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

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

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

1 The topic of the present article is a part of my unpublished Master thesis entitled “Deification of Human Beings in Ancient Egypt-Since the beginning of the Dynastic period till the end of the Roman period” which I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

**Document 1**

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

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

The text before the shrine reads:

\[ Nb-tȝwy (Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ) nb-ḫʿw (Mry-n-Ptḥ Sty) mry ḥwr nsw nṯrw \]

*Lord of the two lands, (Men-maet-Re), lord of the crowns, (Mery-en-Ptah-Sety), beloved of Amun-Re, King of the gods.*

**Document 2**

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

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

The text before the bark reads:

\[ sšm ḫw n nb-tȝwy (Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ) nb-ḫʿw (Mry-n-Ptḥ Sty) m ḥw.f n ḥhw m nṯrwt n dt \]

*The holy bark of the lord of the two lands, (Men-maet-Re), lord of the crowns, (Mery-en-Ptah Sety) in his temple of millions of years of eternity.*

Text above the bark mentions:

\[ wṯs-nfrw nsw (Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ) hwʿ-Rʿ m ḥw-nṯr nf n dt \]

*The portable shrine of the King (Men-maet-Re), heir of Re, in his temple of eternity.*

---

3 PM II, p. 408 (5-7).
4 PM II, p. 408 (5-7).
5 RITA II, 425.
8 H. Nelson, op. cit., p. 144.
9 Ibid., p. 137, fig.10; KRI I, 216.
11 H. Nelson, op. cit., p. 144; RITA I, 186.
Document 3

Location of the scene: the south wall of the western section of the vaulted chapel of Sety I at his temple of millions of years at Abydos.\(^{12}\)

Description of the scene: the bark, which is depicted inside a shrine and rests on a stand, has a prow and a stern having the king’s head surmounted with the $tif$-crown.\(^{13}\) An offering table is represented before the bark inside the shrine. Another offering table segregates Thoth who is followed by $hwf$-priest from the sacred bark. Beneath the stern a $nl$h-sign is depicted having human hands while holding a $mdw$-staff with a king’s head having a two feathered crown. Then a lotus stand followed by three statues of Sety I, Ramesses I and the royal wife Sat-Re. The bark stand is decorated with four figures of Hapy each carrying a tray. The stern of the bark has two oars. Underneath the bark there are offerings depicted.\(^{14}\)

Document 4

Location of the scene: south thickness of the doorway of Chapel [O] of Mariette in the temple of King Ramesses II in Abydos.\(^{15}\)

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

Text accompanying the scene:\(^{16}\)

\[
\text{[ỉr.n.f m mnw.f n lt.f nswt Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ ỉrt n.f ḥwt-kȝ n sšnw.f hw šms lt.f Wsỉr m ḥwt(f) nt ḥhw m rnpwt \(ȝbḏw\)]}
\[
\text{[He made from his monuments to his father Men-maat-Re building for him his ka-house] for the cult statue of the bark, his father Osiris follows in (his) temple of millions of years in Abydos.}\(^{17}\)
\]

\(^{12}\) PM VI, p. 10 (102).
\(^{15}\) Chapel [I] it is mentioned wrongly as the room of Hathor, see PM VI, 35 (23); K.P. Kuhlmann, “Der Tempel Rameses II. in Abydos, Zweiter Bericht über die Neuauflnahme”, MDAIK 38, 1982, p. 355; M. Ullmann, op. cit., p. 307, n. 1100.
\(^{16}\) The beginning of the text is lost, see A. Mariette, op. cit., pl. 20f. Kitchen completed the text as $[l.r.n.f m mnw.f n lt.f Wsỉr nb \(ȝbḏw\) ỉrt n.f $hwf-kȝ]$, see KRI II, 541, 15-16.
2. Invocation in the ḥtp-di-nsw formula (Doc. 5)

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

Document 5

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

Description of the text: King Sety I is invoked in the ḥtp-di-nsw formula by Ỉmn-m-wỉȝ who lived during the Nineteenth Dynasty.21

ḥtp-di-nsw Ḫnsw m Wȝst Nfr-ḥtp sȝ Ỉmn pr.(w) m ḥʿw.f nb-tȝwy Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ mȝʿ-ḫrw dỉ.sn ỉȝt nfrt ḥr ḫt lȝw n kȝ n sḏm ʿš m St mȝʿt ʿȝ mk […] Ỉmn-m-wỉȝ mȝʿ-ḫrw
An offering which the king gives (to) Khonsu in Thebes, (to) the good and peaceful one, (and to) the son of Amun, issued from his body, the lord of the two lands, (Mn-maat-Re), justified, that they may give a good burial after an old age to the ka of the servant in the place of truth, great of protection […] Amunemwia, justified.22

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

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

20 JE 49367.
21 Amunemwia has a tomb (No. 356) which dates back to the Nineteenth Dynasty at Deir el-Medineh, see B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1928), FIFAO 6/2, 1929, p. 118.
22 The writing of mȝʿ-ḫrw by this way frequently follows the name of women, see H. Shneider, Shabtis I, Leiden, 1977, p. 135 (d). It was added to the name of the deceased from the Middle Kingdom onwards, see G. Maspero, Études de Mythologie et archeologie I, Paris, 1893, p. 93-114. See also F.Ll. Griffith, “Stela of Mentuhetep son of Hepy”, PSBA 18, 1896, p. 200-201; R. Anthes, “The original meaning of mȝʿ-ḥrw”, INES 8, 1954, p. 21-22.
Document 6

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

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

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

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

\[ \text{snṯr.n.f sw m ḫrt.f nt ḏt.f wʿb.f nṯr sšm.f} \]

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

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

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

Document 7

Location of the scene: Karnak temple, Great Hypostyle Hall, south wall, west part, middle register 28.

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

Sety I representation: he wears a headdress surmounted by the nms-headdress, a short kilt and a ceremonial beard. He holds a ḫḏ-mace and a ‘nh-sign in his left hand. 30
Text between Ramesses II and Sety I:\[31\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Going around 4 times to his father the good god (Men-maet-Re) with the 4 nmst-vases of water.}
\end{align*}\]

Text accompanying Sety I:\[32\]

\[\begin{align*}
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), lord of the crowns, (Mery-en-Amun-Sety), justified through the great god Osiris, lord of the west.
\end{align*}\]

Document 8

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

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II in the guise of Iwn-mwt.f priest offers to a ka-statue of the deified Sety I\[35\]. An offering table laden with offerings is depicted between them.\[36\]

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

Text accompanying Sety I:\[38\]

\[\begin{align*}
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Amun-Sety), justified, the appearing of the king in the house of Amun.\[39\]
\end{align*}\]

Text between Ramesses II and Sety I:\[40\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{OIP 106, pl. 48.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{OIP 106, pl. 48.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{PM II, p. 48 (159).}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{M. Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, p. 255.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{OIP 106, pl. 72; P. Barguet, Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d’exégèse, RAPH 20, 1962, p. 67.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{OIP 106, pl. 72; W.J. Murnane, “The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I”, JNES 34, 1979, p. 176, fig. 15b.}
\end{align*}\]
An offering which the king gives (to) Geb, the hereditary prince, the great ennead and the small great ennead that they may give bread, beer, oxen, fowl, libation(s), wine, milk, pure twice to Osiris King (Menmaet-Re), justified.41

Document 9
Location of the scene: Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, interior south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, upper register, eastern half.42

Description of the scene: King Ramesses II burns incense and pours a libation on an offering table laden with offerings before a ka-statue of Sety I standing inside a shrine on a boat.43 The boat, which is made of papyrus, is preceded by a sphinx standard flanked by two staffs while the stern of the boat has two oars.44 The first staff is surmounted by Horus wearing a crown while the top of the second one is mounted by a cartouche having the king’s name flanked by two cobras. The boat is different from those represented in documents (1)-(4).

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

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[ nṯr nfr (Men-maet-Re), sȝ-Rʿ (Mry-n-Ỉmn Sty), mȝʿ-ḫrw \]
The good god, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Amun Sety), justified.

Document 10
Location of the scene: Karnak Temple, Great Hypostyle Hall, bottom register of the internal east half of the south wall.47

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

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

41 RITA II, 377.
42 PM II, p. 48 (159).
43 M. Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, p. 254.
44 OIP 106, pl. 65.
45 OIP 106, pl. 65.
46 OIP 106, pl. 65.
47 PM II, p. 47 (158).
48 OIP 106, pl. 76; P. Barguet, Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak, p. 68; M. Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, p. 255.
49 OIP 106, pl. 76.
Text accompanying Sety I.\textsuperscript{50}

\begin{center}
\textit{nṯr nfr (Mn-m-R) s.:R (Mry-n-Ĭmn Sty) di’nh ml R'}
\end{center}

The good god, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Amun Sety), given life like Re.

Document 11

Location: Chapel D at the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.\textsuperscript{51}

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

Document 12

Location: the three niches in the south wall of the temple of Kanais.\textsuperscript{53}

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

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

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

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

5. Scenes showing Sety I acting as a god

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

Temple of Sety I at el-Qurna\textsuperscript{57} (Docs. 13-20)

Document 13

Location of the scene: the eastern part of the Portico.\textsuperscript{58}

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

\textsuperscript{50} OIP 106, pl. 76.
\textsuperscript{51} PM VI, p. 38 (70).
\textsuperscript{52} A statue is mentioned for Horus. Besides, it is mentioned that there are four statues in two rows, see PM VI, p. 28-39.
\textsuperscript{55} The god could be Amun-Re (?), see PM VII, p. 409 (26); H. Gauthier, \textit{BIFAO} 17, 1917, p. 26, pl. 16; S. Schott, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 167; P.J. Brand, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{56} PM VII, p. 409 (25); H. Gauthier, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 26, pl. 15; P.J. Brand, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 280; S. Schott, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{57} It is worthy to mention that some scenes were excluded from the scope of the research as the officiant and the recipient kings cannot be identified with certainty, see P.J. Brand, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 243-244.
\textsuperscript{58} PM II, p. 409 (8-13).
\textsuperscript{59} PM II, p. 409 (8-13).
Sety I representation: he wears the long military wig surmounted by the cobra and a long kilt. He holds in his left hand the $hq咄$-scepter. The relief of Sety I is badly damaged.

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[
\text{[...] Mn-mȝʿt-[Rʿ] \[...] Mry-n-[Ptḥ] Sty \[...]}
\]

\[
\text{[...] Mn-maet-[Re], [...] Mery-en-[Ptḥ] Sety [...]}
\]

Document 14

Location of the scene: second register of the southern wall of the Hypostyle Hall.\(^{60}\)

Description of the scene: Ramesses II kneels while receiving the $hb-sd$ sign from Amun and the deified Sety I. Mut and Khonsu stand behind Ramesses II respectively.\(^{61}\)

Sety I representation: he wears the blue crown surmounted by the cobra, a long kilt and a ceremonial tail. He holds the royal insignia ($hq咄-nḥḥ咄$) with the right hand and grasps the $nh$-sign with his left hand.

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[
\text{nh nṯr nfr (Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ) sȝ-Rʿ (Mry-n-[Ptḥ] Sty) dt nh ml Rʿ dt}
\]

May the good god live, (Men-maet-[Re]), son of Re, (Mery-en-[Ptḥ] Sety), given life like Re eternally.

Document 15

Location of the scene: northern wall of Room V.\(^{62}\)

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

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

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[
nṯr nṯr nb lw(y) $hq咄$ zwy $lb nsst-bt$y (Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ) sȝ-Rʿ (Mry-n-[Ptḥ] Sty) dt $nh ml Rʿ$
\]

The good god, lord of the two lands, ruler of happiness, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Men-maet-[Re]), son of Re (Mery-en-[Ptḥ] Sety), given life like Re.

\(^{60}\) PM II, p. 410 (17).
\(^{61}\) PM II, p. 410 (17); P.J. Brand, op. cit., p. 276.
\(^{62}\) PM II, p. 412 (48).
Document 16
Location of the scene: Chapel III, north west wall.64
Description of the scene: Īwn-mwt.f priest extends his right hand before the deified Sety I and a goddess personifying the temple.65 A list of offerings, consisting of 10 columns of text, is depicted between them. A table, laden with offerings, is depicted before Sety I. The priest holds with his left hand a rḥyt-bird and another object.
Sety I representation: Sety I is depicted seated on a throne. He wears the nms-headdress surmounted by the cobra, a ceremonial beard, bracelets and a short kilt. He extends his left hand to touch the offering table while he holds the anx-sign with his right hand.

Document 17
Location of the scene: Vestibule XXVIII, western wall, second register, first scene.66
Description of the scene: King Ramesses II runs with the ḫs-vases to Osiris and the deified Sety I.67
Sety I representation: He wears the nms-headdress, a short kilt and a ceremonial tail. He holds the royal insignia (nhḥ,-ḥqȝ) in his right hand and grasps the ‘nh-‐sign with his left hand.
Text accompanying Sety I:

\[nṯr \text{nfr } [\text{Mn-mȝ’}]-\text{Re }[\text{Mry-n-Ptḥ Sty}]\text{ }mȝ’-\text{ḥrw }hr \text{nṯr }\]
The good god,  [Men-maet-Re],  Mery-en Ptah Sety], justified before the great god.

Document 18
Location of the scene: Vestibule XXVIII, eastern wall, second register.68
Description of the scene: Ramesses II kneels to be crowned by Mut and Amun in the presence of Khonsu and the deified Sety I who stands behind Amun.69 Ramesses II extends his left hand to receive the ḫb-sd signs while carrying the royal insignia with his right hand.
Sety I representation: He wears the blue crown surmounted with the cobra, a long kilt and a ceremonial tail. He holds the Ḫqȝ-scepter in his left hand and grasps the ‘nh-‐sign in his right hand.
The text accompanying Sety I mentions:

\[nb-tȝwy [\text{Mn-mȝ’}]-\text{Re }[\text{Mry-n-Ptḥ Sty}]\text{ }dt ‘nh ml }R\text{ }dt\]
Lord of the two lands, [Men-maet-Re], lord of the crowns, Mery-en Ptah Sety], given life like Re eternally.

64 PM II, p. 412 (48).
66 PM II, p. 417 (99-100).
68 PM II, p. 417 (101), (102).
69 LD III, pl. 150 a, c. K. Seele, The Coregency of Ramesses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, SAOC 19, 1940, p. 28, fig. 9.
Document 19
Location of the scene: Room XXX, above the lintel.70
Description of the scene: Ramesses II burns incense before Amun, Mut, and Sety I71 while extending his right arm before the deities.
Sety I representation: He wears the long military wig surmounted by the cobra and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached to its back. He holds the royal insignia with his right hand and grasps the ‘nh-sign with his left hand.
Text accompanying Sety I:

Text accompanying Sety I:

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

Document 20
Location of the scene: Room XXXI, above the lintel.72
Description of the scene: Ramesses II offers flowers to Amun, Khonsu, and the deified Sety I respectively.73
Sety I representation: He wears the nms-headdress surmounted by the cobra, a long kilt, ceremonial beard and the ceremonial tail. He holds in his left hand the ḥqȝ-scepter and grasps the ‘nh-sign in his right hand.
Text accompanying Sety I:

Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak (Docs. 21-26)
Document 21
Location of the scene: Column No. 13 - Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.74
Description of the scene: Ramesses II offers two nw-jars filled with wine, one in each hand, to Amun-Re-kamutef and the deified Sety I.75
Sety I representation: His representation is badly damaged. The only parts that can still be seen are the head dress which cannot be determined with certainty, a short kilt and another long transparent kilt with a bull’s tail attached to its back and holding with his left hand the ‘nh-sign.

70 PM II, p. 418 (109).
71 PM II, p. 418 (109); P.J. Brand, op. cit., p. 273.
72 PM II, p. 419 (113).
73 PM II, p. 419 (113).
74 PM II, p. 51.
75 This is the sole scene on the column, see L.A. Christophe, Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leur épithètes, BEd 21, Cairo, 1955, p. 12, 98, pl. 27; L. Habachi, Features of the Deification of Ramesses II, ADAO 5, 1969, p. 17; L.A. Christophe, BIFAO 49, 1950, p. 170.
**Document 22**

Location of the scene: Column No. 32 - Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.\(^{76}\)

Description of the scene: Ramesses II offers a *nmst*-vase to Amun-Re and the deified Sety I.\(^{77}\)

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

**Document 23**

Location of the scene: the eastern jamb of the southern doorway of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.\(^{78}\)

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

Sety I representation: Sety I wears the long military wig surmounted by a cobra and a short kilt with a bull’s tail attached to its back. He holds the two royal insignia (*ḥqȝ-nḫȝȝ*) with his left hand and grasps the *ʿnḥ*-sign and the *ḥḏ*-mace in his right hand.\(^{80}\)

Text accompanying Sety I (officiant):\(^{81}\)

\[\text{irt qbh n it.f İmn-R'} n nsw (wšr-[m.ʾ]-R' stp-mn-R') mȝʿ-hrw\]

*Offering libation to his father Amun-Re (and) to the King Ė[mer]-[maet]-Re setep-men-Re justified.\(^{82}\)*

**Document 24**

Location of the scene: the western jamb of the southern doorway of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.\(^{83}\)

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

Sety I representation: He wears a headdress surmounted by the cobra, a ceremonial beard, a short kilt, and the *šwty*-crown. He holds in his right hand the *ḥqȝ*-scepter and grasps the *ḥḏ*-mace in his left hand.\(^{85}\)

**Document 25**

Location of the scene: internal south wall, west half, upper register, west end of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple.\(^{86}\)

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76 PM II, p. 51.
77 Both the hands of Ramesses II and the offering are destroyed. It is the only scene on the column, see L.A. Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes*, p. 14, 102, pl. 27; L. Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 17; L.A. Christophe, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 170.
78 PM II, p. 49 (164a).
79 PM II, p. 49 (164); *OIP* 106, pl. 61.
80 *OIP* 106, pl. 61; K. Seele, *The Coregency of Rameses II*, p. 65, fig. 19.
81 *OIP* 106, pl. 61.
82 *RITA* II, 378.
84 *OIP* 106, pl. 57.
85 *OIP* 106, pl. 57; K. Seele, *op. cit.*, p. 65, fig. 20.
86 PM II, p. 47 (158).
Description of the scene: King Ramesses II burns incense and pours a libation before deified Sety I followed by his ka.87

Sety I representation: he wears the long military wig surmounted by a cobra, a long kilt, and a ceremonial tail. He holds the royal insignia (ḥqȝ-ḥẖȝt) with his left hand and grasps the ‘nh-sign with his right hand.88

Text accompanying Sety I:89

\[
\text{nṯr nfr Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ nb ḫʿw Mry-n-Ptḥ-Sty mȝʿ-ḥrw hḥ nṯr ṣ} \\
\text{The good god, Mn-maet-Re, lord of the crowns, justified before the great god.}
\]

**Document 26**

Location of the scene: internal south wall, west half, bottom register of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Temple.91

Description of the scene: Ramesses II burns incense before the sacred boats of Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu while Sety I is following the procession.92

Description of Sety I: He wears the ḫtf-crown, a ceremonial beard, a short kilt, with a bull’s tail attached to its back. He holds the ‘nh-sign and the ḫḏ-mace with his left hand.93

**Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Docs. 27-37)**

**Document 27**

Location of the scene: On the lower register of the southern end of the eastern wall of the first Osiris Hall.94

Description of the scene: King Sety I is represented kneeling and offering a nmst-vase to Osiris in a shrine and behind him the deified King Sety I.

Sety I representation: he is depicted seated on a throne. He wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, a long beard, collar, bracelets, armlets, and a short garment that reaches the lower part of his chest. He holds in his right hand the ‘nh-sign, while his left hand rests on the back of the god Osiris.95

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89 *OIP* 106, pl. 42.
90 *RITA* II, 377.
91 PM II, p. 47 (158); P. Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
92 *OIP* 106, pl. 53.
93 *OIP* 106, pl. 53.
94 PM VI, p. 19 (178) states wrongly that King Sety I is kneeling with a vase before Osiris and Maet in a shrine.
The text accompanying the deified King Sety I reads:96

\[ Mn-mz\text{"}t-R' nfr \ 'z \]

\[ Men-maet-Re \text{ the great god} \]

**Document 28**

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

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

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

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[ Nswt-bḥty (Mn-mz\text{"}t-R') sȝ-R' (Mry-n-Pth Sty) \]

\[ King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Men-maet-Re), son of Re, (Mery-en-Ptah Sety). \]

**Document 29**

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

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

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

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[ nṯr nfr (Mn-mz\text{"}t-R') (Mry-n-Pth Sty) dl 'nh \]

\[ The good god, (Men-maet-Re), (Mery-en-Ptah Sety), given life. \]

97 It is emphasizing the way in which the king’s name is written by the obelisk sign which could be spelt out as mn, see Wb II, 71, 10. This name is not mentioned by von Beckerath in his book, see J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 20, 1984, p. 236. For other variations of his name, see A. El-Sawi, “Some variations of writing the names of Sety I at Abydos”, ASAE 70, 1984-1985, Suppl., 1987, p. 53-63; A. Piankoff, “Le nom du roi Sethos en égyptien”, BIFAO 47, 1948, p. 175-177.
100 PM VI, p. 25 (236-237).
Document 30

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

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

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

Text before King Ramesses II:105

\[ \text{ỉnt nṯr nfr Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ r šbt.f} \]

Bringing the good god Men-maet-Re to his food.106

Document 31

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

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

Sety I representation: He is shown seated wearing the nms-headdress surmounted by the cobra. He wears the ceremonial beard, a short kilt, bracelets and armlets. He holds in his right hand the ḫḏ-mace while in his left hand a composed scepter of the wȝs, ‘nḫ and the dd signs.

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

\[ \text{wȝs ‘nḫ dd nb n Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ} \]

All authority, life and stability to Men-maet-Re.

Document 32

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

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

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102 PM VI, p. 26 (239)-(240).
104 W.J. Murnane, JNES 34, 1979, p. 162-164, fig. 6a-c; A. Mariette, op. cit., pls. 52-51b; K. Seele, The Coregency of Rameses II, p. 162.
105 A. Mariette, op. cit., pl. 51b.
107 PM VI, p. 26 (241-242).
110 This scene is not mentioned in PM VI, p. 3.
Sety I representation: he wears the long military wig surmounted by a crown consisting of two plumes, the sun disk resting on two ram’s horns.\textsuperscript{111} Two cobras flank the plumes each one is surmounted by a sun disk. The king holds in his right hand the $\textit{hqg}$-scepter and the $\textit{nḫk}$-flail. The rest of the king’s relief is completely damaged.

Text accompanying Sety I:

\[
\ldots (\text{Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ}) \text{ sȝ-Rʿ} \text{ Mry-n-[P]} \text{ Sty} \text{ mȝʿ-ḥrw}
\]

\[
\ldots (\text{Men-maet-Re}), \text{ son of Re}, (\text{Mery-en-[P]} \text{ u[h]} \text{ Sety}), \text{ justified.}
\]

**Document 33**

Location of the scene: second court, west wall, south section.\textsuperscript{112}

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

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

\[
dd \text{ mdw in Wsỉr nsw } (\text{Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ}) \text{ mȝʿ-ḥrw ndm lb.k nsrw-blt} \text{ (Wsr-mȝʿt-Rʿ) stp-n-Rʿ} \text{ Rʿ hr dl(t).k nḥḥ Tm k hʿ n nk} \text{ Hr wsr rnpw} \text{ mk wi m rswt n rʿ nbb il.k whm } \text{ nh } lntš.k \text{ wi hr lr[t n.k] hr.[l] dlh} \text{.k wi r mȝʿ-ḥrw sʿ[.n wi]} \text{ Wnn-nfr hr lrt [n.k nbt]}
\]

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

**Document 34**

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

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

Sety I representation: the face of Sety I is damaged. Sety I wears a crown consisting of two feathers with two transversal ram horns, armlets, wide collar and bracelets. He holds in his right hand the $\textit{wȝs}$-scepter while his left hand holds the \textit{anx}-sign.

\textsuperscript{111} This scene is badly damaged, see A.R. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{112} PM VI, p. 3 (34–37).
\textsuperscript{113} A. Mariette, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. 5; KRI II, 323, 1-4.
\textsuperscript{115} This scene is not attested in PM VI.
Aspects of the Deification of King Sety I

Text accompanying Sety I: 116

Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ nṯr ʿȝ hr-y lb hw f lmty ḫbḏw
Men-maet-Re, the great god, who resides in his temple which is in Abydos. 117

Document 35

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

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

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

Document 36

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

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

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

Text accompanying Sety I:

(Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ) (Mry-n-Ptʿ Sty) mȝʿ-ḥrw ḫr nṯr ʿȝ
(Men-maet-Re), (Mery-en-Ptah Sety), justified before the great god.

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

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

116 M. Calverley et al., Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos IV. The Second hypostyle hall, London, Chicago, 1958, pl. 42; A. Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 27.
118 This scene is not attested in PM VI.
119 A. R. David, op. cit., p. 25.
120 This scene is not attested in PM VI.
121 A. R. David, op. cit., p. 25.
122 A cartouche of the deified King might have been placed between the deities depicted on a limestone stele in the British Museum (No. 360). The lower part of the cartouche is erased however it might be completed as [Mn]-mȝʿt-Rʿ. S. Bickel completed the cartouche as [nb]-mȝʿt-Rʿ however she mentioned that the style of the stele can permit the dating to Sety I, see S. Bickel, “Aspects et fonctions de la défication d’Amenhotep III”, BIFAO 102, 2002, p. 81, n. 94.
Document 37

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

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

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

Document 38

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

Description of the scene: Imn-wȝḥ-sw, the table scribe and Tȝ, the royal scribe pays homage to Sety I and Ramesses who holds the ṣḥ sign.128

Sety I description: the king wears the military wig surmounted by the cobra, short kilt, armlets, bracelets and a short skirt. He holds the ḥqȝ-scepter and nḥḥȝ-flail in one hand and the ḥḏ-mace in the other.

Text accompanying Sety I: one of the king’s epithets is Wsỉr “Osiris”.129

Document 39

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

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

124 PM I, p. 21 (6); B.G. Davies, Who’s who at Deir el-Medina, EgUit 13, 1999, p. 81.
125 LD III, 173b.
126 LD III, 173b.
129 RITA I, 260.
130 PM V, p. 220.
131 LD IV, 97; KRI I, 61; Fr.L. Griffith, “Notes on a Tour in Upper Egypt”, PSBA 11, 1889, p. 234, pl. II; P.J. Brand, op. cit., p. 263.
Aspects of the Deification of King Sety I

A part of the inscribed text reads:132

rdỉ ỉȝwt n nṯr nfr sn tȝ n nb tȝwy
Giving adoration to the good god, kissing the earth to the lord of the two lands.133

Document 40
Location of the stele: Room A in the shrine of Hathor, Serabit El-Khadim, Sinai, (stele No. 247).134
Description of the stele: The stele, which dates to the eighth year of Sety I, is inscribed on both sides. It shows on one face a man called ‘ḫw-ḥb-sd raising his hands in adoration before the two cartouches of Sety I. On the other face the king is depicted offering bread to Hathor.135

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

According to documents (1)-(4), two different representations of the sacred barks of Sety I can be recognized. The first representation as revealed by document (1) is depicted carried by priests during a procession. The second representation as shown in documents (2)-(4) is illustrated resting on a bark stand. These two representations are of the same type of bark. Additionally, a second type of bark, used to accommodate a statue of Sety I, is different in representation as reflected in document (9) from the type shown in documents (1)-(4). The bark shown in document (9) is a papyri form which resembles the bark of the deified Senusert III at Semneh.137 Furthermore, it resembles the barks used by Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari138 and Senusert I at

132 LD Text IV, 99; PM V, p. 220.
133 See RITA I, 53.
136 According to R. David a scene in the second court of the Abydos temple, south wall, west end shows King Ramesses II runs towards Amun Re between them there is a faded figure accompanied by the cartouche of Sety I (?), see R.A. DAVID, Religious Ritual at Abydos, p. 22. However, A. Weigall states that it is the figure of an Asiatic prisoner which coincides with the description of Ramesses II slays an Asiatic before Amun-Re provided by PM VI, 3 (33). Additionally, G. Jéquier plate does not show enough to support the former statements. The text mentioned in KR I does not reveal enough evidence to investigate the scene. R. David’s the religious rituals at Abydos is the only reference to this scene, see A. WEIGALL, A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, London, 1910, p. 12; G. JÉQUIER, L’architecture et la décoration dans l’ancienne Égypte II. Les Temples Ramessiens et Sattes de la XIXe à la XXX Dynastie, Paris, 1922, pl. 26. Additionally, a part of a stele found at Aksha having the head of Sety I and a text with the di.n.i n.k Formula, which probably denotes a deified status, see RITANC II, 496. Documents (37)-(40) are given as examples for the veneration of the king, for other stele coming from Serabit el-Khadim, see PM VII, p. 363, 250; KR I, 63; A.H. GARDINER, T.E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, The Inscriptions of Sinai, I, p. 176-177.
Karnak139 performing ritual journeys and each of the Kings carries an oar.140 Moreover, other similar papyrus boats were used by Thuthmosis II and Tutankhamun as their statues were on board of these boats performing another ritual.141 Sacred barks142 in ancient Egypt were owned frequently not only by deified Kings143 but also by deified Queens.144 Regarding the function of the sacred barks of Sety I, it seems that his sacred bark containing his cult statue at Qurna participated in some religious festivals such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley145 together with the Theban triad with other deified Kings and Queens such as Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary.146 Epigraphic evidence from the temple of Karnak confirms his participation in the festival in question as the text behind Sety I in document (26) reads: 

\[
\text{Wnn nsw nb ظروف nb ir-ḥḥ (Mn-m- matière-R') hr šmsw it.f Ỉnn-R' m ḥb.f nfr n int ḥnm.f h'w.f m ỉw.f (May ever) exist the king, lord of the two lands, lord who performs rituals, (Mn-maet-R') following his father Amun-Re on his Beautiful Feast of the Valley, may he unite his flesh with his wind.} \]

147 OIP 106, pl. 53; K. Seele, The Coregency of Rameses, p. 69, fig. 22; W.J. Murnane, JNES 34, 1979, p. 175, fig. 14a.
148 K. Seele, op. cit., p. 68; W.J. Murnane, op. cit., p. 173; see also RITA II, 375.
Furthermore, another text accompanying the statue of Sety I mentioned in document (10) where the text before him reads\(^{149}\):

\[
\text{[wnn] nsw nb twy m.}-\text{ḥrw hr šms it.f Ỉmn m ḥwt-nṯr ḥr (Mry-n-Ptḥ Sty) m pr-Ỉmn hr [...] ṣsp [...] hrt-ḥrw (may ever) [exist] the king, lord of the two lands, justified following his father Amun in the god’s house beneficial\(^{150}\) (Mery-en-Ptah Sety) in the house of Amun\(^{151}\) to receive [...] daily [...].}
\]

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

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

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149 OIP 106, pl. 76.

150 For this term as beneficial, see P. Brand, “Use of the term ḥr in the reign of Seti I”, GM 168, 1999, p. 23-33; id., The monuments of Seti I, p. 146.

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


153 Ibid., p. 68.


in document (1) where it was represented being carried but also in the other temples as shown in documents (2)-(4) in religious festival(s) where the temples reside. Additionally, other sacred barks participated in other religious festivals such as the Opet Festival as in the case of Tutankhamun.\textsuperscript{158}

What about the statue inside the shrine of the sacred bark? In three documents (2-4), different offerings are presented to the sacred bark or to be more accurate to the statue inside the shrine of the bark. Despite the lack of textual evidence regarding oracles given by the statue inside the sacred barks, the iconographical evidence showing the sacred bark of Sety I being carried by priests in processions as in document (1) denotes that such action might have taken place during these processions as in the cases of other deified kings who had oracles.\textsuperscript{159}

Furthermore, an oracle at Deir el-Medina might be connected to King Sety I, according to an ostraca\textsuperscript{160} which mentions the temple of Maatre.\textsuperscript{161} Additionally, Sety I had a ka-chapel at Deir e-Medina to the north of the temple of Hathor.\textsuperscript{162} Given the sheer amount of evidence including documents (5) and (37), it seems that King Sety I had his own cult at Deir el-Medina.

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


\textsuperscript{160} P. Grandet, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh VIII. Nos 706-830, DFIFAO 39, 2000, p. 75.


\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., p. 184-187.
cannot be called “cult statues” as they were never placed in the sanctuary inside the naos or inside the shrine of the sacred bark.\(^{165}\)

Additionally, the texts accompanying the sacred barks mentioned two terms used \textit{sšm ḫw}\(^{166}\) as in documents (2) and (4) and \textit{wṯs nfrw} as in document (2). The first term can be used to refer to cult statues in shrines on sacred barks, sacred barks or both as stated by Nelson.\(^{167}\) C. Karlshausen believes that this term can refer to both the sacred bark and the statue inside the shrine.\(^{168}\) B. Ockinga postulates that this term can be used for sacred barks only.\(^{169}\) On the contrary, L. Bell and following him Kruchen indicate that this term refers to the cult statue inside the naos of the scared bark.\(^{170}\) K. Eaton points out to the difficulty recognized in understanding whether this term means sacred bark or cult statue\(^{171}\). Regarding the latter, \textit{wṯs-nfrw}, this term was used to refer to the portable shrine on the sacred bark\(^{172}\) or the sacred bark itself.\(^{173}\)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{wʿb}-priests</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan bearers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotus stand</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sn}-priest</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bark stand</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabin veiled</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sphinx standard</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering table before the sacred bark</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prow (king’s head)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stern (king’s head)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two oars at the stern</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoth before the bark</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Ỉwn-mwt.f}-priest</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text referring to the sacred bark (\textit{sšm ḫw} – \textit{wṯs nfrw})</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>\textit{sšm ḫw}</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>\textit{sšm ḫw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kneeling king’s statue facing prow (wearing \textit{nms}-headdress)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{166}\) Sometimes it appears as \textit{sšm n ḫw}, see A.H. Gardiner, “Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amūn”, \textit{JEA} 38, 1952, p. 12, pl. 5, L. 33.

\(^{167}\) H. Nelson, \textit{JNES} 1, 1942, p. 141.


\(^{172}\) H. Nelson, \textit{JNES} 1, 1942, p. 144, 146.

\(^{173}\) R.O. Faulkner, \textit{A Concise Dictionary}, 72; Chr. Karlshausen, \textit{L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine}, p. 263.
On document (5), King Sety I was invoked together with god Khonsu in the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* formula by a servant in the place of truth at *Deir el-Medina*. However, the name of the King in question was enclosed in a cartouche and his name follows the god’s name.\(^{174}\) The invocation of deified kings whether alone\(^{175}\) or together with other deities\(^{176}\) frequently appeared in ancient Egypt. However, the kings’ names rarely appear without the cartouches.

\(^{174}\) The rule was that the king’s name follows the deities’ names but there were few exceptions, such as King Teti I, see H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I. Varia*, New York, 1976, p. 59, fig.1. For King Senusret I, see J.-E. Gautier, G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les foudres de Licht*, MIFA 6, 1902, p. 60, fig. 6c. For King Amenemhet III, see W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, AGFO 24, 1968, p. 57, n. 1; L. D. II, 120g; H. Gauthier, *LiDR I*, p. 328, L; N. Farag, Z. Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferwptah*, Cairo, 1971, p. 13, figs. 8-10. It occurred once with one of the deified queens, Hatshepsut, see A. Wiedmann, “On a monument of the first Dynasties of Egypt”, *PSBA* 9, 1887, p. 180-184; *Urk. IV*, 241, 6-8.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kneeling king’s statue facing stern (wearing nms-headress)</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kneeling king’s statue facing stern (wearing white crown)</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>damaged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standing king’s statue (wearing nms-headdress while offering)</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>damaged</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King’s statue underneath the bark</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King’s statue steering the boat</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two fans flanking the cabin</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bark stand inscribed with king’s name</th>
<th>Document 1</th>
<th>Document 2</th>
<th>Document 3</th>
<th>Document 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
within the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula. The invocation of the deified person in the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula is a common factor between the deified Kings, deified Queens and deified individuals in ancient Egypt.

On document (6), L. Bell translated the text as follows: “he (Horus) has deified him (Sety I) with his own eye”. He believes that Sety I is deified by the Eye of Horus and this text is a part of the ritual of Amenhotep I and builds his theory on his translation. The following discussion will highlight a few outstanding points.
adumbrated here, which should clarify the confusion. On one hand, the word, snṣr, which appears in the text, is accompanied with the determinative of three grains of salt that means “to cense” or “to purify”. On the other hand, the word which means “to deify” always appears with the determinative of the roll of papyrus. However, one rare example shows a grain of salt and the papyrus roll together as determinatives of the same word in the papyrus of the Book of the Dead of Nebseni and it means “censes”. G. Robins points out that the word snṣr can mean “to make divine” thus, the incense had the power to make divine. Furthermore, when L. Bell cited references to support his opinion he mentioned the word with the roll of papyrus only and not the three grains of incense which denotes that he misread the word. Besides, R. David translated this text and other similar texts which occurred in the same temple as “censes” which is close to the mark. However, L. Bell points out that the scene shows no burning of the incense as it shows Horus purifying Sety I. Moreover, he believes that this ritual occurred six other times: 1) In the temple of Ramesses III of Medinet Habu. 2) In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (document 25). 3) In the chapel of Sety I in the Osiris complex. 4) Three scenes in the east wall of the second hypostyle hall at the temple of Sety I at Abydos. Having a closer look on the Medinet Habu scene, it can be noticed that it represents Ramesses III pouring a libation from a hs-vase on two alters with plants before Re-Horakhty. A part of the text accompanying the king which mentions ḫỉrt-Ḥr reads: dl.⟨l⟩ r k ḫỉrt Hr l sty.,s r k “I give the Eye of Horus to you and its fragrance comes to you”. This text is referring to the Eye of Horus as a kind of incense. Thus, the scene of document (6) is not connected in any way with the other documents mentioned in table (2) in terms of the text. A. Roberts, on the other hand, believes that document (6) is a part of the ritual of Amenhotep I, however, her interpretation is quite different from that of L. Bell as she believes that this scene reflects the renwel of Egypt and that this scene is an episode of the seven scenes covering the walls of the shrine of Sety I which help in the transformation in the status of the king. H. Nelson studied the scenes representing the ritual of Amenhotep I at the Great Hypostyle Hall got into the possession of the Turin Museum (CGT 54041). J. Černý, BIFAO 27, 1927, p. 196, n. 2. The Cairo Papyrus was acquired by the Museum in 1913. It was written in hieratic of the Nineteenth Dynasty. For the complete hieroglyphic text, see G. Daressy, “Rituel des offrandes à Amenhotep I”, ASAE 17, 1917, p. 97-122. Finally, it was found out that the Turin papyrus was the lower part of the Cairo papyrus as the papyrus was cut by the discoverer, see H. Nelson, op. cit., p. 201. The Cairo Museum contains offering rituals of Ramesses II to Amenhotep I, see G. Daressy, op. cit., p. 97. This ritual was depicted on many temples such as: Medinet Habu, great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and also Ptolemaic temples: Edfu, Kom Ombo, Denderah, and Philae, see R.A. David, A Guide, p. 85-86. For these rituals, see H.M. Hays, The Ritual Scenes in The Chapels of Amun, in Medinet Habu IX. The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple. Part I. The Inner Sanctuaries, OIP 136, 2009, p. 1-14.

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


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

186 L. Bell, JNES 44, 1985, p. 284, n. 165.

187 Ibid., p. 284.

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

189 OIP 106, pl. 42.

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

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

192 H. Nelson, op. cit., p. 221.


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

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

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

196 Ibid., p. 221.
The question that can be raised is: whether the Eye of Horus can contribute to the deification of a human being? The answer can be found in the following text that is worthy to note and which appears on an Apis stele in the Louvre Museum No. 3 and dates to the 30th year of King Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The text reads:197

\[r\ snṯr.f\ m\ ỉrt-Ḥr\]

to deify him with the Eye of Horus.

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

\[nṯry.s\ tw\ m\ ḏsrw\]

She divines you with beer.201

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

200 Dendara VI, 66, 1.
Another question is can a deity interfere in the deification of a human being? A very rare example of such interference is the case of princess Neskhonsu, daughter of Semendes II of the Twenty-first Dynasty, when Amun approved her deification through an oracle.\(^{202}\)

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

\begin{align*}
\textit{snṯr.ỉ ḥm.k} \\
\textit{I deify your majesty.}
\end{align*}

It should be noted that \textit{snṯr} “to make divine”\(^{204}\) during the Ptolemaic period looks the same as the word which means “to cense” and there might be deliberate ambiguity.\(^{205}\) Additionally, the writing differs from the word used during the Pharonic period.

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

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


\(^{203}\) \textit{Edfu}, I, 101, 2.

\(^{204}\) P. Wilson, \textit{PL}, p. 875.

\(^{205}\) Ibid., p. 876.

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

\(^{207}\) There is a broken statue, preserved in the Museum of Borely in Marseille, which belongs to a certain \textit{Imn-wḥt-sw} and dates back to the Nineteenth Dynasty. The left side, bears a relief representing \textit{Imn-wḥt-sw} kneeling and raising his hands in the attitude of adoration before King Teti whose name occurs without a cartouche behind him, see É. Naville, “Le roi Teta Merenptah”, \textit{ZÄS} 16, 1878, p. 69; PM III”, p. 729; J. Malek, “A meeting of the Old and New. Saqqâra during the New Kingdom”, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), \textit{Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honor of J.Gwyn Griffiths}, \textit{OccPub} 8, 1992, p. 68. On the right side of the statue \textit{Imn-wḥt-sw’s} wife is depicted kneeling in the same attitude as her husband in front of a statue inside a pyramid, see J. Capart, \textit{Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens}, Brussels, 1902, pl. 45.
Monthuhotep Nebhetepre of the Eleventh Dynasty, Kings Thutmose I, Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV and Akhenaten of the Eighteenth Dynasty, King Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Kings

208 On a limestone fragment-stele in the British Museum (No. 347/690), which was found near the funerary temple of King Monthuhotep, two Osiride statues of King Amenhotep I and King Monthuhotep are represented on the right-hand side. In the middle of the stele, an offering table is depicted, see E. Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple of Deir El-Bahari I, EES 28, 1907, p. 60–61, pl. 25b; Chr. Leblanc, “Le culte rendu aux colosses ‘osiriqaus’ durant le Nouvel Empire”, BIFAO 82, 1982, p. 296–299, fig. 1, pl. 49; S. Quirke, Ancient Egyptian Religion, London, 1992, pl. 47. In a tomb of a person called Amunemunet, who was a divine father of the mansion of Amenhotep III, he is shown burning incense and pouring a libation before a statue of Monthuhotep-Nehepetra, a Queen (probably Ahmose-Nefertary), and goddess Hathor. This tomb is situated at Qurnet Murai. It dates to the Ramesside period, see PM I, p. 354 (2–3).

209 A scene on the lower register of the southern wall (western side) of the first hall in the tomb No. 51 at Qurna, which belongs to a person called Weserhet, represents two Osiride statues of King Thutmose I. The statues are depicted wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. The hands are crossed across the chest without any staffs or sceptres. Before them there are two offering tables each one is in front of a statue. Chr. Leblanc called the attention that there were two other Osiride statues depicted wearing the white crown behind the previously mentioned ones but now invisible, Chr. Leblanc, op. cit., p. 310.


211 A statue of the king in question is mentioned on a round-topped limestone stele, now in the Cairo Museum. Besides a hnw-kꜣ priest of the statue was also attested on the same stele, P. Lacau, Stèles du Nouvel Empire I, CGC, Cairo, 1909, p. 41-42, No. 34021, pl. 12.

212 On the walls of the tombs of Tell el-Amarna four Osiride colossi represent Akhenaten standing on a base in the great temple of Aten at Tell el-Amarna. Akhenaten is depicted nude; his hands are crossed across his shoulder. He holds the heqa and the nekheka. Two statues are represented with the red crown while the other two with the white crown of Upper Egypt. These statues are represented in the tomb of Meryib, see N. De G. Davies, Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Oxford, 1948, p. 101-102, pl. 15; R. Khawam, “Un ensemble de Moules en Terre-Cuite de la 19e Dynastie”, JRAsS 5, 1929, p. 19, text on 24; A.H. Gardiner, “Khataana-Qantir”, ASAE 35, 1935, pl. 61; H. Brunner, “Die statue Ramses-Meri-Amun-Der-Gott”, MDAIK 35, 1931, p. 129-136, pl. 14. Also for the statues in the tomb of Meryib, see Chr. Leblanc, op. cit., p. 307, fig. 3. Also in the tomb of Huya and Ahmes, small statues were represented beside the colossi of Akhenaten. They may represent his daughter or his wife, see N. De G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I, p. 20; 30. Chr. Leblanc points out that it is the first time to find statues of a king having small statues around them, see Chr. Leblanc, op. cit., p. 308. Four statues of the King were also represented on a limestone fragmentary relief from Hermopolis now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (No. 63, 961), see J.D. Cooney, Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, New York, 1965, p. 100-101, No. 61. Chr. Leblanc points out that the nude Osiride statues of Akhenaten are represented in the tomb of Merire at Tell El Amarna and the statue of the Cairo Museum JE 53938, see “Pillars et colosses de type ‘Osiriqaus’ dans le contextes des temples du culte royal”, BIFAO 80, 1980, p. 79-81, fig. 5.

Aspects of the Deification of King Sety I

Ramesses III, Ramesses VI, and Sethnakht of the Twentieth Dynasty, King Psmatik of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Kings Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II of the Thirty-first Dynasty. Additionally, some of the deified queens had statues which were worshipped as in the case of Ahmose-Nefertary. W. Helck believes that every king in the New Kingdom had statues, which were worshipped and offerings were presented to them. Helck also highlighted that the king was not the subject of the worshipping but his ka as the people consider the statue more important than the living king himself since he would not be as effective as the statue.

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

214 A stele mentions the wab-priests and the chantresses for the great statue of Remessw heqa Ionuu. This stele was discovered in 1915 at Memphis in the course of the excavations led by the university Museum of Pennsylvania (find No. 2882). But unfortunately it was not found after storing, see A.R. SCHULMAN, “A cult of Ramesses III at Memphis”, JNES 25, 1966, p. 177.


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


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

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

\[\text{Men-maet-Re, the ruler of the two lands.}\]

As for document (11), it shows for the first time a king and his son grouped together with other deities in the sanctuary of the temple. However, in this case Sety I was already dead. This case may imply that Ramesses II was aiming at reflecting the idea that his father is a god and himself as well. In contrast, document (12) shows that the statues of Sety I appeared in the three sanctuaries of the temple \textit{Kanais} together with other six deities while Sety I was still alive. According to the texts of the temple, it was dedicated to these deities together with Sety I\textsuperscript{225} who are the same deities with sanctuaries in the temple of Sety I at Abydos.\textsuperscript{226} The text reads:\textsuperscript{227}

\[\text{Amun is in it, Re is within it, Ptah (and) Osiris are in its sanctuary and (also) Horus, Isis, } \text{Menmaatre} \text{ and the Ennead which is in this temple.}\]

M. Lichtheim believes that the king is a member of ennead of seven whose number is brought up to nine by the king’s three statues in the sanctuaries.\textsuperscript{228} This recalls the case of the four statues in the sanctuary of the great temple of Abu Simbel of which one belongs to Ramesses II.\textsuperscript{229} Additionally, Ramesses II statues were found in the sanctuary of the temple of Gerf Hussein\textsuperscript{230} and in the sanctuary in the temple of el-Derr.\textsuperscript{231} Another case is the statue of Horemheb being placed among other deities in his temple at Gebel el-Silsileh.\textsuperscript{232} After analyzing the different types of the king’s statues as some of them were a

\textsuperscript{222} H. Nelson, \textit{JNES} 8, 1949, p. 219, fig. 15.
\textsuperscript{223} L. Habachi, “The Two Rock-Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area Speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks”, \textit{BIFAO} 73, 1973, p. 113-25; \textit{KRI} I, 73-74.
\textsuperscript{226} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{228} \textit{RITA} I, 57.
\textsuperscript{229} M. Lichtheim, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57, n. 8.
\textsuperscript{230} PM VII, p. 110 (115).
\textsuperscript{231} PM VII, p. 62 (112).
\textsuperscript{232} H. Gauthier, \textit{Ouadi es-Sebouâ I}, p. 207-208; II, pls. 59 (B left), 60 (B); \textit{LD III}, 180a.
\textsuperscript{233} A.M. Blackman, \textit{Derr}, p. 95-96.
subject of worship, five types of statues can be deduced. a) Life size statues as in the case of documents (7) and (9). b) Colossus statue: as in the case of the two statues of the temple of Luxor. c) Cult statue as in the case of document (10). d) Statues placed inside the shrines of the sacred barks as in the case of documents (1), (2), (3) and (4). e) Statues placed inside the sanctuary of some temples such as documents (11) and (12).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Document 7</th>
<th>Document 8</th>
<th>Document 9</th>
<th>Document 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of the statue</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base for the statue</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandals</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of offering performed</td>
<td>Pouring water from 4 nmst-vases</td>
<td>Presenting offerings</td>
<td>Burning incense + pours a libation</td>
<td>Burning incense + pours a libation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of ritual</td>
<td>Going around 4 times</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s crown/headdress</td>
<td>nms-head dress</td>
<td>hpr3-crown</td>
<td>damaged</td>
<td>Wig + šwty crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s dress</td>
<td>Short kilt</td>
<td>Long kilt</td>
<td>Long kilt</td>
<td>Long kilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s regalia</td>
<td>hḏ-mace + ‘nh-sign</td>
<td>ḡq2 and nḫḥ2+ ḡd-mace + ‘nh-sign</td>
<td>‘ḥ2-stick + ḡd-mace + ‘nh-sign</td>
<td>ḡq2-scepter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statue standing inside a shrine</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officiant</td>
<td>Ramesses II</td>
<td>Ramesses II</td>
<td>Ramesses II</td>
<td>Ramesses II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

²³⁵ PM II, p. 417 (99), (100), (101), (102); 418 (106). Besides, due to the fact that King Ramesses I died before erecting any construction for his cult, King Sety I erected a chapel for his father’s cult at Abydos, see H.E. Wonlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*, *MMA Papers* 5, 1937, pl. II. In addition, a statue was set up in this chapel by Sety I, see H. Gauthier, "Une statue de Ramsés défunt originaire d’Abydos", *ASAE* 31, 1931, p. 195.
As for document (19), it shows Sety I represented for the first time replacing the third member of the Theban triad, Khonsu, the offspring of Amun and Mut. This case has not been attested before except during the reign of Ramesses II.236 However, this scene was executed during the reign of Ramesses II. Additionally, a group statue shows Amun, Mut and Sety I replacing Khonsu.237 Furthermore, document (33) shows Sety I replacing Horus, the third member in the triad consisting of Osiris, Isis and Horus.

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

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

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

236 For Ramesses II as offspring of Amun and Mut who took the place of Khonsu, see at the temple of Abu Simbel, see PM VII, 104 (43); LD. III, 188a; J. Černý, S. Donadoni, Abou-Simbel, Porte d’Entrée et Grande Salle F, CEDAE, Cairo, 1962, F57; PM VII, p. 109 (94); LD. Text, V, p. 146 (middle), KR II, 757, 112. At the Gerf Hussein for the place of Nefertem, see, PM VII, p. 35 (5). For the place of Khonsu at the temple of wadi el-Seboua, see PM VII, p. 62 (125-127); H. Gauthier, Ouadi es-Seboud, I, 226; II, pl. 65.A. At the temple of el-Derr, see A.M. Blackman, Derr, p. 49-50, pl. 37; PM VII, p. 87 (18).
237 RITA I, 184; CGC 39210/927.
244 Ibid., p. 246-247.
245 These scenes were usurped by Ramesses II, see ibid., p. 43, n. 220. L.A. Christophe mentioned wrongly that King Ramesses II is offering to the deities and deified Sety I, see L.A. CHRISTOPHE, BIFAO 49, 1950, p. 170.
247 Ibid., p. 153-190.
context of royal ideology and the celebration of his Sed Festivals. K. Seele and W. Murnane believe that documents (23) and (24) prove that the deification of Sety I occurred during his lifetime. P. Brand contradicts this idea based on artistic features advocating the notion that these documents are post-mortem. Epigraphic evidence that supports P. Brand’s theory is that Sety I in documents (7) and (8) is mentioned as Wsỉr “Osiris” which shows that this scene is post-mortem. This is the first instance in ancient Egypt that a king i.e. Ramesses II is offering to his deified self or another deified king (formerly Sety I) in a temple of millions of years not only within the precinct of a divine temple inside Egypt but also on the main east-west axis. This is also the only occurrence in ancient Egypt that a king usurped a deification scene and ascribed the scene to himself.

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

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

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

251 W.J. Murnane, Ancient Egyptian Co-regencies, p. 76.
253 For King Amenhotep III who was offering to his deified self at the temple of Soleb at Nubia, see M. Giorgini, Cl. Robichon, J. Leclant, Soleb I (1813-1963), Mission S. Giorgini sous le haut patronage de l’université de Prise, Sansoni-Firenze, 1965, p. 103, fig. 85, Doc. 20; LDI III, 110 k; LDI III 84c; J.M.A. Janssen, “A brief description of the decoration of the room II of the temple of Soleb”, Kush 9, 1961, p. 204 (No. 33); A.M. Blackman, “Preliminary report of the excavations at Sesbi, northern province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37”, JEA 23, 1937, p. 148-149.
256 Ibid., p. 5.
prenomen of (Mery-Amun Re-ms-sw) which implies that this text has been carved or the cartouches have been changed after the twenty-first year of Ramesses II’s reign. However, W. Murnane refutes the epithet of mȝʿ-ḥrw which accompanies Sety I as a proof of his death. In contrast documents (7) and (8) show the epithet of Osiris accompanying Sety I such an evidence of Sety I’s death is indisputable.

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


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

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

258 V. Rondot, *La grande salle hypostyle*, pl. 48A.
259 Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 250; V. Rondot, *op. cit.*, p. 91[NA 28+NA 29+NE 20], pl. 48A.
260 V. Rondot, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
263 M. Calverley et al., *The Temple of King Sethos I*, pl. 13.
epithet of: nṯr ʿȝ “the great god” which was also a common epithet for most of the deified kings. W. Murnane believes that Sety I was still alive when Ramesses II was still using his early prenomen especially in documents (10) and (26) as he pointed out to the elements of Sety I’s prenomen which appear in the form of a rebus on the bark of Amun. In contrast P. Brand shows that this evidence is flimsy as the same rebus appears during the reign of Sety II of the Nineteenth Dynasty and he believes that these scenes were executed after Sety I’s death. Additional epigraphic evidence which also contradicts Murnane’s theory is 1) Sety I holds the epithet of Osiris which is given to a dead person. 2) Ramesses II offers a ḥtp-dỉ-nsw offering which is a funerary offering for the welfare of the deceased. However, Murnane’s points out that of there are some examples where Sety I is still alive while having this epithet as in document (38) and he supports his argument with other examples from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as in documents (8) and from the temple of Qurnaas in document (20). Murnane builds his theory on postulated co-regency between Ramesses II and Sety I. However, this theory is not widely accepted.

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

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

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

266 For other deified kings with the same epithet, King Teti, see P. Lacau, Stèles de la XVIII. Dyn., Tome premier, Troisième fascicule, CGC Nos. 34065-3418, Cairo, 1957, p. 235; M.A. Barsanti, “Un monument du roi Teti”, ASAE 13, 1913, p. 255. For King Thutmose III, see R. Moss, “The ancient name of Serra (Sudan)”, JEA 36, 1950, p. 42. For King Amenhotep III, see M.S. Giorgini, Cl. Robichon, J. Leclant, Soleb I, p. 102-103, fig. 83, Doc. 20G; LD III, 87c. For King Tutankhamun, see J. Karkowski, Faras V, The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras, Warsaw, 1981, p. 119. For King Ramesses II, see A.M. Blackman, Derf, p. 49-50; LD, Text, V, 105 (middle); KRI II, 774; 6; LD III, 1911; LD, Text, V, 186 (near Bottom); H. Gauthier, Ldt 3, p. 49, 163; J. Vercoutter, “Preliminary report of the excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine archaeological expedition, 1961”, Kush 10, 1962, pl. 36; J. Černý, Kush 7, 1959, p. 731.


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

270 W.J. Murnane, op. cit., p. 188.

271 See below discussion of document (38).


273 This scene is represented in the forecourt of the tomb-chapel of Amenredis, daughter of Kashta where, Shepenwepet II is the officiant, see PM II, p. 476 (9)-(10); U. Hölscher, The Excavations of Madinet Habu V: Post-Ramesside Remains, OIP 66, Chicago, 1954, pl. 128; A. Egberts, op. cit., p. 246, pl. 120.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King’s name with/without a cartouche + ḥry-ḥb + a locality (where the King is worshipped)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The ḥry-ḥb signifies deities worshipped away from their own home. Additionally, there is another similar formula which occurs also with deified kings as in the case of Thuthmosis III who is called Menkheperre, the foremost of ḥmq-ʿnh (name of his temple in western Thebes).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King’s name with a cartouche + ḫnt + a locality (where the King is worshipped)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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


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

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


280 On a statue now preserved in Cairo Museum, see JE 37177. This statue was found in the Karnak Cachette and dates to the reign of King Thuthmosis III, see G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes III*, No. 42121, 70, pl. 71; id., “Notes d’inspection: § XXXVII-XXXVIII”, *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 187; see also G. Lejeune, *Histoire des grandes prêtres d’Amon de Karnak jusqu’à la XXle Dynastie*, Paris, 1929, p. 110. This kind of statues which represents individual holding a stele is called Stelphoroi, see M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, Mainz, 1985, p. 33; G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes III*, p. 70; id., *ASAE* 7, 1906, p. 185. For another statue with the same text, see *Urk. IV*, 1019, 17, 1020, 1-2; G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes I*, p. 69-71, No. 42121.
Additionally, the role of the deified Sety I in most of these documents can be described as a passive one and this can be justified due to the fact that there is not a text which suggests a reply in return of what the king is offering except for documents (33) where he responds to the officiant. His nomen and prenomen are enclosed in cartouches in all these documents except for documents (27), (30), (31) and (34) where his names appeared without it denoting his deified status. It is worthy to note that, these documents appeared only in one temple which is the temple of Sety I at Abydos reflecting the importance of this temple. However, these documents were executed after his death and under the supervision of his son and successor, Ramesses II except for documents (12) and (27) which is the only definite documents executed while he was still alive. Additionally, the nomen of Sety I, which was depicted without being enclosed within the cartouche, was also mentioned at least twice in two different instances in the temple of Kanais and in the temple of Sety I at Qurna, where the nomen was presented as an offering to deities and the text accompanying the scenes mention it is as a maet offering. This might denote that it is a subliminal way to have the approval of the deities for the deification of Sety I as his nomen includes the sign of maet. This phenomenon was attested later on by his son Ramesses II in the temples of Abu Simbel and Wadi El-Seboua. Another suggestion, it could be a kind of word play as the text mentions that Sety I is offering maet however he is shown offering his nomen.

Documents (37)-(40) reflect the veneration of Sety I by individuals. Such documents, which reflect the veneration of the kings, are characterized mainly by two features. The first is the posture of the devotee which is usually raising the hands exuding adoration especially before the cartouches of the king. The second is the rdīt l2wt “giving adoration” formula and sometimes as in the case of document (39) followed by another formula sn-tȝ “kissing the earth”. Regarding document (37), it shows how the ancient Egyptian artist was aware of the reverse chronological order of the kings where Sety I is represented first, followed by his father and then Horemheb. The cult of royal ancestors at Deir el-Medina can be noticed frequently including the cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary. It also appeared on one votive stela from Deir el-Medina in the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, Khenu chapel, dating to the first half of Ramesses II’s reign, where kings Ramesses I, Horemheb, Sety I and Ramesses II are depicted.

281 The scene is the western scene of the exterior portico. The scene represents King Sety I standing before Amun-Re while offering his name  to him H. GAUTHIER, “Le Temple de Ouâdi Miyah”, BIFAO 17, 1920, pl. 3.
284 PM VII, p. 61 (97)-(99); H. GAUTHIER, Ouadi es-Sebouâ, I, 219; LD, Text V, 86 (bottom).
287 PM I, p. 15 (3).
288 JE 72023; PM I, p. 694; RITA III, 426; B. BRUYÈRE, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1935-1940, FIFOA 20/2, 1952, pls. XII, XXXVIII [79]; K. EXELL, Soldiers, sailors and sandalmakers, p. 90, 149, No. 94.
Despite the fact that document (38) is seen by some Egyptologists as proof of the co-regency between Sety I and his son Ramesses II, epigraphic evidence which shows Sety I bears the epithet Wsir “Osiris” which he also bore in documents (7) and (33) refute the theory raised by some Egyptologists. This epithet is normally added to the name of the dead king in the Pyramid Texts as well as the individuals who adopted the same epithet. The problematic issue of co-regency, regency or crowned prince is still a matter of debate among the scholars and there is not definite evidence to reach a conclusive result. Indeed, the ‘nh-sign was borne by some of the deified kings, however, the one who carries it is Ramesses II and not Sety I.

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

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

Type b) private person raising hands in adoration before a text which includes the rdỉt ỉȝwt “giving adoration” formula without having the cartouches of the King depicted as in the case of Kings Teti and Thuthmosis III.

291 For the scholars who adopted the theory of coregency, see K. Seele, The Coregency of Rameses II, p. 29; W.J. Murnane, JNES 34, 1975, p. 188.
293 P. Brand maintains the notion that Ramesses II never ruled jointly with his father Sety I in a coregency but he was a crown prince; P.J. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I, p. 333-335; id., “Ideology and Politics of the Early Rameside Kings”, p. 29.
294 It is worthy to note that this sign was borne also by some individuals in ancient Egypt. On an Eleventh Dynasty stele which is now in the Cairo Museum, JE 88876, a couple is shown holding a anx-sign. This stela was published by H.G. Fischer, “An Eleventh Dynasty Couple holding the sign of life”, ZÄS 100, 1974, p. 16-28. In two Twenty-first/Twenty-second Dynasty wooden funerary stelae from Thebes, private citizens are depicted carrying the ‘nh-sign. A. Zayed, “Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum”, RdE 20, 1968, p. 149-170.
295 For the veneration and adoration of some king’s cartouches by some goddesses or baboons which associates them with the solar disk as reflected by chapter 16 from the Book of the Dead, see C. Spieser, “Les cartouches divins”, ZÄS 129, 2000, p. 90-94.
Type c) private person raising hands in adoration before the representation of the King sometimes accompanied with a deity as in the case of Kings Menkauhor, Amenhotep I, Sethnakht and Ramesses III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An important point, which needs to be tackled, is the iconography of the deified Sety I and how the deified Sety I was presented. Throughout the discussed documents dealing with his deification, apart from appearing in human form only, it can be deduced that Sety I does not have a fixed form for his deification instead he appeared frequently wearing different costumes. This result can be reflected through table (4). Additionally, apart from the form of Sety I at Abydos shown in document (34), there is no affordable textual evidence which shows different forms of Sety I as in the case of Amenhotep I and Ramesses II. As any other deified king in order to take care of the cult of the deified Sety I, he had several priests looking after it as can be shown on document (1).


301 P. Lacau, Stèles du Nouvel Empire I/2, CGC 34067-34068, Cairo, 1926, No. 34170, 208-209, pl. LXII; B. Bruyère, Mert Seger à Deir el-Médineh, MIFAO 58/2, 1930, p. 157, fig. 85; J.J. Clèrè, “Monuments inédits des Serviteurs dans la Place de Vérité”, BIFAO 28, 1929, p. 183, pl. IV. No. 4.


303 JE 45570. On a sandstone block which was found by C. Fischer at Mit-Rahineh in 1916, see G.A. Gaballah, “Three documents from the reign of Ramesses III”, JEA 59, 1973, p. 109.

304 L. Bull, “Two Egyptian stelae of the XVIII Dynasty”, MMS 2/1, 1929, p. 78-82.

305 PM VII, p. 122.


307 JE 27573; P. Lacau, Stèles du Nouvel Empire I/1, CGC, No. 34034, p. 67-68, pl. XXIII.


311 J. Couyat, P. Montet, Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Wadi Hammâmât II, MIFAO 34/2, 1913, p. 49, No. 46; ibid., MIFAO 34/1, 1912, pl. XIV.

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

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

315 Chapters 140, 148 of the Book of the dead; T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at The University of Chicago, OIP* 82, 1960, p. 224; 245; see also id., *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, *SAOC* 37, 1974, p. 117.
316 For a text dating to the 9th year of her reign in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, Queen Hatshepsut describes herself as *ink nṯr ḫpr “I am a god who organized the existence”*, see E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari III*, *EEF* 14, 1898, pl. 86, line 7; On the other hand, some scholars translated *ḫpr* as “beginning of the existence”, see also M.A. Murray, *The Splendour That was Egypt*, London, 1950, p. 174.
Table (4): The iconography of the deified Sety I shown in documents (13)-(36).

| Doc | AC | BC | WC | NH | LMW | TFC | DK | LK | SK | nF | HS | wS | CS | aS | HM | A | T | C | B | CB |
|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 13  | X  |    |    | X  | X   | X   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 14  | X  | X  |    |    | X   | X   | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 15  | X  | X  | X  |    |    | X   | X  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 16  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 17  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 18  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 19  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 20  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 21  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 22  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 23  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 24  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |    |
| 25  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |    |
| 26  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |    |
| 27  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |    |
| 28  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |    |
| 29  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 30  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 31  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 32  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 33  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 34  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 35  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |
| 36  | X  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | X  |

Key Table (4):
Doc: Document
AC: ȝtf-Crown
BC: Blue Crown
WC: White Crown
NH: Nms-Headress
LMW: Long Military Wig
TFC: Two Feathered Crown
DK: Double Kilt
LK: Long Kilt
SK: Short Kilt
nF: nḫḫȝ-Flail
ḥS: ḥqȝ-Scepter
wS: wȝs-Scepter
CS: Composite Scepter (ʿnḫ-ḏd-wȝs)
ḥM: ḥḏ-Mace
A: Armlets
C: Collar
T: Tail
B: Bracelets
CB: Ceremonial beard
The question that can be raised at this point is how can the process of the deification of the king in question be interpreted? As a matter of fact, the process of the deification of King Sety I cannot be discussed as an isolated case from the other instances of the deified kings in ancient Egypt. Several kings throughout the course of the ancient Egyptian history were deified during the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and the New Kingdom as well. The case of the king in question is quite different, as he was deified during his lifetime and then his son Ramesses II contributed to his post-mortem deification as well. It seems that Sety I managed to deify himself and declared that process in the temples of Abydos and Kanais perhaps after


an agreement with the priests. Accordingly, his deification would help him to maintain control over the country not as a king alone but as a god which gives him total supremacy. Even his son had exploited this process in his own deification to be a son of a god and god afterwards. L. Habachi pointed out that Ramesses II attempted to establish the deification and the cult of his father. 321 T. Ling and following him P. Brand were close to the mark when they pointed out that Ramesses II 322 managed to exploit the deification of his father and to deify his grandfather for his own benefit. This theory can also be ascertained by the fact that the pictorial evidence, showing the deification of Ramesses I, was mostly all the work of Ramesses II. 323 However, the cult of the king in question or any other king’s cult in Pharaonic Egypt cannot be compared with the cult of Ramesses II which was a nationwide cult while the former can be defined as small scale cult and did not gain much popularity among the workers of Deir el-Medina as in the case of Amenhotep I. Additionally, apart from the festival that was celebrated for his accession to the throne which was still celebrated after his death, there are no festivals correlated with his cult that were ever attested so far as in the case of Amenhotep I 324 and Ahmose-Nefertary. 325 Even after his death his cult did not succeed to flourish as in other cases such as some of the Kings of the Old Kingdom. In the case of the king in question another king managed to exploit the deification of his father and use it in his favour which denotes a king’s interference. This is in contrast to G. Jéquier’s theory who suggested that the funerary cults that were still going on in later times; were due to the priests who found an economic advantage from exploiting the piety of the private people seeking to obtain for their own dead a share in the offerings or the intercession of the deified king. 326 This explanation conveys the notion that the priests were responsible for the deification of the dead kings who had nothing to do with their deification. This interpretation may coincide with the cases of some of the kings of the Old Kingdom who were deified hundreds of years after their death especially during the New Kingdom 327 but not with the case of the king in question as his deification process is considered mainly a state or official cult and his cult cannot be defined as a popular cult. In contrast, it seems that the deification of individuals in Pharaonic Egypt has no authority controlling the process. 328

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

323 PM II, p. 417 (99-102), 418 (106). King Sety I built a chapel for Ramesses I at Abydos according to the texts inscribed on the chapel, see E. WINLOCK, The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos, MMA Papers 5, 1937, pl. II.
325 A. ERMAN, “Monatsnamen aus dem Neun Reich”, ZÄS 39, 1901, p. 129. For the festival called “festival of the navigation” of the deified Ahmose-Nefertary which were celebrated by the inhabitants of the village of Deir el-Medinah on the 14th and the 15th of the second month of the Shemu. Besides they considered these days as holidays, see C. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, La femme au temps de Pharaons, Paris, 1986, p. 105; D. VALBELLE, Les ouvriers de la Tombe, p. 335; M. GITTON, L’épouse du dieu Ahmes Néferary, p. 79; M. GITTON, LA I, col. 105.
326 J. JÉQUIER, Le Mastabat Faroun, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Cairo, 1928, p. 32.
was not a new scheme but it was just a stage in the deification process which appeared frequently during the Dynastic period and developed by time and mainly it was for political reasons. Several kings tried to legitimize their accession to the throne and the deification was a kind of religious/political propaganda invented to help Ramesses II to maintain his powers over the country. Thus, it would appear that this was not just a way to legitimize his accession to the throne but also to have a non-defying power during his reign not as a king but as a god.

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

ENGLISH SUMMARIES

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

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

MANSOUR BORAIK
Recent excavation in front of Karnak temple sheds light on Roman life in Luxor through the discovery of a large bath complex. The excavated remains of this thermae cover some 300 m² and include many archaeological features, such as the well-preserved bathing pools. Most of the walls of the superstructure now stand less than a metre high, but some of the fired brick walls of the substructure are 3 metres tall. The thermae were remoulded and redecorated over what appears to be a long period of use, adding to the challenge inherent in understanding the history of the complex. The rooms of the thermae are laid out axial sequence. Much of the complex, including its foundation, was built of fired brick. Key features of the Karnak thermae, moving east to west,
include well-built drains, leading to *loutra* (water plunge pools), an extensive *hipocaustum*, and a *praefurnium*. The presence of two distinct *caldaria* suggests that the Karnak *thermae* had discreet sections for female and male bathers. This hypothesis is supported by the large number of glass bracelets and other feminine jewelry discovered in the drains on the southern side of the complex. Further excavations will reveal the full plan of the *thermae* and test this hypothesis.

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

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

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

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

**Mansour Boraik, Mohamed Naguib**

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

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

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


During a six week field season in May and June of 2011, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project began to record inscriptions on the columns and abacus blocks of the building. This consisted of detailed collation of earlier records of the abacus blocks made by Ricardo Caminos in the 1950s and systematic photography of all the abaci facets *in situ* and of those now lying in the block yards. Many of the abaci have palimpsest inscriptions of erased Sety I or early Ramesses II inscriptions replaced by later Ramesses II reliefs. Orthogonal images of a representative sample of abaci facets were made in the block yards and from our scaffolding. Theodolite measurements of abaci facets and wall reliefs were also taken and a successful experiment was made to make a conventional photograph into an orthogonal one using the software program *Redresseur*. Collation of early
sketches of the column scenes by Harold Nelson yielded a wealth of new epigraphic data, including palimpsest inscriptions on some of the columns. Study of the abaci and column scenes also gave us new insights into the orientation of decoration, chronology of the relief decoration and post-pharaonic iconoclasm. Work also continued to produce “unrolled” and orthogonal images of the columns based on photogrammetric data obtained in 2007 and 2008. We also continued our earlier work to record inscribed blocks that have fallen from the upper levels of the walls that now lie in the northern and southern block yards.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Didier Devauchelle, Ghislaine Widmer


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

Amr Gaber


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

Luc Gabolde


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

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

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

Charlie Labarta

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

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

Nadia Licitra

“La réfection de l’enceinte du temple d’Amon sous le règne de Ramsès III: une nouvelle stèle décou-

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

David Lorand

“Une ‘Chapelle des Ancêtres’ à Karnak sous Sésosiris I?’”, p. 447-466.

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

“Membra disiecta ptolemaica (II)”, p. 467-491.
Publication of loose blocks belonging to monuments built at Karnak during the reigns of Ptolemy IV Philopator, Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes.

Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani

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

These preliminary investigations concern:
– the remains prior to construction of the sanctuary of Tuthmosis III (a gate of Senakhtenre Ahmose and massive mud-brick walls beneath the substructure of the temple);
– limestone bearing slabs which were reused as the floor of the chapels and the courtyard;
– limestone blocks of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut which were reused in the foundation of the temple;
– Ptolemaic and Kushite gates associated with mud-brick enclosure walls on the main axis and on another southernmost axis;
– the late Roman and secular occupation of the area.
بعد أن أجري الانتفال موسم 2012-2013 تم تعليق العمل بالمنطقة جنوب غرب الموقع، وداخل المقاصير وكذلك فناء قدس الأقداس، وهذا التقرير المبكر يقدم بقايا تطورات مختلفة بالبيئة المحيطة بالمعبد خلال فترة استخدامه الطويلة وحتى فترة استغلاله الثانية بعد نهاية العبادة الفرعونية، والفحوص الأولي والدراسات الأولى كانت لليبيا الأولى للفترة متحوز الثالث (بوابة سنخت ان رع أحمس وأسوار ضخمة من الطوب اللبن أسفل المباني السفلية للمعبد) البلوكات الحاملة من الحجر الجيري والتي تم إعادة استخدامها في أرضية المقاصير وفناء - بلوكات الحجر الجيري لتحمل الثالثة وحتى الآن والتي أعيد استخدامها في أساس المعبد بوابات العصورين الكوشي والبطلمي والمرتبطة بأسوار المحافظ المحيطة بالمعبد على المحور الأساسي والمحور الآخر الجنوبي - فترة الاستيطان بالمعبد على المحور الأساسي والمحور الآخر الجنوبي - فترة الاستيطان في العصر الروماني لهذه المنطقة.
Charlie Labarta

 لوحة للملك رمسيس الثاني بمتحف الشيخ لبيب بالكرنك

ينشر المقال لجزء من حجر الجرانيت للوحة من عصر رمسيس الثاني والتي تم نقشها فوق سطح مائدة قرابين من عصر أمنحوتب الثاني، وقد عثر عليها بين الصرحين الثالث والرابع بالكرنك ومحافظة حاليًا بمتحف الشيخ لبيب. وبدأ النقوش بالعام 37 من حكم رمسيس الثاني، تاريخ عيد اليوبيكل الثالث على الرغم من أن جزء كبير من النص مفقود - أما النص الأصل فيحمل كلام لأمون والذي تساهم في دراسة الشعائر الملكية خلال عصر الأسرة.

Nadia Licitra

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

تم الكشف في أبريل عام 2012 عن لوحة من عصر رمسيس الثالث بموقع كنز شباكا، والنص باللوحة يؤرخ لإعادة بناء السور المحيط بمعبد أمون. ويعطي معلومات جديدة عن موقع القطاع الشمالي لهذا السور في بداية الأسرة.

David Lorand

مقصورة الأجداد بالكرنك من عهد سنوسرت الأول

 لقد بدأ سنوسرت الأول خلال حكمة والذى إستمر لأكثر من سنوات في إعادة بناء معظم معابد مصر القديمة ولم ينسى بالطبع المكان المقدس لأمون و بثالوك ومن بينه العديد من البقايا الحجرية المكتشفة من الحجر الجيرى مثل المعابد والمقصورات،أدت ذلك العديد من التحاليل والتي قدمها سنوات الدردشة الأولى، تم اكتشاف ثالث المخلص من أيامه في بداية القرن العشرين، وثلاثة من هذه التلال تمثل أجداده معابد الدولة القديمة ومن أواخر عصر الأنتقال الأول. فقد تم اكتشاف ثالث الملك سنوسرت الأول بانتهاء uçuşه، وتم اكتسابه للكثر، حيث يعرف بالجسر الذي يمثل الملك بانتهاء حينه CG42005 وتمثل الأمير أنغاش E870 ينفع معبد أمون و بثالوك و ينفع معبد أمون، رمسيس الثاني الذي يمثل الملك بثالوك و ينفع معبد أمون، ربما إن كان جزء من إهتمام بالماضي في بداية الأسرة الثانية عشرة حتى يعطي طبيعة دينية على الحكم السياسي وربما أن التحاليل الثلاثة كانوا معروفين في واحدة من حجارات معبد الدولة الوسطى لأمون رمسيس الثاني أو ربما في المتحف المعروف بمقصورة الأجداد والتي توجد في معبد الأسرة الثالث بواسطة تحمس الثالث.

Christophe Thiers

Membra disiecta ptolemaica II

هذه القائمة تنشر للبلوكات الواقعة والتي كانت جزء من أثر شيد بالكرنك خلال عصور بطليموس الرابع (فيوميتر) و بطليموس السادس (فيوميتر) و بطليموس الثامن (فيوميتر).
Didier Devauchelle, Ghislaine Widmer
بالكتابة الديموطيقية بالكرنك hiereus

تشير القائمة إلى منطقة من الحجر الرملي تم الكشف عنها في حقائق الحرام البطلمي أمام الكرنك عام 2010م - والقطعة عليها نقش والذي ربما يكون جزء من تقدمة تحمل لقب إغريقى مترجم إلى الديموطيقية والتي ليس لدينا منها الكثير من الأمثلة الآن وهي لنا بدلية جديدة من المرج التفاف هذه المنطقة في بداية العصر الروماني.

Amr Gaber
مظاهر تأليه الملك سيتي الأول

المقال يفحص أصل الوثائق التي تعكس الطرق المختلفة التي تم توظيفها لتقدير سيتي الأول من ملوك الدولة الحديثة الأسرة التاسعة عشرة. وتحليل تلك الوثائق المختلفة سواء مرسومة أو مصورة سوف يوضح أن تقدير سيتي الأول يمكن في حياته ولكنه بعد مماته بواسطة إبنه رمسيس الثاني وقد جاءت هذه الوثائق أساسا من معابده في أبيدوس والقرنة وصاله الأساطير معبد الكرنك - بالإضافة إلى ذلك فهناك عناصر تعليم عام مأخوذة هذه الوثائق وتعكس تقديس سيتي الأول.

Luc Gabolde
ملاحظات على كساء مسلات صالة وجيت وتأريخه

ورغم هذا الشكل وغيره من الدلالات الأثرية تم اكتشافها بحفرة أبو الهول بين معابيد الكرنك والأقصر حيث جاءت بعض هذه القطع المقوسة من مصورة أوزورس يوجد معروف وهي مصورة أوزورس بادي عنخ والتي تم نشرها عام 1950م بعض هذه البلوكات كانت أجزاء من أبواب هذا الأثر وقد تم إعادة تركيب هذة القطع بالمقالة. وقد تم نشر هذه البلوكات لمزيد من المعرفة.

Jérémy Hourdin
مقصورة أوزورس-با جد عنخ لسيبوت الثانية ، إضافة لإعادة بناء النقوش والعارة

هذا المقال يتناول بعض من الدلالات الأثرية تم اكتشافها بحفرة أبو الهول بين معابيد الكرنك والأقصر حيث جاءت بعض هذه القطع المقوسة من مصورة أوزورس بادي عنخ والتي تم نشرها عام 1950م بعض هذه البلوكات كانت أجزاء من أبواب هذا الأثر وتم إعادة تركيب هذة القطع بالمقالة. وقد تم إنشاء هذا الأثر خلال عصر الزوجة الإلهة إم أوبت خلال عصر تانت أمون. وأخيرا فهناك بعض البولكات تم نشرها لمزيد من المعرفة.
Silvana Cincotti
Rifaud

«الحفائر في المتحف: المجموعة المصرية بتورين ووثائق Jean Jacques Rifaud»

تعني هذه المقالة تباثيل موجودة بمتحف الآثار المصرية بتورين والتي كانت قد اكتشفت بمصر بواسطة المختص Rifaud. الأبحاث التي أجريت بجنيف على المخطوطات الغير منشورة لBernardino Drovetti الفرنسي، وجدت أنها غير متصلية. إن متحف تورين قد أوضح أنه تباثيل الواقفة في Rifaud في تقريره عن الحفائر أنه عثر على الواقفة في معبد نابвлек داهل معبد أمون رع بالكرنك.

Romain David
فخار استيطان من القرن الخامس بالكرنك

هذه المقالة تشير إلى الفخار الذي يرجع إلى القرن الخامس الميلادي في الطبقة التي تعود لهذا العصر من منطقة سكانية داخل معبد بالكرنك، وتضيف معلومات عن وجود نشاط صناعي في هذه الطبقة بالموقع.

Catherine Defernez
ملاحظات بخصوص بعض الأواني بالكرنك

تهدف المقالة إلى دراسة مجموعة من الأواني المحفوظة جيداً من أواييا الإله بالكرنك، وهي ترجع للعصر البطلمي (ربما النصف الأول). هذه الفخار يعترف عليها تعود لهذا العصر من النيل، ومن ناحية أخرى لم يعثر على الكثير منها، وأواني هذه بالكرنك وشمال الكرنك وجنوب الكرنك، وقد عثر على بعض نماذج لهذه الأواني في معبد موت.

بعض الأشكال المغلقة عثر عليها في مواقع مختلفة في منطقة طيبة تشمل أيضاً نافذة خاصة في أماكن أخرى خارج طيبة خاصة في الدلتا وشمالو، وقد عثر على بعض نماذج هذه الأوراني في معبد تان.
Mansour Boraik, Mohamed Naguib

الأواني الفخارية من حفائر الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك

بدأت وزارة الدولة لشؤون الآثار كثافة في عام 2007 إلى الشمال الغربي من الصرح الأول لمعبد الكرنك في إطار مشروع تطوير المنطقة الواقعة بين معبد الكرنك ونهر النيل. والمقالة تقدم هنا فخاراً عن خمسة عصور تاريخية: العصر المتأخر والعصر اليوناني والعصر الروماني والعصور الإسلامية والعثمانية. وقد صنعت الأواني الفخارية من مواد طينية مختلفة ومتنوعة، وقد استخدم الفخار لأغراض مختلفة مثل التخزين والنقل وأواني طبخ المائدة والإفطار وغيرها. إن دراسة الفخار هامة جداً في المساعدة في تاريخ الموقع وتساعد في دراسة الحياة اليومية في المنطقة التي كانت نشطة خلال العصر اليوناني الروماني.

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

مشروع صالة الأعمدة بالكرنك – تقرير عن موسم 2011 بجامعة Montréal وجامعة Memphis

بدء مشروع دراسة الأعمدة للكرنك 2010 والذي تم لمدة سنتين أسابيع في تسجيل النقش على الأعمدة والدعامات التي تعلوها والتي كانت قد قام بها ريكاردو كامينوس في 1950 وذلك لتصور العلمي لكل الدعامات الأعمدة في ضريح مكاوما أو التي تعلوها الأعمدة المصبوغة. ومعظم النقوش النقوش عليها أثناء تجربة عصر ستيئ الأول وبداية عصر رمسيس الثاني تم جمعها و]])]وإعادة نقشها في عصر رمسيس الثاني. وقد تم إنتاج بعض الصور VMSS للدعمات كذلك نقوش عصر الأعمدة مع أخذ الصور التذكارية للدعمات وكذلك نقوش الأعمدة وقد أُعد المشروع بمعلومات قيمة عن نقل النقوش باليوم الغضوض. واسحاقة على الأعمدة بمقارنة البرامج والصور التي قام بها هارولد نيلسون وأعطت فكرة جديدة عن إتجاه الدراسة والتحقيق في الأعمدة استمرت الأعمال أيضاً تعطي أشكال عمودية للدعمات الأعمدة إعتاداً على الدراسة التذكارية التي تم إنتاجها مواسم.

Jean-François Carlotti, Philippe Martinez

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

هده الدراسة في إعادة إلقاء الضوء على تاريخ صالة الأعمدة الكبرى بالكرنك، حيث توجد العديد من القرائن سواء معمارية أو رسومات حديثة أو غير مذكورة تبين أن هذا الأثر هو في الحقيقة نتاج العديد من التعديلات والتغييرات والتي حدثت في مر عقود طويلة وعصور مختلفة. وفي هذا المشروع الأعمدة الأولى لاحظت النقوش المكتوبة باللغة مكة على تلك الموجودة في معبد الأقصر. وتelson تخطيط المعبد متأخر إلى الذي على ما يبدو تم تشييده فناً على رواج عدة محاكية بعمدة من أحيانا الثلاثات والتي تحمل بصفة أساسية اسم الملكة نهر اليمنى ثم جاء عصر توت عنخ أمون رع وحورحب والذين أضافوا هذا المبنى واستخدموا أجزاء من الأعمدة في الأساطير التي تدوم رواج الأعمدة ثم جاء بدء عصر الرعامسة حيث تغيرت تماماً وأصبحت عمودية بالأساطير والتي تبين أنها تكلمت أسوم عصر الرعامسة المبكر وهكذا فقد شهد هذه الدراسة الجوية هذا الأثر العديد من المعالم على مر العصور وكانت هذه الملاحظات التاريخية حيث أن العديد من قبائل رع يشترط النقوش لابد من دراستها حيث تم تطوير المبنى من عاصفة عصر العصور وستصبح نظرة كهذا المجال أمام العلماء لكثير من الجدل للتحقيق منه.
الحمام الرومانى أمام معابد الكرنك تقرير مبدى

تم إضافة نجع الحساسنة إلى مشروع تطوير ساحة الكرنك بعد تعويض الأهالي عن الأرض التي كانوا يقيمون عليها وإجراء الحفائر في هذه المنطقة.

الكشف عن حمام روماني كبير، يغطي مساحة أكثر من ثلاثمائة متر مربع، وتم الكشف عن العديد من القطع الأثرية منها إستراحات زجاجية وسجاد وفوهات مصممة تستمد من النظام السعفي للحمام، ويشهد بأسلوب هندي قديم.

ويتمدّح محوّر الحمام شرق غربًا ويتبعه بمدخله الذي يؤدي إلى ساحة ذات أعمدة، وتتضمّن في عدة أقسام على جانبها حجرات للدش، وأخرى بالساحات المفتوحة إلى جانب قسم حمام البخار، كما يحتوي على حمامات صغيرة، وتعتبر هذه الحمامات كبرىًّا وأكثرها حفظًا في مصر.

ويمكن التأكد من الكشف عنه حيث أن الحفائر متعمدة وقد وضعت التخطيط المعماري التام لهذا الحمام الساش، الذي يعكس الحياة الاجتماعية خلال العصر الرومانى في المنطقة الغربية لمعابد الكرنك، التي كانت تشكل أهم مركز ديني، سواء للمصريين أو الرومان.

والبحث الذي تم الكشف عنه حيث أن الأثاث مازال مصممًا وكي يتوافق التخطيط المعماري الكامل لهذا الحمام الساش، والذي يعكس الحياة الاجتماعية خلال العصر الرومانى في المنطقة الغربية لمعابد الكرنك، التي كانت تشكل أهم مركز ديني، سواء للمصريين أو الرومان.

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

الحمامات البيزنطية أمام معابد الكرنك – الابتكارات الحديثة موسم (2009-2010)


ويمكن التأكد من الكشف عنه حيث أن الحفائر متعمدة وقد وضعت التخطيط المعماري التام لهذا الحمام الساش، الذي يعكس الحياة الاجتماعية خلال العصر الرومانى في المنطقة الغربية لمعابد الكرنك، التي كانت تشكل أهم مركز ديني، سواء للمصريين أو الرومان.

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المخصصات العربية

Michel Azim, Agnès Cabrol, Aude Dobrakowski, Luc Gabolde

لغز تمثال لأبو الهول

تنشر المقالة صورتين تم إنقاذهما بمعرفة فرانسوا شامبيليه في القطاع الأوسط لمعب الكرنك، ونشر من مقتنيات متحف التاريخ الطبيعي في مدينة فرانس (Musée d’Histoire Naturelle of Lille, France). 

واحده من هذه الصور تمثل تمثال أسطوري لأبو الهول مفقود الآن والدراسة توضح نظرية أن يكون هذا تمثال لأمون.

Mansour Boraik

حفرات طريق أبو الهول التقرير الثاني

إستمرت أعمال حفر طريق أبو الهول في عدة قطاعات مختلفة، تعل أهمها القطاع الواقع خلف مكتبة الأقصر العامة، والقطاع الممتد من طريق المطار وحتى نهج أبو عصبة وقد أضفت الحفرات الكثير من المعلومات عن تاريخ طيبة منذ العصور الفرعونية وحتى العصر الحديث، حيث تم الكشف عن العديد من الأنشطة الإنسانية التي كانت على جانب الطريق خلال العصور اليونانية والرومانية، كما تم الكشف عن مستود السد الكبير والذي كشف عنه أمام معبد الكرنك إلى الغرب من طريق الكباش الذي يقع أمام بوابة برجيتوس مما يؤكد أن معابد الكرنك كانت مشيدة فوق مايشبه الجزيرة، وأن حفرات طريق أبو الهول تفتح المجال مستقبلا للمزيد من البحث إلى النحو الاقتصادي والسياسي لمحافظة الأقصر، ويفيد القال إلى الحديث عن أهم الأكتشافات على طول هذا الطريق المقدس والذي تم الكشف على جميع قطاعاته إلا القطاع الأخير والذي يقع أمام ستيرال الأقصر، والذي يجري به العمل الآن.
Romain David
فخار استيطان من القرن الخامس بالكرنك

Catherine Defernez
ملحظات بخصوص بعض أواني يس المكتشفة بالكرنك

Didier Devauchelle, Ghislaine Widmer
بالكتابة الديموطيقية بالكرنك hiereus

Amr Gaber
مظاهر تأليه الملك سيتي الأول

Luc Gabolde
ملحظات على كساء مسلات صالة واجيت وتاريخه

Jérémy Hourdin
مقصورة أوزير – يا جد عنيف لشبونة الثانية، إضافة لإعادة بناء النقوش والعبرة

Charlie Labarta
لوحة للملك رمسيس الثاني بمخزن الشيخ لبيب بالكرنك

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

David Lorand
مقصورة الأجداد بالكرنك من عهد سنوسرت الأول

Christophe Thiers
Membra disiecta ptolemaica II

Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani
معبد بناح بالكرنك - المعطيات الأولية عن الموقع
المحتويات

Michel Azim, Agnès Cabrol †, Aude Dobrakowski, Luc Gabolde
لغز تمثال لأبو الهول

Mansour Boraik
حفائر طريق أبو الهول – التقرير الثاني

Mansour Boraik
حمام روماني بمعابد الكرنك – تقرير مبدئي

Mansour Boraik, Salah el-Masekh, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, Bérangère Redon
الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك – الاكتشافات الحالية موسم (2009 - 2010)

Mansour Boraik, Mohamed Naguib
الأواني الفخارية من حفائر الحمامات البطلمية أمام معابد الكرنك

Peter Brand, Jean Revez, Janusz Karkowski, Emmanuel Laroze, Cédric Gobeil
مشروع صالة الأعمدة بالكرنك – تقرير عن موسم 2011 بجامعة Montréal Québec وجامعة Memphis

Jean-François Carlotti, Philipe Martinez
ملاحظات جديدة على العمارة والنقش بصالة الأعمدة الكبرى بمعبد آمون رع بالكرنك

Silvana Cincotti
الحفائر داخل المتحف – المجموعة المصرية بدورين وجماعة ريفود Rifaud