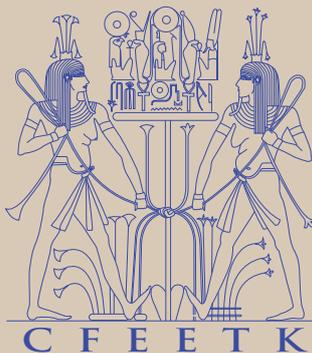


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THE NOTION OF PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK*

Jean REVEZ, Peter J. BRAND¹

THE 134 GIANT COLUMNS of the Great Karnak Hypostyle Hall present the largest and most complex scheme of column decoration from any monument ever built in pharaonic Egypt. Twelve great columns in its central nave surpass 20 meters in height and are capped by huge open papyrus blossom capitals. 122 smaller papyrus columns in the north and south wings, with closed-bud papyrus capitals, reach 13 meters in height (**fig. 1**). This majestic forest of columns overwhelms viewers with its bewildering array of carved relief scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions covering every surface of the shafts and capitals. As originally envisaged by their authors, Sety I and Ramesses II, the decorative scheme for these columns was much less elaborate than it later became. Today, however, a patchwork of inscriptions blankets most of the columns. The density of these inscriptions is due to Ramesses II and his successors Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI and the High Priest Herihor. Disregarding the balance between inscribed and blank surfaces, which allow reliefs to be seen to advantage, Ramesses II and Ramesses IV filled these empty spaces - and even some that had previously received decoration - with new inscriptions: hundreds of additional cult scenes, friezes of royal cartouches, and stereotyped hieroglyphic texts with royal titulary and divine epithets. Two highly complex yet crucial questions must be answered if we are ever to understand the decorative program of this vast monument fully: (1) how and why did successive pharaohs repeatedly augment and rework the column decoration in the Great Hall and; (2) what conceptual priorities and ideological values governed their repeated interventions. Our epigraphic study and recording of the monument in recent years indicates that the relative value of individual locations within the thicket of columns, especially in relationship to the two main processional axes, was a vital consideration to every pharaoh who carved decoration in any location within the vast edifice.

Prime space (as for instance, in the term “prime office space”) is a notion often used in contemporary real estate business to define architectural space of superior grade that is highly sought-after because of its excep-

* This article is an extended version of our paper presented at the 64th ARCE Annual Meeting held in Cincinnati in April 2013. It is worth mentioning that our study will focus exclusively on stereotyped decoration, an expression that refers to the numerous bandeau texts, friezes of cartouches, *rekhyet*-birds and plant-motifs that adorn most of the surfaces of each column, as opposed to the main scenes located in the central registers only. Those scenes show a much greater deal of variety in their content and are thus classified as non-stereotyped or non-standardized decoration. We would like to thank E. Feleg for assisting us in the production of figures for the current article.

¹ Both authors are co-directors of the joint University of Memphis-Université du Québec à Montréal Project in Karnak (www.memphis.edu/hypostyle). This project is made possible through the generous financial support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the American Research Center in Egypt's Antiquities Endowment Fund and the University of Memphis' Department of History. We would like also to extend our gratitude to the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK, MAE-CNRS USR 3172) and the Ministry for Antiquities of Egypt for their invaluable collaboration and assistance over the years, especially during our 2011 and 2013 missions.

tional location. In commercial real estate terminology, the term *class* refers to the quality of property and can be subdivided into four categories, ranging from class C to class A+. An example of the latter grade might be described as a “landmark quality, high-rise building with prime central business district location.”² While applying such a modern concept to Ancient Egyptian practices at first may justifiably be considered anachronistic, it is nonetheless quite clear that the artists who decorated pharaonic monuments had a clear understanding of the relative value of the different parts of buildings in relation to their degree of exposure and visibility in prestigious locations, especially along the processional axis.³ In this respect, the 134 gigantic columns that once stood inside the Ramesside Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak offer an excellent case study (**plan A**). The aim of the present article is first to define what spaces inside the Hall, and on each individual column, were perceived as having the highest priority, on the principle that the areas inside the building and the sections of the columns that were the first to be decorated with scenes and inscriptions were likely deemed by the Ancient Egyptians to be the most valuable.⁴ We will also use three related criteria to define the concept of “prime space” in relation to certain epigraphic characteristics of the column stereotyped decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall: (1) evidence for recarving, a practice that demonstrates that prized space can be repurposed; (2) the varying quality of workmanship; and (3) the exceptional nature of certain decorative motifs that stand out from an otherwise very uniform program of decoration. Prime space will thus be defined as existing along two complementary axes: a vertical one (the value of a given decorated space on the surface of a column in relation to its height above ground level) and a horizontal one (the value of decorated space on a given column in relation to its geographical location inside the Hall as defined by its visibility from one of the two main processional axes of the building).⁵

1. The Chronology of the Decorative Program on the Abaci

Although they may be considered to a large extent as a unified whole, we will analyze separately the decoration of the columns and the abaci that rested upon them, since these two features were the object of distinct studies during the two field seasons of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project in the spring of 2011 and the spring of 2013, when both the University of Memphis and the Université du Québec à Montréal organized a joint mission in Karnak, under the co-direction of Peter Brand and Jean Revez.⁶ We will begin our analysis with the decoration of the abaci.

2 <http://www1.officespace.com/terms.cfm>. On the fluctuating property value of skyscrapers, see S. WATTS, “Tall Building Economics,” in D. Parker, A. Wood (eds.), *The Tall Buildings Reference Book*, London, 2013, p. 49-70. For a survey of various types of prestigious office towers and their relation to their respective environments, see E. FIRLEY, J. GIMBAL, *La tour et la ville. Manuel de la grande hauteur*, Marseille, 2011. On the importance of location and design of office buildings, see A.E. KOHN, P. KATZ (eds.), *Building Type Basics for Office Buildings*, New York, 2002, p. 4-5.

3 Spatial constraints were another factor the Ancient Egyptians had to address when laying out surface decoration on the monuments. See D.W. LARKIN, “Making Egyptian Temple Decoration Fit the Available Space,” in S.E. Thomson, P. Der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond. Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005*, Providence, 2008, p. 209-225.

4 Cf. D. ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des neuen Reiches*, Berlin, 1962; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, PdÄ 16, 2000, § 3.83.

5 Here again a certain parallel can be drawn with the real estate business: property values vary considerably inside tall buildings, where the price per square foot increases dramatically on the higher floors which are considered more desirable due to the scenic vistas they offer.

6 For reports on the first of these two field missions see: J. REVEZ, P. BRAND, “Le programme décoratif des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: bilan de la mission canado-américaine de 2011,” *BSFE* 184, 2012, p. 10-38; P.J. BRAND, J. REVEZ, J. KAR-KOWSKI, E. LAROZE, C. GOBEIL, “The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project. Report on the 2011 Field Season of the University of Memphis & the Université du Québec à Montréal,” *Karnak* 14, 2013, p. 193-229. For a general presentation of the Hypostyle Hall Project’s current initiative to record and study the columns, see: P. BRAND, E. LAROZE, J. REVEZ, “Le projet américano-canadien des colonnes de la salle hypostyle de Karnak. Objectifs globaux et méthodologie,” *JSSEA* 38, 2011-2012, p. 17-34; http://www.memphis.edu/hypostyle/field_reports.htm.

1.1. The Decoration of the abaci under Sety I

Once Sety I had completed the construction of the Hypostyle Hall, the king set out to decorate the northern and then the central part of the building.⁷ As far as the abaci are concerned, it is possible to distinguish two separate phases of decoration under Sety I:

Phase 1 (**plan B**): The cartouches still visible on the abaci of the twelve great columns of the central east-west axis of the Hypostyle Hall present certain characteristics that are to be found nowhere else in the edifice. A first unusual feature is the way the epithet *mr(y)-Īmn*, “beloved of Amun,” is sometimes written outside of the cartouche, , as we found on abacus 8 North, , and on many other abaci located atop columns in row 7 to 12. Secondly, we also noticed that the king is regularly referred to as *hqꜣ*, , “ruler” of a place (“Thebes,” , or “Heliopolis,” ) or a concept (“Maat,” , as on abacus 4 East where Sety is *Mn-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ mr(y) Īmn-Rꜥ hqꜣ Wꜣst* ). Finally, another distinctive feature is the way the theomorphic figure of the god Seth (whose hieroglyphic sign is incorporated in the *prenomen* of Sety) sometimes wears the Red Crown, , in *nomen* cartouches as shown for instance on Abacus 1 East, , but only in the northern row of columns.

It may well be that these graphic singularities engraved on the abaci atop of the great central columns are due to the fact that this area of the Hall was the first one to be decorated by the king’s artists, who would have probably taken advantage of the mud brick ramps and embankments still in place after their use in erecting the huge columns.⁸

Phase 2 (**plan C**⁹): Sety I would then have proceeded to decorate the abaci located in the Northern part of the Hall, where none of the cartouches engraved there show the peculiarities observed in the central nave of the Hall. Sety’s usual *prenomen* is *Mn-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*, but here the pharaoh added various epithets to this name, such as *tīt-Rꜥ*, , “image of Re,” *iwꜥt(y)-Rꜥ*, , “the heir of Ra,” and *iri.n-Rꜥ*, , “the one whom Re has created.”

1.2. The decoration of the abaci under Ramesses II

In the case of Ramesses II, it is the orthographic variants as well as the type of engraving that allows us to determine the general chronology of the successive phases of the decorative program of this king. One can distinguish between four phases of decoration on the abaci:

Phase 1 (**plan D**): There are about 20 abaci that present characteristics of phase 1 of the decoration program of Ramesses II. They are located on the first row directly to the south of the main East-West axis of the Hall and on the first row of columns located on both sides of the secondary North-South axis in the Southern part of the Hall.

During this phase, Ramesses II uses the *Rꜥ-ms-sw mr(y)-Īmn* form of his *nomen* that prior to year 21 only

⁷ For the most recent analysis of the procedure Sety I used to construct and decorate the Great Hypostyle Hall, see P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *The Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, *Translation and Commentary*, SAOC 20, forthcoming, Chapter 1. Hereafter, P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2.

⁸ P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 193-194; P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2, chapter 1. In fact, the unique orthography and epithets associated with these 12 abaci – which are entirely different from those on the 61 smaller columns in the northern wing that this king decorated – adds weight to the other arguments we have previously made in favor of the conclusion that Sety decorated these 12 abaci and the interior surfaces of the clerestory before any other reliefs inside the Great Hypostyle Hall were created. See P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, plan 3.

⁹ Columns inscribed by Ramesses II and others on which the abaci are now either totally defaced or are entirely missing are left blank in this diagram, as well as in all others. Note that abaci that originally stood atop columns 74, 89, 98, 121-123, 129-131 and 133 in the northern wing are no longer *in situ* although fragments of many of them remain in the yards around Karnak and are being recorded by the Hypostyle Hall Project. See P.J. BRAND, J. REVEZ *et al.*, *Karnak* 14, 2013, p. 193-229.

appears in Upper Egypt during his first regnal year (**fig. 2**).¹⁰ The orthographic variant used here is R^c -*ms-sw* $mr(y)$ - $\dot{I}mn$, , with the regular use \odot of in the middle part of the cartouche and of $\downarrow + \downarrow$ at the end. His *prenomen* Wsr - M^c - t - R^c usually included the epithets of $\dot{t}t$ - R^c , $\dot{i}w$ - $t(y)$ - R^c or $\dot{i}r\dot{i}$ - n - R^c (**fig. 3**) – as seen, for example, in the case of abacus 25 North  – choices modeled after the epithets employed by his father Sety I on abaci in the northern wing. In rare instances, Ramesses' *prenomen* might include the epithet stp - n - R^c which he later adopted to the exclusion of all others.¹¹ In every case during this earliest stage, the type of engraving is always raised relief.

Phase 2 (**plan E**):

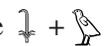
During the second year of his reign, Ramesses began to carve his inscriptions in sunk rather than raised relief and he now adopted the long form of his *prenomen* Wsr - M^c - t - R^c with the epithet stp - n - R^c , “the one that Re has chosen,” , that remained an invariable and permanent feature of his name until the end of his reign. At this point, the king often abandoned the use of \odot in favor of its theomorphic equivalent  in writing his *nomen*. He also continued to use the *nomen* form R^c -*ms-sw*, perhaps because his craftsmen chose not to “update” designs the draftsmen had already laid out in paint. Yet once he had adopted the long *prenomen* in year 2, his *nomen* form was almost always transcribed as  R^c -*ms-s* in all parts of Upper Egypt and Nubia south of Abydos until year 21, with only rare exceptions and this general rule also holds true for all the wall, column and architrave decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall, making the R^c -*ms-sw* form on the abaci during phase 2 anomalous. Ramesses II now proceeded to inscribe the long form of his *prenomen* on all the abaci that still remained undecorated in the southern part of the Hall. The cartouches belonging to this second phase of decoration are those on the closed-bud papyrus columns located to the east and west of the main North-South axis, marked in red on the **plan E**.

Phase 3 (**plan F**): At this point of the decorative program, all the abaci in the southern half of the Hall would have been engraved with the cartouches of Ramesses II. The king next proceeded to erase and recarve those of his own cartouches that he had originally inscribed in raised relief during phase 1, situated along the secondary North-South axis of the Hall and along the first row of the closed-bud papyrus columns standing just south of the major East-West axis (see **figs. 2-3**). As he had done with his own early raised relief decoration, and that of his father Sety I, carved on the walls in the south wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall, Ramesses II next ordered his sculptors to convert the cartouches on these abaci from raised into sunk relief. At the same time, he commanded that a new spelling variant to his *nomen* R^c -*ms-s*- $mr(y)$ - $\dot{I}mn$, written  with the addition of $\parallel\parallel$

10 For the two forms of Ramesses II's *nomen*, R^c -*ms-s* and R^c -*ms-sw* and their chronological implications, see: P.J. BRAND, W.J. MUR-NANE \ddagger , *GHHK* I.2, chapter 2 and appendix B (where all the orthographic variants present on the interior walls are given). See also K.A. KITCHEN, “Aspects of Ramesside Egypt,” in W.F. Reineke (ed.), *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology*, Berlin, 1979, p. 383-389; *id.*, “The Titularies of Ramesside Kings as Expression of Their Ideal Kingship,” *ASAE* 71, 1987, p. 131-141; A. SPALINGER, “Early Writings of Ramesses II's Names,” *CdE* 83, 2008, p. 75-89; O. GOELET, S. ISKANDER, “The Epigraphic Record in the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos Preliminary Report,” *JARCE* 48, 2012, p. 143-183. The orthography of each of the two forms could and did vary considerably in terms of the glyphs chosen and their arrangement in cartouches in both the vertical and horizontal format. In a forthcoming article, P.J. Brand and E. Feleg will re-examine the many variants of Ramesses II's cartouches in orthographic, epigraphic and paleographic terms, especially during the first two decades of the reign. See: P.J. BRAND, R. FELEG, “Cartouche Variants of Ramesses II” (forthcoming).

It should be noted that the phenomenon is more complex than Kitchen and others have noted. Although R^c -*ms-sw* and R^c -*ms-s* fluctuated frequently in Upper Egypt during the first year or so of the reign with R^c -*ms-s* becoming overwhelmingly the “standard” form – but not the invariable one – thereafter until year 21 when R^c -*ms-sw* became the definitive form, we have now encountered examples of R^c -*ms-s* and R^c -*ms-sw* co-existing in decoration dated after year 1 and prior to year 21 when the *prenomen* was in its final form Wsr - M^c - t - R^c stp - n - R^c . Moreover, this “rule” did not hold true for Abydos and regions further north. For a different view of the Abydos examples and their chronology, see O. GOELET, S. ISKANDER, *op. cit.*, p. 143-183; and for a discussion of the presence of R^c -*ms-sw* in the Ramesside Forecourt at Luxor see R.E. FELEG, “Features of the Early Relief Decoration of Ramesses II at the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Ramesside Forecourt at Luxor Temple,” M.A. thesis, University of Memphis, 2011, p. 51-54. Ms. Feleg is now preparing a doctoral dissertation on the architecture and relief decoration in the Ramesside forecourt of Luxor Temple.

11 So stp - n - R^c occasionally appears as the *prenomen* epithet in abaci decoration of both Sety I (Abaci 10S, 97E, 97W, 99N, 106S, 109N) and Ramesses II before his 2nd regnal year (Abaci 35W, 62N, 68E, 70E, 70W).

at the end should replace the older form R^c -*ms-sw* that had been written  with the  glyphs.¹²

Phase 4 (**plan G**): A second and final group of palimpsest texts occur on the abaci in the first row of columns running from East to West located directly to the North of the Central East-West axis of the Hall. Sety I had originally decorated these abaci in raised relief with his own cartouches, but his son Ramesses II now erased his father's names and replaced them with his own in sunk relief. Ramesses carried out this operation much later than his earliest campaigns of decoration in the Hall (all of which dated to his first three years on the throne). Judging by the standardized orthography of his *nomen* as R^c -*ms-sw* $mr(y)$ - $\dot{I}mn$,  - transcribed henceforth with the characteristic  - plant at the end of the pharaoh's name, but without the addition of  as a phonetic complement, viz: , seen on the abaci early in his reign - along with the definitive form of his *prenomen* written Wsr - $M\dot{s}'t$ - R^c *stp.n*- R^c  with  appearing instead of  (**fig. 4**). Note also that the theomorphic sign  regularly appears in this *nomen* variant, instead of the previous version which was usually spelled out with phonetic signs only.

2. The Study of the chronology of the decorative program of the columns

In the first part of this paper, we have attempted to reconstruct the chronology of the decoration of the abaci; we will now proceed to do the same with the columns themselves.

2.1. The Column Decoration under Sety I

Except for decoration on the clerestory roof, architraves, and the abaci inside the central nave,¹³ Sety I's earliest bas-reliefs in the Hall are located inside the northern gate and on the internal side of the northern wall, eastern half. In this area of the edifice, there are traces of palimpsest relief that display recarving for essentially esthetic reasons, that is, in order to harmonize the proportions of faces and limbs.¹⁴ The same observation can now be made for the decoration of Sety I on some of the columns standing near the northern gateway. On either side of the North-South secondary axis, on the columns closest to the northern gate, traces of recarving are visible on some figures of pharaoh and the gods in Sety I's ritual scenes.¹⁵ As on the east section of the north interior wall of the Hall, this recutting is minor and may be termed "cosmetic" in that its purpose was to refine the proportions of the limbs and bodies of the main figures in some of the scenes.¹⁶

Aside from these occasional cosmetic palimpsests clustered at the northernmost end of the North-South axis, Sety I's column decoration throughout the northern wing is generally uniform, both on the iconographic and epigraphic planes. His reliefs are always raised, the spelling of his name is fairly standard, with few variants

¹² See n. 11. Some if not all of the sunk relief abaci cartouches from phase two, carved with the then obsolete *nomen* form R^c -*ms-sw*, were "updated" to the current R^c -*ms-s* form by plastering over the ending *-sw* and replacing it with *-ss* in paint. This can be seen in the case of abaci 45 north and 63 south where these surfaces were protected from the elements by overhanging architraves. In most cases, however, the original paint and plaster has long since vanished, making it unclear how extensive such corrections were to the *nomen* cartouches carved during phase 2 on the abaci in the south wing.

¹³ P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 195-196 and plan 3.

¹⁴ On the north gate proper, Sety I ordered his sculptors to recarve his figure from an upright stance to one with a pronounced stoop. See: THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, OIP 107, RIK 4, 1986, p. 77-79; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 202-206; P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2, chapter 2; and *contra* J.-Fr. CARLOTTI, Ph. MARTINEZ, "Nouvelles observations architecturales et épigraphiques sur la grande salle hypostyle du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak," *Karnak* 14, 2013, p. 231-277.

¹⁵ Column scenes that exhibit recutting close to the north gateway are: 93a, 111a, 120a, 121a, 129a. Here the letter "a" designates column scenes of Sety I, in contrast to those of Ramesses II ("b") and Ramesses IV ("c"). In cases where one of these kings has a second scene on a column, it is designated a', b' and c' respectively. See H.H. NELSON, *Key Plans Showing the Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, OIP 56, 1941, pl. 3.

¹⁶ This is unlike some of the reliefs on the interior jambs of the north gateway where Sety I's figure has sometimes been drastically recarved to alter the iconography of his figure from an upright stance to a bowing pose. See BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 202-206; P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2, commentary to pl. 187.

(see below) and the king always stands with his torso inclined forwards, in an attitude of apparent piety towards the gods he is worshipping (**fig. 5**). Unlike many of the wall scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall's northern wing, he never appears kneeling before the gods in column scenes.¹⁷ On most of the 61 columns of the north wing, Sety had only a single scene engraved so that it faced one of the two processional axes which "governed" it (**diagram 1**). Exceptions are those columns located at the intersection of both processional axes, which contain two scenes, each facing one axis (**plan H**).

By the time Sety I's reign came to an end,¹⁸ he had decorated all 61 of the smaller, closed-bud papyriform columns in the lateral aisle of the northern wing, but his artisans had not yet engraved either the 12 large open-bud papyriform columns in the central colonnade (except for their abaci) or any of the smaller columns of the lateral aisle of the southern wing. It now seems very likely that Sety's artisans had drafted the decoration of the twelve great columns and some of the closed-bud papyriform columns in southern half as painted cartoons, but the king died before his sculptors had time to carve any of them in relief.¹⁹ A similar parallel can be found in the southern wing of the Temple of Sety I in Abydos where the artists had painted most of the decoration on the walls with polychrome colors, which had served as a temporary substitute for relief under Sety I, which

17 Nor does Sety I kneel in column scenes from the inner hypostyle hall of his Abydos temple: A.M. CALVERLEY, M.F. BROOME, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, Vol. IV, London, 1958, pls. 67-78. The king does, however, kneel on the four square pillars in the hall immediately west of Amun-Re's bark sanctuary in Sety's Gurnah cult temple. See P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 235-236; PM II², 414-415 (Room XVI).

18 It now seems very probable that Sety I ruled for between 8 and 9 full years on the throne based on J. VAN DIJK's convincing re-dating of the king's Gebel Barkal stela from year 11 to year 2: "The Date of the Gebel Barkal Stela of Seti I," in D. Aston, *et al.* (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*, OLA 204, 2011, p. 325-332. A reading of regnal year 2 on the dateline of the stela is credible. Van Dijk, citing P. Brand's doctoral thesis, has already noted that Sety's figure does not bow on the lunette scene as was common for reliefs of the king beginning around year 4 and is almost universal for reliefs created towards the end of his reign at Karnak, Gurnah and Abydos. One should add that the artistic style of the king's figure, with its narrow shoulders and slightly protruding belly, is more in keeping with the post-Amarna style found early in his reign (see P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 3-8), a discrepancy that had always given pause in accepting Reisner's traditional reading of year 11. It is also worth mentioning that Sety's descriptions of his building projects, particularly for Amun-Re at Thebes, do not correspond well with what he actually accomplished there: viz. the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and his Gurnah cult temple. Perhaps less convincing is van Dijk's assertion that the wine deposited in the tomb from the year 8 vintage proves that the king probably died on III *šmw* 27 of his 9th regnal year, shortly after it began because no jar dockets dating to a year 9 vintage have been found, suggesting that it was not yet available when the tomb was stocked (see J. VAN DIJK, *op. cit.*, p. 330-331 with references in n. 20).

In addition to the threefold inscription from Sety I's Kanais rock temple dating to III *šmw* 20, the two year nine stela from Aswan suggest that the king reigned well into year nine and probably into the first days of a hypothetical year 10 based on the fact that Ramesses II's probable accession date of III *šmw* day 27 (cf. P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 302-305) comes a mere 3 days after Sety I's likely accession date of III *šmw* day 24 (*ibid.*, p. 301-302). This means that the final year of the old king's reign ended very shortly after it began. This is simply too brief for the king to have accomplished all that he appears to have done in his regnal year 9, *i.e.* his visit and decree at Kanais and the commissioning of multiple obelisks and colossi at Aswan, including the production of giant transport barges, under the supervision of then Crown Prince Ramesses. Moreover, the date of the Kanais inscription, III *šmw* 20, would come at the end of year 9, not at the beginning (as implied by van Dijk who only says that Sety's accession lay somewhere within the period of III to IV *šmw* (see J. VAN DIJK, *op. cit.*, p. 331, n. 22). See P.J. BRAND, "The 'Lost' Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I," *JARCE* 34, 1997, p. 101-114; *id.*, *Monuments of Seti I*, p. 271-274, 279-281, 308. Extending the reign briefly into year 10 would account for these issues which have previously been raised in connection with the length of Sety I's reign, especially with respect to a longer 14-15 year reign for the king argued by Kitchen and others (P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 305-309). Moreover, it seems more likely than ever that Sety I did not rule jointly with Ramesses II for any length of time as co-regents (or "regents" to use Spalinger's terminology (so A. SPALINGER, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," *JNES* 38, 1979, p. 271-286; *id.*, *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II*, Leiden, 2009, p. 1-17). Ramesses remained crown prince (*iry-p't*) with neither the cartouche nor regalia of a pharaoh until Sety I had died.

19 It seems clear that the two scenes on each of the twelve great columns and one or two scenes on the smaller columns in the south wing lying adjacent to the North-South axis there – all of which Ramesses II inscribed during his earliest phase of decoration after he assumed the throne from Sety I – were originally laid out as painted cartoons prior to Sety's death. The tendency for the king's figure to be represented in a bowing posture (typical of Sety I's reign but unusual for Ramesses II (see P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 3-18) along with the tendency for the king's names and titles to be inscribed in a fashion more typical of Sety than Ramesses, all suggests this. For changes to the style and design of temple ritual scenes between the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II, see B. LURSON, "La Conception du décor d'un temple au début du règne de Ramsès II: Analyse du deuxième registre de la moitié sud du mur ouest de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *JEA* 91, 2005, p. 107-123; R.E. FELEG, "Early Relief Decoration of Ramesses II," and in her forthcoming dissertation on the Ramesside Forecourt at Luxor Temple.

the sculptors later used as a cartoon model for carving them during the earliest years of Ramesses II's reign.²⁰

2.2. The decoration of the columns under Ramesses II

In the case of Ramesses II, his first couple of years on the throne saw many changes in the spelling of his name and the style of engraving his sculptors employed.²¹

Phase 1 (**plan I**): Although he subsequently converted them into sunk relief, distinct traces of Ramesses II's earliest phase of decoration in raised relief persist on the 12 large columns of the central nave; on the first row of columns located just south of the main East-West processional way; and on the two rows of columns lining the secondary South-North axis in the southern half of the Hall. As was the case with the decoration on the abaci, the first columns in the Hall that Ramesses II carved in relief upon his accession were located along both processional ways. In all three aforementioned zones, the reliefs were initially carved in raised relief with the shorter form of his *prenomen*, but he later ordered them to be converted into sunk relief with the long form of the *prenomen* sometime after he adopted his long *prenomen* in regnal year 2. Traces of this earliest phase of raised relief are evident in palimpsest cartouches on the large column 5b of the central colonnade, where his *prenomen* is simply *Wsr-Mꜣ't-Rꜥ* without the later epithet *stp.n-Rꜥ* (**fig. 6**).²²

During this initial phase of Ramesses' work on the columns, the decorative scheme of both the larger columns and smaller columns located along the axes was relatively simple, comparable to the decorative format on closed-bud papyrus columns of early Ramesside buildings such as Gurnah Temple, Ramesses II's forecourt at Luxor Temple and the Ramesseum, and on the open-blossom papyrus columns in the first hypostyle hall of the latter temple. On the twelve great columns at Karnak, it originally consisted of: (1) two scenes in the main central register facing the principal axis; (2) friezes of cartouches, vegetation and cobra motifs on the lower reaches of the column shafts; (3) small bandeau texts situated just above these motifs;²³ and (4) of the friezes of cartouches near the top of the main shaft; and (5) papyrus plant and cartouche motifs on the open-bud capitals (**diagram 2**).²⁴ On the smaller columns, the initial program consisted of (1) one or sometimes two ritual scenes facing the axis; (2) *rekhyet*-birds adoring royal cartouches and plant motives near the base of each columns; and (3) a frieze of alternating cartouches and uraei at the top of the close-bud capitals. The decorative formats were thus largely identical to Sety I's column decoration (**diagram 1**).

Phase 2 (**plan J**): It was probably during his second or third regnal year that Ramesses II's craftsmen carved the initial decoration on the remaining columns in the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall using the same restrained decorative scheme. By this time, Ramesses II had abandoned the use of raised relief and his craftsmen sculpted all of the decoration from phase 2 exclusively in sunk relief. Here we find no evidence of palimpsests. Now, too, the king had also adopted the final, long version of his *prenomen*, *Wsr-Mꜣ't-Rꜥ stp.n-Rꜥ*. In the column scenes, his *prenomen* sometimes employs the -sign for the phrase *Wsr-Mꜣ't*, while his *nomen* *Rꜥ-ms-s mr(y)-Īmn* is typically written , with the theomorphic , and with the phonetic complements  (Gardiner-list S29) and  (Gardiner-list O34) at the end of the cartouche.

20 Cf. J. BAINES, "Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos," *JEA* 75, 1989, p. 13-30; P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, chapter 3, p. 161, 164.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 34-36; K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Chicago, 1940, p. 27-31; W.J. MURNANE, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34, 1975, p. 158-161; P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2, chapter 2, § 2.4.

22 The same is true for all the *prenomen* cartouches originally carved in raised relief.

23 Our field mission of 2013 has led us to realize that Ramesses II completed more column decoration during his phase 1 than we had initially reported (J. REVEZ, P. BRAND, *BSFE* 184, 2012, p. 25-27). A preliminary report on our work in 2013 will appear in a future issue.

24 This pattern of decoration is similar, but not identical, to the stereotyped decoration of Tutankhamun and Sety I on the 14 columns of the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall prior to later interventions of Ramesses II, Merenptah and Sety II (see *THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, *OIP* 116, *RILT* 2, 1998, pls. 178-179) and Ramesses II's reliefs on the open papyrus-blossom capitals of the axial columns in the first hypostyle hall of the Ramesseum (subsequently embellished with additions by Ramesses III [PM II², 439; J.-Cl. GOYON, H. EL-ACHIRIE, *Le Ramesseum I. Nef centrale de l'Hypostyle (N)*, Cairo, 1973, pls. XVIII, XXV, XXVII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVII]).

Phase 3 (**plan K**): It was probably soon after his craftsmen had finished decorating the remaining columns in the south wing during phase 2 that he ordered them to rework his earliest column reliefs from phase 1. During this third phase, they transformed his now obsolete raised relief carvings into sunk relief and “updated” his cartouche names with the now standardized forms $Wsr-M\mathcal{S}^t-R^c \text{stp.n-R}^c$ and $R^c-ms-s-mr(y)-\dot{I}mn$.²⁵ At roughly the same time, Ramesses II also inserted additional stereotyped decoration above and below the scenes on the great columns of the central aisle. A new frieze of vertical cartouches was positioned just above the scenes, resting on -signs and crowned by sun disks flanked by a pair of ostrich feathers, but without the intermixing of uraeus serpents as on the older frieze of cartouches carved near the top of the column shafts during phase 1. In a blank space beneath the ritual scenes on the great columns, the king also added a pair of large vertical cartouches facing the main axis directly flanked by horizontal bands with his Horus name followed by *nsw-bity* + *prenomen* on one side and $s\mathcal{S} R^c$ + *nomen* on the other so that the flat ends of both cartouches met at the opposite side of the column (**diagram 3**). These large bandeaux are almost identical to those Ramesses II added below the scenes on the 14 columns of the Colonnade Hall in Luxor temple, suggesting that the two sets of inscriptions are related in time and purpose.²⁶

In all these new marginal inscriptions from phase 3 on the twelve great columns, Ramesses II’s *prenomen* $Wsr-M\mathcal{S}^t-R^c \text{stp.n-R}^c$ features the compound hieroglyph  for $Wsr-M\mathcal{S}^t$, and his *nomen* form is R^c-ms-s written with , all of which indicates that the sculptors carved these inscriptions at some point after his first regnal year but before his 21st year.

Phase 4 (**plan L**): At some point after his 21st regnal year, Ramesses II usurped the ritual scenes and stereotyped decoration of Sety I on the first row of columns (nos. 74-80) standing north of the central nave converting his father’s raised relief into sunken carvings (**diagram 4**). This intervention was part of a larger program of his expropriation of earlier reliefs of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Sety I along the main East-West processional axis of Karnak extending from the façade and passageway of the Second Pylon through the Hypostyle Hall and probably into the passageway of the Third Pylon, sometime after year 21.²⁷

Sometime after year 21, but probably not coeval with his usurpations along the main axis, Ramesses II also inserted a series of horizontal bandeau texts in the blank spaces under the scenes on all 122 of the smaller columns in the north and south wings (**diagram 4**). Each of these texts gives a string of his royal cartouche names preceded by appropriate titles. Closing epithets refer to him as beloved (*mr*y) of various gods. Paleographically, these bandeau texts are distinctive due to their deep carving and by the form of Ramesses II’s *nomen* cartouche as $R^c-ms-sw$, , which invariably uses theomorphic signs to transcribe the names of Re and Amun and the phonetic ending  written without the complement . The form R^c-ms-s , which was most common in Upper Egypt prior to his 21st regnal year, was now obsolete.²⁸ Note, however, that the $R^c-ms-sw$ cartouches now lack the phonetic complement  at the end of the cartouche as is typical of horizontally arranged examples from the abaci. The radical difference between the horizontal bandeau texts and the usurpations of Sety I’s decoration in row 74-80 - in terms of both the paleography and the quality and deepness of the carving - almost certainly indicates that they represent two separate campaigns of decoration, but it is not clear which came first.

25 Compare similar conversions of his own raised relief wall decoration, and that of his father Sety I, in the south wing of the Hall into sunk relief at approximately the same time. See P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* 1.2, chapter 2, §§2.6-2.7.

26 THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *RILT* 2, pls. 178-179.

27 Cf. K. SEELE, *Coregency*, p. 7-12; W.J. MURNANE, “Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory. New Light on the Ancients’ ‘Uses of the Past’ from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak,” *KMT* 5, 1994, p. 15-24; W.J. MURNANE† *et al.*, “The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project (1992-2002),” *ASAE* 78, 2004, p. 79-127; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 194, 195-96, on usurpation of east-west axis of Hall. Elsewhere, Ramesses II’s workmen normally only recut the cartouches of his predecessors along this route.

28 Cf. K.A. KITCHEN, in W.F. Reineke (ed.), *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology*, p. 383-389; KITCHEN, *ASAE* 71, 1987, p. 131-141; A. SPALINGER, *CdE* 83, 2008, p. 75-89; O. GOELET, S. ISKANDER, *JARCE* 48, 2012, p. 143-183; albeit with observable exceptions at the Luxor Forecourt and elsewhere, cf. R.E. FELEG, “Features of the Early Relief Decoration of Ramesses II at the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Ramesside Forecourt at Luxor Temple,” M.A. thesis, University of Memphis, 2011, p. 51-54; and P.J. BRAND, R.E. FELEG, “Cartouche Variants of Ramesses II,” forthcoming.

2. 3. The decoration of the columns after Ramesses II

None of Ramesses II's successors made further interventions in the column decoration of the Great Hypostyle Hall until the 20th dynasty, when Ramesses IV undertook a hugely ambitious program of additional decoration on the Hypostyle Hall's columns. In so doing, he radically transformed the building's appearance. Only his death prevented him from completing the project, but his inscriptions now appear on the majority of the columns. Whereas previously, most of the columns had only one scene, Ramesses IV added two more, thereby completely encompassing them with ritual vignettes (**plan M**).²⁹ To those axial columns that had two tableaux already, he inserted a third so that most of them now had three scenes and a couple even had four (**diagram 5**).³⁰ On the small columns, above the scene, and over the geometric "bundle pattern" that covered the upper half of the column shafts under Sety I and Ramesses II, the king superimposed three layers of stereotyped horizontal bandeau texts interspersed with two friezes of vertical cartouches (**diagram 6**).³¹ Finally, Ramesses IV inserted large cartouches over the triangular leaf pattern at the base of many of the small columns (**diagram 6**). On the twelve great columns, these cartouches were even larger and were interspersed with *serekhs* bearing his Horus name (**diagram 7**).³² Not satisfied with the hieroglyphic spelling of his cartouche names on the large columns, Ramesses IV ordered them to be recut in such a way as to emphasize the ideogram representing Amun-Re in his *prenomen*, .³³

Later, Ramesses VI usurped dozens of these cartouches near the base of many of the columns but he left untouched many hundreds more of Ramesses IV's cartouches that appear in the scenes and stereotyped decoration on the middle and upper portions of the shafts and capitals (**diagram 7-8**). The final intervention in the column decoration came during the "reign" of the High Priest of Amun-Re Herihor, who carved his titles at the base of some columns (**diagram 9**).³⁴

Large Cartouches of Ramesses IV and VI at the base of the columns

Turning our attention to the study of the large cartouches Ramesses IV inscribed over the triangular papyrus leaf motif near the bases of many of the column shafts inside the Hall - which he subsequently recarved with different hieroglyphic orthographies of his *nomen* and *prenomen* before Ramesses VI later usurped many of them - it soon becomes apparent that both of these pharaohs gave precedence to the most prestigious and visible locations along the two main processional axes of the Hall during each successive phase in which their sculptors carved and recarved these cartouches. In this way, these 20th dynasty rulers followed the same pattern as their 19th dynasty ancestors Sety I and Ramesses II by carefully selecting and giving priority to prime locations for their decoration.³⁵ Although we have not yet fully determined all of the exact orthographic variants of these recarved cartouches, it is already quite clear that there were as many as three stages of carving on the 12 great columns and one or two on the 122 smaller ones.³⁶ During the earliest phase, Ramesses IV carved his cartouches on the columns lining both of the processional ways (**plan N**). On the 122 closed-bud papyrus columns, the most common forms of the *nomen* in this phase are $R^c\text{-}ms\text{-}s\text{-}h\text{q}\text{z}\text{-}M\text{z}'\text{-}R^c\text{-}mr(y)\text{-}\dot{I}mn$  and $R^c\text{-}ms\text{-}s$

29 PM II², 50-51; H.H. NELSON, *Key Plans*, pl. 3, nos. 1-134; L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Temple d'Amon à Karnak : les divinités des colonnes de la Grande Salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*, Cairo, 1955; and most recently P. BRAND, J. REVEZ *et al.*, *Karnak 14*, 2013, p. 193-229; J. REVEZ, P. BRAND, *BSFE* 184, 2012, p. 10-38.

30 Axial columns with only one scene added by Ramesses IV: columns 1-12, 63, 71, 77, 78, 81-88; Axial columns with two scenes added by Ramesses IV (and thus resulting in a total of four scenes) columns 62 and 64, cf. NELSON, *Key Plans*, pl. 3, and n. 30 above.

31 Cf. J. REVEZ, P. BRAND, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.

32 *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

33 See W.J. MURNANE *et al.*, *ASAE* 78, 2004, p. 108 (§4.4).

34 A.M. ROTH, "Some New Texts of Herihor and Ramesses IV in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *JNES* 42, 1983, p. 43-53.

35 These large cartouches were investigated by R. Feleg and A. Shahat. Their findings will appear in a preliminary report in preparation.

36 Ramesses IV recarved his cartouches on the small columns lying along the north-south axis to amend the form and orthography of his *nomen* and *prenomen*. He also reworked those on columns 37, 46 and 55, lying adjacent to each other in the south-east quadrant, to enlarge them and change their orientation, but otherwise did not alter their orthographies. Ramesses VI only usurped his predecessors large cartouches on the 12 great columns of the central nave which Ramesses IV had previously amended himself.

$m\text{:}t\text{y } mr(y) \dot{I}mn$  while the *prenomen* is usually $hq\text{:}M\text{:}t\text{-}R^c \textit{stp.n-}\dot{I}mn$ written  or . On the twelve great columns, his cartouche rings were surmounted by elaborate *stf*-crowns and were interspersed with his Horus name $\textit{nh m M\text{:}t}$, . On the smaller, closed-bud columns, only the cartouches appear, now capped by a sun disk with double ostrich plumes flanked by uraei.

In the second phase, Ramesses IV added additional cartouches over the triangular papyrus leaf patterns at the bottom of most of the remaining columns (**plan O**), but now with a new hieroglyphic spelling of his names: $hq\text{:}M\text{:}t\text{-}R^c \textit{stp.n-}\dot{I}mn$  or , and $R^c\text{-}ms\text{-}s \textit{m\text{:}t\text{y } mr(y) \dot{I}mn}$  with the ending sometimes arranged as . About the same time, he recarved his earlier large cartouches along both axes to “update” their orthography to match the new examples (**plan O**). Most significantly, he created unique orthographies of the cartouches on the twelve large columns of the central East-West axis.³⁷

Finally, Ramesses VI followed suit by carving his own cartouche names and Horus names over those of Ramesses IV, but only along the main processional ways (**plan P**). His *nomen* is: $R^c\text{-}ms\text{-}s \dot{I}mn\text{-}(hr)\text{-}hp\check{s}.$ $(f) ntr \textit{hq\text{:} \dot{I}wn}$ , *prenomen*: $Nb\text{-}M\text{:}t\text{-}R^c \textit{mr(y) \dot{I}mn}$ , and Horus name: $k\check{z} \textit{nh\text{:} t \textit{S n\text{:}tw s\text{:}nh t\text{:}wy}$ . After each alteration of the previous stage, the workmen used plaster infill to suppress the older version and then proceeded to carve the new name. In some cases, traces of this plaster still adhere. Thus, both pharaohs proceeded to carve their names initially only on the axial columns. Interestingly enough, Ramesses IV, who never had time to decorate the southwestern quadrant of the Hall, managed nevertheless to inscribe two large cartouches at the base of column 69, on the precise section of its circumference that is visible from the processional axis (**fig. 7**).

3. The Quality of the Workmanship: the Case of the Main East-West Axis

If the parameter of time (*i.e.*, notion of priority) and of location (the principle of visibility and prestige) are key factors defining what constitutes prime space in the decoration of pharaonic monuments, the degree of care the craftsmen put into carving and painting scenes and inscriptions on monumental surfaces is another, albeit less influential, criterion. A relevant case in point is the evidence for the varying quality of workmanship in Ramesses II’s later decoration on columns 74-80, the first row of closed-bud papyrus columns running just north of and parallel to the twelve great columns along the main East-West processional axis of the Hall. We can discern a clear pattern here: the craftsmen executed decoration facing the main processional way with greater finesse, whereas their efforts on surfaces that are hidden from view from the main axis of the monument betray a general sloppiness and neglect due both to haste and the fact that these reliefs were less visible.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate this point. The first concerns the care with which Ramesses II’s sculptors erased Sety I’s cartouche names and re-inscribed them with his own on the abaci atop columns 74-80. For instance, a glance at abacus 76 South, facing the main East-West axis, shows Ramesses II’s *prenomen* engraved with great finesse. Quite different are some of the cartouches facing the opposite direction. On abacus 75 North (**fig. 8**), the pharaoh’s workmen did not bother to finish carving his name fully; so, only the very beginning of  (Gardiner List N35) in the epithet $\textit{stp.n-R^c}$ was chiseled. The same observation holds true for abacus 80 North (**fig. 9**), where the sculptors’ negligence was even greater; here they omitted $\textit{stp.n-R^c}$ entirely. It is true that in both cases, an artist could have simply completed his master’s name in paint over the fine layer of white plaster that covered the flat surface at the end of the cartouche where it had not been recarved. This could have been an acceptable solution in so far as the abaci inscriptions were located high above the ground, far away from any mortal viewers’ scrutiny (if not from the gods themselves).³⁸ Nevertheless, these pieces of data tend

³⁷ As first noted by W.J. MURNANE *et al.*, *ASAE* 78, 2004, p. 107-109 and fig. 12A, 12B. For a more detailed account of these complex orthographies and successive recarvings of the large cartouches found on the small columns of Ramesses IV and VI see our forthcoming report on the 2013 season of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project.

³⁸ Indeed, in the south wing, at least some abaci carved in sunk relief with the obsolete *nomen*  during the second phase of Ramesses II’s decoration of the abaci were later corrected to  in paint after the extraneous signs  and  were filled in with plaster and replaced by painted . See n. 13 above.

to show that artists were not afraid to cut corners when they recarved the surfaces of abaci that were less perceptible to observers on the ground, especially under time constraints during what was probably a mad rush to complete large amounts of new relief decoration that the king ordered to be added to many existing monuments at Karnak in preparation for one of his *Sed*-festivals. The lower visibility of these reliefs situated away from the main access, which rested 13 meters above the ground, further induced the craftsmen to rush through their work, the incomplete *premen* cartouche carved on 75 North being eloquent testimony to this phenomenon.³⁹

The other significant example that illustrates the difference in the treatment of the decoration concerns the *rekhyet*-bird motifs with royal cartouches that adorn the bottom part of the aforementioned row of columns 74-80. Here again, Ramesses II transformed his father's raised relief decoration into sunk relief and at the same time surcharged Sety I's cartouches with his own.⁴⁰ On column 75, for example, the sections of the columns visible from the main axis were once again neatly recut. Palimpsest traces of Sety I's erased bas-relief decoration are discernible only under close epigraphic scrutiny (**fig. 10**), whereas sections of the column that were not clearly in sight from the processional ways were only partially recut. So, for example, craftsmen left the -signs in Sety I's distinctive raised relief beneath his cartouches even as they recarved the royal names and *rekhyet*-birds in sunk relief for Ramesses II (**fig. 11**).⁴¹

It is worthwhile to ponder over the motives that led Ramesses II to recut Sety's reliefs in this precise location. It is quite clear he recarved all the columns and abaci in row 74-80 along with the south face of the architraves above them, an observation that had not escaped the attention of previous scholars including L.A. Christophe in the early 1960s,⁴² and later W.J. Murnane⁴³ and V. Rondot.⁴⁴ Of singular importance is the fact that Ramesses II re-inscribed the entire southern face of architrave no. 10, originally authored by his father, with a wholly new text.⁴⁵ In two instances on the south face of this architrave - oriented towards the main East-West axis - Ramesses II refers to his *Sed*-festivals: *nsw nht šw ḥbw-sd wr bšwt*, "the mighty king, plentiful of *Sed*-

39 Ramesses II's usurpations along the east-west axis of Karnak Temple between the Second Pylon and Third Pylon was likely part of a much larger campaign of new decoration to existing monuments in Karnak, Luxor and elsewhere in Thebes often executed rapidly in preparation for one of the king's jubilees. Compare the crude and hasty workmanship of these reliefs with similarly maladroit examples from side chambers Ramesses II decorated during the same period in Sety I's Gurnah temple. See P. BRAND, "Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesside Kings (13th Century B.C.): A Historical Approach," in *Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens: Akten zum 2. Symposium des SFB 295, Mainz, 15.10.-17.10.2001*, Würzburg, 2005, p. 23-38; *id.*, "Veils, Votives and Marginalia: the Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor," in P.F. Dorman, B.M. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61, 2006, p. 52-59. By contrast, the pharaoh's artisans took considerably more care with inscriptions in highly visible and prestigious locations such as the marginal texts that Ramesses added to either side of the central inscriptions on his two Luxor Temple obelisks sometime shortly after his year 30 (P. BRAND, in *Prozesse des Wandels*, p. 23-38). For the obelisk's inscriptions with commentary, see KRI II, 598-605; RITANC II, 392-400; RITA II, 392-400; A. SPALINGER, "Ramesses II at Luxor: Mental Gymnastics," *Orientalia* 79, 2010, p. 425-479.

40 Note that Ramesses II recarved and usurped *all* of Sety's decoration on the columns and abaci in row 74-80, in each case converting it to sunk relief and inscribing his cartouches as  and , the standard orthographies common during most of the second half of his reign.

41 During our 2013 field season, these -signs were recorded by graduate students N. Moreau and C. Caron. Comparable survivals of suppressed and converted raised relief decoration, both Sety I's and Ramesses II's own early raised work, are visible throughout large portions of the interior walls in the south wing of the Great Hypostyle Hall where the later king recarved raised decoration into sunk relief (See P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2). The same phenomenon occurs with older raised relief decoration that Ramesses II converted to sunk relief in blocks reused in the 20th dynasty Khonsu Temple at Karnak. See THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, "2010-2011 Annual Report," Chicago, 2011, p. 42-44; J.L. KIMPTON, J.B. McCLAIN, K. VÉRTES, W.R. JOHNSON, "Preliminary Report on the Work of the Epigraphic Survey in the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak, 2008-2009," *JARCE* 46, 2010, p. 113-124; J.B. McCLAIN, J.L. KIMPTON, K. ALBERTS, K. VÉRTES, W.R. JOHNSON, "Preliminary Report on the Work of the Epigraphic Survey in the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak, 2009-2010," *JARCE* 47, 2011, p. 159-179; *id.*, "Preliminary Report on the Work of the Epigraphic Survey in the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak, 2010-2012," *JARCE* 48, 2012, p. 237-260.

42 L.A. CHRISTOPHE, "La face sud des architraves surmontant les colonnes 74-80 de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 69-82.

43 W.J. MURNANE, *JNES* 34, 1975, p. 180.

44 V. RONDOT, *La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak. Les architraves*, Paris, 1997, p. 26-32, pl. 5, architrave no. 10.

45 Cf. KRI II, 557: 1-10; KRITA II, 360-361; KRITANC II, 360-361; and V. RONDOT, *op. cit.*, p. 29-32, pl. 5.

festivals, great of marvels,”⁴⁶ and $\text{sn } R' \text{ whm } \text{hbw-sd}$, “the Son of Re who repeats *Sed*-festivals,” (fig. 12).⁴⁷ As no further references to jubilees occur anywhere else on the architraves of the Hypostyle Hall, it is very tempting to conclude that Ramesses II inserted this new text on architrave no. 10 in the context of one of his *Sed*-festival celebrations (he had at least a dozen).⁴⁸ The post-year 21 dating of the *nomen* orthography , “Ramessu beloved of Amun,” inscribed with  and the theomorphic variants of both  and , fits well with this conclusion.⁴⁹

If this hypothesis proves correct, the king’s desire to link his name with that of Ptah – a god closely connected with the celebration of *Sed*-festivals through his avatar Ptah-Tatenen⁵⁰ – becomes even clearer in this light. Several important documents from Karnak dated to the middle years of his reign flesh out the crucial connection between Ptah-Tatenen, the *Sed*-festivals and the pharaoh himself.⁵¹ These include the First Hittite Marriage Stela⁵² and the so-called Blessing of Ptah Decree⁵³ that were both carved on the Ninth Pylon at Karnak and in other locations in Upper Egypt and Nubia. A badly damaged stela of Ramesses II that had lain in storage in the Sheikh Labib magazine at Karnak for some time has just been published. Here, a deity whose name is lost (but who was probably Amun-Re) offers the king *hbw-sd wrw* $\text{šw } \text{m} \text{ } \text{t.t.k } \text{Pth-tj-Tnn}$, “great and numerous *Sed*-festivals like your father Ptah-Tatenen (line 15).”⁵⁴ All three inscriptions are dated respectively to years 34, 35 and 37, a period of time during which Ramesses II celebrated his second and third jubilees. It is thus tempting to infer that his reappropriation of Sety I’s decoration along the primary processional way of the Hall (as well as his other usurpations of reliefs along this same axis from the façade of the Second Pylon through the central nave and clerestory) took place during the first half of Ramesses II’s third decade of rule.

4. Geographical Markers: Defining a Subtle Concept

Equally interesting, but slightly different in nature, are small epigraphic anomalies that periodically interrupt the monotonous layout and sequential frequency of the stereotyped decoration. Such peculiarities – with careful attention to the orthography of stereotyped texts – can be spotted quite easily inside the Hypostyle Hall where redundancy is a key feature of the generally standardized and seemingly lackluster decoration. Such deviations from the normal pattern of stereotyped texts and artistic motifs (best illustrated by the cartouche friezes and heraldic plant motifs) could simply be understood as unimportant inconsistencies (and thus products of human error) in the implementation of a decorative program executed on a huge scale.⁵⁵ Upon closer examination, however, one has the distinct feeling that these irregularities (or “outliers”) are not always the result of mere accident, but are, in fact, deliberate variations reflecting purposeful decisions by the scribes and artisans that convey, perhaps, semiotic nuance to knowledgeable viewers that are, nevertheless, ambiguous and often difficult to comprehend today. How one ought to interpret these subtle epigraphic cues remains tricky, and often depends on their context. Should an anomaly within an otherwise uniform sequence of motifs be

46 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

48 Cf. *KRI* II, 377-398; *KRITA* II, 208-226; *KRITANC* II, 233-258; L. HABACHI, “The Jubilees of Ramesses II and Amenophis III with Reference to Certain Aspects of their Celebration,” *ZÄS* 97, 1971, p. 64-72, pls. V-VII.

49 Usually dated to year 21, according to the spelling of the name in the Hittite Treaty (K.A. KITCHEN, in W.F. Reineke [ed.], *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology*, 384, and n. 11, p. 388) of the reign of the king, but it may be here even later, as mentions of jubilees may indicate a date after year 30.

50 H.A. SCHLÖGL, *Der Gott Tatenen nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, *OBO* 29, 1980, esp. p. 56-63 for Ramesses II’s reign.

51 The king’s Horus name, “Lord of Jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen” became standard from the time of the Second Jubilee, years 33-34, cf. *KRI* II, 384-385; *KRITA* II, 213-14; *RITANC* II, 238-241; L. HABACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and n. 21.

52 *KRI* II 233-256; *KRITA* II, 86-96; *KRITANC* II, 146-157.

53 *KRI* II 258-281; *KRITA* II, 99-110; *KRITANC* II, 159-163.

54 Ch. LABARTA, “Une stèle de Ramsès II au magasin Cheikh Labib de Karnak,” *Karnak* 14, 2013, p. 425-436, esp. fig. 2-3, p. 435-436.

55 A very rough estimate of the overall number of cartouches carved on the columns inside the Hall would be no less than 15,000!

regarded as accidental or intentional? Can it be ascribed to a personal choice by the scribe or sculptor?⁵⁶ Was it merely an oversight?⁵⁷ Or, were such anomalies the product of deliberate plans and intentions that now often escape us?⁵⁸ Such ineluctable questions cannot be answered definitively, even though it is, at times, possible to make a case for one interpretation over another.⁵⁹

As opposed to accidental abnormalities that are fortuitous and meaningless⁶⁰, geographical markers are often subtle yet deliberate discrepancies aimed at drawing the attention of the viewer on the peculiar position of any given architectural, iconographic or textual feature in relation to the overall layout of a monument. In order to avoid the problem of misinterpreting such hypothetical “geographical markers,” it is crucial to analyze these abnormalities, not in isolation, but within both the larger framework of similar oddities (e.g., scribal errors), and within the context of the overall decorative program of a monument (viz.: the textual and iconographic patterns from which each anomaly departs). This will allow us to determine whether such isolated exceptions – identified singly or as a group of anomalies – are simply random, fortuitous and therefore meaningless departures from the expected decorative pattern; or whether such aberrations in monumental decoration possess a deeper significance subject to meaningful interpretation, as we believe the next set of examples will show.

5. The case of the North-South secondary axis (North Wing)

5.1. Sety I

Cases where epigraphic peculiarities seem intentional can be gleaned from columns lining the North-South secondary axis of the Hall, in its northern half. At first glance, the stereotyped friezes of Sety I’s royal cartouches that adorn the uppermost part of the closed-bud capitals (just beneath the abaci) of all the columns in the northern section of the Hypostyle Hall appear wholly redundant in form and appearance.⁶¹ While the standard variant of the king’s *nomen* cartouche in the Great Hypostyle Hall is almost everywhere *Sthy-mr.n-Īmn*,

56 See O. Goelet and S. Iskander’s interpretation of the unusual variants in Ramesses II’s cartouche names carved in the earliest years of his reign in his Abydos Temple: O. GOELET, S. ISKANDER, *JARCE* 48, 2012, p. 143-183.

57 Human error and minor mistakes are common enough in monumental inscriptions to make this a reasonable explanation in some, if not all, cases. E.g., a relief of Sety I on the south half of the west interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall which Ramesses II usurped and converted to sunk relief. Initially, his craftsmen erroneously recarved Sety I’s cartouche in sunk relief before realizing their mistake and altering it for a second time to Ramesses II’s name. W. MURNANE, *JNES* 34, 1975, p. 180; P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2, pl. 33, forthcoming.

58 In contrast to Goelet and Iskander, Spalinger argues that the numerous variants of Ramesses II’s cartouche names at the beginning of Ramesses II’s reign were part of a deliberate program of experimentation authorized by the king; A. SPALINGER, *CdE* 83, 2008, p. 82-89, a view that we also hold. See P.J. BRAND, R.E. FELEG, forthcoming.

59 One must nevertheless bear in mind that certain anomalies may actually postdate pharaonic times, since the modern reassembly of about a dozen columns in the north wing of the Hall by G. Legrain at the beginning of the 20th Century led at times to some unsuitable matching of drums. Cf. L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Les divinités des colonnes*, p. 4-5. Another example (not mentioned by the author) of an error in the reconstruction of a column can be detected at the top of the closed-bud papyrus capital of column 102 where Sety I had originally carved the frieze of uraeus serpents and cartouches, as he did elsewhere in the north wing; Ramesses II later surcharged his father’s cartouches, replacing them with his own *prenomen* *Wsr-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp.n-Rʿ* and his *nomen* *Rʿ-ms-sw mr(y)-Īmn*. This capital has in fact most probably been misplaced and should more likely have lain on top of column 74, no longer *in situ*. Thus, one can not consider this unique occurrence of a recarved cartouche of Ramesses II along the northern half of the North-South processional way as an ‘outlier’.

60 A good case in point is the southern face of column 20, where Ramesses II’s *nomen* inside a cartouche in one of the *rekhyet*-bird motifs is misspelled *Rʿ-ms-n-mr(y)-Īmn*  (fig.13-13a), with the  (Gardiner-list N35) sign erroneously substituted for the expected  (Gardiner-list O34). Here, the similar horizontal shape of the flat hieroglyph at the bottom of the cartouche explains why the artist confused one sign for the other, perhaps as a result of the sculptor misinterpreting the draftsman’s cartoon, or the latter misinterpreting a hieratic original. Likewise, in several of the wall scenes in the Hall where the sculptors have confused similarly shaped, often flat, signs, probably due to misreading of an original hieratic ligature. Cf. P.J. BRAND, W.J. MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2, pls. 22, n. a; p. 82, n. a; 86, n. a; p. 96, n. b; p. 104, n. c; p. 139, n. b; p. 140, n. d; p. 153, n. a; p. 195, n. a; p. 199, n. r; p. 205, n. h; p. 214, n. a; and p. 235, n. a. Whatever the cause, this aberrant orthography evidently does not reveal any deeper theological, political or geographic symbolism that might be gleaned from this unique case.

61 These cobra and cartouche friezes atop the 122 smaller columns were studied during our 2013 field season by graduate students J. Bouchard and S. Ficalora.

“Sety whom Amun loves,” it is exceptionally *Sthy-mr.n-Pth*, “Sety whom Ptah loves,” in some of the occurrences on columns 111 and 112 (fig. 14). Significantly, this epithet associated with Ptah’s name is attested only once inside all the scenes carved on the columns erected in the eastern half of the Hall by Sety I. The column with this unique occurrence just happens to be no. 111 (fig. 15), precisely one of the two columns where this epithet appears at their top as well. One explanation for the appearance of *nomen* cartouches with the epithet *mr.n-Pth* on these particular columns turns on their location within the Hypostyle Hall. Both columns (plan Q) lie at roughly the midpoint of the North-South processional axis leading to the north gateway which then continues outside of the Hall as a sacred way leading northward towards the temple of Ptah, situated next to the northern enclosure wall of the Amun-Re precinct (fig. 16).⁶² It is tempting to associate these rare occurrences of Sety’s *nomen* epithet *mr.n-Pth* with the god’s temple lying just to the north of the Great Hypostyle Hall. Early in his reign, Sety I restored a stela erected by Thutmosis III in the temple of Ptah that Akhenaten had defaced.⁶³ Sety also set up a new stela next to the temple.⁶⁴ One must also bear in mind that Sety carved images of Ptah and Amun-Re on the exterior west jamb of the central doorway of the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall (fig. 17).⁶⁵ These two deities also happen to be the two most important gods attested inside the Karnak temple of Ptah.⁶⁶ Finally, on the interior faces of both the east and west jambs of the Hall’s northern gateway, Sety I’s craftsmen systematically carved his *nomen* with the variant *Sthy-mr.n-Pth* as well,⁶⁷ whereas everywhere else on the adjoining north interior wall, his cartouches are invariably *Sthy-mr.n-Īmn*.⁶⁸ All these pieces of evidence illustrate this Ramesside pharaoh’s conscious will to associate his name with that of the Memphite god Ptah at specific locations within the Great Hypostyle Hall that are geographically oriented towards Ptah’s Karnak shrine at the northern edge of the main precinct of Karnak.⁶⁹

5.2. Ramesses IV

The third king to participate in the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall on a large scale was Ramesses IV. He, like Sety I and Ramesses II before him, seemed to have wished to highlight the importance of the North-South processional way in the northern section of the Hall, but in a slightly different manner than his two illustrious predecessors.

Ramesses IV commanded his artisans to inscribe two friezes of vertical cartouches interspersed with three horizontal bandeaux with his royal names and titles inscribed in alternating layers on the upper half of each lateral columns over the original geometric “papyrus bundle” pattern (diagram 6).⁷⁰ The variant he most commonly used to spell his *prenomen* throughout the Hall is *ḥqꜣ-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp.n-Īmn*, , using the -sign for the phonogram n (Gardiner List N35) in the *stp.n-Īmn* epithet (fig. 18). Yet, in certain cases, he used the  variant of his name, with the characteristic Lower Egyptian Red Crown glyph  (Gardiner List S3) symbolic of the North instead (fig. 19). One would naturally expect the latter variant to be used almost exclusi-

62 A more anomalous case is the main scene on column 115 where Sety I worships Amun-Kamutef and Amunet, although his *nomen* has the epithet *mr.n-Pth*. A possible northern connection is the fact that the king dons the Red Crown.

63 CGC 34013 (KIU 555 from the Karnak project (<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/karnak/>): P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire, CGC*, Cairo, 1909, p. 27, pl. IX; P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 84; Chr. THIERS, “Le temple de Ptah à Karnak: Remarques préliminaires,” in H. Beinlich (ed.), *9. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Kultabbildung und Kultrealität*, Wiesbaden, 2013, p. 323. For a complete bibliography see A. KLUG, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, *MonAeg* 8, 2002, p. 511-512.

64 P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 221, figs. 107 and 109; Chr. THIERS, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

65 THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Battle Reliefs of Sety I*, pl. 19, right.

66 Chr. THIERS, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

67 H.H. NELSON, *GHHK I.1*, pls. 182-187.

68 Elsewhere inside the Hall, isolated examples of Sety I’s *nomen* with the epithet *mr.n-Pth* appear in three scenes from the north half of the east wall, but here there does not seem to be any connection with Ptah or his nearby temple. In fact, the king worships Amun-Re (*GHHK I.1*, pls. 203, 217) or Khonsu (*ibid.*, pl. 206). Yet in an adjoining scene where he does venerate Ptah, his *nomen* is *Sthy-mr.n-Īmn* (*ibid.*, pl. 205, left).

69 In fact, the standard *nomen* epithet for Sety I on most of his other monuments was *mr.n-Pth*. This includes reliefs in Theban monuments such as his Gurnah Temple and his other inscriptions at Karnak. See P.J. BRAND, *The Monuments of Seti I*, p. 31-34; Chr. LOEBEN, “À propos de la graphie du nom de Séthi I à Karnak,” *Karnak* 8, 1987, p. 225-228.

70 Ramesses IV’s marginal inscriptions were studied in the 2013 season by graduate student P. Poirion.

vely in the northern half of the Hall, which in fact is the case, since no occurrence of the -sign is to be seen in his cartouches in the southern wing of the monument.⁷¹ Even so, it appears that Ramesses IV did not carve his  cartouches randomly, since the -signs, carved in both friezes of vertical cartouches and in all three horizontal bandeaux, are concentrated on the first row of columns located on either side of the secondary North-South axis (**plan R**).⁷² Here again, the distinctive  in Ramesses IV's *prenomen* distinguishes the axial columns along both processional ways from the rest of the columns in the northern wing which display the usual variant with . Whether the idea of geographical North, indicated by the -sign, is meant to allude to the temple of Ptah north of the Hypostyle Hall specifically, is a matter open to discussion. It is also worth mentioning that Ramesses IV also added a frieze of his cartouches on the interior jambs of both the northern and southern gates of the Hall, but here he used the earlier form of his *prenomen* *Wsr-Mꜣ't-Rꜥ stp.n-Īmn* which is not found in his decoration of the columns.⁷³

All in all, the fact that the two major kings involved in the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall (Sety I and Ramesses IV) made tacit reference to the temple of Ptah along the northern secondary axis hardly seems accidental and weighs heavily in favor of interpreting these inscripational cues as geographical markers, which in turn are only a prelude to more explicit connections between both monuments, as illustrated by the paved roadway that was laid down to link them during the Late Period.⁷⁴

6. Geographical Markers: the case of the North-South secondary axis (South Wing)

Although it was Ramesses IV who left posterity with the largest corpus of column decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall, the undecorated column surfaces his predecessors had left for him to fill with new inscriptions when he ascended the throne were certainly not prime space. Between them, Sety I and Ramesses II had monopolized the most valuable sections of the columns by placing their ritual scenes so that they faced the processional ways directly. Thus Ramesses IV had no other alternative but to add his ritual scenes to those portions of columns that were still available, namely surfaces oriented away from the two main axes and therefore largely invisible from them.⁷⁵ So, while Ramesses IV carved many more scenes on the columns than Sety I and Ramesses II combined, ironically none of them occupied prime space.

Ramesses IV decided to compensate for this handicap by carving his cartouches on portions of columns that were in full view from the axes, with the drawback that he had to adjoin them amid pre-existing decoration of

71 On some larger abaci on top of northern columns of the central colonnade, the Red Crown sometimes appears as well on the head of the Seth-ideogram.

72 The *n*-crown sign is used systematically in all five registers of cols. 76, 77, 78, 84, 85, 93, 94, 111 and 112. On columns 103, 120 and 129, this sign appears in the middle and lower bandeaux, as well as in the upper and lower friezes. One would also expect evidence for the *n*-crown in the upper bandeau, but the cartouches are unfortunately no longer legible there. The *n*-wave sign does appear in the upper bandeau of columns 102, 120 and 121, but both these sections of column may not belong there originally, as they were reerected by Legrain. As for column 130, it is no longer *in situ*.

73 *GHHK* I.1, pls. 57, 61, 184, 187. See translation and commentary on these scenes in BRAND, MURNANE†, *GHHK* I.2. On both sides of the south gate, and on the east jamb of the north, only the ostrich plumes surmounting these cartouches remain, while only the upper half of the cartouches survive on the west jamb of the northern gate. The *Wsr-Mꜣ't-Rꜥ stp.n-Īmn* *prenomen* variant is only attested in the first year of Ramesses IV's reign, suggesting that these cartouche friezes were his earliest inscriptions in the Great Hypostyle Hall, a prelude to a much larger program to come once he had adopted his later *prenomen* *ḥqꜣ-Mꜣ't-Rꜥ stp.n-Īmn*. For the two stages of his cartouche names see K.A. KITCHEN, *ASAE* 71, 1987, p. 137-138; Al.J. PEDEN, *The Reign of Ramesses IV*, Warminster, 1994, p. 15. On the practice by Ramesside kings of carving bandeau texts on the occasion of royal visits to specific temples see K.A. KITCHEN, "A Note on Bandeau Texts in New Kingdom Temples," in F. Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens: Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, I: *Sprache*, Göttingen, 1984, p. 547-53.

74 Cf. L. COULON, C. DEFERNEZ, "La chapelle d'Osiris Ounnefer Neb-Djefaou à Karnak. Rapport préliminaire des fouilles et travaux 2000-2004," *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 136, fig. 1 for location of alleyway. Its exact date has not been clearly established; it was first thought to have been put up during the Ptolemaic period (*ibid.*, p. 149), but might actually be of earlier time, probably of the Saite Dynasty (L. COULON, in *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 380). In any case, it seems very likely that at least a dirt pathway already existed there during the Third Intermediate Period (*ibid.*).

75 L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Les divinités des colonnes*.

his 19th dynasty predecessors. Thus, he inserted no fewer than 60 small cartouches, along with a few titles and epithets, in the negative spaces or voids within several ritual scenes of Ramesses II lying along the two rows of columns just east of the North-South axis in the southern half of the Hall (**plan S; fig. 20**).⁷⁶ Often, these were wedged into whatever empty space that was available, with the result that the orientation and position of these cartouches and epithets varies widely. As was the case with his substitution of the -sign variant for  in some of his *prenomen* cartouches on columns in the north wing (see *supra* section 5.2), the largest concentrations of Ramesses IV's small cartouches inside Ramesses II's scenes appear on the row of columns immediately adjacent to the processional way.⁷⁷ As a group, they constitute a kind of miniature program of monumental gloss to Ramesses II's decoration along the North-South axis, but one that was much smaller in scope than Ramesses IV's other adjunctions of relief decoration on the columns of the Great Hypostyle Hall (see *supra* section 2.3).

In the previous section, we suggested a link between some geographical markers on the northern half of the secondary North-South axis inside the Hypostyle Hall and the temple of Ptah lying north of the building. Looking southward from the Hall, is there another monument that would likewise have served as a point of reference in relation to the southern wing of the North-South processional way? What immediately comes to mind is the 20th dynasty Temple of Khonsu in the South-West corner of Amun-Re's Karnak precinct (**fig. 16**). Currently, the Epigraphic Survey is recording inscribed blocks lying under the pavement and foundations of the existing temple which Ramesses III built by reusing great quantities of inscribed blocks from dismantled 18th and early 19th dynasty monuments,⁷⁸ including what was likely an earlier structure dedicated to Khonsu with reliefs by various 18th dynasty pharaohs as well as Sety I and Ramesses II.⁷⁹

The implicit connection between the Temple of Khonsu and the Great Hypostyle Hall, both geographically speaking and in regard to certain affinities between their decorative style and program, had previously been noted by E.F. Wente⁸⁰ and A.M. Roth.⁸¹ Despite adding marginal decoration and bandeau text at various points throughout Karnak, especially in the nearby *Cour de la Cachette*, Ramesses IV devoted most of his energies at Karnak to the Hypostyle Hall and to the Temple of Khonsu. Likewise, these are the only two monuments that Herihor decorated in any systematic fashion. At the Temple of Khonsu, Ramesses IV ornamented the walls of the ambulatory passage surrounding the central bark shrine with finely ornamented relief decoration, a program that remained incomplete at his death. He also inscribed portions of the main sanctuary lying immediately north of the bark shrine.⁸² It thus comes as no surprise that Ramesses IV wished to link the Temple of Khonsu to the Great Hypostyle Hall by inscribing his cartouches along the eastern side of the southern half of the processional way of the latter monument. His sudden death would explain why he never continued this decorative

76 Columns nos. 17-18, 26-27, 35-36, 44-45, 53-54, 62, 64, 71-72. See section written by N. Moreau and C. Caron in 2013 Field Season Report. Ramesses IV did not inscribe his cartouches on the rows of columns immediately to the west of the aforementioned axis. For reasons difficult to grasp, the whole of the southwestern quadrant of the hall was left undecorated by the king. As verbally suggested to us by J.B. McClain, one has the strong feeling that the easy solution adopted by the artists in order to insert the cartouches of Ramesses IV on the aforementioned columns may have been dictated by haste, as the result, say, of an impromptu visit of the pharaoh at the temple (a modern parallel could be made with the expedience in which roads are rehabilitated just before the passage of the presidential cortège during an off-the-cuff journey in town).

77 Although located along the main axis, it comes to no surprise that none of the king's cartouches contain the Red Crown , since they were carved in the southern end of the monument.

78 Some of these blocks came from cult temples of Amenhotep III and Ay/Horemheb on the west bank. Cf. W.R. JOHNSON, *An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes: a Late Amarna Antecedent of the Ramesside Battle-Narrative Tradition*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1992; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu*, Vol. I, OIP 100, 1979, p. XVI, pls. 42, 48, 61, 72, 74, 77, 100, 101, 110; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu*, Vol. II, OIP 103, 1981, p. XVII, pls. 116A, 117A, 118A, 121B, 122A, 141, 142B, 144C, 178, 202B-D, 207; S. BICKEL, "Amenhotep III à Karnak. L'étude des blocs épars," *BSFE* 167, 2006, p. 12-32.

79 J.L. KIMPTON, J.B. McCLAIN, K. VÉRTES, W.R. JOHNSON, *JARCE* 46, 2010, p. 113-124; J.B. McCLAIN, J.L. KIMPTON, K. ALBERTS, K. VÉRTES, W.R. JOHNSON, *JARCE* 47, 2011, p. 159-179; *id.*, *JARCE* 48, 2012, p. 237-260.

80 THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu*, Vol. I, p. X.

81 A.M. ROTH, *JNES* 42, 1983, p. 43-53.

82 ALJ. PEDEN, *The Reign of Ramesses IV*, p. 39.

program on the opposite, western side of the axis in the south-west quadrant.⁸³ Adding his cartouches inside Ramesses II's scenes along the secondary axis was an easy way out, perhaps as a "short cut" at the beginning of his reign to place his mark on the hypostyle hall prior to the much more ambitious, but time-consuming task of beginning what would later become a comprehensive program of systematic decoration throughout the Hall.

By inserting his name into column scenes belonging to his prestigious forefather Ramesses II, Ramesses IV desired to associate himself with a king who had himself established close ties with the god Khonsu, as we can see through the role this god played in the Bentresh Stela narrative.⁸⁴ Inside the Hypostyle Hall, in the large, deeply cut horizontal bandeau texts Ramesses II inserted below the main scenes on each of the 122 smaller closed-bud papyrus columns, the king described himself as "beloved," *mr(y)*, of a variety of deities.⁸⁵ On 17 occasions, his cartouches are followed by the epithet *mr(y) Hnsw* "beloved of Khonsu," the third highest number of occurrences after Amun and Mut (**plan T**).⁸⁶ Although these horizontal bandeaux were carved on each of the 122 smaller columns that stood inside the Hall, all 17 instances naming Khonsu occur in the southern wing,⁸⁷ in order, most likely, to symbolize the connection of this part of the monument with the nearby Temple of Khonsu.⁸⁸ Most interestingly, inside the latter temple, evidence from a significant number of reused blocks found underneath the pavement appear to show that Ramesses II both modified the existing 18th Dynasty decorative program and initiated a new scheme of his own in whatever structure or structures dedicated to Khonsu existed in the south-west quadrant of the Amun-Re precinct at Karnak prior to Ramesses III's temple.⁸⁹

7. Conclusions

Our study of the column and abaci decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall during our epigraphic missions in the spring field seasons of 2011 and 2013 leads us to the following conclusions:

Sety I, Ramesses II and Ramesses IV each prioritized their column and abaci decoration according to the principle of the visibility of the decoration from each of the two main processional axes. They considered these processional ways, and the column surfaces that were in view of them (or at least facing towards them), to be "prime space," and each pharaoh avidly sought after these most attractive surfaces and gave them temporal priority in drafting and carving their column decoration. Sety I, who surely imagined that he would live to see his grand project of decoration throughout the Great Hypostyle Hall completed in his own lifetime, proceeded to carve scenes and stereotyped ornamentation on all the smaller closed-bud papyrus columns in the north wing before his death, probably early in his 10th regnal year. Although he failed to carve reliefs on the twelve great columns of the central nave or on any of the smaller ones in the south wing, it now seems likely that he did lay out their decoration as painted cartoons. In turn, his successor Ramesses II gave first priority to sculpting reliefs on the axial columns of the central nave and along the south half of the North-South axis during the earliest part of his reign. Thus, when Ramesses IV decided to insert additional ritual scenes on those parts of the columns left blank by his predecessors, he found only the least desirable sections - invisible from the

83 Likewise, Ramesses IV did not have the time either to complete the decoration inside the temple of Khonsu, as shown by the unfinished western wall of the barque sanctuary. Cf. L.A. CHRISTOPHE, "L'offrande solennelle de Ramsès IV à la triade thébaine dans le temple de Khonsou à Karnak," *BIFAO* 48, 1948, p. 39.

84 *KRI* II, 284-287; A.M. ROTH, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

85 Cf. L.A. CHRISTOPHE, *Les divinités des colonnes*, p. 45-48 for a list of the deities and their epithets with the horizontal bandeaux of Ramesses II, ranging from the Theban Triad, with an exceptional mention of Mut-Bastet, to Wadjet, Ptah, Monthu, Nekhbet, Re-Horakhty, Shu and Atum. In some cases, there was apparently no room for a divine epithet so a variant or ellipse of the formula *dī 'nh (mī R')* was inserted in its place.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 45-46, 48.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 45, 48.

88 Columns 13, 18, 23, 33, 34, 36, 39, 42, 44, 51, 59, 63, [64], 65, 66, 69. Note that these occurrences are distributed throughout the south wing, not just along the north-south axial way.

89 J.L. KIMPTON *et al.*, *JARCE* 46, 2010, p. 120-124. Of the 26 reused blocks attributed to Ramesses II, seven represent Khonsu, a fairly high proportion that illustrates the king's desire to worship that deity.

two processional axes - still available. Yet in adding large cartouches near the bases of many columns, and 60 smaller ones within scenes of Ramesses II in the south wing, he prioritized locations visible from the axes. It is clear, then, that these processional ways were considered to be prime space and were the most sought after.

The importance of processional axes as the focal point of the artists' care in accomplishing their best quality of workmanship inside the Hall also comes as no surprise, considering their significance in cosmology⁹⁰ and rituals.⁹¹ Reliefs located along, or visible from, these axes were thus consistently of higher quality in terms of their technical execution under Ramesses II and IV. Likewise, these were also the column surfaces most likely to be recut by later pharaohs after the original engraving of scenes and inscriptions. We can thus observe that both Sety I and Ramesses II first decorated the columns and abaci lining the processional ways and that it is precisely those columns that Ramesses II later recarved. Later, during the 20th dynasty, Ramesses IV and Ramesses VI proceeded to inscribe their cartouches at a large scale on precisely those rows of columns lining the North-South and East-West axes of the Hall.

Processional ways were also used as geographical markers that served to reference spatial connections between the Great Hypostyle Hall and the nearby temples of Ptah (north) and Khonsu (south) standing elsewhere inside the Karnak precinct of Amun-Re and linked to the Hall (at least in the case of Ptah's temple) by processional ways. Axial colonnades in buildings like the Great Hypostyle Hall were thus understood not only as convergence points, but also as transitional spaces linking together different monuments that were part of a larger religious precinct or landscape.⁹² Though it is a moot point, due to a lack of clear evidence, as to what actions actually took place inside the Hall during ceremonies in terms of the flow and directional motion of the processional ceremonies centered around the movement of sacred barks,⁹³ we have attempted to define the spatial arrangement of the column decoration in terms of its connectivity with monuments located outside the Hall.

Geographical markers are common features in Ancient Egypt, as demonstrated by other more explicit cases found elsewhere in Karnak, with the insertion for instance of the depiction of an 'Osirian mound' on Ramesses II's enclosure wall in the vicinity of the ptolemaic 'Osirian Catacombs' (fig. 21).⁹⁴ Likewise, the inclusion of the name or image of a specific god like Ptah or Khonsu in a scene or in a royal epithet in the decorative program of a given monument can establish a theological link with a nearby temple dedicated to the deity in question.

It is also quite clear that the decoration on each individual column in the Great Hall was not executed at one point in time, but during various stages. There are at least seven phases of carving and recarving carried out by five different rulers (Sety I, Ramesses II, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI and Herihor) on most of the columns. Not surprisingly, due to his very long reign, Ramesses II distinguished himself with the magnitude and number of his interventions, with no fewer than four distinct phases of his decoration. Ramesses IV was also very ambitious in embellishing the columns, but in his case, more research is needed in order to subdivide his undertakings into more clearly discrete stages even though it is clear there were multiple phases.

We have also observed that the most valuable space available on any given column is located just below the middle height of the shaft, where ritual scenes possessing the most unique and original decorative content were carved. At that height - well above eye level but not too far above the ground - the spaces facing each processional way were the most sought after, Sety I and Ramesses II amply demonstrating this principle by choosing

90 On this question, see most recently L. GABOLDE, "Mise au point du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak en direction du lever du soleil au solstice d'hiver," *Karnak* 13, 2010, p. 243-256.

91 For the physical design of Ramesside divine and royal barks and their use inside the Hall, Chr. KARLSHAUSEN, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire*, OLA 182, 2009, *passim*; E.A. SULLIVAN, "Visualising the size and movement of the portable festival barks at Karnak temple," *BMSAES* 19, 2012, p. 25-28.

92 These questions were raised recently during a three-day colloquium entitled *Die Architektur des Weges - Gestalte Bewegung im gebauten Raum* and held under the auspices of the DAI in Berlin in February 2012. To our knowledge, no proceedings of this symposium have ever been published.

93 See K. EATON, "Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the New Kingdom," *ZÄS* 134, 2007, p. 15-25; E.A. SULLIVAN, *BMSAES* 19, 2012, p. 25-28.

94 KIU 2395 from the Karnak project (<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/karnak/>); L. COULON, Fr. LECLÈRE, S. MARCHAND, "'Catacombes' osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles 1993," *Karnak* 10, 1995, p. 222, pl. XII.

these locations for their scenes.⁹⁵ Returning to our initial comparison with modern real estate classifications for the desirability of office space, the locations of scenes which lie along or facing towards the processional axes, would be categorized as Class A+.⁹⁶ Also very valuable, but to a lesser extent, were column surfaces positioned just above the base (near the ground at eye level for human visitors) and at the top of the shaft and on the abaci (in closer proximity to the divine sphere). These sections (that could be classified in modern property value terminology as Class A), were embellished with stereotyped plant-motifs (re-enacting the symbolic creation of the world), *rekhyet*-bird motifs, and friezes of royal cartouches. Moreover, they were often subject to expropriation of earlier royal cartouches by later pharaohs (e.g., Ramesses II surcharging Sety I's names and Ramesses VI those of Ramesses IV) and/or the superimposition of new decoration over pre-existing inscriptions (as with Ramesses IV's large cartouches superimposed over triangular papyrus-leaf patterns near the base of many of the columns and his insertion of cartouches into negative spaces within some of Ramesses II's scenes along the North-South axis).

We could also include in the class A category those areas lying immediately above and below the main scenes on the columns that were covered with stereotyped inscriptions, such as the horizontal bandeaux texts Ramesses II inserted just below the column scenes on all 122 of the closed-bud papyrus columns. Next in demand, although no longer to be defined as prime space, were sections of the column surfaces (that could be graded B) located at the middle height of the shaft but which faced away from the main processional axes. So, Ramesses IV had to settle for these less desirable locales when he undertook his massive program to add nearly twice as many ritual scenes to the columns as had existed under Sety I and Ramesses II, an effort that fell short in the south-west quadrant and south-east corner due only to his untimely death. Likewise, the area in the upper half of the closed-bud papyrus columns (but not the top of the capitals) could also be labeled as B grade space. At this height, between the tops of the scenes and the cartouche and cobra friezes of his 19th dynasty predecessors at the summit of the capitals, Ramesses IV inscribed friezes with thousands of his cartouches and horizontal strings of his names and titles repeated *ad nauseam* on five distinct tiers of stereotyped inscriptions. These sections of the columns were meant to convey the great power of Pharaoh and his divine aspect, and by the sheer number of Ramesses IV's engraved cartouches, they commanded the viewer's attention and dazzled the eye amid the sea of inscriptions now arrayed at every vantage point within the Hall.⁹⁷ This *mise en scène* to the glory of the king is not unlike the use of monumental portraits of leaders in certain modern totalitarian regimes,⁹⁸ or even the repetitive use of dozens of identical advertising posters in urban venues like subway stations. Least interesting in terms of desirability (class C), was the space located on the column bases at foot level. This location was rated poorly probably due to its greater exposure to flooding and wear, and in terms of its minimal prestige. This was in fact the only vacant column space still available on which the High-Priest of Amun-Re and "king" Herihor could carve his titles and epithets.

One may naturally wonder for whom all this well-choreographed scenography was intended. As we have seen, part of the decoration – through the sheer size of the columns and the ubiquitous and repetitive nature of

95 The same pattern is found in the much simpler decorative programs of scenes on the papyrus columns of various Ramesside temples (the Ramesside forecourt at Luxor and the hypostyle halls and forecourts of Sety I's Gurnah and Abydos Temples; the Ramesseum; Ramesses III's Medinet Habu Temple) and in Tutankhamun and Sety I's scenes on the 14 columns of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple (THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *RILT* 2, pls. 180-193).

96 See *supra* our introduction.

97 One must nevertheless be careful not to downplay such marginal inscriptions as they were an integral part of the royal cult. C. SPIESER, *Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, *OBO* 174, 2000. Cf. P.J. BRAND, in P.F. Dorman, B.M. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space*, p. 54.

98 Seen under this light, there is definitely a connection to be made in the way present-day dictators like to stage their own cult of personality through what some architects define as "authoritarian urbanism." Cf. for example, A. FAUVE, C. GENTRAC, "Production de l'espace urbain et mise en scène du pouvoir dans deux capitales 'présidentielles' d'Asie Centrale," *L'espace politique* 8/2, 2009, <http://espacepolitique.revues.org/1376>; H.-L. KUO, *Monumentality and Modernity in Hitler's Berlin. The North-South Axis of the Greater Berlin Plan*, Bern, 2013.

their ornamentation – was very likely designed, in part to instruct both the elites and the common people⁹⁹ and inspire awe in them with its overwhelming visual impact that was only heightened by the dazzling polychrome decoration of the figures and hieroglyphs picked out against a brilliant white background. Although it is not entirely clear to what extent the general public had access to the Hall during annual festivals, the presence of *rekhyet*-bird motifs at the bottom of all 122 of the smaller columns of the monument seems to indicate that certain subjects of the king were admitted to the building on select festive occasions.¹⁰⁰ The king and priesthood would naturally partake actively in such festivities, with the large and socially diverse clergy being drawn from every level of society. This would go against the view that the state temples were cloistered realms of the king and elite priesthood - members of an “initiated” cadre of privileged worshipers, who along with the gods themselves, were allegedly segregated from the “uninitiated” masses of the populace.¹⁰¹ For whom, then, were the spectacular processions of the Opet, Min and Valley Festivals meant to dazzle the eye? Did the “uninitiated” masses hide indoors? Are all the popular graffiti and other epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the adoration of the gods on the exterior walls and courts of temples like Karnak and Luxor, and votive objects testifying to worship of the state gods only evidence for a small class of elite worshipers? And to whom did gods like Amun-who-rescues-the-Poor, Amun-of-Opet-who-answers-the-poor, or Amun-who-hears-the-cry-of-woe direct their supernatural aide?¹⁰²

Finally, the gods to whom Sety I first erected the Hypostyle Hall were obviously the foremost targets of all this lavish stage-setting. Certain emplacements, high above ground (as with some geographical markers along the northern axis), were either hardly perceptible by people far below due to the small size of the glyphs and dim lighting, (before the ancient roof collapsed flooding the Hall with the natural sunlight we see today), or literally hidden from the public’s view. These seemed to have been specifically designed for divine spectators. The best illustration of this can be seen with the cartouches inscribed by Sety I on the abaci resting atop the twelve great columns of the central colonnade. Located at the uppermost reaches inside the Hall, and thus closest to the realm of the deities, they were concealed to the human world below by the large open papyrus flower capitals on which they were sitting.

To conclude, although the column decoration of the Great Hypostyle Hall may seem at first glance somewhat uniform and repetitive, we hope to have shown through some case studies that space within large New Kingdom monuments was not a passive conveyor of inscriptional and iconographical data; pharaohs were fully aware of its benefits and made best use of it in order to convey their messages, whether of political or religious nature.

99 Although literacy rate must have certainly been very low in Ancient Egypt (on this question, J. BAINES, Chr. EYRE, “Four notes on literacy,” in J. Baines, *Visual and written culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2007, p. 63-73), one can speculate that those admitted inside the temple had for the most part the capacity to identify the names of the most famous kings that were carved inside royal cartouches. Just as the average foreign tourist can be taught by a tour guide to recognize the cartouches of Ramesses II, so too the ancient populace could also recognize his names, especially given how prominent his temple decoration was on the exterior surfaces of temples, colossi and obelisks to which the populace clearly had access.

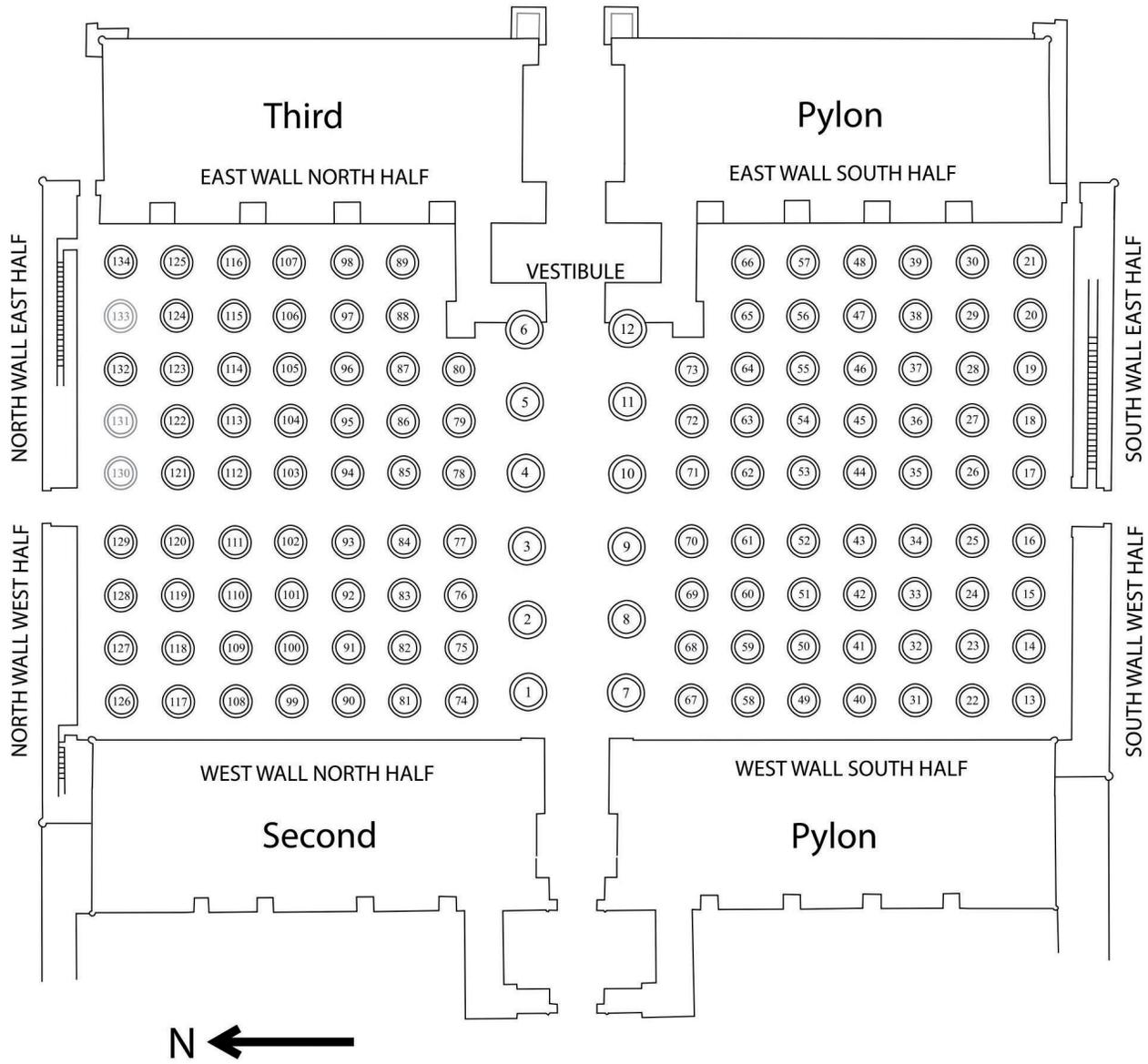
100 See P.J. BRAND, “Review of Vincent Rondot, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: Les architraves*. 2 vols., Paris, 1997,” *JEA* 88, 2002, p. 267-269. For a different view, see K. GRIFFIN, “A Reinterpretation of the Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus in New Kingdom Temples,” in M. Cannata (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2006. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium, University of Oxford 2006*, Oxford, 2007, p. 66-84, esp. 71-73, 76-77. See also H. GUTSCHMIDT, “Eine Beobachtung zu den Rechy in den Tempeln des Neuen Reiches,” in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf. GM Beihefte Nr. 3*, Göttingen, 2008, p. 28-33, with a summary of the hypotheses relating to the meaning of the birds, p. 28.

Many studies have dealt with the question of whether the common people had access to state temples, so we cite here only a few recent discussions: J. BAINES, “Public Ceremonial Performance in Ancient Egypt: Exclusion and Integration,” in T. Inomata, L.S. Coben (eds.), *Archaeology of Performance. Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, Lanham, 2006, p. 261-302; K. ACCETTA, “Access to the Divine in New Kingdom Egypt: Royal and public participation in the Opet Festival,” in C. Graves, G. Heffernan, L. McGarrity et al. (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2012. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Symposium, University of Birmingham 2012*, Oxford, 2013, p. 1-21; S. BICKEL, “Men in the temple: world-order, prestige, and piety,” in E. Frood, A. McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and experience. Essays in ancient culture for John Baines*, Oxford, 2013, p. 205-213; E. TEETER, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge, 2011; C. AUSEC, “Gods who hear Prayers: Popular Piety or Kingship in three Theban Monuments of New Kingdom Egypt,” Ph.D. Diss., Graduate Theological Union, 2010.

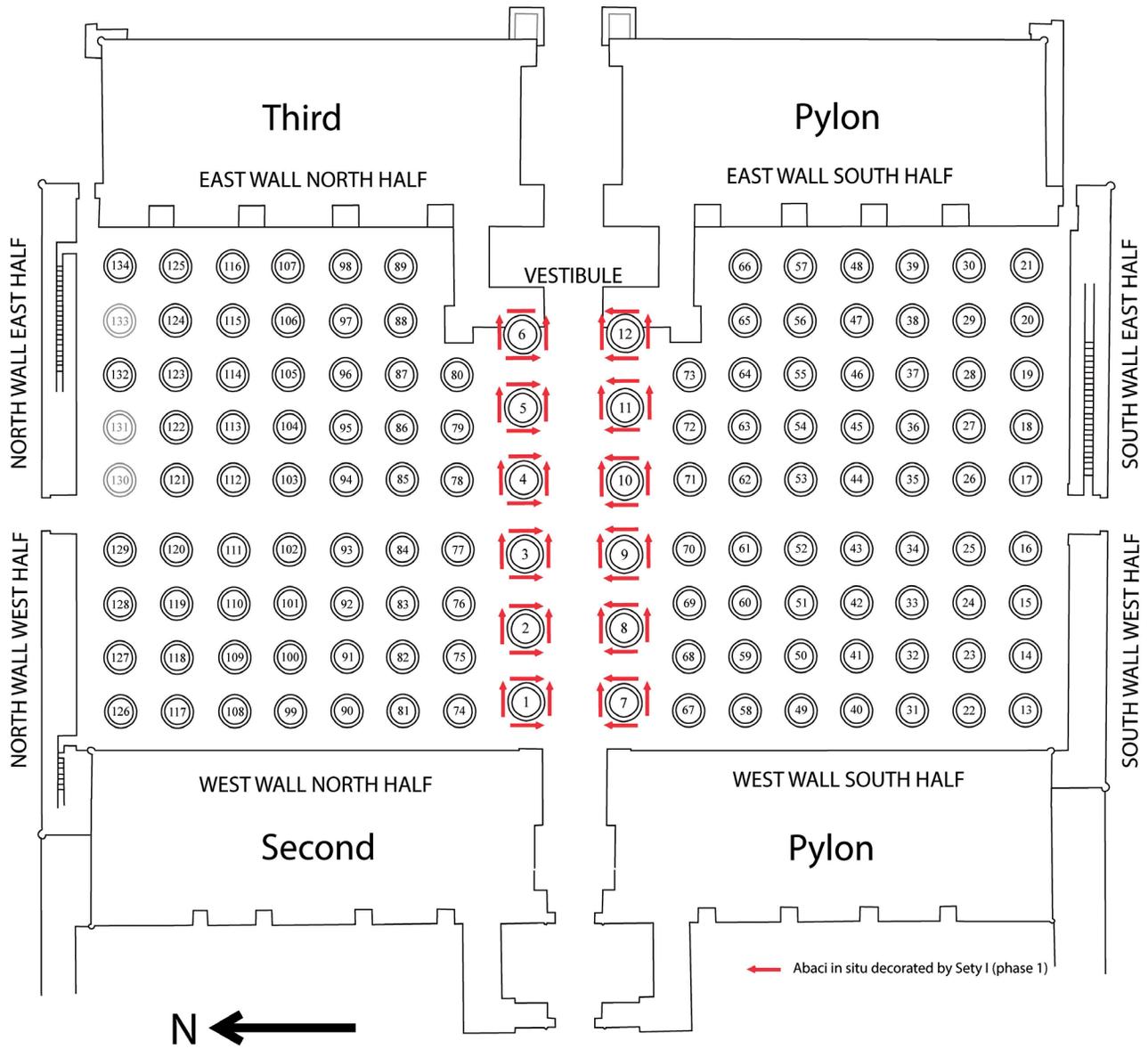
101 J. BAINES, “Restricted knowledge, hierarchy, and decorum: modern perceptions and ancient institutions,” *JARCE* 27, 1990, p. 1-23.

102 So *contra* C. AUSEC, “Gods who hear prayers,” p. 2 and 90-93.

PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

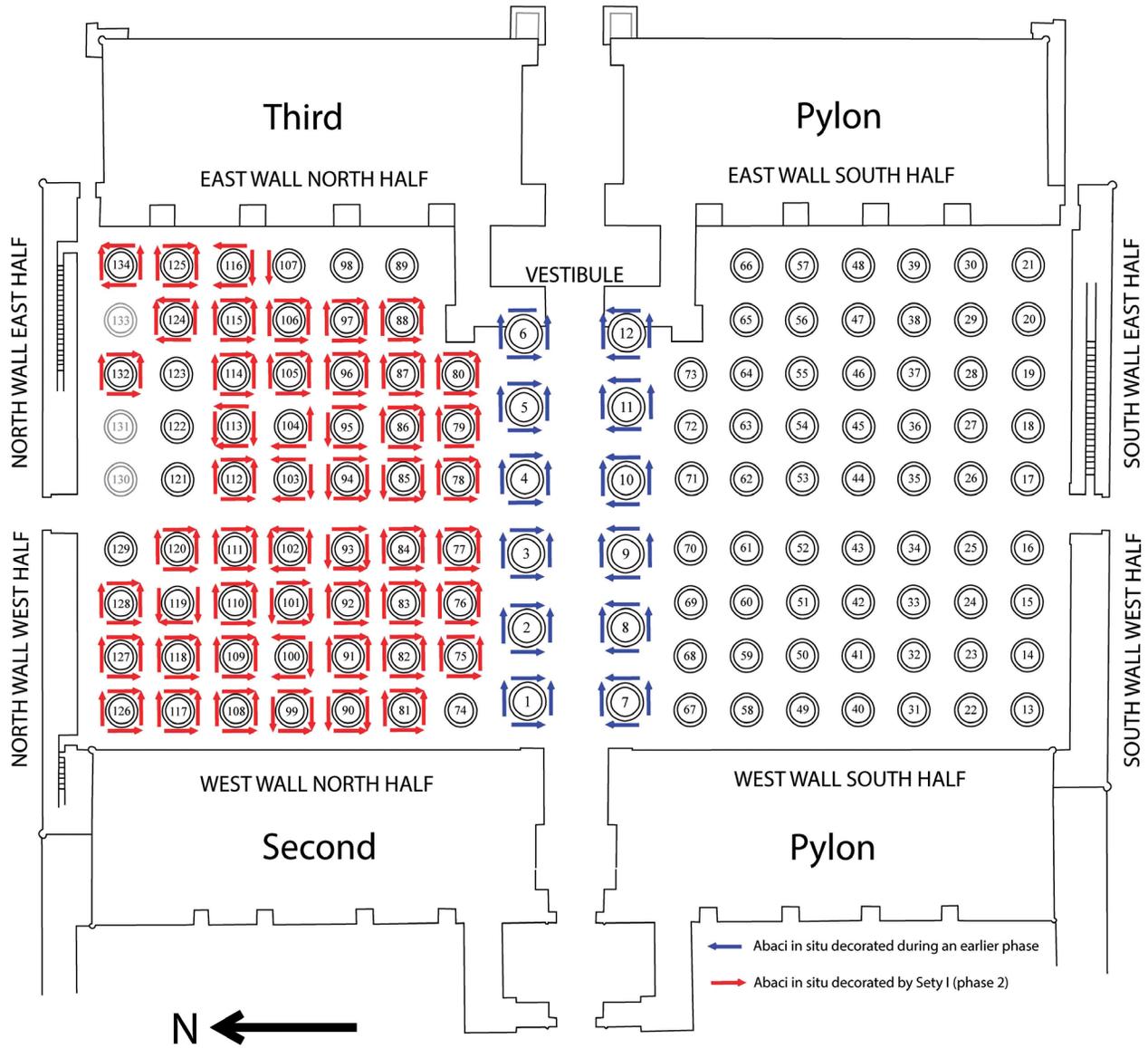


Plan A. Plan of the Hypostyle Hall inside the Temple of Amen-Re at Karnak.

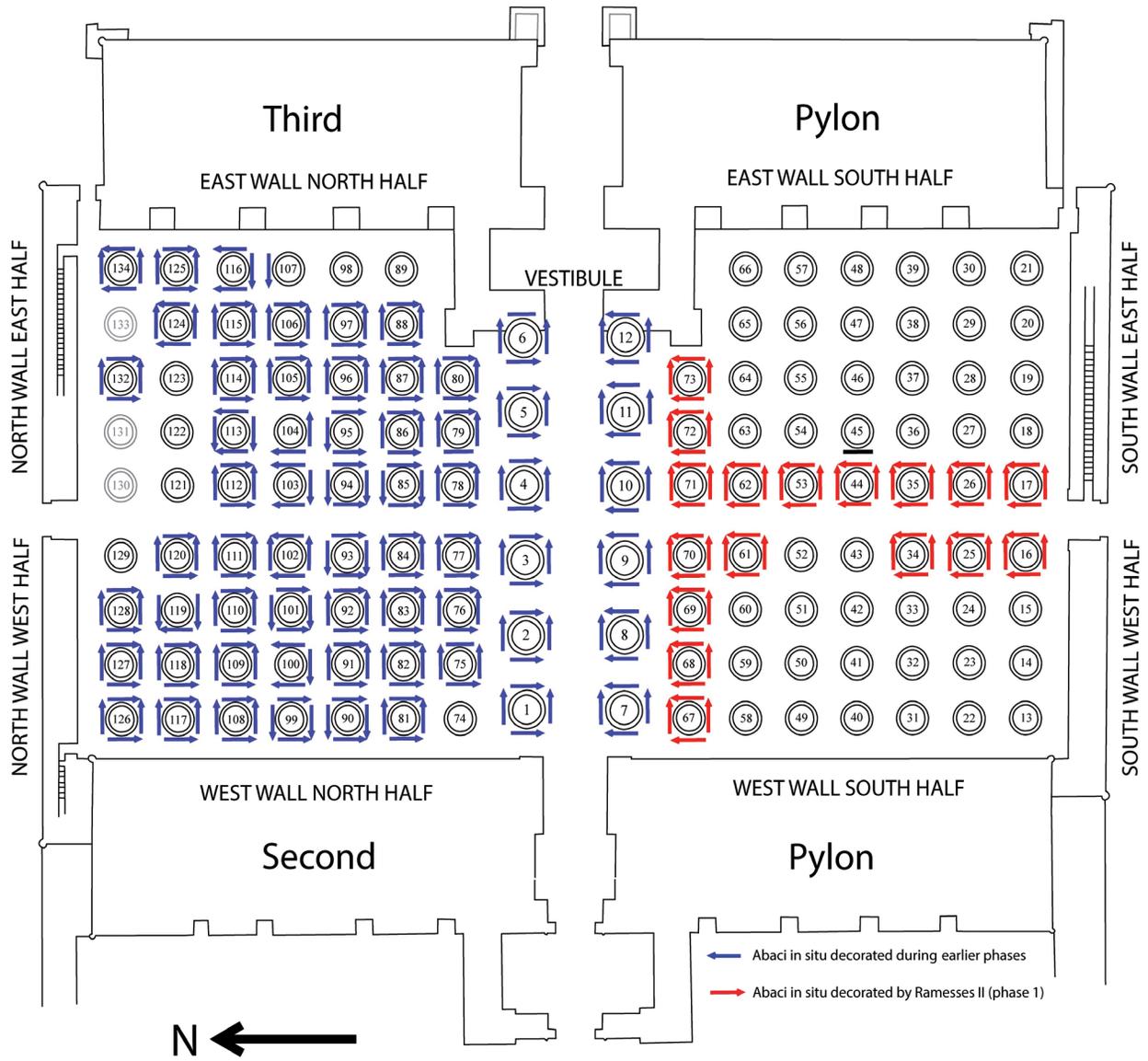


Plan B. Decoration of abaci under Sety I (phase 1).

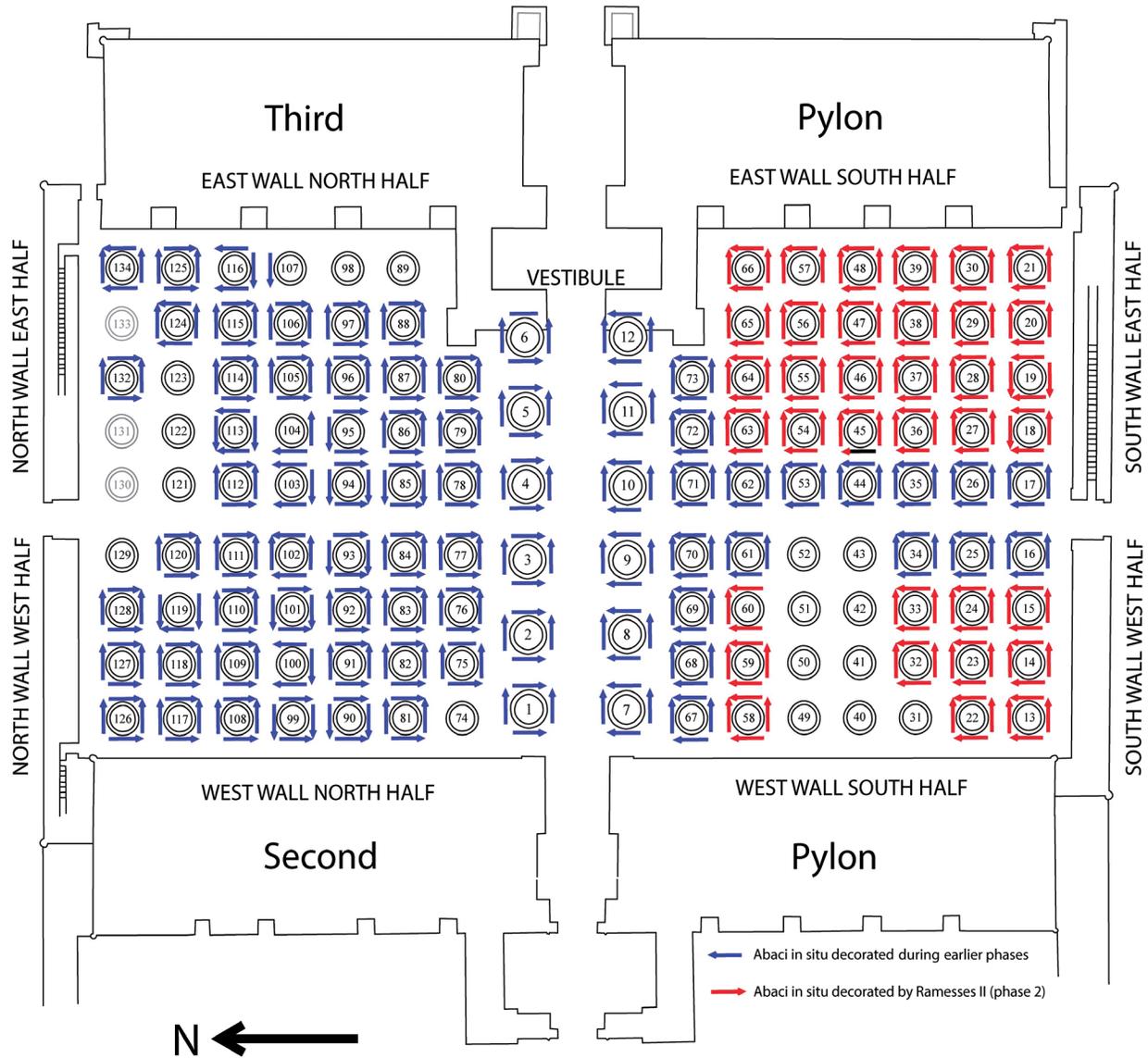
PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL



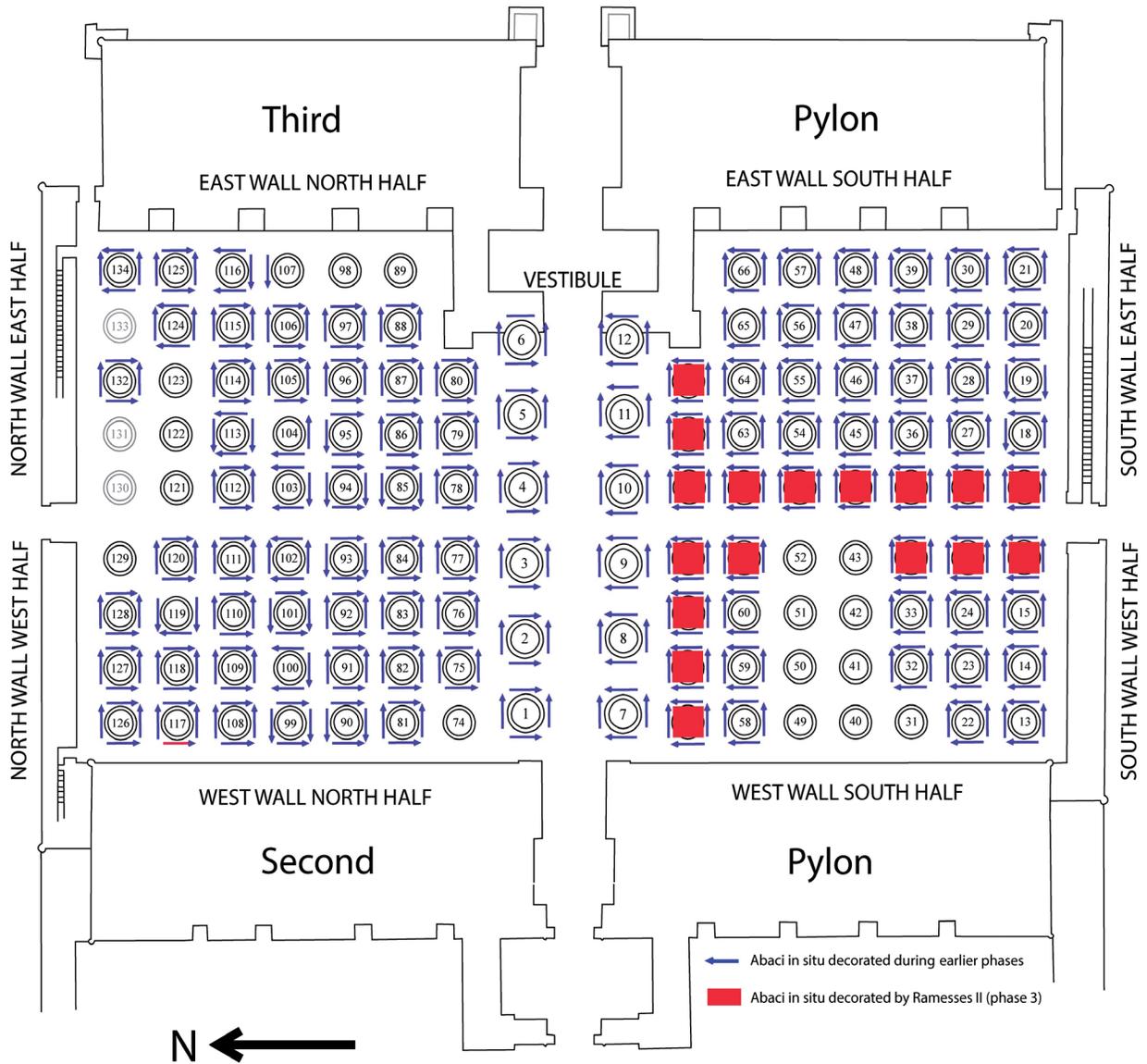
Plan C. Decoration of abaci under Sety I (phase 2).



Plan D. Decoration of abaci under Ramesses II (phase 1).

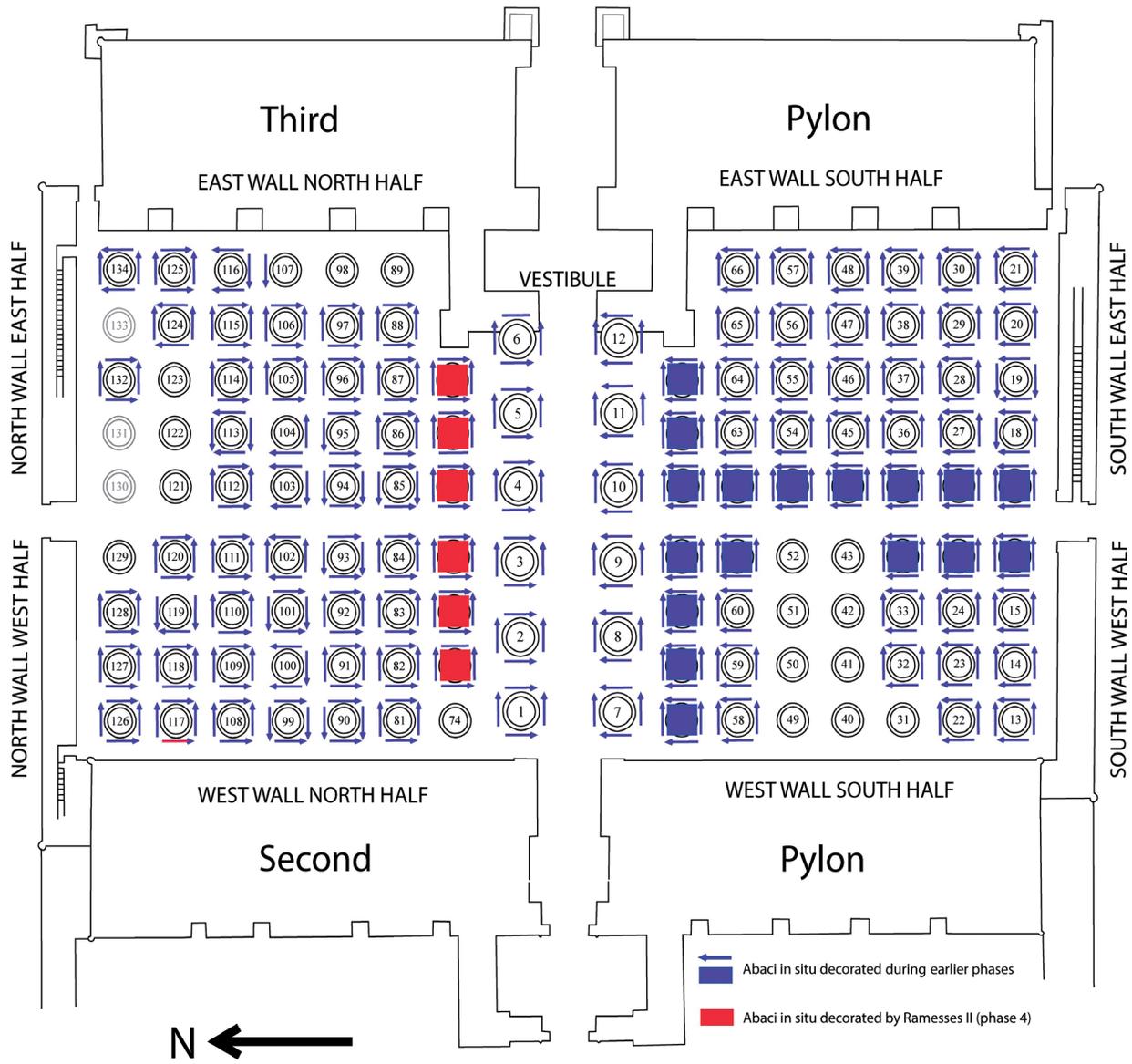


Plan E. Decoration of abaci under Ramesses II (phase 2).

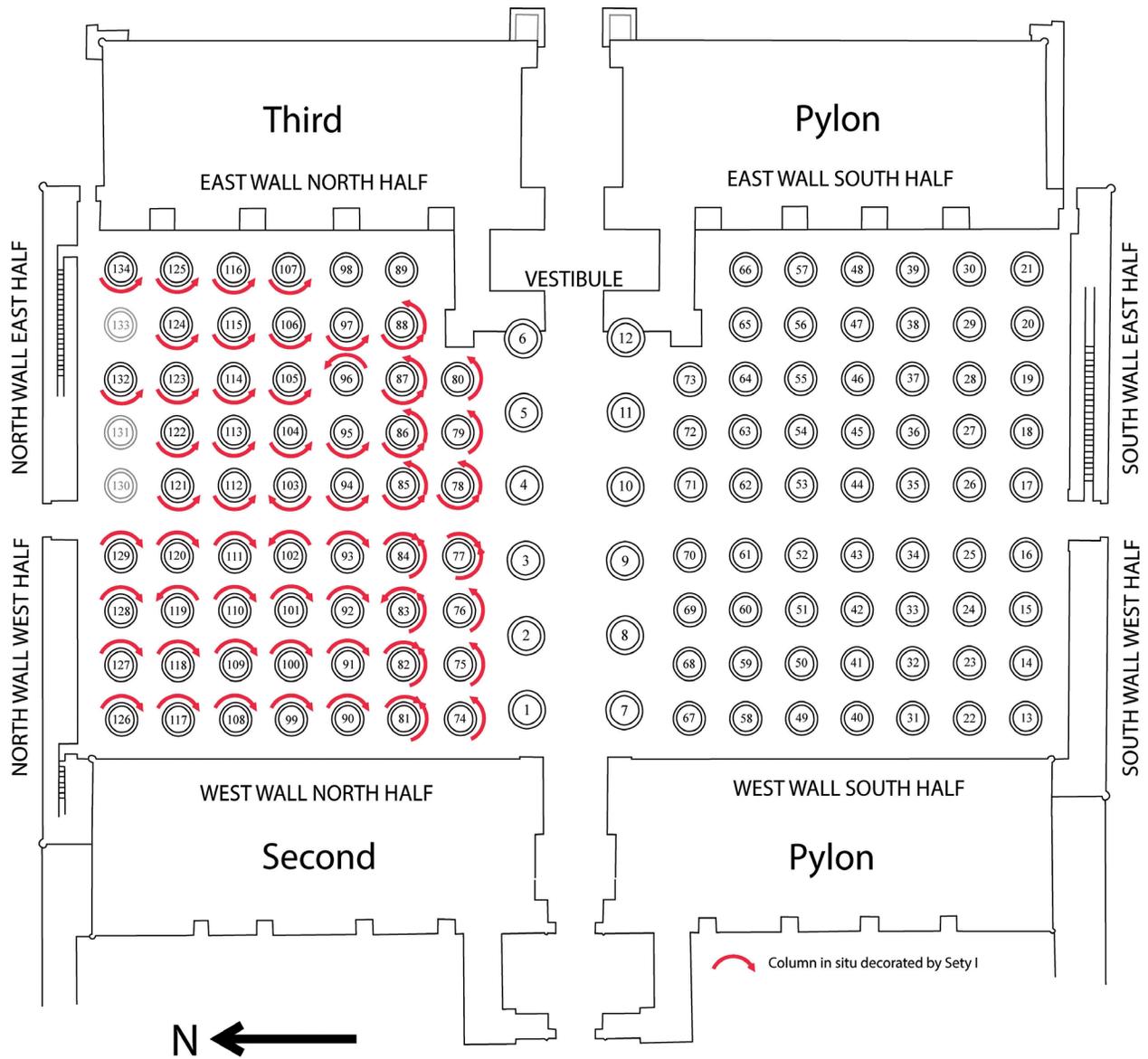


Plan F. Decoration of abaci under Ramesses II (phase 3).

PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

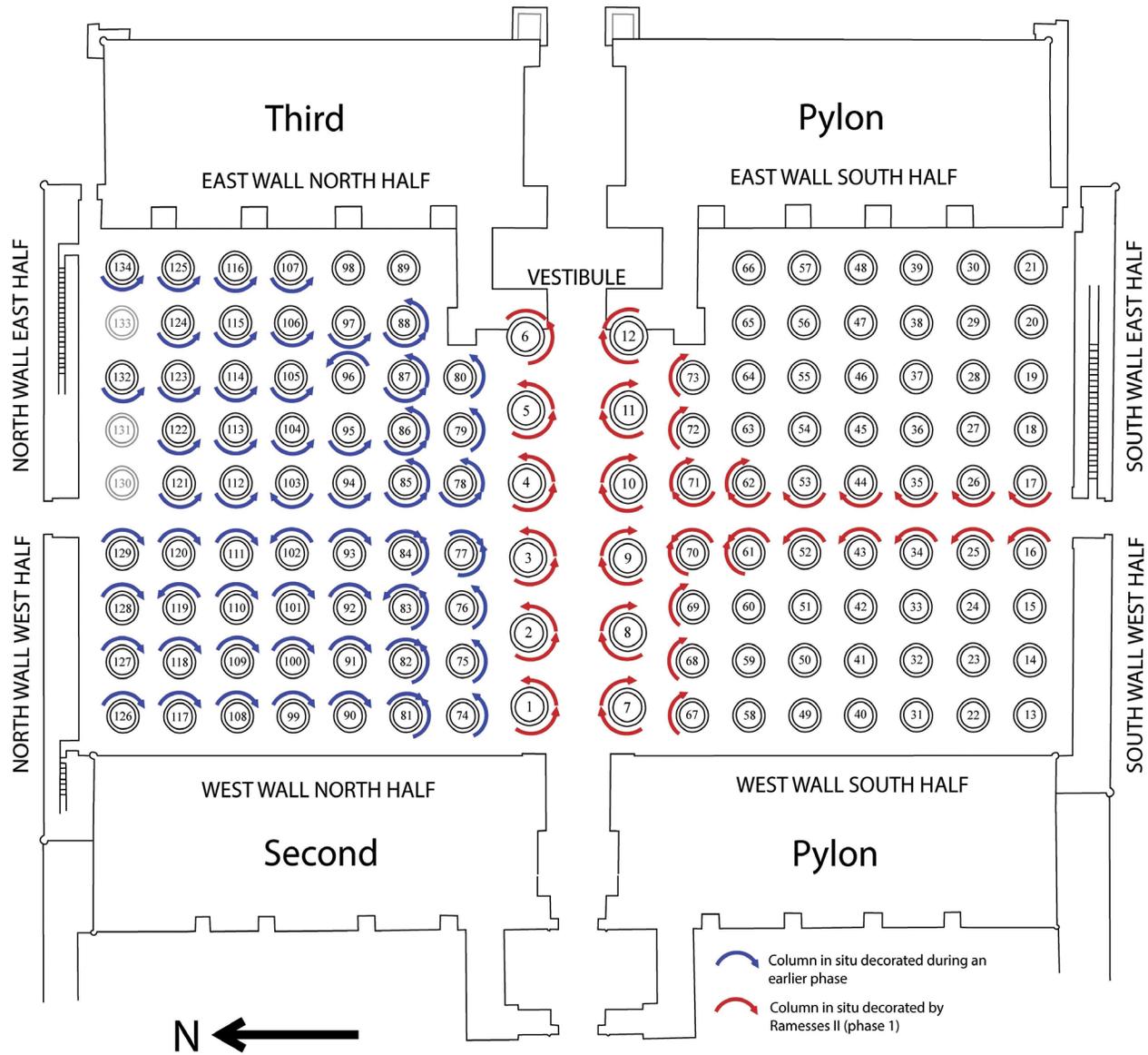


Plan G. Decoration of abaci under Ramesses II (phase 4).

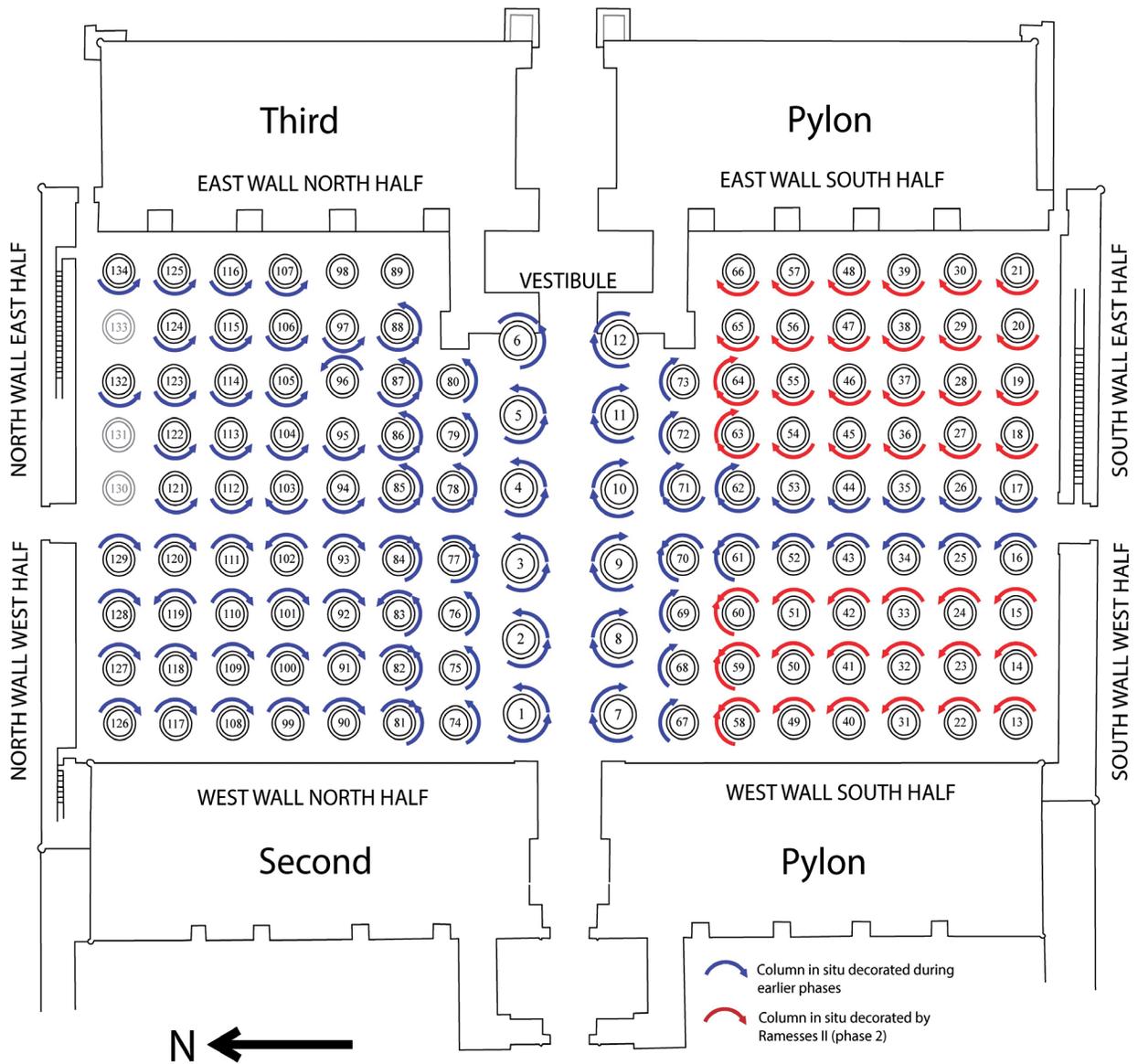


Plan H. Decoration of columns under Sety I.

PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

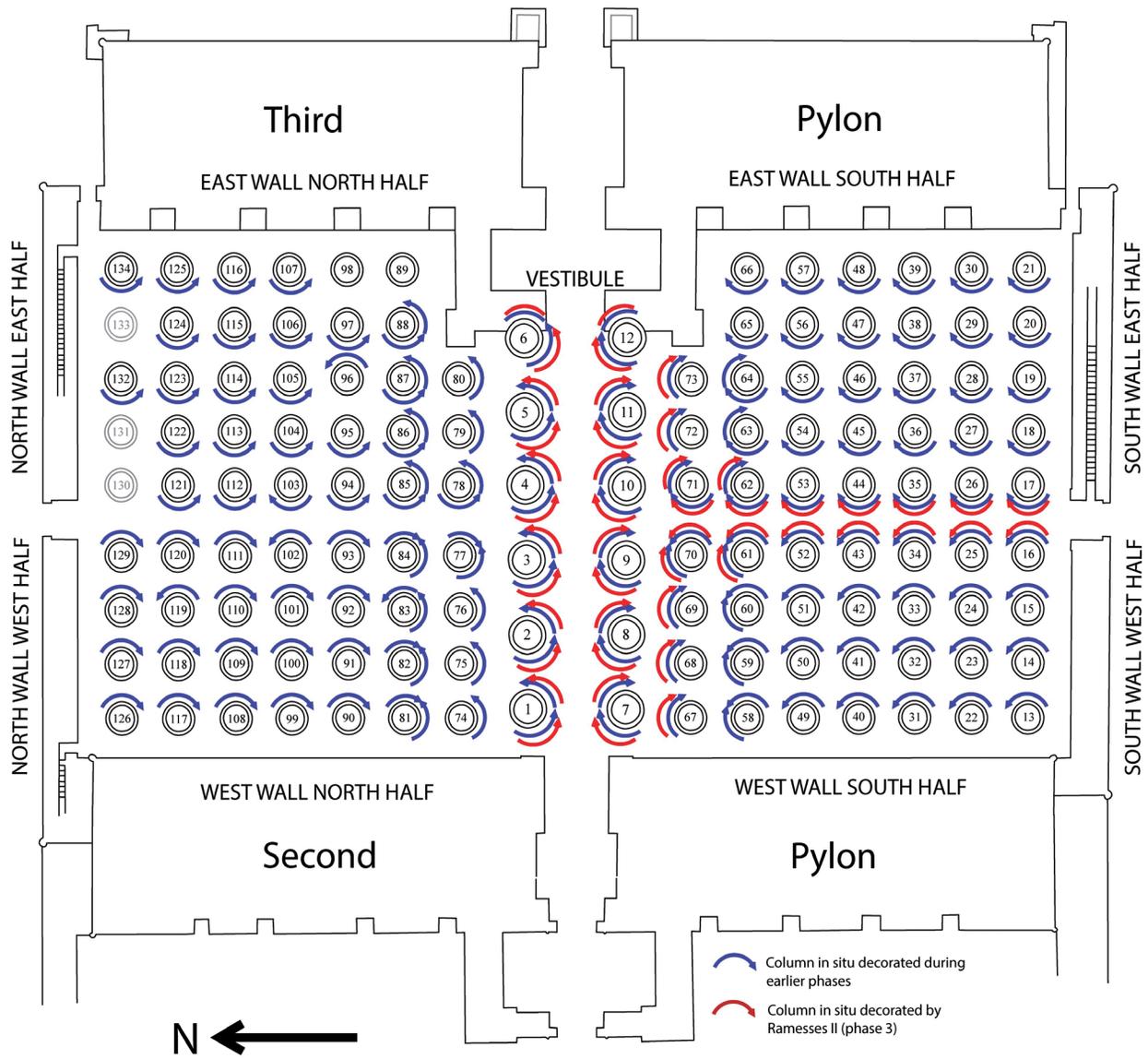


Plan I. Decoration of columns under Ramesses II (phase 1).

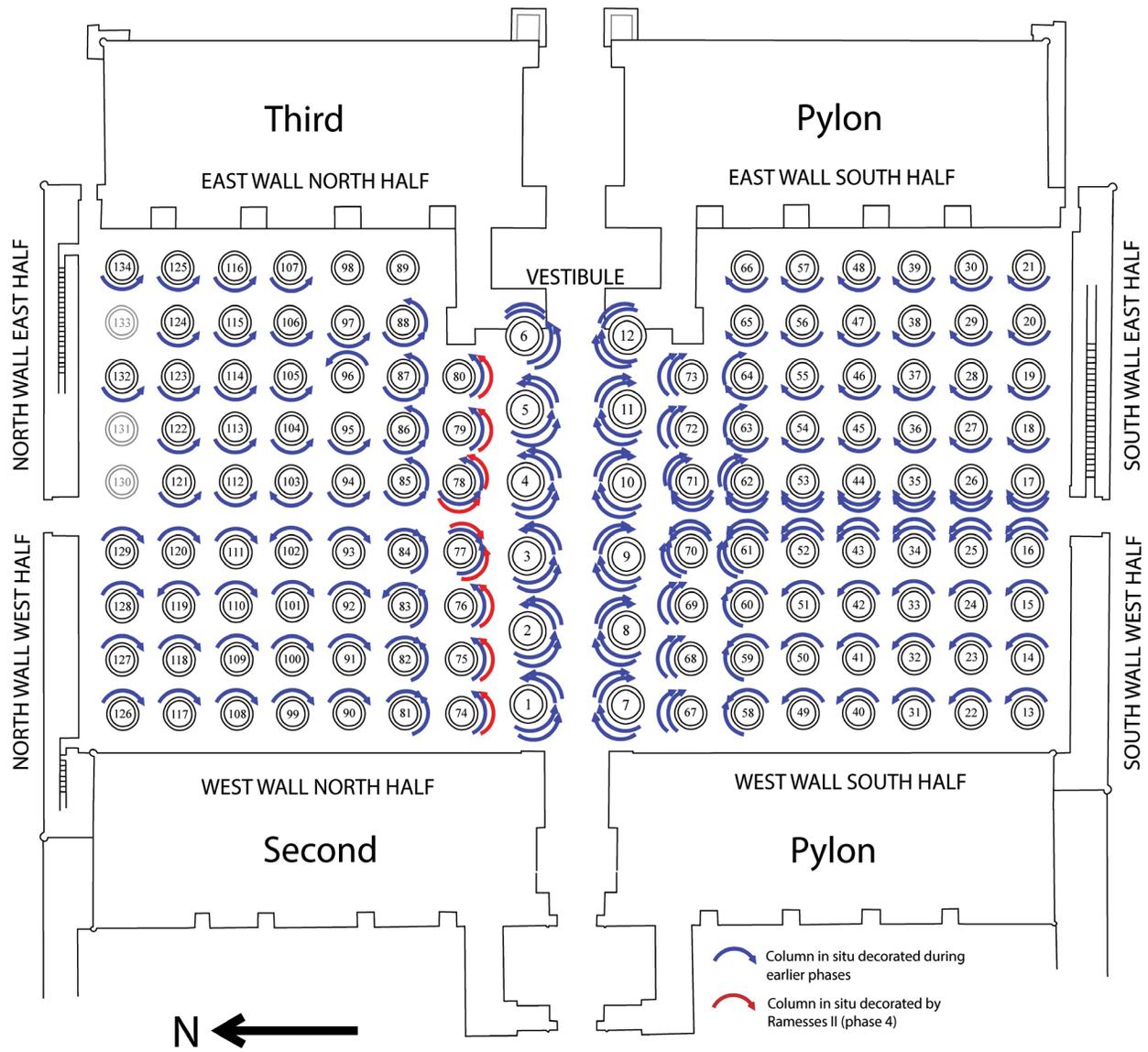


Plan J. Decoration of columns under Ramesses II (phase 2).

PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

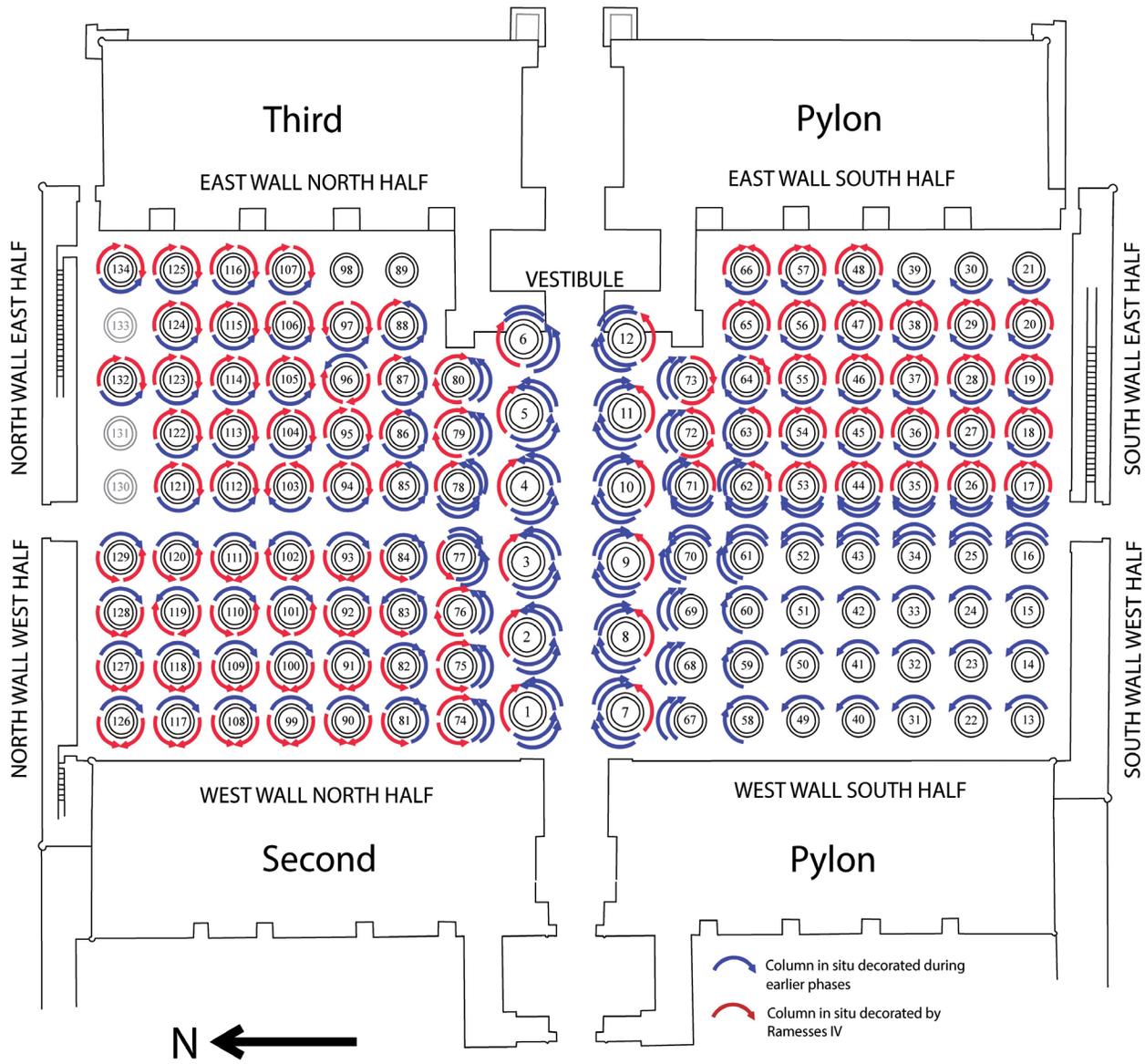


Plan K. Decoration of columns under Ramesses II (phase 3).

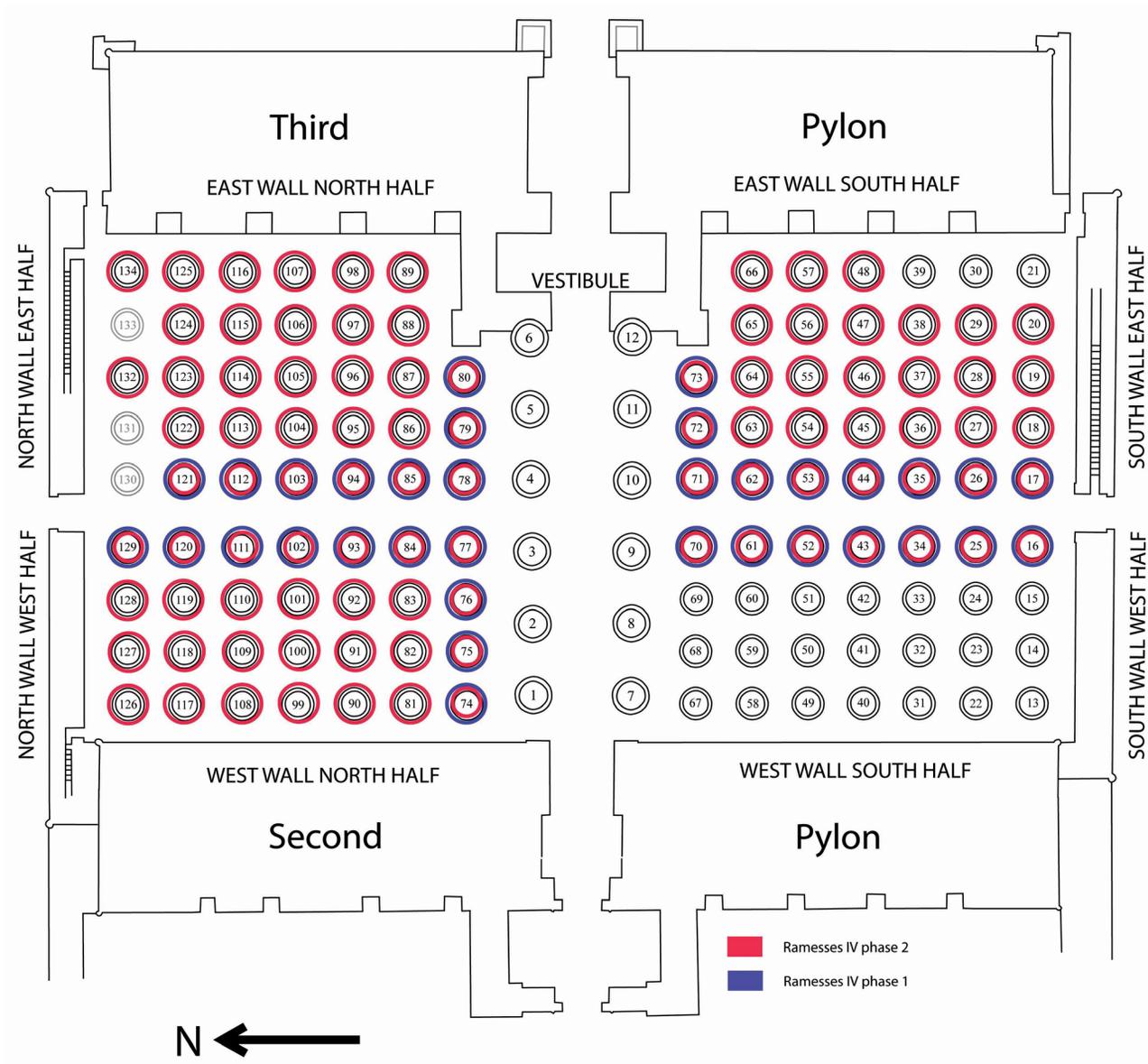


Plan L. Decoration of columns under Ramesses II (phase 4).

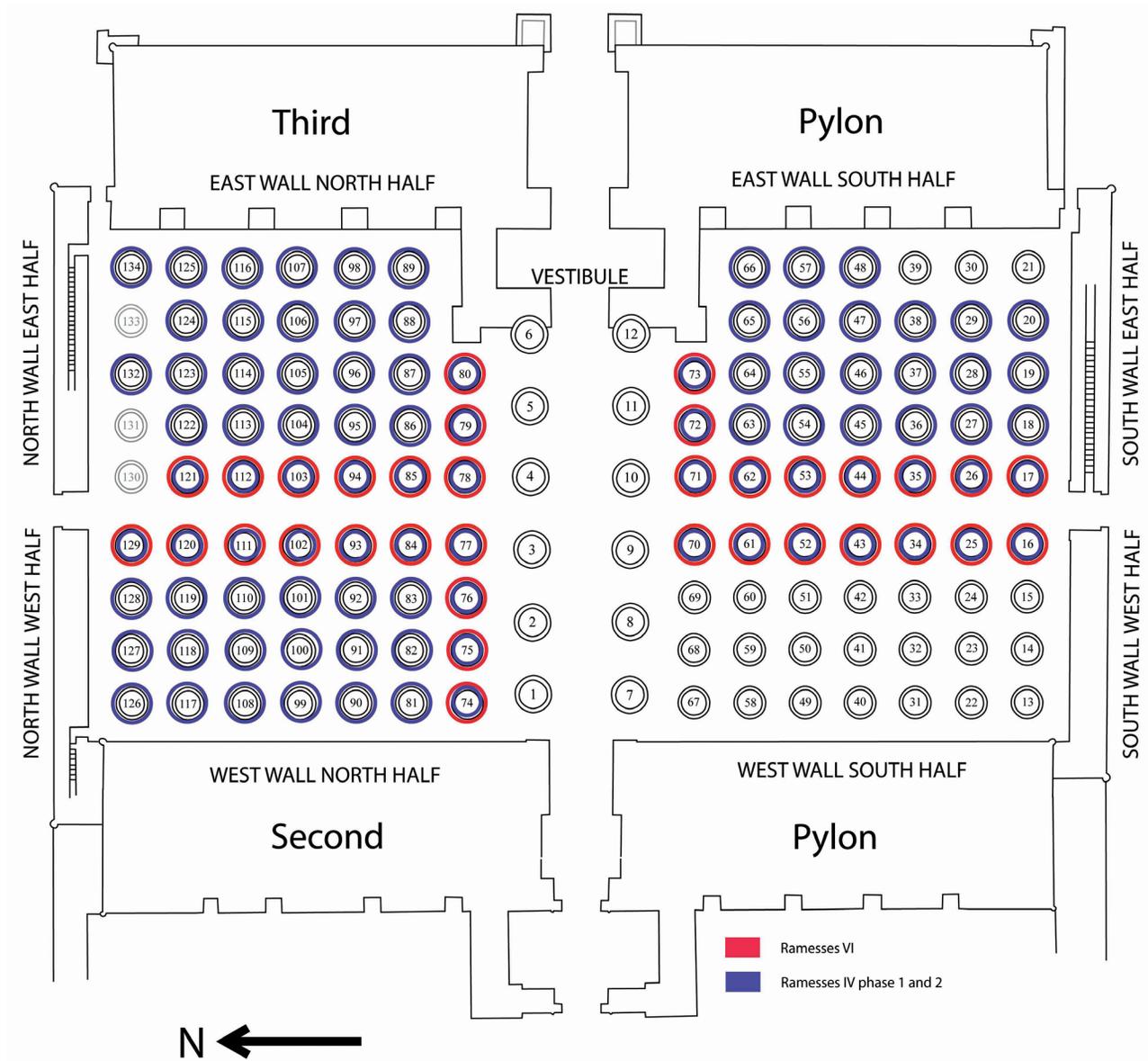
PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL



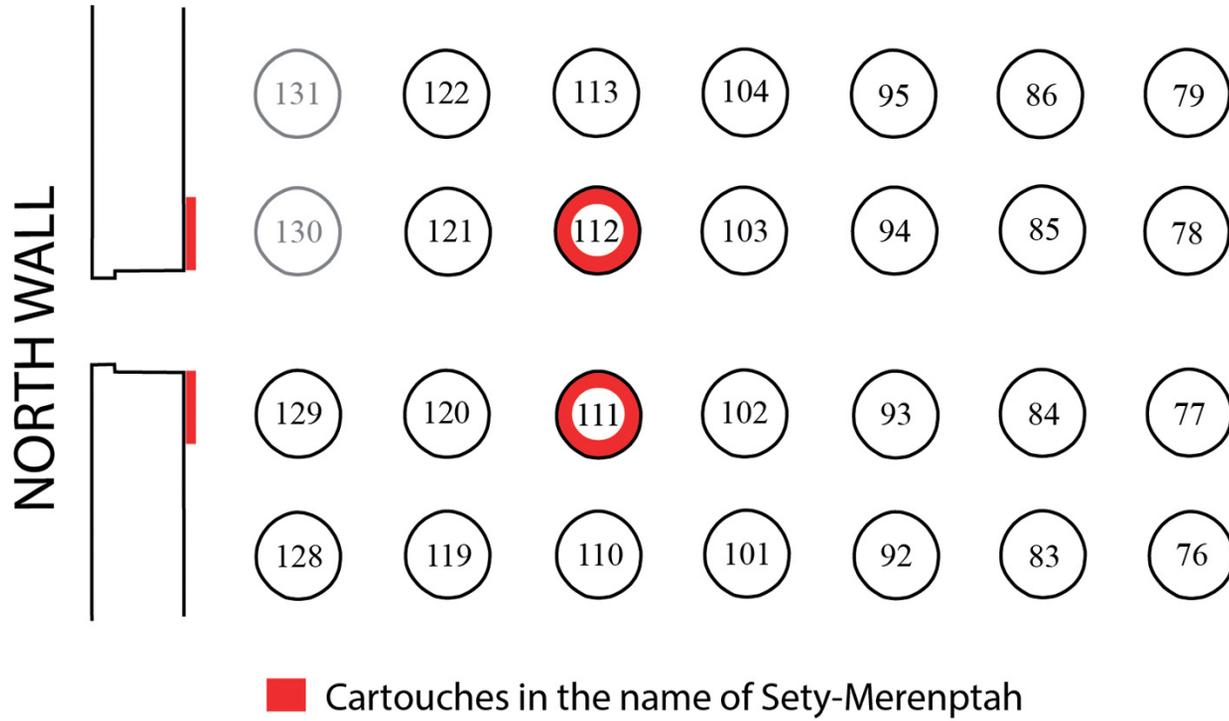
Plan M. Decoration of columns under Ramesses IV.



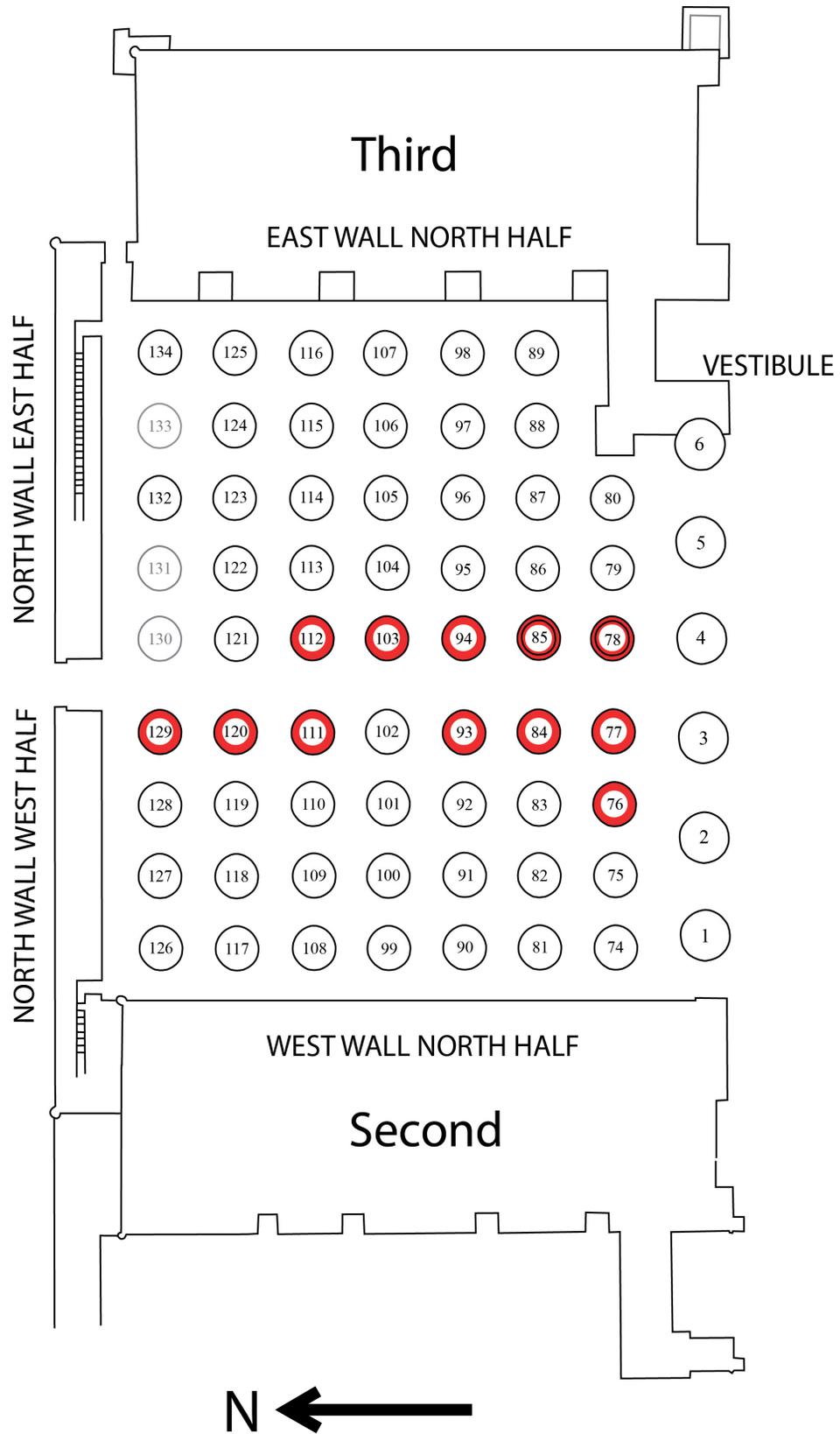
Plan O. Carving of large cartouches at base of columns under Ramesses IV (phase 2).



Plan P. Carving of large cartouches at base of columns under Ramesses VI.

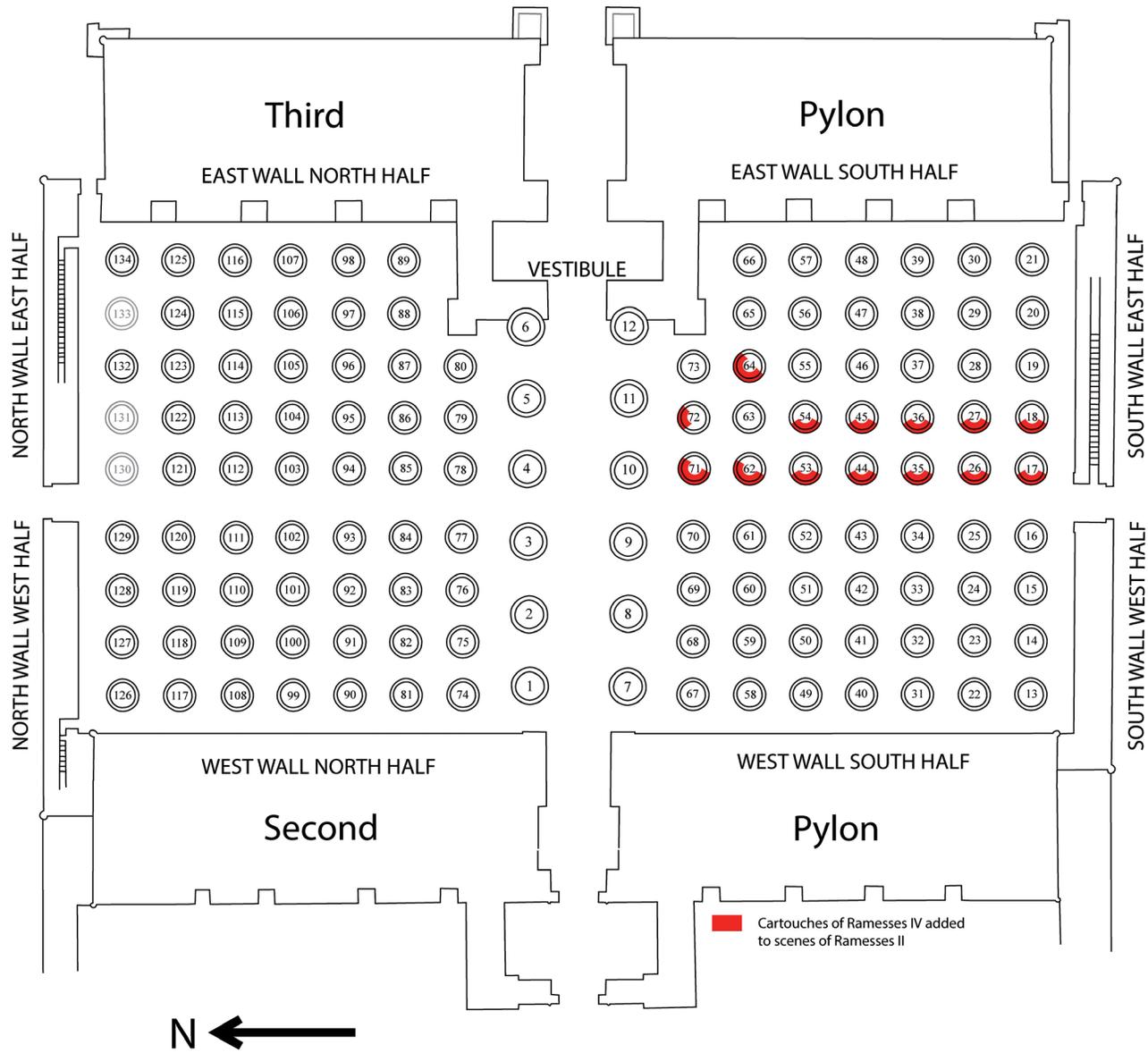


Plan Q. Cartouches of Sety I with *mr-n-Pth* epithet carved in upper section of columns.

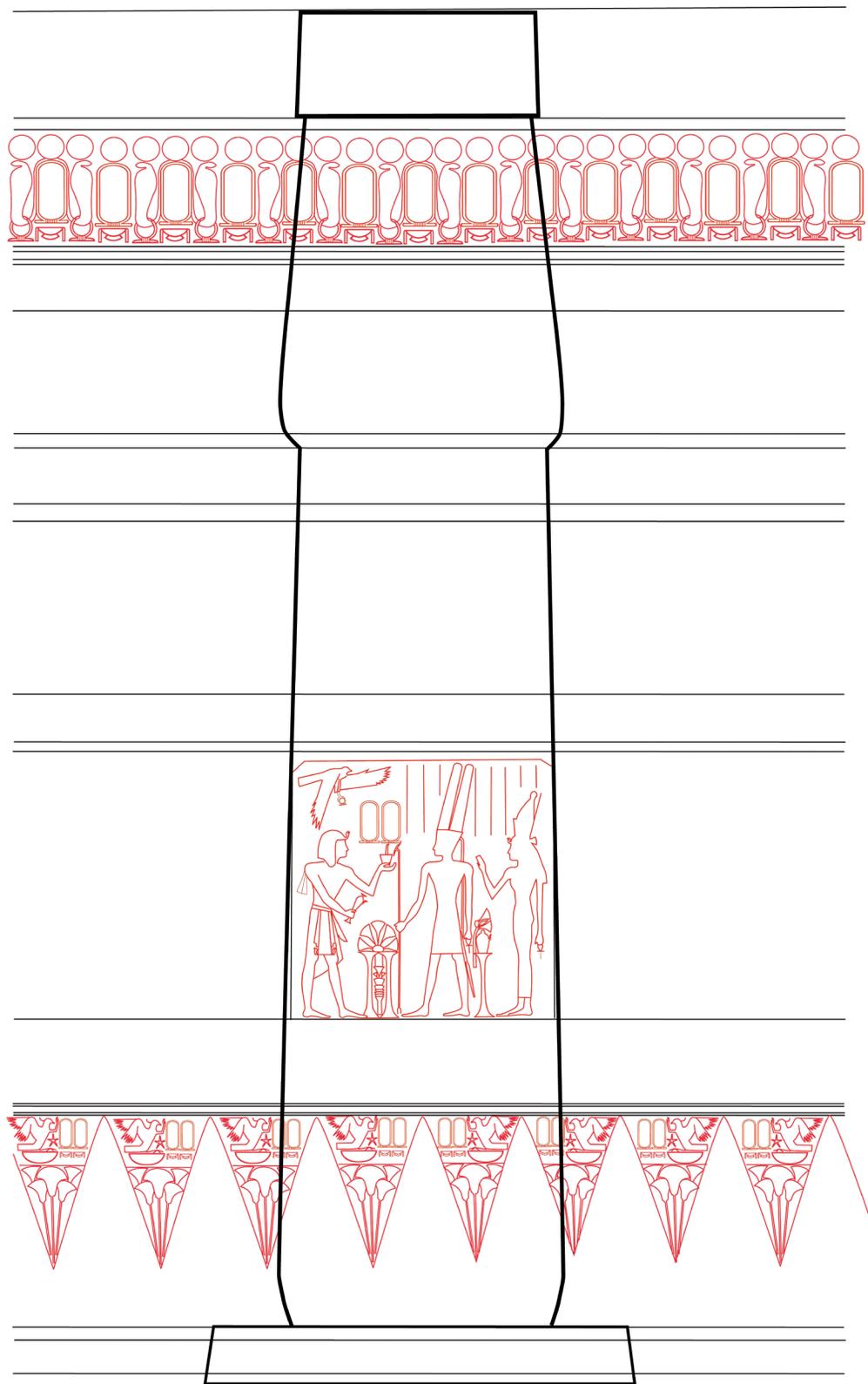


Plan R. Columns with vertical friezes and horizontal bandeaux containing the epithet *stp-n-ġmn*, spelled with the n-crown, inside the cartouche of Ramesses IV.

PRIME SPACE IN THE LAYOUT OF THE COLUMN DECORATION IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

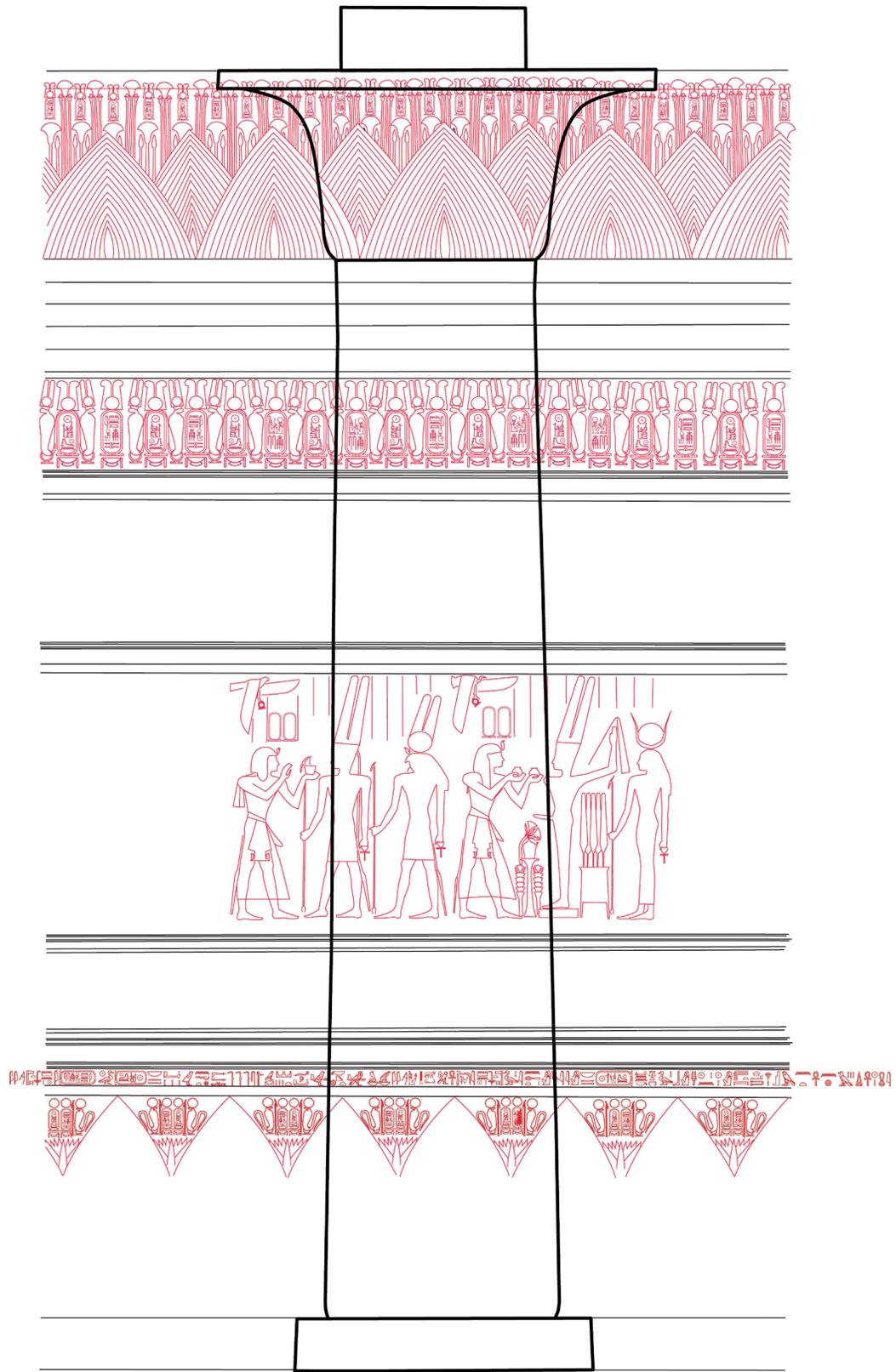


Plan S. Columns with the cartouches of Ramesses IV inscribed inside decorated scenes of Ramesses II.



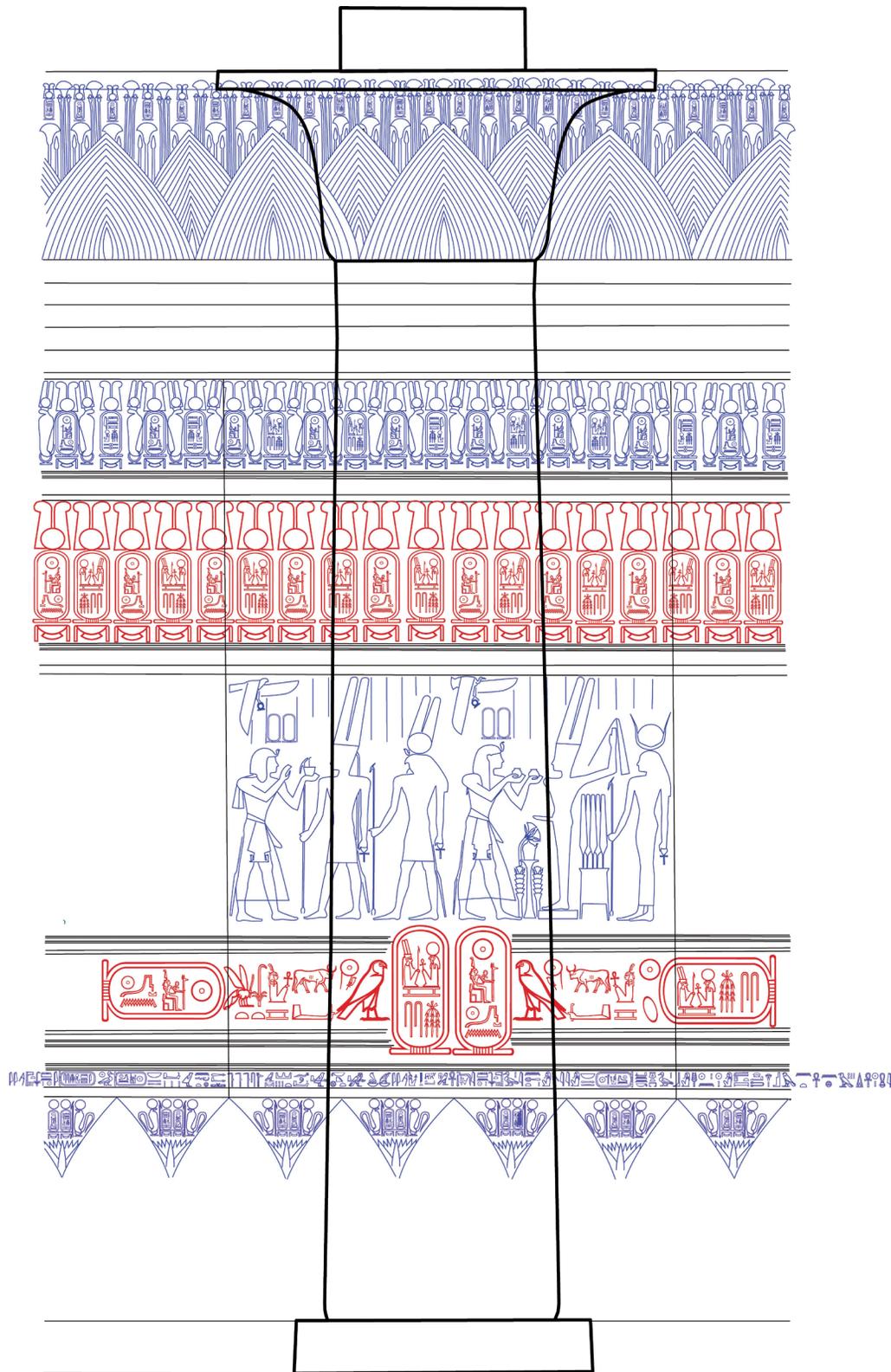
■ Sety I, Ramesses II (phase 1, palimpsest; phase 2)

Diagram 1. Decoration of small columns under the reign of Sety I and Ramesses II (phases 1-2).



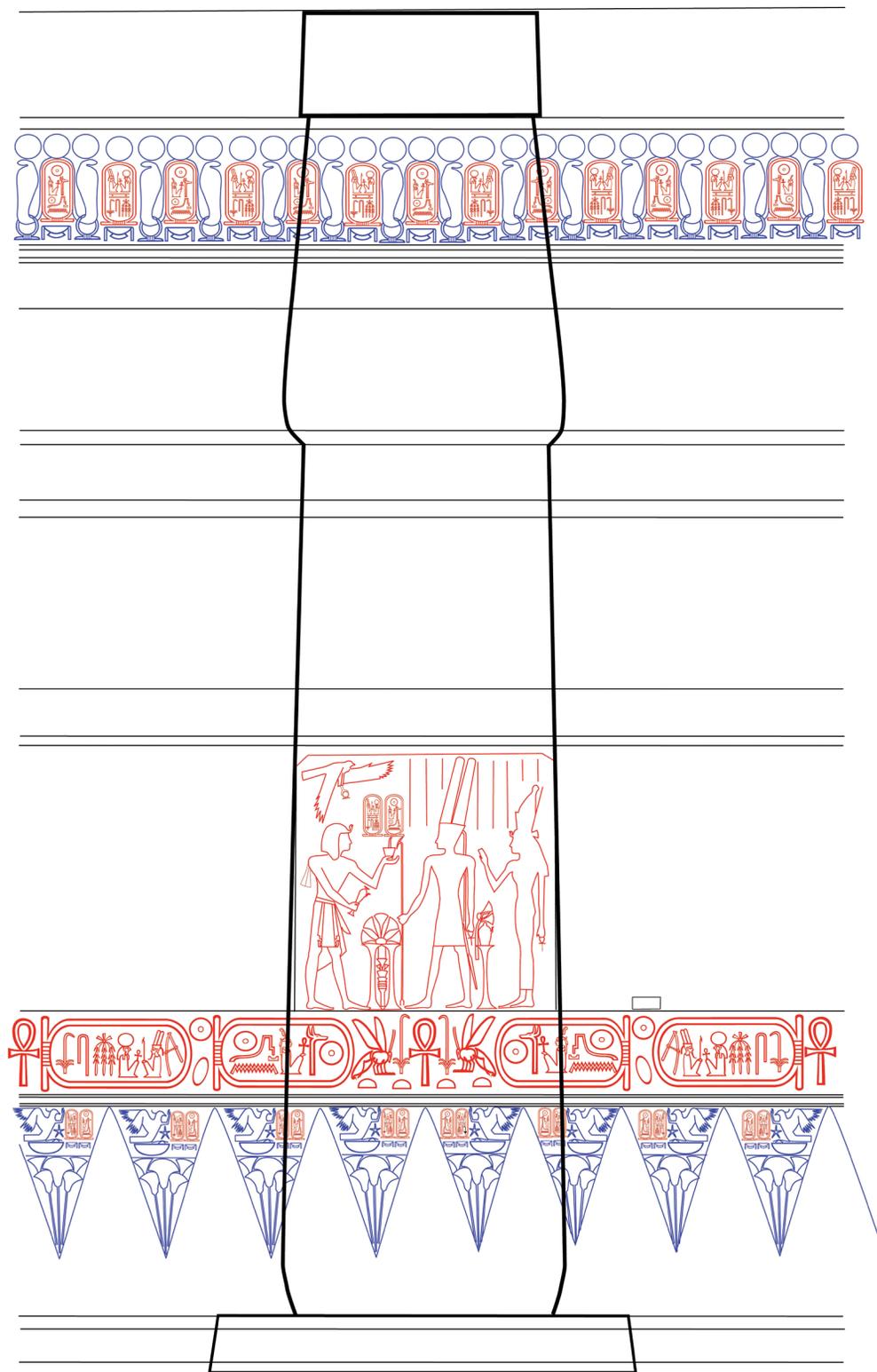
■ Ramesses II (phase 1, palimpsest)

Diagram 2. Decoration of large columns under the reign of Ramesses II (phase 1).



- Ramesses II (phase 3, added decoration)
- Ramesses II (phase 3, re-carving)

Diagram 3. Decoration of large columns under the reign of Ramesses II (phase 3).



■ Ramesses II (phase 3, recarving and added decoration)

■ Earlier phase of decoration

Diagram 4. Decoration of small columns under the reign of Ramesses II (phase 3).

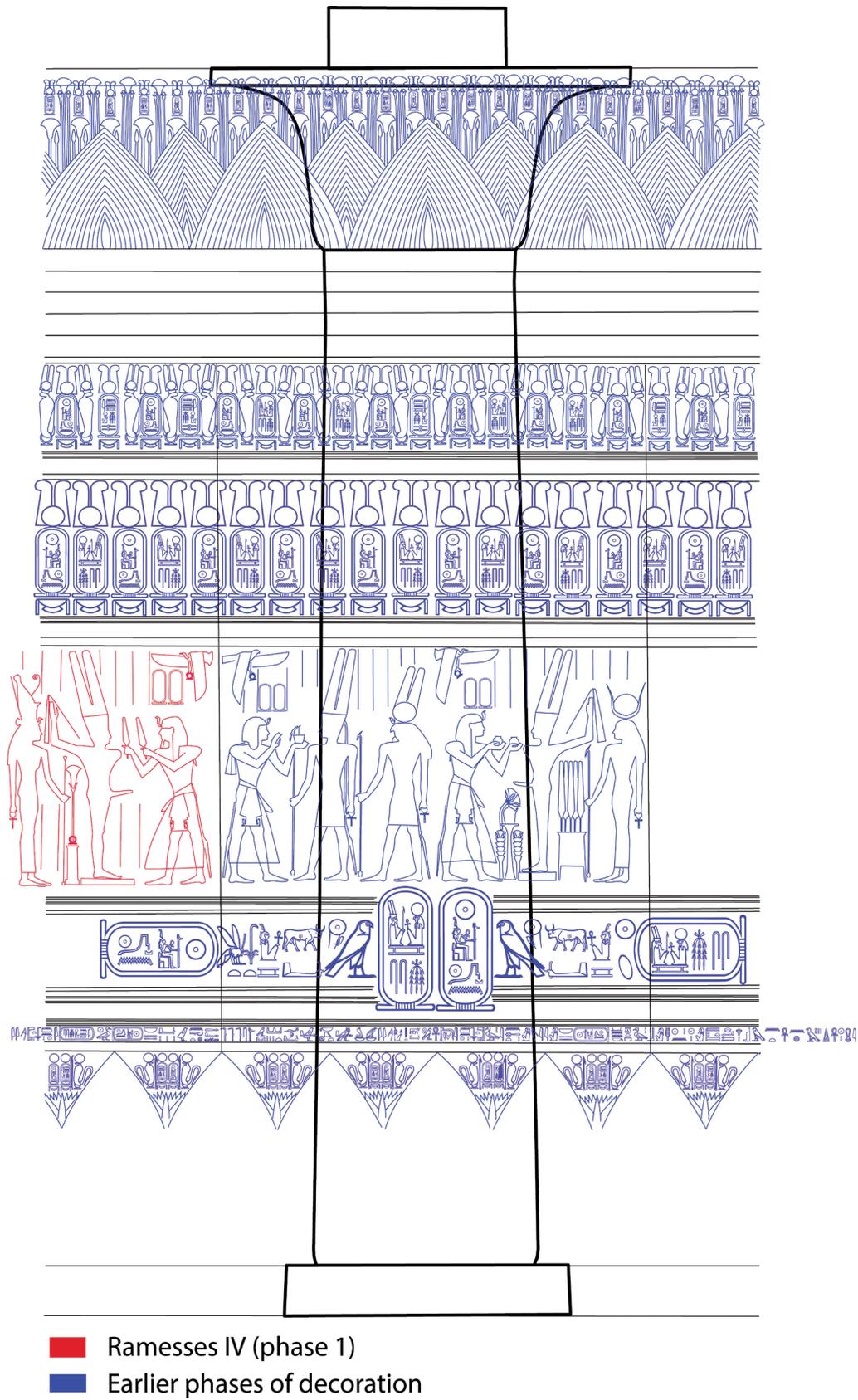


Diagram 5. Decoration of large columns under the reign of Ramesses IV (phase 1).



Fig. 1. The Hypostyle Hall inside the Temple of Amen-Re at Karnak.



Fig. 2. Original cartouche of Ramesses II nomen – *R'-ms-sw* (phase 1) under recarved nomen of the king - *R'-ms-ss* (phase 3).



Fig. 3. Original cartouche of Ramesses II *prenomen* - *Wsr-mꜣ't-R' ir-n-R'* (phase 1) under recarved *prenomen* of the king - *Wsr-mꜣ't-R' stp-n-R'*.

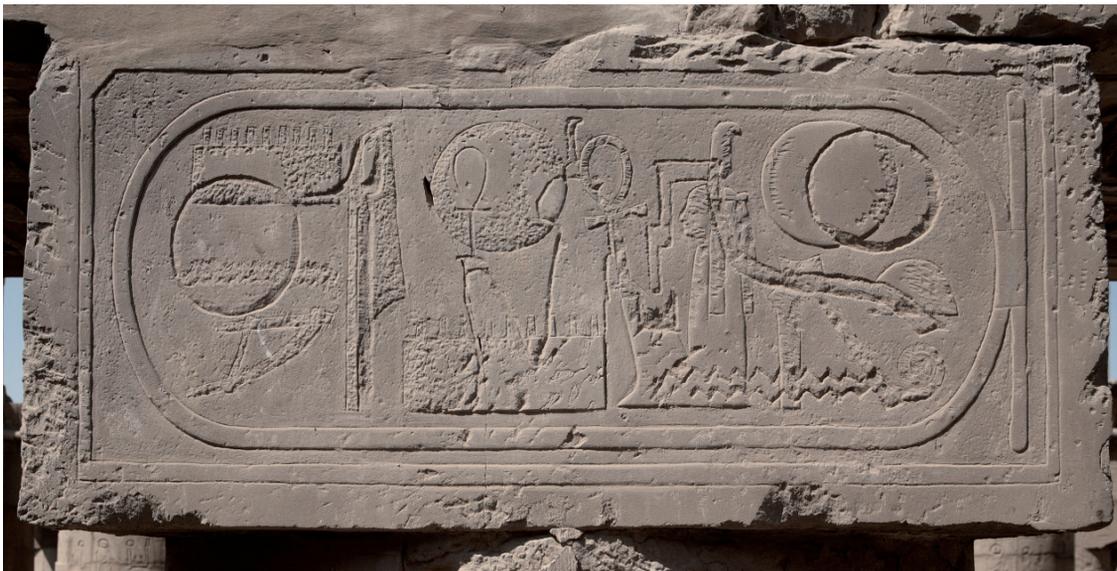


Fig. 4. Recarved *prenomen* of Ramesses II (phase 4) over original *prenomen* of Sety I (phase 2).



Fig. 5. Figure of Sety I with his torso leaning forward.



Fig. 6. Recarved cartouches of Ramesses II (phase 3) over original cartouches of the same king (phase 1) on column 5.



Fig. 7. Base of column 69 with large cartouches of Ramesses IV carved solely on areas facing the main East-West axis of the Hall.



Fig. 8. Abacus 75 north showing the cartouche of Ramesses II being only partially recarved (the *n*-wave sign in the epithet *stp-n-R'* is unfinished).



Fig. 9. Abacus 80 north showing the right hand side of the recarved cartouche of Ramesses II left unfinished.



Fig. 10. Finely recarved rekhyet-birds, cartouches and *nbw*-signs of Ramesses II on section of column 77 facing the main East-West axis of the Hall.



Fig. 11. Partially recut rekhjet-birds, cartouches and *nbw*-signs of Ramesses II on section of column 75 facing away from the main East-West axis of the Hall.

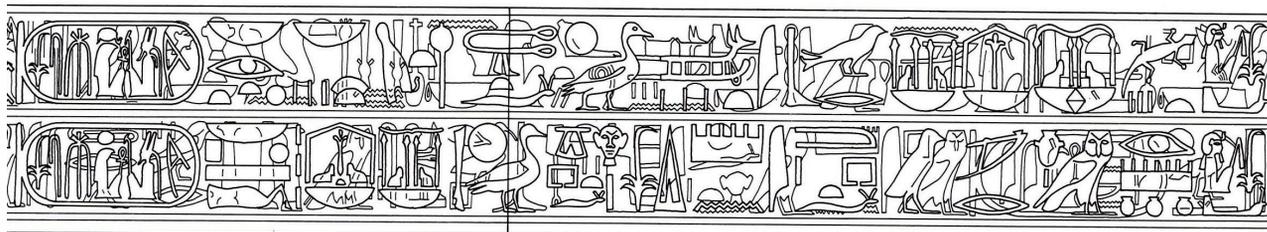


Fig. 12. Architrave no. 10 with original inscription of Sety I under recarved text of Ramesses II alluding to the many sed-feasts celebrated by the latter king.



Fig. 13-13a. Column 20 showing a misspelled cartouche of Ramesses II (picture on the left) with a correct variant of the same name (picture on the on the right).



Fig. 14. Upper section of column 112 with the *nomen* of king Sety I written with the *mr-n-Pth* epithet.



Fig. 15. Main scene carved on column 111 showing the *nomen* of king Sety I written with the *mr-n-Pth* epithet.

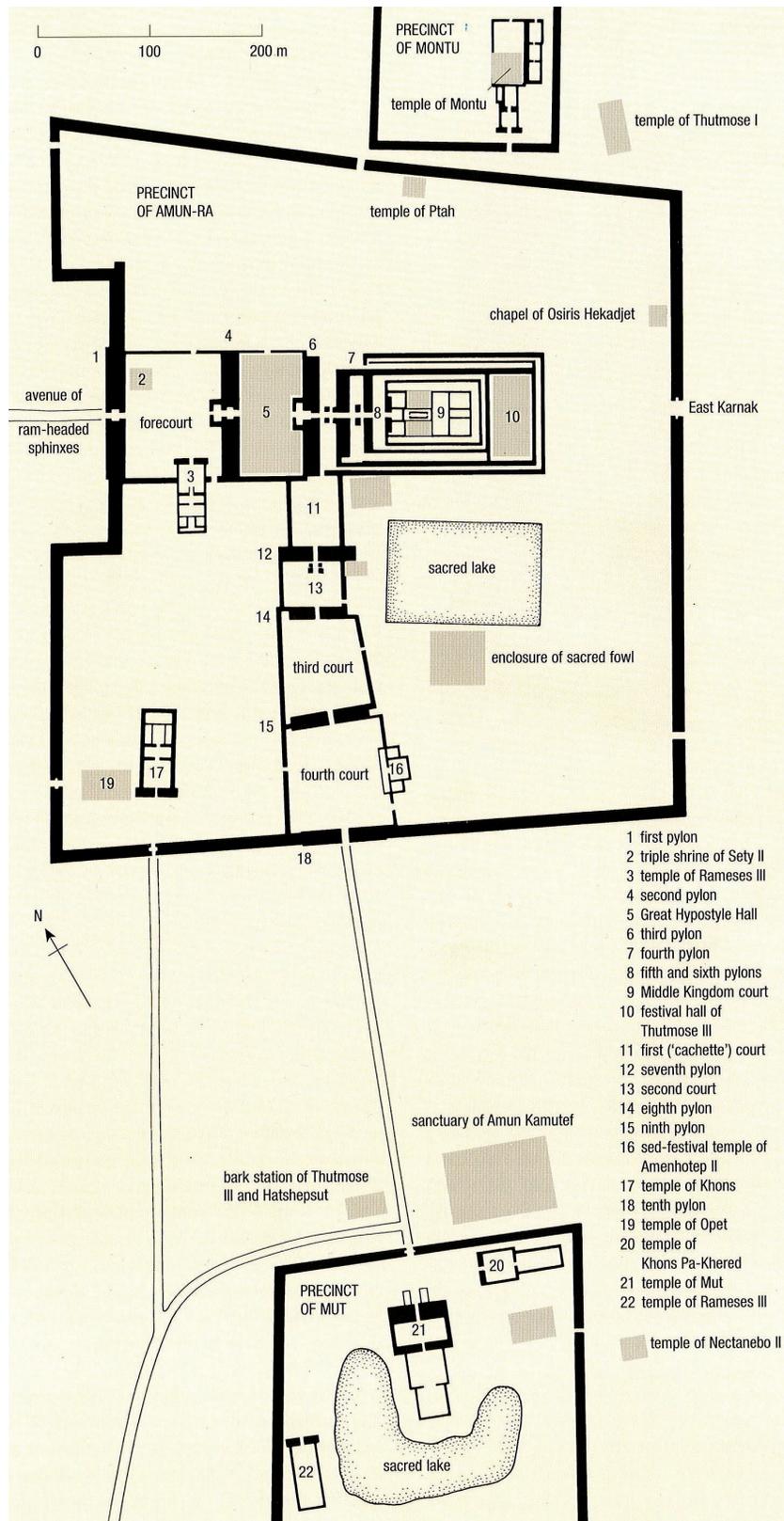


Fig. 16. Plan of Karnak precincts showing the temple of Ptah to the north of the Hypostyle Hall and the temple of Khonsu (numbered 17) to the south.

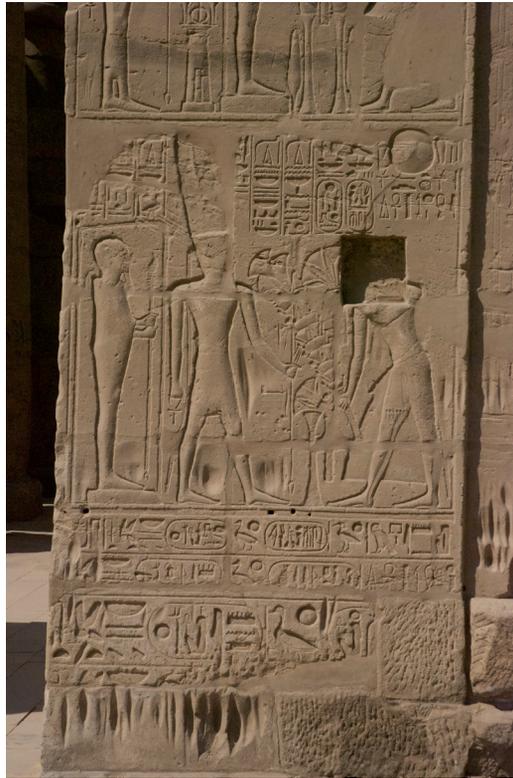


Fig. 17. Images of Ptah and Amun-Re carved by Sety I on the exterior west jamb of the central doorway of the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall.



Fig. 18. Prenomen of Ramesses IV written with the epithet *stp-n-Imn* using the *n*-wave sign.



Fig. 19. Prenomen of Ramesses IV written with the epithet *stp-n-Ġmn* using the *n*-crown sign.



Fig. 20. Cartouches of Ramesses IV added inside a scene originally carved by Ramesses II on a column facing the North-South axis (south side).



Fig. 21. Later insertion of the depiction of Osiris and his mound on Ramesses II's enclosure wall, in the vicinity of the ptolemaic "Osirian Catacombs".

ENGLISH SUMMARIES

MICHEL AZIM (†), LUC GABOLDE

“Le dispositif à escalier, puits et canalisation situé au nord-ouest du lac sacré : une *dꜣdꜣ(.t)* ?”, p. 1-21.

Architectural remains consisting of a plate-form with a stepped ramp and a well communicating with a subterranean canal system linking the Sacred Lake with the Nile had been observed by Georges Legrain to the north-west of the Sacred Lake. It is suggested here that it formed a device allowing the flow of water in and out of the lake to be regulated, together with an associated ceremonial podium. Several texts lead to the conclusion that a regulation of the lake level was essential for the accomplishment of ritual navigations on the lake. The platform and the pit used in order to open and close the canal system are possibly alluded to in a text of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep.

SÉBASTIEN BISTON-MOULIN

“Un nouvel exemplaire de la *Stèle de la restauration de Toutânkhamon à Karnak*”, p. 23-38.

Publication of a new copy of the *Restoration stela* of King Tutankhamun reused as a libation table after pharaonic times, and identified in 2011 in a storeroom inside Karnak temple.

SÉBASTIEN BISTON-MOULIN

“À propos de deux documents d’Ahmosis à Karnak. *Karnak Varia* (§ 1-2)”, p. 39-49.

The first part of this paper is a new examination of the carving of the date on the “year 17” block of King NebphetyRe Ahmose at Karnak which led to a reconsideration of the orientation of the moon sign in his birth name during his reign as a chronological criterion. The second part deals with an unpublished fragment of the lunette of the *Tempest stela* stored in the Cheikh Labib magazine at Karnak which allows one of the oldest attestations of the rite of “driving the calves” to be identified.

MANSOUR BORAİK, CHRISTOPHE THIERS

“Une chapelle consacrée à Khonsou sur le dromos entre le temple de Mout et le Nil ?”, p. 51-62.

Publication of loose blocks found in 2005 during the work of the dewatering project south-west of Karnak temple. They were dedicated by Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos to Khonsu the child. The hypothesis is that they belonged to a small chapel which was built close to the dromos leading from Mut temple to the Nile, westward

of the north-south dromos linking Karnak and Luxor temples. It thus could be associated with the visit of the god Khonsu at Djeme.

STÉPHANIE BOULET

“Étude céramologique préliminaire des campagnes de fouille de la chapelle d’Osiris Ounnefer Neb-Djefau 2013-2014”, p. 63-79.

For the past two years investigations in the chapel dedicated to Osiris Wennefer *Neb-djefau* have revealed news ceramic contexts dating to the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. These corpora permit a finely detailed analysis of the development of the pottery industry from the Theban area to be established.

In this article, I present some of these ceramic sets and their contributions to the analysis of ceramological development during the first millennium BC. Ceramic production dating to mid-8th century BC are a particular focus. At this time, technical and morphological changes can be observed in the ceramic industry of Thebes that give rise to the specific ceramic production of the Late Period.

LAURENT COULON, DAMIEN LAISNEY

“Les édifices des divines adoratrices Nitocris et Ânkhnesnéferibrê au nord-ouest des temples de Karnak (secteur de Naga Malgata)”, p. 81-171.

The aim of this article is to gather and analyze the available data concerning the buildings of the Saite divine adoratrices in the area now partly covered by the modern village of Naga Malgata, to the north-west of the temples of Karnak. The starting point is a thorough survey of the various sources and records concerning this sector from the beginning of the XIXth century till today. Among the documents collected, the report and photographs of Maurice Pillet in the 1920s are the most informative as they give many details about a large building inscribed in the name of the divine adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre and a smaller building, with well-preserved reliefs, showing the induction of the divine adoratrice Nitocris. Using additional photographs, including aerial views, plans from various periods, and results of recent fieldwork on the site, the archaeological data provided by M. Pillet’s survey have been completed and these two Saite building, as well as several additional constructions around them, have been accurately located. In addition, several related inscriptions allow the identification of Ankhnesneferibre’s building as the palace of the divine adoratrice, which was built according to a model already attested under Nitocris, as stated in an inscription of her majordom Ibi. More generally, the area of Naga Malgata is to be identified as the quarter of the divine adoratrices, which was also probably the living place of the members of her administration and her court of female followers, “the harem of Amun”.

GABRIELLA DEMBITZ

“Une scène d’offrande de Maât au nom de Pinedjem I^{er} sur la statue colossale dite de Ramsès II à Karnak. *Karnak Varia* (§ 3)”, p. 173-180.

Publication of a Maat offering scene of Pinudjem I that was carved on the pyramidion of the obelisk-shaped back pillar of a colossal statue of pink granite, which stands in front of the north tower of the second pylon at Karnak. The statue was attributed to Ramesses II, but was usurped and erected by Pinudjem I, great army commander and high priest of Amun of the 21st Dynasty.

BENJAMIN DURAND

“Un four métallurgique d’époque ptolémaïque dans les annexes du temple de Ptah à Karnak”, p. 181-188.

The excavations at Ptah temple since 2008 have allowed, during the 2014 campaign, the discovery of a metallurgical kiln in a Ptolemaic level. Unfortunately the damage caused by Legrain’s work at the end of the

19th century has isolated this structure from any evidence of its production. Nevertheless, built with red bricks and quite well preserved, this kiln presents a shape that seems otherwise unattested. Analysis of its technical characteristics is significant as future investigations could produce parallels. The good preservation of this example could therefore be useful background for this next stage of research.

AURÉLIA MASSON

“Toward a New Interpretation of the Fire at North-Karnak? A Study of the Ceramic from the Building NKF35”, p. 189-213.

This paper challenges the traditional dating of the fire which destroyed North Karnak through the analysis of ceramics discovered in a razed mud brick building- NKF35 - located west of the sanctuary of Montu. The fire has previously been attributed to the invasion of Cambyses II in 525BC, but we show that the structure NKF35 was most likely burnt in an earlier period. Statistical study of the types of vessels gives us a hint as to the nature and possible functions of this building found in the vicinity of the Chapel of Osiris Nebdjet, which is likely to be contemporary.

FRÉDÉRIC PAYRAUDEAU

“The Chapel of Osiris Nebdjet/Padedankh in North-Karnak. An Epigraphic Survey”, p. 215-235.

The aim of the epigraphic survey carried out *in situ* in North Karnak (during November 2008), in the Karnak magazines and in the Cairo Museum (January and June 2009) was to collect the different sources related to the chapel of Osiris-Nebdjet. Located in the western part of the site, the chapel was found by Legrain in the first years of XXth century but needed more precise information on its original location and its date. The survey permits a more precise chronology for the building-phases of this monument during the Dynasties XXV and XXVI to be proposed and the probable cultic dedication of the chapel to both Osiris Nebdjet and Osiris-Padedankh to be confirmed.

RENAUD PIETRI

“Remarques sur un remploi du temple de Khonsou et sur les hipponymes royaux au Nouvel Empire”, p. 237-242.

This article concerns a reused block in the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak. The block is inscribed with two columns of hieroglyphs, giving the beginning of a $htr \text{ } \text{ } tp(y) n(y) hm=f$ formula and the name of a horse's team, $Ptpt(w)-h\text{ } \text{ } s.wt$. Royal horse names and their presentation in monumental scenes are discussed, as is the question of the dating of the block

MOHAMED RAAFAT ABBAS

“The Triumph Scene and Text of Merenptah at Karnak”, p. 243-252.

The triumph scenes of the pharaohs are the longest-lasting and best-attested iconographic motif of Egyptian culture. As stated by many historians and Egyptologists, they are a purely formal representation of Pharaoh's timeless role as victor for Egypt and its gods, as also confirmed here. The triumph scenes of the Ramesside warrior pharaohs in which the king is represented smiting different groups of northern and southern enemies with his mace and in the presence of Amun-Re were usually displayed to glorify their victories. The triumph scene and text of Merenptah, which is located at the south end of the inner face of the eastern wall of the “Cour de la Cachette” at Karnak temple, is one of the most significant and important historical sources for Merenptah's reign; it sheds light on new aspects of his military events and campaigns in Asia and Nubia. Some recent Egyptological studies dealing with the historical texts and battle reliefs of Merenptah in Karnak and elsewhere provide valuable information that could allow a different historical reading and interpretation of the Karnak

triumph scene and text. This paper presents a new study of the triumph scene and text of Merenptah at Karnak in light of this context.

JEAN REVEZ, PETER J. BRAND

“The Notion of Prime Space in the Layout of the Column Decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak”, p. 253-310.

Artists who decorated pharaonic monuments had a clear understanding of the relative value of the different parts of buildings in relation to their degree of exposure and visibility in prestigious locations, especially along the processional axis. In this respect, the 134 gigantic columns that once stood inside the Ramesside Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak offer an excellent case study. The aim of the present article is first to define what spaces inside the Hall, and on each individual column, were perceived as having the highest priority, on the principle that the areas inside the building and the sections of the columns that were the first to be decorated with scenes and inscriptions were likely deemed by the Ancient Egyptians to be the most valuable. We will also use three related criteria to define the concept of “prime space” in relation to certain epigraphic characteristics of the column stereotyped decoration in the Great Hypostyle Hall: (1) evidence for recarving, a practice that demonstrates that prized space can be repurposed; (2) the varying quality of workmanship; and (3) the exceptional nature of certain decorative motifs we call “geographical markers” that stand out from an otherwise very uniform program of decoration.

HOURIG SOUROUZIAN

“Le mystérieux sphinx de Karnak retrouvé à Alexandrie”, p. 313-326.

The statue of an enigmatic sphinx of Amun with an exceptional iconography was seen and photographed in Karnak in 1858; since then its position had remained unknown. This sphinx has been recently rediscovered by the author in Alexandria. It is quite well preserved, even if it was completely painted white in modern times. It represents the god Amun as a sphinx with a lion body and human head wearing the crown of Amon. The high feathers once placed at the top of the crown are now missing. From the style and characteristic features the sphinx can be dated to the reign of Tutankhamun. This sphinx with its unique iconography enriches the repertoire of sphinx statuary with a new type, and adds a new chapter to the sad history of dispersed monuments.

AURÉLIE TERRIER

“Ébauche d’un système de classification pour les portes de temples. Étude de cas dans l’enceinte d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, p. 327-346.

Karnak was a great religious center from the Middle Kingdom and remained active until Roman times despite many modifications. Its exceptional longevity and state of preservation make it particularly suitable for a study of temple doors. 245 examples were documented – a much richer sample than in any other Egyptian temple – and allows a stylistic and chronological typology to be proposed, following specific criteria detailed here. The results of this study may hopefully lay the foundation for the archaeological analysis of temple doors in Egypt more generally.

CHRISTOPHE THIERS

“*Membra disiecta ptolemaica* (III)”, p. 347-35.

Third part of the publication of Ptolemaic loose blocks from Karnak. They belong to the reigns of Ptolemy IX Soter to Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos and enhance our knowledge of the building and decoration programmes at Karnak.

ANAÏS TILLIER

“Un linteau au nom d’Auguste. *Karnak Varia* (§ 4)”, p. 357-370.

In 1969 the excavations of the pathway of the first pylon of the temple of Karnak unearthed a small lintel (142 x 36 x 34,5 cm) inscribed in the name of Augustus. Unpublished until now, this contribution provides photographs, facsimiles, translation and commentary of the block and its decoration which consists of four offering scenes to Amun, Mut, Khonsu, Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef and Min Coptite, lord of Akhmim.

تم تأريخه بأنه يرجع إلى عهد الملك توت عنخ آمون. هذا التمثال بنقوشه الفريدة يعتبر مرجعا يثري صناعة تمثال أبو الهول بشكل جديد، ويضيف فصلا جديدا للتاريخ الحزين للآثار التي فقدت مواقعها.

AURÉLIE TERRIER

مسودة لنظام تصنيف أبواب المعابد. دراسة حالة في سور آمون-رع. ٣٤٦-٣٢٧

كان الكرنك مركز ديني عظيم خلال الدولة الوسطى وظل كذلك إلى وقت الحكم الروماني حيث أدخل عليه العديد من التعديلات، إن قدمه وحالته الجيدة جعلت منه بالتحديد مكان مناسب لدراسة أبواب المعبد. هناك ٢٤٥ نموذج قد سجلت كأكثر النماذج ثراء عن أى معبد مصري آخر، وقد سمحت هذه النماذج بتقدم علم النقوش والكتابات ويرجع ذلك إلى الطبيعة الخاصة بالنقوش هنا، ونأمل أن هذه الدراسة تكون قد أسست لعلم دراسة نقوش أبواب المعابد في مصر بشكل عام.

CHRISTOPHE THIERS

٣٥٦-٣٤٧. *Membra disiecta ptolemaica* (III)

يثرى الجزء الثالث من منشور الأحجار البطلمية المتناثرة في الكرنك، الذي يرجع إلى حكم بطليموس التاسع سوتر وإلى بطليموس الثانى عشر Neos Dionysus معلوماتنا عن البناء وبرامج النقوش بالكرنك.

ANAÏS TILLIER

٣٥٧-٣٦٩. *Karnak Varia* (§ 4). عتب بإسم أغسطس.

سنة ١٩٦٩ كشفت الحفريات فى ممر الصرح الأول بالكرنك عن عتب باب صغير مقاس (١٤٢x٣٦x٣٤سم) تحمل إسم أغسطس وهي غير منشور حتى الآن هذا الإكتشاف يقدم صوراً وصوراً طبق الأصل وترجمات وتعليق على الحجر ونقوشه التى تتكون من أربعة مشاهد تقديم قرابين إلى آمون، موت، خنسو، مين-آمون-رع-كاموتف ومين قفط رب أحميم.

FRÉDÉRIC PAYRAUDEAU

مقصورة Osiris Nebdjet/Padedankh شمال الكرنك، تحليل للنقوش. ٢٣٥-٢١٠

بدأ تحليل النقوش في شمال الكرنك في نوفمبر ٢٠٠٨، وفي مجلة الكرنك ومتحف القاهرة (يناير - يونيو ٢٠٠٩) خصصت لجمع مصادر مختلفة تتعلق بمقصورة Osiris Nebdjet والتي تقع في الجزء الغربي من الموقع، أكتشفت المقصورة بواسطة Legrain في السنوات الأولى من القرن العشرين ولكنها تحتاج إلى معلومات أكثر دقة عن موقعها الأصلي وتاريخها. توضح الدراسة الترتيب الزمني الدقيق للمبنى ومراحله خلال الأسرتين الخامسة والعشرين والسادسة والعشرين ولتؤكد تكريس المقصورة لكليهما Osiris Nebdjet و Osiris Padedankh.

RENAUD PIETRI

ملاحظات على إعادة استخدام معبد خنسو وأسماء الخيول الملكية في الدولة الحديثة. ٢٤٢-٢٣٧

يتعلق هذا المقال بحجر في معبد الإله خنسو في الكرنك، الحجر يتمثل في عامودين من الكتابة الهيروغليفية تنص في البداية على $hm=f n(y) tp(y) htr$ وإسم فريق الخيول، $Ptpt(w)-h3s.wt$ وأسماء الخيول الملكية وتمثيلها على النقش الأثري ويبقى السؤال عن تاريخ الحجر.

MOHAMED RAAFAT ABBAS

مشهد لإنتصار وكتابات مرنبتاح في الكرنك. ٢٥٢-٢٤٣

تعتبر مشاهد الإنتصار للفراعنة من أطولها عمرا وشاهدا على علم الأيقنة في الحضارة المصرية القديمة، وكما سجل العديد من علماء التاريخ والمصريات، تعد هذه المشاهد شاهد رسمي وممثل للدور التاريخي للحضارة المصرية وآلهتها، وكما هو مؤكد هنا في مشاهد إنتصار المحاربون المصريون الرعامسة حيث يمثل الملك وهو يضرب الأعداء الشماليين والجنوبيين بصولجانه في حضور الإله آمون رع حيث عادة ما يمثل حاضرا لهذه المشاهد ليبارك الإنتصارات. مشهد الإنتصار وكتابات مرنبتاح الموجودة في الطرف الشمالي على الوجه الداخلي للحائط الشرقي ل(فناء الخبيئة) في معبد الكرنك، يعد من أروع وأهم المصادر التاريخية لفترة حكم مرنبتاح والتي تسلط الأضواء على جوانب جديدة للأحداث والحملات العسكرية التي قام بها في آسيا والنوبة. تناولت بعض الدراسات الحديثة الكتابات التاريخية ونقوش المعارك الحربية لمرنبتاح في الكرنك وأماكن أخرى ومعلومات قيمة تمكن القراءة التاريخية والترجمة لمشهد إنتصار الكرنك وكتابته. هذه الورقة تقدم دراسة جديدة لمشهد الإنتصار والكتابة الخاصة بمرنبتاح في الكرنك في ضوء هذا السياق.

JEAN REVEZ, PETER BRAND

فكرة المساحة المميزة في تصميم تزيين الأعمدة في صالة بهو الأعمدة في معبد الكرنك. ٣١٠-٢٥٣

أدرك الفنانون الذين قاموا بتزيين الآثار الفرعونية العلاقة الوثيقة بين الأجزاء المختلفة للمباني وأهمية إختيارهم لأماكن مميزة لرسماتهم خصوصا في (المحور الموكبي)، ومن هذا السياق نجد الأعمدة الـ ١٣٤ العملاقة بداخل قاعة الرعامسة الكبرى في معبد آمون رع في الكرنك تقدم خير دليل على إحترافية الدراسة والتنفيذ. الهدف من هذا المقال هو تحديد في أي مساحة داخل القاعة وأي عامود بالتحديد كان المسئول عن إختيار أولوية النقش داخل المبنى وأي الأجزاء من الأعمدة تم تزيينها أولا بالرسومات والكتابات وأعتبرها قدماء المصريين من أقيمهم. سنستخدم أيضا ثلاث معايير ذات صلة لتعريف مفهوم (الموقع - المساحة المميزة) وعلاقتها بخصائص النقوش النمطية للعامود في قاعة بهو الأعمدة :

١. وجود أدلة تثبت إعادة النحت (تدريب - مسودة) تظهر أن الموقع المختار يمكن تغييره أو إعادة إستخدامه.
٢. تباين الجودة في الأيدي العاملة
٣. الطبيعة الخاصة لبعض النقوش التي نسميها (العلامات الجغرافية) والتي تخرج عن سياق النقوش النمطية

HOURIG SOUROUZIAN

أبو الهول الكرنك الغامض الذي عشر عليه في الأسكندرية. ٣٢٦-٣١١

وجد تمثال آمون أبو الهول ذات طبيعة نقوش خاصة وتم تصويره في الكرنك سنة ١٨٥٨ ومنذ ذلك الحين ظل موقعه غير معروف، تم إعادة إكتشافه حديثا بواسطة كاتب في الأسكندرية وهو في حالة جيدة مع أنه تم طلاؤه بالكامل باللون الأبيض مؤخرا، وهو يجسد الإله آمون بجسد أسد ورأس إنسان يلبس تاج آمون، وكان هناك ريش على قمة التمثال ولكنه وقع، من خلال خصائص وشكل التمثال

STÉPHANIE BOULET

٧٩-٦٣ . ٢٠١٤-٢٠١٣ Osiris Ounnefer Neb-Djefau أثناء حملات تنقيب مقصورة

خلال السنتين الماضيتين جرت أبحاث ترجع إلى Osiris Wennefer Neb-djefau كشفت عن أجزاء خزفية ترجع إلى العصور الوسطى والمتأخرة، هذه الأجزاء وضحت تطور صناعة الخزف والتي نشأت في طيبة. في هذا المقال أقدم لكم بعض هذه المجموعات الخزفية وإسهامها في توضيح تطور الخزفيات خلال الألفية الأولى قبل الميلاد. نجد ان المصنوعات الخزفية التي ترجع إلى منتصف القرن الثامن قبل الميلاد لها طابع خاص في تلك الفترة، وهناك تغييرات تقنية وشكلية واضحة على المصنوعات الخزفية بعد ذلك والتي تطورت بمرور الوقت حتى العصور المتأخرة.

LAURENT COULON, DAMIEN LAISNEY

١٧١-٨١ منشآت العبادات الإلهيات Nitocris et Ankhnesneferibre في شمال-غرب معابد الكرنك (قطاع نجع ملقطة).

الهدف من هذا المقال هو تجميع وتحليل المعلومات المتاحة التي تتعلق بمباني الإله الصاوى في المنطقة المغطاه جزئيا بقريه حديثه وهى نجع ملقطة، والتي تقع إلى الشمال الغربى لمعبد الكرنك. نقطة البداية هي من خلال بحث فى المصادر والسجلات المتعدده التي تتعلق بتلك الفترة الزمنية من بدايات القرن التاسع عشر حتى اليوم. ومن خلال الوثائق التي جمعت وجد تقرير وصور ل Maurice Pilet ترجع إلى عام ١٩٢٠ وهى من أكثرها دقة لإحتوائها على العديد من التفاصيل عن مبنى كبير وصف بإسم العابدة الإلهية Ankhnesneferibre ومبنى آخر صغير به نقوش مازالت واضحة تحت على العباده الإلهية Nitocris وبالععمل الميداني وإستخدام صور وخرائط من أزمنة مختلفة وبفضل المعلومات التي سجلها Maurice Pilet فى تقريره إكتمل البحث عن هاذين المبنىين وكذلك العديد من الأبنية المحيطة بهما قد تحددت أماكنها بدقة، فضلا عن نقوش أخرى وجدت أدت إلى التعرف على مبنى Ankhnesneferibre والذي كان قصرا للعبادة الإلهية والذي تم بناؤه مطابقا لنموذج Nitocris. وفى هذه النقوش يتضح أن منطقة نجع ملقطة كانت معروفة كحى العبادات الإلهيات والتي كانت غالبا مكان يعيش فيه أعضاء إدارتها وأعضاء محكمتها الإناث "حريم آمون".

GABRIELLA DEMBITZ

١٨٠-١٧٣ نقش قربان لماعت باسم بيندجم الأول على التمثال العملاق المسمى رمسيس الثانى بالكرنك. Karnak Varia (§ 3).

منشور لماعت يعرض مشهدا لبيندجم الأول منقوش على الدعامة الخلفية ذات شكل الخنجر على تمثال ضخم من الجرانيت الوردي يقف أمام البرج الشمالي للبوابه الثانية لمعبد الكرنك، ينسب التمثال إلى رمسيس الثانى ولكن تم سرقته بواسطة بيندجم الأول القائد الأعلى للجيش والكاهن الأكبر لآمون فى الأسرة ٢١.

BENJAMIN DURAND

١٨٨-١٨١ فرن تعدين يرجع للعصر البطلمى بملحقات معبد بتاح فى الكرنك؟

الحفريات فى معبد بتاح - المستمرة منذ عام ٢٠٠٨ كشفت حملة عام ٢٠١٤ عن وجود فرن لتقويم وتشكيل المعادن يعود إلى العهد البطلمى ولكن لسوء الحظ التلف الذي تسببت فيه حملة Legrain فى نهاية القرن التاسع عشر قد محى أى أثر يدل على تاريخ إنشاؤه، وقد تم بناؤه بالطوب الأحمر المحفوظ جيدا ومع أنه فقد أى أثر عن تاريخ بناؤه إلا أن إستمرار البحث فى تقنيته وخصائصه يمكن أن يكون دليلا لباحثين آخرين ربما يجدوا مستقبلا المزيد من المعلومات وأيضا طريقة حفظه تعد خطوة جيدة كى يبدأ منها الباحثون الجدد.

AURÉLIA MASSON

٢١٣-١٨٩ نحو ترجمة جديدة لحريق الكرنك الشمالى؟ دراسة للخزف من المبنى NKF35.

هذه الدراسة تعد تحديا للتأريخ التقليدي للحريق الذي دمر الجزء الشمالى من معبد الكرنك، ومن خلال تحليل بقايا الخزف الذي تم إكتشافه ورصده فى مبنى من الطوب اللبن NKF35 والذي يقع غرب قدس أقداس منتو. كان الحريق ينسب فيما مضى إلى غزو قمبيز الثانى سنة ٥٢٥ قبل الميلاد ولكن هذه الدراسه ترجح ان المبنى غالبا ما تم حرقه فى تاريخ سابق لهذا الغزو، وهناك دراسة إحصائية لهذه الأوانى الخزفية تعطينا لنا مؤشر عن طبيعة هذا المبنى وانه كان بجوار مقصورة Osiris Nebdjet التي ترجع لنفس العصر.

الملخصات العربية

MICHEL AZIM (†), LUC GABOLDE

تصميم السلم والبنر والقنوات الموجود شمال- غرب البحيرة المقدسة *d3d3.t*؟ ٢١-١

بقايا معمارية تتكون من منصة وسلالم منحدرية متصلة بشكل جيد مع نظام القنوات الجوفية الذي يربط البحيرة المقدسة بالنيل تم إكتشفها بواسطة Georges Legrain في الناحية الشمالية الغربية من البحيرة المقدسة. ومن المرجح انها كونت منظومة تسمح بتدفق المياه لداخل وخارج البحيرة حتى ينتظم مستوى الماء مع المنصة الإحتفالية المرتبطة بها. هناك عدة نصوص أدت إلى إدراك أهمية إنتظام مستوى البحيرة الذي كان أساسيا وضروريا لطقوس الإبحار المقدس. المنصة والحفرة تستخدمان لفتح وإغلاق نظام القناة وقد أشار لهما في نص للكاهن الأكبر لأمون أمنحتب.

SÉBASTIEN BISTON-MOULIN

نموذج جديد للوحة ترميم الملك توت عنخ آمون بالكرنك. ٣٧-٢٣

تم نشر نسخة جديدة من لوحة توت عنخ آمون التي تم ترميمها وإعادة إستخدامها كطاولة تقديم خمور بعد العصر الفرعوني وقد تم التعرف عليها عام ٢٠١١ في مخزن داخل معبد الكرنك.

SÉBASTIEN BISTON-MOULIN

عن كتلة "عام ١٧" الخاصة بالملك أحمس. كسرة جديدة للوحة العاصفة الخاصة بالملك أحمس (§ 1-2) *Karnak Varia*. ٤٩-٣٩

الجزء الأول من هذه الورقة هو فحص جديد للتاريخ المنقوش على حجر السنة ١٧ للملك Nebphety Re Ahmose في معبد الكرنك، والذي أدى إلى إعادة النظر في تفسير رمز القمر في إسم ميلاده كترتيب زمني خلال فترة حكمه. أما الجزء الثاني فيتناول جزء لوحة (العاصفة) المخزنة في الشيخ لبيب في الكرنك والتي سمحت بالتعرف على أقدم طقس من شعائر (قيادة العجول).

MANSOUR BORAİK, CHRISTOPHE THIERS

مقصورة مكرسة للإله خنسو على طريق الكباش بين معبد موت والنيل ؟ ٦٢-٥١

أثناء العمل بمشروع نزح المياه من الجزء الجنوبي الغربي لمعبد الكرنك في عام ٢٠٠٥ وجدت أحجار متفرقة مهداه من الملك بطليموس ١٢ إلى الإله خنسو الطفل، ويفترض أن هذه الأحجار كانت مخصصة لمقصورة صغيرة تم بناءها قريبا من طريق الكباش المتجه من معبد موت إلى النيل، وبإتجاه الغرب حيث طريق الكباش من الشمال إلى الجنوب ليصل معبد الكرنك بمعبد الأقصر وبذلك تكون مجهزة لزيارة الإله خنسو في Djeme.

- ٢٤٢-٢٣٧ **Renaud Pietri**
ملاحظات على إعادة إستخدام معبد خنسو وأسماء الخيول الملكية فى الدولة الحديثة
- ٢٥٢-٢٤٣ **Mohamed Raafat Abbas**
مشهد لإنتصار وكتابات مرنبتاح فى الكرنك
- ٣١٠-٢٥٣ **Jean Revez, Peter J. Brand**
فكرة المساحة المميزة فى تصميم تزيين الأعمدة فى صالة بهو الأعمدة فى معبد الكرنك
- ٣٢٦-٣١١ **Hourig Sourouzian**
أبو الهول الكرنك الغامض الذى عثر عليه فى الأسكندرية
- ٣٤٦-٣٢٧ **Aurélie Terrier**
مسودة لنظام تصنيف أبواب المعابد. دراسة حالة فى سور أمون-رع
- ٣٥٦-٣٤٧ **Christophe Thiers**
Membra disiecta ptolemaica (III)
- ٣٥٧-٣٦٩ **Anaïs Tillier**
عتب بإسم أغسطس. *Karnak Varia* (§ 4)
- ٥٧٣-١٧٣ الملخصات الإنجليزية