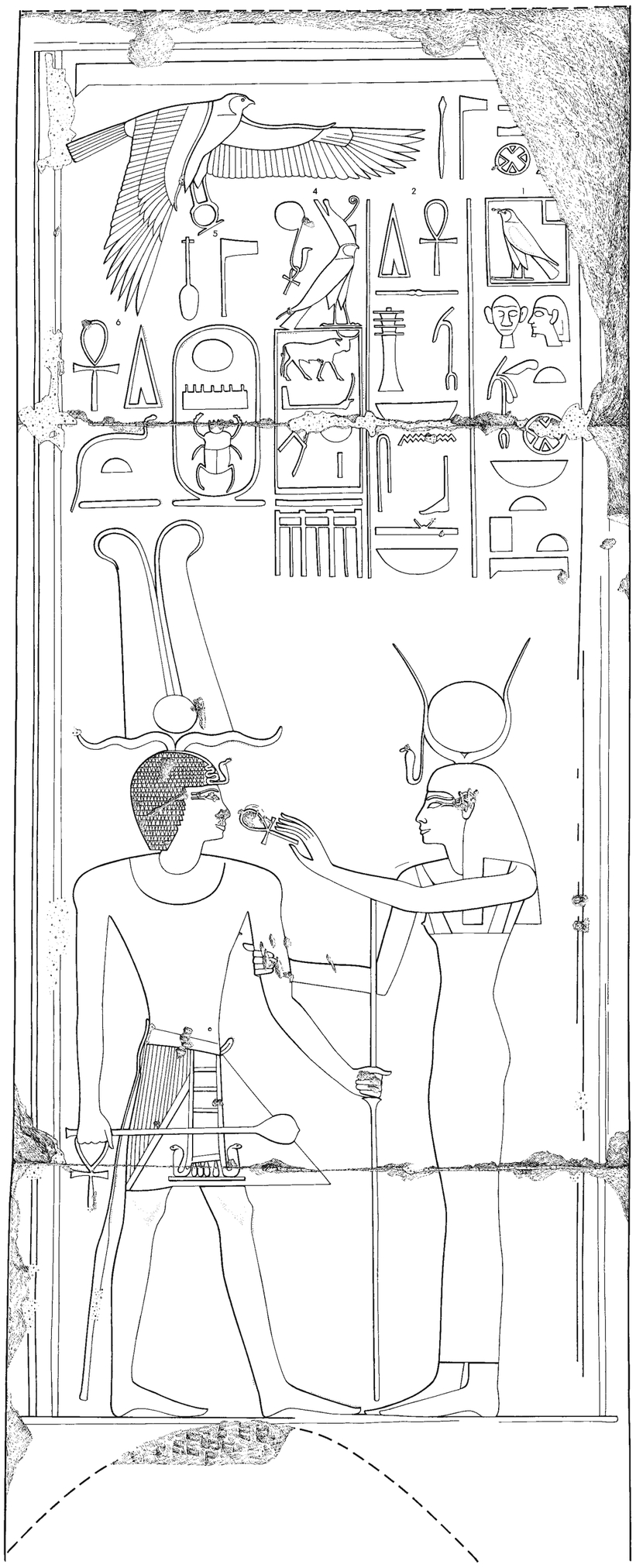


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



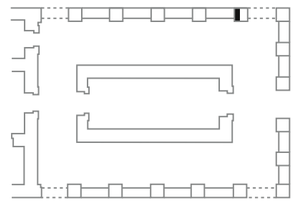
Drawing by Osgood

B

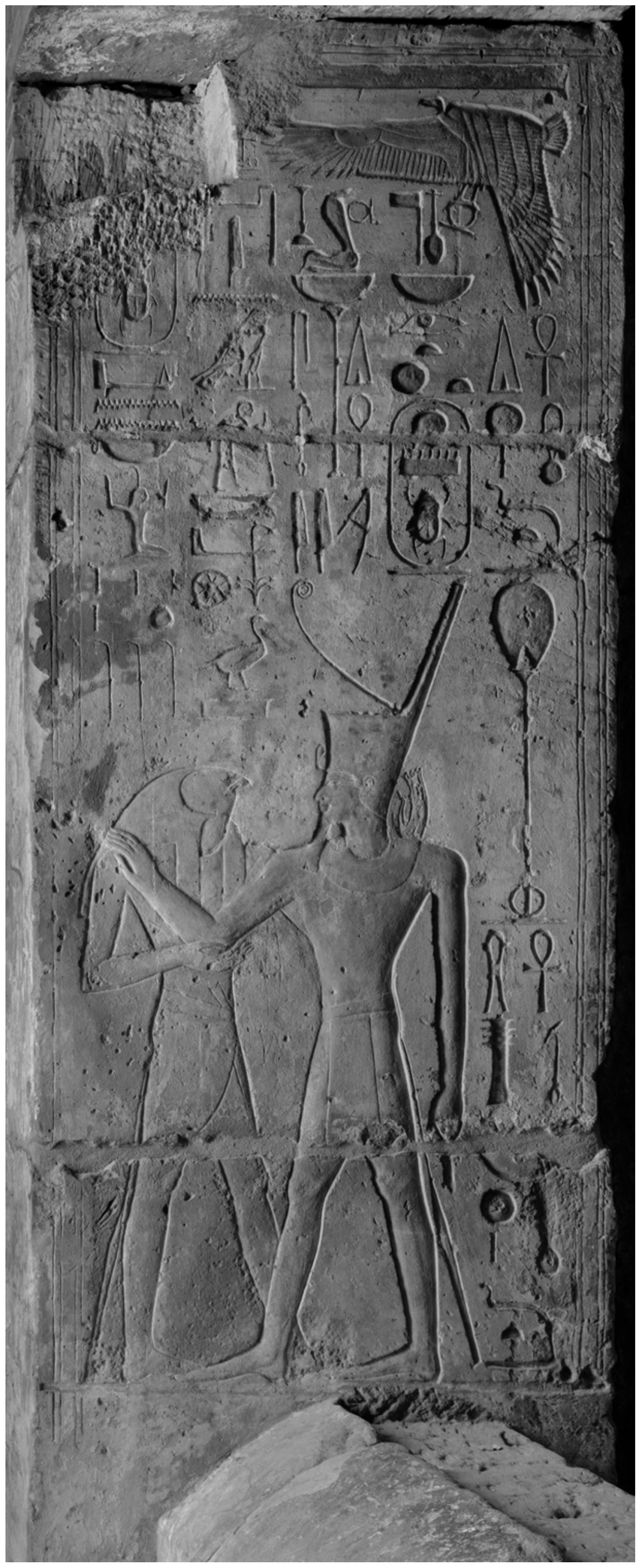
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY HATHOR

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

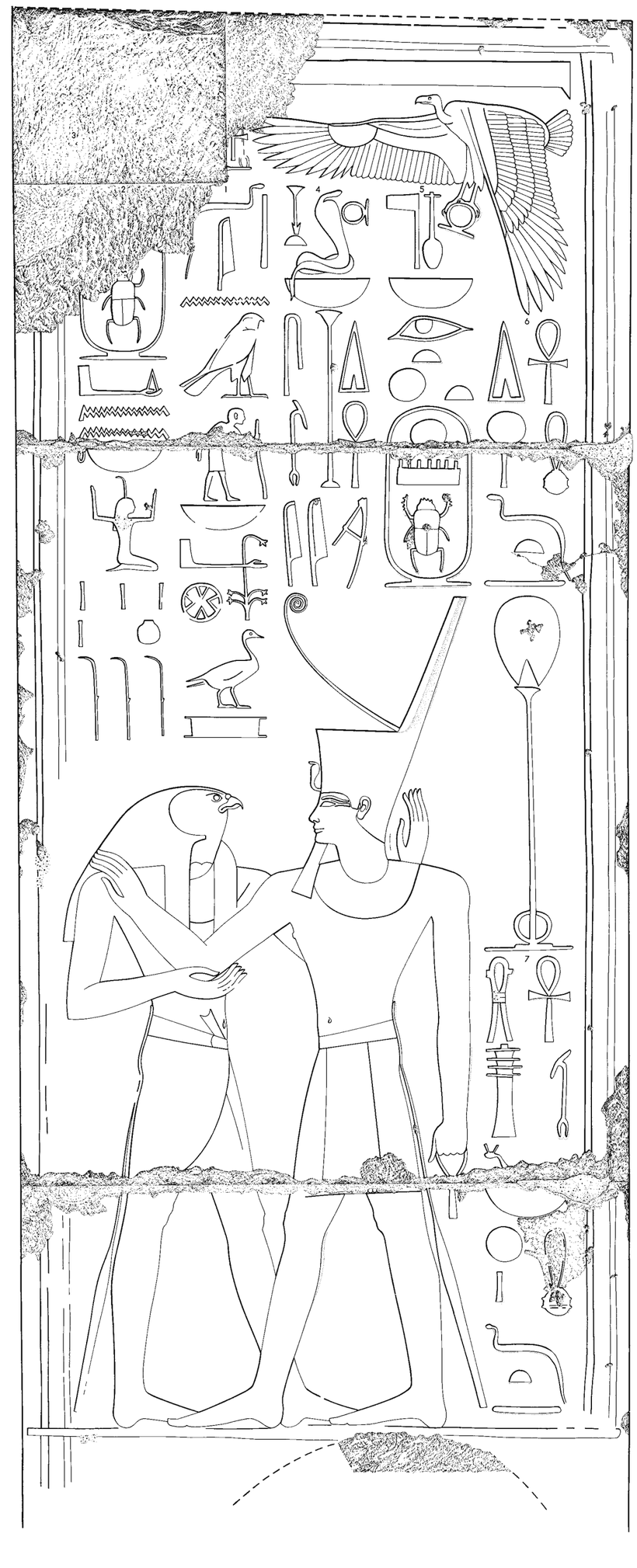


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Photograph by Lezon and Van Eynde

A



Drawing by Baumann and De Jong

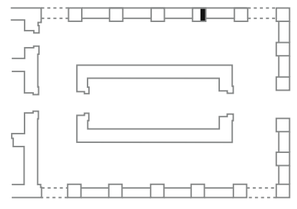
B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY HORUS

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

(Compare color plate 242)

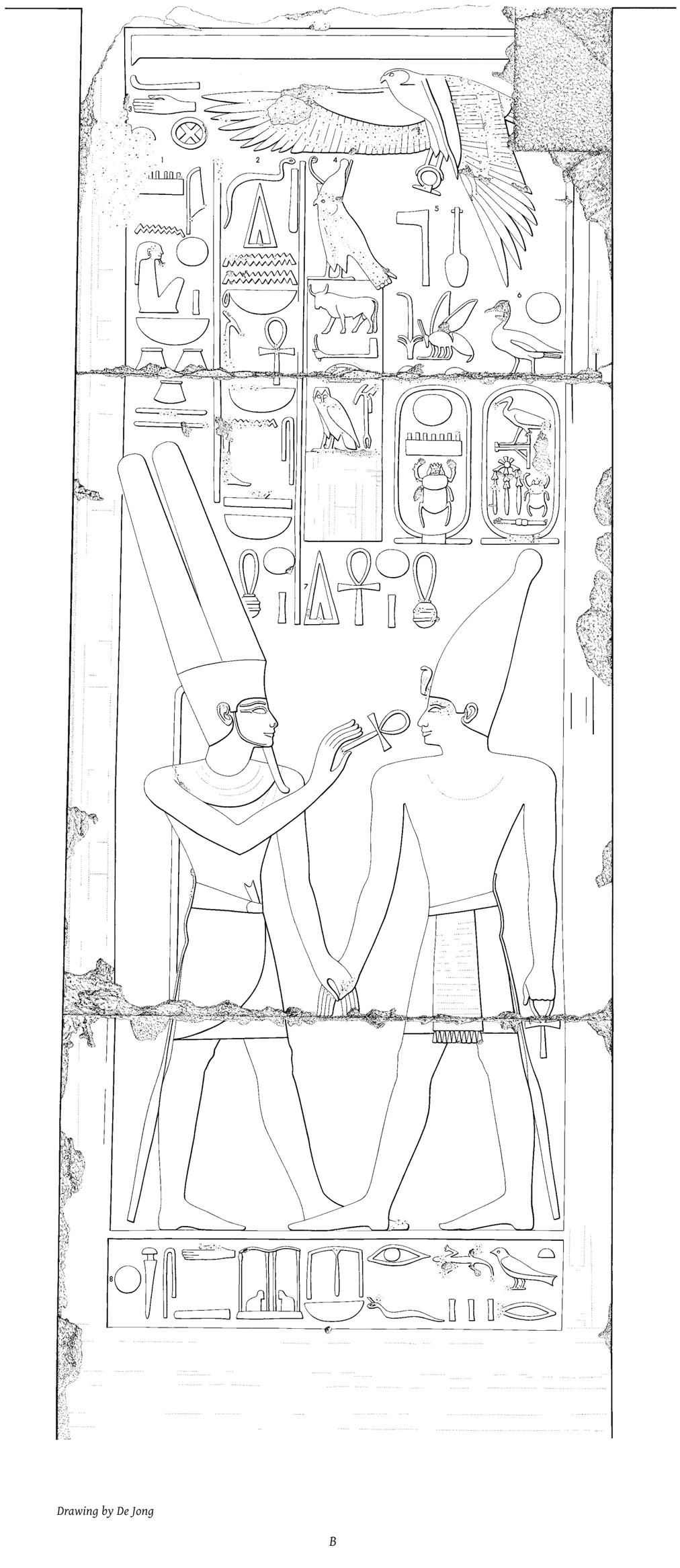


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



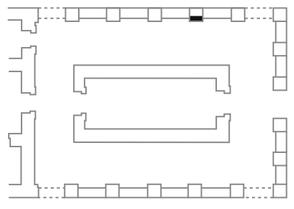
Drawing by De Jong

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

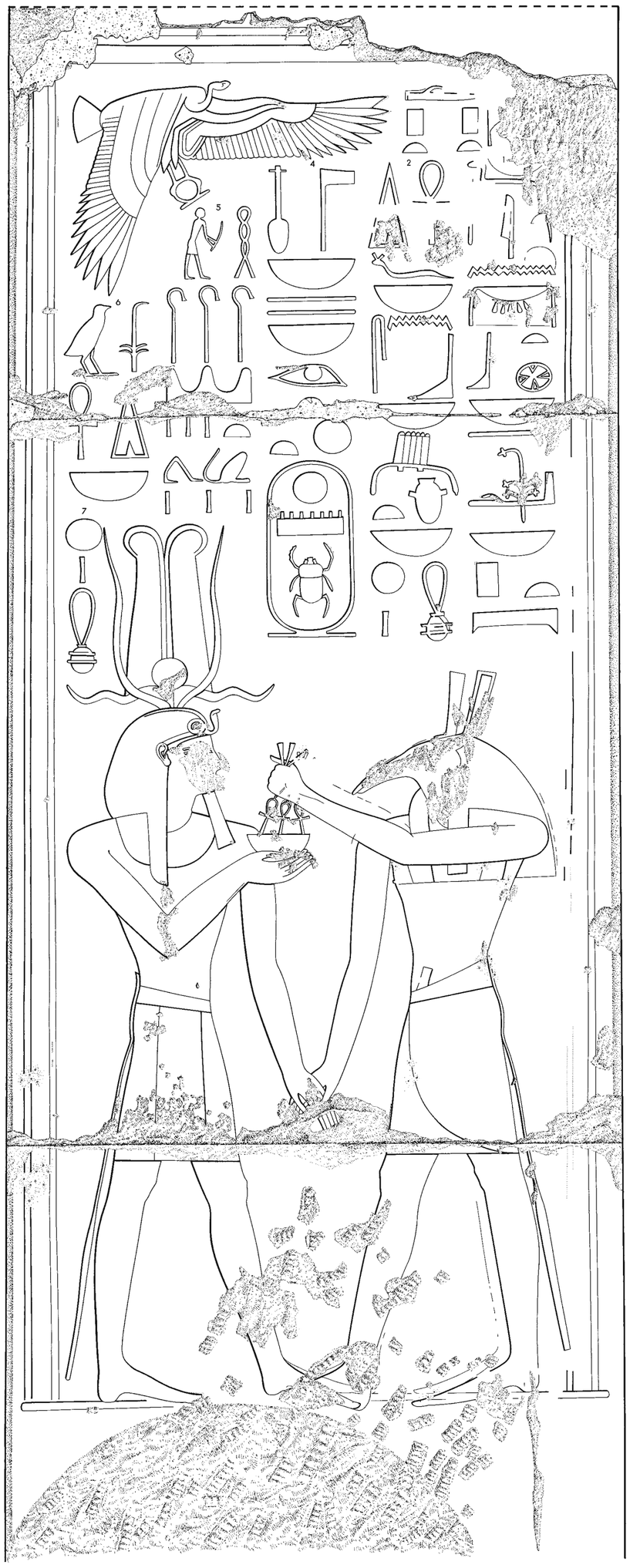


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Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

A



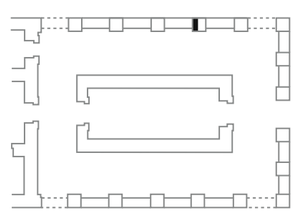
Drawing by Vértes

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY SETH

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

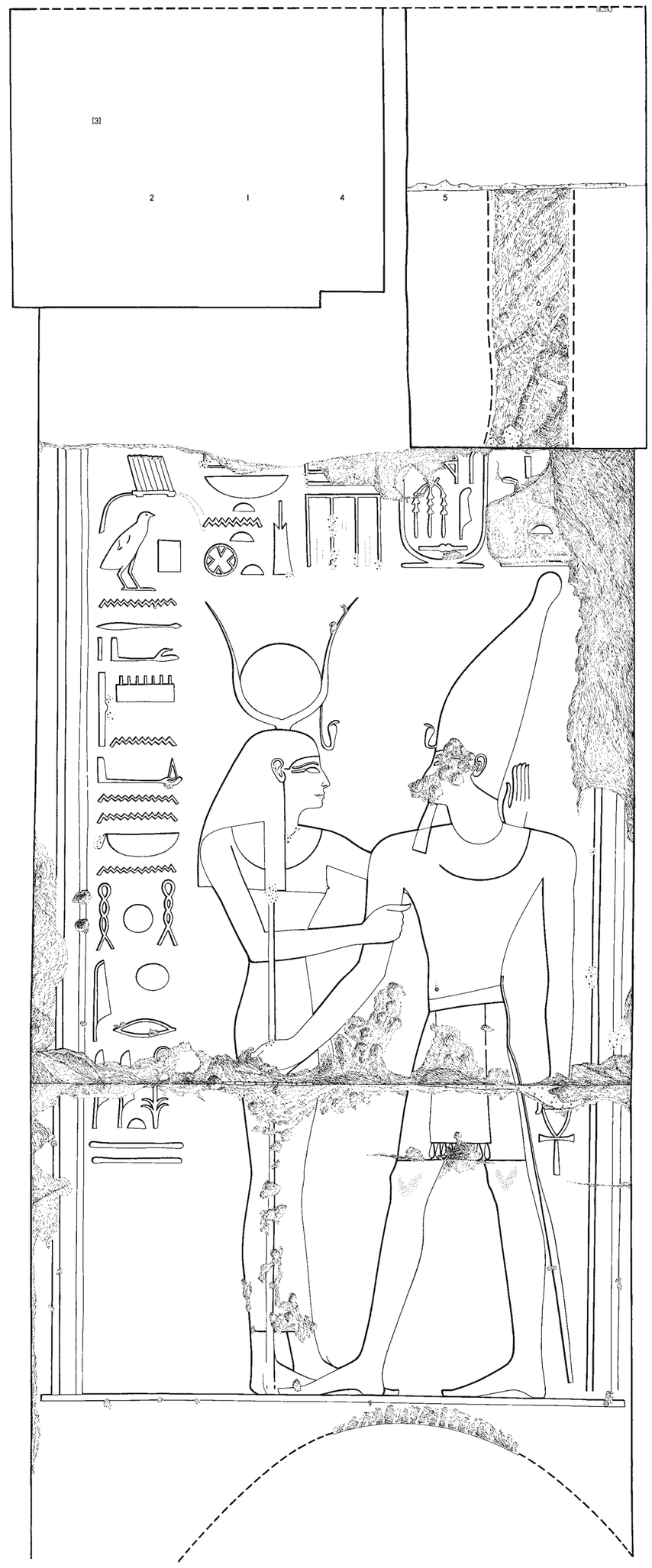


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Photograph by Kobylecky

A



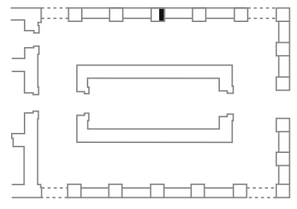
Drawing by Osgood

B

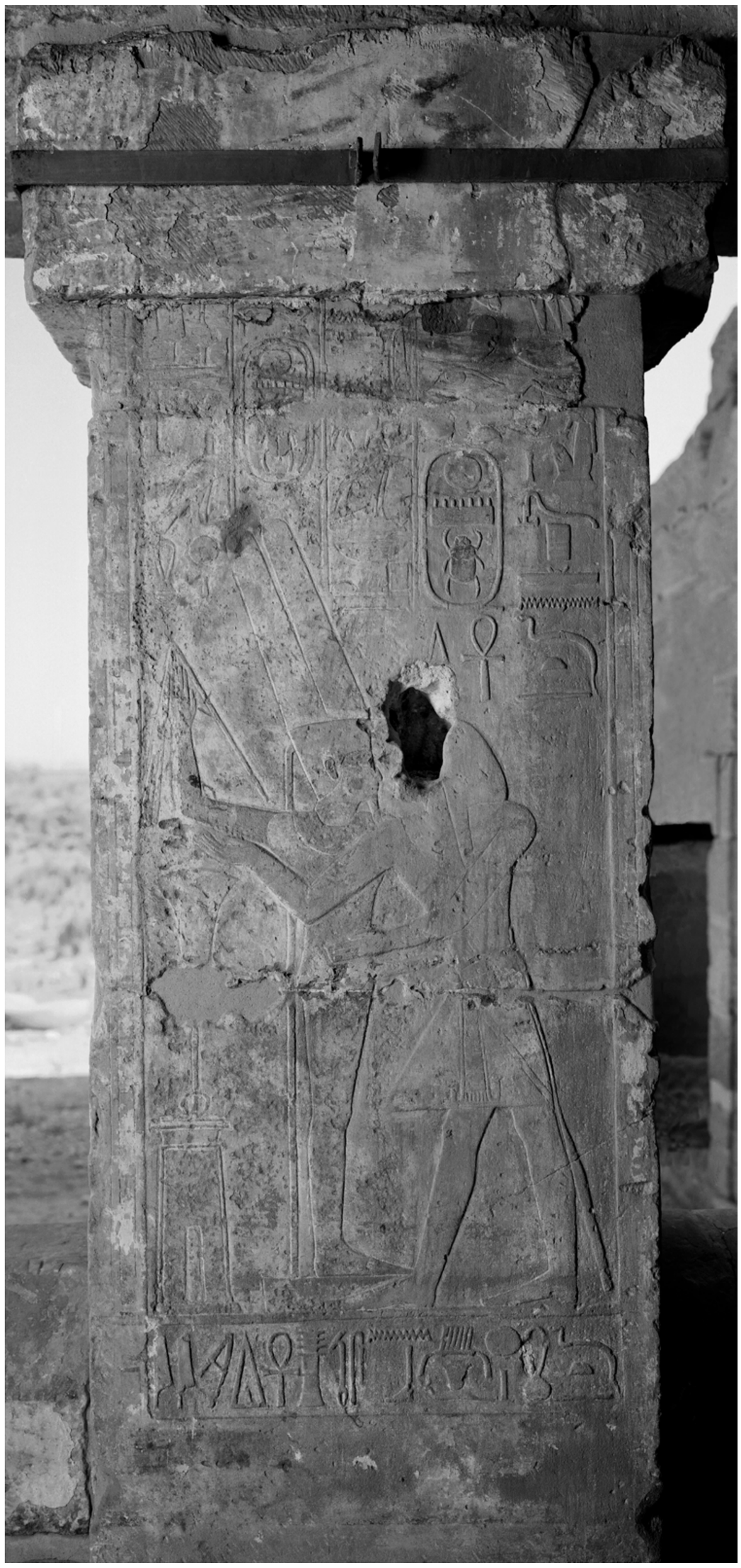
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY HATHOR

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE



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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



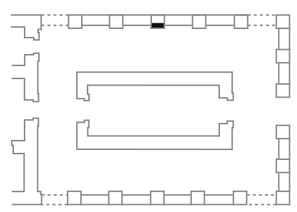
Drawing by Baumann and De Jong

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN-KAMUTEF

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

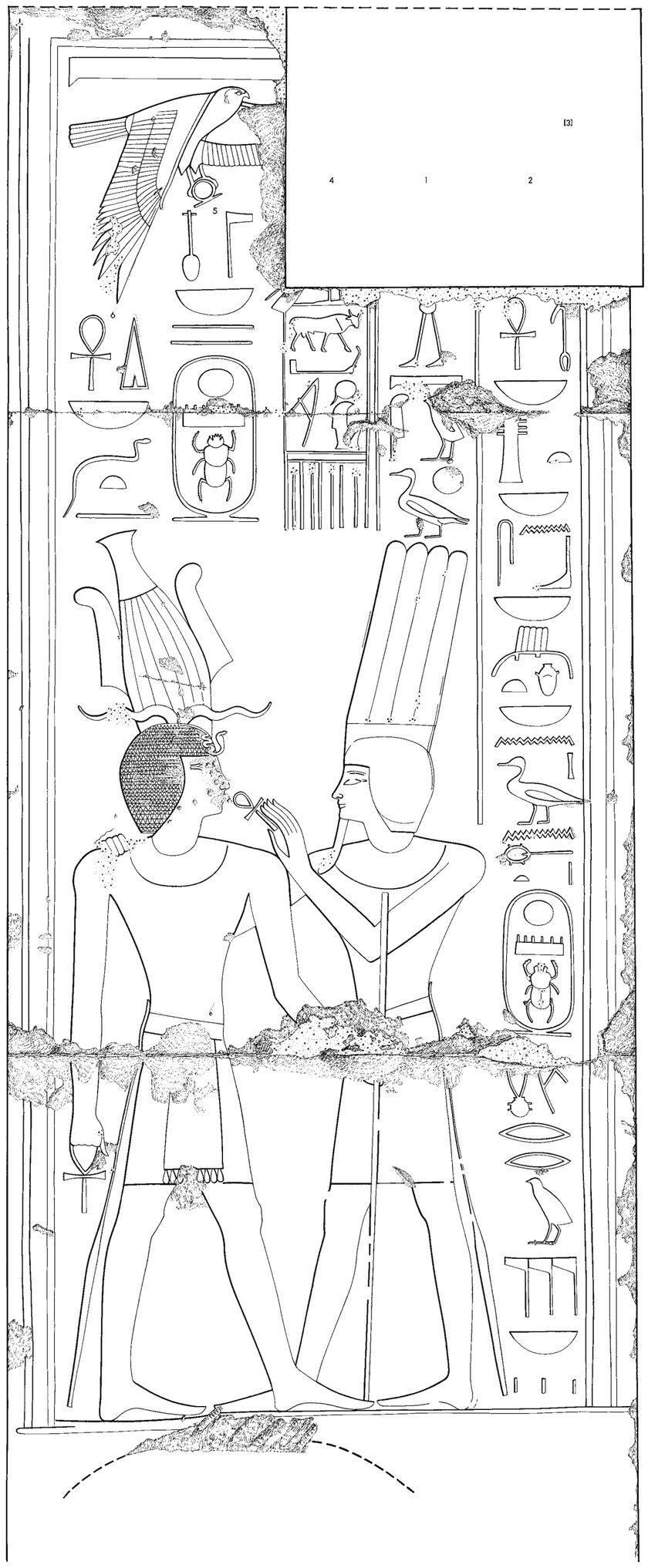


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Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

A



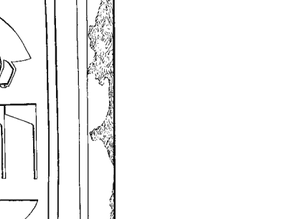
Drawing by Cohn and Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY ONURIS-SHU

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

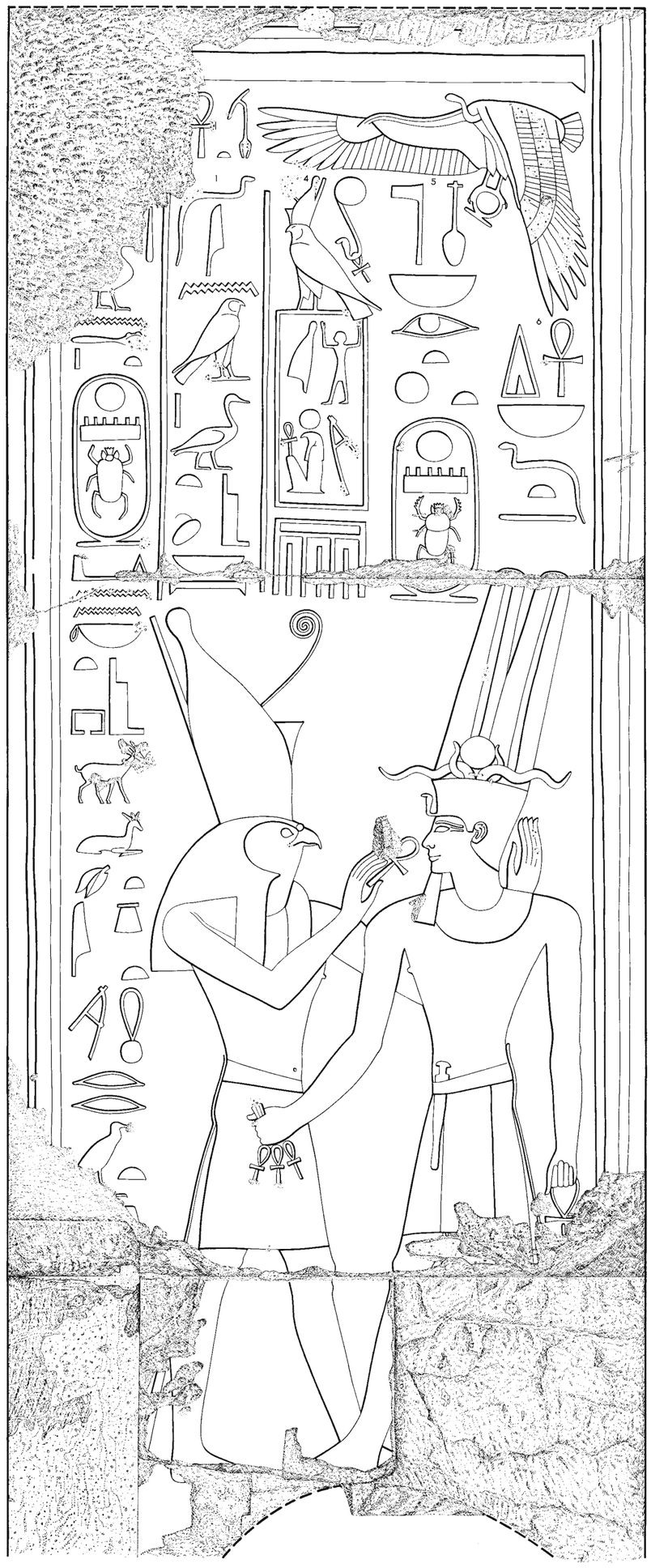


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



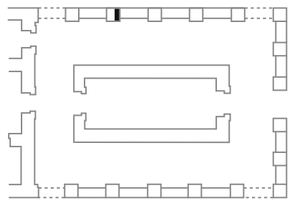
Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED AND GIVEN LIFE BY HORUS

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

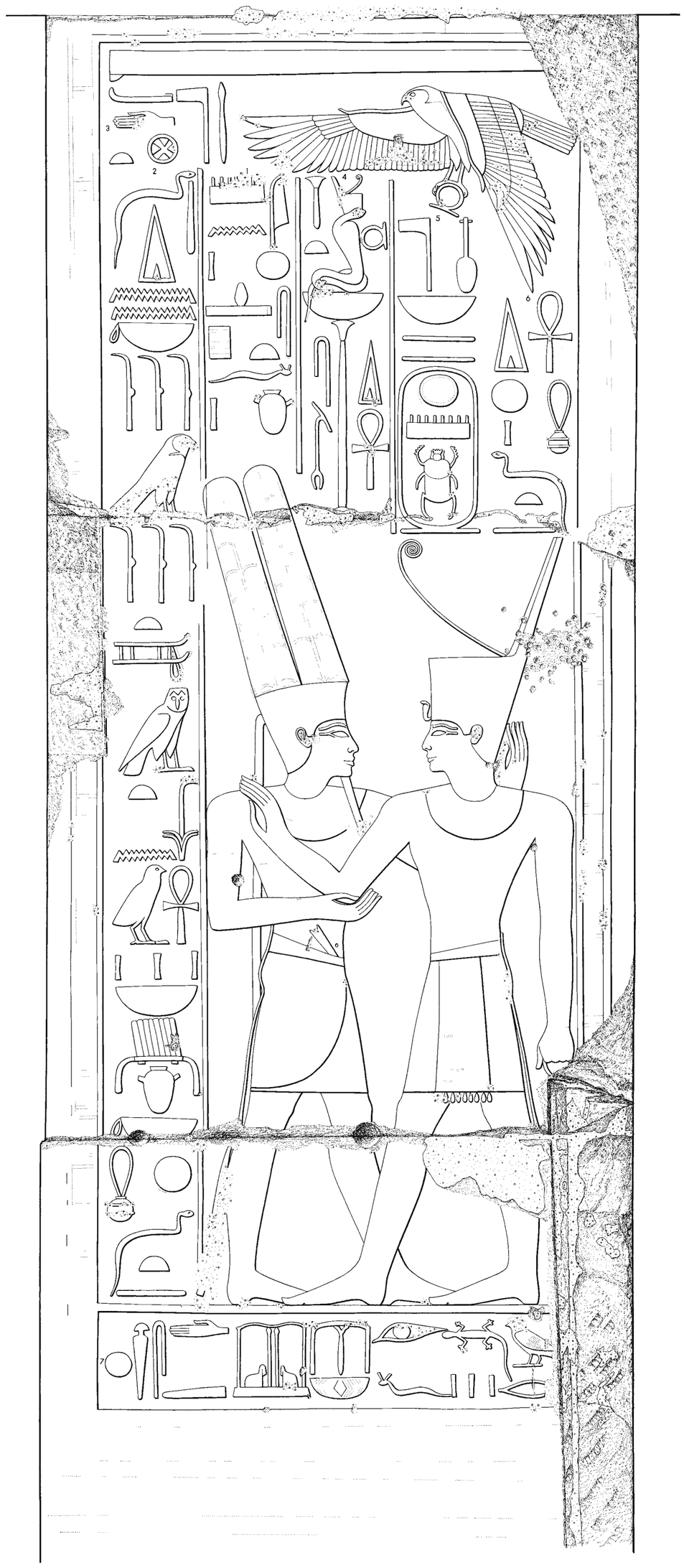


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



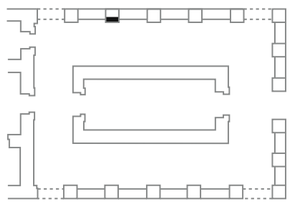
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Osgood

B

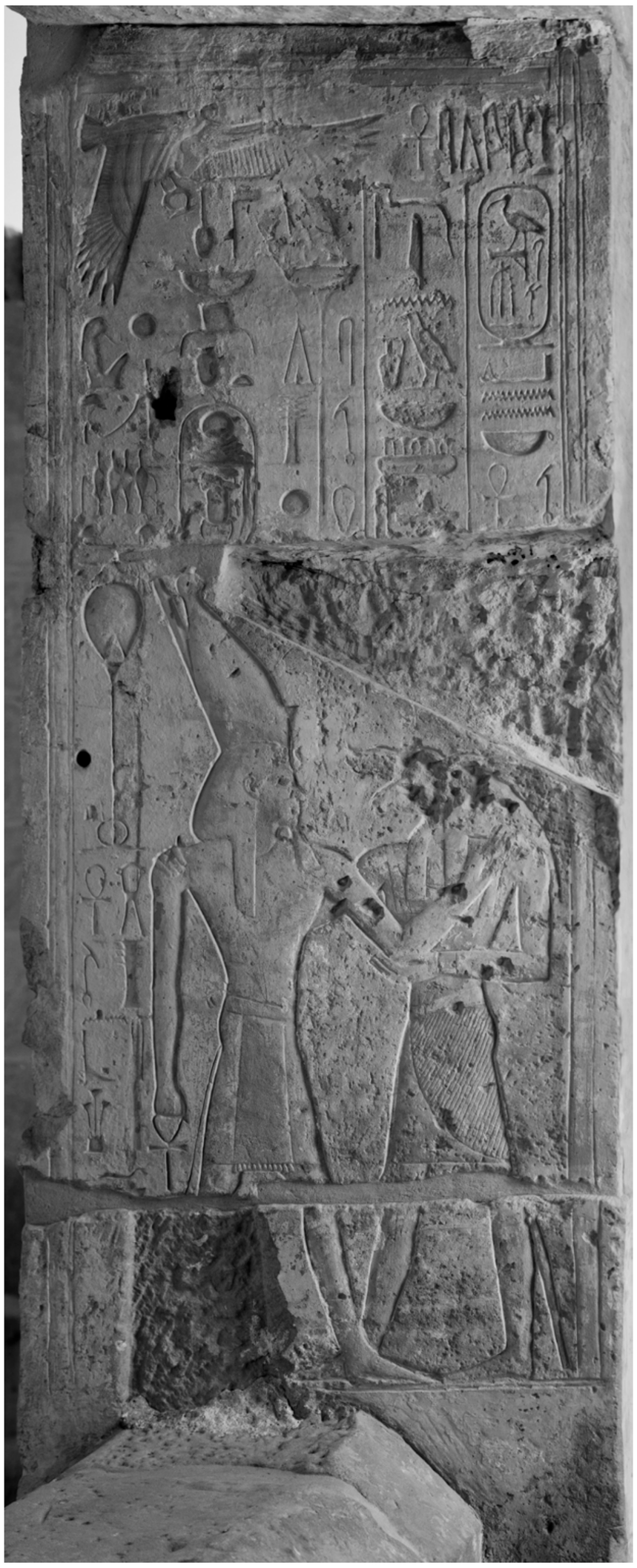
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

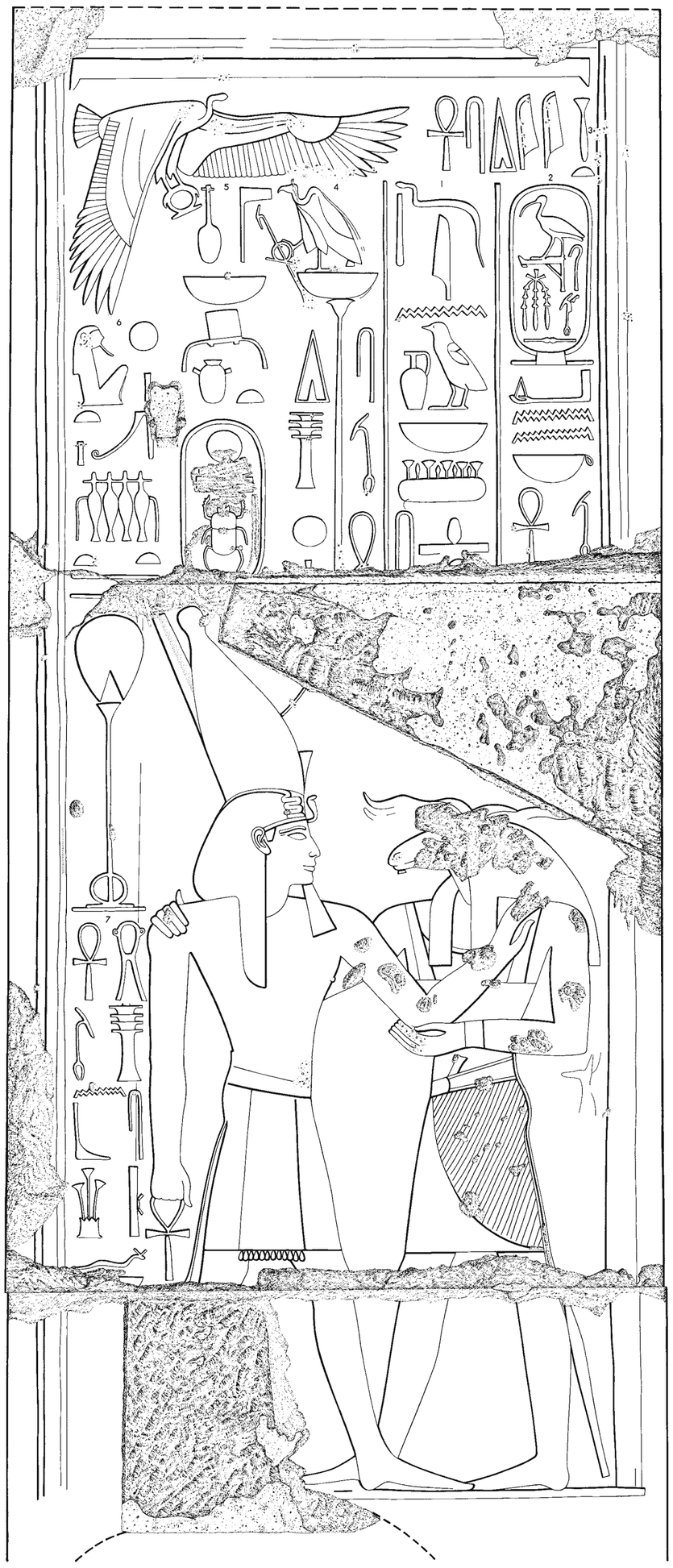


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A



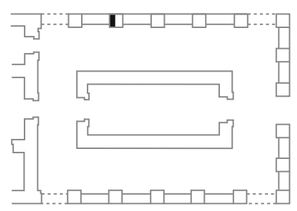
Drawing by De Jong and Di Cerbo

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY KHNUM

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

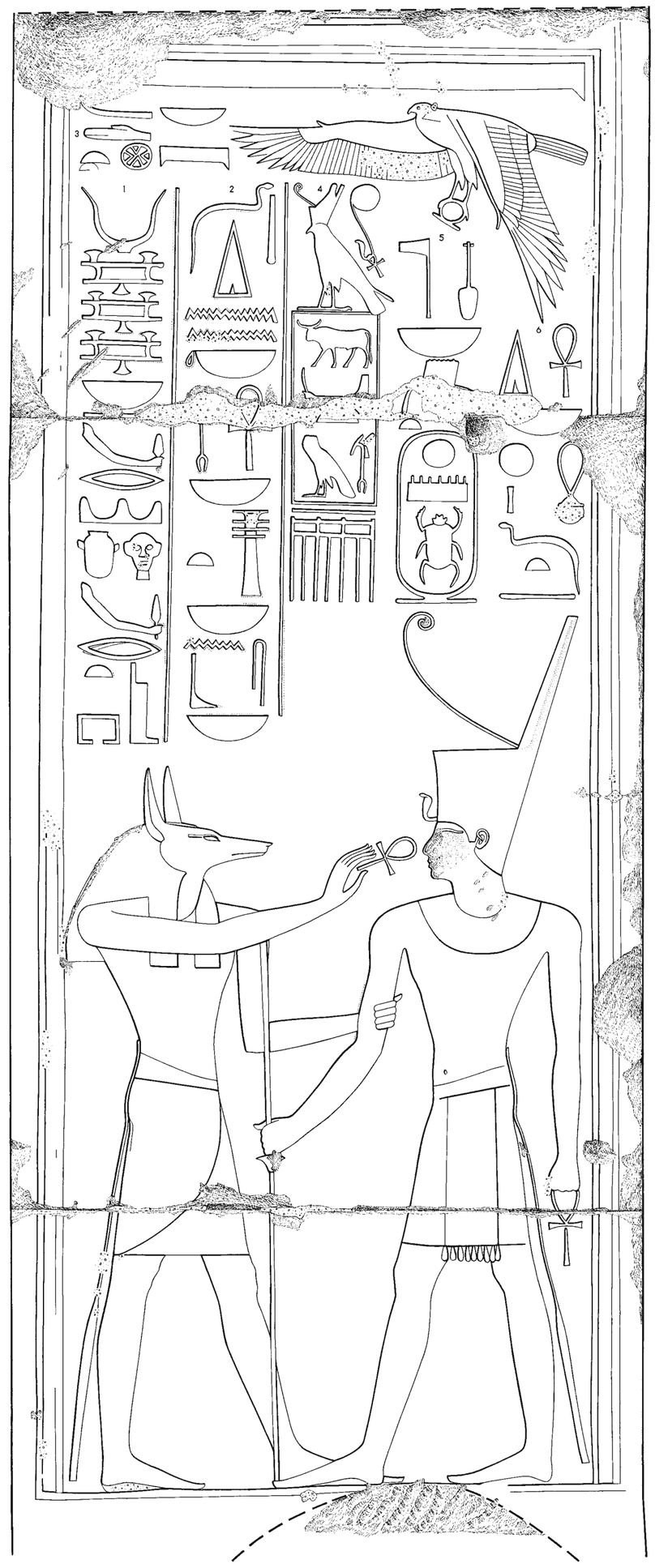


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Photograph by Van Eynde

A

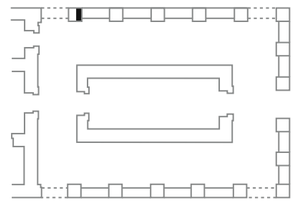


Drawing by Osgood

B

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY WEPWAWET

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

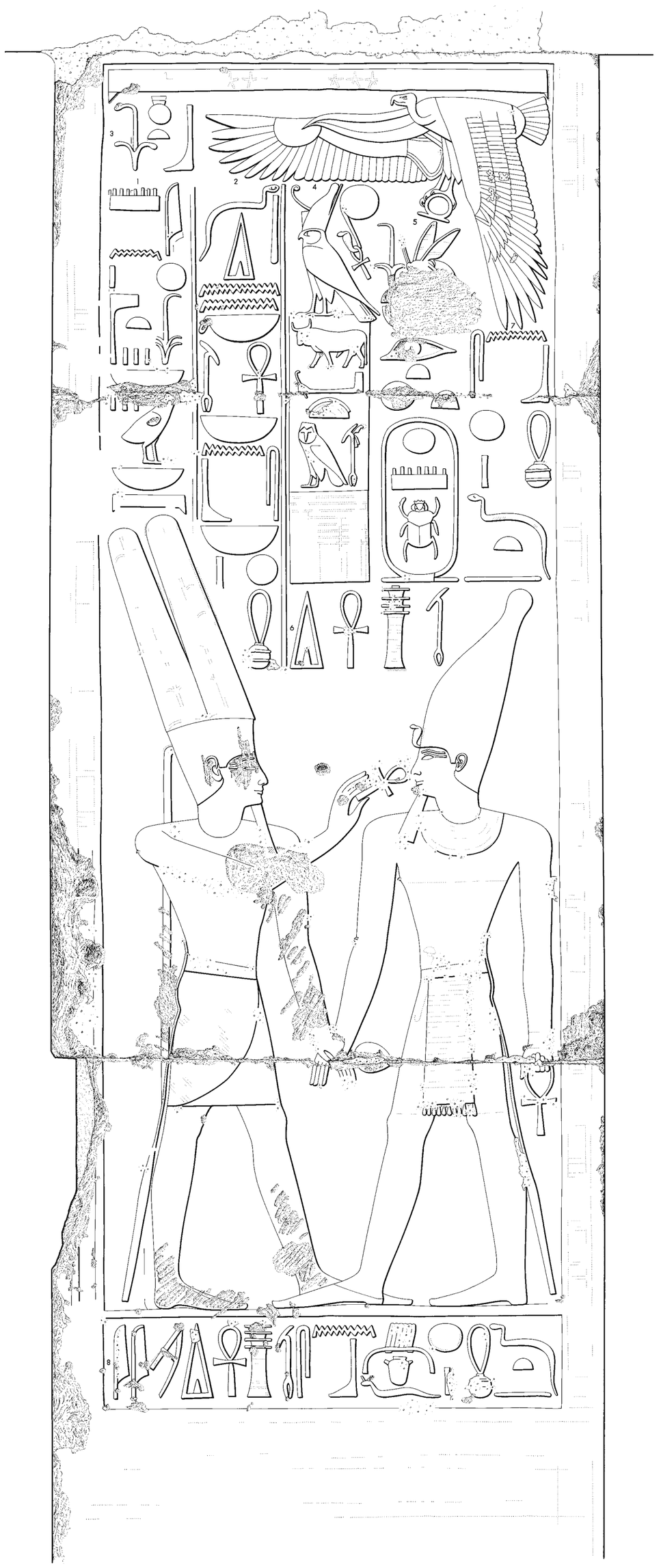


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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A



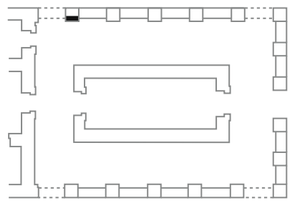
Drawing by Baumann and De Jong

B

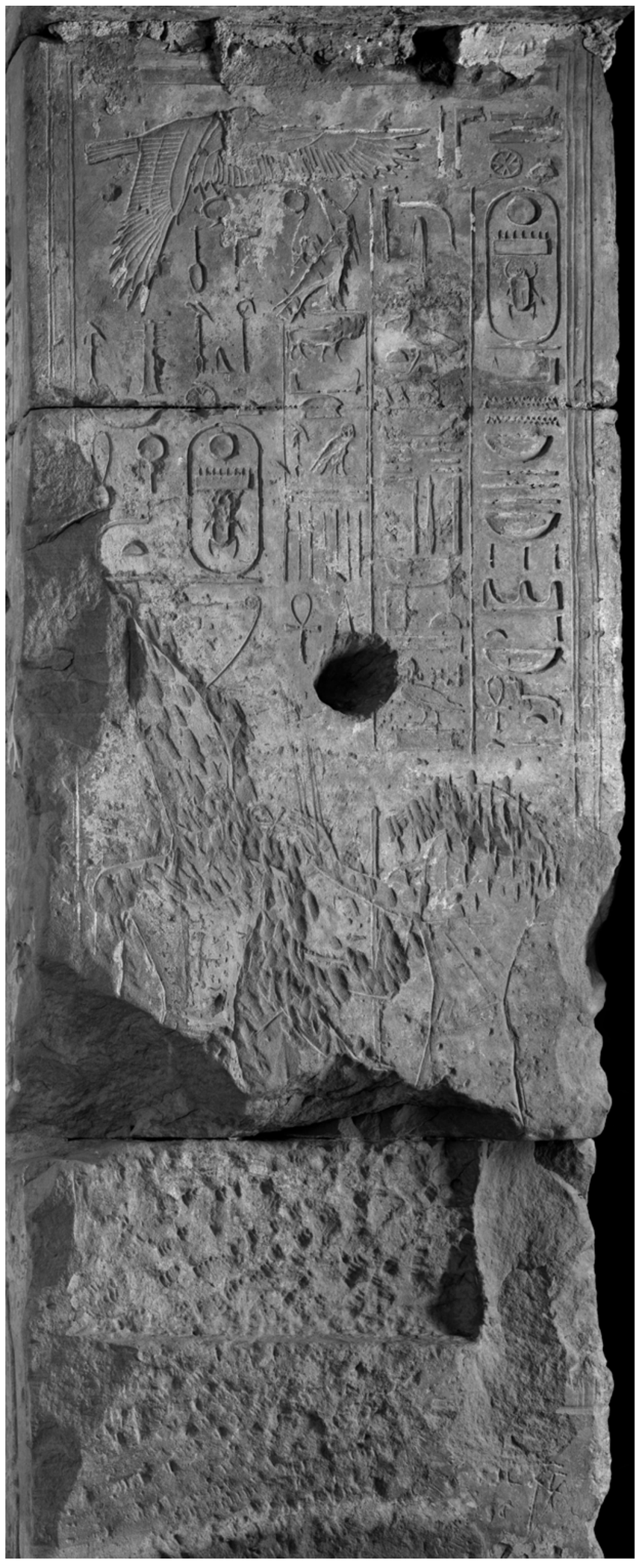
0 1 m

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE



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Photograph by Keefe and Van Eynde

A

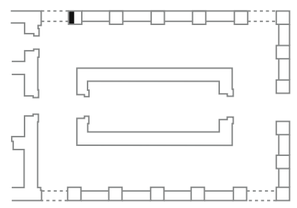


Drawing by Abraczinskas and Osgood

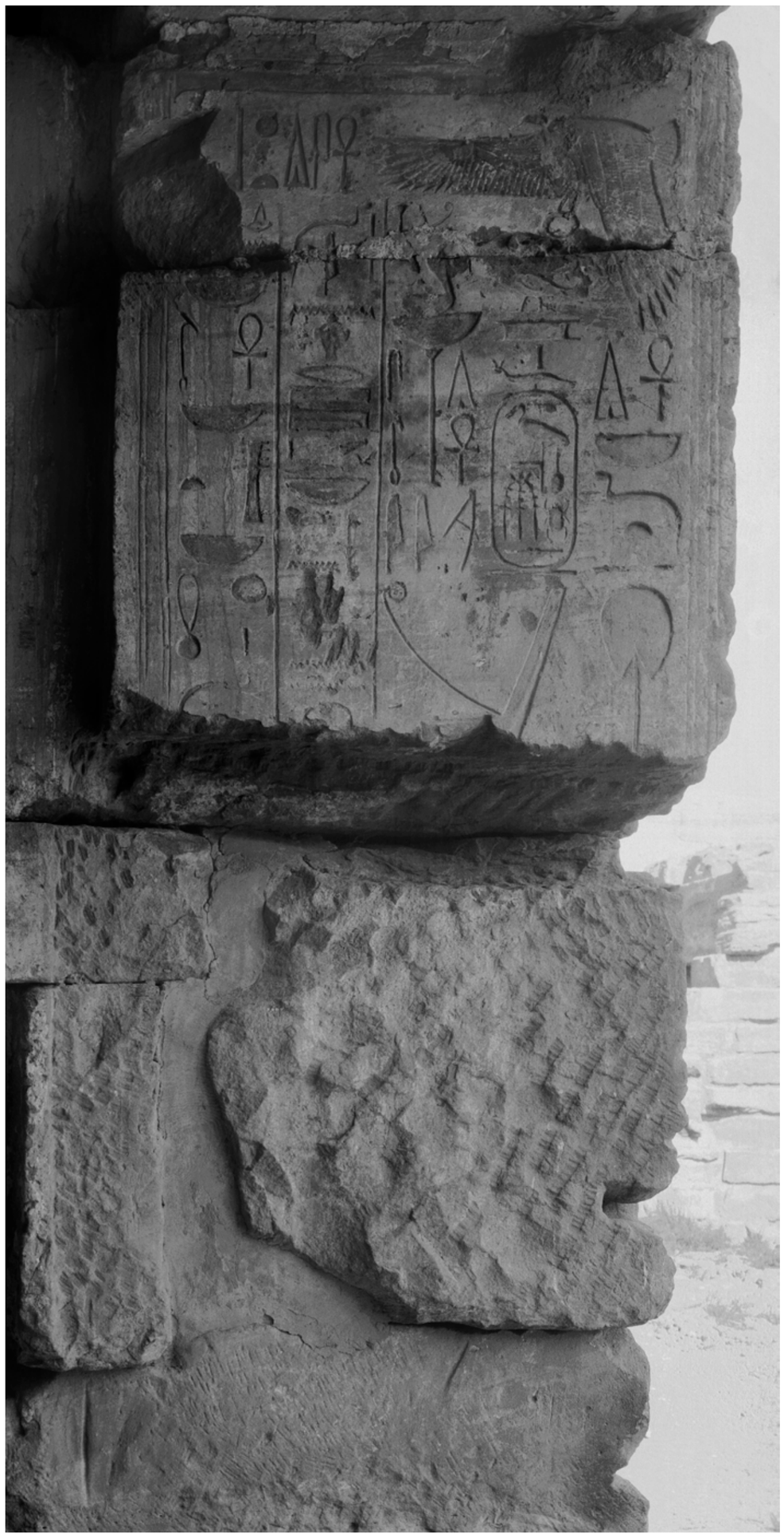
B

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY THOTH

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

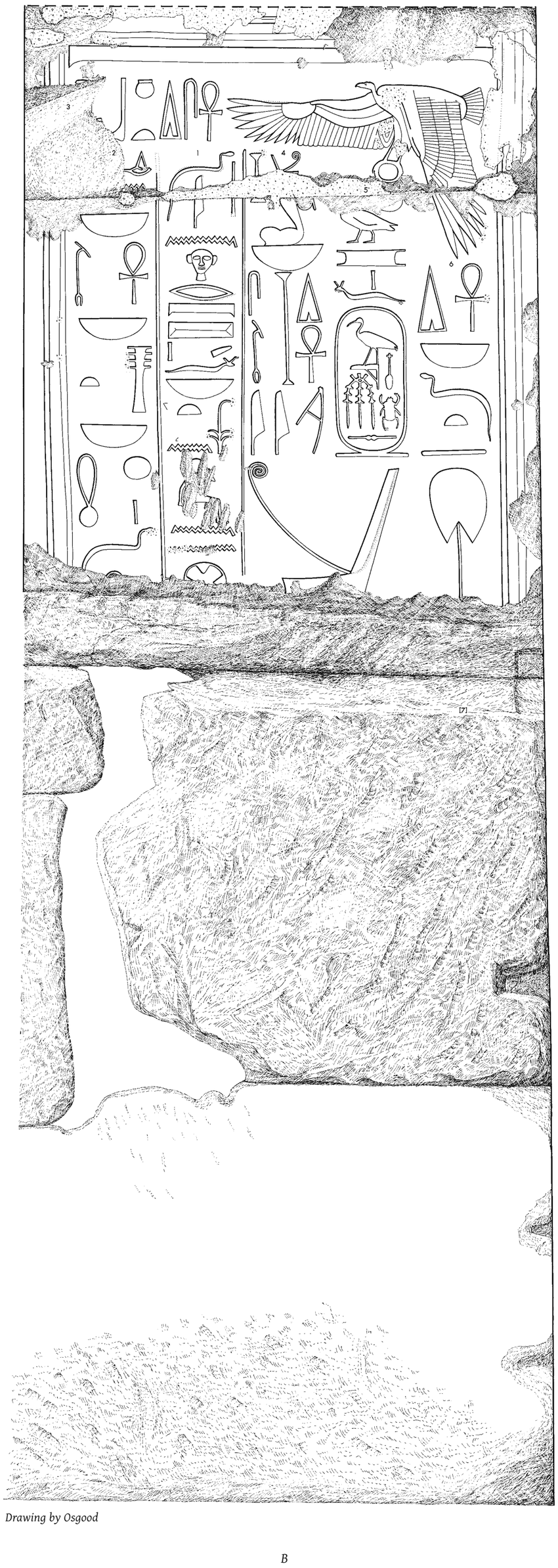


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Photograph by Epigraphic Survey

A



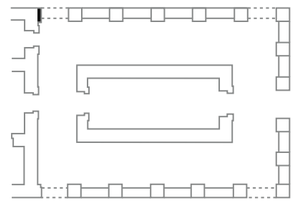
Drawing by Osgood

B

0 1 m

THUTMOSE III BEFORE HERISHEF

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE



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Photographs by Kobylecky

A *B*

DETAILS OF MODIFICATIONS TO THE EXTERIOR CORNERS OF THE FAÇADE

A. SOUTHEAST CORNER

B. NORTHEAST CORNER

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Photographs by McClain

A



B



D



C

DETAILS FROM THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE PERIPTEROS

A. OUTLINE OF BALUSTRADE REMOVED AT SOUTHWEST ENTRANCE *(below plate 182)*

B. DOOR POST EMPLACEMENTS ON SOFFIT OF ARCHITRAVE OVER SOUTHWEST ENTRANCE

C. OUTLINE OF BALUSTRADE REMOVED AT SOUTHWEST ENTRANCE *(below plate 183)*

D. INSCRIBED FRAGMENT REUSED AS PATCH STONE *(below plate 192)*

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A



Photographs by McClain

B



C



D



E

DETAILS FROM THE EAST AND NORTH SIDES OF THE PERIPTEROS

A. IN SITU BLOCKING STONE *(plate 154)*, BACK VIEW

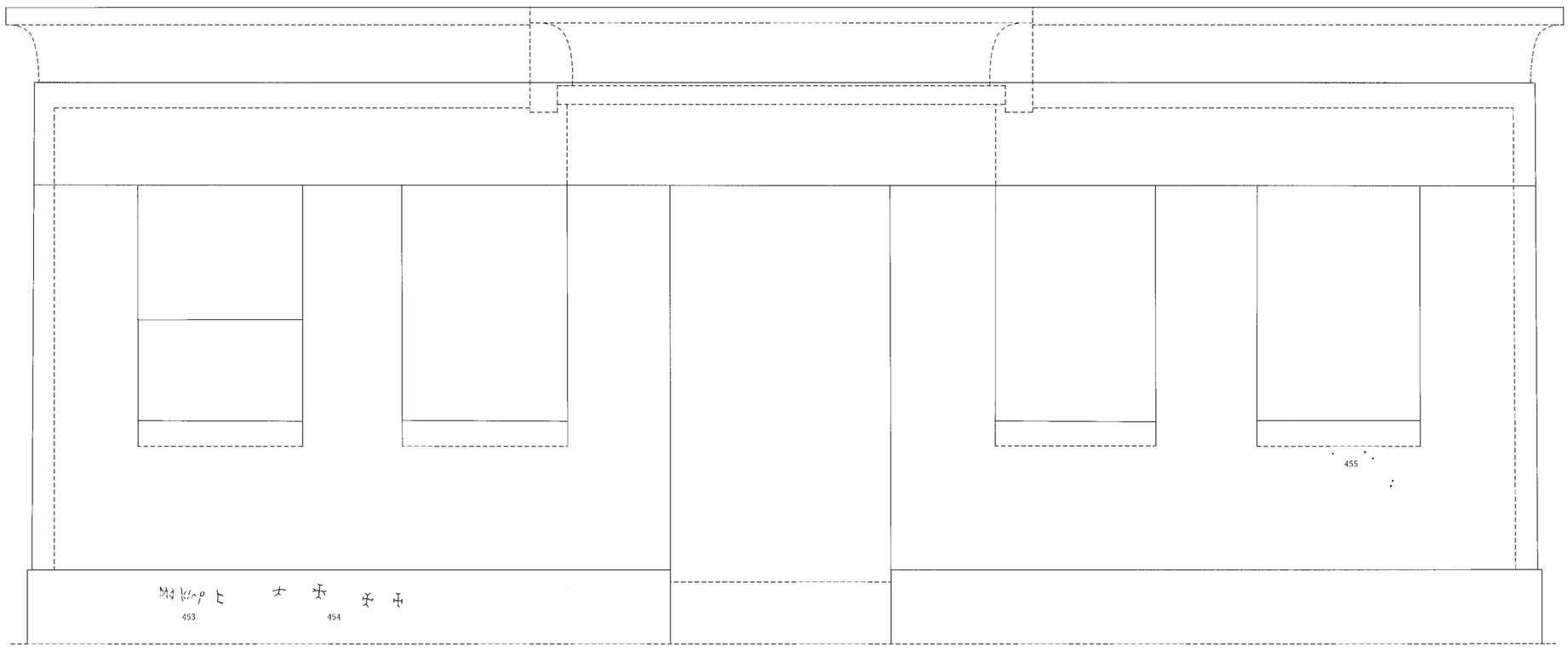
B. RECESSED NORTH REVEAL AND SOFFIT, EAST ENTRANCE

C. PATCH STONE EMPLACEMENT IN CORNER OF PILLAR *(plates 159 and 206)*

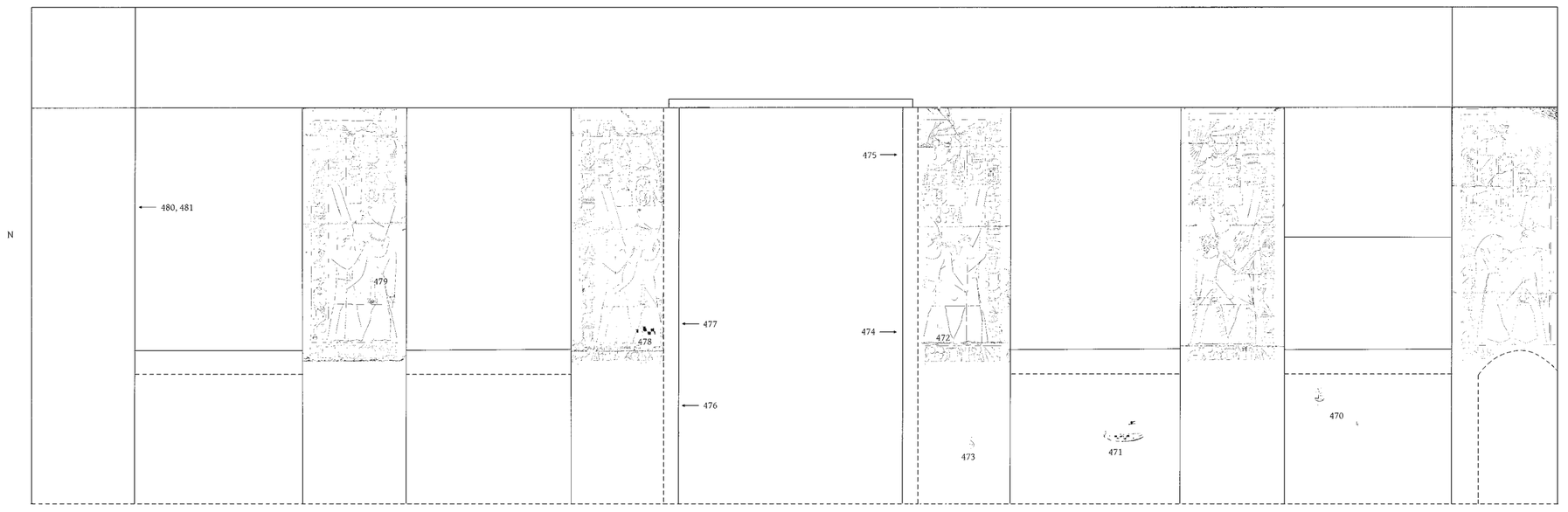
D. PTOLEMAIC REPAIRS TO PILLAR AND ARCHITRAVE *(plates 181C and 217)*

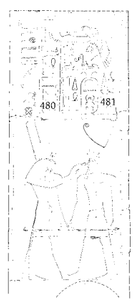
E. MODIFICATIONS TO PILASTER AT NORTHWEST ENTRANCE *(plate 227)*

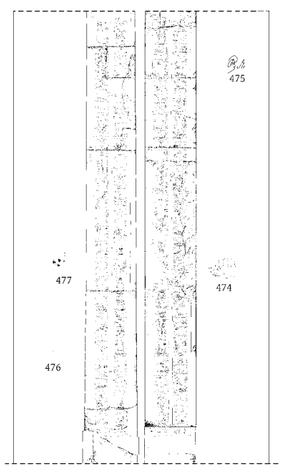
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GRAFFITI ON THE FAÇADE



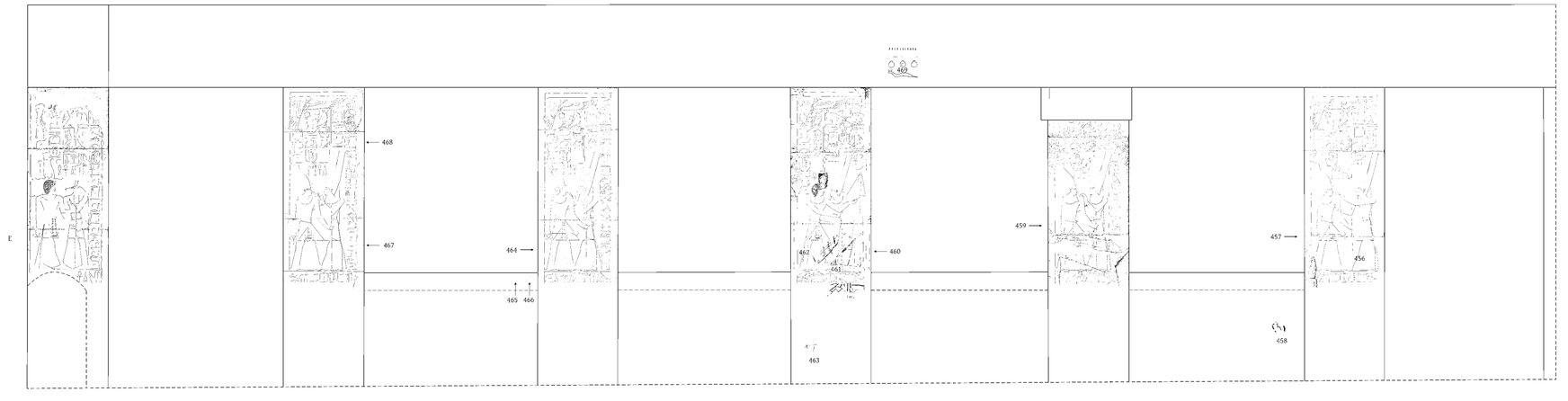


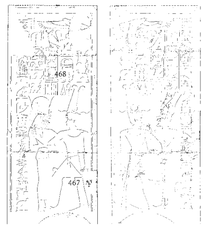


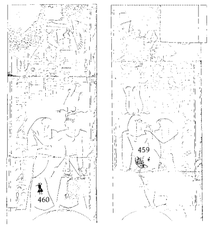
GRAFFITI ON THE EAST INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS

ELEVATIONS OF THE FAÇADE AND THE EAST INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE GRAFFITI IN CONTEXT

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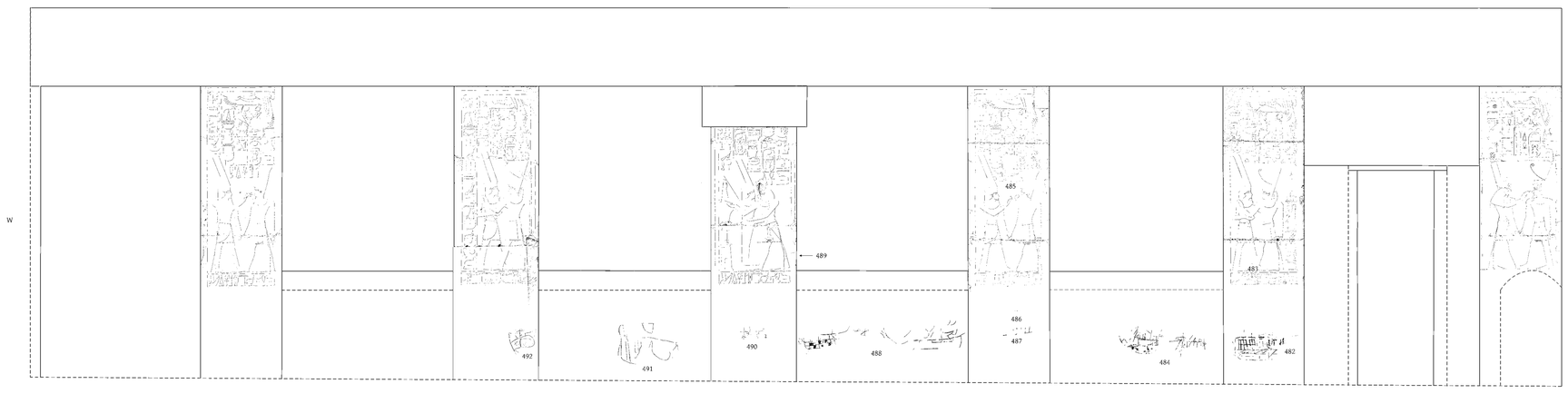








GRAFFITI ON THE SOUTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS

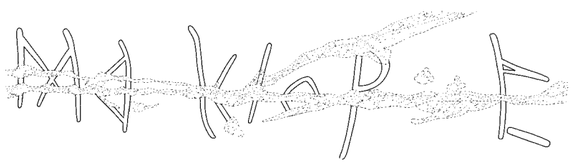




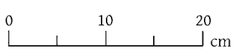
GRAFFITI ON THE NORTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS

ELEVATIONS OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE GRAFFITI IN CONTEXT

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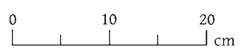


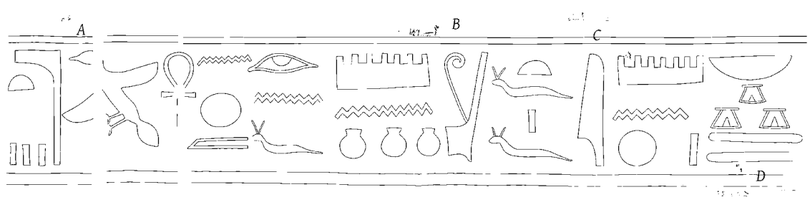
GR. 453



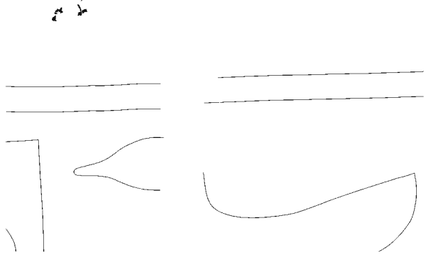


GR. 454

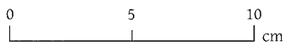




GR. 455

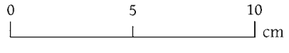


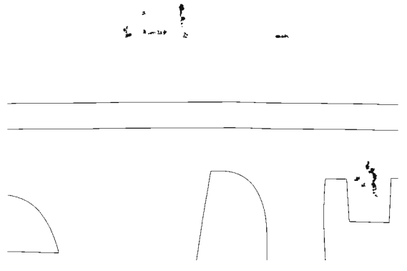
GR. 455A



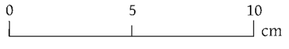


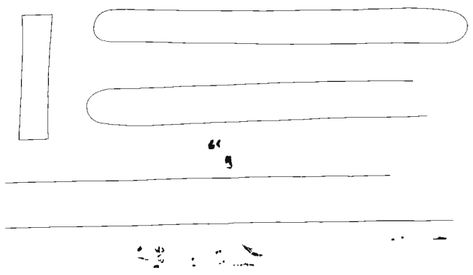
GR. 455B



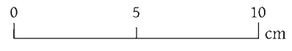


GR. 455C





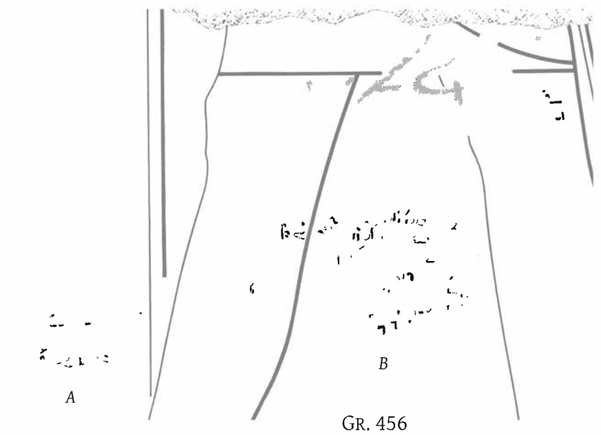
GR. 455D



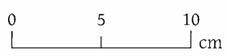
Drawings by Di Cerbo

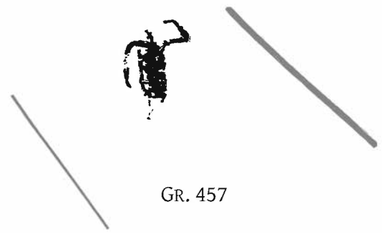
GRAFFITI ON THE FAÇADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE (GR. 453–55)

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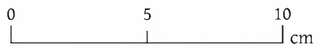


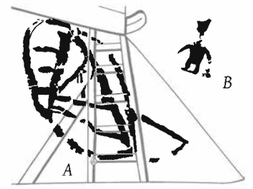
GR. 456



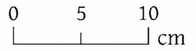


GR. 457



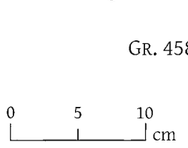


GR. 459



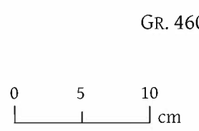


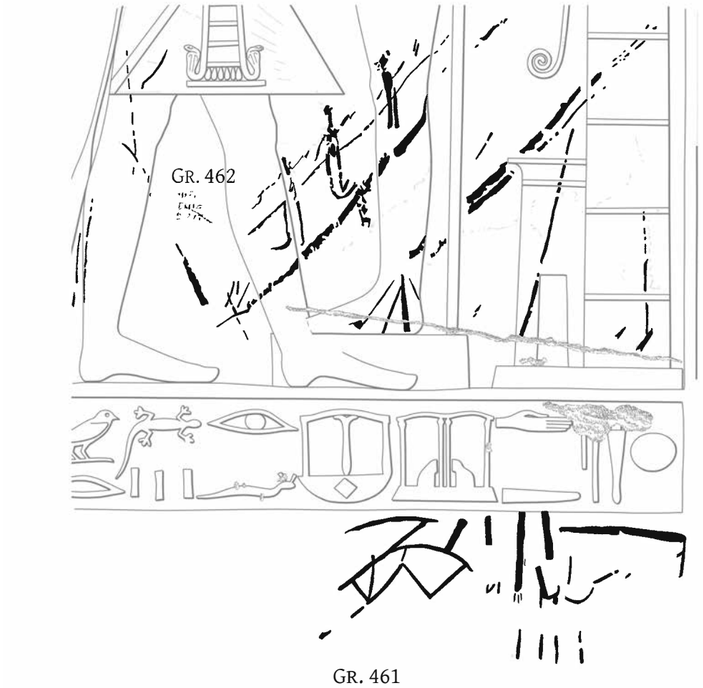
GR. 458





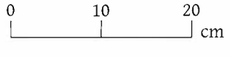
GR. 460





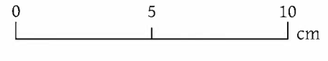
GR. 462

GR. 461





GR. 462



Drawings by Di Cerbo

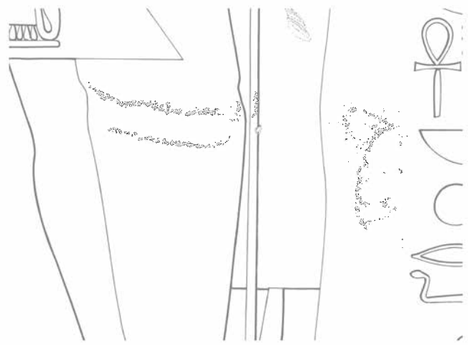
GRAFFITI ON THE SOUTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS (GR. 456–62)

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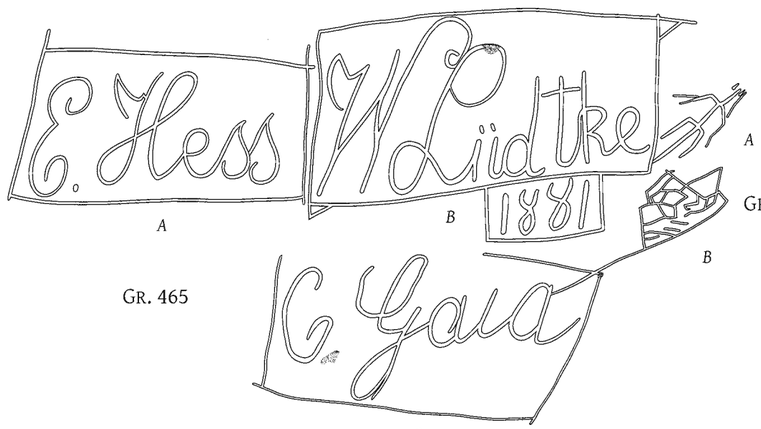
GR. 463

0 5 10 cm



GR. 464

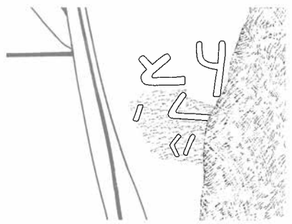
0 10 20 cm



GR. 465

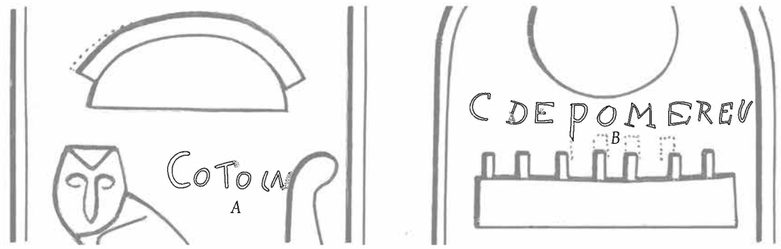
GR. 466

0 10 20 cm



GR. 467

0 5 10 cm



GR. 468

0 5 10 cm



GR. 469

0 5 10 cm

Drawings by Di Cerbo

GRAFFITI ON THE SOUTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS (GR. 463–69)

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GR. 470



0 5 10 cm



GR. 471

0 10 20 cm



GR. 472

0 5 10 cm



GR. 473

0 5 10 cm



GR. 474

0 10 20 cm



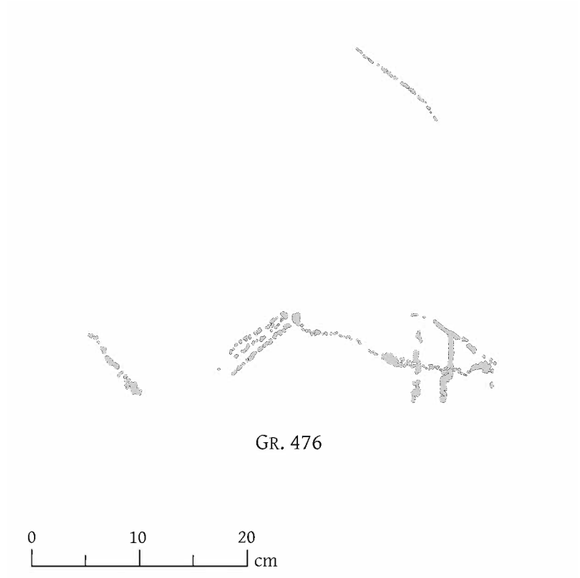
GR. 475

0 5 10 cm

Drawings by Di Cerbo

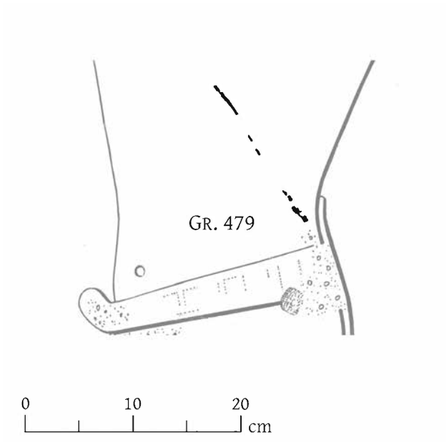
GRAFFITI ON THE EAST INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS (GR. 470–75)

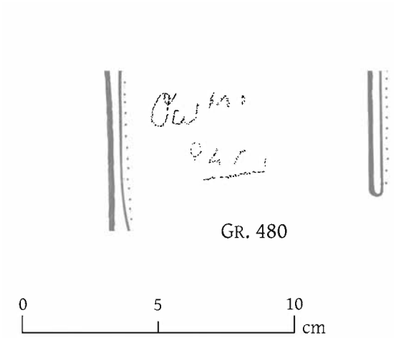
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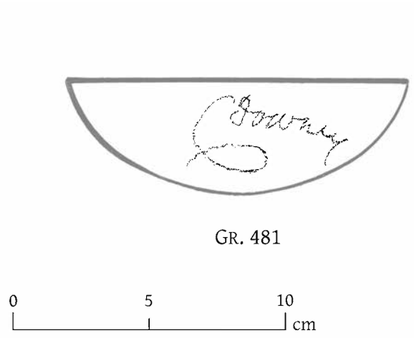












Drawings by Di Cerbo

GRAFFITI ON THE EAST INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS (GR. 476–81)

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GR. 482

0 10 20 cm



GR. 483

0 5 10 cm



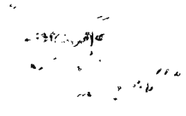
GR. 484

0 10 20 cm



GR. 485

0 5 10 cm



GR. 486

0 5 10 cm



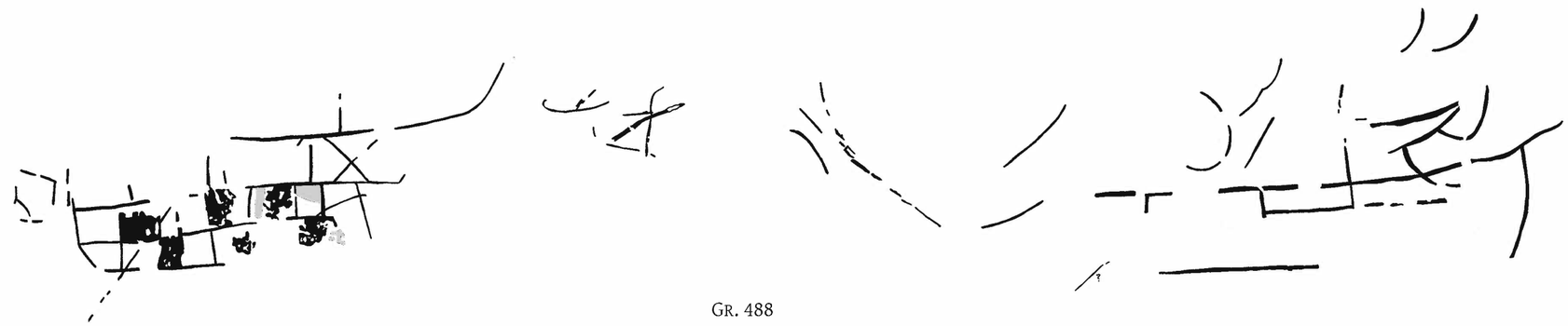
GR. 487

0 10 20 cm

Drawings by Di Cerbo

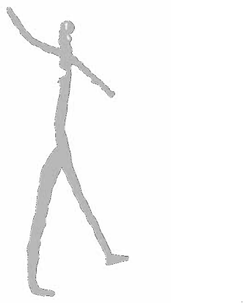
GRAFFITI ON THE NORTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS (GR. 482–87)

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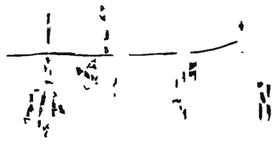
GR. 488

0 10 20 cm



GR. 489

0 10 20 cm



GR. 490

0 10 20 cm



GR. 491

0 10 20 cm



GR. 492

0 10 20 cm

Drawings by Di Cerbo

GRAFFITI ON THE NORTH INTERIOR OF THE PERIPTEROS (GR. 488–92)

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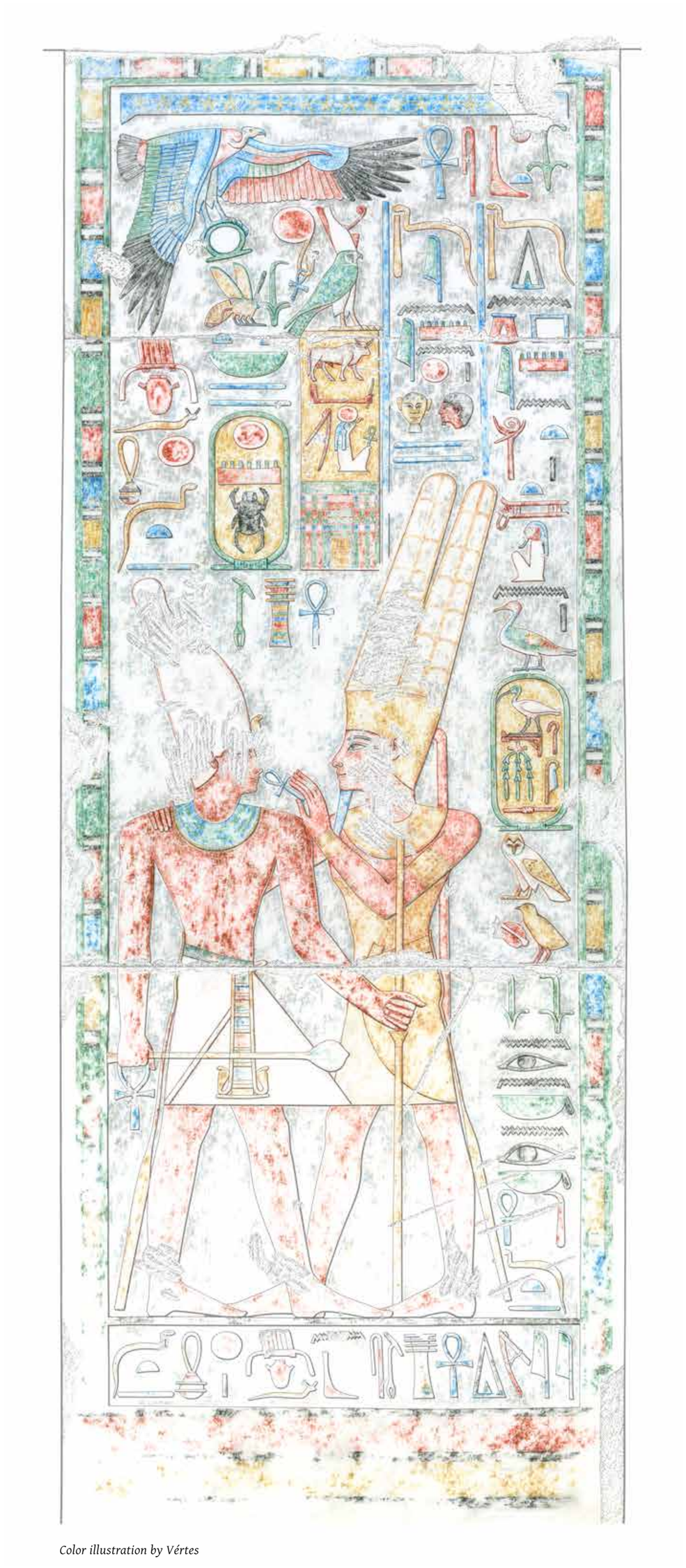


Photograph by Kobylecky

DECORATION ON THE SOFFIT OF THE EAST ENTRANCE

(Compare plates 177–78)

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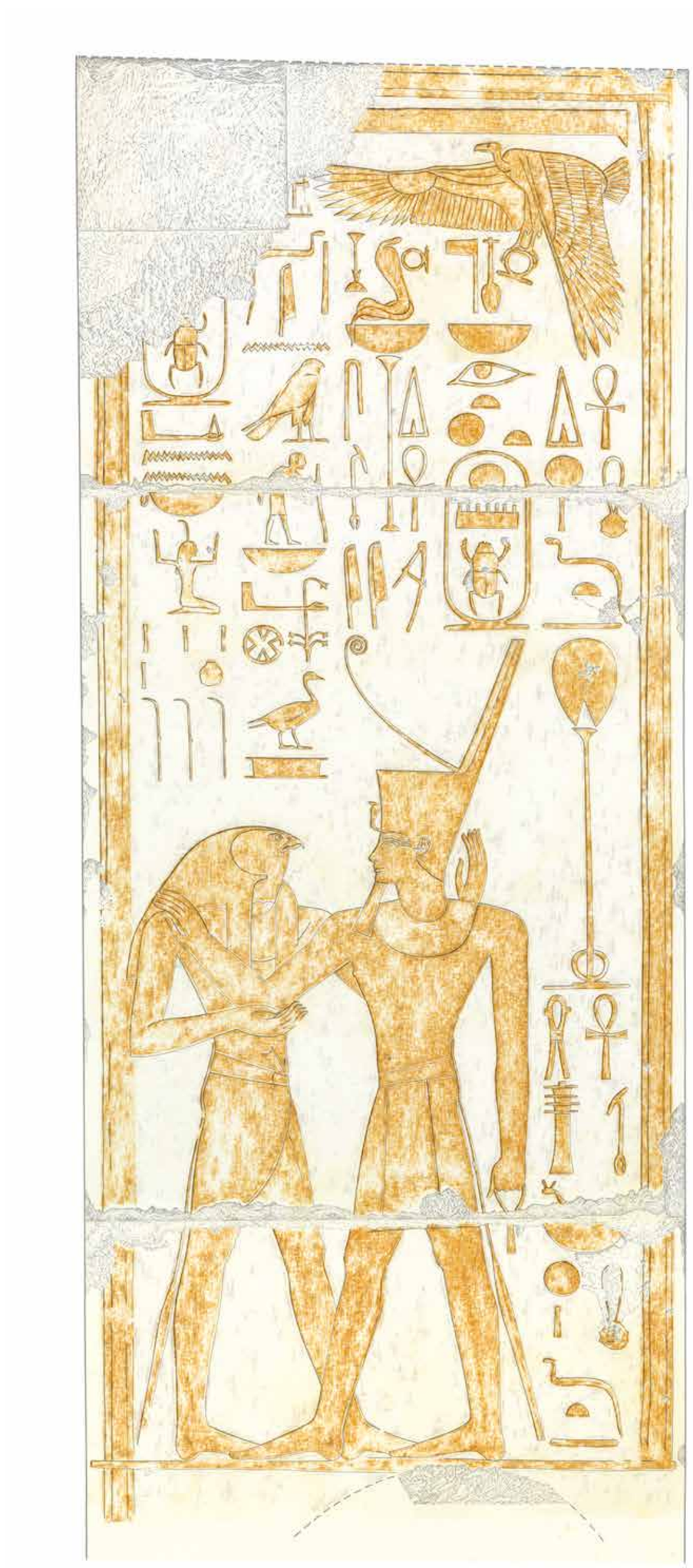
Color illustration by Vértes

THUTMOSE III GIVEN LIFE BY AMUN-RE, SHOWING EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY PAINTED DECORATION

PERIPTEROS, SOUTH SIDE

(Compare plate 193)

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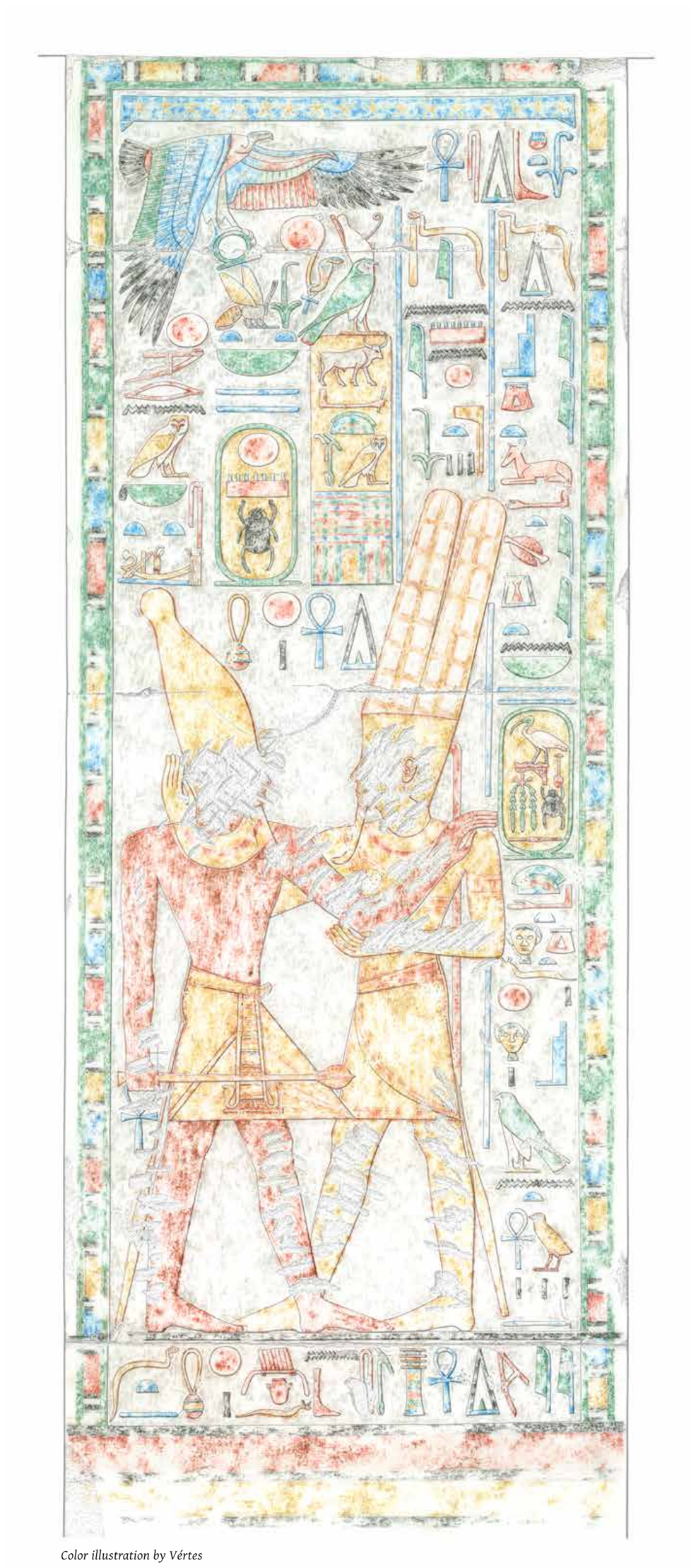
Color illustration by Vértes

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY HORUS, SHOWING EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY PAINTED DECORATION

PERIPTEROS, NORTH SIDE

(Compare plate 215)

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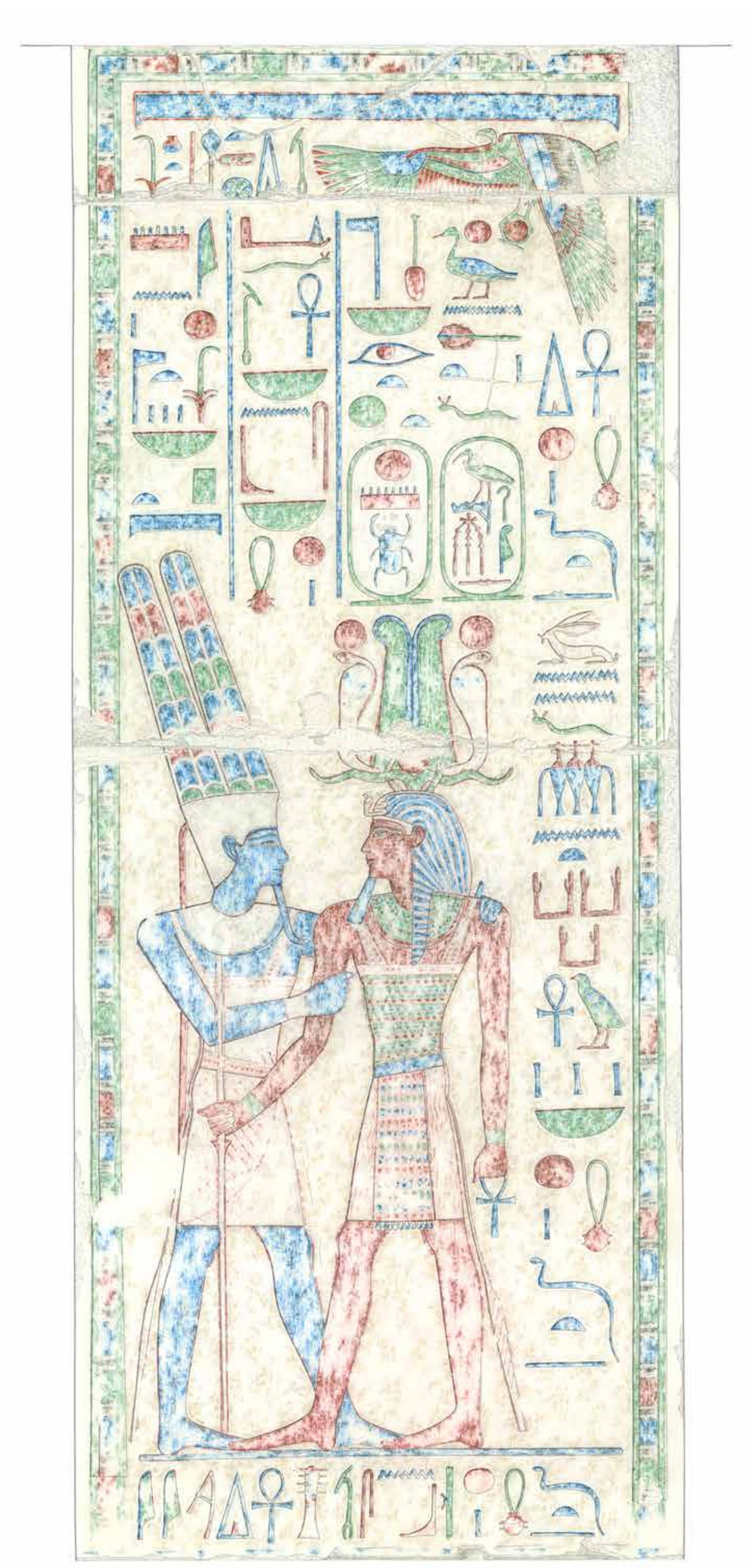
Color illustration by Vértes

THUTMOSE III EMBRACED BY AMUN-RE, AS REPAINTED IN THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

PERIPTEROS, EAST SIDE, SOUTH OF ENTRANCE

(Compare plate 201)

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Color illustration by Vértes

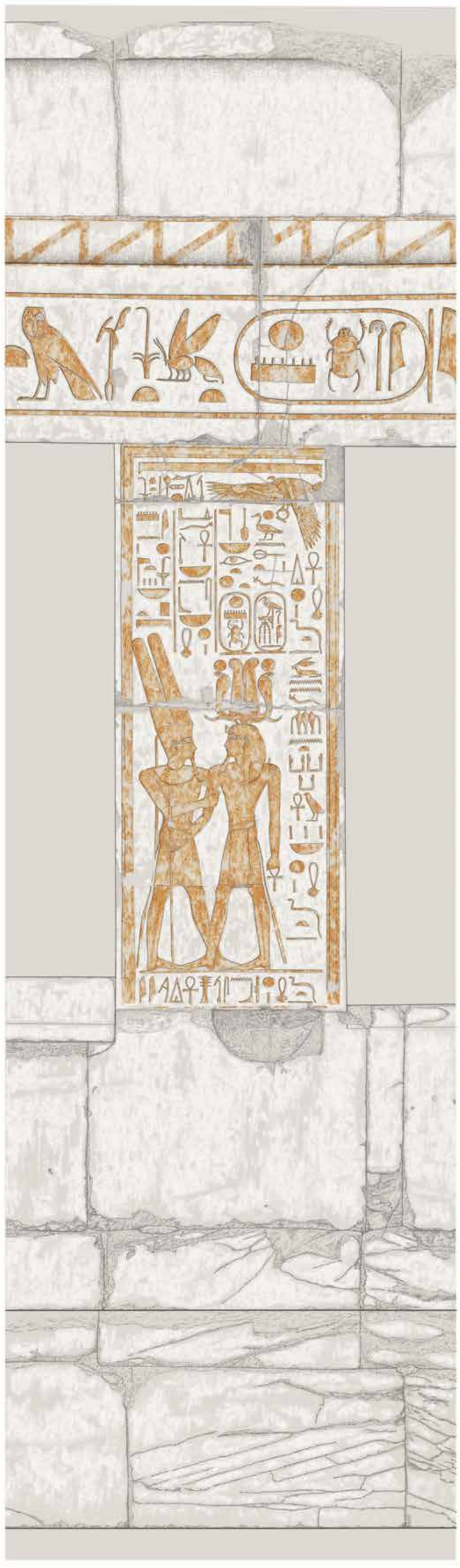
THUTMOSE III RECEIVED BY AMUN-RE, AS REPAINTED IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

FAÇADE, NORTH OF ENTRANCE

(Compare plate 158 and color plates 245–48)

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Color illustrations by Vértes

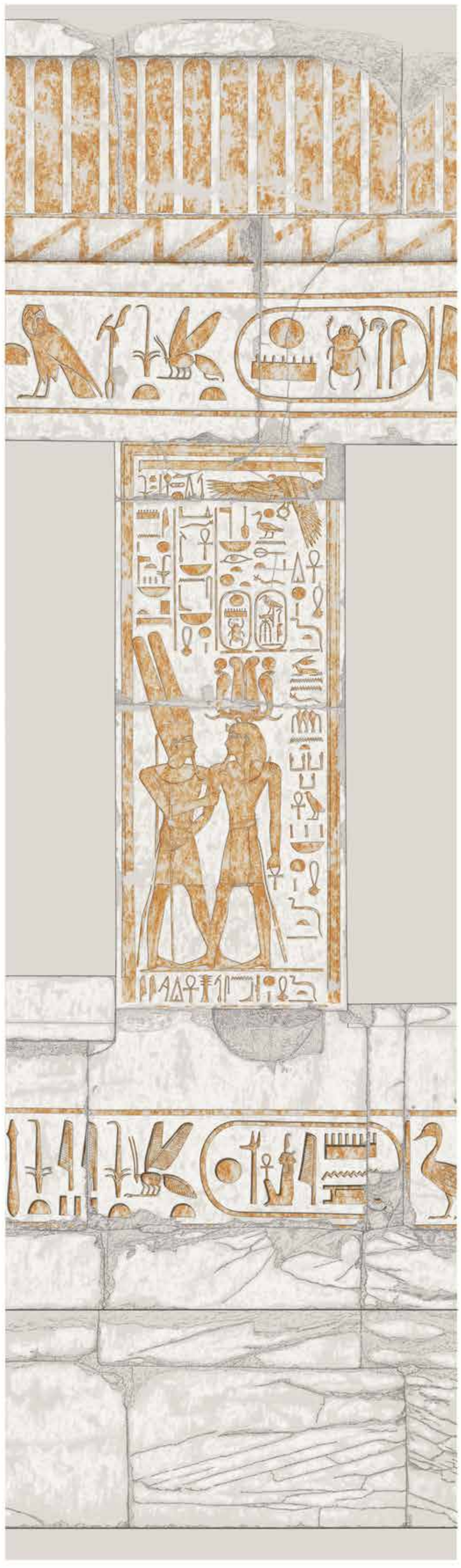
A *B*

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Color illustrations by Vértes

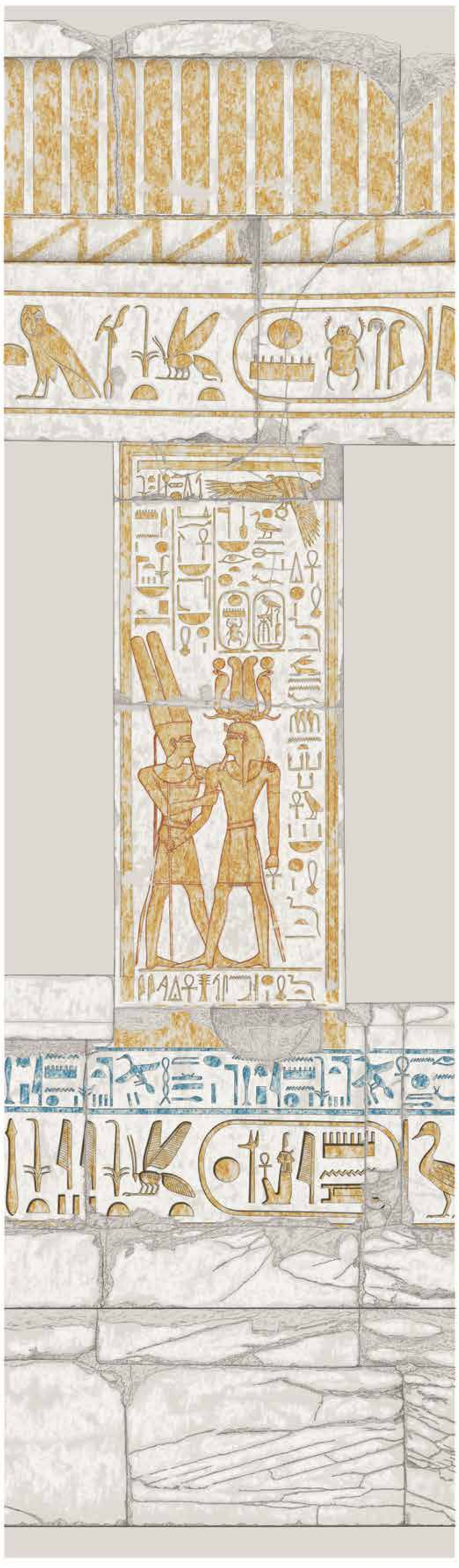
A



B

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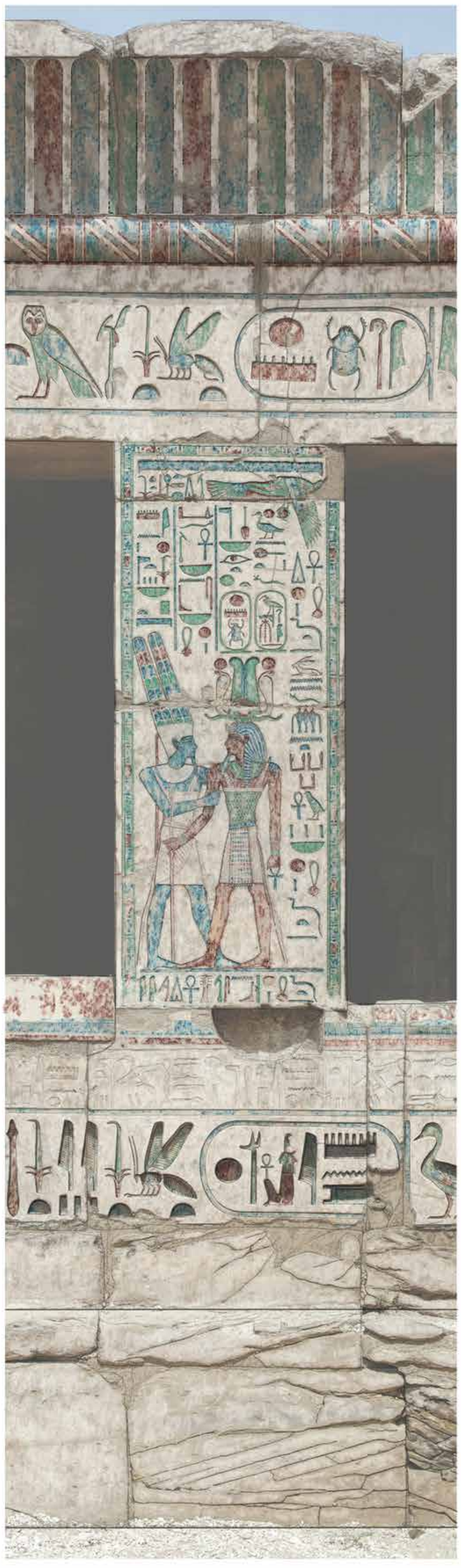


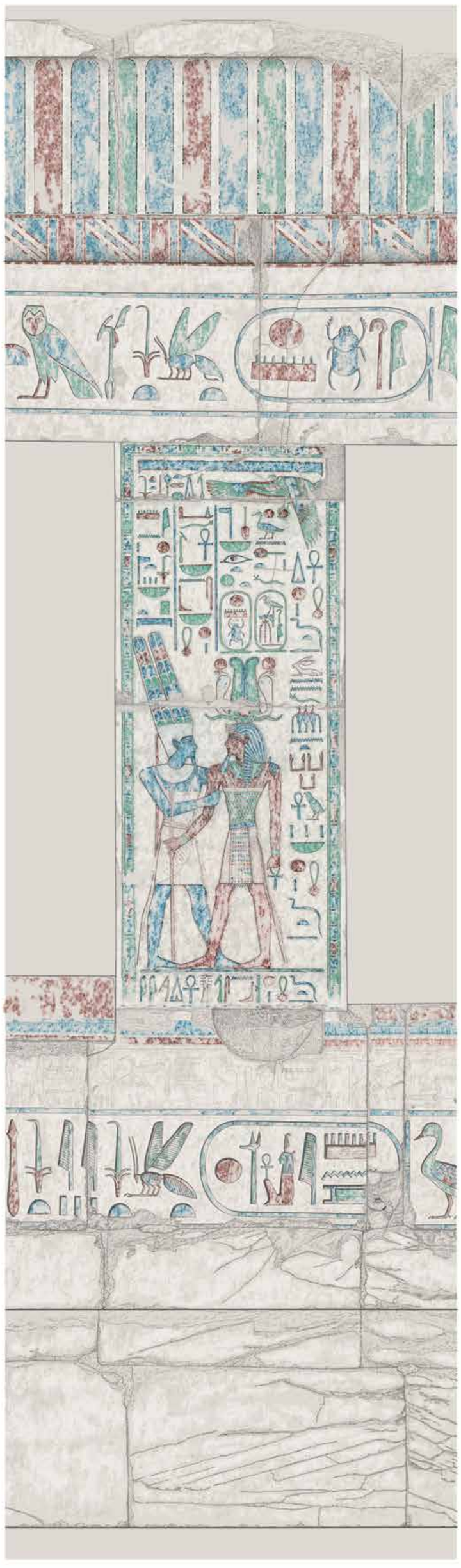


Color illustrations by Vértes

A *B*

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Color illustrations by Vértes

A *B*

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A



B



C



Photographs by Vértes

D



E



F



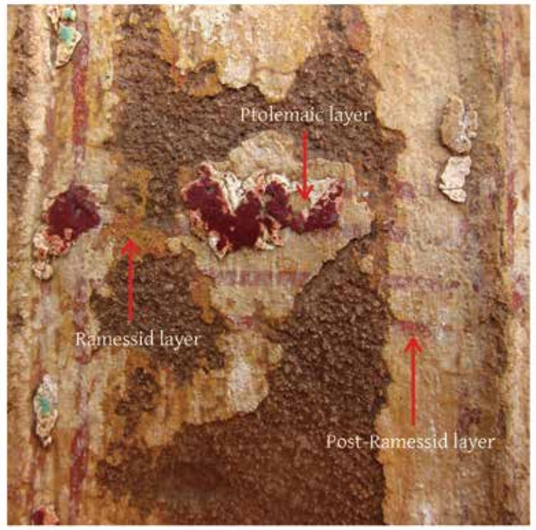
G

DETAILS ILLUSTRATING THE PHASES OF PAINTED DECORATION OF THE PERIPTEROS AND THE EXTERIOR OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

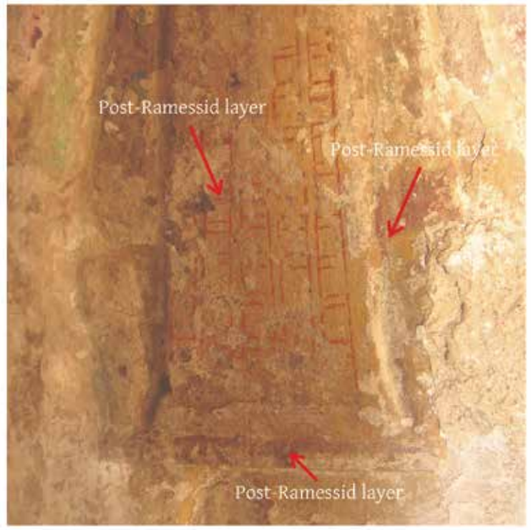
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A



B



C



D



E

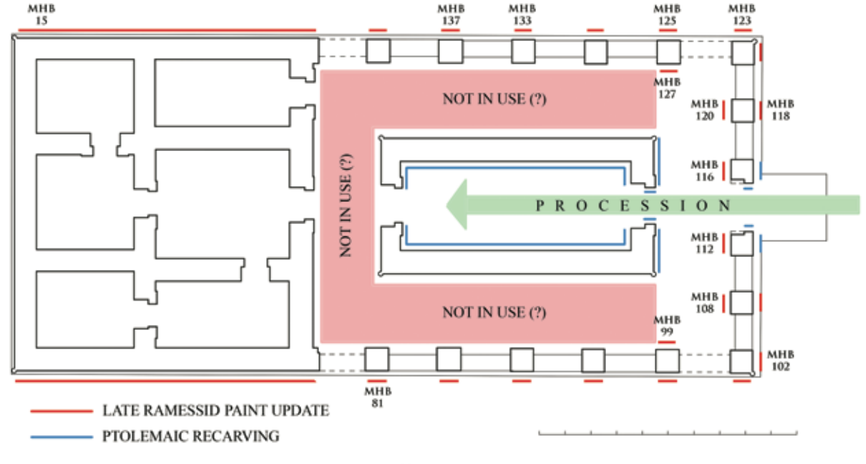


F



G

Photographs by Vértes



H

DETAILS ILLUSTRATING THE PHASES OF PAINTED DECORATION OF THE PERIPTEROS AND THE EXTERIOR OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

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A



B



C



Photographs by Lezon and McClain

D



E



F

DETAILS OF THE PAINTED DECORATION OF THE FAÇADE AND THE PERIPTEROS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

A. DETAILS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PAINT LAYER AT THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE FAÇADE *(Compare plate 153)*

B. DETAIL OF THE CEILING IN THE AMBULATORY

C. EXAMPLE OF THE PAINTED DADO ON THE INNER PILLAR FACES OF THE PERIPTEROS *(Compare plate 208)*

D. THE PAINTED PATTERN ON THE KING'S SPORRAN *(Compare plate 216)*

E. VESTIGES OF THE PTOLEMAIC PAINTED BANDS ON THE SOFFIT OF THE NORTH ARCHITRAVE

F. THE PAINTED COSTUME OF THUTMOSE III PARTIALLY OBSCURED BY LATE PERIOD PLASTER *(Compare plate 225)*