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THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU—VOLUME 1

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SCENES OF KING HERIHOR IN THE COURT

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS



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THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU—VOLUME 1  
PLATES 1–110

# SCENES OF KING HERIHOR IN THE COURT

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS

*By*

*THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY*

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## PREFACE

**N**O SINGLE volume authored by the Epigraphic Survey reflects more closely the collective contribution of the many who over the years have served as members of the staff at Chicago House than does the present publication of the scenes in the court of the Temple of Khonsu. Each field director of the Epigraphic Survey since its inception has played a role in the preparation of this volume, and the list of participating Egyptologists and artists is considerably longer than that in any previous publication of the expedition. Epigraphic work at the Temple of Khonsu was started as early as 1935. After a hiatus caused by the Second World War, recording continued until 1948, when the expedition's activity was centered on completing prior commitments, principally that for Medinet Habu. In 1966, under the field directorship of Professor Charles Francis Nims, members of the staff of Chicago House again took up the task of completing the documentation of the court and first hypostyle hall of the Temple of Khonsu.

Some unfortunate but unavoidable consequences have resulted from the prolonged interruptions in the recording of the reliefs in the Temple of Khonsu. At the outset, the method used by the Survey to indicate damaged areas in the surface of the wall was the conventional technique of shading. This was the method used in one of the first drawings to be completed, plate 55, published in 1940 as supplementary material pertaining to the Feast of Min in the Epigraphic Survey's volume devoted to the festival scenes in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup> In this drawing the expedition's conventional technique of employing uniform shading to indicate damaged areas of the surface of the wall is evident. Before the Second World War and immediately thereafter a different technique came to be used for recording scenes in the temple. In drawings produced during this period the use of shading was abandoned; instead, a broken line was used to delineate the margins of destroyed areas, as in Medinet Habu 5, plates 339–40.

The drawback to this technique of rendering breaks is that it is often extremely difficult for the artist to determine precisely where the broken line should be drawn. Frequently, breaks in the wall are merely small patches of missing surface so that an intelligible indication of the damaged area by this method is practically impossible. Thus, when work at the Temple of Khonsu resumed in 1966 under Professor Nims's direction, the method of shading traditionally associated with the expedition's publications was reestablished. The numerous drawings that had been done in the intervening years were never redrawn with shading, however, due to the cost that would have resulted and the further delay in publication.

At the instance of Professor Keith C. Seele in 1961 that the Epigraphic Survey should, in recording the temple of Ramesses II at Beit el-Wali<sup>2</sup> alter its unnaturalistic use of shadow (weighted) and sun (unweighted) lines to conform to the more naturalistic technique employed in other Egyptological publications, drawings produced by artists of the Epigraphic Survey since then have been rendered as though the lighting of the surface of the wall were from the left and above rather than from the right and below. Thus, in the more recent drawings the heavier shadow line represents the left or upper edge of an incised cut and the lighter sun line indicates the right or bottom edge of an incised cut. In the case of raised relief the shadow line

<sup>1</sup> *MH 4: Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, OIP 51 (1940), pl. 216.

<sup>2</sup> See Herbert Rieke, George R. Hughes, and Edward F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1967).

is drawn at the right or bottom edge of the cut of the relief and the sun line at the left or upper edge of the cut. In drawings made before 1961 the situation was quite the reverse. Because plates in the present volume and the one to follow were prepared some before, some after the change in our conventions for rendering the two types of Egyptian relief, it will, alas, not be easy for the reader to determine the nature of the original relief solely from an examination of the plate.<sup>3</sup>

Fortunately, King Herihor's decoration of the court of the Temple of Khonsu does follow a scheme in its employment of raised and sunken relief. In the court and portico, all scenes on the columns were executed in sunken relief. Those on the walls, however, were done in raised relief to the left (west) of the axis of the temple, and in sunken relief to the right (east) of the axis. In the left half of the court, only the decoration immediately surrounding the two doorways in the west wall (pls. 24 and 25) and the intrusive inscription (pl. 44, line 8) are in sunken relief. All the material reproduced in plates 11 through 50, therefore (with the exceptions just noted), as well as the marginal inscription at the base of the scenes on the west wall reproduced on plate 109 C, are in raised relief. The material represented on all the remaining plates is in sunken relief.

The decoration of the walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak reflects a similar division in the location of raised and sunken relief. There, scenes located on the walls to the left (north) of the axis are executed in raised relief.<sup>4</sup> The similar disposition of the two types of wall relief in the Great Hypostyle Hall and the court of the Temple of Khonsu suggests that King Herihor's sculptors may have been influenced by the older monument of Sethos I and Ramesses II. In this connection it is noteworthy that the only other monument besides the Temple of Khonsu that bears formal attestation of Herihor's kingship is in fact the Great Hypostyle Hall, where a marginal inscription of his was added below scenes of Ramesses II.<sup>5</sup> King Herihor's interest in this earlier monument is also reflected in the fact that he elected to have the façade of the Second Pylon, which forms the front of the Great Hypostyle Hall, portrayed on the east wall of the court of the Temple of Khonsu (pl. 52). The textual material that accompanies the depiction of this pylon, including the inscriptions painted on the representation of the pylon, attests to the attention paid by King Herihor to his predecessors' monument. Furthermore, a number of parallels to scenes and texts in the court of the Temple of Khonsu can be found in the Great Hypostyle Hall, for which occasional references will be found in the notes to the translations.

Of particular importance to an understanding of the history of the end of the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period is plate 26. It shows the famous procession of King Herihor's family, which is carved in raised relief on the west wall of the portico. To this day, discussions devoted to the chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty have maintained that the High Priest of Amon Paiankh was the son of King Herihor.<sup>6</sup> The sole basis for this often-asserted filiation is a drawing made of this procession by Lepsius' draftsman in the last century.<sup>7</sup> Over the head of the first prince in this earlier copy there is a shaded area to the right

<sup>3</sup> For a recent discussion on rendering relief in a two-dimensional drawing, see Fritz Hintze, *Musawwarat Es Sufra*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Der Löwentempel* (Berlin, 1971), Preface.

<sup>4</sup> See Keith C. Seele, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, no. 19 (Chicago, 1940), chap. 5, and Paul Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse*, *L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire*, no. 21 (Cairo, 1962), p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Text given in Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Edward F. Wente, "On the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JNES* 26 (1967):174; Jürgen von Beckerath, "Die 'Stele der Verbannten' im Museum des Louvre," *RdE* 20 (1968):31, n. 8; and Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973), pp. 252-53 and table 9, p. 475; but see most recently M. L. Bierbrier, "Hrere, Wife of the High Priest Paiankh," *JNES* 32 (1973):311.

<sup>7</sup> Published in C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, pt. 3 (Berlin, 1849-1859), pl. 247a.



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of the *nh*-sign, which, quite understandably, has led to the easy restoration of the prince's name as Paiankh. Careful scrutiny of the wall, however, has failed to reveal any traces of damage to the wall at the point where Lepsius' draftsman introduced his shading. In other words, the name of the first son of King Herihor in this procession did not begin with *P<sup>3</sup>y* but with *nh*, and he was entitled "The King's Bodily Son, Overseer of Cattle and Chief Steward of Amon, Prophet of Mut, Fourth (or "Second") Prophet of Amon, Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Leader."<sup>8</sup>

On the north wall of the portico, immediately adjoining the right edge of the family procession on the west wall, is another scene in raised relief. It depicts the procession of the portable barks of the Theban triad and of Amonet (pl. 44). The occasion for this procession of the divine barks is the visit of the gods of Thebes to the Temple of Khonsu to be present at Amon-Re's formal acceptance of that part of the temple prepared by King Herihor. Although the titles and name of the Prophet of Khonsu Pashedkhons were obviously added secondarily in sunken relief in front of the original raised-relief representation of this prophet accompanying the bark of Khonsu,<sup>9</sup> the titles and name of the corresponding priest beside the bark of Mut are clearly original, being executed in the raised relief characteristic of the scene and its texts. The inscription accompanying this individual reads, "The King's Bodily Son, Chief Steward of Amon, and Prophet of Mut, Ankhefenmut, justified." Aside from the initial title that gives Ankhefenmut his princely status, his titles are duplicated only in the text accompanying the first of Herihor's sons in the family procession. In the light of our epigraphic work it seems probable that these two individuals are identical. In the case of the first prince of the family procession it is possible that Ankhefenmut's name was either entirely written out with a rather condensed grouping of the signs behind the prince's head or, more probably, given in its abbreviated form, Ankhef. In no wise is Paiankh a possible restoration of the name of the first prince.

It has been suggested that Ankhefenmut's titles, as given in the scene of the procession of the portable barks, were taken over from Paiankh, who supposedly had previously held these titles as the leading prince in the procession of King Herihor's family.<sup>10</sup> Such an interpretation would demand the assumption that either the titles and name of Ankhefenmut were introduced secondarily in front of his figure in the procession of the barks or that this entire scene was carved later than the scene depicting the family of King Herihor in procession. The first alternative, as we have just indicated, is out of the question, and the second has little to recommend it. There is nothing to suggest that both processions were not carved at approximately the same time. In fact, one might expect that if either of the two processional scenes had temporal priority, it was the scene of the procession of the barks, carved on the previously existing façade of the temple proper, whereas the family procession adorns a side wall of the court of the temple. Before Herihor was king, he had used a minor section of this façade to the right of the central doorway for the carving of his famous oracle stele.<sup>11</sup>

It might be supposed that both of these scenes are actually to be construed as forming a unit, following the principle sometimes adopted in Ramesside temples of having processional scenes bridge the corner of a room.<sup>12</sup> Such being the case, it would have been illogical to represent the same individual, Ankhefenmut, twice within what was essentially a single procession. However, one can readily cite parallels for the presence of an individual more than once within the

<sup>8</sup> For readings and restorations of the titles, see notes to the translation of pl. 26, lines 3-4.

<sup>9</sup> It remains uncertain whether this prophet of Khonsu, Pashedkhons, is to be identified with the ninth son of Herihor in the family procession; cf. Hermann Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopienzeit*, PrÄg 4 (Leiden, 1964), p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> See *ibid.* and Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 252.

<sup>11</sup> This stele is to be published in vol. 2.

<sup>12</sup> For references see Wente, *JNES* 26:156, n. 8.

same scene,<sup>13</sup> and, in any case, one must refrain from pressing the unity of these two scenes too far, inasmuch as the two registers of these scenes do not continue neatly from one wall to the other. The combined height of the two registers of the family procession is just slightly greater than the height of the lower register alone of the procession of the portable barks.<sup>14</sup>

The new evidence regarding the identity of the first of King Herihor's sons in the family procession does not, of course, vitiate what has generally been believed regarding Paiankh's filial relationship to King Herihor, but it does cast some doubt on the assumption that Herihor was the progenitor of the line of high priests at Thebes during the Twenty-first Dynasty, especially in view of the fact that the leading prince in the procession is accorded the title of "leader," which Paiankh also bore subsequently.<sup>15</sup> It should be remembered that although the High Priest of Amon and King Painutem I consistently emphasized at the Temple of Khonsu and elsewhere the fact that he was the son of the High Priest Paiankh (who never held royal titles), he never referred to Herihor, who had so boldly asserted royal status in the court of the Temple of Khonsu. Such silence on the part of Painutem I contrasts with the occasional use by the High Priest Painutem II of the epithet, "King's Son of Psusennes."<sup>16</sup>

Although Paiankh was probably not a son of King Herihor, his assumption of the Theban pontificate as well as of other military and civil functions previously held by Herihor does not necessarily reflect any opposition to Herihor. How Herihor met his end and how Paiankh rose to power we do not know, but we do know that Herihor's Queen Nuteme, who survived into the pontificate of Painutem I, continued to maintain a respected and honored position in Thebes. In Year 10 of the Renaissance era, when Paiankh was general and high priest, she played an active role in political affairs,<sup>17</sup> and under the High Priest Painutem I, son of Paiankh, she appears among the dignitaries of the day.<sup>18</sup> When Nuteme died early in the reign of the Tanite pharaoh Smendes, she was accorded a significant burial, the equipment for which included funerary papyri naming her as King's Mother and depicting her in the company of her former husband, King Herihor.<sup>19</sup> It is indeed unusual that Herihor's wife should have retained such prominence as she did after his death, whereas their children, who are depicted and named in the family procession in the court of the Temple of Khonsu, seem to have fallen into oblivion following their father's death.

In texts accompanying the two representations of Queen Nuteme in the court of the Temple of Khonsu she is accorded the title of Great King's Wife (pls. 26 and 28 B), indicating her relationship to King Herihor. The title of King's Mother, subsequently borne by Queen

<sup>13</sup> In the Temple of Khonsu King Herihor appears more than once in the scene of the Feast of Opet (pls. 20-23) and in the procession of Min (pl. 55). In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Ramesses II appears twice in a scene involving the procession of the sacred barks of the Theban triad; see S. Giedion, *The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Architecture* (New York, 1964), pp. 362-63, figs. 227 and 229; and at Medinet Habu Ramesses VI set his name beside two of the princely figures in a processional scene; see *MH 5: The Temple Proper*, pt. 1, OIP 83 (1957), pls. 299 and 301.

<sup>14</sup> The presence of the ithyphallic Amon-Re, standing on a pedestal at the left end of the lower register of the procession of the barks, might also constitute an objection to linking the two processional scenes, since his figure is original. The doorway to his right seems to be contemporary with the relief of this wall, for the surface of the stone to the right of the doorway was left smooth and uncarved.

<sup>15</sup> See Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* 3, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 19 (Cairo, 1914), p. 241; Jaroslav Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques II*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1935), p. 90\* (Cairo ostrakon 25745, line 5); and Charles F. Nims, "An Oracle Dated in 'The Repeating of Births,'" *JNES* 7 (1948):158, pl. 8. Paiankh also bore the expanded title "Leader of the Troops of Pharaoh"; see Gauthier, *Livre des rois* 3:241, and Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, *BiAeg* 9 (1939), p. 61, line 16.

<sup>16</sup> See Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, vol. 3, p. 279, and Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 62.

<sup>17</sup> For translations of the pertinent documents, see Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, no. 33 (Chicago, 1967), pp. 53 and 69; cf. also Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 41.

<sup>18</sup> See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 41-42, and note also her appearance in a scene carved under the High Priest Painutem I in the solar chapel on the roof of the Temple of Khonsu; cf. Kurt Sethe, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien: Text 3* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 42-43, for references and discussion.

Nuteme in her funerary papyrus, has caused some difficulties of interpretation. It has been suggested that this title should not be taken literally—that its significance may be that of mother-in-law of a king, or that she may have been given this title because through her son Paiankh she was the grandmother of Painutem I, who adopted royal iconography and a royal titulary.<sup>20</sup> In one place in Queen Nuteme's funerary papyrus she is called King's Mother *mst k3 nht*, where *mst k3 nht* should mean "who has borne the Mighty Bull."<sup>21</sup> That this expression should be understood as indicating that Nuteme was indeed the true mother of a king is suggested by the fact that the same title, "King's Mother, who has borne the Mighty Bull," was accorded to Queen Mut-Tuy, the mother of Ramesses II.<sup>22</sup> In the latter case, since it is known that the mother of Ramesses II was born of parents who were commoners,<sup>23</sup> there is no possibility of rendering the title by "King's Mother-in-law, borne of the Mighty Bull," as some might wish to construe the title when applied to Queen Nuteme. If Nuteme's title, also, is interpreted literally, the conclusion that King Herihor and Queen Nuteme were indeed the parents of King Smendes, founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty at Tanis, seems inescapable. At the death of Ramesses XI, Smendes became the legitimate ruler of Egypt, the recognized pharaoh of Manethonian tradition, and his authority extended over Upper Egypt, where his regnal years were used for dating purposes even though Painutem I eventually assumed full titles of kingship while Smendes still sat on the throne at Tanis.<sup>24</sup> At Thebes the exalted status of Herihor's wife, Queen Nuteme, after Herihor's death can therefore be explained by the fact that she was the mother of Smendes, the potentate of Tanis, who had become king. The absence of Smendes from among the sons of Herihor and Nuteme in the Temple of Khonsu would indicate that at the time the scene of the family procession was carved on the wall Smendes was already living away from Thebes as the governing power at Tanis in the Delta, as we learn from the Report of Wenamon, written in Year 5 of what must be the Renaissance era.<sup>25</sup>

Among the other sons of Herihor a number bear Libyan names, including the name Osorkon in its earliest attested occurrence. While it has been suggested that such Libyan names might have been given to certain sons of Herihor honorifically, as an expression of the military importance of the family,<sup>26</sup> a Libyan origin for Herihor is equally plausible.<sup>27</sup> In view of the generally prevailing opinion that Herihor's background was military rather than priestly, it is not unreasonable to suggest that he originally came from one of the colonies of Libyan mercenaries whom the Ramesside rulers had established in camps in Egypt.<sup>28</sup> It is perhaps to

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> See Wente, *JNES* 26:173-74, and Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 44.

<sup>22</sup> On a statue from Tanis; see Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, vol. 3, p. 75.

<sup>23</sup> See G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, "Ramesside Varia I," *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968):259-63, and Labib Habachi, "La Reine Touy, femme de Séthi I et ses proches parents inconnus," *RdE* 21 (1969):27-47.

<sup>24</sup> See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 255-56.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kees, *Hohenpriester des Amun*, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> As suggested by von Beckerath (*RdE* 20:33) and by Rainer Stadelmann ("Das Grab im Tempelhof. Der Typus des Königsgrabes in der Spätzeit," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 27 [1971]:119, n. 45); cf. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 248, n. 32, and pp. 257-62. Donald B. Redford ("Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium B.C.: II. The Twenty-second Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 [1973]:7) does not consider the Twenty-first Dynasty to be of Libyan origin.

<sup>28</sup> See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 18-19. In the first hypostyle hall of the Temple of Khonsu (to be published in vol. 2) most of the representations of Herihor depict him in the guise of high priest, while Ramesses XI is the king regnant in numerous scenes and inscriptions of this hall. Herihor's titles there, however, are by no means exclusively those of high priest but reflect his military and civil functions as well. In several scenes his garb and headdress are nonecclesiastic, possibly reflecting the fact that he was not of priestly background.

such a camp at el-Hibeh that reference is made in plate 14, where King Herihor is depicted offering to a Horus of "The Camp."<sup>29</sup>

Most scholars now agree that King Herihor died prior to Year 7, third month of the third season, day 28, of the Renaissance era, the date when Paiankh is first attested as high priest and general.<sup>30</sup> According to the Report of Wenamon, it was only two years earlier, in Year 5, that Herihor's envoy set out on his journey to Byblos to secure lumber for the riverine barge of Amon-Re. In a painted inscription on this barge depicted in the Feast of Opet (pl. 21) the statement appears that King Herihor constructed the barge of cedar of Lebanon. A similar statement is found on the west face of the westernmost architrave of the court of the Temple of Khonsu (to be published in volume 2). It has been realized that these two texts cast some doubt on the view that Herihor was deceased by Year 7 of the Renaissance era. If the quality of the reliefs in the court is taken into consideration, although it is evident that they may reflect a decline in artistic merit, there is no discernible indication of undue haste in their execution such as one might have expected if the reliefs of the Feast of Opet were truly historical and had been carved within two years of the arrival of the Phoenician lumber and the construction of the riverine barge of Amon-Re. It should be emphasized that care was taken throughout to maintain a balance between raised and sunken relief in the wall scenes that imitate the pattern of the Great Hypostyle Hall, a fact that speaks against hasty work in the court of the temple.

Kitchen has recently suggested the correct solution to the problem posed by these statements concerning the construction of the sacred barge of Amon-Re.<sup>31</sup> In all probability the reliefs and texts were carved in anticipation of the successful fulfillment of Wenamon's trade mission to Byblos. If one examines other extant versions of the Feast of Opet, it is evident that the construction of new portable barks and divine barges was a claim made in the texts accompanying the scenes, so that by the time of King Herihor such statements might have been regarded as part and parcel of scenes of the Feast of Opet.<sup>32</sup> Another factor to be considered is the possible cause-and-effect relationship between the carving of such scenes of the Feast of Opet and the construction of new barks. Here a parallel might be found in the Egyptian view of the relationship of a high Nile to the royal jubilee, so ably discussed by Wolfgang Helck.<sup>33</sup> From the Egyptian point of view reference to a high inundation was a necessary adjunct to the celebration of a jubilee, whether a high inundation actually occurred or not. The depiction of the new barge of Amon-Re in Herihor's version of the Feast of Opet is not entirely without parallel in the scenes in the court of the temple. The scenes and texts of plate 44, discussed above, must have been completed prior to the visit of the divine barks of the Theban gods to accept Herihor's memorial.

Directly connected with the problem of Herihor's demise and the advent of Paiankh as general and High Priest of Amon is the question whether Herihor abrogated his high priestly position when he assumed the kingship. In this connection it should be emphasized that Herihor's kingship is by no means universally attested, the evidence for it being almost entirely confined to the court of the Temple of Khonsu. While in the past some scholars have suggested that Herihor continued to rule as king upon relinquishing the post of High Priest of Amon to

<sup>29</sup> See notes to the translation of pl. 14 for discussion of the god of this locality.

<sup>30</sup> On his oracle stela, published by Nims in *JNES* 7:157-62; cf. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 17-22.

<sup>31</sup> Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 252, n. 45, as against Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 3, n. 13, latter part.

<sup>32</sup> Earlier statements concerning the construction of barks for the Feast of Opet are those of Tutankhamon at Luxor (see Walther Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet: Die Festzugsdarstellung im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luksor* [Leipzig, 1931], p. 55, no. 11 and p. 63, no. 32); of Sethos I in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (see George Foucart, "Études thébaines: La Belle Fête de la vallée," *BIFAO* 24 [1924]: pl. 4); and of Ramesses III at Karnak (see *RIK* 2, OIP 35 [1936], pl. 90, lines 15-18 and pl. 92, lines 24-26).

<sup>33</sup> Wolfgang Helck, "Nilhöhe und Jubiläumsfest," *ZÄS* 93 (1966):74-79.

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Paiankh,<sup>34</sup> most scholars today believe that this was not the case.<sup>35</sup> Additional evidence that supports the current view is offered by the reliefs in the court of the Temple of Khonsu, where the iconography surrounding Herihor's claim to kingship is of some importance in assessing his role.

Because of the poor quality of the reproduction of the few scenes of this part of the temple published hitherto it has not always been possible to draw accurate conclusions. The selection of scenes from the court published long ago (in Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* III, pls. 243–47) is in some respects unrepresentative and even misleading. In the Temple of Khonsu there are over one hundred representations of King Herihor, most of which are published in the present volume,<sup>36</sup> so that it is now possible to assess the iconographic import of the documentation on a quantitative as well as a qualitative basis. Some interesting observations can be made regarding the iconography associated with Herihor's claim to kingship.

In only three scenes does Herihor wear a crown or headdress that is of nonecclesiastic nature. In ninety-seven percent of the scenes his headdress consists of the close-fitting skullcap that is worn by a king when his high priestly function is emphasized.<sup>37</sup> In the Great Hypostyle Hall, for example, the pharaohs Sethos I and Ramesses II are shown in their priestly role wearing this skullcap as they stride beside the sacred bark of Amon that is carried in procession.<sup>38</sup> In eight of the scenes at the Temple of Khonsu (pls. 21, 34, 38, 68, 79, 83, 93, 101) the priestly aspect of Herihor's kingship is further conveyed by the fact that he wears the leopard skin, often found cloaking figures of nonroyal high priests.<sup>39</sup> It should be emphasized, moreover, that in none of the scenes depicting King Herihor wearing the skullcap does he wear the artificial beard associated with the kingship. The weight of such iconographic evidence, together with the fact that Herihor's praenomen always remained "High Priest of Amon," strongly suggests that when Herihor became king he did not abdicate his position as High Priest of Amon.

The three cases in which Herihor wears a crown or headdress of nonecclesiastic nature and displays the artificial beard are very special ones that can be explained in terms of the traditional iconography associated with the pharaonic kingship. In these cases the king is not functioning in his priestly role. At his coronation (pl. 57) he wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, while at his baptism (pl. 33) he has donned the so-called Nubian wig, commonly worn by pharaohs of the New Kingdom. The third scene (pl. 46), in which Herihor wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, also conforms to the traditional royal iconography; here the king carries staves and a bird.<sup>40</sup> This is a definitely royal type of ritual and up to the time of King Herihor was never performed by the high priest. In connection with this royal

<sup>34</sup> E.g., Eric Young, "Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963):110, and Kees, *Hohenpriester des Amun*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>35</sup> See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 16–23.

<sup>36</sup> Six scenes of King Herihor carved on the south face of the south architrave of the portico and the scenes recarved under Nectanebos on the jambs of the portal leading from the first hypostyle hall to the ambulatory surrounding the sanctuary of the bark of Khonsu are to be published in vol. 2.

<sup>37</sup> For discussions concerning this skullcap see Ludwig Borchardt, "Der sogenannte Kriegshelm," *ZÄS* 42 (1905):82; Fr.-W. von Bissing, "Casque ou perruque," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 29 (1907):160; Georg Steindorff, "Die blaue Königskrone," *ZÄS* 53 (1917):64–65; and Heinrich Schäfer, "Die Simonsche Holzfigur eines Königs der Amarnazeit," *ZÄS* 70 (1934):13–19. To my knowledge the skullcap was not worn by kings prior to the reign of Sethos I. In the few cases in the Temple of Khonsu where the head of Herihor has not been intentionally damaged and the paint is preserved, this cap is golden yellow, with a reticulated pattern in red lines; see, for example, pl. 97 for traces of the pattern.

<sup>38</sup> For the two scenes see Seele, *Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I*, fig. 8 (facing p. 25) and fig. 22 (facing p. 68).

<sup>39</sup> For the combination of the skullcap and leopard skin as a mark of a king's high priestly function, see *MH* 4, OIP 51, pl. 229, on the socle of the bark of Amon.

<sup>40</sup> See Hermann Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Munich, 1912), chap. 1; idem, "Nachlese zum Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs," *ZÄS* 52 (1915):61–64.

ritual it is interesting to note that in the reliefs of King Herihor (pls. 10 and 35) two related royal rituals, the *Vasenlauf* and the *Ruderlauf*, have been transformed for the first time into priestly rites. In these reliefs Herihor does not wear the crowns customarily donned by the king in older versions of these royal rituals<sup>41</sup> nor does he boldly run with the vases or ship's gear; instead, he wears the skullcap of a high priest and adopts the quiet stance of an officiant before the god.

The significance of such evidence from the court of the Temple of Khonsu as it relates to the nature of Herihor's kingship becomes especially apparent when one compares the scenes of King Herihor with earlier depictions of the king officiating before the gods in temples of the New Kingdom. Before Herihor there was no limitation on the crowns and headdresses that a king might don in performing his priestly function in the presence of a god. By contrast, the fact that Herihor consistently wears the skullcap characteristic of the king's function as a high priest in all scenes where he acts as priest-king strongly suggests that Herihor remained the High Priest of Amon at Karnak after he had assumed the kingship.

These are just a few provisory remarks concerning the possible historical significance of the scenes reproduced in this volume. While most of the scenes showing the king offering to a deity may appear to be run-of-the-mill depictions, accompanied by banal texts, this sort of material does lend itself to quantitative analysis, and it is hoped that other aspects of these unique representations of King Herihor will be studied and will contribute to our understanding of the history and religion of the late New Kingdom.

It will be observed that in the translations of the texts of certain plates the line numbering does not follow consecutively. Although the assignment of line numbers to columns of texts as they appear in the scenes generally follows principles adopted by the Epigraphic Survey, in some instances the line numbering becomes somewhat arbitrary. Over the years different Egyptologists of the staff have had varying ideas regarding the order in which certain lines are to be read. Therefore, in an attempt to maintain consistency in the translations, we have on occasion departed from the sequence indicated by the line numbers on the plates. To have altered the numbers on the plates would have caused further delay in publication, inasmuch as a good many of the drawings had already been transferred from Chicago House to the Oriental Institute in Chicago.

In constructing the Temple of Khonsu the builders obtained most of their stone from older monuments in the Theban area, including the mortuary temples of Amenhotep III and Haremhab and structures of Sethos I and Ramesses II. In our drawings, where traces of the earlier relief have come to be revealed because of the disintegration of later plaster, we have indicated through the use of a light line what is visible of the original scenes and texts. On plate 110 is a drawing of an important block from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, where scenes of the royal jubilee once formed part of the decoration.<sup>42</sup> Here all the later plaster had fallen away so that it was possible to obtain a complete drawing of the original block. Dr. Gerhard Haeny, director of the Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Alterumskunde in Kairo, is planning a complete study of the jubilee blocks of Amenhotep III that have been reused in the Temple of Khonsu.

Since 1966 the work of the Epigraphic Survey has been most generously assisted by annual grants from the Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution through the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. Without these funds our operations in the field would necessarily have been seriously curtailed. Special thanks for their constant assistance in ad-

<sup>41</sup> See Abd el Monem Joussef Abu Bakr, *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen* (Glückstadt, 1937), pp. 68-69.

<sup>42</sup> See Ludwig Borchardt, "Jubiläumsbilder, II, Verbaute Blöcke aus dem Chons-Tempel in Karnak," *ZÄS* 61 (1926): 37-51, and Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, "The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee," *JNES* 32 (1973): 299-300.

*PREFACE*

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ministrative matters must be given to Mr. John Dorman, the Cairo director of the American Research Center, and to his staff. For many years the late Mr. Gamil Antaki expedited official business for our expedition, and Mrs. Attiya Habachi has performed many kindnesses to provide for our well-being.

Although their names do not appear at the head of this volume, the contribution to the success of the expedition by Mr. John Healey [deceased 1976] and, upon his retirement, by Mr. Werner Fliege, both of whom have served as superintendent of Chicago House, deserves a word of commendation and appreciation. Last, during the difficult years since 1967 our able foreman Rais Hagg Ibrahim Mohammed has aided us in innumerable ways beyond the call of duty. All of us who have lived and worked at Chicago House feel a deep sense of gratitude to this man from Karnak whose life has been linked so closely with the expedition's endeavors.

EDWARD F. WENTE

CHICAGO HOUSE, LUXOR  
APRIL 1973





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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960-.
BiAeg	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932-.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo, 1901-.
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London, 1914-.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942-.
MH	Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey. <i>Medinet Habu</i> . 8 vols. (OIP vols. VIII, IX, XXIII, LI, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, XCIII, XCIV). Chicago, 1930-70.
OIP	University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924-.
PrÄg	Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden, 1953-.
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> . Paris and Cairo, 1933-.
RIK	Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey. <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> . Vols. I, II (OIP vols. XXV, XXXV). Chicago, 1936.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Leipzig and Berlin, 1863-.



## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

### PLATE 3. TWO NILE GODS BRINGING GIFTS

#### BY FIRST NILE GOD

<sup>1</sup>Hapy. <sup>2</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you all food under the supervision of<sup>a</sup> your son, beloved of you, the Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Heri[hor]."

#### BY SECOND NILE GOD

<sup>3</sup>Hapy.

#### INSCRIPTION AT BASE

<sup>4</sup>. . . [foreve]r.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For the translation of *hr-c*, written *hr-cwy* in pl. 31, line 12, see Jac. J. Janssen, "Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs," *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 42 (sup.) (1961), p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly the trace is of the tip of the cobra's tail in the word *dt*.

### PLATE 4. TWO NILE GODS BRINGING GIFTS

#### BY FIRST NILE GOD

<sup>1</sup>Hapy. <sup>2</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you everything good and pure that is in th[is] land [under] the supervision of your son Siamon-[Herihor]."

#### BY SECOND NILE GOD

<sup>3</sup>Hapy. <sup>4</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you cool water that has issued from Elephantine [under] the supervision of your son Siamon-Herihor." <sup>5</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you [all life, stability and dominion, all he]alth, all [j]oy,<sup>a</sup> and all valor like [R]e forever."

#### INSCRIPTION AT BASE

<sup>6</sup>. . . [together wi]th [his] ka<sup>b</sup> like Re forever.

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration of this text, see the first hypostyle hall, column 33, line 9 (to be published in vol. 2).

<sup>b</sup> Restoring *hn-c k3.f*, cf. Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums* 1, ÄA 25 (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 60.

### PLATE 5. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO SHU

#### BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Elevating an offering to his father.

#### BY SHU

<sup>2</sup>Shu, [son of] Re, the Great God, <sup>3</sup>supreme in heaven and earth: "I have given you the years which I [have] spent."<sup>a</sup>

#### INSCRIPTION PAINTED ON KING'S SPORRAN

. . . in his 'lifetime',<sup>b</sup> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siamon-Herihor.

<sup>a</sup> Restoring *rnput ir.n.i*; cf. *nswyf ir.n.i*, pl. 104, line 4.

<sup>b</sup> Reading *m cḥw.f*, although *m šḥm.f*, "in his power," might be suggested as an alternative.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

PLATE 6. KING HERIHOR OFFERING OINTMENT TO RE-HARAKHTI  
IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Offering ointment to his father.

BY RE-HARAKHTI

<sup>2</sup>Re-Harakhti, the Great God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, <sup>3</sup>who has made what is and created what exists.

BY HATHOR

<sup>4</sup>Hathor, Lady of . . . ,<sup>a</sup> <sup>5</sup>. . . all joy like Re.

<sup>a</sup> The last sign is probably the city sign, but the sign above cannot be identified with certainty. Traces of blue paint are found in the middle of its upper portion, and accordingly it might be suggested that the sign is an unusual form of the *h<sub>tp</sub>*-sign. The length of the lacuna, however, does not favor reading "Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet," for whom see Jacques Vandier, "Tousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet," (3 parts) in *RdE* 16 (1964): 55-146; 17 (1965): 89-176; 18 (1966): 67-142.

## PLATE 7. KING HERIHOR PRESENTING FOOD OFFERINGS TO KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Sacrificing<sup>a</sup> choice cuts.

BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>3</sup>Horus, Lord of Joy: "I have given you all valor and victory."<sup>a</sup> *Dit m3*.PLATE 8. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO KHONSU-RE  
IN THE PRESENCE OF MA<sup>c</sup>AT

BY KHONSU-RE

<sup>1</sup>Khonsu-Re, Lord of Thebes, <sup>2</sup>residing in Karnak: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you the kingship over the Two Lands."BY MA<sup>c</sup>AT<sup>4</sup>Ma<sup>c</sup>at, daughter of Re, who associates with <sup>5</sup>Amon, residing in <sup>6</sup>Thebes, Mistress of all the gods: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you all health and all joy like Re."

ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son, <sup>9</sup>Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Diadems, <sup>10</sup>High Priest of Amon, Siamon-Herihor, given life; <sup>11</sup>the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom <sup>12</sup>Atum himself has chosen.

## PLATE 9. KING HERIHOR PLAYING THE SISTRA BEFORE MUT

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Playing the sistra for the Lady of Heaven.<sup>a</sup>

BY MUT

<sup>2</sup>[Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru], Lady of Heaven, <sup>3</sup>[Mistress of the Gods, the Eye of Re],<sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup>who is upon the head of her father, <sup>5</sup>Re: <sup>6</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re in the sky."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

3

<sup>7</sup>I have given you all life and dominion, all joy, all valor, and all victory like Re forever and ever."

## ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>[Live the Perfect] God, [Amon's Son],<sup>c</sup> born of Mut, (etc.).\*

\* From pl. 9 onward, translations of the cartouches of Herihor will be omitted unless continued by a significant text.

<sup>a</sup> For some parallels to this scene, see Albert Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 15 (Paris, 1894), pl. 44, fig. 142; Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak*, 2 vols., AA 18 (Wiesbaden, 1968), text vol., p. 47, and plate vol., p. 30, fig. 42; Emile Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1934), pp. 46-47 and pl. 57. In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Ramesses II is depicted playing the sistrum, and the king's action is described as *irt ihy*, "making music" (unpublished scene at Location B 130 of Harold Hayden Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, OIP 56 [Chicago, 1941], pl. 4, fig. 7).

<sup>b</sup> For the restoration in translation, see pl. 58, lines 7-8.

<sup>c</sup> For the restoration in translation, see pl. 87, line 9.

PLATE 10. KING HERIHOR BRINGING FLASKS OF COOL WATER  
TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Bringing cool water.<sup>a</sup>

## BY AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>2</sup>Am[on-Re-Kamutef],<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>who is upon his Great Pedestal: <sup>4</sup>"[I have given you an eternity as] King of the Two Lands.<sup>c</sup> <sup>5</sup>I have given you the portions of the Two Lords in (the form of) life and dominion."<sup>d</sup>

## BY ISIS

<sup>6</sup>Isis the Great, <sup>7</sup>the God's Mother, Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>8</sup>as she gives all life and dominion <sup>9</sup>on her part: <sup>10</sup>"I [have] given you all health and all joy."

<sup>a</sup> The title of the scene suggests that it is a variant of common scenes depicting the king in a ritual dance carrying two vases, for which see Hermann Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Leipzig, 1912), chap. 2, and idem, "Nachlese zum Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs," *ZÄS* 52 (1915): 64-69. This is the earliest known instance in which the king is shown standing, instead of running, with the vases. Slightly later the High Priest Painutem I was also depicted standing with the vases; cf. Kees, *Der Opfertanz*, p. 43.

<sup>b</sup> For the restoration see pls. 31, lines 1-3; 80, lines 1-2; 86, lines 1-2; 98, lines 1-2; 108, lines 3-4.

<sup>c</sup> For the restoration see, for example, pl. 49, line 6.

<sup>d</sup> For discussion of this formula see Erich Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 98 (Vienna, 1968), p. 94.

## PLATE 11. ONURIS-SHU AND MEHYET STANDING ON EITHER SIDE OF OFFERINGS

## BY ONURIS-SHU

<sup>1</sup>[Onuris]-Shu, son of Re, . . . :<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>"I have given you all valor [like] Re."<sup>b</sup>

## BY MEHYET

<sup>3</sup>[Mehyet],<sup>c</sup> daughter of Re, Mistress of the Gods, <sup>4</sup>. . . , [Unique On]e<sup>d</sup> without her equal, <sup>5</sup>as she gives [all] life and dominion and all . . .

## INSCRIPTION AT BASE

<sup>6</sup>. . . , Lord of the [Two] Lands, (king's praenomen) . . .

<sup>a</sup> Further epithets of the god probably existed in a line now lost to the right of line 1.

<sup>b</sup> The nature of the break to the right of the trace of the sun disk suggests the restoration of *ml*. Cf. the same formula in pls. 84, line 4, and 105, line 6.

<sup>c</sup> For the restoration see *MH 7, The Temple Proper*, pt. 3, OIP 93 (Chicago, 1964), pls. 551, line 5, and 580A, line 4.

<sup>d</sup> Restoring *w<sup>c</sup>l(y)*, see pl. 58, line 10.

PLATE 12. KING HERIHOR(?) OFFICIATING BEFORE KHONSU

By KHONSU

<sup>1</sup>Kho[n]su . . . , <sup>2</sup>Kho[n]su . . . <sup>3</sup>. . . .

PLATE 13. KING HERIHOR OFFERING HHH-SYMBOL TO PTAH OF THEBES

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>[Presenting] Millions as life and dominion.<sup>a</sup>

By PTAH

<sup>2</sup>Ptah, Lord of Thebes, . . . , <sup>3</sup>the Great God, who lives <sup>4</sup>on Ma<sup>c</sup>at, <sup>5</sup>who has made all that is.

<sup>6</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the jubilees. . . ." <sup>7</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the years. . . ." <sup>8</sup>[I have given] you [life], stability and dominion, and all health."

<sup>a</sup> For discussion of the hhh-symbol, see Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, pp. 91–93.

PLATE 14. KING HERIHOR OFFERING WINE TO HORUS OF "THE CAMP"  
IN THE PRESENCE OF "MISTRESS OF CHILDBEARING"

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting wine.

By HORUS

<sup>2</sup>Horus, [Residing in] "The Camp,"<sup>a</sup> <sup>3</sup>the Great God, [Lord] of Ma<sup>c</sup>at: "I have given you [life] and dominion."

By "MISTRESS OF CHILDBEARING"

<sup>5</sup>"Mistress of Childbearing,"<sup>b</sup> <sup>6</sup>as she gives all health <sup>7</sup>and all joy like Re.

<sup>a</sup> "The Camp" may refer to the fortress of El-Hibah in Middle Egypt. See Ricardo A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, *Analecta Orientalia*, vol. 37 (Rome, 1958), p. 19; Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1925), p. 101; and Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibe," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 3. Before *p<sup>3</sup> ihy* we suggest the restoration of *hry-ib*, but *nb n*, "Lord of," or *□ p(3) n*, "The one of," are possible alternatives. A Horus *p(3) n p<sup>3</sup> ihy* is possibly attested in one of the letters from El-Hibah. See *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> The headdress of the goddess suggests that she is a form of Hathor or Isis.

PLATE 15. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma<sup>c</sup>at to his father Khonsu <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

By KHONSU

<sup>3</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-in-<sup>4</sup>Thebes Neferhotep, august child <sup>5</sup>of the Universal Lord, <sup>6</sup>the Great God of the very beginning: "I have given you the kingship over the Two Lands in peace."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

5

## ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>Live the Perfect God, the bodily Son of Amon, (etc.).

PLATE 16. KING HERIHOR PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY  
BEFORE RE-HARAKHTI-ATUM IN THE PRESENCE OF IUS<sup>c</sup>AAS

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a royal offering, pure, pure.

## BY RE-HARAKHTI-ATUM

<sup>2</sup>Re-Harakhti-Atum, Universal Lord, <sup>3</sup>Khepri who is in <sup>4</sup>the primordial waters: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you all lands in submission."

BY IUS<sup>c</sup>AAS

<sup>6</sup>Ius<sup>c</sup>aas, Mistress of <sup>7</sup>Heliopolis, Ruler of the Two Lands of <sup>8</sup>Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>9</sup>as she gives life and <sup>10</sup>as she gives all life and dominion <sup>11</sup>like Re.

## ABOVE KING

<sup>12</sup>Live the Perfect God, the Image of Re, Champion of the Lords of Thebes, (etc.).

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps understand *ḥkꜣt Tꜣ-šmꜣw Tꜣ-mḥw*, "Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt." On *ꜣ ꜣ* as a writing of *ḥwy*, see Herbert Rieke, George R. Hughes, and Edward F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1967), p. 29.

PLATE 17. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING FOOD OFFERINGS  
TO MUT-WERET-ḤEKAU-EDJŌ

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Elevating an offering.

## BY MUT-WERET-ḤEKAU-EDJŌ

<sup>2</sup>Mut-Weret-Ḥekau-Edjō, <sup>3</sup>Lady of the Per-wer shrine,<sup>a</sup> <sup>4</sup>as she gives all life and dominion, all health, all joy, all valor and all victory like Re forever and ever: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you all life and dominion and all health. <sup>6</sup>I have given you all health and all joy."

## ABOVE KING

<sup>7</sup>Live the Perfect God, the bodily Son of Amon, (etc.).

<sup>a</sup> On Edjō and the Per-wer shrine, see Sir Alan Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab," *JEA* 39 (1953): 24-26; Rieke, Hughes, and Wente, *Beit el-Wali Temple*, p. 31.

PLATE 18. KING HERIHOR OFFERING INCENSE TO THOTH  
IN THE PRESENCE OF MA<sup>c</sup>AT

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving incense.

## BY THOTH

<sup>2</sup>Words spoken by Thoth, who is in the Estate of Amon, <sup>3</sup>the Great God, Supreme <sup>4</sup>among the Ennead, <sup>5</sup>Lord of Heaven and Lord of the Earth.

By MA<sup>c</sup>AT

<sup>6</sup>Ma<sup>c</sup>at, daughter of Re, who associates with Amon, <sup>7</sup>residing in Thebes, <sup>8</sup>as she gives all life and dominion on her part.

PLATE 20. BOATS TOWING THE ROYAL GALLEY  
ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET

ABOVE BOATS TOWING THE ROYAL GALLEY

<sup>1</sup>The ships together row Amon, outfitted with valor <sup>2</sup>and victory. The sun is shining, <sup>3</sup>. . .  
<sup>4</sup>the wind <sup>5</sup>. . . the <sup>6</sup>red sail.<sup>a</sup> <sup>7</sup>The paean of joy that they utter: "You are like Montu,<sup>b</sup> you  
are like Montu, O you Ruler! You are like Montu, you are like Montu within Thebes when  
you row Amon, when you row him during the millions of years<sup>c</sup> that you are Ruler of the Two  
Lands."

ABOVE THE KING'S GALLEY

<sup>8</sup>Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, Amon's Son; Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who has made  
<sup>9</sup>Thebes festive with great monuments; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two  
Lands, Siamon-Herihor. <sup>10</sup>Live the Perfect God, the likeness of Re, illuminating the Two  
Lands like the Horizon-[dweller, a possessor of radiance] in (men's) [eyes] like [the sun disk],<sup>d</sup>  
<sup>11</sup>over whom all lands rejoice, <sup>12</sup>the Lord of Diadems, <sup>13</sup>whom Re loves and whom <sup>14</sup>his father  
Amon has created to be <sup>15</sup>ruler of all that <sup>16</sup>the sun disk encircles, King of <sup>17</sup>the Black Land  
and <sup>18</sup>Ruler of <sup>19</sup>the Red <sup>20</sup>Land, <sup>21</sup>the sovereign <sup>22</sup>who has subdued <sup>23</sup>the Nine Bows.

<sup>24</sup>Indeed <sup>25</sup>His Majesty (appears)<sup>e</sup> as <sup>26</sup>king in (the form of) <sup>27</sup>a young bull, <sup>28</sup>her[oiç],<sup>f</sup> <sup>29</sup>well  
armed and <sup>30</sup>strong armed [like Mont]u, a divine king, possessor of the Great Crown, with a  
handsome face, <sup>31</sup>appearing in glory . . . , great in strength like Montu in his power, <sup>32</sup>the  
strength of the Two Lords<sup>g</sup> being [in] his hand[iwork],<sup>h</sup> treading the battlefield like [the one  
who is in Ombos, <sup>33</sup>whose strength has protected [Egyp]t and whose boundary his father Re  
has made for him (unto) the limit[s],<sup>i</sup> <sup>34</sup>a divine falcon [with variegated] plumage,<sup>j</sup> crossing  
the sky like the majesty of Re, to whom his father Amon has given victory against every  
foreign country.

ABOVE NEKHBET (now lost)

<sup>35</sup>Nekhet, <sup>36</sup>White One of Hieraconpolis, <sup>37</sup>as she endows her son, the Lord of the Two  
Lands, <sup>38</sup>Siamon-Herihor with all [life, stability,] and dominion.<sup>k</sup>

BELOW STERN OF ROYAL GALLEY

<sup>39</sup>The Ruler <sup>40</sup>rows<sup>l</sup> the one who engendered him, [his] heart <sup>41</sup>. . .

LEFT OF MEN HAULING ROPE

<sup>42</sup>. . . 'you'<sup>1</sup> . . . <sup>43</sup>. . . 'as you have related to'<sup>m</sup> . . .

<sup>a</sup> One expects something like "The wind blows the red sail," but the traces at the end of line 3 do not suggest any verb with such a meaning. On the solar symbolism of red cloth see Hermann Kees, "Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1943, no. 11 (Göttingen): 449-50, 463.

<sup>b</sup> Up to this point the text of line 7 is paralleled on a block of the time of Tutankhamon that was extracted from the core of the Second Pylon at Karnak; see Henri Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1952-1953," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 53 (1956): 7-8 and pl. 1. Cf. also the text on a similar block published in Werner and Bedřich Forman and Milada Vilímková, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1962), pl. 74.



## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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<sup>c</sup> Cf. *m hhw n rnpwt* in *RIK* 1, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, OIP 25 (1936), pl. 20, line 24, and the expression *m hhw pn (n) rnpwt* in a somewhat similar passage in Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, vol. 5 (London, 1906), pl. 126, and in Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1906), p. 306, line 7. Sethe, in *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Deutsche Übersetzung), vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1914), p. 139, renders the last citation by "an dieser (Feier, genannt) Million von Jahren."

<sup>d</sup> Restoring *shd twy mi 3hty, nb stwt mi itn*, cf. the similar text in *RIK* 1, pl. 16, B 3. The first phrase is also paralleled in Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 1, fasc. 1 (Oxford, 1969), p. 17, line 13, and the second phrase occurs on the soffit of the northern architrave of the main hypostyle hall of the Gurnah Temple of Sethos I, poorly published by Alexandre Barsanti, "Rapports sur les travaux exécutés au temple de Sêti Ier à Gournah de 1910 à 1913," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 15 (1915): 149 with pl. 6 (text checked at the Gurnah Temple by Dr. William J. Murnane, Jr.).

<sup>e</sup> Emending to *ist h<sup>c</sup> hm.f*, on the basis of a parallel text of Ramesses III published by Kenneth A. Kitchen and G. A. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II," *ZÄS* 96 (1969): 21–23 with fig. 6 and pl. 6. The book roll following *ist* in the Khonsu Temple is thus probably the determinative of the erroneously omitted *h<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>f</sup> Restoring *k<sup>c</sup> rnp pr<sup>c</sup>* on the basis of the parallel text cited in the preceding note. Reexamination of the Ramesses III stele, now located in the "museum" at Karnak, shows a clear *pr<sup>c</sup>*, misread by Kitchen and Gaballa.

<sup>g</sup> I.e., Horus and Seth.

<sup>h</sup> For the restoration of *phty nbwy m r<sup>c</sup>wy.f*, see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 2, fasc. 3 (Oxford, 1970), p. 157, lines 10–11.

<sup>i</sup> For restorations see parallel texts in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 1, fasc. 1, p. 17, lines 14–16; vol. 2, fasc. 3, p. 157, lines 3–4, and p. 159, line 7.

<sup>j</sup> Traces of the feather of *sbb šwt* are preserved.

<sup>k</sup> Or merely "all life and dominion."

<sup>l</sup> There is sufficient room at the bottom of line 39 for the restoration of the preposition *hr*. Cf. Walther Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet: Die Festzugdarstellung im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luxor* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 64, top lines.

<sup>m</sup> Perhaps *m sdd.n.k n* or "in relating to you."

PLATE 21. THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF AMON-RE  
ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET

ABOVE BARGE OF AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in Karnak: "Your monuments are manifest in <sup>2</sup>Karnak, O my son, sweet of love, the Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor. When I shine forth in <sup>3</sup>Karnak before [your] beautiful face to cause you to achieve millions of years like Atum, <sup>4</sup>I cause your monuments that you have made for me <sup>5</sup>within Karnak to gleam forever. The wonder-working power of my countenance <sup>6</sup>belongs to your beautiful face, for the two uraei have become attached to your [headpiec]e<sup>a</sup> <sup>7</sup>to give you Southerners as well as Northerners.<sup>b</sup> I make salutation <sup>8</sup>before your eyes, O beloved one.<sup>c</sup> I extend your power <sup>9</sup>unto every land in the great festival court, <sup>10</sup>O (my) beloved<sup>1</sup>,<sup>d</sup> proclaiming for you victories <sup>11</sup>against every foreign country and binding their chiefs under your sandals,<sup>e</sup> for you are the one who is in my presence, <sup>12</sup>your heart being joyful and steadfast in Karnak. <sup>13</sup>O mighty lord, I give you every land together <sup>14</sup>and the Nine Bows in obeisance (for) awe of you,<sup>f</sup> inasmuch as <sup>15</sup>[you have] enlarged my house <sup>16</sup>anew—a [gre]at abode <sup>17</sup>like the horizon of the sky.

"I [pro]ceed<sup>g</sup> <sup>18</sup>from it to [Ope]t, my abode <sup>19</sup>of the primeval time, in order to make <sup>20</sup>my beautiful voyage during my annual festival, <sup>21</sup>with my son [be]fore me. <sup>22</sup>He has taken the oar in rowing <sup>23</sup>his father Amon until he comes to rest in Southern Opet <sup>24</sup>like Re when he shines forth. The Great Ennead, their heart(s) are glad, and they are full of <sup>25</sup>exultation when they see Amon-Re appearing <sup>26</sup>in his bark. The whole world gives <sup>27</sup>praise [to him] and <sup>28</sup>all mankind [adores him]."<sup>h</sup>

## BY PORTABLE BARK OF AMON-RE

<sup>29</sup>Amon-Re, [Lord of the Thrones] of the Two Lands, as he endows his son <sup>30</sup>[Sia]mon-[Herihor with life] . . . : <sup>31</sup>"I have given you . . . . <sup>32</sup>I [have] given [you] . . . . <sup>33</sup>[I have] given [you] . . . ."

## BY OFFICIATING KING

<sup>34</sup>The Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>35</sup>the Image of Re [before] the Two Lands, <sup>36</sup>Lord of [the Ritual].

## BY ROYAL PALANQUIN

<sup>37</sup>Live the Perfect God, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Siamon-Herihor, given life.

## BENEATH PROW AND STERN OF THE BARGE OF AMON-RE

<sup>38</sup>Heaven resounds, and [the earth]<sup>i</sup> is <sup>39</sup>in festivity. The Two Lands are in [jubilation]<sup>j</sup> . . . <sup>40</sup>. . . are jubilating. <sup>41</sup>. . . Egypt is in joy, and Thebes is <sup>42</sup>in [exultation].<sup>k</sup> Re is in the sky with a glad heart, and his [Ennead] is <sup>43</sup>in festivity when they see the son . . .<sup>44</sup>rowing his father Amon to come to rest in Opet. . . .<sup>l</sup>

## INSCRIPTION IN RED PAINT ON RIGHT SUPPORT OF SHRINE

. . . the divine [ki]ng, great in benefactions in the estate of his father Amon, who has hewn his bark of cedar of Lebanon, ornamented with gold<sup>m</sup>. . . .

<sup>a</sup> For an earlier version of this passage, see the beginning of the speech of Amon-Re accompanying the sacred bark in a scene of Ramesses II in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, published in S. Giedion, *The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Architecture* (New York, 1964), p. 362, fig. 227; cf. also Henri Chevrier, *Le Temple reposoir de Sêti II à Karnak* (Cairo, 1940), pp. 24 and 47, for similar texts, the interpretation of which is discussed by Erhart Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj<sup>3</sup>* (Cologne, 1971), pp. 124–25.

<sup>b</sup> Following *hryt-tp.k*, "your headpiece," the parallel text in the Great Hypostyle Hall continues, "I proclaim for you victories against all lands. Behold, (I) give to you the south as well as the north"; see Giedion, *The Eternal Present*, p. 363, fig. 229. Our translation of the version in the Temple of Khonsu is an attempt to render the text as it stands, but in the light of the earlier parallel it is probable that there has been a textual omission before *rdit*.

<sup>c</sup> For a parallel to this clause see Chevrier, *Le Temple reposoir*, p. 27.

<sup>d</sup> In view of the parallel text cited in note *b*, one wonders whether the *mr*-group does not represent a misreading of an original *mk*, "Behold," possibly through the hieratic.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1906), p. 576, line 4.

<sup>f</sup> If the restored legs of the determinative of *ks(w)* were shorter, it is possible that the preposition *n* might originally have been present before *šfyt*.

<sup>g</sup> From this point on the text is paralleled by *RIK 2, Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon* (pt. 2) and *Ramses III's Temple in the Precinct of Mut*, OIP 35, pl. 90, lines 3–8. Both texts alter the reference to the king from the second to the third person.

<sup>h</sup> The location of the lost conclusion of this clause cannot be determined. The suggested restoration is based on Wolf, *Das schöne Fest*, p. 58, no. 16.

<sup>i</sup> For the restoration see *ibid.*

<sup>j</sup> Restoring *h(3)y-hnw*, see *ibid.*

<sup>k</sup> Perhaps restoring *thhwt*.

<sup>l</sup> The lacuna after *Ṛpt* is too short for the restoration of *rsy(t)*.

<sup>m</sup> A similar reference to the construction of the riverine barge of Amon-Re appears on the west face of the westmost architrave in the court of the Temple of Khonsu, to be published in vol. 2.

PLATE 22. BOATS TOWING THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF MUT  
ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET

## ABOVE BOATS TOWING THE BARGE OF MUT

<sup>1</sup>The paean of joy that they utter: "Mut, Lady of Heaven, has appeared in her bark to give valor to the Ruler and (cause) his life-span to be like (that of) Re in the sky."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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## ABOVE BARGE OF MUT

<sup>2</sup>[Mut] the Great, Lady of Isheru: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you all life, dominion, and stability. <sup>4</sup>I have given you all health. <sup>5</sup>I have given you all joy. <sup>6</sup>I have given you all plains <sup>7</sup>and all hill countries <sup>8</sup>together <sup>9</sup>under your sandals."

## PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON SHRINE

. . . [He has made] as his monument for [his] mother [Mut] . . . [the making for her a] . . . of electrum ornamented with every (sort of) [costly] stone . . . great . . . s, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, the mighty king, great in monuments, . . . , High Priest of Amon, . . . , Siamon-Herihor, given life.

## GRAFFITO(?) IN RED PAINT TO LEFT OF LINE 2

[When] all [peop]le behold her,<sup>a</sup> they live through generations.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps restoring *wnn rmt nb* at the beginning. For the second-tense construction *wnn.f (hr) sdm* used as a temporal clause preceding *iw.f hr sdm*, see Klaus Baer, "Temporal WNN in Late Egyptian," *JEA* 51 (1965):137-43, and H. J. Polotsky, "Egyptian Tenses," *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2, no. 5 (1965), p. 8, n. 19. For *sw* as a writing of the third person feminine suffix pronoun, see Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933), §74.

PLATE 23. BOATS TOWING THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF KHONSU  
ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET

## ABOVE BARGE OF KHONSU

<sup>1</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of Joy, <sup>2</sup>as he gives all life and dominion <sup>3</sup>and all health: <sup>4</sup>"[I have given you] all life, stability and dominion, and all health. <sup>5</sup>[I have given you] all [va]lor and all victory. <sup>6</sup>I have given you all food. <sup>7</sup>I have given you all provender like Re. <sup>8</sup>I have given you every land together in one place. <sup>9</sup>I have given you every foreign country <sup>11</sup>under your sandals. <sup>12</sup>I have given you . . . ."

## BELOW STERN OF BARGE OF KHONSU

<sup>13</sup>Khonsu is in <sup>14</sup>his bark. The earth is in joy, <sup>15</sup>and everyone is amazed at the sight <sup>16</sup>[of him]<sup>a</sup> as he illuminates the sky <sup>17</sup>[with his beauty]<sup>b</sup> like the sun when it rises.

## PAINTED INSCRIPTION ABOVE PORTABLE BARK OF KHONSU

Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of Joy, the Great God, who lives on Ma'at, as he endows his son, beloved of him, Siamon-Herihor, with life and dominion.

## PAINTED TEXT ON SHRINE

. . . great and noble bark as the sup[port]er of the] beauty<sup>c</sup> . . . , lord of the earth, . . . the sky . . . the Two Lands. . . .

<sup>a</sup> On *gw*, formerly read *g<sup>3</sup>w*, see Elmar Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon II," *ZÄS* 81 (1956):14-17. For the restoration of *n m<sup>3</sup>.f*, "at the sight of him," see Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, p. 83, and line 1 of the east face of the first architrave to the west in the court of the Temple of Khonsu, to be published in vol. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Restoring perhaps *m nfrw.f*.

<sup>c</sup> Restoring *m wts nfrw*.

## PLATE 24. DECORATION SURROUNDING SOUTH DOOR OF WEST WALL OF COURT

## LEFT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>1</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, <sup>2</sup>(beloved of) Kho[n]su Neferhotep, [Horus],<sup>a</sup> Superior of the Two Lands, the Great God, given life like Re.

## RIGHT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>1</sup>Live the Perfect God, who has made monuments; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>2</sup>beloved of Kho[n]su-in-Thebes Neferhotep, given life like Re.

## LEFT JAMB

<sup>3</sup>[Live the Perfect God, . . . , High Priest of] A[mo]n, [beloved of] Kho[n]su. . . . <sup>4</sup>[Live the] Perfect [God], Nourishment for Egypt and Er[nutet]<sup>b</sup> . . . , Siamon-Her[ihor], [beloved of] Kho[n]su. . . .

## RIGHT JAMB

<sup>5</sup>[Live the Perfect God, . . . , given life] forever. <sup>6</sup>[Live] the Perfect God, . . . , [given life forever].

<sup>a</sup> Traces of *Nfr-htp* immediately follow the seated-god determinative of Khonsu. For the restoration of Horus, cf. pls. 42, line 3, and 104, line 10.

<sup>b</sup> Possible restorations are *Rnnt sꜥnh ꜥwy*, "Ernutet, who sustains the Two Lands," as in *RIK* 1, pl. 16, A XIII and XX; *Rnnt sꜥnh ꜥr nb*, "Ernutet, who sustains everyone," as in Chevrier, *Le Temple reposoir*, p. 21; or *Rnnt ꜥnhw nb*, "Ernutet of all the living," as in *ibid.*, p. 30. The king is here metaphorically identified with the goddess of the harvest, for whom see Jan Broekhuis, *De Godin Renenwetet* (Groningen, 1971).

## PLATE 25. DECORATION SURROUNDING NORTH DOOR OF WEST WALL OF COURT

## LEFT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>1</sup>Live the Perfect God, who has made monuments; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, given life, <sup>2</sup>beloved of Kho[n]su, Lord of Thebes,<sup>a</sup> the Great God, Lord of Ma'at.

## RIGHT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>1</sup>Live the Perfect God, Lord of Jo[y]; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, given life, <sup>2</sup>beloved of Kho[n]su-[in]-Thebes Nefer[hotep],<sup>b</sup> Horus, Lord of Joy, the Great God, who lives on Ma'at.

## LEFT JAMB

<sup>3</sup>[Live the Perfect God], who has accomplished benefactions for his father who has placed him upon his throne; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, beloved of Khonsu, given life, stability, and dominion like Re. <sup>4</sup>Live the Perfect God, powerful in strength, rich in monuments, abounding in wonderful things;<sup>c</sup> the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Khonsu, given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

## RIGHT JAMB

<sup>5</sup>[Live the] Perfect [God, the like]ness [of Re when] he [appears] unto the subjects;<sup>d</sup> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, beloved of Khonsu, given life, stability, and dominion [like Re]. <sup>6</sup>Live the Perfect God, great in monu[ments] in

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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the house of his father Khonsu; the Son of Re, [Lord] of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of [Kho]nsu, given [life], stability, and dominion [like R]e.

\* Taking the sign to the left of the *sw*-plant as the hieroglyph of the seated king serving as a writing of *nb*; cf. pl. 54, line 8.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably a trace of the *nfr*-sign to the left of the falcon.

<sup>c</sup> See Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 105–8, for discussion of the meaning of this expression.

<sup>d</sup> Restoring *ḥ nṯ nṯr mītt Rḥ wbn.f n rḥyt*; cf. *MH* 7, pl. 576A, line 6.

## PLATE 26. PROCESSION OF THE FAMILY OF KING HERIHOR

## BY QUEEN

<sup>1</sup>The Hereditary Princess, <sup>a</sup> Great of Favors, Mistress of the Two Lands, Possessor of Charm, Sweet of Love, Principal of the harem of Amon-Re, <sup>2</sup>King of the Gods, Great King's Wife, beloved of him, Nuteme, justified.

## BY FIRST PRINCE

<sup>3</sup>The King's Bodily Son, . . . , <sup>b</sup> Chief Steward of Amon, Prophet of Mut, . . . Prophet of Amon, <sup>c</sup> Overseer of Horses <sup>d</sup>of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Leader Ankh[efenmut, <sup>d</sup> justified].

## BY SECOND PRINCE

<sup>5</sup>The King's Bodily Son, Third Prophet of A[mo]n, Prophet of Onuris, Prophet of Horus of Edfu, <sup>e</sup> Overseer of Cattle of <sup>6</sup>Prē, <sup>f</sup> Ankhefenamon, justified.

## BY THIRD PRINCE

<sup>7</sup>The King's Bodily Son, Overseer of . . . <sup>8</sup>[of] <sup>8</sup> Amon-Re, King of the Gods, . . . , <sup>9</sup>Companion<sup>1a</sup> . . . , <sup>9</sup>Panefer, <sup>10</sup>justified.

## BY FOURTH PRINCE

<sup>11</sup>The King's Bodily Son, beloved of him, Iotiamon, justified.

## BY FIFTH PRINCE

<sup>12</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>13</sup>Amenḥiwonemef, justified.

## BY SIXTH PRINCE

<sup>14</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>15</sup>Tekhuy, justified.

## BY SEVENTH PRINCE

<sup>16</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>17</sup>Masahert, justified.

## BY EIGHTH PRINCE

<sup>18</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>19</sup>Masakahert, justified.

## BY NINTH PRINCE

<sup>20</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>21</sup>Pashedkhons, justified.

## BY TENTH PRINCE

<sup>22</sup>The King's Bodily [So]n, <sup>23</sup>. . . nefer, justified.

## BY ELEVENTH PRINCE

<sup>24</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>25</sup>Amenhikhopeshef, justified.

## BY TWELFTH PRINCE

<sup>26</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>27</sup>Harkhebe, justifi[ed].

## BY THIRTEENTH PRINCE

<sup>28</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>29</sup>. . . 'itekh', [justi]fied.

## BY FOURTEENTH PRINCE

<sup>30</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>31</sup>[Bi]knety, justified.

## BY FIFTEENTH PRINCE

<sup>32</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>33</sup>. . . an, justified.

## BY SIXTEENTH PRINCE

<sup>34</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>35</sup>Nawasun.

## BY SEVENTEENTH PRINCE

<sup>36</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>37</sup>Osorkon, justified.

## BY EIGHTEENTH PRINCE

<sup>38</sup>The King's Bodily Son, <sup>39</sup>God's Father of Amon, Espaneferher, justified, son of Painutem, justified.<sup>j</sup>

## BY NINETEENTH PRINCE

[The King's Bodily Son], <sup>40</sup>Madenen, justified.

## BY FIRST PRINCESS

<sup>41</sup>The King's [Bodily] Daughter, Chantress of Amon, Principal of the har[em] of Khonsu, and Noble Lady, Sh[e]sebek[e].<sup>k</sup>

## BY SECOND PRINCESS

<sup>42</sup>The King's [Bodily] [Daughter], Esta . . . , justified.


## BY THIRD PRINCESS

<sup>43</sup>[The King's Bodily Daughter], . . . en'wer'u . . . , justified.

## BY FOURTH PRINCESS

<sup>44</sup>[The King's] Bodily [Daughter], He[nu]tentaneb, [justified].


<sup>a</sup> Reading *r-p't(t)*, cf. the titles of Queen Nuteme on her coffin published in Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 61001–61044 (Cairo, 1909), p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> After *s'nsut n h.t.f* both C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, pt. 3, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1849–1859), pl. 247a, and E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens* (Paris, 1847), pl. 22, 2, line 1, give , of which we were unable to find a trace. Above the right end of the tongue sign there is a possible trace, too uncertain to be drawn, that might be of the front hoof of an ox sign. It is just possible that in the lacuna there stood the title *imy-r ihw*,

"Overseer of Cattle," discussed by Sergio Donadoni, "Due pietre egiziane dell 'Università di Roma," *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967):107-8. For this title preceding the title of Chief Steward of Amon, see the sequence of the titles of Paiankh's son Ankhefenmut given in Georges Daressy, "Notes et remarques," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 14 (1893):32, LIII. Note also that Ramesses-Ankhefenmut, who was buried at Tanis in the Twenty-first Dynasty, bore the two titles, Chief Steward of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and Chief Overseer of Cattle of Amon-Re, King of the Gods; see Pierre Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis*, vol. 2, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), pl. 39.

\* The traces following *hm-nfr n Mwt* do not support the reading *hm-nfr n Hnsw*, given by Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens*, pl. 22; by Gaston Maspero, "Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire," *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 62; idem, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharî*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, vol. 1, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1887), p. 678; and by Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. 3, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 19 (Cairo, 1914), p. 237, § xix. The surviving traces strongly suggest the reading <sup>2</sup>*Imn*, above which is a short space following *hm-nfr n*. Is it too much to suppose that the title was *hm-nfr 4-nw n 2Imn*, "Fourth Prophet of Amon"? At this time the title of Second Prophet of Amon was held by Esamon (according to Hermann Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zum Spätreich*, PrÄg 1 [Leiden, 1953], pp. 167 and 170, n. 4; idem, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopienzeit*, PrÄg 4 [Leiden, 1964], pp. 14-15 and 18), while the Third Prophet of Amon was the next prince in the procession. On the other hand, Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973), p. 253, n. 52, doubts Kees's conclusions regarding the career of the Second Prophet Esamon so that the restoration of the title Second Prophet of Amon for the first prince in the procession is still a possibility.

\* The name is certainly not Paiankh as formerly supposed. The name began with *ꜥnh* and is either to be completed as Ankhefenmut, see pl. 44, lines 10-12, or the name was simply rendered in its abbreviated form Ankhef. Cf. Ankhef as an abbreviation of Ankhefenamon, mentioned in Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 33 (Chicago, 1967), p. 15.

\* Reading , "The One of Behdet," as in pl. 66, over the king's head.

† *P3 Rꜥ* is perhaps a corruption of *pr Rꜥ*. Cf. the well-attested Late Egyptian writing of the definite article *p3* as *pr*, discussed by Donald B. Redford, "The Pronunciation of *Pr* in Late Toponyms," *JNES* 22 (1963):120; Jaroslav Černý, "A Note on the Chancellor Bay," *ZÄS* 93 (1966):37 with n. 14; and Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 1 (London, 1947), p. 33\*. This suggestion is made because the title of Overseer of Cattle of the Estate of Re (*pr Rꜥ*) is elsewhere attested as being held by the Third Prophet of Amon; see Kees, *Das Priestertum*, pp. 169 and 224, and B. Bruyère, "Une Nouvelle Famille de prêtres de Montu trouvée par Baraize à Deir el Bahri," *Annales du Service des antiquités d'Égypte* 54 (1956):17.

\* Restoring *n* above <sup>2</sup>*Imn-Rꜥ*.

\* Reading possibly *smr*.

† Possibly the lugs of the *nfr*-sign were indicated in paint only.

† The entirety of line 39 has been recut in raised relief over an erasure.

\* See pl. 28B, lines 9-12, for the restoration.

PLATE 27. A. KING HERIHOR OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMON-RE OF MEDINET HABU  
IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PERSONIFIED SETTLEMENT IN THEBES

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Offering ointment.

BY AMON-RE OF MEDINET HABU

<sup>2</sup>Words spoken by Amon-Re "United with Eternity,"\* <sup>3</sup>residing in the Settlement of Thebes<sup>6</sup> in the Estate of Amon, <sup>4</sup>as he gives life and all health: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you every land together."

TEXT IN WALLED ENCLOSURE

<sup>6</sup>The Settlement of Thebes in the Estate of Amon.

\* See Harold H. Nelson, "The Identity of Amon-Re of United-with-Eternity," *JNES* 1 (1942):127-55.

<sup>6</sup> See Charles F. Nims, "Places about Thebes," *JNES* 14 (1955):113, for discussion concerning the location of this area.

PLATE 27. B. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING SEBEK OF SUMENU IN THE PRESENCE  
OF SEBEK OF IEMIOTRU AND HATHOR OF GEBELEIN

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying his father <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

BY SEBEK OF SUMENU

<sup>3</sup>Words spoken by Sebek, Lord of Sumenu,<sup>c</sup> <sup>4</sup>words spoken: "I have given you all provender on my part <sup>5</sup>and everything <sup>6</sup>good every day." <sup>7</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all food like Re.

BY SEBEK OF IEMIOTRU

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by Sebek, residing in <sup>9</sup>Iemiotru,<sup>b</sup> the Great God, Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you <sup>11</sup>life, stability, and dominion." <sup>12</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all lands in peace."

BY HATHOR OF GEBELEIN

<sup>13</sup>Hathor, Lady of Gebelein, Lady of Heaven and Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>14</sup>the Eye of Re, who protects <sup>15</sup>her father, as she gives <sup>16</sup>life and dominion. <sup>17</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you what my father Amon-Re has chosen."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Probably Er-Rizeikât; see Serge Sauneron, "Quelques monuments de Soumenou au Musée de Brooklyn," *Kêmi, revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes* 18 (1968): 58.

<sup>b</sup> The classical Crocodileopolis; see *ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>c</sup> For this nuance of the verb *mri*, see Eberhard Otto, "Bedeutungsnuancen der Verben *mri* 'lieben' und *mšdj* 'hassen'," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 25 (1969): 98-100.

PLATE 28. A. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Elevating an offering to his father.

BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes <sup>3</sup>Neferhotep, Horus, <sup>4</sup>Lord of Joy, the Great God who lives on Ma<sup>c</sup>at. <sup>5</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all life, stability, and dominion on my part." <sup>6</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all health on my part."

PLATE 28. B. QUEEN NUTEME, ATTENDED BY THE PRINCESS SHESEBEKE,  
CARRYING AN INFANT BEFORE THE SHRINE OF MUT

BY MUT

<sup>1</sup>Mut the Great, <sup>2</sup>Lady of Isheru, <sup>3</sup>the Eye of Re, Mistress of the Gods, <sup>4</sup>as she gives many favors in her presence every day, <sup>5</sup>and as she gives all life, stability, dominion, and health.

BY QUEEN NUTEME

<sup>6</sup>The Great King's Wife of the Lord of the Two Lands, Principal of the harem <sup>7</sup>of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Superior of Nurses belonging to Mut, <sup>8</sup>and [Noble Lad]y<sup>a</sup> Nuteme, justified.

BY PRINCESS SHESEBEKE

<sup>9</sup>The King's Daughter, Principal of the harem of Khonsu, <sup>10</sup>and Noble Lady <sup>11</sup>Shesebeke, <sup>12</sup>justified, may she live, be young and healthy.



## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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

\* Restoring tentatively , read *špst* by Alan H. Gardiner, "The Hieroglyph  with the Value *šps*," *JEA* 37 (1951):110. The space seems insufficient for the restoration of either *hryt špswt* or *hnwt špswt*, both titles otherwise attested for Queen Nuteme; see *ibid.* with n. 3 for references. In Jaroslav Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, BiAeg 9 (Brussels, 1939), p. 54, lines 5 and 16, the simple title *špst* directly precedes Nuteme's name.

PLATE 29. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION  
BEFORE THE DEITIES OF THE EASTERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying and making libation.

BY AMON-RE OF THE EASTERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, King of the Gods, <sup>3</sup>residing in the Hearing Ear<sup>a</sup> in <sup>4</sup>the Estate of Amon, <sup>5</sup>the Great God, who lives on Ma<sup>c</sup>at.

BY AMONET OF THE EASTERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK

<sup>6</sup>Amonet, Lady of the Two Lands, residing in the Hearing Ear, as she gives life like Re.

BY AMENOPHIS

<sup>7</sup>Amenophis of the Date Palm.

ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>The Perfect God, who makes Thebes festive, (etc.).

BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Ritual, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of A[mo]n-Re, King of the Gods.

PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON OBELISK

Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, Amon's Son; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siamon-Herihor. He adores Amon in Karnak and propitiates . . . , his heart being joyful over the monument of his son whom he loves. Cause him to endure that he may 'renew'<sup>b</sup> for you . . . .

<sup>a</sup> On this temple and the gods associated with it, see Charles F. Nims, "The Eastern Temple at Karnak," *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* 12 (1971):107-11, where this scene is discussed.

<sup>b</sup> Reading *wḥm.f*.

PLATE 30. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY ISIS, RECEIVING THE  
MENAT-NECKLACE FROM HATHOR OF THE SOUTHERN SYCOMORE

BY HATHOR OF THE SOUTHERN SYCOMORE

<sup>1</sup>Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycomore,<sup>a</sup> the Eye of Re, <sup>2</sup>Mistress of all the gods. <sup>3</sup>Words spoken: "Welcome, welcome, O Lord of the Two Lands, beloved Ruler with handsome face <sup>4</sup>and sweet lips, whose eyes are the sun and moon. <sup>5</sup>Take the menat-necklace to your nose."<sup>b</sup>

ABOVE KING

<sup>6</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son, born of Mut, Lady of Heaven, (etc.).

BY ISIS

<sup>7</sup>Isis the Great, the God's Mother.

<sup>a</sup> On this particular Hathor, whose cult center was located some distance south of Memphis, see Alan H. Gardiner, ed., *The Wilbour Papyrus*, vol. 2, *Commentary* (Oxford, 1948), p. 176, n. 4.

<sup>b</sup> For a parallel to Hathor's speech, see Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer*, text vol., p. 38. The rite is discussed by Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt and Charles Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1968), pp. 181-85.

PLATE 31.\* KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY TWO NILE GODS, SAILING THROUGH  
A PAPYRUS THICKET IN THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

BY AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re-<sup>2</sup>Kamutef, <sup>3</sup>who is upon his Great Pedestal. <sup>4</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. <sup>5</sup>I have given you the life-span of [R]e and [the year]s of Atum."

ABOVE KING

<sup>6</sup>Live the Perfect God, with great monuments in the temple of his father, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>7</sup>the Image of Re before the Two Lands, <sup>8</sup>whom Atum has chosen.

BY NILE GODS

<sup>9</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you all (sorts of) fine fresh plants before your countenance."

<sup>10</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you everything good and pure. . . ." <sup>11</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you cool water that has issued from Elephantine." <sup>12</sup>Words spoken: "I bring to you (all this) under the supervision of [your son, beloved of] you, <sup>b</sup> Siamon-Herihor, given life forever."

BEHIND PAPYRUS SKIFF

<sup>13</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, [Si]a[mon-Her]ihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on Horus's throne of the living like his father Re forever.

\* Similar unpublished scenes of the king sailing in a papyrus skiff in the presence of Amon-Re-Kamutef are found at the Luxor Temple (cf. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 23, location E 256-57) and in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (cf. *ibid.*, pl. 4, fig. 6, location B 89).

<sup>a</sup> Cf. pl. 4, line 4.

<sup>b</sup> Restoring <sup>s</sup>.k *mr.k* with <sup>s</sup> being written with the egg sign.

PLATE 32. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO MONTU OF HERMONTIS  
IN THE PRESENCE OF TJENENET OF HERMONTIS

BY MONTU

<sup>1</sup>Words spoken by Montu, <sup>2</sup>Lord of Thebes, residing in Hermonthis: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you the force of (my) scimitar <sup>a</sup> 'like Re forever.'"

BEFORE KING

<sup>5</sup>May he make "given life."

BY TJENENET

<sup>6</sup>Tjenenet, residing in Hermonthis <sup>7</sup>of Upper Egypt, <sup>8</sup>Mistress of the Gods. <sup>9</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all health on my part."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

17

BY NEKHBET

<sup>10</sup>Nekhet, White One of Hierakonpolis, <sup>11</sup>as she gives health.

BEHIND KING

<sup>12</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-[Re, Lord] of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in Karnak.<sup>a</sup> Cf. pls. 79, line 4, and 89, line 5.

## PLATE 33.\* KING HERIHOR PURIFIED BY HORUS AND THOTH

BEFORE KING

<sup>2</sup>Purifying the King, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, just as the sky is pure for Re.<sup>a</sup>

BEHIND KING

<sup>1</sup>Purifying the King, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, just as the earth is pure for Geb.

BY HORUS

<sup>6</sup>Words spoken by the One of Behdet: <sup>7</sup>"Your purification is the purification of Seth. <sup>8</sup>The purification of Seth is your purification."

BY THOTH

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by the Lord of Hermopolis: <sup>4</sup>"Your purification is the purification <sup>5</sup>of Dewen-'anwy. The purification of Dewen-'anwy is your purification."

BEHIND THOTH

<sup>9</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.<sup>\*</sup> For scenes of this genre, see Alan H. Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," *JEA* 36 (1950): 3-12.<sup>a</sup> This text and its companion are paralleled in a purification scene of Ramesses III on the north face of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. See Louis-A. Christophe, "La Salle V du Temple de Sethi I<sup>er</sup> à Gournah," *BIFAO* 49 (1950): 174.PLATE 34. KING HERIHOR OFFERING A HECATOMB BEFORE THE THEBAN TRIAD  
AND HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

ABOVE OFFERINGS

<sup>1</sup>An offering for Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. <sup>2</sup>An offering for Amon-Re-Kamutef. <sup>3</sup>An offering for Amon-Re in heaven and on earth. <sup>4</sup>An offering for Amon-Re wherever he is <sup>5</sup>by the gift of your son, beloved of you, <sup>6</sup>who makes Benbene<sup>a</sup> festive, the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Diadems, (etc.).

BY AMON-RE

<sup>7</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, residing in <sup>8</sup>Ius-akhes,<sup>b</sup> the Great God, the Beloved One.

By MUT

<sup>9</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru.

By KHONSU

<sup>10</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>11</sup>Horus, Lord of Joy, <sup>12</sup>the Great God, residing in Karnak.

By HATHOR

<sup>13</sup>Hathor, residing [in] Benbene, <sup>14</sup>Noble Lady, the Eye of Re, Mistress of the Gods, <sup>15</sup>as she gives all health <sup>16</sup>and all joy. <sup>17</sup>[Words spoken: "I have given you the life-span of Re] in the sky."

BEHIND KING

<sup>18</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven and Ruler of the Ennead.

<sup>a</sup> On Benbene as a designation of the Temple of Khonsu or its site, see Kurt Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, no. 4 (Berlin, 1929), § 50; Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 16 (Berlin, 1952), pp. 32-33; cf. also Constant De Wit, *Les Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet à Karnak*, vol. 3, BiAeg 13 (Brussels, 1968), p. 123, n. 18, and Abdel-Aziz Saleh, "The So-called 'Primeval Hill' and other Related Elevations in Ancient Egyptian Mythology," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 25 (1969):120.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly the designation of the inclosed area in which the Temple of Khonsu was situated; see Nims, *JNES* 14: 117.

PLATE 35. KING HERIHOR BRINGING SHIP'S GEAR TO THE  
ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Taking the *hepet* and the oar to <sup>2</sup>his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, <sup>3</sup>that he may make "given life" like Re forever.<sup>a</sup>

By THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE

<sup>4</sup>Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands. <sup>6</sup>I have given you my office, my throne, and my seat."

By AMONET

<sup>7</sup>Amonet, Lady of the Two Lands, <sup>8</sup>Superior in Karnak <sup>9</sup>and in Thebes: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you the kingship of Atum in Heliopolis."

ABOVE KING

<sup>11</sup>The Perfect God, with a powerful forearm, (etc.).

<sup>a</sup> The title of this scene suggests that it is a variant of the scenes depicting the king in a ritual dance carrying the ship's gear, for which see Kees, *Der Opfertanz*, chap. 2, and idem, *ZÄS* 52:64-69. Like the scene of plate 10, this is the earliest known instance in which the king is depicted standing instead of running with the ship's gear. Cf. Kees, *Der Opfertanz*, p. 43.

PLATE 36. KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma'at to its lord.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

19

By MUT

<sup>2</sup>[Mut the Great, Lady of] I[sher]u,<sup>a</sup> . . . s,<sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup>as she gives <sup>5</sup>life, stability, dominion, and health.

By KHONSU

<sup>6</sup>Khonsu <sup>7</sup>Neferhotep: <sup>8</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re."

BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon]; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven and Ruler of the Ennead.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps the trace of the reed leaf and city determinative of <sup>2</sup>*Išrw*.

<sup>b</sup> It is very doubtful that the traces are of the conclusion of *ḥnwt ntrw nbw*, "Mistress of all the gods."

PLATE 37. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO  
MONTU IN THE PRESENCE OF RA<sup>c</sup>YET-TAWY

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Elevating an offering to his father.

By MONTU

<sup>2</sup>Montu the Great, Lord of Thebes, Sovereign of <sup>3</sup>the Gods, Chief of the Army,<sup>a</sup> the Great God who lives (on) Ma<sup>c</sup>at, <sup>4</sup>residing in Karnak. <sup>5</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all health and dominion."

By RA<sup>c</sup>YET-TAWY

<sup>6</sup>Ra<sup>c</sup>yet-Tawy, the noble protectress<sup>b</sup> of <sup>7</sup>her son, <sup>8</sup>Siamon-Herihor. <sup>9</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all food like Re."

BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on the throne of Horus like his father Re.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. pl. 62, line 3.

<sup>b</sup> Reading *ḥ mk(t) šps(t)*.

PLATE 38. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AMON-RE OF LUXOR  
IN THE PRESENCE OF OPET

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying his father <sup>2</sup>Amon-Re.

By AMON-RE OF LUXOR

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of Southern Opet: <sup>4</sup>"I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands. <sup>5</sup>I have given you my office, my throne, and my seat. <sup>6</sup>I have given you all food."

By OPET

<sup>7</sup>Opet the Great,<sup>a</sup> <sup>8</sup>Mistress of the Two Lands, as she gives <sup>9</sup>all life, stability and dominion, <sup>10</sup>and all health: <sup>11</sup>"I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>12</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Ritual, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re.

\* On the goddess personifying the Temple of Luxor, see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 533.

## PLATE 39. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMONET

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving flowers <sup>2</sup>to his mother.

## BY AMONET

<sup>3</sup>Amonet, Lady of the Two Lands, <sup>4</sup>Super[ior] in Karnak, <sup>5</sup>Lady of Heaven and Mistress of the Gods, <sup>6</sup>as she gives all life and dominion on her part: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you the jubilees of Re."

## ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>The Perfect God, with a powerful scimitar, (etc.).

## BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a [glorious] appearance upon the throne of Horus like his father Re.

PLATE 40. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HATHOR, KNEELING  
AND OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma'at to his father that he may make "given life."

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, the [Sharp]-horned, <sup>3</sup>the 'Great [God]', <sup>4</sup>Lord of Heaven and Ruler of [the Ennead].

<sup>4</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all life, stability, and dominion."

## BY HATHOR

<sup>5</sup>Hathor, Superior of Thebes, <sup>6</sup>Lady of Heaven and <sup>7</sup>Ruler of the Two Banks of Horus, <sup>8</sup>as she gives [life], stability, and dominion: <sup>9</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re."

## BEHIND HATHOR

<sup>10</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

\* Restoring *spd hnty*, cf. Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (*British Museum No. 10188*), BiAeg 3 (Brussels, 1933), p. 33, line 3; Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, § 207; and Paul Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse* (Cairo, 1962), p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> The restoration of  is extremely dubious.

## PLATE 41. KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO MUT

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Elevating an offering to Mut, <sup>2</sup>[that she may make] <sup>3</sup>"given life."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

21

By MUT

<sup>3</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of <sup>4</sup>Isheru and <sup>5</sup>Lady of Heaven: <sup>6</sup>"I have given you all lands in peace."

ABOVE KING

<sup>7</sup>Live the Perfect God, the image of Re, whom Atum himself has chosen, (etc.).

BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in [the house of] his [father]<sup>c</sup> Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep like Re.<sup>a</sup> Or "to his mother," though the presence of the flail on the back of the vulture hieroglyph suggests the name of the goddess.<sup>b</sup> Restoring *ir.s di nḥ*; cf. pl. 59B, line 2.<sup>c</sup> Restoring *m pr it.f*.PLATE 42. KING HERIHOR PRESENTING FOUR CUPS TO  
KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA<sup>c</sup>AT

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>May he make "given life."

By KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>3</sup>Horus, Superior of the Two Lands: "I have given you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. <sup>5</sup>I have given you all health on my part."By MA<sup>c</sup>AT<sup>6</sup>Ma<sup>c</sup>at, daughter of Re, who associates with <sup>7</sup>Amon, residing in Thebes.

BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead.PLATE 43. KING HERIHOR CONDUCTED BY MUT, PLAYING THE SISTRUM, TO  
THE SHRINE OF AMON-RE WHILE KHONSU INSCRIBES JUBILEES

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Coming in and going out. Introducing the king <sup>2</sup>into the temple of Amon in Karnak.

By AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, King of the Gods, <sup>4</sup>Lord of Heaven and Ruler of the Ennead, who has made what is <sup>5</sup>and created what <sup>6</sup>exists, <sup>7</sup>as he<sup>1</sup> gives all life, stability, and dominion.<sup>a</sup>

By MUT

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by Mut the Great, [Lad]y of Isheru: "I play the sistra before your beautiful face, <sup>9</sup>O Amon-Re, Primeval One of the Two Lands, Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at and Father of the Gods. May you endow your son Siamon-Herihor with all life, stability, and dominion."

By KHONSU

<sup>10</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-<sup>11</sup>in-Thebes Neferhotep: "I inscribe <sup>12</sup>for you the jubilees <sup>13</sup>of Re <sup>14</sup>and the years of Atum."

## BEHIND KHONSU

<sup>15</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance upon [the throne]. . . .

<sup>a</sup> The carving of the sign below *dt* is peculiar and may not be *f* but rather an incompletely carved *n*. However, there does not appear to be sufficient space in the lacuna for the restoration of *dt.n.(t) n.k nḥ qd wʿs nb*.

## PLATE 44. PROCESSION OF THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND AMONET

## BEFORE BARK OF AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Procession<sup>a</sup> of the Majesty of this august god, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones [of the Two Lands], Preeminent in Karnak, <sup>2</sup>to come to rest in [the house of]<sup>b</sup> Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep in order to take possession of [th]is beautiful, holy, permanent, and excellent monument<sup>c</sup> <sup>3</sup>which . . . Siamon-Herihor made [for him] that he might [en]dow [hi]m<sup>d</sup> with all life, stability, and dominion and give him an eternity as [Kin]g of the Two Lands.<sup>e</sup>

## BEHIND BARK OF AMON-RE

<sup>4</sup>Carrying the beauty of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, (of) Mut, (of) Khonsu, and (of) the Great Ennead [which is in] Karnak,<sup>f</sup> . . . <sup>5</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, their hearts being contented<sup>h</sup>. . . .

## BY BARK OF KHONSU

<sup>6</sup>Khonsu-in-<sup>6</sup>Thebes Neferhotep, the [Great] God, residing in <sup>7</sup>Karnak.

## BEFORE PRIEST AT SIDE OF BARK OF KHONSU

<sup>8</sup>The Prophet of Khonsu Pashedkhons, justified.<sup>i</sup>

## BY BARK OF MUT

<sup>9</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru.

## BY PRIEST AT SIDE OF BARK OF MUT

<sup>10</sup>The King's Bodily Son, Chief Steward of Amon and <sup>11</sup>Prophet of Mut, <sup>12</sup>Ankhefenmut, justified.<sup>j</sup>

## BY BARK OF AMONET

<sup>13</sup>Amon[et, resi]ding in <sup>14</sup>Karnak, <sup>15</sup>as she gives all life, stability, and dominion, <sup>16</sup>and all health.

## BY ITHYPHALIC GOD

. . . , <sup>17</sup>the Great God, Lord of Heaven and Earth.

<sup>a</sup> On *sh*<sup>c</sup>, "procession," see Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Providence, R.I., 1962), p. 7, and Jürgen von Beckerath, "Die 'Stele der Verbannten' im Museum des Louvre," *RdE* 20 (1968):16-17.

<sup>b</sup> Restoring *m pr* with the house sign positioned over the back of the owl-*m*.

<sup>c</sup> Restoring *mnw pn*.

<sup>d</sup> Restoring *hw.f sw m*.

<sup>e</sup> Restoring *nḥḥ m nswt twy*.

<sup>f</sup> Reading *Hnsw psdt ʿst imyt ʿIpt-swt*.

<sup>g</sup> Perhaps *m pr*, "in the house of," stood at the end of the lacuna.

<sup>h</sup> Restoring *ib.sn hrw*.



## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

23

<sup>1</sup>This incised inscription was added secondarily.

<sup>2</sup>On this individual see Edward F. Wente, "On the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JNES* 26 (1967): 174, with n. 151, and Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun*, pp. 19–20.

PLATE 45. KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO  
PTAH IN THE PRESENCE OF SEKHMET

BY PTAH

<sup>1</sup>Ptah the Great, South of His Wall, <sup>2</sup>Lord of 'Ankh[towi].<sup>a</sup>

BY SEKHMET

<sup>3</sup>Sekhmet the Great, Beloved of <sup>4</sup>Ptah, Mistress of the God[s], <sup>5</sup>as she gives all life and dominion to your nose like Re every day.

ABOVE KING

<sup>6</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son, born of Weret-ḥekau, <sup>7</sup>Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, <sup>8</sup>Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, given life like Re, <sup>9</sup>the image of Re before the Two Lands, <sup>10</sup>whom Atum has chosen.

BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King of Upper and [Lower Egypt], Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest [of Amon; the Son of Re], Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven.


<sup>a</sup>Restoring 

PLATE 46. KING HERIHOR PERFORMING RITUAL DANCE WITH  
STAVES AND BIRD BEFORE RE-HARAKHTI

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Taking the run of the 'scepters' <sup>2</sup>to Amon-Re.<sup>a</sup>

BY RE-HARAKHTI

<sup>4</sup>Re-Harakhti, the Great God with Variegated Plumage, Lord of Heaven, <sup>5</sup>Lord of Ma'at, Father <sup>6</sup>of the Gods, with a kindly face, residing in the Great Mansion, as he gives all life and dominion and all health like Re: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you valor against every foreign country."

ABOVE KING

<sup>7</sup>Live the Perfect God, achieving with his arms, (etc.).

BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on the throne of Re in the house of his father Khonsu Neferhotep.

<sup>a</sup>For the text and the scene see Kees, *Der Opfertanz*, chap. 1, and p. 203, n. 3, where this inscription is erroneously reproduced and discussed; cf. idem, *ZÄS* 52: 61–64, and Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, pp. 94–96, for further discussions.

PLATE 47. KING HERIHOR CONDUCTED BY MONTU-RE AND ATUM  
INTO THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE

BY AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, <sup>2</sup>Preeminent in Karnak, <sup>3</sup>Lord of Heaven and King of the Gods.

## BY WEPWAWET STANDARD

<sup>4</sup>Wepwawet of the South, the Power of the Two Lands, as he gives all life and dominion, all health and all joy like Re forever.

## BY MONTU-RE

<sup>6</sup>Montu-Re. <sup>6</sup>Words spoken by Montu, Lord of Thebes: "Come (to) us<sup>a</sup> to the Great Mansion that you may see your father, the Lord of the Gods, and he may give you a great kingship."

## BETWEEN KING AND MONTU

<sup>7</sup>To your nose, O Perfect God!

## ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>The Perfect God, <sup>9</sup>Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, <sup>10</sup>Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>11</sup>Amon's Son, Great in Appearances in the Mansion of the Ba,<sup>b</sup> whose purification Atum himself has effected.

## BY ATUM

<sup>12</sup>Atum, <sup>13</sup>Lord of the Two Lands, <sup>14</sup>the Heliopolitan.

## BEHIND ATUM

<sup>15</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved<sup>c</sup> of Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven and King of the Gods.

<sup>a</sup> Emending to *mi r.k n.n*, but it is possible that the pronoun *n* is entirely otiose; cf. similar examples without the intrusive *n* in Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen*, p. 4; *MH 4, Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, OIP 51 (1940), pl. 246C, line 2; *MH 5, The Temple Proper*, OIP 83 (1957), pl. 257C; and *MH 8, The Eastern High Gate*, OIP 94 (1970), pl. 614, lines 5–6. Does the Khonsu text represent an attempt to render Late Egyptian *mi n*, "Let us come"?

<sup>b</sup> See Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 4 (Cairo, 1927), p. 63, for one reference associating the *Hwt-b3* with Khonsu. It is possible, however, that the ba-bird hieroglyph is an ancient error for the phoenix and that *Hwt-bnw* or the older *Hwt-bn* should be understood.

<sup>c</sup> The *mr*-sign has not been completely carved.

PLATE 48. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE  
IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

## BY THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment, <sup>2</sup>with lofty plumes, the King of the Gods:  
<sup>3</sup>"I have given you the Two Lands in peace. <sup>4</sup>I have given you your<sup>a</sup> kingship with life and dominion."

## BY AMONET

<sup>5</sup>Amonet, Lady of <sup>6</sup>the Two Lands, Superior in Karnak, <sup>7</sup>Lady of Heaven and <sup>8</sup>Mistress of the Gods: <sup>9</sup>"I make salutation to your beautiful face, O his beloved."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> There are traces of the painted handle of *.k*.

<sup>b</sup> Or possibly "O one beloved of his father."

PLATE 49. KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO  
KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA<sup>c</sup>AT

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma<sup>c</sup>at to his father Khonsu <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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BY KHONSU

<sup>3</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-<sup>4</sup>in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>5</sup>Horus, Lord of Joy: <sup>6</sup>"I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands. <sup>7</sup>I have given you all plains and all hill countries."

BY MA<sup>c</sup>AT

<sup>8</sup>Ma<sup>c</sup>at, daughter of Re, who associates with <sup>9</sup>Amon, <sup>10</sup>residing in Thebes.

BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance upon the throne of Horus like his father Re.

PLATE 50. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY AMONET WHO  
HOLDS HIS TITULARY, RECEIVING JUBILEES FROM  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Take the jubilees <sup>2</sup>of your father Re and the years of Atum in Heliopolis.

BY AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of <sup>4</sup>the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in <sup>5</sup>Karnak.

BY MUT

<sup>6</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Heaven, <sup>7</sup>as she gives all life and dominion like Re.

BY KHONSU

<sup>8</sup>[Khon]su-in-Thebes <sup>9</sup>Neferhotep, the Great God, Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re in the sky."

BY AMONET

<sup>11</sup>Amonet, Lady of Heaven, <sup>12</sup>Superior of the Two Lands, residing in <sup>13</sup>Karnak, <sup>14</sup>as she gives a million (years) consisting of life and dominion: <sup>15</sup>"I have given you all life, stability, and dominion. <sup>16</sup>I have given you all health."

BEHIND AMONET

<sup>17</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance upon the throne of Geb like his father Re.

PLATE 51. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE SOUTH DOOR OF EAST WALL OF  
COURT WITH SCENES ABOVE LINTEL SHOWING KING HERIHOR  
OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT AND A BOUQUET TO KHONSU

BEFORE KING IN LEFT SCENE

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma<sup>c</sup>at to the Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

BY KHONSU IN LEFT SCENE

<sup>3</sup>Khonsu-in-<sup>4</sup>Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>5</sup>the Great God, Lord<sup>a</sup> of Ma<sup>c</sup>at: <sup>6</sup>"I have given you all life and dominion and all health."

## BEFORE KING IN RIGHT SCENE

<sup>7</sup>Giving flowers to his father <sup>8</sup>that he may make "given life."

## BY KHONSU IN RIGHT SCENE

<sup>9</sup>Khonsu Neferhotep, Lord of Ma'at: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you all valor and victory."

## BEHIND KING AT RIGHT

<sup>11</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, [Super]ior [of the Two Lands<sup>b</sup> to] his son, the Lord of the Two Lands, . . .

## LEFT HALF OF LINTEL\*

<sup>12</sup>Live the Perfect God, great in wonders in the house of his father Khonsu. <sup>13</sup>Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Joy, Lord of the Two Lands and Possessor of Strength, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>14</sup>beloved of . . . , given life like Re forever.

## RIGHT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>12</sup>Live the Perfect God, who has made monuments in the house of his father Khonsu, who has placed him<sup>c</sup> upon his throne. <sup>13</sup>Live the bodily Son of Re, beloved of him, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>14</sup>. . . [given life], stability, and dominion like Re forever.

## LEFT JAMB

<sup>15</sup>Live the Perfect God, the likeness of Re when he appears unto [the subjects],<sup>d</sup> . . . , beloved of [Khons]u-in-Thebes Neferhotep, given life forever. <sup>16</sup>Live the Perfect God, great in monuments, Champion of the One who is in Thebes,<sup>e</sup> . . . , beloved of [Khons]u, Lord of . . . , [given life] forever.




## RIGHT JAMB

<sup>17</sup>[Live the Perfect God], . . . Mut, Lady of Heaven, . . . , beloved of [Kho]nsu . . . , given life forever. <sup>18</sup>[Live the Perfect God], . . . Khonsu, . . . , beloved of Khon[su] . . . , given life forever.

\* The three lines of inscription on the lintel have been recarved in the late period.

<sup>a</sup> Reading the figure of the seated king as *nb*.

<sup>b</sup> For the restoration see pls. 42, line 3, and 104, line 10.

<sup>c</sup> One expects *dt sw*, as in pl. 25, line 3, rather than what appears to be *dt.f s(w)*. Since this text was recarved in the late or Ptolemaic period, as is evident from the forms of certain signs, it is conceivable that  may have served as a writing of *sw*. Cf.  as a writing of the dependent pronoun *s(w)* discussed by H. W. Fairman, "Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of , *JEA* 36 (1950):110-11.

<sup>d</sup> *Wbn.n.f* is possibly for *wbn.f*; cf. note *d* to translation of pl. 25, line 5.

<sup>e</sup> Understand *ndty n tmy W3st*.

PLATE 52. THE FAÇADE OF THE SECOND PYLON OF  
THE TEMPLE OF AMON-RE AT KARNAK

## ABOVE PYLON

<sup>1</sup>Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, Amon's Son; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, <sup>2</sup>High Priest of Amon; the bodily Son of Re, Siamon-Herihor; <sup>3</sup>he has made as his memorial<sup>a</sup> for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the renovating <sup>4</sup>for him "Illuminating Thebes" anew, the name of which is (also) "Amon is in <sup>5</sup>Joy,"<sup>b</sup> and the embellishing for him the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep unto eternity.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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## PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON FLAGPOLES (LEFT TO RIGHT)

*First flagpole:*

[The King of Upper and Lower Egypt], . . . , High Priest of Amon; he has made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re: the flagpole Ernutet . . . [lar]ge pylon of . . . .

*Second flagpole:*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of a strong arm and Lord of Action, Siamon-Herihor; he has made (it) as his monument for his father, [the flagpole] Hathor . . . his house. She has . . . the sky with her beauty. . . .

*Third flagpole:*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, . . . , Lord of the Two Lands, . . . , Siamon-Herihor; he has made (it) as his monument for his father, the flagpole Nekhbet . . . joining . . . .

*Fourth flagpole:*

[The King of Upper and Lower Egypt], . . . , Siamon-Herihor; he has made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, the flagpole Mut. She illumines Thebes with . . . .

*Fifth flagpole:*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who makes Thebes festive, Siamon-Herihor; he has made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, the flagpole Amonet . . . her beauty . . . .

*Sixth flagpole:*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, . . . ; he has made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, the flagpole . . . .

*Seventh flagpole:*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler . . . , Siamon-Herihor; [he has made (it) as his monument for] his [father] Amon-Re, the flagpole . . . .

*Eighth flagpole:*

(lost)

## PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON FLAGPOLE NICHES (LEFT TO RIGHT)

*First niche (left):\**

Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, Amon's Son; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; he has made as [his monument for his father] Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the making for him<sup>c</sup> a large pylon of [san]dstone,<sup>d</sup> which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, [beloved of] Amon-Re, made for him.<sup>e</sup>

*First niche (right):*

He has [made], as [his] monument [for his father] Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven, the making for him a great pylon of limestone,<sup>f</sup> which the Son of Re, beloved of him, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, [beloved of] Amon-Re, made for him.

*Second niche (left):*

He has made, as [his] monument [for his father Amon-Re], the erecting for him large flagpoles of cedar of Lebanon, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, [beloved of] Amon-[Re], made for him.

*Second niche (right):*

He has made, [as his monument for his father Amon-Re], the erecting for him large flagpoles of cedar of Lebanon, which [the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of . . .], made for [him].

*Third niche (left):*

He has made, as [his monument for his father Amon-Re], . . . 'in' making for him a large gateway of . . . .

*Third niche (right):*

[He has made, as his monument for his father Amon-Re], . . . making for him a [large] g[ate-way] . . . .

*Fourth niche (left):*

[He has made, as his monument for his father Amon-Re], . . . flagpoles and a large pylon . . . in order to accomplish something beneficial,<sup>a</sup> which [the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of . . . ,] made [for him].

*Fourth niche (right):*


. . . a large pylon of stone. . . .

(Inscriptions of the remaining niches lost except for the introductory titulary.)

\* The introductory titulary is translated only in the first example.

<sup>a</sup> On the range of meaning that *mnw* may have, see Sayed Taufik, "*ir.n.f m mnw.f* als Weihformel. Gebrauch und Bedeutung," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 27 (1971):228.

<sup>b</sup> On the names of the Second Pylon at Karnak, see Nims, *JNES* 14: 116.

<sup>c</sup> In numerous dedicatory inscriptions of Ramesses XI, Herihor, and Painutem I in the Temple of Khonsu,  appears where older texts regularly have the infinitive *irt* followed by the dative *n.f*. The reason is probably phonetic.

<sup>d</sup> Restoring *ir n rwgt*.

<sup>e</sup> On the concluding clause, see William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 12 (Chicago, 1936), p. 116, n. 2c.

<sup>f</sup> This must be an incorrect application of the well-known Egyptian designation of limestone (see J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* [Berlin, 1961], pp. 70-71) to describe the sandstone of which the Second Pylon was actually constructed.

<sup>g</sup> Restoring *r ir(t) mnht*.

PLATE 53. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION OVER  
OFFERINGS BEFORE THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying and making libation for Amon-Re, King of the Gods, that he may make "given life."

## ABOVE BARK OF AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in Karnak:

<sup>3</sup>"Welcome, welcome, O my son, my beloved, Siamon-Herihor! <sup>4</sup>My heart is satisfied with your hecatomb, and I accept what you have made. You have illumined <sup>5</sup>Benbene anew, the palace <sup>6</sup>that is my predilection, the precise location of the <sup>7</sup>primordial event.<sup>a</sup> I have given you an eternity as King of <sup>8</sup>the Two Lands that you may achieve millions of years like <sup>9</sup>Atum. I have subdued for you every land together <sup>10</sup>while the Nine Bows are fallen because of awe of you."

<sup>11</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all life, stability and dominion, and all health." <sup>12</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the jubilee(s) of Re." <sup>13</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the kingship over the Two Lands possessing joy." <sup>14</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you every plain and every hill country in peace." <sup>15</sup>Words spoken: "I have granted you that your monuments <sup>16</sup>be enduring and permanent forever."

## ABOVE BARK OF KHONSU

<sup>17</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-<sup>18</sup>in-Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of <sup>19</sup>Joy, the Great <sup>20</sup>God of <sup>21</sup>the very beginning: <sup>22</sup>"I have given you all health. <sup>23</sup>I have given you all joy. <sup>24</sup>I have given you all valor. <sup>25</sup>I have given you all victory. <sup>26</sup>I have given you all lands."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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## ABOVE BARK OF MUT

<sup>27</sup>Mut the Great, <sup>28</sup>Lady of Isheru, <sup>29</sup>Mistress of all the Gods, <sup>30</sup>the Eye of Re, residing in Karnak, <sup>31</sup>as she gives all life and dominion, <sup>32</sup>and as she gives all life and dominion, <sup>33</sup>all health, <sup>34</sup>and all joy like Re forever.

## OFFERING LIST\*

*Top line:*

<sup>35</sup>Libation on the offering chest:<sup>b</sup> 2.

<sup>36</sup>Presentation of *wšrt*-incense:<sup>c</sup> 1.

<sup>37</sup>The offering meal: 1.

<sup>38</sup>Water in the *mns3*-jar: 1.

<sup>39</sup>Water in the pottery vessel:<sup>d</sup> 1.

<sup>40</sup>(Water in) the red vessels: 2.

<sup>41</sup>Roast joint: 2.

<sup>42</sup>Wine: 2.

<sup>43</sup>Water in the *mns3*-jar: 2.

*Middle line:*

<sup>35</sup>Natron of *šbty*: 2.

<sup>36</sup>*Wr*-bread: 1.

<sup>37</sup>*Šyt*-bread: 20 (variant 10).

<sup>38</sup>Water in the pottery vessel: 10.

<sup>39</sup>Water in the red vessels: 10.

<sup>40</sup>Lower Egyptian wine in the pottery vessel: 10.

<sup>41</sup>Milk in the *gngnt*-vessel: 2.

<sup>42</sup>O, fear!<sup>e</sup>

<sup>43</sup>The *snw*-vessel with<sup>1</sup> honey: 1.

*Bottom line:*

<sup>35</sup>Lower Egyptian wine in the red vessels: 10.

<sup>36</sup>Knife: 1.

<sup>37</sup>Foreleg: 1.

<sup>38</sup>*Mid3*-cut of meat: 1.

<sup>39</sup>Back cut of meat: 2.

<sup>40</sup>(Beer in) the *špnt*-vessel: 10.

<sup>41</sup>All (sorts of) sweet fruit.

<sup>42</sup>All (sorts of) vegetables.

<sup>43</sup>Everything good and pure.

## PAINTED INSCRIPTION ALONG TOP OF SHRINE

Live Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, Amon's Son; Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who has sanctified Benbene and filled it with monuments; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great Ruler of Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of Strength and Lord of Action, High Priest of Amon; he has made as his monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in Karnak, the making for him a shrine of electrum, ornamented with every (sort of) costly stone, being what a son has made with a willing heart for his father who has placed him upon his throne, and being of excellent workmanship and of eternal construction<sup>7</sup> in the likeness of the horizon of the sky; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, . . . .

Your life-span is like (that of) the sun disk that is in it. Your kingship is (that of) King of the Two Lands. Your name is greater, and your victories are mightier than (those of previous) Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. The Two Lands and heaven are under your supervision.<sup>g</sup> . . . You [shall achieve]<sup>h</sup> millions (of years) with life, stability, and dominion forever upon the throne of Horus, O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods [of Thebes], given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

VERTICAL PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON FRONT OF SHRINE

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: "O my bodily son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, how beautiful is the monument that you have made for me! [O Horus, Amon's Son], 'my heart [is pleased] with what you have done, for you have made . . . festive . . . , and you have (re)built what was. . . .'"

VERTICAL PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON FRONT OF SHRINE ON BARK OF AMON-RE

Favorite of the two Goddesses, Powerful with the Scimitar, Life of the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor; he has made as his monument for [his] father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, . . . , the Son of Re, Siamon-Herihor, given life . . . .

VERTICAL PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON REAR OF SHRINE ON BARK OF AMON-RE

Horus of Gold, . . . ; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor; [he has] made as [his] monument [for] his father Amon-[Re] . . . , [Lord of the Ritua],<sup>k</sup> Lord of . . . .

PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PEDESTAL OF THE BARK OF KHONSU

. . . his father Khonsu-in-Thebes, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of [Khon]su, [Nefer]hotep.

. . . my arms . . .

. . . my arms [up]lift<sup>i</sup> . . .

The Son of Re, Siamon-Herihor: "My arms bear Khonsu, Lord of . . . ."

\* The list above the bark of Khonsu is almost identical to the one before the shrine and is not translated separately. For this type of list see Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 140-44.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 54.

<sup>h</sup> On the *hnt*-chest, see Hermann Junker, *Giza III: Bericht über die Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*, vol. 3, *Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938), pp. 108-9.

<sup>i</sup> See Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, pp. 141-42.

<sup>j</sup> On the *mnḥt*-vessel, see Alan H. Gardiner, "A New Letter to the Dead," *JEA* 16 (1930): 21.

<sup>k</sup> A recitation, possibly to be rendered rather as "Fear descends"; see Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, p. 113.

<sup>l</sup> See L.-A. Christophe, "Le Vocabulaire d'architecture monumentale d'après le Papyrus Harris I," *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1, *Orient ancien*, fasc. 4, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 66 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 17-18, for these two phrases.

<sup>m</sup> Reading *twy pt hr st-hr.k*.

<sup>n</sup> Restoring *ir.k*.

<sup>o</sup> The king's Horus name possibly stood here; cf. *MH* 4, pl. 229, line 4, and *RIK* II, pl. 92, lines 13-14.

<sup>p</sup> Perhaps "what was in disrepair."

<sup>q</sup> Restoring *nb irt iht*.

<sup>r</sup> Restoring *f3*.



## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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PLATE 54. DECORATION SURROUNDING THE NORTH DOOR OF EAST WALL OF COURT  
WITH SCENES ABOVE LINTEL SHOWING KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS  
TO KHONSU AND RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM KHONSU

## BEFORE KING IN LEFT SCENE

<sup>1</sup>Giving flowers.

## BY KHONSU IN LEFT SCENE

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.

## BY KHONSU IN RIGHT SCENE

<sup>3</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>4</sup>Lord of Ma'at, residing in Thebes: <sup>5</sup>"Receive the jubilee of Re."

## RIGHT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>6</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son, Champion of the Lords of Thebes, with a great scimitar, who has smitten the Nine Bows; <sup>7</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon, given life like Re, <sup>8</sup>beloved of Kh[onsu]-in-Thebes Neferhotep, given life.

## LEFT HALF OF LINTEL

<sup>6</sup>Live the Perfect God, excellent in counsels and master of perfect laws throughout the Two Banks; <sup>7</sup>the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, given life like Re, <sup>8</sup>beloved of Khonsu, Lord of Thebes, the Great God of the very beginning.

## LEFT JAMB

<sup>9</sup>Live the Perfect God . . . , High Priest of Amon, beloved of Khonsu. <sup>10</sup>Live the Perfect God, . . . , Sia[mon]-Herihor, beloved of Khonsu.

## RIGHT JAMB

<sup>11</sup>Live the Perfect God, [great in reign] with a long lifetime, perfect like Re<sup>a</sup> . . . , given life like [R]e.<sup>b</sup> <sup>12</sup>[Live the Perfect God], . . . his [father] Khonsu . . . given life like [R]e.<sup>a</sup> Restoring *wr nsuyt k3 h'w nfr mi R'*; see *MH* 6, *The Temple Proper*, pt. 2, pl. 384*B*.<sup>b</sup> *Di nh mi R'* is the conclusion common to lines 11 and 12.

PLATE 55. KING HERIHOR PARTICIPATING IN  
THE CEREMONIES OF THE FEAST OF MIN

## BEFORE THE ITHYPHALIC AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Procession of [the majes]ty of this god.<sup>a</sup>

## BEFORE KING

<sup>2</sup>Giving flowers . . . [to] his father Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment, that he [may make] "given life."

## BEFORE PRIEST CENSING

<sup>3</sup>Thu[rify]ing before this [august] god.

## BEFORE PRIESTS CARRYING STANDARDS

<sup>4</sup>The standards that precede this august god.

## BY THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken b[y Amon-Re], Preeminent in <sup>9</sup>his Private Apartment, . . . , <sup>10</sup>the Great God, [Lord of Heaven] and <sup>11</sup>Earth. <sup>5</sup>[Words spoken: "I have given you] all plains and all hill countries under your sandals." <sup>6</sup>Words spoken: "[I have] given you very many jubilee(s)."

<sup>7</sup>Words spoken: "[I have granted you] to achieve millions of years."

## ABOVE KING FOLLOWING PROCESSION

(Herihor's names), <sup>12</sup>the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Atum has chosen.

## ABOVE OFFICIATING KING

<sup>13</sup>Live the Perfect God, [Amon's Son],<sup>b</sup> Champion of the Lords of Thebes; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>14</sup>[the image of Re] before the Two Lands, <sup>15</sup>[whom] Amon [has chosen].

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration see pl. 44, line 1.

<sup>b</sup> See pl. 54, line 6, for the restoration.

PLATE 56. A. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO HORUS OF EDFU  
IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR OF DENDERAH

## BY HORUS OF EDFU

<sup>2</sup>Horus, the One of Behdet, the Great God <sup>3</sup>with variegated plumage, Lord of Ma'at, <sup>4</sup>residing in the Nome of Edfu: <sup>1</sup>"I have given you all life, stability, and dominion on my part."

## BY HATHOR OF DENDERAH

<sup>5</sup>Hathor, Lady of Denderah, residing in <sup>6</sup>Edfu, <sup>7</sup>as she gives all life and dominion and all joy like Re.

PLATE 56. B. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR AMON-RE, "GREAT-OF-DIGNITY"

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Greeting his father Amon-Re (with) the nemset jar:<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>all life, stability and dominion, and all health like Re.

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>4</sup>Amon-Re, Great-of-Dignity,<sup>b</sup> rich in <sup>5</sup>nourishment for every god, <sup>6</sup>the Great God who lives on Ma'at, <sup>7</sup>eldest of the gods: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you every land together like Re. <sup>8</sup>I have given you all food and all provisions."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father Kh[on]su-in-Thebes [Nefer]hotep.

<sup>a</sup> Presumably an abbreviation of the common *nḏ-ḥr m nmst*.

<sup>b</sup> For this epithet of the ram-headed Amon, see Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 23.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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PLATE 57. A. KING HERIHOR RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM AMON-RE  
IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>May you receive<sup>a</sup> the jubilee <sup>2</sup>of Re.

BY AMON-RE

<sup>4</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, <sup>5</sup>Preeminent in Karnak: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you life and dominion."

BY MUT

<sup>7</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru.

BY KHONSU

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by Kh[on]su-<sup>9</sup>in-Thebes Neferhotep: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you the jubilee <sup>11</sup>of Re and the years of Atum upon the throne of Geb."

BEHIND KHONSU

<sup>12</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps an error for *šsp n.k.*, "Receive!"

PLATE 57. B. KING HERIHOR SEATED BETWEEN EDJŌ AND NEKHBET  
WHILE BEING CROWNED BY SETH AND HARSIESE

BY SETH

<sup>1</sup>Words spoken by the Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt, <sup>2</sup>beloved of Re, Superior of the Two Lands, unto <sup>3</sup>his son Siamon-Herihor: <sup>4</sup>"I affix for you the Red Crown upon your head, and you receive the ornaments of your father Re. <sup>5</sup>I exalt your dignity in all lands, while dread of you pervades their heart(s)."

BY HORUS

<sup>6</sup>Words spoken by Harsiese unto <sup>7</sup>his son Siamon-Herihor: <sup>8</sup>"I affix for you the White Crown upon your head so that you appear <sup>9</sup>like your father Re. I place fear of you throughout all foreign countries, while their <sup>10</sup>chiefs are fallen because of your power. I subdue for you every land together while you appear in glory upon the throne of Horus."

PLATE 58.\* KING HERIHOR RECEIVING JUBILEES FROM AMON-RE  
IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT, KHONSU, AND THE  
DEIFIED QUEEN AHMOSE-NEFERTARI

BY AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in <sup>2</sup>Karnak, King of Thebes and Prince 'in' <sup>3</sup>Heliopolis, great in Epiphanies in Memphis, <sup>4</sup>Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods: <sup>5</sup>"Receive the jubilees <sup>6</sup>of Re and the years of your father Atum in Heliopolis."

BY MUT

<sup>7</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods, <sup>8</sup>the Eye of Re that

is upon his disk, who takes her place <sup>9</sup>upon his head, <sup>10</sup>Unique One without her equal, Ruler of the Two Banks of Horus.

By KHONSU

<sup>11</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, <sup>12</sup>Lord of Joy, the august god who desires Ma'at as he lives <sup>13</sup>(on) what it comprises every day:<sup>14</sup> "I have given you all life, stability and dominion, <sup>15</sup>and all health."

By AHMOSE-NEFERTARI

<sup>16</sup>The God's Wife of Amon and God's Mother Ahmose-Nefertari, <sup>17</sup>may she live and be healthy, <sup>18</sup>as she gives all life and dominion on her part: <sup>18</sup>"I have given you a great kingship possessing peace."

By HATHOR

<sup>20</sup>Hathor, residing in Benbene, <sup>21</sup>Lady of Heaven and Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>22</sup>as she gives life and dominion <sup>23</sup>and all health <sup>24</sup>like Re. <sup>25</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the life-span of Re, the years of Atum, the portion(s) of the Two Lords in (the form of) life and dominion, and the power of Shu and Tefnut."

ABOVE KING

<sup>26</sup>Live the Perfect God, the image of Amon, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Diadems, <sup>27</sup>High Priest of Amon, <sup>28</sup>Siamon-Herihor, <sup>29</sup>the Lord of the Two Lands, whom Re has preferred.

\* For discussion of this scene and its texts, see Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, pp. 93-94.

PLATE 59. A. \* KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY ISIS, RECEIVING THE  
ROYAL URAEI AND CARTOUCHES FROM HATHOR OF DENDERAH

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Receive the two uraei of Horus\* that they may appear upon your head.

By ISIS

<sup>2</sup>Isis the Great, the God's Mother, Mistress of <sup>3</sup>all the Gods, as she gives life and dominion: <sup>4</sup>"Protection is around you from all the gods, as their hands <sup>5</sup>give you jubilees like Re."

By HATHOR

<sup>6</sup>Hathor, Lady of <sup>7</sup>Denderah, the Eye of Re, <sup>8</sup>Ruler of the [Two] Banks.

BEHIND HATHOR

<sup>9</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor shall maintain a glorious appearance as King of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North forever.

\* A fragmentary parallel to this scene and its texts is published in Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer*, plate vol., p. 41, fig. 57, and text vol., p. 64.

\* Or perhaps "Horus" is to be taken as a vocative.

PLATE 59. B. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR MUT

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a libation for the Lady of Heaven <sup>2</sup>that she may make "given life."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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BY MUT

<sup>3</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru, <sup>4</sup>the Great-of-<sup>5</sup>Magic of Thebes.

ABOVE KING

<sup>6</sup>The image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amon himself has chosen.

BEHIND KING

<sup>7</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhti, Lord of Ma<sup>8</sup>at.

PLATE 60.\* KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND SUPPORTING A  
TABLE OF OFFERINGS ON HIS HEAD BEFORE  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Bringing a divine offering to Amon in <sup>2</sup>Karnak daily <sup>3</sup>that he may make “given life.”

BY AMON-RE

<sup>4</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, <sup>5</sup>Preeminent in Karnak, <sup>6</sup>Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods, <sup>7</sup>Superior of the Great Ennead.

BY KHONSU

<sup>8</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes <sup>9</sup>Neferhotep, Horus, Superior of the Two Lands: <sup>10</sup>“I have given you all lands in peace.”

BY KING'S KA

<sup>11</sup>The living Ka of the King, Lord of the Two Lands, Preeminent in the Robing Room.

BEHIND KING'S KA

<sup>12</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor [shal]l maintain a glorious appearance wearing the White Crown united with the R[ed Crown]<sup>a</sup> like his father Re every day.<sup>\*</sup> The action of the king in this scene is paralleled in an unpublished scene of Sethos I in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak; see Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 4, fig. 10, location B 288.<sup>a</sup> Possibly restoring *nt*, “Red Crown.”

PLATE 61.\* KING HERIHOR PRESENTING A FLORAL COLLAR TO  
MIN OF COPTOS IN THE PRESENCE OF HORUS AND ISIS

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving a floral collar to his father that he may make “given life.”

BY MIN

<sup>3</sup>Words spoken by Min of Coptos, <sup>4</sup>Horus with the raised arm, <sup>5</sup>the Great God, Lord of Heaven and Earth: <sup>2</sup>“[I have given] you every plain and every hill country under your sandals.”

BY HORUS

<sup>7</sup>. . . [as he gives] . . . on his part: <sup>6</sup>“I have given you all life and dominion and all health.”

## BY ISIS

<sup>8</sup>. . . , residing in . . . : <sup>9</sup>"I have [given] you all food and all provender."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of a strong arm and Lord of Action, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on the throne of Horus.

\* For the identification of the two deities behind Min, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, plate vol., pl. 25.

## PLATE 62. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO MONTU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting [Ma'at] to his father Montu.

## BY MONTU

<sup>2</sup>Montu the Great, Lord of Thebes, Sovereign of <sup>3</sup>the Gods, Chief of the Army. <sup>4</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all valor."

PLATE 63. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Greeting his father Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven, (with) the nemset jar.

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Words spoken by Amon-Re, <sup>3</sup>King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, <sup>4</sup>Ruler of the Ennead, who has created <sup>5</sup>all that exists.

## BY AMONET

<sup>6</sup>Amonet, residing in Karnak, <sup>7</sup>as she gives all life, <sup>8</sup>stability and dominion, [all] hea[lth]. . . .

## BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep doing what his ka praises.

PLATE 64. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO  
PTAH IN THE PRESENCE OF SEKHMET

## BY PTAH

<sup>1</sup>Ptah the Great, South of [his] Wall, [Lord] of <sup>2</sup>Ankhtowi, (who is) in Thebes, the Great God, Beloved One: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you all life and dominion on my part."

## BY SEKHMET

<sup>4</sup>Sekhmet the Great, Beloved of Ptah, <sup>5</sup>Mistress of <sup>6</sup>Ankhtowi, <sup>6</sup>as she gives life and dominion: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you the office of Atum, the throne of Geb, and the portion(s) of the Two Lords."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, King of all the Gods.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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PLATE 65. KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND RECEIVING JUBILEES AND  
THE SCIMITAR FROM AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND  
SEFKHET-<sup>c</sup>ABWY, WHO INSCRIBES THE ROYAL TITULARY

BY AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, <sup>2</sup>Preeminent in Karnak: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. <sup>4</sup>I have given you all health on my part. <sup>5</sup>I have given you all joy. <sup>6</sup>May you receive the <sup>7</sup>scimitar, O victorious king, for your mace (has) smitten <sup>8</sup>the Nine Bows.<sup>a</sup> All life and dominion be to your nose <sup>9</sup>like Re every day."

BY MUT

<sup>10</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru, <sup>11</sup>Bastet, Lady of <sup>c</sup>Ankhtowi.

BY NEKHBET

<sup>12</sup>Nekhbet, White One of Hieraconpolis.

BY SEFKHET-<sup>c</sup>ABWY

<sup>13</sup>Sefkhet-<sup>c</sup>abwy, <sup>14</sup>Lady of Writing and <sup>15</sup>Mistress of the [Libr]ary.

ABOVE KING

<sup>16</sup>High Priest of Amon, Siamon-Herihor, the image of Re before the Two Lands, <sup>17</sup>whom Atum [him]self has chosen.

PENDANT FROM THE REED

<sup>18</sup>Re-Harakhti, Mighty Bull, Amon's Son, . . . , may he live forever.

BEHIND SEFKHET-<sup>c</sup>ABWY

<sup>19</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Ritual, . . . , beloved of Kh[onsu, Lord]<sup>b</sup> of Thebes.

<sup>a</sup> For older versions of Amon-Re's speech, see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 27, lines 4–5 (Sethos I), and vol. 2, p. 168, lines 14–15 (Ramesses II); *RIK* I, pl. 5, line 13 (Ramesses III); and Kitchen and Gaballa, *ZÄS* 96:26, fig. 9, line 10 (Ramesses VI). The earlier versions read *šsp n.k ḥpš* and *ḥw.n ḥd.k pḏt psḏt*: "Take the scimitar" and "for your mace has smitten the Nine Bows."

<sup>b</sup> A probable restoration.

PLATE 66. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR  
RE-HARAKHTI IN THE PRESENCE OF IUS<sup>c</sup>AAS AND NEBET-ḤETEPET

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying and making libation.

BY RE-HARAKHTI

<sup>2</sup>Words spoken by Re-Harakhti, <sup>3</sup>the Great God, <sup>4</sup>Lord of Heaven and Earth. <sup>5</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all valor." <sup>6</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all victory."

BY IUS<sup>c</sup>AAS

<sup>7</sup>Ius<sup>c</sup>aas, <sup>8</sup>Lady of Heaven and <sup>9</sup>Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>10</sup>as she gives life and dominion.

BY NEBET-ḤETEPET

<sup>11</sup>Nebet-Ḥetepet, <sup>12</sup>Mistress of all the Gods. <sup>13</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the life-span of Re in the sky. <sup>14</sup>I have given you lands in peace."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>15</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Ritual, High Priest of Amon, shall maintain a glorious appearance upon Horus's throne of the living.

PLATE 67. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO THE ITHYPHALLIC  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving flowers to his father.

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment, Lord of Heaven <sup>3</sup>and Lord of Earth.

## BY AMONET

<sup>4</sup>Words spoken by Amonet, <sup>5</sup>Lady of the Two Lands, Superior <sup>6</sup>in Karnak, <sup>7</sup>the Eye of Re, <sup>8</sup>Mistress of all the <sup>9</sup>Gods: <sup>10</sup>"I make salutation to your face, O Beloved One. I establish <sup>11</sup>your name as King of the Two Lands lasting and enduring throughout eternity."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>12</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead.

## PLATE 68. KING HERIHOR OFFERING A HECATOMB TO A GOD

## BEHIND KING

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, the Primeval One of the Two Lands.

## PLATE 69. A. KING HERIHOR RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Take the jubilee of your [fath]er Re.<sup>a</sup>

## BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu, Lord of Thebes: <sup>3</sup>"[O my son, Lord] of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, my heart <sup>4</sup>is glad through love of you, and [I] am joyful <sup>5</sup>[at seeing] your [mon]uments.<sup>b</sup> <sup>6</sup>[I have] given [you] all [va]lor and victory."

## ABOVE KING

<sup>7</sup>Live the Perfect God, who has accomplished benefactions for his father Khonsu, (etc.).

<sup>a</sup> Restoring *hb-sd n it.k R*; cf. pl. 50, lines 1-2. There are possibly traces of —, too uncertain to be drawn, just beneath the king's elbow.

<sup>b</sup> The restoration in translation is based on *RIK* I, pl. 58, lines 5-6; cf. also two unpublished texts of Sethos I and of Ramesses II in the Great Hypostyle Hall (Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 4, fig. 10, location B 275, and fig. 6, location B 93).



## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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PLATE 69. B. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING THE BARK OF  
KHONSU CARRIED IN PROCESSION

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying before this august god Khonsu-in-Thebes <sup>2</sup>Neferhotep when [he] appears in order to protect his city "Thebes is Victorious," <sup>3</sup>as he gives life . . . to [Siamon-Herihor]. . . .

## ABOVE KING

<sup>5</sup>The Perfect God, High Priest of Amon; <sup>6</sup>the Son of Re, [Siamon-Herihor], <sup>4</sup>beloved of Khonsu Neferhotep in Karnak, <sup>7</sup>[the image of Re befo]re the Two Lands, <sup>8</sup>whom Atum [himself] has [chos]en <sup>9</sup>. . . .

## BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>The King . . . shall . . . Horus . . . .

## ABOVE BARK OF KHONSU

<sup>11</sup>I have given you very many jubilees like your father Re. <sup>12</sup>I have given you every land together while the Nine Bows are fallen because of your power.

<sup>13</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: <sup>14</sup>"O my son, my beloved, the Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>15</sup>how beautiful are these beautiful, sacred, [permanent],<sup>a</sup> and excellent monuments <sup>16</sup>that you have made for me. My heart is satisfied with them. <sup>17</sup>I give you payment for them in (the form of) <sup>18</sup>life, stability, and dominion with the kingship over the Two Lands (filled) with peace like Re."

<sup>19</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all life, dominion, and stability." <sup>20</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all health on my part." <sup>21</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all valor on my part." <sup>22</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all victory on my part." <sup>23</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all food on [my part]." <sup>24</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all provender [on my part]."

<sup>a</sup> Restoring *rwḏ*, see *MH* 4, pl. 229, line 3.

## PLATE 70. KING HERIHOR OFFERING A HECATOMB BEFORE THE THEBAN TRIAD

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving a large hecatomb to his father Amon-Re, consisting of long- and short-horned cattle, <sup>2</sup>wine, incense, and all (sorts of) common fruit that he may make "given life" forever.

## ABOVE OFFERINGS

<sup>3</sup>Words spoken by Amon-[Re], King of the Gods: "O my son, <sup>4</sup>my beloved, Siamon-[Herihor], how [beautiful] is <sup>5</sup>this beautiful, sacred, [permanent, and excellent] monument [which] you [have made] for me."<sup>a</sup>

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>6</sup>[A]mon-[Re], Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the <sup>7</sup>. . . 'the north', who is beneficial,<sup>b</sup> <sup>8</sup>Unique One, whose legs are more 'vigorous' than (those of) millions,<sup>c</sup> the goodly protector of <sup>9</sup>Siamon-Herihor.

## BY MUT

<sup>10</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Heaven and Mistress of the Gods, <sup>11</sup>greatly beloved in heaven and on earth.

## BY KHONSU

<sup>12</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>13</sup>Horus, Lord of Joy: <sup>14</sup>"I have given you life, dominion, and [all] health."

## BEHIND KHONSU

<sup>15</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you the jubilees of Re, the years of Atum, and the victoriousness of Montu-in-Thebes within your grasp."

<sup>a</sup> See note *a*, pl. 69*B* for the restoration.

<sup>b</sup> A possible restoration and emendation might be *p3 sdm nht mhy nty 3h*, "The one who hears prayer, the guardian who is beneficial."

<sup>c</sup> Reading *wc rn(p) rdwy.f r hhw*.

PLATE 71. KING HERIHOR RECEIVING LIFE AND DOMINION FROM ATUM  
WHILE IUN-MUTEF ADDRESSES THE ENNEAD OF KARNAK

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Life and dominion to your nose, O Lord of the Two Lands.

## BY ATUM

<sup>2</sup>Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, residing in the Great Mansion, <sup>3</sup>as he gives the kingship of Re, the office of Atum, and the strength of the Two Lords in (the form of) life and dominion.

## ABOVE KING

<sup>4</sup>The Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, <sup>5</sup>the image of Re before the Two Lands, <sup>6</sup>whom Amon himself has chosen <sup>7</sup>to be ruler of every land.

## BY IUN-MUTEF

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by Iun-mutef before his father Atum in the presence of <sup>9</sup>the Great Ennead that is in Karnak, stating: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, has made for you great monuments <sup>10</sup>in the Estate of his father Amon, which are executed in eternal construction. He has exceeded <sup>11</sup>what the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt (previously) achieved. Grant that he may carry on<sup>a</sup> over millions of years with life, stability, and dominion joined <sup>12</sup>to his body. Cast down for him the Nine Bows under his sandals. Cause his name to flourish <sup>13</sup>just as your name(s) flourish <sup>14</sup>inasmuch as he has achieved <sup>15</sup>Ma<sup>c</sup>at for you throughout the Two Banks.

## ABOVE SEATED GODS

<sup>16</sup>Montu. <sup>17</sup>Atum. <sup>18</sup>Shu and Tef(n)ut. <sup>19</sup>Geb and Nut. <sup>20</sup>Osiris and Isis. <sup>21</sup>Seth and Nephthys. <sup>22</sup>Horus and Hathor. <sup>23</sup>Tjenen and Iunyet.

<sup>a</sup> See Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1926), p. 342 entry 13.

PLATE 72. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY A GODDESS BEARING JUBILEES,  
PRESENTING A CLEPSYDRA(?) TO MUT

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving a clepsydra(?) to the Lady of Heaven.

## BY MUT

<sup>2</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of <sup>3</sup>Isheru, Mistress of <sup>4</sup>[al]l the G[ods].

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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## BEHIND GODDESS

<sup>5</sup>[The King . . . shall] maintain a glorious appearance as King of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North forever and ever.

PLATE 73. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO  
THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

## BY THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment, <sup>2</sup>the Great God, Lord of Heaven: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you all life, stability and dominion, and all [heal]th. <sup>4</sup>I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands and everlastingness as Ruler of Joy."

## BY AMONET

<sup>5</sup>Amonet, [residing in] <sup>6</sup>Karnak, <sup>7</sup>the Great Celestial Cow, <sup>8</sup>who bore Re, Mistress of the Gods: <sup>9</sup>"I have given you every land together like Re."

## ABOVE KING

<sup>10</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son . . . his father, (etc.).

## BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, [Si]amon-[Herihor], shall maintain a [glorious] appearance [o]n Re's throne of the living, joyful in the company of his ka.

PLATE 74. KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE IN THE  
PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU WHILE THOTH INSCRIBES JUBILEES

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma'at to his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of <sup>4</sup>the Two Lands, Preeminent in <sup>5</sup>Karnak, Lord of Heaven, <sup>6</sup>King of the Gods, Superior of the <sup>7</sup>Great Ennead.

## BY MUT

<sup>8</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of <sup>9</sup>Isheru, Mistress of the Gods: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you all life and dominion like Re."

## BY KHONSU

<sup>11</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: <sup>12</sup>"I have given you all valor. <sup>13</sup>I have given you all health and all joy."

## BY THOTH

<sup>14</sup>Words spoken by Thoth, Lord of <sup>15</sup>Sacred Writings, Scribe of Truth for the Ennead: "I inscribe <sup>16</sup>for you the jubilees of Re and the years of Atum. <sup>17</sup>I establish your name as King of the Two Lands forever and ever." <sup>18</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands that you might celebrate the jubilees of Re and (achieve) [the year]s of Atum."

PLATE 75. KING HERIHOR OFFERING OINTMENT TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF A DEITY

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving ointment to his father <sup>2</sup>[that he may make] "given life."

BY AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven and Earth, <sup>4</sup>who has made all that is: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you the kingship over the Two Lands. <sup>6</sup>I have given you all lands in peace."

BY GODDESS

<sup>7</sup>I have given [you] all life and [dominion] and all joy.

BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father Khonsu, Lord of Thebes.

PLATE 76. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR MIN OF COPTOS  
IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS OF COPTOS

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a libation for [his father].

BY MIN OF COPTOS

<sup>2</sup>Min of Coptos, Horus with the raised <sup>3</sup>arm, the Great God: <sup>4</sup>"I have given [you] an eternity as King of the Two Lands. <sup>5</sup>[I have given] you all valor and victory."

BY ISIS OF COPTOS

<sup>6</sup>Isis the Great, <sup>7</sup>the God's Mother, [Lady of]<sup>a</sup> <sup>8</sup>Coptos, Mistress<sup>b</sup> of <sup>9</sup>the Two Lands: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands."

ABOVE SANCTUARY OF MIN

<sup>11</sup>The *sehenu*-chapel.<sup>c</sup>

BEHIND KING

<sup>12</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of a strong arm and Lord of Action, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on Horus's throne of the living.

<sup>a</sup> Restoring *nbt*, but *hryt-ib*, "residing in," is also possible.

<sup>b</sup> Reading *hnwt*.

<sup>c</sup> On the *shnw*-chapel see Marianne Doresse, "Le Dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du début de la décade," *RdE* 23 (1971):126, n. 8. It appears behind Min for the first time in reliefs of the shrine of Sesostri I at Karnak; see Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), p. 113. Another example of the spelling *shnw* is found in an unpublished relief of Ramesses II at Karnak; see Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 9, location I 178.

PLATE 77. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO  
MUT IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR

BY MUT

<sup>1</sup>[Mut the Great, Lady of I]sher[u]:<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>"[I have] given [you] the year[s] of Atum."<sup>b</sup>

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## BY HATHOR

<sup>3</sup>Hathor, Superior of Thebes and Mistress of the Gods: <sup>4</sup>I have given you the jubilees of Re.”

## BEHIND KING

<sup>5</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance. . . .

<sup>a</sup> The trace at the beginning of column 1 belongs to an earlier inscription.

<sup>b</sup> Traces of <sup>7</sup>*Itmw* preserved.

PLATE 78. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO  
KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA‘AT

## BEFORE KING

[Elevating an offering to his father]<sup>a</sup> <sup>1</sup>that he may make “given life.”

## BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-[in]-Thebes <sup>3</sup>Neferhotep: “I have given you all health on my part. <sup>5</sup>I have given you all lands together.”

## BY MA‘AT

<sup>6</sup>Words spoken b[y Ma‘at],<sup>b</sup> <sup>7</sup>the daughter of Re, [residing in] <sup>8</sup>Thebes, <sup>9</sup>[as she] gives<sup>c</sup> . . . Re: <sup>10</sup>“[I have given you] all food and all provender.”

## BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of [his] father Khonsu doing what his ka praises.

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration, see pl. 81, line 1.

<sup>b</sup> For Ma‘at as the goddess following Khonsu, see pls. 8, 42, 49, and 199.

<sup>c</sup> The narrowness of this line suggests possibly the restoration of *di.s* rather than *di.n.(i) n.k.*

PLATE 79. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION OF WINE FOR  
THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a libation of wine.

## BY THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment, Lord of Heaven: <sup>3</sup>“I have granted to you that your monuments be as enduring as the sky.”

## BY KHONSU

<sup>4</sup>Khonsu-<sup>5</sup>in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>6</sup>the Great God, who lives <sup>7</sup>on Ma‘at: <sup>8</sup>“[I have] given you the force of my scimitar.”

## ABOVE KING

<sup>9</sup>Live the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Great in Appearances in the Mansion of the Solar Obelisk, (etc.).

## BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>. . . A[mon]-Re, King of the Gods, like Re forever.

PLATE 80. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF  
IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

By AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re-Kamutef, who is upon <sup>2</sup>his Great Pedestal: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you every land together and the Nine Bows under your sandals. <sup>4</sup>I have given you the jubilee of Re and the years of Atum."

By AMONET

<sup>5</sup>Amonet, Lady of the Two Lands, <sup>6</sup>Superior in Karnak, the Great Celestial Cow <sup>7</sup>who bore Re, <sup>8</sup>as she gives life: <sup>9</sup>"I have given you all lands in peace."

Above KING

<sup>10</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of Diadems, (etc.).

Behind KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, [Lord of] the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father [Kho]nsu doing what his ka praises.

PLATE 81. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

Before KING

<sup>1</sup>Elevating an offering to his father <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

By AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands and Lord of Heaven: <sup>4</sup>"I have given you every land in obeisance. <sup>5</sup>I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands."

By KHONSU

<sup>6</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>7</sup>Horus, Lord of Joy, <sup>8</sup>the Great God, who lives <sup>9</sup>on Ma'at: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you all life, stability and dominion, and all health."

Behind KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on Horus's throne of the living, like his father Re, forever.

PLATE 82. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO THE ITHYPHALLIC  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

Before KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma'at to <sup>2</sup>Amon-Re.

By AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven: <sup>4</sup>"I have given you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. <sup>5</sup>I have given you all valor and all victory."

By KHONSU

<sup>6</sup>Khonsu-<sup>7</sup>in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>8</sup>Horus, Superior of <sup>9</sup>the Two Lands: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you every land together under your sandals."

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## BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of . . . , [Siamon-Heri]hor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father Khonsu like Re.

PLATE 83. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands and Lord of Heaven: <sup>2</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re in the sky."

## BY MUT

<sup>3</sup>Words spoken by Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru, <sup>4</sup>Mistress of all the Gods, <sup>5</sup>the Eye of <sup>6</sup>Re, as she gives all life, stability, dominion, health, and joy like Re: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you an eternity as king forever."

## ABOVE KING

<sup>8</sup>Live the Perfect God, the bodily Son of Amon, (etc.).

## BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, [beloved of] Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

PLATE 84. KING HERIHOR PRESENTING "THE HOUSE TO ITS LORD," KHONSU,  
IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving the house to [its] lord.<sup>a</sup>

## BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>[Khonsu], Lord of Thebes, residing in Karnak: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you the force of my scimitar against the Nine Bows. <sup>4</sup>I have given you all valor like Re."

## BY HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

<sup>5</sup>Hathor, residing in Benbene, the Noble Lady <sup>6</sup>who is in Thebes,<sup>b</sup> Lady of Heaven, as she gives all life, stability, and dominion like Re: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you all health on my part."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, [sha]ll maintain a glorious appearance on the throne of . . . .

<sup>a</sup> Cf., for example, *MH* 5, pl. 252.

<sup>b</sup> Reading *šps(t) imy(t) W<sup>3</sup>st*. However, since the sides of what we have interpreted as *imy* taper slightly, *hk<sup>3</sup>(t) W<sup>3</sup>st*, "Ruler of Thebes," is also possible.

PLATE 85. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO  
MUT IN THE PRESENCE OF TOERIS

## BY MUT

<sup>1</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of <sup>2</sup>[I]sheru, <sup>3</sup>Mistress of the Gods, <sup>4</sup>as she gives all health like Re: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you every land together. <sup>6</sup>I have given you . . . s under [your] sandals."

BY TOERIS

<sup>7</sup>[T]oeris,<sup>a</sup> <sup>8</sup>Lady of Heaven, <sup>9</sup>Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>10</sup>as she gives all life, stability, dominion, health, and joy like Re forever and <sup>11</sup>as she gives life, stability, and dominion to her son Siamon-Herihor:<sup>b</sup> <sup>12</sup>"I have given you all food and all provender."

BEHIND KING

<sup>13</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Mut, Mistress of the Gods.

<sup>a</sup> A trace of the 3-vulture of the name *T3-wrt* is preserved. On Toeris's representation in this form, see A. Mariette-Pacha, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1889), pl. 93.

<sup>b</sup> The text of line 11 may belong instead to Mut.

PLATE 86. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF  
IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

BY AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re-Kamutef, <sup>2</sup>who is upon his <sup>3</sup>[Gr]eat Pedestal.<sup>a</sup>

BY KHONSU

<sup>4</sup>[Khons]u-in-Thebes Neferhotep.

BEHIND KING

<sup>5</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, Siamon-Herihor, [shal]l maintain a [glorious] appearance in the house of his father Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep like Re.


<sup>a</sup> Restoring .

PLATE 87. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR  
AMON-RE OF THE AKHMENU IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying and making a libation for his father.

BY AMON-RE OF THE AKHMENU

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, residing in Akhmenu<sup>a</sup> <sup>3</sup>in Karnak in Thebes: "I have granted for you that your name be as enduring as the sky."

BY AMONET

<sup>5</sup>Amonet, Lady of the Two Lands, Superior in <sup>6</sup>Karnak <sup>7</sup>in Thebes: <sup>8</sup>"I have given you the Two Lands<sup>b</sup> in obeisance every day."

ABOVE KING

<sup>9</sup>Live the Perfect God, Amon's Son, born of Mut, (etc.).

BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon. . . .

<sup>a</sup> For the name of the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak, see Otto, *Topographie*, p. 28, and Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, chap. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Because of the unusual position of the signs for "Two Lands," it is quite possible that they were added secondarily by the sculptor upon realizing that the object of the verb *rdi* had been omitted. The object of the verb should have been *nb* rather than *nbwy*.



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PLATE 88. KING HERIHOR RECEIVING THE SCIMITAR FROM  
MONTU-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF RA-YET-TAWY

BY MONTU-RE

<sup>1</sup>[Words] spoken [by] <sup>2</sup>Montu-Re, King of the Gods,<sup>a</sup> <sup>3</sup>residing in Karnak, the [Great] God, Beloved One:<sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup>"Receive the scimitar, O victorious king."<sup>c</sup> <sup>5</sup>I have given you every plain and every hill country together under your sandals like Re."

BY RA-YET-TAWY

<sup>6</sup>Ra-yet-Tawy, Superior of Thebes, the <sup>7</sup>Great Celestial Cow, <sup>8</sup>who bore Re: <sup>9</sup>"I have given you all health and all joy."

BEFORE KING

<sup>10</sup>May he make "given life."

BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father Khonsu Neferhotep.

<sup>a</sup> Reading *nswt twy*.

<sup>b</sup> Reading and restoring *ntr* <sup>c3</sup> *mr(y)ty*.

<sup>c</sup> The *t*-sign below *nswt nht* is difficult to explain. Perhaps the text was never completely carved and the sign intended was  $\overline{\Delta}$ , serving as the title of the scene, "Taking . . . that he may make 'given life,'" or as the continuation of the address to the king, "that you may seize . . ."

PLATE 89. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO KHONSU IN THE  
PRESENCE OF HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

BY KHONSU

<sup>1</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes, <sup>2</sup>Lord of Joy, Neferhotep in <sup>3-4</sup>Karnak: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you the force of my scimitar. <sup>6</sup>I have given you the kingship of Re."

BY HATHOR

<sup>7</sup>Hathor, residing in Benbene, <sup>8</sup>Noble Lady in <sup>9</sup>Thebes, <sup>10</sup>as she gives [all] life and dominion. . . .

BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Her[hor], shall maintain a glorious appearance as Ruler of the Two Banks like Re forever.

PLATE 90. KING HERIHOR OFFERING A BOUQUET TO AMON-RE,  
PRIMEVAL ONE OF THE TWO LANDS, IN THE PRESENCE OF  
PTAH AND HATHOR, BOTH OF THEBES

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>[Giving]\* flowers.

BY AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, Primeval One of the Two Lands. Lord of Ma'at, <sup>3</sup>Father of the Gods: <sup>4</sup>"I have given you all valor and victory."

## BY PTAH

<sup>5</sup>Ptah the Great, South of his Wall <sup>6</sup>in Thebes, the Great God of the Very Beginning: <sup>7</sup>"I have granted for you that your monument be as enduring as the sky."

## BY HATHOR

<sup>8</sup>Hathor, Superior of Thebes, the Eye of Re, <sup>9</sup>the [Su]n<sup>1</sup>, <sup>10</sup>Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>11</sup>and Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt: <sup>12</sup>"I have given you all life, stability and dominion, and all health like Re." <sup>13</sup>Words spoken: "[I have] given [you . . . , the years of At]um and the life-span of Re in the sky with every foreign country under [your] sandals."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>13</sup>He shall be at the head of the kas [of all the living], happy in the company of his ka every day like [R]e.

\* Restoring *rdit*.

<sup>1</sup> The slant of what may be the back of a bird sign is rather too steep for the s<sup>2</sup>-bird in s<sup>3</sup>t R<sup>c</sup>, "Daughter of Re," and fits better the restoration of a quail chick, perhaps in a writing of Šw, "Sun." For this Hathor resident in the Temple of Ptah at Karnak, see Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), p. 191.

PLATE 91. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR THE  
ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF OPET

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a libation for [his] father.

## BY THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, Preeminent in his Private Apartment, <sup>3</sup>Lord of Heaven and Earth: "I have given [you] all life, stability and dominion, and all joy. <sup>5</sup>[I have given you al]l . . . under your sandals."

## BY OPET

<sup>6</sup>Opet the Great, Mistress of the Two Lands: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you all health." <sup>8</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you very many jubilees that you [may achieve]<sup>a</sup> millions of year[s] like Re forever."


\* Restoring  , cf. pl. 101, line 8.

PLATE 92. KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR KHONSU IN THE  
PRESENCE OF HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a libation for Khonsu.

## BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-<sup>3</sup>Thebes Neferhotep: "I have granted to you to achieve millions [of]<sup>a</sup> years."

## BY HATHOR

<sup>5</sup>Hathor, residing in Benbene, Lady of Heaven and <sup>6</sup>[Mistress] of the Two Lands.

\* Restoring owl-*m*.

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PLATE 93. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR  
MONTU-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF RA<sup>c</sup>YET-TAWY

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying and making a libation.

## BY MONTU-RE

<sup>2</sup>[Montu-Re], <sup>a</sup>King of the Gods, Lord of Thebes: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you all valor and all victory."BY RA<sup>c</sup>YET-TAWY<sup>4</sup>[Ra<sup>c</sup>yet]-Tawy, Superior of Thebes, <sup>5</sup>as she gives life and dominion.

## ABOVE KING

<sup>6</sup>[Live the Perfect God], . . . whom Amon himself has chosen, (etc.).

## BEHIND KING

<sup>8</sup>. . . the King of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, Siamon-[Herihor]. . .BEHIND RA<sup>c</sup>YET-TAWY<sup>9</sup>He shall [be] at the head of the kas of all the living, hap[py in the com]pany of [his] ka [every] day [like Re].<sup>b</sup><sup>a</sup> Montu-Re, rather than Montu, seems to be "King of the Gods." Cf. pl. 88, line 2; M. Georges Legrain, "Notes sur le dieu Montou," *BIFAO* 12 (1916):76, 83-84; and M. F. Bisson de la Roque, "Notes sur le dieu Montou," *BIFAO* 40 (1941):14.<sup>b</sup> For the restorations see pl. 90, line 13.PLATE 94. KING HERIHOR OFFERING A BOUQUET TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving a bouquet <sup>2</sup>to his father that [he] may make "given life."

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven: "I have given you all lands in peace. <sup>5</sup>I have given you all life, stability and dominion, and all health like Re."

## BY AMONET

<sup>6</sup>Amonet, residing in <sup>7</sup>Karnak, Lady of Heaven and <sup>8</sup>Mistress of the Gods, <sup>9</sup>as she gives life and dominion: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you the jubilee of Re."PLATE 95. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF  
IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET AND MA<sup>c</sup>AT

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Giving flowers <sup>2</sup>to his father.

## BY AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re-Kamutef: "I have] given you all joy."

By AMONET

<sup>5</sup>Amonet, Lady of the Two Lands, Superior <sup>6</sup>in Karnak: <sup>7</sup>"I make salutation to your face, O Beloved One."

By MA<sup>c</sup>AT

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by Ma<sup>c</sup>at, <sup>9</sup>daughter of Re, who associates with her father in the presence of her son Siamon-Herihor: <sup>10</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re while you appear in glory <sup>11</sup>as possessor of the Great Crown like Re," as she gives . . .

PLATE 96. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HIS KA, OFFERING  
OINTMENT TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting ointment <sup>2</sup>to his father <sup>3</sup>that he may make "given life."

By AMON-RE

<sup>4</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you all valor and all victory. <sup>6</sup>I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands."

By MUT

<sup>7</sup>Mut, <sup>8</sup>Lady of Heaven, <sup>9</sup>as she gives all life and dominion and <sup>10</sup>as she gives all health.

By KING'S KA

<sup>11</sup>The living Ka of the King, Preeminent in the Robing Room.

BEHIND KING'S KA

<sup>12</sup>I have given you the life-span of Re and the years of Atum. . .

PLATE 97. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO KHONSU

By KHONSU

<sup>1</sup>Khonsu, Lord of Thebes and Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at, <sup>2</sup>residing in Karnak, <sup>3</sup>as he gives all health <sup>4</sup>like Re. <sup>5</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you [all] p[lains] . . . and all hill countries under your san[dals], while you are . . . and . . ."

\* The second-person singular old perfective ending of two verbs is preserved.

PLATE 98. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HIS KA, PRESENTING A JAR TO  
AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

By AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>1</sup>Amon-Re-Kamutef, who is upon <sup>2</sup>his Great Pedestal.

By AMONET

<sup>3</sup>[Words spoken b]y [A]monet, Lady [of the Two Lands, Superior <sup>4</sup>in] Karnak, <sup>5</sup>as she gives all life, stability, and dominion on her part, and <sup>6</sup>[as she gives] all health on her part: <sup>7</sup>"I have given you the throne. . . ." <sup>8</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you valor against the South and victory [against the North]. . . ."

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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PLATE 99. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Presenting Ma'at to the Lord of Ma'at <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re, King of the God[s], Lord of Heaven and Ruler of the [En]nead: "I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands. <sup>5</sup>I have given you the jubilee of Re in heaven."

## BY KHONSU

<sup>6</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: "I have given you all lands in peace. <sup>8</sup>I have given you all life, stability and dominion, and all health."

## BEHIND KING

<sup>9</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord [of Diadems], Siamon-Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead.

PLATE 100. KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR  
KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF THE GODDESS OF THEBES

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Thurifying and making a libation for his father.

## BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, <sup>3</sup>Horus, Lord of Joy: "I have given you all health on [my] part."

## BY WASET

<sup>5</sup>"Thebes is Victorious," Lady of the Scimitar and <sup>6</sup>Mistress of every district: "I have given you all life and dominion and all health," <sup>8</sup>as she gives valor and victory.

## ABOVE KING

<sup>9</sup>Live the Perfect God, who has accomplished benefactions for his father Khonsu, (etc.).

## BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>[The King] . . . shall . . .

PLATE 101. KING HERIHOR PRESENTING FOUR JARS TO  
ONURIS-SHU IN THE PRESENCE OF TEFNUT

## BY ONURIS-SHU

<sup>1</sup>Onuris-Shu, son of Re, <sup>2</sup>with lofty plumes, Horus, the Strong-armed: <sup>3</sup>"I have given you the life-span of Re. <sup>4</sup>[I have] given [you] . . ."

## BY TEFNUT

<sup>5</sup>Tefnut, Daughter of Re, Lady of Heaven, <sup>6</sup>as she gives all life and dominion <sup>7</sup>and all health. <sup>8</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you an eternity as King of the Two Lands that you may

achieve millions of years like Atum, appearing in glory as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Re. <sup>9</sup>[I have given you] . . . 'your opponents'.<sup>a</sup>

BEHIND KING

<sup>10</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance in the house of his father Khonsu doing what [his ka] praises.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps the traces are of *hftw.k*.

PLATE 102. KING HERIHOR PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY BEFORE  
MIN-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU AND  
HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a royal offering, pure, pure.

BY MIN-KAMUTEF

<sup>2</sup>Min-Kamutef, residing in <sup>3</sup>Karnak: "I have [given] you all life and dominion like Re forever."

BY KHONSU

<sup>5</sup>Khonsu the Great, <sup>6</sup>Lord of Thebes, residing in <sup>7</sup>Karnak: <sup>8</sup>"I have given you my office and my throne."

BY HATHOR

<sup>9</sup>Hathor, residing in Benbene. <sup>10</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you valor against the South and victory against the North, while all plains and all hill countries are together [under] your sandals."

BEHIND KING

<sup>11</sup>. . . [the image] of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amon himself [has] chosen.

PLATE 103. A. KING HERIHOR OFFERING OINTMENT TO  
RE-HARAKHTI IN THE PRESENCE OF IUS'AAS

BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>Offering ointment <sup>2</sup>that he may make "given life."

BY RE-HARAKHTI

<sup>3</sup>Re-Harakhti, the Great God with variegated plumage, <sup>4</sup>Lord of Heaven and Earth: <sup>5</sup>"I have given you the kingship over the Two Lands in peace. <sup>6</sup>I have given you the force of my scimitar."

BY IUS'AAS

<sup>7</sup>Ius'aas, residing in Heliopolis, <sup>8</sup>as she gives all joy <sup>9</sup>like Re every day, <sup>10</sup>given life, and <sup>11</sup>as she sets every plain and all hill countries at peace.

BY KING

<sup>12</sup>Live the Perfect God, the image of Re, Champion of the One who is in Heliopolis.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

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PLATE 103. B. KING HERIHOR OFFICIATING BEFORE  
PTAH AND HATHOR, BOTH OF THEBES

## BY PTAH

<sup>1</sup>Ptah, Lord of Thebes and Lord of Ma<sup>c</sup>at, <sup>2</sup>King of the Two Lands, with a kindly face, the Father of the Gods.

## BY HATHOR

<sup>3</sup>Hathor, Superior of Thebes, <sup>4</sup>Lady of Heaven and <sup>5</sup>Mistress of the Gods, <sup>6</sup>as she gives all life and dominion, all health, and [all] joy.

## BEHIND KING

<sup>7</sup>All life and dominion and all health like Re.

PLATE 104. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO AMON-RE OF THE  
TEMPLE OF KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>[Presenting] Ma<sup>c</sup>at to its lord that he may make "given life."

## BY AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, residing in <sup>3</sup>Benbene: "I have given you the kingship that I have exercised."

## BY MUT

<sup>5</sup>Mut, Lady of Heaven and [Mis]tress of the Gods: "I have given you the throne of Re. <sup>7</sup>I have given you all life and dominion."

## BY KHONSU

<sup>8</sup>Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes <sup>9</sup>Neferhotep, <sup>10</sup>Horus, Superior of the Two Lands: <sup>11</sup>"I have given you all health and all joy. <sup>12</sup>I have given you the jubilee of Re with very many years upon the seat of Geb and upon the throne of Horus."

PLATE 105. KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HATHOR,  
PRESENTING A COLLAR TO KHONSU

## BEFORE KING

<sup>1</sup>May he [make] "given life."

## BY KHONSU

<sup>2</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes, <sup>3</sup>Lord of Joy, [Nefer]hotep in <sup>4</sup>Karnak, <sup>5</sup>the Great God who lives on Ma<sup>c</sup>at: "I have given you all valor like Re."

## BY HATHOR

<sup>7</sup>Hathor, Superior of Thebes, <sup>8</sup>Lady of Heaven and Mistress of the Two Lands, <sup>9</sup>as she gives all life. <sup>10</sup>Words spoken: "I have given you all life and dominion, [all] h[earth]. . ."

PLATE 106. KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO  
MONTU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT

By MONTU

<sup>1</sup>Montu, Lord of Thebes: <sup>2</sup>"I have given you all [life] and dominion. . . ."

By MA'AT

<sup>3</sup>[Ma'at], Daughter [of Re], who associates with <sup>4</sup>[Kho]nsu, residing in Thebes, <sup>5</sup>as (she) gives all joy.

Above KING

<sup>6</sup>The image of Re before the Two Lands, whom Amon himself has chosen, (etc.).

PLATE 107. KING HERIHOR OFFERING MILK(?) TO  
AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

Before KING

<sup>1</sup>Giv[ing] mi[lk].<sup>a</sup>

By AMON-RE

<sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preeminent in <sup>3</sup>Karnak: <sup>4</sup>"[I have given] you the life-span of Re and [the year]s of Atum."

By MUT

<sup>5</sup>Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru.

Behind KING

<sup>6</sup>The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-Herihor, shall maintain a glorious appearance on Horus's throne of the living for[ever].

<sup>a</sup> Reading *rdit irtt*.

PLATE 108. KING HERIHOR PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY  
BEFORE AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET

Before KING

<sup>1</sup>Making a royal offering <sup>2</sup>for his father.

By AMON-RE-KAMUTEF

<sup>3</sup>Amon-Re-Kamutef, <sup>4</sup>who is upon his [Great] Pedestal.<sup>a</sup>

By AMONET

<sup>5</sup>[A]monet, Lady of the Two Lands, Superior in Karnak, <sup>6</sup>the Great Celestial Cow, <sup>7</sup>who bore Re: <sup>8</sup>"I have given you all health and all joy."

Behind KING

<sup>9</sup>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, High Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, [Siamon-]Herihor, beloved of Amon-Re, [Preemin]ent in [his] Pri[vate Apartment].<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Wrt*, "Great," may have been written in the space between line 4 and the god's plumes.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly restoring *hnty ipt.f*.



PLATE 109. *B.* MARGINAL INSCRIPTION OF KING HERIHOR IN COURT

Live the Perfect God, who has made monuments in the house of [his] father Kho[n]su; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, [High] Priest of Amon; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Herihor, given life; he has made, as [his] monument for [his] father Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep, the making for him a great court anew of eternal construction that [he] may make “given [life]” like Re for[ever].

PLATE 109. C. MARGINAL INSCRIPTION OF KING HERIHOR IN COURT

Live the Perfect God, Great in 'kingship' . . . Kho[n]su, Ruler<sup>a</sup> of Thebes; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands and [Lord of the Ri]t[ual, High Priest of] Amon, [the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Siamon-Heri]hor; he has made, as [his monu]ment for his father Kh[onsu-in]-Thebes [Neferhotep] . . . .

<sup>a</sup> Traces of the crook hieroglyph.

PLATE 110. FRAGMENT OF RELIEF OF JUBILEE SCENE OF KING AMENHOTEP III

BEFORE OFFERING BEARERS IN UPPER REGISTER.


Delivering [offer]ings.<sup>a</sup>

### LEFT HALF OF LOWER REGISTER

... Guardian of the Throne.<sup>b</sup> Servant of the Throne.<sup>c</sup> Servant of Horus.<sup>d</sup>

## RIGHT HALF OF LOWER REGISTER

The Princess Henuttaneb.<sup>e</sup> The Princess Isis.<sup>f</sup> . . . [choi]r<sup>g</sup>. . . .

\* Restoring   $f^3(t)$  *tht*. On the use of  $f$  for  $f^3$  in this formula, see Hermann Kees in Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherrn von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 27, and Kurt Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, vol. 10 (Leipzig, 1928), p. 192 with n. 1.

<sup>b</sup> For the appearance of this individual in the jubilee ceremonies of Amenhotep III, depicted at Soleb, see C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, vol. 3, pt. 3, pl. 84b; cf. John A. Wilson, "Illuminating the Thrones at the Egyptian Jubilee," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 295.

\* See Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, Ägyptologische Forschungen, vol. 18 (Glückstadt, 1954), p. 49, and Kees, in von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, pp. 25-26, where the title is translated "Servant of Isis."

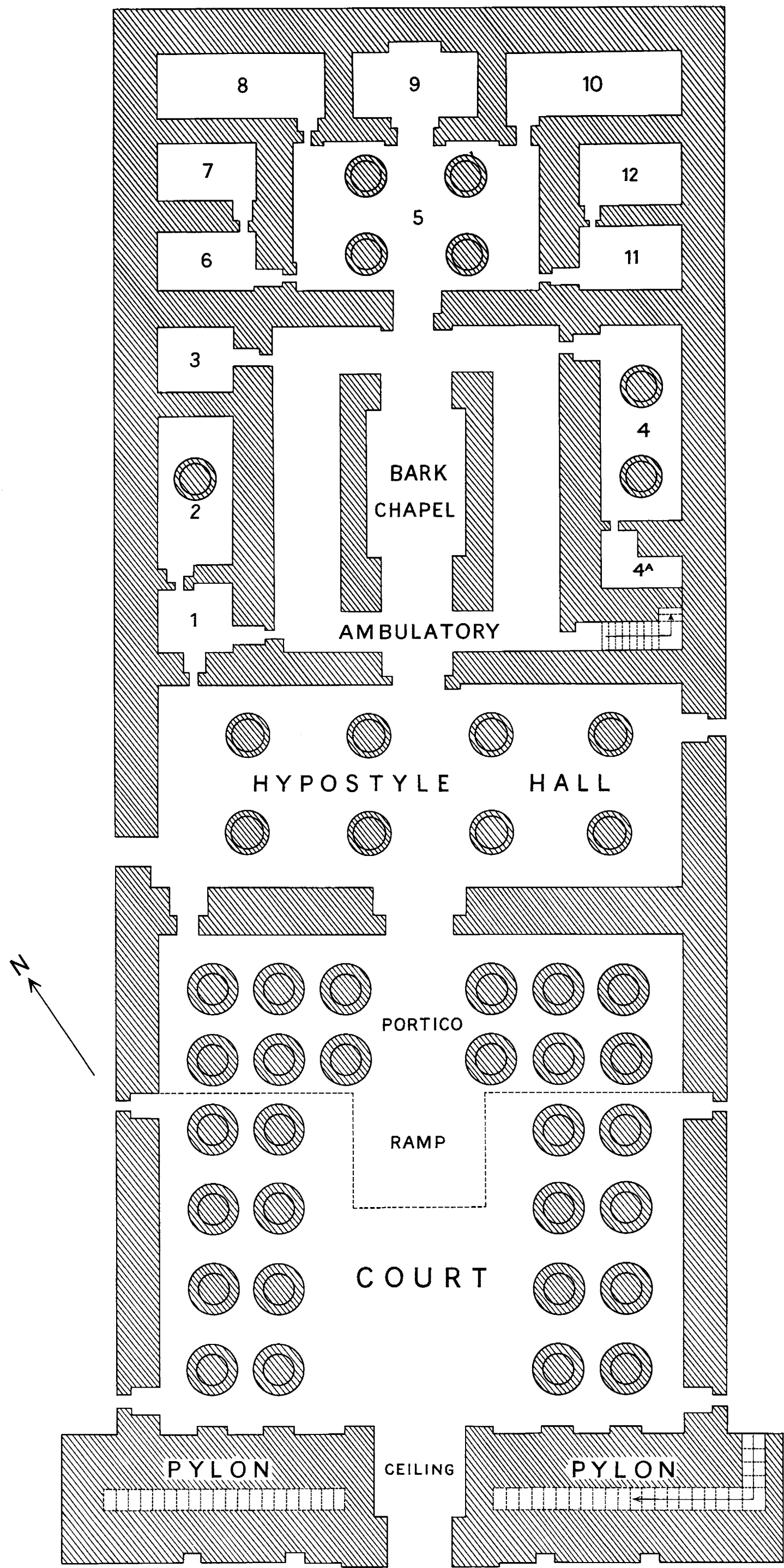
<sup>a</sup> Perhaps for the older "Servant of Horus of Libya"; cf. the association of the "Servant of the Throne" and the "Servant of Horus of Libya" as standard bearers facing each other in a ceremony depicted in the jubilee reliefs of Niuserre, published by Werner Kaiser, "Die kleine Hebseddarstellung im Sonnenheiligtum des Neuserre," in *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, vol. 12 (Wiesbaden, 1971), folding plate 5, 2nd strip.

\* On this princess see Baudouin van de Walle, "La princesse Isis, fille et épouse d'Aménophis III," *Chronique d'Égypte* 85 (1968): 39-40, 50-51.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 36-54. The otiose *nb*-sign is definitely present in the cartouche.

\* Possibly restoring *III* <sup>1</sup>, cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, pp. 176–77.





GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU



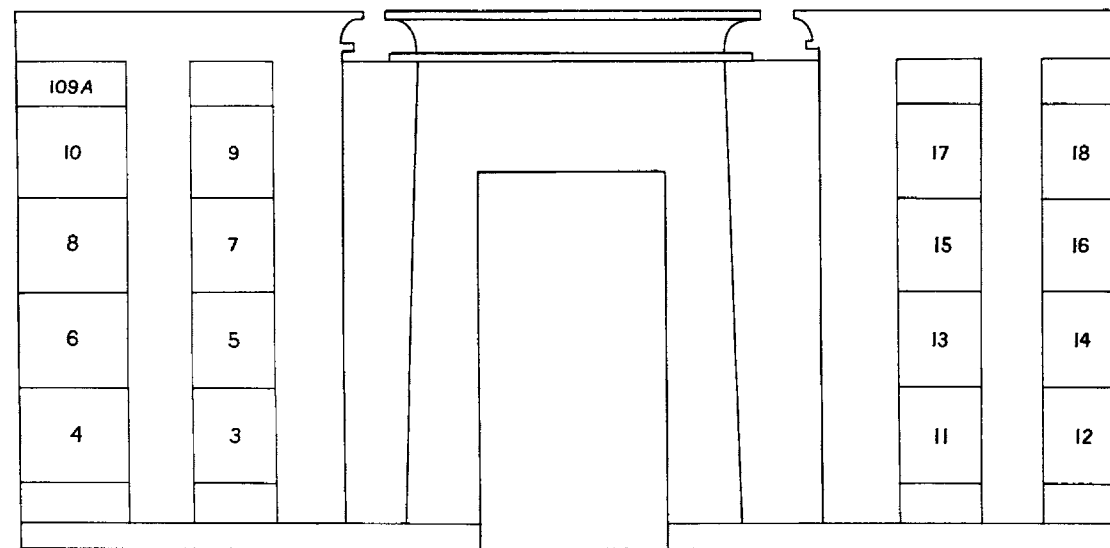


FIG. 1. SOUTH ELEVATION

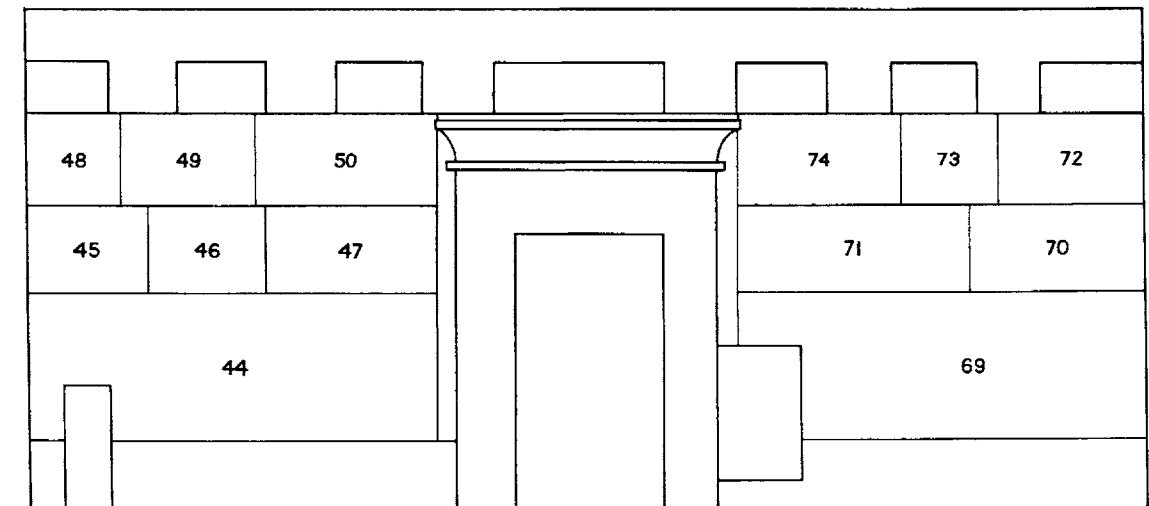


FIG. 3. NORTH ELEVATION

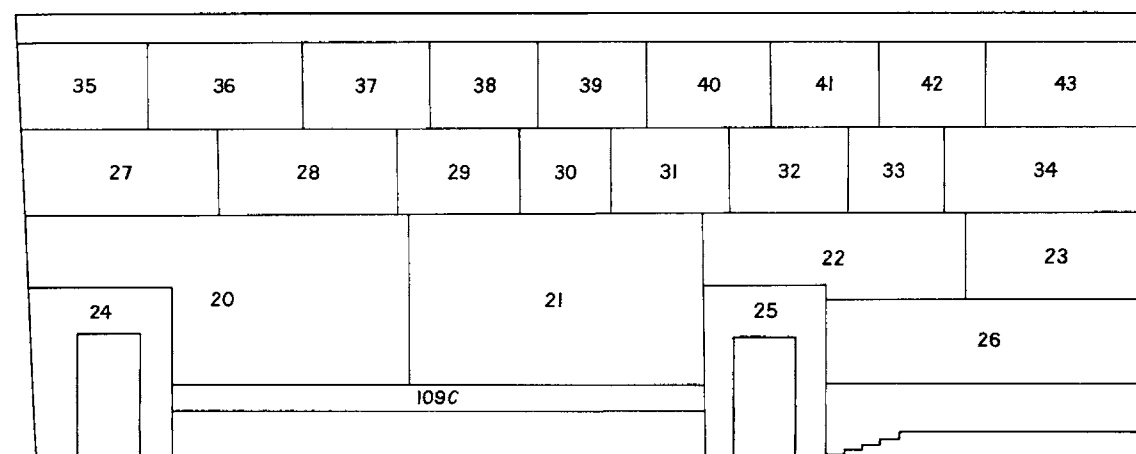


FIG. 2. WEST ELEVATION

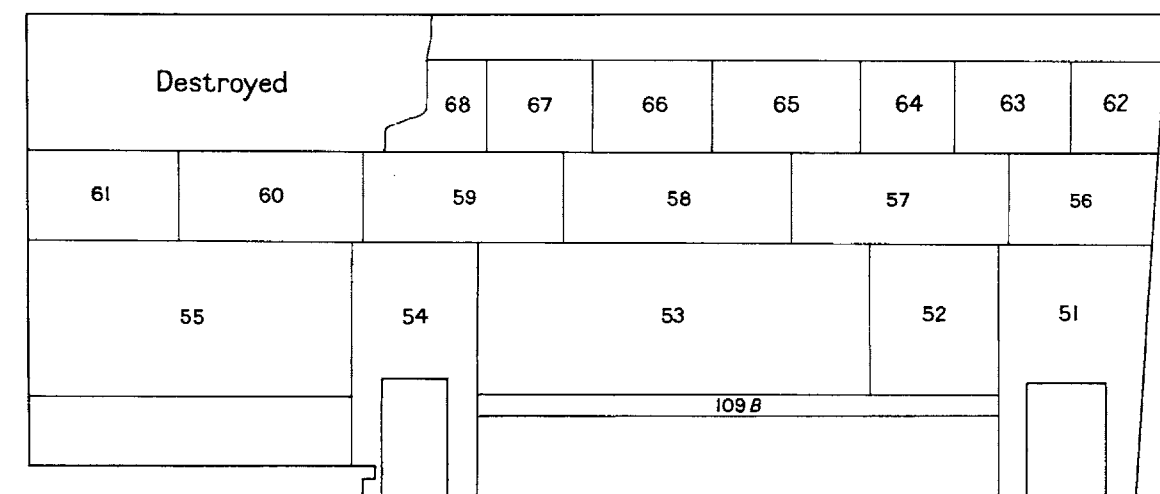


FIG. 4. EAST ELEVATION

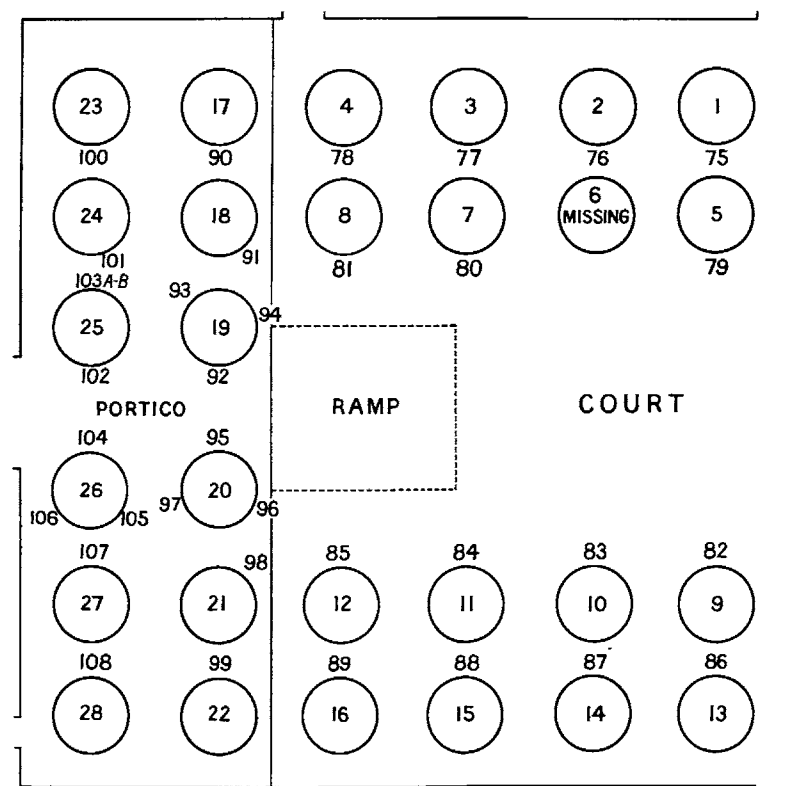
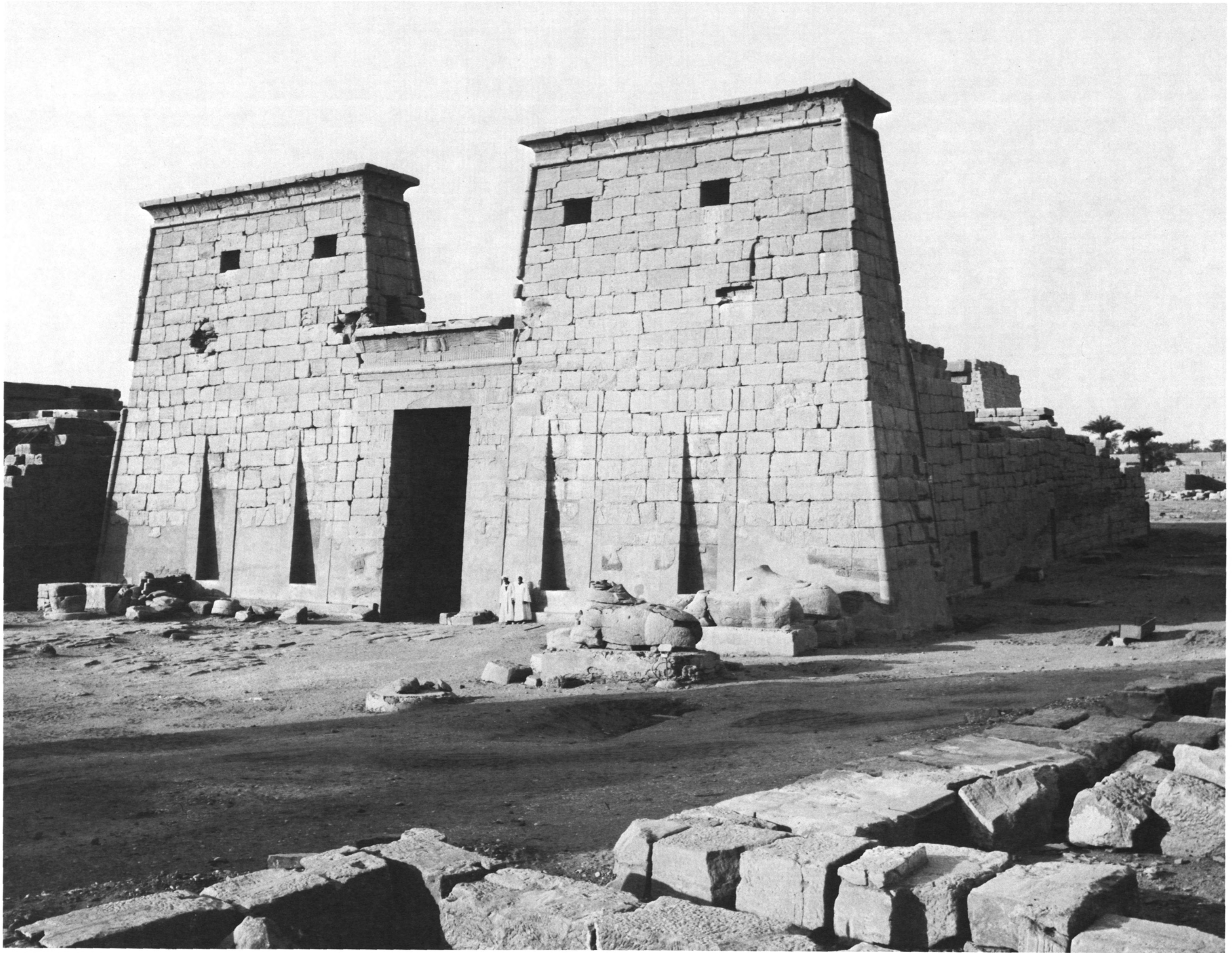


FIG. 5. COLUMNS IN THE COURT



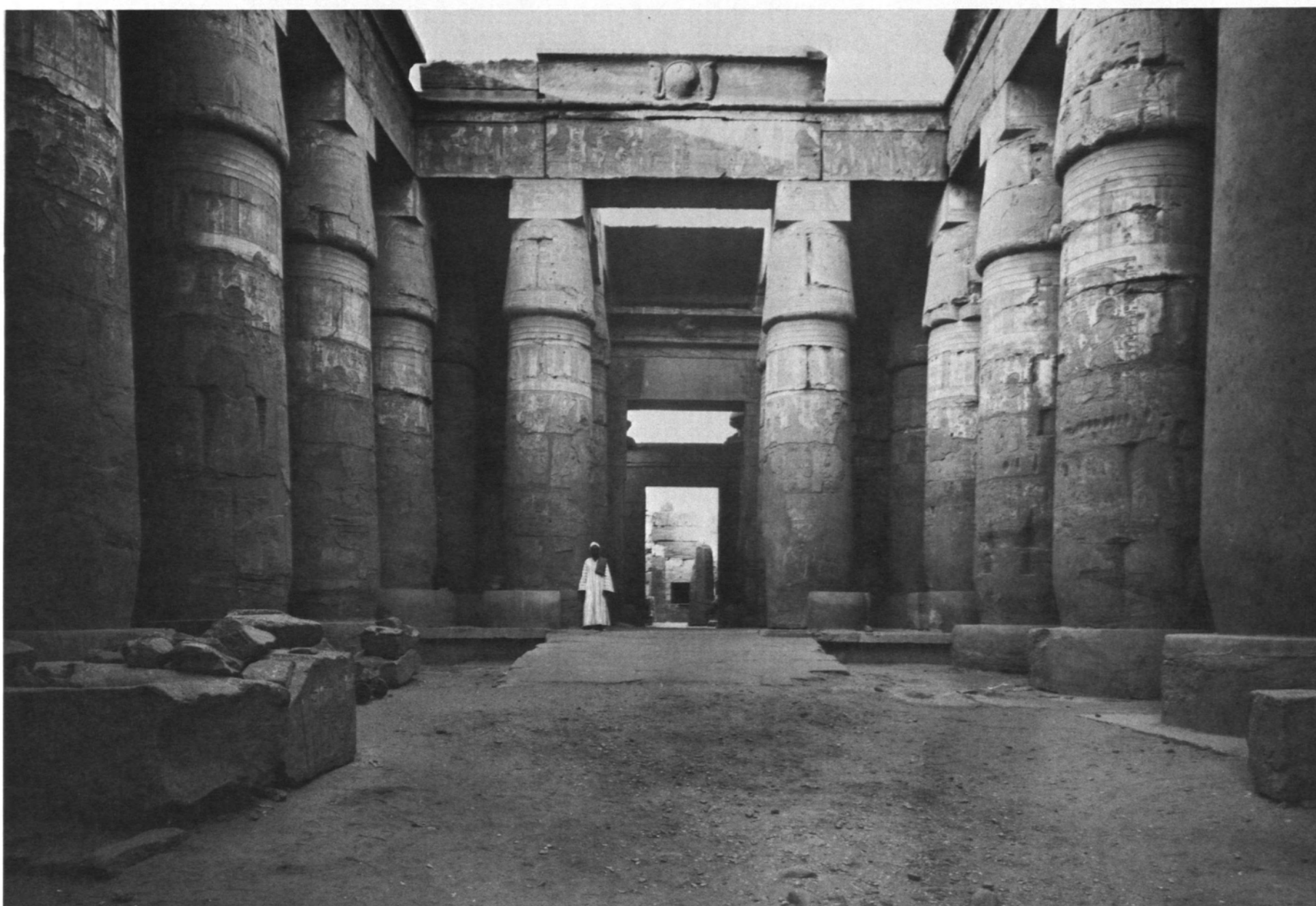




*Photograph by Turner*

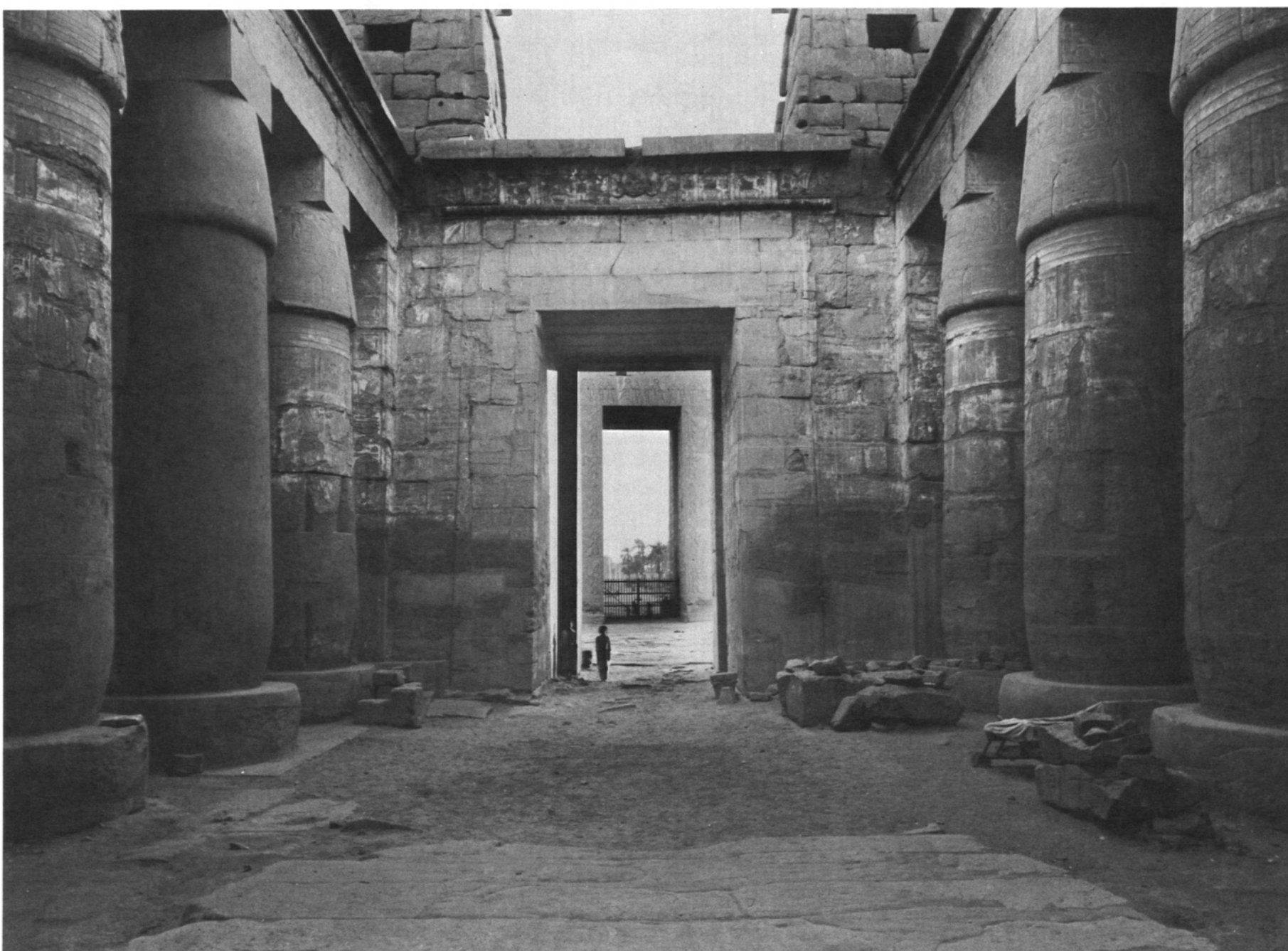
FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU





*Photograph by Turner*

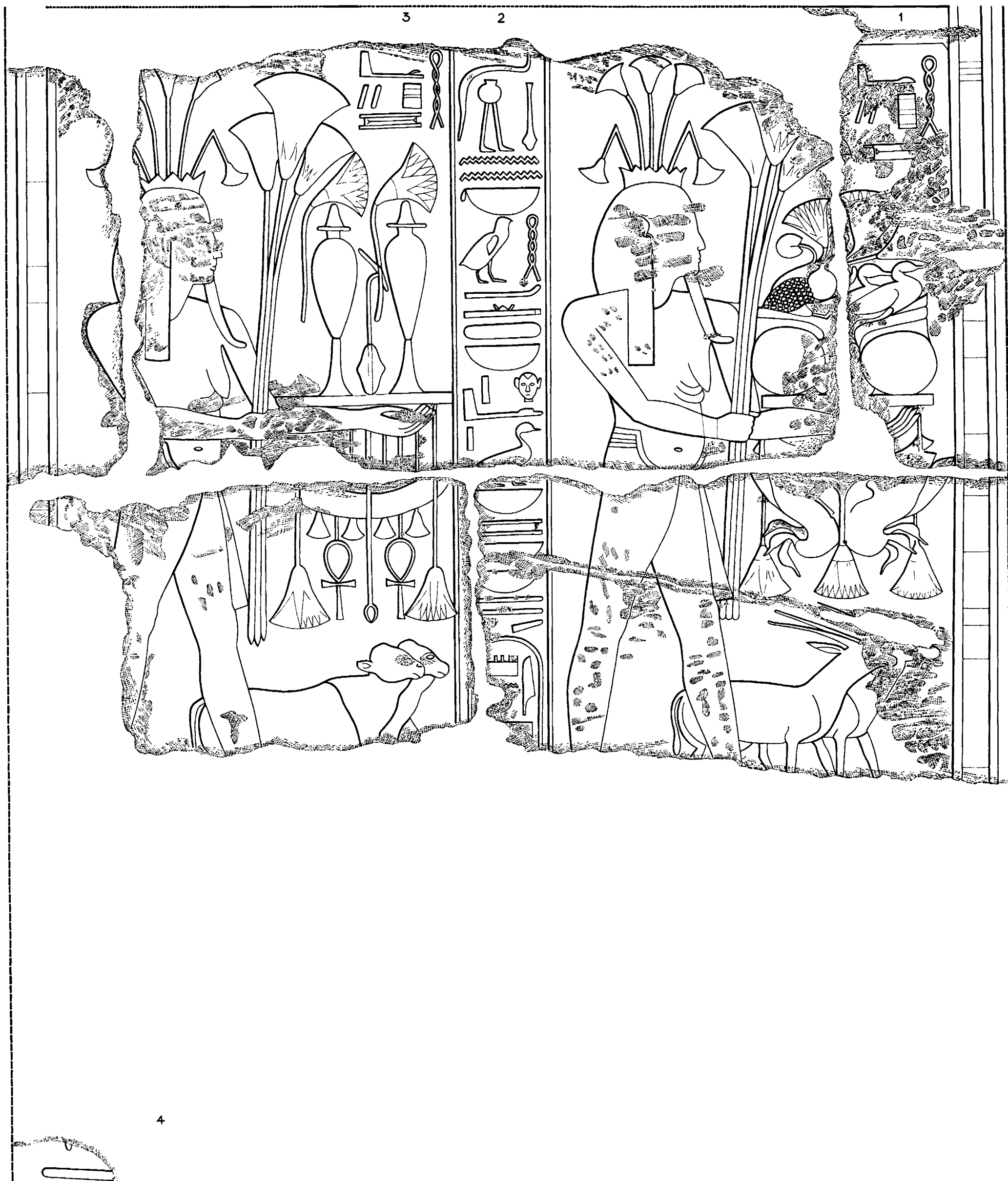
A. THE PORTICO OF THE COURT



*Photograph by Turner*

B. THE COURT AS SEEN FROM THE PORTICO





*Drawing by Turner*

0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

TWO NILE GODS BRINGING GIFTS  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, BOTTOM SCENE BETWEEN EAST PILASTERS



*Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

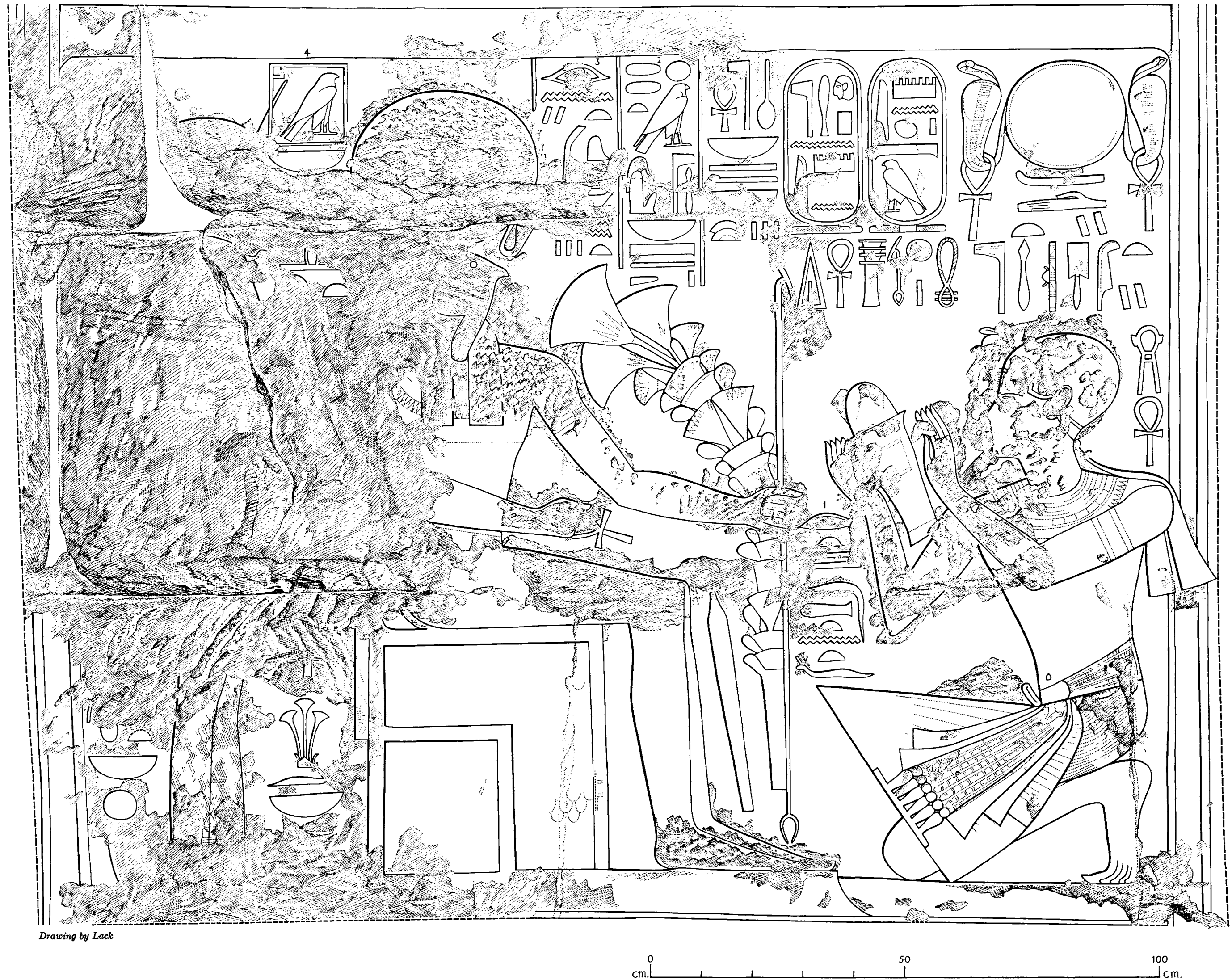
# TWO NILE GODS BRINGING GIFTS

COURT, SOUTH WALL, BOTTOM SCENE BETWEEN EASTMOST PILASTER AND EAST CORNER



KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO SHU  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, SECOND SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN EAST PILASTERS





*Drawing by Lack*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING OINTMENT TO RE-HARAKHTI IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, SECOND SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN EASTMOST PILASTER AND EAST CORNER

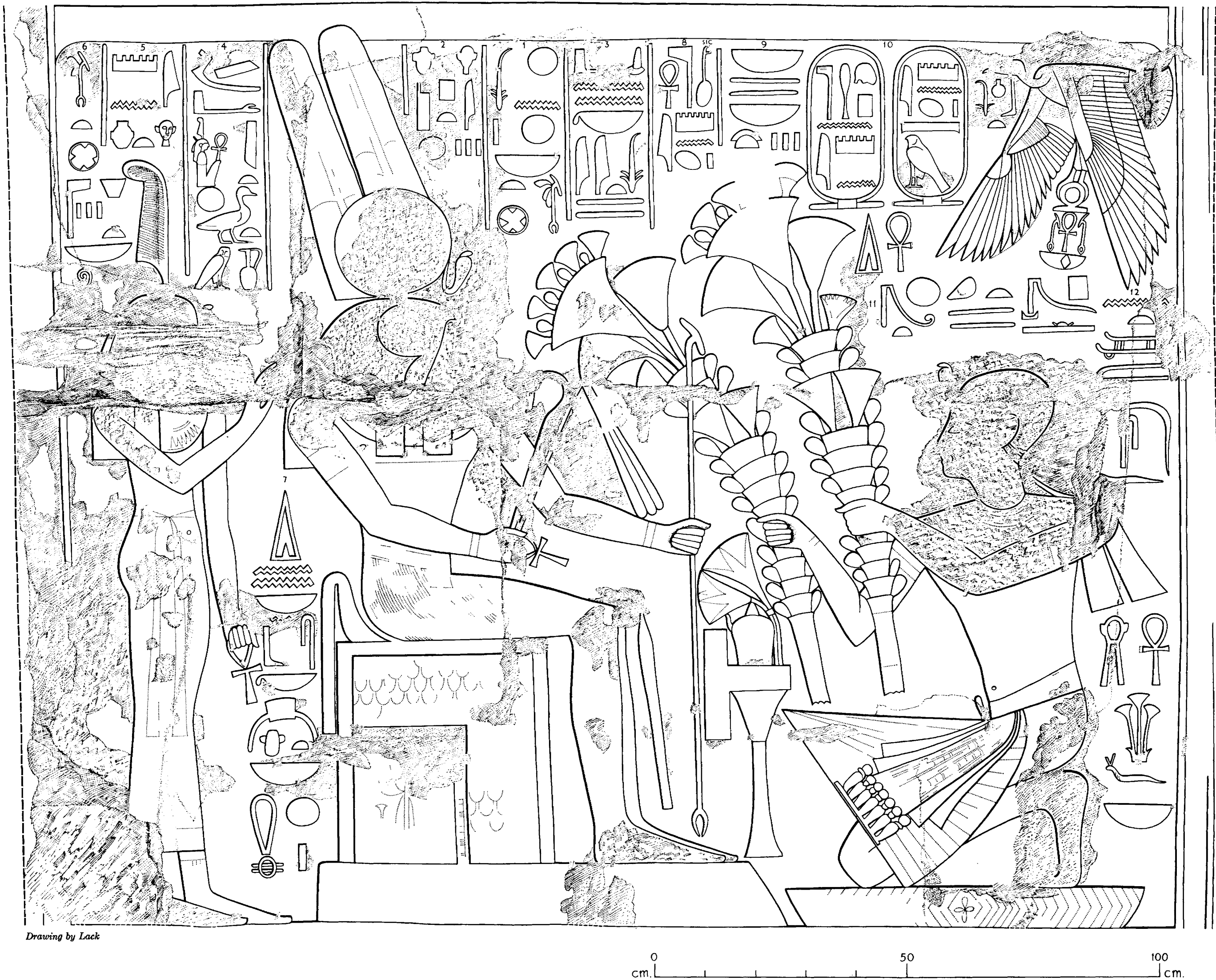


Drawing by Turner

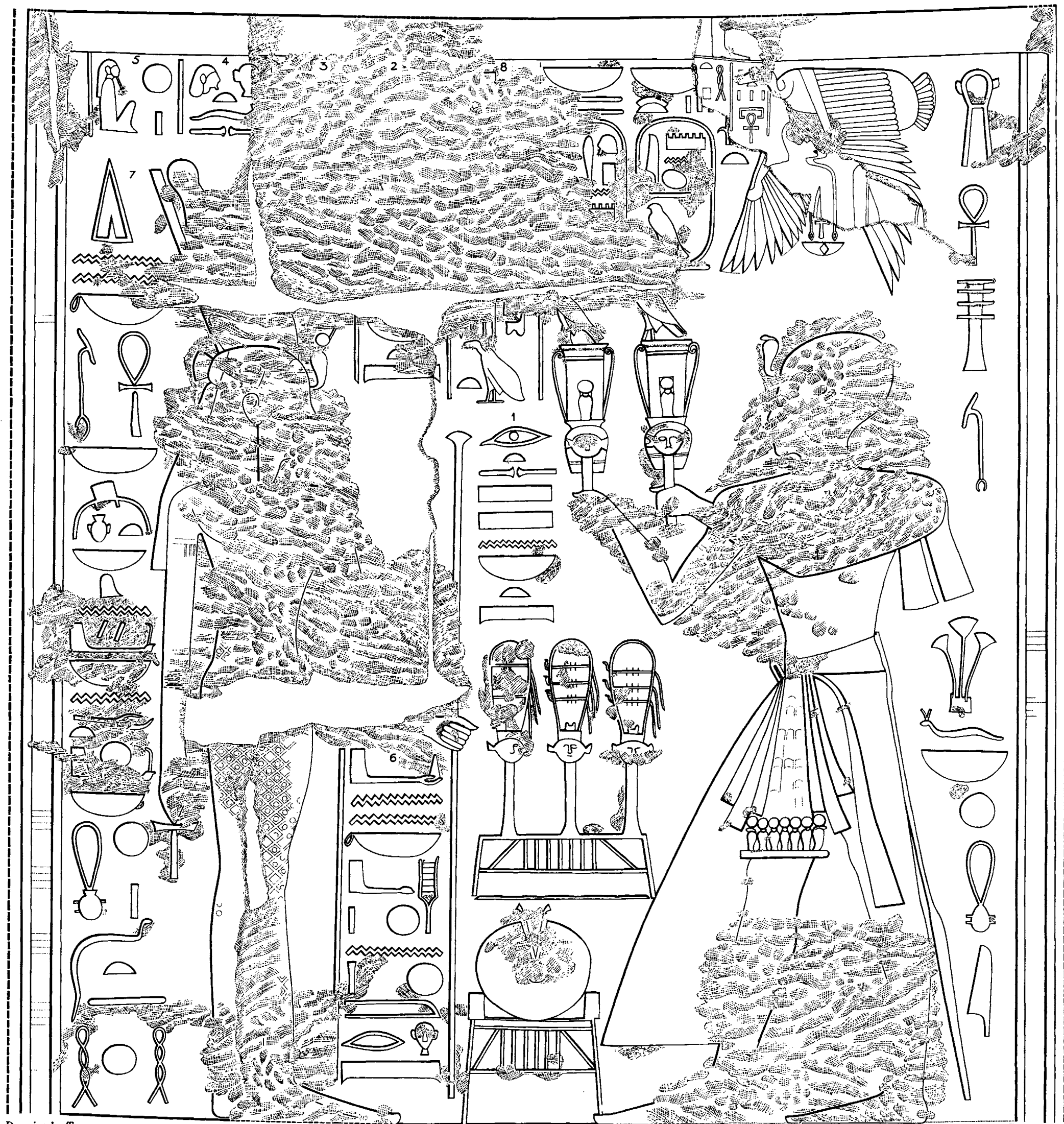
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cm. cm. cm.

KING HERIHOR PRESENTING FOOD OFFERINGS TO KHONSU  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, THIRD SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN EAST PILASTERS



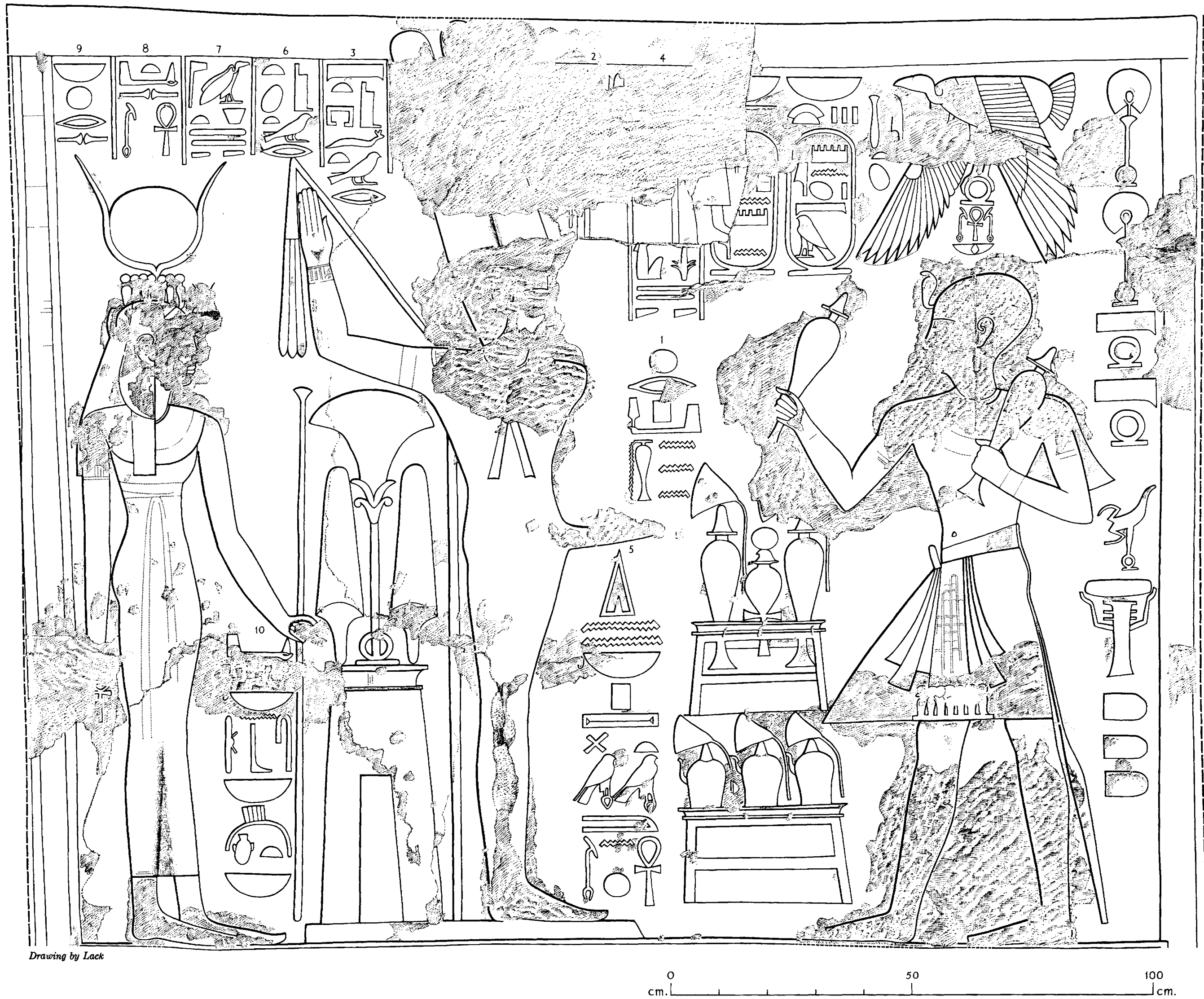


KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO KHONSU-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, THIRD SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN EASTMOST PILASTER AND EAST CORNER



0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

KING HERIHOR PLAYING THE SISTRA BEFORE MUT  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, FOURTH SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN EAST PILASTERS



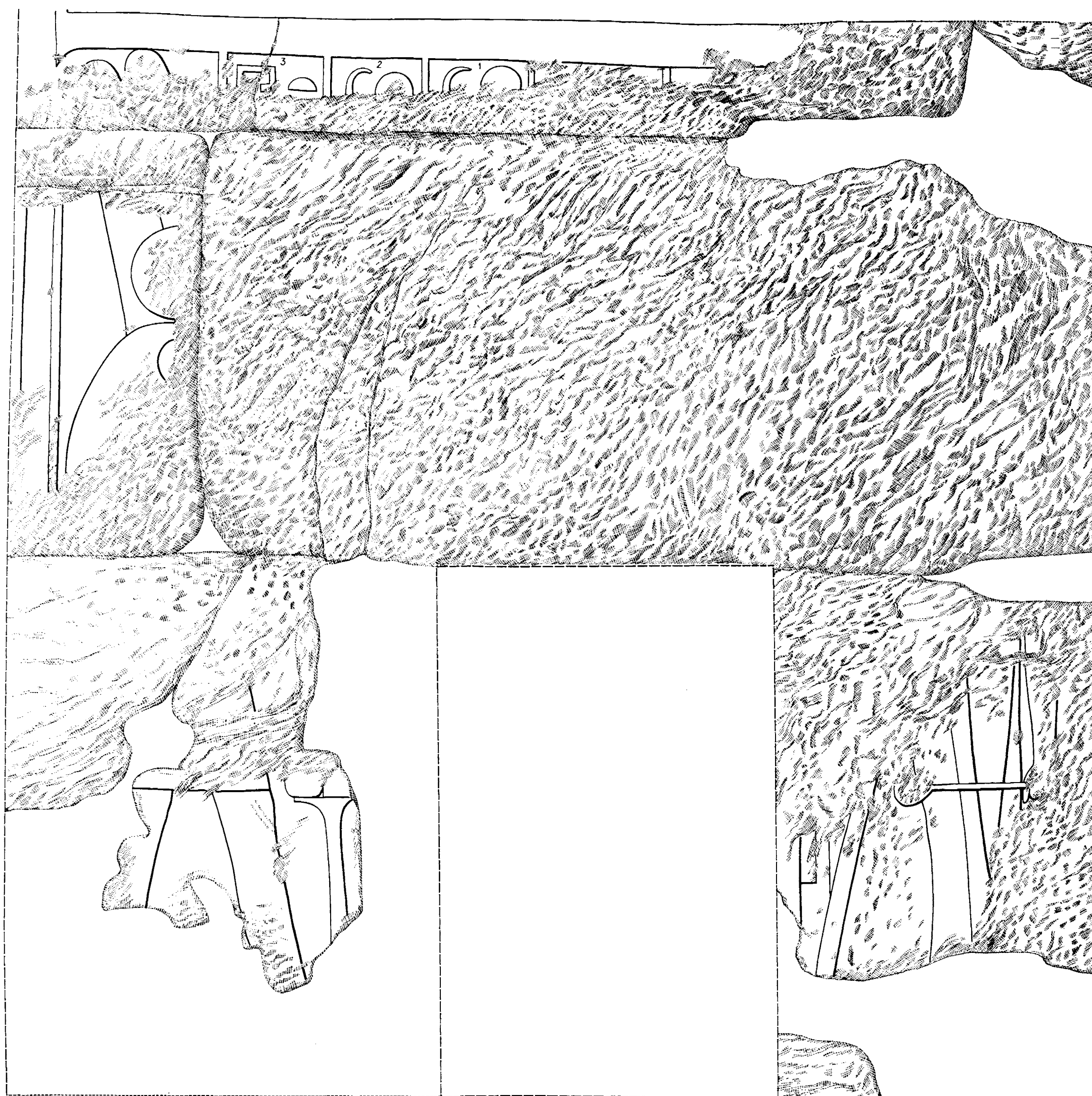
KING HERIHOR BRINGING FLASKS OF COOL WATER TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, FOURTH SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN EASTMOST PILASTER AND EAST CORNER



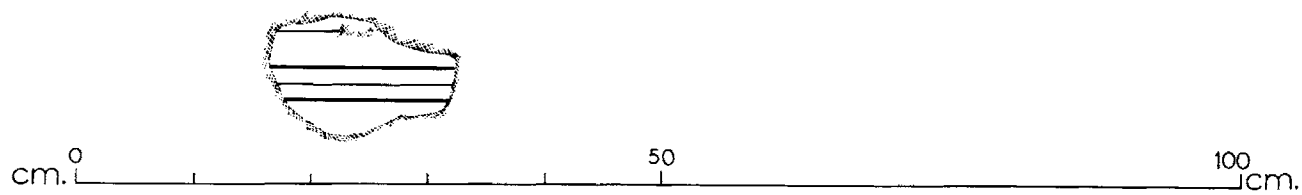


*Drawing by Coleman*

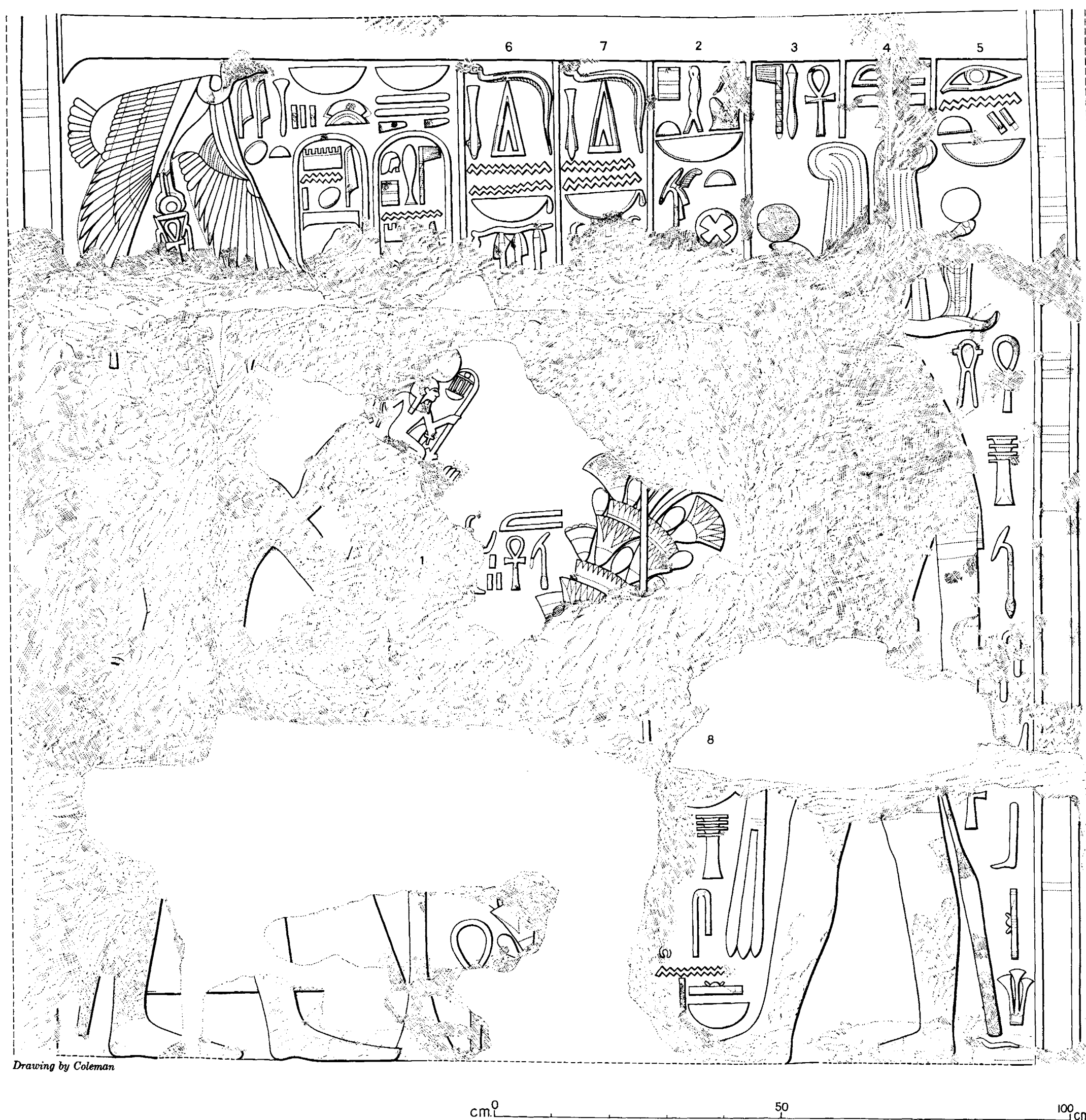
ONURIS-SHU AND MEHYET STANDING ON EITHER SIDE OF OFFERINGS  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, BOTTOM SCENE BETWEEN WEST PILASTERS



*Drawing by Huztable*



KING HERIHOR(?) OFFICIATING BEFORE KHONSU  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, BOTTOM SCENE BETWEEN WESTMOST PILASTER AND WEST CORNER



KING HERIHOR OFFERING HEH-SYMBOL TO PTAH OF THEBES  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, SECOND SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN WEST PILASTERS



KING HERIHOR OFFERING WINE TO HORUS OF "THE CAMP" IN THE  
 PRESENCE OF "MISTRESS OF CHILD-BEARING"  
 COURT, SOUTH WALL, SECOND SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN WESTMOST PILASTER AND WEST CORNER

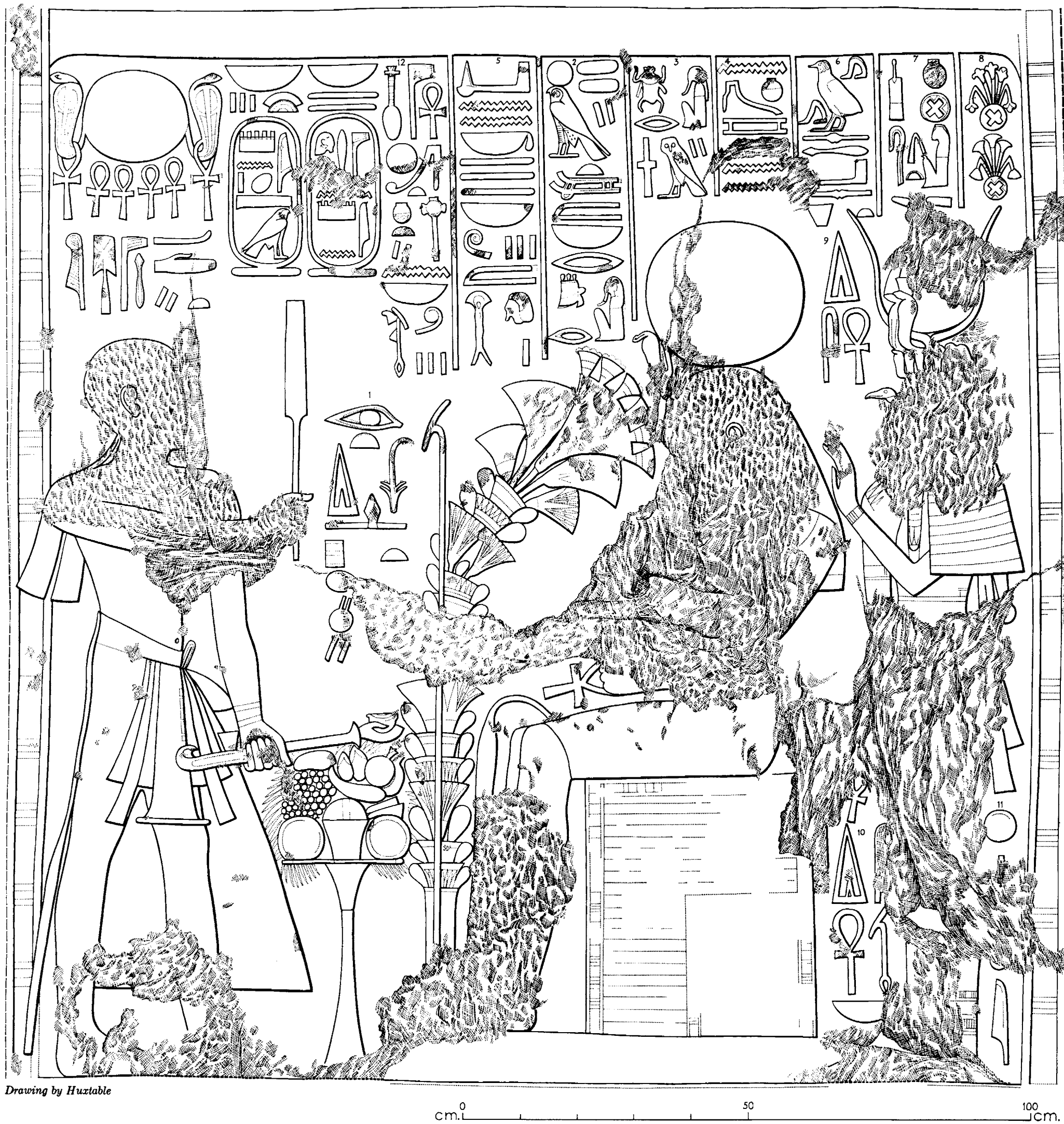




*Drawing by Coleman*

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO KHONSU  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, THIRD SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN WEST PILASTERS



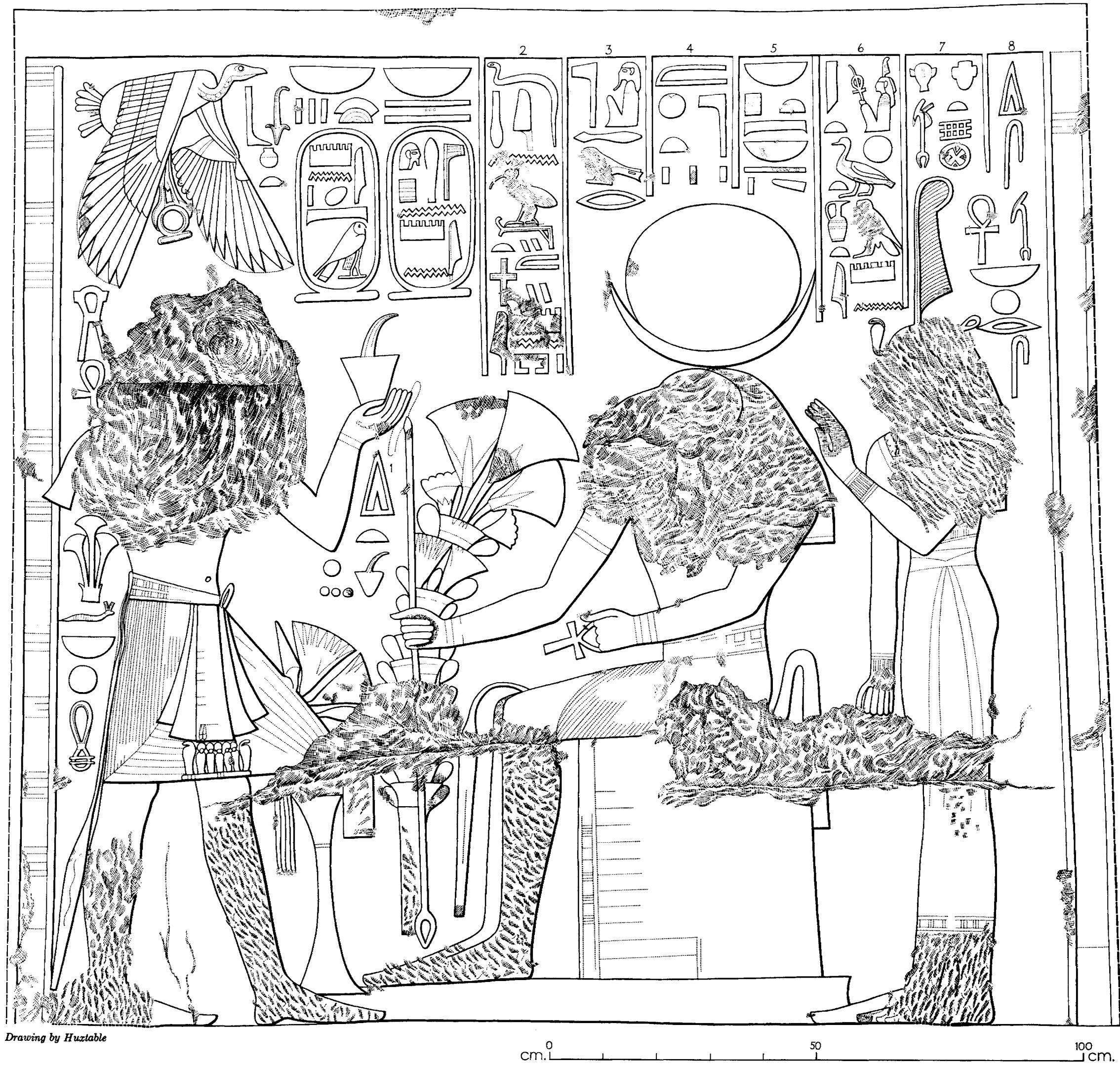
KING HERIHOR PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY BEFORE  
 RE-HARAKHTI-ATUM IN THE PRESENCE OF IUS'AAS  
 COURT, SOUTH WALL, THIRD SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN WESTMOST PILASTER AND WEST CORNER



*Drawing by Coleman*

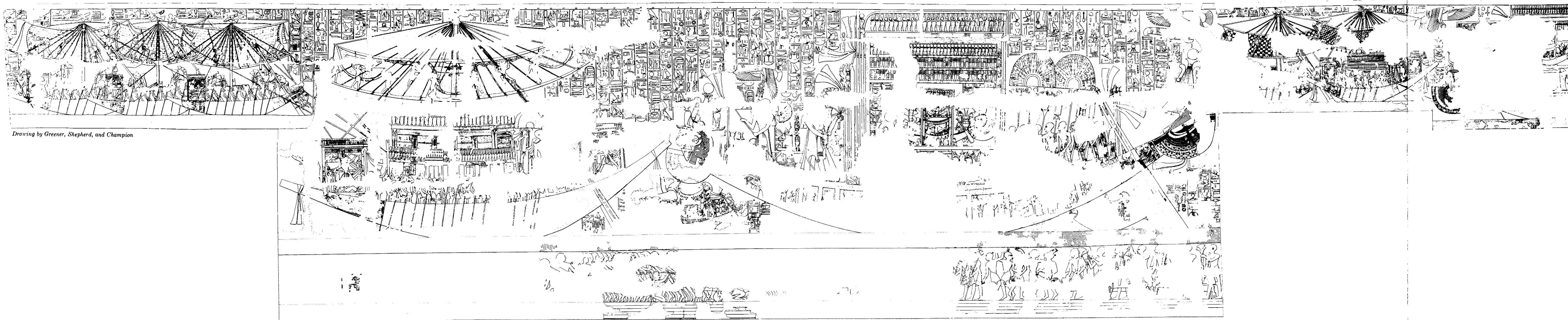
KING HERIHOR ELEVATING FOOD OFFERINGS TO MUT-WERET-HEKAU-EDJŌ  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, FOURTH SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN WEST PILASTERS



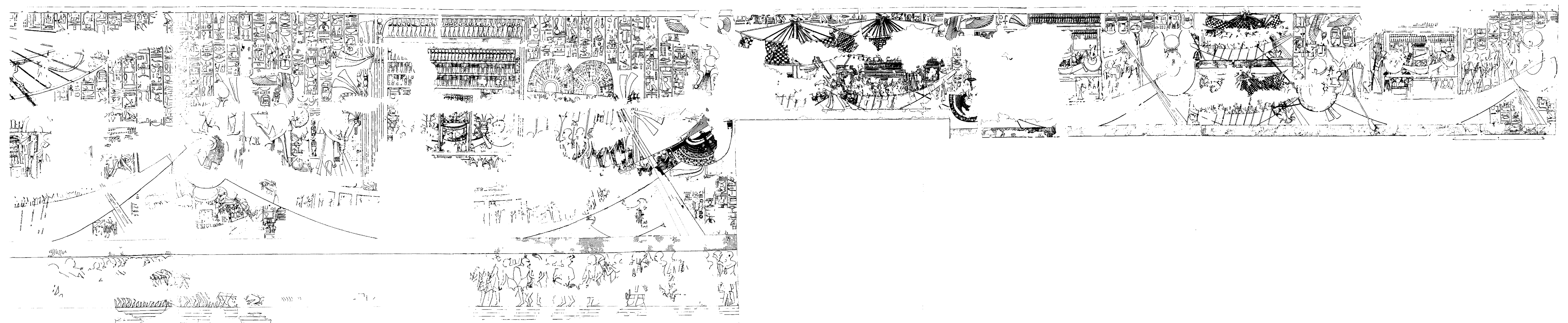


KING HERIHOR OFFERING INCENSE TO THOTH IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, FOURTH SCENE FROM BOTTOM BETWEEN WESTMOST PILASTER AND WEST CORNER



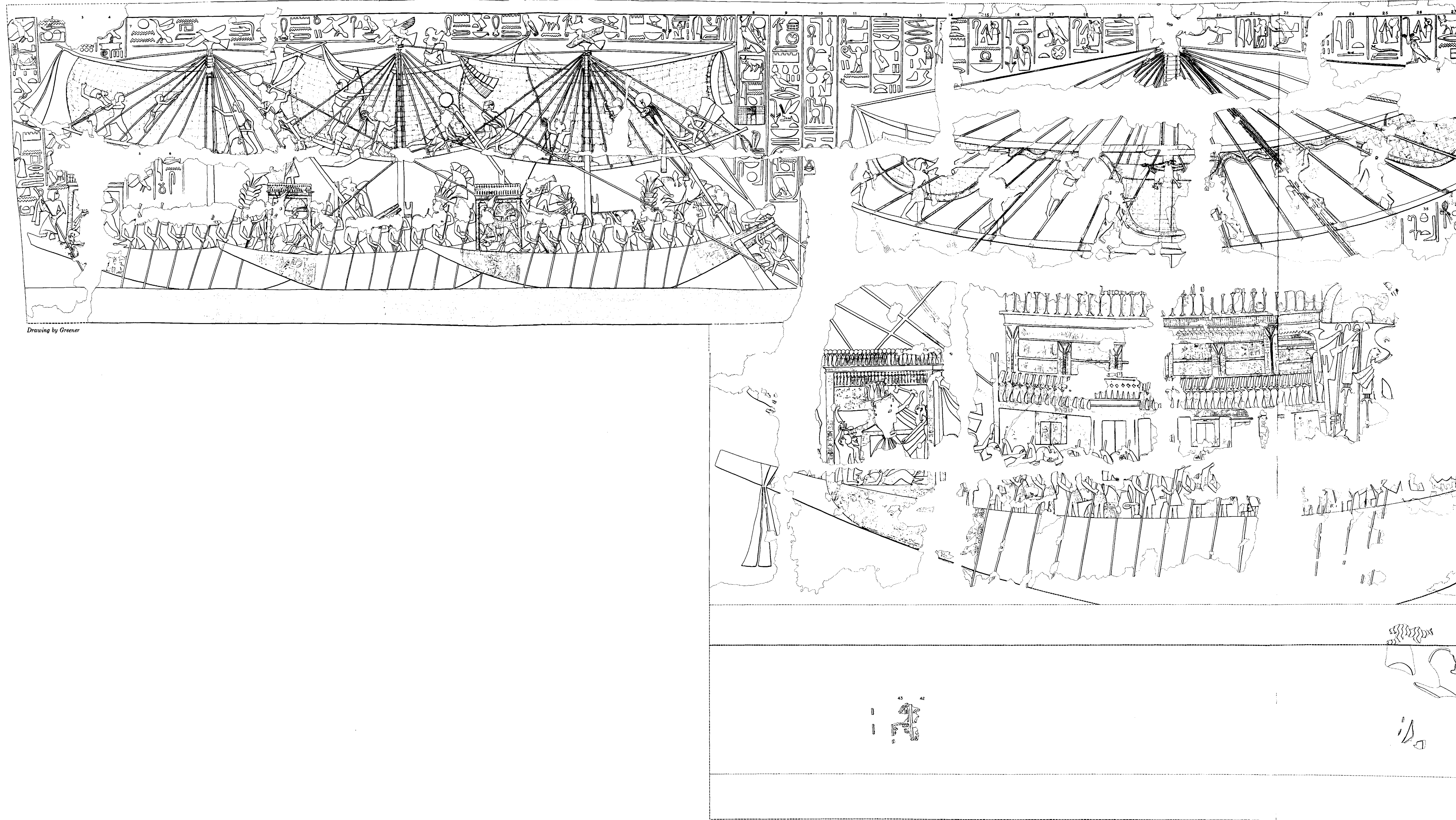


THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS

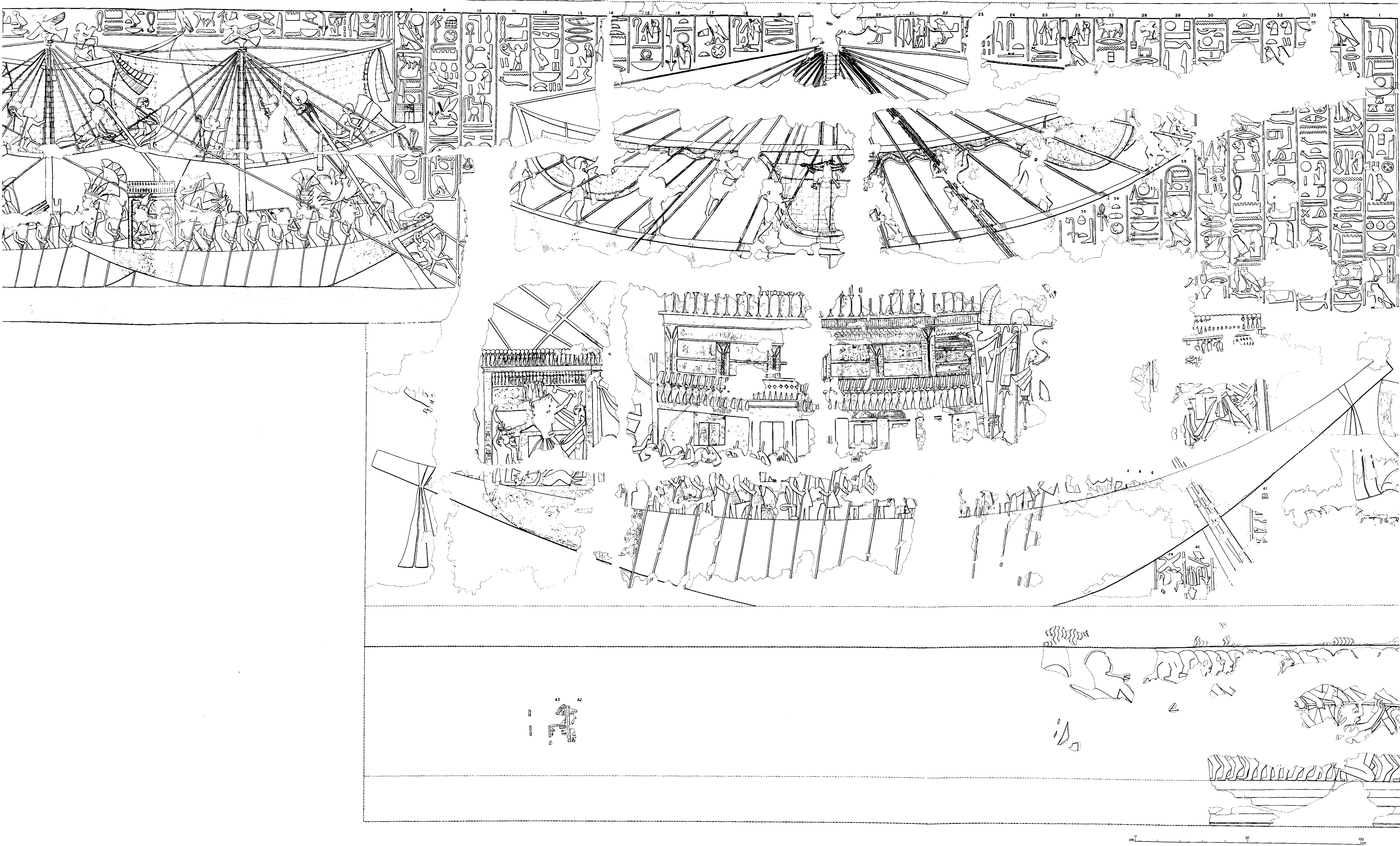


THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS





BOATS TOWING THE ROYAL GALLEY ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS



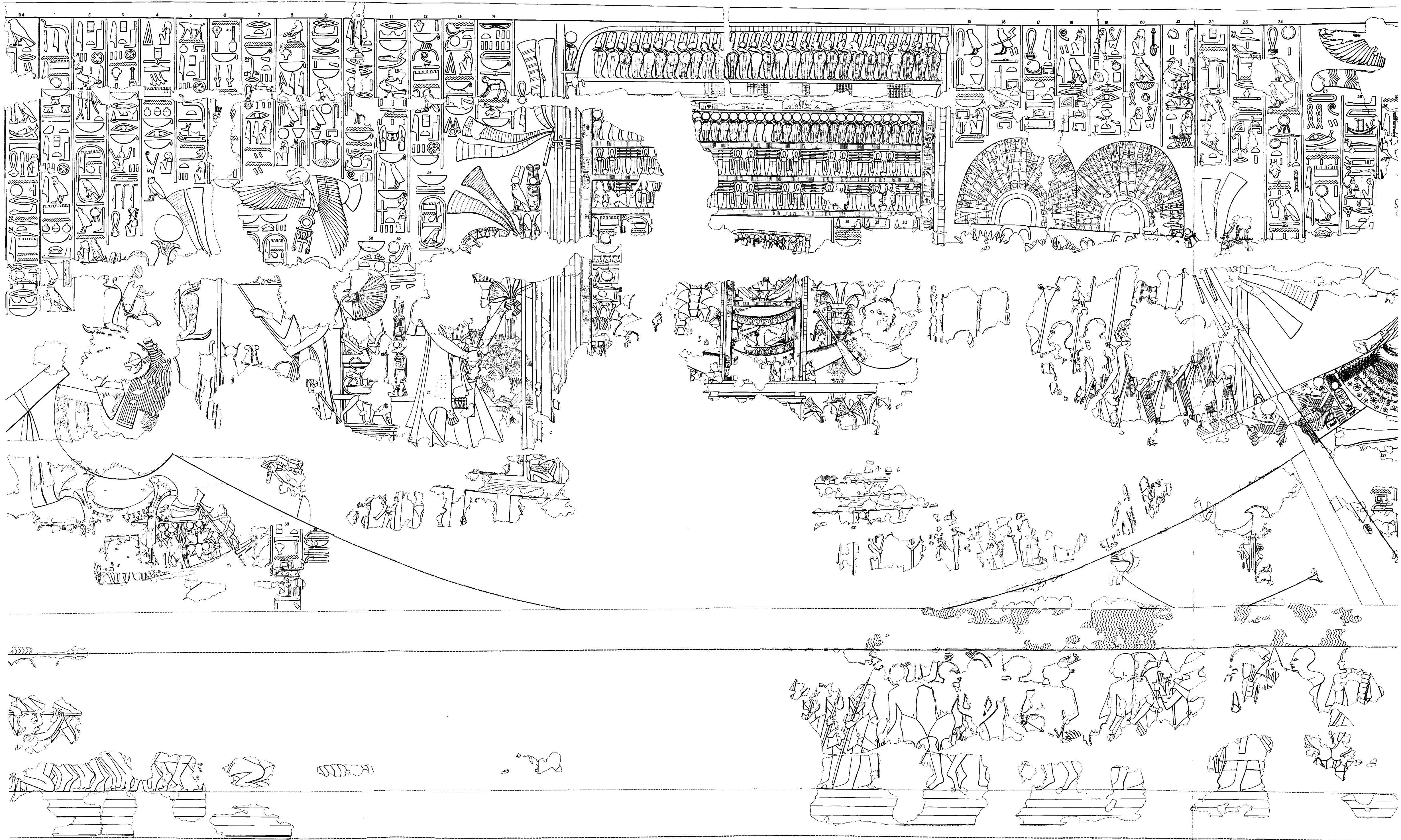
Adjoins plate 21

BOATS TOWING THE ROYAL GALLEY ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS

0 50 100

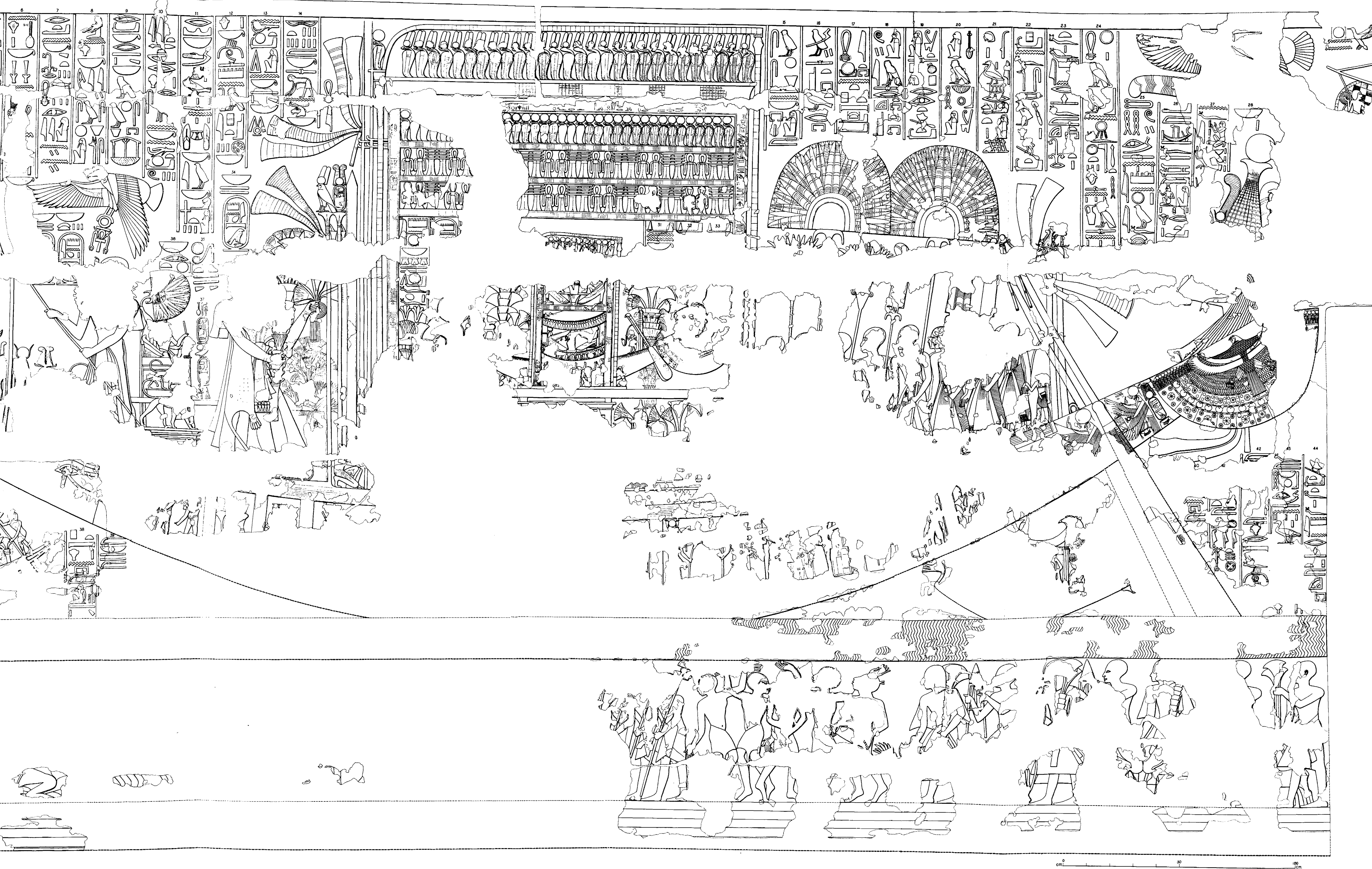


Adjoins plate 20



THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF AMON-RE ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS





*Adjoins plate 22*

THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF AMON-RE ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS

Adjoins plate 21

Adjoins plate 23

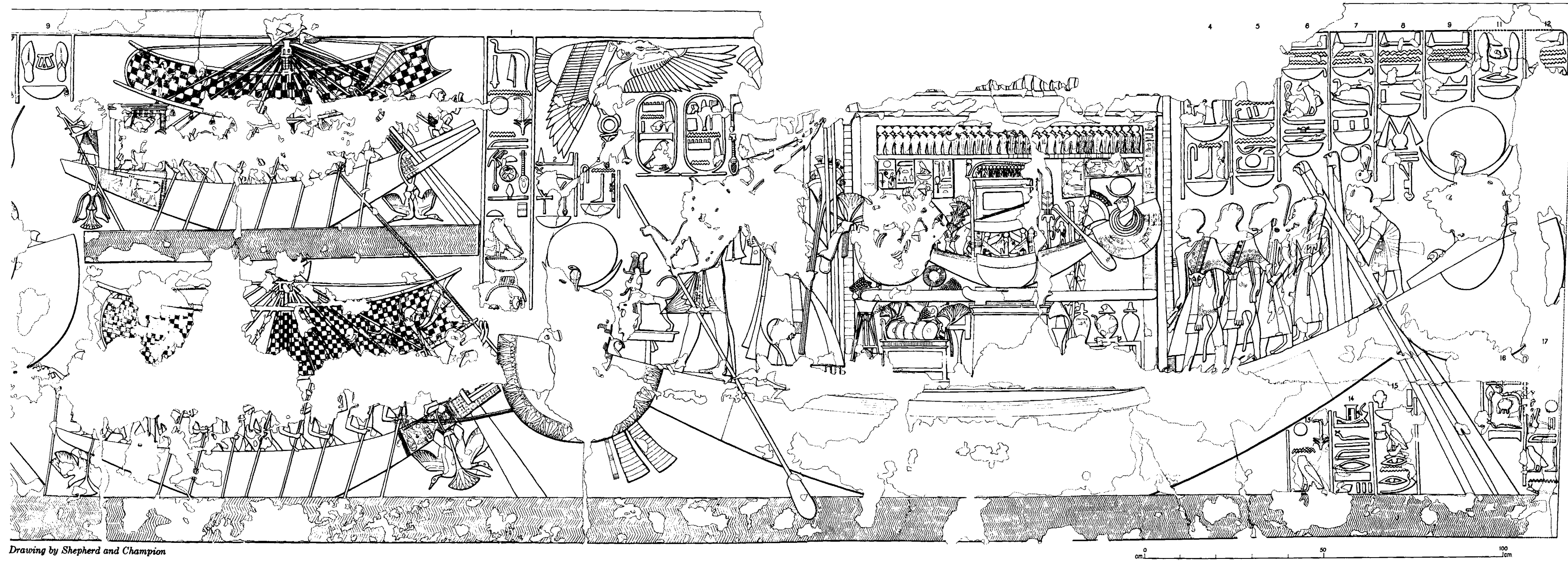
Drawing by Shepherd and Champion

BOATS TOWING THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF MUT ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS

0 50 100  
cm

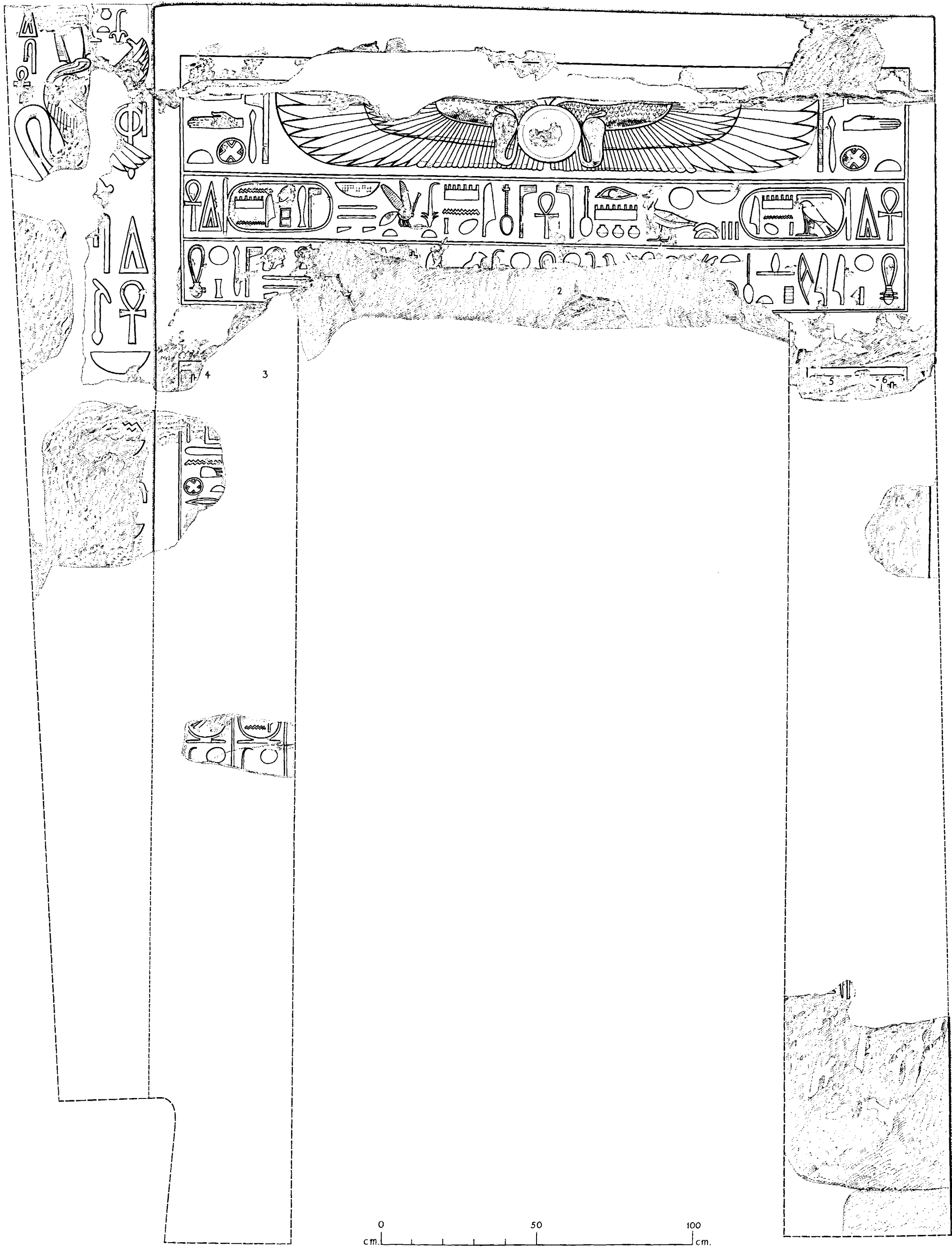


Adjoins plate 22

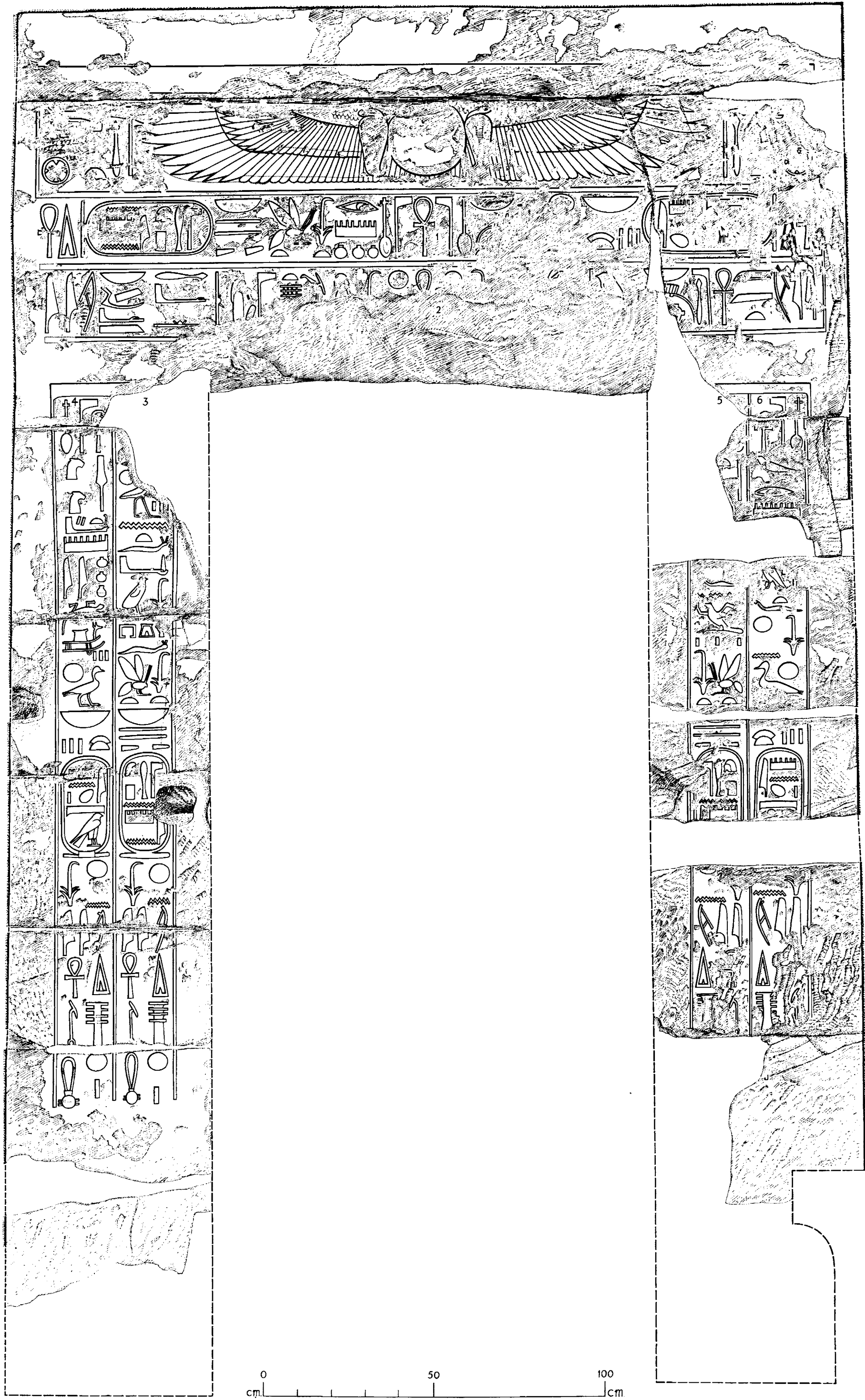


BOATS TOWING THE CEREMONIAL BARGE OF KHONSU ON THE NILE DURING THE FEAST OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTERS

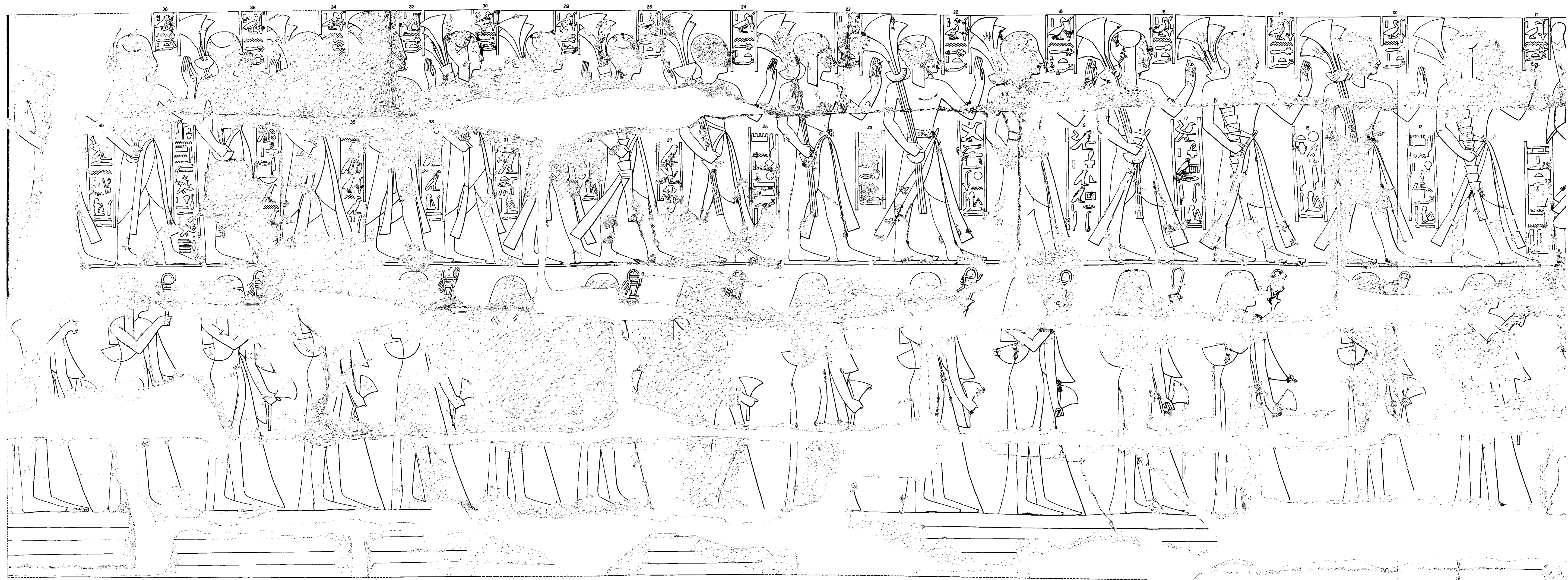




DECORATION SURROUNDING SOUTH DOOR OF WEST WALL OF COURT



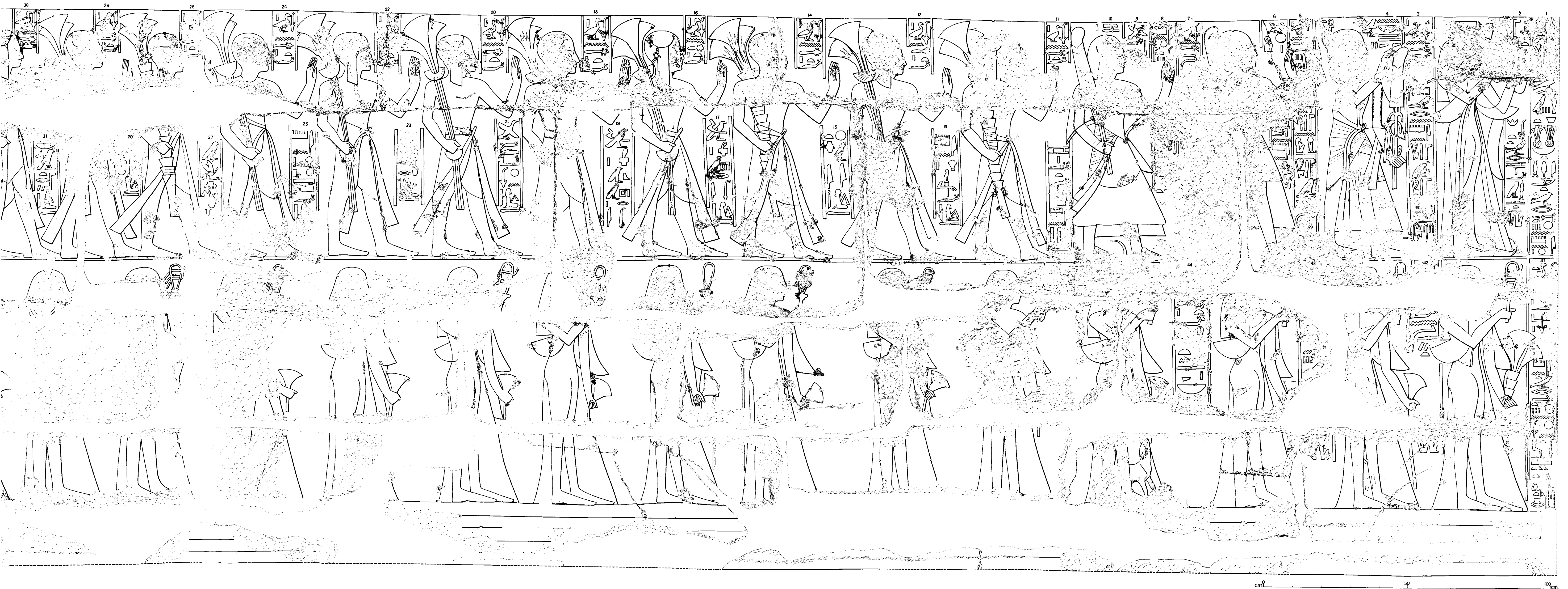
DECORATION SURROUNDING NORTH DOOR OF WEST WALL OF COURT



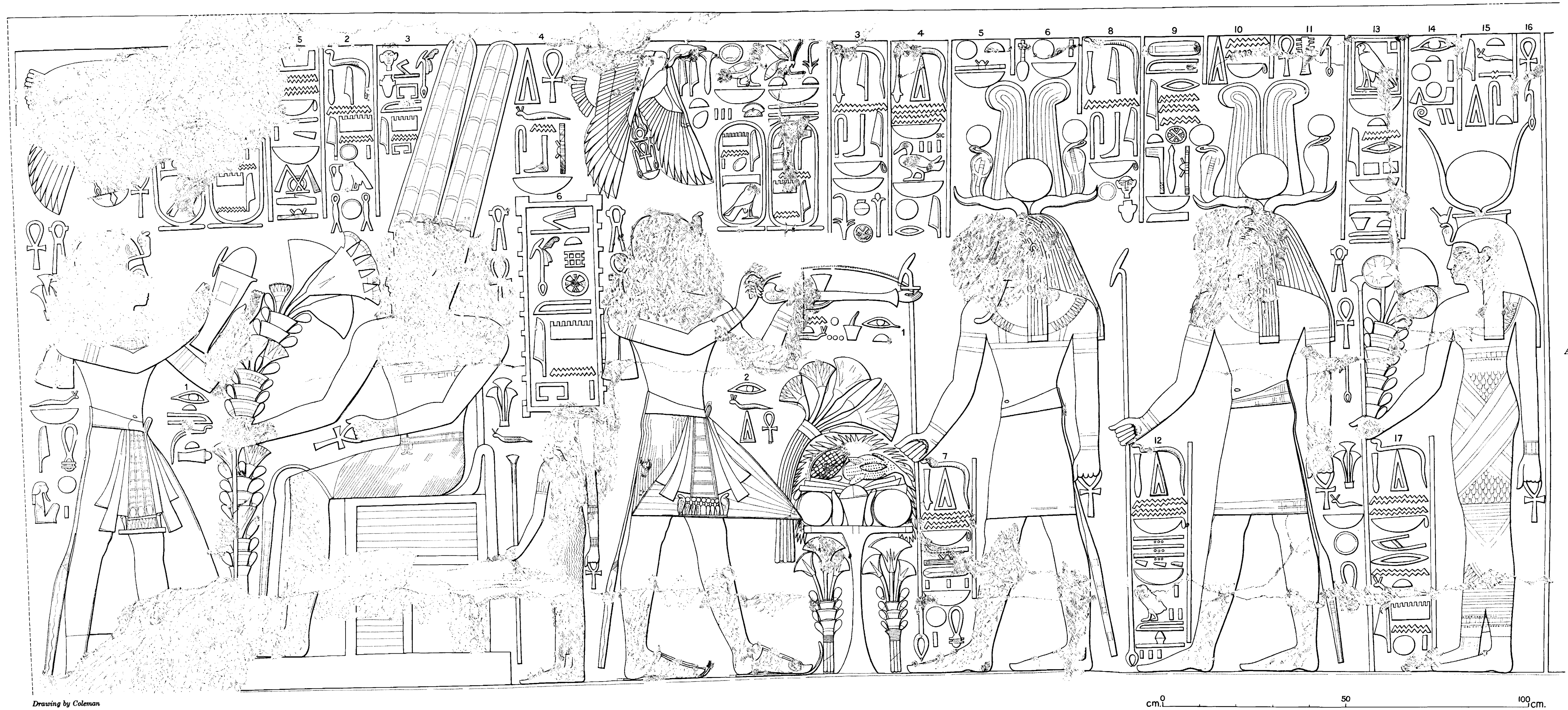
*Drawing by Coleman*

PROCESSION OF THE FAMILY OF KING HERIHOR  
COURT, WEST WALL, LOWEST REGISTERS, BETWEEN NORTH DOOR AND NORTH CORNER





PROCESSION OF THE FAMILY OF KING HERIHOR  
COURT, WEST WALL, LOWEST REGISTERS, BETWEEN NORTH DOOR AND NORTH CORNER



Drawing by Coleman

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

A

B

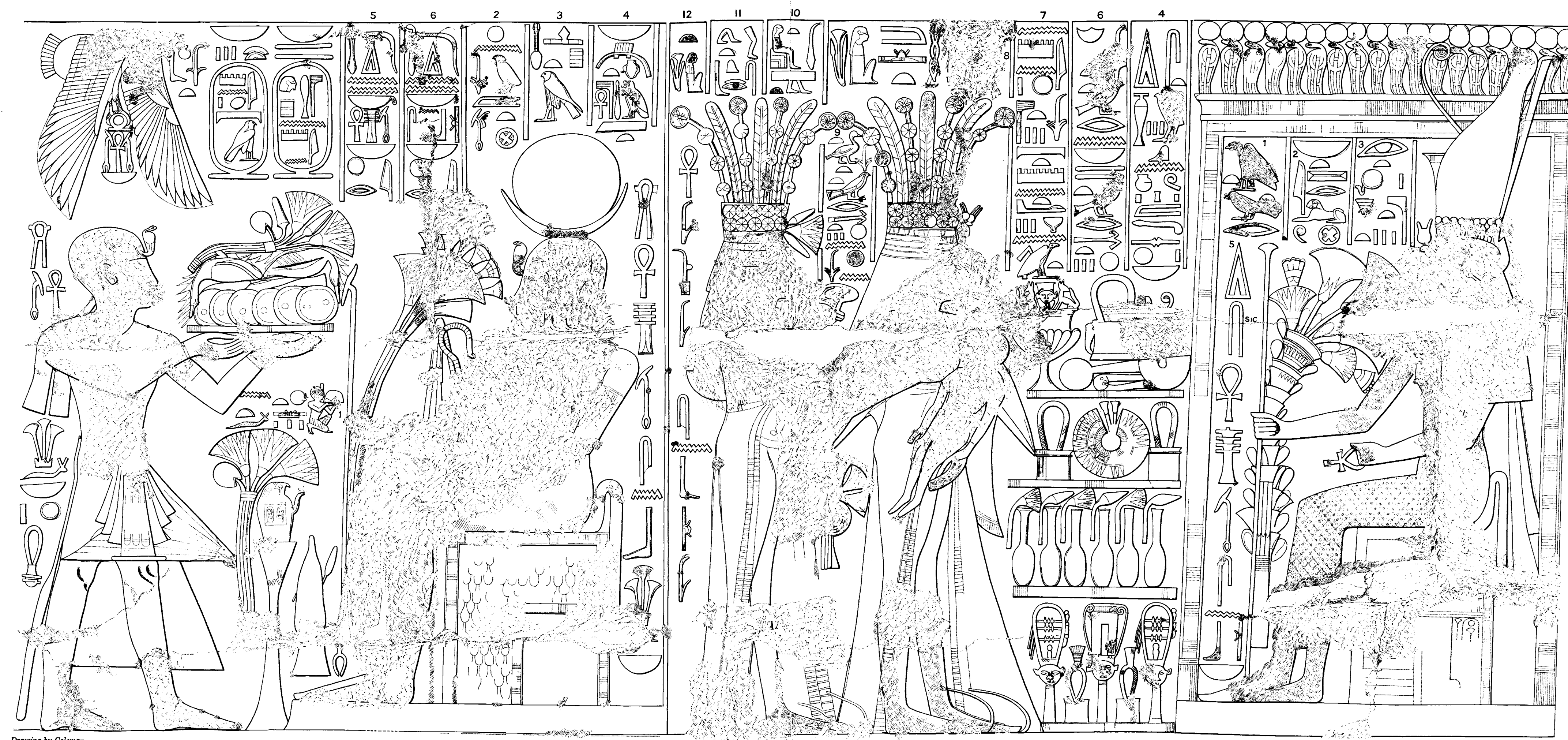
KING HERIHOR (A) OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMON-RE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PERSONIFIED SETTLEMENT IN THEBES  
AND (B) THURIFYING SEBEK OF SUMENU IN THE PRESENCE OF SEBEK OF IEMOTRU AND HATHOR OF GEBELEIN

COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, FIRST AND SECOND SCENES FROM SOUTH

Adjoins plate 28



*Adjoins plate 29*



Drawing by Coleman

A horizontal ruler with markings at 0, 50, and 100 cm. The unit 'cm.' is written at both ends. There are tick marks every 10 units, with labels at 0, 50, and 100.

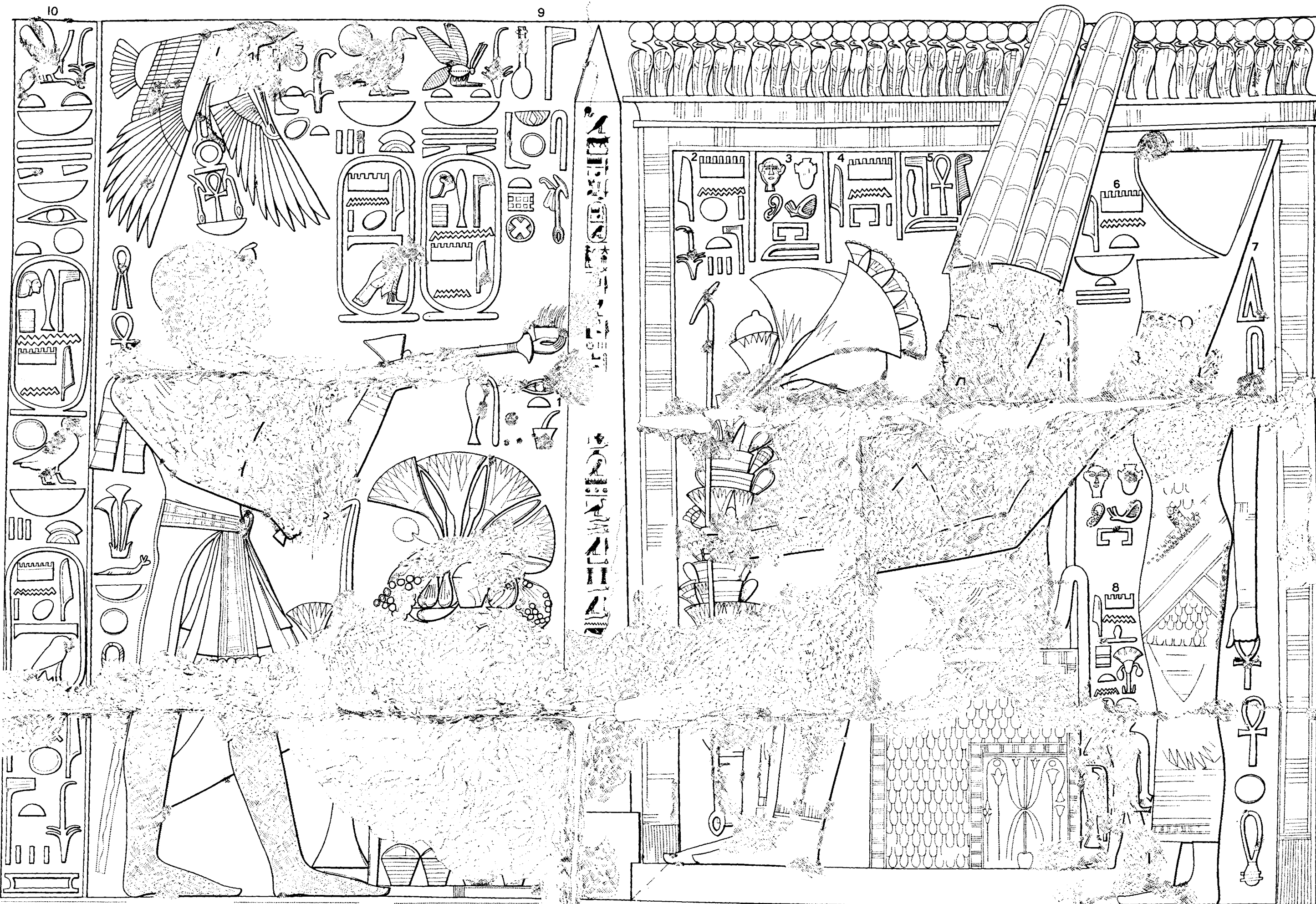
**A**

$$B$$

A. KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO KHONSU B. QUEEN NUTEME, ATTENDED BY  
THE PRINCESS SHESEBEKE, CARRYING AN INFANT BEFORE THE SHRINE OF MUT  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, THIRD AND FOURTH SCENES FROM SOUTH

Adjoins  
plate 28

Adjoins  
plate 30



Drawing by Coleman

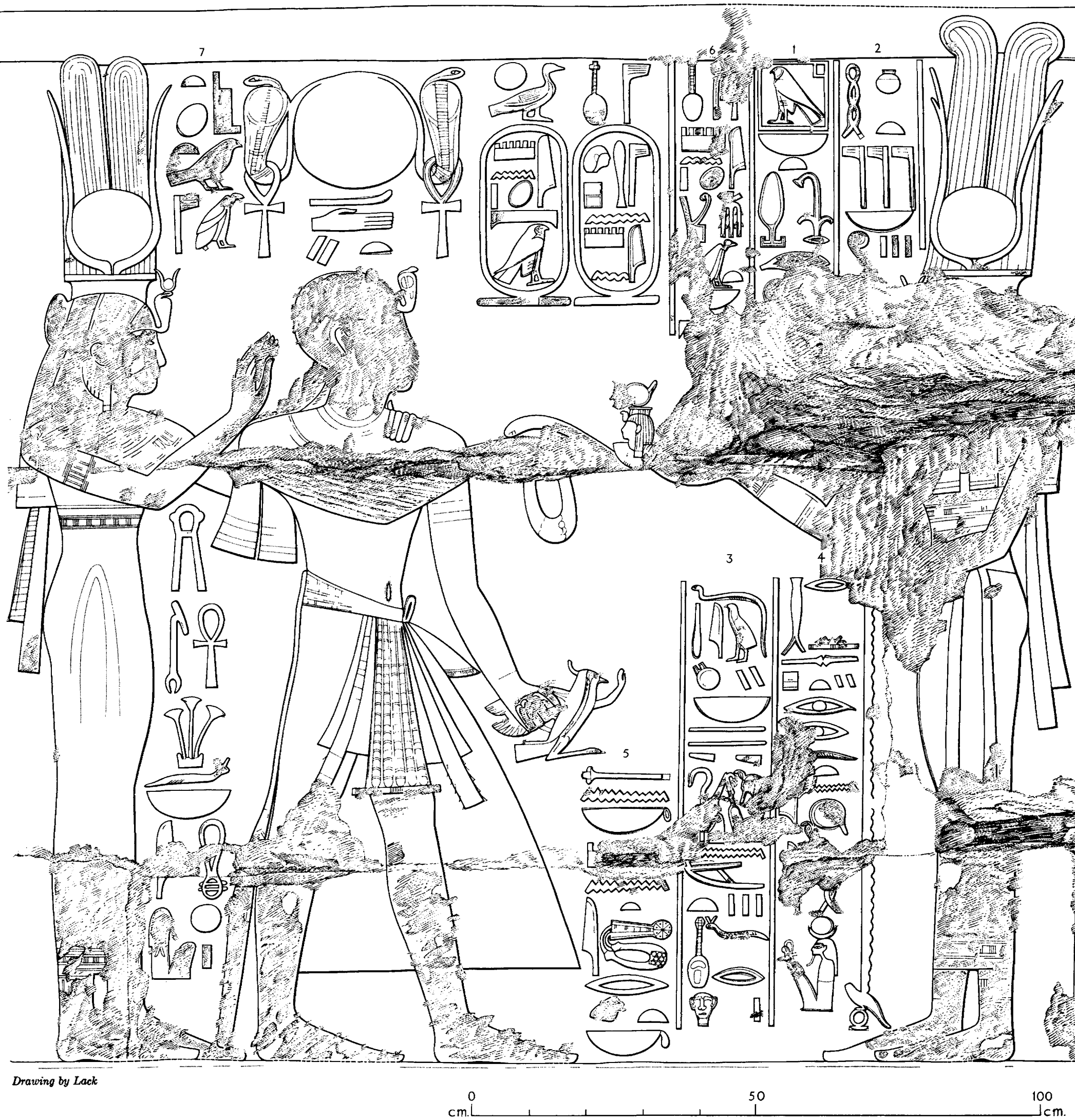
KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE  
THE DEITIES OF THE EASTERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, FIFTH SCENE FROM SOUTH





Adjoins plate 29

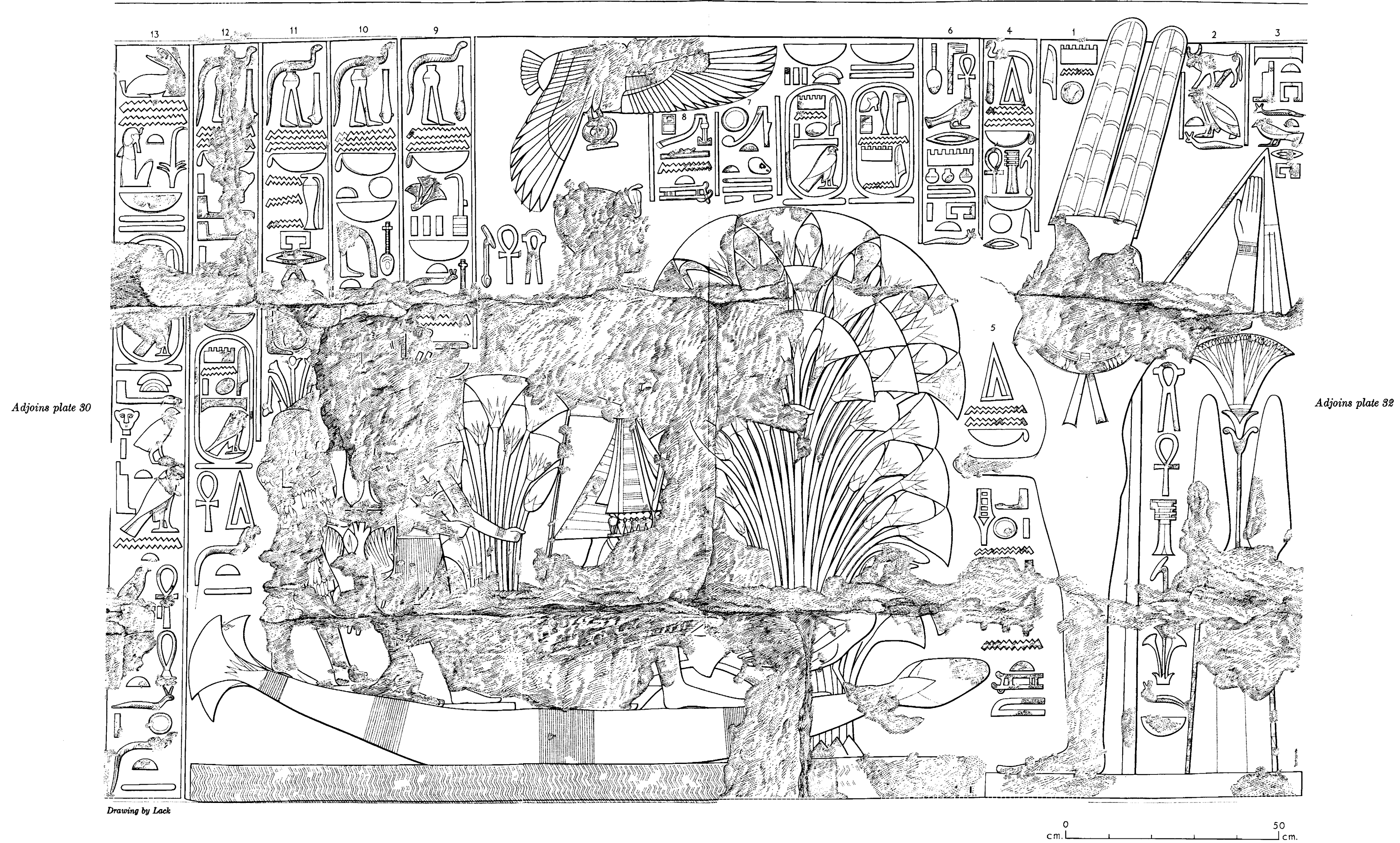
Adjoins plate 31



Drawing by Lack

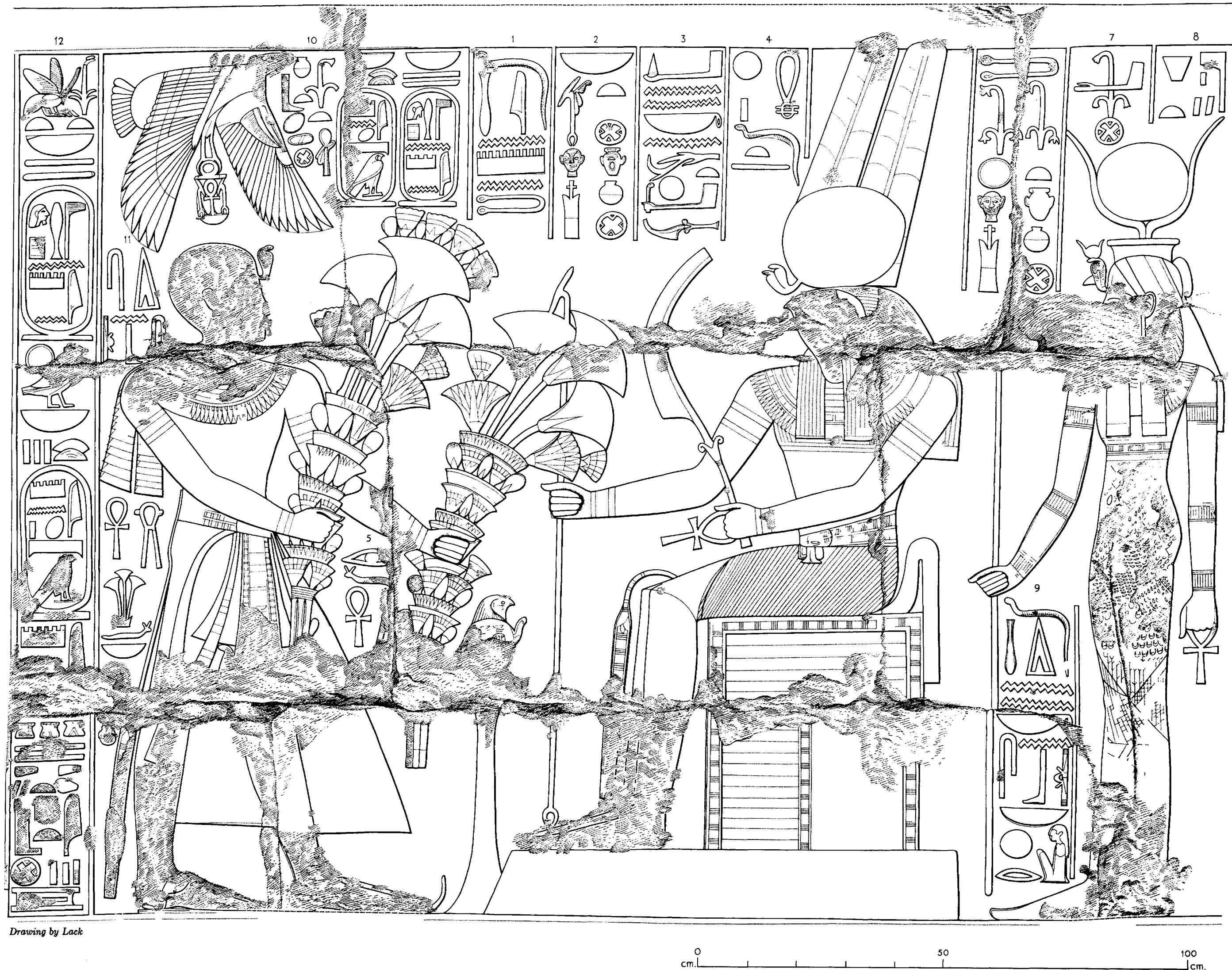
KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY ISIS, RECEIVING THE MENAT-  
NECKLACE FROM HATHOR OF THE SOUTHERN SYCOMORE  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, SIXTH SCENE FROM SOUTH





KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY TWO NILE GODS, SAILING THROUGH  
A PAPYRUS THICKET IN THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE-KAMUTEF  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, SEVENTH SCENE FROM SOUTH





KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO MONTU OF HERMONTHIS  
IN THE PRESENCE OF TJENENET OF HERMONTHIS  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, EIGHTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



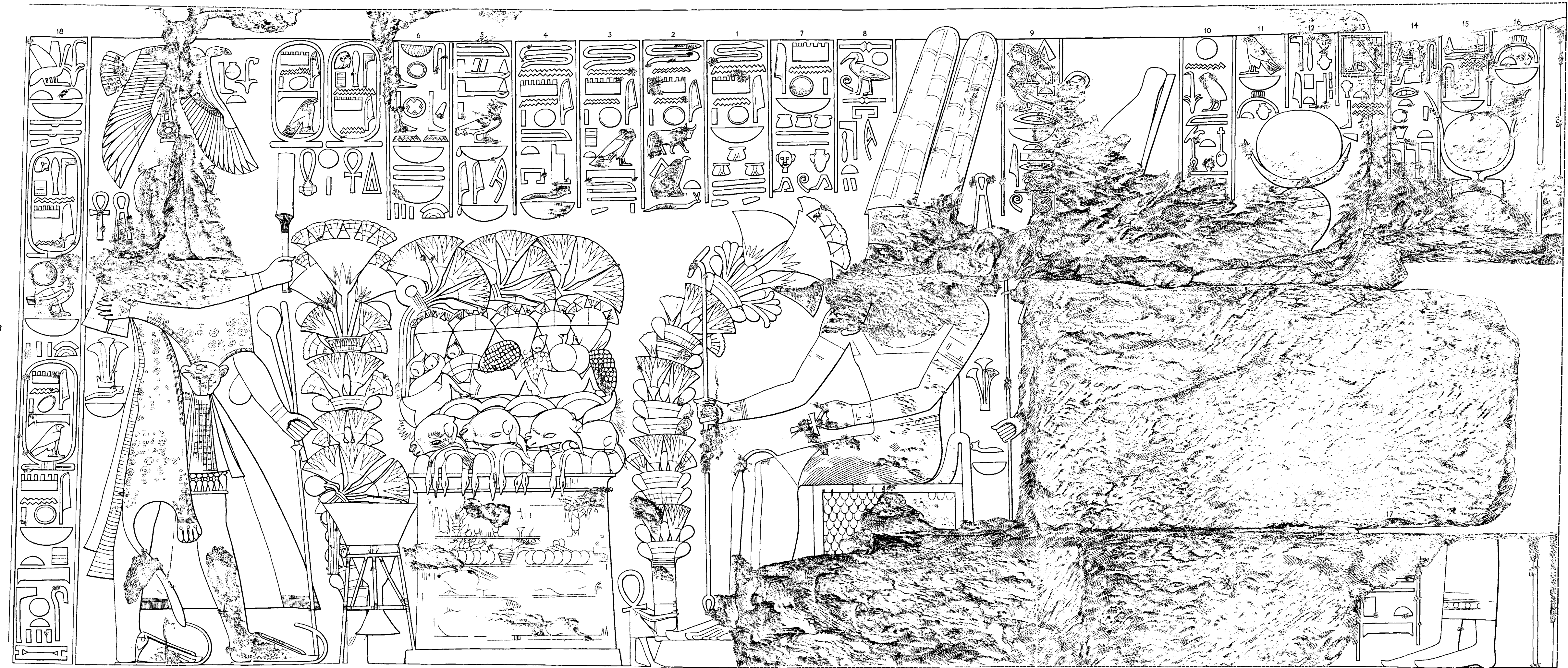
*Adjoins plate 32**Adjoins plate 34**Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm. cm.

KING HERIHOR PURIFIED BY HORUS AND THOTH  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, NINTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



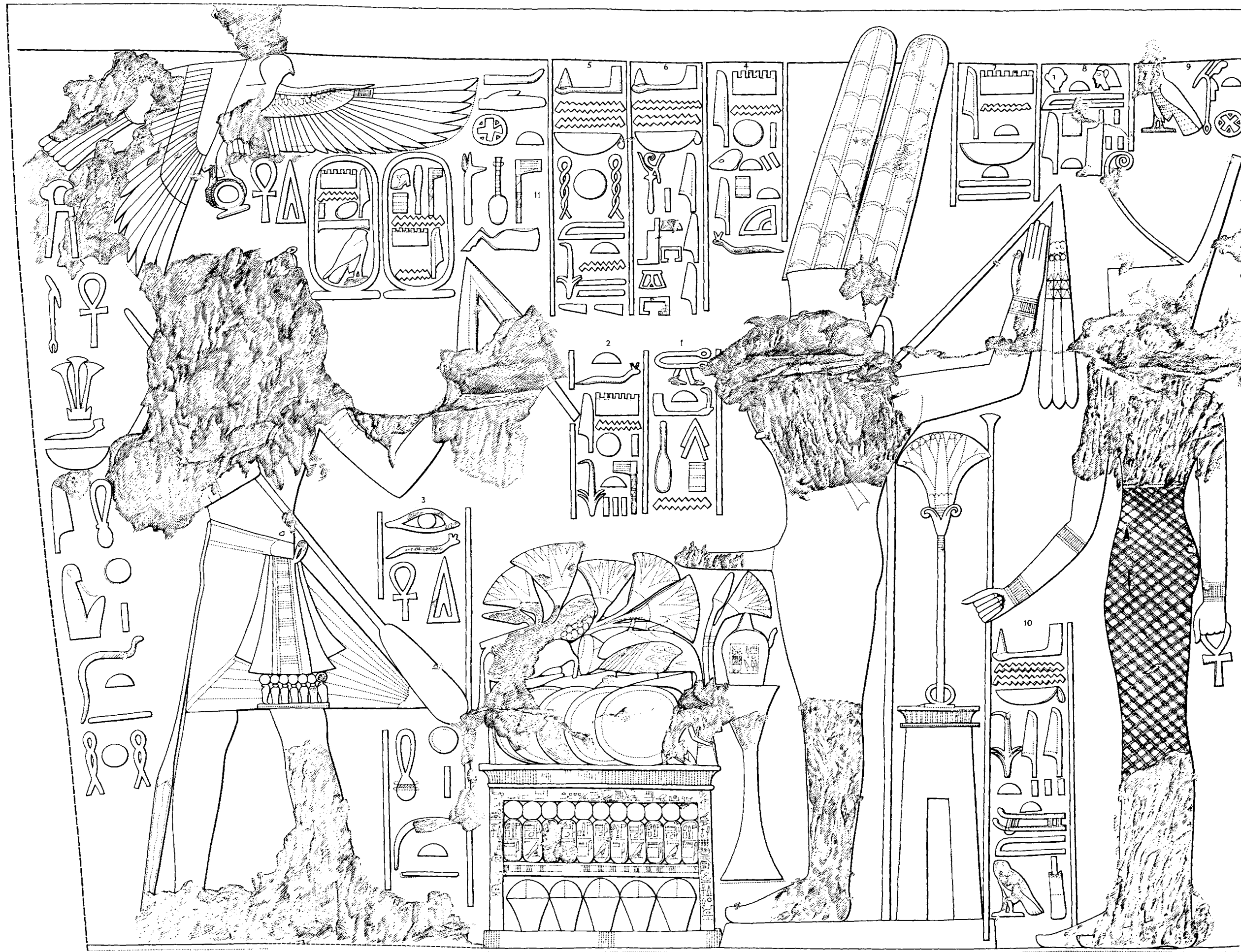


*Adjoins plate 33**Drawing by Lack*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING A HECATOMB BEFORE THE THEBAN TRIAD AND HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU  
COURT, WEST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, TENTH SCENE FROM SOUTH

0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.





*Adjoins plate 36*

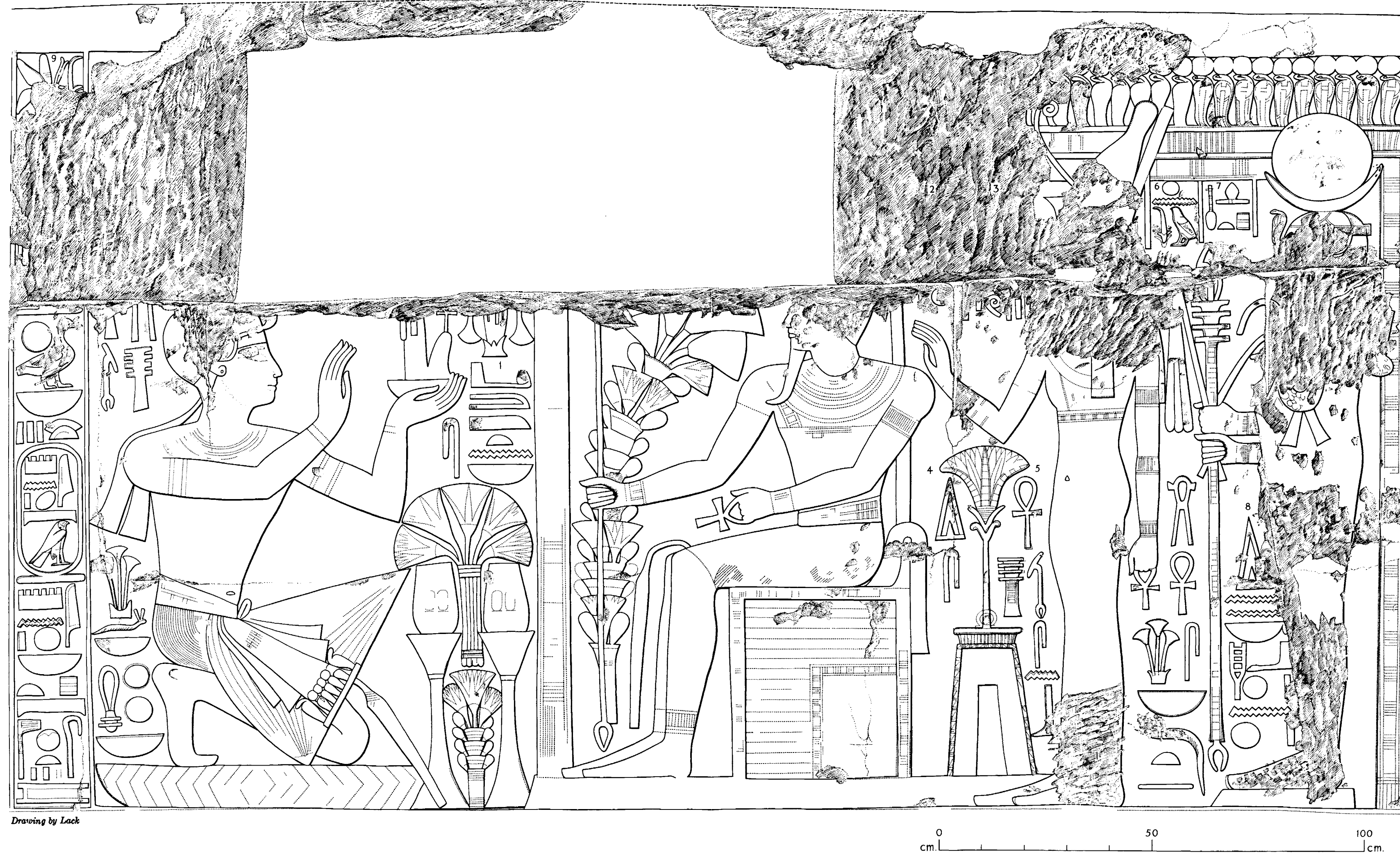
*Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm cm.

KING HERIHOR BRINGING SHIP'S GEAR TO THE ITHYPHALIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM SOUTH



Adjoins plate 35

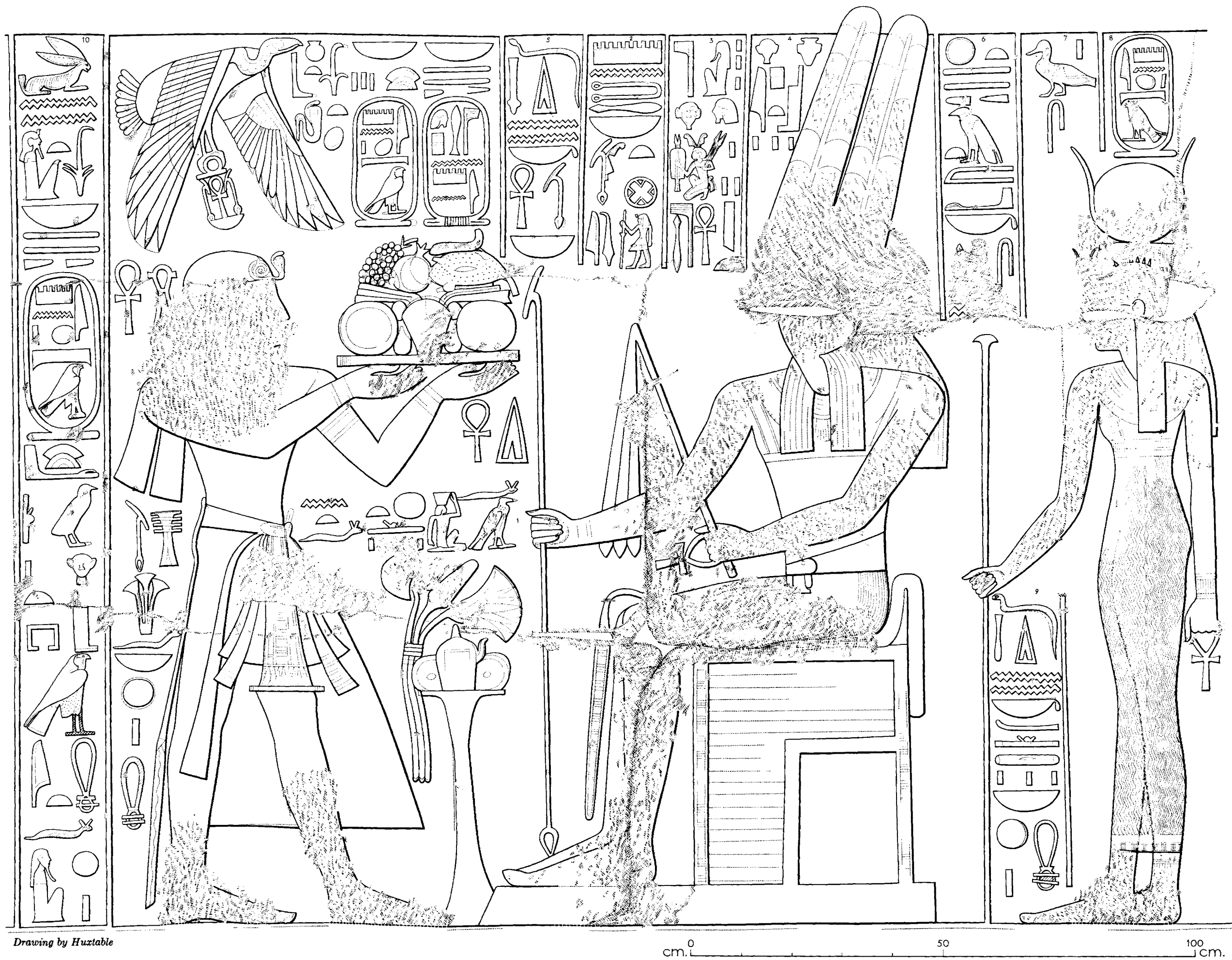


Adjoins plate 37

KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, SECOND SCENE FROM SOUTH

Adjoins plate 36

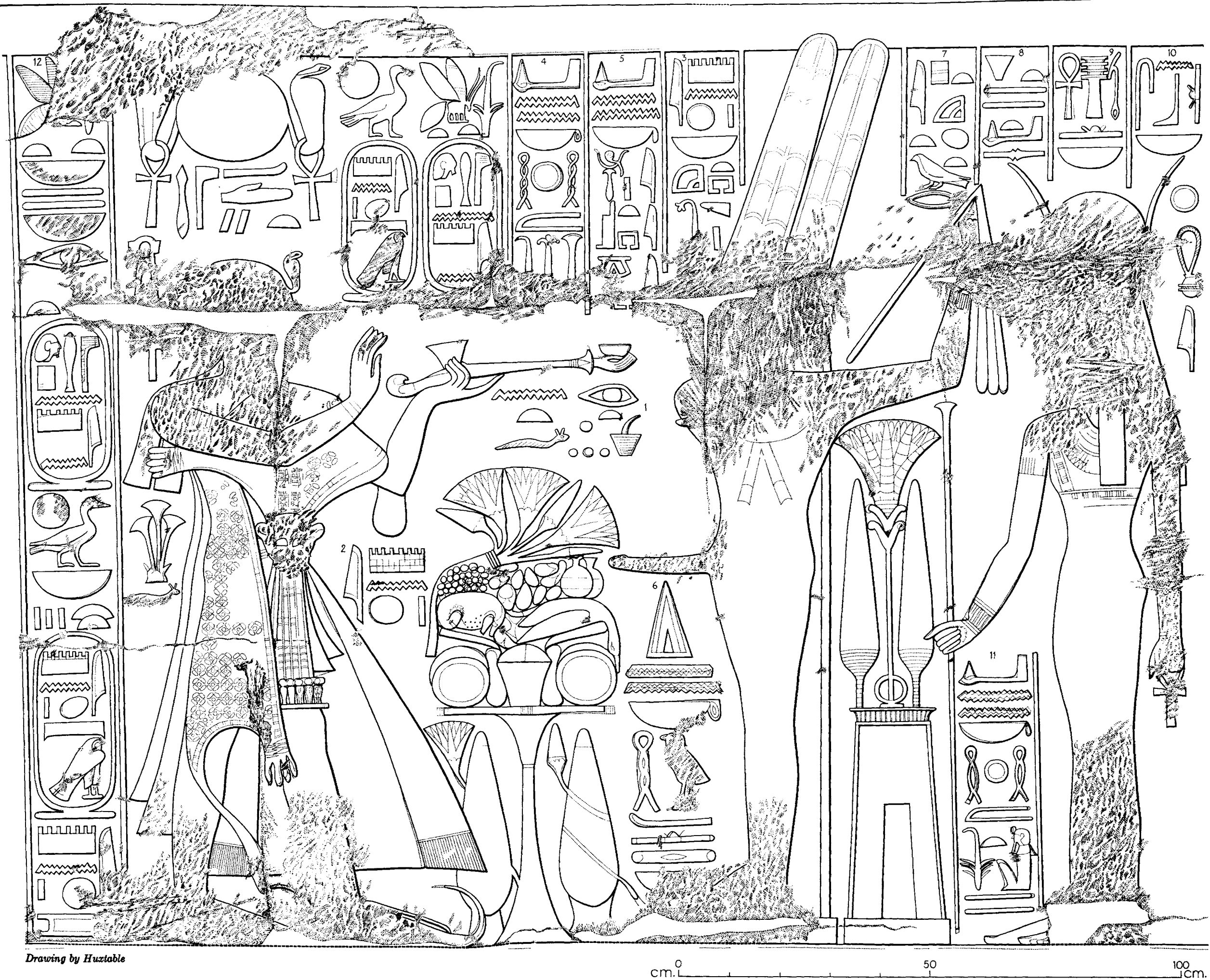
Adjoins plate 38



KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO MONTU IN THE PRESENCE OF RA-YET-TAWY  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, THIRD SCENE FROM SOUTH

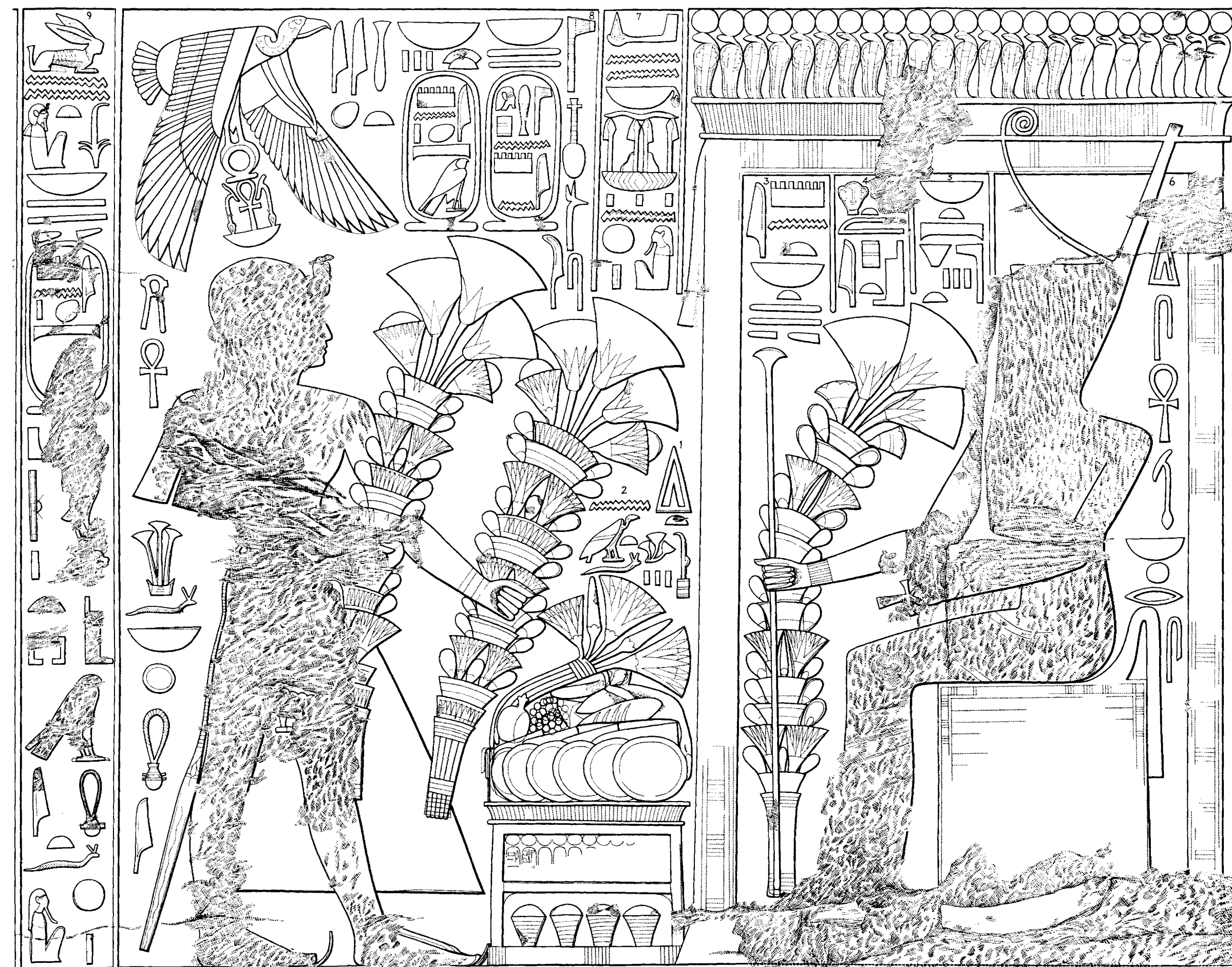




*Adjoins plate 37**Adjoins plate 39*

KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AMON-RE OF LUXOR IN THE PRESENCE OF OPET  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, FOURTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



*Adjoins plate 38**Drawing by Huztable*

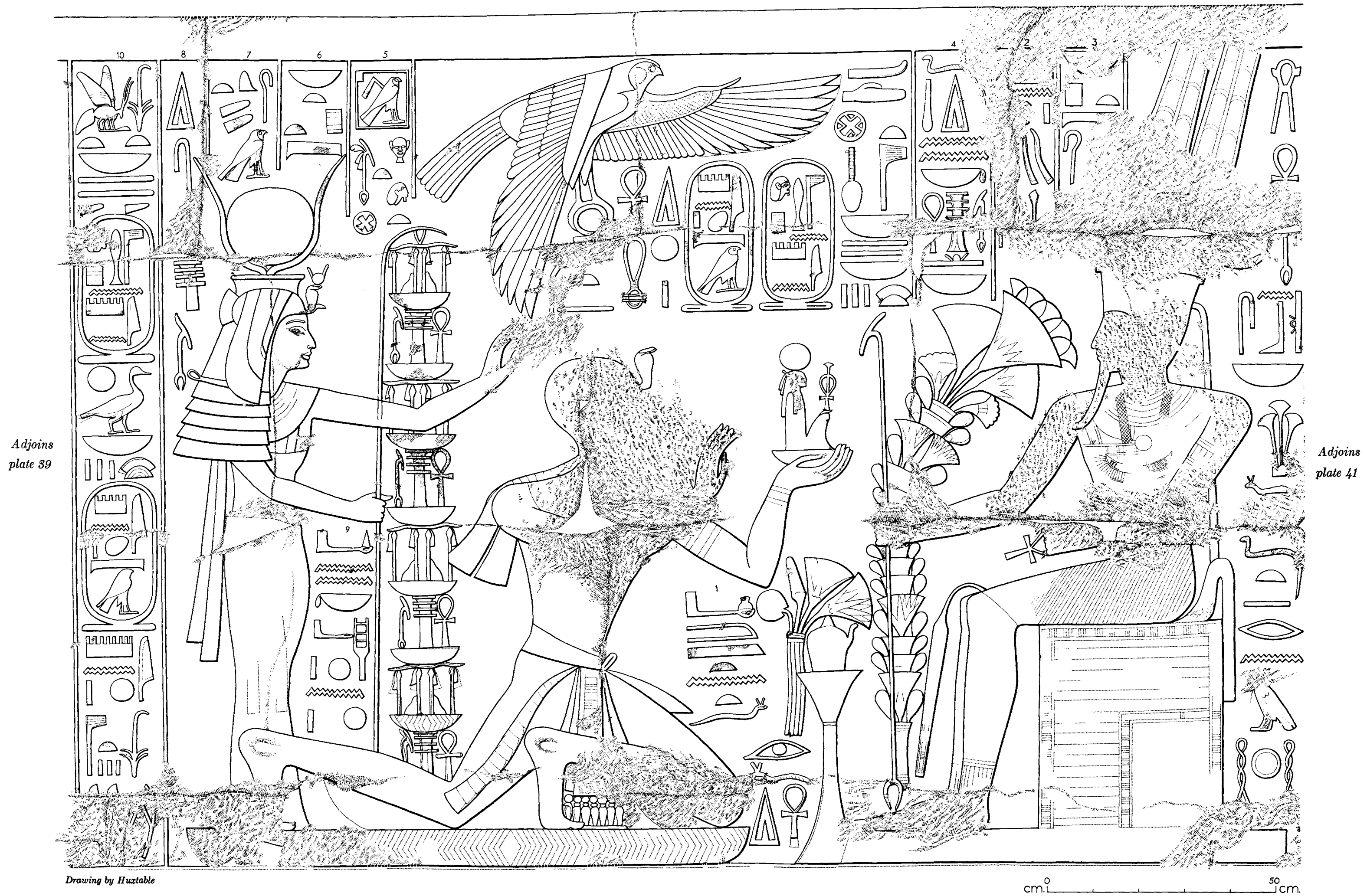
cm. 0 50 100 cm.

KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMONET  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, FIFTH SCENE FROM SOUTH

*Adjoins plate 40*







KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HATHOR, KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, SIXTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



*Adjoins plate 40**Adjoins plate 42**Drawing by Huxtable*

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

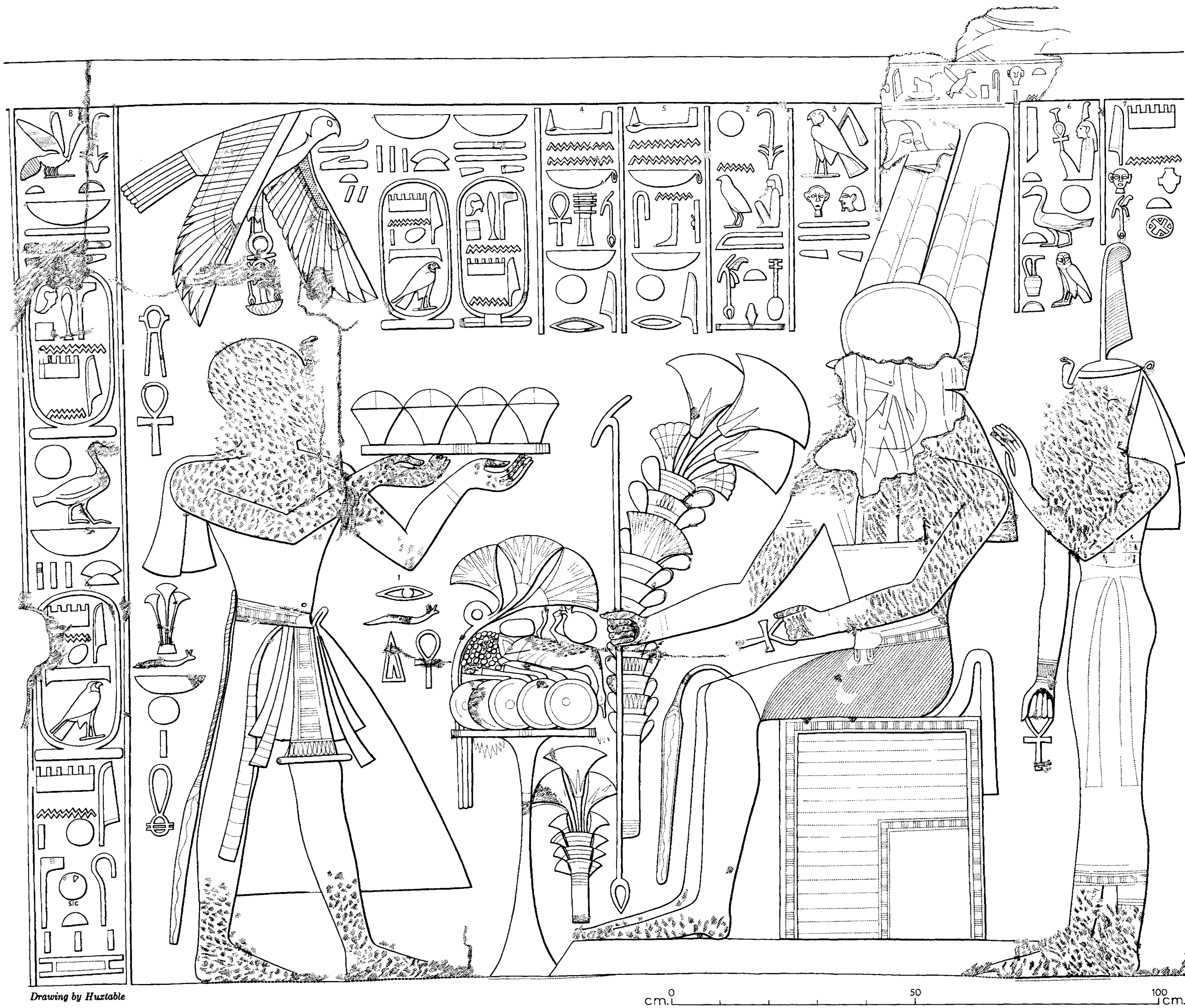
KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO MUT  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, SEVENTH SCENE FROM SOUTH





Adjoins plate 41

Adjoins plate 43

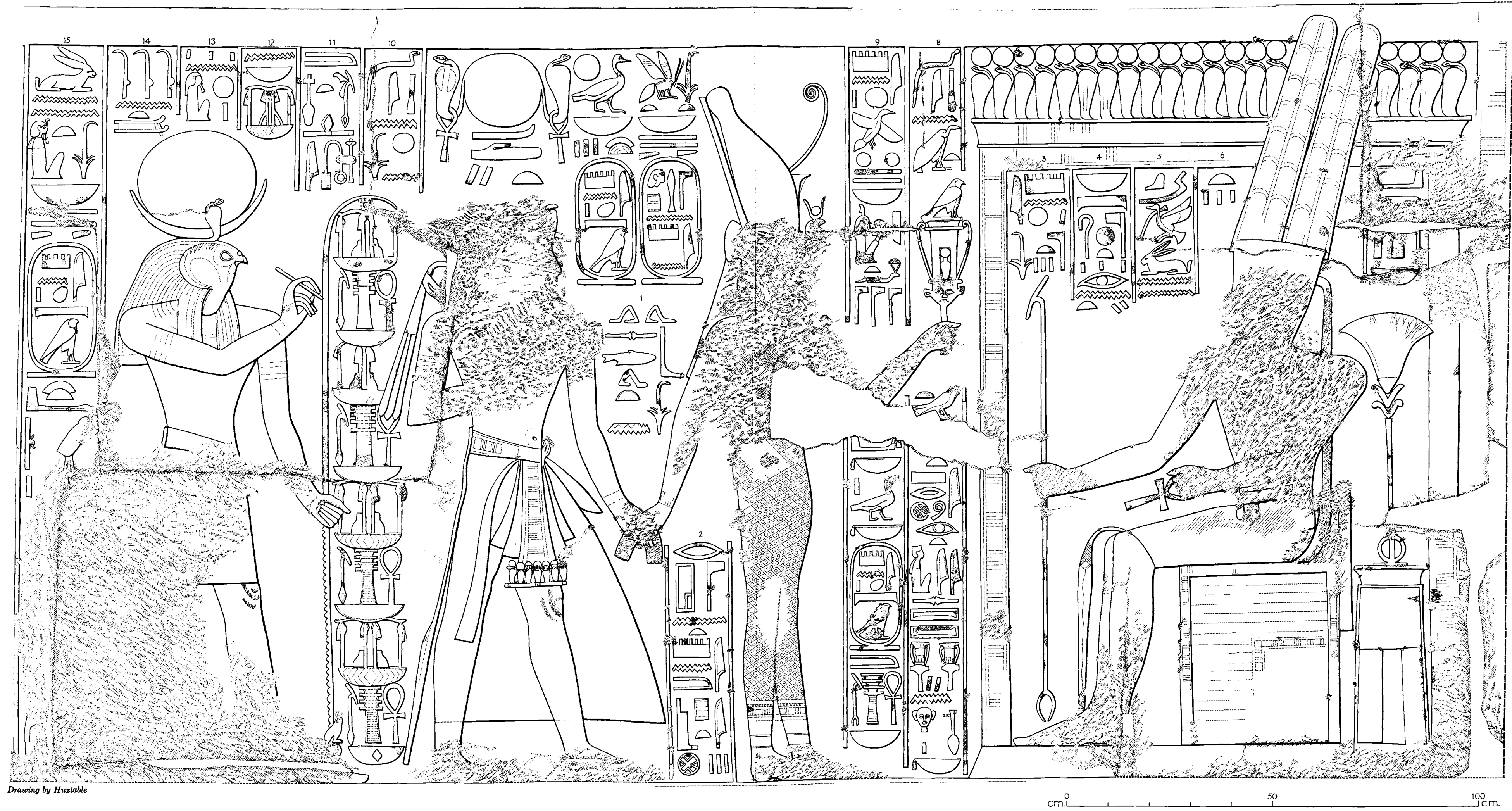


KING HERIHOR PRESENTING FOUR CUPS TO KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, EIGHTH SCENE FROM SOUTH

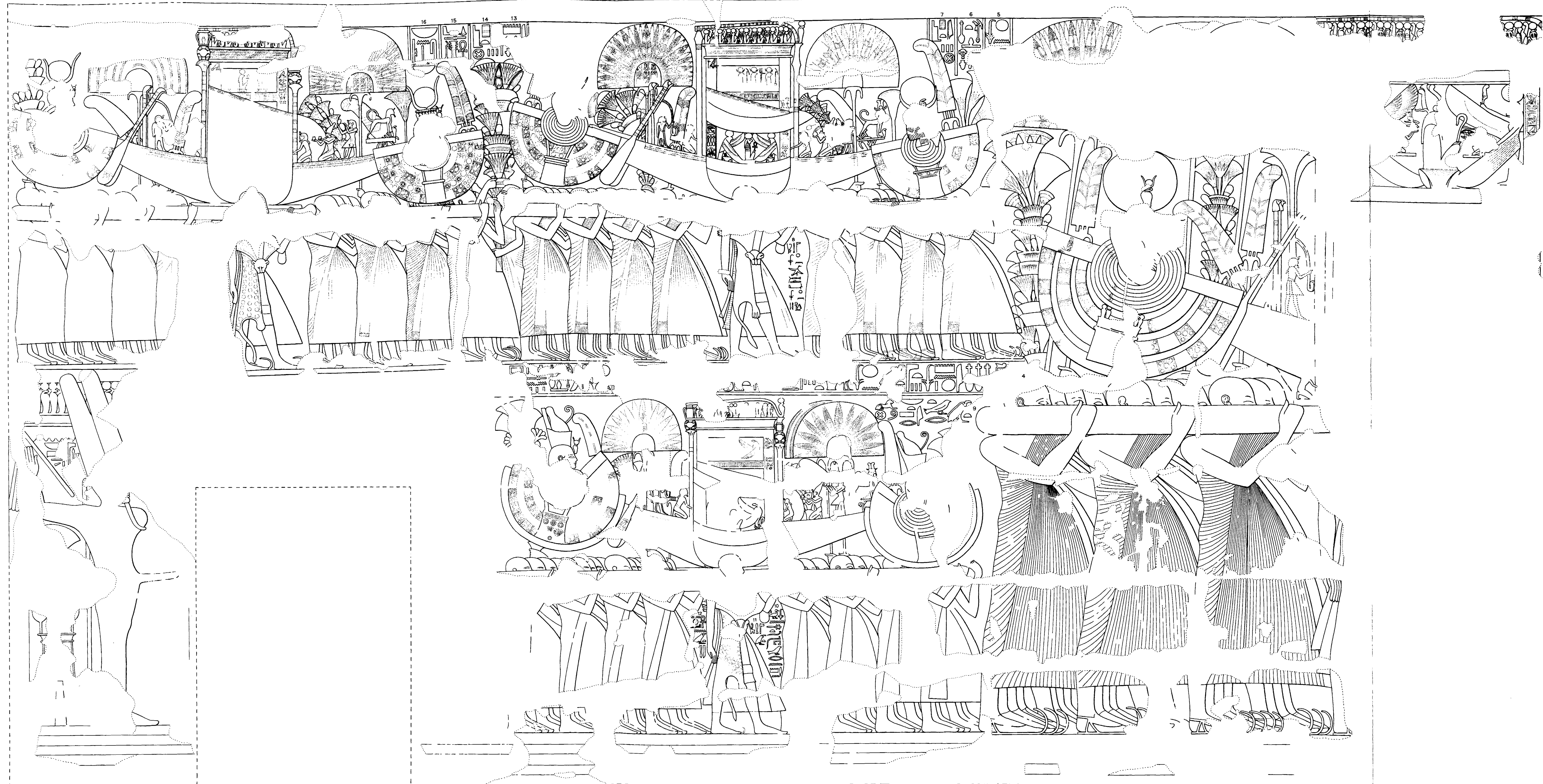




Adjoins plate 42



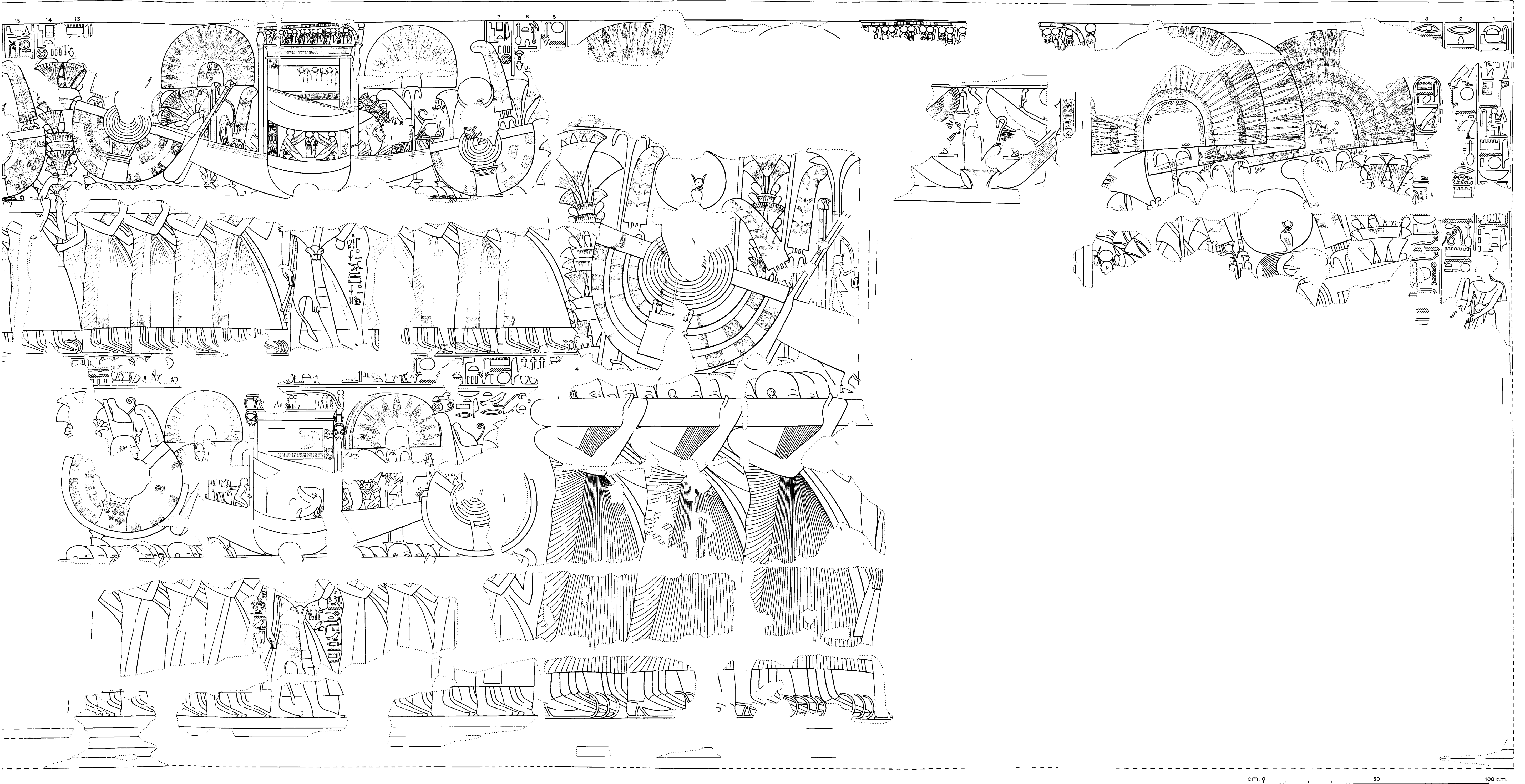
KING HERIHOR CONDUCTED BY MUT, PLAYING THE SISTRUM, TO THE SHRINE  
OF AMON-RE WHILE KHONSU INSCRIBES JUBILEES  
COURT, WEST WALL, TOP REGISTER, NINTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



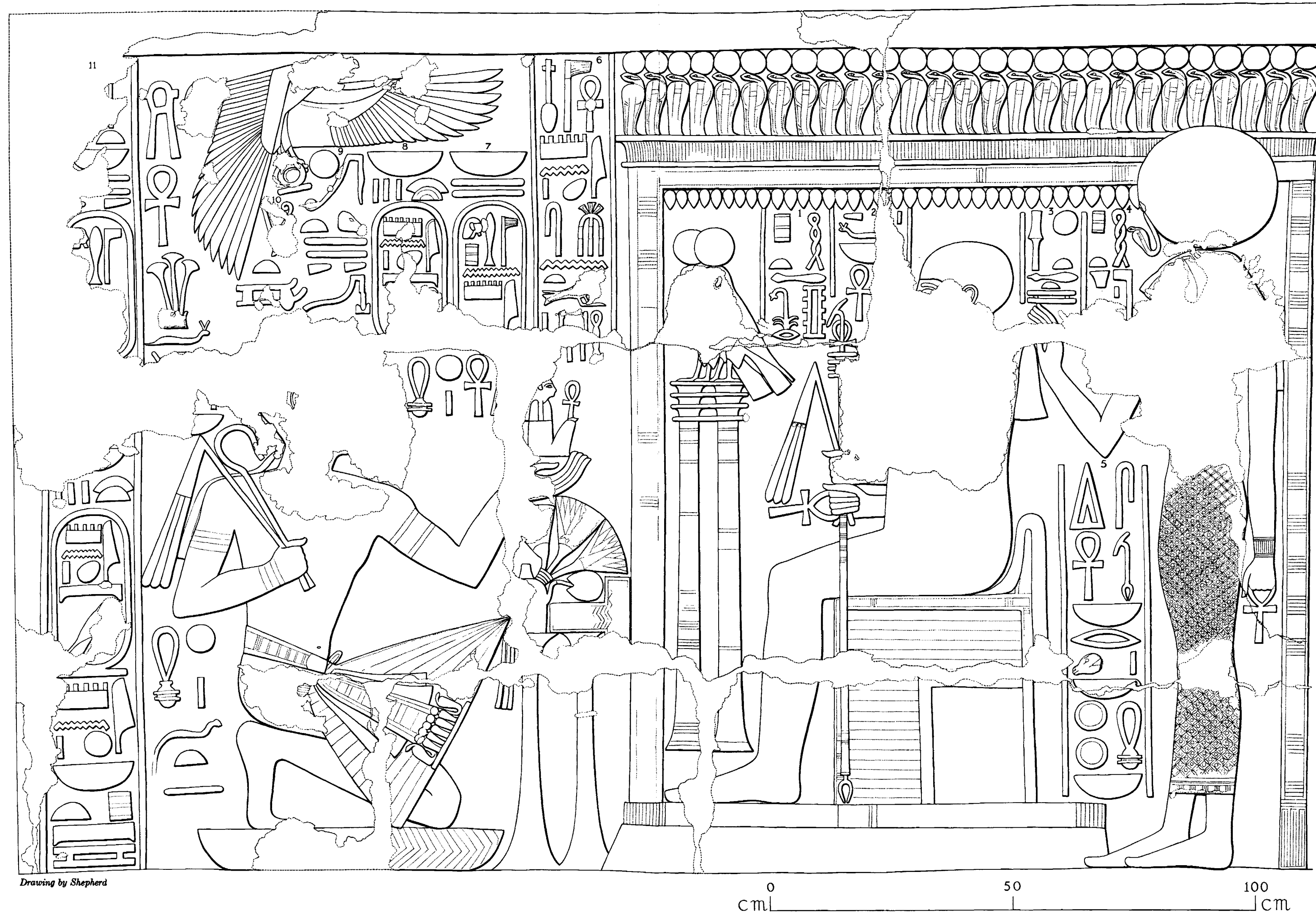
*Drawing by Canziani*

PROCESSION OF THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND AMONET  
COURT, NORTH WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, FROM CENTRAL DOORWAY WEST TO CORNER





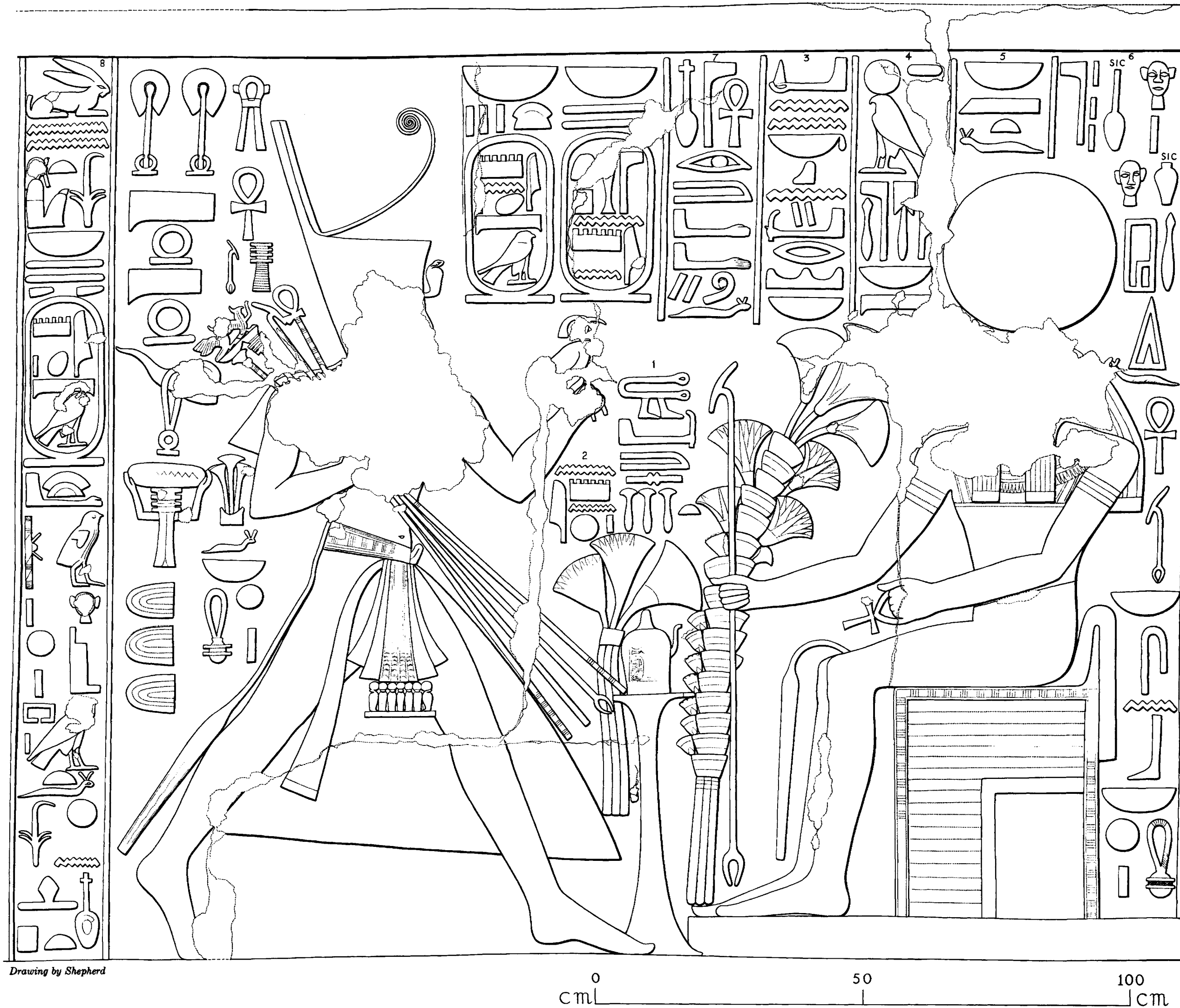
PROCESSION OF THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND AMONET  
COURT, NORTH WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, FROM CENTRAL DOORWAY WEST TO CORNER



KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO PTAH IN THE PRESENCE OF SEKHMET  
COURT, NORTH WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM WEST

Adjoins plate 45

Adjoins plate 47

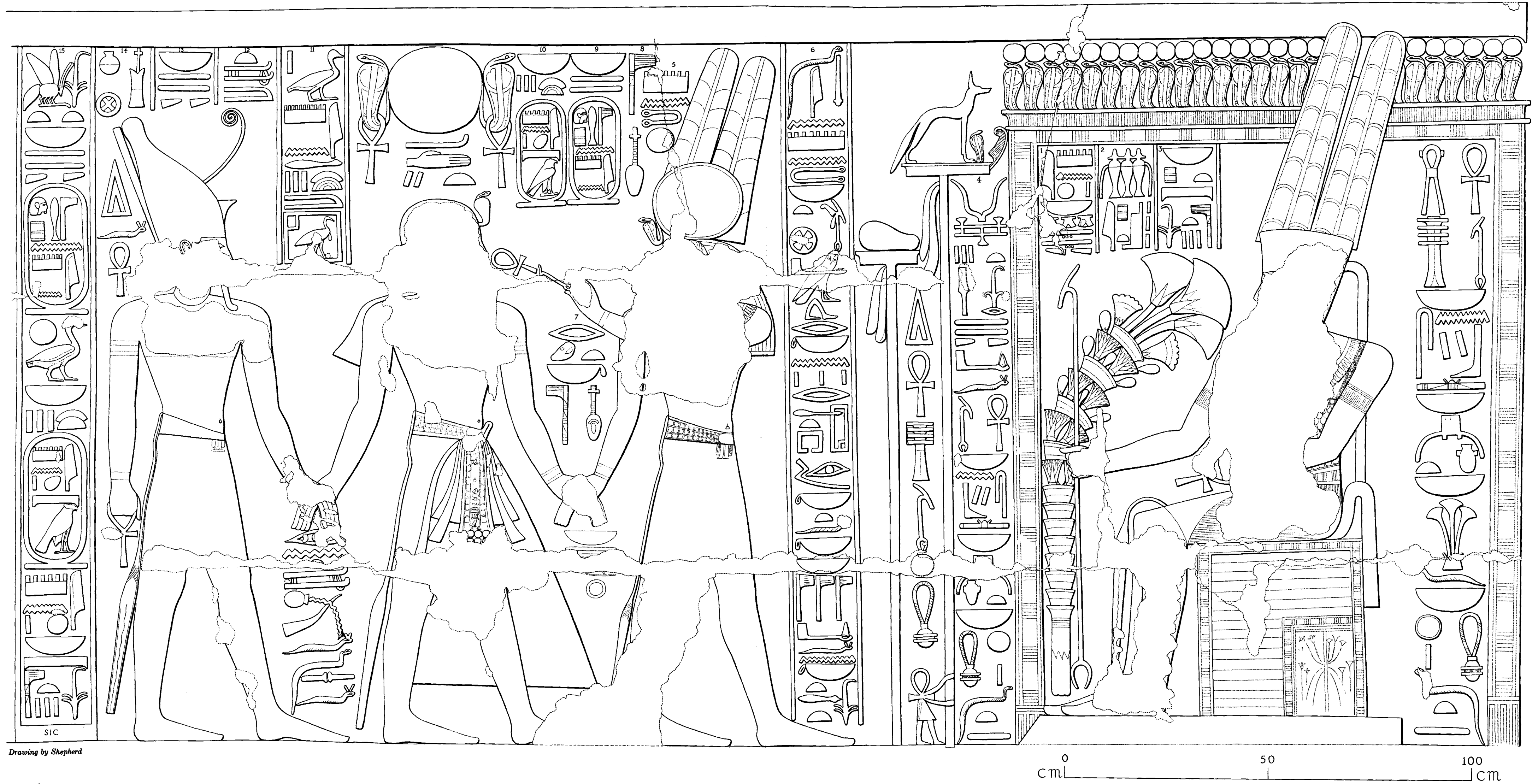


KING HERIHOR PERFORMING RITUAL DANCE WITH STAVES AND BIRD BEFORE RE-HARAKHTI  
COURT, NORTH WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, SECOND SCENE FROM WEST

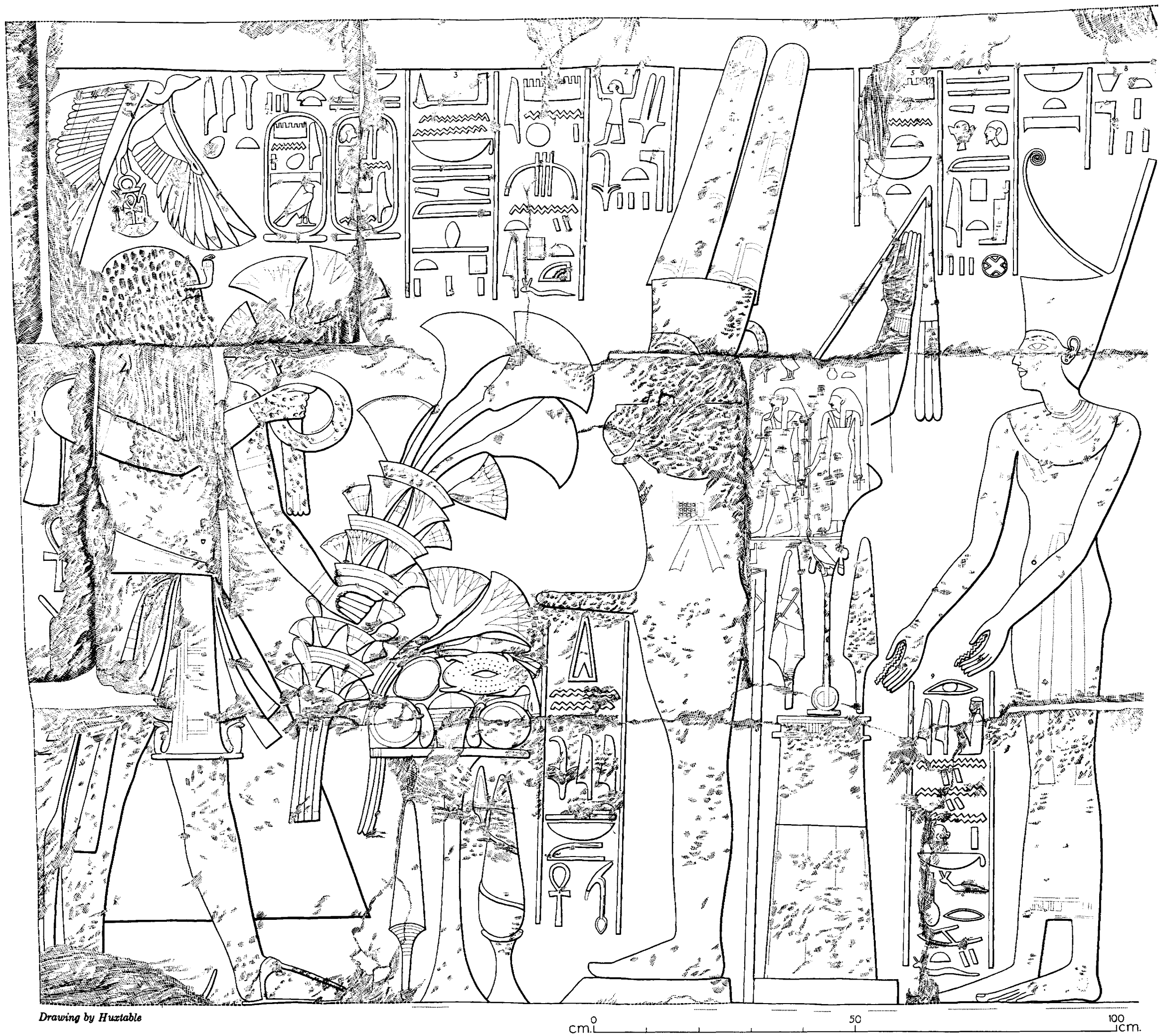




Adjoins plate 46



KING HERIHOR CONDUCTED BY MONTU-RE AND ATUM INTO THE PRESENCE OF AMON-RE  
COURT, NORTH WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, THIRD SCENE FROM WEST



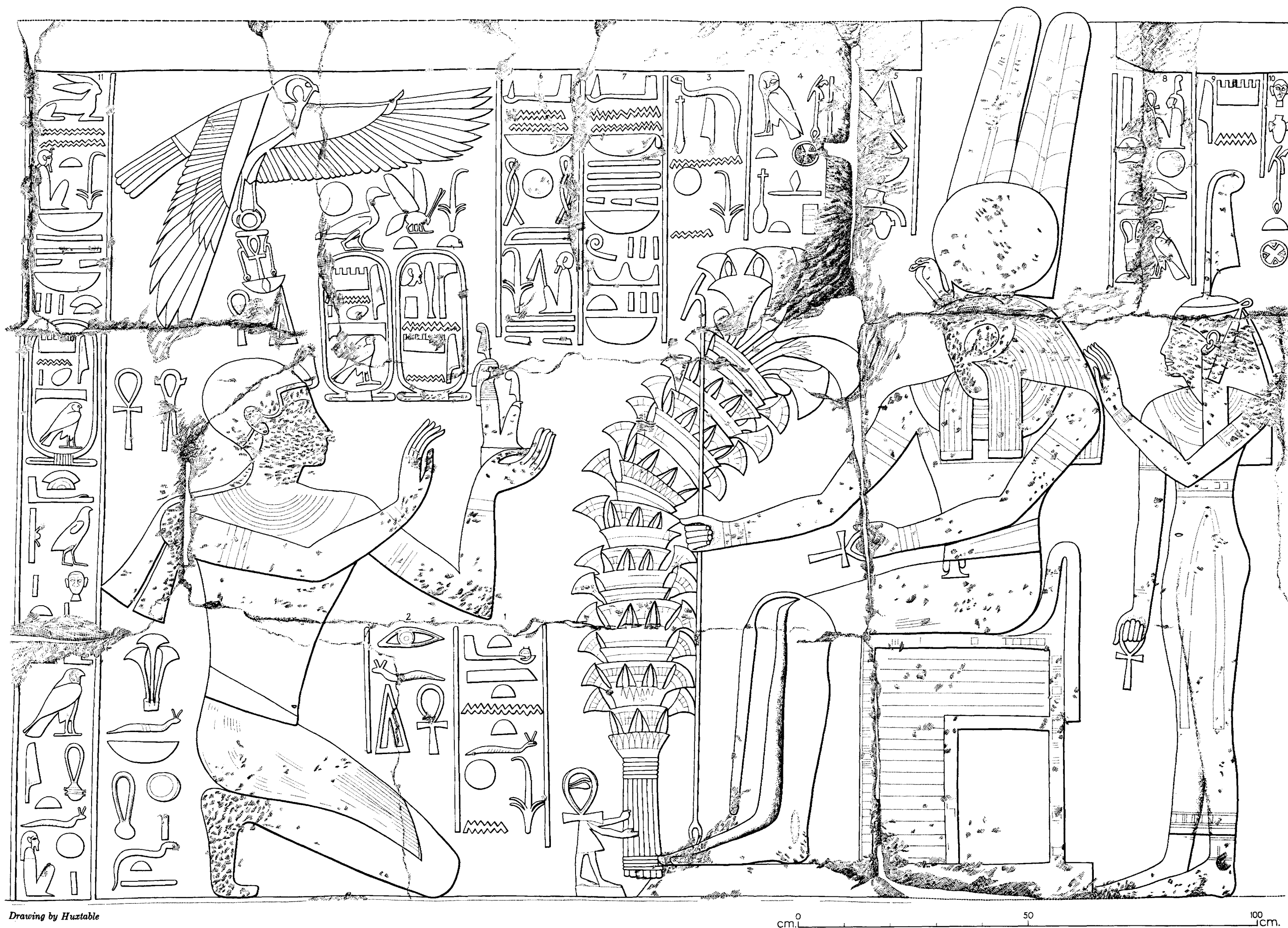
*Adjoins plate 49*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, NORTH WALL, TOP REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM WEST



Adjoins  
plate 48

Adjoins  
plate 50

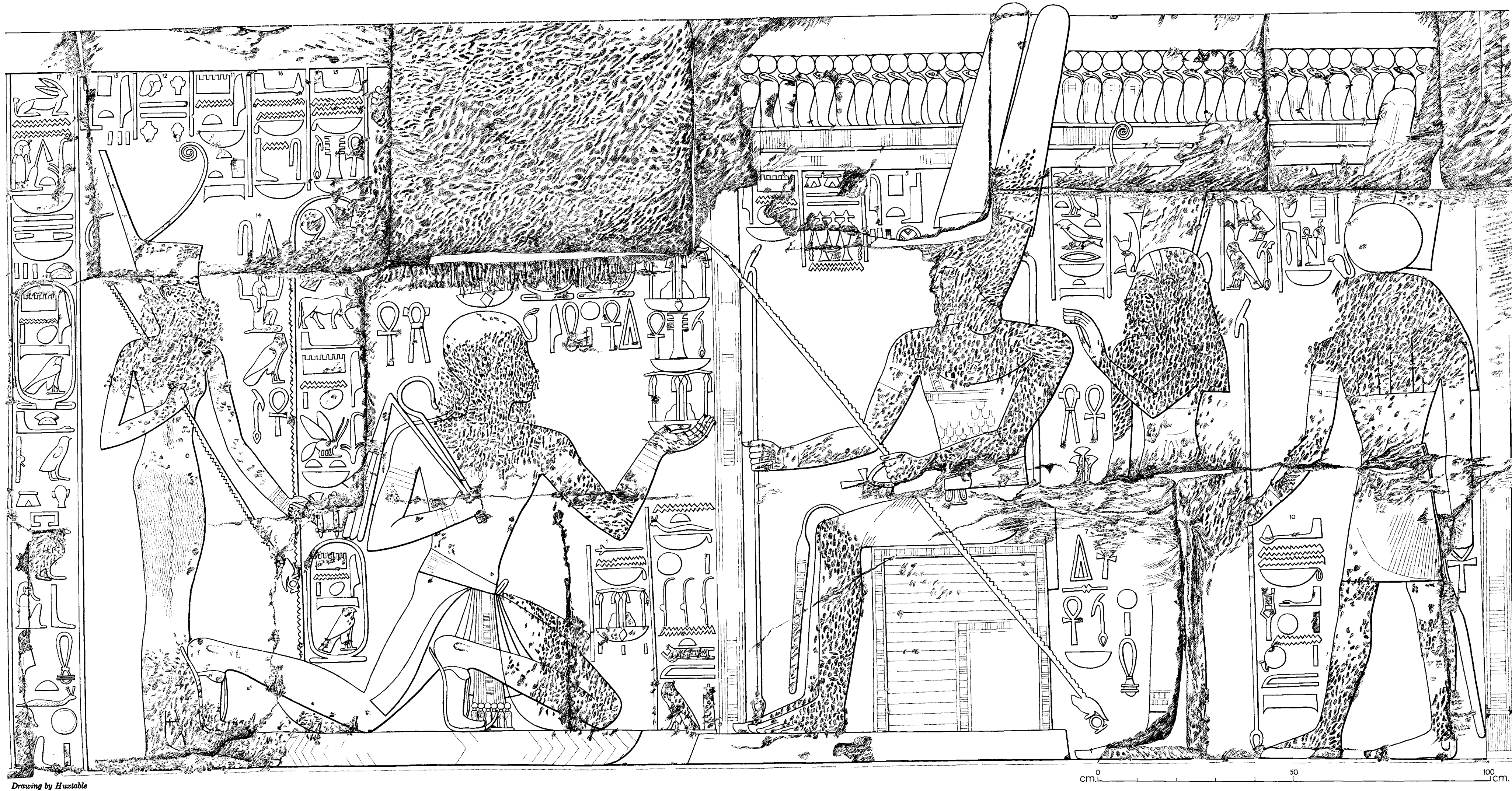


KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT  
COURT, NORTH WALL, TOP REGISTER, SECOND SCENE FROM WEST

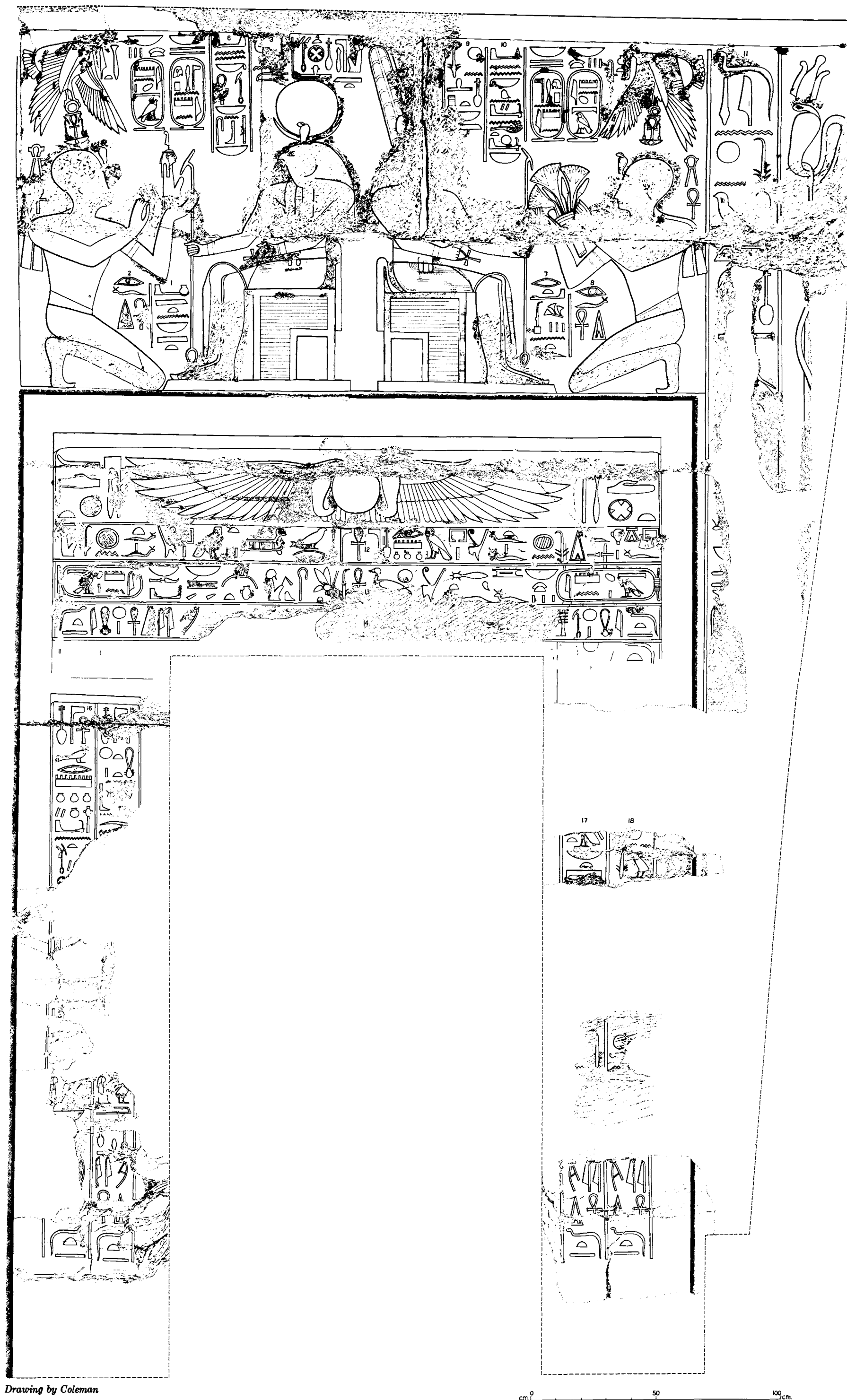




Adjoins plate 49



KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY AMONET WHO HOLDS HIS TITULARY, RECEIVING  
JUBILEES FROM AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU  
COURT, NORTH WALL, TOP REGISTER, THIRD SCENE FROM WEST



Adjoins plate 52

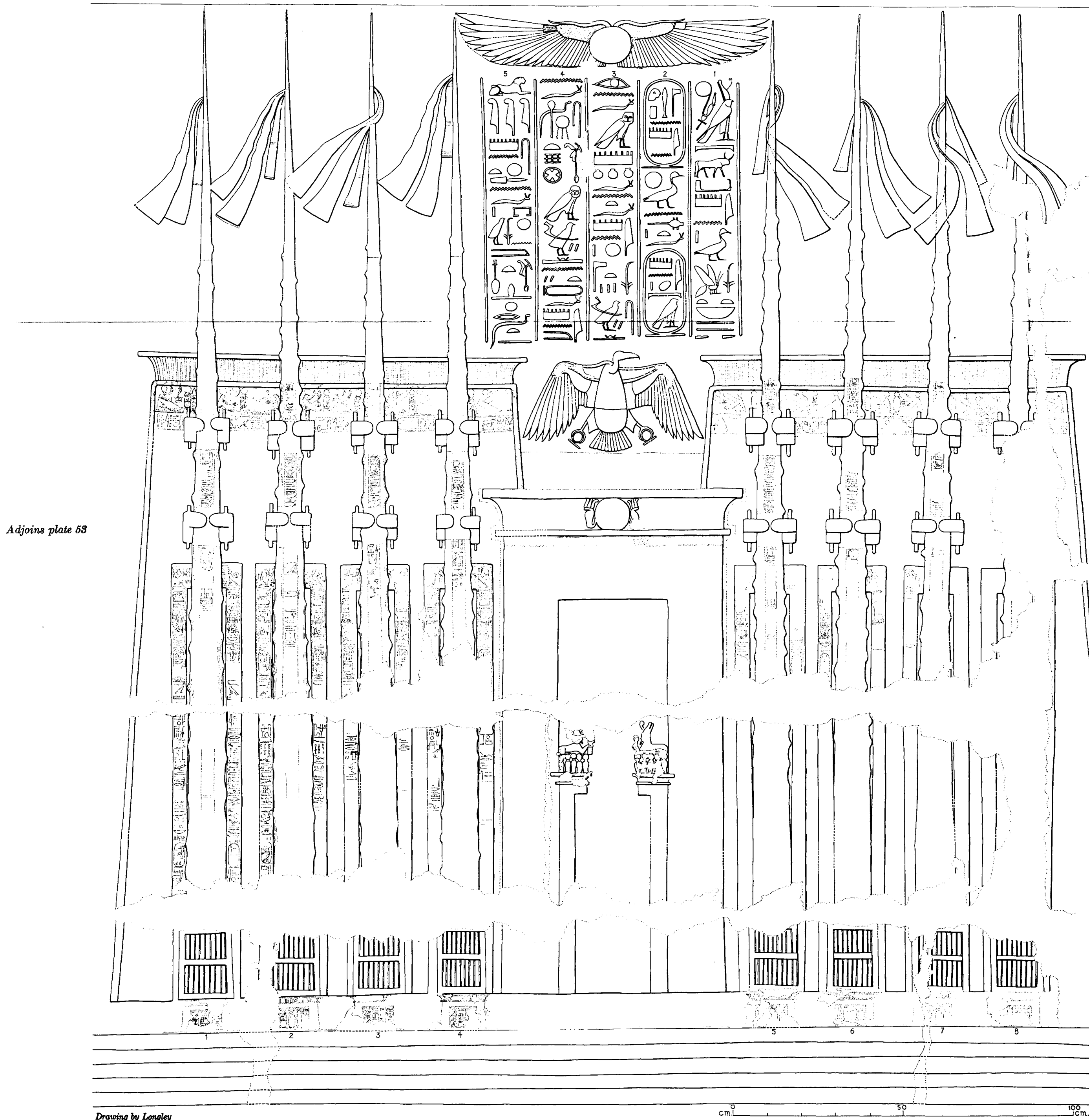
Drawing by Coleman

cm 0 50 100 cm

DECORATION SURROUNDING THE SOUTH DOOR OF EAST WALL OF COURT WITH SCENES ABOVE LINTEL  
SHOWING KING HERIHOR OFFERING (left) MA'AT AND (right) A BOUQUET TO KHONSU



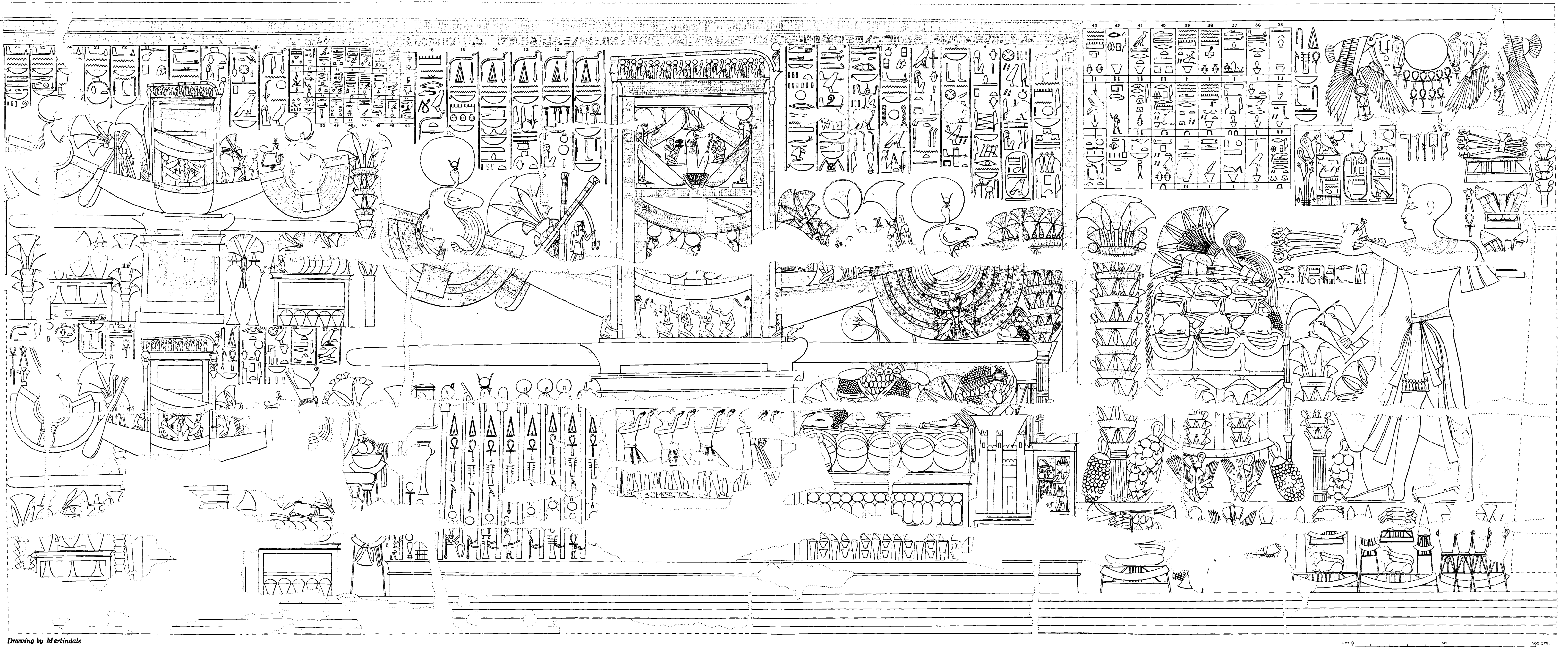




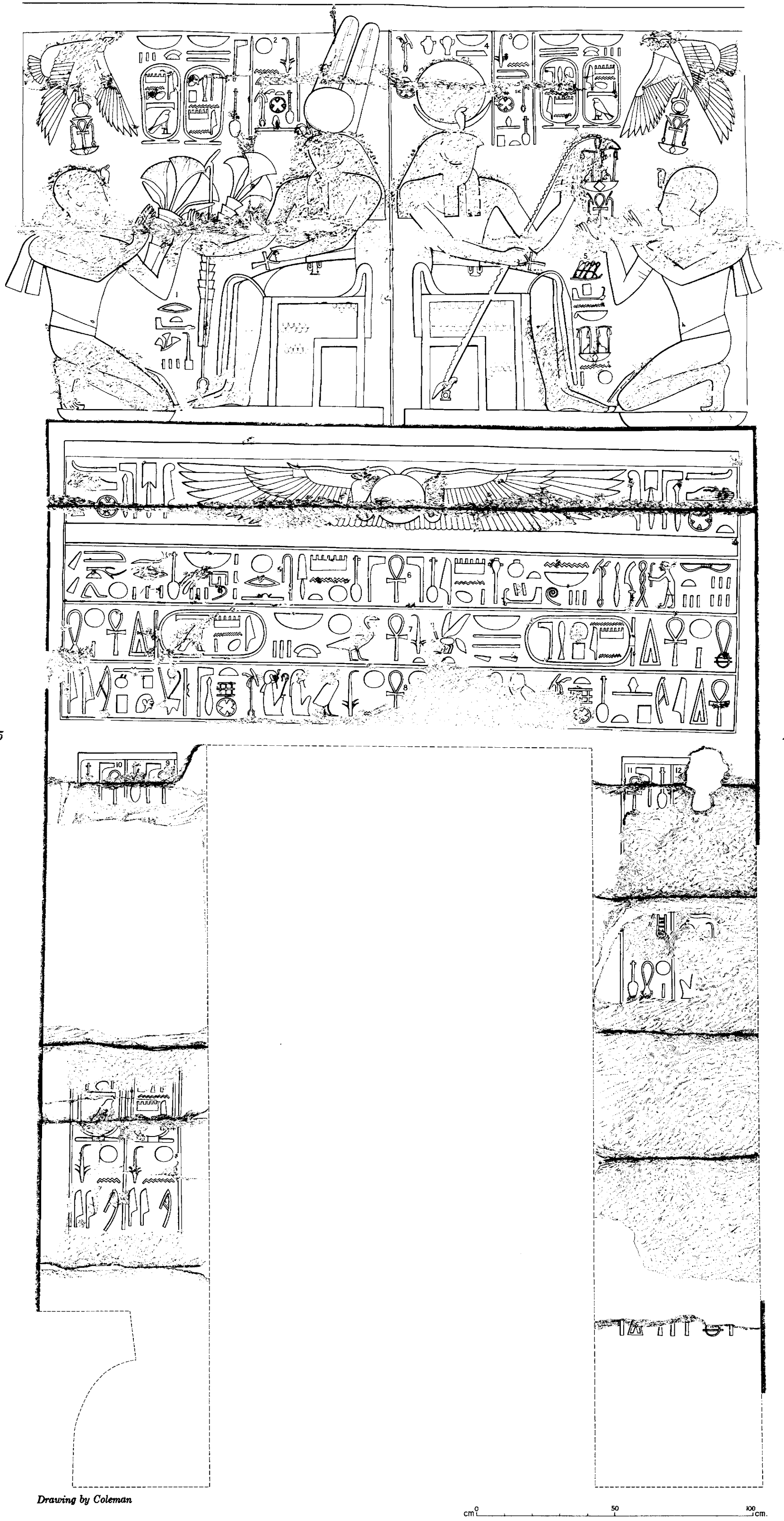
THE FAÇADE OF THE SECOND PYLON OF THE TEMPLE OF AMON-RE AT KARNAK  
COURT, EAST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, FIRST SCENE NORTH OF SOUTH DOOR

Adjoins  
plate 54

Adjoins  
plate 52

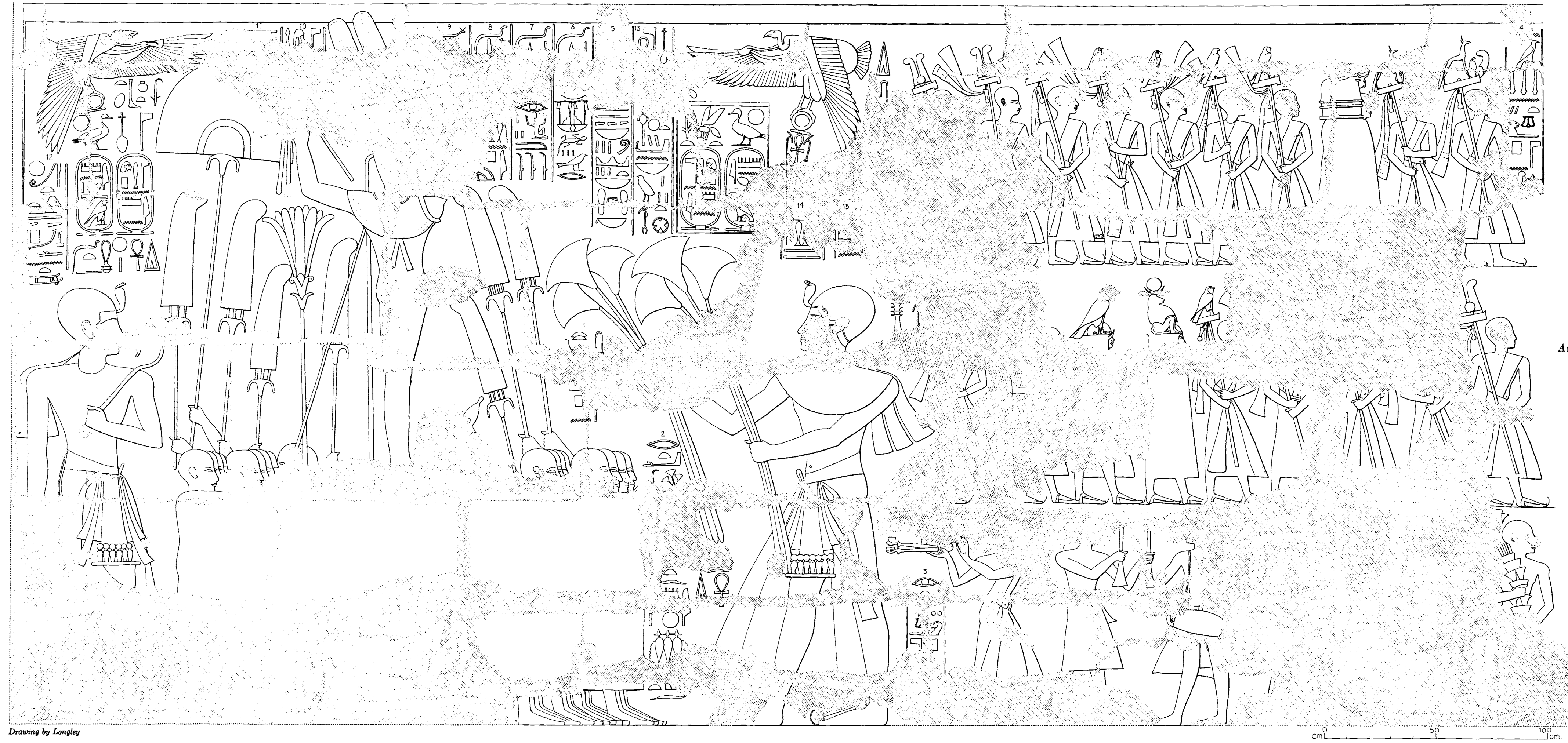


KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION OVER OFFERINGS BEFORE THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD  
COURT, EAST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, SECOND SCENE NORTH OF SOUTH DOOR



DECORATION SURROUNDING THE NORTH DOOR OF EAST WALL OF COURT WITH SCENES  
ABOVE LINTEL SHOWING KING HERIHOR (left) OFFERING BOUQUETS TO KHONSU  
AND (right) RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM KHONSU

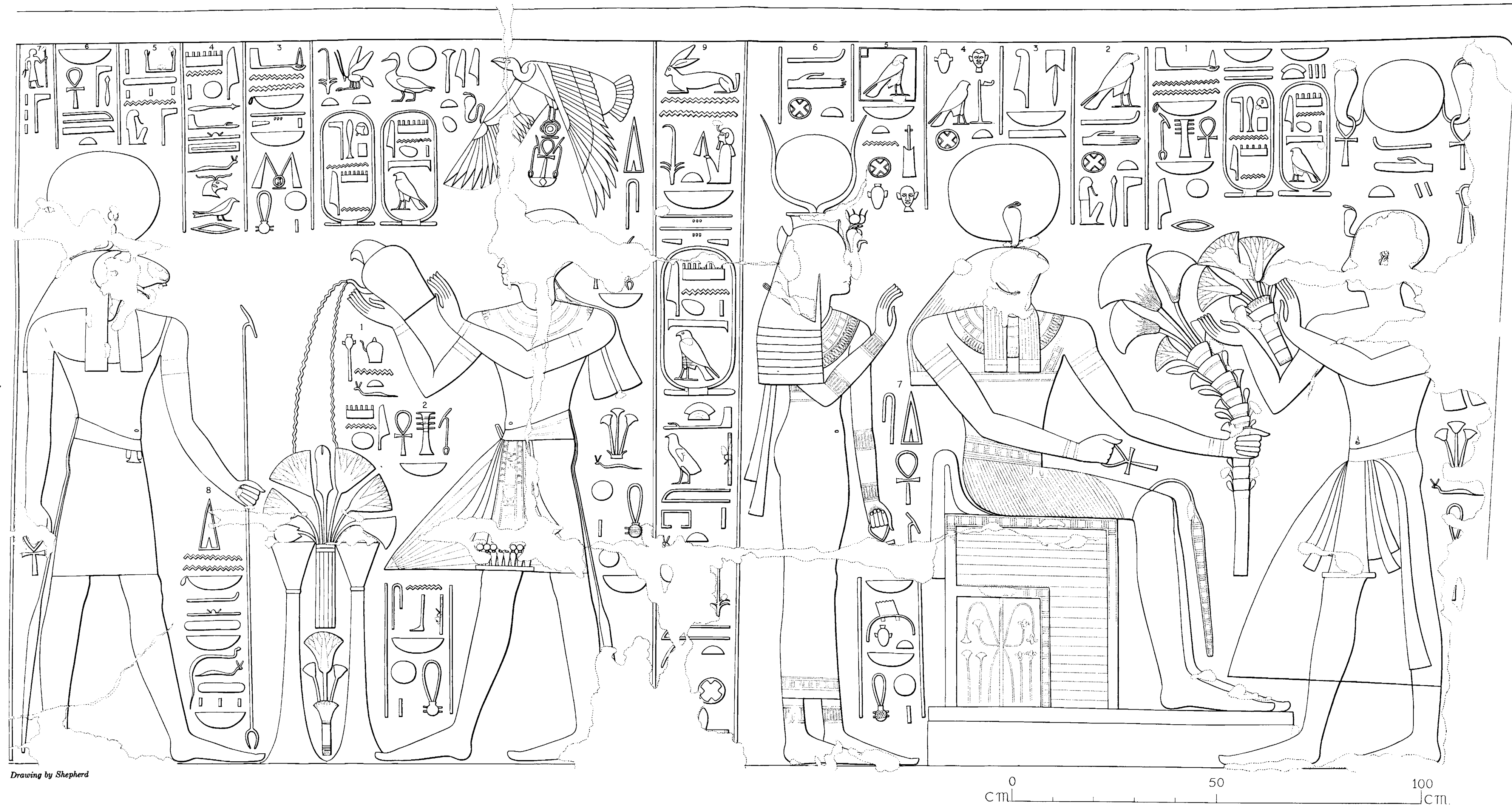




*Adjoins plate 54*

KING HERIHOR PARTICIPATING IN THE CEREMONIES OF THE FEAST OF MIN  
COURT, EAST WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, BETWEEN NORTH DOOR AND NORTH CORNER

Adjoins plate 57



B

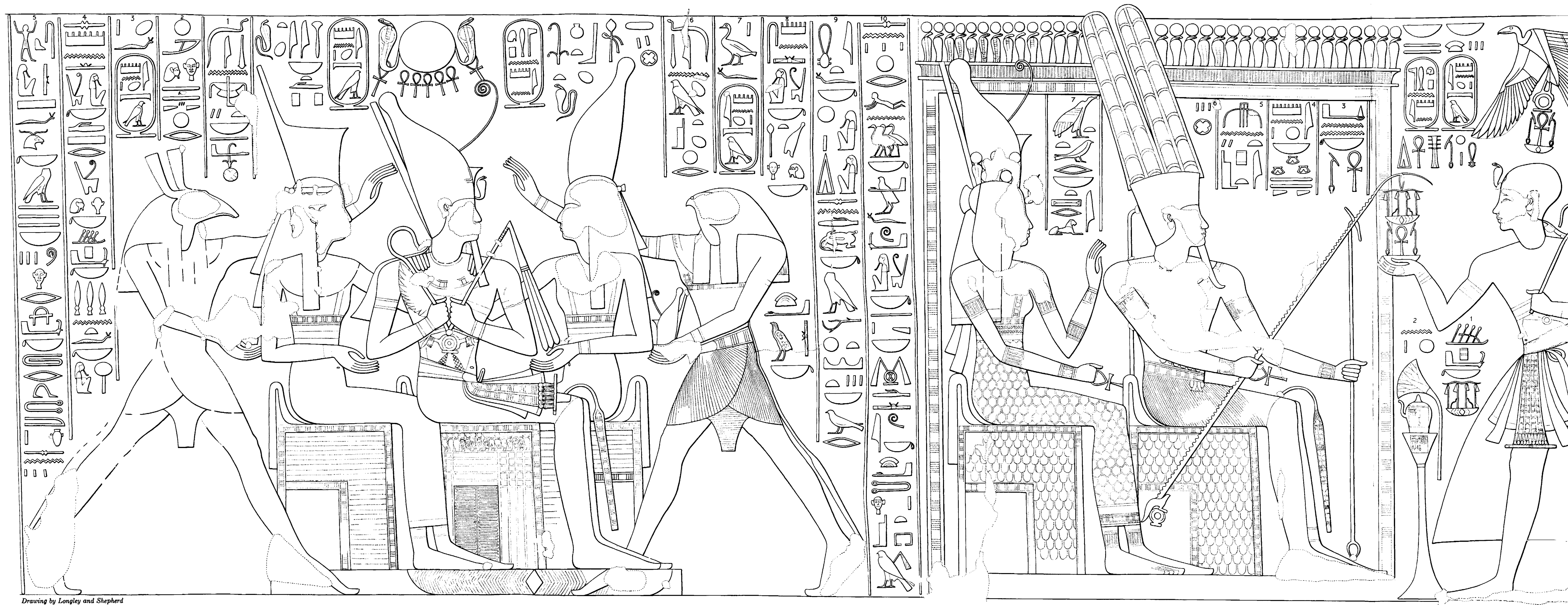
A

KING HERIHOR (A) OFFERING BOUQUETS TO HORUS OF EDFU IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR OF DENDERAH  
AND (B) POURING A LIBATION FOR AMON-RE, "GREAT-OF-DIGNITY"

COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, FIRST AND SECOND SCENES FROM SOUTH



Adjoins plate 58



Drawing by Longley and Shepherd

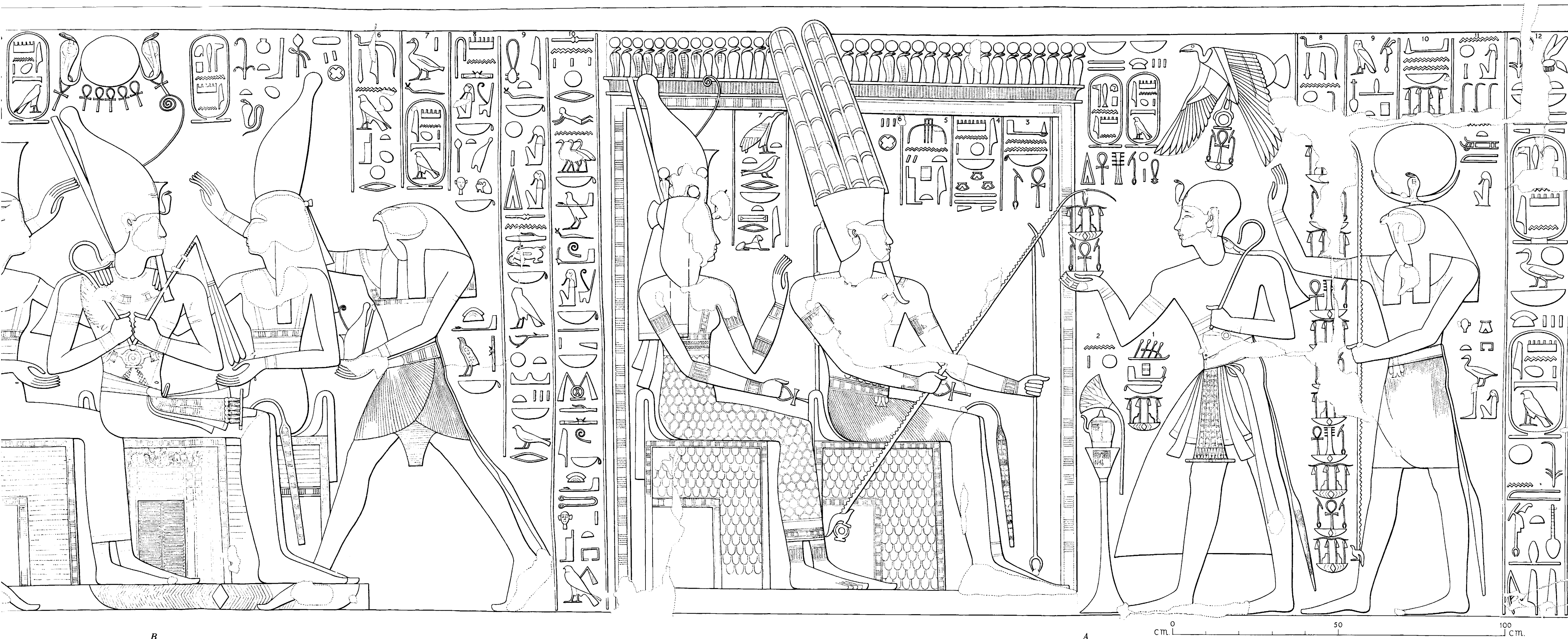
B

KING HERIHOR (A) RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU  
AND (B) SEATED BETWEEN EDJÖ AND NEKBET WHILE BEING CROWNED BY SETH AND HARSIESE

COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, THIRD AND FOURTH SCENES FROM SOUTH

A

0  
cm



Adjoins plate 56

B

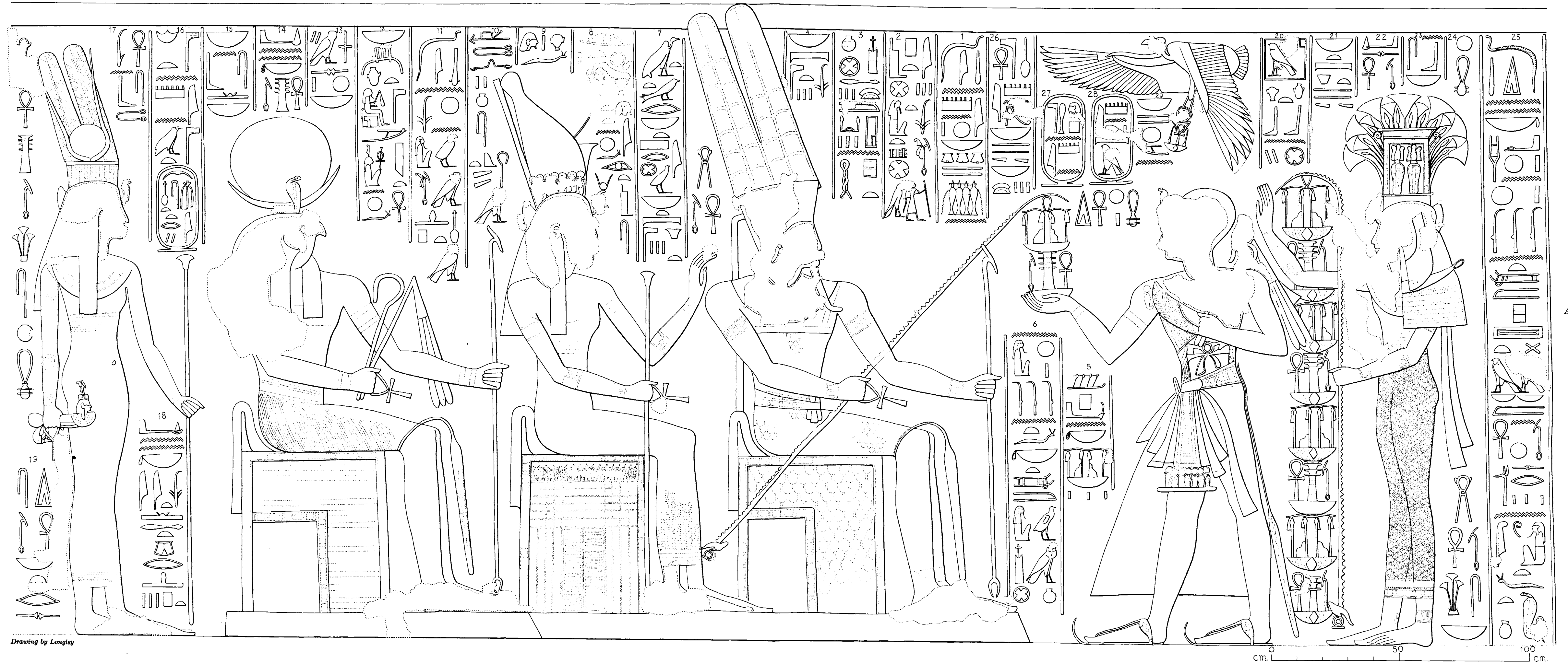
A

0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

KING HERIHOR (A) RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU  
AND (B) SEATED BETWEEN EDJÖ AND NEKBET WHILE BEING CROWNED BY SETH AND HARSIESE  
COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, THIRD AND FOURTH SCENES FROM SOUTH



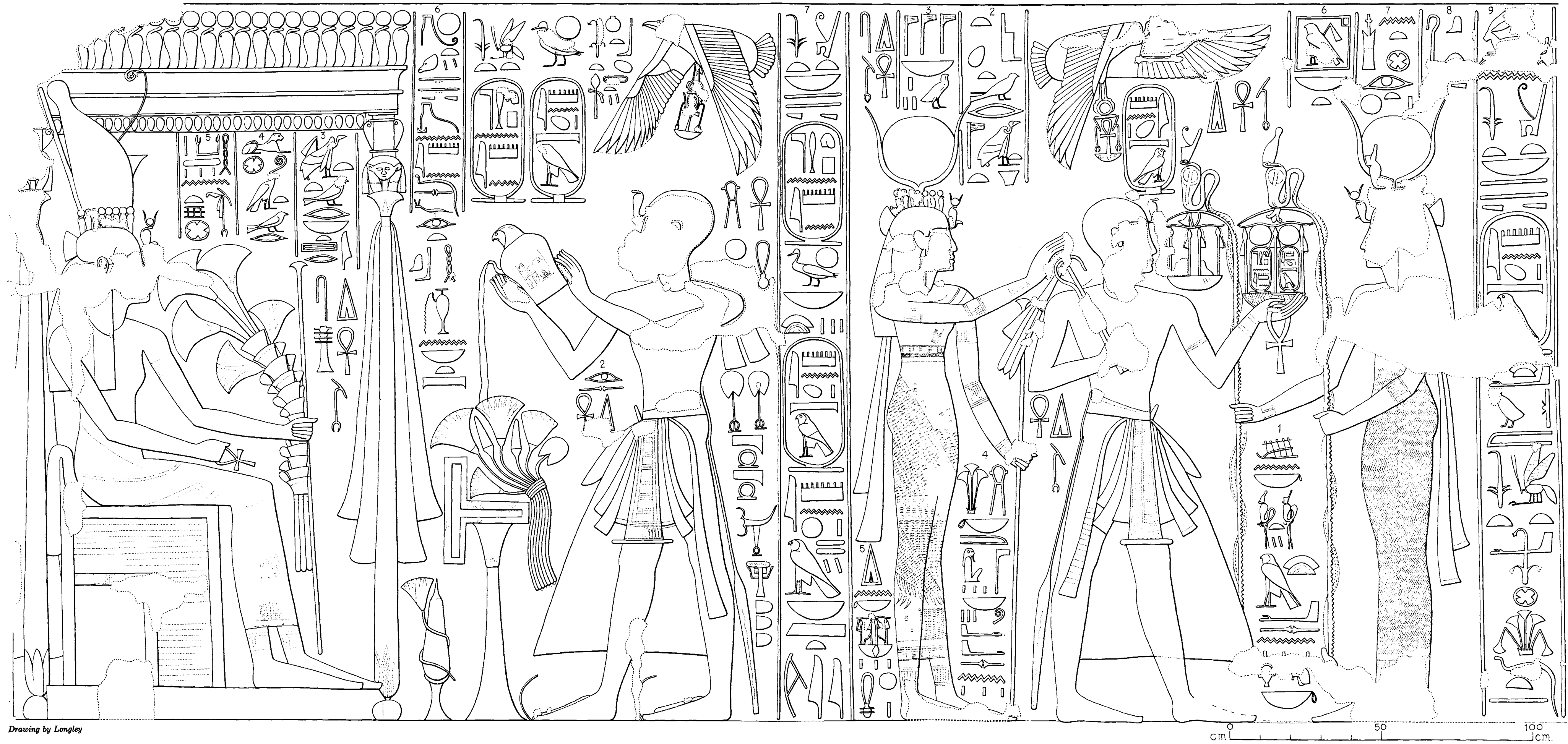
Adjoins plate 59



Adjoins plate 57

KING HERIHOR RECEIVING JUBILEES FROM AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF  
MUT, KHONSU, AND THE DEIFIED QUEEN AHMOSE-NEFERTARI  
COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, FIFTH SCENE FROM SOUTH

Adjoins plate 60



Adjoins plate 58

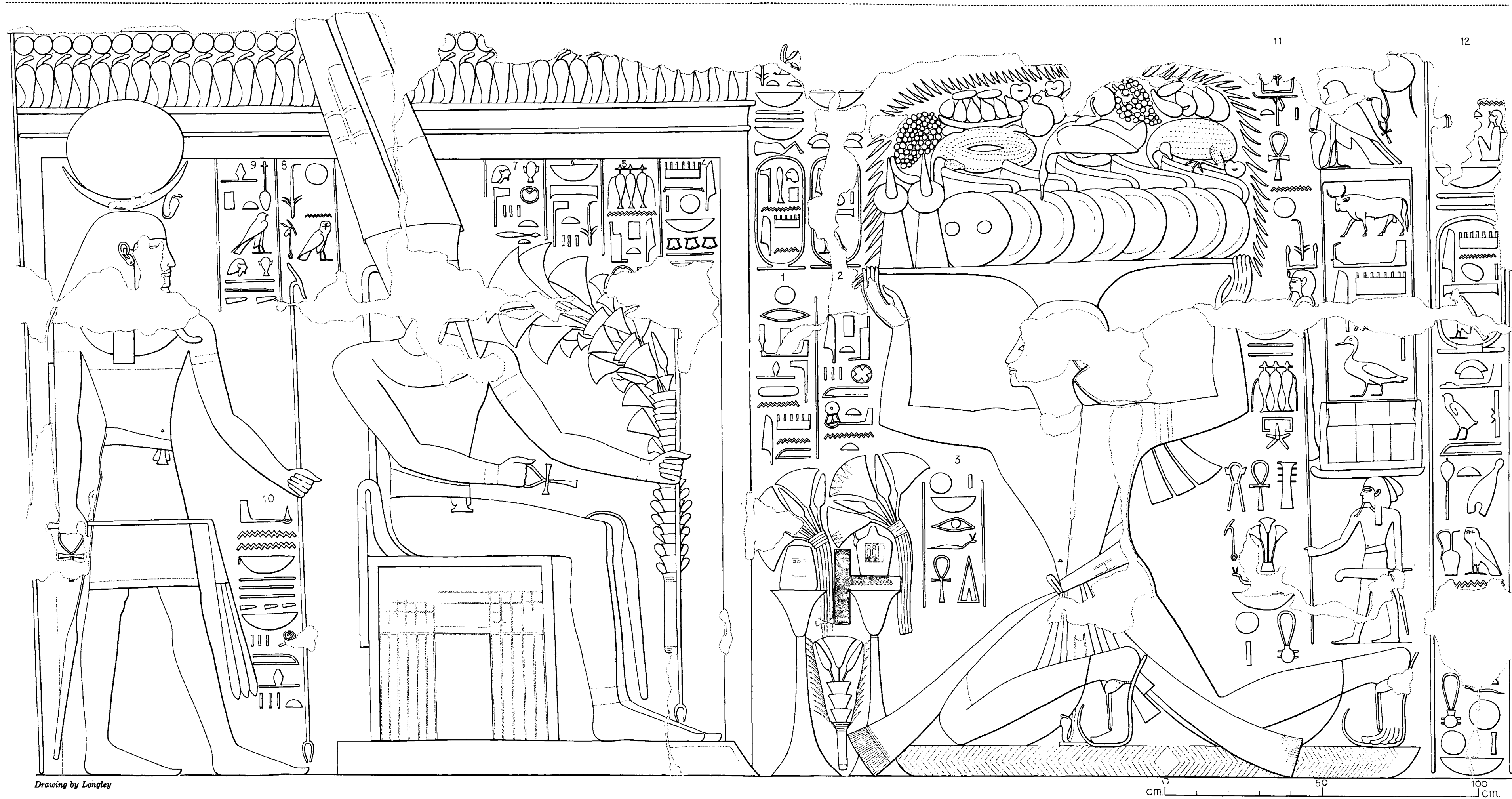
B

A

KING HERIHOR (A) ATTENDED BY ISIS, RECEIVING THE ROYAL URAEI AND CARTOUCHES  
FROM HATHOR OF DENDERAH AND (B) POURING A LIBATION FOR MUT  
COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, SIXTH AND SEVENTH SCENES FROM SOUTH

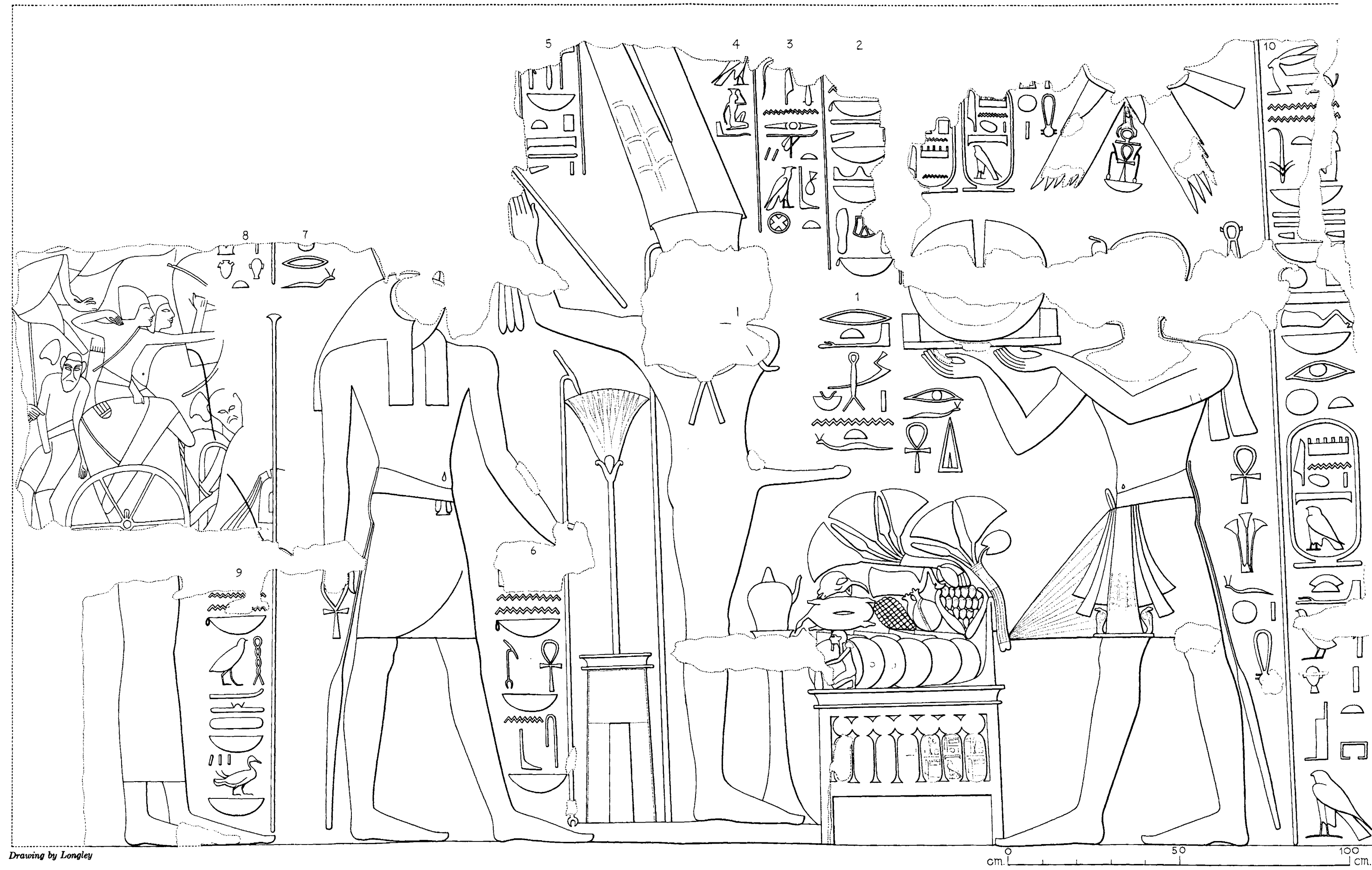


Adjoins plate 61



Adjoins plate 59

KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND SUPPORTING A TABLE OF OFFERINGS  
ON HIS HEAD BEFORE AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU  
COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, EIGHTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



KING HERIHOR PRESENTING A FLORAL COLLAR TO MIN OF COPTOS  
IN THE PRESENCE OF HORUS AND ISIS  
COURT, EAST WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, NINTH SCENE FROM SOUTH

*Adjoins plate 63*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO MONTU  
 COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM SOUTH



Adjoins  
plate 64

Adjoins  
plate 62

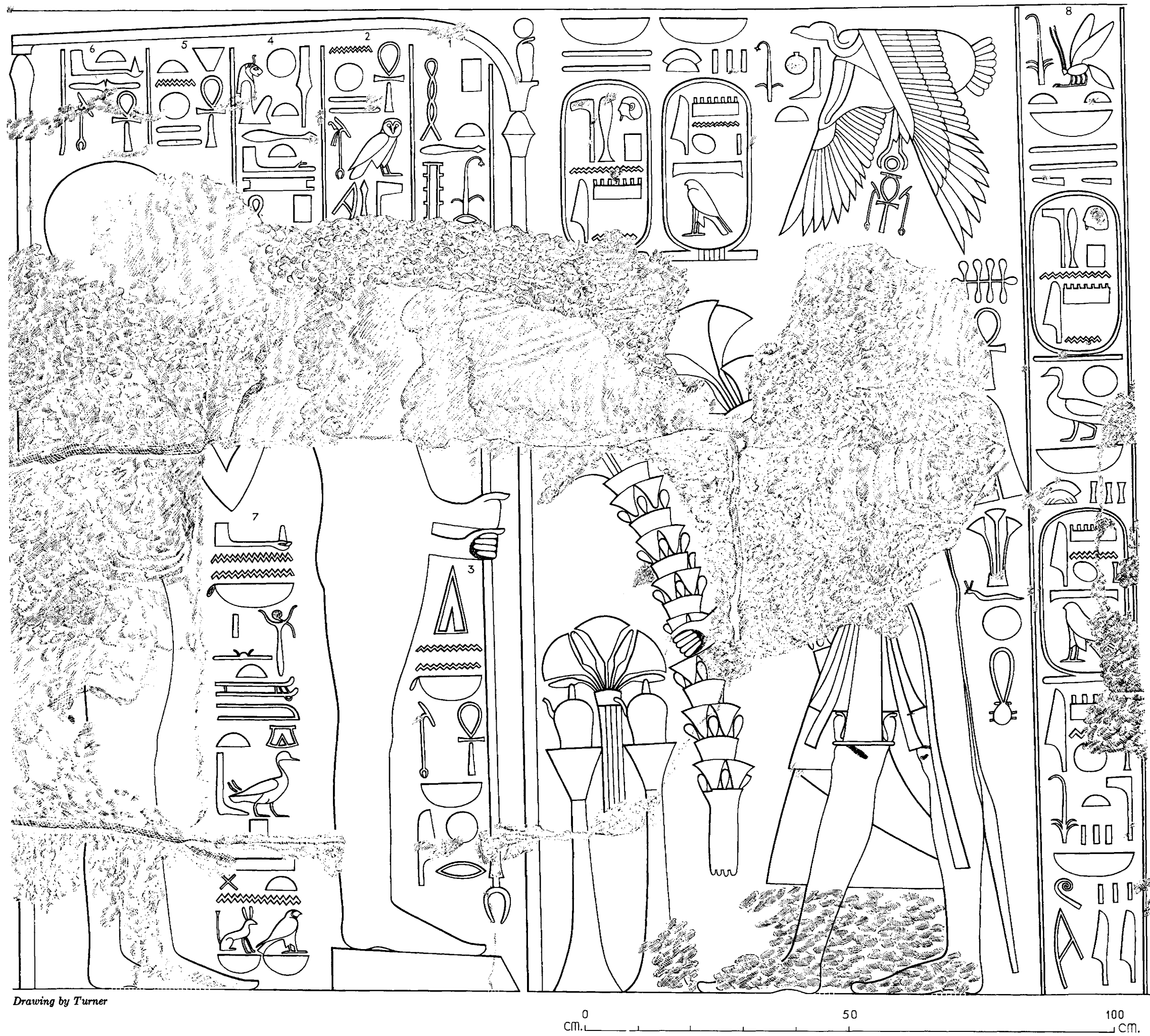
*Drawing by Turner*

0 10 100  
cm. cm. cm.

KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, SECOND SCENE FROM SOUTH





*Adjoins plate 65**Adjoins plate 63*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO PTAH IN THE PRESENCE OF SEKHMET  
COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, THIRD SCENE FROM SOUTH

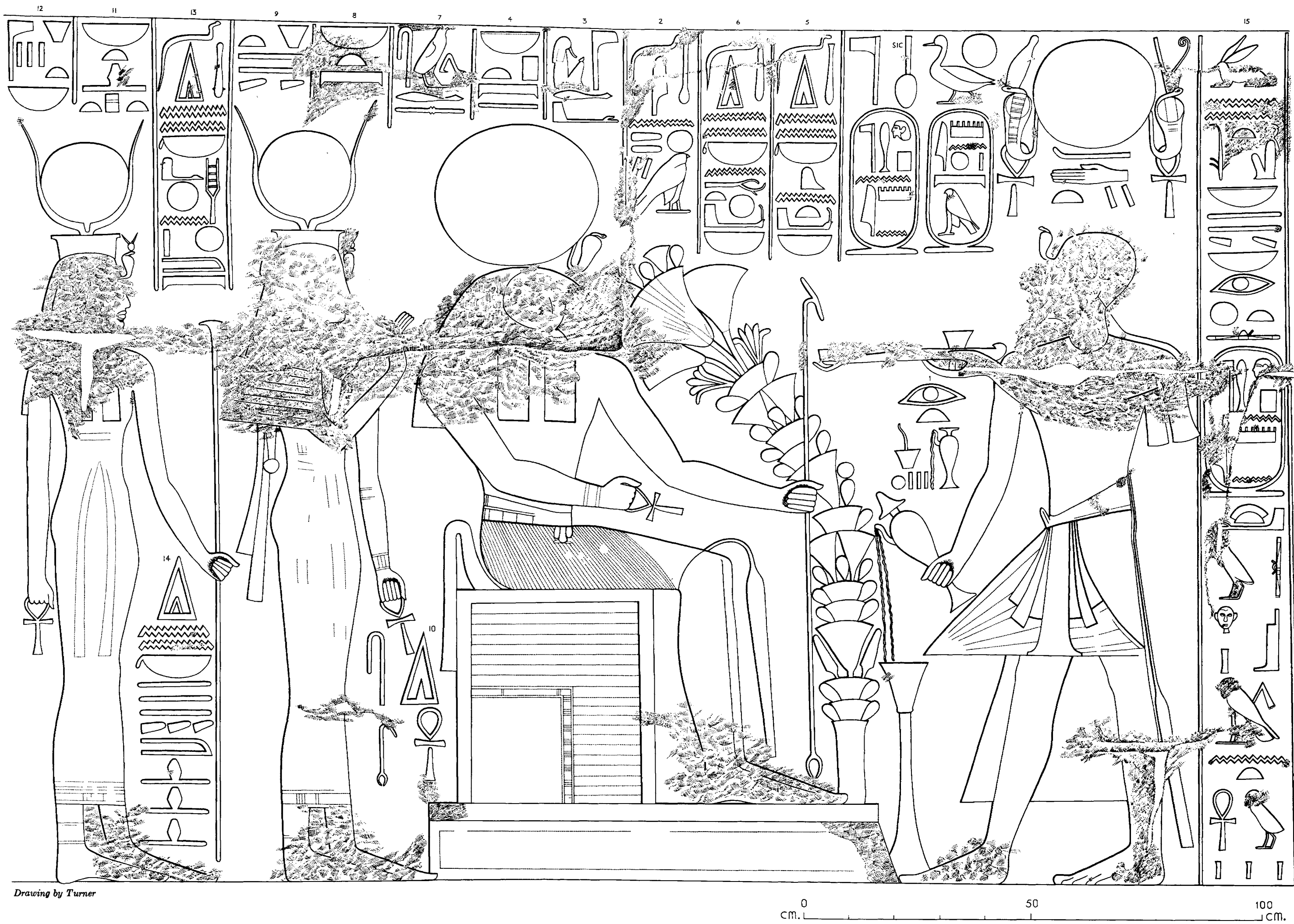




KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND RECEIVING JUBILEES AND THE SCIMITAR FROM AMON-RE  
IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND SEFKHET-ABWY, WHO INSCRIBES THE ROYAL TITULARY  
COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, FOURTH SCENE FROM SOUTH



Adjoins  
plate 67



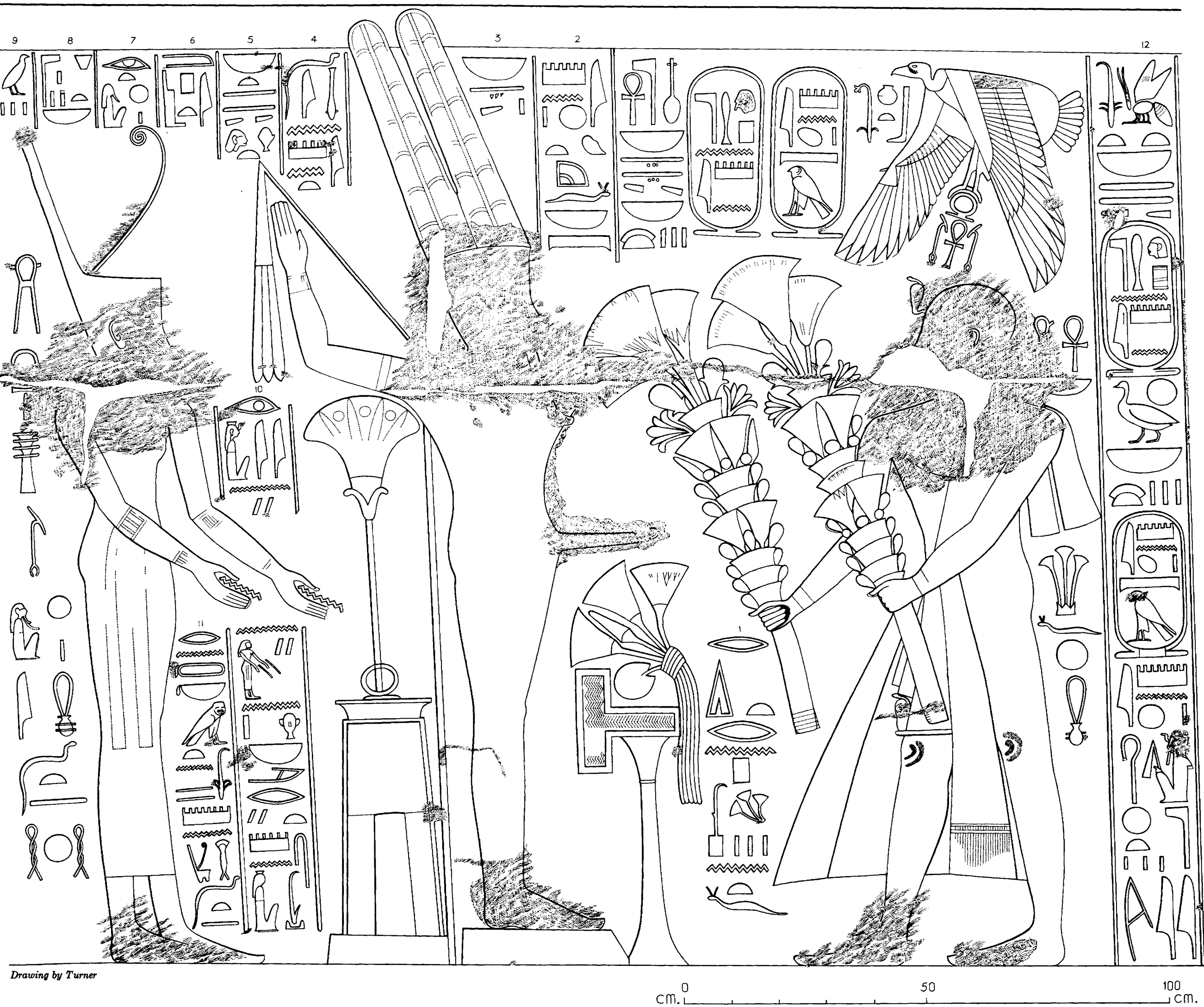
KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR RE-HARAKHTI  
IN THE PRESENCE OF IUS'AAS AND NEBET-ĤETEPET  
COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, FIFTH SCENE FROM SOUTH





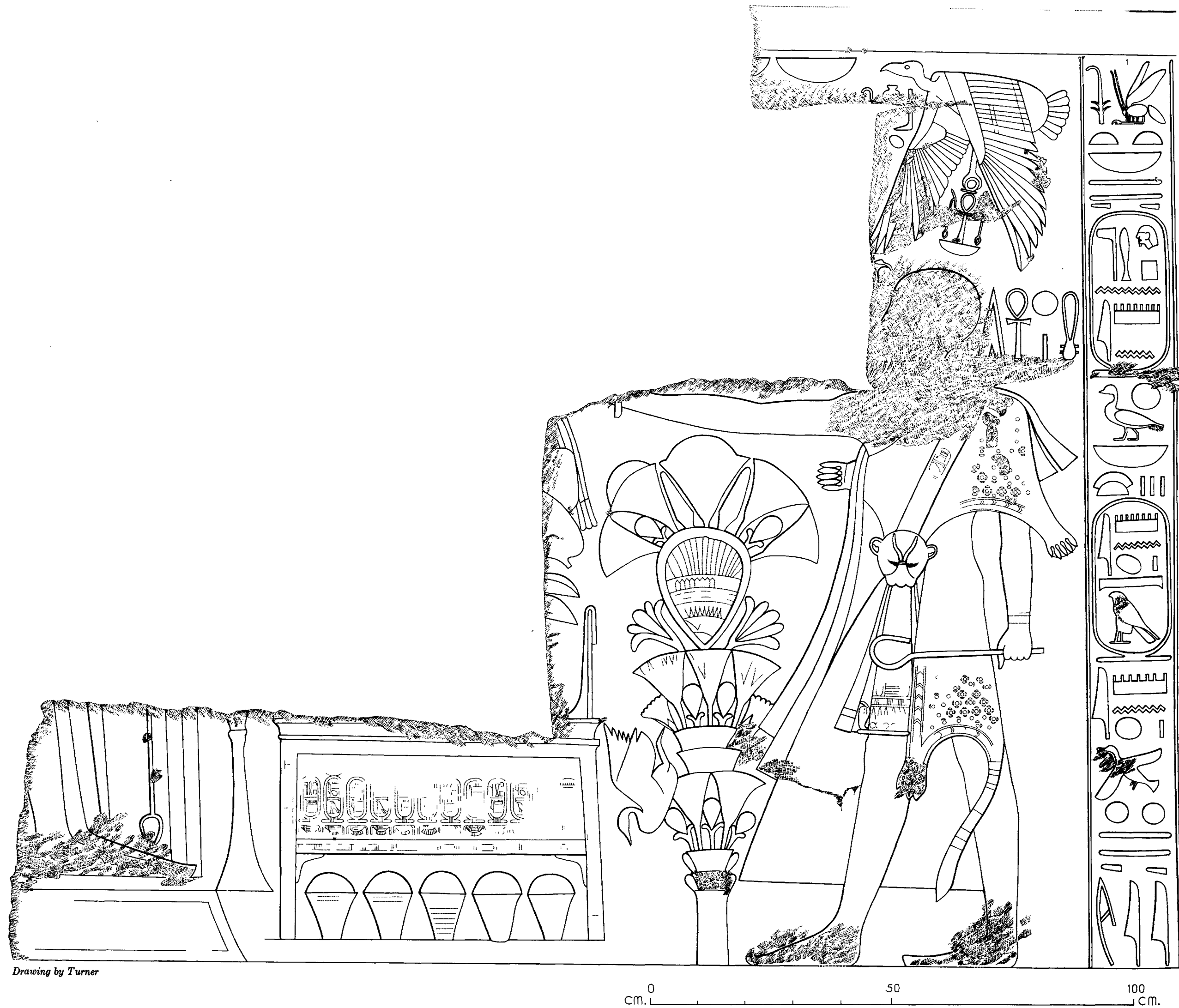
Adjoins plate 68

Adjoins plate 66



KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, SIXTH SCENE FROM SOUTH

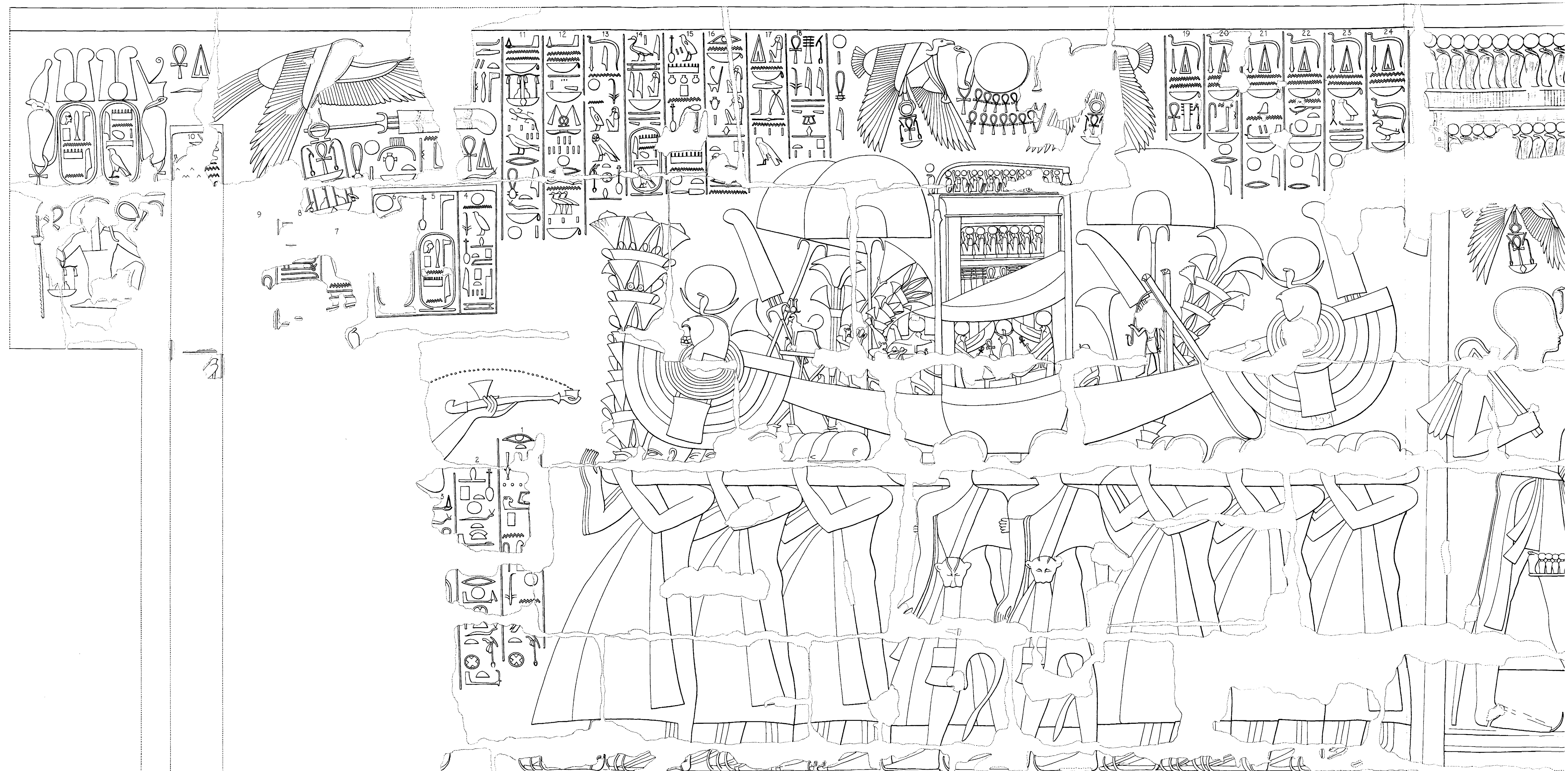




KING HERIHOR OFFERING A HECATOMB TO A GOD  
COURT, EAST WALL, TOP REGISTER, SEVENTH SCENE FROM SOUTH





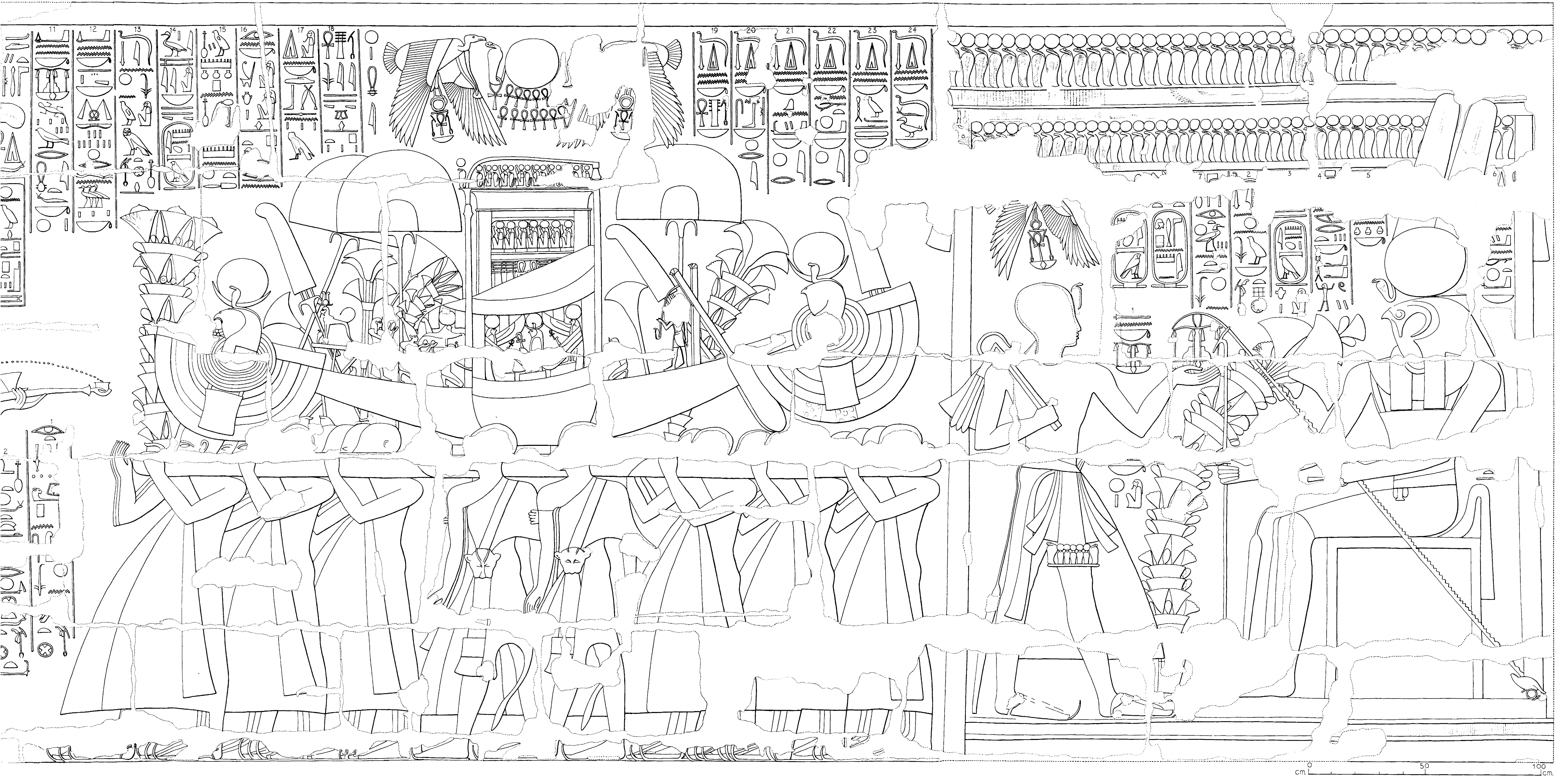


Drawing by Longley

B

KING HERIHOR (A) RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM KHONSU AND (B) THURIFYING  
THE BARK OF KHONSU CARRIED IN PROCESSION

COURT, NORTH WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, FROM CENTRAL DOORWAY EAST TO CORNER



B

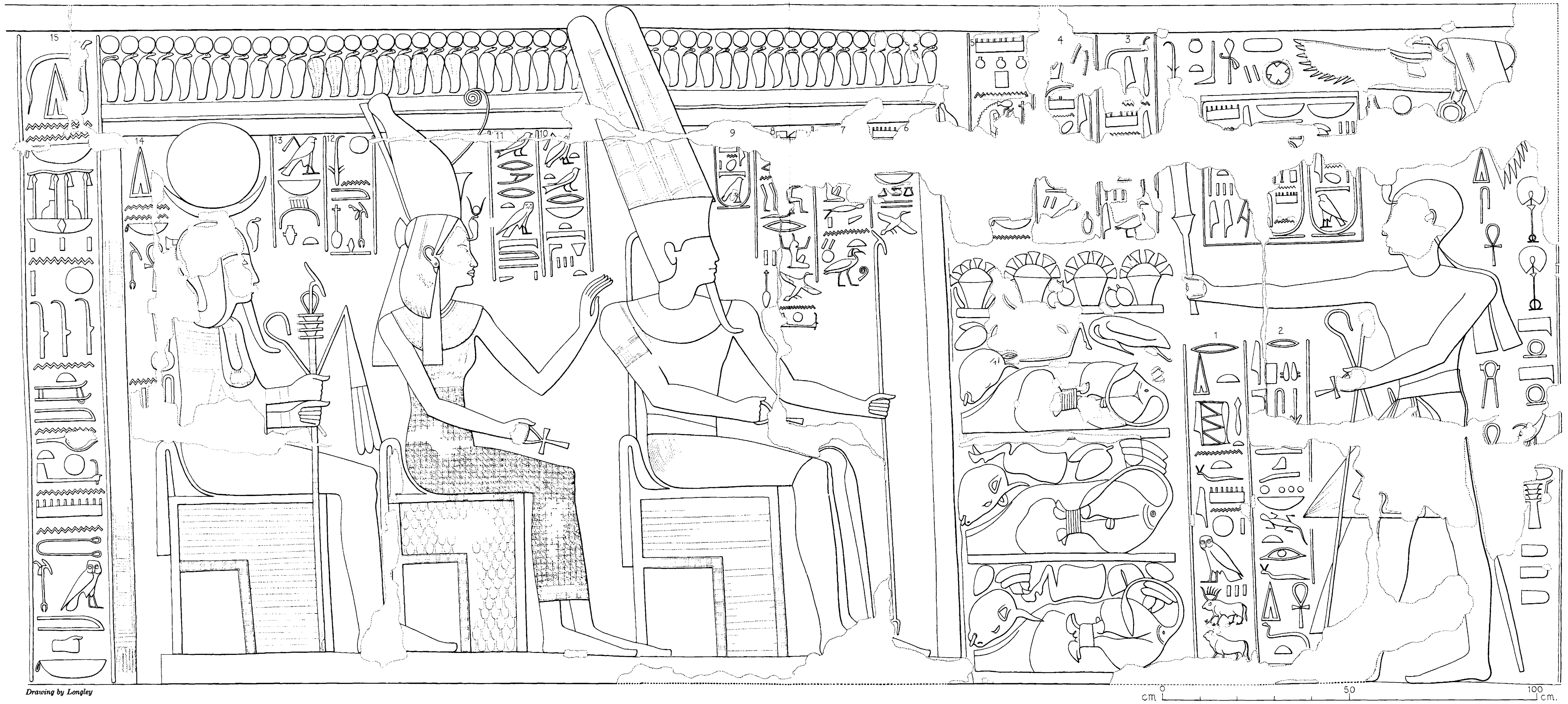
KING HERIHOR (A) RECEIVING THE JUBILEE FROM KHONSU AND (B) THURIFYING  
THE BARK OF KHONSU CARRIED IN PROCESSION

COURT, NORTH WALL, BOTTOM REGISTER, FROM CENTRAL DOORWAY EAST TO CORNER

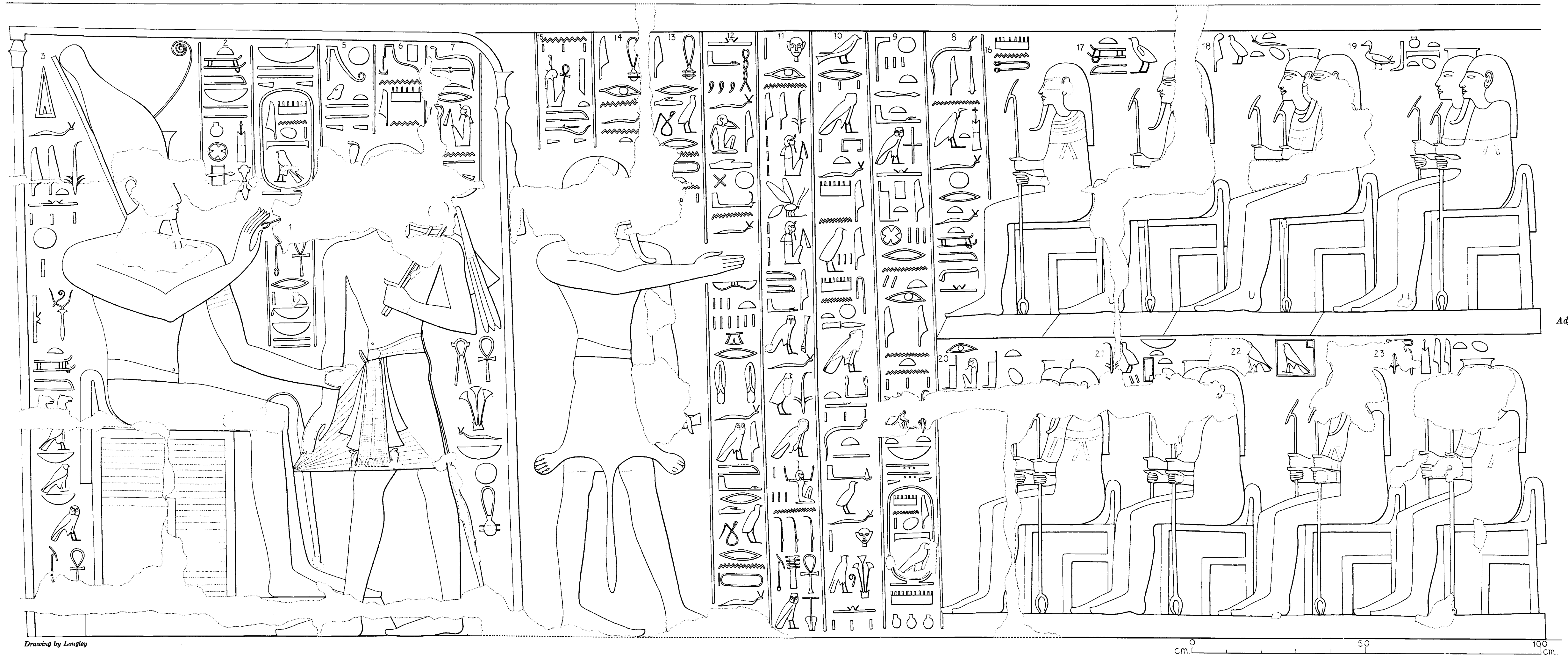
A



Adjoins plate 71



KING HERIHOR OFFERING A HECATOMB BEFORE THE THEBAN TRIAD  
COURT, NORTH WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM EAST



KING HERIHOR RECEIVING LIFE AND DOMINION FROM ATUM WHILE IUN-MUTEF  
ADDRESSES THE ENNEAD OF KARNAK  
COURT, NORTH WALL, MIDDLE REGISTER, SECOND SCENE FROM EAST

Adjoins plate 73



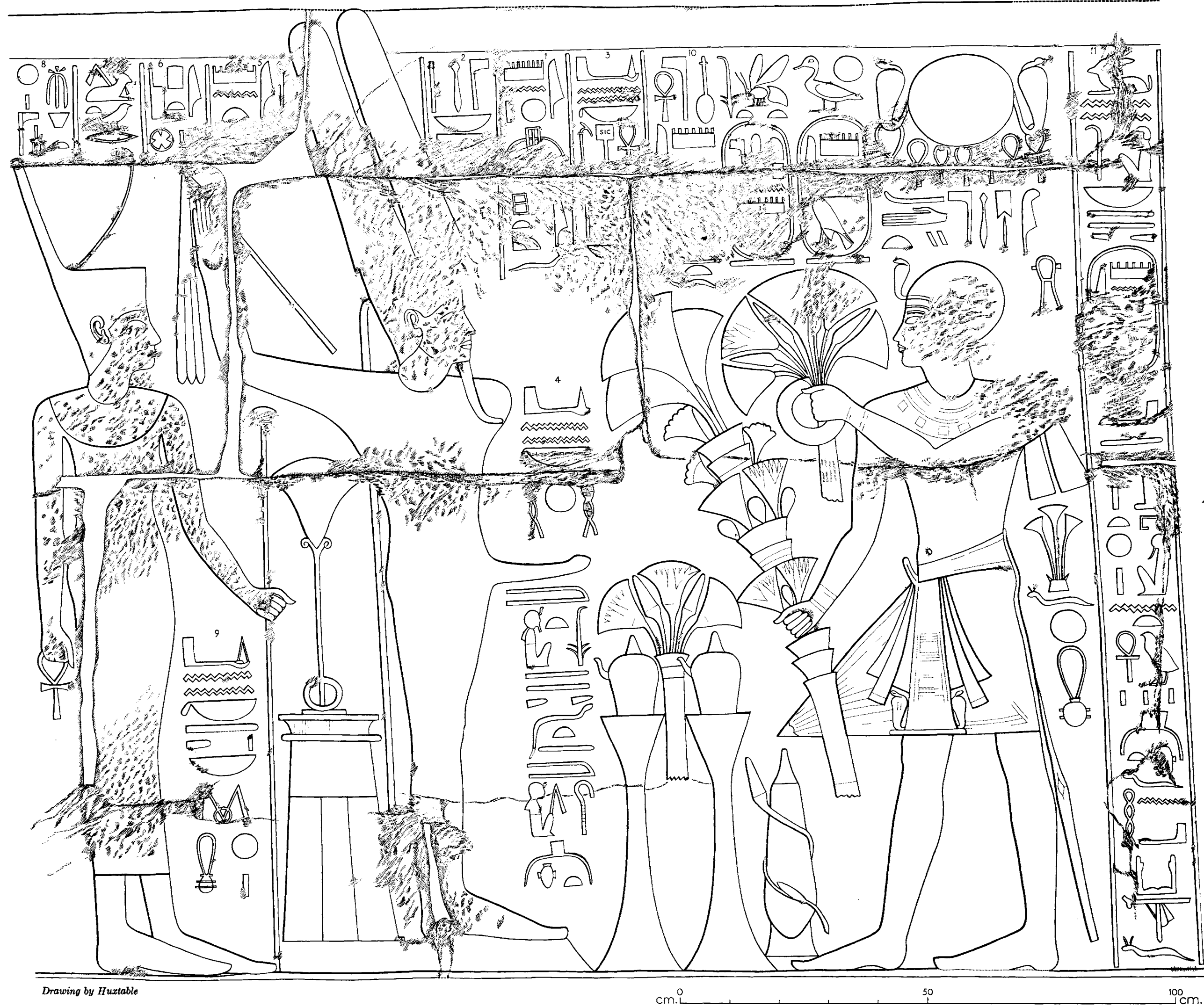
KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY A GODDESS BEARING JUBILEES, PRESENTING A CLEPSYDRA(?) TO MUT  
COURT, NORTH WALL, TOP REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM EAST





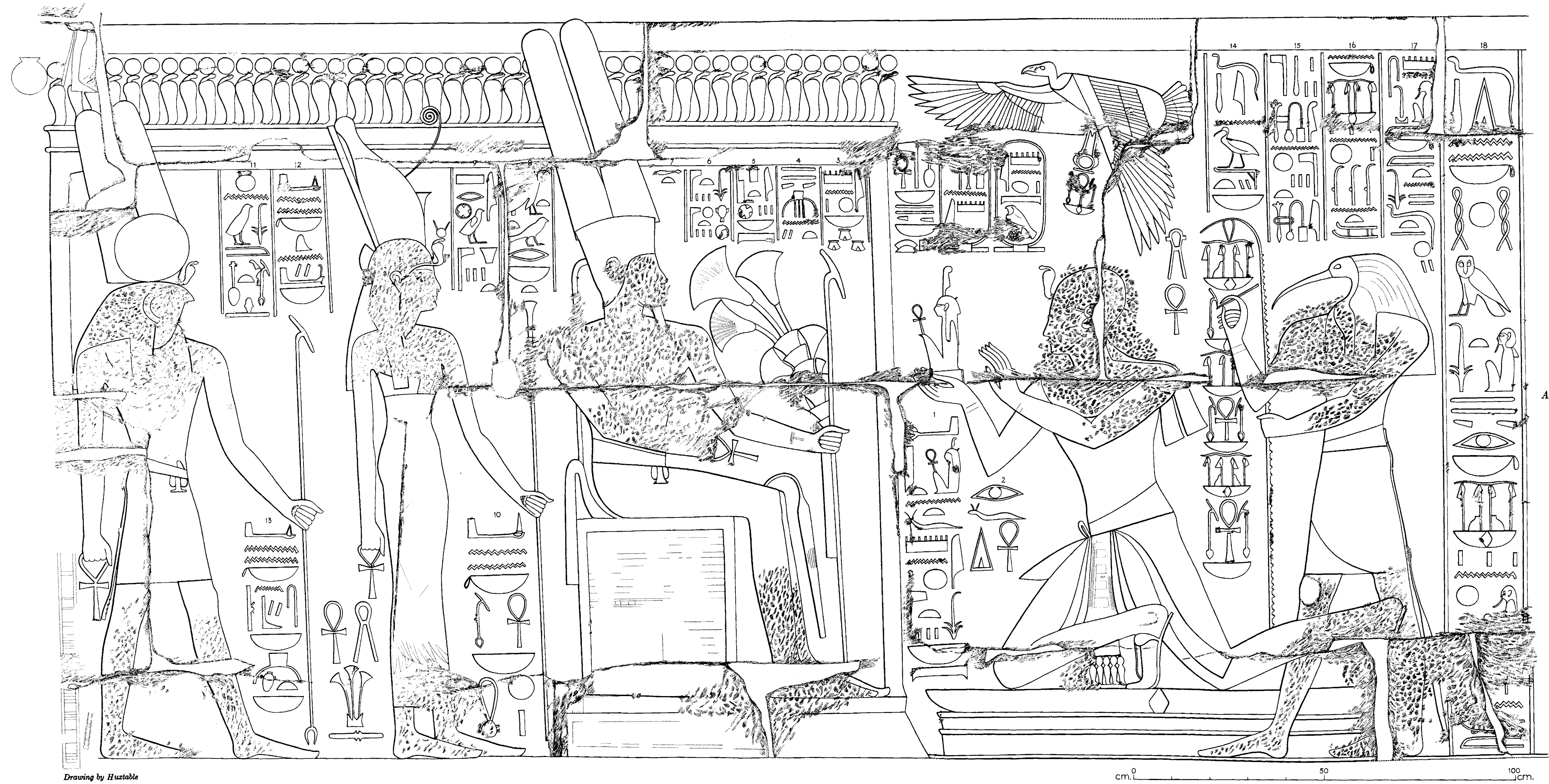
Adjoins plate 74

Adjoins plate 72



KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, NORTH WALL, TOP REGISTER, SECOND SCENE FROM EAST

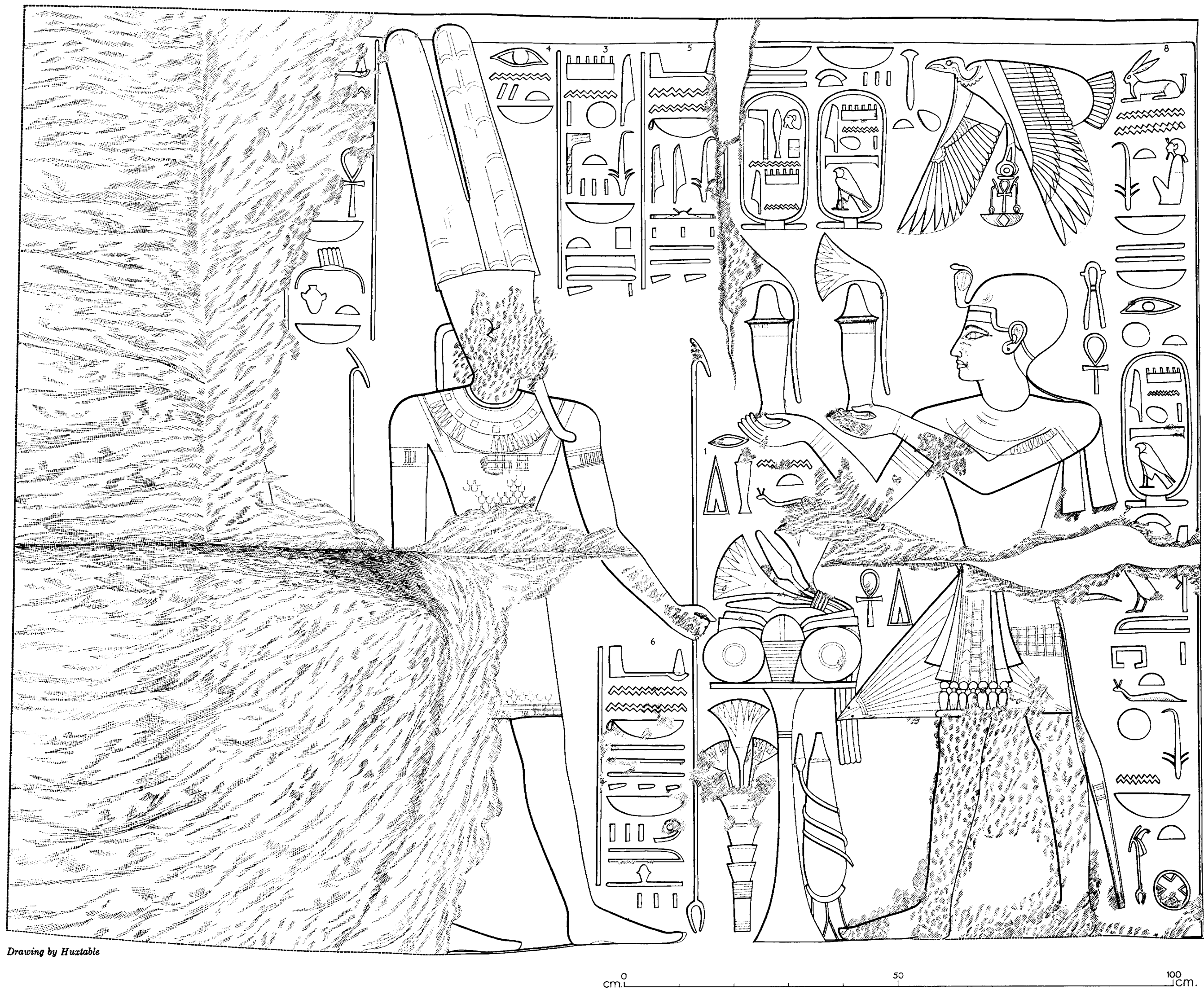




Adjoins plate 73

KING HERIHOR KNEELING AND OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE  
OF MUT AND KHONSU WHILE THOTH INSCRIBES JUBILEES  
COURT, NORTH WALL, TOP REGISTER, THIRD SCENE FROM EAST



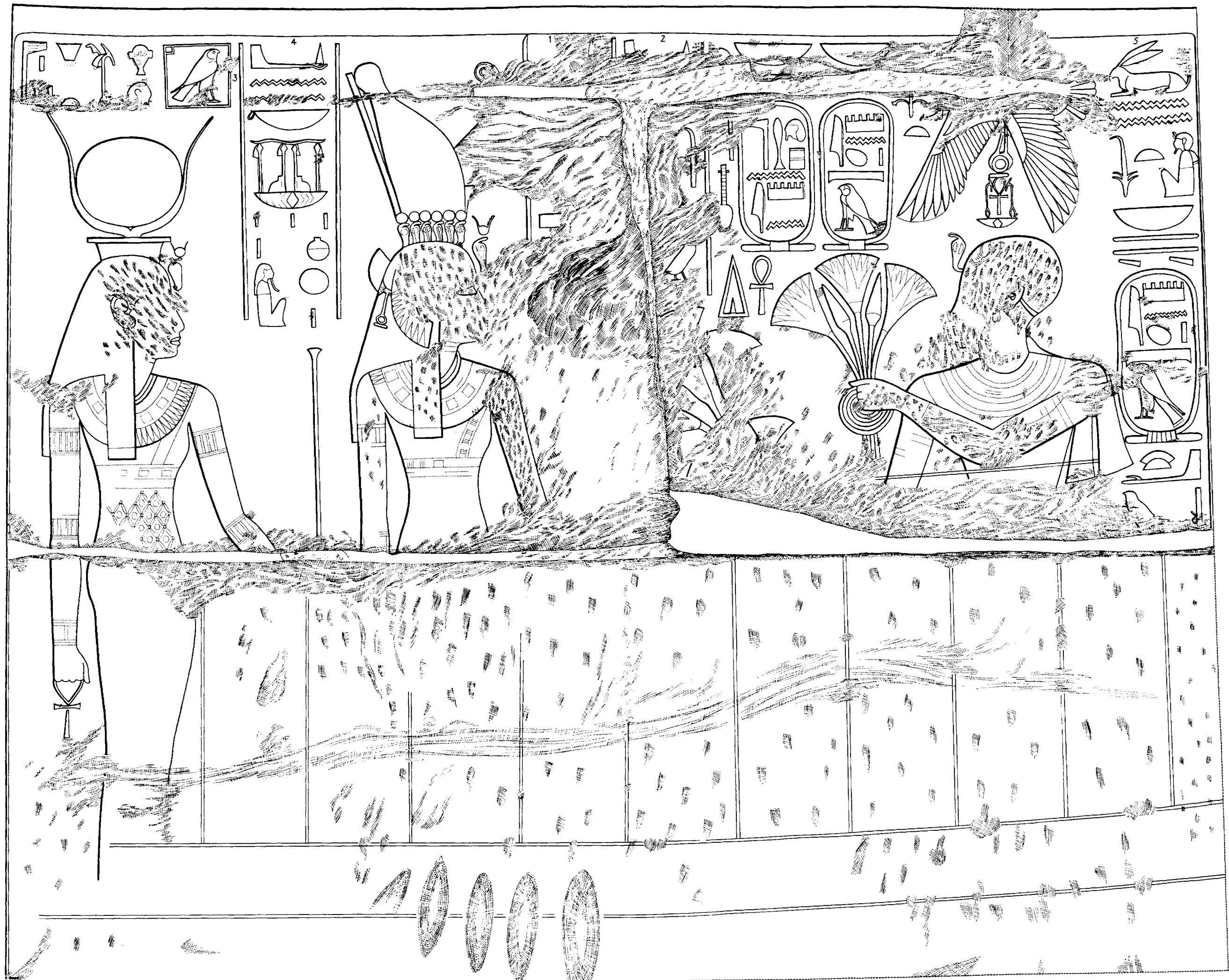


*Drawing by Huztable*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF A DEITY  
COURT, EAST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 1



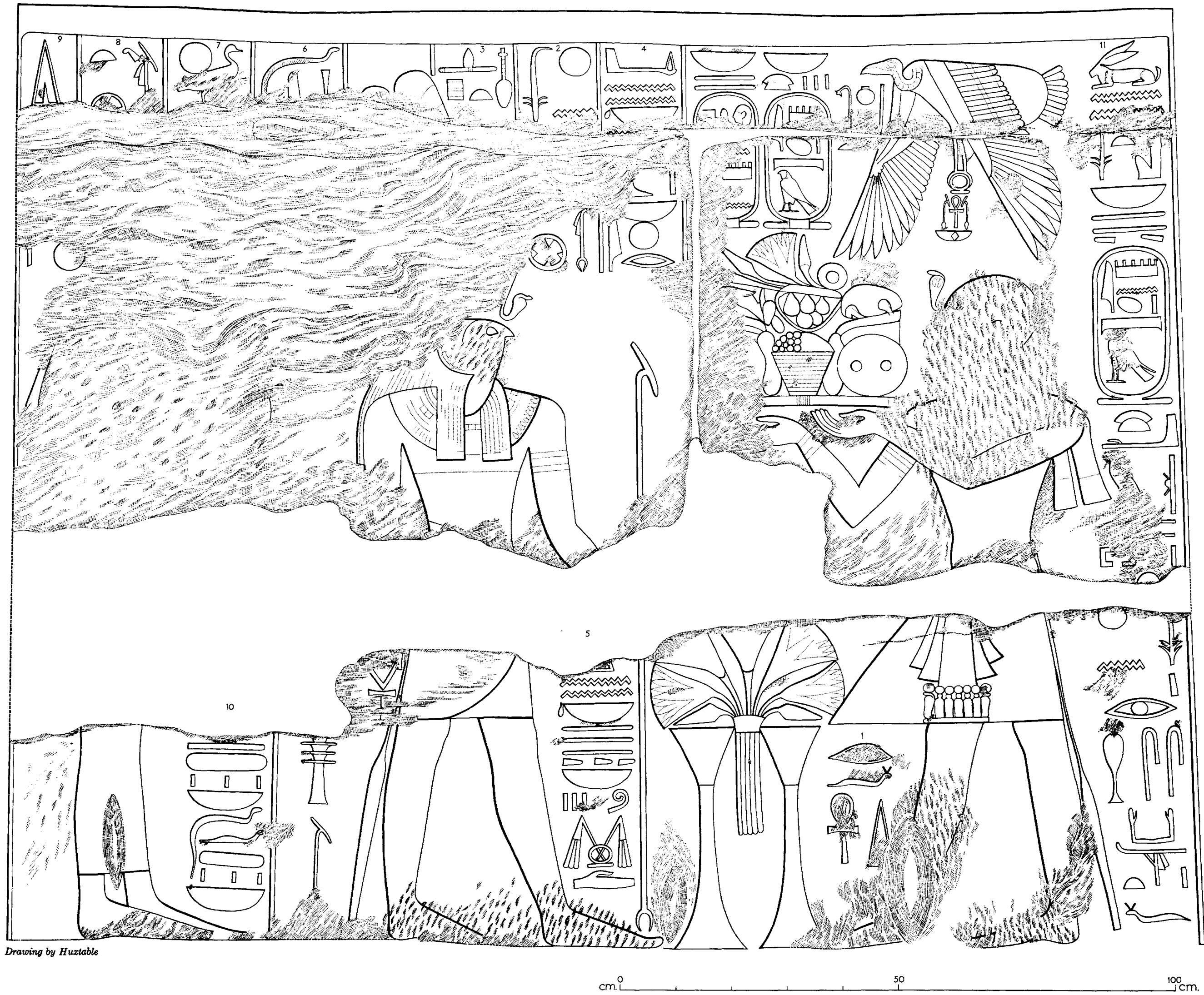
PLATE 76



*Drawing by Huztable*

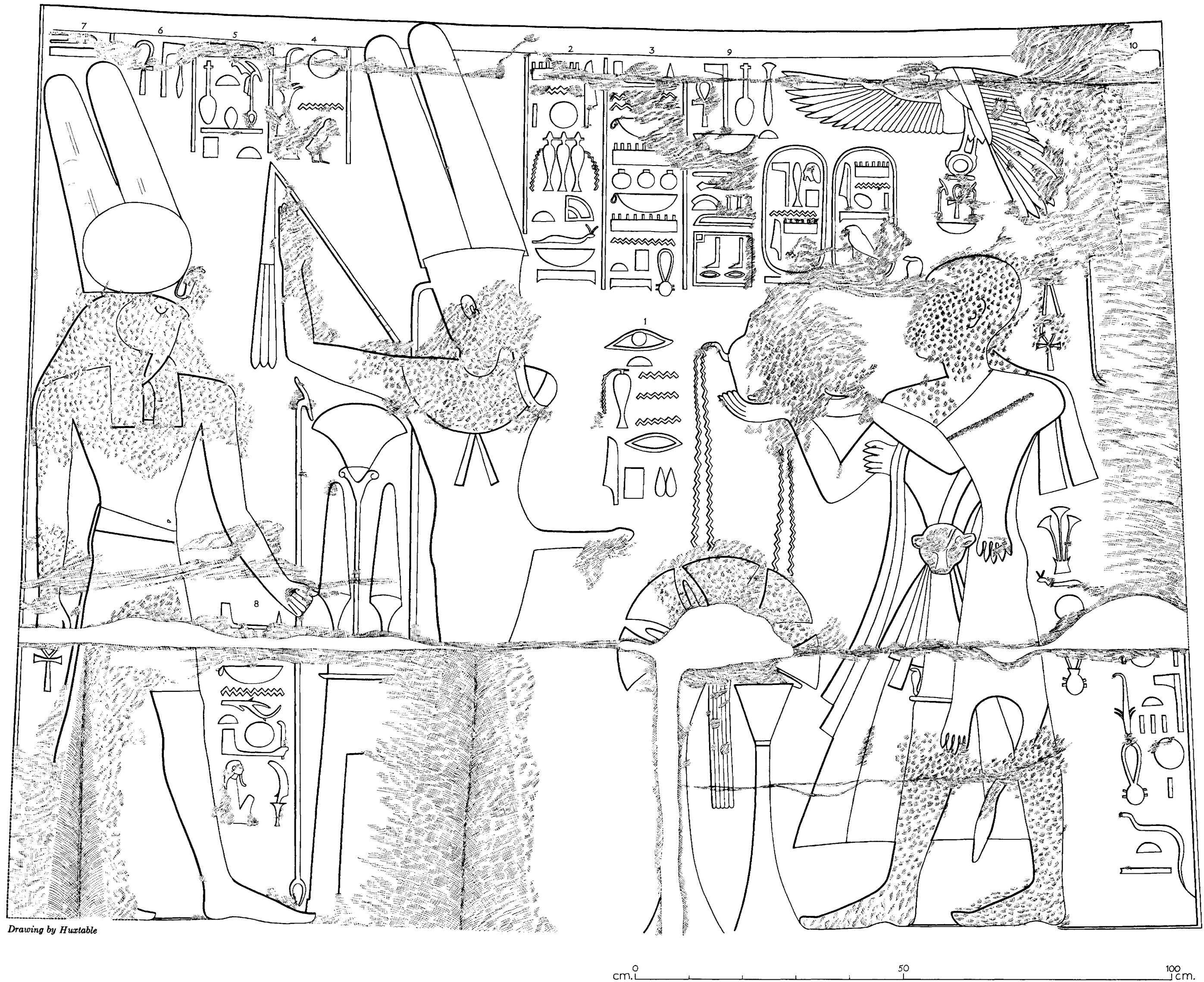
cm. 0 50 100 cm.

KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO MUT IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR  
COURT, EAST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 3



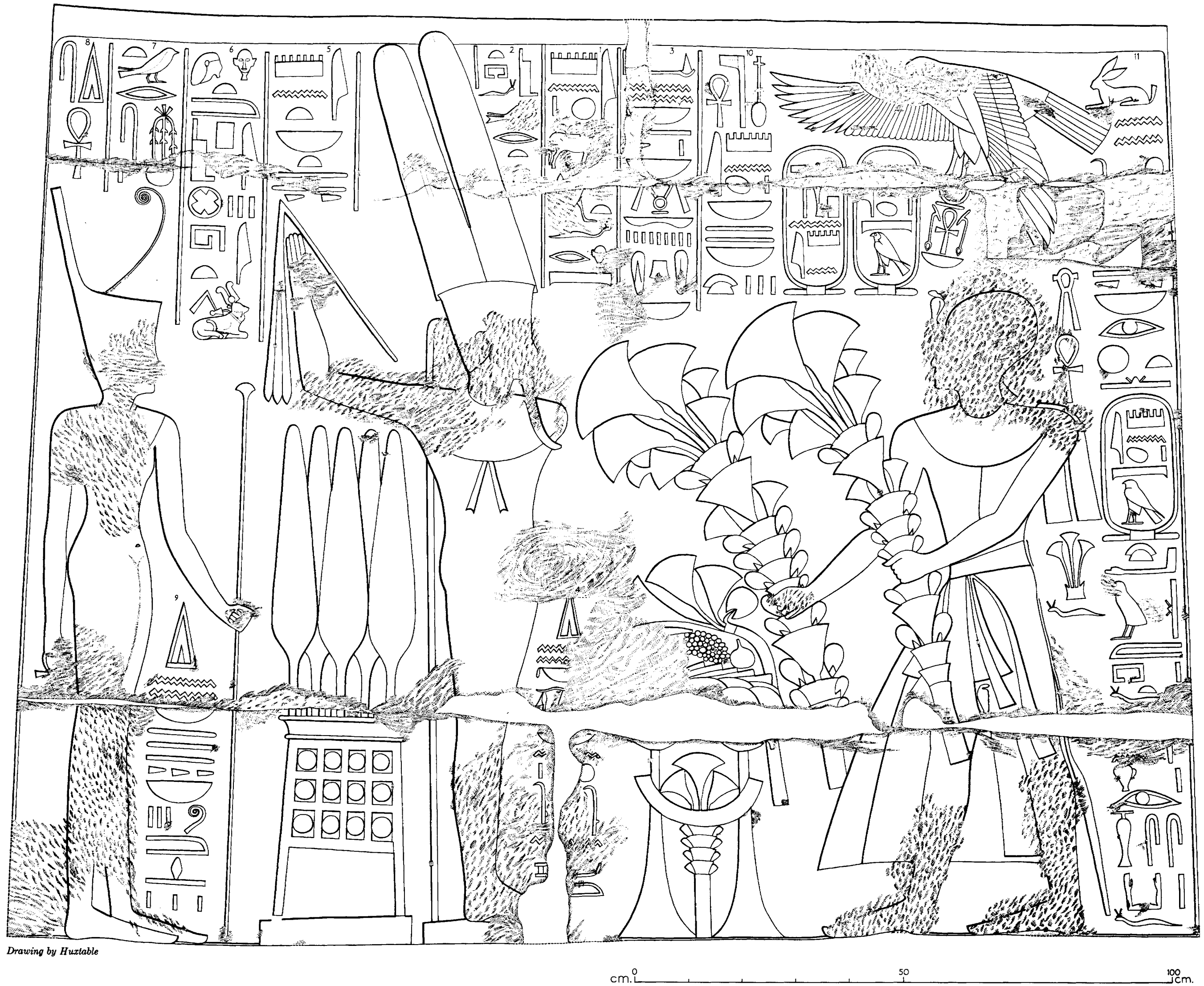
KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT  
COURT, EAST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 4





*Drawing by Huztable*

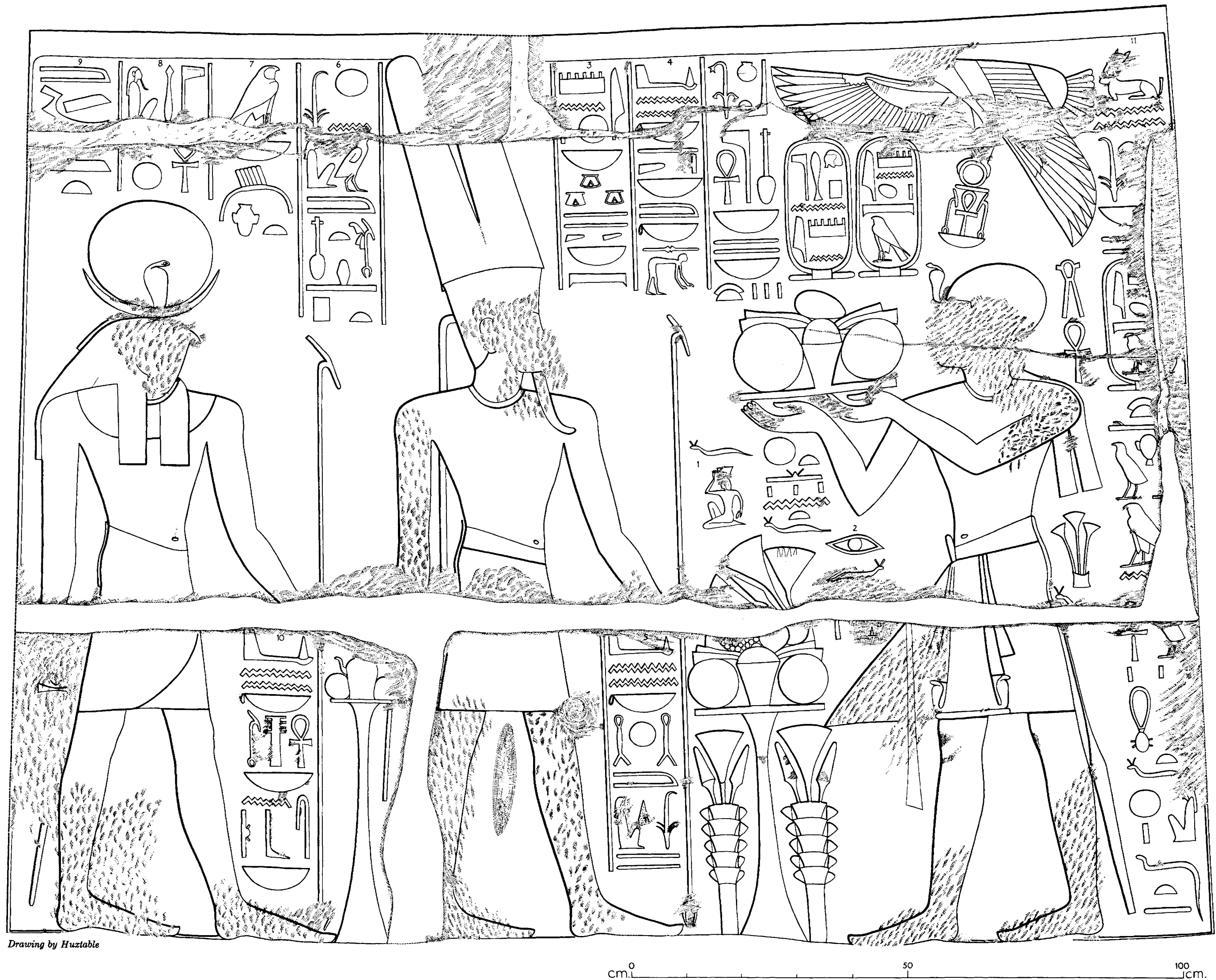
KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION OF WINE FOR THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE  
IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU  
COURT, EAST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 5



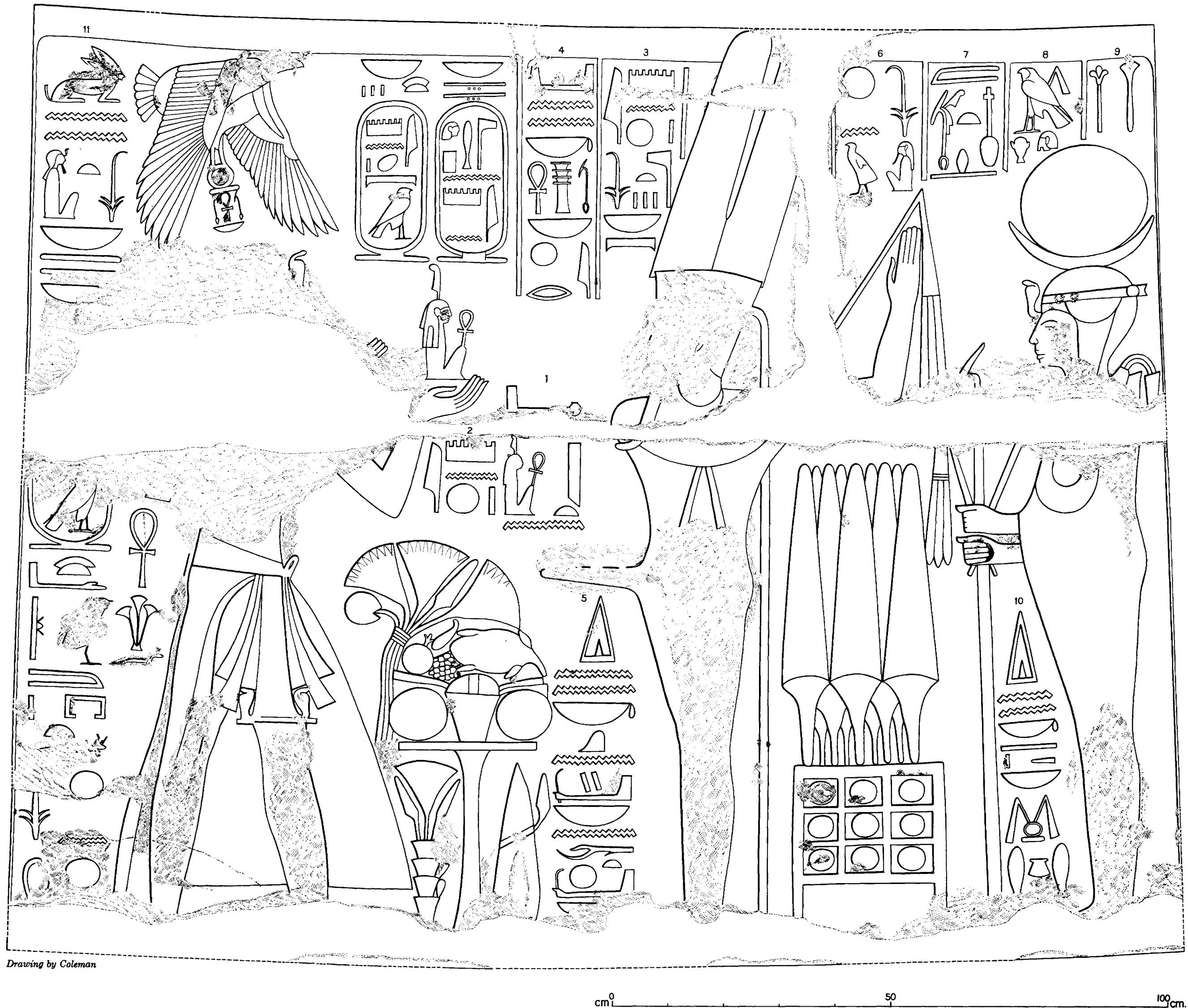
*Drawing by Huztable*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, EAST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 7 (column 6 is entirely a modern restoration)

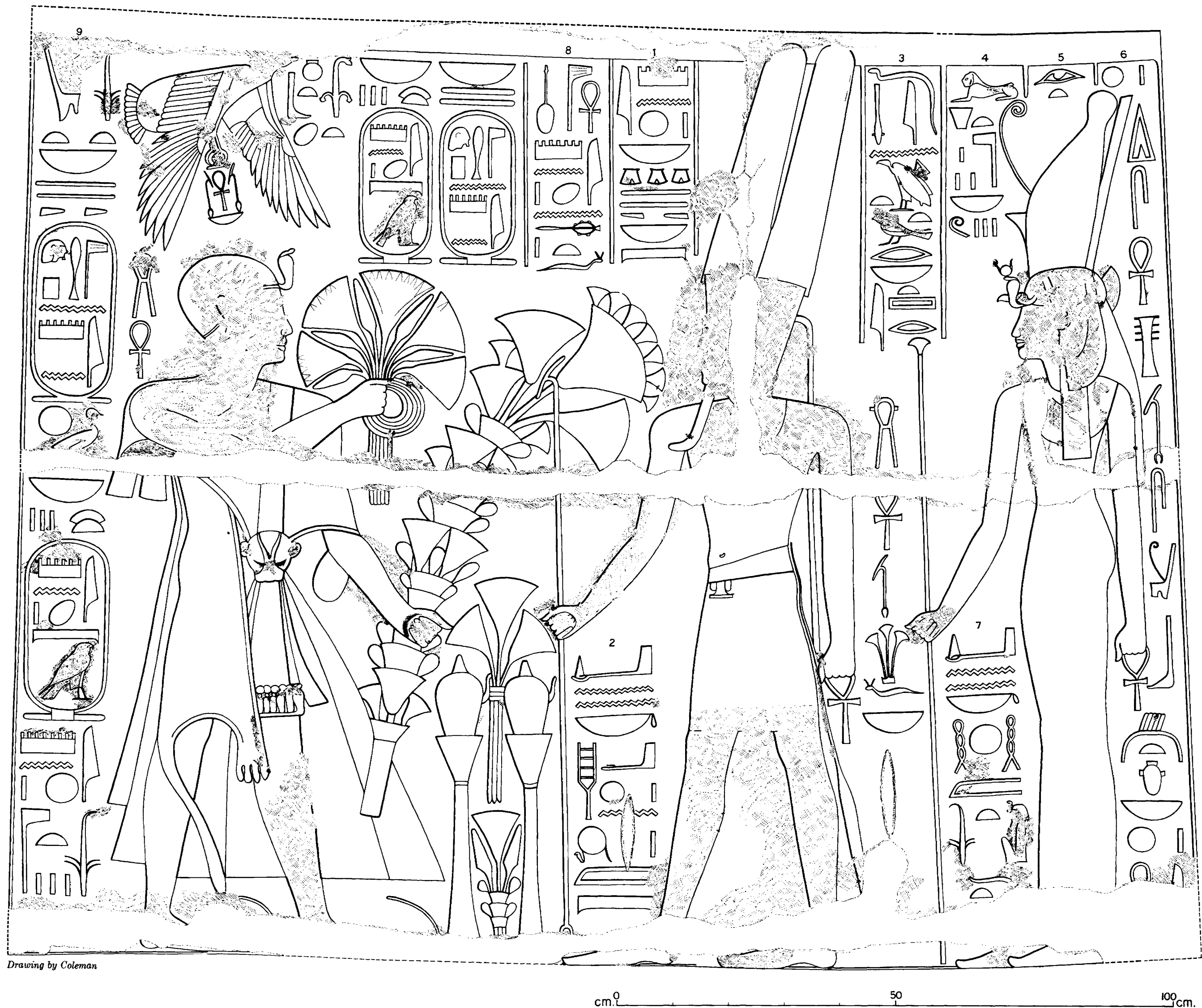




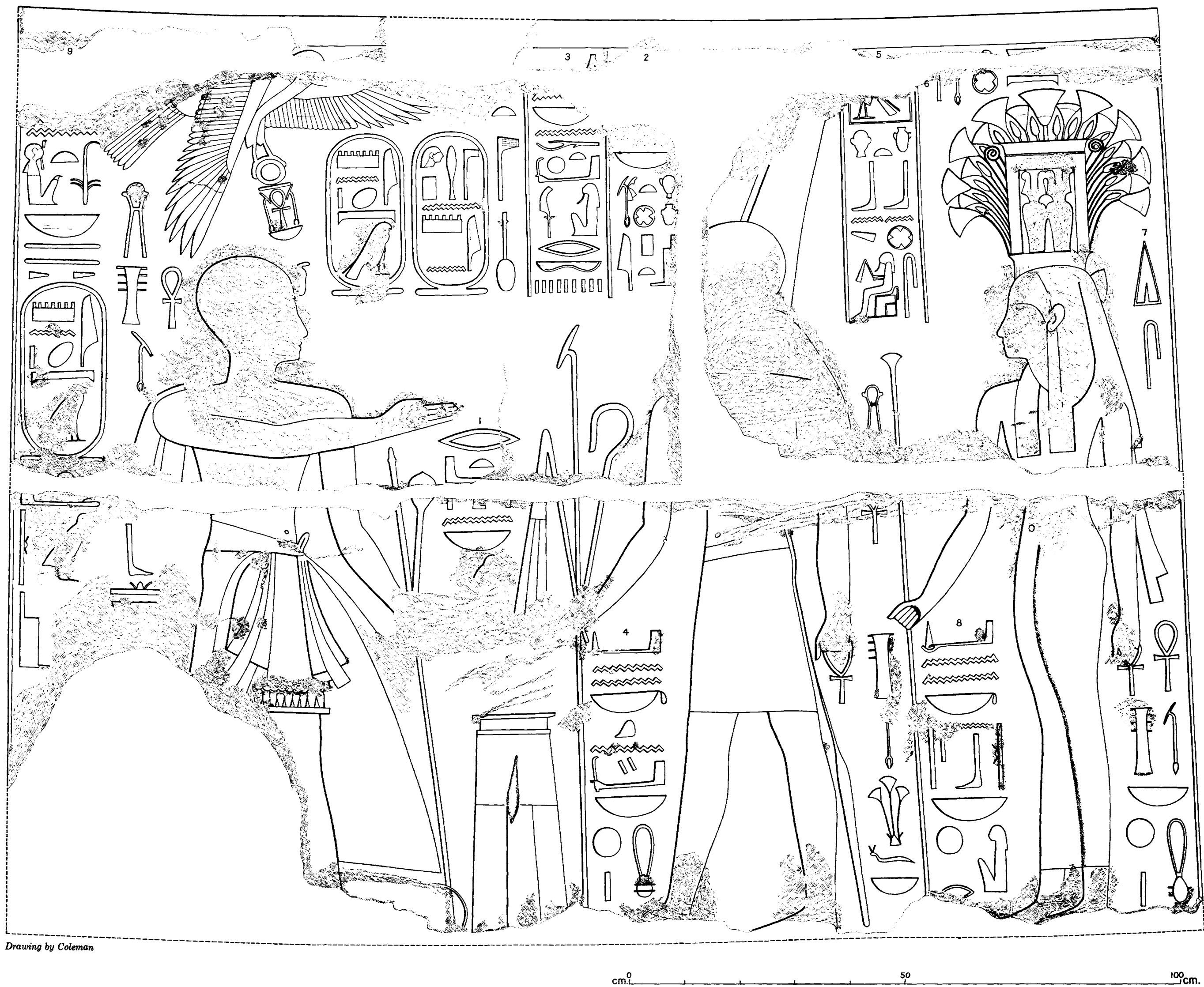
KING HERIHOR ELEVATING A FOOD OFFERING TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU  
COURT, EAST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 8



KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO THE ITHYPHALLIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 9



KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 10

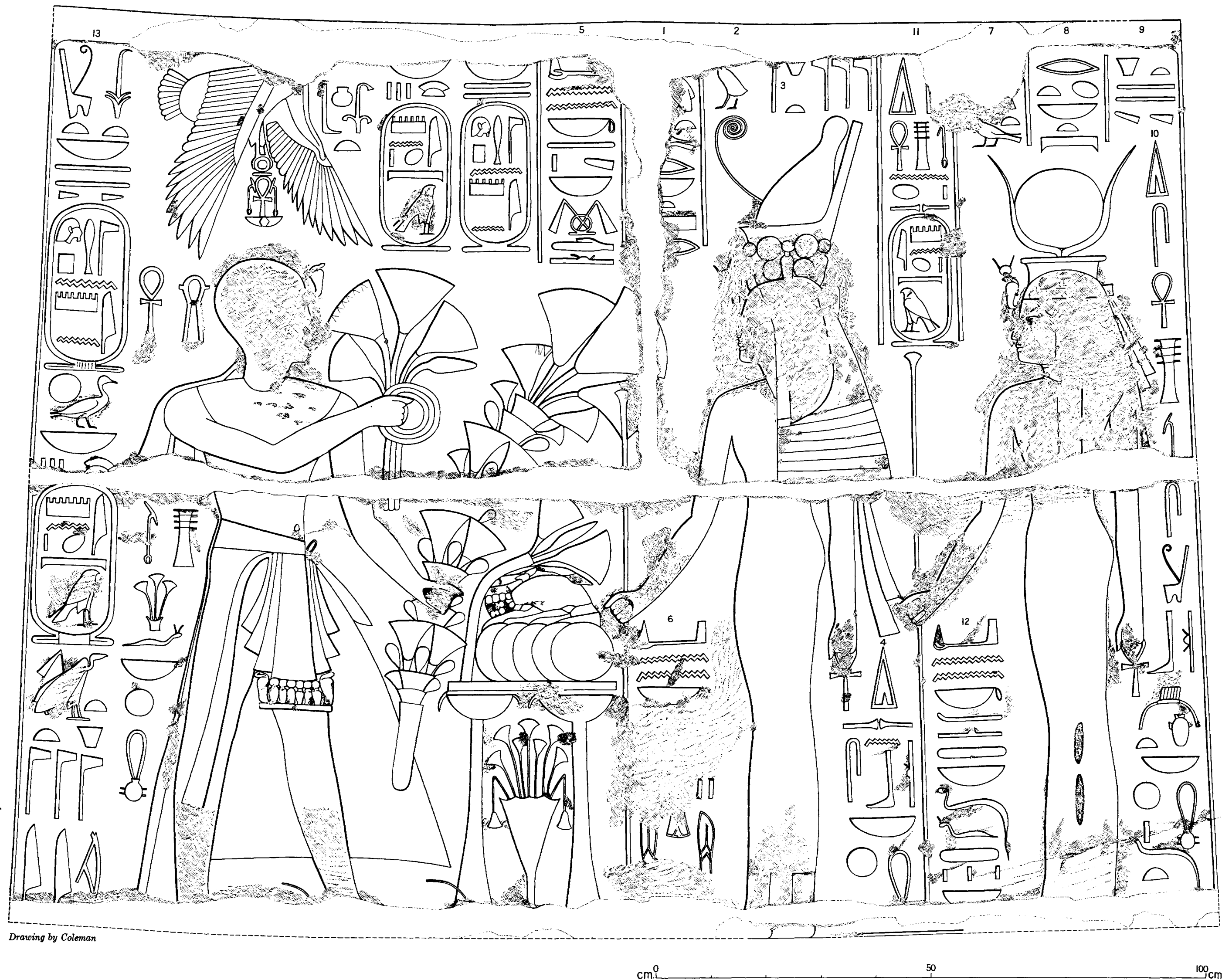


*Drawing by Coleman*

0 50 100 cm.

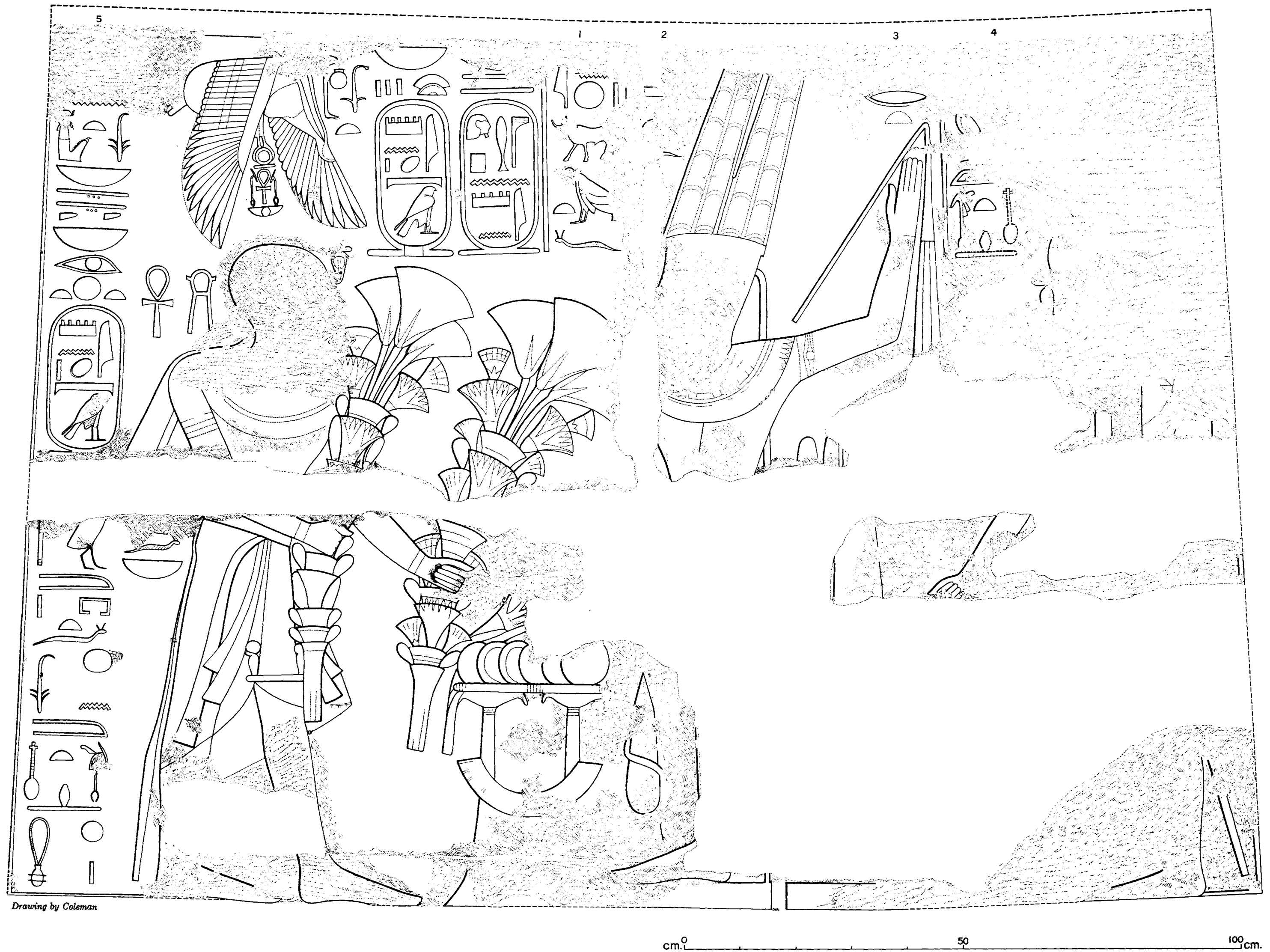
KING HERIHOR PRESENTING "THE HOUSE TO ITS LORD," KHONSU,  
IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 11



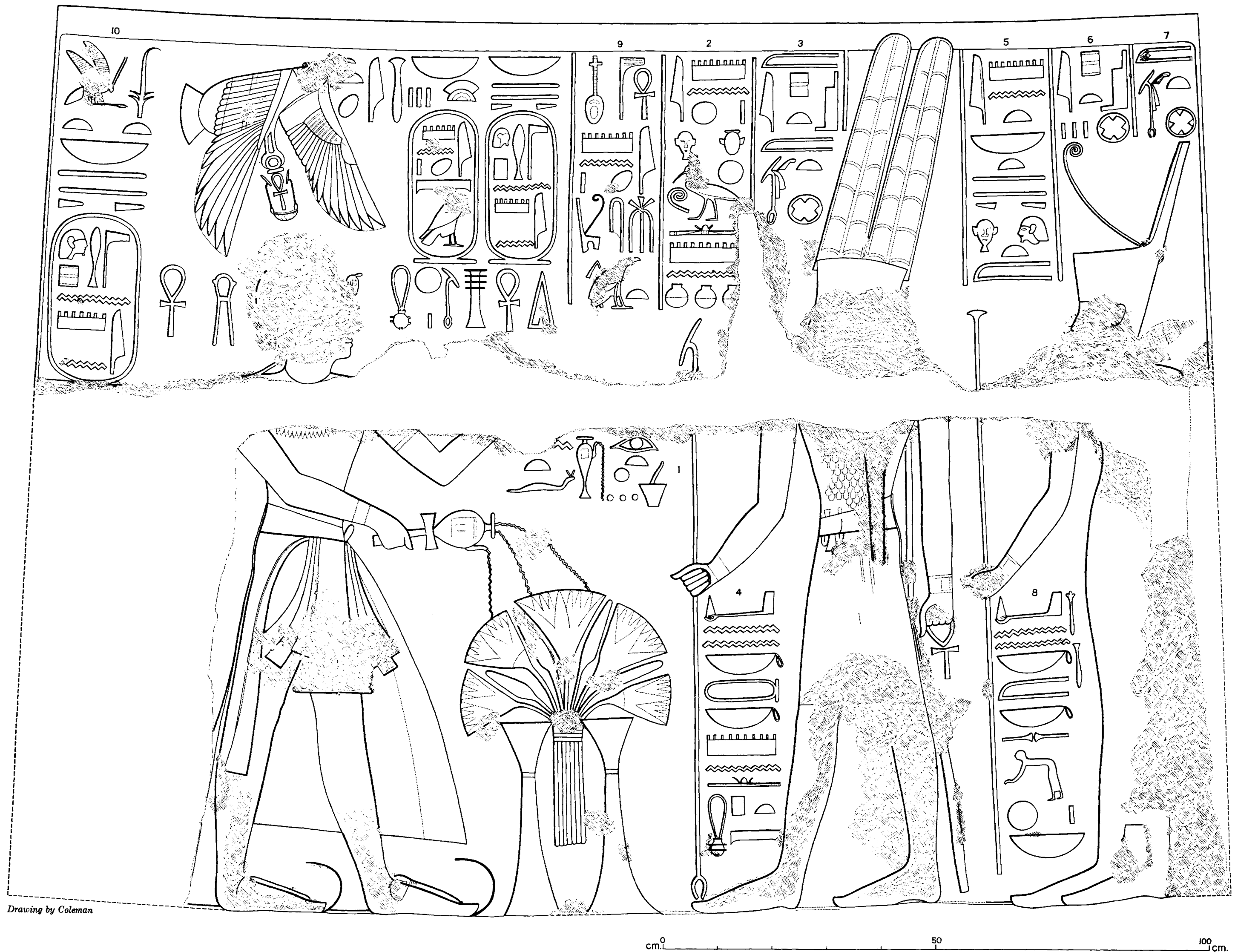


KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO MUT IN THE PRESENCE OF TOERIS  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 12

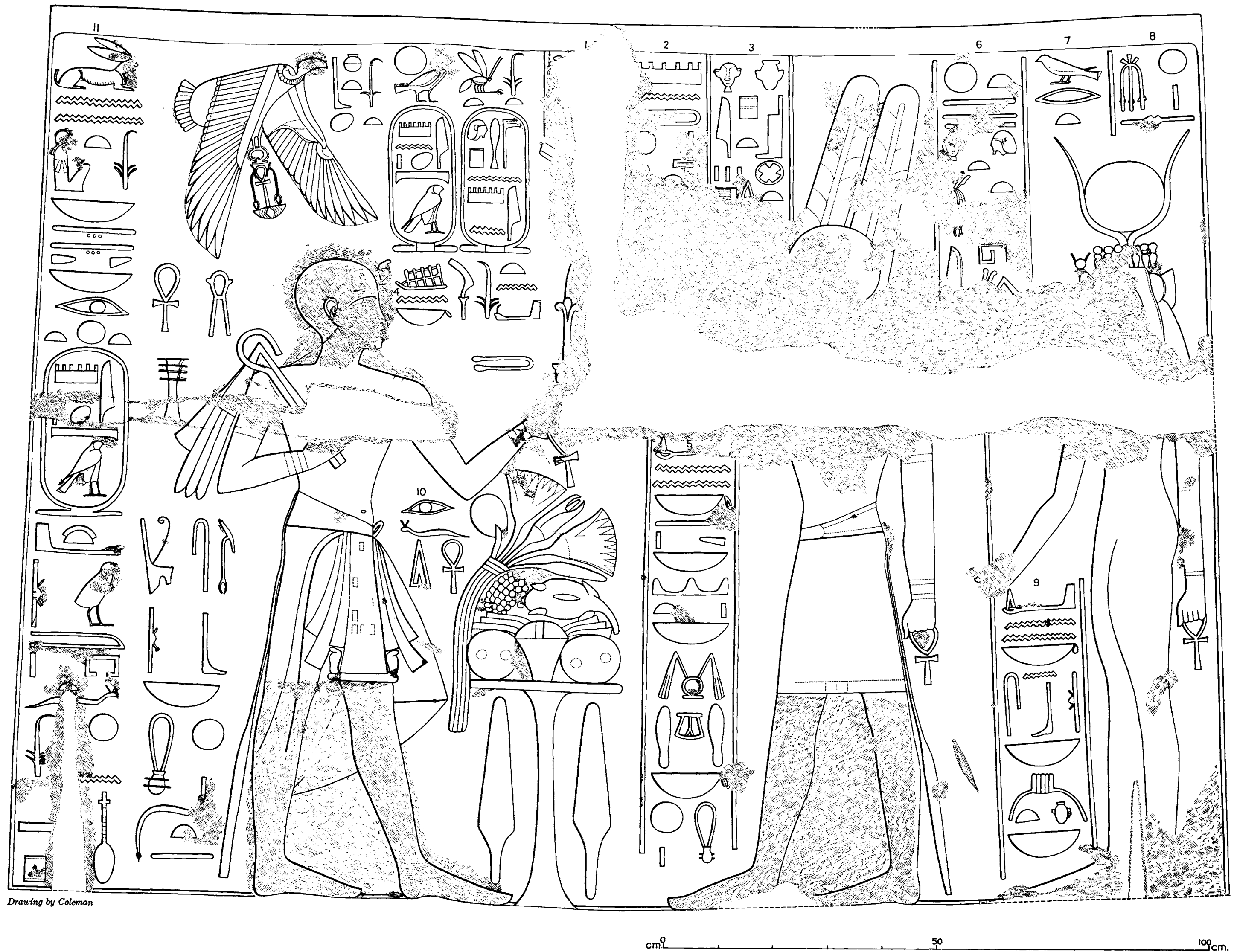




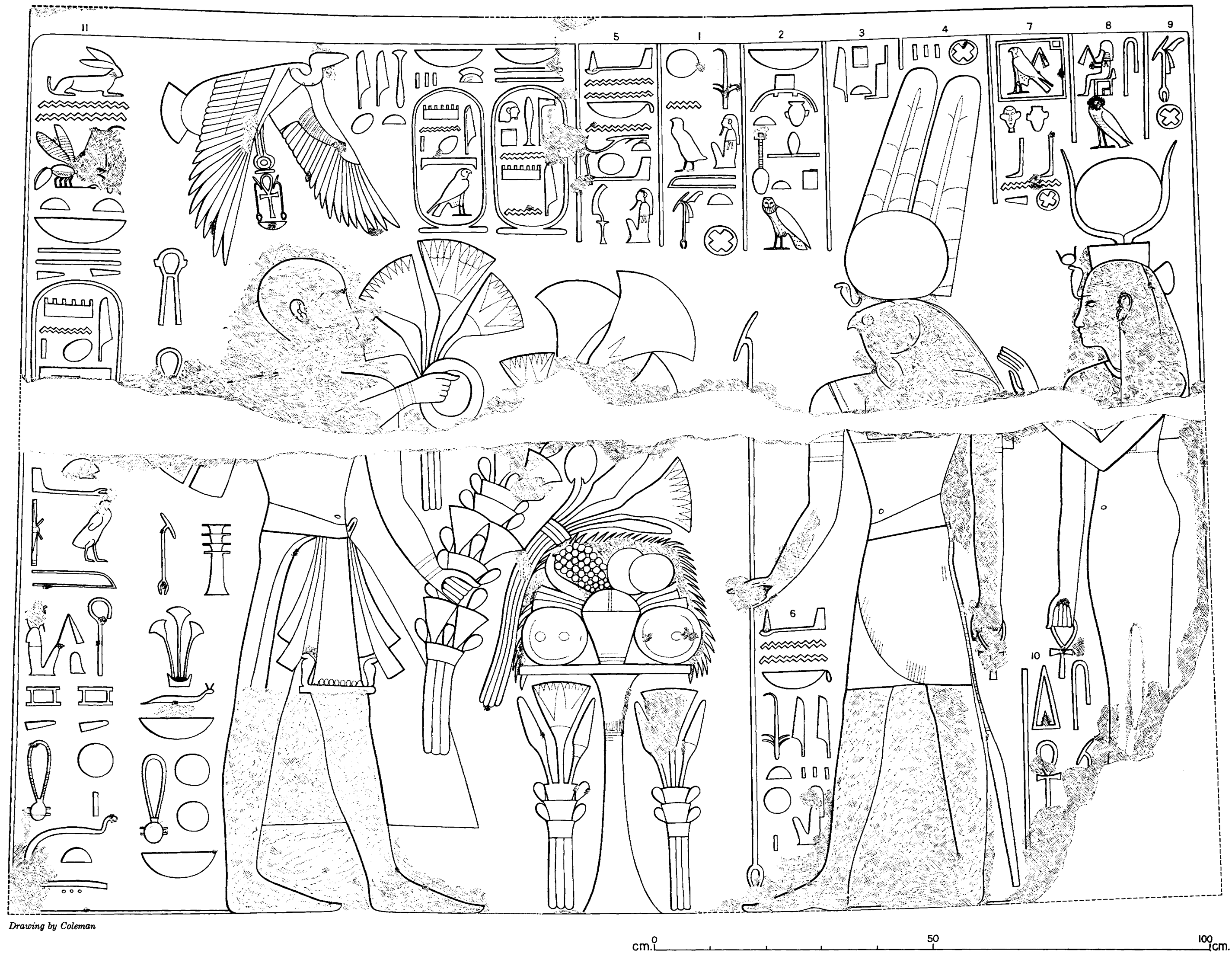
KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 13



KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR AMON-RE  
OF THE AKHMENU IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 14



KING HERIHOR RECEIVING THE SCIMITAR FROM MONTU-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF RA-YET-TAWY  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 15



*Drawing by Coleman*

KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE  
OF HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU  
COURT, WEST COLONNADE, SHAFT OF COLUMN 16





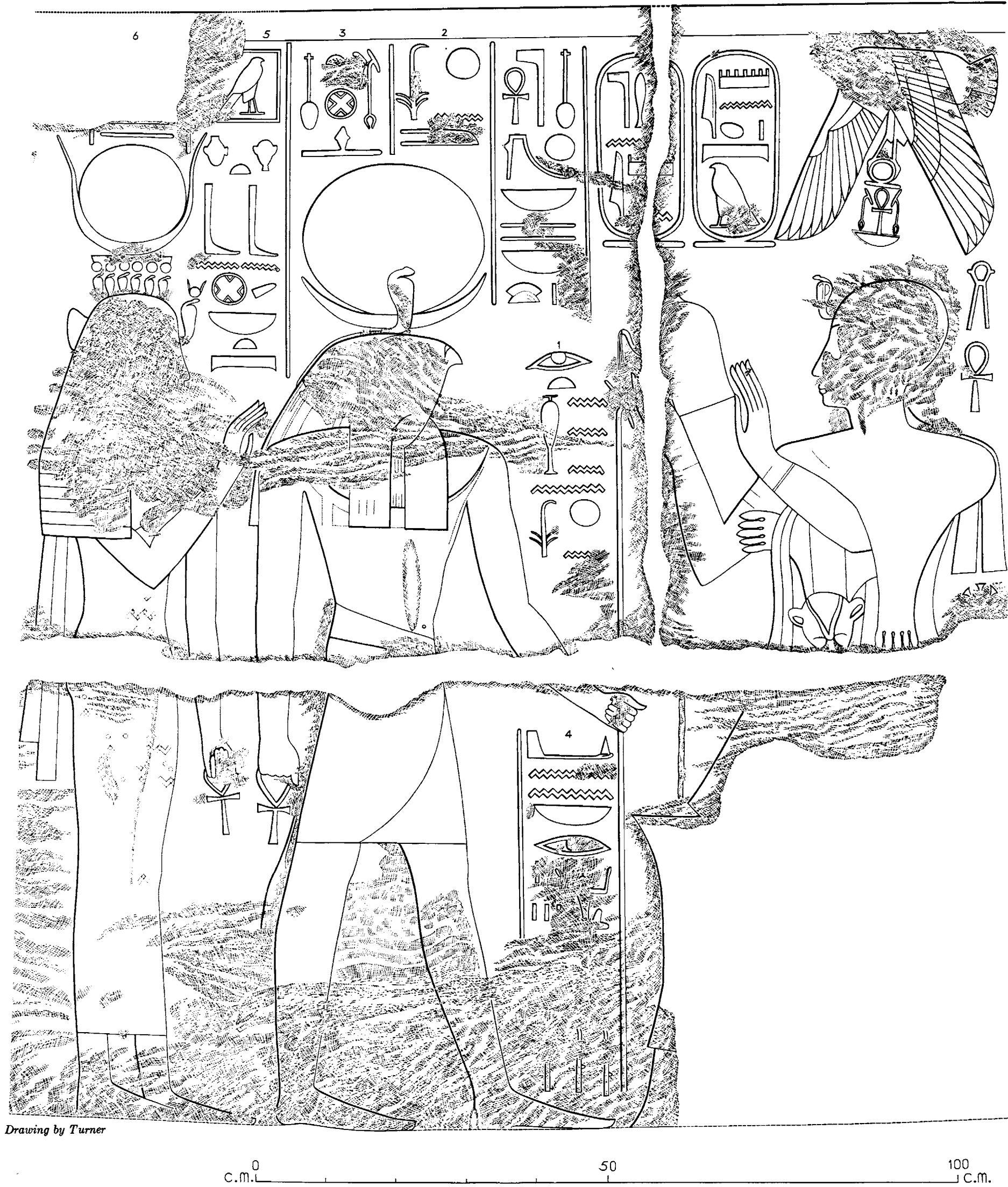


KING HERIHOR OFFERING A BOUQUET TO AMON-RE, PRIMEVAL ONE OF THE TWO LANDS,  
IN THE PRESENCE OF PTAH AND HATHOR, BOTH OF THEBES  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 17



0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

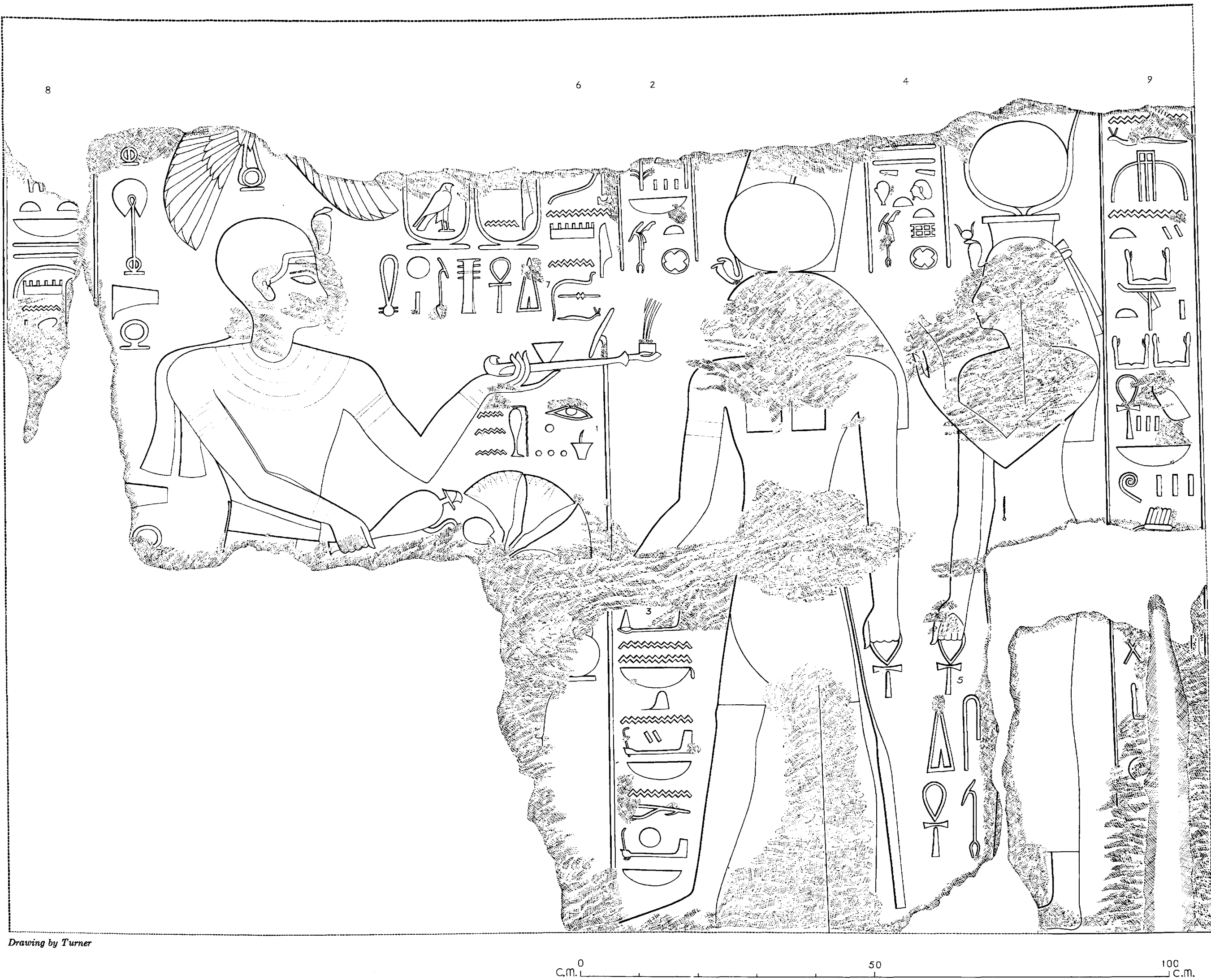
KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR THE ITHYPHALIC AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF OPET  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 18

*Adjoins plate 93**Adjoins plate 94*

KING HERIHOR POURING A LIBATION FOR KHONSU IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR  
OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 19



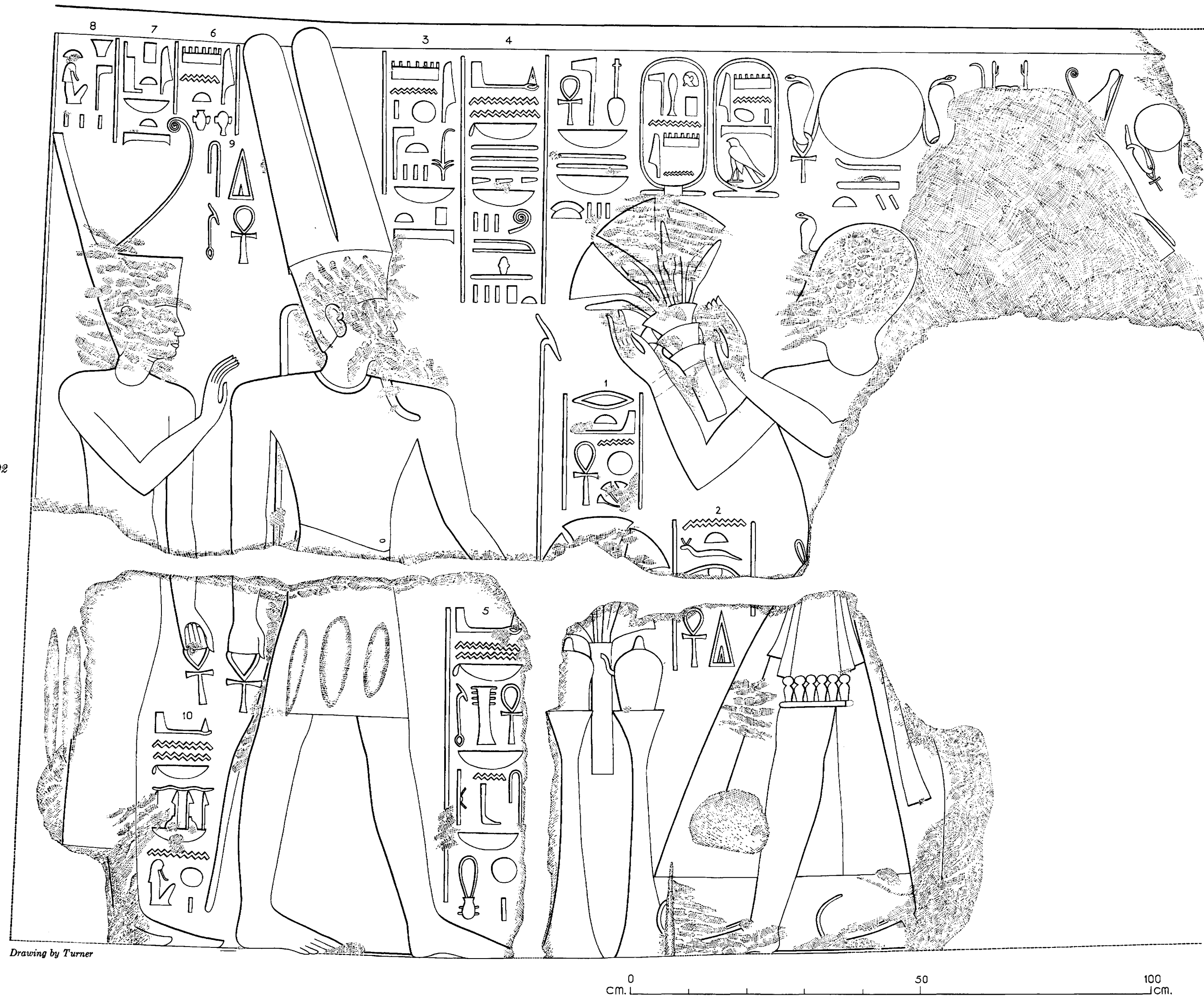


*Adjoins plate 94**Adjoins plate 92*

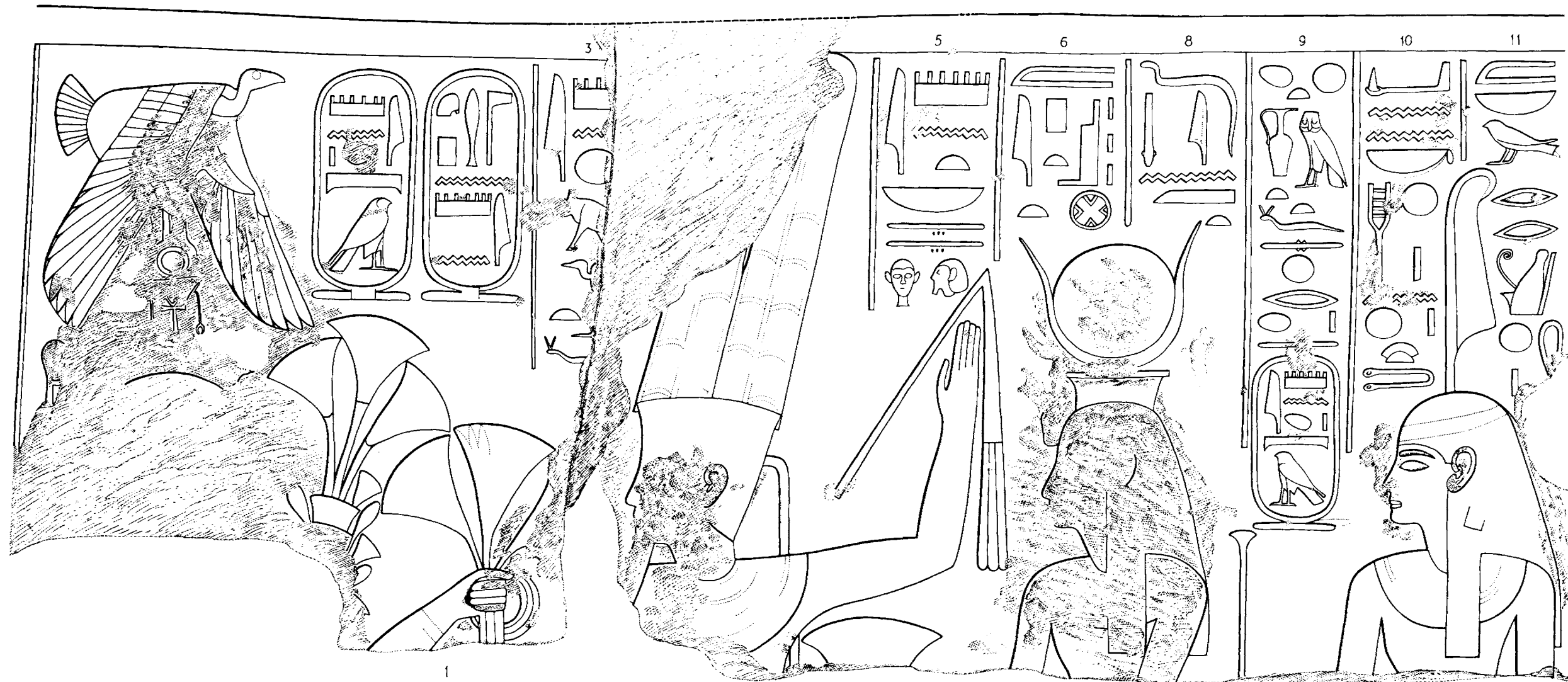
KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION  
FOR MONTU-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF RA-YET-TAWY  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 19







KING HERIHOR OFFERING A BOUQUET TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 19

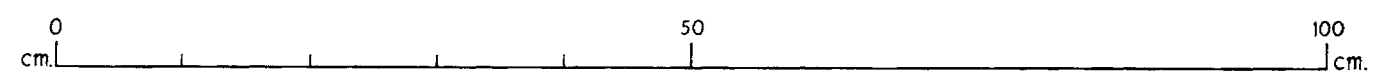


*Adjoins plate 96*

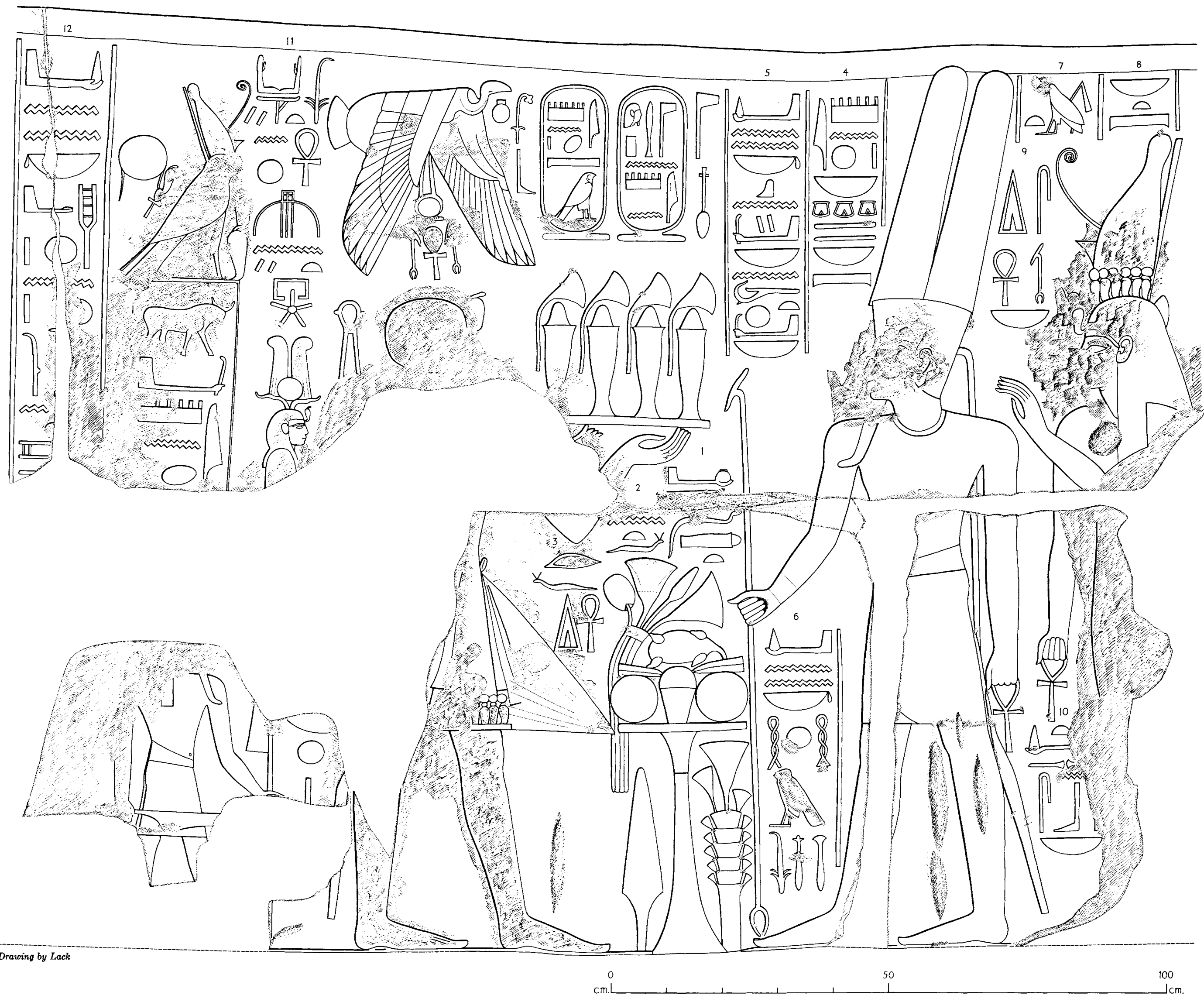
*Adjoins plate 97*



*Drawing by Lack*



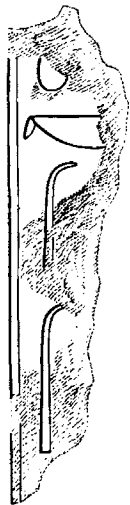
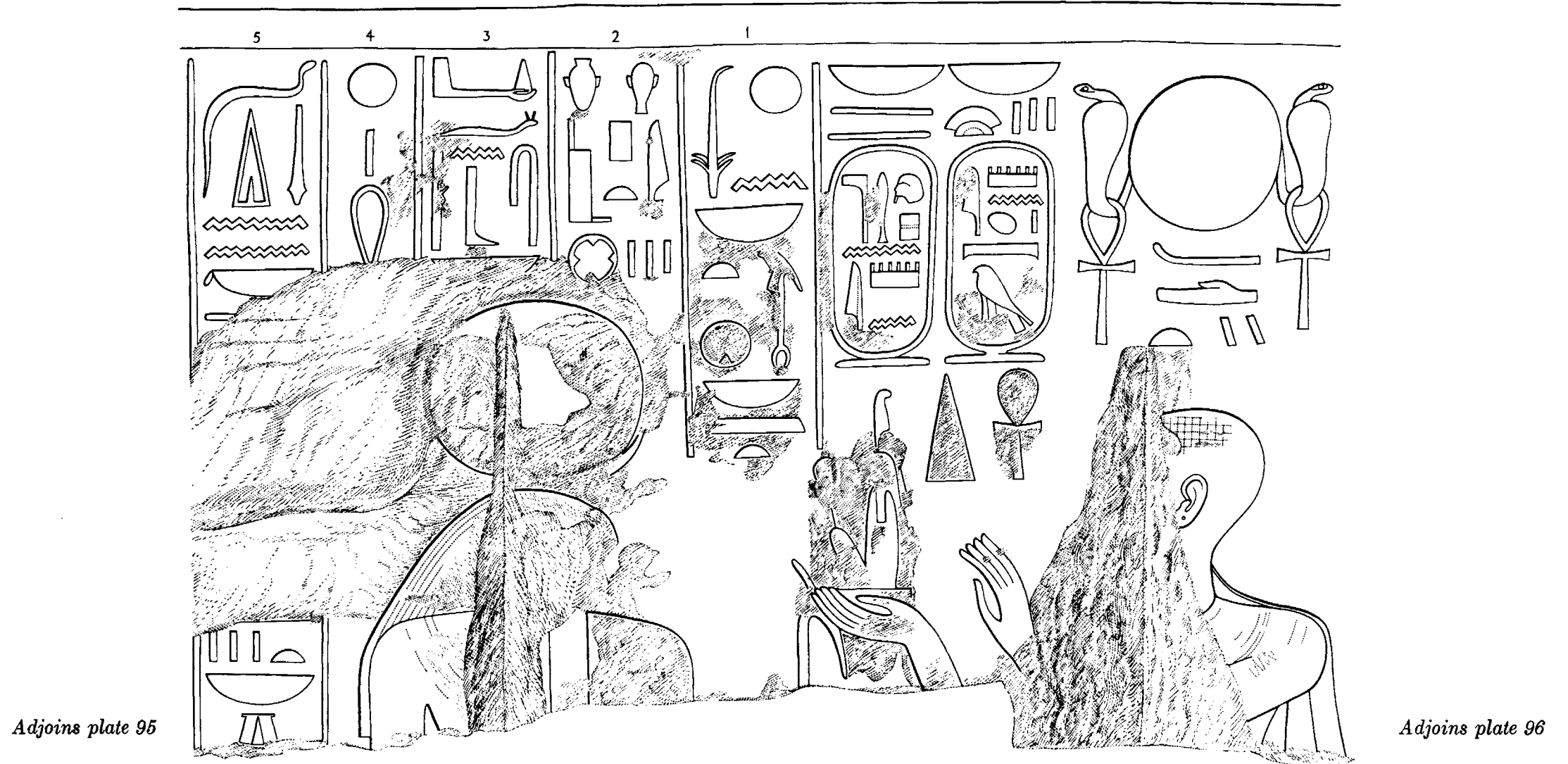
KING HERIHOR OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET AND MA'AT  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 20



KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HIS KA, OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 20





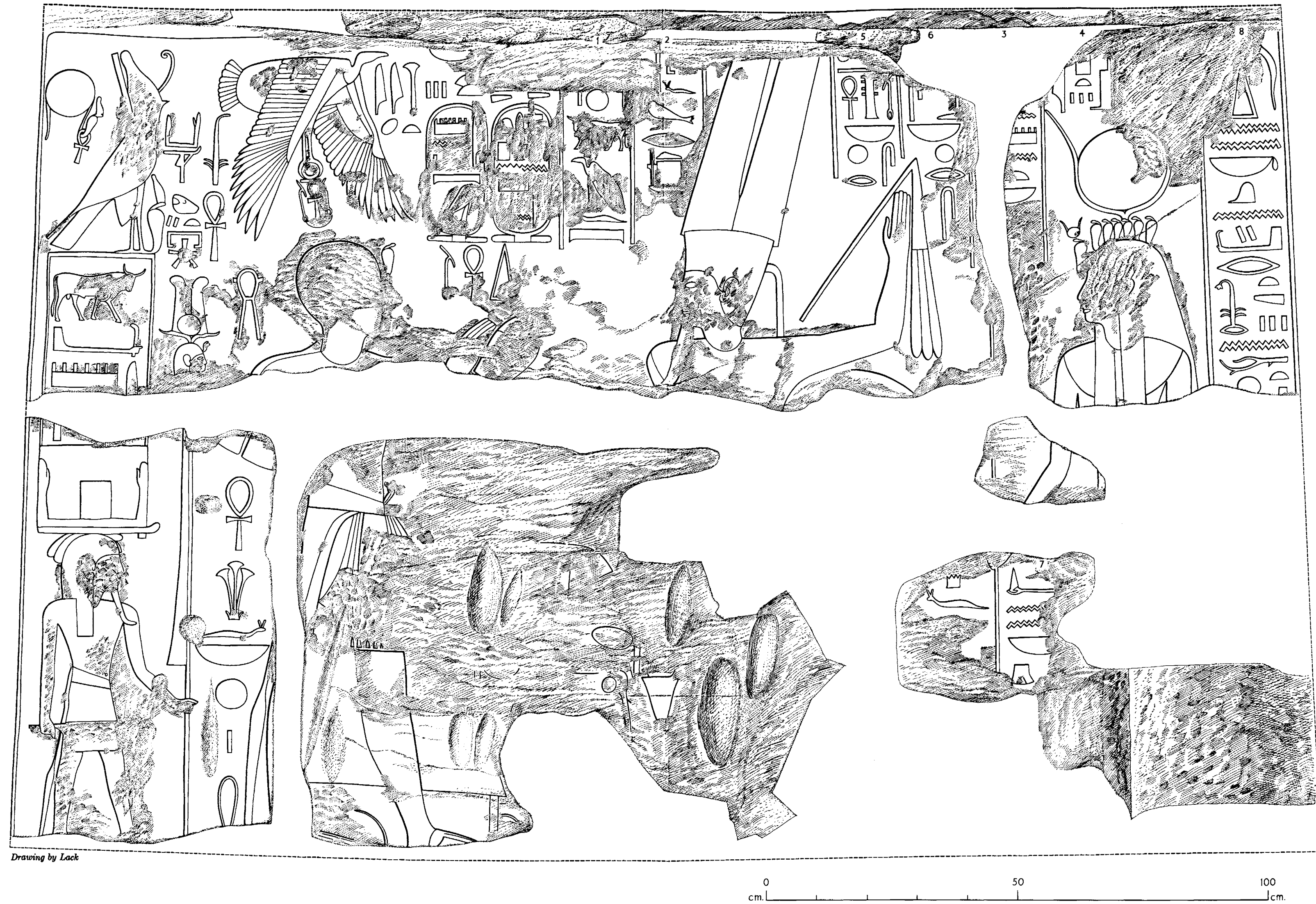


*Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm. cm.

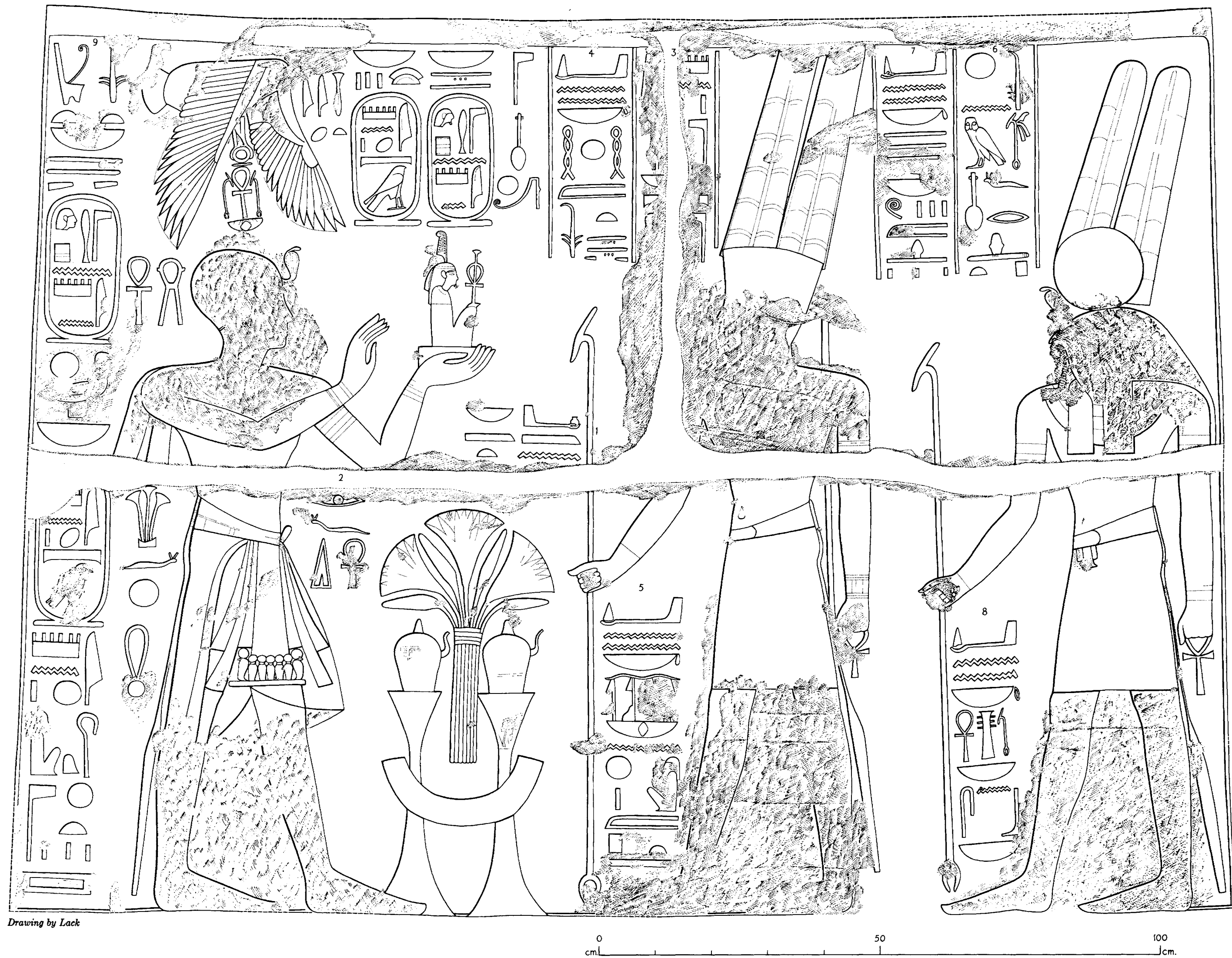
KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA<sup>c</sup>AT TO KHONSU  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 20





*Drawing by Lack*

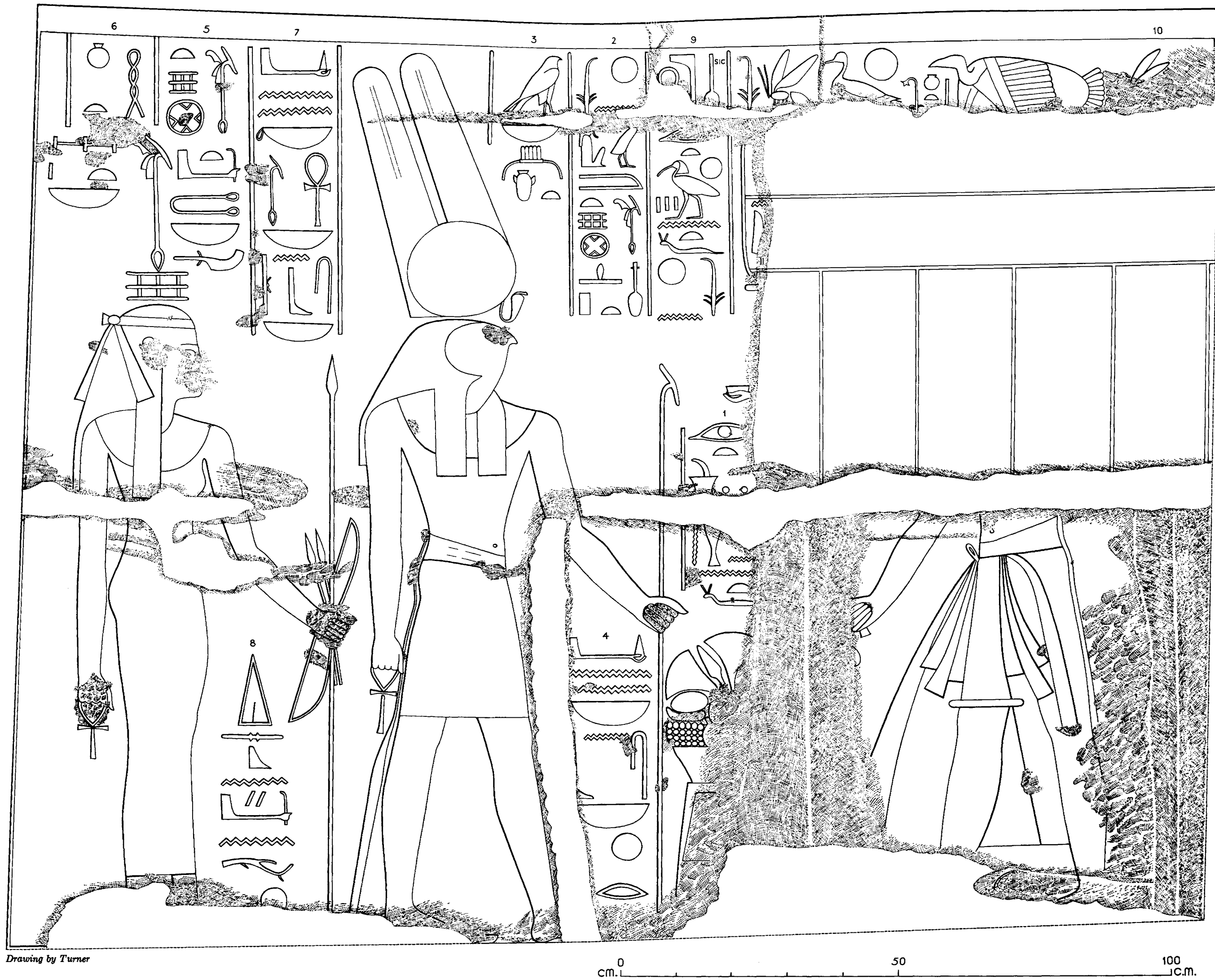
KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HIS KA, PRESENTING A JAR  
TO AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 21



*Drawing by Lack*

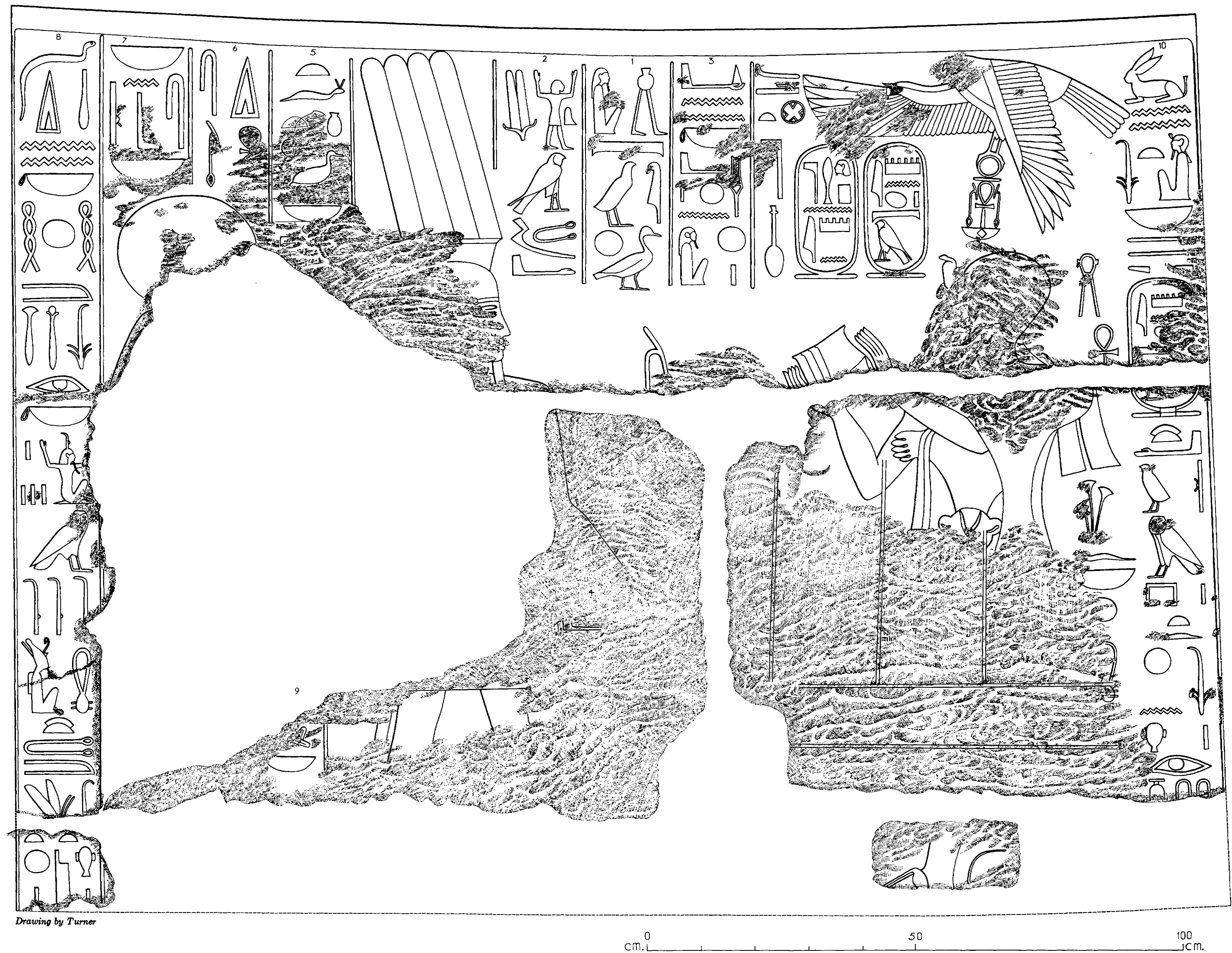
KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 22





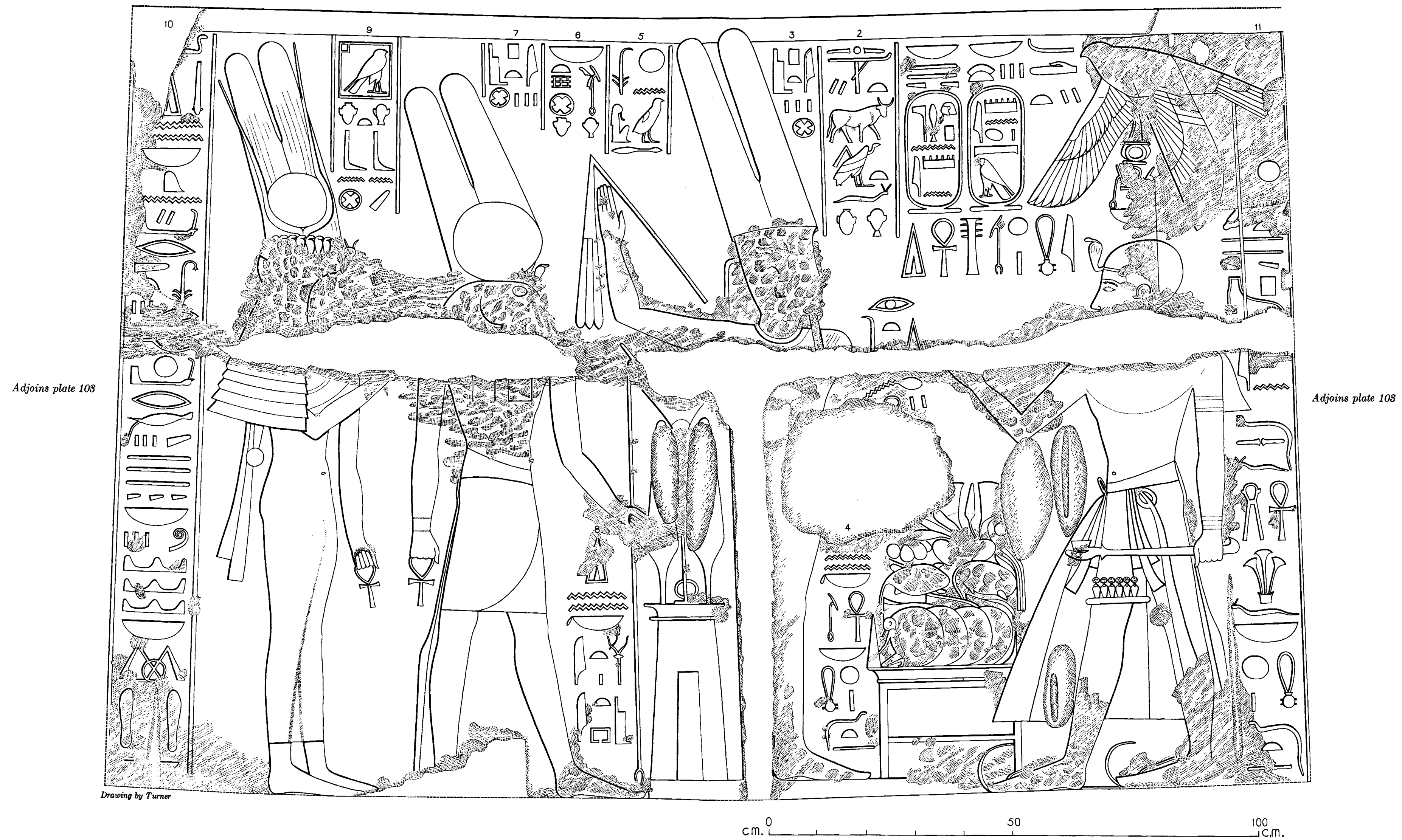
KING HERIHOR THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION FOR KHONSU  
IN THE PRESENCE OF THE GODDESS OF THEBES  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 23





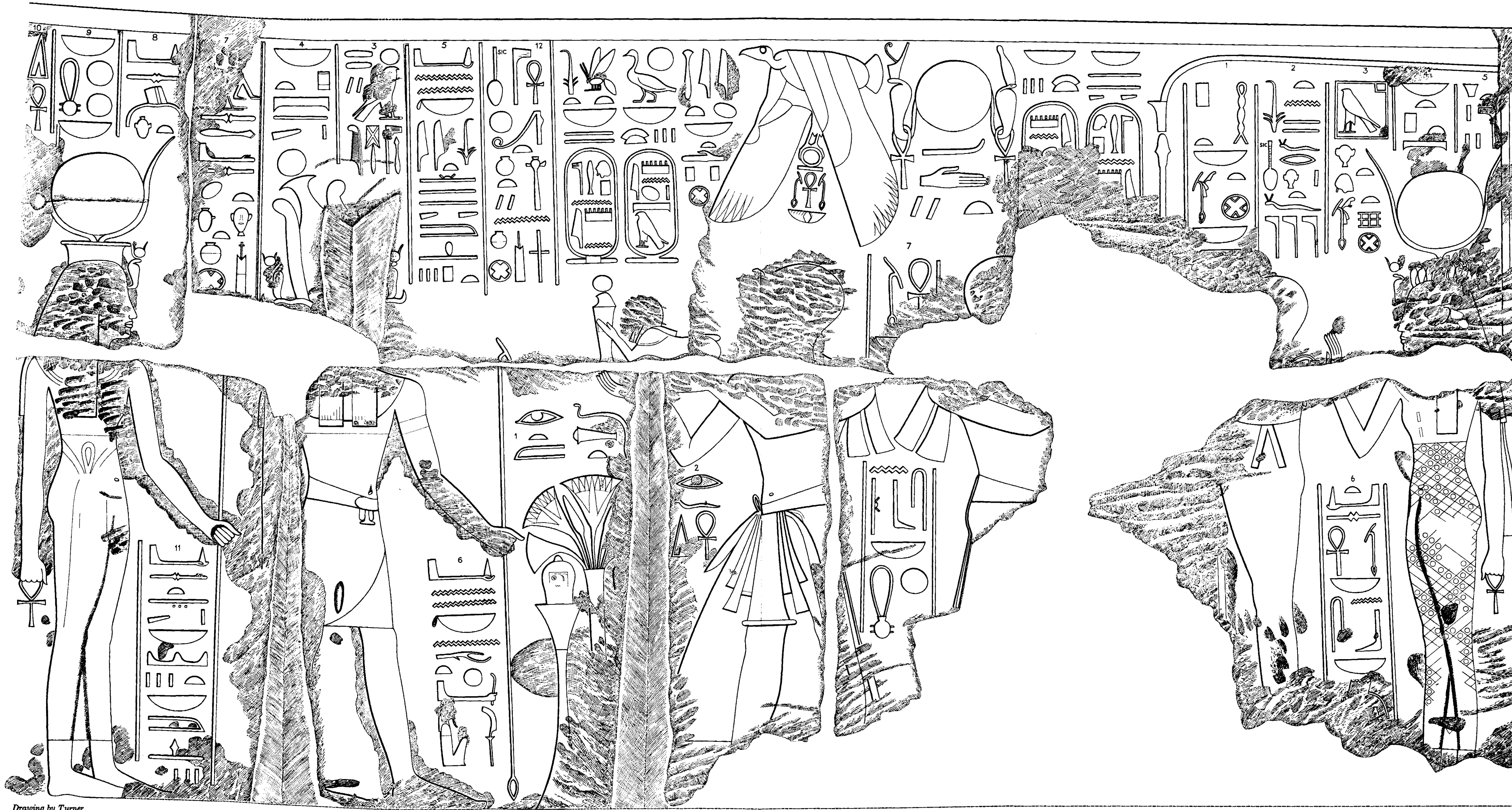
KING HERIHOR PRESENTING FOUR JARS TO ONURIS-SHU IN THE PRESENCE OF TEFNUT  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 24



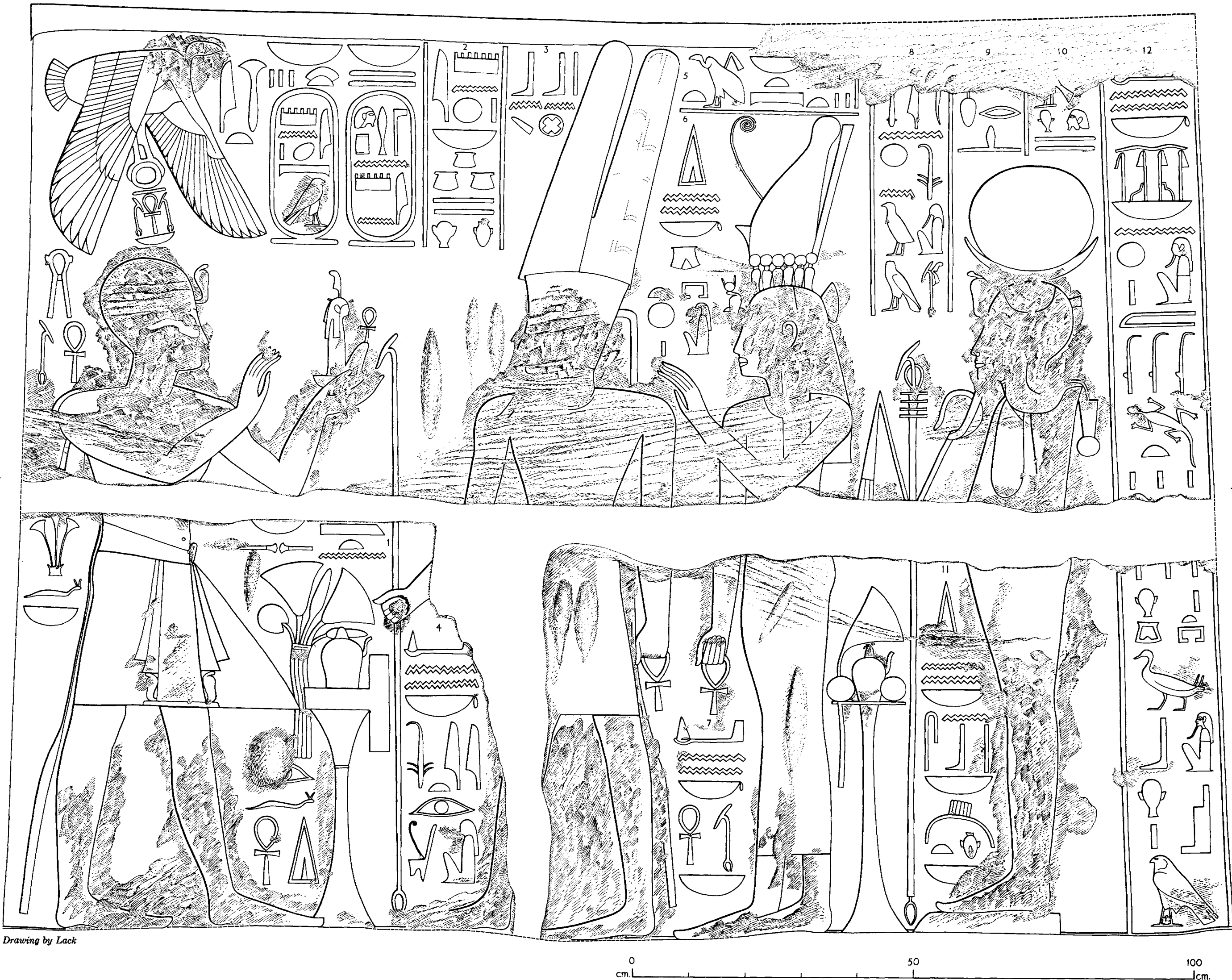


KING HERIHOR PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY BEFORE MIN-KAMUTEF  
IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU AND HATHOR OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 25



*Adjoins plate 102**Adjoins plate 102**Drawing by Turner**A**B*

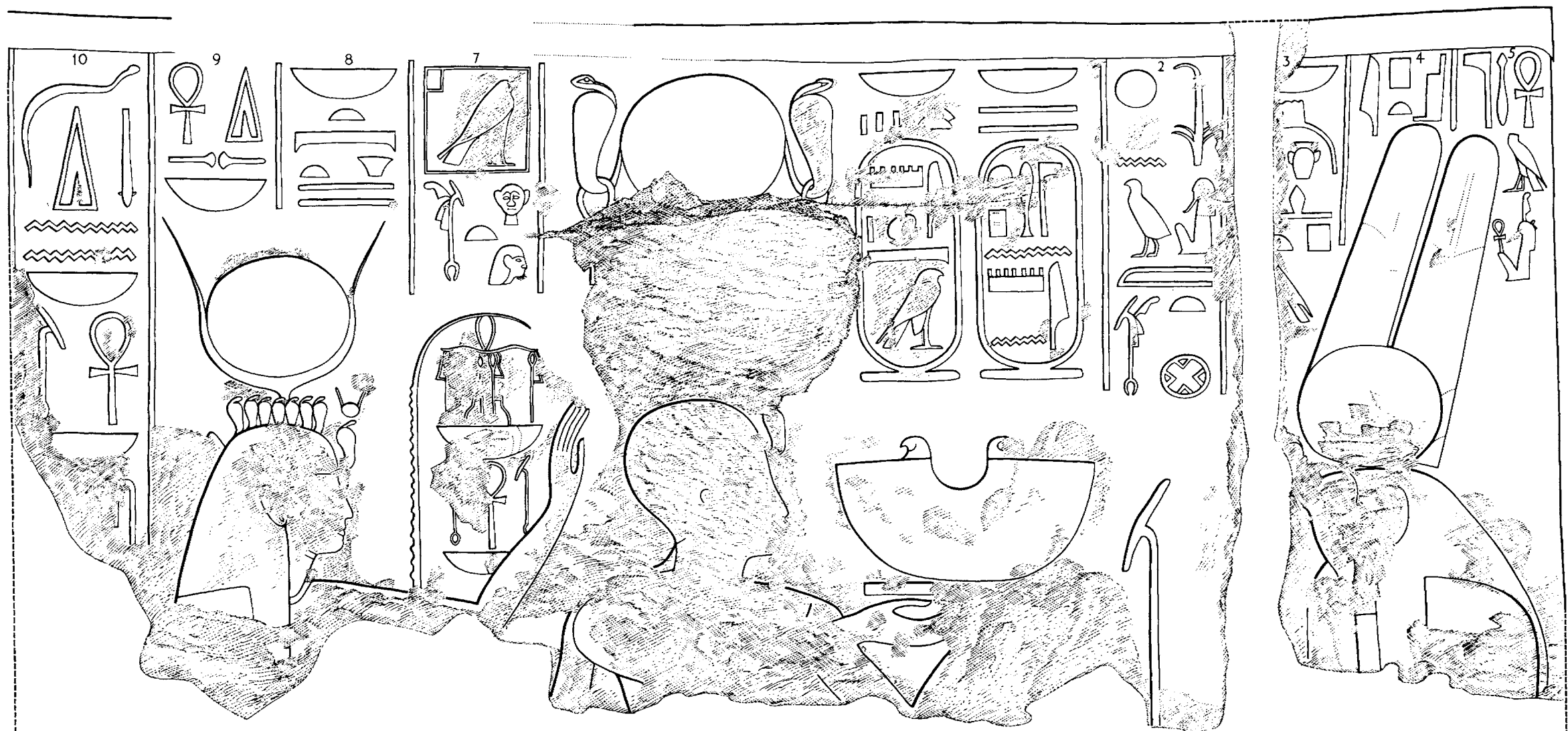
KING HERIHOR (A) OFFERING OINTMENT TO RE-HARAKHTI IN THE PRESENCE OF IUS'AAS  
AND (B) OFFICIATING BEFORE PTAH AND HATHOR, BOTH OF THEBES  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 25



KING HERIHOR OFFERING MA'AT TO AMON-RE OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU IN  
THE PRESENCE OF MUT AND KHONSU  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 26

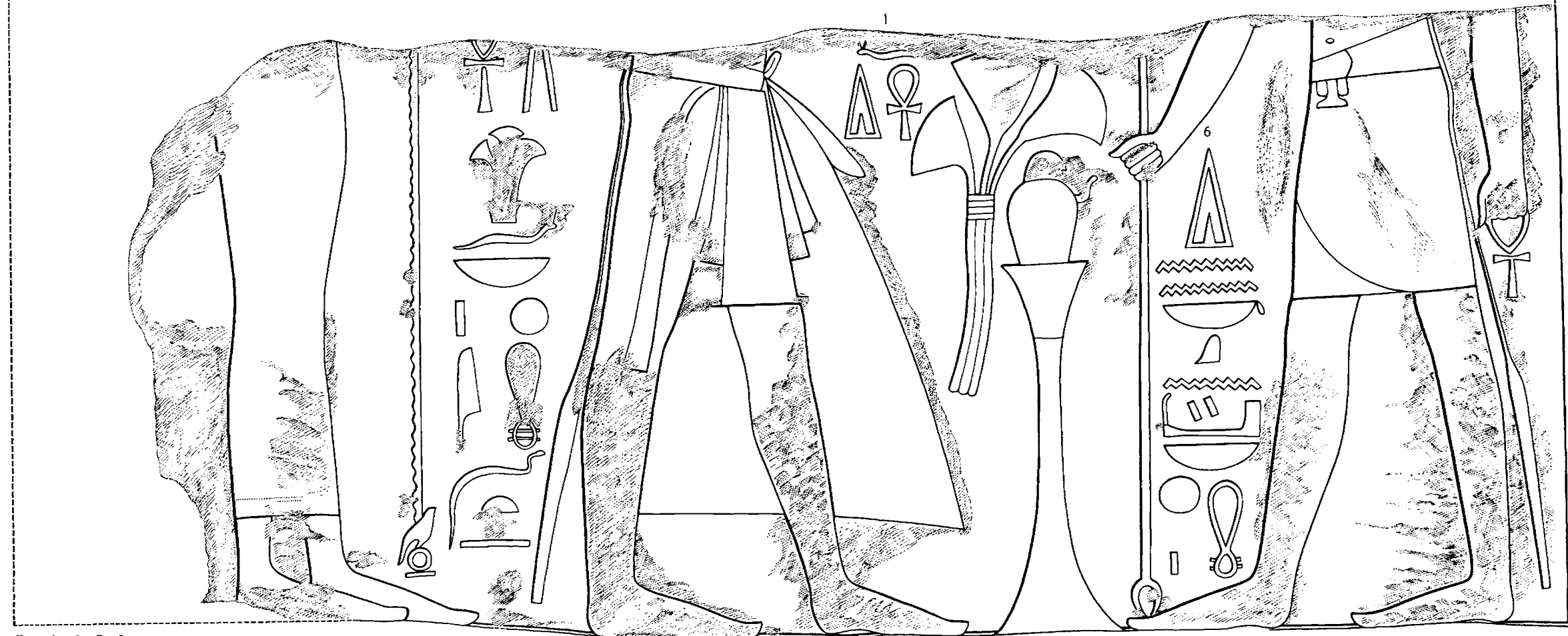






*Adjoins plate 106*

*Adjoins plate 104*

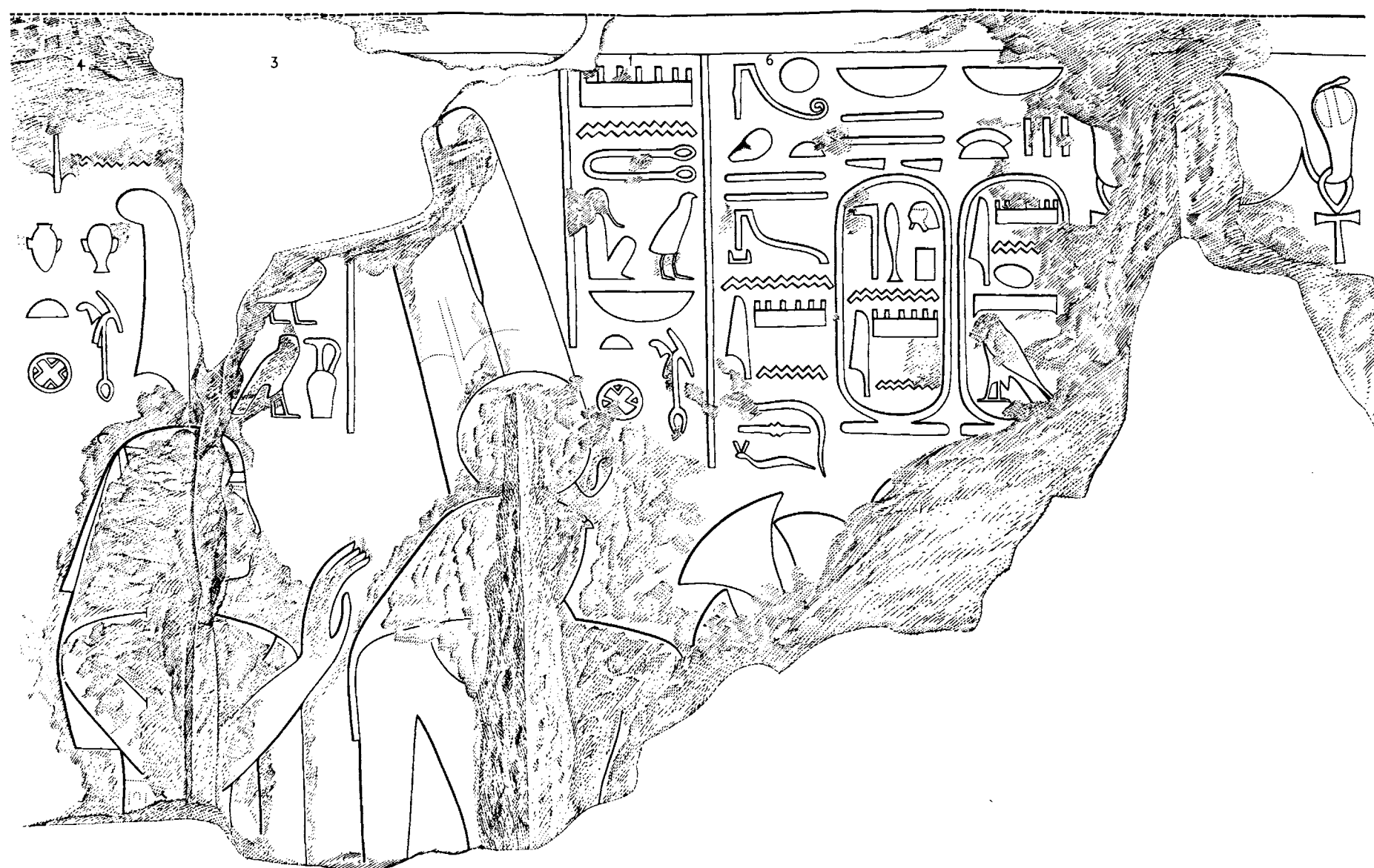


*Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

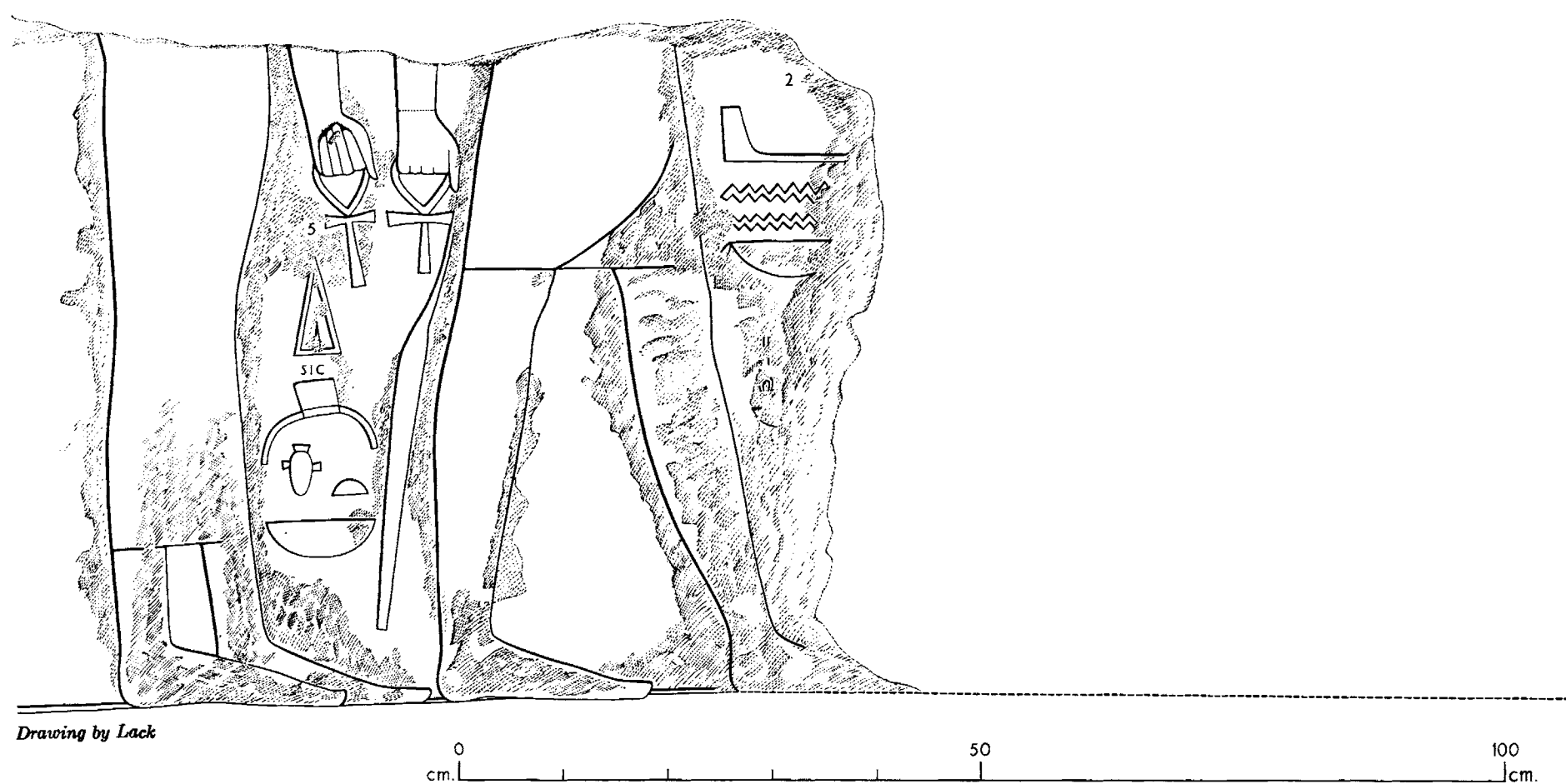
KING HERIHOR, ATTENDED BY HATHOR, PRESENTING A COLLAR TO KHONSU  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 26





*Adjoins plate 104*

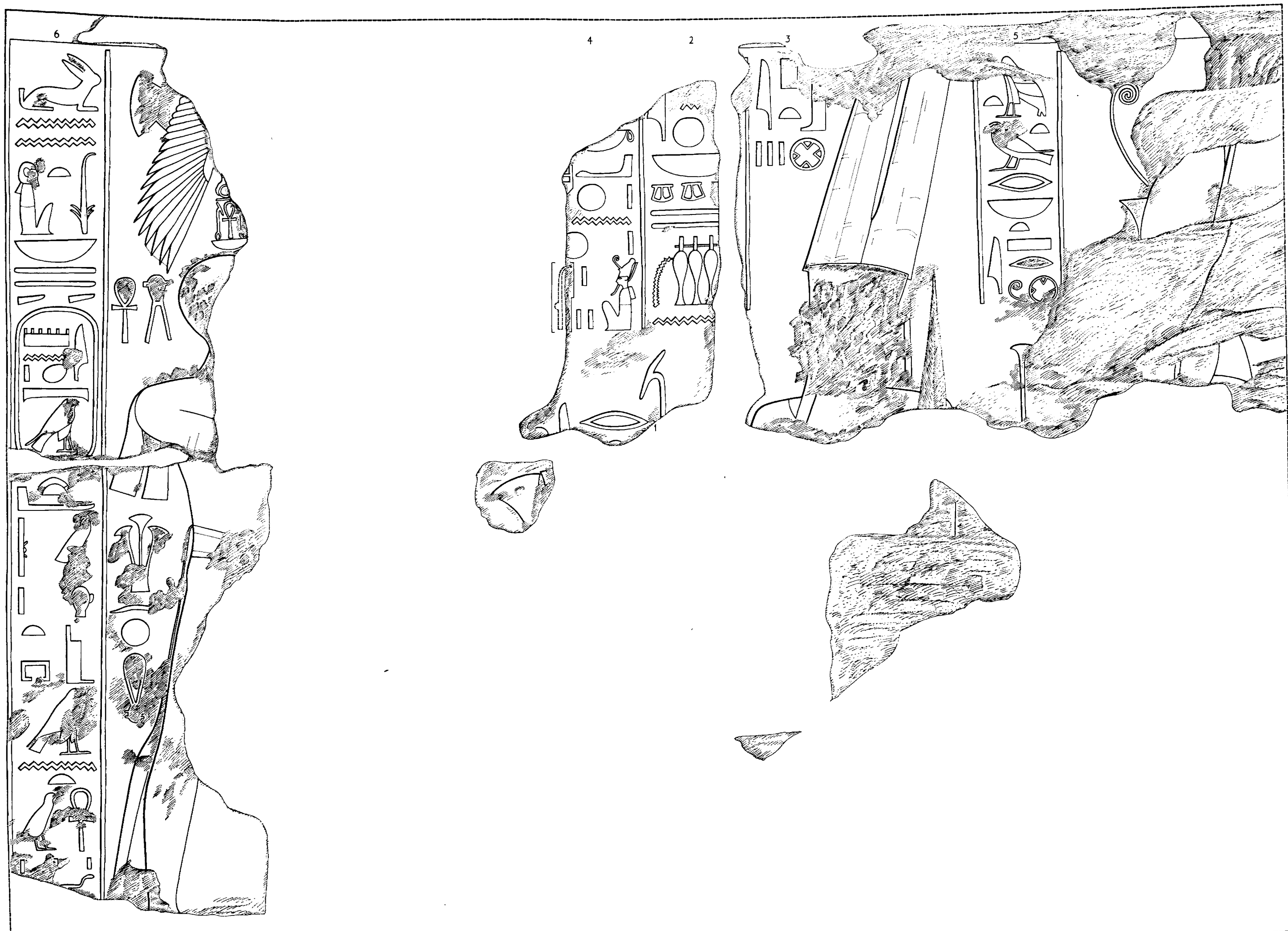
*Adjoins plate 105*



*Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm. cm. cm.

KING HERIHOR (now lost) OFFERING BOUQUETS TO MONTU IN THE PRESENCE OF MA'AT  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 26

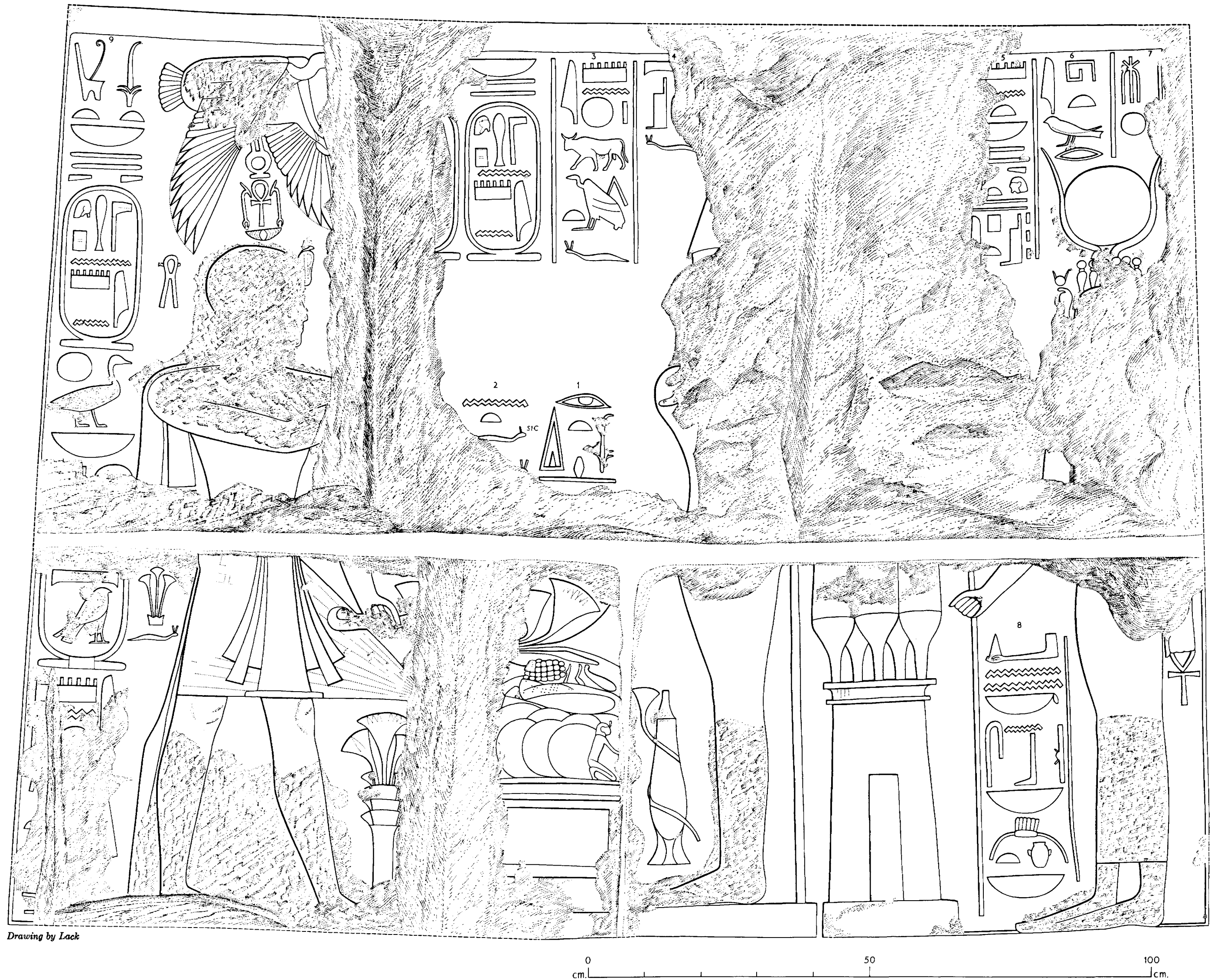


*Drawing by Lack*

0 50 100  
cm. cm.

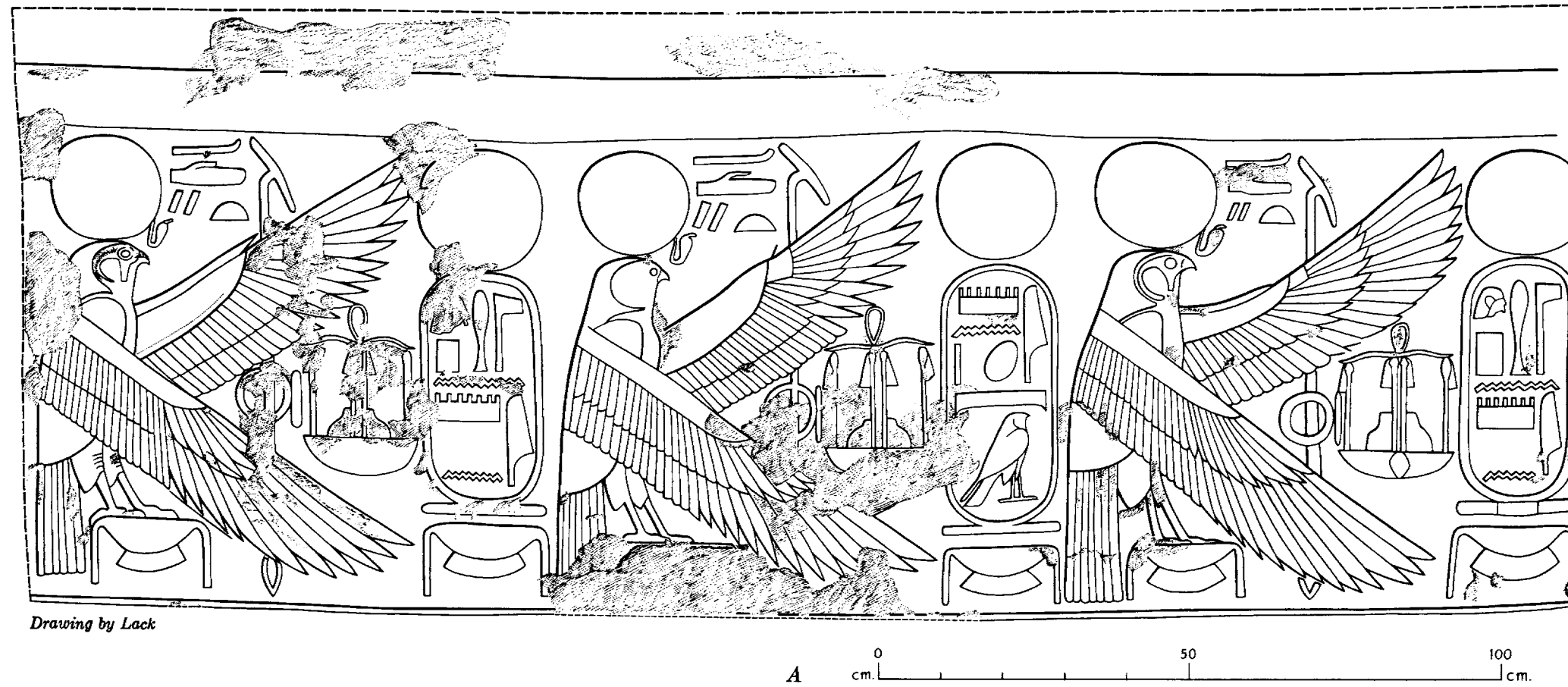
KING HERIHOR OFFERING MILK(?) TO AMON-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 27



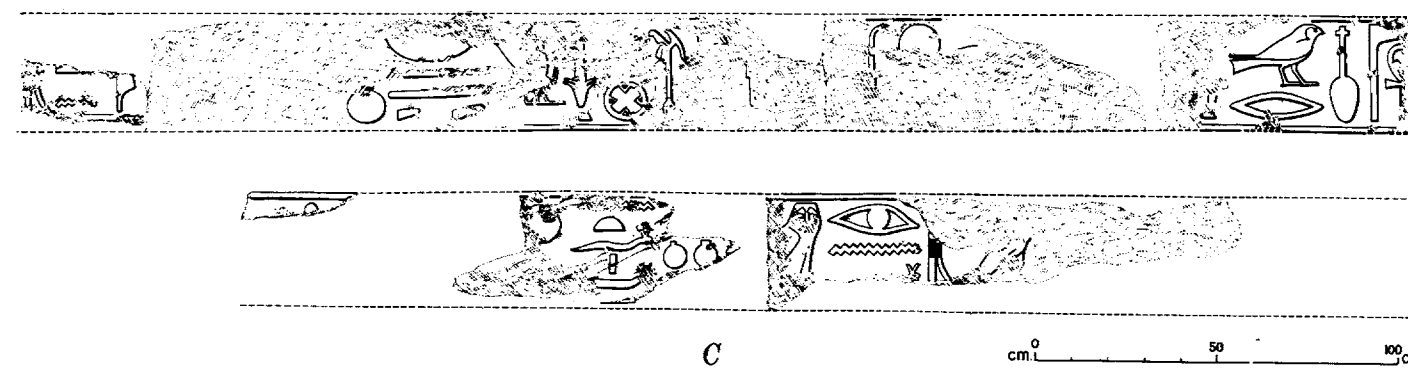
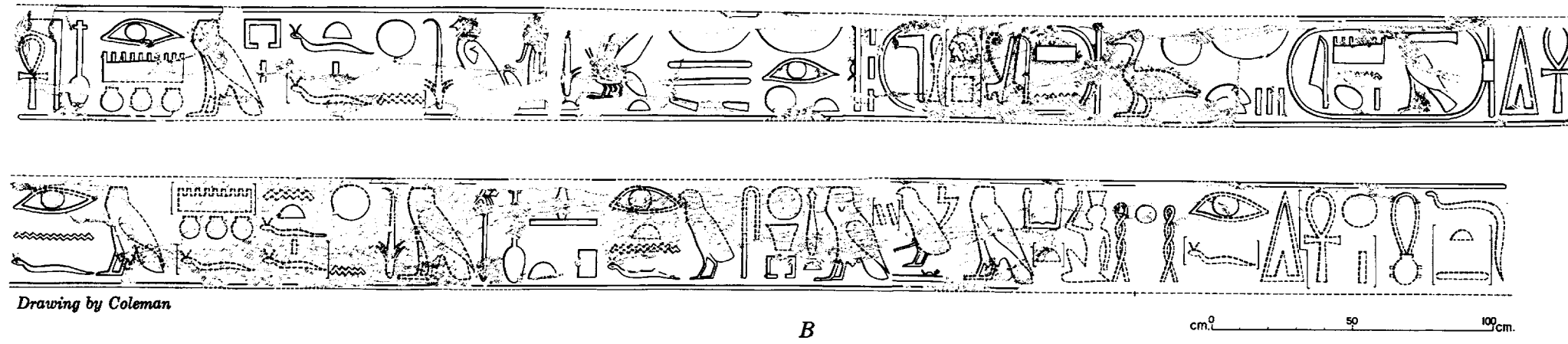


*Drawing by Lack*

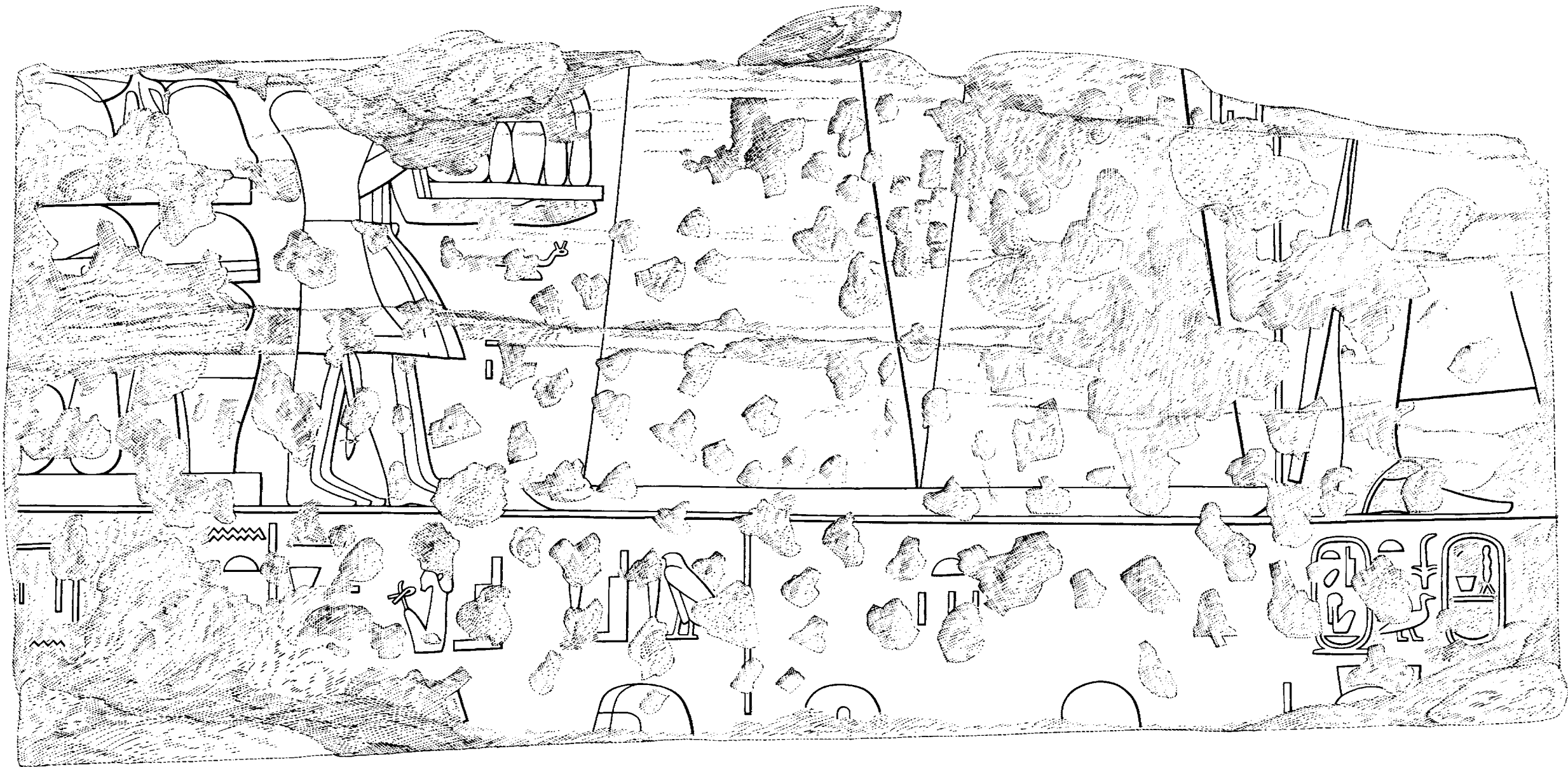
KING HERIHOR PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY  
BEFORE AMON-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMONET  
COURT, PORTICO, SHAFT OF COLUMN 28



A. EXAMPLE OF FRIEZE ABOVE SCENES IN COURT  
COURT, SOUTH WALL, BETWEEN EASTMOST PILASTER AND EAST CORNER



B and C. MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF KING HERIHOR IN COURT  
COURT, (B) EAST WALL, BELOW SCENES, AND (C) WEST WALL, BELOW SCENES



*Drawing by Lack*

0 50  
cm cm

FRAGMENT OF RELIEF OF JUBILEE SCENE OF KING AMENHOTEP III  
(on reused block in plate 36)